



汉藏语

四音格词研究

汉 藏 羌 彝 缅 苗 傣 ……

孙 艳◎著

Hanzangyu
Siyingeci Yanjiu

民族出版社

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汉藏语视角与四音格词研究

——《汉藏语四音格词研究》序

戴庆厦

孙艳的博士论文《汉藏语四音格词研究》就要出版了,多年的辛勤耕耘终于开花结果。我很高兴为她这本书写序。

这篇论文以汉藏语系为研究对象,系统而深入地描写了汉藏语四音格词的基本特征(包括共性特征和个性特征)。在语料分析的基础上,进一步揭示了四音格词产生、发展的内部动因和外部影响,并进行了可能的理论概括。她认为,汉藏语系普遍存在的四音格词,在特征上之所以呈现出高度的一致性,并非来源于原始汉藏语的共同特征,而是各种语言在各自的系统中形成和发展的,是语言类型作用的结果。在揭示四音格词产生的动因时具体指出:韵律、双音化、词汇化和重叠是四音格词形成和发展的语言类型动因;语言内部的对称机制等对四音格词具有制约作用;语言接触和社会文化等外部因素在四音格词发展演变中也有着一定的影响;语言内部机制和外部影响两个方面交互作用,共同制约着四音格词的发展。全文材料丰富,有创新点,是一篇很好的论文。

我们知道,汉藏语四音格词的研究在我国已经有半个多世纪

的历史,在学术界取得了一些成果。但总的来看,这一课题的研究进展较慢,存在着许多悬而未决的问题。之所以如此,是因为在研究方法上长期囿于个体语言的狭小范围内,研究汉语的不了解非汉语的特点,研究非汉语的也不关心汉语的研究。其结果是:在汉语研究领域,四音格词被简单地归入熟语,主要是成语的研究中,使得研究对象和范围长期未能明确界定,研究难以系统深入展开。而汉藏语系非汉语的四音格词研究也是基本上局限在个体语言的描写上,语族、语支间的比较研究十分薄弱,因而缺乏高一层的视角,也难以做出有深度的理论阐释。

显然,四音格词研究的出路在于,必须在汉藏语系层面上进行系统的比较研究,扩大研究的视角。在研究策略上必须在微观描写的基础上,高屋建瓴、宏观地把握整个语系四音格词的共性特征,以语言类型学的理论方法阐释四音格词在汉藏语系中普遍存在这一语言事实,进而揭示四音格词形成、演变和发展的语言动因。

孙艳的论文《汉藏语四音格词研究》在理论上的价值主要有以下四点:一、这一个案研究有助于语言类型学的研究。20世纪60年代初兴起的语言类型学研究,其主旨就是通过语言比较(包括亲属语言和非亲属语言的比较),研究世界语言相同或者相异的特点,从复杂而又纷繁的语言现象中归纳出少量的、有限的类型,从而揭示人类语言的共性。该文的研究表明,汉藏语系语言四音格词的构造方式和结构特征都呈现出高度的一致性,是汉藏语的共性特征之一,这种共性特征也正是汉藏语类型学的一个特征。因此,汉藏语四音格词的研究能够丰富类型学的理论及研究方法。二、能够为语言机制研究提供新语料。该文研究指出,四音格现象

的存在与语言自身的机制有着密切的关系,着重分析了对称、类推、羡余和经济等语言机制在四音格词形成和发展中的作用,对语言机制的理论探讨将会有一定的参考价值。三、能够为历史比较研究补充参考证据。四音格词这样普遍地存在于汉藏语系的语言中,是不是原始汉藏语的共同特征,是一个值得研究的重要问题。它的研究成果至少能够为研究语言亲缘关系提供某些辅证,也可为汉藏语谱系分类研究提供参考。四、由于四音格词在形成和发展过程中与其他语言单位有着密切的联系,因此,它的研究将对考察其他语言现象的形成及演变动因有所帮助。比如,双音化是汉藏语大多数语言已经出现或正在形成的语言现象,与四音格词形成有着密切关系,因而对四音格词的研究有利于追溯双音化的成因和规律。

