Grammaticalization of *Pat4* in Southern Min:
A Cognitive Perspective[*]

Chinfa Lien

National Tsing Hua University

The paper offers a cognitive perspective in which to explore the poly-functionality of the word *pat4* 八 diachronically, as attested in four Ming and Qing play scripts (Wu 2001a, b, c, d) in conjunction with modern Southern Min (Douglas 1873, Tung 2001). There are two kinds of knowing lexicalized as *pat4* (know-KENNEN) and *chai1-iann2* (know-WISSEN) respectively. I argue on the basis of etymological evidence that the experiential marker *pat4* developed from the lexeme *pat4* (know-KENNEN). The common semantic feature of experience based on the five senses motivates grammaticalization of *pat4* as a lexeme to an experiential marker. On the one hand, the emergence of *pat4* as a new experiential marker in Southern Min dating no later than the mid-sixteenth century was found to be confined to non-positive sentences. On the other hand, three-fourths of the total counts of the old experiential marker *cheng5* occurred in non-positive sentences. The increasing distribution of *cheng5* as an old experience marker in non-positive sentences seems to have paved the way for the emergence of *pat4* as a newly rising experience marker. The juxtaposition of *cheng5-pat4* as an experiential marker indicates that the older experience marker *cheng4* may be a driving force that prompts the emergence of *pat4* as an experiential marker.

Key words: cognition, know-KENNEN, know-WISSEN, lexeme, experiential marker, chang2, cheng5, pat4, Southern Min, Ming and Qing plays

1. Data base

The texts used in this study consist of four plays written in a mixture of Chaozhou and Quanzhou varieties of Southern Min with a sprinkling of Mandarin and ancient

Chinese, as shown below (Wu 20001a, b, c, d):

A	*Li Jing Ji* (Jiajing edition 1522-1566 AD)
	荔鏡記 (明嘉靖刊本 1522-1566 AD)
B	*Li Zhi Ji* (Wanli edition 1573-1619 AD)
	荔枝記 (明萬曆刊本 1573-1619 AD)
C	*Li Zhi Ji* (Shunzhi edition 1644-1661 AD)
	荔枝記 (清順治刊本 1644-1661 AD)
D	*Li Zhi Ji* (Guangxu edition 1875-1908 AD)
	荔枝記 (清光緒刊本 1875-1908 AD)

They are play scripts dating back to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth century Ming and Qing dynasties. We shall use the era names in referring to these plays, viz. the Jiajing (JJ), Wanli (WL), Shunzhi (SZ), and Guangxu (GX) editions.

Apart from the data base (§1) and concluding words (§7), the bulk of the paper consists of discussions of the etymology of *bat4/pat4* (§2), the polyfunctionality of *pat4* (§3), *Pat4* in Ming and Qing play scripts (§4), compounding of *pat4* + X (§5), and the distribution of the old experiential marker *cheng5* 曾 (§6).

2. Etymological origin of *bat4/pat4*

The word *bat4/pat4* is rendered as 識 in the majority of cases and 八 in minor cases in Ming and Qing play scripts.[1] 識 is a *kunyomi* or semantic loan, whereas 八 is an etymologically viable character. *Bat4* and *pat4* are dialectal variants. *Bat4* is found in Zhangzhou variety and *pat4* in Quanzhou variety. Xiamen (alias Amoy) as a city dialect embraces both *bat4* and *pat4* (Beijing Daxue 1995:465). However, Douglas (1873:13, 361) indicates that *bat4* is a Xiamen form, whereas *pat4* is a Tong-an form. 八 is glossed as *bie2 ye3* 別也 (distinguish). Xu (2004:28) in *Shuo Wen Jie Zi* (說文解字), a first systematic dictionary (ca. 121 AD) based on six principles of graph composition compiled by Xu Shen (許慎) (ca. 58-147 AD).[2]

---

[1] The transliteration of Taiwanese Southern Min in this paper is largely based on the Church Romanization of Douglas (1873) with some minor modifications. For example, the diacritic tone marks have been abandoned in favor of numerals at the right edge. No distinction is made between *ch* and *ts* or *chh* and *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 *oo1* 烏 'black' and *o1* 鍋 'cookware'. Nasalization of vowels is signaled by *-nn* and, unless otherwise stated, will be left unspecified if it is predictable by nasal initials.

[2] To my knowledge, Liu Jiamou (劉家謀) is the first scholar to note in 1845 that the numeral 八

It is hard to detect a semantic link between the two sememes, viz. DISTINGUISH and EIGHT, associated with the graph 八. Thus, an alternative approach is to take 八 *pat4* DIVIDE as a phonetic loan of the lexeme 八 EIGHT.[3] But cf. the Chinese cognates/ comparanda to TB etyma in *-at, reproduced below:[4]

gloss	PTB	OC		GSR	gloss
'cut apart'	*brat #	裂	liat	292f	'tear asunder/divide'
'cut open'	*prat	別	b'iat	292a	'divide/separate/distinguish/different'
'eight'	*b-r-gyat'	八	pwat	281a-d	'eight'

This seems to lend support to the claim that *pat4* EIGHT and *pat4* DIVIDE/CUT APART are etymologically related.

