



# *Cantonese*

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## Abbreviations

( )	(1) parenthesis, passim; (2) optional occurrence of elements, e.g., p. 7	MT	Mother Tongue
[ ]	(1) phonetic notation, e.g., p. 3; (2) author's interpolations (e.g., p. 29) and contextualization (e.g., p. 25)	"	superscript <sup>a</sup> , denoting possible recursion of an indefinite number of elements
[ ] <sup>r</sup>	r-colouring	N	noun
{ }	(1) morphemic representation, e.g., p. 14; (2) at least one enclosed element is obligatory, e.g., p. 29; (3) clausal or embedded elements of clause structure, e.g., p. 44	Neg	negative
A	adverbial	Nom	nominalizing
Abil	abilitative	NP	noun phrase
Ach	achievement of spatiotemporal goal	O	O object
Adj	adjective	O <sub>d</sub>	direct object
C	consonant	O <sub>i</sub>	indirect object
Cl	classifier	Part	particle
Com	comparative	Perf	perfective
Comp	completive	Pl	plural
Dc	deictic	Pn	pronoun
Dur	durative	Prep	preposition
Exp	experiential	Prog	progressive
F	falling	Q	quantifier
Gen	genitive	R	reduplicated, reduplication; rising
H	high	Rel	relative
HF	high falling	S	subject
HL	high level	Sent	sentence
HR	high rising	Sf	suffix
Ig	interrogative	sort	sortal
Int	intensifier	spat	spatiotemporal
Inton	intonation	T	tone
L	low	TM	tone modification
LL	low level	V	verb; vowel
LR	low rising	VLF	very low falling
Ltd	initial or limited participation	VLL	very low level
M	mid	Wh	Wh-root or word
Mens	mensural	wd	word
ML	mid-level		

## 0. Socio- and geolinguistic data

The term *Cantonese* in this work will be used as a general term to designate the forms of the language variously known as Standard Cantonese,<sup>1</sup> Mainland Cantonese, Hong Kong Cantonese (e.g., Bauer 1982, Killingley 1985), as well as the forms of the language spoken by the Chinese diaspora in other parts of the world, particularly in Macao, South-East Asia, and certain cities in North America, Britain, Australia and New Zealand where there are large concentrations of speakers.

This general use of the term should be distinguished from the more particular use of *Cantonese* in descriptive and pedagogical works to designate only the kind of Cantonese emanating from China and Hong Kong. Adapting usage from DeFrancis (1984), we shall use the term *regionalect* to refer to the language historically associated with a region in China (e.g., Yue vs. Mandarin<sup>2</sup>) and *dialect*<sup>3</sup> (e.g., Cantonese dialect) to refer to the sub-varieties of the regionalect, which may have greater or lesser degrees of mutual intelligibility (e.g., Cantonese, Dungguan (see below and fn. 4)). We must also bear in mind that because a particular regionalect has spread beyond its original confines, there will also be sub-varieties of dialects (e.g., Hong Kong Cantonese, Malayan Cantonese), which are mutually intelligible but spoken with different accents and with some differences in lexis. Where appropriate we shall also use an additional term *General Cantonese* to refer to the language as an abstraction or world language.

The terms *Yue* and *Cantonese* are both used by writers in a number of ways, not always consistently, resulting in a certain degree of confusion with regard to terminology as well as number of speakers. Some writers use the terms interchangeably. For example, DeFrancis (1984) uses both as alternative names of the regionalect associated with the city of Guangdong (Canton), with

1. In the literature, Standard Cantonese often refers to Canton Cantonese and Hong Kong Cantonese. But as Bauer (1982: 26ff) has shown, Canton Cantonese and Hong Kong Cantonese are in fact two distinct sub-dialects, and the phonology of Hong Kong Cantonese is changing, although Chinese academics tend to be conservative and inveigh against language change as ignorance or carelessness. In conjunction with Hong Kong University, a cassette tape and handbook based on Wong (c. 1938) was still being used in 1980 to help people 'correctly pronounce unfamiliar words'. This has not stopped school teachers, broadcasters and others from developing a phonology which is different from that of the Standard Cantonese described in many textbooks on language-teaching and linguistics. This is somewhat analogous to a situation in which linguists were to list prescribed usage from Fowler and Fowler (1906) as typical of present-day British Standard English and the rare pronunciations in Jones (1917) (e.g., [krɔ:s], 'cross'; [kɪ:θ] 'cloth') as typical of present-day RP. So the term *Standard Cantonese* is not a homogeneous concept; while often used to refer to the dialect of Canton and/or Hong Kong, it is also an ideal concept of what the language ought to be, and it is enshrined in ancient and modern syllabaries and dictionaries.

2. This general term will be used because it is established in the bulk of the literature and better known than the more exclusive modern name of the national language of the People's Republic, *Putonghua* ('common speech'). Mandarin is thus no longer associated merely with a northern Chinese region, but with the whole of China as a region, as well as being spoken by the Chinese diaspora from China and Taiwan. In the standard literature it is also called *Guoyu* (i.e. 'national (literary) language') but this is now often considered bourgeois and is seldom used in present-day works.

3. This will sometimes be used interchangeably with *language* where it means *language system* (i.e., Saussure's *langue*).



sub-varieties like Canton and Taishan dialects; Comrie (1987: index) uses them interchangeably, although in their article in the same work, Li and Thompson use *Cantonese* to mean a specific *Yue* dialect (pp. 812, 813); Ruhlen (1987) implies their interchangeable use but for reasons which might be better suited to some of the other languages in his book, actually prefers to use *Yue* instead of the better-known *Cantonese*. However, it is more usual and also clearer to use the term *Yue* to designate the language group originating from Guangdong Province in China, from the Pearl River delta westwards to Guangxi Province, and the term *Cantonese* to designate the most widely spoken, widely studied and prestigious member of the eastern Pearl River delta dialects (e.g., Hashimoto 1972, Norman 1988, and Tsuji 1980), the last of whom has studied the lesser-known western dialects of Guangxi. Although some writers generally describe the Yue dialects as mutually intelligible varieties, they should be regarded as a group whose members share a greater degree of cognateness than each would with a member of another Chinese regional dialect such as Mandarin or Hakka. But they are nevertheless not mutually intelligible in the way that two varieties of British English are mutually intelligible. And while the discussion and exemplification of the Yue dialects in Hashimoto (1972) show marked similarities, they also reveal significant differences which would and do prevent mutual understanding between speakers.<sup>4</sup>

Accordingly, for these and other reasons connected with politics and fieldwork difficulties, the various estimates of the number and disposition of Yue and General Cantonese speakers within and outside China are partly dependent on guesswork. DeFrancis (1984: 58) believes that 50 million (5% of the total of Chinese languages in China) is a safe guess; Norman (1988: 215) cites conflicting sources reporting that Yue is spoken in 100 counties in Guangdong and Guangxi (Yuan 1960: 179) or only in 50 counties (Hashimoto 1972). Using 1971 Hong Kong census figures, Bauer (1982: 18) reports that 3,874,382 people (or 90% of the population who claimed Chinese as their MT) claimed Cantonese as their MT. Outside the China-Hong Kong region, Hashimoto's 1972 estimate of more than 2 million Yue speakers in South-East Asia (with main concentrations in Thailand, Malaysia,<sup>5</sup> Singapore and Indonesia) and several hundred thousand speakers in North America must be greatly multiplied in view of increased and changing patterns of migration (e.g., involving Australia as a new venue).

4. Throughout my infancy there were a number of other Yue speakers living in my extended family whose speech I could not understand unless they switched to Cantonese. Their dialects were Gaojou, Dungguan and Xinwui. The names of languages (apart from *Cantonese* and *Mandarin*) are given in Mandarin in the Pinyin romanization unless a better established name (e.g., *Hakka*) exists.

5. *Malaysia* comprises peninsular West Malaysia (formerly called *Malaya*), Sabah and Sarawak, but the name is sometimes used when referring just to West Malaysia, so it is not always clear what writers mean by it. Since only varieties of Cantonese spoken in peninsular Malaysia have been published, we should only refer to *Malayan* Cantonese, not *Malaysian* Cantonese.

### 1. Phoneme inventory and romanization

Various phonetic and phonological statements on Cantonese from different periods and regions contained in pedagogical, lexical and descriptive works (e.g., Williams 1842, Jones and Woo 1913, Chiang c. 1940, Cowles 1965, Lau 1972, Kao 1971, Huang and Kok 1973, Hashimoto 1972, Killingley 1985) can be simplified for the purpose of arriving at an abstract, practical, economical and elegant phonological system and a corresponding romanization system for General Cantonese which do not reflect too much phonetic detail, but enough to facilitate easy transcription, transliteration and reading. In the inventory below,<sup>6</sup> the proposed romanization is given in italics immediately after the phoneme; important allophones are given in square brackets below the phoneme and its romanization. Since vowel length is not distinctive, phonetic vowel length is not indicated. Eight vowel phonemes (with ten phonetic diphthongs) and nineteen consonant phonemes are set up below.

#### 1.1. Vowel phonemes

	Front	Mixed (front to central)	Back
Close	i i    y ue		u u [u, ʊ]
Half-close			
Half-open	ɛ e	æ oe [ɛ, æ, e] [œ, ø, ɔ]	ɔ o [ɔ, o]
Open		[ɐ, ə, ʌ]	a aa

6. I gratefully acknowledge the kind help of Mrs. Natalie Waterson, who read this whole section and suggested a number of important changes. I am also grateful to Dr. U. J. Lüders for careful editorial guidance throughout.

For phonetic details such as vowel length and other details of allophonic variation, see the works referred to above. Syllable divisions into initial and final in many works is a traditional Chinese approach to phonetics which the newcomer might find bewildering. Initials are consonants, and finals are everything else, which may be a vowel (monophthong or diphthong), or a vowel plus consonant, plus tone. One inconsistency arising from this practice is that phonetic diphthongs are sometimes treated as a vowel final and sometimes as a vowel plus consonant final. Those ending in [u] are treated as a vowel final whereas those ending in [i] are sometimes treated as diphthong finals and sometimes monophthong plus consonant finals, e.g., [ou], [ɔi], [ɔj] (e.g., Hashimoto 1972: 90). In this work, the phonetic and phonological aspects of sounds are clearly demarcated.



1.1.1. *Distribution of allophones depending on treatment and accent*

Close front /i/: [i] before /ŋ, k/; [i] before /p, t, m, n, j, w/.

Half-open front /ɛ/: [ɛ] only before /j/;<sup>7</sup> [ɛ] (also [æ] in Malayan Cantonese, before /ŋ, k/).

Half-open front rounded /œ/: in Standard Cantonese [œ] occurs before /ŋ, k/ and [ø] before /n, j, t/.<sup>8</sup> In Malayan Cantonese [œ] occurs in a few rare open syllables,<sup>9</sup> [ø] occurs before /n, j, t/, and [ɔ] occurs before /ŋ, k/.

Half-open mixed front to central /ɐ/: [ɐ] in Standard Cantonese and [ʌ] in Malayan Cantonese before semivowels, plosives, and nasals, /w, j, p, t, k, m, n, ŋ/: [ɔ] in Malayan Cantonese before /n/ and in syllable final in unstressed syllables with neutral tone (see p. 7 below).

Close back /u/: [u] before w, n, t/; [o] before /ŋ, k/.

Half-open back /ɔ/: [o] only before /w/;<sup>10</sup> [ɔ] before /t, j, n, ŋ, k/.

1.1.2. *Phonetic diphthongs*

For reasons given below, all phonetic diphthongs are reinterpreted phonologically as V + /j/ or /w/ as follows:

1. [iu] = /iw/ iw
2. [ei] = /ej/ ey
3. [œi] = /œj/ oey
4. [ɛi] = /ɛj/ ay

7. Alternatively, in a phonetic statement, [ɛ] only occurs before [i], as noted by Kao (1971: 28), who suggests grouping [ɛ] with either [ɛ] or [i].

8. Lee (1983) followed up perceptual differences of vowel systems in his study of three Canton and three Hong Kong speakers with an acoustic study and suggests (1983: 109) the hypothesis that there is a systematic difference between Canton and Hong Kong Cantonese. He says that one implication of this is that Kao's and Hashimoto's use of [ø] as a front vowel may be for distribution rather than for phonetic reasons, i.e., because labials cannot occur before [y, ø œ]. Instead of [ø], two of Lee's Canton subjects had a central-type vowel while the third Canton subject and all the Hong Kong subjects had a back vowel. However, it seems more likely that although Lee's study may be pointing to a possible future loss of [ø], the various treatments in fact reflect various accents from the same broad region. For instance, Jones only lists the half-open [œ] sound, suggesting that his informant Woo did not have the half-close [ø], since otherwise a phonetician of Jones' calibre would have noted it. It is interesting too to see that the Malayan Cantonese allophone [iɔ] before velar stop and velar nasal shows a close front and open back coalescence which combines the relative closeness of [ø] with the backness of Lee's subjects' back vowel.

9. The only examples which I know are [ˈtœ] 'spit out' (cf. HKCant [ˈtəu] and alternative Malayan Cantonese [ˈpi]), [ˈdœ] Cl for nouns referring to flowers (HKCant [ˈdɔ] and alternative Malayan Cantonese [ˈdiɔ]). These Malayan Cantonese forms with [œ] may in fact be going out of usage, in which case [œ] would eventually no longer occur in open syllables. Even in Chiang's time (c. 1940), this must have been a sufficiently rare occurrence, as he had to resort to onomatopoeia in order to cite an example in an open syllable: [ˈtœ] 'sound of a trumpet' (Chiang: 1).

10. Alternatively, in a phonetic statement, [o] only occurs before [u], as noted by Kao (1971: 28), who suggests grouping [o] with either [ɔ] or [u].

5. [ɛu] = /ɛw/ aw

6. [ui] = /uj/ uy

7. [ou]<sup>11</sup> = /ow/ ow

8. [ɔi] = /ɔj/ oy

9. [ai] = /aj/ aay

10. [au] = /aw/ aaw

1.2. *Consonant phonemes*

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Palatal	Velar		Glottal
					Non-labialized	Labialized	
Plosives (Voiceless)							
<i>Unaspirated</i>	b b		d d		g g	g w gw	
<i>Aspirated</i>	p p		t t		k k	kw kw	
Nasals	m m		n n		ŋ ng		
Fricatives		f f	s s				h h
Affricates (Voiceless)							
<i>Unaspirated</i>	dz dz						
<i>Aspirated</i>	ts ts						
Lateral			l l				
Semivowels	w w			j y			

1.2.1. *Notes on some of the consonants*

**Plosives:** In syllable-final position, stops are unreleased, with glottal articulation, and such syllables do not occur with the VLL tone, the lowest possible tone (see p. 8 below). The labialized stops only occur before central and back vowels and there is evidence to show that they are disappearing from the language before /ɔ/ (Bauer 1982: 127ff).<sup>12</sup> [ʔ] is usually omitted in traditional practice from most

11. For reasons of economy, [o] is not listed as a phoneme as its occurrence is limited to this diphthong. See also fn 10.

12. For example, both Yau (1980) and Luke (1990) list the experiential aspect as [gɔ], not [gwɔ], without



descriptions of Cantonese, although it is listed as an optional initial as a feature of vowel onset in Hashimoto (1972: 88f), and its occurrence as part of plosive non-release has been noted above.

