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普通语言学教程

COURSE IN GENERAL LINGUISTICS

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(二)

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CHAPTER V

Syntagmatic And Associative Relations

1. *Definitions*

In a language-state everything is based on relations. How do they function?

Relations and differences between linguistic terms fall into two distinct groups, each of which generates a certain class of values. The opposition between the two classes gives a better understanding of the nature of each class. They correspond to two forms of our mental activity, both indispensable to the life of language.

In discourse, on the one hand, words acquire relations based on the linear nature of language because they are chained together. This rules out the possibility of pronouncing two elements simultaneously (see p. 70). The elements are arranged in sequence on the chain of speaking. Combinations supported by linearity are *syntagms*. The syntagm is always composed of two or more consecutive units (e. g. French *re-lire* 're-read,' *contre tous* 'against everyone,' *la vie humaine* 'human life,' *Dieu est bon* 'God is good,' *s' il fait beau temps*, *nous sortirons* 'if the weather is nice, we'll go out,' etc.). In the syntagm a term acquires its value only because it stands in opposition to everything that precedes or follows it, or to both.

第五章 句段关系和联想关系

1. 定义

在语言状态中,一切都以关系为基础。这些关系是怎么起作用的呢?

语言要素之间的关系和差别分属两个不同的部分,每一部分都能产生某种类别的价值。这两个类别的对立使我们能更好地理解这其中每一类的性质。它们对应于我们思维活动的两种形式,并且二者都是语言生命中必不可少的。

一方面,在话语中,基于语言的线性本质,各个词连接在一起,结成了以线性特征为基础的关系。这一原则排除了同时说出两个要素的可能性(见 70 页)。这些要素按序排列在言语链条中。这种以线性为支柱的结合称为句段。句段经常由两个或更多的连续的单位所组成(例如法语中 re-lire “再读”, contre tous “反对每个人”, la vie humaine “人类生命”, Dieu est bon “上帝是慈善的”, s’il fait beau temps, nous sortirons “如果天气好的话,我们就出去”等等)。在一个句段中,一个要素之所以有价值,是因为它和它之前或之后的或者前后两个要素相对立。

Outside discourse, on the other hand, words acquire relations of a different kind. Those that have something in common are associated in the memory, resulting in groups marked by diverse relations. For instance, the French word *enseignement* 'teaching' will unconsciously call to mind a host of other words (*enseigner* 'teach,' *renseigner* 'acquaint,' etc. ; or *armement* 'armament,' *changement* 'amendment,' etc. ; or *éducation* 'education,' *apprentissage* 'apprenticeship,' etc.). All those words are related in some way.

We see that the co-ordinations formed outside discourse differ strikingly from those formed inside discourse. Those formed outside discourse are not supported by linearity. Their seat is in the brain; they are a part of the inner storehouse that makes up the language of each speaker. They are *associative relations*.

The syntagmatic relation is *in praesentia*. It is based on two or more terms that occur in an effective series. Against this, the associative relation unites terms *in absentia* in a potential mnemonic series.

From the associative and syntagmatic viewpoint a linguistic unit is like a fixed part of a building, e. g. a column. On the one hand, the column has a certain relation to the architrave that it supports: the arrangement of the two units in space suggests the syntagmatic relation. On the other hand, if the column is Doric, it suggests a mental comparison of this style with others (Ionic, Corinthian, etc.) although none of these elements is present in space: the relation is associative.

Each of the two classes of co-ordination calls for some specific remarks.

另一方面,在话语之外,词形成了一种不同的关系。那些有共同点的词在记忆中联合起来,形成了具有各种不同关系的集合。举例来说,法语词 enseignement “教育”会使我们不自觉地想到很多其他的词(enseigner “教”,renseigner “通知”等等;或者 armement “军备”,changement “改善”等等;或者 éducation “教育”,apprentissage “见习关系”等等)。所有这些词之间都有某种联系。

这些形成于话语外和语篇内的配合存在很大的差异。形成于话语外的配合并不受到线性的支持,它们存在于人的大脑中,属于说话者的语言的内部存储的一部分。我们称之为联想关系。

句段关系是一种现场的关系,它是以两个或更多的在一个现实序列中出现的要素为基础的。与此不同的是,联想关系却是把不在现场的要素统一在潜在的记忆序列中。

根据联想的和句段的观点,一个语言单位就像是一座大楼中某一特定部分,例如一根柱子。一方面,柱子和它所支撑的楣梁有关系:这两个单位在空间上的排列使我们想起了句段关系。另一方面,如果柱子是多利安式的,那就会引起我们对这种风格和其他风格(爱奥尼亚式、科林斯式等等)之间的比照。尽管这些都不是在空间出现的要素:它们之间的这种关系就是联想关系。

这两种配合都需要作具体的论述。

2. Syntagmatic Relations

The examples on page 123 have already indicated that the notion of syntagm applies not only to words but to groups of words, to complex units of all lengths and types (compounds, derivatives, phrases, whole sentences).

