

THE CONDITION AND CHANGE OF 共 VIS-À-VIS 合 IN
SOUTHERN MIN WITH A SIDELIGHT ON
INTRA-DIALECTAL VARIATION¹

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ABSTRACT

There are three kinds of *kang*⁷ 共 attested in the sixteenth century and later Southern Min playscripts as well as the Chinese-character and Romanized Southern Min texts compiled by Spanish missionaries in the seventeenth century: (1) *kang*⁷ 共 expressing relationship of co-participation, (2) *kang*⁷ 共 exhibiting a unilateral relationship, and (3) *kang*⁷ 共 showing a co-ordinate relationship. *Ka*⁷ as a reflex of *kang*⁷ 共 is limited to the unilateral relationship construction in modern Taiwanese Southern Min. Thus, there is a lexical replacement by which *kang*⁷ 共 claiming both a co-participation relationship and a co-ordinate relationship in earlier times is replaced by *kap*⁴/*kah*⁴ 合 or its dialectal variants such as *tsham*⁷ 摻, *ham*⁷ 含 and *kiau*¹ 交 in Taiwanese Southern Min. However, the situation concerning the constructional types claimed by 共 vis-à-vis 合 is somewhat different if we take other modern Southern Min varieties such as Quanzhou, Zhangzhou and Chaozhou into consideration. Quanzhou seems to be more conservative than Zhangzhou and Chaozhou in that *kang*⁷ 共 holds faster to its original domain.

SUBJECT KEYWORDS

Co-participation Unilateral Conjunction Diachrony Dialectal variation
Southern Min

閩南語中「共」相對於「合」的限制和演變 兼論方言內部的差異

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提要

在十六世紀以降的早期閩南戲文和西班牙傳教士所編撰的十七世紀閩南語漢字或羅馬字文本中 *kang⁷*「共」出現於三種構式：(1) *kang⁷*（協同構式）、(2) *kang⁷*（單邊構式）、(3) *kang⁷*（對等連接構式）。但在現代台灣閩南語中 *ka⁷* 作為早期 *kang⁷*「共」的現代後裔只限用於非協同構式。因此協同構式和對等連接構式先前由 *kang⁷*「共」統轄，現在讓位給 *kap⁴/kah⁴*「合」或是其他的方言變體，如 *chham¹*「摻」、*ham⁷*「含」和 *kiau¹*「交」。不過如果把其他現代閩南方言（如泉州話、漳州話、潮州話）也列入考慮，「共」相對於「合」所涵蓋的構式情況就多少有些差異，也就是說，泉州話比漳州話、潮州話保守，即泉州話中「共」還多少守住了 *kang⁷*「共」在早期閩南語的格局。

主題詞

協同 單邊 對等連接 歷時 方言差異 閩南語

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