

閩南語共時變異和歷時發展的類型研究國際研討會

International Workshop on TYPOLOGIZATION OF SYNCHRONIC AND
DIACHRONIC PROCESSES IN SOUTHERN MIN, A SINITIC LANGUAGE

2014年11月25日(二)

2014年11月26日(三)

國立金門大學陳開蓉國際會議廳

主辦單位

國立清華大學語言學研究所

協辦單位

科技部人文及社會科學研究發展司

國立清華大學人文社會研究中心

國立金門大學華語文學系

講者：

貝羅貝 教授(法國國家科學研究中心、社會科學高等學院)

曹茜蕾 教授(法國國家社會科學高等學院)

連金發 教授(國立清華大學語言學研究所)

李惠琦 副教授(國立成功大學外國語文學系)

趙靜雅 助理教授(文藻外語大學應用華語系暨華語文教學所)

楊惠玲 助理教授(國立金門大學華語文學系)

賴雲帆(法國巴黎第三(新索邦)大學)

林嫻一(國立清華大學語言學研究所)

宋 娜(法國國立東方語言文化學院)

蕭景浚(國立清華大學語言學研究所)

蕭佩宜(國立清華大學語言學研究所)

楊又儒(國立清華大學語言學研究所)

閩南語共時變異和歷時發展的類型研究國際研討會

International Workshop on TYPOLOGIZATION OF SYNCHRONIC AND
DIACHRONIC PROCESSES IN SOUTHERN MIN, A SINITIC LANGUAGE

主辦單位

Organizer

國立清華大學語言學研究所

Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University

協辦單位

Sponsor

科技部人文及社會科學研究發展司

Research Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, Ministry of Science and
Technology

國立清華大學人文社會研究中心

Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences, National Tsing Hua University

國立金門大學華語文學系

Department of Chinese Studies, National Quemoy University

日期：2014年11月25日～26日

Dates: November 25 (Tue) - 23 (Wed), 2014

地點：國立金門大學陳開蓉國際會議廳

Venue: Tan Kai Jong Convention Center, National Quemoy University

目 次

◆ 議程表	1
◆ 論文摘要（依發表先後次序排列）	5
貝羅貝 閩方言的伴隨介詞、連詞及（處置結構中的）賓語標記	7
趙靜雅 明清閩南語戲文之定語詞組結構初探	9
宋 娜 閩南語否定詞的歷時演變及其『否定-存在』循環演化圈	11
李惠琦 一個台灣閩南語動補式	13
蕭景浚 父系詈詞中的權力概念：以華語及閩南語為例	15
蕭佩宜 台灣閩南語違實態度動詞「掠準」（Liah ⁸ -tsun ² ）初探	17
連金發 早期閩南語中以方位語根「處」為核心的表現系列	19
賴雲帆 多義的格標記「力」liah ⁸ ：對其在近代閩南語中語法功能的初探	21
林嫻一 閩南語微量詞探討——以早期及現代閩南語劇為本的對比研究	25
曹茜蕾，貝羅貝，宋 娜 閩南語的差比句結構：從 12 世紀到 21 世紀的歷時演變初探	27
楊又儒 閩南語定語詞組“彼號”之語法化：從指代詞到填充詞、言談標記	31
楊惠玲 漢語的可能性世界	33
◆ 交通資訊	35

議程表

2014 年 11 月 25 日 (二) 國立金門大學陳開蓉國際會議廳				
09:00-09:40	報 到			
09:40-10:00	開幕式	主持人：金門大學華語文學系系 謝奇懿主任		
	場次	主持人	發表人	論文題目
10:00-10:40	一	連金發	貝羅貝	閩方言的伴隨介詞、連詞及(處置結構中的)賓語標記
10:40-11:20			趙靜雅	明清閩南語戲文之定語詞組結構初探
11:20-12:00			宋 娜	閩南語否定詞的歷時演變及其「否定—存在」循環演化圈
12:00-13:40	午 餐			
13:40-14:20	二	曹茜蕾	李惠琦	一個台灣閩南語動補式
14:20-15:00			蕭景浚	父系詈詞中的權力概念：以華語及閩南語為例
15:00-15:30	茶 敘			
15:30-16:10	三	賴雲帆	蕭佩宜	台灣閩南語違實態度動詞「掠準」(Liah ⁸ -tsun ²) 初探

2014 年 11 月 26 日 (三) 國立金門大學陳開蓉國際會議廳

09:00-09:30	報 到			
	場次	主持人	發表人	論文題目
09:30-10:10	四	貝羅貝	連金發	早期閩南語中多重功能詞的探索：從方位到體貌
10:10-10:50			賴雲帆	多義的格標記「力」liah ⁸ ：對其在近代閩南語中語法功能的初探
10:50-11:20	茶 敘			
11:20-12:00	五	宋 娜	林嫻一	閩南語微量詞探討——以早期及現代閩南語劇為本的對比研究
12:00-13:40	午 餐			
13:40-14:20	六	李惠琦	曹茜蕾 貝羅貝 宋 娜	閩南語的差比句結構：從 12 世紀到 21 世紀的歷時演變初探
14:20-15:00			楊又儒	閩南語定語詞組「彼號」之語法化：從指代詞到填充詞、言談標記
15:00-15:30	茶 敘			
15:30-16:10	七	蕭佩宜	楊惠玲	漢語的可能性世界
16:10-17:00	綜合座談會			
賦 歸				

Workshop Program

November 25, 2014 Tan Kai Jong Convention Center, National Quemoy University				
09:00-09:40	Registration			
09:40-10:00	Opening	Chair of Department of Chinese Studies, NQU: Hsieh, Chi-Yi		
	Session	Chair	Presenter	Title
10:00-10:40	1	Chinfa Lien	Alain Peyraube	Comitative prepositions, conjunctions and object markers (in disposal constructions) in some Min dialects
10:40-11:20			Anne Ching-Ya Chao	Exploring the Determiner Phrase Structures in Ming and Qing scripts of play <i>Lizhiji</i> : A preliminary study
11:20-12:00			Song Na	Diachronic change in Southern Min negators and the negative-existential cycle
12:00-13:40	Lunch			
13:40-14:20	2	Hilary Chappell	Huichi Lee	A Specific Verb-Complement Construction in TSM
14:20-15:00			Ching-chu n Hsiao	The Conceptualized Power in Father-related Epithets: A Case Study of Mandarin Chinese and Southern Min
15:00-15:30	Tea break			
15:30-16:10	3	Yunfan Lai	Pei-Yi Katherine Hsiao	On the Counterfactual Attitude Liah ⁸ -tsun ² in TSM

