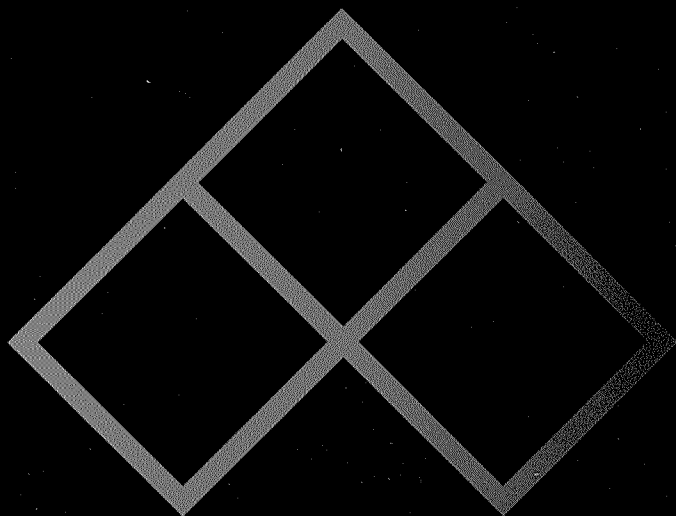# STUDIES IN CANTONESE LINGUISTICS
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LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF HONG KONG

Studies in Cantonese Linguistics 2

Edited by
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Linguistic Society of Hong Kong

2007

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Preface

The first volume of *Studies in Cantonese Linguistics* was published by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong in 1998. After almost a decade, linguistic studies in Cantonese in Hong Kong have flourished and progressed in many directions. The contributors to this volume, *Studies in Cantonese Linguistics 2*, are all local linguists. This volume acts on the one hand as a forum for local linguists to share their linguistic ideas, adding to the existing richness of Cantonese linguistics and on the other hand, it stands as a milestone, providing a glimpse of the linguistic development in Hong Kong at this very stage.

The papers in this volume cover a wide range of topics, providing descriptive and theoretical analyses on various issues on Cantonese linguistics. Au-Yeung's paper 'Cantonese classifier *di* and genericity' discusses the fuzzy classifier *di* in Cantonese, which unlike other regular classifiers, can have a generic reading in certain environments. He's paper 'Headless relatives in Cantonese: a derivational account' provides an analysis that accounts for the presence and the absence of the complementizer *ge* in Cantonese relative clauses, an account that makes use of IP/CP extraposition and PF deletion of *ge*. Lee & Chin's paper 'A preliminary study on Cantonese *gwai* 'ghost' provides a detailed description on the distribution of the versatile Cantonese infix *gwai* both on a syntactic and a discourse level. Sio & Tang's paper 'The indexical expressions *gam2, gam3* in Cantonese' discusses the indexical element *gam* in Cantonese, the reference of which is restricted to abstract entities like properties, degrees and propositions. Yiu's paper 'The uses of *DUI, SHUANG* and *FU* in Cantonese, Mandarin and in the history of the Chinese language' examines the use of three collective classifiers *DUI, SHUANG* and *FU* in different dialects and also in different time periods. One prominent characteristic of Cantonese is its rich inventory of sentence-final particles. However, not all sentence-final particles have a unique corresponding character. Luke's paper '粵語語氣詞的書寫方式' puts forth a proposal which each sentence-final particle is paired-up with a unique character.

We would like to thank our contributors for their contributions and our reviewers for their critical commentaries, without which, this volume would not have materialized. We are also very grateful for the support which the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong's publication program has received from the Freemason's Fund for East Asian Studies.

In the preface of the first volume of *Studies in Cantonese Linguistics*, Dr. Stephen Matthews noted that Hong Kong students often had the preconception that Cantonese has no grammar. The Linguistic Society of Hong Kong has worked very hard to prove this to be a misconception. This volume is dedicated not only to those who are interested in Cantonese linguistics but also to those who are still in doubts.

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Cantonese classifier *di* and genericity [*]

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1.   Introduction

Chinese languages denote genericity by bare nouns, such as *xiongmao* 'panda' in   (1)
(Cheung 1972, Li & Thompson 1981, Chen 1987, Matthews & Yip 1994 among others). As
classifier languages, they do not use classifier-noun phrase construction as generic noun
phrases (2) (Krifka 1995). The following examples are in Mandarin.

(1.) a. Wo xihuan *xiongmao.* (object)
　　　I   like   panda
　　　'I like pandas.'

　　 b. *Xiongmao* xihuan shuijiao. (subject)
　　　Panda   like   sleep
　　　'Pandas like sleeping.'

(2.) a. # Wo xihuan *zhong   / zhi   xiongmao.* (object)
　　　　I   like   Cl-kind/ Cl-sg panda
　　　　NOT: 'I like pandas.'
　　　　BUT: 'I like a kind of/ a panda.'

　　 b. * *Zhong   / * Zhi   xiongmao* xihuan shuijiao. (subject)
　　　　Cl- kind/ Cl-sg panda   like   sleep
　　　　'A kind of/ A panda likes sleeping.'

According to Krifka *et al.* (1995), genericity can be expressed by kind-referring noun
phrases (or generic noun phrases) as shown by the examples of Cantonese in (3a-b), and by
generalization-referring, characterizing sentences (or generic sentences) as in (3b-c). In
(3a-b), *saigwaa* 'watermelon' is a generic noun phrase, interpreted as kind-referring in the
non-characterizing sentence in (3a) and in the characterizing sentence in (3b). But in (3c),
genericity is expressed by the characterizing nature of the sentence although the subject is
in the form of an indefinite numeral noun phrase. (3d) is a non-characterizing sentence
with a classifier-noun phrase as subject, which can only be interpreted as definite, and so
the sentence has no generic interpretation. In this paper, only generic noun phrases as in
(3a-b) are studied.

(generic noun phrase, non-characterizing sentence)

(3.) a. *Saigwaa*   gamziu   jiging   maai saai laa.[1]
      Watermelon this-morning already sell all Sfp
      'Watermelons were all sold out this morning.'

(generic noun phrase, characterizing sentence)

   b. *Saigwaa*   dosou zung hai dei   soengmin.
      Watermelon often   grow on   ground surface
      'Watermelons often grow on the ground surface.'

(indefinite noun phrase, characterizing sentence)

   c. *Jat*   *go*   *saigwaa*   gau   sik saam go   jan.
      One Cl-sg watermelon enough eat three Cl-sg person
      'One watermelon is enough for three persons to eat.'
      (definite noun phrase, non-characterizing sentence)

   d. *Di*   *saigwaa*   sik saai laa.
      Cl-pl watermelon eat all Sfp
      'The watermelons were all eaten up.'

Against this background, it was first observed in Au-Yeung (1996) that Cantonese can use *di*-noun phrases to denote genericity where *di* the plural classifier with a fuzzy quantity. This paper will elaborate this generic reading more and try to explain it as a consequence of the definite use of classifiers with respect to a cluster of properties developed in Au-Yeung (1997 a-b), as well as some inherent property of the plural classifier.

As issues on (in)-definiteness in Cantonese will be mentioned against genericity in later sections, let me briefly introduce how it is expressed in Mandarin for the sake of comparison. Consider:

(4) a. *Keren* lai   le.
      Guest come Pfv
      'The guest(s) has/ have come.'

   b. Lai   le   *keren.*
      Come Pfv guest
      'Some guest(s) has/ have come.'

Bare nouns show definite-indefinite contrast by their relative positions in a sentence (Chao 1968). In (4a), the noun phrase *keren* is interpreted as definite in the subject position, which marks old information. In (4b), the same noun phrase receives indefinite interpretation in the object position, which indicates new information.

As for the organization of the paper, the generic problem of *di* in Cantonese will be first

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[1]   Cantonese romanization is based on the Jyutping Scheme developed by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong in 1992. Abbreviations in the gloss are arranged as: Aux-auxiliary, Cl-pl-plural classifier, Cl-sg-singular classifier, DE-genitive marker (Mandarin), Exp-experiential marker, Foc-focus, GE-genitive marker (Cantonese), Pfv-perfective marker, Sfp-sentence final particle.

approached by a discussion on the properties of *di* as a classifier in Section 2. Section 3 will illuminate how it functions as a generic device in a number of constructions, followed by an explanation in Section 4. Section 5 will conclude the paper.

2. *Di* as a classifier

2.1. Definite and indefinite use

Before discussing how the Cantonese classifier *di* denotes genericity, I give an overview of the properties of *di* that are shared with and parallel to other classifiers. Like other classifier-noun phrases, *di*-noun phrases can have definite interpretation as subject and object (5a-b), and indefinite interpretation as object in (5c-d) (Cheung 1989, Matthews & Yip 1994). In addition, *di* can be used in the possessor-classifier-noun phrase, as in (6a) and in the relative clause-classifier-noun phrase, as in (6b).

> (definite CL-N phrase as subject)
(5) a. *Go / di saigwaa*   sik saai laa.
    Cl-sg/Cl-pl watermelon eat all Sfp
    'The watermelon/s was/were all eaten.'

> (definite CL-N phrase as object)
  b. Ngo sik saai *di / go saigwaa*.
    I eat all Cl-pl/ Cl-sg watermelon
    'I ate all the watermelons/ the watermelon.'

> (non-specific/ existential indefinite CL-N phrase as object)
  c. Toi soengmin fong zo *go / di saigwaa*.
    Table surface stay Pfv Cl-sg/Cl-pl watermelon
    'There is/ are one/some watermelons on the table.'

> (specific/ partitive indefinite CL-N phrase as object)
  d. Zoeng toi jau houdo saigwaa,   ngo lo zo *di / go saigwaa* sik.
    Cl-sg table has many watermelon I take Pfv Cl- pl /Cl- sg watermelon eat
    'There are many watermelons on the table. I've taken some/ a watermelon to eat.'

(6) a. *Ngo go / di saigwaa*   m gin zo.
    I Cl-sg/Cl-pl watermelon not appear Pfv
    'My watermelon/s disappeared.'

  b. *Luk jap lei   go / di saigwaa*   hai ngo ge.
    Roll in come Cl-sg/Cl-pl watermelon be I   GE
    'The watermelon/s that rolled inside is/are mine.'

In Au-Yeung (1997 a-b), the possessive construction and the relative clause construction in (6) were argued to be correlated with the definite use of classifiers in (5a-b). Notice that the plural classifier *di* also possessess this series of constructions.

2.2. Non-collectivity

Besides the fuzzy plurality, *di* possesses a non-collective property that prohibits its countability. This property unspecifies how the referents denoted by the noun phrase group together and the grouping does not provide a shape or a unit for counting. In (7a), numerals larger than one cannot precede *di*. The referents denoted by *di* seem to metaphorically expell each other so that they do not form a structure for other classifiers to describe. In other words, the classifier represents its collectivity to such a minimal degree that this set of loosely-packed referents can only be counted with the number limited to one.[2]

(7)   a. Ngo maai zo *jat* / * *saam di*   *wun.*
        I   buy Pfv one /   three Cl-pl bowl
        'I have bought one/ three unit(s) of bowls.'

     b. Ngo maai zo   *jat / saam deoi3*   *wun.* (collective, non-fuzzy plural)
         I   buy Pfv one/three Cl-pair bowl
         'I have bought one/three pair(s) of bowls.'

     c. Ngo maai zo   *jat/saam deoi1*   *wun.* (collective, fuzzy plural)
         I   buy Pfv one/three Cl-pile bowl
         'I have bought one/three pile(s) of bowls.'

     d. Ngo maai zo   *jat* / *saam zung*   *wun.* (collective, fuzzy plural)
         I   buy Pfv one/three Cl-kind bowl
         'I have bought one/three kind(s) of bowls.'

However, other plural classifiers with high collectivity behave differently. In (7b-d), collective plural classifiers, *deoi3* 'pair' (with a non-fuzzy quantity), *deoi1* 'pile' (with a fuzzy quantity), and *zung* 'kind' (with a fuzzy quantity) 'collect' the referents together to form a certain shape or unit for counting. So numerals larger than one can precede these classifiers. In Chierchia's (1998, 380) terms, similar collective nouns in English, such as group and bunch, are called 'singular individuals, not pluralities' – because there are groups and bunches. In this connection, the classifiers *deoi3*, *deoi1*, and *zung* can also be regarded as 'singular individuals', individuating the group they form as a counting unit. Thus they can follow any numeral in the nominal structure.

Table 1 summarizes plural classifiers of Cantonese in terms of collectivity and quantity. Collective, non-fuzzy classifiers are countable with a non-fuzzy quantity while the fuzzy *di* is uncountable with a fuzzy quantity. In between these two types are collective, fuzzy classifiers, which are fuzzy in quantity and allow for counting.

Table 1. Classification of plural classifiers

Plural Cl	Examples	Countability of Cl
Collective, non-fuzzy quantity	*deoi3* (a pair of), *daa* (a dozen of)	One, two, three …

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[2] A reviewer suggested that the numeral one preceding *di* might be more like an indefinite article. I think whatever category it is called, it still carries some numerical sense that marks a small quantity of the referents.

Collective, fuzzy quantity	*deoi1* (a pile of), *zaa* (a lump of), *zung = leoi* (a kind of)	One, two, three …
Non-collective, fuzzy quantity	*di* (some)	One, *two, *three …

2.3. Reduplication

Classifier reduplication is found to be able to denote universal quantification in Mandarin (Li & Thompson 1981), and is especially productive in Cantonese (Cheung 1972, Matthews & Yip 1994). However, collective and non-collective classifiers in reduplication are complementarily distributed in affirmative and negative sentences. In (8a), all classifier-classifier phrases are grammatical with the universal quantifier *dou* in affirmative sentences, except *didi*. But in (8b), the negative sentence reflects the reverse. Only *didi* is allowed when the scope of the quantifier *dou* is an empty set.[3]

(8)　a. *Gogo　　/daadaa　　/deoideoi　/zungzung /*didi*　　pinggwo
　　　　Cl-Cl-sg/Cl-Cl-dozen /Cl-Cl-pile /Cl-Cl-kind /　ClCl-pl　apple
　　　　dou hou mei.
　　　　all　very delicious
　　　　'All units/dozens/piles/kinds/few of apples are very delicious.'

　　　b. **Gogo　　/*daadaa　　/*deoideoi　/*zungzung　/didi*　　pinggwo
　　　　Cl-Cl-sg/Cl-Cl-dozen/Cl-Cl-pile /Cl-Cl-kind　/Cl-Cl-pl　apple
　　　　ngo dou mou.
　　　　I　all　no
　　　　'I do not have all units/all dozens/ all piles/ all kinds/ a bit of any apple(s).'

With the property that *di*-noun phrases cannot be preceded by numerals larger than one, *di* shares other classifier properties more than it does not. Therefore, while the classifier status of *di* is assumed in the rest of the paper, its generic use is hoped to be explained in terms of the above properties.

3. Generic *di*

Apart from denoting (in)definiteness as introduced in Section 2.1, *di* is unique in expressing genericity in *di*-noun phrases. Let's examine how the generic *di* functions in different argument positions, *wh*-questions, negation constructions, and modified nominals.

3.1. Argument positions

As reported in the literature, classifiers cannot associate with genericity and so the singular classifier *go* in (9a-b) is not interpreted as generic, but as definite only. However when *di* is used, *di*-noun phrases in the subject position can be interpreted as generic and refer to the kind of the fruit – *saigwaa* 'watermelon' although the definite reading of the *di*-nominals may also be available. The brackets of *di* indicate that the classifier is optional for the noun phrase *saigwaa* to mark genericity.

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[3]　　I am not sure whether this complementariness is due to the non-collective property of *di*. I leave it open here.

(9)   a. *(Di)* / *go saigwaa*   zau faai   zyutzung laa.
         Cl-pl / Cl-sg watermelon Foc soon extinct Sfp
         'Watermelons/ The watermelon will become extinct soon.'

     b. *(Di)* / *go saigwaa*   dosou zung hai dei   soengmin.
         Cl-pl/ Cl-sg watermelon   mostly grow on ground surface
         'Watermelons/ The watermelon mostly grow(s) on the ground surface.'

Based on the test of Krifka *et al.* (1995) for generic noun phrases by means of kind-predicate, *be extinct* for example, *di saigwaa* in (9a) denotes the watermelon kind that will become extinct, no individual watermelons being specified. In (9b), *di saigwaa* denotes the kind of fruits that grows on the ground surface.

In the object position, generic *di* behaves quite differently. *Di* can express genericity only when a modifying phrase, for example an adjectival phrase, is inserted between the classifier and the noun phrase, as in (10a-b), the adjectival phrases being *mouwat ge* 'seedless' and *hou coeng ge* 'very long'. However, when there are no modifiers, the generic interpretation of the nominals is prohibited in (10c-d). What remains is either definite or indefinite reading of the objects.

(10)   a. Siuming zungji sik *(di)*   *mouwat ge saigwaa.*
        Siuming like   eat Cl-pl seedless GE watermelon
        'Siuming likes eating seedless watermelons.'

     b. Keoi ge zikzaak hai zin *(di)*   *hou coeng ge joengmou.*
        S/he GE duty   be cut Cl-pl very long GE wool
        'Her/His duty is to cut long wool.'

     c. Siuming zungji sik *(#di)*   *saigwaa.*
        Siuming like   eat   Cl-pl watermelon
        NOT: 'Siuming likes eating watermelons.'
        BUT: 'Siuming likes eating the/some watermelons.'

     d. Keoi   ge   zikzaak hai zin *(#di)*   *joengmou.*
        S/he GE duty   be cut   Cl-pl wool
        NOT: 'Her/His duty is to cut wool.'
        BUT: 'Her/His duty is to cut the/some wool.'

     e. Hai *di*   *naamjan* seoi, *di*   *neoijan* m   seoi. (Gladys Tang – p.c.)
        Be Cl-pl man   bad Cl-pl woman not bad
        'It is the case that men are bad; women are not bad.'

In (10e), there is no adjective between *di* and *naamjan* 'men' or *neoijan* 'women' although the two noun phrases follow the verb, *hai* 'be'. If we analyse the verb as subcategorizing an embedded clause, then *di naamjan* and *di neoijan* are the embedded subjects and require no adjectives in between.[4]

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4   An exceptional example is:

When the *di*-nominal is used as the indirect object of a sentence, the outcome is slightly complicated. Unlike the constraint on direct objects, a modifier does not seem always necessary for the nominal to be generic although a *di*-modifier-noun phrase is better as in (11a). The adjective *kan lik* 'hardworking' makes the indirect object easier to denote genericity. But in (11b), with no modifier in *di fogei* 'employees', the nominal still obtains the generic interpretation as easily as the modified nominal in (11a). In other words, the constraint of having a modifier inside a *di*-nominal as direct object does not necessarily apply to the indirect object.

(11) a. Miss Chan zungji sung tipzi   bei *di*   *(kanlik*   *ge)* hoksaang.
        Miss Chan like   give sticker to Cl-pl hardworking GE pupil
        'Miss Chan likes giving stickers to hardworking pupils.'

     b. Mr. Lee mui   nin dou paai gusik   bei *di*   *fogei.*
        Mr. Lee every year all   give stock-interest to Cl-pl employee
        'Every year Mr. Lee gives stock interest to his employees.'

In sum, in order for *di*-noun phrases to mark genericity, they should have a modifier in between when they are in the object position. As subjects, they do not need to have one. When they become indirect objects, the condition of the insertion of modifiers is not clear-cut.

3.2. *Matje*-questions

There is a type of *wh*-phrases, *matje*-phrases, which is kind-referring by nature although they can also be used as object-referring. On the one hand, (12a) asks for the *matje-jan* 'kind of people', *matje-sihau* 'kind of time', and *matje-deifong* 'kind of places'. The corresponding answer is (12b) where the noun phrases are collective terms representing a set of *gaajan* 'family members', *joenggwongpouziu ge jatzi* 'sunny days', and *AuZau* 'places in Europe'. On the other hand, when the question is interpreted as object-referring, (12c) gives the corresponding referents, each representing a member of the set denoted by the collective noun phrases in (12b).

(12) a. Keoi zungji tung *matje jan*,   hai *matje sihau*, heoi *matje deifong*?
        S/he like   with what person at   what time   go   what place
        'With what kind of people does s/he like to go to what kind of place at what kind of time?'

     b. Tung *gaajan*, hai *joenggwongpouziu ge*   *jatzi*, heoi *AuZau.*
        With family in sunny   GE day   go   Europe
        'Go to Europe with the family in sunny days.'

(i) Jiu   faai faai   gau di   hungmaau laa. (Tim Shi – p. c.)
    Need quick quick save Cl-pl panda   Sfp
    'There is an urgent need to save pandas.'
The object *hungmaau* 'panda' can still have a generic reading even if there is no modifier between the classifier and the noun phrase.

    c. Tung *taaitaai*, hai *baatjyut*, heoi *Boulaaigaak*
         With wife   in August go   Prague
         'With my wife to Prague in August.'

The kind-referring nature of *matje*-phrases can also be revealed by contrasting with another *wh*-phrase, i.e. *bin*-phrase. In (13a), when the question asks with *matje jan* 'what kind of people' in the object position, *gaajan* 'the family' in (13b) gives the correct answer because it describes the type of people who are family members. When the question starts with *bin go*, the answer should be – *Ah Ben*, an individual. So, the kind-referring answer in (13b), i.e. *gaajan*, further supports the suggestion that *matje*-phrases are kind-denoting.

(13) a. Tung *matje jan*   / *bin*   *go*   heoi *AuZau*.
         With what person/ who Cl-sg go   Europe
         'With what kind of people/ With whom did you go to Europe?'

       b. Tung *gaajan* / Ah Ben.
         With family/ Ah Ben
         'With the family/ Ah Ben.'

Having established the kind-referring nature of *matje*-phrases, we can proceed to see how they interact with *di*. They are special in associating with *di*, but not with other classifiers, and give rise to generic reading. In (14), *go-matje* phrases are ungrammatical since the classifier *go* is object-referring which is incompatible with the kind-referring nature of *matje* – phrases.[5] So when these question phrases combine *di*, only the kind-referring interpretation of them is retained while the object-referring reading of bare *matje* phrases is eliminated. The answer in (12b) then corresponds to the questions in (14) since the noun phrases in the former denote the kind of people, time, and places. The answer in (12c) is not suitable because its noun phrases refer to a particular instance of people, time, and places. These kind-referring *di-matje* questions force the answers to denote kinds and hence lend further support to the generic role of *di*.

(14) ... tung *(di*   */*go)*   *matje jan*,   hai *(di*   */* go)* *matje sihau*,
         ... with (Cl-pl/Cl-sg) what person at (Cl-pl/Cl-sg) what time
         heoi *(di*   */*go)*   *matje deifong?*
         go   (Cl-pl/Cl-sg) what place
         '...with what kind of people to what kind of place at what kind of time?'

3.3. Negation constructions

The constraints on *di*-noun phrases as object and subject also apply in negation

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[5] A reviewer pointed out that the singular classifier *go* can be associated with *matje* as in:
(i) Keoi hai go/   di   matje jan   lei gaa?
    He   be Cl-sg/ Cl-pl what person Sfp Sfp
    'What kind of person is he?'
I think the reason may be the number agreement between the singular subject *keoi* and the classifier. However, this does not affect the kind-referring property of *matje*. But interestingly, with this singular subject, the sentence is also grammatical with the plural classifier *di*. This shows that there is no conflict between *keoi* and *di* with respect to number agreement. Why *di* is correct here is then accounted for by its ability to denote genericity and hence its compatability with the king-referring *matje*.

constructions. When the negator is *m* or *mei*, *di*-noun phrases cannot be allowed for generic interpretation in the object position, as in (15a) and (16a) respectively. They are interpreted as either definite or indefinite. The generic reading is reserved when an adjectival phrase *mouwat* 'seedless' is inserted in the *di*-nominals, as in (15b) and (16b). In the subject position, *di*-noun phrases do not need modifiers and can mark genericity, as well as definiteness, as in (15c) and (16c) .

(15) a. Ni   faai   dei m hoji zung *(#di)*   saigwaa.
    This Cl-piece land not can grow   Cl-pl watermelon
    NOT: 'Watermelons cannot grow on this piece of land.'
    BUT: 'The/Some watermelons cannot grow on this piece of land.'

   b. Ni   faai   dei m hoji zung *(di)*   *mouwat*   *ge*   *saigwaa.*
    This Cl-piece land not can grow Cl-pl seedless GE watermelon
    'Seedless watermelons cannot grow on this piece of land.'

   c. *(Di)*   *saigwaa*   m zung dak hai jyutkau dou.
    Cl-pl watermelon not grow Aux on moon   place
    'Watermelons cannot grow on the moon.'

(16) a. Ni   faai   dei mei zung gwo *(#di)*   saigwaa.
    This Cl-piece land yet grow Exp   Cl-pl watermelon
    NOT: 'Watermelons haven't grown on this piece of land yet.'
    BUT: 'The/ Some watermelons haven't grown on this piece of land yet.'

   b. Ni   faai   dei mei zung gwo *(di)*   *mouwat*   *ge*   *saigwaa.*
    This Cl-piece land yet grow Exp Cl-pl seedless GE watermelon
    'Seedless watermelons haven't grown on this piece of land yet.'

   c. *(Di)*   *saigwaa*   zung mei zung dak hai jyutkau dou.
    Cl-pl watermelon Foc yet grow Aux on moon   place
    'Watermelons haven't been able to grow on the moon yet.'

Nevertheless, when the negator is *mou*, which behaves like a verb, the pattern is not quite neat as above. In the subject position, *di fogei* 'employees' does not need a modifier between the classifier and the noun phrase and can be interpreted as kind-referring (17a). But when the *di*-nominal comes after the verb-like negator, i.e. in the object position, the requirement of modifier-insertion is not so strict as discussed before. In (17b), while *di jan* 'people' and *di hoksaang* 'students' are quite problematic, *di hausaangzai* 'teenagers' and *di jisang* 'doctors' can be generic even without the support of a modifier.

(17) a. Mou zo Mr. Lee *di*   *fogei*   mou baanfaat gwo wut   gaa.
      No Pfv Mr. Lee Cl-pl employee no   way   lead living Sfp
      'When there is no Mr. Lee, his employees cannot make a living.'

b. Saigaai soeng mou *(?di)   jan   / (?di)   hoksaang / (di)   hausaangzai/*
   World   up   no   Cl-pl people/ Cl-pl student/ (di)   teenager/
   (di)   `jisang houci nei gam seoi
   Cl-pl doctor like   you so   bad
   'In the world, there're no such people/students/teenagers/doctors so bad as you.'

3.4. Modifying phrases

As generalized in Section 3.1, a modifying phrase should be inserted between *di* and the noun phrase in the object position to induce generic reading on the nominal. Furthermore, the modifying phrase can also stay in a pre-classifier position (Cheung 1972, Matthews & Yip 1994). When the classifier is *di* as in (18a), the pre-classifier nominal, *mouwat di saigwaa* 'seedless watermelons', can also force generic reading.

(18) Hoenggong jan   zungji sik…
      Hong Kong people like   eat
      'Hong Kong people like eating…'

   a. … *(di)*   mouwat ge saigwaa   / mouwat *di*   saigwaa.
        Cl-pl seedless GE watermelon/ seedless Cl-pl watermelon
      '…the watermelons that are seedless.'

   b. … *(di)*   saan soengmin ge saigwaa   /saan soengmin *di*   saigwaa.
        Cl-pl hill   surface   GE watermelon/ hill   surface   Cl-pl watermelon
      '…the watermelons that are up the hill.'

   c. # …*(di)*   kamjat   maai ge saigwaa   / kamjat   maai *di*   saigwaa.
        Cl-pl yesterday buy GE watermelon/ yesterday buy   Cl-pl watermelon
      '… the watermelons that were bought yesterday.'

