The 27th International Conference on Yue Dialects

November 30 – December 2, 2023

Program Book

https://u.osu.edu/yue2023

THE OHIO STATE
UNIVERSITY

Welcome to the 27th International Conference on Yue Dialects!

The twenty-seventh iteration of the International Conference on Yue Dialects is a momentous occasion for this conference series. This year marks the first time that this conference is hosted outside of East Asia since its inception in 1987 by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong. This conference is organized by the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures within The Ohio State University. Those of us at The Ohio State University are honored and delighted to serve as the hosts for this prestige conference series.

Research into non-Mandarin varieties of Chinese is important, especially in the face of increasing concerns of language vitality. The conference theme for this year was specifically selected to reflect this ideal. The theme chosen for the conference is *Visions, Variation, and Vitality in Yue Dialects.* There are three major components of this theme. The first component is **visions**. Extending past the language itself, how do the speakers of the language view the language as a whole? What truly comprises being a speaker of a Yue dialect? The second component is **variation**. Languages are not monolithic, and neither are the speakers who speak these languages. How does variation influence the variety of visions for the language? Finally, the component of **vitality**. There is an ever-increasing pressure to adopt non-localized varieties of languages to participate in an increasingly global society. What does the future hold for the Yue dialects, and what is our role as linguists in that future? The organizational committee is excited to the degree to which the submitted abstracts complemented this conference theme. The abstracts submitted to this conference represent a wide variety of subfields; thus, the conference promises to make an important contribution to Cantonese linguistics. Particularly of note is the number of abstracts exploring issues related to heritage language learning, an oft overlooked aspect of language learning.

Organizing a conference is a huge undertaking, and so we would like to take a moment to express our gratitude to every member of the organizing committee for their assistance at various stages of our preparations. We are also indebted to Professor Sze-Wing Tang, who assisted us behind the scenes on behalf of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on Yue Dialects, including inviting the conference series' convener, Professor Zhan Bohui (Jinan University), to give some welcoming remarks. We would also like to express our thanks to the conference sponsors who have helped make this possible.

Finally, we would also like to thank our keynote speakers, our two chairs who organized their special panels, as well as colleagues—including those not on the program itself—who cheerfully agreed to chair the panels in the parallel sessions. And, of course, we thank all the presenters and panel members who have chosen to participate in this event! We very much look forward to the rich variety of topics that are explored through the research presented at this conference. We also sincerely hope that, post-conference, speakers will submit a manuscript to the proceedings volume as part of OSU's *Buckeye East Asian Linguistics* (BEAL) series, published by OSU Libraries' Knowledge Bank.

Professor Marjorie K.M. Chan & Paul Cockrum
Faculty Co-Chair   *Graduate Student Co-Chair*

on behalf of the organizing committee

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Program Schedule

November 30 – December 2, 2023 (EST)
(December 1-3, 2023 HKT)

Note: Times in bold are Eastern Standard Time,
In italics are Hong Kong Standard Time

Main Room + 3 Breakout Rooms (Rooms 1, 2 & 3)

	Thursday, November 30 *Friday, December 1*
6:30 PM *7:30 AM*	**Welcome Ceremony** *Main Room* **Mark Bender** *The Ohio State University* **Zhan Bohui (詹伯慧)** *Jinan University*
7:00 PM *8:00 AM*	***Keynote Speaker*** *Main Room* **"Mapping the Chinese Diaspora: Dialects in Southeast Asia"** **Dana Scott Bourgerie** *Brigham Young University* Chair: Mineharu Nakayama
8:00 PM *9:00 AM*	***Break***

Session 1-A			
	Heritage I *Room 1* Chair: Andy Chin	**SLA I** *Room 2* Chair: Zoe Lam	**Language Acquisition** *Room 3* Chair: Dana Scott Bourgerie
8:15 PM *9:15 AM*	馬來西亞粵語群體的語言選擇 — 以吉隆坡、怡保的私人社交語域為例 **Kam Pang Wong** *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*	Developing a CEFR-aligned Cantonese Oral Proficiency Test in Hong Kong **JJS Work Group** *The Linguistic Society of Hong Kong*	Cantonese Infant-Directed Speech Does Not Have Vowel Hyperarticulation **Tong Shu and Peggy Mok** *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*
8:45 PM *9:45 AM*	The Cantonese Language Vitality in the Early 21st Century Netherlands: Insights from Heritage Speakers **Aholi So** *Leiden University*	LexTALE_CT: An Auditory Vocabulary-Based Test for Speakers of Cantonese **Rachel Soo et al.** *University of British Colombia*	粵語為母語的學生學習普通話所產生的偏誤之研究 **Evan Jonas Wong** *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*
9:15 PM *10:15 AM*	Sibilant Palatalization in Hong Kong and Toronto Cantonese: A Corpus Study **Yanting Li et al.** *UC Irvine, Indiana University Bloomington, Yale University*	香港文白異讀現象對粵語作為第二語言學習者的習得影響 **Chenxi Li and Wai-mun Leung** *Hong Kong Polytechnic University*	Definitely Acquired: Cantonese Children's Acquisition of Definiteness **Ian Chow and William Snyder** *Pierrepont School, University of Connecticut*
9:45 PM *10:45 AM*	***Break***		

	Historical Linguistics *Room 1* Chair: Roxana S.Y. Fung	Phonetics/Phonology *Room 2* Chair: Peggy Mok	Semantics *Room 3* Chair: Jing Yan
10:00 PM *11:00 AM*	Actual Spoken Language Evidence for a Guangzhou Dialect Connection to Tang Colloquial Language **Richard VanNess Simmons** *The University of Hong Kong*	Some Prosodic Consequences of Varied Discourse Functions in a Cantonese Sentence-Final Particle **Jonathan Him Nok Lee** *University of Pennsylvania*	Exploring Ghostly Intensification in Cantonese **Jinwei Ye** *The Ohio State University*
10:30 PM *11:30 AM*	An Analysis of Cantonese Conversations with a Special Reference to *Xiehouyu* **Andy Chi-on Chin** *The Education University of Hong Kong*	粵方言「帮端母读内爆音出自侗台语底层」说再探讨 **Qingwen Pang** *Shantou University*	Resolving the me1-ho2 controversy: A covert pause approach **Ka Hin Ng** *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*
11:00 PM *12:00 PM*	在十九世紀晚期粵語文獻中看到的音韻内部差異 **Masayuki Yoshikawa** *The University of Tokyo*	從聲調合併論香港粵語聲調的簡化趨勢 **Sze Man Wong and Yike Yang** *Hong Kong Shue Yan University*	有關粵語「說話」的問題 **Yuen-sau Chan** *Hong Kong Baptist University*
11:30 PM *12:30 PM*	On the Geographical Distribution and Historical Origin of Low-Pitched Changed Tone in the Yue Dialects **Dazhen Wu** *The Education University of Hong Kong*	On the Rising-Falling Boundary Tone in Cantonese **Ka-Fai Yip and Mei-ying Ki** *Yale University, City University of New York*	From a Restrictive Word to a Final Particle: The Functional Development of Cantonese SFP ze1 **Qijia Zhang and Jiayi Lyu** *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*

See you all tomorrow!

	Friday, December 1 *Saturday, December 2*
7:00 PM *8:00 AM*	***Keynote Speaker*** *Main Room* **"Re-Imagining Language Communities Beyond the Nation-State: The Past, Present and Future of Yue Fangyan"** **Gina Anne Tam** *Trinity University* Chair: Zhiguo Xie
8:00 PM *9:00 AM*	***Break***

Session 2-A

8:15 PM *9:15 AM*	***Special Panel*** *Main Room* **Cantonese Pedagogical Resources in the AI Era** 人工智能世代粵語教學資源 **Panelists:** **Ken Cheng** Hong Kong Polytechnic University / **Chaak Ming Lau** The Education University of Hong Kong **Mei Ying Ki** City University of New York / **Raymond Pai (Chair)** University of British Columbia **Charles Lam** University of Leeds / **Sio Joanna Ut-Seong** Palacký University Olomouc
9:45 PM *10:45 AM*	***Break***

	Sociolinguistics *Room 1* Chair: Xuan Ye	Syntax *Room 2* Chair: Raymond Pai	Dialectology *Room 3* Chair: Qianqian Zhang
10:00 PM *11:00 AM*	A Survey on the Acceptance of Written Cantonese Orthographic Variants **Chaak Ming Lau** *The Education University of Hong Kong*	Negative wh-Constructions in Cantonese Revisited **Tsun Hei Choi** *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*	以方言詞及方言地理學析粵語臻攝合口一等字讀音層次 **Man Shan Hui** *The University of Hong Kong*
10:30 PM *11:30 AM*	Gender Variations in the Use of the Cantonese Sentence-Final Particle zek1 in the Mid-20th Century Hong Kong **Ka Fai Law** *The Ohio State University*	What's Borrowed, and What's Not: Revisiting the Which-Construction in Hong Kong Cantonese **Tommy Tsz-Ming Lee** *City University of Hong Kong*	四邑粵語次濁上讀為陰平與相關現象 **Ching Ching Tsoi** *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*
11:00 PM *12:00 PM*	(Un)Broken Heritage: A Comparative Analysis of Sociolinguistic Attitudes on Cantonese and Taigi **Paul Cockrum** *The Ohio State University*	Evolving Pre-processing of Raw Corpus: The Digitization Initiative of Cantonese Material at the Sino-Vietnamese Border in the Late 19th Century **Junxin Huang and Joeng-zit Lai** *Hong Kong Baptist University,* *Technical University of Munich*	重探新界圍頭話與東莞粵語的語言相似性 **Yanting Liu and Dazhen Wu** *The Education University of Hong Kong*
11:30 PM *12:30 PM*	A Phonological Analysis on the Misheard Lyrics of Pop Songs in Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese **Ling Zhang** *The Education University of Hong Kong*	The Loss of 將 Zoeng1 in the 將 Zoeng1-O-V Construction in Hong Kong Cantonese **Patrizia Pacioni** *Independent Scholar*	What are Guangfu Dialects? **H.W. Matthew Sung and Jelena Prokic** *Leiden University*
	See you all tomorrow!		

	Saturday, December 2
	Sunday, December 3
7:00 PM *8:00 AM*	***Keynote Speaker*** *Main Room* **"Why Study Cantonese Vowel Variation"** **Holman Tse** *St. Catherine University* Chair: Marjorie K.M. Chan
8:00 PM *9:00 AM*	***Break***

	SLA II *Room 1* Chair: Ling Zhang	Language Contact *Room 2* Chair: Richard VanNess Simmons	Heritage II *Room 3* Chair: Holman Tse
8:15 PM *9:15 AM*	Interlanguage Pragmatic Features in Hong Kong Non-Chinese Speaking Students' Spoken Cantonese **Man Fong Lam et al.** *Hong Kong Metropolitan University*	A New Filled Pause -ur in Hong Kong Cantonese-Mandarin-English Trilingual Speech **Grace Wenling Cao and Peggy Mok** *The Chinese University of Hong Kong*	Variation Due to Language Contact in Cantonese Acceptability Judgements: An Investigation of Word Order Preferences in Two Verbal Constructions **Justin R. Leung** *University of Toronto*
8:45 PM *9:45 AM*	Visualizing Tones: A Comparative Analysis of Learning Techniques in Cantonese Second Language Acquisition **Ken Siu-kei Cheng and Ka-wai Ho** *Hong Kong Polytechnic University*	The Moribund "Manchu Mandarin" in Guangzhou: A Product of Cantonese-Mandarin Contact **Gareth Junjie Yang** *Middlebury College*	To Metrify or Not to Metrify? – An Optimality-Theoretic Account for Cantonese-English Bilingual Children's Intonation Patterns **Jonathan Him Nok Lee et al.** *University of Pennsylvania, The University of Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong*
9:15 PM *10:15 AM*	How Do Non-Tonal Language Speakers Acquire Tones? A Case Study of NCS Adults Acquiring Hong Kong Cantonese by Comparing Three Teaching Approaches **Cindy Wan-yee Lau** *Hong Kong Polytechnic University*	*man1* in Ngzhau Cantonese: A Study of Language Contact between Yuehai and Goulou Dialect **Zinan Liang** *Independent Scholar*	
9:45 PM *10:45 AM*	***Break***		

The top of the table reads: **Session 3-A**

	Session 3-B
10:00 PM *11:00 AM*	***Special Panel*** *Main Room* **Towards an Inclusive Pedagogy for Cantonese Language Education** **Panelists:** **Vienna Lam** **Alexander Tang** Independent Scholar University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa **Zoe Lam (Chair)** **Jinwei Ye and Marjorie K.M. Chan** University of British Columbia The Ohio State University **Cindy Wan-yee Lau** Hong Kong Polytechnic University
11:30 PM *12:30 PM*	**Closing Ceremony**

Keynote Speaker Abstracts

November 30: Dana Scott Bourgerie

December 1: Gina Anne Tam

December 2: Holman Tse

Professor Dana Scott Bourgerie
Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah
https://bourgerie.byu.edu/

Mapping the Chinese Diaspora:
Dialects in Southeast Asia

Abstract: There are ethnic Chinese populations on every inhabited continent on earth, each with its unique migration circumstance. Among the largest and most established of these diasporas is found in various countries of Southeast Asia (SEA), where Chinese communities have existed for at least 500 years. Despite a relatively high degree of integration into to the majority culture, ethnic Chinese have often maintained their own social organizations, news media, and schools. The diasporas in this region have been well studied but mainly from economic, historical, and sociological perspectives. By contrast, research on these communities' language characteristics is relatively scant and often embedded incidentally in the literature of non-linguistic disciplines.

Pre-1970s, Chinese schools often adopted the dialect of their affiliated socio-cultural associations (or 會館 hùiguǎn), mostly according to the five predominate groups: Chaozhou, Cantonese, Hakka, Fujianese, and Hainanese. However, in recent times Mandarin has become a lingua franca of the Chinese communities and of most local Chinese language schools. However, among local ethnic Chinese, there are few if any native speakers of any variety of Mandarin. Through examination of language use survey data, this presentation sketches a picture of selected contemporary Chinese communities in SEA with special reference to the countries of former French Indochina and with particular attention to their Cantonese populations. In addition, I attempt to map the SEA diaspora, while exploring dimensions of Chinese identity in the region. Lastly, I investigate some instances of contact-related language variation in local Cantonese by influence of national majority languages.

Short Bio: Dana Scott Bourgerie is a Professor of Chinese in the Department of Asian and Near Eastern Languages at Brigham Young University (BYU). He earned his Ph.D. in the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures in 1991 from The Ohio State University. He has been a Fulbright Scholar at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He was also an honorary professor in the Overseas Education College at Nanjing University. He is the founding director of the Chinese Flagship Center at BYU. He is a sociolinguist who primarily focuses research on language and cultural, especially Chinese dialects including Yue and Hakka. He is currently researching the language of the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia and non-standard varieties of Chinese. He is leading the *Cambodian Oral History Project*.

第二十七屆國際粵方言研討會。主講嘉賓一

白杰理教授
楊百翰大學

標題：華僑遷徙的蹤跡：東南亞的華語方言

摘要：地球上但凡有人居住的大洲都有華人的蹤跡，但華人族群的遷徙情況大不相同。其中，東南亞各國的華僑群體人數最多、歷史最悠久，當地的華人社區有至少 500 年的歷史。儘管華僑群體很大程度上融入了當地主流文化，他們通常仍保留自己的社會組織、新聞媒體和學校。有關東南亞各國的華僑群體的研究很多，但研究視角主要集中在經濟、歷史和社會學上。相比之下，關注華僑群體語言特徵的研究相對較少，且通常在語言科學以外的學科文獻中作為附帶內容出現。

1970 年代以前，華僑學校使用的方言通常根據所屬會館而定，大致有五大方言：潮州話、粵語、客家話、福建話和海南話。但近年來，普通話已經成為華人社區和大多數當地華文學校的通用語。與此形成鮮明對比的是，當地的華人群體中幾乎沒有人把普通話當作母語。通過分析語言使用調查數據，在本講座中我將嘗試為東南亞特定現代華僑族群畫像，特別是前法屬印度支那國家和其中的粵語族群。此外，我還將嘗試繪製東南亞的華僑分佈圖，同時探討當地華人身份認同的方方面面。最後，我探究當地粵語在和國家主流語言接觸中產生的一些變化。

講者簡介：白杰理教授是楊百翰大學亞洲及近東語言系的中文教授。 他 1991 年於俄亥俄州立大學東亞語言文學系獲得博士學位。 他曾是香港中文大學富布賴特學者。 他亦曾任南京大學海外教育學院名譽教授。 他是楊百翰大學中國旗艦中心的創辦主任。 他是一位社會語言學家，主要研究語言和文化，特別是中國方言，包括粵語和客家話。 他目前正研究東南亞華人的語言和非標準漢語變體。 他同時亦是柬埔寨口述歷史項目的主任。

Professor Gina Anne Tam
Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas
https://www.trinity.edu/directory/gtam

Re-imagining Language Communities
Beyond the Nation-State:
The Past, Present and Future of Yue Fangyan

Abstract: Today, Yue fangyan are spoken widely, comprising tens of millions of speakers in the Sinophone world and around the world. Yet despite their ubiquity and prominence, they are, including standard Cantonese, normally categorized not as languages, but as "dialects," devalued as subsidiary in form and significance to the Chinese national language, Mandarin. In this talk, Gina Anne Tam will discuss how the status and significance of Yue fangyan changed with the introduction of national languages both within China and outside of it, and how today, Yue speakers are challenging the hierarchy inherent to the national language model and helping us imagine a different way of conceiving of the relationship between language, identity, and community.

Short Bio: Gina Anne Tam is an Associate Professor of Modern Chinese History, the co-director of Women and Gender Studies at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas, a Public Intellectual Fellow at the National Committee on US-China Relations and a Wilson China Fellow. She received her Ph.D. at Stanford University in 2016. Her first book, Dialect and Nationalism in China, 1860-1960 (Cambridge UP, 2020), winner of the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians Best Book Prize, explores the relationship between language and national identity from the late Qing dynasty through the height of the Maoist period. In addition, her research and commentary has appeared in several venues. She has published several peer-reviewed articles in publications such as *Twentieth-Century China* and *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* has appeared live on BBC and France 24, and has written for mainstream publications such as Foreign Affairs, and The Nation. She is currently writing a book about women and activism in post-war Hong Kong.

第二十七屆國際粵方言研討會。主講嘉賓二

譚吉娜教授
三一大學

標題：重塑國家以外的語言社區：粵方言的過去、現在與將來

摘要：當下，粵方言在華語世界和全球範圍得以廣泛傳播，使用者甚為眾多。然而，與其普遍性和重要性不相匹配的是，包括標準粵語在內的粵方言通常不被歸類為語言而是「方言」，從而在形式和意義上被貶低為中國通用語言普通話的附屬品。在本次講座中，潭吉娜教授將介紹粵方言的地位和重要性是如何隨中國官方語言在國內外的引入而變動的，以及現今的粵方言使用者如何在挑戰官方語言模式中固有的等級制度的同時，構想出一種不同的方式來幫助我們理解語言、身份和社區三者之間的關係。

講者簡介：譚吉娜是美國德州三一大學的中國現代史副教授以及婦女與性別研究項目主任。 她 2016 年於美國史丹佛大學獲博士學位。 其著作《中國的方言與民族主義，1860-1960》（劍橋大學出版社，2020 年）探討了從清末到毛澤東時期中國語言與民族主義之間的關係。此書榮獲 2020 年度 Berkshire Conference of Women Historians 最佳圖書獎。 她的學術文章也曾在 Comparative Studies in Society and History 和 Twentieth-Century China 發表，此外她在 Foreign Affairs、The Nation、 BBC、France 24 等媒體發表評論。 她正籌備一本探討二戰後香港婦女參與社會運動的歷史的書籍。

Professor Holman Tse
St. Catherine University, St. Paul, Minnesota
https://holmantse.github.io/

Why Study Cantonese Vowel Variation?

Abstract: Studies of variation and change in Guangfu (or Standard) Cantonese have long focused on consonantal mergers such as /n/ > /l/ or the loss of the initial velar nasal. In recent years, several tonal mergers have also been documented and described. What has generally been lacking, however, are studies of vowels. In contrast, variationist studies of English dialects have long focused on vowels and have included discussion of chain shifts, mergers, and splits and their decreased level of speaker awareness compared to consonantal variation. English has also been described as having a typologically large vowel system. Yet, Cantonese also has a typologically large vowel inventory with 11 (or 12) phonetically distinct monophthongs and 10 phonetically distinct diphthongs. Is the lack of research on Cantonese vowel variation due to the stability of the vowel system or have vowels simply escaped the radar of Cantonese sociolinguistics research because of low levels of conscious awareness? In this talk, I will show that the vowel system is far from being a stable one. To support this position, I will highlight both published studies and ongoing research addressing variation and change in Cantonese vowels. This will include studies based on data from the Heritage Language Variation and Change in Toronto Project (Nagy, 2011). The data from this project includes sociolinguistic interviews (spontaneous speech recordings) from both Toronto and Hong Kong Cantonese speakers. The discussion will place special focus on the -ik/-ing, -uk/-ung and -am/-ap rime groups. I will show how the first two sets are involved with vowel chain shifts while the third group is involved with an ongoing merger that has previously been described as completed. Ultimately, I will argue that recognition of a system in flux can illuminate issues that have been controversial in phonological descriptions of Cantonese. Furthermore, addressing the sociolinguistic patterning and the social meaning tied to these variable vowel production patterns can open up many new opportunities for research.

Short Bio: Holman Tse is Assistant Professor of Language Studies in the Department of Literature, Language, and Writing at St. Catherine University. He is a linguist specializing in heritage language phonetics and phonology and more broadly on sociophonetic variation and sound change in language contact settings. His educational background includes a B.A. in Anthropology from the University of California Santa Cruz, an M.A. in Linguistics from the University of Chicago, and a Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Pittsburgh. Since 2014, he has been working with data from the Heritage Language Variation and Change in Toronto Corpus, which includes sociolinguistic interview recordings of speakers of multiple heritage languages including Cantonese. His research has focused largely on vowel production patterns among Hong Kong and Toronto Cantonese speakers.

第二十七屆國際粵方言研討會。主講嘉賓三

謝浩明教授
聖凱瑟琳大學

標題：為何研究粵語元音變體?

