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Languages and Genes in China and in East Asia

Alain PEYRAUBE

CNRS & EHESS (Paris, France)

This article poses two main questions: can the history of genes help us understand better what the Chinese linguistic situation was some 5,000 years B.P., not to mention the population distribution in China? Consequently can the history of genes help us in grouping the languages of China and East Asia into families and macro-families?

Languages and genes have two different histories and two different types of evolution – one being natural, the other one largely cultural – with different mechanisms of origin and reproduction. Nonetheless, there are indeed many clear analogies in the mechanisms of transmission: mutation, natural selection, migration, and chance. These have led population geneticists and linguists to look for any congruence in genetic and linguistic evolution, in order to correlate genetic and linguistic distance.

In light of these congruences, but also of non-correlations existing between the genetic classification of populations and the classification of languages, the different hypotheses concerning the traditional grouping of languages (Sino-Tibetan, Austronesian, Austro-Asiatic, Tai-Kadai, Miao-Yao or Hmong-Mjen, Altaic), as well as the new groupings in macro-families (Austriac, Austro-Tai, Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian, Sino-Indo-European, Sino-Caucasian, Proto-East-Asian, etc.) will be discussed.

It will be concluded that while we have various hypotheses, we are not sure of anything. The considerable accumulation of data in population genetics has rendered the landscape much less simple, all the more so since the theoretical models of evolution necessary to interpret the genetic data in historical context are still being refined.

Key-words: languages, genes, Sino-Tibetan, Austronesian, Austro-Asiatic, Tai-Kadai, Hmong-Mjen, Altaic, Austriac, Austro-Tai, Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian, Sino-Indo-European, Sino-Caucasian, Proto-East-Asian.

Shang China was inhabited by Chinese populations speaking Sinitic languages. It was also inhabited by non-Chinese populations. We do not know however who

邵武話語音在過去一百年間的演變： 以《邵武腔羅馬字》為參照對象*

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本文以新近發現的《邵武腔羅馬字》為參照對象，探討邵武話的語音在過去一百年間的演變、以及背後的種種機制。《邵武腔羅馬字》由美籍傳教士 Joseph E. Walker (1844-?) 於 1887 年編成，以羅馬字拼寫了邵武話 1,589 個字音 / 詞音。本文首先歸納這份字表的體例，接著分析它所代表的音系。一百年前的邵武話和今天的邵武話有幾個不一樣的地方，包括 -u- 介音在舌尖音聲母和唇音聲母後丟失；-u 韻母在舌尖塞擦音 / 擦音聲母發展為舌尖元音 -ɿ 等等，筆者會用五組一共九條音變規律加以概括。通過和周邊方言的比較，發現邵武話的音變有一部分可能導源於贛語。換言之，邵武話的贛語色彩在過去一百年間變得越來越明顯。

關鍵詞：閩語、贛語、邵武、《邵武腔羅馬字》、音變、語言接觸

1. 背景

邵武位於福建省西北部，距離江西省邊境約三十公里。對於該地方言的系屬，學界曾經展開過非常激烈的爭論：羅傑瑞 (Norman 1974, 1982, 1985) 認為邵武話的音韻格局可以在他擬構的原始閩語 (Proto-Min) 框架底下得到圓滿的解釋，因此應該歸入閩語；張振興 (2000:9) 重申《中國語言地圖集》(1987) 設立「閩語邵將區 (邵武、將樂)」的合理性，指出邵武話符合羅傑瑞 (Norman 1988b) 對閩語所下的定義。¹另一方面，陳章太、李如龍 (1991:263) 通過詞彙和字音的

* 本文為香港中文大學張雙慶教授主持的研究計劃：「閩北地區方言 (建甌、建陽、邵武) 歷史演變與語言接觸的研究」(CUHK4694/05H) 的階段性成果。計劃得到香港特區政府研究資助局的資助。初稿曾經在「首屆漢語音韻學青年學者國際學術研討會」(2006年9月，北京大學) 上宣讀。感謝片岡新、汪鋒、莊初昇、趙彤 (筆劃序) 諸位師友以及《中國語言學集刊》的評審員惠賜資料或

Comparative Phonology of the Huīzhōu Dialects*

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The present article compares data from seven Huīzhōu dialects in an effort to construct a common phonological system for the family as a whole. In the final section of the paper it is concluded that this dialect group is probably an areal or geographical grouping rather than a genetically related dialect family.

