

The 22nd Workshop on Cantonese (WOC)

第二十二屆粵語討論會

**Theme: Post-verbal elements in Cantonese: from
synchronic and diachronic perspectives**

主題：粵語動詞後成份：從共時或歷時角度出發

25 June 2022 (Saturday)

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程序表及論文提要

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The 22nd Workshop on Cantonese (WOC)
25 June 2022 (Saturday)
10:00am – 4:35pm

Zoom ID: 983 2056 4793 Password: 746375

Time	Paper title	Presenter
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Session 1		
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10:35 – 11:00	A Preliminary Study of Syntax of Clause-final Particles in Cantonese	Cindy Wan Yee Lau (UOW College Hong Kong)
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11:25 – 11:50	粵語表介引義的「起」、「起上嚟」	張應豐 (香港中文大學)
11:50 – 14:00	Lunch	
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14:25 – 14:50	东莞（企石）粤语的动词后成份[e55]	劉燕婷 (中山大學)
14:50 – 15:15	Revisiting the tense semantics in perfective suffixes in Cantonese	Tommy Tsz-Ming Lee, Roumyana Pancheva, Maria Luisa Zubizarreta (University of Southern California)
15:15 – 15:30	Break	
Session 3		
15:30 – 15:55	Infixation Base of Postverbal Intensifier <i>gwai</i> 鬼 ‘devil’	Lawrence Cheung (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)
15:55 – 16:20	Word orders of Cantonese post-verbal directional complements	Hinny Wong (Hong Kong Metropolitan University)
16:20 – 16:35	Closing Remarks and photo taking session	

*25 minutes for each paper (20 minutes for presentation and 5 minutes for Q&A)

Determining the syntactic categories of directional elements in Cantonese

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In Cantonese, elements expressing directed motion (Dir), such as 出 ‘exit’, 入 ‘enter’, 上 ‘ascend’, 落 ‘descend’, may appear in different constructions. They may be the only non-nominal element (1, 3) or occur with an element denoting Manner of motion (boxed) (2, 4). They may take objects (underlined> of different thematic roles, such as locative (Loc) (1, 2) or theme (Th) (3, 4) (Yiu 2013).

- (1) 阿明入咗房。 ‘Ming entered the room.’ [Dir + Loc]
- (2) 阿明^行咗入房。 ‘Ming walked into the room.’ [Manner + Dir + Loc]
- (3) 阿明入咗個波。 ‘Ming got the ball in.’ [Dir + Th]
- (4) 阿明^射入咗個波。 ‘Ming shot the ball in.’ [Manner + Dir + Th]

The variety of constructions in which these directional elements can occur raises the question of whether these elements are of the same category in all these constructions and how these categories are formed. In this paper, I demonstrate that these directional elements in different constructions have distinct syntactic behaviour, suggesting that they belong to different syntactic categories.

Placement of aspectual marker. The perfective aspectual marker 咗 attaches after the directional element in (1, 3, 4), but after Manner in (2). The inability of 入 in (2) to attach to aspectual morphology suggests that it is not verbal (Svenonius 2007).

Locative objects. In (1, 2), the directional element relates a figure (阿明 ‘Ming’) to a ground (房 ‘room’). Dir requires locative objects to be location-denoting. Using a person-denoting DP is infelicitous without turning it into a location using the localizer 度 (5). The selectional requirement surfaces as a presupposition, confirmed by preservation of infelicity under negation (Svenonius 2007), as shown in (6). Omission of the locative object is also unnatural (Yiu 2013), as shown in (7).

- (5) 阿明{上咗/走咗上}阿榮#(度)。 ‘Ming went/ran up to Wing’s place.’
- (6) 阿明有{上/走上}阿榮#(度)。 ‘Ming didn’t go/ran up to Wing’s place.’
- (7) ?? 阿明{入咗/行咗入}。 Int.: ‘Ming entered/walked in.’

Stranding. Stranding of the directional element is allowed except with Manner + Dir + Loc, as shown in the relativization tests in (8). Stranding is generally allowed for verbs but not for prepositions (Lam 2013), suggesting that Dir in Manner + Dir + Loc is prepositional.