It is not enough to consider the relation that ties together the different parts of syntagms (e. g. French *contre* 'against' and *tous* 'everyone' in *contre tous*, *contre* and *maître* 'master' in *contremaître* 'foreman'); one must also bear in mind the relation that links the whole to its parts (e. g. *contre tous* in opposition on the one hand to *contre* and on the other *tous*, or *contremaître* in opposition to *contre* and *maître*).

An objection might be raised at this point. The sentence is the ideal type of syntagm. But it belongs to speaking, not to language (see p. 14). Does it not follow that the syntagm belongs to speaking? I do not think so. Speaking is characterized by freedom of combinations; one must therefore ask whether or not all syntagms are equally free.

It is obvious from the first that many expressions belong to language. These are the pat phrases in which any change is prohibited by usage, even if we can single out their meaningful elements (cf. *à quoi bon?* 'what's the use?', *allons donc!* 'nonsense!'). The same is true, though to a lesser degree, of expressions like *prendre la mouche* 'take offense easily', *forcer la main à quelqu'un* 'force someone's hand', *rompre une lance* 'break a lance', or even *avoir mal* (à la tête, etc.) 'have (a headache, etc.)', *à force de* (soins, etc.) 'by dint of (care, etc.)', *que vous en semble?* 'how do you feel about it?', *pas n'est besoin de . . .* 'there's no need for. . .', etc., which are characterized by peculiarities of

2. 句段关系

123 页上的例子已经指出,句段的概念不仅适用于词,也适用于词组,或者任何长度和任何类型的复杂的单位(复合词、衍生词、短语、整个句子)。

如果只考虑一个句段各部分间的相互关系(例如法语中 *contre tous*“反对每个人”中的 *contre*“反对”和 *tous*“每个人”, *contremître*“监工”中的 *contre*[接近]和 *mître*“主人”),是不够的。我们必须记住整体和部分的关系(例如 *contre tous* 一方面和 *contre* 对立,另一方面又和 *tous* 对立; *contremître* 一方面和 *contre* 对立,另一方面又和 *maître* 对立)。

这里可能有人会有异议。这个句子是一个理想的句段类型的例子。但是句子属于言语,不是语言(见 14 页)。这样来看的话,句段不也是属于言语的范围了吗?我不这么认为。言语是以自由的结合为特征的;所以我们就得问是否所有的句段都跟言语一样自由呢?

很显然,首先,很多词语是属于语言的。下面是一些俗语,是不容许有任何改变的习惯表达,尽管我们也能仔细挑选出一些意义要素(*à quoi bon?*“何必呢?”,*allons donc!*“废话!”等)。同样的,有些词尽管程度略差一点,像 *prendre la mouche*“容易发火”,*forcer la main à quelqu'un*“强迫某人插手”,*rompre une lance*“论战”,或者甚至有 *avoir mal à la tête*“头痛”等等, *à force de (soins)*“出于关心”,*que vous ensemble?*“你对此怎么看?”*pas n'est besoin de. . .*“无须……”等等,从它们的意义或句法上的特

signification or syntax. These idiomatic twists cannot be improvised; they are furnished by tradition. There are also words which, while lending themselves perfectly to analysis, are characterized by some morphological anomaly that is kept solely by dint of usage (cf. *difficulté* ‘difficulty’ beside *facilité* ‘facility,’ etc., and *mourrai* ‘[I] shall die’ beside *dormirai* ‘[I] shall sleep’).

There are further proofs. To language rather than to speaking belong the syntagmatic types that are built upon regular forms. Indeed, since there is nothing abstract in language, the types exist only if language has registered a sufficient number of specimens. When a word like *indécorable* arises in speaking (see pp. 167 ff.), its appearance supposes a fixed type, and this type is in turn possible only through remembrance of a sufficient number of similar words belonging to language (*impardonable* ‘unpardonable,’ *intolérable* ‘intolerable,’ *in-fatigable* ‘indefatigable,’ etc.). Exactly the same is true of sentences and groups of words built upon regular patterns. Combinations like *la terre tourne* ‘the world turns,’ *que vous dit-il?* ‘what does he say to you?’ etc. correspond to general types that are in turn supported in the language by concrete remembrances.

