

HUMAN-DENOTING INTERROGATIVE WORDS IN  
EARLY SOUTHERN MIN: COEXISTENCE AND EVOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines three kinds of coexistent human-denoting interrogative words in early Southern Min texts: *ti<sup>7</sup>-lang<sup>5</sup>* 值人 (<底儂), \* *si<sup>7</sup>-tsui<sup>7</sup>* 是誰 and *mih<sup>4</sup> lang<sup>5</sup>* 乜人 (<物儂) representing different chronological strata, viz., Southern Dynasties period (5-6<sup>th</sup> century), Wei-Jin Period (3-5<sup>th</sup> century), and Tang-Song Period (8-10<sup>th</sup> century). If we assume that *ti<sup>7</sup>-lang<sup>5</sup>* 底儂 is the indigenous system, *si<sup>7</sup>-tsui<sup>7</sup>* 是誰 and *mih<sup>4</sup> lang<sup>5</sup>* 物儂 must have been the implanted systems. As attested in the texts, *si<sup>7</sup>-tsui<sup>7</sup>* 是誰 is most robust, whereas *ti<sup>7</sup>-lang<sup>5</sup>* 值人 is the least robust, and *mih<sup>4</sup> lang<sup>5</sup>* 乜人 stands in the middle. However, the fate of the three kinds of interrogative words differs in modern descendants of Southern Min. The relative robustness varies with

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**Acknowledgment.** The research on which the paper is based is partially supported by NSC 98-2923-H-007-001-MY3 and ‘Monsoon Asia and Multi-Cultures Program’, Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences, National Tsing Hua University. An earlier version of the paper was presented at the 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference in Evolutionary Linguistics held at Chinese University of Hong Kong, 17-19 August, 2013. I thank the audience for stimulating feedback. I owe much to Liying Chen and Liwei Liu for editing assistance during the revision of this paper. Thanks are also due to anonymous reviewers’ comments and suggestions.

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\* The romanization of Southern Min in this paper is based on the Church Romanization codified in Douglas (1873) (see also endnote 4).

ZHOU, Changji 周長楫. 1998. *Xiamen Fangyan Cidian* 廈門方言詞典 (Dictionary of the Xiamen dialect). Nanjing 南京: Jiangsu Jiaoyu Chubanshe 江蘇教育出版社.

## 早期閩南語中指人疑問代詞：並存和演變

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### 提要

本文探討早期閩南語文本中三種並存指人疑問代詞： $ti^7-lang^5$ “值人”(<底儂)、 $si^7-tsu^7$ “是誰”、 $mih^4 lang^5$ “乜人”(<物儂)，分別代表不同的時代層次，即南朝(五至六世紀)、魏晉(三至五世紀)、唐宋(八至十世紀)層次。若假定“底儂”為固有層，“誰/誰人”、“物儂”就是移借層。從明清戲文看來“誰/誰人”最有活力，“值人”最不具活力，“乜人”處於中間。但這三種指人疑問代詞在現代閩南語中發展情況不一。其活力視次方言而變。比如較邊緣的海南方言還保存“底儂”的現代反映，為合音形式/?*diang*/。其他邊緣的方言，如永春、金門，澎湖，東山，雷州，潮州等也保存合音詞 *tian*<sup>5</sup>。本文也將考察閩南語之外指人疑問代詞在其他閩方言的分布情況。準變項“儂”在作為閩語人稱代詞複數形所顯現的強度也會和三種指人疑問代詞的分布放在一起討論。

### 關鍵詞

誰 閩南語 時代層次 演變