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簡介

"國際粤方言研討會"是漢語語言學學界的重要學術活動,一直以來主要在香港、澳門、廣東等地輪流舉行。第二十五屆國際粵方言研討會首次由粤港澳高校中文聯盟主辦,饒有意義。此外,這次研討會由香港中文大學中國文化研究所吳多泰中國語文研究中心協辦,提供技術支援。

自十年前 2011 年開始,我們就按照詹伯慧教授的建議,採用"香港-粵澳-香港"的模式,當中的"粵澳"原則上是廣東和澳門兩地輪流舉辦。2017 年第二十二屆由香港教育大學舉辦,2018 年第二十三屆由暨南大學舉辦,本來 2019 年第二十四屆由嶺南大學舉辦,可惜因故取消了,結果第二十四屆推遲到 2020 年由澳門大學舉辦。今年第二十五屆由粤港澳高校中文聯盟以線上方式籌辦,算是粵港澳大灣區一個"超地域"的合作模式,有新的突破。

粤港澳高校中文聯盟屬於粤港澳高校聯盟的成員之一,作為該聯盟之下的一個專業子聯盟。粤港澳高校中文聯盟由香港中文大學中國語言及文學系、中山大學中國語言文學系、澳門大學中國語言文學系於 2019 年 7 月發起成立,作為高等教育交流平台,以提升粤港澳大灣區中文專業的合作層次和水平為宗旨,致力匯集區內高校的教研力量,促進交流協作和資源共建共用。至於粤港澳高校聯盟,中山大學率先與香港中文大學、澳門大學共同組建,2015 年獲教育部港澳台事務辦公室正式批准,2016 年正式成立,以期匯聚三地精英高校優質教研資源,深化三地高校教育交流合作。

這一屆研討會一共有 81 篇論文,所涉及的領域包括語音學、聲韻學、語法學、詞彙學、語言習得、社會語言學、應用語言學等。研討會期間,特設粵語句末助詞的專題討論環節,以工作坊的方式進行,由粵港澳高校中文聯盟、香港中文大學中國文化研究所吳多泰中國語文研究中心、廣東外語外貿大學外國語言學及應用語言學研究中心共同舉辦,專門討論粵語句末助詞的語言學問題。粵語句末助詞工作坊獲香港特別行政區研究資助局優配研究金(General Research Fund GRF)題為 "Sentence-Final Particles in Cantonese Interrogatives: An Interface Study"研究計劃(編號:14621719)和國家社科基金重大項目題為 "生成語法的漢語研究與新時代漢語語法理論創新"(編號:18ZDA291)的部分資助,特此致謝。

第二十五屆國際粵方言研討會籌備委員會

Introduction

The International Conference on Yue Dialects is a prestigious annual academic event in the field of Chinese linguistics and is organized by the tertiary institutions in Hong Kong, Macau, and Guangdong in a rotational manner. Organizing the 25th International Conference on Yue Dialects by the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao University Alliance for Chinese (GHMUAC) is momentous. The Conference is also co-organized by the T.T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre of the Institute of Chinese Studies at The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK).

Upon the suggestion of Prof. ZHAN Bohui of Jinan University, a rotation arrangement of "Hong Kong-Guangdong/Macau-Hong Kong" has been adopted in organizing the Conference since 2011. Following the arrangement, the Conference alternates between Guangdong and Macau every two years. In 2017, the 22nd International Conference on Yue Dialects was hosted by The Education University of Hong Kong, followed by the 23rd Conference by Jinan University in 2018. The 24th Conference, however, was hosted by the University of Macau (UM) in 2020 as the original one scheduled in 2019 by Lingman University had been cancelled. This year, the 25th International Conference on Yue Dialects is organized by GHMUAC and presented virtually. As a transregional collaboration within the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area, the event shows new features of GHMUAC's work.

GHMUAC, a member of the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao University Alliance (GHMUA), was initiated and established in July 2019 by the Department of Chinese Language and Literature at CUHK, the Department of Chinese Language and Literature at Sun Yat-sen University (SYSU), and the Department of Chinese Language and Literature at the UM, serving as a higher education platform which aspires to extend the efforts of the universities in the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area in promoting academic cooperation on Chinese and as a force for driving initiatives that unite the strength of the Chinese research and education at a higher level among universities in the area. GHMUA, initiated by CUHK, SYSU, and UM, was established in 2016 with the approval of the Office of Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan of the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China in 2015. It aims to bring together high-quality educational and research resources from elite universities in each of the three places, and to deepen educational exchanges and cooperation.

There are a total of 81 papers to be presented at the conference, covering areas including phonetics, historical phonology, grammar, lexicology, language acquisition, sociolinguistics,

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applied linguistics, etc. During the conference, a special panel session focusing on the sentence-final particles in Cantonese is co-organized by the GHMUAC, T. T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre of the Institute of Chinese Studies at CUHK, and the Center for Linguistics and Applied Linguistics at Guangdong University of Foreign Studies in the form of workshop. The Workshop on the Sentence-final Particles in Cantonese is partially sponsored by the research project "Sentence-Final Particles in Cantonese Interrogatives: An Interface Study" funded by the General Research Fund (GRF), Research Grants Council of the HKSAR Government (ref. no.: 14621719) and the major project of the National Social Science Fund of China "Studies of Chinese in Generative Grammar and Development of Chinese Grammar in the New Era" (ref. no.: 18ZDA291), to which we are grateful.

Organizing Committee
25th International Conference on Yue Dialects

December 2021

《初學粵音切要》音系及其意義

岑堯昊

香港大學

《初學粵音切要》(A Chinese Phonetic Vocabulary)1855年刊於香港英華書院。論者多認為作者是來華傳教士湛約翰(John Chalmers; 1825-1899),惟是書音系與湛氏刊於1859年的《英粵字典》略有不同:「靴」與「虛」二字反切雖然同為「可於」(標音/hü/),但「靴」下注明「小別」,顯示「靴 \neq ü 於語去 \neq üy 須取序 \neq oey 垂水稅 \neq ooey 回每罪」四種標音實則分為五類。連同「e 希始至 \neq ěy 非彼利」與「oo 烏苦父 \neq oo 刀老路」韻類兩兩相別,可以證明《初學粵音切要》與馬禮遜(1815)音系相類,但分布與廣州話不同,且接近現代粵語三角洲區北三角洲片三邑肇慶小片的高明話。此外,聲類「y 英由 \neq j \equiv \neq ng 岸」的對立,接近清乾隆年間粵語韻書《分韻撮要》以及舉業用書《四書字音錄》(1782)。整體語音格局因此與馬氏(1828)及後來各種傳教士材料相差稍遠。《初學粵音切要》雖刊於十九世紀中葉,反映的粵語聲韻特點卻相當保守,對重新審視早期粵語語音史啟迪尤深。

關鍵詞:《初學粵音切要》; 粵語;歷史音系學

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澳门粤语舌冠塞擦音、擦音声学分析研究

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澳门粤语中存在着一组由舌冠作为主动发音部位的擦音和塞擦音,虽然多年来各家学者都以传统调查、声学、生理实验方法提出不同的观点,但目前对于这组音的发音部位及书写方式是[ts]、[tsʰ]、[s]抑或[tʃ]、[tf]、[ʃ]仍存在不同的意见。本文将通过提取十一位实验发音人这组舌冠音的强频集中区进行频谱分析,从声学分析角度探讨不同性别、年龄的澳门粤语母语者其舌冠擦音、塞擦音发音部位的差异情况。实验结果发现青年组的拼合情况属于条件变体,而老年组的拼合情况更接近于性别变体。由于青年组及老年组表现出截然不同的倾向,澳门粤语这组塞擦音及擦音并不能单以条件变体或性别变体来进行概括。通过日常交流的初步观察可知,非语音学研究者很少能注意到[s]、[ts]、[tsʰ]和[ʃ]、[tʃ]、[tʃʰ]的差异,且这两组舌尖音和舌叶音的区分对意义不产生任何影响,因此以自由变体来概括更为适合。从两组音位变体拼合情况的多寡,及符合出版、书写时更便利、经济的要求,这组音位可以[s]、[tsʰ]来描写。但在此,出于实验发音人实际反映的发音情况来看,或许以舌尖音及舌叶音的上位概念"舌冠音"(Coronal articulations)来概括,才能更适合以及更全面。

本次实验是以声学分析对澳门粤语舌冠音发音部位进行一个初步的社会语言学调查。通过实验对澳门粤语舌冠塞擦音、擦音音位进行基础的分类及界定。在澳门粤语中,这组舌尖及舌叶音的区分对意义没有影响,因此更适合用舌尖音及舌叶音的上位概念"舌冠音"(Coronal articulations)来概括这组音位。但声学分析只是对于澳门粤语舌冠音问题讨论的基础观察,今后希望能从两个方面对澳门粤语舌冠音问题进行进一步的研究。一方面是从生理角度研究其发音部位,使用电子腭位仪(EPG)、电磁发音仪(EMA)来考察共鸣腔的改变(尤其是双唇运动)对辅音频谱图的影响,进一步联系声学分析时观察出的强频集中区差异,以此证实及补充说明声学分析得出的分类界定结果。另一方面则是从感知角度讨论澳门粤语舌冠音问题,这可以通过两种实验进行研究:一是声学分析方法,通过调整强频区的位置高低、调整 F2 的频率高低来模拟合成声音,以此测试澳门粤语母语者的舌冠音感知情况。二是通过事件相关电位实验(ERP)进行研究。同时,对于这组音位的描写方式,若加上对澳门土生葡人的舌冠音发音情况考察,观察他们的发音部位是否与澳门华人有所区别,这亦能更全面且更有说服力地说明这组音位的描写方式。

本文分为五个部分:一、前言;二、实验方法;三、参考数据制作;四、实验分析;五、讨论;六、结论。

【关键词】声学分析 舌冠音 擦音 塞擦音 澳门粤语

倡議及探研為香港非華語中學生設置"國際粵語中文"課程

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雖然香港教育局自 2014/15 學年起推行一系列優化措施,以加強支援香港非華語學生有效地學習中文,但社會、家長、老師、有關的非華語中學畢業學生,都普遍認為成效不佳,正如平等機會委員會主席朱敏健(2019)指出:「平等機會委員會及個別非政府組織早於十多年前已經向相關的政府部門及政策局反映有關少數族裔學習中文的問題。令人感到意外的是,縱然經歷多年討論,至今這個問題似乎仍然存在。」顯然,困擾了近二十年的非華語學生中文學習問題,至今仍未有效解決。

本文介紹香港非華語學生與香港非華語學生中文教育的背景,並從非華語學生中文學習課程(目標、內容、教法與策略、評估)、學習態度與動機、學生差異、配套資源與師資這五個環節,詳細拆解非華語學生中文教育之所以長久陷於困局,關鍵即在錯誤採用了第一語言教學,而未改用第二語言教學。接著,本文會提出具體解決方法。

內地為了外國人專設的中文課程最新名稱為「國際中文教育」課程,其發展 非常蓬勃,雖然只屬普通話中文教育,但對本文所提倡的「國際粵語中文」課程 極具參考價值。本文除參考內地「國際中文教育」課程外,也同時分析及參考了 香港大學中文學院、香港中文大學雅禮中國語文研習所及國際上專為外國人而設 置的「廣東話中文」課程,借其為鏡,取長補短,期望能集百家之長,創建一個 符合中文作為第二語言學習規律的「國際粵語中文」課程,扭轉困局,造福香港 非華語莘莘學子。

英粤植物俗语: 跨文化研究及互译初探

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粤语为中国日常生活中主要运用的五种方言之一,因历史和政策原因,与英语关系较为紧密。其中英语和粤语两种语言包含的俗语都具有民族的生活性和民俗性,可以成为研究文化差异的语料来源和依据。认知语言学认为,俗语作为深藏在人们概念系统中的隐喻概念的表层现象,是可分析、可活用的。本文从对比英语和粤语植物类俗语出发,探讨了其隐藏在语言背后的文化差异和俗语包含的六种对应关系。同时,对英粤习语互译技巧做了初步探究。

关键词

俗语,认知语言学,隐喻概念,粤语,对比研究

1. 引言

在人类历史发展的过程中,植物仅次于动物与人类关系十分密切。植物不仅为万物带来清新的空气,各式各样的食材,而且为自然环境增添无限的生机、活力和乐趣。仔细观察,人类的衣食住行都离不开各种类别的植物。当今种植技术的不断革新正是因为植物具有不可取代的审美价值和使用价值。中国的文人墨客常把植物景观与节操情感联系起来,植物甚至被赋予了灵性和人性,如"宁可食无肉,不可居无竹","枯藤老树昏鸦,小桥流水人家","疏影横斜水清浅,暗香浮动月黄昏"等佳句流传至今。因人们深谙植物的形态特点、生长俗性和各种使用价值,逐渐与生活联系起来,形成特定的约定俗成的表达,这些表达当中包含了不同文化象征意义,即隐喻。

以 Lakoff 和 Johnson 在 1980 年出版的 Metaphors We Live By 一书为代表,概念隐喻理论可以让人们得以用一种事物来理解另一种事物。如今,概念隐喻理论成为我们解剖隐喻的一大方法之一。而隐喻的本质是根植于文化系统中,固然,不同民族之间的隐喻理解大不相同。隐喻的真义游离于字面意义之外,对本族人来说是不言而喻的,而对二语学习者而言,则会形成不小的理解难度。

粤语(Cantonese),作为两广和港澳地区通用的语言,有着广泛的影响力。历史亦有记载,广州自古则为重要的港口城市,接纳不少货物和外国人。加之,改革开放后,优惠的政策吸引了不少外商来广东投资。根据 Sapir-Whorf hypothesis 的强弱理论,不同语言里所包含的文化概念和分类会影响语言使用者因语言差异而产生思考方式、行为方式的不同。本文立足于概念隐喻理论框架指导下,旨在对比英语与粤语俗语中的植物隐喻,通过对比发现两种文化的异同与交融,以及探讨植物隐喻的粤英互译技巧。

粤方言"量名"结构的定指与非定指功能——动词界点与句子信息结构的协同作用

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有定(definiteness)作为一个语法范畴,指语言中存在专用于名词结构表定指(identifiability)功能的语法形式(Lambrecht,1994:79-82;Chen 2003: 1129)。本文主要探讨:粤方言(共同语)的"量名"结构是否属于有定范畴的语法形式?该结构何以具有定指功能?与体范畴、句子的信息结构有何关系?

1. 定中结构的定指功能与名词的限定序列

粤方言的量词在句法上充当限定词,可受表领属或性质形容词性结构修饰,表定指;在限定复杂的定中结构中多前置于定中结构,与英语的冠词相类。

2. 句子信息结构与定指、非定指功能

"量名"结构的定指功能在句首的主题位置容易得到凸显;然而并非所有的句子都有话题,因此本文将从"焦点-非焦点"的角度对该结构进行分析。从句法分布上看,焦点名词一般分布于核心动词后的宾语位置,而非焦点名词(或前提)则多前置于核心动词。而"量名"结构的定指与非定指功能与其句法分布及所充当的句子信息成分密切相关。

3. 动词的有界与受事宾语的定指功能

"量名"结构的定指功能并不仅仅与句法位置或句子信息结构密切相关,也与动词 (短语)有界(telic)与无界(atalic)语义特征相关:动词若有界,其受事宾语多为 终点论元,具有较强的定指功能。粤方言动词的有界无界主要由体标记和补语标示,本 文将从上述两个角度对"量名"宾语的定指功能进行考察。

3.1. 动词的体与定指功能

有界的体标示动词的有界,其"量名"宾语一般有界,无界的动作多由无界的体范畴标示,但同时也受名词在语篇中的角色与信息结构制约。

3.2. 动补结构的有界与受事宾语的定指

动补结构的有界在一定程度上决定了受事宾语的定指功能。因为动补结构需要一个 终点论元实现其有界的语义特征,当受事宾语充当其终点论元时,其界点便达界,"量 名"结构从而获得定指功能。

4. 结论与余论

粤方言的"量名"结构可独立充当主语或宾语,其定指与非定指功能是动词的界点与句子信息结构共同作用的语用功能:动词的有界或话题位置决定该结构的定指功能,焦点位置与无界的动词共同决定名词的非定指功能,因此粤方言未发展出区分定指与非定指功能的有定范畴。方言历时口语语料的统计结果显示:该结构在 19 世纪后已成熟。从类型学的角度看,包括粤方言在内的南方方言存在一种与汉语北方官话完全不同的定指表达方式,前者依赖句子信息结构与动词界点的共同作用,后者借助词汇的指示语义表达,这种类型学的差异值得进一步探讨。

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語體缺位與詞彙更替——以香港粵語表人名詞為例

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詞彙可謂是語言裡變化最快、最頻繁的部分。新事物的出現或舊事物的消亡固然會導致詞彙變更,以應表達所需;然而,語言裡還存在大量的近義詞,它們可表達相似甚至相同的意義,但用於不同場合。語體語法理論認為,這些近義詞之間的分別,是語體的分別。不同語體有各自的詞彙和語法結構。馮勝利(2014)指出北京人能分辨「跟」、「和」、「與」、「同」之間口語度和使用場合的不同;汪維輝(2014)提出「語體詞彙」的概念,即「為表達某一語體的需要而產生或使用的詞彙」。他指出:「『聆聽』和『垂聽』都帶有敬詞的色彩,兩者在用法上可以互補,而真正相當於『聽』的中性雙音詞,在現代漢語中實際上是缺位的。」可見不同語體裡的詞彙並不總是完備的。語體是否「缺位」,正是新詞能否產生、或外來詞能否進入現有詞彙系統的動因。本文以香港粵語裡的表人名詞為例,證明詞彙更替的背後,語體是重要機制。

- 1. 語體不缺位,新詞難進入:「BB」vs「寶寶」 表示嬰兒,香港多說「BB」,內地多說「寶寶」。由於「BB」在口語裡的用法和「寶寶」 的用法一致,即使中港兩地交流頻繁,「寶寶」也沒有動因取代「BB」。
- 2. 語體混雜,難以流行:「準媽媽」vs「孕媽咪」 「孕媽咪」是台灣用語,香港也有使用。然而,由於「孕」和「媽咪」的語體差距太 大,導致整體語感混雜,難以流行。
- 3. 語體缺位,新詞產生:「老友記」vs「長者」;「人士」vs「人」;「賓賓」vs「菲律賓家庭 傭工」

語體缺位是新詞產生的重要動因,又可分為不同情況:

- (1) 語體形式造詞,例如「賓賓」、「印印」
- (2) 改變原有詞義,例如「老友記」
- (3) 改變原有用法,例如「人士」

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陽江粵語動詞重疊 VV 式的兩種類型

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不同於廣府粵語,陽江粵語中動詞重疊 VV 式表義豐富。根據首音節是否讀重長音並變調,陽江粵語 VV 式可分為「原調型 VV 式」和「變調型 VV 式」兩種類型。「原調型 VV 式」主要表短時、嘗試、持續等體貌義,並在作定語用法時表強調性指示義;「變調型 VV 式」表動作程度加強。本文全面描寫陽江粵語動詞重疊 VV 式的兩種類型,考察兩者在語音、句法、語義等方面的差異,並結合語法化視角分析「原調型 VV 式」表強調性指示義的用法,從功能滲透和類化作用的角度解釋「變調型 VV 式」的語義。

關鍵詞 陽江粵語 動詞重疊 語法化 類化

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從幫、端母與精組特殊音變看平話與粵語的關係

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兩廣地區不少方言兼有幫、端母讀濁音(或內爆音、先喉塞音、零聲母等) 和精組讀 t、th的現象,引起學界注意,而且意見不一。如李錦芳(1990a、1990c) 認為精組塞化推動端母濁化;陳忠敏(1995)指出二者不存在推導關係;陳小燕 (2006)則主張端母的演變是拉動精組變化的原因。

幫、端母和精組的特殊音變,也是研究平話和粵語以至粵語各片之間關係的著眼點。如李連進(2007)提出粵語勾漏片和平話普遍存在「古端母濁化為[d]或[l]」和「古精母讀同端母[t]」,但粵語其他各片中並不常見。麥耘(2010)在探討粵語和平話形成歷史時,則把李連進認為的差異視為宋代以後粵語(主要指廣府片)與平話各自創新的結果,但在唐末時兩者的表現應是相同的,即「幫、端可能都讀內爆音」、「精組字讀齒間/齦邊擦音」,並且都是土著語言的底層。後來精組字(不含心母)粵語變讀齦/齒背塞擦音、平話則塞音化,內爆音在粵語消失得比平話快。麥耘更認為幫、端母讀內爆音所涉及的時間層次肯定早於粵語與平話的分化年代。

我們分析桂北平話有關聲母的今讀類型和形式後,認為李連進的比較和麥耘的年代斷定只注意到幫、端母和精組的音值,沒有兼顧相關的音類變化。粵語勾漏、四邑片的幫、端母和精組的特殊音變(余靄芹1991)雖然跟平話相似,其實層次有所不同。如果經歷了同樣的幫、端讀 6、d、精、清讀 t、th(從、心、邪讀 0/1)等接觸式音變,桂北平話(包括一些勾漏片粵語)其時的全濁聲母尚未清化,而四邑一類廣東粵語則是濁音已經清化了。研究結果顯示兩種可能:一是特殊音變的時間相同,但濁音清化時間不同,平話晚於主流粵語;一是濁音清化的時間相同,但發生特殊音變的時間不同,平話早於主流粵語。無論哪一種假設成立,都反映桂北平話和主流粵語在歷史發展上有過截然獨立的階段,兩者各具幫、端母和精組的特殊表現,但性質並不相同。

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阳江粤语的长短元音与元音句末延长

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延长在世界语言中广泛存在。当音节位于句子末尾时,时长通常有明显的延长。而粤语也是利用时长来区别长短元音。那么,粤语长短元音和元音句末延长的关系具体是怎么样的?本研究分析阳江粤语的长短元音和元音句末延长之间的交互作用。实验选取长元音[a]和短元音[e]作为测试音节的韵腹;鼻音[m][n]和塞音[t][k][p]等作为测试音节的韵尾。测试音节有单字(单音节)和双字(双音节),每个测试音节都有两种分布位置,分别为句子中间和句子末尾,例如"其件衫好靓"和"其中意古件衫"的"衫"字。10 位阳江出生、说阳江粤语的发音人参加了录音,重复录音 3 遍。提取测试音节中元音的时长进行分析。

结果发现: (1)阳江粤语存在句末延长。在其他条件都相同的情况下,句末延长的 影响是呈现上升趋势的(即,元音越靠近句末,它延长的时长就越长)。在双字中,后 字的元音往往要比前字的元音延得更长。从这点来看,粤语和世界大部分语言的延长趋 势是相同的。(2)长短元音的元音句末延长存在差异。 短元音在句末的延长比长元音在 句末的延长幅度更大,也就是短元音更容易受到句末延长的影响。我们的结果和 Satsuki Nakai (2008) 的发现不一致, Satsuki Nakai 等人发现, 北芬兰语的长元音在双音节音 段的末尾位置的延长要大于短元音在末尾位置的延长。这和粤语节奏性质有关。粤语为 音节型节奏,音节的时长被限制在固定的范围之内。在此前提下,长元音的时长本来就 比短元音的长,因此不如短元音有更多的延长空间。(3)元音的句末延长还会受到相邻 元音的影响。当短元音位于长元音前时,短元音反而会缩短。长元音的时长会缩短。这 与元音感知有关,如果短元音的延长幅度过大,在听感上可能会和长元音混淆,因此短 元音发得会更短。我们的实验结果支持李行德(1985)等学者的观点:即粤语广州话的 元音分析,应该把元音的长短当作区别特征。(4)元音的句末延长还会受到韵尾性质的 影响。本研究设计两种韵尾:鼻音韵尾和塞音韵尾。单字中短元音在塞音前的延长远远 大于在鼻音前的延长,这是因为塞音的时长比鼻音的时长短,因此短元音在塞音前的延 长空间更大。然而到了双音节中,如果音节末尾是塞音的话,则会阻碍前邻元音的延长。 这与入声字的性质有关,汉语方言的入声字是一种促音,句子末尾的促音,它的短促感 会得到彰显。为了维持这种听感上的短促,当入声字位于句末的时候,元音的延长会受 到后接塞音韵尾的阻碍。

本研究表明,阳江粤语的长短元音与元音句末延长的关系,主要受(1)粤语的音节节奏性质;(2)长短元音的听觉感知;(3)入声韵尾三者的影响。这三种因素之间还具有复杂的交互作用。在这三者的综合作用下,阳江粤语长短元音的句末延长呈现复杂多样的局面。