Some scholars try to correlate *pat4* to the lexeme 別 *bie2*, which is associated with two MC forms with a voicing distinction in the initial, as shown below:[5]

別	gloss	fanqie	MC sound values	MC initial
	分別	方別切	山開三入薛幫	*p-
	離別	皮列切	山開三入薛並	*b-

Lyu (1997[1633]:67) observes that, as regards 別, the muddy sound denotes a static situation, whereas the clear sound denotes a dynamic situation (*jìng zhuó yīn, dòng qīng yīn* 靜濁音, 動清音). We can take it as a hint and give the distinction a modern grammatical interpretation. The voiceless form is a causative verb, whereas the voiced form is the simplex verb. Such a relationship is called ergativity (Dixon 1994).

The following examples and gloss culled from Douglas (1873:372) attest to the distinction in causativity in terms of the voicing distinction of Middle Chinese (henceforth MC) initials:[6]

---

is glossed as *bie2 ye3* 別也 (divide) in *Shuo Wen Jie Zi* (Liu 1971:2, vol. 2). Guo (1962:462) and Li (1996a, b) also claim that such is the case based on the same evidence found in the same text.

[3] It is understandable that the character 八 is taken as a loan character of 八 EIGHT for its simple strokes when it is used to render the lexeme with the sense of 'be acquainted with' in these Ming and Qing texts.

[4] The details in the following table are taken from Matisoff (2003:334) (See also Gong 2002: 107-108, 199). PTB, OC, and GSR stand for Proto-Tibeto-Burman, Old Chinese and *Grammatica Serica Recensa*.

[5] The gloss, *fanqie*, and MC sound values are gleaned from Ding et al. (1981:28), Yu (1993: 499-500), and Zhou (1981:116).

[6] The initials *p-* in *piet4* and *p-* in *piet8* are the reflexes of *p-* and *b-* in MC respectively. MC voiced obstruent initials underwent devoicing sometime in the historical development of

piet4	*hun1-piet4* 'to distinguish; to discriminate clearly, to perceive clearly'
piet8	'to distinguish, to part, different' col. *pat8*, *piet4* *li7-piet8* 'take leave of, to bid farewell to', *sann1-piet8* (id.), *sang3-piet8* to 'accompany a friend a short way when he leaves'. *pai3=piet8* 'take respectful leave'

Piet4 別 featuring the causative function seems to be a valid candidate constituting a cognate of *pat4* 八 meaning 'divide/distinguish' in terms of phonological form and semantic properties.

Let us make a detour here to discuss three cases of a simple graph encompassing each a pair of simplex and causative verbs linked by a morphophonemic form realized as a voicing distinction in the initials.

There is a morphological relation between simple and causative verbs. Thus, each of the following three pairs of verbs is an ergative verb expressing a causative relationship between the lexeme with the voiceless initial and the lexeme with the voiced initial, as shown in the following table:[7]

	a	b	
	voiceless initial	voiced initial	
(1)	別 (*p-) IV	別 (*b-)	IV
(2)	解 (*k-) II	解 (*ɣ- < *g-)	II
(3)	斷 (*t-) II	斷 (*d-)[8]	II
	causative verbs	simplex verbs	

The voiceless element as a common denominator of the lexemes under column a as opposed to the lexemes under column b shows that it functions pretty much the same as a causative verb in a syntactically coded causative construction. The lexemes with the voiceless element (1a, 2a & 3a) are taken as transitive verbs, whereas the lexemes with the voiced element (1b, 2b & 3b) are glossed as intransitive/verbs or adjectives

---

Southern Min bringing about a merger of *p-* and *b-* into *p-*, but the latter leaves a trace in the lower register of the entering tone (see Wang & Lien 1993 for detailed discussion of tonal development).

[7] The Roman numerals stand for MC tone categories, viz. II stands for the rising tone and IV for the entering tone. The column b forms in the second and third case also bear tone 7 in modern Southern Min, a tone being a reflex of Tone III lexemes with voiced initials. One may wonder whether tone alternation with a causative function is also involved. But this can be explained away since the tonal alternation is a result of a sweeping tone change of Tone II lexemes with voiced obstruent initials to forms with Tone III.

[8] See Lien (1999) for discussion of the causative relation as manifested between 斷 (*t-) and 斷 (d-) in Southern Min.

having an inchoative/perfective aspectual meaning (Zhou 1981:116, Mei 1988). For example, *tng2* 斷 (*t-) means 'break (tr.)/cause to become broken', whereas *tng7* 斷 (*d-) means 'break (intr.) or become broken'. Likewise, it is *e7/oe7* 解 (*ɣ- < *g-) rather than *kai2/koe2* 解 (*k-) that underwent a change of the meaning of 'become divided' to 'understand' and finally to an epistemic modal verb in Southern Min (cf. Sweetser 1991).

The situation involving 別 seems to be more complicated. There are two ways to tackle this issue. System-internally, *piet4* 別 (< *p-) bearing a causative meaning rather than *piet8* 別 (< *b-) is etymologically related to 八 'distinguish'. But the formation of 別 attributable to substratum influence cannot be ruled out. *Bat4*, a dialect variant form of *pat4* found in Xiamen and Zhangzhou dialects, cannot be construed as being directly derived from MC *p- or *b-, nor can it be derived from MC *m-, as the syllable bears an upper register tone. But the reflex *ʔbak4* 識 with a preglottalized voiced stop *ʔb-* in Haikou dialect in Hainan island seems to indicate that this initial is a result of imperfect learning attributable to the agency of non-Sinitic substratum influence.[9]

3. Polyfunctionality of *pat4* 識/八

Pat4 functions both as a lexeme meaning *know* (KENNEN) opposed to *know* (WISSEN), and an experiential marker as a kind of grammatical function word.[10] In the dictionary compiled by Japanese scholars these two senses are rendered in two characters for the sake of graphic distinction: 識 for the first use and 曾 for the second use evidently based on the principle of *kunyomi* (Ogawa et al. 1931-32b:550-551). As observed above, *pat4* traceable to 八 exhibits its early sense of DISTINGUISH, and this early sense is attested in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth century texts.

