

SIBE GRAMMAR

锡伯语语法研究

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松山省書



永年堂

序 一

三年前，中央民族歌舞团锡伯族舞蹈专家春英老师告诉我，她在新疆锡伯族纪念西迁的大会上，见到张泰镐先生，他已经能用流利的锡伯语进行交流。我没有感到意外。因为，这是泰镐长期深入察布查尔锡伯自治县调查，学习锡伯语的必然结果。我深感欣慰。泰镐即将出版他的专著《锡伯语语法研究》一书，是他十多年默默潜心研究的结晶，辛勤耕耘终于到了收获的季节。

张泰镐先生很早就对阿尔泰语感兴趣，并在韩国师从著名阿尔泰学家成百仁教授学习满语等阿尔泰语系语言。后又赴美国深造，攻读硕士学位。在此期间，泰镐不仅进一步学习了阿尔泰语，而且学到了现代语言理论和方法。1999年他到中央民族大学，成为戴庆厦教授和我的博士研究生。我曾给他开设过满语以及有关锡伯族的课程，他也曾向锡伯语专家曾麟先生和春英老师学习过锡伯语口语，收获很大。第二学年，泰镐携妻子儿女前往新疆调查锡伯语，并开始撰写论文。毕业时，他的博士论文《锡伯语语法研究》受到评委的一致好评，顺利通过答辩，获得博士学位。

泰镐并没到此止步。毕业后不久，经戴庆厦教授和我的推荐，前往新疆大学继续调查、学习、研究锡伯语，进一步修改他的论文。通过几年的刻苦钻研，虚心学习，他的锡伯语语言文学水平有了长足进步，他的论文也日臻成熟，达到了出版的水平。

锡伯族原来生活在我国东北三省，18世纪为了戍边，一部分

锡伯族西迁至新疆伊犁河畔，距今已200多年。留居在东北的锡伯族早已转用汉语，迁徙至新疆的锡伯族则保留了自己的语言。阿尔泰语系满一通古斯语族中只有锡伯语有文献，并直到现在还使用口语。因此，值得学术上的研究。所以，当务之急是广泛搜集锡伯语的材料，加强对锡伯语的研究。以前，国内外学者也曾对锡伯语进行过一些研究，但以丰富可靠的材料，在现代语言学理论和方法的指导下，对锡伯语的语音、语法、句法进行全面细致研究的著作尚不多见。泰镐《锡伯语语法研究》的出版，无疑是弥补了这方面的不足，是锡伯语研究的丰硕成果，对阿尔泰语和满一通古斯语的历史比较研究一定会起到促进作用。

我希望张泰镐先生继续努力，争取更大的成绩。

是为序。

季永海

2007年3月18日

于中央民族大学语言文学系

Foreword I

Three years ago, a renowned dancing expert, Ms. Chun Ying of the Central Music and Dancing Group for Nationalities, told me that she had seen Taeho Jang during the memorial ceremony of the Xinjiang Sibe nationality's immigration to the west, and that she had found out that he used fluent Sibe language to communicate with Sibe people. Hearing that news, I didn't think it surprising because it is a natural result of Taeho Jang's long research endeavors. In pursuing his research he even lived deep in the Chabucha'er Xibo Autonomous County and studied the Sibe language. I was very pleased and happy for him. Taeho is going to publish his specialized book *Sibe Grammar*, which is the fruit of more than ten years' of focused research. His hard work has finally come to fruition.

Mr. Taeho Jang became interested in the Altaic languages long ago. He began studying Altaic languages such as Manchu in Korea from the renowned Altaic language scholar, Prof. Seong Baegin. Later he went to the United States for further study and achieved a Master degree. During this time, Taeho not only studied the Altaic languages, but also studied modern linguistic theory and practice. In 1999, he came to the Central University

for Nationalities in Beijing, and became Prof. Dai Qingxia's postgraduate student in the doctoral program. I provided him with Manchu and Sibe language related courses, as well as some courses on Sibe people and culture. He also studied spoken Sibe from Mr. Zeng Lin and Ms. Chun Ying and made great progress. For the second year of the course, Taeho, taking his wife and children along, moved to Xinjiang Region to do survey work on the Sibe language and to begin writing his dissertation. At graduation, his Ph.D. dissertation *Sibe Grammar* received unanimous praise from the examining committee. He smoothly passed the defense and achieved the Ph.D. degree.

