

# 中文進行體標記的功能區分：從副詞搭配結構論證

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## 摘 要

中文未完成體標記「在」、「正」和「正在」均可於動詞前標示一個進行的事件。然而，值得探討的是這三個標記之間有何不同？三者有哪些用來決定其句法表現之詞彙語意特性？本文採用以語料庫為基礎之研究方法來探討這三個標記和副詞搭配結構之關係，從而分析三者之語意特性。使用的語料庫以中研院漢語平衡語料庫為我們的主要語料來源，以及 Yahoo 搜索引擎為語料參考來源。文中首先研究「在」、「正」和「正在」的語法功能，結果顯示「正在」的語法功能較為單一，僅標示進行體功能，而「在」和「正」有其他的介詞（地方詞）及副詞功能。接著，我們進一步研究這三個標記的句法及詞彙搭配結構，結果發現在副詞的搭配結構上三者有顯著的差異。因此，本文透過檢視「在」、「正」和「正在」與六種副詞之搭配結構關係來定義他們的詞彙特性，這六種副詞包含時間副詞、頻率副詞、方式副詞、時態副詞、情態副詞及否定副詞。

就持續性而言，「正」和「正在」極少與反覆性副詞、持續性副詞及無指示明確時間的副詞共同出現。「正」和「正在」的使用需具備一個明確的時間參照點，強調「共時性」(simultaneity)，用來標示在某個特定時間點上正在進行的事件。另一方面，「在」不限定於標示單一時間點上的單一事件，因而不凸顯「共時性」，因此可用來標示一個在一段時間上重複某個事件而組成的進行過程，即反覆性或習慣性進行體 (Givon 1993)。而以事件類型來說，「正」可出現於進行的事件、完成的事件和非現實 (irrealis) 的事件，所以不標示「進行性」(ongoingness)，而「在」和「正在」強調「進行性」，只能用來標示一個進行的事件。另外，三者之間的區分也出現在語意及語用的延伸上，「在」和「正在」主要是根據時間上的「親近性」(proximity) 來標示一個進行的事件，而「正」能將時間上的「親近性」延伸至「程度」領域，以表示兩事件程度上的契合。最後，這三個標記間的另一個區別是「在」能用來表示其他種類的進行體，包含基本進行體、習慣性進行體、反覆性進行體及起始性進行體，而「正」和「正在」只限於標示基本的進行體格式，標明一個沒有包含起始和終點的進行事件內部。

上述「在」、「正」和「正在」的搭配結構現象與其語法化研究有所關連。「在」是從空間的存在延伸至時間的存在，隱含「進行性」，因此作為進行體標記他強調「進行性」和「親近性」。而「正」從空間上的恰好（不偏不倚）延伸至時間上的恰好，隱含

「共時性」，因而強調「共時性」和「親近性」這兩個進行體特性。「正在」由「正」和「在」所組成，包含「進行性」、「親近性」和「共時性」這三個特性。藉由詳細檢視副詞搭配結構，本論文提供一個研究方向於「在」、「正」和「正在」的詞彙功能區分，最後藉由句法及語意的互動來描繪中文進行時態的特性。



# Functional Distinction in Progressive Marking: Evidence from Collocational Patterns with Adverbs

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## Abstract

The three imperfective markers *zai*, *zheng*, and *zhengzai* in Mandarin all denote a progressive event and syntactically precede the verb. However, a question must be asked: what makes the three markers distinct from each other? What are exactly their lexical semantic distinctions that bear syntactic consequences? This thesis aims to explore the semantic distinction between *zai*, *zheng*, and *zhengzai* by examining their collocational patterns with adverbial elements in discourse with a corpus-based approach. Two on-line resources were used in this work: Sinica Corpus as the main data source and Yahoo as an assisting reference. Occurrences of *zai*, *zheng*, and *zhengzai* are first investigated in terms of their grammatical functions. While *zhengzai* is used exclusively to encode the progressive aspect, the other two may have prepositional (locative) and adverbial functions. The three markers are further examined in terms of their collocational patterns, both grammatical and lexical. Significant differences are found in the collocation of adverbial adjuncts. Six types of adverbials are examined closely to identify the semantic distinctions: time adverbs, frequency adverbs, manner adverbs, aspectual adverbs, modal adverbs, and negative adverbs.

In terms of duration, *zheng* and *zhengzai* rarely co-occur with iterative adverbs, durative adverbs, and adverbs without a specific time reference. This indicates that the use of *zheng* and *zhengzai* requires a specific temporal reference. They mark the feature of simultaneity to express the progression of an on-going event at a given time point. On the other hand, *zai* is not restricted to a single event on a single time frame with the feature of simultaneity backgrounded; it may indicate the on-going process of a repeated event over a time span, i.e., the iterative or habitual progressive (Givon 1993). With regard to events, *zheng* can occur in an on-going event, a perfective event, and an irrealis event without the premise of ongoingness, while *zai* and *zhengzai* are restricted to mark a progressive event with the feature of ongoingness. Their distinction is also contrasted in terms of semantic and pragmatic extensions. *Zai* and *zhengzai* mostly indicate an ongoing event based on temporal proximity, while *zheng* may extend temporal proximity to degree domains signifying the matching of two situations. The other distinction is that *zai* can be used to represent other

kinds of progressive perspectives, including basic progressive, habitual progressive, iterative-progressive, and inceptive-progressive, whereas *zheng* and *zhengzai* are restricted to mark the basic progressive, indicating the intermediate points of an ongoing event without reference to the initial and final points.

The collocational evidence can be related to the grammaticalization studies of *zai*, *zheng* and *zhengzai*. The marker *zai* spans from locative existence to temporal existence implying the feature of ongoingness, and it profiles the progressive features of ongoingness and proximity. *Zheng* spans from precision in space to precision in time denoting the feature of simultaneity and profiles the feature of simultaneity and proximity. *Zhengzai* composed of *zheng* and *zai* involves the features of ongoingness, proximity, and simultaneity. By examining adverbial collocations in great detail, this work sheds new light on the lexical functional distinctions of the three markers *zai*, *zheng* and *zhengzai*. It ultimately helps to characterize aspectual distinctions in terms of the interaction between syntax and semantics.



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