

理论语言学：历时的维度(Diachronic)

[1]从新语法学派到词汇扩散

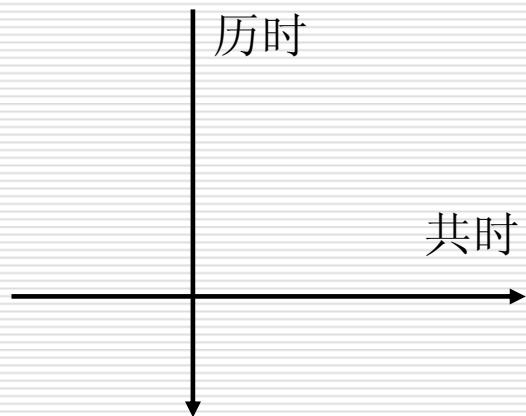
Sep. 18. 2006

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研究的视角



- 历时语言学(历史语言学)
 - 单位或要素在时间上的关系
 - 历时(diachronic)与共时(synchronous)
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数目字上的秘密

English	Gothic	Latin	Greek	Sanskrit	Chinese
one	ains	unus	heis	ekas	yi
two	twai	duo	duo	dva	er
three	threis	trs	treis	trayas	san
four	fidwor	quattuor	tettares	catvaras	si
five	fimf	quinque	pente	panca	wu
six	saihs	sex	heks	sat	liu
seven	sibun	septem	hepta	sapta	qi
eight	ahtau	octo	okto	asta	ba
nine	niun	novem	ennea	nava	jiu
ten	taihun	decem	deka	dasa	shi

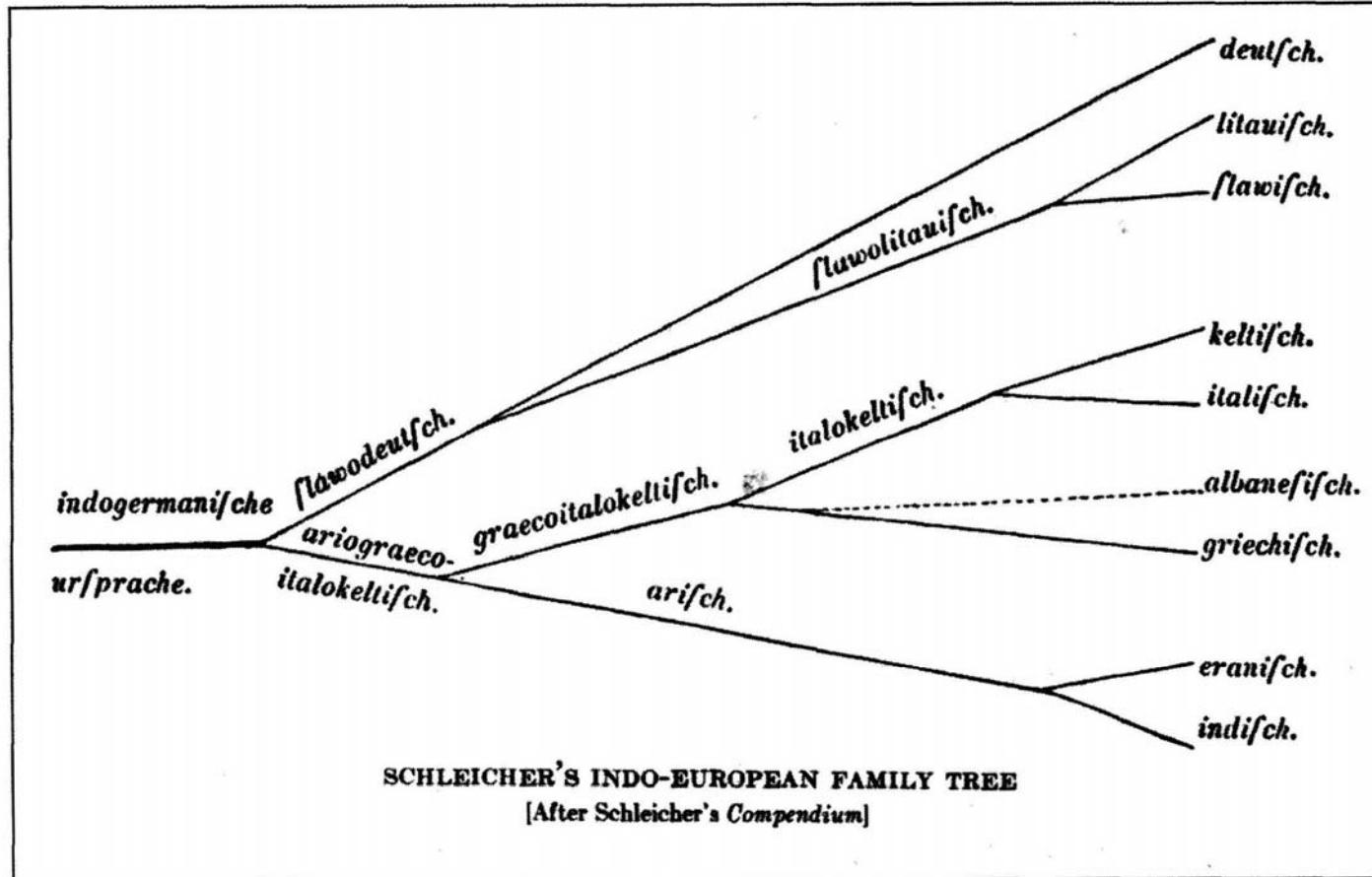
Quoted from Wang (2001)

