

ZHONGGUO YUWEN

STUDIES OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

May, 2013

CONTENTS

Three conceptual domains of the sentence final particle <i>laa</i> in Cantonese	TANG Sze-Wing 195
The reduplicative A-not-A questions in the Shaoyang dialect and its typological significance	JIANG Xiezhong 201
The grammaticalization of 'ləʔ ⁵ /lə ¹ (咧)' in the Quanzhou dialect from the evidence of the Quanqiang Scripts in Ming and Qing	ZENG Nanyi; LI Xiaofan 205
The evolution of 'huo X (或 X)' disyllabic words in medieval Chinese Buddhist scriptures	ZHAO Changcai 215
Some replaced function words in the Book of Lao Tzu (老子)	ZHANG Yujin 230
A special kind-denoting construction in Chinese: In comparison with other generic expressions	LI Jinrong 238
A comparative analysis of <i>dou</i> (都) and <i>zong</i> (总) in event quantification	HUANG Zanhui 251
Tone-split by aspiration in Chinese dialects	XU Yue 265
Tone-evoked variation of finals in the Jin Dialects in northern Henan Province	ZHI Jiangang 273
Notes on words with various forms in Ancient Chinese	ZENG Zhaocong 282

ZHONGGUO YUWEN

STUDIES OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE

May, 2013

Abstracts of Major Papers in This Issue

TANG Sze-Wing, Three conceptual domains of the sentence final particle *laa* in Cantonese

In Xiao and Shen (2009), the sentence final particle *le* in Mandarin is classified into three types under the theory of three conceptual domains of content, epistemic, and speech act. Along these lines, formal properties of the sentence final particle *laa* in Hong Kong Cantonese, i. e. the counterpart of *le*₂ in Mandarin, are examined, based on which it is argued that there is a relation between the three conceptual domains and syntax.

Keywords: sentence final particle, three conceptual domains, Cantonese, Chinese dialectal grammar

ZENG Nanyi; LI Xiaofan, The grammaticalization of 'ləʔ⁵/lə¹ (咧)' in the Quanzhou dialect from the evidence of the Quanqiang Scripts in Ming and Qing

The particule 'ləʔ⁵/lə¹ (咧)', which marks perfect, progressive and durative in the Quanzhou dialect, corresponds to 'tə³¹ (处)' in eight constructions of the Quanqiang scripts in Ming and Qing Dynasties. Evidence of the change of the constructions shows that 'ləʔ⁵/lə¹ (咧)' was derived from the preposition construction 'tu²²⁻¹¹ + tsi⁵⁵⁻²⁴/hu⁵⁵⁻²⁴ tə³¹ (在 + 只/许处)'. It argues that 'ləʔ⁵/lə¹ (咧)' resulted from the grammaticalization of the location word 'tə³¹ (处)', which is the object of the preposition 'tu²² (在)', instead of the preposition itself. In late Qing and early Republic of China, the grammaticalization of 'tə³¹ (处)' led to phonological change and then evolved into the aspect marker 'ləʔ⁵/lə¹ (咧)' in the modern Quanzhou dialect.

Key words: Quanzhou dialect, aspect marker, preposition construction, location demonstratives, grammaticalization, phonological change

ZHAO Changcai, The evolution of 'huo X (或 X)' disyllabic words in medieval Chinese Buddhist scriptures

This paper describes the grammaticalization of some 'huo X (或 X)' disyllabic words in medieval Chinese Buddhist translations, such as *huofu* (或复), *huodang* (或当), and *huoneng* (或能), etc.. Their meanings and grammatical functions all derive from the indefinite pronoun *huo*. It finds that although the starting points of the grammaticalization or grammatical functions are different, the words all follow the same evolutionary path 'indefinite pronoun > modal adverb > conjunction'.

Key words: medieval Chinese Buddhist translations, *huo X*, disyllabic word, grammatical function, evolution process

ZHANG Yujin, Some replaced function words in the Book of Lao Tzu (老子)

Comparing the unearthed editions of the Book of Lao Tzu with the traditional editions, this paper finds that some function words in the former have been replaced. It shows that the replacement took place in documents lasted from the Warring States Period to Han Dynasty. Due to some historical or dialectal reasons, the function words are replaced to make the Book of Lao Tzu more understandable and more popular.

