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CONTENTS

Some New Insight into the Historical Source of the Chinese Copula *Shì*/*deʔ 是

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Abstract

The present study is mainly concerned with the nature of the demonstrative *shì* 是 as the historical source of the copula *shì*. Tracing the development of *shì* in bronze inscriptions from the 11th to 3rd centuries BCE and comparing the patterns of change against two purportedly contemporary texts, *Shī jīng* 詩經 and *Shàng shū* 尚書, it argues that *shì* is not a typical demonstrative in origin because it only occurs pronominally and is strongly associated with the structural expression of focus in its early stage of development. On the basis of these observations, *shì* is analyzed as a special demonstrative that combines anaphoric and focalizing force to highlight and contrast a constituent that has been introduced into the discourse. It is then compared with the expressions *wéi zhī* 唯之 and *huì zhī* 惠之 with the same function in the Shang oracle-bone inscriptions (13th–11th centuries BCE). The investigation of whether *shì* is derived from *wéi zhī* only finds evidence indicating a morphological relationship with *zhī*, while the etymological link with *wéi* remains speculative. In conclusion, this study claims that the focalizing force of *shì* is important in answering the question why it is the only demonstrative evolving into a copula. The observed development of *shì* confirms that the origination of copulas is often related to the morphosyntactic expression of features of information structure.

1 Introduction

Wang (1937) claims that there was no genuine copula in the Chinese language until the emergence of the copula *shì*/*deʔ*[1] 是 around the 5th century—a dating he later modified to the 1st century (Wang 1958)—evolving from the demonstrative *shì*. Cross-linguistically, the demonstrative-to-copula pathway is

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以詞的價值理論探求"脾氣"之本義

——兼釋《黃帝內經》之"氣"

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提要

前人辭書將"脾氣"本義釋爲"脾的功能""脾臟之病"有誤，而釋爲"脾的精氣"則表述模糊。"脾氣"最早見於《史記》，其文與《黃帝內經》屬同一系統。根據詞的價值理論分析《黃帝內經》593條含"氣"詞目，據以推測其"氣""脾氣"的本義。結果表明："脾氣"本義爲由脾胃中的水穀產生的，具有維持脾臟生理活動、滋養人體、抵禦病邪等功能的精微物質。

關鍵詞

詞的價值、氣、脾氣、本義、《黃帝內經》、《史記》

"脾氣"爲古今漢語常用詞語，古代多作爲短語用於中醫領域，現在則多作爲詞，指人的性格或怒氣。今人對該詞語主要有以下幾種解釋：1.《簡明中醫辭典》："指脾的運化（包括升清）功能及統攝血液的功能"（中醫辭典編纂委員會 1979）。2.《中醫大辭典》："①泛指脾的功能活動。②指脾的精氣。"（李經緯、鄧鐵濤等 1995）3.《漢語大詞典》："①脾臟之氣。②人的習性。亦借指事物的特性。③怒氣；容易發怒的性情。"（羅竹風 1990）4.汪運富、趙豔芸《脾氣血陰陽概念辨析》："脾氣是構成脾臟、維持脾臟功能活動、加強脾與其它臟腑組織器官聯繫的主要物質。"（汪運富、趙豔芸 1998）5.《辭源》："①脾臟之病。②習性。"（何九盈、王寧等 2015）6.《字源》："今'脾氣'一詞本指脾病。"（李學勤 2012）7.《辭海》："①性格；性情。②指容易發怒的性情；急躁的情緒。③脾臟的精氣。是維持脾臟生理活動的物質基礎和動力來源。"（夏征農、陳至立 2010）

　　以上釋義所含義項共有4種：1.脾的功能；2.脾的精氣；3.脾臟之病；4.性格性情。其中《簡明中醫辭典》《中醫大辭典》似均將脾的功能視爲"脾氣"之本義；《漢語

Syntactic Typology in Chinese (Part II.1)

The Neutral Question Forms – VP-neg in Min

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Abstract

Recapturing the outline given in Part I of this article on syntactic typology in Chinese, the entire article "is divided into three parts: two pertaining to the neutral question forms and one to the attributive and the nominalized construction. Part 1 deals with the V-not-V questions, Part 2 the VP-neg and the Adv-VP questions and it also provides a general typological discussion of the neutral questions, while Part 3 discusses the attributive and the nominalized patterns, with a conclusion on dialectology in typology." Since the VP-neg form is being gradually replaced by the popular V-not-V form in more than one major group of dialects or better termed as more than one major Sinitic languages, it is necessary to trace such a change wherever possible, so as to affirm whether VP-neg is the native form for the languages and dialects involved. The present paper focuses on the case of Min.

Keywords

typology – syntax – neutral question – Chinese – VP-neg question – Min

3.3   *The VP-neg Form*

The present-day distribution of the VP-neg question form is still quite widespread although not to the extent of the V-not-V pattern. This form is native to the Southern dialects, especially Southern Min, Yue, Hakka and Southern Wu, which we investigate in some detail. It is also likely that it is native to the Gan and the Xiang dialects, although we have only piecemeal information about them. In addition, it is found in the Northwestern dialects, Southeastern or Jianghuai Mandarin spoken in northern and southern Jiangsu, the Mandarin dialects spoken in the heartland of Shandong as well as Southwestern and Southeastern Mandarin spoken in Hubei. These other dialects have other features common with the Southern dialects.

