

凝望粵語： 藏在腦袋裡的語言知識

李梓明

2023年8月20日

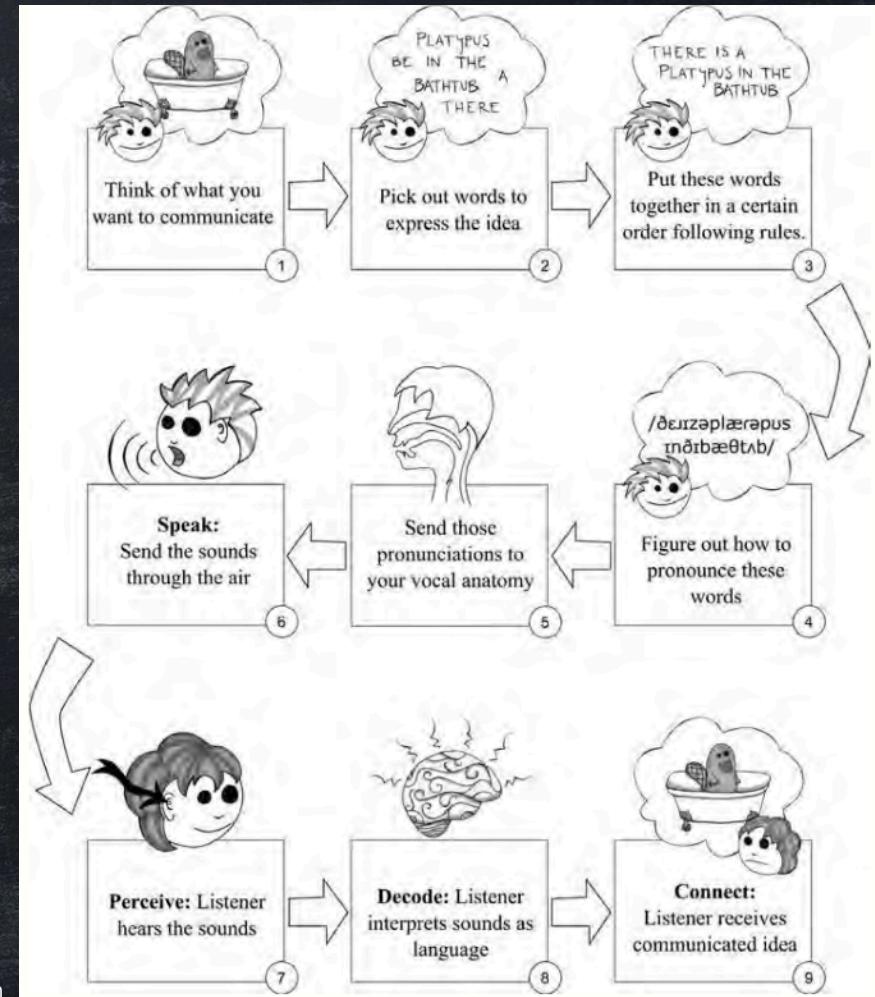
20:30 - 22:00 學識Hok6 線上講座



講粵語嘅時候，
你個「粵語腦」發生咩事？

諗 > 捷 > 破 >
讀 > 郁 > 講 >
聽 > 拆 > 明

Dawson, Hope & Michael Phelan. 2016. *Language Files: Materials for an Introduction to Language and Linguistics*. Ohio State University Press.





第一語言嘅非凡地位

大家點學粵語？
大家又點學英文？





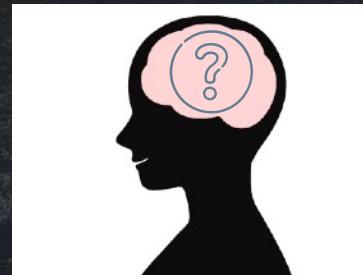
個腦裝乜？

你有我有

你個腦同我個腦，既然都識講粵語，
係咪應該有返咁上下相似呢？

天降嘅禮物

我地裝住嘅，唔係雜亂無章嘅知識碎片，
而係一份可能算係天跌落黎嘅禮物。大家都擁有，但可能大家都睇小咗佢。



今日個plan

01

粵語：個腦裝乜？

有乜可以有？
又有乜唔可以冇？

02

凝望：收埋咗啲乜？

語言作為認知系統的一部分，
作為一份天降嘅禮物。

03

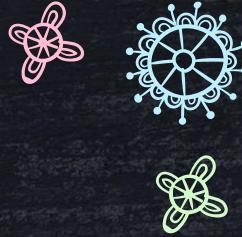
凝望粵語

望吓調轉講嘅句子，
望吓多出黎啲動詞。

04

結語：無用之用

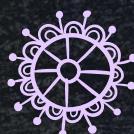
凝望有冇意義？
凝望可以帶我地去邊？



01

粵語

一個識講粵語嘅腦裝住啲也？





我地個「粵語腦」……



⌚ Part 1: 可以有乜？

Part 2: 唔可以有乜？





1. 裝住成語、習語、熟語

- 圖入面嘅諺語，大家識幾多個？
 - 阿塗，2014年。發表於《熱血時報》，附官方答案，
<http://www.passiontimes.hk/article/02-24-2014/8899/>
- 仲有我細個阿嫲成日講：
 「食飯好似誓願」？
 「等我涼透條身先」？



(神憎(漫畫)) **【大粵港諺語】**



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圖文:阿塗

This is
PASSIONTIMES.HK



• 「水」文化

聊天叫吹水	從良叫食井水	冇錢都可以叫莫水
減少叫縮水	比提示叫放水	留學海外叫浸鹹水
鍾意叫心水	留髮腳叫的水	一知半解叫半桶水
自豪叫威水	即將結束叫尾水	全無希望叫凍過水
把風叫睇水	俾錢付款叫磅水	摸不清關係叫乜水
有錢叫疊水	離開現場叫散水	在小溪中行走叫澗水
借錢叫踱水	謀取暴利叫掠水	裝模作樣叫整色整水
冇錢叫冇水	從中取利叫油水	糊里糊塗叫一頭霧水
籌款叫撲水	緋聞報道叫煲水	財路亨通叫豬籠入水
騙錢叫昆水	番工超時望補水	低水平比賽叫水鬥水
佣金叫抽水	貨不對板要回水	進退兩難叫唔湯唔水
失蹤叫潛水	比人屈錢叫屈水	詭人十年八載叫風水
命運叫命水	串同作弊叫通水	周轉出問題叫吊鹽水

• 粵語狀貌詞

- (1) *tap1 tap1* 陷(*ham6*) (入榫般緊密拼合之貌)
- (2) 扁(*bin2*) *tet4 tet4* (扁扁的)
- (3) 黑(*haak1*) *gu2 lak6 gwak6* (黑乎乎)
- (4) 懂(*mung2*) *sing6 sing6* (懵懵懂懂)
- (5) 傻(*so4*) *gaang1 gaang1* (傻乎乎)
- (6) 烏(*wu1*) *doeng1 doeng1* (糊裡糊塗)
- (7) *懵(*mung2*) *gaang1 gaang1*
- (8) *傻(*so4*) *doeng1 doeng1*
- (9) *烏(*wu1*) *sing6 sing6*

