

## **Cantonese as Learned by Missionaries in the 19th Century: Language Variation in *Easy Lessons in Chinese***

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### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to investigate the distribution of Cantonese sentence-final particles (SFPs) in a textbook from the 19th century. Several observations are made. (i) *Ni'* is the most frequently used SFP overall and is often used to soften interrogatives. (ii) SFPs tend to be used to soften commands or instructions (such as those to a servant or a comprador) in imperatives, but in more formal situations polite expressions, such as 'please' and 'I will trouble you' are often used to ask a request politely instead of using SFPs. (iii) *Lok'* is frequently used in declaratives in general.

### **Keywords**

sentence-final particles, language variation, early Cantonese, S. W. Williams, *Easy Lessons in Chinese*

### **1. Introduction**

When Robert Morrison (1782–1834) first arrived in China in 1807, the British consul in Canton, a Mr. Chalmers, scared him by saying that the Chinese were prohibited from teaching their language, under the penalty of death (Morrison 1839: 153). Indeed, at that time the Chinese were banned not only from teaching but even from speaking Chinese<sup>1</sup> with foreigners. Western missionaries were forced to live in restricted areas, and tried to learn the language secretly. A major change came in 1842, when Hong Kong became a British colony; after that, quite a number of Cantonese textbooks were published by Westerners, since under the British administration studying Chinese was not prohibited. As this implies, there is a big difference between Cantonese textbooks published before the handover (for instance, Morrison (1828), Bridgman (1839, 1841), and Williams (1842) and after. This raises

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<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, 'Chinese (language)' is an umbrella term covering many languages, such as standard Chinese, Mandarin Chinese, dialects, written and colloquial forms, etc. The present work doesn't consider this issue closely, because it is complex and controversial and it is impossible to accurately or definitively say where the boundaries of a 'language' are. The purpose of the present work is solely to explore the features of Cantonese in one textbook in the 19th century.

the question, what kind of language did European learners of Cantonese in the early period actually speak? Was it natural and appropriate to the occasions of its use?

The purpose of this study is to investigate the distribution of Cantonese sentence-final particles (SFPs) in Williams (1842), *Easy Lessons in Chinese*, and thereby to illuminate the features of language variation in the spoken Cantonese learned by foreigners in the 19th century. The reason I chose this book is that it places the example conversations in real-life contexts.<sup>2</sup> However, there are quite a number of recent studies on Cantonese SFPs, based on broad data and a range of perspectives.<sup>3</sup> Although the data available in this concise textbook are too limited to allow a discussion of the whole story of SFPs in Cantonese, they provide a precious record of the Cantonese that one missionary used in his daily life. I hope this analysis will shed some light on typical features of Cantonese in this particular environment.

## 2. S. W. Williams and *Easy Lessons in Chinese*

S. W. Williams<sup>4</sup> (1812-1884) arrived at Canton in 1833, when he was 21 years old, as a printer for the American Board of Commissioners (F. W. Williams 1889). His purpose was to learn Cantonese in order to convey Christian doctrine to the ‘natives’. However, there were great difficulties in getting properly qualified persons to teach him, since local people were afraid of being accused of having assisted foreigners to learn Chinese. ‘I secured a teacher of considerable literary attainments, and he took the special precaution, lest he should be informed against by someone, of always bringing with him and laying on the table a foreign lady’s shoe, so that if any one he was afraid of, or did not know, should come in, he could pretend that he was a Chinese manufacture of foreign shoes’, wrote Williams in his memoirs (S. W. Williams 1874: 6). ‘It was a very distinct fact that the authorities of Canton during a long course of years, by their intimidation of natives who aided us, did much to prevent foreigners from acquiring a knowledge of the language’ (F. W. Williams 1889: 59). Local people and foreigners used pidgin-English as the medium of traffic and household talk between them, instead of the local language, a custom which Williams thought caused misunderstanding.<sup>5</sup> Williams communicated regularly in Cantonese only with a very limited

<sup>2</sup> Takekoshi (2013, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> See comprehensive discussion and the list of previous studies in chapter 5 of Tang (2015).

<sup>4</sup> ‘Williams’ in this paper is S. W. Williams; ‘F. W. Williams’ was his son and the author of *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams* (1889).

<sup>5</sup> Due to this custom, ‘the natives are very liable to misapprehend what is said to them by their masters or customers’ (S. W. Williams 1883: 625)

range of people;<sup>6</sup> this helps explain why the examples in the book constitute practical dialogues for use in particular contexts. The present work aims to explore the usage of sentence-final particles in these scenes composed by Williams.

