

# 第二十屆國際 粤方言研討會

International Conference on Yue Dialects

論文提要集 Abstract Book

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# 第二十屆國際粵方言研討會籌備委員會

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1

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香港語言學學會

網頁: http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/chi/yue20/

# Organizing Committee, 20th International Conference on Yue Dialects

Convener: Sze-Wing TANG

(Department of Chinese Language and Literature &

T.T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre,

Institute of Chinese Studies,

The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Secretary: Patsy TSANG

Research Assistant: Mian CHAM

Junior Research Assistants: Yee-nga CHOW, Chau-ping LAI, Wai-tan LAW, Wai TSOI

Other members: Jia JIN (team leader), Kwun-Kin CHAN, Xinjunrong HUANG,

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Co-organizer: T.T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre,

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## 簡介

「國際粤方言研討會」是漢語語言學學界的重要學術活動,一直以來主要在香港、澳門、廣東、廣西等地輪流舉行。第二十屆國際粤方言研討會在香港中文大學(以下簡稱「中大」)舉行,有重要的歷史意義。首屆國際粤方言研討會在1987年於中大校園舉行,第十屆在2005年由中大主辦,為了突顯第二十屆的重要性,研討會「重臨」中大。第二十屆由中大中國語言及文學系主辦,中國文化研究所吳多泰中國語文研究中心協辦,中大文學院、新亞書院、聯合書院、香港語言學學會贊助,特此致謝。

這一屆研討會的主題,明確定為「比較語法」。通過比較的方法,尋找粵語的特點。希望通過鮮明的主題,匯聚各方專家學者,從形式研究、歷時研究、跨範疇的接口研究等不同角度,探索粵語語法的特點。在此特別鳴謝(按姓名的漢語拼音序)中國社會科學院的麥耘教授、加州大學柏克萊/香港中文大學的張洪年教授、萊頓大學的鄭禮珊教授三位在會上作主題演講,分別從語音、歷時發展、句法三方面探討粵語語法問題。此外,其它的報告論文,所涉及的領域包括句法學、詞法學、實驗語音學、歷史音韻學、方言學、社會語言學、語料庫語言學等,較為顯著的專題主要有助詞的語法、後綴的語法、體詞結構、句式比較、元音的音韻研究等,反映了當前粵語語言學的前沿課題,值得關注,而國際粵方言研討會正好為世界各地從事粵語研究的同行同學,提供一個學術交流的平台,推動粵語語言學的發展。

香港中文大學中國語言及文學系第二十屆國際粵方言研討會籌備委員會 2015年12月

#### Introduction

The International Conference on Yue Dialects is a prestigious annual academic event in the field of Chinese linguistics and is organized by the tertiary institutions in Hong Kong, Macau, Guangdong, and Guangxi in a rotational manner. Having the 20th International Conference on Yue Dialects at The Chinese University of Hong Kong (abbreviated as "CUHK" hereafter) is momentous. The first one was held at CUHK in 1987, the 10th Conference was organized by CUHK in 2005, and in 2015, the 20th is "back". The 20th Conference is organized by the Department of Chinese Language and Literature, co-organized by the T.T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre, Institute of Chinese Studies, and sponsored by the Faculty of Arts, CUHK, New Asia College, United College, and the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong, to which we are grateful.

This year, the theme of the Conference is on "Comparative Grammar", with a special focus on the properties of Cantonese grammar under formal approaches, diachronic grammar, and interface studies. What makes the occasion spectacular is that three internationally renowned scholars, viz, Professor Lisa L.-S. CHENG from Leiden University, Professor Samuel H.-N. CHEUNG from the University of California, Berkeley/CUHK, and Professor MAI Yun from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (in alphabetical order), deliver a speech on the current issues in the study of Cantonese grammar, particularly in formal syntax, diachronic grammar, and phonetics, respectively. The areas that other papers cover include syntax, morphology, experimental phonetics, historical phonology, dialectology, sociolinguistics, and corpus linguistics. Among these areas, some specific topics that a number of papers address like grammar of sentence-final particles, grammar of verbal suffixes, nominal structures, various syntactic structures, and phonology of vowels, are regarded as the cutting edge research topics in the field of Cantonese linguistics, which should deserve the attention of researchers. It is encouraging to see that the Conference can serve as a platform for exchanging interesting views and news ideas among colleagues and students working on Cantonese from different parts of the world and for promoting Cantonese linguistics.

Organizing Committee

20th International Conference on Yue Dialects

Department of Chinese Language and Literature

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

December 2015



# 程序表 Schedule

日期	時間	活動	地點
	08:30	報到 Registration	
	09:00 - 10:00	開幕禮 Opening Ceremony	行政樓祖堯堂 Cho Viv Holl Haivansity
	10:00 — 10:15	茶歇 Tea Break	Cho Yiu Hall, University Administration Building
	10:15 — 12:30	主題演講 Keynote Speech	
12月11日 (星期五)	12:30 — 14:00	午膳 Lunch	鹿鳴廳 Benjamin Franklin Centre Staff Canteen
	14:15 — 15:55	第一場 Session 1	利黃瑤璧樓 ELB
	15:55 — 16:15	茶歇 Tea Break	利黃瑤璧樓地下大堂 Ground floor, ELB
	16:15 — 17:55	第二場 Session 2	利黃瑤璧樓 ELB
	18:00	歡迎晚宴 Welcoming Dinner	新亞書院雲起軒 New Asia College Yun Chi Hsien
	09:00 - 10:40	第三場 Session 3	利黃瑤璧樓 ELB
	10:40 — 11:00	茶歇 Tea Break	利黃瑤璧樓地下大堂 Ground floor, ELB
	11:00 — 12:40	第四場 Session 4	利黃瑤璧樓 ELB
	12:45 — 14:15	午膳 Lunch	崇基學院教職員聯誼會會所 Chung Chi College Staff Club
12月12日	14:30 — 16:10	第五場 Session 5	利黃瑤璧樓 ELB
(星期六)	16:10 — 16:30	茶歇 Tea Break	利黃瑤璧樓地下大堂 Ground floor, ELB
	16:30 — 17:45	第六場 Session 6	利黃瑤璧樓 ELB
	17:50 — 18:50	大會討論與閉幕禮 General Discussion & Closing Ceremony	利黃瑤璧樓第二演講廳 LT2, ELB
	19:00	歡送晚宴 Farewell Dinner	聯合書院思源館 United College Si Yuan Amenities Centre

開幕禮與主題演講:12月11日(星期五)上午9時至12時30分,行政樓祖堯堂

**分組討論:**12 月 11 日 (星期五)下午 2 時 15 分至 5 時 55 分;12 月 12 日 (星期六)上午 9 時至下午 5 時 45 分,利黄瑤璧樓 202、203、205、206 室

大會討論與閉幕禮:12 月 12 日 (星期六)下午 5 時 50 分至 6 時 50 分,利黃瑤璧樓第二演講廳

「香港語言學學會粵語語言學傑出學生論文獎」比賽:12 月 11 日(星期五)下午 2 時 15 分至 3 時 30 分,利黃瑤璧樓 202 室

「香港語言學學會粵語語言學傑出學生論文獎」頒獎禮:12月11日(星期五)歡迎晚宴舉行 粵語語言學書展:12月11-12日下午,利黃瑤璧樓地下大堂

**Opening Ceremony & Keynote Speeches:** December 11, 2015 (Friday), 9:00am - 12:30nn, Cho Yiu Hall, University Administration Building

**Parallel Sessions:** December 11, 2015 (Friday), 2:15pm - 5:55pm; December 12, 2015 (Saturday), 9:00am - 5:45pm, 202, 203, 205 and 206 Esther Lee Building (ELB)

**General Discussion & Closing Ceremony:** December 12, 2015 (Saturday), 5:50pm - 6:50pm, LT2 Esther Lee Building (ELB)

Competition of the "LSHK Award for Outstanding Student Paper on Cantonese Linguistics": December 11, 2015 (Friday), 2:15pm - 3:30pm, 202 Esther Lee Building (ELB)

Presentation of the "LSHK Award for Outstanding Student Paper on Cantonese Linguistics": to be held during the welcoming dinner on December 11, 2015 (Friday)

**Book Exhibit on Cantonese Linguistics:** December 11-12, 2015 (afternoon), Ground Floor, Esther Lee Building (ELB)

網頁 Website: www.cuhk.edu.hk/chi/yue20

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# 緣自何來:早期粵語中"嚟"的來去蹤影

### 張洪年

加州大學伯克萊 香港中文大學

粵語表"來"的方言詞是"嚟",早期寫作"黎",發音是 lai31 或 lei31,意思和用法大底和漢語的"來"一樣,表示趨向。但是"嚟"也有一些用法和"來"不一樣。本文試從早期粵語語料中探索"嚟"的各種使用情形,研究"嚟"的歷時變化,和各種用法之間的延伸關係。材料主要集中在十九世紀到二十世紀(從 1828 到 1947)這一百多年,共二十餘種。

# dim<sup>2</sup> analyse mat<sup>1</sup>?

#### Lisa Lai-Shen CHENG

#### Leiden University

The use of question words such as  $dim^2$  'how' and  $mat^1$  to express reason questions can be found in many different languages, ranging from Dutch, Italian, Hebrew, Zulu, and Cantonese. In this paper, I argue that the reason question readings (i.e., why readings) of these two questions words come from different sources. I show that the why reading of how is dependent on modality, while the why reading of what is not. Using comparative data including Cantonese and Mandarin as well as other languages, I show that  $mat^1$  in the sentence initial position (see Tang 2008) differs from  $mat^1$  in the post-verbal position, and these generate different interpretations and therefore suggests different analyses.

# 廣州話的句末促語調和長語調

## 麥耘

中國社會科學院

廣州話的句末語調除了音高的變化外,還有時長的變化,有一個比正常時長要短的 促語調和一個較長的長語調,它們可以與升、降、高、低等句末語調疊加使用。本文舉 例說明句末非助詞音節、句末助詞以及歎詞的促語調和長語調,歸納它們的語義功能, 並用"象似性"來進行解釋。文章還討論了"句末語助成分"的分類框架等問題。

# Prosodic Correlates of Focus Production and Perception in Hong Kong Cantonese

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Prosodic correlates in the realization of Cantonese focus are investigated in the present study. Focus, which serves to mark semantic prominence of certain information in an utterance over others, can be realised using different linguistic operations. While languages may differ in whether they adopt syntactic and/or morphological means to mark focus, it was postulated that all languages invariably employ prosodic strategies, i.e. stress, to encode linguistic focus (van Valin & Lapolla, 1997), by manipulating pitch, intensity, and duration.

Previous studies on non-tonal languages indicate that they employ pitch to highlight certain constituents among others, as in English (Xu & Xu, 2005) and German (Fréy & Kügler, 2008). However, given that pitch is used in tonal languages in marking lexical tones, the extra function of focus-encoding will theoretically impose burden on pitch. Furthermore, if pitch is indeed used to fulfill both functions, it will be intriguing to observe how this single acoustic parameter can maintain a delicate balance between encoding lexical tones and conveying sentential focus. Contrastively, if pitch is not employed, which of the other acoustic cues, i.e. intensity or duration, will perform the required function? Existing literature have sought to unveil the focus realization mechanism of Hong Kong Cantonese (Wu, 2011), but the inadequate control factors and the confined domain of analyses have hindered the comprehensive picture from emerging. Re-examination is thus called for. With its rich and elaborated lexical tonal inventory, Cantonese is an ideal subject for this study.

There are two main research questions which the present study aims to answer: (1) How do native Hong Kong Cantonese speakers manipulate pitch, intensity, and duration in order to convey narrow focus? (2) Which of the three acoustic cues, i.e. pitch, intensity, and duration, is more salient in the perception of Cantonese focus? A production and a perception experiment were devised to investigate the focus marking scheme in Hong Kong Cantonese. In the production experiment, acoustic analyses reveal that (1) in the pre-focus position, pitch level and range are raised, accompanied by reduction in intensity; (2) in the on-focus position, F0, intensity, and duration exhibit a significant increase; (3) in the post-focus domain, compression



in duration and intensity is found, as well as a small but significant expansion in F0 range. Intriguingly, although the three acoustic cues are involved in conveying focus, listeners attend to the cues to different extents, according to the perception experiment. Among the three cues, duration is the most reliable stress-indicator.

It is hoped that the present study will shed light on the focus-marking mechanism in Hong Kong Cantonese and contribute to the discussion of cross-language comparisons with respect to prosodic focus realization. On the other hand, it may have practical implications in second language learning and speech synthesis.

## 粤語詞尾「定」的語法特點

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粤語的「定」,一詞多義,可以擔當不同的句法成份,如:

(1) 大家定啲嚟。(大家鎮定一點。) (述語——表示鎮定)

(2) 我大個就定啲喇。(我大了就會穩重一點了。) (述語——表示穩重)

(3) 我手車開得好定。(我駕車好穩定。) (補語——表示穩定)

(4) 要湯定汽水? (要湯還是汽水?) (連詞——表示析取)

(5) 我食定飯先。(我預先吃飯。) (詞尾——表示預先)

本文的討論焦點是例(5)表示「預先」的「定」。「定」的語法特點過往不見於主要的粵語研究之中,甚至部分粵語詞典沒有收錄「定」表示「預先」的用法。有收錄「定」的詞典,描述亦見粗略,僅僅提及它的出現位置和語義。討論粵語詞尾的文章,亦不把「定」納入討論,但「定」在形式上明顯只能黏附在動詞之後,具有語法功能。因此,本文的第一個目標,便是深入淺出把「定」的語法特點全面描述出來,補前人之不足。

「定」黏附在動詞之後,表面上它的語法限制與動詞最為密切,如:

- (6) 你行定出去喇,……(你預先走出去吧,……)
- (7) \* 我姓定黄, ……

然而,粵語詞尾進入句子後,往往對句子的語義完足有額外要求,「定」也是如此。 「定」的語法限制不單單局限於動詞。我們發現賓語、補語、甚至事件意義,都對「定」 的分布,有一定的要求。這些要求跟「定」字句是否符合我們的語感有莫大關係,本文 稱之為「完句條件」,試比較下例:

- (8) ?小明行定出嚟。(小明先走出來。)
- (9) 小明行定出嚟想落車。(小明先走出來想下車。)

例(9)的語感會比例(8)的好,分別就在於補充了「想落車」,交代了推前事件的目的。這現象本文亦會詳述。

本文會先確立「定」所充當的語法成份。緊接便會從謂語入手,探討「定」的謂語限制,再討論「定」的完句條件,最後作一小結。我們希望通過是次討論,探討粵語詞尾的特點,發現更多的問題,能使粵語詞尾系統的描述更為完足,對往後的研究有新的啟發。

## On CL-CL Quantifier Phrases in Mandarin and Cantonese

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This paper discusses one type of reduplication phenomenon within the nominal domain in both Mandarin and Cantonese – the type that reduplicates a classifier to create the meaning of "each/every". However, although both languages allow reduplicative classifiers, Mandarin reduplicative classifiers generally do not begin a sentence. They must be preceded by either a topic or an adverbial, as (1) shows. In Cantonese, DPs with reduplicative classifiers can begin a sentence and can also be optionally preceded by topics or adverbials.

- (1) a. zheli de hua duo-duo dou hen piaoliang

  Here MOD flower CL-CL DOU very beautiful

  Literal: 'The flowers in here, each one of them is beautiful.' (Mand)
  - b. neitoυ ke fa tɔ-tɔ toυ hoυ lɛŋ

    Here MOD flower CL-CL DOU very beautiful (Cant)
  - c. \*duo-duo hua dou hen piaoliang

    CL-CL flower DOU very beautiful

    'Each flower is very pretty.' (Mand)
  - d. to-to fa too hoo len

    CL-CL flower dou very pretty (Cant)

It is often assumed that strong quantifiers need to have some kind of contextual domain restriction (von Fintel 1998, Stanley and Szabó 2000, among others). For example, in (2a) the quantifier *every* does not refer to every student in the entire universe. The domain 'in my semantics class' can be optionally spelled out as in (2b).

- (2) a. Every student passed the exam.
  - b. In my semantics class, every student passed the exam. (=22 in Giannakidou 2004)
  - c. ∀x [student<sub>c</sub>] passed the exam. (=23b in Giannakidou 2004)

Giannakidou (2004) argued that domain restriction is done overtly (in the syntax) and that the restriction can be placed on the quantificational determiner. In Greek, definite determiners

cannot be omitted with strong quantifiers. Strong quantifiers must be overtly restricted by the outer layer of determiner expression.

(3) The Greek determiner 'each' = 'the + every'

o kathe i kathe to kathe

the.masc.sg every the.fem.sg every the.neut.sg every (=24 in Giannakidou 2004)

I argue that the differences between Cantonese and Mandarin with respect to the "every/each" type of classifier reduplication can be attributed to the CL(assifier)-to-D movement proposed in Simpson (2005), which creates an overt determiner for Cantonese, allowing domain restriction of the quantifying expression CL-CL to be done overtly. Since Mandarin does not have an overt determiner, Mandarin arguments with reduplicative classifiers (Cl-Cl N) are pragmatically restricted. There must be a topic or an adverbial before the reduplicative classifiers.

#### **Selected Reference**

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# 粤語後置重複句語法研究兼論邊緣結構的功能及粵語語法的特點

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後置重複現象對粵語母語者來說並不陌生,粵語甚至可以說是運用後置重複句的典型語言,但是過往前輩學者並沒有深入討論這個現象。譬如陸鏡光 (2004a,2004b),所談的主要就是延伸句,其中兼論到口語中常常出現重複的現象,包括完全重複和部份重複;張欽良、陳藝媛 (2012),主要建基於統制關係及語料分析,提出論據支持粵語易位句和重複句是同一類型的句子;此外,鄧思穎 (2015) 又從生成語法學的基礎,建構出表達易位句、後置重複句等語言現象的樹形圖。由此可見,現時為止,學界對粵語後置重複句一般都是較少討論的,即使討論,亦只不過是建基在易位句的前提之上。因此,本文希望全面疏理粵語後置重複句的特點及語法現象,包括結構、層級位置、功能及重複範域等,並嘗試提出解釋,再承以上基礎,探討句子右邊緣結構課題,由此觀察粵語語法本身的特點。



# 粵語「數 - 量 - 名」結構的正式與非正式語體:初探名詞短語的語體語法

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學者多年來對粵語量詞進行研究,成果甚豐,對粵語教學有一定的指導作用。但是根據我們的觀察,有不少學習粵語口語的外國學生利用量詞造句時仍然出現一些偏誤,例如 "\*/? 我公司連一名女仔都有"和 "\*/? 飛機上有 230 位(男)人受傷"等句子。粵語母語使用者覺得這些句子並不能接受,甚至不合語法。在教學上,粵語二語教師會用不同辦法去糾正這些偏誤。然而,這種偏誤卻未能從前人的論述中找到合理解釋。本文回顧一些粵語與現代漢語的研究,有研究指出漢語量詞的使用可能受語言的運用和語體的選擇所影響(年玉萍 2008;李華 2010;袁暉 2010)。本文提出一個假設:句子成份的語體的一致性會影響句子的語法。以剛才所引兩句為例:量詞 "名"和 "位"所屬語體的正式度與名詞 "女仔", "男人"和 "人"的語體正式度不配,由於學習者將不同正式度的成份放在同一句子中,導致句子不能接受或不合語法。為証實這個假設,我們在香港進行了一次調查研究,邀請粵語母語使用者就含不同名詞短句的句子進行評分,從分析調查結果來驗證 "數-量-名"結構語體的一致性與句子的可接受程度和合法性是否相關。

本文提出以下論點:(一)張伯江(2007),馮勝利(2010)等學者指現代漢語有不同的語體,語言成份的語體不一,語法亦有差異,我們認為粵語也是一樣:量詞以及與之相關的指示詞、數詞、名詞等亦有不同的語體。(二)句子各成份的語體不一致,會減低句子的可接受程度,甚至令句子變得不合語法。(三)量詞的語體不同,它們的語法限制亦會相異。

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## 內地傳入之縮略語:香港學生對其在港廣泛使用之態度

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近年內地縮略語(或稱簡寫、縮寫)大量湧港,政府、媒體、商界及網路各界都廣泛使用。例如「客戶服務」縮寫為「客服」;「公共交通」縮寫為「公交」;「質量檢測」縮寫為「質檢」;「失去聯絡」縮寫為「失聯」;以及「打擊假冒」縮寫為「打假」等。無庸置疑,使用這些新興縮略語一定比沿用的全寫更經濟方便。然而,近年來,香港之本土意識愈趨高漲,愈來愈多香港人希望捍衛香港本土的文化及語言(廣東話)。同時,有部分香港人,尤其是年輕一輩及大專生,對內地文化及內地人皆感覺負面。香港報章更曾報道有港人稱這些內地傳港的縮寫語為「蝗語」及「匪語」,貶義甚濃。因此,本文旨在探討不同程度的年輕香港學生,對於這些內地傳入、並在港廣泛使用的縮略語(下稱「內地縮寫」)的態度,到底確實如報章所報道的如此反感,還是會因其便捷,及受到周遭語境耳濡目染下欣然接受。

數據搜集方面,本文通過問卷調查,以不記名方式派發給不同程度的香港學生,收回後再將有關數據進行比較分析。受訪之學生會分為四組: (1)初中學生; (2)高中學生; (3)非學位程度大專生;以及(4)學位程度大專生。派出之問卷總數為400份,分佈為每組100份,當中男女生各50份。內容會問及受訪者對於「內地縮寫」之接受程度、喜惡程度以及自身使用情況等,從而探討香港學生對這些「內地縮寫」的實際態度。同時,也會研究性別、出生地、政治取態等因素對是次研究結果的影響。

## 广东从化粤语的「VP- 磨」式问句

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#### 一、从化粤语的"VP-磨"问句形式

普通话疑问句类型有是非问、特指问、选择问、反复问等四种。在广州话里,反复问句通常使用"V-Neg-V(O)"式,而在从化粤语里,更常使用的是"VP-磨"式。"磨"念作阳平调,音为 mo<sup>22</sup>。例如:(1)你去磨?(你去不去?)(2)你返屋企磨?(你回不回家?)从化粤语的"VP-Neg"式都可以转换成广州话的正反问形式"V-Neg-V(O)"式,例如:(3)你知道磨?——你知唔知道呀?(4)你记得磨?——你记得唔记呀?(5)你有打佢磨?——你有冇打佢呀?从化粤语的"VP-磨"式后还可以带上语气词,对应于广州话的正反问形式,例如:(6)楼下有人磨呢?——楼下有冇人呢?

#### 二、从化粤语"VP-磨"问句的类属划分

从化粤语的"VP- 磨"问句形同是非问句形式,但语义和功能分布上与是非问句相异,主要有以下两点:

- 1. 从化粤语的"VP- 磨"问句的"磨"是否定词,是非问句使用"VP- 咩"式,"咩"是语气词。"VP- 磨"问句对应于广州话或普通话的"V-Neg-V(O)"式,"VP- 咩"式对应于广州话"VP- 咩"式或普通话的"VP- 吗"式。例如:
  - (7) 你返屋企磨?——你返唔返屋企?——\*你返屋企?
  - (8) 你返屋企咩?——你返屋企咩?——你回家吗?
- "VP- 磨"问句的"磨"是否定词,不可省略。是非问句省略语气词"咩",可以通过提高语调补偿,"你返屋企?"句式成立。据吴福祥(1997),否定词也不能进入"VP-Neg"句式,如从化粤语"\*你唔返屋企磨?",此句不成立,可见"磨"仍然具有否定功能,不可与另一否定词"唔"相容。
- 2. 从化粤语"VP-磨"问句的疑问指向于"VP",不同于是非问对整个命题的疑问。 陆俭明(2013)指出,现代汉语口语里有个表追究性疑问语气的副词"到底"(书面语用"究竟"),它在语义指向上有个特点,那就是它一定而且只能指向是在的疑问成分。

譬如,在北京话里,"到底"不能用于是非问句,不管句末有没有疑问语气词"吗",因为是非问句的语段成分里不含有实指的疑问成分,例如"\*你到底去吗?"或者"\*这桔子到底甜吗?"。它只用于"非是非问句",包括特指问句、选择问句和反复问句。从化粤语的"VP-磨"问句使用表追究性疑问语气副词"到底"或"究竟"进行验证,句式成立,例如"你到底(究竟)返屋企磨?","到底(究竟)"的追究疑问语气指向于"返屋企",据此可排除"VP-磨"问句为是非问句。因此,从化粤语"VP-磨"问句应划分为"VP-Neg"式反复问句。

#### 三、"VP-Neg"问句的分布和来源

"VP-Neg"式反复问句在粤语中见于阳江和五邑等地。在宁夏、陕西、山西等地方言中也存在。普通话中有"他来不"的用法。古代汉语中,"VP-Neg"问句是较早出现的反复问句形式,也是占绝对优势的反复问句形式(游汝杰)。"VP-Neg"反复问句在唐宋文献中很常见。例如:"肯访浣花老翁无?"(杜甫诗),"今日池边识我无?"(白居易诗),"其披发人又问云:"的实有文字照验无?"(《乙卯入国奏请》)。据此推测,从化粤语的"VP-Neg"问句应为古代汉语"VP-Neg"式反复问句的保留。

## 粵語和普通話中的「先」的句法特點對比淺析

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粵語中的「先」有兩個基本位置,分別為動詞前和動詞後。動詞前的「先」又分為兩種情況,如例(1)中有兩個同為在動詞前的「先」字,「先」」表示時間、吹序上的先後,與普通話「起初」或「開頭」的含義相近;而「先」」則大致與普通話中的「才」相對應,表示判斷,是一種強調的語氣,在(1)中強調話中所指的那個的人是經過了前面所做的買早餐的動作才去上學,而非是平時的一般上學的步驟。

(1) 佢先,去買早餐,後尾先。去返學噶。(他先去買早餐,然後才去上學。)

動詞後的「先」則又分為兩種情況,一為例 2a 中的「先」表示一種時間軸上動作執行的必然先後,這與前面所提的「先」」相近,本文討論時將之同併為「先」」做討論,在(2a)中分析為後置狀語。而從(2b)看,另一種在動詞後句末的「先3」己逐漸虛化,不擔任實際含義,只在句子中加強疑問、要求說明等語氣之用。

(2) a. 你同我講定先。(你先和我說好。) b. 係咪咁先。?(是不是這樣?)

本文試圖從「先」在句子里的位置說起,與普通話相對比,分析其句法特點,並得出結論:相比起普通話裡「先」的句法位置,在粵語中,「先3」在句法結構中處於較高層次,「先2」次之,「先1」與普通話的「先」同處於較低層次。同時從「跨域分析」的角度來說,「先3」、「先2」處於言域,而「先1」處於行域。另外兩個及多個「先」無法存在於同一個句子中。雖然「先3」已逐漸虛化成句末助詞,從語義上「先1」和「先3」可以同時存在於同一個句子中,並構成框式結構,但實際在句法上這兩個「先1並不能組成短語。

## 粤語句末助詞中的「添」

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關於粵語作為助詞"添"的語法研究,前人已有不少成果。比較一致的看法是"添" 表示增加義和表達強調、誇張的語氣。"添"一般被認為是助詞,通常位於句末。例如:

- (1) 你食一碗添。(你多吃一碗。)
- (2) 佢唔只肥過你,仲高過你添! (他不只比你胖,還比你高!)
- (3) 落雨添。(居然下雨了!)
- (4) 我仲估你唔翻黎添。(我還以為你不回來呢。)

上述的"添"被分析為助詞,但是它們的語義和用法卻不盡相同。(1)的"添"表示多,意味著數量的增加。張洪年(1972/2007)、袁家驊(1960/2001)和高華年(1980)等的大多數語法專著提出這種用法。(2)的用法稍有不同,這個"添"有進一步擴充的意思,表遞進關係,李新魁等(1995)認為是"進層助詞",有"額外增加"的意思(梁仲森,2005)。

本文認為, "添"實際上有兩個。上述的"添"是添 1,表"數量增加、程度加強"義。(3)(4)的添 2 表達語氣,已不表增加義,主要表達強調、誇張,意料之外的語氣。(3)有強調、誇張的語氣(詹伯慧,2004),引起聽者注意。而(4)有驚訝的語氣,句子所述的情況是意想不到的新現象(梁仲森,2005),和預設有異(鄧思穎,2015)。

一般來說, "添 "經常和 "埋", "仲" "以為" 搭配使用,在同一句中共現。值得注意的是, "仲……添"中的"添"已經虛化,不帶增加義,表達"增加"的意思由"仲"來承擔(張慶文,2008)。類似的情況還有"添"和"再" "又"共現的句子。

"添"可以和多個助詞連用。例如:

- (7) 落雨添啊!
- (8) 你話最多拖多個零月添既咋吖嘛。
- (9) 我會買多一份報紙添既喇。
- (10) 你仲講一次添吖嗱。

"添"可以和哪些助詞連用?和不同的助詞連用時,有何意義和形式的異同?"添"的使用有何句法上的限制?當助詞連用時,語義的重點在哪個助詞上?這些是本文有待探討的問題。

本文討論的重點是用來表達語氣、不表增加義的"添",補充前人研究之不足,探討"添"語義和功能,以及句法特點。

過去的文獻多數著重討論"添"的"數量增加、擴充範圍、程度加強"之義,然而對於"添"不作"增加"義的語氣詞用法只是稍作提及,討論"添"的句法特點的文獻實在不多。因此,粵語"添"的語法特點仍然值得繼續研究和發掘。

本文的結構如下:我們首先描述"添2"的語法特點,然後探討"添"的共現成分, 特殊結構,和助詞連用。第二節是過去的研究,第三節"添"的語義和功能,第四節是 "添"的語法特點,第五節是"添"的特殊結構,包括共現成分和助詞連用等。

## 有冇搞错——粤、普「有」结构对比初探

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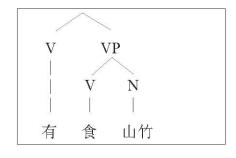
如下表所示, '有 +V'结构是粤语语法的一个特色,使用相当普遍,不但见于句子中,也出现于复合词、动补结构中。

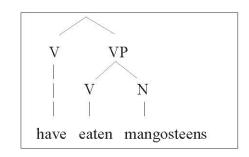
	粤语	普通话
'有 +VP'	我有食山竹, 冇食榴莲。	'我吃了山竹,没吃榴莲。'
四音连绵词	有倾有讲 有借有还	? 有商有量
'有得 +V'	有得食,有得玩。	'有吃的,有玩的。'

普通话的'有+V'结构只出现在否定句里,在肯定句里已经消失了;但'有没有+VP'的形式仍然存在。这揭示着粤、普之间'有+V'结构的使用差异是其在普通话里应用范围缩小造成的。近来由于南方方言的影响,普通话也借用了一些'有+V'结构,比如'有商有量'和在肯定句里使用的'有+VP'。

