汉语外来词的社会语言学

A Sociolinguistic Study on
Chinese Loanwords

研究

周红红　著

内 容 简 介

本研究利用语言学研究的成果，以简洁地道的英文构建汉语外来词新的分类模式，首次在功能语言学的理论基础上总结出外来词的指称、人际和元语言三大显性功能，并从外来词所承担的语言功能的角度来解释和预测外来词的生存规律，有助于消除长期以来汉语界对意译外来词归属问题的争论，有利于统一至今仍然十分混乱的术语，为汉语外来词的进一步研究铺平道路。本著作是英汉语言学研究中不可多得的参考资料，也是词汇学课程的重要教材，其内容翔实、叙述严谨、例证丰富，体现了作者很强的研究功底并具有较高的学术价值。

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序

周红红博士关于外来词的学术专著就要出版了，请我写序，我感到非常高兴。愿与作者和读者一起分享她的成功和喜悦。周红红毕业于厦门大学外文学院，现在北京交通大学任教。她2003年考入北京师范大学外文学院攻读博士学位，研究方向是社会语言学。她中英文语言基本功扎实，文笔流畅，在攻读博士学位之前及在读博期间，有多篇文章发表及国家级规划教材出版，有很强的学术研究能力。

周红红研究的重点是汉语中的外来词。语言中外来词（也称借词）的使用，反映了不同民族、文化和语言间的交流和融合，是语言发展的普遍现象。我们很难找到一种没有外来词的"纯洁"语言。但是，外来词的使用和发展不仅仅是语言本身的发展，它时时受到政治经济、历史文化及社会心理等多方面因素的影响。改革开放以来，现代汉语中出现了大量的外来词，特别是和中文传统的象形文字不相容的字母词，引起了社会学和语言学研究人员的关注，出版和发表了不少专著和文章。这些研究成果对汉语中的外来词现象、形式、使用及态度等方面进行了探讨。但是，从理论角度对汉语中外来词的系统研究还不多，周红红的专著在外来词的系统研究和理论分析两个方面都有新的突破和创新。

首先，她采用语料库语言学的研究方法分析了第5版《现代汉语词典》中1,735条外来词的词性、借入语、类型和所属领域。然后在此基础上，参照语言的音、意、形基本要素，对纷繁多样的汉语外来词形式进行了界定和分类，认为外来词是一种语言通过借音、借意或借形从另一种语言中借入的词汇。这个外来词分类新模式基本消除了人们对意译外来词研究归属问题的争论，有利于研究术语的规范，有利于外来词的研究。

其次，她运用功能语言学的理论揭示外来词在语言交际中的指称、人际和元语言功能；并以外来词所承担的语言功能为基础，构建外来词产生和发展的生存模式，解释和预测外来词的生存规律，大大丰富了普通语言学和社会语言学的研究领域和理论。

随着我国对外交往的日益增多，现代汉语交流中外来词的使用将会呈现形式多样、数量增多的趋势。对外来词的研究也更成为语言学研究中的紧迫任务。对外来词的深入研究，不仅需要研究人员扎实的语言学理论修养，还要有熟练的语言技能、对语言交际敏锐的观察能力和严谨的研究方法，以及丰富的文史哲等方面的渊博知识，除此以外，还需要研究者矢志不渝的治学精神。这些条件都是周红红博士所具备的，她治学态度认真，也吃得起苦，她的学术研究取得了非常优秀的成绩。借她的学术专著出版之际，祝愿她以这本论著为出发点，逐步拓展，精益求精，深入推进外来词的理论和应用研究，在社会语言学和普通语言学的研究领域做出新的贡献。

田贵森
2009 年 5 月 31 日
于北京师范大学京师园

前　言

　　在过去的 20 年里，受到全球一体化和中国经济迅速发展的影响，现代汉语中出现了大量的外来词，特别是和中文传统的象形文字不相容的字母词。我们是否应该开展一场纯洁汉语运动？应该以何种态度对待外来词？外来词是否会把中文弄得面目全非？政策层面的考虑，社会方面的声音，语言学家的忧虑，引起了我们对外来词的关注和对它们进行全面考察的兴趣。

