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CONTENTS

To Our Readers (致讀者)	132
Thoughts on the Names of the Thirty(-six) Rime Table Initials (“三十六字母” 傳統名目的由來) W. South Coblin (柯蔚南)	133
蟹攝開口一等在原始閩語中的層次分析及相關問題 (On the Strata Analysis of First Division Unrounded Finals of Xiè Rhyme Group in Proto Min and Related Issues) 吳瑞文 (Rui-wen Wu)	144
早期寧波話位移事件詞化類型 (Types of Lexicalization in Motion Events in Early Ningpo Dialect) 林素娥 (Su'e Lin)	177
粵西方言的一組區域性語法特徵 — 從「接觸引發的語法化」與語義地圖相結合的框架看 (A Study on a Group of Grammatical Features across Western Yue Dialects: Perspectives from Contact-induced Grammaticalization and Semantic Map Model) 林華勇、吳雪鈺、劉祉靈 (Huayong Lin, Xueyu Wu and Zhiling Liu)	197
The Categorization of <i>Dou</i> (都) in Chinese: A Study from a Cross-linguistic Perspective (跨語言視域下現代漢語「都」的分類) Ying Zhang (張瑩)	214
Proto-Ong-Be Initials and Finals (原始臨高話的聲母和韻尾) Yen-ling Chen (陳彥伶)	235
格西霍爾語的情境體及轉換 (Situation Aspects and Their Transformation in Gexi Horpa) 田阡子 (Qianzi Tian)	276
漢語形態構詞的多樣性與多層性 (The Diversity and Multi-layered-ness of Derivational Morphology in Chinese) 楊秀芳 (Hsiu-fang Yang)	298
Appendix I: Board of Directors and Officers of the Li Fang-Kuei Society for Chinese Linguistics (紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會董事及及執行委員名單)	329
Appendix II: Four Awards of the Li Fang-Kuei Society for Chinese Linguistics (四種獎項及申請辦法)	332
Appendix III: Exception Service Award (特殊服務貢獻獎)	333
Appendix IV: Letter from the LFKS to the Public (李方桂學會致讀者的公開信)	335
Appendix V: Donors to the Li Fang-Kuei Society Endowment Fund (紀念李方桂先生中國語言學研究學會贊助人名單)	338



Thoughts on the Names of the Thirty(-six) Rime Table Initials

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Abstract

Closely associated with the Chinese rime table (Chin. *děngyùntú* 等韻圖) tradition is an ordered list of syllables, referred to in Chinese as the *Sānshíliù zìmǔ* 三十六字母. As this term indicates, there are thirty-six members in the usually cited full list. A shorter version, found in the so-called *Shǒuwēn* 守溫 Fragments from Dunhuang, has only thirty members (cf. Coblin 2006a). In addition to the copies of the list incorporated into the various tables themselves, several “disembodied” lists, perhaps copybook exercises of some sort, have also been found in the broader corpus of Chinese Dunhuang texts (Coblin 2006b: 146). The syllable initial classes for which the characters in the rime tables serve as names are basic componential elements in the field of traditional Chinese historical phonology and as such have been subject to intense scrutiny for nearly 1000 years. On the other hand, the actual names themselves have attracted little attention. It has been noted that each naming syllable denoted by the characters in the list embodies the particular medieval syllable initial of the sound class for which it stands in the tables. But beyond this the question of how these particular syllables, rather than all other available ones, were selected, seems to have aroused scant interest among philologists and sinologists. It is, accordingly, this question that will be the topic of the present paper.