But we must realize that in the syntagm there is no clear-cut boundary between the language fact, which is a sign of collective usage, and the fact that belongs to speaking and depends on individual freedom. In a great number of instances it is hard to class a combination of units because both forces have combined in producing it, and they have combined in indeterminable proportions.

3. Associative Relations

Mental association creates other groups besides those based on the comparing of terms that have something in common; through its

点也可以看出它们有惯用语性质。这些惯用法不是即兴给出的,而是传统所提供的。还有一些词,本身完全可以分析,但总有一些因为习惯表达而保留下来的不规则的形态特征(试比较 *difficulté* “困难”和 *facilité* “设施”等等,和 *mourrai* “[我]将去世”和 *dormirai* “[我]将睡觉”)。

我们可以作进一步论证:任何按照规则形式建立的句段类型,不是属于言语的,而是属于语言的。实际上,因为语言中没有什么抽象的东西,只有当语言记录了足够数量的样本时,这种类型才存在。当一个词如 *indécorable* (不可装饰的) 在言语中出现时(见 167 页及其以下),那一定已经预设了一种确定的类型,反过来,这种类型只有当人们记住了相当数量的属于语言的同样的词(*impardonable* “不可原谅的”, *intolérable* “无法忍受的”, *infatigable* “不知疲倦的”)时才是可能的。按照规则的类型构建的句子和词组也是这样的。像这样的组合: *la terre tourne* “地球在转动”, *que vous dit-il?* “他对你说了什么?”等等,是符合一般类型的,而这些类型在语言中又有具体记忆作为支持。

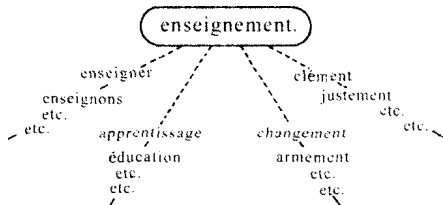
但是我们必须认识到,在句段领域中,语言事实上没有明显的界限,只是一个集体习惯的标志,另一种由个人自由决定。在大量的例子中,很难给一个单位的组合分类,因为两种力量的结合才产生了它,而且二者的比例无从确定。

3. 联想关系

由心理联想构成的集合并不限于把呈现某种共同点的要素结合在一起,同时心理联想还抓住每个场合下把要素联系在一起的种种

grasp of the nature of the relations that bind the terms together, the mind creates as many associative series as there are diverse relations. For instance, in *enseignement* 'teaching,' *enseigner* 'teach,' *enseignons* '(we) teach,' etc., one element, the radical, is common to every term; the same word may occur in a different series formed around another common element, the suffix (cf. *enseignement*, *armement*, *changement*, etc.); or the association may spring from the analogy of the concepts signified (*enseignement*, *instruction*, *apprentissage*, *éducation*, etc.); or again, simply from the similarity of the sound-images (e. g. *enseignement* and *justement* 'precisely'). Thus there is at times a double similarity of meaning and form, at times similarity only of form or of meaning. A word can always evoke everything that can be associated with it in one way or another.

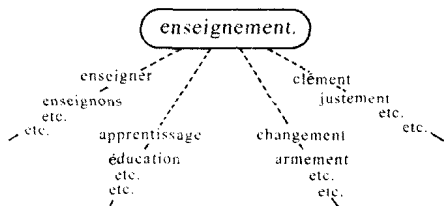
Whereas a syntagm immediately suggests an order of succession and a fixed number of elements, terms in an associative family occur neither in fixed numbers nor in a definite order. If we associate *painful*, *delightful*, *frightful*, etc. we are unable to predict the number of words that the memory will suggest or the order in which they will appear. A particular word is like the center of a constellation; it is the point of convergence of an indefinite number of co-ordinated terms (see the illustration on page 127).