　　本研究构建了一个对汉语中的各种外来词进行分类的新模式，该模式从音、意、形三方面的借用入手，将汉语中的外来词分为三大类共十种，并在此基础上重新将外来词界定为：一种语言通过借音、借意或借形从另一种语言中借入的词汇。该定义有利于消除长期以来汉语界对意译外来词的归属问题的争论。此外，新的分类模式有利于统一至今仍然十分混乱的术语，为外来词的进一步研究铺路。本研究对长期以来不受关注的借形现象予以足够的重视，将其看成语言进化的显著特征。此外，本研究首次从功能的角度构建外来词的生存模式。我们利用功能语言学的理论总结出外来词的指称、人际和元语言三大显性功能，并从外来词所承担的语言功能的角度来解释和预测外来词的生存规律。外来词的功能是通过语域的三个组成部分，即语场、语旨和语式实现的。

　　在语场即话语范围中，通过比较英语和汉语中的外来词在所填补的词项空白的领域上的不对称性，以及在借入语的数量和外来词在总词汇中的比例上的不平衡性讨论外来词的指称功能，指出外来词的生存取决于使用者对其进行的功能性选择。外来词从专业领域进入共核词汇是其生存的一个重要标志。在语旨即话语基调中，探讨了外来词的人际功能，展示人们如何通过对外来词的选择运用来构建身份、暗示社会地位、表现变化、满足虚荣及加强权势和认同。在语式即话语方式中，介绍了一种介于书面和口语的新型的话语媒介——网络语言，以及它对其他两种话语方式的影响。对字母词的实证研究表明，现代汉语的方块字中已经接纳了拉丁字母的书写形式。同时，通过对汉语中外来词的同化过程的详细描述来揭示外来词的元语言功能，以及外来词生存的另外三个重要标志——词缀的借用、语素化过程和词类转换。

　　研究发现，外来词能生存下来是因为它们承担了语言的各种功能。外来词经过不同程度的同化后，不仅完美地融入受惠语中，而且在一定的程度上对借入语产生影响。这些影响是人们的选择和语言自然发展的结果，是任何"善良"的愿望所无法阻挡的。本研究从普通语言学和社会语言学的角度审视外来词，旨在通过对外来词的研究来丰富语言学的理论。

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著　者
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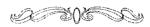
My debt of gratitude also goes to Professor Hu Zhuanglin whose course book on linguistics led me into the door of academic research and his great effort to introduce M. A. K. Halliday's Functional Grammar in China provided me with the theoretical foundation to conceptualize the theoretical framework in my dissertation. His publications and lectures on linguistics, sociolinguistics and language teaching methodology have enlightened me in my academic pursuit for the study of loanwords, the direct outcome of language contact and the controversial element in Chinese. The profit I gained from his profound knowledge, intellectual ingenuity and his boundless enthusiasm in academics will be of everlasting influence on me throughout my career.

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List of Abbreviations

CCD5	The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary 5th- ed
CL	Cyber Language
G + L/L + G	Graphic Loan with Label
L	Label
P	Pure Phonetic Loan
P + L/L + P	Phonetic Loan with Label
P + S/S + P	Loanblend
PG	Graphic-Phonetic Loan
PS	Phonetic-Semantic Loan
PSG	All-Round Loan
S	Semantic Loan
S + L/L + S	Semantic Loan with Label
SG	Graphic-Semantic Loan

Introduction

What aroused my interest in the subject was an argument on the Internet about the large amount of letter words appearing in our daily life to the extent of unintelligibility to common Chinese if they do not keep themselves up to date. The example reads:

> APEC 的记者招待会后,我约了 CCTV 的几名老记和一群 MBA、MPA 的研究生,讨论中国加入 WTO 后 IT 业的发展前景,以及 IT 对 GDP 的影响。读 EMBA 的张小姐就希望到 IT 业发展,今后目标是在 CBD 当 CEO。(《中国青年报》August 27, 2002)

> (After the APEC's press conference, I invited several journalists of CCTV and a group of post-graduate students pursuing MBA and MPA to discuss the development perspectives of the IT industry as well as its influence on GDP after China entering WTO. Miss Zhang, majoring in EMBA, was the one who wanted to set up her career in IT industry with a goal of becoming a CEO in CBD.)

One point of view holds that Chinese should say NO to letter words because they are alien and incompatible with Chinese characters and because Chinese can express itself well without those letters. 非典 (fēidiǎn) is short and clear enough to name the disease. They say, why *SARS*? The supporters, however, applaud the letter words because they are simple, efficient and fashionable and because they bring new life to the traditional Chinese characters.