Example 1: for the comparative degree of comparison some dialects in Shandong, such as Muping 牟平, Zhucheng 諸城, Jinan 濟南, Boshan 博山, Yinan 沂南, Dezhou 德州, Shouguang 壽光, Rongcheng 榮成 and Lijin 利津, follow the Southern pattern, which has the two terms of comparison flanking the

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*   Conventions already described in Part I of this article will not be repeated here. The reader is referred to Yue (2006). With the exception of providing English translation where not furnished, all examples are cited as they appear in the source materials with no attempt at modification or unification unless the font is unavailable to us, in which case the change is explicitly stated.

閩南語 tan₃（投擲；丟棄）本字考

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提要

本文考出閩南語中表達「投擲；丟棄」之義的tan₃的本字為「打」。本文在第1節中首先回顧了閩南語tan₃的常見寫法並逐一討論，再提出本文論點；在第2節中列出其在閩南雷州方言、客方言、粵方言、湘方言、贛方言、吳方言、晉方言、官話中可能的同源詞，一方面證明「釘」字與該詞素音讀吻合、而「打」字僅存在聲調上的差異，另一方面發現這一可能的同源詞在方言間除「投擲」義外另有「擊打」義；在第3節中首先回顧「丁」詞族的「釘」「打」二字在古文獻中的用法，從中發現「打」字表示「擊打」「擲擊」義的例證，進而釐清「打」字「擊打──擲擊──投擲」的語義發展脈絡，以此證明論點；在第4節中敘述「釘」字在閩南語中的用法，分析並證明「孤對tiŋ₃」「tiŋ₃孤枝」兩詞中tiŋ₃的本字亦為「打」，此外還通過閩南語中其它表示「投擲」之義的語詞「擎」「撻」「扴」等輔助論證；在第5節中提出一些反思。

關鍵詞

閩南語、本字、同源词、詞族、打

1　引言

閩南語表達「投擲」或「丟棄」之義時常用tan₃字，¹其本字為何此前一直未有定論，《閩南方言大詞典》用「掟」字，並標明是近音字，也註明其僅為廈門腔和泉州腔所使用；《臺灣閩南語辭典》《臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典》和《台日大辭典》都訓用「擲」字，其中《台日大辭典》註明這是泉州腔的用法；此外，《臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典》還將「抌」字作為異用字。

我們一一分析上述幾種寫法。關於「掟」：《玉篇》釋其為「揮張也」，反切為「陟猛切」，音義皆與閩南語tan₃不合；《廣韻》釋其為「天掟出道書」，反切為「徒徑切」，因定母是古全濁音聲母，故去聲字應讀為陽去調，與閩南語tan₃的陰去調不符；《集韻》釋其為「張也」，反切為「張梗切」，音義亦皆與閩南語tan₃不合，故「掟」應不是本字。

1　本文採國際音標注音，並用1、2、3、4、5、6、7、8分別表示陰平、陰上、陰去、陰入、陽平、陽上、陽去、陽入八個調類，調類標於音節尾端。若無特別註明，本文中所述「閩南語」指閩南語閩台片。在閩南語閩台片中，漳州腔、廈門腔、台灣通行腔陽上與陽去調值相同，惟泉州腔能區分陽上和陽去兩調，本文據廈門方言調類系統標記、將陽上與陽去統一標為第7調。

Sound Correspondence and the Comparative Study of Miao-Yao Languages

From the Perspective of Complete Sound Correspondence

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Abstract

Rigorous sound correspondence is fundamental to historical linguistics. It serves as a solid start in studying genetic relationship. Regarding the genetic position of Miao-Yao languages, Li (1937) proposed a hypothesis that the Sino-Tibetan language family consists of Chinese, Tibeto-Burman, Kam-Tai, and Miao-Yao. Benedict (1942; 1975) excluded Miao-Yao from the Sino-Tibetan language family since sound correspondences between Miao-Yao and Chinese were considered to be caused by language contact. The key point in this debate has been ignored for a long time: are the related morphemes proposed in this debate supported by rigorous sound correspondence? In this paper, related morphemes across 11 Miao-Yao languages have been first identified under the requirement of complete sound correspondence, and then analyzed by the Rank Method. The result of the genetic relationship between the 11 Miao-Yao languages has been confirmed. The same procedure has been applied to Sino-Miao-Yao related morphemes, and similar pattern has been found. The Sino-Miao-Yao related morphemes were recognized to be inherited from the common ancestor of Chinese and Miao-Yao. Combined with the result from the perspective of pervasive sound correspondence (Wang 2015), the proposal of a genetic relationship between Chinese and Miao-Yao has been supported. The Inexplicability Principle has been used to weaken the possibility of Sino-Miao-Yao related morphemes being induced by borrowing from Chinese to Miao-Yao, since some sound correspondences are unlikely to be explained by natural phonetic mechanisms. Moreover, related morphemes in Chinese and Miao-Yao have been examined from the perspective of Old Chinese, and such an examination also supports the hypothesis of a genetic relationship between Chinese and Miao-Yao languages.