

Grammatical Phenomena of Sino-Tibetan Languages 6
Typology and Historical Change

シナ=チベット系諸言語の文法現象 6
類型論と史的变化

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野原将揮・池田 巧 編

Preface

Most of the articles in this volume are based on talks at the 55th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics (ICSTLL-55) held from September 15th to 18th, 2022. ICSTLL-55 was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number (S) 18H5219, “*A Study on the Historical Development of the Sino-Tibetan Languages and their Typological Geography*” (headed by IKEDA Takumi) and held at Kyoto University. This volume primarily includes the research findings presented at ICSTLL-55 and includes articles on the “Typology and Historical Changes of Sino-Tibetan Languages.” More than 80 scholars presented their research findings at the ICSTLL in Kyoto, with a wide range of reports spanning various language families such as Tibeto-Burman, Sinitic, Kra-Dai, and Hmong-Mien.

In the summer of 2022, when COVID-19 had not yet been contained, researchers based in Japan came to the venues and mostly made in-person reports, whereas those who were not based in Japan mostly presented their reports online. Those who were able to report in person included researchers based in Europe and the U.S. who happened to be in Japan for sabbatical leave or other purposes. Owing to space limitations, it is not possible to list all the presenters and titles here; please refer to the ICSTLL (55th) website for details. An abstract book of the research reports is also available: <https://sinotibetan.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/ICSTLL55/index.html>

We invited six scholars as keynote speakers to ICSTLL-55 in Kyoto.

Keynote Speech

Sept. 15th 9:30–10:30 at Symposium Hall

James A. Matisoff: Sweet memories of fieldwork in the pre-computer era

13:00–14:00 at Symposium Hall

Huang Chenglong (黄成龙) : 中国境内汉藏语名物化标记的类型学研究

Sept. 16th 13:00–14:00 at Symposium Hall

Akitani Hiroyuki (秋谷裕幸) : 原始闽语的形成年代

Sept. 17th 9:00–10:00 at Symposium Hall

William H. Baxter: Two thousand years of ideas about Old Chinese: A sketch

Sept. 18th 13:00–14:00 at Symposium Hall

Carol Genetti: The grammatical encoding of space in Tibeto-Burman revisited:
Findings from a cross-linguistic study

16:30–17:30 at Symposium Hall

Laurent Sagart: Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian body part terms

The day before the conference, on Sept. 14th, the annual pre-workshop was held, featuring two programs titled “Japanese Contributions to Sino-Tibetan Linguistics.” The presenters and their titles are as follows:

Pre-Workshop 1 September 14th, 2022, at the International Science Innovation Building
Room 1

A geolinguistic approach to Sino-Tibetan

Satoko Shirai: Introduction

Shiho Ebihara and Yoshio Saitô: Tibetic and Altaic

Hiroyuki Suzuki, Kenji Yagi, and Fumiki Suzuki: Lexical relationships in some animal
and plant terms

Kazue Iwasa: Current issues and perspectives on Yi characters

Pre-Workshop 2 September 14th, 2022, at the International Science Innovation Building
Room 1

Great steps in Tibeto-Burman linguistics by Japanese Scholars

日本人研究者によるチベット=ビルマ語研究への大いなる足跡

(This session was presented in Japanese.)

池田 巧 (Ikeda Takumi) : 北村 甫 (Kitamura Hajime 1923–2003)

長野泰彦 (Nagano Yasuhiko) : 西 義郎 (Nishi Yoshio 1934–2019)

林 範彦 (Hayashi Norihiko) : 西田龍雄 (Nishida Tatsuo 1928–2012)

This volume is the sixth in the series, following the previously published volumes: *Grammatical Phenomena of Sino-Tibetan Languages 1: The Structure of Noun Phrases*; Volume 2: *Aspects of Causative Construction*; Volume 3: *Function of Directional Prefixes*; Volume 4: *Link Languages and Archetypes in Tibeto-Burman*; and Volume 5: *Diversity of Negation*. As in the past, this collection contains research results from the Kakenhi project (S) 18H5219. For various reasons, it was not possible for comprehensive proceeds for papers presented at the ICSTLL-55 conference in Kyoto to be produced. Unfortunately, some reports by collaborators in the Kakenhi project could not be included in this volume because they were scheduled to be officially presented elsewhere or research was ongoing. However, this volume also includes some papers supported by the Kakenhi project but that could not be presented at ICSTLL-55 Kyoto.

It is our pleasure to note that the keynote speech by Professor James A. Matisoff, who participated in ICSTLL-55 Kyoto online, is included in this volume as an appendix. We express our gratitude to Professor Matisoff for granting us permission to publish his keynote speech.

(Editors)

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Egophoricity and Mirativity in Kaike*

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Summary

The purpose of this paper is to review Watters (2006), which describes a linguistic pattern called “conjunct-disjunct” (nowadays more widely known as egophoric/non-egophoric) and mirativity in Kaike (the Dolpa district, Nepal). Watters (2006) describes three sets of conjunct/disjunct suffixes and a set of conjunct/disjunct copulas; that is, perfective *-pa* and *-bo*, imperfective *-tse* and *-ŋə*, irrealis *-ŋi* and *-dara*, and the conjunct existential copula *ŋipa* and the disjunct existential copula *ŋya* (as well as their negative counterparts *mipa* and *mayā*). According to him, the existential copulas have three functions, “true existential, locative, and possessive”, and he recognizes a conjunct/disjunct distinction between *ŋipa* and *ŋya* only in his locative and possessive functions. He then asserts that in the two functions *ŋipa* and *ŋya* manifest a mirative/non-mirative distinction, which, he claims, is a feature of the conjunct/disjunct distinction.

The current paper points out that his imperfective *-tse* and *-ŋə* (*-cye* and *-ŋa* in my transcription) can be recognized as egophoric and non-egophoric respectively but not as forming an oppositional contrast because their tense-aspectual significations differ. His irrealis *-dara* (*-darā* in my transcription) is indeed non-egophoric and irrealis, but *-ŋi* (*-nyi* in my transcription) cannot be described as irrealis; it is used to express not only a future activity as he describes, but also a progressive and a habitual activity in the realis domain. The suffix cannot be described as egophoric either because in the case of habitual statements *-nyi* can occur with 3rd person when the verb is volitional.

Two existential copulas *ŋipa* and *ŋya* (*nyi-pā* and *nyā* in my description), as well as their negative counterparts *mipa* and *mayā* (*mi-pā* and *mayā* in my description), manifest a mirative/non-mirative distinction regardless of their functions, and they are irrelevant to egophoricity because they all can occur with any person.

Watters describes only one equational copula *dzeŋpa* (*jyaŋ-pā* in my description). There is, however, another equational copula *jyā*; and the two copulas manifest a mirative/non-mirative distinction (their negative counterparts *naŋ-pā* and *nā*: do the same). Again, those copulas are irrelevant to egophoricity.

Key words: Kaike, Nepal, egophoric/non-egophoric, conjunct/disjunct, mirative

*This paper is a revised and extended version of my earlier paper presented at the 41 International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics held in University of London (September 19, 2008; Honda 2008b). The research for this paper was partially supported by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (No. 16102001, 21520463, 24520486, 18H05219) and a research grant from Nagoya College.

1. The language of Kaike

Kaike is a language spoken in an area called Tichyurong, the Dolpa district, Nepal. Kaike is spoken only in three villages. In other parts of Tichyurong, a Tibetan dialect, or a Tibetic language I call Tichyurongba is spoken. It should be noted that Kaike is not a Tibetic language. Watters (2006: 302) states, “Kaike, a language that appears to belong to the TGTh cluster, *does* have the conjunct-disjunct distinction, and, to my knowledge, is the first Tamangic language reported to demonstrate it”, but this is incorrect. Kaike is not a Tamangic language, either.¹

2. Overview of Watters (2006)

The term conjunct-disjunct is used in Hale and Watters (1973) and Hale (1980) to describe a morpho-syntactic pattern found in Kathmandu Newar, where one set of verbal suffixes (conjunct) occurs with first person actors in statements, second person actors in questions, and when the actors of the matrix and the subordinate clauses are coreferential; otherwise, another set of verbal suffixes (disjunct) is used. The distribution of the two sets cannot be explained as person agreement, but what is involved are functional-pragmatic factors, such as “epistemic source” and “privileged access to internal states” (Hargreaves 2005). Similar systems have been reported in other TB languages as well as non-TB languages, and those systems are also motivated by functional-pragmatic factors. For this reason, the term conjunct-disjunct is now rarely used; instead, other terms such as egophoric/non-egophoric, which is used in the current paper, are gaining ground.²

Watters (2006) reports that this kind of contrast exists in Kaike and describes three sets of conjunct disjunct suffixes and a set of conjunct/disjunct copulas in Kaike; that is, perfective *-pa* and *-bo*, imperfective *-tse* and *-ŋə*, irrealis *-ji* and *-dəra*, and the conjunct existential copula *jipa* and the disjunct existential copula *jya* (as well as their negative counterparts *mipa* and *mayā*).

¹ He also incorrectly asserted in his earlier literature including Watters (2002: 15) and Watters (2003) that Kaike is a member of the Tamangic group. For more details of the language, see Honda (2008a).

² For the issue of the terms, see, among others, Tournadre (2008, 2017), Hill and Gawne (2017), and Widmer (2017, 2020) and San Roque et al. (2018). Other terms now used include “egophoric/alterphoric” (Post 2013) and “egophoric/allophoric” (Widmer and Zúñiga 2017).

Table 1 Summary of Watters (2006)

	Perfective	Imperfective	Irrealis
Conjunct	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-tse</i>	<i>-ni</i>
Disjunct	<i>-bo</i>	<i>-ŋə</i>	<i>-dəra</i>
(Copulas)	Equational		Existential
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative Negative
Conjunct			<i>ɲipa</i> <i>mipa</i>
Disjunct	<i>dzeŋpa</i>		<i>ɲya</i> <i>mayã</i>

Although he used the term conjunct-disjunct, Watters correctly pointed out that ““person” is not the primary motivating factor” (Watters 2006: 300). Watters (ibid: 302) notes, “The conditions of use for conjunct forms in Kaike appears to be identical to the conditions of use for Newar” and cites from Hargreaves (2003: 376) the following conditions where the conjunct forms occur in Kathmandu Newar.

- 1) The verb is finite, *and*
- 2) the event is construed as involving an intentional action by the actor, *and*
- 3) the speech act is:
 - a. declarative with a first person subject, *or*
 - b. interrogative with a second person subject, *or*
 - c. reported speech where the main clause subject and the reported speech complement clause [subject] are coreferential.

To explain those conditions, Watters use the term “locus of knowledge”; that is, “First person is opposed to second and third persons for precisely the reason that first person is more reliable source of information than second and third persons” (Watters 2006: 300). He also recognizes “volitionality” as an important factor for governing the distribution of conjunct-disjunct forms, which is also the case in Kathmandu Newar (though the term “intentionality” is used in Hargreaves 2005).

In what follows, the sets of the egophoric/non-egophoric forms and the conditions of their use mentioned in Watters (ibid) will be examined in turn.

3. Perfective *-pā* and *-bo*

As far as the perfective *-pa* (in my transcription *-pā*) and *-bo* are concerned, I have no disagreement with Watters' description. The distinction manifested by the two suffixes are shown in the following examples in (1) and (2), both of which are from Watters (2006). They are examples with a transitive volitional verb. In declarative sentences (1), the conjunct or egophoric form *-pa* occurs with a first person actor, whereas the disjunct or non-egophoric form *-bo* is used with a non-first person actor.

- (1) Declarative (“past tense”/perfective; with a transitive volitional verb)³
(Watters 2006: 302–303)

- a. *ŋə-i yim doŋ-pa*
I-ERG house make-PFV.CJ
‘I built a house.’
- b. *na-i yim doŋ-bo*
you-ERG house make-PFV.DJ
‘You built a house.’
- c. *nu-i yim doŋ-bo*
he-ERG house make-PFV.DJ
‘He built a house.’

In question sentences (2), on the other hand, *-pa* occurs with a second person actor, while *-bo* is used with a non-second person actor.

³ While Watters glosses *-pa* and *-bo* as “PFV.CJ” and “PFV.DJ” respectively in most of the cases and occasionally call them “perfective” suffixes in the main text, he states that they are “past tense” suffixes on page 302 and lists an example with *-bo* glossed as “PST.DJ” as shown in (8c). What he meant is probably that past tense is one of the tenses in the realm of the perfective aspect. The same analysis is made in Regmi (2013: 73–75), where the suffixes are described as *-pa* “past conjunct” and *-bo* “past disjunct”, respectively. In this description, the perfective aspect includes “past tense”, “perfect” and “past progressive/durative”; thus, the past suffixes are abbreviated in the example sentences as “PFV.CJ” (i.e., perfective conjunct) and “PFV.DJ” (perfective disjunct), respectively.

(2) Interrogative (past/perfective; with a transitive volitional verb)

(Watters 2006: 303)

- a. *ŋə-i yim doŋ-bo-yo*
I-ERG house make-PFV.DJ-Q

‘Did I built a house?’

- b. *na-i yim doŋ-pə-o*
you-ERG house make-PFV.CJ-Q

‘Did you built a house?’

- c. *nu-i yim doŋ-bo-yo*
he-ERG house make-PFV.DJ-Q

‘Did he built a house?’

The following examples in (3) and (4) are from my fieldnote.

(3) Declarative (perfective; with a transitive volitional verb)⁴

- a. *thē: chān-jyai ŋə-i ra:ysi lai thuŋ-pā*
yesterday night 1sg-ERG liquor much drink-PFV.EGO

‘I drank too much last night.’

- b. *thē: chān-jyai nā-i ra:ysi lai thuŋ-bo (na)*
yesterday night 2sg-ERG liquor much drink-PFV.NEGO (PAT)

‘You drank too much last night(, didn’t you?).’

- c. *thē: chān-jyai nu-i ra:ysi lai thuŋ-bo*
yesterday night 3sg-ERG liquor much drink-PFV.NEGO

‘S/he drank too much last night.’

(4) Interrogative (perfective; with a transitive volitional verb)

- a. *thē: chān-jyai ŋə-i ra:ysi lai thuŋ-bo-yau*
yesterday night 1sg-ERG liquor much drink-PFV.NEGO-Q

‘Did I drink too much last night?’

⁴ Kaike is a tonal language. In this paper, however, tones are not indicated.

- b. *thē:* *chān-jyai* *nā-i* *ra:ysi* *lai* *thuŋ-pā-u*
 yesterday night 2sg-ERG liquor much drink-PFV.EGO-Q

‘Did you drink too much last night?’

- c. *thē:* *chān-jyai* *nu-i* *ra:ysi* *lai* *thuŋ-bo-yau*
 yesterday night 3sg-ERG liquor much drink-PFV.NEGO-Q

‘Did s/he drink too much last night?’

The same pattern is found with an intransitive volitional verb as shown in (5) and (6).

(5) Declarative (perfective; with an intransitive volitional verb)⁵

- a. *thiriŋ* *ŋā(-i)* *pālbo:* *wai-pā*
 last.year 1sg(-ERG) Kathmandu.LOC go-PFV.EGO

‘I went to Kathmandu last year.’

- b. *thiriŋ* *nā(-i)* *pālbo:* *wai-bo* *(na)*
 last.year 2sg(-ERG) Kathmandu.LOC go-PFV.NEGO (PAT)

‘You went to Kathmandu last year(, didn’t you?).’

- c. *thiriŋ* *nu(-i)* *pālbo:* *wai-bo*
 last.year 3sg(-ERG) Kathmandu.LOC go-PFV.NEGO

‘S/he went to Kathmandu last year.’

(6) Interrogative (perfective; with an intransitive volitional verb)

- a. *ŋā(-i)* *pālbo:* *wai-bo-yau*
 1sg(-ERG) Kathmandu.LOC go-PFV.NEGO-Q

‘Did I go to Kathmandu?’

- b. *nā(-i)* *pālbo:* *wai-pā-u*
 2sg(-ERG) Kathmandu.LOC go-PFV.EGO-Q

‘Did you go to Kathmandu?’

⁵ It should be noted here that, in Kaiké, the ergative marking is slippery, which means that the judgment by my informant often fluctuates.

- c. *nu(-i)* *pālbo:* *wai-bo-yau*
 3sg(-ERG) Kathmandu.LOC go-PFV.NEGO-Q

‘Did s/he go to Kathmandu?’

The next examples in (7) are reported speech with the hearsay marker *ru*. In examples (7a), the verb ‘drink’ is marked by the egophoric *-pā*. In this case, Syam himself is a source of this information. In other words, Syam himself clearly remember what he did and reported this information to the hearer. In (7b), where the verb is marked by the non-egophoric *-bo*, on the other hand, the source of information is somebody else.

(7) Reported speech (perfective; with an intransitive volitional verb)

- a. *syam-jyai* *thē:* *chān-jyai* *ra:ysi* *lai* *thuŋ-pā* *ru*
 Syam-ERG yesterday night liquor much drink-PFV.EGO HS

‘(I) heard (from Syam_i) that (he_i) drank too much last night.’

- b. *syam-jyai* *thē:* *chān-jyai* *ra:ysi* *lai* *thuŋ-bo* *ru*
 Syam-ERG yesterday night liquor much drink-PFV.NEGO HS

‘(I) heard (from somebody else, but not from Syam himself) that Syam drank too much last night.’

Not every verb exhibits the egophoric/non-egophoric distinction. With some verbs, which are called “non-volitional verbs” (Watters 2006), which refer to basically the same kind of verbs as what Hargreaves (2003: 376; 2005: 5) calls “non-control verbs”, only the non-egophoric *-bo* is used regardless of person. To show this point, Watters (2006: 305) lists the following examples.

(8) Declarative (past/perfective; with a non-volitional verb) (Watters 2006: 305)

- a. *ŋa* *lwε* *tāh-bo*
 I talk hear-PFV:DJ

‘I heard talk.’

- b. *ŋa* *lai* *them-bo*
 I tongue bite.tongue-PFV:DJ

‘I bit my tongue.’

- c. *ŋə-nə* *khortsa* *mol-bo,* *dop-po*
 I-GEN knife lose-PST:DJ find-PST:DJ

‘I lost my knife and found it.’

It should be noted that the verb *them-* in (8b) actually means ‘(sth) to be stuck between two objects’, and thus the 1sg pronoun *ŋa* should not be understood as the subject. In (8c) too, the subject of the sentence is not the 1sg pronoun *ŋa* but *ŋə-nə khortsa* ‘my knife’; thus, the sentence should be translated as ‘My knife disappeared (and) was found.’

The following are examples from my fieldnote, which are with the verb ‘arrive’, ‘see’, ‘be tired’, and ‘be afraid’.

(9) Declarative (perfective; with a non-volitional verb)

- a. *ŋā/nā/nu* *yima* *tap-po/*-pā*
 1sg/2sg/3sg house.LOC arrive-PFV.NEGO/-PFV.EGO

‘I/You/S/he arrived home.’

- b. *ŋā(-i)* *nu* *raŋ-bo*
 1sg(-ERG) 3sg see-PFV.NEGO

‘I saw her/him.’

- c. *ŋā* *gop-po*
 1sg be.tired-PFV.NEGO

‘I’m tired.’

- d. *nu:* *khyār-bo*
 3sg.DAT be.afraid-PFV.NEGO

‘(I) am afraid of her/him.’

The fact that the egophoric form is not used with those verbs can be explained by recognizing that the actions or events expressed by those verbs are not totally controlled by the actor or experiencer. In other words, they are not an actor’s volitional or intentional action.

The fact that the choice between the egophoric/non-egophoric is not syntactically motivated is also indicated by the following examples in (10), which are with what Watters (2006: 307) calls “ambi-volitional verb”.⁶ In (10a), where the verb ‘sink’ is marked with the non-egophoric *-bo*, ‘I’ accidentally and unintentionally sank in the water, whereas in

⁶ In Hargreaves (2003: 376; 2005: 14) this kind of verb is called “fluid verb”.

(10b), where it is marked with the egophoric *-pā*, the actor intentionally made himself sink in the water. The same type of contrast between volitional and non-volitional is also found in (10c) and (10d).

(10) With an “ambi-volitional verb” (Watters 2006: 307)

- a. *ŋa cyũ piŋ-bo*
 1sg water:IN sink-PFV:DJ
 ‘I sank into the water.’
- b. *ŋa cyũ piŋ-pa*
 1sg water:IN sink-PFV:CJ
 ‘I (made myself) sank in the water.’
- c. *ŋa hoŋ-bo*
 1sg fall-PFV:DJ
 ‘I fell.’⁷
- d. *ŋa hoŋ-pa*
 1sg fall-PFV:CJ
 ‘I (made myself) fall.’

In fact, quite a large number of verbs exhibit this kind of contrast. (11) shows some of the examples; (11a) and (11b) are examples with the verb *hon-* ‘mix’, and (11c) and (11d) are with the verb *jyār-* ‘touch’. Even verbs like *thuŋ-* ‘drink’ are marked with the non-egophoric suffix *-bo* with a first person actor when the actor does not remember what s/he did or s/he did it unintentionally. Compare (11e) with (3a).

(11) Volitional/intentional action vs non-volitional/non-intention action

- a. *ŋa-i cā ri cyini hon-pā*
 1sg-ERG salt and sugar mix-PFV.EGO
 ‘I mixed salt and sugar (intentionally).’

⁷ Actually, the verb *hoŋ-* does not mean ‘fall’ but ‘roll (down)’.

- b. *ŋa-i cā ri cyini hon-bo*
 1sg-ERG salt and sugar mix-PFV.NEGO

‘I mixed salt and sugar (unintentionally, by mistake).’

- c. *ŋa-i an-na lū:-ga jyār-pā*
 1sg-ERG this-GEN rice-LOC touch-PFV.EGO

‘I touched this rice (intentionally).’

- d. *ŋa-i an-na lū:-ga (nāwā me:-ga) jyār-bo*
 1sg-ERG this-GEN rice-LOC intention NEG-LOC touch-PFV.NEGO

‘I touched this rice (unintentionally).’

- e. *thē: chān-jyai ŋa-i ra:ysi lai thuŋ-bo (ru)*
 yesterday night 1sg-ERG liquor much drink-PFV.EGO HS

‘(It is said/I heard from somebody that) I drank too much last night (but I do not remember).’

As stated at the beginning of this section, I have no disagreement with Watters’ description on the conjunct/disjunct distinction manifested by the perfective *-pa* (*-pā* in my transcription) and *-bo*. This is indeed a binary distinction that can be described as egophoric/non-egophoric.

Two points should be noted on the egophoric/non-egophoric contrast in perfective. One is that, in Regmi (2013), there are found some sentence examples with *-ta* glossed as “PFV.CJ” or “PFV.DJ”; e.g., *sowa-ta* (come-PFV.CJ) and *nan-ta* (put-PFV.CJ) (p. 138), *sət-ta* (kill-PFV.CJ) (p. 163), and *bin-ta* (give-PFV.DJ) (p. 134). It is suspected that she describes those instances of *-ta* as morphophonological alternations of *-pa*; cf. a morphophonological rule /p/ → /t/ /n/t __ (e.g., /bin-pa/ → [bin-ta] “give-PFV.CJ” (ibid: 30).⁸ In my description, however, there is no such morphophonological alternation, and I suspect that the instances of what she describes as *-ta* are, in fact, those of another perfective suffix *-ta*, which she describes as *-tā* “perfect” (ibid: 73). The perfective *-ta* is, as she describes correctly, irrelevant to the egophoric/non-egophoric contrast.

The other point to be noted is that in narratives the use of the non-egophoric *-bo* is rare (except in reported speech), which means that third person’s volitional actions in the past are, as are first person’s ones, mostly described, not with *-bo*, but with *-pā* (or with another perfective *-ta*), as shown in (12) and (13). Those instances of *-pā* must be analyzed, not as the perfective egophoric suffix, but as a nominalizer, and the nominalized clauses must be understood as so-called “stand-alone nominalizations” or “free-standing nominalizations” (Watters 2008).

⁸ Thus, the abbreviation “DJ” must be a simple mistake.

(12)

- a. *khyu thikko: nye can, ti: coŋ-lai bā-bā,*
 3pl brothers two PN one c.-ABL separate-REDUP
- de: surkā: wai-pā ..., surkā: ...*
 far.there.LOC s.LOC go-NMLZ s.LOC

‘They, two brothers ..., one (came) from Cong (place name), having been separated (from the other brother) (and) went far there, to Surkāng (place name) ..., to Surkāng ...’

- b. *ti: tā:rā: soə-pā*
 one t.-LOC come-NMLZ

‘(The other) one came to Tā:rang (place name).’

(13)

- a. *nyi-na pākyi, jumlā ..., syiŋjā-lai soə-pā*
 1pl.excl-GEN forefather j. s.-ABL come-NMLZ

‘Our forefather came from Jumla ..., (from) Syiŋjā (of Jumla).’

- b. *soə-soə, larāi: khye-khye, birti: chyuj-pā*
 come-REDUP war do-REDUP b.LOC stay-NMLZ

‘(A pregnant woman) came (from Syingja), (and a) war broke out (there, i.e., in Syiŋjā, and she) stayed (i.e., came to settle once) in Birti (a village in Dolpa, near Jupal).’

- c. *birti: chyuj-chyuj, yāŋ syā:-yaŋ larāi:*
 b.LOC stay-REDUP again there.LOC-EMPH war
- khye-ma: soə-soə, pasā can saʔ-pā*
 do-PURP come-REDUP husband PN kill-NMLZ

‘(She) settled in Birti, (and soldiers) came to (Birti?) to fight (lit. do (a) war) there also, (and they) killed (her) husband.’

The following are examples from Regmi (2013: 153), which also describes those instances of *-pā* (in her transcription, *-pa*) as a nominalizer.

(14)

- a. *aləi pa pa rə-rə kətaŋ-pa*
 then father father say-SEQ call-NMLZ

‘Then, the son called his father.’

- b. *aləi pa-i na ŋojo mipa rəwa-pa*
 then father-ERG 2sg son NEG.have say-NMLZ

‘Then, father said, “You are not my son”.’

- c. *aləi ŋojo-nə palo pa pa jeŋpa rəwa-pa*
 then son-GEN turn father father BE.EQU say-NMLZ

‘Then, the son in his turn, said, “Father, father, I am you son!”’

- d. *pa-nə palo na khisyai nə-khya rəwa-pa*
 father-GEN turn 2sg lie NEG-do say-NMLZ

‘The father, in his turn, said, “Don’t tell me a lie”.’

- e. *aləi pa ŋa ŋojo jeŋ jeŋ jeŋpa*
 then father 1sg son BE BE BE.EQU

‘Then, (he said), “Father, yes, yes, (I am you son)!”’

- f. *aləi rəwa-mi pa-nə palo jəla puŋ-pa*
 then say-AFTER father-GEN turn door open-NMLZ

‘Then, after saying this, the father, in his turn, opened the door!’

- g. *aləi ŋojo jhiə rə-rə pa ma syaŋ-pa*
 then son inside see-SEQ father mother be.glad-NMLZ

‘Then, the parents haing[sic] seen the son inside became very happy.’

- h. *aləi daci mucī khe-pa*
 then cry sob do-NMLZ

‘Then, they went on crying and shedding[sic] tears.’

- i. *aləi pa-kko ma-kko ja-mə ru-mə khe-ke chuŋ-pa*
 then father-GEN mother-GEN unite-NMLZ be.happy-NMLZ do-SEQ sit-NMLZ

‘Then, the father and mother lived together happily.’ (Regmi 2013: 153)

4. “Imperfective” *-tse* and *-ŋə*

We will next review the suffixes *-tse* and *-ŋə*. As stated earlier, Watters (2006) describes them as forming a conjunct/disjunct distinction in the imperfective paradigm. To show the distinction, Watters (2006: 304–305) presents the following examples. The first five are examples with a volitional verb, and the last two are with a non-volitional verb.

(15) The suffixes *-tse* and *-ŋə* (Watters 2006: 304–305)

- a. *ŋa woi-tse*
I go-IMPV:CJ
‘I go.’
- b. *ŋa golan rii-tse*
I cloth buy-IMPV:CJ
‘I am buying cloth.’
- c. *na re woi-ŋə*
you also go-IMPV:DJ
‘You also go.’
- d. *nu re woi-ŋə*
he also go-IMPV:DJ
‘He also goes.’
- e. *na woi-tsyə-o*
you go-IMPV:CJ-Q
‘Do you go?/Are you going?’
- f. *ŋa səi dza-yen doŋ-ŋə*
I food eat-SUFF want-IMPV:DJ
‘I want to eat food.’
- g. *ŋa golan twə-ŋə*
I cloth need-IMPV:DJ
‘I need cloth.’

As to the distribution of *-tse* and *-ŋə* (*-cye* and *-ŋa* in my transcription) with respect to person and volitionality, I agree with his description; nevertheless, I hesitate to recognize them as forming an opposition because their tense-aspectual significations differ.⁹ The suffix *-ŋa* can be called “imperfective” because it can be used in imperfective situations such as progressive as shown in (16a, b, c, d) and habitual as shown in (16a, b, e) as well as future as shown in (16a, b).

(16) Examples with *-ŋa*

- a. *nā(-i)* *chyoe:* *toə-ŋa* (*na*)
 2sg(-ERG) religious.book read-IMPFV.NEGO (PAT)

‘You are/were reading (a) book(, aren’t/weren’t you?).’
 or ‘You read (a) book (e.g., everyday)(, don’t you?).’
 or ‘You will read (a) book(, won’t you?).’

- b. *nu(-i)* *chyoe:* *toə-ŋa*
 3sg(-ERG) religious.book read-IMPFV.NEGO

‘S/he is/was reading (a) book.’
 or ‘S/he reads (a) book (e.g., everyday).’
 or ‘S/he will read (a) book.’

- c. *nu* *cō:* *golan* *thū:* (< *thu-* ‘wash’ + *-ŋa*)
 3sg now clothes wash.IMPFV.NEGO

‘S/he is washing clothes now.’

- d. *nu* *thē:-na* *cho-rā* *syi:* *chyū:* (< *chyun-* + *-ŋa*)
 3sg yesterday-GEN this.side here.LOC stay.IMPFV.NEGO

‘S/he has been staying here since yesterday.’

- e. *nu* *nāp-nāp* *yokoro* *syi:* *soə-ŋa*
 3sg every.morning always here.LOC come-IMPFV.NEGO

‘S/he comes here (habitually) every morning.’

On the other hand, the suffix *-cye* is used to express a future activity as shown in (17a) but not to express a progressive or habitual one as shown in (17a, b).

⁹ In Regmi (2013: 73–77), the suffixes are described as *-ce* “non-past conjunct” and *-ŋə* “non-past disjunct”, respectively (Note that non-past is described as belonging to the imperfective aspect; thus, the suffixes are glossed in the examples as “IMPFV.CJ” and “IMPFV.DJ”, respectively).

(17) Examples with *-cye*

- a. *ŋā chyoē: toə-cye*
 1sg religious.book read-FUT.EGO
 ‘I will/am about to read (a) book.’
 but not ‘I am/was reading (a) book.’
 but not ‘I read books (every day).’
- b. **ŋā nāp-nāp yokoro syi: soə-cye*
 1sg every.morning always here.LOC come-FUT.EGO
 *‘I come here (habitually) every morning.’

Since it is used only with a first person volitional actor in declarative, the egophoric *-cye* appear to have a sense of the speaker’s intention/volition (or willingness or commitment in his/her own activity in the future).

The following table summarizes my description. Compares it with the description in Watters (2006). It should be noted that this table does not represent all of the TAM suffixes. Egophoric (i.e., with a first person volitional actor in declarative) progressive/continuous statements and egophoric habitual statements can be expressed with another imperfective suffix, such as *-nyi* (which will be mentioned in the next section) and *-nān*, both of which do not participate in the egophoric/non-egophoric distinction.

Table 2 Egophoric/non-egophoric (conjunct/disjunct) in imperfective (Summary)

Watters (2006)		This paper (Honda)	
	Imperfective	Imperfective	Future
Conjunct	<i>-tse</i>	Egophoric	<i>-cye</i>
Disjunct	<i>-ŋə</i>	Non-egophoric	<i>-ŋa</i>

As the table shows, the relation between *-cye* and *-ŋa* is not like the one between the perfective *-pā* and *-bo*. One may think that this looks odd, but probably we should not expect that the interaction between the egophoric/non-egophoric and TAM is always like the one between *-pā* and *-bo* because similar situations are found in other languages. For instance, Kathmandu Newar shows the following complex relationship between the conjunct/disjunct category and TAM.

Table 3 Conjunct/disjunct suffixes in Kathmandu Newar (Hargreaves 2005: 5)

	Past	Non-past	
Conjunct	- <i>ā</i>	- <i>e</i>	
	Perfective	Imperfective	Non-past
Disjunct	- <i>a</i>	- <i>V</i> :	- <i>i</i>

5. “Irrealis” *-ñi* and *-dāra*

About *-ñi* and *-dāra*, Watters (2006: 313–314) does not give us much information but only states that they are conjunct and disjunct forms in the irrealis category. The following examples are listed to show the distinction.¹⁰

(18) Conjunct/disjunct in Irrealis (Watters 2006: 313–314)

- a. *ŋa naptse woi-ñi*
 I tomorrow go-IRR:CJ
 ‘I might go tomorrow.’
- b. *na/nu naptse woi-dāra*
 you/he tomorrow go-IRR:DJ
 ‘You/he might go tomorrow.’

It is true that the suffix *-dāra* (*-darā* in my transcription) does not seem to be compatible with first person actors when it is used with a volitional verb as shown in (19a), though it can be used with a first person actor (as well as a second or third person actor) when the verb is non-volitional as shown in (19b, c). Therefore, the suffix can be analyzed as non-egophoric. It is used to denote uncertainty or probability in the future, and thus I have no objection to describing it as an irrealis suffix.

¹⁰ In Regmi (2013: 73, 81), the suffixes are described as *-ñi* “probability conjunct” (“IRR.CJ”, e.g., irrealis conjunct) and *-dāra* “probability disjunct” (“IRR.DJ”, e.g., irrealis disjunct), respectively (Note that probability is described as one of the epistemic modalities).

(19)

- a. ??*ṇā/nā/nu* *nāpcye* *syā:* *wai-darā* *lā(:)*
 1sg/2sg/3sg tomorrow there.LOC go-might PAT

??‘I might go there tomorrow, you know?’

‘You/S/he might go there tomorrow, you know?’

- b. *uju* *rā* *nyi-na-tā:* *ṇā/nā/nu* *syi-darā* *lā(:)*
 like.this become be-COND-EMPH 1sg/2sg/3sg die-might PAT

‘If (things) goes like this, I/you/s/he might die, you know?’

- c. *ṇā/nā/nu* *tyā* *syā:* *tāp-tarā* *lā(:)*
 1sg/2sg/3sg today there.LOC arrive-might PAT

‘I/You/S/he might arrive there today, you know?’

The suffix *-ṇi* (*-nyi* in my transcription), on the other hand, cannot be analyzed as an irrealis marker. It is more appropriate to describe it as an imperfective suffix because it is used to express not only a future activity as shown in (20a), but also a progressive (20b) and a habitual activity (20c). The suffix cannot be described as egophoric either because in the case of habitual statements *-nyi* can occur with 3rd person (as well as first person) when the verb is volitional, as shown in (20c).¹¹

(20) The usage of *-nyi*

- a. *nāpcye* *ṇā/*nu* *pālbo:* *wai-nyi*
 tomorrow 1sg/3sg Kathmandu.LOC go-IMPFV

‘I will go to Kathmandu tomorrow.’

*‘S/he will go to Kathmandu tomorrow.’

- b. *ṇā/*nu* *cō:* *golan* *thu-nyi*
 1sg/3sg now clothes wash-IMPFV

‘I am washing clothes now.’

*‘S/he is washing clothes now.’

¹¹ It is most likely that *-nyi* is historically related to the existential copula *nyi-*. My informant clearly recognizes their relation. Watters (2006: 313, fn. 5) also suggests their relation by saying as follows: “The irrealis suffix *ṇi*, though homophonous with *ṇi* in the existential *ṇipa*, is probably unrelated. The verbs on which it occurs are not nominalized as one would expect. Indeed, it *is* related to the copula in certain forms where the preceding verb is nominalized (see, for example, the sentence in (19) [i.e., (30)]).”

- c. *ḡā/nu* *yokoro* *nāp-nāp* *golan* *thu-nyi*
 1sg/3sg always every.morning clothes wash-IMPFV

‘I/S/he wash(es) clothes every morning.’

The following table summarizes my description and compares it with the description in Watters (2006).

Table 4

Watters (2006)		This paper (Honda)	
	Irrealis	‘might’ (probability in the future)	
Conjunct	<i>-ḡi</i>	Egophoric	
Disjunct	<i>-dāra</i>	Non-egophoric	<i>-darā</i>

Since *-darā* does not have its counterparts, the recognition of it as non-egophoric might be controversial, and its incompatibility with a volitional first person actor may require a different explanation.

6. Copulas and mirative

6.1. Existential copulas

Watters (2006) also recognizes a conjunct/disjunct distinction in existential constructions formed with an existential copula. He states as follows:

... though Kaike distinguishes equational *dzeḡpa* from existential *nipa*, only the latter has a conjunct-disjunct distinction, and that only in locative or possessive functions. As a true existential copula, *nipa* utilizes only conjunct forms. (Watters 2006: 306)

The examples of what he calls “true existential” are shown in (21), where, in his description, only the existential copula *nipa* can occur, and there is thus no conjunct/disjunct distinction in this function. In his locative and possessive functions, on the other hand, a conjunct/disjunct distinction is recognized between *nipa* and another existential copula *nya*, as shown in (22) and (23).¹²

¹² The same analysis is made in Regmi (2013: 85–86), where the copulas are described as *jeḡpa* “equational copula”, *nipa* “existential conjunct copula” (though often listed as *nipa*), and *nya* “existential disjunct copula”, respectively, and, following Watters (2006), the conjunct/disjunct distinction is only recognized in “locative” and “possessive” senses.

(21) “True existential” function

(Watters 2006: 310)

- a. *ŋa nipa*
I be:exist

‘I am.’ (‘There’s me’)

- b. *ŋə-nə pa re nipa*
I-GEN father also be:exist

‘My father also is.’ (‘There’s also my father’)

- c. *ta na re nipa*
now you also be:exist

‘Now you also are.’ (‘Now there’s also you’)

(22) “Locative” function

(Watters 2006: 310)

- a. *ŋa yim-ə nipa*
I house-LOC be:CJ

‘I am in the house’

- b. *kələm tebəl-gə nya*
pen table-LOC be:DJ

‘The pen is on the table.’

(23) “Possessive” function

(Watters 2006: 311)

- a. *ŋə-nə ŋozo ti nipa*
I-GEN son one exist:CJ

‘I have one son.’

- b. *nu-nə tsəme ti nya*
he-GEN daughter one be:DJ

‘He has one daughter.’

Watters (2006: 311) then points out that the two copulas manifest a mirative/non-mirative distinction.¹³ He states as follows:

¹³ In Regmi (2013), the mirative/non-mirative distinction on copulas is not mentioned in the main text.

It is precisely in locative and possessive context that one other semantic feature of the conjunct-disjunct distinction comes into play—the marking of newly apprehended knowledge, i.e., mirativity. First person statements of possession using conjunct existential as in (16a) [i.e., (23a)] imply the first hand knowledge. Thus in (17a) [i.e., (24a)] the speaker expresses first hand knowledge, while in the (17b) [i.e., (24b)] version he expresses surprise at just discovering it.¹⁴

- (24) Mirative/non-mirative distinction between *nipa* and *nya* (“Possessive” function)
(Watters 2006: 311)¹⁵

- a. *ŋa rupəyā nipa*
I money exist:CJ
‘I have money.’ (I know it)
- b. *ŋa rupəyā nya*
I money exist:DJ
‘(Hey!) I have money!’ (I just discovered it)

Table 5 summarizes Watters’ description on existential copulas.

Table 5 Conjunct/disjunct coded by existential copulas (Watters 2006)

<u>Equational</u>	<i>dzeŋpa</i>		
<u>Existential</u>	True existential	Locative	Possessive
Conjunct (Non-mirative)	<i>nipa</i>	<i>nipa</i>	<i>nipa</i>
Disjunct (Mirative)		<i>nya</i>	<i>nya</i>

He is correct in saying that the two copulas manifest a mirative/non-mirative distinction, but in fact they are irrelevant to the egophoric/non-egophoric distinction (i.e., Watters’ conjunct/disjunct). This is shown by the fact that both *nipa* (which is *nyi-* + the nominalizer *-pā* in my description, i.e., *nyi-pā*) and *nya* (*nyā* in my transcription) can occur with any

¹⁴ Watters’ examples with *nya* in (22b), *kəlam tebəl-gə nya*, and in (23b), *nu-nə tsəme ti nya*, are also mirative statements, which should thus be translated into ‘The pen is on the table! (I just realized that)’ and ‘He has one daughter! (I just realized that)’, respectively.

¹⁵ It should be noted that in (24a) and (24b) the possessor pronoun *ŋa* ‘I’ must actually be attached with a dative marker; in this case, where the pronoun (*ŋā* in my transcription) ends with a short vowel, the dative is -: (the vowel is lengthened); i.e., *ŋā*: (1sg.DAT), and that the sentences are literally translated into ‘There is money to me.’ In those examples, the subject is thus not ‘I’ but *rupəyā* ‘money’, a third person.

person regardless of its function.¹⁶ Recall that the egophoric suffixes never occur with third person. This is the distribution in which we recognize the egophoric category. The following examples in (25) shows that the copula *nyi-pā* can be used with third person, and, therefore, it cannot be described as egophoric.

(25)

- a. *kalam* *kāpcyoə-ga* *nyi-pā* (Watters’ “locative”; cf. (21b))
 pen table-LOC be-NMLZ

‘The pen is on the table.’ (I know it)

cf.

- b. *kalam* *kāpcyoə-ga* *nyā* cf. (22b)
 pen table-LOC be-MIR

‘The pen is on the table.’ (I just recognized it)

- c. *nu* *yim-a* *nyi-pā* cf. (22a)
 3sg house-LOC be-NMLZ

‘S/he is in the house.’ (I know it)

cf.

- d. *nu* *yim-a* *nyā* cf. (22a)
 3sg house-LOC be-MIR

‘S/he is in the house.’ (I just recognized it)

- e. *nu-na* *came:* *ti:* *nyi-pā* (Watters’ “possessive”; cf. (23b))
 3sg-GEN daughter one be-NMLZ

‘Her/his daughter, there is one.’ (i.e., S/he has one daughter) (I know it)

- f. *tyu* *nyi-pā* (Watters’ “true existential”; cf. (21b))
 water be-NMLZ

‘There is water.’ (I know it)

The copula *nyā*, too, can occur with any person regardless of its function. The following examples in (26a) and (26b) are with third person and in his “true existential” function (cf. (21b), (25f)), and (26c) is with first person and in the “locative” function (cf. 22a).

¹⁶ The copula *nyi-pā* cannot be one morpheme because *nyi-* can occur with no suffix, i.e., *nyi-∅*, and with one of the other suffixes such as the conditional marker *-na* as shown in (19b).

(26)

- a. *nu-na pā re(:) nyā* (Watters' "true existential"; cf. (21b))
 3sg-GEN father also be.MIR

‘There is also his/her father!’ (I just realized that)

- b. *tyu nyā*
 water be.MIR

‘There is water!’ (I just realized that)

- c. *ṇā totyā-na jyĩḥ nyā* (Watters' "Locative"; cf. (22a))
 1sg hole-GEN inside.LOC be.MIR

‘I’m in a hole!’ (I just realized that)¹⁷

In sum, what the two copulas manifest is not an egophoric/non-egophoric distinction but a mirative/non-mirative distinction. The copula *nyi-pā* is not an egophoric copula but a non-mirative copula, and *nyā* is not a non-egophoric copula but a mirative copula. As far as this mirative/non-mirative contrast is concerned, the distinction between true existential from locative or possessive is not necessary.¹⁸

There are negative counterparts both for the non-mirative and the mirative copulas; the negative non-mirative existential is *mī-pā*, and the negative mirative existential is *mayā*. In Watters's description, they are *mīpa* and *māyā* as shown in (27).¹⁹

(27)

- a. *ṇa rupāyā mīpa*
 I money NEG:exist:CJ

‘I don’t have any money.’ (I know it)

¹⁷ This utterance is possible when the speaker recognized, after fainting for a while, that s/he had fallen in a hole.

¹⁸ As a matter of fact, syntactically, there is not much difference between what Watters calls “true existential” (21), “locative” (22) and “possessive” (23). The difference between the first two is simply whether there is a locative phrase or not, and the difference between the first one and the third one is just whether the person or thing that exists is modified by a genitive phrase or not. The examples in (23a) and (23b) are literally translated into ‘My son, there is one.’ (or ‘There is one, my son.’) and ‘(Her/his daughter, there is one.’ (or ‘There is one, his daughter.’), both of which have a third person argument (*ṇā-nā ṇozo* ‘my son’ in the former, and *nu-nā tsame* ‘his/her daughter’ in the latter). What is shown in (23a) is thus that *mīpa* can be used with third person.

¹⁹ In Regmi (2013), the negative copulas are not mentioned in the main text but are found in annotated texts (ANNEX A) as *mīpa* (occasionally also *mī:pa*) and *māyā*, respectively.

- b. *ŋa rupəyã mayã*
 I money NEG:exist:DJ

‘I don’t have any money!’ (I thought I did)

(Watters 2006: 311)

The following are examples from my fieldnote.

(28)

- a. *syi: nu mi:-pā*
 here.LOC 3sg NEG.be-NMLZ

‘S/he is not here.’ (I know it)

- b. *syi: nu mayā*
 here.LOC 3sg NEG.be.MIR

‘S/he is not here!’ (I just realized that)

The existential copulas can also be used as auxiliaries in periphrastic constructions. The following are examples from Watters (2006: 314).

(29)²⁰

- a. *ŋə-i sem-pa ŋi*
 I-ERG see-NMLZ CJ

‘I have seen it.’

- b. *na-i re sem-pa ŋyā*
 you-ERG also see-NMLZ DJ

‘You also have seen it.’

- c. *nu-i re sem-pa ŋyā*
 he-ERG also see-NMLZ DJ

‘He also has seen it.’

(Watters 2006: 314)

What Watters tried to show in the above examples is that “As in locative and possessive uses of the copula (shown in (15) [i.e., (22)] and (16) [i.e., (23)]), the copular auxiliary manifests a conjunct-disjunct distinction” (ibid: 314). However, what is the matter is again

²⁰ What is described here as *sem-* ‘see’ is actually a volitional verb *syen-* ‘look’.

6.2. Equational copulas

As mentioned above in this section, Watters (2006) does not recognize the egophoric/non-egophoric distinction in existential copulas. To show the point, the following example is listed.

- (32) *ŋa/na/nu* *dzeŋpa*
I/you/he be:equative

‘It’s me.’/‘It’s you.’/‘It’s him.’

(Watters 2006: 312)

While it is true that there is no egophoric/non-egophoric distinction in equational copulas (which is also the case in existential copulas as we have seen above), there is a mirative/non-mirative distinction as is in existential copulas. The non-mirative equational copula is *jyaŋ-pā* (*dzeŋpa* in Watters’ description), and the mirative equational copula is *jyā̃*.²³ Their negative equivalents are *naŋ-pā* and *nā̃*, respectively. As are existential copulas, those four copulas too can be used with any person, which shows that what is the matter is not the egophoric/non-egophoric distinction.

(33)

- a. *ŋā* *nu-na* *ti* *jyaŋ-pā*
1sg 3sg-GEN elder.sister be-NMLZ

‘I am his/her elder sister.’ (I know it)

- b. *ŋā* *nu-na* *santān* *jyā̃*:
1sg 3sg-GEN descendant be.MIR

‘I am his/her descendant!’ (I just realized that)

²³ As is the existential copula *nyi-pā*, *jyaŋ-pā* cannot be one morpheme because *jyaŋ-* can occur with no suffix, i.e., *jyaŋ-Ø*, and with one of the other suffixes such as the conditional marker *-na*.

It should also be noted that, as already stated above (fn. 13), in Regmi (2013), the mirative/non-mirative distinction on copulas is not mentioned in the main text, but, in annotated texts (ANNEX), there are found *je-dā* (COP-MIR) (pp. 161, 162, 165) and *jeē* (COP-MIR) (p. 112), both of which appear to be instances of what I describe as *jyā̃*. The gloss suggests that she analyzes the instances as the equational copula attached with the mirative suffix *-dā̃* (ibid: 82), which I describe as *-dā̃*: (Note that, in Kaike, mirativity can be coded either by a mirative copula (in copular constructions including periphrastic constructions with a lexical verb) or by the mirative suffix *-dā̃*: attached to the lexical verb). However, the analysis is, at least synchronically, untenable because the forms *je-dā̃* and *jeē* both cannot be explained from *jyā̃ŋ-* + *-dā̃*: by the morphophonological rule /ŋ-dā̃:/ → [ŋ-dā̃:] (e.g., *nu khaŋ-dā̃*: ‘S/he got sick (I just realized that)’).

- c. *an ŋa/nu-na yim jyaŋ-pā*
 this 1sg/3sg-GEN house be-NMLZ

‘This is my/his/her house.’ (I know it)

- d. *nu nyoə-na syimi jyā:*
 3sg 1pl.incl-GEN person be.MIR

‘S/he is our people (i.e., relative)!’ (I just realized that)

- e. *an ŋa/nu-na yim naŋ-pā*
 this 1sg/3sg-GEN house NEG.be-NMLZ

‘This is not my/his/her house.’ (I know it)

- f. *an nyoə-na khye nā:*
 this 1pl.incl-GEN field NEG.be.MIR

‘This is not our field!’ (I just realized that)

As are existential copulas, equational copulas can be used as auxiliaries in periphrastic constructions as shown in the following Watters’ example (34) on which he states, “With the equational copula, *dzeŋpa*, there is no conjunct-disjunct distinction, not even when a sentential complement is embedded to it”.

- (34) *nu-i yim doŋ-pa dzeŋpa*
 he-ERG house make-NMLZ be:equational

‘(It’s so/It’s a fact) he built a house.’

(Watters 2006: 312)

As a matter of fact, this is a non-mirative statement ‘(I know for sure) it is the case that s/he built (a) house.’, and its mirative counterpart can be stated by the structure *V-pā jyā:* ‘It is the case that s/he built (a) house (I just realized).’ The following are examples from my fieldnote, which show the egophoric/non-egophoric distinction manifested by *V-pā jyaŋ-pā* and *V-pā jyā:*.

(35)

- a. *ālai nu-na pālau “jā:ma jā:ma-na thāū:-lai soə-pā*
 then 3sg-GEN turn like.this like.this-GEN town-ABL come-NMLZ
jyaŋ-pā; nyi-na nām-ma jā:ma jā:ma ra-bo
 be-NMLZ 1pl.excl-GEN village-LOC like.this like.this happen-PFV.NEGO

‘Then, (in) her turn (i.e., she said), “(I) came from such-and-such a place. In our village, such-and-such (an incident) happened.”’

- b. *ŋa-i ra:syi lai thuŋ-pā jyā:*
 1sg-ERG liquor much drink-NMLZ be.MIR

‘I drank too much.’ (I just realized that)

- c. *nu(-i) pālbo: wai-pā jyā:*
 3sg(-ERG) Kathmandu.LOC go-NMLZ be.MIR

‘S/he went to Kathmandu.’ (I just realized that)

The following table summarizes my description on the egophoric/non-egophoric distinction and mirativity coded by copulas and compares it with the description in Watters (2006).

Table 6 Egophoric/non-egophoric (conjunct/disjunct) and mirativity coded by copulas

Description in Watters (2006)				
	Equational		Existential	
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Conjunct (Non-mirative)	<i>dzeŋpa</i>		<i>ŋipa</i>	<i>mipa</i>
Disjunct (Mirative)			(only in locative or possessive functions)	
			<i>ŋya</i>	<i>mayā</i>
Description in this article (Honda)				
	Equational		Existential	
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Non-Mirative	<i>jyaŋ-pā</i>	<i>naŋ-pā</i>	<i>nyi-pā</i>	<i>mi:-pā</i>
Mirative	<i>jyā:</i>	<i>nā:</i>	<i>nyā</i>	<i>mayā</i>

8. Conclusion

The following table summarizes the points made in this paper and compares my description with the one in Watters (2006).

Table 7 Egophoric/non-egophoric (conjunct/disjunct) and mirativity in Kaike (Summary)²⁴

Description in Watters (2006)				
	Perfective	Imperfective	Irrealis	
Conjunct	<i>-pa</i>	<i>-tse</i>	<i>-ni</i>	
Disjunct	<i>-bo</i>	<i>-ŋə</i>	<i>-dəra</i>	
Copulas				
	Equational		Existential	
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Conjunct (Non-mirative)	<i>dzeŋpa</i>		<i>ɲipa</i>	<i>mipa</i>
Disjunct (Mirative)			(only in locative or possessive functions)	
			<i>ɲya</i>	<i>mayā</i>
Description in this article (Honda)				
	Perfective	Imperfective	Future	‘might’ (probability in the future)
Egophoric	<i>-pā</i>		<i>-cye</i>	
Non-egophoric	<i>-bo</i>	<i>-ŋa</i>		<i>-darā</i>
Copulas				
	Equational		Existential	
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Non-Mirative	<i>ɲyaŋ-pā</i>	<i>naŋ-pā</i>	<i>ɲyi-pā</i>	<i>miː-pā</i>
Mirative	<i>ɲyāː</i>	<i>nāː</i>	<i>nyā</i>	<i>mayā</i>

It is apparent that the Kaike egophoric/non-egophoric is similar to that of Kathmandu Newar in many ways. First, in both languages, the distinction is binary, which contrasts with a ternary distinction in, e.g., Lhasa Tibetan. Second, volitionality/intentionality (and thus controllability as well) is a key factor, which contrasts with systems in other languages where volitionality/intentionality seems irrelevant or less salient, such as Galo (Post 2013). Third, the distinction is coded by verb suffixes but not by copulas, which also contrasts

²⁴ The review in this article also applies to Regmi (2013) which, as far as conjunct/disjunct and mirativity are concerned, follows Watters’ description.

with the system in Lhasa Tibetan. Watters' recognition of the conjunct/disjunct distinction on copular verbs certainly caused confusion and misunderstanding of the Kaike system. The following statements in DeLancey (2012) and Post (2013) are such examples.

“In Newar system, intention/volitionality is the fundamental category involved (Hargreaves 2005). On the other hand, the opposition in Kaike is strongly mirative, and volitionality plays no evident role (D. Watters 2006)” (DeLancey 2012: 558)

“A similar concern with the speaker's knowledge state can be found in Lhasa Tibetan and certain Kaike copula/auxiliary constructions, in which volitionality no longer seems to be a factor at all. In both Tibetan and Kaike, use of the “conjunct” form in first person statements implies first-hand or fully-assimilated knowledge, while use of the “disjunct” form in the same contexts implies a sudden discovery – a mirative effect” (Post 2013: 110)

I hope that the description in this article will bring a better understanding of the egophoric/non-egophoric and mirativity in Kaike, which, I hope, can eventually be a better basis for typological comparison with similar systems in other languages.

Abbreviations

1	first person	IRR	irrealis
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	MIR	mirative
ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
CJ	conjunct	NEGO	non-egophoric
COND	conditional	NMLZ	nominalizer
DAT	dative	PAT	particle
DJ	disjunct	PFV	perfective
EGO	egophoric	PL	plural
EMPH	emphatic	pl	plural (used for pronouns)
ERG	ergative	PN	pronoun
EXP	expressive	PST	past
excl	exclusive (used for pronouns)	PURP	purposive
FUT	future	Q	question
GEN	genitive	REDUP	reduplicated
HS	hearsay	SEQ	sequential
IMPFV	imperfective	sg	singular (used for pronouns)
incl	inclusive (used for pronouns)	SUFF	suffix

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Differences between ‘Lacid’ and ‘Leqi’*

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Summary

Lacid, a member of the ethno-cultural group ‘Kachin’ in the Kachin State of Myanmar, is identified with Leqi 勒期 in Chinese, a member of the Jingpo nationality in China.

However, there are some differences between the language spoken by the former and that spoken by the latter. This paper will examine the phonological and grammatical differences below between the standard Cang Moo Khung (CMK) variety of ‘Lacid’ in Myanmar and ‘Leqi’ in China.

- Rhymes: PTB/PLB *-əy corresponds to -it in CMK Lacid and -ei in Leqi, and PTB/PLB *-əw corresponds to -auk in CMK Lacid and -ou in Leqi.
- Tones: In Leqi, the pitch rise occurred in most syllables with the ‘plain’ initial corresponding to *Tone I syllables in OB, unlike Lacid.
- Demonstrative proforms: Lacid has a demonstrative determiner distinct from the demonstrative noun in the proximal and medial, unlike Leqi.
- Case markers: Of the two, only Lacid has distinct Allative and Perlative markers, whereas only Leqi has a distinct Agentive-Instrumental marker.
- Expression for prohibition: The PTB negative imperative prefix is not inherited to CMK Lacid and Leqi; the latter developed a new prefix, whereas the former uses Realis negative sentences for expressing prohibition.

Key words: Lacid-Leqi, Northern Burmish, rhyme, demonstrative, case marker

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1. Introduction

lǎ²tʃ^{hi}it⁵³ is a member of the ethno-cultural group ‘Kachin’ in the Kachin State of Myanmar. They are identified with *lǎtʃhi⁵¹*, or Leqi 勒期 in Chinese, which is a member of the Jingpo nationality in China.

However, there are some differences between the language spoken by ‘Lacid’ and that spoken by ‘Leqi’. (I continue to use the name in Chinese for the latter, merely to avoid confusion with ‘Lacid’ in Myanmar.)

This paper will examine some of the phonological and grammatical differences between ‘Lacid’ in Myanmar and ‘Leqi’ in China.

2. Lacid/Leqi

The Lacid-Leqi language is affiliated with the Northern sub-branch of the Burmish branch of Lolo-Burmese. In this section, let us view the profiles of the speakers.

Figure 1 shows the correspondence of subgroups between Kachin in Kachin State, Myanmar, and Jingpo in Yunnan Province, China, with their population data. In each area, the largest population is shown in boldface with underline, and the second-largest population in boldface.

Kachin State		Yunnan Province	
Bur. ကချင်လူမျိုး /kātʃ ^{hi} in ⁴ lu ⁴ mjo ^H /		Chin. 景颇族 Jingpozu	
Autonym		Chinese	Autonym
Jinghpaw	/tʃiŋ ^L p ^h oʔ ^L /	景颇 Jingpo	[tʃiŋ ³¹ p ^h oʔ ³¹]
pop. <u>375,298</u>	(Maran, 1979)	pop. ca. <u>38,900</u>	(Dai, 2005)
Lhaovo	/l ^o ŋ ^{F(21)} vo ^F /	浪速 Langsu	[lɔ̃ ³¹ vɔ̃ ³¹]
29,573		ca. 5,600	(ibid.)
Lacid	/lǎ² tʃ^{hi}it⁵³/	勒期 Leqi	[lǎ³¹ tʃ^{hi}i⁵¹]
15,765		ca. 10,700	(ibid.)
Zaiwa	/tsai ²² va ⁴¹ /	载瓦 Zaiwa	[tsai ³¹ va ⁵¹]
3,122	(Yabu, 1988)	ca. <u>76,500</u>	(ibid.)
and Lisu, Rawang.		and 波拉 Bola.	
# The year of population data is unspecified (estimated as the 2000s).		# The population data in 2000 (Dai, 2005)	

Figure 1 Correspondence of subgroups between Kachin in Myanmar and Jingpo in China

2.1 Lacid

As shown in the introduction and Figure 1, Lacid is a member constituting the ethno-cultural group called ‘Kachin’ with Jinghpaw and other ethnic groups.

No reliable data on their population is available. I show the data from the exhibition at the Kachin State Cultural Museum, Myitkyina.

Population 15,765 (year unspecified)

Inhabitant areas

- Sawlaw Township (Kachin State): They may reside sporadically in this township.
 - Chipwe Township (Kachin State):
 - **Cang Moo Khung** (the middle reach of Ngochang River)
 - Khain Sheing Khung (the valley of Khaingshang River)
 - Shophei Khung (the valley of Chipwe River)
 - Tamu Khung (the valley of Tamu River)
 - Waingmaw Township (Kachin State): especially Sadung area
 - Myitkyina Township (Kachin State)
- # Lacid people also live in Muse, Kuthkai, Lashio, Thipaw, Momeik and Kyaingtone Townships of Shan State (Myat Wai Toe, 2014, p. 16)

According to a consultant, Lacid people regard the language spoken in Cang Moo Khung, the middle reach of the Ngochang River, as standard. However, the characteristics of the speech in each region listed here have not yet been well clarified.

Lacid data in this paper are obtained through interviews with two speakers from Cang Moo Khung (henceforth CMK), both in-field and online conducted by the presenter.

2.2 Leqi 勒期 (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 5)

Leqi is a member of the Jingpo nationality, together with Zaiwa, Jingpo, Langsu and Bola.

Population about 10,000 *cf.* 10,700 (Dai, 2005)

Inhabitant areas

- Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture 德宏傣族景颇族自治州 (Yunnan Province):
 - **Luxi County 潞西县 (N.B. the present Mangshi City 芒市):** Manghai Town 芒海镇, Zhongshan County 中山乡, Dongshan County 东山乡, Santaishan County 三台山乡
 - Ruili County 瑞丽县 (N.B. the present Ruili City 瑞丽市)/Longchuan County 陇川县/Yingjiang County 盈江县
- Nujiang Lisu Autonomous Prefecture 怒江傈僳族自治州 (Yunnan Province)

Figure 2 is a map showing the location of Cang Moo Khung and Luxi (Mangshi).

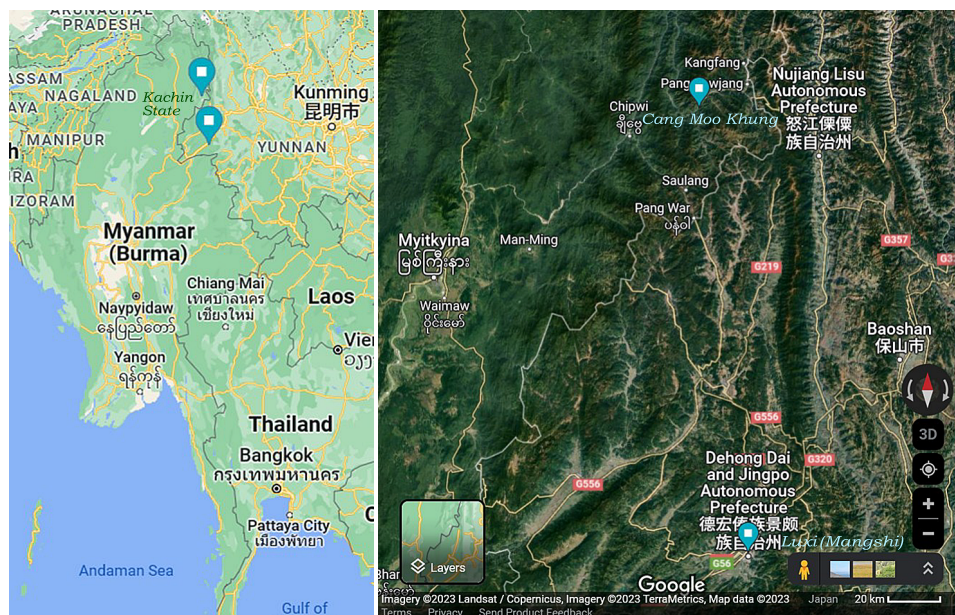


Figure 2 Locations of Cang Moo Khung and Luxi (Mangshi)

2.3 Previous studies

There are few previous studies on Lacid and Leqi.

2.3.1 Lacid (Lashi) in Kachin State

Professor Shiro Yabu wrote several concise descriptions of the language spoken in Nu Zung Baug village in Cang Moo Khung, Kachin State. Yabu (1992) is the newest one I have confirmed.

Hkaw Luk (2017) gives another description of Lacid. The author is a native Lacid speaker (p. 4) born in Waing Maw, Kachin State (p. 183). He lists six LRPs (language resource persons), though their birthplaces are not described, except that one of them is from China (p. 4).

2.3.2 Leqi in Yunnan

The most comprehensive work on Leqi in China is Dai and Li (2007). It describes the language spoken in Paya 帕牙 village in Luxi County, Dehong.

2.4 Topics for comparison

In this paper, the following topics are dealt with.

- Phonology: mainly rhymes and tones
- Demonstrative proforms: system and plural marking
- Case markers: Allative/Agentive-Instrumental
- Verb sentence types/Negative morphemes in Prohibitive

3. Phonology

3.1 Rhymes

Table 1 shows the rhyme system of CMK Lacid. As with other Burmish languages, there are co-occurrence restrictions between vowels and final consonants.

Table 1 CMK Lacid rhymes

i	e	a	o ɔ	au [au]	u	ə [ə]	wi	wa [†]
		ai [†] [æi]						
		am [æm]	om [ɣem]					
		ap [æp]	op [ɣep]					
in [ɪn]	en [ein]	an [ain]	on [oin–uin]					
it [ɪt]	et [eit]	at [ait]	ot [oit]				wit	
iŋ [†]		aŋ			uŋ [ouŋ]	əŋ [əŋ]		waŋ
		ak [†]		auk [auk–auk]	uk [ouk]	ək [ək]		
		aʔ [†]	oʔ [ɔʔ]		uʔ			

Rhymes with [†] are rare and attested only in non-native words.

Table 2 gives Leqi rhymes listed in Dai and Li (2007).

Table 2 Leqi rhymes (based on Dai and Li, 2007, pp. 9–15)

ɿ	i	e	ɛ	a	o	u	ə	y		ɿ:	i:	e:	ɛ:	a:	ɔ:	u:	ə:	y:
ɿ	ᵿ	ᵿ		ᵿ	ᵿ	ᵿ	ᵿ	ᵿ		ᵿ:		ᵿ:		ᵿ:	ᵿ:	ᵿ:	ᵿ:	ᵿ:
		ei			ɔi	ui		ua	ue	au	ou	iau		e:i	a:i	ɔ:i		a:u
		ᵿi			ɔᵿ					ou				ᵿ:i	ᵿ:i	ɔ:i		ᵿ:u
		im		am	ɔm	um								i:m	a:m	ɔ:m	u:m	
		ᵿm		ᵿm	ɔm	ᵿm								ᵿ:m	ᵿ:m	ɔ:m	ᵿ:m	
		ɛp	ap	ɔp										i:p	ɛ:p	a:p	u:p	
		ᵿp	ᵿp	ɔp										ᵿ:p	ᵿ:p	ɔ:p	ᵿ:p	
		ɛn	an	ɔn	un		uan	uen						i:n	ɛ:n	a:n	u:n	
		ᵿn	ᵿn	ᵿn	ᵿn									ᵿ:n	ᵿ:n	ᵿ:n	ᵿ:n	
		ɛt	at	ɔt										i:t	a:t	u:t		
		ᵿt	ᵿt	ᵿt	ᵿt		uat							ᵿ:t	ᵿ:t	ᵿ:t		
		iŋ	ɛŋ	aŋ	ɔŋ	uŋ	əŋ	uaŋ	iaŋ					i:ŋ	a:ŋ	ɔ:ŋ	u:ŋ	ə:ŋ
		ᵿŋ		ᵿŋ	ɔŋ	ᵿŋ	ᵿŋ	iaŋ						ᵿ:ŋ	ᵿ:ŋ	ɔ:ŋ	ᵿ:ŋ	ᵿ:ŋ
		ik	ek	ak	ɔk	uk	ək							a:k	u:k	ə:k		
		ᵿk		ᵿk	ɔk	ᵿk	ᵿk									ᵿ:k	ᵿ:k	
		ɛʔ	aʔ	ɔʔ	uʔ									ɛ:ʔ	a:ʔ	ɔ:ʔ	u:ʔ	
		ᵿʔ		ᵿʔ	ᵿʔ	ᵿʔ	ᵿʔ							ᵿ:ʔ	ᵿ:ʔ	ᵿ:ʔ	ᵿ:ʔ	

The table has many more rhymes than that of CMK Lacid due to two reasons.

First, I analyze the long vowels of Leqi, similar to Lacid, as the outputs of a grammatically conditioned morphophonological process.

