Clause-medial particles and stance marking in Cantonese

Foong Ha YAP a, Tak-sum WONG a and Winnie Oi-wan CHOR b

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University a
and The Open University of Hong Kong b
Introduction

• Speakers have various linguistic resources at their disposal to express their stance, e.g. their feelings, viewpoints, evaluations and attitude.

• It is well known that Cantonese has a rich inventory of sentence final particles to express speaker stance
  • (see Cheung 1972; Kwok 1984; Law 1990; Matthews & Yip 1994; Fung 2000; Leung 2005; Sybesma & Boya 2007; *inter alia*).

• More recently, attention has also been directed to clause-medial particles in Cantonese.
Clause-medial stance particles
(< directional particles)

• Post-predicate directional particles
  – Chor (2010; 2013) recently examined the development of directional particles into markers of the speaker’s attitude.

  • faan > positive
    – Cung1 faan1 go3 loeng4 sin1!
      (‘positive evaluation related to nostalgic experiences’)

  • maai > negative attitude marker
    – Gong2 maai4 saai3 di1 gam2 ge3 je5!!!
      (‘inclusion of the outsider’)

3
Clause-medial stance particles
(< complement-taking predicates)

• Reanalysis of complement-taking verbs as stance adverbials
  
  – *mzi* ‘don’t know’ > marker of the speaker’s negative attitude
    (Wong, Yang & Yap 2011)

  • Verb > LP > Parenthetical attitudinal marker (preverbal position)
  • Verb > LP > RP attitudinal utterance tag (infrequent use)

  – *Ngo5 m4zi1 nei5 gam3 do1 aa3!!!*
  – *M4zi1 (keoi5) zou6 gan5 mat1 gwai2 je5!*
  – *Keoi5 dou1 m4zi1 zou6 gan5 mat1 gwai2 je5!*
  – *Keoi5 heoi5 zo2 bin1, dou1 m4zi1!*
Clause-medial stance particles
(< complement-taking predicates)

• Reanalysis of complement-taking verbs as stance adverbials
  
  — *paa* ‘(I) fear/worry’ > epistemic marker > pragmatic hedger
    
    (Yap & Chor 2014; see also Endo 2005 on Mandarin *pa* ‘fear’)

    • Verb > LP epistemic adverbial > Parenthetical epistemic marker (preverbal position)
    • Verb > LP epistemic adverbial > RP utterance tag (very infrequent use; no token in our database)

      — *Ngo5 paa3 keoi5 dou1 hai1 m4lai4 ga3laa3!*
      — *Keoi5 paa3 dou1 hai1 m4lai4 ga3laa3!*
      — *Keoi5 dou1 hai1 m4lai4 ga3laa3, *paa3*!

  
  — Evidential + epistemic + attitudinal *taipaa*

    • Subjective use (more frequent among the younger generation)
    • LP stance adverbial > Parenthetical stance marker (preverbal position)
    • LP stance adverbial > RP utterance tag

      — *Ngo5 tai2paa3 keoi5 dou1 hai1 m4lai4 ga3laa3!*
      — *Keoi5 tai2paa3 dou1 hai1 m4lai4 ga3laa3!*
      — *Keoi5 dou1 hai1 m4lai4 ga3laa3, *tai2paa3*!
Objectives of this talk

• Previous studies have focused on tracing the **diachronic development** of these clause-medial stance particles.

• In this presentation, we will focus on the **subjective and intersubjective pragmatic functions** of these markers in relation to their syntactic positions.
  • LP
  • Parenthetical (clause-medial)
  • RP
Previous studies: complement-taking verb construction > stance adverbial

- Matrix clauses containing complement-taking verbs such as ‘I think/feel’ or ‘(I) fear’ often develop into subjective and intersubjective stance markers with epistemic readings such as ‘probably, perhaps’.

  - Mandarin *wo juede* (Endo 2011; Lim 2011)
  - Mandarin *kongpa* (Yap, Chor & Wang 2012)
• As adjuncts at the left periphery (LP), these epistemic stance markers often subsequently extend into other syntactic positions—sometimes as epistemic tags at the right periphery (RP), and sometimes as epistemic parentheticals in clause-medial position (CMP).

