现代语言学名著选读

上 册

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现代语言学名著选读

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Readings in Linguistics:
Seventy-five Years since Saussure

Volume One

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序

　　刘润清等同志合编了这部《现代语言学名著选读》。承他们的好意,给我看了全部目录和部分样稿,并且要我写序。我想先借此机会说明一点想法:编写出版这样的书,不仅是有用的,而且是有重要意义的。

　　语言是人类须臾不可离的交际工具,也是人类区别于其他高级动物的重要标志。语言究竟是人的一种本能呢?还是完完全全是后天习得的,没有本能的因素呢?一般认为是后天习得的。有的语言学家认为"语言是人类共同具有的一种潜在能力",这样的表述,似乎与"本能"多少有点表层与深层的关系。生物学家们发现,各种动物,包括最低等的动物,生来就都有运用自己肢体某一部分的功能,达到保护自己,延续自己的生命的作用,也就是一种本能。例如:牛用角抵,甩尾巴驱赶牛虻;墨鱼在敌人追逐它的时候会放出一片墨色烟幕,遮住敌人视线,从而溜走,等等。刚刚降生到世界上来呱呱坠地的婴儿就会用嘴吃、喝,用呼吸器官呼吸,这当然是本能活动,那么那个"呱呱"哭算什么呢?这说明人生来就有完善的、灵活的发音器官,有比它的近亲——猿婴发达的大脑,难道唯独他就没有运用他的肢体这些部分的功能而产生的某种本能性的活动吗?换言之,语言果真完完全全没有一点本能的因素吗?似乎还有待进一步研究。

　　这里不是要讨论语言是否一种本能的问题。前边一段话的意思只是想说明,如果说语言完全是后天习得的话,那么首先是"自然习得",几乎是不需要人有目的、有计划的教就很快的、自然而然的习得了,多少有点像一种本能似的。而人们对于一切带本能性的、不学就会的东西,对于生活中须臾不可离的东西,往往越感觉不到它的重要性和复杂性,因而越切近人类生活的,司空见惯的事物,人们对它的认识越晚。比如人对空气、水和阳光的了解,历史很短。语言也一样。把它作为一门科学来进行研究,是从十八世纪出现了比较语言学以后才开始的。在此之前,有的研究是完全非科学的,例如关于"语言起源"的问题,各种奇谈怪论都有,闹得国际语言学会不得不宣布学会不再接受讨论这个问题的论文。有些局部的研究还是很有成果的,例如古印度、古希腊对于语法的研究,我们中国对于文字训诂之学的研究,等等。但是把语言作为一个整体,全面的、系统的、科学的进行研究,确是开始得很晚的,比算术、几何、天文、历法等等晚多了。大概也正是由于开始太晚,年轻、不成熟,于是从这门科学诞生之日起,就出现了多种流派,而且随着语言科学的发展,流派越来越多。各种流派都有一得之见,都能自圆其说,言之成理,持之有故,否则就不为社会所承认,就站不住脚。但是,每一种流派的理论都不是完美无缺的,它也在不断修改、完善。以结构主义语言学派为例,它的产生是有一定背景的,它根据某种语言的语音就可以了解这种语言的语法结构,因此结构主义语言学宣称它不理会语义。但语言作为一种交际工具,是用来传递信息,达到相互了解的目的的,研究语言而不理会语义是不可能的。这个学派现在已放弃了原来的观点。因此对语言科学的各个流派,既不宜全盘肯定,也不宜全盘否定。

　　自从语言学成为一门科学以后,人类对语言的认识,诸如对语言的性质、功能、发展、变化,以及语言与经济生活及科学技术的关系等等的认识,有了长足的进步。语言学对于人类的经济生活,对于科学技术的进步发生了重大的影响。首先认识到语言学的重要性的是科学技术界:因为要进行新的科学技术革命,必须以信息技术革命为先导。目前一些发达国家正

在研制第五代电子计算机,这将是一种能够理解人类自然语言的电子计算机,而这种计算机的研制必须以语言学理论为指导。因此科学技术界十分重视语言学的研究和应用,从而推动了语言学的发展。