I introduce an abstract element VL which triggers vowel lengthening to the precedent syllable. VL bears some grammatical roles such as the marker of Realis positive sentence, as in example (1).

(1) CMK Lacid

$\text{ʔǎ-}kji^L(22)$	/	$kji^{\cdot L}$
$\text{ʔǎ-}kji^L = \emptyset$		$kji^L = VL$
not-large =NEG		large=RLS
(It) is not large.	/	(It) is large.

There are cases where rhymes with different vowels make a pair.

(2) CMK Lacid

<i>a.</i>	$\text{ʔǎ-}ki^F(21)$	/	$ke^{\cdot F}$
	$\text{ʔǎ-}ki^F = \emptyset$		$ki^F = VL$
	not -good =NEG		good=RLS
	(It) is not good.	/	It (is) good.
<i>b.</i>	$\text{ʔǎ-}tso^L$	/	$tsɔ^{\cdot L}$
	$\text{ʔǎ-}tso^L = \emptyset$		$tso^L = VL$
	not-eat =NEG		eat =RLS
	(I/(s)he) did not eat.	/	(I/(s)he) ate.

Leqi shows more complicated short-long correspondences as in Table 3.

Table 3 Short-long correspondence in Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 17, modified)

SHORT	ɿ	i	ɪ	ei/e,i	e	a	ɔ/o	u	ə	y
LONG	ɿː	iː	eː	ɛː	ɛː	aː	ɔː	uː	əː	yː
SHORT	ɪ	ei	ei	ui	ou	im	am	ɔm	ɔm	ɛn
LONG	ɛːi	eːi	aːi	ɔːi	aːu	ɪːm	aːm	ɔːm	uːm	ɪːn
SHORT	ɛn	an	ɔn	ɛŋ	aŋ	ɔŋ	uŋ	uŋ	əŋ	ɪŋ
LONG	ɛːn	aːn	uːn	ɪːŋ	aːŋ	ɔːŋ	ɔːŋ	uːŋ	əːŋ	əːŋ
SHORT	ap	ɔp	ɛt	at	ɔt	ak	uk	ə k	ik	eʔ,ɛʔ
LONG	aːp	uːp	ɪːt	aːt	uːt	aːk	uːk	əː k	əːk	ɛːʔ
SHORT	aʔ	uʔ	əʔ							
LONG	aːʔ	uːʔ	əːʔ							

Boldfaced (by HS) are the pairs consisting of rhymes with different vowels.

For the sake of comparison, I eliminate the long vowels from the rhyme system of Leqi in Table 2.

Second, the two tables are based on different treatments of the phonetic feature of creaky phonation respectively.

Dai and Li (2007) attribute the feature to vowels straightforwardly. On the other hand, I attribute the feature to consonants, not to vowels, assuming the three consonant series: Plain, Creaky and Aspirated. It is along the same lines as Burling (1967) on Maru and Atsi, Lustig (2010) on Zaiwa and Sawada (2018) on Lhangsu.¹ See Table 4.

Table 4 Two treatments of creaky phonation

	[CV] (e.g. [po])	[CV ₋] (e.g. [pɔ])	[C ^h V] (e.g. [p ^h o])
‘Vocalic’ solution (Dai and Li, 2007: Leqi)	C[–Aspirated] V[–Creaky] po	C[–Aspirated] V[+Creaky] pɔ	C[+Aspirated] V[–Creaky] p^ho
‘Consonantal’ solution (HS: CMK Lacid)	C[+P(lain)] po	C[+C(reaky)] p’o	C[+A(spirated)] p^ho

Again for comparison, I eliminate the creaky phonation from the rhyme system of Leqi in Table 2. Table 5 is a simplified version of Table 2.

Table 5 Leqi rhymes (a simplified version of the Table 2 by HS)

ɿ	i	e	ɛ	a	o	ɔ	u	ə	y	
		ei				ɔi [†]	ui		ua [†]	ue [†] au [†] ou iau [†]
	im [†]			am		ɔm	um			
	ip [†]	ɛp [†]	ap			ɔp				
	in [†]	ɛn	an			ɔn	un [†]		uan	uen
		ɛt	at			ɔt			uat	
	iŋ	ɛŋ	aŋ			ɔŋ [†]	uŋ	əŋ	uaŋ	iaŋ [†]
	ik	ɛk [†]	ak [†]			ɔk [†]	uk	ək		
		ɛʔ	aʔ			ɔʔ	uʔ	əʔ		

The rhymes with [†] seem to occur only in non-native words, as far as the vocabulary listed in Huang et al. (1992) is concerned.

In CMK Lacid and Leqi native words, Proto-Tibeto-Burman (or in some cases Proto-Lolo Burmese) *-əy corresponds to -it in CMK Lacid and -ei in Leqi. Also, PTB/PLB *-əw corresponds to -auk in CMK Lacid and -ou in Leqi.

Table 6 gives a few examples of the two correspondences.

¹ Lhangsu is a distinct Northern Burmish language that differs from Langsu in China. See Sawada (2018).

Table 6 CMK Lacid and Leqi counterparts of PTB/PLB *-əy, *-əw

	CMK Lacid	Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007)	PTB/PLB (Matisoff, 2003)
‘water’	kjit ^{F(21)}	kjei ⁵³	*rəy
‘grandchild’	mjit ^{L(22)}	mei ³³	*b/m-ləy
‘wind’	lit ^F	lei ⁵³	*ləy
‘nine’	kauk ^L	kou ³³	*gəw ²
‘grandfather’	ʔä p ^h auk ^H	a ³³ phou ⁵⁵	*ʔ-bəw ² (PLB)
‘widow’	tʃ ^b auk ^H mo ^H	tʃhou ⁵⁵ mo ⁵⁵	tʃəw ² (PLB)

Table 7 adds the data from other Northern Burmish languages to a part of Table 6.² It indicates that CMK Lacid aligns with Lhaovo rather than Leqi. It would be the result of parallel phonological changes induced by contact.

Table 7 Comparison with other NBsh languages

	‘water’	‘wind’	‘nine’	‘widow’
Zaiwa: Zhefang (Zhu and Lepai, 2017)	wui ⁵¹⁻	lai ⁵¹	kau ⁵¹	tʃhui ³¹ mo ⁵⁵ mji ⁵⁵
Lhangsu	yi ²²	ni ²²	kaw ²¹	tʃ ^h u ²² ma ²²
Bola (Dai et al., 2007)	yəi ⁵⁵	ləi ⁵⁵ /li ⁵⁵	kau ³¹	tʃhu ³⁵ ma ³¹ mj ³⁵
Ngochang (Sampu et al., 2005)	dʒei ³¹	ljei ³¹	gau ³	tʃ ^h au ⁵⁴
Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007)	kjei ⁵³	lei ⁵³	kou ³³	tʃhou ⁵⁵ mo ⁵⁵
Lhaovo: Wakhaug ³	yik ²¹	la ²¹⁻	kaw ²¹	tʃ ^h ip ⁵³ mo ^{55 4}
Lhaovo: Standard	yit ^{F(21)}	la ^F	kuk ^F	tʃ ^h uk ^H mo ^H
Lacid: CMK	kjit ^{F(21)}	lit ^F	kauk ^{L(22)}	tʃ ^h auk ^H mo ^H
PTB/PLB (Matisoff, 2003)	*rəy	*ləy	*gəw ²	*tʃəw ² (PLB)

² The data of Lhangsu and Lhaovo (both Standard and Wakhaug) in this paper are the author’s own.

³ Wakhaug dialect is a variety of the Lhaovo language which was originally spoken in several villages on the west side of the Nmai Kha River in the northern Sawlaw Township, such as Wase and Wamyit (Sawada 2019: 98). Sawada (2018) referred to the variety as ‘Gyanno?’. I have altered the variety’s name because it turned out that Gyanno? is a general term for the Lhaovo people who speak non-standard Lhaovo and their varieties. The name Wakhaug /vākhauk^H/ was given to us by a local expert. However, he is not a native speaker of the variety, and its autonym remains unknown (Sawada 2019: 98).

⁴ Wakhaug -ip after palatal consonants or medial -j- would correspond regularly to -əw in PTB/PLB.

3.2 Initials

Due to the treatment of creaky phonation, the CMK Lacid initial system has an additional consonant series [+C] (Creaky), besides [+P] (Plain) and [+A] (Aspirated), as shown in Table 8.

Table 8 CMK Lacid and Leqi initials(+medial)

CMK Lacid										Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 7, rearranged by HS)									
p	p'	p ^h	m	m'						p	ph	m							
pj	p'j	p ^h j	mj	m'j						pj	phj	mj							
							f	v								f	v		
t	t'	t ^h	n	n'	l	l'		r		t	th	n		l					
ts	ts'	ts ^h					s			ts	tsh					s			
tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ ^h	ɲ	ɲ'			ʃ			tʃ	tʃh					ʃ	ʒ		
k	k'	k ^h	ŋ	ŋ'				ɣ		k	kh	ŋ				x	ɣ		
kj	kj'	k ^h j			j	j'				kj	khj	ŋj		j		xj			
	ʔ						h							w					
[+P]	[+C]	[+A]	[+P]	[+C]	[+P]	[+C]	[+A]	[+P]											

3.3 Tones

CMK Lacid and Leqi have the same number of tonemes, shown in Table 9.

Table 9 CMK Lacid and Leqi tones

CMK Lacid	Falling 21, Low 22, High 55, High Falling 53
Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 15)	High Level 55, High Falling 53, Mid Level 33, Low Falling 31

Table 10 shows the correspondence of the tonal classes between Leqi, CMK Lacid, Zaiwa and Old Burmese (OB). Regarding syllables without final stop, there are clear correspondences between CMK Lacid *H* and Leqi 55, as well as CMK Lacid *L* and Leqi 33. However, the correspondence between CMK Lacid *HF*, *F* and Leqi 53, 31 is not straightforward. Turn to their correspondences with Zaiwa/OB, each tonal class of CMK Lacid corresponds to different tonal classes of Zaiwa/OB, depending on the phonation types of the initials of CMK Lacid/Leqi.

Table 10 Tonal correspondence between CMK Lacid and Leqi

CMK Lacid	Syllables with stop finals		Other syllables (including those with rhymes dealt with in Table 6)				
	F	HF	F	L	H	HF	
Leqi	31	55	53 (31)	33	55		53
NBsh initials	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+C/A]
Zaiwa (Xu and Xu, 1984)	21	55	51	51	21	21	55
OB	—	—	*Tone I	*Tone I	*Tone II	*Tone II	*Tone III

Based on OB tonal classes, Table 10 has been rewritten as Table 11. Leqi's current state is characterized by the pitch rise occurring in most syllables with the [+P] initial corresponding to *Tone I syllables in OB.

Table 11 Tonal correspondence between CMK Lacid and Leqi (with respect to OB)

OB	*Syllables with stop finals		Other syllables					
			*Tone I		*Tone II		*Tone III	
NBsh initials	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+P]	[+C/A]	[+P]	[+C/A]
Zaiwa	21	55	51	51	21	21	55	55
CMK Lacid	F	HF	F	L	L	H	H	HF
Leqi	31	55	53 (31)	33	33	55	55	53

If the feature of creaky phonation had been attributed to vowels, the generalization for tonal split would have been more complicated. In this respect, the 'consonantal' solution of creaky phonation is superior to the 'vocalic' solution.

4. Demonstrative proforms

Now let us turn to the next topic, demonstrative proforms.

Table 12 gives CMK Lacid demonstrative nouns.⁵ They distinguish 4-grades of distance from the speaker. Distal and Super-distal have 3-term opposition in relative height to the speaker. Proximal and Medial have distinctions in syntactic function.

⁵ I do not posit so-called 'pronouns' as an independent word class but as a subclass of the word class 'noun' based on syntactic behavior, like 'demonstrative nouns' and 'personal nouns'.

Table 12 CMK Lacid demonstrative nouns

	PROXIMAL	MEDIAL		DISTAL	SUPER-DISTAL
			HIGHER THAN THE SPEAKER	hu ^L	hɔ ^{H(55)} -hu ^L
<i>Noun</i>	hit ^{L(22)}	huk ^L	AT THE SAME LEVEL	thu ^L	thɔ ^H -thu ^L
<i>Determiner</i>	he ^L	hau ^L	AS THE SPEAKER		
			LOWER THAN THE SPEAKER	m’ɔ ^L	m’ɔ ^H -m’ɔ ^L

Table 13 displays the system of Leqi demonstrative pronouns in Dai and Li (2007).

Table 13 Leqi demonstrative pronouns (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 81. English by HS)

	NEAREST 最近	A LITTLE FAR 稍远	FURTHER 更远
‘This’ 这	xjɛ ³³	xu ³³	xu ⁵⁵
‘That’ 那 (FORWARD 前方)	xɛ ³³	thə ³³	thə ⁵⁵
‘That’ 那 (BELOW 下方)	—	mɔ ³³	mɔ ⁵⁵

The triplet *xu*³³/*thə*³³/*mɔ*³³ in Table 13 shares the feature ‘A LITTLE FAR’ indicating a degree of distance from the speaker/addressee. Of these, *xu*³³, further labeled ‘This’, is opposed to *thə*³³/*mɔ*³³ labeled ‘That’, the latter exhibiting a ‘FORWARD’ (*thə*³³) vs. ‘BELOW’ (*mɔ*³³) opposition. The same is true for the set *xu*⁵⁵/*thə*⁵⁵/*mɔ*⁵⁵, sharing the distance feature ‘FURTHER’. The analysis of the triplets is extremely odd in that it lacks the term ‘ABOVE’ which would be opposed to ‘BELOW’.

This oddity is clearly the result of an attempt to integrate the ternary opposition with the deictic opposition exhibited by the *xjɛ*³³/*xɛ*³³ pair. However, the deictic opposition can involve relative distance from the speaker/hearer. Hence, it is more plausible to consider that the Leqi demonstrative pronouns are located on a unidimensional scale of distance: ‘This’ (PROXIMAL) - ‘That’ (MEDIAL) - ‘A little farther’ (DISTAL) - ‘Further’ (SUPER-DISTAL).

Table 14 presents the reanalysis of the system of Leqi demonstrative pronouns along the line of CMK Lacid. Note that there is a single term for Proximal and Medial respectively, unlike CMK Lacid.

Table 14 A reanalysis of Leqi demonstrative pronouns by HS

PROXIMAL	MEDIAL		DISTAL	SUPER-DISTAL
$xj\epsilon^{33}$	$x\epsilon^{33}$	HIGHER	xu^{33}	xu^{55}
		SAME LEVEL	$th\alpha^{33}$	$th\alpha^{55}$
		LOWER	$m\eta^{33}$	$m\eta^{55}$

Then, how are the demonstratives used? See the examples of Proximal demonstratives.

(3a) and (4a) are the usages with Locative case marker. In CMK Lacid, the demonstrative noun hit^L is chosen.

(3b) and (4b) are the usages modifying nouns. In Leqi, the demonstrative follows the noun. In CMK Lacid, the demonstrative determiner he^L is chosen and must precede the noun.

(3c) and (4c) are the usages as subject. In CMK Lacid, the combination of the determiner and the nominalizer $-tsi^F$ is preferred over the demonstrative noun. The topic marker often follows them.

(3) CMK Lacid

- a. $hit^{L(22)} = mo^L$
DIST =LOC
here
- b. he^L $mja\eta^L$ ($*mja\eta^L he^L / hit^L$)
DIST.DET horse
this horse
- c. he^L $-tsi^{F(21)} = ki^F$ / $hit^L = ki^F \dots$
DIST.DET-NMLZ =TOP DIST =TOP
this is ...

(4) Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007)

- a. $xj\epsilon^{33}$ mo^{33}
DIST LOC
here (p. 81)

- b. *mjaŋ*³³ *xje*³³ ⁶
horse DIST
this horse (p. 203)
- c. *xje*³³ *ke*³³ ...
DIST TOP
this is ... (p. 82)

The forms of Plural demonstratives referring to inanimate objects offer an instance of language contact, coupled with Zaiwa and Lhaovo-Langsu data. See Table 15.

In Zaiwa, both in Yunnan and Kachin State, the plural marker *pV* is suffixed to both common nouns and demonstratives.

In CMK Lacid and Lhaovo in Kachin State, the plural markers have initial *tʃ* and final *-m*, again attached to both common nouns and demonstratives.

Leqi shares the plural marker for common nouns with CMK Lacid, but that for demonstratives with Zaiwa. A similar thing holds between Langsu and Lhaovo.

So, it is natural to think that Leqi and Langsu plural markers for demonstratives are the results of an influence of Zaiwa.

Table 15 Plural marking used with proximal demonstratives (for inanimate)

	Zaiwa-Atsi	Lacid-Leqi	Lhaovo-Langsu
Kachin State	Atsi (Yabu, 1988) ʃi ⁽⁴⁴⁾ pɛ ⁽⁴⁴⁾	CMK Lacid he ^{L(22)} -tʃom ^{F(21)}	Lhaovo tʃ ^{hɛL(22)} -tʃam ^{F(21)}
Yunnan	Zaiwa (Lustig, 2010) hi ⁵⁵ -bvue ⁵⁵ [çi ⁵⁵ pɛ > ⁵⁵] Zhefang Zaiwa (Zhu and Lepai, 2017) xji ^{51/55} pɛ ⁵⁵ Zaiwa (Xu and Xu, 1984) xji ⁵¹ pɛ ⁵⁵	Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007) xje ³³ pə(i) ⁵⁵ cf. sǎ ³³ ʒa ³³ tʃom ⁵³ ‘teachers’	Langsu (Dai, 2005) tʃ ^{hɛ31} pɛ ⁵⁵ ⁷ cf. nuŋ ^{35/31} tʃam ^{31/51} ‘cattle (pl.)’

⁶ In Leqi, the demonstratives modifying some nouns (e.g., *jɔm*³³ ‘house’; *mo*⁵⁵ ‘affair’) not only follow them, but also precede them. (Dai and Li, 2007, p. 203)

⁷ In Lhaovo, *p’e^H* ‘what’ has a post-nominal usage, which means ‘... and so on’ (cf. Langsu *pɛ*⁵⁵ ‘what’). I could not find its usage with demonstratives.

5. Case markers

Table 16 shows the case markers of CMK Lacid and Leqi. Here I limit the scope to those which mark the relation of NP to their head verb. I include in the list the noun coordinators *jɔ*⁵⁵ and *ɣɛɽ*⁵⁵ in Leqi, because a few instances of *ɣɛɽ*⁵⁵ as Comitative case marker are attested in Dai and Li (2007).

Table 16 Lists of case markers (marking the relation of NP to their head V)

CMK Lacid		Leqi (based on Dai and Li, 2007, pp. 165–177)	
ACCusative	ri ^F	OBJect	le ⁵⁵
LOCative	mo ^L	AGenTive- INStrumental	ŋjei ⁵³ 9; (ŋ ⁵³)
ABLative	mɔ ^F	LOCative	mo ³³
ALLative	k ^h jo ^L 8	ABLative	mɔ ⁵³
PERlative	k ^h jo ^H	(COORDinator)	(jɔ ⁵⁵ ; ɣɛɽ ⁵⁵ 7)
COMitative	jɔ ^H		

There are two remarkable differences between CMK Lacid and Leqi. One is the existence of Allative and Perlative markers only in CMK Lacid. The Allative marker is somehow related to a homophonous noun which means ‘road’. Another is the existence of an Agentive-Instrumental marker only in Leqi.

CMK Lacid has a distinct Allative marker, as in (5a), but Leqi lacks it and uses a Locative marker instead, as in (6a). They can be dropped when the Goal NPs are well-known place names, such as Yangon in (5b) and Kunming in (6b).

(5) CMK Lacid

- a. *pom*^F -*p^hjo*^H = *mɔ*^F *vɔ^Fkuŋ*^F = *k^hjo*^L *r'e*^H = *VL*.
 mountain-peak =ABL village =ALL come=RLS

(He) came from the mountain peak to the village.

- b. *ŋo*^F *jaŋ^Lkuŋ^L* (= *k^hjo*^L) *j'e*^L = *VL*.
 I Yangon =ALL go =RLS

I went to Yangon.

⁸ Lacid Allative marker is somehow related to a homophonous noun ‘road’.

⁹ Dai and Li (2007) mention that both come from Zaiwa (p. 63), but I could find neither in the previous descriptions. *ɣɛɽ*⁵⁵ might be of Lhaovo origin.

(6) Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, translated by HS)

- a. ηo^{53} $maŋ^{53}fj^{53}$ mo^{33} $lɔː^{55}$.
 I Mangshi LOC go (LV)

I went to Mangshi. (p. 174)

- b. $naŋ^{53}$ $khun^{55}min^{31}$ $a^{33}lɔ^{55}$ la^{53} .
 you Kunming not.go (SV) Q

Won’t you go to Kunming? (p. 250)

Table 17 shows the distribution of Allative case markers related to the noun ‘road’ in Lacid-Leqi, Zaiwa, and Lhaovo-Langsu.

Table 17 Allative markers related to the noun ‘road’

	Zaiwa-Atsi	Lacid-Leqi-Lashi	Lhaovo-Langsu
Kachin State	Atsi (Yabu, 1988) <i>-khyô⁽⁴¹⁾</i>	CMK Lacid <i>= k^hjo^{L(22)}</i> Lacid (Hkaw Luk, 2017) <i>k^hjoː^(MID)</i> Lashi (Yabu, 1992) <i>-khyo⁽²²⁾</i>	Lhaovo <i>= k^hjo^{F(21)}</i> Maru (Clerk, 1911) <i>kyaw</i> */ <i>k^hjo^F</i> / ¹⁰
Yunnan	Zaiwa (Lustig, 2010) — Zhefang Zaiwa (Zhu and Lepai, 2017) — Zaiwa (Xu and Xu, 1984) —	Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007) —	Langsu (Dai, 2005) <i>(k^hjo³¹)</i> ¹¹

¹⁰ Usages with demonstratives and ‘rice-field’ are attested.

¹¹ The Roman transcription of Clerk (1911) is not fully phonemicized. The phonological form with asterisk is based on an internal reconstruction of Clerk’s language in Sawada (2008). Note that the phonological form in Sawada (2008) has been rewritten here in the author’s current transcription.

The forms are reported in the languages spoken in Kachin State. Dai and Li (2007) record the usages of the morpheme with demonstratives and a noun which means ‘rice-field’.

I guess that first the noun k^hjo^F ‘road’ was grammaticalized to the Allative marker in Lhaovo, and perhaps also in Langsu, and the phenomenon spread to Lacid and Zaiwa only in Kachin State.

Instrument role is marked with a Comitative marker in CMK Lacid as in (7a), and a distinct Agentive-Instrumental marker in Leqi as in (8a).

The latter can mark Agentive subjects as in (8b), but the former, Comitative, cannot mark them. (7b) can be interpreted only as ‘Someone hit the father and his son.’

(7) CMK Lacid

- a. ηo^F $k^he^Htan^L = jo^H$ $mauk^Fsa uk^H$ $l'it^H = VL$.
 I pencil =COM letter write=RLS

I wrote a letter with pencil.

- b. $*na^L-pa^H = jo^H$ $na^L-tso^L = ri^F$ $pa:t^F = VL$.
 PFX -father=COM PFX -child=ACC hit =RLS

(Intended meaning: The son is hit by his father.)

(8) Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, translated by HS)

- a. $p\eta^{33}tin^{33}$ ηjei^{53} $mou^{53}sou^{55}$ $le:i^{55}$.
 pen AGT/INS letter write (LV)

(He) wrote a letter with pen. (p. 169)

- b. $a^{55}marj^{33}$ ηjei^{53} $a^{33}no\eta^{31}$ le^{55} $l_2^{55}p\eta n^{33}$ pje^{33} .
 e.brother AGT/INS y.brother OBJ wake (SV) PERF

The younger brother was woken by his elder brother. (p. 168)

Table 18 shows the distribution of Agentive-Instrumental markers distinct from the Comitative marker or Coordinator.

Table 18 Agentive-Instrumental markers distinct from Comitative/coordinator

	Zaiwa-Atsi	Lacid-Leqi-Lashi	Lhaovo-Langsu
Kachin State	Atsi (Yabu, 1988) (-ʔéʔ ⁽²²⁾ , <i>same as</i> COM/GEN)	CMK Lacid — Lacid (Hkaw Luk, 2017) — Lashi (Yabu, 1992) —	Lhaovo = TAjaŋ ^{F(21)} 12 Maru (Clerk, 1911) yang */ jaŋ ^F /
Yunnan	Zaiwa (Lustig, 2010) -(N) eq ¹ [əʔ ¹] 13 Zhefang Zaiwa (Zhu and Lepai, 2017) əʔ ³¹ 14 Zaiwa (Xu and Xu, 1984) eʔ ²¹ 15	Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007) ŋjei ⁵³ ; (ŋ ⁵³)	Langsu (Dai, 2005) jaŋ ³¹

Zaiwa in general has an Agentive-Instrumental marker and a Comitative/Coordinator, but they differ only in Tone: the former bears low tone, and the latter bears high tone. An exception is the variety described in Yabu (1988). A fusion of the two markers might have occurred in the variety.

Lhaovo-Langsu also have distinct Instrumental markers, but in Lhaovo the Comitative marker also serves as marking of Instrument.

Lacid lacks such a marker, whereas Leqi developed a marker of unique form. The origin of the marker still remains a mystery. There is a lexical word homophonous with the marker. It is the verb **ŋjei**⁵³ which means ‘to stay, live’, but the desemanticization from the verb to the Agentive-Instrumental marker sounds peculiar.

Table 19 summarizes the relations of semantic and grammatical roles and their morphological marking, containing those dealt with in the paper.

¹² I regard **TA**, an abstract element triggering tonal alternation comparable to Lacid **VL**, as a part of **INS**.

¹³ *cf.* COM -(N)**eq**⁵.

¹⁴ *cf.* COM **əʔ**⁵⁵.

¹⁵ *cf.* COORD **eʔ**⁵⁵.

Table 19 Semantic/grammatical roles and their marking

	CMK Lacid	Leqi
Source	ABL: mɔ ^{F(21)}	ABL: mɔ ⁵³
Location	LOC: mo ^{L(22)}	LOC: mo ³³
Goal	ALL: k ^h jo ^L (∅)	∅, LOC: mo ³³
Path	PER: k ^h jo ^{H(55)}	—
Concomitant	COM: jo ^H	(COORD): yeʔ ⁵⁵
Instrument	COM: jo ^H	AGT-INS: ŋjei ⁵³ ; (ŋ ⁵³)
A	∅	∅, AGT-INS: ŋjei ⁵³ ; (ŋ ⁵³)
S	∅	∅
P	∅, ACC: ri ^F	∅, OBJ: le ⁵⁵
Recipient	ACC: ri ^F	OBJ: le ⁵⁵

6. Verb sentence types

Finally, let us compare the basic speech-act types of verb sentences in CMK Lacid and Leqi. Here I enumerate Informative (=declarative-interrogative), Imperative, Hortative, and Optative as basic speech-act types. Informative is further classified into Realis and Irrealis.

Table 20 gives basic speech-act types of verb sentences in CMK Lacid and Leqi.

Table 20 Basic speech-act types of verb sentences in CMK Lacid and Leqi

	CMK Lacid	Leqi (based on Dai and Li, 2007)
(informative-)ReaLis positive	V = VL	V (long vowel form)
negative	?ǎ-V = ∅	a ³³ V
(informative-) IrReaLis pos.</neg.>	< ?ǎ- > V = a ^F	V a ³¹ ŋ ⁵³
IMPerative pos.	V = eʔ ^H	V a ³¹
neg.	?ǎ-V = ∅ (=l'e ^H)	k ^h aʔ ⁵⁵ V
HORTative pos.</neg.>	< ?ǎ- > V = ʃaŋ ^F	V ʃaŋ ⁵³
OPTative pos.</neg.>	< ?ǎ- > V = pătʃa ^F	V a ³¹ ɔ ⁵³

The most striking difference between the two is on the sentence type expressing prohibition.

(9) CMK Lacid

ʃi^H $\text{ʔǎ-tso}^L = \emptyset (=l'e^F)$.
 first not-eat =NEG(=SFP)

Don't eat first.

(10) Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007, translated by HS)

kha^{255} tso^{33} .
 PROH eat (SV)

Don't eat. (p. 150)

The PTB negative imperative prefix $*da \approx *ta$ is not inherited to CMK Lacid and Leqi; Leqi developed another prefix kha^{255} as in (10). CMK Lacid lacks this sentence type and uses Realis negative sentences with simple negative prefix ʔǎ- for expressing prohibition as in (9).

The differences are also found in Irrealis (CMK Lacid (11), Leqi (12)), Imperative positive (CMK Lacid (13), Leqi (14)), and also Optative.

(11) $\text{tʃ}^h\text{ǽ}^L$ $\text{k'ot}^{HF} = \text{a}^F$.
 what do =IRL

What will (you) do?

(12) ŋo^{53} $\text{nap}^{31}\text{jɔ}^{53}\text{ŋjei}^{55}$ lo^{55} $\text{a}^{31}\text{ŋ}^{53}$.
 I tomorrow go (SV) FUT

I will go tomorrow. (Dai and Li 2007, p. 133)

(13) $\text{j'i}^L = \text{e}^{2H}$.
 go =IMP?

Go!

(14) naŋ^{53} tso^{33} $\text{a}^{31}!$
 you eat (SV) MODAL

You eat! (Dai and Li 2007, p. 257)

Table 21 displays the distribution of negative morphemes used to form sentences expressing prohibition.

Table 21 Negative morphemes used to form Prohibitive sentences

	Zaiwa-Atsi	Lacid-Leqi-Lashi	Lhaovo-Langsu
Kachin State	Atsi (Yabu, 1988) kháʔ⁽⁴⁴⁾-	CMK Lacid ʔǎ- (<i>simple negative</i>) Lacid (Hkaw Luk, 2017) ʔa- (<i>ditto</i>) Lashi (Yabu, 1992) ʔǎʔ⁽²²⁾- (<i>ditto</i>)	Lhaovo tǎ- Maru (Clerk, 1911) tǎ- */tǎ-/
Yunnan	Zaiwa (Lustig, 2010) ke⁵- ~ he⁵- [k^hə⁵ ~ xə⁵] Zhefang Zaiwa (Zhu and Lepai, 2017) kha⁵⁵ Zaiwa (Xu and Xu, 1984) khě⁵⁵	Leqi (Dai and Li, 2007) khaʔ⁵⁵	Langsu (Dai, 2005) tǎ³¹-

It is remarkable that Leqi **khaʔ⁵⁵-** is very similar to **kháʔ-** in Yabu (1988), which is not found in any other descriptions of Zaiwa mentioned here. It is highly probable that Leqi borrowed the Prohibitive morpheme from a variety of Zaiwa. There might be a variety of Zaiwa close to Sadon (Sadung) dialect in Waingmaw Township described by Yabu.

I would like to mention that Jinghpaw, which has much influence on Zaiwa, has a pre-verbal prohibitive morpheme with initial **kh-**.

Lhaovo-Langsu inherited the PTB negative imperative prefix, unlike Lacid and Zaiwa.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, I argued that Lacid and Leqi, recognized as the same ethnic group, show differences in various aspects of phonology and grammar.

The differences in plural morphemes in Section 3 and the introduction of the distinct Allative marker in Section 4 can be explained by the influence of neighboring languages.

A key factor is the relative number of speakers given in Figure 1. Among the three languages dealt with in Sections 3–5, Lhaovo has the largest population and Zaiwa has the least in Kachin State, and vice versa in Yunnan. It leads to the prediction that the most influential language among them is Lhaovo in Kachin State and Zaiwa in Yunnan.

Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative	LV	Long vowel
ACC	Accusative	MODAL	Modal
AGT	Agentive	NEG	Negative
ALL	Allative	NMLZ	Nominalizer
COM	Comitative	OBJ	Objective
DET	Determiner	PERF	Perfect
DIST	Distal	PFX	Prefix
FUT	Future	PROH	Prohibitive
IMP	Imperative	RLS	Realis
INS	Instrumental	SFP	Sentence Final Postposition
IRL	Irrealis	SV	Short vowel
LOC	Locative	TOP	Topic

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The origin of the Manau dance: A folktale text in Jinghpaw*

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Summary

This paper presents an interlinear glossed text in Jinghpaw, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Sino-Tibetan language family, spoken in and around Northern Burma and adjacent areas of China and India. The language serves as a lingua franca among the linguistically diverse Kachin people, who speak several distinct Tibeto-Burman languages. The present text is one of the 2,754 Jinghpaw narrative texts collected in Northern Burma over the past ten years by the author in collaboration with Kachin community members, as part of our Kachin Orature Project. This project is conducted for, with, and by the Kachin community to document, archive, and revitalize the oral heritage of Northern Burma. The ensuing narrative text recounts the origin of the Manau dance, a significant cultural tradition of the Kachin people. Originally unknown to humans, the Manau was first performed by heavenly spirits in the land of the sun. These spirits later invited various bird species to join in a grand Manau dance. On their way home after participating in the dance, the birds perched on a banyan tree laden with ripe fruits. They decided to perform the Manau before eating. An orphan, while hunting nearby, chanced upon this enthralling scene and learned the dance, which he then introduced to the village elders. Henceforth, the Manau dance was embraced as a part of human culture.

Key words: Jinghpaw, Tibeto-Burman, Kachin, Manau, oral literature

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1. Introduction

Jinghpaw (ISO 639-3: kac) is a Tibeto-Burman language of the Sino-Tibetan language family spoken in Northern Burma and adjacent areas of China and India. Jinghpaw is suggested to belong to the Sal branch within Tibeto-Burman and is closely related to the Bodo-Garo and Northern Naga languages. The Sal grouping is based primarily on shared distinctive etyma, such as *sal ‘sun’ and *war ‘fire,’ and the rate of shared cognates (Burling 1971, 1983, Benedict 1972, 1976, French 1983, among others). Recent studies suggest that the Luish languages, spoken by small numbers of speakers in discontinuous pockets across northwestern Burma (Kadu, Ganan, and Sak), southeastern Bangladesh (Cak), and northeastern India (Andro and Sengmai), are among the closest relatives of Jinghpaw. Jinghpaw and Luish languages are characterized by shared distinctive roots, sound correspondences, and some morphological parallelism (see Huziwara 2012, 2014, Matisoff 2013, Kurabe, to appear).

Jinghpaw serves as a lingua franca among the linguistically diverse Kachin people, who speak several distinct Tibeto-Burman languages (see Kurabe 2021). The Kachin languages, which are not always closely related phylogenetically, include Jinghpaw, Zaiwa, Lhaovo, Lacid, Ngochang, Rawang, and occasionally Lisu. In spite of their internal linguistic diversity, the Kachin people form a more or less single socio-cultural complex with shared traits. One of the prominent socio-cultural traits is the intra-Kachin marriage alliance system that transcends linguistic boundaries. Fixed correspondences exist between clans, cutting across the different linguistic groups. Another trait is the Manau, a grand feast and religious dance during which hereditary chiefs offer tributes to celestial spirits, especially the *madai nat*. The main types of the Manau dance include the burial dance (*ju manau*), the prosperity dance (*sut manau*), and the dance of victory (*padang manau*). The burial dance is performed to propitiate the departed, while the prosperity dance is performed to display one’s wealth and give thanks for good fortune. The dance of victory celebrates successes in warfare. The performance takes place on a circular dancing floor. People form circles around the central poles (*manau shadung*) led by the leader of the dance (*nau shawng*). During the feast, *jaiwa*, the professional storyteller rehearses the whole creation legend and subsequent events passed down by the Kachins in rhythmic and poetic language (see Hanson 1913: 93–95).

This paper presents an interlinear glossed text detailing the origin of the Manau dance. Each line is accompanied by a phonemic transcription, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and an English translation. Section 2 provides background to the present text, preceding the main content in Section 3.

2. The Data

The present text was narrated by a female speaker (b. 1984) from northern Shan State on February 16, 2017. It was originally recorded with Zoom H4n Linear PCM recorder in Shwe Nyaung Bin, Myitkyina, Kachin State, by Htu Nan, the author's collaborator. This text is among the over 2,700 narrative texts collected as part of our ongoing community-based collaborative project on the documentation, preservation, and revitalization of the oral heritage of the Kachin people. In our Kachin Orature Project, the author and younger community members made audio recordings of more than 500 storytellers in various parts of the Kachin region. Additionally, our team has collaborated on the transcription, translation, and annotation of these materials. Our collected stories are archived with PARADISEC for long-term safeguarding (Kurabe 2013, 2017). As of August 2023, our collection includes audio recordings of 2,754 stories, 2,743 transcriptions, and 1,293 English translations (see Kurabe and Lu Awng 2022 for more details). The item number for the present text in the collection is KK1-1145. It contains the original audio file, a transcription in Jinghpaw orthography (contributed by Pausa La Ring), and an English translation (contributed by Lazing Htoi San). The present text aims to further provide a phonemic transcription and morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, not available in the collection. The English translation is modified to be more literal.

The text recounts the tale of how humans came to know the Manau dance. Initially, humans were unfamiliar with the Manau dance. The heavenly spirits first danced the Manau. These spirits later invited various bird species to partake in a grand Manau dance. After the dance, as the birds were returning, they came across a banyan tree laden with ripe fruits. They decided to dance the Manau before eating them. All the birds danced a beautiful Manau. An orphan who happened to be hunting nearby witnessed this captivating dance and was left in awe of their grace. He learned the dance from the birds and introduced it to the village elders. From that day onwards, the Manau dance became a part of human culture.

3. The Text

This section provides the interlinear glossed text with a phonemic transcription, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and an English translation for each line. Each sentence is broken into a clause or clauses (sometimes phrases) to facilitate readability. This paper minimizes any corrections made to the text resulting from a speaker's inadvertent errors, such as slips of the tongue.

- (1) mòy ɕoŋ = dè? nday...
ago first=ALL well

Long ago, well...

- (2) mənàw ɲú = ?ay ?ánthe ɕìŋgyim-məɕà = ni gəday = mùŋ
Manau say=NMLZ 1pl human-person=pl who=also
n-ce naw = ɕì = yàŋ
NEG-know dance=still=when

when none of us human beings knew what “Manau” was

- (3) jan-gá = dè? = ná = ni, jan-ɕà = ni ɕoŋ mənàw naw
sun-land=ALL=GEN=pl sun-person=pl first Manau dance
phaŋ = ?ay = dà?
begin=DECL=HS

the heavenly beings, the heavenly spirits, were the first to start dancing the Manau.

- (4) day = kó? = ná = ɕè?, ?órà, ?ù = ni = phé? báy
that=LOC=ABL=then well bird=pl=ACC again
ɕəgá re = ñná = ɕè?
call COP=SEQ=then

Then, well, they invited birds (to dance the Manau) and

- (5) jan-ɕà = ni = gò mənàw-póy gəbà gəlo = na mətɔ
sun-person=pl=TOP Manau-feast big held=NMLZ for

heavenly spirits, to hold a big Manau festival

- (6) ?ù-?əmyú khùm-sumpha = phé? ɕəgá = mà? = ?ay = dà?
bird-species full-all=ACC call=pl=DECL=HS

(they) invited different species of birds.

- (7) dân re = ɕè? ?ù = ni = gò ɕánthe yòŋ myìt mi
thus COP=then bird=pl=TOP 3pl all mind one
?ə-khrúm re = ñná = ɕè?
NMLZ-agree COP=SEQ=then

Thus, all the birds agreed together and

- (8) yan sa = mà? = wà = ?ay = dà?
 fly.in.line go=pl=VEN=DECL=HS
 flew in a line.
- (9) yan lùŋ = mà? = wà = ?ay = dà?, jan-gá = dè?
 fly.in.line climb=pl=VEN=DECL=HS sun-land=ALL
 They flew up in a line to the land of the sun.
- (10) jan-gá = dè? lùŋ = wà re = ɕè?
 sun-land=ALL climb=VEN COP=then
 They went up to the land of the sun and
- (11) jan-ɕà = ni = thè? ràw mənàw naw lá re = ñná
 sun-person=pl=COM together Manau dance take COP=SEQ
 danced the Manau with the heavenly spirits and
- (12) mənàw-póy gəbà = kó? mənàw naw ŋút re = ñná
 Manau-feast big=LOC Manau dance finish COP=SEQ
 finished dancing the Manau at the big Manau festival and
- (13) ɕánthe gá = dè? báy-ñthan wà rê lam = kó? = ɕè?
 3pl land=ALL again-again return COP way=LOC=then
 on the way back to their land
- (14) ləgát-phún gəbà ləŋây-mi = kó?
 banyan-tree big one-one=LOC
 on a big banyan tree
- (15) ləgát-sì grày myin tsòm = lá? = ?ay = kó?
 banyan-fruit very be.ripe be.beautiful=INTNS=NMLZ=LOC
 at a place where banyan fruits were ripe so beautifully
- (16) wà mù = mà? = ?ay = dà?
 come see=pl=DECL=HS
 (they) came and saw (the banyan fruits).

- (17) $\text{ɕəlɔ́y} = \text{ɕè?}$ $\text{ɕánthe} = \text{gò}$ $\text{day} = \text{kó?}$ wà khrìŋ-sá?
 time=then 3pl=TOP that=LOC come rest-rest
- lá $\text{re} = \text{nná} = \text{ɕè?}$
 take COP=SEQ=then

Then they came and rested there and

- (18) $\text{nnyerŋnyét-?ù} = \text{gò}$ $\text{ɕi} = \text{ná}$ $\text{gà-ñsén} = \text{thè?}$ nyét-nyét ŋa
 blackbird-bird=TOP 3sg=GEN speech-sound=COM ONOM-RED QUOT
- $\text{ŋoy} = \text{lèt} = \text{ɕè?}$
 make.noise=SIM=then

the blackbird made a “Nyet Nyet” sound with its voice and

- (19) “ ləgát-sì dì? $\text{ɕá} = \text{gà?} = \text{lô},$ ” $\text{ŋú} = \text{ʔay} = \text{dà?}.$
 banyan-fruit pick eat=HORT=SFP say=DECL=HS

said “Let’s pick and eat the banyan fruits!”

- (20) $\text{ɕəlɔ́y} = \text{ɕè?}$ $\text{nprɪŋprì?}-\text{?ù}$ báy $\text{ráy} = \text{yàŋ} = \text{gò}$ “ $\text{ʔê},$
 time=then flycatcher-bird again COP=when=TOP INTJ
- gərày $\text{nó?} = \text{lô}.”$
 yet still=SFP

Then the flycatcher said, “Not yet!”

- (21) “ $\text{ʔánthe} = \text{ni}$ day ləgát-sì rày $\text{ń-ɕá} = \text{ɕì} = \text{yàŋ}”$
 1pl=pl that banyan-fruit yet NEG-eat=still=when

“Before we eat the banyan fruits”

- (22) “ mənàw ɕoŋ jóm $\text{naw} = \text{nná} = \text{ɕè?}$ $\text{ɕá} = \text{gà?},$ ” $\text{ŋú} = \text{ʔay} = \text{dà?}.$
 Manau first together dance=SEQ=then eat=HORT say=DECL=HS

“let us first dance the Manau and eat them!” they said.

- (23) $\text{ɕəlɔ́y} = \text{ɕè?}$ ɕánthe $\text{yòŋ} = \text{gò}$ báy myìt $\text{khrúm} = \text{nná} = \text{ɕè?}$
 time=then 3pl all=TOP again mind agree=SEQ=then

Then all of them agreed and

- (24) “ꨲ, ráy = ṇà = ꨲ.”
INTJ COP=CONT=SPF

“Yes, indeed!”

- (25) “ꨲánthe yá? jan-ꨲà = ni = kó? = ná mənàw naw
1pl now sun-person=pl=LOC=ABL Manau dance
sa = ꨲay = kó? = ná wà = ꨲay rê məjò = gò”
go=NMLZ=LOC=ABL come=NMLZ COP because=TOP

“Because now we came back from the heavenly spirits, from where we went to dance the Manau”

- (26) “ꨲánthe = ni mənàw ce naw = s-ay.”
1pl=pl Manau know dance=COS-DECL

“we can dance the Manau now.”

- (27) “day = kó? = ná ró? di = ṇná”
that=LOC=ABL exactly do=SEQ

“In the same way”

- (28) “ꨲánthe nday mənàw = ni jóm naw = ná = ꨲè?”
1pl this Manau=pl together dance=SEQ=then

“we will dance the Manau together and then”

- (29) “jóm ꨲá = gà?,” ṇú tsun = ṇná = ꨲè?
together eat=HORT QUOT say=SEQ=then

“let’s eat them!” they said and

- (30) ꨲánthe yòṇ = khrà day lægát-phún = kó? = ꨲè? mənàw = ni
3pl all=till that banyan-tree=LOC=then Manau=pl
grày tsòm = khrà = ꨲ...
very be.beautiful=till=SPF

they all (danced) the Manau so beautifully on that banyan tree...

- (31) $\text{ɕánthe} = \text{ná}$ $\text{nìŋmày} = \text{ni}$ ɕə-prá? ləgà $\text{ɕìŋko} = \text{ni}$
 3pl=GEN tail=pl CAUS-be.clear other wing=pl

ɕə-pyen $\text{re} = \text{nná} = \text{ɕè?}$
 CAUS-be.broad COP=SEQ=then

They had their tails displayed and their wings spread and

- (32) $\text{yòŋ} = \text{khrà} = \text{thè?}$ grày $\text{tsòm} = \text{lèt}$
 all=till=COM very be.beautiful=SIM

with them all being beautiful

- (33) $\text{ɕánthe} = \text{ná}$ $\text{ɕìŋko} = \text{ni}$ $\text{nìŋmày} = \text{ni}$ ləgrá? $\text{lá} = \text{nná} = \text{ɕè?}$
 3pl=GEN wing=pl tail=pl extend take=SEQ=then

they had their wings and tails extended and

- (34) $\text{day} = \text{kó?}$ mənàw jóm $\text{naw} = \text{mà?} = \text{?ay} = \text{dà?}$.
 that=LOC Manau together dance=pl=DECL=HS

they danced the Manau together there.

- (35) $\text{day} = \text{kó?} = \text{ná} = \text{ɕè?}$ $\text{?ù} = \text{ni}$ grày $\text{tsòm} = \text{lèt}$ mənàw
 that=LOC=ABL=then bird=pl very be.beautiful=SIM Manau

$\text{naw} = \text{tonà} = \text{?ay} = \text{phé?}$?órà $\text{jəkh-ray-wa} = \text{gò}$ ɕàn
 dance=CONT=NMLZ=ACC well orphan-man=TOP game

gyam $\text{sa} = \text{?ay} = \text{kó?}$ sa $\text{mù} = \text{?ay} = \text{dà?}$.
 hunt go=NMLZ=LOC go see=DECL=HS

Then an orphan saw the birds dancing the Manau very beautifully where he had come to hunt.

- (36) $\text{ɕəlóy} = \text{ɕè?}$ jəkh-ray-mà $\text{day} = \text{mùŋ}$ sa $\text{yu} = \text{to} = \text{s-ay} = \text{dà?}$.
 time=then orphan-child that=also go see=CONT=COS-DECL=HS

Then the orphan came and saw it.

- (37) “yî, yá? ?ù = ni = wa day = ráam tsòm = khra re = ná
 INTJ now bird=pl=TOP that=about be.beautiful=till COP=SEQ
 wà mənàw naw = to = ?ay = gò,” ŋú = òná = cè?
 come Manau dance=CONT=DECL=SFP say=SEQ=then

He said, “Oh, the birds have come and are dancing the Manau so beautifully!” and

- (38) “?ánthe cingyim-məçà = ni = pyi nîŋ re mənàw ŋú = ?ay
 1pl human-person=pl=even thus COP Manau say=NMLZ
 n-ce naw = cì = ?ay = wa.”
 NEG-know dance=still=DECL=SFP

“Even we humans cannot yet dance the dance called Manau in this way.”

- (39) “?ù = ni = pyi nó? = gò nday = ráam re khik = khra re
 bird=pl=even still=TOP this=about COP be.elegant=till COP
 nday = ráam tsòm = khra re mənàw ce naw = s-ay,”
 this=about be.beautiful COP Manau know dance=COS-DECL
 ŋú = òná = cè?
 say=SEQ=then

“Even the birds can already dance the Manau this way, this elegantly, this beautifully,” he said and

- (40) cì = gò ?ù = ni = kó? = ná yu lá = ?ay = dà?
 3sg=TOP bird=pl=LOC=ABL see take=DECL=HS

he learned it from the birds.

- (41) ré = òná = cè? nîta = dè? báy wà re = yàŋ = cè?
 COP=SEQ=then house=ALL again come COP=when=then

Then he went back home and

- (42) day = kó? = òná = cè? day məre = kó? = ná ?əsàk lòy gəbà,
 that=LOC=SEQ=then that village=LOC=GEN age a.little be.big
 lòy kuŋ = s-ay dīŋla = ni = phé? tsun re = òná = cè?
 a.little be.mature=COS-NMLZ old.man=pl=ACC say COP=SEQ=then

then he told it to the slightly more mature old men in that village and

- (43) day jəkh-ray-mà = wa ʔù = ni gə-nìŋ re mənàw
 that orphan-child=TOP bird=pl how COP Manau

naw = ʔay = phéʔ ɕi yu lá = ná
 dance=NMLZ=ACC 3sg see take=SEQ

the orphan saw how the birds danced the Manau and

- (44) day = kóʔ = ná, day ɕə-ní = kóʔ = ná, day ʔətèn = kóʔ = ná,
 that=LOC=ABL that day=LOC=ABL that time=LOC=ABL

from then on, from that day onwards, from that time onwards,

- (45) ʔánthe ɕìŋgyim-məɕà = ni, wùnpoŋ-ɕà = ni mənàw naw
 1pl human-person=pl Kachin-person=pl Manau dance

phaŋ = wà = ʔay rê = dàʔ.
 begin=VEN=NMLZ COP=HS

we humans, the Kachin people, started dancing the Manau.

- (46) day = kóʔ = ná.
 that=LOC=ABL

From then on.

Symbols and Abbreviations

1	first person	INTJ	interjection
3	third person	INTNS	intensifier
ABL	ablative	LOC	locative
ACC	accusative	NEG	negative
ALL	allative	NMLZ	nominalizer
CAUS	causative	ONOM	onomatopoeia
COM	comitative	pl	plural
CONT	continuous	QUOT	quotative
COP	copula	RED	reduplicant
COS	change-of-state	SEQ	sequential
DECL	declarative	SFP	sentence-final particle
GEN	genitive	SIM	simultaneous
HORT	hortative	TOP	topic
HS	hearsay	VEN	venitive

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Suprasegmental features of Lamo and its sister languages: With reference to Kansai Japanese*

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Summary

Lamo (Tibeto-Burman; spoken in mDzongong County of Chamdo, TAR) is a tone language with a two-way distinction between H (high) and L (low) just like its sister languages, Larong sMar and Drag-yab sMar. In describing its suprasegmental system, we find a word-tone system similar to many Tibetic languages, but different from them in the tone-bearing unit. Lamo's suprasegmental system can be summarised as a combination of the two-way distinction at the word-initial position and the existence of the accent nucleus. We further examined the suprasegmental features and behaviour of derivation attested in the numeral morphology of Lamo and its sister languages, Larong sMar and Drag-yab sMar, and concluded that their system is fundamentally more similar to Kansai (Keihan) Japanese than to Tibetic languages.

Key words: Lamo, Tibeto-Burman, suprasegmentals, tone, accent nucleus

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1. Introduction

This article describes the suprasegmental phenomena of Lamo and its sister languages, Larong sMar and Drag-yab sMar, spoken in Chamdo Municipality, Tibet Autonomous Region (see Appendix 1 for their mutual relationship). Several studies on the vocabulary of these languages have been published: Lamo: Suzuki et al. (2018) on Kyilwa and Suzuki et al. (2021a) on Lamei; Larong sMar: Suzuki et al. (2018) on Phagpa, Zhao (2019) on Dongba, Suzuki et al. (2022a) on Rongsmad, and Suzuki et al. (2023); Drag-yab sMar: Suzuki et al. (2018) on Razi, and Suzuki et al. (2021b) on mBengo. The following grammatical descriptions are available: dKon-mchog rGyal-mtshan (2018), Tashi Nyima and Suzuki (2019), Zhao (2019), and Suzuki and Tashi Nyima (2021).

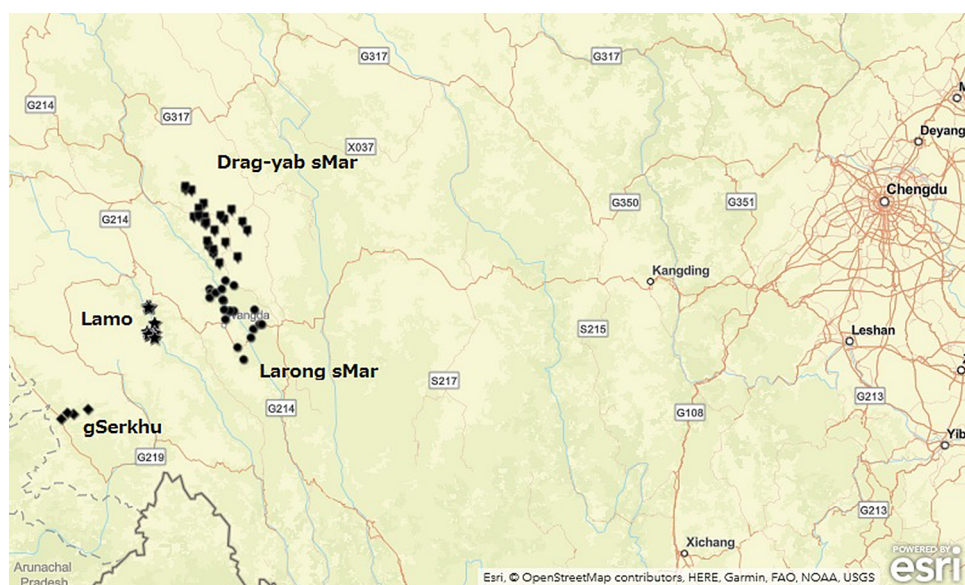


Figure 1 Overall geographical distribution of Lamo and its sister languages, including gSerkhu, a closely related language.

Descriptions of suprasegmentals often differ according to the method of analysis. Therefore, we can say that each scholar has their own method of analysis. Realistically, we cannot reconcile multiple different approaches to the suprasegmentals of a given language. Let us consider some examples of Tibetic languages since the target languages in Figure 1 are surrounded by varieties of Kham Tibetan (Schwieger 1989, Endo et al. 2021, Suzuki et al. 2022b, Tournadre and Suzuki 2023). We find completely different analyses of suprasegmentals in the varieties spoken in the same language community at the village level, such as Suzuki (2015a, 2015b) vs. Rig-'dzin dBang-mo (2015) [the dGonpa dialect of mBrugchu

Tibetan] and Suzuki (2014) vs. Yin and Ren (2021) [the Ongsum dialect of mBrugchu Tibetan]. Suzuki (2014, 2015) argued that there are no distinctive pitch tones in the target languages, whereas Rig-'dzin dBang-mo (2015) and Yin and Ren (2021) described syllable tones. As for Lhasa Tibetan, some describe its suprasegmentals as a syllable-tone system (Jin 1958, sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med and sKal-bzang dByangs-can 2002), some as a word-tone system (Kitamura 1977, Hoshi 2003). This is the difference between the methodological approaches. However, we also note that the so-called *tone* contains different features, including contrasts in phonation and even vowel length (Huang et al. 1994, Zhu 2010, Suzuki 2011a, 2011b, 2022a). Hence, we need to distinguish 'tonal' features in suprasegmental phenomena from the existence of suprasegmental distinctions.

Another noteworthy term is 'accent'. It is often used for 'stress' and 'accent nucleus', depending on the language. However, both differ not only in phonetic realisations but also in the system. For example, the 'accent' in English means the 'stress' and the position of 'stress' in a (functional) word matters. On the contrary, the 'accent' in Japanese (standard or Kanto and Kansai) means the pattern of the 'accent nucleus' and theoretically, a nucleus can appear after a given syllable of a word; zero-nucleus words also exist. Hence, the Japanese 'accent' appears *between syllables* or at the word-final position, or even permits a word without bearing an accent, differing from English, in which the 'accent' must exist *on a syllable* of a word.

There should be no unified analysis of suprasegmentals. Their analyses and descriptions can be influenced by schools or even by the systems of scholars' reference languages. Our project team comprises multilingual people whose mother tongues are Japanese (Kansai dialect), Lamo, Khams Tibetan (Lhagang dialect), and Amdo Tibetan (Mabzhi dialect). Our collaboration concludes that Lamo's suprasegmentals are distinctive.

We collected data from 14 Lamo speakers (including Lamei speakers) through fieldwork and retrospective interviews. Both dialects, LDongpa Lamo (including Kyilwa, Gewa, and Phukha varieties) and Lamei (including Sitsekha, Roba, and Wamei varieties), are described.

2. Lamo suprasegmental system

This section provides an analysis and description of suprasegmentals of Lamo (Kyilwa variety). See Appendix 2 for the segmental systems.

For monosyllabic words, we find a fundamental distinction between H and L. H's phonetic realisation is either high-level [H] or high-falling [F], whereas L's phonetic realisation is either low-rising [R] or rising-falling [RF]. Whether or not a pitch pattern falls is a free variant. Four main patterns were found for polysyllabic words without affixes. The tone-bearing units are the first two syllables, and no distinction is found in the third syllable, which remains atonal. The four types of disyllabic words are HH, LH, HL, and LL. If each surface form with falling is considered, the four are described as [HF], [RF],

[HL], and [RL], respectively. The last two do not take a falling pitch, but their second syllable takes a low level, which is common in the realisation of atonal syllables. For this phenomenon, we introduce an ‘accent nucleus’, that makes a second syllable atonal; we describe the accent nucleus with an apostrophe (') between the first and second syllables. In summary, a regular system includes the following patterns:

Table 1 Suprasegmental system of Lamo

numbers of syllables	without an accent nucleus		with an accent nucleus	
1 (monosyllabic)	H	L	H(')	L(')
2 (disyllabic)	HH	LH	H'L	L'L
more than 2	HHL(L...)	LHL(L...)	H'LL(L...)	L'LL(L...)
phonological description (disyllabic example)	$\bar{s}$ s [HH, HF]	$\acute{s}$ s [RH, RF]	$\bar{s}'$ s [HL, FL]	$\acute{s}'$ s [RL]
phonological description (trisyllabic example)	$\bar{s}$ s s [HHL]	$\acute{s}$ s s [RHL]	$\bar{s}'$ s s [HLL]	$\acute{s}'$ s s [RLL]

N.B. s = syllable.

Suprasegmental representations rarely form distinctions with minimal pairs. However, this does not allow us to neglect the suprasegmental descriptions. Even monosyllabic words have only a small number of minimal pairs, such as in (1) and (2).

- (1) / $\bar{h}$ ko/ ‘cut into pieces’
 (2) / $\bar{h}$ ko/ ‘move’

Another pseudo-minimal pair is (3)–(4).

- (3) / $\bar{h}$ ku/ ‘stealing’
 (4) / $\acute{h}$ ku/ ‘tent’

Preaspiration exhibits a relationship with H; however, it can occur with L, as in (2). It consists of a minimal pair, as shown in (5) and (6):

- (5) / $\acute{h}$ ko/ ‘year’
 (6) / $\bar{h}$ ko/ ‘move’ (= 2)

For the resonants, we found two phonemically identical words with both tones, as shown in (7). Both differ in appearance; (7b) only appears as a part of the compound, and hence it is considered a conditional variant or morpheme.

- (7) a. /'mə/ 'person'; appearing independently.
 b. /mə/ 'person'; appearing in compounds such as /mə t̪h̥ä t̪eʰe/ 'all, everyone'.

We did not find good (pseudo-minimal) pairs for polysyllabic words. Hence, we cited examples with similar target syllables in (8)–(11). Pairs (8) and (9) show a distinction with or without an accent nucleus, and pairs (10) and (11) show a distinction of tone as H (high-level) or L (rising).

- (8) /ʰku t̪ə/ 'stool'
 (9) /ku' ku/ 'cuckoo'
 (10) /ko' t̪u/ 'high'
 (11) /ko ze/ 'clothes'

Resonant initials exhibit the distinction pattern displayed above, as in (12)–(14).

- (10) /mə t̪ə/ 'tear'
 (11) /mə' do/ 'eye(ball)'
 (12) /mə ʰdzi/ 'eyebrow'

Some monosyllabic words show that the suprasegmental pattern difference appears only when a suffix follows a pseudo-minimal pair, as shown in (13)–(15).

- (13) /t̪ə/ 'water' [t̪i'-ji] analysed as /t̪ə'-ji/ 'water-GEN'
 (14) /t̪i/ 'house' [t̪i'-ji] analysed as /t̪i'-ji/ 'house-GEN'
 (15) /t̪u/ 'road' [t̪e'-ji] analysed as /t̪u'-ji/ 'road-GEN'

Some speakers have already changed their vowels, even in a single form, as in (16) and (17): In this case, the existence of the accent nucleus in its base form should be registered as an entry in the dictionary. However, at present, our description does not reflect this method of recording word forms.

- (16) /t̪i'/ 'water'
 (17) /t̪i/ 'house'

3. Lamo suprasegmental behaviours: based on the numeral construction

It is desirable to provide many combinations of specific morphemes to examine the suprasegmental behaviour. For this purpose, we will focus on morphology of cardinal numerals of Lamo, especially the numbers from ‘one’ to ‘hundred’. Suzuki et al. (2022c) described the word forms of cardinal numbers from 1 to 100 in Lamo and its two sister languages. The numeral system of these languages is decimal, similar to that of most Tibeto-Burman languages (Shirai et al. 2023).

First, we cite word forms 1 to 20 in the four varieties of Lamo in Table 2. The forms in the shaded columns are Tibetic loans. Morphologically, the numerals 11 to 19 are analysed as ‘ten’ + ‘one’s place’s numeral’, on which we focus from the perspective of the suprasegmental phenomenon. Each native form from ‘one’ to ‘ten’ is connected directly with the following Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB; data and item number from STEDT): ‘one’: PTB *tyak ʰ > *g-t(y)ik (#2726); ‘two’: PTB *g/s-ni-s (#2504); ‘three’: PTB *g-sum (#2666); ‘four’: PTB *b-ləy (#2409); ‘five’: PTB *l/b-ŋa (#1306); ‘six’: PTB *d-k-ruk (#2621, #5521); ‘seven’: PTB *s-ni-s (#2505); ‘nine’: PTB *d/s-kəw (#2364); ‘ten’: PTB *gip (#2238) (see also Suzuki et al. 2022c).

Table 2 Lamo cardinal numerals 1 to 20

	Kyilwa Lamo	Gewa Lamo	Sitsekha Lamei	Roba Lamei
one	ṽdə / ʱṽdə	ṽdə	ʱṽdə	ṽdə
two	ṽna	ʼna	ṽna	ṽna
three	ṽsɔ̃	ʼsɔ̃	ʼṽsɔ̃	ʼṽsɔ̃
four	ṽlə	ṽlə	ṽlə	ṽle
five	ṽnwə	ṽnwə	ṽnwə	ṽnwə
six	ʼtɕi	ʼtɕi	ʼtɕʰɨ	ṽtɕʰu
seven	ṽŋi	ṽŋi	ʱṽdɛ	ṽŋi
eight	ʱṽdzə	ʱṽdzə	ʱṽdzɛ	ʱṽdzə
nine	ṽŋgo / ʱṽŋgo	ṽŋgo	ʱṽŋgo	ṽŋgo
ten	ṽka	ʼka	ʼka	ṽka
eleven	ṽka təʷ	ʼka təʷ	ʼka təʷ	ʼka tə
twelve	ṽka na	ʼka na	ʼka na	ʼka na
thirteen	ṽkwa sɔ̃	ʼkwa sɔ̃	ʼkaʼ ṽsɔ̃	ʼkaʼ ṽsɔ̃
fourteen	ṽkwa lə	ʼkwa lə	ʼka lɛ	ʼka le
fifteen	ṽkwo nwə	ṽkwo nwə	ʼka no	ʼka no
sixteen	ṽka tɕi	ʼka tɕi	ʼka tɕʰɨ	ʼka tɕʰu
seventeen	ṽka ŋi	ʼka ŋi	ʼka ŋɛ	ʼka ŋɛ
eighteen	ʼka ʱṽdzə	ʼka ʱṽdzə	ʼkaʷ ʱṽdzɛ	ʼka ʱṽdzɛ
nineteen	ʼje ŋgo	ʼje ŋgo	ʼkaʷ ʱṽŋgo	ʼkɛ ŋgo
twenty	ʼne qa	ʼne qa	ʼne qa	ʼnə ɕu

Three word forms, ‘seven’, ‘eight’, and ‘twenty’, include Tibetic loans: < *bdun* ‘seven’; < *brgyad* ‘eight’; < *nyi shu* ‘twenty’. Of them, the form for ‘eight’ is related to PTB *b-r-gyat $\propto$ *b-g-ryat (#2259), from which the Tibetic form is also derived. Although the word form for ‘eighteen’ contains a morpheme ‘eight’, the morphology follows the native construction. The form for ‘seven’ in Sitsekha Lamei is possibly a recent replacement, since the native form is attested in the form for ‘seventeen’ as a morpheme /nɛ/. The form for ‘twenty’ in Roba Lamei reflects the phonological restriction of Lamei: the absence of prepalatal nasals (/ɲ/) despite surrounding varieties of Khams Tibetan possessing them (Suzuki et al. 2022).

As Table 2 shows, a variation in the surface forms is attested, even within each dialect group: Lamo and Lamei. First, we focus on the morpheme for ‘ten’ appearing either alone (‘ten’), in ten’s place (tens), or in one’s place of rounded numbers (10x; $2 \leq x \leq 9$); cf. a similar morphological variation is attested in Darmdo Minyag (Dawa Drolma & Daudey 2021). Compared to the form for ‘ten’, the marked feature of the given morpheme appears in ‘thirteen’, ‘fourteen’, and ‘fifteen’ in Lamo, in ‘eighteen’ in Lamei, and in ‘nineteen’ in both Lamo and Lamei. It is noteworthy that the first syllable in the word form for ‘nineteen’ exhibits an irregularity, which can be considered a shared innovation between the varieties.

We will now focus on the representation of suprasegmentals. Of the monosyllabic words, the high-low variation is found in ‘one’, ‘two’, ‘three’, ‘six’ and ‘ten’. The high-low distinction of the tens’ forms also varies in Lamo; Kyilwa Lamo exhibits a high tone from ‘eleven’ to ‘seventeen’, and the rest does a low counterpart without the accent nucleus, whereas Gewa Lamo exhibits a low tone except for ‘fifteen’, possessing an accent nucleus in ‘fourteen’ and ‘twenty’. The Lamei’s forms are stable, remaining low (rising), and the accent nucleus is present only in ‘thirteen’. Practically, the difference in phonetic details and the existence of the accent nucleus do not prevent speakers from each village from being intelligible when they have a common topic of conversation. However, this should not be considered an underestimation. However, it is difficult to explain why this variation occurred.

To examine the suprasegmental behaviour in more complicated forms, we will discuss forms of unrounded numbers from 21 to 99, which consist of ‘a numeral of ten’s place’ + /p^he/ + ‘a numeral of one’s place’. The morphemes of the ten’s place in Kyilwa are: /nɛ qa/ ‘20’, /sɔ̃ qa/ ‘30’, /lɛ qa/ ‘40’, /nwɛ qa/ ‘50’, /tɕi qa/ ‘60’, /ɲi qa/ ‘70’, /dʒɛ qa/ ‘80’, and /ŋgo qa/ ‘90’. /p^he/ is a conjunction denoting ‘and’ as well as a comitative case marker. Hence, the word formation of ‘21’ is literally ‘twenty and one’. Because /p^he/ is a suffix-like morpheme, its tone-bearing unit merges with the preceding numeral form. The numerals of ten’s place are disyllabic, and thus /p^he/ is always assigned as [L]. However, some speakers pronounce every suffix-like morpheme in low [L]; in this case, /p^he/ is in [L], regardless of the number of syllables in the preceding words. Note that some speakers of the younger generation use Tibetic loans instead of native formulations.

