The Seventh Workshop on Cantonese, LSHK

香港語言學學會 第七屆粵語討論會

The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
香港科技大學

March 29, 2008 (Saturday)
2008 年 3 月 29 日（星期六）

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The Seventh Workshop on Cantonese, LSHK

香港語言學學會 第七屆粵語討論會

Date: March 29, 2008 (Saturday)
Venue: Lecture Theatre H (on Chia-Wei Woo Academic Concourse near Lift 27)
        The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
Theme: Cantonese Meets Theoretical Linguistics

日期：   2008 年 3 月 29 日（星期六）
地點：   香港科技大學陳冠貞論壇（位於吳家瑋學術廊，近 27 號電梯）
主題：   當粵語碰上理論時

Time 時間	Speakers 講者	Titles 題目
09:30**	Kwan-Hin Cheung The Hong Kong Polytechnic University	Cantonese and a Restrained Theory of Tonal Contrast
10:10	Carine Yuk-man Yiu The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology	Revisit the Use of Changed Tones in Early Cantonese
10:50	Lian Hee Wee and Winnie Cheung Hong Kong Baptist University	Bantu-like Tone Association in Cantonese English
11:30	**Coffee Break 茶點**	
11:45	黃得森 香港科技大學	試探音變之另一成因──重新分析
12:25	陳健榮 香港科技大學	通過強化理論解釋粵語中並列連詞＋「埋」的現象

13:05	**Lunch 午餐**	
14:15	歐陽偉豪 香港中文大學	粵普輕動詞「花」與「用」在提升類句子中的異同
14:55	John Wakefield The Hong Kong Polytechnic University	The English Equivalent of the Cantonese Sentence-final Particle *zaa3*
15:35	Peppina Lee and Haihua Pan City University of Hong Kong	Focusing and Modal Particles *dak1* 'get' in Cantonese – an Interaction between Syntax and Pragmatics
16:15	**Coffee Break 茶點**	
16:30	Andrew Chi-wai Chau University of Hong Kong	Theoretical Possibility of Internally - Headed Relative Clauses in Cantonese: from a Typological Perspective
17:10	Sze-Wing Tang The Hong Kong Polytechnic University	Cantonese Meets True Empty Categories
17:50	Thomas Hun-tak Lee Chinese University of Hong Kong	Further Observations on Nominal Structure in Cantonese and Mandarin: The View from Early Child Language

**There will be 20-minutes for each presentation plus 20 minutes for discussion.
**每篇論文的報告時間爲二十分鐘，之後有二十分鐘發問和討論。

WOC-7 is organized by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong and co-sponsored by Center of Chinese Linguistics, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology.
第七屆粵語討論會由香港語言學學會主辦、香港科技大學中國語言學研究中心協辦。

The Seventh Workshop on Cantonese, LSHK (Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)
香港語言學學會 第七屆粵語討論會（香港科技大學）
March 29, 2008

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粵普輕動詞「花」與「用」在提升類句子中的異同

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Tsai (2007)利用補足語能否連用及動詞能否複製，來把輕動詞分成內外兩類，當中包括沒提升類的句子(1-2) 及提升類的句子(3-4)。含輕動詞「致使」的句子容許補足語連用(5、7)，但不接受動詞複製(9)，所以，「致使」是外輕動詞。至於輕動詞「用」，例子顯示補足語不能連用(8)，但動詞卻能複製(10)，因此「用」是內輕動詞。依此，含輕動詞，如:「花」、「夠」的句子也有不對稱的補足語連用的限制(11-14)，即:「花」與「致使」同屬外輕動詞，而「夠」與「用」同作內輕動詞。

外輕動詞 (outer vP): 致使	內輕動詞 (inner vP)：用
(1) 那把刀讓我切了好久（沒提升類）	(2) 你用那把刀切 （沒提升類）
(3) 那把刀切了我好久（提升類）	(4) 你切那把刀（提升類）
補足語限制	補足語限制
(5) 那把刀讓我切了好久（沒提升類）	(6) 你用那把刀切五分鐘（沒提升類）
(7) 那把刀切了我好久（提升類）	(8) *你切那把刀五分鐘（提升類）
複製動詞	複製動詞
(9) *那把刀切我切了好久	(10) 你切那把刀切五分鐘
「花」外輕動詞	「夠」內輕動詞
補足語限制	補足語限制
(11) 這本書花了我一下午看	(12) 這鍋飯夠十個人吃十天
(13) 這本書看了我一下午	(14) *這鍋飯吃十個人十天