Article

香港粵語雙音節狀貌後綴的音韻特色*

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Language
& Linguistics
語言暨語言學

Language and Linguistics
16(5) 691-729
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lin.sagepub.com

SAGE

狀貌詞是一種生動地以語音直接表義的詞類 (Doke 1935)。在香港粵語中，大部分狀貌詞由雙音節狀貌後綴附上詞根構成，例如「紅(*hung4*) *bok1 bok1*」。本文收集了現今通用的 138 例為語料，在以下四方面探討香港粵語雙音節狀貌後綴的音韻特色：(1) 展示狀貌後綴不同的重疊形式，探討完全重疊演化為各類部分重疊的音變規律，並藉此還原出一些狀貌後綴其已消失的完全重疊形態；(2) 描述狀貌後綴的聲調和音素使用特性，並由此帶出狀貌後綴超出廣州話一般語音組合法的獨特音節；(3) 探索狀貌後綴的語音象徵性，證明其音頻高低聯繫到體積大小和褒貶色彩的意義上；(4) 綜合以上得出的音韻特色，探討狀貌後綴所經歷的語法化過程。

關鍵詞：粵語狀貌詞，重疊，語音組合法，語音象徵性，語法化



- 黎奕葆 (2015) 香港粵語雙音節狀貌後綴的音韻特色。《語言暨語言學》16(5) 691-729。
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1606822X15583254>



2. 裝住書寫系統

== 廣東話 正字 列表 ==

「R」點寫：[揹 R 摳 撥 捷 抓](#)

「click住咁」正字：[棘住](#)

「com被」正字：[𠵼被](#)

「d」寫法：[啲](#)

「dum」正字：[蹠](#)

「dum地」正字：[蹠](#)

「dum本」正字：[揷本](#)

「dum波鐘」正字：[掠波鐘](#)

- 仲有筆順、異體字……

- 粵典，2020年。《廣東話 正字 列表》
<https://words.hk/faiman/view/690/廣東話%20正字%20列表>

- 粵典中央決策組（2020）：「不斷有人問我哋某啲「正字」點寫。《粵典》作為一部「描述主義」詞典，唔係太鼓勵大家咁執著「正字」。不過好多人會用同音字查詢某啲字或詞點寫，或想知道有冇更標準嘅寫法。呢個表可能可以幫到你。」

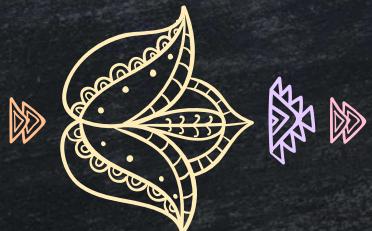
3. 裝住歷史淵源

- 保留古音：入聲

七 cat1 百 ba^k3 碟 dip6

- 保留古字：

得閒；後生；隔籬；唔怪之得；換言之



昔日香港 2時間 ·

廣東話果然博大精深！有冇人講得出呢四個詞嘅分別？仲有濃縮版嘅 嘴怪得／唔怪之／怪唔之／怪唔得／怪之得

Calling Ben Sir Benjamin Au Yeung

[Back](#) [Comments](#)

我反而想問係
唔怪得之
唔怪之得
怪唔之得
怪唔得之

10m Like Reply Message Hide

Author 替日香港

好問題！



但如果冇咁呢啲野，
我地仲算唔算識講粵語呢？

我地個腦可以裝住好多野……



我地個「粵語腦」……



Part 1: 可以有乜？

📍 Part 2: 唔可以有乜？



1. 句法系統 Syntactic component

(a) 豐富嘅句末助詞 Sentence-final particles

CANTONESE OK CULTURE 101

Okay la	Yea it's alright
Okay lor	Fine.
Okay geh	Sure, why not
Okay wor	Wow this is good
Okay ma	Is this alright?
Okay gwa	I guess so?
Okay meh	You sure?
O mm okay?	Are you okay?
Ho Okay	This is great
okok	yea yea
ng okay	No
OK your head	Yea whatever

1. 句法系統 Syntactic component

(b) 豐富嘅動詞後綴 verbal suffixes

- (1) 佢地去過晒北京。他們都去過北京。 (李行德 1994 : 131)

(2) 佢嚇親晒我地。他把我們都嚇倒了。 (李行德 1994 : 131)

(3) 你嚇親咗佢。你把他嚇倒了。 (Matthews and Yip 2011 : 262)

(4) 佢睇埋晒啲噃嘅書。他偏偏看那些(不應該看的)書。

(5) 佢洗乾淨翻晒啲衫。他把衣服都重新洗乾淨。

(6) 讀過吓英文。曾經唸過一點兒英文。 (張洪年 2007 : 175)

(7) 佢諗咗吓先至話……。他想了想才說。 (張洪年 2007 : 175)

(8) 聰咗兩諳就有電話嚟。剛躺下不久就有人打電話來。 (鄭定歐 1996 : 16)

(9) 聰得兩諳就天光。才睡一會兒天就亮。 (鄭定歐 1996 : 16)

¹⁰ 鄧思穎。2015。《粵語語法講義》。香港：商務印書局。

(19) 粵語動詞後綴

體	咗、過、落、定、緊、吓(haa2)、住、實、生晒、 衡晒、起上嚟、起、得、落、開
事件	翻、過、嚟…去
程度	吓(haa5)、兩、得、得滯、過頭、極、哖
變化	親、著、到
量化	埋、晒、親、極、嚟…去、噏、得
情態	得、硬、梗、翻

1. 句法系統 Syntactic component

(c) 唔連貫嘅語序：
倒裝句 right dislocation

	Utterance
1	全部都不歡而散o既， 幾個題目都講到。
2	三成囉， 得番。
3	呢個共產黨呢o架嘛， 又係。
4	千祈唔好去頂爛市呀， 叫啲大學生。
5	因為我要培訓o架嘛， 其實係。
6	香港鞋業中心嚟o架嘛， 以前。
7	睇咗三次醫生o架喇， 我太太都。
8	我而家都申請做佢文膽o架嘛， 因為。
9	(i) 佢成日講埋嗰啲阿媽係女人嗰啲嚟o架嘛， 好多時都。 ... (ii) 嗒係佢成日同自己相反o架嘛， 有時候講啲嘢會。
10	成日都講錯嘢o架嘛， 我哋都。

張欽良教授個人網頁

<https://ling.cuhk.edu.hk/people/lawrence/index.html>





1. 句法系統 Syntactic component

(d) 多餘嘅動詞：動詞重覆 verb doubling

- 買，佢係買過喺本書。
- 瞒佢都唔瞓呢本書。
- 係掂阿明唔敢掂呢隻動物啫。
- 唱乜野呀唱？



Lee, Tommy Tsz-Ming. 2022. Towards the unity of movement: implications from Cantonese verb movement. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California.
<https://lingbuzz.net/lingbuzz/006675>



