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东汉石刻砖陶等 民俗性文字资料词汇研究

吕志峰 著



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博士文库

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序

作为表意性质的汉字，它在记录汉语时，也许从来就没有跟口语完全一致过。正如瑞士语言学家索绪尔所说：“对汉人来说，表意字和口说的词都是观念的符号；在他们看来，文字就是第二语言。”所谓“第二语言”，意思大概是具有不同于第一语言（口语）的相对独立性。这种状态不仅表现在语音和语法上，也表现在词汇上。我们很难说汉语书面语跟口语的区分是从什么时代开始的，但从东汉石刻砖陶等下层使用的实物文字资料看，民俗性文字资料所反映的汉语状态，尤其是其中的词汇，比较接近民间下层的用语，而与以《汉书》为代表的同时期的文言文有明显的差异。正是这种差异，给汉语史研究提供了一片值得开发的莱芜之地。吕君志峰的博士学位论文《东汉石刻砖陶等民俗性文字资料词汇研究》正是看上了这片莱芜之地，由词汇问题着手来梳理史料，不仅材料的选定和切入点都具有开创性，可望在汉语史的词汇研究方面开辟出新的园子，而且上接秦汉，下启魏晋，造就了一个可以不断展开的状态，这片园子的扩大势头是比较看好的。

这片园子的耕耘方式，其显著特点是点面兼顾。论文在制作数据库的基础上对限定范围内的语料进行了穷尽调查和统计，使研究基础更为周全和扎实。试看附录中的《词语总目》、《构词法情况汇总》、《词

语索引》中对相关词汇史料的全面展示,就可以体现出数据库建设对于汉语史研究所具有的优势。同时,作者在全面描写、定量分析的基础上,对于有特色的民俗性语词或用语进行了重点的考释,使得这片新开垦的园子已经展示出可喜的丰硕之果。如作者对于“黄母、皇母”等一般语词的考释,以及对于“黄神”、“天光”、“击犢卿”等具有较强民俗文化性词语的考释,用功用力,新见迭出,多有发明,表现出作者严谨的学风和良好的训诂能力。例如其中对于“天光”的考释,作者通过相关史料的考察,提出这样的现象:“可知古人认为鬼怕人知其姓名,所以在解除活动中,可以采用呼其姓名的办法进行驱鬼。”类似这样的阐述,在考释语词的同时,也揭示了当时的巫术文化现象,有助于读者对东汉民俗民风的了解。

大凡汉语史词汇研究,都面临一个难以回避的问题,就是字群属性的复音词与词组的区别。在这个问题上,吕志峰对于诸家相关论述和区分标准作了较好的总结,并提出了自己处理的原则。其中提到的“从宽原则”,就汉语而言,应该是一个重要的原则。这是因为在汉语书面语中,天然的书写单位是“字”而不是“词”。关于这点,潘文国学长曾经加以论述,他在《字本位与汉语研究》这部著作(华东师范大学出版社2002年)中提出(105—106页):

与英语不同的是,汉语中的词也是分析出来的,不是天然的。汉语经过几千年的发展,都没有发现相当于英语中的 Word,即“词”这个单位。第一个提出“字词之分”的是章士钊。其后的汉语语法著作,包括王力、吕叔湘、高名凯三大家的著作,无不开宗明义,在书的一开头,先提字词之分,作为研究汉语语法之先决条件。但时至今日,什么是词,什么不是词,在汉语语法界还是众说纷纭,言人人殊的东西。陆志韦(1957《汉语的构词法》)最早承认词不是

天然的,而是“从句子中摘出来的”。吕叔湘则归纳了词在两头的划界困难,说:

词在两头都有划界问题:一头是如何区分单独成词的语素和单独不成词的语素;另一头是如何决定什么样的语素组合只是一个词,什么样的语素组合构成一个短语。(吕叔湘《汉语语法论文集》491—492页)

正是在这样的背景下,吕叔湘说了如下这段意味深长的话:

语言的单位,常常讲到的有词、短语、句子等等。这些是语法学家们用的名目,一般人脑子里大概只有“字”和“句”。词在欧洲语言里是现成的,语言学家的任务是从词分析语素……汉语恰好相反,现成的是“字”,语言学家的课题是研究哪些字群是词,哪些是词组。汉语里的“词”之所以不容易归纳出一个令人满意的定义,就是因为本来没有这样一种现成的东西。(吕叔湘《汉语语法论文集》40—46页)

由此看来,在汉语史料中,如果我们很看重词和词组的区分,其实是自己把自己的手足给捆绑起来了。不要说是在大规模复音化刚开始的东汉魏晋时代,即使在已经完成词汇复音化的今天,如果就某个具体的字群形式加以深究,恐怕也不会有斩钉截铁的区分标志。从这点而言,既然我们采用了来自西文特征的“词”这个概念,“从宽原则”就应该贯穿词汇区分的整个领域。借此机会,对此略加论述,希望在同类研究中,都能注意到这个带有根本性的问题。

