



卑南语 构词法研究

◎ 石德富 / 著

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内 容 提 要

本著作以台湾省台东县卑南乡南王村的卑南语为研究对象，对卑南语的构词法作系统的考察研究。本研究的语料提供人陈荣福先生（1916—1984）30岁以前一直生活在故乡，自20世纪50年代至谢世，一直在中央民族学院从事母语研究。本研究的语料主要来源于他所编写的课本和以他的课本为蓝本而编写的词典。

本研究主要是在结构主义语言观和格位理论的指导下，对卑南语的构词法作微观描写。研究的基本程序是：在收集整理材料之后，对派生词作了初步的切分替换，归纳出判断词缀和词根的准则，进而分析研究材料。研究时，既注意派生词和词根的语义角色关系，也注意词根和词缀之间的附加和被附加的限制条件；归纳语义特征时，遵循对立互补的系统性原则。

本著作由正文和附录两个部分构成，而正文由7个章节构成。

第一章 绪论。本章简要介绍了以下情况：卑南人及其语言使用情况，本文的选题缘由、目的和意义，材料、研究方法及其理论依据，论文中常用的符号和意义。

第二章 构词法及其相关术语的界定。本章概述了卑南语词汇的主要特点，对构词法及其相关术语如构词与构词法、词根与词缀进行了界定，归纳出判断词根和词缀的相关准则，从语音的角度分析了卑南语的重叠方式，提出卑南语构词过程的假设：输入—叠加—过滤—整合—输出，以及建立在这个假设基础上的论文结构。

第三章 卑南语构词中的音节叠加与词形整合。卑南语词形的基本模式为： $[C + V]_n + ' [C + V + (C)]$ 。为了遵循词形的

结构模式和发音的经济原则和不产生歧义原则，在构词的过程中就对所叠加的音节进行整合，从而导致发生了增音、减音、变音等现象。

第四章 单纯词缀的语义特征及其构词。单纯词缀一般都具有多项语义特征，是多项语义特征的集合。附加派生法，就是在词根意义的基础上叠加这些语义特征。但在派生过程中，常常根据情况对集合中的语义特征项进行取舍整合，才能产生意义合格的派生词。

卑南语组词层次的前缀不仅数量少，而且构词能力也比较弱，但是形态层次的前缀很活跃，很有生命力，卑南语的许多语法范畴都通过附加这些词缀表达出来。

卑南语的中缀有两个：-em- 和 -in-，并且分别跟前缀 me- 和 ni- 互补分布，前缀附加在以流音和鼻音开头的词根而中缀则附加在以塞音（含擦音 s）开头的词根。

卑南语的后缀按功能来分，可分为名词化后缀和表被动的后缀。名词化后缀只有一个：-an；被动后缀有六个：-an、-aw、-aj、-anaj、-u 和 -i。

第五章 词缀的复合结构及其构词。本章讨论两个问题。

(1) 复杂派生词内的结构层次。复合词缀派生新词是有序的，一般都由内向外逐层地派生。各个词缀所处的层次是由派生过程中的先后顺序来决定的，与其空间分布无关。在派生词内的各个词缀的顺序序列中，某个词缀的语义辖域、语法意义的分量跟它与词根所处的层次成正比，越是处在外层，词缀的语义辖域越大，语法意义分量越大；某个词缀和词根语义的紧密度跟它与词根所处的层次成反比，越是处在外层，它与词根的语义关系的紧密度就越小。

在派生过程中，若内层词缀的某项语义特征和外层词缀的语义特征相互矛盾，则将内层词缀与之矛盾的项清除，最外层的词

缀的性质往往决定该派生词的词性地位和语法特征。

(2) 卑南语复合词缀的结构模式。卑南语复合词缀一般有六种结构模式：前缀+前缀，前缀+前缀+前缀，中缀+后缀，前缀+后缀，前缀+前缀+后缀和前缀+中缀+后缀。

第六章 卑南语的重叠构词。卑南语有三种重叠模式：重叠第一式、第二式和混合式，但主要使用前两者来构词。

动词根重叠第一式一般具有[工具]、[原料]、[名物化]、[将行体]等语义特征。名词根重叠第一式一般具有[泛化/抽象化]、[每个]等语义特征。

动词根重叠第二式常常具有[反复]、[持续]、[短暂]、[随意]、[描摹]等语义特征；形容词根重叠第二式通常具有[深化]、[描摹]等语义特征；名词根重叠第二式一般具有[众多]、[处所]等等语义特征。