1. 句法系統 Syntactic component

(e) 結構歧義 structural ambiguity

劇中提及一段文字訊息：

「我從來唔覺得你重要點生活你決定」

「我從來唔覺得你重要點生活你決定」

一句句子，兩個意思。



1. 句法系統 Syntactic component



(e) 結構歧義 structural ambiguity

- (情景：你見到你個friend搵緊垃圾桶)
「你個垃圾我幫你攞咗佢」
 - 意思一：「我幫你攞咗你個垃圾佢。」（話題句）
 - 意思二：「你個垃圾！我幫你攞咗佢！」（稱呼語）



2. 語義系統 Semantic component

(a) 字詞歧義

Lexical ambiguity

情景：麻煩你用三杯水
一杯米煮個飯



2. 語義系統 Semantic component

(a) 字詞歧義

Lexical ambiguity



台北巴士上嘅告示（攝於2023）

2. 語義系統 Semantic component

(b) 多義詞

Polysemy

《乜野係乜野？》

「你問咗乜野？」

「我冇問乜野。」

「你乜野都有問？」

「我想講我冇問啲乜野啫。」

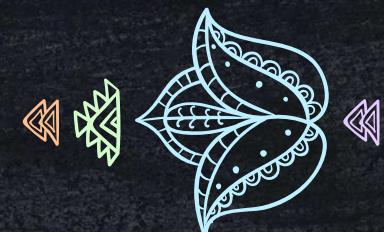
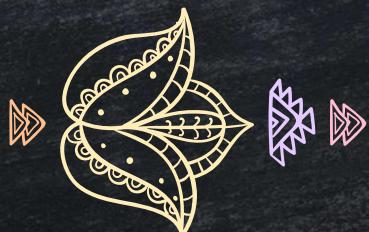
「乜野冇問啲乜野呀？」

「我係噃意問咗乜野乜野囉。」

「你實係問咗啲唔知乜野啦。」

「咁你仲問乜野呀問？」

「我咪問乜野係乜野囉！」





2. 語義系統 Semantic component

(c) 詮釋省略部分 Ellipsis resolution

阿明想同佢女朋友去staycation慶祝生日，阿輝都想 Δ 。

咩意思？

意思1：……阿輝都想同阿輝女朋友去staycation慶祝生日

意思2：……阿輝都想同阿明女朋友去staycation慶祝生日



3. 音韻系統 Semantic component

以下邊啲字最唔似粵語嘅字？

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1. kwai4 | 5. glai1 |
| 2. gwai4 | 6. kwai2 |
| 3. twai2 | 7. twai4 |
| 4. gwai1 | 8. glai4 |

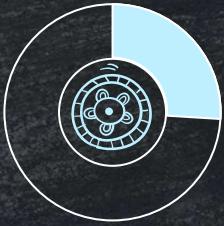
最唔似

唔太似

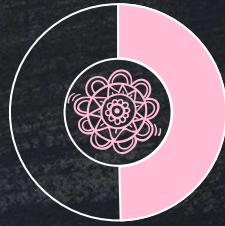
最似

3. 音韻系統 Semantic component

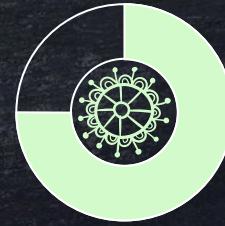
最唔似



唔太似



最似



- 3. twai1
- 5. glai1
- 7. twai4
- 8. glai4

- 2. gawai4
- 6. kwai2

- 1. kwai4 葵
- 4. gawai1 龜

3. 音韻系統 Semantic component

語音組合法 Phonotactics

- | | | |
|-----------|------------------------|------------|
| 3. *twai1 | 2. ?g ^w ai4 | 1. kwai4 葵 |
| 5. *glai1 | 6. ?kwai2 | 4. gwai1 龜 |
| 7. *twai4 | | |
| 8. *glai4 | | |

粵語輔音群 (consonant cluster) 有相當大嘅限制

但如果冇咁呢啲野，
我地仲算唔算識講粵語呢？

我地個腦可以裝住好多野……



我地個「粵語腦」……



Part 1: 可以有乜？

- 成語、習語、熟語
- 書寫系統
- 歷史淵源
-

Part 2: 唔可以有乜？

- 句法系統
- 語義系統
- 音韻系統
-



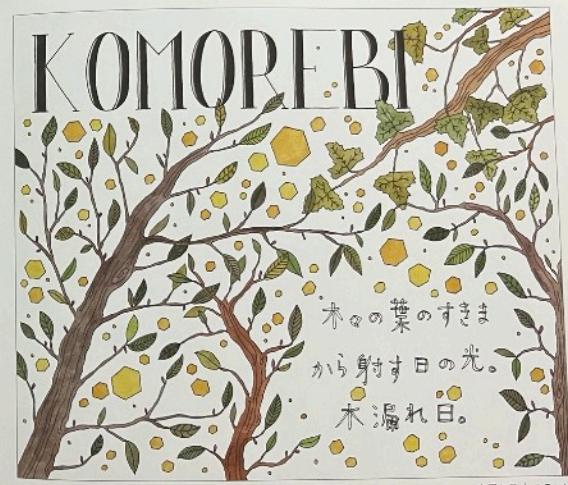
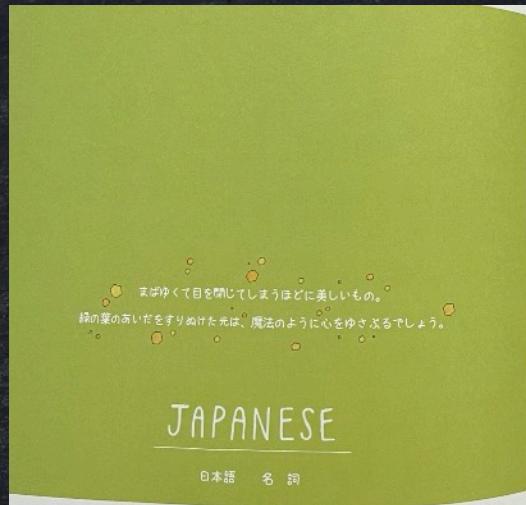
我地個腦裝住好多學返黎，但可以有嘅野，
都裝住好多唔係學返黎，但唔可以有嘅野

