INCLUSION OF THE OUTSIDER – GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE VERBAL PARTICLE *MAAI* IN CANTONESE[*]

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the grammaticalization of the verbal particle *maai* in Cantonese.[1] Originally a verb of movement meaning 'approach/get close to' a reference point, *maai* has undergone grammaticalization to become a directional particle meaning 'towards'. It then developed into an additive quantifier meaning 'also/as well', and has further been reinterpreted as an evaluative marker, marking the speaker's negative evaluation of the object of the verb to which *maai* is suffixed. A number of pragmatic processes are involved in *maai*'s grammaticalization, in particular pragmatic inferencing and subjectification. The evolutionary pathway 'addition' > 'subjective evaluation' is attested by historical data and is also supported by cross-linguistic evidence.

Key words: directional particle, Cantonese, MAAI, grammaticalization, subjectification

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1. INTRODUCTION

A prominent topic in contemporary linguistic research is the study of grammaticalization, which is frequently described as the way in which lexical, 'content' categories (e.g., verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc.) change into grammatical, 'functional' categories (e.g., clitics, particles, auxiliaries, connectives, etc.). In addition to this categorical change, grammaticalization is typically accompanied by features such as bleaching, phonological attrition, increase in boundedness, and loss of syntactic freedom. One important motivation for grammatical change is claimed to be pragmatic, including processes like pragmatic inferencing, subjectification, and reanalysis (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003:2-3; Traugott and Dasher 2002:84-85). A much cited example of grammaticalization is the evolution of *be going to*, leading from a verb of motion to an auxiliary indicating futurity.

Although the term 'grammaticalization' seems to have originated at the beginning of the twentieth century,[2] it was only from the 1970s onwards that studies on grammaticalization have intensified. Since then various processes leading from words to affixes, and from concrete to more abstract meanings have been widely discussed (Givón 1971, 1979; Bybee and Pagliuca 1985; Heine et al. 1991; Traugott and Heine 1991; Lehmann 1995; Hopper and Traugott 2003; among others). Hopper and Traugott (2003:25-38) provide a review of relevant key works produced since the mid-twentieth century.

Originally a verb of movement meaning 'approach/get close to' a particular reference point, *maai* has undergone grammaticalization to become a directional particle meaning 'towards'. Cross-linguistic evidence has shown that verbs of motion are ideal sources of the grammaticalization of directional morphemes (Svorou 1994). Verbs that give rise to the same kind of directional meaning often have semantic properties in common. For instance, the 'towards' morpheme often develops from verbs such as 'to see', 'to look', 'to point out to', or 'to approach', which all share the fact that the activity they describe is conceived of as inherently possessing a certain directionality (Svorou 1994:115).

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[2] The term 'grammaticalization' seems to have been coined by Antoine Meillet, who defined it as 'the passage of an autonomous word into the role of grammatical element … the attributions of a grammatical character to a previously autonomous word' (Meillet 1958 [1912]:131).

This paper will look at the grammaticalization of the Cantonese verbal particle *maai* from a discourse-pragmatic perspective. It is suggested that pragmatics is an important engine driving grammaticalization (Bybee et al. 1994; Hopper and Traugott 2003) and there is often a pragmatic enrichment in the process of grammaticalization. In the discussion below, we will see how the directional particle *maai* ('approach'>) 'towards' has gone through a number of stages to develop into an additive quantifier and then further into an expressive particle marking the speaker's negative evaluation of the situation concerned. In particular, we will look at how subjectification plays an important role in the recent development of the evaluative function of *maai*. As a marker of subjective evaluation derived from an additive quantifier, *maai* will be compared to the scalar focus particles *even* in English and *lian* in Mandarin Chinese, and also to the additive particle *-cocha* in Korean.

The observations made in this study are based on a diachronic database assembled by the author. The sources of the data include early Cantonese pedagogical works, film transcriptions, a corpus of spoken data, supplemented by the author's noted observations as a native speaker (see Appendix A). They are combined to form a diachronic database reflecting the usage of Cantonese from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. Given the range of the data in the database, I am able to look for incidences and occurrences of the particle *maai* so that the evolution of the various functions of *maai* may be traced diachronically.

2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF *MAAI*: FROM MOVEMENT TO DIRECTION TO QUANTIFICATION

Cantonese is essentially a spoken language; documents and written records are not very extensive and have only a very shallow history, which in the best case goes back no further than two hundred years. Although pre-modern written records composed by native speakers of Cantonese are virtually non-existent, there is a wealth of material recorded and compiled by western missionaries. The majority of this material consists of translations of the bible, short stories, dictionaries, textbooks and grammar books written for learners of Cantonese. Though

imperfect in terms of scope and amount, these data are nevertheless invaluable for doing diachronic studies on Cantonese.[3]

While these materials can provide hints and direct evidence of the development of certain linguistic items, they have only recently begun to be used in studies on Cantonese, mostly for reconstructing the phonological history of a certain group of items or for tracing the development of certain syntactic constructions (cf. Cheung 2001; Yue 1997, 2001). There have been comparatively few studies on semantic change using these data (cf. Kwok and Kataoka 2006).

For the rest of this section we will look at the various uses of *maai* in early Cantonese and attempt to trace its semantic development as a verbal particle.

As a full-fledged lexical verb, *maai* denotes a movement towards a reference point, as in (1) from early Cantonese.

(1) *maai   ngon*
    maai   shore
    'come to shore'[4] (Bonney 1853)[5]

When the verb *maai* evolves into a directional particle, it has taken on the directional meaning 'towards', as illustrated in (2) and (3) below.

(2) *Cau   maai   go   bin*.
    carry   *maai*   that   side
    'Carry it over that side.'   (Bonney 1853)

(3) *Go   di   long   daa   maai   syun*.
    that   CL[6] wave   beat   *maai*   ship
    'Those waves beat against the ship.'   (Bonney 1853)

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[3] For a critical assessment of the importance of these historical materials, see Yue (2004).

[4] In every example in Sections 2 and 3, the English word(s) which correspond(**s**) most closely to the morpheme *maai* is underlined for clarity.

[5] The translation in each example is the original translation given by the author.

