The 20th Workshop on Cantonese

第二十屆粵語討論會

Program and Abstracts

程序表及論文提要

Co-organized by

The Linguistic Society of Hong Kong and Department of English Language and Literature, Hong Kong Baptist University



The Linguistic Society of Hong Kong



The 20th Workshop on Cantonese (WOC-20)

第二十屆粵語討論會

Date 日期: June 6, 2020 (Saturday)

2020年6月6日,星期六

Mode 方式: Zoom meeting

Theme 主題: Cantonese Grammar: Form, Meaning, and Function

粵語語法研究:形式、意義及功能

Time 時間	Speaker 講者	Titles 題目	
12:30 pm – 12:35pm	Opening 歡迎辭		
12:35 pm – 1:15pm	張群顯 香港理工大學	《粵語拼音字表》內編委會添字添音的確認和更新	
1:15 pm – 1:40pm	黄得森 香港理工大學	百年前有 Gwong Dung Wah 網絡用語的話會是甚麼模樣? ——《香港指南》所載之民間自擬粵語拼寫系統的特點與 其所代表之音系	
1:40 pm – 2:05pm	曾绣薇 香港中文大學	從「邊處」、「邊個」到「邊時」—— 粵方言處所疑問代 詞的詞形構造和語義關聯	
2:05 pm – 2:30pm	Tommy Lee Tsz-ming University of Southern California	Cantonese classifiers at the syntax-semantics interface	
2:30 pm – 2:45pm	Break 小休		
2:45 pm – 3:10pm	Yoyo Tsang Pui Yiu Hong Kong Baptist University	Cross-script Phonological Priming: A Case Study on Cantonese- English Bilinguals	
3:10 pm – 3:35pm	Ann To Wai Huen Hong Kong Baptist University	The Influence of L1 Phonotactics on the Perception of Sounds: A Case Study on Cantonese Listeners	
3:35 pm – 4:00pm	Yip Ka Fai and Lee Him Nok Chinese University of Hong Kong	How to identify intonations on sentence-final particles?	
4:00 pm – 4:25pm	Sonia Hui and Mandee Lung The University of Hong Kong	Corpus-Based Analysis: The Function of Cantonese dak1 得	
4:25 pm – 4:40pm	Break 小休		
4:40 pm – 5:20pm	鄧思穎 香港中文大學	粵語判斷義「話」的語法特點	
5:20 pm – 6:00pm	李行德 1'2、李嘉欣 2 1天津師範大學、2香港中文 大學	粵語兒童的早期語序	
6:00pm - 6:10pm	Closing 總結		



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《粤語拼音字表》內編委會添字添音的確認和更新

張群顯 香港理工大學

《粵語拼音字表》第一版有兩條《凡例》:

- 3. ...本書又補充一些僻字的粵讀, 在三表中以'#'號表示。
- 4. 此外,本書亦補上一些口語音及異讀,例如:地 deng6, 夾 gip6, 嗎 maa3, 反 faan1 等,在三表中用 '*' 號表示。

今天,一方面《字表》已絕版,直接用場很少,快被遺忘了。另一方面,《字表》是網紅《粵語審音配詞字庫》的一個重要先行者,一直仍然通過後者發揮其無形的影響。

若據第一版《凡例》字眼,《字庫》對這些添音只能引《粵語拼音字表》其書或其編者香港語言學學會爲據。不巧第二版《凡例》卻又增添了資訊,10之(c)這麼說: "附'*'號的讀音由張群顯、范國、鄧思穎、李行德、童哲生提供"。更不巧的,是《粵語審音配詞字庫》的負責人通過個人關係得知具體地誰添了哪些音。《字庫》只把這些音記計入具名的個人賬,而不買《字表》或學會的賬。這麼一來,本來是編委會集體認受的音,現在給人的印象就僅是某君一己的音(idiolect).

