

On the grammaticalization of stative verbs into continuative markers:

The case of Malay *asyik* ‘desire’ and
Cantonese *gwaazyu* ‘keep thinking about’

Foong Ha Yap, Ariel Shuk-ling Chan and Tak-sum Wong
Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Introduction

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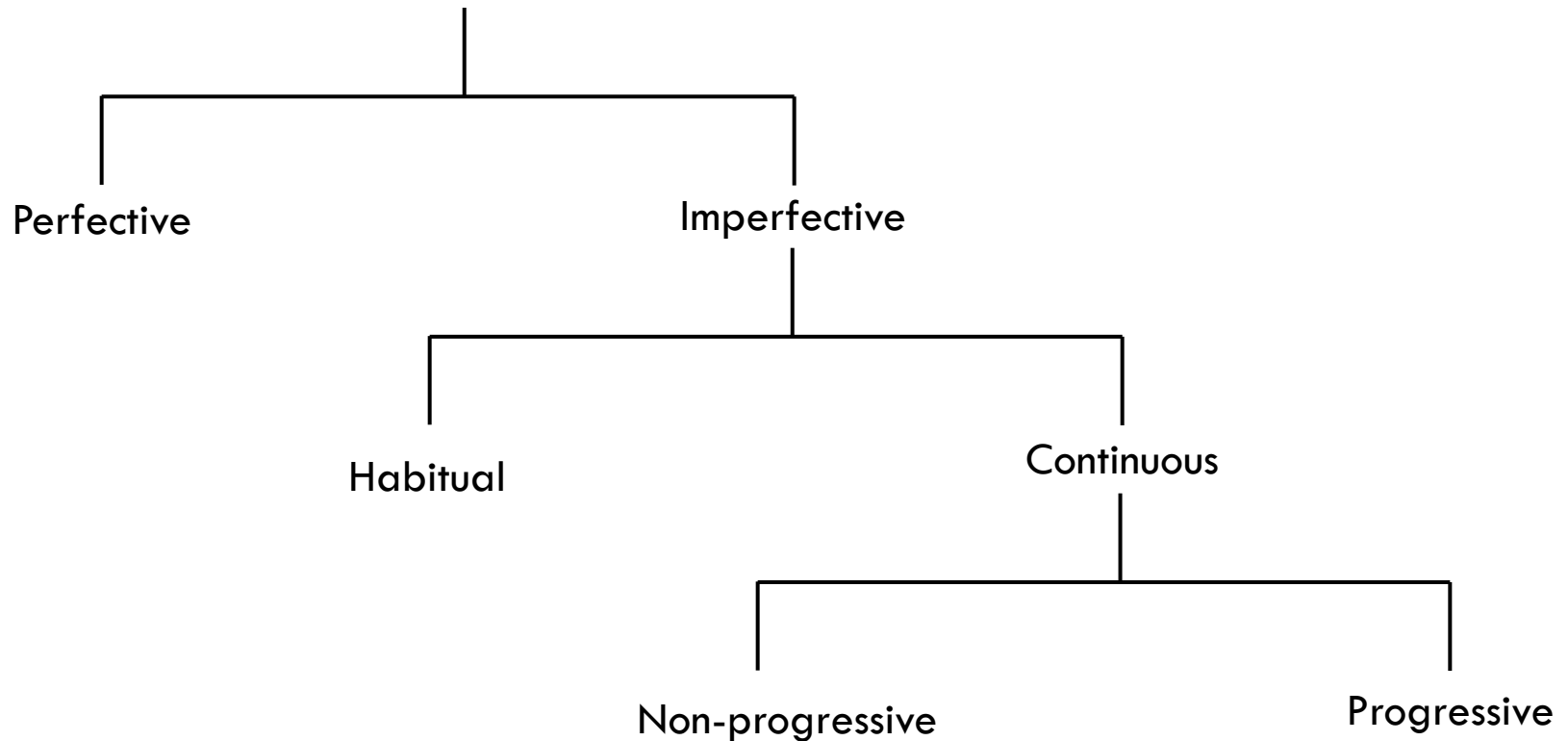
- Expressions with locative elements are the lexical source for most if not all progressive forms
 - (Bybee & Dahl 1989; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994)

