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- ▶ Metaphorization and Metonymization: Diachronic Development of Verbs of Volition in Southern Min  
隱喻化及轉喻化：閩南語意願動詞的歷史演變

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**METAPHORIZATION AND METONYMIZATION:  
DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT OF VERBS OF VOLITION IN  
SOUTHERN MIN\***

Miao-Hsia Chang

**ABSTRACT**

This paper investigates the diachrony of the verbs of volition *ai* and *beh* in Southern Min (SM). The data include historical SM texts (16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century), folk songs in the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and contemporary natural Taiwanese Southern Min conversations. The results mainly mark two stages of the development of *ai* and *beh*: historical (before 1900) and contemporary SM. Since the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Ming Dynasty), *ai* has been used as a verb of volition indicating love, intention or hope. As for historical *ai*, it marked future, specialized however for predicting an adverse future. In contemporary SM, a sense of necessity emerged with the use of *ai* denoting general agreement among people. Seven senses are attributed to historical *beh*: want/intention/hope, future, excessiveness, necessity, proximity and conditionality. In contemporary SM, the indication of the want of an entity has become a less preferred use, and necessity is only preserved when indicating puzzlement and helplessness. The diachronic developments of *ai* and *beh* demonstrate an interplay of metaphorization and metonymization (Traugott and Dasher 2002:27). Metaphorization contributes first to the semantic shift of *ai* and *beh* from “to want; to love” to “to intend to” and a concurrent categorical change from lexical verb into auxiliary, and second, to the evolution of future. Metonymization activates an even wider range of uses

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and meaning change, including the pragmatic strengthening of interpretations such as excessiveness (*beh*), necessity (*ai*, *beh*), proximity (*beh*) and conditional (*beh*), and prediction of an undesirable future (*ai*).

Key words: Southern Min, verbs of volition, grammaticalization, diachronic development, metaphorization, metonymization

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Studies in grammaticalization in the past two decades have seen an increasing number of analyses of the evolution of a lexeme into a grammatical morpheme (e.g., Heine et al. 1991, Hopper & Traugott 1993, 2003, and Bybee et al. 1994). One of the inquiries of grammaticalization is concerned with the diachronic development of volition verbs in Romance and Germanic languages (e.g., Ultan 1978, Bybee and Pagliuca 1987, Bybee et al. 1991, Heine et al. 1991, and Bybee et al. 1994). Several recent studies explore the grammaticalization or diachrony of volition verbs in Chinese.<sup>1</sup> For example, Chang and Chen (2003) and Cheng (2003) investigate the historical development of the modal verb *yao* ‘to want’. It developed from a verb of desire and later evolved the senses of future, necessity, and condition. Peyraube (2004) studies the evolution of *yu* (欲) in Classical Chinese and notes that *yu* evolved from a desiderative verb (indicating non-realizable future) in Early Archaic Chinese to an optative verb (indicating realizable future) in Late Archaic Chinese.<sup>2</sup> Chang (1999) examines the polysemy of *beh* ‘to want; to wish’ in contemporary Taiwanese Southern Min (CTSM hereafter) and postulates a developmental path for its historical development. It is noted in Chang (1999) that CTSM *beh* displays polysemous functions such as volition, future, and conditionality which are hypothesized to have first arisen at different stages of historical development. Whereas there exists a rich body of literature on volition verbs, investigations into the development of another verb of want, *ai* ‘to love’ have been unavailable. In light of the above literature, this paper delves into the evolution of two synonymous verbs of volition *ai* ‘to love’ and *beh* ‘to want’ in Taiwanese

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper, volition verbs will be used to refer to verbs of want and desire.

<sup>2</sup> Peyraube (2004:177) makes such a distinction between desiderative and optative verbs based on Jespersen (1924:320-21).

Southern Min by investigating historical and contemporary data. The discussion focuses on how semantic and pragmatic factors contribute to the diachrony of *beh* and *ai*.

## 2. THEORITICAL ASSUMPTIONS

The theoretical framework for this study arises from a convergence of studies on the semantic-pragmatic forces involved in language change. Two generally recognized mechanisms underlie the semantic change of a lexeme: “metaphor” and “metonymy” (Traugott and Dasher 2002:27). It will be argued that the two mechanisms contribute to the development of volition verbs in SM.

Metaphorization is a common strategy by which the speaker expresses a concept in an abstract domain by means of a concept in a concrete domain (e.g., Heine et al. 1991:172), or a meaning shift between different “conceptual structures”, in the sense of Traugott and Dasher (2002:28). Bybee et al. (1991:32) propose the stages that characterize the grammaticalization of the meaning of future from volition verbs. Table 1 summarizes the stages that embody the change of a volition verb into a future marker.

Stage I characterizes a prototypical use of volition, i.e., the want of something substantial by an animate subject. When the want of an entity is transferred to some action, a reading of intention is in order, as shown in Stage II. As the subject becomes inanimate, it takes on a sense of prediction or future, hence Stage III. At this stage, a verb of want also assumes the functional status of an auxiliary.

**Table 1. Developmental stages from volition to future** (adapted from Bybee et al. 1991:32)

Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
animate subject	animate subject	inanimate subject
want	intention	prediction [+future]
entity	action	

The concept of metonymization is in line with the argument put forward by Traugott and Dasher (2002) and various previous works on the role of pragmatics in semantic change (e.g., Traugott 1988, 1989, Traugott and König 1991). Metonymization refers to semantic change

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that is motivated by part-whole relation, cause-effect, ellipsis, and “marked implicature” “by which invited inferences in the associate, continuous stream of speech/writing come to be semanticized over time” (Traugott and Dasher 2002:29), among which “invited inferences” are given particular attention. Invited inferences arise out of a need in communication (Jacobs and Jucker 1995:6) and may yield an even richer interpretation of meanings than changes motivated by metaphORIZATION. They are governed by the principles that guide the speaker to choose the right expression for “preferred interpretations” (Levinson 1995:94). Following Grice (1975), Horn (1984) and Levinson (1995), Traugott and Dasher revised the following principles to accommodate the writing context: “THE Q(UANTITY)-HEURISTIC”, “THE R(ELEVANCE)-HEURISTIC”, and “THE M(ANNER)-HEURISTIC” (pp.27-30). The Q-heuristic requires that one say no more than what is needed, the R-heuristic requires that one mean more if one says/writes more than what one would ordinarily be expected to say/write in a given context, and the M-heuristic leads to a marked interpretation when “specially marked” expressions are used. It is the R-heuristic and M-heuristic that lead to semantic change since they evoke meanings beyond what is standardized, hence “pragmatic strengthening”.

Two processes that lead to pragmatic strengthening of interpretations are subjectification and intersubjectification (Traugott and Dasher 2002:20-24). The subjectification of meanings (Traugott 1988, 1989, Traugott and König 1991) involves the speaker’s (epistemic) attitude to the proposition and the structure of the discourse. Intersubjectification focuses on the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Specific expressions may be used to indicate the speaker’s attention to the addressee’s talk in the discourse.