从行域到言域:广州话"话知 X"的功能及演化

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"话知 X"的 X,常为指人成分,如"话知你/佢",又作"话之你/佢",是广州话日常会话中一个常见的固定短语结构。结构的原意是"告诉", 表明说话人对某事采取不管的态度。(《广州话俗语词典(增订版)》2018, p. 335)

句法上,"话知 X"可以成独立小句,(见例 1),也可后接复杂成分(见例 2)。

- (1) 你点搞都唔关我事,话知**你**呀 我先告诉你,你怎么搞都与我无关。(《广州话方言词典(修订版)》 2014, p. 230)
- (2) 话知**佢应唔应承**,我决定咗喇 管他答应不答应,我已经决定了。(《香港粤语大词典》 2018, p. 598)

另外,"话知你/佢"还可以与句末语助词共现,但有一定限制:基本上只和"啦 laa1"和"呀 aa1"共现,不能与辅音 g 或 m 开头的句末语助词共现。

(3) 我话知你呀 aa1/啦 laa1/嘅 ge3*/唻gaa3*/咩 me1*。

在广州话日常对话中,"话知 X"常反映说话人的态度,虽然意思上表达"无所谓"或"不管",但实际上说话人往往对事件持负面态度,例子如下:

(4) A: 妈,我今晚唔翻嚟食饭 妈,我今晚不回来吃饭。 A母亲:我话知你(唔翻嚟食饭)呀 我管你(回不回来吃饭)。

例(4)中,尽管母亲口头上说"话知你 管你",但实则上对 A 不回家吃饭一事是不悦的。如果对事件没有负面态度,回答会倾向"是但你/随便你/随得你 随便/随你"。在一些语境中,言者对事件所持的负面态度甚至延伸出"威胁/警告"的语气,如:第二天要考试了,家长督促孩子复习,但孩子极不情愿。此时,家长说"话知你呀 我不管你了",表达的是"你不复习,我不管。(但考试考不好的后果你自己来承担)"这样一个意思,希望起到的是"阻吓警告"的效果,这属于"言语行为(speech-act)"的范畴。

本文开头提到"话知"的原意是"告诉",在历史语料(Bruce《Easy phrases in the Canton Dialect》1877)中,我们也找到对应的例子,例如:

- (5) 话知我听告诉我知道。
- (6) 你话知佢来见我 你告诉他(让他)来见我。

根据"三域"概念及相关研究(沈家煊,2003;刘丹青,2008;邓思颖,2012;等),广州话"话知 X"结构似乎完成了从行域到言域的转化:"告知"本义是客观叙述,属于"行域";表达言者态度,属于"知域";而及后引申的"阻嚇警告"意图则属于"言域"。"话知 X"结构是如何完成跨域投射与三域转化的呢?句法和语义上又经历了怎样的变化?本研究将着力解答上述问题,希望能细致呈现出"话知 X"结构在广州话中的功能及演化过程。

香港華人語言生活裏的粵語(1890-1974) ——以大眾娛樂、宗教、公共事務三個場域為例

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根據香港政府 2016 年中期人口統計數據顯示,香港有 88.9%人口以廣州話作為慣用交談語言,足證廣州話是為當下香港社會的通用語。不過,這只是晚近出現的情況。過往的人口普查紀錄反映了香港曾存在大量以客家話、潮州話為主要家庭用語的人士。可見當時在英語這層頂層語言之下,香港華人社會存有多種漢語方言,是為多語社會。

現時學界曾就廣州話逐漸流通於香港社會的過程作出概論(劉鎮發 2004; 陳煒舜 2018) 亦對香港特定時期的個別漢語方言發展展開過討論(包睿舜(Robert Stuart Bauer) 1985; 張振江 2003、2008;蘇詠昌、劉鎮發 2008)。人類社會的活動可以按其性質而劃分成不同的場域(Domains),而語言的交流就發生在這些場域之中。雖然語言競爭在各個場域中有所不同,但過往的研究只是概論整個香港華人的語言生活,並沒有考慮各個場域下的情況。而且,以往語言生活的量化描述往往依賴人口普查的數據。惟人口普查只會調查家庭用語。其他場域的語言行為缺乏量化描述,經常憑個別具有代表性的事例來反映。

因此之故,本文將會以大眾娛樂、宗教、公共事務三個場域為例,考察 1890 至 1974 年間香港華人社會的語言生活。從 1890 年今日香港的地理範圍大致定型到 1974 年《法定 語文條例》開始實行之間,香港政府並沒有直接支持或是禁止某種漢語方言。本文透過整 理政府檔案等材料,對大眾娛樂、宗教、公共事務三個場域的語言生活作出量化描述;並 指出在缺乏官方的壓力之下,這三個場域的語言生活呈現出不同面貌,粵語在這些場域的 擴張過程亦存有差異。

關鍵詞:多語社會、語言場域、語言競爭、語言擴張

广州话"过"的四种体标记用法

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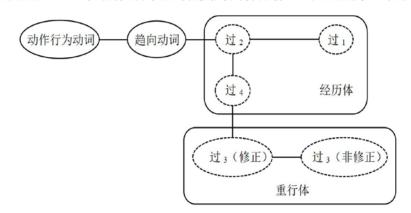
在现今的广州话中,有五种直接用于谓词性成分之后而功能各异的"过": 差比标记; 经历体标记("过₁"); 完成体标记("过₂"); 重行体标记("过₃"); 将行体助词("过₄")。 后四种"过"的用法都是体貌用法。以上五种用法分别例示如下:

- (1) 我间屋大过你间。(我的房子比你的房子大。)
- (2) 佢之前当过兵。(他之前当过兵。)
- (3) 等我问过佢再揾佢老板。(让我先问过他再去找他老板。)
- (4) 做得唔好,由头嚟过。(做得不好,从头再来。)
- (5) 再虾我个女我就同你死过! (再欺负我女儿我就跟你拼命!)

"过"的四种体标记用法中,"过₁""过₂"用法在普通话中也存在。"过₃""过₄"用法,普通话中没有。"过₁"的用法,学术界的意见较为统一。而对于"过₂",学界则有不同意见:有主张和"过₁"分开讨论的,也有主张把"过₁"和"过₂"统一归纳为经历体标记的。至于"过₃"和"过₄",现有的研究成果则仍然存在不足。

本文通过分析认为:表曾经经历的"过1"、表动作完成的"过2"和表即将进行的"过4"都可以统一分析为经历体;"过3"表动作重新进行,可称之为重行体。"过3"有修正重行和非修正重行两种用法,两者在使用频率以及与谓词的搭配情况上存在不对称性。据此推测,"过3"的非修正重行的用法,可能是在修正重行用法的基础上发展而来的。本文将通过检索有关语料库证明这一点。

结合对"过"不同体貌用法的分析和归纳,以及对不同时期粤语材料的统计情况,可以构拟出广州话的"过"从动作行为动词演变为四种体标记用法的路径。如图所示:



"量化"还是"完成"——粤语"晒"的语义功能探析

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在以往的研究中,对于粤语中的"哂",有的文献认为是量化词,有的文献则认为是体成分。如 Lee(1994)、Matthews & Yip(1994)、Tang(1996)等认为粤语中的"哂"是一个量化词。其中 Lee(1994)认为"哂"是一个全称量词,在其量化之下,主语或宾语必须得到穷尽性的解读。Tang 1996 认为"哂"是一个事件量化词,跟终结性事件共现。量化整个事件的子事件。而 Teng(1996)则认为"哂"是一个动后体成分,表示事件的完成。"完成"可以是一个过程的每一个阶段都完全实现了,也可以是具有相同性质的几个活动都实行了。

本文根据对大量"哂"的用法的观察,并对比普通话中动后的"完""尽""遍""光"等词的用法,提出"哂"是一个只关联受事对象的全称量化词。"V+哂"表示动作行为遍历受事对象的全部,即作用于全部受事对象上。"事件的完成"由对受事的全称量化义可以推导出来。

本文在对"哂"的用法讨论的基础上,进一步讨论个体和事件在人们对事物认知上的先后顺序关系。认为文献中常说的对子事件的量化、由对事件的全称量化推导出对个体的全称量化等,是把顺序弄颠倒了。个体的离散性是我们观察子事件的基础。也就是在个体与事件的认知顺序上,占据空间位置的个体永远都是第一位的。认清这一点,有利于我们对很多语义问题的讨论。具体到量化语义表达上,对存在空间上多个体各自进行的分配性事件进行表述时,对个体的量化表达永远是第一位的,由对个体的离散特征才能得到不同的子事件。

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粵語"告訴"義結構的歷時定量考察

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「告訴」義結構指一個人把意思傳達給另一個人的結構,是一種雙及物結構。鄧思穎(2018)比較過粵語和普通話的「告訴」義結構,指出粵語不能以(A)雙賓句和(B)與格句作為「告訴」義結構,只能使用(C)目的小句和(D)介詞短語狀語,如下所示:

		普通話	香港粤語
(A)	雙賓句	我告訴你一件事。	*
(B)	與格句	我已經告訴給你了。	*
(C)	目的小句	我告訴一件事[給你聽]。	我講一件事[(畀)你聽]。
(D)	介詞短語狀語	我[跟你]說一件事。	我[同你]講一件事。

本研究就「告訴」義結構考察了三個時期的粵語語料:

- (1) 十九至二十世紀初(包括但不限於早期粵語口語文獻資料庫,張洪年、蔣紹愚 2012;早期 粵語標注語料庫,姚玉敏 2012);
- (2) 二十世紀中期(香港二十世紀中期粵語語料庫(第一階段),錢志安2012);以及
- (3) 現代(香港粵語語料庫,陸鏡光)。

本研究發現:

- (1) 粤語一直都只使用(C)目的小句和(D)介詞短語狀語來構成「告訴」義結構;
- (2) 粵語「告訴」義結構在十九至二十世紀初主要用(C)型,在二十世紀中期(C)型和(D)型平分 秋色,現代主要用(D)型;
- (3) 粵語(C)型「告訴」義結構的標句詞從前用「過」比用「畀」(當時材料作「俾」)常見得 多,二十世紀中期起一面倒用「畀」;
- (4) 粤語(C)型「告訴」義結構省略標句詞的頻率呈下降趨勢;
- (5) 粵語(D)型「告訴」義結構的介詞在十九至二十世紀初用「對」、「同」、「共」、「湊」(以「對」最為常見),在二十世紀中期用「同」、「對」、「參」(以「同」為主),現代基本上都用「同」。

我們會從(1)與普通話的接觸、(2)與「給予」義雙及物結構比較,以及(3)動後限制等角度,進一步討論上述的發現。

廣州方言中表"引誘"相關義的[leu33]本字考釋

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廣州方言中存在表"招攬;邀約;引誘"義的[leu³³]一詞,其用例有如"阿娟[leu³³]我去行花街""陳姨周圍[leu³³]人飲茶"等等,該詞的本字並不明確。

在過去,方言學者曾提出"嘍"字說,以饒秉才等編《廣州話詞典》、李榮編《廣州方言 詞典》為代表。"嘍"是一個後起字,考察其字形理據及文獻用例,蓋是為擬聲詞、語氣詞 所新造,很難與廣州方言中表"引誘"相關義的[leu³³]聯繫起來。"嘍"應該是假借字。

我們進一步觀察到"漏"字為本字的可能。《漢語大字典》在"漏"字下收入了"引誘"的義項。我們利用語料庫,共檢得各朝代文獻中表"引誘"義的"漏"共6例,皆出於《水滸傳》及《喻世明言》。經過句法分佈分析,這些"漏"基本出現在"N1+V1+N2+V2"的結構中,處於V1的位置,是具備[+致使]特徵的及物三價動詞,句中N2兼有受事和施事的語義角色,整體構成兼語式,這與廣州方言中的[leu³³]用法相同。綜合觀之,這些白話小說裡的"漏"所記的詞和廣州方言中的[leu³³]應該是同一個詞。但是,我們仍不能一概而論,將這個"漏"字就當做是詞語[leu³³]的本字,理由如下:(1)"漏"的引申鏈條圍繞著"漏刻"的本義展開,"引誘"無法在其引申序列中找到合理位置;(2)目前沒有見到超出《水滸傳》與《喻世明言》以外的例句,也沒有在小說的背景方言如吳方言、江淮官話中找到的相關用例;(3)廣州方言裡"漏水"之"漏"讀陽去,而表"招攬;邀約;引誘"之[leu³³]讀陰去。

經分析,我們提出本字為"摟"的看法。按《廣州話正音字典》,"摟"在廣州方言中有 [leu³³]的讀音。同時,《漢語大字典》收錄"強加,牽合""用手或工具把東西向自己面前聚集""招攬"等義項,引申序列明確合理。按《說文》,"摟"的本義是"強行牽引使之向己聚合",義素可提取為"方式:[+用繩束縛]""動作:[+牽引]""趨向:[+向施動者]""目的結果:[+聚集靠攏]"。本義用法最早可見用例於《孟子》:"五霸者,摟諸侯以伐諸侯者也。"當該詞義素中的方式和動作成分進一步泛化,即引申為具備"[+強行][+勸說][+向施動者][+聚集靠攏]"義素的"招攬;邀約;引誘"義。

方言接触视角下的新兴粤语语音演变研究

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新兴县位于广东省中部偏西,县境东与高明、鹤山县交界,东南与开平县相邻,南接恩平县,西南连阳春县,西北为云浮,东北与高要县接壤。新兴粤方言虽归属粤语广府片,但因地处广府片、勾漏片、四邑片和高阳片粤语的交界地带,其方言无论语音、词汇还是语法都与广州话有诸多差异。但近几十年来因受到广州粤语、香港粤语等强势粤语的影响,其方言特色正在发生改变,这种变化在新老派语音差异中得到了明显体现。

本文重点阐述新兴粤语语音的特点、新老派语音的差异以及接触式音变的情 况。与广州话相比,新兴粤语语音主要具有以下特色: 1.影母带有喉塞, 与云、 以母有别。2.蟹摄一等开、合口存在部分合流现象。3.止摄开口三等今读 i 韵母, 遇摄一等今读 u 韵母,遇摄三等今读 v 韵母,无元音裂化现象。4.流摄三等今读 u 韵母,与遇摄一等合流。5.无-u 介音,中古合口韵多与相应的开口韵合流。6. 梗摄三四等缺乏文白异读现象,曾摄三等、梗摄三四等今读-n/-d,与臻摄合流。 7.曾摄一等与梗摄二等合流。8.上声只有1个,无阳上调,中古次浊声母上声字 归入阳平,中古全浊声母上声字部分归入阳平,部分归入阴去或阳去。新兴粤语 新老派语音差异主要体现在韵母系统上,如假摄三等,"夜"字韵母由 ia 变为 ia/ie 两读; 止摄合口三等, 由 i/ui 演变为 uzi, 如"鬼"字韵母由 i 变为 i/uzi 两读; 梗摄三四等老派读为 en/et,新派音系中产生韵母 en/ek,形成白读层 en/et 与文读 层 en/ek 的异读现象;流摄三等 u/iv 变读为 ɐu/iɐu,如"修""寿""舅"等字韵 母由 u 变为 eu, "右""油"等字由 io 变为 ieu 等。从以上差异可知, 新兴粤语 语音的新老派变化主要体现为接触式音变,新派的语音特色逐步与广州话趋同, 这种音变模式表现为:字音突变,形成叠置,系统渐变。在权威粤语的影响下, 哪些语音会发生变化,哪些不变,本文将通过新兴粤语探讨权威粤语对周边粤方 言辐射影响的模式、规律与制约因素。

粤语与普通话双语者语词使用混合现象考察

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在"强势方言"粤语和通用语普通话进行着愈加密切接触的过程中,出现了大量的双语者。本文结合相关理论,以 20-26 岁粤语和普通话"双语"者的语料作为研究对象,尝试对粤语和普通话双语者在语言使用过程中出现的语词混合现象进行考察。首先,探究语词混合的类型和具体使用情况,并对产生该现象的原因进行举例分析。在使用粤语和普通话交流的过程中,混合情况也存在差异。进而继续探讨在粤语和普通话的双语者中,粤语母语者、粤语的继承语学习者和粤语的二语学习者分别在语词使用上的倾向和偏好,并通过对比,探究他们之间的区别和联系。最后分析习得的先后顺序、所处语言环境、语言使用的熟练程度对混合现象的影响情况。

关键词: 语言接触 强势语言 粤语 普通话

补论粤方言中上声的分化类型——以博白地佬话为例

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王莉宁(2009)根据 61 个粤语、39 个平话以及 20 个湘粤桂土话调查点的材料,按照 古上声的分化程度将其分为 4 大类型,其中博白地佬话归到了"三分型"中的"全清上——次清上+次浊上+全浊上₁——全浊上₂"小类,并认为这一小类是在"全清上——次清上+浊上"这一"两分型"的基础上发展而来的。但我们在对博白地佬话进行调查和声学实验以后发现,古上声在博白地佬话中有"两分型"、"三分型"和"四分型"3 种分化类型,具体分类如下:

- 1. "两分型"。以博白县城岐山坡地佬话为代表,具体表现为"清上+次浊上+全浊上 1─ 一全浊上 2"。该类型主要分布在博白县城城区的周边地区。
- 2. "三分型"。这一类型又根据次清上字的归类差异分为两个小类。以博白县城新兴街地 佬话为代表的为 3.1 型,具体表现为 "清上——次浊上+全浊上₁——全浊上₂"。此类型只分布在博白城区;以博白永安镇地佬话为代表的为 3.2 型,具体表现为 "全清上——次清上+次浊上+全浊上₁——全浊上₂"。此类型主要分布在博白纯粤语镇内。
- 3. "四分型"。以博白县双凤镇地佬话为代表,具体表现为"全清上——次清上——次浊上+全浊上₁——全浊上₂"。这一类型也分布在纯粤语镇,且与博白周边的兴业、容县、桂平麻垌粤语的上声分化表现一致。

上述"两分型"和"四分型"在王文中未见描写。本文对博白地佬话中上声的分化类型进行描写,以对粤方言中上声的分化类型有所补充,同时结合博白地佬话上声字在连读变调中的表现以及声韵特点,根据共时差异推测博白地佬话上声调的历时演变。

关键词 粤语 博白 上声 历时演变

广东方言与日耳曼语系音变比较

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广东是粤客潮三大汉语言方言活化石的汇集地,不同方言区之间地理位置相邻,均来源自上古汉语,研究其间的音变对语言学研究具有重要的意义。同样地,欧洲的日耳曼语系地区也有德语、荷兰语、英语、丹麦语、挪威语、瑞典语及冰岛语等多种同源语种,它们均从古日耳曼语演化出来,各自在历史长河中出现了多次元音和辅音的音变。通过对两者的比较,我们能够发现,即使语系相距甚远,但其音变其实都具有相通之处,体现了音韵变化的普适性(universality)。

众所周知,在日耳曼语系中的古英语到现代英语的演变中出现了[a]-[o]元**音互换**的情况。譬如现代英语中的"石头"stone,在古英语中为stān,近似于丹麦语中的sten。这一元音置换出现在鼻音 n/m 的环境中,如古英语的"一个"为 ane (后演变为现代英语中的不定冠词an,如"一个苹果",an apple),而现代英语则为 one. 同样地,古英语中的"家" hām,变成了现代英语中的 home,而不同于瑞典语中的 hem。同样地,在鼻音 n/m 的环境中的[a]-[o]元音互换,也出现在了汉语言方言中。譬如,标准的粤语和客家话的第一人称"我" 分别为广州音 [ngo5] 以及梅州音[ngai2],而在更为古拙的南番顺珠三角乡间粤语中,则有"我" [ngoi5]。若取梅州音与珠三角乡音作对比,可以发现在鼻音 ng 环境下有明显的[a]-[o]元音互换。和日耳曼语系一样,一般认为,[a]的发音应该比 [o]更古拙,正如标准潮州话(或者闽南话)的第一人称"我" [ua2](或者[ngua3])也是保留了更古的 [a]元音(参考广韵中的"我" [ngax])。

[t/d] - [z] 辅音音变来源于中世纪时的高地德语音变,很多辅音出现了推移,并因此形成了现代德语与荷兰语、英语等其他日耳曼语的界线。比如古日耳曼语中的[t] 音,在德语的同源词中擦化成了[z],该变换既能出现在词头,也能出现在词尾。十分相似地,[t/d] - [z]的辅音变换,也体现在了粤潮客三大方言的很多对应读法中。例如,标准的粤语中,"知"读为[zi1],和客家话、潮汕话(文读)的"知"[di1]相对。同样,这对辅音组的对立还存在于"中"一字,粤语客家话发音的[zung1]和潮汕闽南话中的[diong1],出现[t/d] - [z]的变换。在翻查广韵中发现,"中"和"知"均为[triung]和[trië],均和潮汕闽南方言中的声部更为吻合。由此推论,粤语方言在[t/d] - [z]的辅音推移中最为创新,客家方言次之,最为古拙的则为闽潮方言。汉语言方言中,这一由辅音[t/d] 向 [z] 的渐进性推移,和日耳曼语系的历史演变吻合。

在先前提及的高地德语音变中,另一组**辅音组[f]- [b]**也出现了替换的情况: 古日耳曼语中的[f] 音的同位异音 [v],在现代德语的同源词中浊化成了[b],而在荷兰语及英语中保留了下来: 例如英语的 half 对应德语的 halb,have 对应 habben,self 对应 selbe 等等。值得一提的是,日耳曼语中的这一[f] - [b]音变多出现在音节尾,而同样的音变在汉语言方言中一般出现在音节头。譬如,标准的粤语和客家话的动词"放"均为[fong],仅有语调的少许不同; 而闽潮中的白读发音,则为[bang]。其中,除了元音出现了先前提到的[a]-[o]互换,还出现了[f] - [b] 的辅音变化。又如,动词"飞",在粤语和客家话中分别为[fei1]以及 [fui1],而在潮州话中白读[buê1]。同理,在广韵中,"放" [püangx] 和"飞" [püei] 中,均没有[f] 音,正如清代学者钱大昕说 "古无轻唇音",汉语言方言在此与日耳曼语言恰恰相反,是由 [b/p] 到 [f] 的音变。

末点音高对广州话低调域调类感知边界的影响

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摘要 广州话的阳平 (/21/) 、阳上 (/23/) 、阳去 (/22/) 都是起点音高相近的低调域调 类,本文通过观察仅在末点音高影响下这三个低调域调类的感知范畴,探讨这三个声调的感知 边界。通过感知实验,我们初步发现这三个调类的听感空间分布均匀,并且区分这三个调最重要的声学线索就是末点音高。值得注意的是:广州话阳去 (/22/) 并不被感知为 "平调",而感知为带有"缓降"特征的刺激音,结合声学数据显示阳去 (/22/) 时长总大于阳平 (/21/) 时长,据此推测,虽然阳去与阳平都有"降"的特征,但阳平的末点音高更低且时长更短,听感下降的特征远比阳去凸显,综合作用使得这两个调类得以区分;阳上 (/23/) 也并不仅感知为一个升调,首末点音高相同的平调类刺激音也可被感知为阳上 (/23/) ,因此语音上真正的"平调"的感知实际上是一个包括轻微"升"、"降"的范畴。而关于阴上 (/33/) 、阳上 (/23/) 、阳去 (/22/) 三者相混的问题,我们发现阴上 (/33/) 一阳去 (/22/) 在低调域内相混的概率低于阳上 (/23/) 一阴去 (/33/) ,并且区分阳去 (/22/) 与其它两个调类的区别性特征是阳去 (/22/) 的"低降"调形,而不是音高域。

关键词 广州话, 低调域, 感知边界, 末点音高

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東莞(企石) 粵語的小稱變調及其來源

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東莞大部分粵方言點存在高升(35 調)、高平(55 調)兩個小稱變調。單看調值各點似乎無甚分別,但實際上,不同方言點裡,這兩個小稱調的轄詞範圍可以有很大不同。有的方言點以 55 變調为常,如莞城話;有的以 35 變调为常,如企石話。¹姚瓊姿(2018)指出莞城老派只有一個讀 435 的小稱調,這個小稱調到了中派演變為 55;同時中派又從廣州話借入 35 變調,由此形成了莞城中派兼有 55、35 兩個小稱調的格局。經比對,企石話的 35 變調與莞城話的 55 變調在轄詞範圍上高度對應。反觀企石話的 55 變調,其轄詞範圍卻要小得多。那麼,企石話的這兩個小稱調是如何形成的?本文作出如下分析:

