

## A STUDY ON THE MODIFIED TONES IN SPOKEN CANTONESE II<sup>1</sup>

by K. P. K. WHITAKER

### THE ORIGIN AND FUNCTIONS OF THE MODIFIED TONES

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### A. A SURVEY OF NOTES AND REMARKS ON THE MODIFIED TONES

The modified tones have been referred to under various names, such as "variable sounds", "changed tones", "medial even and third rising"; "uppermost even"; "upper even and long rising" and Pinn'iam [Bin-jhammx]. In this article they will be called the first and the second modified tones.

<sup>1</sup> See *Asia Major*, Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 9-36. On p. 10, ll. 6, 7 and 9 read "final" instead of "medial".

Eitel in the introduction to his *Dictionary*<sup>1</sup> said with reference to the first modified tone:

"It would seem as if there was at present rising into existence a third even tone nearly midway in pitch between the upper even tone [上平 HF<sup>2</sup>] and the lower even tone [下平 VLF] and which, therefore, may be called the medial even tone [中平]. It is somewhat nearer in pitch to the upper even tone than the lower, and seems to differ from the other two even tones also by a certain quickness and jerkiness of enunciation."

Eitel seems to have taken the first modified tone as a tone lower in pitch than the shanqpyng [上平 HF], probably against the better judgment of his ear, but he was correct when he says that it is nearer in pitch to the "upper even tone" [上平 HF] than to the "lower" [下平 VLF]. The difference (*i.e.* "a certain quickness and jerkiness of enunciation") which he notes in this as compared with the shanqpyng [上平 HF] and shiahpyng [下平 VLF] tones is probably the difference of movement his ear registered—that the first modified tone has a movement nearer to that of the present day *chiuh* 去 tone (level) than that of the present day *pyng* 平 tone (falling), but its close relation with the present day shanqpyng [上平 HF] in pitch makes it difficult for one to distinguish clearly what real movement it has, and one may assume that its movement ought to be that of the *pyng* group and attribute any difference one notices to a difference in pitch instead of movement.

Dyer Ball<sup>2</sup> took the same view as Eitel. After giving examples of intonation in English speech to illustrate the shanqpyng [HF] he quotes Parker as follows:

"There is, however, a second upper even tone into which words are put. This second or 中平 chung p'ing, *medial* upper even tone, is found in the following words, for example: 貓 máu [mraawx], a cat, and 鎗 ts'ōng [cheonqx], a gun.

'It partakes of the nature of a slight shriek', differing not only in musical pitch (being nearer to the 上平, upper even tone, in that respect than to the 下平, lower even tone) from the other two even

<sup>1</sup> *A Chinese-English Dictionary in the Cantonese Dialect*, by E. J. Eitel, revised and enlarged by I. G. Genähr, Hong Kong, 1910, p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations for Cantonese tone names (in English) used in this article:


HF	High falling	LR	Low rising
HL	High level	LL	Low level
HC	High clipped	LC	Low clipped
MR	Middle rising	VLF	Very low falling
ML	Middle level	VLC	Very low clipped
MC	Middle clipped		




<sup>3</sup> In his *Cantonese Made Easy and Vocabulary*, 2nd Ed., Hong Kong, 1888, Introduction, p. xxv.

tones, but also in the manner of its pronunciation, it having 'a certain quickness or jerkiness of pronunciation'—Parker in *Overland China Mail*."

But in his *Readings in Cantonese Colloquial*,<sup>1</sup> Dyer Ball calls this first modified tone by a different name, namely, the shanqshanqpyng 上上平, saying that it is a 'most important tone, . . . we shall call it the 上上平 shōng shōng p'ing, or higher upper even tone. It is a misnomer to call it a 中平 chung p'ing, or medial even tone, as it is higher in pitch than the ordinary shōng p'ing, or upper even, tone".

Professor Daniel Jones considers the first modified tone to be a variant of the shanqpyng 上平, saying:

"Of the two forms of the first tone the level  is by far the commoner.

The falling  is, however, the normal form at the end of a group, or when a word with the first tone is pronounced by itself. In some cases the level  appears to be necessary at the end of a group instead of the falling "<sup>2</sup>

Without numerous examples Professor Jones could not have gone further into the reasons of this variation he noticed. He could only note inconclusively what modification occurred among his own list of Cantonese words. As regards the second modified tones he did not make any reference.

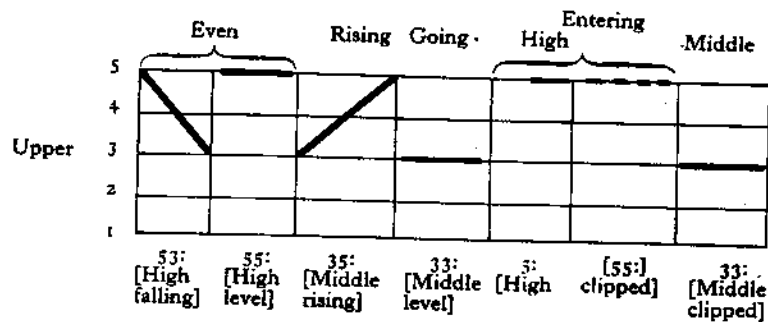
Professor Y. R. Chao<sup>3</sup> says that the first Pinn'iam [first modified tone] is "almost always high level (55:)"<sup>4</sup> and he distinguishes it from the second Pinn'iam (second modified tone) by saying that the second is almost always long rising (25:). Thus he did not propose to discuss in detail the finer distinctions regarding pitches and movements of these tones.

<sup>1</sup> Hong Kong, 1894, Introduction xix.

<sup>2</sup> Jones and Woo: *A Cantonese Phonetic Reader*, London, 1912, p. xv.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Cantonese Primer*, Harvard University Press, 1947, Introduction p. 34.

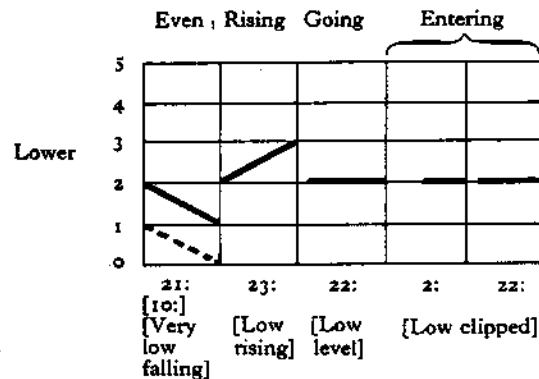
<sup>4</sup> Professor Chao's diagrams of Cantonese basic tones are reproduced here and on the following page for reference, *loc. cit.*, p. 24. The dotted lines 55: representing a variant (in length) of the High Entering [HC] and 10: representing the actual pitch and movement of the Lower Even [VLF] are mine.



