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第十四屆粵語討論會

Program and Abstracts

程序表及論文提要

City University of Hong Kong 香港城市大學
March 29, 2014 (Saturday) 二零一四年三月廿九日，星期六



The Fourteen Workshop on Cantonese (WOC-14)
香港語言學學會 第十四屆粵語討論會
Grammaticalization in Cantonese 粵語中的語法化

Date 日期： Saturday March 29, 2014
2014年3月29日，星期六
Venue 地點： Room 6-207, Academic 3, City University of Hong Kong /
香港城市大學學術樓 (三) 6-207 室

Time 時間	Speakers 講者	Titles 題目
13.30-14.00	Foong Ha YAP ¹ , Tak-Sum WONG ¹ & Winnie O.W. CHOR ² 1. PolyU; 2. Open U	Clause-medial particles and stance marking in Cantonese
14.00-14.30	Jackie Y.-K. LAI CUHK	Seeking harmony in Cantonese: Sentence final particles and the final-over-final constraint
14.30-15.00	Yik-Po LAI 黎奕葆 HKIEd	香港粵語中的「同」：共時和歷時考察
15.00-15.30	Kevin K. W. CHAN CUHK & PolyU	On the condition of grammaticalization of coordinative conjunctions in Cantonese
15.30-16.00	Tea Break	
16.00-16.30	Zheng WEI 魏政 CUHK	狀態補語標記語法化的參數化視角
16.30-17.00	Huayong LIN 林華勇 & Yalun LI 李雅倫 Sun Yat-Sen U, GZ	廣東會城粵語的完成體
17.00-17.30	Bit-Chee KWOK 郭必之 & Peppina P.-L. LEE 李寶倫 CityU	全稱量化詞的「前世」和「來生」---- 粵語方言動詞後置成分「晒」、「齊」、「了」 的語法化
17.30-18.00	Benjamin K. TSOU 鄒嘉彥 CityU, HKUST & CUHK	Summary discussion of workshop presentations

Clause-medial particles and stance marking in Cantonese

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Speakers have various linguistic resources at their disposal to express their stance, e.g. their feelings, viewpoints, evaluations and attitude. It is well known that Cantonese has a rich inventory of sentence final particles to express speaker stance (see Cheung 1972; Kwok 1984; Law 1990; Matthews & Yip 1994; Fung 2000; Leung 2005; Sybesma & Li 2007; *inter alia*). More recently, attention has also been given to clause-medial particles in Cantonese as well. For example, Chor (2010; 2013) recently examined the development of post-predicate directional particles *faan* and *maai* into markers of the speaker's positive and negative attitude respectively. Wong, Yang & Yap (2011) and Yap & Chor (2014) have also recently examined the reanalysis of complement-taking verbs such as *mzi* as a negative attitudinal marker and stance adverbials such as *taipaa* as an epistemic-cum-evidential-cum-attitudinal marker respectively (see also Yap, Chor & Wang 2012 for Mandarin *kongpa*). In this paper, we seek to explore issues related to the following questions: (1) How do complement-taking verbs grammaticalize into stance adverbials at the left periphery and then further develop into parenthetical stance markers in pre-predicate clause-medial position? (2) What types of stance markers tend to occupy clause-medial as opposed to sentence final position? (3) How do stance markers in clause-medial position differ in function from those at the left or right periphery (e.g. discourse particles and sentence final particles)? (4) Are clause-medial stance markers oriented more toward pragmatic functions that are subjective as opposed to intersubjective in nature? Data for our analysis come primarily from the Hong Kong University Cantonese Corpus and PolyU Corpus of Spoken Chinese.

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Corpora:

PolyU Corpus of Spoken Chinese. Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

<http://myweb.polyu.edu.hk/~egwts/corpus.htm>

Hong Kong University Cantonese Corpus. The University of Hong Kong.