但是无可否认,社会上有相当多的人认识不到语言科学的重要性。奇怪的是,最不重视的恰恰是语言教育界,包括教母语的和教第二语言的。他们总觉得人人都会说话,凡是识字的人都会读会写,无须掌握语言学理论,意识不到语言学理论对改进教学的益处,以及缺少这种知识的害处。尤其是在基础教育阶段,教的都是最基本的东西,更使人感觉不到用语言学理论来指导的必要性和重要性,A、B、C、D,用什么理论指导,还是 A、B、C、D,教不出什么新花样来,总认为讲语言学理论是高等学校或高等学校以后的事情。其实,情况几乎是恰恰相反。越是在基础教育阶段,越需要语言学理论,用以指导教学计划、教学内容和教学方法的制定、教材编写的原则和方法的确定等。有没有理论的指导,差别是很大的。在基础教育阶段,语言学理论的指导作用最大。对理论的领会正确与否,运用是否得当,关系到语言教育的成败。现在的情况是在最需要理论指导的教育阶段却最忽视理论。如果这种状况继续下去,语言教育的前途是不妙的。语言教育搞不好,我们的后代怎样能适应现代社会经济生活和科学技术发展的要求呢?刘润清等同志编的这部书,选取世界语言学界各种流派的各种语言理论,让各方面的人,包括语文教师,有所接触,有所了解,其重要意义就在于此。

我们应该诚诚实实的说,我国近代、当代的各种语言学理论、流派,都是从西方引进的。引进是好事,值得欢迎。我们认为,那些把西方左一派右一派的语言学理论引进中国的同志的工作是很有价值的。在这方面,还应多作些努力。但是在这个问题上有两点必须明确。一点是要明确引进的目的,这一点前面已谈到,不再重复。更重要有一点是要明确如何引进,引进来如何运用。汉语是汉藏语系的一个语支,是非形态语言,它同我们接触最多的印欧语系各语支相比,差别是很大的。对于这一点必须有清醒的认识。从西方引进的各种语言学流派的理论不是从天上掉下来的,也不是语言学家头脑里空想出来的,而是建立在他们最熟悉的印欧语系各语支的研究的基础上的,而这些语言在语音、词汇、语法等方面与汉语差别很大。例如,就语音论,汉语(普通话)音素较少,元音有单复之分,但单元音无长短之分;辅音无清浊之分,有送气、不送气之分,无复辅音;每个音节可有四个不同的调(通称四声),声调有区别意义的作用,很重要,几个音节连在一起时,或无轻重之分,或有而不区别意义,只有表示不同语气之分,少数也有区别意义的作用,比较之下,轻重音的重要性,远不能与声调相提并论,如此等等。就词汇、语法言,关键的是没有形态变化;因而划分词类很困难,不能靠形态,不应只靠意义,那么靠什么作为划分的标准,还在探索之中;从而使句子的构成规律也还处于探索阶段;语素以单音节的为主体,没有形素、义素之分,因而,若用西方语言里语素、词、词组的概念来处理汉语,则三者交叉部分很大,界线不明。再加上个文字问题,汉字是一个独特的文字系统,是别的国家所没有的。它是一种音节文字,每个"字"表示一个音节,这与汉语无形态是相适应的。既无形态,就根本不需要只表形素的那种语素符号,从实用角度考虑,有音节符号就够用了。这是东西方各种语言的文字都是从图画文字、象形文字开始,西方的逐渐发展为字母文字(或称音素文字,或称拼音文字),而汉字则发展到以"形声"字为主不再向字母化(或音素化)前进的根本原因。文字和语言是必须统一研究的,不能分割开来看,文字归文字,语言归语言,因为归根到底,文字是为记写语言用的,什么样的语言就需要一套什么样的符号(文字)去记写它。它们必须是(或说必然是)相互适应(首先是文字适应语言)又相互影响、相互制约的。无论如何,文字和语言绝非各行其是,互不相干的。仅从上述汉字的几种特点,就可以看出汉语与印欧语言的差异有多大。引进的各派语言学理论,各自都有其语言事实作依据。但是这些语言学家很少研究汉语(有所研究,知汉语很深,是少数;有的所知

