

## 「又」的语气用法再分析

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传统汉语研究一般认为“又”除重复、加合的基本意义外还表达语气，后者又分转折、加强否定、加强反问三种情况。围绕“又”加强语气的用法有不少分歧。关于语气加强的途径是通过否定某个典型或极端条件、否定语境预设还是否定结论成立的前提条件，说法不一（彭小川 1999，马真 2001等）；对语气加强的本质是加强结论语气、增强可信性抑或是“辩驳”（吴中伟 1999，丁声树 1961），看法也不确定。但在加强语气用法和重复、加合义关联这一点上学者们意见比较一致（邵敬敏、饶春红 1985等）。

形式语义学界对again的研究一般分重复义、恢复义等（Patel-Grosz and Beck 2019, Zwarts 2019）。“又”显然也具有“恢复义”。汉语“又”是否还有其他解读，语气表达用法是否有可能和“恢复义”或其它解读存在关联，这些问题并未得到探索。

本文试图说明，汉语“又”还有一种独特的“撤销义”。测试倾向于支持“又”这一解读的存在。在具体刻画“撤销义”语义的基础上，本文试图阐明“撤销义”对“又”的语义分析尤其是语气用法分析的价值。“撤销义”不仅可以解释辩驳语气的由来，还可以解释与“又”语气用法关联的尚未被讨论的现象。

### A Reanalysis of the Mood Use of "又"

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It is generally held that "又" ('again'), in addition to the basic meaning of repetition and addition, expresses mood: either that of contrast or that of reinforcement. Controversies arise as to how reinforcement is achieved -- by denying typical conditions or presuppositions (Peng 1999, Ma 2001, etc.) and what it is that is reinforced -- the conclusion, the credibility of the proposition expressed, or refutation (Ding 1961, Wu 1999). Despite all the disagreements, scholars mostly agree on an account of reinforcement in terms of additivity (Shao & Rao 1985).

In the formal semantics tradition, "again", the English counterpart of “又”, is assigned two readings: the repetitive and the restitutive reading (Patel-Grosz and Beck 2019, Zwarts 2019). "又" obviously shares these two readings. Whether there are other senses of “又” and whether and how they may be connected to reinforcement and contrast remains largely unexplored.

The present study proposes that “又” has a unique "cancel" meaning as based on diagnostics tests. The paper attempts to specify the semantics of this sense of “又” and prove the relevance of this sense to the mood usage.

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