

# 威妥?的???研究: 以《?言自迩集》?中心

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|-------------------|--|
| journal or        | 関西大学東西学術研究所紀要                                  |
| publication title |  |
| volume            | 51   |
| page range        | A179-A192                                      |
| year              | 2018-04-01                                     |
| その他のタイトル          | Research on Thomas Wade's view about the style |
|                   | of Chinese : based on his Yu-yen Tz?-erh Chi   |
| URL               | http://hdl.handle.net/10112/16156              |

# 威妥玛的汉语观研究

——以《语言自迩集》为中心

# 斉 燦

## Research on Thomas Wade's view about the style of Chinese

— based on his Yü-yen Tzŭ-êrh Chi —

#### QI Can

Along with the missionaries' coming into China, diplomatic officials and merchants also poured into China. Out of the needs of work and life, these people compiled many textbooks and dictionaries to learn Chinese. Thomas Francis Wade (1818-1895) is an outstanding diplomat who came to China in 19th centenary and made brilliant contribution to the research of Chinese language. This paper focused on Wade's most important textbook, Yū-yen Tzū-ērh Chi, analyzed his view about the style of Chinese language.

Wade agreed with Edkins's opinion of dividing Mandarin language into three kinds, and emphasized the importance of Peking Mandarin. He formulated the Wade-Giles Romanization system for Chinese and analyzed the structure of Chinese character. Moreover, he realized that the parts of speech of Chinese language are very flexible, and also gave a deep analyzation of the implied meaning of Chinese words.

In a word, Wade's analysis of Chinese language was relatively scientific and of great value to the research of Chinese language, further study about his view is still required.

キーワード:トマス・ウェイド (Thomas Wade)、中国語観 (view of Chinese language)、語源自邇集 (*Yū-yen Tzǔ-êrh Chi*)

伴随着西方传教士入华传教,各国外交使节、商人也纷纷来到中国。威妥玛(Thomas Francis Wade, 1818-1895)即是中西外交史上著名外交官之一。他自1841年来华,逐步晋升为英国驻华最高使节。威妥玛显赫的外交地位源于他高深的汉语造诣,在华四十余年间,他潜心研究汉语语法,努力探索汉语学习的有效方法,并编纂了《语言自迩集》(Yü-yen Tzǔ-êrh Chi)、《文件自迩集》(Wên-chien Tzǔ-êrh Chi)两部汉语学习教材。其中《语言自迩集》曾多次再版,并传入日本、韩国、俄罗斯等国,成为当地汉语学习的教材,影响广泛。本文依据《语言自迩集》,分析威妥玛的汉语观。

#### 1 威妥玛生平及著作

威妥玛(Thomas Francis Wade, 1818–1895)生于英国伦敦的一个军人家庭,曾先后就读于哈罗公学(Harrow)与剑桥大学的三一学院(Trinity College)。1838年,威妥玛入伍,加入英国陆军,1841年擢升中尉,随军来华,于来华途中开始学习汉语。1842年,威妥玛抵达香港,自此开始其漫长的驻华生涯。

1846年前后,威妥玛结识了他后来的汉语老师应龙田及英国外交官密迪乐(Thomas Taylor Meadows, 1815-1868),两人对威妥玛的汉语学习与研究产生了重大影响。1859年,威妥玛在香港出版了其第一本汉语教材《寻津录》,该书中附有一份汉语拼读表,这份汉语拼读表即当时十分流行的威妥玛拼音方案。

1860年,威妥玛加入额尔金使团随军北上,参与中英《北京条约》的签订事务,之后进入英国驻京公使馆,担任汉文正使(Chinese Secretary)及翻译。1865年,威妥玛开始着手准备汉语教材的编写,两年后,《语言自迩集》与《文件自迩集》正式出版,作为汉语教材迅速流行于驻京各国官员之间。

1869年,威妥玛升任英国驻华全权公使,在任期间,威妥玛参与了不少重大外交活动,其中包括1876年的马嘉里案。1882年,威妥玛卸任,次年返回英国。1888年,威妥玛出任剑桥大学首任汉语教授。

