

DIALECTOLOGY

J. K. CHAMBERS
AND
PETER TRUDGILL

SECOND EDITION

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出版说明

乔姆斯基的转换生成语法强调人类语言的普遍性,试图从语法原则与参数的高度揭开人类语言的普遍结构,更进一步揭示人类认知的奥秘。人类历史上似乎从未有哪一门学科如此富于创造性和挑战性,也很少有一种科学能够如此深刻地对相关学科产生如此广泛而深远的影响。这一理论在不断拓展的语料视野面前,在不断回应新思想方法的挑战过程中,不断地调整自己的思路和方法,跋涉了半个世纪,其所取得的成就不仅使语言学家激动和自豪,也令当代哲学、心理学、信息学、计算机科学、人工智能等众多领域的学者所瞩目。

乔姆斯基自称其理论远绍十七世纪法国普遍唯理语法。1898年,马建忠在他的《马氏文通》后序中这样说:“盖所见为不同者,惟此已形已声之字,皆人为之也。而亘古今,塞宇宙,其种之或黄或白,或紫或黑之钩是人也,天皆赋之以此心之所以能意,此意之所以能达之理。则常探讨画革旁行诸国语言之源流,若希腊、若拉丁之文词而属比之,见其字别种,而句司字,所以声其心而形其意者,皆有一定不易之律;而因以律吾经籍子史诸书,其大纲盖无不同。于是因所同以同夫所不同者,是则此编之所以成也。”马氏是留法的,普遍唯理语法对他的影响同样是深刻的。

不过,在中国,普遍主义的思想也就此昙花一现,很快就湮没在强调汉语特点的思路中。半个多世纪之后,转换生成语法逐渐为中国学者所知,可是很多人都认为它不适合汉语语法研究,只有在国外的学者在这方面做了些工作,取得了不少成绩。这种研究尽管还存在许许多多的问题,但至少可以说明,汉语研究同样可以走普遍语法的道路。

马氏的模仿是显然的。然而我们今天的研究就能肯定不是模仿了么?朱德熙先生曾经说:“长期以来印欧语语法观念给汉语研究带来的消极影响……主要表现在用印欧语的眼光来看待汉语,把印欧语所有而汉语所无的东西强加给汉语。”“我们现在在这里批评某些传统观念,很可能我们自己也正在不知不觉之中受这些传统观念的摆布。

这当然只能等将来由别人来纠正了,正所谓后之视今,亦犹今之视昔。”其言盖有深意焉。然而问题其实并不在于是否模仿,而在于模仿来的方法、视角是不是可以得出符合汉语事实的结论。反对模仿蕴涵着一个前提:即汉语与印欧语的结构没有相同之处。但是今天的我们对汉语的结构究竟了解了多少呢?

任何语言都有自己的特点,这一点毋庸置疑。但是不了解语言的普遍性,也就谈不上特点,也就无所谓走自己的道路。而且,在某一水平上成为特点的规律,在更高或更深层的水平上也许就不成其为特点,而仅仅是普遍性的一种特殊表现而已。

当代社会文化领域中多元化是主流,当代语言学理论也趋于多元。在西方,形式语言学不大可能再如以往如此这般地波澜壮阔,而是进入一个相对平静的稳定发展的时期,语言的功能方面的研究已经占据一席之地。在未来的一段时期内,语言学将是一个酝酿期,为下一个重大突破作准备。而在中国,语言学在长期的“借鉴”之后,也在思考如何能够从汉语出发,取得重大突破,反哺世界学林。语言学发展到今天,又重新面临着路怎样走这一根本问题。

不管下一步怎么走,充分了解西方学者的成绩,借鉴他们的思路和方法无疑是必不可少的。特别是对于取得了如此重大成就的当代西方语言学,如果不能有正确的了解,无异于闭门造车,要想出门合辙,不亦难乎?

北大出版社多年来坚持学术为本的出版方针,我们愿意为语言学在新世纪的发展尽一分绵薄之力。为了推动我国语言学事业的发展,在总编张文定先生的主持下,我们将原版引进一批高质量的语言学专著和教材,命之曰“西方语言学丛书”,以飨学林。引进的作品将包括语音学、韵律学、句法学、语义学、语言史、词源学、方言学等各个领域;既包括宏观的理论研究,也包括重要问题的个案研究;既包括形式语言学的方法,也包括认知、功能等视角。但不管是哪一种,都是经过精挑细选,庶几开卷有益。

我们期待着中国语言学的新突破!