Actually, *pat4* characterized as *know* (KENNEN) seems to be too narrow in scope to flesh out the whole range of its use as a lexeme. Rather, it can be specified as denoting in all-encompassing terms knowing by experience covering in particular knowing by senses (a),[11] knowing by doing (b), and knowing by the mind (c), as exemplified below:[12]

---

[9] Hwang-cherng Gong suggests this substratum influence possibility, which, however, is not limited to the Southern Min dialect on Hainan Island.

[10] The following quote shows how Douglas (1873:13) ingeniously defined *pat4* as an experiential marker: 'to have done a thing, as has never done it at any time'. That is, an experience must take place in the past, and it was something one had never done before.

[11] Senses refer to five physical senses: taste, touch, sight, sound, and smell. *Chai1* 知 can also denote bodily sensation felt by selves, as in *chai1 lang5* 知儂 'be conscious', *chai1 tiann3* 知疼 'feel pain, hurt'. But *pat4* denotes perception of an object or a person.

[12] The three terms are due to Chartrand (2005:40-49). All of the following examples are taken from Douglas (1873:13).

lexeme	character	literal rendition	gloss
pat4 ji7	識字	know-character	'able to read, be literate'
pat4 loo7	識路	know-road	'to know the road'
pat4 lang5	識儂	know-person	'to have skill in knowing men'
pat4 kun5 thau5	識拳頭	know-fist	'be good at boxing'
pat4 se3 bin7	識勢面	know situation	'to know how to act in special circumstances'
pat4 toa7-soe3	識大細	know old-young	'know how to act properly, as to superiors and inferiors'
pat4 jin2 ching5	識人情	know human feeling	'feel grateful'
sann1 pat4	相識	mutually know	'be acquainted with each other'
pat4 siunn7	識想	know think	'sensible, have a sense of purpose'

Almost all of the above examples involve three senses. But it should be noted that for *pat4* knowing by the mind does not involve propositional knowledge. *Chai1-iann2* 知影 should be used, instead, as in:

(4)	伊知影萬仔真有錢
	I1 chai1-iann2 ban7-a2 chin1 u7-chinn5
	He/she know NAME-SUF very have-money
	'He knows that Kevin is rich'

Besides kinds of knowing there seems to be a subtle relation between knowing and doing. Ryle (1946, 1984:25-61) proposes that *knowing that* is not the same as *knowing how*, that *knowing that* presupposes *knowing how*, and that *knowing how* as a kind of ability does not necessarily involve propositional knowledge. *Pat4* (cf. *dong3* 懂 in Mandarin) concerns knowing how rather than knowing that in the sense of Ryle (passim).

There is perennial interest in philosophical literature regarding the two kinds of knowledge: (1) knowledge based on judgment, and (2) knowledge based on acquaintance.[13] They are alternatively termed factual knowledge and practical knowledge

---

[13] This time-honored distinction between knowing that and knowing how is still being debated in recent years as to, for example, whether knowing how involves propositional knowledge as Ryle claims (See Stanley & Williamson 2001, Rumfitt 2003). The distinction between factual knowledge and practical knowledge also engrosses the interest of Confucian philosophers. While Zhu Xi (1130-1200 AD) believes that knowing essentials is not the same as practicing it, Wang Yangming (1472-1528 AD) champions the unity of knowledge and practice (*zhī xíng hé yī* 知行合一). Even modern politicians advocate the distinction between factual knowledge and practical knowledge, as manifested in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's famous saying *zhī nán xíng yì* 知難行易 'To know is difficult, but to do is easy' or vice versa.

(Snowdon 2004).[14] These two types of knowing are lexicalized as two different verbs in some languages, for example, *Wissen* and *Kennen* in German, and *savoire* and *connaître* in French (Russell 1959). They are also lexicalized as two different words in Southern Min: *chai1-iann2* 知影 (Mandarin *zhī-dào* 知道) and *pat4* 識 (Mandarin *rèn-shì* 認識). On the other hand, these two kinds of knowing in some languages can be realized by a single lexical item, as in *know* in English, *shiru* in Japanese, and *al-da* in Korean.

It is acquaintance as a kind of experience that eventually motivates the development of the lexeme *pat4* 識 'be acquainted with' via grammaticalization into an experiential marker *pat4* 曾. Experience by definition means that an individual has to undertake some actions at least once. There is a trace of cognition in the basic sense of DISTINGUISH. Distinguishing X and Y or telling X from Y is a cognitive capability which is possible only after personal experience or practice.[15]

Pat4 八, 分 and 曾, in terms of the graphic make-up, all share the semantic radical 八 'divide, distinguish' (Li 1996a, b) showing that they may be etymologically related. Such an etymological link is attested in the word family in Sino-Tibetan (Matisoff 2003). The sense of activity has developed into a sense of perception.