摘要：長久以來，對廣府話（或標準）粵語變異和變化的研究一直集中在輔音合併，例如 /n/ > /l/ 或聲母軟顎鼻音的消失。在近年，一些研究也對聲調合併現象作出記錄和描述。然而，仍然缺乏的是對元音的研究。相較之下，英語方言的變異論研究長期以來一直集中在元音上，並包括對鏈變、合併和分裂，以及與輔音變異相比，說話者對元音變異意識較低的討論。研究也描述英語為具有類型學上較大的元音系統。 然而，粵語也有一個類型學上很大的元音庫存，其中有 11 個（或 12 個）具有音韻差異的單元音和 10 個具有音韻差異的雙元音。粵語元音變異研究的缺乏是因為元音系統的穩定性，還是因為說話者的低意識程度，從而逃避了粵語社會語言學對其的關注? 在本演講中，我將展示粵語元音系統遠非穩定的系統。 為支持此立場，我將重點討論針對粵語元音變異和變化的已發表的和正在進行的研究。這將包括根據多倫多遺產語言變異和變化計畫（Nagy，2011）的數據研究。此計畫的數據包括多倫多和香港粵語使用者的社會語言學的採訪（自發性語言錄音）。本次討論將特別關注-ik/-ing、-uk/-ung 和 -am/-ap 詞組。我將展示前兩組如何涉及元音鏈變，第三組如何涉及持續進行中的合併，但卻在先前研究中被描述為已完成的合併。最後，我認為，認識不斷變化的系統可以闡明對粵語語音描述中一直在爭議的問題。此外，解釋這些可變元音發音模式與社會語言學模式和社會意義的關聯可以為研究開闢許多新的方向。

講者簡介：謝浩明是聖凱瑟琳大學文學、語言和寫作系的助理教授。他是一位語言學家，專門研究傳承語言語音學和音系學，更廣泛地研究語言接觸環境中的社會語音變異和聲音變化。 他於加州大學聖克魯斯分校主修人類學並獲得學士學位。其後主修語言學，於芝加哥大學獲得碩士學位，匹茲堡大學獲得博士學位 。自 2014 年以來，他一直研究多倫多傳承語言變異與變化語料庫，當中包含多種傳承語言（包括粵語）的社會語言學採訪記錄。他目前重點研究多倫多和香港粵語語言者元音發音模式。

Special Panel Abstracts

Panel 1: Session 2-A

    Cantonese Pedagogical Resources in the AI Era
人工智能世代粵語教學資源
. Raymond Pai (Chair)

Panel 2: Session 3-B

    Towards an inclusive pedagogy for Cantonese language education
. Zoe Lam (Chair)

Special Panel 1:
Cantonese pedagogical resources in the AI era
人工智能世代粵語教學資源

<u>Duration</u>: 90 minutes

<u>Panel abstract:</u>
In the rapidly evolving landscape of education technology, the integration of Artificial Intelligence (AI) has revolutionized teaching and learning methodologies across diverse languages. This special panel discussion brings together six scholars from various institutions at the intersection of linguistics, education, and technology. The panel aims to explore the innovative approaches and challenges faced in developing and utilizing AI-driven pedagogical resources specific to Cantonese in different learning and teaching contexts. Panelists will share insights on some of the latest developments of interactive and culturally sensitive AI tools, the impact of these technologies on language preservation, and strategies to enhance Cantonese language education in an increasingly digital world. Following the six flash presentations, the open discussion with all conference participants is expected to foster dialogue and knowledge exchange, to illuminate the path forward for educators, researchers, and policymakers striving to harness the potential of AI in global Cantonese language education.

Titles of panelists' individual presentations

ChatGPT for Cantonese: A helpful TA, a not-yet-ready teacher
Ken Cheng
Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Utilizing corpus data to enhance Cantonese teaching
Mei Ying Ki
City University of New York

Lessons from English language teaching community
Charles Lam
University of Leeds

Large Language Models for Cantonese Teaching and Learning
Chaak Ming Lau
The Education University of Hong Kong

Strategizing the use of AI in Cantonese student oral/speaking projects
Raymond Pai (Chair)
University of British Columbia

The lack of quality Cantonese Corpora
Sio Joanna Ut-Seong
Palacký University Olomouc

Special Panel 2:
Towards an inclusive pedagogy
for Cantonese language education

Duration: 90 minutes

Panel abstract:
An inclusive pedagogy is one that considers diversity an element that enriches the teaching and learning experience. Educators who advocate this cause make meaning of the concept of inclusion through classroom practices. In this special panel, Cantonese educators of different backgrounds will share their insights on the many dimensions of inclusivity. These include (1) respecting the linguistic differences among varieties of Cantonese, (2) addressing the needs of learners with diverse prior experiences of the language, especially in diaspora communities, (3) catalyzing the integration of ethnic minorities in a Cantonese-dominant society through language learning, (4) incorporating assessment tasks that give voices to marginalized communities, and (5) developing strategies to offer positive learning experiences to online and offline learners in a hybrid setting.

Titles of panelists' individual presentations

Promoting inclusive learning opportunities through Cantonese oral history projects
Vienna Lam
Independent scholar

Juggling descriptivism and prescriptivism in a Cantonese class
Zoe Lam (Chair)
University of British Columbia

The effectiveness and challenges of acquiring Cantonese by South Asian students under the biliteracy and trilingualism policy in Hong Kong
Cindy Wan-yee Lau
Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Harmonizing voices: Critical language awareness across Cantonese varieties
Alexander Tang
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Inclusivity and challenges in a multi-institutional Cantonese class
Jinwei Ye & Marjorie K.M. Chan
The Ohio State University

Presentation Abstracts

Presentations are listed in alphabetical order by first author.

A new filled pause ur in Hong Kong
Cantonese-Mandarin-English trilingual speech

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Filled pauses such as *uh* and *um* are important features in measuring disfluencies and speaker identification in forensic phonetics (McDougall & Duckworth, 2018). Previous studies on filled pauses focus on languages like Standard Southern British English (Harrington, Rhodes & Hughes, 2021; Hughes, Wood & Foulkes, 2016), German (Belz, 2020), Mandarin (Zhao & Durafsky, 2005), Dutch-English bilingual (de Boer & Heeren, 2020) and German-French bilingual (Lo, 2020). However, features of filled pauses in Cantonese are not well investigated. Aiming to fill this gap, the present study investigated the types and phonetic features of filled pauses in Hong Kong Cantonese. In addition, the study examined the cross-linguistic patterns of filled pauses in Cantonese-Mandarin-English trilingual speech.

Forty (20 females) Hong Kong Cantonese-English-Mandarin trilingual speakers participated in three mock police interviews. They were all young students (18-27 years old) from a university in Hong Kong and spoke Cantonese as their first language. Participants attended three mock police interviews as part of a larger forensic phonetic project. They had an interview in Cantonese first, followed by Mandarin and English interviews. Participants also completed a questionnaire about their linguistic backgrounds. For data analysis, filled pauses in the three interviews were manually coded by two research assistants and two student helpers using Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2022). In total, 2153 filled pauses including 590 Cantonese tokens, 685 Mandarin tokens and 878 English tokens were coded.

Results found three common types of filled pauses *uh*, *um* and *m* in the trilingual speech data, but the distributions of the three filled pauses were significantly different (see Figure 1) in the three languages: the uh% was predominantly used in all languages, but um% and m% were higher in English than in Cantonese and Mandarin. Additionally, a new filled pause *ur* was found in our data. The r-colored filled pause *ur* was often realized as [ər] or [ɚ], and it appeared in all three languages. The total number of *ur* was small, however, including 19 tokens in Cantonese found in 6 speakers, 10 in Mandarin produced by 6 speakers and 22 in English produced by 8 speakers. Two speakers consistently used *ur* in all three languages, whereas some speakers only used *ur* in their English speech.

When examining the phonetic features of the filled pause *uh*, Mandarin and English shared more similarities in terms of the quantity and quality of the vowels being used. For instance, these trilingual speakers used more [ɛ] in Cantonese-*uh*, but they used more [a] in English and Mandarin-*uh*. The quality of the [ɛ] and [a] vowels are also similar in Mandarin and English (see Figure 2). When examining background factors, males used significantly more [ɛ] than females, particularly in their English and Mandarin interviews. Participants whose parents' L1 is not Cantonese also used significantly more *um* in their Mandarin than those whose parents' L1 is Cantonese.

The present study is the first study investigating various filled pauses in Hong Kong Cantonese. In particular, Cantonese-*uh* is predominantly [ɛ] and a new r-color filled pause *ur* is found in the trilingual speech data.

Figure 1. Distributions of filled pauses in three languages
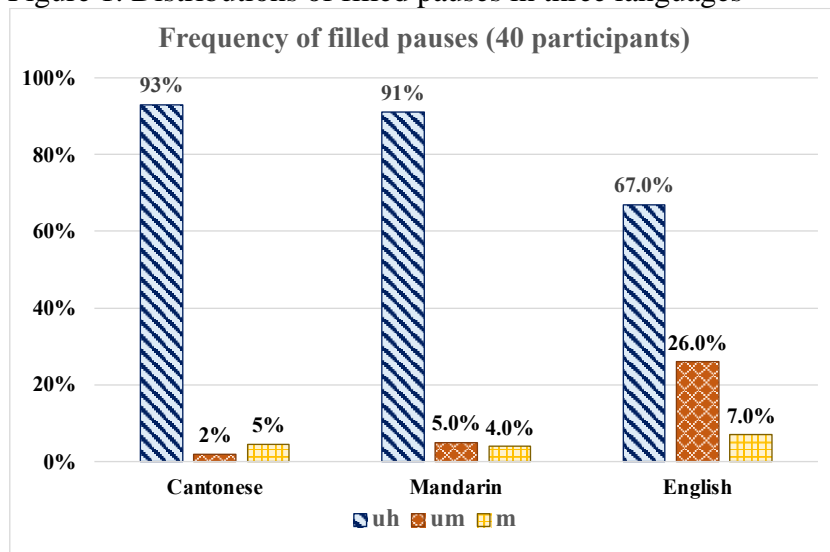
Figure 2. Vowel realization of *uh* across three languages
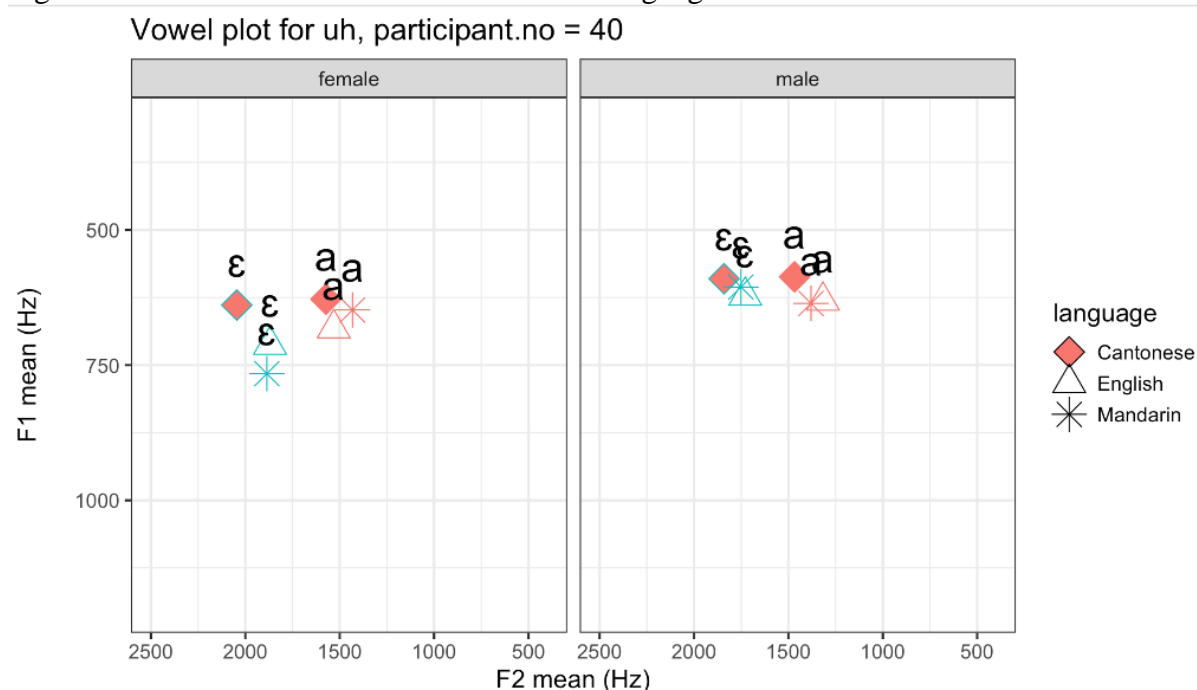
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有關粵語「說話」的問題

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　　粵語和普通話有不少同形異義詞，「說話」便是其中一例。在普通話，「說話」是由動詞「說」和名詞「話」所組成的動詞短語；在粵語，「說話」是名詞，可作動詞「講」的賓語，組成動詞短語「講說話」。因此，不少人認為粵語的「說話」相當於普通話的「話」，例如：

1. 粵：佢好識講說話。
   普：他很會說話。
2. 粵：佢啲說話好難明。
   普：他的話很難懂。

　　普通話的「說話」在粵語可翻譯為「講嘢」或「講說話」。鄧思穎（2018）指出，粵語的「講」與普通話的「說」不同。本文提出，粵語裡，不論是「嘢」或「說話」，都不等同普通話的「話」。我們發現，粵語的「講嘢」和「講說話」有語體之別：前者指生理層面上的「用語言表達意思」；後者指交際意義上的「在不同場合、對不同人用不同語言傳意」。「講嘢」是通俗體，「講說話」是正式體，兩者語體屬性不同，句法表現亦不同，不能自由替換（有關語體語法理論和語體詞彙研究，參馮勝利2018；汪維輝 2014；陳遠秀 2023 等）。另一方面，與普通話比較，不是所有「話」在粵語都能稱為「說話」，「說話」對「話」的內容、類型、大小都有一定限制。例如：

3. BB 識講嘢未呀？
   *BB 識講說話未呀？
4. 我想話啲嘢你知。
   *我想話啲說話你知。
5. 細佬同家姐講緊嘢。
   *細佬同家姐講緊說話。
6. 普：「蠢貨」是罵人的話。
   粵：??「白痴」係鬧人嘅說話。

　　從例 3 可見，BB 沒有語體意識，不能「講說話」。例 4 說明不是所有言談動詞都能以「說話」作賓語。例 5 說明「講說話」與體貌助詞的搭配有限制。例 6 說明普通話的「話」不能直接對應粵語的「說話」。

　　本文分析了能和「說話」搭配的動詞、「說話」的語法特點和語義內涵等，提出粵語的「說話」是正式體詞彙，沒有對應的通俗體；另一方面，普通話的「話」則屬於通體詞，與粵語的「說話」並不相同。本文希望以「說話」為例，探討粵語裡語體詞彙的具體表現，進一步疏理分析粵語的語體系統。

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Visualizing Tones: A Comparative Analysis of Learning Techniques in Cantonese Second Language Acquisition

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This study aims to examine a hypothesis that visualizations are a much more useful tool to enhance the language learning process (Chun *et al*. 2013, Godfroid *et al*. 2017), specifically in the area of Cantonese tones. Current tone number display has shown inadequate as it fails to fully utilize visualization for the most effective learning processes. Specifically, the "dancing display" used in Hambaanglaang Cantonese Graded Readers project (https://hambaanglaang.hk/) is adapted for further research into the potential benefits of similar learning techniques (see Table 1 for illustrations).

On the basis of the existing "Flipped Classroom for Cantonese Learning" e-platform developed by the team led by Yan-yan Lam of our Centre, test versions of the platform have been prepared, with one featuring the "dancing display" and the other using the conventional tone numbers for comparison. Students of the Elementary Cantonese class were assigned to either version of the platform for feedback collection. The learners were required to study and take various levels of exercises on the platform to assess its effectiveness. A questionnaire has also been prepared to collect data about the background of participants and AXB tasks were offered to understand their perception of Cantonese tones. This was administered before and after the use of the e-learning tool to compare improvements.

The results reveal that the students using the e-platform with "dancing display" showed a significant improvement in perception of Cantonese tones than those using the version with conventional tone numbers. The finding suggests that the learning technique of visualizing pitch contour and height of tones could make it easier for students learning Cantonese to pick up perceive the sounds of the language, especially those that are a part of its extensive tonal inventory. This could have profound impacts on how we approach teaching altogether. It is possible that the findings could revolutionize how we think about teaching language and other complex subjects. It could help language learners all over the world to master tonal languages more easily.

Table 1   Different displays for the six tones of Cantonese

Chinese characters	三	碗	細	牛	腩	麵
Tone numbers	saam1	wun2	sai3	ngau4	naam5	min6
Diacritics	sāam[1]	wún[2]	sǎi[3]	ngàu[4]	nǎam[5]	mīn[6]
Dancing display	saam[1]	wun[2]	sai[3]	ngau[4]	naam[5]	min[6]
Gloss in English	*three*	*bowl*	*small*	*beef*	*belly flesh*	*noodles*

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An analysis of Cantonese conversations
with a special reference to *Xiehouyu*

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The language data collected in the **Corpus of Mid-20th Century Hong Kong Cantonese** (https://hkcc.eduhk.hk/) is significantly different from other early Cantonese dialectal data. The interactive nature of the corpus data in HKCC allows us to work on issues related to language use such as conversational analysis, pragmatics and discourse analysis. This paper explores the use of Cantonese *xiehouyu* (歇後語) in Cantonese conversations. *Xiehouyu*, which is like a riddle, consists of two parts. The speaker utters the "question" of the riddle (the parts in square in (1), (2) and (3)) while the intended message of the speaker is expressed in the "answer" of the riddle (the underlined part in (1) and (2)). In some cases, the "answers" are not overtly expressed (see (3) and (4)). In other words, the hearer needs to infer the "answer" of the riddle.

(1) m4 呢件嘢 老鼠拉龜. 冇 deng6 埋手 lek3　　《十月芥菜》(1952)
(2) 你而家 鬼拍後尾枕, 不打自招　　　　　　　《午夜追兇》(1965)
(3) 最多 烏蠅摟馬尾 一拍兩散 㗎咋。　　　　　《歡樂時光》(1970)
(4) hai2, 噉你真係 壽星公吊頸 laa3　　　　　　《標準丈夫》(1965)

Xiehouyu thus serves as a good example of wordplay, illustrating how conversational maxims are flouted whereby the hearers need to work out the implied meanings of the speakers although there is usually a one-to-one mapping between the question and the answer in *xiehouyu*. This interesting conversational phenomenon invites us to consider two deeper issues:

(a) Why do speakers want to be "implicit" when expressing their intended meanings?
(b) How can speakers ensure that hearers can decode the implied messages?

These two questions will be explored through an analysis of 500+ Cantonese *xiehouyu*.

Negative *wh*-constructions in Cantonese revisited

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Introduction Negative *wh*-constructions (NWHC) involve the special use of *wh*-words which conveys a strong sense of negation or denial from the speaker. A typical example of NWHC in Cantonese is shown in (1). Cheung (2008) systematically studies NWHC in different languages, especially (Hong Kong) Cantonese, and discusses the syntax and semantics of NWHC in great detail. However, some conclusions in his paper are worth re-examining. In this paper, I propose an alternative syntactic analysis to NWHC mainly based on data in Cantonese. By revisiting some major arguments in Cheung (2008), I offer a preliminary unified syntactic account of rhetorical questions (RQ) in Cantonese.

(1)   keoi   bindou sik   jyujinhok?!
        S/he   where know   linguistics   'No way did s/he know linguistics.'

Proposal I suggest that the NWH-word in Cantonese is generated below the subject. It enters an Agree relation with a covert negative operator located at the root level, probably above CP in the expressive component (see Miyagawa 2022), as a case of negative concord (cf. Zeijlstra 2004), exhibiting a mismatch of form and function. In the following, I discuss four arguments of Cheung (2008) to NWHC and offer my analysis.

1. Position of NWH-words Cheung (2008) claims that the NWH-word adjoins to the top of IP, higher than the subject. His argument is that quantified DP and adverbials and *zinghai* (literally *only be*)-DP can never c-command NWH-word, as in (2), because the topicalization of these phrases is banned and they must be interpreted below IP. He further raises (3) as supporting evidence that NWH-word *bindou* is higher than the subject since the negation takes scope over the quantified DP. However, it is obvious that NWH-word must not precede the subject in surface order, as shown in (4). (3) can be analysed as a bi-clausal structure, in which *hai* "be" selects a complement clause (Paul 2015, Pan 2019), and it does not support that NWH-words are higher than the subject. If the verb *hai* is omitted, (3) becomes ungrammatical. A natural explanation for (4) would be that the NWH-word is generated below the subject.

(2)   *muijat go   hoksang   dou   bindou jau   lai   aa3?! (Cheung 2008:69)
        Every CL   student   DOU   where have   come   Q
        'No way did every student come.' Or 'For every student, s/he didn't come.'
(3)   bindou *(**hai**) muijat go hoksang   dou   jau   lai   aa3?! (Cheung 2008:69)
        Where **be**   every CL student   DOU   have   come   Q.
        'No way did every student come.'
(4)   (*bindou) keoi (bindou)   wui   faan   hok?!
        (Where) s/he (where)   will   go   school. 'No way will s/he go to school.'

2. Adjacency effect Cheung (2008) does realize that without the support of *hai*, the ungrammaticality of (3) follows. Therefore, he suggests that NWH-words in Cantonese needs to fulfil the adjacency requirement such that NWH-words must be adjacent to auxiliaries or modals. He further proposes that NWH-words occupy spec-αP, and α attracts modal movement. However, in fact, it is not the case that NWH-words must be adjacent to or co-occur with modals. In (5), *bindou* and the modal *jau* are separated by the PP phrase. (6)

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shows that modal is not a must in NWHC. Adjacency effects are not common in Chinese/Cantonese and are not well-supported by language facts. It seems to be an ad hoc assumption to explain the ungrammaticality of (3). Undeniably, most cases of NWHC co-occur with modals. The reason may be that NWH-words must combine with stative/non-eventive predicates. If not, the sentence violates Prohibition Against Vacuous Binding (cf. Lee & Chin 2007).

(5)   bindou tung   keoidei   jau   gai   king?! (cited from the internet)
       Where with   them   have   conversation discuss
       'No way will I have a conversation with them.'

(6)   gam noi   ge si,   bindou geidak   gam do   ne?! (cited from the internet)
       So   long Prt stuff   where remember so   much   SFP
       'No way did I remember things that happened so long before.'