學返黎嘅野有趣，

唔使學返黎嘅野都好有趣。

補充：關於「博大精深、源遠流長、最難學嘅語言」

- 日文
- 成語、習語、熟語
 - 鮎の最後っ屁；
 - 磯の鮑の片思い
- 木漏れ日（komorebi）
- 遠慮の塊（enryo no Katamori）



Ella Frances Sanders. 2016.
『翻訳できない世界の言葉』。創元社。



補充：關於「博大精深、源遠流長、最難學嘅語言」

• 擬音語、擬聲語

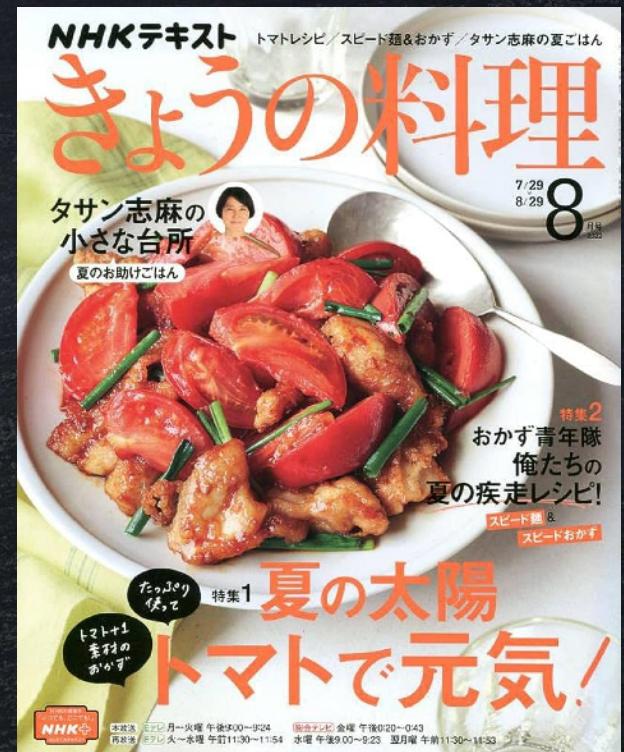


回



補充：關於「博大精深、源遠流長、最難學嘅語言」

- 書寫系統：ひながな、カタカナ、漢字
- 歷史淵源



回



回



02

凝望

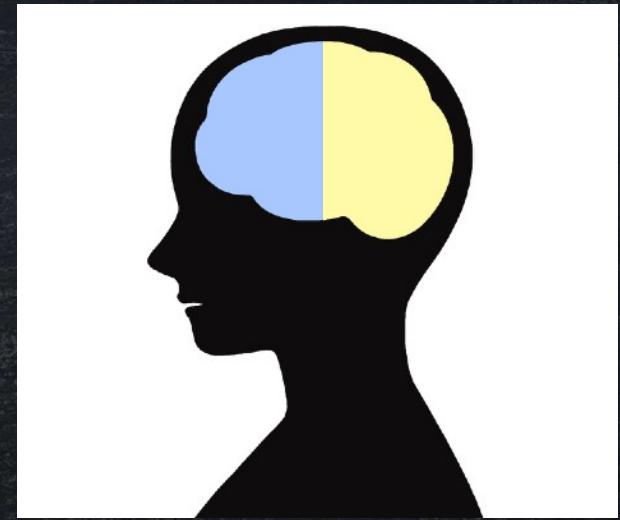
粵語背後收埋啲乜？





語言作為認知系統嘅一部分

- 我地個「粵語腦」……
- 語言知識（一定有）vs.
同語言相關嘅知識（可以冇）
- 有啲好似字典噃儲住
e.g. 心理詞典 mental lexicon……
- 有啲好似電腦噃運算
e.g. 句法規則、音韻規則……



語言作為認知系統嘅一部分

- 第一語言嘅習得就如五感、想像、記憶、理解
(同第二語言習得非常唔同!)



Effortless

我地係點學粵語？
背詞語？記rules？練習
發音？做練習？



Perfect

有冇人粵語唔好？會唔
會我淨係學到一部分？
如果考試會唔會肥佬？



Unconscious

細個學咗幾多個鐘？有冇
學得好唔開心？有冇好大壓力？



Inevitable

有冇學學吓想唔學？有冇
辦法放棄學？可唔可以半途而廢？

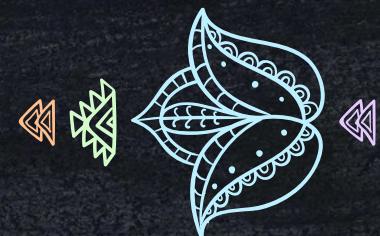
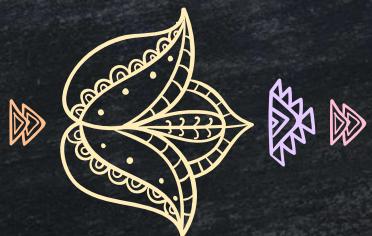
部分內容參考咗 Audrey Li 李豔惠教授
2022年喺 NACCL 34 發表嘅特邀演講



1. 有無限創造性，但又受約束

回文

- (1) 上水居民居水上
- (2) 旺角街頭街角旺
- (3) 今獲釣魚釣獲金



1. 有無限創造性，但又受約束



想笑	完全唔係真好笑	魚唇	哭能佐	我入到嚟	早晨唔各生啲頭	早料	再見
收工	唔好咁就一定係佢嘅事	冇冇	咁	冇	冇	笑能佐	尊重啦
259	叉fake	叉lam	明反暗推	明推暗反	冇冇重點	幾。	搶回
你先講?	R.A.P	屌你老	推	拉	大家咁話	唔大仲唔細人話	無人講味
0get	5G	叉中	點睇	點跟	跟	不了	mud9
是非	屌	色狗	大癩	小癩	合	合	合咗
含曬	做比你	出色	咩老環呀	少kick	0firm	小firm	0尊
真	建議	又贏	6ball	唔好怪佢	唉	LM	G特

YouTube channel
JFFT 所製作嘅sticker



1. 有無限創造性，但又受約束

你可以用呢幾個詞語做幾多句句子？

錢、問題、係、有、冇





1. 有無限創造性，但又受約束

例如：

- 有錢係冇問題，冇錢係冇問題
- 問題係冇冇錢，冇冇錢係問題
- 紣錢冇冇問題，冇冇問題索錢
- 冇問題係冇錢，冇問題係冇錢
- 冇冇問題索錢，錢係冇冇問題

自由，但唔係任意順序都得：

- ?係錢問題冇冇，?問題冇係冇錢
- *問題錢冇冇係，*冇錢係問題冇



1. 有無限創造性，但又受約束

語碼轉換 code switching & 關係小句 relative clause

- (2) a. 細路返工就有 滿足感 (which 佢地返學一直得唔到 Δ)
b. 佢之後收到 第一封信 , which Δ 係信用咁公司寄嚟要佢還錢
c. 雖然 我份人比較直接 (which 佢地唔鐘意 Δ)
- (13) a. *阿明一早知道呢件事 , on which 佢有少少唔同嘅意見
b. *我幾中意巴士 , by which 我日日搭返學
- (16) a. *我一直都想返香港 , where 係我長大嘅地方
b. *我識鄧老師 , who is 我以前嘅mentor
c. *我食過一種白身魚 , that 得日本嘅北陸先有
d. *我睇過呢本書 , whose 個作者淨係寫過一本書

An emerging type of relative clauses in Cantonese

Tommy Tsz-Ming Lee

City University of Hong Kong

The 23rd Workshop on Cantonese
(WOC 23)

Theme: Multiple facets of Cantonese Conversations

2. 語言系統同視覺系統好相似

What you see is not (always) what you get!

What you hear is not (always) what you get!

