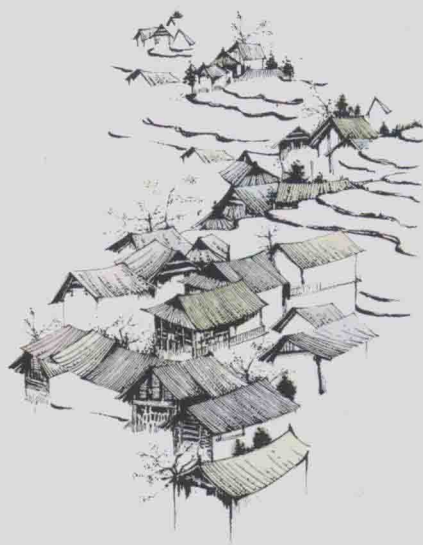


# RESEARCH ON MODERN CHINESE PARENTHESIS

## 现代汉语插入语研究

司红霞 著



NORTHEAST NORMAL UNIVERSITY PRESS

东北师范大学出版社

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### 图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

现代汉语插入语研究/司红霞著. —2 版. —长春:  
东北师范大学出版社, 2015. 3  
ISBN 978 - 7 - 5681 - 0321 - 3

I. ①现… II. ①司… III. ①汉代汉语—插入成分—  
研究 IV. H146. 3

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2015) 第 269385 号

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☐ 责任编辑: 魏芳华   ☐ 封面设计: 李冰彬  
☐ 责任校对: 刘 芳   ☐ 责任印制: 张允豪

---

东北师范大学出版社出版发行  
长春净月经济开发区金宝街 118 号 (邮政编码: 130117)  
网址: <http://www.nenup.com>

东北师范大学出版社激光照排中心制版  
河北省廊坊市永清县晔盛亚胶印有限公司  
河北省廊坊市永清县燃气工业园榕花路 3 号 (065600)  
2015 年 3 月第 2 版   2015 年 3 月第 1 次印刷  
幅面尺寸: 148mm×210mm   印张: 8   字数: 200 千

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定价: 48.00 元

## 序 言

### 材料是学术之根 事实是理论之源

李宇明

司红霞对插入语的研究，我是熟悉的。从选题分析、相关研究成果梳理、语料搜集，到论文撰写和答辩，我都在尽导师之职。但是，翻阅她《现代汉语插入语研究》的清样，仍然充满兴致。

她平时用心积累，又利用了语料库，收集到如此丰富的插入语材料。她对 270 余个插入语进行了详细描写，发现大多呈动词性，中心词多由“说”、“看”、“想”之类充当。她探讨了能够虚化为插入语的若干形式条件，用语法化过程来解释插入语的语义虚化及凝固性，并将

插入语的本质功能概括为表达语言的主观性，从而将插入语的研究带进了现代语言理论的话语环境。

我的兴致，当然来自司红霞论文传输给我的关于插入语的研究成果，当然还包括我所了解的她从事研究的艰辛。但这只是一个“消极的文化消费者”的兴致。一篇好文，一部佳作，不应只传授知识，还应给人以启迪，发人以深思，亦即培养“积极的文化消费者”。我对《现代汉语插入语研究》的阅读兴致，更在于著作对我引起的关于汉语语法学发展的思考。

自1898年《马氏文通》出版算起，中国语法学已经走过了110年的历程。百余年来，语法理论数变，语法体系数建。在这数变的语法理论指导下，发掘出大量的汉语语法事实，抽绎出一些重要的汉语语法规律，并将其归置在这数种语法体系中。但时至今日，不能不遗憾地说，对汉语事实的了解仍相当有限，语料收集不全面，语料观察不充分。司红霞所呈现出的插入语新语料，便是这一判断的脚注。理论的引进、观念的嬗进、演绎性思维，对语法学进展的重要性，怎么强调都不过分；但是最终促进语法学发展的，特别是产生可以影响他人、可以进入普通语言学层面的语法理论，还是靠对语法事实的全面搜集和充分观察。材料是学术之根，事实是理论之源。

红霞能够发现如此之多的插入语新材料，得益于她新的语法观念。这新的语法观念就是超句法。传统的句法分析，插入语在小句中的结构作用很弱，甚至在句法分析的准备程序中，它就是要先被修剪掉的杂碎，因此

引不起传统语法学家的兴趣，事实搜罗用力不够，研究自然也不可能系统深入。而插入现象在超句法领域中则具有重要价值，从形式上看，对句子成分、小句或是句子具有关联作用，从意义和语用方面考察，则多是指向核心句的。传统语法学把句子看作线性结构，而就插入语的指向来看，句子应是双层的，甚至是多层的立体表达系统。须要强调的是，超句法在汉语中十分重要，汉语的复句基本上属于超句法现象。“走走停停，停停走走”这样的复叠结构，以及许多篇章结构现象，也都属于超句法范畴。对形态不怎么丰富的汉语来说，只研究词法和句法，显然不足。

