



The Fourth Forum on Cantonese Linguistics
(FoCaL-4)

2021.5.29
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Hong Kong Baptist University (virtual)

摘要合集
Abstract Book

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主辦 Organizers

香港浸會大學英國語言文學系
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The Linguistic Society of Hong Kong



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香港浸會大學語言研究文學碩士課程
Master of Arts in Language Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University



目錄 Table of contents

議程 Programme		4
會議須知 Instructions		6
鳴謝 Acknowledgments		6
第四屆粵語語言學論壇籌委		7
The Organizing Committee of The Fourth Forum on Cantonese Linguistics		
特邀演講（按發言先後排序） Invited speeches (in presentation order)		
劉擇明	兩種「寫廣東話」嘅形態： 粵語書寫嘅社會語言學模型	9
Caicai ZHANG	Neuroplasticity of the Tone-deaf Brain	11
John C. WAKEFIELD	Loanwords as False Friend Cognates	12
報告（按發言先後排序） Presentations (in presentation order)		
Ryan Ka Yau LAI	The Cantonese Causative-resultative Construction as a Dynamic Subnetwork of Constructions	14
Justin LEUNG	Variation in Directional Motion Event Expression in Toronto Heritage Cantonese	16
Yihan ZHOU	Getting Things Done in Cantonese: Mapping the Variants of <i>gaau dim</i> with Geo-tagged Data	18
Jiahui HUANG	An Analysis on the Postverbal Suffix <i>dou2</i> in Cantonese	20
Roger Yu-Hsiang LO, Justin LEUNG, Angelika KISS	Perceiving Rhetorical Questions in Cantonese	23
Jonathan Him Nok LEE, Regine Yee King LAI, Stephen MATTHEWS, Virginia YIP	<i>M4 hai6 aa3</i> “No”: A Corpus-based Case Study of the Intonation Patterns of Cantonese-English Bilingual Children	25
Minghao ZHENG	Constraints of Tones, Vowels, and Consonants in Cantonese	27
滕濟民	珠三角曾三與梗三四的層次分析	29
楊蕙穗	廣西玉林興業縣城隍話音系及語音特點—— 兼論與玉林話語音的差異	30

Ka-Wing CHAN	<i>Le5, le4, ba</i> : The Syntax of SFPs across Cantonese and Mandarin	31
Esther LAM	Cantonese Bare Classifiers as Iota	33
與會者名錄	List of participants	35

議程 Programme

[網上登記 Online registration](#) | [ZOOM會議註冊連結 ZOOM registration link](#)

8:45 am – 9:00 am	報到 Registration
9:00 am – 9:30 am 特邀演講 Invited speech	劉擇明 香港教育大學 兩種「寫廣東話」嘅形態：粵語書寫嘅社會語言學模型
第一場 First Session	
9:30 am – 10:00 am	Ryan Ka Yau LAI University of California, Santa Barbara The Cantonese Causative-resultative Construction as a Dynamic Subnetwork of Constructions
10:00 am – 10:30 am	Justin LEUNG University of Toronto Variation in Directional Motion Event Expression in Toronto Heritage Cantonese
10:30 am – 11:00 am	Yihan ZHOU University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Getting Things Done in Cantonese: Mapping the Variants of <i>gaau dim</i> with Geo-tagged Data
11:00 am – 11:15 am	茶歇 Tea Break
第二場 Second Session	
11:15 am – 11:45 am	Jiahui HUANG University of Washington An Analysis on the Postverbal Suffix <i>dou2</i> in Cantonese
11:45 am – 12:15 pm	Roger Yu-Hsiang LO¹, Justin LEUNG², Angelika KISS² ¹ University of British Columbia, ² University of Toronto Perceiving Rhetorical Questions in Cantonese
12:15 pm – 12:45 pm	Jonathan Him Nok LEE¹, Regine Yee King LAI¹, Stephen MATTHEWS², Virginia YIP¹ ¹ The Chinese University of Hong Kong, ² The University of Hong Kong <i>M4 hai6 aa3</i> “No”: A Corpus-based Case Study of the Intonation Patterns of Cantonese-English Bilingual Children
12:45 pm – 2:00 pm	食晏 Lunch

2:00 pm – 2:30 pm 特邀演講 Invited speech	Caicai ZHANG The Hong Kong Polytechnic University Neuroplasticity of the Tone-deaf Brain
第三場 Third Session	
2:30 pm – 3:00 pm	Minghao ZHENG The Chinese University of Hong Kong Constraints of Tones, Vowels, and Consonants in Cantonese
3:00 pm – 3:30 pm	滕濟民 廣西大學 珠三角曾三與梗三四的層次分析
3:30 pm – 4:00 pm	楊蕙穗 廣西大學 廣西玉林興業縣城隍話音系及語音特點 ——兼論與玉林話語音的差異
4:00 pm – 4:15 pm	茶歇 Tea Break
第四場 Fourth Session	
4:15 pm – 4:45 pm	Ka-Wing CHAN City University of Hong Kong <i>Le5, le4, ba</i>: The Syntax of SFPs across Cantonese and Mandarin
4:45 pm – 5:15 pm	Esther LAM University of Edinburgh Cantonese Bare Classifiers as Iota
5:15 pm – 5:45 pm 特邀演講 Invited speech	John C. WAKEFIELD Hong Kong Baptist University Loanwords as False Friend Cognates
5:45 pm – 6:00 pm	閉幕式 Closing

會議須知

Instructions

【報告時間】

每場報告長 30 分鐘，分兩部分：頭 5 分鐘簡述要旨（類似「電梯簡報」）；後 25 分鐘加以闡釋，中途聽眾可以隨意發問、評論。

【報告語言】

粵語、英文、普通話

Presentation time

Each presentation would be 30 minutes long. In the first five minutes we encourage our presenters to deliver the main idea (like an elevator pitch), followed by a 25-minute presentation with details and explanation, interspersed with questions and comments from the audience.

Presentation language

Cantonese, English and Mandarin

鳴謝

Acknowledgments

衷心感謝香港浸會大學英國語言文學系、香港語言學學會、香港浸會大學文學院同語言研究文學碩士課程嘅大力支持，同時好感激劉擇明博士、莊域飛博士同張偲偲博士（按姓氏英文排序）嘅熱心幫忙，使得今次論壇順利籌辦。

We would like to express our gratitude to the support of Department of English Language and Literature of Hong Kong Baptist University, The Linguistic Society of Hong Kong, Faculty of Arts and Master of Arts in Language Studies of Hong Kong Baptist University, as well as the great help from Dr. Chaak Ming LAU, Dr. John C. WAKEFIELD and Dr. Caicai ZHANG (in alphabetic order of surnames).