缘起：语言亲缘关系假说

□ William Jones (1786)

- The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists: there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothick and Celtick, though blended with a very different idiom, had **the same origin** with the Sanskrit, and the old Persian might be added to the same family...
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谱系树



August Schleicher (1863) *Darwinian theory and the science of language* 5

基本方法：历史比较法 (comparative method)

□ 历史比较法的基本内容

- 语言比较→对应规律→共同来源→重构原始母语

	词目	原始白语 TL		GX	EQ	EG	JM	JX	DS	ZC	MZL
天	sky	xen1	xen55	hen55	xe24	xē55	xē55	xen55	xen55	xe55	xen55
太阳	sun	nji4	jien42	ni24	ni55	ni44	ni55	jien44	jien44	ni44	nie44
星星	star	sjæn1	qian55	san55	qiæ24	qia55	qiā55	qian55	qiə55	qie35	qiə55
风	wind	pren1	tʂyen55	tʂyen55	tsue24	tʂyi55	tʂyi55	pi55	piə35	pi35	pien55

两个基本假定

- 一、语音演变是有规律的；
 - 二、语言符号的任意性原则
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语音演变的规律性

- 相同的语音在相同的语音条件下，在相同的时间和空间必然有相同的变化

规律性的表现

- 条件性音变：平分阴阳
 - 普遍性音变：全浊清化
 - 不同的语音，相同的条件→ 相同的变化
 - K-, Ts-腭化
 - 不同的语音在不同的条件下也有可以相同的变化
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什么是语音条件

- 语音条件通常不能在词以上找，一般在一个音节中，更严格地说，语音条件是词或语素范围内的语音条件
 - 印欧语辅音大转移的发现与音变条件的认知

格里木定理 (Grimm's law)

	Sanskrit	Latin	English
*p>f	pad-	ped-	foot
	pra-	pro-	fro
*t>θ	tri-/trayas	trēs	three
	tr-am	tv-am	thou
*k>h	śván-[ʃvən]	canis[kanis]	hound
	śatám[ʃətəm]	centum[ketum]	hundred
*b>p		dubus	deep
*d>t	d(u)va-	duo	two
	dásá	decem	ten
*g>k	jánu-	genu	knee
	jánás	genus	kin
*bh>b	hhar-	fer	bear
	bhrata	frater	brother
*dh>d	dhā-	fe-ci	do
	madhya	medius	mid
*gh>g	hostis		guest(giest)
	vah-	veh-o	weigh

例外 (1)

bh > b b > p p > f
 dh > d d > t t > th
 gh > g g > k k > h

TABLE 5.10: Exceptions to Grimm's Law in consonant clusters

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Gothic</i>	<i>English</i>
1. páś-	[skep-]	spec-	[OHG speh-]	spy (?) ‘to see’
2. śṭhiv-)	pū	spu-	speiw-an [spīw-an]	spew ‘to spit’
3. ḣṣṭāu [əʂʈ̪əu]	oktō	octō [oktō]	ahtáu [axtau]	eight
4. nákt-	nukt-	noct- [nokt-]	nahts [naxts]	night
5.		capt(ívus)	(haft)	[OE hæft] ‘prisoner’
6. -ti- gátis ‘gait’	-ti- mor-tis ‘death’	-tis/-sis básis ‘going’		-t ‘nominaliser’ thrift, draught, thirst, flight, drift
7.		piscis [piskis]	fisks	[OE fisc] ‘fish’

From Lyle Campbell (1998) *Historical linguistics*

例外 (2) 和格拉斯曼 (Grassmann's law)

□ 例外 (2)

$$\begin{array}{lll} bh > b & b > p & p > f \\ dh > d & d > t & t > th \\ gh > g & g > k & k > h \end{array}$$

Proto-IE	Sanskrit	Greek	Gothic	English
*bheudha-	bōdha	peutha	biudan	bid
*bhendh-	bandha		bindan	bind

Grassmann's law (1862): **Dissimilation**

例外(3)和维尔纳定理(Verner's law)

□ 例外(3)

$$\begin{array}{lll} bh > b & b > p & p > f \\ dh > d & d > t & t > th \\ gh > g & g > k & k > h \end{array}$$

