The Development of Southern Min Demonstratives + Type Classifier/Quantifier Construction in Late Ming and Early Qing Texts: From Demonstratives to Intensifiers*

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This paper explores the change in constructions featuring proximal/distal demonstratives + type classifier/quantifier attested in Southern Min playscripts published in the late Ming and early Qing. Hur2 許 / tsi2 只 and iunn7 樣 form particular constructions that have a range of features in syntax, semantics, phonology, and pragmatics. The sense of type is depleted when fusional words hiunn3 向 and tsunn3 障 are formed. The missing sense of type can be refurbished by new type classifiers such as puann1 般, sinn1 生, and ni5 年. The newly emerging hiunn3 puann1/sinn1/ni5 向般/生/年 or tsunn3 puann1/sinn1/ni5 障般/生/年 reflects the phenomenon of Jespersen’s Cycle. The new function of the fusional words led to the change of determiner + classifier to intensifier as a modifier of scalar adjectives or anaphors with discourse function. Another fusional word, tsuah4 拙, results from the fusion of tsi2 只 and ua7 夥, denoting ‘many’ tsuah4 拙, and takes on the function of intensifier when its quantity sense is depleted. This is also a reflection of Jespersen’s Cycle. This paper concludes that the demonstrative + type classifier/quantifier construction exhibits chronological strata and subdialectal variation.

Key words: demonstrative, fusion, Jespersen’s Cycle, type classifier

1. Introduction

In this paper I explore a set of the subpart of the determiner phrase featuring demonstrative + classifier/quantifier in earlier Southern Min texts and see how grammaticalization of the construction goes hand in hand with its phonological coalescence. A determiner phrase in its most fully realized form in Southern Min consists of demonstrative + quantifier + classifier + adjective + noun phrase. Southern Min has no definite articles, but it does have demonstratives that fall into two subtypes: proximal and distal demonstratives, tsi2 只 ‘this’ and hur2 許 ‘that’, attested to in earlier Southern

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The transliteration of Taiwanese Southern Min is largely based on the Church Romanization of Douglas (1873) with some minor modifications. The diacritic tone marks have been abandoned in favour of numerical superscripts. A single contrast ts and tsh is adopted in lieu of the two-way contrast ch, chh and ts, tsh, as they do not stand for phonemic contrast. The open o (i.e. /ɔ/) and the closed o are rendered as oo and o, as in too ‘gamble’ and ro ‘fall’. Ur stands for IPA /u/.

Although Huang & Lien (2007) and Chen (2009) also deal with demonstrative pronouns in early Southern Min texts, the present study is justified on at least three counts. First, they touch upon but do not treat the specific construction in detail. Second, the texts that I examine are not the same as those that they examine. Third, unlike previous literature, this article argues for a case of grammaticalization of the construction demonstrative + kind classifier/quantifier in terms of Jespersen’s Cycle.

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2. The distal/proximal demonstrative + type classifier construction

Hur\textsuperscript{2} 許 + iunn\textsuperscript{7} 樣 were contracted into a fusional word, hiunn\textsuperscript{3} 向. Tsi\textsuperscript{2} 只 + iunn\textsuperscript{7} 樣 were merged into another fusional word, tsiuunn\textsuperscript{3} 障. The distribution of the full forms, hur\textsuperscript{2} iunn\textsuperscript{7} 許樣 and tsi\textsuperscript{2} iunn\textsuperscript{7} 只樣, is not symmetrical. There are seven instances of tsi\textsuperscript{2} iunn\textsuperscript{7} 只樣, but only one instance of hur\textsuperscript{2} iunn\textsuperscript{7} 許樣. Each of them is exemplified as follows.

(1) 敢只樣無理 (638.016 金花女)

kann\textsuperscript{2} tsi\textsuperscript{2} iunn\textsuperscript{7} bo\textsuperscript{5} li\textsuperscript{2}

dare this kind unreasonable

(You dare to be so unreasonable?)

(2) 因阿嫂許樣沛賴 (388.009 金花女)\textsuperscript{4}

in\textsuperscript{1} a\textsuperscript{2}-so\textsuperscript{5} hur\textsuperscript{2} iunn\textsuperscript{7} phe\textsuperscript{3}-lua\textsuperscript{2}

ey PRF.sister-in-law that.kind rash

(His sister-in-law is so rash.)

3. Original constructions and their fusional forms

A change in usage occurred in semantics, syntax, and even pragmatics when the constructions hur\textsuperscript{2} iunn\textsuperscript{7} 許樣 and tsi\textsuperscript{2} iunn\textsuperscript{7} 只樣 were contextualized in the texts. The semantic and syntactic changes triggered the change in phonological form featuring the fusional words hiunn\textsuperscript{3} 向 and tsiuunn\textsuperscript{3} 障. On becoming fusional words, they embarked on a new life, and no longer functioned in the determiner phrase. Rather, they turned into adjectives as modifiers of predicates.

3.1 The function of tsi\textsuperscript{2} 只 and hur\textsuperscript{2} 許 as independent words

The canonical form of a determiner phrase is a sequence of determiner + numeral + classifier + noun phrase. The demonstratives tsi\textsuperscript{2} 只 and hur\textsuperscript{2} 許 can occupy the determiner slot. tsi\textsuperscript{2} 只 / hur\textsuperscript{2} 許, when occurring alone, can have discourse function, and take on the sense of ‘so, such’ when functioning as an intensifier of a scalar adjective, as shown in (3)–(7).