Keywords

Rime Tables – Rime Books – Chinese philological tradition – historical phonology

1 Background Issues¹

We shall begin by outlining the background of the problem. The oldest attested Chinese rime tables are the sister texts, *Yùnjìng* 韻鏡 (YJ) and *Qīyīnlüè* 七音略 (QYL). Both first appeared in print in the twelfth century (Coblin 2006a, 2006b) and apparently descend from the same ancestral prototype. This, in turn, is widely thought to derive from even earlier rime tables, but how old these primeval works may have been, or what their ultimate origin was, is uncertain. Because the YJ and the QYL incorporated into their

¹ Throughout this paper the names of two of the thirty-six initials, i.e., 溪 *qī* and 禪 *shàn*, are advisedly so transcribed. This is how the present writer's traditionally educated Chinese teachers read these forms in the mid-1960's and also the way they were pronounced in the classes of my *magister primus*, Professor F.K. Li. Here, as in all things, I follow, and shall always follow, the best available received traditions.

蟹攝開口一等在原始閩語中的層次分析及相關問題

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提要

本文利用比較方法探討蟹攝開口一等在原始閩語中的層次問題，同時分析其中所揭示的古江東方言開口一等重韻（也就是同韻攝同等第有兩個或兩個以上的類）區分的形式。關於蟹攝開口一等在原始閩語（proto Min）中的表現，羅杰瑞（Norman 1981）曾構擬了以下幾個音韻形式：

*oi：菜_哈栽_哈來_哈
*oi：袋_哈
*ai：帶_泰蔡_泰蓋_泰
*uai：改_哈
*yai：開_哈

上面可以看到：1.蟹攝開口一等哈韻在原始閩語中有4種擬測；2.蟹攝開口一等泰韻在原始閩語只有1種。在這一基礎上，我們還可以追問：哈韻4種原始形式彼此間的先後關係為何？若干韻母如*oi、*uai、*yai在原始閩語中同源詞例證較少，是否應當視為獨立的層次？哈韻和泰韻在中古音體系中屬於重韻，這類重韻在其他現代漢語方言中往往合併為一個類，但少數南方方言卻能區別（曹志耘、秋谷裕幸、太田齋、趙日新 2000、吳瑞文 2005、王洪君 2013），則此一分別在原始閩語中如何體現？凡此都是值得進一步說明的問題。

本文依照歷史語言學的比較方法，利用可靠的同源詞由下而上進行擬測，從而說明蟹攝開口一等在原始閩語中的層次問題。就閩語內部而言，可以劃分為兩區三支，兩區為沿海與內陸，三支則是沿海的閩東語、閩南語以及內陸的閩北語。在每一支中以六種次方言為基礎，尋求三支方言哈泰兩韻的音韻規則對應，進而擬測各支原始形式，最後再重建原始閩語哈泰兩韻的樣貌，過程中將對Norman的擬測進行檢討與修正。就層次的觀點來看，閩語疊積了不同時期傳入的語言成分，最顯著的是文讀音與白話音的對立，而白話音內部還有明顯的時代差異。本文另一個重點便是透過中古切韻的框架，配合漢語音韻史的歷時變遷，說明哈泰兩韻在白話音內部的表現，從而正確辨認中古時期南朝江東方言的哈泰之別。

本文的結論認為，原始閩語中哈韻不同的擬測代表不同的時間層次。其中源自江東方言的音韻層次保留哈泰兩韻的分別：哈韻為*oi而泰韻為*-ai。相對地，哈韻來自之部一等，泰韻來自祭部一等，在原始閩語中的對立是：之部為*-oi而祭部為*-ai。

關鍵詞

閩語、蟹攝、重韻、比較方法、歷史語言學

早期寧波話位移事件詞化類型

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提要

早期寧波話中位移事件表達結構具有較典型的S框架型語言特徵：從文獻來看，對比有生自移事件，致移事件和無生自移事件用方式或原因動詞的衛星成分編碼路徑更典型，而有生自移事件雖仍可採用路徑動詞和述趨式兩種表達模式，但較同時期上海話、官話採用方式動詞和趨向補語組合式表達的傾向性更強。早期寧波話詞化類型特徵與其話題化傾向表現出強相關性，這也表明漢語位移事件詞化類型在由動詞或動詞框架為主導演變為衛星框架為主導的過程中話題化機制起了重要的作用。