- Not much has done on the grammaticalization of psych verbs into imperfective markers except
 - English *like* and *love*
 - (De Smet & Cuyckens 2005)
 - Chinese *ài* ‘love to’ and *xǐ huan* ‘like to’
 - (Endo 2006; Endo & Tao 2009)

Classification of aspectual oppositions

(Comrie, 1976:25)

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Continuous aspect

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- Comrie (1976)
 - ▣ A marked aspect
 - ▣ Defined negatively as “Imperfectivity that is not habituality” (p. 26)


- Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994)
 - ▣ Disagree with Comrie’s negative definition of continuous aspect
 - ▣ Only progressive but not continuous clearly exists

→ Controversy on this aspect notion “continuous”

Grammaticalization of stative verbs into imperfective aspect markers

(De Smet & Cuyckens 2005; Endo 2006; Endo & Tao 2009)

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- Endo (2006); Endo & Tao (2009)
 - *ai* ‘love’ has developed into a habitual marker through auxiliatation
 - 這個孩子愛唱歌。 
 - a. *Zhe ge haizi* [*ai* [*changge*]]
Verb Object
“This child **loves to sing.**”
 - b. *Zhe ge haizi* [*ai* [*changge*]]
Aux Verb
“This child **often sings.**”
 - Complex/serial VP structures favour the development of a habitual marker.

Grammaticalization of stative verbs into imperfective aspect markers

(De Smet & Cuyckens 2005; Endo 2006; Endo & Tao 2009)

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- De Smet & Cuyckens (2005)
 - ▣ ‘*like/love + to-infinitive*’ in English as emerging auxiliary constructions

 - ▣ It has developed from expressing volition and/or enjoyment to habitual meaning

De Smet & Cuyckens (2005)

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□ Volition / Enjoyment

“ ‘Will you be so good as to exchange places with me, Miss Markham?’ Said she; ‘for I **don’t like** to sit by Mrs. Graham.’ (1848, Brontë, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*)” (De Smet & Cuyckens 2005: 16)

□ Habitual

“You know, where does it stop? As I **like** to put it, if a criminal comes up with a shoulder launcher, are we then going to arm everybody with shoulder launchers? (CCB)” (De Smet & Cuyckens 2005: 12)

□ ‘*like/love + to-infinitive*’ indicates iterativity, and can give rise to habitual meaning

□ Pragmatic strengthening → semantic changes → grammaticalization

Objective of this study

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- To trace the development of stative verbs, in particular psych verbs such as ‘love, desire, care’ into imperfective aspect markers, often denoting continuity and/or habituality.
- To also examine how and why some of these aspect markers also develop into negative attitudinal markers.

Data

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□ Malay

□ Diachronic data

- *The Malay Concordance Project*

□ Cantonese

□ Diachronic data

- *Early Cantonese Colloquial Texts: A Database (1828-1924)*
- *Early Cantonese Tagged Database (1872-1931)*
- *A Linguistic Corpus of Mid-20th Century Hong Kong Cantonese (1952-1966)*

□ Synchronic data

- Contemporary online source *Google*

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Malay data

1370s

LEXICAL NOUN 'desire, love'

11

- (1) ... *api* yang bernama **asyik** itu pun
flame REL be.called **desire** DEM INCH
bernyalalah di dalam dadanya.
PRF-burn-FOC LOC inside chest-3SG.GEN

'... the flame that is called **desire/love** then
began to burn in his heart'

(2) ... *pergi mendapatkan anak raja itu,*
 go PRF-get-APPL child king DEM
karena sangatlah asyik berahi
 because INT.EMPH be.engrossed love
hatiku akan dia
 heart-1SG.BEN toward 3SG

'... went to get the princess, because my heart
 was *deeply enamored* toward her'

1550s ADJECTIVE~STATIVE VERB

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- AHmz 468:1 .. maka Amir Hamzah pun terlalu sukacita dan terlalu **asyik** pula, serasa tiada tertahan-tahan lagi hatinya. Maka oleh Tuan ..
- AHmz 611:15 ... petikan kecapi itu, di dalam hatinya terlalulah **asyik**, kerana belum pernah mendengar bunyi yang demikian itu. Maka

1750s STATIVE VERB ‘be engrossed in ...’

