

行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 成果報告

國語「也」,「又」,「還」及台灣閩南話「口麼」,「亦」,「閣」 的歷史語意演變

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中文摘要

本文旨在研究國語「也」、「又」、「還」及台灣閩南話「亦」、「麼」、「閣/復」的歷史語意演變。基本假設是情境在語意演變上扮演重要角色。本研究分析不同時代「也」、「又」、「還」的語意。結果發現「也」在唐宋前僅作為語尾助詞；在唐宋時期則依不同情境，發展出附加、對照、強調及和緩口氣等功能；至今這些功能仍存在於現代漢語中。「還」的歷史演變過程與「也」類似。「還」始於動詞「恢復、返回、歸還」等用法。在三至六世紀間，「還」發展出「仍然」之附加用法及對照、強調及反問等功能。相較於「也」及「還」，自古漢語起，「又」已為一多義詞，具有附加、對照、強調及反問等功能。至於「亦」、「麼」、「閣/復」在台灣閩南話的歷史語意演變，因如【荔鏡記】等的閩南話古文缺乏與現代台語 *a*, *ma* 及 *koh* 語音相對應之詞，有待後續其他代表閩南話古文出土，方能提供 *a*, *ma* 及 *koh* 歷史語意演變的直接證據。

關鍵詞：歷史演變；語法化；附加標記；對照標記

Abstract

The current study aims to delve into the diachronic development of the Mandarin Chinese additive markers *ye* (也), *you* (又), *hai* (還) and Taiwanese Southern Min *a* (也/亦), *ma* (麼) and *koh* (閣/復). The basic assumption is that contexts play an essential role in the interpretation and emergence of meanings of these markers. The focus is on how different functions arise in different historical periods. It is found that *ye* was used as a pause marker before the Tang and Sung Dynasties. It then evolved additive functions, contrastive functions, emphatic functions and downgrading functions in Late Middle Chinese. Such functions are still existent in contemporary Mandarin Chinese. A similar developmental cline is observed with *hai*. It was almost exclusively used as a verb of return before the third century. The additive function 'still' came into existence during Early Middle Chinese, between the third and the sixth century. The other expressive functions similar to those of *ye* also emerged around the same time. *You*, however, since 3000 years ago, has been a highly polysemous morpheme signaling additive relation, counter-expected meanings, emphatic propositions, and counter-arguments. The corresponding forms of *ye*, *you* and *hai* in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) only serve as reference in that historical texts of TSM are absent in forms that are phonologically close to *a*, *ma* and *koh*, hence the lack of more direct evidence for the diachronic development of *a*, *ma* and *koh* in TSM. *Ye* corresponds in meaning to TSM (*y*)*a* or *ma*, depending on whether its of literary or colloquial form, *you* finds *koh* as its TSM counterpart, whereas *hai* corresponds to *koh* or *iaukoh* in TSM.

Keywords: diachronic development; grammaticalization; additive marker; contrastive marker

1. Motivation and Goal

In the past two decades, the Mandarin additive adverbs *ye* (也), *you* (又), *hai* (還), *zai* (再), *gen* (更), and those in TSM, *a* (也/亦),¹ *ma* (麼) and *koh* (閣/復) have received great

¹ *Ia* is a phonetic variant of *a*. For consistency, the form *a* will be used consistently throughout this proposal.

attention among Chinese linguists. They function as time adverbs indicating similarity, repetition, or juxtaposition of events. In addition, some of them bear the expressive functions of intensification or showing surprise.

Given the similarity and polysemy of these adverbs, the current study aims to delve into the diachronic development of the Mandarin Chinese adverbs *ye* (也), *you* (又), *hai* (還) and TSM, *a* (也/亦),² *ma* (麼) and *koh* (閣/復). The basic assumption is that contexts play an essential role in the interpretation and emergence of meanings of these additive markers. The focus will be on how different functions other than the additive function arise in different historical periods. This study serves as a continuation of a previous study conducted by the current author (See Chang (2003) and Chang and Chen (2003). While I focused on the historical development of modal verbs in the preceding project, the current project will focus on the emergence of markers of counterexpectation in Mandarin and Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM).

