# The 23rd Workshop on Cantonese (WOC)
# 第二十三屆粵語討論會

## Theme: Multiple Facets of Cantonese Conversations
## 主題：粵語口語多角度分析

## 24 June 2023 (Saturday)

## Program and Abstracts
## 程序表及論文提要

Co-organized by

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Hong Kong Baptist University

# The 23rd Workshop on Cantonese (WOC)
## 24 June 2023 (Saturday)
## 09:50am – 05:00pm

| Time | Paper Title | Presenter |
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| 09:50 – 10:00 | *Welcoming remarks* | |
| **Session 1 (Chair: Hinny Wong)** | | |
| 10:00 – 10:30 | Metrifying Cantonese sentence-final particles or not? - An Optimality Theoretical account for Cantonese-English bilingual children's intonation patterns | Jonathan Lee Him Nok (University of Pennsylvania) |
| 10:30 – 11:00 | Assessing Cantonese Oral Proficiency in the United States: Affordances and Challenges | Fiona Hui (New York University) and Raymond Pai (University of British Columbia) |
| 11:00 – 11:30 | Variation in Transcribing Heritage Cantonese | Brian Diep[1], Douglas Quan[2], Justin Leung[1], and Naomi Nagy[1] ([1]University of Toronto, [2]University of Toronto Mississauga) |
| 11:30 – 12:00 | An emerging type of relative clauses in Cantonese | Tommy Lee (City University of Hong Kong) |
| 12:00 – 13:30 | *Lunch* | |
| **Session 2 (Chair: Tommy Lee)** | | |
| 13:30 – 14:00 | A study of Cantonese-speaking undergraduates' code-switching patterns on instant messenger | Hinny Wong Hin Yee (Hong Kong Metropolitan University) |
| 14:00 – 14:30 | 否定義「鬼」的一致操作與句法高層結構 | 蔡浚希 (香港中文大學) |
| 14:30 – 15:00 | 「嗬」和其他附加疑問成份的比較 | 吳家軒 (香港中文大學) |
| 15:00 – 15:30 | *Break* | |
| **Session 3 (Chair: Lau Chaak Ming)** | | |
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| 16:00 – 16:30 | 粵語「畀著」的語法問題 | 鄧思穎 (香港中文大學) |
| 16:30 – 17:00 | 粵語語體與語序的關係——以框式結構為例 | 陳健榮[1,3]、黃尚平[2]、馬子韜[3] ([1]香港中文大學、[2]香港理工大學、[3]香港樹仁大學) |
| 17:00 | *Closing* | |

*30 minutes for each paper (20 minutes for presentation and 10 minutes for Q&A)

# Metrifying Cantonese sentence-final particles or not? –
## An Optimality Theoretical account for Cantonese-English bilingual children's intonation patterns

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**Introduction.** Lee et al. (2023) investigated bilingual interaction in intonation in simultaneous bilingual children acquiring a tonal language (Cantonese) and a stress/intonational language (English). They observed two bilingual intonation patterns exclusively produced by Cantonese-English bilingual children but not monolingual Cantonese-speaking children: high pitch followed by a fall (including H_H*L% and H_L*L%) (H = high tone; L = low tone; * = nuclear accent) and low pitch followed by a rise (including L_H*H% and L_L*H%). They argued that the bilingual intonation patterns were the results of transferring English prosody to Cantonese and code-mixed utterances predominantly in the presence of Cantonese sentence-final particles. However, Cantonese lexical tones are not an effective predictor of the patterns. It is also unclear when H and L tones were produced in the bilingual intonation patterns. This study argues that Optimality Theory (OT) can account for the intonation patterns in code-mixed utterances produced by Cantonese-English bilingual children.

**Methods.** I investigated the code-mixed utterances produced by the Cantonese-English bilingual children ($N = 9$, age: 1;3-4;6) in the Hong Kong Bilingual Child Language Corpus (Yip & Matthews, 2007), the same corpus analysed by Lee et al. (2023). I analysed code-mixed utterances where English words immediately preceding Cantonese sentence-final particles ($n = 167$).