November 26, 2014 Tan Kai Jong Convention Center, National Quemoy University

09:00-09:30	Registration			
	Session	Chair	Presenter	Title
09:30-10:10	4	Alain Peyraube	Chinfa Lien	Polyfunctionality of the Word 處 in Earlier Southern Min: From Location to Aspect
10:10-10:50			Lai Yunfan	Liah ⁸ 力 as a polysemous Case Marker: Preliminary observations on its grammatical functions in Early Modern Southern Min
10:50-11:20	Tea break			
11:20-12:00	5	Song Na	Hsien-yi Lin	The development of Minimizing Quantifiers in Southern Min—A case Study Based on Earlier and Modern texts
12:00-13:40	Lunch			
13:40-14:20	6	Huichi Lee	Hilary Chappell Alain Peyraube Song Na	Comparatives of inequality in Southern Min: An evaluation of diachronic change from 16 th to 21 st Centuries
14:20-15:00			Yu-Ju Yang	Grammaticalization of Hit ⁴ -lo ⁷ 彼號 in Taiwanese Southern Min: From demonstrative to filler and discourse marker
15:00-15:30	Tea break			
15:30-16:10	7	Pei-Yi Katherine Hsiao	Huiling Yang	The World of Possibility in Sinitic Languages
16:10-17:00	General Discussion			
Closing				

論文摘要

(依發表先後次序排列)

閩方言的伴隨介詞、連詞及（處置結構中的）賓語標記

貝羅貝

法國國家科學研究中心、社會科學高等學校

ANR TYSOMIN 項目

摘要

Liu & Peyraube (1994) 已經論證了漢語中存在如下的語法化過程鏈：動詞>副詞>伴隨介詞>並列連詞。該結論在吳福祥(2003)和劉丹青(2003)中被確認，後者補充了在北部吳語中從介詞到連詞的過渡階段：伴隨介詞>受益介詞>並列連詞。

這一語法化過程在本文中將針對以閩東福州話為代表的閩語方言重新討論。在這些方言中，「共」字有幾個值得關注的介詞用法（表伴隨、受益以及目的、來源及比較等）。須要提到的是，與標準官話的「把」字相同，「共」亦可作為處置結構的標記（賓語前置）。我們將證明處置標記的「共」是較晚出現的用法：根據陳澤平(2006)，以「共」為標記的處置結構在19世紀和20世紀初的文獻中均無記載。

本文亦會嘗試對現代閩南語的「共」作出共時分析。

關鍵詞：閩語方言（閩東語，閩南語）、歷時語言學、介詞、伴隨格、處置（賓語標記）結構

參考文獻：

陳澤平(2006). 福州方言處置介詞「共」的語法化路徑. 中國語文 3: 233-136.

劉丹青(2003). 語法化中的共性與個性，單向性與多向性. 『語法化與語法研究(一)』: 125-144. 北京: 商務印書館.

Liu, Jian and Alain Peyraube (1994). History of some coordinative conjunctions in Chinese. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 22.2: 179-201.

吳福祥(2003). 漢語伴隨介詞語法化的類型學研究. 『語法化與語法研究(一)』: 438-480. 北京: 商務印書館.

**Comitative prepositions, conjunctions and
object markers (in disposal constructions) in some Min dialects**

Alain Peyraube
CNRS and EHESS, Paris, France
ANR TYSOMIN project

ABSTRACT

Liu and Peyraube (1994) have shown that the following chain of grammaticalization occurred historically in Chinese: Verb > Adverb > Comitative Prepositions > Conjunctions of NP coordination. This has been confirmed by Wu Fuxiang (2003), and also by Liu Danqing (2003) who has added the following intermediate stage between the derivation from Preposition to Conjunction: Comitative Preposition > Beneficiary Preposition > Coordinative conjunction in Northern Wu.

These derivations will be discussed again with a focus on the Min dialects and especially on or Eastern Min, i.e. in Fuzhou, where GONG 共 has several interesting uses, as a preposition (comitative, beneficiary and benefactive, but also goal, source, comparative, etc.). Notably it is also a disposal (pre-verbal object) marker, equivalent to the BA 把 of contemporary Standard Chinese. It will be shown that this last use is quite new. According to Chen Zeping (2006), the disposal constructions with GONG are not attested in documents dated from the 19th century and the early 20th century.

A contemporary analysis will also be attempted for the situation in Southern Min.

Keywords: Min dialects (Eastern Min, Southern Min), diachrony, prepositions, comitative, disposal (object marker) constructions

References:

- Chen Zeping (2006). Fuzhou fangyan chuzhi jieci ‘gong’ de yufahua lujing. *Zhongguo yuwen* 3: 233-136.
- Liu, Danqing (2003). Yufahua zhong de gongxing yu gexing, danxiangxing yu duoxiangxing. Wu fuxiang and Hong Bo (eds), *Yufahua yu yufa yanjiu* 1: 125-144. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan.
- Liu, Jian and Alain Peyraube (1994). History of some coordinative conjunctions in Chinese. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 22.2: 179-201.
- Wu, Fuxiang (2003). Hanyu bansui jieci yufa hua de leixingxue yanjiu. Wu Fuxiang and Hong Bo (eds), *Yufahua yu yufa yanjiu* 1: 438-480. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan.

明清閩南語戲文之定語詞組結構初探

趙靜雅
文藻外語大學

摘要

除了呂叔湘（1985）《近代漢語指示詞》的經典著作之外，漢語指示詞歷時演變的研究過去較少受到關注。在 Bolinger（1972: 61）、Traugott（2006: 345）、Lien & Chappell（2009-2011）的啟發下，本文主張漢語指示詞「這」（近指）、「那」（遠指）演變為程度修飾語的語法化過程，可能與定語詞組內部成分的合音現象有關係。十六世紀閩南語戲文《荔枝記》中已有指示詞「只」與種類類別詞「樣」組合而成的合音詞「障」chiun³（Huang and Lien, 2007: 561-577）。本文將探討明清閩南戲文《荔鏡記》和《荔枝記》的定語詞組（determiner phrase）內部結構類型，並從歷時和認知觀點探討由複雜結構到簡單結構的指示成分的虛化過程和範疇轉換。

