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. Hur^2 許 / tsi^2 只 and $iunn^7$ 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 $hiunn^3$ 向 and $tsiunn^3$ 障 are formed. The missing sense of type can be refurbished by new type classifiers such as $puann^1$ 般, $sinn^1$ 生, and ni^5 年. The newly emerging $hiunn^3 puann^1/sinn^1/ni^5$ 向般/生/年 or $tsiunn^3 puann^1/sinn^1/ni^5$ 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, $tsuah^4$ 拙, results from the fusion of tsi^2 只 and ua^7 夥, denoting 'many' $tsuah^4$ 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, tsi^2 只 'this' and hur^2 許 'that', attested to in earlier Southern

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2. The distal/proximal demonstrative + type classifier construction

Hur² 許 + *iunn⁷* 樣 were contracted into a fusional word, *hiunn³* 向. *Tsi²* 只 + *iunn⁷* 樣 were merged into another fusional word, *tsiunn³* 障. The distribution of the full forms, *hur² iunn⁷* 許樣 and *tsi² iunn⁷* 只樣, is not symmetrical. There are seven instances of *tsi² iunn⁷* 只樣, but only one instance of *hur² iunn⁷* 許樣. Each of them is exemplified as follows.

(1)　敢只樣無理 (638.016 金花女)
　　　kann² tsi² iunn⁷ bo⁵ li²
　　　dare this kind unreasonable
　　　(You dare to be so unreasonable?)

(2)　因阿嫂許樣沛賴 (388.009 金花女)⁴
　　　in¹ a²-so² hur² iunn⁷ phe³-lua⁷
　　　they 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 *hur² iunn⁷* 許樣 and *tsi² iunn⁷* 只樣 were contextualized in the texts. The semantic and syntactic changes triggered the change in phonological form featuring the fusional words *hiunn³* 向 and *tsiunn³* 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 *tsi²* 只 and *hur²* 許 as independent words

The canonical form of a determiner phrase is a sequence of determiner + numeral + classifier + noun phrase. The demonstratives *tsi²* 只 and *hur²* 許 can occupy the determiner slot. *tsi²* 只 / *hur²* 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)
　　　jit⁸ to⁷ tsi² uann³ liao⁰ m⁷ bian² kio³ sio²-ber⁷ tshut⁴ lai⁵ pai³-si⁵ tsit⁸-e⁰
　　　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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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).

(4)　只久桃花都不見出來 (04.050 蘇六娘)
tsi^2 ku^2 tho^5-hoe^1 to^7 pu^4 kian^3 tshut^4 lai^5
this long peach.blossom PTC not see exit come
(It's been so long, but Peach-Blossom doesn't appear.)

(5)　阮來只久，都不曾見。(滿天春上卷 下欄 11)
gun^2 lai^5 tsi^2 ku^2 to^7 pu^5 tsing^5 kinn^3
we(excl.) come this long PTC not EM see
(I've been here so long, but I didn't see you.)

(6)　行許久了，正到赮南山？(435.004 金花女)
kiann^5 hur^2 ku^2 liao^7 tsiann^3 kau^3 lan^2 lam^5-suann^1
walk that long INCH exactly reach we(incl.) South Hill
(We have been walking so long. Are we at South Hill now?)

(7)　呾阮阿娘許爽利來 (07.024 蘇六娘)
tann^3 gun^2 a^2-niu^5 hur^2 song^2-li^7 lai^5
say we(excl.) PRF.lady that beautiful come
(They said that our mistress is gorgeous.)

3.2 *Tsi^2-iunn^7* 只樣 and *tsiunn^3* 障

The full form *tsi^2 iunn^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 *tsi^2 iunn^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, *tsi^2 iunn^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)
mua^2 se^3 siong^7 bo^5 lang^5 tshin^1 tshiunn^7 li^1 tsi^2 iunn^7
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)
kam^2-sia^7 tua^7-ku^7 un^1-tsing^5 tang^7 tsap^8 niu^2 peh^8-kim^1 sang^3 loo^7 khi^2 siong^5 u^7 tshian^1-kim^1 bue^7 bo^5 tsi^2 iunn^7
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)
tsi^2 iunn^7 ia^2 phe^3-lua^7 tsu^1 niu^5 put^4 bian^2 kio^3 tshut^4 lai^5 ling^5-ti^5 chit^8 tun^3 khit^4 i^1
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，富貴人家不肯嫁，今來受饑共受餓 (339.006–339.013 金花女)
ong^2 li^1 tsiunn^3 tua^7 tso^3 hiunn^3 gu^5 hu^3-kui^3 jin^5-ke^1 m^7 khing^2 ke^3 kim^1 lai^5 siu^7 ki^1 ka^7 siu^7 go^7
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)
Lim^5 po^5 put^4 kian^3 tsiunn^3 ku^2 li^1 ti^7 tit^8-te^7 lai^5
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)　恁二邊為乜障吵鬧？正是為一乜事志? (9.025–26 同窗琴書記)
lin^2 nng^7 pinn^5 ui^7 mih^8 tsiunn^3 tsha^2-nau^7 tsiann^3 si^7 ui^7 it^8 mih^8 tai^7-tsi^3
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 *Hur^2-iunn^7* 許樣 and *hiunn^3* 向