承接輕動詞的二分，本文旨在：

甲、比較粵普兩語含外輕動詞「花」與內輕動詞「用」的提升類句子的表現，如：

粵	普
(15) 本書睇咗我三個鐘　＝　(16) 這本書看了我三小時	
(17) 個袋買咗我五百蚊	(18) *這個袋買了我五百塊
(19) 個頭剪咗我八百蚊	(20) *這個髮型剪了我八百塊

(21) 篇文寫咗我三千字	(22) *這篇文章寫了我三千字
(23) 個蛋糕整咗我兩袋麵粉	(24) *這個蛋糕做了我兩袋麵粉

乙、把上列例子從結構上連繫到下列看似不太相干的句子，如：

粵	普
(25) 你搞／玩着我	(26) 你玩/耍我
(27) 你搵着我嚟搞／玩	(28) *你找我來玩/耍
(29) 我冇你辦法	(30) *我沒你辦法
(31) *我　　　辦法	(32) 我拿你沒辦法

丙、藉上述成系列的粵普異同，探究 Tsai(2007)所提出的外輕動詞「花」與內輕動詞「用」之間有多大距離及如何利用動詞提升來解釋粵普的參數差異。

參考文獻

Tsai, Dylan Wei-Tien. 2007. Two types of light verbs in Chinese. Paper presented at IACL-15 & NACCL-19, Columbia University.

通過強化理論解釋粵語中並列連詞＋「埋」的現象

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自十九世紀至現今的粵語資料中, 我們發現並列連詞如"同, 共"等均可在後面加上"埋"字. 其與原式之間無論在詞性或語義上無明顯差別(進一步而言, 兩者可互相取代). 這種特別的模式在普通話和其他漢語方言似乎並不常見(如: 羅美珍<<客家話通用詞典>>, 陳正統<<閩南話漳腔辭典>>, 吳連生<<吳方言詞典>>等均找不到類似的詞例). 鄧思穎先生亦曾就筆者有關粵語連詞的文章提出一個疑問: 如果"同, 共"等可以配上"埋", 那麼它們在粵語中作爲並列連詞的身份是否值得懷疑? 這一個問題十分重要, 因爲粵語中還出現多種可以配上虛詞詞尾的功能詞(例如: 除+咗; 跟+埋; 夾+埋), 倘若這個問題得不到一個合理的解釋, "一石捲起千層浪", 恐怕會有更多的功能詞出現"身份危機".

筆者相信, 這類現象可以借助"強化(reinforcement)"現象作爲解釋. 多位學者(如劉堅 1994, Hopper and Elizabeth 2001 等)大致認同, 在漢語語法化的過程中, 詞義會逐步由動詞性虛化成介詞性和連詞性. 但根據劉丹青先生(2001), 某些詞在語法化過程的中段會出現強化的現象, 使其(以另一形式)重獲較實在的詞義. 例如英語中的前置詞 on 強化爲 on top of, 原本 on 已帶有"在…之上"的義項, 但英語使用者仍可在後加上"top of", 意義不變但有由虛變實之感. 在漢語中, 強化的例子有假設連詞的合成"倘若, 藉弟令"和兩個補語標記並列而成的"得來"(劉堅等 1992). 劉先生指出這些並列強化現象"既符合虛詞強化的普遍趨勢, 又符合漢語詞滙雙音化及多音化的趨勢", 是語法化的"伴隨特徵". 而 Johan van der Auwera (2002) 則將強化現象歸入逆向語法化(Degrammaticalization)的屬類.

比較原式"同/共" 及合成式"同/共+埋". 張洪年(2007)認爲"埋"作謂詞詞尾時在語義上代表"範圍的擴充"(例: 食埋碗飯先), 與"同/共"頗爲相近. 從句法的角度, 原式及合成式兩者可相互取替 (例: 我想食雞蛋同火腿 / 我想食雞蛋同

埋火腿). 這種模式十分符合與劉丹青先生提出的”同義強化”的條件, 即”由幾個同義的虛詞加在一起構成一個同義的新虛詞”. 既然”同, 共, 埋”三字的語義相近, 理論上並無必要將之組合而成新詞. 但從認知角度而言, 倘若視“人類使用新穎取代陳舊的說法以取得更強的語用力量” (Haspelmath 1998)爲動因, 則粵語中”同/共+埋”的現象便不難理解. 甚至可以應用於其他粵語功能詞的表達式如”夾埋, 跟埋”等.