2. Methodology and Data Collection

The research method follows the current author's previous research on the historical development of modal verbs in Mandarin Chinese and TSM. In this study, we investigated the uses of *ye*, *you*, *hai* in vernacular Chinese. The data are drawn from classical Chinese in various genres of literary works. As noted by Norman (1988: 111), although literary Chinese was modeled on the Classical prose of late Zhou and Han dynasties, the language was not absolutely uniform and timeless. Various forms of spoken or vernacular Chinese have influenced the literary language. Vernacular Chinese was mostly found in religious texts and popular literature. The vernacular texts provide more direct source of the development of contemporary spoken Chinese. The texts examined are classified into six stages of Chinese literary history (Liu 1993, Norman 1988). They are listed below along with their corresponding stages of Chinese literature:

1. Early Old Chinese (11th-6th B.C.): *Shi Jing* (詩經)
2. Late Old Chinese (5th-3rd B.C.): *Menzi* (孟子), *Xunzi* (荀子), *Zhuangzi* (莊子), *Mozi* (墨子)
3. Pre-Middle Chinese (2nd B.C.-3rd A.D.): *Shi ji* (史記)
4. Early Middle Chinese (3rd-6th A.D.): *Shishuo Xinyu* (世說新語), *Baiyuching* (百愚經), *Xianyuching* (賢愚經)
5. Late Middle Chinese (7th-13th A.D.): *Zhuzi Yulei Jilue* (朱子語類記略)
6. Pre-Modern Chinese (14th-19th A.D.): *Shuihu Zhuan* (水滸傳), *Honglou Meng* (紅樓夢)

² *Ia* is a phonetic variant of *a*. For consistency, the form *a* will be used consistently throughout this proposal.

In the initial proposal of this project, we planned to compare the functions of *ye*, *you* and *hai* with their Taiwanese equivalents *a*, *ma* and *koh* in different periods of Chinese history. The main text that reflects the historical development in pre-modern Chinese is *Lichingchi* (荔鏡記) (TSM texts prior to 16th century are currently unavailable). However, it was found that 也, 又 and 還 are the orthographical forms used in *Lichingchi* instead of forms that are phonologically closer to colloquial TSM. Therefore, the following discussion will focus on the grammaticalization of *ye*, *you* and *hai* in Mandarin Chinese.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Ye

As noted in Section 2, we investigated the functions of *ye* appearing in texts that represent different periods of time in the Chinese history. A summary of their functions is given in Table 1:

Time Functions	Early Old Chinese	Late Old Chinese	Pre-Middle Chinese	Early Middle Chinese	Late Middle Chinese		Pre-Middle Chinese	
Pause marker	90	1455	354	255	379	80%	30	19.1%
Additive	0	0	0	0	44	9.3%	59	37.6%
Contrast/ Counter- expectation	0	0	0	0	16	3.4%	21	13.4%
Emphatic	0	0	0	0	26	5.5%	30	19.1%
Downgrader/ Concession	0	0	0	0	9	1.9%	16	10.2%
Alternative	0	0	0	0	0	0%	1	0.6%
Sum	90	1455	354	255	474		157	
Total	2785							

Table 1. Functions of Ye in Different Periods

Examples of these functions are given respectively below;

Pause marker

夫也不良，國人知之 (*Book of Odes*)

Additive

1. 人正大，便也見得天地之情正大。 (*Zhuziyulei*) (TSM: (y)a, ma)

Contrast/counter-expectation

2. 如今外面的架子雖未甚倒，內囊卻也盡上來了。(Dream of the Red Chamber) (TSM: (y)a, ma)

Emphatic

3. 賈爺今日五鼓已進京去了，也曾留下話與和尚轉達老爺，說『讀書人不在黃道黑道，總以事理爲要，不及面辭了。(Dream of the Red Chamber) (TSM: (y)a, ma)

Downgrader/Concession

4. 如韓退之原性中說三品，說得也是。(Zhuziyulei) (TSM: (y)a, ma)

Alternative

5. 眾人不解其語，黛玉便忖度著因他有玉，故問我有也無，因答道：「我沒有那個。想來那玉是一件罕物，豈能人人有的。」(Dream of the Red Chamber) (TSM: (y)a)