该课题研究的应用价值也是显而易见的。由于四音格词是语言交际中十分活跃的单位,在口语和书面语的表达中都有很高的使用频率,而且四音格词独有的描写性特征又使得它具有重要的修辞功能,是提高表达效果的有效手段,因而揭示四音格词的心理因素和认知特点,有益于语言教学,特别是有利于第二语言教学理论和实践的深入探讨。

孙艳原是河北师范大学副教授,2002年随我攻读语言学博士学位。她原先主要从事汉语的教学、研究,在汉语方面有一定功底。来校后,考虑到她在语言研究上应该有更广阔的思路和视角,决定让她做跨语言的语言比较研究,希望她的学术路子和学术成就能够得益于汉藏语丰富的语言事实。三年来,她勤奋学习,孜孜不倦地追求上进,进步很大。特别是她品学兼优,受到师友的称赞。今年毕业时被评为我校优秀博士生。

我希望孙艳今后继续努力,在汉藏语比较研究上更上一层楼,
为发展我国的语言学做出更多的贡献。

是为序。

2005-6-26 北京

摘 要

本文以汉藏语系(以下简称“汉藏语”)为研究对象,描写汉藏语四音格词的基本特征(包括共性特征和个性特征),并揭示四音格词产生、发展的内部动因和外部影响。研究表明,汉藏语系的语言普遍存在四音格词,在特征上呈现出高度的一致性。这种一致性并非来源于原始汉藏语的共同特征,而是各种语言在各自的语言系统中形成和发展的。因此本文认为汉藏语四音格词是语言类型作用的结果。全文共分五章。

第一章 绪论。确定研究对象并说明研究的意义;简述汉语和非汉语四音格词的研究概况;提出研究的难点和本文的突破点;介绍本文的研究方法及语料来源。

第二章 汉语的四音格词。通过共时描写,说明汉语四音格词是由四个音节按一定的结构规则构成的、结构词化、意义词化或准词化的特殊的词汇单位。尽管四音格词在形式上呈现多样性,构成方式不同,但其结构功能都相当于一个词。历时考察表明,先秦时期是汉语四音格词形成的初期,此期大量的经典文献是后世汉语四音格成语的重要来源;魏晋南北朝的四音格固定语的数量已超过前代;唐五代四音格词呈现出多样性的特点;宋元时期的

四音格俗语空前繁荣,构成了这一时期汉语四音格词的突出特征;明清时期是近代汉语与现代汉语接轨的重要时期,汉语四音格词进入了全面、稳步发展的阶段。考察还表明,四音格词始终沿着语音造词和语法造词两条途径发展,而以后者为主要途径。

第三章 汉藏语系中非汉语的四音格词。通过对汉藏语系中非汉语 34 种语言四音格词的研究,发现整个语系语言类型特征多样、复杂,分布不均衡。藏缅语族中的语言大都拥有丰富的四音格词,受汉语等同语系语言的影响很少,比较完整地保留了本语言固有的四音格词的特征;苗瑶、壮侗语族四音格词的语音形式和结构特征均比较一致,与汉语差别不大。总体上说,非汉语的四音格词在来源和演变发展上都有各自的途径,尚未找到发生学方面的联系,其关系似拟类型学关系。

第四章 汉藏语四音格词的共性与个性。论述汉藏语四音格词在语音类型、语法结构和语义特征方面均存在语言类型的一致性。具体表现为:四音格词的语音形式以 ABAC、AABB、ABCD 为主,语法结构以并列关系为主,语义特征以描写性为主。但不同语言之间又呈现出个性特点,即语音类型分布的不平衡性,语法结构功能的复杂性和语义搭配关系的多样性。本文研究发现,四音格词的出现和丰富与否,与语言类型有着直接关系。具体表现为,缺乏形态手段的分析性语言,一般比形态手段丰富的语言更易产生四音格词。