### 3. Materials, methods, and results

A Spanish missionary, Francisco Varo (1627-1687), reported as follows in his book *Arte de la lengua Mandarina* (“A Grammar of the Mandarin Language”) (1703), the first book on Chinese grammar written by a Westerner. ‘There are three modes of speaking this language. The first is high and elegant, and in it few if any compounds are used, so that it is spoken in the way that it is written. This first mode can only be used with educated men, since they are the only ones who can understand it. ...The second mode is a medium which is understood by the great majority...and in this mode some elegant literary terms are used which are nonetheless understood by all. ...The third mode is coarse and vulgar and is used to preach to women and peasants; this way of talking, even though it is the most base, is also the one which is learned with the least difficulty and will be the one with which we start talking’ (Coblin and Levi 2000: 17-19).<sup>7</sup> This kind of language variation is mentioned in other Chinese sources from the period; for example, three language variations — a formal style in which written language is spoken by intellectuals on formal occasions, a mixed style spoken by intellectuals on informal occasions, and a colloquial style spoken by everyone, including intellectuals, at home — are found in a famous eighteenth-century novel written in spoken language, the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, by Cao Xueqin (Yamazaki 1989).

In Williams’s work, chapter 5 (of 10) focuses on spoken language. The chapter is divided into three parts, as follows:

**Table 1 Speakers and topics in chapter 5 of *Easy Lessons in Chinese***

	Speakers	Topics / Genres
Part I	A teacher and a student	Polite greetings, lectures on Chinese language
Part II	A master and a comprador	Job interview, job arrangements
Part III	A master and a servant	Instructions on household chores

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<sup>6</sup> For example, Williams lived with a porter, a comprador, a coolie, a cook and four little boys as helpers in his house in Macao in 1836 — as it was not safe to attempt the printing of Chinese books in Canton and so the mission decided to remove Williams and his office to Macao, then Portuguese authority (F. W. Williams 1889: 80, 83).

<sup>7</sup> See also Furuya (1990, 1996, 1998).

In each part, different variations are used for a range of specific purposes, for instance to ask the addressee's name:<sup>8</sup>

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|--|--|
| (1) a. Gou sing aa <sup>3</sup> ?<br>high surname SFP<br>'What is your surname?' | b. Hou waa, zin sing O. (p.79: part I) <sup>9</sup><br>good story mean surname O.<br>'Thank you, my mean name is O.' |
| (2) a. Nei giu-zou mat ming?<br>you be called what name<br>'What is your name?'  | b. Ngo giu Aa-Lai. (p.85: part II)<br>I call A-Lai<br>'It is Alai.'  |

Similarly, different variations are used to make a request.

- (3) Zoi ceng nei gaau ngo se zi. (p.83: part I)  
again please you teach I write word  
'I must again request you to teach me to write.'
- (4) Zou caa mui ziu jiu baat dim-zung bin laa<sup>6</sup>. (p.87: part II)  
early tea every morning need eight o'clock ready SFP  
'I want you to have breakfast ready every morning at eight o'clock.'
- (5) Nim go fo lai dang ngo fung ni fung seon, faai dik. (p.92: part III)  
pick CL light come wait I seal this CL letter, quick little  
'Bring me a light, to seal this letter, quick!'

Generally, polite and respectful words are used in part I while more direct words are used in parts II and III (because, apparently, a Chinese teacher is a respectable person, while a comprador and a servant are people to be ordered or instructed). Next, we shall see what percentage of the sentences use SFPs and which SFP are used.

We divide all the sentences into three types: interrogatives, imperatives and declaratives. Since there are no punctuation marks in the Chinese sentences in the original text, we add a period, a question mark, a semicolon, an explanation mark or a comma as appropriate to the English translation.

<sup>8</sup> Cantonese examples are transcribed in Jyutping according to modern Cantonese pronunciation. An exception is made for SFPs; their pronunciation and tones follows the original texts. The idiomatic translation follows the original literal translation.

<sup>9</sup> Page numbers are the ones in Williams (1842).