- (8) a. 阿明{入咗/*行咗入}嘅嗰間房好大。 ‘That room that Ming has got/walked into is very big.’
- b. 阿明{入/射入}咗嘅嗰個波好污糟。 ‘That ball that Ming got/shot in is very dirty.’

Telicity. The (Manner +) Dir + Th construction is telic, as shown in (9), where it is compatible with ‘in a minute’, but not ‘for a minute’.

- (9) a. 阿明一秒鐘內(射)入咗個波。 ‘Ming got/shot the ball in a minute.’
- b. ? 阿明(射)入個波(射)入咗一分鐘。 Int.: ‘Ming got/shot the ball in for a minute.’

The observations above suggest that directional elements represent roots that take on categorial features based on their syntactic position: verbal in Dir + Loc/Th and prepositional in Manner + Dir + Loc. Based on Acedo-Matellán (2016), I propose the structures in (10) and (11) for (Manner +) Dir + Loc and (Manner +) Dir + Th respectively. When Manner is not conflated to *v*, Dir moves into *v* obligatorily. Dir must also move from complement of Place (terminal ground, associated with a telic reading) to *v* in (11) due to the ill-formedness of uncategorized roots (Embick 2010). Incorporation of Dir into *v* allows Dir to take on verbal properties (aspectual marking, stranding) while keeping properties of its merge position (selectional restrictions on locative objects, terminal ground).

- (10) [_{VP} [_{vP} ([√]行) *v*^o] [_{PathP} [_{DP} 阿明] [_{Path'} [_{Path}^o [√]入 _{Path}^o] [_{PlaceP} Place [_{DP} 房]]]]]
- (11) [_{VP} [_{vP} ([√]射) *v*^o] [_{PathP} [_{DP} 個波] [_{Path'} Path [_{PlaceP} Place [√]入]]]]

This study offers a view on directional elements that captures the distributional differences between different constructions better than one-category approaches (Matthews 2006; Yiu 2013). It also adopts structures proposed for other languages, facilitating typological exploration.

Selected references: ACEDO-MATELLÁN, V., 2016, *The morphosyntax of transitions*, OUP. EMBICK, D., 2010, *Localism and globalism in morphology and phonology*, MIT Press. LAM, C.F., 2013, The cartography of spatial adpositional phrases in Mandarin and Cantonese, UCFV dissertation. MATTHEWS, S., 2006, On serial verb constructions in Cantonese, in A.Y. Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial verb constructions*, OUP. SVENONIUS, P., 2007, Adpositions, particles and the arguments they introduce, in E. J. Reuland et al. (eds.), *Argument structure*, John Benjamins. YIU, C. Y.-M., 2013, Directional verbs in Cantonese, *Language and Linguistics* 14(3): 511–569.

A Preliminary Study of Syntax of Clause-final Particles in Cantonese

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This study focuses on syntax of clause-final particles, with specific attention on the particle found after a subordinate clause. In Cantonese, according to Matthews & Yip (2011), utterance particles can be found in various positions. For example, topic particles (1) are found after the topic of the sentence; Enumeration particles (2) occur in lists; Clause-final particles (3) are found at a natural break in a sentence and sentence-final particles (4) at the end of a sentence.

The reasons of investigation are as follows: First, utterance particles are mainly found at the end of a sentence, which lead a bunch of literature discussing the syntax of sentence-final particles (e.g. Huang 1982; Tang 2020), rare do they examine syntax of clause-final particles. Second, Haegeman (2002) mentioned that illocutionary force is found in root clause, which suggests that sentence-final particles are analyzed as the head of CP (Lee 1986; Paul 2015); however, clause-final particles which is found in the middle of the sentence may also convey the mood of the speaker. Contrasting with other languages such as Mandarin, the rich repertoire of utterance particles in Cantonese provides rich evidence in the investigation of clause-final particles.