- (一) 企石話的 35 變調是本土的層次,而 55 變調是從優勢方言(如廣州話)借入的。主要依據是,廣州話讀 35 和 55 變調的詞,在企石話裡幾乎都變讀 35 調,這表明 35 變調在企石話裡佔據絕對的優勢。
- (二) 企石話的 35 變調與莞城話的 55 變調,除了轄詞範圍高度重合之外,還有一個共同 特點,它們不同於各自音系中的任一聲調。這暗示企石話 35 變調和莞城話 55 變調可能有共同 的來源。換言之,企石話原先和莞城話一樣都只有一個小稱調,後來這兩個方言各自從廣州話 借入了與本土小稱調不同的、新的小稱調。
- (三) 那麼,企石話本土的 35 變調是如何產生的?我們注意到,企石話存在一個表達誇張、主觀大量的上揚語調,調末的音高明顯高於聲調系統中的最高調。該語調通常附在名詞上。例如,在江邊散步時突遇大風,可以說"哎呀,啲風ノ。"本文認為企石話的本土小稱調可能由語調固化而來,亦即經歷了從語調到詞調的發展。這也解釋了為何小稱調多發生於名詞,這和名詞多能單獨成句且能出現在句末不無關係。

附:	廣州、	莞城	(中派)	、企石	粵語的ノ	小稱變調例詞 ²

	廣州話	莞城話 (中派)	企石話
魚、鴨、茄、橙、鞋	35	55	35
蚊、雞、豬、車、衫	55	55	35

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¹ 此處參考了"建立東莞方言檔案"課題(負責人: 莊初升)的田野調查材料,在此對課題組表示衷心的感謝。

² 廣州話主要參考麥耘(1990、1995),莞城話參考姚瓊姿(2018),企石話語料來自本文第一作者母語感。

广西藤县北部粤语的入声四分

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广西藤县位于梧州市的西部,珠江上游的浔江两岸,全县以浔江为界分为南 北两部分。藤南粤语的帮端母字普遍读内爆音,部分乡镇舌尖部位有内爆音位与 不送气清爆音的对立,北部基本无内爆音。藤南粤语一般9个声调,其中舒声6 个,入声3个:上阴入、下阴入和阳入。北部地区一般是10个声调,其中舒声 6个,入声4个:上阴入、下阴入、上阳入和下阳入。本文着重描写藤北的四个 入声。两个阴入之间、两个阳入之间没有最小对比,但上阴入和上阳入之间、下 阴入与下阳入之间有最小对比对。各类入声的音高、音长和元音高低构成和谐关 系: 短调的上阴入或上阳入与高或半高元音相和谐: 长调的下阴入或下阳入与低 或半低元音相和谐; 上阴入比下阴入的音高相对要高, 上阳入比下阳入的音高要 高。但低元音的[e]例外,与短调且相对高调的上阴入或上阳入相和谐。我们认 为这个所谓的"长短"不是属于元音的,而是属于音节的,是超音段因素在音节 中的作用,但它并不单独起辨义作用,而是和元音的高低及音高构成一种和谐关 系共同作用,在藤北粤语仅限于入声音节。如果一定要按传统音韵学中声母、韵 母和声调来切分,那将音长和音高这两类超音段因素一起看作声调的内容可能更 能清晰地体现粤语的音系特征。当然声调中的超音段因素还有发声态的内容,比 如藤北太平镇粤语阳入的嘎裂声,本文暂不作深入讨论。

台山方言語音演變研究

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論文提要:本文以記錄清代中晚期四邑台山方言的韻書《同音字彙》作爲起點,結合 A. DON 《新寧話和廣州話比較研究》(1883, 1884)中的語音材料、台山人梅喬甫所編《新體通俗方音韻譜》(1929)中的反切材料、王力與錢淞生《台山方音》(1950)中所描述的台山方音的語音特點以及詹伯慧與張日升《珠江三角洲方言字音對照》(1987)中所記錄的台山方音等語音材料進行比較,描述台山方言 100 多年來的語音演變情況。其中韻書《同音字彙》的音系性質已經確定,並已撰寫成文(即將發表),本書目前所能見到的最早版本爲道光三十年(1850)刻本,但是書中所反映的語音特點(尤其是"透母擦音化"這一能反映台山語音的重要特點尚未出現)應該早於道光年間,可惜由於無法找到更早的版本,所以不敢妄下結論。另外四種材料的間隔基本在 20 到 40 年之間,所記錄語音的總體差別並不大,但可根據其中的細微變化來勾勒台山語音從清代晚期至今約 150 年左右的語音變化。

關鍵詞: 台山方言 《同音字彙》 A. DON 《新體通俗方音韻譜》 《台山方音》

試論《分韻撮要》的入聲分類和陰入調值

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提要:廣州話的傳統韻書《分韻撮要》(1782、1885、1915)一般按四聲八調來區分廣州話的聲調,這是韻書規範性較高導致音系描寫總體落後於口語的原因。最早明確記錄入聲三分的書籍是 1877 年歐德理的《粵語中文字典》,但是隨著研究深入,我們認為 1856 年衛三畏的《英華分韻撮要》乃至 1782 年的《分韻撮要》已經有陰入按母音長短分調的痕跡,而且從《分韻撮要》陽入和陰入字有交互的情況看,早期的廣州話陰入極可能是個中平調,高平調是後來產生的。

關鍵字:《分韻撮要》;入聲;三分;節點;調值

四邑方言的元音演变

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中古蟹摄三四等、流摄、咸摄一等牙喉、深摄、臻摄、曾摄字,其他粤方言读为[ə]或[e] 韵腹的韵母,其韵腹具有[-长][-紧]的特征。但四邑方言普遍不读央元音韵腹,因而音系显得与其他粤方言差异较大。对比可知央元音在四邑方言在四邑方言中的变化主要有前化为[e]或[e]、后化为[o]或[o]、低化为[a]三种。前化和后化后,在江门麻园和新会司前方言中都保存了原来的[-长][-紧]的特征,但在恩平牛江方言中却发生了紧化,而后发生内滑化、裂化。而低化为[a]则往往会变为[-长][-紧],并往往使音系中不再具有[±长][±紧]的对立。由这样的音变则往往会带来其他的音变:在新会司前方言中原央元音后化并圆唇化后,音系中原来的圆唇元音则都发生了展唇化;在江门麻园方言中使原先[o]为主元音的韵母发生了高化或低化;在鹤山雅瑶方言中则发生了最复杂的变化,[oi]>[uoi]>[vo]>[ye]>[ya], [au]>[e],[iau]>[iē]>[ia],[i]>[ai]>[o],[uai]>[uo]>[ua],[am/p]>[em/p],[aŋ/k]>[iaŋ/k]。从上述方言的音变过程来看,粤方言中具有[-长][-紧]特征的元音通常会具有[-外缘性],具有[+长][+紧]特征的元音则通常会具有[+外缘性],在音变过程中前者倾向于低化而后者倾向于高化。高元音发生后滑裂化后也会带上[-外缘性],从而避开亦有的韵腹为[+外缘性]半高元音的前响复合元音直接低化到低元音或者次低元音韵腹的复合元音,而带[+外缘性]的韵腹为低元音的前响复合元音则倾向于让韵腹向[±后]特征与韵尾相反的方向高化。

湾区九市居民粤方言传承意愿的影响机制研究 ——基于结构方程模型的实证研究

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摘要:基于 ABC 态度模型理论,通过引入感知功能价值、感知情感价值、语言情感、地方情感和传承意愿五个变量,本研究建构了湾区九市粤方言传承意愿模型,并检验了湾区九市居民的认知和情感对其传承意愿行为的影响以及居民情感成分的中介作用。研究发现:第一,从影响因素看,感知功能价值、感知情感价值、语言情感和地方情感对于粤方言传承意愿均有显著的正向影响,其中感知功能价值的总效应(0.773)最大,感知情感价值的总效应最小(0.297)。第二,作用机制层面,感知功能价值、感知情感价值和地方情感都通过语言情感来间接影响传承意愿,说明湾区九市居民对粤方言的认知通过情感影响行为意愿,以及不同情感间的相互影响,构成了居民粤方言传承意愿的传导机制,语言情感是该传导机制的重要中介。针对以上发现,提出优化粤方言传承策略的针对性建议。

关键字: 湾区九市 ABC 态度模型 结构方程模型 粤方言 传承意愿

论广东粤方言入声及舒促对应关系的类型分布

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提要 广东粤方言入声大多数为三分格局,即上阴入、下阴入和阳入,并且入声与舒声调值 之间存在整齐的对应关系:上阴入与阴平对应,多读高调;下阴入与阴去对应,多读中调; 阳入与阳去对应,多读低调;因此以广州为代表的粤方言也常被定为六个调位的"九声六调" 系统。本文利用广东粤语语音数据库语料,全面分析广东境内粤方言入声格局的不同类型, 以及不同的舒促对应的关系,以此揭示广东粤方言内部声调特征的复杂性和交互性。

关键词 广东粤方言 入声类型 舒促对应关系

早期粤语全称量化词"通"

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量化范畴一直是语义学讨论的重点(张蕾, 2021),时至今日,关于总括副词"都"等量化词的性质与功能依旧争论不断、讨论甚多(陈莉、潘海华, 2020;周韧, 2021),足见其复杂性。粤语的量化范畴同样复杂多样,而与官话又存在许多不同(Lee, 2017),尤其是补语位置的量化词,有着独特的丰富性和强势的扩展功能(郭必之、李宝伦, 2015; Lee, 2017)。

本文要报告的全称量化词"通"在早期粤语文献中功能相当复杂,既属于限定词性的(D-quantifier)、又属于副词性的(A-quantifier),能出现在多个不同的句法位置上:

A. 定语:

- (1) 通犹太地方, 与及耶路撒冷嘅人。(马可传福音书, 1872)
- (2) 通香港都有呢的咁好嘅。(Ball, 1883)

B. 状语:

- (3) 你通系写唐字哑。(Stedman and Lee, 1888)
- (4) 咁多艇仔通系我嘅。(Fulton, 1931)

C. 补语:

- (5) 等我花债还通,管得你带我去归。(粤讴,1828)
- (6) 只望捱通世界,正有啲心机。(粤讴,1828)
- (7) 因为呢间屋好多白蚁嘅, 啲楼阵同埋桁桷都食通嘥。(Wisner, 1906)
- (8) 拆烂屋顶,已经拆通,就将个疯瘫嘅连佢所瞓嘅床都弔落去。(马可福音,1927)

除了作为修饰词,"通"还能充任核心词的位置,包括在主语位置上表示"全部"义,在谓语位置上表示"都是"义,如以下两例:

- (9) 通都拈去留番一个。(Bruce, 1877)
- (10) 我哋往时通自己办烟嘅。(Lanchot, 1867)

以上诸多例子显示"通"在功能上具有的多样性与复杂性。但是这些功能在频率上存在显著的差异,"通+空间名词"表示空间的全量化这种格式使用次数最多。

从语义特征上看,"通"的功能多样,所以也相当复杂。在全量否定上,语料中尚未见到这类用法, 这或许与表反诘语气的副词"唔通"的高频使用有关。在关联方向上,"通"既可以向右关联,如上 例(1)与(2);又可以向左关联,如上例(4)或下面的例(11);

(11) 个条街的地段通有人买了矣。(Bruce, 1877)

汉语官话的全称量化词存在复杂的共现现象(李宝伦、张蕾、潘海华,2009),而粤语的全称量化词能够更大程度地共现(Lee,2017),"通"在语料中也大量与其他全称量化词共现,如例(2)、例(9)与"都",例(7)与"嗮"等,比较发现,在共现的情况中,"通"的修饰对象往往是实体名词,并只对实体名词进行全量化。

从历时来源上看,"通"应当继承自官话,因为能从官话的历史文献中梳理其功能发展。"通"原本是"到达"义,引申出道路的"通畅"义,由二维道路的通畅发展为三维空间的全量,再从空间转喻出处于空间的全部人,进而用在其他更加抽象的事物上。这些功能演变能从使用频率上窥见一二。但"通"在粤语中还得到了独特的发展,其中最为特殊的是补语位置的功能扩展,这与粤语的动后成分更多、更复杂有关。

在后续的词汇竞争中,"通"在状语位置上败给了粤语自身的"喊唪呤"和来自官话的"通通",在补语位置败给了功能强大的"嗮",只在定语位置或某些固定格式中得到少量的保留,如"通街""通身"或"平通港九"(白宛如,1998:411)等。

对"通"的历时考察,有助于我们更好地认识粤语全称量化词的历史情况,掌握更多语言发展上的证据,进而对粤语共时层面全称量化词的复杂局面作出更精确的解释。

粤方言内部崇母字读音差别探究

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摘要:排除全浊清化送气与否的差别,崇母字在粤方言内部有读塞擦音和擦音两种演变方向,对于具体的辖字,不同的片区甚至同一片区的不同方言点的读法都可能出现差异。崇母和禅船母在粤方言的历史上应属于互补的音位,读为浊塞擦音,都存在着向擦音演变的趋势*dz>*z。外部影响是崇母字分化的重要因素,官话崇母和禅船母自身的内部层次读音差别可能会投射到粤方言当中。广州话作为粤方言内部的强势方言,其自身的层次混合性也给其他粤方言造成了层次混合。在粤方言中禅船母变为擦音的演变发生较早,参与的方言点占大多数,演变也容易受到官话音类的促进,使得禅船母在粤方言内部对应较为整齐;崇母变为擦音的演变发生较晚,有的方言点不参与,并且演变可能会受到官话音类的阻断,造成崇母在粤方言内部对应参差。澄母在绝大部分粤方言中不读擦音,当崇禅船母发生擦化后,澄母就补充了原本的塞擦音位置*d>*dz,崇母主体擦化的方言点其读塞擦音的字,在音类上实际归入了澄母。崇母字读音的差别不属于方言小片的区别特征,但总体来说,桂南与桂粤交界地区内部较为一致,珠三角地区内部差别较大。

关键词: 崇母; 无条件分化; 方言层次混合

粤方言中的食物骂詈用语及成因分析

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历来对于骂詈的定义很多,关于骂詈的研究也是如恒河流沙,不可胜数。

文化是展现民族特性的重要名片,而骂詈是全世界都普遍存在的现象,通过骂詈词语的使用更能探索背后所隐藏的文化符号和语言使用特点。在粤方言中,有使用食物进行骂詈的现象,这样的语言现象所折射出来的语言特点更能反映广东人民独有的语言与食物相结合的文化色彩。

而粤方言中的食物骂詈语可大致分为 4 类:

第一类为纯植物类食物骂詈用词,如:花心萝卜、萝卜头、番薯、木薯、大冬瓜等。

第二类是动物类的食物骂詈语,如蛋散、粉肠、龟蛋、叉烧。

第三类则是通过食物的味道做延伸而产生的骂詈用例,如咸湿、咸湿鬼、咸猪手等。

第四类则是具体的食物通过结合其他词的词性而加强骂詈涵义的用语,同时增强其的指 代和隐喻性,而这部分的词语又可以根据结合词性的不同而分为 4 类: (1) 事物名前加动 词,有3种表达方式: V+食物; V+食物+n; V+adj.+食物,这部分词例的特点是通过前加动 词的方式来强化其词语内部包含的贬低意味,其内在隐隐折射出来的信息为用一种已经成 为结果并且已经定性的词语来指代整个事件,最后通过这个结果来直接达到宣泄自身对 他人不满的情感,骂詈色彩较轻;甚至部分还带有亲昵的意味,如"蒸生瓜:比喻不懂 事, 傻或者指傻瓜, 黄丽丽(1990:124): '也许我这个口无遮拦的蒸生瓜, 在无意中出 言得罪了他?喔!究竟讲错什么话,把他气走呢?'"。这个小说中的句子是主人公"我" 的心理活动话语,用"蒸生瓜"来指自己的时候,明显看到骂詈和谴责色彩轻,甚至还 携带些许的自我愧疚。(2) 前加量词/形容词+量词: 这部分的用语通过描绘食物的某个 特性来达到增强其喻指意的功能和作用。(3) 前加形容词:这部分的词主要是通过前加 表示性状的词来对居其后的食物进行修饰,在对他人进行某种特定的描绘攻击时,更有 针对性,达到一击即中、一针见血的目的。(4)俗语类表达。在上述表述中,1、2、3类 别中的词语是可以独立表意的,本身它们在语言中就有固定的书面意义,除此以外,还 有在粤方言中附加的骂詈色彩。而4中这些关于食物的俗语,是需要在相互的对话中或 者歇后语里配合使用的,因为这些俗语都有其典故来源和特定的语境意义,单用的话容 易造成歧义甚至引发误解。

而从粤方言中的食物骂詈用语所折射出的语言功能则有,(1)体现方言的多义性;(2)粤方言中的词语存古性;(3)民风民俗和思维方式。

文章的最后探讨的是粤语中此类食物骂詈语的成因,首先离不开的是中国独有且传统的饮食与文化中丰富土壤的滋养,中国文化中的"身体化"与饮食文化的紧密结合涵盖了人类生活的方方面面,自然也影响到语言的使用,连礼法制度和人际交往都引入了饮食烹饪的概念,如"治大国如烹小鲜"、"调和鼎鼐"的治国之道;甚至以饮食作为评价社会行为和艺术高下点评的重要标准,如"君子远庖厨"、"割不正不食"、"三月不知肉味"、"味外之旨"等。

其次是广东人民对于吃的重视程度,体现在以食物为中心的多样化饮食方式所形成的对饮食文化的重视。食物贯穿了广东人民生活的方方面面,包括语言交际,因此语言

与食物的交融不可避免,作为交流工具,承载饮食文化的粤方言词语自然丰富异常,甚至可以说看岭南的饮食文化就是一部关于"吃"的乐章,而且是上升到了整体的社会文化心态,如:口语中常用的"揾食(混饭、糊口)""揾两餐"词语,就是取最初的寻找食物填饱肚子之意来指代谋生,找工作等关于生计的喻意。而"揾食"这一词,也与上文提及的国人饮食文化中的"身体化"基本需求的倾向契合。而骂詈是人类生活中必不可少的,岑运强(2010:223)詈语是整个社会文化价值在语言上的体现。在看重"吃"的广东人心中,用食物来骂人就变得理所当然了。如骂人很笨,可以直接骂作"番薯""猪唛""猪头丙""一旧饭"等,骂人精神恍惚就可以说"失魂鱼""发瘟鸡"等。一方面是可以拉近食物与表达的亲密感,也侧面反映了广东人对于食材特性的熟悉程度,另一方面更是不违背和气生财的处事原则,并未直接作人身攻击,而是以喻指方式来表示贬低。

第三是广东人关于民俗心理的传承;第四和第五涉及的是广东人的价值观,粤语中的食物骂詈是通过食物特点与食物的结合成词,加强语言中关于某物特点的达意功能,弱化骂詈色彩,更多体现的是通过食物表示不满,而非让对方羞愧难当,只是出于责备批评的成分,如"倒米寿星""大头虾"、"大头鸡"等。食物骂詈还可以用在抱怨自身,隐约向着只是陈述事实的方向发展,部分食物骂詈语词的贬责色彩几与普通语词无异。

第六则是通过食物骂詈所出的委婉表达语言手法。

不同类型的詈骂语所包含的文化背景信息不尽相同,从粤语中的食物骂詈,我们可以看到广东人关于食物的看重,由食物延伸而来的相对应的骂詈语词,以语言的形式所折射出来广东人的价值观、世界观和待人处事的风格态度。而食物骂詈也是顺应了广东对于食物在交际语境中的物理世界、社交世界、心理世界,从而使得这么一种特殊的文化现象出现。

粤語忌諱的語言學研究

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語言忌諱(Language Taboo)普遍存在於不同社會及語言中。為了避重就輕,語言使用者以委婉語(Euphemism),即一種含糊曲折的表達方式,來替代直接表達忌諱字眼。然而基於文化、語言、地域三大因素,不同語言甚或方言又會發展出各自的忌諱及委婉語。例如上海人忌說「蘋果」,因其吳語發音與「病故」相近;又如從前溫州曾出現虎患以致當地人聞虎色變,因而改以「大貓」替代「老虎」。

由於地理和社會原因,粵語的忌諱及委婉語數量極多,甚具獨有特色。例如視「水」為財故忌諱「乾」,「飲乾」或「乾杯」以「飲勝」代替;迷信趨吉避「凶」故忌諱與「凶」同音的「空」,以「吉」字替代,因而稱「空屋」為「吉屋」,稱「空車」為「吉車」。以「吉」代「空」之忌諱用法,甚至被香港官方法律文件所採用。

本研究從社會語言學角度出發,通過文獻整理、問卷調查和行業訪談等研究方法,全面分析粵語的忌諱系統,探討語言忌諱與社會互動的關係、香港粵語文化與禁忌的形成等課題。同時比對其他漢語方言的忌諱詞,從而解析粵語三大忌諱現象:「二層忌諱」、「故意不忌諱」及「忌諱的文化差異」。通過系統梳理和綜合分析,研究最後發現粵語忌諱可細分為六大類別和十六種方式。

關鍵詞:粵語 漢語方言 忌諱 委婉

化州粤语"紧"的用法及其语法化路径

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一、化州粤语"紧"的含义和用法

- 1.1 **稳紧义形容词"紧**₁" 指发出的动作使得两个物体密切合拢,靠得极近,具有空间位置的 趋向义。一般用于动词后作结果补语。例: 凝紧你个茶杯。
- 1.2 **唯补词"紧₂"** 表示动作成功实现,达到期望的结果。"紧₂"放在动词后面,用作补语,表示"可能"或"实现"。例: 你睇得紧_{像好理网}细佬吗?
- 1.3 **持续体助词"紧₃"** 表示某个动作已经结束,但是其造成的影响或者状态仍在继续。例: 书架放紧咁多书, 你都矛识去睇睇。
 - **1.4 进行体助词"紧**₄" 表示某种动作、活动正在进行。例:阿姨煲紧汤。
- 1.5 **始继体助词"紧**₅" 表示动作在说话时或某一参照时间点之前就已经开始,该动作可能刚停下来,也可能在持续,并且有期望继续进行下去的主观意愿。例:只笔我正正写紧,就矛见嗲。

二、化州粤语"紧"的句法格式

- 2.1 V+紧+(0) 五种"紧"都可用于该结构,宾语可省略。该句式的否定形式为"矛+V+紧+(0)"或"V+矛+紧+(0)",稳紧义形容词"紧」"和唯补词"紧。"可用于否定形式,其他"V+紧+(0)"没有否定形式。句式"矛+V+紧」。2+(0)"和"V+矛+紧」。2"的区别在于,前者表示没有达到预期的结果,强调主观造成的结果;后者表示无法达到,强调客观条件。例:你矛收紧你个证件咩?(意思是"你没有收好你的证件吗?)我拦矛紧佢。(意思是"我拦不住他")
- 2.2 V+得+紧+(0) 稳紧义形容词"紧」"和唯补词"紧。"可用于该句法格式,表示达到这个动作结果的可能性,宾语可省略。否定形式为"矛+V+得+紧+(0)"和"V+矛+紧+(0)",两个句式表达的意义相同。例:——你抱得紧你个书包吗?——抱矛紧。/矛抱得紧。
- 2.3 V+紧紧+(0) 稳紧义形容词"紧」"和唯补词"紧。"可用于该句法格式。"紧"的重叠加强了补语的语义,强调了"紧」"的稳紧义。"紧。"的意义已虚化,"紧"字的重叠强化了自身句法语义的作用,进一步加强对实现结果的预期。多用于劝告、建议的语气,且常用于肯定句。表示否定时用"矛+V+紧+(0)"。例:身份证咁重要个嘢要收紧紧正得!身份证咁重要个嘢你都矛收紧。

三、化州粤语"紧"的语法化路径

化州粤语"紧"字保留了完整的语法化链条,其发展过程的前提是句法位置以及语义内涵,语法化动因和机制是语用认知、主观化和重新分析。"紧」"字作为稳紧义形容词包含了空间位置趋向义。在补语的句法位置上,"紧」"的空间趋向义逐渐丧失,发展出表示"结果"和"可能"的唯补词"紧。"。在不同语用环境中,"紧"字继续发展出持续体"紧。"、进行体"紧。"和始续体"紧。"。因此,化州粤语"紧"的语法路径总结为:稳紧义形容词(结果补语)〉唯补词(动相补语)〉持续体助词〉进行体助词〉始续体助词。

在语法化过程中, 化州话"紧"存在语法强化的现象。在"V紧紧"的句式中, 补语要素的重叠, 增强了"紧。"虚化的结果义。这也体现了化州话"紧"字语法化过程中更复杂的一面。

湛约翰《英粤字典》所记一百多年前广州方言音系

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提要 湛约翰的《英粤字典》(An English and Cantonese Pocket-Dictionary) 初版于 1859年,是一部记录 19 世纪中后期广州方言的词典。本文以记音较为精准、收词相对丰富的第六版《英粤字典》(An English and Cantonese Dictionary)为主要材料,整理出书中反映的一百多年前广州方言的声韵调系统,列出同音字汇,并讨论百多年来广州方音的演变。