(3) 日都只晏了，不免叫小妹出來拜辭一下 (205.015 金花女)

jit\textsuperscript{8} to\textsuperscript{7} tsi\textsuperscript{2} uann\textsuperscript{3} liao\textsuperscript{0} m\textsuperscript{7} bian\textsuperscript{2} kio\textsuperscript{3} sio\textsuperscript{2}-ber\textsuperscript{7} tshut\textsuperscript{4} lai\textsuperscript{5} pai\textsuperscript{3}-si\textsuperscript{5} tsit\textsuperscript{8}-e\textsuperscript{0}

day PTC this late INCH not avoid call Little.sister exit come bid.farewell TENT

(It is so late, I might just as well ask her to come over and bid her farewell.)

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\textsuperscript{4} Here are the abbreviations used in the word-for-word translation: CL (classifier), CONT (continuative aspect marker), EM (experiential marker), EXCL (exclusive), INCH (inchoative marker), INCL (inclusive), NM (nominalizer), PM (patient marker), POSS (possessive marker), PRF (prefix), PTC (particle), RQ (rhetorical question marker), SUF (suffix), and TENT (tentative marker).
3.2 \textit{tsi}^2-iunn\textsuperscript{7} 只樣 and \textit{tsiunn}\textsuperscript{3} 陣

The full form \textit{tsi}^2 \textit{iunn}\textsuperscript{7} 只樣 and its fusional form are not entirely the same in syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. From the scanty examples that survive, we can see that \textit{tsi}^2 \textit{iunn}\textsuperscript{7} 只樣 preserves the function of a pro-form denoting ‘this way, like this’, as in (8) and (9). It carries the exophoric function and refers to an object in the context. Syntactically, \textit{tsi}^2 \textit{iunn}\textsuperscript{7} 只樣 can be used as an element in the determiner phrase or a modifier in the attributive adjectival phrase, as in (10).

(8) 滿世上，無人親像你只樣 (645.005 金花女)
\textit{mua}^2 \textit{se}^3 \textit{siong}^7 \textit{bo}^5 \textit{lang}^2 \textit{tshin}^1 \textit{tshiunn}^7 \textit{li}^1 \textit{tsi}^2 \textit{iunn}^7\textit{all-over world on not.have person look.like you this kind}
(Nobody in the world would behave like you.)

(9) 感謝大舅恩情重，十兩白金送路豈常有，千金買無只樣 (407.011–407.018 金花女)
\textit{kam}^2 \textit{sia}^2 \textit{tua}^2 \textit{ku}^7 \textit{un}^1 \textit{tsing}^5 \textit{tang}^7 \textit{tsap}^8 \textit{niu}^2 \textit{peh}^8 \textit{kim}^1 \textit{sang}^3 \textit{loo}^7 \textit{khi}^2 \textit{siong}^5 \textit{u}^7 \textit{tshian}^1 \textit{kim}^1 \textit{bue}^7 \textit{bo}^5 \textit{tsi}^2 \textit{iunn}^7
\textit{thank bid.uncle kindness heavy ten tael platinum send road RQ often have thousand gold buy not.have this kind}
(I am in deep debt to you. It’s indeed rare to be given ten tael of platinum for my travel expense. Such a favour cannot be had even for an exorbitant amount of money.)

(10) 只樣野沛賴姿娘，不免叫出來凌遲一頓乞伊 (621.013–14 金花女)
\textit{tsi}^2 \textit{iunn}^7 \textit{ia}^2 \textit{phe}^3 \textit{lua}^7 \textit{tsu}^1 \textit{niu}^5 \textit{put}^4 \textit{bian}^2 \textit{kio}^3 \textit{tshut}^4 \textit{lai}^5 \textit{ling}^2 \textit{ti}^5 \textit{chit}^8 \textit{tun}^3 \textit{khit}^4 \textit{i}^1\textit{this kind savage rude woman not avoid call exit come abuse one CL give her}
(Such a rude woman! I might have asked her to come over and given her a severe punishment.)
The fusional word *tsiunn*³ 障 cannot be used alone. In fact, it detached from the determiner phrase and emerged as an intensifier of a scalar adjective, as in (11), (12), and (13).

(11) 枉你障大做向愚，富贵人家不肯嫁，今來受饑共受餓 (339.006–339.013 金花女)
ong² li¹ tsiunn³ tua¹ tso² hiunn³ gu⁵ hu⁵-kui¹ jin³-ke¹ m² khing² ke³ kim¹ lai⁵ siu¹ ki¹ ka⁶ siu¹ go⁷
futile you so big how so stupid rich dignified family not willing marry now come bear starvation and bear hunger
(You’ve grown up in vain. You are so stupid that you won’t marry into a rich and dignified family. You are suffering from starvation now.)

(12) 林婆不見障久，你在值處來？(02.062 蘇六娘)
Lim⁵ po⁵ put⁴ kian³ tsiunn³ ku² li¹ ti⁵ tit⁸-te⁷ lai⁵
Lin old.woman not see so long you exist what.place come
(I’ve not seen you for a long while. Where have you been?)

(13) 每二邊為乜障吵鬧？正是為一乜事志？(9.025–26 同窗琴書記)
līn² nng⁵ pinn⁵ ui⁷ mih⁵ tsiunn³ tsha²-nau⁵ tsiann³ si⁷ ui⁷ it⁷ mih⁵ tai⁷-tsi³
you(pl.) two side for what so noisy exactly be for what matter
(Why are you two parties so noisy? Exactly what’s the matter?)

3.3 *Hur²-iunn*⁷ 許樣 and *hiunn*³ 向

Like the relation between *tsi² iunn*⁷ 只樣 and *tsiunn*³ 障, the full construction *hur² iunn*⁷ 許樣 and its fusional form *hiunn*³ 向 are not wholly identical in semantics, syntax, and pragmatics. Only one instance of *hur² iunn*⁷ 許樣 is attested, as in (14), and it means ‘that way, like that’ or ‘so, such’.