This interesting argument entitled "What's wrong with Modern Chinese?" reminds me of one famous example given by Professor Chen Yuan on the pure phonetic transliteration of loanwords:

> 社会要发生奥伏赫变,特别要传播普罗列塔利亚特意德沃罗基。但有些小布尔乔亚印贴利更追亚,却带着生的门脱儿倾听白提火粉的生风尼和朔拿大,悠然产生了烟士披里纯,写下了一首首商籁,预祝英特纳雄耐尔的实现。(Chen 1998:69)

What occurred to me was "My goodness! Thank God that Chinese didn't turn into that!" The only loanword I could recognize is 英特纳雄耐尔 (from English *International*, meaning 无产阶级国际主义); other than this one, the rest were incomprehensible, even hard to guess, though

I'm bilingual and I know most of them come from English. With great curiosity, I went on reading and found out that 奥伏赫变 comes from German *aufheben*, meaning reform or transformation and is now translated as 变革；普罗列塔利亚特 is from English *proletariat*, now translated as 无产阶级；意德沃罗基 from English *ideology*, now translated as 意识形态；小布尔乔亚 from French *petit-bourgeoisie*, now translated as 小资产阶级；印贴利更追亚 from Russian инт елигенция, now translated as 知识分子；生的门脱儿 from English *sentimental*, now translated as 伤感情调；白提火粉 is the name of the great music composer Beethoven and the commonly accepted transliteration is 贝多芬. What's more, 生风尼 comes from English *symphony*, which is now translated as 交响乐；朔拿大 is derived from English *sonata*, and now translated as 奏鸣曲；烟士披里纯 is the English *inspiration*, which is known as 灵感. And 商籁 means the English *sonnet* and people today just call it 十四行诗. With all these "translation", the above short paragraph becomes intelligible and can be read as：

> 社会要发生变革,特别要传播无产阶级意识形态。但有些小资产阶级知识分子却带着伤感情调倾听贝多芬的交响乐和奏鸣曲,悠然产生了灵感,写下了一首首十四行诗,预祝无产阶级国际主义的实现。

It fills me with relief that those strange transliterations do not survive and I am proud of the wisdom of the Chinese people to invent such meaningful words as 交响乐 and 奏鸣曲 and even 贝多芬.

But those letter words look friendly and convenient. Will they survive in Chinese? Why can some forms of loanwords survive while some others die out? To what extent can loanwords influence a language? Should our government make some efforts to "purify" Chinese? To give satisfactory answers to these questions, I make a thorough exploration on loanwords, tracing far back to the origin of some with the attempt to foretell the survival law of the rest.

Another strong motivation to encourage me to go on with my research comes from the discovery in my exploration. As I soon found out, many western scholars have made contributions to the development and classification of loanwords, the most distinguished ones among them are Bloomfield (1933), Haugen (1950a, 1950b, 1953, 1972, 1973), Weinreich (1968) and Cannon (1981, 1982, 1987, 1988); while the most recent ones might be Crystal (1997, 2000) and Doctor Ghil'ad Zuckermann's Folk-Etymological Nativization Theory in 2000 and 2003.

By contrast, the contributions made by Chinese scholars are few and far between and loanwords in Chinese haven't received due attention in linguistic and sociolinguistic study. In many books, dictionaries or monographs which specialize in language studies, "borrowing" is only a slight touch. In the early 1990s, Ji Xianlin expressed his call for more involvement in the

research of loanwords when he wrote the preface for Shi Youwei's （史有为） monograph *Loanwords — Agents of the Alien Culture*①. Ji had noted that many countries with advanced civilization have published a list of dictionaries and monographs introducing borrowings from other languages, while in China, where the native language has culled large numbers of terms from other sources of language, the study is lagged behind. Inspiringly, in these two decades, some scholars have realized the importance of the study on borrowing and made pioneering endeavors in the realm of loanwords between Chinese and English.

1.1　What Are Loanwords?

Both western and Chinese researchers have attempted to define the process and outcome of adopting elements (mostly words) from another language. Up to now, the terms "borrow" and "loanword" or "borrowing" in English; and "借用" and "外来词" or "借词" in Chinese have gained most popularity.