As regards the second modified tones Eitel cites Parker's observation<sup>1</sup> and says:

"In addition to this medial even tone [first modified tone], the existence of which is not yet generally recognized by students of the Cantonese dialect, Professor E. H. Parker has pointed out (*China Review*, Vol. 8, p. 366) two other 'variable sounds' (變音) as he aptly calls them, *viz.* a third rising tone and a fourth entering tone [clipped tone]. The third rising tone he describes as beginning deeper than the lower rising tone 下上聲 [LR] but ending higher than the upper rising tone 上上聲 [MR]. As regards the fourth entering tone, he says that it bears the same analogy to the third rising tone as the upper entering 上入聲 [HC] does to the upper even tone 上平聲 [HF], being on the same level with regard to pitch.

"The discovery of these two 'variable sounds' is, as far as I know, entirely due to Professor Parker. The subject requires further elucidation, however, especially as regards the anomaly of the fourth entering tone, which has no parallel in the tonal history of the whole language. As to the third rising tone [one of the second modified tones] pointed out by Professor Parker, I have no doubt of its existence, but whether it is an actual subdivision of the second tone-class, or merely a modulation through arbitrary emphasis applicable to all tones indiscriminately, I cannot tell. Professor Parker's own remark that 'familiar words, generally nouns in the lower departing tone [下去 LL] often in the lower even tone [下平 VLF], occasionally in the upper departing tone [上去 ML], seldom in the two rising tones [上上 MR and 下上 LR], but never in the upper even tone [上平 HF] have a tendency in conversation only to lapse into this tone at the end of a sentence' suggests the possibility of this distinction being more a



<sup>1</sup> Eitel, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, revised ed., p. xii.

matter of emphasis, accent or cadence than an actual subdivision of the second tone-class."

Thus Eitel dismisses these modified tones without further investigation.

Parker's observations were correct. Although he did not state it explicitly, it stands to reason that the *shangpyng* 上平 never becomes his "third rising tone" [second modified] as it has a high starting pitch, and to become this special tone it would have to be drawn down and be given a lower starting pitch.

O'Melia's observation on variant tones<sup>1</sup> touches on one aspect of modification, that of compensatory modification (see p. 203 below). He says "Many common words and phrases are given a sliding pronunciation differing from the dictionary standard. We call these "variant tones". The real tone of the word is first given, though barely touched, after which the voice sails off like a kite, often sounding exactly as though it were an upper rising tone, and sometimes rising higher than the upper rising, e.g. "noi" [nroi] in the expression "kei noi\*?" [gee nroi?] "How long?" Have your teacher say: 你去幾耐. "Nei hui kei noi\*?" [Nree xei gee nroi?] "How long will you be gone?" In this case one might say the variant tone is the result of the contraction of "noi ni?" [nroi nhe?] into "noi\*" [nroi], or rather, that the variant compensates for the omission of the particle "ni [nhe] . . .".

What is said above is a logical explanation, that a high pitch word (in this case an interrogative particle) makes its absence felt by raising the pitch of the preceding word, making it a rising tone though the interrogative particle itself has been dropped. But O'Melia stops short at this casual observation and has thus left us with the rest of the problems regarding the modified tones.

Regarding the "meaning" of modified tones or pinn'iam Professor Y. R. Chao writes:

"From the point of view of factual description, the two pinn'iam are really two additional independent tones, occurring with all types of syllables. But for practical purposes, it is more convenient to associate every word having a pinn'iam with another word having one of the other tones. There are several reasons for this treatment. One is that, in most cases, a word having a pinn'iam is derived from a word having another tone. Thus dhoai\* [troyv] (25:)<sup>2</sup> 'table' is derived from dhoai [troy] (21:)<sup>2</sup> 'terrace, stage'. Another reason is that while ordinary tones are not associated with any meaning in particular, any more than are sounds like p, a, s, l, the pinn'iam on the other hand has a morphological meaning, namely, 'that familiar thing (or person, less frequently action) one often speaks of'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *First Year Cantonese*, by T. A. O'Melia, Hong Kong, 1939, p. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 186-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Cantonese Primer*, ed. cit., p. 34.

Then he adds:

"We have already spoken of the meaning of pinn'iam as being 'that familiar thing one often speaks of'. This can only be regarded as a convenient summary of a variety of similar meanings. The meaning of pinn'iam is really very similar to that of the retroflex suffix -r in Mandarin. For example, Cantonese woang [wronq] 'yellow': woang\* [wronqv] 'yolk' corresponds to Mandarin huang: 'yellow': huang'r 'yolk' . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Professor Chao does not, however, furnish examples of modified tones that occur in words other than nouns,<sup>2</sup> namely in verbs, adjectives or their equivalent, adverbs or their equivalent, interrogative statements, particles, familiar sayings and so on, as listed in my previous article.<sup>3</sup>

However, he touches on two words (not nouns) which, in his opinion, have become MR proper via a modified stage:

"Words in the upper rising tone [MR] never have a corresponding form with pinn'iam, probably because of the great similarity between this tone (35:)<sup>4</sup> and the pinn'iam (25:).<sup>4</sup> In fact, a number of cases of the upper rising tone are really the pinn'iam form of some other tone. Thus kox [gor] 'that' is really the pinn'iam of koh [go], the general auxiliary noun. The form kamx [garm] 'so' (in this manner) is simply the pinn'iam of kamm [gam] 'so' (to this extent). In such cases, the pitch range of the pinn'iam form has been shortened and the result is an actual upper rising tone [MR]."<sup>5</sup>

Dyer Ball calls the second modified tone 上聲變音 or third rising tone, and says that it

"differs from all the other tones in this that every word that is used in this tone belongs originally to another tone and is generally likewise used in this other tone as well. Nearly all the tones contribute words which are occasionally, or often, as the case may be, used in this third rising tone".<sup>6</sup>

His observations about the modification are similar to those of Parker, and he continues:

"It is a little misleading to say this third rising tone is adopted when a word ends a sentence. It does undoubtedly do so at times, but the following rules will generally describe their use.

The third rising tone is used when the word stands alone but when it is used in combination it takes its original tone, as: 渡 [tò [drouv]

<sup>1</sup> *loc. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Except in the case of *gor* and *garm*, see next paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> *A Study on the Modified Tones in Spoken Cantonese*, I, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30-35.

<sup>4</sup> See above pp. 186-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Cantonese Primer*, ed. cit., p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> In his *Cantonese Made Easy and Vocabulary*, ed. cit., Introduction p. xxvi.

(a ferry), but when used with 船 [srynn], a boat, it reverts to its original tone, as: 渡船 tò) [shuen [drou-srynn], a passage boat."<sup>1</sup>

It would be more correct, however, to say that the modified tone is used when the speaker is using the familiar everyday name of the object "drouv" and not the less familiar or less used term "drousrynn".

Dyer Ball further observes that the third rising tone is also used as a sign of past time—of an action being accomplished, as:

叫佢嚟 [giu kreoe lay] "Tell him to come"

嚟咯 [layv lok] "He has come"

佢嚟囉咩 [kreoe layv lomhea?] "He has come, has he?"

嚟咯 [layv lok] "Yes, (he has come)"<sup>2</sup>

Here Dyer Ball, like O'Melia, notes the modification in the verb "to come" when used in the past tense, but he does not give the reason for such a change.