<http://www.linguistics.hku.hk/hkucorpus/>

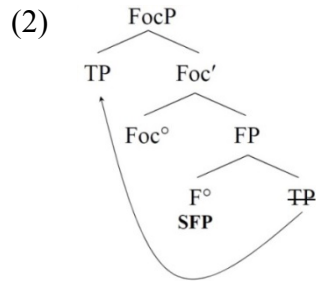
**Seeking Harmony in Cantonese:
Sentence-final Particles & the Final-over-Final Constraint**

Jackie Y.-K. LAI

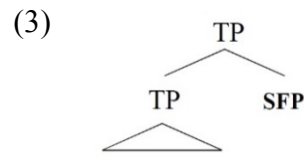
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Prima facie, the surface sentence-final position of an extremely rich repertoire of particles in Cantonese, so called ‘sentence-final particles’ (SFPs) (Cheung 2007; Matthews and Yip 2011), poses a challenge to the Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC) recently formulated as a syntactic universal (Biberauer, Holmberg and Roberts 2008, 2009, in press). A recent work (Chan 2013) takes the existence of an emerging complementiser *waa6*, evolved relatively recently from *verba dicendi* (Yeung 2006; Chappell 2008; Matthews and Lai 2012), to cast doubt upon the widely held assumption in the literature that SFPs instantiate C heads, putting forward instead an affixal account where SFPs are defective categories which do not project. This paper argues that, while SFPs and *waa6* are grammaticalised via distinct routes, the common assumption can be maintained in synchronic analysis. The fact that some subset of SFPs co-occurs with *waa6*, as in (1), need not be problematic, assuming the split CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1997 among many others) in line neatly with the syntactic behaviour of SFPs as a heterogeneous class (Tang 2010a; Tang 2010b). Moreover, the surface order of SFPs invalidates FOFC only if SFPs must be head-final elements, but such an assumption is unnecessary in deriving their surface order in an unmarked sentence. Chan’s affixal account is shown not be superior to another recent account (Cheung 2009) taking SFPs as head-initial elements instantiating functional categories in the CP region. The class of sentences labelled ‘Clause-internal Dislocation’ (e.g. (4)) with which Chan motivates his affixal account is in fact compatible with Cheung’s focus-movement account, and the lowering mechanism in Chan’s account must be made explicit to explain why SFPs lower only and obligatorily in dislocation structures. Taken together, diachronic considerations in this case do not bear much upon synchronic analysis, and contrary to what their appearance and some recent works suggest, SFPs need not be ‘disharmonic’ (in Greenberg’s 1963 time-honoured sense) within the overall grammar of Cantonese.

- (1) keoi m4 gok3 waa6 go3 ho2 zi6 ji6 zou6 wo5
 3.SG NEG feel say CL word easy do SFP
 ‘He doesn’t feel the word *ho2* is easy to work on.’



Cheung (2009)



Chan (2013)

- (4) [di1 pou4-zap1]_α [gei2 hou2-mei6 wo3]_β hou2ci5 t_β
 CL Portuguese-sauce quite yummy SFP seem
 ‘The Portuguese sauce is quite yummy, it seems.’ (from Chan 2013:463)

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香港粵語中的「同」：共時和歷時考察

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在香港粵語中，「同」可作為形容詞 (1-2)、並列連詞 (3)，以及介詞，而用作介詞時可表達隨伴 (comitative) (4)、向 (allative) (5)、離 (ablative) (6)、等比 (equative comparative) (7)、受益 (benefactive) (8)、受害 (malefactive) (9)，引入「我」為介賓還可用於祈使 (10) 和命令 (11)。

- (1) 我哋研究同一個課題。(修飾名詞)
- (2) 我哋研究嘅課題唔同。(作謂語時只能用否定式)
- (3) 梨同橙喺雪櫃。
- (4) 佢聽日同我跑步。
- (5) 佢嚟日同我講咗個秘密。
- (6) 佢就嚟同我收錢。
- (7) 佢今日同我一樣咁忙。
- (8) 佢已經同我執好咗張枱。
- (9) 佢啱啱同我攞咗啲有用嘅嘢。
- (10) 你同我定啱。
- (11) 你即刻同我走！