[6] The abbreviations used in this paper are: Add=addition; Acc=accusative; Adn=adnominal; Asp=aspect marker; Cl=classifier; Cond=conditional; CXP=counter-expectation; Dec=declarative; Fut=future; Gen=genitive; Inten=intentional; Neg=negative; NF=non-finite; Nom=nominal; Perf=perfective; LP=linking particle; Pres=present; Prt=particle; Q=interrogative; Transf=transfer.

In both (2) and (3), *maai* is used to show that the entity is moving 'towards' a certain goal/reference point. In contexts where more than one entity is moving *maai* (i.e., 'towards') the same goal and they come into contact with one another, there is an implication that these entities are getting close to one another. In (4) – (6) below, *maai* expresses the meaning 'to get together'.

(4) *zyu   maai   jat zap*
    live   *maai* one lump
    'live <u>together</u> in a cluster'   (Bonney 1853)

(5) *Go sai   zai   zeoi   maai sojau ge je*.
    Cl young son   gather *maai* all   LP thing
    'The younger son gathered all <u>together</u>.'   (Ball 1894)

(6) *Jau daai do   jan   hap maai zou   sing   gungsi*.
    have great many people join *maai* make   complete company
    'A great number of people join <u>together</u> and form a company.'
                                              (Ball 1912)

This motion of 'moving towards the same goal' has given rise to the meaning 'to get together'. Although strictly speaking, *maai* in (4) and (5) does not mean 'to get together' in its own right, its co-occurrence with words like *jat zap* 'one lump/cluster' and *zeoi* 'gather' has nevertheless created the ground for the pragmatic inference which allows *maai* to take on the meaning 'together'. The particle *maai* in (6) is closest to a genuine instance bearing on its own the meaning 'together'.

    In addition to giving the meanings 'towards' and 'together', *maai* then developed into an additive quantifier meaning 'also/as well'. It is in the twentieth century Cantonese texts that we find attestations of *maai* with this usage.[7] Consider (7) and (8) below.

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[7] Due to the limitation of the size of the database, I am aware that the drawing of a contrast between data from the late 19th Century and the early 20th Century might not be strong enough to substantiate the claim of historical subsequency that is being made here. However, the fact that genuine cases of the meaning 'addition' are not found in the 19th Century data is a good indication that the development of *maai* is very unlikely to have gone in the reverse direction to that suggested here.

(7) *Giu toi   kam   go   sei go toi   maai keoi soeng heoi.*
    call carry piano those four Cl carry *maai* it   up   go
    'Tell the four who carry the piano to carry it <u>as well</u>.' (Ball 1912)

(8) *Tinsi   jit dou ceoi   maai go   gin saam tim.*
    weather hot also take-off *maai* that Cl jacket also
    'In hot weather they take off the jacket <u>as well</u>.' (Ball 1912)

This 'also/as well' meaning illustrated here is believed to have come from the more general 'together' meaning – but in these cases the speaker is using *maai* to assert the inclusion of an additional entity coming into the group. For instance, (7) can be understood as 'in addition to carrying the piano up there, carry this thing up there as well', while (8) might mean either 'in addition to the scarf, they need to take off the jacket as well', or 'in addition to turning on the air-conditioner, they need to take off the jacket as well'. Example (8) shows that the 'additional item' is not necessarily a concrete entity, but can also be an event – the first interpretation is about *maai* quantifying an object, while the second one is about the addition of an event. This additive/inclusive meaning of *maai* is comparable to that of additive particles in English such as *also*, *too*, and *as well*.

In some contexts, this additive *maai* is reinterpreted as a marker of completion, as exemplified in the example below.

(9) *Zung jau aa, ngo gong maai nei teng.*
    still   have Prt I   speak *maai* you listen
    'There are more. Wait and I will tell you <u>the rest</u>.'   (Ball 1912)

The particle *maai* in (9) is glossed 'finish-up-the-rest' in the original text. In fact, this completive meaning should be considered as rendered by the context. If we look closely enough at (9), *maai* does not bear the meaning 'finish' on its own, it only means 'in addition to what I have told you, there is more to come'. Its function is fairly similar to what we have just seen in (7) and (8), as an additive quantifier. The completive meaning in (9) is only an implicature which results from the quantificational meaning of *maai* – this is made possible in contexts where the item being added is also the last item.
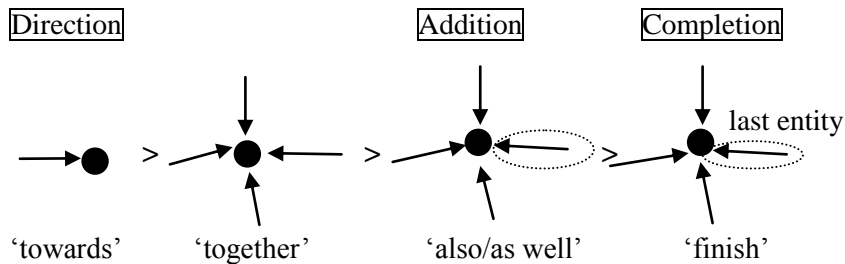
When *maai* occurs frequently enough in this kind of context and the implicature has become more established, the grounds have then been

created for the completive meaning to be reinterpreted as part of the semantics of *maai*. In (10), the completive meaning outweighs the additive meaning and *maai* is more appropriately interpreted as expressing the meaning of 'completion', but not 'addition'.

(10) *Sinsaang gong maai laa.*
     sir   speak *maai* Prt
     '<u>Finish</u> what you have to say, sir.'   (Ball 1912)

In consideration of data from early Cantonese, *maai* has undergone an evolutionary path from that of a directional particle meaning 'towards', to a quantificational particle meaning 'also/as well', and then further to a marker with an implied 'completive' meaning. The diagrams below summarize the development of *maai* in early Cantonese.

Diagram 1: The development of *maai*: from direction to addition to completion

Direction		Addition	Completion
'towards'	'together'	'also/as well'	'finish'

3. THE USE OF *MAAI* IN CONTEMPORARY DATA

As a directional particle, *maai* in contemporary data occurs frequently to give the meaning 'towards', as in (11).

(11) *mong maai go bin*
     look   *maai* that side
     'look <u>towards</u> that side'   (HKUCC)

Similar to what we have found in the early Cantonese texts, our contemporary data also shows instances of *maai* meaning 'together',

'addition', and 'completion'. Below we will illustrate these uses one by one by considering data from contemporary Cantonese. We will also look briefly at how they are evaluated by compilers of contemporary Cantonese dictionaries.

