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1. Introduction

This paper discusses the properties of the modifying indexical element *gam* in Cantonese. *Gam* appears in two different forms, with variations in tones: *gam2* and *gam3*. Both elements have the function of 'pointing'. *Gam2* points to a property (eventual, nominal or situational) and *gam3* points to a degree of a scalar property. The usages of *gam2* and *gam3* are illustrated below:

- (1) a. **Gam2** sik6 b. **Gam2** ge3 jan4 c. **Gam2** aa4... d. **Gam3** gou1
 GAM eat GAM GE people GAM SFP GAM tall
 'eat like that' 'people like that' 'if it is the case...' 'this tall/that tall'

Both *gam2* and *gam3* can point deictically and anaphorically. By deictically, we refer to a situation in which *gam2/3* refers to a reference that is in the immediate non-linguistic surrounding, with the aid of demonstration. By anaphorically, we refer to a situation in which the reference of *gam2/3* is established in the previous discourse. There is yet another use of *gam2/3* in which case *gam2/3* is preceded by a description, as illustrated in (3) and (4). The reference is then the content of the description. We refer to this situation an 'establishing' use of the *gam2/3*.¹

- (3) a. Maan6-maan6 **gam2** haang4 b. Faa1 faa1 fit1 fit1 **gam2** ge3
 naam4jan2 slow-slow GAM walk flashy GAM GE man
 'slowly walk' 'flashy type of men'
 (4) Zoeng1 toi2 **gam3** gou1
 CL table GAM tall
 'tall as a table'

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we discuss the different usages of *gam2* and show that *gam2* always points to a property. The nature of the property is dependent on what *gam2* is associated with and its position with respect to its associate. In section 3, we illustrate the use of *gam3* in modifying adjectives, showing that it is used

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¹ We borrow the term 'establishing' from Hawkins (1978, pp.131). He uses the term 'referent-establishing relative clauses' to refer to relative clauses like *the woman he went out with last night*, where a definite referent is established at the point the noun phrase is uttered.

with gradable adjectives and it points to a degree of *adjective-ness*. In section 4, we discuss similarities and differences between *gam2* and *gam3*, as well as some speculations.

2. Gam2

2.1 Event modification

2.1.1 Pre-verbal

When *gam2* is followed by a Verb Phrase (VP), it behaves like a manner adverbial (Sio & Tang 2007). By manner, we refer to both method and style of action (e.g. *killing someone with guns* and *killing someone slowly*). Suppose I see someone swimming at this moment with flippers and I utter (5) with pointing. In such a case, *gam2* is used deictically. Alternatively, if I tell my friend the story a few days later and he utters (5). *Gam2* is then used anaphorically.

- (5) **Gam2** jau4-seoi2 dou1 dak1!
 GAM swim-water also okay
 'How can someone swim like that!'

When *gam2* comes with a preceding description, the description establishes the reference of *gam2*. In (6), *gam2* refers to the manner of having one's mouth wide open.

- (6) Keoi5 maak3:jaai6:haui2 **gam2** jau4-seoi2 gaa3
 3SG make taut-big-mouth GAM swim-water SFP
 'S/He swims with her/his mouth wide open.'

Some modifiers can combine with a VP to give rise to a manner reading without *gam2*. For instance, in (6), *gam2* can be absent without affecting the grammaticality.² There are also modifiers that need *gam2* to make them into manner adverbials. For instance, without *gam2*, the following sentence would be ungrammatical.

- (7) Peter seng4 go3 model *(**gam3**) haang4 lou6 gaa3
 Peter as-if CL model GAM walk road SFP
 'Peter walks as if he is a model.'

This suggests that some modifiers are inherently 'manner' while some are not. For modifiers that are not inherently 'manner' in nature (the precise qualification of which needs further research), adding *gam2* can give it a manner interpretation.

There are, however, a few cases in which *gam2* does not only refer to manner when preceding a VP. It happens to a few complement-taking verbs like *gong2* 'say', *waa6* 'say', *zou6* 'do', *lam2* 'think' etc. This is illustrated below:

² Sio & Tang (2007) show that adverbials with-*gam2* and without *gam2* differ in that for the former, the modification is obligatorily restrictive while the latter is optionally restrictive.