第四屆粵語語言學論壇籌委

The Organizing Committee of The Fourth Forum on Cantonese Linguistics

【有關我哋】

我哋係一班對粵語語言學有興趣嘅研究生。由 2017 年夏天開始，我哋一直有搞一啲非正式嘅讀書會。呢個模式對我哋幫助好大，所以我哋希望更進一步，發起呢個以學生為主嘅粵語語言學論壇（簡稱 FoCaL）。

【目標】

我哋想建立一個平台，等學生可以分享最新研究進展、聽取同儕意見。目前唔同院校嘅學生交流唔多，有鑑於此，我哋希望論壇能夠促進跨院校嘅交流同合作。

About us

We are a group of postgraduate students who are interested in Cantonese linguistics. We have been running as an informal reading group since summer 2017. Benefited much from our fruitful discussion, we would like to take a step further to organize a student forum on Cantonese linguistics.

Aim

We hope to establish a friendly platform for students to present their latest work and receive various peers' comments. In light of limited intellectual exchange among students across different institutes, we also hope the forum can stimulate inter-institute collaboration.

【籌委名單】（按姓氏英文排序）

陳嘉穎（香港城市大學翻譯及語言學系）
陳啟禮（香港中文大學研究院畢業生）
陳樞嵐（香港中文大學語言學及現代語言系）
李謙諾（香港中文大學中國語言及文學系）
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葉家輝（耶魯大學語言學系）
曾綉薇（香港中文大學中國語言及文學系）

List of organizing committee members (in alphabetic order of surnames)

Ka-Wing CHAN (Dept. of Linguistics and Translation, CityUHK)
Kenith Kai-Lai CHAN (Graduate of CUHK)
Sheila Shu-Laam CHAN (Dept. of Linguistics and Modern Languages, CUHK)
Him Nok LEE (Dept. of Chinese Language and Literature, CUHK)
Tommy Tsz-Ming LEE (Dept. of Linguistics, USC)
Yike YANG (Dept. of Chinese and Bilingual Studies, HK PolyU)
Ka-Fai YIP (Dept. of Linguistics, Yale)
Xiuwei ZENG (Dept. of Chinese Language and Literature, CUHK)

我哋誠摯邀請有興趣嘅同學聯絡我哋，一齊傾吓下屆論壇事宜，希望最終由唔同院校接力主辦，促進各院校學生交流。

For FoCaL-5 next year, we look forward to contributions from any interested colleagues. Feel Free to contact us. We hope to facilitate the communication of students from different institutes by changing the host institute annually.

網址 Website : <http://focahongkong.wordpress.com>

電郵 Email : focahongkong@gmail.com

兩種「寫廣東話」嘅形態：粵語書寫嘅社會語言學模型

劉擇明

香港教育大學

香港有「口講粵語口語，手寫官話書面語」嘅社會規範，一般會被視作雙言現象（diglossia，又譯「言文不一」：Ferguson, 1959）嘅例子。實際使用上粵語唔限於口講，而係可以跨越雙言嘅界線喺書寫呈現。近年粵語書寫流行，逐漸發展出兩種模式：模式一係本土化嘅香港標準中文（Localised Hong Kong Standard Written Chinese，又叫港式中文），係一種以中文書面語為基礎，再滲入粵語詞（「方言詞」）、社區詞，甚至加入語法特徵而成嘅書寫變體；模式二係書面粵語（Authentic Written Cantonese，又叫粵文），係由粵語口語出發，用字同選詞逐漸規範化嘅書寫系統。

兩種模式並非粵語成份嘅比例有別，而係選字、用詞、句式都有明顯差距。差距嘅來源係兩個群體嘅語言意識形態（language ideology）分歧，而分歧點在於高變體嘅定位。Auer (2011) 為歐洲情況整理嘅方言標準語類型學模型，可以描述、預測兩種書寫體嘅發展方式。群組一入面粵語口語同標準中文嘅互動係傳統雙言現象（Type A）：新文化運動嘅「我手寫我心」之後，高變體嘅文言成份由「以粵語讀出嘅官話詞彙句式」逐漸取代，成為一種新建、理想化嘅中文標準。由於高低變體都係用一致嘅粵語音系，兩者差異主要體現喺詞彙，使用者可以按正式度游走喺兩個變體之間，口語～書寫形成一連續體，同非正式～正式重疊，發展成泛言（diaglossia）關係（Type C）。粵語書寫就係呢個泛言光譜入面非正式嘅一端，箇中成份（包括指示詞、詞綴、高頻詞）都唔會排除香港標準中文習慣，令兩者逐漸趨同。群組二係現代雙言（modern diglossia：Snow, 2010）模式，一般由粵語、普通話雙語者組成，覺得（或者被指出）中文標準係「現代規範漢語」，用法以普通話語感為準；受粵語影響較深嘅香港標準中文就退居為地區標準。使用者對普通話嘅認知令佢哋失去咗雙言嘅基礎（Hudson, 2002），致使「標準中文」由內部標準（endoglossic standard）變成外部標準（exoglossic standard），觸發脫離雙言嘅過程（Type A → Type 0）。群組二嘅粵語書寫係再度建立內部標準嘅嘗試（Type A），新建立嘅標準由粵語提供主要成份，使用粵語詞彙與否同正式度唔存在關係。

同樣係「寫廣東話」，群組一嘅形式（傳統雙言）增加咗粵語成份嘅曝光率，但係實際上係趨同嘅過程，群組二嘅形式（現代雙言）反而劃清心理界線，促使新標準嘅建立。呢個貌似反常嘅現象符合 Auer 模型嘅預測，亦都可以套用喺同類嘅語言，用嚟解釋使用深層書寫系統（deep orthography）嘅語言喺方言土語～標準語角力下嘅各種發展。

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Hudson, A. (2002). Outline of a theory of diglossia. *International journal of the sociology of language*, 2002(157), 1-48.