**Nasals and lateral:** /m/ and /ŋ/ can be syllabic. Bauer has observed that in Hong Kong speech the syllabic velar nasal in speakers under forty-five is being merged into the syllabic bilabial nasal, attributing this to lexical spread from the word for 'five' ([,ŋ]), which developed the syllabic bilabial nasal variant as a result of labial assimilation in contexts in which it preceded bilabial sounds, which begin the Standard Cantonese words for 'dollar' ([ˈmɛn]: thus [,ŋˈmɛn] 'five dollars')<sup>13</sup> and 'hundred' ([-paak]: thus [,ŋˈpaak] 'five hundred'). Bauer (1982:90ff) predicts the disappearance of syllabic /ŋ/ with the death of those speakers who still have it. In the speech of many speakers in Hong Kong, Malaya, and elsewhere, initial /ŋ/, which only occurs before back vowels, is absent, speakers either using smooth vowel onset or glottal onset. /l-/ is used in words which have etymological /n-/ initials, but not vice versa, a phenomenon often mistakenly described as 'confusion of sounds' and perpetuated in a number of standard works.<sup>14</sup>

comment. Bauer observes that although this and other conservative pronunciations from Wong (c. 1938), the Hong Kong educationist's 'Bible', are taught to school children, younger people tend not to have [gwɔ] in their casual speech. This tendency in some radio announcers was inveighed against by a university professor as 'lack of linguistic knowledge', and this kind of failure to recognize sound change among scholars who cling to received wisdom may account for the ease with which Jones' 1913 six tones have survived unchallenged. (Wong's syllabary is also the 'Bible' of tone citations.) On the whole, Bauer bases his findings on very sound investigations, using a variety of tests. Perhaps the only slightly questionable test is using a children's nursery rhyme to establish that /gw-/ did not occur before /ɔ/ in the reduplicated word for 'bright' ([ˈgwɔŋ gwɔŋ]). Although reading the rhyme could be considered a formal activity, the fact that the rhyme is a very common childhood experience takes it out of the formal mode, especially as the reduplicated word in question belongs to a child language register. In my own case, although I would use /gw-/ in the word for 'bright' ([ˈgwɔŋ]) in a formal context, I would only use /g-/ in the reduplicated word [ˈgwɔŋ gwɔŋ] above, which I only associate with that particular rhyme, learnt in infancy and reinforced by various nurses in a playtime setting.

13. Although the term [ˈmɛn] exists in Malayan speech, e.g., in Ipoh, the more common term is [ˈkau] (thus [ˈŋˈkau] 'five dollars'), so labial assimilation, if it exists, is unlikely to be reinforced by [ˈmɛn]. However, no systematic study has been carried out on Malayan Cantonese on this point, and impressionistically, it appears to me that this kind of labial assimilation (which is absent in my own speech) does not exist, though the situation could change.

14. Bauer (1982: 29) notes this tendency especially among younger speakers. Interestingly, an example occurs in the conversational data in Luke (1990: 7) where *lei* occurs without authorial comment instead of the expected *nei* for 'you'. Hashimoto (1972: 120 n11) attributes this historically to dialect contact with Nan-hai, while pointing out that Whitaker (1952: 31) attributes it to contact with Swatow or Hai-nan. The loss of initial /ŋ/ in Hong Kong Cantonese has also been noted in Bauer (1982:1). The complex distribution of [l] and [n], and of [ŋ], [ʔ] and smooth vowel onset is often inadequately explained in standard works, presenting an unenlightened view of phonology and language change so unlike Bauer's helpful approach. For example, Norman (1988: 216), relying on a secondary source, says that 'Some speakers confuse *n* and *l*, while others prefix a non-etymological *ŋ* to all words beginning with a vowel', and Hashimoto (1972: 89) explains loss of initial /ŋ/ in terms of 'confusion with the zero initial'.

### 1.3. Syllable structure

(C1)V(C2)

← T →

where C1 is any C, and C2 is an unreleased unlabialized stop, nasal or semivowel. Syllabic labial or velar nasal may function as a V syllable. The phonetic syllable would also have an alternative of a CVVC structure where VV is a phonetic diphthong.

### 1.4. Tone, pitch, intonation and neutral tone<sup>15</sup>

In talking about any tone language it is important to make a distinction between an idealized system of abstract phonological tone units (usually quite small in number) and a greater number of pitch contours which can occur in the oral medium, e.g., citation forms of syllables, phonetic combinations in syllables, word compounding, intonation. Failure to make this distinction has contributed to the discrepancy among writers in listing the tones of General Cantonese. In addition, it is also customary to list an additional tone, viz., the *neutral* tone. This should again be treated as an abstraction rather than a tone with a particular pitch. It simply means that whereas the majority of syllables have an inherent tone, certain other syllables, though cited in dictionaries with an inherent tone, in fact accommodate their pitch very markedly to the surrounding context (in particular, to adjacent syllables) and can be described as inherently toneless or neutral. Thus weak forms accommodate themselves to adjacent syllables whereas clause and sentence particles accommodate themselves to clause or sentence intonation. Their inherent tone is thus neutralized.

Eleven, ten, nine, seven, six, and five tones have been proposed in the literature for General Cantonese. Until Jones devised his six-tone system, writers on Hong Kong, Mainland, and Malayan Cantonese favoured a traditional nine-tone system, still followed by some writers today (e.g., Chiang c. 1940, Bruce 1954, Cowles 1965, Fok 1974, Li and Thompson 1987). However, Jones' six-tone system (Jones and Woo 1913) is the more popular and accurate one, if we take the view that only pitch is relevant for tone identification. Three traditional 'entering' tones (in /-p, -t, -k/ syllables) are reinterpreted as shorter versions of the H, M, and LL tones. Jones' system, developed primarily as a basis for teaching the correct pronunciation of Woo's 1913 variety of Cantonese, and more systematically presented by Chao (1947), is the one most often used by linguists today as an a priori phonological system which has never been challenged for modern colloquial speech until Killingley (1985). The six-tone theory requires the use of both free and bound forms as citation syllables (sometimes indiscriminately called *words*) in setting up tonemes instead of just using free word forms. Using bound forms, often tied to the elicitation of tones by means of written characters, invariably means relying on data from non-colloquial registers and a reading pronunciation of

15. See also fn. 26 on tone modification.



literary monosyllabic words which may not exist in spoken General Cantonese. There is evidence to show that the LR tone listed in all varieties of General Cantonese is a phonetic variant of more than one of the other lexical tones, and there is disagreement among writers (e.g., Wong c. 1938, Cowles 1965, Hashimoto 1972) as to whether the same cited syllable has the LR tone or one of the other five tones. For these and other reasons (Killingley 1985: 2ff), and because five tones are sufficient to reflect all the possible distinctions in speech without possibility of misunderstanding, we shall use five tones<sup>16</sup> for the romanization here although there is still disagreement<sup>17</sup> as to how many tones there are in Cantonese. Using the examples below, which in this syllable pattern have the same tonetic exponents in Hong Kong, Mainland and Malayan Cantonese, we can demonstrate the economy of using five lexical tones instead of six. Allotones for 1 and 5 found in both accents are also included in the tone descriptions.

/˥˥ fən/ fan1 'to divide': HL tone 1, with HF variant

/˥˥ fən/ fan2 'powder' (noun): HR tone 2

/˥˥ fən/ fan3 'to sleep': ML tone 3

/˥˥ fən/ fan4 'a share': LL tone 4

/˥˥ fən/ fan5 'tomb': VLL tone 5, with VLF variant

16. Although my proposal to review the six-tone theory was welcomed by Kwok (1986) and Egerod (1987), neither fully understood that the basis of the proposal was that just five tonal distinctions were necessary to distinguish meaning, and that differences in actual contours between Malayan Cantonese and Hong Kong/Mainland Cantonese in certain words are accommodated in my discussion of tone space (Killingley 1985: 25-27). It does not matter that many monosyllabic words in Hong Kong/Mainland Cantonese have the LR contour where Malayan Cantonese often has a ML one (e.g., [nei] [-nei] 'you'). Since there is no possible citation syllable [nei] with a HR contour in either of these accents, and no possible citation syllable [nei] with a ML contour in the Hong Kong/Mainland Cantonese accent, even a citation syllable (let alone one in speech) with either HR, ML or LR will be interpreted across accents as the word 'you'. Likewise, Kwok's examples of distinctive LR in polysyllables are also unproblematical. In her pair [lou ˥˥ fu] 'tiger' (i.e., made up of the morphemes for 'old' and 'tiger') and [lou, fu] 'old woman' (i.e., made up of the morphemes for 'old' and 'married woman'), the corresponding Malayan Cantonese words would use either a LR or ML contour where Hong Kong/Mainland Cantonese only has the LR contour. Lexical constraints do not permit the occurrence of the above morpheme for 'old' ([lou] or [-lou]) to occur with the word [-fu] 'trousers', the phrase for 'old trousers' being [gau -fu] or [-gau-fu] in the two accents. Thus, because there is no possible form \*[lou-fu] or \*[-lou-fu] with the meaning 'old trousers' in either of the accents, the distinctive contrast for the two-syllable words to maintain in order to give the contrastive meanings 'tiger; old woman' is between HR and non-H, i.e., either M or L, not between HR and LR. Indeed, we could go even further and mark just four tones as there would be little likelihood of the LL and VLL tones being contrastive in word compounds or phrases in speech, since pitch is relative, not absolute. If we marked H, R, M, L, it would probably be sufficient to distinguish meaning in context, but in keeping with setting up tonemes in lexical isolates, we shall mark five lexical tones. Using one tone as an abstraction (be it LR or ML) to represent the two contours is analogous to the use of the letter *s* in German to represent two pronunciations. It does not matter that *Sie* is pronounced [zi] in Berlin but [si] in Garmisch, as in each case the word means 'you'.

17. This could be one reason why some modern scholars working on non-phonological aspects of Cantonese sometimes omit tones altogether from their examples, which then become very difficult to read (e.g., Luke 1990). Another reason could be the practical difficulty of printing tone contours, obviated here by using numbers at the end of each syllable.

In addition, there is a syllable [˥˥ fən], with a low rising tone, which is usually cited as a 'word' meaning 'angry' to complete the six-tone series. But this 'word' is in fact a bound form that enters into compounds like [˥˥ fən nou] (with HR tone 2) or its variant [˥˥ fən nou] (with a LR tone), both meaning 'wrath' (Cowles 1965: 157). The same syllables given by Wong (c. 1938), Hashimoto (1972), and Cowles (1965) are listed as having the LR tone *or one of the other tones* (Killingley 1985: 10-13). My decision to identify the LR tone phonologically with the ML tone rather than with any of the others has been arrived at for two reasons: (1) unexplained confusion between ML and LR in tone experiments involving Hong Kong Cantonese speakers/listeners (Vance 1976: 376, 389), (2) identification of a ML tone in a syllable as a token of a LR type and identification of a LR tone as a token of a ML tone by Hong Kong subjects in perceptual tests even when awareness of different contours was shown (Killingley 1985: 20ff).

### 1.5. Remarks on the romanization

Cantonese romanization has been largely varied, adaptive and ad hoc since the early days of research on Cantonese (cf. for example, Lockhart 1882, Aubazac 1912; Meyer and Wempe 1947; Whitaker 1955, 1956, 1959; O'Melia 1961; Cowles 1965; Lau 1972; Kwok 1971; Huang and Kok 1973 (who use the Yale System)). The system that I have proposed here is a refinement of one developed in 1968 for Malayan Cantonese adapted to General Cantonese phonology. It takes into account all previous systems, is more consistent, and reflects the following characteristics of the phonological system: (1) Vowel length is non-distinctive; (2) Syllable structure is (C1)V(C2) where C2 is an unreleased stop, nasal or semivowel. Thus all phonetic diphthongs are phonologically reinterpreted as V + /j/ or /w/ instead of V + V, which would complicate the statement about the syllable. This also does away with awkward combinations of vowels in the phonological statement as well as awkward and non-mnemonic combinations of letters, resulting in a romanization which is easier to read. For example, instead of /œi/ we have the simpler /æj/ and instead of the romanization *eui* (e.g., Kwok 1971, Huang and Kok 1973) we have *oey*, which is phonetically and phonologically transparent. Admittedly, tone numbers are less mnemonic than tone contours, but being easier to print, are less likely to be omitted by writers (see fn 17). The ease with which we can now proceed to represent General Cantonese examples systematically and consistently is certainly a change from all earlier systems, and should benefit all scholars.

### 2. Morphology

The study of General Cantonese morphology and word analysis presents us with many problems, some of which are general to the study of any kind of Chinese morphology<sup>18</sup> and largely related to

18. For detailed discussions of problems of word analysis in Chinese and treatments of General Cantonese



the fact that Chinese is written with characters which in their citation forms are always attributed with a lexical meaning. Four problems may be mentioned here.

First of all, certain disyllabic words were once probably dimorphemic and polymorphemic, but because of a kind of semantic 'fossilization' in the history of the Chinese language, we do not nowadays universally identify the individual syllables of words with separate meanings, and indeed to do so would be absurd as the resultant 'meaning' could be a nonsensical one. Often, the whole disyllabic or polysyllabic word is identified with one area of meaning. For example, etymologically, *silman5* 'elegant, well-bred' is made up of a bound form 'this, there, any' and a noun root 'poetry', but because the sum of these two 'meanings' would not now yield the resultant meaning 'elegant', it would be better to treat each syllable as meaningless and the whole as a monomorphemic word.

The second problem is directly related to the writing system, and although it is more exclusively Chinese in nature, it also exists to a lesser extent in other languages. It centres on the fact that certain polysyllabic syllables cannot have had any individual meanings for every syllable, but the writing system, not being alphabetic, makes it possible for each character to be forced into a 'meaning' mould if necessary although all that is required is a sound.<sup>19</sup> For example, in the adverb

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word morphology, see Killingley (1977, 1982). Roots may be either free or bound morphemes. The free root is a simple stem and is like Bloomfield's *minimum free form* in that it can nearly always occur by itself as a word. The bound root cannot occur by itself but occurs frequently with a similar meaning in several lexical items in different word classes. The stem is either simple (consisting of one free root) or compound (consisting of more than one root, including reduplicated roots). The affix is like a bound root in that it cannot occur alone, but unlike a bound root, it regularly marks word classes, and is generally the property of the word. Unless specified as being bound, *roots* will refer to free roots.

Some of the treatments in this work differ from those in Killingley (1982), which had to fit in with the constraints of a tagmemic model, and which also in other respects now appear unsatisfactory to me. 19. This has special problems in the areas of naming and transliteration, where characters are usually chosen for their meaning, but sometimes are mere carriers of sound. Traditionally, Chinese names either have literal or metaphorical meaning and the naming of offspring depends on a variety of factors (e.g., reflecting sex, sibling, cousinship and seniority grouping by means of a common stem, not claiming too much by the choice of a common stem for one's children or each child's individual name, yet ensuring an auspicious outcome; averting the evil eye). Thus, a favourite stem in families is *siw2* 小 'little, of no significance', which also happens to be the first part of my name. Sex of offspring is not always marked (e.g., as in the cases of *Vivian, Hilary, Evelyn* in English), and some names are very rare or even unique. For instance, I have never met anyone else with the same *yue5* 諭 as in my name (literal meaning 'imperial edict': intended metaphorical meaning 'rational'), which is not marked for sex. Most Chinese people who know I am a woman assume it is the homophone and near-homograph 瑜 'precious jade'. Probably my parents chose my name because it had this homophone as well as the homophone for 'literary language' 語, written with the same left-hand radical *yin5* 言, which is also the character and bound root for 'speech, word'. In transliterating the names of foreigners and foreign places, some of these considerations, especially the need for self-effacement, are removed. In general, auspicious names are given to transliterate syllables, and in the case of countries, the noun root *gwok3* is often tagged on as an attempt at morphemic regularity, e.g., *ying1gwok3* 'eagle; hero' + 'country' = 'England'; *dak1gwok3* 'virtuous' + 'country' = 'Germany' (i.e., *Deutschland*); *faat3gwok4* 'law' + 'country' = 'France'. However, we cannot really analyse every place name

*yi5gaa1* 'now', the first syllable is written with the same character 而 as the literary form of 'yet' while the second syllable is written with the character 家 for 'family'. To insist that the 'real meaning' of *yi5gaa1* is 'yet family' would be to give a false picture of the language, somewhat analogous to insisting on mistakenly identifying the word *rest* with the sequence *rest-* in the word *restaurant*.

The third problem is that of the 'loan-character' (Chao 1946). It is also related to the writing system of Chinese and it illustrates incidentally the complex relationships between the character and the word. In the history of Chinese writing, whenever an abstract idea was difficult to indicate by a pictograph, a character for a homonymous word with a picturable meaning was 'borrowed'. At a later stage, it became convenient to differentiate between two such characters by adding an additional element to reflect graphically their difference in meaning. For instance, Chao points out that the word for 'destroy' and 'destroy by fire' in Mandarin used to be written with the same character, but scholars added a fire radical to the character in order to indicate the second meaning although the one pronunciation was still used for both (see fns 19 and 22). Characters thus became more and more overdifferentiated in order to appear more logical (see, for instance, Forrest 1958: 38), and schoolmasters and others helped to create larger and more complicated characters. Thus the lexicographer's differentiation between characters, morphemes and words would not readily reflect the ordinary speaker's view of the language. This is analogous to the co-existence of forms like 'while wile away the time' in English, where the written language presents two equally logical forms for many speakers' one spoken form.