　　故此, 本報告希望通過對近代/現代的粵語語料中對同埋/共埋的詞類進行定位, 並論証”同/共+埋”的合成式是基於原式”同/共”的同義強化現象, 從而提供”埋”的後綴並不影嚮”同/共”等功能詞身份的佐証.

Theoretical Possibility of Internally-Headed Relative Clauses in Cantonese: from a Typological Perspective

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Internally-headed relative clauses (IHRCs) are one of the various types, in which the semantic head is internal to and stays in situ inside the embedded clause, which is essentially an independent full clause. Cole (1987) proposes two necessary typological conditions for languages to have IHRCs: (1) the manifestation of left-branching noun phrase (NP) structure; and (2) the licensing of null anaphors. Cantonese fulfills both conditions, hence the theoretical possibility of having IHRCs.

In addition to the externally-headed relative clause (EHRC) analysis to simple object relatives, in which the head NP functions as the object of the relative clause, Matthews and Yip (2001, 2003) propose the alternative IHRC analysis to the same type of object relatives. The two analyses are presented below, with the respective head NP in **bold**.

EHRC analysis:

(1) [$_{NP}$[$_{RC}$ *佢 唱 e*$_i$]   ***嗰 首 歌***$_i$]   *好 好 聽。*

      keoi5 coeng3   ***go2 sau2 go1***   *hou2 hou2 teng1*

      3SG sing   that CL song   very good listen

    "The song s/he sings is good to listen to."

IHRC analysis:

(2) [$_{NP/S}$ *佢 唱*   ***嗰 首 歌****好 好 聽。*

      keoi5 coeng3   ***go2 sau2 go1*** *hou2 hou2 teng1*

      3SG sing   that CL song very good listen

    "The song s/he sings is good to listen to."

Yet, they also state that such analysis is inapplicable to, for example, pretransitive configurations, as in (3), and subject relatives, as in (4) (Chau, 2007).

(3) *[S/NP 我　頭先　　將　　　**本 書** 擺　喺 枱 度] 唔 見 咗。

      *ngo5 tau4sin1　zoeng1　**bun2 syu1** baai2 hai2 toi2 dou6 m4 gin3 zo2*

      1SG just now　let　　　CL　book place PREP table place NEG see ASP

    (Intended meaning) "The book I just put on the table has gone missing."

(4) *[S/NP **嗰 隻 狗仔**　食 緊 骨頭]　好 貴。

      go2 zek3 gau2zai2　sik6 gan2 gwat1tau4　hou2 gwai3

      that CL puppy　eat ASP bone　very expensive

    (Intended meaning) "The puppy that is eating a bone is very expensive."

From Chau's findings, it is observed that the analysis seems to be tenable for complex object relatives: the serial verb configurations (SVC) and, marginally, double object configurations. The explanation of this observation seems to relate with simple object relative configuration, thus may provide further support to Matthews and Yip's proposal.

If Cantonese can be said to have IHRCs, why can this configuration only applicable to object instead of subject relatives, unlike Japanese, which allows both types to be analysed as such (Iwasaki, 2002)? One of the possible explanations, the structural ambiguity observed in case of Cantonese, will be discussed.

Despite the preliminary enrichment of knowledge on IHRCs in Cantonese, it opens the door to further research, such as complex SVCs with more than two object NPs as potential heads, the influence of definiteness of the NPs in the embedded clause to the judgement of the potential semantic head(s), and the like.

Cantonese and a Restrained Theory of Tonal Contrast

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Chao Tone Letters (CTLs hereinafter) were first introduced in Chao (1930), where Cantonese was used as the language to illustrate the representation of lexical tones with CTLs. Over the years Cantonese tones have been represented with CTLs by quite a number of independent field workers. What puzzles the uninitiated readers is the fact that these representations do not agree with each other.

There are at least two reasons why discrepancies arose. The first reason concerns whether or not there exist constraints on the combination of the 5 tone-levels for contour tones. Few people seem aware that according to the formulation in Chao (1930) there are such constraints. Thus, as far as straight (i.e. non-circumflex) contour tones are concerned, of the 5x5-5 or 20 maximal possibilities, only 8 are deemed permissible. Constraints at this level also have implications for the set of permissible circumflex tones. Of the various representations of individual Cantonese tones, Table 1 shows that certain representations have violated the constraints. These "violating" representations obviously have not undergone the "rounding" required by the Chao (1930) formulation.