From the remarks above it appears that modification has been taken to be (a) something which generally functions in words which are familiar names of things or persons (see my examples in Part I, pp. 12-29), and (b) compensation for the dropping or elision of a following word.

Among works written on the variant tones in Cantonese, there are two more detailed than the attempts surveyed above. The first is the article "Rules for the Use of Variant Tones in Cantonese", by K. H. Ch'an Chan Seng with an introduction by J. Dyer Ball (*China Review*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 209-26), and the second, *A Chinese Syllabary pronounced according to the Dialect of Canton*, by S. L. Wong, Chung Hwa Book Co. Ltd., Shanghai, 1941, pp. 34-52.

In the introduction to Mr. Ch'an's article, p. 211 (a), Dyer Ball mentions "Mr. Parker (*China Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 366) whose word is law on the matter of Chinese tones. He says 'besides the nine regular Cantonese tones, there are, in short, nine corresponding variable tones' ". Further on Dyer Ball continues to give an interesting description regarding these tones, p. 211 (b).

"Though, however, each of the nine tones has a variant tone, yet their classification is apparently capable of simplification, as the variant of the upper retiring tone (Mr. Cha'n's middle retiring) [ML] and of the middle entering tone [MC] are the same; again that of the upper rising [MR] is nearly the same, the voice lingering longer, however, on the tone at the end. Once more one tone serves equally well as the variant of the lower retiring [LL] and the lower entering [LC] tones; this tone one would feel inclined to describe as smooth in its progress upwards. Again the variant for the lower rising [LR] is almost

<sup>1</sup> *loc. cit.*, p. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> *loc. cit.*, p. xxvii.

similar to it, but its distinctive feature lies in more emphasis being thrown into its pronunciation, especially in its inception and first rising; for the voice seems to seize on it with avidity, lingering on it, and a crescendo effect comes in, in its middle course, dying away toward its end. Then though the variant of the upper even [HF] and the upper entering [HC] tone are very much alike, there is a difference between them, the latter is lengthened in its pronunciation and not abrupt as the former, the voice lingers on it and gives emphasis to it with almost, if not quite, a crescendo effect. Of all these variants, the one which appeals most to the learner is the variant of the lower even [VLF]: it is so marked and distinctive in its character that it has hitherto well nigh monopolized the attention and taken the other variant rising tones under its own name, or at all events the distinction between these five or more rising variant tones has not been pointed out or clearly defined and they have all been considered by many as one and the same tone.<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that this has a distinct fall and a long rise, in fact being the most prolonged of any of the rising tones, and much emphasis is thrown into the voice on its recovery from the fall, increasing in its volume as it rises into a good crescendo and dying away at the end again. It is a tone that is bound to force itself on the attention of the hearer who has the slightest acuteness of ear for tones."

This is followed by Mr. Ch'an's examples of the modified tones, showing how modification could occur in any of the basic tones.

In the second work which deals with the modified tones, namely, in his *Syllabary of the Cantonese Dialect*, Mr. Wong goes a step further, as he furnishes us with four chief reasons for modification (p. 34):

- (a) For reasons of euphony 於諸聲有關.
- (b) To distinguish the meaning 於意義有關.
- (c) In transliteration of words from Western languages 於西文譯音有關.
- (d) In connexion with common usage, 於習慣有關.

Mr. Wong supplies us with a number of examples for the study of these variant tones. The types he enumerates are as follows:

(a) "For reasons of euphony". A series of common words (nouns) are given as examples. To repeat a few here will suffice:

bhuuyx = cup

<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Cantonese speakers have a tendency to approximate the starting pitches and lengths of other second modified tones to those of this special one on account of its decisive sweep upwards after reaching the lowest depth in the tonal scale. Its length or long rise becomes its distinctive identity and it often confers, by analogy, its starting pitch and length on other second modified tones which should, by nature so to speak, have a less deep starting pitch.

cheon<sup>h</sup>thin<sup>x</sup> (Mr. Wong does not indicate that the level movement of "cheon<sup>h</sup>" here is caused by tone-sandhi rather than modification) = spring.

jhi<sup>h</sup>shan<sup>q</sup>x (Mr. Wong does not indicate here that the level movement of "jhi<sup>h</sup>" here is caused by tone-sandhi rather than modification) = doctor.  
shih<sup>x</sup> = poem.

The term euphonic is too vague and so is not a useful guide for deciding on rules for modification. Also Mr. Wong's rule for pronouncing the second modified tone, *viz.*, 比高上調似乎還略為着力些 "a little more stressed than 高上 [MR]" is not an accurate description.

(b) "To distinguish the meanings."

(i) To denote the perfect tense.

我來喇 [ngror lrayv la] I have arrived.

(ii) To denote intensity.

紅紅地 [xrunqxrunqv-dreiv] rather red.

紅紅 [xrunqv<sup>x</sup>runq] very red.

(iii) To denote smallness, secondary position, or ridicule.

大門 [draaimruunn] "main door", whereas

橫門 [wraanqmruunnv] "side door" is modified.

(iv) To denote degree of size.

The word 大 draai (big, large) has three different meanings. In its original tone: 咁大 gam draai = so big; when modified to a rising movement: gam draiv = only so big; modified to the high level tone: gam draaix = so small, how very small!

Here Mr. Wong shows the force of the modification succeeding in changing the meaning of "big" to its opposite (see Part I, p. 31). He observes the phenomenon clearly without giving a reason for it.

(c) "In transliteration of words from Western languages."

Mr. Wong ascribes the reason for this kind of modification to the tendency in Chinese readers to imitate the foreign sounds. Indeed Cantonese speakers must imagine foreign sounds always spoken in a high pitch, as European languages must sound strange to the ear which is only accustomed to the rhythm of a tonal language. Mr. Wong's examples are: 打 [dhaa] "dozen"; 咪 [mhai] "mile"; 仙 [shinnx] "cent".

(d) "In connexion with common usage."

Mr. Wong observes that broadly speaking the previous reasons are connected with common usage as well, and he gives here examples of place names which became modified only through long usage.

河南 Xrohnrammv (a place south of Canton) whereas Xrohnraamm unmodified is the name of the province, Honan.

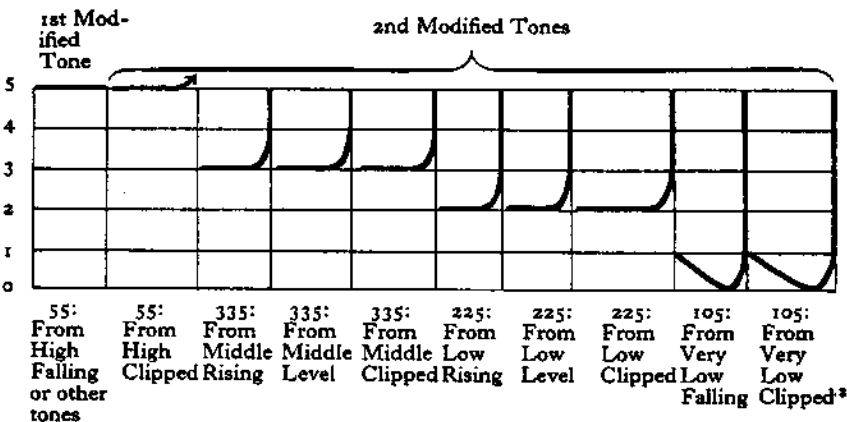
河南 Xrohnraammv (also the name of a boat which used to ply between Hong Kong and Canton).