'有+V'结构虽然在粤语里经常使用,但在'有得+V'和四音连绵词里,这种结构受到一定语义上的限制,比如\*'有得讲'、\*'有得喊';\*'有帮有忙'、\*'有打有骂'等等并没有违反语法结构,但却不可使用。

在 '有 + VP' 结构里, '有'的作用是标记动作的发生,从而引伸出完成体,所以是个虚词。然而,在句法上'有'即便作为虚词,它还是担负起中心词的角色。这一点跟英语里从'有'动词 (verb-to-have) 虚化成标记完成式的助动词是一致的,即:





换言之,粤语的'有+V'结构不管是在复合词或是句子里,它始终保持着中心词的地位。在这一点上,普通话与之截然不同。也许正是因为普通话不容许虚化的'有'继续充当中心词,最终,'有+V'结构在普通话里只有部分残存。

## 粵語句末助詞 gE2 的語義和語義變化

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粵語句末助詞"嘅 (ge2)"按照音長與調型的不同,一般分為兩種,即短而急升的 ge2 與長而緩升的 ge2(以下把後者記作 "gE2",以示區別)。其中,對於 gE2 的語義或功能,以往研究的看法大致可以分成以下兩種。(一)表示不肯定 (uncertainty) 或保留 (reservation)(Kwok1984,Matthews and Yip1994,Fung2000),又或者表示語氣的轉折(梁仲森 1992),例如:<u>你條橋應該得 gE2</u>,不過唔好太心急喎。(Your idea should be okay, but don't be too hasty.) (Matthews and Yip1994:350)(二)加強肯定(李新魁等 1995,方小燕 2003)或提供解釋(offering explanation) (Fung2000)。例如:<u>我應該去gE2</u>。(我是應該去的。)(方小燕 2003:130)

雖然這兩種定義可以解釋大部份實例,但是兩者表示的語義彼此相差甚遠,例如"表不肯定"與"加強肯定",其表達的意思幾乎完全相反。為什麼一個句末助詞 gE2 會產生出兩種截然不同的語義?換言之,這兩種語義之間到底有什麼聯繫?另外,這兩種語義產生的先後關係或演變機制又是如何呢?以往研究對這些問題還缺乏合理的解釋。

本次報告將從共時層面就上述問題作出新的解釋,指出 gE2 本來的語義是,表示說話者提出的觀點與(聽話者)設想的命題發生衝突(大致上相當於"加強肯定"用法)。後來,經過語義變化,gE2 又發展出另外一種語義,即:表示說話者提出的觀點暗示與其發生衝突的命題的存在(相當於"保留"或"轉折"用法)。可以認為,此類語義變化體現出一種從人際功能(interpersonal function(聽話者指向 hearer-oriented))到語篇功能(texual function)的演變發展(Heine et.al.1991)。

## 有關「語調-(句末)語氣詞假説」中的幾個問題

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"句末語氣詞可以分析為語調的一種變體";換言之,語調 (intonation) 和句末語氣詞 (SFP) 是句標短語 (CP) 層面上同一機制產生不同結果(馮 2015)。這一假說提出後立刻引起了人们的關注和討論,其中也出现了一些疑問和誤解。本文即討論這一假說引發出的幾個問題,其中包括(但不限於):

- (1)「大波浪與小波浪(代數和)說」(字調和語調的關係)和「橡皮筋說」(字 調和句重音)之間的關係問題;
- (2)無聲調語言中也有句末語氣詞的現象問題:如 Chaha 語(Li 2000)中的語調和句末語氣詞的變異現象,以及對該現象解釋的理論意義和闡發;
- (3)甲骨文中的句末語氣詞問題。如甲骨文專家之間爭論 'ễ' 和 '執" 能否解讀 為疑問語氣詞以及甲骨文中句末語氣詞的系統問題;
  - (4)有關上古漢語史上"聲調和句末語氣同步發展"的問題;
- (5)有關解讀 260 種語言中聲調系統和疑問語調考察的數位結果:96.9%的支持率與 3.1%的反對率解讀和分析問題。

再此基礎上,文章指出:目前討論聲調、語調和語氣詞之間相關的原理时人們仍存在理解上一些偏差(譬如  $F^0$  的功能和句首 (CP)、句末 (CP)、句中 (=IP) 語氣詞的關係)、甚至誤解(語調、聲調的不同以及聲調調值的高低升降和基頻變化的重疊交錯以及難解難分的融合問題)。

最後,文章認為"句末語氣詞=語調變體"這一假說還將在將來不斷促發新的、有 待深入研究的問題,而不同的韻律音系系統和語調、聲調、語氣詞之間的不同關係和作 用,則是諸多問題之中最重要和最亟待研究的新問題。

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## 粵語方言後置副詞「添」的來源與形成

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在不少粵語方言裡,「添加」義動詞「添」能出現在動詞短語後,表「類同行為的 累加」(參考劉丹青 2013),大概相當於北京話的「再」:

- (1) 早期粵語: 捭的牛乳落我杯茶添。('put a little more milk into my tea') (Bridgman 1841)
- (2) 廣州粵語: 睇一陣添先走。(再多看一會兒才走。)(詹伯慧 1958)
- (3) 新會(荷塘)粵語:你飲多碗湯添[thiem<sup>24</sup>]啦。(你多喝一湯吧。)
- (4) 南寧粵語: 畀多我雨蚊銀<u>添</u> [thim<sup>55</sup>]。(再多給我雨塊錢。)(林亦, 覃鳳余 2008)

這種狀語後置的現象,很容易使人聯想到或許與粵語的壯侗語底層有關(如 Peyraube 1997; 張振興 2003; Matthews 2006 等)。可惜迄今為止,還沒有人對此作過詳細的論證。根據我們的理解,粵語方言選擇用「添」做後置副詞,不單涉及語言接觸,還經歷了語法化,情況比較複雜。本文首先考察與「添」相應的詞(標記為 'ADD')如何在壯侗語中由動詞語法化為頻率副詞,然後從「複製語法化」(replica grammaticalization, cf. Heine & Kuteva 2005)的視角切入,討論在壯侗語的影響下、這個粵語方言的後置副詞是怎麼樣形成的。

原始台語 (Proto-Tai)「添加」義動詞的形式是 \*tʰɛɛm^¹ (Li 1977),明顯就是漢語借詞「添」(另參曾曉渝主編 2010)。這個詞在現代不少壯語方言、傣語和水語裡已經語法化為頻率副詞,有「再次」的意思。和其他頻率副詞一樣,這個來源於 \*tʰɛɛm²¹ 的詞也是後置的:

- (5) 都安壯語:te<sup>1</sup> lei<sup>4</sup> jak<sup>7</sup> kum<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>6</sup> çe<sup>3</sup> <u>term</u><sup>1</sup> (3SG-also-ready-eat-elder sister-ADD)「她 還想吃掉姐姐。」(張均如等 1999)
- (6) 景洪傣語:?au¹ tsin⁴ ma² **tʰe³** (take-meat-come-ADD)「再拿肉來!」(羅美珍 2008)
- (7) 水利水語:li<sup>55</sup> he<sup>54</sup> ia<sup>55</sup> **t<sup>h</sup>iem**<sup>12</sup> (Li-be-also-ADD)「李也是如此。」(李方桂 2008)

由於 ADD 在大範圍的台語支語言中已經語法化為頻率副詞,因此估計語法化在語言 分以前已經發生。接下去我們會論證:粵語方言「添」的副詞功能是直接從壯侗語那裡 遷移 (transfer) 過去的。這主要建基於相關語言的地理分佈(包括其他漢語方言)、已知的 語言關係,還有副詞「添」出現的語法格式及限制。遷移的過程屬複製語法化,由雙語人/多語人達成。語法化發生的時候,粵語選擇用「添」來跟壯侗語的 \*tʰɛɛm^¹ 做匹配,箇中原因非常明顯,因為壯侗語的 \*tʰɛɛm^¹ 根本就是漢語借詞,雙語/多語使用者應該不難留意到這一點。

「添」在粵語中由於出現在句末,容易和語氣詞等發生相互影響,往往會進一步語法化。例如香港粵語的「添」可以做語氣詞,既有「祈使、希望、請求」的意思,也能「表示驚訝、強調或誇張的語氣」(黎美鳳 2003; 鄧思穎 2015 等)。這些功能相信都是由後置副詞語法化而來的。

## 多模态粤语语音数据库建设探论

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现代语音学研究已逐步进入多元化和多模态研究的阶段,语料库语言学亦已进入多模态语料库语言学时代,设计并构建多模态粤语语音数据库是适应新时代粤语语音研究的必然要求。粤语语音的多模态研究是一项基于多学科交叉的创新型研究,需综合运用方言学、现代语音学、言语工程学、嗓音生理学、声乐学以及计算机科学等学科的理论和方法来展开研究。建立多模态粤语语音语料库是开展粤语语音多模态研究的前提和基础。

鉴于之前已经建好的粤语语音数据库都是单一信号来源的声学信号库,论文重点讨论基于多种信号类型的多模态粤语语音数据库库的构建。本数据库利用胸腹呼吸带、喉头仪(EGG)、麦克风、高清数码录像机,在录音室里同步录制粤语广州话的单音节、多音节、句子、不同文体短文、口语和艺术语言等语料的语音、视频、嗓音、胸腹呼吸信号,并记录发音人的相关信息。我们录制的数据主要有视频图像信号、声学信号和生理信号三大类型,处理的时候把视频图像信号单独进行处理,声学和生理信号则使用自己开发的软件来同步进行处理。因为数据采集完在存档的时候已经利用时间进行了同步,因此最后这三大类型的信号都可以通过时间来进行关联。数据处理之后我们会开发专门的检索软件,检索软件主要设置的检索条件有:性别(男女)、年龄(老中青)、参数类型等,可以按要求输出符合条件的 wav 语音文件、声学参数、嗓音参数、呼吸参数、文本、图像等信息。

建设多模态粤语语音数据库对促进粤语语音学及相关学科的发展具有重要的理论意义和应用价值。数据库所采集的胸腹呼吸数据、嗓音数据以及唇形数据将大大推进粤语语音的生理研究,并有利于生理研究跟声学研究的结合。数据库中的视频和语音数据对推进粤语言语交际、话语分析及相关的辅助语言研究将会起到重要的作用。多模态的语音数据有利于提升粤语语音识别的效率以及语音合成的自然度,促进言语工程相关领域的进步。针对多模态粤语语音数据库而开发的相关技术不仅有利于粤语语音的基础研究,对粤语口传文化的保护和传承也是一种促进。最后,多模态粤语语音数据库所提供的资源和信息不仅可以运用到粤语语音研究本身,还可以运用到言语工程、粤语教学、言语治疗和康复、话语分析、声乐教学等相关领域,这有利于粤语研究跟中文信息处理、病理治疗与康复、声乐、言语工程等学科的交流与融合。

# 二十世紀九十年代中期香港報章副刊中之粵語成分

### 黄得森、梁慧敏、李楚成

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本研究旨在以「香港一九九零年代中期報章副刊語料庫」(下稱「語料庫」)作為研究材料,聚焦於其中之粵語成分,並以黃仲鳴(2002)、石定栩等(2014)之研究為基礎,作為首個對「港式中文」和「三及第」的量化研究。

自白話文運動以來,香港報章的主要篇幅皆以白話文為主體,然而副刊卻間中夾雜廣州話詞彙,粵語語法亦偶爾滲透其中。從文學角度看,白話夾雜方言之傳統實際上由來已久,宋詞中已屢見不鮮,而在現代漢語史中亦不乏例子,遠者有魯迅及茅盾之名著,近者則有王朔和陸文夫之作品,多見於小說與散文中(石定栩等 2014:4-5)。於粵語區中,白話、文言、方言兼有之文章,早見於四十年代廣州出版的報章,而六十年代以前之香港報紙亦甚為流行(王亭之 2006)。這種地方色彩非常明顯之文體,最早見於由招子庸(1828)所撰之《粵謳》中,一般稱為「三及第」。然而,隨着文言沒落,英語日益普及,更取代文言融入副刊中,有人稱這種文體為「新三及第」,本研究之對象正正就是此類文體。

「語料庫」含九百多篇副刊專欄文章,主題包括時事評論、政治分析、流行文化及 社會熱點,共約五十八萬字,當中約十分之一已完成語法標註,材料主要來源包括《香 港經際日報》、《信報》以及《明報》。是研究發現,於整個語料庫中,約出現三千多 個不同之粵語詞,共計二萬四千字,佔整個語料庫之百分之四,最常見之詞及詞綴有以 下幾類:

虚詞:係(2%)、唔(2%)、嘅(2%)、亦(1%)、冇(1%)、咗(0.4%)、未(0.2%)

代詞: 佢(1%)、咁(0.9%)、乜(0.3%)、點解(0.3%)、佢地/佢哋(0.5%)

動詞:話(0.8%)、睇(0.5%)、飲(0.3%)、食(0.3%)、畀/俾(0.3%)、嚟(0.2%)

詞綴:仔(0.5%)

名詞:老闆 (0.4%)、孖襟 (0.4%)、嘢 (0.4%)、結他 (0.3%)、枱 (0.3%)、師奶 (0.2%)

量詞:啲(0.3%)

定詞:今(0.2%)

例句:

一架車有四條匙 (一輛車有四條鑰匙)

搵多少外快幫補家計都唔定 (說不定是賺一些外快幫補家計)

當中虛詞佔優、實詞亦不少,此類詞語中也包含不少常見之文言詞,如:係、亦、未、飲、食、俾、若果、奈何、卒(之)。這種語文表達,和兩岸使用的文體存在著差異,用標準語言的尺度來量度固然不算規範,但由於這類副刊糅雜著大量粵語元素,用法接近口語,對於我們觀察「三及第」文體的特點卻是不能忽視的重要窗口。

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# 香港粵語[I]、[v]元音音值的實驗分析

### 黄韻瑜、何丹鵬、萬波

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粵語「鷹益甕屋」等音節的元音音值,學者們有的記作次高元音  $\mathbf{I}$  (鷹  $\mathbf{j}$   $\mathbf{m}$  益  $\mathbf{j}$   $\mathbf{k}$ ) 和  $\mathbf{v}$  (甕  $\mathbf{v}$   $\mathbf{m}$   $\mathbf{g}$   $\mathbf{v}$   $\mathbf{k}$ ) ,如袁家驊等 2001、北大中文系 2003,張洪年 2007;有的記作半高元音  $\mathbf{e}$  (鷹  $\mathbf{j}$   $\mathbf{m}$   $\mathbf{m}$   $\mathbf{j}$   $\mathbf{k}$ ) 和  $\mathbf{v}$   $\mathbf{m}$   $\mathbf{g}$   $\mathbf{k}$   $\mathbf{k}$   $\mathbf{m}$   $\mathbf{k}$   $\mathbf{$ 

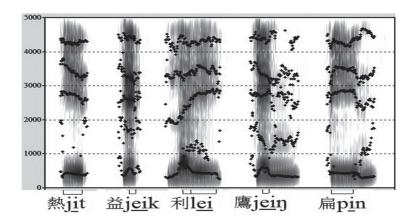
兩種記法的共同點在於認為音節的元音部分(即韻腹)是單元音,這與我們的語音聽感和發音體驗有所不同。仔細體察發音過程,我們認為所謂的單元音應是有動程的短促複元音 ěǐ、ŏǔ(國際音標用上加符號「`」表示發音特短)。而對《現代漢語方言音庫·香港話音檔》裡相關音節的實驗分析則初步證實了我們的看法。

附圖為《香港話音檔》裡「熱益利鷹扁」等音節的共振峰對比圖。圖中「益jěǐk」的 F1 前半段由低到高,反映舌位由高到低,即由j 到 ě 的動程;而 F1 後半段由高到低,反映舌位由低到高,即由 ě 到 ǐ 的動程,這個動程的時長非常短,說明其為短促的複元音。比較「利 lěi:」的 F1,聲母 l 之後迅速由高到底,反映舌位迅速由低到高(即由 ě 到 i:),這一過程與「益 jěǐk」裡 ěǐ 的動程十分一致;但之後其 F1 基本成水平線,反映舌位高低沒有變化,是一個長元音 i:;將其與「熱 ji:t」和「扁 pi:n」中的長元音 i: 比較,可以看出三者非常一致。再看「鷹 jěǐn」的 F1,鼻音尾前面的部分基本與「益 jěǐk」一致,只是頂部比「益 jěǐk」稍平,說明 ě 的發音稍長,但總體來看二者 ěǐ 的時長沒有差別,都屬於非常短促的複元音。對「麥屋都甕朋」音節的實驗分析也說明「甕屋」的元音音值為短促複元音 ŏǔ。

但《香港話音檔》相關音節數量有限,且只有一人發音,為排除個人發音特色的偶發性因素,同時鑑於所討論問題牽涉到粵語元音音位的數量、格局乃至音節結構構成方式等諸多重大問題,本文特此進行專項調查研究。我們將分別在老、中、青、少四個不同年齡層選取香港本地男女各一人,合共8個發音人進行調查錄音,然後再作實驗語音分析,以確定香港粵語「英益、甕屋」音節元音的實際音值。

目前調查已經展開,初步調查分析結果與前述「單元音  $\mathbf{I} \cdot \mathbf{v}$  實為複元音  $\mathbf{\check{e}i} \cdot \mathbf{\check{o}u}$ 」的看法吻合,最終調查研究結果將在會議報告。

# 附圖:



# 粵語複合助詞的研究:以「得噪」為例

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鄭定歐(1997:361)把「得噪」(daklgaa2)整體分析為語氣詞,指出它表示「本來應該做某事而沒有做(含輕微責備義)」,如例(1)。歐陽偉豪(2008:173-175)雖然沒指明詞性,但他把「得噪」與「係啦」、「定啦」聯繫在一起討論,指出它們都是〔動詞+句末助詞〕的組合,而「得噪」有「理應、應該」之意,見例(2)。除了以上的描述之外,過去有關句末「得噪」的分析非常罕見。為此,本文將集中探討「得噪」的語法屬性、語義功能、句法特點,並嘗試揭示其句法結構,豐富複合助詞的分析。

從兩個典型的複合助詞「罷啦」(baa2laa1)、「係啦」(hai2laa1)(張洪年2007)的語法特點,本文歸納了幾項複合助詞的特徵,並認為「得噪」同屬此類:

- 1. 「複合助詞」的兩個成分只能連用,不能分拆,見例(3);
- 2. 「複合助詞」的兩個成分之間不容許其他成分插入,見例(4);
- 3. 「複合助詞」中兩個成分之間存在特定的關係,並不是任意的配搭,見例(5);
- 4. 「複合助詞」中的謂詞性成分已失去典型動詞的特徵,如例(6),動詞「得」 必須受副詞「先」(才)修飾,但例(7)中的「得」則不一定受上述副詞修飾。

在語義功能方面,「得嚟」既含有謂詞性成分「得」所表達的「行、成、可以」的意思,也含有功能性成分「嚟」(gaa2)所表達的「說話者的假設與現實不符」的意味,我們主張這些語義透過隱喻投射從行域延伸到言域,令「得嚟」具有三種用法:第一,表示祈使,要求聽話者進行話語中所指的動作行為,如例(3);第二,用於疑問,希望對方先回答問題,如例(4);第三,用於告知或提醒,如例(5)。

在句法特點方面,「得嚟」既可以與動態謂語共現(3),也可以與靜態謂語共現(5);它可以出現在祈使句(3)、疑問句(4)、感嘆句(5),但不能出現在陳述句(8)(如果出現在陳述句,「得」是真正的動詞謂語,「嚟」是單音節語氣詞);它可以與表示時間的助詞「未」共現,但不能與表示語氣的助詞「呢」共現,如例(9)。

本文將以上述分析為基礎,進一步揭示複合助詞的句法結構,釐清「複合」的概念。

- (1) 你同佢講聲得來。(你本應跟他打個招呼。) (鄭定歐 1997: 361)
- (2) 我生日你唔同我慶祝,都要寄翻個短訊畀我<u>得來</u>。(我生日你不跟我慶祝,也要給我發個短訊才行。)(歐陽偉豪 2008: 174)
- (3) 咪郁嚟郁去得架!/\*咪郁嚟郁去得!(別亂動!)
- (4) 兩個都長頭髮,邊個得來?/\*邊個得添來?(兩個都是長頭髮的,你到底說誰?)
- (5) 佢點會嚟吖,佢幾忙得架/\*呀/\*喎/\*蟠/\*啩!(他怎麼會來呢,他多忙啊!)
- (6) 我要飲杯水先得。/\*我要飲杯水得(我要喝一杯開水才行。)
- (7) (兩個都長頭髮,)邊個(先) 得來?(兩個都是長頭髮的,你到底說誰?)
- (8) #唔係唔想食,我食得落先得來。(不是不想吃,我吃得下才行啊。)
- (9) 你做完未(\*呢)得唻(\*呢)?(到底你做完了沒有?)

# 「狀態 / 程度副詞」的短語結構 ——及其與體標記互涉在吳粵方言體系中的比較

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本文旨在通過方言點比較,整理吳粵方言的「狀態(結果)/程度副詞」和體標記的關係,其分佈不同。例如,粵語可能補語的後置副詞有慣用的模式。粵語「V得·····」作為可能補語,表示能力,多以副詞後置作為補語,如「做得『返』」。相對而言,普通話的語序是「(可以)(重頭)做得到」。至於吳語,「好V」、「(可以)V了則」、「V則到」,後者是出現類似普通話的語序;然而,也有獨特的句法,在這裡「則」便不緊附著動詞,不是後綴(Verbal particle)。跟粵語動詞後綴不同,吳語方言「則」,除了作為動詞後綴表完成式外,更是句子層面的成分(Clitics)。雖然不能全部單字對譯漢語方言中的虛詞,但是對句子構造、語氣層面的觀察仍具有意義。

- (1) 瞓緊笑醒咗。
- (2) \* 瞓緊嗰囉喎, 笑醒咗嗰囉喎。
- (3) 睏著則笑覺則。
- (4) 睏著則的囉,笑覺則的囉。

粵語的「得」、「到」分別是狀態(結果)和程度的副詞,表示補語,本文旨在辨出 另外隱含的虛詞(如連接詞)。粵語例句:

- (5) 「你一日淨係□ (/jat<sup>8</sup>/) 一塊餅,你都得嘞。」
- (6) 「你一日淨係□一塊餅,你(成仙)都得嘞。」
- (7) 「你一日淨係□一塊餅,你都成得仙嘞。」(狀態副詞「得」=as if)
- (8) \*「你而家一日淨係□一塊餅,你都成到仙嘞。」(you have became a supernatural being)
- (9) \*「你一日淨係□一塊餅,你都成得到仙嘞。」(you can become a supernatural being)

對於狀態述補結構「V得OC」的句子是屬於「主謂結構 [[V得O]C]」還是「述補結構」,歷來的見解不同。趙元任、片岡新主前說;朱德熙、C.-T. James Huang 主後說。 更有意見認為「V得OC」是連動結構,曹廣順從歷時研究解釋為「[V][得OC]」,「得」的詞性便為動詞,如例(10)(12)。其他兩例是是歧義出現在「V得」表示權限、能力範圍的句子,出現對兩個動作狀態的描述。

- (10)[我攤][e 得本書走]。(我攤某東西,我獲得「本書走」的結果。)
- (11) [我攞得 ] 本書走 ]。(I can take something; meanwhile, the book goes away.)
- (12) [我[攞得[本書]][走]]。(I can take the book, then I leave. (May not leave with the book.))
- (13) [ 我 [[[ 攞得 ] 走 ] 本書 ]]。(I can take away the book.)

在吳語「搿本書我攞則走」、「搿本書我攞走則」中,體標記「則」,或在前加上的副詞「好(可以)」都不能如上述粵語例子的歧義。這是粵語的獨色,較其他方言的情態體系複雜而豐富。本文不擬考據粵語「得」、「到」與吳語「著」的語法化歷程,反而從共時比較,著眼於構詞的領域。

- (14)[自家噶細佬[打則][罵則]\_\_\_[[一間間e又爹啊娘啲]喊了!]]
- (15) [自己嘅子女 [又打又鬧 ] <u>搞到</u> [[ 陣間 e 又老竇老母係咁 ] 叫架啦! ]]

在例 (15) 中,粤語以施事作主語,因此是施虐者而非小孩「搞到」這般情況。儘管兩句都是描述事情,這裡吳語「則」是動詞後綴,並非粵語「到」的對譯,句子層面「到/以致」的意思是隱含的。因此,吳粵方言體系的句子層級中的虛詞有待整理。

再者,一般很少研究粵語句中的感嘆詞、停頓,本文將借此一併帶出。

肯	程度	V 到 (+ 啊 ) (土 補語)	e.g. 佢係公司做到吖——成 隻狗咁。			
定		V 到 (+ 哇)( ± 補語)	(被動句)	e.g. 佢畀人鬧到哇——成隻 過街老鼠咁。		
	能夠	V 得到 (± 補語) (+ 啊) (+ 主語)	(主格倒裝句)	e.g. 考(得)到滿分啊佢。		

本文只是簡略介紹體標記兼情態體系的漢語研究。

# 粵語「唔好」反問句初探

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本文以香港粵語「唔好」反問句為討論焦點。「唔好」主要的基本功能有二,包括 用以表示事物負面性質,作為形容詞謂語,例如(1);又可用以制止別人的行為,作為 禁止助動詞,例如(2)。以上兩者分別是陳述句和祈使句的用法。

在「唔好」反問用法上,往往涉及兩個行為的比較,以表達出在「唔好」之後的一項 行為比較理想。「唔好」可以置於主語後,例如(3),也可以出現在句末,例如(4)。 「唔好」反問句也可用以突出對方目前的情況已十分過分,語作諷刺,例如(5)。

據此,本文把「唔好」反問句分為「單反問句」和「雙反問句」。例句(3)、(4)中「返屋企瞓陣」在形式上以「唔好」加以否定;意義上卻是肯定該行為比另一比較對象「陪你行街」更有意義,屬「單反問句」。例句(5)中,「去搶」在形式上以「唔好」加以否定,意義卻有表面和深層之分,表層意義上,是「去搶」比另一比較對象「一碗叉燒飯賣一百蚊」更加直截了當,但實際上「去搶」不比「一碗叉燒飯賣一百蚊」更合道德,故屬「雙反問句」。

在語法地位上,本文嘗試探討「唔好」與「唔」(不)問句的「唔」直接對應的可能性,然而「唔」用以直接修飾動作行為;但在「唔好」反問句中,「唔」卻是用以否定「好」,故「唔」和「唔好」並相通。而「好」帶有「應該」之意,故在「唔好」反問句中,「唔好」的「好」或與「應該」對應,但祈使助動詞「好」有特定的應用條件,亦不能以否定詞「唔」所否定,故兩者實不對應。而「唔好」反問句中的「唔好」沒有禁止之意,故也不可能和禁示助動詞「唔好」相通。

因此,本文推斷「唔好」反問句中的「唔好」其實也是形容詞謂語,即由「主謂短語」作主語(例如「我返屋企瞓陣」),「唔好」為謂語,因此「唔好」應存在句末,例如(4);但或可移位到「主謂短語」的謂語位置,例如(3)。

- (1) 佢人品唔好! (他人格不好!)
- (2) 唔好扮睇唔到!(不要裝作看不見!)
- (3) 要我陪你行街,我唔好返屋企瞓陣?(要我跟你逛街,我不回家睡覺?)
- (4) 要我陪你行街,我返屋企瞓陣唔好?(要我跟你逛街,我回家睡覺不好?)
- (5) 一碗叉燒飯賣一百蚊,你唔好去搶?(一碗叉燒飯賣一百元,你不去搶?)