It can be seen from Table 1 that *ye* in Early Old Chinese was exclusively used as a pause marker. It was used to signal the end of a topic or sentence. However, it evolved various functions during the Tang and Sung Dynasties (6-13th AD). While the pause marking function remained to be the prototypical use of *ye*, the additive function emerged, where *ye* was used to connect two phrases, predicates or clauses. The additive clause may indicate a comparable situation as in (1). In addition, as also noted in Halliday and Hasan (1976:238), ‘the additive relation is a complex one including components of emphasis which are absent from the elementary ‘and’ relation.’, different contexts of *ye* as an additive marker gave rise to different subjectified meanings or interactional functions. When what is added to a previous clause contains a proposition that is against the speaker’s expectation, a reading of counter-expectation arises. Likewise, when the proposition of the juxtaposed clause stands in an antithesis relation with the previous proposition, a meaning of contrast is in order. The meaning of ‘or’ is also believed to arise from the contrastive reading. Except the pause marker that is characteristic of very literary Chinese, the other meanings are still prevalent in modern Mandarin Chinese.

As shown in parenthesis, except the pause marking and alternative use, *ye* corresponds to TSM (y)a or *ma*. It seems that *y(a)* represents a literary stratum whereas *ma* represents a more colloquial stratum.

3.2 You

Table 2 gives a list of the functions and their relative frequency in different times:

Time Functions	Early Old Chinese		Late Old Chinese		Pre-Middle Chinese		Early Middle Chinese		Late Middle Chinese		Pre-Modern Chinese	
Additive	5	23.8%	25	8.7%	27	28.7%	46	21.4%	107	38.4%	135	33.7%

Repetition	3	14.3%	41	14.3%	17	18.1%	83	38.6%	60	21.5%	163	40.7%
Emphatic	6	28.6%	132	46.0%	41	43.6%	80	37.2%	84	30.1%	59	14.7%
Contrast/ Counter- expectation	4	19%	35	12.2%	8	8.5%	6	2.8%	10	3.6%	48	12.0%
Counter-argument	2	9.5%	54	18.8%	1	1.1%	0	0	18	6.5%	6	1.5%
V: return	1	4.8%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum		21		287		94		215		279		401
Total	1297											

Table 2. Functions of *You* in Different Periods

Examples of these functions are given below:

Additive

6. 正與父老及吏主部者，不得皆斬，得之，除，**又**賞之黃金，人二鎰。(Mozi) (TSM: koh)

Repetition

7. 亂之初生，僭始既涵；亂之**又**生，君子信讒。(Book of Odes) (TSM: koh)

Emphatic

8. 叔善射忌，**又**良御忌。(Book of Odes) (TSM: koh)

Contrast/Counter-expectation

9. 史進叫王四問道：『你說無回書，如何**又**有書？』

對長老道：『智深吃了兩碗酒，不曾撩撥他們。他人**又**引人來打洒家。』(Shuihu Zhuan) (TSM: koh)

Counter-argument

10. 石頭笑答道：「我師何太痴耶！若云無朝代可考，今我師竟假借漢唐等年紀添綴，**又**有何難？但我想，歷來野史，皆蹈一轍，莫如我這不借此套者，反倒新奇別致，不過只取其事體情理罷了，**又**何必拘拘於朝代年紀哉！(Dream of the Red Chamber) (TSM: koh)

As shown in Table 2, unlike *ye* which did not evolve expressive functions until the Tang and Sung Dynasties, since Early Old Chinese, *you* has been used for a variety of functions. It is similar to *ye*, however, in terms of its syntactic patterning and the functions it displays. That is, it takes a predicate-initial position and serves as an additive marker. Some contexts also invite the interpretation of emphatic, counter-expected or contrastive information. With the functions of *ye* and *you* overlapping in various contexts, one might then ask why they are both frequent in Chinese. A closer comparison shows that *ye* suggests a softer tone, which then induces a downgrading/concessive function, whereas *you* functions as an upgrader,

hence the absence of a mitigating function and the presence of a counter-argument use.

As also shown in parentheses, *you* corresponds to TSM *koh*.