關鍵詞：指示詞、疑問詞、定語詞組、漢語方言、語法化

參考文獻：

- 吳守禮 2011. 明嘉靖刊荔鏡記戲文校理. 臺北：從宜工作室。
- 黃漢君、連金發 2007. 萬曆本荔枝紀指示詞研究. 清華學報 37.2: 561-577.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1972. *Degree Words*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Lien, Chinfa. 2009. Diachronic change in Southern Min: a Sinitic Language. Anniversary of France-Taiwan Scientific Prize. 台法科技獎十週年慶暨合作成果. 10eme Anniversaire du Prix Scientifique Franco-Taiwanais, *Symposium Guidebook*, pp. 172-173 & 182-183. September 2-3, 2009. The Condensed Matter Science and Physics Building, National Taiwan University, Taipei. (NSC 98-2923-H-007-001-MY3)
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2006. The semantic development of scalar focus modifiers. In *The Handbook of the History of English*, ed. by Ans van Kemenade and Bettelou Los, 335-359. Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

**Exploring the Determiner Phrase Structures in Ming and Qing scripts of play *Lizhiji*:
A preliminary study**

Anne Ching-Ya Chao
Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages

ABSTRACT

Very little has been studied on the historical evolution of deictics in Standard Chinese, apart from the classic work by Lü Shuxiang (1985) on demonstratives in Modern Chinese. In light of Bolinger (1972:61), Traugott (2006:345), and Lien & Chappell (2009-2011), we will test the hypothesis that speaker-oriented degree modifiers do not come directly from deitic terms *this* (proximal) and *that* (distal), but from the interaction between elements in a determiner phrase. The grammaticalization of lexeme to grammatical function word is induced by phonological attrition manifested as the portmanteau expressions such as “障” fusing “只” and “樣” in the 16th century Southern Min scripts (Huang and Lien, 2007: 561-577). This study offers diachronic and cognitive perspectives in which to explore the structures of determiner phrases in Ming and Qing scripts of play *Lizhiji* (Wu 2001) and in conjunction with modern Chinese dialects.

Keywords: deixis, question words, determiner phrase, Chinese dialect, grammaticalization

閩南語否定詞的歷時演變及其『否定-存在』循環演化圈

宋娜

法國國立東方語言文化學院，東亞語言研究所

ANR TYSOMIN 項目

摘要

本文主要的研究對象是早期閩南語中三個否定詞：一般否定詞『 m^7 不』、存在否定詞『 bo^5 無』和非現實否定詞『 be^7 膾/袂』。我們把這三個否定詞在早期閩南語的分佈情況與在現代台灣閩南語的分佈情況進行比較研究。早期閩南語使用的材料是 14 世紀到 19 世紀的《荔鏡記（1566）》以及其他版本《荔枝記》。現代台灣閩南語的材料來源於線上語料庫（楊允言）以及台灣閩南語形容詞列表（Cheng 1981）。

文章以『否定-存在』循環演化圈（Croft 1991, Zhang 2002）為理論基礎，以上述的三個否定詞為例探究閩南話否定詞的歷時演化過程。與現代台灣閩南語不同的是，《荔鏡記》及其他早期材料中的閩南語中一般否定詞『 m^7 不』可以和大多數的狀態動詞相結合，而現代台灣閩南語中『 m^7 不』只能同極少數的狀態動詞或形容詞結合（Cheng 1981）。『 be^7 膾』或『 bo^5 無』則可以和大部分的狀態動詞結合。早期閩南語中的『 bo^5 無』的用法與漢語文言類似，一般情況下主要表示否定存在。我們試圖找出台灣閩南語在『否定-存在』循環演化圈中的階段，進而推斷出包括『詞彙擴散』在內可能的否定演化動機及其路徑。

關鍵詞：『否定-存在』循環演化圈、詞彙擴散、荔鏡記、一般否定、存在否定、非現實否定、狀態動詞

參考文獻：

- Cheng Susie S. (1981) 鄧謝淑娟 *A study Taiwanese adjectives*. Taipei: Student Book Co. Ltd.
- Croft. William (1991). 'The evolution of negation', *Journal of Linguistics* 27. 1: 1-27.
- Lien, Chinfa. (1994). 'Lexical Diffusion', in R. E. Asher (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. (Vol. 4.) Oxford: Pergamon Press, 2141-4).
- Zhang Min 張敏 (2002). 上古、中古漢語及現代南方方言里的“存在-否定演化圈”，In Anne Yue (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Historical Aspects of Chinese*, Vol II. Seattle: University of Washington, pp.571-616.

Diachronic change in Southern Min negators and the negative-existential cycle

Song Na
INALCO-CRLAO
ANR TYSOMIN project

ABSTRACT

This paper sets out to examine the distribution of three main negators in Early Southern Min with stative predicates: the general negator m^7 不, the negative existential predicate bo^5 無 and the irrealis negator be^7 儻 in the opera, *Li Jing Ji*, 荔鏡記 (1566) and its different versions known as the *Li Zhi Ji* 荔枝記 from 14th to 19th century. A comparative study with contemporary Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM), which is based on an online corpus of the Taiwanese concordance by Iúⁿ Ú n-giân 楊允言 and a list of commonly used Taiwanese adjectives (Cheng 1981) will also be made.

Our analysis is based on the model of the negative-existential cycle (Croft 1991, Zhang 2002) to show the diachronic process in the evolution of negation markers in Southern Min on the basis of the distribution of the three negators. Unlike the case for contemporary TSM, in the *Li Jing Ji* and other early materials, the general negator m^7 不 can combine with a large number of stative predicates, most of which usually combine with be^7 儻 or bo^5 無 in contemporary TSM. Only a few stative predicates are really able to combine with bo^5 無 which is mainly used as a negative existential verb during this early period. We next attempt to identify at which stage the TSM negators are situated in the negative-existential cycle and finally propose a hypothesis on the possible motivations and the pathways underlying their evolution, including a consideration of lexical diffusion (Lien 1994, Zhang 2002).

Keywords: negative-existential cycle, *Li Jing Ji*, general negator, negative existential verb, irrealis negator, stative predicate

References:

- Cheng Susie S. (1981) 鄧謝淑娟 *A study Taiwanese adjectives*. Taipei: Student Book Co. Ltd.
Croft. William (1991). 'The evolution of negation', *Journal of Linguistics* 27. 1: 1-27.
Lien, Chinfa. (1994). 'Lexical Diffusion', in R. E. Asher (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. (Vol. 4.) Oxford: Pergamon Press, 2141-4).
Zhang Min 张敏 (2002). 上古、中古汉语及现代南方方言里的“存在-否定演化圈”, In Anne Yue (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Historical Aspects of Chinese*, Vol II. Seattle: University of Washington, pp.571-616.