3. Intervention effects The fact that quantified DP and adverbials and *zinghai*-DP cannot c-command NWH-word is not a single phenomenon. A lot of quantificational elements are banned when they take scope over NWH-words, for example, epistemic modal *honang* in (7) and only operator *zaa* in (8). The topicalization constraint of quantified phrases cannot explain the ungrammaticality of (7) and (8). My analysis is that NWH-words, located at a syntactically lower position (assumed here NegP below TP), enter an Agree relation with the expressive component at the root level, to be specific, a negative operator at Commitment Phrase (cf. Pan 2019, Choi 2022, Tang 2022). Such an Agree relation is subject to minimality effects (Rizzi 2004), schematized as (9). As a result, the ungrammaticality of (2), (7) and (8) is well-captured.

(7)   *honang keoi bindou wui   duksyu?! (8) *keoi   bindou wui   duksyu zaa?!
       Possibly s/he where will   study   S/he   where will   study   SFP
       'Possibly, no way will s/he study.'   'Only that s/he will not study.'

(9)   [$_{Root}$ Expressive component $_{i[Qu]}$ … [… (*Z $_{[Qu]}$) … [$_{TP}$ … [$_{NegP}$ NWH-word $_{u[Qu]}$]]]]

4. Root phenomenon NWHC shows root phenomenon. Cheung (2008) claims that an empty-answer set (EAS) morpheme (equivalent to a negative operator) located at ForceP licenses the NWH-word (cf. Oguro 2014). Embedded ForceP is defective in holding an EAS morpheme, and therefore NWH-word cannot be embedded. However, as Cheung (2008:192) mentions, Rizzi (1997) does not differentiate root ForceP and embedded ForceP. Actually, even if we adopt Cheung's explanation, the root phenomenon remains unexplained. According to his analysis, the EAS morpheme in ForceP selects IntP, and the Q morpheme in IntP *binds* the in-situ NWH-word. Nevertheless, it is well-known that the Q morpheme in Chinese allows long-distance binding (Tsai 1994). Theoretically, a root Q morpheme can bind an embedded NWH-word, leading to a grammatical sentence, contrary to fact. In my analysis, the NWH-word *Agrees* with a root negative operator, which must obey the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC, Chomsky 2001). According to PIC, the embedded NWH-word is barred, as in (10).

(10)   *[$_{Root}$ Expressive component $_{i[Qu]}$ [$_{CP}$ … [$_{vP}$ … [$_{CP}$ … NWH-word $_{u[Qu]}$]]]]

Comparisons with other RQs and implications Rhetorical question generally refers to negative assertion with interrogative form (Sadock 1971, Lü 1982 among others). NWHC falls under the category of RQ, with its apparent *wh*-word and negative meaning. NWHC in Cantonese shares very similar properties with *gwai* expressions, which are also a typical form of RQ in Cantonese. (11) is an example of preverbal *gwai*, which shares nearly the same

meaning and syntactic properties as (1). I argue a generalized syntactic structure for NWHC, rhetorical yes-no question, rhetorical *wh*-question (RWH) and these RQ expressions, as shown in (12) (Choi 2022, Choi to appear). Under our unified syntactic analysis of rhetorical questions, NWHC and *gwai* expressions share a similar structure with RWH, implying that RWH and interrogative *wh*-question are not identical syntactically (contra. Caponigro & Sprouse 2007).

(11)   keoi   gwai   sik   jyujinhok   me?!
        S/he   ghost   know   linguistics   Q   'No way did s/he know linguistics.'
(12)   [SpkP [Assert] [AdrP [Colloquial] [ComP [NEG] [CP … [rhetorical concord item (RCI)/negative polarity item (NPI)]]]]]], in which RCI or NPI Agrees with SpkP, AdrP and ComP

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Definitely Acquired: Cantonese Children's Acquisition of Definiteness

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This study aims to assess Cantonese-speaking children's ability to express definiteness through classifiers in an adult-like manner. Despite Bošković's (2007) NP/DP parameter, which categorizes Cantonese as an NP language, and Chierchia's (1998) nominal mapping parameter, which maps Cantonese noun phrases to arguments (of type <e>) rather than to predicates (of type <e,t>) (meaning that Cantonese lacks determiners), Cheng & Sybesma (1999) claim that Cantonese can still achieve several functions of determiners through classifiers, including definiteness. Their work examines the interpretational variability of bare classifiers [Cl + Noun] in Cantonese and Mandarin, and they argue that bare classifiers are capable of expressing definiteness, similar to English's *the*.

Due to Cantonese's lack of determiners, there are few studies investigating Cantonese children's acquisition of definite noun phrases, but given Cheng & Sybesma's proposal of definite bare classifiers, it is now appropriate and relevant to analyze this aspect of Cantonese language acquisition. To evaluate children's understanding of definiteness, we adapted a method from recent work on English. Ying et al. (2023) argue against an earlier view (derived from elicitation data) that young children overuse *the*. Analyzing spontaneous-speech data, they show that even before age two, children are sensitive to definiteness when choosing between *the* and *a(n)*. Specifically, adults' frequency of using definite *the* varies, in predictable ways, across different linguistic contexts including declaratives vs. interrogatives and subjects vs. objects. Ying et al. show that the same patterns are present in very young children.

Is there likewise an early sensitivity to definiteness in children acquiring Cantonese? Using longitudinal corpus data (CHILDES Lee/Wong/Leung), we conducted case studies on three Cantonese-speaking children (HHC, ages 2;04;08–3;04;14, 12,330 child utterances; LLY, 2;08;10–3;08;09, 9,772 utterances; LTF, 2;02;10–3;02;18, 9,331 utterances). The main adult interlocutor in each recording was the investigator (labeled INV) collecting the data. A child's sensitivity to definiteness was assessed by checking for a correlation, across different recording sessions, in the child's versus the adult's frequency (per 1,000 utterances) of bare classifiers. The logic was that appropriateness of a definite expression varies across different situations, but in each recording, the adult and the child were discussing exactly the same situations.

Two of the three children, HHC and LTF, exhibited significant positive correlations (Tables 1-2), as expected if they were already sensitive to definiteness at age 2-3. (See Table 3 for examples; note that imitations, repetitions, and formulaic routines were not counted.) The correlation for LLY, on the other hand, did not reach significance. It is possible that the correlation between child vs. INV frequencies is not the optimal measure of sensitivity to definiteness for every child. Overall, there is evidence of early sensitivity to definiteness in Cantonese, much as Ying et al. found in English, which provides support for Cheng & Sybesma's claim that bare classifiers in Cantonese are comparable to definite articles in English.

Table 1: Results for the child 'HHC': Statistics on the correlation between HHC's versus the INV's frequency (per 1,000 utterances) of bare classifiers

r	0.53
R^2	0.28
$t(14)$	2.35
two-tailed p	0.034

Table 2: Results for the child 'LTF': Statistics on the correlation between LTF's versus the INV's frequency (per 1,000 utterances) of bare classifiers

r	0.54
R^2	0.29
$t(14)$	2.41
two-tailed p	0.03

Table 3. Examples of children's uses of bare classifiers:

a. [Context: The investigator shows child how to control the puppet]

個　　頭　　郁，　郁．

go3　　tau4　　juk1,　juk1.

[the]　head　moves　moves

"The head is moving, moving."

HHC (3;04;14)

b. 個　　蛋糕　　　唔　　見咗　　　嘅？

go3　　daan6gou1　m4　　gin3 zo2　　ge2？

[the]　cake　　　　not　　seen (perfective)

"The cake is gone?"

LLY (3;03;26)

c. [Context: Child is pointing at the 'crying' tooth doll in the TV advertisement]

個　　公　仔，　個　　公　仔　喊　呀．

go3　　gung1 zai2,　go3　　gung1 zai2　haam3 a3.

[the]　doll　　　　　[the]　doll　　　cries

"The doll, the doll is crying."

LTF (2;05;18)

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(Un)Broken Heritage:
A Comparative Analysis of Sociolinguistic Attitudes on Cantonese and Taigi

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The present talk presents a comparative analysis of the history and development of Cantonese and Taigi 台語 through the lens of language standardization and prestige. The orthographic representation of Chinese varieties (traditionally *fangyan* 方言) has traditionally been considered secondary to the transmission of the oral language, with some denying its existence or value at all (for Taigi, see Khoo 2021; for Cantonese, see Chan 2005:13). Yet, for both of these languages, there has been a rich history of written language dating back centuries (Klöter 2005; Chan 2005:4). In the twentieth century, Cantonese enjoyed a high status in regions such as Hong Kong, serving as a protector of many traditional forms and manuscripts, particularly in comparison to Guangzhou. Meanwhile, in Taiwan, the twentieth century saw the decline of Taigi through successive periods of colonial suppression. As such, the paths of Cantonese and Taigi diverged, as access to heritage and prestige differed. In 2023, these differences have manifested in the discourse surrounding language standardization and social prestige. Through an analysis of this discourse, we can start to understand the larger role of heritage and continuity for not only language standardization, but also language preservation.

To explore this topic, the present author collected language attitude data from 46 individuals located in Southern Taiwan from a diverse group of age ranges. These responses were analyzed for both quantitative and qualitative attitudes expressed towards written Taigi. For the Cantonese side, the data presented additional challenges. Yan (2008) presents a subset of social attitudes towards written Cantonese in her exploration of social variation of vernacular written Cantonese. However, the data from Yan is limited in a few regards, such as when the data was collected. Additionally, Yan's data collection took place entirely in Guangzhou. As such, this data cannot be taken to be fully representative of language attitudes in both Hong Kong and Guangzhou, as these regions have had diverging history. Nonetheless, there is significant interaction between these regions, and Guangzhou remains a major center for Cantonese, and as such, merits discussion. One strength of Yan's data provides explicit social judgement of the orthography, an understudied topic. However, to counteract the regional bias, the situation of Guangzhou and Hong Kong will be compared, particularly in respect to the sociopolitical developments of the past two decades, such as in educational reform.

The results of the Taigi study showed that, contrary to expectations, examples of standard Taigi were evaluated as being academic. For example, some of the participants remarked that the written examples of standardized Taigi looked as if it would be written by scholars or Taigi language teachers. This result was surprising, as Taigi remains a socially low language, as most academia continues to operate in Mandarin. However, the present author proposes that the role of the government in recent decades in not only standardizing, but also promoting Taigi are actively shifting this traditional evaluation.

The results for Taigi stand in contrast to the data on written Cantonese. Yan reported that standard written Cantonese (a loosely defined term), in which all forms were negatively associated with education status, as more educated individuals were less likely to accept these forms (Yan 2008:231). As such, writing in Cantonese was not a marker of education, but instead the lack thereof. In Hong Kong, as Clark (2019) explores in Article 9 of Hong Kong's Basic Law, the conceptualization of "Chinese" has posed an issue for education and law in Hong Kong, as the law remains vague what "Chinese" means in the context of language education. Additionally, the tense

political situation in Hong Kong has impacted language attitudes. Shum et al. (2023) report that recent political movements have caused a shift in positive evaluations of non-standard Mandarin, i.e. what Shum et al. describe as in-group Cantonese-accented Mandarin, over the standard. For Cantonese, standard was preferred for both measures of competence and warmth. In tracking these changes, Shum et al. present an interesting analysis of these markings on Cantonese arising out of sense of solidarity and localist resistance to the encroachment of Mandarin. From the perspective of this study, this is analyzed as an understanding of protection of heritage. As Cantonese has remained strong in Hong Kong, the more positive evaluations of Cantonese are to be expected, as it is associated with heritage.

The social milieu surrounding each language is unique, and as such, true comparisons between multiple varieties is often difficult. However, the case of Cantonese and Taigi display how the role of heritage and continuity plays an important role in mediating the continued transmission of these varieties. In the case of Cantonese, there was continued transmission and diglossia, and as such, as Mandarin has replaced Cantonese in Guangzhou as the *lingua de jure*, the social evaluation of Cantonese has continued to decrease in favor of other languages, such as Mandarin. Meanwhile, English plays a large role in Hong Kong society, with increasing Mandarin influence. In contrast, Taigi in its written form had been effectively suppressed, so the revival of its written form, in conjunction with Taigi's rise of status due to democratization, has become construed as a scholarly pursuit—yet subject to much more conflict over authenticity, meaning what is defined as the true variety, when compared to Cantonese. As such, standard written Taigi enjoys a level of erudition that is unexpected of a socially low language. As language preservation continues to be a primary objective for activists in both languages, each can look to the other for lessons learned.

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Evolving Pre-processing of Raw Corpus: The Digitization Initiative of Cantonese Material at the Sino-Vietnamese Border in the Late 19th Century

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The linguistic diversity in the Gulf of Tonkin (GoT) region offers a compelling area of study, which is however made challenging due to the limited availability of late Qing materials. The *Lagarrue's* (1900) serves as an exceptional resource in this context. Authored by French military officer *Lagarrue*, it is a valuable textbook that composes Cantonese using the Vietnamese alphabet, deviating significantly from the standard utilization of the Latin alphabet.

The corpus is relatively vast, comprising over 2,400 vocabulary items and more than 2,500 unique characters with pronunciation. The materials are diversified across different sections such as vocabulary lessons, pronunciation guides, extensive dialogues, and classical Chinese pleadings. These pleadings feature Cantonese phonetics written in Vietnamese alphabet, and also include French translations. Furthermore, the corpus includes trilingual vocabulary, idioms translated into French, and a comparison with late 19th-century Guangzhou Cantonese.

In response to this unique resource, the study's main objective is to build a comprehensive pre-processing workflow for the *Lagarrue's*. This workflow, which includes meticulous organization, optical character recognition (OCR), machine translation, and is supported by an algorithm based on Unicode rules for processing the Vietnamese alphabet. The study also employs regular expression patterns for Jyutping++ and Jyutping analysis and proposes a method for transitioning the phonological scheme from Vietnamese to Jyutping++.

The methodology of the study involves the following components:

1. Transcription Scheme: This scheme is based on principles of reversibility, convenience, and frequency priority. The scheme, fully compatible with Jyutping, is called Jyutping++, and was presented at WOC-21. The extended scheme in this paper continuously collects corner cases during transcription.

2. Vietnamese Alphabet Decomposing Algorithm: This algorithm is designed to decompose the Vietnamese alphabet. The alphabet includes characters composed of two or three components, such as base Latin letters, diacritics, and tone markers. For better program-assisted processing, these components need to be decomposed.

3. Useful Regex Patterns for Jyutping++.

4. Digitization and Open Access: The corpus has been made accessible online through a bespoke website with a query function, aimed at enabling universal access for researchers. Entries will be further proofread and then the entire database will be open sourced later.

Preliminary linguistic findings (J Lai, et al., 2023), such as the merging of rhymes '豪' and '侯', along with the '陽' rhyme merging with the colloquial reading of the class '梗', and noticeable instances of the rising tones '古上聲' are recorded. These critical findings underline the necessity and effectiveness of the pre-processing workflow, opening avenues for a more profound exploration of the Cantonese dialect at the Sino-Vietnamese border in the late 19th century.

As a supplementary study to the main study (J Lai, et al., 2023), the current paper primarily elucidates the importance and the process of pre-processing, as previously overviewed in the main study. Beyond contributing to a more profound understanding of the Cantonese dialect, this research

emphasizes the value of rigorous pre-processing and the trend towards digitization and open-sourcing in linguistics.

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以方言詞及方言地理學析粵語臻攝合口一等字讀音層次

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粵語古臻攝合口一等字今讀與傳統韻攝的開合口分類不完全對應。臻攝為《廣韻》十六韻攝之一，主要特徵為平、上、去聲的轄字以*-n 為韻尾；入聲以*-t 為韻尾。"合口"即有介音*-u-或-w-，或主元音為圓唇的字。古合口字在粵語今讀主要元音多為圓唇，亦有以聲母為條件演變為不圓唇。不過，以廣州粵語為例，古攝合口一等唇音字"奔＂[pɐn¹]、"本＂[pun³]、"噴（～水）＂[pʰɐn⁵]等主元音有圓唇及不圓唇；李新魁（1996）指出古臻攝合口一等字僅"少量舌音讀[ɐn ɐt]＂。同時，具相同音韻地位的古臻攝合口一等字"屯＂及"臀＂（臻合一平魂定）在陽江話分別讀為[tʰun²]及[tʰɐn²]。上述兩個粵方言點的例子均未見明顯的音變規律，暗示粵語古臻攝合口一等字今讀與傳統韻攝開合口分類的分歧可能為外部環境因素引起的音變。然而，學者鮮有詳細討論粵語古臻攝合口一等字的歷史語音發展。由此，本研究提出以下問題：1) 粵語古臻攝合口一等字是否具不同層次？2) 如有，孰先孰後？ 3)什麼因素導致這個分歧（或層次）的傳播？

本研究利用前人語料如《粵西十縣市粵方言調查報告》、《珠三角方言調查報告》、《廣西通志•漢語方言志》、《廣西漢語方言研究》、《廣東陽江方言研究》、《化州粵語概說》，分析粵語臻攝合口一等字。撇除個別方言點的內部音變，本研究揭示粵語古臻攝合口一等字今讀具不同層次。由於這些字沒有明顯的文白異讀，本研究進一步利用方言詞及方言地理學，辨別不同層次。方言詞包括非漢語來源的底層詞及現代普通話不用的古臻攝合口字；以方言地理學考察語音層次即以變體的地理分佈差異剖析疊置的歷史層次。

藉以上方法，本研究提出粵語臻攝合口字今讀由三個層次組成，依次為圓唇口語層次、不圓唇層次、圓唇書面層次。結合語言及地理特徵，不圓唇層次可能從粵語以北地區擴散到粵語，並覆蓋至圓唇口語層次之上；圓唇書面層次正由較發達的珠江三角洲往西擴散，似乎將逐漸覆蓋不圓唇層次。

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Interlanguage Pragmatic Features in Hong Kong Non-Chinese Speaking Students' Spoken Cantonese

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Non-Chinese speaking (NCS) students in the Hong Kong public school system face the challenge of developing language abilities in both Cantonese and written Chinese. Previous studies have acknowledged the significant gap between their oral and literacy skills, yet few have paid attention to their Cantonese oral abilities. While assessing reading and writing skills and discussing teaching reforms have been the primary focus (Tang, 2018; Wong, 2010), little attention has been given to NCS students' Cantonese oral proficiency. Furthermore, previous surveys have relied on subjective analyses (Ku et al., 2005; Li & Chuk, 2015) rather than empirical measures to assess oral performance.

This study addresses the research gap surrounding the Cantonese oral proficiency of NCS students by analyzing a cohort recruited from a single secondary school in Hong Kong. The sample comprised sixteen senior secondary students of Pakistani heritage, thirteen of whom were Urdu-dominant speakers, aged between 15 and 19 (mean age = 16.44 years). These students had an average of 12.50 years of Cantonese learning experience, ranging from intermediate to advanced levels. To assess their oral proficiency, students participated in an oral storytelling task using the wordless illustrated storybook *Frog, Where Are You?* (Mayer, 1969). The narratives were transcribed by a native Cantonese speaker to facilitate the analysis of prominent microstructural linguistic features present in the different renditions of the story.

Based on preliminary findings, the respondents exhibited a series of distinct errors in their spoken Cantonese language usage. In terms of lexicon, students demonstrated code-mixing by incorporating English lexical items in situations where no Cantonese equivalents exist or where Cantonese equivalents are not commonly used, such as *deer* and *owl*. Additionally, some students employed standard Chinese terms instead of vernacular Cantonese; noteworthy examples include substituting 小狗 (*siu2gau2*) for 狗仔 (*gau2zai2*) when referring to "little dog", using 小鳥 (*siu2niu5*) instead of 雀仔 (*zoek3zai2*) for "birdie", and 好開心地 (*hou2 hoi1sam1 dei6*) instead of 好開心噉 (*hou2 hoi1sam1 gam2*) for "happily". Syntactically, certain students tended to overuse a particular connective throughout their narrations, sometimes in inappropriate contexts, such as 噉 (*gam2*, "then"). These features, which are consistently observed and shared among this group of NCS students, are rare among native speakers, suggesting the emergence of a new interlanguage variant in Cantonese among South Asian speakers in Hong Kong.

This study is significant in delving into naturalistic spoken data for L2 Cantonese, focusing on the production of near-native learners. The finding suggested systematic patterns and offers valuable curriculum design insights, e.g., targeted vocabulary instruction and contextual factors, to enhance students' oral proficiency.

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Developing a CEFR-aligned Cantonese Oral Proficiency Test in Hong Kong

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This paper presents the current state of Cantonese assessments and outlines the development of a new test that addresses the identified gaps.

Background Cantonese is the lingua franca in Hong Kong (88.2% as the usual language) and an important heritage language overseas. A rigorous and comprehensive spoken Cantonese assessment is needed to ensure fairness in employment and education for people who have not received Hong Kong mainstream education or lack the ability to use Chinese characters (e.g. foreign domestic helpers, heritage speakers, ethnic minorities). Existing assessments are either diagnostic in nature, e.g., Hong Kong TOPOL, or achievement tests tied to school curricula. Choices on proficiency tests are limited (see Table 1). The two Hong Kong-based tests, CRAT by LSHK (CRAT Work Group, 2023) and COPA by CUHK, are designed for high proficiency users and assume written Chinese knowledge, while Cantonese ACTFL-OPI (Lin, 2021) is based in North America and designed for English users. In the Hong Kong context, a proficiency test that is locally/regionally based, non-English-centred, criterion-aligned, script/ standard-answer-free is non-existent. Development of such a test is much justified and needed.

Test Design The team made the following strategic decisions on test design.

1. Oral proficiency will be assessed in a setting whereby the test-taker interacts with the examiner and complete tasks in Cantonese, following practices in ACTFL-OPI tests.

2. The assessment does not assume prior knowledge in Chinese characters or English.

3. To ensure universality and comparability, the assessment is to be aligned with the CEFR model of language proficiency description (Council of Europe, 2011).

4. To strike a balance between feasibility and accuracy, assessment will be administered on two layers, an entry-stage lower test (for CEFR Levels A1, A2, B1 or above) and a higher test (for CEFR Levels B2, C1 and C2), as shown in [Table 2].

5. For linguistic and marketing reasons, development of the lower test will be prioritized.

Implementation Can-do descriptors, organized as Aspect (oral reception and production, oral interaction, linguistic competences, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences) x Proficiency level. Descriptors relevant to the "Lower Exam" (Pre-A1, A1, A2, B1) have been completed ([Table 3]). Trial runs have been conducted to refine the descriptors and rundown of the test and facilitate the training of examiners. It is our current plan that details of the lower test (including its official name and trial run) can be announced by the end of 2023.