Based on the assumptions reviewed above, it will be shown in the following discussion that semantic changes occur as a result of language in use, and that metaphORIZATION and metonymization in turn play a crucial role in the diachronic development of *ai* and *beh* in Southern Min. Before the diachrony of these two verbs is discussed, a description of the database used for analysis is given in Section 3.

### 3. DATA DESCRIPTION

As the aim of this paper is to investigate how semantic/pragmatic meanings arise from metaphorical transfer and dynamic interaction between participants, speaker attitude, and inferencing, I have selected texts that best represent the vernacular use of SM. For historical SM, three different versions of the scripts of the operatic drama *The Story of Lizhi and Mirror* (*Li Jing Ji*) and one version of *The Butterfly Lovers* (*Tung Chuang Qin Shu Ji*) were used, each published in A.D. 1566, 1651, 1884, and 1782, respectively (Wu 1975, Wu 1995:108, Wu 2001a, Wu 2001b, Wu 2001c). Among them, the 1566 version is the earliest documented written work of SM.<sup>3</sup> In addition, classical Chinese *ai* (愛), being phonologically and orthographically identical with SM *ai* ‘to love’, was retrieved from the Academia Sinica corpus (Scripta Sinica) and was analyzed for a comparison between the uses of *ai* in SM and its uses in historical Chinese.<sup>4</sup> *Beh* was not compared with any classical Chinese synonym in terms of semantic link as there was no corresponding verb of volition in classical Chinese which was qualified as a cognate of *beh* given the evolutionary path of phonological changes from classical Chinese to Modern Mandarin (Li 1999).<sup>5</sup> For modern Taiwanese

<sup>3</sup> *Ai* as a noun unanimously carries a sense of ‘love’ in data of different periods. The focus of this study is on *ai* as a verb.

<sup>4</sup> Five hundred and fifty seven tokens of 愛 (excluding those in compounds) in nine classical Chinese texts were retrieved from Scripta Sinica (<http://www.sinica.edu.tw/ftms-bin/ftmsw3>) and analyzed for their semantic link with *ai* in SM. The nine classical Chinese texts represent Early Old Chinese (*Book of Odes, Analects of Confucius, Mengzi*), Pre-Middle Chinese (*Shiji*), Early Middle Chinese (*Shishuoxinyu* and *Soshenji*), Late Middle Chinese (*Zutangji, Zhuziyulei*) and Pre-Modern Chinese (*Honglouneng*), respectively. Among them, an overwhelming majority of *ai*’s (539, 98.6%) were used as a verb or noun and carried the sense of ‘love’, apart from 15 tokens which had the extended meaning of ‘love and unwilling to give’, as in 願大王毋愛財物 (I hope that your majesty would not be unwilling to give out the money and assets).

<sup>5</sup> A near synonym of *beh* in classical Chinese is *yu* (欲) and *yao* (要). However, according to Guang Yun (compiled by Chen Peng-nian et al. in Sung Dynasty, p.462), *yu* had the phonological form of [iuk] (p.462) and *yao* [iɛu] (p.150) in classical Chinese. The great disparity between *beh* and [iuk] or [iɛu] shows that it is unlikely for *yu* or *yao* to be a cognate of *beh* in SM. For a detailed discussion of the diachronic change of *yu* and *yao*, the reader is referred to Chang and Chen (2003) and Peyraube (2004), respectively.

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Southern Min, data representing one period of the 19<sup>th</sup>-early 20<sup>th</sup> century and of late 20<sup>th</sup> century SM were used. The former included folk songs published in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, retrieved also from the Scripta Sinica.<sup>6</sup> The latter represent CTSM, composed of 150 minutes of fully transcribed natural conversations by native Taiwanese speakers recorded between 1995-1997. The speakers were from different parts of Taiwan, which represent different sub-dialects of Southern Min including Chuanchou and Changchou dialects.<sup>7</sup> There was no significant difference found in the functions of *beh* and of *ai* used by the speakers of the different sub-dialects in the CTSM database.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The web address of the folk song database is: <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~tdbproj/handy1/?tdb=kua-a-chheh>. A random selection of three volumes of the folk songs, along with *Democracy Songs of Taiwan* published by Shanghai Dianshichai (1897), were used for analysis. According to S. Wang (<http://www32.ocn.ne.jp/~sunliong/lunwen0.htm>), the initiator and creator of this folk song database, the exact publication years of most of the folk songs are unknown. However, all of them were published between the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>7</sup> Southern Min is a Chinese dialect spoken in the southern part of the Fujian province. Two of its major sub-dialects are the Quanchou and the Changchou dialects spoken by people from the Quanchou city and the Changchou city in the Fujian province, respectively. The two sub-dialects differ mainly in their phonological forms while there is no significant syntactic difference between the two sub-dialects. The term “Taiwanese” is in fact an alternative name of Southern Min. As the early settlers of Taiwanese speakers came mainly from Quanchou and Changchou (Tzang 1980), in the Qing Dynasty, they carried their mother tongue when they migrated to Taiwan. Up to now, their descendants in Taiwan still speak the Quanchou and Changchou dialects, called “Taiwanese” in general, in addition to the official language Mandarin Chinese.

<sup>8</sup> Analysis of the tokens of *ai* and *beh* in CTSM database shows that there is no functional difference in the use of *ai* (‘to need to’ and ‘to love/like/want’) among speakers from different parts of Taiwan, e.g., 先愛給疊起來啦. ‘The furniture **needs to** be stacked up before they are moved’ (speaker from northern Taiwan, where people mainly speak with the Quanchou accent), 吃愛控制 ‘One **needs to** control one’s diet’ (middle Taiwan, a mixture of Quanchou and Changchou accents), and 質馬開始著愛調養我e身體 ‘Now I **need to** start to regulate my body to a healthy condition’ (southern Taiwan, where Changchou accent is predominant). Neither is there any functional difference found in the use of *beh*, e.g., 恁子這禮拜有欲轉來沒 ‘**Will** your son come home this week or not?’ (northern Taiwan), 啊伊當時欲轉去台中 ‘When **will** he go back to Taichung?’ (middle Taiwan), and 可能有欲出現啊哦 ‘It seems that (my Prince Charming) **will** appear soon’ (southern Taiwan).