发现新语料还需借助新手段，语料库便是这重要的新手段。它极大地扩展了研究者的观察视野，较之于通过阅读搜集例句，通过语感创造例句，具有显而易见的优越性。而且，语料库能提供多种统计数据，为认识语言现象提供量化参考。语料库对语言学的帮助，还未被学界充分认识，未被学界充分利用。如何建设语料库，如何利用语料库，如何将语言学成果很好沉淀到语料库中，是学界应积极思考的了。

为学务守恒定之心，脚踏实地，坐得住冷板凳，不事招摇，有花自有芬芳。正如春之玉兰，有《南乡子》曰：“倦诵花间词，未曾望绿芽帮衬。风送晚香君细品。羞招摇，懒惹蜂蝶乱芳心。”

## 摘 要

以往传统的语言研究中，人们对插入语的认识主要集中于插入语的语义类别以及表意功能。插入语到底是什么样子，包括哪些语言形式，它们以什么样的状态存在，语言中为什么存在这种语言形式，还有它们最初是什么样的语言形式，在语言运用中又会呈现什么样的发展趋势，这些问题至今还没有人能全面而深入地论述清楚。

近年来语言学的理论尤其是话语语言学的发展，为我们重新认识这一语言现象提供了新的视角。语料库语言学也为这项研究提供了一种更强有力的研究方法。

长期以来，语言分析都是将句子作为上限单位，插入语的研究也是如此，插入语被看作句子结构的特殊的一部分；研究插入语的方法往往是从直感出发的定性研究，这些都使插入语的研究没有突破。

本书将从语料库中的语料出发，从语篇分析的视角切入，考察包含插入语的语篇，采用统计，尤其是抽样统计的方法，力图

更加清晰而全面地认识插入语。

首先我们通过全面考察各种插入现象,对我们的研究范围作出了界定,确定了研究对象。即我们要研究的是C=凝固结构或半凝固结构的插入语。这是一类具有同质性的典型的插入语。总结出插入语形式上的总体特点:相对凝固性、附着性、语义的非命题性。从而将插入语与词、与短语、与惯用语、与插入成分、与关联词语、与话语标记等区分开来。笔者认为,插入语既不同于一般短语,也不同于词,是一种类似于熟语的语言的固化成分。

这些固化成分在语言中存在的价值,是本书着力阐述的重点。为此,本书从内在组合形式、外部语法分布、语义特点、语用功能及来源等多角度进行了描写和解释。

本书对270多个插入语的内在组合形式进行了详细的描写分类,发现它们在组合形式上的共同特点,即大多数插入语在形式上呈现出动词性,而且其中心词大都由“说”、“看”、“想”、“知”之类的动词充当,其中大多涉及第一人称、第二人称,而完全没有第三人称。这些组合形式上体现出来的倾向性为进一步探索插入语的来源提供了可能。

本书还描写了插入语的外部语法分布。从核心句和插入语的关系切入,在语料统计和分析的基础上,动态地描写了插入语的外部环境即语法分布。主要从三方面来考察:其一,根据插入语和核心句结合的紧密度,将插入语分为独立性插入语和黏着性插入语,并初步总结出插入语独立使用的规律;其二,根据插入语在核心句中的作用,将插入语分为连接性插入语和非连接性插入语。连接性的插入语在核心句中,具有预测语篇中其他成分出现的功能,对核心句的两部分的关系起强化作用;而非连接性插入语在核心句中并没有上述功能和作用。在研究中,笔者还发现有些插入语兼有连接性和非连接性两种不同属性。这为研究插入语的语法化提供了依据。其三,考察了插入语在核心句中的位置。一



般来说,连接性插入语的位置是固定的,我们称之为定位的插入语。其中有的居于核心句的两部分之间,这叫做后项插入语,也有的连接性插入语居于整个核心句之前,这叫做前项插入语。非连接性插入语的位置有的是定位的,如少量的插入语只能位于句中。大部分的位置是不定位的、灵活的。其中有的插入语以句首为优势位置,还有的插入语兼有句首、句中两个位置。我们对部分插入语的位置进行了抽样统计,提供了数据上的佐证。

对插入语进行语义分类是插入语研究的重点,历来分歧较大。通过对插入语中数量较大的“说”类等插入语的观察,笔者认为,插入语的语义是一种整体凝固的虚化的语义,这种语义来源于插入语的中心动词的意义发生虚化;插入语的语义更多地受语境的影响,体现为一种语用功能意义。在这个基础上,我们明确了插入语的本质功能——表达语言的主观性,并将插入语分为主观性插入语和交互主观性插入语。这就是插入语在语言中存在的价值。插入语的其他功能都依附于这种功能。这是本书强调的重点。