14

- (3) *yang baik suara pun bernyanyilah dan*
NMLZ good voice INCH PRF-sing-EMPH and
segala yang asyik berahi itu
all REL be.engrossed love DEM
pun bangkitlah menari berpasuk-pasukan.
INCH rise.up.FOC dance in.groups

‘the ones with beautiful voices then sang and
all that were **engrossed in love** then arose and
danced in groups’

(4) Maka segala yang *asyik-asyik berahi*
 then all REL *busy be.in.love*
pun bangkitlah menari
 INCH rise.up-EMPH dance
terlalu indah-indah rupanya
 extremely beautiful appearance-3SG.GEN

‘Then all those that were *busy being in love*
 arose and danced; it was truly a beautiful
 sight.’

1840s 'be absorbed in doing X; be delighted to do X'

16

- Abd.H 50:3 panjang pendek seperti ukurannya.
Maka masing2 pun `asyiklah pergi hendak belajar
kepadanya. Maka jawabnya: “Sahaya mau ...
- Abd.H 51:7 .. oleh orang Melaka akan hal itu,
maka masing2 pun `asyiklah hendak belajar.
Maka itu pun diperbuatlah oleh orang tua2

1860s

'be absorbed in, only care about X'
(with speaker's negative evaluation)

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- (5) *Akan tetapi baginda itu tiada hirau*
TOP however ruler DEM NEG care
akan kerajaannya, *asyik*
about governance-3SG.GEN busy (<
absorbed in)
dengan permainan sahaja
with leisure only

'However the king did not care about governing his country; he only cared for the pleasures of life'

1860s

PROGRESSIVE CONTINUATIVE

(with speaker's negative evaluation)

18

(6) *negeri gaduh masing-masing*
country quarrel each.other
asyik dengan memeliharakan
busy with PRF-take.care-APPL
kampung halamannya
village courtyard-3SG.GEN

'the countries quarreled among themselves,
each *busy* with protecting its own territory'

1890s

PROGRESSIVE CONTINUATIVE

(without speaker's negative evaluation)

19

(7) Maka sedang ia **asyik** **mendengar**,
and while 3SG **PROG.CONT** **PRF-listen**
maka dirasakannya
then **PASS.feel.APPL-3SG.GEN**
hujung kakinya.
tip **foot-3SG.GEN**

'And while he **was listening**, he then felt the tip
of his foot.'

1900s

PROGRESSIVE CONTINUATIVE

(without speaker's negative evaluation)

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(8) Pak Belalang tiga beranak
PN three with.children
asyik dengan tidur siang malam
PROG.CONT with sleep day night
dirumahnya dengan berdukacita
LOC-house-3SG.GEN with sorrow

'Pak Belalang and his three children kept on sleeping day and night in his home, deep in sorrow'

1900s HABITUAL

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(9) *habislah sekalian rakyat seisi negeri*
finish-EMPH all citizens whole country
itu menjadi asyik leka dengan
DEM PRF-become HAB absorbed.in with
berjudi juga setiap masa
gambling also every moment

‘And thus all the citizens in the whole country
became absorbed in gambling all the time’

2000s PROGRESSIVE CONTINUATIVE ~ HABITUAL

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(9) *Dia* *asyik* *main* *saja.*
3SG PROG.CONT/HAB play only

‘S/he just kept (on) playing.’

Diachronic development of *asyik*

(based on data from the MCP corpus)

PART OF SPEECH	14 th c..	15 th c.	16 th c.	17 th c.	18 th c.	19 th c.	20 th c.
Noun 'desire'	1370s 8 PN 1		1550s PN 15			1810s 3 1820s 1	
Noun 'love'				1600s 5 1640s 1 1650s 1	1700s PN 14 1720s 1 1730s 1 1750s 7	1860s 1 PN 1 1870s PN 32	
Stative verb (with <i>sangatlah/terlalu</i>) 'be engrossed in; be delighted/fascinated with'	1370s 1 1380s 2						
Stative verb (<i>asyik birahi + melihat</i>) (<i>maka asyiklah hati X</i>) 'be fascinated or infatuated'						1810s 1 1860s 1 1870s 1	1910s 1
Adverb <i>asyik-asyik</i> 'frequently'				1650s 1			
Verb 'be engrossed'			1550s 1		1750s 1	1890s 3	
Verb <i>asyiklah</i> 'keep thinking about something'						1840s 2	
Continuative						1860s 1	
Continuative + Negative Attitude						1860s 3 1890s 1	1900s 2 1910s 1

Diachronic development of *asyik*

(data from the MCP corpus)

24

- Noun ‘desire’ from 14th c. > extends to ‘love’ (even in spiritual literature) from 17th c.

