

北京话的满语底层和

“轻音” “儿化” 探源

赵 杰 著



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序

林 焘

近几十年来，语言学研究发展非常迅速，其中很重要的一个分支就是语言接触的研究。研究者的眼光不再局限于语言内部的共时性描写或历时性拟测，而是把眼光放开，探讨语言之间的接触对语音、词汇和语法所产生的影响。人口的迁徙、民族的交往以及其他和语言接触有关的因素都成为语言学家十分关心的问题。过去虽然也有人研究这方面的问题，但研究的视野远没有今天这样开阔，也不像今天这样形成了比较系统的理论和方法。

几千年来，汉族的人口不断地流动迁徙，周边的各民族有的逐渐和汉族融合，有的一直和汉族有密切的交往，甚至还统治过汉族人民，其间的语言接触是非常错综复杂的。近一千年来，中国北方的大半时间都处在阿尔泰语系各民族的统治之下，和阿尔泰语言的长期接触，对北方官话，尤其是对在这其间发展成为汉族共同语的标准北京话，究竟产生了什么影响，由于资料缺乏，至今我们仍不甚了解。这方面的研究，无疑将会大大充实语言接触的理论和方法。近年来国内外都有一些学者做了一些很有

价值的探索，但还没有全面系统研究过这方面问题的专著出现。赵杰以六七年的时间完成的这部《北京话的满语底层和“轻音”“儿化”探源》至少在国内可以算是第一部这样的专著。

赵杰是满族人，对满族文化一向有浓厚的兴趣，十几年前在中央民族学院汉语言文学系学习和任教的时候，就曾经刻苦地学习满语，。后来考入北京大学中文系读硕士研究生，继续学习满语文，达到了相当熟练的程度。为了了解满语在现代一些边远地区保存的情况，他先后到过东北黑河、伊春和嫩江地区以及新疆霍城、察布察尔等地调查，写成了《现代满语研究》一书。后来又发表了十几篇讨论满语和汉语关系的论文，连同他的硕士论文“汉语的影响和满语的连锁式演变”一并汇集成论文集《现代满语与汉语》。一个青年人，在读硕士研究生期间，能有这么多的研究成果发表，是很不容易的，说明他学习是十分勤奋的。

为了继续深造，赵杰在取得硕士学位以后，又报考博士研究生，继续攻读博士学位，把研究满汉语言接触问题作为自己的主攻方向。在这期间，为了较全面地了解满汉语言接触的历史情况，他有计划地到福建、湖北、湖南、广西、贵州和山东等地原八旗军驻地调查当前仍可能存在的京腔方言岛的语言特点，不辞辛苦，几历艰险，跑遍各地，取得了不少珍贵的第一手资料。这种为学术研究肯于吃苦的精神在目前是很难得的，是应该给予充分肯定的。

本书原是赵杰所写的博士论文，这次出版根据博士论文答辩时专家所提意见做了一些修订。全书以北京话的历史发展为背景，选择湖北荆州和山东青州两个典型的京腔方言岛和北京郊区香山健锐营作为重点分析对象，以轻音和儿化为突破口，从共时的差异中结合历史文献探求现代北京话形成过程中满语所起的重要作用，并提高到语言接触的理论高度来认识。全书观点鲜明，颇多独到的见解，研究方法和资料的处理也都有创新之处，是一部具有开拓性意义的论著。自然，本书也还存在着一些不足之处，例如，对资料的选用和解释有时还不够精密，论证过程有时也不免有些简单化。一个青年学者，驾驭如此繁复的资料写出这样一部

具有开拓精神的论著，其中存在着一些有待改进的地方是不足为奇的。本书的出版，为今后我国语言接触的研究，尤其是满汉语言接触的研究开辟了一条新途径，希望赵杰能够继续奋进，发挥自己的优点，认识自己的不足，百尺竿头，更进一步，对满汉语言接触研究在理论上和方法上都做出更大的贡献。