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不多,有的甚至全然不知)。这就使他们的理论只适用部分语言——主要是印欧语言,这是一个客观事实,是任何一个语言学家都无法避免的。我们不能苛求每个语言学家都得精通世界上的所有语言。汉语、英语使用的人口最多,使用的地区范围最广,但毕竟不是全世界的语言,因此不论是以汉语为基础的语言学理论,还是以英语为基础的语言学理论,都难免有偏颇之处。至少也要把汉语、英语两种语言都搞透彻,以此为基础得出的理论才能符合世界语言实际的绝大部分(就人口和地区论),尽管还不是全部。若丢掉了实际作用中的语言的一半,只以其中之一为基础得出的理论,局限性就太大了。但是,现代西方语言学家有非常值得我们学习的东西,那就是他们研究语言的科学态度和科学方法。近几百年来,我国在科举考试和八股文的统治下,科学在世界上落后了,传统很深,科学习惯很差,谈问题习惯于感想式、评论式,最多是定性分析,缺乏量的观念和量的分析。在欧洲,从哥白尼时代起,就重视了量和对量的科学分析,光波、声波等都可以作定量分析,不仅仅是感官的直觉了。用量来表示事物的性质和变化,形成了科学。但我们至今还不大习惯于这样做。尽管我们懂得量与质的辩证关系,照说应当更全面一些,可惜至今还没有达到这样的境界。我们应该取人之长、补己之短,也就是学习西方各种语言学流派的科学态度和科学方法,而不是记住他们的结论就满足了。他们的结论对我们的语言来说,有的可能是适应的,有的则可能很不适应。如果我们把他们的科学态度和科学方法学到手,并加以改进,这对于研究我们的语言,形成我们的语言学理论,以至形成既适用于我们自己的语言,又适用于别的语言的语言学理论,将会大有好处。这应当是我们努力的目标。

过去,对外国语言学著作引进太少,这与忽视语言学理论的重要性有关。现在一下子大量引进是不可能的,因而先来选编很有必要。但选编的工作难度很大。首先是选,许多流派的著述很多,而且这些流派的理论本身也在发展变化,怎么选法?其次是选出来以后,介绍这一流派、这一学者的概貌,以至注释、翻译都是难题。克服这些困难,要靠大家,不能只靠少数人。《选读》这部书选、编、介绍下了很大功夫,是郑重其事的,辛苦的。作得怎么样,留给读者去评论,我不需要多说。但是我要说无论如何,这个工作对语言学理论的普及,对科学技术的发展,是大有益处的,带有开创性的,因而是可贵的,值得欢迎的,值得向有关的读者推荐的。

张志公
1988 年 5 月

编者的话

在信息时代,人类文明越来越取决于信息的迅速交流。语言是信息交流的根本手段,对语言的研究也就日益重要。虽然现代语言学才有几十年的发展史,但是语言学著作已经成为人类思想宝库的组成部分。近年来,语言学又浸透到许多其他学科,出现了应用语言学,心理语言学,社会语言学,计算机语言学,神经语言学等。目前,世界上从事语言研究的人日益增多,中国的语言工作者的队伍也日益壮大;与语言有关的科研项目纷纷出现。

然而,我国对西方语言学的介绍和了解只是近几年的事。其中,一个突出的问题就是图书奇缺,材料零散,书架上仅有的几本书大都是转述他人思想的著作。研究者渴望领略一下原著的风采,亲自看看那些闻名世界的语言思想家到底说了些什么。但是,这些经典名著不易到手,或者费用无力支付,或者早已售罄或绝版。为了解决这一燃眉之急,我们编选了这本语言学名著选读,为广大语言学研究者,教师,研究生,英语系和中文系的大学生,特别是为数众多的语言学自修者所使用;并把它作为中央电视大学继续教育的教材,配之以讲座,使自修者顺利跨入语言学大门。

我们的编选原则是:(1)既照顾到语言学的系统性,又要反映不同学派的观点;(2)既照顾到当前的最新发展,又要反映思想的沿革;(3)所选著作都是现代的(二十世纪以来的),皆出自名家之手,既有独到之处,又代表某学派的主要观点;(4)在评介中,力求全面、客观;只写事实真相,不褒扬一派,贬斥其他。

应该说,用一千多页的文字,反映八十年的语言学思想史,不是一件容易的事。况且,没有类似的选读可以借鉴。马丁·袭斯1957年的选读本已经过时;其他读本都是就某一专题而编选。在选谁,不选谁,选哪篇,选多少等问题上,我们确实煞费苦心。我们原计划多选几篇,由于篇幅所限,只好忍痛割爱,在评介中多写几笔。虽然我们已尽力审慎裁夺,但仍会由于水平所限而造成遗漏。同行学者如对文章的选编另有高见,敬请不吝赐教,我们深表谢意,待修订时加以纠正。

编　者
一九八八年元旦
于北京外国语学院

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PREFACE

In the present era, with its emphasis on the rapid transfer and transmission of information, it follows that an increasing amount of attention has been focused on our principal means of communication - human language. Linguistics, the scientific study of language, is comparatively young but has grown considerably throughout this century. Apart from what might be considered the mainstream of the subject, the last few decades have seen the emergence of Applied Linguistics concerned with the teaching and learning of languages, of Psycholinguistics, of Sociolinguistics, of Neurolinguistics and of Computational Linguistics.