Tsai (1999) makes a similar observation based on the Mandarin counterpart of *dim2*, *zenme yang*, which he glosses as 'how-manner'. Consider the following contrast, taken from Tsai (1999), paying attention to the position of *zenme-yang* with respect to the verb *chang* 'sing':

- (14) Akiu shang-ci **zenme-yang** chang-ge?
 Akiu last-time how-manner sing-song
 'How did Akiu sing last time?'
 Answers: a. you houlong 'with throat' (method)
 b. hen dasheng 'very loudly' (style of action)
- (15) Ge, Akiu shang-ci chang-de **zenme-yang?**
 song Akiu last-time sing-RES how-manner?
 'How did Akiu perform in singing last time?'
 Answer: a. bu zenme-yang 'not so (good)' (resultative)
 b. tai dasheng 'too loud' (style of resultant state)

Tsai (1999) treats pre-verbal *zenme-yang* 'how-manner' as a pre-verbal modifier and the post-verbal *zenme-yang* as a complement. In particular, he takes pre-verbal *zenme-yang* to be modifying *v'*, giving rise to either method or style of action reading. He postulates a result clause headed by the post-verbal *zenme-yang*, which predicates upon a resultative event/state introduced by the resultative marker *de*. If the subject of the resultative clause is an event, then the resultative reading arises. If the subject of the resultative clause is a state, the style (of state) reading arises. We suggest that the same structure can be applied to the Cantonese *gam2* and *dim2*. Following Tsai (1999), we adopt the following structure for Cantonese:

- (16) vP
 t_y
 subj v'
 t_y
dim2/gam2 v'
 t_y
 v VP
 t_y
 (Obj) V'
 t_y
 V RC (Resultative Clause)
 t_y
 PRO *dim2/gam2*

The higher *gam2/dim2* gives rise to a manner reading (method, style of action) and the lower *gam2/dim2* gives rise to an evaluation reading (resultative, style of resultant state).

- (8) A: Ngo5 mou5 jung6 gaa3 B: Nei5 m4 hou2 **gam2** gong2 laa1
 1SG NEG worth SFP 2SG NEG good GAM say SFP
 'I am useless.' 'Don't say things like that!'

- (9) M4 hou2 juk1-sau2-juk1-goek3 **gam2** gong2 laa1
 NEG good move-hand-move-foot GAM say SFP
 'Don't speak with your limbs moving around'

In (8), *gam2* in B's utterance refers back to the comment made by A (that A being useless), which interpretatively, can be understood as the complement of *gong2* 'say'. In (9), *gam2* refers to the manner in which the action of saying is carried out.

2.1.2 Post-verbal

As we have just shown, in the majority of cases, *gam2* gives rise to a manner reading when it precedes a VP. It can in fact also follow a VP, in which case, it is more natural to interpret *gam2* as referring to an evaluation of the event. Compare the two sentences below, pay attention to the position of *gam2* with respect to the VP *coeng2-go1*:

- (10) Keoi5 **gam2** coeng3-go1 ge2
 3SG GAM sing-song SFP
 'How come she sings in such a way!'

Possible interpretations of *gam2*: with her throat, with two microphones, etc. (manner)

- (11) Keoi5 coeng3-go1 (coeng3-sing4) **gam2** ge2
 3SG sing-song sing-RES GAM SFP
 'How come she sings like that!'

Possible interpretations of *gam2*: too loud, too much of a creaky voice, etc. (evaluation)

The position-interpretation co-relate observed above is also manifested in the question-counterpart of *gam2*, *dim2*. The position and interpretation of *dim2* show the same co-relation. Consider (12) and (13) below:

- (12) Peter **dim2** jau4-seoi2 gaa3?
 Peter DIM swim-water QP
 'In what way does Peter swim?'
 Answers: e.g. with his head up, swim naked, etc.

- (13) Peter jau4-seoi2 (jau4-seng4) **dim2** aa3?
 Peter swim-water swim-RES DIM QP
 'How does Peter swim?'
 Answers: e.g. very good, very fast, etc.

