



山东方言背景白话文献
特殊句式研究

● 戚晓杰

著

明清



山东方言背景白话文献 特殊句式研究

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中文摘要

《金瓶梅词话》、《醒世姻缘传》、《聊斋俚曲集》（以下简称《金》、《醒》、《聊》）三部著作代表明清不同时期语言面貌，既有时间上的连续性，又具有共同而明确的山东方言背景，是近代汉语后期研究，特别是明清山东方言研究不可多得的重要语料。本书主要对《金》、《醒》、《聊》中的特殊句式进行研究，同时参考明清时期山东方言背景的其他语料，由此不但可以在一定程度上揭示现代汉语形成的重要时期——明清时期汉语北方方言句式的发展演变情况，也可以挖掘作为背景方言的山东话句式在当时的某些地域特征。方言语法史是汉语语法史不可或缺的组成部分，方言语法史研究是当前汉语历史语法研究中亟须大力加强的一个领域。本书研究对汉语语法史、汉语方言语法史无疑都是重要而有价值的。

本书着力研究《金》、《醒》、《聊》三部著作中的比较句式、比拟句式、包括和强调句式、被动句式、处置句式、反复问句式、动词拷贝句式七种。这些句式可以说是汉语句式研究的热点，前人多有论述，但由于汉语句式本身的特殊性，有些问题至今没有形成一致的看法，有些现象尚认识不清，无论是现代汉语的横向研究，还是联系历史的纵向研究（包括其地域特征的挖掘），这些句式都存有进一步探讨的空间。

对《金》、《醒》、《聊》中特殊句式，本书首先进行共时平面的定性定量描写，在具体的分析中遵循形式与意义相结合的原则，力求使其共时平面结构框架的建构更加科学。在此基础上，找出《金》、《醒》、《聊》中特殊句式的共同点与差异之处。对

其差异之处，从时间性与语体区别等角度加以解释。同时联系汉语句式的动态历时发展，考察《金》、《醒》、《聊》特殊句式在整个汉语句式历时发展过程中的历史层次，并在前人研究的基础上，在与其他同时代体现共同语面貌的白话文献中的同类现象的比较中，找寻《金》、《醒》、《聊》句式的山东方言地域特征。本书重视《金》、《醒》、《聊》句式与背景方言当今句式的沟通研究，如此有助于《金》、《醒》、《聊》中特殊句式方言特色的认识与挖掘，从而找寻出古今山东方言句式发展演变之轨迹。本书贯穿汉语语法研究“打通古今”的研究意识，通过研究对象古今贯通，研究方法相互借鉴，以求揭示汉语句式的本真面貌。不回避理论、重视理论思考也是本书的一个特色。语法化可以说是本书的理论基石，汉语是一种缺乏狭义形态变化的语言，表达语法关系的主要手段是虚词和语序，语法化理论对于汉语研究来说，具有重要的意义与价值。汉语有着自身的特点与规律，它很多尚未发现的语法特点的逐渐得以揭示，对世界语法理论的建设与发展将会起有强劲的推动作用。

本书对《金》、《醒》、《聊》特殊句式进行详尽分析描写，而不回避矛盾、舍难求易，这样不仅可以揭示全貌，增强结论的科学性；同时，也可以发见一些尚未被人们所关注的语言现象，这对于认识汉语句式的本质特性，并基于此进行汉语语法理论思考，不无助益。如比拟结构形式的层面渗透（可以出现于句子、词组、词层面）、虚词实化（如“就合哄了天的一样”的“合”体现像义动词义）、介词悬空（即“把/将”字句中“把/将”的宾语可以省而不出）、超句被动式、处置式（即被动式、处置式存在于两个单句中）及零被句（即被动句式被动标记前无被动受体，且非省略）的存在等，就很值得我们重视。