更重要的是，「同」作為並列連詞和不同功能的介詞，都出現於相同的語序中：

NP₁ 同 NP₂ VP

在一定情況下，「同」可以有不同詮釋，產生歧義，例如以下兩句中的「同」都可詮釋為並列連詞和不同功能的介詞：

- (12) 你同我買白粉。(除了等比和向介詞)
- (13) 你同我講大話。(除了等比和離介詞)

在「同」不同的角色中，並列連詞和隨伴介詞最為漢語語法化研究所關注。吳福祥(2003)提出了以下在漢語中的語法化路徑：

隨伴動詞 > 隨伴介詞 > 並列連詞

Chan (2010) 鑑於前人對漢語方言的考察未有顧及粵方言，於是調查了廣東省中多種粵方言的情況，以共時類型學的動態化 (the dynamicization of synchronic typology)，驗證和發展上述路徑，並提及其他相關介詞功能的可能發展路徑：

隨伴介詞 > 向介詞 > 離介詞

隨伴介詞 > 向介詞 > 受益介詞

可是，前人研究似乎未有關注等比和受害介詞，以及在祈使和命令中引入「我」為介賓的現象，而方言語料的考察亦限於共時角度。

筆者擬在香港粵語共時的多義現象之外，參考語料庫的粵語歷時語料，以討論「同」用作介詞時不同功能的語法化路徑，並進一步探討其他相關課題，如「同我」出現於祈使和命令的原因、「同埋」的形成和使用情況、受益與受害間的語義不完全賦值 (semantic underspecification)。

On the condition of grammaticalization of coordinative conjunctions in Cantonese

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Chan (2010) reconstructed the grammaticalization path [verb > comitative preposition > coordinative conjunction] in Cantonese. Such diachronic change was also observed in other Chinese dialects (cf. Wu 2003) as well as other languages non-related to Chinese (cf. Lord 1993). Wu (2003) and Chan (2010) claimed that the word order S-PrepO-VO in Chinese provided a possibility for a comitative preposition to be grammaticalized to a coordinative conjunction. Nevertheless, the findings from WALS (The World Atlas of Languages Structures) indicate that the word order of verb, object, oblique and adposition of Chinese is quite rare (cf. features 84 and 85). If word order is a true condition of the grammaticalization path of [comitative preposition > coordinative conjunction], it would be difficult to understand why many languages use the same items as comitative markers and noun phrase conjunctions (cf. features 63).

This paper, by comparing Cantonese and other languages of the world, intend to raise the following arguments: (i) word order is an important condition of the grammaticalization process [comitative adposition > coordinative conjunction]. (ii) For languages with comitative markers be placed between two noun phrases, there is a tendency that the comitative markers to be grammaticalized to coordinative conjunctions.

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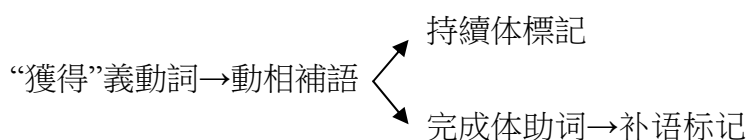
狀態補語標記語法化的參數化視角

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現代漢語中狀態補語標記“得”（朱德熙 1982）至少可以表示結果意義，情狀意義和程度意義。粵語中，“得”可以表示情狀意義，但表示結果意義和程度意義的補語標記通常是“到”（李新魁等 1995；方小燕 2003 等）。對於狀態補語“得”的來源，一種觀點認為“獲得”義動詞“得”虛化（語法化）后，用於動詞后表示“達成”意義（吳福祥 2009 等）。另一種觀點認為情狀意義“得”來自於“達成”意義，而結果意義來自於“致使”意義（朱其智 2009 等）。

岳俊發（1984）提出狀態補語“得”的虛化經過三個階段：（1）漢朝時期形成“V 得（O）”結構，“獲得”意義“得”作補語；（2）魏晉南北朝時期形成“V 得 O/C 式”，“完成”意義“得”作補語；（3）唐朝中期形成“V 得 C 式”，“得”完全虛化，成為狀態補語標記。吳福祥（2002）進一步認為，狀態補語標記“得”的語法化路徑如下：



