

從粵客語語料看進行體標記的特性與語法化

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提要

漢語的體貌標記多是動詞後綴，而學界一般都認為這些標記來自動詞，如普通話「了、着、過」。除了廣州和香港粵語用「緊」來標進行體，還有很多客家話次方言用「緊」標進行體。楊永龍（2005）認為南方漢語方言的持續體標記經常來自「穩緊」義的形容詞。我們嘗試用早期及今日的語料來分析粵語和客語「緊」的體貌功能以及語法表現。¹ 結果顯示，客語「緊」具標持續體等功能已符合楊永龍的演變模式。相反地，粵語「緊」就不可能來自「穩緊」義形容詞。粵語「緊」跟有界動作配合時，無論在十九世紀還是今日的語料中，它都會標將近體，不會標持續體。在這兩個互相對立的體貌概念當中，粵語「緊」的體貌特性是選擇標將近體。這意味著粵語「緊」在獲得進行體功能的過程當中，不可能先具備過持續體功能。我們認為當我們探討體貌標記來源時，必須考慮此標記的歷時和共時體貌特性。

關鍵詞

進行體 體貌特性 語法化過程 粵語 客家話

ASPECTUAL PROPERTIES AND GRAMMATICALIZATION OF
PROGRESSIVE MARKERS AS REFLECTED IN CANTONESE AND
HAKKA CORPORA

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ABSTRACT

Aspectual markers in Chinese are typically verbal suffixes, and it is often claimed that they are derived from verbs, e.g. Mandarin “*LE, ZHE, GUO*”. According to corpus data, we find that Guangzhou and Hong Kong Cantonese and many Hakka sub-dialects use a verbal suffix *JIN* 緊 (*GAN* in Cantonese, *GIN* in Hakka) to denote the progressive aspect. Yang (2005) claims that durative markers in southern Chinese dialects are derived from adjectives meaning ‘tight’ or ‘stable’, and suggested that both Cantonese *GAN* and Hakka *GIN* should also have followed the same developmental paths. By closely examining the data from concurrent and early corpora, this paper claims that Cantonese *GAN* and Hakka *GIN* make a categorical contrast in terms of aspects: While Hakka *GIN* can denote the durative aspect, Cantonese *GAN* cannot; *GAN*, in contrast, can denote an aspect leading up to the telic point of an action, an aspectual property that *GIN* does not possess. Their categorical differences clearly suggest that they should have derived from different etymons. This paper claims that while Hakka *GIN* may have developed from a ‘tight’-type adjective as suggested by Yang, Guangzhou and Hong Kong Cantonese *GAN* is most likely to have evolved from a verb meaning *to approach*.

KEYWORDS

Progressive Durative Grammaticalization process Cantonese
Hakka