

古漢語“也”的隱沒與消亡——以出土秦楚文獻材料為例

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作為古漢語中使用頻率極高的語氣詞，“也”的歷時演變具備有別於其他語氣詞的特性：由“構式賦義”至因方域而隱沒，直至最終因“構式競爭”而趨於消亡。

本文立足於構式語法相關理論，借助鮮有後人改易之虞的出土秦楚簡牘文獻，旨在釐清漢語中特殊的語氣詞“也”於共時及歷時平面交互下的隱沒及消亡現象，進而為肇端於戰國末語氣詞“也”的發展探源。

經由檢視秦楚簡牘，我們認為，古漢語“也”的歷時演變大致經歷三個重要階段：

第一階段：“也”在產生之初便已借作語氣詞，最早見於西周，於大盂鼎中可見用例：率肆於酉（酒），古（故）喪師也。（5.2837）周代傳世文獻中亦可見“也”作語氣詞之用；

第二階段：秦簡中頻見方言語氣詞“毆”，本流佈於六國的語氣詞“也”在這一時期與“也”並行，“毆”“也”的短暫交替出現，是以語氣詞“也”於秦地暫時隱沒；

第三階段：同功能或相近功能構式的出現，“也”已現消亡之勢。中古漢語中，“是”字構式的使用頻率逐漸超過“也”字構式，在同功能的構式競爭中，“是”字構式能產性高，因此，“也”字構式逐漸被棄用，直至趨於消亡。

本文可初步推知，上古漢語中語氣詞“也”隱沒與消亡的原因：

第一，方域與用字。這一外部動因，或為“也”於古秦地隱沒的直接動因之一。秦代簡牘文獻中，方域與用字的影響極大。語氣詞“也”於秦地暫時隱沒的核心因素，在於方域與用字共同作用下，將地域用字“毆”暫時改換為“也”。我們藉助對讀材料可見，同為秦簡，放馬灘秦簡存在語氣詞“毆”改換“也”的現象；而在楚簡之中，“爾”作為與“也”功能極為相似的語氣詞，出現頻率較高，尤見於語氣詞較為豐富的《郭店楚墓竹簡》中。

第二，“構式賦義”與構式的隱沒。作為內部動因的“構式賦義”，與構式的隱沒存在一定的關聯性。劉承慧（2019:293）認為，“也”的深層結構關涉“構式組合”與“構式分化”，而其“分化”指的是“也”演變為“語法標記”。而事實上，古漢語“也”的本質為“構式賦義”，也即“也”的語氣功能及語義是由“也”所處的構式所賦予的。因此，古漢語“也”的隱沒與消亡，其實質為“也”所處的構式的隱沒與消亡。

第三，構式競爭。“構式競爭”與同功能的替代相伴而生，在語氣詞“也”的歷時演變進程中，是極為重要的內部因素。上古漢語中晚期，秦楚簡牘中皆可見“是”字式構式，但這一時期的“是”並非是純粹的係詞，而是兼具係詞性與指代性，與“也”（“毆”）字式構式共現，二者語氣功能極為相近，或可相互替代，存在競爭；中古時期，“也”字構式與“是”字構式間的競爭依然存續。大約至元代，《朴通事》中可見“也”作副詞的用法，或可推知，語氣詞“也”或已棄用，“也”字構式或已見消亡之勢。

關鍵詞：語氣詞，也，歷時，演變，構式賦義

**Modal Particle *Ye* wither away in Ancient Chinese:
Take Unearthed Literature from Qin and Chu as Example**

Ye, as a modal particle with high frequency of use in ancient Chinese, has characteristics that are different from other modal particles through diachronic evolution. From construction endows with grammatical meaning to the fading of *ye* caused by region, and eventually, it tends to wither away due to constructional competition.

This paper is rooted in Construction Grammar by Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Graeme Trousdale (2013). Based on the unearthed literature from Qin and Chu, to clarify the fading process of modal particle *ye* under the interaction of synchronic and diachronic dimensions. Proceed to the next step, tracing to the source of modal particle *ye* in late warring states period.

After consulting the Qin and Chu bamboo slips, we believe that the diachronic evolution of ancient Chinese *ye* roughly experienced three important stages. First phase of diachronic evolution is *ye* has been borrowed as a modal particle since its inception. Phase two is *yi* and *ye* in Qin bamboo slips alternative. So that, the modal particle *ye* temporarily disappeared in Qin region. At stage three, that is, the appearance of identical or similar functional constructions. The case in point is construction ‘*Shi*’ surpass construction ‘*ye*’. Therefore, the usage of construction ‘*ye*’ is gradually decrease.

This paper preliminarily infers the reasons for fading of modal particle *ye* in Ancient Chinese. There are three reasons: one is external reason, and the other two are internal reasons. Firstly, the region and the usage of the words, which is direct cause for the fading of modal particle *ye*. The second reason is that construction endows with grammatical meaning, related to construction wither away in Ancient Chinese. There is a certain correlation between the internal motivation of "construction endows with grammatical meaning" and the disappearance of construction. The third intrinsic motivation is constructional competition. Accompanied by the substitution of the same function for *ye*, there is constructional competition. Around the Yuan Dynasty, the usage of *ye* as an adverb was evident in Piao TongShi. It can be inferred that the frequency use of *ye* may have been decreased, and the construction *ye* may have seen a trend of extinction.

Keywords: modal particle, *ye*-construction, diachronic, evolution, construction endows with grammatical meaning