方小燕（2003）考察了廣州話中“到”的 4 種用法之：位移動詞，結果補語標記，程度補語標記和表示完成意義的動態助詞。她認為從位移動詞到動態助詞是一個逐步語法化的過程。顯然，方文對“到”的語法化分析和吳文對“得”的語法化分析相悖。

本文認為，吳福祥（2002）提出的“得”字補語語法化演變模式可能無法解釋粵語中“得”和“到”的對立問題：即為什麼粵語中“得”可以表示完成意義（彭小川 1998）卻只有情狀補語的用法，而“到”則可以表示結果和程度意義？而漢語其他方言中也存在類似的對立現象。如贛語中宿松方言中的補語標記是“里”和“得”，“得”同樣不表示結果意義，而是表示程度意義；“里”可以表示結果意義但不能表示程度意義（黃曉雪 2010）。由此朱其智（2009）等提出的“平行演變”模式似乎更能說明不同標記成分的異同。

本文初步假設，狀態補語標記的產生可能都是基於趨向補語的用法，並且是一個“平行演變”的過程：情狀意義補語標記來自持續体標記，參王力的“著”的例

子；程度意義來自趨向補語的用法，或者是“達到、達成”意義，而結果意義來自致使意義。不同方言中補語標記用法的不同，可能反映的是不同的語法化路徑。最後，本文嘗試從生成語言學的輕動詞假設對結果意義“得”的語法化機制進行探討。根據 Robert (2007: 149) 等人的觀點，語法化可以被看成是與重新分析相關的參數變化。而結果意義“V 得 C”結構中“得”又被分析為一個輕動詞（何元建 2000 等）。我們就此提出一種假設：當致使意義的“得”位于動詞后，“V+得”不再表示並列或者連動結構。“得”的語義內容僅保留致使意義這個特徵，從而演變成一個輕動詞。支持這一假設的可能證據有兩個：一個是某些方言中“得”具有類似普通話處置式“把”的用法；另一個是歷時層面似乎存在一個輕動詞範疇顯性化的變化（馮勝利 2005）。

廣東會城粵語的完成體

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四邑片粵語的臺山話中「減」和「□[ə³³]」的用法如下 (甘于恩、吳芳 2005)：

- (1) 臺山粵語： 我企多減頭牛。(我家多了一頭牛。)
- (2) 臺山粵語： 吃□[ə³³]碗飯。(吃了碗飯。)

甘、吳 (2005) 認為「減」是「置於補語的位置」，「□[ə³³]」為完成體 (perfective) 標記。

廣東江門新會會城粵語也屬四邑片，也存在「減」和「□[ə³³]」用於「了 1」位置的用法。本文認為它們都是完成體助詞，但「□[ə³³]」的語法化程度比「減」高。例如：

- (3) 會城粵語： 抹□[ə] (/減) 三日黑板。(擦了三天黑板。)
- (4) 會城粵語： 颱風吹𦉳□[ə] (/減) 一間屋。(颱風吹倒了一間房子。)
- (5) 會城粵語： 關□[ə] (/ *減) 門再瞓覺。(關了門再睡覺。)

當賓語不是數量賓語時，不能用「減」，只能用「□[ə]」。會城粵語的「了 2」形式是「□[lə³¹]」，例如：

- (6) 會城粵語： 他去□[ə] (/減) 三次北京了□[lə³¹]。(他去了三次北京了。)
- (7) 會城粵語： 銀紙使𦉳□[lə³¹]。(錢花光了。)

本文將運用語法化理論，一方面論證以上例句中的「減」與「□[ə]」一樣，都是完成體助詞，它們只是經歷了不同程度的語法化，在語義泛化、語音磨損等方面也存在差異；另一方面，我們也將證明「減」不是補語成分，也不屬結果體，而是一個尚未成熟的完成體標記。本文的討論相信也同樣適合於臺山粵語。

