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舌燦蓮花 (She Can Lianhua) Lotus Blossoming from the Tongue: A Metaphor for Language Change--Diachronic Development of 朵 (duo, flower) and Other Morphemes Y. C. Li, University of Hawaii

1. Preface

Language is utilized to communicate meaning. As the expression of meaning is the most fundamental, development and change in language naturally relates to modification of linguistic forms and their associated meanings.

One of cognitive linguistics' fundamental tenets is that metaphor plays an essential role in our expression and manipulation of meanings through linguistic forms.

This paper intends to discuss 朵 (duo, flower), 就 (jiu, to approach), and other related morphemes, whose current usage as classifier and conjunction respectively has resulted from their metaphorical extension since the archaic days.

景 (duo, flower) became a unique classifier (similar to 本 (ben, unit of books); 就 (jiu, to approach) became a versatile conjunction, mostly connecting two clauses indicating "immediacy" in successive occurrence of two events.

2. The Metaphorical Development of 朵 Duo

The original meaning of the classical noun 呆 (duo) was "flower". Cognitively, the usual image of flower may be recognized as having essential properties such as "flower-shape", "symmetrical parts", "protruding parts", etc.

Central category (a) below illustrates names of objects with flower-shape. Radial category (b) illustrates names of objects with symmetrical parts, and radial category (c) illustrates names of objects with protruding parts.

The three categories of nouns form a cognitive network through the metaphorical extension of essential properties intrinsic in the image schema of flower (Lakoff, 1987 and Langacker, 1990).

Two important cognitive motivations of image-schema transformation and object-for-goal metonymy (Lakoff, 1987) are involved in the formation of the nouns.

(a) Besides 花 (hua, flower) and 朵 (duo, flower) historically, there have been nouns for "flowers" such as, 朵兒 (duor, flower), 花朵 (huaduo, flower), 骨朵 (guduo, bud), 花骨朵 (huaguduo, flowering bud), and specific names for flowers.

朵雲 (duoyun) became a metonymy for "letter" with 朵 (duo, flower) incorporated. In sentence (1) below, Wei Zhi's writings on his colorful stationery were described as resembling "many clouds" (五朵雲, wu duo yun).

1. 常以五彩箋為書記...陟字若五 朵雲。(新唐書韋陟傳)

Chang yi wu cai jian wei shu ji...Zhi ji ruo wu *duo yun*. (Xin Tang Shu, Wei Zhi) Frequently colorful stationery was used for writing...Zhi's characters resembled the shapes of *many clouds*. (Chronicles of the New Tang, Biography of Wei Zhi)

(b) 耳朵 (erduo, ear (lobe)), 朵子 (duozi, earrings), 朵廊 (duolang, corridors on both sides of a hall), and 朵樓 (duolou, stories on both sides of a main story) have included 朵 (duo), even though they do not associate with flowers.

(duo), by itself, can also refer to "side rooms". This is a good evidence that 4(duo)incorporates the property of "symmetrical parts", "duo"-shape paths (as part of the "source-path-goal" schema.

An interesting phrase 朵頤 (duoyi) in a set phrase 大快朵頤 (da kuai duoyi) describes one as "happily moving both (朵 duo) cheeks (頤 yi) while eating".

(b) The first homonym 垛 (duo) signifies "buttress" or "mound built as target", which can also be in a disyllabic form, 垛口 (duokou). There have also been nouns like 箭垛 (jianduo, arrow target), (城)垛子 (duozi, battlements), etc.

The second homonym in another form, 堙 (duo), has been found in 堙堙 (duoduo, mound), 堙塊 (duokuai, mound), 堙防 (duofang, embankment), and 堙磚 (duozhuan, stacked bricks). All these nouns, though neither related to flowers in (a) nor objects with symmetrical parts.

For 朵, 垛, and 埵, and their seemingly different meanings, the assertion here is that the image schema of flower is intrinsically reflected by the metaphorical capture of the selected properties in the extended use of their various words.

the third tone of the noun (duo3) is changed into the fourth tone, in order for it to function as a verb (duo4). (2) below exemplifies the use of the noun (duo3) and the verb (duo4) in the same sentence.

This is clearly an example of the object-for-goal metonymy, where the verb 垛 (duo4) depicts achieving the goal of the action:

2. 把木柴 垛成高高的柴 垛。

Ba muchai *duo4* cheng gaogaode chai*duo3*. *Pile up* the wood into a high wood *pile*.