Clause-final particles are not uniquely found in Cantonese, but also in other languages such as Mandarin (5) (Paul 2015). Though some literature has discussed the syntax of clause-final particles in Mandarin (Pan & Paul 2018), it cannot be completely applied in Cantonese. For example, Pan & Paul (2018) analyzed clause-final particles on a par with sentence-final particles since both of them convey the mood of the speaker. This study attempts to examine the syntax of clause-final particles with two possible solutions – the bi-clausal approach and the mono-clausal approach. In the former approach, the clause-final particle is analyzed as an SFP. The subordinate clause (CP₁) adjoins to the main clause (CP₂) to form a matrix clause CP_{matrix}. Each clause may carry (slightly) different, but not contradictory mood, due to pragmatic reasons. On contrary, in the mono-clausal approach, the whole sentence carries only one single mood, revealed by the SFP of the root (or matrix) clause. The clause-final particle is argued to be Foc⁰ or Top⁰, such as *ze1* (3), *ge3* (6) and *aalmaa3* (7), which must be focus-sensitive.

To conclude, the investigation of clause-final particles could provide a complete picture to the syntax of sentence particles. Since clause-final particles may also be found in other languages such as Japanese (8), thus this study may provide evidence for cross-linguistic investigation of clause-final particles.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) 喺英國呀，冇人食呢啲嘢㗎。(Matthews & Yip 2011)
'In England, no one eats this kind of thing.' | (5) 如果他不來呢，我就自己去。 [Mandarin]
'If he doesn't come, then I'll go on my own.' |
| (2) 你睇！棉胎啦、衫啦、褲啦、全部都淋濕晒。(Leung 2005)
'You see! The batting, clothes and pants are all wet.' | (6) 只要有耐性嘅，你一定可以成功。
'Only if you are patient, you must success.' |
| (3) 你噉話噉，人哋信唔信至得㗎。(Leung 2005)
'This is what you said, people may not believe in you.' | (7) 因為你去咗嘛，我咪去囉。
'Since you go, I go.' |
| (4) 佢走咗喇。(Tang 2015)
'He left.' | (8) Ame-wa futte imasu ga , yuki-wa futte imas-en
Rain-Top ⁰ falling is but snow-Top ⁰ falling is-NEG
'It is raining, but it is not snowing.' (Nakanishi 2007) |

Selected references: Matthews, S & V. Yip. 2011. *Cantonese: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge. 2nd edition./ Pan, Victor Junnan and Waltraud Paul. 2018. The syntax of complex sentences in Mandarin Chinese: A comprehensive overview and analyses. In Pan & Paul (eds.) *The syntax of complex sentences in Chinese. Special issue of Linguistic Analysis*, Volume 42, Issue (1-2), 63-161.

On the positions of ‘again’: Comparing Cantonese *-faan*, *-gwo* with Mandarin *you*, *zai*

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Introduction. Cantonese has more than one postverbal element of ‘again’: *-faan* and *-gwo* (\neq experiential *-gwo*) (Tang 2015). They both operate on events by presuming the same event has occurred before, with different specifications on its relation to the present event (resumption for *-faan*, Tang 2001; “fixing” undesirable results for *-gwo*, Yan 2009). This talk presents novel observations on an asymmetry of their scopal behavior in embedding contexts, which is parallel to preverbal ‘again’ *you* and *zai* in Mandarin. We propose that the asymmetries can be explained by two syntactic positions of ‘again’.

Asymmetries in scopal behavior. We examine whether ‘again’ may cross a clause boundary and operate on the matrix events (for postverbal ‘again’) or embedded events (for preverbal ‘again’):

- (1) [$\mathbf{V_{matrix}}$... [$\mathbf{V_{embedded}}$ -AGAIN ... (postverbal)] (2) [AGAIN [$\mathbf{V_{matrix}}$... [$\mathbf{V_{embedded}}$... (preverbal)]]
 ▲ (wide scope over matrix e) (scope “skipping” matrix e) ▲

Postverbal ‘again’ in Cantonese: When *-faan* and *-gwo* attach to a predicate embedded under ‘want’, only *-faan* may take scope over ‘want’ (= (3)). *-Gwo* only has an infelicitous narrow scope reading that ‘killing the boss’ has happened before. The contrast is even clearer by adding preverbal *jau/zoi* ‘again’. According to Huang’s (2022) typology of complementation, ‘want’ takes a *nonfinite* clause. Similar patterns are observed with other nonfinite clause taking predicates, e.g., *hoji* ‘may’ & *gaizuk* ‘continue’.