Neuroplasticity of the Tone-deaf Brain

Caicai ZHANG

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

While the traditional view holds that the adult brain is stable and unchanging except for age-related decline, a new understanding gaining support is that the brain changes over the lifetime. Structural changes in the adult brain occur in response to an individual's behavior, such as adaptation to the environment, learning, forming new memories, or recovery from brain injury. However, a puzzling case that challenges the view of adult brain plasticity is congenital amusia (commonly known as tone deafness; amusia hereafter), an innate neurogenetic disorder of refined pitch processing that affects musical and speech perception. It was believed that individuals with amusia, including children, have limited neuroplasticity in response to musical intervention. Nonetheless, it is likely that the limited intervention effect is due to the suboptimal intervention strategy. With a better understanding of the neurocognitive bases of the pitch impairment that spans musical and speech processing, it is necessary to revisit the neuroplasticity of amusia. Research on the intervention of amusia will not only increase our understanding of the important issue of adult brain plasticity, but also provide a critical test of the causal effect of musical training on speech processing. Preliminary data from my lab revealed behavioral as well as neural changes in 12 adult Cantonese speakers with amusia after receiving six sessions of multi-modal (audio+visual) training on melodic pitch discrimination. The 12 adults with amusia showed significant improvement in melodic discrimination after training, unsurprisingly. Importantly, the training benefit generalized to un-trained musical contexts as assessed by the Montreal Battery of Evaluation of Amusia (MBEA); more than half of the participants no longer met the criteria for amusia. Their improvement also transferred to the speech domain, inducing simultaneous improvement in lexical tone perception. Some neural changes were observed in both musical and speech perception, as indexed by an increase of the P300 amplitude, a primary neural landmark of the pitch impairment of amusia, in some conditions. These results are among the first to provide evidence for the neuroplasticity of the adult tone-deaf brain. They also generate some preliminary support for causality regarding the music-to-speech transfer. These findings should be verified with a larger sample of adults with amusia, and compared with other training methods (e.g., audio only). Follow-up assessments should also be conducted to examine whether and to what extent the training benefit is long lasting.

Loanwords as False Friend Cognates

John C. WAKEFIELD

Hong Kong Baptist University

There are a large number of English loanwords in Cantonese (ELCs) due to the long history of contact between Cantonese and English. This study argues that each ELC and its English counterpart form a cognate pair, and that many of these pairs are false friends to varying degrees. Support for this comes from questionnaire data comprising elicited judgments of semantic intuition about the meanings of some English word counterparts to ELCs. The judgements come from both native-Cantonese and native-English speakers.

A word borrowed from one language into another is normally referred to as a loanword, and the word it was borrowed from is the source word. Allen (2019: 1122) argued that “from a psycholinguistic perspective, [the words in a loan-source pair] are cognate[s] because they are perceived to share form and meaning, regardless of their origin.” Taking this a step further, I believe that even from a purely linguistic perspective, it is reasonable to label loan-source pairs as a subclass of cognates based on the idea that they have a shared origin, i.e. the loanword’s origin is the source word, and the source word’s origin is itself and its own history.

When the meanings of a pair of cognates grow apart, they become false friend cognates. The phenomenon of false friends is a common topic of research in second language acquisition but, as far as I know, this has never been discussed in relation to the L2-acquisition of the source words of loanwords, even though it is widely recognized that loanwords regularly undergo semantic change (Wakefield 2018).

Japanese also has a large number of English loanword cognates, and Allen (2019) studied the benefit that this provides to Japanese learners of English in relation to their acquiring English vocabulary. Allen did not mention any potential problems that the existence of such cognates may pose for accurate vocabulary acquisition, and the implication is that loanword cognates are entirely beneficial to learning the L2-vocabulary of the source language. But is this actually the case? Many Cantonese speakers, for example, may think that learning a word in English that has been borrowed into Cantonese comes for free. After all, it is already part of one’s L1-lexicon. Can’t one simply transfer its meaning to his or her L2-English fully intact? Based on the data collected for this study, I will illustrate that making such an assumption can sometimes pose problems.

Allen, D. (2019). Cognate frequency and assessment of second language lexical knowledge. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 23(5), 1121–1136.

Wakefield, J. C. (2018). Turning English into Cantonese: The Semantic Change of English Loanwords. In J. S. Polley, V. W. K. Poon, & L.-H. Wee (Eds.), *Cultural Conflict in Hong Kong: Angles on a Coherent Imaginary* (pp. 15–34). Palgrave Macmillan.

The Cantonese Causative-resultative Construction as a Dynamic Subnetwork of Constructions

Ryan Ka Yau LAI

University of California, Santa Barbara

Cantonese resultatives are a hot topic in syntax, be it about their argument structure (e.g. Lau and Lee 2015) or grammaticalisation into particle constructions (e.g. Chor 2018, Yiu 2013). Current studies, however, typically examine these constructions in isolation, without considering other constructions under the traditional term of ‘complements’ (補語 *bǔyǔ*).

In this paper, I argue for a partial return to structuralist roots: it is worth grouping several different constructions together under the header of ‘causative-resultative constructions’ (Yue 1993). This constructional schema subsumes not just resultatives but also some verb-particle, causative and comparative constructions, encompassing many constructions traditionally classified as complements. I give a syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characterisation of this construction in light of dynamic network approaches to grammar.

My approach differs from previous ones in various ways. Most importantly, I argue against approaches referring to argument slots in the construction as subjects and objects, and derived notions such as the ‘inverted’ resultative. Instead, a much simpler analysis can be obtained if the two slots indicate causes and affectees. I also argue against traditional approaches that view the resultative as the concatenation of two monoverbal clauses with argument-sharing, as many common constructs cannot be decomposed this way. Rather, the causative-resultative is a constructional schema with association strengths between the V1 and V2 slots and individual verbs. I also discuss sub-constructions that inherit from the more general construction schema, and highlight the utility of combining the present framework with referential pragmatics to investigate the emergence of expletive pronouns:

小朋友	嘅	暑假	係	應該	玩	盡	佢
siu2pang4jau5	ge3	syu2gaa3	hai6	jing1goi1	waan2	zeon6	keoi5
kid	ASSOC	summer.holiday	COP	should	play	to.the.limit	3sg

‘Kids should play to heart’s content during summer holidays.’

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Variation in Directional Motion Event Expression in Toronto Heritage Cantonese

Justin LEUNG

University of Toronto

Regarding the expression of motion events, languages have a tendency to fall into one of two types based on where path of motion is usually encoded: verb-framed (V-framed) languages tend to encode path in the main verb, whereas satellite-framed (S-framed) languages tend to encode path in a satellite (an element sister to the main verb) (Talmy 2000). This difference is shown in (1), where English (1a, S-framed) and French (1b, V-framed) are compared.

- (1) a. *John jumped out of the room.*
b. *Jean est sorti de la salle (en sautant).*
John exited of the room by jumping

Both constructions are common in Cantonese, as shown in (2).