中華 Zhunq<sup>w</sup>raahv (name of a bookshop, whereas in Zhunq<sup>w</sup>raah Mranngwok "The Chinese Republic" wraah is not modified).

After this survey of the history of the study of the variant or modified tones, I would like to provide for reference a diagram of the modified tones before I proceed to discuss their origin and functions.

## B. DIAGRAMMATIC PRESENTATION OF THE MODIFIED TONES

For a diagrammatic presentation of the modified tones it seems convenient to follow Professor Chao's system, which uses five lines numbered from 1 to 5.<sup>1</sup> Thus the first modified tone is 55:. Each of the second modified tones<sup>2</sup> begins from the starting pitch of the tone it modifies (3, 2, 1) and takes it up to 5. A diagram of the modified tones is given below:



Mr. Barnett in his article<sup>4</sup> gives a diagram which enables us to see what happens even in a difficult case like the modified middle rising. In saying Zeong Wae-jrynnzeong 蔣委員長 (Chairman Chiang Kai-Shek, a formal title) his surname is pronounced in the middle rising, but he is referred to

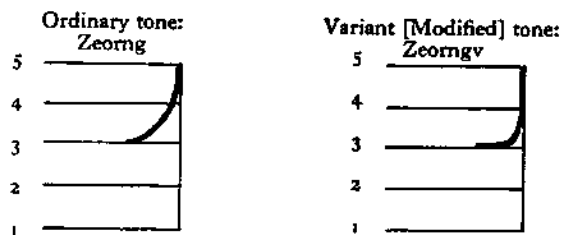
<sup>1</sup> A zero line has been added to indicate very low pitch.

<sup>2</sup> Theoretically a Cantonese speaker would pronounce a second modified tone in two stages, namely, start to pronounce the word in its basic tone first and then soar upwards to pitch 5. It is not yet possible to ascertain whether all Cantonese speakers go through this process when enunciating a second modified tone, as instruments devised for the accurate measuring of pitch, length and movement of tones, have, so far, not been completely successful. Most Cantonese speakers, when asked, would describe a second modified tone as "something like the middle rising tone".

<sup>3</sup> This very low starting pitch of the Low Clipped occurs only in repetitive adjectives. Thus praat "onomatopoeia for the sound of rain, cascade of water, etc." becomes praatpraatv sheanq "pattering sound" in which the second element could be described as 105:

<sup>4</sup> BSOAS, Vol. XIII, Pt. 3, 1950, p. 741.

familiarly in speech as *Lroo Zeorngv* 老蔣 (Old Chiang, a familiar way of calling a friend by his surname thus). Here, and in similar expressions, or in positions where a variant [modified] tone would be expected, the middle rising tone begins at pitch 3 and ends at pitch 5 or a very little higher, but it gets there in quite a different way from the normal tone as the diagram shows:



## C. ORIGIN OF THE MODIFIED TONES

### I. THE FIRST MODIFIED TONE

As Professor Simon has suggested<sup>1</sup>, these tone modifications have arisen in lieu of an original suffix 兒, which plays such a large part in Northern dialects where it rivals with the diminutive suffix 子. According to him such sound modifications might be the Cantonese counterpart of the cerebralization which can be found in lieu of 兒 in Shantung dialects and the nasalization which is to be observed in the Popei Dialect.<sup>2</sup>

Professor Simon thinks that the tonal change may have started with words ending in *-i* or in a diphthong which has *i* as its last vowel. Furthermore he assumes that this diminutive suffix was pronounced as a high level tone "jrihx" not as the present day very low falling "jrih" which has the meaning "son". This high level pronunciation can be found at present in Cantonese in two words, viz.:

mraawxjrihx 貓兒 = cat, kitten

xhatjrihx 乞兒 = beggar

Besides 兒 the other diminutive suffix "zir" 子 meaning "child, son" is also pronounced in the high pitch in the compound

mʷannxzirx 蚊子 = mosquito

Whether 兒 and 子 were high pitch words or not in ancient times cannot be ascertained but we are sure of their high pitch in their diminutive function in the examples above at the present time and it is not unreasonable to

<sup>1</sup> See his "Introduction" to my *1200 Chinese Basic Characters for Students of Cantonese*, London, 1953, p. xx.

<sup>2</sup> See Walton Simon: Review of Wang Li's *Une prononciation Chinoise de Po-Pei* in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1935, No. 5, col. 334. For further details see below, pp. 196-7.

believe that these diminutives have always been high pitch words in Cantonese. As it happens, Professor Simon's theory can be further substantiated by the preservation of the suffix *jrihx* 兒 to a much greater extent among some speakers of the Cantonese dialect in the Kwangsi Province than with speakers of the Metropolitan dialect in Kwangtung.

My colleague, Mr. D. C. Lau, when passing through the districts in the vicinity of Gueypyng 桂平, Wujou 梧州 and Leoujou 柳州 during the time of Japanese occupation of Canton, came across Cantonese-speaking people in all these areas, as indeed all along the West River. But there was a "peculiar" habit among the speakers in the districts in the neighbourhood of Gueypyng 桂平 which Mr. Lau noticed, namely, the habit of employing the suffix "jrihx" after all sorts of nouns. This phenomenon seems to provide us with a glimpse of the stage of the modification before the nouns had incorporated the high pitch suffix into their word-body. When high falling tones are followed by such a suffix, the immediate result is very similar to the only case of tone-sandhi in Cantonese we meet with today: the first element of a compound, in the high falling tone, is prevented from falling by the high starting pitch in the second (for example, in *fheyghey*). Similarly all the names of familiar persons or things in the high falling tone would have been pronounced in the high level tone in the Gueypyng vicinity as a result of tone-sandhi before the suffix "jrihx".

### II. THE SECOND MODIFIED TONE

A further confirmation of the theory may be seen in the fact that it gives also a plausible explanation for the second kind of modification, namely, the pronouncing of middle or low pitch words (names of familiar objects, etc.) with a rising sweep. If we take the case of a very low falling tone *lrey* 狸 (a kind of wild cat, a fox) + *jrihx* 兒 the final *-i*'s of *lrey* and *jrihx* amalgamate and the compensation for this amalgamation results in "lreyv", i.e. the very low falling tone follows its own original movement for a space of time and then is drawn up, as it were, by the high pitch of "jrihx" and the two finally became one long rising sweep, the second element of the compound having been elided and incorporated into the first. This final form is an example of the second modified tones. From words ending in *-i* it is easy to see how the amalgamation happened and by analogy words not ending in *-i* are similarly drawn up.