2.2 Nominal modification

2.2.1 Pre-nominal

When *gam2* appears within a nominal, it refers to a nominal property. Like most other nominal modifiers, *gam2* has to be followed by a modification marker *ge3*. As noted earlier on, when *gam2* is preceded by a description, it is used 'establishingly'. In this usage, *gam2 ge3* can appear either preceding the demonstrative, as in (17) or between the classifier and the noun, as in (18):

(17) Wan4-wan4-dei2 **gam2 ge3** go2 zung2 gam2gok3
 kind-of-dizzy GAM GE that CL feeling
 'that kind-of-dizzy-type feeling'

(18) Go2 zung2 wan4-wan4-dei2 **gam2 ge3** gam2gok3
 that CL kind-of-dizzy GAM GE feeling
 'that kind-of-dizzy-type of feeling'

The [modifier-*gam2ge3*] string can also appear to the left of the numeral 'one', as in (19a), but with other numerals, the resulting phrase sounds very marginal as in (19b). The [modifier-*gam2ge3*] string is focused in (19a).

(19) a. Hou2-ci5 gel gam3 ge3 jat1 gau6 je5
 like gel GAM GE one CL thing
 'a piece of gel-like stuff'

b. ?? Hou2-ci5 gel gam3 ge3 saam1 gau6 je5
 like gel GAM GE three CL thing
 Intended reading: 'three pieces of gel-like stuff'

When bare *gam2 ge3* appears in a phrase-initial position or between the classifier and the noun, it is interpreted deictically if it is uttered with demonstration (e.g. pointing to a dog of a peculiar quality in the surrounding) or it is interpreted anaphorically (e.g. referring to some previously mentioned quality of dogs).

(20) **Gam2 ge3** gau2 dou1 maai5 ?
 GAM GE dog even buy
 'You are buying such dogs?'

(21) Ngo5 soeng2 maai5 jat1 zek3 **gam2 ge3** gau2
 1SG want buy one CL GAM GE dog
 'I want to buy a dog of such quality.'

It is however impossible to place *gam2 ge3* to the left of the demonstrative, as shown in (22):

(22) ***Gam2 ge3** go2 zek3 gau2
 GAM GE that CL dog

It is possible to put bare *gam2 ge3* to the left of the numeral 'one', as in (23a), but the phrase sounds marginal with other numerals, as in (23b).

(23) a. **Gam2 ge3** jat1 go3 naam4jan2
 GAM GE one CL man
 'a man of such quality'

b. ?? **Gam2 ge3** jat1 baak3 go3 naam4jan2
 GAM GE one hundred CL man
 Intended reading: 'a hundred men of such quality'

(24)

A summary of the observations is presented in the following table:

$\alpha =$	α -demonstrative	Classifier- α -noun	α -one	α -two, three...
[modifier- <i>gam2 ge3</i>]	✓	✓	✓ (with α in focus)	X
[<i>gam2 ge3</i>]	X	✓	✓ (with α in focus)	X

When *gam2 ge3* modifies a nominal, it gives rise to a kind reading. As expected, individual-levels modifiers are compatible with *gam2 ge3* as in (25), but stage-level modifiers are not as in (26).

(25) Seng4-jat6 fai6 gam2 ge3 gau2
 all-day bark GAM GE dog
 'this/that type of dog(s) that bark(s) all day long'

(26) *Ji1 gaa1 fai6-gan2 gam2 ge3 gau2
 now bark-PROG GAM GE dog
 Intended reading: 'the now-barking type of dogs'

NPs denote kinds while DPs denote individuals. In order to account for the modifying-kinds reading, we assume that *gam2 ge3* is generated right on top of NP, presumably in the specifier of some projection related to modification. We have observed that for [modifier-*gam2 ge3*] strings, they can appear both to the left of the demonstrative or between the classifier and the noun. We assume that the different positions are derived by movement.