1895年. 威妥玛在剑桥逝世。

威妥玛作为外交使节,在中国工作生活长达四十余年,他对汉语研究有着浓厚的兴趣,也由于他工作的需要,威妥玛为英国驻华译员编写了系列汉语教材,也发表了不少关于中国的研究。 威妥玛编写的汉语教材有:

- 1)《寻津录》(The Hsin Ching Lu, or, Book of Experiments; being the first of a Series of Contributions to the Study of Chinese, 1859)
  - 2)《北京话音节表》(The Peking Syllabary: Being a Collection of the Characters Representing

the Dialect of Peking, 1859)

- 3 )《语言自迩集》(Yü-yen Tzǔ-êrh Chi, a Progressive Course designed to assist the student of colloquial Chinese, 1867)
- 4)《文件自迩集》(Wên-chien Tzǔ-êrh Chi, a Series of Papers Selected as Specimens of Documentary Chinese, 1867)
- 5)《汉字习写法》(Han Tsǔ Hsi Hsieh Fa: a set of writing exercises designed to accompany the colloquial series of the Tzǔ Êrh Chi, 1867)

## 2 《语言自迩集》概况

《语言自迩集》于1867年由特吕布纳公司(Trubner & Co.)出版,之后曾经历三次修订,出现了1867年版、1886年版、1903年版、2002年版共四个不同版本。

《语言自迩集》初版共四卷,第一卷为口语系列,包括发音、部首、散语章、问答章、续散语章、谈论篇、声调练习、言语例略八个章节和散语章生词、问答章生词、续散语章生词、谈论篇生词、声调练习生词五个附录。该卷前两章为英语书写,采用横排;自第三章起为汉语课文,采用传统竖排方式。第二卷为第一卷三至八章的英译及注释,卷末附有本卷勘误信息。第三卷为平仄编,是《北京话音节表》的修改版,该卷包括北京话语音表、声调表及多音字表三部分,主要用作第一卷口语系列的配套材料。第四卷为汉字练习法,主要包括汉字笔画、书写姿势、部首、汉字列表等内容。

第二版改四卷本为三卷本,在上海、横滨、香港同时出版。相较于第一版,第二版在内容上进行了一定的增删和调整,如删除续散语章;增添阅读材料;修订中英文表述细节;调整版式;增加汉字注音等等。第二版是目前现存最好也最为完整的版本,本文研究所依据的版本即为第二版。

关于《语言自迩集》各版本的修订情况,宋桔(2011)已进行过详细调查研究,此处不再多说。

#### 3 威妥玛的汉语观

#### 3.1 对汉语文体的认识

威妥玛在《语言自迩集》中直接涉及汉语文体的论述并不多,我们通过对《语言自迩集》进行整理分析认为,威妥玛的汉语文体观集中体现在其对书面语和口语的区分及对官话的认识两方面。

#### 3.1.1 书面语和口语的区分

威妥玛并未在《语言自迩集》中明确指出汉语言文分离的现象,但其将《语言自迩集》与《文件自迩集》分立,可见其了解汉语存在书面语和口语两种文体。此外,威妥玛在《语言自迩集》 课文的注释部分,多次区分了书面语和口语在用词上的不同。如:

 $\gtrsim chih^{l}$ , used in books as the pronoun of the third person and the sign of the possessive; also, in some instances, comparatively rare, in the spoken language.