Taeho did not stop here. Not long after graduation, with the recommendation of Prof. Dai Qingxia and myself, he moved to Xinjiang University to continue his survey, study, and research of Sibe language, and to revise and upgrade his dissertation. Through many years of painstaking hard work and humble study, his level as a scholar of the linguistics of the Sibe language achieved great progress, and his dissertation also became more refined in order to reach the standard required for publication.

The Sibe nationality originally used to live in the three north-east provinces of our country. In the eighteenth century, for the purpose of defending the border, some of the Sibe nationality immigrated to the Yili river area in Xinjiang Region. This took place about 200 years ago. Those who had not left and stayed in the north-east already had begun to solely use Mandarin for communication. Those Sibe people who had immigrated to Xinjiang preserved their own language and literature. Among the Manchu-Tungus languages of the Altaic language family, only

the Sibe language has its literature and its spoken language in use together. For this reason, it can be said that it is worthy of academic research. The urgent thing to do now is to collect all of the wide-spread Sibe language related materials, and reinforce the study of the Sibe language. In the past, national and overseas scholars also conducted some research on the Sibe language. But there has not been much research on Sibe phonology, morphology, and syntax, done with plentiful and reliable materials and conducted on the strong basis of modern linguistic theory and practice. For this reason, the publication of Taeho's Sibe Grammar doubtlessly makes up for these weaknesses in this part of the field. It can also be said that this book is a great achievement for the study of Sibe language. It definitely has a role in promoting the historical comparative study of the Altaic languages and Manchu-Tungus languages.

I hope Mr. Jang Taeho will continue to work hard and will continue to achieve great things in the future.

Ji YONGHAI

Central University for Nationalities
Department of Linguistics and Literatures
18 March 2007

序 二

世界少数民族语文研究院（SIL）东亚部很荣幸能与云南民族出版社携手出版张泰镐博士撰写的《锡伯语语法研究》一书，此书的出版对国际上锡伯语言结构的研究，将作出重要的贡献。

基于对锡伯语深厚的认识，张泰镐博士引用了西方描述语言学的框架，着重对锡伯口语和书面语变化的方方面面进行比较。另外，作者注意介绍分析锡伯语话语篇章的重要特征，深入分析锡伯语的语音、词法与语法。这种结合多元角度的分析方法，使得这本著作更具有独特的学术价值。

秉承过去的合作经验，SIL东亚部和云南民族出版社这次再度跨大领域合作出版大西北语种，我们期待将来持续有更多元、多样的合作方式。

世界少数民族语文研究院东亚部主任

艾磊（BRYAN ALLEN）

2008年3月

Foreword II

SIL East Asia Group is extremely pleased to partner with the Yunnan Nationalities Publishing House in publishing Dr. Taeho Jang's study of the Sibe language. This work represents an important contribution to international scholarship regarding the linguistic structures of Sibe.

Dr. Jang's study is based on his intimate knowledge of the Sibe language. His description draws on Western frameworks for linguistic description, and emphasizes comparison of the spoken and written varieties of Sibe. Additionally, Dr. Jang's book introduces important discourse features of the Sibe language alongside its detailed treatment of Sibe phonology and morphosyntax. The combination of these various perspectives makes this a work of unique value.

The publication of this book represents a continuation of the very fruitful partnership enjoyed by SIL East Asia Group and The Nationalities Publishing House of Yunnan. We are delighted that this partnership is being expanded to include this study of a minority language from the far Northwest, and we eagerly anticipate continued cooperation in many different areas.

