

# 漢語方言裡的「形態化」現象初探

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在世界種種語言中，語法化(grammaticalization)是常見的現象。語法化的定義為“the steps whereby particular items become more grammatical through time”(「某種語言成分發展新的語法功能的步驟」；Hopper & Traugott 2003:2)，像中古漢語的動詞「了」已發展成現代漢語表示完成體的「-了」用法，就是語法化現象的典型範例。語法化與形態化(morphologization)是交叉概念(Joseph 2007)，凡某種實義詞通過附著詞(clitic)的階段變為詞綴，皆可稱之為形態化現象(Hopper & Traugott 2003)。例如拉丁語的詞語“mente”(mens (心情)的離格形)已變成為現代法文的派生詞綴“-ment”，具有構成副詞的功能(如 habituellement (往常))。

現代漢語與漢語方言皆屬孤立型語言(isolating languages)，亦即缺少豐富的形態現象的語言，語素之間的邊界極為穩定，少有模糊混淆；基本上，漢語沒有強制性的屈折形態標記(inflexional morphology)。因此，「在漢語中，一個語法詞或附著詞不是進一步演變成一個屈折詞綴，而通常是跟毗鄰的詞項融合成一個新的辭彙項，原來的語法詞或附著詞成為新辭彙項的一個詞內語素」。(吳福祥 2005:25；另參見柯理思 2009)。所謂孤立型語言無法完成形態化過程的觀點，也獲得不少西方學者支持(Traugott & Heine 1991, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Bisang 1996)。若僅論漢語普通話，上述觀點可能反映語言的實況；但柯理思(2009)已提出過，一些漢語方言中就有幾種形態化程度較高的「變韻」現象。例如，在河南獲嘉話中可以通過動詞韻母「ai」、「uai」的變韻表示數種語法功能(引自王福堂 1999:136)：

已然： 我買 (‘mε) 蔥

存現： 席上曬 (sε’) 玉蜀黍的

結果： 菜賣 (mε’) 怪快

此次演講的主要介紹一些漢語方言的變韻現象，以動詞變韻為主，及其現象的系統性，再跟漢語普通話與印歐語言裡的形態化現象進行比較，以求進一步瞭解漢語方言的類型特點。

# **Morphologization in Modern Chinese dialects: a preliminary study**

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Grammaticalization is a common phenomenon in the World's languages. A definition of grammaticalization is “the steps whereby particular items become more grammatical through time” (Hopper & Traugott 2003:2); a typical example of grammaticalization could be the evolution of the middle Chinese verb 了 ‘finish’ into the Modern Chinese perfective marker “- 了 ”. Grammaticalization and morphologization are overlapping concepts (Joseph 2007); the latter especially refers to those cases when a content word becomes an affix (through a clitic stage; Hopper & Traugott 2003). For instance, the Latin word *mente* (the ablative form of *mens* ‘mind’) became a derivational affix of Modern French, *-ment*, building adverbs (as *habituellement* ‘habitually’).

Modern Chinese and Chinese dialects all belong to the isolating type and, accordingly, do not possess a rich morphology, the boundaries between morphs are very stable and generally do not become blurred; basically, Chinese has no obligatory inflectional morphology. Therefore, “in Chinese, a grammatical word or a clitic do not further evolve into an inflectional affix, and they are often attached to the neighbouring word to form a new lexical item, the original grammatical word or affix becoming a morpheme inside this new word” (Wu 2005:25, my translation; see also Lamarre 2009). The opinion that in isolating languages morphologization processes cannot be completed is shared also by many Western linguists (Traugott & Heine 1991, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Bisang 1996); this is probably true if one considers only data from Standard Mandarin Chinese. However, Lamarre (2009) already pointed out that in some Chinese dialects one finds the so-called phenomenon of ‘changed finals’ (變韻), which can be regarded as a rather morphologized expressive device. As an example, we shall quote some verbs from the Huojia dialect in which the unmarked

finals ai and uai have been altered to convey different grammatical functions (from Wang 1999:136):

Completed action: 我買 ('mɛ) 蔥

Continuing action / state: 席上曬 (sɛ') 玉蜀黍的

Result: 菜賣 (mɛ') 怪快

In this talk, data on 'changed finals' from Chinese dialects, mainly verbs, will be presented, and we shall evaluate the systematicity of such phenomenon. We shall compare the dialect data on morphologization to data from Mandarin and from Indo-European languages, in order to deepen our understanding of the typological features of Chinese dialects.

### 主講人介紹：

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