我們呼籲有關方面作出適當的處理,具體來說,就是要確認這些材料,順帶作出更新。

一百年前有 Gwong Dung Wah 網絡用語的話會是甚麼模樣? ——《香港指南》所載之民間自擬粵語拼寫系統的特點與其所代表之音系 黃得森

香港理工大學

粵語羅馬字由來已久,最早可追溯至二百年前由<u>馬禮遜</u>所撰之<u>通用漢言之法</u>。早期<u>粵</u>語羅馬字恆用作編纂詞典、教材、傳道刊物,需登大雅之堂,故系統性甚強。相反,時人欲借羅馬字於日常非正式場合書寫粵語時,鮮依系統拼寫法,每以自身之<u>英</u>語拼音法知識隨意拼寫粵語,縱有其規律惟系統性不強,是為「民間自擬粵語拼寫系統」,李嘉雯(Lee 2007)稱之為「creative Cantonese romanization」。

查港指南為現存最早之香港旅遊指南,由陳公哲(1890-1961)於一九三八年所撰,全面介紹一九三零年代香港各方面之概況,內含「粵語摘要」五頁半,收錄當時香港粵語常用詞匯、詞組一百八十三個,共三百八十五個字次(token),計二百二十四個字種(type)。每個項目均有英語註音及國語對譯,對瞭解當時香港常用詞甚有價值。此摘要亦係筆者所見最早由華人所自擬之「民間自擬粵語拼寫系統」。此系統與當代所用者共通點眾:

- (甲)以英語拼音法拼寫;
- (乙)缺乏聲調符號;
- (丙) 一符表數音,如:柴 cha、茶 cha、俾 ba、爺 ya——a 兼表[a]、[ai]、[ei]、[ε];
- (丁)一音用數符,如:使 sae、仔 jai、仔 chey——ae、ai、ey 皆表[ɐi];
- (戊)以元音後 r 標記單元音:個 gor、番 farn、欖 liarm、價 gar、伯 bard;
- (己)以u表[v]:乜mut、瞓fun、咁gum。

而相異者則主要有三點:

- (子) 塞音韻尾標記,如:-h 表[t]→月 ngieh、-c 表[k]→食 sic、甚或省卻→白 ba;
- (丑)以e表[v]:飲yem、人yen、鬼kwei;
- (寅)以 a 表[ε]:爺 ya、嘅 ga。

此摘要各詞大多為<u>廣州</u>話文獻及<u>香港</u>歷史文獻所見,然英<u>語</u>註音所載音系卻非純<u>廣州</u> 話,與<u>珠江三角洲</u>諸方言比對後,發現有以下特點:

- (一) 泰半與廣州話相吻合,如:番鬼 farn kwei、冷親 lang chen、傾偈 king gai;
- (二)部份與四邑方言相吻合,如:涼 liang(台山開平)、館 gwan(開平恩平);
- (三)個別例子與中山南蓢客方言相吻合:年 nien、月 ngieh、女 nu;
- (四)少部份無從稽攷,如:尿ngu、曬gwam、間gwang。

總括而言,該音系代表當年帶<u>四邑口音及少量南蓢</u>鄉音之<u>廣州</u>話。此書著者生於 <u>上海</u>,祖籍<u>中山</u><u>南蓢鎮</u>,後於一九三七年移居<u>香港</u>——解釋了為何個別例子與<u>南蓢</u> 客 方言相吻合,至於有四邑話特徵則可能是由於彼來<u>港</u>後與四邑人交流頻繁之故。

關鍵詞:香港粵語 《香港指南》 拼音系統 羅馬字 口音

精選參攷文獻

LEE Carmen K. M. 李嘉雯. 2007. Linguistic features of email and ICQ instant messaging in Hong Kong. In *The Multilingual Internet: Language, Culture, and Communication Online*, ed. Brenda Danet and Susan C. Herring. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

從「邊處」、「邊個」到「邊時」—— 粤方言處所疑問代詞的詞形構造和語義關聯 曾綉薇

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粤方言處所疑問代詞的種類非常多樣:既有作「邊」的(如大部分廣府片粵語)、用「處」(「鼠」)的(如東莞方言),亦有用「哪」的(如四邑方言);至於粵西封開、懷集、郁南和廣西賀州一帶的粤方言,則用一批語源不明的語素做處所疑問代詞。各疑問語素間差異之大,其來源之豐富,在整個疑問代詞系統中頗為引人注目。本文著意指出,在粤方言的疑問代詞系統中,處所疑問代詞及其疑問語素表現出不同尋常的活躍,實值得更多注意和討論。