As demonstrated earlier, in contexts where every entity is moving towards the same reference point, there is an implication that these entities are getting closer to one another. When the occurrence of this implication is frequent enough, a more general meaning 'together' emerges. Consider (12) and (13) below.

(12) *Di je   zit   maai gong bai   m   baak   man   zaa*.
 Cl thing discount *maai* HK   currency five hundred dollar only
 'All these things with the discount (will be) just HK$500.'

(HKUCC)

(13) *Ce   fai gam gwai,   zaan maai dou m gau   laa*.
 commute cost so   expensive earn *maai* even not enough Prt
 'The commuting costs are so high, even my total income won't cover them.'   (HKUCC)

One point worth noticing here is the nature of the sense 'together' – no physical movement is involved in either (12) or (13). In other words, it indicates that the meaning 'together' as expressed by *maai* in contemporary Cantonese has become more established than that in early Cantonese, considering that a physical, directional movement is no longer implied. This use of *maai* is discussed in some Cantonese dictionaries, such as in Wu (1997) and Zhang and Ni (1999).[8]

In addition to the basic meaning 'towards' and the derived meaning 'together', the 'additive' use and the 'completive' use of *maai* are also found to occur frequently in our contemporary data. On many occasions *maai* bears the sense 'also/as well', expressing the meaning 'inclusion of an additional entity', as illustrated in (14) and (15) below.

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[8] The original explanation given for this use of *maai* is 向某中心靠攏 'to move towards a center' in Wu (1997) and 合攏在一起 'to gather up together' in Zhang and Ni (1999). The fact that both explanations make reference to the physical movement of an object(s) suggests that the basis of the meaning 'together' comes from the directional movement of 'towards a certain goal' in the minds of these lexicographers. This echoes our pathway 'towards' > 'together' proposed earlier.

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(14) *Giu nei aabaa ceng maai ngo.*
    tell you father employ *maai* me
    'Tell your father to employ me <u>as well</u>.'   (HKUCC)

(15) *Nei zau zo zihau keoi dou satzung maai.*
    you leave Perf after she also disappear *maai*
    'After you left she also disappeared <u>as well</u>.'   (Cookery, 1996)

In (14) and (15), *maai* has been reinterpreted as an additive quantifier, signaling the quantificational action of an additional entity. In fact, this use of *maai* is well-documented in contemporary Cantonese dictionaries. Both Rao et al. (1996) and Cheng (1997) describe this use of *maai* as 'scope extension', having the meaning of 'to include'.[9] This 'additive' use is also noticed and discussed in many previous works on contemporary Cantonese grammar (cf. Cheung 1972; Matthews and Yip 1994; Li et al. 1995; Lee 2002; Luke 2005). As Lee pointed out, one crucial meaning of *maai* is to 'mark an extension of an action to either the object (in case of transitive verbs) or the subject (in case of intransitive verbs)' (2002:1).

    As we have found earlier, *maai* in suitable contexts can be reinterpreted as having the 'completive' meaning – marking the addition of the last item or event. Examples (16) and (17) below are illustrations from contemporary Cantonese.

(16) *Nei teng ngo gong maai sin laa!*
    you listen me   say *maai* first Prt
    '(Before you speak), let me <u>finish</u> what I have to say first!'
                                          (Fight I, 1991)

(17) *Paau maai keoi laa!*
    run *maai* it   Prt
    '<u>Finish</u> off the race!'   (HKUCC)

As Wu (1997) and Bai (1998) describe, the use of *maai* as in (16) and (17) mainly bears the meaning 'completion', with little sense of 'addition'. This completive use of *maai* has also been mentioned in many

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[9] The original explanation given in both dictionaries is 表示擴充範圍 'scope extension'.

works on Cantonese grammar (Zhan 1958; Cheung 1972; Matthews and Yip 1994; among others). In some studies, it is even treated as a completive particle (Kwok 1971; Luo 1990). As pointed out by both Lee (2002) and Luke (2005), the meaning of completion is an implicature arising from the quantificational meaning of *maai*. This pragmatic reinterpretation is made possible in contexts where the additional entity is also the last entity in the set, because the quantification of this 'remaining bit' often implies 'completion'.

So far, we have seen how *maai* has gone through the evolutionary pathway 'direction' > 'additive quantification' > '(implied) completion'. Below we will turn to look at the emergence of a relatively new use of *maai* – to mark the subjective evaluation of the speaker. This is a recent innovation as it is in the 1950s that we start to find attestations of *maai* with this subjective use. This use of *maai* has received relatively little attention in past studies and is mostly neglected in contemporary Cantonese dictionaries.

4. SUBJECTIFICATION OF *MAAI*

Before proceeding to look at how subjectification works in the evolution of *maai*, let us take a brief look at some examples from our database in which it is used to express a negative evaluation by the speaker.

(18) *Nei gong maai saai di gam ge je,   zing watdat   lou!*
      you tell   *maai* all   Cl such LP thing exact disgusting guy
      'You got to say all these things – you are such a disgusting guy!'
                                                        (Fight I, 1991)

(19) *Nei sik   maai dig am   ge pangjau, jing   seoi ngo aa!*
      you know *maai* Cl such LP friend   reflect bad me   Prt
      'You've fallen in with such people – it reflects badly on me!'
                                                        (Fight II, 1992)

From the speaker's comment in each case, we are certain that the nature of *je* 'thing' in (18) and the quality of *pangjau* 'friend' in (19) are essentially inferior and second-rate. In both cases, *maai* cannot be interpreted as a simple additive quantifier, merely conveying the meaning of inclusion. Rather, it is better considered as a marker of

evaluation, somewhat of an equivalent to the English 'darn/damn', as in 'those darn/damn people', expressing the negative opinion of the speaker. This evaluative *maai* is special in the way that it can only be used with things which are *negatively evaluated by the speaker* and it always generates an implicature of negative evaluation. On occasions where *maai* is seemingly used with a positive comment, the pejorative overtone still exists. Consider a revised version of (19).