Like the relation between *tsi^2 iunn^7* 只樣 and *tsiunn^3* 障, the full construction *hur^2 iunn^7* 許樣 and its fusional form *hiunn^3* 向 are not wholly identical in semantics, syntax, and pragmatics. Only one instance of *hur^2 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)
siunn^7 khi^2 lai^5 in^1 a^2-so^2 hur^2 iunn^7 phe^3-lua^7 i^1 hiann^1 lau^2-sit^8 bo^5 ling^5 ui^5
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).

(15) (生) 勸爾莫得向執性 (8.038 同窗琴書記)
khng³ li² bok⁸ tit⁴ hiunn³ tsip⁴ sing³
(ML) persuade you not so stubborn
(I urge you not to be that/so stubborn)
心那雖勤，俺坐過一冥 (8.039–40 同窗琴書記)
sim¹ na⁷ sui¹ khin⁵ tsai⁷ tse⁷ kue³ chit⁸ mi⁵
heart if though ardent how sit pass one night
(How can I sit up all night with longings of the heart?)
被席冷，相共安身己 (8.041–42 同窗琴書記)
phue⁷-sik⁸ ling² sann¹ ka⁷ an¹ sin¹ ki²
quilt.mat cold mutually comfort self
(Let's seek solace with each other when the quilt is cold.)

(16) 阿娘，嘪向煩惱，待梅香唱咀乞你聽一下 (134.007 金花女)
a²-niu⁵ mai³ hiunn³ huan⁵-lo² thai⁷ Mui⁵-hiong¹ tshiunn³ tann³ kit⁴ li² thiann¹ chit⁸ e⁷
PRF.lady don't so worried let Mei-Xiang say give you listen TENT
(Miss, don't be so vexed! Let me sing you a song.)

(17) 薄情郎，緣何一去向久無書傳？(01.013–14 蘇六娘)
pok⁸-tsing⁵-long⁵ ian⁵-ho⁵ chit⁸ khi³ hiunn³ ku² bo⁵ su¹ thuan⁵
thin.love man why one leave so long not.have letter pass
(You're a heartless man. Why didn't you write to me after a long absence?)

4. The newly emergent demonstrative + type classifier construction

The fusional word *tsiunn³* 障 or *hiunn³* 向, featuring an incorporated sense of type, can be further followed by other type classifiers such as *puann¹* 般, *ni¹* 年, and *sinn¹* 生.

4.1 *Tsiunn³-puann¹* 障般 and *hiun³-puann¹* 向般

Tsiunn³ 障 as a contraction of *tsi² iunn⁷* 只樣 contains a type sense. *Puann¹* 般 and *iunn⁷* 樣 are a pair of synonyms. It would be redundant for *tsiunn³* 障 to be followed by *puann¹* 般. But since the type meaning has been bleached, there is no redundancy in the addition of *puann¹* 般. *Tsiunn³ puann¹* 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，甲人俺不傷心嘆氣 (129.009 金花女)
tsiunn³ puann¹ tshe¹-liang⁵ king²-siong⁷ kah⁴ lang⁵ tsai⁷ put⁴ siong¹-sim¹ than³-khi³
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)
kin¹ tan³ tsiunn³ puann¹ bo⁵ hing⁷-tsi² ho⁵-pit⁴ tong¹-tshoo¹ iong⁷ ki¹-boo⁵

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-ji⁵
(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)
u⁷ tsiunn³ puann¹ tai¹-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. *Thiunn³-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 i¹
cause I how teach he
(How can I teach him?)

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[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* 聻 in Early Modern Chinese (Ōta 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 *ni⁵* 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 日 *nj initial in Middle Chinese (MC), it can be traced back to the *n- initial in OC, since the distinction between 日 *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 *ni⁵* 年 may be derived from *sinn¹* 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.

