

閩東方言「進行/持續」體標記的來源與發展*

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本文我們根據在閩東霞浦、羅源的田野調查資料，分別描述它們的進行體與持續體標記，並從歷史發展的角度，說明閩東方言這兩個標記的來源與發展。本文根據比較方言的證據，指出閩東方言的「進行/持續貌」標記曾經經歷過下列的演變：

Prepositional Phrase[著+[許+裡]]+V > Progressive Marker[著+[許+裡]]+V

V+Prepositional Phrase[著+[許+裡]] > V+Durative Marker[著+[許+裡]]

比較閩東方言的證據顯示，「進行/持續」體標記乃是由早期介詞結構[著+[許+裡]]演變而來，而且這個繁重結構中的每一個成分都必須構擬出來。再者，根據以上構擬出來的早期形式，我們還可以進一步說明下列幾件事：

首先，我們發現羅源方言的持續貌標記[hai5]，來自遠指成分「許」(*hy3)與方位後綴「裡」(*lai3)的合音。福州方言的[lɛ0]則來自方位後綴「裡」。羅源、福州的現象顯示，介詞詞組進行語法化(grammaticalization)成為「進行/持續」體標記之後，可以丟失原先結構的中心語成分，而只留下補語甚至補語的後綴。由此推測，閩東方言的持續貌標記之所以存在種種語音形式上的差異，乃是由於詞組結構進行「刪略」(omission)之後留下不同成分所造成，未必都是介詞詞組內部發生合音(syllable contraction)使然。

其次，前人的研究已經指出，漢語方言的「進行/持續貌」標記，大抵是由介詞詞組「著+處所詞」語法化而來，但似乎不曾具體地指出詞組中所謂「處所詞」的內涵究竟為何。根據閩東方言的表現，我們有理由推論遠指成分（在閩東方言中是「許」）就是誘使介詞詞組轉變為「進行/持續貌」這一功能範疇的重要關鍵；就認知而言，其語法化途徑是由「空間」到「時間」。

關鍵詞：閩東方言，進行體標記，持續體標記，語法化，歷史語言學

* 2007年10月，由於福建師範大學陳澤平教授的協助，我得以在福州開始記錄霞浦北壁方言與羅源鳳山方言，並逐步開展閩東方言語法比較這一研究課題，特此致謝。2008年暑假，我親自到羅

The Origin and Development of the ‘Progressive/Durative’ Aspectual Markers in the Eastern Min Dialects

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This article examines the origin of the ‘progressive/durative’ aspectual markers in three Eastern Min dialects spoken in Fuzhou, Luoyuan and Xiapu and explores their respective diachronic development. Through the comparative method, it shows that the ‘progressive/durative’ markers in Eastern Min have undergone the following development:

Prepositional Phrase [著+[許+裡]] + V > Progressive Marker [著+[許+裡]] + V
V + Prepositional Phrase [著+[許+裡]] > V + Durative Marker [著+[許+裡]]

The evidence suggests that the ‘progressive/durative’ markers in Eastern Min come from a primary preposition phrase structure [著*tjok8+[許*hy3+裡*lai3]], in which every constituent should be reconstructed. The early periphrastic preposition structure is simplified individually in three Eastern Min dialects.

1. Xiapu	*tjok8 *hy3 *lai3 > tyk8 hai5	Progressive/Durative
2. Luoyuan	*tjok8 *hy3 *lai3 V > tyek8 hai5 V	Progressive
	V *tjok8 *hy3 *lai3 > V hai5	Durative
3. Fuzhou	*tjok8 *hy3 *lai3 > lai3 > lɛ0	Progressive/Durative

It is clear that Xiapu maintains early structure either progressive or durative marker in substance and Fuzhou omitted the preceding two elements and left the final element *lai3 behind. As for Luoyuan, the preposition structure split into two forms conditionally.

It has been noticed by scholars that the different ‘progressive/durative’ aspectual markers in Chinese dialects are grammaticalized from a preposition phrase structure (Liu 1996). Furthermore, the locative complement of the structure should be indicated. As mentioned above, the distal locative demonstrative *hai5 ‘許裡’ should be reconstructed in the primary PP structure. According to the phenomena in Eastern Min, we have every reason to speculate that the key factor which induced the PP structure to be the ‘progressive/durative’ aspectual marker is *hy3 ‘許’.

Key words: Eastern Min dialects, progressive aspectual marker, durative aspectual marker, grammaticalization, historical linguistics