(19') *Nei sik   maai dig am ge pangjau, hou sailei aa!*
       you know *maai* Cl such LP friend   very great Prt
       'You've fallen in with such people – it's so great!'

Instead of giving a negative comment *jing seoi ngo* 'reflects badly on me', a more positive comment *hou sailei* 'so great' is used in (19'). However, the use of *maai* has influenced the interpretation of (19'), turning this positive comment into an ironic one. In other words, the speaker in (19') is not really showing his or her appreciation of the hearer's friends, but is probably teasing the hearer that although it is difficult, he or she *even* got to know 'such' (poor quality) friends. If the speaker wants to emphasize that it is really great for the hearer to know those friends (i.e., in a normal sense), *maai* has to be omitted.

The earliest attestation of this evaluative *maai* is found in the 1950s film data of our database; not a single example is found in the early Cantonese texts. Consider examples (20) and (21) below.

(20) *Hou hok m hok, hok maai di gam ge waanseot.*
      good learn not learn learn *maai* Cl such LP magic
      'You don't learn things worth learning, but instead (useless) things like magic.'   (Blessings, 1950)

(21) *Tin go,   dimgaai nei gong maai dig am ge je   zek?*
      Tin brother why   you say   *maai* Cl such LP thing Prt
      'Tin, why do you say such words? (It hurts me.)'   (Ghost, 1959)

Although neither the nature of the magic, nor the content of the conversation, is made explicit, the use of *maai* nevertheless suggests that the 'magic' in (20) and the 'words' in (21) must be something which the speaker considers inferior or inappropriate in some way. In these

situations, the use of *maai* pushes the interpretation of the utterance towards a negative pole.

It is now clear that *maai* has acquired the function of 'negative evaluation' in the course of its evolution. This evaluative use of *maai* leads to the following questions: How has this 'pejorative' meaning been encoded? Are there any contextual or constructional constraints imposed on this particular use of *maai*? What are the semantic-pragmatic motivations for its subjectification? The rest of this section attempts to answer these questions.

Discussions of this 'pejorative' sense of *maai* appeared in Luo (1990), Matthews and Yip (1994), Li et al. (1995), and Luke (2005). Luo observes that when *maai* is used together with the universal quantifier *saai* 'all', the object which is being quantified must be something insignificant, or evaluated negatively by the speaker.[10] Consider this example taken from Luo (1990):

(22) *Zou maai saai   go   di   m   dang sai ge   si*.[11]
     do   *maai* all   that Cl not wait use LP thing
     'Just do those unimportant things.' (Luo 1990:174)

Li et al. (1995) share a similar view that in some situations *maai* can be used to show the speaker's disapproval of the type of items being talked about. They also notice that this use of *maai* is often accompanied by *saai*, forming the phrase *maai-saai*.[12] As in:

(23) *Nei tiu jau mat   zou maai (saai) di gam ge si   aa?*
     you Cl guy why(!) do *maai* (all) Cl such LP thing Prt
     'Why have you done such (crazy) things?'   (Li et al. 1995:560)

Matthews and Yip (1994) suggest that the evaluative use of *maai* is in fact idiomatic and they tend to consider this 'pejorative' meaning as resulting from the sequence V-*maai-saai*. They suggest that this

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[10] The original explanation given for *maai* in Luo (1990) is 不受重視、被否定的 'unimportant, disaffirmed'.

[11] Here in (22), *maai* co-occurs with the negative expression *m dang sai* 'unimportant', which creates the ground for a pragmatic inference that allows the negative meaning to be reinterpreted as part of the semantics of *maai*.

[12] The original explanation given for *maai* in Li et al. (1995) is 說話人所不贊同的 'It refers to something the speaker disagrees with'.

sequence is often used as an idiom, which implies that 'someone does everything (*saai*) even including (*maai*) the outrageous or excessive' (1994:226).

(24) *Di sailou   zou maai saai di faanfaat   ge je.*
　　 Cl children do *maai* all Cl illegal   LP thing
　　 'The children get up to all sorts of illegal things.'

<div align="right">(Matthews and Yip 1994:226)</div>

In a more recent study examining the development of *maai*, Luke (2005) adds the suggestion that the 'pejorative' meaning indeed might not have come from the semantics of *maai*. He suggests that *maai* can only have this negative meaning when it is used with the adverb *singjat* 'always'. Part of his view is shared by Bai (1998) – the only Cantonese dictionary which has included this particular use under the entry *maai*. Although it is not mentioned in Bai (1998) that *maai* must be used with *singjat* 'always' in order to give a 'pejorative' meaning, she does suggest that *maai* when used in these circumstances always gives the meaning 'always'.[13]

Each of these studies has provided us with slightly different, but important, perspectives from which to examine this evaluative use of *maai*. Our aim is to gather these bits and pieces together and provide a unified account of this subjective use of *maai*. Let us consider some more examples from our database.

(25) *Nei ceng   maai saai di so   zai m dim gaa!*
　　 you employ *maai* all   Cl foolish boy not work Prt
　　 'Your employing such idiots is not going to work!' (Cookery, 1996)

(26) *Mat   nei jiu   zou maai di gam cammun ge je!*
　　 why (!) you need do *maai* Cl so   boring   LP thing
　　 'You really mean you have to do such boring stuff!?'   (HKUCC)

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[13] Bai (1998) suggests that *maai* is used to express the meanings 剩是、老是 'always'.

(27) *Heoi makdonglou hoi   saangjat wui, waan maai dig am   ge*
      go   McDonald's hold birthday party play *maai* Cl such LP
    je!
    thing
    'Go to the birthday party held in McDonald's and play such (trivial)
    games!' (HKUCC)