关键词 《英粤字典》 广州方言 同音字汇 演变

东莞方言短时义成分"时间"研究

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在普通话中,"一会儿"是一个较为常见的成分,在语句中表示一段短的时间的意思。纵观粤方言各片区,表示短时义的成分有如"一阵间""一阵""阵间""等下""一下"等。其中,《东莞方言词典》(1997)中仅收录了"一阵(间)"。而实际上在粤方言莞宝片区要表达短时义,还常常会使用[si55 kɛŋ55]。

[si55 keŋ55]所表示的"一段短的时间"与"时间"一词在《现代汉语词典》(第七版)其中一条释义"有起点和终点的一段时间"在意义上大致吻合。而"时间"一词在东莞方言中读为[si31 keŋ33],与成分[si55 keŋ55]在声调上存在差异。因而猜测[si55 keŋ55]是"时间"一词通过变调区别不同语义而成。

东莞方言中存在着大量的语义变调现象(以东莞虎门为例),有如:

- (一)"糖"本调为[thon31],指带有甜味的调味品;"糖"高升变调为[thon35], 指糖果;以及"糖"高平变调为[thon55],一般见于"麻糖"(即糖果)一词。
- (二)"梳"本调读[so213],作动词,表示梳理;"梳"高平变调读[so55],作名词,表示整理头发、胡须的用具。
- (三)"长"本调[tshøŋ31],表示两点之间的距离大,与短相对;"长"高平变调读[tshøŋ55],带有程度、状态轻微的语义,表示两点之间的距离只有这么大。同样的语义变调也出现在形容词"大"(本调[tai22],高平变调[tai55])"重"(本调[tshon24],高平变调[tshon55])"多"(本调[to213],高平变调[to55])等。
- (四)"阿爷"[Øa22 jε31]作为对祖父的面称和背称;"阿爷"[Øa22 jε55]则指伯父。
- (五) "阿姑"[Øa22 ku213]指父亲的姐姐,即大姑; "阿姑"[Øa22 ku55]指父亲的妹妹,即小姑。

由以上例子发现,东莞方言变调有高平变调和高升变调两种,调值分别为55和35。东莞方言可以用变调表示专指(如例1)或名词(如例2),还可以表示小及其引申义,如程度、状态轻微(如例345)。再由时间的语音和语义,可以推断,"时间"一词是通过高平变调[si55 ken55]表短时义的。

在实地方言调查中发现,东莞方言的短时义成分"阵间"与"时间"存在混用现象。经对比发现,二者在语义上大体相同,但稍有差异,同时在句法功能上表现基本一致。这也使得二者在大部分情况下可以相互替换。再加之,东莞方言的"省港化"趋势明显,调查人在表达短时义时会更多地选用"阵间",这使得"时间"这一短时义成分在方言调查时常会被忽略。这也在一定程度上说明了短时义成分"时间"为何在《东莞方言词典》(1997)《珠江三角洲方言词汇对照》(1998)等均未被收录的原因。

試論小稱變調獨立產生的理據和機制——兼及粵語小稱變調的來源問題

武大真

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漢語的小稱變調現象集中出現在我國東南地區,其所涉的方言包括粵語、 吳語、徽語、閩語、贛語、湘語、客語、粵北土話及畲話等。前輩學者對於各 方言的小稱變調都已做過豐富的討論,但對於其來源問題目前尚未達成一致。 概括來講,學者對於小稱變調的來源主要持兩種不同的看法:"源自詞綴說"和 "獨立產生說"。有趣的是,這兩種說法都有相關的證據支持,不能簡單地判定 孰是孰非。

本文通過考察過往文獻所涉的 45 個方言點的小稱變調,認為以上兩種說法 均可能是歷史的事實。換句話說,東南方言的小稱變調既有源自詞綴的,也有 獨立產生的,二者實際代表了小稱變調的兩個不同的來源。由於前一種小稱變 調的形成過程在過往文獻裡已經得到較為充分的論述,本文把討論的重點放在 後者上。從一些方言的小稱變調的語音形式、出現位置和功能用法上看,有一 批小稱變調顯然是獨立產生的。本文嘗試從語用的角度來說明這類小稱變調的 形成機制,並同時解釋其不同於前一種小稱變調的若干特點。

粵語小稱變調的來源問題一向爭議很大,從目前所見的語言事實來看,粵語的小稱變調更像是獨立產生的。此外,粵語中還有不少不表小稱義的變調, 其來源大致也可以從語用上找到解釋。

荷塘話音系淺探

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摘要:本文是對江門市荷塘話音系的初步研究。首先使用《方言調查字表》進行田野調查,再總結、描寫荷塘話的聲、韻、調,然後與廣州話及《廣韻》進行比較分析,最後與珠江三角洲粵方言作異同分析。研究發現,荷塘話是融合了四邑台山、開平、鶴山雅瑤粵方言及南海、佛山、石歧粵方言的特點。荷塘話還受到移民帶來的客家話與閩語的影響,自身還有兩者的一些特點。荷塘話與四邑片、廣府片的粵方言以及客、閩方言有一定關係,還帶有自身四個特點:端母讀1;蟹開四等字讀 vu;平聲三分;多出變入35調。 關鍵詞:荷塘話《廣韻》廣州話

一、引言

詹伯慧《廣東粵方言概要》(2002)將粵語分成粵海片(廣府片)、莞寶片、香山片、四邑片、高雷片,其中四邑片包括鶴山、江門、新會、台山、開平、恩平等地。本文研究的荷塘話分佈於江門地區的荷塘鎮,其音系也屬江門片區。下方圖一就是荷塘的地理位置,顯示出荷塘與江門相隔兩條西江支流。

二、本文研究思路

通過尋找發音人進行錄音,對《方言調查字表》進行標音,描寫出荷塘話聲韻調; 與中古音和廣州話作對比,找出它們其中的異同,試圖分析荷塘話語音發展的情況;最後 與珠三角地區的方言作對比,找出荷塘話的特性,並試圖找出緣由。

三. 結論

通过比较,荷塘話的十個明顯特點。(1) 幫母和匣母合口字讀唇齒濁擦音 v。(2) 心母讀舌尖中清邊擦音 l。(3) 端母讀 l。(4) 部分精從母讀 l,部分清從母讀 l。(5) 沒有 l0 介音。(6) 止攝三等字不分開合主要讀 l1,部分讀 l2。(7) 蟹開四等字讀 l2。(8) 上聲沒有分陰陽。(9) 平聲三分。(10) 多出變入 l35 調。

其中(1)、(2)、(4)、(5)項就和四邑的台山、開平和鶴山雅瑤地區方言吻合,; (6)項分別與南海、佛山以及石歧話相近;(8)項與石歧話一致。(3)項與《五邑文化 探源》記載的南遷瑤族人有關聯;(7)項是自身拉鏈式音變的結果;(9)項與《漢語方言 地圖集-語音卷》和1888《簡明粵語》有些許聯繫,證明了粵方言某些片區是存在平聲三 分;(10)項是變調的情況,在粵方言中廣泛存在,荷塘話也不例外。

荷塘話音系特點與四邑地區的方言很多相近,尤其是台山、開平和鶴山雅瑤地區,不過荷塘話某些特點也與南海、佛山、石歧所屬的廣府片相似,而自身的蟹攝四等齊韻有過演 變,並且端母有受到瑤族影響,具有少許特色。

雖說荷塘是身處江門管理的地區,但音系特點卻與江門市其他鎮的方言不盡相同, 從本文的調查分析,荷塘話理應是夾雜在四邑片的台山、開平和鶴山雅瑤地區和廣府片的 南海、佛山、石歧的語言,並且帶有自身特色。

粵語音系變異認受性分層及其理據

香港語言學學會粵語試小組

涉語音的變異有兩種:音系性 vs 詞彙性。顧名思義,音系性的變異關乎音系,例如聲母多寡、韻尾多寡、音系單位的語音體現(realization)、音系單位間的組合限制等;而詞彙性的變異則僅關乎個別詞或語素的取音,音系基本不受影響。本文講的是前者。"認受性"是"羣體接受程度"在香港的表達,相當於羣體層面的 acceptability。

理論上,"認受性"可以量化,從而不同音系變異間的認受性可以互相比較。然而,粵音這方面欠缺有系統的量 化資料,不能簡單地按單一的量化屬性(例如接受程度百分比)來作出認受性排列。

在本粵語試小組開發"粵音朗讀試"、"粵語口語水平試"以及營運前者的過程中,粵語音系變異認受性如何拿捏,是個不能迴避的重要學術判斷。在某意義上,這是這兩個測試本身有效性及認受性之所繫。它一方面是個學術課題,須力求嚴謹,而另一方面又牽涉人為判斷,有參與判斷者的個人因素在起作用。針對前者(嚴謹性)要求,我們首先劃定以目前香港社羣的認受性為依歸,並參考有關學術著作論述、字書處理、拼音系統處理、粵音歌曲處理等因素。在判斷工作上,我們充分利用本小組成員的個人語言學術訓練,以及爲數十多人的小組各組員的會議互動和集體判斷,並參考此前另一小組的集體判斷。

在以下六種最多論及的涉音素(鼻韻/聲母/韻尾)音系變異中,認受性可認爲從高到低呈現下列排序。朗讀試可接受較高的四種,而不接受較低的兩種。

所涉結構位置	變異情況	港人觀感	懶音	馮田獵	黄港生	電腦字表	朗讀試	認受性
成韻鼻音	ng > m	習以爲常				取	取	4
聲母	零->ng-	舊/廣州 5/粤劇				取	取	3
聲母	n->1-	廣州/粤劇 6	+	(取)	取	取	取	2
聲母	ng->零	香港新興	+	(取)	取	取	取	1
韻腹o前	gw/kw->g/k-	新興	+		取	取	х	-1
a(a), o, oe 後	-ng/k > -n/t	香港新興	+			x	x	-2

說明:

- 1. 《粤語同音字典》(1974, 1996) 用聲母排列方式暗示接受此兩變異
- 2. 是兩種香港字/詞典(1985, 1989) 的粤音編者
- 3. 電腦用漢字粵語拼音表 2004 (近三萬字條)
- 4. 粤音朗讀測試自 2019 起舉辦
- 5. 廣州學者所編的字典,有兩種 (1983, 1988) 凡零-(助詞除外)均兼標 ng-
- 6. 粤音白話文流行曲蓄意壓制此變異,或爲擺脫有關形象。

从历时层面看《摩登广州话语音学》的声、韵、调描写

谢天

武汉大学

《摩登广州话语音学》是由包睿舜、白保罗于 1997 年共同创作出版的一部 粤语音系学著作。二人合作的契机,可追溯至 1988 年 10 月于瑞典隆德大学举办的第 21 届汉藏语言学会议上。当时白保罗珍藏了四十余年的、记录在美学习的广州人的语料手稿,成为《摩登》一书行文的滥觞。

根据汉语方言分区的归类,《摩登广州话语音学》所记载的广州话属于粤语区的粤海片。由于该方言片通行范围最广、使用人口最多,因此通常作为粤语的官方标准音。近现代以来,关于广州话的研究繁荣发展,很多都涉及到其历时发展的过程。再看《摩登广州话语音学》一书,"与其说是历时性的研究,不如说是用回溯性的参考文献进行的当代研究。"因此,文章设想如若在历时层面上解读该书音系共时描写中的一些现象,那么对广州话的语音演变历程及其方音史价值能有更加深入的挖掘和认识。

声母方面,该书在舌根塞音 k、k^h下并设圆唇舌根音 k^w、k^{hw},理由是在语音层面上,k^w、k^{hw}中的舌根音素 k、k^h与唇音 w 构成一组紧密结合的单位同时发音;同时,k^w、k^{hw}在与韵母的搭配规律上与半元音 w 类似,即后接韵母一般不带唇音韵尾 p、m、w。然而,中古合口字在广州话中大都得以保留,具体表现在以圆唇元音 y、w0、w0、w0、w0为主要元音的合口韵当中。并且,圆唇舌根音后接韵母之所以不带唇音韵尾,主要是因为受到语流音变的异化作用。因此,k^w、k1、k1的分立恐怕欠缺科学性。

在对广州话鼻音 m、n、ŋ 的考察中,该书提供了几个重要的音变现象:一是部分鼻音 n 开始被边音 1 代替;二是 ŋ 作为声母逐渐呈现脱落的趋势;三是 ŋ 发音改变与 m 产生同化。从声学角度来看,鼻音与边音相同之处是有较低的振幅和与元音之间的"断层"现象,这恐怕是 n 转化为 1 的音理条件。声母 ŋ 产生脱落,是为减少辅音 ŋ 形成的阻力而便于发音,这与中古疑母字演变为现代汉语的音变规律一致。广州话中的 m 与 ŋ 可作自成音节,原单音节中的韵母受声母鼻音化影响首先脱落,随后双音节词的自成音节 ŋ 为减少辅音的连续阻力,又受到双唇鼻音 m 声母逆同化或韵尾顺同化的作用,通常易出现两音同化的现象。

韵母方面,该书将 y:作为独立音位,无相应对立短元音与之互补相配。从历史音韵上看,广州话中的 y:作单韵母时,主要来自中古遇摄开口三等的知、章组字; y:搭配韵尾作复韵母时,则来自山摄合口一等的端、精、见组字。这一类字的主元音在广州话中发生舌位高化,表现为on 经由 on、un、œn、øn 到 yn 的过程,其结果是产生牙喉音 y:n 及相应的 y:t。

在广州话相互对立的长短元音间,该书揭示了二者在文白异读中的层状分布现象。短元音存在于广州话的文读音中,长元音用于白读音,主要涉及到两组元音 e、a:和 e、c:,以及一对舌根音韵尾 ŋ、k。这些具有文白异读的韵母,在中古均属于梗摄。广州话中的梗摄二等韵文读音是中古曾摄一等韵,梗摄三、四等韵文读音是曾摄三等韵的读音。通过比较客赣方言和粤方言在梗摄三、四等韵字的白读音,不难广州话文白异读与客赣方言间相对一致的对应规律,因此可以说广州话梗摄字中的文白异读是客家话跟粤方言语言接触的结果。

粵語臻攝合口字今讀開合相混的現象探析

許敏珊

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粵語臻攝合口字今讀韻母情況複雜。李新魁(1996)歸納廣州話與《廣韻》的對應關係時描述道: "(臻攝)合口一等魂、沒韻字喉牙音及少量舌音讀[et en],舌齒音讀[en et]和[yn yt],三等諄、文及術、物韻舌齒音讀[en et],喉牙音讀[en et]。"雖然張光宇(2019:465)分析廣州話臻攝合口一等字今讀時指出圓唇韻母在舌齒音聲母的影響下前化,卻未有提及廣州話古臻攝合口唇音聲母及舌齒音聲母字今讀開合相混。這個現象是否廣州話獨有?臻攝合口字今讀開合相混的原因為何?至今尚未有學者對這些問題進行討論。

本文嘗試以粵語內部比較方法,填補有關研究的空白。作內部比較時,挑選具代表性的方言點需考慮粵語方言分片的問題,但《中國語言地圖集》(1987)、余靄芹 (1991)、及詹伯慧 (2001&2002)等有不同粵語方言片的划分。本文對學者的分片法採取折衷態度,並選用廣州、封開、台山、石岐、莞城、化州(下江)、陽江、玉林、南寧及廉州共十個粵方言點,涵蓋三個分片法的所有小片。本文對比十個粤方言點的古臻攝合口字今讀,指出:1)臻攝合口字今讀開合相混為粵語共同現象。2)臻攝合口一等及三等在沒有明顯文白異讀下,今讀圓唇或不圓唇呈現無條件分化;換言之即使兩個字聲母發音部位及方法相同,一字元音為圓唇,另一字則為不圓唇。3)臻攝合口字今讀開合相混呈現明顯地理分佈。承以上基礎,本文認為粵語古臻攝合口字今開合相混並非規律音變,並探討臻攝合口字今讀開合相混的可能原因。

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論粵語在香港法律中的地位

許名瀚

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粵語屬漢語七大方言之一,而粵語口語亦是大部分香港市民的母語,是他們在生 活各層面上中常用的口頭語言。在今天的世界,語言權利已成國際社會認可的基 本人權,而香港民眾在任何場合使用自己的母語,亦屬語言權利中重要的一環, 香港法律亦應為港人使用粵語提供適當的保障。事實上,香港的憲制性法律—— 《基本法》及本地法律——《法定語文條例》已將「中文」定為法定語文,但卻 一直沒為「中文」下明確的定義,亦沒表明粵語口語作為中文的其中一種表達方 式,是否屬於「中文」的其中一種或唯一一種表達方式。同時,粵語既非國家語 言規範化的對象,又不是標準語、共同語,故一直未有官方的語音、語法及詞彙 標準,全國性法律亦只為普通話定下了法律地位,未有提及粵語等諸類漢語方言。 粵語在香港社會的應用究竟有何法律保障? 本文從法律角度出發,首先運用普通 法制度中的法律解釋方法——目的解釋,透過分析《法定語文條例》的立法原意 及歷年來的修訂,探討《法定語文條例》設立的目的除確立「中文」為法定語文 外,有否包括確立粵語的法律地位;其後,再分析香港法院在判例中對相關法律 的理解,探討香港法院有否在具法律約束力的判例中確立粵語的法律地位。在總 結以上從法律角度作出的分析後,本文將析論港人使用粵語之權利在何等程度上 得到保障,以及如何更趨完善。

[e o]、[ɪ ʊ] 還是 [ej ow] ? ──談香港粵語"英益、甕屋"的主元音兼論相關問題

嚴至誠

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「英益」、「甕屋」的主元音,向來有[I σ]、[e σ]兩種音值描寫,更有人以為不是單元音,而是複元音[e σ]。

本文將先行介紹並審視前人的相關研究。復運用聲學分析的方法,檢視四位發音人的一手語音材料:展示語圖,統計數據,援引外語類近例子。務求在方法和材料上質、量兼顧,從而檢討[ɪʊ]、[ei ow]說法的問題,並證明[e o]描寫的真確。

除了[eo]元音的音值問題,本文也會順帶討論相關的音系分析和音標標寫問題。

《鲁滨逊漂流记》粤译本《辜苏历程》的意识形态考察

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《鲁宾逊漂流记》的相关译本研究已比较丰富,但迄今为止,针对其粤译本《辜苏历程》的研究仍屈指可数,这与《辜苏历程》相关副文本缺失、粤语影响力逐渐式微有关。《辜苏历程》是 1902 年由英国教士英为霖翻译《鲁滨逊漂流记》而来的粤译本,全书共 43 章,通篇采用粤语方言,口语化程度很高,对研究当时粤语方言的特点,一窥当时粤语地区的生活风貌都有着重要的参考价值。另外,粤译本还在一定程度上反映了个人意识形态和社会意识形态对译者的影响,为探究方言翻译、扩大粤语文化影响力提供了一个新视角。因此本研究将从翻译选材和翻译策略两方面考察意识形态对《辜苏历程》译者的影响。

意识形态对翻译选材的影响。首先,从个人意识形态的层面看,英为霖作为传教士,希望通过译介相关作品将基督教传至中国。《鲁滨逊漂流记》描写鲁滨逊在上岛后开始了一系列宗教思考并最终获得了救赎,肯定了个人独立寻求上帝的可行性。因此,对英为霖来说,《鲁滨逊漂流记》是一个理想的传教媒介。其次,从社会意识形态的层面看,鲁滨逊的冒险故事迎合了当时广州人冒险开拓、勇于进取、积极乐观的精神。晚清时期的广州作为唯一的通商口岸,对外贸易和文化交流活动繁荣,因此鲁滨逊的冒险经历会唤起当地人的熟悉感和共鸣,为其粤译本的接受和传播打下基础。

意识形态对翻译策略的影响。意识形态对英为霖翻译策略的影响主要体现在归化策略和改写策略的运用上。归化策略包括粤语方言的使用、本土宗教词汇的引用。在开篇的序中,英为霖写道:"兹将原文,译就羊城土话,虽未尽得其详细,而大旨皆有以显明,聊备妇孺一观,了然于目,亦能了然于心。"从这段话可以看出,英为霖翻译《鲁滨逊漂流记》的受众是当时的妇孺,或者说是粤语地区的妇孺。因此,他通篇使用粤语翻译,使其译文呈现高度口语化,更显通俗,有利于其在老百姓当中传播。"后生仔"、"嗱嗱声"、"发癫"等词都让熟悉粤语的读者感到亲切和生动,更有代入感。其次,佛教中国化的经验表明外来宗教要在中国传播,必须在一定程度上顺应本土意识形态,否则难以立足。因此英为霖在翻译时引用"小人独处不善"、"三山"、"知足不辱"等本土宗教文化色彩浓厚的词。此外,他还使用了改写策略,主要体现在删减与个人宗教意识形态冲突的内容。

《辜苏历程》这一方言译本为研究西方文学在中国尤其是方言地区的传播提供了一定的借鉴意义,也为粤语文学的发展提供了新的思路。从意识形态的角度对《辜苏历程》进行研究有助于从社会、文化等宏观层面进一步探索粤方言文学的传播和发展。

新兴粤语的支微入鱼现象及在粤方言音韵史中的地位

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一般认为,粤方言没有支微入鱼的现象(郑伟 2012)。本文检索语料发现,位于粤西的新兴粤语有这类现象。两版《中国语言地图集》都把新兴粤语划归广府片,关于其归属学界也未见争议。

声类上,新兴粤语的支微入鱼现象只涉及端系、知系(含日母)、影组,不涉及非组、见晓组,非组 i 韵母;见系读 ui(见溪群母)、ri (疑母) 、vi (<ui) (晓匣母部分、影组)、i (晓匣母部分)。

韵类上,该现象涉及止摄合□三等、蟹摄合□三等。蟹合一有一个"累(极困)"字,但该字去声地位也见于止合三,意思是"连累",该字在"连累"一词中与"极困"义同音,都读 ly42,故不排除是其实是"连累"之"累"。另外"疲劳"一词新兴说"□nai44"(p670),不用"累"字。蟹合三涉及端系、知系、影组(止合三无影组)。

邻近的云浮、阳春客家话均无支微入鱼现象。

本文结合新兴粤语的音韵特点,辅以特征词,讨论这个问题,并讨论该现象 在粤方言音韵史中的地位。

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從教育到保育——論香港粵語承傳的挑戰與對策

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香港是國際城市,為了培養學生溝通能力,蔚為社會所用。「因此推行「兩文三語」,學生自小學習粤、普、英三語和中、英文,因而受到普、英語法及語用習慣影響,夾雜了普、英兩種語言的語法,形成了「香港粵語」。²

雖然香港粵語乃港人日常語言,惟受教育政策影響,學校在教授語言時傾向「重英輕中」及「普教中」,學生因而疏於接觸粵語。³ 其次,社會各界較希望學生掌握普通話,以便與各地人士交流,而非粵語。⁴ 再者,粵語亦被指適用範圍窄、沒有統一學習及評測標準,難以掌握,不宜用以教學。⁵ 最後,外來語及外來文化使學生疏於使用粵語,⁶ 可見香港粵語面臨邊緣化。鑒於上述挑戰,學者指出可從制定測考標準及公開試、⁷ 提供文化承傳媒介等方面保育粵語。⁸ 亦可改革評核重點,使學生在學習中文時通曉粵語。⁹ 可見香港粵語承傳面對挑戰,承傳粵語需要各界支持、支援,因此值得探究其承傳的挑戰與對策。

為探討承傳香港粵語的挑戰、對策及意義,本文擬分四部分,首先指出香港粵語教育與保育現況,以了解香港粵語的教育及保育價值。然後分析現時香港粵語教育與保育的挑戰,以了解教育方針、文化及社會等因素對香港粵語保育的影響。繼而探討在社會發展下,香港粵語教育及保育的方式。最後總結,分析香港粵語教育與保育的意義,以了解教育與保育香港粵語的價值。

¹ 謝錫金:〈香港中國語文評估新方向〉,載岑紹基等編:《香港中國語文課程新路向》(香港:香港大學出版社,2011年,初版),頁2。

² 田小琳:〈三論香港地區的語言文字規範問題〉,《中國語文通訊》第1期(2021年1月),頁9。

³ 謝錫金:〈香港中國語文評估新方向〉,頁3。

⁴ 何國祥:〈香港用普通話教中文之何去何從〉,載何文勝、張中原編:《新時期中國語文教育改革的理論 與實踐》(香港:文思出版社,2008 年,初版),頁 470。

⁵ 林建平:〈普通話作為教學語言芻議——以全日制小學為例〉,載周漢光編:《新世紀語文教學》(香港:香港中文大學教育學院課程與教學學系,2001年,初版),頁145。