### III. SIMILAR PHENOMENA IN OTHER DIALECTS

To substantiate further the theory of the elision<sup>1</sup> of the suffix *jrihx* in Cantonese it will be useful to look at the way the diminutive suffix is used in other dialects. In most dialects, including the National Language, this suffix remains as a separate sound (though neutralized as a tone). We therefore know of its existence and use it accordingly. But in Cantonese such a

<sup>1</sup> For elision see also under F IV, pp. 203-7.

suffix has been completely incorporated into the word-body which precedes it and so this has led people to believe that some words inconsistently change their tones, that is, to change from their original tones as given in dictionaries, whenever they are used in the spoken language. There are two dialects besides Cantonese, however, which help to supply a clue to the process of transformation. One of these, the Po-pei 博白 dialect, shows the process from the separate entity of a diminutive suffix, through the stage of the suffix, still in existence, causing a rising movement in the tone of the preceding word and then the stage of incorporation when the last vestige of the separate suffix has been swallowed up by the preceding word. The other is a dialect of Southern Shantung which still keeps the suffix 兒 after some words whereas in others it is merely represented by a flapped vowel.

(a) The Popei dialect is described by Professor Wang Li in his *Une prononciation Chinoise de Po-pei*, Paris, 1932. This is the only dialect I know which furnishes a parallel to the phenomenon of the modified Cantonese tones.

If we look at Professor Wang's thesis, pp. 84, 85, 86, 87, we find his description of the diminutive suffix 兒, pronounced  $\text{jin}^{11}$ , which is a long rising tone.

- 雞兒 = (petit poulet)  $\text{kae}^5 - \text{jin}^{11}$   
 羊兒 (petit mouton) =  $\text{ia}\eta^6 - \text{jin}^{11}$   
 馬兒 (petit cheval) =  $\text{ma}^6 - \text{jin}^{11}$   
 賊兒 (petit voleur) =  $\text{ts}'\text{ak}^9 - \text{jin}^{11}$

The above list gives us examples of the diminutive still separate from the noun, and it is a clear proof that a diminutive suffix exists in this old dialect, "le dialecte du pays" 地老話 as opposed to the other dialect in Po-pei "le dialect étranger" 新民話. The telling feature in the history of the diminutive suffix in the Po-pei dialect lies in the nasalization of the clipped tones 入聲 (see examples below). Although Professor Wang does not state that this suffix is the reason for the nasalization, he furnishes a good list of examples which show that the diminutive suffix " $\text{jin}^{11}$ " must have caused the change, *i.e.* nasalization according to the positions of the consonants as produced by the various parts of the mouth,  $p > m$ ,  $t > n$ ,  $k > \text{ng}$ ,<sup>1</sup> and the resulting tones are all long rising.

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| $\text{œk}^7$ 屋, maison;      | $\text{o}\eta^{11}$ , petite maison                  |
| $\text{hœk}^7$ 哭, pleurer;    | $\text{hœk}^7 - \text{ho}\eta^{11,2}$ pleurer        |
| $\text{mat}^{10}$ 物, chose;   | $\text{man}^{11}$ , petite chose                     |
| $\text{pœt}^8$ 八, huit;       | $\text{a}^3 - \text{pan}^{11}$ , mon petit huitième  |
| $\text{pak}^8$ 伯, oncle;      | $\text{a}^3 - \text{pa}\eta^{11}$ , mon petit oncle  |
| $\text{hak}^8$ 嚇, menacer;    | $\text{hak}^8 - \text{ha}\eta^{11}$ , menacer un peu |
| $\text{ʃap}^{10}$ 十, dixième; | $\text{a}^3 - \text{ʃam}^{11}$ , mon petit dixième   |
| $\text{hœp}^9$ 盒, boîte;      | $\text{ham}^{11}$ , petite boîte                     |

<sup>1</sup> *loc. cit.*, p. 71, also see above, p. 194, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *cf.*  $\text{xra}\text{a}\text{ŋ}\text{xra}\text{a}\text{ŋ}\text{v}$  "walkie walkie" in Cantonese.

There are also examples of other tones (not ending in p, t, k) becoming long rising, such as:

- |                                  |   |   |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| 貓 $\text{meo}^1$ "chat"          | > | $\text{meo}^{11}$ "petit chat"          |
| 牛 $\text{ŋao}^2$ "bœuf"          | > | $\text{ŋao}^{11}$ "petit bœuf"          |
| 狗 $\text{kao}^3$ "chien"         | > | $\text{kao}^{11}$ "petit chien"         |
| 弟 $\text{t}'\text{ae}^4$ "frère" | > | $\text{t}'\text{ae}^{11}$ "petit frère" |
| 甕 $\text{o}\eta^5$ "cruche"      | > | $\text{o}\eta^{11}$ "petit cruche"      |
| 妹 $\text{mui}^6$ "sœur"          | > | $\text{mui}^{11}$ "petite sœur"         |

In these examples we witness a tonal phenomenon nearest to the Cantonese modified tones; the diminutive suffix has disappeared altogether from the component parts of the words and only the changed tone (into the eleventh or long rising) remains to tell the tale of the process.

(b) A less complete, none the less significant, picture of this process is found in examples of this phenomenon in Theodor Bröring's *Laut und Ton in Süd-Schantung*,<sup>1</sup> where we see that some words (*i.e.* words with light or front vowels) still have  $\text{öl}$  ( $\text{erl}$  兒) pronounced after them while others (words with dark or back vowels) have incorporated the suffix to the degree of substituting for it a flapped vowel.

To sum up, there is little ground to doubt that one of the most important reasons for the modified tones in Cantonese is the incorporation of the suffix " $\text{jri}\text{h}\text{x}$ " into the word-body which precedes that suffix.

#### D. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY MODIFICATION

The theory which has been explained in Section C accounts for the origin of the modified tones in the first stage of its development, *viz.* high falling tones are prevented from falling and lower pitch tones are drawn up. A survey of the modifications as they occur in present day Cantonese makes, however, a further distinction necessary. In quite a number of words we observe what I would like to call "secondary modification", *i.e.* we observe more than one modified tone in the case of certain words. A few examples will make that clear.

- $\text{dhigam}\text{nrœiv}$  (primary modification) = a little while  
 $\text{dhigam}\text{nrœix}$  (secondary modification) = a very little while  
 $\text{mrœo-gee-jryrnv}$  (primary modification) = not very far  
 $\text{mrœo-gee-jryrn}\text{x}$  (secondary modification) = actually very near

The following are further examples of words which allow of more than one modification:

- $\text{creonq}\text{x}$  "very short" derived from  $\text{creonq}$  "long" (長) (*cf.*  $\text{xrai gam}$   $\text{creonqv}$  "only so long")  
 $\text{ji}$  in  $\text{zaagaar}\text{xjix}^2$  "to pretend" derived from  $\text{ji}$  "mind" (意).

<sup>1</sup> Hamburg, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase has association with nursery games and language.

(cf. xrai garm jiv zhea "not having taken too much trouble")  
 jrannx in jhatgo jrannx<sup>1</sup> "all alone" derived from jrann "man" (人)  
 (cf. jhatgo jrannv "by oneself")

mruuix "little girl", "slave girl" derived from mruuiv "younger sister" (妹)

draaix "tiny" derived from draai "big" (大) (cf. gee draiv a? "how big?")