# 粤语和韩国语数量结构语法特征比较

### 金美

#### 厦门大学

本文通过对粤语和韩国语数量结构在语法和修辞上的异同比较,来探索两者的语法特征。文中在粤语和韩国语例句后面的括号里标注有其对应的普通话句子,粤语和韩国语简称"粤韩语"。

#### 1. 粤韩语的数词和量词

#### 1.1 粤韩语的数词

韩国语有两套数词,一是源自本民族的固有词、另一是源自汉语的汉字词,一般分别称为固有数词和汉字数词。韩国语百位以下的数字既可用汉字数词,也可用固有数词,但是百位以上的数字都得用汉字数词。由于汉字数词无论是语音上(除了韩国语无声调)还是构词上与粤语均有更多相近甚至相同之处,故本文使用韩国语的汉字数词来进行如下粤韩数词中基数词的异同对比。下表是本文所列粤语数词和韩国语汉字数词的基数词结构对照表(粤语按粤拼及国际音标,韩国语按韩文及国际音标,以后完成的本论文全文将在粤韩语后全都附上对应的国际音标)。

数	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
粤	jat7	ji6	saam1	sei3	ng5	luk9	cat7	baat8	gau2	sap9
韩	il	i	sam	sa	О	luk	ts'il	p'al	ku	sip
	일	०]	삼	사	오	육	칠	팔	구	십
数	11	20	21	30	40	50	60	70	80	90
粤	sap9	ji6	20+	saam1	sei3	ng5	luk9	cat7	baat8	gau2
	jat7	sap9	jat7	sap9	sap9	sap9	sap9	sap9	sap9	sap9
韩	십일	이십	이십일	삼십	사십	오십	육십	칠십	팔십	구십
数	100	101	125	150	200	201	250	1000	1500	2000
粤	baak3	jat7	jat7	baak3	ji6	ji6	ji6	cin1	cin1	ji6
		baak3	baak3	ng5	baak3	baak3	baak3		ng5	cin1
		ling4	jaa6			ling4	ng5			
		jat7	ng5			jat7				
韩	pek	Pek	백	백	이백	이백	이백	tsən	천	이천
	백	il	이십	오십		일	오십	천	오백	
		백일	오							

粤语数词和韩国语汉字数词对照表

数	10000	10001	15000	20000	20001	25300	百万	千万	亿	兆
粤	maan6	maan6	maan6	ji6	ji6	ji6	baak3	cin1	jik1	siu6
			ng5	maan6	maan6	maan6	maan6	maan		
					ling4	ng5		6		
					jat7	cin1				
						saam1				
韩	man	man	만	이만	이만	이만	pεk	tsən	∂k	tso
	만	il	오천		일	오천	man	man	억	조
		만일				삼백	백만	천만		

上表中,20至29的数词中,20(ji6 sap9)又可用"廿"(普通话 niàn、粤语 jaa6)来表达;30至39的数词中,30(saam1 sap9)又可用"卅"(普通话 sà、粤语 saa1)来表达。"廿"和"卅"是数字20和30在古代用于记数方面的代用字,"卅"又用于纪年。另有41至99的数词中,"十"又可用"aa3"来代用,如:41表达为"四亚一"(sei3 aa3 jat7)。但40、50、60、70、80和90等整数不变。

从上表可见,韩国语的"一百、一千、一万、一亿"的"一"都可以省略不读,如 一百元称百元,一千元称千元,一万元称万元。

上表还呈现了"0(零)"的表达法,粤语是无论多少个零都用一个零(ling4)来表达。韩国语甚至是无论多少个零都略去不说,前后的数字直接相连,例如:101是用Pekil백일(百一)表达、10001是用 manil 만일(万一)来表达。不过,在念读电话号码、身份证号码和存折等时,零读作"영",其中读电话号码时,现在一般都读成汉字数词"공"。

与上表中粤语数词与韩国语汉字数词的基数词结构相比,粤韩语的序数词也有各自的特点。韩国语的汉字序数词,全是由前置的接头词"利(第)"加上汉字基数词构成,没有例外。如:"利일(第一)"、"利이(第二)"等。固有序数词则除了" 为利(第一)"以外,第二到第十都由固有基数词加后置的接尾词" 州(第)"构成," 州(第)"也可以换成另一个接尾词" 世州(第)"。

粤语的序数词,由前缀(相当于韩国语的接头词)加上基数词构成,如:第一、初 六、卷二等。

其他如略数等,粤韩语也各有特色。如粤语:卅零=三十多、千几=一千多等。

#### 1.2 粤韩语的量词

韩国语的两套数词按一定的规则各自搭配不同的量词。量词虽不像数词那样分两套,但从来源看,也有固有词和汉字词之分。比如使用汉字数词比较多的是:年月日中的的年份、年数(也可用固有数词)、月份、日期和天数(也可用固有数词),时间表达法

中的分、秒,货币单位表达,分数与小数,季度,度数和百分比,倍数(也可用固有数词),等等。

粤韩语量词都有大量古代汉语量词的遗存,因此与汉语普通话比较,都呈现出古雅的特征。如"人"的量词,粤语是"丁",韩国语是"名";韩国语书本的量词是"卷",大炮、机关枪是说"门"……

#### 2. 粤韩语的数量结构

粤韩语数量结构语序都是数词在前、量词在后。

粤语的数量结构突出表现在量词作用大,单用量词来表达数量和指量结构的情况很多,数量结构和指量结构中常常不用数词和指示词。这又可分两类,一类是与普通话一致的,另一类是粤语特有的。例如:

与普诵话一致的:

跳只舞(=跳支舞/跳个舞)、唱只歌(=唱支歌)、买踏楼(=买套房子/买套楼房)、度条桥(=想个妙招)等。

与普通话不一致的又分两类,这两类大都是半封闭的或全封闭的构式,如俗语等。

第一类是无指示词或数词的,是量词直接与被修饰的名词搭配,如:

个天[(那)个老天],得粒仔[=才(一)个儿子],周身刀、冇张利……

第二类是无量词的,是数词直接跟被修饰的名词,如:

国·····一巴(=[打/刮·····一(个)耳光], 俾人打咗一巴(被人打/刮了一(个)耳光], 你掴我一巴、我就闹你一餐, 一雞, 一盤, 一餅······

尤其在一些粤语的特殊句式里,常常单用量词来表达数量结构,比如双宾句。例如:

寄本书俾我/寄俾我本书。(寄一本书给我)

韩国语的数词和量词在数量结构中均衡共现,没有粤语这种量词独用的现象,韩国语的量词不能脱离数词单独使用,必须受到数词或者指代词的限制。

#### 3. 粤韩语数量结构的语法特征

粤韩语在形成了语序为数词在前、量词在后的数量结构后充当修饰语时,粤语基本 上是与普通话一致的"正偏"结构,偶有例外。

韩国语则是与粤语不同的"正偏"结构,被修饰语在前,数量结构在后。

韩国语的两套数词,无论是固有数词还是汉字数词,在形成数量结构进入句子后, 均受到韩国语语法结构的制约。

#### 例如:

개(狗) 한(一) 마리(只) 가 뛰어갔다(跑过去).(一只狗跑过去了。) 사과(苹果) 두(两) 개(个)를 먹었다(吃).(吃了两个苹果。) 자전거(自行车) 한(一) 대(台)를 샀다(买).(买了一辆自行车。)

有学者认为,粤语数量结构中的指示词或数词"一"是零形式,部分居中量词发展为定语标记、部分句首的"个"发展为话语标记。韩国语的情况与粤语有同有异,很值得深入研究。

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# 香港大學生廣州話普通話聲母韻母混淆情況研究

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本文以香港大學學生為研究對象,通過對文科專業本科學生進行筆試及問卷調查,發現他們在廣州話、普通話語音學習中,聲母、韻母出現了有規律的錯誤和混淆情況。

香港自 1997 年之後在中小學推行"兩文三語"(兩文即中文、英文,三語即普通話、廣州話、英語)的語言政策,普通話在香港的地位大為改變,但大部分香港人的普通話能力都僅限於基本的簡單交流,很多情況下不能夠流利使用。參與本研究的香港大學在校本科生,均是香港政府推行"兩文三語"語言政策下完成中小學教育的學生,因此他們的普通話狀況,能夠較準確地反映出香港地區普通話教育水準和普通話教育的推行情況。

研究發現,香港大學生由於以廣州話為母語,廣州話對普通話學習的負遷移作用很明顯,尤其是表現在語音方面。比如對於粵語中沒有而在普通話中出現的聲母,讀音出錯幾率較高;粵普互譯中,送氣與不送氣聲母出現混淆,塞音、擦音、塞擦音出現混淆;由於粵語韻母沒有介音的緣故,遷移到普通話韻母的時候,會出現由於忽略介音而犯的錯誤;普通話韻母四呼之間出現混淆。同時,筆者發現,學生學習普通話的時間與學習效果不能成正比,往往學習時間很長卻不能得到很好的學習效果,這主要是由於學習動機消極造成的。並且儘管學生從小學開始就學習普通話拼音系統,但他們對普通話拼音系統並不熟悉,而粵語拼音系統則基本沒有接觸,對標音系統的不熟悉,也會造成了語音學習的困難,並且會有深遠的影響。

最後,筆者分析在廣州話為母語的影響下,學習普通話的難點,並將提出一些香港地區普通話教學和學習的有益建議。

# 基于 EGG 的粤语母语者病理嗓音与正常嗓音比较研究 李焕哲、曹庆松、宋秀豹、吴南开、侯兴泉

暨南大学

本文运用电子声门仪(Electroglottograph,以下简称为 EGG)对粤语母语者的病理嗓音和正常嗓音进行比较研究。论文选取 30 例声带良性病变的粤语区患者及 30 例母语属于粤语的健康志愿者进行 EGG 测试,从测试者用习惯音高发出的三个电子声门仪信号(/a/,/i/,/u/)中提取出基频、开商、接触商和速度商四个嗓音参数,对病理和正常的嗓音参数以及其波形进行对比分析。从嗓音参数来看,首先,粤语母语者的病理嗓音与正常嗓音的基频参数区别性不大;其次,粤语母语者的病理嗓音和正常嗓音的开商和速度商参数区别性明显;最后,在计算"开商一接触商比值"参数中发现,粤语母语者的病理嗓音的"开商一接触商比值"的参数与前人的研究成果有差距。从电子声门仪的信号波形看,粤语母语者的病理嗓音多出现渐闭、渐开相切迹的现象。

# 東莞常平話韻母的音系特點

#### 李寧

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常平鎮位於東莞市東部,鎮內各村使用的語言皆為粵語。詹伯慧《廣東粵方言概要》 將常平話劃入粵語莞寶片,《中國語言地圖集》將其歸入粵語廣府片。2015年三四月間, 筆者跟隨導師調查了常平鎮蘇坑村的漢語方言,并歸納整理出了音系。論文首先列出常 平話的聲、韻、調,然後分5點論述常平話韻母在音系學上的特點。

第一,沒有單元音韻母 i。這在漢語各方言,乃至世界語言範圍內都比較罕見。第二,有舌尖元音 1。現代粵語大多數方言並無舌尖元音,有舌尖韻母的主要是粵語邕潯片。早期粵語有舌尖元音。常平話的舌尖元音與早期粵語的關係值得思考。第三,沒有前高圓唇元音 y,但有前半低圓唇元音 e。这不符合 Trubetzkoy 關於語音類型的一個論斷,且在漢語方言,乃至世界語言範圍內都不多見。第四,沒有介音,且比廣州話更為徹底。學界一般認為中古音系是有介音的。最早被學者們提出沒有介音的方言是廣州話,但在廣州話是否有介音的問題上,學界仍存有爭議。常平話 v、z 兩個聲母摩擦強烈,且與廣州話 w、j 兩個聲母並不完全對應。廣州話 kw、 $k^hw$  聲母字,在常平話中已經沒有了聲母的唇化成分,是純粹的 k、kh 聲母。如:家=瓜  $ka^{32}$ ,國=角  $kok^{23}$ ,光=江  $kon^{32}$ ,關  $ken^{32}$ 等等。第五,韻母總數較少,包括自成音節的 n 在內只有 27 個韻母,這是因為其韻類發生了大範圍的合併。

# 從使用頻率和句子接受程度來看香港粵語的句法演變

### 李行德、李嘉欣

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香港粵語名詞化助詞「嘅」插入在個體量詞和名詞之間(如「\*三本<u>嘅</u>書」),是過去三十年備受關注的一種句法現象,代表一種與普通話不同的句法結構(Luke and Nancarrow 1993; 曾子凡 1995; Tsang 1997; Wong 1999; Lee 2007)。儘管普通話名詞化助詞「的」在特定語境裡面也能插入到個體量詞和名詞之間(Tang 2005; Hsieh 2008; X. Li 2011; Zhang 2013; A. Li 2014),粵語「嘅」插入的句法語義分佈,遠比普通話「的」插入廣泛,兩者性質存在著根本的差異(Lee and Lei 2013)。

香港粵語「嘅」插入名詞短語是否屬於一種新興結構,前人只作如此假設,但卻缺乏論證。我們最近分析了過去 150 年的粵語語料,包括十九世紀粵語語料、1950 年代香港粵語電影、以及 1970 年以來的香港電台和電視廣播,證實香港粵語「嘅」插入結構的確是一種二十世紀才發展起來的名詞短語結構。這種結構的興起,反映粵語的一種句法演變 (Lee and Lei 2014)。

讓人困惑的是,這種新興結構在自然語料出現的比率不高,一些上世紀八、九十年代的口語統計顯示,「嘅」中插結構只佔名詞短語不到百分之二 (Tsang 1997; Wong 1999); 二千年代媒體語料分析顯示,平均每小時自然話語不到 6 例 (Lee and Lei 2014)。如果這種句法演變已經持續了三、四十年,為什麼沒有在自然話語中廣泛使用?要回答這個問題,需要用句子判斷測試的手段來調查粵語本族語者的語感,以確立這種名詞短語在心理語法中的位置。前人對「嘅」插入結構的接受程度也進行過句子判斷測試,考慮過一些可能影響「嘅」插入的因素,諸如量詞類別、中心名詞的音節數目、是否帶修飾語等,但由於沒有嚴格控制變量,沒得出明確的規律。

本研究採用李克特氏的四點量尺,測試粵語本族語受訪者對含「嘅」插入結構句子的接受程度。測試變項包括:量詞種類(個體量詞、非個體量詞)、量詞次類(通用量詞、種類量詞、集合量詞)、名詞短語修飾語(指示詞、數量詞、光杆量詞)、和情態(現實體、非現實體)。所有的「嘅」插入結構皆出現在直接賓語位置,透過對話情境來突出「嘅」名詞短語的目標指稱義。受訪者同時需要判斷不帶「嘅」的控制句子,以作參照。以語感數據與歷時語料作比較,分析兩種實証材料在句法和語義分佈上的異同,回答以下問題:

i) 在不同句法和語義環境出現的香港粵語「嘅」中插結構,其使用頻率和接受程度 之間有沒有內在的聯繫?兩者是否受到同樣因素的影響? ii) 香港粵語「嘅」中插結構的使用頻率和接受程度是否相關,對我們理解句法演變的歷程有何啓發?一種新興結構,是否要在使用頻率達到一定程度後才能導致語法結構的重組?

本研究發現,粵語使用者雖然對「嘅」中插結構顯示一定的接受程度,但遠低於量詞後不插入「嘅」的名詞短語,證明兩種名詞短語結構具有不同的句法地位。語感數據說明這種新興結構為什麼仍沒有被廣泛使用,接受程度只是語言使用的一個必要、但並非充分條件 (Newmeyer 2003; Adhi 2011)。「嘅」中插結構在個體量詞後的使用頻率和接受程度,兩者皆低於相應的非個體量詞結構,意味著粵語對「嘅」中插的句法限制仍然在起作用。「嘅」中插結構在光杆量詞結構的接受程度比帶有指示詞或數詞修飾語的名詞短語為低,符合「嘅」插入的光杆量詞結構幾乎完全沒有出現在自然語料的使用情況。總的來說,綜合語感數據與歷時語料,可以清楚看到使用頻率和接受程度之間存有一定的內在聯繫,兩者在句法演變的歷程上受到同樣因素的影響。

# 粤語的多功能語素「等」

### 黎奕葆

香港科技大學

自上古漢語以來,「等」可用於表列舉、表複數,這兩個用法歷來在學界已受到充分的關注。「等」的動詞義最初是「齊等,等同」,後在唐代晚期產生了「等待」義。「等」作為「等待」義動詞有多樣的句法表現,以粵語為例:

(1) 我仲等緊

(2) 我仲等緊佢

(3) 我仲等緊食飯

(4) 我仲等緊佢嚟食飯

(5) 我等多十分鐘開飯

(6) 我等緊你筆錢開飯

「等」可以不帶賓語(例(1)),也可以帶名詞賓語(例(2))、動詞賓語(例(3)) 或小句賓語(例(4)),而且常常出現於連動式(例(5)-(6)):多樣的句法表現,特別是 帶小句賓語和常常出現於連動式,加上「等待」義的語義特點,讓「等」有條件發展出 不同的詞匯意義和語法功能。

在不少漢語方言中,「等」發展出表使役、表被動、表時間的用法,這些用法在文獻 中已有不少討論。可是,「等」在粵語中還發展出其他功能,未有受到學界關注。例如:

(7) 我好等錢使

(8) 我好等住上車

(9) 等我幫你搞啦

(10) 等佢自己搞啦

(11) 等聽日,我就會解釋清楚

(12) 等你解釋清楚,我都已經唔喺度

(14) 佢特登整病自己,等我去探下佢

- (13) 我唔話你知,等你心思思
- (15)原來唔急來?等我噚晚仲開通宵添(16) 錯咗啦你,等你仲以為自己好醒吖嗱
- (17) 等你仲話係人阿媽喎,連個仔去咗邊度你都唔知?

雖然沒有表被動的用法,但在表使役(允任 (permissive))(例 (9)-(10))、表時間(例 (11)-(12))之外,粵語的「等」還可以表需求(例 (7)-(8)),表目的(例 (13)-(14)),表後悔(例 (15)),以及表譏諷(例 (16)-(17))。

是次報告會討論粵語中「等」上述用法的句法表現、詞性、語義特色、歷時發展等方面。

# 粤方言肇慶端州話的聲調實驗研究

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本文通過錄製《方言調查字表》和《肇慶端州話同音字彙》中的常用漢字條目,提取所有有效音節的音高和時長等語音聲學數據,採取數據建模和統計分析的方法研究粤方言肇慶端州話的聲調類型及其調值,並在此基礎上考察該方言的字音聲調系統。研究結果表明,基於語音聲學數據來判別分析各個漢字條目的聲調類型,並在此基礎上研究方言的字調系統,這一方法是基本可行的,能夠取得較為滿意的結果。但這套方法尚有進一步完善的空間,特別是在調類初始化的方法上還有待進一步改進。

# 再探討廣州話聲母 n-/l- 不分

### 梁源

#### 香港教育學院

早在半個世紀以前,學者們(張洪年 1972/2002, 袁家驊等 1960)已經觀察到廣州話(不管是廣州的廣州話還是香港廣州話)的聲母 [n-] 和 [l-] 混同了,混同的方向是"把 [n-] 唸 [l-],而很少轉 [l-]作 [n-]"。近年來,學者們(Chan 2008,彭小川、梁欣璐 2008)進行了更細緻全面的量化研究,結論同樣支持"在日常生活中,幾乎毫無例外地使用 [l-] 替代 [n-]",廣州話的聲母 [n-] 和 [l-] 已經不分。

然而,上述研究都是從發音角度展開的,即根據發音人在不同場合說出或讀出[n-]/[l-] 聲母字的混同情況來判斷二者的變異程度,而本文計劃從感知角度探討廣州話聲母[n-] 和 [l-] 的不分。

本文進行了兩個感知實驗: (a)最小對立對的聽辨實驗; (b)聲母 [n-]和 [l-] 互換的接受度實驗。共 30 名香港粵語母語者參加了實驗。

最小對立對聽辨實驗的數據結果顯示:

- (1) 聽辨正確率較高(約為82.4%),說明香港粵語母語者在聽辨上大致能分出聲母 [n-] 和 [l-];
- (2)從錯誤類型上看,聲母[l-]的錯誤(10.9%)比例差不多是聲母[n-]的錯誤(6.7%)的兩倍,即香港粵語母語者更容易把聲母[l-]字誤辯為聲母[n-]。

聲母 [n-] 和 [l-] 互換的接受度實驗共測試了四種類型的字,數據結果顯示:

(3)聲母 [l-]讀 [l-]類型,不接受比例為 4.2%;聲母 [n-]讀 [n-]類型,不接受比例為 10%;聲母 [n-]讀 [l-]類型,不接受比例為 36%;聲母 [l-]讀 [n-]類型,不接受的比例為 52.8%。說明在感知上我們還不能斷言廣州話的聲母 [n-]和 [l-]已經不分。而香港粵語母語者最不接受的是把聲母 [l-]讀成 [n-],這與前人研究提出的發音混同趨向大致相同。

通過進一步的相關分析,我們還發現:

(4)兩個感知實驗結果呈負相關關係(相關係數為 -0.473,\*\*P<0.01),香港粵語母語者在聽辨上越能分辨聲母 [n-] 和 [l-] 就越不能接受聲母 [n-] 和 [l-] 互換;

(5)從類型上看,聲母[l-]的聽辨錯誤與其他類型均無顯著相關;而其他類型之間均為中/低度相關,其中,聲母[n-]讀[l-]類型與聲母[l-]讀[n-]類型的相關係數為0.490(\*\*P<0.01),可見,香港粵語母語者不接受把聲母[l-]讀成[n-]的、大致也不接受把聲母[n-]讀成[l-]。

最後,本文探討聲母變異在發音和感知中的不同表現,以及粵語正音與聲母[n-]和[l-] 混同的關係。

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# 信宜话指示范畴表意分布

### 梁赟

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从表意分布的角度来考察,信宜话的指示范畴表意以指示词为依托,其指示表意分为近指、远指、不定指和疑指范畴,所用基本指示词素"己、噉、咁、点、乜"等,在各语义类别中的分布广窄不一,而存在一定的相互联系和互补性,在与普通话指示词语的比较中,可见出信宜话指示范畴表意分布的特点。

#### 一、近指与远指

信宜话的"己 [kei³5]"和"□ [a²1]"分别与普通话的"这"和"那"的指示义大体相当,分别表示近指和远指。信宜话指示词"己"不可以直接接指人或物的名词,中间需要嵌入量词,如"己只饭碗"。但普通话"这"后可以不接量词而直接接名词,如"这饭碗"。需要特别指出的是,信宜话"己"可以不用,而以量词表示指示,如"只鸡",但无远或近之义,这是信宜话指示表意方式的一大特点。"己"还是构词语素,构成表示空间处所的指示词"己方定",可以独用,也可以嵌入数词表示数量,但是普通话的相应表达则需要同时嵌入量词"个",如"己(一)方定装修紧。(这个地方正在装修。)"。"己□ [nek²1]"表示复数,与普通话"这些"对应,如"己□ [nek²1] 矛食得。(这些不能吃。)"

#### 二、定指与不定指

信宜话里还有三个表示不太明确指定关系的代词□ [nek²]、"咁 [kom³³]"和"噉 [kom³⁵]",可称为"不定指代词"。这里的"不定指"是不确定远近之义,相对于确定的近指和远指而言的。与普通话相比,□ [nek²] 与名词搭配居前而有指量义,普通话"这些/那些"与名词搭配居前也有指量义但没有泛指义;动态指示词"噉"语义与普通话"这样/那样"相当时,与名词搭配居后("噉样"例外)而有状貌义,与动词搭配居前也指状貌,而信宜话"噉"放在状语与动词之间,相当于普通话的"地";形容词指示词"咁"语义与普通话"这么/那么"相当时,与心理动词或形容词搭配居前而指程度。此外"几/鬼+咁"组合,语义与"多么"相当。

### 三、疑指

"庶 [sy²²]"作为疑问代词"哪里"可充当主语;"庶"和量词搭配可修饰形容词; "庶"和量词搭配可构成名词的修饰语;"庶"指涉时间的时候,可以直接连接名词。"点 [tim¹³]"和"乜 [met²²]"都有表示疑问的用法,也都有任指的用法,但是,表示任指的时 候,它们所代指的对象不同:"点"表示任指的时,语义为"怎样";"乜"表示任指 时,语义为"什么"。

# 粵語擬聲詞研究

### 梁仲森

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自然語言是有聲語言,人類以語言作為溝通工具,用以傳遞客觀世界的事物與變化 以及主觀內心的思想與感情。事物情狀與變化的訊息,人類以語言作出描繪,自然界的 聲響也是一種重要訊息,人類就以語音作出模擬,稱之為「擬聲詞」。

自然界的聲響有千千萬萬,不同的語言或方言的語音都是有限的,以有限模擬無窮, 各種語言或方言的「擬聲詞」自然就更能突顯出語言的「武斷性」與「共通性」。

粤語「擬聲詞」系統的特點:

#### 一. 語音上的演變

現代粵語擬聲詞有單音節、雙音節、四音節三種語音型式。從其音節結構可以推演 出都是由單音節發展而來,原始粵語**具有介音**及**複聲母**。

從現代粵語擬聲詞的調值音高可以推測,原始粵語具有清濁兩套聲母,同時原始粵語無**聲調**。粵語聲調系統可能是**先有變調,後有四聲**。

#### 二.語音與聲響的關係

從應用上看,粵語擬聲詞的語音與自然界聲響有必然的關係。

#### 三.功能上的轉換

擬聲詞是模擬聲響的詞語,粵語擬聲詞的功能**從擬聲詞逐漸演變為擬態詞**,而且從描述性的虛詞逐漸演變為動詞、名詞等實詞。

# 廉江粤语句末的言域语助词

### 林华勇

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粤西高阳片粤语廉江话的句末语助词"讲[kɔŋ²5]""喝[uɔ³³]""哇[ua³³]"的功能都与"跟你说"有关,有的表示"转述",有的表示"直述",都属言域用法。本文统一将其称之为"言域语助词"。

言域语助词与示证(即信息的来源或传播的方式)有关,可根据一手信息(直接信息)还是二手信息(间接信息),把言域语助词的功能分成两类:转述或直述。廉江话句末语助词"讲""喎""哇"的功能具体分工如下:

以告知主要信息"他10日去(了)"为例,可说成:

- (1) 10 号去 (嘚) 讲哇。 (我告诉你, 听说他 10 号去 (了)。)
- (2) 10 号去 (嘚) 讲喎。 (我提醒你, 听说他 10 号去 (了)。)
- (3) 10 号去 (嘚) 哇讲。 (听说他 10 号去 (了) 啊。)
- (4) 10 号去 (嘚) 喎讲。 (听说 10 号去 (了) 哟。)

前两句为"直述",直述所听闻的信息;后两句是"转述",转述听到的"10号去"的信息。如果加上与普通话相当的"了<sub>2</sub>"形式"嘚  $[t\epsilon^2]$ ",则在"去"后加上即可。 (1)与(2)、(3)与(4)的区别是"哇"的直述语气比"喎"重,有"直陈"与"提醒"的区别,可能跟主要元音的开口度有关:a 比  $\mathfrak o$ 的开口度大。

"咖 [ka<sup>51</sup>]"是句末"讲"进一步与"啊"合音的结果。例如:

(5) [佢10号去嘚]咖。(听说他10日去了啊。)

直述和转述是以上言域语助词的基本功能。本文拟进一步刻画它们的语气功能,并 探讨两个问题:

第一,音高或句末语调对言域语助词的功能有何影响?

第二,与广州话相比,廉江话的言域语助词形式上表现并不一致,如广州话的"喝"有三种读音,廉江话的"喝"只读阴去调;广州话另有言域语助词"噃"和"啰",廉江话则另有"讲""哇"。导致两地方言言域语助词的差异有哪些?原因是什么?带来什么样的启示?

本文是对言说义动词语法化(林华勇、马喆 2007)、谓词性语气助词(邓思颖 2014)问题的进一步研究。

#### 主要参考文献:

邓思颖 2014《粤语谓词性语气词》,载何志华、冯胜利主编《继承与拓新:汉语语言文字学研究》 (下),香港:商务印书馆。

林华勇、马喆 2007《廉江方言言说义动词"讲"的语法化》,《中国语文》第2期。

# 从语义场的角度看广州方言词汇的传承与变异 ——动词的考察

### 林茵茵

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本文从语义场的角度,以核心词为切入点观察三百年间广州方言词汇系统的发展。核心词以斯瓦迪士的《百词表》为据,采用共时、历时相结合的方法,以美国传教士裨治文的《中文读本》(1841)为基础,参考包尔腾的《散语四十章》(1877)、十七世纪屈大均所撰的《广东新语》(1687)以及二十世纪孔仲南的《广东俗语考》(1933),就四部广州方言文献中出现的核心动词(喝、吃、咬、看、听、知道、睡、死、杀、游、飞、走、来、躺、坐、站、给、说、烧)进行穷尽的分析;同时加入非核心词的比较("洗身"、"冲凉","在"、"喺",以及与"拿"有关的词),观察词汇内部竞争以及语义场的变化。研究结果表明:广州方言中的传承词仍占主流地位,但语义场之中有简化、概括化等情况;此外,方言特征词在核心词的变化中产生了一定的影响。

#### 调查结果:

- 一、传承词占主流地位——基本义的保留与引申义的增加
- 二、语义场的变化——语义场的简化、概括化,搭配关系有变有不变
- 三、核心词与非核心词的比较——核心词汇的变动小而慢,一般词汇的变动大而快
- 四、方言特征词崛起

#### 本文主要有以下的创新点:

- 一、运用词汇层次的理论,把核心词与非核心词区别开来,分别探讨其不同的演变情况,为广州方言词汇的研究提供了新的思路,也获得了一些新的结论。
- 二、文把核心词的概念应用于广州方言词汇的历时研究上,并对近三百年之间广州方言的动词进行了较为详细的语义分析,勾勒出广州方言核心词在三百年间的变化轮廓。

# 香港粵語前置副詞及句末成份「同句共現統計」資料集

### 劉擇明

香港大學

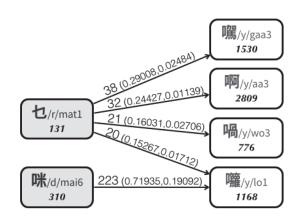
粵語中某些前置副詞和句末助詞(包括後置副詞)經常同時出現,形成「框式結構」 (鄧思穎 2006)。前後成份於句中結構對稱、意思重覆,如例(1)所示,三種用法均見於 現代粵語語料,意思通常無顯著分別:

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然則三種用法接受度、出現頻度並不一致,副詞可以有幾個可以配搭的句末助詞; 句末助詞亦可以有多個可能的前置成份配對。如能列舉配搭組合並算出前後成份出現頻率,想必有助語言處理、粵語教學、詞典編寫等資料整理。

現有粵語口語資料庫多數有斷字,詞性標註,但未必可直接用於語法分析;樹狀語料庫則制作需時。若將研究範圍縮窄,專注探討後置粵語句末助詞/動詞後綴與前置副詞的分佈及其語法,則不必建立全面標記樹狀語料庫,只需標示相關元素,即可提供豐富研究材料。中文語料庫研究中,經常用「共現度」(即兩個成份同時出現的頻度,及各自獨立出現的頻度)去判斷兩個相連字是否屬於同一詞,此一方法應可用於框式結構的資料收集。

本研究以《香港粵語語料庫》(Luke and Wong, 2015) 為原始資料,首先抽取並標出句中可用於框式結構的前置成份(如副詞、否定極項、A-not-A等)及後置成份(如句末助詞),得出配搭合共27萬對,再統計出現頻度,例子,相距,以建立一資料集(dataset)(2)如下:



範例 (2) 顯示「咪 (mai6)」「囖 (lo1)」於語料中分別出現 310 次及 1168 次,但有 223 次會同時出現,此一組合雙向的共現度皆極高 (「咪」後有「囖」0.71935,「囖」前有「咪」0.19092);「乜」於語料中出現 131 次,後續有「嘿 (gaa3)」機會甚高 (0.29008),而「嘿 (gaa3)」則出現 1530 次,前面接「乜」的機率不高 (0.02484)。

本文亦會探討此資料組如何輔助各方人士釐清各個句末助詞及副詞用法、語法,與 及用於詞典編寫、語言教學、電腦語言處理(尤其是倒裝句處理)等方面之實際用途。

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# 香港新界大埔汀角話概述

### 劉鎮發

廈門大學

香港是個移民城市,絕大部份居民來自廣東內陸,尤其是珠江口一帶,所以市區通 行與跟廣州話相差無幾的粵語。但在市區以外,佔全市接近九成土地的新界,卻仍有人 說五六種原居民方言,較為熟為人知,而且在人數上佔絕對優勢的的是圍頭話和客家話。

筆者在 2009 年初,被一個祖籍大埔汀角村的朋友,問及他家鄉方言的屬性。我起初認為是客家話,但他否認,並且告知我他們的話和客家話有別,是一種特別的方言。經過實地調查,才發現它是一種接近深圳大鵬話,受客家話和市區粵語影響頗深的粵語方言。汀角話和大鵬、東平洲方言有很多類似的地方,例如沒有撮口韻、沒有 kw,kwh 的唇化聲母等。但全濁聲母清化以後,變為陽去調不送氣,但調值有時是 55。入聲方面,陰陽入為 35 和 22。詞彙方面,基本部份跟粵語相同,但其他詞彙有不少客家話的借詞。

汀角話的使用者不認為自己說粵語或者客家話,只認同自己說汀角話。有趣的是, 汀角村民之間不通婚,只跟附近的客家村落通婚,因此汀角村民的母親絕大部份都是客 家人。嫁進村子的客家婦女,都不願意講汀角話,但都聽懂汀角話,她們相互之間,以 及跟丈夫和孩子只說客家話,而丈夫則在家庭和村落範圍只講汀角話。孩子則是世代雙 語,"父語"是汀角話,"母語"是客家話。根據村民的記述,這個現象已經維持了幾 百年。因此,汀角話就成為一種很有特色的粵語方言。但是由於過去幾十年的廣州話教 育,這個雙語現象已經無以為繼,會講汀角話的小孩已經越來越少,而汀角話也成為一 種瀕危方言。

# 香港粵語法定語文地位分析

### 馬毛朋

嶺南大學

根據香港政府的最新統計數據,大約九成的香港人以粵語為慣用語言。從立法會問答到閭肆閒談,粵語廣泛地使用於香港社會的各個方面。粵語在香港語言生活中的主導地位是顯而易見的。然而由於中國內地的有關法律規定 "普通話"是 "國家通用語言",雖然有關法例在香港無效,再加上粵語在一般的論述中也被定義為與作為民族共同語的普通話相對的方言,香港社會還是產生了關於粵語是否是香港的法定語文的爭論。這一爭論的另一個原因源於對法例的不同理解,因為不管是《基本法》還是香港法例中的《法定語文條例》都使用了 "中文"一詞。在《基本法》中,中文是"正式語文",在《法定語文條例》中,"中文"是"法定語文"。而如果將"中文"理解為書面中文,那就等於說香港的法例並沒有說明該"中文"的何種口頭形式是法定的。本文首先釐清了"中文"概念的含義,根據對香港法例用詞和香港民眾用詞的分析指出,在香港社會,"中文"是書面語和口語的統稱。香港法例實際已經指明了粵語的法定語文地位。同時,透過對粵語在廣東省和香港的不同地位的分析,重新檢討了語言、方言、標準語、法定語文之間的關係,指出香港的粵語既是方言,又是香港的法定、正式語文。

# 北京話兒化現象與香港粵語變調現象的語言功能對比研究

### 孟小然

香港中文大學

北京話的兒化現象與粵語的變調現象,在其各自的方言體系中均有大量應用,是為不可忽略的語言現象。前人從語音學、語法學的角度對兒化與變調各有較為詳細的闡述,然而關於二者的功能實質定義上,卻尚有可商榷之處。如王力《中國現代語法》一書將兒化用法歸於詞語附加的「記號」,認為「一兒」是名詞的「後附號」;而趙元任則在《中國話的文法》中認為「一兒」作方位、時間及指小的非音節性詞尾。對於粵語變調,趙元任在 Cantonese Primer(《粵語入門》)中,提及變音是詞素論上的問題;而張日昇也在論文中例舉了陰平變調在詞素上的對立現象。因此,應該如何定義北京話兒化與粵語變調的功能實質,這一問題目前尚未有學者進行有效的總結性概括。

本文嘗試通過跨方言的比較方法,以期彌補前人研究之不足,對兒化與變調現象的功能實質進行新的考察。文章將首先對兩種語言現象分別進行概述說明,然後收集粵普方言的相關語料,用以分別從語法、語義、語用此三項前人提供的角度,分析其對兒化、變調功能概括的可能性與侷限性。最後論述本文從語體角度如何能夠對兒化與變調的語言功能進行全面概括的觀點,並總結出二者的語言學實質內涵。

# 粵語進行體後綴「緊」和複雜句式:以早期粵語為例

### 片岡新

香港教育學院

在粵語中,進行體標記由動詞後綴「緊」充當。鄧思穎 (2015a, 2015b) 列出將近四十個粵語動詞後綴,並指出這些後綴往往以「複雜句式」形式(複句、連謂結構等)完句,如「郁親就痛」(詹伯慧 1958)、「佢室住我笑」(張洪年 1972/2007)等等,但進行體後綴「緊」可以以「簡單句式」完句,如「佢寫緊篇文」。粵語「緊」不需要用「複雜句式」,這跟很多粵語後綴的語法表現不一樣。但其實「緊」的一個特點是可以在複句和連謂結構當中出現(片岡新 2010),甚至有些動詞只能在連謂結構中才能跟「緊」搭配,如「我帶緊小朋友去睇醫生/\*我帶緊小朋友」。究竟「複雜句式」和「緊」之間有著甚麼樣的關係呢?