Other than adjectival phrases, modifying phrases can also be prepositional phrases and verb phrases. When there is a prepositional phrase *saan soengmin* 'up the hill' in the nominal, the nominal still encodes generic interpretation in association with *di*, as in (18b). The same also holds when the prepositional phrase is in the pre-classifier position.

However, when the modifying phrase denotes an episodic meaning with a temporal element, no generic interpretation is obtained despite the presence of *di* (18c). The modifying phrase, *kamjat maai ge*, denotes a past event that the watermelons were bought yesterday and turns the nominal to an object-referring phrase. Hence, it is barred in a characterizing sentence, *Hoenggong jan zungji sik…* 'Hong Kong people like eating…', which requires a kind-referring noun phrase as object.

Let's sum up the constraints on the generic use of *di*. *Di* can combine a noun phrase to allow for generic interpretation, not only in declarative sentences, but also in questions with *matje* as *wh*-words. A generic *di*-noun phrase is allowed in the subject position but needs a modifying phrase when it is the object of a sentence. This condition is also evidenced in negative sentences with *m* and *mei*, except *mou*. Finally, the modifying phrase needed for a generic *di*-nominal has to be non-temporal, such as adjectival phrases and prepositional phrases, but not verb phrases with episodic meanings.

4.   Why can *di* have a generic use?

4.1. *Di*-nominals and bare nouns

Before going into the account for the generic *di*, let's find out the difference between the 'genericness' expressed by *di*-nominals and bare nouns. Intuitively, the function of the classifier is for emphasis and the utterance sounds unnatural or blunt without it as in (19a). In (19b), it sounds even more unnatural if a monosyllabic bare noun without *di* is used as generic.

(19) a. Hai (*di*)   naamjan seoi, (*di*)   neoijan m   seoi. [repeated from (10e)]
        Be Cl-pl man   bad   Cl-pl woman not bad
        'It is the case that men are bad; women are not bad.'

     b. (*Di*)   gam hou gwai.
        Cl-pl gold very expensive
        'Gold is very expensive.'

Although Li (1997) is skeptical about the generic role of *di*, she suggests that *di*-noun phrases involve a contrastive expression. It follows that *di* functions like a contrastive marker in (19a) where men are contrasted with women. Secondly, in *di*-modifier-noun phrases, for example *di mouwat ge saigwaa* 'seedless watermelons' as in (18a), the classifier may function as presupposing an attribute – *mouwat* 'seedless' – of watermelons (Tang, Sze-Wing – p.c.). In other words, this sub-type of watermelons is highlighted by the use of *di*. Third, in (19), if the sentences are uttered out of anger, *di* will attract the phonetic accent at least within the *di*-nominal to emphasize the types of referents denoted by the head noun. From these arguments, it can be generalized that *di* focuses the kinds/ sub-kinds of the referents by contrasting among themselves, presupposing their attributes and attracting the phonetic accent (c.f. Jackendoff 1972).

Assuming this generalization, bare nouns express genericness only by mapping onto the kind of the set of the referents denoted by themselves. As for the genericness denoted by *di*-noun phrases, the classifier also conveys the focusing sense to the nominal.

4.2. Proposal: definiteness and non-collectivity

The intuition of the focus effect brings us back to the definite use of *di* discussed previously in Section 2 because a definite device is easy to attract focus. Let me propose that the generic use of the plural classifier *di* parametrically correlates with the (non)-definite use of classifiers around a cluster of properties as developed in Au-Yeung (1997a-b) and with the non-collectivity of *di*.

In these studies, Cantonese classifiers are proposed to have a definiteness feature while the Mandarin counterparts do not.[6] The (un)availability of this feature explains the parametric variation between the nominal structures of the two languages. Cantonese has definite

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[6]   See Au-Yeung (1997a-b) for details of the checking mechanisms of the definiteness feature within the nominal structure.

[CL-N], [Possessor-CL-N], and [Relative Clause-CL-N] phrases as in (20) whereas Mandarin has definite bare nouns, [Possessor-*de*-N], and [Relative Clause-*de*-N] phrases as in (21). What makes Cantonese nominals exhibit the above differences is that Cantonese classifiers are able to denote definite interpretation.[7]

(20) a. *Go saigwaa*   hou   houmei. [Definite CL-N]
       Cl-sg watermelon good delicious
         'The watermelon is very delicious.'

    b. *Ngo go   saigwaa*   hou   houmei. [Possessor-CL-N]
       I   Cl-sg watermelon good delicious
       'My watermelon is very delicious.'

    c. *Luk jap lei   go   saigwaa*   hou   houmei. [Relative Clause-CL-N]
       Roll in come Cl-sg watermelon good delicious
       'The watermelon that rolls inside is very delicious.'

(21) a. *Xigua*   hao   weidao. [Definite bare noun]
       Watermelon very delicious
       'The watermelon is very delicious.'

    b. *Wo de xigua*   hao   weidao. [Possessor-*de*-N]
       I   DE watermelon   very delicious
       'My watermelon is very delicious.'

    c. *Gun jin lai   de   xigua* hao   weidao. [Relative Clause-*de*-N]
       Roll in come DE xigua   very delicious
       'The watermelon that rolls inside is very delicious.'

That is, if classifiers in a language (e.g. Cantonese) can be used for definite interpretation, its fuzzy, plural classifier (e.g. *di*) should have the generic function. If a language does not employ classifiers to denote definiteness, its plural classifier does not have the generic use either. Is this prediction true for Mandarin?

4.2.1. Definiteness for intergrammatical variation

As noted in (21), classifiers in Mandarin do not denote definiteness and hence another set of properties. Now let's see if its fuzzy plural classifier, *xie*, can be used generically. Consider:

(22) a. **Xie   houzi*   xihuan   chi xigua.
       Cl-pl   monkey like   eat watermelon
       'Some monkeys like eating watermelons.'

    b. # Houzi   xihuan chi *xie   wuhe   de   xigua.*
       Monkey like   eat Cl-pl seedless DE watermelon

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[7]   See also Cheung (1989) for similar correlation between the definite function of Cantonese classifiers and the consequent nominal structures.

NOT: 'Monkeys like eating seedless watermelons.'
BUT: 'Monkeys like eating some seedless watermelons.'

Neither *xie houzi* 'some monkeys' nor *xie wuhe de xigua* 'some seedless watermelons' associates with generic interpretation. Therefore, the correlation between definiteness and genericity of classifiers correctly predicts the non-generic use of *xie* in Mandarin.

4.2.2. Non-collectivity for intra-grammatical variation

What comes next is to solve some intra-grammatical problem as to why other plural classifiers in Cantonese are not able to mark genericity. In fact, the generic use of *di* is recognised in Cheng & Sybesma (1999, 534). They suggest '*di* is supposed to pick out a set of individuals. If it happens to pick up a whole kind, the generic interpretation is possible'. However, this plural property (of the head noun or the classifier) is only a sufficient condition because there are other plural classifiers (denoting both fuzzy and non-fuzzy quantity) in Cantonese which do not associate with generic interpretation, but can still pick up a whole kind. For example, in (9a), if *di* is replaced by *deoi* 'a pile of' or *zung* 'a kind of', there will be no generic interpretation although the two plural classifiers with fuzzy quantity can pick up a whole kind.

Let's see if the definite correlation can account for the non-generic interpretation of *deoi1* 'pile' and *zung* 'kind'. Consider:

(23) Deoi1   / * Zung   pinggwo hou houmei.
     Cl-pile/   Cl-kind apple   very delicious
     'The pile/ kind of apples is very delicious.'

The example shows that the two classifiers are not homogenous in denoting definiteness. Therefore the definite use of classifiers does not serve a single factor to account for why neither *deoi1* nor *zung* can be used as generics.

What remains for *di* that makes it different from other plural classifiers is its non-collective property,[8] as described in Section 2. Because the classifier has the minimal collectivity, the referents denoted by a noun phrase are not specified as to how they group themselves and hence are perceived as dispersed. So when *di* happens to pick up the whole kind of watermelons in Hong Kong for instance, it does not serve to group the referents in a certain shape. The *di*-noun phrase is then interpreted as denoting the loosely-packed set of referents in general and hence its kind-referring property. This aspect resembles a generic bare noun referring to the whole kind without grouping the referents into some certain shape. Nonetheless, as for other plural classifiers, such as *deoi1* 'a pile of' and *zung* 'a kind of', when they pick up the whole kind of watermelons in Hong Kong, their high collectivity binds all the referents together. As a result, this whole group is called *deoi1* or *zung*, which serves a new unit for counting. What is counted indeed is the piles or kinds rather than individuals of watermelons. Therefore, *deoi1*- or *zung*-nominals will be interpreted as denoting a collective group of referents.[9]

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[8]   As suggested in Chierchia (1998, 380), 'any plurality can in principle be also viewed as a group.' In the case of *di*, such a group will be very loose so that the shape of the group is blurred.

[9]   One reviewer pointed to me that '*zung* denotes a kind among kinds within the set denoted by the noun,

Apart from the definite use, the other factor as the non-collective property makes *di* capable of denoting genericity while other collective plural classifiers in Cantonese do not. Table 2 presents a summary of the above explanation for the inter- and intra-grammatical variation of the generic use of *di* and its counterpart in Mandarin by means of the factors of definiteness and collectivity.

Table 2. Intra- and inter-grammatical variation of plural classifiers

Correlation	Intra-grammatical variation			Inter-grammatical variation
	Cantonese			Mandarin
	Di	*Deoi1*	*Zung*	*Xie*
Definiteness	Yes	Yes	No	No
Collectivity	No	Yes	Yes	No
Genericity	Yes	No	No	No

5.   Discussion and conclusion

In fact, cross-linguistically, there is a strong correlation between definites and generics as reported in Krifka *et al* (1995) (c.f. Ojeda 1991, Swart 1996). They found that English, French, German, and Indonesian employ definite articles or affixes to mark genericity, as shown in Table 3. Furthermore, the definite devices mark for number. For example, the definite article in English should be followed by a singular noun phrase for generic interpretation while the definite article in German needs to be accompanied by a plural noun phrase.

Table 3. Generic and definite markers

	Cantonese	English	French	German	Indonesian
Generic	*Di hung maau*...	*The panda*...	*Le panda/ Les pandas*...	*(Die) pandabaren*...	*-itu* or *-nya*
Definite marker	Definite classifier	Definite article	Definite article	Definite article	Definite affix
Singular/ Plural	Plural	Singular	Singular/plural	Plural	??

In line with this pattern, the generic use of *di* in Cantonese has been shown as correlating with its ability to denote definiteness and with its denotation of a plural sum of referents. If a language can use classifiers to denote definiteness, it should be predicted that its plural, non-collective classifier is able to mark genericity. Another Chinese language, Shanghainese, belongs to this kind. As noted in Qian (1997), the classifier in Shanghainese on the one hand can denote definiteness and its possessive construction can take the form, possessor-classifier-noun phrase, as the Cantonese counterpart does. On the other hand,

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and *di* a kind directly with respect to the set denoted by the noun, without there being other kinds determined'. I think this point can be paraphrased in terms of the non-collective property suggested here. Since *zung* is a collective, plural classifier, it collects the referents into different kinds according to some criterion of structure. But *di* does not have this collective property and so it directly denotes the set of the referents denoted by the noun phrase instead.

the language can use the plural classifier *yan* 'eye - literally', the counterpart of *xie* in Mandarin and *di* in Cantonese, to combine a noun phrase as *yan-diannao* '*yan*-computers' in (24).[10] Native intuition tells that the nominal refers to computers as the whole kind rather than individuals.

(24) Zuijin   *yan*   *diannao*   lao   pianyi   ge. (Dong-Fan, Hua – p.c.)
       Recently Cl-pl computer quite inexpensive Sfp
       'Computers are quite inexpensive recently.'

I have established the generic role of the plural classifier *di* in Cantonese. While *di*-noun phrases can mark genericity in the subject position, they need to combine modifying phrases in the object position. This modifier insertion is not always necessary for a *di*-noun phrase as indirect object. The generic *di* also functions in *wh*-questions with *matje* as the *wh*-word and in negative sentences with *m*, *mei*, and *mou*. I have also attempted to explain why *di* can denote generic interpretation. The non-collectivity of *di* suggests why other fuzzy plural classifiers are not generic in Cantonese. The definiteness of Cantonese classifiers accounts for why the counterpart *xie* in Mandarin, whose classifiers do not have the definite use, cannot mark genericity. This definite-generic correlation is evidenced by typological data from various languages, including Shanghainese.

The reason why definites can associate with generics has invited considerable research since last decade. This is a challenging issue as to why the definite article/ determiner in Germanic and Romance languages can mark genericity, as reflected in Heim's (1991) view (cited in Chierchia (1998, 379)): "The question whether the definite article has a special generic reading and, if so, how it relates to its 'normal' meaning is not even ripe for intelligent speculation." Likewise, the understanding of the generic use of the classifier *di* in Cantonese and its relation to the definite use of classifiers in the language is no easy task but an exciting research direction for the syntax of classifiers in Chinese languages.

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[10]   This generic use is restricted in subject position (Dong-Fan, Hua– p. c.).

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Headless relatives in Cantonese: a derivational account[*]

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1.   Introduction

Descriptively, a complementiser may be taken as the head of a relative clause and when it is absent, either optionally or obligatorily, a relative clause is therefore referred to as "headless" (cf. Gragg 1972, Cole 1987, Cole & Hermon 1994, Kayne 1994, He 2001). In Cantonese, a relative clause may require, opt for, or disallow a head.

First, a relative clause requires a head when it immediately precedes the head noun, irrespective of whether or not there is a classifier in front of the RC, as in:

(1)   (Classifier +) [RC ... *(Comp)] + Head Noun

For example:

(2)   a.   [破壞公眾秩序同安全 *(^口既)] 人
                 [disturb public order and safety *(Comp)] person
                 - anyone [that disturbs public order and safety]

         b.   [自己想講 *(^口既)] ^口野
                 [self wish speak *(Comp)] thing
                 - things [that oneself wishes to say]

(3)   a.   ^口的[^口岩^口岩^口黎 *(^口既)]同學
                 classifier [just come *(Comp)] students
                 - students [that have just come]

         b.   本[佢寫 *(^口既)] 語法書
                 classifier [he write *(Comp)] grammar book
                 - the grammar book [that he wrote]

         c.   ^口的[你俾我 *(^口既)] ^口野
                 classifier [you give me *(Comp)] thing
                 - things [that you gave me]

(2) illustrates a construction without a classifier, and (3) one with. Furthermore, in (2), (a) has a relativised subject, and (b) a relativised object. And in (3), (a) has a relativised subject, (b) a relativised object from a mono-transitive predicate, and (c) a relativised direct object from a ditransitive predicate.

Second, a relative clause has an optional head when it immediately precedes a "determiner-classifier-head noun" cluster, as in:

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(4)   [RC ... (Comp)] + Det + Classifier + Head Noun

For example:

(5)   a.   [著西裝（口既）]口個個男人
                [wear suit (Comp)] that classifier man
                - the man [that wears a suit]

        b.   [口岩口岩口黎（口既）]口個口的同學
                [just come (Comp)] that classifier student
                - those students [that have just come]

        c.   [佢寫（口既）]口個本語法書
                [he write (Comp)] that classifier grammar book
                - the grammar book [that he wrote]

        d.   [你俾我（口既）]口個口的口野
                [you give me (Comp)] that classifier thing
                - those things [that you gave me]

(a)-(b) have a relativised subject, (c) a relativised object from a mono-transitive predicate, and (d) a relativised direct object from a ditransitive predicate.

Finally, a relative clause disallows a head when immediately preceding a "classifier-head noun" cluster:

(6)   [RC ... (*Comp)] + Classifier + Head Noun

This was observed in Cheung (1972) and Mattews and Yip (1994). Examples are:

(7)   a.   [口岩口岩口黎（*口既）]口的同學
                [just come (*Comp)] classifier student
                - those students [who have just come]

        b.   [佢寫（*口既）]本語法書
                [he write (*Comp)] classifier grammar book
                - the grammar [which book he wrote]

        c.   [你俾我（*口既）]口的口野
                [you give me (*Comp)] classifier thing
                - the thing [which you gave me]

(a) has a relativised subject, (b) a relativised object from a mono-transitive predicate, and (c) a relativised direct object from a ditransitive predicate.

Questions concerning Cantonese headless relatives which do not have ready answers in the literature (to the best of my knowledge) and which I try to answer in the current study are, first, how the structure of a headless relative is like, and for that matter, how the structure of a relative clause that requires a head is like. Second, how does an optionally headless relative differ from one whose head is obligatorily absent?

In Section 2, I will examine the structure of each type of relatives in Cantonese from a derivational perspective, i.e., how the structure of each type of the Cantonese relatives is derived, with a focus on those headless ones. Essentially, I argue that the presence or absence of a head can be derivationally explained. In Section 3, I extend the analysis for Cantonese to Mandarin and the Wu dialect. We will see that like Cantonese to a degree, Mandarin and the Wu dialect may also have relative clauses with an optional head, but they, unlike Cantonese, do not permit obligatorily headless relatives, which remains a unique Cantonese syntactic feature. In Section 4, I cover some of the theoretical grounds for the proposed analysis and leave others to be desired in future investigations. Conclusion is in Section 5.

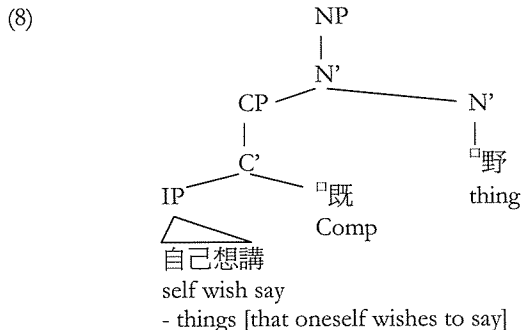## 2.   The Syntax of Cantonese Relatives

As is observed in Section 1, each type of the relatives occurs in a distinct syntactic environment. I will examine them one by one and in due process provide a structural analysis for the syntax of Cantonese relatives as schematized in (1), (4) and (6).

The key notion behind the proposed structural analysis is that an endocentric structure must as a rule have a head (cf. Lyons 1968, Emonds 1976). Translated in derivational terms, it entails that a lexical item which is to head an endocentric structure must participate in the computational process that builds the prospective structure for convergence (cf. Chomsky 1995: 189-190). But the head has a choice to or not to be pronounced in the Phonetic Form (PF). If the head is unpronounced, its surface structure will emerge as headless. However, such headless surface structures are not construed at base-generation but are rather resulted from derivation.

For relative clauses, they are in general construed as a CP (complementiser phrase) (cf. Radford 1981, 1988 amongst others). As such, when the head of a CP is absent from the surface form, it is resulted from derivation. Specifically, we assume that the head of a relative clause will be pronounced in two instances. Firstly, when it remains within its base-generated position, e.g., in a complex NP, and secondly, when it is extraposed elsewhere as a whole (i.e., as a CP). But the head will not be pronounced if only part of the relative clause is extraposed (e.g., the IP part), leaving the head behind to be deleted in PF, rendering the relative clause headless in surface form. Cantonese relatives seem to fit in this analysis well, with or without a head, and if it is the latter, either obligatorily or optionally headless. Specific applications of this analysis for Cantonese relatives will be given in the following pages.

2.1.   Relatives that Require a Head

As is well known, Cantonese nominal expressions are of head final, i.e., modifiers precede the head noun which they modify (cf. Cheung 1972, Mattews and Yip 1994). Therefore, the fact that a Cantonese relative clause requires a head when it precedes the head noun, as shown in the schema (1), suggests that it is probably in a complex NP. To illustrate, we may have:

(8)

```
                         NP
                          |
                          N'
            CP  ————————————————— N'
             |                     |
             C'                   ⌐野
     IP ————————— ⌐既            thing
    ╱——————╲        Comp
    自己想講
    self wish say
    - things [that oneself wishes to say]
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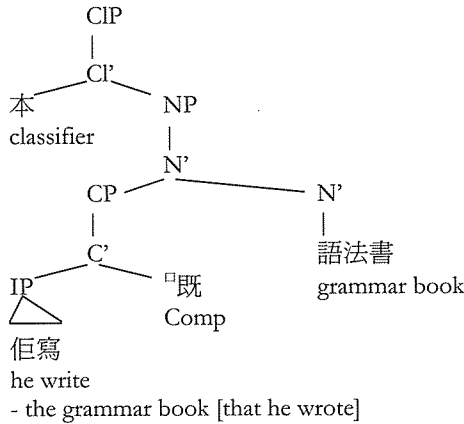
NP is short for noun phrase, CP for complementiser phrase and IP for inflectional phrase (cf. Chomsky 1986). The analysis follows what was previously proposed for Mandarin relatives (e.g., He 1990, 1996a), without going into such details as possible null operators in the relative clause, an issue which is not the concern of this paper. It shows that a relative clause is an adjunct to the head noun and itself a CP headed by a complementiser. I know of no reason that would suggest the structure be inappropriate for Cantonese, and would therefore take it as representing the canonical structure for Cantonese relativisation.

Before proceeding to further analysis, however, I would like to present a few lines of justification for the structure in (8). In the generative tradition as we know it, the analysis of relativisation has had three candidates. The first is the "determiner-theory" first advocated by Smith (1964), then by Bresnan (1972), Stockwell, Schachter and Partee (1973) and Andrews (1975), and more recently by Kayne (1994). The second is the "Chomsky-adjunction theory" by Ross (1967). The third is the "NP-complement theory" by Jackendoff (1977). The first theory treats a relative clause as complement to a determiner and the head noun as an argument derived from within the relative clause. Analyses based on this theory using Mandarin as data are, for example, Xu (1977) and He (2001). The second theory treats the relative clause as an adjunct to the entire NP that contains the head noun, and Mandarin analyses within such a theory are seen by T-C Tang (1985) and Ning (1993), for instance. The essence of this theory is that the relative clause is outside the NP of the head noun. In contrast, the third theory treats the relative clause as an internal constituent within the NP of the head noun, as a "complement" (as Jackendoff 1977: 169ff put it) to the head noun. In other words, the major difference between the second and the third theory is whether to treat the relative clause inside or outside the NP of the head noun. The relative clause is external to its head noun for the second theory, whereas it is internal to its head noun for the third theory. A Mandarin analysis based on the third theory was given in He (1990), which modified the analysis of T-C Tang (1985) based on the second theory.

But "complement" in Jackendoff (1977) had a very different range from what it was generally understood later on, e.g., as is in Chomksy (1986a, b). For Jackendoff (1977: 57ff), there are three levels of complement within a XP (X = a lexical item), which correspond to *specifier, (internal) adjunct,* and *complement* of the X-bar format of a general understanding today (e.g., Chomsky 1995). For a restrictive relative clause, which we are concerned with in this paper, Jackendoff (1977: 169) treats it exactly as holding the same structural position as shown in the above (8), though according to him the relative clause is a second-level complement, but it is to us an *internal* adjunct (as opposed to an *external* adjunct if we adopt Ross's analysis). The cause for such variations is that Jackendoff (chapter 4, 1977) treats all
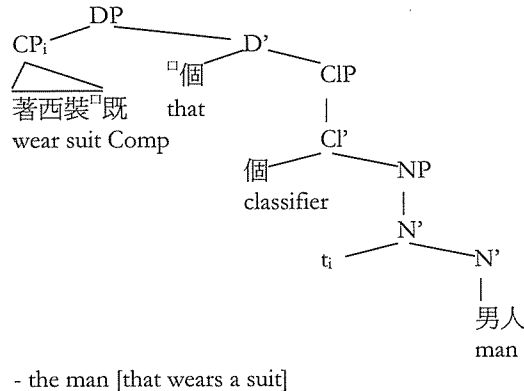
nominal modifiers in the nature of a complement, though they may hold different structural relations to the noun they modify within an NP. For Jackendoff, nominal modifiers are equal to complements to a verb in a VP, such as objects and adjectival complements. The empirical essence of such treatment is to distinguish between a nominal modifier and a verbal one. E.g., a relative clause modifying a noun is not the same as an adverbial clause modifying a verb. The former is a complement in nature, but the latter is a real adjunct. Though we call both an adjunct in today's X-bar format, it is useful to bear in mind this background, to which I will return later in section 4.

There is also independent evidence for the structure in (8) as well. Consider:

(9)   [許多][佢講□既][股市起落□既]消息
         [much] [3sg say Comp] [stock-market rise-fall Comp] news
         - much news that he reported about the rises and falls of the stock-market

(10)   *[許多][股市起落□既][佢講□既] 消息
         [much] [stock-market rise-fall Comp] [3sg say Comp] news

In (9), a relative clause and an appositive clause share a head noun. In addition, a quantifier precedes the relative, and the appositive follows it. Here, an "appositive clause" differs from a relative one in that while there is no grammatical gap in the former, there is in the latter. Crucially, the word order of relative-appositive cannot be reversed, as shown in (10). This suggests that constructions like (9) are of the structure below:

(11)

         - much news that he reported about the rises and falls of the stock-market

In a typical [spec [adjunct [complement head]]] format (where the head can also precede the complement), specifiers are often instantiated as quantifiers as we know (cf. Radford 1988). The positioning of relatives as adjunct and appositives as complement follows the fact that the word order of relative-appositive must be upheld. If this is the case, then the structure we have proposed in (8) for representing the core case of Cantonese relativisation is appropriate.

Now return to other instances of that relativisation as schematised in (1), (4) and (6). Still for (1), where there is a classifier preceding the relative clause, also shown in the schema (1), the overall structure would be formed as below:

(12)

```
                        ClP
                         |
                        Cl'
              本  ╱          ╲  NP
          classifier          |
                             N'
                   CP ╱────────╲────── N'
                    |                    |
                   C'                  語法書
          IP ╱────────╲  ᐩ既        grammar book
          △              Comp
         佢寫
        he write
```

- the grammar book [that he wrote]

ClP is short for classifier phrase (cf. C-C Tang 1990). In principle, (8) and (12) thus represent the structures for the schema in (1).

2.2. Relatives with an Optional Head

This type is found where it immediately precedes a "determiner-classifier-head noun" cluster, as shown in (4). Such word order suggests two things. First, there will be a determiner phrase (DP) on top of a classifier phrase (ClP) such as the structure (12). Second, the relative clause is positioned outside the complex NP where it is generated. Or, technically speaking, the relative clause has moved out of the complex NP to a position in front of the determiner, as illustrated in:

(13)