**Results.** I found the following generalizations for both utterances with Cantonese intonation and bilingual intonation. First, Cantonese particles were always not stressed. Second, syllables with primary stress were generally produced with H, others with L. Third, English stress in the input is preserved in the output correspondent. Despite this, in addition to target stress patterns, I found several patterns of non-target stress placement in utterances with bilingual intonation, where the children stressed the unstressed English final syllable preceding the Cantonese particles. These non-target stress patterns were not attested in utterances with Cantonese intonation.

**(1) Bilingual intonation**

| /dóg-gie a/ | MAXSTRESS | DEPSTRESS | PK-PROM | ALIGNR |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. (x ·)(x) / dóg-gie á / H L | | * | *! | |
| b. ☞ (x ) / (x ·)· / dóg-gie a / H L | | | | * |
| c. ☞ (x ) / (x)(x ·) / dóg-gie a / L H | | * | | |
| d. ☞ (x ) / (x)(x ·) / dóg-gie a / H H | | * | | |
| e. (x ) / (x)(x ·) / dóg-gie a / H L | | * | *! | |
| f. · (x ·) / dog-gie a / L H | * | *! | | |

**(2) Cantonese intonation**

| /li-on a/ | MAXSTRESS | DEPSTRESS | PK-PROM | ALIGNR |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. (x ·)(x) / li-on á / H L | | *! | *! | |
| b. ☞ (x ) / (x ·)· / li-on a / H L | | | | * |
| c. (x ) / (x)(x ·) / li-ón a / L H | | *! | | |
| d. (x ) / (x)(x ·) / li-òn a / H H | | *! | | |
| e. (x ) / (x)(x ·) / li-òn a / H L | | *! | *! | |
| f. · (x ·) / li-ón a / L H | *! | *! | | |

I propose that the bilingual children have two grammars (i.e., two sets of constraint ranking) in mind, each for bilingual intonation (= English prosody) and Cantonese intonation. Tableaux (1-2) respectively illustrate the two rankings with a Cantonese particle *a* following an English disyllabic word with trochaic stress (*dóggie* or *líon*). The co-existence of target (1b) and non-target stress patterns (1c-d) can be explained by the variably ranked constraints in the grammar of bilingual intonation, which allows multiple equioptimal candidates to win. I argue that the non-target stress pattern is caused by the metrification of Cantonese particles into the English foot structure, which complies with Align (Prwd, R; Foot, R), (1a, c-f). A binary trochee is formed between the particle and its preceding English syllable, (1c-f). If the preceding syllable is unstressed in the input, the insertion of stress will cause a violation of DEPSTRESS. In contrast, avoiding the violation of DEPSTRESS by not metrifying the particles will violate ALIGNR, (1b). The variably ranked constraints in tableau (1) allows candidates b-d to win. By contrast, only target stress patterns (2b) were attested in Cantonese intonation, suggesting DEPSTRESS >> ALIGNR in this grammar.

**Discussion.** This study is the first to formalize the intonation patterns of bilingual children. I present novel data of non-target stress patterns by the bilingual children, which can be attributed to the metrification of Cantonese particles into English foot structure. The metrification may be liaised by the similar semantic/pragmatic functions between Cantonese particles and English intonation. I propose that unranked constraints in OT can account for the co-existence/variation between target and non-target forms produced by the same children in the early stage of their development of phonology. My phonological analysis suggests that bilingual children have developed two independent grammars in mind, and cross-linguistic influence in prosody can occur at the level of abstract phonological constraints.

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## Assessing Cantonese Oral Proficiency in the United States: Affordances and Challenges

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With the recent growth in the worldwide Cantonese-speaking new immigrant and diaspora populations (Pai, 2019; Yu, 2013), the need for effective global Cantonese language proficiency assessment becomes increasingly important. This study aims to explore the current state of Cantonese language oral proficiency assessment in the United States, highlighting the challenges faced, and proposing potential solutions for all Cantonese communities around the world.

The growing demand boosted by the recent waves of Cantonese speaking immigrants to North America calls for accurate assessment tools to effectively measure Cantonese aural-oral language proficiency. Partial data from the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages' (ACTFL) Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) between 2019-2023 is analyzed to illustrate the current Cantonese linguistic landscape in the United States as well as to evaluate the effectiveness of test design for Cantonese speaking assessment.