過去有很多學者利用早期粵語教科書來分析粵語的歷時演變。雖然教科書告訴我們當時比較規範的說法是什麼,但是每個句子都沒有上下文,我們無法知道有些句子為甚麼這樣說。最近我們找到一些早期粵語的故事性讀物,如 1888 年出版的《述史淺譯》。我們檢閱它的卷一(共約 8 萬字),發現有 32 個「緊」具有體貌意義,而它出現的位置是表時間或處所的分句(13 例)、動詞「見」的分句賓語(10 例)、用「有」的兼語句(3 例)、連謂結構(2 例)。相對來說,在簡單句式出現的例子很少,有 2 例以「喺嘛 V 緊」的形式出現,1 例以「V 緊」的簡單句子出現。很明顯地,早期粵語的「緊」以複雜句式出現的比例相當高。

除了複雜句式之外,我們發現早期粵語「緊」還有一個特色,就是經常會以「V緊嗻」或「喺嗻V緊」的結構出現。「嗻」是處所詞「處」的簡化形式,所以在表面看,「V緊嗻」像是一種處所短語。片岡新 (2010) 認為「V緊嗻」源自一種主謂結構「V+近處」。在《述史淺譯》中「V緊嗻」都在分句中跟另一個分句一起構成時間上的對比。「喺嗻」相當於現代粵語「喺度」,它們本來都表示處所,但用在主動詞之前可以表示動作正在進行中。從早期粵語「緊」的語法表現看,進行體後綴「緊」往往跟兩個或以上的謂詞一起出現,而處所詞「嗻」發揮了重要作用。我們相信這是因為人們通過處所概念去理解兩個事件之間的時間關係。

# 香港粵語入聲字長短元音讀音情況的調查研究

### 祁美瑩

香港中文大學

根據李新魁等(1995)、袁家驊等(2001)、張洪年(2007)等學者對粵語的描述,粵語古清入字一般均是按照「短元音歸上陰入、長元音歸下陰入」派分兩調。然而,根據李新魁等(1995)對廣州話字音如實記錄的同音字表,我們發現至少有62個入聲字卻違反了上述規律,例如「黑」兼有hek。、hak。的讀法,當中hek。符合常例,但hak。為長元音歸上陰入的情況,與規律不符。這顯示粵語古清入字的長短元音與聲調的配合規律正在出現變化,而至今尚未有學者對此進行討論。有鑑於此,本文希望通過對香港粵語入聲字長短元音讀音情況的調查,查明這種混淆情況,並嘗試作出解釋。

我們首先會選取粵語中一批由不同聲母、韻母、聲調組合而成的常用入聲字,並配成雙音節詞,製成一份調查表格,再選取不同年齡、性別、方言背景、教育背景的受試者進行調查和錄音,繼而採用語音分析軟件 Praat 仔細分析受試者的發音,考察分析這些香港粵語入聲字長短元音讀音的變異情況,探討有關變異的成因。

# 從《香港二十世紀中期粵語語料庫》探討粵語多元研究

### 錢志安

香港教育學院

過去十多年出現了不少粵語語料庫,目的都是為粵語研究提供更多材料。《香港二十世紀中期粵語語料庫》(下稱《語料庫》)於2012年面世,語料來自五六十年代香港的電影對白。由於經費和經驗所限,《語料庫》只提供文字語料,對粵語本體研究,如詞匯、句法等都有幫助。在語用和篇章方面,卻有所限制:說話人的語氣、身體動作、表情等重要互動元素 (multi-modal elements)欠奉。

有見及此,2013年,在研資局的資助下,我們重新建構《語料庫》,除了增加語料數量之外,我們改用由 Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics 開發的 ELAN (https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/) 免費軟件來轉寫電影對白(見下圖)。ELAN 可以把文字和影音像同步表示。查詢語料時,除了文字對白之外,相關的影像也可以顯示出來。此外,我們觀察到圖中四位說話人的動作,表情,眼神各有不同,這些特徵在話語分析和多元篇章等研究十分重要。

本文將介紹從語料中觀察到的「**名-量-名」同指用法**(謝明桑和錢志安,2015)。 由於這種用法多見於對話中,互動性很強,過往的粵語本體研究甚少注意到。



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# 閩粤方言複元音中的長短區別

### 沈瑞清、焦磊

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粵語中的長短元音音位 /a/ 和 /e/ 的語音區別,一直是粵語語音學研究中所關注的焦點之一,早期研究對此曾有不同結論。有些學者認為長短元音的區別主要是時長區別(李行德 1985),有些學者認為長短元音的區別主要在於音質(劉叔新 2006),也有些學者認為時長和音質共同構成區別,缺一不可(石鋒 & 麥耘 2003,石鋒 & 劉藝 2002,2005)。近期的研究(張淩 2010,金健 & 張夢翰 2013)則認為,在複元音中,/a/ 和 /e/ 的相對時長起到主要的區別作用。

鑒於現有的研究大多將複元音看作兩個離散靜態目標來處理,本文使用 Boltzmann 函數曲線對粵語複元音 /ai/ 和 /ei/ 的共振峰曲線 F1 和 F2 進行動態擬合,並計算其時長比 例參數  $x_0$  與始末共振峰目標  $A_1$  和  $A_2$  值。結果顯示,複元音 /ai/ 和 /ei/ 的始末共振峰目標值並不存在明顯差異,其主要區別在於複元音前後元音成分時長比例的不同,亦即元音相對時長的不同。

這種通過內部時長比例來構造區別複元音的策略並非粵語所獨有。王建華(2006) 發現在武鳴壯語的複元音中存在與粵語相似的/ai/和/ai/的長短區別。而在其餘方言中, 類似情況也並不罕見。本文測量了福州與寧德兩種不同的閩東方言,發現兩者均存在系 統性地使用元音相對時長來區別複元音的現象。另外,我們還比較了在不同方言中兩類 複元音的內部時長區別程度跟各自音系結構的關係。在福州方言中,兩類複元音在聲調 上呈現互補分佈,因此複元音的內部時長區別並不顯著。故而這種區別過去被視為冗餘 特徵,沒有在音系中被描寫出來。但在同屬閩東的寧德方言中,由於兩個聲調的合併使 得兩類複元音在同一個聲調上共現,出現了最小對立。粵語的情況則有所不同。兩類複 元音在所有聲調上都出現對立,因此在內部時長區別上也最為顯著。

# 動詞「甩/lat1」在粵語歷史上的淵源

## 矢放昭文

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現代粵語動詞「甩 /lat¹: 脫、脫落」,與現代漢語「甩 /shuǎi」的字體一樣,但是作為動詞,兩者的意義、功能却不相同。根據饒秉才·歐陽覺亞·周無忌 1981《廣州話方言詞典》的註解,有「甩 led¹(啦一切)脫落:掉:甩咗一粒鈕 [掉了一個扣子]|甩皮甩骨[剝落,脫咯得很嚴重]|甩色 [掉色]。【廣州話的"甩"與普通話做"揮動""拋開""抽""扔"講的"甩"(shuǎi)無關。】」的記述,我們可知詞語「甩 /lat¹」作為粤语原有動詞一直通用。

「甩/lat¹」在現代粵語里的通用情況,從 20 世紀 80 年代開始流行的廣播小說等書面粵語材料中也頻繁出現,作為 "不及物動詞"的有如;「阿爸今朝洗頭甩咗好多頭髮,佢考慮假髮…」《阿 JAN 日記①》pp.60.、「打開噪機,原來我話就甩嗰件零件,已經Choke 甩咗!」② pp.128. 等等。作為 "及物動詞"的例子也有如;「一睇就知係人甩你啦,唔駛驚喎!」《阿 JAN 日記①》pp.60.、「佢甩開我隻手,咬一咬唇話,唔會嘞,…」《中環英雄》pp.64. 等等。作為 "可能補語"的例子有如;「十隻手指十隻黑,身係洗衣粉都洗唔甩嘅油漬。」《世紀末風情②》pp.41.、「即係週身肌肉嗰個大隻蘇呢,都走唔甩,…」《馬氏家族血淚史①》pp.12. 等等。

根據筆者的調查,用「甩」字表示 /lat<sup>1</sup>/ 的書面粵語資料,只能追溯到 20 世紀 40 年代,如「大隻雷雷被人笑甩牙」(歐文「夫妻識字(改良粵曲短劇)」、文向珠主編《春英翻身》大眾圖書公司、香港、1949 年。pp.6.)等等。

再有能追溯到的早期書面粵語材料中,不用「甩」字,而用「甪」或「甪」字。比如衛三畏(S.W.Willams) 1856、《馬可傳福音書(廣東土白)》1872、《使徒行傳(羊城土白)》1871、《天路歷程土話》1871、《續天路歷程土話》1870、E.J.Eitel 1910、A.A.FULTON 1931、B.F.MEYER·T.F.WEMPE 1934、O'MELIA 1947等,都用「甪」或「角」字表示「lat<sup>1</sup>: 脫、脫落」。

關於「lat<sup>1</sup>: 脫、脫落」的淵源, Bauer·Benedict1997 也提出過重要條件。根據本文的解釋,現代粵語的音節表中的「孖」「貓」「呢」「摩(痭)」「乸」「啱」「噏」「孻」「冧」「甩」等音節群,在來源于中古漢語四聲分為陰陽兩類而生的陰平調,至19世紀末或20世紀初由/53/變到/55/之前,已經在高音域/55/或/35/通行過。但是要再深入地追溯,我們應該沿著「有音無字」的線索追根尋源。

雅洪拖夫 1986〈上古漢語的開頭輔音 L 和 R〉(唐作藩·胡雙寶譯《漢語史論集》 pp.156-165.)的研究中找出,對漢語/脫:thuat²/,藏語有 /lhod/(消弱,解開)、緬語有 /hlwat/(釋放)、越南語有 /lôt⁶/(脫[衣])等的詞例,在苗瑤語(四川-貴州-雲南的苗瑤方言)中的 /lh/聲母與漢語的 /th/</\*sl/ 相對。應該注意到,這些詞語都帶 "不帶聲邊近音(Voiceless Lateral approximant)",在粵語用做陰平調也是很有道理的。我們可以認定,在雅洪拖夫的"上古音"系統上,中古漢語以母字為中心的 L-type 複聲母被構擬為 /\*s-lot/,與粵語 /lat¹/ 在音韻學上具有同源關係。

到了 90 年代以後,有關的調查報告陸續出現,有如;梁敏·張均如《侗台語族概論》 1996、覃遠雄·韋樹關·卞成林《南寧平話詞典》1997、《壯漢英詞典》2005、班弨《論漢語中的台語底層》2005、劉叔新《粵語壯傣語問題》2006 等資料的具體記載,都可以支持這個同源關係。本文雖然只提到一個音節詞語,但是,作為考察的對象具有十分的可靠性。基於對 90 年代以後公開的材料的整理端緒,對於探討動詞「甩/lat¹」的淵源,能夠得出怎樣的解釋,是這次報告的目的。

# 台山話形態變調的實驗語音學研究

### 譚潔瑩、劉新中

唇南大學

本文採用實驗語音學的研究方法,對台山話形態變調涉及的詞語、單字進行錄音、 資料分析,提取音高、時長資料,製作音高曲線圖及時長比例圖。通過比較同一個字在 詞語中不同位置、表示不同詞性時的調型、調域、時長,觀察單字調與形態變調的語音 學特徵。採取聽辨實驗,以觀察形態變調對詞義辨別起作用的音高段和相關原因。

由實驗分析可得,台山話形態變調有高升變調、低降變調兩種,主要來自陰平、陽平、陽上、入聲。在舒聲調中,高升變調調型、調域、時長與陰上調相似,低降變調與陽上調相似;在促聲調中,高升變調與上陰入相似,低降變調則是一個新的入聲調型。在所有變調中,位於詞尾的低降變調部分呈現曲折調型,即下降部分之後有一段上升部分,使得該曲折調型的時長大于原單字調型;處於詞語中不同位置的變調亦對調域、時長有影響。由聽辨實驗可知,變調中的高升部分、低降部分、曲折調型的上升部分對辨別詞義影響不大,但母語者認為這些部分不可或缺。變調與位置、詞性的關係,變調與單字調系統的關係,都有待進一步研究。

# 文化類型與語言類型的交互關係研究——以港澳地區為例

### 湯翠蘭

澳門理工學院

語言是文化的載體,而文化是語言的依據。同一事物出現有不同的名稱的情況,而同一名稱又或者會出現內涵有所分別的情況。這都是不同族群對於名和物出現不同認知所致。與香港一水之隔的澳門,由於當地華人無時差地接收到香港各種媒體的資訊,因而當地的常用語言——澳門粵語,與香港粵語相較時,常給予人一種「大同小異」之印象。事實上,澳門粵語及香港粵語無論是語音、詞彙、語法系統大致相同,只有個別詞的讀音,如「襟」(香港粵語聲母為 k-,澳門粵語為 ŋ-)、遠指代詞「嗰」(香港粵語調值 35,澳門粵語則為 55)等。然而,近年來,大家逐漸注意到,澳門粵語中有它獨有的詞彙,如「經屋」(平民房屋)、「西洋」(專指葡萄牙)等,前者香港稱為「居」,而後者較常指稱英國或泛指歐美的西方。當中的差異,部份原因與兩地早期族群組成不同有關,也就是澳門、香港兩地於回歸前分別由葡萄牙和英國統治,除了各自發展出文化特有詞(即「經屋」與「居屋」)外,有些名稱的內涵出現地域差別(即「西洋」的解釋)。

本文嘗試以廣東地區非常普遍的食物「粥」着手,透過其煮法以及所放入的食材, 為香港、澳門兩地分出的不同文化類型。然後運用這些不同的類型,配合族群來源、使 用的語言或方言、地方歷史作交叉比較,嘗試分析文化類型與語言類型之間的內在關聯。

# 從「鷹益甕屋」音節元音的實際音值 看粵語高元音裂化的音系分佈和粵語元音的音系格局

### 萬波

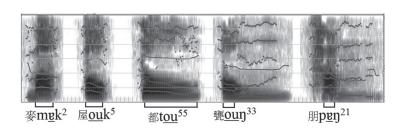
#### 香港中文大學

粵語「鷹益甕屋」等四個音節元音音值的標註主要有兩種做法:一種記作次高元音,「鷹、益」為 I,「甕屋」為 v,袁家驊等 2001《漢語方言概要(第二版)》、北大中文系 2003《漢語方音字彙(第二版重排本)》、張洪年 2007《香港粵語粵語語法的研究 增訂版·第一章語音》等均採取這種做法;另一種做法是記作半高元音,「鷹益」為 e,「甕屋」為 o,以李新魁等 1995《廣州方言研究》為代表。兩種做法表面上看來只是音標符號的不同選擇,實則不僅體現了對上述兩個元音實際音值的不同看法,而且反映了對整個粵語元音系統的不同認識:前者認為 I、v 分別與高元音 i、u 互補,為 i、u 的音位變體,並不構成獨立的元音音位,因此粵語只有 8 個元音音位:i y u, e œ ɔ,a ɐ;後者認為 e、o 為獨立的短元音音位,分別與長元音 e、ɔ 對立,加上與 œ 形成長短元音對立的 e,因此共有 11 個元音音位。本文從「鷹益甕屋」等四個音節元音實際音值的分析入手,討論粵語高元音裂化的音系分佈和粵語元音的音系格局。文分三節:

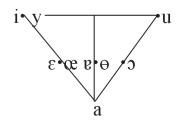
二、粵語高元音裂化的音系分佈。如所周知,香港粵語開尾韻有所謂高元音裂化現象: i>ei,u>ou,y>ey。據上節所述,i:>ĕi:、u:>ŏu:的裂化也出現在鼻音尾-ŋ和塞音尾-k之前,本節將進一步分析探討高元音i、u裂化在開尾韻以及鼻尾韻和塞尾韻中的分佈規則和制約因素。

三、粵語元音的音系格局。應該承認,「粵語 8 元音說」所言 i/ɪ、u/ʊ、ɛ/e、œ/  $\Theta(\emptyset)$ 、ɔ/o 互補,「粵語 11 元音說」所言 ɛ: 與 e/ɪ、ɔ: 與 o/ʊ、æ: 與  $\Theta(\emptyset)$  對立都是事實。但二者所言基本上並無交集,很難說哪種音位歸納更恰當。但據上文所證,e/ɪ、o/ʊ 其實是複元音 eǐ、ŏǔ,顯然不能歸納為獨立音位。而且一般在有長短元音對立的音系中,歸納元音音位也不能只看語音相近的一對長短元音是否對立,還應該考察與其他臨近元音對立互補的情況,如英語的短元音 ɪ (bit),不但與長元音 i:(beat) 對立,也與 e(bet)、ɔ:(bert)、æ(bat)、ʌ(but) 等對立。根據以上兩點,粵語 8 元音說更合理。唯一需要討論的是 æ: 與  $\Theta(\emptyset)$  的對立互補問題。據李新魁等 1995,讀 et 韻的有 20 多字,而讀 æ:t 韻的除了象聲詞□  $\int$  cæ: $t^{22}$  如: $\sim$  ~聲 (與術  $\int$  et  $t^{22}$  對立) 外,還有□ cæ: $t^{22}$  膈。如: $t^{22}$  嘔吐。嚴格來說,似乎都是邊際音節,但寬鬆一點,也可作為對立的例子。這樣粵語就是 9 元音系統,音系格局見圖二。

圖一



圖二



# 粵讀審音問題探析

### 蕭敬偉

香港大學

粤語正音問題,近年來廣受關注,偶爾還會引起熱議。綜觀各方意見,爭論的焦點大抵仍在從切還是從眾的問題上。現時坊間較通行的粤音字典,儘管在對古音反切的依違上未必完全一致,但總體而言,仍然會把反切視為重要標準,因而經常收入一些合乎反切而實際很少聽到的讀音,又或是對一些不合反切但通行的讀音視而不見。此外,不少口語變調讀法實際上已取代原調,成為通行讀音,但由於字典一般只著重收錄書面音,因而把這些源自口語的讀音拒諸門外,使字典的注音,又與實際粵讀存在距離。這些問題,不僅存在於某些明確以古音反切為主要審音依據的粤音工具書之中,在一些標舉"時代性"和"便利應用"的字典中,也可以找到不少例子。本文以"販"、"炁"、"輔"、"洋"及其他一些有類近情況的字為例,考察不同粤音字典的相關注音,指出當中存在的問題,並嘗試對如何處理這類字音提出建議,以供進行粵語審音或編訂粵音字典工作的同道參考。

# 舒巷城短篇小説(1950-1959)中的粤方言詞彙

## 蕭欣浩

缩南大學

香港作家舒巷城(原名王深泉,1921-1999)創作不少以香港為背景的小說,同時喜用粤方言詞彙,著作富強烈的粤方言與香港色彩。二次世界大戰後,香港出現不少南來作家,舒巷城以本土作家的身份,運用粤方言創作以香港為背景的故事,材料尤為珍貴。本文以戰後的1950年代為限,探討舒巷城短篇小說中的粤方言元素,包括「住年妹」、「游擊飯」、「刨」、「生猛」、「拆骨」等。舒巷城運用的粤方言詞彙,種類多樣,貼近生活,能展現香港的文化面貌。從分析的例子可見,粤方言有較多單音節詞彙,具特別的外語借詞。50年代的詞彙至今各有演變,部分或被他詞取代,或因事物變遷而消忘,僅為一時一地的標記。部分沿用至今,詞義有所改變、發展。

# 类型学视角下的粤方言形状量词系统特点

## 徐毅发

北京大学

过去从分类词(classifiers)的角度对汉语形状量词(球状、条形和平面)搭配规律的研究多以普通话为代表,对搭配理据的解释又多集中于空间感知方面(如石毓智2001)。然而,相比于普通话,粤方言(以及其他方言)在形状量词搭配系统上表现出了值得注意的类型差异;同时,这些差异不能单纯从认知角度得到解释,而与形状量词在不同方言中的来源、演变有关。尽管 Tai (1992, 1994)对个体量词搭配规律在方言中的变异有所描写,但从方言比较的视角对该问题进行系统阐释的思路未得到应有重视。

本文在 Allan (1977)、Tai (1994)和 Alexandra (2000)等研究所总结的影响形状量词选择的语义参项的基础上,借鉴语义地图模型 (semantic map model)的研究方法,把形状量词看作一种多功能的词汇形式 (与某个参项下的一类 / 一种事物搭配即相当于一项功能),得出各方言形状量词在汉语共享的概念空间上的分布格局。本文以反映各参项的具体事物为调查项目,对覆盖七大方言区的 17 种汉语方言进行了母语者调查,主要发现有:

- (1)汉语各方言的颗粒量词分布范围沿着球状物直径大小排列成连续统,总体上呈由南往北逐渐缩小的趋势,呈同心圆分布模式。其中,粤语"粒"的分界线大约在"汤圆"和"乒乓球/鸡蛋"之间,范围小于闽语而大于其他方言;
- (2)影响条形量词选择的参数主要有物体曲直、工具、凸显部位、容器、人体部位等,各方言中相应的条形量词的适用范围同中有异,呈"中心-扩散"的分布模式。例如,官话方言的"根"在"容器"、"工具"等参数的影响下,地盘被非条形量词(如"把")侵占;而粤语的"支"对"容器"、"短柄工具"的影响不敏感("一支啤酒/螺丝批"),但对于"长柄工具"则和官话表现一致("一把锄头")。平面量词的情况与条形量词有相似之处。

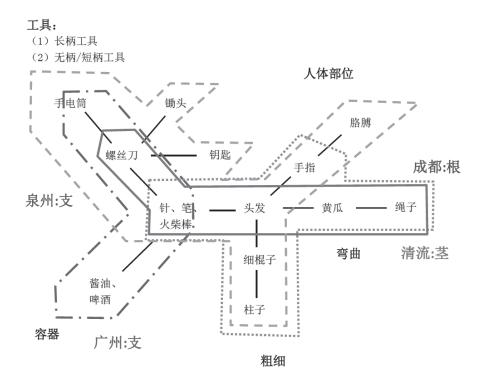
本文最后从中古来源、演变的角度尝试对上述调查所反映的粤方言形状量词的分布特点作出解释,并简要探讨了将本文的研究方法应用于范围更广的分类词研究的可能。

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附图 1: 广州话、泉州话、成都话、清流话相应条形量词的分布



附图 2: 颗粒量词"大小"参数连续统



# 「銅鑼灣同鰂魚涌中間有——三個站」 ——香港粵語語流中音節停頓延長的語音學分析

### 嚴至誠

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日常語流要表示停頓(pausing),除了添加純粹表音的音節外,另外的方法就是延長某些音節,以達到拖延的目的。本文以四位香港粵語使用者的錄音為材料,抽出當中停頓延長的例子作具體分析。

香港粵語的音節,由聲母、韻母、聲調組成——聲母有塞音、塞擦音、擦音等阻音,響音則有鼻音、邊音;韻母則可分成舒聲的單元音韻、複元音韻、帶鼻音的陽聲韻,以及帶塞音尾的入聲韻;聲調有舒聲的平調、升調、降調,又有短促的入聲調。本文將觀察並分析停頓延長在不同類型音節上的表現,並揭示這些表現與粵語音節結構的關係,以及其於語音學上的意義。

根據初步觀察與分析所得,停頓延長在音節方面的類型有(「-」表示前面的音素獲延長):

- 1. 延長聲母——可延長發音的擦音和響音聲母,如 [s-in](線)。
- 2. 延長韻腹元音—— [tʃy-n] (轉)、[ta-p] (搭)、[to-w] (到)。
- 3. 延長韻尾——滑音韻尾如 [wuj-](會)、[hœq-](去);鼻音韻尾如 [lem-](琳)、[kan-](間)。
  - 4. 延長音節內各個音素——[s-i-n-](線)。

音節延長對聲調也有影響,除了視乎聲調是平是升還是降調外,也視乎延長的是音節中的哪一部分(韻腹、韻尾與對應的基頻)。另外,這些延長了的音節,一般是單音節詞,或是雙音節、多音節詞的最後音節,可是也有例外,例如雙音節詞的首音節。

# 勾漏粤语与壮语被动句的比较研究

### 杨奔

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被动句是指表示被动意义的句子,是勾漏粤语和壮语的一种独特的句型,其存在和发展不但与句子结构的特点有关,而且还受实词的语法化和助词使用的制约。文章只考察勾漏粤语和壮语有被动标记的被动句,主要对勾漏粤语和壮语被动句的标记、结构类型及语义特征进行比较研究,通过对勾漏粤语和壮语被动句的考察发现,在被动表述手段上,虚词是勾漏粤语和壮语的语法手段,这两种语言的被动句都属于"介词型被动句"。另外,勾漏粤语各方言或壮语各方言的被动句标记,语音形式虽各不相同,有"tsa<sup>6</sup>、tçiak<sup>8</sup>、pi<sup>3</sup>、?bi<sup>3</sup>、ŋai<sup>2</sup>、ttuk<sup>8</sup>、ttut<sup>2</sup>、teŋ<sup>1</sup>、hetu<sup>3</sup>、hi³"等,但这些表面的差异却隐含着共性,它们在语义来源上主要是"遭受义"和"给予义"。在勾漏粤语中具有合法性的"积极"义被动句,在壮语表达中则通常不使用。勾漏粤语和壮语肯定式被动句的结构形式基本相同,但二者否定式被动句的结构形式却有较大的差异,这些体现了不同语言之间既有共性又有个性。

# 东莞莞城话的小称调

### 姚琼姿

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陈晓锦在《东莞方言说略》(1993:50-68)和《东莞市志》(1995:1362-1363)的《方言》部分记录了东莞莞城话的两个小称调:高平调 55 和高升调 35,二者都只出现在部分调类的字上。最新版《东莞市志》(2013 下册:1494-1498)中描写的莞城老派口音小称调是一个特高升调 45,"音节的韵母部分都带有轻微的紧喉特征",7 个本调均能发生小称变调。这两位作者所报告的小称调似乎相距甚远。

我们对莞城老、中、新三派发音人进行了多次实地调查。老派发音人世居莞城,家族数代从教,故刻意保留旧时口音,其口音与王力、钱凇生《东莞方音》(1949)所记莞城口音基本一致,是现今莞城最老派的口音。我们发现莞城话小称调出现在除阴入调以外的6个调类的字上,并且有三个不同的层次。老派小称调是一个听感上调尾特高且尖锐的凹调,但实际上基频并不超出本调调域5,暂时记为435/435,我们认为这个小称调是利用调型来达到高调的目的的,结合信宜话等粤语次方言小称调的情况,我们认为较早期莞城话的小称调是一个典型的超高升调。根据莞城话阴入调类字有塞尾和阴入调最先与小称调合并的事实,可以推论更早期莞城话小称调带喉塞尾。中派主要是高平调55(舒声字)和高短调5(入声字),这主要由老派的435/435调演变而来,如《东莞市志》(2013)所举17例(舒声字),中派均读高平调55。在自然演变的同时,莞城话小称调也不断受到广州话的影响,新派口音受广州话的影响更大:一些老派读435/435、中派读55/5的词例,新派读35/35,如"鱼jy³5";一些本来不读小称调的词例,改读与广州话相同的小称调,如"蚊公 men⁵koy⁵5"。相对而言,小称调55和35/35在新派口音中的分布情况与在广州话中的分布情况更加接近。在可预见的未来,莞城话的小称调是55/5和35/35 并行,在各调类的分布上和出现的词例上,会与广州话的小称调高度相似。