	ACTFL-OPI	COPA	CRAT	This test
Region of development	USA	HK	HK	HK
Language of instruction	English	Written Chinese	Cantonese	Cantonese
Written Chinese	n/a	Assumed	Assumed	n/a
Chinese characters	n/a	Assumed	Assumed	n/a
Proficiency Test	✓	x	x	✓

Table 1: Cantonese oral tests available to the general public

Level band descriptor	CEFR levels	Lower Test	Higher Test
C/ Advanced	C2	B1 or above	C2
	C1		C1
B/ Intermediate	B2		B2
	B1		(Without certification)
A/ Entry	A2	A2	
	A1	A1	
	Pre-A1	(Without certification)	

Table 2: Alignment with CEFR Levels

	(i) oral reception and production	(ii) oral interaction	(iii) linguistic competences	(iv) sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences
C2	In progress			
C1				
B2				
B1	Done			
A2				
A1				
Pre-A1				

Table 3: Can-do descriptors

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How do non-tonal language speakers acquire tones?
A case study of NCS adults acquiring Hong Kong Cantonese by comparing three teaching approaches

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Objective: In Hong Kong, most of the teachers focuses on oral skills instead of teaching Chinese characters to non-Chinese speaking (NCS) students. However, the acquisition of tones is still a long-standing puzzle for NCS people whose mother tongues are not tonal languages, regardless of how long they have been staying in Hong Kong (Lau & Mok 2019; Lau & Lau 2022, among many others). Thus, this study presents the preliminary result of the investigation about the effectiveness of three different teaching methods of tones by NCS learners of Cantonese, namely the traditional approach, graphical approach and the melodic approach.

Method: This study recruits 30 participants, aging from 18 to 30, with various linguistic backgrounds of non-tonal languages including Urdu, Tagalog, and Hindi. All participants have very limited or even no knowledge in Cantonese. 30 students are arranged into three groups (i.e. 10 participants in a group) and taught with the same set of teaching materials. The only difference is that: the notes for group A consists of solely Jyutping, similar to most of the existing teaching materials; Group B adopts the **graphical approach** which also involves pictures generated by *Tiutiuzaat Graphical Cantonese Generator*, developed by *Hambaanglaang Cantonese Graded Readers* (2019). The 'dancing modeindpe' allows presenting tone contouring by different colours and 'movements' as graphics to show the tones vividly (as in picture 1). Group C adopts a **melodic approach**, the essence of *Chantoneasy* (Chan 2015), which associates lexical tones with musical notes (i.e. the first 5 notes of the solfeggio music scale (*do-re-mi-fa-so*)). Learners will be taught to map the numbers of jyutping to the musical notes (as in picture 2). A pre-test and a post-test will be done to check the accuracy rate of tones of participants. All classes were conducted online.

Result: Participants of group C performed the best among the three groups, most of them attained native-like pronunciations with accurate tones. The learners reported that the melodic approach could successfully helped them to grasp the ideas of tones accurately, no matter they have received musical training before or not. On contrary, although *Tiutiuzaat* visualizes the six tones in Cantonese and it is a user-friendly tool which can save the time of transcribing the Chinese words into jyutping by simply click a button on the Tiutiuzaat webpage, participants of group B thought that the different colours and font styles of the tiutiuzaat graphics might give rise to processing difficulties (they have to remember the rules before understanding the graphics).

All in all, this study will discuss pros and cons of the three teaching methods, which may benefit teachers' design of teaching materials and assist students' acquisition of tonal languages.

Picture 1. Transcription of Cantonese words into jyutping using the Tiutiuzaat software
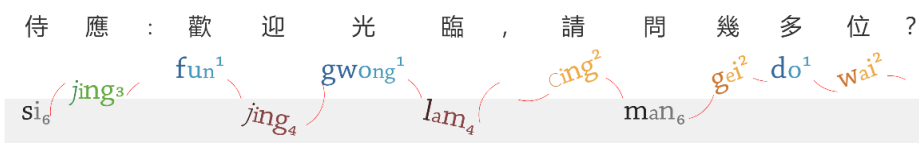
Picture 2. The symbols representing 6 Cantonese tones in Chantoneasy Method (retrieved from the 'Chantoneasy' Instagram page).
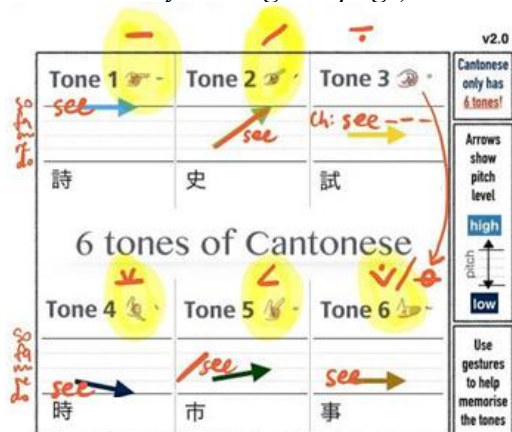
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A Survey on the Acceptance of Written Cantonese Orthographic Variants

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Background

Written Cantonese lacks an authoritative standard. Even its active users lament that they do not know how certain words should be written or cannot decide on the different ways to write a word. Some conventions on character choice may have emerged, but this cannot be easily confirmed due to the lack of up-to-date large-scale corpora. This is an interesting case of ongoing bottom-up writing system development that takes place in the open online space, with a huge user base with negligible dialectal variation. There is a need to establish facts about its convergence and further investigate on how conventions spread and evolved from a sociolinguistic perspective.

The Study

The study explores the use of subjective acceptance data in determining the level of conventionalisation across different Cantonese users on Facebook, the most accessible Cantonese-writing community online. The research questions are:

1. Do Cantonese users have similar preferences in character choice for common morphemes with multiple variants?

2. Do Cantonese users accept written forms that are not their preferred character?

Survey

An online anonymous questionnaire with 25 questions was set up on Google Form and distributed on Facebook (See Figure 1). Each question displayed a phrase, or a short sentence written in multiple ways. For example, one question shows four ways to write the phrase "I am home" *ngo5 hai2 uk1kei2*: 我系屋企 我係屋企 我起屋企 我喺屋企. Respondents were asked to indicate their judgement for each of the written forms presented, by choosing from three option: **A** 我會用 (I do use it this way) , **B** 我唔介意人用 (I don't mind if others use it this way) and **C** 我抗拒呢個寫法 (I oppose this way of writing).

Results and Observations

The survey was conducted in 2021 and received 15,661 valid responses. The *acceptance-to-rejection (AR) ratio* (A+B):C for each variant was used as an indicator for "the degree of support" of a variant, and an AR-ratio of 10 or higher indicates wide acceptance of a written form. Here are some initial observations from the descriptive data:

1. All 25 common Cantonese expressions surveyed had at least one widely acceptable form, indicating some basic consensus among the Cantonese-writing community.

2. There was a trend towards assigning a designated character for a group of free variants for maximal disambiguation. The survey showed a strong preference in pairing 啦 with *laa1* and 喇 with *laa3* (The two characters had been used for both particles.)

3. There was a consensus to use the mouth-radical (口). Although it is common to see morphemes normally that go with the mouth radical written without one (e.g. 喺 *hai2* "at", 㗎 *gaa3* [particle], 嚟 *lei4* "come", 咗 *zo2* [perf] written as 係, 架, 嚟, 左). The ones with the mouth radical have a higher AR-ratio comparing to the ones without.

A subset of respondents showed clear character choice preferences. The sociolinguistic profile and the consistencies among this group of Cantonese users will be discussed.

18 *			
	我會用	我唔介意人用	我抗拒呢個寫法
我系屋企	○	○	○
我係屋企	○	○	○
我起屋企	○	○	○
我喺屋企	○	○	○

Figure 1: Question 18 on Google Form

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Gender Variations in the Use of the Cantonese Sentence-Final Particle *zek1* in the Mid-20th Century Hong Kong

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While there is a substantial literature on gender and language in East Asian languages such as (Ogi, 2014), studies of gender variations in Cantonese have been rare. Chan's (1996, 2002) research revealed that both men and women use the sentence-final particle (SFP) *zek1* but in differing ways depending on the context, such as interactions between spouses or friends. However, explanations for these variations were not provided. Recent sociolinguistic research suggests that it is more important to examine the patterns and find possible explanations for them (Eckert 1998). This study builds upon Chan's (1996, 2002) work to investigate gender differences in the usage of *zek1* in Mid-20th century Hong Kong Cantonese. It explored gender variations in *zek1* usage in Hong Kong Cantonese and seeks to identify potential explanations for such differences by adopting the concept of the *sajiao* speech style (Hardeman 2013, Yueh 2017).

Sajiao is a childish, feminine speech style that is prevalent in Chinese-speaking community. Because *zek1* is often considered a feminine marker which carries some degree of cuteness and affected sweetness, the usage of *zek1* can be regarded as a *sajiao* act.

This study utilized a functional corpus approach to investigate the usage of *zek1* in 20th-century Hong Kong. The chosen corpus was the Corpus of Mid-20th Century Hong Kong Cantonese created by Chin & Tweed (2019), which comprised 60 Hong Kong movies produced between the 1940s and the 1970s, totaling 770,000-character tokens. The corpus was selected for its authenticity in representing 20th-century Cantonese speech. This study examined the production years of the movies that contain the highest frequency of the occurrence of *zek1*. Three movies of the sixty movies in Table 1 were selected, and the context and the usage of *zek1* in these movies were analyzed.

This particular study classified *sajiao* speech style into two groups: *sajiao* for intimacy and *sajiao* for negotiation. Table 2 displays the frequency distribution of *zek1* in the two types of *sajiao*. Although men and women use *sajiao* for both intimacy and negotiation, women tend to use more *zek1* for intimacy than men, 47 vs. 13 tokens. Men, on the other hand, use *sajiao* for negotiation slightly more than women. The p value is less than 0.05 which suggests that there is a significant relationship between the *sajiao* categories and gender. The Cramer's V value 0.35 also implies a moderate association of the two categorial data.

The findings of this study provide an explanation as to why men use *zek1* more in husbands-to-friends conversations while women use *zek1* more in wives-to-husbands conversations as observed in Chan's (1996, 2002) studies. The findings suggest that, for men, the use of *zek1* in *sajiao* negotiation facilitates their socioeconomic success; while for women, the use of *zek1* in *sajiao* intimacy help maintain a successful relationship.

Table 1. The three movie titles examined in the study.

Year	Movie title	Genre	Freq. of *zek1*
1952	Foster-Daddy's Romantic Affairs	Comedy	76
1956	The Scatterbrain	Comedy	39
1957	Little Women	Drama	46

Table 2. The frequency distribution of *zek1* in two different *sajiao* strategies.

	Male	Female	Total
Sajiao - **intimacy**	13	47	**60**
Sajiao - **negotiation**	25	20	**45**
Total	**38**	**67**	**105**
Chi-square = 12.8, df = 1, p < 0.05, Cramer's V = 0.35			

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What's borrowed, and what's not: revisiting the *which*-construction in Hong Kong Cantonese

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Synopsis. This study revisits the formal and interpretive properties of the *which*-construction in mixed code in Hong Kong Cantonese (K.-W. Leung 2010, Chan 2022, Lee 2023). Its signature property is the lexical borrowing of the English relative pronoun *which* and the introduction of a clausal element, typically appearing in the right periphery.

(1) 我唔中意佢嘅意見，**which** Δ does not mean 我憎佢。(Chan 1992, p.9)
(2) 佢見到部電話 **which** 佢話想買 Δ 喎。(T.-C. Leung 2001, p.58)

The *which-construction* has been characterized as an instance of lexico-syntactic transference (K.-W. Leung 2010; *cf.* Li 1999, Chan 2022), given the borrowing of both *which* and the apparent English-type relative structure. However, drawing on data from introspective data and internet resources, I argue against this characterization. I suggest instead that a closer scrutiny on the construction reveals that no relative structure is "borrowed" in HK Cantonese.

Data. In addition to post-modification, the *which*-construction admittedly show certain similarities to English. For example, (i) it can appear in sentence-medial position (*pace* K.-W. Leung 2010), as in (3), and (ii) it can take clausal (VP) antecedent.

(3) 有個咖喱朋友 (**which** 佢真係好好) 分享話其實佢地 fing 得頭通常都係表示友好。
(4) 例如 [VP 覺得當日個樣唔好睇，張相唔好睇] (**which** 好多人都會 Δ)。

However, the *which*-construction also exhibits a number of properties unattested in English relative structures. For example, (i) the *which*-construction can be "gap"-less but contain a constituent that is merely semantically associated with its antecedent, as in (5). (ii) It is also possible to be genuinely "gap"-less, where the antecedent is unclear at all, as in (6). (iii) It can host SFPs similar to matrix clauses, as in (7). (iv) It exhibits island insensitivity, where the head noun can be associated with a gap contained in a syntactic island, as in (8). (v) It can further appear across two sentences by different speakers, as in (9). From the perspective of English relative structures, all these properties are "innovative," and develop only in HK Cantonese.

(5) 同時去學唱歌增強自己唱歌嘅能力，**which** 個成果真係好明顯好明顯。
(6) 而全場得一張檯係二人檯 **which** 佢地仲食緊主菜。
(7) 我係話你手勢唔乾淨喎，**which** 你自己已經承認咗 Δ 啦。
(8) 我同佢都鍾意食榴槤，**which** 我一早就聽過 [complex NP 佢比我更鍾意 Δ 嘅講法]。
(9) A: 我想知點解佢做呢個題目。B: **which** 唔係而家講嘅。(Leung 2010, p.72)

Analysis. Based on these novel observations, I suggest that the *which*-construction is not evidence for structural borrowing from English relative structures (*pace* K.-W. Leung 2010, Chan 2022). It is neither evidence for post-modification, which is highly restricted in HK Cantonese (Luke 1998). Instead, I propose that the relative pronoun *which* is borrowed as **a clausal-level connective that specifically introduces *non-at-issue* proposition**, supplementing the limited means to do so in HK Cantonese. This analysis is further supported by parallels with the interpretation of English appositives in terms of (i) scope-less behaviors, (ii) exhaustivity, and (iii) the non-triviality requirement (Potts 2005, Schlenker 2022).

Implications on code-switching. The *which*-construction involves lexical borrowing but less likely syntactic/structural borrowing. This finding shows that it does not defy the Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993, 2002), *contra* Chan (2022).

To metrify or not to metrify? – An Optimality-Theoretic account for Cantonese-English bilingual children's intonation patterns

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Lee et al. (2023) investigated bilingual interaction in intonation in simultaneous bilingual children acquiring a tonal language (Cantonese) and a stress/intonational language (English). They observed two English-like intonation patterns exclusively produced by Cantonese-English bilingual children but not monolingual Cantonese-speaking children. The English-like intonation patterns were attributed to transfer of English prosody to Cantonese and code-mixed utterances (henceforth bilingual intonation) predominantly in the presence of Cantonese sentence-final particles. However, it is unclear when high (H) and low (L) tones were produced in the bilingual intonation patterns. The current study proposes an Optimality-Theoretic (OT) account for the intonation patterns in code-mixed utterances produced by Cantonese-English bilingual children.

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

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

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

This study is the first to formalize the intonation patterns of bilingual children. We present novel data of non-target stress patterns produced by the bilingual children, which can be attributed to the metrification of Cantonese particles into English foot structure. The metrification may be liaised by the similar semantic/pragmatic functions between Cantonese particles and English intonation. We propose that unranked constraints in OT can account for the co-existence/variation between target

and non-target forms produced by the same children in the early stage of their development of phonology. Our phonological analysis suggests that bilingual children develop two independent grammars in mind, and cross-linguistic influence in prosody can occur at the level of phonological constraints.

Tableau 1. OT analysis for bilingual intonation.

/dóg-gie a/	MAXSTRESS	DEPSTRESS	ALIGN-H-R	ALIGN-PRWD-R

a.   (x   )
    (x   ·) (x)
    dóg-gie á
    H   L
		*	*!	

b. ☞ (x   )
    (x   ·) ·
    dóg-gie a
    H   L
				*

c. ☞ (x   )
    (x) (x ·)
    dóg-gìe a
    L   H
		*		

d. ☞ (x   )
    (x) (x ·)
    dóg-gie a
    H   H
		*		

e.   (x   )
    (x) (x   ·)
    dóg-gie a
    H   L
		*	*!	

f.   (x   )
     · (x ·)
    dog-gíe a
    L   H
	*	*!		

Tableau 2. OT analysis for Cantonese intonation.

/lí-on a/	MAXSTRESS	DEPSTRESS	ALIGN-H-R	ALIGN-PRWD-R

a.   (x   )
    (x ·) (x)
    lí-on á
    H   L
		*!	*!	

b. ☞ (x   )
    (x ·) ·
    lí-on a
    H   L
				*

c.   (x   )
    (x)(x ·)
    lí-ón a
    L   H
		*!		

d.   (x   )
    (x)(x ·)
    lí-òn a
    H H
		*!		

e.   (x   )
    (x)(x ·)
    lí-òn a
    H   L
		*!	*!	

f.   (x   )
     · (x ·)
    li-ón a
    L   H
	*!	*!		

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Some prosodic consequences of varied discourse functions
in a Cantonese sentence-final particle

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This study investigates the prosodic correlates of varied discourse functions for a Cantonese sentence-final particle (SFP). Previous studies emphasized on how pitch contrasts SFPs with the same segments. It was also shown that pitch can be significantly different even if the SFPs are stated with the same citation tone (Lee, 2021). However, the phonetic implementation of individual particles that have varied discourse functions have not been explored. In the present study, I hypothesize that intonation-like prosodic differences in pitch and (vowel) duration can be found for individual particles that have varied discourse functions. I investigate how the pitch and vowel duration of SFPs may interact with the local (syllable-level) and global (utterance-level) durational and temporal factors.

Ten native adult speakers of Cantonese participated in the production experiments. Three functions of the Cantonese particle *ge2* were examined: blaming others (Blame), defending oneself (Defend), and asking for reasons (Reason) (Leung, 2005). Three carrier phrases were designed for each function with the same lexical tones, length, and syntactic structures to ensure similar prosody and metrics of each sentence. Additionally, a prompt was designed for each function of *ge2* to reinforce participants' intuition about the discourse function of *ge2*. With the aid of contexts, participants were asked to produce the prompt and the carrier phrase with *ge2* placed at the end of the sentence for three times.

Figure 1 shows the pitch and vowel duration of three functions of *ge2*. In terms of pitch, results of generalized additive mixed model (GAMM) suggest that, despite the same citation tone of *ge2*, the pitch of Reason is significantly lower than that of Blame and Defend (Figures 2(B-C)), and there is no significant difference between the latter two (Figure 2(A)). At the global utterance level, mixed-effects regression (Figure 3) shows that the pitch of carrier phrases is significantly different between all three functions: Reason is significantly lower than both Blame ($p < .001$) and Defend ($p = .01$), and Blame is significantly higher than Defend ($p = .04$).

In terms of duration, Figure 4 shows that the relative vowel duration of Defend is significantly shorter than that of Blame ($p < .001$) and Reason ($p < .001$), but there is no significant difference between the latter two ($p = .98$). At the global temporal level, there is no significant difference between the speech rate of the carrier phrase (Figure 5), which shows that participants did not speak faster for any of the functions. Furthermore, k-means clustering (Figure 6) suggests that Reason can be reliably classified based on its lower pitch with an accuracy rate of 73.33% (66/90 correct tokens). Blame and Defend have similar pitches and primarily differ in relative vowel duration, as supported by fewer tokens of Defend (17 tokens = 18.89%) being misclassified into the cluster of Blame. My results suggest that different functions of the same Cantonese particle have different phonetic realization in pitch and duration.

This study has demonstrated the prosodic consequences of varied discourse functions in the same Cantonese SFP *ge2*, namely pitch and duration. First, in terms of pitch, both GAMM and k-means clustering results support that Reason differ from the other two functions primarily by lower pitch. The fact that the pitch of the carrier phrases of Reason is significantly lower than that of Blame

and Defend can be attributed to the emotional arousal of the functions of Blame and Defend. Second, in terms of duration, both mixed-effects regression and k-means clustering results suggest that Defend differs from the other two functions primarily by its shorter relative vowel duration.

Figure 1. Pitch and relative vowel duration of *ge2*.
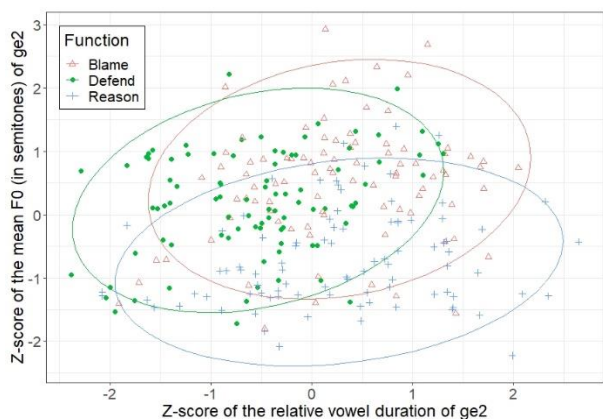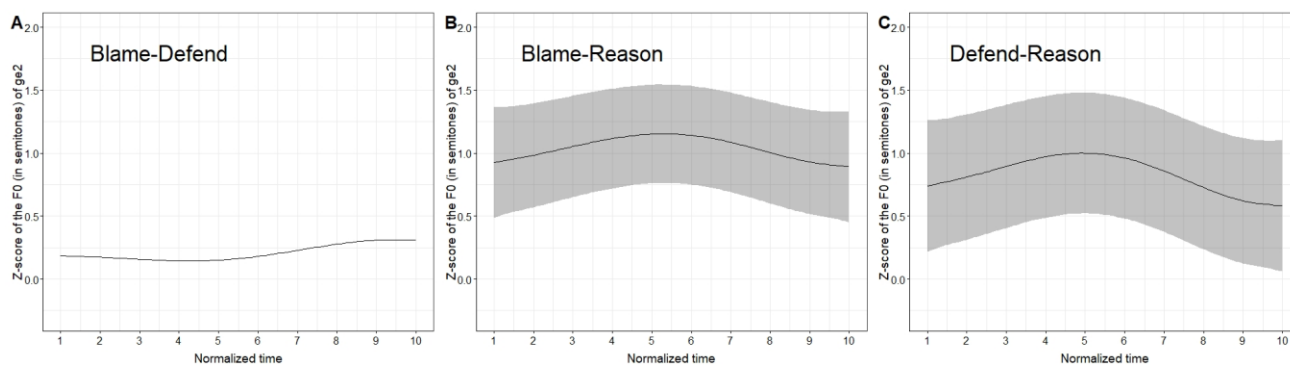

Figure 2. GAMM results of the pitch of *ge2*: (A) Blame – Defend; (B) Blame – Reason; (C) Defend – Reason.

Note. Significant differences are indicated by the gray band (95% CI) around the smooth.