(14) 想起來，因阿嫂許樣沛賴，伊兄老實無能為 (388.009 金花女)
siunn⁷ khi² lai⁵ in¹ a²-so² hur² iunn⁷ phe³-lua³ i¹ hiann¹ lau²-sit⁸ bo⁵ ling⁵ ui⁵
think INCH because PRF.sister-in-law that kind rash he older.brother honest not.have able do
(It occurred to me that sister-in-law is so rash that his brother, an honest fellow, can do nothing about it.)

The fusional form *hiunn*³ 向 keeps the sense of ‘that way, like that’ in some cases. In such cases, the distinction between the type classifier interpretation and the intensifier interpretation seems to be ambiguous, as in (15). *Hiunn*³ 向 has turned into an intensifier for scalar adjectives in (16) and (17).⁵

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⁵ For the translation of theatrical roles in this paper I follow van der Loon (1992:38). For the sake of brevity, abbreviations are used: ML (male lead 生), FL (female lead 旦), SMC (secondary male character 外), SFC (secondary female character 貼), C/BC (comic or bold character, male or female 淨), B (buffoon, male or female 丑), and SMC (subsidiary male character 末).
4. The newly emergent demonstrative + type classifier construction

The fusional word *tsiunn^3* 障 or *hiunn^3* 向, featuring an incorporated sense of type, can be further followed by other type classifiers such as *puann^1* 般, *ni^1* 年, and *sinn^1* 生.

4.1 *Tsiunn^3-puann^1* 障般 and *hiunn^3-puann^1* 向般

*Tsiunn^3* 障 as a contraction of *tsi^2* iunn^7* 只様* contains a type sense. *Puann^1* 般 and *iunn^7* 樣 are a pair of synonyms. It would be redundant for *tsiunn^3* 障 to be followed by *puann^1* 般. But since the type meaning has been bleached, there is no redundancy in the addition of *puann^1* 般. *Tsiunn^3 puann^1* 障般 can appear in the position of demonstrative + type classifier in a determiner phrase denoting ‘this way, like this’, as in (18). It can be used as an intensifier of scalar adjectives, as in (19) and (20).

(18) 障般淒涼景象，甲人侢不傷心嘆氣 (129.009 金花女)
*tsiunn^3 puann^1 tshel^5-liang^5 king^2-siong^7 lang^5 tsi^7 put^4 siong^1-sim^1 thian^3-khi^3* such kind bleak scene cause person not sad sigh
(Such a bleak sight! How can we be not sad and sigh in despair?)

(19) 今旦障般無行止，何必當初用機謀？(06.105 蘇六娘)
*kin^1 tan^3 tsiunn^3 puann^1 bo^5 hing^7-tsi^2 ho^5-pit^4 tong^1-tshoo^1 thian^7-ki^1-boo^5*
now such kind not have conduct how necessary at that time use scheme
(You don’t know how to behave properly. Why were you scheming earlier on?)

(20) (生) 誰料英台是女兒 (14.386 同窗琴書記)
sui⁵ liau⁷ Ing¹-tai⁵ si⁷ lu²-ji³
(ML) who expect Ying-tai be girl
(Who would expect Ying-tai to be a woman?)
(丑) 有障般呆癡！ (14.387 同窗琴書記)
u¹ tsiunn¹ puann¹ t'ai¹-tshi¹
(B) have such kind stupid!
(Who would have thought that you were such a fool?)

It is also motivated, as in the case of tsiunn³ 障, for hiunn³ 向 to be further followed by puann¹ 般. Hiunn³ puann¹ 向般, bearing the sense of ‘that way, like that’, can be used in a determiner phrase, as in (21).

(21) 向般人可見忘恩負義無人情 (新錦曲摘隊)
hiunn³ puann¹ lang⁵ kho³ kian³ bong⁷ un¹ hu⁷ gi⁷ bo⁵ lang⁵ tsing⁵
that kind person can see ungrateful not have human feelings
(Obviously enough, that kind of man is ungrateful and callous.)

4.2 Tsiunn³-ni⁵ 障年 and hiunn³-ni⁵ 向年

The fusional words tsiunn³ 障 and hiunn³ 向 can be combined with the type-denoting word ni⁵ 年 to yield a new construction, tsiunn³-ni⁵ 障年 or hiunn³-ni⁵ 向年. The rationale behind this is that the sense of type in the fusional word has been depleted. Thium³-ni⁵ 障年 takes on the sense of ‘this way, like this’, as in (22) and (23).6 Hiunn³-ni⁵ 向年 in (24) has taken on a discourse function, serving as a link between the previous and present contexts.

(22) 甲我障年教伊 (49.008 金花女)
kah⁴ gua² tsiunn³ ni⁵ ka³-l
cause I how teach he
(How can I teach him?)