• *I think* she’s leaving Paris for good.
• *She, I think*, is leaving Paris for good.
• *She’s leaving Paris, I think* for good.
• *She’s leaving Paris for good, I think.*
How are clause-medial stance particles formed?

• Strategies for the emergence of clause-medial stance markers (Yap & Chor 2014):

  – Derived from postverbal directional particles
    • Verb serialization > suffixation

  – Derived from complement-taking verb structures
    • Disjunction > insubordination of complement clause & reanalysis of complement-taking verb structure as stance adverbial at LP
    • Right dislocation of stance adverbials > stance tags at RP > (SFPs)
    • Parenthetical insertion of stance adverbials > clause-medial stance markers
Issues to be addressed

• How do complement-taking verbs grammaticalize into stance adverbials at the left periphery and then further develop into parenthetical stance markers in pre-predicate clause-medial position?

• What types of stance markers tend to occupy clause-medial as opposed to sentence final position?

• How do stance markers in clause-medial position differ in function from those at the left or right periphery (e.g. discourse particles and sentence final particles)?

• Are clause-medial stance markers oriented more toward pragmatic functions that are subjective as opposed to intersubjective in nature?
Source of Data

- Early Cantonese Colloquial Texts: A Database
- Early Cantonese Tagged Database
- A Linguistic Corpus of Mid-20th Century Hong Kong Cantonese
- Hong Kong University Cantonese Corpus (HKUCC)
- PolyU Corpus of Spoken Chinese
- Google
### Distribution on position and function of *ngo gokdak*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Position of <em>ngo gokdak</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clause-initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\Sigma)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Google search:* 50 tokens of 我覺得, with 16 Cantonese tokens; the rest appear to be Mandarin or standard written Chinese.
Distribution on position and function of *ngo gokdak* in mid-20\(^\text{th}\) century Cantonese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Position of <em>ngo gokdak</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clause-initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- physical</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- psychological</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\Sigma)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A Linguistic Corpus of Mid-20\(^\text{th}\) Century Hong Kong Cantonese Movies*
Clause-initial *Ngo gokdak* 我覺得

(1)  
Yim-hung: *cing¹ go¹! ngo⁵ m⁴ seon³ lei⁵ mou⁵ je⁵!*

*brother 1SG NEG believe 2SG NEG have thing*

*lei⁵ jat¹ ding⁶ hai⁶ jau⁵ si⁶ ge³!*

*2SG must COP EXIST matter SFP*

*lei⁵ gong² bei² ngo⁵ teng¹ laa¹!*

*2SG say DAT 1SG listen SFP*

‘Brother Tsing! I don’t believe that you are all right! There must be something the matter with you! Tell me what it is!’

Shiu-tsing: *o⁴! ngo⁵ … ngo⁵ gok³ dak¹*

*INTJ 1SG 1SG feel*

*jau⁵ di¹ m⁴ syu¹ fuk⁶ za¹ ma³!*

*EXIST CL NEG comfortable SFP*

‘Oh! I … Just that I do not feel very well.’

*(恨不相逢未嫁時 If Only We’d Met When I Was Single 1955)*
彩霞： 點知結咗婚之後，雲哥對於事業心重，佢成日都喺事務所埋頭工作嘅，我覺得非常寂寞勒！

Choi-ha: $\text{dim}^2 \text{zi}^1 \text{git}^3 <\text{zo}^2> \text{fan}^1 \text{zi}^1 \text{hau}^6, \text{wan}^4 \text{go}^1$
how know get.married<PFV> after PN brother

$\text{deoi}^3 \text{jyu}^1 \text{si}^6 \text{jip}^6 \text{sam}^1 \text{cung}^5, \text{keoi}^5 \text{seng}^4 \text{jat}^6 \text{dou}^1$
as.to business important 3SG all.day also

$\text{hai}^2 \text{si}^6 \text{mou}^6 \text{so}^2 \text{maat}^4 \text{tau}^4 \text{gung}^1 \text{zok}^3 \text{ge}^3$, LOC office concentrate work SFP

$\text{ngo}^5 \text{gok}^3 \text{dak}^1 \text{fei}^1 \text{soeng}^4 \text{zik}^6 \text{mok}^6 \text{lak}^3$!
1SG feel very lonely SFP

‘Who knows, after getting married, Brother Wan focuses heavily on his business. He concentrates on his work in his office all day! I feel extremely lonely!’