Despite the current limited infrastructure of language assessment of Cantonese, the existing challenges in assessing Cantonese language proficiency in the United States include the lack of standardized assessment frameworks, limited availability of resources, varying regional dialects, and the need to address the unique cultural contexts in which Cantonese is used (Winke & Ma 2019).

To address these challenges, solutions and initiatives include the development of non-English oriented and standardized Cantonese proficiency tests tailored to different socio-cultural contexts, the establishment of language assessment centers or programs, and the integration of technology for more efficient and scalable assessment methods.

The more accurate language proficiency assessment will serve multiple purposes of facilitating language acquisition, supporting educational institutions in designing effective language programs, and aiding employers in identifying qualified candidates for language-specific roles.

Collaboration among language experts, educators, policymakers, and community stakeholders to foster a comprehensive and sustainable approach to Cantonese language proficiency assessment will promote Cantonese language education, encourage further research and efforts, and the preservation and advancement of Cantonese language and culture both locally and globally. An effective Cantonese oral proficiency assessment is expected to empower Cantonese learners and to foster a greater appreciation for linguistic diversity globally.

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# Variation in Transcribing Heritage Cantonese

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We compare approaches to (auto)transcribing conversational speech that the Heritage Language Variation and Change in Toronto Project (HLVC, Nagy, 2011, 2009) has implemented. The HLVC project depends on students, often volunteers, who are speakers of 10 heritage languages. We adapt and develop standard methods for sociolinguistic research projects to accommodate a workflow for data files used for many projects and by many researchers.

To transcribe conversational Cantonese recordings, we began with manual transcription in Jyutping because heritage-speaking student volunteers and RAs often had limited knowledge of characters. This was sufficient to support forced alignment of transcriptions to audio recordings to support phonetic and phonological analysis (cf. Nagy et al., *in press*; Tan & Nagy, 2017; Tse, 2016, 2019, 2022). As our focus expanded from sounds to morphosyntax (cf. Leung, 2022), where meaning plays a bigger role, a need for character transcription developed: homophones are plentiful in Jyutping but disambiguated by characters.

Although some team members were able to transcribe characters, to facilitate this work, we are testing two methods of producing character transcriptions from Jyutping, which have promising outcomes. The first is a NLP transliteration model, trained on a large set of publicly available corpora of transcribed Cantonese speech (Edwards & Beckman, 2008; Guthrie, 1983; Luke & Wong, 2015; T. H. T. Lee et al., n.d.; Mai & Yip, 2017; Weizman & Fletcher, 2000; Yip & Matthews, 2007, cited in Diep, 2022) accessed using PyCantonese (J. Lee et al., 2022) and tested on a subset of HLVC conversational data from 32 speakers (Diep, 2022). This sequence-to-sequence encoder-decoder uses recurrent neural networks (RNNs) to convert input sequences in Jyutping to characters, passing through an intermediate latent representation. After 3 hours of training, a test on the HLVC dataset produced output with a Character Error Rate (CER, edit distance / number of characters) of 0.24. This is better than the result for a model trained on a much larger Mandarin dataset, indicating that neural approaches are suitable for transliteration in low-resource languages. We consider Heritage Cantonese a low-resource language because little research or documentation has been conducted on heritage varieties, which are primarily oral. Additionally, even homeland Cantonese suffers from "relative scarcity of well-labelled data" (Diep 2022:6). In addition, heritage speech contains un(der)explored variation which may or may not be represented in transcription, e.g., tone mergers and "lazy pronunciation" (懶音 *laan5 jam1*) alternations. In spite of this, we find comparable CERs for Homeland (.21) and Heritage (.25) samples, using speech from 11 and 21 speakers, respectively.

Our second approach is computer-assisted manual correction. Working from a concordance of the files in the HLVC corpus that had previously been transcribed in both characters and Jyutping (provided by Kechun Li), we developed a set of character homophones for each Jyutping string, ranked by corpus frequency. This revealed that 61% of strings match only a single character in the corpus, making auto-transliteration straightforward. <3% of strings have more than 4 homophones. Most ambiguous strings have one homophone that is much more frequent than the others. We are implementing a system where human transcribers are presented with an automatically-generated set of possible characters for each string, within the aligned ELAN transcription file, for finalizing the correct choice of transliterated characters.

