Linguistic Society of Hong Kong

香港語言學學會

Workshop on Development of Cantonese Grammar:

an Interaction between Diachronic and Synchronic Grammar

粵語歷時與共時語法的互動研究研討會

ABSTRACTS
論文摘要

City University of Hong Kong

香港城市大學

April 10, 2005 (Sunday)

二零零五年四月十日 (星期日)

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香港語言學學會
Linguistic Society of Hong Kong

THE FOURTH WORKSHOP ON CANTONESE

Development of Cantonese Grammar: an Interaction between Diachronic and Synchronic Grammar

Date: April 10, 2005 (Sunday)
Time: 2:00 pm – 5:30 pm
Venue: G7619, City University of Hong Kong
Moderator: Professor Hung-nin Samuel Cheung

~ Program ~

2:00-2:05	Opening Remark	
2:05-2:40	粵語的萬七、萬七的起源、源起的背後	歐陽偉豪
2:40-3:15	On the Plural Morpheme in Cantonese	Sze-wing TANG
3:15-3:50	A Study on the Properties of the Particle *lou5* in Cantonese	Ying Wai WONG
3:50-4:00	Coffee Break	
4:00-4:35	早期粵語選擇問句裡的析取連詞	丘寶怡
4:35-5:10	粵語完成體標記「曉」的來源和演變	郭必之、片岡新
5:10-5:30	General discussion	

~ All are welcome ~

粵語的萬七、萬七的起源、源起的背後

歐陽偉豪
香港科技大學人文學部 / 香港中文大學中文系

本文欲探討三個問題：

(1) 為何粵語的倍數詞、計量詞可作詞頭，而普通話則不能？換句話說，粵語可丟一 (即丟去最左邊的數詞一)，而普通話則要留一。

| 倍數詞作詞頭 ||
粵語	普通話
*萬*七 (曾子凡 1995:154 '百三')	*(一)萬七
*千*七	*(一)千七
*百*七	*(一)百七
*十*七	*(一)十七
*個*七	*(一)個七
計量詞作詞頭	
*日*半 (曾子凡 1995:154)	*(一)天半
*點*半	* (一)點半
*尺*半	* (一)尺半
*斤*半	* (一)斤半

(2) 這個倍數詞、計量詞的丟一現象，宋代已有，但最早是何時？

倍數詞作詞頭
朱子語類 (宋)
人一晝一夜有*萬*三千六百餘息 (卷第六十八‧易四/乾上- 1702)
*千*二百五十里 (卷第八十六‧禮三 / 周禮 / 論近世諸儒說 – 2207)
侵了一百十錢, 第二日侵了*百*二十 (卷第五十九‧孟子九 / 告子上 / 牛山之木章 - 1394)
以經言，則只*百*二十五里 (卷第八十六‧禮三 / 周禮 / 論近世諸儒說- 2208)

計量詞作詞頭
旨令開閫中路，闊丈五尺 (卷第一百二十七‧本朝一 / 高宗朝 - 3058 -)

    (3) 丟一留一的今古材料跟下面粵普指示詞作詞頭現象有甚麼關係？這兒，粵語要留一兼留量詞，但普通話卻可丟一丟量詞。丟留現象背後有甚麼制約？

指示詞作詞頭	
粵語	普通話
呢*(一個)蘋果唔好, 嗰*(一個)蘋果先好 呢*(個)唔好, 嗰*(個)先好	這蘋果不好, 那蘋果才好 這不好, 那才好

<div align="center">部份參考材料</div>

曾子凡. 1995. 《廣州話、普通話語詞對比研究》。
朱子語類 (http://harmonia.arts.cuhk.edu.hk/~sinica/handy1/)。

On the Plural Morpheme in Cantonese

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It has been suggested that the Cantonese plural morpheme was derived from '的'. As noted by (Yue 2000), the plural classifier was written as '的' in the 19th century Cantonese, for instance, in《麥仕治廣州俗語〈書經〉解義》. The plural marker used in demonstratives was also written as '的' as in 呢的 'these' and rendered [tik] in E. C. Bridgman (1841) *Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect* (Yue 2004). Interestingly, the plural morpheme ending with the velar stop is still preserved in some modern Yue dialects, such as [tik[55]] in 個 [tik[55]] 'those' in Lianxian Qingshui (連縣清水) and Lianjiang (廉江) (Zhan et al. 1994, 2002). If the plural morpheme in modern Cantonese was derived from '的', what would be the ancestor of this plural morpheme?