⁶ 詹伯慧:〈回顧與展望——在廿一屆粤方言國際研討會上的講話〉,載湯翠蘭、鄺耀基編:《跨粤研究新 視野——第廿一屆國際粤方言研討會論文集》(澳門:文化公所,2016 年,初版),頁 246。

⁷ 林柏松:〈關於廣州話水平考試的討論〉,載湯翠蘭、鄺耀基編:《跨粵研究新視野——第廿一屆國際粵方言研討會論文集》(澳門:文化公所,2016年,初版),頁48。

⁸ 詹伯慧:〈回顧與展望——在廿一屆粤方言國際研討會上的講話〉,頁 246。

⁹ 鍾嶺崇、林偉業:〈說話評估與學習〉,載岑紹基等編:《香港中國語文課程新路向》(香港:香港大學 出版社,2011 年,初版),頁 124。

粤西粤语浊去与浊平合流今读阳平现象*

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广西梧州、桂平、富川粤语存在浊去与浊平合流今读阳平现象,广东粤语也有, 且主要分布在粤西地区[©]。本文选取广东广宁、四会、罗定、郁南、赤坎、梅菉、 廉城、廉江、云浮、新兴、信宜和广西梧州、桂平、富川共14个点进行整体观察。

1.粤西粤语浊去与浊平合流今读阳平是浊声母主要的演变方向,其中又依浊上演变的不同可分为四种类型:

类型一: 浊上独立, 今读阳上。如: 罗定、郁南、赤坎、梅菉、廉城、桂平。

类型二: 全浊上与浊去合流, 今读(阳)去。如: 广宁、四会。

类型三: 全浊上与浊去、浊平合流, 今读阳平。如: 云浮、梧州。

类型四: 部分或全部全浊上与浊平合流,今读阳平,而浊去今读阳去。如: 新兴、信宜、富川浊去今读浊去,未与浊上、浊平合流;新兴全部、富川部分全浊上与浊平合流今读阳平。

2.粤西粤语浊声母调类演变



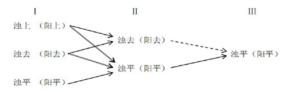
阶段I: 浊上、浊去、浊平分别独立, 今读分别为阳上、阳去和阳平。

阶段I~II: 浊去与浊平合流,同时交叉有浊上与浊去合流。

阶段Ⅲ: 浊去、浊上与浊平合流,今读阳平。

3.粤西粤语浊声母调类演变过程:首先,由于某些原因浊去字与浊平字合流。然后,受"浊上变去"大规则的影响和其他原因的影响,全浊上字与浊去字合流。最后,带动浊上字也紧随浊去字的步伐,与浊平合流形成浊平、浊上、浊去三调合流现象。

我们推测,广宁、四会、廉江最终都可能是浊上、浊去、浊平三调合流为阳平。 罗定、郁南、赤坎、梅菉、廉城浊去已全部与浊平合流,浊上将依旧保留部分阳上。 新兴、信宜、富川情况复杂,要么保持现状;要么在"浊上变去"影响下向浊平字 靠拢,最终三调合流。



4.演变探源: (1) 发声态因素,全浊声母声调属低域,低调域的区别性音高、曲拱特征等较高调域小,故而在语言的发展演变中,低调域的声调会模糊掉区别性,逐渐趋同合流。(2)调值调类相近,粤西粤语原来存在浊去独立为阳去调,但因调值调型与阳平调相近逐渐失去区别意义的作用而发生了合流。(3)周边方言接触影响以及汉语方言浊声母演变大规律的推动。(4)粤西地理和历史、人文因素。

5.余论。

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"'嘢'係乜嘢"?——粤語方言詞"嘢"來源重探

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本文通過考察方言詞「嘢*四」在不同粵語方言中的讀音及語音對應關係,指出 其音韻地位等同日母麻開三陽上調字,原始形式可以構擬為[*nia]。此外,本文 提出「嘢」在原始粵語中或為雙音節「閒嘢」形式,有可能是底層詞,來源自曾 經在兩廣地區分佈廣泛的壯侗語系語言標話。

「嘢」則是粵語特有的方言詞,為泛指任何東西、事情的名詞性成分,字型本身僅記音而不表意。「嘢」在粵方言中十分常用,且能產度高,與其他成分結合也頗為自由。除了出現在事物疑問代詞「乜嘢」中,「嘢」還能受形容詞修飾,或充當動詞賓語。

有關「嘢」的來源,學界尚未有定論,相關討論也不豐富。張惠英(2000:101-108)指粵方言的「乜嘢」對應客家話的問物疑問代詞「物個」,「嘢」來源於「個」。但通過對比不同粵語方言中「嘢」的語音形式和考察相關音變過程,我們認為「嘢」不太可能是由「個」音變而來。我們發現「嘢」在不同方言中構成穩定的語音對應,其音韻地位等同日母麻開三陽上調字,原始形式可構擬為[*n,ia]。此外,本文指出在廣州、香港粵語中單用以指「東西」的「嘢」,在四邑、勾漏和少數廣府片粵語中作雙音節「閒嘢」形式(參表 1),或反映了「嘢」的早期形態。在懷集標話中,我們發現了與「閒嘢」意義、語音皆對應的形式[hen,21 n,ie214]共四;由是,我們推測粵語的「嘢」(「閒嘢」)可能是一個底層詞,或來源自曾經在兩廣地區廣泛分佈的標話。

表 1、粵語方言雙音節「閒嘢輕」形式(語料來源自中國語保工程採錄展示平台)

系屬	方言點	形式	系屬	方言點	形式	
勾漏片	容縣	[ha ³¹ η,ε ²⁴] 下嘢	廣府片	高要	[han ²¹ iε ¹³] 閒嘢	
	賀州綱門	[εŋ ²² ia ²³¹] 閒嘢		四會	[hɛn²⁴ iɛ³³] 閒嘢	
	陽山	[heŋ ²¹ ie ²²⁴] 幸嘢		廣寧	[hen ³²³ iə ³³] 閒嘢	
四邑片	斗門	[hɐn²² niɐ²²₄] 痕嘢				
	新會	[haŋ²³ nia²¹] 坑口				

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https://zhongguoyuyan.cn/ •

佛山三水区方言四降调系统的变异及演化

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摘要:通过实验语音学的调查方法,本文获得三水区西南街道、云东海街道、 乐平镇、大塘镇等13个点方言共50位发音人的声调声学材料、调查点共涉及三 水区两个街道、两个镇,共十三个行政村。研究发现,三水区西南街道、云东海 街道、乐平镇、大塘镇、白坭镇大多数发音人均有10个声调(见图1),其中阴 平分化为两个调,一个上阴平是高平调/55/,一个下阴平是高降调/52/,阳平是 纯低调/32/, 阴上是高升调/35/, 阳上分化为两个调型, 一是低升调/34/, 一个 与阳去合并,读为低平调/33/,阴去是中平调/44/,阳去是低平调/33/,阴入分 化为上阴平高短平调/5/,下阴平中短平调/4/,阳入读为低短平调/3/,三水区 方言的声调调型调值见表 1。而三水区乐平镇大旗头村、新村等方言则有 11 个 声调,且呈现出"四降调"的系统(见图 2),其中阴平、阳平、阴去、阳去均是降 调,这在整个粤语区十分少见,具有非常重要的类型学意义,且这些方言除了阴 平、阳平、阴去、阳去呈现降调形态之外,阴上、阳上还多了凸调的变体。本文 主要分析了大旗头村、新村共14位发音人的声调系统,详细比较了四个降调的 对立特征,不同发音人声调系统中的四降调出现变异,其中有些发音人的阳平开 始接近阳去,而有些发音人的阴去、阳去开始往平调演化(如新村发音人 HSJ、 XYP 正处在几种调型同时存在的阶段)。本文详细分析了 14 位发音人的四降调 系统、并结合周边方言阐述四降调系统的演化动因并对其后续演变进行预测。

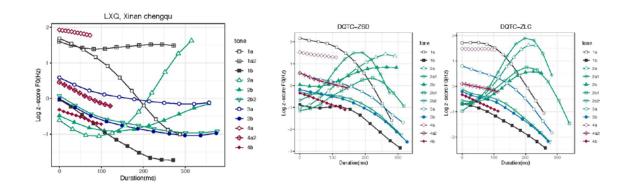


图 1 三水区方言最常见的声调系统 (以西南街道方言为例)

图 2 大旗头村方言的声调系统

关键词:三水粤方言、四降调系统、声调变异、声调演化

從粵語白話報刊看早期粵語新舊句式之間的競爭

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在粵語歷時研究中,材料是研究最重要的依據。早期粵語的句式變化相當頻繁複雜,過去的學者只是依據西方人編撰的粵語教材和詞典文獻,或輔之以本土文人少数作品,如《俗話傾談》等,對其中幾個常用句式的研究取得了很好的成果。但要全面地瞭解早期粵語句式的發展演變,拓展文獻资料的範圍尤爲重要。

在1900-1920年間,本土的粵語白話報刊雜志發表了系列粵語短篇小說、演說、新聞、童謠等作品,揭示了早期粵語在清末至民國初年這段歷史時期已經发生的新变化。過去的學者得出以"1930-1940年代作爲粵語句式新舊變化的分水嶺"的結論主要只是針對西方人粵語文獻。而在1900-1920年間,本土的白話粵語報刊文獻中,如《廣東白話報》(1907)、《嶺南白話雜誌》(1908)、《唯一趣報有所謂》(1905-1906)、《香港少年報》(1906-1907)、《中外小說林》(1907)、《社會公報》(1907)、《農工商報》(1907-1908)、《〈南越報〉附張》(1910-1915)等,出現了"定"字選擇句、"俾"字被動句、"摵"處置句、V 唔 V0 句、"V+左"句、"V+哂"句等,出現了粵語句式老派和新派的并用與競爭現象,這可以將早期粵語句式老派與新派的分水嶺提前到1920年代。

我們對《唯一趣報有所謂》、《香港少年報》、《中外小說林》、《社會公報》、《農工商報》、《〈南越報〉附張》6種報刊約30多萬字的材料進行調查,有147例"俾"字句,其中表給予義61例,表被動38例,表使讓義32例,表工具介詞16例。但是,這些材料中的"被0V"被動句只有22例,"被V"被動句4例。明顯的是"俾"字被動用例多于"被"字被動句。

對 6 種報刊中的比擬句的調查,發現該句式有三個層次: (a) 用宋元以來傳統的用法: "似···一般"1例, "猶如···一樣"9例; (b) 用帶有地方特色像似動詞"好似"+比擬助詞"一樣""一般"的混合型: "好似···一樣"7例, "好似···一般"2例; (c) 具有粵語特色的句式: "好似···咁樣"7例, "好似···咁"12例。可以看到粵語新的用法占據主導地位。其中"好似···咁/咁樣"已經取代了"好似···噉/噉樣",即比擬助詞"咁"取代了早期的"噉"。

6 種報刊中,選擇標記"定>嚊", 被動標記"俾>被"、處置標記"搣>將"、動詞後綴"左>阻"、比擬助詞"咁>噉"。

早期粵語完成體標記詞尾"咗"出現的年代,郭必之、片冈新(2006)指出:"咗"最早寫作"阻",見於 Williams(1856): "A sign of the past tense, placed after the verb like chiu." 的確,這段記錄為"阻"和"曉"語法功能的相似性,下了一個很好的注脚。但問題是,在 6 種報刊中,不僅用"阻",大量用的卻是"左"(咗的早期寫法)。"阻"應該是"唨"的同音異寫,那是否是"咗"最早寫法,還值得考慮。在同期的文獻裏,顯示的是"嘵"與"阻 $_{\mathbb{R}}$ "的新舊競爭與興替。而在報刊中卻是"阻 $_{\mathbb{R}}$ "和"左 $_{\mathbb{R}}$ "的新舊競爭。

本文還將充分利用早期粵语小説,如《天路歷程》(1871)、《人靈戰紀》(1887)、《辜蘇歷程》(1903)中相關句式的使用情況,來佐證早期粵語句式新舊競爭的情況,我們認爲粵語新舊句式競爭和變化的年代,其分水嶺可以提前到1920年代,年代可靠的白話報刊,提供了這些信息。

超級多樣性與香港三及第文體

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隨著全球各地出現大量非本地出生入口移入的現象,不同地區的人口組成結構發生了深刻的變化,這帶來了各種新興的社會議題,即超級多樣性(Superdiveristy, Vertovec2007)。超級多樣性在多種學科蓬勃發展,亦延伸到語言研究層面。香港因其特殊的歷史地理環境,長久以來作為東西交匯的中心,是瞭解超級多樣性的範例。本研究從省港澳特有的"三及第文體"(融合了文言文、白話文及粵語的特殊文體)出發,探索其與超級多樣性的關係。研究發現,超級多樣性在香港中文的出現範圍廣、歷史久、程度深。由於書面中文的動態發展,再加上受到外語、網絡語言、符號語言等的影響,香港"三及第"亦出現了新的形式與特徵。

香港粵語近年流行縮略語初探

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本文以近年來於香港粵語流行的縮略語為研究對象,嘗試從詞語來源、簡縮策略、語法特徵、修辭效果以及語用或社會心理等角度作分析,以了解這個現象的不同方面,並觀察其獨特之處。

對於縮略語及其相關概念,不同學者的說法略有不同(參俞理明2000;陳菘霖2003)。本文將以俞理明(2000)的界定為基礎,並參照和郭國權(2009)的討論,提出一些限定條件。俞理明(2000)指,「詞語的縮略是語流中一些常用的多音詞、詞組、短語或某些固定形式在意義不變的前提下,在歷時的發展中,由其中的部分形式代表整體,成為話語的一個基本單位。」限定條件為:(1)縮略語必須存在一個對應的相對固定的全稱;(2)縮略語須就全稱的語言單位作簡縮省略。舉例來說,在香港粵語裏,「狗衝」一般用作形容「像狗公般失去理智地向前衝」(賴秋瑩2017),但後者只是釋義,並非固定的全稱,不符合條件(1),因此不算作縮略語;此外如「姜糖」一詞,雖然存在一個相對固定的全稱(「姜濤的粉絲」),但該詞中「糖」並非省略自全稱的語言單位,不符合條件(2),因此也不算作縮略語,而只是一個別稱或綽號。

初步發現,這些流行的縮略語有不同的來源。就語言來說,有源自日語的(如:逃げるは恥だが役に立つ→逃げ恥→逃恥),也有源自英語的(如:Final Fantasy→FF);就地域來說,有源自內地的(如:網絡紅人→網紅),有台灣的(如:珍珠奶茶→珍奶),當然也有來自本地的(如:MIRROR 的粉絲→鏡粉)。簡縮策略(參吳菊香 2013)方面,主要可以分為:一、提取漢字(如:和平、理性、非暴力、非粗口→和理非非),當中還可再細分一些次類;二、粵語拼音字頭(如:cil lan2 sin3→CLS);三、數字諧音替代(如:zau6 matl gaul→JM2);四、將外語譯成單音節漢字(MIRROR 的粉絲→鏡粉)。語法特徵方面,縮略語大多與全稱的詞類或句子成分一致,但也有例外的情況,如 Final Fantasy 本是電子遊戲的名稱,屬於名詞,但縮略成 FF 後,卻轉作動詞用,表示過度幻想之意(如:唔好 FF 咁多啦)。有些縮略語也有修辭效果,如「呂爵安的粉絲(fan 屎)」的縮略語為「爵屎」,是「雀屎」的諧音,同時也可以和「爵士」相諧,具有一語雙關的修辭作用。本文亦將嘗試探討這些縮略語在語用或社會心理層面的特點。

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The Effects of Visual Cues on Perceiving Accented Cantonese Speech and Intelligibility

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Cantonese is the most dominant language spoken in Hong Kong. Speakers of Cantonese in Hong Kong do not only limit to local Cantonese people, but also include many different ethnic groups such as Mainland Chinese immigrants, South Asian minorities, and Caucasian expatriates. When we hear these people speaking accented Cantonese, many features would affect our perception and comprehension such as visual cues, prior experience with the accents and stereotypes etc. Previous studies have found that social-indexical cues such as face, ethnicity and identity can affect speech perception (Hay, Nolan and Drager, 2006), comprehension (Hanulikova, 2021) and intelligibility (McGowan, 2015; Babel and Russell, 2015). The current study intends to explore whether visual cues would influence people's attitudes towards the speaker and intelligibility of accented Cantonese.

180 native speakers of Cantonese were recruited to complete two tasks: an attitude test, and a transcription task where participants were asked to transcribe 45 Cantonese sentences presented aurally. Participants were equally divided into three conditions of Cantonese accents (Mandarin accent, Canadian English accent, and local Cantonese accent) interacted with three conditions of face (Caucasian face, South Asian face, a silhouette). Each participant only listened to one accent and saw one condition of face. Another native speaker of Cantonese scored all the transcriptions and calculated a score of intelligibility for each participant.

Preliminary results suggested that when participants heard Mandarin-accented Cantonese and Canadian-accented Cantonese, seeing a Caucasian face would elicit more positive attitudes towards the speaker compared to seeing a South Asian face (Figure 1-left). This might be due to the negative stereotypes Hong Kong people have associated with South Asian minorities. For intelligibility, several interesting results (Figure 1-right) were found. First, face had no effect on Mandarin-accented Cantonese. The reason might be that Mandarin shares many phonological features with Cantonese, which might help participants to understand Mandarinaccented Cantonese better. Second, face was found significant in the Canadian-accented condition, where participants had higher intelligibility scores when they saw a Caucasian face (p = .068) or a South Asian face (p = .038) compared to a silhouette. It is surprising to observe that visual cues improved intelligibility even when the face did not match the accent (South Asian face × Canadian accent). It could be that both a Caucasian face and a South Asian face would activate a higher level of social-indexical category called "non-native speakers". All phonological exemplars of non-native Cantonese might be activated to help participants comprehend the Canadian-accented Cantonese. In conclusion, matching might be a multi-level process where face and voice would activate different levels of categories respectively.

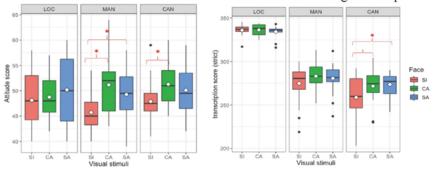


Figure 1. Attitudes scores (left) of 19 attitudinal traits and intelligibility scores (right) of 45 sentences by Face (SI= silhouette, CA= Caucasian, SA=South Asian) and Accent (LOC = local Cantonese, MAN = Mandarin accent, CAN = Canadian English accent). White dots represent means, black bars represent medians, * represents a significant comparison at 0.5 level.

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Language, Gender and Soft Power in a Hong Kong TV Series

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The term 'soft power' refers to "a persuasive approach to international relations, typically involving the use of economic or cultural influence, contrasting with 'hard power,' which refers to "a coercive approach to international political relations, especially one that involves the use of military power' (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2019). The term 'soft power' is employed here to study how females negotiate private and professional life through the study of a light-hearted, 28-episode, 2017 Hong Kong TV series, My Unfair Lady (不懂撒嬌的女人, Women who don't know how to sajiao). While performing sajiao (撒嬌)—or being dia (嗲 de2)—can be viewed as wielding a form of soft power, how does one juggle personal life and career, and balance one's conduct and behavior in the private sphere with the needs of professional conduct in a corporate world?

This study focusses on three female characters in that TV series: (1) Molly Ling (凌敏) who is a general manager of a Hong Kong mall-management company; (2) Cherry Ling (凌禹勤), who is Molly's younger cousin working under her; and (3) Tin Mat (田蜜), who is Molly's new MT (Management Trainee) from Shanghai. This TV series is a light romantic comedy, but it boldly addresses real societal problems such as raising a child in a one-parent family.

Of the three characters, Molly is a brusque executive who shuns soft power at work. Still, recognizing its value, she assigns Cherry the role of *sajiao* performer to solve work-related problems. One short scene illustrates Cherry's use of soft power. In a span of three turns totalling 16.6 seconds, she produced 3 instances of reduplication (bye-bye twice and 嬲嬲豬 ('angry-angry pig,' *nau1 nau1 zyu1*), 8 different sentence-final particles (singly or in twos): 啦 laa1, 喎 wo3, 喎 wo4, 吖嘛 *aa1 maa3*, 啊 *aa3*, and 嘅嘞 *ge3 lak3*, plus 2 tag questions, one with 呵 *ho2*, and the other with 係唔係 *hai6 m4 hai6* with sharp rising intonation. She also uses higher pitch and a softer tone of voice, and bats her eyes as she soothed a group of angry male tenants in the mall. That performance was artificial and strictly job-related.

The third character, Tin Mat, in contrast, is very capable and adapt at *sajiao*. In addition to her ease in switching between Cantonese and Mandarin, her behavior is also the most complex of the three characters. And her style involves subtle, feminine allure that is more appropriate to a career professional in a working environment and not that of young, cute, female *sajiao* performers. In this study, a comparison is made of the speech styles of these three characters across different linguistic structures (phonetics, morphology, and discourse), and their ramifications are addressed with respect to the use of soft power for achieving one's desires in the twenty-first century.

Video Resource:

Budong Sajiao de Nitren 不懂撒嬌的女 (English title: My Unfair Lady). 2017. Directed by Kwan Shu Ming 關樹明, produced by Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB) Hong Kong, and distributed by Multimedia Entertainment Sdn. Bhd.

Infixation of Intensifier *Gwai* 'Devil' in Complex Morphosyntactic Structures

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Background: In Cantonese, the grammatical morpheme *gwai* 鬼'devil' has two different uses: negation and intensification. Intensifier *gwai* expresses speaker's strong disapproval attitude (Lee & Chin 2007, Winterstein et al. 2018). Mandarin has no simple equivalent.

(1) 阿明 真係 <u>論鬼盡。</u> (2) 阿明 <u>倒鬼瀉</u> 碗 湯。

Aaming zanhai <u>leon-gwai-zeon</u>.

Aaming really clum-devil-sy 'Aaming is really clumsy.'

(2) 阿明 <u>倒鬼瀉</u> 碗 湯。

Aaming dou-gwai-se wun tong

Aaming pour-devil-spill CL soup 'Aaming spilled the soup!'

Most previous studies (Matthews & Yip, 1994; Lee & Chin, 2007) claimed that intensifier *gwai* is an infix. *Gwai* can occur in the middle of some disyllabic mono-morphemic word, e.g. (1), matching the definition of infixation. Indeed, intensifier *gwai* generally cannot precede or follow a simple verb or adjective.

<u>Problem</u>: While we agree with the infixation claim, previous analyses are sketchy about the distribution of intensifier *gwai* in many positions inside more complex VPs and APs. Some cases are well-documented, e.g. after modifier *hou* (3) and between a monosyllabic V and a verbal suffix (4), but others have not been discussed, e.g. exceptional licensing of *gwai* by elements like *dou* extent morpheme (5) and verbal suffixes (6) outside of infixed V or A.

- (3) 阿明 好鬼論盡。 (4) 阿明 食鬼*(晒) 碗 麵。

 Aaming hou **gwai leonzeon

 **Aaming very devil clumsy 'Aaming is very clumsy.'

 **Aaming at the entire bowl of noodles.'
- Aaming is very clumsy. 'Aaming ate the entire bowl of noo (5) 佢 聰鬼明 *(到你唔信)。 (6) 佢 <u>鍾鬼意*(咗)</u> 阿蓮。

 *Keoi cung-gwai-ming *(dou nei m seon).
 he smart devil till you not believe 'He is so clever that you just can't believe it. 'He likes Aalin.'

Analysis: The problem is due to the lack of an analysis of the morphosyntactic structures where gwai-infixation can apply beyond simple words. The ambiguity of Cantonese word boundaries exacerbates the problem. We argue that apart from simple V or A gwai-infixation which targets complex morphosyntactic structures where verbs (V) or adjectives (A) carry bound morphemes (BMs), i.e. V/A+BM or BM+V/A. This can extend the infixation analysis to complex structures. For example, in (4), gwai is permitted only when a verbal suffix (i.e. saai) is present. Similarly, in (6), while the bare verb zungji 'like' does not accept gwai-infixation itself. Surprisingly, infixation becomes possible when a verbal suffix zo is attached. In adjectival construction (5), gwai can only appear when the extent clause is present. (3) may seem unexpected as hou is a degree modifier. However, recent studies (Huang 2006, Grano 2012) on Mandarin hen (i.e. Cantonese counterpart of hou) argues that hou can actually be a grammatical morpheme rather than a degree modifier. In all cases, gwai is infixed between the hosting V or A and a BM.

