

摘要

山东临沂红旗新村、东风新村和向阳新村是上世纪 60 年代因原居住地修建水库而从山东蒙阴县集体搬迁部分居民而形成的三个移民方言岛。本文从王士元的词汇扩散理论角度，围绕移民方言与其现居住地方言之间声、韵、调等方面所存在的差异，全面描述了临沂库区这三个移民方言岛近 50 年来的音变扩散现象，并从频率与变率的关系，竞争演变与竞争残余等角度对临沂库区这三个移民方言岛的音变扩散规律和语音演变机制进行了分析和探讨。本文认为临沂库区这三个移民方言岛近 50 年来的语音演变是在其现居住地方言和普通话双重影响下地竞争性演变的结果；其音变词汇扩散状况不仅与词汇使用频率有关，而且与词类有关，频率效应在词类层面上显著。

第一章绪论首先介绍了临沂库区三个移民方言岛的地理位置和方言特点，提出研究的问题和研究的意义；接着介绍了本文的理论基础：词汇扩散理论，并对国内方言岛的研究现状以及跟移民原居住地方言和现居住地方言相关的研究做了概述，继而详细介绍了本文的研究方法和创新之处。

第二、三、四章围绕移民方言与其现居住地方言之间声、韵、调等方面所存在的差异，详尽分析了我们在红旗、东风移民方言岛所进行的八个语音项目以及在向阳新村所进行的九个语音项目的调查结果，全面描述了这三个移民方言岛近 50 年来的音变扩散现象。

第五章论述分析临沂库区这三个移民方言岛的音变扩散规律和语音演变机制。认为移民方言岛各个语音项目与现居住地强势方言和普通话的复杂关系，是导致各项目的演变速度和程度不一的主要因素；各语音项目演变的方向与移民的语言观以及现居住地方言和普通话所代表的经济文化优势有关；而具体到每个项目中各个词的音变扩散速度则不仅与词汇使用频率有关，而且与词类有关，频率效应在词类层面上显著。临沂库区移民方言在普通话和现居住地方言双重影响下的竞争性演变和竞争残余现象，证明了临沂库区移民方言岛的语音演变不是遵循新语法学派假设“语音变化无例外”的规律，而是以词汇扩散的形式进行的；词汇扩散作为语言演变的一种重要方式，不仅见于语言系统自身引起的音变，也见于语言接触引起的演变。

第六章针对绪论部分所提出的问题，全面总结了本文的研究成果。

关键词： 移民方言岛 方言接触 词汇扩散 竞争性演变 频率与变率

Abstract

Hongqi, Dongfeng and Xiangyang immigrant villages were formed in the 1960s as part of community relocation from Mengyin County of Shandong Province due to the building of Andi reservoir. Having identified the major differences between the immigrants' original dialects and their new surrounding dialects in syllable initials, finals and tones, this thesis provides a comprehensive description of the sound changes in the Hongqi, Dongfeng and Xiangyang dialects. Drawing on the theory of lexical diffusion, it then explores the pattern of spreading of sound changes from the perspectives of word frequency, competing changes and residues. As a tentative conclusion, it is posited that the sound changes in Hongqi, Dongfeng and Xiangyan over a span of about 50 years are the results of the competition of the dual influence from the new local dialect and Mandarin. Lexical diffusion of the various types of sound changes is not only related to word frequency, but is also sensitive to word classes. The word frequency effects are significant only within word classes.

In Chapter one, the thesis talks about the original location and dialect characteristics of Hongqi, Dongfeng and Xiangyang immigrant villages, as well as the research questions and purposes of this dissertation. It summarizes the Neogrammarian claim and Lexical diffusion theory, and the research on Chinese immigrant dialects as well as the original and new surrounding dialects of the three immigrant villages. It also describes the methodology and innovation of the dissertation.

From chapter two through four, the dissertation investigates various items in sound changes in syllable initials, finals and tones of the immigrants' dialects in Hongqi, Dongfeng and Xiangyang villages. It demonstrates and analyzes the sound changes among the generations of the immigrant villages over the last 50 years by contrasting the immigrants' current dialects with their original and new surrounding dialects.

In chapter five, drawing on the theory of lexical diffusion, the dissertation explores the pattern of spreading of sound changes among the three immigrant villages from the perspectives of word frequency, competing changes and residues. It finds that the spreading pattern of sound changes of the three immigrant villages is similar. The sound changes in the three immigrant villages are the results of competition of the dual influences of their new surrounding dialects and Mandarin. The different cultural prestige and economic power represented by Mandarin and their new surrounding dialects have influenced the direction of sound changes in these three immigrant villages. The immigrants' language knowledge and attitude to Mandarin and their original and new local dialects also play a role on the directions and rate of their sound changes. Lexical diffusion of the various types of sound changes is not only related to word frequency, but is also sensitive to word classes. The word frequency effects are significant only within word classes. It concludes that the sound changes in the immigrant villages in Linyi City have been developing through lexical diffusion and the Neogrammarian claim cannot stand in these cases. Lexical diffusion can explain not only the internal development of languages, but also developments caused by language contact.

In Chapter 6, the dissertation answers the research questions and summarizes the research on sound changes of the dialects of the three immigrants' villages in Linyi City.

Key words: Immigrant dialect Language contact Lexical diffusion
Competing changes and residue Word frequency and sound change