Figure 1 illustrates a transcription excerpt in ELAN with tiers representing each stage of the process. A final step will be comparing manually- and machine-generated transcriptions. Sociolinguistic analysis of variation can be much accelerated once we determine the most accurate approach to representing variable speech in lower-resource language varieties, benefitting from the contributions of speakers who are less- or non-literate in the variety.

Figure 1. Screenshot of an excerpt of an interview with speaker C1F50A annotated in ELAN, demonstrating manual Jyutping transcription, forced alignment, manual character transcription, output from the NLP model, and output from the homophones approach.
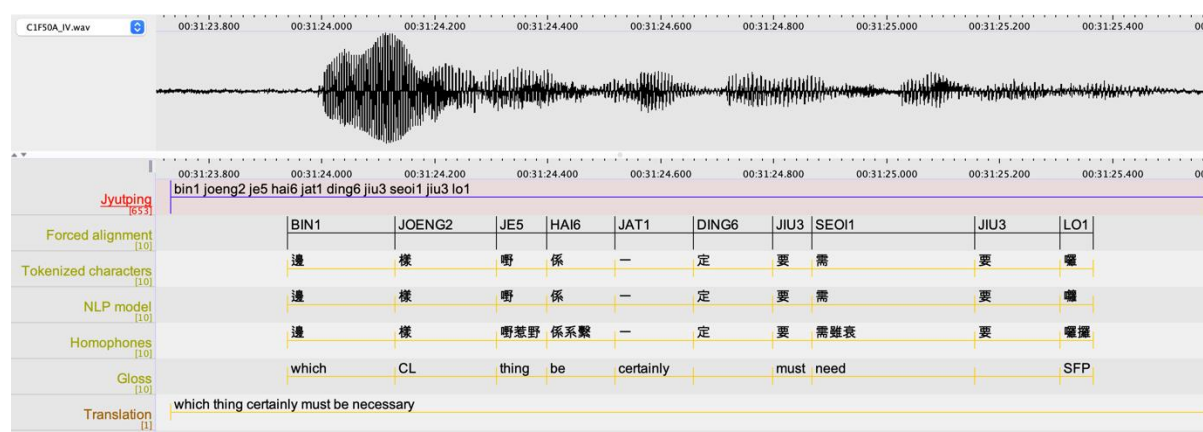
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# An emerging type of relative clauses in Cantonese
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**Synopsis**. This study represents the first attempt in describing an emerging type of relative clauses in Cantonese, with the signature property of lexical borrowing of the English relative pronoun *which*. Drawing on data from internet resources, I discuss both the internal and external syntax of this type of RC (*which*-RCs for short). I reveal that *which*-RC are not only widespread, but also displays properties not shared to RCs in Cantonese and English.

**Internal syntax**. In addition to object and subject RCs (1), *which*-RCs can come without a corresponding "gap," where the potential "gap" can be realized by resumptive pronouns (2a), identical copies (2b). (3) illustrates two genuine "gap"-less cases.

(1) a. 細 路 返 工 就 有 **滿 足 感** （which 佢 地 返 學 一 直 得 唔 到 Δ ） Object "gap"

　　b. 可能要做**簡單報告**... which 個人覺得 Δ 係意義不大 (Long distance) Subject "gap"

(2) a. 有 **幾 張 可 撕 memo 紙** which **佢 地** 痴 住 左 啲 重 點 "Gap"-less type with resumption

　　b. 叫我地睇 **album**，which **個 album** 只有 1x 幾相 "Gap"-less type with copy

(3) a. 佢 有 時 係 唔 係 好 識 處 理 呢 啲 事 which 佢 會 幾 蝕 底 Genuine "gap"-less

　　b. 而全場得一張檯係二人檯 which 佢地仲食緊主菜 Genuine "gap"-less

Additionally, *which*-RCs can target clausal elements, with or without a gap, as in (4).