- (2) a. 阿強 跳 咗 出 房。
Keung jump PFV exit room
b. 阿強 (跳 住 噏) 出 咗 房。
Keung jump CONT like.so exit PFV room

Yiu (2014) argues that different varieties of Chinese form a continuum within this typology, with Cantonese allowing V-framed constructions in more contexts than Mandarin. Work on motion events in bilinguals suggest that typologically different languages may have crosslinguistic effects on motion event expression (Filipović 2011; Brown & Gullberg 2008; Daller et al. 2011; inter alia). In light of this research, I investigate the possibility of contact effects in the expression of motion events in Toronto Heritage Cantonese due to English influence.

In this study, a variationist sociolinguistic methodology was adopted to investigate linguistic constraints and social factors that contribute to the choice between V-framed and Sframed constructions. Spontaneous speech from a sample of 24 sociolinguistic interviews (16 Toronto speakers from two generations and 8 Hong Kong speakers) from the Heritage Language Documentation Corpus (Nagy 2011) is analysed by extracting all relevant examples of motion event expression, allowing for intergenerational and diatopic comparisons. If there is contact-induced change, we would expect a change towards the English tendency (greater usage of satellite framing) in the heritage speakers that is not observed in the Hong Kong speakers.

Coding of tokens and quantitative analysis are underway. Linguistic and social factors will be analysed using statistical modelling to compare Toronto and Hong Kong speakers using three lines of evidence: statistical significance of factors, relative strength of factors and ranking of factor levels (Tagliamonte 2006). This research contributes to the ongoing work on characterizing different parts of the grammar of heritage varieties of Cantonese (Mai, Kwan & Yip 2018; Nagy & Lo 2019), which would allow us to understand the extent of influence that the dominant language of a community has on heritage languages in general. Its findings also have important implications for understanding the nature of the typology of motion events.

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**Getting Things Done in Cantonese:
Mapping the Variants of *gaau dim* with Geo-tagged Data**

Yihan ZHOU

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Cantonese is an influential dialect in the Sinitic languages and has become an important linguistic topic worldwide (Zhan 1999). Since 1970s, Cantonese has had the greatest influence on the Mandarin vocabulary in comparison to other dialects (Tang 2000). Chen (1994) estimated that around 600 words have entered Mandarin from Cantonese. The language contact between Cantonese and Mandarin is thus a topic worth investigating.

Previous work on the language contact between Cantonese and Mandarin was done on a case-by-case basis, such as 恨嫁 *henjia* and 靚 *liang* (Liu 2012; Yu 2015). These traditional methods may not be able to cover a large number of linguistic data and give a geographic panorama of the spread of Cantonese vocabulary to Mandarin. Recent publications have incorporated the geo-tagged data from social media into dialectology. This method has the advantage of providing both rich linguistic data and fine spatial resolution (Huang et al. 2016).

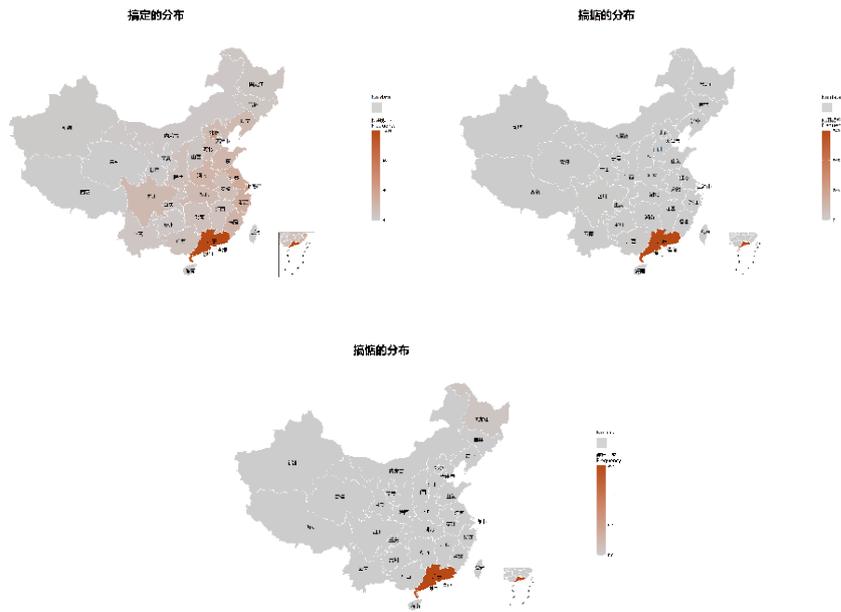
The current study compares the use of three variants of *gaau dim* in Cantonese across different regions in China in Leiden Weibo Corpus. *gaau dim* means “get things done (well)”. It has at least three written variations, including 搞掂 *gaodian*, 搞掂 *gaodian*, and 搞定 *gaoding*.

The study proposes three factors that affect the distribution of the three variants: phonological, semantic, and geographic factors. First, because Mandarin does not have the final consonant *m*, following the exact pronunciation of *gaau dim* in Cantonese is not convenient for Mandarin speakers. It is hypothesized that 搞掂 and 搞掂 tend to occur in Cantonese-speaking regions and 搞定 is the cross-dialect variant and can spread all over the regions in China. Second, the preference of the variants depends on semantic motivation. Although both variants have the same pronunciation in Cantonese, 搞掂 is preferred over 搞掂 in Cantonese speaking regions, possibly because the hand radical in 掂 is more compatible with actions. Finally, the geographical dividing line between the north and south may limit the spread of 搞定 in China. People in the south may be more inclined to use 搞定, which is the result of language contact.

In summary, the current study offers both quantitative evidence and new methods to the study of language contact and lexical diffusion.