In assigning individual meanings to roots and stems below, I have tried to choose examples which are still transparent and productive, immediately obvious to speakers, or at the very least, justifiable. Where it is not justifiable to provide individual meanings of syllables, words are treated as unanalysable wholes, as we would treat the English words *bishop, butterfingers, daddy-longlegs*.

The fourth problem is a tendency among writers to still think of Cantonese as a monosyllabic language without inflections. This used to be thought of Chinese in general but opinion has now changed with regard to Mandarin as a result of various challenges to received theory about the nature of ancient and modern Chinese morphology. For example, Karlgren (1920) helped to reshape thinking on the subject when he suggested that Proto-Chinese, which he called a 'langue flexionelle',<sup>20</sup> contained many disyllabic words and had implicit case marking in both nouns and

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morphemically because the system breaks down here and there, e.g., 'Ireland' (*oy3yi3laan5*) would have the absurd name of 'love' + archaic word for 'you' + 'orchid'; and it surely cannot be intended that Africa (*feyljaw1*) 'means' 'false district', *feyl* also being used to transliterate the syllables *ver, vir*, in 'Versailles', 'Cape Verde' and 'Virginia'. For this reason, place names are not fully translated where they appear in examples in this work, as in example (3) on p. 18.

20. He believed that it was possible to show (Karlgren 1920: 206):



pronouns. Karlgren's study claimed that Proto-Chinese had three cases—the nominative, accusative and genitive. Likewise, Chao (1968), though inaccurate in his analysis of the relationship between word and character, was a pioneer in establishing Mandarin as a disyllabic and polysyllabic language. Cantonese studies still lag behind in this respect. Writers recognize bound forms in Cantonese but do not distinguish clearly between the different kinds of morphological and semantic bondage. They prefer to use terms like *bound form*, *particle*, and even those who cite examples like verb + aspect and refer to affixation do so with spaces between what are in fact a lexical form and its inflection (e.g., Kwok 1971, Yau 1980).<sup>21</sup> The monosyllabic myth has been transferred over the years from Chinese in general to Cantonese in particular, and is even cited as a difficulty faced by Cantonese speakers learning Mandarin (e.g. Wong and Weber 1986: 41).

The complex relationships between character, syllable, morpheme, and word—and indeed, the nature of Chinese as a writing system—are pertinent to our study, but can only be briefly summarized here (see fn. 18). Recent work on the subject has not given us definitive answers, although inroads are being made by scholars on dispelling certain long-standing myths. For instance, DeFrancis (1984: 150ff) succinctly dispels the myth (promulgated in various forms, from the Revd. Joshua Marshman's description of Chinese characters as having 'permanent perspicuity' in 1814, to pronouncements by scholars even in the present day) that Chinese speakers of different regionalects can communicate in writing even if not in speech. DeFrancis rightly believes that characters convey both sound and meaning and makes out a very convincing case (pp. 89-130) that Chinese writing should be viewed as a phonetic system, albeit an inefficient one, with the syllable as the unit, using the Soothill syllabary<sup>22</sup> to illustrate his points. He also demonstrates the 'ascendancy of the phonetic aspect in Chinese writing' by reproducing stretches of Chinese writing in which the semantic element has been greatly distorted by the substitution of near-homophonous characters. Readers to

...dans la phase ancienne de la langue, une flexion réelle, soit déclinaison, soit conjugaison. Et, en effet, je crois qu'on peut non plus seulement retrouver des traces d'une flexion ancienne, mais même établir l'existence d'une déclinaison encore tout à fait vivante dans une certaine branche du chinois de l'époque des Tcheou (1199-249 av. J.-C.).

21. Kwok (p.99) actually makes a distinction between 'word-formative' (presumably derivational) and 'grammatical' (presumably inflectional) affixes, but confuses affixes with words when she includes jaw4 'about to' as an aspect marker, with the comment that it is an exception because it is a prefix while her other aspect markers are suffixes. In fact jaw4 is an adverb, patterning syntactically with other adverb words which occur before the verb.

22. See Soothill (1942), Fenn (1940). Soothill ignored tones in his classification of about 4,300 characters on the basis of 895 phonetic components. Because of the work of these scholars, we are now familiar with the phonetic index in which the phonetic part of a character is given a unique 'Soothill number'. DeFrancis (p. 292, fn 4) reminds us that Soothill's radical numbers for his characters refer to the 214 radicals of the Kang Xi dictionary, and not to any system used in the People's Republic of China since full characters were simplified. Although compiled in 1716 by order of the emperor Kang Xi, it is still a standard reference work. It contains about 40,000 characters, 34,000 of which are computed to be useless.

whom DeFrancis has shown these texts with distortions in sound and meaning are able to by-pass these oddities in order to decipher the intended message. However, the prevailing opinion, which views Chinese orthography as being exclusively morpheme-based (e.g., Sampson 1985,<sup>23</sup> Norman 1988, Coulmas 1989), tends to reject any thesis that Chinese can be phonetically based, albeit imperfectly. Pace these writers, I would argue that whereas the morpheme is a very important representation in Chinese writing, the Chinese script should be regarded as *character*-based rather than morpheme-based. The reality for the Chinese reader and writer is not the morpheme, but the character, which represents in various contexts a word, a morpheme, or a phonetic component, and which may consist of one or more of the 214 radicals mentioned earlier, which may change shape in different contexts. Thus the character 水<sup>24</sup> can represent the syllable [ɿ, ʃui], the free morpheme and word 'water', a bound morpheme in the word [ɿ ʃui gwɔ] 'fruit'. It also exists in a non-independent graphic form as Radical 85 氵 [ɿ, ʃui] in various compounds as the semantic component (the 'signific'), e.g., combining with 青 [ts'ɿŋ] Radical 174 as the phonetic component (Soothill no. 82) in the character 清, which represents the syllable [ɿ ts'ɿŋ], the free morpheme and the word 'clear, pure, lucid'. Although the character is always written with a space between it and the next character (which used to reinforce the idea that Chinese is monosyllabic but now reinforces the idea that the script is morphemic), normal elision in speech and other speech prosodies produce the unsurprising result that sometimes a character can represent a speech segment or prosody. For instance, the character 的 [dɔ] + neutral tone, the genitive affix, can represent the segment [d] in rapid speech, and the character 兒 [ɿ ər] can represent the bound roots 'male' (as in erh2maa5 'stallion'), 'male offspring' (as in erh2nū3 'offspring'), a diminutive affix and a plural affix, the last two of which are often realized as r-colouring of the whole syllable, not as a mere segment (as in nū3erh2 [ny] 'girl', hua1erh2 [hwa] 'flowers').

23. Sampson makes the odd claim that a 'logographic script' (based on the morpheme) like Chinese writing is easier to learn and to read than a 'phonographic script' (based on sound), and quotes sources to prove this (Sampson 1985: 163f). Although it may be true that initially some readers are more successful in spotting and recognizing distinctive Chinese characters than repetitions of the same twenty-six letters of the alphabet, this progress will not be readily maintained once they get beyond an initial stage of using restricted vocabulary.

24. These Mandarin examples are taken from Killingley 1977: 92ff, and the Wade-Giles romanization of the original examples is retained for ease of reference to that work as well as to standard pre-Pinyin dictionaries like Mathews (1966) which list the 214 radicals. In the Wade-Giles romanization, the tones are numbered thus: 1 = high level, 2 = high rising, 3 = low rising, 4 = high falling. As pointed out in Anderson (1975: 5), the Wade-Giles system is in many ways superior to later systems, including the widely-accepted Pinyin (adopted largely for political reasons). Although simple to use, the Pinyin system uses a system of tone marking (accent above a vowel letter) which is difficult to print. Because of this, tones are often omitted, thus making Pinyin spelling less clear than Wade-Giles spelling.



2.1. *Nominal morphology*2.1.1. *Nouns*

Nouns are either genitive or non-genitive. Apart from the genitive affix, noun affixation is derivational.

The noun either consists of a single noun root or it may be an endocentric compound in which the right-most root or stem is the head of the construction, except in the case of reduplications. Except for transliterations of foreign words, it is unusual for compounds to exceed five syllables. The possible noun occurrences are given below:

- 1) Any noun root or stem + genitive suffix {Gen} with two forms (-ga, -ge3)<sup>25</sup> to form a genitive noun. When the genitive noun modifies another noun in immediate attributive position, the allomorph with a neutral tone is used, e.g., maaw1 'cat', maaw1ga mey3 'the cat's tail'. When the genitive noun occurs by itself, before pause, or in predicative position, the allomorph with the full tone is used, e.g., maaw1ge3 'the cat's'.
- 2) Noun root (e.g., maaw1 'cat', yan5 'person; mankind').
- 3) Noun root or adjective root + noun root (e.g., tit3 'iron' + low4 'road' = tit3low4 'railway'; daay4 'big' + gun1 'official' = daay4gun1 'ruler').
- 4) Noun stem + noun root (e.g., hung5sap4ji4 'Red Cross' + cel 'vehicle' = hung5sap4ji4cel 'ambulance').
- 5) Conjunct verb (see pp. 24ff below) stem + noun root (e.g., cung1leung5 'to have a bath' + fong2 'room' = cung1leung5fong2 = 'bathroom').
- 6) Noun stem + noun stem (e.g., jing4ji4 'politics' + folhok4 'science' = jing5ji4folhok4 'political science').
- 7) Prefix aa3- + monosyllabic noun root or stem denoting a personal name or certain kinship terms to show either familiarity or respect, depending on the context, often used as vocatives (e.g., aa3- + cing1 (part of a name) = aa3cing1; this could be the name of a servant and it marks respectful

25. The genitive suffix, as in English, occurs as a property of the word and phrase (cf. *The king's daughter, the King of Spain's daughter, John and Mary's children*). It is homophonous with and has the same morphophonemic distribution as the subordinating relative particle ge3, which is used to embed phrases and clauses as pre-head modifiers in nominal phrases. It is also used to relate words and other structures to the wider syntactic discourse, and when this happens with words other than nouns and pronouns, it seems as if there is no distinction between the relative and the genitive. For instance, in answer to the question 'Which duck would you like to buy?', the answer could be 'fey5 ge3' 'fat relative' = 'The one which is fat'. However, this should not be confused with the genitive suffix -ge3 (e.g., in sin1saang1ge3, ngo3ge3 'the teacher's', 'mine') because the genitive noun or pronoun can be followed by the possessed noun using the -ga allomorph (e.g., sin1saang1ga ngaap3, ngo3ga ngaap3 'the teacher's duck, my duck'). In the case of the occurrence of ge3 with the adjective fey5, there is no possible occurrence with a possessed noun to give the form \*fey5ga ngaap3. So when fey5 ge3 occurs, it should be treated in terms of syntactic ellipsis, e.g., as a predicate in '[I want] the one [which is] fat'. In Killingley (1982) and Law (1991) both the genitive suffix and the relative particle (Law's 'complementizer') are identified. See also *relativization* (pp. 28ff) below.

familiarity); aa3- + po5 (bound noun root 'old woman, maternal grandmother') = aa3po5 'maternal grandmother'; this also marks respectful familiarity).

8) Instead of aa3- in (7) above, in certain cases, the noun root or stem may be reduplicated, with or without tone modification<sup>26</sup> on one of the roots, to denote a more affectionate and/or familiar style (e.g., mei5mei1 'younger sister' (common home name for a younger daughter); po5po2 'Granny'; maa5maai1 'Mummy').

9) Noun or verb root or stem + suffix to form various agentive, locative, diminutive and abstract nouns (e.g., jing3ji4 'politics' + -gaal 'expert' = jing3ji4gaal 'statesman, politician'; yin5gaaw3 'do research' + -saang1 'student' = yin5gaaw3saang1 'research student'; waa2 'painting' + -seung4 'on' = waa2seung4 'surface of a picture'; maaw1 'cat' + -jay2 (diminutive suffix) = maaw1jay2 'kitten'; yue5yam1 'phonetics' + -hok5 '-ology' = yue5yam1hok 'phonetics').

2.1.2. *Classifiers*<sup>27</sup>

Classifiers are broadly either sortal or mensural, although there are further subdivisions of each, and the distinction between them is sometimes not entirely clear. Sortal classifiers individuate noun referents according to what they are, expressing a kind of natural gender, e.g., yat1 go3 yan5 'a person'; yat1 po1 sue4 'a tree'. Mensural classifiers individuate according to quantity or general grouping, and are comparable to words denoting measurement, and to collective and partitive nouns in English, e.g., yat1 bong4 ping5wo2 'a pound of apples', yat1 kwan5 jeuk2 'a flock of birds', yat1 dit1 soey3 'a little bit of water'. Mensural classifiers may indicate collective, generic, partitive, containing and measurement distinctions. Classifiers occur either as simple roots or reduplications of a root. The one-root classifier word is syntactically dependent, but the reduplicated classifier can occur by itself to express 'every noun to which the classifier refers'. Examples, with reference to the above-mentioned noun phrases, are: go3go3 'every[body]'; po1po1 'every [tree]'; bong4bong4 'every pound [of apples]'; kwan5kwan5 'every flock [of birds]'; dit1dit1 'every bit [of water]'.

26. Although it is an established way of describing differences in pitch in the 'same' morpheme in different combinatory contexts, tone modification arbitrarily assigns a basic tone to one morpheme and a modified tone to another, e.g., from 5 to 2 in the case of aa3po5 'maternal grandmother' in relation to po5po2 'Granny', perhaps because the former term is less marked than the latter. Certainly, both -po5 and -po2 occur in compounds, e.g., -po5 in low5yan5aa3po5 'old-person-aa3-old woman' (a kind of witch or ogress), low3po5 'old-woman' (wife), and -po2 in gaalpo2 'family-old woman' (husband's mother), po2naa2 'woman-female [non-human]' (slut). In a marked sense, po2 (unlike -po5) also occurs in a free form in coarse language to mean 'mistress, kept woman'. Not only do such tone relationships mark different semantic classes within the same word class, they also sometimes mark changes in grammatical categories, though again it would be difficult to claim a basic tone and a modified tone in such cases. The following examples show a tonal relationship between nouns and verbs: kim2 'pincers', kim5 'to hold with pincers': daam4 'a load, daam1 'to carry a load or burden'; fan4 'a share', fan1 'divide'. For a detailed study of tone modification, see Whitaker (1955).

27. For a detailed treatments of Cantonese classifiers see Killingley (1982a, 1983). See also Coyaud (1973). See also p. 33 for adverbial function of the 'verbal classifier'.



2.1.3. *Adjectives*

Adjectives are either positive or comparative.<sup>28</sup> Adjectives also have very limited aspectual affixation, when they occur as predicates in equative clauses (see *aspect* (pp. 20ff) and *clauses* (pp. 37ff) below).<sup>29</sup> However, such affixation generally only occurs when the adjective is unreduplicated or unaffixed (but see {Com} in item (2) below), -gan2 'progressive' and -jo2 'perfective' being the most common possible affixes. These restrictions are probably on the one hand lexical constraints and on the other an additional indication that adjectives and verbs are distinct morphological classes. It is their syntactic function in the predicate that brings them together. Apart from these types of affixation, adjectival affixation is derivational. Negative affixation is dealt with under the hyperclass of *negative words* (pp. 26f below), together with negative verbs and negative modals. The adjective either consists of a single adjective root or it may be a compound.

Compounds may be endocentric, in which the right-most root is the head of the construction (except in the case of reduplications), additive (both A and B), equative (A is B) or verb-object constructions. It is unusual for adjectives to have more than three syllables, after affixation. The possible adjective occurrences are given below:

- 1) Any non-reduplicated or (in general) non-affixed adjective root or stem + the comparative suffix {Com} with two forms (-go3, -dit1) to form a comparative adjective. When the adjective occurs in attributive position before another noun, -go3 is used (e.g., fey5 'fat', fey5go2 sin1saang1 'fatter than the teacher'). When the adjective occurs in predicative position or on its own, the form with -dit1 is used (e.g., fey5dit1 'fatter').
- 2) Adjective root or stem + certain aspectual affixes, generally when the adjective is unaffixed (e.g., fey5 'fat' + {Prog} = fey5gan2 'getting fat'; caw3gwaay3 'ugly' + {Perf} = caw3gwaay3jo2 'has become ugly'). In addition, the comparative adjective may also have limited aspect (usually with -jo2), the aspectual affix occurring before {Com} (e.g., fey5go3/fey5dit1 'fatter' + {Perf} = fey5jo2go3/fey5jo2dit1 'to have got fatter').
- 3) Adjective root (e.g., fey5 'fat', si1man5 'polite').
- 4) Adjective root + adjective root in an additive construction (e.g., cow1 'rough' + low3 'old' = cow1low3 'rough, coarse').