重叠形式能被前缀、双重前缀、中缀、后缀以及各种复合词缀所附加，派生出大量的新词。这些派生词的意义都是由词根意义、重叠形式的语义特征和所有参与派生的词缀的语义特征叠加整合而成。在派生词内的词缀顺序序列中，重叠形式一般都比词缀处于内层。

第七章 结论。本章综合前文所述后认为：(1) 在词根上附加词缀和重叠词根是卑南语词的形态变化和派生新词的主要手段；(2) 单纯词缀和重叠模式一般都具有多项语义特征，是多项语义特征的集合。派生就是以词根意义为基础，在这基础上叠加各项语义特征，并对之进行取舍。复合词缀派生的词是由多个单纯词缀派生过程的叠加与整合而成；(3) 第一章的假设基本是成立的，亦即不管是语音层面还是词义层面，一般的派生活动可能经历以下过程：输入—叠加—过滤—整合—输出。

Abstract

This dissertation is attempted to make a systematical description on the word formation of Puyuma, which is one of the aboriginal languages in Taiwan belonging to Indonesian Family of the Austronesian Phylum, with nearly 10,000 speakers who mainly live in Beinan Town, Taidong County. As other aboriginal languages in Taiwan, it is a polysyllabic agglutinative language with a stress on the last syllable of a word and without tones.

The materials on which the research project of the dissertation is conducted are mainly drawn from the textbooks compiled by Mr. Chen Rongfu (or Tiam Barasung in Puyuma), a native Buyuma speaker who migrated from Nanwangxiang village Beinan Town to the mainland during the War of Resistance Against Japan as a soldier and later became a scholar of his native language in the Central Institute of Nationalities, the former of the Central University for Nationalities, and unfortunately passed away in 1984, and also from a un-published Buyuma-Chinese Dictionary, which was built on the base of the textbooks by Mr. Chen. The textbooks by Mr. Tiam Barasung can be listed as follows: Primer of Buyuma Language, Buyuma Dialogues (two volumes), Collection of Buyuma Folk Stories (two volumes), Folk Stories of Minority Ethnic Groups in China, all written by hand. The materials are adequate to make it possible to make a systematic and deep research into the language.

From the perspective of descriptivism combined with case theory, the dissertation makes a micro-analysis and a exhaustive description on all the derived words collected. Focus is paid both on the relationship between

the semantic roles of the root and its derived word, and on the restrictive conditions of the root and the affixes on which they are combined with each other.

The contents of the deissertation are as follows: the basic patterns of phonetic word form in Puyuma; phonetic adjustment of the added syllables within derived words; affixes and their semantic features; the affixing order of affixes within complex derived words and the levels of their structures, and the semantic features; the reduplication patterns of word roots and the semantic features they carry each, the compound reduplications of affixes and their semantic features; and the derivability of each affix and the process of derivations.

Affixing and reduplication are the two main ways in which morphology are carried on in Puyuma language. The affixes added to the verbal root often mould the verb's syntactical patterns or models. Therefore, if the characteristics and rules of the word formation are found, it would be helpful and easier to get the knowledge of its vocabulary system and the preparation to conduct the deeper research on its syntax.

The dissertation consists of 7 chapters, which are as follows:

Chapter One: Preface;

Chapter two: Definitions and Terminology Concerned;

Chapter Three: Adjustment of Added Syllables within Derived Words;

Chapter Four: Simple Affixes, their semantic Features and the Process of Derivation;

Chapter Five: Compound Affixes within Derived Words, their Semantic Features and the Levels of the Structures;

Chapter Six: Reduplication Patterns of Word Roots and their Semantic Features;

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Some findings of the dissertation:

1. The basic patterns of phonetic word forms in Puyuma is illustrated as the following format:

$$[C + V]_n + '[C + V + (C)]$$

In order to adjust to this format, all the newly added syllables within the derivation process will be filtered and made some changes such as addition, assimilation, dissimilation etc.

2. In Puyuma, only two infixes are found which are -em- and -in-, and the forms of -im-, -en-, -un-, -um- are conditional varieties of -em-. Furthermore, -em- and -in- are complementarily distributed with the prefixes of me- and ni- relatively. The condition in which these prefixes or infixes are chosen is the nature of the initial consonants of the word roots. If the initial consonants of the word roots are liquids or nasals, prefixes of me- or ni- are chosen to add to those roots while infixes of -em- (including its varieties of -en-, -im-, -un-, -um-) or -in- are chosen if the initial consonants of word roots are non-liquids or non-nasals.

3. Each affix is a set of semantic features, or a container, in other word, which holds many items of semantic feature. Semantically, affixation is the course in which the items of semantic feature carried by an affix or affixes are added to the basic meaning of the word root and the items are selected in order to produce the right meaning of the derived word.