學者早已提出粵方言中最常見的處所疑問語素「邊」應由表處所的意思發展而來(張惠英 2000:92)。惟較少研究留意,在使用其他疑問代詞的粵方言如東莞、信宜話,也發生過平行的語法化過程,使本來作為表示本體意義的成分「處」發展成為新的處所疑問語素。本文將嘗試追溯此類疑問語素的演變過程,並指出粵方言處所疑問代詞所表現出活躍的詞彙更替及語音變異,在漢語方言中較不尋常。

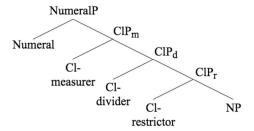
此外,本文發現粵方言的處所疑問語素在構成詢問不同本體意義的疑問代詞方面極為能產。漢語方言中,使用相同疑問語素詢問處所和選擇非常普遍,學界一般認為處所疑問代詞乃由選擇疑問代詞發展而來(呂叔湘1985)。粵語「邊」、「處」等疑問語素則明顯反映出「處所」>「選擇」的演變,且更進一步發展出詢問人,甚至時間的功能。同一個疑問語素涵蓋處所、選擇、人和時間這四個不同的本體意義範疇,在漢語方言中尤其少見,但在粵語中卻似乎是普遍的傾向。本文將嘗試從語言接觸的角度解釋粵語這一獨特現象,指出它可能是受壯語等何台語的疑問代詞構造和語義關聯影響之結果,並說明粵語處所疑問代詞的詞彙更新,或亦與此有關。

Cantonese Classifiers at the Syntax-semantics Interface

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- (1) Building on the observation that classifiers contribute to the meaning of the following NP in various ways in (1-7), this paper addresses a syntax-semantics interface issue w.r.t. classifiers in Cantonese. Specifically, I argue for a split analysis of the Cl(assifier) Phrase as in (8), building on Sybesma (2007), Cheng (2009, 2012) and Cheng & Sybesma (2014). The structure, as I argue, is supported both syntactically and semantically.
- (2) jat1 zek3 zoeng6kei2 wan entity one cl_{count} chess 'one chessman'
- (3) jat1 fu3 zoeng6kei2 when an entity one cl_{set} chess 'one set of chess'
- (4) jat1 deoi1 zoeng6kei2 → a collection one cl_{pile} chess'one pile of chess(men)'
- (5) jat1 hap6 zoeng6kei2 → a container one cl_{box} chess 'one box of chess(men)'
- (6) jat1 pou1 zoeng6kei2 → an event one cl_{game} chess 'one game of chess'

- (7) jat1 zung2 zoeng6kei2 → a kind one cl_{kind} chess 'one kind of chess'
- (8) jat1 bong6 zoeng6kei2 → a measurement one cl_{pound} chess 'one pound of chess(men)'
- (9) Proposed structure for Classifier Phrase



(10) A semantic argument. Each Cl projection corresponds to a distinct semantic contribution, as in Table 1.

Classifiers	Functions	Example s	Relation to NP	Relation to NumP
Cl-restrictors	Disambiguation of the denotation of the NP	(1)-(2)	+	-