28. Note that joey3 'most' plus adjective is not part of the grammatical paradigm for adjectives but an intensifier. Thus the grammatical system only allows two inflected forms of the adjective while the semantic system allows the superlative to be expressed by means of an intensifier. Unlike the comparative affix, the intensifier word can also modify time words, as in joey3 gan4 'most recently'. Cf. English, where the grammatical superlative {est} (expressed by '-est' and 'most') is grammatically distinct from intensifiers like 'most', 'exceedingly', 'greatly', as in 'I was most surprised'.

29. Because adjectives share many syntactic properties of the verb, they have often been described as 'stative verbs' in the literature. However, because of their morphological differences from verbs and because they also form a distinct syntactic class (e.g., in noun modification), they should be treated separately from verbs.

- 5) Verb root + noun root (e.g., yaw3 'to have' + sam1 'heart' = yaw5sam1 'considerate').
- 6) Noun root + adjective root in an equative construction (e.g., ngaan3 'eye' + hung5 'red' = ngaan3hung5 'envious').
- 7) Verb root + bound root (e.g., hab4 'agree, agreement' + faad3 'law' = hab4faad3 'legal').
- 8) Reduplication of adjective root, with or without partial tone modification, to denote intensity (e.g., luen4 'disordered' + luen4 = luen4luen4 or luen2luen4 'totally disordered').
- 9) Reduplicated adjective stem denoting colour + affix -dey2 '-ish' (e.g., hung5hung5 or hung2hung5 'very red' + -dey2 = hung5hung5dey2 'reddish'. When this happens, no tone modification (in this case from 5 to 2 in the unaffixed form) is possible).

2.1.4. *Pronominal system*

Pronouns are personal, impersonal, and reflexive-emphatic. Like nouns, they are either genitive or non-genitive, with the same morphophonemic conditioning governing the occurrence of the two forms of the genitive suffix {Gen}, viz., -ga/ge3. When the genitive pronoun modifies another noun in attributive position, the allomorph with a neutral tone is used, e.g., ngo3ga maaw1 'my cat'. When the genitive pronoun occurs by itself or in predicative position, the allomorph with the full tone is used, e.g., ngo3ge3 'mine'. When the genitive pronoun occurs with familiar kinship terms, -ga is often deleted: e.g., koey3(ga) maa5maal 'his mummy', ney3(ga) baa5baal 'your daddy'.

In addition, the personal pronoun is also marked for number, with two terms, singular and plural, the plural being marked by the suffix -dey4. The personal pronoun paradigm is illustrated with the first person pronoun below, showing the morphophonemic alternation in the two forms of the genitive suffix {Gen}. The other two personal pronouns that enter into the paradigm are ney3 'you' and koey3 'he, she, it':

	Singular	Genitive singular	Plural	Genitive plural
(1)	ngo3 'I'	ngo3ge3 'mine'	ngo3dey4 'we, us'	ngo3dey4ge3 'ours'
		ngo3ga 'my'		ngo3dey4ga 'our'

There are three impersonal pronouns: yan5 'one, someone, some people, people' (which is homophonous with the noun word for 'person, mankind'), yan5yan5 'everyone', and yan5dey4 'others, people'. Like nouns and personal pronouns, they have a genitive/non-genitive distinction, with the same -ge3/-ga distribution of the genitive {Gen}. But instead of the singular/plural distinction, they seem to have a semantic general/specific distinction which cuts across the strictly morphological marking of the plural by the suffix -dey4. Examples are:

- (2a) yaw3 yan5 lay5  
Have someone come



'There's someone coming.'

- (2b) m5how2 ley3 yan5dey4ga haan4si3  
 Neg-do mind other-Pl-Gen idle-affair  
 'Don't mind other people's business.'

This general/specific distinction also operates to a limited extent in the case of the second person pronouns. It is often considered more polite to use an address term or kinship term to an unfamiliar or superior addressee rather than *ney3* 'you', which can at times seem too specific and pointed. Perhaps because of this, many speakers prefer to use the plural form *ney3dey4* even when talking to just one person who is a stranger. This makes a question, for instance, less specific and therefore perhaps less personal and pointed, e.g.,

- (3) *ney3dey gey2si5 lay5 ying1gwok3 ne?*  
 you-Pl Wh-time come Ying-country IgPart  
 'When did you come to England?'

Here the questioner may be just interested in when the addressee first came to England, but by making the question seem to include others, such as the addressee's family, it makes it seem as if the speaker is not being too inquisitive but interested in the speaker and his family in a general sort of way. In this kind of usage, the plural suffix seems to adopt the additional conciliatory meaning 'general', and the situation is comparable to the one in English in which the suffix '-self' in 'yourself', though reflexive in form, is mitigating or extra polite in meaning (e.g., 'What about yourself?' to a fellow-guest before helping oneself rather than 'What about you?').

There is one reflexive-emphatic pronoun *ji4geyl* 'oneself', with the genitive/non-genitive distinction described above. It is used either on its own or together with a noun or another pronoun, e.g.,

- I4 (4a) *koey3 ji4geyl jaal ji4geylga cel lay5*  
 He self drive self-Gen car come  
 'He came by driving his own car himself.'
- (4b) *yan5dey4 ji4geyl jaal cel lay5*  
 others-Pl self drive car come  
 'Others are driving themselves here.'

#### 2.1.5. *Honorific system*

The honorific system in nouns is operated by various means, depending on region and background of speaker. One is by means of choice of classifier (e.g., marked *way2* instead of general *go3*).

Another is by the use of respectful address terms to mark real or fictive relationships rather than using someone's name or a pronoun (e.g., *aa3sow2* 'sister-in-law' (brother's wife) to an unknown woman in a shop; *cing1je2* 'Sister Ching' to a servant rather than just her name). Direct use of the word *ney3* 'you' may also be avoided. Practice differs again in the use of kinship terms. Traditionally, older siblings would always be addressed by honorific title instead of by name, but in many modern families this is changing. There are various choices in the use of kinship terms such as between formal, familiar, and nursery, though the distinctions between each category are not always clear. Formal terms would include the full kinship term, familiar terms might adopt the prefix *aa3-* on monosyllabic roots or use partial or total reduplication, while nursery terms use partial or total reduplication (cf. the terms for 'maternal grandmother' and 'uncle' (mother's sister's husband): *ngoy4po5* 'grandmother' (formal), *aa3po5* (less formal or familiar), *po5po2* (nursery); *yi5jeung2* (formal/familiar), *yi2jeung2jeung2*, *jeung5jeung2* (nursery)). Patrilineal and matrilineal distinctions are lexicalized in each generation of kinship terms, not only to denote blood-kin but also to denote relationships made through marriage alliances. Thus, for example, *aa3maa5* 'paternal grandmother' is lexically opposed to *aa3po5* 'maternal grandmother', and *yi5jeung2* ('mother's sister's husband' = 'uncle') is lexically opposed to *gu2jeung2* ('father's sister's husband' = 'uncle'). Seniority is lexicalized in the generation above ego only in paternal relationships, e.g., *aa3paak3* ('father's elder brother' = 'uncle') vs. *aa3suk1* ('father's younger brother' = 'uncle'). To reinforce the seniority distinction where there is more than one uncle of the same kind, a cardinal numeral is sometimes used before the kinship term. In the case of maternal uncles ('mother's brother' = 'kaw3fu2'), the only way to mark seniority is by the use of cardinal numerals before the kinship term. Often, numerals are not used but a form of the uncle's or aunt's name is used before the kinship term. In actual practice, because younger people find these distinctions difficult to operate, cousins who are children of a brother and sister sometimes use the same terms for paternal and maternal uncles and aunts.

#### 2.1.6. *Numerals*

Numerals are cardinal, ordinal, and indefinite. The cardinal numeral 'two' has two forms: *yi4* and *leung3*. *Yi4* is used in straightforward counting (e.g., *yat1*, *yi4*, *saam1* 'one, two, three'); *leung3* is used in the quantification of spatiotemporal and physical objects, especially in combination with a classifier (e.g., *leung3 nin5* 'two years', *leung3 ji1bey1* 'two miles', *leung3 go3 yan5* 'two-Cl-person' (two people)). The cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'ten' are expressed in single free numeral roots. For numerals greater than 'ten', modifier-head endocentric compounds occur alone or together with additive compounds, e.g., *yat1* 'one' + *baak3* 'hundred' = *yat1baak3* 'one hundred' (modifier-head), *baat3* 'eight' + *sap4* 'ten' = *baat3sap4* 'eighty' (modifier-head); *yat1baak3* 'one hundred' + *baat3sap4* 'eighty' = *yat1baak3baat3sap4* 'one hundred and eighty' (additive). The following roots have corresponding bound sandhi forms (shown in brackets) in combinatory contexts: *yi4saap4* (*yaa4-*) 'two-



ten' = 'twenty', saam1sap4 (saalaa4-) 'three-ten' = 'thirty', sey4sap4 (sey3aa4-) 'four-ten' = 'forty', ng3sap4 (ng3aa4-) 'five-ten' = 'fifty', luk4sap4 (luk4aa4-) 'six-ten' = 'sixty', cat1sap4 (cat1aa4-) 'seven-ten' = 'seventy', baat3sap4 (baat3aa4-) 'eight-ten' = 'eighty', gaw2sap4 (gaw2aa4-) 'nine-ten' = 'ninety'. For example, either yi5sap4yi4 or yaa4yi4 may be used to express 'twenty-two'.<sup>30</sup>

The indefinite numeral is either a non-specific free root gey2 'a few' or a specific endocentric or additive compound. In the endocentric compound gey2 occurs initially, modifying the root or stem baak4 'hundred', cin1 'thousand', maan4 'ten thousand', or baak4maan4 'million', e.g., gey2sap4 'a few-ten' = 'a few tens'. In the additive compound gey occurs finally, after a decadic numeral root or stem, e.g., sap4gey2 'ten-a few' = 'ten or so', saalaa4gey2 'thirty-a few' = 'thirty or so', yat1baak3saalaa4gey2 'one hundred-thirty-a few' = 'a hundred and thirty or so'; cin1gey2 'thousand-a few' = 'a thousand or so'.

The ordinal numeral is any numeral prefixed by the ordinal prefix daay4-, e.g., daay4yat1 'first', daay4sap4 'tenth', daay4sap4yi4 'twenty-second'.

## 2.2. Particles and affixes<sup>31</sup>

In both sinological and linguistic literature, as mentioned earlier, the term *particle* is used to include all kinds of bound forms, from affixes to clause or sentence particles, although the term *affix* is also sometimes used. However, in this work, the term *affix* is used to denote a typical property of the word (though the genitive affix can also be part of a genitive noun phrase before a possessed noun), and the term *particle* is narrowed to include only that which is a typical property of structures larger than the word, viz., the relative particle, and clause and sentence particles.

## 2.3. Verbal morphology

### 2.3.1. Aspect

As a morphological class, all verbs with the exceptions<sup>32</sup> of hay4 'be' and existential yaw3 '[there] is'<sup>33</sup> are members of a two-term paradigm: unaspected or aspected, though lexical and phonological

30. Usage varies among speakers, although the sandhi forms are listed as free variants in Huang and Kok (1973: Bk. 1, 18). For instance, in my speech, only the sandhi forms are used in some of these combinations (e.g., yi4sap4yi4 and saam1sap4saam1 would be impossible forms for me, although I use other alternative forms interchangeably, e.g., sey3sap4yi4 and sey3aa4yi4). Other Malayan Cantonese speakers differ again.

31. See also fns. 18, 25, 57, 58, and Yau (1980), Killingley (1982), Kwok (1984), Luke (1990), Law (1991).

32. For detailed studies on aspect in Mandarin and Cantonese, see Kalousková (1964), Kwok (1971), Killingley (1982). Kwok (1971: 44) has probably overlooked these exceptions in stating that theoretically all verbs can be aspected, although she is right in saying that semantic constraints prevent the co-occurrence of certain verbs with certain aspects. See also Hashimoto (1972) for a brief comparison of aspect in Cantonese and other Yue dialects. Certain verbs denoting identity have very limited aspect, e.g., sing3 'is surnamed', giw3jow4 'is named' (i.e., by other than surname), ci3 'is like, resembles'. However, in the first two cases, if someone has changed his name and then reverts to the old name, the reciprocal aspect -faan1 could occur with them. In the case of ci3, combination with the completive aspect -saay3 is possible to express total resemblance to somebody.

33. However, when yaw3 is a full lexical verb, e.g., with the meaning 'to have', it can be aspected: ngo3

constraints prevent the occurrence of certain verbs with certain aspectual affixes, and also decide which aspectual affixes can co-occur. As the criteria for aspectual affixation have not been rigorously established, different writers list different categories with different names.<sup>34</sup> Using the criterion that aspectual affixation is part of the general inflection of all verbs (except hay4), we can set up the following categories, illustrated mainly with one verb nam2 'think, think of', but using others when nam2 does not occur with a certain aspect, or to provide a clearer illustration:

- 1) Progressive -gan2 (e.g., nam2gan2 'thinking').
- 2) Durative -jue4 (e.g., 'nam2' + -jue3 = nam2jue4 'to think of something for a fairly long time). This cannot occur with adjectives.
- 3) Perfective -jo2 (e.g., nam2jo2 'to have thought').
- 4) Initial or limited participation -haa3 (e.g., nam2haa3 'think for the first time or for a limited time').
- 5) Abilitative -dak1 (nam2dak1 'able to think').
- 6) Achievement of goal -dow2, -coet1. (e.g., nam2dow2 'succeeded in thinking of [something]'; nam2coet1 'succeeded in thinking [something] out').<sup>35</sup> This cannot occur with adjectives.
- 7) Achievement of spatiotemporal goal -dow3 (e.g., nam2dow3 'to think until').
- 8) Achievement of unexpected (and undesirable) result -can1 (dit1 'fall' + can1 = 'happened to fall').
- 9) Experiential -gwo3 (e.g., nam5gwo3 'to have thought of something before).
- 10) Iterative -gwo3 (e.g., nam2gwo3 'to reconsider').
- 11) Completive -maay5, -saay3, -yuen5, -how2 (e.g., nam2maay5 'to think inclusively of something'; nam1saay3 'to think exhaustively about something'; nam2yuen5 'to have completed thinking about something'; jow4 'do' + -how2 = jow4how2 'to have finished doing something').

With some verbs, certain combinations of the completive affixes with each other or with other aspectual affixes are possible. For example, -saay3 can occur after either -maay5 or -yuen5 to form a kind of double completive, e.g., nam2maay5saay3 'to think about every aspect of something'. In

yaw3jo2 how2 do1 cin2 'I have-perfective very much money' = 'I have [amassed] a lot of money'.

34. For instance, Kwok (1971: 95) lists an 'immediate future' whose exponent jaw4 is syntactically an adverb (see fn. 21). In addition, there are certain differences in usage among speakers, even of the same variety of Cantonese, in the exponence of the same aspect. For example Yau cites what he thinks is 'un phénomène sous-dialectal', in which tone modification of some tones to tone 2 is used as a perfective marker, like -jo2 (Yau 1980: 15f). Also, his perfective -lok4 (in je3lok4 'a emprunté, a prêt') co-exists with the more usual -jo2, and as well as the progressive -gan2, he also cites -hoy1, which 'est relativement moins fréquent' in usage (Yau 1980: 18f, 20f). This is comparable to the situation in English where we recognize that there are categories of tense, aspect, modality, and negation, but where even speakers of the same dialect (e.g. Standard English) use different forms, e.g., some speakers avoid using unmarked non-past as a narrative present; others do not use *amn't*, *shan't*, *oughtn't*, *usen't* to.

35. Cf. Kwok's 'acompletive' aspect, which includes (6), (7), and (8) and the directional-resultative affix -coet1. However, her gin3 and jeuk4 are really bound roots, not affixes, with the general meanings 'perceive' and 'complete' respectively. As Kwok herself explains, gin3 is only limited to a number of verbs denoting perception, and jeuk4 only occurs in one word, fan4jeuk4 'fallen asleep' (Kwok 1971: 122f).



addition, abilitative -dak1 can occur with -saay3 (e.g., with sik4 'eat': sik4dak1saay3 'able to eat up everything'). Only -maay5 and -yuen5 can occur with perfective -jo2 to form a completive-perfective aspect (e.g., nam2yuen5jo2 'to have completed thinking about something'). Only -saay3 may occur with adjectives.