6 Tsiunn³-ni⁵ 障年 or hiunn³-ni⁵ 向年 is uniquely found in the modern Chaoshou dialect (Shi 1995). Ni⁵ 年 evolves from 爾 in Old Chinese (OC). 爾 was a demonstrative pronoun in OC, glossed as ‘this’ or ‘like this’ (Chou 1972:151–155). It emerged as ni³ 聒 in Early Modern Chinese (Ôta 1981:363–366, 1987:335–337; Yang 1982). Actually, 爾 was also a second-person pronoun in OC, from which modern ni³ 你 descends (Chou 1952). Phonologically, the evolution of ni³ 年 in earlier Southern Min from 爾 in OC is also plausible in that 爾 bears the *n- initial in OC. Though 爾 bears the *nj initial in Middle Chinese (MC), it can be traced back to the *n- initial in OC, since the distinction between 爾 *nj- and 泥 *n- in MC can be traced back to a single and common phonological category *n- in OC (Li 1998:101). An anonymous reviewer suggests that ni³ 年 may be derived from sim⁴ 生 as a result of the progressive assimilation of the nasalized element to the onset of the syllable and the later deletion of the fricative. However, no textual evidence can be found to substantiate such a hypothesis.
(23) 不是娘郎恩情重，父母皮肉，在甘障年 (03.030–31 蘇六娘)
m² si⁵ niu⁵ long⁴ un¹-tsing⁴ tang⁶ pe²-bu⁵ phue⁵ bah⁴ tsai¹-kam¹ tsiunn³ ni⁵
not be lady man love heavy father mother skin flesh how grudge so
(Were it not for the Mistress’s deep love for the man, how could she be willing to cut
to save him), the flesh being inherited from her parents?)

Likewise, hiunn³-mi⁵ 向年 denotes ‘that way, like that’ in (24).

(24) 向年：今許羊待放處餓到死，爾亦不肯去掌
hiunn³ ni⁵ tann¹ hur² iunn⁵ thai⁷ pang³ te³ go⁷ kau³ si² lur² iah⁴ m⁷-khing² khi³ tsiong²
that now that sheep let put CONT starve to dead you also not willing to control
(In that case, the sheep is left starving to death, you couldn’t care less.)
三餐合得食我，不就是了
san¹-tshan¹ hap⁸-kai¹ chiah⁸ gua² m⁷ to⁷ si⁷ liau²
three meal should eat I not PTC right INCH
(I should foot the bill for the three meals, shouldn’t I?)

4.3 Thiunn²-sinn¹ 障生 and hiunn³-sinn¹ 向生

On a par with ni⁵ 年, sinn¹ 向 as a type-denoting word can be added to the fusional word
tsiunn¹ 障 or hiunn² 向. Thus, tsiunn³-sinn¹ 障生 and hiunn³-sinn¹ 向生 carry the senses of ‘this
way, like this’ and ‘that way, like that’, respectively. 障生 has many uses, such as a manner adverb,
as in (25); a determiner in a determiner phrase, as in (26); and a pro-verb functioning as an anaphor,
as in (27).

(25) (旦) 請阿嫂亦乞我拜辭一下 (220.002 金花女)
tshiann² a²-so² iah⁴ kit⁴ goa² pai³-si⁵ tsit⁸-e⁷
(FL) pray PRF.sister-in-law also let I bid.farewell TENT
(Let me bid you farewell, madame.)
(外) 正是障生做人 (220.008 金花女)
tsiunn³-si⁷ tsiunn³ sinn¹ tso³ lang⁵
(SMC) exactly be such way be person
(This is the way you conduct yourself.)

(26) 障生子兒辱親喪己 (09.053 蘇六娘)
tsiunn³ sinn¹ kiann²-ji⁵ jiok⁴-tshin¹-song³-ki²
this way child humiliate parent wreck self
(Children of this type will bring disgrace to their parents and themselves.)

(27) 爹媽有命，大人有意旨，不是阮自專會障生 (4.108–110 同窗琴書記)
tia¹ ma² u⁷ bing⁷ tai⁻ji⁵ u⁷ i³-tsí² m⁷-si⁷ gun² tsu⁷-tsuan¹ e⁷ tsiunn³-sinn²
father mother have order Mandarin have sense not be we(excl.) self specially can this way
(It is the will of my parents and the wish of his highness, not me that behaves this way.)
"Hiunn\(^3\)-sinn\(^1\) 向生 has an anaphoric function and a procedural discourse function, as in (28), (29), and (30).

(28) (丑) 阿娘春夏既繡了，秋冬亦著繡一個，正見齊全 (125.018 金花女)
    \[\text{a}^2-\text{niu}^5 \ tshun^1 \ ha^7 \ ki^3 \ siu^3 \ liau^2 \ tshiu^1 \ tang^4 \ iah^4 \ tioh^8 \ siu^3 \ chit^8 \ e^5 \ tsiann^3 \ kinn^3 \ tse^5-\]
    \[tsuan^5 \]  
    (B) PRF.lady spring summer PTC embroider INCH autumn winter also should embroider
    one CL exactly see neat complete
    (Since you have embroidered spring and summer, you will make it whole by embroidering
    autumn and winter as well.)
    (FL) 向生，我再勉強繡二個罷 (126.01 金花女)
    \[hiunn^3 \ sinn^1 \ gua^2 \ tsa^1 \ bian^2-kiong^2 \ siu^2 \ nng^7 \ e^5 \ pah^0 \]  
    (female lead) that way I again exert.oneself embroider two CL PTC
    (In that case, I’ll try my best to embroider two more pieces.)

(29) 小妹，恁阿嫂是許心性，總是向生，嘪惱 (375.018 金花女)
    \[sio^2 \ mue^3 \ lin^2 \ a^2-so^2 \ si^7 \ hur^2 \ sim^1-sing^3 \ tsong^2-si^7 \ hiunn^3 \ sinn^1 \ mai^3 \ nau^2 \]  
    little younger sister you PRF.sister-in-law be that stage.of.mind always be that way don’t
    annoyed
    (Sis. Your sister-in-law is always in that state of mind. Don’t be annoyed.)