3.3 *Hai*

Time Functions	Early Old Chinese		Late Old Chinese		Pre-Middle Chinese		Early Middle Chinese		Late Middle Chinese		Pre-Modern Chinese	
Vi/Vi: to return/resume	16	94.1%	13	48.1%	77	96.3%	232	79.5%	2	2.5%	40	40.4%
Vi: to circle	1	5.9%	7	25.9%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adv: Still	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	4.8%	2	2.5%	36	36.4%
Adv: Repetition	0	0	3	11.1%	1	1.25%	24	8.2	0	0	8	8.1%
Contrast/counter- expectation	0	0	2	7.4%	0	0	7	2.4%	0	0	5	5.1%
Comparative: emphatic	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	5.1%	0	0	3	3.0%
Downgrader/Concessiv e	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7.1%
Conj: alternative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	50%	0	0
Others			2	7.4%	2	2.5%	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sum	17		27		80		292		8		99	
	523											

Table 3. Functions of *Hai* in Different Periods

Examples of *hai* with different functions are given below for illustration:

Still

11. 吉甫問：「仁義禮智，立名還有意義否。」(Zhuzi) (TSM: *iaukoh*)

Repetition

12. 那僧還說：「捨我罷，捨我罷！」(Dream of the Red Chamber) (TSM: *koh*, *iaukoh*)

Surprise/Counterexpectation

13. 見宋鄭之閒邑，則還然竊之，此與彼異乎？(Mozi, 耕柱) (TSM: *koh*)

Comparative: Emphatic

14. 但這一個學生，雖是啓蒙，卻比一個學業的還勞神。(TSM: *koh*, *iaukoh*)

15. 詩後便是此石墜落之鄉，投胎之處，親自經歷的一段陳跡故事。其中家庭閨閣瑣事，以及閑情詩詞倒還全備，或可適趣解悶；然朝代年紀，地輿邦國卻反失落無考。(TSM: *iaukoh*)

Table 3 indicates that *hai* was almost exclusively used as a verb of return before the third century. The additive function ‘still’ came into existence during Early Middle Chinese, between the third and the sixth century. The other expressive functions also emerged around the same time. As shown in examples (11-15), these meanings are still common in modern Mandarin Chinese. And *hai* finds its counterpart *koh* or *iaukoh* in TSM, as shown in parentheses.

Comparing *ye*, *you* and *hai*, we can find that all the three morphemes share similar syntactic patterning and all are used as additive markers. The additive function emerged at the same time with other expressive functions, which is different from the general assumption that subjectified meaning characterizes a later stage of development (e.g. Traugott 1982, 1988, 1989, Traugott and Dasher 2002). The emergence of expressive functions is not an effect of time but of contexts. As for their differences, first, the additive function of *ye* focuses on the occurrence of a comparable state or event following a previous one, whereas *you*, in addition to marking a subsequent state or event, may also indicate the recurrence of a state or event, and *hai* stresses that a certain state or situation still holds. Second, although all signal counter-expected information, *you* seems to suggest a stronger sense of surprise than *ye* and *hai*. This may also account for the fact that both *ye* and *hai* sometimes serve a downgrading function to suggest concession whereas *you* is not used as a mitigator but plays the addressee-oriented function of counter-argument.

4. Evaluation of the results

This project aimed to study the historical development of *ye*, *you* and *hai* in Mandarin Chinese and *a*, *ma* and *koh* Taiwanese Southern Min. The initial stage of the project focused on discussion of classification schemes for analysis of these additive markers. We have managed to delineate the different distributions and the nuances among the additive functions of these morphemes. It has provided a general picture of the development of *ye*, *you* and *hai* in classical Chinese over the past 3000 years. An interesting finding is that as early as 3000 years ago, *you* has already been highly polysemous and subjectified meanings coexisted with referential meanings. However, we were not able to sketch the historical development of *a*, *ma* and *koh* in Taiwanese Southern Min in that in the only classical Southern Min texts available currently, we were not able to find phonologically corresponding forms of *a*, *ma* and *koh*. Until more texts are unearthed, the development of *a*, *ma* and *koh* remains to be a myth.

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