- (3) [Context: When Ming was a gangster, he always wanted to murder his maniac boss, though he never tried to. He no longer wanted so after he left the gang. Today, he met his boss on the street, who insulted and slapped him. Ming is so angry that he wants to kill him again.]

a. Aaming (jau) **soeng** (#jau/#zoi) saatsei-**faan** keoi daailou. (again>want, #want>again)
 Ming AGAIN want AGAIN kill-AGAIN 3SG boss
 ‘Ming again wants to kill his boss.’ / ‘#Ming wants to again kill his boss.’

b. #Aaming (jau) **soeng** (#jau/#zoi) saatsei-**gwo** keoi daailou. (*again>want, #want>again)
 Ming AGAIN want AGAIN kill-AGAIN 3SG boss
 Only: ‘#Ming wants to again kill his boss.’

-Faan, however, cannot cross a *finite* clause boundary and take scope over ‘believe’ in (4).

- (4) [Context: Ming quitted being a Christian years ago. Today, he had a traffic accident, and heard God’s voice when he was badly injured. He once again believes that God exists.]

#Aaming (jau) **seon** (#jau/#zoi) jau-**faan** san. (*again>believe, #believe>again)
 Ming AGAIN believe AGAIN have-AGAIN God ‘#Ming believes that there is again God.’

Preverbal ‘again’ in Mandarin: Y. Liu (2021, 2022) reports that *you* may “skip” the matrix predicate (‘want’) and take narrow scope to directly operate on the embedded predicate (‘go’) (= (5)a). The scope “skipping” effects of *you* apply to other *nonfinite* clause taking predicates, e.g., *bipo* ‘force’ & *tingzhi* ‘stop’. Interestingly, we observe that *zai* lacks such effects, similar to the contrast in Cantonese.

- (5) [Context: Yesterday, reluctant to travel but forced by his boss, Xiaoming went to Taipei for some work, but he did not manage to finish it before he came back. Today, afraid of getting fired due to his unfinished work, he wants to go to Taipei again to finish it.] (Adapted from Lin & C. Liu 2009)

a. Xiaoming **you** xiangyao **qu** Taipei. (want>again>go)
 Xiaoming AGAIN want go Taipei
 ‘Xiaoming wants to again go to Taipei.’ / ‘#Xiaoming again wants to go to Taipei.’

b. #Xiaoming **zai** xiangyao **qu** Taipei, ba gongzuo zuo-wan. (*want>again>go)
 Xiaoming AGAIN want go Taipei DISP work do-finish
 ‘#Xiaoming again wants to go to Taipei, to finish up the work.’

You also cannot cross a *finite* clause boundary to operate on an event embedded under ‘believe’:

- (6) [Context: During the 2003 SARS outbreak, Xiaoming was so ignorant that he thought that SARS was just a flu, and he did not believe in the existence of coronavirus. After the outbreak, coronavirus was not found anywhere. In 2019, however, Xiaoming became an epidemiologist and collected a sample that contained coronavirus. Now, he does believe that there had appeared coronavirus, and it appeared again.]

#Xiaoming **you** xiangxin **chuxian**-le guanzhuangbingdu. (*believe>again>appear)
 Xiaoming AGAIN believe appear-PFV coronavirus

Only: ‘#Xiaoming again believes that there appeared coronavirus.’

High vs. low ‘again’. We suggest that there are two positions for ‘again’: one on **AspP**, another on **vP** (cf. Lin & C. Liu 2009, Y. Liu 2022 for Mandarin). Only *-faan* and *you* may be located high at AspP, whereas *-gwo* and *zai* are always low at vP, as in (7). In the talk, we will show how (7) derives the scopal contrasts by assuming that *nonfinite* clauses lack an AspP to license the high ‘again’.