(恨不相逢未嫁時 If Only We'd Met When I Was Single 1955)
Clause-initial *Ngo gokdak* 我覺得

劍雲： 雖然我雙眼就睇唔到，但係我覺得呢道，一定好 幽靜好美麗嘅！

Kim-wan: *seoi¹jin⁴ ngo⁵ soeng¹ngaan⁵ a⁶ t'ai²-m⁴-dou²*, although 1SG both.eyes FOC see-NEG-POT

*daan⁶hai⁶ ngo⁵ gok³dak¹ li¹dou⁶* but 1SG feel here

*jat¹ding⁶ hou² jau¹zing⁶, hou² mei⁵lai⁶ ge³* must INT quiet INT beautiful SFP

‘Even though I am not able to see through my eyes, I think this place must be very quiet, very beautiful indeed!’

(恨不相逢未嫁時 *If Only We'd Met When I Was Single 1955*)
Clause-initial *Ngo gokdak* 我覺得

下星期我覺得會反彈。大家信唔信？

*haa⁵ sing¹ kei⁴ ngo⁵ gok³ dak¹ wui⁵ faan² daan⁶.*
next  week  1SG feel  FUT rebound

daa⁵ gaal¹ seon³ -m⁴ -seon³ ?
everyone  believe-NEG-believe

‘Next week, I think/probably, (the stocks) will rebound. Everybody, do you believe it or not?’

Epistemic
Ngo gokdak 我覺得

a. 下星期我覺得（股票）會反彈。
\[ haa^5 \text{ sing}^1 \text{ kei}^3 \quad ngo^5 \text{ gok}^3 \text{ dak}^1 \quad (gu^2 \text{ piu}^3) \quad wui^5 \text{ faan}^2 \text{ daan}^6 \]
next week 1SG feel stocks FUT rebound

‘Next week, I think/probably, (the stocks) will rebound.’

b. 下星期 (股票) 我覺得會反彈。
\[ haa^5 \text{ sing}^1 \text{ kei}^4 \quad (gu^2 \text{ piu}^3) \quad ngo^5 \text{ gok}^3 \text{ dak}^1 \quad wui^5 \text{ faan}^2 \text{ daan}^6 \]
next week stocks probably (< 1SG feel) FUT rebound

‘Next week, (the stocks) probably will rebound.’
## Distribution on position and function of *taipaa*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Position of <em>taipaa</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clause-initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worry<del>inferential</del>probably</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worry~probably</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worry~inferential</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Probably~inferential</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Probably</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inferential</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hedger</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unknown</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Σ</strong></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1: Frequency distribution of the functions of utterance-initial Mandarin *kongpa* from the 8\textsuperscript{th} to early 20\textsuperscript{th} century (based on tokens from the Middle Chinese and Early Modern Chinese subcorpus in the Center for Chinese Linguistics Corpus (CCLC), Peking University; findings from Yang, Wong & Yap 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions of <em>kongpa</em></th>
<th>Period in which <em>kongpa</em> was attested</th>
<th>Tang &amp; Five Dynasties (618-960)</th>
<th>Song (960-1279)</th>
<th>Yuan (1279-1368)</th>
<th>Ming (1368-1644)</th>
<th>Qing (1644-1911)*</th>
<th>Total no. of tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexical verb expressing anxiety (‘I’m afraid’)</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>1372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic marker ‘probably’</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferential marker ‘it seems to be’</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of tokens sampled in the present study **</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>1485</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: For the Qing period, we culled every other token of *kongpa* from the total 1,420 tokens, which thus yields 710 tokens for this analysis.
** Note 2: There were a total of 2,195 tokens of *kongpa* in the entire corpus.
Table 2: Frequency distribution of the functions of Mandarin *kongpa* in different syntactic positions (based on tokens from the Contemporary Mandarin subcorpus in the Center for Chinese Linguistics Corpus (CCLC), Peking University; findings from Yang, Wong & Yap 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions of <em>kongpa</em></th>
<th>Syntactic position of <em>kongpa</em></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Utterance-initial</td>
<td>Utterance-medial (parenthetical)</td>
<td>Utterance-final (tag)</td>
<td>Total no. of tokens of <em>kongpa</em> sampled in the present study</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical verb expressing anxiety (‘I’m afraid’)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic marker ‘probably’</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>940</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferential marker ‘it seems to be’</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of tokens of <em>kongpa</em> sampled in the present study*</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note: There were a total of 10,554 tokens of *kongpa* in the entire corpus. We culled every tenth token of *kongpa* from the online corpus.
Table 3: Frequency distribution of the functions of Mandarin *wo kongpa* in different syntactic positions (based on tokens from the Contemporary Mandarin subcorpus in the Center for Chinese Linguistics Corpus (CCLC), Peking University; findings from Yang, Wong & Yap 2012)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions of <em>wo kongpa</em></th>
<th>Syntactic distribution of <em>wo kongpa</em></th>
<th>Total no. of tokens of <em>wo kongpa</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Utterance-initial</td>
<td>Utterance-medial (parenthetical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical verb expressing anxiety (<em>‘I’m afraid’</em>)</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic marker ‘probably’</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferential marker ‘it seems to be’</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of tokens sampled</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Table 3 with tokens of *wo kongpa* is a subset extracted from Table 2.*
Buyer: 我出二百緡幅！我要二十幅！