```
                       DP
         CP_i ╱                 ╲ D'
          △           ᐩ個 ╱──────╲
        著西裝ᐩ既       that        ClP
       wear suit Comp               |
                                   Cl'
                          個 ╱──────╲ NP
                       classifier     |
                                     N'
                              t_i ╱──────╲ N'
                                          |
                                         男人
                                         man
```

- the man [that wears a suit]

DP is short for determiner phrase (cf. Abney 1987, C-C Tang 1990). As we see, the relative clause has moved out of its NP to the specifier position of the DP.

Had the relative clause not moved, we would have had:

(14)   ᐩ個個[著西裝ᐩ既] 男人
      that classifier [wear suit Comp] man
      - the man [that wears a suit]

Here, the relative clause is presumably still in the complex NP. Thus, (14) is a base-generated construction, and (10) its variant where the relative clause has moved to precede the determiner. When discussing the Mandarin counterparts of the Cantonese (13) and (14), Chao (1968) and Hashimoto (1971) once called a relative positioned as in (14) a "restrictive relative", and one positioned like in (13) a "descriptive relative". But such terminology serves no real grammatical purpose, as T-C Tang (1977) points out, because there is in fact little semantic or functional difference between these two constructions, at least in the present day Mandarin. As far as I know, the same seems also true of the constructions of (13) and (14) in Cantonese.

In other words, the construction of (13) is a free word order variation to that of (14), suggesting that the CP movement proposed in (13) be of the nature of extraposition, i.e., it is optional. See further discussions in Section 4.

As the schema shows in (4), the relative clause in (13) can be headless. How should it be derived? A conceivable account is that there is an alternative to moving the whole relative clause as a CP in (13). Namely, instead of moving the CP as a whole, the IP of the relative clause may take a move, as illustrated in:

(15)

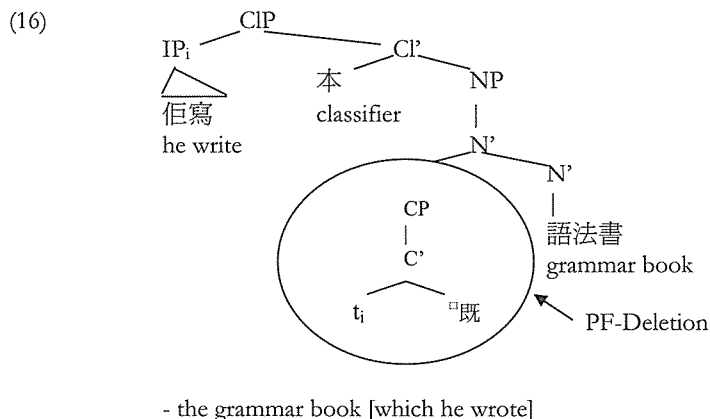- the man [that wears a suit]
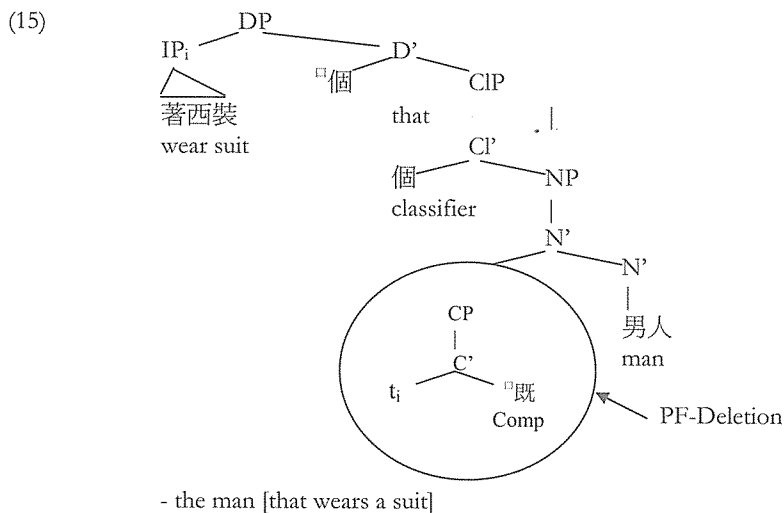
After Spell-Out, the complementiser that is left behind by the IP movement will be deleted, presumably together with the CP, in the Phonetic Form (PF). The resultant surface construction will be one in which the relative clause is headless. Again, this is an optional extrapostion, as (15), like (13), is also a free word order variation to (14), for the absence of any semantic or functional difference. In theory, this may be due to (15) (and (13)) having the same logical form (or LF structure) as (14) does. See further discussions in Section 4.

Together, the structure of (13) *and* that of (15) after PF deletion thus comprise the surface schema in (4), where the relative clause appears optionally headless when it immediately precedes a "determiner-classifier-head noun" cluster. We now know that the optional presence of a head to the relative clause in those constructions, or the seemingly optionally headless relatives therein, is resulted from an alternation between CP and IP movement as relative clause extraposition.

Two issues arise, however, from the above (15). Firstly, as Ross (1967) observes, movement out of a relative clause is barred. But how can the IP-movement take place? Secondly, what determines whether the CP or the IP will move. Or, given the same structural environment for both, why is it that sometimes the CP moves, as in (13), and sometimes the IP moves, as in (15)? I will return to these issues in Section 4.

2.3.   Obligatorily Headless Relatives

This type is found where it immediately precedes a "classifier-head noun" cluster, as shown in the schema (6) backed by the data in (7). The word order as well as the requirement for a headless relative thus suggest that, firstly, the overall structure in question is of a classifier phrase (ClP), such as we see in (12) above. Secondly, the relative clause is positioned outside the complex NP where it is generated – presumably having moved out of the complex NP to a position in front of the classifier. Thirdly, the movement does not involve the whole CP but rather the IP part alone, such as we see in the above (15). To illustrate, we may have:

(16)

- the grammar book [which he wrote]

By the same account as for the above (16), namely, after Spell-Out, the complementiser left behind by the IP movement will be deleted (presumably together with the CP) in the Phonetic Form (PF). The resultant surface construction will be one in which the relative clause is headless.

There is, however, a vital difference between the construction in (13) *and* that in (16). For the construction in (15), it is supposed to permit IP movement only, because, had the CP moved, we would have got an ungrammatical string as shown by the data in (7). In contrast, the construction in (16) does have the option of CP movement, as shown in (13). As a result, the consequences of each derivation differ. As said earlier, alternating CP and IP movement will make the relative clause appear to be optionally headless in its surface form, as illustrated in (4). But, with IP movement as the sole option, the relative clause will appear obligatorily headless in its surface construction, as seen in (6).

Had the (IP part of the) relative clause not moved in (16), we would have had:

(17)   本 [佢寫口既] 語法書
        classifier [he write Comp] grammar book
        - the grammar [which book he wrote]

This is among the examples in (3) and is of, as proposed, the structure in (12). In other words, (17) is supposedly the base-generated construction and (16) a free word order variation, as both are acceptable and there is little semantic or functional difference between them. Therefore, it is likely that the proposed IP movement in (16) involves optional extraposition, and the same LF structure is probably in order for both (16) and (17). See further discussions in Section 4.

Deeper questions are of course what determines, in the environment of (16), the IP, not the CP, may move, and what determines, in the environment of (15), the alternation between CP and IP moment, issues which I will address also in Section 4.0.

3.   Dialectal Variations

Unlike Cantonese, two other major Chinese dialects, i.e., Mandarin and the Wu dialect, do not permit obligatorily headless relatives, nor do they allow relatives with an optional head to the full scale – where the object of a monotransitive is relativised, no optional head is possible. In other words, what we see in Cantonese in those aspects is quite unique to that language. In what follows, I present a brief survey of Mandarin and Wu data and its relevance to the proposed analysis for Cantonese.

The survey was first presented at the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong's 1996 Annual Research Forum (He 1996b). Its current version is in accordance with the schemata (1), (4) and (6) illustrating the Cantonese data.

Firstly, with respect to the schemata (1), a Mandarin or Wu relative clause must have a head when immediately preceding the head noun:

Mandarin:
(18)   a.   [破壞公眾秩序和安全＊（的）] 人   cf. (2)
                [disturb public order and safety *(Comp)] person
                - anyone [that disturbs public order and safety]
       b.   [自己想講＊（的）] 話
                [self wish speak *(Comp)] words
                - things [that oneself wishes to say]

Wu Dialect:
(19)   a.   [破壞公眾秩序脫安全＊（個）] 人   cf. (2)
                [disturb public order and safety *(Comp)] person
                - anyone [that disturbs public order and safety]
       b.   [自己想講＊（個）] 閒話
                [self wish speak *(Comp)] words
                - things [that oneself wishes to say]

But, where the relative clause (plus the head noun) follows a classifier, it renders an ungrammatical string:

(20)   a.   *些[剛剛來＊（的）] 同學   cf. (3)
                classifier [just come *(Comp)] students

b.   *本[他寫＊（的）] 語法書[1]
      classifier [he write *(Comp)] grammar book

c.   *些[你給我＊（的）] 東西
      classifier [you give me *(Comp)] thing

(21)   a.   *點[剛剛來＊（個）] 同學   cf. (3)
              classifier [just come *(Comp)] students

        b.   *本[伊寫＊（個）] 語法書
              classifier [he write *(Comp)] grammar book

        c.   *排[儂撥我＊（個）] 物事
              classifier [you give me *(Comp)] thing

Secondly, with respect to the schemata (4), a Mandarin or Wu relative clause may have an optional head, except for object relativisation of a monotransitive:

Mandarin:

(22)   a.   [穿西裝（的）] 那個男人   cf. (5)
              [wear suit (Comp)] that classifier man
              - the man [that wears a suit]

        b.   [剛剛來（的）] 那些同學
              [just come (Comp)] that classifier student
              - those students [that have just come]

        c.   [他寫＊（的）] 那本語法書
              [he write (Comp)] that classifier grammar book
              - the grammar book [that he wrote]

        d.   [你給我（的）] 那些東西
              [you give me (Comp)] that classifier thing
              - those things [that you gave me]

Wu Dialect:

(23)   a.   [著西裝（個）] 伊個男人   cf. (5)
              [wear suit (Comp)] that classifier man
              - the man [that wears a suit]

        b.   [剛剛來（個）] 哀點同學
              [just come (Comp)] that classifier student
              - those students [that have just come]

        c.   [伊寫＊（個）] 伊本語法書
              [he write (Comp)] that classifier grammar book
              - the grammar book [that he wrote]

        d.   [儂撥我（個）] 伊排物事
              [you give me (Comp)] that classifier thing
              - those things [that you gave me]

(c) is out if it is headless.

Thirdly, in respect to the schemata (6), neither Mandarin nor the Wu dialect allows obligatorily headless relatives:

---

[1]   The construction is acceptable if it means [一本[他寫的] 語法書], as in "我在書店看見了[一本 [他寫的] 語法書]" (I in the bookshop saw a book (not that book) written by him).

Mandarin:

(24) a. *[剛剛來（*的）] 些同學   cf. (7)
    [just come (*Comp)] classifier student

  b. *[他寫（*的）] 本語法書
    [he write (*Comp)] classifier grammar book

  c. *[你給我（*的）] 些東西
    [you give me (*Comp)] classifier thing

Wu Dialect:

(25) a. *[剛剛來（*個）] 點同學   cf. (7)
    [just come (*Comp)] classifier student

  b. *[伊寫（*個）] 本語法書
    [he write (*Comp)] classifier grammar book

  c. *[儂撥我] 排物事
    [you give me (*Comp)] classifier thing

In a nutshell, Mandarin and the Wu dialect do *not* permit the following formations as Cantonese does:

(26) *Classifier + [$_{RC}$ ... Comp] + Head Noun   = partially (1)

(27) *[$_{RC}$ ... (*Comp)] + Classifier + Head Noun = (6)

(28) *[$_{RC}$ ...] + Det + Classifier + Head Noun   = partially (4)
   (where the head noun is the relativised object of a monotransitive)

But, in every other aspect of the schemata (1) and (4), Mandarin and the Wu dialect behave exactly the same way as Cantonese does.

We may thus safely assume that except for those cases, which are out for a reason for Mandarin and the Wu dialect, the rest of the analysis, as laid out in Section 2, ought to be appropriate for Mandarin and the Wu dialect as well.

To elaborate, Mandarin and Wu (18)-(19), like Cantonese (2), are of a complex NP, as structured in (8).

When the complex NP follows a determiner-classifier cluster, we take it as the base-generated word order for this type of construction, as Cantonese data in (14) show. Exact Mandarin and Wu equivalents are as below:

(29) a. 那個[穿西裝的] 男人   Mandarin
    that classifier [wear suit Comp] man
    - the man [that wears a suit]

  b. 伊個[著西裝個] 男人   Wu Dialect
    that classifier [wear suit Comp] man
    - the man [that wears a suit]

The relative clause in (29) may also appear in front of the determiner-classifier cluster, as shown in (22)-(23), and it represents a free word order variation, as it raises little semantic or function difference. The same is observed in Cantonese (14) and (13), where we proposed that there had been an optional relative clause extraposition involved. Given the same nature of data, this analysis for Cantonese should also cover the other two dialects.

Alternatively, part of the relative clause, i.e., the IP part, can be extraposed to precede the determiner-classifier cluster, too. The stranded head left behind by IP movement would be deleted later in PF. This analysis is given for Cantonese (15), which is also appropriate, I believe, for Mandarin and Wu (22)-(23), except for object relativisation of a monotransitive.

The alternation between part and whole relative clause extraposition, as jointly shown in (13) and (15), thus creates an optional presence of a head for the relative clause in its surface constructions. Once again, the same can be said for Mandarin and Wu data in (22)-(23), except of course for object relativisation of a monotransitive.

The reason for Mandarin and the Wu dialect not to allow object relativisation of a monotransitive in (22)-(23) is obvious. Without the head functioning as a clausal boundary, the verb of the RC becomes immediately adjacent to the nominal that the RC is supposed to modify, and as a result, the modifier-head relationship is broken. In contrast, the same situation in Cantonese (5) is permitted, suggesting that the Cantonese determiner therein might be able to act as a clausal boundary marker. Further studies are needed.

Finally, the reason why Mandarin and the Wu dialect do not allow such formations as (26) or (27) is also simple. These are, as we see, structural variants to one another. Or, (23) is the base-generated construction, and (27) its variant where, under the analysis of (16), the IP part of the relative clause is extraposed to precede the classifier. Since the base-generated construction, i.e., (26), does not exist in either Mandarin or the Wu dialect in the first place, it is no wonder why there is no (27) in either of them either.
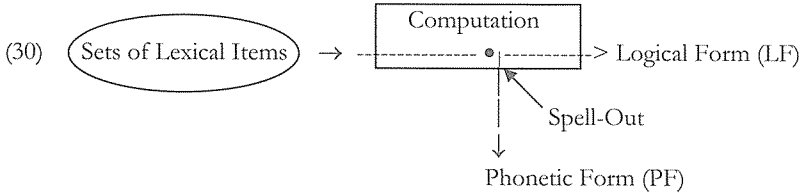
4.   Theoretical Discussions

Now a few theoretical issues that have arisen in the proposed analysis need to be addressed, such as whether IP-movement out of a relative clause violates any syntactic constraint, how deletion takes in PF, how free word variations share the same LF structure, and what factors may determine optional extraposition. I will discuss them one by one below.

Firstly, the IP-movement in question, as we see in (15)/(16), invokes two questions. The first question is whether it violates the Complex NP Constraint (Ross 1967) or the Subjacency Condition (Chomsky 1973), which bars moving any argument of a relative clause out of a complex NP. The second is whether it violates the so-called "adjunct island condition" (e.g. Huang 1982), barring anything from being moved out of an adjunct. As is construed in (15)/(16), the IP-movement violates neither. Regarding the Subjacency Condition, movement within a complex NP is not a problem as we know. It becomes problematic when it is out of the NP (a bounding node) and further crosses another bounding node (NP or CP). In (15)/(16), the moved IP is first of all not an argument, nor is it crossing more than one bounding node (the NP itself and another NP or CP) as would have a standard subjacency violation involving movement out of a complex NP to the matrix clause. So, the IP-movement in (15)/(16) observes the Subjacency Condition. Now, with respect to the adjunct island condition, "adjunct" here essentially refers to one in a

predicate (e.g., a VP) and there is no evidence that it applies to an adjunct in an NP. Therefore, it is safe to say that the moved IP in (15)/(16) does not violate this condition. Also, recall that there is a difference in nature between an adjunct clause in a VP and a relative clause in an NP (section 2.0), because the latter is in fact a complement in nature (Jackendoff, chapter 4 of 1977). If so, IP-movement out of a relative clause is licensed, as is the case in general for movement out of a complement clause.

Secondly, PF deletion takes place in the Phonetic Form, a subsystem of the grammar as sketched below (cf. Chomsky 1991, 1995; Marantz 1995):

(30)

$$[\text{Sets of Lexical Items}] \rightarrow \underset{\downarrow}{\overset{\text{Computation}}{\boxed{\text{------------} \bullet \text{---------}}}} \rightarrow \text{Logical Form (LF)}$$

Spell-Out

Phonetic Form (PF)

Computation, i.e., structure building, simultaneously targets lexical items to form larger constituents, which themselves are also targets for further expansion. Constituent expansions must satisfy one another or version of the X-bar format (e.g., Chomsky 1995: 189-190), and for the purpose of convergence, all constituents must be combined at Spell-Out.

At Spell-Out, a syntactically converged constituent structure goes to the PF and to the LF respectively. But, if it need be, some computation (e.g., expansion by movement) may operate in the LF. In PF, traces (or copies, depending on which version of the theory is) of a moved constituent will be deleted, for those are not legitimate phonetic analogues. This would apply to the traces in our analysis as well, like that in (13). In addition, as the reader may have noticed, a particular feature for the analysis of (15)/(16) is IP movement. There, we said that the whole CP, rather than the IP trace alone, would be deleted in PF. This is because we assume that the IP would hop in the specifier position of the CP first on its way up, as illustrated in:

(31) $[_{\text{DP/CIP}} \text{ IP}_i \ldots [_{\text{NP}} [_{\text{CP}} \text{ t}_i [_{\text{C'}} \text{ t}_i \text{ C}]] \ldots] \ldots]$

As a result, when the lowest trace is deleted, it will trigger a pied piping effect on the deletion operation. Namely, when you delete the lowest trace in a chain, not only all the higher traces will start to delete, but also will the constituent that contains the highest trace. It is another way of informally stating what is known as the "antecedent contained deletion" (ACD) (cf. Sag 1976, Larson and May 1990).

Thirdly, though traces are not legitimate in PF, they are in LF, where they are interpretive analogues in their constituents. When extraposition takes place, which often invokes free word order variation, the structure is normally interpreted the same way before and after extraposition. In theory, this may be due to the trace being interpreted as the extraposed item in its original constituent.

Fourthly, how to explain the complex situations where CP and IP may alternate to move, or where only IP, not CP, is allowed to move? Unfortunately, I do not have full answers to these questions. In principle, a constituent moves for a reason. Regarding extraposition, we may simply assume that "EXTRAPOSITION" is a feature built in certain types of

functional head, for instance, complementisers, classifiers, determiners, prepositions, and so on. Exactly how this feature might be formalized in grammatical descriptions is a task that this paper is not intended for. But it is worth pointing out two related facts.

The number one fact is that extraposition is very common in natural language syntax and that it occurs not only to relative clauses but also to other types of construction as well, such as appositive clauses, DPs and PPs, as shown in (32), (33) and (34) respectively below:

(32) a. ᴰ個個[佢辭職ᴰ既] 消息   (Cantonese)
          that classifier [he resign Comp] news
      b. [佢辭職 (ᴰ既)] ᴰ個個消息
          [he resign (Comp)] that classifier news
          a&b: the news [that he has resigned]

(33) a. 我[在桌子上] 放了一本書。 (Mandarin)
          I [at table-on] put a classifier book
      b. [(在) 桌子上] 我放了一本書。
          [(at) table-on] I put a classifier book
          a&b: I put a book on the table.

(34) a. 他要給荒了[那四十.畝地] 可不行。   (Mandarin)
          he will desert particle [those forty classifier land] can not right
      b. [(那) 四十.畝地] 他要給荒了可不行。
          [(those) forty classifier land] he will desert particle can not right
          a&b: It is not acceptable if he is to desert those forty acres of land.

In each case above, when the targeted constituent is extraposed to precede what it originally follows, the head of that constituent becomes optional, i.e., a complementiser, a determiner, or a preposition. It is just possible that those optional heads are created in the same way as we have proposed for treating headless relative clauses. Namely, they are derived from an alternation of movement of different categories. In the above, there should be an alternation of movement between CP and IP in (32)(b), between PP and NP in (33)(b), and between DP and NP in (34)(b). Where there is a head stranded behind, it is deleted in PF.

But what would determine such alternation of movement of different categories? This brings us to the number two fact that concerns the description of this type of syntactic phenomenon. As we have seen, each type of the extraposed constituents in the above, as well as each type of the relative clauses outlined in (1), (4) and (6), occurs in a distinct syntactic environment. It is therefore logical to presume that the relevant environments simply permit or bar extraposition of one category of constituent or another. Again, how exactly this would work out in grammatical descriptions needs to be better understood in future.

5.   Conclusion

Descriptively as a rule, an endocentric structure must have a head (cf. Lyons 1968, Emonds 1976). Translated in derivational terms, it entails that a lexical item which is to head such a structure then must participate in the computational process that builds the structure for convergence. But the head has a choice to or not to be pronounced in PF. For a relative

clause, we then take the view that it must have a head (i.e., complementiser) too, and the absence of a head, if any, results from derivation, i.e., IP movement and head deletion in PF. Specifically, the head of a relative will be pronounced in two instances. First, the relative remains within the complex NP, and second, it is extraposed elsewhere as a whole (i.e., as a CP). But the head will not be pronounced if the relative clause is only partially is extraposed (i.e., the IP part), leaving the head behind to be deleted in PF, rendering the relative clause headless.

Cantonese relatives seem to fit in this analysis well, particularly with its headless relatives, either obligatorily or optionally headless. However, a fuller set of data needs to be examined to see how much further the proposed analysis will hold.

Typologically, Mandarin and the Wu dialect also share with Cantonese in having relative clauses that occur within a complex NP, where the head of the relative clause is pronounced. In other words, all three dialects share a homogeneous syntactic environment for this type of relative, though there is no obligatorily headless relative in Mandarin and the Wu dialect, and optionally headless relatives are also limited there.

As we know, headless relative clauses, either obligatorily or optionally headless, are not unique to Chinese languages, but are also found in other languages as well, for example English and French (cf. Kayne 1994). Therefore, the current study also hopes to have introduced some cross-linguistic insight into the typology of relative clauses.

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A preliminary study on Cantonese *gwai* 'ghost'

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1.   Introduction --- literal or basic meaning of *gwai* 'ghost'

In Cantonese, *gwai* expresses a literal meaning of "ghost" and can appear in many nominal phrases, either as a head noun or a modifier. The use of *gwai* in these nominal phrases indicates the tone and the attitude of the speakers towards the things or entities they are referring to. Relevant examples are given below.

(1) 鬼   (百厭鬼/窮鬼/餓鬼/吸血鬼)   先 會   鍾意 你。[1]
    Gwai (baakjim-/kung-/ngo-/kaphyut-gwai)   sin wui zungji nei.
    GWAI (naughty-/poor-/hungry-/blood-sucking-GWAI) only will like   you
    "Only ghosts (naughty boys or girls/poor guys/hungry guys/blood suckers) will like you."

(2) 一定   係 佢   搞鬼。
    Jatdeng hai keoi gaau-gwai
    certain   be s/he make-GWAI
    "It must be his/her trick."

(3) 呢間   真係 鬼屋   嚟架。
    Neigaan zanhai gwai-uk   lei4-gaa3[2]
    this-CL real-be haunted-house SFP-SFP
    "This is really a haunted house."

(4) 佢   好   鍾意 講   鬼故。
    Keoi hou   zungji gong gwai-gu
    s/he very like   tell   ghost-story
    "S/he is fond of telling ghost stories."

The morpheme *gwai* in (1) and (2) occupies the head noun position, either expressing its

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[1] Cheung (1998) treats *gwai* as a nominal suffix.
[2] Sentence-final particles are marked with tones in this paper for the sake of interpretation of sentences.

literal meaning 'ghost' or suggesting a negative connotation. Such a head noun *gwai* may be further modified by an adjectival element denoting specific members within this *gwai* set, like the *baakjimgwai* 'naughty boys/girls' and *kunggwai* 'poor guys', as shown in the parts with the parentheses in (1). (3) and (4) demonstrate that *gwai* can be an adjective itself, modifying the head nouns *uk* 'house' and *gu* 'story'.

Besides the above literal meaning, *gwai* can also be used as an intensifier and a negator. Under such a case, *gwai* either occurs either as an adverb or as an infix . Some examples are given in (5) below:

(5) 我 知 嗰本書　　擺咗　　喺邊度。
　　 Ngo zi gobinsyu　　baaizo　haibindou.
　　 I　know that-CL-book　put-Perf　at-where
　　 'I know where that book is.'

     a. 我 **鬼知**　　嗰本書　　　擺咗　　　喺邊度。
　　　　　 Ngo gwaizi　gobinsyu　　baaizo　haibindou.
　　　　　 I　GWAI-know　that-CL-book put-Perf　at-where
　　　　　 'I don't know where that book is.

     b. 我 知　嗰本書　　　擺**鬼咗**　　　喺邊度。
　　　　　 Ngo zi　gobinsyu　　baai-gwai-zo　haibindou.
　　　　　 I　know that-CL-book put-GWAI-Perf at-where
　　　　　 "I know where that book is."

     c. 我 知　嗰本書　　　擺咗　　　喺邊**鬼度**。
　　　　　 Ngo zi　gobinsyu　　baaizo　hai-binggwaidou.
　　　　　 I　know that-CL-book put-Perf at-wh- GWAI -ere
　　　　　 "I know where that book is."

The functions of *gwai* in (5a) through (5c) vary with their different positions: it is a negator in (5a) and an intensifier in (5b) and (5c).

Despite its rich distribution, a detailed and systematic account on *gwai* has not been given so far. In this paper, focusing on the non-literal use of *gwai*, that is when *gwai* occurs as an intensifier or a negator, we will provide a detailed analysis on *gwai* at the syntactic and discourse levels.

The paper is organized as follows: in Section 2, we will first review previous literature regarding *gwai*, on which our analysis is based. The use of *gwai* as an intensifier will be described in Section 3, followed by a description of its use as a negator in Section 4. Rules

regarding the use of *gwai* as an intensifier and a negator will also be generalized in these two sections. In Section 5, the linguistic properties of *gwai* at the discourse level will be described, with the conclusion of the paper to be presented in Section 6.

2.   Previous Studies

The discussion of *gwai* in Cantonese is rare in previous Cantonese studies. The word *gwai* mostly appears only as an entry in some Cantonese dictionaries (see for example Rao, Ouyang & Zhou 1997, Chu 1997 and Cheng 1998). Two major uses of *gwai* can be generalized from these dictionaries: (1) as a dummy pronoun (cf. Cheng 1998), referring to "people" as a kind (cf. Rao, Ouyang & Zhou 1997); and (2) as an adverb (cf. Chu 1997, Cheng 1998), co-occurring with compounds, adverbs like *hou* 'very' (cf. Rao, Ouyang & Zhou 1997), and to express negation (cf. Rao, Ouyang & Zhou 1997, Cheng 1998). Apart from these two uses, some dictionaries include nominal/adjectival compounds and idiomatic expressions formed by *gwai*. However, these dictionaries only provide a simple description of *gwai*, with no detailed account given to its properties and distributions.

Matthews and Yip (henceforth M&Y, 1994) consider *gwai* as an infix which can be infixed into not only single morphemes, as in *leongwaizeon* 'clumsy' and *gugwaihon* 'stingy', but also morpheme boundaries, as in *sigwaizo* 'die-gwai-Perf' (which is between a stem and another suffix), compound words, as in *dogwaijyu* 'much-gwai-extra', and phrases, as in *matgwaije* 'what-gwai-stuff'.[3] Hence, *gwai* is very versatile and can be used in many contexts for rhetorical effects. The study of *gwai* is further extended by Yip (1998) who includes *gwai* in nominal expressions and lists a number of contexts in which *gwai* appears.

Based on previous studies, in this paper, we will give a detailed generalization on the meaning of *gwai,* focusing on *gwai* as an intensifier and a negator.

3. *Gwai* as an Intensifier

Gwai can be used to intensify degrees or quantities denoted by adverbs, quantifier phrases and the R-elements in resultative verb compounds (V-R compounds) or emphasize the aspectual meaning denoted, in the case of aspect markers. The relevant intensification is achieved through attaching to or infixing within the phrase being modified.

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[3] A comparable situation is the f-word in English where the f-word can be infixed in a number of words and the position where the f-word can be infixed is phonologically governed. Details can be found in McCawley (1978).

3.1. *Gwai* with Adverbs

When *gwai* occurs with adverbs like *hou* 'very/so', *gam* 'that', it acts as a degree intensifier, giving a stronger proposition with its weaker counterparts entailed. Relevant examples are shown below.

(6) 今日　好 <u>鬼</u>熱。
    Gamjat hou gwaijit
    today　so　GWAI-hot
    "It's so damn hot today."

(7) 奀妹　　今日　<u>鬼咁/咁鬼</u>　　　靚。
    Nganmui gamjat gwaigam/gamgwai　leng
    Nganmui today　GWAI-that/that-GWAI pretty
    "Nganmui is that pretty today."

(8) 小明　　<u>鬼咁/咁鬼</u>　　　鍾意 小玲。
    Siuming gwaigam/gamgwai　　zungji Siuling
    Siuming GWAI-that/that-GWAI like　Siuling
    "Siuming that likes Siuling."

In (6), *gwai* occurs with the adverb *hou*. Owing to the intensifier use of *gwai*, the stronger proposition brought out by *hou-gwai-jit* 'so-GWAI-hot' will always entail its weaker counterparts *hou-jit* 'so hot' and *jit* 'hot'. In (7) and (8), *gwai* attaches to the degree adverb *gam*, such that the degree triggered or denoted by the relevant predicates is intensified. In other words, what is intensified in (7) is the degree of Nganmui's prettiness and in (8) the degree of Siuling being liked by Siuming .