- (7) [**AspP** *-faan*, *you* ... [**vP** *-gwo*, *zai* ... [**vP** ...

粵語表介引義的「起」、「起上嚟」

張應豐

粵語動詞後成分「起」、「起上嚟」用法相當豐富，張洪年（2007）談論到粵語用「起」有五個情況：方向補語、狀態補語、體貌詞尾、表示「談及」、「想起」的詞尾、以及表示開始的詞尾。鄧思穎（2015）指出「起」與「起上嚟」的用法相似，可表示開始體，而且「起」所黏附的動詞很有限制，除及物動詞外，最好與言談、心理有關。姚玉敏（2008）深入而詳盡地從歷時、共時層面論述了「起上嚟」的特徵，文中提出開始體「起上嚟」虛化後有「介引新信息」的話語功能。本文將嘗試結合動詞後成分「起」、「起上嚟」，集中討論其表介引義的語法特點。

表介引義的「起」、「起上嚟」有以下四個特點：第一，「動 + 起上嚟」後需補充一句，否則句義不完整，故於「起上嚟」後加上一句，使句子語義更完整；第二，「起上嚟」所介引的新信息，需為施事者的感受；第三，「起上嚟」所黏附的動詞之施事者可以不在句中出现，甚至部分情況下不出現更佳，若在句中加上施事者後，「起上嚟」所介引的信息容易與其他名詞性成分混淆，不知「起上嚟」黏附的動詞陳述何者。宋玉柱（1980）談論普通話「起來」的時候發現，與粵語「起上嚟」對應，普通話的「起來」黏附的動詞，並非在陳述主語，但本文認為用「施事者」而非「主語」表述似乎更合適；第四，「起上嚟」與其黏附的動詞，「動 + 起上嚟」可直接於句中刪去，但句子的焦點會由強調施事者的感受轉變為陳述事物的狀態。引以下例子以供參考：

- （1）杯奶飲起上嚟。*
- （2）杯奶飲起上嚟，好似變壞左咁。
- （3）杯奶我飲起上嚟，好似變壞左咁。*
- （4）杯奶好似變壞左咁。

另一方面，「起」雖然也有介引義的用法，但如張洪年、鄧思穎兩位的著作中所說，用起來限制比「起上嚟」更大，尤其是「起」所黏附的動詞，只有言談、心理兩類，但又並非所有言談、心理類都可結合「起」來表介引義，而本文認為「起」、「起上嚟」表介引義的語法特徵也有相異之處，用「起上嚟」的句子是強調施事者的感受；而「起」的句子，如：「講起今朝杯奶，好似變壞左咁。」則是表示施事者在陳述事物的狀態。

參考資料：

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An Interface Story of *dou*₃₅: How Does Focus Structure Matter?

keywords *dou*, postverbal suffix, focus structure

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1 Background

Cantonese postverbal complement *dou* (倒 /tou35/, henceforth *dou*₁) carries the 'achievement' (Lü 1980; Cheung 2007) or 'accomplishment' meaning (Matthews & Yip 1994; Sybesma 2008). Being an independent functional category that differs from other resultative complement (Yakhontov 1957), *dou*₁ characterizes the event rather than describes the status of agent/goal, as in (1).

- (1) Keoi wan-**dou** ng.bun.syu
3SG find-DOU five.CL.book
'S/he found five books.'

However, there exists another *dou* (henceforth *dou*₂) that has a separate meaning from achievements, but associates with dynamic modality. Consider (2).

- (2) Keoi zek.geok hou-faan, haang-**dou**-lai laa
3SG CL-leg get.well walk-DOU-come SFP
'His/her leg is recovered, and now s/he can walk.'

Studies of such highly abstract use of *dou*₂ is limited in quantity. Usually, linguists consider *dou*₂ as a dummy potential complement, a Cantonese version of the English modal "can" (Huang 2021), and denotes the possession of capacity (Kwok & Lin 2012). Nevertheless, the sentence in (3) may be wrongly predicted as felicitous if we are satisfied with these sayings, and the specific use of *dou*₂ needs to be clarified therefrom.