林 燕

1995年4月

于北京大学燕南园

内 容 摘 要

本文从历史语言学和语言接触学的视角探索阿尔泰语系的主要语言——满语是如何具体影响汉语北京话的音系的。全文通过挖掘和考证现代北京话中的满语底层及其满汉构词的融合规律，深入探究北京话“轻音”和“儿化”的来源，从中提取语言接触的融合式音变的理论模式和连锁式链移的方法论原则。

全文共分九章，每章的摘要如下：

第一章“清代北京话的语言接触”在简要回顾辽、金、元时期北京地区不同民族语言的接触历史后，重点介绍了明末至现代的东北和北京内外城的满汉语言接触情况，从后金至清末分成四段来论述带有不同特点的语言转换、融合史，并勾勒北京话纵横交叉演变的平面图，最后总结满汉语言接触的四个特点，为下文辨析和考证融合词语打下基础。

第二章“北京话的满语底层例析及满汉词语的融合规律”从笔者多年调查的800个与满语有关的词汇中选出100个，从它们的“汉字写法”、“清代满语音”、“现代京腔儿音”、“汉义”四个角度进行一一的考证和辨析，初步确定它们是满语词、满汉合成词或满式汉语词。在对这些语料进行个例探源后，又把满汉语言成分融合构词的规律分为“辗转返借”、“音译兼译”、“相似语素自由变读”、“音节缩略成自由词干（词素）”、“并列互注”等五条，从中可看出满语的发音习惯正是通过融合词进入汉语的。

第三章“京腔方言岛的空间差异与北京话的时间发展”在鸟

瞰了全国各大京旗驻防点的语言情况后，重点对代表不同历史阶段的湖北荆州、山东青州、京郊香山的带有丰厚满语底层的旗人汉语的共时语音变异进行历时分析，让第一手口语材料和史存的书面记载相互印证，从横向静态平面的细微差异中清理北京话已成音变的融合史，为论证北京话“轻音”“儿化”连锁式音变的内在规律提供有力证据。

第四章至第八章密切相连，各部分均着眼于“轻音”和“儿化”两大语音现象，重点从音理上论证北京话经过满汉接触后所发生的一系列融合性音变的原因，一环扣一环地阐释连锁式链移性音变的具体表现。第四章“连锁式音变的前提和北京旗人话的元、辅音分析”揭示了北京旗人完成满汉双语到旗人汉语的过渡后其言语中元、辅音偏低偏后的特点，它们为前轻音和儿化韵的产生提供了相适的音节环境。第五章“清初满语京语重音前移考”详细考证了满文书面语与京语口语在音重分布上的差异，并用金、清以来东北满语地名的音变和清代以来满人的音韵著作作证明，又伴之以东北黑龙江的现代活满语作参考，从中证明：满语元、辅音偏低偏后的音段特征和前重后轻的音重分布被旗人带进了北京内城汉语，对京腔音系进行了系列改造。第六章“汉语的轻声和满语的轻音”阐述了满语“前重”的移入伴随“后轻”的转进的全过程，对汉语的轻声和满语的轻音作了较详细的历比较和共时对比，用诸多类例证明北京话的“轻声”例外恰是满语轻音的特质。并用实验语音学和传统语音学的成果验证轻声与轻音的具体区别，然后落实到轻音促使音素的变化，满语边、颤辅音转为发[ɤ]的轻音节，特别是轻音音节中舌尖后声母的浊化与元音的央中化产生了大批[ɤ]音节，导致北京话儿化数量的突然翻番。第七章“轻音[ɤ]音尾的生成和拼合儿化音的产生”参考近年来国外自主音段音系学的理论，重点解析轻音音节中卷舌声母的脱落与卷舌特征的“改嫁”问题，。源于舌尖后辅音轻化