The two numerals in unrounded numbers have two independent tones in Lamo, as shown in (18) and (19):

- (18) ‘21’ ʼnɛ qa p^he ˉdə [RHLH] (Kyilwa) ʼnɛʼ qa p^he ˉdə [RLLH] (Gewa)
 (19) ‘42’ ˉlə qa p^he ˉna [HHLH] (Kyilwa) ˉlɑʼ qa p^he ˈna [HLLR] (Gewa)

Examples (18) and (19) show possible combinations of suprasegmentals in the first two syllables (although the data are from two varieties): The sets of numerals (20) from ‘21’ to ‘29’ and (21) from ‘41’ to ‘49’ are taken from Kyilwa Lamo, showing a suprasegmental pattern in a single variety, where we find the regularity in the morphology of the twenties consisting of two numeral morphemes (‘20’ and each one’s place’s morpheme) connected by /p^he/ and the forties with ‘40’ and each one’s place’s morpheme connected by /p^he/.

(20) ‘21’ to ‘29’ in Kyilwa Lamo; first syllable in low

- ‘21’ ʼnɛ qa p^he ˉdə [RHLH]
 ‘22’ ʼnɛ qa p^he ˉna [RHLH]
 ‘23’ ʼnɛ qa p^he ˉsɔ [RHLH]
 ‘24’ ʼnɛ qa p^he ˉlɔ [RHLH]
 ‘25’ ʼnɛ qa p^he ˉnwɔ̃ [RHLH]
 ‘26’ ʼnɛ qa p^he ˈtɕi [RHRL]
 ‘27’ ʼnɛ qa p^he ˉŋi [RHLH]
 ‘28’ ʼnɛ qa p^he ˉʰdʒə [RHLH]
 ‘29’ ʼnɛ qa p^he ˉŋo [RHLH]

(21) ‘41’ to ‘49’ in Kyilwa Lamo; first syllable in high

- ‘41’ ˉlə qa p^he ˉdə [HHLH]
 ‘42’ ˉlə qa p^he ˉna [HHLH]
 ‘43’ ˉlə qa p^he ˉsɔ̃ [HHLH]
 ‘44’ ˉlə qa p^he ˉlɔ [HHLH]
 ‘45’ ˉlə qa p^he ˉnwɔ̃ [HHLH]
 ‘46’ ˉlə qa p^he ˈtɕi [HHLR]
 ‘47’ ˉlə qa p^he ˉŋi [HHLH]
 ‘48’ ˉlə qa p^he ˉʰdʒə [HHLH]
 ‘49’ ˉlə qa p^he ˉŋo [HHLH]

The word for ‘100’ is /ˉʰdʒi/. Unrounded numbers consist of /ˉʰdʒi/ + /p^he/ + a numeral of decimal numbers, as in (22). Again, the word form contains three morphemes with each independent tone-bearing unit; a variant is attested in the morpheme /p^he/ following /ˉʰdʒi/ ‘100’.

- (22) ‘133’ /^hdʒi p^he ʼsɔ̃ qa p^he ˉsɔ̃/ [HHLRLH] or
 /^hdʒi’ p^he ʼsɔ̃ qa p^he ˉsɔ̃/ [HLRHLH]

There are two variations of the word formation of words for ‘200’, ‘300’, etc: native series and Tibetic series, as in (23).

- (23) ‘200’ /na ^hdʒi/ (native) /nɛ ^hdʒa/ (Tibetic loan)

Their unrounded numbers were also formed using the same morphological process as displayed in (22). Note that /p^he/ is always in L because the morpheme of a hundred’s place consists of two syllables, as in (24).

- (24) ‘389’ /sɔ̃ ^hdʒi p^he ˉ^hdʒə qa p^he ˉⁿgo/ [HHLHHLH] (native)

We also found similar suprasegmental phenomena in Lamo’s sister languages, Larong sMar and Drag-yab sMar, as shown in Table 3. This contains crucial data for approaching the proto-language. Larong sMar and Drag-yab sMar employ the native forms (roots) differing from Lamo, e.g., /tə (k^hi)/ ‘one’ and /ʔə/ ‘eight’. Furthermore, the lexical form for ‘twenty’ is monomorphemic which implies that it is vigesimal based on Matisoff’s (1995: 149–153) description, in which any languages from Qiangic are not reported as the case. For suprasegmentals, these languages differ in their cognates. In Larong sMar, the numerals from ‘1’ to ‘9’ mostly have L, and in Drag-yab sMar, they have either H (‘2’, ‘6’, ‘7’, ‘8’, and ‘9’) or L (the others), whereas their majority shows H in Lamo, though ‘3’ and ‘6’ can be characterised as L. The most striking feature is found in Drag-yab sMar, in which the accent nucleus does not function in the numeral morphology.

Table 3 Cardinal numerals 1 to 20 in Larong sMar and Drag-yab sMar

	Larong sMar			Drag-yab sMar		
	Rongsmad	Phagpa	Thaya	mBengo	Razi	rDzongsar
one	ʼtə k ^{hi}	ʼte k ^{hi}	ʼtə xi	ʼtə k ^h ɔ	ʼtɛ	ʼtɛ
two	ʼne ji	ʼni	ʼne	ˉni	ˉne	ʼne
three	ʼsɔ̄	ˉsɔ̄	ʼsɔ̄	ʼsɔ̄	ʼsɔ̄	ʼsɔ̄
four	ʼfiɣə	ʼfiɣə	ʼfiɣə	ʼfiɣə	ʼfiɣe	ˉze
five	ʼŋa	ʼna	ʼŋa	ʼŋa	ʼna	ʼŋa
six	ʼtɕ ^h u	ʼtɕ ^h u	ʼtɕ ^h u	ˉtɕ ^h u	ˉtɕ ^h u	ˉ ^h tɕ ^h o
seven	ʼŋu	ʼni	ʼŋu	ˉŋē	ˉnē	ˉnē
eight	ʼɕə	ʼɕe	ʼɕə	ˉɕə	ˉɕa	ˉɕe
nine	ʼŋgo	ʼ ⁿ Gə	ʼŋgo	ˉ ⁿ Gə	ˉ ⁿ GO	ˉ ⁿ GO
ten	ˉjaʼ ko	ˉʔa qō	ˉkaʼ qo	ʼfia qō	ʼfia ɤō	ʼfia qo
eleven	ʼkaʼ tə	ˉʔa tə	ˉkaʼ tə	ʼfia tə	ʼfia ^h tej	ʼfia tɛ
twelve	ʼkaʼ ne	ˉʔa ni	ˉkaʼ ne	ʼfia ni	ʼfia ^h ne	ʼfia ne
thirteen	ʼboʼ sɔ̄	ˉʔɔ̄ sɔ̄	ˉboʼ sɔ̄	ʼfia sɔ̄	ʼfia sɔ̄	ʼfia sɔ̄
fourteen	ʼboʼ ɣə	ˉʔɔ̄ ɣə	ˉboʼ ^h ɣə	ʼfia ^h ɣə	ʼfiɛ ɣe	ʼfia ze
fifteen	ʼkaʼ na	ˉʔə na	ˉka ɲa	ʼja ɲa	ʼfia na	ʼfia na
sixteen	ʼkwaʼ tɕ ^h u	ˉʔo tɕ ^h u	ʼbo tɕ ^h u	ʼfia tɕ ^h u	ʼfia tɕ ^h u	ʼfia ⁿ tɕ ^h o
seventeen	ʼkwaʼ ŋu	ˉʔeʼ nē	ʼke ŋu	ʼfia ŋē	ʼfia nē	ʼfia nē
eighteen	ʼkwaʼ ɕə	ˉʔeʼ ɕē	ʼke ɕə	ʼfia ^h ɕe	ʼfia ɕa	ʼfia ɕe
nineteen	ʼkwaʼ ŋgo	ˉʔe ⁿ Gə	ʼke ŋgo	ʼfia ⁿ Gə	ʼfia ⁿ GO	ʼfia ⁿ GO
twenty	ʼnaʼ fia	ʼna	ʼna	ʼna	ʼna	ʼna

It is also noteworthy that the morphology of the numeral compounds, for example, 21 to 29, differed from that of Lamo. We examine the cases of Rongsmad and Thaya of Larong sMar in (25) and (26), respectively. In Rongsmad Larong sMar, except for ‘21’, all the numerals phonologically form a single TBU, and each final (third) syllable is atonal. In contrast, the numerals in Thaya Larong sMar have two TBUs for the ten’s place and one’s place, respectively.

(25) ‘21’ to ‘29’ in Rongsmad Larong sMar

- ‘21’ ‘na’ fɪa ʔtə kʰi [RLRH]
 ‘22’ ‘na’ fɪa ne [RLL]
 ‘23’ ‘na’ fɪa sɔ̃ [RLL]
 ‘24’ ‘na’ fɪa ʰɣə [RLL]
 ‘25’ ‘na’ fɪa ŋa [RLL]
 ‘26’ ‘na’ fɪa tɕʰu [RLL]
 ‘27’ ‘na’ fɪa ŋʊ [RLL]
 ‘28’ ‘na’ fɪa ɕə [RLL]
 ‘29’ ‘na’ fɪa ŋgo [RLL]

(26) ‘21’ to ‘29’ in Thaya Larong sMar

- ‘21’ ‘na ʔtə xi [RRH]
 ‘22’ ‘na ʔne [RR]
 ‘23’ ‘na ʔsɔ̃ [RR]
 ‘24’ ‘na ʰɣə [RR]
 ‘25’ ‘na ʔŋa [RR]
 ‘26’ ‘na ʔtɕʰu [RR]
 ‘27’ ‘na ʔŋʊ [RR]
 ‘28’ ‘na ʔɕə [RR]
 ‘29’ ‘na ʔŋgo [RR]

We summarise the suprasegmental features of numerals in the three languages in Table 4, which shows that the correlations of suprasegmental presentation among the languages are not significant. Using this dataset, the reconstruction of a lexically encoded tonal system is unrealistic.

Table 4 Suprasegmental characteristics of Lamo, Larong sMar, and Drag-yab sMar

	Lamo				Larong sMar			Drag-yab sMar		
	Kyilwa	Gewa	Sitsekha	Roba	Rongsmad	Phagpa	Thaya	mBengo	Razi	rDzongsar
one	H	H	L	H	LH	LH	LH	LH	L	L
two	H	L	H	H	LH	L	L	H	H	L
three	H	L	L	L	L	H	L	L	L	L
four	H	H	H	H	L	L	L	L	L	H
five	H	H	H	H	L	L	L	L	L	L
six	L	L	L	H	L	L	L	H	H	H
seven	H	H	L	H	L	L	L	H	H	H
eight	H	H	H	H	L	L	L	H	H	H
nine	H	H	H	H	L	L	L	H	H	H
ten	H	L	L	H	HH	HH	H'L	LH	LH	LH
eleven	HH	LH	LH	LH	L'L	HH	H'L	LH	LH	LH
twelve	HH	LH	LH	LH	L'L	HH	H'L	LH	LH	LH
thirteen	HH	LH	L'L	L'L	L'L	H'L	H'L	LH	LH	LH
fourteen	HH	L'L	LH	LH	L'L	HH	H'L	LH	LH	LH
fifteen	HH	HH	LH	LH	L'L	HH	HH	LH	LH	LH
sixteen	HH	LH	LH	LH	L'L	HH	LH	LH	LH	LH
seventeen	HH	LH	LH	LH	L'L	H'L	LH	LH	LH	LH
eighteen	LH	LH	LH	LH	L'L	H'L	LH	LH	LH	LH
nineteen	LH	LH	LH	LH	L'L	HH	LH	LH	LH	LH
twenty	LH	L'L	L'L	LH	L'L	L	L	L	L	L

4. Contrast with Tibetic and Japonic languages

This section briefly contrasts Lamo's suprasegmental system with the Tibetic and Japonic languages to characterise Lamo's system from a typological viewpoint.

Many Tibetic languages classified in the South-eastern and Central sections (Tournadre 2014, Tournadre and Suzuki 2023) possess a suprasegmental distinction, with different pitch patterns over a word (word-tone). The case of Lhasa Tibetan has been studied the most, Kitamura (1977: 1) gives a comprehensive analysis of the word-tone system in Lhasa Tibetan. The tone-bearing unit is analysed as the first two syllables of polysyllabic words with four patterns: high-level /˥/, rising /˨˨˥/, falling /˨˨˩/, and rising-falling /˨˨˥˩/. Phonetically, the beginning of the second syllable is always high.

Kitamura (1977: 1) describes that disyllabic words have two patterns of each word-tone,

introducing a ‘neutral tone’ on the second syllable, called the A-type and B-type, as shown in Table 5. Both types maintain a tonal pattern, in which the A-type makes a pattern with two syllables as a whole, whereas the B-type makes it on the first syllable, followed by the second syllable in a neutral tone (low level in general).

Table 5 Two tonal types of disyllabic words in Lhasa Tibetan

A-type (without the neutral tone)	B-type (with the neutral tone)
ˉ SS [HH]	ˉ S(˙)S [Hn]
ˊ SS [LH]	ˊ S(˙)S [Rn]
ˋ SS [HF]	ˋ S(˙)S [Fn]
ˆ SS [LF]	ˆ S(˙)S [LFn]

A phenomenon similar to that shown in Table 5 in other Tibetic languages is described within the framework of the stress accent proposed by Caplow (2016a, 2016b) and A-tshogs (2018). The difference between these types is represented by the position of the stress, which principally occurs in the nominalising derivation morphology. Thus, the system in these languages differs from that of Lhasa Tibetan; however, both systems are crucial to the phonological status of suprasegmentals.

Both the neutral tone and stress accent are tied to a single syllable, particularly a syllable core. However, although this explanation can function practically in Lhasa Tibetan, it has not been applied to Lamo; no linguistic realisation supports either the existence or non-existence of stress *on a single syllable*.

Then we focus on the concept of ‘accent nucleus’ appearing *between two syllables*. Most Japonic languages possess a suprasegmental distinction from the accent nucleus (Kishie 2021). Uwano (2012) argues that there are three types of “accent kernels” in Japonic, of which we deal with a “lowering kernel” in his term. Of the Japonic varieties with the “lowering kernel” (accent nucleus in our term), Kansai Japanese (Keihan varieties) has a two-way distinction: accent nucleus + two-way register distinction (high-level and rising) at the word-initial position. The location of an accent nucleus has no limitation; the minimised condition is *after* a mora (which can exclude the case of the word-initial position), and a zero-nucleus is also permitted. Two two-mora examples are presented in Table 6. Theoretically, the position of the accent nucleus is permitted after every mora and can expand to every number of morae, as shown in (27).

(27) set of examples containing the word *buta* ‘pig’ in Kansai Japanese

- /_L buta˦/ ‘pig’
 /^H kobuta/ ‘piglet’
 /_L kurobuta/ ‘black pig’
 /^H minibuta/ ‘mini pig’
 /_L tyokin˦buta/ ‘piggy bank’
 /^H maikuro˦buta/ ‘micromini pig’

However, only minimal pairs of this complex suprasegmental distinction were found. This implies that suprasegmentals do not function crucially as a distinctive feature of the Kansai Japanese system. However, it is noteworthy that the difference in suprasegmentals helps native speakers distinguish natives to a given area from others, even in the Kansai region.

Table 6 Two two-mora examples of Kansai Japanese (Bansyuu dialect)

	Accent nucleus	Type high (^H)	Type rising (_L)
single-syllable word	N/A	^H kii ‘mind’	_L kii ‘tree’
	Yes	^H ki˦i ‘key, Kii (toponym)’	—
two-syllable word	N/A	^H gawa ‘side’	_L kawa ‘skin to eat’
	Yes	^H ka˦wa ‘river’	_L kawa˦ ‘leather’

Compared with the Tibetic and Japonic examples, the Lamo’s basic system corresponds to the Kansai Japanese case, and an additional restriction is, as in Tibetic language, that the tone-bearing unit is limited to first two syllables. Hence, an accent nucleus is necessary when it exists between the first and second syllables.

Conversely, the description method of the Lamo suprasegmentals can thus be applicable to Kansai Japanese, e.g., /˦ha ɕi/ ‘edge’, /˦ha˦ ɕi/ ‘bridge’, and /˦ha ɕi/ ‘chopsticks’. The existence of the word-final nucleus is also observed but barely forms a minimal pair, as shown in (28) and (29).

(28) /˦a me˦/ ‘rain’ vs. /˦a me/ ‘candy’

(29) /˦a ki˦/ ‘autumn’ vs.

/˦a˦ ki/ ‘Aki (proper name; toponym as well as person name)’ vs.

/˦a ki/ ‘vacancy’

This difference from Lamo is observed in the tone-bearing unit: Kansai Japanese’s TBU is a whole (phonological) word, as shown in (30).

- (30) various patterns in Kansai Japanese.
- | | | |
|----------------------|----------|------------|
| /ne zu mi/ | [LLH] | ‘mouse’ |
| /ku ru ma/ | [HHH] | ‘car’ |
| /dzu u ni ga tsu/ | [HHHLL] | ‘December’ |
| /dzu u i tci ga tsu/ | [HHHHHL] | ‘November’ |

If a suffixing marker is added, the TBU expands to it, e.g., /ha ci-ni/ [LLH] ‘chopstick-DAT’ and /a me’-ga/ [LHL] ‘rain-NOM’. In this regard, Lamo is more restricted than Japonic. As seen earlier, Lamo’s TBU is the first two syllables of a word, and most suffixes are outside of the TBU; hence, we do not see (30) in Lamo.

In summary, the formulation of Lamo’s suprasegmental phenomenon is essentially common to the Kansai (Keihan) Japanese system: a combination of the height at a word-initial position (H or L) and the existence of an accent nucleus between two given syllables (falling point). A striking difference from the Japonic system found in Lamo is the TBU, which is restricted to the first two syllables, similar to the Tibetic languages.

Cross-linguistically, the system recognised in Lamo and its sister languages is not the sole pattern of suprasegmental features. The Lamo system was also attested in Choyu (Suzuki 2018) and Lhagang Choyu (Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2019). Based on my field notes, other languages, such as nDrapa, Darmdo Minyag, and Prinmi, may be candidates for the application of this system. In particular, Darmdo Minyag, and Prinmi discuss the similarity of their suprasegmental system to Japonic by Ikeda (2002) and Ding (2001), respectively, although they call the system a ‘pitch accent’. In conclusion, Lamo’s suprasegmental phenomenon is not unique to related Tibeto-Burman languages, especially those spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere (see Roche and Suzuki 2017, 2018 for languages spoken in this region).

5. Conclusion

This article describes Lamo’s distinctive suprasegmental features and examines surface representations of simple and complex cardinal number forms. It then discussed Lamo’s suprasegmental system, the complex two-way distinction of pitch and accent nucleus, and justified the system by contrasting it with Kansai Japanese and Tibetic languages.

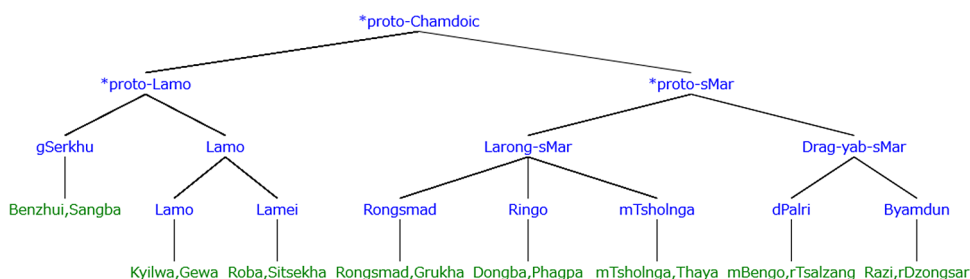
Although Lamo’s suprasegmentals are less known, they depend on the analysis methodology. It is possible that other Tibeto-Burman languages can be described in a manner similar to Choyu and Lhagang Choyu.

Abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary	L	low-rising
DAT	dative	NOM	nominative
F	falling	PTB	proto-Tibeto-Burman
H	high-level	R	rising
^H	high	S	syllable
L	low		

Appendix 1. Hypothetical relationship among Lamo, Larong sMar, and Drag-yab sMar

Glottolog provides the term “Chamdoic” (<https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/cham1336>; accessed March 2023), which is not used in any descriptive work of us. Currently, we cannot rigorously evaluate this grouping using a comparative linguistic approach due to insufficient data. However, based on the available data, we propose the following branching in which the terms on the third line correspond to the glottonyms in the classification provided by Tashi Nyima and Suzuki (2019); see also Suzuki (2022b) for details of the glottonyms. Each of these four languages forms a language island. In the following chart, the asterisk denotes “merely hypothetical”.



Appendix 2. Syllable structure and segmental phonemes in Lamo (Kyilwa dialect)

Syllable structure

The maximum structure is ${}^c C_i G V$, in which c , preinitial, is for prenasalisation (n) and preaspiration (${}^h / {}^{\tilde{h}}$); C is occupied by all the consonants; G is for $/w/$ and $/j/$; V is occupied by all the vowels. A minimum structure is $C_i V$.

Consonantism

The consonant inventory is in Table 7. Note that the phonemes /x, ɣ/ are phonetically either velars [x, ɣ] or palato-velars [çx, ʝɣ], of which the latter principally appears in Tibetic loanwords.

Table 7 Consonant inventory of Lamo (Kyilwa dialect)

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
plosive	aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	tʰ			k ^h	q ^h	
	non-aspirated	p	t	t̚			k	q	ʔ
	voiced	b	d	d̚			g	g	
affricate	aspirated		ts ^h		tɕ ^h				
	non-aspirated		ts		tɕ				
	voiced		dz		dʑ				
fricative	voiceless		s	ʂ	ɕ		x [çx]	χ	h
	voiced		z		ʐ		ɣ [ʝɣ]	ʁ	ɦ
nasal	voiced	m	n		ɳ		ŋ	ɴ	
	voiceless	m̥	n̥		ɳ̥		ŋ̥		
liquid	voiced		l	r					
	voiceless		l̥						
semi-vowel	voiced	w				j			

N.B. A: labial; B: denti-alveolar; C: retroflex; D: prepalatal; E: palatal; F: velar; G: uvular; H: glottal

Main consonant clusters are constituted by a main initial with either preaspiration or prenasalisation.

Vocalism

The vowel inventory is in Table 8. There are four types: plain, nasalised, creaky, and nasalised creaky. Not all the vowels have four types in our current data. Plain vowels includes a retroflex and velarised schwa.

Table 8 Vowel inventory of Lamo (Kyilwa dialect)

plain	i	e	ɛ	a	ɑ	ɔ	o	u	ɯ	ʉ	ə	ɵ	ɤ	əʷ
nasalised	ĩ	ẽ	ɛ̃		ã	õ	õ	ũ			ə̃	ɵ̃		
creaky		ɛ̰	ɛ̰	ɑ̰	ɑ̰	ɔ̰	o̰	ṵ	ɯ̰	ʉ̰	ə̰	ɵ̰	ɤ̰	
nasalised creaky					ã̰	õ̰								

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Shaping rGyalthangic: A historical account of Yunnan Khams*

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Summary

This research systematically investigates the sound change process of shared innovations concerning ‘rGyalthangic’—a group consisting of varieties including the rGyalthang subgroup and its surrounding varieties within the Sems-kyi-nyila group. In other words, we discuss diachronic features based on synchronic data using a geolinguistic method. First, we describe how to differentiate rGyalthangic from the others in Yunnan Khams and then display the principal shared innovations compared with Literary Tibetan forms. Second, we list the sound change processes according to their relative timescales. Third, we draw a linguistic map demonstrating the distribution of rGyalthangic in Yunnan and analyse how the linguistic distribution has changed.

Key words: Khams Tibetan, rGyalthang, sound correspondence, shared innovation, phylogenetic tree

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1. Introduction

This article aims to shape the historical lineage of Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetans among Yunnan Tibetan. Tibetic languages spoken in Yunnan Province, China, are classified as Kham Tibetan. Obviously, the grouping ‘Yunnan Tibetan’ does not reflect any phylogenetic group but is a simple term based on the administrative unit. However, the administrative unit often influences linguistic studies in China, and it gives an impression that the so-called ‘Yunnan Tibetan’ or ‘Diqing Tibetan’ group can be established based on linguistic criteria, as found in Qu and Jin (1981), Jiang (2002), and Zhang (1996).

However, descriptions such as Min (ed.) (2001) suggest that Diqing Tibetan is not uniform. The internal dialectal classification of Kham Tibetan in Yunnan has been debated, and the most recent view by Suzuki (2022c) classifies Yunnan Kham into four groups: Sems-kyi-nyila, sDerong-nJol, Chaphreng, and Southern Route. Each group is considered independent with shared internal innovations.

1. Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetan
 - a. rGyalthang
 - b. East Yunling Mountain
 - c. Melung
 - d. dNgo
 - e. Lamdo
2. sDerong-nJol Tibetan
 - a. West Yunling Mountain
 - b. sPomtserag
 - c. Bodgrong
 - d. mBalhag
3. Chaphreng Tibetan
 - a. gTormarong
4. Southern Route Tibetan
 - a. gYagrwa

This classification is an improved version of Suzuki’s (2008b, 2018, 2022a) analyses and discussion. Figure 1 shows this grouping, with each point representing the location where fieldwork was conducted. Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetan is spoken in the south-easternmost corner of the Tibetosphere, facing other ethnic and cultural areas and languages (Roche and Suzuki 2017, 2018).

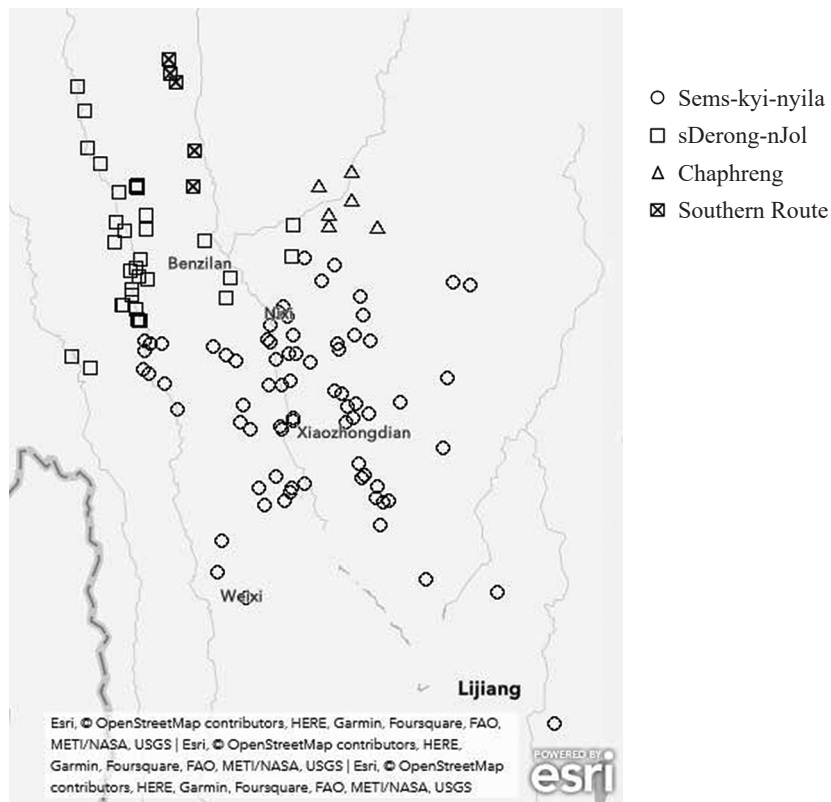


Figure 1 The classification of Yunnan Tibetan and research location

This classification is based on phonological and lexical features; see Suzuki (2022c) for details. However, there are no diachronically rigorous discussions. Although there should be shared innovations that characterise the divergence of one group from another at a node in the phylogenetic tree, current studies do not provide sufficient evidence. To address this issue, this study adopts a bottom-up approach, that is, a reconstruction based on modern data in a single subgroup. As a working hypothesis, I present a *Stammbaum*, phylogenetic tree, of the proto-Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetan in Figure 2,¹ in which the last nodes correspond to the five groups of Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetan provided above: rGyalthang, East Yunling Mountain, Melung, dNgo, and Lamdo.

¹ The tree-model charts included in the article were designed with Syntax Tree Generator: <http://mshang.ca/syntree/>

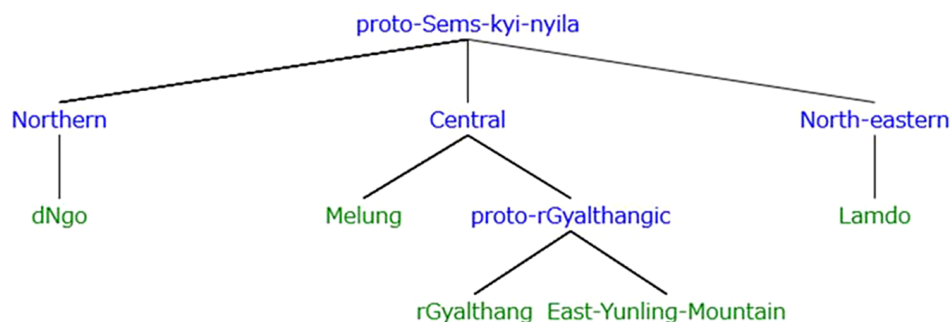


Figure 2 A hypothetical *Stammbaum* of Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetan reflecting the view of Suzuki (2022c)

Figure 2 shows that the proto-Sems-kyi-nyila initially diverged into three groups. The terms Northern, Central, and North-eastern, are derived from their relative geographical locations. The current classification shows that Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetan consists of five subgroups, of which the Central group may have been considered a proto-group of three. The group ‘rGyalthangic’ is located under this group.

The present research question is how to characterise sound change processes as shared innovations concerning ‘rGyalthangic’—a group consisting of varieties including the rGyalthang subgroup and its surrounding varieties within the Sems-kyi-nyila group, located under ‘proto-rGyalthangic’ in Figure 2. In other words, we discuss diachronic features based on synchronic data using a geolinguistic method. The varieties under rGyalthngic are distributed in the southeasternmost part of the Tibetic-speaking sphere (Endo et al. 2021, Tournadre and Suzuki 2023). The range of rGyalthang has also received attention in other research areas, as discussed by Mortensen (2019). Therefore, a contribution to this topic is possible from a linguistic viewpoint.

First, I describe how to differentiate rGyalthangic from others in Yunnan Khams, mainly by displaying the principal shared innovations compared with Literary Tibetan forms. I then list the sound change processes according to the relative timescale by drawing linguistic maps demonstrating the distribution of rGyalthangic in Yunnan to analyse how the linguistic distribution has changed.² A firm establishment of rGyalthangic is key to the reconstruction of proto-Sems-kyi-nyila, which can lead to a new view of the development of Tibetic languages in the southeastern Tibetosphere.

2. Specifying the target varieties in Yunnan Tibetan

To define ‘rGyalthangic’ by linguistic criteria, I first limit Tibetic varieties within Yunnan Tibetan by conditioning the existence of two sound changes compared with Literary Tibetan

² The phonetic description in the article basically follows Kitamura (1977), Zhu (2010), and Suzuki (2016a).

(LT): (A) LT *sh* > /x^(h)/; and (B) LT *l* > /j/. See Suzuki (2022c) for details of (A) and Suzuki and Tshering Yangdron (2021) and Suzuki (2021, 2022a) for details of (B). If a given variety fulfils either or both, it is then excluded from ‘rGyalthangic’. The background of these sound changes may have been due to language contact. For sound changes (B), two language groups (Chaphreng and sPomborgang; see Suzuki 2018c) were expected. This is the difference between ‘Northern’ and ‘North-eastern’ in Figure 2.

Figure 3 shows the varieties that meet sound change (A) and Figure 4 shows the varieties that meet sound change (B).

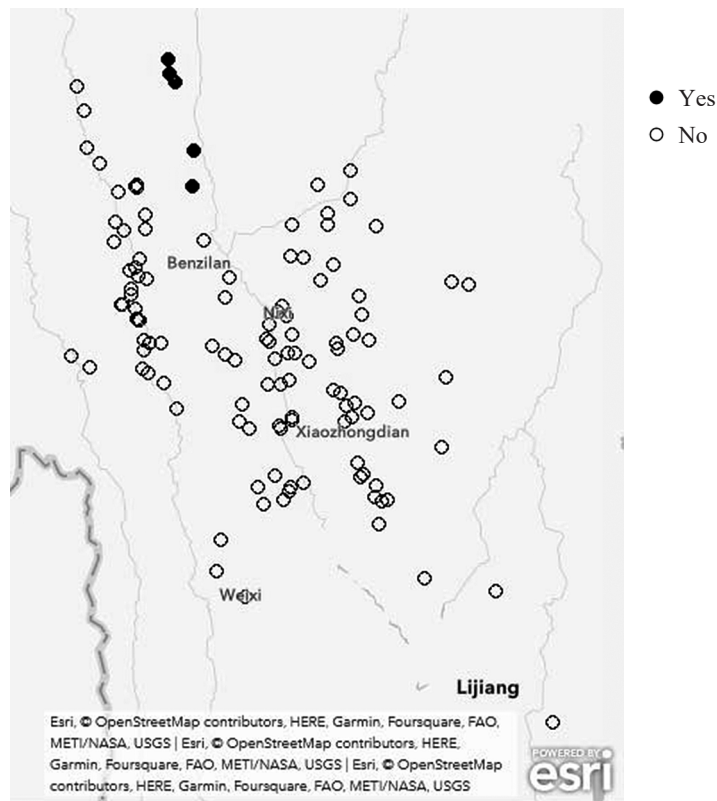


Figure 3 Varieties with the sound change LT *sh* > /x^(h)/

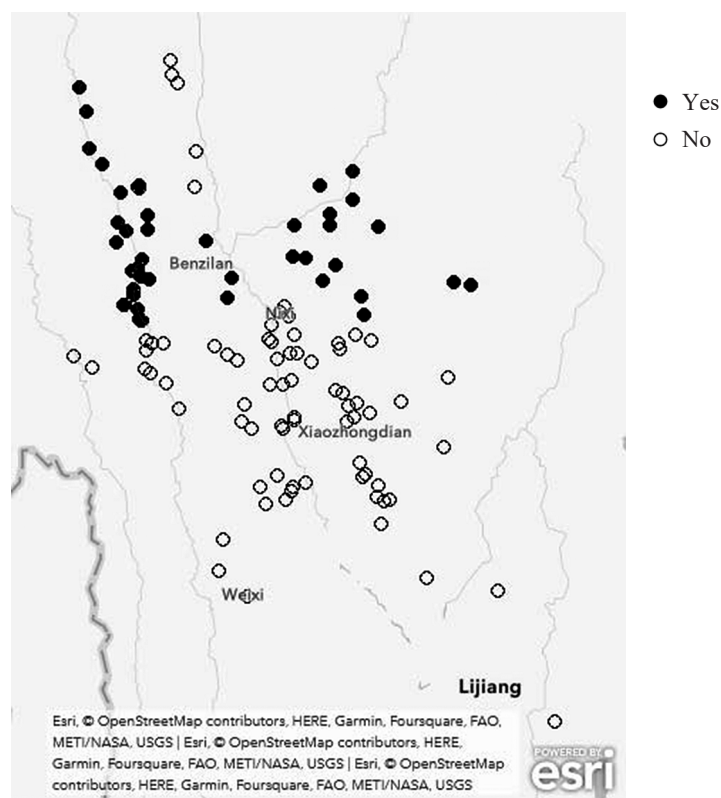


Figure 4 Varieties with the sound change LT $l > /j/$

By removing the locations of ‘Yes’ in Figures 3 and 4, we obtain Figure 5, in which only Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetan remains, particularly the subgroups of rGyalthag, East Yunling Mountain and Melung (‘Central’ in Figure 2; except for the Lancangjiang subgroup under proto-Melung).

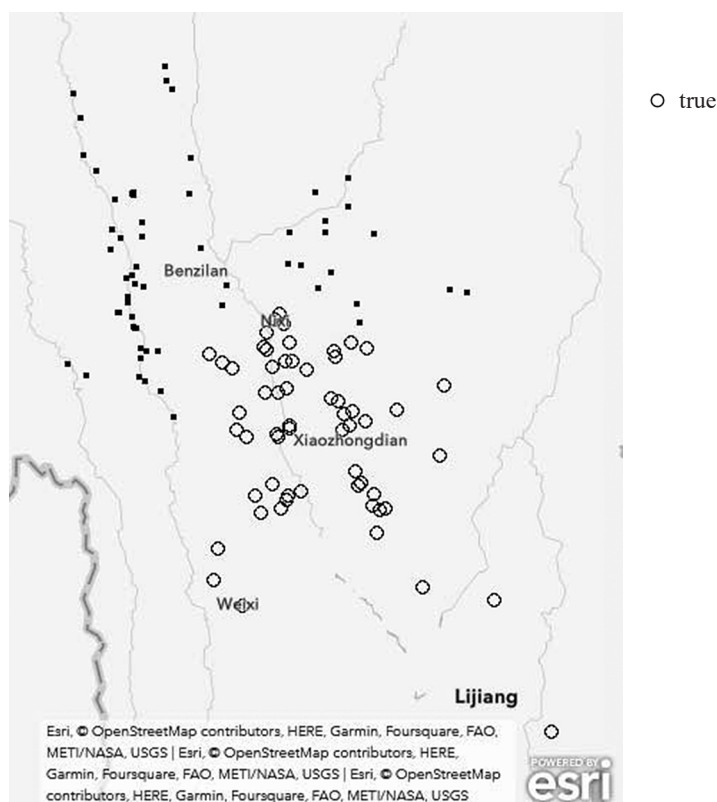


Figure 5 Location of varieties without the features of Figures 3 and 4

Focusing on Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetan, a tree specifying the split conditions of ‘Northern’ and ‘North-eastern’ from ‘Central’ is presented in Figure 6. As mentioned earlier, conditions L1 and L2 are the same in the sound change process; the contact languages that trigger the change differ.

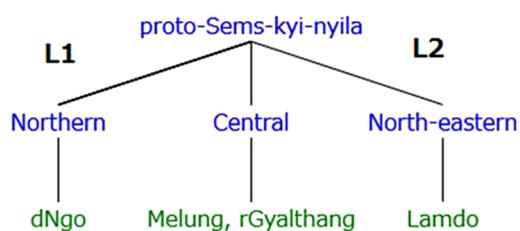


Figure 6 The conditions of splits from proto-Sems-kyi-nyila

L1: *1 > j (hypothetically due to contact with Chaphreng/sDerong-nJol Tibetan; see Suzuki 2018a, 2018b)

L2: *1 > j (hypothetically due to the contact with sPomborgang Tibetan; see Suzuki 2010a, 2018b)

Among the varieties under the ‘Central’ group, we find a striking peculiarity of Melung which can even characterise itself within the Tibetic languages—generating pharyngealised, velarised, or retroflexion vowels triggered by the /r/-consonant preceding a vowel, corresponding to Literary Tibetan *r*-glide (*ra-btags*). The almost ubiquitous sound correspondence in Tibetic is that the *r*-glide triggers the retroflexion of the preceding main initial and corresponds to retroflex plosives or affricates (Tournadre and Suzuki 2023). Hence, this process does not characterise any variety. Therefore, the demonstration of a different sound correspondence in the Melung group is one of the main reasons the Melung group was placed in an independent branch called the proto-Melung in history.

Here, we summarise the divergence pattern of the Melung group by explaining how the features of the *r*-glide exhibit variation. As shown in Figure 2, the proto-Melung diverged into three groups: the Lancangjiang, Phongpa, and Melung. Its geographical distribution ranges from north to south. Of these, Phongpa is considered the most archaic in its sound change process (Suzuki 2020), but it is placed under proto-Melung because other phonological and lexical criteria are similar to those of varieties classified as Melung (Suzuki 2022b).

The unmarked sound change process appears in the varieties of the Lancangjiang subgroup spoken along the Lancangjiang River and in the western part. The varieties of this subgroup exhibit a sound change process similar to that in the contact language, the West Yunling Mountain subgroup of sDerong-nJol Tibetan (Suzuki 2008a, 2022a), that is, the emergence of retroflex plosives or affricates. In order that the varieties of the Lancangjiang subgroup to undergo the same sound change process, the proto-Lancangjiang subgroup should have had the /r/-glide as it is, which is, fortunately, attested in Phongpa. Therefore, proto-Lancangjiang is supposed to have separated from Phongpa in its earlier stages, and this scenario is supported by its lexical similarities to some varieties belonging to the East Yunling Mountain subgroup (Suzuki 2018a).

The last subgroup, Melung, underwent various noteworthy sound change processes. The LT /r/-glide influenced its following vowel to make it retroflex (/Vʳ/), velarised (/Vʷ/), pharyngealised (/Vˤ/), or omitted with a change of vocalic articulatory position. These phonological features can co-occur in a single language, although the main sound correspondence is stable depending on the variety, as in

- Zhollam: pharyngealised, retroflex (Suzuki 2011a, 2011b)
- Melung: omitted (Suzuki and Tshering mTshomo 2009, Suzuki 2009a)
- sKobsteng: retroflex, pharyngealised (Suzuki 2013b)
- nKhorlo: retroflex, velarised (Suzuki 2010c)
- mThachu: retroflex, velarised (Suzuki 2013a)
- Daan: omitted (Suzuki 2009b)

To summarise, the ‘Central’ group and its divergent conditions can be explained in Figure 7, excluding the details under proto-rGyalthangic.

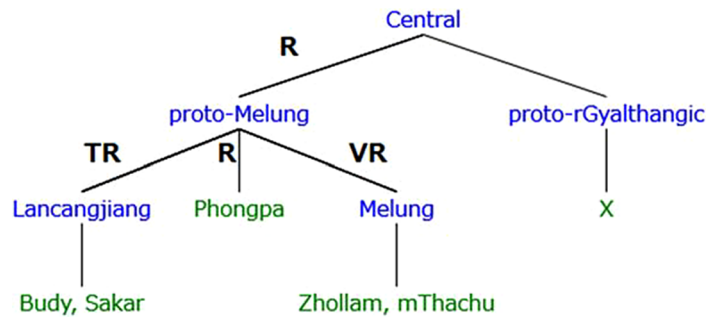


Figure 7 Divergence of the Melung subgroup

R: *Cr=Cr (retention of an older form)

TR: *Cr > t(ʂ)^h / t(ʂ) / d(z) (nearly ubiquitous sound change process within the Tibetic languages)

VR: *CrV > CV^r (triggering retroflexion, velarisation, and pharyngealisation)

Figure 8 shows the locations where we removed the Melung group and some varieties spoken in the west. This reflects the candidates of ‘rGyalthangic’, as shown in Figure 8.

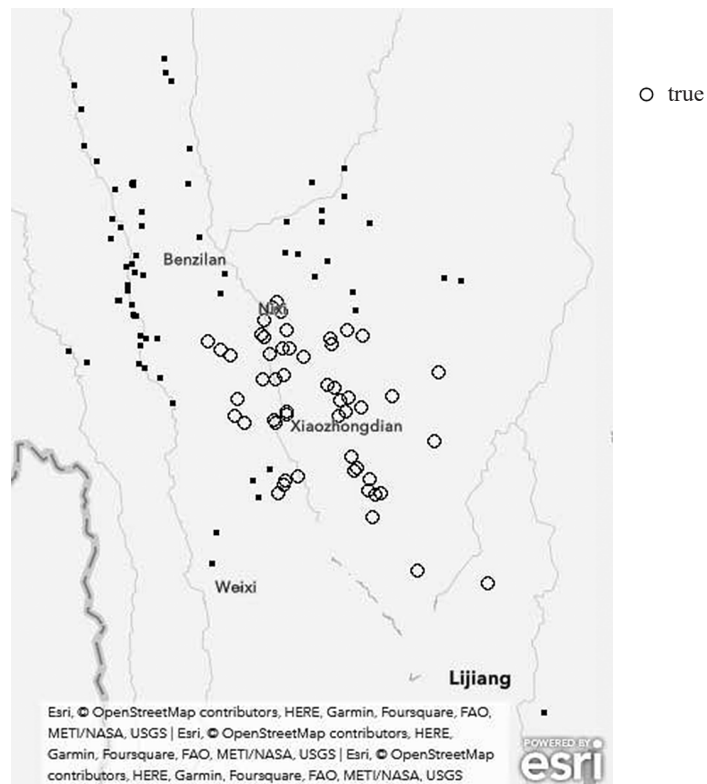


Figure 8 Candidates of rGyalthangic and their geographical distribution

Note that the Melung and rGyalthangic subgroups seem to be neighbours of Tacheng Town (south of the map; compare Figure 8 with Figure 5). However, a Naxi-speaking area (Qibie Village) exists in between (Suzuki 2017). The following discussions will deal with the varieties with ‘True’ in Figure 8.

3. Examining the key sound change patterns of rGyalthangic

3.1 Dataset

The entire sound development process of the five sound correspondences will be examined to determine how rGyalthangic varieties are characterised from the viewpoint of shared innovation (Suzuki 2018a). The five targets are the C-, Ky-, Kr-, Pr-, and Py-series, each denotes as follows:

- C-series: All initial combinations containing the main initial *c*, *ch*, and *j*.
- Ky-series: All initial combinations containing complex initial combinations *ky*, *khy*, and *gy*.
- Kr-series: All initial combinations containing complex initial combinations *kr*, *khr*, and *gr*.
- Pr-series: All initial combinations containing complex initial combinations *pr*, *phr*, and *br*.
- Py-series: All initial combinations containing the complex initial combinations *py*, *phy*, and *by*.

Historically, the LT C-, Ky-, Kr-, Pr-, and Py-series are distinctive in articulation, as shown in the LT writing system. In the rGyalthangic varieties, each of the five series shows the following sound correspondences (main initials only; most of them may have been preaspirated or prenasalised):

- C-series: retroflex affricates ($tʂ^h/tʂ/dʒ$)
- Ky-series: prepalatal affricates ($tɕ^h/tɕ/dʒ$)
- Kr-series: palatal plosives ($c^h/c/ɟ$), prepalatal affricates ($tɕ^h/tɕ/dʒ$)
- Pr-series: palatal fricatives ($ɕ^h/ɕ/ɟ$), prepalatal fricatives ($ɕ^h/ɕ/ʒ$)
- Py-series: prepalatal fricatives ($ɕ^h/ɕ/ʒ$)

As the correspondences above show, the C-, Ky-, and Py-series do not exhibit any differences; hence, we need not describe any examples to analyse the historical divergence within rGyalthangic. The Kr- and Pr-series have two patterns of sound correspondence: palatal and prepalatal. Therefore, we find four combinations of all series, which are listed in Table 1.

Table 1 Sound correspondences in rGyalthagic

Class	C-series	Ky-series	Kr-series	Pr-series	Py-series
Class 1	tʂʰ/tʂ/dʒ	tʂʰ/tʂ/dʒ	cʰ/c/ɟ	ʂʰ/ʂ/ɹ	ʂʰ/ʂ/ʒ
Class 2A	tʂʰ/tʂ/dʒ	tʂʰ/tʂ/dʒ	cʰ/c/ɟ	ʂʰ/ʂ/ʒ	ʂʰ/ʂ/ʒ
Class 2B	tʂʰ/tʂ/dʒ	tʂʰ/tʂ/dʒ	tʂʰ/tʂ/dʒ	ʂʰ/ʂ/ɹ	ʂʰ/ʂ/ʒ
Class 3	tʂʰ/tʂ/dʒ	tʂʰ/tʂ/dʒ	tʂʰ/tʂ/dʒ	ʂʰ/ʂ/ʒ	ʂʰ/ʂ/ʒ

Each class in Table 1 includes varieties as follows:

Class 1: Choswateng (Suzuki 2014a), Khrezhag (Suzuki 2024)

Class 2A: Gyennyemphel (Suzuki 2011d), Myigzur (Suzuki 2014b), Alangu (Zhou and Suzuki 2022)

Class 2B: gYaglam (Suzuki 2016b)

Class 3: rGyalthag (Hongladarom 1996, *Yunnan Shengzhi* 1998), Byagkar (Suzuki 2018a), Buyapei (Suzuki 2019b), Lungyul (Suzuki 2019a)

The examples are listed in Table 2. It shows lexical examples of *ja* ‘tea’ (C-series), *gyang* ‘wall’ (Ky-series), *gri* ‘knife’ (Kr-series), *brag* ‘cliff’ (Pr-series), and *bya* ‘chicken’ (Py-series).

Table 2 Lexical examples in rGyalthagic

Variety	Class	<i>ja</i> ‘tea’	<i>gyang</i> ‘wall’	<i>gri</i> ‘knife’	<i>brag</i> ‘cliff’	<i>bya</i> ‘chicken’
Choswateng	Class 1	ʈʂa	ʈʂɔ̃	ʈʂə	ʈʂaʔ	ʈʂa
Yangthang	Class 2A	ʈʂa	ʈʂɔ̃	ʈʂə	ʈʂaʔ	ʈʂa
gYaglam	Class 2B	ʈʂa	ʈʂɔ̃	ʈʂə	ʈʂaʔ	ʈʂa
rGyalthag	Class 3	ʈʂa	ʈʂɔ̃	ʈʂə	ʈʂaʔ	ʈʂa

It is obvious that Class 1 remains the most distinct corresponding to each of the LT series and is thus considered the most archaic within the rGyalthagic. In contrast, Class 3 is the simplest, and thus appears most recently, according to the principles of historical linguistics.

Another essential feature is that the C- and Ky-series do not merge but always form a distinction. Class 3 maintains a tripartite distinction for the five series, exhibiting a loss of palatal obstruents from its consonant inventory.

The geographical distribution of the classes above is displayed in Figure 9.

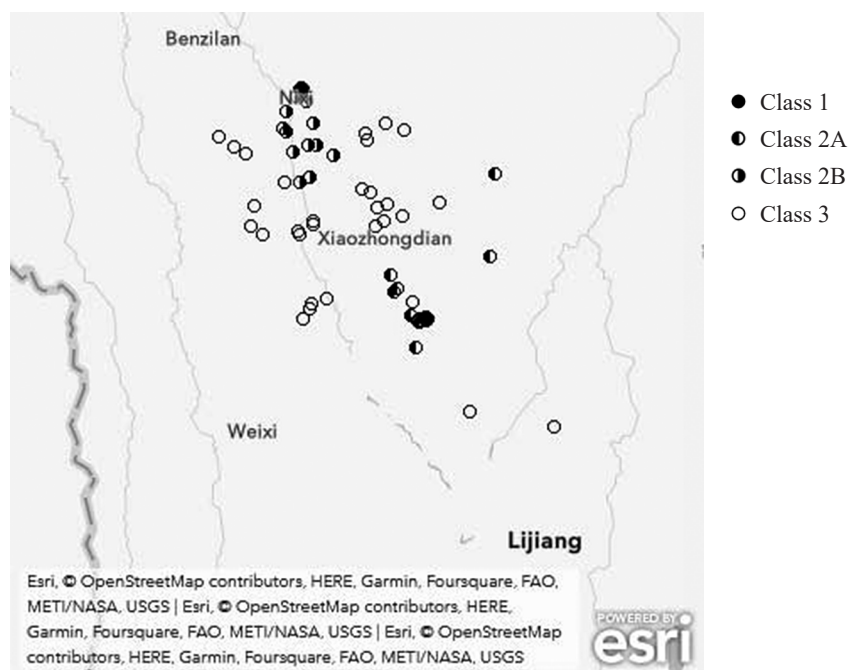


Figure 9 Class of consonantism in rGyalthangic

Then, three ways of the sound change process can be supposed:

Class 1 > Class 2A > Class 3: First fricative series merged with the prepalatal series.

Class 1 > Class 2B > Class 3: The first affricate series merges into the prepalatals.

Class 1 > Class 3: Loss of palatal series; merged into prepalatals

The establishment process of Class 3 seems ambiguous because we cannot observe traces of the existence of either Class 2A, Class 2B, or directly from Class 1. However, we identified a remnant of Class 1 in the sound correspondence of Class 2A. In Class 2A, if an example of the LT Pr-series is with a preinitial letter ' , the corresponding sound will be a palatal plosive initial with prenasalisation /^hʃ/, that is, the same sound correspondence as the LT Kr-series. This is exemplified by the word for 'dragon' *'brug*: /^hʃʊʔ/. This phenomenon also appeared in some varieties belonging to Class 3. Hence, Type Class 1 > Class 2A > Class 3 and Type Class 1 > Class 3 may be distinguished from each other with the criterion of whether LT *'br*-initial corresponds to /^hʃ/ or /^hdʒ/.

Nevertheless, elucidating the evolution of Class 3 using a comparative method is difficult. We then refer to the theory of geolinguistics, in which linguistic changes form a continuum. From a geolinguistic viewpoint, the three methods correspond to phenomena in the following subgroups, which are mapped in Figure 10.

- Class 1 > Class 2A > Class 3: rGyalthang subgroup
 Class 1 > Class 2B > Class 3: East Yunling Mountain subgroup/Northern (Nyishe) varieties
 Class 1 > Class 3: East Yunling Mountain subgroup/Southern (mBrugpalung) varieties

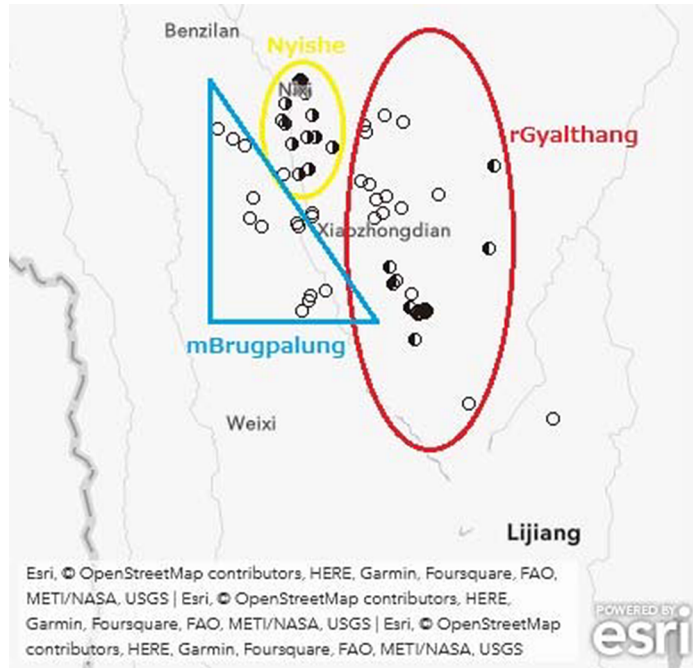


Figure 10 Sound change patterns and grouping within rGyalthangic

Based on the grouping displayed in Figure 10, the varieties in the group named mBrugpalung exhibit only Class 3 without any traces of Class 1. However, the status of Class 1 is a prerequisite for the establishment of Class 3 because the direct merger of the Ky- and Kr-series, as well as the Py- and Pr-series, has less potential. Additionally, some mBrugpalung varieties share lexical features with varieties belonging to the Melung group, as pointed out by Suzuki (2018b, 2022b). Considering the geographical distribution of the mBrugpalung group, it can be assumed that it is related to the Melung group. Therefore, the origin of the mBrugpalung group must be discussed from a broader perspective.

From a geolinguistic viewpoint, we find an ABA-distribution in the rGyalthang group within rGyalthangic. The archaic pattern (Class 1) is distributed in the periphery and its recent counterpart (Class 3) is in the central area. The Nyishe group exhibit both archaic and recent patterns in their peripheries. In this case, I suppose that Class 3 of the Nyishe group was influenced by the mBrugpalung group, in which all varieties belonged to Class 3.

3.2 Discussion

When we consider the establishment of rGyalthagic, we cannot avoid the issue of how the /r/-sound triggers palatalisation ($kr > /c/$; $pr > /ç/$). This is the first step in understanding the systematic sound changes characterising rGyalthagic. We focus on ‘r’-sounds as key shared innovations, particularly, ‘r’ in the glide position.

The sound ‘r’ is reconstructed as /r/ following the phonemic status represented by the Literary Tibetan orthography. The LT subscript *r* (*r* in *kr*, *pr*, etc.) was, as suggested in the orthography, pronounced as a glide /r/ in the ‘proto-Sems-kyi-nyla’ level, as exemplified in Phongpa (the Melung group; Suzuki 2022a, 2022b). The Phongpa dialect maintains the glide /r/, which corresponds to the LT subscript *r*. In other varieties belonging to the Melung group, the ‘r’-sound influenced the development of vowels rather than that of initials, triggering retroflexion, velarisation, and pharyngealisation of vowels. These sounds are all characterised by a lowering of F3 in acoustic observations (Suzuki 2011c).

Then, which sound changes did this ‘r’-glide triggered in rGyalthagic? Based on the phenomena attested in Tibetic languages, I consider whether this ‘r’ triggers retroflex initial consonants. Using this criterion, we distinguished rGyalthagic from the other groups to a greater extent (with some exceptions). The candidates of rGyalthagic thus show no retroflex initial consonants derived from this ‘r’ (except for cultural words reflecting the reading pronunciation); instead, ‘r’ either (1) disappears without any traces or (2) changes into another sound.

The varieties of the rGyalthag subgroup generally exhibit the second pattern; ‘r’ seems to correspond ‘y’ as a glide (/j/) and trigger another sound change pattern in parallel with the /j/-glide. I consider this feature a key shared innovation that characterises rGyalthagic. Then a next question is a process of making ‘r’-glide /j/. There are several Tibeto-Burman languages exhibiting the sound change of the glide /r/ in /j/, as in Burmese (Nishi 1976).

Suzuki (2012) proposes the velarisation of the ‘r’-sound due to the language contact with Naxi ($*r > ʁ$), and now I expand this to $*r > ʁ > j$ or $*r > ʁ^j > j$. We are aware of the former *sound change* or at least the *sound correspondence* between the *r* and dorsal sounds regarding French and Germanic languages such as Dutch, Danish, and Bergen Norwegian, in which the spelling *r* corresponds to [ʁ] (Chambers and Trudgill 1998², Vaa 2016); compare these cases with Occitan, Italian, and Swedish. The relationship between velar and palatal continuants is frequently attested in various Khams Tibetan varieties in which the sound correspondence with LT *sh* and *zh* is palatal-velar sounds (Suzuki et al. 2019; see also sKal-bzang ‘Gyur-med 1985, Häslér 1999, Suzuki 2010b, Suzuki and Yudron 2020, and Suzuki and Li 2021 for various descriptions based on the primary sources). Based on some examples as /^ṇgɯ:/ ‘rice’ (LT *’bras*) and /^ṇguʔ/ ‘pastoralism’ (LT *’brog*) from the rGyalthagic group (Suzuki 2012, 2014b, Zhou and Suzuki 2022), the velarisation process seems to be reasonable. In contrast, the mBrugpalung group does not show the velarisation; instead, the given velar sounds uniformly correspond to prepalatals as /^ṇdʒe:/ ‘rice’ (LT *’bras*) and /^ṇdʒuʔ/ ‘pastoralism’ (LT *’brog*).

To summarise, the velarisation of the ‘r’-sound is potential but exhibits different processes:

- *r > ʁ > j
- *r > ʁ^j > j
- *r > j

The essential feature is, however, not in the process *r > (ʁ/ʁ^j >) j but in the result that the ‘r’-sound became /j/ at the proto-level, i.e., proto-rGyalthangic. This feature distinguishes the proto-rGyalthangic from the proto-Melung, which maintains *r as /r/ at the proto-level. Hence, the Kr- and Pr-series in the proto-rGyalthangic were assumed to be *k^{ih}/k^j/g^j and *p^{ih}/p^j/b^j, respectively. This sound change process might have been influenced by Naxi or a Naic language, which is one of the languages in close contact with Tibetan languages in Yunnan, as many Naic languages exhibit the disappearance of /r/ as an initial (Suzuki 2013a). The extensive contact of Yunnan Tibetans with the Naxi people dates back to the 15th century; hence, it is hypothesised that the sound change *r > j occurred at that time or later.

Finally, the given sound change *r > j is attested only in the case of the r-glide. The rule is applied neither to the main initial *r*, preinitial *r*, nor final *r*. Therefore, the key sound change process to shape rGyalthangic is described as *Cr > Cj.

As Class 1 shows, the sound correspondence patterns do not exhibit mergers of the Ky- and Kr-series, or of the Py- and Pr-series. In addition, the C- and Ky-series did not merge. Therefore, these five series remained distinctive at the proto level. The reconstructed sound correspondences of proto-rGyalthangic are listed in Table 3. In this table, the sound correspondences of the C-series are retroflex affricates, which is also supported by the cases found in the varieties of the Melung group shown in Figure 7. In other words, the varieties under Central have retroflex affricates as sound correspondences in the WrT C-series. However, sound is distinguished from the sound correspondences of the Ky-series. Potentially we could select other hypothetical forms such as postalveolars (*tʃ^h/tʃ/dʒ) or denti-postalveolars (*tʃ^h/tʃ/dʒ) as described by Li and Suzuki (2020).

Table 3 Distinctive patterns in proto-rGyalthangic: A summary

Class	C-series	Ky-series	Kr-series	Pr-series	Py-series
proto-level	*tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	*tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	*k ^{ih} /k ^j /g ^j	*p ^{ih} /p ^j /b ^j	*ʃ ^h /ʃ/ʒ
Class 1	tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	c ^h /c/ɟ	ʃ ^h /ʃ/ɟ	ʃ ^h /ʃ/ʒ
Class 2A	tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	c ^h /c/ɟ	ʃ ^h /ʃ/ʒ	ʃ ^h /ʃ/ʒ
Class 2B	tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	ʃ ^h /ʃ/ɟ	ʃ ^h /ʃ/ʒ
Class 3	tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	tʃ ^h /tʃ/dʒ	ʃ ^h /ʃ/ʒ	ʃ ^h /ʃ/ʒ

4. Conclusion

This essay helps us understand how rGyalthangic varieties are characterised in Tibetic dialectology and how they are positioned in the history of Tibetic languages in Yunnan. The data show that rGyalthangic is a firm subgroup identified by a bundle of strikingly shared innovations in its sound evolution.

Considering the varieties belonging to the Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetan, the rGyalthangic group can be described as shown in Figure 11.

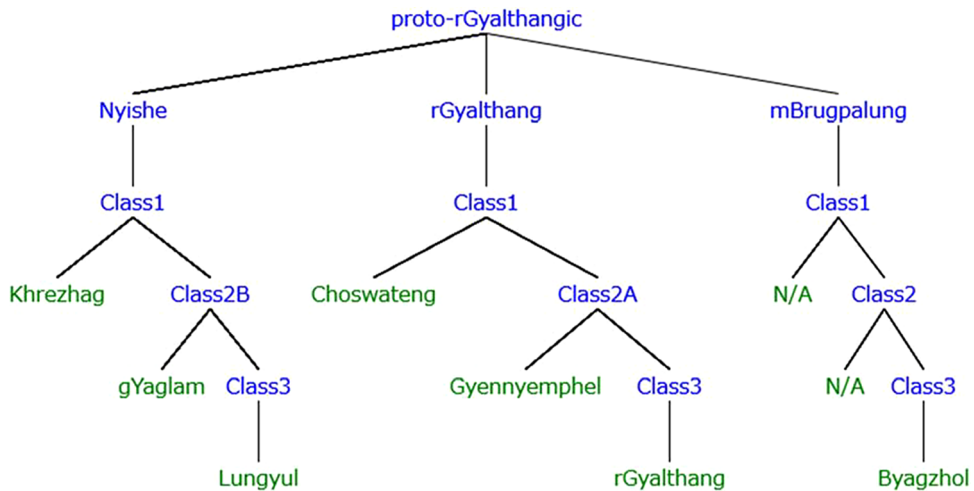


Figure 11 A hypothetical *Stammbaum* of rGyalthangic

The rGyalthangic will be divided into three groups: The first (Class 1 > Class 3) is the mBrugpalung group, spoken to the south of Nyishe, along the mBrugpalung River; the second (Class 1 > Class 2A > Class 3) is the rGyalthang group, spoken on the plain of rGyalthang and Yangthang with their vicinities; the third (Class 1 > Class 2B > Class 3) is the Nyishe group, spoken mainly in Nyishe Township and its opposite area to the Jinshajiang River, that is, rTa-pho-sgang (recorded as Dapogang in Chinese literature) and Lung-yul in Deqin County.

However, Figure 11 shows the most simplified tree, which neglects small but important details. For example, the Myigzur dialect has an extreme feature characterised by uvular initials (Suzuki 2014b). Although Myigzur is classified as Class 2A, its sound correspondence does not always fit this group. Another example is the striking shared innovation in both the rGyalthang and Nyishe groups regarding the final *r* (Suzuki 2019c). At this stage, it was possible to formulate the essentials of rGyalthangic. Future research could focus on the details of locating each variety within the tree. Each dialectal group or subgroup is in contact with the Tibetic-speaking region. Without considering the mutual interaction between dialects, we cannot obtain an accurate linguistic history.

Finally, Figure 12 summarises the Stammbaum of Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetan to confirm the position of rGyalthagic. Figure 12 suggests that the classification given in Section 1 should be revised; at the very least, the original two groups, rGyalthag and East Yunling Mountain, should be reanalysed into three groups, rGyalthag, Nyishe, and mBrugpalung, under rGyalthagic.

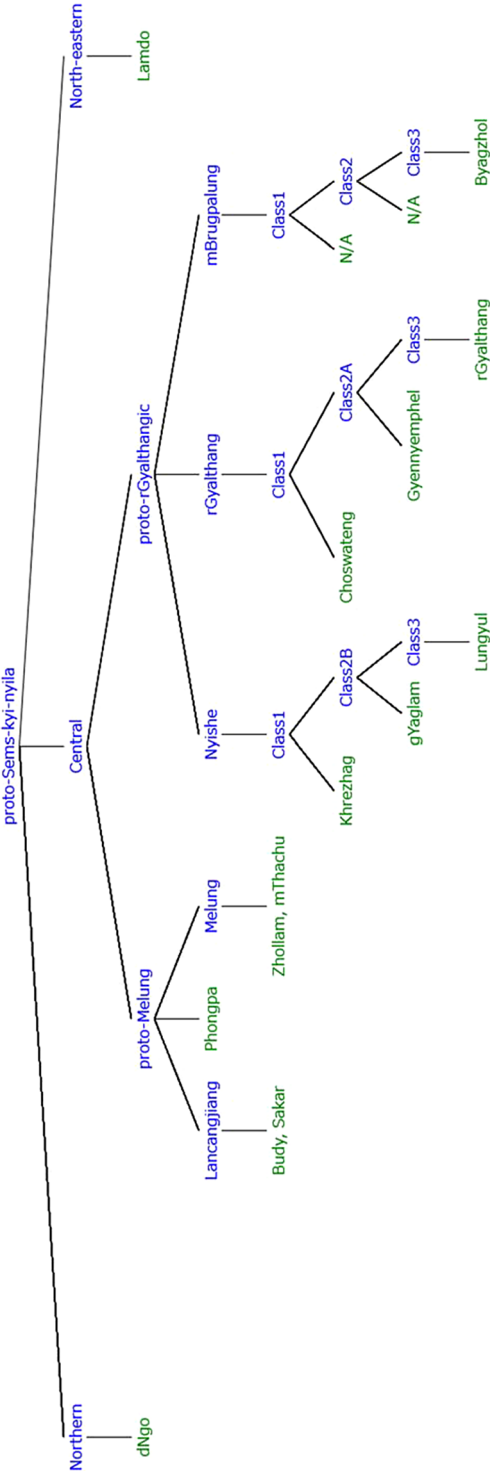


Figure 12 *Stammbaum of Sems-kyi-nyila Tibetan*

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A Geolinguistic Approach to nDrapa Dialectology*

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Summary

This study investigates dialectal divisions in nDrapa and their historical development using geolinguistic methods. We examine data from the Swadesh 100 wordlist at 13 points in nDrapa dialects. The geographical distribution of word forms presents a dialect continuum across three dialect groups: southern, central, and northern. By contrast with previous studies, we find that dialect boundaries do not coincide with the administrative boundary between Yajiang and Daofu.

Based on geolinguistic analysis, dialect boundaries vary across items but can be classified into several patterns. There are two significant isoglosses within the Yajiang and Daofu counties, which divide three dialect groups. In some cases, there are no clear dialectal boundaries between Central and Northern or between Central and Southern regions. However, the Central dialect group is mainly characterized by a mixture of basic words that are common to either Northern or Southern dialects. In addition, some vocabulary has developed exclusively in the Central dialects.

Key words: nDrapa, dialect geography, dialect continuum, basic word, geolinguistics

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1. Introduction

nDrapa (or Zhaba; ISO 639-3: zhb) is a Sino-Tibetan language spoken in the border area between Yajiang and Daofu counties, Western Sichuan, China (Figure 1). Previous studies (Gong 2007: 11; also suggested by Huang 1990) have referred to two dialect groups: the Shang-Zhaba (上扎坝; literally, Upper nDrapa) dialect spoken in Daofu and the Xia-Zhaba (下扎坝; literally, Lower nDrapa) dialect spoken in Yajiang. However, no detailed dialectal surveys were conducted in these studies.