吕君志峰有志于民俗性实物文字资料的词汇研究,是从参与徐莉莉教授主持的教育部重点研究基地重大项目《东汉时期用字调查》课题开始的,不久前又在扩大史料断代范围的基础上,获得上海市哲学社会科学规划的立项支持,并接着参与我主持的教育部重点研究基地重大

项目《秦汉文字发展研究》课题。本书的出版,既是作者承担的上海市哲学社会科学规划项目《汉代实物文献俗语词研究》(批准号:2008EYY001)的阶段性成果,也属于教育部重点研究基地重大项目(批准号:07JJD740061)的系列成果之一。

吕志峰多年来勤奋用功,甘于寂寞,学风端正,态度严谨,相信在这个领域必将作出更大的成绩。

詹鄞鑫

2008年11月15日

中文摘要

所谓东汉石刻砖陶等民俗性文字资料,指的是东汉时期出现的反映了民间广大底层老百姓生产、生活、风尚习俗、宗教信仰等内容的实物文字资料,从质地上讲包括石刻、砖、陶、简牍、铅券等。这些材料用词简洁、通俗,不追求典雅,不用通语雅言;少用虚词、句式简单,接近于当时口语的真实面貌,与当时文学作品、史书等使用的文言文截然不同。本书对东汉时期石刻砖陶等带有民俗性的实物文字资料中的词语进行了全面研究。

本书分为“绪论”、“东汉民俗性实物文字资料的词汇构成”、“东汉民俗性实物文字资料复音词研究”、“东汉民俗性实物文字资料词语考释”、“东汉民俗性实物文字资料词语研究与大型语文辞书的编纂”、“东汉民俗性实物文字资料用字现象调查”,以及附录。

绪论部分共分四节。第一节,对“民俗性”这一概念从四个方面进行了界定,并介绍了东汉石刻砖陶等民俗性文字材料的具体情况;第二节,介绍了东汉石刻砖陶等民俗性文字资料词汇研究的价值和意义;第三节,介绍了东汉石刻砖陶等民俗性文字资料词汇研究的现状;第四节,介绍了东汉石刻砖陶等民俗性文字资料词汇研究的思路与方法。

第一章“东汉民俗性实物文字资料的词汇构成”。共分三节。第一节,探讨了“字与词的关系”、“字与单音词的关系”、“复音词与词组的区

别”三个理论问题,这是进行词汇研究的前提。第二节,从总体上介绍了石刻砖陶等民俗性文字资料词汇的构成情况。不计重复,共有词语2168个。按性质划分,分为一般词语和专类词语。一般词语1685个,专类词语483个。按音节划分,分为单音词和复音词。单音词655个,复音词1513个。从词类角度看,名词1332个;动词496个;形容词80个;数词113个;量词22个;副词70个;代词26个;连词17个;语气词5个;助词1个;助动词6个。第三节,分析了东汉石刻砖陶等民俗性文字资料词汇的特点。

第二章“东汉民俗性实物文字资料复音词研究”。共分九节。第一节,从音节、词类、结构等方面介绍了复音词的分布情况。第二节,从语义和词性两方面考察了联合式复音词。第三节,从修饰语素与中心语素的意义关系与词性两个方面考察了偏正式复音词。第四节,考察了动宾式复音词。第五节,考察了主谓式复音词。第六节,考察了补充式复音词。第七节,考察了附加式复音词。第八节,考察了重叠式、单纯词以及综合式等构词法。第九节,在全面考察的基础之上,我们从汉语史的角度,上溯到先秦、西汉,下追到魏晋南北朝,与不同时期的具有代表性的文献里面的复音词情况、构词法情况等进行了详细对比研究,力求弄清楚民俗性实物文字资料中的复音词在汉语史中的地位,从而考察汉语词汇复音化过程。

第三章“东汉民俗性实物文字资料词语考释”。共分三节。第一节,对8个一般词语进行了考释;第二节,对部分专类词语进行了考释;第三节,对部分固定用语进行了解释。

第四章“东汉民俗性实物文字资料词语研究与大型语文辞书的编纂”。共分五节。第一节,主要介绍了对新词新义问题的认识以及写作本章的初衷。第二节至第五节从“补充东汉书证”、“提前书证”、“补充义项”、“增补词目”四个方面介绍了东汉石刻砖陶等民俗性文字资料的

词语对于编纂辞书的重要价值。

第五章“东汉民俗性实物文字资料用字现象调查”。从“读为字”、“异体字”、“错字”三个方面对东汉民俗性实物文字资料的用字现象进行了调查分析,有助于更加准确地判断分析词语。

本书具有如下特点:第一,语料新。本书注重资料发掘与整理,力争穷尽性占有目前能发现的所有符合“民俗性”标准的实物文字材料,这些材料的语言面貌接近于当时的口语,极具研究价值。第二,研究内容比较全面。我们从构词法、词语考释、与大型辞书的对比研究以及用字现象调查等四个方面对东汉石刻砖陶等民俗性文字资料的词语进行了全面研究,分别得出了相对有力的结论。第三,研究方法较为得当。我们注重历时与共时相结合的方法,既做好共时层面的描写工作,又注重与较近历史时期的语言材料进行历时比较。注重内容与形式相结合的方法,既注重词语构词法的分析,又重视词语意义的考察。此外,还重视电脑语料库与数据库技术的应用。