- Noun use (from 14th c. –1370s)
- Adjective use (from 14th c. –1380s)
- Verb ‘be engrossed in’ (from 16th c. –1550s)
- Adverb of frequency ‘often’ (from 17th c. –1650s)
- Verb ‘to be fascinated/infatuated’ (from 19th c. –1810s)
- Verb ‘keep thinking about something’ (from 19th c. –1840s)
- Continuative (from 19th c. –1860s)
- Continuative with negative attitude (from 19th c. –1860s)

Diachronic development of *asyik*

(data from the MCP corpus)

25

- Noun ‘desire’ from 14th c. > extends to ‘love’ (even in spiritual literature) from 17th c.

ATTESTED

- Noun use (from 1370s)
- Adjective use (from 1380s)
- Verb ‘be engrossed in’ (from 1550s)
- Adverb of frequency ‘often’ (from 1650s)
- Verb ‘to be fascinated/infatuated’ (from 1810s)
- Verb ‘keep thinking about something’ (from 1840s)
- Continuative (from 1860s)
- Continuative with negative attitude (from 1860s)

From lexical noun/verb > continuative/habitual aspect
> negative attitudinal

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- Ratio of continuative (neutral) to continuative (+negative attitude/evaluation) is 1:7

- stative verb *asyik* > continuative marker *asyik* > habitual marker *asyik*

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Cantonese data

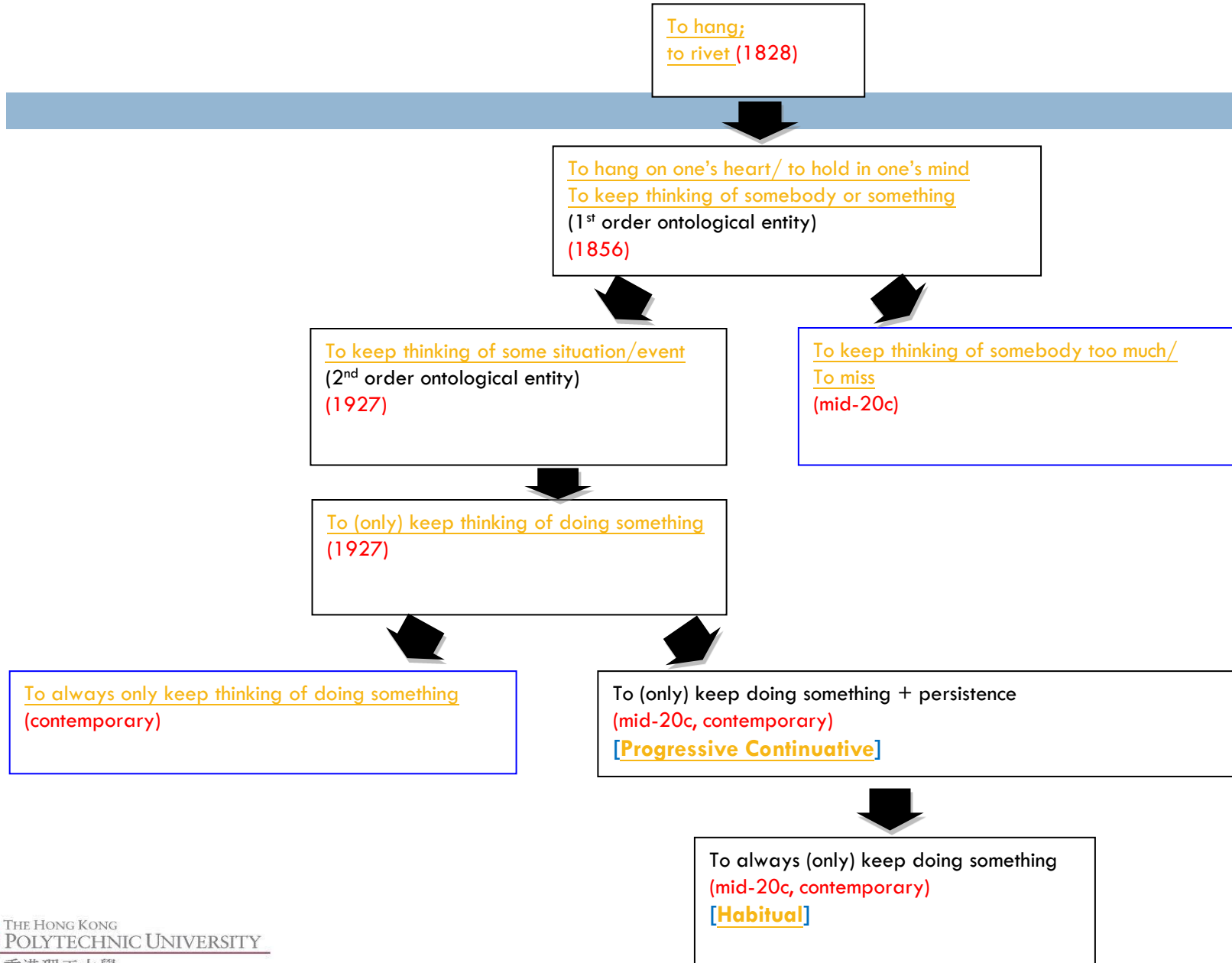
Two major functions of **gwaazyu** in Cantonese: 'to miss', 'to just keep V-ing'