一個台灣閩南語動補式

李惠琦
國立成功大學

摘要

本文討論一個閩南語常出現的句式—[V *kah*]構式。例句如「阿三摔 *kah* 腳斷去啊」。本文主要研究[V *kah*]構式中動詞 V 的種類及語意、*kah* 後面所帶成分的種類及語意、整個[V *kah*]構式的種類及語意。根據本研究的文獻探討，我們發現[V *kah*]構式可能包含結果補語、程度補語、描述補語，本研究打算一併探討這三種不同的補語語料另外還探討[V *kah*]構式的歷時發展。本文的語料主要來自語料庫，包含現代台灣閩南語語料庫、台語文數位典藏資料庫及荔鏡記等語料庫。

關鍵字：程度補語、動補結構、「得」字結構、台灣閩南語

參考文獻：

- 曹逢甫、連金發、鄭縈、王本瑛. 2002. 新竹閩南語正在進行中的四種趨同變化. 閩語研究及其與周邊方言的關係, 丁邦新&張雙慶編: 221-232. 香港: 中文大學出版社.
- 李櫻. 2002. Pragmatic inferencing, sequence truncation and grammaticalization of the Taiwanese verb *kau* 到. 語言、意義與功能: 黃宣範教授語言學祝壽論文集. 蘇以文, 連金發, 徐嘉慧編. 185-224. 台北: 文鶴出版社.
- 柯理思 (Lamarre, Christine). 2001. 從普通話裡跟"得"有關的幾個格式去探討方言類型學. 語言研究 2001 年第 2 期: 7-18.

A Specific Verb-Complement Construction in TSM

Huichi Lee

National Cheng Kung University

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses [V *kah*] construction in TSM. The [V *kah*] construction can be exemplified by *A sam siak⁸ kah kha tng⁷ a* ‘A Sam fell down to the extent that his leg was broken.’ The verb types in [V *kah*] construction and the clausal types following *kah* will be explored in this paper. Based on the previous studies, the complement following the [V *kah*] construction can be resultative, extent and descriptive complements. In addition to exploring the three types of complements, this paper also provides historical data from *Li Jing Jing*, to investigate the developmental change of the [V *kah*] construction. The modern TSM data are collected from corpus.

Keywords: extent complement, resultative complement, DE construction, TSM

Reference:

- 曹逢甫、連金發、鄭縈、王本瑛. 2002. 新竹閩南語正在進行中的四種趨同變化. 閩語研究及其與周邊方言的關係, 丁邦新&張雙慶編: 221-232. 香港: 中文大學出版社.
- 李櫻. 2002. Pragmatic inferencing, sequence truncation and grammaticalization of the Taiwanese verb *kau* 到. 語言、意義與功能: 黃宣範教授語言學祝壽論文集. 蘇以文, 連金發, 徐嘉慧編. 185-224. 台北: 文鶴出版社.
- 柯理思 (Lamarre, Christine). 2001. 從普通話裡跟"得"有關的幾個格式去探討方言類型學. 語言研究 2001 年第 2 期: 7-18.

父系詈詞中的權力概念：以華語及閩南語為例

蕭景浚

國立清華大學／國立聯合大學

摘要

本文比較了華語「老子」及閩南語「恁父」詈詞在歷時與共時上的用法，嘗試從「語義轉換」、「指示功能變化」以及「內在結構」等角度，討論兩個華語父系「稱謂詞」轉化為「詈詞」使用之概念原則。本文除從「語意擴充」之方向探討了「老子」如何從成年男性用以自稱「第一人稱 1st generic/adult, masculine」擴大到對於年上男性之通用「第三人稱 3rd generic/father」，再進一步「語意特化」成詈詞性「第一人稱 1st specific/expressive content」，在語用及語體上都富有特點。語料提供了我們對於父系詈詞的幾點設想，從「語式慣用性」、「言者願性」、以及「行事語力」等觀察，詈詞「老子」已和親屬稱謂「老子」有了明顯的區別。與此同時，言外的社會性因素，例如言者與聽者之間的「性別、年紀、親屬關係」，都可能反映詈詞使用上對「禮貌程度」的悖反；而父系詈詞在語意上所含蘊的情感語勢，包括激昂與親暱，其使用原則與語體有一致而緊密的關係。

關鍵詞：詈詞、情感詞、親屬詞、指示性、語義轉換

**The Conceptualized Power in *F*_{ather}-related Epithets:
A Case Study of Mandarin Chinese and Southern Min**

Ching-chun Hsiao
National Tsing Hua University, National United University

ABSTRACT

This paper mainly deals with such issues as the motivation of meaning shift (Siewierska 2004), the change of deictic function (Collins 2012; Lien 2014) and the internal structure of expressive indices (Potts 2005, 2007) which are related to two epithets: *lín-pē* '恁父[我] (Your Father [I])' in Southern Min and *lao³zi¹* '老子[我] (Father [I])' in Mandarin Chinese. We investigate the semantic extension and narrowing, from a first-person reference as in (1) to a third-person one as in (2) and later return to another specific first-person usage as in (3), and the conceptual parallelism between the two paternal epithets. Most properties of the expressive setting lead us to treat them as separate from the genitive call as in (4) and from the matrix clause, including conventionality, speaker orientation, and illocutionary force of what is addressing. The expressivity of *lín-pē* and *lao³zi¹* reveals that the sociolinguistic factors, such as sex, age and kinship, determine the liberty of politeness encoding in the context of interpretation as in (5) (Livia 2001; McConnell-Ginet 2003). The linguistic enactment of expressives suggests the *F*-related epithet acts as a cognitive prosthetic, providing emotional (anger or fun) reminders and justification for individuals with discourse type.

- (1) 《後漢書·逸民傳·韓康》：「康曰：『此自老子與之，亭長何罪！』」
- (2) 《唐·白居易·晚起閒行》詩：「皤然一老子，擁裘仍隱幾。」
- (3) 《水滸傳》第二六回：「老子不曾有些禮數到都頭傢，卻如何請老子吃酒？」
- (4) 《宋·陸遊·老學庵筆記》卷一：
「予在南鄭，見西郵俚俗謂父曰老子，雖年十七八，有子亦稱老子。」
- (5) 《巴金·憩園》十二：「你敢動一下，老子不把你打成肉醬不姓趙！」
- (6) <Sinica Corpus> 三年裡，老子就盼著有這一天，老子不會放過你們的！
- (7) <Sinica Corpus> 白眉和尚哈哈一笑道：不錯，老子們本來就不是和尚！
- (8) <Taiwaness Concodncer> 恁娘 lé! 好膽 kā 恁父 一千酒 chhia-chhia--倒!
- (9) <Taiwaness Concodncer> 明áchài, 恁父教你一步。