4. *Pat4* in Ming and Qing play scripts

In the following we shall explore the uses of *pat4* in a body of texts consisting of the Jiajing edition of *Li Jing Ji* (1522-1566 AD), and the Wanli edition (1573-1619 AD), Shunzhi edition (1644-1661 AD) edition, and Guangxu edition (1875-1908 AD) of *Li Zhi Ji*.

4.1 *Pat4* + NP (Person)

Pat4, alternatively rendered as 八 or 識 when followed by a NP denoting a person, means 'know-KENNEN, be familiar with, be acquainted with', as exemplified below:[16]

---

[14] The kinds of knowledge that we are addressing here have to do the issue of evidentiality, viz. various ways or channels of obtaining knowledge, viz. knowledge based on personal witnessing, hearsay, inference, etc. (Chafe & Nichols 1986, Willett 1988). *Pat4* as a verb expressing experience and an experiential marker can be construed as exhibiting a particular kind of evidentiality (Chappell 2001).

[15] See Jiang's observation of the use of *bie2* 別 as a lexeme meaning DISTINGUISH, APPRAISE, APPRECIATE in MC colloquial texts (Jiang 1997:254-256). Actually, the sense DISTINGUISH of the lexeme 別 can be attested in an even earlier text dating back to the fifth century AD, as in *Shi Shuo Xin Yu* compiled by Liu Yiqing (403-444 AD) (Wang 2004:20, 189).

[16] 八 or 識 as found in the texts of four plays can be rendered as *pat4* for Quanzhou dialect or *pak4* for Chaozhou dialect rather than Zhangzhou-unique *bat4*, since they are said to be

	Know a person	Act-line (edition)
(5)	只一人我八伊[17]	22.197 (JJ)[18]
	Chi2 chit8 lang5 goa2 pat4 i1	
	This one person I know he/she	
	This man I know	
(6)	阮是識伊	07.074 (WL)
	Gun2 si7 pat4 i1	
	I (PL.) is know he/she	
	I did know him	

Pat4 meaning 'know-KENNEN' involves personal experience with someone. It cannot be used to refer to the experience of seeing someone without talking to or dealing with him.

4.2 *Pat4* + NP (Object)

4.2.1 *Pat4* + Ordinary NP (Inanimate Object)

Pat4 when followed by an object-denoting NP means 'know, understand, be familiar with'. It always involves practice and personal experience.

	Know a thing	Act-line (edition)
(7)	查厶不識禮	23.184 (SZ)
	Cha1-bo2 m7 pat4 le2	
	Woman not know etiquette	
	Women do not know rules of etiquette	
(8)	只一查厶仔不識物	5.101 (JJ)
	Chi2 chit8 cha1-boo2-a2 m7 pat4 mih8	
	This one woman SUF not know thing	
	This girl does not understand things	

---

written in a mixture of Chaozhou and Quanzhou dialects. *Pat4* is used throughout the paper for the sake of convenience.

[17] *Chai1-iann2* 知影 'know' most often takes a proposition-expressing clause as its complement, but it also takes as an object a noun denoting a person, though it means 'knows of, hear about'.

[18] The numeral before the dot stands for act and the numeral after it, line. The acronym in parentheses stands for one of four plays, viz. JJ (Jiajing edition), WL (Wanli), SZ (Shunzhi) and GX (Guangxu).

4.2.2 *Pat4* + NP (Object) (antonymous coordinate compounds)

The early sense of *pat4* 八, viz. DISTINGUISH, is exhibited the construction of *pat4* + antonymous coordinate compounds, as shown below:

	Can discriminate between X and Y	Act-line (edition)
(9)	賊奴, 尒識一乜尊卑	22.225 (JJ)
	Chhat8-loo5, li2 pat4 chit8-mih8 chun1 pi1	
	Thief-slave, you know what high-low	
	You villain! What the hell rank can you distinguish?	
(10)	我看汝盡不八好怯亞	18.165 (GX)
	Goa2 khoann3 li2 chin7 m7 pat4 ho2 khiap4 a	
	I watch you completely not know good bad PARTICLE	
	I see that you cannot tell good from bad at all	

The following table summarizes the distribution of the three uses of *pat4* just discussed:

(11)	Knowing a person	Knowing a thing	Discriminate between X and Y	Total
JJ	7	24	1	32
WL	4	18	0	22
SZ	14	22	2	38
GX	6	18	4	28
Total	31 (26%)	82 (68%)	7 (6%)	120 (100%)

We can see that more than 80% of instances of *pat4* takes on the second sense. Approximately 30% of the instances account for the first sense.

4.3 *Pat4* 識 + zero anaphor

The following table shows the statistical figure of the zero anaphor that denotes person or thing, as in:

(12)	+ person	+ thing
meaning	know	know, understand
JJ	0	4
WL	1	1
SZ	1	9
GX	1	11

4.4 *Pat4* + **interrogative clause**

Pat4 takes as its complement an interrogative clause featuring an interrogative pronoun, as in:

(13)	你識伊是誰	4.066 (SZ)
	You know he/she who	
	Li2 pat4 i1 chi7 chui5	
	Do you know who he is?	
(14)	死畜生, 識乜話呾	35.093 (WL)
	Dead beast, know what-word say	
	Si2 thik4-sinn1, pat4 mih4 oe7 tann3	
	You brute, what on earth do you know (such that you will say it)?	