第五章 制约四音格词发展演变的语言动因。指出韵律、双音化、词汇化和重叠是四音格词形成和发展的语言类型动因;语言

内部的对称机制、羡余机制、经济机制和类推机制等对四音格词具有制约作用;语言接触和社会文化等外部因素在四音格词发展演变中也发挥着一定的作用。正是语言内部和外部两个方面的交互作用共同制约着四音格词的发展。

汉藏语四音格词研究的意义在于:(1)有助于加深对四音格词的认识。四音格词是汉藏语的一个特殊的词汇单位,具有独特的构造方式。本文从汉藏语不同语言的比较中观察、分析四音格词的共性和个性,从而在更高的层次上认识四音格词的属性。(2)有助于语言类型学研究的深化。汉藏语四音格词存在的共性特征,是汉藏语类型学特征的一个重要方面,对其深入研究必能在某些方面丰富类型学的理论及研究方法。(3)能够为语言机制研究提供新语料。四音格现象的存在与语言自身的机制有着密切关系,特别是类推机制、对称机制与四音格词的产生和发展关系更为密切。(4)能够为历史比较研究补充参考证据。无论四音格词是不是原始汉藏语的共同特征,它的研究成果至少可以成为下位语言亲缘关系的辅证,同时也是汉藏语谱系分类的参考因素。(5)有助于语用研究。四音格词是语言交际中十分活跃的单位,在口语和书面语的表达中都有很高的使用频率。四音格词独有的描写性特征又使其具有重要的修辞功能,是提高表达效果的有效手段。

本文采用描写和比较相结合、共时与历时相结合的研究方法,在掌握丰富语料的基础上进行微观的、系统的描写,在描写的基础上进行比较。既对汉藏语中绝大多数语言的四音格词作出共时描写,也选取有代表性的语言进行历时的考察分析。通过共时和历

时两个方面的相互验证,为汉藏语拥有丰富的四音格词提供语言机制方面的解释。本文还对典型语言的四音格词进行了多层次、多角度的统计,为整体研究和最后的结论提供了可靠的论证数据。

关键词:汉藏语,四音格词,共时描写,历时考察,类型学

ABSTRACT

Taken the tetrasyllable words of the Sino - Tibetan! family of languages (add. as Sino - Tibetan languages in the text) as the research subject, the current dissertation presents a description of the general and special characters of the tetrasyllable words of the Sino - Tibetan languages, also explains the interior motive and exterior influence of its' origination and development. The research found it is common that the Sino - Tibetan languages have tetrasyllable words, and (this words) show the high consistency feature. The consistency is not originated from the common characters of the primitive Sino - Tibetan languages, but respectively formed and developed in their own language system. So the author holds that the tetrasyllable words of the Sino - Tibetan family of languages are the results of different language types' interaction. The dissertation comprises of five chapters.

Chapter One. Preface. This chapter defines the subject of the study and explains its significance, states the literature review of the tetrasyllable words research in Chinese and non - Chinese, expounds the difficulties and innovations of the current research, and, furthermore, the re-

search methods and corpus resources.

Chapter Two. The tetrasyllable words of Chinese language. The synchronic description explains that the Chinese tetrasyllable words is defined as a special language unit in the form of structural and semantic lexicalization which functions as a word, although it is presented in different forms and structures. The chronic observation in this chapter shows the traits of its evolution and development. The Chinese tetrasyllable words originated in the Qin Dynasty, the literature of which served as main resources for the formation of the Chinese tetrasyllable words in the subsequent centuries. In the Weijin & Nanbei Dynasties, the number of the fixed forms of the tetrasyllable words greatly exceeded those of the prior period. The tetrasyllable words in the Tang Dynasty exhibited its character of diversity, compared with those of the prior dynasties. The Song & Yuan Dynasties saw its prosperity that served as its salient characters. The Ming & Qing Dynasties are an important period for the development of the modern Chinese, during which the modern Chinese went into a stable state for its development. The research also shows that the Chinese tetrasyllabic words have been developing in two ways, especially the latter one: word - formation through morphological strategies and word - formation through grammatical strategies.