- (11) <u>C1-restrictors</u> bear a close relation with the following noun, as they respect the built-in semantic partitioning of the nominals. They also *disambiguate* or *qualify* the denotation of the nominals, as in (1)/(2). Its absence leads to potential ambiguity in (9). <u>C1-dividers</u> individuate or divide the NP into countable units, by offering semantic partitioning, but they do *not* disambiguate (i.e. have a direct relation with) the NP. (3) and (4) do not indicate the chess(men) are in separation or in a set (hence ambiguous). <u>C1-measurers</u> create the measure unit for measurement *without* actual dividing and hence they have a close relation with numerals, i.e. it must be used with numerals. They are therefore illicit in C1+N construction (10) and classifier reduplication (11).
- (12) ngo5-ge3 zoeng6kei4 m4-gin3-zo2 clpound / cl / clbox chess
 my chess lost lost
 'My chessman/ set of chess lost.' '{The pound of / the / the box of} chess is lost.'
- (13) {a. ??bong6/ b. zek3 / c. hap6} zoeng6kei4 mou5-zo6
- (14) Context: There is a quantity of chess that weights three pounds.
 - {a. ?bong6-bong6 / b. zek3-zek3 / c. hap6-hap6} zoeng6kei4 dou1 hou2 gon1zing6 clpound-clpound / cl-cl / cl box-clbox chess all very clean '{Every pound of / every / every box of} chess is very clean.'
- (15) A syntactic argument. The hierarchy among these split Cl-projections is determined by the relation of the classifier to the NP and the Numeral Phrase. (i) Cl-restrictors are syntactically lower (i.e. closer to NP). The close relation between Cl-restrictors and the NP reveals in the well-known contrast w.r.t. ge3-insertion:
- (16) bat3 zek3 (*ge3) niu4 [Cl-restrictors] (17) saam1 bong6 (ge3) juk6 [Cl-measurers] (in three clouds of meat') (17) saam1 bong6 (ge3) juk6 [Cl-measurers] (in three clouds of meat')
- (18) The contrast suggests that Cl-restrictors must be adjacent to the NP (at some stage of the derivation), converging on the above claim that Cl-restrictors bear a close relation with the NP so as to disambiguate it. (ii) Cl-measurer are syntactically higher (i.e. closer to NumP). This is already shown in (10) and (11), by the observation that Cl-measurers require the presence of numerals, unlike other classifiers. (iii) Cl-dividers, displaying no close relation with NP or NumP, are situated between the other two classes of classifiers.

Cross-Script Phonological Priming: A Case Study on Cantonese-English Bilinguals

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For bilingual speakers/listeners, it has been a long-standing issue whether the two languages are integrated or processed separately, including the phonological representations of the lexical items from the two languages. Previous studies on bilinguals have shown that, for two languages with similar written forms, e.g., Dutch and French, there is an observed phonological priming effect, which suggests that the phonological representations of two languages are likely to be integrated in the bilingual speaker/listener's mental lexicon. There has been relatively fewer studies on the bilinguals' two languages with different written systems, i.e., different-script languages, with exception such as Nakayama et al. (2012)'s study on Japanese-English bilinguals. This study investigates whether the phonological representations of two different-script languages are integrated in the bilingual speakers/listeners' mental lexicon. A lexical decision task is conducted to examine whether, for Cantonese-English bilinguals, Cantonese written forms can facilitate the recognition of English words. Twenty-four Cantonese-English early bilinguals, who have obtained a HKDSE English result ranged from grade 2 to grade 5*, were recruited as participants. In the experiment, the target English words (e.g., TICK) were primed respectively by three types of Cantonese primes: (a) cognate translation equivalents (e.g., 剔-TICK), (b) phonological similar (but conceptually unrelated) primes (e.g., 的 -TICK), and (c) unrelated primes (e.g., 酒-TICK). The results showed a priming effect for phonologically similar primes as well as cognate translation equivalent primes, which turned out to hold true for both one- and two-syllable target words. The observed priming effect suggests that, for Cantonese-English early bilinguals, there is likely to be an integration of phonological representations from the two languages in the speakers/listeners' mental lexicon, even though the two languages are written in different scripts.