	搞掂	搞掂	搞定
Guangdong	849	20	1204
Guangxi	14	0	116
Hong Kong	12	0	22
Macau	2	0	7
Other regions	21	1	4011

Table 1: Distribution of three variants in different regions of China



An Analysis on the Postverbal Suffix *dou2* in Cantonese

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Cantonese, similar to other Chinese languages, exhibits a rich inventory of postverbal suffixes of different kinds, among which postverbal modal suffixes enjoy a unique status due to the fact that most modal elements in Cantonese are preverbal. This paper investigates a previously less discussed postverbal modal element *dou2* (到) in Cantonese. Existing analyses tend to analyze *dou2* as an achievement marker indicating accomplishment or successful completion of an action (Matthews & Yip, 1994; Sybesma, 2008). This paper argues that this view of *dou2* overlooks a set of systematic syntactic differences between the *dou2* in (1) and (2), despite their surface similarity. I argue that the *dou2* in (1) is an achievement marker (marked as *dou2*₁), while the *dou2* in (2) is a postverbal modal element denoting capacity modality (marked as *dou2*₂) (Wu, 2002), parallel to another well-established postverbal modal element *dak* in Cantonese (Cheng & Sybesma, 2003)

- (1) a. Keoi wan-dou2 jatbunsyu. 佢搵到一本書 (2) a. Keoidei bun-dou2 gwo-doi mai 佢哋搬到嗰袋米
'He found a book.' 'He can lift that bag of rice.'
b. Keoi maai-dou2 jatzoengfei. 佢買到一張飛 b. Bouce co-dou2 nggo jan. 部車坐到5個人
'He bought a ticket.' 'This car can sit 5 people.'

The first piece of evidence is from the compatibility between *dou2* and aspect markers. *dou2*₁ (in (1)) can co-occur with perfective *zo* while *dou2*₂ (in (2)) cannot co-occur with *zo* (3) vs. (4).

- (3) Keoi wandou-zo jat-bun syu 佢搵到咗一本書
(4) Bouce co-dou (-*zo) ng-go jan *部車坐到咗5個人
'He found a book.'

The second related difference to distinguish the two *dou2* comes from negation. *dou2*₁ is perfectly compatible with aspectual negation *mau*, *dou2*₂ co-occurring with *mau* is much degraded (5 vs 6).

- (5) Keoi mou wan-dou2 bun-syu. 佢冇搵到本書
(6) Bou-ce (*mou)co-dou2 ng-go jan. 部車(*冇)坐到5個人
'He didn't find the book.'

This difference can be accounted for if *dou2*₁ is an achievement marker (or phase maker, Chao 1968), while *dou2*₂ is a postverbal modal. It turns out that they show exactly identical patterns to the well-established phase marker *jyun* and postverbal marker *dak* (denoting permission), respectively, in their compatibility with aspect and negation (7) vs. (8).

- | | |
|---|---|
| (7) a. Keoi tingjyun jat-sau go. 張三聽完一首歌。
'He finished listening to a song.' | (8) a. Keoi za dak nei ga ce. 佢搵得呢架車。
'He can drive this car.' |
| b. Keoi tingjyun zo2jat-sau go. 張三聽完咗一首歌。
'He finished listening to a song.' | b. Keoi za dak (*zo2) nei ga ce.
佢搵得(*咗)呢架車。 |
| c. Keoi mou tingjyun jat-sau go. 張三冇聽完一首歌。
'He didn't finish listening to a song.' | c. Keoi (*mou) zaa-dak nei ga ce.
佢(*冇)搵得呢架車。 |

This proposal predicts that *dou2*₁ and *dou2*₂ can co-occur, because they are of different functions. This is borne out in (8) (Note that contexts are provided to increase the naturalness of the examples since the sentence could sound marked due to the repeated occurrence of *dou2*). By contrast, *dou2*₂ (in (2)) is predicted to be incompatible with an extra *dou2*₂. This is supported in (9).

- (8) Keoi hai jyujinhokgaa, jatding wan-dou2 dou2 di ziliu. 佢係語言學家，一定搵到到啲資料。
'He is a linguist; he must be able to find those resources.'
- (9) Bou-ce houndo je, dan dou co-dou2 (*dou2) ng-go jan. 部車好多嘢，但都坐到(*到)五個人。
'There are many things in the car, but it can still sit five people.'

To account for the syntactic differences of *dou2*₁ and *dou2*₂, adopting Cheng & Sybesma's (2004) Forked Modality Hypothesis in which postverbal modals are connected to modals in the canonical modal position in the functional domain as a single modality, I argue that *dou2*₂ (similar to *dak*) occupies the head position of Mod2P in the small clause (SC) in the VP, which can optionally co-occur with a preverbal capacity modal *hoji* 'may' (10) at Mod1P (11a). *dou2*₁ (*jyun* likewise) instead occupies the head position of the predicate head of the resultative small clause (11b).

- (10) Bou-ce hoji co-dou2 ng-go jan. 部車可以坐到 5 個人。
'This car can sit 5 people.'
- (11) a. [IP I [Mod1P Mod1 *hoji* [VP V [Mod2P [Mod2 *dou2*₂ [AspP Asp [SC [DP X]]]]]]]]
b. [IP I [Mod1P Mod1 [VP V [Mod2P [Mod2 [AspP Asp [SC [DP *dou2*₁]]]]]]]]

The fact that *dou2*₂ expresses matrix capacity modality can be evidenced by its ability to license quantity subject indefinites (Tsai, 2017), which is otherwise typically unlicensed,

as in (12b). This analysis further confirms that Cantonese sports two subtypes of deontic modals, ‘ought to be’ (12a), and ‘ought to do’ (8), respectively (Portner, 2009). Only the ‘ought to be’ realized by *dou2* licenses indefinite subjects (12a) vs. (12c).

- (12) a. 三個人（可以）坐一部車。
saam-go jan (hoji) co5-dou2 jat bou ce.
‘Three persons may be seated in one car.’ Intended: ‘Three persons found a car.’
- b. ??三個人琴日搵到(咗)一部車。
saam-go jan kam jat wan-dou (zo)
jat bou ce.
- c. ??saam-go jan bun-dak go-bou ce. ??三個人搬得嗰部車。
Intended: ‘Three persons are permitted to lift that table.’

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Perceiving Rhetorical Questions in Cantonese

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Introduction. Rhetorical questions (RQs) can be defined as questions which suggest an obvious answer [2, 1]. An RQ like (1) can be interpreted as (1a), suggesting an obvious empty set answer, or as (1b), suggesting an obvious non-null answer. We label RQs like (1a) as RQ⁻ and RQs like (1b) as RQ⁺.

- (1) jau5 bin1go3 soeng2 jam2 gaa3fe1 aa3? a. Nobody wants to drink coffee.
 ‘Who wants to drink coffee?’ b. John wants to drink coffee.

While a recent finding on Cantonese shows that RQ⁻s and RQ⁺s are distinguished prosodically in production [3], we seek to answer the question of whether these prosodic distinctions in production are backed up by listeners’ judgments in a perception task.