的[ɔ]音节类化到其它音节上，文中逐层显示了几化增加的四个来源；最后从邻音共存发音的理论上阐释低、后元音便于接纳[ɔ]音尾，进而产生拼合儿化音的音理和历史证明。第八章“[ɔ]音尾与原化合音拼化产生京腔儿化韵”在历述了明代汉语儿音的演变特点后，主要论证清代[ɔ]音尾附置于明代化合儿化后形成双层套叠儿化韵的问题，从而澄清了明清以来两种儿化之不同的原因。

第九章“满汉语音融合所启示的理论和方法论”结合本文满汉语音接触和融合的总体情况，提出了语言接触理论的五种新认识，即民间口语的影响，“发音习惯”在语言转换中的主流作用，中介现象，语言渗入的“里应外合”，语言接触引起的系列性音变，最后提取满汉语音融合的各种类型，连锁式音变方法论的具体运作规律，证明它们是语音发展中又一种新的接力式的音变法，通过语音融合的共时变异可以构拟语言接触史。全文从方法论的实用价值和理论意义上为语言接触学提供了一个活生生的典型。

Abstract

Taking a perspective of historical linguistics and the study of language contact, this dissertation examines how Manchu, a major language of the Altaic family, influences the phonology of Beijing dialect. By tracing the Manchu base of Beijing dialect and integration rules for word formation in the two languages, it tries to find the origin of "qingyin" (unstressed tone) and "/r/ affixation" of Beijing dialect. From this, it attempts to establish a theoretical model of integrative phonological change in language contact, and also the methodological principles of chain shift.

The present dissertation consists of nine chapters, the contents of each are summarized below:

Chapter One, "Language contact of Beijing dialect in Qing Dynasty", after giving a brief review of the language contact history of Beijing dialect in Liao, Jin, and Yuan Dynasties, examines in detail the Manchu-anderin language contact in the northeast and around Beijing city from Ming Dynasty to the present time.

Dividing late Jin to the end of Qing into four periods, it discusses the history of language change and integration with various characteristics, portrays a picture of the horizontal and vertical change of Beijing dialect, and draws out four characteristics of Manchu-andarin language contact. The description in this chapter lays the foundation for the analysis and research of fused words.

Chapter Two, "Case analysis of Manchu base of Beijing dialect and the integration rules of Manchu-andarin words", examines 100 Mandarin words that have Manchu origins, selected from the 800 that the author has investigated on in the past years. Through textual research and analysis of their "written forms in Mandarin", "Manchu pronunciations in Qing Dynasty", "contemporary pronunciations in Beijing dialect", and "meanings in Mandarin", these 100 words are categorized as either Manchu words, or fused Manchu-andarin words, or Mandarin words in Manchu style. After such a detailed case analysis, this chapter summarizes five word-ormation rules of Manchu-andarin fused words: "return borrowing", "translation of both sound and meaning", "free reading of similar morphemes", "contracted syllables as free word roots (morphemes)", and "parallel mutual explanation". These rules points to the fact that it is through fused words that the

habits of Manchu pronunciation entered Mandarin.

Chapter Three, "the spatial difference of the dialect island of Beijing pronunciation and the historical development of Beijing dialect" first provides a birdseye view of the language situations of various locations of Manchurian Banner, and then focuses on several places that represent different historical periods: Jingzhou in Hubei province, Qingzhou in Shandong province, and the Fragrant Hill in Beijing. A diachronic analysis is given to the synchronic phonological variations produced by the Banner inhabitants who had very rich Manchu base. The analysis shows a correspondence between oral data collected from field work and written text from historical record, and sorts out the language contact history of existing Beijing dialect pronunciation from the minute differences in a static, synchronic description. Thus strong evidence is provided for the internal rules of phonological chain shift of "qingyin" (unstressed tone) and "/r/ affixation" of Beijing dialect.