Table 1: CTL representations of Cantonese tones

Tone	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Abiding representations	ꜗ53, ꜛ55	ꜘ35	꜔33, ꜔44	꜖11, ꜖22	ꜙ13, ꜙ24	꜔22, ꜔33
Violating representations	ꜗ52, ꜗ553	ꜘ25		꜖21, ꜖221	ꜙ23	

The second reason concerns the number of tone-levels. I argue in Cheung (1986) that 4 levels would be optimal for Cantonese. With 4 levels (instead of 5), the above different CTL representations would somewhat naturally converge, resulting in Table 2.

Table 2: 4-level CTL-type representations of Cantonese tones

Tone	1st		2nd	3rd	4th		5th	6th
Allotone	1a	1b			4a	4b		
4-level representation	43	44	24	33	11	21	23	22

While Table 2 looks all right, one may still question why 43: could not be 42: (or even 41:), and why 23: could not be 13:. Quests along this line bring us to another, in my opinion theoretically more important, observation, namely that neither the Chao (1930) formulation nor a 4-level representation without any constraint is sufficiently restrained for a universal representation of tones.

In addition to the representations in Table 2, Cheung (1986) also formulates an alternative representation of Cantonese tones with distinctive features (DFs hereinafter). The DFs used are basically 5 of the 7 formulated in Wang (1967), the only adjustment made is using [Extreme] in

place of his [Central] with opposite +/- values. The two DFs left unused are [Mid] and [Convex]. That [Mid] is not used is exactly because this DF is required only if there are 5 levels of tone. Wang's formulation in fact rates [Mid] as marked because a 5-level system is judged rare in the first place. The non-use of [Convex] is for obvious empirical reasons. Wang's system operates with a level of restraint such that the set of DFs minus [Mid] and [Convex] will only yield 10 different tone shapes, of which two shapes are circumflex. We observe a perfect match of the paradigm of allotones in Cantonese with these 8 non-circumflex tone shapes, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Match between Cantonese tone shapes and Wang DFs

Cantonese Tone Shapes	1st a	1st b	2nd	3rd	4th a	4th b	5th	6th
Non-circumflex shapes per Wang DFs minus [Mid] and [Convex]	High	High-fall	High-rise	High-central	Low	Low-fall	Low-rise	Low-central

The match casts a vote to both the Wang DFs and the 4-level system of Cantonese tones.

Focusing and Modal Particles *Dak1* 'get' in Cantonese --- an Interaction between Syntax and Pragmatics

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Previous analyses of Cantonese verbal suffix *dak1* 'get' treat it as: (i) a complementizer of descriptive complements; (ii) a modal particle (cf. (2)); and (iii) a focus particle on a par with English "only" (cf. (3)) (cf. Lee (1995), Luke (1999), Tang (2000, 2002), Cheng and Sybesma (2004), etc.). In this paper, we will focus on (ii), i.e. the modal *dak1* and (iii), i.e. the "only" *dak1*.

Modal *dak1*

(1) 行得　　啦。
    go-DAK SFP
    (i)　　"I am allowed to go (now)." (permission)
    (ii)　　"It is possible that we can pass through (now)." (possibility)
    (iii)　　"I can walk (now)." (ability)

"Only" *dak1* and modal *dak1*

(2) 佢　食得　　三碗飯。
    s/he eat-DAK three-CL-rice
    (i)　"S/he has eaten only three bowls of rice."
    (ii)　"S/he can eat three bowls of rice."
(3)　(a) 佢　食得　　半碗飯。
        s/he eat-DAK half-CL-rice
    (i)　"S/he has eaten only half a bowl of rice." (dominant reading)
    (ii)　"S/he can eat half a bowl of rice."
    (b) 佢　　食得　　兩碗飯.
        s/he eat-DAK two-CL-rice
     (i) "S/he can eat two bowls of rice." (dominant reading)
     (ii) "S/he has eaten only two bowls of rice."
(4)[1] (a) 呢個禮拜，　　佢　食得　　兩碗飯。
        This-CL-week s/he eat-DAK two-CL-rice
        "For this week, s/he has eaten only two bowls of rice."
    (b) 今次，　　佢　食得　　兩碗飯。
        this-time s/he eat-DAK two-CL-rice
        "This time, s/he has eaten only two bowls of rice."

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[1] (4a) and (4b) are provided by an anonymous reviewer. We hereby thank him/her for drawing our attention to these two examples.

Previous analyses rely on the transitivity of the verb to determine whether *dak1*-sentences give a modal meaning or an "only" meaning. As the verb involves in (1) is an intransitive verb, the "only" meaning is absent, with "modal" reading being the only reading. On the other hand, in examples like (2) where we have a quantized object (or numeral phrase) after *dak1*, the sentence is possible to indicate both the "only" meaning and the modal meaning.