無論語言定係視覺，佢地都係
an active construction of the mind
而唔係
a faithful representation of objective reality



2. 語言系統同視覺系統好相似

(a) 同一樣野，都可以睇到唔同嘅野



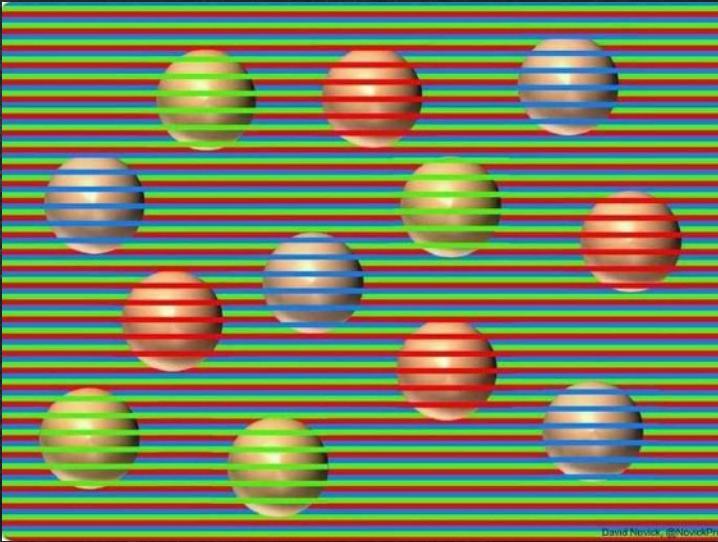
2. 語言系統同視覺系統好相似

(a) 同一樣野，都可以睇到唔同嘅野

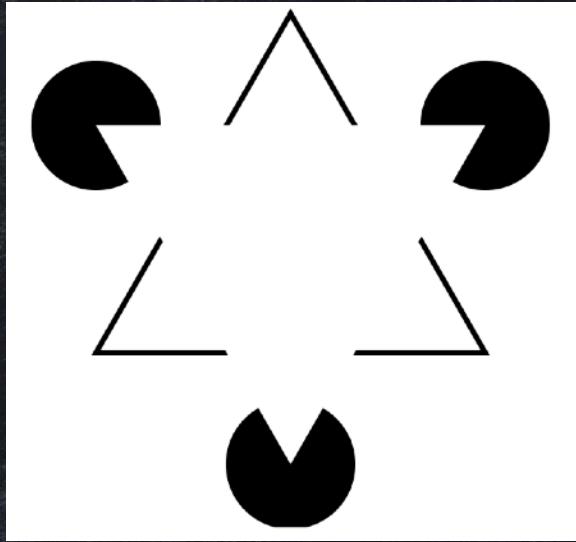
- 「你個垃圾我幫你攞咗佢」
- 「麻煩你用三杯水一杯米煮個飯」

2. 語言系統同視覺系統好相似

(b) 瞪到唔存在嘅野



Kanizsa Triangle



2. 語言系統同視覺系統好相似

(b) 瞎到唔存在嘅野

- 阿明想同佢女朋友去staycation慶祝生日，阿輝都想 Δ 。



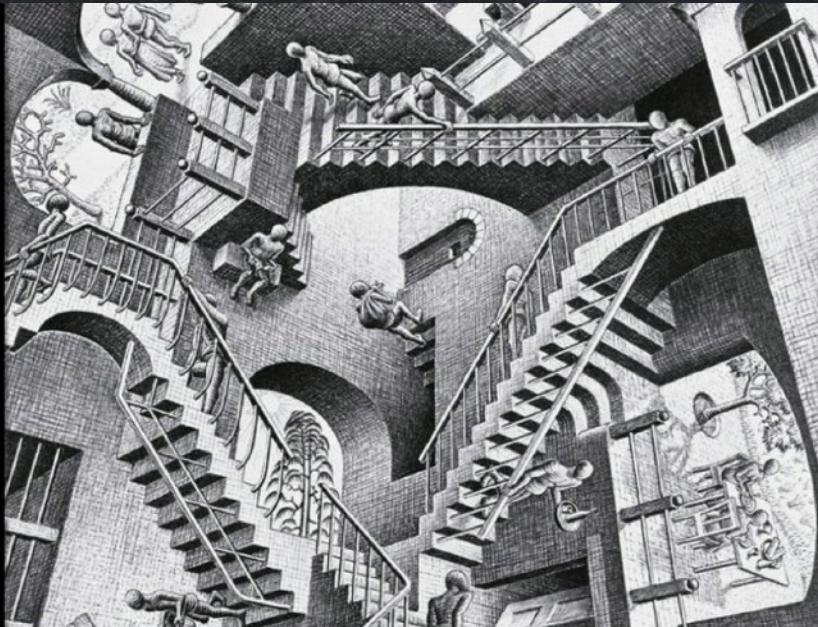
回



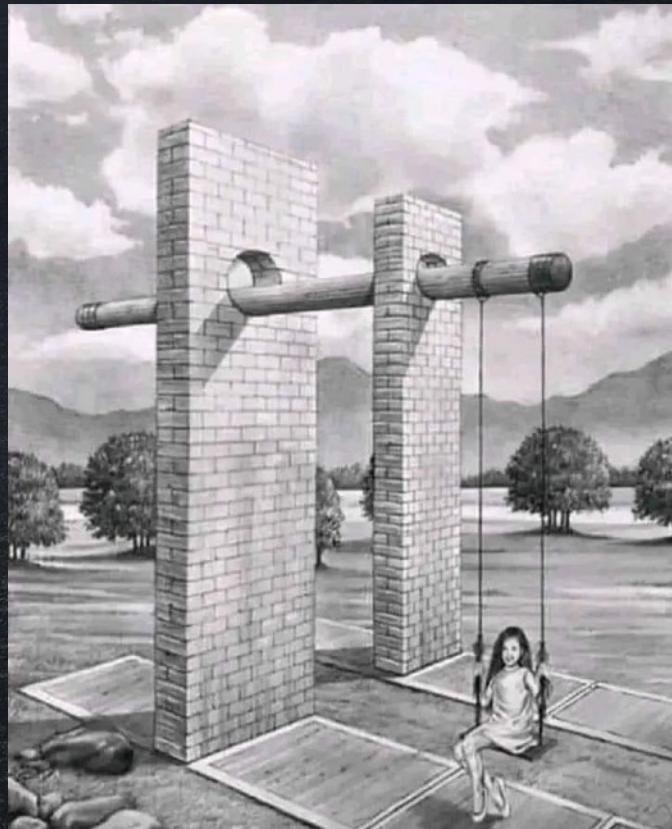


2. 語言系統同視覺系統好相似

(c) 對不一致嘅野有明顯違和感



Maurits Cornelis Escher 《相對論》



"The girl of the uncertain swing"
by @cartoonarcadio



2. 語言系統同視覺系統好相似

(c) 對不一致嘅野有明顯違和感

語音組合法 Phonotactics

3. *twai1

2. ?gwai4

5. *glai1

6. ?kwai2

7. *twai4

- (13) a. *阿明一早知道呢件事，on which 佢有少少唔同嘅意見
 b. *我幾中意巴士，by which 我日日搭返學

8. *glai4

- (16) a. *我一直都想返香港，where 係我長大嘅地方
 b. *我識鄧老師，who is 我以前嘅mentor

- c. *我食過一種白身魚，that 得日本嘅北陸先有
 d. *我睇過呢本書，whose 個作者淨係寫過一本書

自由，但唔係任意順序都得：
 • ?係錢問題有冇，?問題有係冇錢
 • *問題錢冇冇係，*冇錢係問題冇



然後？



另一種視角

- 語言學作為認知科學的一環

In the generative linguistic theory, language is a symbolic, rule-governed biological system. The system is internal to its users the way cognitive faculties such as perception or reasoning are. The language faculty encompasses symbolic representations and rule-governed operations on such representations, all residing in the brain.