学界一般认为较早期粤语(或其中的一个支系)的小称形式是一个超高升调,学者们构拟了超高升调演变为高调 55 或者 35 调的过程。莞城话小称调从 435/435 到 55/5 的变化过程为此提供了事实证据。它在广州话影响之下的变化,又为方言内部接触研究提供了一个很好的案例。

莞城话的小称调逐渐衰退,表小的功能并不强大,同时泛化出作为准名词标志的语 法功能以及区别语体色彩的功能。

# 粤方言和閩南方言的差比式「X + A + 過 + Y」

## 姚玉敏

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吳福祥 (2010) 從比較方言學和區域類型學的角度探討 "X+A+過+Y" 差比式在現代漢語方言中的使用情況。考察的結果顯示除了廣東和海南的閩語方言使用 "X+A+過+Y" 差比式外 (我悬過你 "我比你高"),其他地區的閩語方言基本上不用該式,而以 "X+(較)+A+Y" (我大伊、我較肥伊)和 "X+比+Y+(較)+A" (我比伊較肥)為差比式的主要句式,例如,廈門、泉州、漳州、大田、莆仙等閩語方言。吳福祥進一步主張閩語方言使用 "X+A+過+Y" 差比式是受了粤方言的影響。

本文嘗試從共時和歷時角度比較粵方言和閩南方言 "X + A + 過 + Y" 式的使用。在十九世紀、二十世紀初的粵方言和汕頭方言的歷史材料中, "X + A + 過 + Y" 的用法相當普遍。A 可以是單音節或雙音節形容詞(粤:金重過銀 "金比銀重" 1877《散語四十章》、我軟弱過佢 "我比他軟弱" Ball 1883;汕:伊會走猛過我 "他比我走得快" Lim 1886、彼個貴重過此個 "那個比這個貴重" Fielde 1878)。除了肯定式外,也有否定式的例子(粤:通天下嘅村有污糟過中國 "全天下的村子沒比中國髒的" Fulton 1931;汕:無輸過彼個 "X 跟那個同樣好" Fielde 1878)。吳福祥 (2010) 提出以下五個參數來判斷 "X + A + 過 + Y" 式是不是一個方言的主要差比式:(i) A 可以是雙音形容詞或形容詞短語;(ii) A 可以是動賓短語;(iii) VP 可以是特定的有標記項;(iv) A 前可添加否定詞構成否定形式;(v) "X + A + 過 + Y" 格式後可出現量化成分。我們按上述五個參數比較現代粤方言和潮汕方言 "X + A + 過 + Y" 式的使用。初步結果是 "X + A + 過 + Y" 式在兩個方言中都通過五個參數:(i) 粤:佢後生過我;潮汕:伊後生過我 "他比我年輕";(ii) 粤:佢鍾意食鹹菜(多)過我;潮汕:伊愛吃鹹菜過我 "他比我愛吃鹹菜";(iii) 粤:隻鵝大隻過隻鴨;潮汕:隻鵝大隻過隻鴨;潮汕:隻鵝大隻過隻鴨;潮汕:隻鵝大隻

通過共時和歷時比較,我們發現 "X + A + 過 + Y" 差比式在粵方言和閩南方言的使用非常相似。但是,我們認為閩南方言 "X + A + 過 + Y" 差比式的使用是受了粵方言影響的說法值得商榷。我們的理由包括:(i) "X + A + 過 + Y" 在閩語的分佈比吳福祥(2010)描述的廣,並不限於廣東和海南的閩方言、(ii) "X + A + 過 + Y" 式在漢語方言的分佈同樣廣泛,見於粵、閩、客、官話等方言、(iii)除了汕頭方言的歷史材料外,福州和廈門方言的歷史材料也提到 "過"表示比較的用法。由於 "X + A + 過 + Y" 差比式在漢語方

言分佈廣泛,而且從十六世紀到現在,它的用法一直存在於閩語中,我們認為"X+A+過+Y"式在方言中的使用不可能都是受到粤方言的影響。換言之,"X+A+過+Y"式是閩南方言的固有形式。最後,我們認為比較標記"過"是從表"超過"義動詞虛化而來。"過"的虛化過程為:動詞>補語>比較標記。漢語方言都經歷了"過"從動詞到補語的虛化階段,而"過"只在一部分的方言中,如粤方言,進一步發展成比較標記。至於"過"在閩方言的發展,方言之間的虛化程度不一樣。從閩方言的歷史材料和調查報告,我們發現"過"在汕頭方言的虛化程度最高,其次是福州方言。虛化程度最低的是廈門方言。

# 粵語量詞「陣」的語法特點

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粵語量詞「陣」有兩個。其一乃名量詞,如「一陣風」、「一陣雨」等,「通常用於連續進行一個時間的事物或動作」(高華年1980:99),姑且稱之「陣」」。另一個「陣」,高華年(1980:111)認為是「時間名詞」,如「企一陣」。鄧思穎(2015:46)則認為「陣」是量詞,並可以與「嗰」組成「嗰陣」,表示時間。我們認為表示時間的「陣」是量詞,並稱之「陣」」。本文將集中討論「陣」」。

「陣<sub>2</sub>」根據其語法特點,可進一步分作兩個「陣」,姑且稱作「陣<sub>2a</sub>」與「陣<sub>2b</sub>」。 在構詞方面,「陣<sub>2a</sub>」可與「間」組成「陣間」,而不可與「時」搭配,如(1)和(2); 「陣<sub>2b</sub>」可與「時」組成「陣時」,而不可與「間」搭配,如(3)和(4)。

在句法方面,「陣  $_{2a}$ 」可與數詞直接結合,形成「數-量」結構,表示「一段時間」,如(5)。「陣  $_{2a}$ 」與數詞結合後,可與指示代詞「嗰」、「呢」和疑問代詞「邊」結合,組成「代-數-量」結構,如(6)、(7)和(8)。至於「陣  $_{2b}$ 」,可與「嗰」直接結合,形成「代-量」結構,表示「那個時候」,如(9)。不過,「陣  $_{2b}$ 」不能與「呢」和「邊」結合,(10)和(11)不能接受。「陣  $_{2b}$ 」也不能與數詞結合,(12)只能理解為「陣  $_{2a}$ 」;而(13)更是不能接受。「陣  $_{2b}$ 」不能與數詞、「呢」、「邊」結合,語法特點與一般的量詞很不同。本文將以香港粵語為研究對象,詳細比較兩者在語法上的異同,並嘗試思考量詞與名詞的界限。

- (1) 你等一陣間。你等一會兒。
- (2) \* 你等一陣時。
- (3) 嗰陣時我等左好耐。那時候我等了很久。
- (4) \*嗰陣間我等左好耐。
- (5) 你等一陣。你等一會兒。
- (6) 晤爭在等埋嗰一陣啦。再等(這)一會兒也沒差。
- (7) 晤爭在等埋呢一陣啦。再等這一會兒也沒差。
- (8) 你講邊一陣吓?你說哪一會兒?
- (9) 嗰陣我等左好耐。那時候我等了很久。
- (10) \* 呢陣我等左好耐。這時候我等了很久。

- (11)\*你講邊陣吓?你說哪個時候?
- (12) 嗰一陣我等左好耐。那一會兒我等了很久。
- (13) \* 嗰一陣時我等左好耐。

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# 杂议粤方言与岭南文化

# 詹伯慧、肖自辉

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毫无疑义,语言的作用主要体现在两个方面:一是传递信息、交流思想;二是承载文化,表现文化。长期以来,人们对它作为传递信息、交流思想方面的功能,也就是它作为交际工具方面的作用比较重视,讨论和研究自然也就比较多;相对而言,对它在承载文化、表现文化方面的重视不大够,讨论、研究也就显得比较少了。可是,近期情况稍有变化,将语言与文化挂钩的风气正逐渐形成,研究语言与文化的课题已悄悄成为语言研究中的重要选题了。随着人们对方言认识的不断提升,方言跟文化的关系越来越受

到重视,可以预见,方言的文化内涵,方言如何承载地域文化、方言如何表现地域文化 之类的问题,必将成为方言研究的热点所在。方言研究进入到这样的境界,正是方言学

者的学术视野日渐拓展,方言学科在人文社会学科中的地位日渐提升的具体体现。

中华文化源远流长,灿烂辉煌。无可争辩的事实是:几千年绵延不断的华夏优秀文化,是汇集起纵横几千里神州大地精彩文化的总体形象。其特色反映在遍布大江南北、各呈异彩的各种深具地方特色的地域文化之中。例如我们身边看得见摸得着的岭南文化,就是组成中华优秀文化的重要部分。语言是文化的载体,地方方言是地域文化的载体,这是顺理成章,无可争议的事。没有语言文字来记录它、承载它,文化就无法得到表现,更谈不上传承下来、弘扬开去了。这就是语言跟文化的关系的关键所在。时下书店里出现不少探讨语言与文化的著述,作为汉语方言中"强势方言"的粤方言,就其承载岭南文化、表现岭南文化方面的相关问题进行切磋,开展研究,无疑是具有现实意义的事。

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所谓岭南,一般理解为"五岭之南"。当代以岭南文化为探讨对象的"岭南学",对"岭南"地理上的定位大致指清末民初以来广东所辖的范围。这不仅涵盖现今广东省的地界,还包括二十多年前独立建省的海南岛及现今广西壮族自治区中桂南钦州、北海一带。岭南地区通用的语言比较复杂,除部分少数民族聚居地说着壮、黎、苗、瑶等民族语言外,说汉语的广大岭南地区,使用的语言主要为汉语方言中的粤方言、闽方言和

客家方言。可以这样说:在岭南地区,多元化的岭南文化,正是由粤方言、闽方言和客 家方言等汉语三大方言承载下来的。没有这三大方言,我们就无法认识,无法理解岭南 文化,自然也就难以看清楚岭南文化的精彩所在了。岭南三大方言各具特色,所承载的 文化各呈异彩。其中以珠江三角洲为中心、外延至粤西粤北以至广西桂东南等地所通行 的粤方言,其地位及作用尤为突出。粤方言俗称粤语、广府话、白话。当今地处岭南的 粤桂两省(区),其首府广州和南宁就都通行广府话,而岭南沿海两个实行"一国两制" 的香港特别行政区和澳门特别行政区,也都是以粤语作为主要的社会通用语,可见粤语 实为岭南地区最具权威的一大方言。通过这一权威方言承载下来的地域文化,无疑该是 最具代表性典型性的岭南文化。以粤语为载体的这一广府文化,其内涵丰富多彩,在社 会生活的方方面面,包括物质领域和精神领域,从日常生活的衣食住行到代代相传、深 入人心习俗礼仪,处处都有所表现。其中最突出的莫如以粤方言为载体的众多文学艺术 作品了。为两广地区广大人民群众喜闻乐见的粤剧粤曲,从创作到演唱,都离不开对粤 语的熟练掌握。创作水平的高低和演唱效果的良莠,当然需取决于多方面的因素,而能 否熟悉、掌握承载粤剧粤曲的粤语音韵特色,也是一个不容忽视的因素。打从我国实行 改革开放政策以来,广府文化不断创新发展,其辐射力不断扩大,影响力不断增强,作 为载体的广府方言,自然也随之到处传播,以至于深入人心。十多年前我发表过一篇题 为《普通话南下与粤方言北上》的文章,颇引起读者的注目。之所以会有粤方言北上的 说法,正是面对粤方言所承载的地域文化,在粤方言地区市场经济的发展"先走一步", 伴随着"广货"的蜂拥北上,作为非物质产品的广府文化,也跟着进入岭南以外的神州 大地,因而就有了"粤语北上"的势头。粤语"北上"具体的表现就在于承载粤语文化 的粤语词汇"北上"进入共同语中,以"新词新语"的面貌出现。一个时期粤语通俗歌 曲也"北上"进入娱乐圈,不是曾有过一首粤语歌曲"霍元甲"风靡神州大地的情景吗? 随着国内经济发展形势的变化,粤语文化"北上"的脚步近期似乎有所放缓。但来自粤 语的"新词新语"仍然深受语言学者,特别是词汇研究者、词典编纂者的关注。近期出 版的第六版《现代汉语词典》,就吸纳了一些来自粤方言区的语词,由于使用率的提升, 某些原先只能看作方言词语的新词,已悄悄"转正",纳入到汉语的通用词汇中来了。 可见粤语及其承载的广府文化,在汉语及其承载的华夏主流文化的发展中,是能够发挥 一定作用的。

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要认识广府方言如何承载岭南文化,体现岭南文化特色。关键在于搜集、剖析广府方言中的词汇。词汇是语言各要素中最敏感、最活跃的部分,反映文化最直接了当。只要我们仔细审视粤语中那些与众不同的词语,进行必要的归纳整理,借助粤方言词汇这

面镜子,深具特色的岭南文化就必然会栩栩如生地呈现到我们眼前。换言之,剖析整理 广府方言特色词语的过程,同时也就是系统梳理岭南文化特色的过程。地方方言的特色 和地域文化的特色总是那么自然地重叠在一起,可谓相得益彰!下面我们不妨就从当今 粤语词库中选取一些深具粤方言特色的词语,从不同的角度来领略其中蕴含的岭南文化特色:

1. 一批保留古词或沿用古义的粤方言日常用语,承载着岭南文化的远古渊源。例如:

睇:粤语"看"的意思,如"睇书"。《广雅·释诂》:"睇,视也。"

局:粤语排泄大小便的意思,如"屙屎、屙尿"。《玉篇》"乌和切,上厕也。"

拎:粤语手提物品的意思,如"拎书包"。《广韵》郎丁切:"手悬捻物。"

指:粤语用手覆盖东西的意思,如"揞住本书"。《广韵》感韵,乌感切:"手覆。"

合:粤语合伙、聚合的意思,如"合份做生意。"(合伙经商)。《集韵》合韵:"葛 合切,《说文》合也。"

以上是直接沿用古语词。另有许多古代语词,在现代汉民族共同语中虽仍可见,但 其古义却不像粤语那样经常用在日常口语中。这种广为沿用古义的现象,同样反映出岭 南文化中存古的特色。下面略举几个粤语中保存古义的常用语词跟民族共同语对照来看:

粤语	普通话	粤语	普通话
(刀)利	(刀)快	饮	喝
着(衫)	穿(衣服)	卒之	终于
悭	节约	抑或	或者
翼	翅膀	若果	如果
斟	叙谈	适值	恰逢
索	绳子	之前	以前
颈	脖子	周身	全身
晏	迟、晚	皆因	都是因为
行	走	旧时	从前

2. 吸收了许多外来语的语词,成为当今粤语词汇的一大特色,这一特色反映出长期以来,岭南一直是中国与世界各国经济文化交流的前沿地带,特别是近代海禁大开以后,作为岭南地区重要港口的广州港,更成为对外贸易及文化交流的重要门户。语言承载文化,文化的接触首先是语言载体的接触,在与外来语言的接触中,一些外语语词也就顺势进入到粤方言中来,成为粤方言词汇的组成部分了。在以中西文化交汇闻名的香港特区和澳门特区,其社会通用语粤语中更是大量吸纳外语语汇,以至发展到在日常的语言交际中出现中外语码夹杂混用的现象。应该说,这既是语言的交融,也是文化的交融。

算得上是今日粤语载体及其所承载的岭南文化的独特之处。有关粤语吸收外来词语,反映外来文化的实例,从"的士"到"士的",从"士多"到"多士",可谓俯拾即得。时下较有份量的粤语专著,提及粤语词汇特色时,少不了要罗列许许多多的外来词语,前几年我和甘于恩教授合写《广府方言》一书,一对此有详尽的讨论,其中"广府方言与外来文化"一章,分别列举了广府方言中各种不同类型的外来词,这里不妨略举数例,以见一斑:

#### (1) 广府方言中纯粹音译的外来词:

波(ball)——球

呔 (tie) ——领带

骚 (show) ——表演

唛 (mark) ——商标

花臣 (fashion) ——花样

冧巴 (number) ──号码

拍乸 (partner) ——原意为舞伴, 后引申为伴侣、伙伴。

燕梳 (insurance)——保险

#### (2) 广府方言中音译加事物属性的外来词:

恤衫 (shirt) ——衬衣

车呔(tyre)——轮胎

泊车 (park)——停车

#### (3) 广府方言中音义兼顾的外来词:

车卡(car)——车厢

沙纸 (certificate) ——文凭

咭片 (card) ——卡片

泡打粉 (powder) ——发酵粉

万事得 (MAZDA) ——日本汽车的牌子

声宝(SHARP)——日本电器的牌子

<sup>1</sup> 参看詹伯慧、甘于恩《广府方言》,暨南大学出版社,2012,广州。

(4) 广府方言中直接搬用外来词,但读音略加改动,使之符合粤读习惯;

Call ——打电话用语,如 "call 佢" (电话叫他), "复 call" (复电话)读作: k'ɔ<sup>55</sup>

Cheap ——便宜、低贱,如"呢本书好 cheap",读作 tf ip⁵

Cancer ——癌症,如"佢得咗 cancer",读作 ken<sup>55</sup>fa<sup>35</sup>

Party ——聚会,如开舞会之类。读作 p'a<sup>55</sup>t'i<sup>21</sup>

Pizza ——意大利馅饼,如"佢钟意食 pizza",读作 pʻi<sup>55</sup>fa<sup>21</sup>

- 3. 创造了许多与众不同、别具一格的方言词语,包括许多生动活泼的惯用语歇后语等,这些独创性的粤语词语,透露出丰富多彩的岭南文化的信息,既是粤方言词汇的大亮点,也是岭南文化的大亮点。它承载着粤方言地区的人文历史、自然地理面貌和植根民间的风土习俗,反映出岭南地区人民的精神风貌,闪烁着岭南文化的熠熠光芒。下面分类列举一些粤方言独创的、在生活中经常可以遇见的词语。
- (1) 广府方言中反映岭南地区自然地理环境的系列词语,体现出岭南文化的地域特色。例如:
- ①地处亚热带,终年不见冰雪的自然气候条件使粤方言中出现了冰雪不分的系列词语,把冰雪混为一谈,有关"冰"的概念都用"雪"来表述:

雪糕 (冰淇淋) 雪条 (冰棍) 雪柜 (冰箱) 雪屐 (溜冰鞋) 雪藏 (冰镇) 雪鱼 (冰冻鱼) 雪肉 (冰冻肉) 雪水 (冰水)

②由于气候炎热,岭南地区人民几乎天天都要洗澡降温,因而把"洗澡"叫做"冲凉",用热水洗的澡不为降温,同样也叫"冲凉"。与此同时,粤方言又混淆了"凉"和"冻"这两个概念。该说"凉"的却说成"冻":

冻水 (凉水) 冻亲 (受凉) 菜冻咗 (菜凉了) 摊冻 (晾凉)

③由于岭南地区大都与海为邻,伴水而居。对水的感情特深,以至常把日常生活中的许多事物都跟水挂上了钩,这一特色文化通过语言载体——粤方言承载下来,就出现了不少带有"水"的特色词语,下列这些词语中的"水",其实与水完全无关:

水客(掮客) 水脚(路费) 醒水(警觉) 威水(神气) 心水(心事,又指合意的,说成"合心水") 水货(次品,质量差的东西) 水皮(能力差、质量差)

有趣的是,在粤语中存在一批反映岭南文化特色的语词中,"水"还用来表示钱财, 这多少也反映出海洋文化熏陶下人们对"水"跟钱财的关系情有独钟的心态,例如:

水头(指钱财,钞票) 回水(退钱) 有水(没钱) 磅水(要钱,也指向人勒索钱)

跟"水"结缘的岭南文化,还表现在岭南地区、特别是珠江三角洲一带,在粤方言的词汇中,出现了一些与水有关的词语,如涌、滘、沥、氹、圳、坑、塘等,这些词语用到地名中,体现出岭南自然地理文化的特色。笔者乘坐广州地铁,沿途就发现一些带有这些水类名词的站名,如:沥滘、厦滘、滘口、大塘、燕塘、东涌等。在粤语区中,带这类字眼的地名还很多,"深圳"这个地名就是明显的例子,此外,香港的葵涌、东涌,澳门的氹仔也都是这类带水的地名。更有趣的是:靠海的珠江三角洲一带,还产生了江海不分的错觉,竟连江河也看成了海,把横渡珠江也叫"过海",连珠江上的渡轮也有了"过海轮渡"的叫法,积非成是,语言习惯一旦形成,也就无法改变了。

- (2)许许多多独创的生活用语,突出显示了日常生活中的岭南文化色彩。打开一本粤方言的字词典,表现粤方言地区饮食、衣着、起居、器具以及常见的形状描写、动作行为等等的特殊词语触目皆是,尽览无余。下面分别举例来看:
  - ①"食在广州",体现广府饮食文化特色的词语很多,如:
  - 饮茶——上茶楼吃点心聊天,由此而延伸出"饮早茶"、"饮夜茶"、"饮下午茶" 等词语。
  - 叹茶——意思跟"饮茶"同,"叹"是享受,说"叹茶"意味着上茶楼"饮茶"是 一种享受。
  - 茶楼(茶居)——"饮茶"、吃饭的地方
  - 茶餐厅——一种介乎大酒楼与快餐店之间经济实惠的饭馆,免茶费,免附加费(服务费)
  - 一盅两件——一种节俭的"饮茶"方式,只要一壶茶,两款点心。简称"一盅两件"。

粤菜取材丰富、烹调讲究,花样繁多、注重质量,充分体现岭南饮食文化的精华所在。这方面的特色词语在粤方言中不胜枚举,其中光是烹调的常用动词就有:煮、烧、烤、炸、煲、滚、煎、焗、炖、蒸、炒、焖、涤、灼、浸、扒、煠等等。至于特色点心、特色佳肴,更是美不胜收,下面略举茶楼中常见的特色点心、粥品,足证岭南饮食之多姿多彩:

点心:烧卖、虾饺、粉果、油角、糯米鸡、裹蒸、凤爪、牛百叶、肠粉(猪肠、牛肠、斎肠, 叉烧肠、虾肠)、陈村粉、豆沙包、叉烧包、鸡球大包、蛋挞、松糕、萝卜糕、马拉糕、白糖糕,伦教糕、笑口枣……

粥品:猪红粥、猪膶粥、猪腰粥、鱼云粥、鱼片粥、骨腩粥、艇仔粥、鸡球粥、及第粥、皮蛋廋肉粥、柴鱼花生粥、白果粥……

此外,粤方言所承载的岭南各地特色食品还很多,诸如广州的沙河粉、中山的杏仁饼、顺德的双皮奶、佛山的鸡仔饼、以及九江煎堆、大良崩沙、东莞排粉、元朗蛋卷、澳门葡挞、……等等,都是远近驰名的食品。畅游岭南大地,处处都能在广府方言中感受到"民以食为天",丰富多彩的饮食文化在岭南文化中的显著地位。

②反映日常生活中的住所、起居及衣着等,粤方言中也有许多深具岭南文化色彩的词语。例如:

#### 【有关房屋的词语】

楼——房子的统称。由此而引申出"靓楼"(好房子,高质量的房子)、"笥楼" (同"靓楼")、"买楼"(买房子)、"供楼"(分期付款方式买房子)、"睇 楼"(看看准备要买的待售房子)、"炒楼"(进行房子买卖,从中牟利)、"楼 花"(建筑中尚未竣工的房子)、"烂尾楼"(在建房子未建成就因故停工, 此后一直也没法复建的房子)

屋村——住宅小区。

落定——预交买房子的订金。

天棚——房屋顶层的平台。

四围——周围的意思

左近---邻近

骑楼——房子边沿的阳台,又指马路中上有建筑物遮盖的行人道。

冷巷——两堵墙中间狭窄的巷子。

【有关家居器具、用品的词语】

冲凉房——洗澡间

架撑——生活中常用工具的统称

家俬——家具

单车——自行车

电单车---摩托车

十字车——救护车

衣车——缝纫机

地拖——打扫卫生用的拖把

花洒——洗澡用的莲蓬头,又指浇花的壶。

灯胆——灯泡

夹万---保险柜(箱)

手抽——手提袋

银包——钱包

枱——桌子。引申出"书枱"(书桌)、"饭枱"(饭桌)

展——木拖鞋

遮——雨伞

银纸——纸币, 又泛指钱

碎纸——零钞

银仔——硬币

手信——礼品,旅行时购买的纪念品。

【有关生活起居、日常衣着的词语】

起身——起床

瞓觉——睡觉

哏口——漱口

行街——逛街

拍拖——谈恋爱

影相——照相

搵工——找工作

见工——(找工作)面试

人工——工资

出粮——发工资

上堂——上课

落堂——下课

炒更——在本职以外的时间兼做有报酬的工作

樓——大衣

冷——毛线, 引申"冷衫"为毛衣

笠衫——针织汗衫

面衫——外衣的泛称

棉衲——棉袄

颈巾——围巾

- (3)一些日常生活中容易接触到的人和事物的性状,以及习以为常的动作行为,在 粤方言中也有形形色色的词语,显示出岭南文化的特色。看看下面的例子:
  - ①常见的描写性状的词语

呀——能干,恶——凶狠、霸道,矛——蛮横,嘥——浪费,夹——合得来,癫——疯,衰——坏、倒霉,弊——糟糕,牙檫——自负、自以为了不起,百厌——淘气。 乌龙——糊涂,醒目——精明,谮气——啰嗦,孤寒——吝啬,阴湿——阴险狡猾, 论尽——形容人笨手笨脚、行动不便、也有"麻烦"的意思,牙烟——危险,鹘突—— 恶心,企理——整齐、有条有理,肉酸——难看、肉麻,的式——小巧,得意——有趣,杰——稠、浓,痹——麻木,宿——馊、汗臭,是但——随便,求其——随便,……

②常见的动作、行为词语

整——弄、搞、修理,锡——亲、吻,恨——巴望、想要,憎——讨厌,叹——享受,赐——生气,嗌——叫、喊,喊——哭,呃——骗,闹——骂,揾——寻找,揿——按,掹——拔,倾偈——聊天、谈话,嗌交——吵架,詐諦——假装,整蛊——作弄,肉紧——着急,因住——小心,肉赤——心疼,搞笑——开玩笑,穿煲——揭穿内幕,跳槽——更换工作岗位,车大炮——吹牛皮,挨世界——无可奈何地挨日子,……

- (4)一大批凸现风土习俗和社会文化心态的粤方言独有词语,也明显具有岭南文化的地域色彩。下面略举一些例子来看:
  - ①表现婚丧嫁娶和节庆礼俗的词语:

摆酒——设宴、摆酒席,利是——逢年过节送人的"红包",拉埋天窗——成亲、结婚的意思。掟煲——相爱的人感情破裂以至分手,拜山——祭拜先人的坟墓,即扫墓,行花街——广府方言地区除夕夜有开设"年夜花市"的习俗,逛花市就叫"行花街"……

②在经济交往中经常出现的一些粤方言词语,反映出岭南文化中的社会文化心态:

揾食——找工作,着数——划得来、有利益,蚀底——亏本、吃亏,有数为——有好处、有利可图,发钱寒——财迷,有数为——没好处,无利可图,收挡——把"档口"收拾起来、不做生意了,斟盘——谈生意,执笠——倒闭,走鬼——街上流动

小贩,坚野——质量上乘的货品,箭野——同"坚野",流野——劣质货,水货——非原版的,或通过非正当途径进来的货,也用来指称劣质货,食谷种——消耗所剩无几的老本,湿湿碎——小意思(指钱财),无足挂齿,头啖汤——原指喝第一口美味的汤,引申为在经济生活中"最先尝试"、"最先得益"的意思,……

③粤方言中有一批独特的"粗言秽语"(詈语),这些具有特色的"脏话",不能 登大雅之堂,却也体现出岭南社会文化的心态。常见的如:

屌那妈——也有说成"屌那声"的,相当于普通话中的"国骂""他妈的"。由此还进一步引申为"屌你老母","屌佢老母"。

死绝种——骂人全家死光

**冚家铲——诅咒人全家死光** 

死人头——诅咒人死

死佬——诅咒人死,针对男人

死婆——诅咒人死,针对女人

黐线——骂人神经错乱,神经病。

躝——赶人走, 义同"滚蛋"

#### 四

以上我们从各个方面略举广府方言形形色色的独特词语,看到其中所承载、所体现的岭南文化风貌。此外,粤方言中存在着大量生动活泼的惯用熟语,歇后语等,只要我们细加寻味,认真剖析,处处都可以领略到岭南特色文化的魅力。以粤方言作为演唱语言的各种文艺形式,如粤剧粤曲以至岭南地区许多民间说唱曲艺,更是精彩纷呈,我们不能视而不见,听而不闻。我们的粤语研究者以往多埋头调查研究粤语的本体,对语音、词汇、语法特点的钻研越来越深入细致,可是,此前我们却没能多多联系粤语所承载的岭南文化,从语言与文化之间的密切关系着眼来扩大自己的学术视野,开拓自己的学术思路。我们也注意到,探讨岭南文化特色的学者告诉我们,岭南文化在传承中华传统优秀文化的基础上,还具有海洋文化的一些特性,岭南文化发展到了今天,已明显在兼容性、开放性、务实性、创新性、进取性等诸多方面表现出基于传统文化而又有所前进、有所突破的态势。然而,这些文化品性如何通过岭南地区的方言载体呈现出来,传承下去,这就有待岭南方言的研究者和岭南文化的研究者紧密合作,齐心协力,才有望迎来开花结果、灿烂辉煌的大丰收!此次粤语论坛以语言与文化为题展开切磋探讨,很有现实意义,笔者有感于此,浮想联翩,乃不辞浅陋,重温旧作,在此杂议一番,略抒管见,贻笑大方,还望能起一点抛砖引玉的作用。

# 粤語句末語氣詞的兩個上升聲調

## 張凌

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粵語有豐富的句末語氣詞系統。這些句末語氣詞的聲調涵蓋了粵語的六個聲調。本 文首次使用實驗語音學的方法對粵語句末語氣詞的聲調進行研究,也首次提出了對粵語 句末語氣詞兩個上升聲調的分析框架和疊加機制。

語言學的一項通則是語音跟語義之間的關係是任意的,但語調是個例外,它是音高和語義之間的一種生物學上的關係(朱曉農,2004)。有趣的是,粵語句末語氣詞的聲調也不是任意的,而是與語義有一定的對應關係。馮勝利(2015)提出語氣詞可以分析為語調的一種變體。我們認為,粵語句末語氣詞的超音段特徵(suprasegmental feature)是語調(intonation),而不是字調(lexical tone)。

過往對粵語句末語氣詞聲調的研究 (Law 1990, Li 2006, Sybesma and Li 2007, 丁思志 2013) 曾提及第三調 (T3:33) 是中性的、默認的音高;第一調 (T1:55) 代表聽者導向 (hearer-oriented) 的信息;第四調 (T4:21) 代表說者導向 (speaker-oriented) 的信息。第六調的句末語氣詞較少,也不具備能產性,過往研究較少,我們在此也暫不作討論。

粵語句末語氣詞的兩個上升聲調——第二調 (T2:35) 和第五調 (T5:23),過往鮮有深入的研究,本文的研究首次填補了這方面的空白,提出 T2 和 T5 的語調來源。首先,T2 有兩種語調來源。第一種是 T2 (35) = T3 (33) + T1 (55),或 M+H。第二種是從疑問句的句末高升調 R 而來。第二,T5 的語調來源是 T5 (23) = T4 (21) + T3 (33),或 L+M。本文語音實驗的數據還表明了這兩個上升聲調經常會伴隨末尾一段下降的音高曲線,表示肯定或者祈使等語氣,而並非單純的上升調形 35 或 23,也證明了它們並非單純的字調。

趙元任先生 (Chao, 1933) 曾論述漢語中語調和字調的疊加有兩種方式:同時疊加 (simultaneous addition) 和連續疊加 (successive addition)。我們通過實驗證明 T2 的第二種語調來源屬於同時疊加,而 T2 的第一種語調來源及 T5 的語調來源屬於連續疊加。

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# 普通話和粵語語氣詞句法位置辨識

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本文從形式語言學的角度探討普通話和粵語句末語氣詞的句法位置。漢語語氣詞在生成語法中常被視為標句詞 (complementizer),用作標示子句句型。句末語氣詞在早期文獻(如 Li & Thompson 1981、湯廷池 1988等)中被視為只能在根句出現的語法成分,但近年不少學者(如 Law 1990、黃國營 1994、Tang 1998等)注意到有少數句末語氣詞可進入子句層面。然而,相關文獻有其不足之處。首先,有關討論一般只集中在個別語氣詞,如疑問語氣詞(Li & Thompson 1981、鄧思穎 2009、Simpson 2014)。第二,相當部分文獻以普通話語氣詞為研究對象。由於普通話語氣詞數量較少,可用來論證語氣詞句法特點語料不如粵語豐富。

本文主要探討的是語氣詞在根句和子句中的分佈,尤其是補語子句。例如句(1)的 "咋"和句(2)的"嚟"到底可否處於根句 CP 和子句 CP 內。可以用什麼方法辨別語氣 詞的位置呢?