In this paper, we argue that the interpretation of *dak1*-sentences is determined by both syntactic and pragmatic factors. Syntax will come into play first to determine the constituent with which *dak1* associates. As a verb suffix, *dak1* tends to associate with its internal arguments within its VP scope. If there are no internal arguments, *dak1* will go with the verbal predicate, giving the sentence a deontic ("permission") or dynamic ("ability") interpretation but not an epistemic ("possibility") interpretation. In other words, the role of syntax is to determine the constituent with which *dak1* associates. In cases where both modal reading and "only" reading are possible, pragmatics will come into play to determine which reading is the dominant one. This can be shown by the contrast between (3a) and (3b). Syntax has already determined *dak1* to interpret with the quantized objects or the numeral phrases in both (3a) and (3b). However, the two sentences differ in their dominant readings, which is something contributed by pragmatics. Quantized objects will trigger a scale ordered in terms of quantity, and in sentences (3a) and (3b), it represents a scale consisting of different quantities of rice consumed by individuals. The quantity "half a bowl" in (3a) represents the quantity occupying the low (or lowest) end of the scale, and such a quantity does not fulfill one's expectation. An "only" reading is then triggered under such a case. On the other hand, the quantity in (3b) represents some quantity occupying a higher position in the scale and such a quantity is above the expectation of the speaker. An "ability" reading is then triggered under such a case. In other words, although syntax has already determined *dak1* to associate with the quantized objects, whether the "only" reading or the modal reading is selected to be the dominant reading is in fact something pragmatic. The pragmatic nature of such dominance can be clearly revealed if we consider examples like (4). In (4), the introduction of phrases like "this week" and "this time" has suppressed the "modal" reading of the *dak1*-sentences, triggering the "only" reading for both (4a) and (4b). The reason is that the introduction of these phrases has anchored the relevant sentences to the time line and made both sentences temporally anchored, which clashes with the modal reading of *dak1*.

In other words, the role of syntax in the interpretation of *dak1*-sentences is to determine the constituent with which *dak1* associates. In cases where both modal reading and "only" reading are possible, pragmatics will come into play to determine which reading is the dominant one. However, such dominance can be cancelled out by relevant linguistic or contextual means.

Further Observations on Nominal Structure in Cantonese and Mandarin: the View from Early Child Language

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The early studies of Cheung (1972, 1989) and Leung (1980) have delineated the salient differences in nominal structure between Cantonese and Mandarin: (a) the use of [classifier-noun] for definite reference in Cantonese but not in Mandarin; (b) the use of bare nouns for definite reference in Mandarin but not in Cantonese; (c) the availability of [DP-classifier-noun] nominals in Cantonese but not in Mandarin; (d) the existence of [demonstrative] and [demonstrative-noun] nominals in Mandarin but not in Cantonese. The differences (a-c) have received various theoretical treatments in Auyeung (1997, 2006), Cheng and Sybesma (1999) and Sio (2006), which hypothesize that the default interpretation of numerals is indefinite, and build on the observation that the classifier can be [+definite] in Cantonese but not in Mandarin. In particular, the latter studies have reduced the Cantonese-Mandarin differences to a single factor: whether an overt classifier can appear without the syntactic co-presence of a numeral. This factor, along with other interface mapping principles such as the Visibility Condition, as well as principles of economy, will derive the basic nominal structures in the two languages.

If syntactic parameters are set early, and if the major differences in nominal structure between Cantonese and Mandarin can be unified into a single factor, one might expect these differences to emerge early in child language. This paper addresses this issue by analyzing longitudinal data from one Mandarin-speaking child covering the period 1 year 5 months to 2 years 3 months of age, totaling 17 sessions of observations, and data from one Cantonese-speaking child spanning the period 1 year 6 months to 2 years 3 months of age, totaling 14 sessions.

Our findings show that in both child languages, nominals appear first in the form of bare nouns, modified nouns, proper names, and demonstrative forms, with classifier-bearing nominals developing several months later, at around 1;8-1;10. On the other hand, while early child Mandarin is marked by a preponderance of noun-less nominals with *de*-marked modifiers, the counterpart of this in the form of *ge3*-marked modifiers is virtually absent in child Cantonese. The use of [DP-classifier-noun] structures, the clearest surface cue to the distinctive features of the Cantonese nominal, is not evidenced until well after 2;0, suggesting that the parametric differences in nominal structure between Cantonese and Mandarin are not set at the earliest stage of DP

acquisition. The absence of nominals with *ge3*-marked modifiers in child Cantonese, which is not predicted by existing parametric analyses of Cantonese and Mandarin DPs, calls for an explanation.