It is obvious that *maai* is conveying some kind of 'pejorative' meaning in
(25) – (27). In some cases, this 'pejorative' meaning is reinforced by the
use of a negative adjective in the utterance, such as *so* 'foolish' in (25)
and *cammun* 'boring' in (26). In other cases, however, *maai* can bear the
'pejorative' meaning on its own, without the company of any adjectives.
It can be used in any circumstances as long as the speaker regards the
referent of the object noun phrase as unpleasant or unimpressive. For
instance, although it is not made explicit what 'such' games are in (27),
with the use of *maai*, 'such' games must be of the type which the speaker
regards as definitely not worth playing.
    By looking more closely at these examples, we can conclude that
most previous studies are correct in pointing out that when speakers
regard something as trivial, they can use *maai* to make a negative
evaluation of that item. However, it appears that none of these studies
has been able to show the essence of how this evaluative use of *maai* has
come about. Clearly, not every use of *maai* is accompanied by *saai* 'all'
(cf. Luo 1990; Matthews and Yip 1994; Li et al. 1995) and in fact it is
seldom used with the adverb *singjat* 'always' (cf. Luke 2005), or used to
express the meaning 'always' (cf. Bai 1998). Without *saai* or *singjat*,
maai on its own can express the negative evaluation of the speaker in
conveying that the action concerned is nonsensical and crazy. However,
with *saai* 'all' and *singjat* 'always', the feeling of disdain expressed by
the speaker is reinforced because the 'large amount' in terms of quantity
(*saai*) and time (*singjat*) is stressed. Similarly, *maai* is sometimes found
with the intensifier *gam* 'so' for a negative interpretation, as in (26).
Again, *gam* is not obligatory but it may be used to put an emphasis on
how bad the speaker thinks the situation is.
    There is only one element which occurs in each pejorative
interpretation of *maai* – the plural noun classifier *di*. As a classifier in
Cantonese, *di* is peculiar in the sense that it can denote genericity
(Au-Yeung 2007). Au-Yeung suggests that '*di* can express genericity

only when a modifying phrase, for example an adjectival phrase, is inserted between the classifier and the noun phrase' (2007:6).[14]

(28) *Siuming zungji sik di mouwat ge saigwaa.*
Siuming like   eat Cl seedless LP watermelon
'Siuming likes eating SEEDless watermelons.'[15]

(Au-Yeung 2007:6)

In (28), the *di*-noun phrase can be interpreted as generic and refers to the *kind* of watermelon – *seedless* watermelons. Au-Yeung adds that in general, the function of *di* in a *di*-noun phrase 'focuses the kinds/sub-kinds of the referents by contrasting among themselves, presupposing their attributes and attracting the phonetic accent' (2007:11). In particular, the generic *di* 'also conveys the focusing sense of the nominal' (ibid.). As we will see below, these features of *di* could help create the ground for *maai* to take on a pejorative meaning and be reinterpreted as a marker of subjective evaluation. The following set of examples further illustrates the relationship between *maai* and *di*.

(29) *Nei sik maai nei gin zyugulik daangou.*
you eat *maai* this Cl chocolate cake
'You eat this chocolate cake as well.'

(30) *Nei sik maai nei gei   gin zyugulik daangou.*
you eat *maai* this several Cl chocolate cake
'You eat these (few) chocolate cakes as well.'

(31) *Nei sik maai nei di zyugulik daangou.*
you eat *maai* this Cl chocolate cake
'You eat these chocolate cakes as well.'/'You even eat such CHOcolate cakes.'

In (29) and (30), *maai* is simply used as an additive quantifier, meaning 'in addition to what you have (already) eaten, eat the(se) chocolate

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[14] Thanks to Ben Au-Yeung for a useful discussion of *di*.

[15] The stress on the syllable SEED is not in the original article from Au-Yeung. I am deliberately putting this in so as to differentiate between a sentence with *di* and without *di*. If otherwise, the same English translation would be used for the same sentence with or without *di*.

cake(s) as well'. This definite reading is made explicit by the use of the determiner *nei* 'this' together with the noun classifier *gin*. Turning to (31), the interpretation relies on whether the *di*-noun phrase is interpreted as definite or generic. In other words, it very much depends on whether the speaker wants to focus on the *further consumption* of chocolate cakes (i.e., a quantificational reading), or, the further consumption of *chocolate cakes* (i.e., a type reading). Different readings would be evoked in different contexts. Consider:

(31') *Nei sik maai nei di zyugulik daangou, mhou longfai aa!*
     you eat *maai* this Cl chocolate cake   not   waste Prt
     'You eat these chocolate cakes as well – don't waste them!'

(31'') *Nei sik maai nei di zyugulik daangou, fei sei nei aa!*
     you eat *maai* this Cl chocolate cake   fat die(extreme) you Prt
     'You even eat CHOcolate cakes, they are very fattening!'

While *maai* in (31') is usually analyzed as an additive quantifier, marking the further consumption of chocolate cakes, *maai* in (31'') is more appropriately interpreted as a marker of negative evaluation, marking the speaker's dislike of the consumption of chocolate cakes. In (31''), the speaker is not asking the hearer to finish off the cakes, but is showing his or her shock at the hearer's consumption of *chocolate* cakes. The emergence of this function of negative evaluation is made possible by the co-occurrence of *maai* and the generic *di*, with the modifying phrase *zyugulik* 'chocolate' inserted in between (i.e., a typical construction for a generic interpretation, as discussed in Au-Yeung (2007)). The fact that *di* puts emphasis on the 'type' or 'kind' of the following noun phrase provides pragmatic grounds for *maai* to take on a more subjective function. With the generic *di*, the speaker can stress that it is *this type* of thing that he or she evaluates negatively, in contrast with *other types*. Hence, in the real speaking situation, (31'') is often uttered with a phonetic stress placed on the determiner phrase *nei di* 'these', marking the focus and reinforcing the 'type' reading. It might also be accompanied by a rising intonation, emphasizing the speaker's surprise at the addressee's consumption of chocolate cakes. The utterance actually implies something like 'hey, there are actually other types of cake which I think are more suitable for you than chocolate cakes, why do you choose this type over the other types?'

As far as we can see, an evaluative interpretation is always brought out when *maai* co-occurs with an emphasis on 'type'. This negative evaluative reading is still evoked even though the type of things that the speaker refers to is not named explicitly. Consider:

(32) *Nei sik maai di gam ge daangou*
    you eat *maai* Cl such LP cake
    'You even eat such cakes!'

In (32), the speaker is showing his or her negative attitude towards the cakes. This evaluative reading is evoked by the co-occurrence of the classifier *di* and the phrase *gam ge* 'such', which brings out the meaning of 'type'. The noun phrase *di gam ge daangou* 'such cakes' on its own is neutral with regard to the nature of the cakes (i.e., whether they are good cakes or bad cakes). If *maai* is taken out from (32), its interpretation can be either positive or negative, depending on the contexts:

(32') *Nei hoji sik di gam ge daangou, hou sinmou aa!*
    you can eat Cl such LP cake   very jealous Prt
    'You can (have such a precious chance to) eat such kind of cakes,
    (I am) so jealous!'