语言现象,确切地说,言语现象,既有客观的一面,也有主观的一面。由于说话人事实上总是和话语共同存在,他的主观意向、目的、观念就不能不烙印在话语中。笔者认为,说到底,插入语是一种表达语言主观性或者交互主观性的语言成分,它们附加在表示理性意义(逻辑意义)的核心句之上,帮助核心句加强、凸现和关注交际的双方:说话人和听话人。对于“说话人”来说,主要是直接通过“我”或者“内在的我”发表自己的观点,表述自己的感情,阐明自己的立场,对事件进行评价等;对于“听话人”来说,为了提高交际的效果,说者将注意力强烈地聚焦于“听话人”,以求得双方的互动:或者提醒听者注意自己的话,或者同听者商量,希望对方接受自己的观点,或者对听者进行一系列的言语行为——警告、辩解、告白等等。

笔者认为,这就是插入语存在的价值。插入语具有主观性功

能是我们对插入语的语义的一个总体概括,也是对以往纷繁复杂的语义研究的一个总结。

从这个观点出发,我们可以解释为什么插入语不是插在句子中间而仍然被认定为插入语。那就是因为,这些表示主观性的插入语本来就 and 核心句不在一个表达的层面上,核心句倾向于表达理性意义或者逻辑命题意义,而插入语则代表“言者主语”的存在。这时语言的表达系统不是一个线条性的单层结构,只传达客观事理和信息,而是一个双层的,甚至是多层的立体的表达系统,用于同时传递客观事理、信息以及主观观点、情感。

从这个观点出发,我们也能解释为什么插入语的语表形式那么复杂,我们仍然把它们归于一类。由于语言的实体形式言语只能以线性形式存在,表达语言主观性的语言成分就在语境作用下不断被压缩,从语表形式上看,就是从表示命题的插入成分压缩为动词短语,再从动词短语压缩成为我们称之为“固定短语的”的成分。但是,无论形式如何变化,插入语表达主观性的功能未变,它们就属于同一类。

最后,根据插入语组合形式上的突出特点,本书还探究了插入语的来源,笔者认为,插入语是语言中的某些形式经过语法化而来的,一般来说,只有符合以下几项条件的语言形式才能虚化为插入语:

1. 带 VP 的主谓结构、连动结构(句法限制);
2. 动词应该是表示言说、感知、思想意义的动词(语义限制);
3. 如果有主语,则应是第一人称或者第二人称的单数(语义限制)。

本书全面地研究了现代汉语中的插入语,界定了它的性质,从语表、语法、语义、语用功能几个方面深入地描写了插入语,并初步进行了理论的解释。

## **Abstract**

In traditional language research of the past, people's perception of parenthesis mainly focused on its functions and semantic classifications. What on earth is parenthesis like, what language forms does it take, how do these forms exist, why certain forms can exist in language, what are their primary forms, and what are their tendencies of development in language use? Till now, few people can expound these questions wholly and thoroughly.

In recent years, the development of linguistic theories, especially the development of discourse linguistics, has provided new perspective for us to comprehend this language phenomenon anew. Corpus linguistics has also equipped this research with a more powerful research method.

Over a long period of time, language analysis has set sentence as the upper unit limit, so has been the research on

parenthesis. Parenthesis has been regarded as a special part of sentence; parenthesis research methods have mainly been qualitative instinctive ones, which all failed to make breakthrough in this research.

Based on language corpus materials, this book explores into texts with parentheses from the perspective of text analysis, taking statistic method, especially sampling statistic method, to present a clear and thorough analysis of parenthesis.

To begin with, the research scope of parenthesis has been defined and research object has been determined through looking into various types of parenthesis phenomena. That is, C = . concrete or semi — concrete structural parenthesis, the typical kind of parenthesis with homogeneity is to be studied. The overall formal characteristics have been summed up: relative concreteness, attachment, and non semantic proposition, and thereby parenthesis has further been distinguished from words, phrases, collocations, interpose, connective words, discourse markers, etc. The author believes that parenthesis is neither phrase nor word, but a solid language element between word and phrase.

The value for these solid language elements to exist is focused on in this book. Therefore, it makes a multi — angle description and explanation about their internal form of combination, external grammatical distribution, semantic traits, pragmatic functions and sources, etc.

The external forms of over 270 parentheses are classified and described in details in the book, and their common features in internal form of combination have been discovered, i. e. most

parentheses display verb quality, their nucleus words are mainly words like “say”, “see”, “think”, “know” and so on, and most parentheses involve mainly first or second person, without third person at all. These tendencies show up in form make it possible to trace up their origin.