The Influence of L1 Phonotactics on the Perception of Sounds: A Case Study on Cantonese Listeners

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A listener has tacit knowledge of the rules of sound combination in his/her native language (L1 phonotactics). For a native Cantonese listener for example, a [si] combination is legal (e.g., 思 'think') while a [fi] combination is not. Many previous studies have found that L1 phonotactics, and related knowledge of lexicon, may influence the perception of sounds. As a classic case in point, Ganong (1980) observed that, when listening to an ambiguous segment, e.g., an acoustic midpoint between [d] and [t], English listeners are more likely to recognize it as [d] in the context [ash] but as [t] in the [oot] context when 'dash/toot' are real English words and 'tash/doot' are not. In other words, there is a perceptual bias in favour of real English words, aka. the lexical effect. Previous studies have also observed lexical effect in tonal languages tones. For example, Fox & Unkefer (1985) showed that the same ambiguous F0 contour is more likely to be judged by Mandarin listeners as Tone 1 (high-level) or Tone 2 (high-rising) when it combines with different consonants and vowels, favouring the legal combinations of consonant, vowel, and tone in Mandarin.

Following previous studies, this research investigates the influence of L1 phonotactics on the perception of sounds, with a focus on Cantonese. The following two research questions are raised: (i) In terms of *consonant-vowel* combination, does Cantonese phonotactics affect native listeners' perception of sounds? (ii) In terms of *consonant-vowel-tone* combination, does Cantonese phonotactics affect native listeners' perception of sounds? To answer these two questions, two forced-choice identification experiments were conducted, recruiting native Cantonese listeners. In Experiment I, the stimuli were CV syllables in which the rime was [i] and the onsets were a five-step acoustic continuum from [s] to [f], with a Cantonese-legal [si] at one end and a Cantonese-illegal [fi] at the other end. In Experiment II, the stimuli were CV syllables in which the onsets were [s] and [h] and the rimes were [an], superimposed with Tone 1 (high-level) and Tone 2 (high-rising) respectively;

therefore, the stimuli include Cantonese-legal [san-Tone1] (e.g., 身 'body') and [han-Tone2] (e.g., 很

'very') as well as Cantonese-illegal [san-Tone2] and [han-Tone1]. In the two experiments, the participants were asked to identify the onset of the CV syllable as [s/f] or [s/h] respectively. The dependent variables are the participants' judgment and response time.

Preliminary results showed that, (i) in Experiment I, the participants tended to identify the ambiguous onset consonant as [s] when in the [_i] context, i.e., a preference for legal combinations in Cantonese; (ii) in Experiment 2, a longer reaction time was recorded when the participants made judgement on Cantonese-illegal combinations of consonant, vowel and tones, indicating an awareness of detailed knowledge of L1 phonotactics. In general, this research lends support to the contention that a native listener has detailed knowledge of his/her L1 phonotactics, which may affect their perception of sounds.

References

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How to Identify Intonations on Sentence-final Particles?

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<u>Tones on SFPs as intonations</u>: Sentence-final particles (SFPs) in Cantonese carry tones, unlike Mandarin. It is well-documented that tones on SFPs seem to convey specific meanings (Law 1990, Sybesma & Li 2007, amo.), leading to a claim that tones on SFPs are not lexical tones, but intonations. This claim receives support from the acoustic experiment in Zhang & Tang (2016) which shows that the pitch contours on SFPs are different from lexical tones.

<u>Goal</u>: This paper aims to provide a bunch of tests to identify intonations on SFPs. A rationale behind is that if an SFP carry an intonation, it should exhibit exactly the same properties alongside that intonation. Put differently, SFPs with intonations should share the same pragmatic functions, phonetic properties and phonological constraints with the stand-alone intonations.

A Case study on Cantonese SFP ge2: Zhang & Tang (2016) claims that ge2 carries a question intonation LH% ("R" in their own wordings) which constitutes a good case to study. To begin with, Leung (2005) differentiates ge2 with three uses:

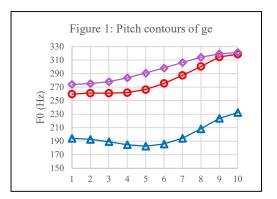
- (1) <u>Asking reasons</u>: (*Dimgaai*) *maau jiu fan gam noi ge2*? "Why do cats need to sleep so much?"
- (2) <u>Blaming</u>: (Zoumat) jau wui gam noi dou jau **ge2**? "Why does it take so long?"
- (3) <u>Defending</u>: (**Dimgaai/*zoumat*) *nei zigei zing ge2*, *keoi dou mou haang-maai-heoi*. "You did it yourself. He didn't even come over."