(30) (末) 向生必是六娘有主意了 (03.011 蘇六娘)
    \[hiunn^3 \ sinn^1 \ pit^4-si^7 \ Lak^8-niu^5 \ u^7 \ tsu^2-i^3 \ liau^2 \]  
    (SMC) that way inevitably be sixth.lady have idea INCH
    (Liu-niang must have got an idea then.)
    (浄) 蘇六娘甚有主意 (03.012 蘇六娘)
    \[Soo^1 \ Lak^8-niu^5 \ sim^1 \ u^7 \ tsu^2-i^3 \]  
    (C/BC) Su sixth.lady very have idea
    (Su Liu-niang has got her own idea indeed.)

5. \textit{Tsiunn}^3-\textit{seh}^4 障說 and \textit{Hiunn}^3-\textit{seh}^4 向說

In sharp contrast to \textit{tsiunn}^3 puann^1 障般, \textit{tsiunn}^3 ni^1 障年, \textit{tsiunn}^3 si^1 障生 / \textit{hiunn}^3 puann^1 向
    般, \textit{hiunn}^3 ni^1 向年, \textit{hiunn}^3 si^1 向生, \textit{hiunn}^3 障, and \textit{hiunn}^3 向 in \textit{tsiunn}^3 \textit{seh}^4 障說 and \textit{hiunn}^3 \textit{seh}^4 向說
    stick to the original sense of type. Thus, \textit{tsiunn}^3 \textit{seh}^4 障說 and \textit{hiunn}^3 \textit{seh}^4 向說 denote ‘this
    way, like this, so, such’ and ‘that way, like that, so, such’, respectively. They also have an ana-
    phoric discourse function, as in (31)–(35).

(31) (生) 聽你障說，學我心痛疼 (407.002 金花女)
    \[thiann^1 \ lur^2 \ tsiunn^3 \ seh^4 \ tshua^7 \ gua^2 \ sim^1 \ thang^3-thiann^3 \]  
    (ML) hear you so say cause I heart hurt
    (Hearing you say so saddened me)
(32) 哥哥，我爹只家後掠你親情許乞馬俊去了 (14.452–454 同窗琴書記)
ko¹ ah⁰ gua² tia¹ tsi² ke¹ au⁷ liā⁰ li⁴ tshin¹-tsiann⁵ hur³ khit⁴ Ma²-tsun¹ khi³ liau²
(FL) old.brother.SUF I father this family PM I(excl.) marriage betroth give Ma-jun go INCH
(Darling, my father had me betrothed to Majun.)
(生) 啊，障說亞？你爹只家後掠你親情許乞馬俊去了 (14.455–456 同窗琴書記)
ah⁰ tsuunn³ seh¹ ah⁰ li² tia¹ tsi² ke¹ au⁷ liā⁰ li⁴ tshin¹-tsiann⁵ hur³ khit⁴ Ma²-tsun¹ khi³ liau⁰
(ML) oh so say PTC you father this family PM you marriage betroth give Ma-jun go INCH
(Oh. Is that so? Your father has betrothed you to Majun.)

(33) 哥哥手賤，掠姿娘人肚裙提來只處做乜？ (14.368–369 同窗琴書記)
ko¹-ko¹ tshiu² tsiann⁷ liā⁰ tsu¹ niu⁵ lang⁵ too⁷ kun⁵ the⁸ lai⁰ tsi² te³ tso³ mih⁸
(FL) older.brother hand restless PM woman.person bellyband take come this place do what
(Your hands are restless. What did you bring women’s bellyband for?)
(生) 只是你纔自失落個，乜 我提人個障說？ (14.370–371 同窗琴書記)
tsi² si⁷ li² tsai⁵ tsu² sit⁴-loh⁸ e⁵ mih⁸ gua² the⁵ lang⁵ e⁵ tsiunn³ seh⁴
(ML) this is you just self lose NM what I take person POSS so say
(It’s something that you lost. Not that I take from anybody else.)

(34) 你去請伊出來，我卜共伊相辭了 (14.429–430 同窗琴書記)
lī² khi³ tshiann² i¹ tshut⁴ lai⁵ gua² beh⁴ kang⁷ i¹ sio¹ si³ liau⁰
(ML) you go invite he exist come I want with he bid.farewell INCH
(Please ask him to come over. I’ll bid him farewell.)
(丑) 向說，我去請 (14.431 同窗琴書記)
hiunn³ seh⁴ gua² khi³ tshiann²
(B) that say I go invite
(OK. I will do it then.)

(35) 阿媽，你是嫌郭一使袂做秀才也 (02.035 蘇六娘)
a²-ma² li² si⁷ hiann⁵ Kueh⁴ It¹-su² buč⁷ cho³ siu³-tsaï² a⁰
(C/BC) PRF.grandma you be detest Guo Yi-shi cannot be licentiate PRC
(Granny, you detest Guo Yishi for not being a licentiate.)
(末) 是乜話，向啞 (02.036 蘇六娘)
si² mih⁸ ue¹ hiunn³ tann³
(SMC) be what.word that say
(No, not at all.)

7 Ke¹ au⁷ 家後 in early Southern Min texts acts a locative phrase meaning ‘at home’. Ke¹ au⁷ na⁷ u⁷ boo²-kiann² 家後那有氹仔 home if have wife child (If you have wife and children at home) (24.216 JJ). For JJ see Wu (2001). By contrast, it means wife in present-day Southern Min.
6. Tsi²-ua⁷ 只夥 and tsuah⁴ 拙

Not only can demonstratives combine with type classifiers, but they can also occur with quantifiers to yield particular constructions. Tsi²-ua⁷ 只夥 can be contracted into tsuah⁴ 拙. Likewise, hur² 許 and ua⁷ 夥 can also be fused into huah⁴ 喝. The original constructions tsi²-ua⁷ 只夥 and hur²-ua⁷ 許夥 were not attested in the texts, probably because each of them had been phased out. 拙 features the sense ‘these’ in (36)–(39). When the sense carried by ua⁷ 夥 (many) in tsuah⁴ 拙 is mitigated, tsuah⁴ 拙 developed into an intensifier for scalar adjectives, as in (40) and (41).