Keywords: epithets, expressives, kinship, indexicality, meaning shift

台灣閩南語違實態度動詞「掠準」(*Liah⁸-tsun²*) 初探

蕭佩宜
國立清華大學

摘要

本文探討台灣閩南語違實態度動詞「掠準」(*liah⁸-tsun²*)。根據 Bolinger (1968) 對態度動詞的分類,「掠準」(*liah⁸-tsun²*) 是屬於可表現出態度持有者訊息狀態 (information state) 的表象類態度動詞 (representational attitude verb), 以態度持有者的信念世界 (doxastic worlds) 為其量化的範疇。這個動詞所表達的是, 態度持有者在他的信念世界中相信其所討論的命題為真, 但此命題在現實世界中被證明為假, 因此產生與事實相反的語意。本文論證「掠準」(*liah⁸-tsun²*) 與其他同類的態度動詞一樣, 允許插句 (parenthetical) 的用法 (Urmson 1952, Simons 2008), 因此它不能被否定詞否定; 此外, 這個動詞只能許可 (license) 表必然的知識類模態詞 (epistemic necessity modals) 出現在它所帶的命題中, 這點不同於其他同類的態度動詞 (參見 Anand and Hacquard 2013)。本文採用 Veltman 1996, Hacquard 2006, 2010, and Yalcin 2007 等人所提出的分析來解釋, 認為「掠準」(*liah⁸-tsun²*) 提供了一個訊息狀態, 成為知識類模態詞可以量化的言談背景, 因此可以許可表必然的知識類模態詞的出現, 然而它的違實語意會與表可能的知識類模態詞的偏稱量化 (existential quantification) 產生矛盾, 因此無法許可表可能的知識類模態詞的出現。本文的研究發現, 在表象類態度動詞中, 違實態度動詞應可獨立成為一個次類, 這是前人的研究 (如 Anand and Hacquard 2013) 所沒有考慮到的部分。

關鍵字：違實態度 (counterfactual attitude)、表象類態度 (representational attitudes)、知識類模態詞 (epistemic modals)、台灣閩南語

On the Counterfactual Attitude *Liah⁸-tsun²* in TSM

Pei-Yi Katherine Hsiao
National Tsing Hua University

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses *lih⁸-tsun²*, a counterfactual marker in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM). *Liah⁸-tsun²* is assumed to be a representational attitude verb (Bolinger 1968), quantifying over a set of doxastic worlds. This attitude verb requires that the attitude holder believes the proposition to be true in the attitude world, and that the embedded proposition turns out to be false in the actual world. This leads to counterfactuality. This paper argues that *lih⁸-tsun²* can allow a parenthetical interpretation as other representational attitudes do (Urmson 1952, Simons 2008), which explains its resistance to being negated, and that *lih⁸-tsun²* can only license epistemic necessity modals, unlike other representational attitudes (cf. Anand and Hacquard 2013). Following Veltman 1996, Hacquard 2006, 2010, and Yalcin 2007, we propose that *lih⁸-tsun²* provides an information state that epistemic modals can be anaphoric to, thereby licensing epistemic necessity modals, and that the counterfactual reasoning it induces results in contradiction, thereby disallowing epistemic possibility modals (i.e., universal quantification over the doxastic state by *lih⁸-tsun²* and existential quantification over the same doxastic state by epistemic possibility modals). Our findings further suggest that the counterfactual attitudes constitute a special subclass of representational attitudes, which is not taken into account by Anand and Hacquard (2013).

Keywords: counterfactual attitude, representational attitudes, epistemic modals, TSM

早期閩南語中多重功能詞的探索：從方位到體貌

連金發
國立清華大學

摘要

本文以「處」為例探討明清閩南戲文中多重功能語詞怎麼從方位詞轉變成體貌標記。「處」原本是方位詞，配上指示詞等類的語詞才能具有指稱的功能，但具有指示功能的方位構式除掉空間指示詞後，可以單獨轉化為體貌標記，置於動詞之後，表示狀態或動作結果的持續，置於動詞之前，表示動作的進行。動詞後的句尾「處」不但表示狀態的持續，且大多用於祈使式。這種現象在在顯示語詞的語意的確定與出現的結構息息相關。從文獻的語料中可以回頭審視方位詞到體貌標記的可能路徑。

關鍵詞：方位、體貌、多功能、語法化、閩南語

Polyfunctionality of the Word 處 in Earlier Southern Min: From Location to Aspect

Chinfa Lien

National Tsing Hua University

ABSTRACT

The paper explores the polyfunctionality of locative words in earlier Southern Min texts taking 處 as a case showing the shift of location to aspect. Locative phrases coupled with such expressions as demonstratives, etc., take on referential function, but when rid of referring elements the bare locative word 處 can merge as an aspectual marker. It can denote state or the continuation of a result state in post-verbal position. By contrast, it can denote the on-going process of an activity 處 not only expresses the continuation of state but also mostly occurs in imperatives in postverbal position. This shows the close link between lexical sense and the structure in which it occurs. The linguistic data will shed light on the grammaticalization path from location to aspect.

Keyword: location, aspect, polyfunctionality, grammaticalization, Southern Min

多義的格標記「力」*liah*⁸：對其在近代閩南語中語法功能的初探

賴雲帆

巴黎第三大學

ANR TYSOMIN 項目

摘要

本文立足于明清閩南語文獻，從格標記的角度，研究近代閩南語「力」*liah*⁸的語法功能。

字源上，「力」*liah*⁸是「搨」的假借字，在近現代文獻中也常常寫作「掠」。

在近代閩南語中，除了繼續作為動詞使用，「力」*liah*⁸至少還有三種語法功能：單及物動詞之賓語（object）標記、雙及物動詞的主題（theme）標記以及工具（instrument）標記。參照以下例子：

1. 單及物動詞之賓語標記

你 仔 使 小七 力-媒姨 打 一頓
2 單 孩子 致使 小七 受事-媒姨 打 量詞
你的孩子讓小七把媒姨打了一頓。

荔鏡記- 嘉靖 14.277

2. 雙及物動詞之主題標記

我 今 力-拙-話 說 乞-你 聽
1 單 現在 主題-指示-話 說 予格-2 單 聽
現在我把這話告訴你。

荔鏡記- 嘉靖 29.049

3. 工具標記

後 又 力-言語 來 氣 阮
然後 又 工具-言語 來 激怒 1 複
然後又用言語來激怒我。

明刊閩南戲曲弦管選本三種（深林邊、招商店）

本文將討論這幾種標記的用法，並與其他虛詞和語法現象進行異同比較，諸如「將」*chiong*¹、「用」*eng*⁷/*iong*⁷、「共」*ka*⁷和直接及物結構（direct transitive construction）等。通過對此語素現代用法的討論，以及跨語言類型學資料的查閱，本文亦會對「力」*liah*⁸語法化的過程作出假設。

關鍵詞：歷時句法、格標記、直接賓語、工具格、雙及物

參考文獻：

- Lien, Chinfa. 2002. Grammatical function words 乞，度，共，甲，將 and 力 in Li4 Jing4 Ji4 荔鏡記 and their development in Southern Min. In Dah-an Ho (ed.) *Papers from the Third International Conference on Sinology: Linguistics Section. Dialect Variations in Chinese*. Institute of Linguistics, Preparatory Office. Academia Sinica., Taipei, Taiwan.
- Lien, Chinfa. 2010. The dual function of liah8 力 in Li Jing Ji. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*. 38.1: 45-69.