It is argued in this paper that the Cantonese plural morpheme was derived from '等' or '等物' historically. '等' was a plural morpheme in classical Chinese. After being merged with '物', the plural morpheme became monosyllabic, in which the onset was the alveolar stop [t] originated from '等' and the coda was either [t] or [k] originated from '物'. Such pronunciations are still preserved in many southern dialects, such as Yue and Gan dialects.

There are some interesting consequences of the present analysis. First of all, the Cantonese plural morpheme was not derived from the nominalizer '的' (or '底') in pre-modern Mandarin. The plural morpheme in the southern dialects and the nominalizer in the northern dialects should have the two different historical paths. Secondly, the discrepancy between Cantonese *di* and Mandarin *de* on the one hand and Cantonese *ge* on the other hand in the formation of '有 + *x*' partitives can be explained, given that grammaticalization of *di* and *de* was much earlier than that of *ge*. Thirdly, the historical development of the Cantonese plural morpheme suggests that the plural classifier *di* and the plural marker *dei* in Hong Kong Cantonese should be cognate and further supports the synchronic movement approach to the derivation of Cantonese plural pronouns (Tang 1999).

A Study on the Properties of the Particle *lou5* in Cantonese

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In written Chinese, the primary meaning of *lou5* is 'old', and it is prefixed to many nouns to indicate the status of oldness of the noun, forming noun phrases like *lou5 sin1 saang1* 'an old man'. Besides, *lou5* possesses many other meanings like 'experienced' (*lou5 sau2* 'experienced person'), 'for many years' (*lou5 pang4 jau5* 'old friend') and even 'the youngest' in Beijing dialect (*lou5 zi2* 'the youngest son'). Apart from this, *lou5* can serve as an adverb, having the meaning of 'all the time' (*lou5 hoi1 waan4 siu3* 'always makes jokes').

A tendency towards disyllabicity in modern Chinese is well known, and different strategies are employed in Chinese to satisfy this disllabicity requirement. One particular use of *lou5* is to be prefixed to surnames as an affectionate marker to express familiarity and seniority (Matthews and Yip 1994), for instance, *lou5 wong2* is instead of *wong4 sin1 saang1* to address 'Mr. Wong'. In this way, it serves as a padding device as seen from the fact that only monosyllabic surnames can participate in such compounding process.

Historically, *lou5* played a similar role in Cantonese to form compounds. For example, in Chao (1947), *lou5* bore the meaning of oldness (e.g. *lou5* 'old', *lou5 waa2* 'old story'). Compared to that, we find in this study that in modern colloquial Cantonese, the *lou5* has extended to be prefixed to other object names, e.g. *lou5 faan1* 'pirated software' and *lou5 sei2* 'buddy', as well as adjectives and adverbs, forming *lou5 + ADJ* (*lou5 ding6* 'calm') and *lou5 + ADV* (*lou5 fung2* 'obligatorily') compounds. In general, the compounds thus created basically possess the same meaning as the source items, while they are more likely used in comparatively informal situations, to express speakers' greater degree of emotion. And at the same time of this compound formation process, it also interacts with phonology to trigger tone change. Simply put, the second syllables of the compounds formed, if associated with low-registered tones (i.e. tones 4, 5, 6), undergo tone change to tone-2, acquiring a high rising tone. For

example, from *pei4 hei3* 'temper', *pei4* changes into *pei2* in the compound *lou5 pei2* 'temper'.

Finally, *lou5* can serve as a pre-verbal intensifier, but this use is restricted to be several verbs in Cantonese, all being monosyllabic. This coincides with the intensifying function of another Cantonese particle *gwai2* analyzed in Chan (2004) that it can only be inserted after a monosyllabic verb, before an aspect marker. However, how this co-incidence may be captured and generalized is left open here.