There are also some cases where the sequence following *pat4* is a clause featuring a zero cataphor cum an interrogative word represented by X referring to something to appear in the following text, as in:

15	小妹, 你識古人呾 X 不？	18.056 (WL)
	Little younger-sister, you know ancient say X not	
	Sio2-be7, li2 pat4 koo2-lang5 tann3 m7	
	Sis, do you know what the ancients said?	

Here unlike *hiau2-tit4* 曉得 and *chai1* 知, *pat4* 識 is not a verb followed by a clause expressing propositional content, but a verb expressing practical knowledge intimately connected with experience.

4.5 *Pat4* + **predicative complement**

Pat4 followed by a predicate complement takes on the function of experiential marker. A survey of the occurrence of *pat4* as an experiential marker turns up the following table of distribution:

(16)	識[19]	不識	未識	未八	未曾識	不曾識	Total
	pat4	m7 pat4	be7 pat4	be7 pat4	be7 cheng5 pat4	m7 cheng5 pat4	
JJ	1a	1	1	0	0	0	3
WL	0	2[20]	0	0	0	1	3
SZ	1, 1c	0	0	0	1	1	4
GX	1c, 2a	0	1	3	1	1	9
Total	1, 5x	3	2	3	2	3	19

Obviously enough, there is only one instance of *pat4* 識/八 as an experiential marker that occurs in the positive sentence or in indicative mood among a total of 19 instances. There are 13 instances that are found in negative sentences among the 18 instances that occur in non-positive sentences. The remaining five instances either occur in A-not-A questions or conditionals. There are five examples featuring *be7*/*m7* 未/不 and *ching5 pat4* 曾識, a sequence consisting of the old experiential marker *ching5* 曾 and the new experiential marker *pat4* 識. The distribution of *pat4* 識 shows that it makes its appearance first in the non-positive sentences including negative sentences, A-not-A questions and conditionals. The sequence of 曾識 seems to shed light on the old experiential marker *ching5* 曾 as one of the motivating factors that triggers the emergence of *pat4* 識 as a new experiential marker.

5. Compounding of *pat4* 識 + X

Besides a free verb 八 can form compounds in combination with a following word. *Pat4 si2* 八死 or *pat4 thi2* 八恥 is a good example.[21] This compound takes on the meaning 'ashamed', 'shy' or 'ugly' in the four plays in question. Its distribution is shown in the following table:

---

[19] A and c stand for A-not-A sentence and conditional sentence respectively. X means a or c.

[20] There is an instance of 不識 which is followed by a post-verbal experiential marker -過 (25.054 WL). This is the only example in which -過 as an experiential marker is found.

[21] Here are other examples of compounds such as *pat4 mih8* 識物 (35.072 WL) 'know things, discerning', *pat4-poo7* 識步 (11.609 SZ) 'know how to do it, resourceful' and *pat4 lang5* 識人 (5.538 SZ) 'be good at judging people'. Cf. *pat4 siunn7* 識想 'have a sense of purpose' and *pat4 chiah8* 識食 'have a good taste of food' in modern Southern Min.

(17)	八死	八恥
JJ	6	0
WL	1	12
SZ	10	0
GX	11	1

The compound *poeh4 si2* 'feeling ashamed', as exemplified by *m7 bat4 poeh4-si4* not-know-feeling ashamed 'utterly shameless', is attested in Douglas (1873:384, 421), but *poeh4* is construed as a colloquial form of *phann3* meaning 'to fear', and *si2* as the colloquial form of *thi2* 恥 'shame'. Both interpretations might not be appropriate judging from the examples shown in the four play scripts. 八 is pronounced *poeh4* only when it refers to the numeral NINE rather than KNOW, and *si2* cannot possibly be the colloquial form of *thi2* 恥 'shame' in terms of the phonological development. From the distribution of the compound in question shown above we can see that 八死 might occur earlier than 八恥. In that case, the change of 死 to 恥 might be a result of regressive assimilation, viz. /s-/ > /t'i-/ under the influence of the coda /-t/ of the preceding syllable *pat* 八.

6. The distribution of 曾 as an old experiential marker

Both *chang2* 嘗 and *ceng2* 曾 were experiential markers in Old Chinese period. The lexeme *chang2* 嘗 meaning 'to taste' is attested in *Shi Jing* (*Book of Odes*, ca. 600 BC), and became an experiential marker no later than the fourth century BC (Wang 2000:132).[22] The development of *ceng2* 曾 into an experiential marker took place probably no later than the third century BC (Wang 2000:449). The experiential marker *chang2* 嘗 has disappeared in modern Chinese, Southern Min included, whereas its congener *ceng2* 曾 still survives. It survival in modern Southern Min as an experiential marker is still evident, albeit very much limited in its range. Such a limited distribution had long begun in the sixteenth century scripts of Southern Min plays. We shall show in the following discussion that the experiential marker *cheng5* 曾 had practically become a negative polarity term, viz. a term found mostly in non-positive sentences including negative, interrogative sentences in the Sixteenth century.

The experiential marker *cheng5* 曾 can form various types of construction (TC) in combination with a number of function words. We shall examine them one by one, as

---

[22] We can see that 嘗 underwent pretty much the same kind of path of grammaticalization as *pat4* 八 in its development into an experiential marker from the sense 'to taste' as a kind of experience (gustatory sense). Both are good candidates of evidentials.

they occur in each of the four plays (viz. JJ, WL, SZ and GX) in the following sections.