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- During tea-break of a conference...
- A: ngo⁵ gin³ lei⁵ tau⁴ sin¹ **gwaaz³zyu⁶** jing² soeng² wo³!
B: ngo⁵ **gwaaz³zyu⁶** lei⁵ do¹ di¹! mou⁵ gin³ gom³ loi⁶!
C: lei⁵ zan¹ hai⁶ sik¹ gong² je⁵ aa³!
- A: 我見你頭先掛住影相啎！
 我掛住你多啲！冇見咁耐！
C: 你真係識講嘢呀！
- A: I noticed that you just **gwaazyu (kept)** taking photographs (but not paying attention to the presentations)!
B: I **gwaazyu (miss)** you much more (than **gwaazyu** take pictures)! Haven't seen you for so long! [as a way to shift topic]
C: You are such a sweet talker!

Grammaticalization pathway of gwaazyu

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Grammaticalization pathway of gwaazyu

Physical Domain

To hang; to rivet
(1828)

Mental Domain

To hang on one's heart / to hold in one's mind
To keep thinking of somebody or something
(1st order ontological entity)
(1856)

To keep thinking of some situation/event
(2nd order ontological entity)
(1927)

To keep thinking of somebody too much/
To miss
(mid-20c)

Evaluative Domain

To (only) keep thinking of doing something
(1927)

To always only keep thinking of doing something
(contemporary)

To (only) keep doing something + persistence
(mid-20c, contemporary)
[Progressive Continuative]

Negative Attitudinal

To always (only) keep doing something
(mid-20c, contemporary)
[Habitual]

LEXICAL VERB 'to hang; to rivet' + ASPECT

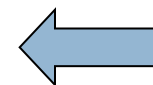
32

- 1828: *Cantonese Love-songs* 粵謳：分別淚（二）
- 點得疎林將就吓。為我挂住斜陽。📢
dim² dak¹ sho¹ lam⁴ zoeng¹zau⁶ haa⁵ .
how POT sparse forest just.as.it.is PRT
wai⁶ ngo⁵ gwaa³zhyu⁶ ce⁴joeng⁴ .
for.the.sake.of 1SG **GWAAZYU** setting.sun

Lit. 'How might the sparse forest just remain as it is (*i.e.* freeze the present moment), (and thus) **to rivet** the setting sun for me?'

'Would that, in kindness to me, the sparse forest might with its branches **arrest**, just to, the slanting sunbeams!'