The intensifying force of *gwai* is strengthened when it occurs with another adverb *si* 'deadly', as in *hou-gwai-si* 'so-GWAI-dead', *gam-gwai-si* 'that-GWAI-dead', *gwai-gam-si* 'GWAI-that-dead'. As an intensifier, *gwai* is required to co-occur with adverbs, since when combining with verbs and adjectives directly, instead of being an intensifier, *gwai* would act as a negator reversing the polarity of the sentence concerned (cf. Section 4).

3.2. *Gwai* with Quantifier Phrases

Regarding the intensification of *gwai* to quantifier phrases, no corresponding feature can be found in either English or Mandarin. Even in Cantonese, such a unique feature of *gwai* is restricted and does not apply to all quantifier phrases. Consider the examples below.

(9)　你　　快啲　　食　<u>鬼埋 / 鬼晒</u>　　　啲餸　　佢。
　　　Nei　faaidi　sik　gwai-maai/gwaisaai　disung　keoi
　　　you　quick-er　eat　GWAI-add/GWAI-all　those-food　KEOI
　　　"You'd better quickly finish all the food/the remaining of the food."

(10)　今次活動　　　<u>最鬼多</u>　　　二十個人　　　參加　　好啦。
　　　Gamciqutdung　zeoigwaido　jisapgojan　　　caamgaa houlaa3
　　　this CL-activity　mo-GWAI-st　twenty-CL-person　join　　good-SFP
　　　"At MOST 20 people should enroll in this activity."

(11)　<u>冇鬼人</u>　　　　嚟　　添！
　　　Mougwaijan　　lai　tim1
　　　No-GWAI-people come SFP
　　　"NOBODY is coming!"

(12)　?<u>每鬼個</u>　　　　學生　　都 要　交　　功課。
　　　Muigwaigo　　hoksaang dou jiu　gaau　　gungfo
　　　every-GWAI-CL　student　all　need hand-in homework
　　　"EVERY student should hand in your homework."

Gwai is a quantity intensifier in all the sentences above. *Gwai* occurs generally as an infix within the quantifier phrase, as shown by *sikgwaimaai(saai)* 'eat-GWAI-all(all)' in (9), *zeoigwaido* 'most-GWAI-more' in (10), *mougwaijan* 'no-GWAI-person' in (11) and *muigwaigo* 'every-GWAI-CL' in (12). In these cases, *gwai* attaches to the quantifier to act as a quantity intensifier, either emphasizing that a certain quantity or the maximum quantity has been reached. *Gwai* in (9) emphasizes the portion of food denoted by the verbal suffix *saai* and *maai*. On the other hand, *gwai* emphasizes the number denoted in the sentence is a maximum in (10), while *gwai* in (11) emphasizes that the number is zero. Finally, *gwai* emphasizes the distributive sense expressed by "every" in (12).

Although the acceptability of *gwai* with quantifier phrases varies from contexts, there exists one group of quantifier phrases where such co-occurrence is strictly forbidden. This group of quantifier phrases is referred to as "Group-Denoting Quantifier Phrases" (GQPs) by Beghelli and Stowell (1998) and the fundamental property of GQPs is denoting groups. This large class of quantifier phrases includes indefinite quantifier phrases headed by *a*, *some*, *several*, as in **bougwaifan-hoksang* 'so-GWAI-me student', **geigwaigo-hoksang* 'several-GWAI-CL-student', bare-numeral quantifier phrases like *one student*, *three students*, as in **saamgwaigo-hoksang* 'three-GWAI-CL-student', and definite quantifier phrases like *the students*, as in **gogwaigo-hoksang* 'that-GWAI-CL-student'.

3.3.   *Gwai* with Aspect Markers

The intensifying force of *gwai* can be extended to aspect markers, as exemplified below.

(13)　你　　快啲　　食<u>鬼</u>咗　　　啲藥　　佢。
　　　Nei faaidi   sik-gwai-zo   dijoek   keoi
　　　you quick-er eat-GWAI-Perf those-pill KEOI
　　　"Finish those pills quickly!"

(14)　我　食<u>鬼</u>過　　　呢種月餅　　　　啦。
　　　Ngo sik-gwai-gwo   nezungjyutbeng   laa1
　　　I   eat-GWAI-Exp this-CL-mooncake SFP
　　　"I have, I really have, tried this kind of mooncake before."

(15)　?佢　打<u>鬼</u>緊　　　個仔　　呀。
　　　Keoi daagwaigan   gozai   aa3
　　　s/he   beat-GWAI-Prog CL-son SFP
　　　"S/he is beating his son."

(16)　?你　咪　一路　　　擔<u>鬼</u>住　　　　支煙，
　　　Nei mai jatlou   daamgwaizyu   zijin
　　　you not on-one-hand eat-GWAI-Imperf CL-cigarette

　　　一路　　　　　打波　　啦。
　　　jatlou   daabo   laa1
　　　on-the-other-hand play-balls SFP
　　　"You should not smoke while playing ballgames."

Sentences (13) through (16) show that *gwai* can precede the perfective marker *-zo*, the experiential marker *-gwo*, the progressive marker *-gan* and the imperfective marker *-zyu*, emphasizing the aspectual meaning denoted by the aspect marker that follows it. However, such a co-occurrence differs in naturalness, in the descending order of *-zo*, *-gwo*, *-gan* and *-zyu*, with the two imperfective markers requiring contexts with negative connotations. This is easy to understand. As both *-zo* and *-gwo* encode the realization of a(n) event or situation, the relevant temporal representations include both the initial and the final endpoints of the situation, and are thus easier to be emphasized. However, the temporal representations of *-gan* and *-zyu* include neither initial endpoints nor final endpoints of the relevant situations, and hence, tend to be more difficult to be emphasized.

Among these four aspect markers, *-gwo* demonstrates a peculiar feature. It is sensitive to whether it is stressed or unstressed. When the co-occurring *gwai* is not stressed, the speaker

merely uses it to emphasize his/her experience as described in the sentence. However, when the co-occurring *gwai* is stressed, the polarity of the sentence is changed and indicates a denial of such an experience by the speaker. Such a contrast can be demonstrated by (15) repeated as (17) below.

(17) 我　食　鬼過　　　呢種月餅。
     Ngo sik gwaigwo　　nezungjyutbeng
     I　　eat　GWAI-Exp this-CL-mooncake
     "I really have tried this kind of mooncakes before."

(18) 我　食　[鬼]^{f}過　　　呢種月餅。
     Ngo sik　gwaigwo　　nezungjyutbeng
     I　　eat　GWAI-Exp this-CL-mooncake
     "I have not tried this kind of mooncakes before."

The focus on *gwai*, as indicated by the notation [ ]^f, contributes to the different readings in (17) and (18). The *gwai* in (17) is unstressed and the sentence asserts that the speaker has the experience of trying that kind of mooncakes before. Under such a case, *gwai*, as an intensifier, will associate with the aspect marker *-gwo*. However, with a stress placed on *gwai*, (18) denotes a completely different meaning. (18) expresses a negative statement, and the stressed *gwai* acts as a negator, with the speaker denying the experience of eating that kind of mooncakes before. A possible explanation to such a feature is that when *gwai* is in focus, it triggers a polar contrast between the negative and the positive statements, making *gwai* into a negator. However, an important question to ask is why this applies only to *–gwo* but not other aspect markers. Further research is needed to resolve this issue.

3.4. *Gwai* with Resultative Verb Compounds (VR Compounds)

There seems no restriction concerning the occurrence of VR compounds with *gwai*. A relevant example is given below.

(19) 佢　　**咬鬼斷**　　　咗　枝鉛筆。
     Keoi ngaaugwaiyun　zo　zijyunbat
     s/he　bite-GWAI-RES Perf CL-pencil
     "S/he bit that pencil and caused it BROKEN."

In (19), *gwai*, as an intensifier, emphasizes the degree of damages he has done to the pencil, that is, causing it to be BROKEN. Hence, when *gwai* is infixed in-between the verb and the R-element, it will associate with the R-element, emphasizing that the state denoted by the R-element has been reached, or intensifying the degree triggered by the R-element.

Nevertheless, Cantonese Verb-Object compounds (VO compounds) normally cannot have *gwai* infixing in-between the verb and the object, such as *sik-gwai-faan 'eat-GWAI-rice', *hoi-gwai-wui 'have-GWAI-meeting', *da-gwai-maazoek 'play-GWAI-mahjong'. The reason is that when *gwai* is infixed between the verb and the object, there are only two possibilities, one being attached to the verb and the other being a modifier of the object. However both interpretations are generally not possible. On the one hand, as a modifier of the object element in the VO compound, *gwai* can only be an adjective, but not all nouns can be modified by the adjectival *gwai*. On the other hand, even though we could take *gwai* as a right dislocated element combining with the verb, the relevant interpretation is still not possible. Since *gwai* can only be a negator when directly operating on the verb (cf. Section 4), this results in ill-formed expressions which are equivalent to expressions with the negator *m* 'not' infixed in-between the VO compounds, like *sik-m-faan 'eat-not-rice', *daa-m-bo 'play-not-ball'. In fact, as to be discussed in Section 4, only when *gwai* combines with stative verbs, can it be right dislocated. Hence, unlike VR compounds, *gwai* cannot occur with VO compounds.

4. *Gwai* as a Negator

4.1.   *Gwai* Occurring in Negative Sentences

As a negator, *gwai* shows similar distributions with verbs (cf. (20a) and (21a)), adjectives (cf. (20b) and (21b)) and adverbials (cf. (20c) and (21c)), namely that *gwai* must precede the negator.

(20) a. 我   鬼唔知   本書   擺咗   喺邊。 [4]
         Ngo gwaimzi   bunsyu   baaizo   haibin
         I   GWAI-not-know CL-book put-Perf at-where
         "I know where the book is."

    b. 佢   鬼唔得意！
         Keoi gwaimdakji
         s/he GWAI-not-cute
         "She is cute."

    c. 佢   鬼唔喺間房度   做緊   功課。
         Keoi gwaimhaigaangongdou   zougan   gungfo
         s/he GWAI-not in-CL-room   do-Prog homework
         "S/he is doing his/her homework in the room."

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[4] The subject in this sentence may be dropped.

(21) a. 我　**唔鬼知**　　　　本書　　擺咗　　喺邊。
　　　　Ngo mgwaizi　　　　bunsyu baaizo　haibin
　　　　I　not-GWAI-know CL-book put-Perf at-where
　　　　"I don't know where the book is."

　　b. 佢　**唔鬼得意**！
　　　　Keoi mgwaidakji
　　　　s/he　not-GWAI-cute
　　　　"S/he isn't cute."

　　c. 佢　**唔鬼喺間房度**　　　　做緊　　功課　　呀！
　　　　Keoi mgwaihaigaanfongdou　zougan　gungfo　　aa1
　　　　S/he not-GWAI-in-CL-room　do-Prog　homework SFP
　　　　"S/he isn't in his/her room doing homework."

Sentences (20) and (21) are minimal pairs with the former having *gwai* preceding the negator and the latter with *gwai* in-between the negator and the verb, the adjective or the adverbial. Polarity reversal is observed only in (20a) through (20c), and relevant sentences change from a negative to an affirmative sentence, whereas their counterparts in (21a) through (21c) remain negative. It seems that the word order between *gwai* and the negator plays a crucial role in determining the function of *gwai* as a negator or an intensifier: *Gwai* is a negator when it precedes the negator, but an intensifier when it follows the negator.

4.2. *Gwai* Occurring in Affirmative Sentences

For affirmative sentences, *gwai* will be a negator when it immediately precedes the verb, the adjective, or the adverbial, as shown in (22a), (22b) and (22c), respectively.

(22) a. 我　**鬼知**　　本書　　擺咗　　喺邊。
　　　　Ngo gwaizi　　bunsyu baaizo　haibin
　　　　I　GWAI-know CL-book put-Perf at-where
　　　　"I don't know where the book is."

b. 佢   鬼得意！[5]

Keoi gwaidakji

s/he GWAI-cute

"S/he isn't cute."

c. 佢   鬼喺間房度   讀緊書，

Keoi gwaihaigaanfongdou dukgansyu

s/he GWAI-in-CL-room   study-Prog book

出咗   去 玩   啦！

ceot-zo   hoei wann laa3

out-Perf go   play SFP

"S/he isn't in his/her room studying. S/he has already gone out for fun."

As seen from (22a) to (22c) above, the polarity of the sentences in question changes from affirmative to negative. Hence, we can conclude that in affirmative sentences, *gwai* will be a negator when it precedes the verb, the adjective or the adverbial.

The generalization above suggests that in affirmative sentences, *gwai*, as a negator, always precedes its negated verb, adjective or adverbial. Hence, this raises the question "can *gwai* negate the verb, the adjective and the adverbial when they are in a post-verbal, post-adjectival or post-adverbial position in an affirmative sentence?" For adjectives, it seems that when *gwai* is immediately after the adjective, it can still be a negator. Relevant examples are given below.

(23) a. 佢   得意鬼！

Keoi dakjigwai

s/he cute-GWAI

"S/he isn't cute."

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[5] Compare (22b) with the following two sentences:

  i. 佢 好鬼得意！

     Keoi hougwaidakji

     s/he very-GWAI-cute

     "S/he is really cute."

 ii. 佢 鬼咁得意！

     Keoi gwaigamdakji

     s/he GWAI-that-cute

     "S/he is really that cute."

We can see that polarity remains unchanged in these two sentences. Hence, for *gwai* to be a polarity reverse operator, it cannot co-occur with other adverbs like *hou* 'so/very' and *gam* 'that', since such a co-occurrence will turn *gwai* into an intensifier.

b. 佢　　叻鬼！
Keoi lekgwai
s/he smart-GWAI
"S/he isn't smart."

c. 佢　　叻鬼咗！
Keoi lekgwaizo
s/he smart-GWAI-Perf
"S/he has become smarter."

d. 佢　　開心鬼咗　　　成個禮拜。
Keoi hoisamgwaizo singgolaibaai
s/he happy-GWAI-Perf whole-CL-week
"S/he has been happy for a week."

Gwai follows the adjectives *dakji* 'cute' and *lek* 'smart' and remains to be a negator in (23a) and (23b). *Gwai* is not a negator but an intensifier emphasizing the perfective meaning denoted by *–zo* in (23c) and (23d). Sentences (23a) through (23d) reveal that when *gwai* occurs in an adjectival predicate, the only case where it can be a negator is when the adjectival predicate in question contains only a bare adjective, as in (23a) and (23b). In such a case, in order to make the relevant sentence well-formed, *gwai* needs to be a negation operator binding the free situation variables introduced by the stage-level stative predicates *dakji* and *lek* in (23a) and (23b), respectively; otherwise the relevant sentences would violate the Prohibition Against Vacuous Binding (cf. Partee 1988, Kratzer 1989, de Swart 1991), and are thus ill-formed. On the other hand, in (23c) and (23d), since there already exists an accessible operator *–zo* in the sentence, it is not obligatory for *gwai* to bind the relevant situation variables introduced by stage-level stative predicates *lek* and *hoisam* 'happy', and hence, *gwai* tends to be an intensifier. From the above, we can conclude that when *gwai* occurs in sentences containing adjectival predicates, it will be a negator only when there is no accessible operator other than *gwai* in the sentence.

For *gwai* occurring at a post-verbal position, consider the following sentences.

(24) a. 你　　識鬼　　踢波。
Nei sikgwai tekbo
you know-GWAI kick ball
"You don't know how to play football."

b. 我 <u>知鬼</u>　　本書　　擺咗　　喺邊。
　 Ngo zigwai　　binsyu　　baaizo　　haibin
　 I　know-GWAI CL-book　put-Perf at-where
　 "I don't know where the book is."

c. 我 <u>識鬼咗</u>　　中文　　啦。[6]
　 Ngo sik-gwai-zo　　zungman laa3
　 I　know-GWAI-Perf Chinese SFP
　 "I finally know Chinese."

d. 我 <u>寫鬼/改鬼/做鬼</u>　　%(咗)　份論文　　啦。[7]
　 Ngo se-/goi-/zou-gwai　　　-zo　fanleonman laa1.
　 I　write-/revise-/do-GWAI Perf CL-paper　SFP
　 "I have already written the paper/revised the paper/got the paper done."

e. 你 今日　唔做好　　啲嘢，　　我 <u>打鬼/鬧鬼/咬鬼</u>　　你。
　 Nei gamjat mzouhou　dije　　　ngo daa-/naau-/ngaau-gwai nei
　 you today not-do-well those-things I hit-/scold-/bite-GWAI   you
　 "If you don't finish all the things today, I'll hit/scold/bite you."

Both *sik* 'know' in (24a) and *zi* 'know' in (24b) are stative verbs.[8] *Gwai*, occurring in a post-verbal position, maintain its negation function, which suggests that when *gwai* follows these stative verbs, it can still negate them. A plausible explanation is that stative verbs denote states, and hence, they can be treated on a par with adjectival predicates in that both describe states. Therefore, when *gwai* occurs with stative verbs without any aspect markers, it would be expected to be a negator, similar to the case of bare adjectival statives (cf. (23a) and (23b)). Under such a case, what *gwai* negates is the existence of the state denoted by the stative predicate. Moreover, as in the case of adjectival predicates, with an introduction of aspect marker –*zo* in the sentence, one would predict that *gwai* tends to be an intensifier, emphasizing the aspectual meaning denoted by -*zo*. Such a prediction is again borne out in (24c).

On the other hand, when the verb in question is an eventive verb, *gwai* cannot negate the verb if it follows the verb. This is exemplified by sentences like (24d). Since an event can be modified by an aspect marker like perfective –*zo*, the occurrence of the aspect marker after the eventive verb causes *gwai* to intensify the latter, instead of operating on its preceding

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[6] This example is pointed out by the reviewer.
[7] Without the aspect marker, the relevant sentence will give a habitual reading, which sounds unnatural with the presence of *gwai* and the sentence-final particle *laa1*.
[8] Predicates are divided into two types, namely, stative and eventive (Vendler 1967, Smith 1997, etc). The former is [+static] whereas the latter is [-static], i.e. dynamic.

verb.

However, exceptions occur in sentences with verbs like *daa* 'hit', *naau* 'scold', *ngaau* 'beat' in (24e). The pronominal element *nei* 'you' following *gwai* can be neither intensified nor modified, and hence, *gwai* cannot be an intensifier of such a pronoun. In fact, the post-verbal *gwai* in (24e) combines with the verbs *daa*, *naau*, *ngaau* on its left and functions as an intensifier emphasizing the actions described by these verbs. This goes against our generalization that *gwai* will be a negator when it directly operates on the verb. The exceptional case as indicated by sentences like (24e) seems to apply to those "violent" verbs only, but further work is needed in the future.

Finally, for *gwai* occurring at a post-adverbial position, let us consider (25) below.

(25) *佢　**喺間房度鬼**　　　讀緊書，
　　　Keoi haigaanfongdougwai dukgansyu
　　　s/he　in-CL-room-GWAI　study-Prog book

　　　出咗　　去　玩　啦！
　　　ceot-zo　hoei wann　laa3
　　　out-Perf go　　play　SFP

The above sentence shows that when *gwai* is placed after the adverbial *haigaanfongdou* 'at-CL-room', the relevant sentence is ill-formed. Even though the grammaticality of (25) can be improved by adding the copula *hai* 'be', as in *Keoi haigaanfongdou gwai**hai** dukgansyu* 's/he at-CL-room GWAI-be study-Prog-book', what is negated is not the adverbial anymore but the action "studying" denoted by the VP *dukgansyu* 'study-Prog-book'. Hence, *gwai* cannot be a negator of the adverbial when it follows the adverbial.

Generalizing from all affirmative and negative cases above, we can conclude that *gwai* is a negator under the following condition.

Condition for *Gwai* as a Negator (CNeg)
Gwai is a negator when at Surface Structure,
    (1) it immediately precedes a negator in negative sentences; and
    (2) in affirmative sentences,
        (a) it immediately precedes a(n) verb, adjective or adverbial;
        (b) it immediately follows a stative verb; and
        (c) it immediately follows the adjective and there exists no other potential
            binder of the situation variable in the sentence.

4.3.   Summary of *Gwai* as an Intensifier and a Negator

Based on the discussion in Sections 3 and 4, we can summarize the distribution of the two distinct *gwai*'s in Table 1 below.

Table 1: A Summary of *Gwai* as an Intensifier and a Negator

The Two Distinct Uses of *Gwai*	Distributions
1. Intensifier	1. *gwai* + adverb + adjective (*gwai* is the intensifier of the adverb) 2. *gwai* + quantifier phrases 3. *gwai* + aspect marker 4. V-*gwai*-R (*gwai* as the intensifier of the R-element)
2. Negator	**Negative sentences** 1. *gwai* + not + verb/adjective/adverbial **Affirmative sentences** 1. *gwai* + verb/adjective/adverbial 2. verb/adjective + *gwai* (under the condition governed by CNeg)

5.   *Gwai* at the Discourse Level --- an interaction of *gwai* with sentence-final particles, tones and contexts

As a colloquial utterance particle, *gwai* is seldom found in formal register (Tsang, 1997). Therefore, *gwai* is expected to have closed interaction with tones, sentence-final particles (SFPs) and contexts. In this section, we will examine such cases to see how *gwai* interacts with these features in Cantonese. We have already mentioned in previous sections that when *gwai* is infixed in-between an adjectival compound, it mainly functions as an intensifier. However, this kind of intensification is highly context-dependent, and in some of these compounds, *gwai* serves as a negator rather than an intensifier. Besides the intensification function, *gwai* can also be a negator under the CNeg, resulting in a proposition equivalent to that having the negator *m* 'not'. However, as we will show in Section 5.2, although the statements with the negator *gwai* and the negator *m* share the same semantic proposition, they may differ greatly with the interpretation of implicatures

underlying the utterances, speakers' presuppositions and pragmatic appropriateness, particularly when collocating with certain SFPs (and with certain kinds of speakers' manner). Due to its pragmatic versatility, *gwai* has different operation on the pragmatically loaded contexts when compared with the *m* counterpart.

5.1. *Gwai* in Colloquial Contexts

When *gwai* functions as an intensifier, it mainly emphasizes and strengthens the tone of the speakers. In other words, the use of *gwai* does not change the semantic proposition of the sentences, as shown in (26) through (28).

(26) <u>邊鬼個</u>　　<u>食鬼晒</u>　　　我啲糖　　　呀？
     Bingwaigo　sikgwaisaai　ngoditong　　aa3
     wh-GWAI-o eat-GWAI-all I-POSS-candies SFP
     "Who-the-hell ate up all my candies?"

(27) <u>邊個</u>　<u>食晒</u>　我啲糖　　　呀？
     Bingo siksaai ngoditong　　　aa3
     who　eat-all　I-POSS-candies SFP
     "Who ate up all my candies?"

(28) 嘩，你　今日　件衫　　<u>好鬼死</u>　　　靚　　喎！
     Waa, nei gamjat ginsaam hougwaisei　　leng　wo3
     INT, you today　CL-dress very-GWAI-die pretty SFP
     "Your dress today is really pretty!"

The speaker of utterance (26) is probably angry and is blaming someone having eaten up his or her candies. However, *gwai* is not necessarily associated with negative connotations, since (28) is obviously a compliment.

When *gwai* is infixed within adjectival compounds, its main function is to intensify the degrees of the quality described by the adjectives. However, there are cases in which the infix *gwai* functioning as a negator, particularly when the adjectives carry positive connotation. For those adjectives that carry negative connotation, the infix *gwai* can only function as an intensifier instead. Hence, the determination of the infixed *gwai* as an intensifier or a negator is dependant on the context and the polarity of the adjectives. Consider the following three pairs of sentences:

(29) a. 呢張梳化 又 大 又 軟熟，
   Neizeongsofaa jau dai jau junsuk
   this-CL-sofa so big so soft
   坐 上去, 真 係 <u>舒鬼服</u>！
   Co seongheoi zan hai syugwaifuk
   sit on-go real be comfort-GWAI-able
   "This sofa is so big and so soft, it is really comfortable!"

  b. 呢張   又 高 又 硬， <u>舒鬼服</u>，
   Neizeongdang jau gou jau ngaang syugwaifuk
   this CL-chair so high so hard comfort-GWAI-able
   係 你 先 會 買。
   hai nei sin wui maai
   be you first will buy
   "This chair is so high and so hard, not comfortable, only you will buy it."

(30) a. 你 真係 <u>得鬼閒</u>，
   Nei zanhai dakgwaihaan
   you real-be fr-GWAI-ee
   成日 都 唔使 返工 嘅。
   sangjat dou msai faangung ge2
   always also no-need back-work SFP
   "You are really free, always no need to work."

  b. 你 唔見 我 有 好多 嘢 做 咩，
   Nei mgin ngo jau houdo je zou me1
   you not-see I have very-many thing do SFP
   <u>得鬼閒</u> 去 飲茶！
   dakgwaihaan heoi jamcaa
   fr-GWAI-ee go drink-tea
   "Can't you see that I have lots of stuff to do? no time to have tea."

(31) a. 呢個公仔 又 真係 幾 <u>得鬼意</u>，
   Neigogungzai jau zanhai gei dakgwaiji
   this-CL-doll also really so cu-GWAI-te
   又 抵買。
   jau daimaai
   also worth-buy
   "This doll is really so cute, it is also worth to buy"

b. 呢個公仔 <u>得鬼意</u>,　　係 你 先 會 買。
　Neigogungzai dakgwaiji hai nei sin wui maai
　this-CL-doll cu-GWAI-te be you first will buy
　"This doll is not cute at all, only you will buy it."

When comparing the utterances (a) and (b) from (29) through (31) which carry the same *gwai*-infix adjectives in each pair, it is noted that *gwai* functions as an intensifier in utterances (a) but a negator in the utterances (b), with the aid of the context. However, this kind of negation is absent in adjectives with negative quality, such as *watgwaidat* 'ug-GWAI-ly' which can only mean "VERY ugly" but not "NOT ugly" in all contexts.

5.2. Interaction with SFPs and Contexts

Consider sentences (32) and (33):

(32) 我 <u>唔識</u>　　跳舞。
　　Ngo msik　　　tiumou
　　I　not-know dance
　　"I don't know dancing."

(33) 我 <u>識鬼／鬼識</u>　　　　跳舞。
　　Ngo sikgwai/gwaisik　　　tiumou
　　I　know-GWAI/GWAI-know dance
　　"I don't know dancing."

Based on our previous discussion, when *gwai* acts as a negator, its meaning is the same as the negator *m* 'not'. Therefore, semantically speaking, the negative statements containing *gwai* and *m* in (32) and (33) respectively carry the same proposition, which indicates that the speaker does not know dancing. However, in the following, we will consider three situations in which *gwai* functions as a negator and demonstrate that in rhetorical questions, these two syntactic representations, one with *m* and the other with *gwai*, operate differently and only one of these is considered appropriate.

<u>Situation I</u>
When a friend gives your child 10 bars of chocolate and you believe that your child cannot eat them all. Then you will speak (34) rather than (35) to your friend.

(34) 佢 <u>食鬼倒</u>　　咁 多　　咩？⁹
　　Keoi sikgwaidou　　gam do　　me1
　　he　　eat-GWAI-able　that much　SFP
　　"Can he eat that much?"

(35) 佢 <u>食唔倒</u>　　咁 多　　咩？
　　Keoi sikmdou　　gam do　　me1
　　he　　eat-not-able that　much SFP
　　"Can't he eat that much?

Without the SFP *me1*, (34) and (35) denote the same proposition *keoi sik-gwai/m-dou gam do* 'He cannot eat that much'. However, it is noted that (34) and (35) have different implicatures when the SFP *me1* is added.

As C. Leung (2005) indicates, *me1* is used to carry out an illocutionary act to confirm or clarify the presupposition that the speaker has assumed in his/her mind. M&Y(1994) claim that such a presupposition is a "negative presupposition" which contradicts against the fact presented by the interlocutor to the speaker. In this particular situation, the speaker does not believe that his/her child can eat up all the chocolate bars. Thus, the intended presupposition by the speakers in (34) and (35) is *keoi-sik-m-dou-gamdo* 'he is not able to eat that much'. However, it is clear that such a presupposition can only be obtained in (34) but not in (35). When the speaker utters (34), the intended presupposition is *keoi sik-gwai-dou gam do* 'he is not able to eat that much' which is exactly the same as the surface utterance without the SFP *me1*. In other words, the function of bringing out the negative presupposition by the SFP *me1* in (34) is cancelled out. If the effect of triggering the negative presupposition by *me1* is active, the presupposition obtained in (34) would be "he is able to eat that much" which is the same as the one in (35). Since in this particular situation, the speaker assumes that his/her child is not able to eat that much chocolate, only (34) instead of (35) appropriately conveys such a presupposition.

Consider Situation II below which involves the negator *gwai* and *m* together with the SFP *gaa4*.

Situation II
Suppose that it is time for dinner and the wife asks her husband to prepare the dinner with utterance (36).

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⁹ For both (34) and (35), only the use of *me1* for indicating rhetorical questions will be considered.

(36) 不如　你　去　煮飯　　啦！
　　　Batyu nei heoi zyufaan　laa1
　　　not-if you go cook-rice SFP
　　　"How about you prepare the dinner?"

The husband refuses and says he does not know cooking. It is found that of the two utterances (37) and (38), only the former is an appropriate response given by the wife to the husband's refusal.

(37) 你　唔識　　　煮飯　架。
　　　Nei msik　　　zyufaan gaa4
　　　you not-know cook-rice SFP
　　　"You don't know cooking?"

(38) 你　鬼識　　　煮飯　　架。
　　　Nei gwaisik　　　zyufaan　gaa4
　　　you GWAI-know cook-rice SFP
　　　"You don't know cooking?"

The wife presupposes that her husband can cook and the response given by the husband is out of her expectation. Thus, she raises a question to confirm the statement made by the husband. With the SFP *gaa4*, the negative presupposition is obtained in (37), i.e. *nei sik zyu-faan* (you know cooking) which is intended by the wife. However, (38) does not have this negative presupposition although *nei gwai-sik zyu-faan* is semantically identical to *nei m-sik zyu-faan* (you do not know cooking) on the surface. Again, the negative presupposition effect of *gaa4* is cancelled out and the presupposition of (38) is still "you do not know cooking".

Finally, let us consider Situation III below which demonstrates again that *gwai* cannot be used to raise rhetorical questions.

Situation III
Suppose there are two students, A and B. A makes an assertion with (39).

(39) 我　唔識　　　踢波　架。
　　　Ngo msik　　　tekbo　　gaa3
　　　I　not-know kick-ball SFP
　　　"I don't know playing football."

B, however, is doubtful about what A has said and asks with (40).

(40) 你　唔識?
  Nei m-sik
  you not-know
  "You don't know?"

(41) ?你　鬼識?
  Nei　gwai-sik
  you　GWAI-know

B assumes that A can play football and thus, A's assertion contradicts B's expectation. In spite of the absence of SFPs in (40), it is clear that (40) involves a clarification on B's presupposition with respect to the statement made by A. If we substitute B's utterance with the question *Neigwaisik* 'you ghost know?' as in (41), the relevant utterance sounds very odd because the presupposition obtained from the utterance does not match the intended presupposition in the speaker's mind.

5.3. Summary

In this section, we have examined the Cantonese *gwai* at the discourse level. The following features are observed:

(a) The use of *gwai* in utterances may lead to multi-interpretations which are sensitive to the polarity of the morphemes (mainly adjectives) involved;

(b) *Gwai*, as a negator, behaves differently with its semantically equivalent counterpart, the negator *m* 'not', particularly when it interacts with those SFPs that produce "negative presupposition" which can be attributed to the pragmatic versatility of *gwai*.

What we have shown here is that the use of *gwai* as a negator cannot function properly with those SFPs which convey a negative presupposition. This may be due to the nature of *gwai* which is pragmatically oriented. In normal circumstances, *gwai* is seldom used in declarative sentences to convey the notion of negation. In other words, *ngo m-sik keoi* 'I do not know him' is a neutral statement but *ngo gwai-sik keoi* 'I do not know him' is used mainly when the speaker wants to clarify the fact that "he really does not know him". This utterance is used when someone *presupposes* the speaker has acquaintance with someone and the speaker is carrying out an illocutionary act to rectify this wrong presupposition. Thus, the sentence made up of *gwai* is always "loaded". Further combination with SFPs, such as *me1*, *gaa4*, that