- (3) -Nei waan-hoi me.ngok-hei aa
2SG play-HOI what.musical-instrument SFP
'What musical instrument do you play?'
- #Ngo taan-**dou** gong-kam aa
1SG play-DOU piano SFP
Intended: 'I can play the piano.'

2 Proposal

With different linguistic tests, we propose that *dou*₁ structurally scopes over a VP, and *dou*₂ the entire proposition of a sentence. Additionally, *dou*₁ as a verbal-complement should be selected by transitive verbs of [+contact, +movement], whereas *dou*₂ is unrestricted. This indicates that the former remains its lexical meaning, while the latter is semantically bleached to be a 'dummy potential complement', which is coined by Chao (1968). In a propositional sense, *dou*₁ serves as the informational focus, but sentences with *dou*₂ are infelicitous (3) unless they contain contrastive foci. We as well bring up the differences of two *dou* in focus structure on top of event semantics we just walked through. From the semantic-pragmatic interface perspective, *dou*₂ requires a [+contrastive, +exclusive] environment as necessary condition. Consider (4)-(5).

- (4) Ngo (duk-syu hou-caa) **zing-hai** taan-**dou** gong-kam ge ze
1SG (study very.bad) only play-DOU piano SFP SFP
'I am not good at studying. I can only play the piano well.'
- (5) a. #Ngo.aa-mui gongkam taan-dak hou-hou, Ngo **dou** taan-**dou**
1SG.sister piano play-DAK very.well 1SG also play-DOU
Intended: 'My sister plays the piano well, I can play the piano too.'
- b. Ngo.aa-mui gongkam taan-dak hou-hou, Ngo **dou sik**-taan
1SG.sister piano play-DAK very.well 1SG also know-play
'My sister plays the piano well, I can play the piano too.'

In a nutshell, we propose that it is the contrastive focus that triggers the license of *dou*₂, such that the lexical meaning will lose and a wider scope over VP to the proposition can be achieved.

东莞（企石）粤语的动词后成份“□[e⁵⁵]”

“□[e⁵⁵]”这一语音形式，在东莞（企石）粤语承载着多种用法。例如：

（1）我食□[e⁵⁵]两包薯片，但系唔曾食完。（我吃了两包薯片，但是还没吃完。）

【完整体助词】

（2）着多件衫啊，唔好冷□[e⁵⁵]啊！（多穿衣服，别冷着了呀！）【动相补语】

（3）佢行□[e⁵⁵]好快啊！（他行得很快啊！）【状态补语标记】

（4）我平时行□[e⁵⁵]去上班。（我平时走着去上班。）【方式助词】

（5）捉哩只袋挂□[e⁵⁵]厨房。（把这个袋子挂在厨房。）【介词】

“□[e⁵⁵]”一律用在动词之后，可作为完整体助词、动相补语、状态补语标记、方式助词或介词。我们无法首先确认例（1）-（5）的“□[e⁵⁵]”是否为同一语素，但能肯定的是，它们的语音形式完全相同，且都置于动词之后，故统一称为动词后成份“□[e⁵⁵]”。

本文主要讨论以下问题：（一）不同用法的“□[e⁵⁵]”，其句法语义功能有何表现？（二）不同用法的“□[e⁵⁵]”之间是否存在联系？如有，存在怎样的联系？

（三）动词后的成份“□[e⁵⁵]”不见于典型广府片粤语，企石粤语的“□[e⁵⁵]”从何而来？

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Revisiting the tense semantics in perfective suffixes in Cantonese

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Introduction. In his argument in favor of a tenseless account of Chinese, Lin (2006) proposes to bundle tense meaning with aspectual meaning. He suggests that Mandarin perfective markers such as *-le* and *-guo* encode past tense component, in addition to the perfective component.

Goal. By revisiting the motivation of such a bundling approach to perfective suffixes, we argue that such bundling is unnecessary, and even leads to undesirable predictions, based on evidence from the Cantonese counterparts *-zo* and *-gwo*.