6.1 Types of construction featuring 曾 and 未

Cheng5 曾 in pre-predicate (X) position combines with its negative counterpart *be7* 未 'not yet' to form negative sentences (A & B) or A-not-A questions, as shown below:

(18)	A	B	C	D	
TC	be7 cheng5 未曾 + X	be7 cheng5 be7 未曾未 + X	cheng5 曾 + X + be7 未	X + be7 cheng5 未曾	Total
JJ	2	0	1	1	4
WL	6	0	2	0	8
SZ	12	0	0	1	13
GX	12	1	1	0	14
Total	32	1	4	2	39

The numeral in each cell stands for the instances of construction type involved.

6.2 Types of construction featuring *cheng5* 曾 and *m7* 不

Cheng5 曾 in pre-predicate (X) position combines with the negative element *m7* 不 'not' to form negative sentences (E) and A-not-A questions (F & G), as shown below:

(19)	E	F	G	
	m7 cheng5 不曾 + X	cheng5 曾 + X + m7 不	cheng5 曾 + X + m7 cheng5 不曾	Total
JJ	5	2	1	8
WL	9	0	0	9
SZ	4	0	0	4
GX	4	0	0	4
Total	22	2	1	25

6.3 Types of construction featuring *cheng5* 曾 and *kha2/ti5* 可/值

Cheng5 曾 in pre-predicate (X) position combines with the sentence-medial interrogative particle *kha2* 可 or *ti5* 值 as well as an optional sentence-final negative

element to form plain questions or rhetorical questions:[23]

(20)	H	I	J	K	
	可曾 + X	可曾 + X + 未	可曾 + X + 不	值曾 + X	Total
JJ	3	0	1	1	5
WL	0	0	0	3	3
SZ	0	2	0	2	4
GX	0	0	0	3	3
Total	3	2	1	9	15

6.4 Types of construction featuring *cheng5* 曾 and *iah8/ia7* 亦/也 or *cheng5* 曾 alone

Cheng5 曾 in pre-predicate (X) position combines with the adverb *iah8* 亦/*ia7/ia2/* 也 'also' to form positive sentences (LM). *Cheng5* 曾 alone can also function in a positive sentence (N):

(21)	L	M	N	
	iah8 cheng5 亦曾 + X	ia7 cheng5 也曾 + X	cheng5 曾 + X	Total
JJ	0	1	4	5
WL	3	0	4	7
SZ	6	0	1	7
GX	4	0	2	6
Total	13	1	11	25

6.5 An overall picture of the distribution of *cheng5* 曾

The following table summarizes the overall distribution of *cheng5* 曾 as an experiential marker in the four plays. Two important points are easily deducible from the statistical figures in the table. First, it is patently clear that three-fourths of the total

---

[23] 可 as used here can be construed as *kha2*, which is rendered as 豈 with the gloss 'how? what? how can? can it be?' in Fielde (1883:291-292), a dictionary of Swatow (viz. Shantou) as a variety of Chaozhou dialect. *Kha2 cheng5* 可曾 invites comparison with *he2-chang2* 何嘗 as a marker of rhetorical question in Old Chinese. Likewise, *ti7 cheng5* 值曾 functions the same as *he2 ceng2* 何曾 in Mandarin as a marker of rhetorical question. Note that *ti7* 值 means 'what'. *Thai2* 'how…ever' in Xiamen dialect (Douglas 1873:537) might be etymologically related to *kha2* in Shantou.

number of *cheng5* instances occur in non-positive sentences and those in negative sentences account for more than half of the total occurrences. Second, the number of *cheng5* 曾 in the negative context increases with the passage of time.

(22)	ABC	CDFG	LMN		
	Negative context	A-not-A question	Positive context	Total	Date (AD)
JJ	7 (42%)	5 (29%)	5 (29%)	17 (100%)	1522-1566
WL	15 (63%)	2 (8%)	7 (29%)	24 (100%)	1573-1619
SZ	16 (67%)	1 (4%)	7 (29%)	24 (100%)	1644-1661
GX	17 (71%)	1 (4%)	6 (25%)	24 (100%)	1875-1908
Total	55 (62%)	9 (10%)	25 (28%)	89 (100%)	

In sum, the increasing use of *cheng5* 曾 as a negative polarity term seems to have made way for the emergence of *pat4* 八/識 as a new experiential marker.

7. Closing words

We have explored in this paper the polyfunctionality of *pat4* based on the data culled from four play scripts published in during the Ming and Qing dynasties. The multiple functions of *pat4* are manifested in the coexistence of its uses as a lexeme and a function word. Its lexical senses boil down to knowing by senses, knowing by doing and knowing by the mind, denoting in particular 'know-KENNEN' and 'can distinguish between X and Y'. Its function as an experiential marker owes its emergence to the inherent meaning of making a distinction which is construed as the earliest sense of *pat4* based on philological annotation.[24] The grammaticalization of the lexeme with the meaning of discrimination into an experiential marker is motivated by the common semantic element of experience based on the five senses. On the strength of the distinction between knowing how and knowing drawn by Ryle (1946, 1984), we argue that *pat4* 識 /八 involving practical knowledge can be distinguished from *chai1-iann2* 知影 involving factual knowledge; it is *chai1-iann2* 知影 rather than *pat4* 識/八 that involves factual knowledge featuring propositional content.