***Liah*⁸ 力 as a polysemous Case Marker:
Preliminary observations on its grammatical functions in Early Modern Southern Min**

**Lai Yunfan
Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3
ANR TYSOMIN project**

ABSTRACT

Based on Early Modern Southern Min texts from Ming and Qing dynasties, this paper studies the grammatical functions of 力 *liah*⁸ in Southern Min from the point of view of case marking.

Etymologically, 力 *liah*⁸ is a loan character of the verb 搨 ‘to seize’ (Lien 2005), and is often written alternatively as 掠.

In early modern Southern Min, apart from its continuing use as a verb, 力 *liah*⁸ exhibits at least three grammatical functions, patient marker, marker of the theme in ditransitive constructions and instrument marker. Examples are listed below:

1. Patient Marker

你 仔 使 小七 力-媒姨 打 一頓
2SG childcause sio-chhit PATIENT-match-maker hit CL
Your child had Sio-cchit give the match-maker a beating.

荔鏡記- 嘉靖 14.277

2. Theme of ditransitive verbs

我 今 力-拙-話 說 乞-你 聽
1SG now THEME-DEM speech say DAT-2SG listen
Now I'm telling you this.

荔鏡記- 嘉靖 29.049

3. Instrument Marker

後 又 力-言語 來 氣 阮
then again INSTRUMENT-speech to irritate 1PL
And then, he irritated me with bad words.

明刊閩南戲曲弦管選本三種（深林邊、招商店）

I will discuss how these functions work, their relations with other function words that code some of the same case roles, such as 将 *chiong*¹ and 用 *ing*⁷/*iong*⁷, and their differences from constructions with a similar meaning, such as direct transitive VO constructions. Referring to modern uses of this morpheme, together with cross-linguistic typological data, I will also make an attempt to identify the pathway(s) of grammaticalisation.

Keywords: diachronic syntax, case marking, direct object, instrument, ditransitive

References:

- Lien, Chinfa. 2002. Grammatical function words 乞，度，共，甲，将 and 力 in Li4 Jing4 Ji4 荔鏡記 and their development in Southern Min. In Dah-an Ho (ed.) *Papers from the Third International Conference on Sinology: Linguistics Section. Dialect Variations in Chinese*. Institute of Linguistics, Preparatory Office. Academia Sinica., Taipei, Taiwan.
- Lien, Chinfa. 2010. The dual function of liah8 力 in Li Jing Ji. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*. 38.1: 45-69.

閩南語微量詞探討
——以早期及現代閩南語劇為本的對比研究

林嫻一
國立清華大學

摘要

本文旨透過閩南語文獻《荔鏡記》及日治時期的台灣語學雜誌《語苑》到現代閩南語的劇本探討閩南語常見微量詞「些」、「寡」、「點」和「淡薄」在語法結構和語意的相同與相異。名詞組是這些微量詞出現的基本結構，後面的名詞可以游離至動詞前，也可以在談話語境中出現，不一定要在名詞組的結構中。「點」原為分類量詞，和其他計量詞「些／寡」一樣，表微量時前面接數詞時只能使用「一」或省略，而「淡薄」前則不能有任何數詞。「淡薄」有別於「些／寡／點」，不能與指示詞連用，在現代閩南語中較常以「較＋形容詞＋淡薄」的副詞組句式呈現。這些微量詞也由原本表示物體客觀的數量演變為含主觀概念用以修飾程度的程度微量用法，出現在副詞組結構中。從這些微量詞的探索過程，我們可以發現語言演變的普遍性及共通性。

關鍵字：《荔鏡記》、《語苑》、微量詞、閩南語

**The development of Minimizing Quantifiers in Southern Min—
A case Study Based on Earlier and Modern texts**

**Hsien-yi Lin
National Tsing Hua University**

ABSTRACT

The paper aim at exploring the minimizing quantifiers 些 *hsia*¹, 寡 *kua*², 點 *tiam*², and 淡薄 *tam*⁷ *poh*⁸ based on earlier Southern Min playscripts *Li jing ji*, *Go-en*, a Taiwanese-learning periodicals published in the Japanese period, and modern Southern Min texts. I mainly deal with these minimizing quantifiers in noun phrases. The noun phrases may be dislocated or even deleted, but they are recoverable from the contexts. Moreover, the minimizer 點 *tiam*² evolves from its former existence as a classifier denoting a little drop of liquid. When it becomes a full-fledged minimal quantifier, the numeral it combines with can only be 一 *tsit*⁸ ‘one’. The same constraint applies to other paucal quantifiers like 些 *hsia*¹ and 寡 *kua*². Differing from the above minimizers, 淡薄 *tam*⁷ *poh*⁸ can neither combine with numerals nor demonstratives 此/這 *chiah*⁴ and 彼 *hit*⁴, but it often occurs in the construction 「較 *khah*⁴ + ADJ + 淡薄 *tam*⁷ *poh*⁸-*a*²」 to denote the minimal degree of the adjectives. These minimizing quantifiers develop the adverbial function to modify scalar adjectives. In short, the development of these minimizing quantifiers maps the grammaticalization routes of historical change and partially demonstrates language universal.