(transl. Cecil Clementi)



LEXICAL VERB 'to hang; to rivet' + ASPECT(cont'd)

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□ Contemporary example retrieved from Google

□ 牆上面掛住幾張古色古香嘅字畫 

coeng⁴ soeng⁵min⁶ gwaa³zyu⁶

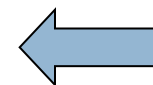
wall surface GWAAZYU

gei² zoeng¹ gu²sik¹gu²hoeng¹ ge³ zi⁶waa²

several CL with.antique.flavours ADN calligraphy.work

'Several quaint ancient calligraphy works are being **hung** on the wall.'

Cf. Mandarin *guàzhe* 掛着



LEXICAL STATIVE VERB

‘to keep thinking of’ + somebody

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□ 1856: *A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect*

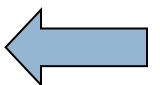
□ 掛住佢 📢

gwaa³zhyu⁶ kyu⁵

GWAAZYU 3SG

‘to keep thinking of him/her’

□ Cf. Mandarin *xiǎngniàn* 想念



LEXICAL STATIVE VERB 'to keep thinking of'+NP (cont'd)

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□ Contemporary example retrieved from Google

□ 我最掛住既心太軟 📢

ngo⁵ zeoi³ gwaa³zyu⁶ ge³ sam¹taai³iyun⁵

1SG most **GWAAZYU** ADN chocolate.pudding

Lit. 'Chocolate pudding, which I **keep thinking about**'

'Chocolate pudding — my favourite'



LEXICAL STATIVE VERB 'to keep thinking of' + stative VP

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□ 1927: *Beginning Cantonese*

□ 我淨係掛住唔夠*錢使唄。🔊

ngo⁵ zing⁶ hai⁶ gwaa³ zyu⁶

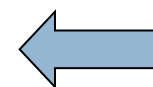
1SG only GWAAZYU

m⁴ gau³ cin^{4>2} sai² be³ .

NEG enough money spend SFP

'I only **keep thinking of** not having sufficient money to spend!'


□ in the sense of care/worry ⇒ negative assessment



LEXICAL STATIVE VERB 'to keep thinking of' + action VP

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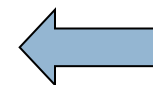
□ 1927: *Beginning Cantonese*

□ 地皮*友淨係掛住搵*錢 ◦ 

Dei⁶pei⁴jau^{5>2} zing⁶hai⁶ gwaa³zyu⁶ wan²cin^{4>2} .

local.gangster *only* **GWAAZYU** make.money

'The local gangsters only **keep thinking of** making money.'



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How are these two meanings related to each other?

‘to hang’

‘to keep thinking of’

‘to hold (in one’s mind)’ ~ ‘to keep thinking of’

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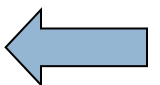
□ 1954: *Wrong Wedding* (film) 錯燒龍鳳蠟

□ 我時時將你嗰件事，都掛住喺心㗎！📢

ngo⁵ si⁴si⁴ zoeng¹ lei⁵ go² gin⁶ si⁶ ,
1SG always PRT 2SG that CL matter
dou¹ **gwaa³zyu⁶** hai² sam¹ lai⁴ !
also **GWAAZYU** LOC heart EMPT


‘I always **hold** the thing that you (want to achieve)
in (my) mind!’

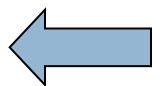
□ Lit. ‘to hang on one’s heart’



LEXICAL VERB 'to miss' + NP

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- 'to miss': 'to keep thinking of' to an extreme end such that regret at the absence of sb/sth comes out
- 1966: *Spring time in the Jade Hall* (film) 春色滿璇宮
- 咩唔捨得返喇啲！我時時都掛住你咖嘛！
me¹ m⁴ se²dak¹ faan¹lai⁴ zek¹ !
what NEG be.willing come.back SFP
ngo⁵ si⁴si⁴ dou¹ gwaa³zyu⁶ lei⁵ ga¹ma³ !
1SG every.hour also **GWAAZYU** 2SG SFP
- 'It is not the case that I am not willing to come back!
I **miss** you all the time!'