本书在《金》、《醒》、《聊》特殊句式研究的基础上，打通古今，对汉语句式研究中存有的一些尚未得以很好解决的问题进

行探讨,对一些模糊失误之处加以梳理澄清,以求从一个侧面对整个汉语句式研究有所促进。如目前关于“把”字句的语义特征,人们的认识并不一致。由《金》、《醒》、《聊》“把”字句分析描写,我们认为,“处置”是对其唯一合理恰切的解释。只是,在这里“处置”义是“把”字句各组成部分共同协作的结果,介词“把”对处置语义特征的传递起有重要作用。“把”字句处置义的理解,应把言谈者的主观因素考虑进去。又如当今语法学界不少人把被动句式形式化为“S 受事 + 标记 + NP 施事 + VP”,但由《金》、《醒》、《聊》被动句式,我们可以发现,此种表述并不周延,有失于以偏代全。汉语被动句式有着自身的特点与规律,其内部构成及构成成分间的语义关系丰富多样,且不可套用印欧语被动语态 (passive voice) 作简单机械理解。

因对《金》、《醒》、《聊》特殊句式语言材料的大量占有,本书对汉语句式历时发展研究中一些不够全面、准确的描述加以补充、修正,对一些不合乎客观事实的论断也提出质疑。如李焱先生认为《醒》中不存有“有……没?”结构,并由此得出结论“可见,‘VP 没’中的‘没’完全是一个否定副词”;而“VP 没有”中的“没有”既可以做否定副词用,也可以作实义动词。“没”完全是一个否定副词,这种结论是靠不住的,因为《醒》中本身就存有“有 + NP + 没 + NP”式反复问。又如“是不是 VP”式反复问,邵敬敏等先生认为它始于《老舍文集》,然而此种语言现象在《金》、《醒》中就已开始出现,且在明清其他白话文献中也存有这样的例子;同时,动词拷贝句也非像石毓智先生所断言“直到《红楼梦》时代才开始”,《金》、《醒》、《聊》中虽然出现频率不同,但都普遍存有,且结构类型丰富多样,并非“清代的文献中只能见到一、二两类”。

由于《金》、《醒》为小说,《聊》为俚曲,语体形式迥然有别,这也为我们从语体角度观察其对句式的制约提供了便利。

同时,《聊》本身曲文、宾白兼备,这也便于我们从言文关系的区别性来考察其句式运用的实际。如《聊》中被动句式、处置句式 VP 由单音节动词充任,其数量远远多于《金》、《醒》,这是语体差异对句式运用影响的结果。又如同为被动句式,《聊》中“被”字句 VP 由单音节动词充任的,数量比较多,而“着”字句,则比较平常,没有显著变化,这是言文关系所使然,“着”字句常出现于宾白中,口语特征突出,因而与“被”字句产生结构差异。

对《金》、《醒》、《聊》整理者由于对句式结构形式缺乏理解而导致的山东方言背景语料标点失误,本书也有所论及。

透过《金》、《醒》、《聊》特殊句式研究,我们发现,现代汉语形成的重要时期——明清时期作为古今汉语之间相衔接的一个发展阶段,其北方方言特殊句式存有自身的特点与规律,具体表现为:结构不甚紧凑,语序尚不固定,省略形式多样,构成方式丰富,语义表达不够严谨周密。这充分体现了近代汉语后期特殊句式结构上的“繁芜复杂”。近代汉语语法的发展是不够的,在许多方面它还是粗疏的,是“犹有所待”的,正因此,近代汉语语法才向着简约和详备的方向发展变化,最终形成了完备的现代汉语语法。从《金》到《醒》到《聊》,我们也可以深切感受到这种发展变化,相对于《金》、《醒》,《聊》的特殊句式更接近于现代汉语。

《金》、《醒》、《聊》具有共同的山东方言背景,就我们所调查的句式材料看,其山东方言地域特征的总特色为,它们往往与通语的发展演变不同步,滞后于通语。有的近代汉语句式甚至不再发展演变,在山东方言中得以沉积,通行于当今山东方言;且从东到西呈现出地域特征逐渐淡化之态势,这从其地理条件上可以得以解释。当然,《金》、《醒》、《聊》中有的特殊句式在某些方面也会表现出一定的超前性,其发展演变快速于通语。另

外，有的句式现象比较特殊，为山东方言所特有。

《醒》题署为“西周生辑著”。西周生是谁？这个问题在学界至今未获得一致的认识。20世纪30年代初，胡适先生提出西周生即蒲松龄的见解。对此，赞成者有之，反对者亦存之。本书从语言最具稳固性的句式角度入手，发现两者之间存有较大差异，这种差异有的可以通过语体区别得以解释，而更多体现的则是一定的时代差别与作者的个性特点。由此看来，《醒》、《聊》的作者绝非同一个人，把《醒》的作者确定为《聊》的作者蒲松龄，缺乏句式上的有力支持。