Keywords: Lin jing ji, Yu yuan, minimizing quantifier, Southern Min

閩南語的差比句結構：從 12 世紀到 21 世紀的歷時演變初探

曹茜蕾 貝羅貝 宋娜

ANR TYSOMIN 項目

法國東亞語言研究所，巴黎

摘要

本文旨在對 16 世紀到 21 世紀荔鏡記和荔枝記等材料中的不同結構類型差比結構進行探索。

從歷時角度來看，漢語方言有兩種主要的差比結構：類型 I 『比較』差比結構和類型 II 『超過』差比結構（Chappell & Peyraube 提出）。漢語方言中，類型 I 用『比』作為比較標記，在共時層面上佔據了主導地位；而類型 II 以『過』為比較標記，其分佈之廣泛遠遠超過預期的設想。

我們以五個不同版本的《荔鏡記》、《荔枝記》及其他八個閩南語劇本作為研究材料，發現 16 世紀以來有三種主要的差比句結構：(1) 零標記 (A-VP-B)；(2) 副詞式 (A-khah⁴ 較 -VP-B)；(3) 『超過』式 (A-VP- ke³ 過 -B)。除上述三種以外，還有幾個使用漢語北方方言比較結構 (4) 『比較』式 (A- pi² 比-VP-B) 有待商榷的例子。

現代台灣閩南語的『超過』式比較結構已經衰退，而『比較』式結構在年輕一代人中的使用則有上升趨勢（Li and Lien 1995）。值得關注的是，新興的『比較』式和副詞式混合型的用法很常見：(5) 混合型 (A- pi² 比-B - khah⁴ 較 -VP)。這種情況在早期閩南語裡沒有出現。

本文將對閩南語比較結構偏好的歷時演變情況及其可能的動機進行詳細的論述。

關鍵詞：歷時句法、比較結構、『超過』類動詞、混合結構、漢語方言

參考文獻：

- Chappell, Hilary and Alain Peyraube (In press). 'The Comparative Construction in Sinitic: Synchronic and Diachronic Variation'. In H. Chappell (ed.) *Diversity in Sinitic languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Li Chia-chun and Lien Chinfa (李家純, 連金發) (1995). 'Lun Minnanyu bijiaoshi leixing ji lishide tantao 论閩南语比较式类型及历史的探讨 (An exploration of the typology and history of the comparative in Southern Min)', in Tsao Fengfu and Meihui Tsai (eds.), *Papers from the 1994 Conference on Language Teaching and Linguistics in Taiwan*, Vol I: Southern Min. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co., 71-87.

**Comparatives of inequality in Southern Min:
An evaluation of diachronic change from 16th to 21st Centuries**

**Hilary Chappell, Alain Peyraube and Song Na
ANR TYSOMIN project
CRLAO, Paris**

ABSTRACT

Our aim in this paper is to evaluate Southern Min comparative constructions of inequality in terms of the evolution of different structural types from 16th to 21st centuries, based on textual data mainly taken from operas, including the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔鏡記 and the *Lì Zhī Jì* 荔枝記.

Diachronically, two major comparative construction of inequality can be identified in Sinitic languages: Type I *Compare* and Type II *Surpass* (Chappell & Peyraube in press). While the Type I *Compare* comparative with BĪ 比 < ‘to compare’ as the comparative marker synchronically predominates in Sinitic languages, the distribution of the Type II *Surpass* comparative using comparative markers, such as GUÒ 過, is much more widespread than has been previously supposed.

An examination of the five extant versions of the *Lì Jìng Jì* 荔鏡記 and the *Lì Zhī Jì* 荔枝記 as well as eight other local operas reveals that there have been three main comparative structures in use in Southern Min since the 16th century: (i) *Zero-marked* A–VP–B; (ii) *Adverbial* A–khah⁴ 較 –VP–B and (iii) *Surpass* A–VP– ke³ 過 –B. There is also a handful of examples apparently using the Northern Sinitic comparative structure (iv) *Compare* A– pi² 比–VP–B but whose status is debatable.

In contemporary Southern Min dialects such as Taiwanese, however, the use of the *Surpass* comparative has waned, while the use of the *Compare* comparative has increased in particularly younger generation speakers (Li and Lien). Interestingly, a new hybrid structure combining *Compare* and *Adverbial* structures can be commonly found that was not available in the earlier texts: (v) *Hybridized* A– pi² 比–B – khah⁴ 較 –VP.

The diachronic changes in structural preferences will be discussed in detail and the possible motivations examined.

Keywords: diachronic syntax, comparatives, surpass verbs, hybridization, Sinitic

References:

- Chappell, Hilary and Alain Peyraube (In press). ‘The Comparative Construction in Sinitic: Synchronic and Diachronic Variation’. In H. Chappell (ed.) *Diversity in Sinitic languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Li Chia-chun and Lien Chinfa (李家純，連金發) (1995). ‘Lun Minnanyu bijiaoshi leixing ji lishide tantao 论閩南语比较式类型及历史的探讨 (An exploration of the typology and history of the

comparative in Southern Min)', in Tsao Fengfu and Meihui Tsai (eds.), *Papers from the 1994 Conference on Language Teaching and Linguistics in Taiwan*, Vol I: Southern Min. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co., 71-87.

閩南語定語詞組“彼號”之語法化：
從指代詞到填充詞、言談標記

楊又儒
國立清華大學

摘要

本文旨在探討閩南語中指示詞 (determiner) 與款式類別詞組合 (kind classifier) 而成的定語詞組 (determiner phrase, DP) 「彼號」的語法化現象。本文由閩南語故事集、連續劇及語苑為底本分析現代閩南語中指示詞「這、彼」與款式類別詞「樣、款、般、種、號」組合之用法，發現相較於其餘的類別詞「號」的發展最為快速。除了與指示詞組合後所具有的指示性 (deixis) 外，其代指的功能漸漸弱化後語法化為填充詞 (filler)、言談標記 (discourse marker)，並從定語詞組中跳脫出來，在句中出現的位子相當的自由。此外，日語中亦有指示詞語法化為填充詞、言談標記的現象。因此，本文亦討論日語與閩南語兩語言中指示詞語法化後功能的異同。

關鍵詞：語法化、指示性、言談標記、填充詞、閩南語

**Grammaticalization of *Hit⁴-lo⁷* 彼號 in Taiwanese Southern Min
From demonstrative to filler and discourse marker**

Yu-Ju Yang
National Tsing Hua University

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates grammaticalization of 彼號 *hit⁴ lo⁷* as a part of determiner phrases comprising the distal demonstrative 彼 *hit⁴* and the kind classifier 號 *ho⁷* in Taiwanese Southern Min. This analysis is based on Taiwanese storybooks, Taiwanese drama and Go-en (語苑). After examining the combination of the demonstratives 這 *tsit⁴* and 彼 *hit⁴* and kind classifiers such as 樣 *iunn⁷*, 款 *khuan²*, 般 *puann¹*, 種 *tsing²* and 號 *ho⁷* respectively, we find the kind classifier 號 *ho⁷* expands the quickest among others. In addition to the deictic sense it denotes, 彼號 *hit⁴-lo⁷* is grammaticalized as a filler and even a discourse marker shedding its deictic function. Moreover, 彼號 *hit⁴-lo⁷* may be dislocated from the determiner phrase and become a floating element subject to certain constraints. Demonstratives used as fillers or discourse markers can be found in Japanese as well. So similar types of grammaticalization in the two languages will also be compared.