This study examines the basic vocabulary used in 13 nDrapa villages along the tributaries of the Yarlung River to clarify the dialectal divisions of nDrapa and their historical developments. We use geolinguistic (dialect geography) methods in our analysis. We collected data based on the Swadesh 100-item wordlist, drawing from both previous studies and the authors' fieldwork. The boundary assumed by the dichotomy in the previous study is shown by X in Figure 1, which is the administrative boundary between the Yajiang and Daofu counties. In our analysis, however, only one of the 100 items shows an isogloss at X.

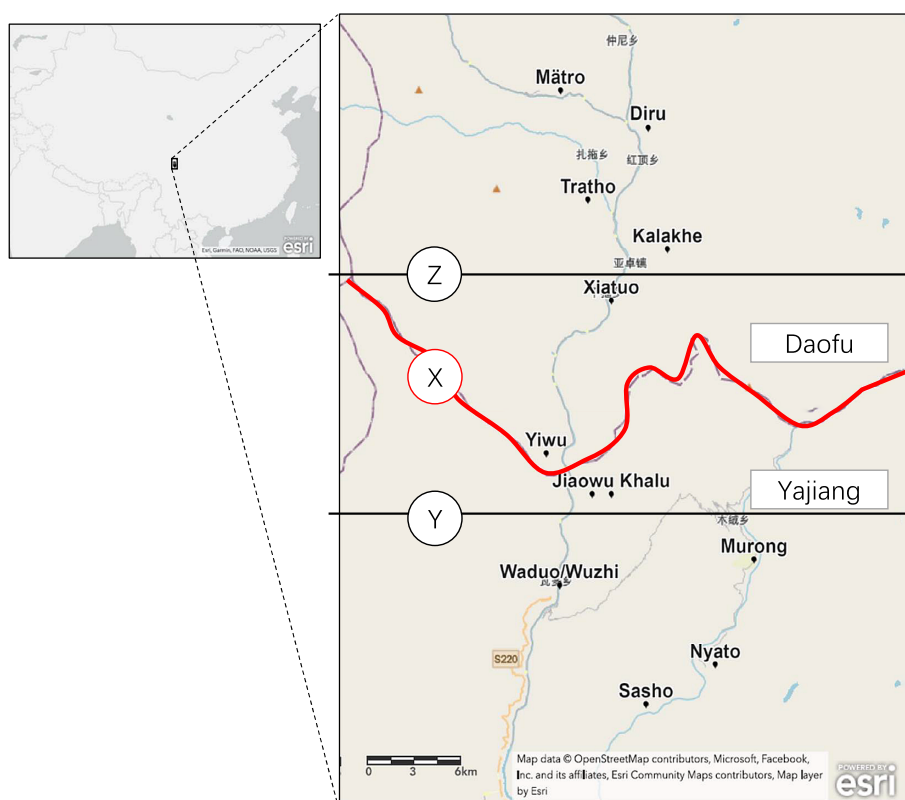


Figure 1 nDrapa villages

On the other hand, many of the boundaries overlap at Y and Z.

This paper will show linguistic maps of 11 representative vocabulary items: ‘we’, ‘tooth’, ‘tree’, ‘fish’, ‘ear’, ‘meat, flesh’, ‘belly’, ‘eye’, ‘moon’, ‘sand’, and ‘leaf’. Geolinguistic analysis leads us to the conclusion that nDrapa exhibits a dialect continuum across three dialect groups: southern, central, and northern. Moreover, the borders of these dialects do not coincide with the administrative boundary between Yajiang and Daofu.

2. Previous Studies

There has been no previous study of nDrapa dialect geography, but there have been previous studies on the vocabulary of nDrapa dialects. For the southern group, Gong (2007: 177–254) records 3340 words of the Waduo dialect. Huang (forthcoming), in turn, finds about 3200 words of the Murong Sasho dialect. In terms of the northern group, Huang (ed.) (1992: 1–608) provides a detailed lexicon of about 1822 words based on the Tratho dialect. Shirai (2011: 69–87) lists 628 basic words for the Mätro dialect. Sun (2016: 231–554) includes 400 Qiangic cognates with some basic vocabulary in the Tratho dialect. No data of the central group have been provided.

3. Methodology

This study uses the geolinguistic method (cf. Sibata 1969). Here, we introduce the basic procedure. First, we identify the regional variants of each item of basic vocabulary, both through fieldwork and via previous studies. Table 1 lists the survey points and data sources. Next, we map the regional variants using ArcGIS Online (www.arcgis.com). Then, we investigate the geographical distribution from there. Word forms were classified to examine the distribution. The choice of map symbols reflects the classification. Finally, focusing on that distribution, together with other clues, we estimate diachronic change, and its factors.

The geolinguistic methodology includes the following basic assumptions: 1) Every word may have a history, but there should be trends in distribution from the maps, as a linguistic map is a projection of history (cf. Sibata 1969: 39–40). 2) Closer inspection reveals nonce occurrences of some words in an intermediate area that are rarely found in other dialect areas; this readily fits the notion of a dialect continuum (cf. Chambers & Trudgill 2004: 6–8).

4. Examples of Geographical Distribution

Here, we present the linguistic maps of 11 items from the Swadesh list of 100 basic words and discuss the geographical distribution of each item. The word forms from four representative dialects are listed in the Appendix at the end of the present paper.

Table 1 nDrapa dialect survey points

County	Dialect Name	Chinese	Wylie Tibetan (Li et al. 2014)	Data Source
Daofu 道孚 <i>rta'u</i>	Mätro	仲尼鄉麻中村	<i>mar 'gro</i>	Shirai's fieldnotes
	Diru	紅頂鄉地茹(入)村	<i>de bzang</i>	Suzuki (2006)
	Tratho	扎拖鄉扎拖村	<i>brag thog</i>	Huang ed. (1992)
	Kalakhe	亞卓鄉呷拉坎村	<i>dkar lag khams</i>	Shirai's fieldnotes
	Xiatuo	下拖鄉托比村	<i>bya thang</i>	Y. Huang's fieldnotes
	Yiwu	下拖鄉一吾村	<i>yid 'ong</i>	Y. Huang's fieldnotes
Yajiang 雅江 <i>nyag chu</i>	Jiaowu	瓦多鄉交吾(伍)村	<i>lcang bo</i>	Y. Huang's fieldnotes
	Khalu	瓦多鄉交吾村卡龙	<i>kha lung</i>	Y. Huang's fieldnotes
	Murong	木絨鄉木絨村	<i>mi bzang</i>	Y. Huang's fieldnotes
	Wuzhi	瓦多鄉吾知村	<i>dbu rtse</i>	Gong (2007)
	Waduo	瓦多鄉學仇村	<i>gru rgan chu kha</i>	Y. Huang's fieldnotes
	Nyato	木絨鄉亞多村	<i>nyag stod</i>	Shirai's fieldnotes
	Sasho	木絨鄉沙學村	<i>sa phyogs</i>	Y. Huang (forthcoming)

4.1 'we'

The first example is the first-person plural pronoun 'we'. While some dialects distinguish between general and inclusive, we here examine only general forms. We can classify the word forms into two types: those with a velar nasal initial and those with a palatalized initial. Southern exhibit the velar initial, such as *ɲjâ* in Waduo, but the initial consonant is palatalized in the northern dialects, as *ɲjé* in Mätro.

Figure 2 presents the geographical distribution of the forms. The velar- and palatalized-initial types are marked with rounds and triangles, respectively.¹ The map exhibits a dichotomous north-south distribution with the borderline drawn between Jiaowu/Khalu (*ɲa*⁵³/*ɲa*) and other points in Yajiang (e.g., Murong *ɲe*⁵⁵). This pattern is almost coincident with the distinction seen in previous studies of the two dialect groups, but the border is not coincident with the administrative border between Yajiang and Daofu. The border between the two counties falls between the borders of Xiatuo and Jiaowu but both points have palatalized initials in their word forms: Xiatuo *ɲa* and Jiaowu *ɲa*⁵³.

Let us discuss relative chronology. In this case, we can assume that the palatalized northern forms are more innovative because the root can be traced back to the Proto-Tibeto-

¹ In the map legend, /ɲ/ is substituted for the palatal symbol "ɲ" for technical convenience.

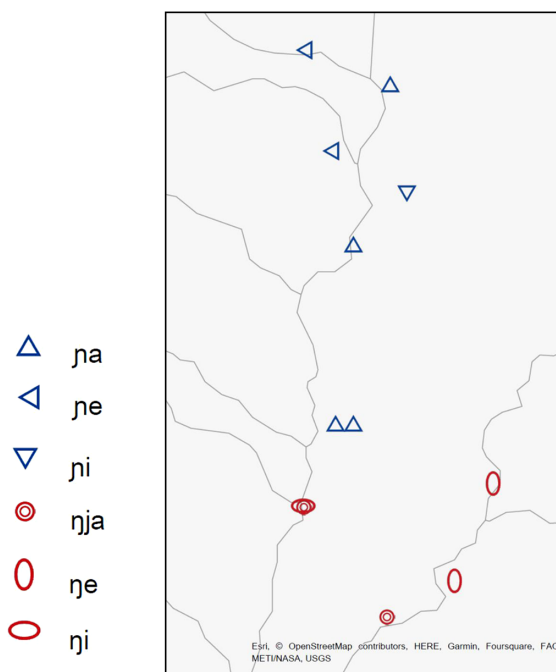


Figure 2 ‘we’ in nDrapa dialects

Burman (PTB) **ŋa-y* ‘I/ME/1st p. PRONOUN/SELF’ in STEDT,² which was likely followed by a plural marker.

4.2 ‘tooth’

The next example is ‘tooth’, the variants of which are shown in Figure 3. Southern forms have a front vowel, such as Waduo *ɛĩ~çĩ*, but northern forms have a back vowel, e.g., Mätro *ɛũ*. Moreover, in the central area, we find an initial non-sibilant palatal fricative, Xiatuo *çu*. These types are marked with rounds, triangles, and boxes, respectively. The distribution pattern of the vowels is basically same as that seen in the first example, ‘we’: the primary borderline is located between Jiaowu/Khalu (*ɛhu*²⁴/*ɛũ*) and other southern points (e.g., Murong *ɛhi*²⁴). The secondary development *ɛ* > *ç* is found in some parts of the central region.

The correspondent PTB form is **s-wa* ‘TOOTH’. We can conclude that the front vowel seen in the southern regions is formed by brightening (Matisoff 2004), whereas in the northern regions, the proto-vowel was reduced, and the feature of the glide /w/ was retained. Then, the weakening of the initial sibilant occurred later.

² This paper cites the PTB forms from the STEDT database, the on-line version of the database published as Matisoff (2015).

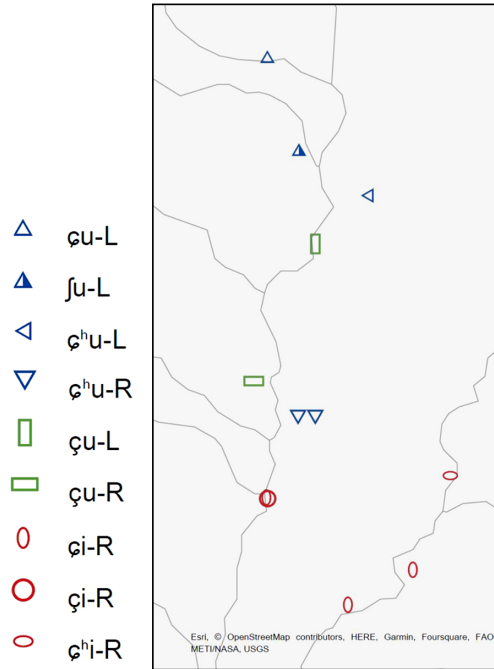


Figure 3 ‘tooth’ in nDrapa dialects

4.3 ‘tree’

Figure 4 exhibits the geographical distribution of word forms for ‘tree’. All dialectal forms are disyllabic. The vowel in the first syllable is open in the southern regions, as *s^hapû* in Waduo, but in the northern regions, it is front, as *seppû* in Mätro. They are marked with rounds and triangles on the map, respectively. Moreover, the examples of the central regions are of the same type as the southern regions. Thus, in this case, we find a dialectal borderline that is different from the first two examples. It is drawn between Kalakhe (*sɛ¹³pu¹¹*) and Xiatuo (*s^hapû*) within Daofu county. The geolinguistic findings lead us to identify a dialect continuum with various patterns of borderlines, as seen in these examples.

4.4 ‘fish’

All of the dialectal forms for ‘fish’ are similar, as seen in Figure 5. They can be traced back to the unique Proto-Qiangic etymon **r-dzwa* ‘FISH’. However, in the southern regions, the vowel is a diphthong, as in the Waduo form *dzyě*, which is formed through brightening of the proto-vowel. Still, in but in the northern regions, the glide and the fronted vowel are fused together to form a monophthong, as in the Mätro form *dzɿ*. In the map, the former type is marked with horizontal rectangles, whereas vertical rectangles mark the latter. The borderline is at the same location as that seen for the case of ‘tree’.

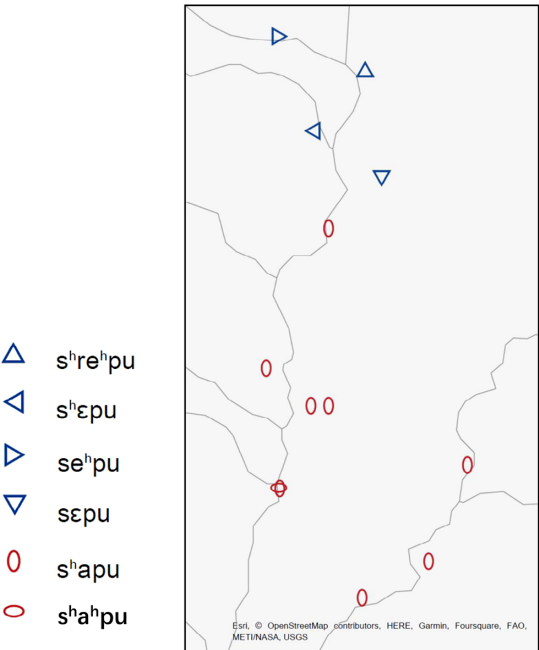


Figure 4 ‘tree’ in nDrapa dialects

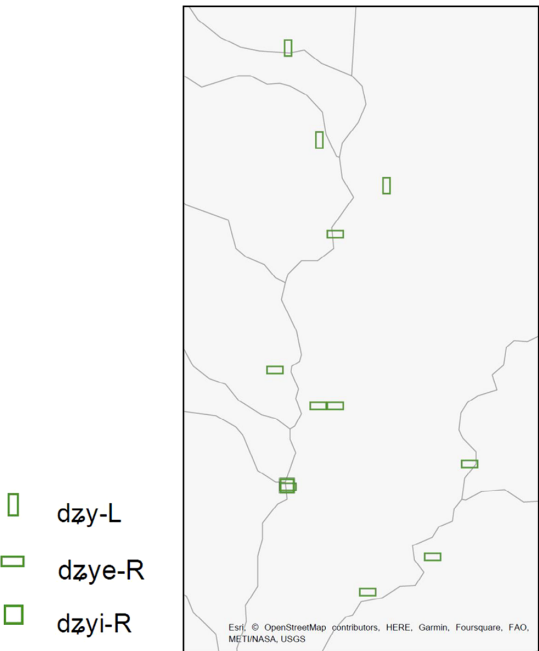


Figure 5 ‘fish’ in nDrapa dialects

4.5 ‘ear’

The segments for all dialectal forms for ‘ear’ are very similar, but the suprasegmental features, that is, the pitch patterns, are different between the dialects in the southern and northern regions. Figure 6 describes their geographical distribution. The dialectal borderline for this word is different from both patterns we have examined so far. In regions from Xiatuo to the north, this word has a phonologically low pitch pattern, like *ɲará* in Mǎtǎo. This type is marked with vertical rectangles in Figure 6. However, from Yiwu to the south, it has a falling pitch pattern, such as *ɲárə* in Waduo, which is marked with horizontal rectangles.

4.6 ‘meat, flesh’

For the example of ‘meat’, we find the cluster /nt^h-/ in the north and in some southern regions, such as *nt^hei* in Mǎtǎo, but in the other southern regions, the initial cluster is not found, as *t^hě* in Waduo, and Xiatuo. In Figure 7, the word forms with a prenasalized initial and without an initial cluster are marked with triangles and rounds, respectively. If we draw the borderline here, the southern two points with triangles are regarded as exceptions. How is this distribution formed?

In fact, this morpheme may exhibit an initial cluster within compounds, even in southern dialects, where the independent form does not show a cluster, e.g., Sasho *zə⁵⁵tue³³* ‘monkey’

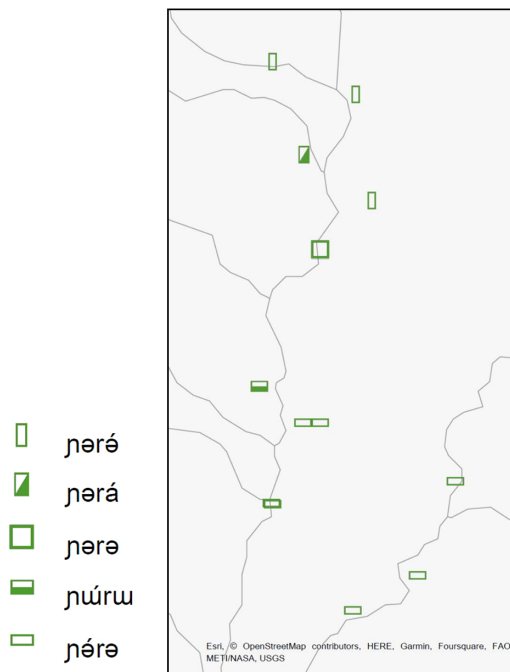


Figure 6 ‘ear’ in nDrapa dialects

+ $t^h l^{24}$ ‘meat’ > $z\partial^{55}tue^{55}nt^h l^{33}$ ‘monkey meat’ (Huang forthcoming). Thus, the initial cluster reflects the older form. Consequently, a reasonable hypothesis is that an innovation featuring the loss of clustering occurred and spread, probably at a certain point in the central area. Here we find a peripheral distribution of the older forms.

4.7 ‘belly’

A similar pattern to that seen for ‘meat, flesh’ is found in the map for ‘belly’, but the distribution of the innovation is slightly different. As seen in Figure 8, the Waduo form is $v\check{i}$, and the Mätro form is $v\check{e}i$, but in the central area, both $w\check{e}i$, and $v\check{e}$ are found. In this case, the lenition of the initial fricative, v- to w-, is limited to three points in the central region, which we conclude as an innovation.

4.8 ‘eye’

The example of ‘eye’ shows innovative word formation. The northern and southern regions retain the monosyllabic forms: $\eta\hat{a}$ in Mätro or na in Waduo, inherited from Proto-Tibeto-Burman. However, in the central regions, a compound form ‘eye’ plus ‘chunk’ is used to denote ‘eye’ such as $\eta ap\partial l\partial$ in Xiatio. In the Mätro dialect, the parallel compound means ‘eyeball’, although it is the general term for ‘eye’ in the central area. In Figure 9, the mono-

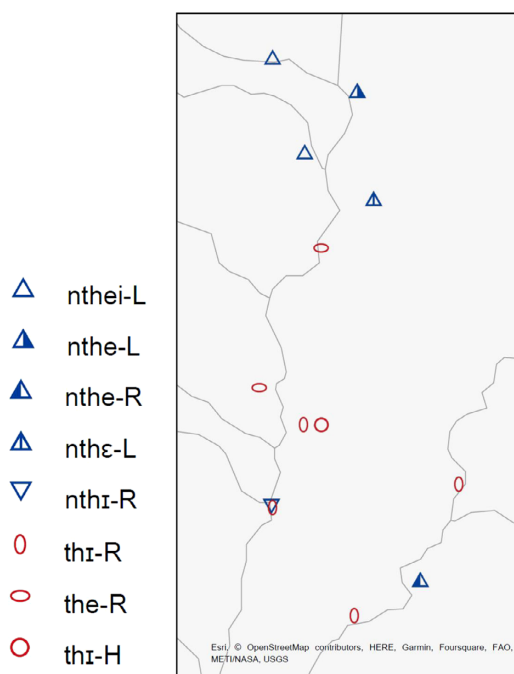


Figure 7 ‘meat’ in nDrapa dialects

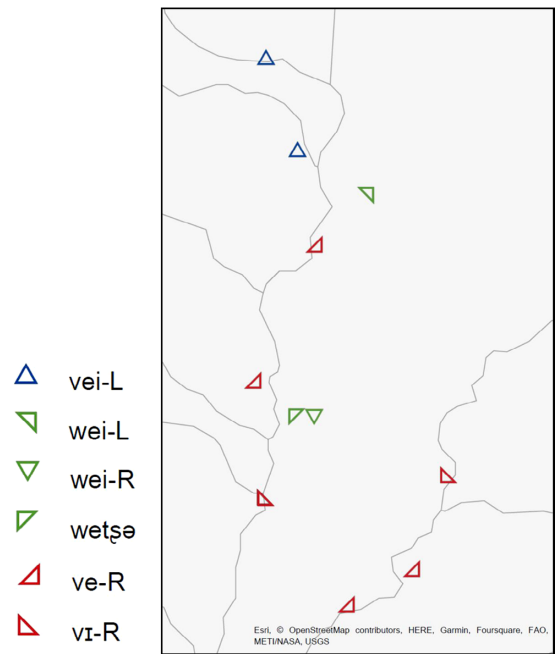


Figure 8 ‘belly’ in nDrapa dialects

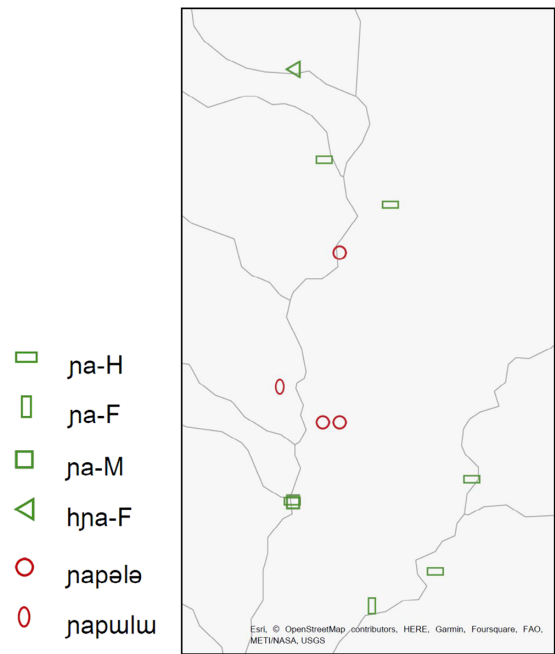


Figure 9 ‘eye’ in nDrapa dialects

syllabic types are marked with boxes or triangles, whereas the compound types are marked with rounds. It exhibits a clear center vs. peripheral distribution, which suggests that an innovation occurred in the center.

4.9 ‘moon’

From Figure 10, for the map of ‘moon’, we find a difference in word formation between the southern and northern regions, with a boundary between Jiaowu and southern points. For example, Waduo has *ʃɛnəmtsʰo*, but Mätro has *ʃɛʰzɹɹɹ*. Although both types share the first morpheme derived from PTB *s-la ‘MOON/MONTH’, compounded morphemes vary across dialect groups. Moreover, the loss of the cluster occurs in the middle of the area with the *ʃɛvzɹɹɹ* type, e.g., *ʃɛzə* in Xiatuo, and the fronting of vowel did not occur in the southmost part with the *ʃɛvzɹɹɹ* type, e.g., *ʃu⁵⁵vzu³³* in Yiwu. In the map, the northern *ʃɛvzɹɹɹ*, southern *ʃɛnəmtsʰo*, and central types (both initial reduction and non-fronting) are marked with triangles, rounds, and boxes, respectively. Here, we can find a distribution with gradual shifts by latitude: from north to south, the *ʃɛvzɹɹɹ* type, the *ʃɛzɹɹɹ* type with no cluster, the *ʃu⁵⁵vzu³³* type without vowel fronting, and the *ʃɛnəmtsʰo* type.

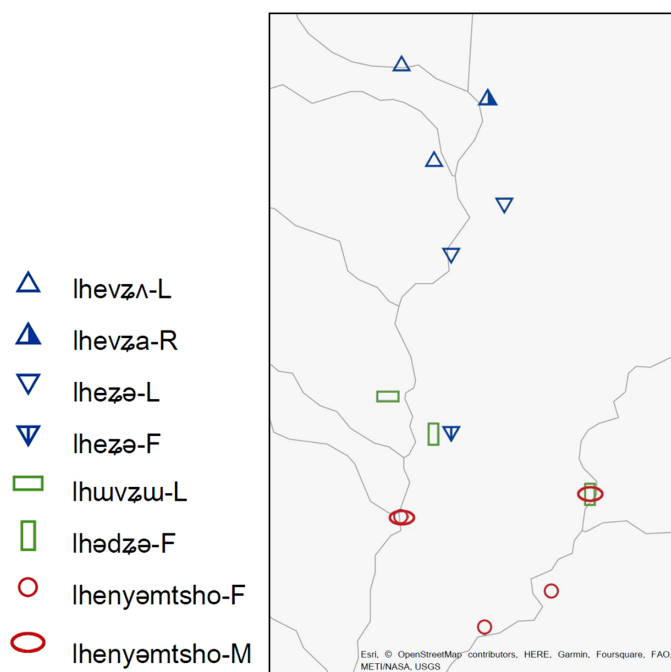


Figure 10 ‘moon’ in nDrapa dialects

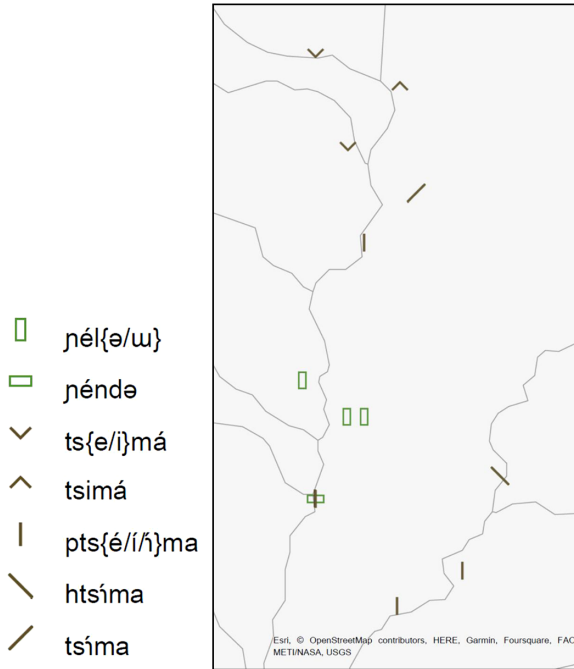


Figure 11 ‘sand’ in nDrapa dialects

4.10 ‘sand’

The final two examples, ‘sand’ and ‘leaf’, involve loanwords. Geographical distributions suggest that loanwords tend to be diffused from the north–south peripherals.

In Figure 11, showing a map for ‘sand’, the northern and the southern areas show very similar forms, *ptsíma* in Waduo, and *tsemá* in Mätro, but the central area has completely different forms, such as *ḡélə* in Khalu. In fact, the northern and southern forms are both Tibetan loanwords; the corresponding word of Written Tibetan is *bye ma*. In the map, the Tibetan-loan types are marked with lines, and other types are marked with boxes. The Tibetan influence comes to nDrapa through two major towns, Yajiang in the south, and Daofu in the north. In the central area, indigenous vocabulary is retained. Therefore, by contrast with the pattern of former maps, the forms found in the central area are possibly the older ones.

4.11 ‘leaf’

As indicated in Figure 12, the word forms for ‘leaf’ vary across dialects. Comparatively, the *pala* type is the oldest dialectal variant, e.g., ⁷*pala* in Diru. The *pala* type and its subtypes are marked with triangles on the map. However, this form was lost in the western area, being replaced with the word forms which might have been derived from the word

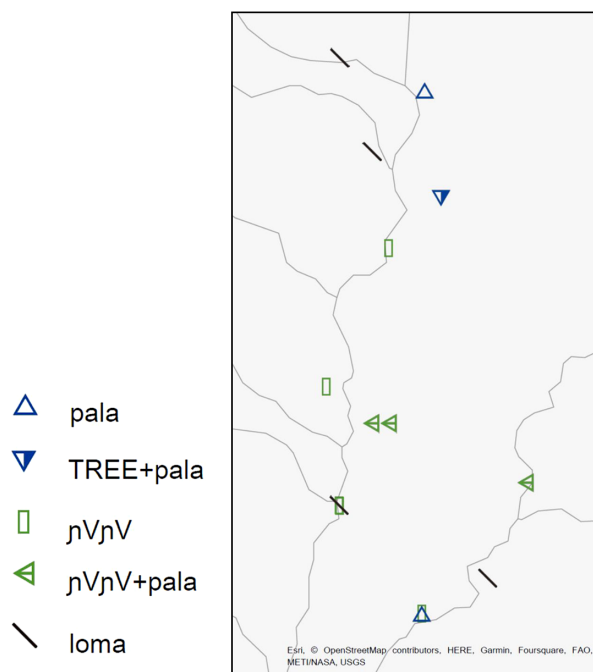


Figure 12 ‘leaf’ in nDrapa dialects

for ‘green’, e.g., *ɲápa* in Waduo, or from the Tibetan loanword, *loma*. The former is marked with rectangles or left-pointing triangles (compound with *pala*), and the latter is marked with lines in the map. Again, the Tibetan loanword is found in the northmost and the southmost parts of the area.

5. Discussion

Let us discuss how to classify nDrapa dialects. Figure 13 presents possible dialect borders from those found in our data. Here, we only draw horizontal lines to make the points clear, although other patterns are sporadically found, as observed earlier.

Table 2 shows that the items in each column show different word forms between north and south of the designated line. For example, the word forms for ‘we’ (Section 4.1) differ between the north and the south of line E. We designate with (*ex*) items that show exceptional distribution of word forms. For example, the map for ‘belly’ (Section 4.7) exhibits two exceptional points of lenition in the central area. We display certain Swadesh basic vocabulary items in Table 2 excluding obvious borrowings, sporadic distributions, and uniform distributions.

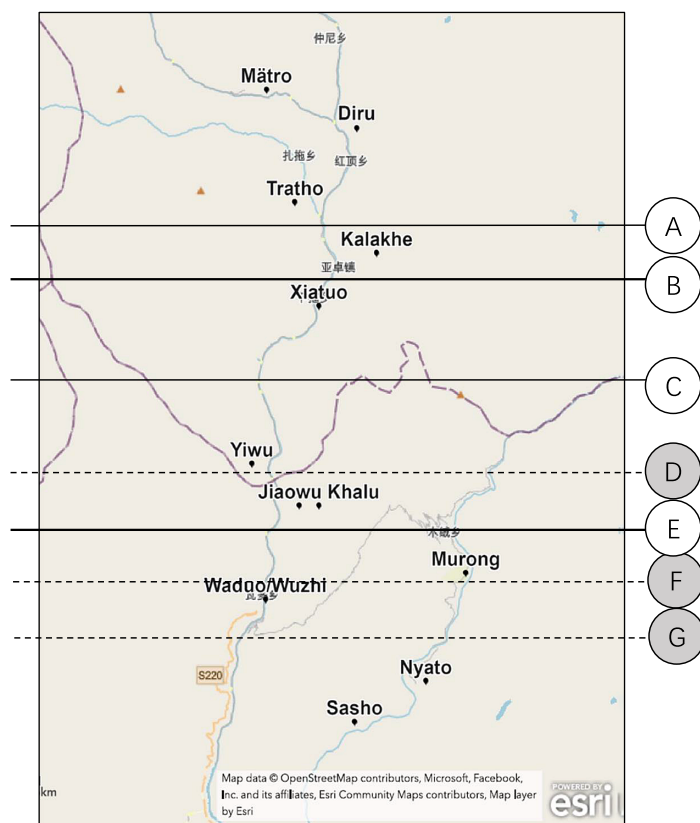


Figure 13 Horizontal borderlines of nDrapa dialectal forms

Table 2 Items corresponding to each boundary

A	‘this’, ‘nose’ (ex [=with exceptions]), ‘heart’, ‘to bite’, ‘to sit’ (ex), ‘rain’
B	‘what’ (ex), ‘small’, ‘fish’, ‘tree’, ‘leaf’ (ex), ‘meat’ (ex), ‘bone’ (ex), ‘egg’ (ex), ‘hair of head’, ‘breasts’ (ex), ‘to know’ (ex), ‘kill’, ‘to fly’, ‘to give’ (ex), ‘road’, ‘white’ (ex), ‘night’ (ex), ‘full’
C	‘ear’, ‘mouth’ (ex), ‘to drink’, ‘to say’
E	‘we’, ‘many’, ‘foot’ (ex), ‘cold (weather)’
A&E	‘big’ (ex), ‘belly’ (ex), ‘seed’ (ex), ‘moon’, ‘round’
B&E	‘eye’, ‘tooth’, ‘to stand’ (ex), ‘stone’ (ex)
Other	D ‘root’ (ex), A&C ‘bird’, ‘louse’, B&C ‘all’, ‘person’, B&F ‘knee’ (ex), B&G ‘ash’ (ex), C&D ‘who’, ‘sun’, C&E ‘to swim’ (ex), ‘sand’, C&F ‘neck’ (ex), D&E ‘to eat’, ‘to sleep’

The most significant borderline is B, distinguishing 26 items as an isogloss. This number includes cases with north-south isoglosses at more than one location. In addition, Line E is also an important isogloss, as 17 items have a borderline at this position. On the other hand, only one item is relevant to Line D, the boundary assumed by a dichotomy in the previous studies. This table indicates that the most significant north-south borderlines are drawn at B and E. However, other possible borders of dialectal forms also exist, reflecting a dialectal continuum.

6. Conclusion

This study examines the dialectal classification of nDrapa. From the geographical distribution of basic word forms, we conclude that there are three dialect groups in nDrapa: southern, central, and northern. The most significant dialectal borderline can be drawn in the south at two points near the village of Jiaowu (瓦多鄉交吾(伍)村), marked as Jiaowu and Kalu in Figure 13. The line between these two points and the southern points divides the southern and central groups of dialects. The boundary does not coincide with the administrative boundary between Yajiang and Daofu. The border between the central and northern dialect groups is less clear. In particular, Kalakhe and Xiatuo show both central and northern features, depending on the particular vocabulary item. However, most central areas are characterized by a combination of some basic vocabulary shared by the northern and southern varieties, respectively.

In addition, we find language change patterns reflected in linguistic maps: loanwords come from both north and south of the nDrapa area, and therefore the central varieties tend to retain indigenous vocabulary. On the other hand, innovation occurs at any point. Thus, some items show a south-north dichotomous distribution, while others show center-versus-peripheral distribution, that is, only the central varieties exhibit innovated forms.

Evidence of dialect differences will continue to be gathered if sufficient data are collected from another four villages of the central area for future phonological, lexical, and morphosyntactic comparison.

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Appendix: Word forms in the three dialect groups

	Southern (Waduo)	Central (Jiaowu Khalu)	Central (Yiwu)	Northern (Zhongni Mätro)
‘we’	ŋja ⁵³	na	ne ⁵⁵	nejé
‘tooth’	çi ²⁴	ɕũ	ɕu ²⁴	ɕũ
‘tree’	s ^h a ³³ pu ⁵³	s ^h apû		seppú
‘fish’	dzye ²⁴	dzyě	dzye ²⁴	^h dʒũ
‘ear’	ne ⁵⁵ re ³³	ne ⁵⁵ re	ne ⁵⁵ ru ³³	ne ⁵⁵ re
‘meat, flesh’	t ^h e ²⁴	nt ^h é	t ^h e ²⁴	nt ^h ěi
‘belly’	vi ²⁴ /k ^h u ³³	weĩ	ve ²⁴	věi
‘eye’	ja ³³	na ³³ pələ	na ⁵⁵ pu ⁵⁵ lu ³³	ña
‘moon’	le ³³ na ³³ mts ^h o ³³	lézə	lu ⁵⁵ vzu ³³	le ^h zə
‘sand’	ptsɿ ⁵⁵ ma ³³ /ne ⁵⁵ ndə ³³	nelə	ne ⁵⁵ lu ³³	tsemá
‘leaf’	ne ⁵⁵ ja ³³	na ³³ apala	na ³³ na ⁵³	lomá

Some Grammatical Features of Luzu*

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Summary

Luzu 呂蘇 is a Tibeto-Burman language belonging to the Qiangic branch spoken in Sichuan, southwest China. This report describes some grammatical features of the Luzu dialect of Naiqu 乃渠 Township in Jiulong 九龍 County, Ganzi 甘孜 Prefecture, using the descriptive method of Huang and Renzeng (1991). The phonological system, vocabulary, and grammar of the Naiqu dialect have obvious correspondences with the Mili 木里 dialect described by Huang and Renzeng, indicating that Naiqu and Mili are two quite close subdialects of the same language. According to our language consultant's observation, the local dialects of Luzu are as follows: [ŋgu³³ɛ⁵⁵xõ³³] 九龍縣城話, spoken in Jiulong 九龍 Town; [ɕe³³k^he⁵⁵xũ³³] 斜卡話, spoken in Xieka 斜卡 County; and [dzi³³wɛ⁵⁵xõ³³] 雅礕江對岸話 ([dzi³³wɛ⁵⁵] 'waterfront') spoken on the opposite bank of the Yalong 雅礕 River. The Mili dialect described by Huang and Renzeng is considered to belong to this "waterfront" dialect. In this report, we describe the basic syntax of the Naiqu subdialect, which belongs to the above-mentioned Xieka area, mainly focusing on case markers to express the grammatical relationship among arguments, aspect markers to appear at the end of verb phrase, and auxiliary verbs to describe the semantic distinction between "inner/outer." Even though the Naiqu and Mili dialects share a common grammatical framework, the Naiqu dialect has its own features, that have not previously been well described. We clarify the characteristics and analytical problems of the above three grammatical points and note differences between the dialects.

Key words: Luzu, Naiqu dialect, Ersu, Qiangic, Tibeto-Burman

關鍵詞：呂蘇語 乃渠方言 爾蘇語 羌語支 藏緬語

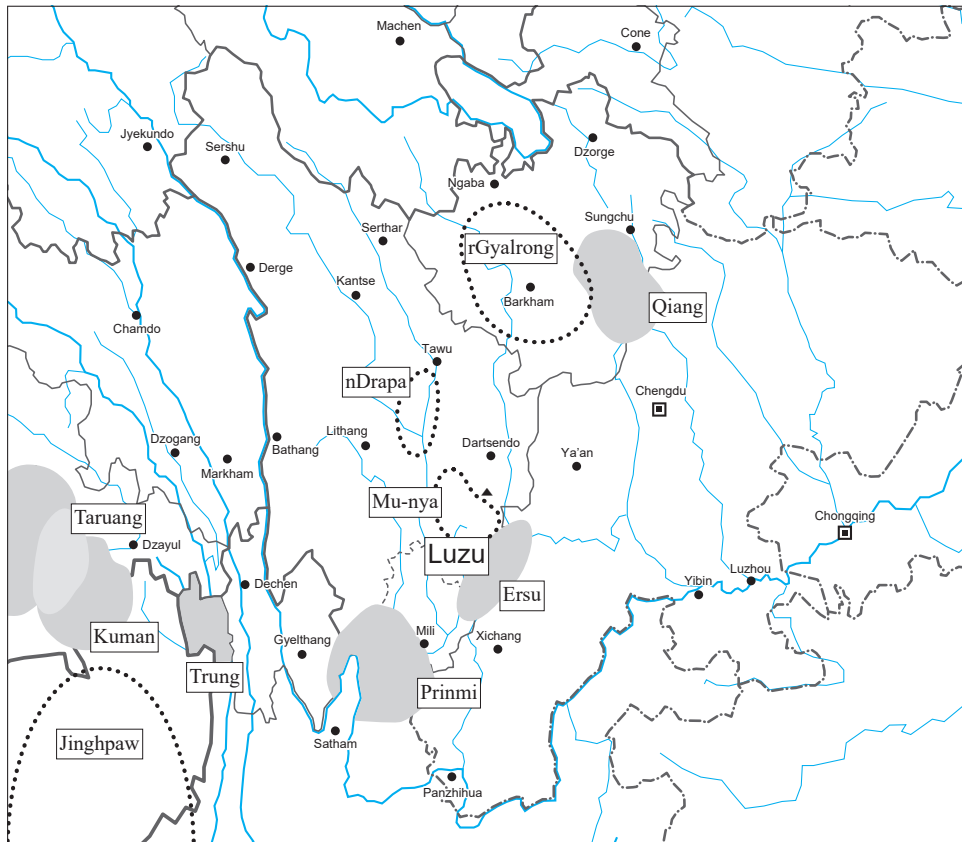
*This paper was presented at the 56th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand, from 10 to 12, October 2023. I would like to thank Professors Alice Vittrant, Randy J. LaPolla, Josse P. Gates, and James A. Matisoff for their helpful comments on this work. My descriptive study of the Luzu language was supported by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (S) 18H05219, "A Study of the Historical Development of the Sino-Tibetan Languages and their Typological Geography" (headed by IKEDA Takumi), from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

1. Introduction

Luzu (Lyuzu/Lizu in English, Lǐrǔ 里汝, Lǚsū 呂蘇, or Lìsū 慄蘇 in Chinese) is a Tibeto-Burman language in the Qiangic branch that is spoken in the Tibetan-Qiang-Lolo ethnic corridor. Some have argued that Luzu is the westernmost dialect of Ersu 爾蘇. If we focus only on their vocabulary, there are indeed many words that are close in sound and meaning between Luzu and Ersu; however, many aspects of grammar seem to have developed differently, and it is difficult for their speakers to communicate with each other when using their respective language variety. Therefore, we should provisionally consider Luzu an independent language, and only after further detailed analysis of its linguistic structure can we continue to explore issues such as its relationship with surrounding languages and its historical development. While there is as yet no detailed reference grammar on the Luzu language, we have two brief descriptions: Huang and Renzeng (1991), an earlier paper published in Chinese describing the grammar of the Mili 木里 dialect, is still of great reference value today; this study was revised by Huang (2009). Further, Chirkova (2017) provided another brief introduction to the Mili dialect in English. Yu (2012) describes the phonological system of the Mianning 冕寧 dialect of Luzu, compares it with other Tibeto-Burman languages, reconstructs the proto-Ersu language, and provides an interpretive study of the historical development of the Mianning Luzu language.

This report describes some grammatical features of the Luzu dialect of Naiqu 乃渠 Township in Jiulong 九龍 County, Ganzi 甘孜 Prefecture. According to our language consultant's observation,¹ the local dialects of Luzu are as follows: [ŋgu³³ɛ⁵⁵xõ³³] 九龍縣縣城話, spoken in Jiulong 九龍 Town; [ɕe³³k^he⁵⁵xũ³³] 斜卡話, spoken in Xieka 斜卡 County; and [dzi³³we⁵⁵xõ³³] 雅礻江對岸話 ([dzi³³we⁵⁵] ‘waterfront’), spoken on the opposite bank of the Yalong 雅礻 river. The Mili dialect described by Huang and Renzeng is considered to belong to this “waterfront” dialect. The phonological system of Naiqu is slightly simpler than that of Mili, while the vocabulary and grammar show obvious correspondences. At the same time, the Naiqu dialect has distinct features from the Mili dialect and the Mianning dialect, whose grammatical features were reported in Lin/Yin/Wang (2014). This means that Naiqu, Mili, and Mianning are three subdialects of the same language that are very close to each other. Compared with this relationship, Luzu, Ersu, and Doxu are more distantly related, and their interrelationship cannot be concluded immediately.

¹ I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mr. Rig 'dzin dbang rgyal (1952–2010) for serving as a language consultant for several years.



Mr. Rig 'dzin dbang rgyal in my memory

2. Phonology

2.1 Initial Consonants

The phonological system of the Naiqu dialect of the Luzu language and its phonetic features are as follows:

	labials	dentals	alveolars	retroflexes	palatals	velars	uvulars
pre-aspirated	***	***	hts-	htɕ-	htɕ̟-	hk-	
non-aspirated	p-	t-	ts-	tɕ-	tɕ̟-	k-	
voiceless-aspirated	ph-	th-	tsh-	tɕh-	tɕ̟h-	kh-	[qh-]
voiced	b-	d-	dz-	dʒ-	dʒ̟-	g-	
nasal-voiced	mb-	nd-	ndz-	ndʒ-	ndʒ̟-	ŋg-	
nasal-aspirated	mph-	nth-	ntsh-	ntɕh-	ntɕ̟h-	ŋkh-	
nasal	m-	n-		ɳ-	ɳ̟-	ŋ-	
fricative		ɬ-	s-	ʂ-	ɕ-	x-	[χ-]
voiced fricative	v-		z-		ʒ-	***	
liquid	l-		ɭ-				
semi-vowel	w-				j-		

*** is a gap in the system that is expected to exist. To date, no examples of such words have been found. [] is a sound that is heard phonetically, but there are few word examples that include it, for which there is insufficient empirical evidence, such as occurrence conditions or contrastive examples, to qualify it as a phoneme. The pre-aspirated series is realized as aspiration before the stricture of onset, not as consonant clusters with fricatives as in the Tibetan Amdo dialect. No consonant clusters are found in onsets of the Naiqu dialect.

2.2 Features of Initial Consonants

(a) Although there are not many examples, the initial consonants [mph-], [nth-], [ŋkh-], [ntsh-], and [ntɕh-] are present, indicating a series of pre-nasal aspirated phonemes.

(b) The initial consonants in the Naiqu dialect include a series of pre-aspirated sounds such as /hts-/, /htɕ-/, and /htɕ̟-/. All of them show variation in the presence or absence of aspiration after closed release, such as [^hts^h- ~ ^hts-], [^htɕ^h- ~ ^htɕ-], [^htɕ̟^h- ~ ^htɕ̟-] in the affricates, respectively. At this point, it is not clear whether these pre-aspirated series have contrastive examples with /tsh-/, /tɕh-/, and /tɕ̟h-/, but since they appear in certain words fixedly and are not in free variation with the aspirated series, I recognize them as independent phonemes. In connection with this series, we have not yet been able to find other pre-aspirated stop phonemes such as */hp-/ and */ht-/.

(c) Phonetically, [ɬ-] is heard before high vowels, which we systemically interpret as a phoneme occupying the position of the voiceless /lh/ corresponding to the voiced /l-/:

/lh-/ → [ɬ-] _____ /i, e/

No examples of this phoneme cooccurring with low vowels have been found.

(d) The bilabial fricative [ɸ-] appears only before the vowel /u/ and has a complementary distribution with [x-], and [ɸu] is sometimes also pronounced [xu]. Thus, the bilabial fricative [ɸ-] is considered an allophone of the phoneme /x-/:

/x-/ → [ɸ-] _____ /u/

(e) There are examples of words where the uvular sound [q^h-] is heard, such as:

q^he³³ɕi⁵⁵me³³te³³ ‘stutter’

q^ho³³pa⁵⁵ ‘body = internal organs’

No records have been found of uvular sounds in other series of phonemes, such as non-aspirated and voiced sounds. Therefore, we hesitate to consider uvular sounds as being independent phoneme series in the phonological system. On the other hand, even if we consider the uvular [q^h-] a variant of the velar /kh-/, we cannot specify a conditioning environment for it. It is noteworthy that Huang (1991 [2003: 194–198]) considers the presence of a uvular sound in initial consonants as being an important typological feature of Qiangic languages. Based on her argument, it is possible that this sound is not only a trace of an archaic sound remaining in individual words, but also a new variant that arose in the process of language change or was borrowed from a surrounding language. However, the available data are currently too limited to fully examine these possibilities.

2.3 Vowels

The phonological system of the Naiqu dialect includes single vowels, nasal vowels, and a small number of diphthongs, and the vowels /ɯ/ and /ɐ/ can take a retroflex [-ɻ] to alveolar [-ɭ] approximant sound at the end of the syllable.

/i/	/y/			/ɯ/	/u/
/e/				/o/	
/a/	/ɐ/				
/ĩ/	/ɯr/	/ũ/			
/ẽ/		/õ/	/ue/	/ei/	
	/er/				

(a) The single vowel /y/ is often pronounced [y] ~ [ø], which are in free variation. The vowel /ɯ/ is often pronounced as a narrower, more frontal tongue-tip vowel [ɿ] after affricative and fricative consonants.

(b) Phonemic nasal vowels are often heard, but the nasalization is unstable. For example, /hi⁵³/ ‘borrow’, /nõ³⁵/ ‘you’ /xũ⁵³/ ‘hatch’, etc., are often pronounced as plain vowels, such as [hi⁵³], [no³⁵], and [xu⁵³]. In diphthongs, nasal vowels appearing in the first syllable of /nẽ³³nts^ho⁵⁵/ ‘family’ and /õ³³mɛŋ⁵³/ ‘goose’ are assimilated by the initial nasal consonant of the second syllable. No examples of */ỹ/, */ũ/, */ã/, or */ẽ/ have been found among the nasal vowels.

(c) Excluding words borrowed from Han Chinese, there are only two types of diphthongs in the native vocabulary of Naiqu dialect:

/ue/ ŋgue⁵⁵ ‘eight’ /ei/ ɕeɿ⁵³ ‘iron’

There are diphthongs that appear only in words borrowed from Han Chinese, but as they are considered foreign, they lie outside the vowel system of the Naiqu dialect and should not be incorporated into the system. No final consonants are found as coda; all morphemes are open syllables.

(d) There are two kinds of vowels with a retroflex [-ɻ] to alveolar [-ɹ] approximant sound at the end of the syllable. It is noteworthy that [ɹɐ] ~ [ɐɹ] and [ɹɯ] ~ [ɯɹ] ~ [əɹ], which differ in the order of appearance of consonants and vowels within a syllable, appear as free variants. For the latter, we recognize the vowel as /u/ because of its parallelism with single vowels, and for the variation in phonetic realization, resulting from the tendency for the vowel to be pronounced slightly wider, to allow space for the tongue to vibrate.

/ɐɹ/ mbɹɐ³³ke⁵⁵ ~ mbɐɹ³³ke⁵⁵ ‘horse’
 /ɯɹ/ ɹɯ³³ ~ ɹɯ⁵⁵ ~ əɹ³⁵ ‘laugh’
 t^hɯ³³dɯɹ⁵⁵ ~ t^hə³³ɹɯ⁵⁵ ‘they’

2.4 Tones

In Naiqu dialects, four different tones are observed in a five-degree system, which can be described as 55, 53, 35, and 33. In monosyllabic words or morphemes, three “tones” are distinguished: 53, 35, and 33, which are fixed to a syllable. Tone 55 is a free variant of tone 53 or one of the tones is fixed to the word. Similarly, tone 33 is a free variant of 35, or one of the tones is fixed to the word. In practice, the prosody of the Naiqu dialect involves a height accent system for each word, which can be described by only marking the syllables that are pronounced high. In this study, we attempted to follow and faithfully record the pitch in actual speech using the five-degree system.

/tse/ [tse ³⁵]	‘hair’	>	/tse`lu/ [tse ³³ lu ⁵³]	‘braids’
/xu/ [x̃ ɸu ⁵³]	‘tooth’	>	/xu`na/ [x̃ ɸu ³³ na ⁵³]	‘gums’
/mbe = ji se`pu/ [mbe ⁵⁵ = ji ³³ se ³³ pu ⁵⁵]	‘mountain[’s] tree’			

3. Word Order

The basic word order in Luzu is SOV, and case particles indicating grammatical relations are realized as postpositions of their arguments. Modifiers are prefixed to the headword, whereas simple adjectives and quantity modifiers are postpositions of the head noun. Specific examples are provided below.

3.1 Subject and Predicate

{Subject} {Predicate}	{Predicate}	→	[Noun] (AUX)
* indicates the boundary between S and P.			[Adjective] (AUX)
			(Object) [Verb] (AUX)

- (1) e⁵⁵ || ge³³tɕ^hu⁵⁵ ɬi³³.
 1sg. student AUX: inner: assertive

I am a student.

- (2) no⁵⁵ = ji³⁵ mbo³³tɕ^hu⁵⁵ || ni³³tsu⁵⁵tsu³³.
 2sg. =GEN hat red [brilliant]

Your hat is [brilliant] red.

- (3) ju³³ || ɬu⁵⁵ ge³³.
 Rain fall AUX: progress

The rain is falling.

- (4) t^hu⁵⁵ || pe³³ndze⁵⁵ fia³³- dzu⁵⁵ se³³.
 3sg. lunch DIR-cat AUX: outer: pft

S/he ate lunch.

3.2 Modifier: Attributive

{Attributive} {Headword}		[Noun] = PCL → [Noun]	
ne³³ne⁵⁵ baby	= ji³³ =GEN	ge³³mu⁵⁵ cloth	‘infant’s cloth’
t^hu⁵⁵ 1sg.	= ji³³ =GEN	mbo³³tɕ^hi⁵⁵ hat	‘his/her hat’

When personal pronouns are genitive, their vowels are often assimilated to those of the genitive particle / =ji³³/ and pronounced as [t^hi⁵⁵ =ji³³].

{Headword} {Attributive}		[Noun] ← [Adjective] [Noun] ← [Numeral][Classifier]	
mbe³³ke⁵⁵ horse	de³³-lu⁵⁵ white		‘white horse’
k^ho³³le⁵⁵ bowl	te³³ one	= pu⁵⁵ =CLS	‘a bowl’

3.3 Modifier: Adverbial

{Adverbial} {Headword}		[Adjective] = PCL → [Verb] [Adverb] → [Verb]	
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li³³li⁵⁵ well	= mu³³ = PCL	k^he³³-so⁵⁵so⁵⁵ DIR- learn	‘learn carefully’
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Time words are treated as adverbs but may be placed at the beginning of a sentence.

- (5) **a⁵⁵** **ja³³nu⁵⁵** **de³³-ne⁵⁵** **de³³**.
1sg. yesterday DIR- sick AUX: assertive: inner

I was sick yesterday.

4. Case Marker

The Naiqu dialect has five kinds of basic postpositional case markers to express the grammatical relationships among arguments as follows:

4.1 Genitive /=*ji*³³/

After a nominative phrase, this particle indicates the possessor of a thing. Alternatively, it can modify a succeeding noun.

<i>t^hu</i> ³³	= <i>ji</i> ⁵⁵	<i>a</i> ³³ <i>mi</i> ⁵⁵	‘his/her mother’
3sg.	=GEN	mother: address	
<i>ne</i> ³³ <i>k^he</i> ⁵⁵ <i>mu</i> ³³	= <i>ji</i> ³³	<i>tɕi</i> ⁵⁵	‘cloud in the sky’
sky	=GEN	cloud	

Huang (2009) cites [*di*⁵⁵] as another genitive marker, which expresses a collective unit like “home” and simultaneously has a genitive function after the personal pronoun singular.

<i>æ</i> ³⁵	= <i>di</i> ⁵⁵	<i>ni</i> ³⁵	‘my =[family’s] house’
<i>ne</i> ³³	= <i>di</i> ⁵⁵	<i>se</i> ³³ <i>pu</i> ⁵³	‘your =[family’s] tree’

In the Naiqu dialect, however, the weakened form of the plural morpheme *{*du(r)*} of the personal pronoun is accompanied by a genitive particle, and the two do not merge.

<i>a</i> ³³ <i>di</i> ⁵⁵ = <i>ji</i> ³³	<i>ni</i> ³³ <i>ts^hu</i> ⁵⁵	‘our house’
<i>no</i> ⁵⁵ <i>do</i> ⁵⁵ = <i>ji</i> ³³	<i>se</i> ³³ <i>pu</i> ⁵⁵	‘your =[family’s] tree’

4.2 Ergative/Instrumental /=*lu*³³/

After a noun or nominative phrase, this particle indicates the agent or instrument used for an action.

- (6) *ɣe*⁵⁵ *ku*⁵⁵ =*lu*³³ *h^htse*⁵⁵ *de*³³.
chicken hawk =ERG snatch AUX: witness

The chicken was snatched in the mouth by a hawk.

- (7) *ku*⁵⁵ =*lu*³³ *ɣe*⁵⁵ *h^htse*⁵⁵ *de*³³.
hawk =ERG chicken snatch AUX: witness

A hawk snatched a chicken in its mouth.

- (8) $t^h u^{55}$ $bu^{33} ts^h e^{55}$ $= lu^{33}$ se^{33} $p^h e^{55}$ gu^{33} .
 3sg. axe =INST bush cut AUX: intimate

S/he cut the bush with an axe.

In contrast, the subject of an intransitive sentence is absolutive and is not marked. At the same time, the object of the transitive sentences is also unmarked as an absolutive case, indicating that Luzu is an ergative language.

- (9) a^{55} $ja^{33} nu^{55}$ $de^{33} - ne^{55}$ de^{33} .
 1g. = $\emptyset$ yesterday DIR- sick [v] AUX: witness

I was sick yesterday.

4.3 Dative / = (j)e³³ ~ V: /

After a noun or pronoun, this particle indicates the recipient or object of the action, or the place where the action is performed. When the dative marker follows a personal pronoun, the particle often merges with it.

1sg.=DAT $\epsilon^{55} \sim a^{55}$ [$< a^{35} = (j)e^{33}$]
 3sg.=DAT $t^h e^{55}$ [$< t^h u^{35} = (j)e^{33}$]

- (10) $t^h u^{55}$ ϵ^{55} [$< a^{55} = je^{33}$] $de^{33} - ke^{55}$.
 3sg. 1sg.=DAT DIR- hit

S/he hit me.

- (11) a^{55} no^{55} $= je^{33}$ $t^h e^{33} - di^{55}$ $m - je^{33}$.
 1sg. 2sg. =DAT DIR- tell AUX: experience

I have told you.

- (12) $e^{33} o^{55}$ $= la^{33}$ $e^{33} be^{55}$ ne^{33} $= je^{33}$ dzu^{35} .
 father =and mother house =DAT exist/stay

(My) father and mother are at home.

In dual-object constructions, that is, trivalent verb (ditransitive verb) sentences, the direct object is unmarked and the indirect object is marked by the dative marker.

- (13) $t^{h}ur^{55}$ $a^{33}dor^{55}$ $=je^{33}$ $ze^{33}x\tilde{o}^{55}/ze^{33}ndz\tilde{t}^{55}ndi^{33}$
 3sg. 1pl. =DAT Han speech / Han script (=Ø)
 $^{h}m\tilde{i}^{33h}m\tilde{i}^{55}$ zi^{33} .
 teach AUX: inner: definite

S/he teaches us Chinese language.

To express “do sth. for sb.” in a transitive verb with a single-object sentence, the genitive particle is used instead of the dative particle.

- (14) $a^{33}p^{h}u^{55}$ $=lu^{33}$ $lo^{33}ts^{h}u^{55}$ $=ji^{33}$ $bi^{35}te^{33}$
 grandfather =ERG grandson =GEN candy one
 $=p^{h}u^{55}t^{h}y^{55}$ $k^{h}e^{33}-wu^{55}$ se^{33} .
 =CLS DIR-buy AUX: outer: pft

Grandfather bought a packet of candy for his grandson.

4.4 Ablative /= nur^{33} /

After a noun or pronoun, this particle indicates a spatial starting point or the beginning of time.

- (15) $mu^{33}li^{55}$ $=nur^{33}$ $\zeta i^{55}ts^{h}e\eta^{53}$ te^{33} nur^{33} $ji^{33}h\tilde{u}^{55}$.
 P. N. =ABL P. N. one day take

It takes one day from Mili to Xichang.

- (16) $a^{33}du^{55}$ $dze^{33}ne^{53}$ $=nur^{33}$ le^{33} gu^{33} .
 1pl. China =ABL come AUX: inner: impft

We are from China.

- (17) a^{55} $ja^{33}hi^{53}$ $=nur^{33}$ $mu^{33}\zeta u^{55}$ $a^{33}k^{h}a^{55}$ dzu^{33} .
 1sg. last year =ABL now here live/stay

I’ve been living here since last year.

4.5 Comparative / = ts^ha³³ /

This particle is used after a noun to indicate the object being compared.

- (18) a⁵⁵ t^hu⁵⁵ = ts^ha³³ je³³ je³⁵.
 1sg. 3sg. = CMP small/young

I am smaller (younger) than him.

- (19) tɕe⁵⁵ mu³³tsu⁵⁵ = ts^ha³³ je³³ ke⁵⁵.
 dog cat = CMP large

Dogs are larger than cats.

4.6 Accusative (= Absolutive) = ∅

The verb object in a transitive sentence corresponding to accusative is unmarked in Luzu.

- (20) t^hu⁵⁵ ja³³nu⁵⁵ ndzẽ³³ndi⁵⁵ re³³ t^he³³ts^he⁵⁵.
 3sg. yesterday letter = ∅ write finish

S/he finished writing a letter yesterday.

- (21) e³³bɛ⁵⁵ = lu³³ gu³⁵ = lu³³ ge³³mo⁵⁵
 Mom =ERG needle = INST cloth = ∅
 dɛ³³-ŋge⁵⁵ se³³.
 DIR- sew. AUX: outer: pft

(My) mother sewed clothes with a needle.

Of the objects of transitive sentences, direct objects are absolutive and not marked, whereas indirect objects are marked with dative particles.

- (22) t^hu⁵⁵ || a⁵⁵ [< a³⁵ = (j)e³³] | ʃwe³³ gu³³.
 3sg. 1sg. DAT scall AUX: inner(recognition): impft

S/he scolded me.

- (23) a⁵⁵ || bu³³ɹu⁵⁵ = je³³ me³³ tɕ^hu⁵⁵.
 1sg. snake. = DAT fear

I am scared of snakes.

In Luzu, the subject of an intransitive sentence and the direct object in a transitive sentence, which is accusative, are both unmarked as absolutive. Thus, we can recognize that Luzu is typologically of the Ergative type.

5. Noun Predicate

The basic construction of a noun predicate sentence is as follows:

$$[\text{Noun A}] \parallel [\text{Noun B}] \text{AUX} \quad \text{AUX} \rightarrow \text{ʒi}^{33} [\sim \text{ʒi}^{33}] / \text{t-je}^{33}$$

There are two types of AUX in nominal predicate sentences: /ʒi³³/ and /t-je³³/ in the Naiqu dialect. In Huang (2009), only [ʒi³¹] is recorded at the end of the example sentence, and the Chinese counterpart of 是 *shì* is given as a gloss, but there is no explanation for this AUX.

- (24) $\text{e}^{33}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{55}$ $\parallel$ $\text{e}^{33}=\text{ji}^{55}$ $\text{ndz}\tilde{\text{e}}^{33}\text{ndi}^{55}$ $\text{ʒi}^{33} / \text{t-je}^{33}$.
 DEM: proximal 1sg. =GEN book AUX

This is my book.

At first glance, the AUX at the end of a noun predicate sentence appears to be a copula. In fact, its main function is to indicate the relationship between two nouns, A and B, but it also carries the meaning of a subjective declaration based on the speaker's confirmation. In many declarative sentences, it does not matter which AUX is used. However, depending on the statement, only one of these can be used. See sentences (24) and (25):

- (25) e^{55} $\parallel$ $\text{tʂe}^{33}\text{ci}^{55}$ ʒi^{33} .
 1sg. P. N. AUX*

I am Trashi.

*The AUX is not replaceable with */tje³³/ in this sentence.

- (26) $\text{e}^{33}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{55}$ $\text{ne}^{33}\text{ne}^{55}$ $\parallel$ $\text{lo}^{33}\text{z}\tilde{\text{o}}^{55}\text{ti}^{55}$ $=\text{ji}^{33}$ tje^{33} .
 DEM: proximal child P. N. family = GEN AUX*

This child is in (of) Losang family's.

*The AUX is not replaceable with */ʒi³³/ in this sentence.

The AUXs cannot be changed in sentences (24) and (25). In our observation, /ʒi³³/ is used when the speaker speaks definitively based on observation about matters within their range of perception, while /tje³³/ is used when the speaker speaks based on hearsay knowledge about matters outside their range of perception. In this paper, we will refer to this concept of “inside” and “outside” as “inner” and “outer,” respectively.

6. Adjective Predicate

The basic construction of an adjective predicate is as follows:

$$\text{Adjective AUX} \quad \text{AUX} \rightarrow \text{mu}^{33}\text{se}^{33} [\sim \text{mu}^{33}\text{se}^{33} \sim \text{m}^{33}\text{se}^{33}]$$

The basic form of adjectives in Luzu is a reduplicated form of the same stem syllable. Luzu adjectives have comparative and superlative forms; the comparative form has /ɿo³³-/ ‘-er’ preceded by a single stem, while the superlative form has /ne³³tɕi⁵⁵/ ‘most’ preceded by the reduplicated form of the stem.

primitive	comparative	superlative	
ʂe ³³ (ʂe ⁵⁵)	ɿo ³³ - ʂe ⁵⁵	ne ³³ tɕi ⁵⁵ ʂe ³³ ʂe ⁵⁵	‘long’
ku ³³ (ku ⁵⁵)	ɿo ³³ - ku ⁵⁵	ne ³³ tɕi ⁵⁵ ku ³³ ku ⁵⁵	‘large’
je ³³ (je ⁵⁵)	ɿo ³³ - je ⁵⁵	ne ³³ tɕi ⁵⁵ je ³³ je ⁵⁵	‘small’

Even in comparative constructions, adjectives need not always take the comparative class form. When an adjective is a predicate, it is followed by the AUX /mu³³se⁵⁵/. However, this AUX is not essential for adjectival predicate sentences.

- (27) e³³tʰu⁵⁵ pu³³tso⁵⁵ je³³je⁵⁵ = tʰu³³ tʰẽ³³ ntʰẽ⁵⁵ mu³³se³³.
 DEM: proximal knife small = NMLRs harp AUX

This pocket knife is sharp.

AUX /mu³³se⁵⁵/ may be /mu³³/ plus /se³³/ in origin. The /se³³/ is similar in form to the verb predicate AUX, which is discussed below but has a different function and does not connect directly to an adjective by itself, while /mu³³/ may stand alone and directly connect to an adjective to form an adverbial phrase modifying the verb.

- (28) ge³³tɕi⁵⁵ mbe⁵⁵ = je³³ a³³za⁵⁵ = mo³³ ji³³ gu⁵⁵.
 Car hill =DAT slow = SFX go AUX: progressive

The car is slowly climbing up the mountain.

7. Verb Predicate

The basic construction of a verb predicate is as follows:

$$\text{DIR- Vstem AUX} \qquad \text{AUX} \rightarrow \text{gu}^{33}[\sim \text{ge}^{33}] / \text{se}^{33} / \text{m-je}^{33}$$

Lin/Yin/Wang (2014: 49) pointed out that the “complete aspect form” of a verb predicate is “DIR- Vstem (-a)” in the Mianning dialect of Luzu. The (-a) is a suffix expressing the perfective. The Mianning dialect has an imperfective AUX [bo], which is restricted to volitional activities with self-person subjects (i.e., “inner” recognition in our paper), and [gə], which is used for activities with other-person subjects (i.e., “outer” recognition). Contrariwise, in the Naiqu dialect, there is no such suffix *[-a], and [bo^{33}] is not an AUX but a verb of existence. The AUX verbs of verb predicates significantly differ from each other. Besides, in the Naiqu dialect, there is no morphological alternation between intransitive and transitive verbs.