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"Is Cantonese a Proud Language?": An Investigation of Pride Terms in Hong Kong Cantonese

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Cantonese is often understood as a language deeply rooted in Chinese culture. There is a tendency in Chinese culture to focus on modesty and humility. Would Cantonese thus reflect the sentiments of Darwin, Ekman and Prodger (1998, p. 264) who stated that "the whole expression of pride stands in antithesis to that of humility"? This paper would like to explore the linguistic usage and variation in the expression of the emotion Pride and further understand the uses of these expressions in a variety of achievement-based contexts. Through conducting a carefully designed interview that accounted for different achievements and hierarchy of relationships in the expression of Pride with 20 Hong Kong Cantonese speakers and a thorough literature search, 77 Pride terms were identified. A Semantic features analysis of the 77 Pride terms brought forth a comprehensive understanding of Pride reflected in Hong Kong Cantonese and introduced subtle differences and variation in the Cantonese Pride terms. 67 out of 77 Pride terms revealed clearly hubristic senses of Pride where at least 4 Pride terms have become obsolete. This study points to the creativeness of Cantonese in disapproving Pride in the Chinese culture and the individual variation in the expression of Pride according to contexts relating to the self, family or others.

Keywords:

Pride; Emotion; Semantic Feature Analysis; Cantonese; Hong Kong; Culture

Features and Variations of Early 20th-century Cantonese: A Case Study of Wang Ching-wei's Radio Recordings

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Studies of Cantonese and its historical development have always relied on documentary evidence, including traditional rime books, other phonological works containing fangie (反切) phonetic descriptions, collections of folk songs, etc. as well as the works of China-bound missionaries since the late eighteenth-century, such as Cantonese dictionaries, textbooks, and Bible translations. Although missionary works are often more linguistically descriptive than their Chinese counterparts, what we are left with are but the written representations of sounds they wish to describe. Moreover, seldom do we know for certain which linguistic variety is being described, which makes comparative analyses even more difficult. With the advent and popularization of the internet and content sharing, however, many early 20th-century audio-visual materials have since resurfaced, including recordings of radio speeches delivered by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (國父孫中山; 1924) and Wang Ching-wei (汪精衞; 1939), which have allowed us to experience and examine the Cantonese of a bygone time. This presentation will concentrate on a phonetic analysis of Wang's two 1939 speeches delivered in Cantonese, providing a glimpse into its early Cantonese features as well as the variation found in Wang's idiolect that impacts our understanding of the course of historical development in Cantonese phonology.

A New View of the Attribution of Cantonese at the Sino-Vietnamese Border in the Late 19th Century

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Lagarrue's classic Cantonese textbook (*Eléments de Langue Chinoise Dialecte Cantonais*) is described as being close to Yuehai Cantonese in the literature (Chiang, 2004; Chiang, 2009). This paper challenges this view and explains some of the unsolved issues by reanalyzing the phonology and examining the grammar and the lexicon, which do show some influences from other Cantonese varieties and Vietnamese, but the majority is rather of Fangcheng-Qinzhou Cantonese (hereinafter as "Fang-Qin"). The textbook written in Quảng-Ninh is completely in Latin alphabet (French and Chữ quốc ngữ) and consists of descriptions of pronunciation and grammar, multilingual parallel texts and also a few words about Guangzhou Cantonese. Referring to dialectology studies, intrinsic understanding of Fang-Qin and a rough knowledge of French, Vietnamese and Chữ Nôm, we reorganize 2,486 words along with a huge number of texts, some of which have not been studied thoroughly before, into an online database, on which characteristics shared with Fang-Qin but not Guangzhou can be revealed as:

Initials: 日母/*η/ (Shekki /η/); 心母/*1~θ/; 溪匣三/*h/; 匣合遇/*f/...

Rhymes: 豪/*əu/ (also Sanjiao); 諄/*in/, 曉微合/*-i/, 四等/*-e-/, 分韻諸鴛

/*i/, 津/*ɐ/ (also Huancheng); merging 陽 and 梗三四 (Qinzhou)...

Tones: merged 陰陽上 (also Shekki); merged 陽平去; rising tone of 陰平...

Grammar:NEG "有""有有", DEM "箇""呶"(also Shekki); location "啲"; question "xín"; preparative"便"; HAB "肯"; PAS "着"; aspects "蹇""言""正";

generic CLF "隻"(also Hakka, Viet.); frequent head-initial locative...

Daily lexicon: 哱 (to kiss), 焦 (dry), 殃 (friable), 春 (season), 噻 (some)...

Endemic: 麟汁/魚灩(thin/thick fish sauce),子水(new tide),炣燒(braised pork)...

Also features that are different from Fang-Qin but occur in other varieties:

Phonology: plosive 精組 (Goulou, Viet.); labials in 非母咸 (Hakka); rounded 蒸 (Watlam) and 師 (Shuntak); merged 中下入 (Shekki)...

Grammar: head-initial ADJ and ADV (Viet.); also location "處" (Guangzhou)...

Lexicon: "點樣" (Guangzhou), "mùi 茜菜" (Viet.)...

As shown above, the connection between the two is evident, showing that the book is an early literature of the Fang-Qin variety in Vietnam. Those features comparable to Shekki may merely be the consequence of analogous language contact with Hakka.

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Production of the Cantonese Vowels and Tones by the Indonesian Speakers in Hong Kong

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The present study investigates the production of the Cantonese vowels and tones by Indonesian speakers. Speech data from eight female Indonesian (IDN) speakers were collected and compared with those from eight female Hong Kong Cantonese (HKC) speakers by performing acoustic analysis of the vowel formant frequencies and the F0 contours of the tones.

Results show that the Cantonese vowels /i, a, u/ which are "identical" to those in the Indonesian language are well produced by IDN speakers. The Cantonese /ɛ, ɔ/ which are "similar" to the Indonesian /e, o/ are less well produced than the Cantonese /y, ɪ, ʊ, Θ , v/ which are "new" to IDN speakers. The data support the Speech Learning Model proposed by Flege (1995, 2002). Furthermore, IDN speakers fail in differentiating the Cantonese vowels in the pairs including /y/-/i/, /y/-/u/, /i/-/ɪ/ and /a/-/v/, which gives support to the Feature Hypothesis proposed by McAllister, et al. (2002).

The performance of IDN speakers in tone production is even worse. The speakers basically fail to differentiate the tones in Cantonese. This further supports the prediction of the Feature Hypothesis that learners have difficulty in acquiring the feature contrasts, such as the tone features, of L2 sounds if the features are absent in L1.

To conclude, the present study is the first time to report on the Cantonese vowels and tones produced by Indonesian speakers. The obtained data provide us a further understanding of the influence of L1 transfer on L2 pronunciation. The results of the present study also serve as the useful reference for teaching the pronunciation of Cantonese vowels and tones to Indonesian speakers.

Hong Kong South Asians' Perception of Cantonese Tones: Effect of L1 Background

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This study investigates the perception of six Cantonese tones by South Asian students in Hong Kong. Twenty-three South Asian participants (13 Urdu-dominant speakers and 10 Punjabi-dominant speakers) and twenty native Hong Kong Cantonese speakers completed an identification task and an AX discrimination task on monosyllables. Punjabi differs from Urdu in that it is undergoing tonogenesis such that its speakers should be more sensitive to F0 changes, which is the primary cue for tone perception (Kanwa & Ritchart, 2015; Evans et al., 2018). While Urdu-dominant speakers' identification of Tone 3 is the highest, Punjabi-dominant speakers' identification of Tone 1 is the highest. For discrimination, the Tone 2-Tone 5 pair was more difficult for both groups of non-native listeners than other Cantonese tone pairs (p-values < 0.05). Moreover, only Urdu-dominant speakers found Tone 1-Tone 3 pair difficult to discriminate. Our results revealed the influence of L1 on non-native Cantonese lexical tone perception and provide support for a cue weighting transfer hypothesis of non-native perception.

Keywords: Cantonese; Non-native perception of lexical tone; South Asians; Urdu; Punjabi; Cue-weighting transfer hypothesis

Revisiting Cantonese Ditransitives: Two Double Object Constructions in Chinese

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Background A ditransitive construction is a construction that consists of an agent, a theme, and a recipient (Haspelmath 2015). There are three ditransitives in Cantonese, differing in the existence of the dative marker *bei* and the order of the indirect and direct objects.

- (1) Double object construction (DOC)
 - Keoi tau-zo TaiMan bun-syu
 3sG steal-PFV TaiMan CL-book
 'He stole a book from TaiMan.'
 - Keoi man-zo TaiMan tiu-man-tai
 3SG ask-PFV TaiMan CL-question
 'He asked a question of TaiMan.
- (2) Inverted Direct Object Construction (IDOC) Keoi bei-zo bun-syu TaiMan 3SG give-PFV CL-book TaiMan 'He gave a book to TaiMan.'
- (3) Prepositional Object Construction (POC) Keoi gei-zo bun-syu bei TaiMan 3SG send-PFV CL-book DAT TaiMan 'He sent a book to TaiMan.'

It was argued that Cantonese lacks a real DOC (Tang 2003), because it only allows source-goal verbs which do not involve a recipient, like in (1). In (1a), the theme *a book* is obtained from *TaiMan* to the agent *he*. For (1b), Tang (2003) argued that an answer is expected from *TaiMan* to *he*. The present study argues against this view by showing that DOC can carry a meaning of giving, and shares a different structure with DOC with source-goal verbs.

Problems and Proposal Cantonese DOC does allow non-source-goal verbs, e.g., jing-sing 'promise' and zaang 'owe'. In Keoi jing-sing TaiMan jat-gin-si ('He promises TaiMan a thing') or Keoi zaang TaiMan jat-bat-cin ('He owes TaiMan an amount of money'), nothing is expected to go from TaiMan to he. Also, verbs of communication like ask cannot be all categorized into source-goal verbs, e.g., daap 'answer'. In Keoi daap-zo TaiMan tiu-man-tai ('He answered TaiMan a question'), the question is not expected to be transferred from TaiMan to he. Therefore, I propose there are two kinds of DOCs: a giving DOC using goal-source verbs like (1a), and an obtaining DOC using source-goal verbs like (1b). To distinguish the giving DOC from other ditransitives, the current study offers a novel semantic categorization of Cantonese ditransitives based on construction semantics. I argue all three constructions carry a sense of transfer, but differ in the range they expressed. Compared to POC and IDOC, the giving DOC carries the most extended meaning of transfer.

Apart from meanings, the two DOCs differ in syntactic structures. Consider the topicalization of the direct object:

- (4) a. ??Ni-bun-syu, SiuMing tau-gwo TaiMan This-CL-book SiuMing steal-PFV TaiMan 'This book, SiuMing has stolen TaiMan.'
 - b. Ni-tiu-man-tai, SiuMing man-gwo TaiMan This-CL-question SiuMing ask-PFV TaiMan 'This question, SiuMing has asked TaiMan.'

A similar distinction can also be found in Mandarin (Liu, 2006). I argue that the two DOCs differ in their derivation. I adopt previous analyses of DOCs as the structure of the giving DOC, so the structure is derived by first merging the indirect object (e.g., Tang 2003; Larson & Zhang 2016). In contrast, the obtaining DOC is derived by merging the direct object first: If we substitute the indirect object *TaiMan* in (4a) into an ambiguous pronoun *Keoi*, only a SVO reading is allowed. *Keoi* is interpreted as 'this book' but not *TaiMan*. An empty category binding to the topic 'this book' does not exist, because the verb takes the direct object as the first argument in a ditransitive reading.

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Double Right-dislocation in Cantonese

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This study investigates the sentence structure – *double right-dislocation construction* (DRD) in Cantonese. According to Cheung (1997), a typical structure of right-dislocation (RD) is β (SP) α , in which α looks like a remnant referring to the non-focus components of the sentence; SP represents a sentence particle occupying the head of CP; while β refers to the focused constituent, which has undergone movement from the scope of α to Spec of CP to check off the [+focus] feature. For example:

(1) Original sentence:

Nei5 sik6zo2 faan6 mei6 aa3?

You eat.ASP rice yet SP

'Do you have a meal?'

(2) RD:

Sik6zo2 faan6 mei6 aa3 nei5?

eat.ASP rice yet SP you

'Do you have a meal?'

However, another variant of dislocation construction - DRD, which have not been reported by previous literature (Cheung 1997, Cheung 2009, 2015), may pose challenge to Cheung's (1997, 2005) analysis. See the illustration of DRD as below. For example:

(3) Original sentence: (4) DRD:

Soeng6ci3 caan1faan6 sap6man1 zi1maa3. → Sap6man1 zi1maa3, caan1faan6, soeng6ci3. last-time CL-meal ten-dollar SP ten-dollar SP CL-meal last-time 'The last meal costs ten-dollar only.'

Undergoing double-dislocation, a mirror image of the original sentence (reverse sentence order) is formed. If *soeng ci* 'last time' is represented by the number α , *caan faan* 'the meal' is β and the main clause *sap man* (*zimaa*) is γ , one can visualize the formation of DDC from the original order α β γ becoming γ β α . The challenge is, if one adopts Cheung's analysis (1997, 2005), a RD in (5) is expected to be derived, but it is impossible to explain why a reversed order of the remnant *caan faan* and *soeng ci* is formed in DDC (4) by his approach.

(5) RD: Sap6man1 zi1maa3, soeng6ci3 caan1faan6.

ten-dollar SP last-time CL-meal 'The last meal costs ten-dollar only.'

Two possible approaches are suggested here: First, in compliance with the leftward movement of Cheung (1997, 2005), the SP is the head of CP, the constituents $\beta \gamma$ moves first (5), then γ moves to the Spec of CP, deriving the surface structure as in (4). However, this results in violation of left branch constraint (Ross 1967) since *soeng ci* and *caan faan* forms one constituent as 'the last meal'. Also, it is hard to tell the motivation of moving β (*caan faan*) which is not a focused constituent. Another possible approach suggests two parts of the sentence. The first part likes a typical RD, formed by the SP *zimaa* 'only', β (*caan faan*) and γ (*sap man*). The focused constituent γ raises to the Spec of CP to check off the [+focus] feature, as a result the order γ SP β . A fragment α , which may also understood as a piece of afterthought, juxtaposed with the sentence γ SP β . The merit of this approach is to follow the leftward approach, but at the same time explain how the reversed order of the dislocated part is formed without violating any island constraints. This study may shed light to investigation of RD and DDC in other languages.

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Temporal-historical Dimensions of Transcription of Yue Dialects: An Example from an Intergenerational Interview of Toy Len Goon

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The cornerstone of any research involving spoken language involves the act of transcription, or the representation of speech through writing. Scholars have noted the underdiscussion of various elements of transcription, leading to the naturalization of what is actually an interpretive process. While the presentation of data vis-a-vis transcription is presented as "transparent," it is actually a series of choices (Ochs, 1979) and a reflection of the transcribers' stances and how researchers locate themselves in relation to others in the research process (Jaffe, 2007). Others have stated that transcription inherently entails "translation" (Slembrouk, 2007), making it an artifact with "temporal-historical dimensions" (Duranti, 2007). The more denaturalized, or representative of oral language, a transcript is, the more "odd looking and difficult to read" it might be (Davidson, 2009, p. 39).

These oral-to-written intricacies involving transcription are evident in the case of representing language varieties in the Yue language family. While representation of spoken standard Cantonese is common enough in qualitative research, transcription practices are far less standardized when it comes to other varieties of Cantonese like Hoisan-wa (台山話), the language spoken by the bulk of Chinese Americans who arrived in the U.S. from the 1800s to the 1960s. Transcription of Hoisan-wa can be seen in grammars of "Chinese" (Don, 1882), U.S. government language courses (Defense Language Institute, 1964), folk songs by Chinese American gold miners (Hom, 1987) and even in Chinese American literature (e.g., Maxine Hong Kingston). Though some reports state Hoisan-wa is "dying" because younger people are shifting to Mandarin and/or English, having been represented and romanized in English for nearly 150 years, Hoisan-wa exemplifies how transcription has been literally and metaphorically "translated" and positioned by transcriber(s) and analyst(s) over time, space, and place.

Following Duranti's calls for viewing transcripts as artifacts, this paper centers around one 62-minute Hoisan-wa and English audio recording with Toy Len Goon (阮陳彩蓮), with two of her adult children translating, and one of her grandchildren asking questions, from 1992. Toy Len Goon emigrated from Toisan (Taishan), Guangdong Province to join her husband in the U.S. in 1921. She raised eight children on her own after her husband passed away, and was awarded the title of U.S. Mother of the Year in 1952 in the midst of the Cold War. This paper details the collaborative process of the co-authors in producing and analyzing the transcript.

Through this critical reflection we discuss how transcription is and can be a multigenerational team effort and the role it squarely plays in reactivating and recuperating "silenced" voices in the narrative, even when the voices themselves are in audible "plain view." Specific to Chinese American applied sociolinguistics, we also note how documentation and eventual transcription of intergenerational conversations serve as a way to give voice to and recover Chinese American elders' histories. In this way, this work has implications for how dormant heritage languages can also be reactivated (Leonard, 2017) despite larger societal claims about language "death."

The Effects of L1 Phonotactics on Cantonese-English Bilinguals' Identification of L2 Sounds

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Acquiring a native language (L1) involves developing knowledge of the phonotactic patterns in one's L1 and thus a sensitivity to their distributional probabilities (Jusczyk et al. 1994, Maye et al. 2002, Idemaru & Holt 2011). The tacit knowledge of L1 phonotactics has been shown to influence the perception of sounds in a second language (L2) (Hallé & Best 2007, Davison & Wilson 2016), e.g., native Japanese listeners may perceive illusory vowels between two adjacent consonants whose combination violates the phonotactic rules in Japanese (Dupoux et al. 1999).

This study examines the potential influence of L1 phonotactics on the identification of sounds in a second language (L2), focusing on listeners whose L1 is Hong Kong Cantonese and whose L2 is English. Hong Kong Cantonese and English both have the vowels [i] and [i] with comparable phonetic qualities and duration patterns, but different distributional properties: in Cantonese, the combinations of [-ip], [-it], and [-ik] are legal but those of [-ip], [-it], and [-ik] are not; in English, in contrast, all are legal. In Mandarin, in addition, none are legal as it does not allow any obstruent codas.

Cantonese and Mandarin L2 listeners of English completed a vowel-identification task. The audio stimuli were English words in the form of CVC syllables that end with a coda [-p], [-t], or [-k]. The listeners judged whether the stimulus words contained the vowel [i] or [i]. In the stimulus words, the durations of the vowels were neutralized to introduce a higher chance for observing the potential influence of vowel-coda combinations. In Cantonese listeners' judgement, a difference was observed when the stimuli contained a Cantonese-legal sequence (e.g., [-ip], [-it], or [-ik]) vs. a Cantonese-illegal sequence (e.g., [-ip], [-it], or [-ik]), which indicates the interference from L1 phonotactics on their identification of the vowels. In contrast, the vowel-coda combinations did not influence Mandarin listeners' responses. This study therefore suggests that L1 phonotactics can influence the identification of L2 sounds.

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An Account of Preverbal *Dak1* in Cantonese

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The uses of postverbal dak1 \Leftrightarrow in Cantonese as a pronominal quantifier or a verbal suffix (eg, Tang, 2002; Lee, 2019) are frequently discussed, but there is a surprising lack of literature for preverbal dak1 and its characterisation. The very limited analyses so far have treated preverbal dak1 as a verb which also acted as a 'focus marker' (Tang, 2000, pp. 430–431; Tang, 2002, pp. 285, 290). This study argues that preverbal dak1 is not a verb. Rather, it should be analysed consistently with postverbal dak1, following the proposal suggested in Lee (2012; 2019).

Tang's argument was based on the fact that facan1 番, a suffix that is only attached to verbs, can be attached after preverbal dak1: (1) (Tang, 2002, pp. 289–290). However, facan1 in this context was used to compare two events/states (Tang, 2015, p. 91), and is different from facan1 as a verbal suffix to mean 'back' or 'to return'. Tang's argument was also allegedly supported by the fact that dak1 can also mean 'only have' as a verb in other contexts (Tang, 2002, pp. 290–291). However, for the two examples he proposed, one was highly dependent on the given context, where dak1 was likely to be a restrictive adverb instead of a verb: (2), and the other should be treated as an idiomatic phrase: (3). The trite fact that dak1 in the verb position can mean 'to get, to acquire, to have' (eg, Lee, 2019, p. 145) does not have an implication when characterising preverbal dak1. Together with other puzzles in analysing preverbal dak1 as a verb, the claim that preverbal dak1 is a verb deserves further consideration and a re-analysis.

Lee (2012; 2019) analysed postverbal *dak1* by proposing a 'Quantification Accessibility Hierarchy for Affixal Quantifiers' (QAH). The QAH provides that (Lee, 2012, p. 110):

When there is more than one item in the sentence which satisfies the selectional restriction of an affixal quantifier, the item that occupies a higher position in the following hierarchy would be preferred over the item in a lower position for the selection of the quantifier.

DO / IO direct arguments > IO indirect arguments (with covert or overt dative markers) / post-verbal PPs > pre-verbal PPs > subjects > predicates

where x > y means that x is more accessible the affixal quantifier than y, when both x and y satisfy the selectional restriction of the quantifier in question.

Through various examples (4)–(6), this study confirms that the QAH is also applicable to preverbal *dak1*, because it correctly predicts the candidate of quantification and the preferred reading (restrictive or modal) for all preverbal and postverbal *dak1* constructions. The use of preverbal *dak1* further (a) shows presentational focus if the QAH determines the restricted candidate, and (b) forces a restrictive reading if the QAH determines a modal reading.

- (1) 得番百幾間中學可以用英文教學。 (2) 我得十五分鐘。點可以講晒篇文呀? (3) 佢得把口。
- (4) a. 我探得佢兩次。 (5)
- a. 佢成日食得半碗飯。
- a. 我食得呢碗飯。

(6)

- b. 我探得一個人兩次。
- b. 佢食得成碗飯。
- b. 得呢碗飯食。

- c. 得一個人我探兩次。
- c. 得半碗飯佢成日食咗。
- c. 得呢碗飯我食得。

- d. *得兩次我探一個人。
- d. *得成碗飯佢食(咗)。
- d. 我得呢碗飯食(得)。

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Disfluency in Typically Developing Cantonese-Speaking Children

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BACKGROUND: Normal disfluency, or typical disfluency, is a disruption in the flow of speech, such as interjection "um" or repetition "but, but" found in normal speech. They become prevalent at around 2-6 years old and lessens as children become proficient in their language. Disfluency patterns are studied in many languages including English (Carlo & Watson, 2003; Tolar, 2017), Mandarin (Zhao & Jurafsky, 2005) Findings of disfluency are instrumental to the understanding of language planning phenomenon and acquisition of language production. Ambros & Yairi (1999) found that interjection is the most common disfluency type among typically developing English-speaking children, and part word repetition for atypically developing children. Disfluency increases with sentence complexity (Pawley 2000). However, research on disfluency in Cantonese is lacking. To address the gap, this research studies disfluency types, their frequency and distribution among typically developing Cantonese-speaking children.

QUESTION: What are the major disfluency types and their distribution in typically developing Cantonese-speaking children?

RESULTS: Disfluencies of 6 children aged 5 to 5;6, from CHILDES HKU-70 corpus were analyzed based on the audio recording and transcript of ~22,000 characters. Among the six disfluency types, dysrhythmic phonation (mainly blocks and prolongation) (35%) and interjections (31%) are the most frequent types. Unlike English, disfluency types involving repetition in Cantonese occur rarely. As for distribution, disfluency occur most often before NPs (40%) and VPs (39%). Further, Cantonese fillers, e.g. *zikhai*, occur more before VPs in children's speech, but NPs in adult speech (Li, 2020). Following the theory of phrasal scope planning in syntactic processing (Martin et al., 2010; Allum & Wheeldon, 2007), we suggest that the high frequency of disfluency in the two syntactic positions is possibly due to the demand that the speaker generally has to plan an entire phrase before uttering it. As a result, the processing load is higher, thus more prone to producing disfluency before it to gain time for processing.

Examples of disfluency (from HKU 70):

(1) <u>要...</u> 鴨仔. (prolongation)

(2) <u>e3</u> 有時 有, 有時 有! (interjection)

	Disrhythmic		Revision/	Part	Single syll	Multi syll
	Phonation	Interjection	Abandoned utt	word rep	word rep	word rep
Average no. of						
occurrence/ 100 syll	11.0	9.6	6.4	1.8	2.2	1.0
Total	35%	31%	19%	7%	6%	3%

Table 1, Rate of occurrence of each disfluency type.

Category	NP	VP	Clause	AdvP	PP	Others
Total	40%	39%	8%	4%	1%	6%

Table 2, Phrasal category right after disfluency.