北京大学出版社

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In revising this textbook, we have taken pains to retain the features that have made it a staple for linguists and students for eighteen years. *Dialectology* presents the fundamentals of studying language variation between and within communities. More than one reviewer of the first edition noted that ours was the first book to survey those fundamentals although dialect studies have been pursued systematically for about a century and a half. For this second edition, one of the topics most in need of updating was dialect geography, which had lost much of its impetus in the decades before our first edition but has since been revitalised. Partly this revitalisation is mechanical, stemming from technological advances in the handling of large databases, but partly it is theoretical, resulting from increased representativeness in sample populations and closer attention to the social dynamics of diffusion and change. Our integration of sociolinguistics with more venerable traditions as a highly influential new branch of urban dialectology surprised a few readers but was generally received as an interesting innovation. Now it would be shocking, and hopelessly muddled, if someone tried to keep them apart.

JKC, PT

Toronto, Lausanne 1997

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (revised to 1993)

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			r					ʀ		
Tap or Flap				ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	ɹ̠	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC)

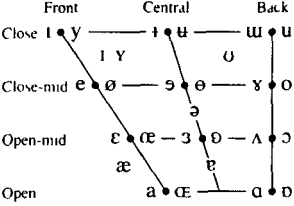
Clicks	Voiced implosives	Ejectives
◌ Bilabial	ɓ	ʼ as in
◌ Dental	ɗ	ɓ' Bilabial
◌ (Post)alveolar	ɟ	ɗ' Dental/alveolar
◌ Palatoalveolar	ɥ	ɟ' Velar
◌ Alveolar lateral	ɠ	ɥ' Uvular
	ʄ	ɠ' Alveolar fricative

SUPRASEGMENTALS

Primary stress	ˈ
Secondary stress	ˌ
Long	ː
Halt long	ˑ
Extra short	ˑ̟
Syllabic break	̩
Minor (foot) group	̥
Major (intonation) group	̦
Linking (absence of a break)	̨

TONES & WORD ACCENTS	
LEVEL	CONTOUR
˥ or ˦ Extra high	˥˥ or ˥˦ Rising
˧ High	˧˥ Falling
˩ Mid	˩˨˩ High rising
˨ Low	˨˩˨ Low rising
˨˩ Extra low	˨˩˨˩ Rising-falling etc
˩˩ Downstep	˩˩˩˩ Global rise
˩˩˩˩ Upstep	˩˩˩˩ Global fall

VOWELS



OTHER SYMBOLS

ʌ Voiceless labial-velar fricative	ç ʝ Alveolo-palatal fricatives
ʋ Voiced labial-velar approximant	ɭ Alveolar lateral flap
ɰ Voiced labial-palatal approximant	ɹ̠ Simultaneous ʃ and x
ħ Voiceless epiglottal fricative	Attricative and double articulations can be represented by two symbols joined by a tie bar if necessary
ʕ Voiced epiglottal fricative	
ʔ Epiglottal plosive	

DIACRITICS

Diacritics may be placed above a symbol with a descender (e.g. ɨ̰)			
◌ Voiceless	̥	◌ Breathily voiced	̤
◌ Voiced	̤	◌ Creakily voiced	̰
◌ Aspirated	̚	◌ Lateralized	̜
◌ More rounded	̙	◌ Labialized	̙̟
◌ Less rounded	̙̟	◌ Palatalized	̟̟
◌ Advanced	̟	◌ Velarized	̟̟
◌ Retracted	̠	◌ Pharyngealized	̠̠
◌ Centralized	̠	◌ Velarized or pharyngealized	̠̠
◌ Mid-centralized	̠̠	◌ Raised	̠̠̠
◌ Syllabic	̠̠̠	◌ Lowered	̠̠̠̠
◌ Non-syllabic	̠̠̠̠	◌ Advanced Tongue Root	̠̠̠̠̠
◌ Rhoticity	̠̠̠̠̠	◌ Retracted Tongue Root	̠̠̠̠̠̠

BACKGROUND

1

Dialect and language

Dialectology, obviously, is the study of dialect and dialects. But what exactly is a dialect? In common usage, of course, a dialect is a substandard, low-status, often rustic form of language, generally associated with the peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking in prestige. DIALECT is also a term which is often applied to forms of language, particularly those spoken in more isolated parts of the world, which have no written form. And dialects are also often regarded as some kind of (often erroneous) deviation from a norm – as aberrations of a correct or standard form of language.