早期粵語選擇問句裡的析取連詞

丘寶怡

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　　透過早期粵語文獻整理，本文得出四組出現在早期粵語選擇問句裏的析取連詞，各組內均有單音節及雙音節的連詞：第一組：抑或、或。第二組：定係、定。第三組：備係、嘞係、嘞、被、噸係、噸。第四組：只係、咽係、只。

　　關於早期粵語選擇問句裏析取連詞的研究，我們初步有以下幾點觀察：

　　(1)　第四組的析取連詞「只係、咽係、只」，我們認爲「只係」及「咽係」極有可能爲同一個連詞。這組連詞只見於 1870 年代的文獻中，這是一個很有趣的現象。

　　(2)　我們認爲第三組的析取連詞「備係、嘞係、嘞、被、噸係、噸」裡的「備」、「嘞」、「被」、「噸」極有可能爲同一個析取連詞，其讀音已於 1888-1924 年間出現了不穩定的情況 (pi 陽去或 pɛ 陽去)。這一組的連詞始見於 1841 年左右並於 1883-1940 年間成爲最常用的析取連詞，其後突然消失在 1940 以後出版的文獻。

　　(3)　「定係、定」這一組的連詞早見於十九世紀上半葉的文獻裡 (1841-1853)。但直到二十世紀四十年代，這組連詞才漸漸取替了第三組的連詞，成爲最常用的組別。時至今日，我們多用「定」、「定係」作選擇問句的析取連詞。普通話的選擇問句以「是……還是……」(A 式) 及「……還是……」(B 式) 爲主。粵語除了這兩種句類以外 (即「係……**定係 / 備係 / 嘞係 / 咽係 / 噸係**……」及「……**定係 / 備係 / 嘞係 / 咽係 / 噸係**……」)，還有「係……定……」一類 (即「係……**嘞 / 被 / 噸 / 只 / 定**……」) (C 式) 及「……定……」(即「……**嘞 / 被 / 噸 / 只 / 定**……」) (D 式)。C、D 式都是普通話沒有的： *「是……還……」及 *「……還……」。可見 C 式及 D 式是粵語特有的，這是否意味著它們是粵語選擇問句的最底層？但從另一角度來看，C、D 式裡的析取連詞爲單音節，而「係」字以 [h] 爲聲母，與「**嘞 / 被 / 噸 / 只 / 定**」連讀時，容易脫落，因此我們也不能排除 C、D 式是由 A 式及 B 式經過連讀而 [h] 聲母脫落演變而來。四種句類之間的關係，尙需進一步的研究。

粵語完成體標記「嘵」的來源和演變

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本文擬從歷史文獻和方言比較兩方面入手，考察粵語完成體標記「嘵」(或寫作「咻」、「休」、「敲」) 的來源和演變。討論的範圍主要有以下幾點：

(1) 地理分佈：根據各種十九世紀中、後期的文獻，使用「嘵」的粵語方言至少包括廣州 (Devan 1842, Williams 1857、《麥仕治廣州俗話書經講義》[1893] 等)、東莞 (Saunders 1896-1897) 和香山 (即中山，Stedman and Lee 1888, Ball 1896-1897)。這三種方言中，現在廣州話和中山話已經不再用「嘵」了。東莞話則很可能是首個用「嘵」的方言，因為三百多年前撰成的《廣東新語》就已經記載了這個詞 (屈大均記為「效」)。

(2) 音韻比較：這一節我們會比較各地粵語「嘵」的讀音，旨在辨別它們到底是同源 (cognate) 還是借用 (borrowing) 的關係。由於各地方言的韻母顯示了不規則對應 (irregular correspondence)，我們初步懷疑「嘵」在粵語區裡存在過互相借用的可能。

(3) 「嘵」在東莞話和早期廣州話裡的用法：東莞話「嘵」的用法表面上和廣州話的「咗」沒有太大的差別，但有些廣州話必須用「晒」或「埋」而不能用「咗」的場合，東莞話卻可以用「嘵」。此外，「嘵」在東莞話中又可以充當形容詞重疊式的第二成份，組成「Adj + X + 嘵」結構。我們會探討這種出現在重疊式的「嘵」是否和完成體標記有關。接著我們會拿早期廣州話的「嘵」和現代廣州話的「咗」作比較。「嘵」有兩個明顯和「咗」相異的地方：(i) 它既可以出現在方向補語之後，如「佢出去嘵」(《散語四十章》[1877])，又可以出現在動詞和補語中間，像「就過嘵去」(Louis 1867:50)；(ii) 可以和「嘥」(=晒) 共用，如「人共獸都冇嘥嘵咯」(French 1866)。

(4) 「嘵」的來源和演變：通過共時和歷時的比較，嘗試給出「嘵」的來源和它演變的途徑。我們也會分析「嘵」和當時其他完成體標記 (「了」、「咗」、高升變調) 的關係。