(Li, Audrey Yen-hui. 2022, NACCL presentation, abstract)



另一種視角

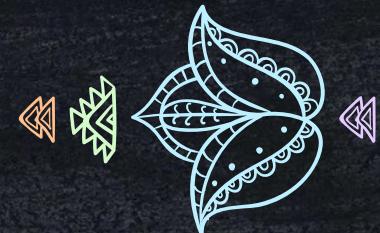
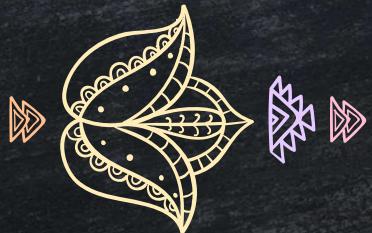
● 語言學作為認知科學的一環

Introduction in Hoji, Hajime. 1990. Theories of anaphora and aspects of Japanese syntax. USC dissertation.

At the center of linguistic inquiry is knowledge that is essential in relating sound and meaning. A grammar of a language is an explicit characterization of this knowledge. Linguistic theory is a set of principles and conditions based on which this grammar is arrived at, or out of which this grammar develops in the process of so-called language acquisition. The innate linguistic knowledge that a human is born with, i.e., what has been called Universal Grammar is hence linguistic theory itself. A major task for the generative grammarian is to construct a theory as an approximation of this innate knowledge.¹

另一種視角

- 語言學作為認知科學的一環
- 凝望粵語，睇吓你個「粵語腦」
understanding of linguistic pattern in Cantonese (粵語作為目標)
- 凝望語言，睇吓大家個「語言腦」
understanding of linguistic pattern through Cantonese (粵語作為媒介)





另一種視角

- 「自然語言」未必係為咗溝通
- 比起「人工語言」 artificial language，
「自然語言」有更多歧義，更多不確定性
- 對於我地點樣去理解語言嘅起源同演化，
都有深遠嘅影響。



點樣凝望？



點樣凝望

- 摳咩黎睇？有咩好睇？
- 摳相同，搵相異
language universals vs. language particulars
- 摳大同小異，搵大異小同
cross linguistic variation

點樣凝望

- To decipher such abstract complex representations and operations in the brain, one needs to build on available data and what is known, make hypotheses and test/revise the hypotheses.
- However, "available data" often come from native speakers' intuition, notorious for its inconsistency and variation across speakers

(Li, Audrey Yen-hui 2022, NACCL presentation, abstract)

03

凝望粵語

望吓倒裝句，望吓動詞重複





1. 句子嘅右邊邊緣位置

- 倒裝句 (again)
- 倒裝句有咩好睇？

	Utterance
1	全部都不歡而散o既， 幾個題目都講到。
2	三成囉， 得番。
3	呢個共產黨呢o架嘛， 又係。
4	千祈唔好去頂爛市呀， 叫啲大學生。
5	因為我要培訓o架嘛， 其實係。
6	香港鞋業中心嚟o架嘛， 以前。
7	睇咗三次醫生o架喇， 我太太都。
8	我而家都申請做佢文膽o架嘛， 因為。
9	(i) 佢成日講埋嗰啲阿媽係女人嗰啲嚟o架嘛， 好多時都。 ... (ii) 睇係佢成日同自己相反o架嘛， 有時候講啲嘢會。
10	成日都講錯嘢o架嘛， 我哋都。



張欽良教授個人網頁

<https://ling.cuhk.edu.hk/people/lawrence/index.html>





1. 句子嘅右邊邊緣位置

- 倒裝句其實好常見：韓語、日語、土耳其語、印地語、蒙古語（左下）、維吾爾語（右下）

(1) Postverbal elements in head-final languages

a. Chelswu-ka **mek-ess-ta** **sakwa-lul.**
Chelswu-NOM eat-PST-DECL apple-ACC
'Chelswu ate an **apple**.' (Choe 1987:40)

b. John-ga **yonda yo** **LGB-o.**
John-NOM read LGB-ACC
'John read **LGB**.' (Tanaka 2001: 551)

c. Ahmet **konuştu** **öğrencilerle.**
Ahmet-NOM speak.PST.3SG. students-with
'Ahmet spoke **with the students**.' (Kural 1997: 499)

d. Sita-ne **dhyaan-se** **dekh-aa** **thaा** **Ram-ko.**
Sita-ERG care-with see-PRF be.PST Ram-ACC
'Sita had looked at **Ram** carefully.' (Bhatt and Dayal 2007: 288)

[Korean]

[Japanese]

[Turkish]

[Hindi]

Ko (2022) "Right-dislocation in Korean: an overview". Cambridge Handbook of Korean Language and Linguistics.

Ozturk (2013) "Rightward movement, EPP and specifiers Evidence from Uyghur and Khalkha". Rightward Movement in a Comparative Perspective.

c. Bi [__ nom-ig unsh-san]-ig **medne** **Bulgan-in-i.**
I book-ACC read-PAST-ACC know Bulgan-GEN
I know that **Bulgan** read the book.

c. Men [__ kitap-ni oqi-gan-i]-ni **bil-i-men** **Zemire-nij.**
I book-ACC read-PAST-3PS-ACC know-PRES-1PS Zemire-GEN
I know that **Zemire** read the book.

1. 句子嘅右邊邊緣位置



- 左邊邊緣位置 vs. 右邊邊緣位置
- 跨語言中，左邊邊緣位置遠比右邊豐富和發達。

1. Will John will come?
2. What will you buy what?
3. That, I know that.
4. John was killed John.
5. Give a book to Mary, John
surely will give a book to Mary.