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(23)　不是娘郎恩情重，父母皮肉，在甘障年 (03.030–31 蘇六娘)
m^7 si^7 niu^5 long^5 un^1-tsing^5 tang^7 pe^7-bu^2 phue^5 bah^4 tsai^7-kam^1 tsiunn^3 ni^5
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
her thigh (to save him), the flesh being inherited from her parents?)

Likewise, *hiunn^3-ni^5* 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 (630.002 金花女)
hiunn^3 ni^5 tann^1 hur^2 iunn^5 thai^7 pang^3 te^3 go^7 kau^3 si^2 lur^2 iah^4 m^7-khing^2 khi^3 tsiong^2
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 (630.005 金花女)
san^1-tshan^1 hap^8-kai^1 chiah^8 gua^2 m^7 to^7 si^7 liau^2
three meal should eat I not PTC right INCH
(I should foot the bill for the three meals, shouldn't I?)

4.3 *Thiunn^2-sinn^1* 障生 and *hiunn^3-sinn^1* 向生

On a par with *ni^1* 年, *sinn^1* 生 as a type-denoting word can be added to the fusional word
tsiunn^3 障 or *hiunn^3* 向. Thus, *tsiunn^3-sinn^1* 障生 and *hiunn^3-sinn^1* 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)
tshiann^2 a^2-so^2 iah^4 kit^4 goa^2 pai^3-si^5 tsit^8-e^7
(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)
tsiann^3-si^7 tsiunn^3 sinn^1 tso^3 lang^5
(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)
tsiunn^3 sinn^1 kiann^2-ji^5 jiok^8-tshin^1-song^3-ki^2
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)
tia^1 ma^2 u^7 bing^7 tai^7-jin^5 u^7 i^3-tsi^2 m^7-si^7 gun^2 tsu^7-tsuan^1 e^7 tsiunn^3-sinn^2
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.)

Hiunn³-sinn¹ 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)
a²-niu⁵ tshun¹ ha⁷ ki³ siu³ liau² tshiu¹ tang¹ iah⁴ tioh⁸ siu³ chit⁸ e⁵ tsiann³ kinn³ tse⁵-tsuan⁵
(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)
hiunn³ sinn¹ gua² tsai³ bian²-kiong² siu² nng⁷ e⁵ pah⁰
(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)
sio² mue⁷ lin² a²-so² si⁷ hur² sim¹-sing³ tsong²-si⁷ hiunn³ sinn¹ mai³ nau²
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)
hiunn³ sinn¹ pit⁴-si⁷ Lak⁸-niu⁵ u⁷ tsu²-i³ liau²
(SMC) that way inevitably be sixth.lady have idea INCH
(Liu-niang must have got an idea then.)
(淨) 蘇六娘甚有主意 (03.012 蘇六娘)
Soo¹ Lak⁸-niu⁵ sim⁷ u⁷ tsu²-i³
(C/BC) Su sixth.lady very have idea
(Su Liu-niang has got her own idea indeed.)

5. *Tsiunn³-seh⁴* 障說 and *Hiunn³-seh⁴* 向說

In sharp contrast to *tsiunn³ puann¹* 障般, *tsiunn³ ni¹* 障年, *tsiunn³ si¹* 障生 / *hiunn³ puann¹* 向般, *hiunn³ ni¹* 向年, *hiunn³ si¹* 向生, *tsiunn³* 障, and *hiunn³* 向 in *tsiunn³seh⁴* 障說 and *hiunn³ seh⁴* 向說 stick to the original sense of type. Thus, *tsiunn³ seh⁴* 障說 and *hiunn³ seh⁴* 向說 denote 'this way, like this, so, such' and 'that way, like that, so, such', respectively. They also have an anaphoric discourse function, as in (31)–(35).

(31) (生) 聽你障說，孛我心痛疼 (407.002 金花女)
thiann¹ lur² tsiunn³ seh⁴ tshua⁷ gua² sim¹ thang³-thiann³
(ML) hear you so say cause I heart hurt
(Hearing you say so saddened me)

(32) (旦) 哥亞，我爹只家後掠阮親情許乞馬俊去了 (14.452–454 同窗琴書記)[7]

ko^1 ah^0 gua^2 tia^1 tsi^2 ke^1 au^7 $liah^8$ $tshin^1$-$tsian^5$ hur^2 $khit^4$ Ma^2-$tsun^3$ khi^3 $liau^2$

(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) 呵，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)

ah^0 $tsiunn^3$ seh^4 ah^0 li^2 tia^1 tsi^2 ke^1 au^7 $liah^8$ li^2 $tshin^1$-$tsiann^5$ hur^2 $khit^4$ Ma^2-$tsun^3$ khi^3 $liau^0$