12) Inchoative -hey3 (e.g., nam2hey2 'to have brought something to mind').<sup>36</sup>

13) Reciprocal-resumptive -faan1 (e.g., nam2faan1 'to think back to something'; ngaak1 'cheat' + -faan1 = ngaak1faan1 'to cheat someone in return').

The absence of aspect in hay4 can perhaps be explained on two counts. First of all, it functions purely as an equative verb to link clausal subjects and complements,<sup>37</sup> e.g.,

(5) ngo3 hay4 sin1saang1  
I be first-NomSf  
'I am the teacher.'

In positive declarative clauses, when the complement is not a noun but an adjective, the verb hay4 is normally deleted at surface structure unless it is optionally retained for emphasis, in conjunction with an intensifier, e.g.,

(6a) ngo3 laan4 (6b) ngo3 (hay4) how2 laan3  
I lazy I (be) very lazy  
'I'm lazy.' 'I'm very lazy.'

In such clauses hay4 is redundant as a predicate marker and the operative predicate is the adjective, which carries any aspectual affixation, e.g.,

(6c) ngo3 (hay4) how2 laan4jo2  
I (be) very lazy-Perf  
'I have become very lazy.'

However, whereas the adjective directly carries negation and interrogation (pp. 26f), if there is no intensifier, these functions shift to hay4 if an intensifier is used before the adjective, e.g.:

(6d) ngo3 m5laan4 (6e) ngo3 m5hay4 how2 laan3  
I Neg-lazy I Neg-be very lazy  
'I'm not lazy.' 'I'm not very lazy.'

36. Kwok's 'disyllabic or trisyllabic inchoative marker' (1971: 109f) hey2 lay5 or hey2 seung3 lay5 are in fact the inchoative -hey3, followed by a combination of directional-resultative suffixes (see pp. 23f below).  
37. See p. 36 for the deletion of hay4 when it is followed by a locative complement.

Secondly, the *valeur* of hay4 is shared by jow4 'be, do', which is capable of aspectual affixation, and this fills any lexical gap occasioned by the inability of hay4 to be aspected. Thus, to express 'I have been a teacher for many years', jow4jo2 'have been' would be used instead of \*hay4jo2.

Aspect is generally marked in the verb in the form of suffixes, up to two being permitted, e.g., sik4 'eat' + -maay {Comp} + -saay3 {Comp} = sik4maay4saay3 'to have completely eaten up'. However, in the case of disyllabic verbs, aspectual affixation normally occurs as infixation between the two normally unsplitable roots of the verb, e.g., faat3siw1 'be feverish' + -jo2 {Perf} = faat3jo2siw1 'to have become feverish'. But in the case of disyllabic causative-resultative verbs (pp. 40f), aspectual affixation occurs as suffixation, e.g., daa2sey2 'beat-die' + -jo2 = daa2sey2jo2 'beat/beaten to death'.

Apart from aspectual affixation, verb affixation is derivational, viz., negative, interrogative and directional-resultative affixation. Negation and interrogation are general to verbs but will be dealt with later under the hyperclass of negative and interrogative words, together with negative and interrogative adjectives and modals. Directional-resultative affixation only affects certain process and action verbs and always follows aspectual affixation. Phonological and lexical restrictions govern the co-occurrence of such verbs and directional-resultative suffixes. The verbs must be monosyllabic verb roots, and a verb like dit3 'fall' does not occur with the directional suffix -yap4 'in' although it can occur with the directional-resultative suffix -coet1 'out' (cf. the non-occurrence of the phrasal verb \**speak in* with the opposite meaning of *speak out* in English). There are two classes of directional-resultative affixes:<sup>38</sup> Class 1 affixes (-coet1 'out', -yap4 'in', -seung3 'up', lok4 'down') and Class 2 affixes (-lay5 'towards' and -hoey3 'away from'), e.g., nam5 'think' + -coet1 'out' = nam2coet1 'think something out', paa5 'crawl' + lay5 'towards' = paay5lay5 'crawl towards'. If such affixes occur together with the same verb root, Class 2 affixes follow Class 1, and both must follow the aspectual affix, if there is one (e.g., nam2 'think' + -jo2 ({Perf}) + -coet1 'out' + -lay5 'towards' = nam2jo2coet1lay5 'to have thought something out'; dit3 'fall' + -gan2 ({Prog}) + -lok4 'down' + lay5 'towards' = dit3gan2lok4lay5 'to have fallen down towards'). All these directional-resultative suffixes have homophones which are semantically and historically related verbs, all of which can be inflected for aspect. If such a homophonous verb takes a directional-resultative suffix, further restrictions apply. Such a verb cannot occur with any Class 1 affix, but only with a Class 2 affix. Thus a verbal form \*coet1yap4 is not possible although that sequence exists as an unsplitable noun compound meaning 'movements'. Furthermore, verbs homophonous with Class 2 affixes may not

38. Kwok's inchoative aspect is a combination of the inchoative affix -hey2 above with these directional-resultative affixes to form one inchoative aspect (Kwok 1971: 95, 109f). Because word and morpheme are not always clearly defined, in the literature on Chinese, some writers treat combinations of verb, aspectual and directional-resultative affixation as 'serial verbs'.



occur with any directional-resultative suffix. Thus a verbal form like \*lay5hoey5 is not possible although that sequence exists as an unsplittable noun word meaning 'whereabouts'.

When talking about verb compounds, even more than when talking about noun and adjective compounds, we are mostly concerned with making etymological statements about how certain words were formed than in showing how new formations might be patterned, since verbs are even less likely than adjectives to be created, in comparison with nouns. The main areas of verb compounding are (1) combination of two verb roots in an additive construction, one or both of which may be bound and (2) combination of transitive root and free noun root as object to form an institutionalized intransitive *conjunct verb*. They are exemplified below in the next two sections.

### 2.3.2. Additive compounds

- 1) Verb root + verb root (e.g., fan1 'divide' + hoy1 'open' = fan1hoy1 'to divide').
  - 2) Bound root + verb root (e.g., sok3 'extort, contorted' + puy5 'repay' = sok3puy5 'to demand indemnity').
  - 3) Bound root + bound root (e.g., laak3 'extract' + sok3 'extort, contorted' = laak3sok3 'to extort').
- Because we can never be certain which roots are still transparent to everyday speakers (as opposed to the Chinese scholar), it is difficult to know when to regard etymologically complex verb compounds as made up of more than one root or to classify them simply as single verb roots of more than one syllable. For example, Cowles (1965) gives the meaning 'suspect' to each of the components of the verb silyi5 'to suspect', but it is arguable how many speakers identify each syllable with a meaning instead of thinking of the whole as having one meaning.<sup>39</sup>

### 2.3.3. Conjunct verbs

These are made up of verb root + noun root as object (e.g., cung1 'flush out, wash' + leung5 'a bath' = cung1leung5 'have a bath, wash oneself'; saw4 'sustain' + fu2 'bitterness, hardship' = saw4fu2 'suffer'; lok4 'to fall' + yue3 'rain' = lok4yue3 'to rain').

This second kind of verb compounding, the formation of intransitive conjunct verbs, appears at first sight to be a verb phrase consisting of a transitive verb and its direct object and it is usually treated as such in the literature. In fact, the conjunct verb behaves differently, because unlike such

39. This is somewhat analogous to deciding if ordinary speakers of English are aware that 'serendipity' is etymologically 'serendip(b)' + '-ity' or that historically 'bishop' and 'episcopal' have a morpheme in common. Quite possibly, some speakers may even erroneously see in the first word the morphemes 'serene' and 'pity', and in the second word the morpheme 'bi-', just as students have told me that they identify the word 'Riding' (as in 'North Riding') with the verbal noun of 'ride' because they are unaware of the etymological 'thridding' from which it developed through sound change. Certainly few would be aware that 'serendipity' was connected with the medieval Arabic name for 'Ceylon' or of its Sanskrit etymology *simhala dvīpa* 'island of the Singhalese' (Yule and Burnell).

a phrase, it cannot undergo a passive transformation in which the noun component becomes the subject of a passive clause. For example, (7a) is possible, but not (7b):

- |      |                                 |             |      |      |                           |      |      |           |
|------|---------------------------------|-------------|------|------|---------------------------|------|------|-----------|
| (7a) | ngo3                            | cung1leung5 |      | (7b) | *leung5                   | bey2 | ngo3 | cung1jo2  |
|      | I                               | wash-a      | bath |      | bath                      | by   | I    | wash-Perf |
|      | 'I have a bath; I wash myself.' |             |      |      | *'A bath is taken by me.' |      |      |           |

The conjunct verb is in fact a single-valency verb (see pp. 37ff) and thus behaves differently from the kind of double-valency verb (usually described as a transitive verb) which occurs in active and passive clauses, e.g.:

- |      |                     |       |           |      |                              |      |      |           |
|------|---------------------|-------|-----------|------|------------------------------|------|------|-----------|
| (8a) | ngo3                | saat3 | low3fu2   | (8b) | low3fu2                      | bey2 | ngo3 | saat3jo2  |
|      | I                   | kill  | old-tiger |      | old-tiger                    | by   | I    | kill-Perf |
|      | 'I kill the tiger.' |       |           |      | 'The tiger is killed by me.' |      |      |           |

The conjunct verb has two interesting features of morphosyntax worth mentioning. First of all, its aspectual affix occurs in the form of an infix between the two components of the verb, e.g., saw2jo2fu3 'suffer-Perf-bitterness' = 'has suffered'. Furthermore, it breaks the general rule of the non-interruptability of words by permitting an interruption by a rank-shifted limiting phrase expressing adverbial function<sup>40</sup> in which a mensural or a spatiotemporal classifier (but not a sortal classifier) can occur:

- |      |  |       |         |         |            |
|------|--|-------|---------|---------|------------|
| (9a) | cung1jo2-                                | [gey2 | pun5]   |         | -leung5    |
|      | wash-Perf                                | [few  | Clmens] |         | bath       |
|      | 'Washed a few times; had a few baths.'   |       |         |         |            |
| (9b) | saw4jo2-                                 | [go2  | saam1   | say3]   | -fu2       |
|      | sustain-Perf                             | [that | three   | Clspat] | bitterness |
|      | 'Suffered for those three incarnations.' |       |         |         |            |

As elsewhere, the problem of homophonous structures presents itself. Certain conjunct verbs are homophonous with the construction transitive verb plus direct object, and must be distinguished from them. For instance, the conjunct verbs duk4sue1 'to study' ('read' + 'book') is often treated in the literature as being identical with the construction transitive verb plus direct object duk4 sue1 'to read a book'. The conjunct verb, as seen above, cannot have the passive transformation, but the construction verb plus object may have it. Also, whereas the word-interrupting adverbial phrase in

40. See also Killingley (1982a: passim, 1983: 94-7) on spatiotemporal classifiers and (1983: 99-106) on the adverbial function of numeral plus verbal classifier.



the conjunct verb can only occur with a mensural or spatiotemporal classifier, the noun phrase object of the transitive word in the non-conjunct verb plus object contains a sortal classifier quantifying the object:

Conjunct verb duk4sue1:

(10a) ngo3 duk4jo2- [ni1 sey3 nin5] -sue1  
 I read-Perf [this four Clspat] book  
 'I have studied for these four years.' (No passive transform possible.)

Homophonous construction verb plus object: duk4 sue1:

(10b) ngo3 duk4jo2 ni1 sey3 bun2 sue1  
 I read-Perf this four Clsort book  
 'I have read these four books', with the passive transform:

(10c) go2 bun2 sue1 bey3 ngo3 duk4jo2  
 that Clsort book by I read-Perf  
 'That book was read by me.'

#### 2.3.4. Negative<sup>41</sup> and interrogative morphemes

Negative and interrogative words embrace three word classes and thus constitute two distribution hyperclasses of negative and interrogative words. Negation and interrogation are mutually exclusive in the same word. Negation is normally marked morphologically by the negative prefix m5- (syllabic bilabial nasal), which occurs with adjectives, modals,<sup>42</sup> and verbs (e.g., fey5 'polite' + m5- = m5fey5 'not fat'; ho2nang5 'can' + m5- = m5ho2nang5 'can't'; sik4 'eat' + m5- = m5sik4 'won't eat', saw4fu2 'suffer' + m5- = m5saw4fu2 'doesn't suffer'). In the case of certain compound verbs of two verb roots, the negative takes the form of an infix (e.g., tay3 'see' + gin3 'perceive' = tay3gin3 'see'; tay2m5gin3 'can't see'). When the negative occurs with yaw3 (whether existential verb '[there] is' or lexical verb 'to have'), it forms the suppletive mow3, not \*m5yaw3. Interrogation is morphologically marked by an infix -m5-, which occurs within a partial or total reduplication of the adjective, modal, and the verb, to form what is often described in the literature as 'A-not-A forms' (e.g., fey5m5fey5 '[Is somebody] fat?'; ho2m5ho2nang5 '[Is it] possible?'; sik4m5sik4 [Does somebody] eat?'; saw4m5saw4fu2 'Doesn't [somebody] suffer?'; teng1m5teng1gin3 'Can [somebody] hear?'). When the interrogative occurs with yaw3, the form is yaw5mow3, not \*yaw3m5yaw3. There are lexical restrictions on the co-occurrence of either the negative<sup>43</sup> or the interrogative affix with

41. For a detailed treatment of negation in Cantonese, see Yau (1980).

42. Modals consist of just one root, and apart from their combination with negative and interrogative and verbs, are no longer mentioned in this section on morphology.

43. In the literature this is sometimes erroneously stated in terms of non-occurrence of negative with aspect, e.g., Yau (1980: 31), Killingley (1982: 186).

certain aspectual affixes in the adjective and the verb, especially with the perfective -jo2 or the progressive -gan2. However, either the negative or the interrogative can occur with certain aspected adjectives and verbs, for instance, with the abilitative aspect -dak (e.g., m5fey5dak1 'can't get fat'; m5sik4dak1 'can't eat'; fey5m5fey5dak1 'Can [somebody] get fat?'; sik4m5sik4dak1 'Can [somebody] eat? Can [something] be eaten?'; m5saw4dak1fu2 'unable to suffer'; saw4m5saw4dak1fu2 'Is [somebody] able to suffer?'). We shall return to the subject of negation and interrogation as syntactic features in section 3.3. (pp. 34ff).

#### 2.4. Adverbs

As mentioned earlier in relation to word and character (pp. 10f), whereas the etymological and scriptorial nature of Chinese forces each syllable into a 'meaning' mould which will be significant to the Chinese scholar, it is sometimes necessary to ignore that kind of 'meaning' when describing the modern language, for it is nothing more than a vehicle for writing in characters. This is certainly the case with many adverbs, such as yi4gaal 'now' (with the 'meanings' 'yet' and 'family' cited earlier) and yi3ging1 'already' (with the 'meanings' 'already' and 'caution'). However, certain other adverbs of time and also of location are formed in more transparent ways which would justify the recognition of individual morphemes as components. For instance, temporal adverbs are often formed by the combination of free temporal nouns preceded by a bound temporal specifier root (e.g., gam1- 'present, this' + maan4 'night' = gam1maan3 'tonight'; kam5- 'yester-' + yat4 'day' = kam5yat4 'yesterday'). And locative adverbs are formed by free or bound deictic roots (which may be Wh-morphemes) combining with bound locative roots (e.g., ni1 'this' + -dow4 'place' = 'here'; bin1 'where' + -sue3 'place' = 'where'; haa4- 'under' + -bin4 'side' = haa4bin4 'down';<sup>44</sup> coet1- 'out' + -bin4 'side' = coet1bin4 'outside'). There is an obvious historical and semantic relationship between bound locative roots like coet1-, the directional-resultative suffixes mentioned earlier, and homophonous full verbs (see Killingley 1982: 187ff).

An interesting morphological feature of adverbs is their tendency to be formed from other word classes by means of partial tone modification and/or total or partial reduplication. Examples of adverb formation are as follows:

- 1) From a noun, with tone modification (e.g., juen1mun5 'a specialist' + TM = juen1mun2 'especially').
- 2) From an adjective with tone modification (e.g., lap4luen4 'confused, disordered' + TM = lap4luen2 'disorderedly').

44. -bin4 is a bound form because it has a modified tone. The free form meaning 'side' is bin1.