- (1) a. 我知道 [呢件衫值一百蚊] <u>咋</u>。 我只知道 [這件衣服值一百塊] b. 我知道 [呢件衫值一百蚊<u>咋</u>]。 我知道 [這件衣服只值一百塊]
- (2) 你知唔知道 [正話落過雨嚟] 呀? 你知不知道剛才下過雨呢? (Tang 1998: 49)

我們先檢視前人判斷語氣詞位置的方法(包括語義和句法測試),並討論它們的盲點。一般來說,現有的語義測試只適用於對語義轄域較敏感的語氣詞;句法測試不大適用於句末補語小句。

我們因此提出"並列測試"(如句(3,4))和"移位測試"(5,6)兩個新方法以補足現有測試的不足。這兩個方法不但適用於所有語氣詞,更可使用在句末補語小句。例如,(3)—(6)均說明粵語只有"嚟"和"添"都能通過兩項測試,可處於補語子句CP;"噃"與"囉"則不可。

(3) 佢唔應該一方面承認啱啱落過雨 {✓嚟/\*嘴/\*囉},一方面又話外面嘅天氣好好嚟。

他不應該一方面承認剛剛下過雨,一方面又說外面的天氣很好。

(4) 佢唔應該一方面承認阿媽仲買咗龍蝦 {√添/\*嘴/\*囉},一方面又話阿媽冇買海鮮寀。

他不應該一方面承認媽媽還買了龍蝦,一方面又說媽媽沒買海鮮。

- (5) [承認 [阿媽仲買咗龍蝦 {√添/\*嘴/\*囉}]]呢,佢一定唔會 \_\_\_ 喋。 承認媽媽還買了龍蝦呢,他一定不會的。
- (6) [[承認[啱啱落過雨 {✓嚟/\*嘴/\*囉}]]呢,佢一定唔會\_\_\_ 寀。 承認剛剛下過雨呢,他一定不會的。

透過上述方法,我們測試了各個普通話和粵語語氣詞的句法分佈。結果印證了 Tang (1998) 有關(粵語)內外語氣詞的說法:外語氣詞只限於根句層次,內語氣詞則可處於根句或小句內。更重要的是兩項新的方法不僅限於普通話和粵語語氣詞研究,也可延伸到其他方言語氣詞研究上。

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# 晚清粤語中八個特有的句末語氣詞

## 趙梓汛

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從晚清至現代,粵語「句末語氣詞經歷了近兩百年的變遷。本文利用7部晚清粵語文獻對當時特有的8個句末語氣詞在語氣表達類型和情態義義項方面進行了詳細描寫。這8個語氣詞分別為:

1. 啦<sub>1</sub> [tsa<sup>55</sup>]

咪咁快啦  $_{1}$  。 先別這麼快吧。(Ball《1902》 ,136 頁)

mei13 kem33 fai33 tsa55

2. 吱 [tsi<sup>55</sup>]

你想買平貨所以就話我的貨唔好吱。(我猜)你是想買便宜貨所以才說我的貨不好。(Bridgman《1841》,234頁)

nei13 sœŋ25 mai13 p'eŋ21 fo33 so25 ji13 tsau22 wa22 ŋo13 tik55 fo33 m21 hou25 tsi55

3. 嗾 [ε<sup>55</sup>]

用過杯茶喉?多喝杯茶(好嗎)?(Bridgman《1841》,181頁)

juη22 kwo33 pui55 ts'a21 ε55

4. 麼 [mɔ<sup>55</sup>]

明日你去香港麽?明天你去香港嗎?(Bruce《1877》,第8課)

mɪŋ21 jɐt22 nei13 hœy33 hœŋ55 kɔŋ25 mɔ

5. 喊 [nε<sup>55</sup>]

算系幾多喊」?價錢算多少呢? (Bridgman《1841》,240頁)

syn33 hei22 kei25 tə55 n $\epsilon$ 55

<sup>」</sup>因晚清粵語文獻的作者以廣州和香港的方言作為記錄對象,筆者通過對比認為當時兩地的粵語語氣詞使用情況沒有明顯差異,所以若無特殊說明,本文的"粵語"是指通行于廣州和香港地區的廣府方言。

### 6. 啊<sub>1</sub>[ɔ<sup>55</sup>]

等我遞番的麵粉布顛過你啊」?讓我遞回給你一點麵粉布丁(好嗎)?(Bridgman《1841》,178頁)

ten25 no21 tei22 fan55 trk55 min22 fen25 pou33 tin55 kwo33 nei13 o55

### 7. 嚊<sub>2</sub>[pε<sup>22</sup>]

——做乜唔使講呢?為什麼不用說呢?

tsou22 met55 m21 sei25 kom25 kon25 ni55

——我見你嚊<sub>2</sub>。(因為)我看見你了唄。(Ball《1902》,38 頁)

ηο13 kin33 nei13 pε22

佢話信資唔夠話,。他說郵費不夠。(Ball《1902》,100頁)

k'œy13 wa22 sun33 tsi55 m21 kau33 wa13

分析指出,晚清粵語句末語氣詞的主要功能並不是表達語氣,而是調整情態,且句子的語氣類型為情態義的發揮提供了基本條件。有些語氣詞存在不同的變調形式,其輔助表達的語氣類型也有明確的分工。例如 "虧」" [wa³³] 和 "虧。" [wa¹³] 只出現在陳述句末,相反 "虧。" [wa²³] 則只出現在疑問句末。變調形式在語氣表達類型上不同的分工,使語氣詞發揮的情態義也不同。 "虧」" 和 "虧。" 強調或添加引述情態, "虧。" 卻可以在此基礎上添加對聽話人說過話語的提問義。有些語氣詞沒有變調形式,但它們只輔助表達一種語氣類型,如 "吱" 只用於陳述語氣, "麽" 只用於疑問語氣。還有一些則是同一語氣詞可輔助表達不同的語氣類型,如 "唉" 主要出現在祈使句末,同時也可以出現在陳述和疑問句末。後兩種情況表明了不同語氣詞所具備的情態義和其輔助表達的語氣之間存在一定的選擇範圍。如 "吱" 的情態義只局限在一種語氣的基礎上表達,而 "唉" 在陳述語氣裡起到提請注意的作用,在祈使和疑問語氣中則是表徵詢的意思。此外,表達不同語氣的語調調形也為語氣詞的使用提供了條件。如陳述、祈使句的語調都是平調形,而疑問句語調中有高升調形,即語調最終停留在高位。這些都為 "唉"進入這三種句子提供了條件。它的原字調是高平調,因此可以在不產生其他變調形式的情況下順利用在三種不同語氣當中。

另外,通過對源流和留存情況的考證,發現這些語氣詞主要在相互競爭之中優勝劣 汰,其中"可表達語氣類型廣"和"情態義義項多"是評判勝出與否的主要標準。粵語 句末語氣詞系統在過去兩百多年的發展中,整體呈現出"簡練化"和"概括化"的趨勢。

# 粵語量詞歷時演變的一些觀察 ——比較 19 世紀與 21 世紀的廣東話聖經及相關材料

## 鄭紹基、梁慧敏

香港理工大學

本文主要通過比較 19 世紀與 21 世紀廣東話聖經的平行經文,探索百多年來粵語量 詞的一些變化,並從中窺探粵語演變的一些趨勢。

本文所用的19世紀粵語聖經版本為1882年出版的「羊城土話」《馬太福音傳》、《馬可福音傳》、1883年出版的《路加傳福音書》、《約翰傳福音書》以及1872年出版的《使徒行傳》,而21世紀粵語聖經版本則為2010年由香港聖經公會出版的《新廣東話聖經》。以上材料均已經數碼化處理,建成語料庫。按情況需要,也會參考同時代的一些粵語書面材料,以作比對。

主要結果包括:一、某些量詞使用範圍縮小:如在 18 世紀文獻,「個」可用於名詞「鬼」與「屍」,但現在已分別由量詞「隻」和「條」取代;二、新興量詞的出現:如作為種類量詞的「樣」,在很多情況下被量詞「種」所代替,而量詞「種」在 18 世紀的粵語文獻中是罕見的;三、量詞的競爭:如「回」和「次」在 19 世紀粵語是並存的兩個動量詞,但在 21 世紀粵語中只剩下「次」,而「回」已在量詞的競爭中敗下陣來。

研究結果顯示,某些量詞的改變有向現代漢語靠攏的趨勢,從中反映出粵語由近代 到現代演變的一個方向。

# 粤語離合詞辨識小議

### 周家發

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離合詞是漢語及其方言語法中的特殊現象。離合詞有兩種形態:游離態和合併態(王俊(2011)),分別體現離合詞的「離」與「合」,其中游離態表現為三種形式:中間可插入某些詞項、顛倒詞序和略去某個音節。在上述三種形式中,第一種形式最引人注目,也常常用來作為辨識離合詞的準則之一。粵語跟普通話一樣也有離合詞,其情況跟普通話大同小異,例如從「我尋晚瞓咗個靚覺」這句可以斷定「瞓覺」是粵語的離合詞。

可是,粵語有三類非常活躍的成分,可以插入幾乎任何多音節詞的內部,包括:(a) 表示強烈感情的字,這些字又可細分為粗口字或其代用字(例如「乜」、「叉」、「Q」等) 以及「鬼」、「死」、「屁」等較為俚俗但不屬粗口的字;(b) 用於正反問句或「無論」條件句的「唔」字;(c) 用於反問句以表示否定或不屑意思的「乜嘢」或「咩」。這三類活躍成分不能用來作為辨識離合詞的準則,否則幾乎任何詞都是離合詞。

香港粵語可以佐證上述看法。一般認為「麻煩」不是離合詞;此外,沒有人會認為香港粵語口語中大量引入的英語詞(如 "sorry"和 "reply"等)是離合詞。可是上述活躍成分卻可以插入到「麻煩」和這些多音節英語詞中間,我們不難在香港聽到類似以下的句子(其中X代表粗口字):

麻 X / セ/叉/ Q / 鬼煩! (1)

我 re- 唔 reply 佢個 email 好呢? (2)

你都有做錯, sor- 咩-ry 啫? (3)

請注意當把其他詞項插入到「麻煩」和上述英語詞中間時,所得句子不合語法:

- \*今日麻咗你雨次煩添!(4)
- \* 我同佢 sor- 咗三次 -ry 架啦。 (5)

以往有關漢語普通話和粵語離合詞的論著大多沒有把上述活躍成分跟真正能辨識離合詞的詞項(例如上例中的「n次」)區分開來,例如李春玲(2009)和王俊(2011)都把能在中間插入「甚麼」作為辨識普通話離合詞的準則之一,歐陽偉豪(2012)則把能在中間插入「唔」或「乜」視為粵語離合詞的特性,本文的討論是對傳統說法的修正。本文主



張把上述三類活躍成分視為「中綴」,即作用於詞法層面的成分。加插了「中綴」的詞 只是合成詞,並無短語的性質,因此不能據此認為它們是離合詞。

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## 十九世紀廣東知識分子的語言生活

### 竹越美奈子

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眾所周知,書面語和口語在語體上存有一定的差異,但即使是在口語中,也存有兩種或兩種以上的語體問題。關於近代中國在口語中存在的語體的問題,日本學者曾經指出;在明清時代,中國的知識分子在較為正式的場合或就學術性話題進行交流時多用接近書面語的高雅語體進行交流,在談論日常生活或與非知識分子進行對話時,即使用本地的口語進行交流。那麼,廣東的情況如何呢?十九世紀的廣東知識分子在較為正式的場合使用怎樣的口語進行交流的呢?在談論日常生活或與非知識分子進行對話時的語言情況又是怎樣的呢?目前對早期粵語材料的研究主要是從歷史演變的角度進行描述,較少注意當時口語中存在的語體問題。

本文的目的是,從語體差異的角度,對早期粵語材料中句末助詞"呢","在/ 喺",結構助詞"的"等詞彙的使用情況進行分析,同時也對下面問題作出初步探討。 (一)廣東的知識份子在較為正式的場合用的"高級語體"是什麼樣的呢?(二)在日 常生活中使用的"低級語體"是什麼樣的呢?(三)當時來廣東的西洋人都是具有一定 修養的傳教士、外交官、記者、商人等。他們在中國生活,在家庭外要和當地的知識分 子交往,在教堂或家庭裏和非知識分子,如教徒、佣人等進行交流。他們在學習本地的 語言時有什麼樣的困難呢?(四)早期粵語材料反映的是當時真實的語言情況嗎?

《Easy Lessons in Chinese》是 1842 年美國傳教士 Williams 1842 編寫的綜合性的粵語教科書。編者 Williams 在編寫該書時特別注意到了粵語中的語體差異。拙文以該書為分析的主要對象,對以上的問題,從共時和歷時的角度分析,作出一初步的探討。



# Rasch Analysis of Elementary Second Language Learners Discriminating Cantonese Lexical Tones in Perception

#### Chi-Leung CHAN

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The present study examined the Cantonese lexical tones discriminating ability of elementary second language learners in terms of perception. A dichotomous item-response model is used to estimate theta values for the 50 elementary second language learners with various language backgrounds based on 30 Cantonese tonal discrimination items. Results show that T3/T6 discrimination topped individual item difficulty and the mean among items grouped according to tonal contrast, which is reasonable based on their similarity of fundamental frequency (f0) as well as pitch direction (level tones). It supports previous research where T3/T6 pair also presents difficulty to native adults, merging Cantonese speakers, early-deafened cochlear implantees as well as developing children. The present study provided insight into further calibration of Cantonese tonal discrimination instrument to measure the said latent trait of the learners more effectively by examining the person-item map. It suggested that more difficult items such as T6/T4 pair and T2/T5 pair are needed to separate person with higher ability, whereas items with dissimilar features such as T2/T4 pair could have been redundant and reduced for elementary second language learners who received limited training.

## Use of Verbal Particle faan<sup>55</sup> in Persuasive Context

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Verbal particle faan<sup>55</sup> has three major usages: *directional verb* (1), *verbal particle indicate resumption* (2), and *reflexive denotation* (3), which is described as "(idiomatically) used reflexively to denote acquisition or retention of an item 'for oneself'" (Mathew & Yip, 1994:214).

hang faan ukkei walk back home 'Walk back home'
 tai faan syu read back book 'Resume reading'
 yam faan bui cha drink back CL tea 'Have a cup of tea'

Usage of (1) is limited to motion verbs followed by a destination. We observed that faan<sup>55</sup> in (3) is followed by a classifier, which differentiates it from the meaning of (2). This paper aims to report a recent syntactic change, in which deletion of the classifier is observed and subsequently causes a possible semantic ambiguity illustrated in (5) and (7). The aforementioned structural change is seen commonly used among street promoters from younger generation when they promote a product or service.

4. gaaisiu faan ha	introduce back CL	'let me introduce'
5. gaaisiu faan ø	introduce back	'resume introduction'/'let me introduce'
6. sanching faan jeung	apply back CL	'apply for one (credit card)'
7. sanching faan ø	apply back	'apply again'/'why don't (you) apply'

Because the receivers whom these promoters are engaging are mostly strangers, the usage of faan<sup>55</sup> is unlikely to be resumptive. Moreover, we found that (3) implies an action more than "reflexive for one self", but a *diminutive action* (towards either self or others) used as casual *suggestive* act as shown in (8) and (9). This explains why the change is still limited to certain verbs related to suggestive/persuasive usage.

8. tai faan cheung hei la watch back CL movie PRT

'why don't you watch a movie (or something else)'



9. tai faan cheung hei sin watch back CL movie PRT

'I am going to watch a movie (or something else)'

Finally, this phenomenon can be explained as the speaker's attempt to minimize the number of syllables, as they need to repeat the same utterance for many times.

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# Hovering between Syntax and Lexicons: A Glimpse into Disyllabic Final Elements

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This paper studies the utterance-final word formation process that involves a connective such as zi3, sin1, and zau6, and a following predicative. The elements concerned include zi3kei4 'in no way', sin1hou2 'in high hopes', zau6zan1 'in reality', and so on. Often conceived a collocation between two words, they do present a different semantic sense and co-occurrence pattern from other "less-collocated" counterparts. Semantically or in actual use, sentences with these final elements function less like a conditional, carrying a strong sense of stance and epistemicity. In terms of the structure, it is more difficult, if not impossible, to separate the two members therein with an intrusive morpheme. The predicative part is susceptible to negation, superlativization, as well as other operations, which alters the sentence meaning altogether. That makes it just as plausible to consider the collocation as one single lexicon.

The goal of this preliminary study is to provide a wider perspective on this issue. Sweetser (1990) and Shen (2003) shed light on the possible change of "domains" associated with these elements. The epistemic modality is resulted from the semantic bleaching of the predicative. The less denotative it is, the less likely the preceding connective to be considered as a true marker of conditionality. This paper probes into the interplay between semantic change and functional alteration. It calls into question whether grammatlicalization or lexicalization is at work. The usual track of their lexicalization, if any, is for them to be reanalyzed as a single lexicon. Crosslinguistic evidence shows that it is not uncommon for reanalysis to take place in this manner. However, one may wonder what functional category they represent when lexicalized. Besides, the rather simple semantic change might be translated into a complicated process of structural alteration, if we follow the traditional accounts of formal syntax. Based on Tang (2015), this paper offers a simple way out for this syntactic hurdle. Accordingly, the predicative nature of these final elements is retained, regardless of what process is involved in their semantic change.

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# Ho² as a Talk Coordinator in Cantonese Conversations— A Discourse-Pragmatic Perspective

#### Winnie CHOR and Foong-Ha YAP

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This paper examines how the utterance-final particle  $ho^2$  in Cantonese contributes to the management of local and global coherence in conversational discourse.  $Ho^2$  is traditionally subcategorized as an interrogative particle and described as a coaxing particle to turn the host sentence into a yes-no question (Yau 1980).  $Ho^2$  is biased in nature and when it is used to ask a question, the speaker has a certain presupposition in mind, and would expect from the hearer some kind of positive reply, including an agreement or a confirmation (Matthews and Yip 1994; Li et al 1995; Fang 2004; Peng 2010; among others). In other words, a secondary act of confirmation seeking is often always performed on top of the primary act of questioning.

While recent studies such as Wong et. al (2013) and Lam (2014) have analyzed the uses of  $ho^2$  from syntactic perspectives, our present paper analyzes the uses of  $ho^2$  from a discourse-pragmatic perspective, using Schiffrin's (1987) model of discourse coherence. Based on data obtained from Cantonese corpora, we show how  $ho^2$  can be used as an interactional particle, both at the local level involving adjacency pairs and at the more global level involving speaker's intersubjective stance and interactional goals. We show how  $ho^2$ , as an information-seeking particle, is frequently recruited as an affirmation-seeking and solidarity-enhancing device. Special attention is given to the extended uses of  $ho^2$  in terms of Schiffrin's exchange and action structures, as well as participation frameworks and information states, with our analysis highlighting how speakers effectively use  $ho^2$  to convey their (inter)subjective footing and in the process negotiate meaningful affiliative/disaffiliative interaction among interlocutors, and in so doing achieve discourse coherence for effective communication.

Our analysis is based on data obtained from the following sources: (i) A Linguistic Corpus of Mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century Hong Kong Cantonese, (ii) the Hong Kong Cantonese Corpus (HKCanCor), and (iii) the PolyU Corpus of Spoken Chinese. From time to time we will also use examples that we as native speakers observe from everyday interactions in Cantonese.



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## Diachronic and Grammatical Comparison between Modern Cantonese and Classical Chinese

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This paper presents a grammatical comparison between Modern Cantonese and what I have called Classical Chinese, intended as the literary language, *wenyan*, of the written documents. The aim of such a large comparison lies on the attempt to rediscuss some general statements, like the widespread idea according to which Middle Chinese is, in phonology as in lexicon and grammar, the mother language of all the living dialects of China with the lone exception of Min dialect, which lacks of labiodental fricatives (we know now that the labiodentalization is a sound that took place during Middle Chinese period).

In order to avoid the impression of an impartial work, this paper will show both grammatical similarities and differences. The lexical and syntactical similarities in the general grammar are visibly "superficial", and in addition could not only be adequate just in a partial way, but also "illusive", because they could give us the illusion of a relationship that has still to be proved in a more convincing way. Without mentioning the phonological proximity or some cases of tone sandhi, like the case of yan 焉 (in Classical Chinese, if used as a postverbal particle yan had a voiced onset (MC: ian), which should have given a modern pronunciation yán, while yan used as an interrogative particle had a glottal stop (MC: ?an), corresponding to the modern pronunciation in the first tone; this distinction, which is totally absent in Mandarin, is still preserved in Cantonese) or the case of wu 舞 (like in Classical Chinese, wu with the meaning of "dancing" is pronounced mou<sup>28</sup>, while with the sense of "make noise, hubbub" is mou<sup>85</sup>), the grammatical similarities between Classical Chinese and Cantonese are in the general word order (S-V-O), in some phenomenons like topicalization (only in the basic form), in the comparative and in lexicon. On the other hand there is a long list of dissimilarities, like the use of the aspect marker hoi  $\mathcal{H}$ , used to emphasize an activity protracted over a period of time which has become habitual, absent in Classical, like in Modern Mandarin, the complex system of final particles, both monosyllabic and polysyllabic, and so on. And a deeper investigation clearly shows several differences even in those which has supposed to be "resemblances", like topicalization and exposure.



The general similarities in the grammatical system could be only a common feature of languages of the same linguistic group or which share a poor morphology, while phonological and lexical similarities might not necessarily imply a relationship, otherwise Irish, which shows a great distance to other Indo-European languages, should be considered an isolated language, which is not. An investigation based solely on the lexical similarities, even though sometimes corroborated by phonological correspondences, should not be considered a valid point of argumentation, otherwise Arab, Urdu, Persian, Turkish, Swahili and even Malay might be considered genetically related, and they obviously are not.

Whether Cantonese descends from a Vernacular Chinese it requires a further investigation and a huge number of evidences, like in the case of the Roman languages, like Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, etc., which evolved from the Vulgar Latin of medieval epoch.

In conclusion, this dissertation is not a mere comparison between Cantonese and Classical Chinese: it is an attempt - albeit slightly superficial - to propose a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary method of research starting from a linguistic perspective (in this case comparative grammar), whose outcome could be useful to understand or to better comprehend this complex - and sometimes even controversial - topic.

## Cantonese Disjunctions and Unconditionals: A Rating Study

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Traditionally, *waak6ze2* and *ding6* are described as 'or' in a statement and 'or' in a question, respectively. To illustrate, in declarative sentences, only *waak6ze2* is acceptable:

- (1) Koei5 zung1ji3 bou2lo4 √ waak6ze2/\* ding6 lai6saa1. 'S/he likes Paul or Lisa.' In interrogative sentences, both are grammatical but they are accompanied by different particles and interpreted differently. With waak6ze2, it ends with aa4 and is a yes/no question while with ding6, it ends with aa3 and is an alternative question:
  - (2) Nei5 jiu3 zuk1 *waak6ze2* faan6 *aa4*? (3) Nei5 jiu3 zuk1 *ding6* faan6 *aa3*? 'Would you like congee or rice?' (*yes/no Q*) 'Would you like congee or rice?' (alt. Q)

*Ding6* is also used in so-called unconditionals:

(4) Mou4leon6 gam1 go3 ji6jyut6 jau5 jaa6gau2 hou2 *ding6* mou5 jaa6gau2 hou2, ceot1nin4 ngo5 dou1 wui5 lou5di1. 'Whether or not there's a 29th this February, I will be older next year.'

**PROPOSAL:** Employing the framework of Suppositional Inquisitive Semantics (InqS; Groenendijk & Roelofsen, 2014), I propose that *waak6ze2* forms a singleton set with a classical/declarative disjunction, while *ding6* is an inquisitive disjunction which introduces a set of alternative propositions.

- (5) a. If  $\llbracket \varphi \rrbracket$ ,  $\llbracket \psi \rrbracket \subseteq D_{(s,t)}$ , then  $\llbracket \varphi \text{ WAAK6ZE2 } \psi \rrbracket := \{ \lambda w. [\varphi \vee_d \psi](w) \}$ 
  - b. For any type  $\tau$ , if  $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket$ ,  $\llbracket \beta \rrbracket \subseteq D_{\tau}$ , then  $\llbracket \alpha \text{ DING6 } \beta \rrbracket := \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket \cup \llbracket \beta \rrbracket$

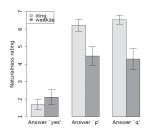
Thus, in a declarative sentence like (1), 'p waak6ze2 q' denotes a singleton set  $\{p \lor_d q\}$ , while 'p ding6 q' is ungrammatical because ding6 introduces alternatives but the alternatives are never deployed, which causes a type mismatch.

Turning to interrogative sentences like (2) and (3), I propose that aa4 is a polar interrogative particle, while aa3 is an exhaustification presupposition particle. Thus, 'p waak6ze2 q aa4?' is a yes/no question which is a set containing two propositions, 'Yes, p or q' and 'No,  $\neg p \land \neg q$ '.

In contrast, 'p ding6 q aa3?' is an alternative question which is a set of alternatives, 'p' and 'q'. **UNCONDITIONALS:** An unconditional like (4) is composed as follows: The "antecedent" of the unconditional is a set,  $\{\lambda w.p(w), \lambda w. \neg p(w)\}$ , and by pointwise functional application, we obtain  $\{\lambda w.[p \rightarrow q](w), \lambda w.[\neg p \rightarrow q](w)\}$ . Finally, dou1 collapses the set of propositions:

(6) a.  $\mathbb{I} \text{ DOU1}(\varphi)$   $\mathbb{I} := \{ \cap [\varphi] \}$  b.  $\mathbb{I} \text{ MOU4LEON6 } p \text{ DING6 } \neg p, \text{ DOU1-} q \mathbb{I} = \{ \lambda w. [(p \to q) \land (\neg p \to q)](w) \}$ 

This InqS analysis of unconditionals can also account for the connotations of unconditionals. **NATURALNESS RATING EXPERIMENT:** To empirically justify the analysis, a naturalness rating experiment was conducted. Figures 1 and 2 confirm the predictions made by the analysis. Answering 'yes' to *ding6*-questions is judged unnatural (t = 9.2, p < 0.001). Responding to *ding6*-questions by giving a choice 'p' or 'q' (Answer 'p': t = -7.5, p < 0.001; Answer 'q': t = -9.4, p < 0.001). The use of *ding6* is more preferred in unconditionals than plain declaratives or conditionals (compared with plain declaratives 'p': t = -16, p < 0.001; with conditionals: t = -16, p < 0.001). The use of *waak6ze2* is more preferred in plain declaratives or conditionals than the use of *ding6* (compared with *ding6*-declaratives: t = 8.6, p < 0.001; with *ding6*-conditionals: t = 8.8, p < 0.001). (One remaining puzzle: *waak6ze2* sometimes acts like *ding6*. My speculations: 1) Answering just 'yes' to *waak6ze2*-questions is judged unnatural due to its uncooperativity. 2) *Waak6ze2* in an unconditional is judged quite natural because *waak6ze2* is more like English *or*.)



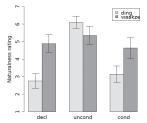


Figure 1: Average naturalness of the responses

Figure 2: Average naturalness of the constructions

# Sentence-Final *Wo3* and *Lo1*: A Default-Logic Analysis of the (Un)expectedness

#### Yurie HARA and Eric McCREADY

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Luke (1990) shows that the meaning of wo3 involves the violation of expectations as in (1).

- (1) C: Me and my husband are both very straight and we don't like to lie and cheat others.
  - C: daanhai keui le jau how jungyi gongdaaiwaa go *wo3*.

    'But he likes to lie very much-wo3.' (Luke 1990)

In contrast, *lo1* is the inverse of *wo3*; it indicates expectedness rather than unexpectedness. In (2), if it is a common knowledge that Jimmy lies all the time, then it is obvious why A is so unhappy: Jimmy likes to lie very much.

- (2) Context: A is bothered by his son Jimmy lying all the time. A's husband, who also knows that Jimmy lies very often, asks A why she is so unhappy. A thinks it should be obvious to him, but A answers anyway:
  - A: Jimmy hou zungji gongdaaiwaa *lo1*. 'Jimmy likes to lie very much-Lo1.'

Wo3 and lo1 can indicate not only the (un)expectedness of the content but also that of the current discourse move that the speaker makes (examples and discussion omitted for space reasons). This paper formally characterizes the notion of (un)expectedness using normality conditionals and provides a default-logic analysis of wo3 and lo1.

**PROPOSAL:** In Default logics, '>' is a so-called 'normality conditional' which indicates conclusions that can be drawn under normal circumstances, i.e. in the absence of defeaters. The conditional ' $\varphi > \psi$ ' can be read 'if  $\varphi$ , then normally it follows that  $\psi$ '.

We characterize (un)expectedness using normality conditionals, and the sets of them that we can view as making up our body of world knowledge. In this setting, an expected fact is one which corresponds to the consequent of a normality conditional in the knowledge base such that the antecedent of that conditional holds, while an unexpected fact is one which corresponds to the negation of the consequent:

- (3) Suppose that  $\phi > \psi$  is part of world knowledge and  $\phi$  is known. Then,
  - a.  $\neg \psi$  is unexpected, **Unexpected**( $\neg \psi$ ) and
  - b.  $\psi$  is expected, **Expected**( $\psi$ ).

