The Journal of Chinese Linguistics vol.46, no.1 (January 2018): 177-198 ©2018 by The Journal of Chinese Linguistics. ISSN 0091-3723/2018/46-0007\$10: A typological investigation of disposal markers in Wu dialects (in Chinese). By Huang Xiaoxue. https://doi.org/10.1353/jcl.2017.0030 All rights reserved.

吴语处置标记的类型考察

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提要

吴语处置标记的来源可分为两类:第一类由持拿义动词语法化而来; 第二类由"给"义动词、协同介词和帮助义动词经过引益介词的中间环 节发展而来。第一类主要分布在北部吴语区,第二类主要分布在南部 吴语区。处置标记在南北吴语中的使用类型差异跟 SVO 类型特征和 SOV 倾向有关。"'给'义动词+IO+DO"的发宾结构是"给"义动词语法化 为处置标记的必要条件。第二类处置标记比第一类晚出,官话的影响 特别是普通话的强势地位,导致处置范畴扩展地域,推动了第二类处 置标记的产生和形成。

关键词 **处**置标记 引益介词 语言类型

"吴语分布于我国东南沿海的一片地区。从行政区划说,大致是 江苏省南部,上海市及其辖区,浙江省全境,江西省与浙江毗邻的上饶 市、上饶县、玉山县、广丰县,福建省与浙江毗邻的浦城县城关及其以 北地区,还有安徽省皖南一部分地区"(Fu 傅国通等 1986:1)。根据 《中国语言地图集》(AZ 1987),吴语的主要地区可划分为太湖片、台

作者声明发表本文于 Journal of Chinese Linguistics 没有利益冲突。

致谢 匿名审稿专家给本文提了许多宝贵而中肯的意见,在此表示衷心的感谢!本研究为 国家社科基金项目"汉语'动(+宾)+补'语序及相关语法演变研究"【17BYY028】、教 育部人文社科基金项目"宿松方言语法演变研究"【13JHQ039】阶段性成果。

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A TYPOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF DISPOSAL MARKERS IN WU DIALECT Huang Xiaoxue

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ABSTRACT

From the typological perspective, origins of disposal markers in Wu dialect fall into two categories. The first type grammaticalized from verbs indicating "to take or to hold while the second one grammaticalized from verbs meaning "to give" comitative prepositions and verbs showing "to help" through the intermediate stage of beneficiary prepositions. The first type is mainly distributed in the northern Wu dialect district and the second one is mainly distributed in the southern Wu dialect district. Typological differences on disposal markers in the northern and southern districts of Wu dialects are associated with the typological characteristics of SVO and the tendency of SOV. The double object structure "verbs meaning gei 'to give' + IO + DO" is the necessary condition on which verbs meaning gei "to give" grammaticalized into disposal markers. Disposal markers of the second type appeared later than disposal markers of the first one. The influence of mandarin, especially the strong position of Putonghua caused disposal category to extend regions and promoted the generation and formation of disposal markers of the second type.

KEYWORDS Disposal marker Beneficiary preposition Linguistic type

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