**Table 2 Frequency of sentences with/without SFP(s) and sentence types**

		<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>	<b>Total</b>
		<b>No. (%)</b>	<b>No. (%)</b>	<b>No. (%)</b>	<b>No. (%)</b>
<b>Interrogatives</b>	with SFP	16 (73%)	12 (80%)	16 (55%)	44 (67%)
	without SFP	6 (27%)	3 (20%)	13 (45%)	22 (33%)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>22 (100%)</b>	<b>15 (100%)</b>	<b>29(100%)</b>	<b>66 (100%)</b>
<b>Imperatives</b>	with SFP	9 (33%)	4 (100%)	13 (54%)	26 (47%)
	without SFP	18 (67%)	0 (0%)	11 (46%)	29 (53%)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>27(100%)</b>	<b>4 (100%)</b>	<b>24(100%)</b>	<b>55 (100%)</b>
<b>Declaratives</b>	with SFP	9 (36%)	12 (55%)	33 (59%)	54 (52%)
	without SFP	16 (64%)	10 (45%)	23(41%)	49 (48%)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>25(100%)</b>	<b>22(100%)</b>	<b>56(100%)</b>	<b>103(100%)</b>
<b>All types</b>	with SFP	34 (46%)	28 (68%)	62 (57%)	124 (55%)
	without SFP	40 (54%)	13 (32%)	47 (43%)	100 (45%)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>74 (100%)</b>	<b>41 (100%)</b>	<b>109(100%)</b>	<b>224 (100%)</b>

Table 2 shows that 55% of all the sentences in chapter 5 have one or more SFP.<sup>10</sup> Besides being a majority, this proportion indicates a fairly similar tendency to the 67% in Tang (2002) and the 73% in Cheung (2002). It suggests the importance of the use of SFPs in Cantonese in Williams's period as at present.

Tang (2002) shows statistics on type I SFPs (expressing time or focus, such as *ge<sup>3</sup>*, *laa<sup>1</sup>*, *lo<sup>1</sup>*, *ze<sup>1</sup>* etc.) and type II SFPs (relating to the attitude of the speaker, such as *aa<sup>1</sup>*, *aa<sup>3</sup>*, *bo<sup>3</sup>*, etc.).

<sup>10</sup> In Table 2, we see 124 sentences with SFPs, and in Table 3 we see 126, since there are two sentences with two SFPs.



Table 3 Sentence types and SFPs in each part

		Part I				Part II				Part III				Total
Types		Q	I	D	T	Q	I	D	T	Q	I	D	T	
SFP	<i>aa<sup>1</sup></i>	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	4
	<i>aa<sup>3</sup></i>	1	1	0	2	5	0	0	5	9	0	1	10	17
	<i>aa<sup>4</sup></i>	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	<i>bo<sup>3</sup></i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	3
	<i>e<sup>1</sup></i>	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	<i>ge<sup>3</sup></i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	3	4
	<i>gwa<sup>3</sup></i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2
	<i>laa<sup>1</sup></i>	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	3	6
	<i>laa<sup>3</sup></i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	3
	<i>laa<sup>4</sup></i>	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	<i>laa<sup>6</sup></i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	<i>lai<sup>4</sup></i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2
	<i>le<sup>1</sup></i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	3	4
	<i>le<sup>3</sup></i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
	<i>lo<sup>1</sup></i>	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	3
	<i>lo<sup>3</sup></i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
	<i>lok<sup>1</sup></i>	0	0	4	4	0	0	7	7	0	2	16	18	29
	<i>lok<sup>6</sup></i>	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<i>ni<sup>1</sup></i>	14	0	0	14	7	0	0	7	7	0	4	11	32	
<i>o<sup>1</sup></i>	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	
<i>o<sup>3</sup></i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
<i>ze<sup>1</sup></i>	0	0	3	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	5	
SFPs Total		16	9	9	34	12	4	13	29	16	13	34	63	126
Without SFP		6	18	16	40	3	0	10	13	13	11	23	47	100
Grand Total		22	27	25	74	15	4	23	42	29	24	57	110	226

Note: Q, I and D represent interrogatives, imperatives, and declaratives respectively.

**Table 4 Frequency of sentences with type I SFPs and type II SFPs**

	No. (%)
Sentences with type I SFPs	95 (75%)
Sentences with type II SFPs	31 (25%)

As Table 4 indicates, type I SFPs appear in more sentences than type II, suggesting that they were more widely used in the Cantonese of the time and also matching the results in Tang (2002).

Broken down by the parts of the work, the proportion of sentences of all types that have SFPs is 46% in part I, 68% in part II, and 57% in part III. Thus, the percentage of sentences without SFPs is higher than that with SFPs in part I, and the reverse in parts II and III. This is probably partly because part I consists of formal conversation, including a large number of statements made by a teacher about the Chinese language, while parts II and III mainly consist of natural conversation. According to the statistics given by Leung (1992), the percentage of sentences such as statements on news programs, which are also formal, that have SFPs is lower than that in natural conversation. Our results thus show a similar tendency to Leung's on this point.