關鍵字

早期寧波話、衛星框架、話題化、相關性

1 引言*

Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000) 根據位移事件中核心圖式 (core schema) 的編碼方式，將世界語言的整合類型分為：V型 (verb-framed, 動詞框架) 或以V型為主導的語言，如，西班牙語、日語等，S型 (satellite-framed, 衛星框架) 或以S型為主導的語言，如英語。Talmy (1985, 2000:108–109)、Matsumoto (2003)、沈家煊 (2003)、Tai (2003)、Slobin (2004, 2006)、Zlatev & Yangklang (2004)、Chen & Guo (2009)、柯理思 (2003)、Lamarre (2008a, 2008b)、Beavers, Levin & Tham (2010)、Li (1993, 1997)、馮勝利 (2005)、Xu (2006)、馬雲霞 (2008)、Peyraube (2006, 2009)、史文磊 (2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2014a, 2014b, 2015)、Lin (2011, 2015)、Shi & Wu (2014) 等對漢語普通話或共同語位移事件詞化類型進行了共時或歷時的研究。雖就漢語位移事件詞化類型的歸屬仍存在不同意見，但揭示了漢語位移事件詞化類型的多樣性或複雜性，而其多樣性是歷時演變的結果，即不同位移事件中詞化類型演變的速度不平衡或不同步而導致共時詞化類型的複雜性。而這種不同步也反映在方言與方言或方言與共同語之間。Yiu (2013, 2014a, 2014b) 考察粵語、普通話和吳閩客等方言位移事件詞化模式，得出粵語趨向動詞仍可表致移事件，且動趨式融合度不及普通話，其詞化類型轉變 (V>S) 和語法化進程都慢於普通話；而吳語相比普通話和其他方言，其S框架型特徵更突出，詞化類型轉變最

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粵西方言的一組區域性語法特徵 ——從「接觸引發的語法化」與語義地圖相結合的框架看

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「接觸引發的語法化」是針對語言接觸與語法變化研究領域提出的新理論。該理論方法自被引入中國國內，並運用於漢語與非漢語、漢語方言之間的接觸研究，已逾10年，獲得了新突破並出現了新的研究動向——與語義地圖模型這一類型學方法兩相結合。本文著重介紹漢語相關研究所取得的進展，並在此基礎上討論粵西的一組區域性語法特徵。區域性語法特徵對文化區劃也有啟示意義。

關鍵詞

語言接觸、接觸引發的語法化、語義地圖模型、區域性語法特徵

1 接觸引發的語法化與語義地圖模型*

Heine & Kuteva (2003, 2005) 提出接觸引發的語法化 (contact-induced grammaticalization) 理論，這一理論和語義地圖模型¹ (semantic map model) 理論都涉及多功能語法形式 (multi-functional grams, 具有多種用法的虛詞、語法結構或手段。見張敏2010) 的演變。這兩種

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1 語義地圖模型的具體方法見 Haspelmath (2003), 中文的詳細介紹請見張敏 (2010) 和吳福祥 (2011)。此處不再贅述。

The Categorization of *Dou* (都) in Chinese: A Study from a Cross-linguistic Perspective

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Abstract

Compared with prototypical universal quantifiers in other languages of the world, *dou* in Mandarin Chinese presents more complicated semantic behaviors. One of the most disputed issues is what are the relations between *dou* expressing “universal quantification” (UQ) and *dou* expressing “scalar trigger” (SCA). First-hand data that comes from 40 languages demonstrates that Mandarin Chinese is the only language that employs the same form for “universal quantification” and “scalar trigger”. The empirical evidence strongly suggests that UQ *dou* and SCA *dou* are different, and the two functions UQ and SCA lack universal conceptual correlations. The special polysemous behavior of Mandarin *dou*, is proved to come from two language-specific reanalysis processes in *dou*'s diachronic development which also supports the two-*dou* claim. The study thus instantiates how a cross-linguistic perspective provides insights to explain long-standing language-particular issues. Besides, it is also argued that the cross-linguistic approach is promising in predicting if a future research is on a right track as it can steer us through overgeneralization and undergeneralization.