In this book we shall not be adopting any of these points of view. We will, on the contrary, accept the notion that all speakers are speakers of at least one dialect – that standard English, for example, is just as much a dialect as any other form of English – and that it does not make any kind of sense to suppose that any one dialect is in any way linguistically superior to any other.

1.1 Mutual intelligibility

It is very often useful to regard dialects as DIALECTS OF A LANGUAGE. Dialects, that is, can be regarded as subdivisions of a particular language. In this way we may talk of the Parisian dialect of French, the Lancashire dialect of English, the Bavarian dialect of German, and so on.

This distinction, however, presents us with a number of difficulties. In particular, we are faced with the problem of how we can distinguish between a LANGUAGE and a DIALECT, and the related problem of how we can decide what a language is. One way of looking at this has often been to say that ‘a language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects’. This definition has the benefit of characterising dialects as subparts of a language and of providing a criterion for distinguishing between one language and another.

This characterisation of ‘language’ and ‘dialect’, however, is not entirely successful, and it is relatively simple to think of two types of apparent counterexample. If we consider, first, the Scandinavian languages, we observe that Norwegian, Swedish and Danish are usually considered to be different languages. Unfortunately for our

Dialect and language

definition, though, they are mutually intelligible. Speakers of these three languages can readily understand and communicate with one another. Secondly, while we would normally consider German to be a single language, there are some types of German which are not intelligible to speakers of other types. Our definition, therefore, would have it that Danish is less than a language, while German is more than a language.

There are also other difficulties with the criterion of mutual intelligibility. The main problem is that it is a criterion which admits of degrees of more or less. While it is true, for example, that many Swedes can very readily understand many Norwegians, it is also clear that they often do not understand them so well as they do other Swedes. For this reason, inter-Scandinavian mutual intelligibility can be less than perfect, and allowances do have to be made: speakers may speak more slowly, and omit certain words and pronunciations that they suspect may cause difficulties.

Mutual intelligibility may also not be equal in both directions. It is often said, for instance, that Danes understand Norwegians better than Norwegians understand Danes. (If this is true it may be because, as Scandinavians sometimes say, 'Norwegian is pronounced like Danish is spelt', while Danish pronunciation bears a rather more complex relationship to its own orthography. It may be due, alternatively or additionally, to more specifically linguistic factors.) Mutual intelligibility will also depend, it appears, on other factors such as listeners' degree of exposure to the other language, their degree of education and, interestingly enough, their willingness to understand. People, it seems, sometimes do not understand because, at some level of consciousness, they do not want to. A study carried out in Africa, for example, demonstrated that, while one ethnic group A claimed to be able to understand the language of another ethnic group B, ethnic group B claimed *not* to be able to understand language A. It then emerged that group A, a larger and more powerful group, wanted to incorporate group B's territory into their own on the grounds that they were really the same people and spoke the same language. Clearly, group B's failure to comprehend group A's language was part of their resistance to this attempted takeover.

1.2 Language, dialect and accent

It seems, then, that while the criterion of mutual intelligibility may have some relevance, it is not especially useful in helping us to decide what is and is not a language. In fact, our discussion of the Scandinavian languages and German suggests that (unless we want to change radically our everyday assumptions about what a language is) we have to recognise that, paradoxically enough, a 'language' is not a particularly linguistic notion at all. Linguistic features obviously come into it, but it is clear that we consider Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and German to be single languages for reasons that are as much political, geographical, historical, sociological and cultural as linguistic. It is of course relevant that all three Scandinavian languages have distinct, codified, standardised forms, with their own orthographies, grammar