7.1 Directional prefix

The Naiqu dialect has five different directional prefixes: (a) de^{33} - ‘upward’, (b) ne^{33} - ‘downward’, (c) $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{33}$ - ‘inward (/concentration)’, (d) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{33}$ - ‘outward (/diffusion)’, and (e) ŋe^{33} - ‘(no specific direction)’. The combinations with verbs are as follows:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|---------------------------|---|------------------|
| (a) | de^{33} - Vstem | ‘upward’ | | |
| | de^{33} - gwe^{55} | ‘get up’ | de^{33} - bo^{53} | ‘expand’ |
| | $(\text{de}^{33}-)^{\dagger}$ $\text{gu}^{33}\text{ɿu}^{55}$ | ‘sweep’ | †The directional prefix (de^{33} -) is not always required. | |
| | | | | |
| (b) | ne^{33} - Vstem | ‘downward’ | | |
| | ne^{33} - mje^{55} | ‘swallow’ | ne^{33} - ko^{55} | ‘fall’ |
| | | | | |
| (c) | $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{33}$ - Vstem | ‘inward (/concentration)’ | | |
| | $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{33}$ - lu^{55} | ‘mix’ | $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{33}$ - dze^{55} | ‘gather’ |
| | | | | |
| (d) | $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{33}$ - Vstem | ‘outward (/diffusion)’ | | |
| | $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{33}$ - lu^{53} | ‘steal’ | $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{33}$ - ge^{55} | ‘release’ |
| | | | | |
| (e) | ŋe^{33} - Vstem | (no specific direction) | | |
| | ŋa^{33} - dzu^{55} | ‘eat’ | ŋa^{33} - $\text{pa}^{33}\text{ke}^{53}$ | ‘spread (grain)’ |

In the Naiqu dialect of Luzu, the directional affix is not an essential element of the verb. Some verbs, especially existential verbs, do not have directional affixes. In addition, a

significant proportion of the verbs have a fixed combination with a specific directional affix.² As a rule, a directional affix is added when expressing the aspect of completion; however, this does not mean that the directional affix itself has the function of indicating the aspect of completion. On the other hand, a bare verb without a directional affix is said to feel unstable, or in an unfinished state.

7.2 Aspect

In the Naiqu dialect, five main aspects, such as prospective, progressive, perfective, and experiential, are expressed by AUX. The prospective and progressive are imperfect aspects, and the perfective and experiential are perfect aspects.

- (a) The prospective aspect is indicated by a verb followed by an adjunct verb /hũ³³ndʒe⁵³/ ‘intend’ and AUX /gũ³³/ [~ gʷ³³].

- (29) nɿ³³ma⁵³ fĩã³³-nts^hu⁵⁵ = hũ³³ndʒe⁵³ gũ³³.
 Sun DIR- rise = intend to AUX: impft

The sun is coming up.

- (30) ju³³ ʒu⁵⁵ = hũ³³ndʒe⁵³ gũ³³.
 Rain fall = intend to AUX: impft

It is about to rain.

- cf. (3) ju³³ ʒu⁵⁵ gũ³³
 rain fall AUX: impft: progressive

The rain is falling.

² The Mili dialect described in Huang (2009: 224) also has five kinds of directional prefixes: de³⁵- ‘upward’; ne³⁵- ‘downward’; khe³⁵- ‘inward (/to upstream)’; ɲe³⁵- ‘outward (/to downstream)’; the³⁵- ‘to the other side’. Some of them have similar shapes but do not directly correspond to the Naiqu dialect prefixes except for ‘upward’ and ‘downward’. In the Mianning dialect described in Lin/Yin/Wang (2014: 48), these directional prefixes are simplified as de- ‘upward (/into house)’; ne- ‘downward (/out of house)’; and the- ‘outward (/centrifugal)’, and [khe-] is rarely used as a fixed element of the perfective form of a verb that has lost directional meaning. [de-] is often used as a prefix element without a directional meaning.

- (b) AUX /*ɠw*³³/ indicates an imperfective aspect, which includes durative stative and durative progressive.

- (31) *t^hu*⁵⁵ *dzu*³³*tɕi*⁵⁵ *k^he*³³, *ndzẽ*³³*ndi*⁵⁵
 3sg. meal have book

*tso*⁵³ *ɠw*³³.
 read. AUX: impft: progressive

S/he is reading a book while eating.

- (c) The perfective aspect is indicated by adding AUX /*se*³³/ directly after the verb.

- (32) *t^hu*⁵⁵ *pe*³³*ndze*⁵⁵ *fiã*³³- *dzu*⁵⁵ *se*³³.
 3sg. lunch DIR- eat AUX: pft: outer

S/he ate lunch.

- (33) *ni*³³*ma*⁵³ *fiã*³³- *nts^hu*⁵⁵ *se*³³.
 Sun DIR- rise AUX: pft: outer

The sun has risen.

- (d) The experiential aspect is indicated by adding AUX /*m-je*³³/ directly after the verb.

- (34) *a*⁵⁵ *ʂa*³³*ma*⁵⁵ *ʂi*⁵⁵ *fiã*³³- *dzu*⁵⁵ *m-je*³³.
 1sg. red deer meat DIR- eat AUX: pft: experiential

I have eaten red deer meat.

- (35) *t^hu*⁵⁵ *ma*³³*mi*⁵³ *ji*³³-*mu*⁵³ *m-je*³³.
 3sg. army DIR- serve AUX: pft: experiential

He was a soldier. (He has military experience.)

7.3 Evidentiality

Depending on the speaker's perception of the action, there are "general speech" and "perceptive speech". Here we follow the analysis of Prof. Huang Bufan. The use of "perceptive speech" indicates that the speaker personally sees the action or hears the sound; it is also used in narratives about oneself and the "inner" world with which the speaker is familiar. This evidential category is expressed by the AUX in the verb predicate. In the perfect aspect, the AUX /*zi*³³/ (see Section 5) is added at the end of the sentence expressing perceptive recognition as "inner"; the AUX /*se*³³/ for "outer" without such recognition is often used with a nuance of lack of confirmation or uncertainty.

- (36) t^hu⁵⁵ mbe³³ =je⁵³ ne³³- hko⁵⁵ ʒi³³.
 3sg. mountain = DAT³ DIR- arrive AUX: pft: inner

S/he came down from the mountain. <perceptive speech>
 (The speaker witnessed him/her coming down from the mountains.)

- (37) t^hu⁵⁵ mbe³³ =je⁵³ ne³³- li⁵⁵ se³³.
 3sg. mountain = DAT DIR- come AUX: pft: outer

S/he came down from the mountain. <general speech>

Contrastively, in the imperfect aspect, the AUX /gu³³/ is added at the end of the sentence to express volition for “inner” (mainly the 1st/2nd person subject sentence) or perceptive recognition for “outer” (mainly the 3rd person subject sentence).

- (38) t^hu⁵⁵ k^he³³ fia³³- dzu⁵⁵.
 3sg. meal DIR- eat

S/he eats/ate the meal. <general speech>
 (Usually understood as an event that has already occurred.)

- (39) t^hu⁵⁵ k^he³³ fia³³- dzu⁵⁵ gu³³.
 3sg. meal DIR- eat AUX: impft

S/he eats the meal. <perceptive speech>
 (The speaker witnessed the scene when s/he was preparing to eat.)⁴

If this AUX /gu³³/ is changed to /se³³/, the sentence becomes an example of general speech with “outer” recognition, with an unconfirmed or uncertain nuance in perfect aspect.

³ The Luzu dative covers a wider range of grammatical functions. The dative marker used in example (36), even translated as ‘from’ in English, is different from the ablative /=nu³³/ indicating a space-time starting point. In addition to this, the object of some verbs, such as that for “prefer,” is also marked with the dative as follows:

a⁵⁵ =lo⁵³ le³³mu⁵⁵ =je³³ ge³⁵ ʒi⁵⁵.
 1sg. =also P. N. =DAT love AUX

I like Lhamo, too.

⁴ This /gu³³/ indicates that the narrative is based on the speaker’s observation and does not always correspond to the subject’s person. It is just like the difference between the Japanese expression *Kare=wa sake=ga nomi-tai*. 彼は酒が飲みたい。[He wants to drink saké.] as opposed to *Kare=wa sake=ga nomi-tai n(o)da*. 彼は酒が飲みたいんだ。[(It is sure that) he wants to drink saké. (Because I saw the scene that he took an empty wine glass in his hand.)]

- (40) t^hu⁵⁵ k^he³³ fa³³- dzu⁵⁵ se³³.
 3sg. meal DIR- eat AUX: pft: outer

S/he ate the meal. <general speech>

In sentence (39), the speaker did not witness the scene and is reciting unconfirmed information. Contrariwise, sometimes another /de³³/ is used for AUX when emphasizing that it occurred to oneself or is an eyewitness account of an event that has occurred.

- (41) a⁵⁵ t^he⁵⁵ t^hɑ̃³³- ndo⁵⁵ de³³.
 1sg. ghost DIR- see AUX: pft: inner

I saw a ghost. <perceptive speech>

8. Concluding Remarks

In this study, the syntactic frame of the Naiqu dialect of the Luzu language has been organized and described in as consistent a manner as possible. This report mainly analyzed the basic features of the case markers expressing the grammatical relationships among arguments, aspect markers that appear at the end of predicates, and auxiliaries that describe the semantic distinction between “inner/outer.” Simultaneously, we attempted to clarify the common features and differences between the dialects reported in previous studies.

This paper aims to present the basic structure of syntax clearly. Therefore, all examples are limited to declarative sentences, leaving us unable to cover syntactic issues such as imperative, negative, interrogative, and causative. We will prepare a separate paper to discuss such issues and present complex expression forms, such as verb predicates with stative verbs, verb predicates with modals, and verb predicates in the combinations of tense and aspect.

Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative	impft	imperfect
ABS	Absolutive	PCL	Particle
ACC	Accusative	pft	perfect
AUX	Auxiliary	P. N.	Personal Name or Place Name
CLS	Classifier	1pl.	1st person plural
CMP	Comparative	1sg.	1st person singular
DAT	Dative	2pl.	2nd person plural
DIR-	Directional prefix	2sg.	2nd person singular
ERG	Ergative	3pl.	3rd person plural
GEN	Genitive	3sg.	3rd person singular

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殷商汉语数量表达研究—兼论汉语个体量词的来源*

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A Study of Numerical Expressions in Shang Chinese: The Origin of Individual Classifiers in Chinese

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Summary

In Shang Chinese there are four forms of numerical expressions: (a) numeral + noun; (b) noun + numeral; (c) noun (i) + numeral + noun (ii) (two different nouns in sequence); (d) noun (i) + numeral + noun (i') (two identical nouns in sequence). Some scholars argue that the noun components following numerals in forms (c) and (d) are individual classifiers (or their embryonic forms). Through an examination of numerical expressions in Shang oracle bone inscriptions and bronze inscriptions, this paper suggests that these components may not necessarily be genuine individual classifiers (or their embryonic forms).

关键词：甲骨文 量词 数词 数量表达 上古汉语

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1. 引言

什么是量词呢？要确定它的内涵和外延并不容易。大河内康宪（1997：53）把量词定义为：

（量詞は）名詞についてそれぞれの名詞の範疇意義を明らかにするものとされ、ある名詞にある量詞がつくというのは、その範疇で物を捉えていることであり、ある名詞に量詞が定まっているというのはその物の認知の仕方が社会的・伝統的に与えられていることを示す。

〔量词与名词搭配，用以揭示各个名词的意义范畴。某一名词与某量词搭配，意味着人们在该范畴中认知名词所指事物，某名词有固定的量词，则表示人们对该事物的认知方式是由社会 and 传统所赋予的。〕

在类型学上，量词也被称为类别词（classifier）。Aikhenvald（2000：13）把类别词定义为：

Classifiers are defined as morphemes which occur ‘in surface structures under specifiable conditions’, denote ‘some salient perceived or imputed characteristics of the entity to which an associated noun refers’ (Allan 1977: 285), and are restricted to particular construction types known as ‘classifier constructions’. Classifier constructions are understood as morphosyntactic units (which may be noun phrases of a particular kind, verb phrases, or clauses) which require the presence of a particular kind of a morpheme, the choice of which is dictated by the semantic characteristics of the referent of the head of a noun phrase.

〔类别词被定义为在具体条件下出现于表层结构的语素，表示与之搭配之名词所指事物的某些凸显的感知特征或归属特征（Allan 1977：285），且仅限于“类别词结构”这一特定的结构类型中。类别词结构被理解为形态句法单位（可以是特定类型的名词短语、动词短语或小句），要求存在特定类型的语素，而语素的选择取决于名词短语中中心词的语义特征。〕

也就是说，从类型学的角度来看，计数和计量不一定是类别词的主要功能。根据Aikhenvald（2000）的考察，承担计数、计量功能的“量词”这一语法范畴相当于数量类别词（numeral classifier），是类别词的一个子类。

现代汉语无疑是一种具备量词系统的语言。正如贝罗贝（1998：99）所述，量词是由句法分布来定义的，即“在理论上是必须放在名词前面，且在指示词或／及数词后面。”然而，光是这个定义未必能够辨别清楚个体量词和单位词（measure word，或称为量度词）的不同。单位词表示的是对非个体和非离散事物的计量概

念,包括度量衡量词(长度、重量、体积、面积等单位)、集体量词(作为单位的群体)、容器量词(作为单位的容器)等,要在语义上必须与个体量词区分开来。个体量词表示的是对个体和离散事物的计数概念。

当然,还有一种立场是设置“广义的(数量)类别词”,将个体量词与单位词视为类别词的子类。例如, Lyons (1977: 463) 将类别词结构(classifier-construction)分为两类:分类类别词(sortal classifier)和计量类别词(mensural classifier)。前者是根据名词所指的天然属性分类,如有生、形状,表示事物所属的类(张赅2012: 15),相当于个体量词;后者则是根据事物的数量和暂时的物理状态(如排列顺序)分类,表示事物的量(张赅2012: 15),相当于单位词。

然而,单位词的性质并不符合本文开篇所举的量词或类别词的定义,即“用以揭示各个名词的意义范畴”(大河内康宪1997)、“表示与之搭配之名词所指事物的某些凸显的感知特征或归属特征”(Aikhenvald 2000)。因此有些学者指出,必须把单位词看作跟类别词不同的语法范畴¹。

我们还应该注意到,单位词常见于世界各地的语言中,而个体量词主要分布于汉语以及其他汉藏系语言中。贝罗贝(1998: 117)据此认为个体量词才是纯正的量词,张赅(2012: 1)也仅据个体量词探讨了汉语量词的形成机制。因此本文也将个体量词和单位词分开予以讨论。

那么,汉语里的个体量词范畴出现在什么时候呢?目前对此问题存在如下两种观点。

第一,刘世儒(1965: 5)指出:“这种量词(即个体量词:引者注)²虽然在南北朝以前就逐渐出现,但真正形成一种稳定的范畴则是到了南北朝时代的事。”郭锡良(2005: 36)也持这一观点,他说:“到了魏晋以后,名词变得不能直接同数词结合了,中间必须加上一个单位词(即个体量词:引者注³);而单位词却总是直接同数词结合成数量结构,用作句子中的一个成分。这时单位词和一般名词的语法功能、语法作用有了明显的区别,才能说单位词已经从名词中分化出来,成了独立的一类词——量词。”

后来有些学者指出,魏晋南北朝时期个体量词的使用尚未成规范,其范畴的完全成熟应该是唐代以后。持这一观点的有贝罗贝(1998)、吴福祥(2007)、张赅(2012)、李计伟(2017)等。比如吴福祥(2007: 258)说:“魏晋南北朝时期汉语量词范畴整体上还显示较低的语法化程度,量词范畴的完全成熟应该是唐代以后。”

¹ 比如, Tai (1994: 481) 指出: “However, in order to better understand the nature of categorization in a classifier system, it is not only desirable but also necessary to differentiate classifiers from measure words. ... In simple term, while a classifier is used to ‘categorize’ an object in reference to its salient perceptual properties, a measure word is used to ‘measure’ the quantity of an object or a collection of objects.” Gil (2005: 226) 也将计量类别词排除在类别词之外。

² 刘文把个体量词称为陪伴词。

³ 郭文据王力(1990)把个体量词称为单位词。

这是第二种观点。

这些观点无论是第一种还是第二种，都以“管后”的立场为前提。“管后”就是指以个体量词与名词完全分离为名量词成立的标准（姚振武2015: 156）。也有一种立场是以个体名词与名词分离的开始点作为个体量词成立的标准，姚振武（2015: 156）把它称为“管前”。姚文从“管前”的立场出发⁴，认为个体量词在殷商时期仅露端倪，东周以后走向发展成熟时期（姚振武2015: 11）。

有些学者从“管前”的立场出发，认为甲骨文就有个体量词或个体量词的萌芽。持这一观点的，除了姚振武（2015）以外，还有管燮初（1953）、陈梦家（1988）、黄载君（1964）、Kryukov（1980）、Wang（1994）、Ito & Takashima（1996）、李宇明（2000）、张玉金（2001）、李曦（2004）、Campbell（2004）等。而也有些学者仍然认为甲骨文还没有个体量词或个体量词的萌芽。持这一观点的，有游顺钊（1988）、王力（1990）、沈培（1992）、贝罗贝（1998）等。他们均认为个体量词在西周以后才产生。

采取前一立场的许多学者认为，甲骨文的〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉格式中（如“马二丙”、“羌十人”、“伐十羌”等）的〈名词ii〉基本上是个体量词。尤其关键的量词是“丙”，黄载君（1964: 432）从“丙”是计马的个体量词这一观点出发，认为殷商时期就有个体量词。

据笔者的考察（户内俊介2022），殷商汉语⁵集体量词有“丰、朋、丙”，容量量词有“卣”，殷代至少有这四个单位词。既然“丙”是单位词，它就不是个体量词。那么殷商汉语中是否存在个体量词呢？

前人所举的殷商汉语的量词（包括个体量词和单位词）有十五个，如：“人、羌、犬、丙、升、鬯、屯、丿、丰、朋、品、骨、奠、崇”。但户内俊介（2022）通过考察发现“屯、丿、升、鬯”原本并非是量词，而“丰、朋、丙、卣”并非真正的（个体）量词，而是集体量词。“品”一词只出现于殷金文，并未出现于甲骨文，因此本文暂时不将其纳入讨论⁶。由此可知，剩余的量词只有六个，即“人、羌、犬、骨、奠、崇”。剩余的这六个量词中，是否有真正的个体量

⁴ 姚氏认为：“‘管后’的办法，愿望虽然好，但要在某一个时间点上成系统地把名词和名量词划分得一清二楚其实是很难得。因此本文采取‘管前’办法。”（姚振武2015: 157）

⁵ 本文所言的殷商汉语是指殷代甲骨文和殷金文中所反映的一种语言。

⁶ 张桂光（2009: 23）将下文“品”字看作集体量词，但并未作具体解释。

王令寝农省北田四品。（寝农鼎／集成2710）

〈名词+数词+品〉也见于西周金文与《尚书》，如：

錫臣三品：州人、重人、鄘人。（荣作周公簋／集成4241）

惟金三品。（《尚书·禹贡》）孔安国传：金、银、铜也。孔颖达疏：郑玄以为金三品者，铜三色也。

从这些例子看，“品”不是个体量词，似乎是当种类讲的名词。王祁（2021: 54）说：“早期文献及商周金文中用为量词的‘品’，其共同特点是‘品’前的限定词汇是大类，‘品’表示的是小类，小类归属于大类。以‘金三品’为例，金银铜或铜三色，都归属于‘金’。同时王文将寝农鼎中的‘北田四品’释为‘北田中的四类土地’。”

词？本文的目的就在于阐明这一问题。

本文拟据姚振武（2015）的观点从“管前”的立场出发，对甲骨文中〈数词+名词〉、〈名词+数词〉、〈名词+数词+名词〉（〈名词_i+数词+名词_{ii}〉与〈名词_i+数词+名词_{i'}〉）结构加以考察，并探讨殷代是否存在个体量词或个体量词的萌芽这一问题。其中，〈名词+数词+名词〉结构尤为关键，许多先前学者都将后一〈名词〉成分分析为了量词。

本文不把〈数词+量词+名词〉格式纳入讨论，这是因为一般认为甲骨文中不存在这种格式⁷。

2. 殷商汉语中数量表达形式的类型以及功能

殷商汉语有四种数量表达形式：(a) 〈数词+名词〉；(b) 〈名词+数词〉；(c) 〈名词_i+数词+名词_{ii}〉（前后两个名词不同形）；(d) 〈名词_i+数词+名词_{i'}〉（前后两个名词同形）。下面，我将对这四种类型以及其表达功能一一加以考察，进而探讨殷代是否有个体量词或个体量词的萌芽。

2.1 (a) 〈数词+名词〉

〈数词+名词〉格式是这段时期最常见的计数方式，根据Campbell（2004: 20）的统计，其使用比例达到所有数量表达形式的85%。这种格式既可以充当主语（例1-3），也可以充当宾语（例4-5）。例如：

- (1) 贞：“兔⁸、三十马弗其牵羌。”（合集500正）【宾组】
- (2) 贞：“五百宰¹⁰用。”（合集558正）【宾组】
- (3) 三百羌用于丁。（合集295）【宾组】
- (4) 贞：“燎于土三小宰，卯一牛，沈十牛。”（合集779正）【宾组】

⁷ 对于“五丰臣”（合集34148），管燮初（1953: 25）、黄载君（1964: 434）均指出它是〈数词+量词+名词〉结构，且“丰”是个体量词。但姚莹（2011: 40-41）将卜辞“五丰臣”中的“丰”读作“介”，释为当“副”、“次”讲的形容词，并说：“卜辞‘介臣’当与居于主要地位的‘冢臣’（或如后世的‘冢宰’、‘冢卿’一类称呼）相对，即地位较低的、处于‘副’、‘亚’、‘次’地位的臣。”其说可信。

⁸ “兔”字原文写作“𪚩”一类形，过去一般释为“𪚩”，而单育辰（2020: 50; 54）将其读作“兔”。其说可从。此处的“兔”表示人名。

⁹ 本文引用古文字资料其释文皆采用宽式，如无必要即不严格隶定。

¹⁰ “宰”字过去一般释为“仆”或“隶”，而王恩田将其读作“宰”（何景成2017: 498-499）。其说可从。“宰”字卜辞中跟“羌”相同，表示一种族名。

(5) 贞：“侑九伐，卯九牛。”

贞：“侑十伐，卯十牛。”

(合集39533)【宾组】

一般认为〈数词+名词〉是名词直接受数词修饰的偏正结构，因此本文也认为例(1)–(5)中的“马”、“宰”、“羌”、“宰”、“牛”、“伐”均不是个体量词，而是名词。但有些学者却把〈数词+名词〉中的一部分〈名词〉看作是个体量词。比如，黄载君(1964: 434)指出(3)“三百羌”中的“羌”是个体量词。

正如李建平(2017: 22)所述，对于量词判定标准的不一致，导致不同学者对同一文献中量词数量与频率的统计不一。在上古汉语中，个体量词这一语法范畴还没有系统地建立起来，因此有些学者从语义上，即从某个词是否表达计数或计量来判断它是否为个体量词，并据此把一些直接受数词修饰的名词，即一些〈数词+名词〉格式中的〈名词〉分析为个体量词。但在甲骨文中对离散事物进行计数一般使用这种格式，因此说〈数词+名词〉格式中的〈名词〉是个体量词，缺乏说服力。

比如，殷人时常常用牛胛骨进行占卜，在甲骨文中把左右一对的胛骨称为“𠂔(屯)”，把一块胛骨称为“丿(丿)”¹¹。两字只构成〈数词+屯／数词+丿〉结构，而不构成〈名词+数词+屯／名词+数词+丿〉结构。例如：

(6) 婦井示五屯。

(合集17525)【宾组】

(7) 壬申婦喜示一丿。

(合集13443)【宾组】

(8) 婦祀示七屯又一丿。

(合集17525)【宾组】

有些学者把“屯”看作是计骨的集体量词，把“丿”看作是计骨的个体量词(黄载君1964: 433；张玉金2001: 22；杨逢彬2003: 177；李曦2004: 273)。但如上所述，〈数词+名词〉是在甲骨文中最常见的数量表达形式，是名词直接受数词修饰的偏正结构，由此可知例(6)–(8)中的“屯”和“丿”的句法行为和普通名词毫无二致。笔者据此认为“屯”和“丿”仍然是名词。

甲骨文中我们时常看到“一牛、二牛、一羊、二羊”这种〈数词+名词〉结构，但没有人说“牛／羊”是量词。难道说〈数词+屯／丿〉的“屯／丿”是量词，而〈数词+牛／羊〉的“牛／羊”是名词？对于“屯”字的字义，白玉峥先生说：

¹¹ “丿”字旧无确释。或释为“骨”，或释为“匹”，或释为“奇”。“丿”字字形结构当如何分析，看来只能存疑待考，因此本文将其直接隶定为“丿”。

屯，宜为纯之初文，纯为后起从糸屯声之形声字；为屯即纯，束也，究不若直取集韵之“纯，包束也”之说较为妥适也。至一包何以仅包一牛之两胛骨？检仪礼士昏礼“腊一肫”注云：“腊，或作纯。纯，全也”。又乡射礼“二筭为纯”注亦云：“纯，全也”。又礼记投壶：“二筭为纯，一筭为奇”，疏谓“二筭合为一全”。是纯有全之义也。集韵：“算，或作筭”。说文段氏注云：“筭法用竹，径一分，长六寸”。则算即筭，为计数之工具。算，盖即筭之义也。二算既为一全，则一牛之两肩胛骨当可表示为一全牛之义矣。……

礼记投壶谓：“一筭为奇”，奇，盖即数之奇零者。既以一牛之两胛骨为一捆屯，表示一头全牛，则奇零之一枚胛骨以丿（骨白刻辞之专字）示之，于事、于理、于丿字说解，辞义之通常无碍，宜无可疑矣。（李圃1999: 366）

笔者据此认为，“屯”表示全套的胛骨，“丿”表示一半的、奇零的胛骨，均属于事物范畴的名词，并不是计骨的量词。同样，“三百羌”的“羌”也应该看作是一个名词。

“三百羌”还必须联系“羌百羌”这一格式来讨论。黄载君（1964: 438）把“羌百羌”中的第二个“羌”看作是量词的原始用法。此外，也有些学者指出它是名词和量词同形的反响型量词（echo classifier）之例（Wang 1994: 46；桥本万太郎2000: 91-92；李宇明2000: 29-30等）。黄文之所以认为“三百羌”中的“羌”是个体量词，也许是因为受到了对“羌百羌”的分析的影响。但笔者认为“羌百羌”并非反响型量词结构，其中的第二个“羌”也不是个体量词，而是名词（参看后文）。总之，无论是“三百羌”还是“羌百羌”，“羌”都不是个体量词。

甲骨文中，超过两位数的数词在位数和零数之间可以加上“又”¹²。比如，“十又三（=13）”（合集37473）、“三十又七（=37）”（合集28314）、“百又九十又九（=199）”（合集10407正）等¹³。而且，当数词由位数和零数构成时，〈数词+名词〉可以构成如下四种格式：

（A）把超过两位数的数词直接放在名词前。比如：

（9） 十又五羌¹⁴ （合集32067+合集32105）¹⁵ 【历组】

（10） 十又五牢 （合集34396）【历组】

¹² “又”字在村北系卜辞中有时写作“𠂔”（𠂔），而本文一律隶定为“又”。

¹³ 有时不加“又”。比如，“二十三”（合集10197），“二百五十”（合集10761）等。

¹⁴ 陈梦家（1988: 110）和Ito & Takashima（1996: vol. 2: 69）均指出卜辞中绝无“十又五羌”，“十又五人”的形式，但这一观点是站不住脚的。

¹⁵ 参见周忠兵（2008）。

(B) 名词后加上“又”和零数，即〈位数+名词+又+零数〉结构。这种格式是最常见的记数方式。例如：

(11) 十伐又五 (合集892)【宾组】

(12) 十牛又五 (屯南3552)【历组】

(C) 名词后直接加上零数。例如：

(13) 十宰九 (合集7026)【师宾间组】

这种格式很罕见，应是省略了(B)〈位数+名词+又+数词〉中的“又”字（喻遂生2000: 38；李曦2004: 272）。

(D) 位数之后再加上名词，即〈位数+名词+又+零数+名词〉结构。例如：

(14) 甲午卜：又𠂔（升）于子戠十犬，卯牛一。
 十犬又五犬，卯牛一。 (合集32775)【历组】

据我所知，这种格式在甲骨文中只有这一例¹⁶。

Ito & Takashima (1996: vol. 1: 210–213) 认为例(14)“十犬又五犬”里的第二个“犬”字是一个个体量词。Ito & Takashima (1996) 之所以持此观点，是因为：第一，“人十又五人”中的第二个“人”是个体量词（关于这种格式，参见后文）；第二，“十犬又五犬”是“犬十又五犬”的一个变体¹⁷；第三，后者跟“人十又五人”形式一致，因此第二个“犬”也跟“人”一样是一个个体量词。

但笔者认为，例(14)的第二辞“十犬又五犬”是以第一辞的“十犬”为基础而形成的表达形式，也就是说是指在第一辞“十犬”的基础上又增加了“五犬”，而并不是单纯指“十五只狗”。这就是说，“十犬”和“五犬”各自是独立的〈数词+名词〉。由此可见两个“犬”均是名词。

2.2 (b) 〈名词+数词〉

〈名词+数词〉格式虽然不如〈数词+名词〉那样普遍，但也是常用的形式之一，根据Campbell (2004: 20) 的统计，占了所有数量表达形式的13%。这种格式

¹⁶ 西周金文中也有这种格式，例如：

唯十月又二月（我方鼎／集成2763）

在十月又二月（荣仲鼎／新收1567）

我方鼎的时代颇存争议，或以为殷器，或以为西周早期器。本文根据冯时（2013）的观点采用西周说。

¹⁷ “犬十又五犬”这一例未见于已公布的甲骨文材料中。

跟〈数词+名词〉不同，不能充当主语。如：

- (15) 乙未卜：“翌丙申王田获。”允获鹿九。
(合集10309)【师宾间组】

- (16) 之日狩，允擒。获虎一，鹿四十，豕二百六十四，麋百五十九。
(合集10198正)【宾组】

- (17) 癸丑卜，般贞：“五百宰用。”旬壬戌又用宰五百。
(合集559正)【宾组】

- (18) 𠄎乙丑在八月。酒大乙牛三，祖乙牛三，小乙牛三，父丁牛三。
(屯南777)【历组】

例(15)–(18)中，〈名词+数词〉均位于动词之后。那么，我们应该如何分析这种〈动词+名词+数词〉结构中的〈动词〉、〈名词〉和〈数词〉的语法关系呢？对这一问题，目前主要有以下两种观点：

第一种观点是把〈名词+数词〉看作是〈动词〉的宾语，即一个名词短语。管燮初(1953: 25)和张玉金(2001: 17)将其分析为“中心语+修饰语”结构；李曦(2004: 272)认为〈名词+数词〉是构成中补结构的词组。

另一观点是将〈数词〉看作是述谓成分。Kryukov(1980: 46)持这一观点，他将“获狼二十五”(合集37486)这一小句翻译为“the wolves caught number 25”(被抓住的狼，其数量是二十五只)¹⁸。Kryukov氏还指出，由于下例(19)中的“五百”前面带副词“其”与“不”，因而是谓语。

- (19) 以芻其五百。
以芻不其五百。
(乙编6896/合集93正)【宾组】

邵永海(2017)也把〈数词〉看作是谓语，并说：“一般地说，谓语是句子的重心，因此，在着重说明事物地数目时，通常使用数词谓语的句式。”

李建平(2017: 390)也指出：“数词在名词或名词性短语之后作谓语，表示前面名词的数量，早在殷代甲骨文中已非常常见。”

此外，沈培(1992: 207–208)说：

¹⁸ Kryukov氏所引的“狼”字原文写作“𤝵”一类形，旧有释为“狼”、“狐”等不同看法，而单育辰(2020: 103–104)释为“豕”字的异体，可从。

从下面所引的在“名”、“数”之间加“惠”或“其”的例子来看，卜辞中的“名数”或“名数量”单成一句时，的确应该分析为主谓结构；

白牛惠二，又正。

白牛惠三，又正。 29504

羌其十人。

△羌十人又五。¹⁹

△其廿人。 26911

但是，“名数”或“名数量”在单用时是主谓结构，并不能证明它在充当句子的宾语或主语等成分时也是主谓结构。例如§2.2中曾举过“卯于東方析三牛、三羊、壳三”的例子，我们显然不能说其中的“壳三”是主谓结构，“三牛”、“三羊”是偏正结构。……

我们认为，在各家的有关论述中，太田辰夫先生的观点值得重视。太田先生在《中国语历史文法》中把“名数”和“名数量”格式叫做“复体词句”，即由两个以上的体词构成、缺乏述语的“句子”。太田先生所说的“句子”，涵义与我们一般所说的“句子”不同；根据我们的理解，他所说的“复体词句”，在没有独立形成语言中的一句话的时候，跟他所说的“等立词组”是一回事。“等立词组”的组成部分可以有并列关系，也可以有同位关系。“名数”和“名数量”的内部应属于同位关系。我们同意这种看法。同位词组的组成成分的位置往往可以变动，所以，卜辞中同一条命辞中“名数”与“数名”两种格式往往混用。

Campbell (2004: 27-30) 也持类似观点。

在探讨〈名词+数词〉中的数词是否为述谓成分这一问题之前，我们需要先来考察〈名词+数词〉的内部构造。许多前辈认为〈名词+数词〉是一个名词短语，但如沈培(1992: 110-111)所言，我们在甲骨文中有时会看到〈名词〉与〈数词〉之间被其他成分分开的例子。例如：

- (20) 来甲午侑伐上甲八。
来甲午侑伐上甲土。 (合集904正)【宾组】

- (21) 侑奚上甲三土。 (合集19773)【师组】

- (22) 乙未酒兹品上甲十，报乙三，报丙三，报丁三，示壬三，
示癸三，大乙土，大丁土，大甲土，大庚七，小甲三……。 (合集32384)【历组】

¹⁹ 沈文引用卜辞例句时，为了便于比较，把同版中相关的卜辞也引上，句前标△号以示区别。

(23) 甲戌卜：“侑鬯甲祖二。”

甲戌卜：“侑鬯甲祖二。”

(花东157)【花东子组】

沈氏指出，在上例(20)中〈名词〉“伐”和〈数词〉“八/十”被神名宾语“上甲”分开。由于“伐”在甲骨文中兼有名词和动词两种词性，因此我们首先必须说明“侑伐”是祭祀动词连用还是“祭祀动词+宾语”的动宾结构。有些学者把例(20)中的“侑伐”的“伐”看作动词，如陈梦家(1988: 281)将此“伐”字释为表达用牲法的动词。而沈培(1992: 111)说，在下引例子中“侑伐”与“侑大甲伐十又五”对举，这证明“侑伐”的“伐”为名词。方稚松(2021: 9)也认为〈祭祀动词+伐〉类结构中的“伐”都当理解为人牲名词，这种“某伐”结构属于动宾关系，并非动词连用²⁰。本文同意沈氏和方氏的这一观点。用作名词的“伐”是指被砍头的人牲。

(24) “翌甲寅侑伐于大甲。”

贞：“侑大甲伐十又五。”

(合集902正)【宾组】

既然“伐”是名词，那么“侑伐上甲八”就是〈动词+名词(=牲名宾语)+神名宾语+数词〉结构。这也说明〈名词+数词〉的〈名词〉和〈数词〉不是构成名词短语的直接成分。Campbell(2004: 28)也持类似观点。

笔者也赞同这一看法，认为〈名词+数词〉的〈名词〉和〈数词〉分别是两个独立成分。那么，〈数词〉是否为述谓成分？笔者认为确有一部分是述谓成分。正如沈培先生所言，〈名词+数词〉单用时，〈数词〉起到谓词性作用，即〈名词〉和其后的〈数词〉之间构成话题(topic)与述题(comment)的关系。类似例子也见于先秦汉语(太田辰夫1981: 155；吴福祥、冯胜利、黄正德2006: 390)，例如：

(25) 齐侯之夫人三，王姬、徐赢、蔡姬，皆无子。

(《左传·僖公十七年》)

(26) 道二。仁与不仁而已矣。

(《孟子·离娄上》)

(27) 获邓廖，其能免者，组甲八十，被练三百而已。

(《左传·襄公三年》)

²⁰ 方氏的这一观点是引自刘海琴《殷墟甲骨祭祀卜辞中“伐”之词性考》(华东师范大学博士学位论文，2006年)的，但笔者未读。

沈文所举的“羌其十人”（沈培1992: 207）也证实，〈名词〉是话题，〈数词〉是述题，因为“其”在甲骨文中经常作为情态副词用于主语和述语之间。

至于〈（动词+）名词+数词〉中的〈数词〉，笔者也认为确有一部分是述谓成分。以（15）为例，“获鹿九”中的“九”是述题，其大意是“抓住‘鹿’的时候，其数量是九头”。例（15）、（17）的动词之后只有一个〈名词+数词〉结构，而有些例子则跟（15）（17）不同，动词后并列着几个〈名词+数词〉结构，笔者认为这种句子中〈数词〉也是述谓成分。比如，例（16）的动词“获”后列举了四个〈名词+数词〉结构，即“虎一、鹿四十、豕二百六十四、麋百五十九”。再如例（18）的动词“酒”后有四个“牛三”的〈名词+数词〉结构。我们认为这些〈数词〉也都是述谓成分。

记述占卜结果的验辞²¹经常采用〈（动词+）名词+数词〉这一数量表达形式。例（15）、（16）是记录猎获动物数目的田猎卜辞验辞，例（17）、（18）是记录牺牲数目的祭祀卜辞验辞²²，均属于清单、簿记类语体。沈培（1992: 202）指出：“卜辞的验辞举出已用的祭牲或已获得的动物，计算意味较重，大概正是由于这个原因，通常才使用‘名数’格式。”验辞是记述现实事件的记录，而清单、簿记是计算现实事物的记录，两者在性质上是比较接近的。

先秦属于清单、簿记类语体的句子也有时会采用〈动词+名词+数词〉这一数量表达形式，这时〈数词〉仍然是述谓成分（吴福祥、冯胜利、黄正德2006: 392；李建平2017: 390–391）。例如：

（28） 使邓廖帅组甲三百，被练三千，以侵吴。（《左传·襄公三年》）

（29） 越三日丁巳，用牲于郊牛二。

越翼日戊午，乃社于新邑牛一、羊一、豕一。

（《尚书·召诰》）

验辞中表达数量时常采用〈动词+名词+数词〉格式（例15–18），其中的〈数词〉均是述谓成分。而记叙占卜内容的命辞中表达数量时情况则不大相同，有时采

²¹ 一条完整的卜辞，是由四个部分组成的。①前辞：记述占卜的时间（即十干十二支）和贞人；②命辞：记述占卜所要问的内容；③占辞：记述商王看了兆纹之后所下的判断；④验辞：记述占卜之后记录应验的事实。如：

甲寅卜，般贞：“妇好娩，嘉。”王占曰：“其佳丁娩，嘉。其佳庚娩引吉。”

①前辞

②命辞

③占辞

旬又一日甲寅娩，不嘉，隹女。

④验辞

²² “在某月”后面有时会接验辞，如：

王占曰吉。在九月。兹御。获鹿一、麋三。

（合集37426）【黄组】

本文据此把例（18）中“酒大乙牛三、祖乙牛三、小乙牛三、父丁牛三”看作是验辞。

用〈(动词+) 名词+数词〉格式(例30-36、38、39),有时采用〈名词〉与〈数词〉之间被其他成分分开的〈动词+名词+神名宾语+数词〉格式(例20-23)。笔者认为后者中的〈数词〉均属于述谓成分,而前者中所有的〈数词〉都未必是述谓成分。其理由有四:

- (一) 命辞中位于动词后,〈数词+名词〉和〈名词+数词〉有时混合使用²³。这种情况下,与其说〈数词+名词〉是名词性宾语,而〈名词+数词〉则是话题—述题结构,不如说两者均是名词性宾语。如:

- (30) 燎四豕、四羊、南二²⁴。
卯十牛、南一。 (合集40507=英国1256)【宾组】

- (31) 己亥贞:“庚子酒宜于鬯差三十、十牢。”
(合集32051)【历组】

- (32) 丙午卜,贞:“旱奠岁差三十,三宰、簋、一生于宗。”
(合集320)【宾组】

- (二) 下引例子是同版选贞卜辞,一条用〈数词+名词〉格式,另一条则用〈名词+数词〉格式。

- (33) 癸酉卜:“侑燎于六云五豕,卯五羊。”
癸酉卜:“侑燎于六云六豕,卯羊六。” (合集33273)【历组】

- (34) 乙亥:“岁祖乙牢、幽麇、白豝,侑二鬯。”
乙亥:“岁祖乙牢、幽麇、白豝,侑鬯二。”
(花东237)【花东子组】

- (三) 动词受否定词修饰的否定句中,动词后的〈数词〉难以分析为述谓成分。

- (35) 甲子卜,般贞:“勿虵(杀)²⁵差百。” (合集305)【宾组】

²³ 另外,关于在同一篇卜辞中会同时出现〈数词+名词〉〈名词+数词〉这两种格式的原因,邵永海(2017)认为,这种现象大概跟人们计数时的心理状态有关。也就是说,在名词和数词中先被认知到的一方在语序上会放在前面。

²⁴ “南”字写作“𠂔”一类形,旧有释为“壳”、“吉”、“南”等不同看法。白于蓝同意“南”说,并指出祭物名称的“南”很可能是一种肉类制品(何景成2017: 697-703)。其说可信。

²⁵ “虵”字过去或释为“施”,或释为“椎”,而陈剑(2012)把它读为“杀”。其说可从。

- (36) 勿𠩺²⁶人三千呼望舌方。 (合集6185)【宾组】

在下引例子中,动词“𠩺”后带〈数词+名词〉结构的宾语,因此反过来看,(36)中的“人三千”也应该属于宾语。

- (37) 𠩺三千人伐𠩺。 (合集7345)【宾组】

- (四) 下引的〈祭祀动词+名词+数词+(于)+神名宾语〉中〈数词〉难以解释为述谓成分。最好把〈名词+数词〉看作是祭祀动词(“刚”和“岁”)的宾语。

- (38) 己未卜:“其刚羊士于西南。” (合集32161)【宾组】

- (39) 壬午夕:“岁犬一妣庚。” (花东451)【花东子组】

通过上述四个现象可知,命辞中〈名词+数词〉的〈数词〉未必是述谓成分。

另外,有些属于武丁时期的宾组卜骨上面有祭祀相关的记事刻辞²⁷。虽然这种记事刻辞跟验辞一样记录过去事件,但采用〈数词+名词〉和〈名词+数词〉两种格式,如:

- (40) 丁酉宜于义京羌三,卯士牛。 (合集389正)【宾组】

- (41) 庚辰𠩺于庚宗士羌,卯二十牛。
(合集334+合集16182)²⁸【宾组】

据此,笔者认为这种记事刻辞中〈名词+数词〉的〈数词〉也未必是述谓成分。

那么,这种〈名词+数词〉应该如何解释呢?一个可能的解释是,正如沈培先生所言,〈名词〉和〈数词〉是同位关系。

沈培(1992:207-208)据太田辰夫(1981)的观点指出,〈名词+数词〉可视为“复体词句”,即由两个或两个以上的体词构成、缺乏述语的结构。“复体词句”在未形成语句时,实际上与“等立词组”²⁹是一回事。等立词组的“语法功能不是显露的。它经过扩展,或者成为语句的时候,其语法关系才开始明确起来。这

²⁶ 赵鹏(2018:86)指出,“𠩺”似为征集之义。

²⁷ 这种记事刻辞有的刻在胛骨反面有白角的一侧外缘靠下的部位,有的刻在胛骨正面骨扇部分。详见李学勤(1992a)。

²⁸ 参见李爱辉(2009)。

²⁹ “等立词组”是两个同类词并列而成的词组(太田辰夫1981:12;将绍愚、徐昌华译2003:13)。

时，它具有构成四种关系（并列、同位、修饰、陈述）的可能性。”（太田辰夫1981: 12；将绍愚、徐昌华译2003: 13）据此，笔者认为甲骨文的〈名词+数词〉有时会构成同位关系，是因为它是一个“复体词句”。

2.3 (c) 〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉

〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉是第一个名词和第二个名词不同形的格式。这种格式跟〈名词+数词〉一样不能充当主语，只位于动词后边。例如：

(42) 侑伐五羌，王萑囙。 (合集22152)【师组】

(43) 侑伐十羌、十牢。 (合集32072)【师组】

有些学者把例(42)、(43)中的“侑伐”的“伐”看作是祭祀动词，但如上所述，例(20)和(24)中的“侑伐”的“伐”既然是名词，那么例(42)、(43)中的“伐”也都是名词。因此可见“伐五羌”、“伐十羌”均不是〈动词+数词+名词〉结构，而是〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉结构，

许多前人把位于〈名词ii〉位置上的成分看作是个体量词或个体量词的萌芽，并讨论了什么词可以用在这个位置上³⁰。比如，Ito & Takashima (1996: 207)将〈伐+数词+羌〉中的“伐”看作是名词，“羌”看作是个体量词。除此之外，也有不少学者把“羌”分析为个体量词。长期以来，“羌”一直被视为一个代表甲骨文的个体量词。

当〈名词i〉是“伐”的时候，在〈名词ii〉位置上有时也会用“人”字。如：

(44) 囙上甲伐三人，王受有祐。 (合集26977)【无名组】

方稚松(2021: 15; 45–50)指出，除了“伐”以外，祭祀动词“岁”也可用作名词，表动物祭牲。名词“岁”有时会构成〈岁+数词+牢/牛〉的数量结构，如：

(45) 酒𠂔(升)³¹岁十牢祖乙，十五伐。 (合集32199)【师历间组】

(46) 丙子贞：“丁丑侑父丁伐三十羌、岁三牢。” (合集32054)【历组】

³⁰ 殷商汉语中，单位词(measure word)也可以用在〈名词ii〉的位置上。但从类型学的角度来看，单位词不仅属于跟类别词不同的语法范畴，而且殷商汉语的单位词基本属于名词(参见户内俊介2022)。因此本文不把单位词纳入讨论。

³¹ “𠂔”释为“升”，理解为表进献食物以祭的祭祀动词，参见方稚松(2021: 39–44)。

- (47) 侑𠄎(升) 岁三牢、羌十五。 (合补13327)【历组】

〈伐+数词+羌/人〉与〈岁+数词+牢/牛〉跟上述的〈名词+数词〉格式一样,“伐”和〈数词+羌/人〉之间以及“岁”和〈数词+牢/牛〉之间有时会被其他成分分开。如:

- (48) 癸亥卜, 贞:“侑伐于丁十人。” (怀特23)【宾组】

- (49) 庚子𠄎:“侑伐于父丁其十羌。” (合集32071)【历组】

- (50) 翌乙亥酒𠄎(升) 岁于大乙三牛。 (合集32422)【历组】

- (51) 丁丑贞:“侑𠄎(升) 岁于大戊三牢。” (合集34165)【历组】

例(48)中〈名词i〉“伐”和〈数词+名词ii〉“十人”分开用,例(50)中〈名词〉“岁”和〈数词+名词ii〉“三牛”分开用,余例类推。这些例子说明“伐”和〈数词+羌/人〉、“岁”和〈数词+牢/牛〉均不是构成名词短语的直接成分,即它们分别是两个独立成分。其实,不仅是〈伐+数词+羌/人〉、〈岁+数词+牢/牛〉,而且〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉格式本身也可以在一句话中分开为〈名词i〉和〈数词+名词ii〉。在下引例子中,“羌三人”的“羌”和“三人”被神名宾语“妣庚”分开。

- (52) 其侑羌妣庚三人。 (合集26924)【无名组】

根据上述情况,例(42)–(47)中的〈动词+名词i+数词+名词ii〉也表面上看似乎是〈动词〉和〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉的动宾结构,而实际上其内部构造应该分析为〈(动词+名词i)+(数词+名词ii)〉,并不是〈动词+(名词i+数词+名词ii)〉,也就是说,只有〈名词i〉是〈动词〉的宾语成分。以例(42)“侑伐五羌”为例,其内部构造不是〈侑+伐五羌〉,而是〈侑伐+五羌〉。

其实,已有学者指出,〈名词i〉与〈数词+名词ii〉之间的结合关系并不那么紧密。比如,沈培(1992: 207–208)把“羌其十人”看作是主谓结构,即〈名词i〉“羌”是主语,〈数词+名词ii〉“十人”是谓语。而且沈文把〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉格式看作太田辰夫(1981)所说的“复体词句”结构。又,姚振武(2015: 123–124)将下引例(53)中的“牵羌”看作是动宾结构,并认为后续的“十人”是添加到动宾结构后的成分,即“牵羌十人”的内部结构为〈牵羌(动词+名词i)+十人(数词+名词ii)〉,而不是〈牵(动词)+羌十人(名词i+数词+名词ii)〉。

- (53) 𠂔羌十人。 (合集496)³²【宾组】

下引的例子中，“伐”和“五羌”分开用，而且“五羌”之前有副词（或助动词）“其”，说明“五羌”是一个述谓成分。

- (54) 庚午贞：“王侑𠂔（升）伐于祖乙其五羌。”
(合集32089)【历组】

过去，把甲骨文中〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉中的〈名词ii〉视为个体量词的学者们都认为〈名词i〉是计数对象，〈名词ii〉是计数单位，或〈名词ii〉是〈名词i〉的范畴意义。但有一些〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉的例子中〈名词ii〉并不表达对〈名词i〉的计数单位或〈名词i〉的范畴意义。例如：

- (55) 庚辰卜：“御食母庚一宰。”
庚辰卜：“御食母庚三宰。”
庚辰卜：“御食母庚四宰。”
(缀合112：合集2558+13349+15147+22237)【宾组】

“食”（即食物）至少不是一个典型的被“宰”（即供祭祀的羊）计算的对象，“宰”也不是“食”这一名词的范畴意义。甲骨文中虽然没见到“食”直接加上〈数词+名词ii〉的〈食+数词+名词ii〉结构，但上述情况说明〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉中的〈名词i〉与〈数词+名词ii〉之间的意义关系可以是疏远的。此外，上述的〈岁+数词+牢／牛〉中的“岁”（动物祭牲）也不是一个典型的被“牢／牛”计算的对象，“牢／牛”也不是“岁”这一名词的范畴意义。

笔者认为〈名词i〉与〈数词+名词ii〉之间的关系跟上文2.2节提及的〈名词+数词〉格式相近。这可以从如下的平衡关系中看出：

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{侑伐三十} \text{ (合集32196)} & \Leftrightarrow & \text{侑伐上甲十} \text{ (合集904正)} \\ \Downarrow & & \Downarrow \\ \text{侑伐十羌} \text{ (合集32072)} & \Leftrightarrow & \text{侑伐于丁十人} \text{ (怀特23)} \end{array}$$

就像〈伐+数词〉的“伐”和〈数词〉分开用一样，〈伐+数词+名词ii〉的“伐”和〈数词+名词ii〉也分开用。笔者据此认为与〈名词+数词〉格式是由〈名词〉和〈数词〉构成的“复体词句”一样，〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉格式也是由〈名词i〉和〈数词+名词ii〉构成的“复体词句”。

³² “𠂔”原文写作“𠂔”。姚振武（2015）把它隶定为“𠂔”。过去一般认为“𠂔（𠂔）”与“𠂔（𠂔）”是一个字的异体，但葛亮（2013：92-97）指出二者是不同的两个字。其说可信。

总而言之,〈名词i〉和〈数词+名词ii〉本来就是两个独立成分,而当它们彼此相邻时,表面上看似一个名词短语,这就是〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉格式。例(42)“伐五羌”、(44)“伐三人”正是如此。

〈数词+名词ii〉既然是独立成分,则其中的〈名词ii〉跟在上文2.1节论及的〈数词+名词〉格式中的〈名词〉一样是普通名词,而不是个体量词³³。因此我们应该认为例(42)、(43)中的〈名词ii〉“羌”也是名词,虽然许多前人将其看作是个体量词。

在这个基础上,我们还可以进一步认为,〈名词ii〉为“人”的〈名词i+数词+人(名词ii)〉也可以用同样的方式进行分析。如:

- (56) 八日辛亥,允伐戈二千六百五十人。在邠。
(合集7771)³⁴【师宾间组】

- (57) 册𠄎一人。
册𠄎二人。
三人。
(合集32172)【历组】

- (58) 𠄎宰八十人,不殂。
(合集580正)【宾组】

- (59) 其侑羌十人,王受祐。
(合集26910)【无名组】

- (60) 己巳卜,彭贞:“御于河羌三十人。”在十月又二卜。
(合集26907正)【何组】

- (61) 癸卯宜于义京羌三人,卯十牛。
(合集390正)【宾组】

认为甲骨文中有个体量词(或其萌芽形式)的许多学者都将这些“人”视作是个体量词。然而〈名词i+数词+人(名词ii)〉格式,如上引(48)“伐于丁十人”与(52)“羌妣庚三人”一般,〈名词i〉和〈数词+人(名词ii)〉有时可以分开用。

从以上有关〈名词i〉和〈数词+名词ii〉的句法现象可以看出,〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉在殷商汉语中不是一个名词短语,即〈名词i〉和〈数词+名词ii〉分别是两个独立成分,而且〈名词ii〉基本属于普通名词。换句话说,〈名词ii〉仍然是具有事物范畴的词,其功能不是对〈名词i〉进行计数,也不是表达〈名词i〉的范畴意义、

³³ 单位词也用在同〈名词ii〉相同的位置上(如,“鬯一卣”、“马二十匹”等)。贝罗贝(1998: 101)、杨逢彬(2003: 172-177)等学者认为,这种〈单位词〉也属于名词。

³⁴ 《合集》7771的拓片不清晰,因此管燮初(1953: 24)等许多学者把例(56)的卜辞隶定为“戈伐二千六百五十人”。但本文根据陈年福(2010)的释文隶定为“伐戈二千六百五十人”。

归属特征。总之，位于〈名词_{ii}〉位置上的词基本尚未经历量词化、类别词化的历程。

那么，应该如何分析〈动词+名词_i+数词+名词_{ii}〉结构中的〈动词〉、〈名词_i〉和〈数词+名词_{ii}〉的语法关系呢？一个可能的解释是，验辞中〈动词+名词_i+数词+名词_{ii}〉的〈数词+名词_{ii}〉跟上述的〈名词+数词〉中的〈数词〉一样，属于述谓成分（例56）。如上所述，部分验辞有时记录数目，属于清单、簿记类语体。先秦属于清单、簿记类语体的句子有时也会采用〈动词+名词_i+数词+名词_{ii}（或量词）〉这一数量表达形式，这时〈数词+名词_{ii}（或量词）〉仍然是述谓成分（吴福祥、冯胜利、黄正德2006: 392）。例如：

（62） 冉子与之粟五秉。 （《论语·雍也》）

（63） 齐侯使公子无虧帅车三百乘、甲士三千人，以戍曹。
（《左传·闵公二年》）

另一方面，命辞中〈动词+名词_i+数词+名词_{ii}〉的〈数词+名词_{ii}〉未必是述谓成分，因为〈名词_i〉和〈数词+名词_{ii}〉可能是构成同位关系充当前面动词的宾语（例57-60）。另外，例（61）跟例（40）、（41）一样是属于武丁时期宾组的有关祭祀的记事刻辞。如前所述，笔者认为这种记事刻辞中〈名词+数词〉的〈数词〉也未必是述谓成分，如果这一观点属实，则〈动词+名词_i+数词+名词_{ii}〉的〈数词+名词_{ii}〉“三人”也未必是述谓成分。

既然有〈数词+名词〉和〈名词+数词〉这两种数量表达形式，那么为什么还要有〈名词_i+数词+名词_{ii}〉这一结构呢？换言之，为什么有必要同时用两个名词呢？这是值得考虑的问题。现再举一些〈名词_i+数词+名词_{ii}〉的例子。

伐五羌（例42）／伐十羌（例43）
伐……十羌（例49）／伐……五羌（例54）³⁵

岁十牢（例45）／岁三牢（例46、47）
岁……三牛（例50）／岁……三牢（例51）

食……一宰／食……三宰／食……四宰（例55）

伐三人（例44）／伐二千六百五十人（例56）
伐……十人（例48）

³⁵ “……”表示〈名词_i〉和〈数词+名词_{ii}〉被其他成分分开的结构。

羌十人(例53、59)／羌三十人(例60)／羌三人(例61)

羌……三人(例52)

𠂔一人／𠂔二人(例57)

宰八十人(例58)

从这些例子可以看出,〈名词_{ii}〉一半为“人”,此外有“羌”、“牢”、“牛”、“宰”。“羌”、“牢”、“牛”、“宰”的名词所表达的概念内涵大外延小,从而起到缩小〈名词_i〉外延的作用,换言之,〈名词_{ii}〉表达〈名词_i〉的具体性质,因而起到限定〈名词_i〉和缩小〈名词_i〉外延的作用,而且〈名词_i〉跟〈数词〉结合时,〈数词〉表示〈名词_i〉的外延的具体数量。比如说,例(43)中“侑伐十羌”意味着用于牺牲的是被砍头的人,“伐”的具体性质为羌族,其具体数量为十人;例(45)中“酒𠂔(升)岁十牢”意味着用于祭祀的是动物祭牲,“岁”的具体性质为“牢”(专门圈养以供祭祀的牛),其具体数量为十头;例(55)中“御食母庚一宰”意味着用于祭祀的是食物,“食”的具体性质为“宰”(专门圈养以供祭祀的羊),其具体数量为一只。由此来看,〈名词_{ii}〉并不是个体量词,因为个体量词(或类别词)用以揭示各个名词的范畴意义(大河内康宪1997: 53),也表示与之搭配之名词所指事物的某些凸显的感知特征或归属特征(Aikhenvald 2000: 13),但无论是“羌”、“牢”还是“宰”,都只表达〈名词_i〉的具体性质,起到限定〈名词_i〉的作用,而非表示范畴意义或归属特征。

与此相反,〈名词_i+数词+人〉中的名词“人”仅表“人类”义,其内涵小而外延大(大西克也2014: 20)。位于〈名词_i〉位置上的词,如“伐”、“羌”、“𠂔”、“宰”,原来都是指人名词,因此〈名词_{ii}〉“人”不起限定〈名词_i〉和缩小〈名词_i〉外延的作用,看上去似乎表示“羌”、“伐”等〈名词_i〉的范畴意义或归属特征。那么,“人”是否跟“羌”、“牢”、“牛”、“宰”不同,可以视为个体量词呢?这一点我们将在后文第2.5节中予以讨论。

2.4 (d) 〈名词_i+数词+名词_i'〉

〈名词_i+数词+名词_i'〉是数词前后的两个〈名词〉同形的格式。例如:

(64) 甲辰乞骨十骨。 (合集35211)【历组】

(65) 丙午卜:“翌甲寅酒𠂔,御于大甲,羌百羌,卯十牢。”
(合集32042)【历组】

(66) 有崇四崇。 (合集6170反)【宾组】

- (67) 𠄎小臣墙比伐，擒兕髦𠄎[人]二十人四，𠄎千五百七十，
𠄎(𠄎)百𠄎丙，车二丙，𠄎百八十三，函五十，矢𠄎。
(合集36481正)【黄组】

- (68) 四日庚申亦有来艰自北。子𠄎告曰：“昔甲辰，方征于𠄎，
俘人十又五人。五日戊申，方亦征，俘人十又六人。”
(合集137反)【宾组】

据我所知，〈名词i+数词+名词i'〉的例子只有这些。这种格式历来受到学者的关注和重视。尤其受到关注的是用在〈名词i'〉的成分。有些学者认为〈名词i'〉是名词，而另一些学者则认为它是个体量词，各家看法颇有不同。持前一观点的，有王力(1958: 236)、贝罗贝(1998: 101)，而持后一观点的，有陈梦家(1988: 110)、Ito & Takashima(1996: 206–207)、张玉金(2001: 20–21)、李曦(2004: 273–274)。

还有一些学者认为〈名词i'〉是处于介乎名词与个体量词之间的中间状态，或是属于个体量词的萌芽形式。持这一观点的，有管燮初(1953: 25)、黄载君(1964: 438; 440)、游顺钊(1988: 362–363)、李若晖(2000: 81)、李宇明(2000: 30–32)、金福芬、陈国华(2002: 9)、姚振武(2015: 124; 157)。此外，沈培(1992: 196)对〈名词i'〉是否为个体量词这一问题表示存疑。

议论的焦点之一是〈名词i'〉是否为反响型量词(echo classifier，或称为回应型量词、拷贝性量词)。许多前人认为个体量词是由反响型量词发展而来的，甲骨文中的“羌百羌”(例65)就是其原始形式。但笔者对这一观点持有怀疑，认为〈名词i'〉并不是反响型量词。比如，例(64)中的“骨十骨”，姚振武(2015: 127)把第一个“骨”属上读，隶定、断句如下³⁶，并指出“骨”不是量词。

- (69) 甲辰，三骨，十骨。(合集35211)【历组】

如果这一断句属实，例(69)就不是反响型量词之例子。

例(65)是许多学者将其中的“羌百羌”看作反响型量词的典型例子。但据已公布的甲骨文材料来看，〈羌+数词+羌〉格式几乎就只有这一例，光凭这一条卜辞未必能认为在殷商汉语中确有反响型量词，并且它是汉语个体量词形成的基础。

例(65)中“羌百羌”跟“卯十牢”的动宾结构为对文，说明第一个“羌”字可能是一个动词。事实上，郭沫若将上一个“羌”释为“𠄎”字，读为“辜”，并看作是一个当“磔”讲的动词(于省吾1996: 116)。从目前的古文字学角度来看，郭氏的这一观点有可商榷之处，但姚振武(2015: 127)受郭沫若先生启发，指出

³⁶ 例(63)引自张玉金(2001: 20)。

“羌”不是个体量词³⁷。笔者也基本同意姚氏的这一观点。

本文要补充姚文未能注意到的一点：“羌百羌”前面有一个甲类祭祀动词“御”，“御”有时会在后面搭配其他乙类祭祀动词（即表达具体用牲法的动词）³⁸。如：

(70) 贞：“御于妣庚，册艮，侑十牛。”（合集723正）【宾组】

(71) 甲子酒王，大御于大甲，燎六小牢，卯九牛。
（合集32329正）【历组】

“御”后面的“册”、“燎”、“卯”都是乙类祭祀动词³⁹。然则例（65）中“御”后面的第一个“羌”字也可能是一个表示乙类祭祀动词的字眼（它是假借为某一祭祀动词还是某一祭祀动词的错字，这里暂且不论）。

例（66）中的“崇四崇”是李曦（2004: 274）中反响型量词的举例，但其实应该隶定、断句为：

(72) 王占曰：有求（咎）⁴⁰。四求（咎），𠄎正𠄎。
（合集6170反）【宾组】

因此这也并不能算作反响型量词的例子。进一步讲，如果“崇四崇／咎四咎”是数量表达，它就表达对“崇／咎”进行计数，但甲骨文中数量表达都用于具有个体性的普通名词，而一般不用于“崇／咎”之类的不具有个体性的抽象名词⁴¹。

³⁷ 姚振武（2015: 127）说：

值得注意的是，视“羌”为量词的观点虽流传甚广，但据我们所涉及的材料来看，所举的例子几乎就只有这一例（即例（65）：引者注），而“羌”与动词“卯”对文却有多例。如：

癸卯宜于义京，羌三人，卯十牛。（合集390正）

癸酉宜于义京，羌三人，卯十牛。（合集394）

因此我们不把“羌”列为个体量词。

姚文所举之例是属于武丁时期宾组的有关祭祀的记事刻辞。其中出现的祭祀动词“宜”（或写作“俎”）后有时带〈数词+名词〉（例41：“十羌”），有时带〈名词+数词〉（例40：“羌三”），由此笔者认为上引的“羌三人”不是〈羌（动词）+三人（宾语）〉的动宾结构，而应是一个由〈名词i〉和〈数词+名词ii〉所构成的结构。

³⁸ 甲类是指可以带原因宾语（即引起举行甲类祭祀的原因）的祭祀动词，而乙类则是指不能带这种宾语的祭祀动词。关于祭祀动词的分类，详见周国正（1983）、沈培（1992）、杨逢彬（2003）、郑继娥（2007）。

³⁹ 是否把“侑（写作“又”或“𠄎”字）”看作乙类祭祀动词，各家的看法并不一致。周国正（1983）、沈培（1992）和杨逢彬（2003）将其看作是乙类，而郑继娥（2007）则看作是甲类。

⁴⁰ 参见裘锡圭（2012: 284）。

⁴¹ 另外，李曦（2004: 275）指出《合集》4107中有“奠十奠”这一〈名词i+数词+名词i'〉结构，但我们在该拓本中未见这一条辞。



图1

例(67)中“二十人四”⁴²前一个字上部残泐,参见图1。大家多以其残笔为线索,补出“人”字。乍看之下,其刻迹看似“人”,但也很可能不是“人”字。刘钊(2009)指出,应断句为“□廿(二十),人四,馘千五百七十”。刘文没在“廿”字前补出“人”,并且将“廿”字后的“人”字属下读。如果刘氏的释读正确,例(67)就可断句为“□二十,人四,馘千五百七十,饔(纛)百□丙,车二丙,橧百八十三,函五十”,是一条由几个〈名词+数词〉和〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉并列组成的卜辞。如前所述,记述占卜结果的验辞记录数目,经常采用〈名词+数词〉和〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉结构。这是计算已用的祭牲或已获得的动物的表达形式,用这种形式的验辞属于清单、簿记类语体。例(67)虽然不是验辞,然而是一个记事刻辞,跟验辞一样是记述现实事件的记录,其语体跟验辞接近。然则列举几个〈名词+数词〉和〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉的例(67)也是一条属于清单、簿记类语体的卜辞。总之,例(67)中的“□廿(二十)人四”并不是反响型量词的例子。

现在剩下的〈名词i+数词+名词i'〉结构只有例(68)中的〈人+数词+人〉。在探讨〈人+数词+人〉是否为反响型量词结构这一问题之前,我们先来回顾一下过去关于〈名词i+数词+名词i'〉这一结构以及反响型量词的形成动因所提出的观点。

周法高(1972: 328)指出,大概觉得〈名词+数词〉这一表达形式还不够明晰,有时为了句法的整齐,便在数词后复举前面的名词,这就是〈名词i+数词+名词i'〉格式。

游顺钊(1988: 362-363)说:“临时量词(即反响型量词:引者注)是前面名

⁴² 一般来说,〈位数+名词〉后加上零数,通常必须把“出/又”字放在零数前,比如,“十羌又五”(合集32063)、“十犬又五犬”(合集32775)等。“二十人四”是名词后直接加上零数的结构,虽然这种结构罕见,但有如下例子:如,“十宰九”(合集7026)、“三十牛三”(合集22600)。

词底子的重复,看不出它在语义上有什么作用。……我想提出如下的假设:在量词出现之前,当在一个数量名词结构中表达数目的字相当长时,例如在例(1)的‘人万三千八十一人’(这一例子引自小孟鼎:引者注)这样的情况下,说话人会感到有重提一下名词底子(noun base)的必要,我看正是为了这种记忆的需要,才产生了最初的临时量词。而实际上,临时量词正是量词的原型(prototype),当时没有更好的办法,只是用重复名词底子的方式来表示。……尽管三类量词(临时量词、集体量词和个体量词:引者注)在语义方面有些区别,然而它们有一个重要特征却是共同的:它们都有潜在的前指替代作用,只是对先行名词底子的替代,有时是明示的(如临时量词),有时则是暗含的(如集体量词和个体量词)。它们的前指替代价值(anaphorical value)来自于它们在数量名词结构中所占据的位置。根据这一分析,临时量词可视为以替代特征为标记的语素。”也就是说,游文将〈名词_i+数词+名词_i’〉分析为〈(名词+数词)+量词〉结构。

李若晖(2000: 82)认为:“量词与其所组合的名词指同一事物,是名词的复指。这也是回应型量词(即反响型量词:引者注)产生的思维根基。‘名数量’应分析为‘(名+数)+量’,即‘名数’与‘量’再结合。”

李宇明(2000: 31)指出,原来没有“量词”这一词类的语言为了满足发展个体量词的语言需要拷贝〈名词+数词〉中的名词而造出个体量词,这就是回应型量词。

这些思路均是把〈量词/名词_i’〉看作是拷贝前面名词的附加成分。另一方面,沈培(1992: 207-208)将其分析为〈名词〉与〈数词+名词〉的同位关系或并列关系。也就是说,沈氏似乎认为〈名词_i’〉并不是在〈名词+数词〉的基础上拷贝前面名词的反响型量词。

姚振武(2015)也不赞同〈名词_i’〉是反响型量词。姚振武(2015: 123-125)把殷商汉语的数量表达形式分为如下5种:

- A. 动名:登人
- B. 数名:三千人
- C₁. 数名₁+数名₂:俘人十有六人
- C₂. 数名₁+数名₂:执羌十人
- D. 名₁+数+名₂(量):羌其十人

姚文说:“A式是古汉语最基本的动宾结构形式。B式是古汉语最基本的计数方式之一,其‘名’由于具有可数性,它与‘数’结合,不可避免地有了量的范畴(因为名词的量范畴[或说单位范畴]是和其数量范畴密不可分、互相依存的),或者说量的范畴已隐含在‘名’里,使这个‘名’具有了语义双重性。C式是A、B两种句式的结合。C₁式的名₁和名₂相同,C₂式的名₁和名₂不相同。值得注意的是,C式的结构是‘动名+数名’,而不是‘动+名数名’,这是我们认为C式是A式B式结合产物的主要理由。”

(73) 辛未卜：“侑伐十羌、十牢。”（合集32072）【师历间组：村南】

(74) 于鲁甲伐一羌。（合集32116）【历组：村南】

(75) 丙子贞：“丁丑侑父丁伐三十羌、岁三牢。兹用。”
（合集32054）【历组：村南】

(76) 庚子侑伐于父丁其十羌。（合集32071）【历组：村南】

(77) 侑伐于司嗣三十羌，卯三十豕。（合集32050）【历组：村南】

(78) 丁未卜：“酒宜伐百羌于官虫。”（英国2466）【历组：村南】

村北系对“伐”进行计算时一般不用〈伐+数词+羌（名词ii）〉，而用〈数词+伐〉格式，如：

(79) 贞：“御子渔于父乙侑一伐，卯宰。”
（合集792正）【宾组：村北】

(80) 戊[子]卜，宾贞：“[翌]乙未[侑]于咸三伐、二宰。”
（合集935正）【宾组：村北】

(81) 贞：“翌乙亥侑于唐三伐、宰。”（合集938正）【宾组：村北】

(82) □未卜觥贞：侑于上甲三伐。（英国3）【宾组：村北】

(83) 五伐、五宰。
五伐、十宰。（合集925）【宾组：村北】

下引例子为〈名词i+数词+人（名词ii）〉结构，无论“村北”和“村南”，都可见到⁴⁴。

⁴⁴ 仅在师历间卜辞中，〈数词+伐〉与〈伐+数词+名词ii〉都可以见到。如：

□伐祖辛三人，卯牝□。（合集32205）【师历间组：村南】

辛未卜：“侑伐十羌，十牢。”（合集32072）【师历间组：村南】

乙亥卜侑十牢、土伐大甲。（合集32201）【师历间组：村南】

这说明师历间组处于师组卜辞（村北）和历组卜辞（村南）的过度阶段。

- (84) □未其侑 𠂔 (升) 伐于祖辛羌三人，卯□。
(合集11348+合集22567)⁴⁵ 【宾组：村北】
- (85) 癸卯宜于义京羌三人，卯十牛。 (合集390正) 【宾组：村北】
- (86) 己巳卜，彭贞：“御于河羌三十人。”
(合集26907) 【何组：村北】
- (87) 翌乙荔祖乙，其遘 𠂔 (升) 歲一宰、羌十人。
(合集22556) 【出组：村北】
- (88) 庚子侑伐于丁其十人。 (合集32071) 【历组：村南】
- (89) □上甲伐三人，王受有祐。 (合集26997) 【无名组：村南】
- (90) 其侑羌妣庚三人。 (合集26924) 【无名组：村南】
- (91) 王其侑于小乙羌五人。 (合集26922) 【无名组：村南】

这种分布上的不平衡现象意味着“人”字十分广泛地用于〈名词_i〉的位置。同时，在上引的许多例子中〈数词+人〉直接跟在〈名词_i〉后面。例如，例(56)–(61)、(84)–(87)、(89)、(91)等。

从这些例子可以看出，〈名词_i+数词+人(名词_{ii})〉或许开始被重新分析(reanalysis)为一个结构。此时“人”不再作为普通名词表示事物，而是表示〈名词_i〉位置上的“羌”、“伐”等名词所指事物的范畴意义或归属特征。这就是类别词的一个功能。

再者，只有“人”字才能构成〈人+数词+人〉的看似反响型量词的结构。如前所述，虽然第二个“人”不是纯粹的反响型量词，然而却是甲骨文中唯一的重复名词数量表达形式，而且其中一个是冗余(redundant)的成分。这些现象都说明在甲骨文中只有“人”开始从名词分化为个体量词。因此可以说，殷商汉语中虽然基本没有个体量词，但只有“人”是个体量词的初步萌芽。

最后，黄载君(1964: 439)说：“个体量词的产生，可能即起于表货币单位”，刘世儒(1965: 156)说：“在上古它(即“人”：引者注)虽然有时可以量词化，但在更多的情况下，与其说它已经量词化，毋宁说它还是名词。”但从本文的考察来看，这些观点值得商榷。笔者认为甲骨文中只有“人”处于个体量词的初步萌芽

⁴⁵ 参见何会(2013)。

状态,个体量词的产生起于“人”。

那么,甲骨文中为什么只有“人”从名词分化为个体量词呢?笔者认为:如前所述,名词“人”仅表示“人类”义,其内涵小而外延大。从历时角度来看,〈名词i+数词+人(名词ii)〉中的“人”可能原来曾是限定〈名词i〉的,但从共时角度来看,“伐”、“羌”等位于〈名词i〉位置上时,因为这些名词本身就都是指人名词,这样它们和“人”之间在意义上便产生了重叠,使得“人”不再起到限定〈名词i〉和缩小这些名词外延的作用。也就是说,〈名词i+数词+人(名词ii)〉中的“人”失去了信息价值,成为了冗余成分。在这种情况下,殷人应该不再将位于〈名词ii〉位置上的“人”看作是普通名词,而是开始将其重新分析为计算“伐”和“羌”等指人名词数量的成分⁴⁶。这就是甲骨文中只有“人”从名词开始分化为个体量词的原因。

3. 结语

殷商汉语有四种数量表达形式:(a)〈数词+名词〉;(b)〈名词+数词〉;(c)〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉(前后两个名词不同形);(d)〈名词i+数词+名词i'〉(前后两个名词同形)。许多学者认为,其中(c)的〈名词ii〉和(d)的〈名词i'〉是个体量词,但经本文考察发现,在甲骨文中,不仅从姚振武所说的“管后”立场看没有个体量词,而且从“管前”立场看,也没有明确的个体量词。过去,许多学者分析为个体量词的成分都和普通名词毫无二致。但只有“人”,由于其语义句法特征,也许可以说已经开始从名词分化为个体量词。

至于(d)〈名词i+数词+名词i'〉,如“羌百羌”(例65)、“人十又五人/人十又六人”(例68),许多学者看作反响型量词。反响型量词主要分布在藏缅语族的一些语言中,有些学者据此主张上古汉语也有反响型量词或留有反响型量词的遗迹(桥本万太郎2000: 91-92;李宇明2000: 29-30等)。但通过本文的分析发现〈名词i+数词+名词i'〉格式在甲骨文中十分罕见,是一种基本不具有能产力的形式。因此我们不能轻易地将甲骨文中的〈名词i+数词+名词i'〉和藏缅语族的反响型量词进行对比。

⁴⁶ 〈名词i+数词+人(名词ii)〉格式在结构上和〈名词+数词+单位词〉(如“鬯二卣”等)毫无二致,后者中的〈单位词〉同前者中的〈人(名词ii)〉作用相同,均为承担计数、计量的功能。〈名词i+数词+人(名词ii)〉中的“人”从名词开始分化为个体量词,也许是由于受到〈单位词〉类推作用的影响。

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上古漢語“有”“無”非無指代詞芻議*

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On Yǒu 有 and Wú 無 Aren't Indefinite Pronouns in Ancient Chinese

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Summary

It is generally believed that there are indefinite pronouns in ancient Chinese, which means “someone, something”, or “none, nothing”, like Mò 莫 and Huò. Some scholars believe that yǒu 有 and wú 無, the originally existential verbs, also converted to indefinite pronouns in pre-Qin Dynasty. By describing the diachronic evolution of the related constructions of yǒu 有 and wú 無, this paper demonstrates that the verbs yǒu 有 and wú 無 cannot derive the usage of pronouns. Then, by reductive fallacy, assuming that yǒu 有 and wú 無 can be used as indefinite pronoun, it will face some problems, such as how to differentiate the word-classes between verbs and indefinite pronouns, the divergence of referent, and the contradiction with the definite reference. Finally, double negation constructions cannot prove that wú 無 and other negative existential verbs are indefinite pronouns. In a word, in ancient Chinese, yǒu 有 and wú 無 aren't indefinite pronouns. They are positive/negative existential verbs, indicating whether an action or event exists or not. When yǒu 有 and wú 無 are followed by VP, VP is referentialized, as the object of verbs yǒu 有 and wú 無.