(32") *Nei hoji sik di gam ge daangou, zanhai fuk   zo   nei!*
    You can eat Cl such LP cake   truly   admire Perf you
    '(That) you can (even) eat such kind of cakes, that's truly
    'amazing'!'

The phrase *di gam ge* 'such kind of' on its own is neutral in terms of value judgment and is only used to pick out a certain 'kind/type' of things. The type of entities picked out can either be evaluated positively or negatively, depending on the speaker. As the comments suggest, the speaker in (32') values the type of cakes highly while the speaker in (32") despises the type of cakes and considers the act of consuming these cakes as truly 'amazing' (in an ironic sense) – that the addressee can even put these cakes into his or her mouth. However, if *maai* is used together with the phrase *di gam ge* 'such kind of', the 'kind/type' of entities picked out is essentially of an unacceptable type, at least from the speaker's perspective. In other words, although the 'type' of cakes is not named explicitly in (32) above, since *maai* is used, the cakes are

essentially of an unacceptable type from the speaker's perspective. Thus, (32) can only be followed by a negative comment, and never a positive one.

This judgment of the unacceptability of the cakes is essentially subjective because *maai* can only be used to show the *speaker's* negative reaction to the situation, not *anyone else's*. In fact, the cakes could be indeed quite fine and quite delicious. However, if there is one single reason why the speaker thinks the cakes are unsuitable and should not be eaten (e.g., they are too expensive), then (32) is perfectly good. Notice, the additive quantificational reading is barely probable (cf. (31), in which the additive quantificational reading is still possible). *Maai* has pushed the interpretation of (32) towards a negative evaluative reading. The sentence cannot be treated as an invitation to finish that type of cake. As a genuine evaluative marker, *maai* in (32) is used solely to express the speaker's evaluation of the type of cakes as unacceptable and falling below his or her level of satisfaction.

This use of *maai* is extended further to the domain of politeness in everyday discourse. For instance, it can be used in situations such as 'thanking' if the speaker thinks he or she does not deserve thanks and wants to decline the thanks courteously.

(33) A: *Mgoi   saai   nei   wo.*
          thank you all   you   Prt
          'Thank you so much.'
       B: *M   hou gong maai di gam ge je   laa!*
          not good say   maai Cl such LP thing Prt
          'No need to go so far as to say such a thing! (Don't mention it!)'
                                                                  (Boss, 1971)

In (33), *di gam ge je* 'such things' following *maai* refers to A's words of thanks. The act of 'thanking' under normal circumstances should not be considered as having any negative connotation. However, since *maai* can only be used with things which the speaker considers unsuitable, it is employed in contexts like (33) as a generous and humble reaction, meaning that the 'thank you' is inappropriate under the circumstances.

I have attempted a schema which can accommodate all twenty-one instances of the evaluative *maai* found in our database.

(34)   (*singjat*) V ***maai*** (*saai*) (Det) *di* ModifyingP N[16]

Previous studies have attempted to attribute the pejorative meaning of *maai* to the construction V-*maai-saai* (cf. Luo 1990; Li et al. 1995), considered in some studies as an idiom (cf. Matthews and Yip 1994). Although the evaluative *maai* is often supported by elements like *saai* 'all' and *singjat* 'always', examples from our database have shown that they are not obligatory for *maai*'s pejorative implication. Their presence only reinforces the evaluative function of *maai*, pushing the interpretation towards the pejorative reading.

The only essential elements for the pejorative interpretation of *maai* are found to be the plural classifier *di* and the modifying phrase between *di* and the noun. In particular, the chunk V-*maai-di-gamge*-N is found to occur very frequently, accounting for sixty-seven percent of the total occurrence of the evaluative *maai*. As discussed earlier, this construction can induce a generic reading of 'type' on the following noun. This emphasis on 'type' reinforces the generic reading and induces the speaker's subjective evaluation of the object concerned.

This evolution of *maai* is essentially an instance of subjectification – it involves an increase in the encoding of the speaker's attitude towards, and judgment of the event. Subjectification, as an overarching semantic-pragmatic tendency in grammaticalization, has attracted considerable interest in recent years (especially Traugott 1989, 1995, 1997, 1999; Stein and Wright 1995; Traugott and Dasher 2002; among others). In the process of grammaticalization, 'meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief/state/attitude toward the proposition' (Traugott 1995:31). As Stubbs noticed, 'whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view towards it: whether they think it is a reasonable thing to say, or might be found to be obvious, irrelevant, impolite, or whatever' (1986:1).

Having the speaker's perspective as the source of *maai*'s subjectification, *maai* has taken on an evaluative component as part of its meaning in the context schematized in (34) above. In fact, the evaluative meaning is also in some sense 'directional' – moving towards either a positive or negative end of an abstract evaluative scale. The only question which remains unanswered is, why, in the process of the

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[16] The modifying phrase can be either *gam ge* 'such' or a negative adjectival phrase (with an optional *gam ge* preceding).

subjectification of *maai*, the speaker's meaning is pulled towards the negative rather than the positive end (i.e., the evaluation given *must be* a negative one). This can probably be explained by looking again at the source from which this subjective meaning develops – the quantificational meaning of *maai*.

As an additive quantifier, *maai* is neutral in terms of value judgment and is used to quantify an additional entity, or in some cases to exhaust the last item into the group. From a semantic point of view, some kind of 'boundary' is involved in this quantifying action – to draw the peripheral/non-prototypical member into the set. As Matthews and Yip also pointed out, *maai* is used to express the inclusion of 'the outrageous or excessive' (1994:226). There is an implicature of inferiority because the excessive portion is often not a very good portion in that it deviates in some way from the prototypical and representative member. The use of *maai* also specifies that it is this 'type' of thing which originally fell outside a level which was acceptable to the speaker, but is now included as well. This implication of disfavour as resulting from the additive quantificational meaning should be responsible for the genesis of the negative sense of *maai*. This special feature of *maai* has allowed the speaker to put emphasis on the inappropriate inclusion of an unacceptable entity into a set. The conventionalization of this inappropriateness in the end results in the ability of *maai* to mark the speaker's negative evaluation of the object or action concerned.