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Analyzing TVB's Mandarin News Reports from a Language Contact Perspective

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Under the "biliterate and trilingual" policy, English and Chinese (broadly referring to any form of written variety) are the *de jure* written languages in Hong Kong. However, the underspecification of Chinese has resulted in mismatched expectations: while Hongkongers are expected to learn and write in "standard Chinese", which is based on Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) (現代漢語), the variant of written Chinese *used* in Hong Kong ubiquitously is structurally and lexically deviant from "standard Chinese". Shao and Shek (2006) and Tin (2008) refer to this local written Chinese variant as "HK-Chinese" (港式中文).

In this presentation, we will put forward evidence and insights from our analyses and qualitative interviews based on Mandarin news reports by TVB. Findings show that the language used by TVB news anchors, though vocalized in Mandarin, is fundamentally HK-Chinese. Their language is structurally and lexically deviant from MSC:

(1) HK-Chinese

[對 80 以上 長者 不 百分之5 完成 接種 新冠疫苗] above elderly NEG enough receive COVID vaccine For 80 5 percent complete 當局 將 外展 醫生 (...) the Centre will arrange visiting

"[Targeting (the issue of) a less than 5% inoculation rate among elderlies above the age of 80], the Centre for Health Protection is looking to arrange for visiting doctors..."

(2) Modern Standard Chinese

[因為 80 歲 以上 長者 的 新冠疫苗 接種 率 不 到 百分之 5] because 80 age above elderly POSS COVID vaccine receiverate NEG reach 5 percent

Source: TVB Mandarin New Channel, aired on 22-07-2021.

Example (1) illustrates the structural differences between TVB's HK-Chinese and MSC. The construction in HK-Chinese features a long subordinate clause as a modifier preceding the matrix. This construction is syntactically sound and widely attested in English, as seen in the near-direct HK-Chinese-to-English translation. However, such a structure is disfavoured in MSC, which discourages subordination and longer sentences (Wen, 2014). For comparison, (2) lists a modified MSC translation suggested by one of our native Mandarin interviewees. This structural deviation from MSC — which on the other hand resembles English constructions — suggests possible Anglicization in HK-Chinese grammar.

This HK-Chinese based language used by the TVB Mandarin news anchors confirms the presence of structural differences between MSC and HK-Chinese found by our predecessors. More importantly, the structural properties of HK-Chinese (which can be attributed to Cantonese and English language influences) serve as potential evidence of language contact variation. This language contact perspective may provide us with a more descriptive alternative to the study of "non-standardness" in HK-Chinese.

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Acoustic Patterns in Hong Kong Cantonese Hesitation Markers: Vowel Quality and Omnisyllabic Tone

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Abstract: Hesitation Markers ('fillers', 'planners', 'delay markers'; HMs) lie somewhere on the dividing line between linguistic and sub-linguistic, evincing at the same time crosslinguistic commonalities as well as language-specific features (Candea et al. 2005; Dingemanse 2017; Dingemanse & Woensdregt 2020). As an understudied aspect of Sinitic linguistics outside of Mandarin (Zhao & Jurafsky 2005; Yuan et al. 2016), this study seeks to expand on understanding of these lexically peripheral items by analyzing their acoustic properties in Hong Kong Cantonese (HKCT), including vowel quality and F0, in order to connect them to both the phonology of HKCT and general crosslinguistic trends.

HMs are defined as non-lexical discourse-facilitating items which usually precede or follow a pause, such as *uh* or *um* in English, allowing the speaker to hold the floor (Clark & Fox-Tree 2002). Recent work by Dingemanse and Woensdregt (2020) discusses the language-specific phonological patterns of these items, as well as their crosslinguistic form similarities, indicating that HMs are integrated into the phonologies of their respective languages while still evidencing crosslinguistic convergence. However, it is unclear how HMs are incorporated into HKCT tonal phonology, which has been characterized as 'omnisyllabic' (Matisoff 1995), every syllable being associated with a particular lexical tone (Yip 2002: 272; Sybesma & Li 2007). Foreign loans and discourse moderating items cluster around the mid-to-low tones; the low-level Tone 6 is adopted in loans corresponding to English unstressed syllables (Kiu 1977), and sentence-final particles (SFPs) appear to cluster around mid-level Tone 3 in their default forms (Sybesma & Li 2007). Both of these seem to indicate adoption of a default tonal pattern in order to satisfy the requirement for omnisyllabic tone.

The present study gathers HM acoustic data (F0, F1-F2, duration) from the PolyU Corpus of Spoken Chinese (http://wongtaksum.no-ip.info:81/corpus.htm) across 10 speakers (6 female) and 196 HMs, comparing them against lexical data (525 items). Results for F1-F2 showed clustering around the mid-front region, approaching /ɛ/; this result is both in line with crosslinguistic trends (Candea et al. 2005) and the phonology of HKCT. Results for F0 clustered around the lower end of the pitch range, approaching lexical Tones 3 and 6, which is expected given crosslinguistic trends towards effort minimization. However, establishing a connection with a particular lexical tone was complicated by the high similarity of Tones 3 and 6, which could not be statistically distinguished in terms of average F0. Additionally, cross-speaker analysis shows substantial variation in F0, indicating that context, intonation, or idiolectal variation may play a more substantial role. This has implications for our understanding of how peripheral or sub-lexical items such as hesitation markers are treated in omnisyllabic tone languages such as Cantonese.

Key words: Hong Kong Cantonese, lexical tone, hesitation markers, acoustics, phonology

Converbs and Adverbial Clauses: A Case Study in Cantonese

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Obligatory subordination. In Cantonese, a subset of verbal affixes triggers obligatory
subordination of a clause (=(1), cf. Tang 2018). Distinct from so-called "incompleteness effects"
(e.g. Tsai 2008), the clauses cannot standalone by adding temporal adverbials nor SFPs (=(2)).
                     naai], *(go tou
                                          zau tung) (2) *Keoi batnau jam-can
(1) [Keoi jam-can
     3sg drink-conv milk
                             CL stomach thenache
                                                          3SG always drink-CONV milk SFP
   'Whenever he drank milk, his tummy will feel bad.'
                                                        Int.: 'He always drinks milk.'
These affixed verbs are known as converbs (\neq coverbs) in typological studies, i.e. (non-finite)
verb forms marking adverbial subordination (Haspelmath 1995, Nedjalkov 1995). Robust in
Cantonese (at least 11 in Yip 2019), converbal affixes can also be found in other Chinese
languages e.g. Mandarin V-zhe-V-zhe. Empirically, they are understudied in Chinese linguistics
(with rare exceptions as Shan 2012, Tang 2018). Theoretically, they are rarely discussed in the
generative framework even in other languages. A systematic study is needed to fill these gaps.
Goals. (i) To investigate what empirical properties converbs have; and (ii) to discuss how
converbs may be divided into two sub-groups under the generative framework, in particular
the theory of adverbial clauses (Haegeman 2003 et seq., for Chinese see Wei & Li 2018).
External syntax. First, while some converbal clauses (e.g. -can) are more integrated with and
closer to the main clause, others (e.g. -dak) are less integrated with and further away from it:
                      [nei gong-can je]
                                              zau wui bei keoi naau gaa laa
(3) [Keoi lai-dak],
    3SG come-CONV 2SG say-CONV thing then will PASS 3SG scold SFP SFP
   'Since he came, surely you will get scolded by him whenever you speak.'
Note that reversing the linear order of the -can and -dak clauses will lead to ungrammaticality.
This is reminiscent of Haegeman's dichotomy of central and peripheral adverbial clauses
(CACs vs. PACs). CACs attach to a smaller main clause (e.g. vP or TP) and are related to the
event structure, whereas PACs attach to a full CP, contributing to the discourse structure.
Second, embedding also shows the resemblance of -can/-dak clauses with CACs/PACs:
(4) Ngo sik ni go [[lai-can/
                                    *lai-dak]
                                                  zau bei jan
                                                                     naau] ge
   1SG know this CL come-CONV come-CONV then PASS person scold MOD student
   -can: 'I know this student who got scolded whenever he came.'
   -dak: Int.'I know this student x, such that since x came, x must get scolded.'
Only -can clauses, but not -dak, may be embedded in a relative clause. In other words, -dak
clauses exhibit a root phenomenon, which can be explained if they attach to a full CP that
disallows embedding, i.e. at least ForceP in Chinese (Pan 2019), similar to PACs. In contrast,
-can clauses act like CACs and attach to a smaller clause, e.g. TP.
Internal syntax. While -dak clauses allow lin 'even'-focus occurring inside, -can may not:
(5) [Keoi <u>lin naai</u> dou jam-dak
                                      (lok)], zau jyu-zo
                                                                 toutung
    3sg even milk also drink-CONV SFP
                                            then predict-PERF stomachache SFP
   'Since he even drank milk, he should have already known his tummy would feel bad.'
(6) *[Keoi <u>lin naai</u> dou jam-can (*lok)], zau jyu-zo
                                                                  toutung
      3SG even milk also drink-CONV SFP
                                              then predict-PERF stomachache SFP
   Int.: 'If he drinks something - even for milk, he'll always know his tummy would feel bad.'
Assuming that 'even'-focus is in CP periphery (Cheung 2015), (6) may lack a structural layer
in CP to host a focus position. Note that (6) also disallows SFPs of speaker attitude such as lok.
Hence, the internal structure of -can clauses may be impoverished as compared to -dak.
(7) a. CAC-gp.: impoverished int. structure + lower ext. attachment site ~TP
                                                                                (e.g. -can)
   b. PAC-gp.: rich int. structure
                                           + higher ext. attachment site ~ForceP(e.g. -dak)
<u>Implications.</u> (a) This paper showcases the empirical landscape of understudied converbs in
Cantonese, enabling further cross-linguistic comparison with other languages. (b) Haegeman's
dichotomy of adverbial clauses with subordinators, is also attested for converbal adverbial
clauses. (c) The parallelism between both types of adverbial clauses raises questions on
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whether they are derived by the same mechanism (e.g. agreement analysis in Yip 2019).

增城白话"呢"类语气词

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[摘 要] 增城是广州市的一个直辖区,毗邻龙门、博罗、东莞和从化四地,是粤语和客家话交错分布的地区之一。增城白话与广州话一样同属粤海片,其语音、词汇、语法等方面与广州话也存在一定的差异。其中,增城白话"呢"类语气词形式丰富,有"嗲"、"嗲喝"、"嗒"、"哇"和"呢"等,与广州话的差别较大,与普通话的差别也比较明显。本文将从句法、语义等方面对其进行较全面的分析,并对其发展变化作出一定的解释。

1.嗲[te²²]/[te⁵⁵]

"嗲"可用于陈述句、疑问句、感叹句和祈使句中。陈述句中读阳去调,其他则读阴平调。用于陈述句句末表状态的持续或者动作的正在进行。其中表持续态可表将然,也可表正然,需通过语境或变调来区别。当持续态为静态持续时必须与"紧"共现。其次,在"先+adj./v.+嗲"、"重+adj./v.+嗲"或在句中独立使用可表说话人的态度和情感,主观化程度较高。否定句中起指明事实以提醒或对预想情况作否定判断。

"嗲"用于非是非问句中其加强疑问语气作用,用于特指问句的省略形式中则表疑问,具有构成句子和增强疑问语气的作用。"嗲"还可以在"几(咁)+adj+嗲"句式中构成感叹句,起加强夸张语气的作用。多语"你话"、"你睇"等具提醒意味的短语共现,以表说话人的态度和情感。在祈使句中则表命令、请求和劝告。

另外,"嗲"与"噢"连用成"噢嗲"用于非是非问句中也具普通话句末语气词"呢"的意思,且与"嗲"相比多了一层诘问和追问的意味。

2.嗲嚼[te²²kə⁵⁵]

"嗲喝"只可用于陈述句中,表状态的持续或动作的正在进行,在否定句中则起指明事实以提醒或对预想情况作否定判断。与"嗲"不同,在"先+adj./v.+嗲"、"重+adj./v.+嗲"或在句中独立使用表达说话人的怀疑与否定的语气和态度。

3.嗒[ta⁵⁵]

"嗒"用于非是非问句中,加强疑问语气,派生出反诘、深究、咨询和商量等语气。用于感叹句中则与"嗲"一样,起加强夸张语气的作用。

"嗒"与"噪"连用成"噪嗒"用于非是非问句中同样具普通话句末语气词"呢"的意思,与特定语境结合后临时产生出不耐烦、不满或催促之意。

4.哇[ua³³]

"哇"用于非是非问句中,以加强疑问语气。

5.呢[nε⁵⁵-⁴⁵]

"呢"只用于"NP/VP+呢?"的疑问句中,表疑问。

上述"呢"类语气词皆为增城白话的用法。据调查和观察可知,随着社会的发展,增城白话中"呢"类语气词也发生了变化:(1)"嗲"和"噢嗲"仍是最常用的"呢"类语气词;(2)"呢"可用于陈述句、非是非问句、感叹句和祈使句中;(3)"咩"的出现;(4)用于疑问句中的"哇"变成"喎";(5)"嗒"和"噢嗒"逐渐退出年青一代的语言环境;(6)"嗲喝"开始走向消亡

廣東信宜白話句末疑問詞"麼"的功能和來源

梁贇

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一、信宜白話句末疑問詞"麼"的功能

在日常交際中,信宜白話常把"麼[mo¹³]/[mo³³]"用於句末表示對所不瞭解的事實的提問。常見的形式有三種:①敘述句+麼:你到屋企麼?②可能句+麼:你聽倒出麼?③存在句+麼:你有著衫麼?

功能方面, "麽"不能與否定詞共現, 只能置於肯定形式的詢問句句末, 可用于詢問未然或已然的動作行為, 時間可指向過去、現在和將來。

二、信宜白話"麼"問句的性質

信宜白話 "VP+麼" 的結構形式類似於句末添加疑問語氣詞的是非問,但 "VP+麼" 的性質還是屬於正反問,主要從以下三點來論證。

- 1. 呂叔湘(1982) 認為是非問傾向於懷疑,正反問傾向於實事求是的詢問。 在句意傾向上,信宜白話"VP+麼"時常要求對方表態,就動作行為作出回應。 信宜白話是非問則用"是、對、嗯", "不、沒有",或點頭、搖頭等作答。
- 2. 陸儉明(2013)指出,現代漢語口語裡有個表追究性疑問語氣的副詞"到底"(書面語為"究竟"),它在語義指向上只能指向實在的疑問成分。也就是說,"到底"不能用於是非問。而信宜白話的"VP+麽"能加入"到底",如:你到底來麽?
- 3. 汪國勝、李曌(2019)指出,方言是非型正反問句中的句末疑問詞是由否定詞與語氣詞合音而成。正因為合音詞中含有否定意義,所以"VP"只能是肯定形式,並且方言中同時存在"VP+Neg"和"VP+Neg+語氣詞"。信宜白話"麼"是否定詞"有"和語氣詞"咯"的合音,"麼"問句的"VP"只能是肯定形式,"VP+有咯""VP+有"與"VP+麼"同時存在。

三、信宜白話句末"麽"的來源

通過與早期粵語和現代陽春白話"麼""冇""冇咯"問句的對比考察。信宜白話的"麼"問句保存早期粵語"麼"問句的疑問功能和部分語音,信宜白話"麼"源自正反問句末否定詞"冇"與語氣詞"咯"的合音。

东莞(企石)粤语虚词"唔=讲"的功能及来源

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本文的研究对象是东莞(企石)粤语的虚词" $\Box\Box[\eta^{21}\eta\circ\eta^{35}]$ "(另有语流音变形式 $[\eta^{21}g\circ\eta^{35}]$ 、 $[\eta^{21}k\circ\eta^{35}]$)。为行文方便,第一音节记为同音字"唔",第二音节由于声调 35 在本方言音系之外,暂借用音近字"讲 $[k\circ\eta^{55}]$ ",也即暂把" $\Box\Box[\eta^{21}\eta\circ\eta^{35}]$ "写成"唔=讲"。

"唔=讲"有副词的用法。例如:

- (1) 今日赶唔切了,听日唔=讲回答尔啲问题。今天来不及了,明天再回答你的问题。
- (2) 捉啲沙发抹伶俐欸先, 唔-讲慢慢来拖地。 先把沙发擦干净, 再慢慢拖地。
- (3) 跳□[e⁵⁵]三次唔=讲跳过。與了三次才號过。
- (4) 尔点解哩下<u>唔=讲</u>呢? 你为什么现在才说呢?
- (5) 只有多啲练习,<u>唔=讲</u>可以提高啲成绩。只有多练习,才可以提高成绩。
- "唔=讲"也有句末助词的用法,表示"先/暂且……再说"。例如:
- (6) 畀我叹翻杯茶<u>唔=讲</u>。让我好好地喝一杯茶再说。
- (7) 尔系校长唔=讲。你是校长再说。
- (8) 出热头唔=讲。出太阳再说。
- "唔"讲"是未见于标准粤语的一个虚词,意义上跟标准粤语的"先"比较接近,但用法同中有异。比如,例(7)(8)在香港粤语不能用"先":
 - (7') 香港粤语: *你系校长先。你是校长再说。
 - (8') 香港粤语: *出太阳先。出太阳再说。..

再比如,例(9)在企石粤语不能用"唔=讲":

- (9) 香港粤语: 你行先。你先走。
- (9') 企石粤语: *你行唔=讲。你先走。

值得注意的是,企石粤语也有"先",用作副词、句末助词。无论作副词还是句末助词,"唔=讲"和"先"都存在可互换或连用的情况,例如:

- (1')今日赶唔切了,听日<u>先</u>(/<u>唔=讲先/*先唔=讲</u>)回答尔啲问题。今天来不及了,明天再回答你的问题。
 - (6') 畀我叹翻杯茶先 (/唔=讲先/先唔=讲)。 让我好好地喝一杯茶再说。

本文讨论以下几个问题: (一)"唔=讲"的句法语义表现如何? (二)"唔=讲"的不同功能之间有何联系? (三)考察早期粤语及周边方言,讨论"唔=讲"的来源问题。(四)"唔=讲"和"先"的区别及并存关系。

我们初步认为,副词"唔=讲"和句末助词"唔=讲"存在语法化关系。"唔=讲"在东莞有明显的区域性,集中分布在丘陵片、山区片(姚琼姿 2018)的部分东莞粤语。"唔=讲"应来源于"来讲","来讲"应由副词"来"和言说动词"讲"词汇化而来。例如企石、桥头、谢岗三镇自北向南依次相邻,桥头、谢岗有:

- (10) 桥头粤语:食欸饭来讲走。吃了饭再走。
- (11) 谢岗粤语:食欸饭来走。吃了饭再走。

从"来讲"到"唔=讲",企石粤语可能经历了"lui koŋ >l koŋ>ŋ koŋ>ŋ ŋoŋ"的音变,是伴随语法化的语音弱化。

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香港粵語句末的上升調 ——聲調、語調與句末助詞的互動關係

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香港粵語有多個聲調類別,也有豐富的句末助詞。從語音的角度來說,聲調和語調都使用音高來表現;從語用的角度來說,語調和句末助詞都能表達說話者的態度、意圖、情感等微秒的意義;從句法的角度來講,語調在句子裏也應扮演重要的角色。就載體而言,聲調的載體是音節,而語調的載體是句子,也常被稱為句調。Fox et al(2008)按照語調在句子裏分佈的位置不同,細分為句幹語調(utterance body intonation)和句末語調(utterance final intonation),前者由所有非句末音節串行承載,句末語調由句末音節承載。句末助詞本身也是句末音節,有可能分析為音段化的句末語氣(馮勝利 2015),而句末助詞的「聲調」並非單純的字調,而是句末語調(張凌、鄧思穎 2016)。本文通過嚴格控制的聲學實驗,對以上不同載體和層次的音高進行更深入的研究。

本文的研究考察了同為高升調(陰上調 T2)音節構成的一系列句子,如以下(1)至(4)的例句,系統地比較了句子裏各個音節的音高曲線,包括了不同維度的比較,主要是句中和句末音節、實詞句末音節和助詞、陳述語氣和疑問語氣等比較。實驗參加者包括 60 名以香港粵語為母語的發音人,在錄音後使用 Praat 軟件測試各個音節的聲學參數 fo 及時長,並進行了後續的數據分析。實驗結果如下:一、疑問句句幹語調的音域層(pitch register)比陳述句高,但兩者的音高調形(pitch shape)大致平行,都呈現降勢音高(declination)的特點;二、疑問句和陳述句句末語調的音高起點相近,差別主要體現在音高調形上,疑問句為強烈上升,而陳述句為平緩上升;第三、疑問句句末助詞的音高曲線比實詞句末音節上升得更高,也更長。無音段句末助詞和聲調的疊加機制為連續疊加(Chao 1933),而有音段的句末助詞和聲調的疊加機制為同時疊加,兩者明顯不同。

根據本文的實驗結果,我們從句法音韻接口研究的角度,論證把香港粵語這種句末語調分析為無音段句末助詞的合理性,提供更精準的證據,支持無音段句末助詞的句法分析,認同無音段句末助詞位處句子最邊緣的句法結構(Wiltschko and Heim 2016, Tang 2020等),並以此討論超音段成分(如聲調、語調)跟句末助詞的互動關係。

- (1) 嬸嬸飲水少。
- (2) 嬸嬸飲水少?
- (3) 嬸嬸飲水嘅。
- (4) 嬸嬸飲水嘅?
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Cantonese Sentence-final Particles Pertaining to the TP Domain

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Recent concerns over Cantonese sentence-final particles (SFPs) are mainly tied to the outmost CP domain and various proposals are given (Lau 2019, Tang 2020, etc.). These new proposals, though illuminating, overshadow earlier attempts to identify SFPs in the lower inflectional layer, now commonly known as TP. The candidates that pertain to the TP domain include *tim1* (Law 1990), *lai4* and *zaa3* (Tang 1998), among others. This paper aims to broaden the candidacy of Cantonese SFPs in this domain by exanimating the core semantic value of all these particles. It turns out that new SFPs might be added to this family, under the umbrella of TP. They might include *gam3zai6*, *mat1zai6*, *ge3waa6*, *gam2*, *gam2joeng2*, *faat3*, and most notably *ge3*.

An overriding issue is to determine how these SFPs are connected with the nature of the TP domain. Obviously, the traditional tripartite system (past, present, future) linked to the Speech Time does not offer any ample evidence as to why these particles are Speech-Time-related. In this regard, this paper endeavors to apply the insights from Arregui (2005) and Lin (2016) and suggests that there is a strong connection between possible worlds and tense / aspect. A "second" Reference Time is proposed here, which might coincide with the Speech Time, and that allows the possible worlds to develop. Therefore, such units as approximants, counterfactuals and subjunctives can be construed as temporals in that they involve possible-world semantics, constrained by the second Reference Time. Following Wang and Feng (2015), Cantonese *ge3*, which seems to be free of or in lack of temporal characteristics, might just prove itself to be a temporal in the same sense as a counterfactual SFP is shown to be temporally related. As a result, the SFPs of the TP family can be enlarged and include more members that were previously syntactically unclassified.

Echoing with the consensus that Cantonese is rich in SFPs, this paper is a preliminary exploration of the Cantonese SFPs of the TP domain, which allows further investigations of the "split-TP" approach in connection with Cantonese, in the spirit of Rizzi (1997). It also supplements the ongoing research regarding the "splitting" of CP by dwelling into the core semantic value associated with each syntactic layer.

Sentence-final Particles and Wh-Words in Cantonese

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Chinese wh-words can be interpreted as interrogatives or quantifiers in different contexts (Aoun & Li 1993). While interrogative reading is received, the sentence is an ordinary question (1). While quantificational reading is received, the sentence is a rhetorical question (2).

- (1) Keoi5 zou6 gwo3 mat1 je5? (What did he do?)
- (2) Keoi5 zou6 gwo3 mat1 je5?! (=He didn't do anything. / He did nothing.)

Interestingly, sentence-final particles (SFPs) can greatly affect the interpretation of wh-words. Aa1 in (3) is an SFP expressing assertion, and with aa1, (3) is probably interpreted as a rhetorical question. For sentence in (4) with aa3, a more neutral SFP serving various functions, the information seeking reading is much preferable. Some SFPs, zek1 and wo3 in (5), for instance, may lead to an equivalent chance of getting interrogative or rhetorical reading if no particular context is specified.

- (3) Keoi5 zou6 gwo3 mat1 je5 aa1?! (Keoi5 gan1 bun2 mou5 zou6 gwo3 jam6 ho4 je5.)
- (4) A: Keoi5 zou6 gwo3 mat1 je5 aa3?
 - *(B: Keoi5 zou6 gwo3 lou5 si1.)
- (5) Keoi5 zou6 gwo3 mat1 je5 zek1/wo3?