Syntactic Properties. (1) and (2) are interrogatives while (3) is a declarative clause, confirmed by its incompatibility with *why*-adverbial.

Pragmatic Functions. (1) seeks information from addressees, whereas (2) and (3) are not genuine questions that require an answer. Only *ge2* in (1) has the same pragmatic function with the LH%.

Phonetic/ Acoustic Properties. An acoustic experiment on three uses of *ge2* was conducted with 10 CUHK students (5 male, 5 female) participated. There were 10

subjects x 3 uses x 3 lexical sets x 3 repetitions = 270 tokens. Preliminary results are that (i) *ge2* in (2) and (3) have shorter duration than (1) (also note that prolonging *ge2* in (2) and (3) results in unnaturalness); (ii) *ge2* in (2) and (3) have higher pitch and steeper slopes of the contours (i.e. rise more rapidly), while *ge2* in (1) has a lower pitch and a fall-rise contour (see figure 1), which suggests that *ge2* in (1) might bear a genuine LH%, whereas *ge2*



in (2) and (3) might not. Interestingly, the phonetic properties correlate with pragmatic functions, but not syntactic properties.

Phonological Constraints. The phonological difference of three uses of *ge2* also correlates with pragmatic functions. Cantonese right-dislocation (RD) consists of one intonational phrase (Yip 2020). While the blaming *ge2* and the defending *ge2* may occur in a non-edge position of intonational phrases as in RD (4)-(5), the <u>prolonged</u> *ge2* which asks for a reason cannot do so (=(6)). If *ge2* in (6) carries a LH%, a boundary tone (Xu & Mok 2011), the ungrammaticality can be explained by the nature of boundary tones – they need to occur at the boundary of an intonational phrase. This again suggests that only *ge2* in (1) might bear a genuine LH% but not in (2) and (3).

- (4) Gam noi dou jau **ge2** jau wui? "Why does it take so long?"
- (5) Zigei zing ge2 nei, ... "You did it yourself."
- (6) "Dimgaai jiu fan gam noi **ge2** maau?" Why do cats need to sleep so much?"

<u>Selected references</u>: Leung, C.-S. (2005). A Study of the Utterance Particles in Cantonese as Spoken in Hong Kong (in Chinese). Hong Kong: LISRC, City University of Hong Kong. Zhang, L. & S.-W. Tang. (2016). Preliminary studies on tones of sentence-final particles and intonation in Cantonese (in Chinese). *Prosodic Studies* 1, 113-127.

Corpus-Based Analysis: The Functions of Cantonese dak1 得

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This paper presents a corpus-based analysis of the syntactic functions of Cantonese $dak1 \not\equiv$ in adult spoken discourse, with data drawn from the Cantonese Radio Corpus (Francis, et al. 2002). Various scholars have been studying on postverbal $dak1 \not\equiv$ and its potential verb-complement construction (Wu, 2005) from the semantic perspective. Only a few functions, such as focus operator (Tang, 2002), modal (Cheng & Sybesma, 2003), have been analysed syntactically. From the corpus data, there were a total of 284 instances of $dak1 \not\equiv$, and we further categorised them according to their functions. The functions included lexical compound, complementizer, predicate, modal, focus operator and modifier. We found that lexical compound appeared most frequently in the data, while focus operator, together with modifier, only accounted for less than 3%. Among the functions investigated, we argue that Cantonese allows functions and meanings to be overlapped, which further generates a certain degree of ambiguity. The result also suggests that the process of delexicalisation is taking place in Cantonese $dak1 \not\equiv$.