Figure 3. Pitch of carrier phrases.   **Figure 4**. Relative duration of *ge2*.
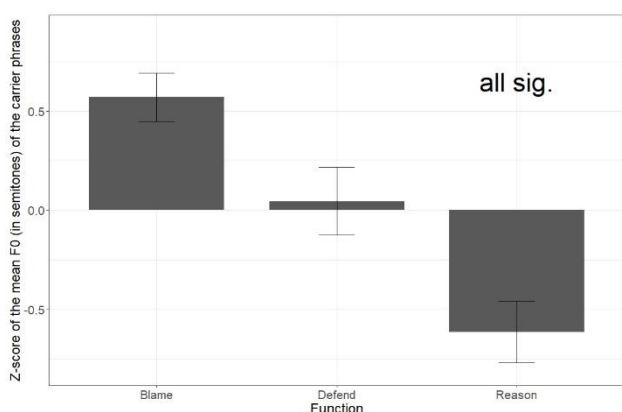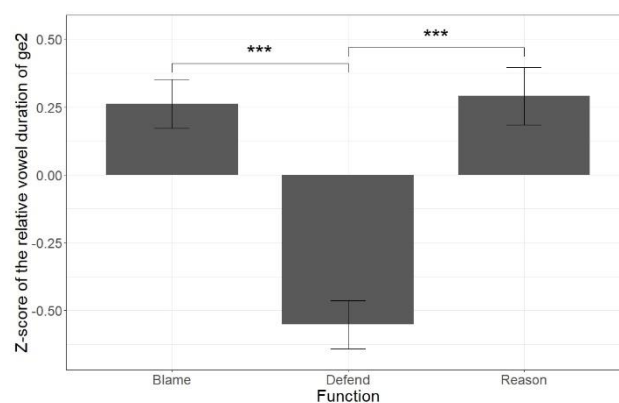
Figure 5. Speech rate of carrier phrases.
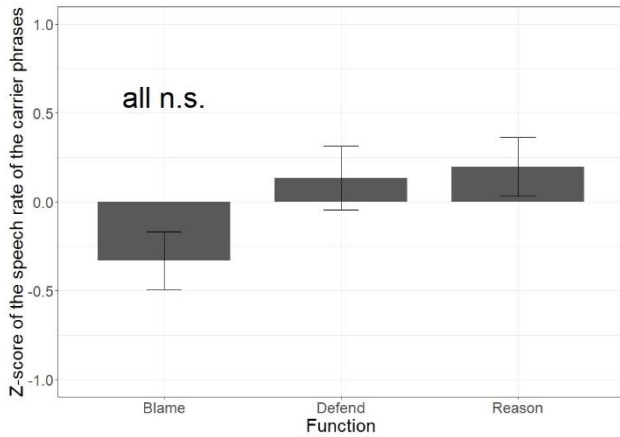
Figure 6. K-means clustering results.
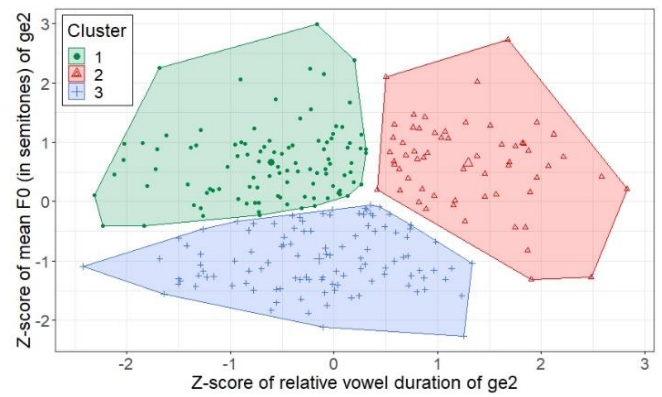
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Variation due to language contact in Cantonese acceptability judgements: An investigation of word order preferences in two verbal constructions

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Research on the syntactic grammar of heritage speakers often reports similarities to their homeland counterparts. However, one domain where this generalization does not hold is word order, susceptible to change by transfer from the dominant language (Polinsky, 2018). To investigate whether/when language transfer effects are found in heritage Cantonese speakers in Canada, we look to word order in two "conflict sites" (Poplack & Meechan, 1998) between Cantonese and English—resultative (RES) and double-object (DO) constructions.

Experiment. We ran a yes/no acceptability judgement task experiment with auditory stimuli on Gorilla (www.gorilla.sc) to test Cantonese speakers' judgements of RES and DO constructions with different word orders. We included two groups of participants: heritage speakers from Canada (HER), as well as homeland speakers from Hong Kong (HOM) as a baseline comparison.

For RES constructions, we tested four word-order variants, as shown in (1). For DO constructions, we tested eight variants: four word orders with the verb 畀 *bei²* 'give' (BEI, known to exhibit special word order, Tang, 1998) and these same word orders with more 'contentful' verbs of transfer (VERB, e.g., 送 *sung³* 'gift', 遞 *dai⁶* 'hand, pass'), as shown in (2).

(1) RES conditions: 'Wan relaxedly <u>pushed</u> the door **open**.'
    a. Means-Result-Aspect-Object (canonical): 阿雲好輕鬆噉<u>拄</u>**開**咗道門
    b. Means-Aspect-Object-Result (English order): 阿雲好輕鬆噉<u>拄</u>咗道門**開**
    c. Means-Aspect-Result-Object (morphological variant): 阿雲好輕鬆噉<u>拄</u>咗**開**道門
    d. Intervening adverbial (ungrammatical): 阿雲<u>拄</u>咗道門好輕鬆噉**開**

(2) DO conditions (HOM judgements): 'Ping gave/gifted the teachers her box of candies.'
    a. Verb-Aspect-Theme-Recipient: 阿萍{[√]畀/*送}咗[佢盒糖][啲先生]
    b. Verb-Aspect-Recipient-Theme (English order): 阿萍{*畀/*送}咗[啲先生][佢盒糖]
    c. Verb-Aspect-Theme-*bei²*-Recipient: 阿萍{[√]畀/[√]送}咗[佢盒糖]畀[啲先生]
    d. Verb-Theme-Aspect-*bei²*-Recipient: 阿萍{*畀/*送}[佢盒糖]咗畀[啲先生]

Results. The results (HER: $N = 33$, HOM: $N = 29$) are in line with predictions based on the hypothesis of transfer from English in heritage speakers' judgements, i.e., there would be higher acceptability for the English-influenced order among HER than among HOM. Among the RES variants, HER accept the Means-Aspect-Object-Result more than HOM (t-test, $p \ll 0.01$), but there is no significant difference between the two groups for the canonical order (t-test, $p = 0.38$) (Figure 1). As for the DO constructions, HER also accept the English-influenced orders BEI/VERB-Aspect-Recipient-Theme more than HOM (t-tests, $p \ll 0.01$ for both), while no significant difference was found between the two groups for BEI/VERB-Aspect-Theme-*bei²*-Recipient (t-tests, $p = 0.97$ and $p = 0.93$, respectively) (Figure 2). These results support the hypothesis that a heritage speaker's syntactic grammar may be shaped by transfer from the speaker's dominant language, specifically by adding possible word order variants but not at the expense of canonically accepted varia
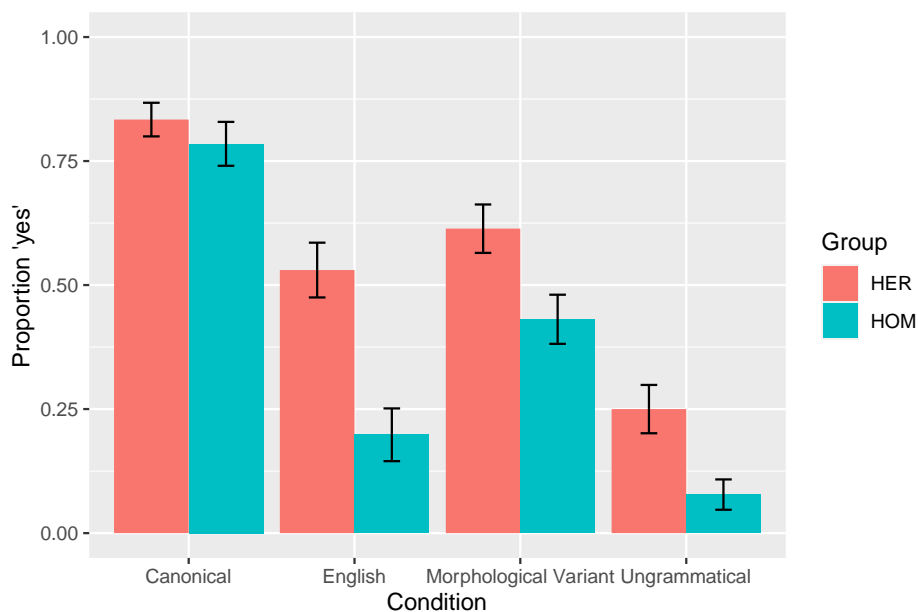
Figure 1. Mean proportion of 'yes' responses for different variants of RES constructions. Error bars represent standard error.
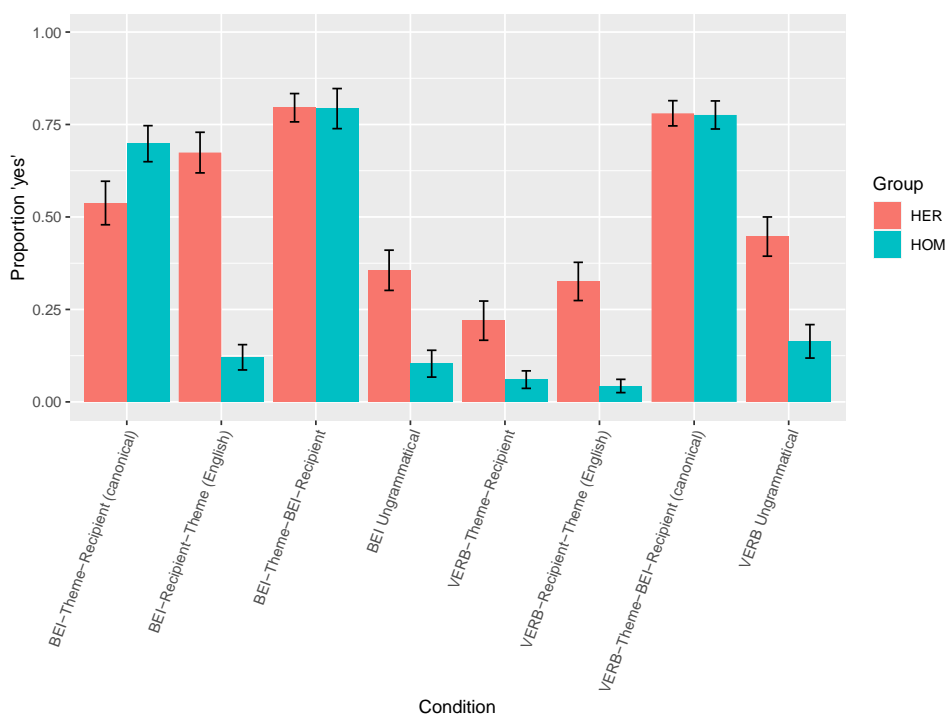
Figure 2. Mean proportion of 'yes' responses for different variants of DO constructions. Error bars represent standard error.

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Sibilant palatalization in Hong Kong and Toronto Cantonese:
A corpus study

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Introduction Cantonese has a set of sibilants varying between alveolars [ts,tsʰ,s] and palato-alveolars [tʃ,tʃʰ,ʃ]/[tɕ,tɕʰ,ɕ] depending on phonological contexts (Bauer & Benedict, 1997; Yu, 2016). As first proposed by Cheung (2002), the variability in palatalization may not be just a synchronic coarticulation, but a sound change that happened in the late-20 century and is still ongoing. This study aims at providing a detailed description of this under-documented sound change by surveying the change in two Cantonese communities, Hong Kong and Toronto. Moreover, we explore whether sound change may develop in *differential paces and directions* in two communities of a single language; and if yes, why.

Research questions (i) What are the phonological contexts that favor sibilant palatalization? (ii) Does the change in sibilant palatalization develop in different ways in Hong Kong (homeland) and Toronto (heritage) Cantonese? If yes, how can it be explained?

Method The corpus base from the HLVC corpus (Nagy, 2011) consists of audio-recorded and transcribed sociolinguistic interviews with homeland (Hong Kong) speakers (Gen-X), first generation immigrants in Toronto (Gen-1), and second generation immigrants (Gen-2). Each token of sibilants was annotated as either palatalized (Yes) or not (No) by two annotators blindly to each other, with disagreements adjudicated by a third annotator.

Pilot results *Ratios of palatalization* of one of each Gen-X, Gen-1 and Gen-2 speakers are reported in Fig. 1 (n=2164), where Gen-2 has the highest one, followed by Gen-1, and Gen-X has the lowest. Regarding *consonant types* (Fig. 2), affricates /ts,tsʰ/ are overall more likely to be palatalized than fricative /s/, with aspirated /ts/ more likely than unaspirated /ts/ for Gen-X and the reverse for Gen-1 and Gen-2. Regarding *vowel types* (Fig. 3), sibilants before the rounded high front vowel /y/ are most likely to be palatalized, followed by other rounded Vs (/u,œ,ɵ,ɔ/), then by unrounded Vs (/i,ɛ,ɐ,a/). For Gen-X, /i,ɛ/ has a higher percentage of palatalization than /ɐ,a/, whereas Gen-1 and Gen-2 have a reverse pattern. Notably, the ratio of palatalization for Gen-X is always below half for all Vs. Finally, the /s/ before /y/ is almost always palatalized (95-100%) for Gen-1 and Gen-2, but the ratio is only 25% for Gen-X.

Discussion While palatalization is observed in both homeland and heritage communities, the sound change differs in pace and direction. Pace-wise, the continuum regarding both the ratio of palatalization and the range of phonological contexts (e.g. both rounded & unrounded Vs for Gen-2 vs. mainly rounded Vs for Gen-X) suggests that the sound change may be in a later stage in Toronto. Direction-wise, the change in the two communities differs in terms of consonant and vowel types (e.g. affricate vs. fricative before /y/), which may be due to a greater extent of contact with English (only /tʃ/ for voiceless affricates but /s,ʃ/ for fricatives) in Toronto Cantonese. Similar influence on Cantonese vowels has been observed (Tse, 2016). More results and discussions will be given in the talk.
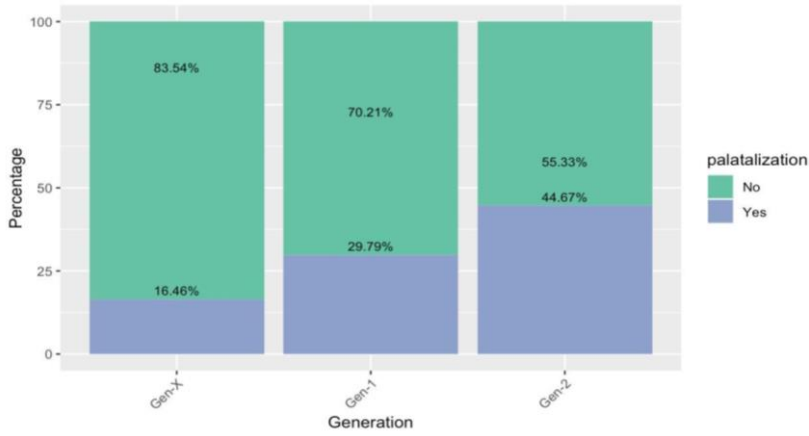
Figure 1:
Overall ratio of palatalization by different speakers
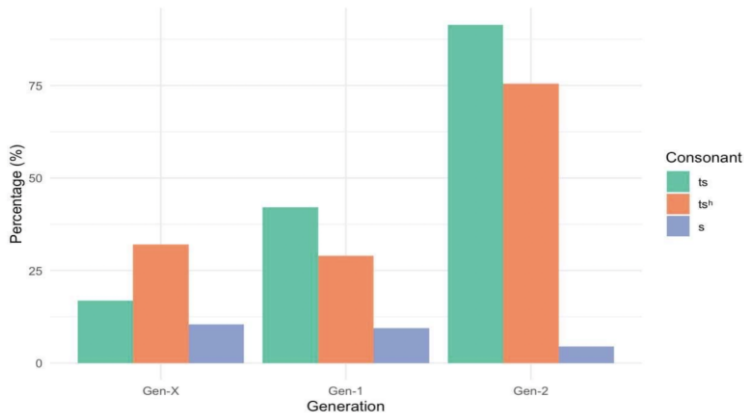
Figure 2:
Ratio of palatalization by consonant types
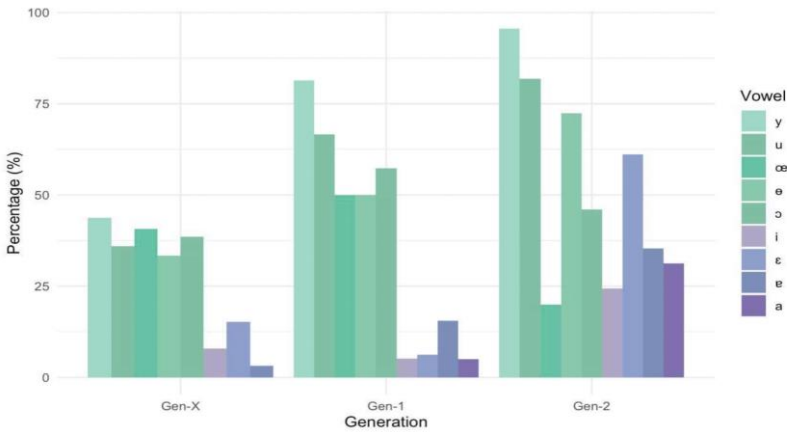
Figure 3:
Ratio of palatalization by vowel types

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香港文白異讀現象對粵語作為第二語言學習者的習得影響

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文白異讀是漢語特有的語言現象，屬於多音字的一種類型。粵語文白異讀雖未及閩語文白異讀般系統，但粵語作為香港的官方語言之一在香港普遍使用，讓文白異讀現象在不同場合頻繁出現，因而了解並學習粵語文白異讀對二語學習者融入香港十分重要。本文的研究對象為以普通話為母語的粵語第二語言學習者，旨在通過問卷調查和深度訪談，觀察並統計此一學習群體對粵語文白異讀現象的習得情況。文章首先概述粵語文白異讀的成因與類別特徵，兼論大專院校中粵語二語教學的現狀。在此基礎上參考《珠江三角洲方言字音對照》，以《香港常用字字形表》及《粵音正讀字典》為依據，選取粵語中高頻出現的文白異讀字詞製成「粵語讀音字詞表」，再抽取表中部分字詞，按音節結構將其分類，設計包含（1）讀多音節詞和（2）朗讀句子的口語測試工具。通過比較普通話母語組與粵語母語對照組，在受試時出現的文讀、白讀或是兩讀的差異，一方面觀察並歸納在不同語境下香港文白異讀的現況和粵語的語音流變，同時探討目標群組學習粵語文白異讀時可能的影響因素。文章最後結合受試者的自我評估與語言期望，總結出普通話母語者學習粵語的語音特性，並嘗試為日後的粵語二語教學提供建議。

關鍵字：文白異讀、香港粵語、第二語言學習、歷史層次分析、習得影響

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man1 in Ngzhau Cantonese:
A Study of Language Contact between Yuehai and Goulou dialect

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Ngzhau Cantonese (梧州白話) is a Yuehai (粵海片) dialect island in Guangxi, surrounded by Goulou (勾漏片) varieties. Although Ngzhau is lexically and grammatically highly similar to other Yuehai varieties, it has a distinct functional morpheme *man₁*, used in the words *dim₂ man₁* *("why", GZ: dim₂ gaai₂, "how", GZ: dim₂ joeng₂) and gam₂ man₁ ("in this manner", GZ: gam₂ joeng₂)*. This *man₁* morpheme is absent in Yuehai and its origin is obscure. Liao (2019) claims that it originates from the contraction of *gam₂ joeng₂ joeng₂*, a view which was refuted in Chen's (2021). The development of *man₁* answers questions regarding the early formation of Ngzhau Cantonese in the 19th century.

We conduct a cross-comparison of the forms and functions of *man₁* between Ngzhau Cantonese, Standard Cantonese, and nearby Goulou varieties in historical records and fieldwork data, following Hing's (2022) study.

Our data indicate that Goulou varieties allow a more flexible distribution of *gam₂* or *man₁* individually and compound with an indicator.

By examining early-Cantonese records for comparison with present-day Goulou Yue, we claim that the functional word *man₁* was borrowed into Ngzhau from Goulou Yue. Ngzhau first borrowed *gam₂ man₁* and *dim₂ man₁* from Goulou Yue, then replaced *dim₂ joeng₂* by *dim₂ man₁* or *gam₂ man₁ joeng₂*.

The case of *man₁* in Ngzhau Cantonese provides clear evidence of linguistic contact between Goulou Yue and Ngzhau Cantonese.

There is a possibility of other mutual influences between Ngzhau Cantonese and Goulou, which require further investigation into other etymons. This case study highlights the importance of studying individual etymons to understand language contact between Guangxi Yue varieties.