This proposed pathway of the evolution of *maai* is also attested in other languages. The scalar focus particles *even* (in English) and *lian* (in Mandarin), and the counter-expectation particle *-cocha* (in Korean), also share a similar evolutionary pattern of subjectification. Similar to *maai*, the subjective meaning in each case has developed from the same semantic source – the meaning of 'addition'. We will see below how each of these particles has gained an evaluative function from the addition of an entity or event – something which is originally outside the speaker's desired set or is ranked low on the speaker's scale of expectation.

5. WHEN ADDITION BECOMES UNEXPECTED

Both the English *even* and the Mandarin *lian* are labeled scalar focus particles. Focus particles are 'particles that relate the value of the

focused expression to a set of alternatives' (König 1991:32). There are many examples of this kind in English, such as *even*, *at least*, *still*, and *only*. Among them, *even* has received considerable attention. Traugott (1998) has examined it in detail within the larger context of historical pragmatics.

Both *even* and *lian* possess an additive function – the addition of an entity into a presupposed set. Unlike bare additive particles (e.g., *also*, *too*), scalar focus particles place constraints on the structure of the presupposed set; they are assumed to impose an ordering of the values under consideration on the set (König 1991:37). There is a clear difference between the meanings of the following pair of statements.

(35) a. Peter also plays the *viola*.
    b. Peter even plays the *viola*.

Both sentences imply that besides the viola, Peter plays other musical instruments. However, the further implication in (35b) is that the viola is an unlikely member of the implied set of instruments that Peter is able to play. The particle *even* always induces a scalar value on the set. That is, for all 'x' under consideration besides the viola, the likelihood that Peter plays 'x' is greater than the likelihood that Peter plays the viola. As a consequence, 'the focus value is often characterized as an unexpected or surprising one' (König 1991:38).

The word *even* is used to put emphasis/focus on a certain entity/activity/state among others. Speakers can make use of it to contrast the value it induces with the value of other candidates in the implied set. This induced scale is rather a subjective one, as whether an item is considered more or less likely to be included in a particular set depends solely on the speaker's knowledge and judgment. Though the speaker of (35b) thinks that it is improbable for Peter to play the viola, others might not have the same opinion. After all it depends on one's personal 'scale of expectation'. If the speaker in fact knows that Peter is expert in playing string instruments, the fact that Peter plays the viola would not be unexpected.

Turning to Mandarin, the particle *lian* shares a lot of similarities with *even* in terms of semantic properties. Xing (2004) has given a very detailed analysis of how *lian* was grammaticalized from a main verb meaning 'connecting/consecutive(ly)' to a conjunction meaning

'including', and further to a scalar focus particle (c.f. *even* in English). Consider the following examples from Xing (2004:83-86).[17]

(36) *Lian   cheng shu   shi,…*
    connect town several ten
    '… connect several dozens of towns.'   (*Shiji*, p.83)[18]

The verb *lian* in (36) means 'to connect/unite (people or places)'. This meaning of 'connectedness' became more abstract and *lian* was not restricted to connecting nouns. In (37), it is used with an adjective (*mang* 'busy') in order to modify the main verb ('come forward'):

(37) *Fan   ren   lian   mang qian   lai.*
    name people consecutively busy forward come
    'Turkish people came forward in a hurry.'   (*Bianwen*, p.359)[19]

The meaning of 'connectedness', as illustrated in (36) and (37) above, has further developed to imply the meaning of 'containment'. *Lian* in (38) below can be interpreted as 'including' and its function is similar to that of *also*, *too*, *as well* in English.

(38) *Jiu zhu ze lian   rou lan je.*
    long stay then including flesh rotten Asp
    'If staying long, it would become rotten including flesh.'
                                 (quoted from Liu 1989:452)[20]

Notice that *lian* in (38) is still a bare additive particle, without any scalar/focus meaning. Not until the eighteenth century did *lian* begin to be used to mark the focus:

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[17] In these examples, the interlinear glosses and free translations remain as found in Xing (2004).
[18] *Shiji* is a historical text written in the first century (the Han dynasty).
[19] *Bianwen* is a writing style adopted by monasteries and temples to deliver ideas and tell stories to ordinary people in the Tang dynasty (7th-9th Century).
[20] This is an example from the Song dynasty (10th-12th Century).

(39) *Zhongren hongran yiziao, lian Jiazhen je cheng-buzhu xiao*
everyone suddenly laugh even name also help-Neg laugh
le.
Asp
'Every one burst into laughter; even Jiazhen laughed.' /
'Everyone burst into laughter and (even) Jiazhen could not help laughing either.'(*Honglou Meng*, p.319)[21]

It is implied in Sentence (39) that though Jiazhen is probably the least likely person to burst into laughter; (surprisingly) even Jiazhen could not help laughing. Here, *lian* no longer functions as a simple additive particle, but has developed a new use as a focus particle, putting emphasis on the following noun phrase Jiazhen, as opposed to other people (i.e., everyone else). Its co-occurrence with the scalar focus particle *ye* has led to the reinterpretation of *lian* as having a scalar focus reading.[22] Similar to *even*, a sense of unexpectedness is often implied when the focus particle *lian* is used.

A similar pathway from motion verb to counter-expectation via the meaning of 'addition' has been proposed by Eom (2007) for Korean. She claims that the particle *-cocha* has developed from a verb meaning 'to follow' to a particle marking the speaker's surprise at the addition of an unexpected object, similar to *even* in English (Eom 2007:3-4). The examples below illustrate its path of development (quoting Eom 2007:3-4):[23]

(40) *mikey-un kes-ul ci-ye kilh-ul coch-a*
heavy-And thing-Acc bear-NF road- Acc follow-NF
tAtni-taka
travel-Transf
'traveling following the road with heavy things on the back, and then….'   (Year 1447)

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[21] *Honglou Meng* is one of the greatest novels in Chinese cultural history, first printed in 1791 in the Qing dynasty (17th-19th Century).

[22] The additive scalar meaning of *ye* was developed during the 4th Century. Not until the Tang dynasty (7th-9th Century) is the focus meaning of *ye* commonly seen (Xing 2004:102).