have the similar pragmatic function is prohibited and hence the effect of giving rise a negative presupposition by these SFPs is cancelled out when compared with the *m* 'not' counterparts.

6.   Conclusions and Discussion

In this paper, we have discussed the non-literal use of *gwai* as an intensifier and a negator. A summary of these usages can be found in Table 1, with the condition governing the use of *gwai* as a negator stated under CNeg. At the discourse level, we have demonstrated how tones, sentence final particles and contexts influence the interpretation of *gwai*.

Further research is needed on issues like the followings: (1) the possibility of unifying the two *gwai*'s; (2) the distribution of the negator *gwai* occurring in pre-verbal and pre-adjectival positions; (3) the syntactic positions of the two *gwai*'s; (4) the effect of focus on the interpretation of *gwai*; and (5) the different behaviors compared with those sentences using negator *m* when interacting with SFPs that involve pragmatic presuppositions.

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The indexical expressions *gam2* and *gam3* in Cantonese[*]

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1.   Introduction

Indexical expressions are items whose contribution to propositional content depends on the context (Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 1990). Languages employ different indexical items to make reference to different type of entities. Demonstratives are often used in noun phrases to refer to locations in space or time. In Cantonese, there exists an indexical element, *gam*, whose reference is neither located spatially nor temporally. *Gam* appears in two surface forms with variations in tones, *gam2* and *gam3*. *Gam2* refers generally to abstract entities like properties of events, properties of nominals and propositions. *Gam3* refers to degree of scalar adjectives. The goals of this paper are to: (i) provide an overview of the distribution and interpretation of *gam2* and *gam3*; (ii) provide a structural account for *gam2* and *gam3*.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we discuss the properties of *gam2* in the verbal domain. In section 3, we discuss the properties of *gam2* in the nominal domain. In section 4, we discuss the properties of *gam2* when it is used alone. In section 5, we discuss a related element *gam3*, which is used exclusively to refer to degree. In section 6, we propose a structure for the *Gam* Phrase (GP). We present some loose ends in section 7.

2.   *Gam2* in the verbal domain

2.1 Pre-VP position

When preceding a VP, *gam2* can either appear alone or appear with a preceding

description. In the former case, it is either interpreted as deictic (with demonstration in the immediate non-linguistic environment) or anaphoric (referring back to the previous discourse), as in (1a). In the latter case, it refers to the description preceding it. We call this the *establishing* use, as in (1b).[1] In both cases, *gam2* refers to a particular manner of the event.

(1)   *gam2* → deictic/anaphoric

a.   Keoi5   **gam2**   zou6-je5   m4   dak1   gaa3.
     3SG   GAM   do-thing   NEG possible   SFP
     'He/She working in **such a way** is not acceptable.'

     description-*gam2* → establishing

b.   Keoi5   maa1maa1fu1fu1   **gam2**   zou6-je5   m4   dak1   gaa3.
     3SG   sloppily   GAM   do-thing   NEG possible   SFP
     'He/She working in such a sloppy way is not acceptable.'

2.1.1   The manner reading of [X-*gam2*] adverbials

2.1.1.1   Clausal/manner ambiguity

In this section, we show that clausal/manner ambiguity of the type found in English does not exist in Cantonese. We claim that when an adverbial, X, is compatible with both a clausal reading and a manner reading in Cantonese, the adverbial that gives rise to the manner reading always has the form [X-*gam2*].

In English, some adverbials are compatible with both a clausal reading and a manner reading. When those adverbials are placed in the pre-verbal position, ambiguity arises. We will give a few examples. The first example is the adverbial *clearly*.

(2)   Peter clearly saw the sign.
     Clausal reading: It is obvious that Peter saw the sign.[2]
     Manner reading: Peter saw the sign with clear vision.

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

[2]   For example (3), the clausal reading is more prominent than the manner reading. It is unclear to us why would that be the case.

In (2), *clearly* can be either construed as reflecting the speaker's opinions or as modifying the quality of the vision.

Some adverbials are ambiguous between a temporal reading and a manner reading. The adverbial *quickly* is a case in point.   It can be interpreted as that the time between the reference time and the event time is very short or it can be interpreted as that the event is carried out in a very speedy manner. The two different readings are shown in (3).

(3)   Peter quickly left.
     Clausal reading: Peter did not stay for long.
     Manner reading: Peter left in a speedy manner.

Some apparent clausal adverbials can also be construed as having a manner reading if provided with an appropriate context. Shaer (2003) provides a clausal and a manner contrast of the adverbial *intentionally*.

(4)   a.   You tripped me intentionally --- I could see you waiting for me (a kind of tripping).
     b.   You intentionally tripped me --- You blindfold didn't slip off (the attitude of the agent).

Intentionally is by and large a subject-oriented adverbial. However, when it is placed post-verbally (a position reserved for manner adverbs only), a manner reading can also arise, if the context allows such a reading.

In this section, we replicate the ambiguous English examples, (2), (3), (4) into Cantonese, as (5), (6) and (7) respectively. What we aim to show is that in Cantonese, clausal/manner ambiguity does not arise because the manner adverbials always contain the element *gam2*.

(5)   a.   Keoi5   **hou2**   **ming4hin2**   bei6hoi1   nei5   laa1.
        3 SG   very   clearly   avoid   you   SFP
        'He/She is clearly avoiding you.' (clausal reading)

     b.   Keoi5   **hou2 ming4hin2**   **gam2**   bei6hoi1   nei5 laa1.
        3 SG   very clearly   GAM   avoid   you SFP
        'He/She is avoiding you in a very clear manner.' (manner reading)

In (5), the lexical item *ming4hin2* 'clearly' is compatible with both a clausal and a manner

reading. When it is used to denote the manner of an event, the element *gam2* has to follow it, as in (5b). When *gam2* is absent, the reading is only clausal, as in (5a).

(6) a. Keoi5   **hou2**   **faai3** zau2-zo2 laa3.
         3SG   very   fast leave-ASP SFP
         'He left early.' (clausal reading)

   b. Keoi5   **hou2 faai3**   **gam2**   zau2-zo2 laa3.
       3SG   very fast   GAM   leave-ASP SFP
       'He left in a speedy manner.' (manner reading)

In (6), *hou2 faai3* 'very quickly' is the adverbial that is in question. Just like its English counterpart, the 'quickness' can be interpreted as referring to the shortness of the period of time between the reference time and the event time (=6a), or it can be used to refer to the speediness of the action (=16b). Only in the latter case is *gam2* present.

(7) a. Keoi5   **dak6dang1**   kik1   nei5   gaa3.
         3SG   intentionally   trip   2 SG   SFP
         'He/She intentionally tripped you.' (the attitude of the agent)

   b. Keoi5   **dak6dang1**   **gam2**   kik1   nei5   gaa3.
       3SG   intentionally   GAM   trip   2SG   SFP
       'He/She tripped you in an intentionally way.' (a type of tripping)

In (7a), *dak6dang1* 'intentionally' refers to the attitude of the agent. In (7b), with *gam2* following *dak6dang1*, the adverbial gives rise to a manner reading.

In view of the above, we conclude the following: if X is an adverbial that is semantically compatible with both a clausal reading and a manner reading, X will give rise to a clausal readying while [X-*gam2*] will give rise to a manner reading.

If [X-*gam2*] combinations are always manner in interpretation, then it is plausible that the combination of two adverbials that are contradictory in meanings would not lead to ungrammaticality as long as the two adverbials modify different things (e.g. one modifies the subject and one modifies the event). This is borne out. Imagine the following scenario: There is someone who really likes you but then he cannot get himself to talk to you in any normal way, so he tries to bump into you to get the conversation started. Your friend sees through his tricks and utters the following:

(8) Keoi5   dak6dang1   [m4-gok3ji3   gam2] zong6   nei5 gaa3.
     3 SG   intentionally   NEG-intentionally GAM   bump-into   you SFP
     'He purposefully bumped into you in an unintentional manner.'

The two adverbials *dak6dang1* 'intentionally' and *m4-gok3ji3* 'unintentionally' are
contradicting in meaning. However, since the former modifies the mental state of the
agent while the latter modifies the manner in which the action is carried out, as shown by
the presence of *gam2* in the latter, the combination of two is understandable given the
setting made explicit above.   If *gam2* is absent, then the sentence would be pragmatically
weird, as shown in (9):

(9) # Keoi5   dak6dang1   [m4-gok3-ji3] zong6   nei5   gaa3.
        3SG   intentionally   unintentionally bump-into   you   SFP

2.1.1.2   Some predictions

In this section, we show some of the patterns that are predicted by the claim that all
[X-*gam2*] combinations are manner adverbials. Firstly, we show that [X-*gam2*]
combinations force a reading that involves physical manifestation of the predicate. They
are not compatible with predicates that denote an event that has no physical
manifestation.   Secondly, we show that [X-*gam2*] combinations are located lower than
speaker-oriented adverbs and subject oriented-adverbs.

In (10), *m4 zung1ji3* 'not pleased' is a predicate that denotes a mental state, which may or
may not carry any overt manifestation. In (10), the adverb *hou2 ming4hin2* 'very clearly'
carries a speaker-oriented reading and the interpretation of the predicate *m4 zung1ji3* 'not
pleased' is compatible with whether or not the 'disliking' is overtly displayed. In (11), the
interpretation of the predicate *m4 zung1ji3* 'not pleased' has to be interpreted as
physically realized because the adverbial [clearly *gam2*] gives rise to a manner reading of
the predicate.

(10)   Keoi5   **hou2**   **ming4hin2**   m4 zung1ji3 laa1.
        3 SG   very   clearly   NEG like   SFP
        'He/She will clearly be displeased'

(11) Keoi5 **hou2** **ming4hin2** **gam2** m4 zung1ji3 laa1.

    3 SG very clearly   GAM NEG like SFP

    'He/She will show his/her dislike in a very clear manner.'

Along the same line, it is also predicted that a predicate that involves no physical manifestation is not compatible with [X-*gam2*] combinations. Consider the following examples:

(12) a. Keoi5 **dak6dang1** juk1   gaa3.

      3 SG intentionally move   SFP

   b. Keoi5 **dak6dang1** m4 juk1 gaa3.

      3 SG intentionally NEG move SFP

   c. Keoi5 **dak6dang1** **gam2** juk1   gaa3.

      3SG intentionally GAM move   SFP

   d. ?? Keoi5 **dak6dang1** **gam2** m4 juk1 gaa3.

      3SG intentionally GAM NEG move SFP

The oddness of (12d) can be explained in the following way. [intentionally-*gam2*] is a manner adverbial and it states how an action is carried out. It, thus, is compatible with *juk1*, which just means 'move' in general. However, *m4 juk1* 'not move' is a 'non-action' in the sense that it does not contain any physical manifestation. As a result, *m4 juk1* 'not move' is not compatible with [intentionally-*gam2*], which is a manner adverbial.

If [X-*gam2*] combinations are all manner adverbials, it is also predicted that [X-*gam2*] adverbials are located lower than speaker-oriented adverbials and subject-oriented adverbials. This seems to be the case. *Hou ming hin* 'clearly' is a speaker-oriented adverbial. It can appear to the left of the modal *wui5* 'will', as in (14), but not to the right of the modal *wui5* 'will', as in (15). When *gam2* is added, the pattern is reversed, as shown in (16) and (17).

(13) Ngo5 **wui5** daa2 keoi5.

    I will hit   3SG

    'I will hit him/her.'

(14)   Ngo5   [hou2   ming4hin2]   **wui5**   daa2 keoi5.
          1SG   very   clearly   will   hit   3SG

(15) ??   Ngo5   **wui5** [hou2 ming4hin2]   daa2 keoi5.
          1SG   will   very   clearly   hit   3SG

(16) ??   Ngo5   [hou2 ming4hin2 gam2]   **wui5** daa2 keoi5.
          1SG   very clearly   GAM will hit   3SG

(17)   Ngo5 **wui5** [hou2 ming4hin2   gam2] daa2   keoi5.
          1SG   will very   clearly   GAM hit   3SG

When *gam2* is added, the speaker-oriented adverbial becomes a manner adverbial. Then, the contrast is expected as [very clearly *gam2*], being a manner adverbial, should be located lower than modals and speaker-oriented adverbials.

There is also evidence to show that an [X-*gam2*] adverbial has to be placed below a subject-oriented adverbial like *dak6dang1* 'intentionally'. In (18), the *gam2*-containing adverbial is lower than *dak6dang1* 'intentionally', the sentence is good. In (19), the *gam2*-containing adverbial is placed higher than *dak6dang1* 'intentionally', the sentence is bad.

(18)   Keoi5   [**dak6dang1**]   [ceot1-lik6   gam2] zong6   nei5   gaa3.
          3 SG   intentionally   out-force   GAM bump-into   2SG   SFP
          'He/She intentionally bumped into you with a big force.'

(19) ??   Keoi5   [ceot1-lik6   gam2] [**dak6dang1**]   zong6   nei5 gaa3.
          3 SG   out-force   GAM   intentionally   bump-into   2SG SFP
          Intended reading: 'He/She intentionally bumped into you with a big force.'

2.1.2   [X-*gam2*] / *gam2* adverbials are always restrictive

2.1.2.1   [X-*gam2*]

In the discussion above, we have established that [X-*gam2*] combinations are all manner adverbials. The question arises whether the reverse also holds. In other words, is the following true?

(20) Manner adverbials → [X-*gam2*] combinations

The answer is negative. Some adverbials are inherently manner-like, so in the absence of *gam2,* the reading is still manner. For such adverbs, it is also possible to put *gam2* after them. Witness the following minimal pair:

(21) Keoi5   **sai3-seng1**   coeng3-go1.
      3SG   small-noise   sing-song
      'He/She sings softly.'

(22) Keoi5   **sai6-seng1**   **gam2**   coeng3-go1.
      3SG   small-noise   GAM   sing-song
      'He/She sings softly.'

With respect to the absence of *gam2* in (21), one possibility is that *gam2* is also present in (22) but is covert. However, if *gam2* is allowed to be covert, we would expect clausal/manner ambiguity in Cantonese with adverbials that are compatible with both readings. As shown earlier on, for such adverbials to give rise to a manner reading, *gam2* must be overtly present. Another possibility is that (21) and (22) in fact differ in meaning. We believe such is the case and the difference is in restrictiveness. We would like to argue that manner adverbials without *gam2* are compatible with both a restrictive and a non-restrictive reading, while adverbials with *gam2* are obligatorily restrictive. Consider the following contrast:

(23) Joanna   jan1wai6 **sai3-sai3-seng1**   coeng3-go1   bei2 jan4   laau6.
      Joanna   because   small-small-noise   sing-song   PASS people   scold
      'Joanna was scolded by the others because she sang softly.'

(24) Joanna   jan1wai6 **sai3-sai3-seng1**   **gam2**   coeng3-go1.
      Joanna   because   small-small-noise   GAM   sing-song
      bei2 jan4   laau6
      PASS people   scold
      'Joanna was scolded by the others because she sang softly.'

Imagine the following scenario. There is a performance on stage. For the people on stage, they have to sing very loudly, or else, they would be scolded. For the people who are back-stage, they cannot make noise at all, or else they would be scolded. If Joanna is on stage and she sings softly, she will be scolded. In such a situation, both (23) and (24) can

be used to comment on the situation. If Joanna is off-stage and she sings, softly or otherwise, she will be scolded. In such a situation, only (23) can be used to comment on the situation. Using (24) would imply that if Joanna would have sung loudly, she won't be scolded, which is not true, being off-stage. In other words, in (23), *sai3-sai3-seng1* 'softly' can be interpreted either restrictively or non-restrictively. In (24), *sai3-sai3-seng1 gam2* can only be used restrictively. Another minimal pair to show the restrictive/non-restrictive contrast in the following:

(25) Keoi5   **ceot1-seng1**   gong2-je5.
     3SG   produce-noise say-thing
     'He/She is speaking.'

(26) #Keoi5   **ceot1-seng1**   **gam2**   gong2-je5.
     3SG   produce-noise GAM   say-thing
     'He speaks in the way that produces noise.'

(25) is fine while (26) sounds odd. The contrast between (25) and (26) can be explained along the same line. When one has to speak, the only way is to produce noise. Since *gam2*-containing adverbials are always restrictive and restriction presupposes a set of more than one choice, the restrictive reading is at odd with the adverbial that denotes the only way the event can be carried out.

2.1.2.2   *Gam2*

When there is no modifier preceding *gam2*, *gam2* is also restrictive. Consider the following contrast:

(27) (Hai2   lei1-dou6),   **gam2**   jau4-seoi2   m4 dak1   gaa3.
     at   this-place   GAM   swim-water   NEG possible SFP
     'You can't swim in such a way (here)?'

(28) (Hai2   lei1-dou6),   jau4-seoi2   m4 dak1   gaa3.
     at   this-place   swim-water   NEG possible SFP
     'You can't swim here.'

In (27), *gam2* refers to a manner of swimming which is not allowed in the location given. (27) can not mean swimming is not allowed in general. In other words, (27) can never mean (28). This shows that *gam2* can never have a non-restrictive interpretation.

2.2 Post-VP position

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

(29) Keoi5 **gam2**   <u>coeng3-go1</u>   ge2

      3SG   GAM   sing-song   SFP

      'How come she sings in such a way!'

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

(30) Keoi5 <u>coeng3-go1</u>   (coeng3-sing4)   **gam2**   ge2

      3SG   sing-song   sing-RES   GAM   SFP

      'How come she sings like that!'

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

The position-interpretation co-relate observed above is also manifested in the question-counterpart of *gam2*, *dim2*. The position and interpretation of *dim2* show the same co-relation. Consider (31) and (32) below:

(31) Peter   **dim2**   jau4-seoi2   gaa3?

      Peter   DIM   swim-water   QP

      'In what way does Peter swim?'

      Answers: e.g. with his head up, swim naked, etc.

(32) Peter   jau4-seoi2   (jau4-seng4)   **dim2**   aa3?

      Peter   swim-water   swim-RES   DIM   QP

      'How does Peter swim?'

      Answers: e.g. very good, very fast, etc.

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

(33) Akiu shang-ci **zenme-yang** chang-ge?

Akiu last-time   how-manner   sing-song

'How did Akiu sing last time?'

Answers: a. you houlong 'with throat' (method)

b. hen dasheng 'very loudly'(style of action)

(34) Ge, Akiu shang-ci   chang-de   **zenme-yang?**

song Akiu last-time   sing-RES   how-manner?

'How did Akiu perform in singing last time?'

Answer: a. bu zenme-yang 'not so (good)' (resultative)

b. tai dasheng 'too loud' (style of resultant state)

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

(35)
```
              vP
             /  \
          subj   v'
                /  \
        dim2/gam2   v'
                   /  \
                  v    VP
                      /  \
                  (Obj)   V'
                         /  \
                        V    RC (Resultative Clause)
                            /  \
                         PRO   dim2/gam2
```
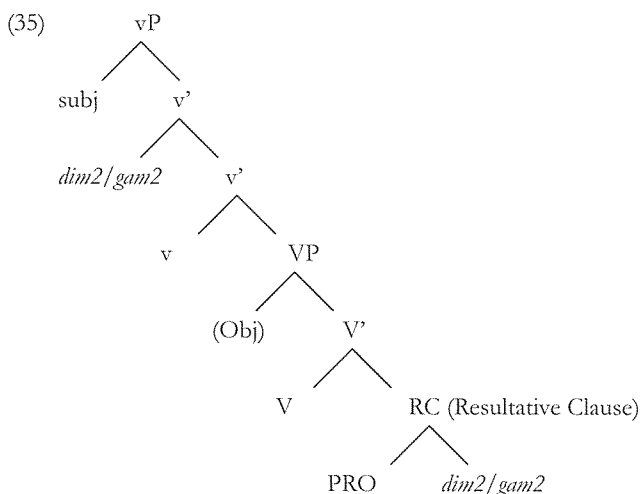
The higher *gam2/dim2* gives rise to a manner reading (method, style of action) and the lower *gam2/dim2* gives rise to an evaluation reading (resultative, style of resultant state).

3.   *Gam2* in the nominal domain

Similar to the verbal domain, *gam2* can be interpreted deictically, anaphorically and establishingly in the nominal domain. Just like most other nominal modifiers, *gam2* has to be followed by the modification marker *ge3*.

(36) *gam2ge3*→ deictic/anaphoric

    a.   **gam2**   **ge3** naam4jan2

        GAM   GE   man

        'men like this'

    description-*gam2ge3* → establishing

    b.   **faa1faa1fit1fit1**   **gam2**   **ge3**   naam4jan2

        flashy   GAM   GE   man

        'flashy type of boys'

3.1   The reference of *gam2ge3*

In the verbal domain, *gam2* refers to a property of the event. In the nominal domain, naturally, *gam2* refers to some nominal property. However, there are still restrictions as to what kind of nominal property it can refer to. *Gam2* can only refer to individual-level properties. It cannot refer to stage-level properties. The contrast is illustrated below:

(37)* **gam1jat6**   **wu1wu1we5we5**   **gam2**   **ge3** naam4jan2

    today   grubby   GAM   GE   man

    Intended reading: 'men of the type those are grubby today'

(38) **wu1wu1we5we5 gam2**   **ge3** naam4jan2

    grubby   GAM2   GE   man

    'men of the grubby type'

However, not all modifiers denoting individual-level properties are legitimate pre-*gam2* modifiers in the nominal. For instance, modifiers that denote physical attributes are marginal, if not ungrammatical, when appearing with *gam2*. This is illustrated with the following two examples:

(39) *saam1   mai5   gou1   gam2   ge3 naam4jan2

     three   meter   tall   GAM   GE man

     Intended reading: 'men of the type that are 3-meters tall'

(40) * daai3   ngaan5-geng3gam3   ge3 naam4jan2

     wear   glasses   GAM   GE man

     Intended reading: 'men of the type that wear glasses'

Modifiers that denote external properties which are not physical attributes are also illegitimate pre-*gam2* modifiers.

(41) *hai2   **Johnson and Johnson**   zou6je5   gam2   ge3 naam4jan2

     at   Johnson and Johnson   work   GAM   GE man

     Intended reading: 'men of the type that work in Johnson and Johnson'

These restrictions are placed by *gam2*. If *gam2* is absent in (37), (39), (40) and (41), the phrases would be grammatical.

To recapitulate, legitimate pre-*gam2* modifiers are those that denote properties that are individual-level and internal to the nominal. The same restriction on possible reference also applies to when *gam2* appears without a preceding description in the nominal.

3.2 *Gam2* and restrictiveness

In the verbal domain, *gam2* is always restrictive. In the nominal, *gam2* is generally restrictive, though not always. We discuss the relation between restrictiveness and the position of *gam2ge3* within the nominal below.

3.2.1 Phrase-initial

When *gam2* (with or without a preceding description) appears in a phrase-initial position, the interpretation of *gam2* is always restrictive.

(42) **Gam2**   **ge2** naam4jan2   zeoi3   maa4faan4

     GAM   GE man   most   troublesome

     'This kind of men is the most troublesome.'

(43) Naam4jan2 zeoi3   maa4faan4
     man   most   troublesome
     'Men are the most troublesome.'

(42) can never have a non-restrictive reading in which it has the same interpretation as (43). This also applies when there is a description preceding *gam2*.

Gam2ge3, with or without a preceding description, cannot appear in front of a proper name.

(44) * (faa1faa1fit1fit1)   **gam2**   ge3   Peter
       flashy   GAM   GE   Peter

Gam2ge3 with a preceding description can appear naturally to the left of a demonstrative. The interpretation is restrictive. When there is no preceding description, the phrase degrades drastically and only the deictic reading is marginally possible.

(45) maa4maa4faan4faan4   **gam2**   **ge3**   go2 go3 naam4jan2   le1?
     troublesome   GAM   GE   that CL man   QP

(46) **Gam2**   **ge3**   go2 go3 naam4jan2   le1?
     GAM   GE   that CL man   QP

In other words, in a phrase-initial position, *gam2ge3* is always restrictive.

3.2.2   Non-phrase initial

When *gam2* is between a classifier and a noun, it can be interpreted as either restrictive or non-restrictive, depending on two factors: (i) whether the proximal or the distal demonstrative is used; (ii) whether there is a description preceding *gam2*.

When the proximal demonstrative is used, *gam2* (with or without the preceding description) is always non-restrictive:

(47) lei1 go3 (faa1faa1fit1fit)   **gam2 ge3** naam4jan2
     this CL   flashy   GAM GE   man
     'this flashy guy' (non-restrictive)

When the proximal demonstrative is not used and there is no preceding description, the interpretation of *gam2ge3* is only non-restrictive (see B's response in 48). When there is a preceding description, it can be either non-restrictive (see C's response in 48) or restrictive (see 49).

(48) A: Are you talking about Peter?

B: (Sigh) (Go2)   go3 **gam2**   **ge3** naam4jan2
               that   CL   GAM   GE   man

C: (Sigh) (Go2)   go3 faa1faa1fit1fit1 **gam2** **ge3**   naam4jan2
               that   CL   flashy   GAM   GE   man
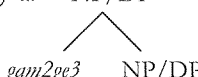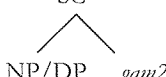
(49) go2 go3 faa1faa1fit1fit1 **gam2**   **ge3**   naam4jan2   hai6 Peter
      that CL   flashy   GAM   GE   man   BE   Peter
      'That flashy guy is Peter.'

3.3 Post-copular position

Although *gam2* cannot appear in front of proper names, it can ascribe a property to a proper name in a predicative sentence:

(50) *****gam2**   ge3 Peter   (51) Peter   hai6   **gam2**   gaa3
       GAM   GE Peter   Peter   BE   GAM   SFP
                                      'Peter is like that.'

The grammaticality contrast between (50) and (51) suggests that *gam2* gives rise to different interpretations depending on its position. In a phrase-initial position, *gam2* is a pre-nominal modifier and is only restrictive. Thus it can't appear with proper names, which have rigid designations. When *gam2* acts as a predicate, we treat it as the predicate of a Small Clause (SC) with NP/DP as the subject. *Gam2* in this case is attributive in nature, and is thus compatible with proper names. The relevant structural differences are shown in (52a) and (52b).

(52) a.   NP/DP   b.   SC
           ╱＼   ╱＼
      gam2ge3   NP/DP   NP/DP   *gam2*

4. Propositional use

When *gam2* is not followed or preceded by anything, it refers to a proposition. In (53), *gam2* refers to the situation that A has got no cash.   It is interpreted anaphorically. *Gam2* can also be interpreted deictically if A, instead of saying he has no money, shows an empty wallet to B. *Gam2* is not used establishingly when referring to the property of a situation.

(53) A: ngo5   mou5 daai3   cin2   tim1   B: **gam2** aa4, ngo5 bei2 sin1 laa1

      1SG   NEG bring   money   SFP   GAM SFP, 1sg give   first SFP

      'I forgot to bring any cash.'   'In that case, I will pay first.'

When referring to a proposition, *gam2* is not used establishingly.

5.   *Gam3*

There is another indexical element that is related to *gam2*, *gam3*. Different from *gam2*, *gam3* is always followed by a gradable adjective. Let X be the adjective, [*gam3*-X] refers to a degree of X-ness. It combines equally well with open-scale and closed-scale adjectives. It can be used deictically, with demonstration accompanying the utterance as in (54). It can also be used establishingly, as in (55, A). It is used anaphorically in (55, B). When *gam3* is combined with a non-gradable adjective, it is uninterpretable, as in (56).

(54) **Gam3**   mun5   laa1   (closed-scale adjective)

    GAM   full   SFP

    'This full' (with the index finger touching the side of a beer glass)

(55) A: Tiu4   sing2   jau5 saam1......mai5 **gam3**   coeng4   (open-scale adjective)

      CL   rope have threemeter   GAM long

      'The rope is three meters long.'

   B: **Gam3**   coeng4   dou1   m4   gau3   bo3

      GAM   long   still   NEG   enough   SFP

      'That is still not long enough.'

(56)#   Peter   **Gam3**   daan1san1   gaa3

    Peter   GAM   single   SFP

    Lit. 'He is that single.'

6. Analysis

Gam2 and *gam3* are similar in that both indexical elements can be used deictically, anaphorically and establishingly. Furthermore, both of them make reference to abstract entities (manner, nominal properties, propositions and degree). With respect to their differences, *gam2* can appear in many different environments while *gam3* can only precede an adjective. The difference in the reference is not only reflected in their tones. *Gam2* can always optionally be followed by an associative noun *joeng2* 'appearance' while *gam3* cannot.

(57) a. gam2   (joeng2)   b.   gam3   (*joeng2)
         GAM   appearance

In other words, the modification relation between *gam2* and the 'modifiee' (e.g. VP, NP, etc.) is not direct. *Gam2* ascribes a property to *joeng2* 'appearance' and *gam2 joeng2* as a whole ascribes a property to the event, the nominal or a situation, depending on its environment. We take it that *joeng2* acts as a restriction on *gam2*, though the lexical realization of the restriction can be optional.

Is there any hidden restriction behind *gam3*? The null hypothesis is that there is. We suggest that there is always a hidden restriction 'degree' after *gam3*, which is never realized as a separate lexical item. When one utters [*gam3*-adjective], what one is actually saying is [*gam3*-'degree'-adjective].

The proposal is the following. We assume that the indexical *gam* has its own projection. We call it *Gam*P (GP) for explicitness, though the name matters very little. *Gam* heads the projection, and it takes two arguments. The internal argument is the restriction, which is either *joeng2* 'appearance' or 'degree'. In the former case, it surfaces as *gam2*; in the latter case, it surfaces as *gam3*. The external argument is a variable, which can be bounded by three different things: an overt description (the establishing use), the immediate context (the deictic use) or a reference in the previous discourse (the anaphoric use). For *gam2*, the structure is the following:[3]

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[3] *Gam3*, in its anaphoric use and its deictic use, can also have an additional intensifying reading, see Sio & Tang (to appear).

(59)