Cantonese Meets True Empty Categories[*]

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Li (2005, 2007a,b) proposes that the empty modified head '*e*' in Mandarin NP ellipsis in (1) is a 'true empty category' (TEC). A TEC is a truly empty position devoid of any specific properties or any features except the categorial features, coming into existence only to fulfill subcategorization requirements as a last resort. The discussion in this paper is twofold – firstly, to explore the possibility that TECs have a complex structure, and secondly, to argue that Chinese dialectal differences with respect to the TECs are attributed to the noun movement parameter.

Data from Cantonese suggest that the interpretation of TECs in NP ellipsis is subject to parametric variation. It is observed that the empty modified head in Cantonese refers to a set of entities only, as in (2), and cannot refer to a single individual in (3), unlike its counterpart in Mandarin in (4) (Lee and Yiu 1998). The generalization is that the TEC in Mandarin NP ellipsis could be referential while its counterpart in Cantonese is interpreted as nonreferential only. To account for the dialectal variation, I argue in this paper that the TEC in Cantonese NP ellipsis has a bare structure, i.e. a bare NP, while that in Mandarin NP ellipsis has a complex structure, containing an NP plus a referential head that determines the referential properties of the TEC. Consequently, the TEC is not just an empty position; instead it could be in principle decomposed into some subcategories.

The present analysis of TECs can be extended to the dialectal variation in topicalization with an abstract empty subject. Example (6) shows that the empty subject '*e*' in Cantonese cannot refer to the cause of the event denoted by the topic, unlike its counterpart in Mandarin in (5). The empty subject in (5) should have a complex structure, containing the referential head that is supposed to be responsible for the co-reference to the topic. On the other hand, the ungrammaticality of (6) is attributed to the lack of such a referential head in Cantonese.

It is further argued in this paper that the variation of the existence of the referential head in Cantonese and Mandarin TECs is derived from a parameter that determines whether noun movement is available, which has been independently motivated in the literature (Cheng and Sybesma 1999, Au Yeung 2005, and Sio 2006). To derive the referential reading of TECs in Mandarin, the noun raises to the referential head. Such an operation, however, is not available in Cantonese. If the present analysis is on the right track, a number of apparently unrelated linguistic differences between Cantonese and Mandarin with respect to the syntax of nominals receive a unified explanation under a parametric approach, which should be a desirable move.

(1) ta xihuan de   *e*
     he like   Mod
     'somebody or something he likes'

(2) [Caamgaa beicoi ge   *e*] jau ciugwo   sap deoi.
      take part contest Mod   have more than ten team
     'Those that take part in the contest consist of more than 10 teams.'

(3) *[Camjat   daa   dinbou   ge   *e*] hai Zoengsaam.
      yesterday send telegram Mod   be Zoengsaam.
     'The person who sent a telegram yesterday is Zoengsaam.

(4) [Zuotian   da   dianbao de   *e*] shi Zhangsan.
      yesterday send telegram Mod   be Zhangsan
     'The person who sent a telegram yesterday is Zhangsan.'

(5) Nei chang da huo, *e* shi dianxian   pao-le   dian.
     that Cl   big fire   be electric-wire leak-Perf electricity
     'As for the fire, its cause is the leakage of electricity.'

(6) *Go coeng daai fo, *e* hai dinsin   lau din.
      that Cl   big fire   be electric-wire leak electricity

The English Equivalent of the Cantonese Sentence-final Particle *zaa3*

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The research reported in this paper searched for the English equivalent to the Cantonese sentence-final particle (SFP) *zaa3*. As a tonal language Cantonese is severely restricted in its use of intonation. As a result, it uses SFPs to express things such as mood, attitude, illocutionary force, etc. In contrast, English has no SFPs and expresses these features of the grammar through other means, such as intonation and adverbials.

Audio files of mini dialogues including *zaa3* were extracted from an audio corpus of naturally-occurring Cantonese conversations called the Hong Kong Cantonese Corpus (HKCanCor). A true-bilingual (i.e., having 2 L1s) informant provided oral English translations of the target utterances that included *zaa3*. Each resulting pair of Cantonese-English utterances was examined to determine which grammatical elements within the English utterance were equivalent to *zaa3*. It was concluded that the English equivalent to *zaa3* is comprised of two grammatical features: 1) the adverb 'only' (or an equivalent such as 'just'); and 2) stress intonation on the English word translated from the Cantonese word that was put into focus by *zaa3*.