The following table illustrates the usage of functional word man1

Language	Source	In This Way	In That Way	How (In what manner)	How	Why
梧州白話 Ngzhau Cantonese	(CLRPP)[1] (Yu 2009)	kɐm13 mɐn53 (jœŋ35)/ kɐm13 (rare)		tim35 mɐn53 (jœŋ35)[2]		tim35 mɐn53 / uɐi21 mɐt5 iɛ13
Language	Source	In This Way	In That Way	How (In what manner)	How	Why

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[1] Chinese Language Resource Protection Project (中國語言保護工程)

[2] *joeng2* Can only be added only when *gam2 man1* is not for connective

廣州話 Standard Cantonese	(Matthews & Yip 2013)	kɐm35 jœŋ22*35		tim35 (jœŋ22*35)	tim35 jœŋ22*35	tim35 kai35
早期廣州話 Early Cantonese	Williams 1856	kɔm35 jœŋ22*35		tim35 (jœŋ22)	tim35 jœŋ22	wɐi6 mɐt1 jɛ5
藤縣 Tengxian Goulou	(CLRPP) & (Tang 2012)	ko33 mɐn52 / ko33 ɲiɐn52	a33 mɐn52 /a33 ɲiɐn52	dim44 mɐn52	tʃhɐn52/ dim44 mɐn52	tʃhɐn52 / di44 mɐn52/ tu423 ʃi33 mɐt55
容縣 Rongxian Goulou	(CLRPP)	kɔ33 mɐn35	a33 mɐn35	dim33 mɐn35		
蒼梧 Cangwu Goulou	(CLRPP) & (Chen 2021)	kɔ44 mɐn53/ kɔm44mɐn53/ kɔm44³/mɐn53	a33 mɐn53 / kɔm44mɐn53/ kɔm44/mɐn53	dim34 mɐn53		tu44 ʃi22 mɐt5
岑溪 Cenxi Goulou	(CLRPP)	kɔ33 mɐn55		dim33 mɐn55		uɐi212 tʃi212 mət2
貴港 Guigang Goulou	(CLRPP)	ku21 iɐŋ31	a21 iɐŋ31	liɐŋ53 iɐŋ31	liɐŋ53	tʃou33 mat5

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[3] In Cangwu Goulou the 咁 and 噉 are both pronounced /kɔm44/ (Chen 2019)

重探新界圍頭話與東莞粵語的語言相似性

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新界圍頭話是香港新界本土居民所使用的一種粵語方言。過去已經有不少學者注意到新界圍頭話與東莞粵語之間存在諸多相似之處（Barnett 1974、Sagart 1982、詹伯慧 2002），但目前尚未有研究專門對這些相似性做出集中、系統的論述。香港新界與東莞在歷史上始終保持著緊密的地緣聯繫（張雙慶、萬波、莊初升 1999），澄清兩地本土方言的相似性對於理解它們形成的歷史背景具有重要意義。

本文擬利用《香港新界方言》（2003）和《東莞方言調查報告》（2022）所記錄的 3 個新界圍頭話方言點、28 個東莞粵語方言點的語料，全面討論兩地方言在語音、詞彙、語法等各個方面的相似性，同時說明各條相似性在語言分群（sub-grouping）方面的意義。本文作為對珠江口東岸本土方言綜合考察的先行研究，將為日後相關的田野調查及深入探討打下基礎。

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Resolving the *me1-ho2* controversy: A covert pause approach

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The co-occurrence of Speech Act Sentence Final Particles (SFPs) and *ho2* has sparked extensive controversy. While Lam (2014) finds only (2) natural, Law et al. (2018, forthcoming) argue that both (1) and (2) are felicitous, and the felicity of the *me1-ho2* cluster is not subject to contextual constraints. Tang (2020), on the other hand, insists that (2) need a pause before *ho2* to become grammatical.

(1) Scenario: Jimmy is the first of a long taxi queue. A taxi is coming, but someone not from the queue opens the door of the taxi, saying loudly that he is in a hurry. Everyone in the queue is angry. Jimmy says this to the person who jumped the queue.
daai6   sang1   zau6   dak1   gaa3   laa1   me1   ho2
big   voice   then   work   GAA   LAA   ME   HO
Intended reading: "Can one get by just by being loud? Eh?"

(Lam, 2014)

(2) Scenario: Jimmy is the first of a long taxi queue. A taxi is coming, but someone not from the queue opens the door of the taxi, saying loudly that he is in a hurry. Everyone in the queue is angry. Jimmy whispers to the second person in the queue.
daai6   sang1   zau6   dak1   gaa3   laa1   me1   ho2
big   voice   then   work   GAA   LAA   ME   HO
"What, can one get by just by being loud? You'd agree it's a valid question, right?"

(Lam, 2014)

This paper attempts to resolve the controversy by proposing the two *ho2* in Cantonese. One of them ($ho2_{[A]}$) is an SFP that operates on the propositional level to involve only the original addressee; the other one ($ho2_{[B]}$) is a pro-sentence that operates on the speech act level to involve an additional addressee. The most critical evidence for the distinction is their co-occurrence, as shown in (3). I further propose that it is the variants of $ho2_{[B]}$ that have caused the disputes in previous scholarship.

(3) Gary   gam1   maan1 lei4   sik6   faan6 o3 $ho2_{[A]}$ $ho2_{[B]}$
Gary   now   night   come   eat   rice   O $HO_{[A]}$ $HO_{[B]}$
"(To addressee) Gary will come to have dinner, eh? (To third party) Eh?"

To investigate the behavioral differences between the two *ho2*, I revisited their compatibilities with other Speech Acts particles. The compatibility between Speech Act SFP and $ho2_{[A]}$ is controversial, as exemplified in the *me1-ho2[A]* clusters above. In Tang's (2020) proposal, all Speech Act SFPs are incompatible with $ho2_{[A]}$ due to syntactic position competition, while Law et al. (forthcoming) find all these clusters grammatical. I argue that the controversy can gain insights from $ho2_{[B]}$. It is observed that $ho2_{[B]}$ is compatible with all Modal SFPs, Imperative SFPs, as well as all Interrogative SFPs that carry biases or imply previous knowledge. Additionally, the syntactic position and properties of $ho2_{[B]}$ considerably resemble those of question tags. Generally speaking, a pause is required between the matrix sentence and the tag, but the pause may be omittable for some speakers, as shown in the comparison between (4) and (5).

(4)   nei5   dou1   m4   soeng2 gaa1   maa3   [pause]   hai6   mai6
2.SG   also   NEG   think   GAA   MAA   [pause]   HAI   MAI
"You don't want that to happen, do you?"

(5)   nei5   dou1   m4   soeng2 gaa1   maa3   hai6   mai6

> 2.SG also NEG think GAA MAA HAI MAI
> "You don't want that to happen, do you?"

I hypothesize that the pause is also omittable in the case of *ho2[B]*, forming a *ho2[B]* with a covert pause. This means that although pause seems to be the standard of distinguishing *ho2[A]* and *ho2[B]* (cf. Tang, 2020), it is not always the case. The only way to distinguish the two *ho2* is to investigate whether there are any additional addressees involved. The comparison between (1) and (2) shows that the sentence is only felicitous when it is directed at the second person in the queue. Interestingly, if *ho2* is removed in (2), it is no longer felicitous for the speaker to addressee the second person in the queue. Instead, it should be directed at the person who jumped the queue. In other words, there is a covert addressee change from the person who jumped the queue to the second person in the queue in (2), and what seems to be *me1-ho2[A]* is actually *me1-ho2[B]*.

With the disputes resolved, the presentation concludes by proposing preliminary semantic formalizations for *ho2[A]* and *ho2[B]*. Regarding *ho2[A]*, I follow the spirit of Ettinger and Malamud (2015) and argue that proposition p is initially in the projected discourse commitment set of speaker A (DC_A*) and in the projected common ground between speaker A and addressee B (CG_{A-B}*). Then, a *ho2[A]*-sentence having the semantic content {**p**, ¬p}, where p is highlighted, is pushed to the table (T_{n+1}). A discourse crisis between speaker A and addressee B occurs if addressee B does not share the proposition.

The formalization of *ho2[B]* is slightly more complex due to its higher operation level. Firstly, certain proposition(s) have to be in the projected discourse commitment set of speaker A (DC_A*) and the projected common ground between speaker A, addressee B and third party C (CG_{A-B-C}*). Based on the proposition(s), then, speaker A performs a speech act to addressee B. After that, speaker A utters *ho2[B]* to third party C, asking whether third party C shares the speech act. A discourse crisis occurs if addressee B does not share the proposition(s), or third party C does not share the speech act. Since a *ho2[B]* sentence performs two separate speech acts, this paper provides an alternative proposal in addition to Law et al.'s (2022) partial speech act approach. By considering both the overt and covert variants of *ho2[B]*, a more overarching approach that accounts for a wider range of intuitions can also be proposed.

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The loss of 將 zoeng1 in the 將 zoeng1-O-V construction in Hong Kong Cantonese

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Cantonese 將 zoeng1, unlike its Mandarin counterpart 把 ba, is restricted to a particular class of verbs, namely real and metaphorical motion verbs (Matthews and Yip; 1994, 144). In recents years Hong Kong Cantonese speakers drop 將 zoeng1 in the 將 zoeng1-O-V construction. We hypothesised that this could be ascribed to the impact of the widespread use of English, where there is no such DOM construction, in Hong Kong. Thus, we run a pilot survey among Cantonese speakers, of various ages, working in various capacities in one Kong University who were most likely to use English quite frequently. The 20 speakers who participated belonging to four age-groups: 40-45, 45-50, 50-55, 55-60 were asked to fill a questionnaire with ten Cantonese sentences containing '將 zoeng1-O-V constructions. They were asked to judge whether these sentences were acceptable or not for them and if they judged a sentence to be not acceptable to provide their acceptable version. We also asked the speakers to translate the ten Cantonese sentences into Mandarin without providing them with an English rephrasing. Finally, we asked the participants to rate the frequency of their Mandarin's usage and if the had studied Mandarin before; similarly, they were asked to rate their English proficiency. Our expectation was that a 5 years gap across the groups would indicate a more accurate difference in the results; the age groups 50-55 and 55-60 would show a greater acceptability compared to the other two groups. Instead, the results show that although the unacceptability is higher among the younger age-groups: 40-45, 45-50, 50-55, not all participants in the 55-60 group accepted the ten sentences. Thus, further testing also involving speakers from older age groups and speakers with less English fluency might enlighten the issue.

Language contact and bilingualism are often deemed responsible for the process and outcome of language change (Bowern 2017 a.m.o.). Mardale and Karatsareas (2020) point out that DOM constructions have not been fully investigated in language contact situations where only one of the two languages involved DOM. When the two languages come in contact it is possible that the DOM-less language influences the DOM language and, as a result, the DOM language is either weakened or loses its DOM construction. We are inclined to believe that this scenario could describe the loss of 將 zoeng1 in Cantonese resulting in the (un)acceptablity judgements of most of the speakers in our survey.

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粤方言「帮端母读内爆音出自侗台语底层」说再探讨
——以桂东南勾漏片方言有音无字词和送气分调为切入点

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一般认为中古汉语的帮母、滂母是清声母*p、*t，而在广西东南部不少粤方言的帮母、端母读浊内爆音 ɓ、ɗ。为了解释其来源，以往学者提出了「语言转用说」「接触渗入说」和「自然演变说」三种假说。

「语言转用说」认为：内爆音一般见于南方，而北方罕见；且南方少数民族语言有内爆音。因而南方汉语中的内爆音是早期土著民族转用汉语时留下的底层现象。持此观点的学者有陈其光（1991）、陈忠敏（1995）、韦树关（2002）、李如龙（2005）、侯兴泉（2006）等。

刘磊（2015）认为现代侗台语一般有 p-ɓ、t-ɗ 的对立，构拟的原始侗台语亦然；同时壮语中的早期汉语借词及汉字音也用清声母对应帮端母，故古代侗台先民转用汉语不大可能会混淆二者。其提出的「接触渗入说」认为：内爆音是在粤语人群相对当地土著少数民族尚不占优势时通过掌握双语的粤方言使用者渗入粤语音系的，是早期语言接触的结果。
「自然演变说」认为：内爆音是从清声母自然演变而来，该音变是自然、自发形成的，不需要外部介入。持此观点的学者有麦耘（2005）、寸熙（2019）。

此问题的关键在于析解出粤方言的「侗台语底层」。文章尝试发掘这些方言的「侗台语底层」借词，并对比总结侗台语中内爆音声母在粤方言中的对应形式。文章发现，粤方言的「侗台语底层词」中，侗台语与粤方言有如下声母对应（壮语据李方桂（1977）及梁敏、张均如（1996））。

词义	壮语	玉林话	水鸣话
凹	ɓap^{D1S}	map^{D1S}	məp^{D1S}
圆	ɗu:n^{A1}	lyn^{A1}	lun^{C1}

对比发现，侗台语的 ɓ、ɗ 在粤方言分别对应为 m、l。如此有三种可能的解释。
其一是：早期与粤语接触的侗台语自身发生了 ɓ>m、ɗ>l 的音变，继而借入粤语后维持了这一面貌。在现存壮语中并未发现符合此音变的，有的侗水语和傣语符合此音变，但其现今分布在桂北、贵州及云南等地，与勾漏方言的分布并不十分吻合。
其二是：早期操粤语者使用 m、l 来对应侗台语的内爆音。这有听感实验的支持（寸熙，2018）。
其三是：内爆音先原封不动地进入粤语，其后粤语发生了 ɓ>m、ɗ>l 的音变。

不论哪种解释，侗台语的内爆音声母在粤方言并不对应为内爆音，这与帮端母读内爆音共存。这表明「帮端母读内爆音」都不宜与「侗台语底层词」共享一个层次，而应当为「帮端母读内爆音」晚于「侗台语底层词」。
文章对粤方言的历史语音研究，以及汉语与少数民族语言的早期接触研究有参考价值。

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Cantonese infant-directed speech does not have vowel hyperarticulation

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Infant-directed speech (IDS) is characterized by the exaggeration of linguistic contrasts compared to adult-directed speech (ADS). Regarding vowels, the same vowels in IDS tend to appear in more peripheral positions within the speaker's vowel space than in ADS. This vowel hyperarticulation in IDS has been observed across various languages, leading researchers to suggest that IDS serves a linguistic function, i.e., to facilitate infants' acquisition of the L1 sound contrasts by exaggerating them (Kuhl et al., 1997). However, not all studies confirm the presence of vowel hyperarticulation in IDS. For example, Rattanasone et al. (2013) found no evidence of vowel hyperarticulation in Cantonese-speaking mothers' IDS during their infants' first year, challenging the proposed didactic function of IDS. Interestingly, they did observe tone hyperarticulation in IDS compared to ADS. They hypothesized that vowel hyperarticulation might be present in IDS, but it is likely to appear later than tone hyperarticulation, which aligns with the developmental trajectories of Cantonese-speaking children that tone is acquired earlier than vowels and consonants (So & Dodd, 1995). The present study tests this hypothesis by investigating the IDS of seven pairs of Cantonese-speaking parents over an extended period of 5 years. The target vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/ were elicited via a picture reading task at six time points, namely 6, 12, 24, 36, 48, and 60 months of the children's age, compared with ADS.

First, we conducted a linear mixed-effects model to investigate the effects of Timepoint and Parent's Gender on the vowel triangle area in the parents' speech (Figure 1). The vowel triangle area is calculated by the coordinates of the normalized formants of the vowels /a/ $(x1,y1)$, /i/ $(x2,y2)$ and /u/ $(x3,y3)$ in the F2-F1 plane: $Area = (1/2) |x1(y2 - y3) + x2(y3 - y1) + x3(y1 - y2)|$. Similar to the previous study, the results showed that the vowel triangle area remain consistent for all IDS time points and ADS, indicating no evidence for vowel hyperarticulation. We also fitted separate linear mixed-effects models to investigate whether the first (F1) and second formant (F2) values for the vowels /a/, /i/, and /u/ changed over time (Figure 2 & Figure **3**). We found no significant F1 differences across all time points for both genders, indicating no changes in vowel height. For F2, both mothers and fathers exhibited significantly higher F2 values for the vowel /a/ at most IDS time points than ADS, suggesting a fronting tendency of /a/ in IDS. In contrast, no significant F2 changes over time were observed for /i/, and /u/ was only fronter at 6 and 12 months compared to ADS.

In conclusion, our preliminary results shows no vowel hyperarticulation in Cantonese IDS, even at an older age of the infant. Differences between IDS and ADS were only observed in the frontness of some vowels. Further analysis of lexical tones in IDS is in progress to better understand IDS in Cantonese and its functions.
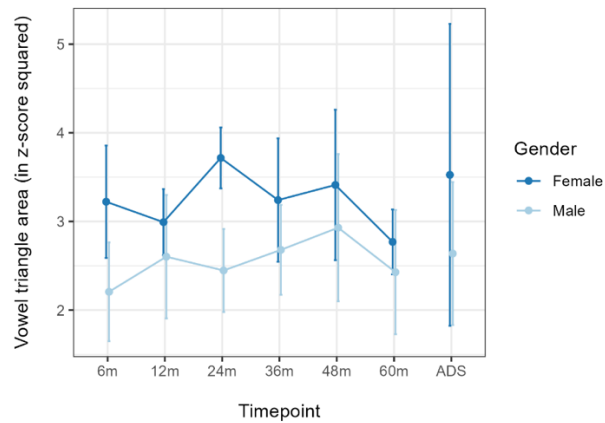
Figure 1. Vowel triangle areas for 6m, 12m, 24m, 36m, 48m, 60m IDS and ADS. Error bars represent standard deviations of the mean.
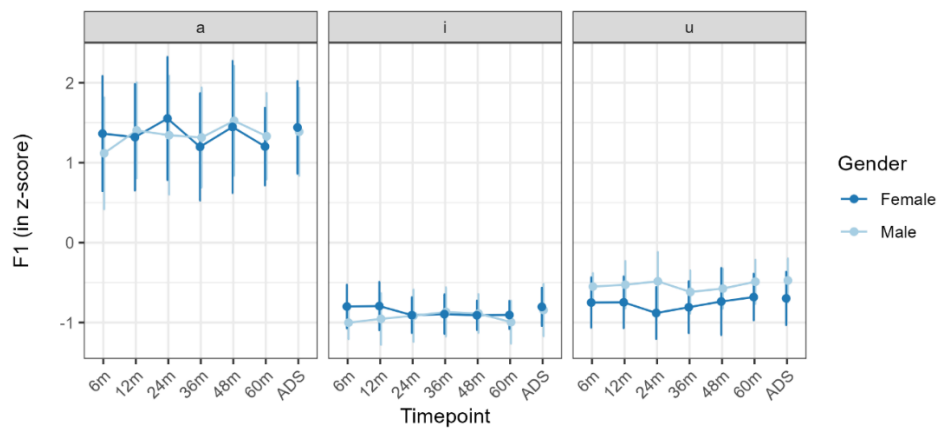
Figure 2. Vowel height (F1) for 6m, 12m, 24m, 36m, 48m, 60m IDS and ADS. Error bars represent standard deviations of the mean.
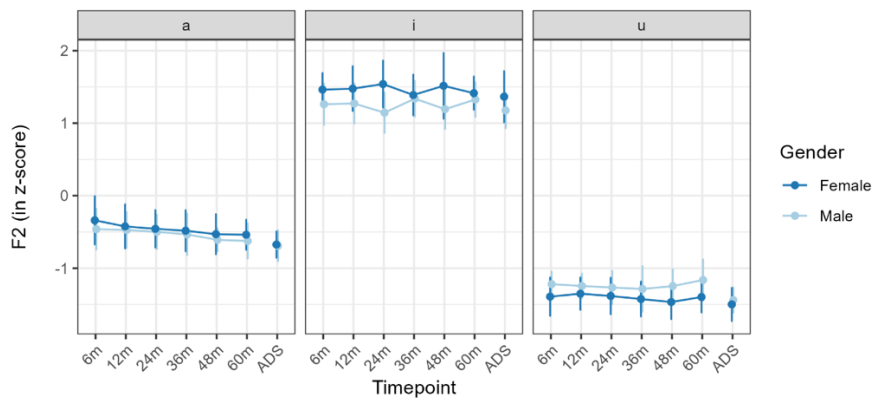
Figure 3. Vowel frontness (F2) for 6m, 12m, 24m, 36m, 48m, 60m IDS and ADS. Error bars represent standard deviations of the mean.

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Cantonese Language Vitality in the early 21st century Netherlands: Insights from Heritage Speakers

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Despite the decline of Sinitic varieties other than Mandarin worldwide (Lee, 2022; Li & Zhu, 2010), Mufwene (2017) notes that some communities voluntarily shift away from the heritage language, in favour of the societal language. In the Dutch context, research on heritage language maintenance of Cantonese heritage speakers is absent to the best of my knowledge. Similar to the work of Curdt-Christiansen, Li, and Zhu (2023) on the influence of mobility and sociocultural contexts on family language policy in the UK and heritage language development, this presentation discusses the experiences of Cantonese heritage speakers in the Netherlands. I propose an analytical and conceptual model to gauge language vitality, informed by constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014).

The study I report on draws on 21 one-on-one in-depth semi-structured interviews, engaging participants from both the 1.5 and second-generation (Kim & Agee, 2019), including students, young professionals, and parents. These participants were approached in Dutch and recruited through WhatsApp with the use of snowball-sampling during the COVID-19 pandemic (September to December 2021). The study was primarily conducted in Dutch, with participants occasionally code-switching to English and Cantonese as they saw fit. Furthermore, the interviews were conducted and recorded in an online environment and lasted between 58 and 93 minutes, with an average of 75 minutes. The participants, with varying degrees of Cantonese proficiency, offered insights into their linguistic repertoire and perceptions of their heritage language.

The proposed analytical and conceptual model combines both information on language attitude, language ideology, willingness to transmit their heritage language, and confidence to be able to do so. It includes four dimensions: necessity, perception of the world, cultural identity, and pragmatic reasoning. I argue that these four dimensions are vital in assessing to what extent the heritage language will be transmitted from one generation to the next. Necessity (the circumstances necessitating Cantonese usage) and perception of the world (the socially constructed meaning of importance shaped by experience and interaction) emerged as pivotal factors conditioning the use of the heritage language. Additionally, cultural identity (one's emotional and psychological connection to one's cultural heritage), and pragmatic reasoning (one's preference for practical considerations and usefulness in decision-making) played significant roles in shaping the attitude towards the heritage language and its intergenerational transmission. By taking these dimensions into consideration, this model offers a holistic framework for evaluating the intricate dynamics of heritage language maintenance.

The findings reveal a prevailing positive attitude towards Cantonese and a strong desire among participants to pass on the language. Most interviewees would find it "unfortunate" if the heritage language would cease to exist in their lifetime. They expressed concerns about the future of Cantonese, doubting their own ability to effectively transmit their heritage language. This suggests early signs of declining language vitality. I conclude that a strong positive language attitude and desire to pass on one's heritage language at the individual level will not necessarily lead to intergenerational transmission. Hence, I call for community-driven research on language maintenance to empower individual heritage speakers to discuss together in what way and form the heritage communities wish to maintain and transmit their linguistic and cultural heritage.

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LexTALE_CT: An Auditory Vocabulary-Based Test for Speakers of Cantonese

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Lemhöfer and Broersma's (2012) Lexical Test for Advanced Learners of English (LexTALE) represents a unique departure from traditional self-report-based language proficiency tests as it assesses proficiency more objectively through a visual lexical decision task. While LexTALEs have been created for different languages (e.g., French: LexTALE_FR, Brysbaert, 2013; Mandarin: LexTALE_CH, Chan & Chang, 2018), a crucial prerequisite of these tests is an understanding of the language's orthography. Yet, in many bilingual populations, familiarity with writing cannot always be assumed. This is the case for many Cantonese bilinguals, particularly in diaspora communities, who may be highly proficient in Cantonese despite being unfamiliar with reading and writing Chinese characters. Here we introduce LexTALE_CT, an auditory vocabulary-based test for speakers of Cantonese.