• • • • •

國家之大官。

(注释) *Ti* would here be more colloquial than *chih*, but the latter character is introduced to show its use in a possessive construction.<sup>1)</sup>

威妥玛指出,"之"多出现在书面语中,作为第三人称代词或属格标志使用,偶尔也用于口语,但其在口语出现的频率远低于书面语:他还指出了属格标记"之"在口语中多用"的"表示。由此可见,威妥玛对于书面语和口语在用词上的差异有着深入了解,此外他还分析了同一词汇在书面语和口语使用时的功能不同,如:

#### 若是亂來,於聲名上大有關係呀。2)

(注释) 係 *hsi*<sup>1</sup>, properly, to connect as by threads; very commonly in books, the verb *to be*, the participle *being*; but not so here: *kuan hsi*, to have relation to, to affect, to concern; but always of evil consequences.<sup>3</sup>

威妥玛首先解释了"系"的本义,指出其在书面语的功能相当于英语的 to be 或 being,但在口语中则主要出现在"关系"一词中,表示"影响到、涉及",且多为贬义。威妥玛对词义的理解基本正确,但其认为"系"在口语中的用法多为贬义则不太正确。"关系"一词在以上例句中虽为贬义,但这只是句子临时赋予该词的感情色彩,该词仍是中性词。威妥玛做出如此判断,可能是因为其所看到的"关系"一词出现的语境多含负面意义。

#### 3.1.2 官话的定义及分类

作为一部官话口语教材,《语言自迩集》中首先对"官话"的概念进行了解释,指明官话是指官府使用的口头语言,同时,该书也指明了官话的通行范围已经不再局限于官场和知识分子阶层,

<sup>1)</sup> 见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. II, pp. 104.

<sup>2)</sup> 同上, pp. 208.

<sup>3)</sup> 同上, pp. 280.

#### 而是扩大到了全国五分之四的人口:

Scarcely any stranger can have heard the spoken language of China mentioned without observing that one form of it is alluded to as the Mandarin Dialect. This is the *kuan hua*; properly translated, the oral language of Government. · · · · · · for the *kuan hua* is the colloquial medium not only of the official and educated classes, but of nearly four-fifths of the people of the Empire. <sup>4)</sup>

威妥玛沿用艾约瑟的官话分区,指出官话分为南方官话、北方官话、西部官话三大系统,三 个系统的标准官话分别为北京官话、南京官话和成都官话。为支持自己应学习北京话的主张,威 妥玛引用了艾约瑟关于北京话更为时髦的论断,并在此基础上,提出了学习北京话的三点重要性:

.....the beginner's services are required at the Yamên of Foreign Affairs, he finds that the language he has been learning is that spoken by the chief officers of the Imperial Government. Meanwhile, his teachers, servants, and nine-tenths of the people he comes in contact with, naturally speak nothing else. Lastly, whether it be the fact or not that the peculiarities of Pekingese are, as it is alleged, by degrees invading all other dialects of the mandarin.....

之所以要学习北京官话,首先是因为政府官员大都使用北京官话,其次绝大多数平民百姓也使用北京官话,并且,北京官话的各项特征也正逐渐向各地方言渗透。威妥玛的观点基本符合当时事实,顺应了当时历史潮流,因此,《语言自迩集》的问世也就成为了北京官话地位上升,胜过南京官话的标志。

在《语言自迩集》中,威妥玛对于南京官话与北京官话之间的差异也有提及,如: 他們家裡誰不在了?大前兒我從那兒過,看見他家裡的人們,都穿着孝呢。<sup>5)</sup>

(注释) 不在 pu tsai, not to be, to be dead; not so used in the South, where it means not at home. 6)

"不在"在北京官话中是"去世"的避讳说法,但在南方,该词并无此含义,只表示"不在家"。威妥玛注意到了相同词汇在南北官话中词义的差异,并进行了解释。

#### 3.2 对汉字的认识

在《语言自迩集》中,威妥玛设立专门章节,对汉字的发音和部首分别进行了讲解。 关于汉字的发音,威妥玛首先在序言部分简单介绍了中国传统的记音方式——反切法:

<sup>4)</sup> 见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. I, pp. xv.

<sup>5)</sup> 同上, pp. 175.

<sup>6)</sup> 见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. II, pp. 325.

The Chinese have a rude expedient which it is an abuse of terms to call spelling, by which a native who is more or less lettered can divine the sound of a new written word once he has found it. The written word p'ao, for instance, tells him the initial sound of a certain word; the written word t'ien, below p'ao, supplies the final; and amalgamation of p'ao and t'ien gives him p'ien.