Thus, in several ways — that sentences with one or more SFPs are more frequent than those without SFPs, that type I SFPs are more used than type II SFPs, and that SFPs are more frequently used in natural conversation than in formal statements — the distributions in *Easy Lessons in Chinese* show the same results as the previous studies.

Interrogatives have relatively high frequency of use of certain SFPs, at 44 examples (67% of the total) compared to 26 examples (47%) for imperatives and 54 examples (52%) for declaratives. This is different from the results of Tang (2002), where the most common sentences without any SFPs are interrogatives.

Table 3 shows 22 kinds of SFPs, used in 224 sentences. According to Cheung (2009), a study on SFPs in another 19<sup>th</sup>-century textbook, *Cantonese Made Easy* (the second edition, Ball 1888), a total of 27 kinds are used, in 660 sentences. There are fewer SFPs in *Easy Lessons in Chinese*, but it is probably because there are less sentences in *Easy Lessons in Chinese* than *Cantonese Made Easy*.

## 4. Analysis and discussion

### 4.1. Interrogatives

As we have seen, the most frequently used SFP overall is *ni<sup>l</sup>*, the majority of tokens of which are used in interrogatives. In part I, 14 out of 16 interrogatives use *ni<sup>l</sup>*:

- (6) Go go hai mat zi ni<sup>1</sup>? (p.81: part I)  
 That CL be what character SFP  
 ‘What character is this?’
- (7) Hai mat sing ni<sup>1</sup>? (p.81: part I)  
 Be what tone SFP  
 ‘What tone has it?’

Part I is a conversation on academic issues between a student and a teacher. The existence of many examples of *ni<sup>1</sup>* here clearly implies that *ni<sup>1</sup>* was often used when Williams asked his teacher questions.

*Ni<sup>1</sup>* is less used in parts II and III, where *aa<sup>3</sup>* is sometimes used instead. In part II, there are 5 examples of *aa<sup>3</sup>* and 7 of *ni<sup>1</sup>* in 12 interrogatives with SFP; in part III, there are 9 with *aa<sup>3</sup>* and 7 with *ni<sup>1</sup>*. Kwok (1984: 71) pointed out that *aa<sup>3</sup>* makes a sentence sound less curt and abrupt. Leung (1992: 92, 105) suggested that both *aa<sup>3</sup>* and *ni<sup>1</sup>/ne<sup>1</sup>* are used to soften the force of statements, confirmations, or questions in modern Cantonese<sup>11</sup> and the difference between them is that *aa<sup>3</sup>* can be used in all sentence types while *ni<sup>1</sup>* is used only in interrogatives and makes the sentence softer than *aa<sup>3</sup>* does. Williams’s usage might reflect this situation, implying that this usage of the politer word, *ni<sup>1</sup>*, to ask questions to teachers was also current in his period.

#### 4.2. Imperatives

Imperatives in part I show low frequency of use of some SFPs in part I (33%), whereas in part II, all imperatives have one SFP, and in part III, 54% do. Matthews and Yip (1994: 359) indicate that SFPs play an important role in moderating commands and requests and that imperatives without a SFP tend to be abrupt and may be perceived as impolite. But then why didn’t Williams use SFPs in requests in conversation with a teacher? It seems that he instead used other ways of making requests politer, as follows:

- (8) Ngo m hou gei-sing, ceng nei zoi gong. (p.82: part I)  
 I NEG good memories, please you again say  
 ‘My memory is not good, please explain it again,’

<sup>11</sup> Leung (1992) mentions that *ne<sup>1</sup>* is a modern equivalent to *ni<sup>1</sup>*.



- (9) **Do faan nei** zyu-gaai ni geoi. (p.82: part I)  
much trouble you explain this CL  
'I must trouble you to write an explanation of this sentence.'

Imperatives include requests and commands in general; in fact, the majority of imperatives used in part I are polite requests, while those in parts II and III are commands. Williams made requests of the teacher using polite words and phrases such as *ceng<sup>2</sup>* and *Do<sup>1</sup> faan<sup>4</sup> nei<sup>5</sup>*, instead of using commands with SFPs.