1sg pay two.hundred dollar cl

ngō⁵ ceoi³ ji⁶baak³ man¹ fuk¹!

ngō⁵ jiu³ ji⁶sap⁶ fuk¹!

1sg want twenty cl

‘I will pay $200 for each painting. I want 20!’

Pica’s friend: paa³ mou⁵ gam³ do¹ cyun⁴ fo³ aa³ fear not have so many stock sfp

‘Probably we don’t have enough stock.’

(化身情人 Lover in Disguise 1965)
Mr Wong: งา⁵ ดู¹ จิ⁵ กิง⁴ จิ⁵ จู³ ดู³ ฟู¹ ซิว¹ ฟู¹ ต้องเวลใ délai่แล้ว! ต้องเวลใ délai่แล้ว! งา⁵ ดู¹ จิ⁵ กิง⁴ จิ⁵ จู³ ดู³ ฟู¹ ซิว¹ ฟู¹ ต้องเวลใ délai่แล้ว! ต้องเวลใ délai่แล้ว!

‘Oh, I’ve already asked Ah-fook to ask him to come down! I think/Probably he’s about to come down!’

(Correct 错烧龙凤烛 Wrong Wedding 1954)
Ngo tai ... paa  我睇...怕

吉：尋晚佢同埋你一齊呀？
Kat: cam⁴maan⁵ keoi⁵ tung⁴maai⁴ lei⁵ jar¹cai⁴ aa⁴?
last.night  3SG  with  2SG  together  Q
‘You were with him last night?’

策策：係！我哋爭完生意之後，重傾偈傾到好夜添！
Chak-chak: hai⁶/ ngo⁵dei⁶ zaang¹-jyun⁴  saang¹ji³ zi¹hau⁶,
right 1PL compete-COMPL business after
zung⁶ king¹gai² king¹-dou³ hou² je⁶ tim¹
also  chat  discuss-RSV  very  late  SFP
‘Right! After we tried to outbid each other (for Jane’s hand in
marriage), we also chatted until very late into the night.’

吉：哦？噉我睇呢個怕唔係佢喇！人有相似啫！
Kat: o²? gam⁵ ngo⁵ tai² li¹ go³ paa³ m⁴ hai⁶ laa³!
INTJ  conn  1SG  see  this  CL  fear  NEG  cop  SFP
jan⁴ jau⁵ soeng¹ci⁵ ze¹!
human  EXIST  similar  SFP
‘Oh? In that case, I think this one probably is not him! Just
that some people do look alike.’