This possibly demonstrates an unusual twist in the extended property of "protrusion" for the verb 剁 (duo4):

3. 把那棵樹*剁*掉。

Ba na ke shu *duo4* diao. *Chop off* that tree.

Is it possible that \mathcal{H} (duo4, to pile up) in (2) signifies the building of a protruded object such as "wood pile", but that in (3) the same sound actually indicates the reverse, which is the elimination of protrusion by "chopping off"?

A few additional "duo4"-like verbs such as, 嚲 (duo4), function as verbs meaning "to droop". As another property of the image schema.

垛口(duokou) can actually refer to "opening in the battlements" which also suggests the reversal of "protrusion".

Characters representing the same basic meaning may be the several characters for "zhong" (center): 中 (bull's eye, center), 仲 (middle-ranking), 忠 (centering one's heart, loyalty), and 衷 (mind's center (from "underwear"), inner thought).

The basic image schema of "center" is derived from the image, showing an arrow piercing the center of a target.

The image-schema transformation relates the target with the bull's eye to the goal of centering one's heart (i.e., being loyal), to another goal of placing someone in the center, and to yet another goal in the mind's center.

The meaning of 鬌(duo) and its relation to the metaphorical source of "protruding object" in context. 鬌(duo) is, after all, an object-for-goal metonymy derived from the basic image 朵 (duo, flower):

4. 三月之末,擇日剪髮為鬌。男角女羈,否則男左女右。(禮記,內則)
Sanyue zhi mo, ze ri jian fa wei duo. Nan jiao nyu ji, fouze nan zuo nyu you.
(Book of Rites, the Internal Etiquette)
At the end of March, a day is chosen to cut the hair, and buns of hair are made.
The boy's buns are on the corners, and the girl's is on the top. Otherwise, the boy's is on the left, and the girl's is on the right.

5. 所留而不剪者謂之鬌。(孔潁達疏)

Suo liu er bu jian zhe wei zhi duo. (Kong Yingda's Commentaries) The hair that is left uncut is referred to as "duo" ("protruding" bun).

There are other instances of "duo3/duo4" such as, 躲(duo, to hide), which is found not to be associated with any original properties of the schema of flower.

3. The Grammaticalization of 朵 (duo) into a Classifier

Only the objects truly considered associated with flower (except 朵雲 (duoyun, flower-cloud; letter) as discussed in (1)) in (a) were classified by 朵(duo).

The development of classifiers in language, in my observation, is grounded in our cognitive need for categorization and prototyping.

條 (tiao, branch), which initially began associating only with thin stick-like objects but then broadened its categorization to include entities such as 路 (lu, road), 河 (he, river), and even 狗 (gou, dog) and 豬 (zhu, pig).

I hypothesize that a practical motivation for categorization using classifiers began with something like the need to make an inventory. At least two things must be included in an inventory, object identity and quantity.

Object identity is usually specified by a name or a reference to a category. Quantity is specified by number or reference to volume, size, weight, and other measures.

Unit classifiers began by using specific nouns, such as 人(ren, man) and (duo, flower) in the Archaic days. Only flowers remained to be categorized by (duo).

During stage1, nouns such as 箇/個 (ge, unit of bamboo), 枚 (mei, unit of tree), and 呆 (duo, unit of flower) only categorized entities associated with specific schemas.

During stage 2, nouns such as, 個(ge, unit of bamboo) and 枚 (mei, unit of tree), were broadened to associate with more generalized image schemas, and 個 (ge) began to include other stick-like entities such as, 矢(shi, arrow), besides "bamboo".

枚 (mei) began to include entities such as, 劍 (jian, sword), 魚 (yu, fish), 龜 (gui, turtle), and 珠 (zhu, pearl), besides "trees" (朵 (duo) remained in stage1).

During stage 3, nouns such as 個 (ge) and 枚 (mei) progressed to a very broad level of association with almost abstract unit schemas.

In my definition, a classifier or a quantifier noun has not grammaticalized into a unit classifier until it takes the position Cl in the structure: Num + Cl + N.