I adopt Tang's (1998) analysis that *zaa3* cannot put matrix subjects into focus and therefore resides below IP in the main clause. In the English examples in the data, 'only' also occurs below IP. Adopting Rizzi's (1997) split-CP hypothesis, I assume there is a Focus phrase residing in the split CP. I argue that the focus feature is triggered by zaa3 or 'only', putting one of the constituents under their c-command into focus. In English, the focused constituent usually receives intonational stress, whereas in Cantonese the focused constituent is usually inferred from the context.

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Bantu-like Tone Association in Cantonese English♠

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Hong Kong English (HKE) has a distinct Cantonese flavor to it, and part of that flavor comes from the presence of tonal contrasts, as in examples like (1), where syllables with high tones are marked with acutes "á", those with mid tones are left unmarked, those with low tones are marked with graves "à" and falling tones with caps "â".

    (1)   a.   bâll   b.   pînch

              c.   ba**ná**nà   d.   **Cá**nadà

    As is evident in (1a, b), monosyllabic words have falling tones. With longer strings like (1c, d), it appears that syllables with high tone matches those which carry primary stress in RP. The correspondence of high tone to the syllable carrying primary stress in RP is for the most part a useful rule of thumb, but one should be careful that the correspondence is often not perfect. As can be seen in Hung (2005), stress placement in HKE is sensitive to syllable weight and metrical structure, but unlike English is insensitive to grammatical category (see also Wong 2004 for similar claims). For the purposes of this presentation, we shall not delve into the exact mechanics of stress placement as that is tangential. To keep focus, we shall simply assume that the stress syllables are derivable by the generalizations provided in Hung (2005).

    While it is largely true that stressed syllables in HKE words carry a high tone,[2] one would still need an account for the distribution of mid and low tones. In addition, consider (2) – (4), where a series of high tones can be found.

    (2)   a.   ínfór**má**tiòn   b.   cónfîr**má**tiòn   c.   béné**fí**ciàl

    (3)   a.   lo**cá**tiòn   b.   ir**ré**gulàr   c.   idéntífí**cá**tiòn

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[2] Easily verifiable with pitch tracks, but subject to variation depending on what counts as HKE. Here we take HKE to be the English spoken by the common educated youth of Hong Kong, typified by speech patterns of university undergraduates. The data of the present study come from students of HKBU.

(4)   a.   **vá**riablè b.   <u>ún**ívér**</u>sitỳ   c.   <u>ínté**rmé**</u>diàte

The general pattern one sees in the above is that (i) a low tone is always assigned to the final syllable; (ii) any syllable between the one carrying primary stress (marked in bold) and the final syllable would be a mid tone; (iii) all syllables between the one bearing secondary stress and the one bearing primary stress receive high tones; and (iv) any residual syllables carry mid tones.

In this paper, we are going to demonstrate that the effects shown above are attributable to the association of high tone to all syllables sandwiched between the secondary and primary stresses. Together with the observation that final syllables must be associated with a low tone, one could accurately predict the tonal manifestations of HKE, including the falling tones of monosyllabic words. The additional assumption is that syllables unassociated with tonal features are mid by default, following the markedness hierarchy of tones in standard Optimality Theoretic accounts (*H »*L»*M).

The kind of multiple high-tone-association one sees here is starkly similar to that found in many African languages (particularly the Bantu ones, see Odden 1995 and Kenstowicz 1994:324-328). This is precisely what is happening in Cantonese (HK) English where the high tone is associated with all the syllables in the domain marked by the stresses.

So, when Cantonese meets theoretical phonology (mediated through English), we see the kinship with African tones that is otherwise hidden. While this looks comical at first blush, it is probably non-trivial. Theoretical (generative) phonology would have us believe that all natural languages must be somewhat typologically related, and our modest discovery here shows how such distinct languages as Cantonese and Bantu can be bridged when their patterns surface under the chromatographic solvent of a mediating language.