暢：係呀……我……我幾乎畀佢嚇死呀！我哋明明琴晚釘住佢咖喇！
Cheung: hai⁶ aa³ … ngo⁵ … ngo⁵ gei¹fu⁴ bei² keoi⁵ haak³-sei² aa³!
right SFP 1SG  almost  PASS  3SG  scare-die  SFP
ngo⁵dei⁶ ming⁴ming⁴ kam⁴maan⁵ bong⁴-yu⁶ keoi⁵ ga¹ma³
1PL  clearly  last.night  tie.up  3SG  SFP
‘Indeed! I … I … was nearly scared to death!
We clearly did tie him up last night!’
(化身情人 Lover in Disguise 1965)
### Distribution on form and function of *mzi*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form/function</th>
<th>Position of <em>mzi</em></th>
<th>Total no. of tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clause-initial (with subject)</td>
<td>Clause-initial (without subject)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical verb:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 1P referent</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 2P referent</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 3P referent</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zi-m-zi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- with 2P subject</td>
<td>50?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- With 3P subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place-holder</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensifier <em>dou mzi ... gei</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative evaluation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Σ</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Negative evaluation reading of mzi constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form/function</th>
<th>Clause-initial (with subject)</th>
<th>Clause-initial (without subject)</th>
<th>Clause-medial (with 1SG subject)</th>
<th>Clause-medial (without 1SG subject)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subjective speaker stance</td>
<td>Parenthetical</td>
<td>Parenthetical</td>
<td>Parenthetical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP 都＋唔知＋<strong>唔</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>我唔知＋咁</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>隊個唔知道</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鬼唔知咩</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>唔知＋-ve polarity＋咩</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>又＋唔知 (+Wh-)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>都＋唔知＋indefinite Wh-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>都＋唔知＋indefinite Wh-＋鬼</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Σ</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clause-initial *Ngo dou mzi* 我唔知

暢：我一睇見佢就忿怒喇！東一帙，西一帙！我都唔知你畫乜？

Cheung: *ngo⁵ jat¹ tai² gin³ keoi⁵ zau⁶ fan⁵ lou⁶ laa³ ! lsg once see 3sg then upset sfp! dung¹ jat¹ fat¹ sai¹ jat¹ fat¹ ! east one CL west one CL!

*ngeo⁵ dou¹ m⁴zi¹ lei⁵ waak⁶ mat¹ lsg foc mzi 2sg draw what

‘I get upset every time I see the painting! A patch to the left, a patch to the right! I simply have no idea what on earth you’re drawing!’ (化身情人 Lover in Disguise 1965)
Clause-initial *dou mzi* 唔知

侦探： 都唔知佢欽乜。

Detective: *dou¹ m⁴zi¹ keoi⁵ ap¹ mat¹*

FOC MZI 3SG say what

‘I’ve *no idea* what he’s talking about.’

Lit. ‘I really don’t know what he is talking about.’

(from 蠟蠟師爺 Wise Guy 1952)
Clause-medial *dou mzi* 唔知

(15) 陈先生：一直到而家都未返屋企！欸！佢都唔知去咗边处，呢個嘢，真係，哎！

Mr Chan: *jat¹ zik⁶ dou³ ji⁴ gaa¹ dou¹ mei⁶ faan¹ uk¹ kei²!*
  all.the.while until now FOC yet return home
*ei⁵! keoi⁵ dou¹ m⁴ zĩ¹ heoi³-zo² bin¹ syu³,*
  INTJ 3SG FOC MZI go-PFV where
*lei¹ go³ je⁵, zan¹ hai⁶, ai²!*
  this CL thing really INTJ

‘Till now he’s still not home yet! Aaah [a sighing expression], I’ve *no idea* where on earth he’s gone. This worthless guy, really!’ (家和萬事興 *A Peaceful Family Will Prosper* 1956)
Clause-medial *dou mzi V mat gwai* 唔知

你實在都唔知搞乜鬼！
*lei⁵ sat⁰ zoi² dou¹ m⁴ zi¹ gaau¹ mat¹ gwai²*
2SG actually FOC MZI do what devil
‘What the devil are you doing!’
(< lit. ‘I don’t know what the devil you are actually doing!’)

你實在都唔知搞乜嘅！
*lei⁵ sat⁰ zoi² dou¹ m⁴ zi¹ gaau¹ mat¹ je⁵*
2SG actually FOC MZI do what thing
‘What on earth are you doing!’
(< lit. ‘I don’t know what on earth you are actually doing!’)
唔知

Neg+Verb: neutral

Purely lexical meaning, neutral stance
- 我都唔知㗎！

Lexical meaning + speaker doubt
- 都唔知佢喺乜。

Parenthetical stance-marker
(+ negative attitude)
- 你實在都唔知搞乜鬼！

Adverb, negative attitudinal
Hearsay *ngo5 teng1gong2 waa6* (‘I heard it said’)

(24) 我 聽 講 話

*ngo5 teng1 gong2 waa6*

1sg hear say say.COMP

佢哋 都 識 唱嘅 嘿！

*keoi5 dei6 dou1 sik1 coeng3 je5 gaa3*

3PL also know sing.thing PRT

(a) ‘I heard (people) say they are good at singing as well!’