(36) 阮從幼不識從師，袂答得詩中詩中拙意思 (4.199–200 同窗琴書記)
   gun² tsing⁵ iu³ m⁷ pat⁸ tsiong⁵ su¹ bue⁷ tap⁴ tit⁴ si¹ tiong¹ tsuah⁴ i-su³
   we(excl.) from little not know study.under teacher cannot answer poem in these meaning
   (Since I did not study under a master during my childhood, I don’t know how to puzzle
   out the meanings of the poem.)

(37) 小弟卜說都是拙話 (1.043–45 同窗琴書記)
   sio²-ti⁷ beh⁴ seh⁴ to⁷ si⁷ tsuat⁴ ue⁷
   little younger.brother want say all be these words
   (This is what I wanted to say.)

(38) 聽爾說拙話，營得我淚漣。 (滿天春下卷 下欄 39)
   thiann⁵ li² seh⁴ tsuat⁴ ue¹ iann⁵ tit⁴ gua² lui¹ lian⁵
   hear you say these words cause I tear shed
   (Hearing you say this made me shed tears.)

(39) 問拙原因，便見分明，討个真實信。 (滿天春下卷 下欄 9)
   mng⁵ tsuat¹ guan⁵-in¹ pian⁷ kinn⁷ hun¹-bing⁵ tho² e⁵ tsin¹ sin⁸ sin³
   ask these reasons then see clear ask.for CL real message
   (Enquire after the cause, be crystal-clear about it, and get at the truth.)

(40) 皮毬拙大個，許內就抱出來 (1.099–100 同窗琴書記)
   phe⁵-kiu⁵ tsuat⁴ tua⁴ e⁵ hur² lai⁷ to⁷ pho³ tshut⁴ lai⁵
   leather ball such big NM that in then hold.in.arm exit come
   (Such a big leather ball! I’ll come over holding it.)

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8. Ua⁷ 夥 (many), as in bo⁵ ua⁷ 無夥 ‘not many’, is attested in Douglas (1873:346). Mei (2002) shows that jua² 是 a fusion of 若夥, as in jua²-ku² 偌久 ‘how long’. I assume that tsuah⁴ 拙 is a fusion of the full form tsi²-ua⁷ 只夥 (see Chen 2008). Likewise, huah⁴ 喝 results from the fusion of the full form of hur²-ua⁷ 許夥. Neither of the full forms are attested in the texts. I attribute this to the failure of the full form to survive in competition with the fusional form. The glottal stop in the fusional word tsuah⁴ 拙 may result from glottalization, a widely attested phonological change induced by grammaticalization. (See Dai 2004 and Zhengzhang 1995 for a discussion.)

9. Both tsuah⁴ (these) and huah⁴ (those) are Quanzhou-unique quantity-denoting words (Chen 2008; Douglas 1873:584, 142; Huang 1961).
(41) 只內面拙烏暗, 亦無一處倚通坐。（滿天春上卷 下欄 13）

Huah⁴喝 as the fusional word for hur² ua⁷許夥 is not attested in the texts treated in this paper, but it can be found in other earlier Southern Min texts such as Li Jing Ji 荔鏡記 (Wu 2001).

7. Jespersen’s Cycle

In exploring the use of negation in several languages, the Danish linguist Otto Jespersen uncovered the phenomenon of linguistic cycles (Jespersen 1917). This phenomenon can be best exemplified in the development of negation in French. In the evolution of negation in French, the negative force used to be carried solely by the preverbal word ne-. It is often accompanied by a host of emphatic words, including pas ‘step’. When the negative meaning was gradually bleached, the word pas, having inherited the negative meaning, became the obligatory word in the negative construction. Ne- was so weakened that it eventually disappeared in informal speech (Schwegler 1983:299). A linguistic cycle has run its full course when the negative force of pas starts declining and needs another word to take over in order to uphold the negative sense in its place. Such change is dubbed Jespersen’s Cycle.¹⁰

The evolution of the distal/proximal demonstrative + type classifier as attested in the late Ming and Early Qing Southern Min texts exhibits the unmistakable phenomena described in Jespersen’s Cycle. The hur²/tsi² 許/只 + iunn⁷樣 constructions underwent semantic, syntactic, and even pragmatic change due to the effect of context. Such a context-sensitive change prompts the contraction of the constructions into fusional words. When the type sense in the fusional words becomes mitigated and even completely bleached, the gap has to be filled by other type classifiers or type-denoting words, such as puann¹般, sin¹生, and ni⁵年（<爾）。Here, we witness the mechanism of Jespersen’s Cycle at work, and it can be construed as a kind of rejuvenation of rather older forms making way for newer forms.

In the same fashion, tsuah⁴拙 as a fusional word, derived from tsi² ua⁷只 + 夥 and used to mean ‘these’, evolves into an intensifier for scalar adjectives denoting ‘so, such’. Such a change is motivated by the bleaching of the quantity meaning in the fusional word tsuah⁴拙. The texts furnished ‘redundant’ forms like tsuah⁴-puann¹ tsi²拙事 ‘matter of such kind’ and even the multiple redundant expression tsuah⁴-puann¹ iunn⁷khoo²-thiann³拙樣苦疼 such way kind bitter hurt ‘pain of such a magnitude’. These redundant examples bear witness to tsuah⁴拙 being in Jespersen’s Cycle.