The frequency of tokens of *ai* and *beh* which are analyzed in the current research is given in Table 2:

**Table 2. Frequency of *beh* and *ai* in historical and modern Southern Min**

Year of publication	Historical SM				Total	Folk songs	CTSM	Total
	1566 (JJ)	1651 (SZ)	1782 (QL)	1884 (GX)		Late 19 <sup>th</sup> -early 20 <sup>th</sup> c.	1995-1997	
<i>Ai</i>	74	48	14	62	198	166	208	<b>572</b>
<i>Beh</i>	170	247	86	227	730	372	204	<b>1306</b>

\*JJ: Jiajing Emperor of the Ming Dynasty; SZ: Shunzhi Emperor of the Qing Dynasty; QL: Qianlung Emperor of the Qing Dynasty; GX: Guangxu Emperor of the Qing Dynasty

#### 4. DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT OF *AI*

An exploration into the historical and contemporary uses of *ai* shows that metaphorization and metonymization play a central role in its grammaticalization. Two stages are attributed to the semantic change of *ai*. The first stage characterizes *ai* in all texts from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Ming Dynasty) to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The second stage represents the most recent use of *ai*, in CTSM. The prototypical function of *ai* for the expression of love is discussed first.

##### 4.1 Love/Like/Hope

Since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, *ai* has been used as a verb meaning ‘to love/like/hope’, including over 80% of the occurrences of *ai* in the four historical texts, 77.1% in the folk songs, and 29.2% in CTSM. *Ai* with this sense displays different degrees of transitivity by prefacing an NP, a predicative expression, or a clause. Accordingly, the meaning varies from “to love”, “to like”, to “to hope (that something will happen)”:



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- (1) a. 阮 是 愛 月 來 到 只.<sup>910</sup> (SZ)  
1SG be **love** moon come arrive here  
'I came here because I love the moon.'  
b. 只 一 人 客 愛 看 人. (GX)  
this one guest **love** look.at people  
'This guest loves to stare at me.'  
c. 愛 伊 買 中 和 附近. (CTSM)  
**ai** i be tiongho hakin.  
**hope** 3SG buy Tiongho neighborhood  
'(She) hopes that he buys (a house) near Tiongho.'

*Ai* may conspire with *beh* as a disyllabic compound to indicate the same predication:

- (2) a. 惜 花 愛 卜 花 香味. (JJ)  
cherish flower **love** want flower fragrance  
'(I) cherish the flower and **love** the fragrance of the flower.'  
b. 心 中 愛 卜 共 你  
heart center **love** want with 2SG  
相 結義. (QL)  
each.other become.sworn.brothers  
'I'd love to become a sworn brother of yours from the heart.'

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<sup>9</sup> The original forms of the examples cited from historical Southern Min are given here without their associated phonological forms, as there is no consensus on the precise phonological form of each character in the drama scripts (Wu 2001a:212). Likewise, examples from folk songs are presented in Chinese characters only. On the other hand, the CTSM data, which were drawn from natural conversations, are presented in Chinese characters along with their Romanized forms. The romanization of TSM in this paper generally follows that of the Church system as seen in Cheng and Cheng (1977) with a little modification. First, for ease of typing, *o*, e.g., in *ko* 'ancient', and *o*, e.g., *ko* 'fruit', are not differentiated except where ambiguity may arise. In addition, an aspirated consonant is indicated with a raised *h* instead of a lower case *h*, e.g., *t<sup>h</sup>o* instead of *tho* 'to ask for (something)'.  
<sup>10</sup> The abbreviations used for the morphemic glosses in this paper are as follows: ASP: aspect marker; QL: classifier; COMP: complementizer; COV: coverb; NOM: nominalizer; 1SG: first person singular; 2SG: second person singular; 2PL: second person plural; 3SG: third person singular; PAR: particle; and PN: proper name.

## 4.2 Prediction

The second use of *ai* is to mark the prediction of an upcoming event or condition of affairs. This function is found in historical *ai* and constitutes 6.6% (13 out of 198) of all the uses of *ai* in the operatic drama scripts. In particular, *ai* is used to forecast an *undesirable* future incident. Structurally, it prefaces a VP and shares the same subject with the matrix sentence. Consider (3a-b) in the following:

- (3) a. 啞公 莫 急, 愛 易 老. (JJ)  
 grandpa not hurry **will** easy get.old  
 ‘Sir, don’t be in such a hurry. (Otherwise), (you) will get old easily.’
- b. 酒 莫 參 水 愛 沒 滋味. (QL)  
 alcohol not mix water **will** no taste  
 ‘Don’t mix the liquor with water. Otherwise, it will be tasteless.’

A functional change occurred around the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when the future sense of *ai* was lost, as shown in the SM folk songs. Among the 166 tokens of *ai* in the SM folk song database, only one case of *ai* denotes the prediction of an adverse event, i.e., *m si sehan be hiao ch<sup>h</sup>ieng*, *aibeh chiongjit lang p<sup>h</sup>ue p<sup>h</sup>ing* ‘It’s not that she is too young to know how to dress well, but that (she) **will** be criticized by people all day long (if she keeps on being so sloppy).’

In CTSM, *ai* is generally replaced by another modal verb *e* ‘to be able to; will’ when it foretells an unfavorable incident, as in (4):

- (4) 藥仔 沒 冰 會 生 菇. (CTSM)  
 ioha bo pieng **e** se<sup>n</sup> ko.  
 medicine not freeze **will** grow fungus  
 ‘If you don’t put the herbal medicine in the fridge, fungus will grow on it.’

The use of *ai* for prediction, especially of the happening of an adverse event, might be attributed to a metaphorical and metonymic change which occurred before the 16<sup>th</sup> century. While texts representing SM earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> century are unavailable, a search into archaic Chinese texts shows that *ai* has been used overwhelmingly (96.8%) to denote “love” since Early Old Chinese (11<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> B.C.), e.g.,

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*kuan-yi-ai-min* ‘to be kind and love the people’ in the Book of Odes.<sup>11</sup> With the phonological and semantic equivalence between SM *ai* and *ai* in classical Chinese, we hypothesize that *ai* in SM was a cognate of *ai* in classical Chinese and that SM *ai* originated as a verb of love. As the love of something requires an animate sentential subject whereas the prediction sense involves an inanimate one, the rise of the prediction sense is attributed to the metaphorization of meaning. At the same time, we can also establish a semantic link between love and the prediction of an adverse event. The forecast of an unfavorable incident indexes a meaning that is not present at the content level but at the speaker’s subjectified state that should be inferred contextually (cf., De Smet 2005). When people love (doing) something, they are inclined to approach the desired entity or apt to carry out the desired action. When what follows is an adverse incident, the sense of love is weakened and the reading “to have a tendency to” is strengthened. As more examples are enlisted for this sense in the context pertaining to something unpleasant, the strengthening becomes stabilized, thus inviting the inference that what follows is an unwanted future.