BRYAN ALLEN, Director
SIL East Asia Group
March 2008

前 言

从事锡伯语研究近十年以来,我认识到,过去锡伯语中口语和书面语的有效融合与转换,得益于周围生存环境相对封闭的影响。伴随新时代的到来,口语适应社会变革的步伐加快,而作为书面语的使用范围越来越小。书面语和口语进一步走向分离已成事实,造成目前许多年轻人会说不会写的现状。在这样的情况下,为了锡伯语的未来发展,以现代口语为基础发展书面语是必需的。但研究口语和书面语关系的资料不多。为此,我先后从口语和书面语的研究与对比入手,采用现代西方语言学理论和方法,以我毕业时的博士论文为基础,增加部分书面语语音和书面语、口语之间语音、词法、句法的比较这两大内容,完成了这部拙作。

在这本书中我使用了我搜集的民间故事的自然话语素材(a corpus of folktale narratives),并且采用了现代西方语言学理论和用电脑语言分析的方法。至于描述内容的方法,我尝试使其与中国语言学的结构相符合。为了达到这个目的,我用中国语言学和西方语言学作诸多对比,试着将中国语言学和西方语言学相融合。

希望能得到更多同道们的指点和帮助。

张泰镐

2008年3月

Preface

Pursuing the study of the Sibe language for ten years, I came to realize that the effective harmonization and conversion between the spoken and written Sibe of the past had profited from the relatively restricted environmental situation. Along with the arrival of the new era, the spoken language adapted itself to the fast changes in society, and the range in which the written language was used became more and more narrow. It became inevitable that the spoken and the written language would be separated from each other. This produced a situation where many Sibe from the younger generation could not write Sibe language but could speak it. With this kind of situation, for the prosperous future of Sibe language, it is necessary to develop the written language on the basis of the modern spoken language. However, there are not many materials regarding the relationship of Sibe written language and spoken language. For this reason, in my study, I adopted the method of comparison between spoken and written language. Based upon my Ph.D. dissertation, by adding the phonology part of written Sibe and a comparative study of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of written and spoken Sibe, I finished writing this humble work.

In this book I used a corpus of folktale narratives collected by myself as language data, and adopted the linguistic theory of the West and computational linguistic analytic methodology. As for the style of describing the content, I tried to conform to the system of Chinese linguistics. In order to do this I tried to blend Chinese linguistics and Western linguistics by including various comparative items from Chinese and Western linguistics.

I hope to receive more advice and comments from other scholars in this field.

TAEHO JANG
March 2008

摘 要

本研究主要是描写关于现代锡伯语的语音、词法、句法、话语(discourse)结构的分析结果,并根据一般语言学理论说明在分析过程中发现的新事项。

在语音方面,涉及到口语和书面语的音位分析及比较。在词法以及句法方面,以口语为主进行了分析,以及口语和书面语的比较分析。在话语(discourse)方面,以口语为主进行了分析。

锡伯语是锡伯族人使用的语言。1764年,一部分锡伯族军民迁移至新疆,由此使锡伯语开始得以保存并使用到现在。锡伯语属阿尔泰语系满一通古斯语族满语支,目前使用锡伯语的人在满一通古斯语的人群当中人数最多。锡伯语有自己的文字,分书面语和口语。

关于书面语和口语的关系,本篇研究中主要提供以下两个方面的线索。从语音发展变化可窥见具有复杂形态的书面语逐渐演变为发音较简练的口语过程。那种变化是历史的原因导致的历时(diachronic)变化,而且时至今日,也是懂得书面语和口语的锡伯说话者中往往发生的共时(synchronic)变化。即,书面语和口语的关系在语音方面,并非是相互完全分离的,而是锡伯语以一种底层形式存在,而其底层形式语又通过两种形式(书面语和口语形式)来表现。

本文为了掌握目前在新疆普遍使用的锡伯口语内部固有规则,区分语言所具有的形态和功能,重点分析了两者之间的关系。

在语音部分,以斯瓦迪斯词表(Swadesh word list)作为分析对象,在口语中8个元音和19个辅音已确定了一种音位系统,并与音位变体一起作了介绍。确定了书面语中有元音7个,辅音18个,一共有25个音位以及它们的音位变体。并且,详细说明了书面语音位在口语中如何发音的。