LEXICAL VERB ‘to miss’ + NP (cont’d)

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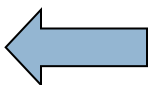
□ Contemporary example retrieved from Google

□ 快些返屋企，阿媽阿哥好掛住你! 📢

faai³-se¹ faan¹ uk¹kei², aa³maa¹ aa³go¹ hou² gwaa³zyu⁶ nei⁵

quick-DIM return home mom brother very GWAAZYU 2SG

‘Come home quickly! Mom and brother **miss** you very much!’



Progressive Continuative – To just keep doing

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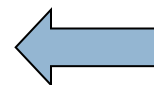
□ 1960: *Old Time Buddy* (film) 難兄難弟

□ 你米掛住食至得㗎。🔊

lei⁵ mai⁵ gwaa³zyu⁶ sik⁶ zi³ dak¹ gaa² .

2SG do.not **GWAAZYU** eat only.then okay SFP

□ ‘Don’t **just keep** eating (without listening to others).’



Progressive Continuative – To just keep doing (cont'd)

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□ 1952 *Wise guy* (film) 蠶蟲師爺

□ *with the adverb zinghai 'only'*



□ 米淨係掛住拍拖至得㗎！

*mai*⁵ *zing*⁶*hai*⁶ *gwaa*³*zyu*⁶ *paak*³*to*¹

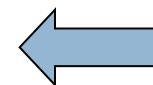
do.not only **GWAAZYU** dating

*zi*³ *dak*¹ *gaa*³ !

only.then okay SFP

‘Don’t **just keep** dating!’

□ (You also need to take care of other things)!’



Progressive Continuative – To just keep doing (cont'd)

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- Contemporary example retrieved from Google
- *with the adverb zinghai 'only'*

黎耀祥謝天華提醒陳山聰咪淨係掛住拍拖 📢

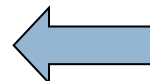
Lai⁴Jiu⁶Coeng⁴ Ze⁶Tin¹Waa⁴ tai⁴seng² Can⁴Saan¹Cung¹

PN PN remind PN

mai⁵ zing⁶hai⁶ gwaa³zyu⁶ paak³to¹

NEG only GWAAZYU dating

‘Lai Yiu-tseung and Tse Tin-wa reminded Chan Shan-tsung not to **just keep** dating (but to also take care of other things).’



Progressive Continuative – To just keep doing (cont'd)

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- *without the adverb zinghai 'only'*
- *with following consequence*



阿媽掛住打牌2歲女水桶內浸死

aa³maa¹ gwaa³zyu⁶ daa²paai²

mother **GWAAZYU** play.mahjong

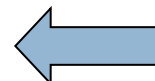
loeng⁵ sei³ nei² sei²tung² noi⁶ zam⁶ sei²

2 year daughter bucket inside drown die

'Mother **kept** playing mahjong;

2-year-old daughter drowned in bucket'

(newspaper headline)



Progressive Continuative – To just keep doing (cont'd)

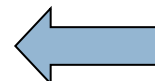
46

- *without the adverb zinghai 'only'*

葛珮帆南韓考察掛住睇袋



- Got³Pui³Faan⁴ Naam⁴Hon⁴ haau²caat³ gwaa³zyu⁶ tai² doi²
PN South.Korea do.expedition **GWAAZYU** see bag
'Elizabeth Quat travelled to South Korea on a (shopping)
expedition; **kept** shopping for handbags'
- (newspaper headline)



Habitual use – To just keep doing

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□ 1956: *A Peaceful Family Will Prosper* (film) 家和萬事興

□ 你唔好成日掛住賭字花得㗎！📢

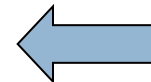
lei⁵ m⁴hou² seng⁴jat⁶ gwaa³zyu⁶ dou² zi⁶faa¹

2SG don't whole.day GWAAZYU bet Tse.fa

dak¹ gaa² !

okay SFP

‘Don’t **keep** betting on *Tse fa* all day!’