#### 4.3. Declaratives

The percentage of declaratives with SFPs in part I (36%) is slightly lower than in part II (55%) or part III (59%). This may be related to the observation by Leung (1992) that sentences in news broadcasts tend to use fewer SFPs than everyday colloquial utterances. The most frequently used SFP in this context is *lok<sup>1</sup>*, with 29 examples in total; the majority of them, 4 in part I, 7 in part II and 16 in part III, are used in declaratives, as in:

- (10) Paai leot zak sap-luk geoi **lok<sup>1</sup>**. (p.84: part I)  
Double stanza then sixteen CL SFP  
'The double stanza has sixteen lines.'
- (11) Ngo dou man-dak keoi meng **lok<sup>1</sup>**. (p.86: part II)  
I also hear-DAK (s)he name SFP  
'I have heard his name.'
- (12) Zok-jat waa keoi zi **lok<sup>1</sup>**. (p.89: part III)  
Yesterday talk (s)he know SFP  
'I told him yesterday.'

*Lok<sup>1</sup>* thus seems to be one of the main SFPs in use in Williams's period, often appearing in other dictionaries and textbooks in the 19th century:

*lok<sup>1</sup>* a colloquial final particle used in answers, implying indeed, certainly; finished, done; so (S. W. Williams 1856: 253);

*lok<sup>1</sup>* the same as *lo<sup>1</sup>*, *lo<sup>3</sup>* (=affirmative, or emphatic), but intensified in its sense (Ball 1883: 79)

In modern Cantonese, an equivalent form, *lok<sup>3</sup>*, is used instead of *lok<sup>1</sup>* due to a systematic phonological change. It seems to start to be used after Ball (1883), who initially used *lok<sup>1</sup>* in

Ball (1883: 79), whereas the revised version, Ball (1888: 113), changed it to *lok<sup>3</sup>*. However, the description of the word is very like that in Ball (1888):

*lok<sup>3</sup>* the same as *lo<sup>1</sup>*, *lo<sup>3</sup>* (=affirmative, or emphatic), but intensified in its sense (Ball 1888: 113);

*lok<sup>3</sup>* a final particle indicating determination. (Eitel 1910-11: 547)

*Lok<sup>3</sup>* in modern Cantonese refers to a current situation, like *lo<sup>3</sup>* but more definitive. It suggests the irrevocability of a situation (Kwok 1984: 49, Matthews and Yip 1994: 352).<sup>12</sup> Are the former functions of *lok<sup>1</sup>*, which is not used today, the same as those of *lok<sup>3</sup>* today? This is an interesting question; more detailed research is awaited.

## 5. Conclusion

We examined the distributions of SFPs in different situations, and gained several interesting findings: (i) *ni<sup>1</sup>* is often used to soften interrogatives, especially on formal occasions; (ii) SFPs are often used to soften commands or instructions (such as those to a servant and a comprador), while polite expressions, such as ‘please’ or ‘I will trouble you’, tend to be used instead of SFPs in making requests of teachers; (iii) in declaratives, no difference is found in the usage of SFPs across situations: *lok<sup>1</sup>* is often used in all situations.

*Easy Lessons in Chinese* provides valuable material on the specific usages of the Cantonese language in a very particular environment. As Williams suggests, ‘A knowledge of the Chinese language is a passport to the confidence of the people and when foreigners generally learn it, the natives will begin to divest themselves of their prejudices and contempt’ (S. W. Williams 1883: 625). Although *Easy Lessons in Chinese* might not fully or transparently represent the Cantonese language of the period, and although, of course, more detailed and thorough research is needed to find out the whole story, this work shows how Williams seems to have tried to learn and present appropriate language depending on the occasion. The present work affirms that it is necessary to consider language variation when we conduct historical studies.

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<sup>12</sup> There is a similar description in Leung (1992: 111) as well.

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## 十九世紀傳教士學習的粵語： 《拾級大成》的句末助詞和語體

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### 提要

《拾級大成》是美國傳教士衛三畏 (1812-1884) 編寫的一部粵語教材。全書共 10 課，其中第 5 課是口語課。本文從描寫的角度出發，對第 5 課的句末助詞和語體的分佈情況進行了初步的調查，其呈現的情況為：(i) “呢 ni” 是在全課中最常用的助詞，其主要功能為用於柔和疑問式的語調。(ii) 句末助詞往往在為了柔和對買辦和傭人的命令和指示時而常被使用，但為了使指令等更顯禮貌，“請”、“多煩你”等表達方式則多被使用。(iii) “咯 lok” 是在全課陳述句中最常用的助詞。

### 關鍵詞

句末助詞，語體，早期粵語，衛三畏，《拾級大成》

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