Key words: Indefinite Pronouns, Negatives, Yǒu 有, Wú 無, Existential Verbs

關鍵詞：無指代詞 否定詞 有 無 存在動詞

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1. 以“有”“無/亡”為無指代詞的觀點

一般認為上古漢語裡存在無指代詞（亦稱無定代詞）這一詞性，表示“（沒）有人/物”，典型的是“莫”“或”。有學者進一步認為最早為動詞的“有”“無”（以及“亡”“罔”“靡”）也在先秦分化出了無指代詞的用法。

據武振玉（2006a: 108–111）、王利霞（2009），學界公認：“有”“亡”自甲骨文時期即存在，最早都是表示存在與否的動詞。“有”“亡”後不僅可接 NP，還可以接 VP 時，此時是否已經成為副詞，學界頗有爭議。譬如喻遂生（2002: 57–64）認為“亡”、劉偉真（2015）認為“有”已經出現了副詞用法。而沈培（1992: 24）則認為後面的 VP 可以視為動詞“亡”的賓語。具體可以參考武振玉（2006a: 108–109、2006b）、武振玉、梁浩（2013）等相關討論。甲骨文時期“無”字形只表示“舞”一詞，但在兩周金文中已然作為否定動詞出現，與“亡”用法基本相同、並漸漸取代“亡”。

到了以傳世文獻為主的春秋戰國時期，《馬氏文通》最早提出“有”“無”有約指代詞的用法，實字卷之二“指示代字二之六”（1954: 97）：“〔又淮陰侯列傳〕項王所過無不殘滅者。——〈無〉者，項王所過之處，無一處不為所殘滅也。……〔孟告下〕二王我將有所遇焉。——〈有〉者二王中有一也。以上所引約指代字，皆為分子者。”¹之後陸續有學者討論（或者只針對“有”“無”其一，或一併論述），如鄧宗榮（1981）、宋玉珂（1983）、朱聲琦（1984、1985）、裘燮君（1991）、張其昀（1992）、宋石青（1996）、楊伯峻、何樂士（2001: 157–160）、方有國（2002: 228–242²、2015）、潘玉坤（2015）、董秀芳、郝琦（2019）、楊薇薇、潘玉坤（2020）等。相對於“有”而言，人們往往更易於承認“無”為無指代詞³。

學者往往視下几例“有”“無”為典型的無指代詞用法：

- (1) 城鄆，役人病，有夜登丘而呼曰：“齊有亂！”（《左傳·僖公十六年》）
- (2) 小臣有晨夢負公以登天，及日中，負晉侯出諸廁，遂以為殉。（《左傳·成公十年》）
- (3) 三年春王二月，己巳，日有食之。（《春秋經·隱公三年》）

¹ 又《馬氏文通·同動助動》：“凡記人物之有無，惟有止詞而無起詞，約指代字篇內，〈有〉〈無〉兩字或以為代字者，以其隱指某人故耳。今以〈有〉〈無〉兩字列於同動，故類及之。”但是證“有”為無指代詞說的學者在綜述前人研究時或認為《馬氏文通》沒有提到，如朱聲琦（1984）、李璐、曹煒（2022）。

² 原文稱為“指代性動詞”，既有代詞性、又有動詞性。

³ 比如楊伯峻（1981: 293）、楊伯峻、何樂士（2001: 159）認為“有”作“或”而表不定指的某人。揣摩原意，似乎並不認為這種用法是“有”字本身所有。而兩書都認為“無”是無指代詞。另可參考朱聲琦（1984）、張其昀（1992）。

(4) 年自七十以上，無不饋詒也，時加羞珍異。（《左傳·文公十六年》）

(5) 抑微子，寡人無以待戎，不能濟河。（《左傳·襄公十一年》）

(6) 相人多矣，無如季相。（《史記·高帝紀》）

“有”被指認為無指代詞的立論依據主要是與“或”“莫”句法語義相似、常常處於對文（例7）或有異文、注疏（例8）關係。

(7) 有聞之，有見之，謂之有；莫之聞，莫之見，謂之亡。（《墨子·非命中》）

(8) “或”者，《微子》“殷其弗或亂正四方”，《史記·宋世家》作“殷不有治政，不治四方”；《洪範》“無有作好”，《呂氏春秋·貴公》篇作“無或作好”，高誘注云：“或，有也。”《小雅·天保》篇“無不爾或承”，鄭箋云：“或之言有也。”（《廣雅疏證·釋詁上》）

視“有”為無指代詞的論據還包括“有VP”與“有VP者”兩者語義等價，有異文替換、注疏關係（例9），說明“有（+VP）”包含了“者”的代詞功能。

(9) 臣聞之曰，事有不可知者，有不可不知者；有不可忘者，有不可不忘者。（《戰國策·魏策四》）

物有不可忘，或有不可不忘。（《史記·魏公子列傳》）

而“無”被指認為無指代詞的原因主要在於與“莫”一樣語義上表周遍性全量否定，常後接“不/非”等否定副詞構成雙重否定。

反對的聲音自然也有，如于富章（1980）、孫剛（1986）、蘇瑞卿（1988）、大西克也（1989）⁴、張文國、張文強（1996）、殷國光（2002: 94-104）等。本文認同這些學者對“有”“無”無指代詞說的駁斥：“有/無VP”中VP發生指稱化，作動詞“有/無”的賓語，且可以用“之”回指。而“有VP”與“有VP者”語義上等價不能證明在句法上“有（+VP）”含有“者”的代詞作用。以上是從共時平面的角度。蘇瑞卿（1988）更調查“有VP者”在《尚書》《論語》《孟子》中比例變化，得出該結構後出、故“有VP”不可能來自“者”的省略的結論。本文同樣採納歷時角度，通過調查可能被視為無指代詞“有”“無”來源的相關句式的歷時演變，論證動詞“有”“無”不可能分化出代詞的用法。

還需要說明的一點是，“有（匣母之部合口三等上聲）”與“或（匣母職部合口

⁴ 作者在附注4中提出反對將“無”視為“無指代詞”。

一等短入)”，“無(明母魚部合口三等平聲)”與“莫(明母鐸部開口一等短入)”，上古音十分相近，甚至可以認定存在同源關係。那麼有沒有可能被視為無指代詞的“有/無”是“或/莫”的假借呢？事實上，除了楊伯峻(1981: 293)、楊伯峻、何樂士(2001: 159)中將“有”視為“或”的假借外，其餘持無指代詞說者，基本都認為這屬於“有/無”的本字本用，而不存在通假問題。這是因為很多學者如鄧宗榮(1981)、方有國(2002: 240–241)等都注意到“有/無”作無指代詞與“或/莫”並不相同，表現在後者只能指代施事，而前者除施事外還可以指代受事，如例 5、42⁵。楊薇薇、潘玉坤(2020)反而推測“莫”的無指代詞用法來自通假，並與“亡、無”有關。要之，不論是否持無指代詞觀點，學界都認同諸如例 1-6 的“有/無+VP”是本字本用。

2. 無指代詞“有/無”從何而來？

顯然，假設“有/無”的無指代詞用法成立，也是來自動詞用法並晚出。那麼勢必要回答：這個代詞用法究竟是怎麼形成的？但目前這種溯源解釋並不多。宋玉珂(1983)認為“有VP者”省略“者”，形成了“有”的代詞用法。方有國(2015: 318)提出沒有大主語的“有/無+NP(兼語)+VP”中，兼語省略或移位，導致“有/無”轉化為代詞。此外，方有國(2002: 233–236)雖然沒有對無指代詞用法的來源加以說明，但提出“有/無(+VP)”或隱含了一個名詞、相當於“有/無+NP(兼語)+VP”，或隱含了“所”，或隱含了“者”。

綜觀上述說法，學者們是找出與“有/無+VP”語義等義的其他複雜結構，進而勾連兩者的衍化關係。這些複雜格式中無不包含了一個名詞性成分(兼語)或名詞化標記(“者”)，而無指代詞的“有/無”即來自這些名詞性成分或名詞化標記的省略和隱含。那麼合理推斷，這些複雜格式應該產生在前，而無指代詞“有/無(+VP)”在後。

但是事實截然相反。

2.1 “有/無+VP”的發展情況

甲骨文時期“有/無”便可以直接修飾VP。因此帶來了“有/無”是否已有副詞用法的討論。相應例句有(例 10 轉引自喻遂生(2002: 57–64)、例 11、12 自劉偉真(2015))：

⁵ 而楊伯峻、何樂士(2001: 160)則提到“有”作“或”用多見於春秋以前。而兩者的不同點，在於“有”前沒有先行詞，而“或”前常有。

(10) 貞：多祖亡它我？（《甲骨文合集》2095。“亡它我”即“不害我”）

(11) 戊午卜，貞，雀追，亘有獲。（《甲骨文合集》6947）

(12) 貞，在北，史有獲羌。（《甲骨文合集》00914 正）

比較“有獲”與“有獲羌”，劉文以為前者“獲”轉指“所獲得的獵物”、“有”是動詞，後者的“獲羌”則仍表示動作而未發生指稱化、“有”是肯定事物存在或發生的副詞。本文認為，兩例中“有”都是動詞，“獲”與“獲羌”都是行為動作自指化，表示“有獲得（羌人）（這件事）”。

據武振玉、梁浩（2013），兩周金文中“有 VP”同樣多見；VP 可以是光杆動詞、狀中、動賓、述補、連動、並列；不見主謂結構（即“有”字兼語式）。而據喻遂生（2002: 62）、武振玉（2006b）、王利霞（2009）及我們的調查⁶，“亡/無 VP”中，“VP”往往多是簡單動詞，其次是動賓（包括“助動詞+VP”）、狀中（“不/弗 VP”）、述補。同樣不見主謂結構（即“無”字兼語式），但下例似乎可以討論一下：

(13) 萬棗（世）之後，亡疾自下，允立（位），同女（汝）之利。（越王朱句鐘（之利鐘、吳王鐘）銘，《殷周金文集成》171）

曹錦炎（1996: 91）注：“亡疾”，即無疾。此句意謂沒有自下面給上面（君王）帶來疾憂。“自下”顯然是對“疾”的說明，此例是否能視為“無”字兼語式最早的孤例，還是認為“自下”為定語後置，仍有待達者賜教。

到了先秦的傳世文獻。《詩經》，據向熹（1987: 333、335），“有+adj”有 116 例、“有+v”7 例。至於“無+VP”的數量，類似“大夫夙退，無使君勞。（《衛風·碩人》）”有兩種理解的可能性，表事實陳述（沒有（人）使國君操勞）或是表禁令的情態語氣（不要使國君操勞），因為上下文語境有限，故暫不統計。據我們統計，《左傳》（包括《春秋經》）中“有+VP”至少有 171 例，去掉重複的（如“日有食之”），也至少有 120 例。說“至少”，是因為如果放寬對名動兼類（如未統計“有施（於民）”和名詞化（未統計“有不利”等）的限制，“有 VP”的數量將大大增加。只表示事實陳述而不帶禁令語氣主觀情態的“無+VP”也至少有 132 例。值得說明的是，在統計過程中，為“有/無”後的光杆成分區分名動詞類而建立一個客觀的標準，是十分困難的。這個統計數字是有主觀性的，譬如：

(14) 以郕大鼎賂公，齊、陳、鄭皆有賂，故遂相宋公。（《左傳·桓公二年》）

⁶ 本文所用金文語料庫來自“先秦甲骨文金文簡牘詞彙庫”，收錄《殷周金文集成》、《新收殷周青銅器銘文暨器影彙編》，以 2005 年以前出土的青銅銘文為主。

表面上看“賂”可以是名詞，但此處“有賂”因可以與前文“賂公”這一事件呼應，且“齊、陳、鄭”都是贈送禮物的對象，因此判斷“有賂”是指“有贈送禮物”而非“有禮物”；故歸為“有＋VP”中。

2.2 “有／無＋NP 兼語＋VP”的發展情況

先說“有”字兼語式。根據鄭繼娥（1996）、郭鳳花（2002）、張玉金（2001: 109）⁷、齊航福（2015: 61），“有”字兼語式早在甲骨文就出現了，但極其罕見。可靠的用例只有：有新大星並火。（《甲骨文合集》11503。有大的新星靠近火星嗎？）

而兩周金文中，武振玉、梁浩（2013）未提及“有＋VP”中VP可以是主謂結構，應未發現“有”字兼語式。據王建軍（2003: 165），“有”字兼語式是在先秦才出現的⁸。如：

(15) 有女懷春，吉士誘之。（《詩·召南·野有死麕》）

(16) 秋七月，有神降于莘。（《左傳·莊公三十二年》）

據我們統計，《詩經》中“有”字兼語式，重章疊唱的只算1次的話，那麼嚴式——即一個句讀內（例15）——有21例⁹，如果算上寬式——即小句間（例17）——則可以再多5例左右¹⁰：

(17) 爰有寒泉，在浚之下。（《詩·邶風·凱風》）| 君子有酒，旨且多。（《詩·小雅·魚麗》）

需要說明的是，這裡我們並不刻意區分“有”的兩個義項：表領有、以人物為領有者作主語，和表存現、無主語或以時地為領有者作主語，因為據胡敕瑞（2017），這兩個義項的“有”字句關係密切、似異實同；而據大西克也（2011），表領有的“有”字句產生了表存現的¹¹。

據我們統計，《左傳》中“有”字兼語式有61例左右，包括領有與存現：

⁷ 張書在109頁指出兼語短語有一例“有新大星並火”，但在229頁“兼語句”之後說甲骨文只有使令類兼語句而無“有／無”兼語句。

⁸ 但是王建軍（2003: 167）遵從李佐丰（1994: 148）的判斷，認為需要區分“有＋主謂”和“有”字兼語，通過“有”字能否與前接名詞之間停頓、“有”字能否脫落。但我們認為這兩種區分毫無必要且方式無效，“有＋主謂”即“有”字兼語式。

⁹ 向熹（1987: 334）認為“有命既集”“有命自天”的“有”是詞頭，我們認為可以歸入兼語式，因為“命”不是專名。

¹⁰ 說“左右”是因為有些例子不能嚴格算兼語句，但結構十分相似：樂彼之園，爰有樹檀，其下維穀。（《小雅·鶴鳴》）

¹¹ 也有截然相反的觀點，可參考大西克也（2011）原文。

(18) 仲子生而有文在其手，曰爲魯夫人。（《左傳·隱公元年》）

(19) 古人有言曰“知臣莫若君”。（《左傳·僖公七年》）

(20) 出絳，柩有聲如牛。（《左傳·僖公三十二年》，此例“如”字前亦可斷開）

如果算上寬式，則用例將更多：

(21) 昔帝鴻氏有不才子，掩義隱賊，好行凶德。（《左傳·文公十八年》）

(22) 有陶唐氏既衰，其後有劉累，學擾龍于豢龍氏。（《左傳·昭公二十九年》）

再看否定的“無”字兼語式。王建軍（2003: 179–180）認為晚出、所舉之例最早在中古：

(23) 其中無物益於飢。（《論衡·別通》）

(24) 內無人開門。（《大方便佛報恩經·慈品第七》，據考證乃兩晉之後的譯經¹²）

據我們考察，兩周金文除了例 13 “亡疾自下”一例難以定性，沒有“亡/無”的兼語式。而先秦時期有些例子“無”後跟了主謂結構，但未必都可以定性為兼語式¹³：

(25) 德、禮不易，無人不懷。（《左傳·僖公七年》）| 無草不死，無木不萎。（《詩·小雅·谷風》）

(26) 無日不數於六卿之門。（《左傳·文公十六年》，沈玉成譯：沒有一天不進出於六卿的大門。）| 不朝之間，無歲不聘，無役不從。（《左傳·襄公二十二年》）

(27) 寧我薄人，無人薄我。（《左傳·宣公十二年》，沈譯：寧可我們迫近敵人，不要敵人迫近我們。）

(28) 無身不善而怨人，無刑已至而呼天。（《荀子·法行》）

¹² 參考史光輝，《從語言角度看〈大方便佛報恩經〉的翻譯時代》，《古漢語研究》2009年第3期，44–50。方一新、高列過，《從佛教詞語考辨〈大方便佛報恩經〉的時代》，《浙江大學學報（人文社會科學版）》2012年第3期，139–147。

¹³ 本文主要調查了《詩經》《尚書》《左傳》《國語》《論語》《孟子》《老子》《莊子》《荀子》《韓非子》《呂氏春秋》《戰國策》《公羊傳》《穀梁傳》。

- (29) 絕民之主，……以禍其國，無不祥大焉，何以得免？（《左傳·襄公三十年》）
- (30) 聖人之遊世也，無害人之心，無害人之心，則必無人害，無人害則不備人，故曰：“陸行不遇兕虎。”（《韓非子·解老》）¹⁴
- (31) 勇士入其大門，則無人門焉者，入其閨，則無人閨焉者；上其堂，則無人焉。（《公羊傳·宣公六年》）

例 25、26 其實屬於同一構式“無 + N + 不 + VP”，其意義是“每 N 皆 VP”、即雙重否定變肯定且含有周遍義，往往是說話人的一種總括性認識。其中的名詞可以是施事主語如例 25，也可以是旁格狀語、如例 26 為時間。甚至“無所不 VP”也屬於這個構式、其中的“所”從其本義看即處所狀語。最早見於《詩經》的該構式與最早見於金文的“NP 亡（無） + 不（弗）VP”語義、形式都很相似，前者很可能是由後者變化而來，具體兩者的差異與關係還有待進一步研究。總之，例 25、26 不應當視為“無”字兼語式。

而例 27 也不宜視為兼語式，這裡“寧 X 無 Y”也是一種固定搭配，表示“寧可 X，也不要 Y”且 X、Y 在字詞上往往有所重複，比如《戰國策·秦策四》：“鈞吾悔也，寧亡三城而悔，無危咸陽而悔也。”至於例 28，也不能視為兼語式，因為“無”後的 VP 是一個“而字”連接的並列結構，而前項恰巧為主謂結構而已。

所以，真正的“無”字兼語式很可能只有 29、30、31 這 3 例而已。即“無”字兼語式確實在先秦還沒有真正發展起來。

2.3 “有 / 無 + (VP 者)” “有 / 無 + (所 + VP)” 的發展情況

結構助詞“者”“所”的產生都比較晚。

根據劉一豪（2012: 7）、李繼征（2012: 163-164），結構助詞“者”最早出現於《尚書》1 例、《詩經》60 例；金文中則是直到戰國時期才出現，如《中山王鼎》“昔者”。

據我們調查，結構助詞“所”最早出現於《尚書》5 例、《詩經》42 例；金文中同樣直到春秋戰國時期的金文中才出現，如《王子午鼎》“命（令）尹子庚毆民之所亟（極）”。而結構助詞“攸”在西周金文中已出現，但唯此 1 例¹⁵：

¹⁴ 這例的“人害”也可以理解為定中結構“(他)人之害”。類似的有《莊子·天道》：“故知天樂者，無天怨，無人非，無物累，無鬼責。”與《莊子·刻意》：“故無天災，無物累，無人非，無鬼責。”以“無天怨”為例，可以分析“天怨”為賓語前置的述賓結構、或分析為“天之怨”的定中結構。“無物累”，可以分析為兼語式“無 + 物 + 累”，也可以分析“物累”為“物之累”的定中結構。而根據《刻意》中“無天災”的對仗格式，我們統一將《莊子》例都分析成定中結構。

¹⁵ 據夏永聲（2017），還有 1 例是《習鼎銘》：“余無卣具寇正（足）（秭）”。但是據馬承源（1988: 170），“卣”同“由”，即“我無從備辦劫去的全數的（秭）”之義。

(32) 隹(唯)敬德，亡_レ迪(攸)違。(班簋，《集成》4341)

據我們統計，“有+ (VP 者)”在《詩經》中有 5 例（去掉重複用例後），且都是“有+ adj + 者+ n”、都出自《雅》。“有+ (VP 者)”《左傳》21 例。“無+ VP 者”則《詩經》0 例、《左傳》1 例。

(33) 有_レ淮_レ者淵，萑葦_レ淠淠。(《小雅·小弁》，毛傳：淮，深貌。淠淠，衆也。)| 於是景公繁於刑，有_レ鬻_レ踊者。(《左傳·昭公三年》)

(34) 公孫段相，甚敬而卑，禮無違者。(《左傳·昭公三年》)

“有+所 VP”在《詩經》0 例，《左傳》17 例。“無+所 VP”《詩經》0 例（但有“靡所 VP”8 例），《左傳》32 例。

(35) 齊國之政將有所歸，未獲所歸，難未歇也。(《左傳·襄公二十九年》)

(36) 禮成而不反，無_レ所歸咎，惡於諸侯。(《左傳·桓公十八年》)| 自西徂東，靡_レ所定處；(《大雅·桑柔》)

綜上，與“有 / 無+ VP”有語義等價關係的相關複雜結構可總結為下表：

表 1 “有 / 無+ VP”及相關複雜結構用例數量統計

	甲骨文	金文	《詩經》《左傳》
有+ VP	+	+	+ (《左》120)
無 / 亡+ VP	+	+	+ (《左》132)
有+ NP + VP (兼語式)	1	0	《詩》21, 《左》61
無+ NP + VP (兼語式)	0	1 ? (亡疾自下)	《詩》0, 《左》0
有+ (VP 者)	0	0	《詩》5, 《左》21
無+ (VP 者)	0	0	《詩》0, 《左》1
有+所 VP	0	0	《詩》0, 《左》17
無+所 VP	0	0 (亡迪(攸)違)	《詩》(0/8) ¹⁶ , 《左》32

說明：數據去掉重複用例。“+”表示數量多、占主流，而不勞統計具體數值。

很明顯，從歷時來源的用例數量看，“有 / 無”兼語式、“者”字結構、“所”字結構本身都是直到春秋戰國才開始發展使用，根本不可能在其發展伊始就分化出

¹⁶ 《詩經》中雖然沒有“無所 VP”，但有“靡所 VP”8 例。

無指代詞“有/無(+VP)”。當然,持無指代詞說者,或許並不認為《詩經》《左傳》中所有的“有/無+VP”都是無指代詞,但按“有/無”既可以指代施事也可以指代受事、可以指人也可以指物的觀點,大多數“有/無+VP”都能做出代詞解讀,因此這裡涉及到的關鍵問題是區分“有/無+VP”中“有/無”詞性,這一點將在3.1節會討論。

從結構本身而言,“有”兼語式、“有/無+VP者”、“有/無+所VP”也不可能產生無指代詞。第一,對“有”字兼語式而言,“有”後的兼語是否可以移位到“有”字前或省略?“有”表領有還是存現往往是兩可的,因此“有”後的兼語名詞不可能自由地移位到“有”字前。且“有”字兼語式往往有記異的作用,其後兼語名詞往往是語境中首次引入的人或事物,更不可能隨意省略。如果說“有”後省略的是“人”的話,為何《左傳》《詩經》乃至更早的語料中根本沒有“有+人+VP”的兼語式呢?第二,“有/無+VP者”中“者”的脫落或省略也不可能使“有/無”產生無指代詞的用法。因為“者”字功能是使VP的指稱性凸顯、與“有/無”本身無涉¹⁷。而“有/無+所VP”也是同樣的道理,“所”字直接管轄的是其後的VP,沒有大量用例支持,“所”與“有/無”融合的可能性極低。

總之,無指代詞說者觀察到在語義上“有/無+VP”或相當於“有/無所VP”、或相當於“有/無VP者”、或相當於“有/無+NP兼語+VP”,這是事實。如何解釋多出來的名詞性成分?持無指代詞說者不外乎以下3種解釋:

1、認為先有帶名詞性成分的相關結構,後有代詞“有/無+VP”。如方有國(2015)、宋玉珂(1983)。這是照顧了“有/無”詞性:動詞>代詞的演變順序,但与表一所展现的语言发展事实相矛盾。

2、認為先有代詞的“有/無+VP”,後發展出了帶名詞性成分的相關結構(“有/無”為動詞)。如方有國(2002: 235、237)認為“有/無”的指代功能為“者”字所代替。相當於“有/無”經歷了動詞>無指代詞(“有/無+VP”)>動詞(“有/無+VP+者”)的變化。照顧了相關結構的產生順序,犧牲了“有/無”的詞性派生的合理性。

3、認為“者”是語氣詞。在“有/無+(VP者)”中“有/無”依舊可以是無指代詞。如朱聲琦(1984、1985)、潘玉坤(2015)。這是照顧了“有/無”的詞性派生與相關結構的產生順序,犧牲了“者”字作為名詞化標記/結構助詞的統一性及“有/無+(VP者)”的層次切分。

可見無指代詞說內部也觀點無法統一,且無論選擇哪一種解釋方式,都將面臨或來自歷時的語言事實、或共時的語言系統性的挑戰,實難以信從。

¹⁷ 再者,宋玉珂(1983)提出的“者”的省略條件都是個例(其可靠性本身也值得質疑),不足以上升為規律使一個結構內的某個詞的詞性發生改變。

無指代詞說的問題用指稱化理論可以得到圓滿的解決。“有 / 無 + VP”與“有 / 無 + 所 VP”“有 / 無 + VP 者”“有 / 無 + NP 兼語 + VP”，其中“有 / 無”與“VP”的詞性詞義都沒有發生變化。只不過前者的 VP 發生了無標記指稱化，而指稱標記顯現為後三者。

我們的觀點是，在漢語早期，甲骨文、金文乃至上古漢語時期，漢語詞類中名動兼類以及無標記指稱化的現象十分普遍而豐富，即“有 / 無 + NP” > “有 / 無 + V” > “有 / 無 VP”。“有 / 無 + VP”其實是“有 / 無 + NP”自然的功能擴張，最早 VP 往往是一些簡單的光杆動詞、可以用名動兼類來解釋；而之後 VP 漸漸複雜化，正可以用無標記指稱化的理論來解釋。

此外，無指代詞的說法只能負責“有 / 無 + VP”這一種格式，將其處理為主謂結構。而指稱化的理論卻能管轄更多的“VP + VP”、處理為動賓關係，且這種現象一直為現漢所承繼、符合母語者的語感，如下例“不成列”不需藉助任何指稱標記便發生了轉指“沒有成列的軍隊”（援引孫剛（1986））：

（37）寡人雖亡國之餘，不鼓不成列。（《左傳·僖公二十二年》）

下一節要討論，將“有 / 無”視為無指代詞還將面臨更多的挑戰。

3. “有 / 無”無指代詞說帶來的問題

回到共時層面上，如果為“有 / 無”建立一個無指代詞詞性，將面臨以下問題：1) 難以與普通的動詞（或副詞）用法相區別。2) 指代對象產生分歧。3) 無指代詞所指稱的對象在前文已經出現等指稱上的矛盾。前兩個問題“有”“無”都會面對，第三個問題目前看只有“有”字有。

3.1 詞性區分標準不明

我們已經論證動詞“有 / 無”不可能從晚出的兼語式、含“者”或“所”字結構的格式中分化出代詞的詞性。那麼無指代詞“有 / 無（+ VP）”如果真的存在，也只可能是從動詞“有 / 無（+ VP）”中分化而來。但是這個分化條件，本質上就是“有 / 無”的代詞 VS 動詞 / 副詞的詞性分類標準，是否真的存在？¹⁸

¹⁸ 方有國（2015: 320）只提出“無”的代詞 - 副詞的區分方式為所指涉名詞是個體還是群體。宋玉珂（1983）雖然描寫了“有_{代詞}”出現的句式且絕不能出現於 NP（包括“VP 者”）之前，但是沒有討論“有 + VP”是否可能為動詞或副詞，遑論兩者的區分標準。以下幾位學者的提議更不具備可操作性。鄧宗榮（1981）提出看“有 / 無”與後續成分的句法關係以及是否指代行為的施事與受事等。朱聲琦（1984、1985）、張其昀（1992）、潘玉坤（2015）都是分類舉例、據語境區分“有 VP 者”中“有”是動詞還是代詞，沒有對“有（+ VP）”如何判斷詞性加以說明。而朱聲琦（1984）顯然不認為所有的“有（+ VP）”都是一個詞性，因為他提出《論語》有無指代詞“有”8 例，這必然不會是《論語》裡“有 + VP”的全部數量。

以“有”字為例。支持無指代詞說者未必承認所有的“有(+VP)”都是無指代詞，而根據VP的語義、前面(大)主語的數量特征及整體語境進行區別，譬如經常被舉例為無指代詞用法的典型例句往往是過去發生的某一特定事件或動作，如例1-3。而一些簡單的易於名物化的動詞、且前有單數主語的情況下，“有”仍然是動詞。如：

(38) 寡人有討於郤氏。(《左傳·成公十七年》)

(39) 潁考叔爲潁谷封人，聞之，有獻於公。(《左傳·隱公元年》)

但是還有這樣的例子：

(40) 諸侯有討於鄭，未捷。(《左傳·僖公七年》)

(41) 翟人有獻豐狐玄豹之皮於晉文公。(《韓非子·喻老》)

方有國(2015: 315)認為以上40、41兩例為無指代詞，指代大主語“諸侯”“翟人”中的部分人。但是和例38、39兩廂對比，謂語部分完全一致，只是主語的數量不同，是否由此推動“有”產生了動詞-代詞之別呢？我們認為不會。根據董秀芳(2010)，上古漢語的光杆名詞是沒有數範疇特征的（甚至現代漢語也是如此），表達類指是其本質特征；漢語將名詞都視為內部同質、均勻的物質名詞（故無複數標記），而非表示離散的個體的可數名詞（有複數標記）。也就是說，光杆名詞即便實際指的是多數，也可以因為表“類”而被視為單數；反之亦然。即例40、41的主語雖然實際指涉的是複數，但完全可以被視為一個整體而為單數。主語的數量信息不可能成為詞性分化的契機。事實上說話人不必區分主語的單複數而統一使用了“有”。其功能是強調事件在過去存在，句法語義功能完全一致，不能強行區分為兩種詞性。

3.2 指代對象不明

“有+VP”可以隱含與VP相關的施事、受事，那麼持無指代詞說者，對於“有”到底是指代施事還是受事也會產生爭議。如：

(42) 士有獻於國君。(《禮記·曲禮下》，孔穎達疏：士有獻者，謂士有物奉貢於君也。)

例42和例39、41結構語義相似。那麼可以想見按方有國(2015)，例42“有”也是無指代詞指“士”中的部分人、是施事。但鄧宗榮(1981)卻根據孔疏

認為此處“有”指代所獻之物、是受事。可見若持無指代詞說，不僅對用例是不是代詞的判斷具有主觀性，而且判斷為代詞後討論所指代的對象上也具有主觀性。

3.3 無指代詞說帶來的指稱問題

無指代詞，也叫無定代詞，指稱的一定是首次出現的某個對象（不定指）。但很難解釋下 2 例：

(43) 蠻夷戎狄，不式王命，淫湎毀常，王命伐之，則有獻捷。王親受而勞之，所以懲不敬、勸有功也。（《左傳·成公二年》）

(44) 彌子瑕母病，人聞，有夜告彌子，彌子矯駕君車以出。（《韓非子·說難》）

張其昀（1992）認為例 43 “有”為無指代詞。原文可以用“有人”代入，而且前面有使令兼語式的零形式兼語、後面有“（勞）之”回指，確實看上去像一個代詞。但問題是，所命的對象在“王命伐之”中是不定指的零形式兼語，但是“有獻捷”中則應該是定指的了。《韓非子》例同樣，“人聞”的“人”表示不定指的某人，根本不需要再用不定指的“有”來指代。

“有”的所謂不定指的用法，也被稱為“分指”，楊伯峻、何樂士（2001: 173）：“在某一範圍裡，指其中一部分人或事物”。這種理解方式似乎能解釋很多例子：

(45) 民之於利甚勤，子有殺父，臣有殺君。（《莊子·庚桑楚》）

(46) 人主雖賢，不能獨計，而人臣有不敢忠主，則國為亡國矣。（《韓非子·三守》）

但不能解釋：

(47) 陽貨欲見孔子而惡無禮。大夫有賜於士，不得受於其家，則往拜其門。陽貨矚孔子之亡也，而饋孔子蒸豚。（《孟子·滕文公下》）

上例 47 的劃線句，是一種插敘，介紹當時的禮製規矩。這裡的“有”絕非表示分指、不定指的部分、有些人，而是對所有大夫的說明，“有”表示行為動作的客觀存在。這樣的例子其實很多：

(48) 志士仁人，無求生以害仁，有殺身以成仁。（《論語·衛靈公》）

(49) 是故君有責於其臣，臣有死於其言。（《禮記·表記》）

(50) 儒有衣冠中，動作慎。（《禮記·儒行》）

以上絕非說部分志士仁人、部分國君、部分臣子、部分儒士應該有的行為，而是對擁有對應身份的全體成員的統一要求。因此表類指的主語“志士仁人”後，若再加表分指的“有”，則語義不倫不類。“有”只能是動詞。

4. 雙重否定、周遍性否定與無指代詞

典型的無指代詞“莫”可以用於雙重否定格式、表周遍否定¹⁹，如“溥天之下，莫非王土（《詩·小雅·北山》）”。楊伯峻（1963）最早提出“亡、罔”也有無指代詞的用法，其中雙重否定占了大多數（例 51），但也有非雙重否定的格式（例 52），用例皆轉引自楊文：

(51) 文王孫亡弗襄（懷）井（刑）。《班簋》²⁰| 四方之民罔不祇畏。《尚書·金縢》

(52) 罔敢湏于酒。《尚書·酒誥》| 自時厥後，亦罔或克壽。或十年，或七八年，或五六年，或四三年。《尚書·無逸》

後來學者採納、發展了這一觀點，如楊薇薇、潘玉坤（2020）進一步提出關涉對象為複數、以產生周遍性的敘述語用和雙重否定結構是否定動詞衍化為無指代詞的關鍵。甲骨文的“亡+不 VP”是動賓結構、“亡”是動詞，而西周金文則重新分析為主謂結構、“亡”為無指代詞。

也有學者反對，如楊雪麗（2004）認為“無”“罔”“靡”所否定的名詞可以出現，因此仍是動詞。如：

(53) 無草不死，無木不萎。（《詩·小雅·谷風》）| 有懷于衛，靡日不思。（《詩·邶風·泉水》）

但站在無指代詞說的立場上，也可以辯稱：只有否定詞後不出現名詞的雙重否定句中的否定詞（如例 51），才是無指代詞。例 53 的否定詞仍為動詞。

¹⁹ 但是我們其實對上古漢語到底是否存在無指代詞這一詞性本身存在質疑，根據我們的研究，“莫”更應該是一個表示存在的副詞。

²⁰ 這句話後文：文王孫亡弗襄（懷）井（刑，“效法”），亡克競率刺（烈）（沒有人能比他所創立的功業更大）。這裡持無指代詞說者幾乎都仍把第二個“亡”視為動詞。

譯文參考陳世輝，湯餘惠《古文字學概要（修訂本）》，福建人民出版社，2017 年，第 211 頁。

我們認為質疑無指代詞說的思路主要有二：

第一，從歷時來源上說。雙重否定不可能產生無指代詞。

第二，從共時平面來說。形式上的雙重否定、語義上的周遍性否定，“無、亡、靡、罔”確實與典型無指代詞“莫”的句法語義表現一致；但是如果要憑藉這兩個條件來判定“無”等否定詞為無指代詞，還需要確認：這兩個條件是否為無指代詞所特有？

需要說明的是，在未確定詞性之前，談論“無”等詞的指稱性（是否凸顯）來作為判斷詞性的依據，是毫無意義的，這顯然是一種先入為主的循環論證，即指稱性本身已經預設了詞性的結論。

4.1 歷時來源

據楊薇薇、潘玉坤（2020），甲骨文中“亡”總共出現了24602次，其中，近22000例作否定動詞，近500例作否定副詞；雙重否定（多為“亡不”）30餘次，仍視為動詞。而金文中，“亡”共出現123次，動詞43次、副詞15次，雙重否定格式22次（已視為代詞）；金文“無”共出現580次，動詞480次、副詞15次，雙重否定1次（已視為代詞）。

按這個統計數據來看，甲骨文的雙重否定儘占了極小的比重、且其中“亡”依舊是動詞，從語法化的數量頻率和語義基礎看都不占優勢，為何到了金文時期，就可以在雙重否定中誕生較大比例的代詞用例？其語法化的動機、條件如何？

楊、潘認為甲骨文的“亡不若”的“亡”仍是動詞，金文中“亡不好”是代詞，關鍵原因即前者所關涉的主語對象往往是單數（如商王），而後者則可以是多數、作周遍解讀。但事實真是如此麼？下例楊、潘認為“亡”是無指代詞，轉引自原文第16例：

- (54) 天降休命於朕邦，有厥忠臣𠄎，克順克卑，亡不率仁，敬順天德。（中山王譽鼎，《集成》5.2840，戰國晚期）

這句話是對忠臣𠄎的敘述，認為他“亡不率仁（沒有不遵循仁義之事）”，顯然是單數主語，“亡”是動詞，後面的“不率仁”無標記指稱化作賓語。這和甲骨文“王亡不若”是一致的。如果認為例54的“亡”指的是“沒有什麼事情（不遵循仁義）”是無指代詞，那麼甲骨文的“亡”也可以理解為“沒有什麼事情（不順利）”，是否要認為甲骨文時期已出現無指代詞呢？可見，“亡不X”並不存在歷時演變問題，而是後人對詞性的誤判。

且上文已引董秀芳（2010）說明，漢語的光杆名詞是沒有數範疇特征的，這是古今一致的。古人是否會因為例51中“文王孫”“四方之民”是複數、而例54“忠臣𠄎”是單數，便對“亡”的詞性語義作不同判斷，恐怕還需要拿出更多的堅實的證據來證明，否則之會陷入循環論證中。在我們看來，無論是例54，還是

(55) 絕民之主，去身之偏，艾王之體，以禍其國，無不祥大焉，何以得免？（《左傳·襄公三十年》）

(56) 子無失道，何怨於人？（《左傳·文公十五年》）

或許有人對例 56 的周遍性特征尚有疑慮，不妨看其邏輯表達式： $\sim \exists x$ （子所為（ x ） $\wedge$ 失道（ x ）） $= \forall x$ （子所為（ x ） $\rightarrow$ 合道（ x ）），將“子”的行為視為一個集合，其中的每一個元素都不隸屬於謂詞“失道”的集合，如此可能更容易理解這裡的周遍性否定特征。可見，周遍性否定絕非無指代詞所獨有²²。

綜上，以形式上的雙重否定、語義上的周遍性否定，來斷定“無、亡、靡、罔”等為無指代詞，是站不住腳的。這些詞始終都是否定性存在動詞，例 51 的層次分析為：

文王孫（主） 亡弗襄井（謂）
亡（動）弗襄井（賓，指稱化²³）

5. 結論

上古漢語“有”“無”（及“亡”“罔”“靡”）是否存在無指代詞這一詞性，學界仍有爭議。本文通過描寫“有/無+VP”及相關語義等義的複雜句式的歷時演變，論證動詞“有”“無”不可能分化出代詞的用法。然後通過歸謬法，假設“有”“無”無指代詞用法成立，會面臨詞性區分標準、指代對象分歧、指稱矛盾等問題，因此不可取。最後通過證明在雙重否定中表周遍性否定，並非無指代詞所獨有的功能表現，因此不能證明該格式中的“無”“亡”“罔”“靡”為無指代詞。事實上，即便是“莫”“或”，其所謂無指代詞的詞性恐怕也值得重新審視，我們將另文討論上古漢語是否存在無指代詞。

總之，上古漢語“有”“無”（及“亡”“罔”“靡”）都是存在動詞，或表肯定或表否定，表示行為動作的客觀存在與否；當其後接 VP 時，VP 都發生了指稱化、作“有/無”的賓語，而絕非“有”“無”為無指代詞作後續 VP 的主語。

²² 根據 Haspelmath (2005: 466)，除了無指代詞以外，有的語言（如大洋洲的 Nêlêmwa 語）會選擇以否定存在動詞為謂語的否定存在結構來表達類似 nobody、nothing、nowhere 這一類全量否定的概念。這正說明無指代詞的功能可以由否定存在動詞來充任。

²³ 至於這裡的指稱化是自指（弗懷刑之事=不思慕效法的行為）還是轉指（弗懷刑之人=不思慕效法的人），則見仁見智。

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淺談漢代東部、北部方言的動態變化*

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Dynamic Changes in Eastern and Northern Chinese Dialects During the Han Dynasty

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Summary

This paper focuses on the Former Han Dynasty's Eastern and Northern Chinese dialects, using Yang Xiong's "Fangyan" as linguistic material. It also discusses the distance between these and other dialects. Additionally, it estimates the historical changes that occurred in these Eastern and Northern dialects during or before the Former Han Dynasty. Specifically, it employs the method of "frequency of shared or distinct vocabularies among dialects" and highlights two main points:

- (1) The "Dongqi-Haidai" dialect in the East is closer linguistically to the geographically distant "Qin-Jin" dialect than to neighboring ones like "Lu," "Song," and "Zhao."
- (2) The northern "Beiyan" and the "Chaoxian" dialects are extremely close linguistically. However, only the "Chaoxian" dialect exhibits an extremely distant linguistic relationship with "Dongqi-Haidai."

Based on these points, phenomenon (1) likely resulted from dialects like "Lu," "Song," and "Zhao" being influenced by groups situated to their south. Meanwhile, phenomenon (2) is inferred to originate from the "Beiyan" dialect influenced by southern groups. In contrast, the "Chaoxian" dialect seems to have been minimally influenced.

Additionally, the paper makes two assertions regarding the Chinese dialects of the Western Han period:

- (3) Vocabulary distributed in the "Beiyan" and "Chaoxian" dialects displays distinctive formal characteristics, with a higher proportion of non-monosyllabic words compared to other dialects. This tendency is particularly evident in "Yan zhi jiaowai," a part of the "Beiyan" dialect.
- (4) Wang Qiming (1993) argued that an overlap exists in the distribution areas of Yang Xiong's "Dongqi" and "Qi" dialects. However, after conducting an analysis using the "frequency of shared or distinct vocabularies among dialects" method, this paper disagrees and considers both to refer to different regional dialects.

Key words: Yang Xiong's Fangyan, Old Chinese dialects, Dongqi-Haidai, Beiyan, Chaoxian

關鍵詞：揚雄《方言》 古代漢語方言 東齊海岱 北燕 朝鮮

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1. 導言

關於利用揚雄《方言》的古代漢語研究，目前已經積累了不少研究成果（參見 Serruys（1959）、魏錦（2010）、王智群（2011）、吳吉煌（2011）、孫玉文（2011/2015）、Matsue（2013）等）。但筆者認為，根據《方言》中方言詞的分布情況，針對漢代方言的動態情況的研究尚未得到重視。本文試圖從地理語言學的角度，根據每個詞彙項目的方言地圖衡量《方言》中若干地區間語言學上的距離，以此探討漢代東部、北部方言的動態變化。

2. 研究方法

在開始探討衡量《方言》中相關地區間在語言學上的距離之前，本文在 2. 中首先對於進行該研究時需要考慮的若干問題作一簡單介紹。

2.1 衡量地區間語言上的距離的方法：詞彙一致率

對於如何衡量《方言》中地區之間在語言上的距離，本文的主要基準是“詞彙一致指數”和“詞彙一致率”。具體來說，首先選定基準地區甲地區和比較地區乙地區，之後把調查對象限定為存在於甲地區的一個或一個以上的方言詞的詞彙項目，再按照以下步驟，計算出兩地間詞彙的一致指數以及詞彙一致率：（1）檢驗是否存在分佈在甲地區的方言詞同時也分佈在乙地區的現象：如果存在該現象，就在兩地間詞彙一致指數正向上加 1；（2）檢驗是否存在不分佈在甲地區的方言詞分佈在乙地區的現象：如果有該現象，就在兩地間詞彙一致指數負向上就加 1，（3）如果在該詞彙項目中不存在分佈在乙地區的方言詞，就不作語料；（4）通過（1）–（3）的方法，在正向和負向的詞彙一致指數上進行統計，計算出“詞彙一致率”，以此表示甲地和乙地區間在語言上的距離。具體的計算方法見 [表 1]。

表1 詞彙一致指數與詞彙一致率

	基準地區甲地區	比較地區乙地區	甲地區與乙地區間詞彙一致性指數	
詞彙項目①	A	A	+1	- 0
詞彙項目②	B	C	+0	- 1
詞彙項目②	D, E	D	+1	- 1
詞彙項目③	F	G, H	+0	- 2
詞彙項目④	I	？（沒有信息）	不作語料	
統計結果（甲地區與乙地區間的詞彙一致指數）			+2	- 4
甲地區與乙地區間的詞彙一致率			約 33%	

* “ABCDEFGHI” 代表某種方言詞。

在此需要補充說明的是，在衡量基準地區和比較地區時，需要考慮到“方言詞的同一性”的一些問題，具體而言有以下兩種情況：（一）雖然 A 和 B 兩個方言詞使用不同漢字，但根據其擬音和詞義可以推定 A 和 B 之間具有同源關係（如，卷一第 21 條“僉”（*ts^hiam 平¹，意為“誇張”）和“劒”（*kiam 去，“誇張”））；

（二）A 和 B 兩個方言詞中，至少其中一個是複音節，且二者包含一個或一個以上的共同的語素（如，卷二第 10 條“臺”（*də 平，意為“匹敵”）和“臺敵”（*də 平 dek 入，意為“（物力）匹敵”）），由此可以推定 A 和 B 間具有同源或派生關係。

根據（一）（二）的不同情況，我們按照不同方法處理。例如，在（一）的情況下，如果 A 和 B 在語音上的差異只是反映了方言音系的不同，那就最好把 A 和 B 視為同一方言詞進行處理。但現實情況是，對於漢代方言區之間的音系差異的研究尚不充分，我們很難判斷 A 和 B 的差異來自音系的不同還是源於個別方言詞的音變（或派生）。因此，本文暫且把（一）（二）中的 A 和 B 視作兩個不同的詞進行處理，但在 3. 以及 4. 中探討具體的方言間在語言上的距離時，將把同源詞的問題也納入考慮範圍之內。在此意義上，推定每個方言詞的詞義和擬音是不可忽視的重要步驟。本文在《方言》中方言詞彙的考釋上主要參照了戴震《方言疏證》、丁啟陣（1991）、華學誠等（2006）等。方言詞的擬音則原則上依據 Schuessler（2009）的東漢音（標記時聲調表記改為漢字，有時再加上古音）。

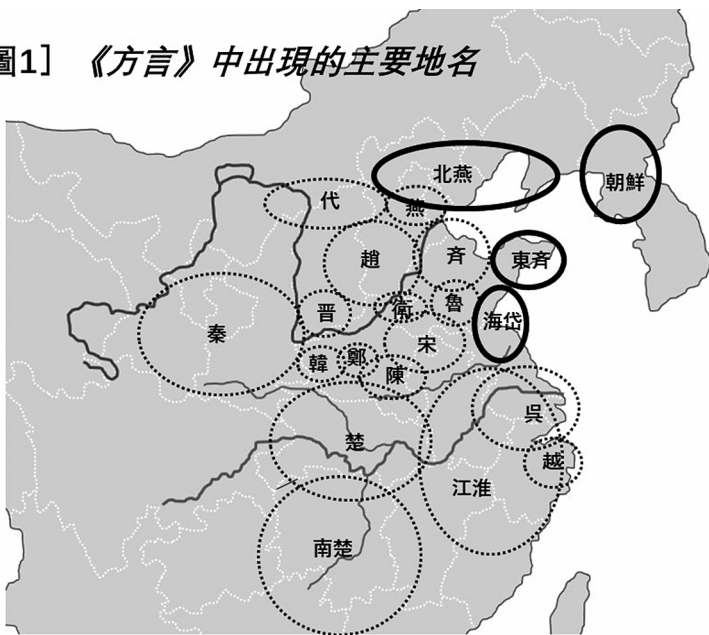
2.2 地名所表示的地理範圍

本文將把《方言》中屬於東部、北方方言的“東齊”“海岱”“北燕”“朝鮮”視為“基準地區”進行探討（“比較地區”為《方言》中其他地名）。至於這些《方言》中的地名其所表示的具體的地理範圍，筆者在 1999 年發表的《揚雄《方言》逐條地圖》中（以下簡稱《逐條地地圖》）中描繪過（參見 [地圖 1]）。這些《逐條地圖》中所表示的地理範圍主要是根據劉君惠等（1992）的考證的，本文原則上也根據《逐條地圖》中表示的地理範圍進行探討²（參見 [地圖 1]）。圍繞“東齊”“海岱”“北燕”“朝鮮”等“基準地區”及相關地名的地理範圍問題，將在下文中進行探討。

¹ 本文中所舉的方言詞的擬音，如果沒有具體說明，原則上都根據 Schuessler（2009）的東漢音系統（但聲調標記改為漢字）

² 在此需要補充說明的是，關於其中“江淮”的地理範圍，根據松江（2013）的探討進行了修改。

[地圖1] 《方言》中出現的主要地名



2.3 校勘問題

就《方言》的使用版本的問題而言，本文以周祖謨（1993）《方言校箋》為底本，同時還參照了華學誠等（2006）《揚雄方言校釋匯證》（上冊）、佐藤（2000）《宋刊方言四種影印集成》等版本進行校勘。需要補充說明的是，儘管《校箋》、《校釋匯證》都是較好的版本，但仍難免存在一些技術上的疏漏，因此有必要使用佐藤（2000）收錄的各種宋刊本進行對照。如，《校箋》卷五第9條：“箸筯，陳楚宋衛之間謂之筯，或謂之簠；自關而西謂之桶櫬”（33頁），據宋刊本，“陳楚宋衛之間”應作“陳楚宋魏之間”；《校箋》卷十第35條：“頤，頤，頤也。南楚謂之頤。秦晉謂之頤。頤，其通語也”（66頁），據宋刊本，“秦晉謂之頤”應作“秦晉謂之頤”；再如，《校釋匯證》卷三23條：“裕，猷，道也。齊曰裕，或曰猷”（225頁），據宋刊本，“齊”應作“東齊”。

3. 東齊海岱、北燕、朝鮮方言詞的概況

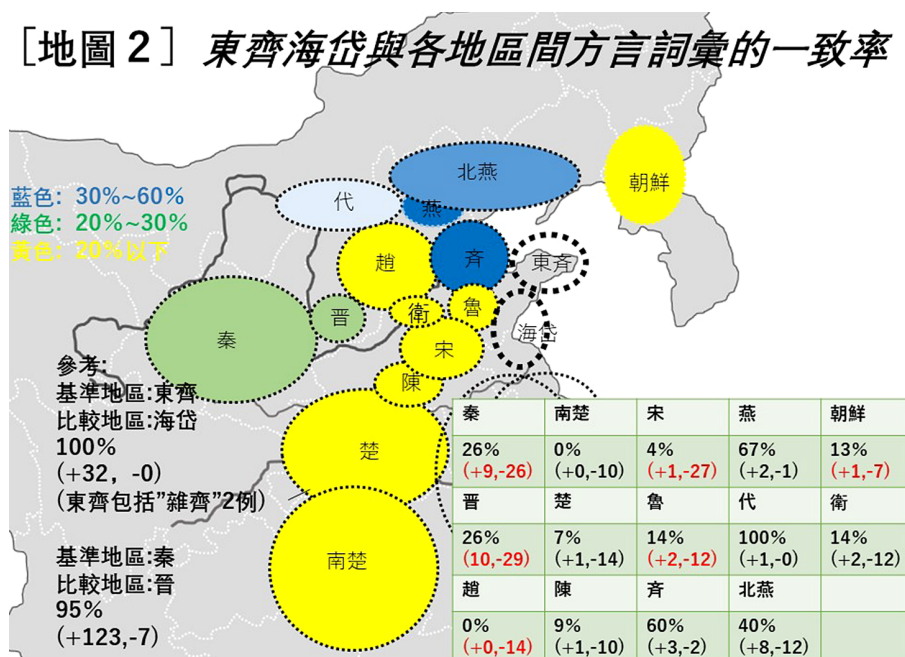
3.1 東齊海岱方言詞的分佈概況

在《方言》出現的地名中，地理範圍和“東齊”（共有77箇詞）或“海岱”（37箇詞）相重合的有：“青”（13箇詞）、“雜齊”（2箇詞）、“東齊北郊”（1箇詞）³。就其中“青”的地理範圍而言，尚存在不少問題，故在本文6. 進行詳盡論述，在此暫不探討。

³ “東齊”和“海岱”包括“東齊北燕海岱之郊”（有一個詞，卷七第15條）

按照上面 2. 中所介紹的方法，本文把“東齊”與“海岱”視為基準點，對其與其他地區間的詞彙一致指數與詞彙一致率進行了調查，其結果見〔地圖 2〕。

〔地圖 2〕 東齊海岱與各地區間方言詞彙的一致率



從〔地圖 2〕，我們可以看出以下三點：（一）“東齊”和“海岱”兩地的詞彙一致率極高（100%），而兩地和其他地區之間的詞彙一致率相對來說不高（除去衡量兩地的有效詞彙數量不超過 10 個的情況），因此，“東齊”和“海岱”應該屬於同一個方言區。而且，在詞彙一致率的問題上，“東齊”和多數地區間的關係往往與“海岱”和這些地區間的關係大致一致⁴。由此，把兩地以及“雜齊”視為一個方言地區，記作〔東齊海岱〕。

（二）和其他地區相比，〔東齊海岱〕與其北邊的“代”“燕”“北燕”之間的詞彙一致率較高（除去“朝鮮”），而〔東齊海岱〕和其南方的“楚”“南楚”之間的詞彙一致率較低。

（三）〔東齊海岱〕和相鄰接的“魯”“宋”“趙”之間的詞彙一致率很低（除“齊”以外）；與之相比，〔東齊海岱〕和“秦”“晉”之間的詞彙一致率不那麼低，儘管二者之間的地理位置較遠。

其中尤為值得注意的是（三），這是因為我們可以根據這一點來推定〔東齊海岱〕方言的動態變化的一面。關於這個問題，本文將在 4.1 中再進行探討。

⁴ 但是有時需要把“東齊”和“海岱”分開進行探討。比如，兩地和“北燕”或“朝鮮”之間的詞彙一致率並不一致，差距較大（參見本文 3.2、3.3）

3.2 北燕方言詞的分佈概況

在《方言》的地名中，地理範圍和“北燕”（共有 25 個詞）相重合的包括：“燕之北郊”（共有 6 個詞）、“燕之東北”（5 個詞）、“燕之外郊（4 箇詞）、“燕之北鄙”（3 個詞）、“燕之外鄙（3 個詞）、“燕代之北鄙”（3 個詞）、“北燕之郊”（2 個詞）、“北燕之外郊”（1 個詞）、“東北”（1 個詞）。本文把這些地名所表示的方言地區記作「北燕」（共 53 箇詞）。

本文還把「北燕」視為基準點，對其與其他地區間的詞彙一致指數與詞彙一致率進行了調查，其結果見「地圖 3」。從「地圖 3」中，我們可以看出以下四點：

（一）「北燕」和“朝鮮”之間的詞彙一致率極高（100%），而兩地和其他地區之間的一致率總體上說不太高。

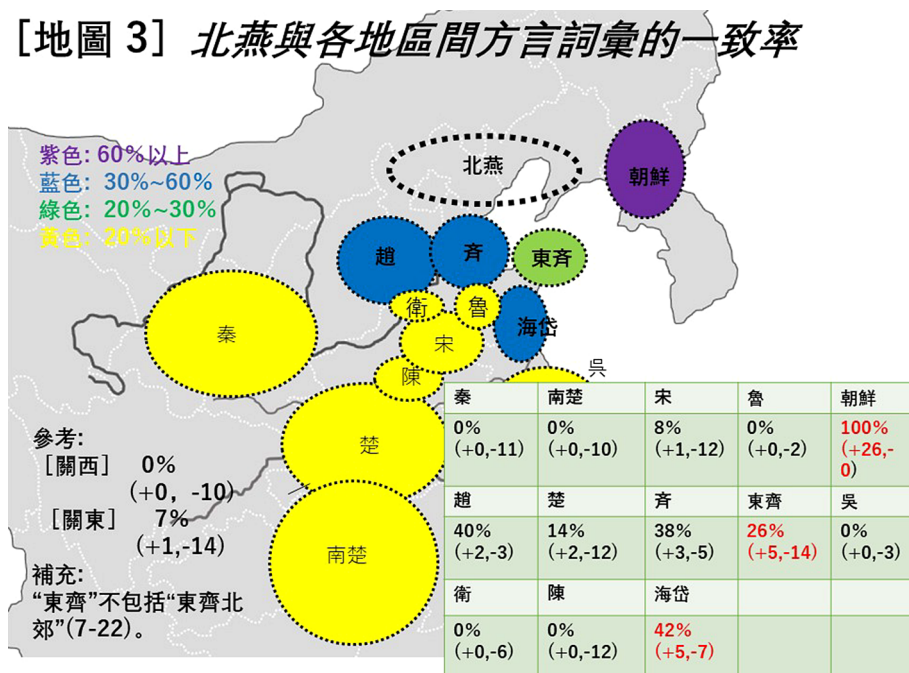
（二）與其他地區相比，「北燕」與鄰近的“趙”、“齊”之間的詞彙一致率較高，而「北燕」和“衛”、“宋”、“楚”、“南楚”之間的詞彙一致率較低。

（三）「北燕」和“秦”之間的詞彙一致率很低。

（四）「北燕」和“海岱”之間詞彙一致率很高，儘管二者的地理位置較遠。與之相比，「北燕」和“東齊”之間的詞彙一致率較低。

其中尤為值得注意的是（三）（四）。

〔地圖 3〕 北燕與各地區間方言詞彙的一致率



3.3 朝鮮方言詞的分佈概況

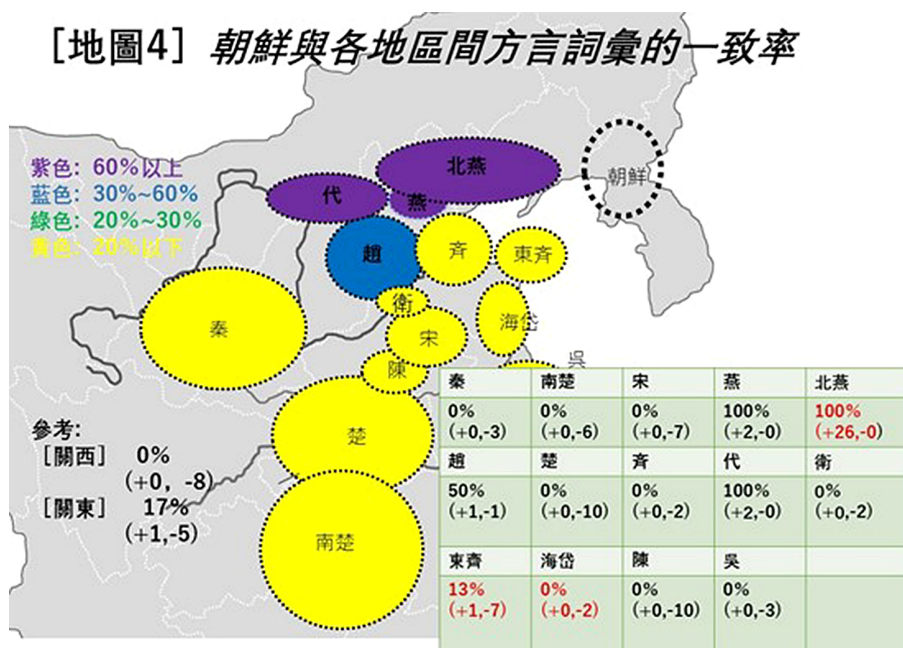
在《方言》的地名中，地理範圍大致和“朝鮮”（共有 32 個詞）相一致或相重合的有“洌水”（26 個詞）⁵。但分佈在“洌水”的所有方言詞彙皆亦分佈在“朝鮮”，所以我們無需把“洌水”作為獨立的方言地區看待。本文亦將“朝鮮”作為基準點，對其與其他地區間的詞彙一致指數與詞彙一致率進行了調查。其結果可見[地圖 4]。從[地圖 4]，我們可以看出以下三點：