But of the two characteristics of the associative series—indeterminate order and indefinite number—only the first can always be verified; the second may fail to meet the test. This happens in the

关系,因此有多少种关系,就有多少个联想系列。例如,在 *enseignement* “教育”, *enseigner* “教”, *enseignons* “(我们)教” 等等中,有个共同的要素,就是词根;但也可以出现在以另一个共同要素——后缀为基础而构成的系列里(试比较 *enseignement*, *armement* [装备], *changement* [变化] 等等);或者联合可能来自于所指概念的类比(*enseignement*, *instruction* [说明, 指导], *apprentissage* [见习关系], *éducation* [教育], 等等);或者,这种联想关系只是简单地缘于音响形象的相似性(例如 *enseignement* 和 *justement* “正好”)。因此,联想关系有时是缘于意义和形式都有共同性,有时是缘于形式或意义只有单方的共同性。一个词总会以某种方式在人们心中唤起一些与之相联系的其他的词。

一个句段能让人立刻想到一个连续的序列和一定数量的要素,而联想集合里的要素却既没有固定的数目,也没有确定的次序。如果我们把“痛苦的”、“高兴的”、“可怕的”等等联系起来,并不能预知我们的记忆所能提示的词究竟有多少,以及它们按照什么样的顺序出现。一个特定的词就像是一个星座的中心;是无数其他同列的要素的辐射源(见 127 页的说明)。



不过,联想系列的这两个特征没有确定的次序,没有一定的数目中,只有第一个是可以检验的;第二个可能无法检验。

case of inflectional paradigms, which are typical of associative groupings. Latin *dominus*, *dominī*, *dominō*, etc. is obviously an associative group formed around a common element, the noun theme *domin-*, but the series is not indefinite as in the case of *enseignement*, *changement*, etc. ; the number of cases is definite. Against this, the words have no fixed order of succession, and it is by a purely arbitrary act that the grammarian groups them in one way rather than in another; in the mind of speakers the nominative case is by no means the first one in the declension, and the order in which terms are called depends on circumstances.

这也发生在名词词格范畴的例子中。这是一种典型的联想聚合。拉丁语 *dominus* (主人[主格]), *dominiō* (主人[属格]), *dominō* (主人[与格]) 等等, 是一个明显的由普通要素名词词干 *domin-* 构成的联想集合。但是这个系列在不确定性上与 *enseignement*, *changement* 这样的例子不同, 毕竟格的数量不是无穷尽的。相反, 词在空间上没有固定的先后顺序, 而且语法学家们对它们进行这样或者那样的分组时, 纯粹是一种任意的行为; 在说话者的意识里, 主格不一定是名词的第一个格, 要素的排列顺序取决于场合的不同。

CHAPTER VI

Mechanism Of Language

1. *Syntagmatic Solidarities*

The set of phonic and conceptual differences that constitutes language results from two types of comparisons; the relations are sometimes associative, sometimes syntagmatic. The groupings in both classes are for the most part fixed by language; this set of common relations constitutes language and governs its functioning.

What is most striking in the organization of language are *syntagmatic solidarities*; almost all units of language depend on what surrounds them in the spoken chain or on their successive parts.

This is shown by word formation. A unit like *painful* decomposes into two subunits (*pain-ful*), but these subunits are not two independent parts that are simply lumped together (*pain* + *ful*). The unit is a product, a combination of two interdependent elements that acquire value only through their reciprocal action in a higher unit (*pain X ful*). The suffix is nonexistent when considered independently; what gives it a place in the language is a series of common terms like *delight-ful*, *fright-ful*, etc. Nor is the radical independent. It exists only through combining with a suffix. In *gos-ling*, the element *gos-* is nothing without its suffix. The

第六章 语言的机制

1. 句段的联结

构成语言的语音差别和概念差别都是来自于两种类型的比照;这种关系有时候是联想性的,有时候是句段性的。任何一类集合,在很大程度上,都是由语言所确立的;正是这些普通的关系构成了语言,并支配着语言的运行。

语言组织中最引人注意的是句段的联结;几乎所有的语言单位都取决于语链中它们的周围要素,或构成它们本身的连续的各个部分。

这一点通过词的构成就能看出来。像 *painful* 这样一个单位,能分解成两个次单位(*pain-ful*),但是这两个次单位不是两个简单地加在一起(*pain + ful*)的独立的部分。这个单位是一个产物,是两个相互依存的要素的结合,只有在一个更高单位中,它们才能获得价值(*pain X ful*)。这个后缀不能独立成词。使得它在语言中有一席之地的是一系列像 *delight-ful*, *fright-ful* 等等这样的普通要素。词根也不是独立的,它只有和后缀结合在一起才能存在。在 *gos-ling* 中,要素 *gos-* 如果没有后缀的话