Keywords

dou – universal quantification – scalar trigger – cross-linguistic comparison

1 Introduction

The adverb *dou* in Mandarin has long been an area of fascination due to its complex and distinctive syntactic and semantic properties. Until very recently, discussions on Mandarin *dou* still took center stage. One of the most disputed topics is how many *dous* there are in Chinese, and why and how the different meanings are subsumed under one grammatical morpheme in Chinese. *Xiandai Hanyu Babaici* (《現代漢語八百詞》), as in many other descriptive works, lists the following three uses of *dou*.

Universal Quantification

- (1) 他們都是老師。
tāmen dōu shì lǎoshī
3PL DOU COP teacher
‘They are all teachers.’

Proto-Ong-Be Initials and Finals

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Abstract

This study is the first to provide a bottom-up reconstruction of Proto-Ong-Be initials and finals using the comparative method. Thirty-four initials (labelled with tone series) and nine finals that can be reconstructed with confidence are postulated. This paper shows that the early voicing contrast associated with initials cannot be directly reconstructed based on the internal evidence, although the loss of the contrast is compensated for at the suprasegmental level. This study also demonstrates that Proto-Ong-Be finals remain intact in modern Ong-Be varieties. In addition, this paper serves as a testing ground and a demonstration for doing linguistic reconstruction from different angles.

Keywords

Ong-Be – initials – finals – reconstruction – Kra-Dai

1 Introduction

1.1 *Prospectus*

The objective of this study is to provide a bottom-up reconstruction of Proto-Ong-Be consonants using the comparative method. The postulated reconstruction is based on first-hand lexical materials gathered in the field in 2015 and 2017. This study also compares different reconstructions of Proto-Ong-Be consonants and demonstrates how they reflect the phonological system of Ong-Be at different times, which helps us better understand sound change in Ong-Be.

The classification of Ong-Be within the Kra-Dai language family is beyond the scope of this article and will not be addressed here because it requires (1) a full reconstruction of the Proto-Ong-Be phonological system, not just its consonantal system, and (2) reconstructions above the Proto-Ong-Be level to distinguish shared innovations from retentions.

1.2 *Background*

Ong-Be (ISO 639-3: onb), a.k.a. *Lingaohua* 臨高話, is a subgroup of Kra-Dai, composed of two languages spoken in the regions located to the west of the Nandu River (南渡江), northwestern Hainan (海南), China. One is found in scattered locations in Haikou City (海口市) and northeastern Chengmai County (澄邁縣), and the other is spoken in northwestern Chengmai County, Lingao County (臨高縣) and the nearby regions of Danzhou City (儋州市) (see Map 1). Although both languages are commonly

格西霍爾語的情境體及轉換

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提要

霍爾語是四川西部一種較少人知的漢藏語，具有豐富有趣的語法現象。情境體又稱動貌、詞彙體，是一個語義概念。依據終點、狀態、時間程度三項語義特徵，情境體可以分成狀態、行為、態變、成就、單一動作五種類型。本文採用第一手語言調查資料，首度針對中部霍爾語格西話的情境體進行探究，闡述了格西話各類情境體的語義特徵及形態-句法表現，分析了四類情境體之間的轉換規律和轉換機制，從中發現了詞彙、形態、句法制約因素以及情境體與語法體之間的關聯，並揭示出格西霍爾語的情境體存在特殊的語法創新。