Habitual use – To just keep doing (cont'd)

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- *sengjat* ‘everyday, all the time, always’ or *jatjat* ‘everyday, always’ is **obligatory** in order to give rise to the habitual meaning

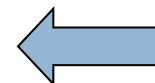
- from Yahoo! News

祖母湊孫女 成日掛住玩 

zou²mou⁵ *cau³* *syun¹nei⁵* *seng⁴jat⁶* *gwaa³zyu⁶* *waan⁴*
grandmother take.care.of granddaughter whole.day **GWAAZYU** play

‘Grandmother assigned to take care of the granddaughter, but **keeps** playing with her *all day*’

(newspaper headline)



Habitual use – To just keep doing (cont'd)

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學生哥好溫功課咪日日掛住拍拖 📢

hok⁶saang¹go¹ hou² wan¹ gung¹fo³

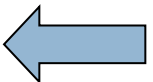
student ought.to revise homework

mai⁵ jat⁶jat⁶ gwaa³zyu⁶ paak³to¹

NEG every.day **GWAAZYU** dating

‘Students, (you) ought to study. Don’t **keep** dating *all the time!*’

□ Original Song



Diachronic data (1952-1966)

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<u>function</u>	<u># token</u>	<u>percentage</u>	<u>sengjat</u> <u>'always'</u>	<u>zinghai</u> <u>'only'</u>	<u>speaker stance</u>
to h old in one's m ind	1	3%	-	-	NEG
to k eeep thinking of sb	3	10%	3	-	1 NEG
To k eeep thinking of ~ to m iss sb	2	6%	-	-	1 NEG
to m iss sb	12	39%	2	-	9 NEG
To (only) k eeep thinking of doing	1	3%	-	-	neutral
P rogressive C ontinulative	3	10%	-	-	all NEG
P rogressive C ontinulative ~ H abitual	2	6%	-	2	all NEG
H abitual usage	7	23%	7	-	all NEG
Σ	31	100%	12	2	

Synchronic data

The first 300 sentences appearing in Google dated 12th April 2013

<u>Function</u>	<u>No. of tokens</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>sengjat/ jatjat 'always'</u>	<u>zinghai 'only'</u>	<u>Speaker stance</u>	
To hang	12	4%	-	-	Positive:2; Neutral:6; Negative:4	} Predominantly with positive or neutral attitudinal reading
To hang~ To miss	11	4%	2	0	Positive:5; Neutral:5; Negative:1	
To keep thinking about	26	9%	2	2	Positive: 17; Neutral: 5; Negative: 4	
To miss ~ To keep thinking about	3	1%	-	-	Neutral:1; Negative:2	} Predominantly with negative attitudinal reading
To miss	152	50%	1	-	Positive:4; Neutral:26; Negative:92	
To always keep thinking of doing sth	1	0%	1	1	Mirative	} Negative attitudinal reading
To (only) keep doing [progressive continuative]	95	31%	-	2	Negative: 94; Neutral: 1	
To always (only) keep doing [habitual]	3	1%	3	-	All negative	
Σ	303	100%	9	5		

Conclusion

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- Our findings show how stative verbs such as Malay *asyik* ‘desire, be infatuated, be engrossed in’ and Cantonese *gwaazyu* ‘keep thinking/doing X (excessively), miss’ can extend their affective meaning and signal continuative and habitual aspects, often with negative emotional colorings which are incompatible with the original semantics of these psych verbs.

Conclusion (contd.)

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- We also see how temporal notions involving continuity can be extended from the psychological domain into the temporal one.
 - ▣ Psych verb > Aspect marker

- We also see how internal mental states are further grammaticalized to express a speaker's attitudinal stance.
 - ▣ Psych verb > Negative attitude marker

Conclusion (contd.)

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- Combination of input from both the aspectual and speaker's attitudinal domains yields a continuative / habitual reading laced with the speaker's negative evaluation.
 - Psych verb > Aspect marker
 - Psych verb > Negative attitude marker
 - Psych verb > CONTINUATIVE ~ HABITUAL
(with speaker's negative attitude)

Conclusion (contd)

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- The negative attitude reading emerges from a situation in which an activity persists beyond an expected (and acceptable) period of time, or beyond an expected (and acceptable) cultural norm.
- In this study we hope to have shown how a lexical construction within the propositional domain goes on to acquire additional readings that perform textual (grammatical aspect) meaning as well as interpersonal (speaker stance) meaning as well.

Acknowledgments

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