Keywords: Huīzhōu dialects, comparative dialectology, dialect taxonomy

1. Introduction

The Huīzhōu 徽州 dialects are spoken in the mountainous southern tip of Ānhuī 安徽 province and in an adjacent area of Jiāngxī 江西. To the southeast of them, in Zhèjiāng 浙江, is another group called the Yánzhōu 嚴州 dialects. The *Language Atlas of China* places the Huīzhōu and Yánzhōu dialects in a common Huī group, a view that is tacitly accepted by some scholars today (e.g., Wáng 2004; Zhào 2005) but is expressly questioned by others (Cáo 1996: 9; Hirata et al 1998: 24-26). In assessing these different positions, it is in our view particularly noteworthy that there do not seem to be shared innovations in the Huīzhōu and Yánzhōu groups which would identify them as a common entity. In the absence of evidence of this type, it seems safest for the nonce to follow Cáo and Hirata et al and view the two groups as separate.

The Huī dialects as a whole are interesting for several reasons. First of all, it remains uncertain whether they constitute a true, genetic dialect group or are merely a geographical grouping of historically unrelated speech forms. This issue remains vexing and controversial. Secondly, in a number of instances they evince intriguingly peculiar or unexpected phonological forms. And, thirdly, they present special problems for the investigator who wishes to use the comparative method to study them. The object of the present study has been to compare a set of Huīzhōu dialects of Ānhuī and Jiāngxī and construct therefrom a common phonological system or framework, to be called “Common Huīzhōu” (CHZ). The question of whether this common system

* I am grateful to Professor Jerry Norman for comments on an earlier version of this paper. All remaining weaknesses are my own responsibility.

A Contrastive Study of the Linguistic Encoding of Motion Events in Standard Chinese and in the Guanzhong Dialect of Mandarin (Shaanxi)*

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In Standard Chinese, locative phrases placed after verbs that express the manner or cause of motion typically express the GOAL of the motion, but also sometimes express the SOURCE, the ROUTE, or the DIRECTION. Here we discuss the linguistic encoding of motion events in the Guanzhong dialect, a non-standard variety of Chinese Mandarin, focusing on that particular issue. We show that the only semantic role that postverbal locative phrases can play in the Guanzhong dialect is that of the GOAL (BOUNDED PATH). This constraint is to be connected with the resultative construction, and indicates a stricter correlation between meaning and form than in Standard Chinese.

Keywords: Chinese, motion events, directionals, goal, resultative construction

1. Introduction

1.1 Some preliminary remarks on a nonstandard variety of Chinese: the Guanzhong dialect

The Guanzhong dialect belongs to a Mandarin dialect group named Zhongyuan Mandarin or Central Plains Mandarin,¹ and is spoken in Shaanxi Province, in the area

* Many thanks to two anonymous reviewers for their useful comments and suggestions. The research for this project was funded by the 21st century COE Program *Center for Evolutionary Cognitive Sciences at the University of Tokyo*.

¹ We follow here the classification adopted by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and reflected by the Language Atlas of China (1987) and Hou (2002), both of which divide the Mandarin 'supergroup' into eight dialect groups (among which are Zhongyuan Mandarin and Beijing Mandarin). The Guanzhong dialect in its narrow sense is spoken mainly in the Guanzhong area around Xi'an in the Shaanxi Province, but actually shares most of its features with the neighboring Qinlong and Longzhong subgroups (Shaanxi), as well as the Fenhe

說語音羨餘詞

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本文提出語音羨餘詞的概念。語音羨餘詞是指那些在原詞音節結構的基礎上改變或增加音節結構，從而產生的音節結構上有多餘、但意義和功能與原詞無別的新詞。文章從連讀音變、合音疊加、分音裂變三個方面分別舉例說明了各類語音羨餘詞的來源、結構及特點。

關鍵詞：羨餘構詞，語音構詞，連讀音變，合音，分音

1. 前言

現代語言學揭示了自然語言的三大本質特徵，其一就是語言的羨餘性（另兩個為語言的模糊性、語言的可生成性）。一切自然語言都有羨餘現象，漢語亦然。我國學者對漢語的羨餘現象進行了有益的探索，發現了眾多有趣的語言事實，做出許多符合漢語和漢字特點的解釋，歸納出一些帶有普遍性的規律，其中韓陳其《漢語羨餘現象研究》一書是比較有代表性的成果。