"炮"字取其声母,在其下"天"字取其韵母,于是可以得到"天"字的读音,威妥玛通过例子明白介绍了反切法的注音方式。他指出了反切法存在的弊端,回忆了自己创制拼音表的经过,并对自己音节表中所列一些音节的书写方式进行了说明,此外威妥玛也提及了汉语中同音字众多及连读变调的现象。

威妥玛指出, 汉字众多, 但音节有限, 因此出现了很多读音相同但意义不同的字:

口语中大量同音字的存在给外国人的汉语学习造成了很大困难。

在提及量词时, 威妥玛指出, 数词和名词之间的量词无法翻译, 并进行了举例说明:

For  $vi^2 ko^4 j\hat{e}n^2$ , one man,  $san^1 ko^4 j\hat{e}n^2$ , three men, .....

(注释) Yi', one, changes its tone before ko<sup>4</sup> and other numeratives. <sup>9)</sup>

威妥玛认识到了"一"与声调为四声的字连读时,声调会发生变化,并标注了其声调由一声变为二声。在威妥玛之前,已经有传教士提到过汉语连读变调的问题,威妥玛可能是看到过前人的汉语研究论述,在此指出了"一"的变调现象,但"一"变调情况众多,并非只与四声连读时发生变调,威妥玛此处并未提及其他变调情况,可能对"一"的变调还未完全把握。

关于汉字的部首,威妥玛与其之前传教士大体相同,均是参照《康熙字典》列出了汉字的214 部首,其所列部首与《康熙字典》的异同如下表。

相较《康熙字典》所列部首,威妥玛的部首表中增加的变体共 2 个,删减的变体共18个,其中增加变体形式的两个部首,其所增变体与之前马礼逊(Robert Morrison, 1782-1834)在《通用

<sup>7)</sup> 见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. I, pp. xvi.

<sup>8)</sup> 同上, pp. xx.

<sup>9)</sup>见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. II, pp. 4.

修改 文献 部首 方式 《语》 九、九、兀 牛、牛 增加 变体 牛 《康》 九 己 《语》 Z 手、扌 毌 疋 示 《康》  $Z_{L}(L)$ 己(己巳) 手 (オ弄) 毋(母) 疋(正) 示(示え) 网 (四) 《语》 糸 老 聿 臼 衣 删减 变体 网 (四河灯) 老 (尹) 《康》 糸(纟) 建(生) 衣(衤) 臼(臼) 《语》 襾(覀) 足 辵(辶) 金 言 食 襾 (覀西) 《康》 言(i) 足(昆) 辵(辶辶) 金(年) 食(食气)

表 1

#### 汉言之法》中增加的变体形式相同。

威妥玛对汉字的内部构造也进行了分析,认为汉字由部首和声旁构成,并指出,部首指示了 汉字的意义范畴,声旁则一定程度上指示了汉字的读音:

We now come to the written character, which the student must for the time be pleased to accept as made up of two parts, its Radical, and that part which is not its Radical. The latter part various sinologues have for fairly sufficient reasons agreed to term its Phonetic. In a large majority of words the phonetic indicates the sounds, that is to a certain extent. The radical, with a like limitation, indicates the category of the sense. <sup>10)</sup>

威妥玛进一步指出, 西方国家的文字由字母构成, 其读音也由字母的读音组合而成, 但汉字则不同, 汉字虽也分笔画, 但整字的读音却与笔画的读音毫无关系:

Chinese words, it is true, are written with particular strokes; but though each of these has a sound of its own, the sound of any word they may go to form has no reference whatever to the sounds of the strokes. 11)

他认识到了汉字中形声字的存在,并将汉字分析单位具体到部件,探究部件与汉字读音之间 的关系,对汉字的分析较之前传教士更加深入。

<sup>10)</sup> 见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. I, pp. 20.

<sup>11)</sup>见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. II, pp. 482.