#### 4.3 Necessity

Around the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, *ai* largely lost its prediction reading. As noted in 4.2, only one case of *ai* with the prediction reading was identified in the folk song database. In lieu of this use, a substantial portion of the tokens for *ai* (38/166, 22.9%, in folk songs) are used to

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<sup>11</sup> Five hundred and forty-eight tokens of *ai* (excluding those in compounds) in nine classical Chinese texts that were close to vernacular literature were analyzed for their semantic link with *ai* in SM. The nine texts represent Early Old Chinese (*Book of Odes*, *Analects of Confucius*, *Mengzi*), Pre-Middle Chinese (*Shiji*), Early Middle Chinese (*Shishuoxinyu* and *Soushenji*), Late Middle Chinese (*Zutangji*, *Zhuziyulei*) and Pre-Modern Chinese (*Hongloumeng*), respectively (cf., Liu 1993, Norman 1988 for classification of Chinese literary history). Among them, an overwhelming majority of the occurrences of *ai* (530, 96.7%) show that it is used a verb or noun and carries the sense of “love”, apart from 18 tokens which have the extended meaning of ‘love and be unwilling to give’, as in *yuan dawang wu ai caiwu* (hope-your majesty-not-love and be unwilling-assets) ‘I hope that your majesty would not be unwilling to give out the money and assets (because you love these assets)’ in *Shiji* (2<sup>nd</sup> BC-3<sup>rd</sup> AD). No future/prediction reading, however, can be found in the use of classical Chinese *ai*.

express necessity or obligation.<sup>12</sup> A trace of the emergence of the necessity/obligation meaning is observed in historical SM, where we find a use of *ai* insinuating an obligation reading and representing a case of fusion (Hopper & Traugott 1993):

- (5) 治 家 法 各 愛 尊 卑. (JJ)  
 manage family rule each **need** superior inferior  
 ‘(When speaking of) rules to keep a family, (an important rule is that) the inferior need to respect the superior.’

On the surface level, the subject in (5) is an impersonal one, ‘how to keep a family’. A sense of love, therefore, is implausible. Instead, it denotes the requirement for one to keep a family. The fused sense of *ai* in (5) might well be the precursor of *ai* ‘to need to’ in CTSM. Later, as a significant number of *ai*’s were used with inanimate subjects, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (38 tokens, 22.9%, *ai* with a necessity sense in folk songs), the necessity reading became conventionalized. In the CTSM spoken databank, the indication of necessity by *ai* persists and in fact accounts for a majority of the uses of *ai* (69.7%, 145/208). The conventionalization of the necessity reading also facilitates a wider context for *ai*, i.e., both animate subjects and inanimate subjects are allowed in this context. Examples (6a-b) and (7a-b) illustrate examples of *ai* as found in the folk song database and CTSM, respectively:

- (6) a. 知 伊 為 酒 來 失敗. (Folk songs)  
 know 3SG for alcohol come fail  
 從 今 以後 酒 愛 解.  
 from now later alcohol **need** quit  
 ‘(I) know that he failed because he was addicted to drinking.  
 From now on, he has to quit drinking.’

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<sup>12</sup> *Ai* with a necessity sense may be optionally preceded by the modal auxiliary *tioh* ‘to have to’ to augment the necessity sense, e.g., *li tioh ai jinchin t<sup>h</sup>ak ch<sup>h</sup>eh* (you-have to-industrious-read-books) ‘You have to study hard.’ is also a modal auxiliary that expresses necessity in both historical and contemporary Southern Min. For a detailed discussion of *tioh*, the reader is referred to Chen (2003).

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- b. 後日                      愛    上班. (CTSM)  
aujit                      ai    siongpan  
the.day.after.tomorrow **need** work  
'(He) has to work the day after tomorrow.'
- (7) a. 君子      報冤    愛    三    年,  
gentleman revenge **need** three year  
時   到      臨    機      才   應變. (Folk songs)  
time arrive reach chance then deal.with.contingency  
'It takes a gentleman three years to take revenge. Then, when the  
time comes, he can act as the situation demands.'
- b. 牽   許   台   車   就   愛   保養      費 ne. (CTSM)  
k<sup>h</sup>an hit tai ch<sup>h</sup>ia tioh ai poiong hui ne!  
drag that QL car need **need** maintenance fee PAR  
'(If you) buy that car, you need to pay for the maintenance fee (in  
the future)!'

The above extracts also illuminate both the metaphorization and metonymization that underlie the shift in the meaning of *ai* from “love” to “necessity”. When signaling “love”, “like” or “hope”, *ai* takes as its complement something that the subject wishes to have possession of or an incident that the subject hopes could happen. What one loves or likes may be what is expected or required to survive or to carry out daily functions. The contexts like those in (6-7) facilitate such a reading. For example, in (6a), *ai* signals a necessary schedule, to (go to) work on Monday (the day after tomorrow) to make a living, rather than something controlled by the subject’s will. (6b) also yields a like interpretation. In these examples, it can be seen that the necessity sense gives rise to the variety of argument roles associated with *ai*, in particular, the role of clausal subject (7a-b) and that of clausal object (6a-b), which require conceptualization in the abstract domain. The semantic and syntactic change here typifies a case of metaphorical change. On the other hand, the maintenance fee suggests a necessary outcome of the purchase of a car. Essentially, the inference in (7b) is made from the situational context that involves a consequence associated with the purchase of a car, hence the metonymization of meaning.

A word of note about the frequency of *ai* ‘to need; to need to’ in the different datasets is in order here. The high incidence of the occurrences of *ai* in this sense in CTSM (69.7%) compared to the lower occurrence

in the folk songs (22.9%) may be ascribed to the nature of the data. The CTSM databank is mainly composed of daily conversations about family, friends, food, or small business, which therefore involve routines that one should follow, habits one should keep, or things that one should do to keep in good health. The majority of *ai*'s are used with this sense. On the other hand, the folk songs, in addition to daily topics, contain retelling of romantic stories or heroic events such as *The Butterfly Lovers* or martyrs' love for their country. It follows that *ai* 'to love' makes up the majority of the uses (76.5%) in the songs.

#### 4.4 Summary

The meanings of *ai* in the past five centuries embody two stages of changes with the dividing line being at some point between the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. A summary is given in Table 3:<sup>13</sup>

**Table 3. Diachronic development of *ai***

	16-19 <sup>th</sup>	Folk songs	CTSM
love/like/hope	184 (92.9%)	127 (76.5%)	63 (30.3%)
prediction	13 (6.6%)	1 (0.006%)	--
necessity	1 (0.005)	38 (22.9%)	145 (69.7%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>208</b>

The use of *ai* as a lexeme denoting 'love/like/hope', as shown above, has withstood change throughout the past five centuries and such a use might well have existed since Early Old Chinese if we assume that SM *ai* originated from *ai* 'to love' of classical Chinese, as discussed in Section 4.2. Historical *ai* in SM also encoded 'prediction' in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. However, it was recruited exclusively for forecasting an undesirable future incident. Whereas the rise of the prediction meaning is induced by the mechanism of metaphorization, the prediction of an adverse future is attributed to pragmatic strengthening

<sup>13</sup> Although we have identified some hybrid cases in the uses of *ai* and *beh*, the percentages presented in Tables 3-4 focus on the more salient meaning of a token, e.g., 我今卜返去了(JJ) 'I want to leave now.' Despite the implication of a future sense because the leaving is a future action, here 卜 mainly indicates the speaker's intention to leave; therefore, it receives a coding of the volitional sense.