粤語判斷義「話」的語法特點

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本文研究粵語判斷義「話」的語法問題。(1)的「話」表示說話人的判斷,(2)表示說話人的意圖,要求對方評價。這種判斷義的用法,跟典型言語表達義的「話」不一樣,如(3),在文獻裏也較少注意。本文發現,判斷義「話」對主語和句類有一定的要求和限制,在陳述句裏,「話」的主語指向說話人;在疑問句裏,主語指向聽話人;無論在陳述句還是疑問句裏,第三人稱的主語都不能接受。本文也發現,判斷義「話」呈現根句現象,只用於根句層面,不能在非根句層面出現。本文假定判斷義「話」是附接於根句的狀語,按照製圖理論(cartography)的框架,這個「話」附接到跟程度相關的語氣詞短語 FP2,不能低於 FP2,但也不能超越跟感情相關的 FP3,如圖(4)所示。對說話者而言,判斷義「話」表達了說話人的判斷或意圖,跟程度(情態、疑問、祈使)有關,符合 FP2 的本質。粵語言談動詞「話」的光譜很寬,從實義的「話」(如言語表達義的(3))到本文提及的用法較虛的「話」,可見「話」的靈活多變。深入研究,可能聯繫「話」的意義和句法層次的關係:實義的「話」構成動詞短語 VP 的中心語,位於句法結構的最低層;判斷義的「話」,意義較虛,位於跟程度類語氣詞短語 FP2。越實的越低,越虛的越高。以此出發,對粵語「『話』字家族」和其他言談動詞的全面研究,肯定能對粵語的語法面貌有更清楚的認識。

- (1)我話佢唔錯。我看他不錯。
- (2)你話點算吖?你看怎麼辦?
- (3)佢話聽日會落雨。他說明天會下雨。
- (4) [FP3 感情 [FP2 話 [FP2 程度 [FP1 焦點 [CP C ……

粤語兒童的早期語序

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研究兒童語言的早期語序,對一系列理論問題的探索具有參考價值:幼兒的語法知識是否顯示抽象的句法範疇 (Chomsky 1965, 1986, 1995; Tomasello 1999, 2000);句法獲得是一個迅速的過程還是一個漸變的過程;以及語言之間的參數差異是否反映在句法發展的初期階段。本文通過對兩名粵語兒童從一歲半到兩歲半的論元結構使用情況,對以上問題進行探索。

過去三十年的粵語兒童語言研究,對三歲前兒童語法發展的各個方面,已經揭示了不少規律,包括以下各種語法形式:量詞 (Szeto 1998)、體貌助詞 (Leung 1995; Lei and Lee 2017, 2018, 2019)、疑問詞 (Cheung 1995; Wong and Ingram 2009)、否定 (Tam and Stokes 2001)、全稱量化 (Lei 2017)、附加焦點和限制焦點 (Lee 2005)、情態動詞 (Wong 1998)、致使動詞 (Cheung 1993)、名詞短語結構 (Wong 1998)、小句空論元結構 (Man 1993; Lee 1999)、以及與格結構 (Chan 2003)。對粵語基本語序的發展面貌,也取得了一些進展。Cheung 和 Brooks (2002)對香港粵語兒童語料庫(CANCORP) (Lee et al. 1996) 其中三名兒童兩歲半至三歲半年齡段中的及物和非及物句式進行考察,同時對這個年齡段的粵語兒童作語序測試,發現粵語兒童對及物語序的掌握遠勝於對作格語序的掌握。 Chan, Lieven 和 Tomasello (2009) 從跨語言的角度,用新詞實驗來研究粵語兒童如何理解基本語序,發現兩歲半粵語兒童尚未掌握 SVO 語序的題元格局,粵語兒童這方面的發展晚於同年齡的英語兒童。然而,粵語幼兒從句法發展的最初階段如何逐步掌握論元結構,如何將與動詞相聯繫的題元投射到各個句法位置,仍待進一步研究。

本文使用香港粵語兒童語料庫(CANCORP)的追蹤語料,對兩名兒童從一歲半至兩歲半的早期論元結構進行縱向分析,從而瞭解粵語語序獲得,並與普通話兒童早期語序進行比較。研究資料顯示,粵語幼兒的早期句式跟普通話幼兒一樣,已經顯示漢語主賓語非選擇性特徵,但所使用的論元結構不如早期普通話多樣化,反映粵語比普通話具有更強的 VO 語序特徵 (梁仲森 1987; 劉丹青2000)。

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