It is therefore not surprising that interest in these areas has been growing also in China. However, for a variety of reasons, there remains a shortage of material for those interested particularly in the developments that have taken place in Europe and North America. Much of the material available in China on such developments is secondary and derivative. While this is undoubtedly useful in its own right, the primary sources are also valuable. It is in this light, and with a view to providing access to material that is often difficult or impossible to get, that we have compiled an edited selection of original works.

Given the obvious limitations of space in this two volume edition, certain principles of selection have been followed. Firstly, we have restricted the period covered to the linguistics of this century and have taken as a starting point the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, a scholar whom many would consider to be the father of modern lingustics. Secondly, in attempting to portray the development and evolution of linguistic theory since de Saussure, we have tried to choose the most important and seminal works. This is, of course, to some extent subjective, as students and scholars of differing perspectives might consider that works reflecting their persuasion are more significant than those of others. Consequently, the precise proportions allotted to any point of view could probably never be neutrally resolved. Thirdly, we have also tried to reflect the broad evolution in linguistics this century that progressively emphasised first Phonology, then Morphology, Syntax, Semantics and most recently, Pragmatics. While this progression is by no means the case for all the "schools", as different theories have emphasised many facets of language, such a trend is broadly evident. Finally, we have endeavoured to recognise contributions from the various competing "schools" that have at different times held sway and to represent their views in our comments without offering criticism that can too often become partisan. We realise that this, as with the selection of the excerpts and extracts themselves, is a virtually impossible goal but one worth striving for

nonetheless.

If our ignorance of this intrinsically interesting field has resulted in omissions, we trust the reader will be ready to comment.

To those who are less well-informed, we hope that these volumes may provide a helpful introduction. To those who are better-informed, we hope they may prove useful reference works or promote debate. The bibliography is intended to complement those extracts lacking their own references and to serve as a resource for further reading.

Thanks are due to the British Council/Overseas Development Administration for their support.

1 现代语言学的开端

《普通语言学教程》节选

F·de 索绪尔

编者评述：

  人们通常认为,现代语言学始于本世纪初,语言学的新纪元是由瑞士语言学家费尔迪南·德·索绪尔开创的。当时,是索绪尔指出了系统研究语言的新方向,才使得二十世纪语言学取得了巨大的成就。

  本世纪初,索绪尔在日内瓦大学讲授普通语言学。他逝世之后,他的两位同事(查尔斯·巴利和阿尔帕特·薛施蔼)整理了学生的笔记,编辑成书,于 1916 年出版,成了现在举世闻名的《普通语言学教程》。此书在语言学界产生了深远的影响,因此人们普遍认为索绪尔是二十世纪语言学的开山祖。

  《普通语言学教程》由一个导论和五大部分组成。导论简单叙述了语言的定义,语言学研究的范围,以及语言与文字和语音的关系。第一部分是一般原理,主要讲语言符号的性质,符号的不可变性和可变性,以及静态语言学和演化语言学中的各种理论。第二部分是共时语言学,主要讲语言的具体实体,实体的统一性,现实性和价值,以及组合关系和联想关系。第三部分是历时语言学,主要讨论语音的演变,语音演变给语法带来的后果,类比与演变的关系,类比与粘合的作用等。第四部分是地理语言学,主要叙述语言的地理差异,产生地理差异的原因,以及这种差异产生的影响。第五部分是回顾语言学,主要论述语言的重建问题,和语言研究对人类学和史前学的贡献。

  索绪尔的根本观点是,语言符号是任意的。他认为,语言是一个符号系统,符号是施指(声音形象)和受指(概念)的联合。施指与受指之间没有天然的联系。英语中用/dog/这串音来表示的动物,汉语用/gou/ 来表示。这种任意性的重要意义是,一种语言不是给独立存在的概念赋予任意的名称,而是在施指和受指之间创建自己的一套任意关系。换句话说,每种语言都任意地把世界划分成若干实体,再选择自己的概念表达出来。