#### 3.3 对汉语语法的认识

《语言自迩集》中,威妥玛对汉语语法的认识集中体现在词类章,他借用西方语法体系,讨论了当时北京官话口语的语法。采用西方语言学概念分析汉语语法,是当时西方人汉语研究的共同倾向,但威妥玛并不认为西方语法体系适合汉语语法分析。他引进了汉语传统的"虚字、实字"和"死字、活字"的概念,指出虚实之间、死活之间均可互相变通,但英语则不同,其词汇各有一定的词类。不如汉语词类那样灵活。

······because in foreign languages, considered with reference to composition in them, the single words are each referred to a particular category, and for the formation of these into sentences and clauses there are special works which set forth the rules of construction so clearly that they may be comprehended by the student at a glance.

. . . . . .

It is evident, then, that the denominations  $hs\ddot{u}$   $tz\check{u}$  and shih  $tz\check{u}$  are quite capable of being interchanged, one for the other, as circumstances may require. (12)

威妥玛所说的英语词汇都有一定词类,而汉语则"词无定类",实际上说明了英语与汉语最重要的区别,即英语词类较为固定,因此需要借助词形变化表达不同意义,汉语则缺乏词形变化,同一个词可能既具有名词功能又具有动词功能,因此看上去似乎没有固定词类。正是由于这一区别的存在,导致了两种语言词类划分体系的不同。

威妥玛之所以采用西方语法体系分析汉语,是因为他相信,虽然英语的词类划分方式并不适 合汉语,但汉语中确实存在相当于英语词类的成分:

·····any attempt to divide the language authoritatively into the categories known to us as Parts of Speech would be futile. Still, our parts of speech must of course have their equivalents in Chinese··· ...<sup>13)</sup>

词类章中,威妥玛按照西方语法体系,对汉语的名词、量词、数词、形容词、代词、动词、副词、介词、连词、叹词共十个词类进行了概要介绍,其对归属不同词类的汉语词汇的具体分析则散见于散语章、问答章及谈论篇的各章节中。宋桔(2011)对威妥玛的汉语研究进行了细致分析,以下我们将在其基础上,整理分析《语言自迩集》中其未提及的相关内容。

名词部分, 威妥玛将名词分为三类, 即修饰语、单纯词及合成词, 其中量词也被归入修饰语一类。威妥玛理解的单纯词主要是单音节词, 合成词则根据内部关系有不同的类型:

<sup>12)</sup> 同上, pp. 482-483.

<sup>13)</sup> 见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. I, pp. xxii.

Of the compound form, there are instances of more kinds than one in the Exercises in the Colloquial Radicals (vol. i, p. 34); such as  $shih^i$ - $shou^3$ , a corpse (lit., corpse-head);  $kou^3$ - $sh\hat{e}^2$ , altercation (lit., mouth and tongue);  $kan^i$ - $ko^i$ , war (lit., shield and spear). These suffice to show that the words combined may be of like or of very different meaning. In the same Exercise will be found  $ch'\hat{e}n^2$ - $tz\check{u}^3$ , a minister of state;  $shih^4$ - $tz\check{u}^3$ , a lettered man. The word  $tz\check{u}^3$ , son, is largely added to other substantives.

. . . . .

Combinations of words, such as with us shipwright, horse-boy, landlord, etc., are common enough in Chinese; but, the independent individuality of almost every Chinese word considered, it is in most instances safer to speak of the relation of the first word to the second as attributive, rather than as part of a compound substantive. <sup>14)</sup>

根据威妥玛的解释,可知其所认为的合成词有三种类型:1)并列式复合词,如"尸首、口舌、干戈"等,这类词是由两个意义相同或完全不同的词构成的;2)后加式派生词,如"臣子、士子"等;3)偏正式复合词,即结构像英语的"shipwright、horse-boy、landlord"一样的词,这类词中前一个词对后一个词起修饰作用。现代汉语中,合成词一般分为复合式、重叠式、附加式三种,威妥玛在《语言自迩集》中虽未明确指出合成词的类型,但根据其描述,可知其已经认识到了附加式、复合式两种构词方式,并且注意到了并列复合词与偏正复合词的不同。