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through the recurrence of such a context with *ai*, hence the metonymization of meaning. The prediction reading was almost lost in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as manifested by the rarity of its occurrence in the folk songs. On the other hand, a semantic change that occurred in this period of time is the predominance of *ai* used to indicate obligation or necessity. The necessity reading arose when a pragmatic factor came into play, i.e., when *ai* was associated with a proposition denoting a routine or norm that a responsible subject had to follow. As the necessity reading prevails in CTSM, the pragmaticized “necessity; obligation” reading becomes conventionalized, which again illustrates a metonymic change of meaning of *ai*.

In the following, we discuss another volition verb in Southern Min, i.e., *beh*. Comparisons will be made with *ai* whenever necessary.

## 5. DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT OF *BEH*

*Beh* since the 16<sup>th</sup> century has been used as a highly polysemous morpheme. As is also the case with the classical Chinese *yao* (Chang and Chen 2003, and Cheng 2003), *beh* bears lexical and functional properties of volition, future, necessity, proximity, and conditionality. However, a close investigation of its uses in the different databanks also reveals both a gradual categorical and functional change since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This will be taken up in the following section.

### 5.1 Want/Hope

Before turning to the use of *beh* over the past five centuries, it is necessary to briefly discuss the origin of *beh*. As pointed out in Section 3, there exist no documented SM texts dated prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, the inception and development of *beh* in SM before the 16<sup>th</sup> century remain a myth. With the phonological disparity between *beh* and its near synonyms in classical Chinese, *yu* (欲) or *yao* ‘to want’ (要), the meanings and development of *beh* in SM analyzed in this study will not be generalized to the overall diachronic development of *beh* from ancient Chinese. Rather, the analysis here will focus on the development and uses of *beh* in SM since Ming Dynasty.

Between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *beh* was used to denote the want of an entity, the want of an action, and the hope that something

would happen. Accordingly, it enjoyed great structural freedom by allowing NPs, VPs, or clausal elements to be its complements, as in (8), (9), and (10), respectively.

- (8) 小七你卜乜事. (SZ)  
 PN 2SG **want** what matter  
 ‘What do you want, Sioch<sup>hit</sup>?’
- (9) 再三央你, 求卜伊肯. (JJ)  
 repeatedly rely.on 2SG ask **want** 3SG agree  
 ‘I count on you to ask her to agree (to marry me) again and again.’
- (10) 千謀共百計, 學卜磨鏡. (GX)  
 thousand plan and hundred idea learn **want** polish mirror  
 ‘I tried all means to learn to polish mirrors (so that I can get close to her).’

In (8), *beh* denotes the want of an entity, whereas (9) and (10) exemplify *beh* expressing the intention for some action to take place or the wish to reach a certain state.

The verbal status of *beh* as in (8) is further instantiated by the regular collocation of *beh* with a preceding verb, e.g., *siu<sup>n</sup>* ‘want’, *be* ‘to buy’, *kia<sup>n</sup>* ‘to go’, *lau* ‘to keep’, *oh* ‘to learn’, *siu<sup>n</sup>* ‘receive’, *t<sup>h</sup>o* ‘to ask for’, and *ch<sup>h</sup>ia<sup>n</sup>* ‘to invite’. Interestingly, however, these *Vbeh* compounds were coexistent with the *behV* structure with the same verb in historical SM and in folk songs. This demonstrates the fluidity of the categorial status of *beh*. (11)-(13) exemplify this use:

- (11) a. 願學卜古時人. (QL)  
 willing learn **want** ancient.time people  
 ‘(I) am willing and **want to learn** (the deeds) of ancient people.’
- b. 今卜學張生共鴛鴦. (GX)  
 now **want** learn PN together Mandarin.duck  
 ‘Today I want to learn Tiu<sup>n</sup>sieng to become your lover.’



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- (12) a. 沿 街 沿 巷 買 燈 鼓,  
along street along alley buy lantern drum  
買 卜 燈 鼓 來 點 燈. (SZ)  
buy **want** lantern drum come light lantern  
'Along the street, everybody was buying lanterns and drums to  
light the lanterns (to celebrate the festival).'
- b. 卜 買 乜 色? (JJ)  
**want** buy what color  
'What color (of thread) do you want to buy?'
- (13) a. 討 卜 客店 安 身 己. (Folk songs)  
ask.for **want** tavern settle body self  
'(I) want to find a tavern (in which) to rest.'
- b. 你 卜 討 乜 我 食? (SZ)  
2SG want ask.for what 1SG eat  
'What do you want to ask for for me to eat?'

The status of *beh* observed in the Ming and Qing Dynasties underwent some change at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. That is, *beh* was gradually raised to an auxiliary position. This structural change is supported by several facts. For one thing, the indication of the want of an entity by *beh*, whereby it takes an NP complement, became a dispreferred use in folk songs and CTSM. This change is suggestive of the change of *beh* from a verb to an auxiliary. This reasoning is supported by a structural constraint on *beh* observed in folk songs, i.e., a raised *beh*, hence the *behV* construction, figured as a predominant use in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (15a-b), with the exception of some residual cases of *Vbeh* such as *siu<sup>n</sup>beh* (lit. 'think-want'), *ch<sup>h</sup>ia<sup>n</sup> beh* (lit. 'invite-want'), and *ch<sup>h</sup>ua beh* (lit. 'marry-want'). That is, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century folk songs, only when *beh* occurs in a verbal compound (*V+beh*) does it allow an NP complement. Instead of *beh+NP*, the want of an entity is largely expressed by the compound *behai* 'to want-love', as in (14):

- (14) a. 卜 做 大 官. (Folk songs)  
**want** do big official  
 ‘(He) wants to be a high-ranking official.’  
 b. 伊 卜 招 你 去 百 貨 公 司 吹 冷 氣. (CTSM)  
 i **beh** chio li k<sup>h</sup>i pahuekongsi ch<sup>h</sup>ue liengk<sup>h</sup>i.  
 3SG **want** invite 2SG go department.store blow cold.air  
 ‘He wanted to invite you to go to the department store to enjoy  
 the air conditioning.’

- (15) 我 卜 愛 一 隻 雞. (CTSM)  
 goa **beh** ai chit chiah ke  
 1SG **want** love one QL chicken  
 ‘I want to (buy) one chicken.’

A change in CTSM that is consistent with the preference of *beh* to take a VP complement is for *beh* to disprefer a clausal complement (subject different from that of *beh*) and to disallow an adjectival complement. (16-17) are hypothetical examples to illustrate such structural constraints:

- (16) ?我 卜 你 認 真 讀 冊.  
 goa **beh** li jinchin t<sup>h</sup>ak che.  
 1SG **want** 2SG industrious read book  
 ‘I want you to study hard.’

- (17) \*伊 照 鏡 卜 水.  
 i chio kia<sup>n</sup> **beh** sui.  
 3SG look.at mirror **want** beautiful  
 ‘She looked at herself the mirror and wanted (to make herself  
 look) beautiful.’