4. The common models of compound affixes in Puyuma are: (A) prefix + prefix; (B) prefix + prefix + prefix; (C) infix + suffix; (D) prefix + suffix; (E) prefix + prefix + suffix; and (F) prefix + infix + suffix.

5. In the sequence of affix order within a complex derived word, the semantic scope and grammatical meaning of a given affix is directly pro-

portional to the order it takes in the sequence, while its closeness of semantic relationship with the root is inversely. The order of a given affix is decided by the turn it is added to the root rather than by the space it put to the root.

6. In the process of derivation, if any items of semantic feature of the inner affixes are contradictory to those of the outer affixes, those items are often cleaned up. It is the affix taking the last order that often decides both the class of the derived word and the sentence patterns if it is a verb.

7. The reduplication of a word root in Puyuma can be classified into three models. They are as follows:

Model one: To reduplicate the consonant of the second syllable of the root from its rear and then add the vowel of [a] behind that consonant. If a root is a nominal root, model one often contains the items of semantic feature as [generalizing], and [each] etc; if it is a verbal root, that model often has the items of semantic feature as [instrument], [material], [nominalization], and [future aspect] etc.

Model two: To reduplicate the last two syllables of a word root. If the last syllable is ended with a consonant, then the consonant is omitted in the replicated part because of being moulded by the basic pattern of phonetic word form of the language. The semantic features of reduplication model two of a verbal root often are [repetitive], [continuous], [transient] and [descriptive] etc; those of an adjective root are [intensity], [descriptive]; those of a nominal root are [plural(as a group)], [within (a place)] etc.

Model three is a mixture of Model 1 and Model 2 with Model 1 in the front, which is not often used, indicating reciprocal action among many people.

Many words are the reduplicated form of word roots combined one or two or even three affixed, the meaning of a complicatedly derived word is the mixture of the root meaning, the semantic feature of the reduplication revolved and the semantic features of an affix or affixes with some necessary adjustment.

8. Whether phonetically or semantically, derivation is commonly processed as following:

input-addition-filter-adjust-output.

KEY WORDS: Puyuma Language, word formation, affixation, reduplication, semantic feature

序

石德富的《卑南语构词法研究》是在学位论文的基础上修订而成的。这部论著以探索和研究卑南语的构词法为主旨，基本厘清了台湾卑南语的构词体系及其特点，是前人未曾涉及的学术空白，就其阐论的内容和学术意义而言，所凸显的独特性与创新性自不待言，同行学人会作出肯定的评价。

石德富的母语是苗语，硕士研究生阶段研读的是苗语，他母语基础扎实，研究起来胸有成竹，是大家公认的。在博士研究生阶段，石德富攻读被视为“冷门”的南岛语研究方向，不免出乎意料。经过3年的师生相处与研讨课业，知道其选择的动机纯粹基于对语言研究的浓厚志趣与执著追求。他认为，苗语与南岛语本无隔阂，对语言研究者而言，多熟悉和掌握一种语言，可以触类旁通，相互观照，彼此促进。具体于他来说，攻读南岛语不仅仅是学历的要求，而且是开拓学术视野、提高学术水平的需要。《卑南语构词法研究》的问世，无疑是石德富博士生阶段学有所成的一个证明。

石德富做人诚实，做学问也诚实。南岛语对他是崭新的领域，从一开始，学问就做得中规中矩、扎扎实实。他先主修民族语 Amis 语，课堂上勇于讨论，发表见解，将 Amis 语和自己的母语或其他语言进行比较，在“研讨”中博取新知；他接受卑南语研究课题时，资料依据是卑南族老师手写的遗稿，基本上未经系统整理、分类和规范注释，而学界可供参考的工具性资料又寥寥。石德富的前期准备几乎是从零开始，将资料按照语言学规范重新核实、整理、分类、分析和解读，工作量的浩大、繁琐与复

杂，非常人所能承受，而石德富却做到了。正是这种严于律己、脚踏实地的精神和学风，成就了石德富的成绩与进步。

记得 2004 年我到台湾访问，带着石德富的这部学位论文，赠送卑南族学者孙大川先生和李杰先生，两位先生颇感惊奇。2006 年我再度访问台湾，两位先生又重提石德富的佳作。孙先生赞曰：“基础扎实，难能可贵。”李先生评语：“所引所论俱佳，我们卑南人能读懂！”一部民族语言研究成果，能博得本族学者由衷的认同和赞赏，石德富有理由感到自慰和自豪。

有道是：“旧学商量加邃密，新知涵养转深沉。”祝愿石德富不负众望，在南岛语研究的道路上走得更远，取得更好的业绩！是为序。

曾思奇

2008 年 7 月 8 日

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