1. 可以得你可以出席呢個會。
2. 邊樣野你會買邊樣野？
3. 呢樣野，我知呢樣野吖。
4. 阿明被人殺咗阿明。
5. 罷本書阿輝，阿明一定會畀本書阿輝。

1. 句子嘅右邊邊緣位置

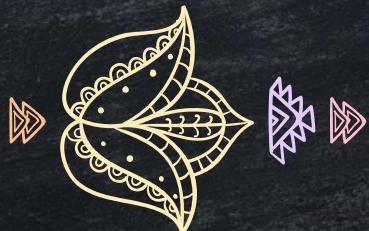
- 可能性 (1)
有啲語言係特別啲，可以允許啲野移去右邊。
- 換言之，我地個腦就必須足夠flexible，去允許我地可以學識「左方移動」，同埋「右方移動」。
- 即係我地份天降嘅禮物本身就係比較複雜，裝住兩樣野。
- 但有可能係簡單啲，淨係裝住「左方移動」？所謂「右方移動」會唔會只係假象！？

1. 句子嘅右邊邊緣位置

- 可能性 (2) : 我地淨係得「左方移動」
- 唔係跑咗去右面，而係跑咗去左面！



- 唔係：得番三成囉，得番
- 而係： 三成囉，得番三成囉



	Utterance
1	全部都不歡而散o既， 幾個題目都講到。
2	三成囉， 得番。
3	呢個共產黨呢o架嘛， 又係。
4	千祈唔好去頂爛市呀， 叫喎大學生。
5	因為我要培訓o架嘛， 其實係。

Cheung, Yam-Leung Lawrence. 2009. Dislocation focus construction in Chinese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*. 18:197–232.
<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10831-009-9046-z>

J East Asian Linguist (2009) 18:197–232
DOI 10.1007/s10831-009-9046-z

Dislocation focus construction in Chinese

Lawrence Yam-Leung Cheung

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Abstract The use of the Dislocation Focus Construction (DFC) (also known as “Right Dislocation”) in colloquial Chinese (including Cantonese and Mandarin) gives rise to various non-canonical word orders. In DFCs, the sentence particle (SP) occurs in a sentence-medial position. The pre- and post-SP materials are demonstrated to be syntactically connected, based on four diagnostic tests, namely (i) the *zinghai* ‘only’ test, (ii) the *doudai* (“wh-the-hell”) test, (iii) polarity item licensing, and (iv) Principle C violations. The findings offer new insights into the syntax of the Chinese left periphery and constraints on focus movement. First, the observations entail that Chinese CPs are head-initial, and an XP is obligatorily moved around the SP to a position higher than the CP. Second, the XP-raising in the DFC is argued to be driven by focus because of the focus interpretation induced. It is discovered that the focus movement is subject to the Spine Constraint, which turns out to be remarkably similar to the properties of the Nuclear Stress Rule (e.g., selection of focus set and metrical invisibility). It is argued that the DFC is the syntactic realization of the rule.



1. 句子嘅右邊邊緣位置

- 如果真係噏，似乎粵語話到畀我地知，我地個腦裝乜。
- 我地份天降嘅禮物其實好簡單，就淨係裝住「左方移動」
- 其他語言呢？

韓文、日文、蒙古語都支持（另一種）「左方移動」嘅講法

(31)	[<i>Cheli-ka</i>	<i>pro₁</i>	<i>mannasse</i>]	&	[_{TP}	<i>Yenghi-lul_I</i>	[_{TP}	<i>Cheli-ka</i>	<i>t_I</i>	<i>mannasse</i>]]
	C.-NOM		met		Y.-ACC		C.-NOM		met	
	'Cheli met Yenghi.'									

- Ko (2022) "Right-dislocation in Korean: an overview".
Cambridge Handbook of Korean Language and Linguistics.



2. 倒裝句與焦點

- 如果睇粵語，放得喺後面嘅野，通常都係唔重要嘅野
- 跨語言都有呢個傾向
- 但問題係，
係咪只有唔重要嘅野先可以放喺後面？

2. 倒裝句與焦點

- 日文同蒙古語都允許重要嘅野（焦點）放喺最後
- 但粵語就唔得

(2a) *買咗呢本書咗，淨係我。

(2) Focus particles and their associates

a.* Δ Maai-zo ni-bun syu zaa3 **zinghai ngo.**
buy-PERF this-CL book SFP only 1SG
'Only me bought this book.'

b. Taroo-ga Δ yom-ana-katta-yo, **LGB-sika.**
Taroo-NOM read-NEG-PST-SFP LGB-only
'Taroo read Δ_i , only LGB_i.' (Takita 2011, p.4)

A structural account on the non-uniform information structure in right dislocation

The 25th Seoul International Conference
on Generative Grammar (SICOGG 25)

Tommy Tsz-Ming Lee (City University of Hong Kong)

✉ tszmlee@cityu.edu.hk

Aug 14-16, 2023 at Dongguk University

1. Information structure in RD

- Right Dislocation allows elements to appear after SFPs.

- (1) a. [Host clause Δ ... V ...] SFP α *right dislocation*
b. [Host clause β ... V ...] SFP α *dislocation copying*

- Consensus about RD - α can host topics or old info.
- Variation in terms of whether α can host focus.

3. Two types of RD, but why?

- These suggest that RD languages come in two types:
 - (6) a. **Cantonese-type RD** *cannot* target focused elements.
(*also applies to Mandarin RD*)
 - b. **Japanese-type RD** *can* target focused elements.
(*also applies to Mongolian RD*)
- But what is responsible for the variation?

2. Whether focused elements can be right dislocated

- Comparing (a) Cantonese vs. (b) Japanese: (2) **Focus marking** (3) **Wh-expressions** (4) **Focus intonation**, (5) **Contrastive focus**

(2) Focus particles and their associates

- a.* Δ Maai-zo ni-bun syu zaa3 **zinghai ngo**.
buy-PERF this-CL book SFP only 1SG
'Only me bought this book.'

- b. Taroo-ga Δ yom-ana-katta-yo, **LGB-sika**.
Taroo-NOM read-NEG-PST-SFP LGB-only
'Taroo read Δ_i , only LGB $_i$.' (Takita 2011, p.4)

(4) Contrastive focus

- a.* Ngo heoi-gwo Δ aa3 **Hoenggong**. Daan mou heoi-gwo Δ aa3 **Oumum**.
1SG go-EXP SFP Hong Kong but not.have go-EXP SFP Macau
'I have been to Hong Kong. But (I) have not been to Macau.' (Lee 2020, p.141)

- b. Ken-wa Δ itta yo, **soko-e-wa**.
Ken-TOP went SFP there-to-TOP
'Ken went, THERE.' (Yamashita 2011, p.418)

(3) Wh-expressions

- a.* **Matje** haakcan nei aa3 **matje**?
what scare 2SG SFP what
'What scares you, what?'