1.1.1　Borrowings and Loanwords

The natural process of language change whereby one language adds new words to its own lexicon by copying those words from another language is referred to as "borrowing", during which the "borrower" language or culture becomes "recipient" language or culture while the "source" becomes "donor". The pattern in the donor language that is borrowed is the "model" and the attempted reproduction in the recipient language the "replica". As Jespersen (1922:208) and Haugen (1950b: 211) note, the borrowing metaphor sounds absurd since the donor does not deprive himself of anything more than if it had not been borrowed, while the recipient is under no obligation to return it at any future time; it is not different from stealing since it happens without the donor's consent or even awareness. A historical quirk as it is, the term "borrowing" is now an accepted usage. Haugen (ibid.) defines borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another". It is an "attempted" reproduction because making a perfect reproduction from a language with a different system is impossible. It is a "reproduction" because of the impossibility of directly transferring a feature in one system over to another system. "Reproduction" refers to the creation of a new form in the recipient language modeled on the form in the source language. To put it another way, if a speaker of language A reproduces new linguistic patterns, not in the context of his native language A, but in the context of language B, he may be said to have "borrowed" them from language B to language A.

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① 史有为. 异文化的使者—外来词. 1991.

Bussmann（2000：55）defines borrowing as "adoption of a linguistic expression from one language into another language, usually when no term exists for the new object, concept, or state of affairs".

When borrowed words are accepted and integrated into the borrowing language, they become known as "loanwords" or "borrowings".

Similar definitions can be obtained from different sources.

A loanword refers to "a word which has been taken from one language and used in another language" (Richard, Platt and Platt, 1992).

"A loanword is a lexical item (a word) which has been 'borrowed' from another language, a word which originally was not part of the vocabulary of the recipient language, but was adopted from some other language and made part of the borrowing language's vocabulary" (Campbell 1998：58).

Bussmann（2000：287）defines "loanword" in contrast with its equivalent — "foreign word"— in *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*. "In the narrower sense: in contrast with foreign words, words borrowed from one language into another, which have become lexicalized (= assimilated phonetically, graphically, and grammatically) into the new language. ... In the broader sense: an umbrella term for foreign word and loan word (in the above-mentioned sense)." Howard Jackson and Etienne Zé Amvela (2000：32) regards loanwords as having the same meaning as borrowing, which also refers to a process of this kind: "By definition, when speakers imitate a form from a foreign language and, at least partly, adopt it in sound and grammar to their native language, the process is called 'borrowing', and the word thus borrowed is called a 'loanword' or 'borrowing'."

The above two definitions go a step further by mentioning the different linguistic structures affected in the assimilation of a foreign term. But neither of them has explained the reason for adopting a foreign term nor the condition of borrowing.

Gorlach (1997：145) gives a more precise definition as follows: "A foreign lexical item is borrowed at word level or above (loan phrase), usually when no term exists for the new objects, concepts, or state of affairs. Both form and content are affected in the process of borrowing and in later integration, namely by adaptation to the formal categories of the receiving language, and by the selection of a meaning (which has to coexist with indigenous equivalents). The process normally starts with an occasional use in a native context, and integration proceeds with the spread of the word in the speech community."

Haugen (1972) distinguishes two types of borrowing, namely importation and substitution. If the borrowing is similar enough to the model of language A so that native speakers of language A could identify it as one of their own, the borrowing speaker may be said to have imported the

model into his or her language. But if the reproduction of the model is not so adequate, then a substitution is taking place. Haugen goes on to establish a division of loans according to their extent of morphemic substitution: none, partial, or complete. Complete morphemic substitution precludes phonemic substitution, but within the morphemic importation there may be a division into more or less phonemic substitution. Thus there exists the following groupings, based primarily on the relationship between morphemic and phonemic substitution.

Loanwords — showing morphemic importation without substitution. Any morphemic importation can be further classified according to the degree of its phonemic substitution: none, partial or complete.

Loanblends — showing morphemic substitution as well as importation. All substitution involves a certain degree of analysis by the speaker, who may slip in part or all of a native morpheme to substitute for some part of the foreign element, such as a "hybrid" involving a discoverable foreign model.

Loanshifts — showing morphemic substitution without importation. These include what are usually called loan translations and semantic loans. Loan translation is known in French as "calque".

1.1.2 Various Terms in Chinese

Miscellaneous terms have been used in Chinese before 外来词 (wàiláicí, loanword) gains its general acceptance.