```
              GamP
            /      \
          e         Gam'        →   gam2
                   /    \
                Gam    joeng 'appearance'
```
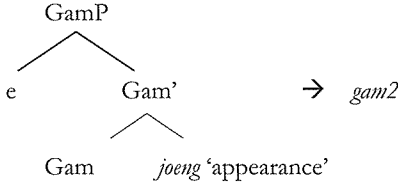
Gam3 has the following structure:

(60)

```
              GamP
            /      \
          e         Gam'        →   gam3
                   /    \
                Gam    'degree'
```
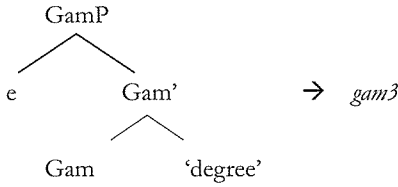
7.   Loose ends

In this paper, we have discussed the properties of the indexical element *gam* (*gam2* and *gam3*). Having one and the same indexical element to refer to nominal/verbal/propositional properties and degree is not merely a Cantonese idiosyncrasy. In fact, many languages use identical indexical elements to refer to nominal/verbal/propositional properties and degree, for instance, the Czech *tak*, the Dutch *zo*, etc. (see Landman & Morzycki 2003).[4] In this paper, we show that the core meaning of the indexical *gam* is to refer to abstract entities. The referents of abstract entities differ from the referents of noun phrases or events, for instance, in that abstract entities are neither anchored spatially nor temporally. The deeper question to be asked is how the process in making reference to abstract entities is related to the emergence of a

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[4]   Some illustrative examples are provided below:

(a)	tak	tančí.		(b)	takový	muž	(c)	tak
	TAK	dance.3SG.PRES			TAK-M.NOM	man.M.NOM		TAK
	'dance in such a way'				'such a man'			'It is the case.'

(d)	tak (hle) velký		(e)	tak velký
	TAK(see) big.M.NOM			TAK big.M.NOM
	'this big' (with demonstration)			'so big' (exclamation)

particular indexical item carrying such function. A related question would be whether such indexical element can be decomposed further functionally. We leave these questions open for now.

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The uses of *DUI, SHUANG* and *FU* in Cantonese, Mandarin and in the history of the Chinese language[*]

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1.   Background

In Chinese dialects, when the quantity of an object is specified, the following syntactic structure is used: numeral + classifier + noun. For example, the general classifier *ge*[1] 個 in Mandarin is used between the numeral *liang* 兩 'two' and the noun *xiao haizi* 小孩子 'children' in *liang ge xiao haizi* 'two children'. The presence of a classifier is obligatory when a numeral is used. The classifiers *dui, shuang* and *fu* are related to the concept of 'a pair'[2] such as *yi dui xiao haizi* 一對小孩子 'a pair of little children', *yi shuang shou* 一雙手 'a pair of hands' and *yi fu shoutao* 一副[3]手套 'a pair of gloves'. Therefore, they are considered collective classifiers. Moreover, the nouns that they modify always come in pairs as in the *shou* 'hands' and *shoutao* 'gloves' examples. Unlike collective classifiers such as *bang* 幫, *huo* 伙 and *kun* 捆 which denote an indefinite quantity, *dui, shuang* and *fu* indicate a definite quantity – two (cf. He 2000, Hong 2000 and Yang 1988), and these three classifiers can often be replaced by a sortal classifier. For example, *liang ge xiao haizi* 兩個小孩子 'two little children', *liang zhi shou* 兩隻手 'two hands' and *liang zhi shoutao* 兩隻手套 'two gloves' are as good as *yi dui xiao haizi* 一對小孩子 'a pair of little children',

[1] Pinyin will be adopted for the romanization of examples from Mandarin and from the Chinese historical texts whereas Jyutping, the Cantonese romanization scheme of the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong, will be used for the romanization of examples from Cantonese. *DUI, SHUANG* and *FU*, in capital letters, are used when their uses in the two dialects are compared and when their contemporary uses in the two dialects are compared with those observed in the history of the Chinese language.

[2] Cf. Section 3.1 for the discussion on the origins of *DUI, SHUANG* and *FU* and how their origins gave rise to the 'pair' meaning in the history of the Chinese language.

[3] *Fu* 副 can also express a 'set' meaning, modifying nouns which denote a unit that consists of more than two parts such as *yi fu qi* 一副棋 'chess'. This 'set' use of *fu* 副 will be excluded in our discussion.

yi shuang shou 一雙手 'a pair of hands' and *yi fu shoutao* 一副手套 'a pair of gloves'.[4]
Nevertheless, *dui, shuang* and *fu* are used when the speaker tries to emphasize that the two
entities form a functional unit. For example, some of the body parts such as ears, eyes,
hands, feet, etc., can function properly only when there are a left one and a right one.
Other than body parts, an example which illustrates a functional unit of two is chopsticks
with which two must be used when we eat.[5] Despite that *dui, shuang* and *fu* are
synonymous in meaning, the three classifiers are not always interchangeable. When *dui* is
followed by a human noun or an animate noun such as *yi dui fuqi* 一對夫妻 'a couple'
and *yi dui niao* 鳥 'a pair of birds', neither *shuang* nor *fu* can replace it. *Dui* and *shuang* are
interchangeable in cases when the noun denotes body parts or objects that are put on
body parts. The alternation between *yi dui chibang* 一對翅膀 'a pair of wings' and *yi
shuang chibang* 一雙翅膀 'a pair of wings' and that between *yi dui shoutao* 一對手套 'one
pair of gloves' and *yi shuang shoutao* 一雙手套 'a pair of gloves' are possible. *Dui* and *fu*
are interchangeable in cases when the noun refers to objects that are put on body parts
such as *yi dui erhuan* 一對耳環 'a pair of earrings' and *yi fu erhuan* 一副耳環 'a pair of
earrings'. In what follows, section 2 will first outline the uses of these three classifiers in
Cantonese and Mandarin and then will compare their uses in the two dialects. Section 3
will look at *dui, shuang* and *fu* from a historical perspective, exploring their origins and
their uses in the history of the Chinese language[6]. Section 4 is a discussion and section 5
is a conclusion.

2.   A synchronic perspective of *DUI, SHUANG* and *FU* in Cantonese and Mandarin

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[4] *Yi dui xiao haizi* 'a pair of little children', *yi shuang shou* 'a pair of hands' and *yi fu shoutao* 'a pair gloves' have
the following implications: (1) the two little children are siblings; (2) there is a left hand and a right hand
and the two belong to the same person; (3) the two gloves consist of a left one and a right one and the two
form a pair. When *ge* is used to modify *haizi* 'children' and *zhi* is used with *shou* 'hands' and *shoutao* 'gloves',
the above implications may or may not be expressed.
[5] The notion of a functional unit is important because *dui, shuang* and *fu* will be used only if the   noun
they modify denotes two entities that have to be involved in order to perform some kind of function
properly like *kuaizi* 'chopsticks'. It is pointed out by one of the reviewers that if there is a big left-hand
glove and a small right-hand glove, *liang zhi shoutao* 'two gloves' rather than *yi dui/shuang shoutao* 'a pair of
gloves' will be used. The use of *zhi* rather than *dui/shuang* in this *shoutao* 'gloves' example seems to suggest
that some kind of similarity or symmetry has to be found in the two members of a functional unit.
Otherwise, *dui* and *shuang* will not be used.
[6] This study tries to show what uses of *dui, shuang* and *fu* that were found in the history of the Chinese
language, the period of time between the Sanguo period and the Qing dynasty, are present in Cantonese
and Mandarin, and what early uses of these three classifiers are absent in the two dialects. Since it is not the
goal of this study to trace the development of these three classifiers, the above period will not be further
divided up into different periods such as old Chinese and middle Chinese and the language spoken during
that period of time will be referred to as the Chinese language.

Section 2.1 will outline the uses of *deoi*, *soeng* and *fu* in Cantonese. Their corresponding uses in Mandarin will be examined in section 2.2, followed by a comparison of the uses of these three classifiers in the two dialects.

2.1. The uses of deoi, soeng and fu in Cantonese

2.1.1. The uses of deoi in Cantonese

In Cantonese, the classifier *deoi* can be used with the following types of nouns: (1) human nouns such as *fucai* 夫妻 'a couple', *zaineoi* 仔女 'children', *cingleoi* 情侶 'lovers', *fumou* 父母 'parents', *jyngaa* 冤家 'enemies', *maaneoi* 孖女 'twin daughters', [7] etc; (2) animate nouns such as *zoek* 雀 'birds', *gamjyu* 金魚 'gold fish', *hungmaau* 熊貓 'pandas', etc; and (3) inanimate nouns such as *sau* 手 'hands', *ngaan* 眼 'eyes', *haai* 鞋 'shoes', *laabaa* 喇叭 'loud speakers', *faaizi* 筷子 'chopsticks', etc. Some kind of opposition is often exhibited in the two members. The opposition can be on sex as in the human nouns *fucai* 'a couple', *zaineoi* 'children', *cingleoi* 'lovers' and *fumou* 'parents', or on the opposing view taken by the two members as in *jyngaa* 'enemies'. On the other hand, there are cases in which there is no opposition in sex in the two members as in the noun *maaneoi* 'twin daughters'. For animate nouns, the opposition in sex may or may not be found in the two members. For example, *jat deoi hungmaau* 一對熊貓 'a pair of pandas' can be two of the same sex or different sexes. For inanimate nouns, the opposition of sex is not relevant but the left-right opposition is. The left-right opposition is found in *sau* 'hands', *ngaan* 'eyes' and *haai* 'shoes' but in general there is not any opposition exhibited in *laabaa* 喇叭 'loud speakers' and *faaizi* 筷子 'chopsticks'. What can be summarized from the above discussion is that when *deoi* is used, there is often an implication that some kind of opposition exists in the two members. When no opposition is involved, the use of *deoi* emphasizes that the two members form a functional unit.

2.1.2. The uses of soeng in Cantonese

The classifier use of *soeng* is found only in a handful of varieties of Yue. Zhan and Cheung investigated thirty-one varieties of Yue spoken in the Pearl River Delta region in 1988, including those that are spoken in Guangzhou 廣州, Zhongshan 中山, Zhuhai 珠海, Dongguan 東莞, Foshan 佛山, Jiangmen 江門, Hong Kong, Macao, etc. Among the

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[7] The emphasis on 'two' is doubly marked by the classifer *deoi* and *maa* 'two' in this example.

varieties that were surveyed, only the variety spoken in Conghua 從化 uses *soeng* with the noun *haai* 'shoes'. The other thirty varieties all use *deoi*. In another survey carried out by Zhan and Cheung in 1994 in eleven counties in the northern part of the Guangdong province, the noun *haai* 鞋 'shoes' can be modified by both *deoi* and *soeng* in Lianshan 連山, Lianxian 連縣 and Qujiang 曲江 while the other eight counties all modify *haai* 'shoes' with *deoi*. From a cross-dialectal perspective, the classifier use of *SHUANG* is found in other major Chinese dialects such as Mandarin, Xiang, Wu, Min, Gan and Kejia. The Yue dialect is spoken in the Guangdong and Guangxi provinces in which the Min and Kejia dialects are spoken. It is not clear whether the classifier use of *soeng* in few of the varieties of Yue is a result of influence from other Chinese dialects or whether it reflects an on-going replacement process of *soeng* by *deoi*. On the other hand, data from Cantonese historical materials, materials compiled in the 19th and early 20th centuries for the teaching of Cantonese to Westerns, seem to suggest that the uses of *soeng* started to be replaced by *deoi* in the 19th century. In Morrison (1828), *deoi* and *soeng* are listed side by side with the meaning of 'a pair'. *Cantonese Made Easy* was compiled in 1883 by Ball. The text was revised, rendering three additional revised versions in 1888, 1907 and 1924. In the (1883) version, *deoi* and *soeng* are both used to modify the noun *sailouzai* 'little children'. In the (1907) and (1924) versions, the same example is no longer found in the texts. Moreover, only *deoi* is mentioned in the (1907) and (1924) texts whereas *soeng* is not discussed. Wisner (1927:9) notes that *soeng* is used with nouns that denote a pair of things that are exactly alike and are used together such as *ngaan* 'eyes', *sau* 'hands' and *goek* 'feet', while *deoi* modifies nouns that denote a pair of similar things always used together including *haai* 'shoes', *ngaan* 'eyes', *jizai* 'ears', *sau* 'hands', *sautou* 'gloves', etc. Nouns modified by *soeng* include solely those that refer to body parts whereas those modified by *deoi* can be things that denote body parts as well as things that are put on the body parts. By comparing the uses of *soeng* in the Cantonese historical materials with those found in few of the varieties of Yue, it is found that *soeng* once had a wider scope of use in the language than it has nowadays, losing ground to *deoi*. For example, in Ball (1883), *soeng* can be used to modify human nouns but its use is restricted to nouns that refer to things that are put on body parts in a handful of varieties of Yue. In contrast to few of the varieties of Yue in which the classifier use of *soeng* is found, *soeng* with the meaning of 'two' is often used to contrast with *daan* 單 'one' such as the contrast between *daanjan cong* 單人床 'a single bed' and *soengjan cong* 雙人床 'a double bed'. Unlike *soeng* in *jat soeng haai* 'a pair of shoes', which can be preceded by the numeral *jat* 'one', *soeng* in *soengjan cong* 'a double bed' cannot be preceded by the numeral *jat* 'one' as in **jat soengjan cong* 一雙人床 'one double bed'. Furthermore, the numeral-classifier sequence *jat zoeng* 一張 'one'

can be added in front of *soengjan cong* 'a double bed' like *jat zoeng soengjan cong* 一張雙人床 'one double bed', thus showing that *soeng* in *soengjan cong* 'a double bed' is not a classifier.[8] *Soeng* with the meaning of 'two' can also modify a verb, contrasting with *daan* 'one' such as the contrast between *soeng daa* 雙打 'a double game' and *daan daa* 單打 'a single game'.[9]

2.1.3.   The uses of *fu* in Cantonese

As pointed out in footnote 3, *fu* can express a 'set' meaning in addition to a 'pair' meaning. It seems that *fu* in Cantonese is more frequently used to express a 'set' meaning than a 'pair' meaning.[10] Only a few inanimate nouns such as *ngaangeng* 眼鏡 'glasses' and *deoilyun* 對聯 'couplets' can be modified by *fu*. Since the opposition of left-right is found in *ngaangeng* 'glasses', some varieties like those spoken in Doumen 斗門 and Qujiang 曲 江 allow the use of both *deoi* and *fu* with *ngaangeng* 'glasses' and some varieties such as those spoken in Dongguan 東莞, Baoan 寶安, Zhongshan 中山 and Yingde 英德 use only *deoi* with *ngaangeng* (cf. Zhan and Cheung 1988 and 1994). Similarly, the opposition of beginning-ending is found in *deoilyun* 'couplets', therefore, the use of *deoi* with *deoilyun* is possible.

The scope of use of *deoi*, *seong* and *fu* in Cantonese is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: The uses of *deoi*, *seong* and *fu* in Cantonese

	Human nouns		Animate nouns		Inanimate nouns	
	with opposition	without opposition	with opposition	without opposition	with opposition	without opposition
deoi	√	√	√	√	√	√
seong					√	

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[8] Wang (2001:250) notes that in Mandarin *shuang* in *shuang li* 雙鯉 'a pair of carp' is not only a numeral but has some property of adjectives.

[9] In the *soeng* examples provided by two Cantonese dictionaries (Bai 1998 and Rao et al. 1996), none of them illustrates that *soeng* can be used as a classifier. Moreover, in the interview data provided by 30 informants who were at their twenties, no example of the classifier use of *soeng* was obtained. In contrast, there are several examples of *deoi* and one example of *fu*. In the data, the left-right opposition is exhibited in the nouns modified by *deoi* and *fu* such as *tohaai* 'slippers', *jivaan* 'earrings', *haai* 'shoes', *mat* 'socks' and *ngaangeng* 'glasses'. During the interviews, the informants were asked two questions. One question asked them to recall a case in which they had lost their belongings but found them at last. Another question asked them to list five things that they would bring along with them to an uninhabited island in a ship wreck situation. This interview was part of the classifier project supported by a Strategic Research Grant from the City University of Hong Kong and by the Research Grants Committee of China (CERG 9040294-590). The principal investigator of this project is Dr. Mary S. Erbaugh

[10] In Bai (1998) and Rao et al. (1996), only the 'set' meaning of *fu* is mentioned.

fu					√	

In Table 1, nouns that can be modified by *deoi*, *soeng* and *fu* are divided into three types: human nouns, animate nouns and inanimate nouns. For each of the three types, a further division is made between 'with opposition' and 'without opposition'. 'With opposition' means some kind of opposition such as the opposition in sex or in left-right is exhibited in the two members while 'without opposition' means no opposition is found in the two members. The following observation is noted from Table 1 – while *deoi*, having the largest scope of use among the three classifiers, can be used with all three types of nouns, *soeng* and *fu* can only be used with inanimate nouns with opposition. Also, it is mentioned in the above discussion that when an inanimate noun denotes a functional unit of two with opposition exhibited in the two members, the interchangeability between *deoi* and *soeng* and that between *deoi* and *fu* are possible.

2.2.   The uses of dui, shuang and fu in Mandarin

2.2.1.   The uses of dui in Mandarin

Lü (1980) notes that the nouns modified by *dui* can be human nouns, animate nouns and inanimate nouns. Opposition such as that in sex, left-right, etc., exists in the two members denoted by the noun *dui* modifies. The opposition in sex is exemplified in *yi dui fuqi* 一對夫妻 'a couple' and *yi dui jinyu* 一對金魚 'a pair of gold fish' and the opposition in left-right is illustrated in *yi dui chibang* 一對翅膀 'a pair of wings'. Moreover, *dui* can also be used with human nouns and inanimate nouns in which no opposition exists in the two members as in *yi dui dianchi* 一對電池 'a pair of batteries' and *ta liang shi yi dui huobao* 他倆是一對活寶 'they are a pair of funny ones.'[11]