In short, *beh* strongly prefers a VP complement in CTSM whereas both *behV* and *Vbeh* co-existed in historical SM and folk songs. The structural distribution in different time periods suggests that *beh* gradually changed from a verb/auxiliary in the 16-19<sup>th</sup> century to an auxiliary in CTSM. The raising can be schematically represented in (18):

- (18) *Vbeh* > *behV*

The structural and semantic change of *beh* ‘want; hope’ discussed above can be explained by a process of metaphORIZATION. Essentially, the shift involves the change from a concrete object or an animate NP to an abstract idea expressed by the verb phrase.

The change of the complements of *beh* from historical SM to CTSM finds support in a previous observation that changes are gradual (Lichtenberk 1991). It is held that “[i]f an element that has a function A acquires a new function B and if subsequently the element that has function B (and possibly still function A) acquires a function C, the change from A to B will be smaller than the change from A to C would have been” (p.39). In historical SM, *beh* bears a hybrid status of a verb or auxiliary, whereas in folk songs and CTSM, it is almost stabilized as an auxiliary. The auxiliary function is more different from the “want” meaning than *beh* with a verbal status since an auxiliary takes on a functionally oriented function, while the use of a verb is generally semantically oriented. Therefore, the change observed with *beh* upholds Lichtenberk’s view of the gradualness of grammaticalization.

## 5.2 Future

In addition to denoting ‘want; hope’, *beh* has been a full-blown futurity marker since the Ming Dynasty. While an animate subject typifies a “want” reading, when the subject of *beh* is an inanimate NP, a future reading is in order:

- (19) a. 許 春 卜 返 去 了. (JJ)  
           that spring **will** return go ASP  
           ‘Spring is going to leave soon.’  
       b. (許 飛機) 卜 轉來 休暍 矣. (CTSM)  
           he hueki **beh** tnglai hiohk<sup>h</sup>un a.  
           (that airplane) **will** return rest PAR  
           ‘(That airplane) was about to return and be parked.’

The future sense is further pragmatically strengthened to encode “excessiveness” when *beh* follows *kah* ‘to arrive’ (Chang 1999, Li 2001) or when what is predicted or wanted is something that is least favorable and of an extreme quality, especially with *si* ‘to die’. In the historical texts, only one token of such a use, in the 1884 text, is observed, whereas in CTSM we find four instances of *beh* with such a meaning:

- (20) a. 亞媽 許 厝 啼 都 卜 死，  
 grandma that house cry all **future** die  
 天 無 許 大 事。(GX)  
 still no that big matter  
 ‘The old mistress has kept on shouting long and hard in the house almost to the extent of dying. How can you say that nothing serious has happened?’
- b. 許 氣 及 卜 死 有 影。(CTSM)  
 he k<sup>h</sup>i kah **beh** si uia<sup>n</sup>  
 3SG angry arrive **near** die real  
 ‘(I) was really so irritated by it that I was nearly dying. (How irritating it was)!’

Although (20a-b) seem to forecast an imminent death, the speakers are actually evoking an implicature beyond the literal interpretation, i.e., the extremity of the state of shouting and of the irritation. Put differently, given the context that death is an unlikely interpretation, the speaker’s evaluation of the excessiveness of the event is strengthened and he/she is inviting the addressee to infer that the event/state reported by the speaker is something that deserves immediate attention. Such a use in SM involves a metonymic change indexing a meaning that is not directly observable at the propositional level but that involves pragmatic strengthening of the subjectified state of the sentential subject with regard to the speech situation which gave rise to the exasperation.

### 5.3 Necessity

*Beh* in historical and contemporary SM can also be used to express necessity. Wu (2001c:404) suspects that *beh* ‘to need (to)’ is a mere homonym of *beh* ‘to want’. However, upon our closer observation, it is found that *beh* ‘to need to’ is semantically linked with *beh* ‘to want to’ and appears in a variety of contexts in the historical and contemporary databases, though different distributional patterns are noted. The semantic link between necessity and volition can be best instantiated by (21a-b), where *beh* is a “hybrid” (cf., Heine et al. 1991:174) bearing an ambiguous reading between “want” and “necessity”:

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(21) (Female servant to mistress)

- a. 簡 畏 啞娘 卜 水 緊，  
 female.servant fear *aniu* **need** water hurry  
 是 簡 使 陳三 捧 來。 (JJ)  
 be female.servant send PN carry.in.hands come  
 Reading 1: 'I was afraid that you wanted water so badly that I sent Tansa<sup>n</sup> to carry the water here.'  
 Reading 2: 'I was afraid that you were in urgent need of water, so I sent Tansa<sup>n</sup> to carry the water here (for me).'
- b. 恁 磨 只 一 鏡 卜 若 工 錢? (SZ)  
 1PL polish this one mirror **need** how.much labor money  
 Reading 1: 'If I ask you to polish the mirror, how much money do (you) **want** (to charge)?'  
 Reading 2: 'If I ask you to polish the mirror, how much money do (I) **need** (to pay you)?'

(21a) can be either interpreted as needing or wanting the water since the heroine Aniu wants water for the necessary daily routine of getting washed in the morning. (21b) also implies a fused sense between want and necessity. Such sense can either tend towards the addressee's want of money or the payment necessary for polishing a mirror.

While there are ambiguous cases between volition and necessity, more instances of *beh* are found to signal pure necessity (9.5%, 69/730). With this sense, *beh* may preface a nominal expression (22a) or a predicative expression (22b).

- (22) a. 人眾 多， 卜 值 處 通 相 尋? (SZ)  
 people many **need** which place can each.other search  
 'There are so many people. Where do I need (to go) to find (him)?'
- b. (Hostess to a female servant)  
 賊 婢 你 卜 精神。 (GX)  
 thief female.slave 2SG **need** be.awake  
 '(You) slave have to keep awake tonight (to prevent the mistress from killing herself)!'

(22a) entails a pragmatically driven interpretation. The nominal complement of *beh*, 值處 *ti te* (literally 'which-place'), is a question word used frequently in the Ming and Qing Dynasties to ask about place.

Taking a question as its complement, *beh* suggests an epistemic sense of the speaker's state of mind, that the speaker is puzzled and helpless with regard to what needs to be done in face of an unsolvable problem. (22b) is uttered by a hostess and carries a strong illocutionary force of command, that it is mandatory for the female servant to keep awake at night so that her mistress will not be able to commit suicide.