The first term to be used was 外来语 (wàiláiyǔ, similar to foreign word), which was believed to be introduced from Japanese by Zhang Taiyan in 1902. [1] Chen Wangdao referred to it again in 1934 in his article "Construction of Popular Language" (《关于大众语文的建设》) [2]. And Lü Shuxiang made a clear definition of 外来语 in *An outline of Chinese grammar* (《中国文法要略》) in 1942. [3]

According to Shi Youwei, the term 外来语 is a Japanese invention from its ancient term 舶来语, and is still used in Japanese and Taiwan as the equivalent of *loanword*.

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[1] "如外来语,破纯粹之国语而驳之,亦非尽人理解,有时势所逼迫,非他语可以佣代,则用之可也……"《章太炎全集(三)》第 227 页, 1984 年上海人民出版社。

[2] "将来大众语的语汇里头一定不免由外来语输入,但必须用本国文字写它的音,让大家说得出。照过去的经验来看,输入些外来语或起用些古典语,在大众也并不觉得十分不便,只要是当时大众所必需的。"载 1934 年 6 月 19 日《申报》副刊《自由谈》。

[3] "外来语":一个语言常常从别的语言里输入许多词语,尤其是事物的名称;汉语里也很多这样的例子。译语有两种,意译的和译音的。意译的词,因为利用原语言里固有的词或词根去凑合,应归入合义复词,而且也不能算是严格的外来语。译音的词,浑然一体,不可分离,属于衍声的一类。……都是现代的外来语。吕叔湘(1942:13)

Luo Changpei used 借字 (jièzì, literally borrowed character) in his *Language and Culture* (《语言与文化》) published in 1950 because the category of 词 (cí, word) did not establish at that moment. [1] And the famous Chinese linguist Chao Yuanren proposed the term 借语 (jièyǔ, literally borrowed word) in 1968. 借字 and 借语 were generally regarded as the equivalents of *loanword* before 外来词.

When the category of 词 was introduced into Chinese in the 1950s, a new term, 借词 (jiècí, borrowing) gradually took the place of 借字 and 借语.

When Gao Mingkai and Liu Zhengtan published *A study of loan-words and hybrid words in Modern Chinese* (《现代汉语外来词研究》) in 1958, they employed the term 外来词 (wàiláicí, literally foreign-come word) and made a distinction of 外来词 and 借词 that the former was referred to as a loanword after assimilation and the latter was still a foreign word without assimilation. [2] This distinction, however, does not survive and in most cases both of them can be used interchangeably as the Chinese equivalents for *loanword* and *borrowing*. Most of the Chinese dictionaries, such as the revised edition of *A Comprehensive Dictionary of Words* (《辞海》) (1999), *The Unabridged Chinese Dictionary* (《汉语大词典》) and so on make 外来词 as the main entry and 外来语 or 借词 as its references.

Although generally speaking, 外来词 and 借词 mean the same thing, subtle division exists. According to Tian Huigang (1993: 19), the equivalents of 外来词 are "alien word", "foreignism", "peregrinism", "alienism" and so on while that of 借词 is "borrowing". An "alien word" comes from a language other than one's own while "borrowing" includes the words coming from one's dialects. He then proposes to use "loanword" as an equivalent of 外来词, so that "loanword" possesses both the connotation of "borrowing" and "foreignism". Shi Youwei regards 借词 as "transliteration", "transliteration with a label", as well as words borrowed from dialects. And the denotation of 外来词 includes the above 借词, "loan blends" and "graphic loans" such as words from Japanese.

The detailed distinctions of these technical terms only make the simple question complicated. No wonder the Italian linguist Masini says that there is not yet a Chinese scholar giving a satisfactory description to the classification of loanwords largely due to the terminology. Here in this dissertation, we will just follow the general trend to treat 外来词 and 借词 as equal so that we will mainly use 外来词 and its English equivalent "loanword". It's one of the purposes of this

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[1] "所谓'借字'就是一国语言里所屬杂的外来语成分。"罗常培（1989:222）

[2] "外来词是外语来源的本语言的词,而借词则是借用外语的词,词还是外语的,只是借来用用而已。……在吸收外语的词的过程中,有的时候,我们是先借用外语的词,而再慢慢地把它改为外来词的;只要等到把外语的词安放在本语言的语音、语法、词汇体系里的时候,才有外来词的存在。"高名凯,刘正埮(1958:13)