（一）“朝鮮”和[北燕]、“代”“燕”之間的詞彙一致率很高（但需要注意的是，“朝鮮”和“代”“燕”的之間有效的詞彙量不多）

（二）“朝鮮”和其他地區之間的詞彙一致率整體上說較低，尤其是“朝鮮”和中部、南部、西部方言之間的詞彙一致率很低。

（三）“朝鮮”和隔海相望的“東齊”“海岱”之間的詞彙一致率較低。尤其值得注意的是（二）和（三）。

〔地圖4〕 朝鮮與各地區間方言詞彙的一致率



4. 若干反映歷時層次的特殊關係

本文根據上述 3.1-3.3 中指出的情況，著眼於“東齊海岱方言和秦晉方言之間的特殊關係”、“北燕方言和朝鮮方言、東齊海岱方言之間的看似矛盾的關係”的兩種現象，試圖推定漢代東部、北部方言的動態變化。

⁵ 劉君惠等（1992: 138）認為“洌水”就是今天的大同江。

4.1 東齊海岱方言和秦晉方言之間的特殊關係

如 3.1 所述，〔東齊海岱〕和“秦”“晉”之間的詞彙一致率比〔東齊海岱〕和“魯”“宋”“趙”之間高一些，儘管前者之間在地理上的距離比後者之間的大。究竟什麼原因造成了這種地理距離和語言距離不對應的現象？以下本文對若干現象進行分析闡述，這些現象可以理解為與造成這種不對應現象的原因有關。

首先是在〔東齊海岱〕和“秦”“晉”之間呈現出 ABA 分佈的現象。我們至少在兩個詞彙項目中可以看到日本語言地理學所說的 ABA 分佈的現象（〔東齊海岱〕相當於 A，“秦”“晉”相當於 B）⁶。如，在〔地圖 5〕（卷一第 17 條，母題為“愛”）中的“亟”（意為“愛 / 互相敬愛”）和〔地圖 6〕（卷一第 19 條，母題為“長”）中的“尋”（意為“長（物長）”），這兩個詞分別分佈在“東齊海岱之間”“自關而西秦晉之間”與“海岱大野之間”“自關而西秦晉之間”，而且其分佈範圍被詞義大致相同的其他方言詞（即〔地圖 5〕中的“撫”“懽”“憐”，意為“互相敬愛”；〔地圖 6〕中的“融”“脩”，意為“長”）所隔斷。

其次是可能具有同源關係的幾個方言詞同時分佈在〔東齊海岱〕和“秦”“晉”的現象。比如，在〔地圖 7〕（卷一第 21 條，母題為“大”）中的“僉”（*ts^hiam 平，意為“誇張”）分佈在“自關而西秦晉之間”，而“劔”（*kiam 去，意為“誇張”）分佈在“東齊”，從詞義和擬音上看，二者可能具有同源關係。類似的情況可在卷十一第 12 條（母題為“蠅”）和卷二第 10 條（母題為“匹”）中看到⁷。

上述現象可以歸納為以下 2 點：

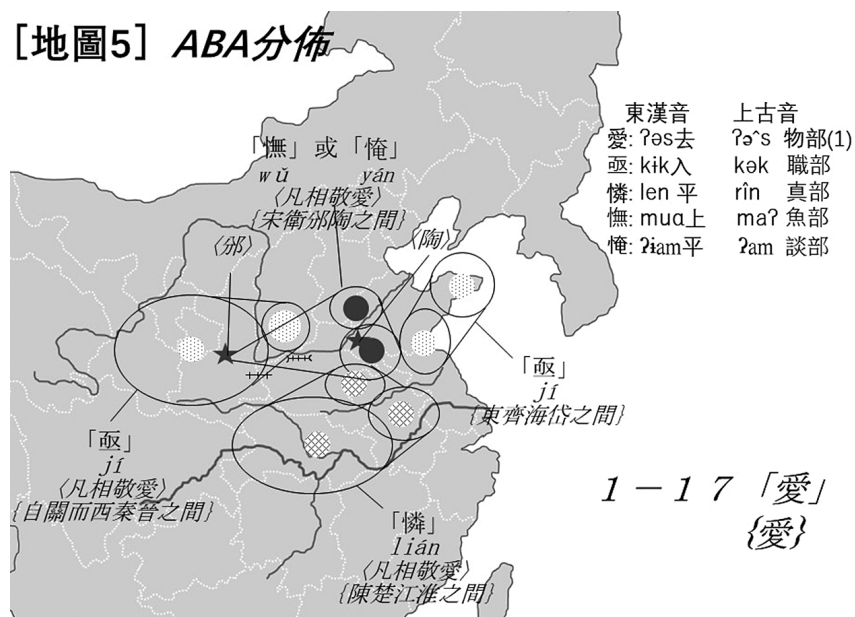
- ① 至少有兩種情況可以解釋為〔東齊海岱〕和“秦晉”呈現出 ABA 分佈；並在這種情況下，分佈在 B（=“宋”“衛”等）的方言詞同時也分佈在“陳”“楚”等南方地區。
- ② 至少有三種情況可以看出分〔東齊海岱〕方言詞和“秦”“晉”方言詞之間存在同源關係。

根據①②，再考慮到〔東齊海岱〕和北方的“燕”“代”〔北燕〕之間存在一定程度上的關聯，我們可以推定：〔東齊海岱〕方言詞和“秦晉”方言之間在語言上較為密切的關係反映了較早時期的語言層，即處在兩地之間的“魯”“趙”等地區受到了來自“陳”“宋”等中部方言的影響，結果便出現了這種地理和語言不對應的情況。

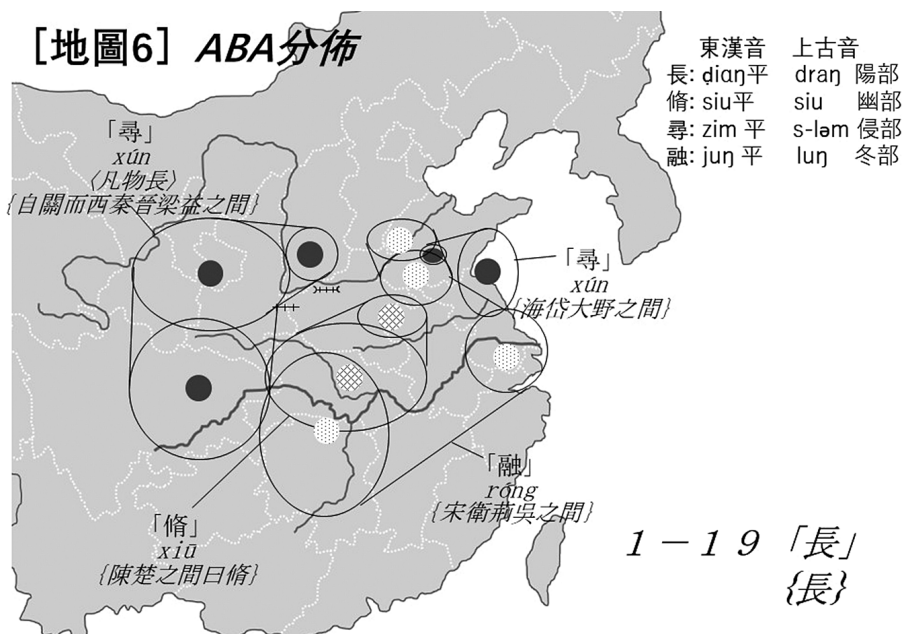
⁶ 關於《方言》中能看到的 ABA 分佈現象，筆者在學術隨筆（松江 2008）中有所介紹，但尚未從漢語史的角度對此現象進行解釋。

⁷ 具體情況如下：在卷十一第 12 條中，“蠅”（*jɨŋ 平，意為“蒼蠅”）分佈在“陳楚之間”和“自關而西秦晉之間”，而“羊”（*jaŋ 平，意為“蒼蠅”）分佈在“東齊”，“蠅”和“羊”可能具有同源關係；在卷二第 10 條中，“臺”（*dɛ 平，意為“匹敵”）分佈在“東齊海岱之間”，而“臺敵”（*dɛ 平 dek 入，意為“（物力）匹敵”）分佈在“自關而西秦晉之間”，儘管“臺”和“臺敵”不是一般所說的同源關係，但“臺敵”應是由“臺”通過複合化而派生出來的，可以視為二者在詞源上有聯繫（其部分詞素是和“臺”同源）。

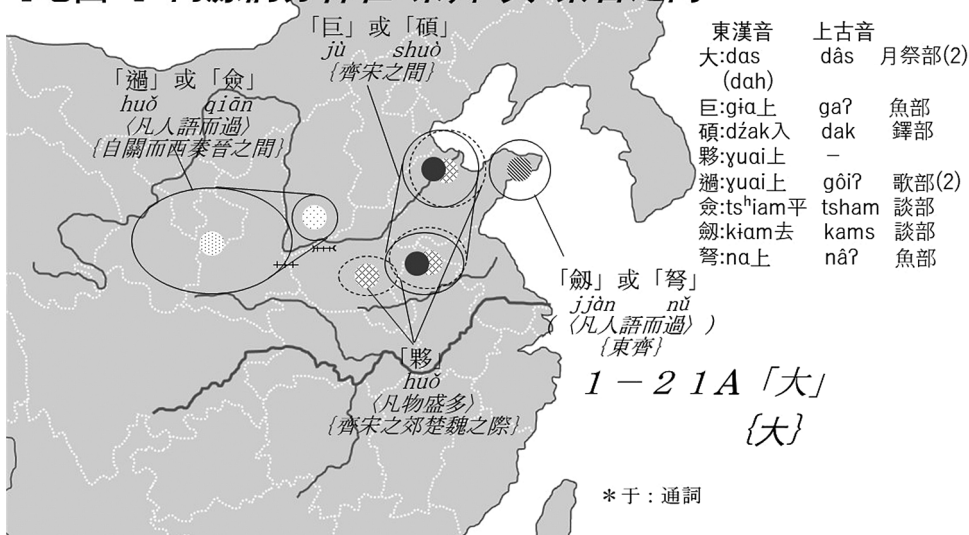
[地圖5] ABA分佈



[地圖6] ABA分佈



[地圖7] 同源詞分佈在“東齊”與“秦晉之間”



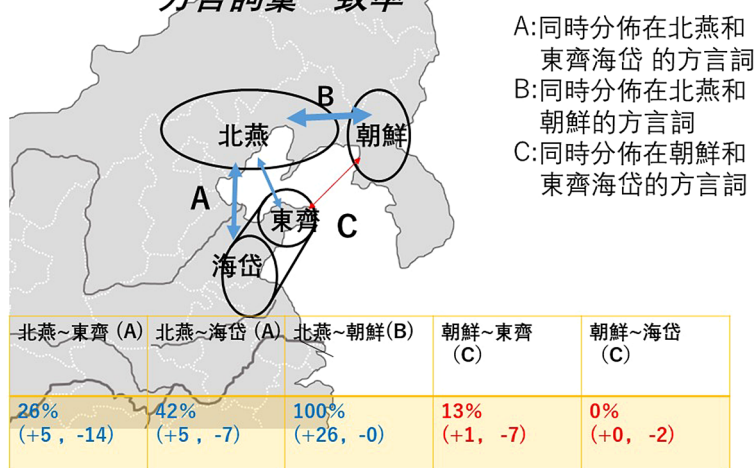
4.2 北燕方言和朝鮮、東齊海岱方言之間的複雜關係

關於「北燕」和「朝鮮」「東齊」「海岱」之間的關係，本文已在 3.1 及 3.2 中言及。就三個地區之間複雜的相互關係，重新進行了梳理。其結果是：（一）「北燕」和「朝鮮」之間的詞彙一致率很高（100%）；（二）「北燕」和「東齊」或者「北燕」和「海岱」之間詞彙一致率不低（分別為 26% 和 40%）；（三）另一方面，「朝鮮」和「東齊」、「朝鮮」和「海岱」之間的詞彙一致率很低（分別為 13% 和 0%）。

我們需要對三者之間這種似乎互相矛盾的複雜關係進行較深度的探討。對此，筆者傾向於「地圖 8」中的 A 與 B 屬於不同的歷時層次的看法，即「北燕」和「朝鮮」「東齊」「海岱」之間的看似互相矛盾的關係，反映了這些方言地區之間的歷時動態現象。其理由是分佈在二者的詞彙項目沒有絲毫重複，即某個方言詞同時分佈在 A 和 B 的現象並不存在。至於二者孰早孰晚這一問題，本文將在 5. 中試圖提出可能性推測。

此外，在「北燕」、朝鮮、「東齊海岱」方言地區，我們還可以看到另一種值得注意的現象。本文按照音節數對「北燕」、朝鮮、「東齊海岱」的方言詞進行了分類，發現「北燕」與「朝鮮」的複音詞的比率分別為 33%、31%，比其他方言略高，而「東齊海岱」不具有這種特徵（「東齊海岱」為 17%）。尤其值得注意的是，如果把「北燕」分為「北燕」和「燕之北郊」等（後者還包括「燕之北郊」「燕之東北」「燕之外郊」「燕之北鄙」「燕之外鄙」「燕代之北鄙」「北燕之郊」「北燕之外郊」「東北」），對二者分別進行探討，那就會發現，「燕之北郊」等的複音詞比率較高（「燕之北郊」28

〔地圖 8〕 北燕、朝鮮、東齊海岱之間
方言詞彙一致率



個方言詞中有 13 個複音詞；複音詞比率約為 46%)⁸。對此現象生成的原因，本文認為，由於“燕之北郊等”和“朝鮮”都與非漢語異民族語言（可能是非單音節性語言）相鄰，所以受到了這些非漢語語言的直接或間接的影響，產生了較多的複音詞⁹。]

表2 北部、東部方言和詞彙音節數

		[北燕] *			朝鮮	[東齊海岱]	齊	楚	秦
			北燕	“燕之北郊”等					
(1)	方言詞的出現次數	54	25	28	32	94	52	135	109
(2)	複音詞的出現次數 / 百分比	18/ 33%	5/ 20%	13/ 46%	10/ 31%	16/ 17%	11/ 17%	33/ 20%	39/ 26%
(3)	(2) 中非雙音詞	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

* [北燕] 方言詞共有 54 例，其中 1 例為分佈在“幽州”的詞。表中不列。

* “燕之北郊”等包括：“燕之北郊”“燕之東北”“燕之外郊”“燕之北鄙”“燕之外鄙”“燕代之北鄙”“北燕之郊”“北燕之外郊”“東北”。

⁸ “北燕”的複音詞比率沒有“燕之北郊”等高。即“北燕”25 個方言詞中 5 個是複音詞，複音詞比率約 20%。

⁹ 另一種解釋是，“燕之北郊”等和“朝鮮”之間的相似性屬於較古老的語言層，其特徵是複音詞比較多。但這種假定難以解釋“北燕”和“朝鮮”之間的詞彙一致率（50%）與“燕之北郊”等和“朝鮮”之間的詞彙一致率（48%）沒有大的差別的這種現象。

5. 結論：漢代以前東部、北部方言中發生過的動態變化

我們著眼於在 3. 至 4. 中所述的情況以及“齊”和“魯”之間存在較高的詞彙一致率(+17, -3)的這些現象, 同時考慮到文化方面的各種因素, 對於漢代以前東部、北部方言中發生過何種動態變化情況的這一問題試圖提出如下的可能性推測:

第一階段: 北部(包括[北燕]和“朝鮮”地區)有 B 方言群, 而在淮河流域以北、“燕”“代”以南的較大的地區存在 A 方言群, 在“宋”“陳”“楚”“吳”以南的地區(南邊的範圍不明確)有 C 方言群。

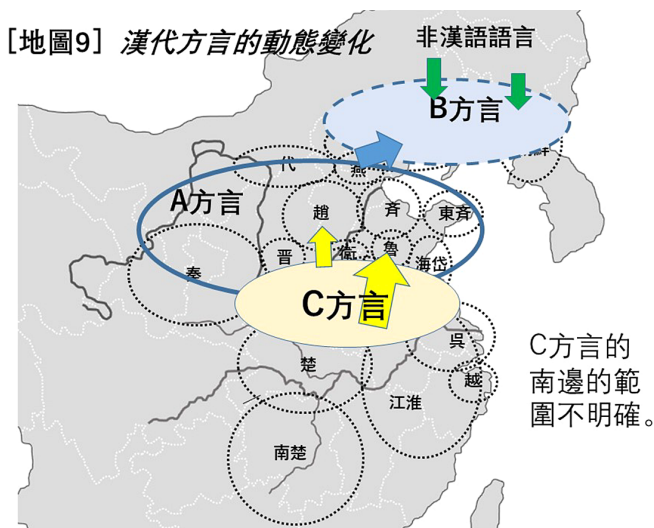
第二階段: 發生了以下(一)~(三)項變化, 但各項之間的先後關係難以確定。

變化(一): A 方言群對 B 方言群的西部產生了影響, 造成在 B 方言群的西部形成了“北燕”方言。

變化(二): C 方言群主要對 A 方言群中的“魯”“齊”“趙”等產生了影響, 導致“魯”近於 C 方言群, 而“齊”也受到了 C 方言群的影響, 它和“秦”“晉”等其他 A 方言群之間出現了一些語言上的差距。另外, “齊”在文化上的發展有了較大提高, 產生了不少獨特的方言詞彙, 使得“齊”和其他 A 方言群之間的語言上的差異擴大了。

變化(三): A 方言中, “燕之北郊”等¹⁰和“朝鮮”受到其周圍的非漢語語言的影響, 產生或接受了很多複音詞。

第三階段: 出現了[地圖 3]–[地圖 5]所表示的漢代方言的情況。



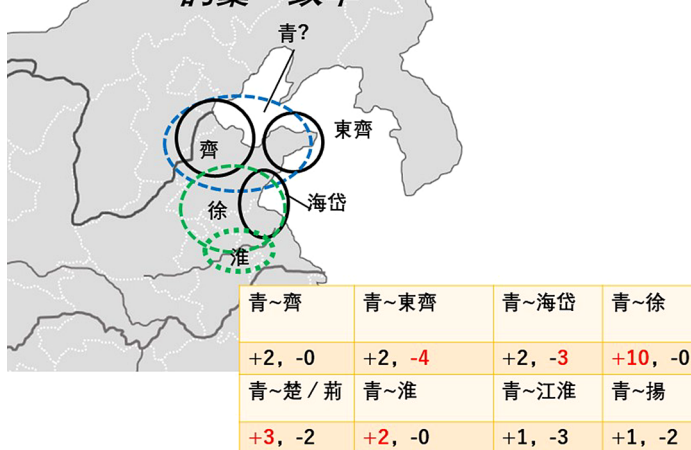
¹⁰ “‘燕之北郊’等”包括: “燕之北郊” “燕之東北” “燕之外郊” “燕之北鄙” “燕之外鄙” “燕代之北鄙” “北燕之郊” “北燕之外郊” “東北”。

上述假設可以比較合理地解釋「東齊海岱」和「秦」「晉」之間的特殊關係（參見 4.2）、「北燕」和「朝鮮」、「東齊海岱」之間的看似矛盾的關係（參見 4.1）以及只有「燕之北郊」等和「朝鮮」具有較多複音詞的現象。

6. 附論：“東齊”“齊”和“青”之間的關係

本文在 5. 中提出了關於漢代東部、北方言的動態變化的可能性推測，但未提到圍繞“東齊”這一地理範圍的一系列問題，所以需要在此進行探討。具體來說，一般把“東齊”的地理範圍推定為膠東半島一帶（如，劉君惠等（1992: 114）認為“大致相當於秦的膠東郡”）；但汪啟明（1993）對此提出了疑問，提出：“在揚雄《方言》中，齊與東齊並不稱。這是研究者都注意到的事實。然而，恰恰是這個事實，反而使我們懷疑二者毫無關係的觀點。因為，從互補原理上講，正因為它們不並稱，才使我們設想：提到東齊及附近區域（如東齊海岱）的時候，已經包含了齊語區；反之亦然。當然，東齊、齊都會有各自的土語，但那只是一個方言區內次方言區或土話的問題，而不是根本不同的兩系”（59 頁）。汪啟明（1993）的主要根據有以下兩點：（一）據文獻考察可以看出“東齊”和“齊”之間在歷史、地理方面有密切的關係；（二）不少《方言》中的“東齊”方言詞在其他文獻中作為“齊”方言詞出現；而其他文獻中的“齊”方言詞在《方言》中作為“東齊”方言出現。

〔地圖10〕 青和齊、東齊海岱等之間
詞彙一致率



汪啟明（1993）的這種看法很有價值，但筆者的看法和他不同。理由是以下兩點：

(一) 按照汪啟明 1993 的看法，無法解釋“齊”“魯”之間詞彙一致率很高 (85%，詞彙一致性指數為 +17，-3)，而〔東齊海岱〕和“魯”之間詞彙一致率很低 (14%，詞彙一致性指數為 +2，-12) 的分佈現象；(二)《方言》中存在“東齊北郊”(卷七第 22 條)、“齊之東北”(卷五第 11 條)等說法，而這些說法或許說明《方言》中“齊”和“東齊”地域範圍不同。

至於同一個方言詞一般不會同時分佈在“齊”和“東齊”的現象，筆者認為可以從“青”這一地區的角度來進行解釋。如劉君惠等 (1992) 等研究所指出的那樣，“青”可以認為基本上包涵“齊”和“東齊”這兩個地區。即，分佈在“青”的方言詞一共有 11 個，“青”在語言上的特徵為：(一)“齊”和〔東齊海岱〕相比，“青”更接近於“齊”；(二)“青”和“徐”(徐州)有非常密切的關係(徐州的地理範圍可能包含“海岱”)；(三)“青”和“楚”“江淮”等南方地區也有一定程度上的關係。從(一)~(三)來看，“青”的分佈情況和“齊”相似，而和“東齊”有所不同。因此，筆者傾向於認為：“青”指以“齊”為中心的更廣大的地區；該地區很可能包括“東齊”，但其中心在“齊”，而不在“東齊”，其具體的地理範圍比較模糊。

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上古漢語“也”“毆”“旃”的地理分佈及其演變補論*

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Further discussion on the geographic distribution and change of Old Chinese particles “也 yě,” “毆 yì,” and “旃 shā”

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Summary

In Old Chinese, “也 yě” is a frequent particle and normally appears in sentences as a predicate marker or after phrases and clauses as a topic marker. Particles “毆 yì” and “旃 shā” are dialect variations of “也 yě.” “毆 yì” is used in 秦 Qin. Ohnishi (1998) researched excavated documents from Warring States period to Western Han Dynasty and revealed that in the unification of Chinese writing systems by 秦 Qin, “毆 yì” and “也 yě” had a complex process of replacement. 秦 Qin forced conquered regions to use “毆 yì” and stop using “也 yě” first, but later “也 yě” became an official word before the era of 二世皇帝 (秦二世 Qin Er Shi). “旃 shā” appears in excavated documents which are closely related to 三晉 San Jin (or 中原 Zhong Yuan). It might have been originally used in this area; “也 ye” is used in 楚 Chu, 齊 Qi, and 燕 Yan. “旃 shā” also appears in excavated documents of 吳 Wu in the Spring and Autumn Period. We consider that 吳 Wu borrowed the particle from 晉 Jin in spite of the geographical distance, because 晉 Jin and 吳 Wu had a close relationship to compete against 楚 Chu at that time. During the Warring States Period, “也 ye” was assumed to replace “旃 shā” in the countries of 三晉 San Jin, that is, another particle replacement in eastern regions before the replacement of “毆 yì” and “也 yě” by 秦 Qin.

Particles “也 yě,” “旃 shā,” and “毆 yì” represent regional diversity and interaction among regions in Old Chinese, including a dynamic process of change and its complex motivation.

Key words: Old Chinese, Geographic distribution, Excavated documents, Particle, “也 yě/毆 yì/旃 shā”

關鍵詞：上古漢語 地理分佈 出土文獻 助詞 “也/毆/旃”

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1. 前言

本文討論上古漢語助詞“也”“毆”“旃”，尤其是東周時代東方地區的“也”和“旃”的地理分佈及其演變。這三個詞都具有相同的功能，應當是方言變體。大西克也（1998）論證“毆”本來屬於秦方言，“也”則是東方地區的方言詞，而秦國一統天下後“毆”成為標準書面語用詞，但後來“也”逐漸滲入標準書面語裡面，最後“也”成為一個通行的、標準的詞，代替“毆”。本文基本贊同這個看法，但隨著出土文獻的增加，發現這個交替現象之前也發生過比較複雜的現象，即在東方地區“也”和“旃”的傳播和交替。本文主要討論出土文獻中的“也”和“旃”，以試圖更精確地表明當時各地書面語的地域性差異和互相交流。

2. “也”和“毆”

2.1 “也”的用法

“也”是在上古漢語當中很常見的助詞，東周（春秋戰國）時代以後出現於書面語上。其用法複雜多樣，關於如何統一定性其具體的語義功能，歷來有爭論而似未有定論。據宮本徹、松江崇（2019: 96–98），“也”的主要用法有兩種，一是用於句末，加上判斷、確認的意味，如¹：

- (1) 女，器也。《《論語·公治長》》
- (2) 小子識之，苛政猛於虎也。《《禮記·檀弓下》》

另一類則是用於句中的詞或從句之後，把它當作主題，如：

- (3) 賜也何敢望回。回也聞一以知十，賜也聞一以知二。《《論語·公治長》》
- (4) 子產之從政也，擇能而使之。《《左傳》襄公三十一年》

2.2 “也”和“毆”的關係

“毆”的用法、功能與“也”相同，如：

- (5) 丙，乙妾毆。《睡虎地秦簡《封診式》42號簡》

¹ 下例（1）–（4）引自宮本徹、松江崇（2019: 96–98）。

- (6) 司寇勿以為僕、養、守官府及除有為𣪠。(睡虎地秦簡《秦律十八種》150號簡)
- (7) 其大厩、中大厩、宮厩馬牛𣪠，以其筋革角及其賈錢效。(睡虎地秦簡《秦律十八種》17-18號簡)
- (8) 有事請𣪠，必以書，毋口請，毋羈請。(睡虎地秦簡《秦律十八種》188號簡)

“也”和“𣪠”語音不同，“也”是以母歌部(*laiʔ)²，“𣪠”是影母脂（或祭）部(*ʔih)，兩者並不是普通的通假或假借關係，當是方言變體³。具體來講，“𣪠”應當本來是秦國方言的詞，“也”則是通行於東方地區的形式⁴。歷史上，特別是從秦代到漢初發生過“𣪠”和“也”的交替，大西克也（1998, 2001）調查秦漢時代的出土文獻來描寫、分析其交替過程，將其總結為如下：

在秦統一各國的過程中，“𣪠”滲透到了舊六國的地域。秦當時在行政上使用隸書，並強制在公文書類上使用“𣪠”字。此時，在書面語水平上，“𣪠”的方言性已大為淡化。即使在〔睡虎地秦簡的：引用者〕《為吏之道》和〔馬王堆帛書的：引用者〕《五十二病方》等出於舊六國的文獻中，也出現了使用“𣪠”的抄本。所以，把舊六國統一後出現的使用“𣪠”的抄本，說成是秦方言書寫的觀點是欠妥的。然而，在秦朝，至遲到了二世皇帝元年的時期，將“𣪠”改定為以“也”來表記。這樣，來自舊六國地域的“也”字取得了標準語的地位。這項改革在漢代得到了繼承。可見，這種“𣪠”“也”的交替，祇不過是秦採用的語氣助詞表記法的改變，各地在口頭語言上仍然可能使用各自的方言。也就是說，“𣪠”“也”的交替是不具有口語變化背景的人為的變化⁵。

本文贊同這個看法。但關於東周時代“也”和其變體的關係似乎更為複雜，具體來講在東方地區除了“也”以外還存在過“旃”，“旃”和“也”之間的關係也是值得關注的。其實大西先生也指出過語氣助詞“旃”的存在⁶，然而沒有進行過具體的討論。後來隨著相關材料的增加，對於“旃”的字形、用法等有了新的認識，

² 擬音根據 Schuessler (2009)，下同。

³ 參見大西克也（1998: 4）。大西克也（1998: 4）也指出“也”的歸部也有魚部或佳（支）部說。

⁴ 參見陳昭容（1993: 599）以及大西克也（1998: 4, 2001: 614）等。

⁵ 大西克也（2001: 625）。

⁶ 大西克也（2001: 625注4）云：“《中山王響鼎》、《中山王響壺》中‘旃’[即‘旃’：引用者]用法與‘也’相同，但釋字中有問題”。

本文在下文先總結先行研究對“旃”字的分析以後，補充討論東周時代語氣助詞“旃”“也”的地理分佈及其演變，以表明東周時代書面語的多樣性和各地之間的交流。

3. “旃”

3.1 “旃”的用法和釋讀

正如朱德熙（1979/1995: 92）、大西克也（1998: 20注4, 2001: 625注4）等所說，“旃”用法與“也”相同，如：

(9) 則上逆於天，下不順於人旃。（中山王譽方壺，《集成》09735）

(10) 謀慮皆從，克有功，智旃。（中山王譽鼎，《集成》02840）

(11) 寡人聞之，與其溺於人旃，寧溺於淵。（中山王譽鼎）

尤其是（11），與此相似的句子亦見於傳世文獻《大戴禮記·武王踐阼》中（下例12），其中作“也”⁷，可見“也”和“旃”相對應：

(12) 與其溺於人也，寧溺於淵。（《大戴禮記·武王踐阼》）

上舉諸例“旃”字形作“𣎵”⁸，過去大多學者將此字釋為“旃”，讀為“也”⁹。然而這個看法將作“𣎵”字的“𣎵”看成是“它”的變形，字形解釋較勉強，並且“它”與“也”在語音上也有距離¹⁰。後來吳振武（2006）指出此字的“𣎵”源自彤沙（繫在戈上的紅色纓子）之“沙”的象形初文，“𣎵”是從“𣎵”、“沙”聲的一個字，目前此看法可謂已得到很多學者的認同¹¹。本文也認為這個看法很合理，然而吳振武（2006）說“沙”和“也”語音接近，“旃”可讀為“也”，就此則仍有討論的餘地。因為“沙”是生母歌部（*srâi），如上述“也”是以母歌部（*laiʔ），“也”和“旃”的語音，特別是聲母有所不同，似乎不能看做是一般的

⁷ 參見Takashima（1997: 184-185）。

⁸ 引自中國社會科學院考古研究所（2007: 5143）。

⁹ 如朱德熙（1979/1995: 92）、張玉金（2011: 531）等。另外也有釋為“旃”“旃”的看法，都不太可信（參見吳振武2006: 74）。

¹⁰ 參見吳振武（2006: 74）。實際上，上引朱德熙（1979/1995）後來1995年版所加的“編按”云：“後來我們感到釋此字為‘旃’根據不足，而且‘它’‘也’古音有異，‘旃’恐怕不能讀為‘也’，放棄釋為‘旃’的看法。張玉金（2011: 531）認為‘旃’從‘也’聲而‘旃’可讀為‘也’，恐怕不妥當。”

¹¹ 參見李守奎（2014/2015: 208）。

通假關係。就此本文認為應該至少有兩種可能性：一是正如“毆”和“也”，“旃”與“也”也是方言變體的關係¹²；另外是語氣詞語音形式不一定是穩定的，因此其記錄形式或許有幾個變體，也就是說雖然“旃”與“也”的讀音不同，也許“也”和“旃”這兩者記錄著同一個詞。本文目前認為前者的可能性比較大，但不能完全否認後一說，在此暫時提出這兩種看法。

3.2 “旃”的地域性

“旃”還見於春秋後期晉國的侯馬盟書¹³（13）以及溫縣盟書¹⁴（14）（“馬”“檮”當是人名）；上例（9）（10）（11）是中山王墓出土的銅器銘文上的例子¹⁵，中山國的文字一般歸入三晉文字中；如（15），戰國楚簡的清華簡《筮法》中既出現與楚文字寫法相同的“也”，也見“旃”，而據李守奎（2014/2015b）清華簡《筮法》中可見帶有三晉文字特徵的字，文本與三晉有密切的關係，因此清華簡《筮法》中的“旃”可視為受到三晉地區底本的影響或其殘留：

（13） 馬旃至于…（一八五：九）¹⁶

（14） 搜旃…（T1K1—3589）¹⁷

（15） 三吉同凶，惡爻處之，今旃死。（清華簡《筮法》11號簡）

由此可見，“旃”與三晉（中原）地區密切相關，應當具有地域性特徵。

4. “也”和“旃”的地理分佈及其演變

4.1 “也”和“旃”的地理分佈

東周時代的楚、齊和燕的資料中可見“也”¹⁸。特別是楚、齊，早在春秋時代

¹² Takashima (1997: 185注14) 也提出過“旃”為東北地區方言的特徵或者“旃”和“也”在形態上有關聯這兩種可能性，但Takashima氏將“旃”釋為“旃”(zhan)，且認為“旃”表示“旃”(yi)而讀為“也”，釋字上仍有問題。

¹³ 侯馬盟書出土於山西省侯馬市，其年代有所爭論，根據山西省文物工作委員會（1976：1）、江村治樹（2000：658–661）等，與春秋時代晉國趙氏的內訌及其後的盟誓（《左傳》定公十三年（前497年）記載“十二月辛未，趙鞅入于絳，盟于公宮”）有關，暫從此說。

¹⁴ 溫縣盟書出土於河南省溫縣，其年代被視為晉定公十五年，即前497年（參見河南省文物研究所1983）。

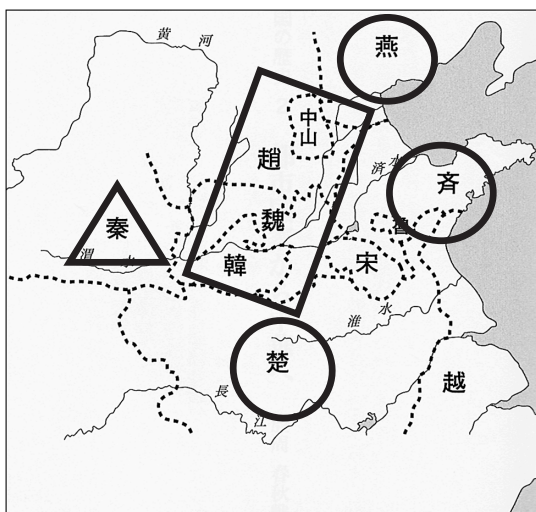
¹⁵ 中山王墓位於河北省平山縣，中山王譽方壺、中山王譽鼎等所出土的一號墓的年代被視為前310年左右（參見河北省文物管理處1979）。

¹⁶ 釋文引自山西省文物工作委員會（1976：48）。

¹⁷ 參見蘇建洲（2016：138）。

¹⁸ 參見陳昭容（1993：599）以及大西克也（1998：20注4）（2001：625：注4）。

的資料中已經出現“也”，如楚國的“競孫鬲”（春秋晚期後段¹⁹）、齊國的“庚壺”（春秋晚期²⁰），戰國時代楚地出土的簡帛資料（除上舉清華簡《筮法》中的“旃”）中也只見“也”。可見這些地區很早就開始使用“也”。另外，戰國時代燕國的資料（“王后右酉（曹）方壺”²¹）中也可見“也”。如上述，秦國用“毆”；“旃”應當具有三晉（中原）地區的特徵，並且“旃”見於春秋後期的溫縣盟書中，頗有可能晉國當時已經用“旃”。因資料有限，雖只是很粗略的描寫，但由此可見，其地理分佈以戰國時代為例大體可以歸納為如下²²（“○”“□”“△”各自代表“也”、“旃”以及“毆”）：



也就是說，就東周時代的語氣詞而言，除了“毆”和“也”以外，在東方地區中似乎存在過“旃”和“也”的對立，不僅是秦國與其他東方地區用不同語氣詞，似乎在東方地區的國家之間也存在過差異。

從上圖可以看見北方的燕國和南方的楚國用“也”，中間的中原地區用“旃”，似乎呈現出所謂“ABA”分佈，意味著“也”是較古老的形式，“旃”則是創新。然而戰國時代之前未見燕國資料中的“也”，此說能否成立存疑。

4.2 “旃”和“也”的演變

關於春秋時代以後的“旃”和“也”的分佈情況大體上可以如上圖描寫，但仔細查檢相關材料後發現，東周時代東方地區“旃”和“也”的使用上似乎也有變化，下文試圖進行討論。

¹⁹ 參見黃錦前（2017: 135）。

²⁰ 參見中國社會科學院考古研究所（2007: 5368）。

²¹ 參見黃盛璋（1984: 61–62）。

²² 地圖引自平勢隆郎（2020）。

4.2.1 吳國的“旃”

除了與三晉（中原）地區有關的資料以外，“旃”還見於春秋時代吳國的資料中²³：

（16）攻（句）虞（吳）王姑讎烏雖曰：“余壽夢之子，余獻馘（句）鄫（餘）之敵弟。獻馘（句）此鄫（餘）命初伐麻，敗麻，獲眾多。命禦荊，荊奔。王圍旃既北既殂，不我敢當。”²⁴

（17）攻（句）毆（吳）王光旃以吉金自作用劍。²⁵

（16）中的“攻（句）虞（吳）王姑讎烏雖”即吳王餘昧²⁶。據曹錦炎（2015: 147）以及魏宜輝（2018: 86–87）“王圍”即楚靈王，“命禦荊，荊奔。王圍旃既北既殂，不我敢當”這一句可以理解為“獻句餘（吳王餘祭）命令餘昧抵禦楚國的進攻，楚國被打敗逃跑。楚靈王他兵敗、有災禍，不敢抵禦我們（吳國）”²⁷。（17）的“攻毆王光”則是吳王闔廬²⁸。這種後置於人名的“也/旃”，也可以認為是語氣詞²⁹。

吳國位於長江下游，建都於姑蘇（現在的蘇州），地理上與楚國很接近，反而與三晉（中原地區）相隔得比較遠。按理說吳國更有可能受到楚國的影響而用“也”，（16）（17）中却用“旃”。

就此器中的“旃”，李守奎（2014/2015: 218）云“吳〔振武：引用者〕老師指出三晉系文字與吳文字地域遠隔，如何發生關係需要考慮。…〔中略〕…許多不見於後世的古文字在多系文字中出現，可能是有共同的來源，也可能是文化交流的結果。這也是未來可以深入研究的一個課題。”，後來蘇建洲（2016: 139）則指出：“吳王光劍〔即本文例（17）：引用者〕‘也’作‘旃’形恐怕也不能排除受到三晉文字的影響。”

本文認為，（16）（17）中使用“旃”（或者說吳國使用“旃”）這就是受到晉國書面語的影響³⁰，且與當時歷史背景有關。大約從前7世紀末晉國與楚國激烈對立，晉國為了抑制楚國，與吳國聯合，《左傳》成公七年（前584年）記載晉國派遣

²³ 參見李守奎（2014/2015: 211–214）、蘇建洲（2016: 138–139）。

²⁴ 釋文參見程義、張軍政（2015）、魏宜輝（2018: 82）。

²⁵ 釋文參見李守奎（2014/2015: 211），但釋讀有所調整。

²⁶ 參見程義、張軍政（2015: 77）、魏宜輝（2018: 82）。據《史記》，餘昧的在位期間為前530–前527年（而根據《左傳》的記載，其在位期間則為前543–前527年）。

²⁷ 參見曹錦炎（2015: 147–148）、魏宜輝（2018: 82–83、87）。

²⁸ 據《史記》十二諸侯年表，闔廬的在位期間為前514–前496年。

²⁹ 參見李守奎（2014/2015: 216）。但如魏宜輝（2018: 86），也有研究認為這種“也”是一種詞綴。

³⁰ 這當然也不是直接意味著晉國與吳國的口頭語言很接近。

巫臣“通吳于晉”而讓吳國背叛楚國³¹，從此吳國與楚國則一直處於敵對狀態³²。當時應當就是吳國開始使用漢字的時候，根據陳昭容（2016：159–161），吳到春秋中期（前6世紀初）才開始出現於史書中³³，並且目前最早有銘文的吳國青銅器“者減鐘”也是幾乎相同時期的（前600年左右），“〈者減鐘〉的器形紋飾與中原相同，銘文的格式也與中原器物的格式一致，…〔中略〕…〈者減鐘〉的銘文內容，與其他國家製造的鐘銘相差不多”³⁴，可見至遲當時已經接受漢字文化。也就是說，吳國接受漢字的時候與晉國關係密切且良好，與楚國則互相對立，頗有可能在這個歷史背景下吳國接受中原的“旃”而未接受楚國等的“也”³⁵。

4.2.2 三晉的“旃”和“也”之交替

除了上舉資料之外，其實“也”在戰國時代三晉地區有關的出土文獻中也可見：

（18）卅三年單父上官乳＝（孺子）憲所受坪（平）安君者也。（平安君鼎，《集成》02793）³⁶

相同文例也見於“卅二年平安君鼎”（《集成》2764）。根據有虞同（2009），這些“平安鼎”的年代為戰國晚期。就其國別則有爭論，吳良寶（2009）認為衛、魏的可能性都存在³⁷。就此本文不能做出判斷，但可以說頗有可能是三晉或與此密切相關的國家之器，而在其器中卻用“也”³⁸。另外，馬王堆帛書《戰國縱橫家

³¹ “巫臣請使於吳，晉侯許之。吳子壽夢說之。乃通吳于晉，以兩之一卒適吳，舍偏兩之一焉。與其射御，教吳乘車，教之戰陳，教之叛楚。寔其子狐庸焉，使為行人於吳。吳始伐楚、伐巢、伐徐，子重奔命。馬陵之會，吳入州來，子重自鄭奔命。子重、子反於是乎一歲七奔命。蠻夷屬於楚者，吳盡取之，是以始大，通吳於上國。”

³² 參見曹錦炎（2015：145）。

³³ 《春秋經》成公七年（前584年）“吳伐郟”、“吳入州來”是其最早的記載（參見陳昭容2016：159）。

³⁴ 陳昭容（2016：159–160）。

³⁵ 馬曉穩（2017：777）對比吳越文字和其他地區的文字後指出，“吳越文字，尤其是吳國文字整體面貌與楚文字大同而小異，過去將其歸入楚系還是很有道理的。當然我們也可以發現，吳文字的一些字形與楚文字有些不同，甚至個別字形受到了晉系文字的影響”，並且引用本文注31所引的《左傳》成公七年的記載，云“壽夢之前吳國為楚之附庸，所以文字的整體面貌與楚系文字相似。申公巫臣通吳後，吳國密切了與晉國的關係，所以有些字形合於晉系，而不類於楚。目前見到的吳國文字資料時間都在壽夢之後，所以也可以說，《左傳》這段記述正是吳國文字特征來源的歷史闡釋”，與本文看法相似。吳國文字與楚、晉文字之間的關係，似有待進一步探討。

另外，2014年在山西省西南部出土的四件戈上記載吳王的同母弟與晉國的“趙氏餘”共同鑄造了三百件戈，這也說明晉與吳的密切關係（參見佐藤信彌2021：146–147，陳光軍2016則認為是晉地鑄造的吳國兵器）。

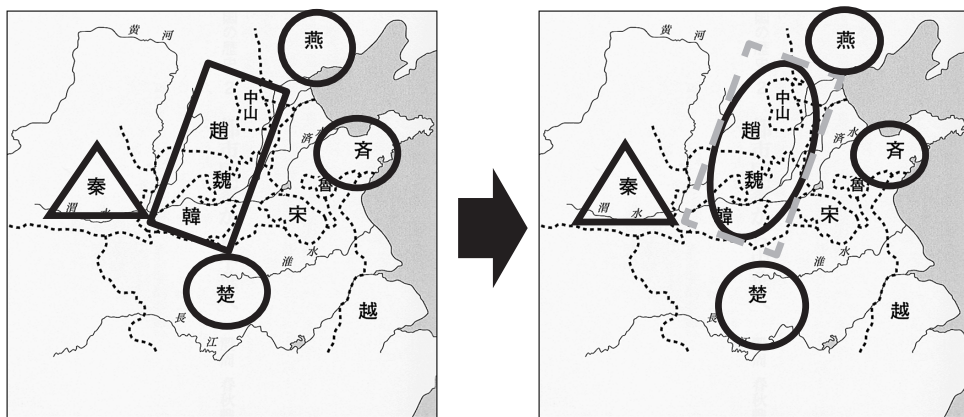
³⁶ 釋文參見郭永秉（2018：111）。

³⁷ 就此也參見郭永秉（2020：111–114）。

³⁸ 李守奎（2014/2015：208）引用上舉平安鼎中的“也”而云“從相關晉系文字資料來看，晉文字‘旃’‘也’並用”。

書》雖然是西漢早期的文獻，但較多保留戰國時代中原地區的語言³⁹，其中未出現“旃”，只見“也”。

本文認為，這些戰國時代三晉（中原）有關的出土文獻中所見的“也”，有可能代表在當地發生過“也”替代“旃”的演變，即如下圖所示，至遲到春秋後期中原地區開始用“旃”，而到了戰國晚期則已不常用“旃”。值得關注的是，平安君鼎銘文是實用性的，中山王器銘文則內容莊重，文字也修飾性很強，因此中山王器銘文中的“旃”或許可以視為存古現象⁴⁰；清華簡《筮法》中“也”和“旃”混用，有可能不僅是其底本的三晉因素之殘留，也體現出三晉地區“旃”到“也”的演變在進行的面貌。



東方地區的書面語共性較大，大西克也（2006: 156–159）指出，語法詞彙及其用字習慣在秦以外的東方地區之間一致性很高，比如秦國時間副詞用“且”、其他東方地區則用“旃”（將），這應當是（不管是有意識的還是無意識的）互相影響的結果。同樣，頻繁的來往和互相交流之中，書寫較方便的“也”在三晉也被開始使用且代替“旃”，也是很有可能的。其實與“毆”和“也”相比，“旃”和“也”讀音相對接近（這也似表示著東方地區語言的共性較高，與秦國則有一定的距離），將“旃”替換為“也”的門檻也比較低。也就是說，秦國以“毆”替代“也”之前，有可能在東方地區書面語中發生過被“也”的“統一”⁴¹。如果“也”和“旃”為兩個方言變體，如在本文2.2中引用的大西克也（1998, 2001）所指出的，“也”代替“旃”的時候也不一定發生過口頭語言上的變化，只是在書面語上

³⁹ 參見據大西克也、大櫛敦弘（2015: 37–39）。

⁴⁰ 比如介詞“于”和“於”，頗有可能兩者是同一個詞的不同記錄形式，歷史上大體發生過“於”替代“于”的演變。戰國時代楚地書面語已經幾乎只用“於”，但銅器銘文等較莊重的場面也可見古老的“于”（參見風儀誠2007: 85、宋華強2010: 284、宮島和也2015、2017）。

⁴¹ 李守奎（2014/2015: 209）指出“值得注意的是，從相關出土材料來看戰國晚期各系文字都趨同用‘也’。”

的表記習慣的演變而已，在口頭語言上則各地語言有可能繼續使用自己的方言形式。

5. 結語

本文主要考察“也”和“旃”的地理分佈及其演變，以補充闡明上古漢語語氣詞“毆”“也”和“旃”的演變過程，而主張：①“旃”是具有三晉（中原）地區地域性特徵的詞（或表記），東方地區曾呈現出“也”和“旃”在地理分佈上的對立；②春秋時代“旃”在當時歷史背景下從晉國傳播到吳國，吳國資料中的“旃”體現出當時晉國和吳國之間的密切關係；③“毆”代替“也”之前，在東方地區發生過“也”代替“旃”的現象，這是互相交流的結果。

本文討論的“也”“毆”和“旃”體現出這種東周時代各地書面語及其演變的多樣性和複雜性的一面。同時這是利用出土文獻才可以更精確地了解到的，也表示著出土文獻對漢語史研究上的重要性。

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内陆闽语非南朝吴语直系后代说*

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Inland Min is not derived from Wu dialect of Southern dynasties

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Summary

The hypothesis that “modern Wu, Min dialects are both derived from Wu dialect of the Southern dynasties or Jiangdong Fangyan” has received wide acceptance since it was proposed by Norman (1983) and Ding (1988). However, the hypothesis is largely based on evidences of shared retention rather than shared innovation. While the previous evidence can demonstrate that modern Wu, Min dialects are closely related to Wu dialect of the Southern dynasties, they are not sufficient to portray the exact genetic relationship among them.

In this paper, we reexamined the hypothesis according to some linguistic innovations attested in Wu dialect of the Southern dynasties, namely the lexical replacement in the pronoun system involving ‘he/she’, ‘Plural for Personal Pronoun’, ‘That’, ‘How (heavy)’, and ‘What’. It is found that while the innovative pronoun forms are attested in modern Wu dialect as well as in the Coastal subgroup of Min dialect (Coastal Min), they are totally absent in the Inland subgroup of Min dialect (Inland Min). Furthermore, the unique forms attested in Inland Min can be traced to a very early stage and cannot be explained by later influence from its linguistic neighbor, namely Gan dialect.

Based on the new evidence, we propose a new model on the genetic relationship among modern Wu, Min dialects and Wu dialect of Southern dynasties. While modern Wu and Coastal Min are derived from Wu dialect of the Southern dynasties, Inland Min is rather a sister branch of Wu dialect of the Southern dynasties which has diverged at an earlier stage. Also, the new hypothesis is supported by the following migration patterns in Fujian: 1) The coastal and inland areas of Fujian have developed separately before the Tang dynasty. 2) The inland area of Fujian has developed much earlier than the coastal area (see Bielenstein 1959, Wu 2009 among others).

Key words: Wu dialect of the Southern dynasties, Wu dialect, Coastal Min, Inland Min, Pronoun, Subgrouping

关键词：南朝吴语 吴语 沿海闽语 内陆闽语 代词 语言分群

*本文初稿曾于2022年9月在日本京都大学举行的第55届国际汉藏语言暨语言学会议上报告，得到了与会学者，尤其是远藤光晓教授、罗仁地教授的诸多指教。本文也受益于秋谷裕幸教授、陶寰教授、曾南逸教授等的个人交流，在此一并致谢。文责自负。

1. 问题的提出

早在上世纪八十年代, 罗杰瑞 (Norman 1983)、丁邦新 (1988) 就从不同角度提出“南朝吴语/江东方言¹是现在闽语前身”的假说。随着对吴闽语调查的深入, 很多学者 (潘悟云1995、郑张尚芳2002) 赞同这个假说, 并认为南部吴语也是南朝吴语的后代。梅祖麟 (2001)、郑伟 (2015)、陶寰 (2018)、陶寰、盛益民 (2023) 进一步指出北部吴语也跟闽语共享了很多词汇与音韵特征。因此, 学术界大都认为现代的吴闽语是南朝吴语的后代²。以上假说, 可以图示如下:

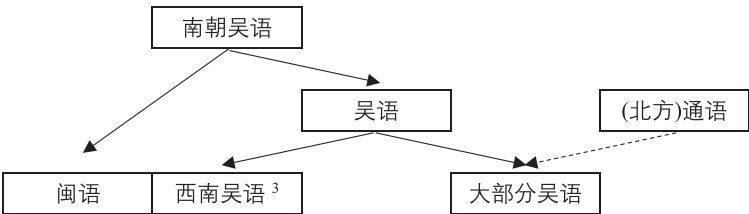


图1 “吴闽语来自南朝吴语”假说

学术界用来论证这一假说主要是根据词汇证据, 尤其是郭璞 (公元276–324年) 注解古书时所引用的江东方言词汇, 举例如下:

¹ 何大安 (1999) 指出, “江东方言”主要指东晋初相当于秦会稽郡一带的方言, 代表城市是“吴” (今苏州)。学术界用的“南朝吴语”一般是泛指宋齐梁陈南朝时期 (公元420–589) 通行于当时吴地的汉语方言。不过, 南朝吴语里有很多层次 (何大安1993), 随着北方侨民跟南方土族的融合 (李伯重2005), 也会有所改变。所以, 本文使用的狭义的“南朝吴语”, 即“江东方言”的同义词, 指东晋初今苏州一带的方言。

² 当然, 也有一些学者持不同意见, 如: 鲁国尧 (2003)。

³ 本文的西南吴语主要指吴语婺州片与处衢片, 根据秋谷裕幸 (2014), 两者有密切的谱系关系。也有学者称之为“内陆吴语” (陶寰、盛益民2023)。

表1 保存在吴闽语中的郭璞江东方言词举例⁴

	Gloss	ladle	to hatch (eggs)	sleeve	duckweed	young hen	leech
		𣎵	𣎵	𣎵	𣎵	𣎵	𣎵
	郭璞注	今江东通呼勺为𣎵	江东呼𣎵央富反	江东呼𣎵音婉	江东谓之𣎵音瓢	江东呼鸡少者曰健音练也	今江东呼水中蛭虫入人肉者为𣎵
内陆闽语 ⁵	石陂	k ^h ye1	ʔiu5	ʔyiŋ3	p ^h iau5	X.sueiŋ6	k ^h i5
	高唐	—	—	—	p ^h iau7	X.ʃuāi5	k ^h i7
沿海闽语	福州	—	—	uoŋ3	p ^h iu2	—	k ^h i2
	厦门	hia1	—	ŋ3 _手	p ^h io2	nuā6	k ^h i2
西南吴语	庆元	xai1	—	iəŋ3 _手	piɔ2	—	—
	玉山	—	əw5 _蹲	tɕ ^h yẽ _手 ⁶	biew2	—	kɛi3
北部吴语	绍兴	hɛ1 _{~兜:一种捞鱼虾的网兜}	—	—	biɔ2 _{浮~:浮萍}	liẽ6 _{大~头鸡}	—

我们认为，这些词汇证据只能说明现在的吴闽语跟南朝吴语有密切的关系，但不能证明吴闽语全都是南朝吴语的后代。下图是假设可能的谱系关系：

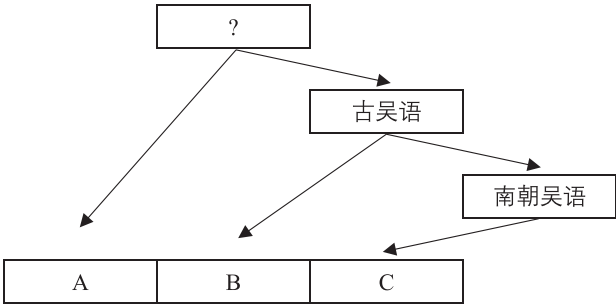


图2 南朝吴语与现代吴闽语各种可能的谱系关系

若此，则现在的吴闽语有可能属于C（南朝吴语的直系后代），也可能属于B（南朝吴语前身古吴语的后代），甚至有可能是A（跟古吴语只是旁系关系）。那么具

⁴ 方言材料出处见文末，下同。

⁵ 本文根据罗杰瑞（Norman 1991）的看法把闽语分成内陆闽语、沿海闽语两类，内陆闽语包括闽北方言、闽中方言与邵将方言。

⁶ tɕ^hyẽ是“手腕”的合音。

体如何判断现在的吴闽语究竟属于A、B、C哪种情况呢？

历史语言学有一个重要的概念——共同创新。正如Brugmann (1967[1886]: 24)所指出的：“有且只有不同语支之间的特有对应，即在某个时间某些语支在发展中经历的创新，才能够告诉我们它们之间的关系”⁷。因此，要判断现在的吴闽语是否都是南朝吴语的直系后代，必须首先找到南朝吴语的创新，然后看现在的吴闽语是否共享了这些创新。

南朝吴语在音韵、词汇、语法上都有创新，最明显也最少争议的创新主要体现在代词系统上，尤其是下表的五个代词：

表2 南朝吴语的代词创新⁸

	He/she	Plural for P. Pronoun	That	How (heavy)	What
北朝口语	其/伊	等/辈	若=那	几	何
南朝吴语	其=渠	依?	许	若	等>底

本文第2节着重考察以上五个代词创新在吴闽语中的具体表现，第3节进一步对吴闽语关系及其相关问题进行讨论。

2. 南朝吴语的代词创新及其在吴闽语中的表现

2.1 第三人称代词He/she

汪维辉、秋谷裕幸（2017）指出：在唐以前是“渠／其”和“伊”并存，而且“渠”和“伊”属于不同系统的成分，两者没有发生过替换关系；“其／渠”是魏晋南北朝时期通行于口语的第三人称代词，而“伊”最初可能是一个北方方言词，在《世说新语》中，“伊”的性质和“其”不同，它是一个北方方言词，东晋以后实际上只流通于“南渡北人”社团中。真大成（2022: 38）也认为：“伊”作第三人称代词，在南北朝时期的北中国应该还很流行。

汉语方言中的“渠”可以按照语音形式的不圆唇与圆唇分成“渠1”与“渠2”（梅祖麟2013）。

吴语中一般用“渠”的不圆唇形式（渠1），沿海闽语则用“伊”。详见汪维辉、秋谷裕幸（2017）的讨论。

⁷ 原文为：The only thing that can shed light on the relation among the individual language branches [...] are the specific correspondences between two or more of them, the innovations, by which each time certain language branches have advanced in comparison with other branches in their development.（转引自Jacques & List 2019）。

⁸ 本表参考了魏培泉（2004）、汪维辉、秋谷裕幸（2017）、盛益民（2019）、陈鑫颖、盛益民（待刊）等成果。另外需要指出的是，本表只关注南朝吴语的创新成分，有些代词的用法也是南朝吴语的特点，比如第二人称“汝”，但由于是直接继承自古汉语，不具有创新意义，就不属于本文的讨论范围。

而内陆闽语一般用“渠”的圆唇形式（渠2），请看下表：

表3 内陆闽语的第三人称代词

	He/she
闽中方言	沙县ky、盖竹ky、永安gy
邵将方言	高唐ky、邵武hu、和平hu
闽北方言	石陂gy、镇前kio、迪口ky、莒口ky、连墩yy、崇安hou
原始内陆闽语 ⁹	*gy渠2

由此，我们认为，内陆闽语的“渠2”跟吴语的“渠1”、沿海闽语的“伊”都无直接关系。同时，内陆闽语的“渠2”也不是后来受赣语“渠1”的影响，而是跟客家话、粤语的“渠2”同源，应该有较早的来源。

2.2 人称代词复数标记Plural for Personal Pronoun

吴语多称为“三依之地”。而汪维辉、秋谷裕幸（2017）指出，事实上“三依”的起源甚早，至少可以上推到唐代，而且不限于吴地，到宋代仍然如此，例如：

- (1) 王老小儿吹笛看，我依试舞尔依看。（唐·司空图《力疾山下吴村看杏花》诗之七）
- (2) 驰誉超先辈，居官下我依。（唐·安铸《题贾岛墓》）
- (3) 将化，命旁侍警遗训于介众曰：“已过中寿，难逃大期。我依远游，尔曹好住。沟若画一，守而勿失。古之史尚如是，今之禅宜勉旃。”（《唐文拾遗》卷四十四崔致远《有唐新罗国故两朝国师教谥大朗慧和尚白月葆光之塔碑铭并序》）

从以上用例来看，当时“三依”的基本含义就是表示人称代词复数（尤其是例3中“我依”与“尔曹”对举）。由于“依”是南朝吴语的重要词汇，也许可以认为“三依”的说法在南朝吴语中就已经存在了。

沿海闽语用“依”表示人称代词复数，福鼎、古田、龙岩、雷州、海口、海口、三亚等地至今仍然使用“依”作为复数后缀（盛益民2019）。根据罗杰瑞（Norman 1983）、李如龙（1999）、梅祖麟（2001）、潘悟云（2010）、施其生（2016）等的研究，厦门、泉州一带的复数形式就是来源于单数“我、汝、伊”与复数标

⁹ 本文对原始内陆闽语形式的构拟原则是：如果见于闽中、邵将、闽北中的两支且地理上不连续，则可以构拟到原始内陆闽语。本文只是构拟初步的声韵母形式，暂不涉及声调。

记“依”的合音；汕头、揭阳、海丰等不少闽南方言第一、第二人称已经完成了合音，而第三人称仍是未合音的“伊依”，也是很好的佐证。

吴语的复数标记“依”只在丹阳、玉山、衢江^{坑口}、庆元等少数地区还有所保留（盛益民2019）。绝大部分的方言中，“三依”经历了复数单数化的过程，“依”成了单数代词的后缀，并对整个吴语的代词系统产生的深远的影响，详细请参看盛益民（2019）的讨论。

至于内陆闽语，情况则有很大的不同，完全见不到人称代词复数标记“依”的踪影。请看下表：

表4 内陆闽语的人称代词复数标记

闽中方言	沙县“穰” tse、盖竹“穰” tsɛ、永安“穰” tse
邵将方言	高唐“多” tai、邵武“多” tai、和平“多” tai
闽北方言	石陂“人” neiŋ/“多人” tuai.neiŋ、镇前“人” neiŋ、迪口“人” neiŋ、莒口“伙人” xuo.noiŋ、连墩“伙人” xuo.noiŋ、崇安“伙” xo
原始内陆	*tai多

内陆闽语人称代词复数用“多”来表示，见于邵将闽语、少数闽北方言，很可能是继承自原始内陆闽语的用法。虽然这种用法也见于少数靠近福建的赣语，如：余干“多[tə]人”、弋阳“多” toi、南城“多” tɔ、建宁“多” tai（李如龙、张双庆（主编）1992），但我们认为它们是受到了内陆闽语的影响才产生了这样的形式。语音形式上，内陆闽语属于较早的歌韵读-i尾的层次，而赣语除了建宁（弋阳的形式来源不明）外则是较晚的语音形式。至于闽中方言的“穰”¹⁰，则是伴随着{多}义词经历了“多”到“穰”的替换过程中，复数标记也一起发生替换的结果¹¹。

2.3 远指代词That

梅祖麟（1999）、魏培泉（2004）等指出，南朝乐府中就出现用“许”单用表示远指代词“那”的用例，例如：

- (4) 风吹多帘起，许时寒薄飞。（子夜歌）
- (5) 督护初征时，依亦恶闻许。（宋武帝丁督护歌）

¹⁰ 本文为了方便用“穰”来表示闽语中读塞擦音或擦音声母的{多}义词，并不表示我们认为“穰”就是本字。
¹¹ 关于闽语中{多}义词的演变，容另文详细讨论。

(6) 团扇复团扇，持许自遮面。(团扇郎)

吴语、沿海闽语都有用“许”表示远指的例子。这方面，李如龙（1999）、潘悟云、陶寰（1999）、盛益民（2012）等已经有详细讨论，本文不再赘述。

至于内陆闽语则大不相同。以下是我们对原始闽北语近指与远指代词的构拟，同时以“菇”作为构拟的参照：

表5 闽北方言的“这”、“那”与“菇”

	This	That	菇
石陂	fiɔŋ7	fu7	fu2
镇前	hia3/hi5	hua3/hu5	hu5
迪口	io6	ua6	u8
莒口	i7	u7	u3
连墩	i7	o7	
崇安	i7	u7	u3
五夫	fi7	fu7	fu3
松溪	ie7	ua7	hu8
峡阳	tsi7	xu7	u9
观前	tsia7/tsie7/tsi7	ua7/uo7/u7	u3
临江	dzie4/7	ho4/7	u6
黄坑	tci2	u2	u3
原始闽北	*tʃi7	*fu7	*fu1

表中标为绿色的形式直接对应原始闽北，其他颜色则经过类化、合音等变化而来。蓝色是*tʃi7受*fu7声母类化的结果，黄色是与量词“只”合音的结果，紫色则是与“样”合音的结果。相关的证明容专文讨论。

原始内陆闽语的形式跟原始闽北语相同，请看下表：

表6 内陆闽语的“这”与“那”

		This	That
原始闽北		*tʃi7	*fu7
闽中	沙县	tsia3	ua3
	盖竹	tʃa3	ŋua3
	永安	tʃio6	uo5
邵将	高唐	tʃa3	va3
	邵武	tɕioŋ7	ɕŋ7
	和平	tɕioŋ7	u7
原始内陆		*tʃi	*fu

标为绿色的形式直接对应原始形式*tʃi、*fu，其他颜色则经过合音变化，黄色是与“只”的合音，紫色则是与“样”合音的结果。

当然，*fu7在原始闽北语中是一个非常特殊的音节，由于浊音7调一般并入3调，所以本来是一个空缺音位。虽然这个语素的来源不明，但目前看来跟”许”大概没有关系。

2.4 事物疑问代词What

梅祖麟、杨秀芳（1995）指出，疑问代词“底”¹²主要用于六朝乐府，现在的分布也偏南，应当是古江南方言的痕迹。例如：

- (7) 寒衣尚未了，郎唤依底为？（子夜秋歌）
- (8) 腹中如灌肠，肝肠寸寸断，教依底聊赖？（华山畿）
- (9) 思欢不得来，抱被空中语。月没星不亮，持底明依绪？（读曲歌）

吕叔湘（1985）就已经指出，常州一代的吴语中存在疑问代词“底”；黄河（2021）论证了西北部吴语的“点个”“嗲个”是同一个疑问代词，来源为“底”，读的是齐韵的白读。当然，多数吴语早期用“何”询问事物（盛益民：待刊），两者之间的关系还有待于进一步研究。

早期闽南语What的疑问代词是“是物”（Lien 2009），不过很多学者认为沿海闽语中出现在which、who、where等的疑问语素*tie4来源是“底”，暂时存疑待考。

¹² 至于疑问代词“底”的来源，学界多有争议，本文赞同其来源于“等”的说法。

而在内陆闽语中，则看不到“底”的踪迹。我们先来构拟原始闽北语的形式，请看下表：¹³

表7 闽北方言的“什么”与“谁”

	What	Who
石陂	su6.(mu6).k ^h ai5/ su6.(mu6).ti6	su6.(mu6)
镇前	heɪŋ5.ni6	heɪŋ5
迪口	hi7.ni7.(ti7)	heɪŋ7
莒口	su7.mu7/su7.xai3	su7.(mu7)
外墩	ɕi7.mo7	
连墩	so7.mo7	so7
松溪	soŋ5.mon5	soŋ5.mon5
峡阳	xiŋ4.mue9	xɛiŋ4
临江	su7.mu7	ɕi3
黄坑	ɕi1.mɛ1.k ^h eu2	ɕi1.mɛ1
原始闽北	*ɟi.mu	*ɟi

正如秋谷裕幸（2008: 350）已经指出的，闽北语的形式看似非常多样，其实都可以用原始闽北语*ɟi.mu¹⁴这类形式来解释。表中黄色的直接来自原始形式，蓝色的形式来自*su.mu，是受到后一音节韵母的同化，紫色的形式很可能来自第一音节的弱化，绿色的形式则可能来自[mu]跟[xai]的合音。

构拟了原始闽北语的形式，我们再来看其他内陆闽语：

¹³ 闽北方言的“谁”的形式往往与“什么”的第一个音节相关，因此一并列出

¹⁴ 原文第一个音节的声母写作[ɕ]，根据秋谷裕幸（手稿1）的构拟改成[ɟ]。声调比较复杂，暂时无法构拟。

表8 内陆闽语的“什么”、“谁”与“事情”

		What	Who	Affair
原始闽北		*ʃi.mu	*ʃi	*ti6
闽中	沙县	sɔ̃3.xa3, sɔ̃3.xɔ̃i3	sɔ̃3	
	盖竹	sã1.ha3	sã1	ha3
	永安	ʃiɔ3.hɔ3	ʃi2	ʃa5
	王台	ʃi2.ti5	ʃi2	ti5
邵将	高唐	ʃi3/2.ti3	i1	si6
	邵武	ɕia7	noŋ2.ɕi6.kəi5, ɕia7	sə6
	和平	ɕi4.maŋ2	noŋ2.ɕi6.kei5	se6
	洪墩	ɕi6.ti6		
原始内陆		*ʃi.ti	*ʃi	*ti6, *ʃə6

从表中可以看到，原始闽北的形式*ʃi.mu不见于闽中、邵武。因此，该形式可能是后来借入的。闽中大部分点、邵武的形式与“啥”比较接近，可能来自赣语的影响。而*ʃi.ti见于闽中的王台与邵将的高唐、洪墩，最有可能是早期形式的保留，*ti的来源可能是“事”，在闽北表示“事情”，有时也兼表“东西”¹⁵。内陆闽语的疑问代词非常复杂，需要进一步研究，但这些形式都应该跟“底”没有关系，除了“啥”也跟赣语无关。

2.5 程度疑问代词How (heavy)

秋谷裕幸、汪维辉（2016: 117–118）总结了学界发现中古汉语“若”问程度的例证7条，补充发现1例，另有2个待定的例证，并且发现几乎所有的例证都来自于南方文献，所以认为：“若”应该源于南北朝时期的南方方言，也就是梅祖麟先生所说的‘南朝通语’。”例如：

（10）未至家少许，见一人着黄皮袴褶，乘马将猎。少明问曰：“逸民家若远？”（晋裴启《裴子语林》）

（11）石城定若远，前谿应几深？（梁庾肩吾《咏舞曲应令》）

至于程度疑问代词“若”的来源，学界有不小争议，本文赞同松江崇（2018）、陈鑫颖、盛益民（2023）的观点，其由“若”询问方式的用法扩展而来，类似于英语的how。

¹⁵ 关于闽语的{东西}义词，参看秋谷裕幸、沈瑞清（待刊）。

少数吴语（如绍兴柯桥话、上虞话）可以用“若”类疑问代词询问程度。而在沿海闽语中，普遍可见用“若”问程度的用法。盛益民、黄瑞玲（2023）认为沿海闽语各地的程度疑问代词经历了一个循环演化圈，各方言所处的不同阶段请见下表：

表9 沿海闽语数量-程度疑问代词的循环演化圈

阶段1	阶段2	阶段3
闽东片 问程度：若 问数量：若夥	莆仙片 问程度：若夥 问数量：若夥	闽南片厦漳泉台地区 问程度：〈若夥〉 问数量：〈若夥〉 稽
闽南片潮汕地区 问程度：若 问数量：若稽		雷州、琼文片 问程度：〈若夥〉 问数量：〈若夥〉 稽

而内陆闽语则是问数量与程度不分，都用“几多”来提问，例如：

表10 内陆闽语的数量-程度疑问代词

		How many	How (heavy)
闽中	沙县	ki.tua	
	盖竹	ki.ta ¹⁶	
	王台	ki.tua	
邵将	高唐	ki.tai	ki.tai
	邵武	ki.tai	ki.tai
	和平	ki.kei	
闽北	石陂	ki.tuai	ki.tuai
	镇前	ki.tua	ki.tua
	迪口	ki.tua	ki.tua
	莒口	ki.tue	
	连墩	ki.tue	ki.tue
	崇安	ki.mei7	ki.mei7
原始内陆		几多*ki.tai	几多*ki.tai

表中构拟的原始内陆闽语的形式在闽北、闽中、邵将方言中都有反映。在赣语、客家话、粤语等南方方言中，一般都是用“几”来询问程度，用

¹⁶ 盖竹的ta跟其他方言的形式韵母不对应，可能是经历了弱化演变。

“几多”问程度相对比较少见，大概是内陆闽语自己的创新。可能在更早的阶段，是用“几”问程度，之后发生了“几多”的词汇化，用“几多”来询问数量；再之后，“几多”又从问数量扩展出问程度的用法。

跟“人称代词复数”的“多”一样，这里的“多”也是上古带-i尾的形式，是最早{多}义语素的残留，而不可能是来源于赣语影响的结果。处衢吴语也用*kəi1.tai1几多¹⁷，且多的语音形式也带-i尾。因此“几多”虽然在文献中晚出，很可能在方言中很早就有了。

“若”在内陆闽语中只出现在疑问代词“哪”中，而且韵母形式比沿海闽语表示程度疑问代词的“若”要晚了一个层次（秋谷裕幸、汪维辉2016）。如果说沿海闽语的“若”来自南朝吴语，那么内陆闽语的“若”则来自更晚的层次。

3. 再论吴闽语关系及其相关问题

第2节的讨论可以总结为下表：

表11 南朝吴语代词创新在现代吴闽语中的反映

	He/she	Plural for P. Pronoun	That	How(heavy)	What
南朝吴语	其=渠	依?	许	若	等>底
现代吴语	渠 ₁	依	许	若/几许	底/何/啥
沿海闽语	伊	依	许	若	(是)物
内陆闽语	渠 ₂ *gy	多*tai	*fiu	几多*ki.tai	*ʃi

从表中可以看到，现代吴语继承了南朝吴语的所有五个代词创新，沿海闽语至少继承了三个。内陆闽语则没有共享南朝吴语的任何代词创新，而且这些原始形式都具有时间深度，不是后来受到赣语的影响。因此，我们认为内陆闽语不是南朝吴语的直系后代。

这个结论也跟移民史的证据相符。毕汉思（Bielenstein 1959）发现福建的内陆跟沿海地区在唐代以前是独立发展的，他的观点得到了很多学者的赞同（如：葛剑雄1995、吴修安2009、林昌丈2019等）。柯蔚南（Coblin 2018）根据这一观点画出了下面的移民路线图：

¹⁷ 庆元kai³³?dai³³⁴（曹志耘等2000），构拟形式根据秋谷裕幸（2003）。



Map: Early Migration into Fújiàn after Bielenstein (1959)

Yellow: Migrations from southwestern Zhèjiāng into Mǐnběi (191- 205 A.D.)