(4) a. 例如**覺得當日個樣唔好睇,張相唔好睇** (which 好多人都會 Δ ) Clausal relativization

　　b. 唔能夠**批評呢啲唔合理嘅事**（which 呢個係我職責） Clausal relativization

Despite such flexibility, the choice of relative pronouns is severely restricted. All occurrences of *which*-RCs adopt *which* as the relative pronoun. Others such as *that*, *where*, and *who*, are not observed. But variations of *which* (via pied-piping) are attested, especially with *in which*:

(5) 差啲以為會好壓抑咁完－－in which 已經好正，點知仲未完 A case of *in which*

**External syntax**. All *which-RCs* appear post-nominally, different from native RCs which are pre-nominal. Also, *which*-RCs can appear across sentences, i.e., they can follow SFPs.

(6) a. 我 係 話 **你 啲 手 勢 唔 乾 淨** 喎 [ which 你 自 己 已 經 承 認 咗 Δ 啦 ] SFP + *which*-RC

　　b. 但佢真係好重視**佢既事業**囉 [ which is Δ 係我好欣賞既 ] SFP + *which*-RC

**Discussions**. While clausal relativization in (4) seems to raise challenges to a head-raising approach to RCs in Cantonese, the overall flexibility exhibited by *which*-RCs seems to suggest a substantially different account. In most cases, they are comparable to parentheticals, which bears a looser relation (compared to RCs) to the sentence with which they are associated.

**Future research**. (i) All the reported data comes from internet resources in their written form, despite colloquial register. Naturally occurring spoken data are much desired. (ii) *Which*-RCs are indeed not exclusive in Cantonese, but also observed in Mandarin. (iii) *Which*-RCs also raises syntactic issues as to compositionality, and their corresponding syntactic derivation. Retrospective data are needed in this regard.

# A study of Cantonese-speaking undergraduates' code-switching patterns on instant messenger

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In Hong Kong, code-switching is a widespread linguistic phenomenon reflecting the city's multicultural and multilingual environment (Li, 2000). In the past, most studies on code-switching focused on the spoken language and little attention was paid to the written form. Using data from online synchronous conversations, this study explores and analyzes code-switching in electronic contexts.

We investigate the linguistic features and functions of code-switching performed by Cantonese-speaking undergraduates in their online interactions on the instant messaging app Signal. 18 Cantonese-speaking undergraduate students aged 19-22 from several universities in Hong Kong participated in this study, including nine females and nine males. Participants were divided into four groups and had a two-day discussion on the topic of "Life bucket lists".

A total of 416 utterances were collected, including 83 Kongish utterances, 42 English utterances that resulted from inter-sentential switching, 86 utterances containing intra-sentential switching, and 205 Cantonese utterances in written form. Kongish utterances accounted for 20.0% of the data and were mostly produced by females with high English proficiency. Many Kongish utterances display grammatical features that are typically found in Cantonese utterances, including the use of sentence-final particles and verb doubling. Most Kongish utterances contained Cantonese words, transliterated Cantonese expressions, and literal translations from Cantonese. Among the 42 English utterances, functional words were omitted in the majority of the cases. In the intra-sentential switching, code-switched words were usually nouns describing a particular location, profession, or job title. It has been noted that code switching in our online conversation data serves a variety of functions, including message qualification, emphasis, interjection, free switching, and the principle of economy. We will conclude by discussing the phenomenon of code-switching in Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) in the Cantonese context.

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# 否定義「鬼」的一致操作與句法高層結構

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反詰問句一向被認為是純語用／語義問題，但近來的研究提出反詰問句可以從句法來分析（Špago 2016, Nakashima 2018, Tang 2022），而這種分析也恰與句法高層結構（treetop structure）及句法-語用接口的相關研究相呼應（Beyssade & Marandin 2006, Heim et al. 2016, Miyagawa 2022）。本文將討論香港粵語中典型的由動詞後否定標記「鬼」構成的反詰問句（例子見（1））。