Motivations for a tense-aspect (i.e., past-perfective) bundling approach. (a) Lin (2006) suggests that the obligatory past time reading of predicates marked by perfective markers indicates the past temporal component in perfective markers. (b) Perfective markers are also held responsible for the obligatory back-shifted reading in complement clauses. (c) Lin interprets the incompatibility between *hui* ‘will’ and perfective markers as type mismatch, as both of them are (aspect-)tense morphemes of type <it, <i, it>>.

No need for tense semantics. For (a), the past-perfective connection can be subsumed under the general ban on present-perfective and can be derived via pragmatic reasoning. It may be that the speech time is too “short” to host a perfective eventives (Kamp & Reyle 1993, Smith 1997, i.a.), or the present reading requires the perfective eventives to hold true *throughout* the speech time (which is impossible, cf. Ogihara 2007). For (b), extending Ogihara’s account, the simultaneous reading may similarly require the perfective embedded clause to hold true throughout the attitude time, rendering a back-shifted reading the only possible reading. As for (c), it is not that perfective markers can never be embedded under *wui* ‘will’.

- (1) batjip ge sihou, nei jatding wui heoi-**gwo** houdou go conference
graduate GE time you surely will go-**EXP** many CL conference
“You will have been to many conferences by the time you graduate.”

Undesirable predictions (w.r.t. -zo). (i) As discussed in Rubinstein and Hashimoto (2010), *le* can only convey a simultaneous reading in future-shifted contexts (instead of an expected back-shifted reading). I show that the same is observed with Cantonese *-zo*, illustrated with the sentence in (4). The lack of back-shifted reading in (4) contrasts with Japanese past tense marker.

- (2) Aaming hai jatgosingkei-cin kyutding, keoi wui hai jatgojyut-hau ge zikbo dou,
Aaming at one.week-ago decide he will at one.month-later GE livestream here
bei keoi maamaa taidou keoi daa-laan-**zo** go faazeon.
let his mum see him break-**PERF** CL vase.

“Aaming decided last week that he would let his mum see that he broke a vase at the livestream next month.”

(ii) Perfective markers can appear under predicates that cannot take complements with a past/anterior reading (Type II complement clauses under Huang’s 2022 classification). This is unexpected if they bear past tense semantics as proposed in Lin (2006).

- (3) ngo kyutding waan-**zo** bun syu
I decide return-**PERF** CL book
“I decide to return the book.”

Discussions. It is unnecessary, and undesirable to posit tense semantics in *-zo*. The back-shifting reading delivered by *-gwo* can be handled by positing a perfect component (Rubinstein and Hashimoto 2010) and the requirement that the target state do not hold at speech time (cf. Lin 2007). We maintain that perfective and imperfective suffixes are both pure aspectual markers, and cast doubt on the necessity of positing tense semantics on overt elements in Chinese.

Infixation Base of Postverbal Intensifier *gwai* 鬼 ‘devil’

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Previous studies (Matthews & Yip, 1994; Lee & Chin, 2007) often claimed that the postverbal intensifier *gwai* is an infix. The crucial evidence comes from the fact that *gwai* can occur in the middle of some disyllabic mono-morphemic word (i.e. base), e.g. (1), matching the general definition of infixation (Yu 2007, Blevins 2014). However, the majority of the linguistic bases where intensifier *gwai* occurs with is fuzzy. In other words, it is often unclear what A and B are in an infixed expression A-X-B (where X = infix). Indeed, one can argue that *gwai* can receive an alternative suffixal analysis in many cases, e.g. after the modifier *hou* ‘very’ (2), between a verb and a suffix (3) and before the extent morpheme *dou* (4). The problem is exacerbated by the indeterminacy of word boundaries and analyticity of Cantonese.