In Nx: Num + Ny, Ny remained a quantity noun, because the phrase Num + Ny is only used to predicate or depict different kinds of quantities for Nx:

6. 馬五十兩(輛)。(甲骨文)

Ma wushi liang. (Jia Gu Wen)

There are horses for fifty chariots (of two-wheels). (Oracle Bone Writings)

7. 孚(俘)馬[]匹。(小盂鼎)

Fu ma [] pi. (Xiao Yu Ding)

(We) captured horses numbering [x]. (Xiao Yu Ding)

8. 陳文子有馬十乘。(論語,先進)

Chen Wen Zi you ma shi sheng. (Lun Yu, Xian Jin)

Chen Wen Zi has horses for ten carriages. (The Analects, Xian Jin)

9. 車馬百駟。(史記,滑稽列傳)

Che ma bai si (Shi Ji, Huaji Liezhuan)

There are (vehicles and) horses for one hundred four-horse carriages. (The Grand Historian's Record, Huaji Biographies)

兩 (輛) (liang, two-wheel chariot) in (6), 乘 (sheng, carriage) in (8), and 駟 (si, four-horse carriage) in (9) refer to different units and kinds of vehicles and the numbers preceding them quantify the vehicles and not the horses.

My hypothesis is that the Num + Cl + N structure began with the use of Num + Cl as a modifier in the Modifier + $\frac{1}{2}$ zhi/de + Noun structure.

This is why the so-called temporary classifier such as 桌子(zhuozi, table) in 一桌子 (的)菜 (yi zhuozi (de) cai), a whole table of food) frequently has 的(de) in it, since 一桌子(yi zhuozi, a whole table) functions a modifying phrase.

The grammaticalization of nouns into classifiers has had a syntactic consequence, which essentially means that there is a new syntactic category, Cl, and a new syntactic slot for it.

The grammaticalization of 就(jiu, approach) into a conjunction has had its syntactic consequences. This is, I believe, the basis for the development of diachronic syntax in the history of language.

From the cognitive perspective, spatial ordering is a fundamental motivation for most structuring in syntax. I call this hypothesis for cognitive syntactic development, the spatial motivation theory..

These various linguistic events may or may not involve another party or entity at a certain time or a certain place. Where sequencing of participants or entities in connection to activity or state are necessary, it is found that we tend to follow chronological or logical order across languages.

The metaphorical change of $\Re(duo)$ into a function word took at least two steps. It began with the mental construal of a specific image schema of flower.

Objects of categories (a), (b), and (c) were able to form nouns with the morpheme \Re (duo). Through time, the function of \Re (duo) changed into a classificatory function word, co-occurring only with objects literally or poetically flowers.

The spatial motivation theory explains why 一朵花 (yi duo hua, a flower) in Chinese and "an ear of corn" in Englsih share a similar structure. Since both languages have the same Modifier + Head structure.

4. The Grammaticalization of 就 (jiu) into a Conjunction

就 (jiu, to approach) demonstrate a common developmental pathway of grammaticalization for many morphemes evolving into function words.

就 (jiu) was "to approach a high place". The fundamental image schema is logically that of the activity of going close to a location. The spatial schema of "closing proximity", when translated into a temporal term, is "immediacy".

The common developmental pathway of grammaticalization for 呆 (duo, flower) and 就 (jiu, to approach) is the realization of the image-schema transformation and the object-for-goal metonymy.

The original meaning of 就 (jiu, to approach) in the structure:Motion V + Location.

(10) 處工,就官府;處商,就市井;處農,就田野。(國語,齊語)
Chu gong, jiu guanfu; chu shang, jiu shijing; chu nong, jiu tianye. (Guoyu)
Dealing in labor, approach the government; dealing in commerce, approach the marketplace; dealing in agriculture, approach the field. (Guoyu, Qiyu)

(11) 猶水之就下也。(孟子,告子上)

You shui zhi jiu xia ye. (Mengzi, Gaozi Shang) It is like the water going toward the lower reaches. (Mencius. Gaozi One)

(12) and (13) below, the function and meaning of 就 (jiu) begin to appear a little uncertain. Two reasons, at least, seem to account for this situation.

First, the goal of 就 (jiu) in these sentences is no longer Location. Second, the interpretation of 就 (jiu) seems to sway from its original meaning. 就 (jiu) in the second clause in (13) makes the interpretation of "approach" even less fitting.

(12) 就有道而正焉。(論語)

J<u>iu</u> youdao er zheng yan. (Lunyu) [He] approaches (is close to?) the men of virtue for rectifying himself.

(13) (如殺無道,) 以就有道。(論語)

(Ru sha wudao,) yi <u>jiu</u> you dao. (Lunyu) (As if the virtueless are killed) in order to approach (be close to?) the virtuous.

Due to the nature of the consequential second clause in (13), 就 (to approach) begins to entail certain result such as "ending up close" to something or somebody.

就 (to approach), starting from (10) and (11), takes two metaphorical leaps: first, shifting its interpretation from "approaching" to "be close" in (13) (perhaps 12 also) and, second, "to reach, succeed" in (14).