（1）家明識鬼句法 ?!（≈ 家明不會句法。）

本文認為「鬼」屬於動詞後綴，生成於句法底層，但必須與句法最高層的說話者短語（Speaker Phrase）、聽者短語（Addressee Phrase）及承諾短語（Commitment Phrase）進行一致（Agree）操作，以上三者均位於 CP 之上（跟從 Miyagawa 2022所提出的邊緣結構分析），屬於一種句法-語義的不對稱（mismatch）。我們提出以下五項證據支持上述的觀點：（一）「鬼」的否定及無禮（impoliteness）性質；（二）「鬼」的根句要求；（三）與句末助詞及句末語調的一致表現；（四）其他量化成分導致的相對近距效應（minimality effects）；（五）「鬼」的否定轄域的表現。最後，本文嘗試把相關的分析延伸至 Cheung（2008, 2009）提及的否定疑問詞結構（Negative wh-constructions）及鄧思穎（2022）提及的否定義「什麼」（及粵語的「乜嘢」），以及討論把相關分析套用到 Lee & Chin（2007）提及的其他非否定義「鬼」的可能性。

本文的分析證明了反詰問句是句法的問題，而且涉及句法底層的「鬼」與根句層次的句末助詞／語調的一致操作，在 Chomsky（2000, 2001）提出的階段理論（Phase Theory）的框架下，應該屬於狹窄句法（Narrow Syntax）的一部分。本文進而提出 Miyagawa（2022）中的表達部門（expressive component）或句末助詞／語調，在階段理論下可以被視為思維系統（C-I system）的理解循環（interpretive cycle）中最終轉移（final transfer）的提示，這種分析可以顧及階段不穿透性原則（Phase Impenetrability Condition）及「鬼」的一致操作之中的相關理論問題。

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# 「嘀」和其他附加疑問成份的比較

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附加疑問句在香港粵語（下稱「粵語」）口語經常出現，唯目前討論不多。我測試粵語中「同唔同意啊」、「係唔係啊」、不帶停頓的「（哦）嘀」和帶停頓的「，嘀」四種附加疑問成份與陳述、疑問、祈使、感歎四種主要句類的配合情況。之於陳述句，四種附加疑問成份都可以與肯定句配合，如（1）；但只有「，嘀」能與否定句配合，如（2）。

　　（1）佢係一個好人，嘀／哦嘀／，同唔同意啊／，係唔係啊？

　　（2）佢唔係一個好人，嘀／*哦嘀／*，同唔同意啊／*，係唔係啊？

疑問句不能與「同唔同意啊」、「係唔係啊」和「嘀」配合，但在特殊的語境下可以勉強與「，嘀」配合，如（3）。 又，我認同 Tang（2020）的看法，在反問句中，「嘀」變得可以接受，如（4）。「，嘀」則依然是在特殊語境下勉強可以接受。

　　（3）佢會嚟食飯咩，嘀／*嘀／*，同唔同意啊／*，係唔係啊？

　　（4）三加三等於幾多呢嘀／，嘀／*，同唔同意啊／*，係唔係啊？

祈使句與疑問句相似，除了「，嘀」在特殊語境下可以勉強配合外，與所有附加疑問成份配合均不可接受，如（5）。感歎句可以與「同唔同意啊」和「係唔係啊」配合，勉強與「，嘀」和「嘀」配合，如（6）。

　　（5）過嚟食飯，嘀／*哦嘀／*，同唔同意啊／*，係唔係啊？

　　（6）呢朵花真係超級無敵靚啊嘀／，嘀／，同唔同意啊／，係唔係啊／嘀？

我提出三個想法。第一，粵語最少有三個「嘀」。「嘀$_1$」之前沒有停頓，代表說話人假設聽話人認同命題 P，並透過說「嘀」促使聽話人認同命題 P，增強命題 P 的可信性。Lam（2014）亦有相似發現。「嘀$_2$」之前有停頓，說話人對聽話人說出命題 P，然後轉向詢問第三者的意見，並期望透過第三者的同意，作出言外行為（illocutionary act），令聽話者更認同命題 P，增強命題 P 的可信性。「嘀$_3$」之前有停頓，代表說話者相信命題 P 為真，並向聽話者說出命題 P 後，思考片刻，然後發現命題 P 未必為真，因此說出「嘀$_3$」，詢問聽話人命題 P 是否為真。「嘀$_3$」把陳述句轉化為一般的疑問句，而非反問句。