Another type of rhetorical questions involves negative wh-words, most commonly "bin1 dou6" and "mat1 je5" in Cantonese. These negative wh-words occupy different syntactic positions compared with ordinary wh-words, serving like a negative operator (Cheung 2008). The change of SFPs cannot affect its negative reading (6). Such sentence disallowed other wh-words.

(6) Keoi5 bin1 dou6 jau5 zou6 gwo3 (*mat1) je5 aa1/aa3/zek1/wo3? (Keoi5 gan1 bun2 mou5 zou6 gwo3 jam6 ho4 je5.)

Pan (2019) claims that wh-word is unvalued and mechanisms beyond syntax (special intonations, prosodic operations, for example) are involved in distinguishing different interpretations of whoperator in Mandarin. Following Reinhart (2006)'s repairing strategy, he argues that those mechanisms are activated to disambiguate sentences that syntactic form is insufficient to give appropriate semantic interpretation. SFPs in Cantonese are much richer and more complex than in Mandarin. It is hypothesized that apart from prosodic and contextual cues, Cantonese also relies on SFPs, a useful tool in syntax-semantic and syntax-pragmatic interface, to distinguish ordinary questions and rhetorical questions. However, while the wh-operator is valued (i.e., negative reading is forced), SFPs cannot function as the distinguisher anymore.

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Affiliative and Disaffiliative Uses of Cantonese Interrogative Particles: A Discourse-pragmatic Perspective

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In our daily interactions, we often engage in co-constructing the discourse as we negotiate our points of view. On some occasions, we converge and arrive at consensus via affiliative moves (i.e. convergent alignment); at other times, we disagree with or challenge our interlocutors (i.e. divergent alignment). Interrogative forms in daily interactions are found not only used for information-seeking, but can also be used for a diverse range of interactional functions such as confirmation-seeking, expression of surprise and unexpectedness, as well as displaying a range of speaker's affiliative and disaffiliative stances. As Stivers put forward, affiliation is understood as the hearer's taking a stance that matches the speaker's stance, whereas disaffiliation as the hearer's lack of support or endorsement towards the speaker's stance (Stivers 2008). Some interrogative strategies might have stronger affiliative colours, while others might be deployed as strong disaffiliative speech acts.

This paper presents a systematic account of the affiliative and disaffiliative functions of five interrogative particles in Cantonese, namely me1, ho2, (g)aa4, maa3 and le5. By nature they are all yes/no particles because their primary function is to turn the host predicate into a question that requires an answer of either a yes or no. However, besides this primary function as an interrogative, the particles are also observed to be doing some kind of interpersonal work in Cantonese conversations, expressing the speaker's attitudinal stances. Based on data obtained from four Cantonese corpora with about 80 hours of conversational data, this study answers the question as to how an interrogative form is employed by Cantonese speakers to perform functions other than information-seeking. In particular, the study pays attention to the (dis)affiliative functions expressed by these five particles, including confirmation seeking, solidarity seeking, indication of assertiveness, and so on.

Data is analyzed within an interactional linguistic framework that draws upon techniques used in discourse analysis (DA) and conversational analysis (CA). It is found that the five particles not only give clues to the cognitive status and the attitudinal stance of the speaker, but also reveal the background knowledge that is shared between the speaker and the hearer. For instance, a question formed with *me1* is always negatively biased and express the hearer's disaffiliative stance with the speaker, as in *Nei1 tiu4 kwan4 hou2 gwai3 me1*? (lit. This dress is very expensive? I doubt it.), while one with *ho2* is always positively biased and the hearer is affirmative and aligns with the proposition suggested by the speaker but is seeking and demanding a confirmation, as in *Nei1 tiu4 kwan4 hou2 gwai3 ho2*? (lit. This dress is very expensive? Right?). Our analysis illustrates how discourse management can be achieved by highlighting the effective use of the five yes/no particles in conveying and negotiating the speaker's (dis)affiliative stance in conversations. The findings will also have important implications for cross-linguistic comparisons.

¹ The analysis is based on data obtained from the following sources: (i) A Linguistic Corpus of Mid-20th Century Hong Kong Cantonese, (ii) the Hong Kong Cantonese Corpus (HKCanCor), (iii) the PolyU Corpus of Spoken Chinese, and (iv) the OpenU Corpus of Spoken Cantonese. From time to time, the author will also use examples that the author as a native speaker observes from everyday interactions in Cantonese.

Different Senses of Certainty: The Case of Cantonese Utterance Particles *Ge3* and *Laak3*

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This study attempts to disentangle the distinctions between the two Cantonese utterance particles ge3 and laak3 in terms of epistemic modality. I propose that ge3 conveys certainty concerning a speaker's prior knowledge whereas laak3 reflects a speaker's epistemic attitude with respect to a change of state.

Studies of Cantonese utterance particles (or sentence-final particles) have been well documented (e.g., Law 1990 and Chan 1996). Nonetheless, there have been very few close investigations of individual utterance particles (Bourgerie 1987 and Wakefield 2011). Scholars such as Kwok (1984) and Fung (2000) propose that ge3 denotes certainty or a speaker's high level of commitment. Meanwhile, they also claim that laak3 conveys certainty or epistemic modality. While I agree with them in this regard, the distinctions between the ge3 and laak3 concerning the sense of certainty have not been made. In this study, I attempt to disentangle the pragmatic differences between ge3 and laak3 and propose that they convey different senses of certainty.

To investigate the pragmatic meanings of *ge3* and laak3, this study uses The Hong Kong Cantonese Corpus (Luke and Wong 2015) and the author's three hours of transcriptions of Cantonese YouTube videos. The grammatical category of evidentiality is also adopted here. A close examination of the context of each instance of the two particles is performed.

Example (1) below demonstrates the distinctions between ge3 and laak3. In (1a), the speaker is talking to his friend about his aunt. With the use of ge3 the speaker displays certainty, supported by his prior knowledge (evidentiality), that his relative would leave on Christmas. In 1b, the speaker is showing how to cook a Chinese dish to the audience on YouTube. With the use of laak3 the speaker is certain, through realization of change of state, that she has stirred the mixture for six minutes. Note that replacing ge3 with laak3 in (1a) or laak3 with ge3 in (1b) sounds unnatural.

1. laa1, zik1hai6 keoi5 a. *m4* gei3dak1 zo2zung2zi1 remember PFV UP that is anyway she ge3/*laak3 wui5 zau2 sing3daan3zit3 jat6 go2Christmas that day will leave UP 'I don't remember, but anyway, (I am certain that) she will leave on Christmas b. ji4gaa1 gaau2-dou3 keoi5 ng5 laak3/*ge3 luk6 fan1zung1 stir-until it five six minute UP '(I have stirred about) five or six minutes now.'

The findings of this study, illustrated in (1), support my proposal. The utterance particles ge3 and laak3 primarily convey epistemic modality. At the pragmatic level, ge3 concerns a speaker's prior knowledge whereas laak3 relates to a change of state. These findings deepen our understanding of utterance particles in Cantonese, in revealing that ge3 and laak3 embed difference senses of certainty.

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Scope of Cantonese sfp 咋 'only' and Mandarin sfp 而已 'only'

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This paper argues that Cantonese sfp 咋 only' has sentential scope above subject and is syntactically located in the split CP layer of the clause. Cantonese sfp 咋 is similar to Mandarin sfp 而已 'only' in that it is also related to focus, but differs from it in that 咋 may scope over the subject but 而已 may not. It claims that the difference is due to the independent fact that particle 得 'only' associated with 咋 appearing before the constituent in focus may be deleted, while particle 只 associated with 而已 may not.

Clear evidence exists for Cantonese sfp 咋 'only' being associated with a focused constituent, including the subject (see 我識[睇] $_{\rm F}$ 英文咋 'I can only [read] $_{\rm F}$ English.' \Rightarrow I cannot speak it, write it, etc ...; 我識睇[英文] $_{\rm F}$ 咋 'I can only read [English] $_{\rm F}$.' \Rightarrow I cannot read other languages; [我] $_{\rm F}$ 謎睇英文咋 '[I] $_{\rm F}$ can only read English.' \Rightarrow Everyone else cannot read English). 咋 takes scope above negation 唔, but below negation 唔係 or modals 可能 'possible' or 應該 'possible' (see 我唔飲[茶] $_{\rm F}$ 咋 $_{\rm F}$ 唔, 'I only don't drink [tea] $_{\rm F}$.' \Rightarrow I also drink other drinks, *唔>咋 *'I don't only drink [tea] $_{\rm F}$.' \Rightarrow I also drink other drinks; 我唔係飲 [茶] $_{\rm F}$ 咋 $_{\rm F}$ 「 $_{\rm F}$ $_{\rm F}$

We propose that the different scopes be due to sfp 咋 being in the split CP layer (Rizzi 1995) of a mono-clausal structure or a bi-clausal structure (cf. Huang 1990 for Mandarin). Co-occurrence of negation 唔 and negation 冇 is additional evidence for the bi-clausal structure. Negation 冇 is incompatible with a non-past event (佢聽日唔/*冇來) and yet can appear to the left of modals (see 佢冇可能聽日唔來 'It't not possible for him to come tomorrow'). This can only be explained if negation 冇 is in a different clause. Similarly, the copula 係 can only be negated by 唔 not 冇 (in Guangdong Yue) (see 佢唔/*冇係學生). There is thus no reason to suppose that 係 occurs in the same clause as 冇 (see 佢係尋日冇來 'It is the case that he did not come yesterday.'). We show that alternative questions with 亦係 (see 你係要[一]。碗飯咋亦係要兩碗飯呢? 'Do you want only one bowl of rice or two bowls of rice?' can be derived from bi-clausal structures by Across-the-Board movement (Williams 1978), and that the same analysis can be carried over to Mandarin, contra Erlewine (2017).

Cantonese sfp 咋 may be associated with particle 得 'only' with little additional semantic effect on the sentence (see 我識得[睇] $_{F}$ 英文咋,我識得睇[英文] $_{F}$ 咋,得[我] $_{F}$ 識睇英文咋). We thus suggest that sentences without 得 be derived from underlying structures with 得 subsequently deleted.

Scope of Mandarin sfp 而已 'only' is similar to that of Cantonese sfp 咋 except that 而已 may not take scope above the subject (Erlewine 2017) (*[我] 會念英語而已 '[I] can only read English.' => Everyone else cannot read English). However, much like Cantonese 咋 associated with 得, Mandarin 而已 may be associated with particle 只 'only'. Sentences with 而已 but without 只, too, are derived from deleting 只 in the underlying structures. There is evidence that the particles mark the focused constituent, not the sfps (see *[我] 識得勝英文 咋, *[我] 只會念英語而已 '[I] can only read English').

Thus, the fact that subject focus is possible with Cantonese 咋 but not with Mandarin 而已 is because particle 得 associated with 咋 may be deleted (see 得[我] : 識睇英文咋), but particle 只 associated with 而已 may not be (see *只我會念英文而已).

Sentence-final Particles As a Potential Site of Variation: A Preliminary Study of Its Use by Heritage Cantonese Speakers in Toronto, Canada

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Sentence-final particles (SFPs) are enormous in number, phonologically similar to one another, and serve nuanced semantic, pragmatic and communicative functions. Given this complexity, scholars have wondered whether speakers who use Cantonese comparatively infrequently will differ in SFP usage from those who are monolingual or dominant in Cantonese. The community of interest of this study is heritage speakers, who use and encounter Cantonese less frequently in daily life. We hypothesize that compared to homeland speakers, heritage speakers will (1) use SFPs at a lower rate, (2) have a smaller inventory of unique SFPs, and (3) be less sensitive to social constraints on SFP use.

18 sociolinguistic interviews conducted in Cantonese from Nagy (2011) were analyzed. Among them six are homeland speakers ("CX", three males and three females, aged 19-77), six first generation heritage speakers ("C1", 3M and 3F, aged 50-87), and six second generation heritage speakers ("C2", 3M and 3F, aged 20-44). We define a possible site of SFP occurrence, following Sybesma and Li (2007), as the right edge of CPs (i.e. sentence = CP). We further stipulate that sentences/CPs are segments of speech with structural independence (Allerton 1969). We also treat SFP clusters (e.g. gaa³ ze¹, gaa³ laa³ wo³) as unique SFPs. Starting from the tenth minute of the interview, we annotated in each possible site for SFP occurrence whether there is an SFP, and if yes, which SFP is used. A total of 6801 CPs were annotated. Based on the data, we calculated the speaker's rate of SFP use (range: 17.9-82.4%) and the number of unique SFPs used by the speaker (range: 11-36).

The raw data were fitted into a logistic mixed-effects regression using the *lme4* package (Bates et al. 2015) in R (R Core Team 2019). The best model includes an interaction effect between speaker's sex and speaker group: while female C1 speakers do not differ significantly in the likelihood of using SFPs from their CX counterparts (β =-0.43, z=-1.16, p=0.25), female C2 speakers produce significant fewer CPs with SFPs than both their CX counterparts (β =-1.56, z=-4.11, p<0.0001) and their C1 counterparts (β =-1.13, z=-2.99, p=0.003). Such differences in likelihood of using SFPs across speaker groups are not observed in male speakers (all pairwise comparisons p>0.05). Hence, our data suggests that there are differences in the rate of SFP use between homeland (CX) and heritage (C1 and C2) speakers, and it is the younger female heritage speakers who are leading the change.

We then investigate how heritage speakers' SFP inventory size is correlated to the speaker's language attitude score (LAS) and the ethnic identity score (EIS) calculated based on speakers' response to the ethnic orientation questionnaire. Pearson's correlations show that the more the speaker prefers using Cantonese, the more unique SFPs they have produced in the interview (r=0.840, r=4.89, p=0.0006). Similarly, the more the speaker identifies themselves as Chinese, the more unique SFPs they have produced in the interview (r=0.761, r=3.71, p=0.004). Since in our data C2 speakers have significantly lower LAS (β =-0.71, τ =-3.96, τ =0.003) and EIS (β =-0.42, τ =-3.83, τ =0.003) than C1 speakers, we suggest that the intergenerational differences observed in female heritage speakers might be a result of changing language attitude and ethnic identity.

Finally, we investigate whether the sex differentiated SFP usage profile reported in Winterstein et al. (2017) is also observed in our data. We observe a decreasing usage rate of the allegedly male-biased SFPs (CX: 17.5%, C1: 10.2%, C2: 7.4%) and an increasing usage rate of the sex-neutral SFPs (CX: 50.1%, C1: 62.8%, C2: 64.6%). Surprisingly, 40.1% of the SFP produced by C2 male speakers are female-biased. Our data suggests that heritage speakers have a different sex differentiated SFP usage profile than homeland speakers.

A Study of Cantonese Evidential Construction *Mai6...Lo1* --A Case of Double Modals

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In recent years, debate in evidentiality and epistemic modality has been lying on the relation between the two, and how the occurrence of modals in different grammatical and lexical categories mark the relevant modal meanings. This paper studies Cantonese evidential construction mai6...lo1. We argue that mai6 is an inferential evidential and lo1 is an evidential SFP expressing epistemic attitude of the speaker, with the two differentiated by one being a non-confirmative type of evidential and the other a confirmative type, as described below.

(1) Mai6 and lo1 as non-confirmative and confirmative types of evidentials

The interpretation of mai6...lo1 is governed as follows:

- a. mai6, as an evidential, which derives inference on the basis of common knowledge, established knowledge and source of information of the speaker, hence inferential evidentiality and as a weak epistemic modal of possibility; and
- b. the speaker's inference is strengthened by the confirmative evidential SFP lo1. Lo1, serving as a confirmative evidential, strengthens the speaker's commitment to the truth-value of the presupposed proposition, hence conveying a strong form of epistemic modal of necessity in lo1.

Co-occurrence of evidential adverb *mai6* and SFP *lo1* represents the pairing of two type-matching modals varying in modal force, as shown in (2), while (3) gives a response with SFP *lo1* occurring alone.

Context: "The shop has 50% off". (2) and (3) are possible responses of speaker A under such a context.

- (2) A: Gam2 ngo5 *(mai6) daai3-ding6 gei2 go3 gip1 heoi3 lo1
 such I MAI bring-in-advance several CL luggage go LO
 'As such, I will need to bring several pieces of luggage.'
- (3) A: Gam2 ngo5 daai3 ding6 gei2-go3 gip1 heoi3 <u>lo1</u> such I bring in-advance several-CL luggage go LO 'As such, I will bring several pieces of luggage.'

(2) and (3) reveal the following points:

- In (2), as a non-confirmative type of evidential, mai6 relies on a confirmative evidential to make its semantics complete, making the occurrence of lo1 obligatory.
- To avoid double realization of a single modality in (2), modal SFPs, as the strong type of modals, are
 obligatory to trigger modal spread to the weak modal adverbs, resulting in modal strengthening from
 possibility to necessity. (2) thus gives a stronger certainty of the speaker's inference.
- (3) represents a case when lo1 occurs alone. It would be lo1 which triggers the speaker's inferential
 statement and such an inference is not subject to any confirmation by any marker. It represents a case of
 modal weakening, with lo1 remaining to be a weak modal.

Sentence-Final Intonation in Cantonese Focus Perception

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Prosodic focus in Cantonese is found to lack f0 marking both at on-focal and post-focal positions, and instead, the fine-grained meanings related to focus tend to be conveyed through sentence-final particles (Lee 2019). The sentence-final particles can appear as segmentless sentence-final intonation (Zhang 2014). It has been noticed that a falling tone attached to the final syllable conveys contrastive focus (Fox et al. 2008), and a lengthened final syllable can be interpreted as emphasis or a plea for attention (Mai 2018). In this study, we provide experimental proof that the sentence-final intonation is active in focus perception.

An online experiment was conducted through Qualtrics, where participants were asked to rate the appropriateness of the intonation of five sentences (e.g. 阿英开咗间铺) as a response to two types of questions: '你啱啱话边个开咗间铺' (subject-oriented, **QS**), or '你啱啱话阿英开咗乜嘢' (object-oriented, **QO**). Each sentence had five intonation patterns, manipulated and synthesized in Praat: subject-prominence (**S**), object-prominence (**O**), added boundary tone (**B**), and the combination **S+O** and **S+B**. In accord with previous studies, prominence was implemented by a discrete increase in duration and intensity, as well as pitch raising on certain tones (**Figure 1**).

The results of 41 people's ratings (**Figure 2**) shows that single-prominence sentences are highly rated in their appropriate Wh-question (S in response to QS; O,B in response to QO). The most interesting result concerns the dual prominence cases of S+B and S+O. They are supposed to be 'ambiguous' as S is appropriate in answering QS while O and B are appropriate in answering QO. However, both S+B and S+O are highly appropriate in answering QS rather than QO. Our explanation is that to resolve the conflict, the significantly longer final syllable is reinterpreted at the sentence level as indicating the existence of focus, and thus felicitous with an earlier prominence.

The use of sentence-final intonation is as versatile as sentence-final particles. The same phonological device can indicate both prominence as well as sentence-level focus, as B and O, S+B and S+O receive similar ratings. In addition, some participants associated the focus interpretation with emotional meanings such as impatience. However, the uses of sentence-final intonation are more limited compared to sentence-final particles. When answering normal Wh-questions rather than echo questions, sentence-final particles will be strongly preferred. These facts suggest that the function of sentence-final particles and sentence-final intonation only partially overlap.

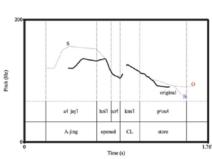
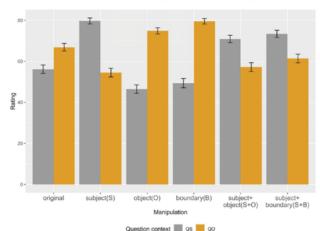


Figure 1 (Left). F0 contour of the manipulated stimuli: original, S, O, B. Figure 2 (Right). Appropriateness rating of the answerer's intonation. 100 is very appropriate while 0 is not appropriate.



Verbal Irony in Hong Kong Cantonese with Mirative Evidentials *Wo3* 喎 and *Lo1* 囉

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This study investigates whether Hong Kong Cantonese (HKC) speakers use the two sentence-final particles, i.e., wo3 "喝' and lo1 '囉' to express irony when they function as mirative evidentials.

In non-tone languages such as English, speakers tend to use specific prosodic cues, such as lower pitch, when expressing irony (e.g., Attardo *et al.*, 2003). However, in tone languages such as HKC, speakers may employ sentence-final particles (SFPs), known as discourse-markers with pragmatic functions, to communicate irony instead of prosody. This is because the large number of contrastive tones in the HKC lexical tone system may restrict the extent to which speakers can superimpose intonation on the lexical tones (Chao, 1968). As shown in a study of Li *et al.* (2012), children can comprehend irony better when an ironic utterance is spoken with a SFP than prosody. Yet, up to the present time, there has been no in-depth research studying (i) how verbal irony is encoded in HKC, and (ii) whether HKC speakers prefer using a specific type of SFPs to express irony.

This study hypothesises that mirative evidentials are associated with irony because (i) the presupposition of communicating irony matches that of using evidentiality, i.e., a speaker who makes ironic remarks needs prior information of the state of affairs in order to comment on the situation, whereas a speaker who uses evidentials means s/he has prior information of the state of affairs that s/he is reporting to another interlocutor; and (ii) the motivation for a speaker to produce an ironic utterance aligns with the value of mirativity, i.e., the state of affairs mismatches the speaker's expectation.

To determine whether there is an association between mirative evidentials and irony, the researcher recruited 24 native HKC speakers (mean age = 22.3) to participate in an experiment that required them to respond verbally to a questionnaire. The questionnaire includes a set of stories with three multiple-choice answers that have the same base utterance but differs by one SFP. The analysis of the experimental result confirmed the hypothesis; the subjects used wo3 and lo1 more frequently in ironic scenarios than in non-ironic scenarios. The experiment also yielded an unexpected result; the speakers exhibited acoustic features different from the non-ironic utterances when expressing irony, i.e., rising pitch and prolongation of the SFPs. This additional finding shows that HKC speakers combine attitudinal intonational patterns with the lexical tones of SFPs in order to convey pragmatic function, such as irony.

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The Syntax of the Sentence Final Particle *Cha*³⁵ in Wuchuan Cantonese

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Sentence final particles (SFPs) in Chinese have been generally considered as particles operating on single propositions (Lee 1986; Li 2006; Paul 2009, 2014, 2015; Tang 2015a, 2020; Pan 2015, 2019, 2021; Pan & Paul 2016; Paul & Pan 2017, among many others). Recent studies (Tang 2015b, 2016; Zhang & Shi 2018) propose that some SFPs involve conjunction/relation of two propositions. By investigating the sentence final particle cha^{35} (Φ) in Wuchuan Cantonese, this study finds that there are SFPs whose interpretations are determined by the interaction of two propositions. Based on the grammatical behaviors of cha^{35} , this paper intends to explore how its interpretation is decided and how cha^{35} and interaction of propositions are syntactically represented.

The sentence final cha^{35} in Wuchuan is a question particle which is ambiguous between a confirmatory (1a) and a rhetorical question reading (1b).

(1) (Context: In the mid-term exam where a 3000-word paper is required. The question asked by the teacher will be interpreted differently depending on whether a student submits his paper with 3000 words or 1000 words.)

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写 嘚 三千 字 喳?
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write LE three.thousand word CHA

- a. 'You have written 3,000 words? (I believe so).' (with 3000 words)
- b. 'You have written 3,000 words? (I doubt that).' (with 1000 words)

The confirmatory question reading (1a) is triggered when the statement uttered by the speaker corresponds with the evidence (with 3000 words); While rhetorical question reading (1b) is available when the statement conflicts with the evidence (with 1000 words). Clearly, the discrepancy between conformational and rhetorical question reading of cha^{35} is determined by whether the statement and the evidence are in concord or not.

As for the syntactic derivation of cha^{35} , we follow Speas & Tenny (2003) and Wiltschko (2008, 2014, 2021) and propose that the speaker, the statement and the evidence in the context should all be included in the structure. It is assumed that sentences with cha^{35} are maximally projected into Eval(uative)Ps, with cha^{35} heading the phrase and the speaker and Evi(dence)P as its specifier and complement, respectively. Feature coincidenting or not between the statement and the evidence determines the interpretation of cha^{35} , i.e., feature coincidence between the two results in a conformational reading while feature incoincidence leads to a rhetorical reading: (2) a. confirmational cha^{35}

[EvalP SPEAKER [Eval cha^{35}][Eval [EvidP EVIDENCE [Evid [+coin]] [Evid [CP statement]]]]] b. rhetorical cha^{35}

 $\hbox{\tt [EvalP SPEAKER [Eval $\it cha$^{35}][Eval', [EvidP EVIDENCE [Evid [-coin]] [Evid', [CP statement]]]]]}$