8. An overview of the change in the distal/proximal demonstrative + type classifier construction

Table 1 shows the distribution and percentage of tsi²iunn⁷只樣/hur² iunn⁷許樣, the fusional words tsiunn³障/hiunn³向, and the newly emergent words featuring the fusional words followed

¹⁰ For grammaticalization pursued along the lines of Jespersen’s Cycle see Eckardt (2006) and Lucas (2007).
by other type classifiers or type-denoting words, such as *puann¹* 般, *puann¹iunn⁷* 般樣, *sinn¹* 生, or *ni⁵* 年, in each of four kinds of late Ming and early Qing playscripts (*Jin Hua Nü* 金花女, *Su Liu Niang* 蘇六娘, *Tongchuang Qin Shu Ji* 同窗琴書記, and *Long Bide* 龍彼得).¹¹ Note that the proximal and distal ones are counted together to show their relative robustness.

Consider the comparison of each pair of distal/proximal demonstratives + type classifiers in the four texts. We can see the relative percentage of each pair of distal/proximal constructions. Examples of the original constructions *tsi² iunn⁷* 只樣 and *hur²iunn⁷* 許樣 are quite scanty. There are only eight examples of *tsi² iunn⁷* 只樣 and only one instance of *hur² iunn⁷* 許樣. By contrast, there are plenty of examples of the fusional words *tsiunn³* 障 and *hiunn³* 向. The proximal fusional word *tsiunn³* 障 occurs twice as often as the distal fusional word *hiunn³* 向. There are more cases where the proximal fusional word *tsiunn³* 障 combines with other type classifiers than the distal fusional word *hiunn³* 向. On the other hand, the distal fusional word *hiunn³* 向 is more prone to combine with *sinn¹* 生 than the proximal word *tsiunn³* 障. The examples of *tsiunn³ ni³* 障年 and *hiunn³ ni⁵* 向年 are so few that it is difficult to judge the pattern of distribution. Such a pair seems unique to the Chaozhou dialect, a fact that can be confirmed by lexical evidence from the Modern Chaozhou dialect.

Table 2 shows the distribution of the proximal *tsuah⁴* 拾 and *tsuah⁴* 拾 + type classifiers/type-denoting words and its distal counterparts. *Tsuah⁴* 拾 most often occurs alone and only appears in *Tongchuang Qin Shu Ji* 同窗琴書記 and *Long Bide* 龍彼得. *Tsuah⁴* 拾 is a Quanzhou-specific word. *Jin Hua Nü* 金花女 and *Suliuniang* 蘇六娘, written in the Chaozhou dialect, do not feature

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Table 2: Distribution of the proximal tsuah⁴ 拙 and tsuah⁴ 拙 + type classifiers/type-denoting words and their distal counterparts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>拙</th>
<th>拙般</th>
<th>拙般様</th>
<th>拙年</th>
<th>吱</th>
<th>歇</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>金花女</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蘇六娘</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>同窗琴書記</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>龍彼得</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But rather 扎/扎 are used to modify the time expression and can be proceeded by the proximal 只. Furthermore, examples of tsuah⁴ puann¹ 拙般 and tsuah⁴ puann¹ iunn⁷ 拙般様 are quite scanty and there are no instances of tsuah⁴ ni⁵ 拙年 at all. We can see that there are no instances of the distal huah⁴ 喝/歇, which, however, is present in other types of earlier Southern Min such as Li Jing Ji 荔鏡記 (Wu 2001).

9. A comparison of the demonstrative and intensifier functions of tsì²/huì² 只/許 and the fusional words tsìunn³ 障 and hiunn³ 向

As shown in Table 3, the expressions—non-fusional or fusional—marked by X stand for the demonstrative use, whereas the expressions—non-fusional or fusional—marked by Y stand for the

Table 3: Distribution of proximal and distal demonstratives with respect to deictic and intensifier function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>只 X</th>
<th>只 Y</th>
<th>許 X</th>
<th>許 Y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>金花女</td>
<td>93(99%)</td>
<td>1(0%)</td>
<td>57(95%)</td>
<td>3(5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蘇六娘</td>
<td>47(96%)</td>
<td>2(4%)</td>
<td>12(92%)</td>
<td>1(8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>同窗琴書記</td>
<td>109(99%)</td>
<td>1(1%)</td>
<td>41(100%)</td>
<td>0(0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>龍彼得</td>
<td>697(99%)</td>
<td>9(1%)</td>
<td>257(99%)</td>
<td>2(1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>946(99%)</td>
<td>13(1%)</td>
<td>367(98%)</td>
<td>6(2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>障 X</th>
<th>障 Y</th>
<th>向 X</th>
<th>向 Y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>金花女</td>
<td>1(10%)</td>
<td>9(90%)</td>
<td>4(14%)</td>
<td>25(86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蘇六娘</td>
<td>1(33%)</td>
<td>2(67%)</td>
<td>1(1%)</td>
<td>10(91%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>同窗琴書記</td>
<td>10(67%)</td>
<td>5(33%)</td>
<td>2(67%)</td>
<td>1(33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>龍彼得</td>
<td>56(50%)</td>
<td>55(50%)</td>
<td>12(67%)</td>
<td>6(33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68(48%)</td>
<td>71(52%)</td>
<td>19(31%)</td>
<td>42(69%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
intensifier function. It is evident that $tsi^2/hur^2$ 許 只 features the demonstrative use and is seldom, if ever, used as an intensifier. This is self-evident if we compare the percentage of 只 X and 只 Y, on the one hand, or that of 許 X and 許 Y, on the other. On the contrary, the fusional forms $tsiunn^3$ 障 and $hiunn^3$ 向 are most often used as intensifiers rather than demonstratives, and this is also obvious when the percentage of 障 X and 障 Y, and that of 向 X and 向 Y are compared, respectively. It is patently clear that fusion is instrumental in eroding the deictic function of $tsi^2$ 只 and $hur^2$ 許.