(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) (旦) 哥哥手賤，掠姿娘人肚裙提來只處做乜？ (14.368–369 同窗琴書記)

ko^1-ko^1 $tshiu^2$ $tsian^7$ $liah^8$ tsu^1 niu^5 $lang^5$ too^7 kun^5 $theh^8$ lai^5 tsi^2 te^3 tso^3 mih^8

(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) 只是你纏自失落個，乜我提人個障說？(14.370–371 同窗琴書記)

tsi^2 si^7 li^2 $tsai^5$ tsu^7 sit^4-loh^8 e^5 mih^8 gua^2 the^5 $lang^5$ e^5 $tsiunn^3$ seh^4

(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) (生) 你去請伊出來，我卜共伊相辭了 (14.429–430 同窗琴書記)

li^2 khi^3 $tshiann^2$ i^1 $tshut^4$ lai^5 gua^2 beh^4 $kang^7$ i^1 sio^1 si^5 $liau^0$

(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)

$hiunn^3$ seh^4 gua^2 khi^3 $tshiann^2$

(B) that say I go invite

(OK. I will do it then.)

(35) (淨) 阿媽，你是嫌郭一使袂做秀才也 (02.035 蘇六娘)

a^2-ma^2 li^2 si^7 $hiann^5$ $Kueh^4$ It^4-su^2 bue^7 cho^3 siu^3-$tsai^5$ a^0

(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，向咀 (02.036 蘇六娘)

si^7 mih^8 ue^7 $hiunn^3$ $tann^3$

(SMC) be what.word that say

(No, not at all.)

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[7] *Ke^1 au^7* 家後 in early Southern Min texts acts a locative phrase meaning 'at home'. *Ke^1 au^7 na^7 u^7 boo^2-kiann^2* 家後那有ㄙ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.[8] Likewise, *hur²* 許 and *ua⁷* 夥 can also be fused into *huah⁴* 喝.[9] 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 si¹ tiong¹ tsuah⁴ i³-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。(滿天春上卷 下欄 39)
thiann⁵ li² seh⁴ tsuat⁴ ue⁷ iann⁵ tit⁴ gua² lui⁷ 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)
mng⁷ tsuat⁴ guan⁵-in¹ pian⁷ kinn³ hun¹-bing⁵ tho² e⁵ tsin¹ sit⁸ 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 tua⁷ e⁵ hur² lai⁷ to⁷ pho⁷ 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 偌 *jua⁷* is a fusion of 若夥, as in *jua⁷ 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).

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(41) 只內面拙烏暗，亦無一處倚通坐。(滿天春上卷 下欄 13)
      tsi² lai⁷ bin⁷ tsuat⁴ oo¹-am³ iah⁴ bo⁵ chit⁸ te⁷ ua² thang¹ tse⁷
      this in.surface so dark also not.have one place lean.against can sit
      (It is so dark inside, and there is no place for sitting down.)

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, *sinn¹* 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 tsi⁷* 拙般事 'matter of such kind' and even the multiple redundant expression *tsuah⁴-puann¹ iunn⁷ khoo²-thiann³* 拙般樣苦疼 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

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[10] For grammaticalization pursued along the lines of Jespersen's Cycle see Eckardt (2006) and Lucas (2007).

Table 1: Distribution of proximal and distal demonstratives + type classifiers in four playscripts

	只樣	障	障般	障般樣	障生	障年
金花女	6(86%)	10(26%)	12(100%)	0(0%)	1(6%)	5(83%)
蘇六娘	0(0%)	3(21%)	4(100%)	0(0%)	3(33%)	1(100%)
同窗琴書記	0(0%)	15(83%)	1(100%)	0(0%)	1(100%)	0(0%)
龍彼得	2(100%)	112(86%)	27(84%)	12(100%)	8(67%)	0(0%)
Total	8(89%)	140(70%)	44(90%)	12(100%)	13(33%)	6(86%)
	許樣	向	向般	向般樣	向生	向年
金花女	1(14%)	29(74%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	16(94%)	1(17%)
蘇六娘	0(0%)	11(79%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	6(67%)	0(0%)
同窗琴書記	0(0%)	3(17%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
龍彼得	0(0%)	18(14%)	5(16%)	0(0%)	4(33%)	0(0%)
Total	1(11%)	61(30%)	5(10%)	0(0%)	26(67%)	1(14%)