第二，「嘀$_2$」要求第三者評價其言語行為（speech act）的正當性。Matthews and Yip（2011）認為粵語的附加疑問句與英文一樣，把陳述句轉化成疑問句。因此，「同唔同意啊」、「係唔係啊」和不帶停頓的「嘀」無法與祈使句和疑問句配合。 但「嘀$_2$」可以用作要求第三者認同一疑問、祈使或感歎的言語行為為正當，因此「嘀$_2$」可以在所有句類出現。這亦是上文所指的「特殊語境」。

第三，粵語的附加疑問成份有程度之分。「嘀$_2$」和「嘀$_3$」的語法功能與其它附加疑問成份非常不同，難以平行比較，在本節不作討論。縱使「嘀$_1$」、「係唔係呀」和「同唔同意呀」都能組成相似的附加疑問句，但它們希望聽話者同意的程度不一樣。「同唔同意呀」容許聽話者有最大程度的不同意，「係唔係呀」次之，「嘀$_1$」最小。這可能與附加疑問成份的長度有關：最長的「同唔同意呀」語氣相對舒緩，最短的「嘀$_1$」相對急促；前者施加於聽話者的壓力比起後者為小，因此前者對聽話者而言有較大的不同意的空間。在反問句中，只有「嘀$_1$」可以出現，「同唔同意啊」與「係唔係呀」不能接受。在「嘀$_1$」的個案中，說話人認為沒有不同意的空間，因此與「嘀$_1$」配合產生反問句，提示聽話者命題為真。我希望能夠透過這次報告為粵語附加疑問句法帶來一些新的認識。

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# 粵方言中「畀」的假設義用法

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「畀」是粵方言中的通用給予義動詞（例 1），同時也承擔粵語中與格標記（例 2）、使動標記（例 3）、被動標記（例 4）及工具標記（例 5）的角色（姚玉敏，2010）。

（1）　畀錢我。<sub>給我錢。</sub>給我錢。
（2）　送畀你。<sub>送給你。</sub>送給你。
（3）　唔畀笑。<sub>不准笑。</sub>不准笑。
（4）　畀人笑。<sub>被人笑。</sub>被人笑。
（5）　畀啲豉油。<sub>下點醬油。</sub>下點醬油。

在廣州話口語有聲語料庫（單韻鳴，2010）中搜尋「畀」，發現少數語料中的「畀」無法歸類併入以上五種用法。翻查數本粵方言詞典，在鄭定歐（1997）的《香港粵語詞典》中找到了不同於以上用法的釋義——「畀」表示假設。鄭進一步將其分成兩種情況，一是作為介詞，如例 6、例 7；另一種則作為連詞，常與「着」連用（見例 8、例 9）。

（6）　「畀你都唔制啦」
（7）　「如果畀我，我不會走」
（8）　「畀着你係佢，你又點吖？」
（9）　「畀着你，你點辦？」

搜尋過往文獻，並未發現有學者對這種用法進行詳細考究，鄭本人亦無進一步闡釋分類的依據。放眼漢語其他方言，亦未發現其他給予動詞後加「着」產生假設義的例子。本研究聚焦於粵方言「畀」的假設義用法，詳述其使用範圍，討論其語法屬性，並分析此用法的來源。

本文將假設義的「畀」分成兩種情況討論，一種是「畀」後接名詞及動詞的情況；另一種把「畀着」作為一個整體進行分析。兩種情況下「畀」的用法有相似之處，亦有所區別，其語法分析也不盡相同，但兩種情況都涉及到「畀」的語法化，並與給予義和使動標記用法有密切聯繫。

作者認為第一種情況的「畀」仍存有強烈的動詞屬性；而「畀着」則是一個帶有假設義的標句詞。二者皆可引領一個小句、或由小句省略的名詞短語，其後必須連接主句。由「畀」引領的小句一般假設一個場景、情況，而主句則描述結果，或提出此場景下產生的疑問。與其他假設句相比，帶「畀」的條件從句適用範圍較窄，對語境有較高的要求，不能作憑空假設。