Orange: Migrations from eastern Jiāngxī into Far Western Fújiàn (ca. 260 A.D.)

Purple: Coastal Migrations from the Wēnzhōu area to Mǐndōng (post-280 A.D.)

图3 早期进入福建移民的路线图 (Bielenstein 1959, Coblin 2018)

图中列出的是唐代以前进入福建的最重要的三波移民，其中黄色箭头代表从浙南进入闽北的移民（公元191–205年），橙色代表江西进入闽西北的移民（大约公元260年），紫色代表从温州地区进入闽东的移民（公元280年以后）。由此可见，福建的内陆地区与沿海地区分别是来自不同地区的移民。从时间上来说，福建内陆地区的移民定居大约发生在汉末与三国时期，早于沿海地区，也早于南朝。因此，南朝吴语跟原始内陆闽语是同时期的两种不同的方言。至于福建沿海地区的移民定居，确切时间还有争议。我们认为，最大规模的一波，很可能跟浙东的沿海居民南下有关，刘淑芬（1987）指出：

梁朝末年，部分浙东沿海居民移往福建和广东，是大业五年浙东籍户数较刘宋锐减的原因。早在东晋时，就有浙东人民迁居广东，但这仅是少数避役百姓。浙东人民真正大批移民福建、广东，始于梁末。……隋代福建户数比刘宋时显著地增加。而这些避难移住福建、广东的人，多沿海道，这也可以解释此时濒海的会稽、临海二郡著籍户口的锐减。

因此，这些浙东移民带来的南朝吴语在闽东地区慢慢就形成了原始沿海闽语。

那么，如果说内陆闽语不是南朝吴语的直系后代，又如何理解罗杰瑞先生（Norman 1973, 1974, 1981）所构拟的原始闽语（Proto Min）呢？

柯蔚南 (Coblin 2018) 根据罗杰瑞先生晚年的想法认为原始闽语是几支来源不同的方言群互相融合的产物, 罗仁地 (Lapolla 2023) 也从移民史的角度支持这一观点。

我们认为, 不同闽语分支在进入福建之后的接触融合与这些闽语分支早期是否同源是两个相互独立的问题。承认不同闽语分支在福建的融合, 并不意味着它们在更早的时期不是来自同一个祖语。移民史的材料只是说明原始闽语不太可能在福建产生, 但并不排除今天的闽语分支曾经来自一个福建之外的共同祖语。从内陆闽语与沿海闽语在音韵跟词汇上具有相当多的一致性来看, 两者应该有一个共同的祖语。同时, 考虑到沿海闽语跟南朝吴语/现代吴方言的密切关系, 这个祖语应该也是现代吴语的祖先, 可以称作“原始(吴)闽语 (Proto (Wu) Min)”。“原始(吴)闽语 (Proto (Wu) Min)”与现代吴闽语的关系可以用下面这个图表示:

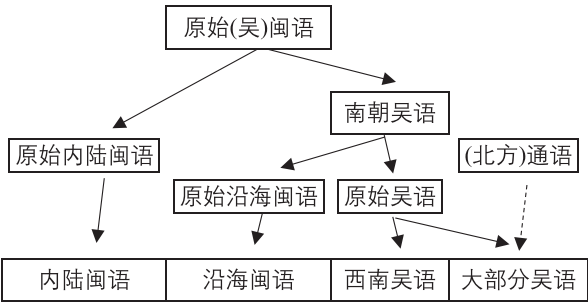


图4 吴闽语关系与原始(吴)闽语

如图所示, 我们提出以下的设想: 现代吴闽语的共同祖先“原始(吴)闽语 (Proto (Wu) Min)”诞生在福建以外的地区。后来, 其中一支则经过浙南/江西进入福建内陆地区, 成为内陆闽语的祖先, 另一支则进入太湖地区, 成为南朝吴语。再后来, 南朝吴语的一支从浙东进入福建沿海地区, 成为沿海闽语的祖先。而留在吴地的南朝吴语后来受到大量来自北方通语的影响, 因此大部分吴语已经很少保留早期的特征, 南朝吴语的特征主要保留在西南吴语中。虽然内陆闽语跟沿海闽语都保留了很多“原始(吴)闽语”的特征, 不过, 在谱系关系上, 沿海闽语跟原始吴语反而更接近¹⁸。

当然, 本文的考察范围只限于南朝吴语的五个代词创新。因此, 最后的结论还是非常初步的, 以后还要进一步通过音韵、词汇、语法等更多特征的考察, 加以检验与修正。

¹⁸ 从词汇的角度来看, 与吴语关系密切的也是沿海闽语而非内陆闽语 (陶寰、盛益民2023)。另外, 客家话与闽语也可能有密切的谱系关系, 本文暂时不涉及这个问题。

方言材料出处（下划线为文中使用的简称）

闽北方言：浦城石陂、政和镇前、建瓯迪口（秋谷裕幸2008）、建阳莒口（Norman 1969）、建阳连墩（Norman 2002）、崇安（Norman m.s.2）、松溪（秋谷裕幸1993）、浦城观前（秋谷裕幸2021）、延平峡阳、莒口外墩、崇安五夫（秋谷裕幸（手稿1））、浦城临江（秋谷裕幸（手稿2））、建阳黄坑（笔者调查）

闽中方言：沙县（李如龙2001）、沙县盖竹（邓享璋1996、1997）、永安（周长楫、林宝卿1992）、延平王台（黄淑敏2015）

邵将方言：将乐高唐（Norman m.s.1）、邵武（Ngai 2021）、邵武和平（Norman 1995）、邵武洪墩（杜晓萍2020）

沿海闽语：福州、厦门（北京大学中国语言文学系语言学教研室1995）、福州（陈泽平1998）、遂溪（Yue-Hashimoto 1985）

吴语：庆元、玉山、龙泉（曹志耘等2000）、广丰（秋谷裕幸2001）、绍兴（王福堂2008）

赣语：余干、弋阳、南城、建宁（李如龙、张双庆（主编）1992）

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闽东方言泰顺蛮讲的否定词*

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Negation in Taishun Manjiang: an Eastern Min Dialect

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Summary

This paper analyses negation in the Taishun Manjiang dialect of Chinese. Manjiang is classified as one of the subdialects of Eastern Min. Simple and basic negation in Manjiang uses the negator 丕 /ŋ³³/, which cannot be used in isolation, but must cooccur with a verbal or adjectival predicate. In Manjiang, another negator 无 /mo³¹/ is used for the negative expression of existence, which is different from the adverbial negator 未 /muɿ³³/ that directly negates the verb in the perfect aspect. This functional distinction in negation words is very different from standard Mandarin Chinese. In addition, Manjiang uses the combined negative form /mei³³/ plus a verb and /tɿ⁵/ to express ‘not be able to,’ where /mei³³/ must have the same origin as 𪛗 in other Min dialects. 𪛗, which is derived from a negator plus 解, is widely used in Min dialects. However, the usage of 𪛗 /mei³³/ is much more limited in Manjiang than in other Min dialects, appearing only in combination with 会, 𪛗会 /mei³³ uɿ³³/, to express the negation of possibility or ability. Another compound negator 𪛗𪛗 /m³³ ma³³/ in Manjiang is used for the negative expression of will, need, and imperative situations. The constituent 𪛗 means ‘want,’ pronounced /ŋa³³/ in Manjiang. Therefore, it seems impossible to consider the /m³³/ in /m³³ ma³³/ the result of regressive assimilation by 𪛗 /ŋa³³/ . However, it is extremely unlikely that /m³³/ could have been derived from the negator 丕 /ŋ³³/ . Thus, the origin and derivation of /m³³/ in 𪛗𪛗 /m³³ ma³³/ remains an open question needing further investigation.

Key words: Taishun Manjiang, Eastern Min, negation, compound negator, origin

关键词：泰顺蛮讲、闽东方言、否定表达、合成否定词、词源

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1. 前言

本文主要分析泰顺泗溪蛮讲的否定词。泰顺位于浙江省最南端,与福建省相接。处于吴闽语交接地带的泰顺县县内吴语方言和闽南方言,闽东方言交织存在。蛮讲是泰顺县使用人口最多的方言,主要分布在县中部和南部,可归类为闽东方言的一种。泗溪镇位于泰顺县南部的中心地带,北片蛮讲受吴语影响相对较大,因此南片蛮讲被认为更具代表性。文中泗溪蛮讲的数据皆由笔者田野调查所得。



浙江省泰顺县位置示意图

本文对蛮讲的否定词及其主要功能进行了梳理。表 1 所示为蛮讲中常用的否定词, 以及其与普通话的大致对应关系。蛮讲表达否定时使用的否定词主要有以下几种: 1) 丕 [ɲ³³]; 2) 无 [mo³¹]; 3) 未 [muɿ³³]; 4) mei³³+V+tr⁵; 5) □会 [mei³³ uɿ³³]; 6) □压 [m³³ ma³³]; 7) 莫 [mo³³]。

表 1 蛮讲的否定词

	泗溪蛮讲	普通话
1)	丕 [ŋ ³³]	不
2)	无 [mo ³¹]	没 (有)
3)	未 [muɔi ³³]	没 (有)
4)	mei ³³ +V+ti ⁷⁵	不能
5)	□会 [mei ³³ uɔi ³³]	不会
6)	□乐 [ɿ ³³ ma ³³]	不要 / 不用 / 别
7)	莫 [mo ³³]	别

文中将通过例句对各个否定词的基本用法进行介绍，并对其中尤其值得关注的下面这三点进行进一步的讨论分析。第一点，在蛮讲中，存在否定的否定动词无 [mo³¹] 不同于已然语境下的谓语否定副词未 [muɔi³³]。第二点，表达不能或不会之意时需要用到的□ [mei³³] 的由来和用法。第三点，□乐 [ɿ³³ ma³³] 的否定词素到底是什么。

2. 一般否定：丕 [ŋ³³]

蛮讲和绝大部份的汉语方言一样，一般否定与存在否定使用不同的否定词。蛮讲的一般否定用的是自成音节的舌根鼻音 ŋ，声调为 33，属阳去调。使用丕 [ŋ³³] 的否定多表达的是主观意愿或判断。从词性上来讲丕 [ŋ³³] 属于副词，后接谓词语，也就是动词或者形容词。蛮讲的不 [ŋ³³] 不能单独使用，用丕 [ŋ³³] 表达否定时必须与其他谓词语结合才能使用。而且也无法像普通话的“不”一样作为单独的回答。

一般否定丕 [ŋ³³] 后面可以跟动作动词，属于非动作动词的系动词、部分助动词，也可以跟形容词，还可以用于可能补语的否定形式。

后接动作动词

- (1) 伊丕去，我去。(他不去，我去。)

i⁵⁵ ŋ³³ k^hø⁵², ua⁵⁵ k^hø⁵².
3sg NEG: 不 去 1sg 去

后接系动词

- (2) 伊不是学生，是老师。(他不是学生，是老师。)

i⁵⁵ ŋ³³ sei³³ xɔŋ²se³²⁴, sei³³ lau³⁵sɿ¹⁴.
3sg NEG: 不 是 学生 是 老师

后接助动词

- (3) 我不付映书。(我不想看书。)

ua⁵⁵ ŋ³³ ts^hɔ̃⁵⁵ ŋɔ̃³⁵ ɕy¹⁴.
1sg NEG: 不 AUX: 想 看 书

- (4) 伊不肯认输。(他不肯认输。)

i⁵⁵ ŋ³³ k^hɛ⁵⁵ nŋ³³sø¹⁴.
3sg NEG: 不 AUX: 肯 认输

- (5) 你不应该食□□脍。(你不应该吃这么多。)

ŋ⁵⁵ ŋ³³ ŋ⁵²kai¹⁴ ɕia³³ xɔ̃³⁵ sei³³.
2sg NEG: 不 AUX: 应该 吃 这么 多

- (6) 你不可以走底去。(你不可以进去。)

ŋ⁵⁵ ŋ³³ k^ho⁵⁵i⁵⁵ tsau⁵⁵ tei⁵⁵k^hø⁵².
2sg NEG: 不 AUX: 可以 走 COMP: 方向

后接形容词

- (7) 今早天气不热。(今天天气不热。)

kɛ¹⁴tsa⁵⁵ t^hiɛ³³k^hi⁵² ŋ³³ niaŋ².
今天 天气 NEG: 不 热

用于可能补语的否定形式

- (8) 睡不好(睡不好)

k^huəŋ⁵² ŋ³³ xo⁵⁵
睡 NEG: 不 好

- (9) 记丕牢 (记不住)

ki⁵² ŋ³³ lo³¹
记 NEG: 不 住

- (10) 寻丕着 (找不到)

ɕyŋ³¹ ŋ³³ tɕiaŋ²
找 NEG: 不 到

3. 无 [mo³¹] 和未 [muɕi³³] 的区别

3.1 无 [mo³¹]

蛮讲的存在否定动词是无 [mo³¹]。无 [mo³¹] 用来否定存在和领有，一般用来陈述客观事实。从词性上来说，无 [mo³¹] 属于动词，后可接名词。

存在否定

- (11) 前无□。(前面没有路。)

sɛ³¹pe³¹ mo³¹ tɕ³³.
前面 NEG: 没 路

领有否定

- (12) 我无饭食，无衣裳着。(我没饭吃，没衣服穿。)

ua⁵⁵ mo³¹ puɕi³³ ɕia³³, mo³¹ i³³ɕi³³ tɕ⁵².
lsg NEG: 没 饭 吃 NEG: 没 衣服 穿

3.2 未 [muɕi³³]

普通话的存在否定动词是“没有”。大家都知道，普通话中的“没有”除了是否定动词，还是否定副词。主要用于已然语境下对谓语的否定。

不同的方言对于已然语境的敏感度不一样。比如“我没吃”和“我不吃”这两个句子，前者属于已然语境，后者属于非已然语境。普通话分别使用两个不同的否定词“没”和“不”来表达。然而像有些吴语¹，则就对已然语境不敏感。

根据调查结果，蛮讲对于已然语境是敏感的。蛮讲中表达“我没吃”和“我不吃”使用不同的否定词。

- (13) 我未食。(我没吃。) 已然语境

ua⁵⁵ muɿ³³ ɕia³³.
lsg NEG: 没 吃

- (14) 我不食。(我不吃。) 非已然语境

ua⁵⁵ ɲ³³ ɕia³³.
lsg NEG: 不 吃

可以看到，这里使用的是两个不同的否定词，已然语境下的“我没吃”蛮讲使用的是“未”[muɿ³³]。

但是需要注意的是，已然语境下的谓语否定副词和上文介绍的存在否定动词的表达形式不同，前者是未[muɿ³³]，后者是无[mo³¹]。

- (15) 这几□无时间，我未去。(这几天没时间，我没去。)

tɕi⁵⁵ ky³⁵ kɔŋ¹⁴ mo³¹ ɕi³¹kaŋ¹⁴, ua⁵⁵ muɿ³³ kʰø⁵².
这 INF: 几 天 NEG: 没 时间 lsg NEG: 没 去

3.3 其他闽东方言的情况

那么，蛮讲的这一现象是否也见于其他的闽东方言呢？下面以福州方言和宁德方言为例来简单比较一下。

¹ 如盛益民(2020)中提到，“吴语的普遍表现是存在否定动词不用作副词表达已然否定”，“老派绍兴话基本上对已然性不敏感，不论已然语境还是非已然语境都用‘弗’”。下面两个句子是上述同文中绍兴柯桥话的例子。

已然语境：我上外绍兴弗去。(我昨天没去绍兴。)

非已然语境：我明朝绍兴弗去。(我明天不去绍兴。)

不过同文也提到，“部分中派和新派也开始用存在否定词‘无有’来用于已然否定”。

已然语境：我上外绍兴无有去。(我昨天没去绍兴。)

(1) 福州方言：福州方言用的都是无 mo^{53} 。陈泽平（1998b: 64–65）指出：“福州话的‘无’大致说来对应于北京话的‘没有’，可以作否定动词，也可以作否定副词”。

我无行李。（我没有行李。）

昨冥伊有去，我无去。（昨天他去了，我没去。）

(2) 宁德方言（虎浚）：宁德方言和蛮讲一样同属闽东方言。材料主要引自《宁德方言音韵史研究》，此书重点不在语法，下述内容由翻阅书中“例句对照”部分归纳得出。宁德的存在否定动词是“无”，谓语否定是“未”。比较秋谷（2018）例句 31 和例句 03 可知，“未”是“没有”的意思，而不是“还没有”。

汝有无钱？（你有没有钱？）（秋谷 2018: 394，例句 94）

伊有去过上海，我未去过。（他去上海，我没有去过。）（秋谷 2018: 381，例句 31）

伊固未讲好欸？（他还没有说完吗？）（秋谷 2018: 374，例句 03）

可见谓语否定副词不同于存在否定动词的现象，在闽东方言内部亦有分歧，只见于部分闽东方言²。但具体分布情况还有待后续调查。

3.4 蛮讲未 $[muɔi^{33}]$ 的主要用法

已然语境下的谓语否定

(16) 我一□都未食饭。（我一天都没吃饭。）

ua ⁵⁵	ɕiɿ ²	kɔŋ ³²⁴	tu ⁵⁵	muɔi ³³	ɕia ³³	puɔi ³³ .
1sg	一	CL:天	都	NEG:没	吃	饭

进行体的否定

(17) 伊未在映电视。（他没在看电视。）

i ⁵⁵	muɔi ³³	sɔi ³³	ŋɔ̃ ³⁵	tiɛ ³³ ɕi ³³ .
3sg	NEG:没	在	看	电视

² 闽东方言以外的其他方言中，存在否定动词不等于已然语境下的谓语否定副词的现象也存在，比如遂昌方言（王文胜 2020）的“没吃”的“没”和“没钱”的“没”表达形式不一样，但是“没吃”的“没”明确来源于“弗曾”，与一般否定的“弗”相关。而蛮讲的未 $[muɔi^{33}]$ 就与一般否定不 $[ŋ^{33}]$ 没有直接关联。另外，遂昌方言的“还没”说“未”，与“弗曾”没有太大关联，这一点也与蛮讲情况不同。

经历体的否定

- (18) 我北京未去过。(北京我没去过。)

ua⁵⁵ pɛŋ⁵⁵kiŋ³²⁴ muɔi³³ k^hø⁵² ko⁵².
1sg 北京 NEG: 没 去 EXP: 过

结果补语的否定形式

- (19) 未食饱 (没吃饱)

muɔi³³ ɕia³³ pa⁵⁵
NEG: 没 吃 饱

还未 [u⁵³¹ muɔi³³]：还未表示预期中的动作行为或状态变化还没有发生

- (20) 伊到现在还未来。(他到现在还没来。)

i⁵⁵ tau⁵² ɕie³¹tsai³³ u⁵³¹ muɔi³³ li³¹.
3sg 到 现在 还 NEG: 没 来

关于“还没有”可参看下面的表 2。

表 2 在表达“还没有”时的区别

普通话	福州方言	蛮讲	宁德方言 (虎浞)
不	怀 [iŋ ⁵⁵]	丕 [ɲ ³³]	怀 [ŋ ⁴¹]
没有 (动词)	无 [mo ⁵³]	无 [mo ³¹]	无 [mo ²¹¹]
没有 (副词)	无 [mo ⁵³]	未 [muɔi ³³]	未 [muoi ⁴¹]
还没有	未 [muei ²⁴²]	还未 [u ⁵³¹ muɔi ³³]	固未 [ku ⁴⁴⁵ muoi ⁴¹]

表中宁德方言引自秋谷 (2018)，福州方言引自陈泽平 (1998b)。

蛮讲要表达“还没有”就不能省略还未 [u⁵³¹ muɔi³³] 中的“还”，这一点与普通话相同。宁德方言则用“固未”表达，情况较为相似。福州方言表达“还没有”不是在“无”前加副词，而是单独用“未 [muei²⁴²]”来表达。

4. □ [mei³³] 可能与“劬”同源

蛮讲表达不能时，会使用“mei³³ + 动词 + tɿ⁵”这个句式，表示条件不允许而无法实现某事。在这个句式中，承担否定功能的应该是□ [mei³³]。

(21) 肉未熟，□食的。(肉没熟，不能吃)

nɿɿ² muɿ³³ sɿ², mei³³ ɕia³³ tɿ⁵.
肉 NEG: 没 熟 NEG: 不能 食 COMP: 可能

(22) 这个我□收的。(这个我不能收。)

tɕi⁵⁵ kɕi⁵² ua⁵⁵ mei³³ ɕiu³²⁴ tɿ⁵.
这 CL: 个 1sg NEG: 不能 收 COMP: 可能

光看蛮讲的话，这个□ [mei³³] 的来源难以确定。但这种表达方式在其他闽语中也广泛存在。蛮讲的□ [mei³³] 极有可能跟其他闽语的“劬”同源。

	294. 吃不得
福州	脍食得 me ^ə lie ^ə .li ^ə
古田	脍食得 me ^ə lia ^ə .li ^ə
宁德	脍食得 me ^ə lia ^ə .ɛ
周宁	脍食得 me ^ə lie ^ə .li ^ə
福鼎	脍食得 me ^ə sia ^ə .li ^ə
莆田	脍食得 pe ^ə ɿia ^ə .le ^ə
厦门	脍食得 bue ^ə tsia ^ə .lit
泉州	脍食得 ^ə bue tsia ^ə .lit
永春	脍食得 bue ^ə tsia ^ə .lit
漳州	脍食得 be ^ə tsia ^ə .e
龙岩	脍食得 ^ə be ^ə tsa .lie
大田	脍食得 ^ə be tsia ^ə .lɿ
尤溪	脍食得 mi ^ə ia ^ə .ŋi ^ə
永安	食怀得 ^ə ie aŋ ^ə ta ^ə
沙县	食怀得 ^ə ie ŋ ^ə tɕ ^ə
建瓯	脍食得 mai ^ə ie ^ə tɕ ^ə
建阳	脍食得 mai ^ə ŋie ^ə tɕ ^ə
松溪	脍食得 ma ^ə ie ^ə tyæ ^ə

上图引自陈章太、李如龙（1991: 41）

关于“𪗇”的意思,要从“解”讲起。“解”被认为是闽方言重要的特征词之一,意思与普通话的“会”相近,表示能够,会。而“𪗇”则是它的否定形式,意思主要是“不会,不能”。“𪗇”是方言俗字,实际上应该是“某个否定词素”与“解”结合而成的词。但关于这个否定词素到底是什么,不同的先行研究说法不一,目前暂无定论。

陈泽平(1998b: 67):是“未解(muei²⁴² a²⁴²)”的合音。

李如龙(2001: 301):实际上是“无”(或毋)与“解”的合音。

陈章太 李如龙(1991: 56):“𪗇”是常见俗字,应是“怀解”的合音。

蛮讲的□[mei³³]使用范围较窄。不能像福州方言的“𪗇”那样可以直接用作助动词³。

表示可能

明旦“𪗇”𪗇雨。(明天不会下雨。)(陈泽平 1998b: 67)

表示能(技能, 能力)

伊“𪗇”开汽车。(他不会开车。)(陈泽平 1998b: 68)

蛮讲表达“不会”要用□会[mei³³ uoi³³]表达,不能单用□[mei³³]。所以福州方言可以单独用“𪗇”来表示“不会”的这两个句子,蛮讲都要在□[mei³³]后面再加上个“会”⁴。

表示可能

(23) 明早□会□雨。(明天不会下雨。)

me ¹⁴ tʂa ⁵⁵	mei ³³ uoi ³³	tʂ ³³ xo ³³ .
明天	NEG-AUX: 会	下雨

³ 另外,像福州话“𪗇”搭配形容词或心理动词表达否定,以及用“𪗇”表达可能补语和状态补语的否定等用法,蛮讲是没有的。

⁴ “会[uoi]”的发音在语流中会促化为 uɿʔ。

表示能（技能，能力）

(24) 伊□会开车。（他不会开车。）

i⁵⁵ mei³³ uɔi³³ k^hai³³ tɕ^hia¹⁴.
3sg NEG-AUX: 会 开车

李如龙（2001: 301）：“解—劲”是闽语普遍通行的配对的特征词。比如福州方言“会”说 a²⁴²，“不会”说 ma²⁴²（语流中会变 mɛ）。然而，在笔者调查的泗溪蛮讲中，“会”一般就说会 [uɔi³³]，不说“解”，“不会”则说□会 [mei³³ uɔi³³]。

(25) 我会讲，□会写。（我会说，不会写。）

ua⁵⁵ uɔi³³ kɔ̃⁵⁵, mei³³ uɔi³³ ɕia⁵⁵.
1sg AUX: 会 说 NEG-AUX: 会 写

假设蛮讲的“□ [mei³³]”和“劲”起源一样，那“□会 [mei³³ uɔi³³]”就是“(Neg + 解) + 会”。有一种可能是，蛮讲的“劲”在使用过程中，原有的“不能、不会”否定义弱化，终至仅保留于上述“mei³³ + 动词 + tɕ^h?”句式中。于是，当要明确表达“不会”之义时，则需要在“□ [mei³³]”后加“会”来强化。

表 3 在表达“会—不会”时的区别

语义	会	不会	
福州方言	解 [a ²⁴²]	劲 [ma ²⁴²]	(Neg + 解)
蛮讲	会 [uɔi ³³]	□会 [mei ³³ uɔi ³³]	(Neg + 解) + 会

再者，蛮讲的□ [mei³³] 后面只能跟“会”，而不与其他助动词或动词结合成一个整体使用，这也暗示了□ [mei³³] 和“解”之间的密切关联。虽然现在蛮讲几乎不用“解”来表达“会”，但考虑到闽方言用“解”表达“会”的历史和现象，合成□ [mei³³] 的很有可能就是过去用来表达“会”之意的“解”。另外，从发音上来讲，蛮讲□ [mei³³] 的 ei 来自“解”是完全有可能的。

因此，笔者认为蛮讲的□ [mei³³] 有极大可能就是由“Neg + 解”构成的“劲”。

5. 关于□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 的 m 的来源

蛮讲的否定表达□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 主要有三个否定语义。

意愿否定

(26) 我□乐桃团, 乐柿。(我不要桃子, 要柿子。)

ua ⁵⁵	m ³³	ma ³³	t ^h o ³¹ kie ⁵⁵ ,	ŋa ³³	k ^h i ³³ .
1sg	NEG: 不要		桃 -DIM	要	柿

必要否定

(27) 明早你□乐去。(明天你不用去。)

me ¹⁴ t ^{sa} ⁵⁵	m ⁵⁵	m ³³	ma ³³	k ^h ø ⁵² .
明天	2sg	NEG: 不用		去

这个句子中你 [ŋ⁵⁵] 的发音受□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 影响变成了 m⁵⁵。

祈使否定

(28) 伊劝我□乐当老师。(他劝我不要当老师。)

i ⁵⁵	k ^h øi ⁵²	ua ⁵⁵	m ³³	ma ³³	t ⁵³	lau ³⁵ sɿ ¹⁴ .
3sg	劝	1sg	NEG: 不要	当		老师

否定词□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 的 m 来源于哪个否定词素是一个很大的疑问。

很多闽东方言表达“要”的时候用的是“爱”，发音上一般也带有 i 韵尾。但是蛮讲不一样，蛮讲的“要”说乐 [ŋa³³]。蛮讲的“要”说乐 [ŋa³³]，“不要”却是□乐 [m³³ ma³³]。说明□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 的 m 不会是受乐 [ŋa³³] 影响的结果，而应该来自其前面的否定词素。那这个词素可能会是什么呢？

蛮讲的一般否定是不 [ŋ³³]，若单从现时语音看，□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 的否定词素不太可能来自“不 [ŋ³³]”。如果我们假设□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 的这个否定词素来自一般否定“不 [ŋ³³]”的话，就需要说明一般否定“不 [ŋ³³]”为何以及如何从带 m 的音节 (m-/m) 演变为现在的 ŋ。

下面讨论□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 的否定词素来自一般否定“不 [ŋ³³]”的可能性。

其实这种可能性是有的，并有一些可以支撑这种可能性的依据。

依据一：

苍南蛮话与泰顺蛮讲关系密切，依据陶寰（2015），苍南蛮话否定词三分。苍南蛮话的一般否定是自成音节的 m 。

- ① m^{22} （否定副词“不”）
- ② mau^{213} （存在否定动词 / 否定副词“没有”）
- ③ mu^{22} （尚未发生，是对已然否定“还没有”）

依据二：

观察其他闽语，这种意愿否定的否定词素多被认为来自一般否定。比如宁德方言（虎沢）⁵，材料引自秋谷（2018）。宁德方言是符合音变规律的。“爱”是零声母，然后“伡爱”的“爱”受到前面否定词素的影响变成 $n\Delta i$ 。

- 伡（不）： η^{41}
- 爱（要）： Δi^{445}
- 伡爱（不要）： $\eta^{11} n\Delta i^{35}$

然而，上述依据都不够充分。关于依据一，相较泰顺蛮讲，苍南蛮话被闽南话包围得更多⁶，所以无法排除蛮话的 m 是受闽南方言影响的结果这一可能性。

至于依据二，虽然有像宁德方言这样能够证明与一般否定之间的关联的方言，但有部分其他闽东方言则与蛮讲存在类似现象。

福鼎白琳（秋谷 2010: 34、44）：

一般否定为 η^{33} ，“爱”念 oi^{221} ，“不要”说“□爱”，此时的否定词素□为 $[m^{33}]$ 。

柘荣富溪（秋谷 2010: 155、167）：

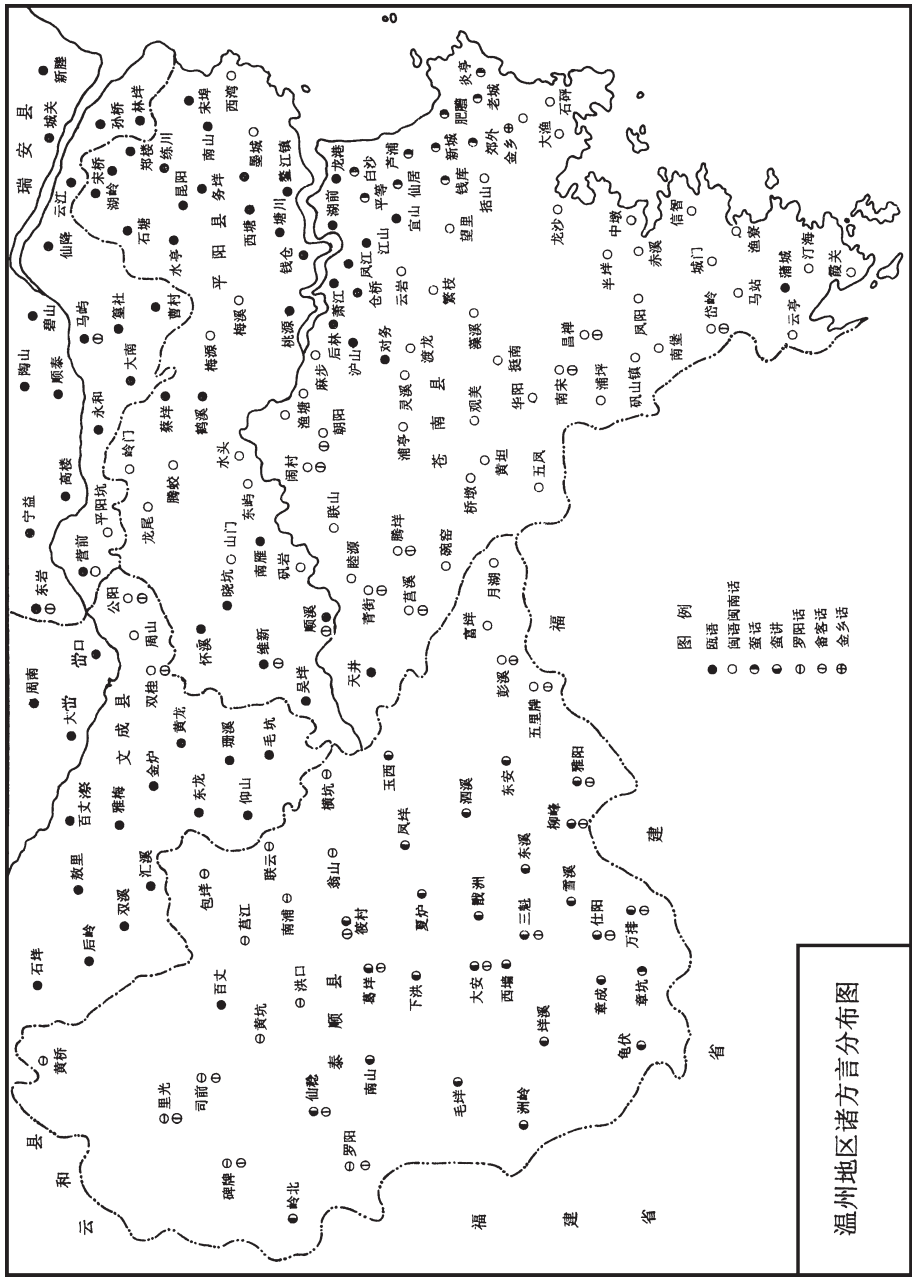
一般否定为 η^{44} ，“爱”念 oi^{335} ，但“□爱”的□为 $[m^{44}]$ 。

像福鼎白琳和柘荣富溪，表达“不要”时使用否定词素加“爱”来表达，爱是零声母，所以这个否定语素发 m 音不可能是受后字“爱”影响的结果。然一般否定又不是 m 而是自成音节的 η ，所以这个否定词素大概率是另有来源。

如果假设蛮讲□乐 $[m^{33} ma^{33}]$ 的否定词素来自一般否定不 $[\eta^{33}]$ 的话，那就需要解释为什么一般否定会从 $m/-m$ 变成现在的 η 。这一点在解释上比较困难。而且，不只蛮讲的一般否定是 η ，其他闽东方言的一般否定词大部分也都不是 m ，而是类似 $\eta/i\eta$ 或者 η 这样的发音。比如福州方言发 $i\eta^{55}$ ，宁德虎沢发 η^{41} ，霞浦长春发

⁵ 咸村和九都情况相同。

⁶ 请参看后一页的“温州地区诸方言分布图”。



图片引自 颜逸明 (2000) “温州地区诸方言分布图”

ŋ²²⁴，寿宁斜滩发 ŋ¹¹² 等等。所以，就目前掌握的资料来看，蛮讲的一般否定经历了从 m- 或 -m 变为 ŋ 的这种可能性相对较小。

当然，也有可能□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 的 m 其原因不在否定词素上，而在表示不要的“要”身上，也不是完全没有可能。关于□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 否定词素的来源，目前暂无结论，但笔者倾向于认为其来源不是一般否定词丕 [ŋ³³]。

6. 莫 [mo³³]：表禁止

蛮讲表达禁止和忠告主要有两种方式，一种是用莫 [mo³³]，一种是上文提到的□乐 [m³³ ma³³]。例句 28 中的□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 完全可以在不改变句意的情况下换用莫 [mo³³] 来表达。在表达禁止时，莫 [mo³³] 比□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 更常用。

- (29) 伊劝我莫当老师。(他劝我不要当老师。)

i ⁵⁵	k ^h ɔi ⁵²	ua ⁵⁵	mo ³³	tɕ ³³	lau ³⁵ sɿ ¹⁴ .
3sg	劝	1sg	NEG: 别	当	老师

- (30) 莫□依。(别骂人)

mo ³³	tɕu ³⁵	nɔŋ ³¹ .
NEG: 别	骂	人

- (31) 你莫走底去。

ŋ ⁵⁵	mo ³³	tsau ⁵⁵	tei ⁵⁵ k ^h ø ⁵² .
2sg	NEG: 别	走	COMP: 方向

- (32) 莫乞别依映着。(别被别人看见。)

mo ³³	k ^h ɛʔ ⁵	pɛʔ ² nɔŋ ³¹	ŋɕ ⁵²	tɕiaʔ ² .
NEG: 别	PREP: 被	别人	看	COMP: 结果

7. 小结

上文对泰顺泗溪蛮讲的主要否定词和否定表达进行了介绍。可以看出，处于吴闽交界地带的蛮讲，在否定这个语法范畴表现出的特征显然更接近闽语，而与典型吴语明显不同。

在正文第 3 部分介绍的已然语境下的谓语否定副词不等于存在否定动词这一特征，是汉语方言中相对少见的现象。至于蛮讲是否经历了从相同到不同的过程，根据现有信息尚无法判断。这一现象不仅限于蛮讲，还可见于部分其他闽东方言。

第4部分主要分析蛮讲的否定词素□ [mei³³], 目前看来, 其为“劲”的可能性非常大。但相较其他闽东方言, 蛮讲中“劲”的可使用范围较窄, 而且在表达“不会”时必须在□ [mei³³] 后加会。

本文没能解决□乐 [m³³ ma³³] 的否定词素到底是什么这个疑问。但通过和周围其他闽东方言的对比分析, 笔者认为其来源于一般否定不 [ŋ³³] 的可能性很小。今后还将对这个问题进行进一步分析, 探讨是否有来自于□ [mei³³] 或者是莫 [mo³³] 等的可能性。

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Sweet Memories of Fieldwork in the pre-Computer Era

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Background

The 55th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics (ICSTLL-55) was held on September 15th–18th, 2022 at Kyoto University in Japan. The organizing committee of ICSTLL-55 planned to invite Prof. James A. Matisoff to Kyoto and asked him to make a keynote speech at the venue, but due to the disaster of COVID-19, he was unable to visit Japan and was forced to give his lecture online. The keynote speech was titled: Sweet memories of fieldwork in the pre-computer era, which was presented on September 15 Thursday from 9:30 am JST (14 Wednesday 17:30 PDT). In compiling this volume of research papers presented at ICSTLL-55, we have decided, with the approval of Professor Matisoff, to include the transcript of his keynote speech at ICSTLL-55. We would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Professor Matisoff for his kind permission to include and publish his keynote speech in this volume. As is widely known, Professor Matisoff has extensive field research experience, particularly in the study of the Lahu language. We organizing committee asked Professor Matisoff to share stories from his extensive field experience that would be of interest to future researchers and colleagues. (Editors)

Good evening or good morning to everyone, as the case may be! I had really hoped to be able to attend this conference in person, but I'm still delighted to participate virtually. Prof. Ikeda has encouraged me to reminisce and tell a few anecdotes about my early fieldwork experiences, so I've selected about a dozen of them. A few of them are a bit gross, so let me apologize in advance if I offend anyone's sensibilities!

But first a little introduction:

In the summer of 1963 when I was a graduate student in the Berkeley linguistics department, I was fortunate enough to do a couple of months of fieldwork on Jingpho with LaRaw Maran, who later became a professor of linguistics himself! By happy coincidence, Prof. Wallace Chafe had chosen Burmese as the language of his field methods course in 1963–64. In this class I began to sense that it might be fun to find cognates between Jingpho and Burmese. In 1957 the Soviets had launched Sputnik, and the U.S. government was worried that we were falling behind on the world stage, linguistically as well as technologically. This led to the creation of the National Defense Foreign Language fellowship program, under which almost anyone who wanted to study an exotic language could be funded. In 1964 I was awarded such a grant to do fieldwork on Jingpho in Burma. But 1964 was the year that all foreigners were expelled from Burma. China was not an option, since it was in the throes of the Cultural Revolution. What to do? My advisor, Prof. Mary Haas, suggested that I try to have my grant moved to Thailand. To cover all the bases, I changed my application to say I'd be studying "Miao, Yao, Lahu, and/or Wa". I did get the grant, and soon decided that the language I should work on was Lahu—thus committing myself to Tibeto-Burman studies.

In due course I set off for Thailand with my wife Susan and our nine-month-old baby, Nadja. We didn't feel secure about living in a hilltribe village with such a small child, so we decided to live in Chiang Mai, from where I could make periodic trips to Lahuland. When we first arrived in Chiang Mai in 1965, it was a small city of about 60,000 people, with a tiny expatriate community that consisted mostly of anthropologists, linguists, missionaries, diplomats, and military advisers. Just about every foreigner was acquainted with all the others. On the main drag, Tha Phae Road, there was an establishment called Tantraphan, which was like a small department store, with a second floor reached by escalator. There foreigners would shop for Western goodies like canned cheese, imported mostly from Australia. That was where I would buy my Burmese cheroots. Since the tap water in Thailand was not drinkable, we would buy soda water (*náam soodaa*) by the case, and have it delivered to our house. Our housekeeper, a lovely woman called Khamma, made the best curries I've ever had. Every day she would ask me what kind of curry I wanted for dinner. The options were beef, pork, chicken, shrimp, fish—all of them totally delicious. One day I had trouble choosing, and said I wanted "kaeng malaeng-mum" (spider curry). Khamma found this to be incredibly amusing, and never got tired of the joke. She coached Susan on how to bargain with the merchants in the market, and told everybody there to be nice and fair to her, since she was a good foreign lady.

As luck would have it, soon after our arrival in Chiang Mai I ran across a young Lahu, originally from Shan State in Burma, who lived in Chiang Mai, and whose English was quite good. His Lahu name was Calaw, but he also went by the English name of Paul, which had been given to him by Catholic missionaries in Burma. His parents had died when he was nine years old, so he was raised in a Shan family, and his Lahu had grown quite rusty.

I had been advised that I should work on the Black Lahu dialect (Lahu Na), which everybody agreed was the standard. However, most of the Lahu in Thailand were Red Lahu (Lahu Nyi). An exception was the village of Huey Tat, located in a *nikhom* or Hill-tribe Resettlement Center about 60 km north of Chiang Mai. It was populated by recent Black Lahu Christian refugees from Shan State who had recently been induced to move to Thailand by Baptist missionaries.¹

Every couple of weeks, Calaw and I would stop at the large Chang Phyak market on the northern edge of Chiang Mai to stock up on treats for the Huey Tat villagers: candy and chewing gum for the kids, dried meats, eggs, Burmese cheroots for the grownups. I would pack a canteen for water, a blanket, flashlight batteries, toilet paper, toothpicks, a mat, a towel, insect repellent, etc. We would then board a bus for Chiang Dao, about 70 km to the north, from where we'd trudge up a mountain with backpacks and tape-recorder for about three hours before reaching the village. (This was tough in the rainy season!) After eliciting for a few days, we'd return to Chiang Mai to transcribe and translate what we had recorded. There were many words and expressions that Calaw didn't understand at first, but we'd figure them out on the next trip to the village.

The scenery on the way up the twisty mountain road was spectacular: range upon range of thickly wooded hills, the most distant ones bluish and hazy, valleys crosscut with streams, the broad leaves of banana plants jostling with stands of bamboo of all shapes and sizes, great trees festooned with vines, the earth a bright reddish-brown from its high iron content.

Elicitation in Huey Tat

My very first visit to Huey Tat went quite well, after Calaw explained why we were there.

The pastor of the village, a gaunt serious man named Cabo, simply said "We will help you." I launched into the first elicitation session, starting with parts of the body, asking them to repeat each word three times. When we got to the word for *index finger*, I was surprised by people's reactions, since everybody (including Cabo) began giggling at the threefold repetition of *phê-qhê-lâ?-nɔ̌*. I soon found out that it literally meant "dogshit finger", apparently because of its size and shape. This broke the ice, and everybody relaxed for the rest of the elicitation.

Of course all this was years before the advent of computers. All I had was a heavy reel-to-reel tape recorder, piles of home-made file-slips, carbon paper, and colored pens. My tapes were not of very good sound quality, since there were many background noises like rice-pounding, cocks crowing, dogs barking, kids crying. Naturally I had no sophisticated

¹ See the selection "How we Came from Burma" in Matisoff 2022. These *nikhom* were nominally supervised by Thai officials, but they seemed to spend most of their time having drinking bouts in another village higher up the mountain.

audio-visual equipment, and wouldn't have known how to use it even if I had!. The carbon paper was used to begin creating both a Lahu-English and English-Lahu slip-file for my eventual dictionary. After a while I prevailed upon Susan to refile the carbons of my Lahu slips in the alphabetical order of their English glosses. What are file-slips anyway? Today's students hardly know. (They're now called something like "memo slips" in stationery stores.)

Huey Tat was then a small village of about 25 houses. There was an ingenious system of split bamboo aqueducts to channel water from the stream. Since it was a Christian village, no opium was cultivated, just rice (which they ate unhulled), supplemented by bananas, chili-peppers, tea, and a little maize.

In the months that followed I was astounded by the ingenuity of the pedagogical techniques that the Huey Tat villagers developed for my benefit. In order to collect vocabulary from as wide a range of situational contexts as possible, I would suggest certain topics for discussion—building a house, stages in the cultivation of rice, boar-hunting, the New Year's celebrations, gathering crabs, killing a pig for a feast, the institution of the village headman, etc. The villagers would then talk over the subject and actually conduct rehearsals, assigning specific roles to various people, until they felt they could talk about it smoothly. When they were ready they'd signal me to turn on the tape-recorder, and proceed to act out little playlets on the desired topic—complete with sound effects like gunshots and animal noises. (I must admit that I sometimes would turn on the tape-recorder before they realized it, to get even more natural conversation!)

Besides these group efforts, many individuals offered to perform for the tape-recorder by themselves, often inspired by a theme that someone else had just introduced. One day a joke was told that revolved around a misunderstanding between a Black Lahu and a Yellow Lahu. In short order several other people produced such jokes, sometimes between two Lahu who spoke different dialects, and sometimes between a Lahu and a Shan.² Similarly, once someone told a sexy Trickster story,³ others vied to chime in with such stories of their own.

To call these villagers "informants" now sounds rather disrespectful, with unwelcome law enforcement overtones. Nowadays "consultants" or even "teachers" is preferable. The usual Chinese term now seems to be fayinren 發音人 "pronunciation people".

Special elicitation techniques

• Bird species

One day walking through the jungle I heard a piercing repeated bird-call: Eflat-C-D-C. When I got to Huey Tat I imitated the cry and asked if they knew what bird that was. Somebody immediately piped up: "*khâ?-pà-mē-cí-câ-kwī yò!*" I had taken the *Bird Guide of*

² See Matisoff 1969, "Lahu bilingual humor".

³ See, e.g., Matisoff 1979, "Trickster and the village women."

Thailand to the village, and showed them the pictures. They soon found it in the bird-book, and it turned out to be the greater (b)rocket-tailed drongo, (*Dicrurus paradiseus*), a species with an extravagantly long tail.⁴

• Color terminology

I already suspected that there would be no problem with WHITE, BLACK, RED, and YELLOW, but I was fairly sure that other distinctions I was used to making in English might have no direct Lahu equivalents. Sure enough, BLUE and GREEN were considered shades of the same color, and there were no Lahu words that covered the same range as English ORANGE, BROWN, or PURPLE. I took color-swatches to the village, and had them try to contrast pairs like SKY-COLOR vs. LEAF-COLOR. They came up with all kinds of names for what they considered different shades of the same color. Try asking an English speaker what the differences are among, e.g., crimson, vermilion, burgundy, and scarlet!

• Asking for repetitions

It turned out to be Important to learn the most natural way of asking for a repetition, like English “huh?” To painfully ask something like “What did you say?” would invite the speaker to say the same thing in different words. But if you say *hàin* (with rhinoglotto-philiac nasalization of the vowel) you’d get an exact repetition. It took me quite a while to realize this, since the falling tone seems very definite, not interrogative!

Lahu as a lingua franca

A fringe benefit for making Lahu my language of study was the fact that it is something of a lingua franca with respect to Akha and Mien. I later found out that some Wa in China use Lahu too. Some of my most enjoyable experiences were talking Lahu with non-Lahu, because then my interlocutor was in the same boat as me!

Anecdotes

Harrowing bus trips

Bus drivers would often “play chicken” with buses coming from the opposite direction, or would try to pass another vehicle going in the same direction, to see who would swerve first on the narrow roads. This made for tense trips. Once I couldn’t take it anymore, and asked to be let off in the middle of nowhere. The buses were always crowded, with huge loads of ice, animals in cages, and people on the roof. Often I’d have to sit with my legs straight out in front of me on top of the burlap bags covering the ice. Occasionally I’d be allowed to sit up front next to the driver, unless there was a monk on board, who naturally had priority.

⁴ See DL 368, and Plate #20. *khâ?·pà* means ‘tail-feather of an arrow’.

These buses were indirectly responsible for the death of three *ci-nu-bɛ* that I was intending to take back to Chiang Mai to show people. A *ci-nu-bɛ* is a shiny blue-green millipede that rolls into a snail-like ball when touched, but opens up again when exposed to fire, like the tip of a cigarette. On two separate occasions the *ci-nu-bɛ* in my pocket were crushed by fellow passengers on the bus. The third time I had foolishly put it into my back pocket, and sat on it all the way back to Chiang Mai.

Flogging in Fang

Fang, 128 km north of Chiang Mai, was a tough town in those days, a center of the heroin refining business, run by Chinese middlemen who bought the raw opium for a pittance from the hilltribes and paid protection to the KMT (Kuomintang) who had taken refuge in Thailand after the communist takeover. By the time it reached Bangkok it had multiplied vastly in price. I once saw quite a sight by the road as I passed through Fang on the bus: a guy with disheveled long hair, stripped to the waist and tied down over a stump, being flogged by a man in uniform.

Botched killing of pig

As an expression of gratitude to the Huey Tat villagers, I would sometimes pay for a pig to be slaughtered and shared by the whole village. Meat was a real treat for the villagers, since they raised pigs to sell, and only ate pork a couple of times a year, at the New Rice Festival in the fall, and at New Year's. They would divide up the meat with mathematical precision, apportioning it to each household by laying it out on banana leaves.⁵ When given enough time they could prepare quite tasty dishes—soups, meatballs, stir-fries with the meat chopped up together with the bones—using every conceivable part of the animal, featuring their universal quartet of spices: salt, garlic, ginger, hot chilis. The bones were eagerly chewed up for much-needed nutrients. Especially prized was the intestine, a long squiggly affair that had to be carefully washed. As patron of the feast I would be pressed to eat huge amounts. Somebody once said, “Dig in until your lips and beard are dripping with pork-fat!”⁶

Yet there were misadventures as well. Unlike chickens, pigs are smart. They know very well when their end is near, and put up a horrible squealing as the knife approaches. Once this so rattled the executioner that his knife missed the heart, so that the poor pig redoubled his struggles. It finally had to be dispatched by pouring boiling water down its throat. Meanwhile the main concern of the bystanders was to catch in bowls every drop of blood that dripped from the multiple wounds, for later use in the soup.

⁵ Cf. the text “Dividing a slaughtered pig fairly.” A similar punctiliousness was traditionally observed when dividing up the carcass of a large animal killed in the hunt (especially wild boar). See the diagram in Plate #56 of DL.

⁶ See the entry *qha-nê?* ‘until it’s all wet’ in DL, p. 268. I should say that the first time I “made merit” by paying for a pig I had the ulterior motive of learning the Lahu words for the internal organs!

Brushing teeth on the veranda

One morning as I was brushing my teeth on the veranda of Pastor Cabo's house, I must have made a false step on the split bamboo flooring, because most of the veranda gave way, slowly taking me down five feet to the ground with my toothbrush still in my hand, apparently with a pricelessly bewildered expression on my face. Trying to suppress his amusement, Cabo took me to the stream to wash up.

Crossing log-bridges over streams above jagged rocks.

On walks through the jungle, one frequently encountered streams that could only be crossed by a bridge consisting of a log that would roll ominously from side to side as one stepped on it. The stream itself would usually be full of jagged rocks. My Lahu friends would calmly walk across in their bare callus-thickened feet or in flipflops, and take off along the path leaving me there. The only way I dared cross was by scootching myself along on my butt like an inchworm, then hastening to catch up to the others.

Lahu agriculture: no shoes needed

Sometimes even sandals were too much, and I should just have gone barefoot myself. On one of my brief trips in the 1990s I was allowed to help with planting a few rows of some kind of seeds, trying to wade through the thick mud with my flipflops getting sucked off every few seconds. My Lahu co-workers were of course barefoot. Although this was among the easiest of the tasks in the agricultural cycle—compared e.g. to burning the fields, felling trees, or hacking away at underbrush with machetes—I was exhausted after about 25 minutes. Everybody was kind enough to praise my efforts, saying that the seeds I planted would grow especially well!

(This reminds me of the time I took Paul Benedict to Huey Tat. Afterwards he claimed to everybody that he had “helped to build a Lahu house”, when all he had done was to touch the end of the ridgepole that was about to be hoisted onto the roof.)

Excretory adventures

There were no toilet facilities in Huey Tat in those days. Once I desperately had to pee in the middle of the night. In order not to wake anybody by fumbling with the complicated bamboo latch on the door in the pitch dark, I managed to find a hole in the split bamboo floor just big enough for me to pee through by lying on top of it on my belly, petrified that the noise of the drip would awaken somebody. Another time I had started to pee off the side of the veranda of somebody's house, when all of a sudden a cow that had been hanging out under the house appeared and opened its mouth wide to catch the stream, its tongue lolling from side to side in pure sensual pleasure at the nutritious treat. Most challenging was having to defecate in the woods, followed by an appreciative retinue of dogs and/or pigs. It was a good idea to take a stout stick along to discourage too close an approach by the hungry animals.

Opium

I once accepted my friend Inga-Lill Hansson's invitation to visit her non-Christian Akha village, since I was eager to see what opium-smoking was all about. The headman was an obliging fellow, and a fluent Lahu speaker. He had me lie down on a mat beside him, with a little kerosene lamp between us. First he ground up a few aspirin tablets to a powder. He then melted a small ball of opium over the lamp, mixing it with some of the aspirin and stuffing it into a pipe. (Apparently the aspirin is thought to make the opium more effective.)

I accepted the smoldering pipes one after the other, enjoying the interesting smell and taste. At first I felt nothing, and kept asking for more, until I had smoked about 20 pipesful. Then it hit me like a ton of bricks. Several hours of hallucinations and nausea followed. I decided it wasn't worth it, and did not become an addict.

Eclipses

At one point I was laid low by dengue fever in Chiang Mai, with a temperature of 104 degrees (40 degrees Celsius), the highest fever I have ever experienced. In the middle of the day, as I was tossing and turning in my bed, the room suddenly went dark, and I thought I must be dying. Fortunately Susan soon returned from the market, all excited: "Did you see it?" she asked. "See what?" "The total eclipse of the sun!"⁷

Somehow the topic of eclipses arose on a subsequent fieldtrip, as I was visiting a Lahu-speaking Mien village. I thought I should try to explain the phenomenon to them, so I took a kerosene lamp to represent the sun, a large orange to represent the earth, and a small tangerine to be the moon. First I showed how the orange revolved around the kerosene lamp, and how the tangerine revolved around the orange. Things then got complicated as I tried to show how these heavenly bodies interfered with each other. My audience was attentive at first, but then their eyes glazed over. They were polite, but obviously didn't believe a word I was saying, since they already knew the real cause of eclipses.⁸ According to the Lahu, solar eclipses are caused by a tiger eating the sun, while lunar eclipses are due to a frog eating the moon.

The outside world

The outside world sometimes impinged on my innocent linguistic work. Every so often, when I'd be travelling in the hills alone, I'd encounter some Thai members of the Border Police, who wanted to know what I was doing. I would flash them my name-card with my

⁷ By a strange coincidence, my friend and former student J. B. Lowe, a teenager at the time, happened to witness the same eclipse in India, as I found out decades later.

⁸ The Mien explanation was similar to the Lahu one. See the thorough areal study of eclipse terminology by Kurabe 2018.

academic affiliations on it, and they'd usually offer me some lukewarm Mekhong whiskey and Sprite, which I would gladly accept, reassuring them that I was a fine fellow. (Mekhong whiskey is an acquired taste. It is usually aged for about three days before being bottled.)

We wanderers in the hills were actually prized as potential intelligence assets. During the July 4th, 1966 festivities at the American consulate, I was asked by a CIA type if I'd noticed any "unusual movements" near a Lahu village. In general we were blissfully unaware of the details of the Indo-Chinese war, which was then relatively limited to resisting the Pathet Lao in Laos. We got *Newsweek* once a week, so we did know that something ominous was brewing.

Changes in Lahu life observed on subsequent trips

I have been back to Lahuland many times since my first three long fieldtrips in the '60s and '70s, most recently in 2017. The changes in Lahu life have been profound:

- **Population increase**

Chiang Mai is now a metropolis of nearly 150,000, the third biggest city in Thailand, with an international airport and over 30,000 foreigners year-round. Even Huey Tat is now so big that five pigs might not be enough to feed the whole village.

Missionary activities

Christianity is now flourishing among the hilltribes at the expense of animism. Missionaries have certainly brought about many positive changes, including improved personal hygiene, the introduction of better breeds of domestic animals, and somewhat better medical care. In 2013, I visited an impressive addiction rehabilitation center run by the Church of Christ. The missionaries have introduced the celebration of Christmas into the Lahu calendar, but to their credit, they have left the two major pre-Christian holidays intact, the harvest celebration in the fall (cà-šf-5) and the lengthy New Year's festivities. A cultural plus is the introduction of choral music, so that when strolling through a village one can often hear the strains of hymns in four part harmony being rehearsed for performance in church on the next Sunday.

On the other hand, it is disheartening to see doctrinal disputes between Western religions being imported to the hilltribes. The most contentious issue is birth control, with the Baptists and the Catholics taking predictably different viewpoints. The well-meaning missionary linguist Paul Lewis has been cruelly accused of genocide for promoting voluntary contraception among the Akha and Lahu.

In 2003, I had the moving experience of visiting a village called Tàat Mòk, that was undergoing the final stages of conversion to Christianity, with two-thirds of the village having already taken the plunge. The animist priest, in his 80's and almost stone deaf, had been obliged to close down the building that had been used as a temple (h5-yè), moving the

ritual objects that remained into his own house, where services were still occasionally held, though more and more rarely. (See the drawing of a *hɔ̌-yɛ̌* and its full panoply of ritual objects in Plate #59 of my Lahu dictionary.)

Technological advances

My last several trips to Huey Tat in the 21st century were surprising in terms of technological progress:

- The village now boasts a row of flushable public toilets. One of my chief consultants, Yâ-pā-é, actually has a toilet inside his house.
- The village is now electrified. Some people have short wave radios. Many have television sets and other audio-visual equipment, allowing them to play Lahu videotapes produced in Burma. No longer do the villagers have to rely on pine-torches (a-kí-cè) to get around at night,⁹ since flashlights are now universal.

Livelihood

- Lahu men have traditionally prided themselves on their hunting skills. By now, however, all big game in Thailand have long ago been hunted to extinction, so that nothing is left except frogs, squirrels, and the occasional bird.
- Young people are now forsaking the arduous labor involved in rice cultivation in favor of jobs down in the plains, for which they receive monetary wages.¹⁰ This development has been hastened by overpopulation in the hills, which has made it increasingly difficult to find a new field to cultivate when the old one gives out and must lie fallow. (The use of the rather violent term “slash-and-burn” has concealed the fact that such cultivation is actually ecologically righteous if population pressure is not too great, so that there is land available to move a village to a new location every several years.)

In addition to rice, tea and coffee plantations have now sprung up in the hills, often owned by Chinese refugees from the communist regime.

- Women’s handicrafts have become more and more important as a source of income. In the past, their beautifully embroidered shoulder-bags (*mí-cho*) were easily to be found in the villages, and I would buy several of them during each visit. By the late 1970s they were all ordered in advance by shops in Chiang Mai and abroad, and were modified to appeal to the international market, often with zippers and snaps, secret compartments, and a greater variety in patterns and colors. One wonders whether the pandemic has ruined this source of income.

⁹ The syllable *-kɛ̌* derives from Proto-Lolo-Burmese **ʔgrip* (cf. Written Burmese *khrip* ≠ *khyip* ‘pitch pine’. Interestingly, British English still uses the word ‘torch’ for what Americans call ‘flashlight’.

¹⁰ The two sons of Camaw (the chief consultant on my 1970 fieldtrip) are now trained as an electrician and an auto mechanic, respectively. Their Lahu language is now being swamped with Thai loanwords.

Language

Inevitably, large swaths of traditional vocabulary have been lost to the younger generations of Lahu. After a couple of years of primary education in the village, the children of Huey Tat are now being educated in Thai schools, and cheerfully tromp up and down the trail from the village to the school in the plains, five days a week.

- On the lexical level, the names of plants and fungi in the woods are being forgotten. Which species of mushrooms are edible? Which plants have healing properties?
- The tradition of Lahu courtship poetry is practically dead. The poems used to be chanted antiphonally by the young men and women of the village. They are full of striking set expressions and vivid images. The meanings of many of these expressions were already obscure in the 1960s, and young people were no longer expected to memorize the hundreds of verses involved. Some idea of the beauty of this poetry can be gathered from the English translation of “*Song of the Lahu Love Meet*” in Harold Young 2013: 151–174.
- Thanks to the British anthropologist Anthony R. Walker, who worked for five consecutive years with animist Red Lahu in Thailand, there is a large corpus of animist religious texts available for study. Before he published these texts, Walker kindly let me copy all of them from his fieldnotes in 1977, so that I could extract the vocabulary for my dictionary.

The motto of all salvage linguists: If we can't save the language, at least let us record it!”

Nevertheless, Lahu, like all languages, has the resilience to create neologisms from pre-existing lexical material:

qhô bô? ve ‘fight a guerrilla war’ (< *qhô* ‘steal; do stealthily’ + *bô?* ‘shoot; fight’)
lâ?-še tholašâ? ‘cellphone’ (< *lâ?-še* ‘hand’ + *tholašâ?* ‘telephone’ < Thai < Sanskrit)

Drugs

Opium is no longer safely grown in the hills, because of international efforts to stamp it out. This has had unfortunate unintended consequences, since it has led to the massive importation of the far more dangerous methamphetamines from Burma. With good reason the Thai refer to methamphetamine as *jaa-bâa* (lit. “crazy-making drug”). Both meth and heroin are now easily obtainable in Thailand, and are typically taken by injection.

Monetization of the hilltribes in Thailand

Until the pandemic took hold in Thailand a few years ago, there were regular shows for tourists in Chiang Mai, featuring people from the various hilltribes, who were called upon to sing and dance for them, rather like exhibits in a zoo.

There are now regular guided tours to certain hilltribe villages, where the residents have learned to dress up in traditional garb and ask the tourists for money in exchange for having their photos taken.

Cautionary tales/Post-fieldwork disasters

I would like to finish with a couple of cautionary tales demonstrating that one should never assume one's fieldwork is over until it's brought safely home.¹¹

- In the 1980s my friend Elaine Marlowe Kaufman had completed arduous fieldwork on the Ibibio language of Nigeria, and had created an Ibibio-English dictionary. After arriving back safely to New York, she took a train to Washington, D.C., and fell asleep exhausted during the trip. When she awoke, she discovered that her suitcase with the dictionary manuscript had been stolen. Eventually she had to return to Nigeria and redo the dictionary.
- Returning to the U.S. after my first fieldtrip in 1966, Susan, Nadja, and I were picked up at the SFO airport by her brother, also called Jim. He was driving a little Volkswagen bug, but had neglected to bring ropes to fasten my suitcase onto the car roof. On the freeway my suitcase flew off onto the road, with all my tapes inside. We stopped traffic and threw the tapes into a quilt. The tapes were then eventually restored by the wizards in the Berkeley Language Laboratory.

This year, I am glad to say that the arc of my work on Lahu is finally coming to a conclusion. The texts I recorded in the '60s and '70s are finally going to be published electronically, all 1221 pages of them, with printed versions available on demand. The home for these texts is the CoRSAL project (Computational Resources for South <and Southeast> Asian Languages), directed at the University of North Texas by Prof. Shobhana Chelliah.

Thanks to you all for keeping me company me down memory lane!

¹¹ Cf. the famous Japanese story, *Ki-nobori no meijin* (The Tree-climbing Expert).

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