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“（还）了得”的语用化过程研究

On the Pragmaticalization of *(hai)liaode*

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Abstract

Pragmaticalization is a process in which the conversational meaning of a linguistic form comes into fixation after long-term application. It is the habituation of certain expressions serving some specific pragmatic functions because of high frequency of use. Pragmaticalization is the result of factors in both inter-language and intra-language. Pragmaticalization has its unique rules of development, which makes it basically different from grammaticalization. However, pragmaticalization and grammaticalization also share some similarities.

(Hai)liaode is an expression which has a high frequency in use, yet its formation is a process different from grammaticalization, namely pragmaticalization. *Liao* is an important grammar tag in Chinese and V *de* is a verb-complement construction to express potentiality except auxiliaries. However, studies on the formation and semantic shifting of *(hai)liaode* are not sufficient. This thesis intends to study the pragmaticalization of *(hai)liaode* in a diachronic way and aims to clarify the processes, mechanisms and triggers underlying it. Through searching for all the entries including *liaode* in the Old Chinese Corpus (OCC) and Modern Chinese Corpus (MCC) belonging to the Center of Chinese Linguistics (CCL) located in Peking University, the study finds out that *liaode* first occurs in Tang Dynasty, which is the result of grammaticalized *de* after *liao* to constitute a verb-complement construction. The senses of *liao* are dominant and the complement *de* is used to express the meaning of potentiality. Certain senses of *liaode* are salient in different periods of time, and in late Ming Dynasty and early Qing Dynasty, especially in Qing Dynasty afterwards, *liaode* basically exists at the end of a sentence combined with *hai* as a commentary pragmatic marker to emphasize the seriousness of a situation.

The pragmaticalization of (*hai)liaode* is not the same with the past studies of

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pragmaticalization focused on discourse markers and particles, which can enrich our understanding of this linguistic phenomenon as a typical example of commentary pragmatic markers. This study mainly adopts approaches in pragmatics and cognitive linguistics, intending to comprehensively disclose the pragmatic and cognitive factors enrolled in pragmaticalization. Additionally, this study also attempts to compare and contrast pragmaticalziation and grammaticalization in order to clarify their relationships.

Key Words: pragmaticalization; (*hai)liaode*; commentary pragmatic markers; grammaticalization

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摘　要

语用化是语言的意义经过长时间应用而逐渐凝固的过程。它是语言中在特定交际场合下具有某种特定语用功能的惯用表达，它们因为使用频率较高而逐渐失去其字面意义，从而拥有独立于语境的规约含意。语用化是语言内部和外部多种因素共同作用的结果，除语言内部成分的相互影响外，外部既有语用因素的作用，也有认知心理因素的作用。语用化有其特有的语言发展规律，与语法化既有联系又有区别。

“了”是汉语中重要的语法标记，汉语中除用助动词外还可以用述补结构“V得”来表达能性范畴，两者都经过了长时间的语法化历程。“（还）了得”是口语中使用频率较高的词语，它的成词和表义经历了另一种不同于语法化的过程，即语用化。本研究对汉语中“(还)了得”一词进行语用化的历时研究，旨在探清该词的语用化过程和其中深刻的动因。通过检索北京大学古代和现代汉语语料库中包含“了得”的全部词条，本研究发现“了得”一词最早出现在唐代，它是“得”字语法化后与“了”构成动补结构的产物，以“了”的义项为主导，补语“得”字表示可能和能够的意义。“了得”一词的义项在不同时期会有不同的突显，到明末清初，特别是清代以降，“了得”基本上只用在惊讶、反诘或责备等语气的句子末尾，表示情况严重，多与“还”字连用，是一个典型的评论性语用标记。

“（还）了得”的语用化不同于以往以话语标记和小品词为主的语用化研究，它作为一种评论性语用标记不仅可以丰富我们对语用化这一现象的认识，还可以从另外一个角度比较语用化与语法化的异同。本研究主要采取社会语用学的视角，结合认知的相关理论，力图全面反映语用化过程中认知语用等各方面的因素。与此同时，本研究还试图比较语用化与语法化在各方面的异同，从而廓清两者的界面。

关键词：语用化；*(还)了得*；评论性语用标记；语法化

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Chapter One Introduction

1.1 Rationale of the Study

Over the past two decades, the study of pragmaticalization has become a hot topic in the scope of linguistics, particularly with the focus on its relationship with grammaticalization. In a broad sense, studies on pragmaticalization have become a melting pot for various approaches to language such as historical linguistics, functional linguistics and pragmatics. In a narrow sense, studies on pragmaticalization only focus on the formation of pragmatic markers, emphasizing their unique characteristics different from grammaticalization.

In Chinese language, both *liao* and *de* have undergone dramatic changes in the history, and the combination of them also has changed over the history. In modern and contemporary dictionary, the sense of *hai liaode* is always illustrated under the entry of *liaode* with a brief explanation. Although the status as an adverbial phrase of *hai liaode* in semantics has been universally acknowledged, its role as a commentary pragmatic marker in pragmatics has been seldom studied by scholars, especially about its formation and pragmaticalization. *Hai liaode* is a commentary pragmatic marker which has a relatively high frequency of use in oral communication, yet its formation and meaning undergo a process different from grammaticalization, namely pragmaticalization. *Liao* is an important grammar tag in Chinese to mean past tense and V *de* is a verb-complement construction to express potentiality except auxiliaries. Previous studies on *(hai)liaode* all focus on its literary meaning. Thus, studies towards the formation and semantic shifting of *(hai)liaode* are not sufficient. This thesis intends to study the pragmaticalization of *liaode* in a diachronic way and aims to clarify the processes, mechanisms and triggers underlying it.

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Through searching for all the entries including *liaode* in the Old Chinese Corpus and Modern Chinese Corpus belonging to the Center of Chinese Linguistics located in Peking University, the study finds out that *liaode* first occurs in Tang Dynasty, which is the result of grammaticalized *de* after *liao* to constitute a verb-complement construction. The senses of *liao* are dominant in the construction *liaode* and the complement *de* is employed to express the meaning of potentiality. Certain senses of *liaode* are prominent in a period of time, and in late Ming Dynasty and early Qing Dynasty, especially in Qing Dynasty afterwards, *liaode* mostly exists at the end of a sentence combined with *hai* as a commentary pragmatic marker to make a comment on what has happened and emphasize the seriousness of a situation.

The study of discourse markers has continued for nearly thirty years since Schiffrin first systematically studies this group of linguistic expressions in 1987. As the functions of discourse markers are mainly pragmatic, thus more and more scholars tend to recall it pragmatic markers. Based on different standards, pragmatic markers can be classified into different groups. Among them, the classification of pragmatic markers by Fraser (1996; 1999) has been the most popular one. He thinks that pragmatic markers can be divided into four groups: basic pragmatic markers (i.e., *I swear, my request*), parallel pragmatic markers (i.e., *sir, well*), discourse markers (i.e., *and, but, however*) and commentary pragmatic markers (i.e., *fortunately, sadly, frankly*). Among them, parallel pragmatic markers have the least number and the simplest structure which results in their less research value. Basic pragmatic markers and discourse markers have the largest number and a wide scope of use in language which results in their rich and sufficient literature, while commentary pragmatic markers have also had a large number and widely use, they have not been taken full research for a long time. As a typical commentary pragmatic marker, *hai liaode* has been widely used in our oral communication and mass media, but it has not been

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