关键词：近代汉语后期语法；特殊句式；明清山东方言

ABSTRACT

Jinpingmei Cihua, Xingshi Yinyuan Zhuan and Liaozhai Liqu Ji (short for Jin, Xing and Liao) representing the linguistic features of different periods in Ming and Qing Dynasty, having the continuity of time and the common distinct Shandong dialect background, are the important and valuable language materials for us to study the later period of modern Chinese, especially the Shandong dialect of Ming and Qing Dynasty. This paper mainly studies the special sentence patterns of Jin, Xing and Liao, meanwhile referring to the other spoken language literatures of this period which have the Shandong dialect background. From this, we not only can reveal the development of sentence patterns in the northern Chinese dialect system which is the important stage for contemporary Chinese formation, but also can excavate the distinctive district features of Shandong dialect sentence patterns as a background dialect. The history of Chinese dialect grammar, the study of which needs to be strengthened greatly now, is an integral part of the history of Chinese grammar. This paper is valuable to the study of the history of Chinese grammar as well as that of Chinese dialect grammar.

This paper is focused on these seven sentence patterns, including comparative patterns, personified patterns, inclusive and emphatic patterns, disposed patterns, passive patterns, positive-and-negative question patterns and verb copying patterns, all of which are the hot spot of Chinese sentence pattern research. Though a lot of studies

have been made of them, there are still many problems and disputes unresolved because of particular complexity of Chinese sentence patterns. There is a long way to go in the crosswise research of contemporary Chinese and the longitudinal research (including the dialect feature excavation) .

First of all, based on the principle of form and meaning combination , this paper gives a synchronic plane, quantitative and qualitative description of the special sentence patterns of Jin, Xing and Liao, attempting to make the building of synchronic plane frame more scientific. Then finds out the common grounds and the differences. To the differences, this paper tries to explain the reasons from the timeliness and the types of writing. Linking the diachronic development of Chinese sentence patterns, this paper also explores the history rank order of Jin, Xing and Liao's special sentence patterns in the development. On the basis of predecessors, this paper finds out the district features of Jin, Xing and Liao's special sentence patterns, by comparing with the materials of the same period which have the common speech background. This paper attaches importance to the communication study with the background dialect of Jin, Xing and Liao, so as to find out patterns district feature of Jin, Xing and Liao and seek the development trace of Shandong dialect patterns from aged-old to today. This paper runs through the consciousness that the study of Chinese grammar should get through the aged-old to today between materials and methods, in order to resolve the problems which are still not resolved, pushing forward the development of Chinese grammar study. Not avoiding theory, valuing theory thinking is another feature of this paper. Grammaticalization is the theory foundation of this paper. Chinese is short of the narrow sense morphology, the theory of it

is more important and valuable to the study of Chinese. Chinese is the language which has unique distinguishing features, the progressive exploration and discovery of its many unrevealed features will make generous contributions to the world language theory.

Not intending to evade contradictions and abandon difficulties, this paper gives a thorough and detailed description of special sentence patterns in Jin, Xing and Liao. So it not only presents a panoramic picture and makes the conclusions more scientific, but also discovers some unnoticed language phenomena. The study helps understand the fundamental features of Chinese sentence patterns and thereby benefit greatly theoretical thinking of Chinese grammar. For instance, the stratum penetration of personified patterns (may appear in sentences, phrases, word levels), the function words that express the meaning of content word, preposition standing, super-sentence disposed patterns and passive patterns (namely disposed patterns and passive patterns existing in two single sentences), zero-subject passive patterns (there is no receiver before the word "bei", and it is not omitted). All these phenomena deserve our attention.