威妥玛认为. "子"可以附于大多数名词之后. 其意义与"儿"相同. 用法也相同:

兒  $\hat{e}rh^2$ , also meaning son, is used in the same way as frequently as  $tz\check{u}^3$ ; in Pekingese, more frequently. <sup>15)</sup>

"臣子、士子"二词中,"臣"与"士"虽承担了主要词义,但"子"仍保留了其实际意义, 是构成合成词的词根,属于类词缀;但"儿"作为词缀已完全虚化,两者虽出现位置大体相同, 但用法并不尽相同。

威妥玛指出,"儿"除用于名词后外,有时也用于副词后,尤其是时间副词和处所副词,关于这一点,威妥玛之前的传教士似乎并没有提到过。对于词缀"儿"带来的音节及意义的变化,威妥玛也进行了描述。

他是那儿的人?他不是这儿的人。

<sup>14)</sup> 见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. II, pp. 8.

<sup>15)</sup> 同上, pp. 8.

(注释) In the last two examples *chê êrh*, *na êrh* are pronounced *chê rh*, *na rh*. <sup>16)</sup>

词缀"儿"后附于某一词汇,该词汇尾音脱落,代之以-rh 音,威妥玛对"儿"所带来的语音变化描述准确,符合汉语事实。

#### 託您替我打發個人送信去。

(注释) Note sung hsin, to send a letter; sung hsin-'rh, to send a message. 17)

"送信"意为送一封信,"送信儿"则是传送消息,加上词缀"儿"后,"信"的意义发生改变,威妥玛注意到了这一点,对"信"与"信儿"的意义加以区分,《语言自迩集》中类似的情况还有很多,如"没了气/没了气儿"、"着/着儿"等词汇意义的区分。

威妥玛对于汉语多义词的解释也十分重视:

#### 他小時候兒是老實阿,是琉璃呢。18)

*liu li*, slippery, evasive, dishonest, not to be depended upon. *Liu li* is, lit., glassware (see Dialogue VII, 72); hence, metaphorical for a slippery customer, commonly called *liu li ch'iu<sup>2</sup>-'rh*, "a glass marble." <sup>19)</sup>

此处威妥玛不仅指出了"琉璃"的本义,而且对"琉璃"的引申义也进行了解释。将词语的 多个义项统合进行解释,有助于学习者集中理解记忆。

此外,在对词语进行解释时,威妥玛还从语言接触的角度探究了词语的起源。如其指出"玻璃"一词可能来源于梵语,"回回"一词由土耳其语音译而来,"笔帖式"一词由满语音译而来等。在语言接触的初期阶段,一方语言中会出现异族语言的音译词,这些词汇如果适应了社会的需要,就会被保留下来,反之,则将随着历史的发展逐渐消失。威妥玛虽未对这些外来词进入汉语的过程进行详细解释,但其能注意到这一现象,并指明其来源语言,足以看出其对语言观察之细致。

量词部分,威妥玛称之为"陪衬的字",指出量词是名词中比较特殊的一类,其作用在于"把一切能分不能分的名目明白指出",他认为,不能再细分的个体通常没有量词与之配合使用,而对于能细分的东西,量词用于对其记数时。当量词与名词搭配时,其可出现在名词前,也可放在名词后:

These attendant nouns are not exclusively prefixes of the nouns they accompany; they sometimes

<sup>16)</sup> 同上, pp. 13.

<sup>17)</sup> 同上, pp. 193.

<sup>18)</sup> 见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. I, pp. 150.