2.2.2.   The uses of shuang in Mandarin

Lü (1980) and Guo (2002) both point out that *shuang* is used with inanimate nouns which exhibit a left-right opposition as in *shou* 手 'hands', *yanjing* 眼睛 'eyes', *xie* 鞋 'shoes', *wazi* 襪子 'socks' and *shoutao* 手套 'gloves'.[12] Some of these nouns can be modified by

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[11] The examples of *yi dui dianchi* 一對電池 'a pair of batteries' and *ta liang shi yi dui huobao* 他倆是一對活寶 'they are a pair of funny ones' are taken from Lü (1980). Guo (2002) does not mention the use of *dui* with nouns that do not exhibit any kind of opposition.

[12] Guo (2002) notes that *shuang* in general is not used to modify human nouns. It can modify a human

both *shuang* and *dui* such as *yanjing* 'eyes', *chibang* 'wings' and *shoutao* 'gloves'. These nouns denote body parts or objects that are put on body parts.[13] However, according to Guo (2002), it is possible for *shuang* to be used with nouns that consist of two members which do not exhibit any opposition such as *kuaizi* 'chopsticks'. In this example, no opposition is found in the two members. For the noun *kuaizi* 'chopsticks', some speakers can modify it with *dui* or *fu* in addition to the use of *shuang*.

2.2.3.   The uses of fu in Mandarin

According to Lü (1980), *fu* modifies inanimate nouns that come in pairs such as *shoutao* 手套 'gloves' and *duilian* 對聯 'couplets'.[14] The opposition of left-right and that of beginning-ending are illustrated in these two examples. Moreover, *fu* can also modify nouns in which no opposition is found such as *qiupai* 球拍 'racquets' (cf. He 2000).[15] For the noun *zhuozi* 鐲子 'bracelets', some speakers can modify it with both *fu* and *dui*.

The scope of use of *dui*, *shuang* and *fu* in Mandarin is summarized in Table 2 below:

Table 2: The uses of *dui*, *shuang* and *fu* in Mandarin

	Human nouns		Animate nouns		Inanimate nouns	
	with opposition	without opposition	with opposition	without opposition	with opposition	without opposition
dui	√	√	√		√	√
shuang					√	√
fu					√	√

In Table 2, the following observation is obtained – *dui* can modify all three types of nouns – human nouns, animate nouns and inanimate nouns, whereas *shuang* and *fu* can only be used with inanimate nouns. For inanimate nouns with and without opposition,

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noun only when it is contrasted with *dui* in the same sentence as in *shuang shuang dui dui, pian pian qi wu* 雙雙對對，翩翩起舞 'Pairs and pairs of people are dancing.' A similar example is found in *Hongloumeng*《紅樓夢》 *tamen daoshi peijiu le de yi dui, fuqi yi shuang tian long di ya* 他們倒是配就了的一對，夫妻一雙天鸞地亞 'They are indeed a pair, a perfect matched couple.' In this example, *dui* and *shuang* both refer to the couple.
[13] Lü further notes that nouns that are not related to body parts cannot be modified by *shuang* such as *huaping* 花瓶 'vase and *maodun* 矛盾 'contradictions'.
[14] According to some Mandarin speakers, *fu* in Mandarin, like the situation in Cantonese, tends to be used more frequently to express the 'set' meaning than the 'pair' meaning.
[15] Guo (2002) mentions two other types of nouns that can be modified by *fu* and they are nouns that refer to facial expressions like *shenqing* 神情 'facial expressions' and *jiazi* 架子 'arrogance'. Since *fu* does not express the concept of 'a pair' in these cases, they are excluded from the discussion in this study.

the interchangeability between *dui* and *shuang*, that between *dui* and *fu* and that among the three classifiers are possible.

By comparing Table 1 with Table 2, the following similarities are observed in both Cantonese and Mandarin: (1) among the three classifiers investigated, *DUI* has the widest scope of use; and (2) only *DUI* in both dialects can modify human and animate nouns, and some kind of opposition is often exhibited in the two members denoted by these human and animate nouns. On the other hand, one difference that is observed in the two dialects is that while *DUI* in Cantonese has a wider scope than that in Mandarin, the scope of both *SHUANG* and *FU* in Mandarin is wider than that in Cantonese. Precisely, the scope of *DUI* in both Cantonese and Mandarin is similar (modifying both human and inanimate nouns with and without opposition), except that *DUI* in Cantonese can modify both animate nouns with and without opposition but that in Mandarin can only modify animate nouns with opposition. In contrast, *SHUANG* and *FU* in Mandarin can be used with both inanimate nouns with and without opposition, while the two classifiers in Cantonese can only modify inanimate nouns with opposition.[16]

3.   A diachronic perspective of *DUI, SHUANG* and *FU* in the history of the   Chinese language

In terms of syntactic categories, in the history of the Chinese language classifiers were often derived from nouns such as *mei* 枚, a noun which denotes the trunk of trees. Besides, verbs and adjectives also served as the sources of classifiers such as *zhang* 張 'to stretch or spread' and *qu* 曲 'curved'. During the development of classifiers, the use of classifiers might have become generalized. For example, the general classifier *ge* 個 in Mandarin was derived from a noun with the meaning of bamboo trees. In its early use as a classifier, *ge* modified only nouns with the meaning of bamboo trees. As its use became generalized, it could be used with nouns denoting objects made of bamboo like bamboo arrows, and later on with nouns referring to objects unrelated to bamboo such as candles, dogs, chickens and horses (cf. Erbaugh (1985)). On the other hand, there are classifiers whose scope of use basically has remained intact since it first functioned as a classifier. For example, throughout its development *pi* 匹 basically has been used exclusively to refer to horses. This section will discuss the origins of *DUI, SOENG* and *FU* and illustrate

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[16] Opposition plays an important role in determining whether or not interchangeability among the three classifiers is possible in Cantonese but its determining force in Mandarin is lesser.

their uses in the history of the Chinese language.

3.1.   The uses of dui, shuang and fu in the history of the Chinese language

3.1.1.   The uses of dui in the history of the Chinese language

Hong (2000:333) notes that *dui* originally was a verb meaning 'to ask and to answer'. According to her, since to ask and to answer are bidirectional actions in a conversation, the verb *dui* was extended to become a classifier for things that come in pairs. Hong further points out that the classifier use of *dui* first appeared in the Tang dynasty.[17]

(1)   a.   恰遇一對薄命小兒女　（《紅樓夢》）

Qia   yu   yi dui   boming   xiao   ernü.

Just   meet   one   pair   poor   little   lover

'Meet one pair of poor little lovers.'

　　b.   美人一對（《敦煌變文》）

Mei   ren   yi   dui.

Pretty   person   one   pair

'a pair of pretty women'

(2)   a.   一對鴛鴦（《宋・晏殊〈雨中花〉詞》）

Yi   dui   yuanyang

One   pair   mandarin duck

'one pair of mandarin ducks'

　　b.   活鹿兩對（《紅樓夢》）

Huo   lu   liang   dui

Live   deer   two   pair

'two pairs of live deer'

(3)   a.   一對雙眉（《關漢卿戲曲集》）

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[17] In this paper, examples used to illustrate the uses of *dui*, *shuang* and *fu* in the history of the Chinese language are taken from Hong (2000), Liu (1965), Hanyu Dai Zidian《漢語大字典》 and the following historical materials: *Shiji*《史記》, *Dunhuang Bianwen*《敦煌變文》, *Zhuzi Yulei*《朱子語類》, *Yuankan Zaju Sanshizhong*《元刊雜劇三十種》 and *Guanhanqing Xiquji*《關漢卿戲曲集》, *Sanguo Yanyi*《三國演義》 and *Hongloumeng*《紅樓夢》.

Yi dui shuang mei

One pair two eyebrows

'a pair of eyebrows'

b. 四五對紅紗燈籠 （《水滸傳》）

  Si wu dui hong sha denglong

  Four five pair red silk lantern

  'four five pairs of red silk lanterns'

In the above examples, *dui* modifies a human noun in (1); an animate noun in (2) and an inanimate noun in (3). While the opposition in sex is exhibited in the human noun *boming xiao ernü* 'poor little lovers' in (1a) and in the animate noun *yuanyang* 'mandarin ducks' in (2a), the opposition of left-right is illustrated in the inanimate noun *shuang mei* 'two eyebrows' in (3a). No opposition seems to be involved in the human noun *mei ren* 'pretty women' in (1b), the animate noun *huo lu* 活鹿 'live deer' in (2b), and the inanimate noun *hong sha denglong* 紅紗燈籠 'red silk lanterns' in (3b).

3.1.2. The uses of shuang in the history of the Chinese language

According to Liu (1965:197-198), the original meaning of *shuang* was 'two birds' and it later developed into a classifier expressing the meaning of 'a pair'.

4. 男女相兼乞一雙 （《敦煌變文》）

  Nan nü xiangjian qi yi shuang

  Boy girl both beg one pair

  'Beg for a boy and a girl.'

5. 一雙青白鴿 （《敦煌變文》）

  Yi shuang qing baige

  One pair young pigeon

  'one pair of young pigeons'

6. 一雙眼 （《朱子語類》）

  Yi shuang yan

  One pair eye

  'a pair of eyes'

7.　一雙軍船（《三國演義》）

    Yi　　shuang　　jun　　chuan

    One　　pair　　military　ship

    'a pair of military ships'

In the above examples, *shuang* modifies the human noun *nan nü* 'a boy and a girl' in (4), the animate noun *qing baige* 'young pigeons' in (5), and the inanimate nouns *shuang yan* 'two eyes' in (6) and *jun chuan* 'military ships' in (7). The opposition in sex is exhibited in *nan nü* 'a boy and a girl' and may or may not be present in *qing baige* 'young pigeons'. While the left-right opposition is illustrated in *shuang yan* 'two eyes', no opposition is involved in *jun chuan* 'military ships'.

3.1.3.　The uses of fu in the history of the Chinese language

As pointed out in Liu (1965:209), the classifier *fu* was originally a verb with the meaning of 'to separate', and by metaphorical extension, anything that could be separated and could be categorized as a group of 'two' can be modified by *fu*.

8.　襪若干副 (三國魏曹植《冬至献　履頌表》)

    Wa　　ruogan　　fu

    Sock　　some　　pair

    'several pairs of socks'

9.　一副舊破的對聯（《紅樓夢》）

    Yi　　fu　　jiu　　po　　de　　duilian

    One　　pair　　old　　torn　　De　　couplet

    'a pair of old and torn couplet'

10.　被褥一副（《曹操・與太尉楊文先書》）

    Bei　　yu　　yi　　fu

    Quilt　　blanket　　one　　pair

    'a pair of quilt and blanket'

Fu modifies the inanimate noun *wa* 'socks' in (8), *duilian* 'a couplet' in (9) and *bei yu* 'quilt and blanket' in (10). The opposition of left-right is illustrated in *wa* 'socks' whereas the

opposition of beginning-ending is involved in *duilian* 'couplets'. For *bei yu* 'quilt and blanket', no opposition seems to be involved. In the literature consulted (Chen 1999, Hong 2000, Yang 1988) and in our search in the historical materials,[18] no example of the use of *fu* with human and animate nouns is found.

Table 3: The uses of *dui, shuang* and *fu* in the history of the Chinese language

	Human nouns		Animate nouns		Inanimate nouns	
	with opposition	without opposition	with opposition	without opposition	with opposition	without opposition
dui	√	√	√	√	√	√
shuang	√			√	√	√
fu					√	√

In Table 3, the following are observed: (1) *dui* has the widest scope of use among the three classifiers, modifying all three types of nouns (including those with and without opposition); (2) *shuang* can be used with human nouns with opposition, animate nouns without opposition and inanimate nouns with and without opposition; and (3) *fu* has the narrowest scope of use among the three classifiers, modifying inanimate nouns with and without opposition. Table 3 shows that for a certain set of nouns, the use of the three classifiers overlaps. For example, for human nouns with opposition, *dui* and *shuang* can be used. However, in the literature consulted and in the historical materials used, there are not any discussion and examples which show that the interchangeability among the three classifiers is possible.

3.2. The comparison of DUI, SHUANG and FU in Cantonese, Mandarin and in the history of the Chinese language

Belonging to the same language family, the Chinese language family, it is expected that Cantonese and Mandarin would show many linguistic features found in the history of the Chinese language, including the uses of *DUI, SHUANG* and *FU*. However, the uses of the three classifiers in Cantonese, Mandarin and in the history of the Chinese language are different, as demonstrated in Tables 1-3.

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[18] Cf. Footnote (17) for the list of the historical materials used in this study.

3.2.1. The comparison of DUI in Cantonese, Mandarin and in the history of the Chinese language

Among the three classifiers examined, *DUI* has the widest scope in Cantonese, Mandarin and in the history of the Chinese language, modifying human nouns and inanimate nouns, including those that are with opposition and those that are without opposition. For animate nouns, the use of *DUI* in Cantonese resembles that in the history of the Chinese language, both being able to modify animate nouns with and without opposition; whereas *DUI* in Mandarin is used with animate nouns only when the opposition between the two members is emphasized. To put it differently, the scope of *DUI* in Cantonese and in the history of the Chinese language is identical but is narrower in Mandarin.

3.2.2. The comparison of SHUANG in Cantonese, Mandarin and in the history of the Chinese language

The scope of *SHUANG* in both Cantonese and Mandarin is smaller than that in the history of the Chinese language. In the history of the Chinese language, *SHUANG* modifies animate nouns but such an option is not available to Cantonese and Mandarin. Furthermore, the use of *SHUANG* in Cantonese is yet smaller than that in Mandarin. As already pointed out in 2.1.2, the use of *SHUANG* is taken over by *DUI* in most varieties of Yue. In other words, the scope of *SHUANG* in Cantonese, Mandarin and in the history of the Chinese language is different, with that in the Chinese language having the widest scope of use, followed by Mandarin and then Cantonese.

3.2.3. The comparison of FU in Cantonese, Mandarin and in the history of the Chinese language

Among the three classifiers investigated, *FU* has the narrowest scope in both dialects and in the history of the Chinese language. The scope of *FU* in Mandarin resembles that in the history of the Chinese language, modifying inanimate nouns with and without opposition. In contrast, its scope in Cantonese is smaller, modifying only inanimate nouns with opposition. That is to say that the scope of *FU* in Mandarin is the same as that in the history of the Chinese language, but is narrower in Cantonese.[19]

4. Discussion

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[19] Cf. Section 2.1.3 and footnote 10 for the discussion on the use of *fu* in Cantonese.

After outlining the scope of use of *DUI*, *SHUANG* and *FU* in Cantonese, Mandarin and in the history of the Chinese language, some of the questions which arise from the above observations will be addressed in this section:

(1)   Among *DUI*, *SHUANG* and *FU*, why is *DUI* the one that has the widest scope of use in both dialects and in the history of the Chinese language and why is some kind of opposition in the two members often implied when *DUI* is used?

(2)   Why is the scope of use of *SHUANG* narrower in both dialects than in the history of the Chinese language?

(3)   Why is *FU* the one with the narrowest scope in both dialects and in the history of the Chinese language?

(4)   How are the uses of the three classifiers captured in Cantonese, Mandarin and in the history of the Chinese language?

Since *DUI*, *SHUANG* and *FU* are related to the meaning of 'a pair', they may compete with each other in modifying the same set of nouns. It follows that if one wins out, the scope of the others would be narrowed down. In what follows, questions (1)-(3) will be addressed together.

According to Hong (2000:218-219), the three classifiers examined in this study emerged in the history of the Chinese language in the following order:

| Chronological sequence of emergence: | *shuang* | > | *fu* | > | *dui* |
| Time of emergence (dynasty): | Qin | > | Han | > | Tang |

Shuang was found in the history of the Chinese language as early as in the Qin dynasty, *fu* in the Han dynasty and *dui* in the Tang dynasty.

Hong (2000: 233) points out that *shuang* could modify objects which were functional units with two members such as shoes and socks and it could also simply be used to indicate the quantity of 'two'. In contrast, the classifier *liang* 兩, which was in use in the Qin dynasty, could only be used with objects which came in pairs and which were related to objects put on feet. Since the scope of use of *shuang* covered that of *liang*, *shuang* replaced *liang*, modifying nouns that denoted objects which came in pairs as a functional

unit as well as those whose quantity was two. Table 3 shows that *shuang* not only could modify animate nouns, not restricted to those related to its origin -- birds, but can also be broadened to be used with human nouns and inanimate nouns.

Fu came into use in the Han dynasty. But it did not replace the use of *shuang* as a classifier for the expression of the 'pair' meaning. One reason may be related to its origin which was a verb with the meaning of 'to separate'. The object to be separated is a unitary whole and it can be separated into two parts or more than two parts. By metaphorical extension, in the former *fu* expresses the meaning of 'a pair' whereas in the latter it denotes 'a set'. Since the use of *fu* is restricted to inanimate nouns and did not overlap the use of *shuang* in human nouns and animate nouns, it did not replace *shuang* as a classifier with the 'pair' meaning.