# 粵語「畀著」的語法問題

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香港粵語（以下簡稱「粵語」）的「畀」，往往對應為普通話的「給」。姚玉敏（2010）指出了「畀」的五種用法，即給予動詞、與事標記、工具標記、使動標記、被動標記；鄭定歐（1997）、陳希（2022）討論「畀」的第六種用法，即（1）、（2）、（3）等例子，屬於介詞、連詞用法，表示假設。本文重點關注粵語表示假設的「畀」，分析語法特點，並討論這類動詞跟情態、語氣的關係。首先，本文對於所謂表示假設意義的「畀」，是否屬於介詞或連詞，提出值得斟酌之處。本文認為，「畀着」的「畀」，應該分析為動詞，屬於表示呈現意義的靜態動詞；而「着」是黏附在動詞之後的後綴，表示結果（鄧思穎 2015），並隱含一個巧合的時空意義，如表示機會、偶然的情況、漫不經意的行為，呈現完句現象（Tang 2022）。根據這些分析，本文進一步認為「着」這類表示情態的後綴，跟輕動詞短語之上的一個功能詞有關，尤其是語氣（mood）。為甚麼粵語選擇了「畀」表示這種情態、語氣？本文相信，這個現象並非偶然，可能跟呈現意義（OCCUR）有關，也就是所謂呈現句。根據本文的討論，呈現句跟表示給予義的雙賓句，無論在句法還是語義，都有微妙的關係。本文通過粵語「畀」的討論，期望是揭示這種微妙關係的一種嘗試，讓我們對這個問題有個重新思考的機會。

（1）畀着你係佢，你又點吖？
（2）畀着你，你點辦？
（3）如果畀我，我唔會走。

# 粵語語體與語序的關係——以框式結構為例

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## 摘要

語體是語言交際中的重要成分 (Firth 1957; Hymes 1972 等)。漢語也不例外。呂叔湘(1977 [1992]:16-17)早就留意到,「某些句式, 某些虛詞, 用在某種環境很合適, 用在另一種環境就不合適。比如'我們'和'咱們', '被'和'叫、讓', '跟', '和', '同', '與', '及', 都有這樣的問題」。其後,馮勝利(2010, 2018)提出「語體語法」概念,指出語體(register-style)與語法實有密切關係。例如現代漢語口語語法不允許附加語 PP 出現在動詞之後, 但是書面正式體則允許這種格式: (馮勝利 2012:11)

(1) a. *李四講故事[在加拿大]好多年了。
    b. 李四傳道[於北美之地]多年。

語體不同,語法也相異。在粵語中也是如此。Lee & Chan (2015, 2019)利用計量方法考察粵語數量名結構,發現同一短語中,如果詞語語體不一致,合法度便會顯著下降。因此「一名男士」、「一條友」的合法度顯著高於「*一名友」、「*一條男士」。本文以三類粵語框式結構(鄧思穎 2006)為研究對象,套用 Lee & Chan 的計量研究方法,發現框式結構的前置成份多為正式體或通體,後置成份則多為非正式體。舉例如下:

| 框式結構 | 詞彙正式度 | 只使用前置成份 | 只使用後置成份 |
|---|---|---|---|
| (2) 大約...度 | 正式語體 | 大約兩小時 | *兩小時度 |
| | 非正式語體 | ?大約兩粒鐘 | 兩粒鐘度 |
| (3) 一定...硬 | 正式語體 | 陳教授一定出席 | *陳教授出席硬 |
| | 非正式語體 | 阿陳一定嚟啦 | 阿陳嚟硬啦 |
| (4) 如果...嘅 | 正式語體 | 如果需要協助, 請聯絡客戶服務部 | *需要協助嘅, 請聯絡客戶服務部 |
| | 非正式語體 | 如果你覺得啱, 就去馬啦 | 你覺得啱嘅, 就去馬啦 |

是次研究能為多個領域帶來貢獻:(一) 鄧思穎(2006)留意到粵語有框式結構,前置和後置成份可以共現,但也可以只用其一。這似乎是違反了語言的經濟性原則。本文則從語體的視角,說明前置和後置成份並非完全等同,而是各司其職。(二) 語體語法的研究,至今大多着眼於辨識句法結構的正式度。然而未能理清句法與語體的關係。本文透過研究語序與語體的關連,期望能為語體語法研究帶來啟示。

**關鍵詞** 框式結構、假設連詞、概數詞、語序、語體語法

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