<sup>19)</sup> 见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. II, pp. 223.

follow them. In speaking, for instance, of horses or ships collectively, we may say *ma-p'i* (horses), *ch'uan-chih* (shipping).<sup>20)</sup>

量词位于名词前时,其与名词的搭配结构为短语,如"一匹马"、"一只船";位于名词后时,搭配结构为词语,如"马匹"、"船只"。威妥玛不但列出了名量搭配,对量词意义进行了解释,同时也注意到了量词作为词根构成词语的功能,"马匹、船只"这样的词中,后面的量词对其之前的名词起补充说明作用,这类词实际上是中补型复合词。威妥玛虽未将这类词作为一种构词形式提出,但其能注意到这类词的存在,说明其对汉语词汇结构的分析已十分细致。

关于汉语量词的研究最早始于卫匡国(Martino Martini,1614-1661),其在《中国文法》(Grammatica Sinica)中,列出了38个量词与名词的搭配,在卫匡国之后的传教士,大都是整理量词,列出量词与名词搭配表。艾约瑟(Joseph Edkins,1823-1905)是目前所见整理收录汉语量词最多的传教士,《汉语官话口语语法》(A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language Commonly Called the Mandarin Dialect)中共列量词188个,远远超越了其之前传教士所收量词数量。更为重要的是,艾约瑟首次对量词进行了分类,他将量词分为区别量词、实义量词、集体量词、情态名词和动量词五类,并指明了每类量词在使用上的不同。相较艾约瑟,威妥玛所收量词较少,共65个。据崔丹丹(2014),威妥玛极有可能参考了艾约瑟的著作,其所收量词仅有2个与艾约瑟不一致,且其量词表排列顺序与艾约瑟所列前47个区别量词几乎完全一致。威妥玛对量词的解释形式也未超出艾约瑟的范围。

形容词部分, 威妥玛的分析与其之前传教士大体相同, 均注重分析形容词的比较级和最高级。 威妥玛的不同之处在于, 他进一步分析了形容词在修饰名词时的语义指向, 如:

#### 这房子住著舒服。

(注释) It would not be incorrect to say *chê shih ko shu fu fang-tzǔ*, but the first rendering is preferable, as there are many cases in which *shu fu* cannot be used as a simple qualifying adjective; thus, we could not say *shu fu ma*, a comfortable horse, or *shu fu i-tzǔ*, a comfortable chair, but would have to insert the verbs to ride and to sit on respectively, as in the example above. <sup>21)</sup>

威妥玛认为,虽然"这是个舒服房子"这样的说法也正确,但大多数情况下,"舒服"不能作为一个简单的限制形容词使用,因此不能说"舒服马"、"舒服椅子",而应该说"马骑着舒服"、"椅子坐着舒服"。"舒服"形容的是人的感觉,"这房子住着舒服"一句中,不是房子本身是"舒服"的,而是房子使人产生"舒服"的感觉,"舒服"一词的语义指向是人,而不是方式。因此

<sup>20)</sup>见《语言自迩集》(A progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese). Thomas Francis Wade, Shanghai: the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1886, Vol. II, pp. 223.

<sup>21)</sup> 同上, pp. 160-161.

"舒服"一词不能直接用于名词"房子"前。威妥玛能对形容词与名词之间的修饰关系进行探究, 认识到形容词的语义指向影响着形容词与名词在句中的语序,在形容词研究方面较之前传教士更加深入。

动词部分, 威妥玛同样对动词的构词形式进行了分析, 首先将动词分为单纯动词和合成动词, 再将合成动词分为重叠式、并列式、动宾式三种:

It will suffice for the moment to observe that in Chinese the Verb may be simple or compound—the compound verb being made up sometimes of the same verb reduplicated, sometimes of verbs of like or different meanings, sometimes of a verb and its object.<sup>22)</sup>

威妥玛在名词部分已经提到了并列式、偏正式、附加式三种构词形式,加上量词部分的中补式,及此处提出的重叠式、并列式、动宾式三种,基本已与现代汉语构词形式相同。但需要指出的是,动词的重叠形式多为短语,并非构词形式,威妥玛将重叠形式作为合成动词的一种,可见其对于词与短语之间的界限仍难以分清。

关于动词的重叠形式, 威妥玛进一步指出:

那是我弄破的,可沒有壞,收拾收拾還可以使得。

The reduplication of verbs and attributives is very colloquial. It has no special significance.<sup>23)</sup>