LexTALE_CT is an auditory lexical decision task composed of 40 Cantonese real words and 20 Cantonese nonwords. Real words were identified using the Cifu database (Lai & Winterstein, 2020) and selected to loosely match the frequency tiers of the real words in LexTALE_CH (Chan & Chang, 2018). Nonwords represented accidental gaps in Cantonese culled from previous Cantonese lexical decision tasks (e.g., Chan et al., 2020). On each trial, listeners are presented with an auditory item and asked to identify whether the item is a real or nonword of Cantonese.

A pilot version of LexTALE_CT was deployed in Gorilla (Anwyl-Irvine et al. 2020). 18 Cantonese talkers across a range of dialect groups completed the auditory lexical decision task. Afterwards, participants filled out a language background questionnaire, listing all the languages they spoke, the age of acquisition, and their self-reported speaking, listening, reading and writing proficiency on a scale of 1 (low)-5 (excellent) for each language. All participants reported learning Cantonese before age 4 with an average self-rating of 3.72/5 for speaking, and 4.22/5 for listening in Cantonese.

Each participant's score was calculated using the formula $((a/40*100) + (b/20*100)) / 2$, where a represents the number of correct real word endorsements, and b the number of correct nonword rejections. Scores range from 0-100; higher scores indicate higher accuracy. Table 1 provides the average LexTALE_CT scores across the cline of Cantonese speaking and listening proficiency self-reports. This preliminary data demonstrates that the raw LexTALE scores increase as a function of self-reported speaking and listening scores. A revised version of the task improving on the initial word selection has been designed for data collection/validation of LexTALE_CT as an instrument for measuring Cantonese language proficiency. This work is particularly timely for the current Cantonese landscape, where few, if any, monolingual Cantonese speakers still exist. If Cantonese is on a trajectory toward multilingualism, LexTALE_CT is not only timely but necessary for this period of change.

	Proficiency Scores				
	1 (Low)	2 (Elementary)	3 (Fair)	4 (Good)	5 (Excellent)
Speaking	62.50	71.67	78.33	77.50	82.81
Listening	62.50	n/a	76.25	76.87	81.02

Table 1. Mean LexTALE scores (out of 100) across the cline of participant self-reports of Cantonese speaking and listening proficiency.

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What are Guangfu dialects?

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What are Guangfu dialects? According to the *Language Atlas of China* (*LAC*, CASS 2012), Guangfu dialects are varieties of Yue which 1) do not have lateral or interdental fricatives; 2) the reflexes of the *Zhi* rhyme group in the open rhymes merged under all affricate series; 3) do not have apical vowels; 4) the reflex of Middle Chinese *t^h- is not h-, and lastly 5) the *Shang* tone category split into *Yin* and *Yang* registers. To what extent are the mentioned features exclusive to the Guangfu dialects? Are they distinctive enough to be used as the criteria to distinguish these dialects as 'Guangfu' from other Yue dialects?

This presentation aims to look at the above listed segmental features (excluding feature 5, which is a tone feature) and how strongly they are associated with Guangfu dialects. We will use a newly developed top-down approach which utilizes *Normalized Pointwise Mutual Information* (*nPMI*, Sung & Prokic, submitted) to detect characteristic features of Guangfu dialects. nPMI is a method from information science which can be applied to measure the strength of association between a particular dialect group and dialect features.

Our dataset consists of the IPA transcription of 130 words in 104 Yue and Southern Pinghua dialects, extracted from existing dialect surveys of Yue and Pinghua (Zhan & Cheung 1987, Zhan & Cheung 1994, Zhan & Cheung 1998, Shao 2016, Chen & Lin 2009, Chen & Liu 2009 and Xie 2007).

In the first step of our analysis, we apply the *Relative Distance Value* (Goebl 2018) and the Ward's clustering algorithm (Ward 1963), to calculate the dialect distances from 400+ features and identify main dialect groups. The results show that in our data, five dialect groups can be identified, including Guangfu dialects. In the next step, we rely on the nPMI method and extracted the main dialect features associated with Guangfu dialects. Our analysis shows that the segmental features mentioned in the LAC are not strongly associated with Guangfu dialects and cannot be considered distinctive. Additionally, our analysis reveals two segmental features strongly associated with Guangfu dialects which have previously not been mentioned explicitly in the literature. In this talk, we will propose a new definition of Guangfu dialects based on their shared distinctive features.

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On Cantonese heritage speakers' classifier epistemologies through semantic and grammatical cues

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An area of confusion among heritage speakers of Chinese is classifier epistemologies of determining which classifier to use for functional and/or geometrical categories with nouns. Heritage Language (HL) acquisition is a type of bilingual first language L1 acquisition (Mai & Deng, 2019, cited from Montrul, 2008, 2016; Polinsky, 2007; Rothman, 2009). Heritage language development is defined as a speaker who grows up with the language they speak (or perhaps, only listen to) in a heritage/minority language as their first language, but a majority language (such as English) is used in societal needs, which dominants the heritage speakers' first language development. In this vein, the current study examines the classifier epistemologies of Cantonese heritage speakers, and how semantic and grammatical cues can aid in the processing of classifiers. The primary motivation of the study was to check the study's findings and confirm in what has been found in the research literature.

We show that (i) heritage speakers acquire native-like classifier epistemologies similar to native speakers of Cantonese, and through closer examination (ii) heritage speakers of Cantonese seem to employ similar strategies found in Grüter, Lau, and Ling (2020). Grüter and colleagues compared L1 and L2 speakers of Chinese, classifiers constitute a dual source of information, which is (i) purely semantic, and (ii) formal property of the grammar, the classifier system. By using Tsang and Chambers' (2011) Cantonese stimuli, we tested the participants' knowledge of through a visual world experiment, as well as a vocabulary test to assess participants' knowledge of the target classifier-noun pairings (n=20, age 18-40yrs); participants looked at visual scenes through a SMI RED250 eye-tracker at 250 Hz, or a mobile REDn Scientific eye-tracker at 60 Hz). Gaze data were classified automatically as fixations. The eye-tracking data reveals the fixation of classifiers in functional categories, which illustrates that the semantic compatibility with the target is of no relevance. Heritage learners seem to have some sort of understanding for semantic cues with functional categories, such as tools and vehicles, but have longer processing times for geometrical categories like cylindrical and small and round objects.

We further examined Cantonese heritage speakers' preference for using the abstract noun classifier *go3*, which is often the default choice as it is deemed as "safe" and reliable in classifier-noun pairs. The overreliance of 個 *go3*, may be attributed to a lack of conceptual understanding that there are different categories for specific nouns, and specific geometrical and functional categories that nouns are categorized into when using classifiers. We conclude that classifiers in Cantonese are acquired with ease, but a delayed understanding of classifier epistemologies are found through semantic and grammatical cues.

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四邑粵語次濁上讀為陰平與相關現象

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客語「次濁上讀為陰平」現象能否成為客語定義，歷來眾說紛紜。橋本萬太郎（1973）、黃雪貞（1988）、Norman（1989）以「次濁上讀為陰平」作為客語特徵，充當分區標準。唯同樣現象亦見於四邑粵語。趙元任（1951）指出四邑粵語當中，台山話部份中古次濁上字今讀為陰平；沙加爾（1988）亦以四邑粵語為據，明言「次濁上讀為陰平」並非適切分區條件。以四邑粵語論，黃雪貞（1988）認為台山話全濁上聲不讀陰平，故不影響客語「部份全濁上、次濁上讀為陰平」的特徵。然而，四邑粵語亦有全濁上讀為陰平的常用字，如台山話「重輕重、徛站立」即讀為陰平（鄭曉峯 2003），可見四邑粵語及客語「次濁上讀為陰平」性質尚待探究。

本文旨在考察四邑粵語及客語「次濁上讀為陰平」是否關聯，斟酌前人以四邑粵語「次濁上讀為陰平」質疑客語定義之說。本文所用四邑粵語及廣府粵語語料取自詹伯慧、張日昇（1987）、詹伯慧、張日昇（1998）、張雙慶、莊初昇（2003），梅縣客語語料則取用王福堂（2003）。

本文首先觀察四邑粵語（取點為台山、鶴山、恩平、開平、斗門、江門）「次濁上讀為陰平」的分佈。在「軟、你、我、佢」等 25 個讀為陰平的次濁上字中，台山、鶴山、恩平一帶的「次濁上讀為陰平」現象更為明顯。四邑粵語內部的詞彙重疊情況頗為不同，若與梅縣客語比較，詞彙重疊分歧更甚。由是觀之，四邑粵語「次濁上讀為陰平」當屬後期演變，且與客語無關。

至於其他地區，廣府片香港錦田、蕃田、泰亨、蠔涌（後三者為圍頭話）、佛岡亦見「次濁上讀為陰平」現象。本文以廣府錦田粵語、圍頭話，比較四邑粵語及客語，疏理「次濁上讀為陰平」之聲調格局，得見粵語「次濁上讀為陰平」關鍵在於「清去讀為陰平」，客語未見類同。

若從移民史而言，惠潮嘉應地區的客家移民約於康熙年間湧入四邑。考之四邑地方志，包括康熙《新會縣志》（1690）、乾隆《新寧縣志》（1737），以及傳教士唐願高對 19 世紀中晚期台山話（新寧話）的記錄（Don 1883, 1884），當時四邑粵語的陰平、陰去已呈合併跡象。清末廣東一帶屢次排客，「土客械鬥」不斷，更證四邑粵語及客語「次濁上讀為陰平」份屬獨立現象，互不關涉。

總而言之，四邑粵語「次濁上讀為陰平」不足以帶出客語定義問題。不過，本文留意到當方言點數目擴大，各點的次濁上字今讀聲調殊異，難以找出規律；「次濁上讀為陰平」也未能覆蓋整個客語區，距離粵東北越遠，現象則越隱約，詞彙重疊情況亦復不一，作為客語定義的關鍵特徵，似乎猶有未備，尚有可商之處。

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Actual spoken language evidence for a Guǎngzhōu dialect connection to Táng colloquial language

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In a study of the phonetics of his own hometown language, the Cantonese dialect of Bóbái 博白 in Guǎngxī 廣西, Wáng Lì described a kind of diminutive suffix that adds nasalization to the end of a word while simultaneously changing the tonal height and contour of the affixed syllable (1934: 71–78). He called the tone of the syllable the "eleventh tone" as its contour contrasted with the other tones in the dialect, and added a diminutive meaning. Examples he gave include [un$^{2>11}$] 壺兒 'small pot', [lam$^{10>11}$] 笠兒 'small reed hat', [ŋɑn$^{2>11}$] 鵝兒 'young goose', [pan$^{7>11}$] 筆兒 'small writing brush', [oŋ$^{5>11}$] 甕兒 'small jug' (Wáng Lì 1934: 72; numbers are tone categories; '兒' added).

Walton Simon in a review of Wáng Lì's dissertation noted that the affix causing these changes must in fact actually be *ér* (1935). Simon repeated this view in his introduction to Whitaker 1958 (xx). Whitaker discusses Simon's views in reference to the "modified tones"—*bìanyīn* or *bin³jam¹* 變音—of Guǎngzhōu 廣州, also noting that D. C. Lau had observed widespread use of the *ér* suffix in Guìpíng 桂平 in Guǎngxī, but did not hear it in nearby Liǔzhōu 柳州 or Wúzhōu 梧州 (1955: 194–95). Whitaker agreed with Simon that the *bin³jam¹* (modified tone) of the Guǎngzhōu dialect had arisen "in lieu of an original suffix 兒 [*ér*]" (1955: 194). Y. R. Chao in a discussion of the *bin³jam¹* in Cantonese concluded that "it seems reasonable to look at the *pinn'iam* of Cantonese ... as a suffix" like the *ér* suffix in Běijīng and with a similar function (1959: 46–47). Though he did not explicitly argue for a cognate relationship wherein the *bin³jam¹* is derived from an earlier *ér*, Chao further noted that there is a striking correspondence between them in occurrence, noting that in a cursory review of 100 cases, he "found that in about 60% of the cases, the *pinn'iam* and the retroflex suffix of Mandarin apply to the same roots."

That the Cantonese *bin³jam¹* is etymologically derived from an original *ér* 兒 suffix has now come to be commonly agreed upon. Wáng Fútáng 1999 (128-131) and Kwok 2016 have looked at its comparative historical origins, while its synchronic phonology and morphology is examined in Yip 1980, Yu 2007, Cheung 2000, Liu 2016, and Alderete et al. 2020. Collectively these various studies confirm that the Cantonese *bin³jam¹* affix and its tonal effects represent a morphological element with a distinct phonological identity, whose evolution from an earlier segmental morpheme is a plausible result of natural linguistic processes.

This presentation argues that the Cantonese dialects that reflect this *ér*-derived affix were deeply influenced historically by a prestigious Táng-Sòng vernacular koine or lingua franca that had arisen in dialects of the Central Plains in which the *ér* suffix was a prevalent element. The discussion will put forward and examine evidence for the northern Táng-Sòng origin of the *bin³jam¹* affix by tracing disparate but connected travels of the *ér* affix across the Chinese dialect map.

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馬來西亞粵語群體的語言選擇
——以吉隆坡、怡保的私人社交語域為例

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　　作為多語社會的馬來西亞流通多種漢語族語言，粵語正是其中之一。粵語群體在近代馬來西亞歷史裏佔有重要地位（Wen et al. 2020）。時至今日粵語群體於當地依然具有一定規模。惟學界近年討論馬來西亞各漢語族語言群體語言轉移及維持的情況時，大多聚焦於閩語、客語、華語之上（黃堯攻 2020；劉華 2021；王曉梅 2021；Liao 2020；Ong 2020；Qiu et al. 2022；Ting et al. 2021；Wang 2012）。即使粵語偶見於部份相關的討論之中（如劉華 2021；王曉梅 2021；Cheng 2003），但都不是討論的重心所在。換言之，對於當下馬來西亞語言生活的粵語使用情況，我們依然所知甚微。

　　筆者於 2023 年 8 月下旬到吉隆坡、怡保兩地進行田野調查，期間接觸了 5 位當地粵語群體成員，並以訪談形式調查其語言生活及語言態度。本報告以此為基礎，分為以下三節。第一節透過建立溝通網絡模型，描述吉隆坡、怡保的粵語群體成員於私人社交語域裏的語言選擇，並以家庭、朋友這兩個場合為焦點，其中前者一般被視為語言維護的關鍵（如 Fishman 1991；King et al. 2006；Xiao 2017 等）。第二節分析各個粵語群體成員的語言行為特徵，並透過語言態度作出解釋。首兩節以質性、微觀的角度討論語言選擇，第三節則由此作出延伸，兼論當地語言生活如何促成語言接觸，繼而觸發語言演變。本報告冀透過仔細刻劃粵語在馬來西亞私人社交語域語言生活的使用情況，從而豐富我們對整體粵語史和馬來西亞語言史的認識，並讓我們瞭解個體在語言擴散、收縮上的作用。

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粵語為母語的學生學習普通話所產生的偏誤之研究

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粵語作為大部分香港人的母語，在香港社會上具有主導地位。但是，自香港主權移交至中國後，普通話也逐漸被重視，也成為了港人最常學習的第二語言之一。由於粵語口語的語法與普通話具有差異，兩種語言之間會相互產生影響，故在學習普通話的過程中，難免會出現母語遷移現象，若母語和目標語相異的地方對干擾第二語言的學習，繼而產生偏誤，則會被稱為「母語負遷移」（Odlin，1989）。

本研究通過對以雙賓句式為例，以香港一所大學的學生為資料樣本單元，測試者均於香港出生，母語皆為粵語。由於雙賓句在粵語與普通話語序大部分是相反，而粵語中的有會因為一些類別的動詞會在語法上影響句子結構，需要使用介詞連結直接和間接賓語，故粵語獨有的雙賓句式結構。本研究根據黃伯榮（1996）、鄧思穎（2003）及張洪年（2007）的研究整理出粵語的三種雙賓句式結構，包括為「動詞+直接賓語+間接賓語」（相反類）、「動詞+間接賓語+直接賓語」（相同類）和「動詞+直接賓語+介詞+間接賓語」（使用介詞類），用在與普通話僅有的「動詞+間接賓語+直接賓語」進行對比分析。由於母語與目標語之間存具差異，學習者普遍會產生遷移現象，若母語影響了目標語的學習，呈現負向遷移，就會促成偏誤的產生。根據測試結果，分析出粵語母語者在雙賓句式中最容易產生偏誤的就是使用介詞類，例如將「畀本簿（過）你」，轉譯成「給本子給你」，這說明學習者會將普通話句式中的動詞成分誤當作粵語中的介詞成分使用，出現母語負遷移的現象。

研究通過對測試者語料中的偏誤進行分析，使用量化分析的方法統計偏誤比例，嘗試討論母語負遷移現象與學習者性別、社經地位等關係。結果發現，女性的偏誤數量和比率均低於男性，也就是說女性可能較男性不易受母語負遷移的影響；社經地位高低也不是一個明顯可以影響偏誤率高低的因素，這可能與普通話在香港社會的工具性不足有關。本研究通過分析上述語料和數據，冀能釐清港人學習普通話時產生偏誤的成因，對日後教師教學或學生學習有所助益。

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從聲調合併論香港粵語聲調的簡化趨勢

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香港粵語聲調變化已有超過半個世紀的記錄，且表現出合併和簡化的趨勢（張洪年，2002）。根據最新的研究，陰上和陽上（T2/T5）的合併最為明顯，其次是陰去和陽去（T3/T6）以及陽平和陽入（T4/T6）的合併（Mok, Zuo & Wong，2013；梁源，2017）。本研究希望延續對香港粵語聲調的探究，並考察是否還有其他聲調合併的可能。實驗材料包括 6 個聲調的單字，分為單獨出現和在句中出現兩種情況，由香港粵語母語者進行朗讀。實驗結束後，本研究採用了聲學分析和口耳判斷相結合的方式分析所得語料。其中聲學分析分為兩部分，第一部分直接分析從原始資料中提取的基頻，第二部分將原始基頻轉換成五度進行分析（1 為最低，5 為最高）。口耳判斷方面，6 位沒有聲調混同的香港粵語母語者各自判斷每個目標字的聲調。

使用原始數據分析時，聲調混同情況變得輕微。在五度標記法的分析中，情況則較為複雜，如表 1 所示，儘管在朗讀單字時超過七成的音節都能保持原有聲調，但在句子中，則僅有不到一半的音節可以保持。至於聲調混同類別，如表 2 所示，雖仍以陰上併到陽上（T2>T5）為主，但與前人的發音實驗結果有不同之處（姚玉敏，2009）。此外，本研究也觀察到了個別發音人 T3/T5 和 T2/T3 兩組聲調的合併趨勢，這一趨勢在口耳判斷的結果中同樣得到了證實。

聲調混同情況變得複雜乃在我們的預期之內，而從發音實驗結果中，我們發現了 T2/T3 合併的勢頭。從口耳判斷結果中，我們亦看到了 T3/T5 以及 T2/T3 合併的跡象。但礙於是次數據不足以反映實際情況，期望將來會有進一步討論，特別是陰上（T2）併到陰去（T3）的趨勢研究。假若真有其發展，香港粵語將從九聲簡化成七聲（T2>T5>T3）。

表 1 香港粵語發音混同情況

	混同	未混同
單音節	25.93%	74.07%
句子	51.85%	48.15%

表 2 香港粵語發音混同主要類別

	T2/T5	T3/T6	T4/T6
單音節	36.36%	33.33%	25%
句子	63.64%	66.67%	75%

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On the Geographical Distribution and Historical Origin
of Low-Pitched Changed Tone in the Yue Dialects

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Changed tone, also known as *bianyin* (变音), serves as a morphological device denoting diminutiveness or familiarity in many Yue dialects. Although the actual phonetic form of changed tone tends to be a high tone (e.g., high level changed tone and high raising changed tone in Cantonese), the cases of low-pitched changed tone were also attested in some subgroups of Yue dialects (e.g., low falling changed tone in Taishanese). Examples of these two types of changed tones are listed below:

(1) Cantonese (Mai 1995)
尾 mei^{13} 'tail' as in 猫尾 'cat's tail'
> mei^{55} 'the smallest one of a set' as in 手指尾 'little finger'
鱼 jy^{11} 'fish' as in 鲨鱼 'shark'
> jy^{35} '(smaller, or common) fish' as in 鲩鱼 'grass carp'

(2) Taishanese (Gan 2002)[*]
房 fɔŋ^{22} 'house'
> fɔŋ^{11} 'room'
姨 ji^{22} 'aunt' as in 大姨 'mother's elder sister'
> ji^{11} '(younger) aunt' as in 阿姨 'mother's younger sister'

This paper investigates the geographical distribution and historical origin of low-pitched changed tone in Yue dialects. According to the materials given by almost all of relevant previous studies and the linguistic data obtained in my fieldwork, this paper reveals that the low-pitched changed tone is mainly distributed in the *Siyi* (四邑) area and the north of the Guangzhou city. It is likely that the low-pitched changed tone was more widespread in Lingnan area in the ancient China. Its continuous distribution was cut off by high-pitched changed tones emerging in Cantonese.

This paper also demonstrates the phonological correspondences between low-pitch changed tone in Yue and creaky changed tone in *Yuebei Tuhua* (粤北土话, i.e., local dialects spoken in northern Guangdong). More specifically, both two kinds of changed tones are split into two categories according to the register of the original tone of words (i.e., *yindiao* 阴调 or *yangdiao* 阳调). As illustrated in Table 1, in Conghua Yue and Qujiang Baisha Tuhua, the phonetic forms of changed tones occurring on words with *yindiao* are 21 and 2ʔ23[**], which is different form that occurring on words with *yangdiao*, namely 23 and 4ʔ45. These correspondences cannot be simply interpreted as a coincidence. It suggests that these two kinds of changed tones in Yue and *Yuebei Tuhua* inherit from a common early form.

Historically, large numbers of northerners migrated into the *Yuebei* area, and many of their descendants moved toward the Pearl River Delta (Lin & Zhuang 1996). In view of the immigration history, this paper proposes that the low-pitched changed tone came from an ancient dialect spoken by northern immigrants.

Table 1: Phonological correspondences between low-pitched changed tone in Yue and creaky changed tone in *Yuebei Tuhua*

	Lexical item	Conghua Yue (Chen 2016)	Qujiang Baisha Tuhua (Zhuang & Lin 2000)
yindiao	衫 'clothes'	sam^{21}	$sA^2ʔŋ^{23}$
	蔗 'sugarcane'	$tsɛ^{21}$	$tsiA^2ʔA^{23}$
	棍 'stick'	$kɐn^{21}$	$ku^2ʔn^{23}$
	格 'grid'	kak^{21}	$kA^2ʔA^{23}$
yangdiao	鹅 'goose'	$ŋɔ^{23}$	$ŋɔ^4ʔɔ^{45}$
	钱 'money'	$tsʰin^{23}$	$tsʰie^4ʔe^{45}$
	庙 'temple'	miu^{23}	miA^4u^{45}
	翼 'wing'	jek^{23}	$jie^4ʔe^{45}$

* The low-pitched changed tone in Taishanese is identical to the *yangshang* (阳上) tone. Although written as "11", it is actually a low falling tone (Gan 2002: 11).

