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Pyrighted Materials 最小词条件与"V不C"的能性解读来源 刘丽媛^{1,2} 冯胜利³

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摘要

在汉语的能性结构中,肯定式一般用"得"字表能力,而否定式"V 不 C"没有"得"字,却依然能够表达能力的意思,其"能性意义" 的解读从何而来一直是汉语句法研究的父个不解之谜。本文提出:能 性否定式 "V 不 C" 在句法结构上具有一个表达能性的位置,只是该 位置的"得"字在语音部门没有显形,而造成"得"字语音显形与否 的原因是韵律。具言之,"得"字不能在"V不 CO"这类宾补俱全 的结构中显形,这主要源于汉语动词指派核心重音的机制:核心重音 的指派者 "V不C"在韵律大小方面受到"最小词条件"的限制(不 能大于等于三个音节》。本文的这一分析既可以从句法结构上回答 "V不C"能性解读的来源,也可以推演解释能性结构的不同表达形 式。

关键词 否定形式 核心重音 最小词 能性结构 chin

致谢 本文初稿曾于 2017 年 6 月 3 日在第四届韵律语法研究国际研讨会(ICPG-4)、2017 年11月14日香港中文大学讲论会上报告,颇得益于与会学者以及课上老师和同学的讨 论。成文后蒙蒋绍愚先生、蔡维天教授给予宝贵意见,学友李果、马宝鹏、马文津、 苏婧、汪昌松、王迟、庄会彬等提出批评建议, 匿名审稿专家也提出了宝贵的修改意 见, 笔者在此向上述诸位深表诚挚的谢意。

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MINIMAL WORD CONDITION AND THE SOURCE OF POTENTIAL INTERPRETATION IN V-BU-C Livuan Liu^{1,2} Shengli Feng³

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ABSTRACT

Materials The word *de* 得 is generally used to express capability in the affirmative forms of Chinese potential structure. But the negative potential structure V-bu 不-C without de can also express the meaning of capability. What the origin of potential interpretation in V-bu-C is remains to be a mystery in the research of Chinese syntax. This paper proposes that there is a syntactic position in V-bu-C expressing the potential meaning. However, the reason de does not appear in the phonological form depends on prosody. Specifically, de cannot appear in the syntactic environment with both object and complement. This can be attributed to the mechanism of the nuclear stress assignment in Mandarin. Being the nuclear stress assigner, V-bu-C must be in conformity with the minimal word condition (not greater than or equal to three syllables), as a result of which de cannot show up in the phonological form. Such an analysis not only answers the question of what the source of the potential interpretation of V-bu-C is from the view of syntax, but also deduces and interprets various forms of potential structures.

KEYWORDS

Potential Structure De Negative Forms Nuclear Stress Minimal Word ot the Chin