by other type classifiers or type-denoting words, such as $puann^1$ 般, $puann^1 iunn^7$ 般樣, $sinn^1$ 生, or ni^5 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 $tsi^2 iunn^7$ 只樣 and $hur^2 iunn^7$ 許樣 are quite scanty. There are only eight examples of $tsi^2 iunn^7$ 只樣 and only one instance of $hur^2 iunn^7$ 許樣. By contrast, there are plenty of examples of the fusional words $tsiunn^3$ 障 and $hiunn^3$ 向. The proximal fusional word $tsiunn^3$ 障 occurs twice as often as the distal fusional word $hiunn^3$ 向. There are more cases where the proximal fusional word $tsiunn^3$ 障 combines with other type classifiers than the distal fusional word $hiunn^3$ 向. On the other hand, the distal fusional word $hiunn^3$ 向 is more prone to combine with $sinn^1$ 生 than the proximal word $tsiunn^3$ 障. The examples of $tsiunn^3 ni^5$ 障年 and $hiunn^3 ni^5$ 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 $tsuah^4$ 拙 and $tsuah^4$ 拙 + type classifiers/ type-denoting words and its distal counterparts. *Tsuah*^{4} 拙 most often occurs alone and only appears in *Tongchuang Qin Shu Ji* 同窗琴書記 and *Long Bide* 龍彼得. *Tsuah*^{4} 拙 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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[11] *Long Bide* 龍彼得 stands for the earlier Southern Min playscripts edited by van der Loon (1992).

Table 2: Distribution of the proximal *tsuah*[4] 拙 and *tsuah*[4] 拙 + type classifiers/type-denoting words and their distal counterparts

	拙	拙般	拙般樣	拙年	喝	歇
金花女	0	0	0	0	0	0
蘇六娘	0	0	0	0	0	0
同窗琴書記	23	0	0	0	0	0
龍彼得	93	2	2	0	0	0
Total	116	2	2	0	0	0

拙, but rather 札/扎. 札/扎 are used to modify the time expression and can be proceeded by the proximal 只. Furthermore, examples of *tsuah*[4] *puann*[1] 拙般 and *tsuah*[4] *puann*[1] *iunn*[7] 拙般樣 are quite scanty and there are no instances of *tsuah*[4] *ni*[5] 拙年 at all. We can see that there are no instances of the distal *huah*[4] 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 *tsi*[2]/*hur*[2] 只/許 and the fusional words *tsiunn*[3] 障 and *hiunn*[3] 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

	只 X	只 Y	許 X	許 Y
金花女	93(99%)	1(0%)	57(95%)	3(5%)
蘇六娘	47(96%)	2(4%)	12(92%)	1(8%)
同窗琴書記	109(99%)	1(1%)	41(100%)	0(0%)
龍彼得	697(99%)	9(1%)	257(99%)	2(1%)
Total	946(99%)	13(1%)	367(98%)	6(2%)
	障 X	障 Y	向 X	向 Y
金花女	1(10%)	9(90%)	4(14%)	25(86%)
蘇六娘	1(33%)	2(67%)	1(1%)	10(91%)
同窗琴書記	10(67%)	5(33%)	2(67%)	1(33%)
龍彼得	56(50%)	55(50%)	12(67%)	6(33%)
Total	68(48%)	71(52%)	19(31%)	42(69%)

intensifier function. It is evident that tsi^2/hur^2 只/許 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/$hiunn^3$ 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

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[12] See Shimura (1984:323–335, 1995:303–315) and Zhang (2009:133–136).

[13] Although, as discussed in footnote 6, 年 can be traced back to 爾 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, *tsuah*[4] 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. *Tsiunn*[3]/*hiunn*[3] *sinn*[1] 障/向生 and *tsiunn*[3]/*hiunn*[3] *ni*[1] 障/向年 are retained in the modern Chaozhou (潮州) dialect, whereas *tsuah*[4] 拙 can be found in the modern Quanzhou (泉州) dialect. Furthermore, the Chaozhou-unique words *tann*[3] 呾 'speak' and *thoinn*[2] 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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明末清初戲文中閩南語指示詞＋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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　　本文探討明末清初閩南語戲文中近指遠指指示詞＋樣式詞／計量詞構式。Hur^2「許」／tsi^2「只」和 $iunn^7$「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 $hiunn^3$「向」、$tsiunn^3$「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 $puann^1$「般」、$sinn^1$「生」、ni^5「年」填補，新起的語式 $hiunn^3$ $puann^1$「向般」／$sinn^1$「生」／ni^5「年」或 $tsiunn^3$ $puann^1$「障般」／$sinn^1$「生」／ni^5「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 $tsuah^4$「拙」由 tsi^2「只」和 ua^7「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