Keywords: grammaticalization, deixis, discourse maker, filler, Southern Min

漢語的可能性世界

楊惠玲

國立金門大學

摘要

本研究探索漢語的可能性世界，聚焦於漢語中表達認識性、動態能力與義務性的情態動詞，包括解、會、能、可、得、使、行和成。我們考量了共時與歷時兩類語料，發現共時的模態義與歷史層面息息相關、不可分割。資料同時顯示，這些模態詞的來源雖不盡相同，但卻遵循著一定的語法化軌跡。如此的模式也可在英語和其他語言中得到歷證。

關鍵詞：漢語、認識情態、義務情態、語法化

The World of Possibility in Sinitic Languages

Huilin Yang

National Quemoy University

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the world of possibility in Sinitic languages. We focus specifically on modal words expressing epistemicity, dynamic ability, and deonticity, including 解, 會, 能, 可, 得, 使, 行 and 成. Consideration is given to synchronic as well as diachronic aspects with corpus analysis as a major method. Intriguingly, historical strata are intertwined with and woven into the diachrony of modality in the languages under investigation. Data also shows that despite different origins, the various forms examined in this study follow a grammaticalization path on a par with that attested in English and other languages.

Keywords: Sinitic language, epistemicity, deonticity, grammaticalization

交通資訊

◆ 航空公司

航空公司	聯絡資訊
復興航空 TransAsia Airways	網址： http://www.tna.com.tw/ 訂位專線 (02) 4498123 客服專線 (02) 4498123
立榮航空 UNI AIR	網址： https://www.uniair.com.tw/uniarec/ 訂位專線 (02) 25086999 客服專線 (02) 25086999
華信航空 Mandarin Airlines	網址： http://www.mandarin-airlines.com/ 訂位專線 (02) 4128008 客服專線 (02) 4129000
遠東航空 Far Eastern Air Transport	網址： http://www.fat.com.tw/ 訂位專線 (02) 87707999 客服專線 (02) 27121555

◆ 金門航空站 KINMEN AIRPORT

網址：<http://www.kma.gov.tw/>

服務電話：082-322381、082-313694

◆ 金門縣公共車船管理處 Bus & Ferry Management Office, Kinmen County

網址：<http://www.kcbfa.gov.tw/>

服務電話：082-332721

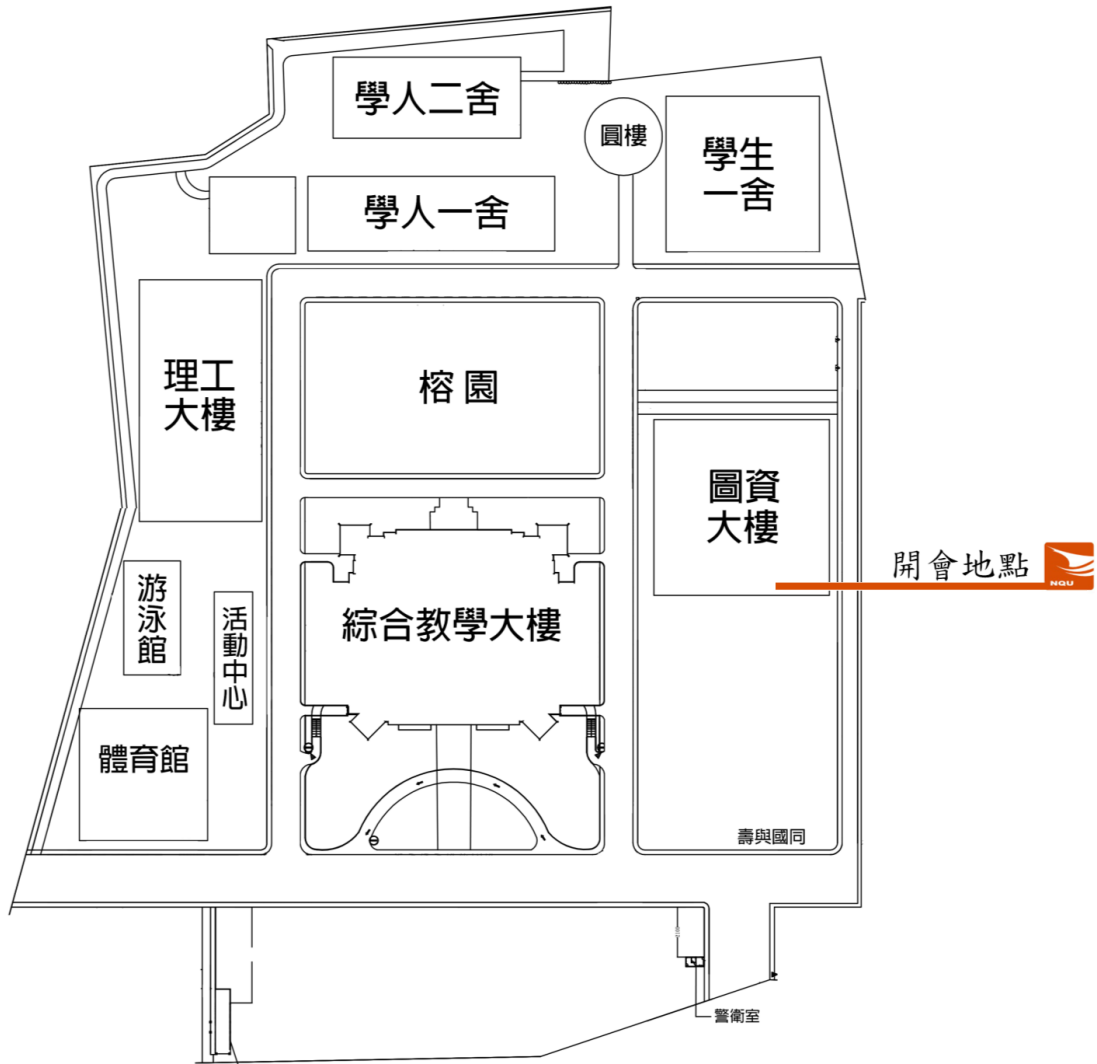
◆ 金門水頭碼頭

服務台電話：082-324280

售票處電話：082-371024



校區平面圖



MEMO