My observation in connexion with the words above is that most of them have a diminutive connotation, similar to such words as "mraawx-jrihx" "cat, kitten" and "mraannxzix" "mosquito, midget". It may actually be said that the Cantonese dialect uses the high pitch tone for expressing the diminutive connotation. All the examples in the list above are derived from words of a lower pitch than the highest (5:) but they can all be pronounced in the high level tone, namely, first modified tone. They might have acquired such a high pitch by analogy with other high pitch familiar words. The diminutive force is so strong that it overrides the otherwise normal development of such derivation, namely, the resulting long rising movement or second modified tone. Going back to the examples above we see that they are capable of both second and first modification. One might say the *primary* modification of the word "creonq" (長) meaning "long" is a second modified tone, as e.g. "xrai gam creonqv zaa" "only so long", whereas "gam creonqx zhea" (first modified tone) "only so short", has in fact the opposite meaning. This is what I would call secondary modification. The remainder of the examples allow of a similar explanation.

A special case is, however, provided by the Cantonese equivalent for "cat", which should have a very low falling tone (mraaw), but is pronounced in a high level tone (mraawx).<sup>2</sup> Apparently, the "diminutive" here is doubled, so that mraaw jrihx is not raised to mraawv but to the sustained high level tone, mraawx. We may call this a case of secondary modification without the accompanying primary. It is also possible, in nursery language, to add the suffix jrihx again after mraawx, so that in mraawxjrihx we witness a "tertiary" diminutive.

At this point I should like to add a short list of words which are not in the high falling tone but which are still pronounced in the high level or first modified tone, owing to the strong diminutive force being present. These, as in the case of the word for "cat", are raised to the high level without a long rising side by side with them like the examples given above of primary and secondary modification.

saimrannxzae 細攸仔 = little child (low falling > first modified)

soazirmreex 手指尾 = little finger (low rising > first modified)

<sup>1</sup> The idea is slightly connected with pity, self pity.

<sup>2</sup> Note, however, that in the word for "owl" the pronunciation keeps the standard tone, thus mraawjrihtrawjhenqx, literally "cat head eagle".

whuuhjrenqx 烏蠅 = a fly (very low falling > first modified)

zujrihxjrannx 捉兒人 = playing the game of catching (very low falling > first modified)

The following are names connected with disrespect, which unceremoniously states the distinguishing trait, usually uncomplimentary, in the person spoken of.<sup>1</sup>

lhynmrowx 辮毛 = curly-headed (one) (very low falling > first modified)

wronqmrowx 黃毛 = yellow-headed (one) (very low falling > first modified)

The following are names of a familiar animal and a familiar insect:  
 mraarlrawx 馬騮 = monkey (a name for the animal or a young person or child who deserves the name)  
 (very low falling > first modified)

tronqmreyx 螳螂 = dragon-fly (very low falling > first modified)

In an adjectival compound the "jrihx" suffix could have caused the last syllable (of middle or lower pitches) to become a second modified tone, but in some cases the last syllable is raised to the first modified tone, presumably to express a little sarcasm, ridicule, etc.:

srihpaaix 時派 = fashionable, very up-to-date (middle level > first modified)

## E. DISTRIBUTION OF MODIFICATION AND NON-MODIFICATION IN RELATION TO INDIVIDUAL TONES

Looking at the distribution of modification in relation to individual tones it will be noted that modification of two tones is comparatively rare, *viz.*, of the *middle level* and the *low rising*, and that modification of the high falling, low level and very low falling is most frequent. Furthermore it must be admitted that a modification of the *middle rising* is difficult to ascertain owing to the great similarity in the movements of these two tones.<sup>2</sup> For this reason I leave the question of the modification of this tone open and list examples of words in the middle rising tone in the unmodified category. As far as the middle level and low rising are concerned the lack of modification in such surnames as A Sung and A Mraar as opposed to the regular modification of surnames in other tones is very significant.<sup>3</sup> In order to show the tendency mentioned above regarding the distribution of modification, I shall (I) group examples of unmodified personal names<sup>4</sup> and surnames according to their tones, (II) suggest possible reasons for the non-

<sup>1</sup> See Nicknames in Pt. I, Section I b(v), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 193, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Pt. I, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> See Pt. I, pp. 14-15.



modification of some personal names,<sup>1</sup> and (III) discuss the unmodified numerals used as personal names.

## I. EXAMPLES OF UNMODIFIED PERSONAL NAMES AND SURNAMES

<i>Middle rising</i>	<i>Middle level</i>	<i>Low rising</i>
Drou Fuur (Poo)	Bhaann Gwuu	Gwahaann Jryr
Jrynn Saixoe	Shaymuunn Xeng	Wronq Wrarn
A Nao "my friend Nao"	Shihmraar Ji	A Lree <sup>2</sup> "my friend Lee"
Qhoh (A) Dao	Lreoe Bou	A Mraar "my friend Ma"
Taarn Gee	A Sung "my friend Sung"	

## II. POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THE NON-MODIFICATION OF SOME PERSONAL NAMES

Apart from unmodified names given in (I) above, there are still a number of unmodified names of well-known and rather well-known personages in Pt. I, pp. 14-15. I would like to divide these into groups and suggest possible reasons (other than tonal) for their non-modification.

### (a) Names with literary flavour:

Braak Srunqxhey	Lree Zhunqjrann
Coi Trenqghaay	Whonq Zhenqwrai
Jrynn Saixoe	Xurng Creonqxhey
Lree Xrunqzheonq	Zhyh Xhey

### (b) Names of highly respected personages (hence not in the familiar category):

Gwahaann Ghunq	Zhaw Ghunq
Gwahaann Jryr	Zhyh Gotreong
Mraang Qhoh	Zhyh Xhey(x)

### (c) Names of writers (comparatively "less familiar" than some):

Braak Gheoyjri	Show Cit
Lrao Zhunqjrann	Wronq Mornq
Lraw Jryrsek	Wronq Qhonnreak(v)
Lree Braak	Xronn Jry
Shihmraar Sheonqjryh	Zhonq Zhaw

### (d) Comparatively "less familiar" characters in popular fiction and "historical" novels.

Dhiw Srimm	Shynn Krynn
------------	-------------

<sup>1</sup> See Pt. I, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> This non-modification may be due to avoiding the association of ideas suggested by *lreev* "plum". But *Lreevdrei* "our friends the Lees" is modified (see below, p. 201).

