

漢語放言史の不連続性：中国語言語地理学序説

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The non-linearity of the linguistic change in Chinese dialects — Preliminaries to the linguistic geography of Chinese dialects —

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It has been widely accepted in the field of the linguistic science that the linguistic geography is one of the universal methods in studying the history of languages. This method was brought to China sixty years ago and first applied to the dialects in northern Shanxi by W. A. Grootaers. Unfortunately, his undertaking has not been succeeded by the Chinese dialectology after the war. It is the author's claim that any theory on the historical changes in Chinese dialects should be attested by this particular method. This is exactly the reason that the author started a geographical research ("Project on Han Dialects") with my colleagues in Japan from 1989, and has engaged in translating W. A. Grootaers' works on Chinese dialectology.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate necessity and significance of the geographical research by reanalyzing the data the author collected in the north-eastern part of Jiangsu Province in the 1980s. The non-linearity implies the view claiming that the continuity of the linguistic evolution is often destroyed by unmechanical factors. This view is against the Neogrammarian's view which presupposes the linearity of the linguistic evolution. By showing ten dialect maps, such factors as folk etymology, contamination, homonymous collision/attraction and semantic push/pull chain, are discussed as those contributing to lexical innovations, resulting in non-linear evolvement of the words. It is observed for each map how the innovations took place by speakers' caprice, in other words, by their pursuing the "non-arbitrariness" of the linguistic sign. In addition the problems of extra-linguistic factors and the dialect layers are discussed.