对于形成其音位变体的语音过程中出现的规则,又分为“元音影响辅音的语音过程;辅音影响元音的语音过程;因音节结构发生变化的语音过程”等作了详细的介绍。其次,还对口语的4种音节结构和口语与书面语的重音规则作了进一步的说明。

关于书面语和口语语音的关系,以“音节结构的变化,元音的变化,辅音的变化”3个方面作了说明。此3种变化相互有密切的关系。书面语变为现代口语的重要标志是音节重新划分(resyllabification)过程。即,不带重音的单词最后的开音节脱落。此过程造成辅音在不同的音节位置和环境上有弱化或强化,元音在音位表上有向前或向上的倾向。这一分析结果提供了一个词既可以用书面语的形式来发音,又可以用口语形式来发音的语音理论。

关于词法和句法分析中使用的语言材料,主要使用民间故事中的自然话语素材,揭示了在目前使用语言环境下的锡伯语形态与功能间的关系。从形态与功能上比较、分析在语言资料中所发现的全部语言形态时,通过使用电脑软件减少了错误和遗漏等。

首先,综合分析了在语言资料中发现的所有词,并按其特性分类后在词法部分中作了进一步的说明。词法中把词分为12类,并作了说明,又根据在句子中独立性的程度分为实词和虚词。在句子中,独立性较强的实词包括名词、代词、数词、量词、动词、形容词、副词。名词的语法范围分为数、人称领属、格和性。名词的格范畴又分为11种。动词的语法范围分为时态、式、体和语态。其次,对于时态(分2种)、式(分10种)、体(分4种)、语态(分3种)作了进一步的介绍。动词的形式包括静词形式和副动形式。静词形式包括名动形式和形动形式,形动形式又细分为两种形式。副

动形式又细分为6种。还介绍了动词的特殊形式,包括系词、双语动词、助动词、能愿动词、否定动词、状态变化动词6种。虚词包括连词、后置词、摹拟词、叹词以及小词。

在句法部分中,首先,对形成句子过程中词与句子中间阶段的词组,按照结构和功能作了分类说明。句子是表达意思的基本单位,组成句子的成分分为主语、谓语、宾语、补语、定语、状语、独立语7种。句子根据其结构分为单句和复句。单句又从结构上分为主谓句和非主谓句,又按意思分为4种。复句按所表达的意思,分为9种。

采用了民间故事作为素材,用口语和书面语表达同一个内容来区别它们在词法、句法、单词使用上的差异。从整体上看,书面语给人生硬、规范的感觉。而口语给人丰富、生动的感觉。

在词法方面,比较了名词、动词和副词在口语和书面语之间形态和功能上的差异。特别说明了口语中动词人称词缀。将位于动词过去词缀 *-xer* 和 *-xeng* 后面的 *-i* 和 *-ng* 从过去词缀形式中分离后,发现了动词的主语人称具有一致关系的动词人称词缀的功能。在句法方面,比较了口语和书面语上的结构变化。在单词使用方面,分析了口语和书面语中单词的增减差异、表达差异、不同单词的使用和单词的缩减和省略等现象。

最后说明了在口语中存在的3种独特的话语表达形式。第一是对会话中使用的准确性(evidentiality)功能。动词词缀 *-ng* 在句子中表示对说话的内容话者(speaker)的很高的确信程度。第二是识别性(identifiability)和指涉性(referentiality)功能。使用名词词缀 *-ni* 和具有定语功能的代词 *er*, 区分在对话中出现的名词性词语是否为被听者所识别的特定的对象。第三是对话中使用的焦点(focus)和主题(topic)功能。使用小词 *da* 之后,将小词 *da* 前面出现的词表示为已知事实的主题。主题为新事实(焦点)的出现,起到铺路的作用。