Durng Ceok	Wronq Wrarn
Jrynn Sreot	Wronq Creonq (cf. her other name, Wronq Chiw-gwhannx, Pt. I, p. 14)
Mraang Wrok	Zriu Zirlrunq (cf. his other name, Zriu Wrannv, Pt. I, p. 14)
Shihmraar Ji	
Shihmraar Sheonqjryh(v)	
Sir Sheonqwrann	
Shynn Caak	

## III. UNMODIFIED NUMERALS USED AS PERSONAL NAMES

Numerals are frequently adopted as personal names by maids. The examples *A Jriv* "No. 2", *A Shaammx* "No. 3" and *A Ngrro* "No. 5" are modified and are most common. But *A Sei*<sup>3</sup> "No. 4" and *A Lruk*<sup>2</sup> "No. 6", equally common, are not modified. *A Chat* "No. 7" is also commonly adopted, but like *A Jhat* "No. 1", it is in the high pitch and so its modification cannot easily be ascertained. *A Baat* "No. 8" is not common and is not modified.<sup>3</sup> *A Gao* "No. 9" is very rarely adopted by maids as a personal name (but *A Gao* "Doggie" is common among children). As it is a middle rising tone, it cannot be easily ascertained whether modification occurs. *A Srap* "No. 10" is not very common. It is not modified.

From the above we see that certain tones are less frequently modified. But with familiarity stressed, as in the case of "the Sung" and "the Lees", modification occurs: *Sungvdrei* and *Lreevdrei*. This shows that the "familiar" or "diminutive" force can win through and operate even though there is some tendency to keep the original tones of such words.

Examples of words in the middle level and low rising respectively are:  
saotouv = glove(s)

A Kraov = Uncle (mother's brother) or wife's younger brother

## F. FUNCTIONS OF THE MODIFIED TONES

In the majority of the examples given in Part I of this study, modification clearly indicates a feeling of familiarity or even endearment on the part of the speaker towards the persons or things spoken of. This usage, easily accounted for by the assumption of an original suffixation of a diminutive, is very reminiscent of the use of diminutives in other languages, for instance, present-day English. I would like to refer to G. Stern, who in his *Meaning and Change of Meaning*, Göteborg, 1931, p. 256, speaks of "shortened

<sup>1</sup> But *sei* in *Srapseiv* "the 14th child or 14th concubine" and *sei* in the saying *mh shaamm mh seiv* "not respectable" are modified.

<sup>2</sup> When *lruk* is modified it is linked up with the meaning of its homophone *lruok* "deer". *Lruk* is modified in *Sraplruok* "the 16th child or 16th concubine".

<sup>3</sup> But *baat* in *Srapbaatv* "the 18th child or 18th concubine" is modified. It is also modified in the saying *chatchatbaatv* "nearly completed" or *srapchatbaatv* "aged 17 or 18".

expressions" or "clippings", which are "very often intended to make the words express sympathy or endearment towards the persons addressed; nursery speech abounds in nighties, tootsies, etc., and clippings of proper names, transforming them into pet names, are often due to a similar desire for emotive effects".

A second function, which can also be explained by the assumption of the original suffixation of a diminutive, is to stress the limitation of size, distance, duration, etc.

There are, however, two further functions of the modified tones which cannot be explained in this manner, *viz.*, the function of expressing surprise, wonder, disappointment, etc., and the function of compensation for the elision of certain words which the speaker chooses to omit.

#### I. MODIFICATION INDICATING FAMILIARITY, ENDEARMENT, RIDICULE, ETC. (See Pt. I, pages as indicated below):

##### (a) Feeling of familiarity with regard to persons:

Names of address among relatives	(p. 12)
Names of relationship	(p. 13)
Surnames preceded by A-	(p. 17)
Names of well-known persons	(p. 13)

##### (b) Feeling of familiarity with regard to animals and things:

Names of animals	(p. 17)
Names of plays, books and stories	(p. 19)
Names of cities, towns, streets and shops	(pp. 20-21)

##### (c) Feeling of love or pity or ridicule:

Common names for babies	(p. 15)
Nicknames	(p. 16)

##### (d) Familiar usage or names of persons or things often spoken of, hence words which normally take the diminutive suffix:

Common personal names	(p. 16)
Names of things for common use	(p. 17)
Names of other tribes and titles of reign periods	(pp. 17-18)
Sections (f)-(n)	(pp. 21-29)

#### II. MODIFICATION EMPHASIZING LIMITATION OF SIZE, DISTANCE, DURATION, ETC. (See Pt. I, Section II, (b) (ii), p. 31)

#### III. MODIFICATION EXPRESSING SURPRISE, WONDER, DISAPPOINTMENT, ETC.

The modification is effected by the raising of the voice to the highest pitch in the last syllable of the sentence, regardless of its original tone. To

illustrate this function a few examples are taken from a book of speech patterns.<sup>1</sup>

Mrhthunqx kreoe zi saat ㄟ?	"Do you mean to say he committed suicide?"
Mrhthunqx kreoe zoi crih zhek ㄟ?	"Do you mean to say he has again offered his resignation?"
Mrthunqx kreoe l'inn zoigin dhou mroo wraa zrau cear lo ㄟ?	"Do you mean to say that he left without saying good-bye?"

#### IV. MODIFICATION COMPENSATING FOR THE ELISION OF CERTAIN WORDS WHICH THE SPEAKER CHOOSES TO OMIT.

Apart from the extremely frequent elision of the suffix *jrihx*<sup>2</sup> modification also occurs in lieu of the utterance of certain words which the speaker chooses to omit, such as *zor*, *xhiw*, *jhat*, etc. The modification of tones in such cases may then be said to compensate for the omission of these words. I give the following lists of examples:

##### (a) Omission of *zor* or *xhiw* (past tense suffix in Cantonese)

caakvlok = to have taken down (building)
to have opened (letter)
to have taken out (stitches)

crammvlok = to have sunk

ditv'rokkxeoi = to have fallen down or off [compound verb; first element modified]

douv lok = to have arrived

(dou as secondary verb also takes the modification; thus "zip dou(zor)" to have received > zipdouv; similarly, "warn dou(zor)" "to have found" > "warndouv".

fhaannx-lrayv = to have returned

[double perfect form "fhaannzor lrayzor", as it were]

fheyxxeoiv = to have flown away

[double perfect form "fheyzor xeoizor", as it were]

gorngv lok = to have spoken, or said

(usually gorngzor lok, as the middle rising "gorng" is too near its modified form in sound, and the speaker feels he has to make it clear with the original form + zor rather than the modified form to indicate the perfect tense)

gwov lok = to have passed

gwov lrunq as in "ngraarn draai tae gwov lrunq" = to have overlooked, not to have seen something under one's very nose.

gwov shann = to have died

<sup>1</sup> See K. P. K. Whitaker: *Structure Drill in Cantonese*, 1954, pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> See Pt. I, pp. 12-29.

kreyvtoo lok = to have prayed

lrokv xeoiv(v) lok = to have gone down

[possible double perfect]

lrynv/brunq = to have gone topsy-turvy

mraaeiv lok = to have bought

(usually mraaezor lok, to make the meaning clear, as in the modified tone this is not distinguishable from mraaiv lok "to have sold" when spoken out of context)

mroov lok = have not got something any more

thawx = to have stolen

zreoivzraap lok = to have been to a Service

In connexion with the above examples it is important to note that modification never occurs if the past tense suffix *zor* or *xhiv* is given explicitly; thus

"Kreoe srekzor lok" "He has eaten"

"Kreoe drukzor lok" "He has read . . ."