Experiment. We conducted a perception experiment using 12 ambiguous target *wh*-interrogatives. We manipulated the duration (250–550 ms) and pitch rise (0–75 Hz) of the sentence-final particle (SFP) for each utterance, which is the locus of intonation [4]. Participants were given a three-alternative forced choice task to judge, for each interrogative they heard, such as in (1), which of the following three readings was most plausible: (i) that the speaker does not know who wants to drink coffee, (ii) that the speaker thinks nobody wants to drink coffee, or (iii) that the speaker already knows who wants to drink coffee.

Preliminary results and discussion. When the SFP is of a longer duration and a higher pitch, listeners tend to give the RQ⁻ response, with the ISQ response showing the opposite pattern. However, listeners give fewer RQ⁺ responses overall, and there is no clear pattern of RQ⁺ response proportion with either duration or pitch. The results of the perception experiment partially support the observations in RQ production [3] in that RQ⁻s and RQ⁺s are distinguished prosodically. However, the way in which the duration and pitch of SPFs pattern for RQ⁻ versus RQ⁺ is different across production and perception.

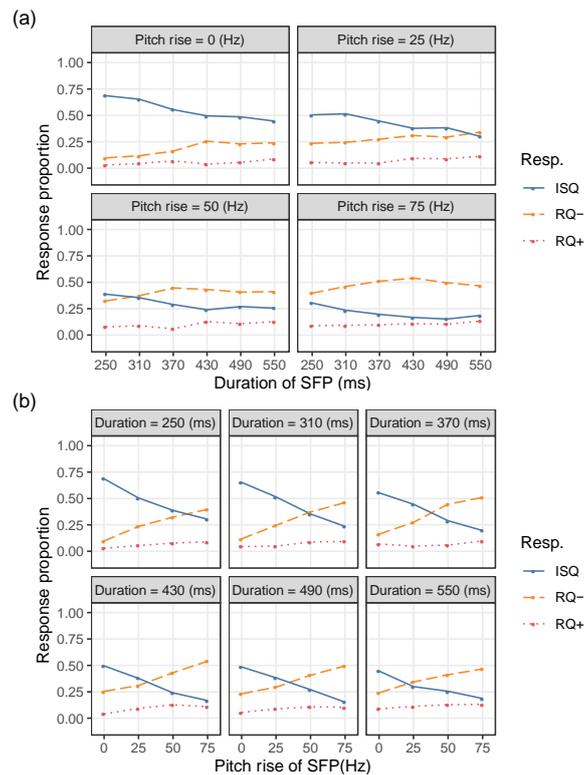


Figure 1: Mean response proportions from 17 native speakers as a function of (a) manipulated duration of SFP and (b) manipulated pitch rise of SFP in the perception experiment. Error bars = 1 S.D.

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***M4 hai6 aa3* “No”: A Corpus-based Case Study of the Intonation Patterns of Cantonese-English Bilingual Children**

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This corpus-based study investigates the intonation patterns of Cantonese sentence-final particles (SFPs) produced by Cantonese-English bilingual children. In recent bilingual first language acquisition research, the interaction between two or more languages in children’s development has been at the center of discussion. However, few studies in bilingual phonological acquisition have focused on prosodic aspects of bilingual children’s production. This study will discuss the interaction of a tonal language (Cantonese) and an intonational language (English), and how the use of pitch for intonation interacts with the pitch patterns of lexical tones in their Cantonese and code-mixed utterances. In addition, many of the semantic/pragmatic functions encoded by intonation patterns in English are expressed with sentence-final particles rather than prosodic cues in Cantonese. This difference can potentially give rise to a transfer effect in the speech of Cantonese-English bilingual children.

We investigate the production of 8 Cantonese-English bilingual children from ages 2;0 to 3;0 in the longitudinal Hong Kong Bilingual Child Language Corpus (Yip & Matthews, 2007).

In addition to the target intonation, we have observed two bilingual intonation patterns in all the children studied: (i) “high pitch followed by a fall” and (ii) “low pitch followed by a rise”, regardless of the sentence types. Despite the challenge of high variability of naturalistic speech, the present study illustrates the intonation patterns acoustically with a case study of Kasen (2;09.01)’s *m4 hai6 aa3* (no SFP; “no”). Kasen was a bilingual child with balanced development in both languages at 2;09. He produced 96 tokens of *m4 hai6 aa3* in the recording of 2;09.01. Four native adult speakers of Cantonese are invited to judge the intonation patterns. Fleiss’ kappa showed that there was good agreement between the raters’ judgements, $\kappa = .765$ (95% CI, .716 to .815), $p < .001$. After discarding tokens without raters’ consensus and of poor recording quality, each syllable of all utterances ($n = 65$) is time-normalized and its F0 is sampled at 10 equal time points (3 syllables = 30 time points per utterance). Smoothing Spline ANOVA (SSANOVA) is then conducted. Figure 1 shows the SSANOVA results of the F0 of the three intonation patterns: (i) “high pitch followed by a fall” ($n = 36$), (ii) “low pitch followed by a rise” ($n = 8$), and (iii) “target intonation” ($n = 21$). The intonation pattern (i) can be attributed to the superimposition of an intonation with high pitch followed by a low boundary tone at

the utterance final position (predominantly SFPs). The intonation pattern (ii) can be attributed to the superimposition of an intonation with low pitch followed by a high boundary tone at the utterance final position (predominantly SFPs). Kasen was often emotional when he was producing the bilingual intonation. The pitch ranges of the two bilingual intonations are significantly higher than that of the target intonation.

These phenomena demonstrate how cross-linguistic influence is manifested in the prosody of Cantonese-English bilingual children when they produce SFPs.