(b) ‘I heard it said (< ‘I heard (people) say) they are good at singing as well!’

Intended meaning: ‘I heard that they are good at singing as well!’

(from the movie *Spring Time in the Jade Hall* 春色滿璇宮; 1966)
Hearsay (ngo5) teng1gong2 waa6 (‘It is said’)  

(25) 聽講 hear.say  上頭 superior  而家 now  派咗 dispatch-PFV

喺個姓  陳  嘅  特派員

go2go3 sing3 can4 ge3 dak6paai3jyun4
DEM.CL surname Chan ATTR special.investigator

‘It is said (< ‘I hear’) the superior has currently dispatched the special investigator, Chan.’

(from the movie A Deadly Night 死亡角之夜; 1964)
Hearsay (ngo5) teng¹gin³ waa⁶ (‘I heard it said’)

(*) A: 咱 個 人 曉得 官話 唔 呢 ？
go² go³ jan⁴ hiu² dak¹ gun¹ waa² m⁴ ne¹
that CL person know Mandarin NEG Q
Lit. ‘Does that person know Mandarin?’
‘Does he understand Mandarin?’

B: 我 聽 見 話 佢 唔 曉得
ngo⁵ teng¹gin³ waa⁶ keoi⁵ m⁴ hiu² dak¹
1SG hear.see say.COMP 3SG NEG know
‘I have heard people say that he does not know.’

Hearsay (ngo5) teng1waa6 (‘It is said’)  

(*) 聽話 好 熱鬧，  
teng1waa6 hou2 jit6naau6  
hear.say INT exciting  

點解 咁 高興 你 都 唔 去 呀  
dim2gaai2 gam3 gou1hing3 nei5 dou1 m4 heoi3 aa3  
why such cheerful 2SG FOC NEG go PRT  

‘It is said (< ‘(I) hear’) (the event is) very exciting.  
It is such a cheerful activity. Why don’t you go join?’  

(from the drama 血的教訓 hyut3dik1gaau3fan3 [Lessons from Past Sufferings], mid-20th c., cited in 1999, The Great Dictionary of Chinese Dialects, 2629)
Cantonese wo (< wah 話)

呢齣戲好好睇啲。

*Nei ceot hei hou hou tai wo.*

this CL movie very good see wo

‘(Contrary to your expectation), this movie is actually very good.’
Cantonese *wah* 話 as lexical verb

人地 話 鳥語 可以 忘憂

Jan4ti wa niu.ŋy ho.ji moŋ.jau (reconstructed)

Jan4dei6 waa6 niu5jyu5 ho2ji5 mong4jau1 (Contemporary)

others say chirps can forget.worries

‘It is **said** that you will forget your worries when listening to chirps.’

(1828 Jyut6au1 粤譯, by Ziu1 Zi2jung4 招子庸)
Cantonese wo as evidential marker

唔曾 佢 話 挨晚 至 擰 嘞 和

\textit{m.ts‘ang k‘ii wá ái.mán Chí ning lai wó (=wo3)}

not.yet 3SG say evening not.until bring come EVID

‘No, not yet, but he promised to bring it this evening.’
(Bridgement 1845:158)
Cantonese *wo* as counterexpectation marker

`nei5 tai2 haa5 gaak3 lei4 toi4 go2 gei2 nap1 zyun3 sek6 zeng3 je5 lai4 wo3!`

2SG see ASP neighbour table DEM several CL diamonds precious EMPH CE

‘You see the diamonds in the next table? Precious stuff!’