羨餘現象是反映自然語言本質特徵的語言現象，涉及範圍廣泛，表現形式複雜，漢語的羨餘現象更是有別於印歐語，目前的研究還很不夠，還有擴大視角、深入挖掘的廣闊空間。目前時賢的研究涉及到字形、詞義和句式的羨餘現象，但似不曾注意到構詞中的一些語音羨餘現象。本文僅就前人關注較少的語音羨餘詞談一點初步的認識，祈請方家指正。

所謂語音羨餘詞，是指一些詞本來音義關係已經確定，詞語的音節構成已經能夠承載它所應該承載的詞義或詞義資訊，但使用者出於各種原因在原詞音節結構的基礎上改變或增加音節結構，從而產生音節結構上有多餘、但意義和功能與原詞無別的新詞。我們稱這種在語音內部結構上有多餘成分的詞為語音羨餘詞。

上世紀 80 年代初，我為呂叔湘先生的大著《近代漢語指代詞》作補綴工作，同時又與白維國先生一起翻譯了日本學者志村良治的《中國中世語法史研究》一書，在研讀中發現，近代漢語指代詞的產生及發展有一些共同的規律可循，其一就是它們大都經歷了先由雙音詞合音為單音詞，再由這個新產生的單音詞衍生為

動賓式慣用語探索*

連金發

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本文以台灣閩南語和台灣共通語為例，主要針對動賓式慣用語由字面義轉換到慣用語義時所涉及的音義組合問題作初步的探討。動賓式慣用語依意義可以分成兩類：(1) 表示個人的行為，(2) 表示人際間的關係。後者又可細分為 (2a) 兩者之間的關係，(2b) 三者之間的關係。慣用語的概念結構決定其語法行為。第一類慣用語只涉及一個題元(體現為主語)，因此動賓式的賓語做字面解時有所指，做慣用語解時並無所指。第二類慣用語，涉及兩個題元或三個題元，都在句法上有所反映。就語義的組合性而言，慣用語又可細分為甲乙兩類：甲類，慣用語的語義完全無法從構件語義的組合中萃取，乙類，構件有所指涉，慣用語的語義可以由比喻的運作而獲得。不過有些甲類的慣用語可以用同音的方式推演出語義。動賓式慣用語中賓語的指稱性與其句法的靈活性有密切的關係。

關鍵詞：慣用語，動賓式，隱喻，代喻，類似性，鄰近性，任意性，語言接觸，組合性，指稱性，台灣閩南語，台灣共通語

1. 前言

本文以台灣閩南語（簡稱台語）和台灣共通語（簡稱共通語）為例，提出研究動賓式慣用語所涉及的問題及研究途徑。典型的慣用語，其定義為，語義無法從構件的語義組合而得，因此其語義是非組合性的 (non-compositional)。¹ 慣用

* 本文是國科會計畫 (NSC 91-2411-H-007-019) 研究成果的一部分，謹此銘謝。本文的語料絕大多數來自網際網路，其中有些語詞做了些調整，以避免侵犯個人的隱私。2004 年夏於天津舉行的第十二屆國際中國語言學會年會本人因故未能成行，所幸論文由黃漢君代為宣讀，會中得到何元建等先生的指正，感激之至。本文定稿之前又承蔣紹愚先生、一位匿名評審、陳麗雪、張群指出疏漏之處，至為感謝。

¹ 本文所討論的固定語式中的構件有一定限度的句法靈活性和口語性，並不涵蓋四字格的成語，因此稱為慣用語，相當於英語的 idiom。有關慣用語的研究參見陳 (1996)。

Morphological Causative Formation in Shangzhai Horpa*

Jackson T.-S. Sun

Academia Sinica

In the Shangzhai dialect of Horpa, an under-studied Tibeto-Burman language of northwestern Sichuan, pervasive phonological alternations occur in the morphological causative formation. This paper applies the study of this phenomenon to the analysis of the historical development of alternative modes of encoding causativity in Horpa and two related rGyalrongic languages: rGyalrong (proper) and Lavrung. Despite bewildering surface variations, Shangzhai Horpa can be analyzed as having a single consistently non-syllabic causative prefix *s-*, which exerts pressure on the already elaborate onset system and triggers multiple phonological adjustments. The excessive allomorphy and constraints exhaust the morphological means of causation coding, leading to the rise of the periphrastic causative construction as the primary causativizing strategy in the language. By contrast, the dominant mode of expressing causativity still rests in the realm of derivational morphology in the other rGyalrongic languages where the old causative prefix **sə-* remains syllabic.