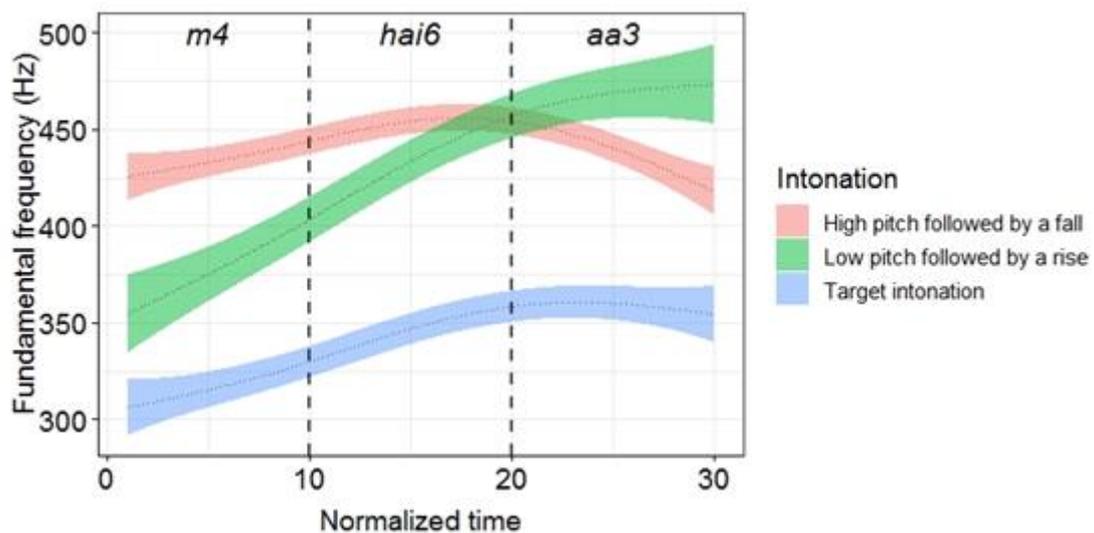


Figure 1. The F0 of the three intonation patterns attested in Kasen (2;09.01)'s *m4 hai6 aa3*

Reference

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Constraints of Tones, Vowels, and Consonants in Cantonese

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This study investigates the constraints of tones, vowels, and consonants on lexical selection in Hong Kong Cantonese through a word reconstruction paradigm. Previous studies have shown that native listeners of European languages assume vowel identity to be more mutable and less exact than consonant identity. This hypothesis was tested in a word reconstruction task designed by van Ooijen (1996) in which listeners were asked to change word-like nonwords into words by manipulating either one vowel or one consonant. Results indicated native listeners of European languages preferred to change the vowel as vowel information constrains lexical selection less tightly and allows for more potential candidates. However, this finding was based solely on studies of stress and pitch-accent languages. The first test of the universal intrinsic vowel mutability hypothesis with a tonal language is Wiener and Turnbull (2016)'s word reconstruction experiment in Mandarin Chinese. Results showed that participants were more likely to alter the tone than consonant and vowel when changing a fake word into a real word. As Cantonese is a tonal language with larger tonal inventories and much more similar ratio of consonants to vowels than Mandarin, it is necessary to examine the constraints of tones, vowels, and consonants on lexical selection in Cantonese. This study would help expand on the universal applicability of vowel mutability hypothesis. Ten native speakers of Hong Kong Cantonese participated in a word reconstruction task which involved four conditions: vowel substitution, consonant substitution, tone substitution, and free choice condition which allows participants to change either a vowel, consonant, or tone (Wiener & Turnbull, 2016). Frequency and neighborhood density of potential vowel, consonant, and tone neighbors of selected fake words have been controlled. Results showed that participants preferred to alter the tone than the consonant or vowel when they were asked to change a fake word into a real word. Besides, in the forced conditions, participants substituted tones much more accurately than consonants and vowels. The phenomenon found in this study that participants were more likely to alter the tone revealed tone carries the lowest information load and constrains lexical access least tightly in Cantonese. Taking the findings of Mandarin word reconstruction task by Wiener and Turnbull (2016) into account, these results demonstrated that the universal intrinsic vowel mutability hypothesis is not consistent with a tonal language. In a tonal language, tone carries the lowest information load and constrains lexical access least tightly. Vowels carry the highest information load and constrains lexical access most tightly. Speakers of a tonal language such as Mandarin or Cantonese rely on vowel information more than tone or consonant information. They treat tone information more mutable than consonant or vowel information. These findings suggested that the universal vowel mutability

hypothesis has to be modified to the version that vowels are more mutable only if lexically contrastive suprasegmental information is absent.

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珠三角曾三與梗三四的層次分析

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珠三角粵語梗三四白讀的來源，學界曾經有過爭論。劉震發（2007）認為梗三四白讀來源於客家話，麥耘（2014）從保留曾三與梗三四的方言出發認為梗三四白讀是自身的。

本文對粵語中保留曾三-梗三四對立的方言的元音進行橫向和縱向對比，認為廣州話曾三中 $e\eta\ \text{ek}$ 層次才是其原本自身層次，而 $i\eta\ \text{ik}$ 層次是受官話深度影響的結果。相反的，梗三四 $i\eta\text{ik}$ 是自身層次，與區別曾三-梗三四的方言形成對應；而 $ia\eta\ \text{iak}$ 層次則是外來的，其來源更可能是東江本地話，因為東江本地話梗三四 $ia\eta\ \text{iak}$ 層轄字與粵語 $ia\eta\ \text{iak}$ 層轄字更為接近。

官話	曾三自身層		梗三四自身層	
	$i\eta\ \text{ik}$			
東江本地話	曾三自身層		梗三四外來層	梗三四自身層
	$i\eta\ \text{ik}$			$ia\eta\ \text{iak}$
粵語	曾三自身層	曾三外來層	梗三四自身層	梗三四外來層
	$e\eta\ \text{ek}$	$i\eta\ \text{ik}$		$ia\eta\ \text{iak}$

現代珠三角粵語曾三與梗三四的層次是兩次外部影響和內部擴散的結果。

關鍵詞 曾攝三等 梗攝三四等 接觸音變 跨語言類推

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廣西玉林興業縣城隍話音系及語音特點——兼論與玉林話語音的差異

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[摘要] 城隍話是廣西玉林興業縣城隍鎮居民使用的主流方言，屬於勾漏片粵語。城隍話有 17 個聲母（含零聲母），78 個韻母（含聲化韻），13 個聲調；有成系統的連讀變調和小稱音變現象。從全濁聲母清化的表現來看，城隍話古全濁聲母今讀塞音、塞擦音的字無論平仄，今絕大部分讀為不送氣音，具有典型的勾漏片粵語的特徵，但與相鄰的勾漏片粵語代表方言玉林話相比，城隍話在聲韻調三方面都體現出了鮮明的特點。透過兩個方言的語音比較，可以更清楚地看到勾漏片粵語內部的差異性和多樣性。

[關鍵字] 玉林興業 城隍話 玉林話 音韻特點 語音差異

Le5, le4, ba: The Syntax of SFPs across Cantonese and Mandarin

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Background: The Cantonese sentence-final particle (SFP) *le4* is reported to have two major functions, namely expressing suggestive tone (Tang 2015: 253) and agreement-seeking (Zhang and Ni 1999: 195). Tang (2015: 252) also further proposes that it can only present with dynamic predicates and volitional verbs (2015: 253), so as to mark the imperative modality in the sentence. As *le4* is agreement-seeking, it also spans across two syntactic domains, from Degree to Call on Addressee (CoA) under movement. However, one similar SFP *le5*, which exists in Cantonese conversation (1), is not greatly discussed with its ambiguous meaning.