The emergence of *dui* in the Tang dynasty started to challenge the position of *shuang*. Table 3 shows that the use of *shuang* and *dui* overlaps in all three types of nouns in the history of the Chinese language whereas Tables 1 and 2 illustrate that the overlap of use between *DUI* and *SHUANG* is restricted to inanimate nouns in Cantonese and Mandarin. That *DUI* has replaced *SHUANG* in some of the uses in Cantonese and Mandarin may be a result of the following two factors. First, the original meaning of *DUI* involves the two opposing actions of to ask and to answer. The meaning of opposition is still preserved nowadays when *DUI* is used as a verb in Cantonese (*nei coeng ngo deoi nei* 呢場我對你 'You and I are opponents in this contest.') and in Mandarin (*zhe yi chang wo dui ni* 這一場我對你 'You and I are opponents in this contest.'). The meaning of opposition is manifested as the opposition in sex, in left-right, etc., in the two members denoted by the noun modified by *DUI*. Such an opposition meaning is not shared by *SHUANG*. As a result, the opposition meaning of *DUI* makes it a preferred choice of classifier for a noun which refers to two members with some kind of opposition. In addition, its generalization in use, i.e. including nouns which do not exhibit any opposition in all three types of nouns, allows it to cover the use of *SHUANG* and to replace it. The replacement of *SHUANG* by *DUI* resembles that of *liang* by *shuang* in the history of the Chinese language. Second, *SHUANG* could appear in front of a noun specifying the quantity of 'two', as exemplified in *shuang ji* 雙雞 'two chicken'. Such a combination is ambiguous between a numeral-noun structure and a classifier-noun structure with the omission of the numeral *yi* 'one'.[20] In order to avoid the above structural ambiguity and to avoid having two *shuang*s in a row, i.e. with one

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[20] Cf. Section 2.1.2 for the discussion on the numeral use of *soeng* in Cantonese.

expressing the meaning of 'two' and one the meaning of 'a pair', the use of *DUI* to express the 'pair' meaning would be preferred. For example, instead of *yi shuang shuang mei* 一雙雙眉 'a pair of eyebrows', *yi dui shuang mei* 一對雙眉 'a pair of eyebrows' is used in (3a).

Among *DUI*, *SHUANG* and *FU*, *DUI* and *SHUANG* are often interchangeable in nouns that denote body parts such as *chibang* 'wings' and *yanjing* 'eyes' in Cantonese and Mandarin. On the other hand, *FU* cannot be used with these nouns. The above contrast may be related to their origins. The origins of *DUI* and *SHUANG* are related to human nouns (only human beings can ask a question and answer a question in the case of *DUI*) and animate nouns (*SHUANG* refers to two birds) while the origin of *FU* is related to inanimate objects (objects to be separated are inanimate). Both human beings and animals have body parts but inanimate objects do not. Therefore, the extension from human beings and animate objects (properties related to the original meanings of *DUI* and *SHUANG*) to their body parts (the classifier use of *DUI* and *SHUANG*) seems to be more natural in *DUI* and *SHUANG* than in *fu*, whose original meaning is related to inanimate objects that lack body parts.

As shown in Tables 1-3 above, the scope of use of *DUI*, *SHUANG* and *FU* is different but their use overlaps in some cases. The question then is whether it is possible to capture their use by some kind of generalization. In Tables 1-3, nouns that can be modified by the three classifiers are divided into three types according to their animacy, i.e. human nouns, animate nouns and inanimate nouns. Human nouns, those that have human referents, are considered more animate than animate nouns, those that denote living organisms other than human beings. Inanimate nouns denote non-living organisms and they are the least animate among the three types of nouns.

High animacy   Low animacy
Human nouns →   animate nouns →   inanimate nouns

What is found in Tables 1-3 is that if a classifier can modify a type of nouns that is close to the left side of the above animacy scale, it can also modify the types of nouns that are on the right. For example, *DUI* in both Cantonese and Mandarin can modify human nouns and it can modify the two types of nouns on the right of human nouns, i.e. animate and inanimate nouns. On the other hand, *SHUANG* and *FU* in both dialects can only modify inanimate nouns but cannot be used with the two types of nouns on the

left of inanimate nouns, i.e. human and animate nouns. Similarly, in Table 3, *DUI* and *SHUANG* can modify human nouns as well as the two types of nouns on the right of human nouns, i.e. animate and inanimate nouns, whereas *FU* can only be used with inanimate nouns but cannot be used with those on the left of inanimate nouns, i.e. human and animate nouns.

5.   Conclusion

The present study tries to examine the use of *DUI*, *SHUANG* and *FU* from a lexical perspective. Broadening and narrowing in the scope of use of these three classifiers result from the competition among them. Since *DUI*, in addition to modifying nouns that can be modified by *SHUANG* and *FU*, can be used with those that *SHUANG* and *FU* do not modify, its use is broadened and dominates over those of *SHUANG* and *FU*. As a result, the scope of use of both *SHUANG* and *FU* has been narrowed down. It is further suggested that the origins of *DUI*, *SHUANG* and *FU* may account for the contrast in interchangeability among the three classifiers, especially in cases in which a noun that denotes body parts is involved. Since the origins of *DUI* and *SHUANG* are related to human beings and living organisms that have body parts, the two are interchangeable in the use of inanimate nouns that denote body parts. In contrast, since the origin of *FU* is related to inanimate objects that lack body parts, it cannot replace *DUI* or *SHUANG* in modifying inanimate nouns that denote body parts. There are a number of questions that remain unanswered in this study. The interchangeability between *DUI* and *SHUANG* and that between *DUI* and *FU* are possible when the noun modified exhibits some kind of opposition in the two members. However, we do not know in each case whether it is the uses of *DUI* that replace those of *SHUANG* and *FU* or vice versa. Furthermore, why is the scope of *DUI* in Cantonese larger than that in Mandarin while the scope of *FU* and *SHUANG* in Mandarin is larger than that in Cantonese? Is interchangeability among the three classifiers possible in the history of the Chinese language? What is or are the factors that determine(s) the broadening or narrowing of the scope of use of a lexical item? What is or are the factor(s) involved in deciding whether two entities are considered a functional unit? Is there any correlation between the animacy hierarchy and the scope of use of the three classifiers? I will leave them to future study.

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粵語語氣詞的書寫方式[1]

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一、　研究狀況

關於粵語口語詞的書寫方式，前人做了不少研究。Bauer（1988）對 '書面粵語'（written Cantonese）在香港社會，特別是大眾傳媒和通俗文學方面的應用做了詳盡的描寫。Snow（2004）通過大量的材料，揭示了書面粵語的社會功能如何在歷史上逐步擴展──從早期的戲曲唱詞發展到後期的報刊小說、政經評論等，應用的範圍越來越廣泛。Snow 的深入研究，爲書面粵語今天的社會地位提供了歷史的背景。Luke & Nancarrow（1991）探討了香港報刊中方言用字的問題，分析了香港報章雜誌中大量存在的自創方言字，發現這些新造的字往往出現在報刊中較爲輕鬆的部分，如副刊、廣告等。又指出，同樣的現象也見於口語小說和非正式的書信、文件之中。陸鏡光（1995）探討了香港粵語口袋書中方言字使用的情況和選擇的原則。

句末語氣詞是粵語口語詞的一種，簡稱語氣詞。語氣詞怎麼寫？關於這個問題，前人也做了不少的研究。游順釗在他 1965 年的碩士論文裏（Yau 1965）研究了這個問題。他對三組年齡在 18 到 26 歲之間的學生進行了聽寫測試，發現他們書寫粵語語氣詞的方式很不統一，既有規範的漢字，也有方言字。使用的規範漢字一共有 29 個，但是被 20% 以上受試者一致地用來表示某一個特定的語氣的字只有 7 個。因此他認爲，規範漢字不能滿足粵方言使用者在表達語氣方面的需要。可惜論文只給出了受試者使用規範漢字來書寫粵語語氣詞的頻率，卻沒有報告受試者運用方言字的實際情況。

郭張凱倫（Kwok 1984）探討了語氣詞書寫的問題。她認爲，由於規範漢字不敷應用，要表達各種複雜的語氣，只能借助於方言字。可是因爲方言字沒有規範，所以人言人殊，不能統一，爲了更好的達到交際的目的，應該考慮規範的問題。比如，書面粵語裏同一個字往往可以表示不同的語氣詞；例如，'嘅' 既可用來表示 $k\varepsilon^{33}$，也可用來表示 $k\varepsilon^{25}$。在各種場中，作者特別強調語氣詞的書面形式在學術研究中的重要性。爲了學術研究的需要，應該儘量避免一字多用或者多字互用的情況，因此明確提出 '一個語氣詞，一個漢字'（'一詞一字'）的構想。文章列舉了 30 個 '基本語氣詞'，一一

給出不同的字，在統一語氣詞書寫方式的道路上走出了重要的一步。但是，因為文章收詞不全，所以有的語氣詞仍然是有詞無字；此外，因為沒有直接討論設計原則的問題，有的詞是否應該用建議的字來寫，也許還可以作進一步的討論。

Lau（1995）進一步研究人們用書面形式表示粵方言口語詞時所需考慮的因素。在談到語氣詞時，作者提出了兩個問題。第一，當一個語氣詞具有兩種不同的語法功能時，是否應視為兩個不同的詞，從而被賦予不同的書寫形式？文中舉了兩個例子：'呀'和'呢'既可以表示停頓，也可以表示疑問，是否應該在書寫形式上加以區分？第二，有時候同一個語氣詞有兩個變體，在書面上表現為兩個不同的形式（如'嘞'和'喎'），這種情況應該如何處理？這些問題我們留待下一節討論。

Luke & Nancarrow（1997）給出了所有當時能找到的粵語語氣詞的用法和寫法，可是這篇文章的重點在全面描述和說明語氣詞系統，沒有直接討論書寫原則的問題。

本文的目的是在前人研究的基礎上討論語氣詞書寫的原則問題，並嘗試設計一套可供研究者準確無誤地表示粵方言裏不同的語氣詞的方案，為粵語的研究提供方便。

二、現存的問題

由於缺乏規範，香港人用漢字（包括方言字）來書寫語氣詞的時候，既沒有準則，也沒有規範。具體來說，有兩個主要的問題：（1）一字多詞：同一個字被用來代表幾個不同的語氣詞；（2）一詞多字：幾個不同的字被用來代表同一個語氣詞。

先舉一些常見的例子來說明這兩個問題。[2]

（1）一字多詞。用同一個字形來書寫幾個不同的語氣詞，在香港的報刊上非常普遍，特別是當幾個語氣詞的聲母和韻母都一樣，但聲調不同時，往往用同一個漢字來表示。例如：

字形	例子
呀（a^{33}/a^{21}）	時代不同了，以前我們真的是揾很多年揾出來，但現在有些新一輩的歌手會說：'揾過又點呀（a^{33}）！好巴閉呀！（a^{21}）'（忽然一周 26-4-02）
嘛（ma^{33}/ma^{23}）	莫文蔚說：'我覺得冇必要研究，每個人都有自己朋友，同朋友食飯冇問題嘛（ma^{33}）！唔係食飯都唔畀人食嘛（ma^{23}）？食飯都影，香港真係冇新聞。'（蘋果日報 2-5-02）
	我 Apple 姐都買咗副，盛惠一千六百五十蚊之嘛（ma^{33}），幾好款㗎。（蘋果日報 2-5-02）
	阿 Rain 反問記者說：'點解要約佢？同方力申去有佢救我嘛

	（mɑ³³）。’ （蘋果日報 2-5-02）
㗎（kɑ²¹/ kɑ²⁵/ kɑ³³/ kɑ⁵⁵）	今次我求大俠都冇啲睇唔過眼，小馬啱啱先贏咗季後賽第一圈，離奪總冠軍重有成十萬八千里咁遠；依家就口出狂言話誓要奪標，簡直大言不慚，佢真係當帝王同湖人冇到㗎（kɑ²¹）？（蘋果日報 3-5-02）
	‘…快啲打電話俾趙薇啦！我都想約佢㗎（kɑ³³），不過要人得閒先得㗎（kɑ²⁵）。’ （壹週刊 25-4-02）
	咪噏得出就噏至得㗎（kɑ²⁵）！（忽然一周 26-4-02）
	既然 Janet 兩姐弟用後都覺得好用，於是我都買齊兩支返去試吓，我都係後生女嚟㗎（kɑ⁵⁵）嘛！（東方日報 15-5-02）
嘅（kɛ²⁵/ kɛ³³）	‘你啲 BB 相從來冇曝光嘅（kɛ²⁵）？你細個冇影相咩？’ （忽然一周 26-4-02）
	她說：‘我唔可以坐得太耐，瞓喺度係最舒服嘅（kɛ³³）。’ （蘋果日報 3-5-02）
喇（lɑ³³/ lɑ⁵⁵）	至於被問到岳少經常用專車接送 Selina，他說：‘冇乜問題，佢成日都搵車載我哋啲同事喇（lɑ⁵⁵）！（安排佢住豪宅喎？）呢啲唔係好清楚。’ （壹週刊 25-4-02）
	‘其實一直都有雜誌要求我哋扮 Twins。著泳褲，初頭都幾抗拒，覺得都幾肉酸，雖然知道呢啲喺新人必經階段，但真係接受唔到，況且我哋咁瘦，著泳褲出嚟都唔好睇啦。好彩，依家已經無人叫我哋做男版 Twins 喇（lɑ³³）！’ （壹週刊 25-4-02）
	戶外活動要加倍防曬，好多皮膚科醫生都話揀防曬膏最高去到成份 SPF30 就夠，因為防曬指數嘅高低跟抵抗紫外線損害皮膚嘅功能差唔多，只差別在防曬時間嘅長短。而且防曬指數愈高，產品質地愈膩，所以你呢套錯誤防曬觀念－‘梗係搽愈高度數嘅防曬品愈好啦！’ 就要快改喇（lɑ³³）。（東方日報 15-5-02）
	無論你用緊邊個流動電話網絡，亦毋須更換 Sim 咭，用手機就玩到全新配種版‘動力馬房’！你可透過互動短訊，為馬匹尋找合適嘅對象進行配種，再將誕下嘅幼馬，撫育成新一代馬王。嘩嘩林去就近嘅新世界傳動網門市或以下商號買張馬主咭，試吓隻 game 有幾好玩喇（lɑ⁵⁵）！（東方日報 15-5-02）
啦（lɑ³³/ lɑ⁵⁵）	問安雅是否覺得偉仔雙眼電力驚人？她說：‘我梗係覺得偉仔靚仔啦（lɑ⁵⁵），但我就冇俾佢電親啦（lɑ³³）！’ （蘋果日報

	17-4-02）
	其實黃一飛與星爺在拍《少林足球》時已有嫌隙，據知星爺曾因黃說錯一句對白而大聲鬧他：‘你係咪老啦（la^{33}）？回塘啦（la^{55}）！’（忽然一周 26-4-02）
喎（wo^{23}/ wo^{33}）	記者聯絡霆鋒的經理人 Polly，問到有關霆鋒是否同王菲復合，Polly 就全不知情的說：‘佢私人事，我冇過問喎（wo^{33}），（佢係咪成日用國語傾電話呀？）冇喎（wo^{33}）。禮拜六霆鋒會去廈門出席一個廣告嘅活動，翌日就返港再出席晚上一個活動。’（東方日報 15-5-02）
	書麒又話遲啲仲考慮搬去西貢度住，一嚟方便自己返無線，二嚟要遠離‘罪惡’咁話，等自己住得安心啲喎（wo^{23}）。（東方日報 15-5-02）
囉（lo^{33}/ lo^{55}）	不過，英國傳媒能夠將一單球員受傷新聞，搞到咁有娛樂性，真係要寫個服字畀佢哋囉（lo^{33}）。（蘋果日報 17-4-02）
	被問到何以選香港、上海及台北等地舉行演唱會時，成員更說：‘我哋喺邊到搞都冇所謂，總之人哋叫我哋唱，咪唱囉（lo^{55}）！’（蘋果日報 17-4-02）

（2）　　　一詞多字：同一個語氣詞用幾個不同的漢字來表示。由於報刊之間並沒有一套共同的標準，因此我們不難發現同一個語氣詞在不同的報章雜誌中有不同的書面形式。有時同一個語氣詞甚至在同一份報章中也有不同的寫法。例如：

語氣詞	例子
a^{33}（啊、呀）	NBA 計劃喺下年季後賽首圈將原來嘅五場三勝制轉爲七場四勝制。有多啲波睇我哋呢班球迷梗係舉脚贊成啦！不過‘巨無霸’奧尼爾就鬧 NBA 唯利是圖，唔理佢哋班球員嘅感受。大舊佬啊（a^{33}）！打多幾場波咪少啲嘅爆冷嘅機會囉，對你哋班熱門咪重有利，而且又可以袋多幾場人工，何樂而不爲？（蘋果日報 26-4-02）
	傷完一個又一個，叫我哋點樣爭超聯同歐冠盃呀（a^{33}）？（蘋果日報 26-4-02）
	她笑說：‘我最近都係食穀種，間中買吓股票基金。隻戒指有無五卡？係多一卡，六卡啊（a^{33}）！我喺 Cally（鄺美雲）度買嘅。使唔使十萬八萬？梗係唔止啦。’

	（壹週刊 25-4-02）
	記：'你又攞影帝又攞最年青導演喎！' 星：'係呀（a^{33}）！我係最年青導演，即係話我後生啦！你哋唔好再話我老呀（a^{33}）！多白頭髮呀（a^{33}）！乜乜物物嘅！' （壹週刊 25-4-02）
ka^{33}（喇、㗎）	只見細孖蔡卓妍好緊張一輪嘴同記者：'我未去過台灣㗎（ka^{33}），嗰度同香港有冇時差㗎（ka^{33}）？要搭幾耐飛機？'跟住大孖鍾欣同亦不甘後人話：'係啦，台灣凍唔凍㗎（ka^{33}），使唔使帶大褸去？'（忽然一周 26-4-02）
	家姐！我係第一個買到㗎（ka^{33}）！（忽然一周 26-4-02）
	'二手店'嘅貨品咁正！我經常都嚟入貨㗎（ka^{33}）！ （忽然一周 26-4-02）
lɛ^{23}（哩、呢）	第三週到喇，麥當勞派出日本 Hello Kitty 同球證 Dear Daniel 同您周圍去反！佢哋只要一個反身，就可以分別變成麥當勞嘅魚柳飽同汽水！犀利哩（lɛ^{23}），快啲嚟麥當勞換購啦，全套八隻，記住集齊佢哋呀！（太陽報 17-5-02）
	老豆威呢（lɛ^{23}）？（壹週刊 nd）
lɛ^{55}（哩、呢）	松松在兩日假期，四處品嘗當地美食，佢仲話當地嘅鐵板燒牛肉 I-CHI-BAN 哩（lɛ^{55}）！（東方日報 15-5-02）
	佢話：'其實我唔會太刻意要依家生，始終都係新婚，想享受一下二人世界先，所以唔會不設防，順其自然啦！或者有意外，個天會賜個 BB 畀我呢（lɛ^{55}）！' （太陽報 16-5-02）
t'im^{55}（㖭、嚛、添）	加埋多套電子裝備，諸如 ESP 以及 ABS 連 EBD 裝置，令行車倍見循迹力強外，制動反應亦見收放自如㖭（t'im^{55}）！ （蘋果日報 17-4-02）
	阿仙奴喺前晚贏咗車路士，成功捧走今屆英格蘭足總盃後，班球員不知幾咁開心，總興奮到攬埋一舊㖭（t'im^{55}）！ （蘋果日報 6-5-02）
	為壯大聲勢，鄔醫生仲拉埋四洲紫菜同李錦記負責人一齊上去添（t'im^{55}）！（成報 2-5-02）

　　一字多詞可能引起歧義。碰到這樣的情況，一般可以依靠上下文來排歧，上面列舉的例子，大部份屬於這一類。例如，'佢私人事，我冇過問喎'，由於這裏說話人是直

接說出自己的看法，可以猜想，‘喎’字代表的是 wo³³。可是在另外的一句話裏（‘書麒又話遲啲仲考慮搬去西貢度住，一嚟方便自己返無線，二嚟要遠離"罪惡"咁話，等自己住得安心啲喎。’），說話人明顯是在轉述第三者的話，因此這裏的‘喎’字代表的應該是 wo²³。

　　第二個解決歧義的辦法是參考語氣詞後面的標點符號。[3] 例如，‘同朋友食飯冇問題嘛！’和‘唔係食飯都唔畀人食嘛？’前一句的感嘆號，暗示句子是個感嘆句，所以‘嘛’代表的語氣詞應該是 ma³³；後一舉的問號，暗示句子是個疑問句，所以‘嘛’代表的語氣詞應該是 ma²³。

　　但是一旦離開了上下文，同一個字就可能有幾個不同的意思。例如：‘佢唔去喎’這個句子中的‘喎’字，可讀作 wo³³、wo²¹ 或 wo²³。再看以下的例子：
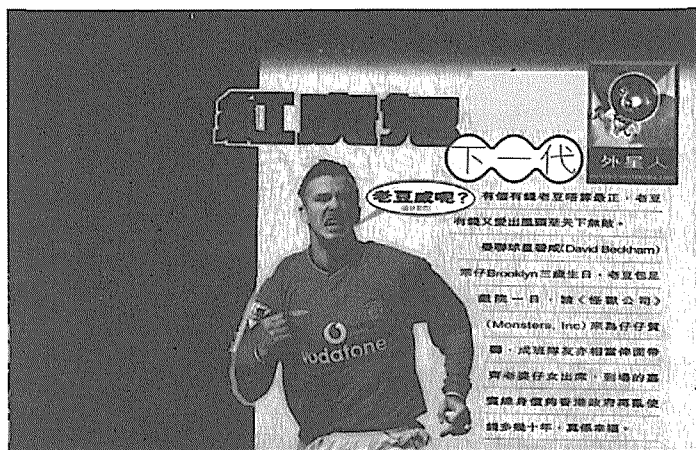
　　假如讀者不先看文字描述，‘老豆威呢？’很可能會被唸成語義模糊的 lou²³ tɐu²² wei⁵⁵ lɛ⁵⁵，只有把相關的文字都看完，才知道句子該唸成 lou²³ tɐu²² wei⁵⁵ lɛ²³。

有時即使有語境的幫助，一些語氣詞的身分還不是完全明確的，例如：

因此，‘啦’有時表示 lɑ³³，有時表示 lɑ⁵⁵，在這頁剪報裏，不容易確定作者想要表達的意思。如果把‘啦’讀作 lɑ³³，那麼作者是由自己的角度來描述當時的情形，就是‘船開了’。但是假如把‘啦’讀作 lɑ⁵⁵，那麼可能作者是在轉述船長吩咐船員開船的話，‘啦’的歧義不能消解。

綜上所述，香港的報章雜誌對粵語語氣詞的書寫方法並沒有一定的標準，因此常常遇到‘一字多詞’和‘一詞多字’的情況。不過，讀者在一般情況下都能利用語境和上下文來辨識方言字的身分。有的時候，即使不能肯定某個字代表哪個語氣詞，還是能把新聞看懂。可是，異體字太多畢竟對讀者準確地掌握說話人的語氣態度、對學者有系統地研究粵語，都甚為不利。再舉一兩個例子：

（1）　阿蓮對香港人稱呼外國人為‘鬼佬’很反感，不過她也稱自己為龍的傳‘鬼’，她還想令廣東話成為世界語言。‘我覺得學廣東話好容易，沒有語法、過去式、現在式，要學曉其實很容易。最不喜歡香港人劈頭第一句便說：‘廣東話難學，唔好學啦。’認為只有中國人會講，外國人太蠢學不了，抹殺了很多人去學的決心。’（蘋果日報 26-4-02）

無論讀者把‘啦’讀成 lɑ³³ 或 lɑ⁵⁵，對於整段說話的理解，似乎沒有太大的影響，但細心分析，其實還是有一些差別的：同樣是提出意見，但 lɑ⁵⁵ 比 lɑ³³ 更為婉轉，給人一種留有餘地的感覺。

（2）　邵傳勇說：‘嗰日有個記者話想我約啲藝人試菜影相，我約晒鄭敬基、鐘麗淇同劉曉彤嚟幫手，但出嚟嘅效果唔係正面嘅，重話我嫌澤鋒間‘麻辣小喇叭’食水深，我成年幾行落過澤鋒間舖，又點知人哋啲價錢貴唔貴，我又唔係開麻辣火鍋，大家做生意各有各做，我都想人哋好㗎。’（蘋果日報 3-5-02）

kɑ²⁵比 kɑ³³顯示出一種更強的語氣。

（3）　小春續說：'我對啲緋聞笑罵由人，我畀唔畀意見，出嚟嘅結果都係畀人話，我
　　　　　冇為呢啲嘢影響心情，唔想講多錯多，我唔想傷害人，人哋又傷害我，嗰啲人有
　　　　　報應㗎，呢個世界好美好嘅，但有好多壞人，壞人一定冇好報。'（蘋果日報
　　　　　nd）

　　與kɛ²相比，⁵kɛ³³更能表示一種肯定的語氣，讀成 kɛ²⁵的話，語氣就會變得婉轉一
些。

　　儘管聲調的差別對讀者的理解不一定起決定性的作用，但是如果能把 kɛ²⁵/ kɛ³³、
kɑ²⁵/ kɑ³³和 lɑ³³/ lɑ⁵⁵等語氣詞從字形上區別出來，對讀者能準確地掌握說話人的語氣
和態度，應該還是有幫助的。更重要的是，我們建議儘量把每一個語氣詞的字形區分開
來，主要是為了學術研究的需要。　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　．

　　作者從 1997 年起開始建立《香港大學粵語口語語料庫》。為了收集語料，邀請了
粵語的說話人互相談，並進行錄音。此外又把一些以清談為主的電台節目錄下來，收進
語料庫內。從一千七百分鐘的錄音當中，挑選了一些音質較好的錄音，進行轉寫
（transcription）。轉寫的原則是把說話人的說話一字一詞盡量如實地記錄下來，這裏就
遇到怎樣用文字記錄語氣詞和其他口語詞的問題。以下舉兩個例子：

（4）　　A：　講吓食嘢喇，不如。

　　　　　B：　係，有乜嘢食呀？

　　　　　A：　有乜嘢食呀？

　　上面的例子中，如果單用 '啊' 或 '呀' 字來表示兩個同音不同調的語氣詞是不足
夠的，讀者即使參考上文下理和標點符號也無法知道 '呀' 在對話中代表哪個語氣詞。
第一個呀可能是 ɑ³³，那麼第二個呀就是 ɑ²¹；但如果第一個呀是 ɑ²¹，那麼第二個呀就
變成 ɑ³³了。第二個例子：

　　（5）我點都唔會走嘅。

在這個句子中， '嘅' 既可能表示kɛ³³，也可能表示kɛ²⁵，兩者的意義非常不同。前者
比較強烈，帶堅定或反抗的語氣，後者比較婉轉，有安慰的意味。如果兩個詞能在書面
上作出區分，轉寫的工作會容易得多。

<div align="center">三、粵語語氣詞書寫方案</div>

　　基於以上的理由，我們嘗試設計一套系統性較強和比較便於記憶的書寫方案。方案
的總原則是 '一字一詞' （one-to-one correspondence）。即每一個語氣詞只用有一個書寫

符號，而每一個書寫符號只代表一個語氣詞。我們首先從固有的漢語書寫系統內尋找合適的漢字來對應口語中的語氣詞，如表示疑問的 $l\epsilon^{55}$ 和 $m\alpha^{33}$，以 '呢' 和 '嗎' 來表示；有合用的現成而通行的粵方言字就盡量採用通行的方言字；在既沒有規範漢字，又沒有合用的通用方言字時，才考慮製造新的方言字。最終的目的是達到 '一字一詞' 的要求。新造的方言字，一概由義符和聲符兩個部分組成。義符一律用 '口' 字，表示其代表的詞是口語詞。聲符盡量採用與該語氣詞同音的字。所謂同音，指的是聲母、韻母和聲調完全相同。例如 lo^{55} 用 '囉' 字代表，因爲它的聲符和 lo^{55} 同音。lo^{21} 則用 '羅' 字，因爲其聲符和 lo^{21} 同音。假如實在沒有同音字，只好取一個音近的聲符，如 $k\epsilon^{25}$，由於沒有同音字，我們便用了韻母和聲調相同而聲母相異的 '茄'（音 $k'\epsilon^{25}$）字，加上 '口' 旁造成 '茄'字。又如 wo^{23}，也沒有同音字，取聲母和韻母相而聲調相異的 '禍'（音 wo^{22}）而成 '喎' 字，這種情況爲數極少，不影響設計原則的普遍性。

除了當代媒體和文字上常見的方言字外，我們還參考了一些歷史文獻。對語氣詞的寫法考慮得最周詳的首推十九世紀傳教士 J. Dyer Ball，他在 Cantonese Made Easy 一書中爲粵語語氣詞設計了七十多個方言字，其中不少（如啩、囉、喇、咩、哩等）到現在還在使用，而且很受歡迎。[4]我們盡可能保留了 Ball 的方言字，同時做了一些必要的修改和補充，這主要表現在五個方面：

(1) 在 Ball 的方案裏，聲母韻母相同但聲調不同的語氣詞不一定區分，如 α^{21} 和 α^{23}、$ts\alpha^{21}$ 和 $ts\alpha^{23}$ 等。在本文的方案裏聲調不同的語氣詞一律分開處理。

(2) Cantonese Made Easy 中的一些語氣詞，到今天已經不用了，因此不收；如：个（ko）、麼（mo）、嘙（pe）等。

(3) 書中有一些語氣詞，估計只是連讀現象，不須另設獨立的字；如：吔（ya）、喫（yak）等。

(4) 另有還有一些字，估計是其他口語助詞而不是語氣詞，Ball 爲了方便放到同一個表裏去，這些字超出了本文的範圍；如：喞、嘓等。

(5) 一些當代流行的語氣詞在 Ball 的書裏都找不到，可能當時還沒有這些詞，本文有必要收進來，如：呃、略、嗲等。

本文提出的方案，堅持不同的語氣詞需用不同的字形來表示，這樣才能避免 '一字多詞' 引起的歧義。實在沒有可用的字的時候才考慮造新字，但同時強調同音原則，這樣才能更如實地反映口語，並且方便讀者區分不同的語氣詞。我們認爲這種 '一字一詞' 及從字形上反映音值的做法，對普羅讀者、編寫粵語教材、特別是對研究粵語的人來說都應該是有用的。下表給出《香港大學粵語口語語料庫》中用來書寫句末語氣詞的字形、讀音和例子：

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[4] Ball 的書有不同的版本，我們參考的主要是 1888 和 1924 年的兩個版本。

語氣詞	粵語拼音	例子
1.　呀	α^{21}	唔通乜都唔做喺度等佢哋嚟呀？
2.　吼	α^{23}	王菲退出歌壇？唔係吼？
3.　啊	α^{33}	一你去唔去睇戲啊？ 一我叫你做埋功課先出街啊。
4.　吖	α^{55}	唔該俾兩個橙我吖。
5.　呃	αk^{33}	A: 你唔係去咗北京咩？ B: 唔係呃，無呃。
6.　㗎	$k\alpha^{21}$	乜嗰間 disco 唔收錢㗎？
7.　㗎	$k\alpha^{23}$	佢冇理由唔鍾意㗎？
8.　㗎	$k\alpha^{25}$	你要幫吓手做先得㗎。
9.　㗎	$k\alpha^{33}$	我好鍾意食朱古力㗎。
10.　㗎	$k\alpha^{55}$	唔係個個都好似你咁叻㗎嗎。
11.　㗎	$k\alpha k^{33}$	你平時好飲得㗎，點解而家咁快醉㗎？
12.　啩	$kw\alpha^{33}$	我諗今日唔會落雨啩。
13.　嘛	$k\varepsilon^{25}$	我唔睬你啊，你成日都蝦人嘛！
14.　嘅	$k\varepsilon^{33}$	我點都唔會走嘅。
15.　嘮	$l\alpha^{21}$	一你試吓再咁曳吖嘮！' 一你搵番本書嘮？
16.　哪	$l\alpha^{23}$	你搵到本書哪？
17.　嘞	$l\alpha^{33}$	我有啲唔舒服，所以唔去嘞。
18.　喇	$l\alpha^{55}$	本書你攞去喇。
19.　嘞	$l\alpha k^{33}$	弊嘞！無帶遮㗎！
20.　嚟	$l\varepsilon^{21}$	唔好咁小氣嚟。
21.　哩	$l\varepsilon^{23}$	一我會考攞 8 個 A，威哩？ 一唔好問我喇，我唔知哩。
22.　呢	$l\varepsilon^{55}$	一唔知啲公司會唔會再裁員呢？ 一你唔好逼佢喇，可能佢真係唔想去呢。
23.　囉	$l\mathfrak{o}^{21}$	係囉，點解你唔去參加呢個比賽啊？
24.　嘍	$l\mathfrak{o}^{33}$	咁熱，不如去游水嘍！
25.　囉	$l\mathfrak{o}^{55}$	你睇，小明咪喺嗰邊囉！
26.　咯	$l\mathfrak{o} k^{33}$	我都話唔去咯，唔好煩我喇！
27.　嘛	$m\alpha^{23}$	噉都得，唔係嘛？
28.　嗎	$m\alpha^{33}$	一你呢排幾好嗎？

			一你應該早啲講俾我聽嗎。
29. 咩	mɛ⁵⁵		你估呢度係你屋企咩？
30. 嚤	pɔ³³		咁快食晒碗飯，幾叻嚤！
31. 添	tʻim⁵⁵		我重以為你會去小明度添。
32. 喳	tsɑ²¹		係得咁多人嚟喳？
33. 喳	tsɑ²³		唔駛咁多，千零蚊喳？
34. 咋	tsɑ³³		我得番五蚊咋！
35. 啫	tsɛ⁵⁵		佢唔係唔識，係唔肯做啫。
36. 唧	tsɛk⁵⁵		究竟發生咩事唧？
37. 喎	wɔ²¹		個蛋糕原來係小明整嘅喎。
38. 喎	wɔ²³		佢話佢唔去喎。
39. 喎	wɔ³³		呢排天氣幾好喎。

方案中的 39 個字，儘管並不一定能涵蓋所有的語氣詞，但我們還是提出來，以就教於方家。粵方言的語音變異本來就不少，再加上語氣詞在發音方面的某種模糊性，令我們試圖全面收集語氣詞的工作倍加困難。此外還有語調的問題，語調和語氣詞的關係密切而複雜，這裏只舉一個例子。上面提到 "老豆威哩！" 這樣的一句話，如果用正常的語調唸，表示陳述的語氣，可是加上降調之後，就多了一層洋洋自得的含義，這兩種唸法是否需要在書面上區分？我們認為不需要，也沒可能，因為用漢字來表示語調畢竟是個太高的要求了。

必須指出，本文提出的書寫方案只適用於句末語氣詞，其他的粵方言詞能否用同樣的辦法進行規範，有待進一步研究。不過我們的看法是：不太可能。理由是方言詞的數量和範圍比語氣詞要大得多；而且跟語氣詞不同，其他的方言至少有一部份有本字可尋；能夠找到本字的話，可能就沒必要用方言字了。方案設計用的同音原則，對一些方言詞來說也是不合適的，例如'sir'滑梯的 sir 字，因為沒有用同音字，一般只能用英文的 sir 字來表示。[5]

本文提出的書寫原則是否適用於其他方言裏的語氣詞？按理說同樣的原則應該是可以應用到其他的方言去的。不過各地的情況很不相同，方言口語入文被接受的程度也很不一樣，所以不能一概而論。以吳方言區為例，書面方言就相對的不普及，Norman（1988）對此有精闢的見解，可供參考。閩語在當代台灣的社會地位跟香港粵語也許可以相比，但由於兩地歷史情況的不同，羅馬字在台灣的接受程度比香港高得多，因此像

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[5]也有一種看法（由彭志銘先生提出），認為 sir 的本字為 '瀡' （見盧健凌＜正字政治＞，am730， 2006-12-29）

語氣詞一類的現象，處理的方法很可能也會有差異。Klöter 的新著（2005）對台灣的情況有詳盡的論述，可以參考。[6]

最後順帶一提，本文建議的方言字，已爲香港特區政府的《香港增補字符集》採納。由於以往的中文電腦編碼標準（如在香港和台灣流行的大五碼）並不包括一些在香港常用的中文字符，使用者要輸入這些特殊的方言字，就得在電腦上自行造字。但由於每個人自造字的編碼不同，在一部電腦上編製的字符，未必能在其他電腦上顯示出來，這樣使得中文信息交換很不方便。爲了解決這個問題，特區政府於 1999 年與中文界面諮詢委員會合作編製及公佈了《香港增補字符集》，內含四千多個在香港通用的字符，提供給市民下載。安裝了《香港增補字符集》以後，就可以在電腦上使用一套統一的編碼標準來瀏覽和輸入香港通用的方言字，大大提高了中文信息交換的效率。本文提出的所有方言字，已經收進香港增補字符集內，這爲更多的人使用這些字提供了有利的條件。[7]

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6 Klöter 新書的消息，由匿名審稿人提供，謹致謝意。
7 有關《香港增補字符集》的詳細資料，可瀏覽以下網頁：www.info.gov.hk/digital21/chi/hkscs。

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