This study proposes to establish some diagnostics to detect the scope of the adjectival and verbal bases that *gwai* targets. Following Yu (2007), I will first argue that *gwai* is phonologically conditioned and is a left-edge infix. The pivot is the end of the first syllable of the adjectival / verbal stem, e.g. (3). Second, it will be shown that postverbal bound morphemes (BMs), such as verbal suffixes, comparative marker *gwo* 過 and extent marker *dou* 到 (4), constitute part of the base that *gwai*-infixation target. In other words, *gwai* is usually inserted between the host monosyllabic adjective / verb and the bound suffix. The analysis allows us to identify the base for *gwai*-infixation, offering a descriptively more adequate morpho-syntactic account.

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| (1) 阿明 真係 論鬼盡。
<i>Aaming zanhai leon-gwai-zeon.</i>
Aaming really clum-devil-sy
‘Aaming is really clumsy.’ | (2) 阿明 好 鬼 論盡。
<i>Aaming hou gwai leonzeon.</i>
Aaming very devil clumsy
‘Aaming is very clumsy.’ |
| (3) 佢 會 <u>de-鬼-lete</u> 晒 嘅 相。
<i>Keoi wui <u>DE-gwai-LETE-saa</u> di soeng.</i>
he will delete -all CL photo
‘He will delete all the photos.’ | (4) 佢 叻 鬼 到 你 唔 信。
<i>Keoi lek gwai dou nei m seon.</i>
he smart devil till you not believe
‘He is smart to such an incredible extent.’ |

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Word orders of Cantonese post-verbal directional complements

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Cantonese directional complements are a group of elements that may occur after a main verb denoting the spatial meanings of an action. Cheung (2007, see also Yiu, 2005, 2013; Chor, 2018) defined twelve directional verbs as directional complements: ten non-deictic verbs *soeng5* 上 ‘ascend’, *lok6* 落 ‘descend’, *ceot1* 出 ‘exit’, *jap6* 入 ‘enter’, *hoi1* 開 ‘depart’, *maai4* 埋 ‘approach’, *gwo3* 過 ‘across’, *hei2* 起 ‘rise’, *dou3* 到 ‘arrive’, *faan1* 翻 ‘return’; and two deictic verbs *lai4* 嚟 ‘come’ and *heoi3* 去 ‘go’. Non-deictic verbs can combine with a deictic verb to form a directional compound $V_{d1}V_{d2}$ such as *ceot1-lai4* 出嚟 ‘exit-come’ and *jap-lai4* 入嚟 ‘enter-come’. When a main verb takes a theme object with a directional compound as its complement, unlike its Mandarin counterpart which permits a wide range of word orders (Lu, 2002), only the following two types of word orders 1(a) and 1(b) are possible in Cantonese, with 1(a) being more prevalent (Cheung, 2007):

1. (a) [V-Object- $V_{d1}V_{d2}$] object-initial

ling1 zo2 jat1 bun2 syul ceot1 lai4

take ASP one CL-book exit come ‘took a book out’

- (b) [V- V_{d1} -O- V_{d2}] object-medial

ling1 ceot1 zo2 jat1 bun2 syul lai4

take exit ASP one CL-book come ‘took out a book’

The present paper focuses on the structures and word orders displayed in 1(a) and 1(b).

First, only a number of directional compounds including *soeng5 lai4* 上嚟, *lok6 lai4* 落嚟, *maai4 lai4* 埋嚟, *ceot1-lai4* 出嚟 ‘exit-come’, *jap-lai4* 入嚟 ‘enter-come’ and *gwo3 lai4* 過嚟, but not all, can serve as a complement to a main verb taking a theme object as in (1). Data from early Cantonese online corpuses, i.e., Early Cantonese colloquial texts: A database (1828–1924), and Early Cantonese tagged database (1872–1931), showed that these directional compounds mostly served as a main verb rather than a complement in the earlier stage, and 1(a) had been the predominant word order.

Second, the acceptability of word order 1(a) and 1(b) in nowadays Cantonese varies depending on the speaker’s language background. A word order acceptability task was conducted to examine the word order variation in 1(a) and 1(b) from 80 native Cantonese-speaking university students with varying proficiency levels in Mandarin. We found that students with high-level Mandarin proficiency are more

likely to accept object-medial form in 1(b).

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