(Leung 2006: 69, from the movie *New White Golden Dragon* 新白金龍: 1947)
Utterance-final \textit{waa}-type and \textit{wo}-type evidentials

Stage I: \textbf{Utterance-initial evidential} \textit{jan4 waa6 ‘people say’}  
\textit{jan4 waa6 ‘people say’} + Complement Clause  
> \textit{‘hearsay’ evidential \textit{jan4 waa6} + ‘Insubordinate’ Main Clause}

Stage II: \textbf{Utterance-final evidential \textit{wo3} via right-dislocation}  
[Complement Clause] \textit{[waa6 ‘(people) say’ + o3 emphatic particle]}  
–  
> [‘Insubordinate’ Main Clause] [‘hearsay’ evidential \textit{wo3}]

Stage IIIa: \textbf{Utterance-final \textit{waa}-type evidentials + prosodic cues}  
[Complement Clause] \textit{[waa6 ‘(people) say’ + sentence final prosody]}  
> [‘Insubordinate’ Main Clause] [‘hearsay’ evidential \textit{waa2}]  
or [‘Insubordinate’ Main Clause] [‘attitudinal’ evidential \textit{waa3}]

Stage IIIb: \textbf{Utterance-final \textit{wo}-type evidentials + prosodic cues}  
[‘Insubordinate’ Main Clause] \textit{[wo3 + sentence final prosody]}  
> [‘Insubordinate’ Main Clause] [‘hearsay’ evidential \textit{wo4/wo5/wo6}]

Stage IV: \textbf{Utterance-final \textit{wo3/wo4} counterexpectation marker}  
[‘Insubordinate’ Main Clause] [‘hearsay’ evidential \textit{wo3/wo4}]  
> [‘Insubordinate’ Main Clause] [counterexpectation \textit{wo3/wo4}]

Further development of utterance-initial evidentials
The grammaticalization of Cantonese *waa6* from the 18th to 20th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>17th century</th>
<th>19th century</th>
<th>20th century</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early</td>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>Late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UTTERANCE-INITIAL: Development of ‘hearsay’ <em>waa</em>-type evidentials</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential <em>jan4 waa6</em> ‘people say’ (early 17th c. opera lyrics)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential <em>jan4dei6 waa6</em> ‘people say’ (1828)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential <em>ngo5 teng1gin3 jan4 waa6</em> ‘I heard people say’ (1867)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential <em>ngo5 teng1gin3 waa6</em> ‘I heard (people) say’ (1867)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential <em>teng1waa6</em> (undated)†</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential <em>ngo5 teng1gong2 waa6</em> (1960s movies)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential <em>teng1gong2</em> (1960s movies)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UTTERANCE-FINAL: Development of <em>waa</em>-type and <em>wo</em>-type evidentials</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential <em>wo3</em> (1828) (&lt; <em>waa6</em> +o3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearsay evidential <em>waa2</em> (1856)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reportative <em>waa1</em> (1888)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential <em>wo4</em> (1888)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential <em>wo6</em> (1888)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudinal evidential <em>waa3</em> (1908)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudinal evidential <em>wo3</em> (1908)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential <em>wo5</em> (1912)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterexpectation <em>wo3</em> (1947)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterexpectation <em>wo4</em> (1963)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† Note: On the basis of textual evidence, the text was probably written after 1907.
Subtle differences in evidential meaning across different dialects

(聽 講) 渠 唔 嘍 嘍
(teng1 kong2) keoi5 m4 lai4 wo5
hear say 3SG NEG come EVID
‘(S)he is not coming, I hear [ < ‘(they) say’].’
Subtle differences in evidential meaning across different dialects

這齣戲真好看講。

Chit chhut hi chin ho koaⁿ kong.

this CL movie very good see kong

‘I’m telling you (from my evaluation) that this movie is very good.’
subtle differences in evidential meaning across different dialects

這部電影很好看說。

*Zhe bu dianying hen bao kan shuo.*

‘(I feel that) this movie is very good.’
Verbal complementation and disjunctive strategy