3) Reduplicated adjective stem not denoting colour<sup>45</sup> + suffix -dey2 '-ish' (e.g., gwaay1gwaay1dey2 'in the manner of a good (child)'; how2how2dey2 'in a considerate manner').

4) Adjective root not denoting colour plus an adverbial suffix -dit1<sup>46</sup> (e.g., faay3 'fast' + -dit1 = faay3dit1 'quickly').

5) Reduplication of certain monosyllabic adjective roots not denoting colour, with or without tone modification on one of the roots (e.g., maan4 'slow' + R and TM = maan4maan2 'slowly'; ngaam1 'suitable' + R = ngaam1ngaam1 'by coincidence').

6) Reduplication of disyllabic adjective root or stem (e.g., si1man5 'elegant, polite' + R = si1si1man5man5 'elegantly, politely'; haak3hey3 'polite, reticent' + R = haak3haak3hey3hey3 'politely, with reticence').

In all these kinds of adverb formation, lexical and collocational restrictions govern specific occurrences of the above possibilities.

### 3. Syntax

#### 3.1. Noun phrases and classifier phrases

When the noun occurs alone, it can either denote generic reference (e.g., yan5 how2 'mankind good' = 'Mankind is good') or specific reference (e.g., yan5 lay5 'person come' = 'Someone is coming'). More usually, the noun has to be preceded by two elements of phrase structure (possessive pronoun, deictic, Wh-word, or quantifier plus classifier). The noun and the classifier<sup>47</sup> can occur in combination with each other and with other word classes to form a variety of structures which can be the subject or object of transitive verbs in a clause. Two of the most interesting kinds of phrase structure involving nouns and classifiers are (1) *relativization* and (2) *reduplication and conjunction*, dealt with below in the next two sections.

##### 3.1.1 Relativization

Relativization occurs when a clause is subordinated to phrase structure by its occurrence as a pre-head modifier of a classified noun phrase or classifier phrase, e.g.:

(11a) kam5yat4 lay5 go2 go3 yan5  
yester-day come that Clsort person  
'The person who came yesterday.'

45. As explained above (p.17), a reduplicated adjective denoting colour + -dey2 yields the *adjectival* form ending in '-ish', e.g., hung5hung5dey2 'reddish'.

46. To be distinguished from -dit1, the homophonous allomorph of the comparative morpheme, which occurs with all adjectives.

47. For a detailed study, see Killingley (1983).

(11b) kam5yat4 lay5 go2 go3  
yester-day come that Clsort  
'The one who came yesterday.'

When a classifier phrase is not used, relativization involves the relative particle ge3, which has the same morphophonemic features as the genitive affix dealt with in sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.4 on pp. 14, 17ff (i.e., ga before another word, ge3 before pause or silence).<sup>48</sup> Its function is to subordinate phrases and clauses as modifiers of a head within the phrase in a recursive series of embedding. It is like the relative pronoun in English which subordinates a clause as post-head modifier in structures like 'the man [head] whom I saw yesterday'. However, in Cantonese the subordinated structure comes before the noun head, not after it. Examples are:

(12a) kam5yat4 lay5 ga yan5  
yester-day come Rel person  
'The person who came yesterday.'

The noun head itself could be deleted in such phrases, e.g., in reply to a question like 'bin1go3?'<sup>49</sup> 'who?', the answer would be:

(12b) kam5yat4 ley5 ge3  
yester-day come Rel  
'[The person] who came yesterday.'

Relativization is more complex when the relative structure occurs after the classifier in a classifier phrase or noun phrase. Such phrases can include an indefinite number of intensifier plus adjective words and an indefinite number of relative phrases or clauses, with right-most movement of the relative particle in the noun phrase, as follows:<sup>50</sup>

{{(GenPn) (Dc/Wh-wd)} (Q) Cl {(Int + Adj)<sup>n</sup> (Rel)<sup>n</sup> N}, e.g.:

(13a) koey3<sup>51</sup> ni1 sey3 gaan1 how2 gow1 how2 daay4 ga uk1  
his this four Clsort very tall very big Rel house  
'These four very tall houses of his which are very big.'

48. See also fn.25.

49. The compound Wh-word bin1go3 'who' must be distinguished from the simple Wh-word bin1 plus the classifier go3 in the phrase bin1 go3 'which one?'. Whereas the Wh-word (like bin1sue3 'where?') is un-interruptible, the phrase can be interrupted by a quantifier, e.g. bin1 gey2 go 'which few ones?'

50. For detailed treatment of this and the following topics on classifiers, see Killingley (1983: 10ff).

51. When the genitive pronoun is used with a classifier, the genitive suffix is deleted at surface structure (i.e., koey3ga3 uk1 and koey3 gaan1 uk1 'his house', but not \*koey3ga gaan1 uk1). See also Killingley 1983: 10 and earlier comments on the deletion of the genitive suffix with familiar kinship terms (p. 17).



Instead of a noun phrase we can also have a classifier phrase, referring back to an understood noun, e.g., (13a) above with deletion of the noun head uk1 'house', with the same meaning. In that case, the relative particle would occur as ge3:

(13b) koey3 nil sey3 gaan1 how2 gow1 how2 daay4  
 his this four Clsort very tall very big  
  
 ji3waa4 maay3jo2 ge3<sup>52</sup>  
 just buy-Perf Rel [house]  
 'These four very tall and very big [houses] of his that he has just bought.'

### 3.1.2. Reduplication and conjunction

The reduplicated classifier word, as we saw on p. 15, means 'every noun to which the classifier refers.' This can be used in a reduplicated classifier phrase in an infinitely recursive series, usually for rhetorical purposes (perhaps to emphasize comprehensiveness), e.g., tiw5tiw5 jek3jek3 go3go3 faay3faay3 baa2baa2 gaw4gaw4 doey3doey3...[bin3saay3], 'RCI RCI RCI ...[changed]' = 'Every noun1, noun2, noun3, etc., [has changed].' The reduplicated classifier can also be used in various ways with enumerating function to mean 'every' in the noun phrase, e.g., gaan1gaan1 uk1 'RCI house' = 'every house'. The reduplicated classifier occurs in complementary distribution with the deictic/Wh-word and quantifier. For example, in (13a) above, if instead of deictic, quantifier and classifier nil sey3 gaan1 'these four', we used the reduplicated classifier gaan1gaan1, we would have the phrase koey3 gaan1gaan1 how2 gow1 how3 daay4 ji3waa4 maay3jo2 ga uk1 'every very tall, very big house of his which he has just bought'.

Whereas classifiers, whether sortal or mensural, may be reduplicated in this way, only the noun root yan5 may be reduplicated to form an indefinite universal pronoun 'everyone' (see *pronouns*, p. 17) There is, however, a certain lexical set of semantically-linked nouns, the members of which can be conjoined as phrases by juxtaposition in a certain fixed order for each pair (see Killingley 1977: 100f), e.g., toy3 dang3 'table chair' = tables and chairs, saan1 soey2 'mountain water' =

52. If more than one relative phrase or clause had been used, each would have ended with a pause and would therefore have used the ge3 allomorph until the one just before the noun head, e.g.:

how2 gow2 ge3, mow3 yan5 jue4gwo3 ge3, jilwaa3 maay3  
 very tall Rel, Neg-have person live-Exp Rel, just buy

Rel house  
 ga uk1  
 'The very tall house which nobody has lived in before and which has just been bought'.

'mountains and lakes', maaw1 gaw2 'cats dogs' = 'cats and dogs'. For these nouns, this kind of conjunction is in addition to the alternative of using the conjunction tung5maay5 'and', which is normal for all other nouns. These semantically-linked nouns may be reduplicated to form larger coordinative phrases to mean 'lots of', e.g., toy2 toy2 dang3 dang3 'lots of tables and chairs', saan1 saan1 soey3 soey3 'lots of mountains and lakes', maaw1 maaw1 gaw2 gaw2 'lots of cats and dogs'. Expectedly, since these are set phrases, the reverse order of reduplicated coordination is not possible, e.g., not \*dang3 dang3 toy2 toy2 to mean 'chairs and tables'.

### 3.2. Modal, adjective and verb phrases

Apart from its occurrence with negative and interrogative morphemes (p. 26 above), the one-root modal is not interesting morphologically. The following can be listed as modals, although again there is disagreement among writers as to their identity and membership: hay4 'is, are', yaw3 'have, has', ho2nang3, ho2yi3, nang5gaw3, wuy3 'can, able to', oy3, yiw3, seung2 'want to, wish to', hang2 'willing to', ying1goy1 'should, ought to', gaam2 'dare to', and how2 'do'.<sup>53</sup> In certain cases, up to two modals can combine to form a modal phrase, e.g., ying1goy1 ho2nang4 'should be able to'. Certain lexical restrictions govern the occurrence or non-occurrence of individual adjectives and verbs with particular modals, the occurrence of yaw3 and hay4 being particularly problematical. Modal hay4 and yaw3 are homophonous with the full lexical verbs hay4 'be', existential yaw3 '[there] is' and full lexical verb yaw3 'have'. Both modal hay4 and modal yaw3 are often used for emphasis (e.g., ngo3 hay4 yiw3 go2 bun2 'I do want that Cl' = 'I do want that [book]'), and modal yaw3 is often used with an aspected verb (e.g., ngo3 yaw3 lay5gwo3 'I have come-Exp' = 'I have come before'). A commonly held view is that neither occurs with adjectives but only with verbs.<sup>54</sup> However, although this is true of modal yaw3, there is a problem with modal hay4. It may be possible that modal hay4 does occur with adjectives, but is often taken for the full equative verb hay4, which is in fact deleted whenever modal hay4 occurs with it. If we say that modal hay4 never occurs with adjectives in predicates, we cannot account for occurrences which are parallel to modal hay4 before verbs, e.g., koey3 hay4 seung2 lay5 'he be wish come' = 'He does want to come'; koey3 hay4 seung2 fey5 'he be wish fat' = 'He wants to be fat'. The problems concerning the occurrence of hay4 as a modal with adjectives are too complex to consider fully in this work, but they stem from the fact that adjective complements, unlike noun complements, normally occur without the overt expression of the full equative verb hay4, which is deleted at surface structure (see p 22), e.g., ngo3 fey5 'I fat' = 'I'm fat'; ngo3 m5fey5 'I Neg-fat' = 'I'm not fat'; cf. ngo3 hay4 sin1saang1 'I be

53. In its positive form how2 is only used in answering questions like how2m5how2 coet1mun2 'Shall [I] go out?', to which the answer can either be how2 'yes/do' or m5how2 'no/don't'. Normally, it occurs in the negative form in imperative clauses, as in m5how2 coet1mun2 'Don't go out.'

54. See Kwok 1971: 79ff for a discussion of yaw3 and hay4 as 'non-modal auxiliaries'.



first-NomSf = 'I am the teacher'; ngo3 m5hay4 sin1saang1 'I Neg-be first-NomSf = 'I'm not the teacher'. In the nominal complement, equative hay4 may be stressed in order to carry emphasis. In the adjectival complement, hay4 is retrieved in order to carry emphasis (together with an intensifier), or marked negation and interrogation (ngo3 fey3 'I fat' = 'I'm fat'; ngo3 hay4 how2 fey4 'I be very fat' = '[I assert that] I'm very fat'; ngo3 m5hay4 how2 fey5 'I Neg-be very fat' = 'I'm not very fat'; ngo3 hay5m5hay5 how2 fey5? 'I be-Ig-be very fat' = 'Am I [really] very fat?' ). Then, when modalities of negation and interrogation are expressed by means of modals (not by morphological means), or when other modalities such as possibility or wishing are expressed by means of modals, modal hay4 takes over, with deletion of equative verb hay4:

(14a) koey3 hay4 seung2 [hay4-deletion?] fey5  
 he is wish [be-deletion?] fat  
 'He does wish to be fat.'

(14b) koey3 m5hay4 seung2 [hay4-deletion?] fey5  
 he Neg-is wish [be-deletion?] fat  
 'He doesn't wish to be fat.'

(14c) koey3 hay4m5hay5 seung2 [hay4-deletion?] fey5  
 he is-Ig-is wish [be-deletion?] fat  
 'Does he wish to be fat?'

Both adjectives and verbs may occur in predicates with a modal, though lexical restrictions govern which modals may occur with which adjectives and which verbs. Also, at the morpho-syntactic level, such restrictions govern which aspectual affixes may co-occur with which modals and whether a verb or adjective with a modal must be unaspected. For instance, hang2 'willing to' only occurs with an unaspected adjective or verb (hang5 fey5 'willing to get fat'; hang2 lay5 'willing to come'). Syntactically, as well as morphologically, although there are similarities between the adjective and the verb, they can be distinguished. Adjectives can be modified by intensifiers whereas verbs can be modified by adverbs. Thus fey5 'fat' can be premodified by the intensifier how2 'very' (how2 fey5 'very fat') while lay5 'come' can be premodified by the adverb juen1 dang1 'deliberately' (juen1 dang1 lay5 'deliberately come').

Special problems arise with the occurrence of the word mey5 'not yet' (with variants mey5cang5, meng5) before verbs, often preceded by the adverb jung4 'still', e.g., jung5 mey5 lay5 'still Neg-yet come' = '[Somebody] still hasn't arrived yet'. It appears to have the properties of a negative modal which does not have a corresponding positive form since it can occur before verbs, but unlike a modal, it cannot occur with the interrogative infix (\*mey5m5mey5), and it can also occur at the end of interrogative clauses, e.g., ley5jo2 mey5 'come-Perf Neg-yet' = 'Has [somebody] come yet?' This

example makes mey5 seem like a clause particle, but then a clause particle never occurs before a verb, and unlike mey5, which has inherent tone, clause particles are toneless. Also, in answer to the question sik4jo2 mey5 'eat-Perf Neg-yet' = 'Have [you] eaten yet?', one can say either sik4jo2 'eat-Perf' = 'Yes, I've eaten' or 'mey5 [sik4]' 'No, I haven't [eaten] yet'. But if a particle is used, e.g., ney3 sik4 caaw2faan4 maa? 'you eat fried-rice IgPart' = 'Do you eat fried rice?', the answer must use the verb, not the particle i.e., either sik4 'eat' = 'yes' or m5sik4 'Neg-eat' = 'no' (never maa). So what is mey5? Yau (1980: 36f) provides part of the answer when he points to its function in negating the verb with the perfective aspect -jo2, as we can see with the examples above. In fact, mey5 also negates verbs with the experiential aspect, e.g., ngo3 sik4gwo3 caaw2faan4 'I eat-Exp fried-rice' = 'I have eaten fried rice before' vs. ngo3 mey5 sik4gwo3 caaw2faan4 'I Neg-yet eat-Exp fried rice' = 'I haven't eaten fried rice before'.

Certain syntactic devices can be used as alternatives to morphological features to express features of the verb, such as aspect, modality, adverbial function, negation, and interrogation. A modal may be used instead of aspect, e.g. nang5gaw3 fey5 'able to get fat', nang5gaw3 lay5 'able to come' instead of fey5dak1 and lay5dak1 respectively. Instead of negative and interrogative affixation on the adjective or verb, negative and interrogative modals may be used with an adjective or a verb, e.g., 'can't get fat' can be expressed by means of negative modal plus adjective m5ho2nang5 fey5 'Neg-can fat' instead of m5fey5dak 'Neg-fat-Abil'; 'Can [somebody] come?' can be expressed by means of an interrogative modal plus verb ho2m5ho2nang5 lay5 instead of lay5m5lay5. Certain adverbial functions are in complementary distribution with certain verbal aspects. For example, instead of using the aspectual affix -haa3, a combination of certain numerals with the distribution class of verbal classifiers consisting of verbs and spatiotemporal classifiers (Killingley 1983: 99ff) may be used to express an adverbial of isolated or repeated action (e.g., nam2 yat1 nam2/haa3 'think one Clverbal' = 'think once, think [about something] first').<sup>55</sup> Another interesting kind of adverbial function is that of frequency, which we shall look at briefly. The frequentative verb phrase<sup>56</sup> is formed by the juxtaposition of two verbs with semantically opposed directional-resultative suffixes to denote logical progression of some kind performed repetitively, with optional pause and/or the conjunction yaw4 'also' to link them, e.g.:

55. Kwok (1971: 49ff) merely treats this as reduplication of the monosyllabic verb root as a phrase, with or without tone modification on the first syllable. She neither connects it with -haa3, her 'momentaneous' aspect (pp. 95ff) nor with the occurrence of yat1 'one' with a verbal classifier, although she suggests (p. 50) that 'the reduplicated verb contains in fact the numeral yat 'one'...absorbed in rapid speech'.