动词重叠后,其意义保持不变,但多数情况下,动词所表示的动量会有所减少。威妥玛指出动词重叠没有特殊意义,可能针对意义不变而言。瓦罗在《华语官话语法》中,已经提到了形容词重叠后在表"量"的程度上发生变化;艾约瑟也曾提到过形容词重叠表示强调,但关于动词重叠的意义,就目前所见文献来看,还未有传教士提及。

除根据构词形式划分外,威妥玛还提供了另外一种划分方式——及物动词和不及物动词,但并未进行进一步说明。

威妥玛按照西方语法传统,通过大量汉语例句对动词的语气、时态和语态进行了说明。对于动词的被动语态,威妥玛总结了被动的两种表达方式,一是通过"受"、"被"表示,而是通过上下文表示:

There is not in Chinese any verb properly passive, but the passive construction is effected by a verb like *shou*, to receive, *pei*, to suffer, or by statement of the action that caused what was received or suffered; the action being indicated by one active verb, the subject of which, whether agent or incident, is understood.<sup>24)</sup>

<sup>22)</sup> 同上, pp. 10.

<sup>23)</sup> 同上, pp. 46.

<sup>24)</sup> 同上, pp. 185.

汉语动词无法通过自身屈折变化表示被动,因此只能借助外部形式表示。威妥玛对汉语被动形式的描述基本正确,但用于表示被动的"被"已经虚化,不再是动词。

在具体动词的分析上,威妥玛较前人更加深入,能注意到其隐含意义,并对近义词的区别进行了详细解释。如威妥玛对趋向动词"来、去"的分析:

The use of *lai* and *ch'ü* will vary according to the position of the speaker with reference to the object fallen. Thus, were the speaker on foot he would say of a man on horseback, *t'a tiao hsia lai liao*, he has fallen off; if the speaker were on horseback too, he would say *t'a tiao hsia ch'ü liao*. <sup>25)</sup>

威妥玛指出,说话者与动作实行者的位置关系决定了趋向动词"来"或"去"的使用,如"他掉下来了"表示说话者站在地上,"他"在马背上;而"他掉下去了"则表示说话者与动作实行者同在马背上。传教士很早就注意到了趋向动词"来"和"去"的使用,但首次指明"来、去"位移方向与说话者所处位置之间关系的,应该是威妥玛。

又如威妥玛对于"破"和"裂"的区分:

那玻璃瓶子怎麼破了? 不是碰破了,是燒的時候兒就裂了。

(注释) *p* 'o, a break or crack from collision, etc.; *lieh*, spontaneous cracking. *Lieh* is never applied to glass except under the above conditions. <sup>26</sup>

"破"是因碰撞而破裂,"裂"则是非人为的破裂。威妥玛通过分析两词词义的细微差别,指明了两词在使用上的不同。

通过分析威妥玛对汉语语法的认识,可知其相较之前传教士的进步之处主要体现在其对词汇构造及隐含意义的深入探究上,此外,威妥玛也注意到了语言接触在汉语中留下的迹象,对一些外来词的来源进行了分析。同时,威妥玛也存在着传教士在汉语研究上难以避免的弊端,如套用西方语法框架,难以区分词汇和短语等。

### 4 小结

《语言自迩集》是威妥玛融进了多年汉语学习经验的教材类汉语研究巨著,该书作为当时第一部北京官话口语教材,顺应了历史潮流,对于当时北京官话的学习起了一定的推动作用。我们通过对《语言自迩集》的分析,将威妥玛的汉语观总结如下:

一、文体方面,注意到汉语书面语和口语的区分;认同艾约瑟的官话三分方式,特别强调北京官话的重要性。

<sup>25)</sup> 同上, pp. 118.

<sup>26)</sup> 同上, pp. 144.

- 二、汉字方面,创制威妥玛拼音方案以记录汉字发音;注意到汉字的连读变调现象;通过对汉字内部构造进行分析,指出笔画发音与整字发音并无关联。
- 三、语法方面,认识到汉语词类的灵活性;对词汇构成形式把握准确,并能深入挖掘词汇的隐含意义。