[23] In these examples, the interlinear glosses and free translations remain as found in Eom (2007).

(41) *nehuy-to yelay-s   pep-ul   coch-a   pAyho-a*
    you-also Buddha-Gen truth- Acc follow-NF   learn-NF
    'you also follow Buddha's truth (teaching) and follow it…'
                                    (Year1447)

(42) *ne-y   hAma nay namcin-ul   mul-o   na-lcocha*
    you-Nom already my husband-Acc bite-and I-Add
    mul-olyehA-nAn-ta
    bite-Inten-Pres-Q
    'You already bit (and killed) my husband and you are trying to kill
    even me?'   (Year 1481)

(43) *ku mitpwulhwi-lul   syanghA-myen kaci-cocha*
    the bottom.room-Acc damage-Cond   branch-CXP
    eps-uli-la
    non.exist-Fut-Dec
    'if (you) damage the bottom root, there will not be even branches.'
                                      (Year 1518)

As Eom (2007) illustrates, the particle *-cocha* has developed from the verb *coch-* 'to follow', as in (40). From its meaning as a verb of motion comes a more abstract meaning of 'compliance' in one's spiritual mind. Moving from 'connection', *-cocha* in its later stage of grammaticalization is shown to express the meaning of 'unexpected addition', as illustrated in (42). This involves an outcome beyond the expectation of the speaker, or an outcome counter to the expectation of the speaker. The pathway 'connection/together' > 'addition' is also attested in the grammaticalization of the Cantonese *maai* and Mandarin *lian*. At the final stage of the development of *-cocha*, it is used solely as a grammatical particle to express an outcome counter to the expectation of the speaker, as in (43).

The evolution of the three particles (*even*, *lian* and *-cocha*) is shown to be an instance of subjectification, as it involves the encoding of the speaker's subjective belief and attitude. It is noteworthy that each particle can mean 'addition' at one stage of its evolution and with this 'additive' meaning each particle has eventually developed into an evaluative marker of focus or unexpectedness. This meaning of 'surprise' might have come from the unexpected addition of an entity or event –

something which is originally outside the speaker's desired set or is ranked low on the speaker's scale of expectation.

Similarly, *maai* in Cantonese is also used to express the speaker's subjective evaluation as resulting from the addition of an entity. However, the trend in the development of this subjective evaluative meaning of *maai* has gone towards the negative end. The evaluative *maai* not only marks the addition of an entity which does not originally belong to the speaker's determined contextual set; but also provides an additional criterion that this entity or event must be something which is perceived as inappropriate by the speaker.

6. CONCLUSION

Using data from early and contemporary Cantonese, the present study has investigated the semantic transformation of *maai*, from a directional particle meaning 'towards' to an additive quantifier meaning 'also/as well', then further to an evaluative marker showing the speaker's negative evaluation of the entity or event concerned. This development also reflects the important role of subjectification in the grammaticalization of *maai*, especially in the later stage.

In addition to these changes in the Cantonese *maai*, the Mandarin *lian*, English *even*, and Korean *-cocha* also share some features of this evolution. In particular, the subjective meaning in each case has developed from the same semantic source – the meaning of 'addition'. Unlike the scalar focus particles *even* and *lian* in which the scalar focus meaning is encoded, the focus meaning is always implied in cases where *maai* and *-cocha* are used, resulting from the addition of unexpected objects.

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APPENDIX A: DATABASE

1. Early Cantonese data

The data incorporates four sets of teaching materials compiled between 1853 and 1912:

Bonney, S. W. 1853. *Phrases in the Canton Colloquial Dialect*. Canton. (Name of publisher not available)

Ball, D. J. 1883. *Cantonese Made Easy*. Hong Kong: China Mail Office.

Ball, D. J. 1894. *Readings in Cantonese Colloquial*. Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh Limited.

Ball, D. J. 1912. *How to Speak Cantonese*. Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh Limited. (Fourth Edition).

2. Film data[24]

A total of thirteen Cantonese films screened in the 1950s, 1970s, and 1990s are selected:
1/ 五福臨門 Five Blessings in a Row [Blessings] (1950）
2/ 我為情 That's for My Love [Love](1953）
3/ 蝴蝶夫人 Madam Butterfly [Butterfly](1954）
4/ 甜姐兒 Darling Girl [Darling]（1957）
5/ 兩傻捉鬼記 Two Fools Capture a Ghost [Ghost]（1959）
6/ 唐山大兄 The Big Boss [Boss]（1971）
7/ 精武門 Fist of Fury [Fury]（1972）
8/ 鬼馬雙星 Games Gamblers Play [Gamblers]（1974）
9/ 半斤八兩 The Private Eyes [Private]（1976）
10/ 賣身契 The Contract [Contract]（1978）
11/ 逃學威龍 I Fight Back to School I [Fight I]（1991）
12/ 逃學威龍 II Fight Back to School II [Fight II]（1992）
13/ 食神 The God of Cookery [Cookery]（1996）

3. Contemporary Cantonese corpus (HKUCC)

The Hong Kong University Cantonese Corpus (HKUCC) is used in the present study. It is a project funded by the Hong Kong Research Grant Council (HKU 397/96H). It contains recordings of spontaneous speech (51 texts) and radio programmes (42 texts) that involve two to four people. The data were recorded between March 1997 and August 1998. About 29 hours of tape-recordings, and approximately 230,000 Chinese characters were collected in the annotated corpus.

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Winnie Chor

從「附加」到「主觀評價」—粵語助詞「埋」的語法化過程

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本文探討粵語助詞「埋」的語法化過程。「埋」作為趨向動詞表示「接近」、「靠攏」。通過語法化過程,「埋」成為一個表「朝向」的方向助詞,附於動詞後。其後,「埋」發展成有量化功能的助詞,表「附加」,並進一步語法化為賦有主觀色彩評價的標記,表明說話人對句中的直接賓語持負面評價。「埋」的語法化過程中涉及數個語用機制,包括語用推斷(pragmatic inferencing)及主觀化(subjectification)。本文認為「埋」有「附加」>「主觀評價」的語義演化途徑,這獲歷時語料所證實,亦有跨語言的證據所支持。

關鍵字:方向助詞,粵語,「埋」,語法化,主觀化