由于时间精力和学识水平有限,本书仍然存在一些不足,这些都有待于日后进一步努力和完善。

关键词: 东汉;石刻砖陶;民俗性;复音词;词语考释;应用价值;用字现象

Abstract

The literal data on carved stones and tiles of the Eastern Han dynasty is a kind of literal data carved on practicalities, which appeared in the Eastern Han dynasty and reflected the work, the life, folk customs and the faith of the ordinary people lived in the bottom of the society. These literal data are carved on different things, including stones, tile, bamboo, and lead. And the words in these data are laconic and popular, not in pursuit of elegance, using few empty words and simple sentence. So they are close to the real oral language of that time, completely different from the classical Chinese used in literary works and history records. This paper has made a comprehensive study on the words and expressions in the literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty.

This paper is divided into six parts as follows: Introduction; The glossary structure of the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty; Study on complex tone words in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty; Textual research on the words and expressions in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the

Eastern Han dynasty; Study on the words and expressions in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty, and the compilation of the large language dictionary; Research on the phenomenon of using words in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty; and the appendix.

The introduction is divided into four sections. In the first section, we have defined the conception folklike from four aspects, and introduced the general instances of the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty; In the second section, we have explained the value and significance of the study on the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty; In the third section, we have introduced the actual state of the study on the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty; In the fourth section, we have introduced the method of the study on the words and expressions in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty.

Chapter one, the glossary structure of the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty, is divided into three sections. In the first section, we have discussed the relationship between characters and words, the relationship between characters and single tone words, and the difference between the complex tone words and the phrases. The four academic problems above are the foundation of the glossary study. In the second section, on the whole we have introduced the composing instances of the folklike lit-

eral data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty. Except for the repetition, there are 2,168 words. According to the character, they can be divided as 1,685 common words and 483 species words. According to the syllable, they can be divided as 655 single syllable words and 1,513 complex tone words. According to the word class, they can be divided as 1,332 nouns, 496 verbs, 80 adjectives, 113 numerals, 22 quantifiers, 70 adverbs, 6 auxiliaries, 26 pronouns, 17 conj. 5 mood words, 1 auxiliary word. In the third section, we have discussed the characteristics of the words and expressions in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty.

Chapter two, Study on complex tone words in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty, is divided into nine sections. In the first section, we have introduced the distributing status of the complex tone words in the aspects of the syllable, word class, and makeup. In the second section, we have reviewed combined complex tone words from the aspects of the meaning of the words and the part of the speech. In the third section, we have reviewed the gauche pattern complex tone words from the aspect of the meaning relationship and the part of speech of the modifier element and center element. In the fourth section, we have reviewed the verb-object pattern complex tone words. In the fifth section, we have reviewed the subject-predicate pattern complex tone words. In the sixth section, we have reviewed the complementary pattern complex tone words. In the seventh section, we have reviewed the affixation pattern complex tone words. In the eighth section, we have reviewed

the word-building of superposition pattern, simplex words and composite pattern. On the base of the reviews above, in the ninth section, we have traced the history from the period of Xianqin and Western Han to Weijin and Nanbeichao. In this way, we have detailedly and contrastly studied the instances of complex tone words and word-building, and made clear the complex tone words' position in the history of the Chinese language, which shows the process of the complex tone tendency of the Chinese language.

Chapter three, Textual research on the words and expressions in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty, is divided into three sections. In the first section, we have textually studied 8 common words. In the second section, we have textually studied some species words. In the last section, we have textually studied some idioms.

Chapter four, Study on the words and expressions in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty, and the compilation of the large language dictionary, is divided into five sections. In the first section, we have mainly introduced the cognition of new words with new meanings, and the original intention of writing this chapter. Then, from four aspects, we have introduced the significant value of the words and expressions in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty for dictionary compilation.

In Chapter five, Research on the phenomenon of using words in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty, from the aspects of duweizi, variant characters and

wrongly written characters, we have researched and analyzed the phenomenon of using characters in the folklike literal data carved on the stones and tiles during the Eastern Han dynasty.

Based on research, this paper has characteristics as follows: firstly, new language materials. We pay attention to digging and settling data, trying to find all the materials that accord with the conception folklike. And these materials are close to the oral language and have significant values for research. Secondly, the content of our research is very comprehensive. Studying from the aspects of word-building, textual research on the words and expressions, research contrasted with large dictionary compilation and phenomenon of using characters, we have drawn a comparatively convincing conclusion. Thirdly, our research methods are quite proper. We pay attention to not only contemporaneous materials but also historical materials, and pay attention to comparing the language materials. In addition, we pay attention to the method of combining the content with the form, not only analyzing the word-building of the words but also reviewing the meaning of the words. Furthermore, we attach importance to applying the database technique of the computer.

However, owing to my limited vigor and wisdom, there are still some deficiencies in this paper, and these deficiencies will await me to make more efforts to perfect.

Key words: Eastern Han; carved stones and tiles; folklike; complex tone words; textual research on the words and expressions; applied value; phenomenon of using characters

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