56. In Killingley (1982: 183ff), this was wrongly treated as a frequentative word.



(15) haang4gan2seung3 (pause) (yaw4) haang4gan2log4  
 walk-Prog-up also walk-Prog-down  
 'walking up and down'

It is probably a lexical restriction that only the progressive aspect -gan2 can occur (before the directional-resultative affix) in such verbs in order to express this repeated and unfinished action. For the same reason, perhaps, certain verbs do not enter into this phrase construction even if they can occur with directional-resultative affixes.

### 3.3. Negation and interrogation

Negation and interrogation are closely linked together, affecting morphosyntactic features of the adjective and verb as well as the co-occurrence of clause particles<sup>57</sup> and clause intonation. In the predicate phrase, the movement of both the negative m5- and the interrogative -m5- is left-most, moving from the adjective or verb to the modal, e.g.:

#### Adjectives and verbs Leftward movement of negative and interrogative

fey5 'fat'	m5fey; m5hay4 fey 'isn't fat'; fey5m5fey5; hay4m5hay4 fey5 'Is [somebody] fat?'
lay5 'come'	m5lay5; m5hay4 lay5 'isn't coming'; lay5m5lay5; hay4m5hay5 lay5 'Is [somebody] coming?'

Various permutations of the above are possible to form double or triple negatives (though these may sometimes be difficult to contextualize) involving one or two negative modals with a negative adjective or verb, e.g., m5hay4 fey5 'Neg-is fat' = '[Somebody] isn't fat'; m5hay4 m5ho2nang5 fey5 'Neg-is Neg-can fat' = 'It isn't the case that [somebody] can't get fat'; m5hay4 m5ho2nang5 m5fey5 'Neg-is Neg-can Neg-fat' = 'It isn't the case that [somebody] can't not get fat' (i.e., 'It's not that he can't avoid getting fat'); m5hay4 m5ho2nang5 m5lay5 'Neg-is Neg-can Neg-come' 'It isn't the case that [somebody] is unable to not come' (i.e., 'It's not that he is unable to avoid coming'). When the interrogative occurs with a negative it assumes the left-most position, e.g., hay5m5hay5 m5hang2 lay5 'Is [somebody] unwilling to come?' Certain aspectual affixes (especially the progressive and the perfective) are excluded from co-occurrence with the negative or interrogative when it is directly a part of the verb morphology (e.g. \*m5fey5jo2; \*lay5m5lay5gan2). The negative and interrogative must move leftwards in such cases to the modal hay4 (e.g., m5hay4 fey5jo2 '[Somebody] hasn't got fat', hay4m5hay4 lay5gan2 'Is [somebody] coming?').

57. Clause (but not sentence) particles and verbal affixes are mutually exclusive.

The morphological marking of the predicate for negation and interrogation is sometimes in complementary distribution to the occurrence of certain clause particles and clause intonation patterns to express marked or unmarked interrogation in positive and negative clauses, the possible translations below indicating different possible forms of marked or unmarked interrogation.<sup>58</sup> For instance, instead of using a morphologically marked interrogative clause, a declarative clause can be used with an interrogative clause particle and different clause intonation contours to mark interrogation:

(16a) koey3 lay5 maa + unmarked Inton  
 He come IgPart + unmarked Inton  
 'Is he coming?' (Alternative to koey3 lay5m5lay5; \*koey3 lay5m5lay5 maa is not acceptable.)

In the case of a negative declarative clause, aa instead of maa must occur to denote interrogation.

(16b) koey<sup>I</sup> m5lay5 aa + F Inton I 3  
 he Neg-come IgPart for Neg clause + F Inton  
 '[Do you mean] he's not coming?' (Alternative to koey3 hay4m5hay4 m5lay5.)

The morphologically marked interrogative clause may occur with aa to mean further marked interrogation, but the intonation contour must be different, e.g., koey3 lay5m5lay5 aa + HL Inton = 'Is he [or isn't he] coming? [I'm fed-up of waiting]'.

All the above forms of interrogation are forms of Yes/No questions, which can take one of the following forms. For the sake of simplicity, the following summary will be given only in relation to verbs, not adjectives:

1) Use of interrogative infix in the verb, to which the answer must be a positive verb to mean 'yes' or a negative verb to mean 'no', e.g., lay5m5lay5 'Coming?' yields the answer lay5 'yes' or m5lay5 'no'.

58. Clause particles and sentence particles are not always distinguished in the literature from each other or from affixes, resulting in a certain degree of confusion. Clause particles are part of the modality of clauses, marking functions like negation, interrogation, imperativeness, whereas sentence particles are part of discourse structure involving functions like paragraph marking, change of focus and emphasis, turn-takings in conversation. See Killingley (1982: 201ff), Kwok (1984), Luke (1990), Law (1991).



2) Use of the interrogative modal<sup>59</sup> hay4m5hay4 (or hay4may4) before a main verb, to which the answer is hay4 'yes' or m5hay4 (or may4) 'no': e.g., hay5m5hay4 lay5 'Is [someone] coming?' yields the answer hay4 'yes' or m5hay4 (may4) 'no'.

3) Use of interrogative yaw3mow4 with the aspected verb, to which the answer must be yaw3 'yes' or mow3 'no', e.g., koey3 yaw3mow3 ley5gwo 'he has-Ig come-Perf' = 'Has he come before?', which yields the answer yaw3 'yes' or mow3 'no'.

4) Use of the positive verb with an interrogative clause particle, to which the answer must be the positive verb to mean 'yes' or the negative verb to mean 'no', e.g., lay5 maa? 'come IgPart' = 'Coming?' yields the answer lay5 'yes' or m5lay5 'no'.

Instead of marking the predicate with an interrogative, a Wh-word can be used with non-interrogative verbs, e.g., bin1go3 lay5 'who come' = 'Who's coming?', dim2gaay3 koey3 lay5 'why he come' = 'Why is he coming?'

The distribution of equative verb hay4 and its homophonous modal hay4 is too complex to be dealt with satisfactorily in a work such as this. There are many more problems which we have not raised, but there is one more which should be mentioned briefly because it could provide a better solution to the present treatment of hay2 (Malayan Cantonese hey2) as a special case of 'locative verb' (e.g., see Kwok 1971, Killingley 1982) in examples like ngo3 hay2 loen5doen1 'I in London' = 'I'm in London'. This occurrence is sometimes distinguished from the prepositional hay2 loen5doen 'in London' on the grounds that whereas the putative verb can receive the negative affix, the preposition cannot. However, treating hay2 as a verb is unsatisfactory because unlike all verbs except hay4 and existential yaw3, hay2 cannot be aspected. Is hay2 after all a preposition which sometimes receives the negative affix? Perhaps the answer could lie in one of two alternatives. (1) Earlier (p. 22, pp. 31f), we saw that the full equative verb hay4 'be' is normally deleted before an adjectival complement except for emphasis, and the negative and interrogative are carried by the adjective, e.g., ngo3 laan4 'I lazy' = 'I'm lazy'; ngo3 m5laan3 'I Neg-lazy' = 'I'm not lazy'; ney3 gwuy4m5gwuy4 'you tired-Ig-tired' = 'Are you tired?'; ngo3 hay4 how2 laan4 'I be very lazy' = 'I'm very lazy'. Perhaps in the same way, we can account for occurrences like ngo3 hay2 loen5doen1 'I in London' = 'I'm in London', ngo3 m5hay2 loen5doen1 'I Neg-in London' 'I'm not in London', koey3 hay2m5hay2 loen5doen1 'he in-Ig-in London' = 'Is he in London?'. We could say that equative hay4 is deleted at surface structure when a subject has a locative complement, and that the negative is then carried by the preposition hay2. Then, for emphasis, as in the case of nominal and

59. Other uses of hay4m5hay4 include its use after certain assertions, with the intention of asking for confirmation, to which the answers are again hay4 or m5hay, comparable to certain uses of 'n'est-ce pas?' in French, e.g.:

koey3 seng5yat4 dow1 jung3 say3man1jay2, hay4m5hay4  
 he always also spoil children is-Ig-is  
 'He always spoils children, don't you think?'

adjectival complements, the equative hay4 is retrieved, and the negative and interrogative affixes move leftwards on to it, e.g., ngo3 hay4 hay2 loen5doen1. 'I'm in London [not elsewhere]'; ngo3 m5hay4 hay2 loen5doen1 'I'm not in London'; ney3 hay4m5hay4 hay2 loen5doen1 'Are you [really] in London?' (2) Alternatively, we could simply say that where equative hay4 occurs in an unemphatic form followed by prepositional hay2, a sandhi form of the verb hay4, viz., hay2, is produced, which would account for its inability to be aspected.

### 3.4. Clauses

The clause may be defined (1) in terms of its internal composition and (2) by its potential syntactic function as a sentence at the discourse level. A clause may be independent or dependent. An independent clause does not contain any subordinators, either in the form of prosodies like non-final intonation or words like subordinating conjunctions. An example of a dependent clause is the relative clause, which is subordinated by the particle ga/ge3 as part of a classifier or noun phrase. Internally, the clause consists of a string of clause elements, one of which must be a predicate in the form of a verb phrase or an adjective phrase, e.g., sik4gan2 '[Somebody] is eating'; fey5jo2 '[Somebody] has got fat'. Another way of stating this is that the predicate is always a verb phrase, but in equative clauses expressing *A is B*, the verb hay4 'be' is deleted when the complement is an adjective or locative phrase. The predicate also largely determines the grammatical polarity (positive vs. negative) and modality (declarative vs. imperative vs. interrogative) of the clause as well as the scale of modalities projected by the attitude of the speaker (e.g., emphasis, wishing, commitment to certainty). However, the occurrence of other elements outside the predicate (e.g., Wh-words, clause particles) can also account for the modality of clauses. All other elements of clause structure are optional, e.g., subject, object, adverbial, and the occurrence of each depends on the nature of the predicate in terms of its valency. For instance, with zero-valency verbs like lok4yue3 'to rain' and existential yaw3 '[there] is', there can be neither subject nor object. With single-valency predicates consisting of adjectives or verbs like sey2 'die', there can be a subject but no object. With double-valency verbs like yam2 'drink', there is the possibility of subject and direct object. And with triple-valency verbs like bey2 'give', there is the possibility of subject, direct object and indirect object. An example of an independent declarative clause with a triple-valency verb is given below to demonstrate the order of clause elements:

(17) gamlyat<sup>I</sup> hay2 nil dow3 nil way2 silsaang1  
 to-day (A) at here-place (A) this Cl first-NomSf (S)

juen1dang1 bey2 go2 go3 hok4saang1 yat1 bun2 sue1  
 deliberately (A) give(V) that Cl1 study-NomSf(O<sub>1</sub>) a Cl1 book(O<sub>2</sub>)  
 'Today, here, this teacher deliberately gave that pupil a book.'

The order of clause elements shown above has interesting implications for the often quoted theory that Cantonese, unlike Mandarin, has a direct object-indirect object word order, and this is



sometimes held to be one difficulty faced by Cantonese language learners of Mandarin (e.g., DeFrancis 1984: 151f). In fact the order shown above (indirect object-direct object) is normal for Cantonese. What the prevailing theory has failed to take into account is that the order of direct object vis-à-vis indirect object depends on various factors, e.g., (1) on whether the objects (especially the direct object) occur as a single noun or a noun phrase and on whether the indirect object is a pronoun; (2) on the lexical choice of verbs and their valency; and (3) on the shift of focus of the speaker, which is related to considerations of discourse analysis. Shift of focus in discourse can also be handled in terms of topic and comment, but for reasons of space this approach is not discussed. The following examples demonstrate some of these considerations, the details of which cannot be examined here:

- (18a) sinlsaang1 bey2 cin2 ney3  
 first-NomSf (S) give (V) money (N as O<sub>d</sub>) you (Pn as O<sub>i</sub>)  
 (Not \*sinlsaang1 bey2 ney3 cin2  
 first-NomSf give you (O<sub>i</sub>) money (O<sub>d</sub>)  
 'The teacher gives you money.'

Unlike (17), (18a) has direct object-indirect object word order, but this is again reversed if the direct object is a noun phrase:

- (18b) sinlsaang1 bey2 ney3 how2 do1 cin2  
 first-NomSf(S) give(V) you(Pn as O<sub>i</sub>) very much money(NP as O<sub>d</sub>)  
 (Not \*sinlsaang1 bey2 how2 do1 cin2 ney3  
 first-NomSf give very much money (O<sub>d</sub>) you (O<sub>i</sub>)  
 'The teacher gives you a lot of money.'

Unlike 'give' in English, the verb bey2 (and a few other verbs like jaang1 'owe') does not occur with an indirect object marked by a preposition to form an adverbial of goal (cf. English 'I gave *him* a book; I gave a book *to him*'). However, the majority of triple-valency verbs in Cantonese mark the indirect object with a preposition bey2, e.g., sung5...bey2 'present [something]...to [somebody]', jow4...bey2 'make [something]...for [somebody]', je3...bey2 'lend [something]...to [somebody]'. Although it is more normal for the direct object to occur before the indirect object in clauses using such verbs, as in (19), the order may be reversed for a shift of focus:

- (19) sinlsaang1 sung1 yat1 bun1 suel bey2 hok3saang1  
 first-NomSf (S) present (V) one Cl book (O<sub>d</sub>) to study-NomSf  
 (Prep + O<sub>i</sub>)  
 'The teacher presents a book to the pupil.'

The focus here is on the fact that a book (and nothing else) was given to the pupil, but the order of direct object and prepositionally-marked indirect object can be reversed in order to shift the emphasis to the presenting and receiving process between the teacher and the pupil, the book being an incidental part of that process. This seems to be a more marked word order, and we should conclude that the order direct object-indirect object in (19) is a more normal one.

Considerations of voice can also be related to changes in valency. As in English, voice can sometimes mark emphasis or focus. Often it is the passive, not the active, which appears more normal, the active requiring strenuous justification by marked contextualization (cf. 'I was stunned by his manner' vs. 'His manner stunned me'; 'He was denied water' vs. 'Somebody denied him water'). In the same way, in Cantonese, passives with the impersonal pronoun yan5 are more normal than the active, e.g.: bey2 yan5 daa2 'by someone beat' = '[You will be] beaten by someone' can be said to warn a naughty child, but not the corresponding active yan5 daa2 ney3 'someone beats you'. Likewise, the common saying to a good child bey2 yan5 sek3 'by someone love' = '[You are] loved by everybody' does not have a corresponding active yan5 sek3 ney3 'Someone loves you'.

Verbs with zero or single valency can only occur in active clauses, e.g., existential yaw3 '[there] is', lok4yue3 '[It] is raining', sey2 'die', and the conjunct verbs dealt with in 2.3.3. This is also true of equative and stative verbs with a double valency, e.g., hay4 'be', ci3 'resemble', sing3 'is surnamed'. However some (though by no means all) verbs which sometimes have single valency and sometimes double or triple valency can occur in both active and passive clauses, e.g., sik4 'eat, take', je3 'borrow, lend'. Double-valency verbs can occur in either personal or impersonal passive clauses, depending on whether the optional agent plus agent marker bey2 'by' (shown below in brackets) is specified, but triple-valency verbs can only occur in personal passive clauses. When the impersonal passive occurs, there can be structural ambiguity because of a surface resemblance between such passives and actives with aspected verbs. But when (20a) and (20b) occur as impersonal passives, there is no structural ambiguity because neither sung3 'meat etc.' nor yeuk4 'medicine' can eat:

- (20a) sung3 (bey2 ngo3) sik4saay3  
 meat/vegetables/a dish (by me) eat-Comp  
 'The dish was all eaten up (by me).'  
 (Cf. the active clause (ngo3) sik4saay3 sung3 '(I) ate up the whole dish.')
- (20b) yeuk4 (bey2 no3) sik4saay3  
 medicine (by me) take-Comp  
 'The medicine was finished (by me).'  
 (Cf. the active clause (ngo3) sik4saay3 yeuk4 '(I) took all the medicine.')

However, if the impersonal passive had maaw1 'cat' as the subject, structural ambiguity occurs, because maaw1 sik4saay3 can either mean (1) 'The cat is eaten up' (since cats are eaten by some



Chinese people, especially as a cure for asthma) or (2) 'The cat has eaten [something] up'. This is somewhat like the situation in English where the subject in an active clause may be either agent or patient: e.g. in 'John demanded the money', 'John' is the subject and agent; in 'The marriage demanded the most sumptuous preparations', 'the marriage' is the subject of 'demanded' but it is the patient, not agent, in an implied impersonal passive, i.e., 'It was demanded that the marriage be given the most sumptuous preparations'.