---

[24] Perhaps there is a change of physical action of 'cut apart' to the perceptual and cognitive activity of 'distinguish' involved for the verb *pat4* 八 on the basis of Tibeto-Burman comparanda. This change can also be regarded as a kind of grammaticalization towards more subjective meaning (Traugott 1989, 1995, Traugott & Heine 1991, Sweetser 1991).

The gradual emergence of *pat4* 識／八 as a new experiential marker via grammaticalization seems to be intimately linked to the gradual narrowing down of the scope of the old experiential marker *cheng5* 曾. Since there is no extant Southern Min text dating earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century, we do not know for sure exactly how early the experiential marker *pat4* first emerged as an experiential marker. However, we have first-hand documented evidence from then on exhibiting very few but slightly increasing instances of *pat4* as experiential markers all of which occur in non-positive sentences—excepting one. We can see that *pat4* 識/八 as an experiential marker was still in an emergent state and limited to the non-positive context in the middle of the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, a little more than 70% of the instances of the old experiential marker *cheng5* 曾 had retreated to the non-positive context, as shown in the Table in §6.5, and the figure remained approximately the same until the beginning of the twentieth century when it experienced a slight increase. Since *cheng5* and *pat4* represent different chronological profiles, this is a relation of replacement rather than competition even though they bear the same function as experiential markers. We can thus surmise that the retreating of *cheng5* to non-positive contexts seems to show that it was making way for the new experiential marker *pat4*. The juxtaposition of *cheng5 pat4* 曾識 also shows that 曾 *cheng5* may serve as an agent to prompt the emergence of *pat4* 識 as an experiential marker.

References

Baldwin, Rev. Caleb C. 1871. *A Manual of Foochow Dialect*. Foochow: Methodist Episcopal Mission Press.

Beijing Daxue Zhongwenxi Yuyanxue Jiaoyanshi. (eds.) 1995. *Hanyu Fangyan Zihui*. Beijing: Yuwen Chubanshe.

Buck, Carl Darling. 1988. *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cao, Xianzhuo, and Peicheng Su. 1999. *Hanzi Xing Yi Fenxi Zidian*. Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe.

Chafe, Wallace L., and Johanna Nichols. (eds.) 1986. *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Norwood: Ablex.

Chappell, Hilary. 2001. A typology of evidential markers in Sinitic language. *Sinitic Grammar: Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives*, ed. by Hilary Chappell, 56-84. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Chartrand, Harry Hillman. 2005. *The Competitiveness of Nations in a Global Knowledge-Based Economy*. Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan dissertation. (http://members.shaw.ca/competitivenessofnations)

Chou, Fa-Kao. 1972. *Zhongguo Gudai Yufa: Chengdai Pian*. Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica Special Publication, No. 39. Taipei: Tailian Guofeng.

Ding, Shengshu et al. 1981. *Gu Jin Yin Duizhao Shouce*. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

Dixon, Robert M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Douglas, Rev. Carstairs. 1873. *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy: with the Principal Variations of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew Dialects*. Supplement by Rev. Thomas Barclay. London: Trübner.

Feng, Aizhen. 1998. *Fuzhou Fangyan Cidian*. Nanjing: Jiangsu Jiaoyu Chubanshe.

Fielde, Adele M. 1883. *A Pronouncing and Defining Dictionary of the Swatow Dialect, Arranged According to Syllables and Tones*. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press.

Fillmore, Charles J., Paul Kay, and Mary Catherine O'Connor. 1988. Regularity and idiomaticity in grammatical constructions: the case of *let alone*. *Language* 64.3: 501-538.

Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gong, Hwang-cherng. 2002. *Han Zang Yu Yanjiu Lunwenji* [*Collected Papers on Sino-Tibetan Linguistics*]. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.

Guo, Mingkun. 1962. *Chūgoku no Kazokusei Oyobi Gengo no Kenkyū*. Tokyo: Tōhō Gakkai.

Jackendoff, Ray S. 2002. *Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar,*

Evolution. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Jiang, Lihong. 1997. *Dunhuang Bianwen Ziyi Tongshi* [*A Semantic Study of the Lexical Items in Dunhuang Bianwen*]. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe.

Li, Rulong. 1996a. Shuo *ba*. *Zhongguo Yuwen* 1996.3:189-191.

Li, Rulong. 1996b. *Fangyan yu Yinyun Lunji*. Hong Kong: Institute of Chinese Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Lien, Chinfa. 1999. A typological study of causatives in Taiwanese Southern Min. *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, New Series 29.4:395-422.

Liu, Jiamou. 1971[1845]. *Cao Feng Suo Lu*. Taipei: Yiwen Yishuguan.

Lyu, Weiqi. 1997[1633]. *Yin Yun Ri Yue Deng*. Tainan: Zhuangyan.

Matisoff, James A. 2003. *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mei, Tsu-Lin. 1988. Neizai nigou Hanyu sanli. *Zhongguo Yuwen* 1988.3:169-172.

Ogawa, Naoyoshi et al. 1931-32a. *Tai-Nichi Tai Jiten* [*A Comprehensive Taiwanese-Japanese Dictionary*], Vol. 1. Taipei: Taiwan Sootokufu.