Key words: Shangzhai, Horpa, rGyalrong, Lavrung, rGyalrongic, Tibeto-Burman, morphosyntax, causative constructions

* I am indebted to Larry Hyman and Yuchau E. Hsiao for providing extremely helpful comments. The Shangzhai materials cited herein are from my fieldwork with Zhōngchéng (*xt̪ʂoŋl̪o*), a native of *tʃɛrgə* Hamlet, Púxī Village of Púxī Township in Rǎngtáng County. I am indebted to her for her friendship, good cheer, and thorough cooperation.

The Copula and Existential Verbs in Qiang

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Chenglong Huang

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

This paper discusses the copula and existential verb constructions in Qiang, a Tibeto-Burman language of northern Sichuan, China. There is only one copula verb in Qiang, which can be used in equational, identificational, attributive, naming, and cleft constructions, as well as one type of possessive construction. There are five existential verbs in Qiang, the use of which depends on the semantics of the referent being predicated as existing and its location. The existential verbs have a number of the characteristics of adjective-like stative verbs, and can be modified by adverbs of degree, but they cannot directly modify nouns. Also, the meaning of reduplication of existential verbs is different from that of adjective-like stative verbs: reduplication of existential verbs results in transitivization, while reduplication of adjective-like stative verbs results in emphasis of degree.

Keywords: Qiang, Tibeto-Burman languages, copula constructions, existential constructions, Sino-Tibetan

1. Introduction

The Qiang language is spoken in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture in northwest Sichuan Province, China; it belongs to the Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman. There are two major Qiang dialects, Northern Qiang (spoken in Heishui County, and the Chibusu district of Mao County; roughly seventy thousand speakers) and Southern Qiang (spoken in Li County, Wenchuan County, Mao County, and Songpan County; about sixty thousand speakers) (Sun 1981:177-78). The dialect discussed here is the Northern Qiang variety spoken in Ronghong Village, Yadu Township, Chibusu District, Mao County.

The language is verb final, agglutinative (prefixing and suffixing), and has both head-marking and dependent marking morphology.

Nouns can be defined as underived forms which can take (in)definite marking, numeral-classifier phrases and/or number marking, all of which follow the head. Aside from being the head of an NP, nouns can be used to modify other nouns directly (appearing immediately before the modified noun) or in a genitive phrase (also pre-

漢藏語系語言研究中的若干問題 ——訪李方桂先生

孫宏開

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1986年5月下旬，我受中國社會科學院派遣赴加拿大渥太華出席聯合國教科文組織舉行的國際語言規劃學術討論會。會後，應加州大學伯克萊分校語言學系馬蒂索夫教授邀請，去該校語言學系進行短暫訪問。6月3日下午，李先生夫婦在他們的住處奧克蘭公寓設家宴款待。出席此次活動的客人有吳曉齡先生、羅仁地博士和陳寧萍博士。當晚李先生應我的請求，回答了漢藏語系語言研究中的許多問題。席間，陳寧萍博士錄了音。征得陳寧萍以及李方桂先生家屬的同意，現根據錄音，將此次談話的主要內容整理並公佈如下。

李方桂：聽說你昨天在學校作了一個很精彩的講演。

孫宏開：講的是量詞問題，講量詞的用法、量詞發展的階段層次。（整理者註：這個講演稿後來以《藏緬語量詞用法比較——兼論量詞發展的階段層次》為題，發表在《中國語言學報》第3期，1989年商務印書館出版。）

李方桂：這是一個很有意思的題目。漢藏語系語言裡的量詞是慢慢發展起來的。

孫宏開：是的，在發展過程中有許多不同的特點。比如像獨龍語，就是您說的怒族語中有很多這樣的情況，有反響型和半反響型，以後游離出許多具體的量詞。量詞逐漸發展起來，越來越豐富。我昨天討論量詞、數詞、名詞、指示代詞和動詞的關係，看看量詞在藏緬語中的不同發展層次，這個層次反映在不同的發展階段，有其具體的特徵。我想從類型學的角度來探討量詞的歷史演變過程。我總的認為漢藏語系語言的量詞是後發展起來的，原先很少。那麼藏緬語現在處在一個什麼階段呢？有的語言還處在甚至像漢語《詩經》還要早的那樣一個階段。

李方桂：藏語中量詞就很少。

孫宏開：對，很少。藏語現在基本上沒有量詞，就有那麼兩、三個專用的量詞。