Unlike double-valency verbs, when triple-valency verbs occur in the passive voice, they only do so in personal passive clauses, where the agent must be specified, e.g.:

- (21) ngo3                    bun2    sue1    bey2    koey3    je3jo2  
 I-[deleted GenSf] C1        book    by    him        borrow-Perf  
 (not \*ngo3 bun2 sue1 je3jo2)  
 'My book was borrowed by him.'  
 (Cf. the active clause ngo3 je3 koey3 ngo3 bun2 sue1 'I lent him my book'.)

Many potentially double-valency and triple-valency verbs do not occur in the passive voice. Instead, a change in focus is expressed by means of the equative verb hay4 'be' with a relative clause as its complement:

- (22a) koey3 se2    fung1 soen1  
 he    write C1    letter  
 'He writes a letter.'
- (22b) fung1 soen3    hay4 koey3 se3    ge3  
 C1    letter be    he    write Rel  
 'This letter is [the one] which he wrote.'
- (23a) maa5maa1 bey2 ngo3 saam1 baak3    bong4  
 mother-R give I    three hundred pound  
 'Mummy gives me three hundred pounds.'
- (23b) saam1 baak    bong4    hay4 maa5maa1 bey2 ngo3 ge3  
 three hundred pounds be    mother-R give I    Rel  
 '[The] three hundred pounds is [the sum] which was given me by Mummy.'

An interesting subset of double-valency verbs which can occur either in the active or the passive voice, depending on the intended emphasis or focus, is a set of disyllabic causative-resultative verbs which end with the verb root sey2 'die'. In the active voice they resemble the behaviour of English verbs in examples like 'He *battered her to death*', 'He *bored me to death* (or to tears)', 'He *laughed me to scorn*', though the preponderance of such verbs in Cantonese are to do with actually causing

harm, and unlike the English forms, both active and passive are possible. In the following examples, only an active translation is given after the first example: kat1sey2 'stab (be stabbed) to death', daay2sey2 'beat/shoot someone to death', jam4sey2 'drown', gun2sey2 'kill by forced drinking', duk4sey2 'poison to death', siw5sey2 'laugh to scorn' (literally 'to death'), gik1sey2 'grieve to death'. In an active clause, the normal SVO order holds, e.g., ngo3 daa2sey2 koey3 'I beat-to-death him' = 'I beat him to death'<sup>60</sup>. However, in the corresponding impersonal and personal passives, the direct object (usually as patient) may be optionally specified, especially if it is not already specified as the subject as patient, resulting in a different kind of structural ambiguity from the kind mentioned above. When the object is specified (as in (24b) below), the passive clause has a surface resemblance to an imperative clause.

- (24a) (koey3 bey2 yan5)    daa2sey2  
 (he    by    somebody) beat-die  
 '[He] was beaten to death (by somebody).'
- (24b) (bey2 yan5)    daay2sey2 koey3  
 (by somebody) beat-die he (O as patient)  
 'He was beaten to death (by somebody).'

The direct object is especially interesting in the cases of verbs like siw5sey2 'laugh to scorn' or 'be laughed at', gik1sey2 'grieve to death' or 'be grieved to death', where it can reflect either an agent or patient role in the active clause. In (25a) below, the object ney3 'you' is patient, but in (25b), although the clause has a surface resemblance to the passive structure in (24b), the clause is in fact active, and the direct object yan5 'people' has agent role in relation to siw2sey2 'laugh to death'

- (25a) ney3                    bey2 yan5    siw2sey2 ney3  
 you (S as patient) by    people laugh-die you (O as patient)  
 'People will laugh you to scorn', i.e., 'Don't be ridiculous.'
- (25b) (nil dit1 ye3)    siw2sey2 yan5  
 (this-C1-thing) laugh-die people (O as agent)  
 'This will make people laugh [you] to scorn/This will make people laugh to death', i.e., 'Don't be ridiculous.'

### 3.5. Clause chaining<sup>61</sup>

Clauses may be coordinated or subordinated. Clause coordination only takes place either between equative clauses of the same type (i.e., *A is B* where A and B must be the same grammatical class)

60. This is often used, especially with ney3 'you' as a threat to a naughty child in an exaggerated metaphorical sense, without any real intention to hit the child.

61. For further details of clause and sentence coordination and the use of intonation and particles, see Killingley (1982: chapters 2 and 3). A slightly different approach is taken here, whereby only those conjunctions which link sentences in discourse are called sentence conjunctions, all others being called clause conjunctions.



or between clauses which have a verbal predicate, for example, by means of the conjunction yaw4 'also' in an endlessly recursive series, the optional subject usually occurring before the first instance of the conjunction.

(26a) (koey3) yaw5 fey5 yaw4 laan3 yaw4 gaan1 yaw4 gulhon5...  
 (He) also fat also lazy also crafty also stingy...  
 '(He) [is] fat as well as lazy, as well as crafty, as well as stingy.'

(26b) yaw4 haam3gan2 yaw4 siw3gan2 yaw4 tiw3haa3 yaw4 yuk1haa3...  
 also cry-Prog also laugh-Prog also jump-Ltd also move-Ltd...  
 '(Somebody) [is] crying, as well as laughing, as well as jumping, as well as moving about.'

Coordination can also occur between paired clauses in which the second member of a pair follows logically from the first, in which case the conjunction yuet4 'the more, even more' is used; e.g., if yuet4 had been used instead of yaw4, the meaning would be 'The fatter [somebody] became, the lazier he became; the craftier he became, the stingier he became'. Open-ended paired clausal coordination can also be accompanied by paired conjunctions, which may be the same conjunction repeated in each clause (e.g., yat1hay4...yathay 'either...or', yik4...yik4 'neither...nor'). However, if only two or three clauses are to be conjoined, a set of different linked conjunctions is used (e.g., waang5dim4...batlyi5 'since...therefore, might as well', m5ji2...jung4...tim1 'not only...as well...even'). The optional subject occurs in different places depending on the conjunction(s) used, sometimes before the first conjunction, which can also interrupt the modal and the verb, sometimes after the conjunction(s). Whereas juncture features (e.g., prolongation of the last syllable, with or without pause; non-final intonation) are optional between clauses in (26a) and (26b), it is obligatory in the examples below, denoted by a comma:

(27) (ney3) ho2yi3 yat1hay4 say2 saam1, yat1hay4 jue2sik4...  
 (you) can either wash clothes or cook-eat...  
 'You can either do the laundry or cook.'

However, if yik1 is used, only negative clauses can be conjoined, e.g.:

(28) yik4 m5hay4 yan5, yik4 m5hay4 gway2, yik4 m5jue4  
 neither Neg-be man, nor Neg-be ghost, neither Neg-inhabit  
 uk1, yik4 m5jue4 saan1...  
 house, nor Neg-inhabit mountain...

'[Something] is neither man nor ghost; it inhabits neither house nor mountain.'

(29) waang5dim4 ngo3 maay3 san1 saam1, batlyi5 maay3maay5  
 since I buy new clothes, might as well buy-Comp

san1 haay5  
 new shoe  
 'Since I'm buying new clothes, I might as well buy new shoes as well.'

(30) koey3 m5ji2 sik1 faat3man5, koey3 jung  
 he Neg-only know French-language, he also

sik1 laalding1man5 tim1  
 know Latin-language even  
 'He not only knows French; he knows Latin as well.'

Clause subordination has also incidentally been demonstrated earlier in the treatment of relative clauses, which are subordinated to phrase structure in the classifier or noun phrase, e.g.,

(31) koey3 ji3waa4 maay3jo2 ga uk1  
 his [deleted GenSf] just buy-Perf Rel house  
 'His house which he has just bought.'

Other kinds of subordination mark relationships in sentences, for example, in the case of conditional or temporal clauses, where the subordinating conjunction can occur either at the beginning or at the end of the dependent clause, e.g.:

(32) hay4 ngo3 maay4saay3 sue1, ngo3 wuy5 faat3coy5  
 if I sell-Comp book I will erupt-wealth  
 'If I sell all my books, I will become rich.'

(33) koey3 jue4 hay2 loen5doen1 goljan4si2 say4gaay3  
 he live in London that-C1-time generation-boundary

how2 ping5on1  
 very even-peace  
 'During the time he was living in London, the world was very peaceful.'



Subordination can also occur in the complementation of verbs, in which embedded clauses adopt the role of various elements of clause structure, e.g., as direct object, with embedded elements of clause structure in the subordinated clause:

- (34) ngo3 giw3 koey3 lay5 tung5 ney3 jow4 haay4  
 I(S) call (V) {he come with you make shoe}(O<sub>d</sub>)  
 {(S) (V) (A)-----}  
 {(Prep)(O<sub>i</sub>)(V)(O<sub>d</sub>)}  
 'I'll ask him to come and make shoes for you.'

So far no distinction has been overtly made between sentences and clauses. The sentence belongs to the level of discourse and includes various logical or pragmatic relationships between parts of a discourse involving the same person or two or more interlocutors. In theory, any clause, whether dependent or independent, can be a potential sentence, and may be related to other parts of the discourse by means of sentence-final intonation, sentence conjunctions, or sentence particles. And also so far, the conjunctions that we have been talking about are clause conjunctions which link clauses to other clauses in sentences, or, in the case of the relative clause, a relative particle which subordinates clauses to phrases. In practice, any of these subordinators and coordinators can be sentence subordinators and coordinators in discourse if they relate parts of a discourse to another in terms of sentences or paragraphs. Thus, ji4waa4 maay3jo2 ge3 'that which has just been bought' with a final intonation can be a relative sentence in which a noun phrase has been mentioned in a previous context, and instead of the whole occurring in the immediate environment of a noun phrase, it is marked as a relative sentence by the relative marker ge3. Similarly, many of the other coordinators and subordinators, often single members of paired or grouped conjunctions, as well as others not so far mentioned, can be used on their own to link sentences in discourse, e.g., instead of (26a), (29), (30) we could have:

- (35) yaw4 fey5 '[Somebody] was fat [as well as something else mentioned earlier].'  
 (36) batlyi5 maay3maay5 san1 haay4 'Might as well buy new shoes as well [as something else mentioned earlier].'  
 (37) m5ji2 sik1 faatlman5 'He not only knows French [but also some other language mentioned earlier].'

Finally, there are conjunctions which only operate at the discourse level and do not enter into clause chaining in sentences. Not only can they refer back to the previous sentence, they can and do refer back to the content of a previous paragraph or conversation, e.g., gam2yeung2 'and so; in this way',

naa3 'well; look; just consider'. They often occur in conjunction with sentence particles and various marked prosodic features, and reflect features like the emphasis, point of view and shift of focus of the speaker. For instance one can say to a naughty child:

- (38) gam2yeung2, maa5maal m5sek3 ney3 ga3laak3 + prolonged last syllable  
 and so, mother-R Neg-love you SentPart  
 'And so [if you behave like this], Mummy [who may or may not be the speaker] won't love you anymore.'

#### 4. Text

##### *The Cat and the Tiger*

This is a traditional story retold by the author in a formal conversational narrative style, as told to an adult, the parts in direct speech providing examples of more colloquial speech.

yi5cin5 yan5 waa4 maaw1 hay4 low3fu2ga kaw3fu2.  
 Formerly one say cat be old-tiger-Gen maternal uncle-father.

Gam2yeung2, maaw1 le, jaw milye3 dow4 gaaw3maay4saay3 low4fu2  
 And so, cat SentPart now anything also teach-Comp-Comp old-tiger

laak. Koey3 yaw4 gaaw3 koey3 tiw3, yaw4 gaaw3 koey3 juk1  
 SentPart He also teach he jump, also teach he catch

kam5saw2, yaw4 gaaw3 koey3 how2 dol ye3 tim1! Gwo2jo2 gey2  
 birds-beasts also teach he very many thing also! Pass-Perf a few

nin5, low4fu2 jaw4 sik1dak1 how2 dol ye3 laak. Dan4hay4  
 year, old-tiger then know-Abil very many thing SentPart. But

yat1 yeung4 ye3 maaw1 m5gaaw3 low3fu2. Koey3 m5gaaw3 koey3  
 one Clmens thing cat Neg-teach old-tiger. He Neg-teach he

paa5 sue4. Yaw3 yat1 yat4, low3fu2 jaw4 nam2, 'dim2gaay2  
 climb tree. [There] be one day, old-tiger now think, 'how-explain

ngo3 oy3 teng1 maaw1 kaw3fu2ga suet3waa4  
 I want to listen cat maternal uncle-father-Gen discourse-speech

le? Ngo3 yaw4 daay4go3 koey3, yaw4 keung5go3 koey3, yaw4  
 IgPart? I also big-Com he, also strong-Com he, also



lek1go3 koey3! Yi5gaa1 ngo3 hay4m5hay4 bun2si4go3 koey3?  
clever-Com he! Now I be-Ig-be able-Com he?

Hay4 aa! Batlyi5 dang2 ngo3 juk1 koey3 lay5 sik4 labaa!'  
Yes SentPart! Why not let I catch he in order eat SentPart!'

Gam2yeung2, low3fu2 jaw4 seung2 saat3sey2 koey3ga kaw3fu2  
And so, old-tiger now wish to kill-die he-Gen maternal uncle-  
laak. Haw4loy5 maaw1 silyi5 koey3ga ngoy4sang1.  
father SentPart. After-come cat suspect he-Gen outside-nephew.

Paa5lay5paa5hoey3, jaw4 hon1jue4 low2fu2ga dung4jing4.  
Prowl-towards-prowl-from, then watch-Dur old-tiger-Gen movement-rest.

Gam2, yat1 jildow4<sup>62</sup> low2fu2 lay5 juk1 koey3 go2jan2si2,  
Then, one know-Ach old-tiger in order catch he that-ClSpat-time,

maaw1 jaw4 jik1hak1 jaw2 dow4 yat1 pol daay4 sue4,  
cat forthwith immediately run until one Clsort big tree,

jaw4 paa5seung3hoey3. Pol sue4 yaw4 how2 gow1 yaw4 yaw2  
forthwith climb-up-from. Clsort tree also very tall also have

how2 dol yip4 ge3. Go2 jek3 mow3 leung5sam1ga low3fu2  
very many leaf Rel. That Clsort Neg-have virtuous-heart-Rel old-tiger

jaw4 mow3 faat3ji2 seung3 sue4. Maaw1 siw3mey1mey1  
now Neg-have method-NomSf ascend tree. Cat laugh-eyes closed

tung5 koey3 ngoy4sang gwong2, 'How2coy2  
with he-Gen [ga-deletion] outside-nephew say, 'Very-fortunate

ngo3 mow3 gaaw3 ney3 seung3 sue4. Ney3 hay4 yat1 go3 gaan1  
I Neg-have teach you climb tree. You be one Clsort crafty

ngoy4sang1.'  
outside-nephew.'

In the past, it is said that the cat was the tiger's [maternal] uncle. And so the cat [le = focus on 'the cat'] taught the tiger absolutely everything [laak = emphasis and finality]. He taught him to jump,

62. The use here of the aspected verb jildow4 illustrates another use of the distribution class of verbal classifiers (p. 33 above). The numeral yat1 can occur with a verb as verbal classifier to express 'as soon as x' followed by 'then y'. See Killingley (1983: 105), where only the formation with the unaspected verb is discussed.

to hunt, and many other things as well! After many years, the tiger had learnt a great deal. But one thing the cat did not teach the tiger. He did not teach him to climb trees. Then one day the tiger thought, 'Why should I obey Uncle Cat? [le = self-persuasion.] I'm bigger than he is, as well as being stronger, as well as being cleverer! Now, am I abler than he is or not? Yes! [aa = self-agreement.] Why don't I catch him and eat him?' [labaa = might as well.] In this way, the tiger then wished to put his uncle to death [laak = 'you see']. Later, the cat [began to] suspect his nephew [sister's son]. Prowling here and there, he thus kept watch on the tiger's habits. Then, as soon as he knew<sup>63</sup> that the tiger was coming to catch him, the cat immediately ran to a big tree. That tree was one which was tall as well as having many leaves. That ungrateful tiger had no way of climbing up the tree. Laughing mockingly, the cat said to his nephew, 'It was a good thing I didn't teach you to climb trees. You are a crafty nephew!'

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63. See fn 62.



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