- b. Hanako-wa **nani-o** katta no, **nani-o**?
Hanako-TOP what-ACC bought Q what-ACC
'Hanako bought what, what?' (Takita 2011, p.10)

(5) Focus intonation

- a.* Keoi m geidak gaau Δ aa3 **FAN BIU**.
3SG not remember submit SFP CL form
'S/he forgot to submit the form.' (Lee 2020, p.141)

- b. Mukashimukashi aru mura-ni Δ imasita-yo, **MONOSUGOI BIJIN-GA**.
long.time.ago some village-LOC existed-SFP extremely beautiful girl-NOM
'Long time ago, there was an extremely beatiful girl in a village.' (Endo 1996, p.2)



2. 倒裝句與焦點

- 問題係，

既然大家都係將啲野放喺最後，但點解有唔同限制？

既然大家都允許左方移動，但點解偏偏又有分別？

- 我地份天降嘅禮物，到底裝住啲咩……
先令學識粵語嘅人唔會將焦點放最後；
同時又令學識日文、蒙古語嘅人識得將焦點放最後？
- 可能係因為焦點嘅分佈，喺呢兩個語言裡面有唔同限制……





3. 倒裝句與動詞重複

- 我地睇過粵語嘅動詞係可以重覆，
 - 買，佢係買過嗰本書。
 - 看佢都唔看呢本書。
 - 係掂阿明唔敢掂呢隻動物啫。
 - 唱乜野呀唱？
- 而重覆係一般都係必須嘅，除咗倒裝句
 - *買，佢係△過嗰本書。
 - *睇佢都唔△呢本書。
 - *係掂阿明唔敢△呢隻動物啫。
 - ?△乜野呀唱？



3. 倒裝句與動詞重複

- 粵語嘅倒裝句似乎允許有時重覆，有時唔重覆

佢 啟啓 中咗 頭獎， 實 買 間
Kéuih ngāam-ngāam jung-jó tàuh-jéung, saht máaih gāan
s/he just-just win-PFV first-prize sure buy CL

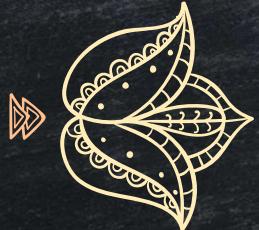
大 屋 啟 啟， 會
daaih ūk lā, wúih
big house SFP will

Matthews, Stephen & Virginia Yip. 2011.
Cantonese - A Comprehensive Grammar.
London and New York: Routledge, p.82

- 佢啓啓中咗頭獎，實會買間大屋啓 啟。

3. 倒裝句與動詞重複

- 似乎左邊邊緣位置同右邊邊緣位置都係有啲唔同
- 如果想維持「左方移動」係唯一裝住嘅野，咁有咩可以解釋左右唔對稱嘅問題呢？
- 我地個腦仲要裝住啲乜先夠我地區分幾時可以重覆，幾時唔可以重覆，同埋幾時唔可以唔重覆？



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Asymmetries in doubling and Cyclic Linearization

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Abstract

This paper investigates asymmetries in doubling among verbs, objects and subjects in Cantonese. It is shown that each of these elements has a distinct doubling profile in topic constructions and right dislocation: doubling is sometimes prohibited, required or optional. Couched in terms of the copy theory of movement, I suggest that the operation responsible for erasing copies in a movement chain is regulated by phonological requirements that follow from a version of cyclic linearization. Particularly, I propose that the copy-erasing operation can be suspended as a last resort in cases where its application would otherwise violate phonological requirements imposed by cyclic linearization. The differences in doubling possibility among verbs, objects and subjects follow from the availability of the edge position of a phase to these elements. The proposal derives the Cantonese doubling pattern without recourse to the phrase-structural status of the (non-)doubling elements and maintains that the mechanism that determines copy pronunciation is the same for heads and phrases. I take this as a further piece of evidence for the unification of head and phrasal movement, resonating with much recent work on this topic.

Keywords Doubling · Cyclic Linearization · Copy deletion · Verb Topicalization · Right dislocation · Cantonese



送畀行有餘力嘅你





疑問詞究竟有咩意思？

《乜野係乜野？》

「你問咗乜野？」

「我冇問乜野。」

「你乜野都有問？」

「我想講我冇問啲乜野啫。」

「乜野冇問啲乜野呀？」

「我係噏意問咗乜野乜野囉。」

「你實係問咗啲唔知乜野啦。」

「咁你仲問乜野呀問？」

「我咪問乜野係乜野囉！」



疑問詞究竟有咩意思？

- 否定意思嘅疑問詞

(1a) 佢邊度有喺圖書館食野呀？

- (1) a. Koei bindou jau hai tousyugun sik je aa³?! (Cantonese)
he where have be.at library eat thing Q
'No way did he eat anything in the library.'
- b. Eti/Ettehkhey John-i 60 sai i-ni ?! (Korean)
where/how John-Nom 60 year.old be-Q
'No way is John 60 years old.'
- c. De dónde va a tener 60 años?! (Spanish)
of where goes-he to have 60 years
'No way is he 60 years old.'
- d. Since when is John watching TV now?! (English)

Cheung, Yam-Leung Lawrence (2009) Negative wh-construction and its semantic properties. JEAL.

疑問詞究竟有咩意思？

- 否定意思嘅疑問詞？

(1) 唱乜野呀唱？

(2) pre乜鬼sent呀？

Matthews, Stephen, and Virginia Yip. 1998. "Verb-copying Constructions in Cantonese." In *Studia Linguistica Serica: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Chinese Linguistics*, edited by Benjamin T'sou, 175–189. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong.

鄧思穎。2022。否定義的語法問題。語言學論叢。

疑問詞究竟有咩意思？

- 代稱嘅疑問詞

- (1) 阿仁成日讚邊個邊個議員做得好，仲定期捐錢畀佢添
- (2) 老細不斷批評前線員工啲質素乜乜乜，其實係個管理出現問題。

Wong, Hok-Yuen. 2018. Wh-doublets in Cantonese. Unpublished MPhil thesis, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

疑問詞究竟有咩意思？

- 代稱嘅疑問詞

(3) 阿明睇咗唔知邊本書。

(3) Aaming tai-zo [mzi bin-bun syu], (# zikhai Hunglaumung)
Aaming read-PERF MZI which-CL book namely Dream.of.the.red.chamber
'Aaming read some book, namely, *Dream of the Red Chamber.*'

Lee, Tommy Tsz-Ming. 2021. Specific unknowns: A case study of epistemic indefinites in Cantonese. Proceedings of Linguistics Society of America 6(1). 107–117.

<http://journals.linguisticsociety.org/proceedings/index.php/PLSA/article/view/4952>

04

結語：無用之用

凝望粵語帶我地去邊？



結語：無用之用



「有咩用？」

“

「食蕉使乜識種蕉？」



「會唔會有用得太遲？AI都model到粵語啦？」



”

關心

回望世界以及自身嘅能力同時間，係種修行。



好奇

細節有莫名嘅吸引力。發現細節本身就係一種能力。



Understanding

知識結構嘅改變 > 知識總體嘅增加





凝望粵語帶我地去邊？



香港粵語

世界咁大，語言咁多，
粵語咁豐富，同時又咁渺小，
粵語有好多特色，同時又有好多特色，
「獨有」令人有種優越感，
但「共有」又有種世界參與者嘅感覺。





正因為知道咗世界嘅巨大，我地先會對世界抱有期待。

凡未知嘅，凡未來嘅，都有美麗嘅可能。



05

鳴謝



"If I have seen a little further it is by standing on the shoulders of Giants."

– Isaac Newton (1643–1727)



Hong Kong



My teachers



Cantonese linguists



Great linguists



Cantonese



My family and friends



多謝晒！

仲有問題？

tszmingtszming@gmail.com

想睇吓我做過咩project？

<https://tszminglee.github.io>

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