關鍵字

漢藏語系、嘉戎語組、霍爾語、情境體轉換規律與機制、語法創新

1 引言*

情境體 (situation aspect) 又稱詞彙體 (lexical aspect)、動貌 (Aktionsart)。¹ 情境體主要是研究事件的時間構成的一種語義範疇。Smith (1997:17-19) 認為「情境體在語義上與語法特徵關係密切，句子的情境體訊息由句中的動詞及其論元來傳遞，動詞中心語與論元構成動詞組群結構 (verb constellation)，並以時間特徵與情境體發生關聯。動詞組群可以通過轉換表達多種情境體，轉換的機制就是時間的差異，並由此產生轉換規律。」Comrie (1976:45) 也指出「情境並非由動詞本身來表達，而是由動詞謂語加論元 (主語和賓語) 結構來共同表達。」

劉丹青 (2008:456-457) 認為「體與動詞詞義關係密切，同樣的體形態加在動詞的不同小類上，因體的抽象義和動詞詞義的互動而產生種種具體的意義變體。謂語情境類型 (situation type) 是在詞義和體之間設置的一個中介層次，將表示事件的動詞短語分成較為有限的幾類情境，而情境的附屬物件是表達整個事件的謂語而不僅是表達動作行為的單個動詞。」

* 本文得到2014年李方桂基金會田野調查獎經費支持及國家社科基金西部項目《爾巽語參考語法研究》(項目編號14XY014) 經費支持; 作者曾經多次到四川省甘孜州道孚縣收集語言資料, 其間得到了藏族友人的熱情支持和積極協助; 初稿承蒙台灣中研院語言所孫天心教授及《中國語言學集刊》的兩位匿名審查人審閱並提出寶貴的修改意見, 在此一併致謝!

1 第二位審查人曾就文章初稿以「詞彙體」為題提出討論意見, 我們採納審查人的建議, 將文章題目改為「情境體」, 採用Smith (1997)、Comrie (1976) 關於「情境體」的闡述作為文章的理論背景。

漢語形態構詞的多樣性與多層性

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提要

本文提出幾項看法：(1) 除受到廣泛注意的各種詞性轉化外，漢語還可利用形態變化區分句法結構之下的詞組結構，例如區別間接賓語與直接賓語、定語與狀語、不同的使動結構等。(2) 「認知」作為形態構詞的一種語法範疇，因視角之異而使詞義有向內/向外、向下/向上、離心/向心、起始/非起始之分。(3) 形態構詞除有「以音別義」的表現外，「不以音別義」也是形態構詞的一種類型。(4) 漢語在不同的時代或地域，利用形態變化來區別詞性或詞義。以上(1)到(3)反映形態構詞的多樣性，(4)反映其多層性。

關鍵詞

形態構詞、多樣性、多層性、認知

1 前言*

利用詞性或詞義的轉變，從基本詞派生新詞，¹是上古漢語構成詞彙系統的方法之一。周祖謨指出，漢語以四聲變換及清濁聲母轉換分別詞性及詞義，「頗似印歐語言中構詞上之形態變化」(周祖謨1945:113)。²梅祖麟(1980)進一步指出，上古漢語利用轉讀為去聲將動詞變為名詞，後來也用來將名詞變為動詞，又用來將內向動詞變為外向動詞；且去聲跟其他三聲都有通轉的例，種類繁多理不出條例的原因，是由於歷史上疊積了不同的以聲別義的層次。本文受此啟發，擴大觀察文獻及方言的形態變化痕跡，探討漢語形態構詞的多樣性與多層性。

從先秦典籍可以窺知古漢語的形態構詞現象。初唐陸德明收錄十四種經典之漢魏六朝解經家音注，輯為《經典釋文》(以下簡稱《釋文》)，成為學者研究形態構詞重

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1 本文稱派生所來自的詞為「基本詞」，派生所得為「派生詞」；稱孳生所來自的詞為「詞根」，孳生所得為「孳生詞」；稱方言語詞的漢語來源為「本字」或「詞源」，來自相同詞源的方言變體為「同源詞」(cognate)。

2 David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (沈家煊譯《現代語言學詞典》)將形態變化分為 inflectional morphology 和 derivational morphology 兩大類；漢語利用語音變化派生新詞，屬於後者。