Thus,  $\neg \psi$  is unexpected if it conflicts with expectations about the normal course of events and  $\psi$  is expected if it is a natural consequence given the background knowledge. Using this notion of (un)expectedness (3), we propose that wo3 and lo1 are conventional implicature (CI) inducers (Potts 2005, McCready 2010) which project a pair of independent meanings. One is an at-issue meaning which is the input of the suffixed utterance passed on unmodified, the prejacent proposition or discourse move. The other is an expressive component or CI meaning which marks the prejacent proposition or discourse move as (un)expected.

(4) a. 
$$\llbracket p\text{-WO} \rrbracket = \langle p, \mathsf{Unexpected}(\neg q) \rangle$$
 b.  $\llbracket p\text{-LO} \rrbracket = \langle p, \mathsf{Expected}(q) \rangle$ 

In case of content-level (un)expectedness, q is the consequent of the normality conditional r > p. Thus, q = p. In case of meta-level (un)expectedness, q is the consequent of the normality conditional regarding discourse relations.

**DERIVING (UN)EXPECTEDNESS:** Consider (1) and suppose that our world-knowledge assumptions include  $straight(m) \land straight(f) \land son.of(s, m \oplus f) > straight(s)$ . C's first utterance sets up that the antecedent  $straight(m) \land straight(f) \land son.of(s, m \oplus f)$  is known. Thus, because the antecedent is satisfied, but nonetheless the consequent is denied,  $(\neg straight(s))$ , (3a) applies and C's son's actual behaviour described by the wo3-suffixed utterance is unexpected,  $Unexpected(\neg straight(s))$ . The role of wo is then to mark this fact and that the speaker recognizes it. Thus, the wo3-suffixed utterance has two discourse effects. One is a plain assertion providing a piece of information that C's son likes to lie very much, while the other is the introduction of an expressive meaning which indicates that the content of the assertion is unexpected given the extant background knowledge.

Similarly, in (2), it is a reasonable assumption that people who lies all the time like to lie (p > q). The context says that is a common knowledge that Jimmy lies all the time (p). By (3b), thus, it is expected that Jimmy likes to lie, **Expected**(q).

## **Contact-induced VOT Changes in Zhongshan Min**

## František KRATOCHVÍL

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The Yue speaking area of Southern China contains a number of dialectal islands belonging to Hakka and Min. The longstanding contact between these languages and Cantonese brings about gradual convergence in various parts of the grammatical system. This paper deals with the phonetic properties of stops in Zhongshan Min, a dialect of the Zhongshan county, north of Macao, showing signs of phonological convergence with Cantonese (and in extension also with Mandarin).

Egerod (1956:27-28), describing the phonology of the Lungdu variety of Zhongshan Min, reported three series of stops, exemplified by the bilabial contrast between /mb/, /p/, and /p<sup>h</sup>/. Egerod rendered their phonetic realisation with features such as [±aspirated], [±prenasalized], and [±voiced]. That system fits well in the general Min type, where series of three or more stop series are attested (Iwata et al. 1979, Shen 2012) and reconstructed for Proto-Min (Norman 1974, Handel 2003). Iwata et al. (1979:66) report a lead VOT for voiced stops and two types of lag for voiceless stops [±aspirated]. In Shibei Min (Shen 2012:42), the three-way stop contrast includes phonation (creaky, modal, slack).

Our data, collected between 2013 and present, shows that in the Lungdu (Daai Chung village - 大涌), the three-way VOT distinction reported by Egerod's 1950s study shifted to a three-way voiceless type. The VOT mean and standard deviation values partly overlap for some speakers, while generally, VOT regions are assumed to be discrete cross-linguistically. Such shift may be an indication of a merger of [±voiced] stops, while the the [±aspirated] feature is preserved.

We assume, that the original system described by Egerod contained a lead VOT in voiced stops and a short and long lag for [-voiced; ±aspirated], resembling systems such as Thai (Lisker and Abramson 1964:404). In the current system, the negative values of lead VOT play almost no role, and the three-way contrast is located in the lag area, resembling the Korean system described in Lisker and Abramson (1964:404). Cho and Ladefoged (1999:224) observe that such systems are rare, and the contrast may require an additional phonetic strengthening (e.g. pulmonics vs. ejectives in North American languages such as Apache, Hupa, Navajo and Tlingit).



Taking into consideration different age groups among our informants, we explore the effect of language contact with Cantonese and Mandarin (with simple short and long lag voiceless opposition - Lisker and Abramson 1964:394; Ng and Wong 2009:785), as the ultimate driver of the phonological convergence leading to phonological attrition (Cook 1989; Bullock and Gerfen 2004). We also examine whether new phonetic categories such as vowel quality, tone, and phonation are being recruited as carriers of the phonological contrast, in an attempt to repair the consequences of the phonological convergence with Cantonese.

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## Proximal and Distal Demonstratives in Hong Kong and Macau Cantonese

#### Joaquim Io-Kei KUONG

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This study investigates and reexamines the use of proximal and distal demonstratives in Hong Kong and Macau Cantonese, as evident in the online blogs, TV dramas and daily conversation. Tong (2010) observes that whereas the distal go2 個 (as in go2 go3 個個 'that one') is shared by Hong Kong Cantonese (HKC) and Macau Cantonese (MC), these two Cantonese varieties differ in the inventory of distal demonstratives, in that MC has two other variants go1 ② and lou55/lu5 ② unfound in HKC. This study has discovered that while lou55 ② and go1 ② continue to be used in Macau, there is an increase in the use of go2 ②

Proximal and distal demonstratives are known to co-occur with a classifier and/or a noun that denotes a person, an object, a place/location, or time (cf. Yuan, 1960; Matthews and Yip, 1994; Rao, et al., 1996/2012, Tong, 2010, Tang, 2015, among others). However, in the temporal meaning, an alternative proximal demonstrative  $gam1 \Leftrightarrow can$  also be used. Studies such as Matthews and Yip (1994), and Rao, et al. (2012) have reported that in expressing the meaning of 'this time' Cantonese uses  $gam1 \Leftrightarrow$ , as in the expression gam1  $ci3 \Leftrightarrow$ % 'this time.' This study has found that both HKC and MC are currently developing a new proximal demonstrative expression in the temporal meaning, as in gam1 jat1  $ci3 \Leftrightarrow$ —% 'this (one) time'. This expression involving the numeral jat1 — 'one', we suggest, is modeled after other temporal expressions like ha6 (jat1) ci3 " (on) which occasion', and may also be the result of analogy from the Mandarin expression zhe yi ci or zhei ci "this (one) time'.

Finally, syntactically speaking, we propose that such demonstratives function as a determiner, without being grammaticalized as pronouns, unlike their counterparts *zhe* 這 'this'



and na 那 'that' in Mandarin, as shown in the ungrammatical Cantonese sentence \*ni1/go2/go1 hai6 mat1je3 呢 / 嗰 / 戈係乜嘢 ? 'what is this/that'. We further claim that  $gam1 \Leftrightarrow$  as a demonstrative determiner has a [+singular] feature, but the other Cantonese demonstratives are not marked in the specification of the [number] feature, hence allowing for either a singular or plural numeral to follow it, as in ni1 yat1/gei3 ci3 呢— / 幾次 'this time/these few times' and explaining the ungrammaticality of \*gam1 gei3 ci3 今幾次 'these few times'.



## The Temporal Interpretations of the Post-Verbal Dak in Cantonese

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The notional category of modality can be expressed in the form of an auxiliary, affix, particle (Palmer 2001). Cantonese is special in that it has a post-verbal modal, namely -dak, which is ambiguous between deontic reading and epistemic reading (Cheung 2007, Matthews & Yip 1994, Cheng & Sybesma 2005 among others). Studies on the modal meaning of dak are substantial; however, the discussion on how the modal dak gives rise to temporal interpretation is rare in Cantonese literature. And in fact the relation between modality and temporality is not novel in the literature (Jacqueline & Jacqueline 2008 among others). The present study examines dak in bi-clausal sentences and shows that it carries temporal meaning (c.f. (1)). The construction has two major characteristics, namely (a) the sentence is ambiguous in temporal interpretations (c.f. (2)) and (b) dak cannot be replaced by pre-verbal modals, e.g.  $ho^2ji^5$  (c.f. (3)).

- (1) Keoi<sup>5</sup> wan<sup>1</sup>-DAK<sup>1</sup> syu<sup>1</sup> lei<sup>4</sup>, go<sup>3</sup>-si<sup>3</sup> dou<sup>1</sup> haau<sup>2</sup>-jyun<sup>4</sup> laa<sup>3</sup> 'At the time / Slightly before the time s/he finishes her revision, the exam will have ended.'
- (2) Two temporal readings: i) the end of the exam may take place 'around' the END of the revision and ii) the end of the exam may even take place 'around' the BEGINNING of the revision, provided that the revision has not started while the above utterance is made.
- (3)  $?Keoi^5 ho2ji^5 wan^1-jyun^4 syu^1 lei^4, go^3-si^3 dou^1 haau^2-jyun^4 laa^3$ .

I propose that the modal readings of dak give rise to the temporal readings: when dak is interpreted as 'potential', it is associated with the result state of the eventuality, the ENDING reading thus arises; when dak is interpreted as 'permission', it is associated with the process of the eventuality, and thus the BEGINNING reading arises. Pre-verbal modals lack the potential reading (c.f. Cheng & Sybesma 2005) and thus the ENDING reading, which is essential in the co-occurrence with the clause final particle  $lei^4$ , exemplified in (2).

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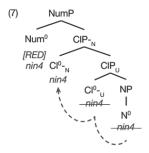
## (Inherently) Count Nouns in Cantonese and the Implications

#### Charles LAM

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**Problem:** Some nouns in Cantonese resist co-occurrence with classifiers (1) and occur in bare noun reduplication (2a-b). The present study investigate the properties of these irregular nouns and argue that their distribution can be explained by extending Cheng (2012)'s analysis. These nouns are irregular because Cantonese nouns often require a classifier for individuation, i.e. to turn mass substance to quantifiable objects (3-4). By Cheng's *de*-test (5) and adjective test (6), nouns like *nin4* 'year' and *jat6* 'day' are count/individuated.

- (1) jat1 (\*go3) {nin4 / jat6 } one CL year / day 'a year/day'
- (3) jat1 \*(zoeng1) toi2 one CL table 'a table'
- (5) jat1 (\*go3) nin4 one CL year Intended: 'a year'
- (2a) nin4 nin4 (2b) jat6 jat6 year year day day 'every year' 'every day'
- (4) zoeng1 zoeng1 toi2 CL CL table 'every table'
- (6) \*jat1 (go3) coeng4 nin4 one CL long year Intended: 'a long year'



Analysis: Reduplication data supports Cheng's claim that individuation in Cantonese is done at the classifier-level. Specifically, the present analysis consists of two parts: First, the copying from [RED] at Num<sup>0</sup> is motivated by the general rule of syntactic reduplication (Travis 2003). Because regular nouns require classifier reduplication, it indicates that the reduplicant copies syntactically from  $CL^0$  (not  $N^0$ ). Second, for inherently count nouns, the bare noun reduplication for the *every*-reading must be represented as (7), in which *nin4* 'year' cyclically raises to  $Cl^0$ - $_N$  from  $N^0$  to become individuated, then gets reduplicated, which gives the 'every year' reading. The  $N \rightarrow Cl_N$  movement not only explains the bare noun reduplication of these inherently count nouns, but also explains why these nouns resist classifiers in general.



**Implications:** (I) This study contributes the observation and syntactic analysis of inherently count nouns in Cantonese. (II) With Cheng's dual-CL structure providing the expressiveness for count-mass distinction, the present analysis (7) also explains why bare noun reduplication of regular nouns (8) would denote kind-reference. These regular nouns are unindividuated because of the absence of a classifier, so the multiplication of unindividuated mass do not give rise to *every*-reading, because mass nouns are cumulative predicates (Krifka 1998).

- (8) a. wun2 wun2 dip6 dip6
  bowl bowl plate plate
  'dishes'
- b. toi2 toi2 dang3 dang3 table table chair chair 'furniture'

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## On the Interaction between Negation and Aspects in Grammaticalisation: A Cross-Linguistic Study of Three Chinese Varieties

#### Cherry Chit-Yu LAM

The University of Cambridge

This study takes three Chinese varieties, namely, Mandarin, Hong Kong Cantonese (HKC) and Gaozhou Cantonese (GZC)<sup>1</sup> for a pseudo-diachronic investigation based on an adaptation of Croft's (1991) negative-existential cycle. According to Croft's interpretation, I have identified these three Chinese varieties to stand at three different stages of the Cycle, as schematised in figure 1 below.

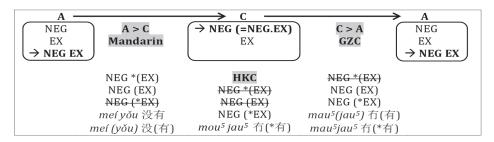


Figure 1. The three Chinese varieties in Croft's Cycle.

A variety spoken in Maoming, a south-western county in Guangdong Province, China. Unlike Mandarin and HKC, GZC has only one general negator *mau*<sup>5</sup>.



> Perfect > Perfective

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## Associating to the Left: The Case in English, Mandarin and Cantonese

#### Cindy Wan-Yee LAU

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This study examines association with focus (AwF) in English, Mandarin and Cantonese, especially the case of leftward AwF. AwF concerns the relationship between the focus particle (FP) and the elements under its scope. Tancredi (1990) mentioned that operator like *only* must associates with elements in its c-command domain. However, evidence from English *even* in (1), Mandarin *cai* (2), and Cantonese *sin* (3) show that these particles can associate with an element to its left.

- (1) A [professor] $_{\rm F}$  is even at the party.
- (2) Laowang [zheben]<sub>F</sub> shu *cai* mai.
   (3) [Gwongdung waa]<sub>F</sub> *sin* wui gam gong.
   Old Wang this-CL book CAI buy
   Cantonese SIN will that say
   'Old Wang buys only THIS book.'
   'Only CANTONESE has this saying.'

Previous studies (Elrewine 2014, Hole 2004) suggested that leftward AwF is possible when the focus is originated under the c-command domain of the focus particle and the associated focus moves to the left of the particle. However, AwF with the base-generated topic in Cantonese appears to be a counter example, as in (4).

(4) [Singkeisaam]<sub>F</sub> ne, tousyugun sin wui jausik.
 Wednesday SFP library SIN will close
 'Only on WEDNESDAY, the library will be closed.'

Also, even and cai can associate with elements on their right, but sin cannot.

- (5) Alex *even* took the [turtle]<sub>E</sub> to school.
- (6) Xiao Wang *cai* maile [yi]<sub>F</sub>-ben shu. (7) \*Siuming *sin* jam2gwo3 [nei]<sub>F</sub> zi zau.

  Little Wang CAI buy-ASP 1-CL book Siuming SIN drink-ASP this CL wine

  'Little Wang only bought ONE book.' 'Siuming has drunk only THIS bottle of wine.'



Contrary to previous studies on leftward AwF, Cantonese *sin* seems to demonstrate different behavior. Despite discussing conditional sentence, *sin* can associate with either the topic or the subject of the sentence. It is found that the selection of focus (either subject/topic) is related to the number of possible alternates found, so the one with limited number of alternates is more possible to be the focus. This study also uses auxiliary as a test to diagnose the syntactic position of *sin* and concludes with the existence of two types of leftward AwF. The first type like *even* and *cai* which encodes inner focus projection and c-commands the whole sentence so that every element can be the focus; the second type like *sin* which encode outer focus projection, associating with topic/subject.

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## A Patient-Subject Construction in Cantonese

#### Elaine LAU and Stephen MATTHEWS

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A novel patient-subject construction (1a) emerged from children's and adults' elicited production. Such construction only appeared when the target was an object relative clause with an inanimate subject and an animate object (IA), as shown in (1b), but not in other animacy configurations or relative clauses of other NP types, such as subject relative clauses.

(1) a. Patient-subject relative clause: ВВ RC \_\_\_ 冚住 bi4bi1 kam2zyu6 zoeng1 pei2 go2 go3cover-CONT baby CLblanket that CL'the baby being covered by the blanket' Target object relative clause with an inanimate subject and an animate object: 「RC張 嗰 BB冚住 zoeng1 bi4bi1 pei2 kam2zyu6 go2 go3CLblanket cover-CONT that CLbaby 'the baby that the blanket is covering'

The relative clause in (1a) can be analysed as a subject relative clause based on the main clause in (2).

(2) Patient-subject construction: 個 ВВ 冚住 張 被 bi4bi1 go3 kam2zyu6 zoeng1 pei2 baby cover-CONT CLblanket 'the baby is being covered by the blanket'

The original patient object becomes the subject, whereas the original agent subject becomes the object of the patient-subject construction. The switch of the syntactic positions does not trigger a change in meaning of the predicate event; the original transitive sense, such as the meaning of the blanket covering the baby in (1b), is preserved. There is, however, a slight difference in semantics between the target transitive construction and the patient-subject construction: the latter carries a sense of describing a state experiencing by the target referent, instead of describing the occurrence of an event, making the patient subject more like an experiencer in the predicate.



The construction resembles an unaccusative one with the subject being the patient of the predicate, yet it is not an unaccusative verb as it is not intransitive; it takes an object. It is similar to the passive voice, which promotes the object to the subject position and demotes the subject to lower positions, yet it does not have the appropriate grammatical markings for passive voice; it is not marked by *bei2*, and neither does the agent become an oblique object. It also resembles locative inversion, as suggested by the verb often marked by the continuous aspect *zyu6*, yet it is not necessarily marked by *zyu6*.

We discuss the nature of the patient-subject constructions and how the relative clause type in (1a) may be derived from main clauses as in (2) which to our knowledge have yet to be analysed.

## Gamzai as a Prospective Aspect Head in Cantonese

### Margaret LEE, Katherine HSIAO and Jonah LIN

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This work studies the grammatical properties of the Cantonese word *gamzai*. Tang (2009) and Lee (2013) propose that *gamzai* is an approximator which expresses the meaning of *almost* p. (1) is an example. They suggest that *gamzai* is an equivalent of *chabuduo* in Mandarin Chinese and *almost* in English.

(1) Keoi gung-jyun cang lau gamzai.

He afford-finish CL house GAMZAI

'He has almost paid off the loan for the flat.' (Tang, 2009, p. 234)

However, *gamzai* and these two approximators are very different. Among the differences are the following. First, (2a) shows that *chabuduo* can modify a stative predicate. On the other hand, the ungrammaticality of (2b), where *gamzai* is used, shows that it is generally incompatible with stative predicates.

- (2) a. Yindu-dui chabuduo shi suoyou qiusui zhong zui nianqing de. India-team almost be all team middle most young DE. 'The Indian team is almost the youngest among all.' (Adapted from Yuan 2011)
  - b. \*Jandou-deoi hai sojau kaudeoi zung zeoi sai ge gamzai.India-team be all team middle most young DE GAMZAI

Second, *almost* as a modal approximator can express a counterfactual meaning (Greenburg & Ronen, 2013). (3) can mean that John would have arrived at 3 if he had not missed the train, though in reality he missed it. *Gamzai* lacks such counterfactual use.

- (3) a. John almost arrived at 3. (Greenburg & Ronen, 2013, p. 2)
  - b. Zoengsaam saam dim-zung lai-dou gamzai.Zoengsaam three o'clock come-arrve GAMZAI '[Paraphrase] It was almost 3 when Zoengsaam arrived.'



This work proposes that *gamzai* is a prospective aspect head which expresses the speaker's prediction on the imminent realization of the event. (1) actually gives a temporal reading according to which the approaching of the fulfillment of the event comes quickly. The dynamicity of the predicates is required because of the aspectual agreement between the aspect head *gamzai* and the predicate, in the sense of Shen 2004. *Gamzai* therefore is a predicate-level aspectual head having a wider scope than the predicate. Its sentence-final position can thus be accounted for by the same operation of light predicate raising that results in sentence-final modal elements in the theory of Simpson 2001.

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## Derivation of Anaphoric Object Drop in Cantonese and their Counterparts in English

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In this paper, I attempt to examine (1) types of anaphoric object drop in Cantonese and (2) their derivation of object drop, particularly compared to English. Two types of anaphoric object drop in Cantonese were studied: (a) specific and (b) non-specific object drop: (i) non-specific existential object drop, (ii) non-specific generic and (iii) non-specific attributive object drop. As for the derivation of object drop, I assume that all null arguments in Cantonese have the same featural composition: [uD, N] (Holmberg 2010a; see Cheng and Sybesma 2014 for NP structure). They have an unvalued D-feature which needs to be assigned a value in the course of the derivation, and a nominal feature which means they can occur in all positions where nominal constituents are found.

- (1) [uD, N]
  - I explain that [uD] in Cantonese can be valued from an antecedent, but it is with a referential index [ $D_i$  N] or a referential variable [ $D_x$  N]. The valuation can be depicted as in (2), where DP needs to be in a local relation to the null pronoun.
- (2)  $DP_i \dots [uD, N] \rightarrow DP_i \dots [D_i, N]$

#### An aboutness topic feature accounts for specific object drop

One difference between Cantonese and English is that Cantonese declarative sentences have a feature in C which requires a topic specifier. I will call this feature [Aboutness topic] (see Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) on the typology of topics).

(3) sannggwo, ngo zeoi zungji hoengziu fruit, I most like banana '(As for) fruits, I like bananas most.'

As for English, it has no general aboutness topic-feature in C. What it has, as an optional feature of C, is a [contrastive] feature, triggering movement of a contrast-marked phrase to spec,



CP. The following example shows that English does not allow movement of an aboutness topic, and that it allows the movement of a contrastive topic.

(4) A: Do you like that book?

 $B_1$ : I like that book.

B<sub>2</sub>: That book, I like \*(but not the other one).

#### NP-deletion without an overt determiner stranding for non-specific object drop

Consider anaphoric specific and non-specific object drop in Cantonese as in (5a) and (5b).

Referential index (specific interpretation):

(5a) Cheung taigin jat zek hung laa Mali dou taigin e (Cantonese)

Cheung see one CI bear, ASP Mali also see [D, N]

'Cheung saw a bear. Mary also saw it.'

Referential variable (non-specific interpretation):

(5b) Cheung taigin jat zek hung laa Mali dou taigin e (Cantonese) Cheung see one CI bear ASP Mali also see  $[D_x N]$  'Cheung saw a bear. Mary also saw **one**.'

Huang (1984) argues that there is a null topic mediating between the antecedent and the null object, but that cannot be so in the indefinite cases (because an indefinite DP cannot be a topic). In the cases of non-specific object drop, they are derived by NP-ellipsis, stranding a null D. Instead, English has an overt D, a definite pronoun in the specific case (e.g. *it*), and an indefinite determiner *one* in the indefinite case.

# Reduplicative Classifier in Cantonese — A Domain Restrictor or a Distributive Quantifier?

#### Peppina Po-Lun LEE

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Cantonese appeals to classifier reduplication as a kind of grammatical device to express quantifying meaning. This includes adnominal reduplicative classifiers in the form of "CL + CL + N" and "N + CL + CL", and adverbial reduplicative classifier in the form of "one + CL + (one) + CL + N". Relevant examples are given below.

- (1) (a) Go3-go3 hok6saang1 dou1 se2-zo2 bou3gou3.

  CL-CL student all write-PERF report

  "All students have written a report."
  - (b) Hok6saang1 go3-go3 dou1 hou2 kan4lik6 student CL-CL all very hard-working

"All of the students are hard-working.

- (2) Tian shang piao-zhe <u>duo-duo</u> yun.

  Sky-on float-IMP CL-CL cloud

  "Many clouds are floating in the sky."
- (3) Di1 hok6saang1 jat1 go3 (jat1) go3 (gam2)/(\*dou1) ceot1lei4 lo2 gung1fo3.  $CL_{PL}$  student one CL (one) CL (GAM) all out-come get assignment "Students one by one came out to get their assignments."
- (1) is cited from Cheng (2009), with the presence of dou1 obligatory. The reduplicative classifier with dou1 gives a universal or distributive reading on a par with Chinese mei. (2) is an Mandarin example cited from Ulrike (2010), which explicates the case where the reduplicative classifier gives the plural reading without the presence of dou/dou1. (3) gives reduplicative classifier in the form of "one + CL + (one) + CL", which Zhang and Tang (2013) argue reduplicative classifier as a distributive operator over event-related elements.

Diverted from previous analyses which generally analyze reduplicative classifier as a distributive quantifier (cf. Yang (2002), K. Yang (2004), Cheng (2008) and K. Yang (2015)), we argue for the followings.



- (i) Adnominal reduplicative classifier is non-quantificational, and can be treated neither as a distributive quantifier nor on a par with Chinese *mei* as a universal quantifier.
- (ii) Adnominal reduplicative classifier is a domain restrictor, which serves to give a good-fitting cover to its co-occurring NP and guarantees a maximal collection of the set. The obligatory presence of *dou1* is to serve as a licensor of the reduplicative classifier, with distributivity coming from *dou1* not the reduplicative classifier.
- (iii) Like its counterpart in the subject position, reduplicative classifier in the object position also gives a maximality reading, under the condition that Cantonese universal affixal quantifier *saai3* is present to license its occurrence.

Finally, reduplicative classifier serves as a predicate modifier when it is in the form of "one + CL + (one) + CL", with its occurrence accompanied by *gam2* and the occurrence of *dou1* suppressed. Under such a case, it either conveys distributive meaning through modifying the verbal predicate, or a plural reading through modifying the nominals. Therefore, reduplicative classifiers cannot be considered as one homogenous class, and should naturally be divided into two groups, which previous analyses fail to distinguish.

# Cantonese Neg-wh-Quantifiers (Neg-whQ): A Syntactic Account in Comparative Grammar

#### Theodora Man-Ki LEE

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This paper proposes a syntactic internal structure for negative wh-quantifier (Neg-whQ) as typical colloquial terms in Cantonese, e.g. *mou-bingo* (no-who), *mou-matje* (no-what) and *mou-bindou* (no-where):

1. Neg-whQ (e.g. mou-bingo)

O[Quant:\_] bingo [uQuant:\_]

Neg-whQs have a complex structure, as the result of merge {mou {Ø, bingo}}, in which *mou* is the specifier, the invisible quantifier operator Ø is the head and any *wh*-phrase is the complement. *Wh*-phrases in Cantonese have unspecified features as quantifiers, which require triggers, and the [uQuant] feature is checked in the proposed structure. In contrast, their closest counterpart *nowhere* in English has a simpler internal structure of merge of {no, where}. The features [Neg] and [Quant:\_] are proposed to account for the dual interpretation in a feature-based approach.

- 2. Ngo mou- $matje_i$  soeng sik  $t_i$ . [Cantonese]
  - I no-what want eat
  - a. 'I want to eat nothing.'
  - b. 'I want to eat only a few things.'
- 3. \*Wo meiyou-shenme<sub>i</sub> xiang chi  $t_i$ . [Mandarin Chinese]

I no-what want eat

A Neg-whQ<sub>obj</sub> is obliged to appear in a derived SOV structure as in (2), contrary to the canonical SVO order, as a result of overt movements involved. In contrast, the Neg-whQ equivalents in Mandarin Chinese (MC) cannot appear in an object position and therefore a Neg-whQ<sub>obj</sub> in (3) leads to ungrammaticality in MC. The two inherited features not only account



for the obligatory and overt movements involved with a Neg-whQ<sub>obj</sub> construction, but also the dual interpretation shown in (2). Unlike other negative quantifiers (e.g. *mouje* 'nothng', *moujan* 'nobody') and Neg-whQs in English or MC that give only a negative reading, Neg-whQs give either a negative reading in (2a) or an existential 'only a few' reading in (2b). A Neg-whQ<sub>obj</sub> moves obligatorily to a preverbal position to satisfy the [uQuant] and EPP feature (Chomsky, 1995). The feature [Quant:\_] is valued with a semantic [Neg] feature from Neg<sup>o</sup> as a result of the NegP projection, suppose [Quant: Neg] after valuation, and grants Neg-whQ a negative interpretation. According to Cheung (2009), *wh*-phrases in Cantonese can be licensed as negative *wh*-words in a preverbal position and give negative readings. Therefore, the additional existential 'only a few' reading is made available under a double negated context after decomposition of the Neg-whQ.

The choice of interpretation is context-dependent. A [p] feature related to sentence-final particles (SP) at the CP is also proposed, which indicates the presupposition of information shared between the speaker and the addressee. The lowering tone or an additional SP with [-p] feature (e.g. *laa3*), granting Neg-whQ a valued [Quant:-p], tends to push the negative reading, whereas a rising tone or an additional SP with [+p] (e.g. *ze1*), granting Neg-whQ a valued [Quant:+p], tends to push the existential reading. This study discusses the cross-linguistic variation of Neg-whQs and looks at Neg-whQs in Cantonese at three levels: i) syntax; ii) semantics; and iii) syntax-semantics interface. In addition, it unifies an account for the dual interpretation of Cantonese Neg-whQs in a feature-based approach.

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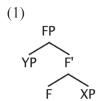
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# A Study on Periphery of Japanese and Cantonese: Sentence-Final Particles, Right Dislocation and Sentence-Initial Connectives

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Both Cantonese and Japanese are rich in their sentence-final position, or right periphery, where the presence of an array of elements is allowed, such as sentence-final particles (SFPs), right dislocation (RD) and tag expressions. Tang (2015) proposes a generalized syntactic schema of sentence-final elements in Cantonese and Mandarin, in which these elements form a conjunct that are further conjoined with the main clause by a functional projection FP, resulting in a structure as (1):



Following the proposal, the current paper demonstrates how the analysis can be extended to (a) modality in Japanese, (b) RD in Cantonese and Japanese and (c) sentence- initial connectives in both languages. For (a), it is shown that modality in Japanese, including various quasi-modality, genuine modality and SFPs, are occupying in different levels of FP. The proposal also provides a position for some grammaticalized SFPs. Moreover, the "adverb + SFP" discontinuous construction of functional words (Tang 2006) can be tackled and thus derive the proper word order under the current explanation in both languages. For (b), adopting a Copy & Ellipsis Analysis in RD (e.g. Kuno (1978)), the proposal not only generalizes the structure of RD, but also indicates that there exists a level above FP<sub>SFP</sub> holding right-dislocated elements in RD (i.e. FP<sub>RD</sub>). Lastly, concerning (c) sentence-initial connectives, as hinted by the predicative origin of d-connectives in Japanese, the proposal can be extended to treat sentence-initial elements as external adjunct in both languages, occupying an opposite position to the main clause as SFPs and RD.



