

MAK⁵ KE⁴ 七个 AND MAN³ NIN² 瞞人 IN HAKKA:
A HISTORICAL AND TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

In this paper¹ I will first explore the issues centering around the evolution of the interrogative word 物 as a common source into its modern descendants *mak*⁷ and other forms in Hakka. In contrast to the more uniform form in Southern Min, varieties of Hakka boast more variants such as *mak*⁷, *maʔ*⁷ and *man*³. Such a variation can be accounted for in terms of minor regional difference as well as types of phonological process. The retention of the bilabial nasal initial of the word 物 as a reflex of the Middle Chinese 微 phonological category in Hakka lends support to the thesis of lexical diffusion that sound change is not phonologically independent but rather bears the result of interaction with lexicon. Second, on the basis of earlier Hakka texts I will examine the patterns in the distribution of the modern reflex of 物 often written as a demotic word 乜 in its capacity of a variable as a component of the complex interrogative words ‘what’, ‘who’ (=what person) and ‘why’ (=do what kind) or universal quantifiers in Hakka. The finding of the patterns of the Hakka interrogative word will be brought to bear on the patterns of its precursor in Early Modern Chinese colloquial texts. Close attention will be paid to the interaction of inherent lexical properties of the interrogative word and the grammatical constructions in which it occurs. Last of all, an attempt is made to survey the distribution and evolution of the Hakka-related 物-based interrogative word in other dialectal areas.

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客家話的“乜个”和“瞞人”：歷時和類型的透視

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提要

本文首先以疑問詞“物”為共通源頭探討它如何演變到現代客家話的 mak^7 和其他形式。閩南語疑問詞 mih^4 詞形整齊劃一；客家話疑問詞卻有 mak^7 、 $ma^?^7$ 、 man^3 的詞形變體，這樣的變異可以用音韻變化和方言變體加以解釋。客家話疑問詞“物”保留中古微母的雙唇聲母這個現象支持詞匯擴散論的論點，即語音變化不單純是語音變化，而是與詞匯有互動的關係。其次，依據早期客家文本，本文檢視疑問詞“物”（俗寫做“乜”）在現代的傳承分佈情況，代表變項的“乜”貫穿於指稱物系 *what*、*who*、*why* 疑問詞或全稱量詞中。客家話疑問詞可以在近代漢語口語文本中找到淵源。疑問詞的固有詞匯屬性和出現的語法結構有互動關係。末了，本文也調查客家話物系疑問詞在其他方言區的分佈和發展。

關鍵詞

疑問詞 演變 類型 客家話