Key words: traditional editions of the Book of Lao Tzu, unearthed editions of the Book of Lao Tzu, function word

LI Jinrong, A special kind-denoting construction in Chinese: In comparison with other generic expressions

The appositive construction '*wo/ni yige-NP* (我/你一个 NP; Lit. I/you one-Cl NP)', to be noteworthy enough, is *generic* in nature and refers to the connotation of the NP instead of its denotation. This construction often occurs as a topic in a non-event sentence. Semantically, only non-relational and human-referring nouns can be used in this structure and the NP belongs to a 'lower level category' in nature (e.g. 'a woman', instead of 'a human being' which is at higher level). Pragmatically, this structure is often employed in conversations to help make an on-the-spot comment in unexpected situations and thus labeled in this article a 'Responsibility Type', different from the 'Convention Type' and the 'Instruction Type', represented respectively by the other two kind-denoting expressions in Chinese, bare NP, and '*yige-NP* (Lit. one-Cl NP)'.

Key words: '*wo/ni yige-NP*', kind-denoting, non-relational noun, pragmatic function, Responsibility Type, Convention Type, Instruction Type

HUANG Zanhui, A comparative analysis of *dou* (都) and *zong* (总) in event quantification

Both *dou* (都) and *zong* (总) function in the universal quantification of events. And under certain conditions a mutual substitution is allowed without altering the logic and semantic content of a sentence. This article argues that the essential difference between *zong* and *dou* lies in the direction of quantification, and specifically, *dou* serves a leftward quantification and *zong* a whole-set quantification. Realization of this difference facilitates explanations for a bunch of phenomena such as syntactic distribution, pragmatic functions, and the ordering when the two co-occur.

Key word: *dou*, *zong*, event quantification, leftward quantification, whole-set quantification

XU Yue, Tone-split by aspiration in Chinese dialects

The phenomenon of tone-split by aspiration (TSA thereafter) in Chinese dialects can be classified, on the basis of the data collected from 39 counties (or cities), into two subtypes, namely Division Type and Merge Type. Six noteworthy characteristics of TSA are demonstrated as below: 1) The pitch of the tones with secondary voiceless (*ciqing*, 次清) initials is generally lower than those with full voiceless (*quanqing*, 全清); 2) TSA occurs in Wu Dialects mainly concerning the 'rising tone' (*shangsheng*, 上声) and the 'entering tone' (*rushing*, 入声), while in Xiang Dialects, the 'falling tone' (*qusheng*, 去声) and the 'entering tone' (*rushing*); 3) Voiceless fricatives are allocated roughly to unaspirated initials in the Wu and Xiang Dialects, and in the Gan Dialects, to the aspirated; 4) The areal differences are found prominent in the Gan Dialects, whereas in the Wu Dialect age differences are obvious as well as areal; 5) TSA in the Wu Dialects is closely related to the tone sandhi of disyllabic words; and, 6) TSA in the Gan and Xiang dialects is varied as to whether the aspirated or unaspirated present-day initials are chosen.

Key word: Chinese dialect, tone-split by aspiration (TSA), TSA characteristics

ZHI Jiangang, Tone-evoked variation of finals in the Jin dialects in northern Henan Province

There are a number of phenomena concerning tone-evoked variation of finals (TEVF) in the Jin dialects in northern Henan Province: 1) Certain low back vowels in some dialects varied to form a 'low vowel - high vowel' pair of finals through vowel raising and frontalization; 2) The variation pairs of 'diphthong-monophthong' and of 'nasal-ending final - nasalized final' are also found; 3) In a small number of dialects can be seen a few occurrences of TEVF even after undergoing the *er*-ending retroflexion; 4) In a minority of dialects some word-initial syllables in tone sandhi are pronounced as the varied finals.

Key words: the Jin dialects in northern Henan Province, tone-evoked variation of finals, TEVF with *er*-ending retroflexion, word-initial syllable in tone sandhi