  索绪尔为语言学所作的三种区分,直到今天仍有重大意义。第一,他把语言分成语言和言语。语言是指语言的系统,是一套符号系统;言语是实际运用的话语,即以语言系统为基础的言语行为。语言是一个人学习语言时所消化了的东西,是抽象的,是属于全社会的,它使一个言语社团的成员能够相互交流。言语是具体的,属于个人的,是语言系统的具体实现。区分语言和言语,也就是区分什么是社会的,什么是个人的,什么是根本的,什么是偶然的。语言学家的任务是研究语言,即语言的系统。

  第二,索绪尔区分了共时语言学和历时语言学。语言存在于时间,并随着时间的推移而变化。如果,我们研究存在于某段时间内的语言,即某时的语言状态所呈现的系统,那就是共时语言学。如果研究语言的发展和演变,即比较两个或两个以上时期的语言状态,就是历时语言学。二者相比,共时研究应居首位,因为要先把每个语言状态进行描写和分析,才有可能

进行比较。不过,区分共时语言学和历时语言学并不容易,因为在不同地区语言变化的速度不同,方式不同,使共时现象和历时现象交错在一起。

第三,索绪尔区分了组合关系和联想关系。组合关系是指在文字或口语的线性结构中一个语言成分与其他语言成分的关系。组合关系就是共现关系,也就是整体与部分和部分与整体的关系。联想关系是语言成分之间的关系;这种关系的产生不是由于几个成分同时出现于一个结构,而是由于它们同属一种语言,而且由于它们的相似或区别而发生联系。现在,这种关系通常称为聚合关系。

这里从《普通语言学教程》中选录的几章,详细地阐述了以上几种观点。

1. EARLY MODERN LINGUISTICS

FERDINAND DE SAUSSURE

Course in General Linguistics (1916) Eds. C. Bally and A. Sechehaye. Revised English Edition, Collins (1974). Parts 1 & 2.

It is often maintained that modern linguistics began at the turn of this century with the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure for he redefined the systematic study of language in such a way as to set the context for many of the achievments of twentieth-century linguistics.

De Saussure taught general linguistics at the University of Geneva in the early years of this century. After his death, two of his colleagues (Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye) collected and compiled his students' lecture notes and had them published in 1916 as the now famous "Cours de Linguistique Generale". It is through the influence of this book that de Saussure is widely held to be the founder of twentieth-century linguistics.

The "Course in General Linguistics" is composed of five sections apart from an introduction. The introduction gives de Saussure's definition of language, outlines the scope of linguistics and presents certain principles for the study of phonology and writing systems.

Part 1: General Linguistics discusses the symbolic nature of language, the mutability and immutability of the linguistic sign and various principles in static and evolutionary linguistics.

Part 2: Synchronic Linguistics examines the concrete entities of language, their identities, realities and values and considers syntagmatic and associative relations.

Part 3: Diachronic Linguistics examines phonetic changes, the grammatical consequences of phonetic evolution, the relation between analogy and evolution and between analogy and agglutination.

Part 4: Geographical Linguistics is concerned with the geographical diversity of languages, its causes and implications.

Part 5: Retrospective Linguistics concerns reconstructions of languages and the contribution of language study to anthropological and prehistorical research.

Central to de Saussure's views is the arbitrary nature of the linguistic sign. He viewed language as a system of signs where the sign is a union of the signifier (the sound image) and the signified (the idea). There is no natural or inevitable connection between the signifier and the signified. English uses the sound sequence /dog/ to refer to an animal of a particular species while Chinese uses /gou/ to denote the same animal. The important implication of this observation is that a language does not simply assign arbitrary names to a set of independently existing concepts but rather sets up an arbitrary relation between signifiers and signifieds of its own construction. In other words each language has an arbitrary way of organising the world into concepts and categories.

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De Saussure made three distinctions which remain interesting and important to linguistics to-day. The first is that between langue (broadly speaking, language) and parole (broadly speaking, speech). Langue is the system of a language, the language as a system of signs, whereas parole is actual speech, the speech acts which are made possible by the language. Langue is what the individual assimilates when he learns a language; it is social and abstract and enables the members of a speech community to communicate linguistically. Parole, on the other hand, is individual and concrete; it is the realization of the language system. In separating langue from parole, we are separating what is social from what is individual and what is essential from what is accidental. The task of the linguist is to study langue, language as a system.

