

## 汉语方言中的“可有 VP?”问句

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### 提要

“有”在“可 VP”问句中表已然 (VP 为 verb phrase (动词短语) 简称), 构成“阿有 VP”、“格有 VP”与“可有”合音式等类型, 分布于北部吴语、西南官话、江淮官话、中原官话等; 已然问“可有 VP”在今大多方言中正处于被等义的“可 VP-体助词”替代的趋势中; 其分布表明“有”在“可 VP”问句中表已然是一种残存形式, 而非新兴的表已然的标记, 它源于元明时期的北部吴语, 且于明末之前扩散至其他方言; “有”首先在“可 VP”问句中留存义动词语法化为已然体标记, 既符合语义演变规律, 也符合“标记在有标记项上的出现先于无标记项”(Shen 沈家煊 1997)的类型学倾向; 根据谓词前“有”在汉语方言中的句类分布和表义, 我们得出一条单向蕴涵共性: 即如果一种方言中肯定陈述句谓词前“有”表确认, 那么“有”在该方言反复问句则可以表已然, 反之则不能成立。因此, 从跨方言“有”的功能和表义来看, 我们认为应动态地看待南方方言“有”的性质, 这样, 更符合“有”的语法化规律。

### 关键词

溧阳河心乡方言(江苏) “阿有 VP”问句 “有”表已然 残留

**致谢** 本文为国家社科基金一般项目(项目编号: 15BYY042)成果之一。特别感谢审稿人提出的宝贵修改意见。本文主要发音合作人有: 玉溪话: 聂永成, 1941年出生, 初中文化, 工人, 一直居住在玉溪红塔区, 未曾离开过家乡; 陈若茜, 1992年出生, 大学生, 上大学前一直居住在玉溪红塔区; 溧阳河心乡话: 虞志明, 男, 1947年出生, 高中文化程度, 农民; 虞顺娟, 女, 1971年出生, 初中文化程度, 农民; 虞仲伟, 男, 1992年出生, 大学生。三人均住溧阳河心乡下文头村, 说河心乡话, 即“本地话”。感谢连琪同学(溧阳河心乡人)协助完成溧阳河心乡方言语料的搜集工作。

作者声明出版本文于 *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 没有利害冲突。

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ON CONSTRUCTION OF *KE*-VP INTERROGATIVES WITH  
*YOU* IN CHINESE DIALECTS

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the construction of *ke* 可-VP interrogatives with *you* 有, in which *you* is used as the past tense marker. The *ke you* 可有-VP interrogatives distribute in northern Wu dialects, Southwest Mandarin, Central plain Mandarin, and Jiang Huai Mandarin, which include the types of *a* 阿 *you* 有 VP, *ge* 格 *you* 有 VP and the combined sound of *ke you*. *ke you*-VP interrogatives in Chinese dialects have long been under pressure to yield to the construction of “*ke* VP-past aspect marker” expressing the same meaning. Its distribution reflects that it is not a burgeoning past tense marker but derived from the northern Wu dialects of Yuan and Ming dynasty and spread into other dialects before the late Ming Dynasty. *you* as the past tense marker developed from the existence verb *you* after the re-analysis in the *ke you*-NP interrogative; it not only conforms to semantic change principle but also to the typology tendency that “marker usually appears on the marked items before unmarked ones.” (Shen 1997) According to the functions and meanings of *you* before VP in Chinese dialects, we get the implicational universal: if *you* in one dialect can be used as the affirmative sign in declarative sentence, then it can be used as the past tense marker in interrogatives. So in our view, it is more reasonable to analyze the dynamic nature of *you* before VP in Chinese dialects.

KEYWORDS

Vernacular of Hexin township (Liyang, Jiangsu) ‘*a* 阿 *you*-VP’  
interrogatives ‘*you*’ as the past tense marker Residue