(a) $\text{[IP}_1 (\text{ngo}^5) \text{[VP}_1 \text{paa}^3 \text{[CP}_1 \text{keoi}^5 m^4 wui^5 heoi^3]]]}$ 
(b) $\{\text{AdvP-epistemic} \text{ (ngo}^5) \text{paa}^3\} \text{[IP}_2 \text{keoi}^5 m^4 wui^5 heoi^3]$ 
(c) $\text{[TopicP keoi}^5 \_i \{\text{AdvP-epistemic} \text{ (ngo}^5) \text{paa}^3\} \text{[IP}_2 \_i m^4 wui^5 heoi^3]]}$ 
(d) $\{\text{CP-epistemic} \text{[IP}_2 \text{keoi}^5 \{\text{Adv-epistemic paa}^3\} \text{[VP}_2 m^4 wui^5 heoi^3]}}$
Conclusions
Future Directions
Acknowledgment

• This study is funded by the Research Grants Council of Hong Kong through a General Research Grant (GRF PolyU Project No. 551310, 2010-2013) entitled “Stance Marking Strategies in Asian Languages: Diachronic, Typological and Discourse Perspectives”.

References


Kwok, Helen. 1984. Sentence Particles in Cantonese. Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.


Leung, Chung-sum. 2005 [1991]. A Study of the Utterance Particles in Cantonese as Spoken in Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Language Information Sciences Research Centre, City University of Hong Kong.


References

Clause-medial particles and stance marking in Cantonese
• Expanding on previous studies, we will analyze these stance markers by comparing their discourse-pragmatic functions (e.g. attention-getting, epistemic hedging, solidarity-seeking) at both the left and right peripheries, and also in clause-medial position.

• Inclusion of the medial position allows us to further compare the development of epistemic-type (‘I think’) complement-taking verbs with those of attitudinal-type (‘I don’t know’) and evidential-type (‘people say’) complement-taking verbs.

• This then allows us to further determine whether different types of complement-taking verbs tend to develop into stance markers that prefer to occupy different syntactic positions and serve different types of subjective and intersubjective functions.
‘It is said (<‘(I) hear’) (the event is) very exciting.
It is such a cheerful activity. Why don’t you go join?’
(from the drama 血的教訓 hyut³ dik¹ gaau² fan³ [Lessons from Past Sufferings], undated but most probably the mid-20th century, cited in 1999, The Great Dictionary of Chinese Dialects, 2629)
**Tenggong 聽講**

我 聽 講 話

*ngo⁵ teng¹ gong² waa⁶*

1SG hear say say

佢哋 都 識 唱嘅 瞄！

*keoi² dei⁶ dou¹ sik¹ coeng³ je⁵ gaa³*

3PL also know sing.thing SFP

Lit. ‘I heard (people) say they are good at singing as well!’

Intended meaning: ‘I heard that they are good at singing as well!’

(from the movie *Spring Time in the Jade Hall* 春色滿璇宮; 1966)

聽講 全 香港 呢，

*teng¹ gong² cyun² hoeng¹ gong¹ le¹*

hear.say whole Hong.Kong PRT

祗有 呢道 至 有 珍珠蚌 食 嘢！

*zi² jau⁵ lei¹ dou⁶ zi³ jau⁵ zan¹ zyu¹ pong⁵ sik⁶ ge²*

only here only.then EXIST Margarites eat SFP

**It is said that** throughout Hong Kong, Margarites (a type of sea snail) is only available here!

(from the movie *One Queen and Three Kings* 一后三王; 1963)
Evoluation of Cantonese wo (< wah 話)

a. [CP [IP keoi [VP [V waa6/*wo3 [COMP [TP nei mou lai]]]]]]
   ‘(S)he said you didn’t come.’

b. [CP [IP keoi [VP [V tenggong [COMP waa6/*wo3 [TP nei mou lai]]]]]]
   ‘He heard that you didn’t come.’

c. [CP [C evidential marker tenggong waa6/*wo3 [IP nei mou lai]]]
   ‘It’s said (< I hear people say) you didn’t come.’

d. [CP [TP nei mou lai] [evidential tag construction (keoi5/keoi5dei6) (gam2) waa6 o3]]
   ‘You didn’t come, so (s)he/they say.’

e. [CP [TP nei mou lai] [C evidential wo3 (>wo5)]]
   ‘You didn’t come(,) so they say.’

f. [CP [TP nei mou lai] [C counter-expectation wo3]]
   ‘You didn’t come(,) I’m surprised to hear.’

g. [CP [TP nei mou lai] [C evidential/counter-expectation wo3] [evidential tag (ngo) tenggong (waa6)]]
   ‘You didn’t come(,) so I hear.’