[Modifier-*gam2 ge3*] and [*gam2 ge3*] strings can precede the numeral 'one' and in these cases, the [modifier-*gam2 ge3*] and [*gam2 ge3*] strings are focused. The derivation of the pre-'one' position of [modifier-*gam2 ge3*] and [*gam2 ge3*] strings can be viewed as movement from NP to some focus position in the left periphery of the noun phrase. It is unclear to us as to why the numeral 'one' behaves differently from other numerals in these constructions. It might be the case that in such constructions, 'one' is functioning as an indefinite article rather than an authentic numeral. There is at least one piece of evidence that supports this claim. 'One' can be stressed when the quantity reading has to be emphasized in regular noun phrases, as in (27). However, when 'one' is preceded by [modifier-*gam2 ge3*] and [*gam2 ge3*], 'one' cannot be stressed, as shown in (28a) and (28b). The stressed 'one's are placed within boxes.

- (27) Ngo5 jau5 [iat1] zek3 gau2, m4 hai6 saam1 zek3 gau2
 ISG have one CL dog, NEG BE three CL dog
 'I have got one dog, not three dogs.'
- (28) a. * Hou2-ci5 gel gam3 ge3 [iat1] gau6 je5
 like gel GAM GE one CL thing
 'A gel-like piece of item'
- b. * Gam2 ge3 [iat1] go3 naam4jan2
 GAM GE one CL man
 'A man of such quality'

Note that without a preceding modifier, *gam2 ge3* cannot appear to the left of a demonstrative, though it can appear to the left of 'one'. In other words, the combination of the absence of a modifier and the presence of a demonstrative make the movement impossible. *Gam2* is an indexical element. It has to get its reference from somewhere. It can be viewed as a variable that needs to be bound either by some contextual operator (when used deictically or anaphorically) or by the preceding modifier. In other words, *gam2* containing an unbound variable cannot move across a demonstrative, the following configuration is ungrammatical:

- (29) *gam2 ge3* [e]: Dem...t

2.2.2 Post-nominal

Gam2ge3 cannot appear in front of proper names, showing that in a phrase-initial position, it is obligatorily restrictive. However, it can ascribe a property to a proper name in a predicative sentence:

- (30) a. **gam2 ge3* Peter
 GAM GE Peter
 b. Peter hai6 *gam2* gaa3
 Peter BE GAM SFP
 'Peter is like that.'

The grammaticality contrast between (30a) and (30b) suggests that *gam2* gives rise to different interpretations depending on its position. In a phrase-initial position, *gam2* is a pre-nominal modifier and is only restrictive. Thus it can't appear with proper names, which have rigid designations. When *gam2* acts as a predicate, we treat it as the predicate of a Small Clause (SC) with NP/DP as the subject. *Gam2* in this case is attributive in nature, and is thus compatible with proper names. The relevant structural differences are shown in (31) and (32).

- (31) NP/DP SC
 ty ty
gam2ge3 NP/DP *gam2ge3*
- (32) SC
 ty ty
 NP/DP *gam2ge3*

2.3 'Situational' use

When *gam2* is not followed or preceded by anything, it refers to the property of a situation. In (33), *gam2* refers to the situation that A has got no cash. It is interpreted anaphorically. *Gam2* can also be interpreted deictically if A, instead of saying he has no money, shows an empty wallet to B. *Gam2* is not used establishing when referring to the property of a situation.

- (33) A: Ngo5 mou5 daai3 cin2 tim1 B: *Gam2* aa4, ngo5 bei2 sin1 laa1
 ISG NEG bring money SFP GAM SFP, ISG give first SFP
 'I forgot to bring any cash.' 'In that case, I will pay first.'

3. *Gam3*

Gam3 is always followed by a gradable adjective. Let X be the adjective, [*gam3-X*] refers to a degree of X-ness. It combines equally well with open-scale and closed-scale adjectives. It can be used deictically, with demonstration accompanying the utterance as in (34). It can also be used anaphorically as shown in (35). When *gam3* is combined with a non-gradable adjective, it is uninterpretable, as in (36).

- (34) *Gam3* mun5 laa1 (closed-scale adjective)
 GAM full SFP
 'this full' (with the index finger touching the side of a beer glass)

- (35) A: Tiu4 sing2 jau5 saam1...mai5 *gam3* coeng4 (open-scale adjective)
 CL rope have three meter GAM long
 'The rope is three meters long.'

- B: *Gam3* coeng4 dou1 m4 gau3 bo3
 GAM long still NEG enough SFP
 'That is still not long enough.'

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