** In Zhuang & Lin (2000), 2ʔ23 and 4ʔ45 represent a kind of rising tone with a glottal stop inserted inside it. Based on the observations of acoustic experiments, Zhu & Cun claimed that the phonetic element involved in this kind of tone is creaky voice rather than glottal stop.

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The Moribund "Manchu Mandarin" in Guangzhou:
A Product of Cantonese-Mandarin Contact

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In this talk, I will present the hybrid nature found in Guangzhou's "Manchu Mandarin" (廣州「滿州話」), an understudied, moribund dialect formed due to language contact between Cantonese and Mandarin. As a mixed language/variety, Guangzhou's "Manchu Mandarin" (GMM) has a rich record of lexical, morphological and phonological borrowings and adaptation from Cantonese (see Tab. 1). Focusing on the morphological borrowings, attention is given to the hybrid, bimorphemic construction nǎdi1 哪啲, where interrogative demonstrative nǎ, as one of the Mandarin wh-words, is combined with the Cantonese di1. Semantic and pragmatic evidences suggest that nǎdi1 actually means "where" but does not function as the plural wh-word, as would be expected from a potential paradigm (Tab. 2). I propose (see Fig. 1) that this hybrid construction has likely experienced an analogy that might have been triggered by the proximity between Mandarin phonemes /l/ and /t/, acting on the grammaticalizations of Cantonese di1 and Mandarin lǐ 里 of which the processes of development are demonstrated to correspond with the Heine's proposal (2003). However, there are also alternative explanations to account the formation of nǎdi1, which will also be covered.

"Manchu Mandarin", as an unofficial and provisional name, is not a specific topolect exclusive to Guangzhou. It could refer to a contact-caused sociolect found across China's historically major hubs and strategic locations, where Manchu troops (with other ethnicities) were sent from Beijing to garrison during Qing dynasty and would form ethnic-linguistic communities, such as the "Manchu Quarter" in today's Yuexiu District, Guangzhou, after their resettlement (see Pan, 2014). Despite the name, GMM has actually little trace of the Manchu language, and the Cantonese-Mandarin contact is the major concern. GMM has been critically endangered, always ignored and lacking professional linguistic documentation. Cooperating with the believed last native/heritage speakers, I conducted a preliminary linguistic fieldwork on this largely unnoticed dialect in July 2022. Given its current moribund situation, further documentation and analysis of GMM in the post-pandemic context is extremely urgent and cannot be delayed. We should not forget the Cantonese-Mandarin contact took place in the historic "Manchu Quarter" (滿城) in downtown Guangzhou.

Example Cantonese-origin words (in Chinese characters with English glosses)	Cantonese pronunciation (in Jyutping)	Borrowed-forms in Guangzhou's "Manchu Mandarin" (in Hanyu Pinyin)[4]
幾多 "How much", "So many"	*gei2do1*	*jǐduō**
唔該晒 "I appreciated"	*m4goi1saai3*	*bùgāi** saai3*
隔离 "The neighboring"	*gaak3lei4*	*gélí**

Tab. 1 - Example Cantonese loanwords that are phonologically "Mandarinized" in "Manchu Mandarin" (Exhibition Museum of Manchu Culture in Guangzhou 廣州滿族文化陳列館 ; recorded from a poster during my fieldwork, 2022

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[4] 1 In this table, for GMM, "Mandarinized" Cantonese-origin words pronouncing as in Mandarin are transcribed in Hanyu Pinyin but marked with an asterisk (*). The phonological inventories and rules of adaptations for GMM are still to be investigated.

Mandarin (Beijing & Standardized)	Cantonese	Guangzhou's "Manchu Mandarin" (GMM)
这 些 *zhè xiē* "These"	呢 啲 *ni1 di1* "These"	这 啲 *zhè di1* "These"
那 些 *nà xiē* "Those"	嗰 啲 *go2 di1* "Those"	那 啲 *nà di1* "Those"
哪 些 *nǎ xiē* "Wh- pl."	边 啲 *bin1 di1* "Wh- pl."	哪 啲 *nǎ di1* "Where"

Tab. 2 - A probable paradigm for the potential dem. + di construction with glosses
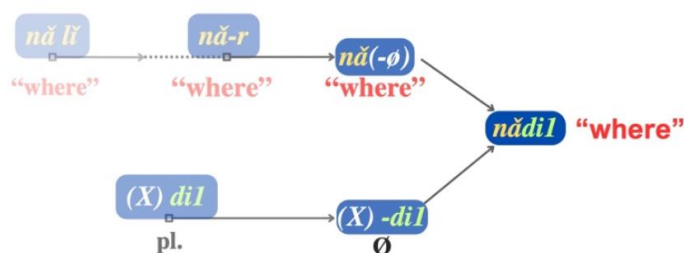

Fig. 1 - A proposed schema for a likely formation path of nǎdi1

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Exploring Ghostly Intensification in Cantonese

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It is observed that intensifying morphology in degree-based adjectival environments do not appear in contexts without degrees (1). *Gwai2* 'ghost' in Cantonese offers a surprising counterexample. The morpheme can appear in adjectival, verbal and nominal constructions (2), giving an intensified reading in all environments.

Existing studies have identified (i) the cross-categorical grammatical distribution of *gwai2* and (ii) the morpheme's enhancement effect on the target (Lee and Chin 2007, Matthews and Yip 2011, among others). However, the nature of *gwai2*'s intensification effect remains underexplored. I propose that *gwai2*'s intensifying effect should be characterized as degree-boosting and speaker commitment. Both manifestations of the effect share a unified semantic core.

I model the meaning of *gwai2* with a non-degree-based approach in the spirit of Beltrama and Bochnak (2015). Regardless of the lexical category of its host, *gwai2* universally quantifies over all accessible worlds and requires the associated predicate to be true in these worlds. This approach can better explain linguistic data associated with *gwai2*, compared with degree-based or context-based analyses.

Examples

(1) a. The soup is **very** delicious.   (Adjectival)
     b. *Jack **very** cries.   (Verbal)

(2) a. *gaa1 naa4 daai6   dung1 tin1   hou2   gwai2 dung3*。   (Adjectival)
         Canada   winter   very   GWAI   cold
         'The winter in Canada is extremely cold.'

     b. *aa3* Joe   *sik6   gwai2   zo2   di1   seoi2 gwo2*。   (Verbal)
         Ah Joe   eat   GWAI   PERF   some   fruit
         'Ah Joe did eat the fruits.'

     c. *bin1   gwai2   go3   mou5   zou6   gung1 fo3*?   (Nominal)
         who-GWAI   did   not   do   homework
         'Who in hell did not finish homework?'

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On the Rising-Falling boundary tone in Cantonese

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Introduction A rising view on Cantonese intonation is that tones on sentence-final particles (SFPs), while traditionally described as lexical tones, should be regarded as intonational boundary tones (Law 1990, Sybesma & Li 2007, Ding 2013, Zhang & Tang 2016, *i.a.*). Yet, less attention has been paid to *interjections*, which are also traditionally transcribed with lexical tones. In this study, we focus on the Rising-Falling boundary tone HL% documented in the Cantonese ToBI system, which expresses connotation of "discovery" (Wong, Chan & Beckman 2005:279). This particular boundary tone is chosen is because similar "discovery" functions seem to be conveyed on SFP *ge2* (Leung 2005) and interjection *o2* (Cheung 1972/2007), and, moreover, this boundary tone is also largely understudied (see Ki 2019 for a different HL% with a pragmatic function of negating addressees' belief).

Research questions (i) What is the phonetic realization of the boundary tone HL%? (ii) Does HL% have the same phonetic realization across grammatical categories?

Method The stimuli have a 3 x 2 factorial design, varying by the grammatical category of the tone-bearing items (interjections, SFPs, possessive marker) and the boundary tones (HL%, L%), as shown in Table 1. The possessive marker *ge3*, with the lexical mid-level tone 3 [33], serves as a baseline to examine boundary tones realized on lexical items. Each target item is placed on the 7th syllable in the sentence. 13 native speakers of Cantonese (Age: 22-49, F: 7) were recruited to produce the stimuli in a given context (target-filler ratio = 1:2). In total, 13 subjects x 6 conditions x 4 lexical sets x 3 repetitions = 936 tokens were obtained. Each syllable is divided into 10 time-equivalent intervals using ProsodyPro (Xu 2005) for acoustic analysis.

Results Figure 1 shows the SSANOVA results, where non-overlapping regions indicate statistical significance. All HL% conditions differ significantly from L% conditions after the 3rd-5th timepoints. In the HL% conditions, the pitch first rises and reaches its peak at the 6th time point, and falls until the end, with PossHL different slightly from IntJHL in F0 peak. Importantly, they do not differ in the timepoints of rising, of the peak, and of falling. The L% conditions share a falling contour, but PossL has a globally higher pitch than SFPL and PossL.

Discussion That the pitch contour on SFP *ge2* and interjection *o2* is similar to the possessive marker with the boundary tone HL% indicates that their tones are not lexical, but intonational with the "discovery" pragmatic function. Indeed, similar HL% may also be realized on interjections 'aa2~' and '*ji2~*', both of which seem to share the "discovery" function with different connotations (positive vs. negative). While the exact pragmatic functions need to be further characterized, this study opens up a possibility to tease apart the boundary tones from the segmental elements on SFPs as well as interjections.

	HL%	L%
IntJ	Nei5 bei5 ngo5 si3 jat1 si3, **o2~** … 'Let me try, ahuh! …'	Gei3 jin4 keoi5 gam3 gai3 gaau3, **o3**, … 'Now that he is being stingy, okay, …'
SFP	Jyun4 loi4 Sei3 Baak3 fong3 gaa3 **ge2~** '(I see!) It turns out Sei-baak takes vacation!'	Teng1 gong1 Sei3 Baak3 fong3 gaa3 **ge3**. '(I) heard that Sei-baak takes vacation! …'
Poss	Jyun4 loi4 bou3 gou3 Coi3 Ging3 **ge3~** '(I see!) It turns out the report is Coi-ging's!'	Teng1 gong1 bou3 gou3 Coi3 Ging3 **ge3**. '(I) heard that the report is Coi-ging's.'

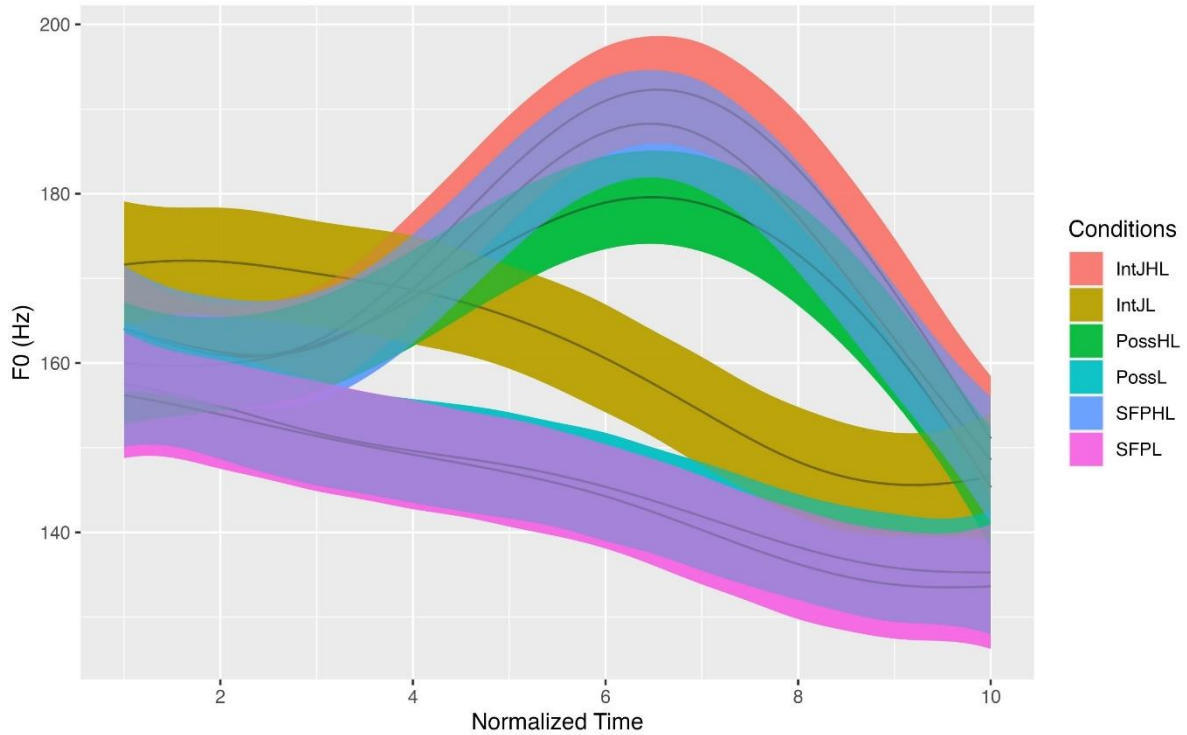Table 1: The six conditions of the stimuli

Figure 1: Pitch contour of the HL% and L% on different items

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在十九世紀晚期粵語文獻中看到的音韻內部差異
——反映語言事實的差異和由音系觀念引起的差異

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對於今天的粵語研究來說，一八八〇年左右可謂是一個轉折期，因為當時描述或記錄粵語的人士在身份方面開始多樣化。十九世紀中葉，描述粵語最具影響力的是傳教士，例如衛三畏（Samuel Wells Williams）。不同於此，一八八〇年左右描述粵語具影響力的有兩位，是傳教士歐德理（Ernest John Eitel）和教育家鮑乃耶（James Dyer Ball）。歐德理以編著字典《A Chinese Dictionary in the Cantonese Dialect》（刊於 1877 年，下文稱為 CDC）廣為人知，而鮑乃耶則因撰寫教科書《Cantonese Made Easy》（1883 年初版，下文稱為 CME）而聞名。如今，這兩部書籍都成為研究粵語史的重要基礎資料，有不少研究涉及其漢字讀音或語法特點。然而，出自當時歐美人士之手的粵語文獻不僅於此。記錄粵語的重要人物還有一個，是身兼大律師和學者的帕克（Edward Harper Parker）。這個第三位人物 1880 年在雜誌《The China Review》上發表了一篇文章〈Canton Syllabary〉（下文稱為 CS）。

這三家所使用的粵語音標系統均是在 1830 年代的雜誌《The Chinese Repository》提出的系統之基礎上發展而來的，但它們之間存在著一些差異。如何區分開元音的長短形式是其中之一。《CDC》及《CME》一律通過是否添加尖音符來區分[a:]和[ɐ]，如同衛三畏《英華分韻撮要》（刊於 1856 年）一樣。然而，〈CS〉根據韻母以元音收尾還是以輔音收尾來採用不同區別方法，對於以元音收尾的韻母用同一字母連寫的 aa 來表示長元音[a:]，用單寫的 a 來表示短元音[ɐ]，而對於以輔音收尾的韻母則用字母 a 來表示長元音[a:]，用 ê 來表示短元音[ɐ]。

	Williams 1856 英華分韻撮要	Eitel 1877 CDC	Parker 1880 CS	Ball 1883 CME
[a:]	á	á	a	á
[a:u] / [ɐu]	áu / au	áu / au	aau /au	áu / au
[a:ŋ] / [ɐŋ]	áng / ang	áng / ang	ang / êng	áng / ang

這只是音標系統拼寫規則的差異，並不反映音韻系統上的差異。

三家描述或記錄的粵語音韻系統大致相同，但是在細節上存在著明顯差異。過去研究很少指出這個事實，本項研究將探討同一時期三家描述或記錄的粵語音韻如何及為何不同。首先將《CDC》、〈CS〉、《CME》以及《英華分韻撮要》的拉丁文字音標進行對比指出以下兩種差異：（1）音韻系統上的差異；（2）音節數量的多寡。

音韻系統上的差異往往呈現出歷時演變發生前後的形式差異，可說是反映語言事實的變異。音標系統中會否出現表示半開前圓唇元音[œ]的音標是其中之一。現代香港粵語讀為韻母[œːŋ]、[œ:k]的漢字，《The Chinese Repository》設計的音標系統將之拼寫為 éung、éuk，如 "兩" léung、"著" chéuk。吉川（2011）根據同時期文獻凡例中的說明分別擬為[e:ʊŋ]、[e:ʊk]。《英華分韻撮要》和《CDC》也將之拼寫為 éung、éuk，〈CS〉和《CME》則拼寫為 öng、ök。〈CS〉和《CME》的音標形式表示一套歷時演變 e:ʊŋ > œ:ŋ 以及 e:ʊk > œ:k 發生後

的語音形式。換言之，在歐德理依據的音系與帕克依據的音系之間可能存在著語音演變速度的差別。

	Williams 1856 英華分韻撮要	Eitel 1877 CDC	Parker 1880 CS	Ball 1883 CME
兩	léung	léung	löng	löng
著	chéuk	chéuk	chök	chök

關於（2），《CDC》收錄的音節數量遠少於〈CS〉，可以窺見當時的音系中有一定數量的音節沒有得到歐德理承認的。它們多數是有音無字的語素。例如，表示音節[fɛ:]的音標在《CDC》中沒有出現。它在《英華分韻撮要》中也找不到的。

	Williams 1856 英華分韻撮要	Eitel 1877 CDC	Parker 1880 CS	Ball 1883 CME
[fɛ:]	-	-	fe*	-

〈CS〉加星號*來表示該音節在《英華分韻撮要》中找不到。其實，〈CS〉加星號的音節沒有收錄於《CDC》者亦多。這與其說是這些音節是否存在在帕克依據的音系與歐德理依據的音系之間情況稍有不同，倒不如說是關於如何處理只出現於口頭語言的語素這個問題在帕克與歐德理之間有不同的見解。雖然在帕克和歐德理之間有學術交流，但是建構音系時容納多少（或哪些）純口語性的語素在內這個音系觀念問題在他們之間有明顯的差別。

最後，我們將闡述傳教士歐德理的粵語音系標準意識深受衛三畏編著的字典《英華分韻撮要》的影響，與此相反，學者帕克試圖擺脫該字典建立的音系標準。

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A Phonological Analysis on the Misheard Pop Song Lyrics in Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese

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Pop song lyrics can be regarded as a special style of speech materials. Investigations into these special speech materials can lead to interesting findings across disciplines of linguistics, music and culture. In recent years, there have been comedic videos compiling misheard pop song lyrics in Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese on the social media platforms, such as YouTube and Facebook. Those misheard lyrics videos were generally created with comedic intent. However, beyond their humorous appeal, these misheard lyrics may reveal nonrandom phonological patterns. This study conducts a phonological analysis on the misheard lyrics and their corresponding original syllables to identify the phonological factors that lead to the mishearing phenomenon. Utilizing a quantitative approach, a comparative analysis was carried out on Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese, based on a data collection of 100 utterances of misheard lyrics in each Chinese variety.

The results indicate different compositions of misheard lyrics in Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese. Cantonese misheard lyrics are comprised of 34.15% homonyms, 21.95% tones mishearing, 17.56% initial mishearing, and 26.34% final mishearing. In contrast, Mandarin Chinese misheard lyrics are composed of 20.29% homonyms, 51.81% tone mishearing, 16.30% initial mishearing, and 11.59% final mishearing. Notably, tonal mishearing in Mandarin Chinese is significantly more prevalent than in Cantonese (51.81% versus 21.95%). This might be due to the linguistic-music interface tradition, wherein tone-tune matching is not required for Mandarin Chinese pop songs but is mandatory in Cantonese (Chan, 1987; Cheung, 2007; Zhang, 2016). Further analysis and discussion on the tone-tune matching constraint and the mishearing phenomenon will be presented at the conference.

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From A Restrictive Word to A Final Particle:
The Functional Development of Cantonese SFP ze1

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This paper focuses on how the function of the Cantonese SFP ze1 (啫) converts. As previous studies reveal, the core function of ze1 is to express the meaning of "only" and limitation. Meanwhile, most researchers agree that ze1 can express various meanings in different contexts. Adverb is explained as a word class used to indicate the time, manner, place, degree and frequency of something. Sentence-final particles (SFP) are minimal lexemes that occur at the end of a sentence, which can convey speech act information (Law, 1990). In Fung's (2013) perspective, ze1 is derived from the adverb with a limiting meaning. When ze1 plays its adverb function in a sentence, if ze1 is removed, the semantics of the sentence will be changed. Yet the retention or deletion of ze1 does not have such a great impact on the interpretation of the sentence when ze1 function as a pure SFP. In some practical contexts, ze1 is used as a sentence-final particle (SFP), instead of an adverb with a restrictive meaning. However, few studies have discussed the specific transform process.

Focusing on this process, this paper studies the functional change of ze1 from a diachronic perspective. It chooses three Cantonese corpora to trace the use of ze1 in Hong Kong and Guangdong from the mid-19th century to the late 20th century. The study divides ze1's functions into three categories: adverb; sentence-final particle with the meaning of downplay; sentence-final particle without the meaning of downplay. The research counts and analyzes 33 example sentences from 1828 to 1850, 43 from 1850 to 1900, 41 from 1900 to 1930, 50 from 1940 to 1950, 50 from 1950 to 1960, and 50 from 1960 to 1970. The frequency of each function is calculated. Results show that ze1 has the highest probability of appearing as a particle without downplaying meaning, and the frequency increases with the development of time. The other two uses of ze1 have both decreased in frequency over time.

Then, this paper studies the contexts in which the three functions are used. When used as a sentence-final particle without downplaying, ze1 has been used more frequently in negative sentences and challenging questions according to the data collected. In these contexts, ze1 is supposed to reduce aggression in conversations. Also, ze1 is increasingly used in conjunction with other modal particles(for instance, ge3 嘅) and thus no longer has the meaning of downplaying. When used as a sentence-final particle with downplaying, one special sentence pattern "only…ze1" is of concern. It has different expressions in Chinese, such as "只…啫" "不过…啫" "独…啫" and so on. However, after 1940, the frequency of this pattern decreased significantly, which means that ze1's use as a final particle indicating downplay increased. The study takes this as evidence that ze1 evolved to express downplay independently of other words. Last, when used as an adverb, the occurrence frequency of ze1 has been low, and shows a gradually decreasing trend.

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