On the basis of the study of special sentence patterns in Jin, Xing and Liao, this paper also gets through the old and the present, explores problems which are still not well resolved in the study of Chinese sentence patterns, and straightens out some errors and obscurities. It promotes the study in this area from one profile. Now there is no consistent understanding about the semantic features of sentence "ba". Through the analysis and description of sentence "ba" in Jin, Xing and Liao, we think, "disposed" is the only reasonable and appropriate interpretation. Here the meaning "disposed" is the result of cooperation of all component parts of sentence "ba". The preposition

“ba” plays an important role in the transmission of disposing semantic features. Subject factors of conversationalists should be considered in the understanding of disposing semantic features. For another example, many grammar experts formalize passive sentence into “Sagent + mark + NPreceiver + VP” now. But from passive sentences in Jin, Xing and Liao, we find out that this presentation has no distribution and only takes a part for the whole. The semantic relations of internal constitution and constituent parts in Chinese passive patterns are rich and various. They should not be understood mechanically just according to Indo-European language.

This paper owns a large number of language materials of special sentence patterns in Jin, Xing and Liao. It supplements and refines those incomplete and incorrect description of Chinese sentence patterns in the study of history development. It also challenges the conclusions which contradict with facts. For instance, Mr. Liyan thinks that there is no such structure “you…mei?” in Xing. He concludes that “obviously”, “mei” in “VP mei” is completely a negative adverb; “meiyou” in “VP meiyou” can be used as a content verb as well as a negative adverb. This conclusion is not tenable, because there exists such structure “you…mei?” in Xing itself. For another example, according to Mr. Shao Jingmin, etc., “shibushi VP” structure started from “Collected Works of Laoshe”. But actually this phenomenon started to appear in Jin and Xing, and such examples also existed in other spoken language literatures in Ming and Qing Dynasty. Meanwhile verb copying sentences, unlike the conclusion of Mr. Shi Yuzhi, “which started in the periods of Red Mansion”, also existed very commonly in Jin, Xing and Liao, though not frequently. Its structure types are various, not as Mr. Shi says “only one or two

types can be seen in the works of Qing Dynasty.

Because Jin and Xing are novels and Liao is drama, it offers us good observation of the influence of types of writing on the patterns. Meanwhile, Liao includes words of ballad and dialogues, it is convenient for us to observe the use of patterns in the written language and spoken language.

This paper also discusses the wrong punctuation in Shandong dialect background materials made by those who collated Jin, Xing and Liao as a result of their lack of understanding of sentence structure patterns.

Through the meticulous study and analysis, we have discovered the distinctive features and regular rules of special sentence patterns during the Ming, Qing Dynasty, which was an important stage for the formation of contemporary Chinese as well as a period of development linking ancient and contemporary Chinese. They are: incompact structure, unfixed order, diversified omissions, abundant forms of formation, unmeticulous expressions of meanings, and sometimes even repetitions and missings. This represents fully the verbosity and complexity in structures of special sentence patterns during the later period of modern Chinese. The grammar of modern Chinese was not well developed, and unrefined in many aspects. There was much to be anticipated. Thereby modern Chinese develops towards conciseness exhaustiveness, and eventually into perfect contemporary Chinese grammar. We can deeply sense and find these changes and evolution from Jin to Xing to Liao. Compared with Jin and Xing, special sentence patterns in Liao are closer to contemporary Chinese.

Jin, Xing and Liao own common Shandong dialect background. From the sentence materials we investigated, it is discovered that the

general region feature of Shandong dialect is that they do not synchronize with the development and evolution of common Chinese, but lags behind it. Some sentence patterns even stop developing and deposit in Shandong dialect, and are still in use in Shandong dialect. In many aspects, some special sentence patterns in Jin, Xing and Liao also display advancement in times, whose evolution surpasses common Chinese. What is more, some sentence patterns are very special, existing only in Shandong dialect.

The signed author of Xing is Xi Zhousheng. But whoever is Xi Zhousheng? This question has been puzzling researchers of the field and there is no consistent understanding as yet. In early 1930s, Mr. Hushi contended that Xi Zhousheng is Pu Songling. As to this view, there are both proponents and opponents. However, from the angle of sentence patterns which are of static quality linguistically, this paper finds that there exist big discrepancies between Xing and Liao. Some of the discrepancies can be interpreted by differences in types of writing, but more of them lie in differences in times and individual characteristics of the two authors. So we conclude that the author of Xing is not the same as that of Liao.

Key Words: later modern Chinese grammar ; special sentence patterns; Shandong dialect of Ming and Qing Dynasty

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