The second distinction is that between synchronic and diachronic linguistics. Language exists in time and changes through time. If our study is concerned with language at one point in time, that is the linguistic system in that particular state, then it is synchronic linguistics. If it is concerned with the development or evolution of language, that is comparison of two or more language states, then it is diachronic linguistics. Synchronic study is given priority because unless each state of the language is described and analysed, there cannot logically be any comparisons or diachronic studies. However, it is no straightforward task to separate the synchronic from the diachronic as language changes at different rates in different ways in different communities, resulting in the intertwining of the two.

The third distinction is that between syntagmatic and associative relations. Syntagmatic relations refer to the relations a linguistic element enters into with other elements in a serial or linear structure in writing or in the temporal stream of speech. They are relations of cooccurrence, relations that link the whole structure to its parts and vice versa. Associative relations refer to the relations that obtain between elements, not because they belong to the same structural stream or message but because they belong to the same language and with which they are associated through similarity or difference. Such relationships are now more usually called paradigmatic.

The chapters selected here from the "Course in General Linguistics" are intended to expand and explain further the ideas that have been outlined above.

PART ONE

General Principles

Chapter I

NATURE OF THE LINGUISTIC SIGN

1. *Sign, Signified, Signifier*

Some people regard language, when reduced to its elements, as a naming-process only — a list of words, each corresponding to the thing that it names. For example:

This conception is open to criticism at several points. It assumes that ready-made ideas exist before words (on this point, see below, p. 111) [1]; it does not tell us whether a name is vocal or psychological in nature (*arbor*, for instance, can be considered from either viewpoint); finally, it lets us assume that the linking of a name and a thing is a very simple operation — an assumption that is anything but true. But this rather naive approach can bring us near the truth by showing us that the linguistic unit is a double entity, one formed by the associating of two terms.
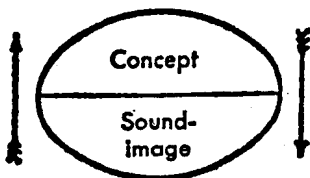

ARBOR

EQUOS

etc.   etc.
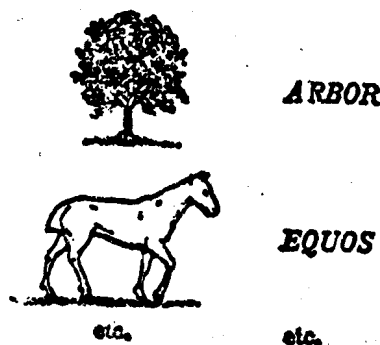
We have seen in considering the speaking-circuit (p. 11) that both terms involved in the linguistic sign are psychological and are united in the brain by an associative bond. This point must be emphasized.

The linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and a sound-image. ①The latter is not the material sound, a purely physical thing, but the psychological imprint of the sound, the impression that it makes on our senses. The sound-image is sensory, and if I happen to call it "material," it is only in that sense, and by way of opposing it to the other term of the association, the concept, which is generally more abstract.

The psychological character of our sound-images becomes apparent when we observe our own speech. Without moving our lips or tongue, we can talk to ourselves or recite mentally a selection of verse. Because we regard the words of our language as sound-images, we must avoid speaking of the "phonemes" that make up the words. This term, which suggests vocal activity, is applicable to the spoken word only, to the realization of the inner image in discourse. We can avoid that misunderstanding by speaking of the *sounds* and *syllables* of a word provided we remember that the names refer to the sound-image.

The linguistic sign is then a two-sided psychological entity that can be represented by the drawing:

The two elements are intimately united, and each recalls the other. Whether we try to find the meaning of the Latin word *arbor* or the word that Latin uses to designate the concept "tree," it is clear that only the associations sanctioned by that language appear to us to conform to reality, and we disregard whatever others might be imagined.

Our definition of the linguistic sign poses an important question of terminology. I call the combination of a concept and a sound-image a *sign*, but in current usage the term generally designates only a sound-image, a word, for example (*arbor*, etc.). One tends to forget that *arbor* is called a sign only because it carries the concept "tree," with the result that the idea of the sensory part implies the idea of the whole.

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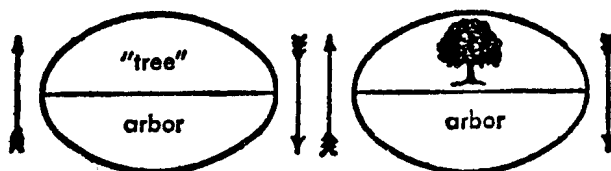
① Page numbers in brackets refer to pages in the original.