

## 漢語方言「箇類詞」研究

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「箇」的量詞用法存在於現代漢語各方言區，其指代詞和相當於「的<sub>1</sub>、的<sub>2</sub>、的<sub>3</sub>」的結構助詞用法，則存在於南方的漢語方言以及相鄰的少數官話方言點中。指代詞「箇<sub>1</sub>」的次類複雜，在江淮官話黃孝片是所指不分遠近的定指詞，在贛語、湘語、徽語區主要演變為近指代詞，在粵語區、閩語中的個別地方主要演變為遠指代詞，在客家話和相鄰的部分贛語中分化為遠指代詞和近指代詞；在吳語區以演變為近指代詞為主，其他各類指代詞都有一定的存在面。「箇<sub>1</sub>」由定指詞向各類指示代詞的演變，基本上是在長江以南分別成片進行的，表現出「大集中、小分散」的格局，吳語區則反映出定指詞與中性、近指、遠指代詞並存的局面。在指代詞「箇<sub>1</sub>」分佈的各方言區以及平話中，大都存在相當於「的<sub>3</sub>」的結構助詞「箇<sub>3</sub>」；在「箇<sub>1</sub>」用作定指詞、近指代詞的贛語、湘語、吳語、客家話的部分方言中，則存在相當於「的<sub>1</sub>、的<sub>2</sub>」的結構助詞「箇<sub>2</sub>」。「箇類詞」在南方方言中的不同分佈，從共時的角度反映出「箇」由量詞而指代詞、由量詞和指代詞而結構助詞的語法化歷程。湖北東部的江淮官話和贛語則集中反映了這種歷程：量詞「箇」的省略單用，導致了定指詞「箇<sub>1</sub>」和結構助詞「箇<sub>3</sub>」的出現；定指詞「箇<sub>1</sub>」在表示方式的狀語後複指用法的虛化，導致了結構助詞「箇<sub>2</sub>」的產生。「箇」的語法化，伴隨著語音的變化其中主要是聲調、韻母的變化。某些「箇類詞」在某些地方僅有遺跡，當是其受權威方言影響走向消亡的表現。謂語和補語之間的結構助詞「箇<sub>4</sub>」也是量詞的省略單用形成的。官話和晉語中廣泛存在「箇<sub>4</sub>」，但大都不存在「箇<sub>1</sub>、箇<sub>2</sub>、箇<sub>3</sub>」。可見，「箇<sub>1</sub>、箇<sub>2</sub>、箇<sub>3</sub>」和「箇<sub>4</sub>」的地域分佈是對立的。

關鍵詞：箇 量詞 指代詞 結構助詞 語法化

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## A Study of Words of the “Ge” Type in the Chinese Dialects

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The usage of classifiers exist in all dialect areas in contemporary Chinese, but its usages as a demonstrative pronoun and constructional particle equivalent to “de (的) 1, de2 and de3” exist mostly in the southern Chinese dialects and a few Guanhua in adjacent areas. The demonstrative pronoun “ge (箇) 1” is complicated both in its order and kind. In the Huangxiao cluster of Jianghuai Guanhua, it serves as a definite demonstrative pronoun with no distinction of distances, but in a few places in the Gan dialect, Xiang dialect and Hui dialect, it has mainly evolved into a demonstrative pronoun to signify near things. It is used as a demonstrative pronoun to denote distant things in a few places which use the Yue dialect and Min dialect. It serves as a demonstrative for both near and distant things in the Kejia dialect and the Gan dialect in adjacent areas and is mainly a demonstrative pronoun for near things in the Wu dialect cluster, but all other kinds of demonstrative pronouns exist in certain aspects. The evolution of “ge1” from a definite demonstrative pronoun into other kinds of demonstrative pronouns is found basically in southern parts of China in the pattern of “mostly regular and seldom irregular.” In the Wu dialect cluster, it exhibits a co-existence of the definite pronoun with a neutral demonstrative, near demonstrative, and distant demonstrative. In all the dialects where “ge1” exists and in Pinghua, there exists the constructional particle “ge3” equivalent to “de3” in mandarin. In a few places which use the Gan dialect, Xiang dialect, Wu dialect, and Kejia dialect where “ge1” is used as a demonstrative pronoun for near things, there exists the constructional particle “ge2,” which is equivalent to “de1” and “de2” in mandarin. The different distribution of “words of the ‘ge’ type” in the southern dialects reflects synchronologically the grammaticalization process of “ge,” from a classifier into a demonstrative pronoun, and from a classifier and a demonstrative pronoun into a constructional particle. The Jianghuai Guanhua in eastern Hubei and in the Gan dialect both reflect this process: the single usage of the classifier “ge” leads to the appearance of the demonstrative pronoun

“ge1” and the constructional particle “ge3”; the weakening of the re-referring function of the demonstrative pronoun “ge1” after mode adverbial leads to the appearance of the constructional particle “ge2.” The grammaticalization of “ge” in sound is mainly reflected in the change of tone and vowel. Some “‘ge’ type words” leave only traces in some places, which serves as evidence of their gradual extinction under the influence of dominative dialects. The constructional particle “ge4,” which is between predicate and supplementary, is also formed by the single usage. “Ge4” widely exists in the Guanhua and Jin dialect, but “ge1,” “ge2,” and “ge3” are rarely found. Hence, the regional distribution of “ge1,” “ge2,” and “ge3” and that of “ge4” are contradictory.

**Keywords: ge (箇), classifier, demonstrative pronoun, constructional particle, grammaticalization**