Chapter Three. Non - Chinese tetrasyllable words in the Sino - Tibetan family of languages. Through the description of the 34 Non - Chinese tetrasyllable words in the Sino - Tibetan languages, one can find the

diversity, complication and unbalance features of the language type of the whole language family. Most of the languages of the Tibeto - Burman group have abundant tetrasyllable words, and have hardly influenced by the languages belongs to the same group as Chinese. They completely kept the inherit tetrasyllable words of themselves. The tetrasyllable words of Miao - Yao group and the Zhuang - Dong group share the same characters of phonetics form and structure feature, which have little difference from Chinese. As a whole, the tetrasyllable words of Non - Chinese languages have their own way of the origination, development and evolution. However, till now we have not found the genetics relation. The relation is just like the Typology way.

Chapter Four. The generality and peculiarity of the tetrasyllable words of the Sino - Tibetan language. This chapter discusses the language type consistency of the tetrasyllable words of the Sino - Tibetan language in the phonetics type, grammar structure and semantics trait. The consistency is like: the phonetics type is mostly like ABAC, AABB ABCD; the grammar structure is mainly parallel and the semantics trait is mainly descriptive. However, the different language has its' own peculiarity that is the unsymmetrical distribution of the phonological type, the complexity of the grammatical function and the diversity of the semantic collocation. The paper found that it is directly contacted with language type whether it has the tetrasyllable words and abundance or not. The analytical language that shorts of form method is easier to generate tetrasyllable words than

those that have plentiful form methods.

Chapter Five. The motives restricting the development and evolution of the tetrasyllable words. This chapter mainly states that rhythm, lexicalization, and overlapping are the language type motives for the tetrasyllable words' origination, evolution and development. The language systems' symmetric mechanism, the redundant principle, the economic mechanism and the analogical mechanism serve as internal restricting factors while the language contact and social culture work as the external ones. These are intertwined with each other and restrict its evolution and development.

The significance of the study of the tetrasyllable words of the Sino - Tibetan family of languages is like: (1) It is useful for deepening understand of the tetrasyllable words. The tetrasyllable words are special language units of Sino - Tibetan language that have peculiarity construction forms. This dissertation observes and analyses its generality and peculiarity of different languages of Sino - Tibetan family, and this is helpful for understanding it in a higher level. (2) It is helpful for deepening the linguistic typology study. The tetrasyllable words of the Sino - Tibetan family of languages share common features, and this is also an important aspect of the typology character of the Sino - Tibetan family of languages. To study this subject could enrich the theory and method of typology in some way. (3) It could provide new corpus resources for the language systems study. The tetrasyllable words have close connection with the language system, and especially the symmetric mechanism and the analogical

mechanism is decisive for its origination and development. (4) It could supplement reference evidence for the comparison study of history. Whether the tetrasyllable words is a common feature of the primitive Sino - Tibetan language or not, this study could be the subsidiary evidence for the subordinate language consanguinity relation. It could serve as supplement factors for the classification of the Sino - Tibetan family of languages. (5) It is helpful for the pragmatics study. Being very alert units in the language communication, the tetrasyllable words are used frequently in oral and writing intercourse. The special descriptive character of the tetrasyllable words makes itself to have an important rhetoric function and to be an effective means for enhancing expression.

Taking combination of the description and the comparison, the chronic and the chromic as a study method, the current dissertation puts the micro - system description on the bases of the abundant corpus source and the comparison on the bases of description, and not only synchronically describes the tetrasyllable words of the most languages of the Sino - Tibetan family of languages, but also makes the chronic exploration by choosing some typical languages. Through this way, the dissertation provides a language system explanation for the rich tetrasyllable words of the Sino - Tibetan family of languages. It also makes a multi - level and multi - aspect statistics of the tetrasyllable words of the typical languages, and this work provides a reliable proofing data for the integration study and the final conclusion.

KEY WORDS: Sino – Tibetan family of languages, the tetrasyllable words, synchronic description, chronic exploration, typology