Although the expression of necessity by *beh* is found both in historical SM and CTSM, they differ with respect to the type of complement they select. *Beh* in the drama scripts takes an adverbial expression, a VP, or a question word as its complement. In folk songs and CTSM, however, *beh* seems to be exclusively used in conjunction with a question word and suggests puzzlement and helplessness on the part of the speaker. Examples from CTSM and folk songs are given in (23a-c):

- (23) a. 叫 苦 一 聲 卜 再 樣. (Folk songs)  
 cry bitter one sound **need** how  
 '(I) gave a sad cry, not knowing what to do.'
- b. 沒 伙 食 卜 按 怎 吃? (CTSM)  
 no food **need** how eat  
 'If the school does not provide food (on Sundays), then how are they going to eat?'
- c. 質 馬 有 當 時 仔 卜 辦 代 誌,  
 chitma utia<sup>n</sup> beh pan taichi,  
 now sometimes want do thing  
 麼 不 知 卜 叨 一 項 先 辦? (CTSM)  
 ma m chai **beh** to chit hang sian pan  
 also not know **need** which one QL first do  
 '(I) have so many debts and so much business to deal with; so, now, sometimes when I do things, I don't know which I need to do first.'

The exclusive use of *beh* to designate helplessness in folk songs and CTSM can be further supported by a comparison with other modal verbs of necessity, e.g., *suiiao* and *ai* (cf. Section 4.3). As shown in (24a-b), if we substitute *ai/suiiao* for *beh*, the pragmatically motivated reading of helplessness is absent:

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- (24) a. 你 當 是 愛/需要 \*卜 當時 才 有 閒  
 li ta<sup>n</sup> si ai/suiao \*beh tangsia chiah u ieng  
 2SG PAR be need when then have free.time  
 通 暎?  
 t'ang k<sup>h</sup>un  
 can sleep  
 'How long do you need to wait before you have time to sleep?'
- b. 沒 伙食 愛/需要 \*卜 按怎 吃?  
 bo huesit ai/suiao \*beh anchua<sup>n</sup> chiah  
 no food need how eat  
 'If the school does not provide food (on Sundays), then how are they going to eat?'

Chang (1999) argues that *beh* preceding question words is a pragmatic extension of the future and that such a use evolves from the future sense. While we believe that there is a close semantic affinity between future and deontic necessity (Lyons 1977:825) and that both involve a non-factive reading, the preceding discussion manifests a further semantic link, between “want” and “necessity”. Since all these three senses existed over the last five centuries, the proposition about their evolutionary path remains tentative.

#### 5.4 Proximative

It has been shown in Chang (1999) that contemporary *beh* in Taiwanese takes an NP complement to denote a proximative sense. Analysis of historical data shows that, as is also the case with *beh* [+future], proximative *beh* has been existent since Ming Dynasty. Specifically, *beh* characterizes the closeness of a state of affairs to a certain degree and is usually associated with number, as shown in (25a-b):

- (25) a. 今年 飼 兔 價銀賣卜 三 兩五 兩.<sup>14</sup> (SZ)  
 this.year raise rabbit price sell near three niu five niu  
 'This year, we raised rabbits. They are sold at a price near three niu to five niu.'

<sup>14</sup> 兩[niu] is a unit of money used in ancient China.

- b. 痛 卜 歸 個 月. (CTSM)  
*t<sup>h</sup>ia<sup>n</sup> beh kui ko gueh.*  
 ache near all QL month  
 ‘(His stomach) has ached for almost one month.’

Two mechanisms may explain the semantic link between volition and proximity if we assume that *beh* originated as a pure verb of want. First, a metaphorical transfer might have taken place whereby the subject of *beh* was transferred from an animate to an inanimate one, which gives rise to a sense of “nearness”. A concomitant mechanism that promotes the change of meaning is pragmatic strengthening. When the subject is something unable to exercise volition, a “want” reading is ruled out. The interpretation of the utterance then relies on the situational context in which *beh* is used, hence the emergence of the “nearness” reading.

### 5.5 Conditional

It has been observed that optative modality is a lexical source for conditionals (Traugott 1985). The same semantic nexus is manifested in the use of *beh*. Like the proximative *beh*, over the past five centuries, *beh* has been used to indicate conditionality, in a bare form or compounded with the conditional marker *na* as *nabeh* or *behna*.<sup>15</sup> Though interchangeable with the conditional *na*, *beh* seems to be preferred in contexts where counterfactuality or hypotheticality is highlighted, e.g., (26a-b). As for *nabeh*, when occurring at initial position, it is a pure conditional, as in (27a); when taking a post-subject position, *nabeh* is suggestive of a fused sense of conditionality, volition, and futurity (27b-c).

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<sup>15</sup> Compared with *na*, *beh* is less frequently used as a conditional marker. For example, while there are 191 tokens of bare *na* in the CTSM corpus to indicate conditionality, only 5 *behs* serve such a function. In this paper, as we focus on the semantic change of *beh* and as *beh* has been a full-fledged conditional marker since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, we will not compare the differences between the nuances of conditionality indicated by *beh* and that by *na*. For more discussion on the conditional *beh* in CTSM, the reader is referred to Chang (1999); as for a detailed study of the functional distribution of *na* and other conditional markers in Taiwanese, the reader is referred to Wang (2006).



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- (26) a. 這一枝花 障香, 卜 揆除 可惜.  
this one QL flower so fragrant **if** throw.away regrettable  
'This flower smells so sweet. It would be a pity if (you) threw it away.'  
待 簡 共 啞娘 你 插  
wait female.servant KA PN 2SG insert  
'Let me put it in your hair.'
- b. 卜 我 吃 三 工 就 恬 矣. (JJ)  
**beh** goa chiah sa<sup>n</sup> kang to thiam a.  
**if** 1SG eat three day then tired PAR  
'If it were me, I would get sick if I ate (the same food) for three days.'
- (27) a. 那卜 是 益春 打破, 叫 益春 出來. (JJ)  
**if** be PN hitbreak ask PN come.out  
'If it was Iakch<sup>h</sup>un that broke the mirror, ask her to come here now.'
- b. 我 若卜 叫 你 炒 米粉,  
wo **nabeh** kio li ch<sup>h</sup>a bihun, (CTSM)  
I **if** ask 2SG scramble rice.noodle  
你 十二點 敢 炒 會 好?  
li chapjitiam kam chha e ho.  
2SG 12.o'clock dare scramble will good  
'If I ask you to make fried rice noodles, can you do it by twelve o'clock?'
- c. 伊 那卜 力 汝 送 官,  
3SG **if** arrest 2SG send officer  
許時 老個 便 來 照顧 汝. (GX)  
then old then come take.care 2SG  
'If you are arrested and taken to the police, I will come and take care of you then.'

The irrealis condition encoded by *beh* may suggest the rise of subjectified/epistemic function from volition (Chang 1999), hence the plausible metonymization at work linking the sense of volition and conditionality. The fusion observed in (27b-c) could be an indicator of an intermediate stage between volition and conditionality. As all the above functions occur in both historical and contemporary SM, the semantic link delineated here is hypothetical.

### 5.6 Summary

So far, we have investigated the uses of *beh* in historical SM, folk songs between the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and CTSM. A summary of the uses of *beh* in these databanks is given in Table 4.