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試探音變之另一成因──重新分析

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　　語言變化無時不在進行，其變化形式可分爲突變與漸變兩類。漸變者，按王士元先生所建構之“詞彙擴散”模式，於一個語言裏，具相同語言形式的集合之成員中，其一首先突變，然後感染其他於該集中之成員，卒大部份甚至全部成員從原始形式過渡至新形式。突變者，爲某語言形式之突然變化，根本原因每多未明，但可分爲受語言內部及外部之影響而成；內部原因爲某個不穩定之語言形式受其前後環境影響而變，外部原因則多由社會語言學之影響所造成，如語言接觸。語音變化爲語言變化之一，漸變之例子有漢語歷史中之元音高化及現代廣州話中自成音節的舌根鼻音之脣化。而突變之例子則有近年“十五”中之“五”受語音環境影響所導致之語音變化及香港之正音運動對部份人所造成之語音變化。

　　“重新分析”對歷史語法變化影響之研究不多，例子有近年於廣州話中出現之新詞──“嘢食”，爲語言使用者對短語“買嘢食”之重新分析而出現；然重新分析對語音變化影響之研究則鮮有見之，對音節重新劃分（Resyllabification）或可算其一例。

　　於現代廣州話中“轉”及“聽”爲破讀字，破讀字中每個異讀形式固然應當被認爲是不同之語素，但此等不同之語素於語音及意義上往往有關連，甚至接近。然於香港 粵語中，此兩字之某破讀音卻有相似之發展趨勢，如“轉臺”之“轉”，意思當屬上聲之“轉變”而非去聲之“轉動”；而“聽覺”之“聽”，意思則非去聲之“聽從”，應爲平聲之“聽見”，可是兩者卻普遍地讀爲去聲。此外，我們從其他諸多例子看出，兩者之破讀形式有漸漸過渡爲文白異讀的模式之趨勢。

　　本研究從廣州話中此二字各義項之讀音出發，指出語音突變之另一成因爲語言使用者對破讀字之破讀音重新分析，藉此提出語音演變之另一成因──重新分析。

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Revisit the Use of Changed Tones in Early Cantonese

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In addition to the nine basic tones, which have developed from the four historical tone categories (see Table 1), level, rising, going and entering tones, there are two changed tones in Cantonese: the high-level and the high-rising changed tones, which have the same pitch values as the basic high-level and high-rising tones. The functions of the changed tones can be lexical or semantic. For example, the high-rising changed tone can turn a bound morpheme to a free one (jyu21 魚 'fish' → *jyu35[3]) and can differentiate a nominal from a non-nominal (doi22 袋 'to put something into a bag' → *doi35 'a bag'). The changed tones can be used to express a number of meanings such as 'smallness' (daai22 大 'big' → dik5 gam33 *daai55 go33 的咁大個 'small'), 'degree' (keoi13 zoek3 dou33 *leng35 leng33 佢着到靚靚 'S/he dresses attractively.' and 'aspect' (keoi13 *heoi35 laa33 佢去噱 'S/he has left.')

Table 1: The nine basic tones according to historical tone categories

	Level	Rising	Going	Entering
High register	si 詩 55 si 私 53	si 史 35	si 試 33	sik 色 5 sek 錫 3 (Mid)
Low register	si 時 21	si 市 13	si 是 22	sik 食 2

Zhang (2000) examines the 1888 and 1907 versions of *Cantonese Made Easy*, textbooks compiled by Dyer Ball for teaching foreigners Cantonese and notes that there is a big leap in the use of changed tones in the 1907 version, particularly in the use of the high-level changed tone. He further points out that the rise might be a result of the correction of mistakes in the 1888 version by the author rather than a reflection of the on-going change in the language. One of the goals of this study is to find out to what extent the use of changed tones in Ball (1888 and 1907) truly reflects the use of changed tones in the late 19th century and the early 20th century. Another goal is to determine the stage at which the two changed tones underwent as exemplified in the early Cantonese materials. Is it in the

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[3] * indicates that the word is pronounced with a changed tone. The high-level and high-rising changed tones are differentiated by the tone values of 55 and 35 respectively.

beginning, intermediate or final stage? We select a group of words and examine whether they are pronounced with a changed tone in a number of early Cantonese materials which stretches over a period of several decades. Statistical analysis is then applied to the results. The preliminary findings are the following. First, despite that the use of changed tones in other early Cantonese materials is not as high as that in Ball (1888 and 1907), the statistical result shows that the use of changed tones is indeed on the rise. The curve also illustrates that the beginning of the change is slow but the change becomes faster as time passes, resembling the diffusion processes observed in other studies (cf. Wang and Shen 1991). Second, the early Cantonese materials show that the spread of the high-rising changed tone in the selected group of words is close to the final stage while the beginning, intermediate and the final stages of the spread of the high-level changed tone are exhibited in the materials. In other words, the spread of the high-rising changed tone seems to have started earlier than that of the high-level changed tone and the completion time for the spread of the high-rising changed tone is longer than that of the high-level changed tone.