全稱量化詞的「前世」和「來生」----

粵語方言動詞後置成分「晒」、「齊」、「了」的語法化

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粵語方言大都有豐富的動詞後置成分，它們能表達不同的意義，包括體貌、焦點、情態及量化等（參看張洪年 1972/2007；袁家驊 1989；Yue-Hashimoto 1993；Matthews & Yip 1994；李新魁等 1995；黃伯榮 1996；詹伯慧主編 2002；P. Lee 2012 等）。在句法上，這些後置成分都黏附在動詞或動補複合詞後，構成 [V-(R-)X] (V=動詞；R=補語；X=後置成分) 格式。

本文從方言比較的角度入手，探討粵語三個動詞後置成分的語法化路徑。這三個成分分別是「晒」、「齊」和「了」。它們雖然在不同的方言有不完全一樣的分布和語法功能，但共同點是都可以做全稱量化詞 (universal quantifier)：

- (1) 香港粵語 (廣府片)：買唔買得晒啲書？(書買得全買不全？) (張洪年 1972/2007: 160)
- (2) 南寧粵語 (邕潯片)：睇齊啲書問至同我傾。(把這些書都看過了才跟我說。)
- (3) 廉江粵語 (高陽片)：我做了今日個作業嘢。(我把作業全都做好了。)

(1) 的「晒」、(2) 的「齊」和 (3) 的「了」的句法範疇，把它們歸作修飾語量化詞，語義特徵方面也顯示相關共性 (參看 Partee 1995 等)。在這些例子中，它們都能給予關連成分全稱義，而且受制於複數條件 (參看莫華 1993；李行德 1994；T. Lee 1995；Tang 1996 等對香港粵語「晒」的描寫)。

通過比較和分析，我們知道「晒」和「了」語法源義都是「完結」。語法化的起點是 [NP₁-V₁-V₂-NP₂]，V₁ 和 V₂ 構成述補關係，其中 V₂ 由「晒」或「了」充當。在語法化的過程中，隱喻起了作用，「晒」和「了」的語義由「完結」演變為「周遍」。這種語義演變在古漢語裡也曾經發生過 (董正存 2011)。「齊」在粵語中是個「完全」義形容詞 (白宛如 1998:122)，也經常出現在述補結構 V₂ 的位置中。誘發「齊」發生語法化的環境和「晒」、「了」其實相當類似，只是它們的語法源義並不一樣。

除了當全稱量化詞外，「晒」、「齊」和「了」在粵語方言中還有別的語法功

能。「晒」在香港粵語中由全稱量化詞進一步語法化為程度量化詞 (degree quantifier)，即主語所指達到了形容詞謂語指稱的最高程度 (Lei & T. Lee 2013:13)，如 (4)：

(4) 香港粵語 (廣府片)：呢度我大晒。(這裡我最大 [=地位最高]。)

在南寧粵語中，「晒」[ɬai³³] 的量化功能逐漸減退，但表達體貌的功能則得到進一步發展，如 (5) 中的「晒」是個完整體 (perfective) 助詞：

(5) 南寧粵語 (邕潯片)：阿強捱公安拉去晒。(阿強被公安抓走了。)