### **Vowel Development in Children's Speech**

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This paper investigates the developmental pattern of the formant (or resonance) frequencies of the Cantonese vowels [i u  $\varepsilon$  ɔ a] in 90 pre-adolescent children, with five male and five female for each of the nine age groups from 4 to 12 years. LPC spectral analysis was performed for the  $F_1$  and  $F_2$  (the first and second formant frequencies) of the test vowels in monosyllabic words. The mean values of  $F_1$  and  $F_2$  for the vowels [i u  $\varepsilon$  ɔ a] averaged across five children of each of the age and gender groups were plotted against each other in the  $F_1F_2$  plane for obtaining the vowel loop area for the five vowels in the acoustical vowel space.

In the  $F_1F_2$  plane, the vowel loop for the Cantonese vowels [i u  $\varepsilon$  ɔ a] tends to shift upward and rightward in the direction of the origin of the plane as the age increases. This is true for children of both genders and more pronounced in male children. The shift resulted from a drop in  $F_1$  and  $F_2$  is larger for [i  $\varepsilon$  a] than [u  $\upsilon$ ], leading to a larger shift in the non-back vowels [i  $\varepsilon$  a] than the back vowels [u  $\upsilon$ ] and a reduction of the overall vowel loop area. For both male and female children, the reduction in vowel loop area as a function of age is gradual and not significant between any two consecutive age groups. The difference in vowel loop area between the two genders is also not significant across the nine age groups.

The children's developmental data on the formant frequencies for the Cantonese vowels [i  $u \varepsilon o a$ ] are compared to those for the English vowels [i  $u \varepsilon o a$ ] from children of the two genders of 5 to 12 years of age reported in Lee, Potamianos, and Narayanan (1999). For English children, both male and female, there is also a gradual decrease in  $F_1F_2$  and the vowel loop area for the five vowels [i  $u \varepsilon o a$ ] as the age increases, though the decrease is less in magnitude compared



to Cantonese children. Furthermore, similar to Cantonese, the decrease in formant frequencies of the English vowels with respect to age is also non-uniform across the vowel types, with a larger decrease in  $F_1$  for the mid vowels [ $\epsilon$  3] than the high vowels [ $\epsilon$  4] and a smaller decrease in  $F_2$  for the rounded back vowels [ $\epsilon$  5] than the unrounded vowels [ $\epsilon$  6]. Another similarity between English and Cantonese is that the gender differences in  $F_1F_2$  are larger for older children of 7 to 12 than younger children of 5 to 6. The similarities of the developmental data between Cantonese and English point to a possible universal pattern of vowel development in children's speech.

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## The Variation of Medial u in Hong Kong Cantonese

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In the phonological system of Hong Kong Cantonese, the existence of medial u has been well reported. With regard to the investigation of medial u in the speech of Hong Kong Cantonese, Zhang (1972) stated the trend of the loss of medial u in the rims of syllables with consonant k/k' in Hong Kong Cantonese. Bauer (1983) interviewed 75 subjects (42 male, 33 female, four age groups, 15-22, 23-30, 31-44, over 45 years old) with word list, a casual speech and a controlled section. He indicated a majority of the subjects completed the evolution of dropping medial u in their casual speech. Bauer (1997) described the phenomenon of medial u lost in Hong Kong Cantonese rimes. Zhang (2002) claimed that in Hong Kong Cantonese the loss of medial u was almost completed after development of nearly half a century. By applying reading and speaking test, Han (2007) investigated 153 (79 male and 74 female from four age groups) native speakers and studied 10 syllables (14 syllables in reading task) with medial u and vowel in Hong Kong Cantonese. The results indicated that the number of speakers that lost medial u in the syllables occurred in older speakers rather than younger speakers.

This study attempted to investigate the trends of medial u in Hong Kong Cantonese by conducting both production and perception experiments with the application of acoustics. 26 frequently used Cantonese syllables were selected as stimuli with medial u in front of vowel a, o or v, and the same number of medial-free syllables as references.15 female and 13 male university students of native Cantonese speakers were employed to produce the stimuli and each subject was required to listen to the recording of his/her own and that of 4 others'. In both self-test and other test A/X method was adopted. The results of ANOVA indicated that there is no significant difference between self-test and other test in perception. The male subjects performed worse than the female subject on producing the target syllables perceived by other subjects. With the application of spectrograms, F1, F2 and duration data were extracted to explore the phonetic feature of medial u in front of different nuclear vowels, and it showed that medial u had a more front tongue position in a syllables than in a and v syllables. It was also found that, in a syllables, medial u which could be identified with 100% correction rate in perception had significant smaller F2 values than that with 50% or fewer perceptual rates. These results suggested a fronting tendency of medial u in front of vowel a in Hong Kong Cantonese.

Besides, other variables under investigation were sex and self-other test methods, with sex had a significant effect both on F1 [F(1,27)=21,P=0.001] and F2 [F(1,8)=10,P=0.01], and sex and test methods had an interactive effects on perceptual results[F(1,57)=5.3,P=0.002].



### **Revisiting Cantonese Tone Change (Pinjam)**

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Tone change (*pinjam*) in HK Cantonese occurs frequently in speech. It mainly takes the form of a non-high rising tone changing to a high rising tone (Tone 2). *Pinjam* take place irregularly, as counterexamples of near-minimals not undergoing *pinjam* are rampant. Within the set of words where *pinjam* does take place, there is no uniform phonological or morphological context. For some words, *pinjam* represents a morphological derivation process and entails a change in meaning; but for others, *pinjam* merely changes the tone.

It is unclear whether or how different factors, such as meaning change and syllable structure, would affect the *pinjam*-elicited high rising tone (henceforth changed tone). There is also no consensus on whether the changed tone has been merged into the canonical Tone 2 (henceforth T2). Historically, the changed tone was described as having a lower onset than T2 (Chao, 1969). Bauer & Benedict (1997) reported that over the years the two have merged completely. They demonstrated pitch contours of one pair of words (changed tone vs T2) but did not provide detailed acoustic analysis. More recently, based on six speakers' data, Yu (2007) argued that the changed and canonical tones are in a near-merge state where speakers use significantly higher pitches for changed tones in production but do not distinguish the two in perception. However, Yu (2007) only examined ten (near) minimal pairs; also, the target words all involve a change in meaning. Given the limited amount of stimuli and speakers used, findings from previous studies need to be verified.

The current study revisits high-rising *pinjam* with controlled stimuli and more speakers. We examined twenty disyllabic words with tone change on the second syllable. The twenty targets form two groups of ten, one involving a change in meaning, the other not. Half of the target words in each group are in open syllables, and half have nasal ending. Each target has a corresponding (near) minimal control. 17 speakers' (14 females, 3 males) read all words for three times. F0 at 10 equidistant points of the target syllables were measured in F0 and in semitone. Results showed no significant difference between the changed and canonical T2 under each condition. Specifically, syllable structure and meaning change do not have any effect on the pitch contours. The most important factor for the phonetic realization of the tones is simply tonal



context. We found overlapping contours between target and control pairs whose first syllables end at the same pitch height. Target and control pairs which do not match well in their preceding tonal context show residual differences in their onsets. These results argue against the account of near mergers, and show that even though words with *pinjam* are derived from different sources (meaning change vs. no change) and have different syllable structures (open vs. nasal ending), the merge of *pinjam*-induced high-rising tone and the canonical T2 is complete in all cases.



## The Cantonese Post-Verbal – can1: A Resultative Particle and a Negative Polarity Item

### Joanna Ut-Seong SIO

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The Cantonese post-verbal particle *-can* has two different senses, "adversative" and habitual" (Matthews and Yip 2011):

- (1) Ngo5 zong6-can1 zek3 maau1 aa31SG bump.into-CAN CL cat SFP"I bumped into the cat (and as a result the cat was mildly hurt)."
- (2) Keoi5 coeng3-can1 go1 dou1 ham3 ga3

  3SG sing-CAN song always cry SFP

  "S/He; cries whenever s/he; sings."

Beaver (2013) classifies verbs that have different impacts of affectedness into 4 types ("the affectedness hierarchy", arranged in descending order of affectedness):

- (i) The change is quantized if x reaches a specific, unique result state (e.g. kill x).
- (ii) The change is non-quantized if a result is entailed to exist, but is not uniquely specified. (e.g. *stab* x)
- (iii) A potential for change is a non-quantized change at some possible world. (e.g. hit x)
- (iv) Unspecified for a change is where no transition is necessarily possible (e.g. see x)

The "adversative" *-can1* is only compatible with type (ii) and type (iii) verbs in the hierarchy. As degrees of affectedness on the theme argument can be viewed as degree on a property scale (Hay, Kennedy and Levin 1991), Beaver (2013) analyzes the 4 classes of verbs using a scalar mode:

*kill*: theme x undergoes a quantized change on a scale and reaches a specific point in the scale. *stab*:theme x undergoes a non-quantized change on a scale and reaches some unspecified point in the scale.

hit: theme x might change but there might not be any actual change. (latent scale)

see: x is not specified for change as it is just an event participant. (no scale)

We analyze -can1 as a value indicating "small degree". It provides a value on a scale for verbs that entail a result OR are compatible with a potential result. The "adversative" -can1 is not compatible with verbs encoding quantized change because they include a lexically encoded endpoint. It is also not compatible verbs that are not specified for change because there is no scale.

The "adversative"—can and the habitual —can are linked via the meaning of a small scalar degree. The habitual —can1 in (2) is compatible with all dynamic verbs (not restricted to verbs encoding affectedness). We analyze it as a negative polarity item (NPI). The "small degree" encoded by —can on the scale forces an entailment along the entire scale (Fauconnier 1975). The inference generated by the small degree on a scale, together with dou1 (which functions as a maximality operator, Cheng 2008), give rise to universal quantification, including all the eventualities denoted by the predicate. The NPI is licensed here because it is a case where a minimal denotation contributes to the expression of a maximally emphatic proposition (Israel 2001).



## On the Interaction between Speaker's Knowledge State and *mai6* in Cantonese

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With reference to data from a spoken corpus of mid-20th century Hong Kong Cantonese, this study reports a number of syntactic and semantic properties of Cantonese *mai6* and examines its interaction with speaker's knowledge state in forming speaker's attitude.

Mai6 is taken to mean 'as a result' or 'then' with a sense of 'naturally', 'of course' (Matthews & Yip 2011:347), or 'obviously' (Lee & Man 1997), carrying a rhetorical sense of affirmation (Mai & Tan 2011:319). It is, syntactically, considered to be a clausal connective in Matthews & Yip (2011) and an adverb in Lee & Man (1997) and Tang (2008) co-occurring either with a sentence-final rising tone (Lee & Man 1997) or the Sentence-Final Particle *lo1*, which expresses the sense of obviousness (Kwok 1984:58; Leung 2005:75-6). Functionally, Lee & Man (1997) conceive *mai6* as an evidential marker which indicates the speaker's attitude toward the reliability of the information expressed in an utterance; and Tang (2008) suggests that it forms a discontinuous construction with *lo1* to express mood.

The current investigation observes that *mai6* is sensitive to the speaker's knowledge state. First, when the speaker is well informed about a particular fact or event, *mai6* can co-occur with the SFP *ge2* and forms a rhetorical question (Iida 2013) that carries the function of reminding.

(1) Ni¹dou6 gau6si⁴ mai6 jau5 go3 neoi5fo²gei3 ge²?

Here past mai6 have CLASSIFIER waitress SFP

Lit: 'There was a waitress here in the past, wasn't it?'

Second, *mai6* can appear in a certain kind of interrogatives and expresses the speaker's surprise toward a foreseeable consequence that becomes inferable upon available information at the moment of uttering.

(2) Gam²joeng² heoi³-faat³ {a. Ø; b. mai⁶} dang²jyu⁴ maai⁶zyu¹zai²?

This-kind way-of-going (mai₆) equal human-trafficking

- a. Lit. 'Are you saying that this way of going equals human trafficking?'
- b. Lit. 'Is it human trafficking given this way of going, isn't it?'

Third, *mai6* may link an antecedent clause in complex sentences to a consequent clause that is an imperative, so that the speaker expresses his/her will and preference with regard to a certain event or situation.

(3) Ping<sup>4</sup>on<sup>1</sup>mou<sup>4</sup>si<sup>6</sup> faan<sup>1</sup>lai<sup>4</sup> mai<sup>6</sup> syun<sup>3</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>.

Safe come-back mai<sup>6</sup> let-it-be SFP

Lit: '[We] came back safely. Just let it be.'

These facts further suggest that *mai6* may signal the speaker's emotion state (e.g. surprise) and alter the direction of discourse progression (e.g. by drawing the attention of interlocutors to certain information, and by influencing their attitudes toward a given event or situation. As the notion of evidentiality may face limitations in capturing these characteristics, we propose to analyze *mai6* as an epistemic marker which reflects the speaker's knowledge state in relation to the common ground knowledge shared in the discourse.



# Use of the First Person Pronoun ngo<sup>5</sup>dei<sup>6</sup> and Evasion in Political Debate

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First personal plural pronoun  $ngo^5dei^6$  is different from other pronominal choices in its inclusive and exclusive nature.  $Ngo^5dei^6$  ('we') can refer to the speaker and the addressee/audience (the inclusive sense) or to the speaker and others associated with the speaker but not the addressee/audience (the exclusive sense) (see Wilson 1990). The availability of both the inclusive and exclusive readings can often give rise to indeterminacy. In political discourse, this indeterminacy of reference is often favored as a rhetorical device for politicians to achieve different goals such as aligning themselves with the electorate or affiliating themselves with a particular political group (Chilton & Schaffner 1997). Previous studies have found that first person plural pronouns are frequently used in evasive replies to adversarial questions during election debates (Arroyo 2000) or political interviews (Bull and Fetzer 2006). This is largely because politicians are obliged to answer questions, yet distance themselves from controversial issues (Raymond 1998). By exploiting the indeterminacy in the alignment/affiliation potential of first person plural pronouns with inclusive/exclusive 'we' readings, politicians can often appear to have answered a question while producing a vague or ambiguous response, and in this way reduce the damage to their positive face.

In this paper, we examine how politicians in Hong Kong use engagement strategies through the Cantonese first person pronoun  $ngo^5dei^6$  'we' to maintain their positive image in the eyes of the general public when they try to avoid controversial questions in election debates. Data for our analysis come from transcriptions of two Chief Executive (CE) election debate speeches televised by Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK) on March 16 and March 19, 2012. Our analysis reveals that the Chief Executive candidates were subjected to intensive adversarial questioning on a wide range of issues during the televised debates, and 69% of the replies from the main candidates CY Leung and Henry Tang were found to be evasive. Also worth noting is that a significant number of the evasive replies came with the use of the first person pronoun  $ngo^5dei^6$  'we' (a frequency of 1.3 'we' per one evasive reply). In this presentation, we will adopt a corpus discourse analysis approach to examine how the first person pronoun  $ngo^5dei^6$  'we' was



used in terms of clusivity readings (i.e. inclusive, exclusive or indeterminate), and how these readings contribute to the (non-)persistence of follow-up aggressive questioning in the electoral debates. Findings from this study can contribute to a better understanding of effective rhetorical skills in public discourse, particularly those involving debates on controversial issues.

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## Pragmatic Particles and Intonation: A Contrastive Syntactic Analysis

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Adopting the cartographic approach for the left periphery of the sentence, this paper contrasts Cantonese sentence-final particles (SFPs) with tones in other languages (primarily English) and thereby proposes where intonation lies in the syntactic structure. It is assumed that interrogatives and questions are distinct from each other, with the former being a syntactic clause type and the latter being a discourse-related speech act (cf. Gunlogson, 2003). Based on this, the interrogative particle *maa3* (along with tonal counterparts in other languages, such as Gungbe (Aboh & Pfau, 2010)) is assumed to head interrogative phrase (IntP), adopting the structure of Rizzi (2001), which includes an IntP below ForceP. In contrast, the question particles *me1* and *aa4* are *not* analyzed as clause-typers, but rather as pragmatic particles that lie above ForceP.

Based on Speas's (2004) four-tiered structure above ForceP (SAP > EvalP > EvidP > EpisP), Tang (2015) proposed positions for the Cantonese SFPs wo5, wo4, and lo1 according to their meanings. This paper does something similar for the Cantonese particles me1, aa4, zel, lol, and aalmma3 and the tones in English that have been argued to be these particles counterparts (Wakefield 2010, in press). However instead of adopting Speas's (2004) structure, a comparatively simpler binary-like structure above ForceP is adopted from Haegeman and Hill (2013). Building on a large number of studies stemming from Speas and Tenny (2003), and based on evidence from the syntactic behavior of West Flemish and Romanian discourse particles, Haegeman and Hill (2013) proposed two speech act phrases (SAPs) above ForceP. They hypothesized that the higher of the two SAPs is a speaker oriented "attention-seeking" layer (SAP<sub>speaker</sub>), and that the lower SAP is a hearer oriented "consolidating/bonding" layer (SAP<sub>hearer</sub>). Based on this binary distinction of speech act particles being either speaker oriented or hearer oriented (SAP<sub>speaker</sub> > SAP<sub>hearer</sub>), this paper discusses the extent to which Cantonese particles and their tonal counterparts in English can be categorized as belonging to one or the other type, and therefore as lying in the lower or higher SAP. Proposals for a reversal of the ordering of the two SAPs are also considered (e.g., Lam, 2014).

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## Two Distinct Cantonese Sentence Particles: Additive VS. Mirative Tim1/添

#### Grégoire WINTERSTEIN, Regine LAI and Zoe LUK

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The Cantonese sentence final particle tim1/ % covers a wide range of meanings ranging between a pure **additive** use (1) and a **mirative** use (2) (adapted from Lee and Pan, 2010).

(1) Bob sik1 pou4man2 tim1. (2) Bob sei2-zo2 tim1! die-PFV TIM Bob know Portuguese TIM Bob Bob also knows Portuguese. Bob died (surprisingly and unexpectedly)!

Lee and Pan (2010) propose a unified description of this particle. They claim that it is a scalar additive particle which encodes two distinct presuppositions: an existential one (akin to the contribution of too in English, see e.g. Krifka, 1999 inter alia) and a scalar one. The contents of the latter vary, but it can be glossed as conveying that the associate of tim1 is higher than some other element on a scale (e.g. a likelihood, quantity or any degree property scale depending on the associate of tim1). They argue that tim1 is cross-linguistically distinctive because it does not constrain (i) the type of scale it associates with, or (ii) the position of its associate on this scale and (iii) it is not sensitive to polarity.

We argue for an alternative approach and claim the two usages of the particle warrant different analyses. Our claim is based on the observation that there are not only (i) semantic but also (ii) syntactic and (iii) acoustic differences between the use of *tim1* in (1) and (2) and that a unified analysis cannot account for all these differences. The semantic differences are essentially the ones observed in (1)-(2). In (1) *tim1* is anaphoric (i.e. requires an antecedent to be fully interpreted, i.e. a previous constituent in the discourse which satisfies its presupposition) and conveys an additive meaning, whereas in (2) *tim1* requires no antecedent and carries a mirative/ surprise meaning. From the syntactic point of view, the additive and mirative usages are distinguished by the position *tim1* occupies. Matthews and Yip (2011) observe that in Cantonese SFP clusters follow a specific order. *Tim1* is supposed to always appear first in SFP clusters. That is true for the additive reading, but the mirative one instead occupies the last position in such clusters, e.g. in (3) where it appears after *ge*.



(3) [Context: somebody complained about putting on weight due to too much snack-eating]

Aaa, ngo5 sing4jat6 hou2je6 sik6 siu1je2 ge3 tim1.

EXCL I all the time very-late eat night-snacks SFP TIM.

I eat a lot of night snacks (and I realize it might have bad consequences).

Finally, a pilot experiment showed that the usage of tim1 has an effect on its acoustic realization: the mirative tim1 has a significantly shorter vowel than the additive one when both appear at the end of a sentence (using model reduction and likelihood ratio test:  $\chi^2=5.51$ , p-value = 0.019).

To account for these two usages of the particle, we propose two distinct analyses, both of which rely on a probabilistic approach to semantics (Merin, 1999). In a nutshell, the additive meaning of *tim1* is similar to an analysis of *even* in this framework (Winterstein, 2010), while the mirative usage is described as a marker of *high relevance*, which can be achieved by either asserting the truth of an unexpected proposition (2) or that a strong causal link exists between two propositions as in (3). While we claim that additive *tim1* is not significantly different from *even*, its mirative usage substantially differs from other mirative particles cross-linguistically (e.g. Turkish *miş*). Such differences will be discussed using the probabilistic framework.

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## **Comparing Cantonese and Mandarin Imperfective Markers**

#### Anqi ZHANG

#### University of Chicago

**Overview:** The Cantonese Imperfective markers *gan* and *zyu* are often considered to be counterparts to the Mandarin *zai* and *zhe* respectively (Chor 2004, Lam 2009, Matthews and Yip 2011, among others). Upon closer examinations, however, *gan* and *zyu* are compatible with slightly different verb classes from their Mandarin counterparts (Lam 2009). Most noticeably, a temporary state verb predicate is compatible with the Progressive *gan* in Cantonese, but with the Continuous *zhe* in Mandarin. This paper compares the co-occurrence restrictions of these two Imperfective systems with different Vendler verb classes (Vendler 1957) in the matrix clauses.

**Data:** Out of the four Vendler verb classes, Activity, Achievement, Accomplishment and State, the Cantonese Progressive *gan* is compatible with Activity, Achievement, Accomplishment and temporary state predicates, whereas its counterpart *zai* in Mandarin is not compatible with temporary state predicates. Instead, the Mandarin Continuous *zhe* is compatible with temporary state predicates. The Cantonese Continuous *zyu* is generally incompatible with any class.

(1) General Co-occurrence Restrictions in Matrix Clauses.

	Activity	Achievement	Accomplishment	temporary state
	'run'	'win'	'build a house'	'happy'
M Prog:	zai pao	zai ying	zai jian yi-dong fangzi	*zai kaixin
C Prog:	pau gan	ying gan	hei gan jat-gan uk	hoisam gan
M Cont:	*pao zhe	*ying zhe	*jian-zhe yi-dong fangzi	kaixin zhe
C Cont:	*pau zyu	*ying zyu	*hei zyu jat-gan uk	*hoisam zyu

As stativizers, the Cantonese Continuous zyu and the Mandarin Continuous zhe are compatible with a special class of verbs, usually position verbs and contact verbs (Chor 2004, Matthews and Yip 2011). For example, when the verb 'to take' na in Mandarin and no in Cantonese co-occur with the Continuous markers zhe and zyu, na-zhe and no-zyu mean 'to hold', which is a state.

**Analysis:** From the patterns above, the Cantonese Progressive marker *gan* has the broadest distribution, covering the functions of the Mandarin imperfective markers *zai* and *zhe*. The Cantonese Continuous marker *zyu* only has the stativization function, whereas its counterpart



zhe is compatible with temporary state predicates in addition. Through this comparison, we can see that the Cantonese imperfective system probably represents an earlier stage of the grammaticalization of the Imperfective markers: the marker gan can be better described as a general imperfective marker and zyu is purely a stativizer. The situation in Mandarin is slightly different in that zhe has taken up the function of the Imperfective Continuous, by being compatible with the temporary state predicates, probably taking it over from zai. This analysis is consistent with Smith (1994)'s remark that zai and zhe are merging in Mandarin, because zhe can be used in place of zai with Activity verbs, by adding some sentence final particles such as ne.

(2) A diagram of the Comparison of the two Imperfective Systems



Conclusions: This paper compares the Cantonese and the Mandarin Imperfective systems with respect to the compatibility patterns of Vendler verb classes. This comparison study suggests that in some languages, an Imperfective Continuous marker may have emerged from a stativizer that gradually takes over some functions of a general Imperfective marker. The transition occurs when the stativizer becomes compatible with temporary state predicates.



## 會議須知

第二十屆國際粵方言研討會於 2015 年 12 月 11-12 日在香港中文大學召開,由香港中文大學中國語言及文學系主辦,中國文化研究所吳多泰中國語文研究中心協辦,香港中文大學文學院、新亞書院、聯合書院、香港語言學學會贊助。

#### 開幕禮及主題演講

日期:12月11日(星期五)

時間:上午9時至12時30分

地點:香港中文大學行政樓祖堯堂

#### 分組討論

日期和時間

12月11日(星期五)下午2時15分至5時55分

12月12日(星期六)上午9時至下午5時45分

地點:香港中文大學利黃瑤璧樓 202、203、205、206 室

#### 「香港語言學學會粵語語言學傑出學生論文獎」比賽

日期和時間:12月11日(星期五)下午2時15分至3時30分

地點:香港中文大學利黃瑤璧樓 202 室

#### 「香港語言學學會粵語語言學傑出學生論文獎」頒獎禮

日期和時間:

12月11日(星期五)歡迎晚宴舉行

#### 大會討論及閉幕禮

日期:12月12日(星期六)

時間:下午5時50分至6時50分

地點:香港中文大學利黃瑤璧樓第二演講廳

#### 粵語語言學書展

日期和時間

12月11日(星期五)下午2時至5時

12月12日(星期六)下午3時30分至5時30分

地點:香港中文大學利黃瑤璧樓地下大堂

#### 報告時間:

主題演講限時35分鐘,討論時間10分鐘,每節45分鐘。

分組報告限時 15 分鐘,討論時間 10 分鐘,每節 25 分鐘。

宣讀時間尚餘 5 分鐘、1 分鐘時,工作人員舉牌示意;宣讀時間結束,工作人員按鈴兩下,以示完結;討論時間結束,工作人員按鈴一下。



#### **Instructions**

The 20th International Conference on Yue Dialects will be held at The Chinese University of Hong Kong on December 11-12, 2015. The theme of the Conference is on "Comparative Grammar", with a special focus on the properties of Cantonese grammar under formal approaches, diachronic grammar, and interface studies. The Conference is organized by the Department of Chinese Language and Literature, co-organized by the T. T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre, Institute of Chinese Studies, and sponsored by the Faculty of Arts, New Asia College, United College, and the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong.

#### **Opening Ceremony & Keynote Speeches**

Date: December 11, 2015 (Friday)

Time: 9:00am - 12:30pm

Venue: Cho Yiu Hall, University Administration Building, CUHK

#### **Parallel Sessions**

Date & Time:

December 11, 2015 (Friday), 2:15pm - 5:55pm

December 12, 2015 (Saturday), 9:00am - 5:45pm

Venue: Rooms 202, 203, 205 and 206, Esther Lee Building, CUHK

#### Competition of the "LSHK Award for Outstanding Student Paper on Cantonese Linguistics"

Date & Time:

December 11, 2015 (Friday), 2:15pm-3:30pm

Venue: Room 202 Esther Lee Building, CUHK

#### Presentation of the "LSHK Award for Outstanding Student Paper on Cantonese Linguistics"

Date & Time:

During the welcoming dinner on December 11, 2015 (Friday)

#### **General Discussion and Closing Ceremony**

Date: December 12, 2015 (Saturday)

Time: 5:50pm - 6:50pm

Venue: LT2, Esther Lee Building, CUHK

#### **Book Exhibit on Cantonese Linguistics**

Date & Time:

December 11, 2015 (Friday), 2:00pm - 5:00pm

December 12, 2015 (Saturday), 3:30pm - 5:30pm

Venue: Ground Floor, Esther Lee Building, CUHK

#### **Presentation:**

There will be 35 minutes for each keynote speech, 10 minutes for discussion. Each session will be 45 minutes.

There will be 15 minutes for each presentation, 10 minutes for discussion. Each session will be 25 minutes.

The timekeeper will show a signage when there are 5 minutes and 1 minute left for each presentation. The bell will ring twice when the presentation time is over. The bell will ring once when the discussion time is over.



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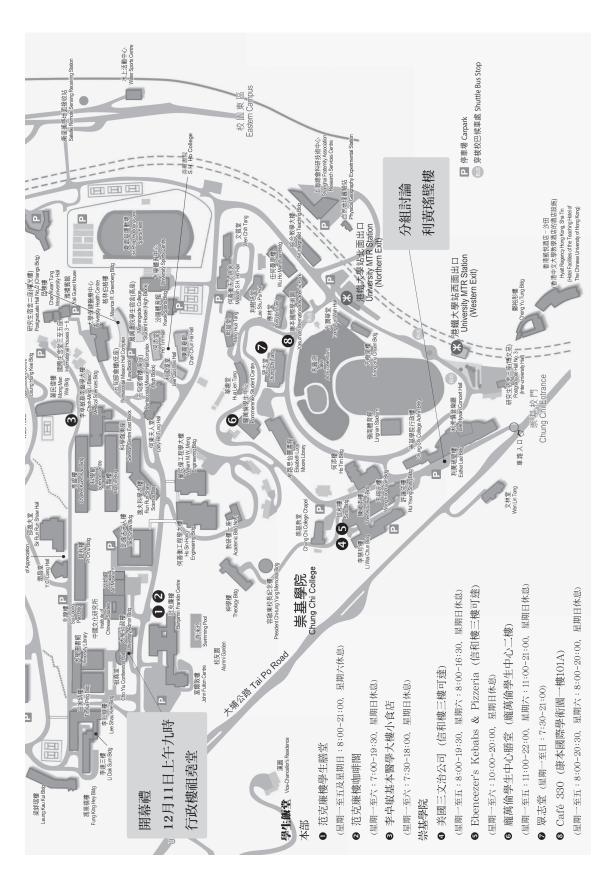


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## 校園地圖 Campus Map





# Studies in Chinese Linguistics Call for Papers in Cantonese Grammar

Studies in Chinese Linguistics (SCL)(ISSN 1017-1274), which is edited by T.T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre (CLRC), Institute of Chinese Studies at The Chinese University of Hong Kong, and published and distributed by De Gruyter Open, is an international academic open access journal since 2012 devoted to comparative study of Chinese language and linguistics and a platform for research of comparative linguistics and dialectal grammar under a comparative approach. Up to now, SCL has been indexed and abstracted in 23 international databases.

Articles by Edith Aldridge, Ben Wai Hoo Au Yeung, Candice Chi Hang Cheung, Noam Chomsky, Guglielmo Cinque, Kyle Johnson, Richard S. Kayne, Zoe Wai-Man Lam, Paul Law, Tommi Leung, Yen-hui Audrey Li, Wei-wen Roger Liao, Huei-Ling Lin, Kuniya Nasukawa, Waltraud Paul, Andrew Simpson, Dingxu Shi, Chih-hsiang Shu, Hisao Tokizaki, Ting-Chi Wei, and Ling Zhang are openly accessible at CLRC's website, and articles by Richard S. Kayne, Pei-Jung Kuo, and Wei-Wen Roger Liao are openly accessible at websites of both CLRC and De Gruyter Open. Articles by Naoki Fukui, Cheng-yu Edwin Tsai, and Wei-tien Dylan Tsai will appear soon.

CLRC website: www.cuhk.edu.hk/ics/clrc/

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We especially welcome papers on **Cantonese grammar** in the forthcoming special issues. Comparative works among Chinese dialects or between a Chinese language/dialect and any languages that contribute to theoretical linguistics or have significant theoretical implications are also welcome

Inquiries and submissions are requested to be sent to <a href="scl.editor@cuhk.edu.hk">scl.editor@cuhk.edu.hk</a>.

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