The extension of the idea from "be close" to "to reach, succeed" fits another metaphor, i.e., soon-to-be-realized ("to reach, succeed") is proximal ("be close").

(14) 三窟已就,(君姑高枕為樂矣,) (戰國策,齊四)

San ku yi jiu. (Zhanguo Ce, Qi si)

Three caves were already finished. (Intrigues of the Warring States. Qi State

From having a Location goal, to having a regular goal, then, to having no direct goal, and finally, to having 就 (jiu) before the main verbs, 煮 (zhu, to cook) in (15) and 銷 沉 (xiaochen, to disappear) in (16) as illustrated below, we may see how 就 (jiu) has transformed from a verb to a conjunction.

(15) 僧不可; 必欲就煮食。 (夷堅志·丙志)

Seng bu ke, bi yu jiu zhu shi. (Yi Jian Zhi, Bing Zhi)

The monk would not allow; he definitely wanted to cook and eat right away. (Yi Jian Record, the Third Record)

(16) 离天渥兮就銷沉. (皇太子妃哀策文)

Li tian wu xi jiu xiaochen. (Huang Taizi Fei Ai Ce Wen)

When rain falls from the sky, it quickly dissipates. (Huang Taizi Fei Ai Ce Wen)

In (17) below where 就 (jiu) occurs in the first clause, its interpretation is no longer "right away" as in (15) or "quickly" as in (16) where it occurs in the second clause.

The idea of "immediacy" necessarily refers to a succeeding event as closely adjacent to a preceding event. This is why the same 就 (jiu) may function as two seemingly different metonymies through the same image-schema transformation.

(17) 就复東征,必不傾危矣。(三國誌,蜀書,法正傳)

<u>Jiu</u> fu dong zheng, bi bu qing wei yi. (San Guo Zhi, Shu Shu, Fa Zheng Zhuan) Even if (we) renew the Eastern Campaign, (we) will definitely not risk any danger. (Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms, Record of Shu, Fa Zheng Biography)

Many classical and modern function words such as prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs, which are discourse-oriented (Chu, 1998), have similar consequences of this spatial ordering principle.

This is also why I stated that the grammaticalization of function words (including classifiers) has their syntactic consequence.

(18) 晉侯以我喪故, 未之見也。(左傳,襄公)

Jin Hou yi wo sang gu, wei zhi jian ye. (Zuo Zhuan, Xiang Gong) Because we are in mourning, Jin Hou did not receive our peole.

(19) 余不聽豫之言;以罹此難也。(呂氏春秋)

Yu bu ting Yu zhi yan; yi li ci nan ye. (Lyu Shi Chun Qiu) I did not listen to Yu; therefore, I encountered this disaster. (Lyu's Chronicles)

以 (yi, to take) is interpreted as "because" in the first clause in (18), whereas it is analyzed as "therefore" in the second clause in (19). In (20) below, conjunction 既 (ji) is interpreted as "already" in the first clause and as "all" in the second clause:

(20) 宋人既成列,楚人未既濟。(春秋左傳集解)

Song ren ji cheng llie, Chu ren wei ji ji. (Though) the Song army had already completed the battle formation, yet the Chu army did not all cross the river.

The image-schema transformation relating the temporal "already/always" and the spatial/quantity "all" is obvious. (20) can be paraphrased into a modern sentence using a modern conjunction 都 (dou, already, always, all) in (21):

(21) 宋軍都排好陣勢了,楚軍還沒有都過河呢。

Song jun dou paihao zhenshi le, Chu jun hai meiyou dou guo he ne. (Though) the Song army had already completed the battle formation, yet the Chu army did not all cross the river.

This demonstrates the metaphoric connection among "already", "always", "all".

5. Closing Words

The spatial motivation principle offers explanation not only for the linear sequencing of elements, but also for the overall scheme in discourse organization.

In the history of human language, the progressive grammaticalization of certain substantive words into function words such as prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, etc., seems to have gone hand in hand with the development of syntactic structure from simple sentences into complex discourses.

One revealing reflection of this historical development is the versatile utility of function words such as 就 (jiu), 以 (yi), and 既 (ji) as prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs, depending upon contexts. Their various functions seem to be largely a consequence of the position they occupy in the conceptual space of a discourse.

This paper emphasizes 景 (duo) and 就 (jiu)'s involvement with two important cognitive motivations of image-schema transformation and object-for-goal metonymy.