TABLE 5.11: Examples illustrating Verner's Law

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Gothic</i>	<i>English</i>
(1) saptá	heptá	septem	sibun [siβun]	seven
(2) pitár-	patér	pater	fadar [faðar]	OE fæder 'father'
(3) śatám [śatəm]	(he-)katón	centum [kentum]	hunda (pl.)	hundred
(4) śrutás 'heard'	klutós 'heard'			OE hlud 'loud'
(5)	makróś 'long, slender'	macer [maker]	[OHG magar]	meagre

Verner's law (1876): Accent

语音演变无例外

□ 新语法学派假说

- Sound laws admit of no exception (August Leskien, 1876)
- 语音渐变
- 词汇突变
- 察觉不到的(Imperceptible)

新语法学派理论的问题

□ ?

词汇扩散 (1)

□ Wang (1969)

- Competing changes as a cause of residue
- 语音突变、词汇渐变

	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5
C1	A	B	B	B	B
C2	A	A	B	B	B
C3	A	A	A	B	B
C4	A	A	A	A	B

词汇扩散 (2)

词汇扩散的过程

	u	v	c
w1			$\bar{w}1$
w2		$w2 \sim \bar{w}2$	
w3		$w3 \sim \bar{w}3$	
w4	w4		
w5	w5		

实例



U

V

C



-k

hook



-t

loot

soot

foot



-d

food

hood



-m

gloom

groom

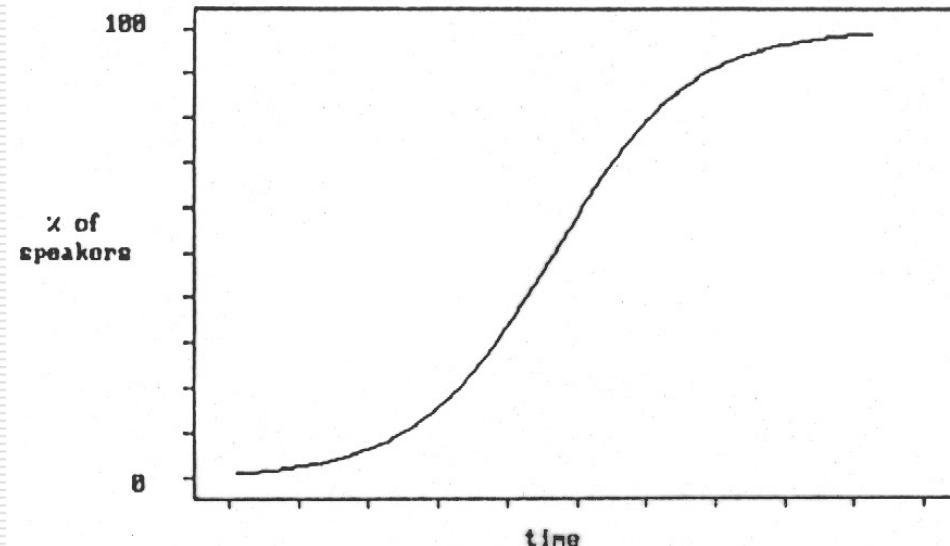


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词汇扩散 (3)

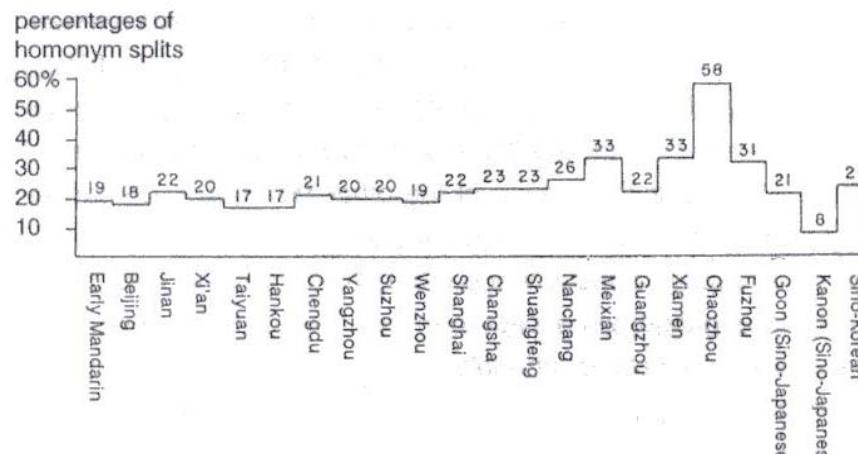
Figure 8. The S-shaped logistic curve.



词汇扩散 (4)

词汇扩散最有力的证据：同音字分化

	Mandarin	Middle Chinese
塌	[ta55]	咸 开 一 入 盖 透
塔	[ta214]	咸 开 一 入 盖 透
榻	[ta51]	咸 开 一 入 盖 透



From Chen & Wang (1975)

谢谢