Ogawa, Naoyoshi et al. 1931-32b. *Tai-Nichi Tai Jiten* [*A Comprehensive Taiwanese-Japanese Dictionary*], Vol. 2. Taipei: Taiwan Sootokufu.

Ozaki, Yūjirō et al. 1992. *Kadokawa Dai Jigen*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.

Rumfitt, Ian. 2003. Comments and criticism: Savior faire. *The Journal of Philosophy* 100.3:158-166.

Russell, Bertrand. 1959. *Problems of Philosophy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ryle, Gilbert. 1946. Knowing how and knowing that. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 46, 1-16. Oxford: Blackwell.

Ryle, Gilbert. 1984. *The Concept of Mind.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Snowdon, Paul. 2004. Knowing how and knowing that: a distinction reconsidered. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 104, 1-29. Oxford: Blackwell.

Stanley, Jason, and Timothy Williamson. 2001. Know how. *The Journal of Philosophy* 98.8:411-444.

Sweetser, Eve. 1991. *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tōdō, Akiyasu. 1988. *Gakken Kan-Wa Dai Jiten*. Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha.

Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: an example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language* 65.1:31-55.

Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1995. Subjectification in grammaticalization. *Subjectivity and Subjectivisation: Linguistic Perspectives*, ed. by Dieter Stein and Susan Wright, 31-54. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Traugott, Elizabeth C., and Bernd Heine. (eds.) 1991. *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, Vol. 1 & 2. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Tung, Chungssu. 2001. *Taiwan Minnanyu Cidian* [*Taiwanese Southern Min Dictionary*]

Taipei: Wunan.

Wang, Jianshe. 2004. "*Shi Shuo Xin Yu*" *Xuanyi Xinzhu* [*New Annotated Selected Translations of* "*Shi Shuo Xin Yu*"]. Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe.

Wang, Li. 1982. *Tongyuan Zidian.* Beijing: Commercial Press.

Wang, Li. 2000. *Wang Li Gu Hanyu Cidian*. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

Wang, William S-Y., and Chinfa Lien. 1993. Bidirectional diffusion in sound change. *Historical Linguistics: Problems and Perspectives*, ed. by Charles Jones, 345-400. London & New York: Longman.

Watkins, Calvert. (ed.) 1985. *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Willett, Thomas. 1988. A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticalization of evidentiality. *Studies in Language* 12.1:51-97.

Wu, Shouli. (annotated). 2001a. *Ming Jiajing Kan Li Jing Ji Xiwen Jiaoli.* Taipei: Congyi Gongzuoshi.

Wu, Shouli. (annotated). 2001b. *Ming Wanli Kan Li Zhi Ji Xiwen Jiaoli.* Taipei: Congyi Gongzuoshi.

Wu, Shouli. (annotated). 2001c. *Qing Shunzhi Kan Li Zhi Ji Xiwen Jiaoli.* Taipei: Congyi Gongzuoshi.

Wu, Shouli. (annotated). 2001d. *Qing Guangxu Kan Li Zhi Ji Xiwen Jiaoli.* Taipei: Congyi Gongzuoshi.

Xu, Shen. 2004. *Shuo Wen Jie Zi*. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

Yu, Naiyong. 1993. *Xin Jiao Hu Zhu Song Ben Guangyun* [*A New Revision of Kuang-yun* (*Sung Edition*)*: A Dictionary of Rimes of Ancient Chinese Language with Cross-referencing Pronunciation*]. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

Zeng, Xiantong. 1991. Ming ben Chaozhou xiwen suojian Chaozhou fangyan shulue. *Fangyan* 1991.1:10-29。

Zeng, Xiantong. 1992. Ming ben Chaozhou xiwen yinanzi shi shi. *Fangyan* 1992.2: 138-144.

Zheng, Dian, and Meiqiao Mai. 1964. *Gu Hanyu Yufaxue Ziliao Huibian*. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

Zhou, Zumo. 1981. *Wen Xue Ji*, Vol. 1. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

Graduate Institute of Linguistics
National Tsing Hua University
101, Sec. 2, Kuang-fu Road
Hsinchu 300, Taiwan
cflien@mx.nthu.edu.tw

Chinfa Lien

從認知觀點論閩南語「八/識」的語法化

連金發

國立清華大學

　　本文從認知觀點探討「八/識」因歷時變化而產生的多功能性，語料主要取材於明清時期的戲文 (Wu 2001a, b, c, d) 及現代閩南語 (Douglas 1873, Tung 2001)。閩南語的認知有兩種，分別詞彙化為「八/識 *pat*」（認識）和「知影」（知道）。就詞源的證據而言，經驗體貌標記「八/識」是由表示認識義的實詞「八/識」演變而來。人的經驗是以五種感覺為基礎的，「八/識」由認識義語法化為經驗的體貌標記，其中連貫的脈絡是共通的語義成分——「經驗」。閩南語「八/識」作為新經驗標記，十六世紀中葉就有書證可循，但是當時只出現於非肯定的句式中，舊經驗標記「嘗」的用例中四分之三也出現於非肯定句式中。越來越多的舊經驗標記「嘗」出現於非肯定式中，逐步讓位給新興的經驗標記「八/識」。「曾＋八/識」的並列格式可能反映，「曾」是驅使經驗標記「八/識」出現的原動力。

關鍵詞：認知，知道，認識，語法化，實詞，經驗標記，嘗，曾，八/識，
　　　　閩南語，明清戲文