- (1) Zoeng-saam mou soeng tong le5
Zoeng-saam NEG attend lecture SFP
'Zoeng-saam didn't attend the lecture, did he?' /
'Zoeng-saam really didn't attend the lecture.'

Another puzzle is that *ba* in Mandarin is also observed as agreement-seeking (Li and Thompson 1981), and a low speaker's commitment to the proposition (Li 2006), while it is only categorized as a degree marker in Li (2006), without a clear explanation to the distinction of the speaker's attitude and the request of response in speech acts from the addressee.

Proposal: To provide an answer to my first puzzle, I argue that although *le5* and *le4* share some of the similarities, they perform different functions, as observed in their requirements to the predicates and verbs of the sentences they mark, as well as their intonation. I further argue that the movement from Degree to CoA of both particles is driven by different motivations, due to their meaning difference.

Specifically, I argue that *le5* should not be the SFP of the imperative type, as it is compatible with non-human verbs (2), non-volitional verbs (3) and non-controllable verbs (4) in questions.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| (2) lau seoi *le4/le5 | (3) dit go nganbaau *le4/le5 |
| Leak water SFP | Drop CL wallet SFP |
| *'Let's leak water.' / | *'Let's drop the wallet.' / |
| 'It leaks water, doesn't it?' | 'you dropped the wallet, didn't you?' |

- (4) suk jeong *le4/le5
 Belong sheep SFP
 *‘Let’s have sheep as the zodiac sign.’/
 ‘You have sheep as your zodiac sign, don’t you?’

le5 also accepts both dynamic predicates (5) and static predicates (6). On the other hand, however, *le4* accepts nothing above except the dynamic predicates, as the speech acts drawn by an imperative sentence must be done by a causer with cognition (Tang 2015: 253). The CoA function of *le5* is also different from *le4*, as it is agreement or confirmation seeking with a rising intonation, without the sole “self-confirmation” meaning expressed by *le4*. Since *le5* marks questions, I proposed that unlike the analysis of Tang (2015), this *le4* should not be the modality SFP that denotes the evaluative meaning, but rather it is an interrogative type.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(5) nei heoi le4/le5
 You go SFP
 ‘Please go.’/ ‘Are you going?’</p> | <p>(6) nei hai hoksaang *le4/le5
 You be student SFP
 *‘You are a student.’/ ‘You are a student, right?’</p> |
|---|--|

Finally, this analysis also observes some similarities between *le5*, *le4* in Cantonese and *ba* in Mandarin. To provide an analysis for *ba*, I compare the syntactic properties, core semantics and CoA functions of *ba* with *le5* and *le4*, so as to give *ba* a position in the clausal periphery proposed by Tang (2020: 9). I argue that the syntactic position of *ba* in Mandarin also falls on the head of Degree in the periphery, and its motivation to move from Degree to CoA can make reference to the *le4* and *le5* pair in Cantonese.

Cantonese Bare Classifiers as Iota

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This paper argues that Cantonese bare classifiers (the use of classifiers with a noun but without other nominal elements) are lexicalisation of the *iota* operator, which allows the phrase to indicate uniqueness and maximality but does not necessarily impose familiarity presupposition (c.f. Dayal (2004)). I hold that bare nouns denote kinds (Chierchia, 1998; Dayal, 2004) and propose that the reason a bare noun cannot express maximality, as in (1a), is due to *Blocking Principle* (Chierchia, 1998) which predicts the blocking of covert *iota* type shift when an overt operator is present in the language. Since *syu1* ‘book’ in (1b) is anaphoric but does not refer to all of the books in the series, the plural classifier *di1* is not used. I propose that a non-plural classifier (such as *bun2* in (1b)) has a singularity specification, thus it is only felicitous if there was one book in the series.

(1) Do you have *Harry Potter* at home?

- a. ngo5 jau5 cai4 saai3 *(di1) syu, bat1gwo3 mou2 dip2 wo3
1SG have complete all *(CL.PL) book, but NEG.have disc SFP
‘I have the whole set of books, but not the movie.’
- b. ngo5 jau5 (#bun2) syu1, bat1gwo3 mou dip2 wo3
1SG have (#CL.SG) book, but NEG.have disc SFP
‘I have (some of) the books, but not the movie.’

To account for indefinite CL-N, I argue that: 1) Non-familiar CL-N does not lack uniqueness (as per Matthew and Pacioni (1994)); and 2) The existential interpretation of a CL-N is associated with the predicate. Example (2) shows that CL-N is preferred over a bare noun when the speaker intends to refer to the person/people who came. I argue that the difference in discourse referentiality can be attributed to that CL indicates uniqueness, which follows from the function of *iota*.

(2) *(jau2) #(go3/di1) jan4 jap6 gwo3 lai4, keoi2/ keoi2dei6 lai4 man6 je2
*(have) #(CL/CL.PL) person enter EXPERIENTIAL here, 3SG/ 3PL come ask thing
‘Someone/Some people came, they came to ask questions.’

The construction in (3) suggests that the cake-making event is distributive (Lee, 2020), but only with the perfective aspect particle *zo2*, (3) may have the narrow scope indefinite reading that the people made a cake each; with the experiential aspect particle *gwo3*, the only possible interpretation is that there is a unique type of cake which the people have the experience making. Since the aspectual marker *zo2* indicates that the result of an event holds at speaking time while *gwo3* does not (Matthews & Yip, 2011), I argue that the

existence of a unique cake may be directly associated with the predicate *zing2-zo2* but not *zing2-gwo3*, allowing the narrow scope reading in the former but not the latter.

- (3) ni1dou6 go3-go3 jan4 dou1 zing2 zo2/ #gwo3 go3 daan4gou1
here CL-REDUP person make PFV/ #EXPERIENTIAL CL cake
'Everyone here has made a cake each.'

That bare nouns can be subjects of generic (4) but not episodic-level (2) predicates further suggests that indefinite existential interpretations are derived from the predicate. Only in the presence of sentence-initial *jau2* 'have', which I argue derives an existential reading, a bare noun can be the subject of an episodic-level predicate, as in (2).

- (4) hung4maau1 zyut6<zo2>zong2
panda extinct<PFV>
'Pandas are extinct.'

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