"Kreoe mraaezor lok" "He has bought . . ."

"Kreoe mraayzortraw lok" "He has disembarked"

"Kreoe fheyzorxeoiv lok" "He has flown away"

"Kreoe nhenqzorxeoiv lok" "He has taken . . . away"

All the main verbs above are not modified. The use of "zor" after the main verb is often found but not usually with secondary verbs; thus in a phrase like "Nhenqxhaannxrayv lok" "has been brought back" it shows that the speaker implies the past throughout the main verb + secondary verbs "take-return-come"; but if "zor" is to be retained one could either say "Nhenqzorphaannxrayv lok" or "Nhenqzorphaannray lok" but never "Nhenqzorphaannzorrayzor lok".

(b) Omission of *dhak* (get, acquire, to be able)

jrawdhak kreoe lha > jrawv kreoe lha = let him be, allow him to . . .

(Sometimes "dhak" is put back, possibly because the origin of the modification in "jrawv" has been forgotten; thus "jrawvdhak kreoe lha" is also a possible construction)

jram-dhak kreoe > jramv kreoe = to let him have perfect freedom of action.

zraan-dhak gaao geazhea > zraanv gaao geazhea = it's only going to a lot of trouble for nothing, it will be futile.

(c) Omission of *douv* (to have reached the stage) and *xae* (at, on, in)

brang-douv (or xae) cheonqxxao-sy > branqv cheonqx xao-sy = to be leaning against the window.

bruk-douv (or xae) sy > brukv sy = to put one's head on one's arm.

cror-douv (or xae) sy > crorv sy = sitting down.

fan-douv (or xae) sy > fanv sy = lying down.

fhey-douv paa0 > fheyx paa0 = running away very fast (sometimes fheyx-douv paa0 is used).

gwaa-douv (or xae) sy > gwaav sy = hanging up.

gwrai-douv (or xae) sy > gwraiv sy = to be kneeling down.

kramm-douv (or xae) drou creonq-sy > krammv drou creonq-sy = climbing on the wall.

kree-douv (or xae) sy > kreev sy = standing up.

mhaw-douv (or xae) sy > mhawx sy = squatting down.

nghaay-douv (or xae) sy > nghaayx sy = leaning on something.

phow xae dreiv-sy > phowx dreiv-sy = spread (it) on the floor.

taat-douv (or xae) sy > taatv sy = to have relaxed the body completely while lying down.

thaann-douv (or xae) sy > thaannx sy = lying down carelessly.

tok-douv (or xae) boktraw-sy > tokv boktraw-sy = shouldering (it).

zaat-douv (or xae) phoh sry-sy > zaatv phoh sry-sy = tied on to a tree.

zhaah xae sao-sy > zhaahx sao-sy = holding (it) in one's hand.

(d) Omission of *jhat* (one)

(i) After verbs which are repeated after it:

cheoy jhat cheoy > cheoyx cheoy = to blow (once).

cror jhat cror > crorv cror = to sit (a while).

darng jhat darng > darngv darng = to wait (a while).

drok jhat drok > drokv drok = to measure (once).

gin jhat gin > ginv gin = to see (once or a while).

jrung jhat jrung > jrungv jrung = to use (a while).

kwaang jhat kwaang > kwaangv kwaang = to go round (once or a while) said of a place of interest.

mran jhat mran > mranv mran = to ask (once).

mraan jhat mraan > mraanv mraan = to smell (once or a while).

mrong jhat mrong > mrongv mrong = to gaze (once).

ngraao jhat ngraao > ngraaoiv ngraao = to bite (once).

si jhat si > siv si = to try (once or a while).

taam jhat taam > taamv taam = to visit (once).

tao jhat tao > taov tao = rest (a while).

theanq jhat theanq > theanqx theanq = to listen (once or a while).

tiu jhat tiu > tiuv tiu = to jump (once).

xaak jhat xaak > xaakv xaak = to frighten (once).

xraanq jhat xraanq > xraanqv xraanq = to walk (a while).

zaat jhat zaat > zaatv zaat = to be startled, to start (once).

## (ii) After verbs in familiar sayings:

daar jhat gwan mran jhat gwan > daar(v) gwan mranv gwan = to ask for the truth (from the accused who is given the third degree) after every stroke of the cane.

gin jhat jrat zrouv jhat jrat xraiv lha > ginv jrat zrouv jrat xraiv lha = (I) shall do (my duty) as long as I am employed in this job.

Gwornghay jraov ("jhat" omitted) go lraw jrann drungv, Gwornghay jraov ("jhat" omitted) go mrongfhuuh gwhayx = In Kuangsi Province there is a Hold-man-cave, in Kuangtung Province there is a Gaze (Hope)-husband-return-(rock).

Zrouv ("jhat" omitted) jrat wrohsreongv xhaawx ("jhat" omitted) jrat zhunqx = lit: to be a monk a day, strike bell a day, i.e. As long as I am on the job, I shall do my duty (but I have no interest in it).

## (iii) After adjectives:

shinn jhat ci > shinnx ci = the last time, previous time.

sreong jhat ci > sreongv ci = the previous time.

xraa jhat ci > xraav ci = next time

## (iv) Between classifiers:

jhat brouv<sup>1</sup> brou = volume by volume

jhat caakv caak = volume by volume

jhat cranqv cranq = layer by layer

jhat drekv drek = drop by drop

jhat drynv dryn = paragraph by paragraph

jhat faaiv faai = piece by piece

jhat franv fran = portion by portion

jhat gaav gaa = one by one (said of cars, machines, etc.)

jhat gov go = one by one

jhat grauv grau = piece by piece, lump by lump

jhat grinv grin = piece by piece

jhat grytv gryt = section by section, in sections

jhat n'innv n'inn = year by year

jhat srihv srih = it depends on the time or the occasion

jhat touv tou = set by set

jhat trenqv trenq = each type, type by type

jhat trunqv trunq = tube by tube

jhat wruuyv wruuy = time by time, each time, chapter by chapter of a fiction

jhat xao(v) xao jhinnx-zae = cigarette by cigarette.

jhat zeakv zeak = one by one (said of animals and some inanimate objects)

jhat zritv zrit = section by section, in sections

(e) Omission of *zir*

gaa-zir > gaav = dignity, honour, as in *dhiw gaav* "to have lost face". Whereas *baae gaa-zir* "to act big" *gaa* is not modified because *zir* is retained.

mrin-zir > mrinv = face, in the sense of dignity, honour, as in *dhiw mrinv* "to have lost face" *meh qoi mrinv* "not caring about one's position, dignity, etc."

## (f) Omission of interrogative particles

Geedhoh? > geedhohx?

Geenroi? > geenroiv?

Xrai mhe? > xraiv?

## (g) Omission of various other words

jhatzran-ghaannx > jhatzranv = in a moment, a moment.

kriov xee geok cror xae sy > kriov geok crorv sy = sitting with crossed legs.

xeoi dreanghonq > xeoi dreangv = to go abroad, to tour places.

<sup>1</sup> The modified classifier indicates the incorporation of *jhat* into its word-body.