The book also describes the external grammatical distribution of parenthesis. Based on statistics and analysis of language materials, initiating from the relationship between core sentences and parentheses, it describes the external environment, i. e. grammatical distribution, of parenthesis from a dynamic perspective and examines from three aspects. First, according to the closeness in the integration of core sentences and parentheses, it categorizes parentheses into independent and bound ones, and primarily generalizes the rules for independent use of parentheses. Second, according to the functions of parentheses in core sentences, it categorizes parentheses into connective and non — connective ones. In core sentences, connective parentheses play the role of predicting the occurrence of other elements in texts and strengthen the tie between the two parts of the core sentences; whereas non — connective parentheses have no above role. In the research, the author also discovered that some parentheses have both connective and non — connective attributes, which provides foundation for studying the grammaticalization of parentheses. Third, it reviews the location of parentheses in core sentences. Generally speaking, the position of connective parentheses is fixed, which is named as locative parentheses. Among them, some lie between the two parts of core sentences, called rear parentheses; others lie before

the whole core sentences, called front parentheses. Some non-connective parentheses are locative, as a small number of parentheses can only be in the middle of sentences; while most of them are non-locative and flexible in position, among which, some have preferable front location in sentences, and some may take either front or middle locations. Sampling statistics was made on locations of parentheses to supply evidence in data.

Semantic classification is the key of parenthesis research and always tends to be divergent. Through much observation of parentheses with “say” and alike, the author believes the meaning of parentheses is totally solid and void, which derives from the void of the nucleus verbs in parentheses. The meanings of parentheses are much more influenced by language context and appear to be sort of functional meaning. On this basis, the function of parentheses by nature is to express language subjectivity, which leads to the classification of parentheses into subjective and reciprocal subjective ones. This is the existence value of parenthesis. All other functions of parenthesis count on this function. These are what the book emphasizes.

Language phenomena, more accurately speech phenomena, have both the objective side and the subjective side. Because speaker actually always coexists with discourse, his subjective intention, purpose and belief will inevitably stamp on discourse. The author believes, down to earth, parentheses are a kind of language elements conveying the subjectivity or interactive subjectivity of language. They are attached to core sentences expressing rational meanings (logical meanings) to help them reinforce, feature and associate the two sides of communication;

speaker and listener. For “speaker”, he expresses his view, conveys his emotion, illustrates his standpoint, and comments events through “I” or an “internalized I”. For “listener”, in order to promote communication effect, speaker focuses on “listener” to achieve mutual interaction; he may remind listener to pay attention to his words, consult with the listener to make him accept his view, or conduct a serial of speech acts like warning, exculpating, confessing, etc.

The author believes that this is the existence value of parenthesis. That parenthesis has subjective function is an overall generalization made about the language meaning of parenthesis, and is also a summary for the past diversified semantic researches.

From this viewpoint, it can be explained that even if parentheses do not appear in the middle of sentences they are still labeled as parenthesis, because these parentheses expressing subjectivity do not exist on the same level with core sentences indeed. Core sentences tend to carry rational meaning or logical propositional meaning, whereas parentheses represent the existence of “subject speaker”. In this case, the language system is not linear one—layer structure carrying objective information and theory, but a dimensional expressive system with two or more layers conveying objective information and theory and subjective attitude and emotion simultaneously.

From this viewpoint, it can also be explained why parentheses with so complex language surface forms still are categorized into one group. Because the entity form of language speech can only exist in linear form, language elements

expressing subjectivity are constantly compacted in speech contexts. Observing from language surface forms, they are inserted elements expressing proposition compacted into verbal phrase, which then in turn are compacted into the so called “collocation” elements. But no matter how the forms change, parentheses’ function of expressing subjectivity does not change, so they belong to one category.

Finally, according to the outstanding features of parentheses combination forms, the book seeks the origin of parentheses. The author considers that parenthesis originated from the grammaticalization of some forms in language. In general, only when they satisfy the following conditions could they void to become parenthesis.

1. Subject — predicate structures or verb chain structures with VP. (Syntactic restriction)
2. Verb should be the ones denoting saying, perceiving, or thinking. (Semantic restriction)
3. If there is subject, it should be of single first or second person. (Semantic restriction)

The book investigates into modern Chinese parenthesis from all sides, defines its nature, describes to depth from form, grammar and semantics, and makes primary theoretical illustration.



# 目 录

第一章 绪 论 .....	1
1.1 插入语研究概况 .....	1
1.2 插入语研究涉及的几个方面 .....	4
1.2.1 插入语的语表形式 .....	5
1.2.2 插入语的性质 .....	8
1.2.3 插入语的位置 .....	14
1.2.4 插入语的语义类别 .....	18
1.2.5 插入语的功能 .....	22
1.3 存在的问题和有待探索之处 .....	27
1.4 本书的目的和意义 .....	33
1.4.1 目 的 .....	33
1.4.2 本书研究的意义 .....	33
1.5 研究方法和语料来源 .....	35
1.6 本书的结构安排 .....	37