10. Conclusion

This paper explores grammatical changes in distal/proximal + type classifier constructions attested in the late Ming and early Qing Southern Min playscripts. This construction originated in the determiner phrase. The $tsi^2/hur^2$ 只/許 + $iunn^7$ 樣 construction has been contracted to the fusional words $tsiunn^3$ 障 and $hiunn^3$ 向. Fusion was prompted by the syntactic, semantic, and even pragmatic changes that the contraction undergoes. Syntactically, the construction was detached from the determiner phrase and turned into an intensifier for scalar adjectives: in other words, an adjective for predicates that cannot occur alone. Semantically, the sense of ‘this way, like this’ and ‘that way, like that’ shifted to ‘so, such’ denoted by intensifiers. Pragmatically, $tsiunn^3$ 障 and $hiunn^3$ 向 have taken on an anaphoric function.

The change of the demonstrative + type classifier construction reflects the constantly emerging phenomenon of Jespersen’s Cycle. The bleaching of the type sense leaves a void for other type classifiers or type-denoting words like $puann^1$ 般, $sinn^1$ 生, and $ni^5$ 年 to fill in order to recover the original meaning. The three words reflect different chronological strata: 生 stands for the Early Modern Chinese stratum starting at the mid-Tang (circa seventh century), 12 般 a much later stratum, and 年 (<爾) the Old Chinese stratum. 13

The demonstratives can combine not only with type classifiers, but also with quantifiers. $tsi^2$ 只, for example, can combine with $ua^7$ 夥 as $tsi^2-ua^7$ 只夥, meaning ‘these’, which can be further contracted into the fusional word $tsuah^4$ 拙. The interpretation of $tsuah^4$ 拙 is context-sensitive. It can mean either ‘these’ or ‘so, such’. The second sense is carried by its intensifier function and arises due to the attrition of its quantity sense. The grammatical change in this word also shows the effect of Jespersen’s Cycle.

A consequence of this study is that the distribution of the newly emergent contractions provides a clue for pinning down the Southern Min subdialectal system, as attested in the late Ming and early Qing texts. For example, $tsiunn^3$ $sinn^1$ 障生, $tsiunn^3$ $ni^5$ 障年, $hiunn^3$ $sinn^1$ 向生, and $hiunn^3$ $ni^5$ 向年 appear in Jin Hua Nü 金花女 and Su Liu Niang 蘇六娘, but not Tong Chuang Qin Shu Ji 同窗琴書記. When this is coupled with evidence based on studies of modern Southern Min dialects, we can surmise that the first two playscripts are written in the Chaozhou dialect, whereas

13 Although, as discussed in footnote 6, 年 can be traced back to 難 in Old Chinese, it was not until after the end of the Tang, around the beginning of the eleventh century, that the robust use of 呢 (corresponding to 年 in Southern Min) as a sentence-final particle emerged in colloquial texts (see Liu et al. 1992:166–182).
the third playscript is written in the Quanzhou dialect. By contrast, tsuah⁴ 拙 can only be found in Tong Chuang Qin Shu Ji 同窗琴書記, but not in Jin Hua Nü 金花女 or Su Liu Niang 蘇六娘. This means that Tong Chuang Qin Shu Ji 同窗琴書記 is written in the Quanzhou dialect. Tsiunn³/hiunn³ 障/向生 and tsiunn³/hiunn³ ni¹ 障/向年 are retained in the modern Chaozhou (潮州) dialect, whereas tsuah⁴ 拙 can be found in the modern Quanzhou (泉州) dialect. Furthermore, the Chaozhou-unique words tann³ 呆 ‘speak’ and thoinn² 体 (=睇) ‘look at’ can only be found in Jin Hua Nü 金花女 and Su Liu Niang 蘇六娘, but not in Tong Chuang Qin Shu Ji 同窗琴書記. This also lends support to our hypothesis. The playscripts compiled by van der Loon (1992) are a mixture of Chaozhou and Quanzhou dialects.

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本文探討明末清初閩南語戲文中近指遠指指示詞 + 樣式類別詞/計量詞構式的演變：從指示詞到程度加強副詞

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國立清華大學

「許」/ tsi²「只」和 iunn⁷「樣」形成獨特的構式，反映一系列的句法、語義、音韻、語用的特徵。合音詞 hiunn³「向」、tsiunn³「障」一旦產生，原有的樣式義就會淡化掉，消失的樣式義由新起樣式詞 puann¹「般」、sinn¹「生」、ni⁵「年」填補，新起的語式 hiunn³ puann¹「向般」/ sinn¹「生」/ ni⁵「年」或 tsiunn³ puann¹「障般」/ sinn¹「生」/ ni⁵「年」反映葉氏循環現象，這裡合音詞造成如下的演變，指示詞+樣式類別詞變成程度加強詞，用來修飾程度形容詞，或蛻變成具有篇章功能的照應詞，另一個合音詞 tsuah⁴「拙」由 tsi²「只」和 ua⁷「夥」（「一些」）合音而成。「拙」的數量義淡化之後，就可轉為程度加強詞，這又是葉氏循環的一例。本文末尾指出，指示詞+樣式詞/計量詞的構式也反映時代層次和次方言變異現象。

關鍵詞：指示詞，樣式詞，合音，葉氏循環