As can be seen in Table 4, *beh* has been a highly polysemous modal verb since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The semantic functions are correlated with different syntactic constraints. Two changes, however, took place around the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. First, *beh*, when designating want or hope for something, was gradually raised from a verb to an auxiliary, which is revealed by its propensity to take a VP complement. The change was gradual in that although *beh* prefers a VP complement, intuitively it is permissible to signal the want of an entity (i.e., NP complement). The second change is the imposition of a more restricted context for *beh* with the necessity sense; that is, *beh* is used exclusively with a question word for indication of puzzlement or helplessness.

**Table 4. Diachronic development of *beh***

	16 <sup>th</sup> -19 <sup>th</sup> C	Folk songs	CTSM
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
1. Want of an entity	46 (6.3%)	43 (11.6%)*	1 (0.5%)**
2. Want for something to happen	440 (60.3%)	240 (64.5%)	132 (64.7%)
3. Future	65 (8.9%)	35 (9.4%)	34 (16.7)
4. Necessity	76 (10.4%)	14 (3.8%)	13 (6.4%***)
6. Proximative	11 (1.5%)	8 (2.2%)	18 (4.8%)
7. Conditional	85 (11.6%)	23 (6.2%)	6 (1.6%)
8. Others	7 (1%)	9 (2.4%)	0 (0%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>730 (100%)</b>	<b>372 (100%)</b>	<b>204 (100%)</b>

\* *Vbeh* only. \*\* Dispreferred use. \*\*\* Q words only.

## 6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have investigated the grammaticalization of the volition verbs *ai* and *beh* from a diachronic perspective, with data drawn from historical drama scripts, folk songs, and contemporary spontaneous Taiwanese Southern Min. I have shown that a divergence of senses (Hopper 1991:23) or “split” (Heine and Reh 1984:27-29, quoted in

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Hopper 1991) has existed since the 16th century throughout contemporary Southern Min in the uses of both *ai* and *beh*. The diachronic development demonstrates an interplay of metaphorization and metonymization (Traugott and Dasher 2002:27).

*Ai* was used as a verb signaling love, intention, or hope, with the complements varying from NP, VP, to clausal ones in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. The meaning of [+love] persists through the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to CTSM. Another use of historical *ai* until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was to foretell the advent of an unfavorable event. Such a meaning, however, is lost in CTSM. On the other hand, a new function of *ai* emerged between the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century whereby *ai* was largely used to predicate a socially accepted act or state of affairs, hence the sense of necessity.

*Beh* is identified with the following meanings: want/intention, future, excessiveness, necessity, proximative, and conditional in texts published in the Ming and Qing Dynasties and in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In CTSM, a loss of meaning and ‘specialization’ of uses (Hopper 1991:22) can be observed among some of these functions. First, the desire for an entity is a less preferred use in CTSM as modern *beh* is gradually raised before the lexical verb, while the transitive use signaling want is mainly found in the compound *behai*. In addition, necessity is used only with question words suggesting puzzlement and helplessness. Furthermore, the polysemous uses of *beh* support the general claim that diachronic changes are gradual. In specific terms, if we assume that *beh* originated as a verb of want of an entity, the co-existence of verbal and auxiliary status in historical SM and the later stabilization of the auxiliary status of *beh* illustrates the gradualness of change at work in functional development as proposed by Lichtenberk (1991). That is, the verbal status is less different from the verb of want than the auxiliary is, as the latter assumes a functionally oriented status whereas the former is more semantically based.

The diachronic developments of *ai* and *beh* summarized above illustrate a division of labor of the functions of *ai* and *beh*. *Ai* has been shown to be employed to encode an intense feeling and affection for someone or fondness for something, forecast an undesirable prediction, or mark the necessity for one to follow a commonly accepted action, whereas *beh* has been used to indicate a general want of something or an action or intention of doing something. The functional distinction exhibits a near complementary distribution, which also supports the

claim that there exist no true synonyms in a language but that synonyms exist for different functional concerns (Cruse 2001).

The meanings and changes of *ai* and *beh* are argued to be triggered by two conceptual mechanisms: metaphorization and metonymization. Metaphorization mainly contributes first to the semantic shift from [+want; love] to [+intention] and a concurrent categorical shift of a lexical verb to an auxiliary, and in a second change, to the evolution of future. Metonymization activates an even wider range of uses and meaning change, including the pragmatic strengthening of interpretations such as excessiveness, necessity, doubt, proximative and conditional, and prediction of undesired future.

While I have demonstrated the historical change of *ai* and *beh* since the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Southern Min, the various proposals on the development of the two verbs earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> century are provisional, especially on the origin of *beh*, as SM texts earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> century have been unavailable to date. Phonologically, *beh* does not seem to derive from its close synonym such as *yu* or *yao* 'to desire; to want' in classical Chinese. Semantically, the uses of *beh* might be a result of dialectal contact with *yao* as both verbs bear almost identical functions in modern Chinese (cf., Chang and Chen 2003, and Cheng 2003). On the other hand, *beh* might be a borrowed term from a non-Chinese language due to the thriving of international trade between the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> century at the Quanchou harbor, in Fujian Province, where Southern Min was the dominant dialect. Until historical texts prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century are unearthed, these questions remain to be answered.

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隱喻化及轉喻化：  
閩南語意願動詞的歷史演變

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本文研究閩南語意願動詞「愛」與「卜/欲」的歷史語意演變。本文語料包含明清時代歌仔戲文，十九世紀末至二十世紀初歌仔冊，以及當代閩南語口語自然語料。結果顯示，「愛」與「卜/欲」的語意演變可以十九世紀末至二十世紀初為界限，分為兩個階段：明清用法及當代用法。自明代迄今，「愛」最主要的語意為表達喜好，意願，或希望。在明清時代，「愛」亦可標記未來可能發生的動作或事件；然而，「愛」所指的未來事件僅限於不利談話者的事件；此用法在十九世紀末逐漸消失。現代閩南語中，「愛」發展出表達『需要』的語意；此功能用於標記後接的動作；同時，此動作通常是一般人所認同需要去從事的活動或動作。明清時代的「卜/欲」主要有七個用法：欲望/意願/希望，未來，過度，需要，接近，以及條件。在現代閩南語中，『欲望』的語意已少用於對實物的想望或需要，而主要用於後接主事者所欲從事的動作。以上「愛」與「卜/欲」的語意變化可說是受到隱喻化及轉喻化的交互作用所產生的演變。隱喻化主要促成「愛」與「卜/欲」由喜愛具體事物到從事某活動的意願；在此同時，「愛」與「卜/欲」也從動詞轉換為近似助動詞的用法。此外，「愛」與「卜/欲」也演化出『未來』的語意。轉喻化則主要促成因語境強化而形成的語意：過度（卜/欲），需要（愛與卜/欲），接近（卜/欲），條件（卜/欲），以及不利談話者的未來事件的標記（愛）。

關鍵詞：閩南語、意願動詞、語法化、歷史演變、隱喻化、轉喻化