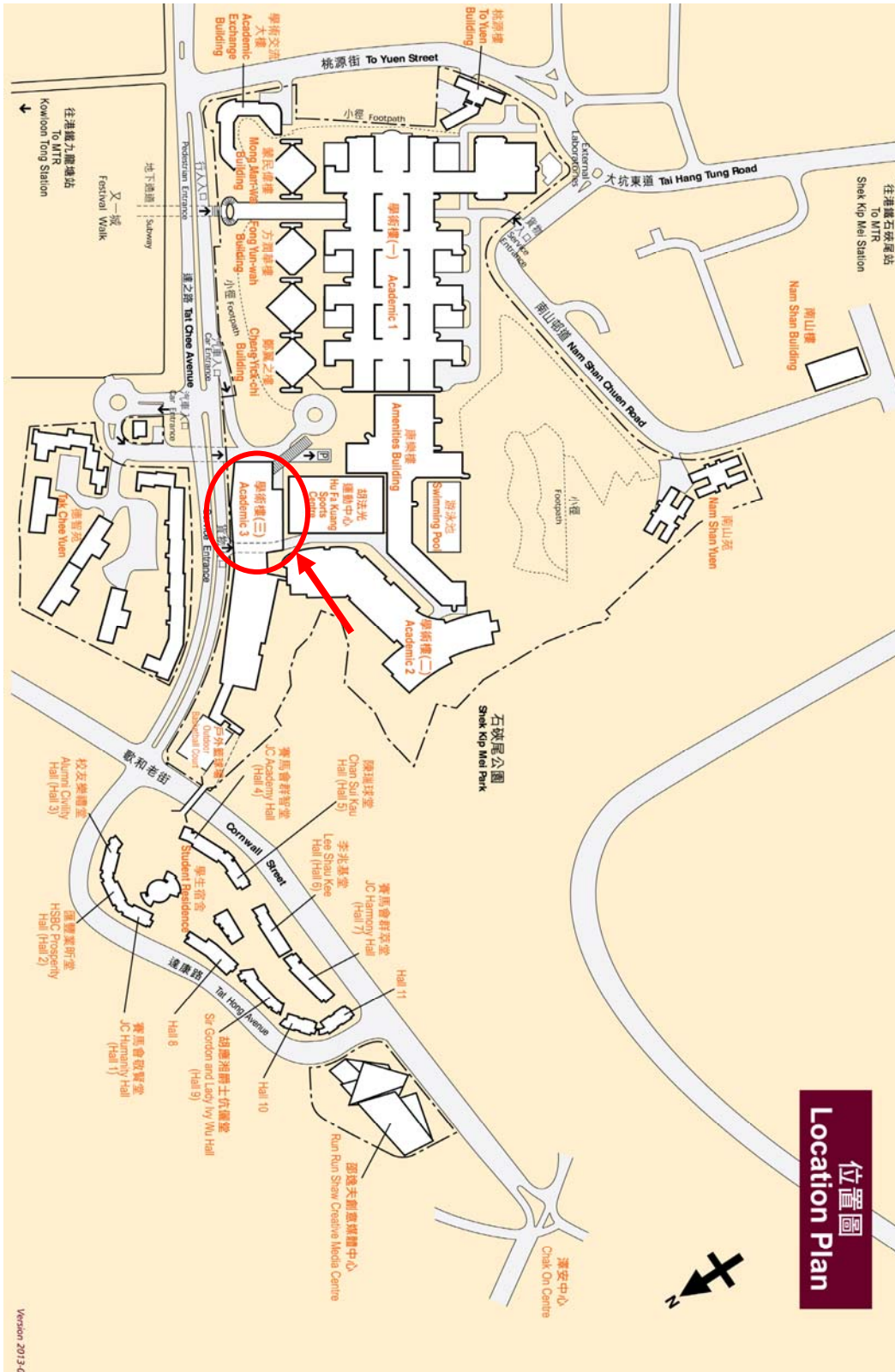
此外，南寧粵語也是目前唯一一種知見以「晒」作「完結」義動詞的粵語方言。「齊」在香港粵語中還有明顯的詞彙意義，但在南寧粵語中，它基本上已經取代了「晒」的全稱量化功能 (林亦、覃鳳余 2008:325)，而且有發展為程度量化詞的傾向。不妨說，「晒」和「齊」在南寧粵語裡出現了分工的情況。至於「了」，由於語法源義是「完結」，所以很自然地走上標記體貌的道路。這情況可以在玉林、賀州桂嶺等勾漏片方言中找到 (郭必之 2012; Kwok *et al.* forthcoming)。下面是玉林話的例子，「了」[liu²⁴] 充當完整體助詞：

(6) 玉林粵語 (勾漏片)：白拈搶了我隻錶。(小偷搶了我的手錶。)，

本文通過揭示「晒」、「齊」、「了」語法化的共相和殊相，希望指出全稱量化詞的源頭（「前世」）和發展（「來生」），加深我們對有關方面的認識。

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位置圖
Location Plan

Location of Academic 3 學術樓 (三) 位置圖