Chapter Four to Chapter Eight are closely related. Focusing on the phonological phenomena of "qingyin" and "/r/- pronunciation", these four chapters discuss in light of phonological theories the reasons for the

serial fusional phonological change of Beijing dialect after Manchu-Mandarin contact, and explain step by step the specific realization of the phonological chain shift. Chapter Four, "Conditions for phonological chain shift and the analysis of vowels and consonants of Beijing Banner inhabitants", shows two phonological characteristics of the Beijing Banner inhabitants after they completed the change from Manchu-Mandarin bilinguals to Banner Mandarin monolinguals. These two characteristics are: the vowels and consonants are moved towards the back and low positions; they provide the syllabic environment for the formation of front "qingyin" and "/r/ affixation". Chapter Five, "Textual research of stress in Manchu and Beijing dialect in early Qing Dynasty", closely examines the differences in stress distribution between Manchu written language and Beijing dialect in its oral form. It also cites the evidence of the phonological change of Manchu place-names in the northeast since Jin and Qing Dynasties, academic works on phonology written by Manchurians since Qing Dynasty, as well as contemporary Manchu spoken in Heilongjiang in the northeast. Such evidence shows that the two characteristics of Manchu discussed above, and the stress distribution characteristic of "heavy front and light back" were transplanted into Mandarin in Beijing

city, and brought about a series of change to the phonological system of Beijing dialect. Chapter Six, "the 'qingsheng' (unstressed tone) of Mandarin and 'qingyin' (atonic syllable) of Manchu" discusses the entire transplantation process of "heavy front" and the import of "light back", offers a detailed diachronic comparison and synchronic contrast between the Mandarin "qingsheng" and the Manchu "qingyin", showing with many kinds of examples that the exceptions of Mandarin "qingsheng" tone is just the nature of Manchu "qingyin". This chapter also cites findings in experimental phonology and traditional phonology to verify the specific differences between "qingsheng" and "qingyin", then comes to the conclusion that the "qingyin" brings about changes in phonemes, so that lateral- and trill consonants became "qingyin" with the [ə] sound. It is particularly important that among the "qingyin", the vocalisation of back-pico consonants and the centralization of vowels resulted in a large number of syllables with the [ə] sound, which in turn led to the sudden increase of /r/ affixation in Beijing dialect. Chapter Seven, "Generation of the "qingyin" [ə] ending and the production of the fused /r/ affixation", drawing on foreign phonological theories of self sufficient phonological segments, discusses the loss of

retroflex consonants in "qingyan" and the "remarriage" of the reflex feature. The [ɤ] syllable resulting from the lightening of back-pico consonants is extended to other syllables. This chapter identifies four sources of the increase of /r/ affixation, and draws on the assimilation between neighbouring sounds to explain the

fact that low and back vowels lends themselves to the acceptance of [ɤ] ending, and thus leading to the fusional /r/ sounds. Chapter Eight, "[ɤ] ending fuse with original compound sounds to result in Beijing /r/ sounds", begins with a survey of the /r/ sound change after Ming Dynasty, and proceeds to a focused discussion on the phenomena that the Qing Dynasty [ɤ] ending was attached to the Ming Dynasty compound /r/ and thus resulted in double-vel /r/ sounds. By doing so, this chapter clarifies the reason for the differences in /r/ sounds since Ming and Qing Dynasties.

Chapter Nine, "Theoretical and methodological implications of Manchu-andarin phonological integration", starts from the general situation of Mandarin phonological language contact and integration discussed in this dissertation, proposes five new views: spoken vernacular influence, the predominant function of pronunciation habit in language change, phenomenon of interlanguage, the "collaboration between internal and external forces", and the serial phonological change

brought about by language contact. Finally, it generalizes the various types of Manchu-Andarin phonological integration and the specific operating rules of chain shift methods. It shows that they are a new kind of "relay race" change in phonological development, and a history of language contact can be portrayed by studying the synchronic variation of phonological integration. Providing a vivid example of language contact, the present dissertation has both practical and theoretical significance.

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