

科技部補助專題研究計畫報告

客語形容詞連結標記研究

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本研究具有政策應用參考價值：否 是，建議提供機關
（勾選「是」者，請列舉建議可提供施政參考之業務主管機關）
本研究具影響公共利益之重大發現：否 是

中華民國 110 年 04 月 29 日

中文摘要：本計畫以形式語法角度分析客語形容詞連結標記及其引介之名詞短語結構，探討其組態結構及語意特性。本研究計畫提出新的語料觀察，論證「个」應分析為類別短語功能投射之中心語，並且具有部分性的特殊語意，亦即引介指涉某一種類的次集合之殊指個體。除了提出相關佐證外，本計畫也證明所提之分析符合了跨語言中分類現象與部分性展現之大趨勢。

中文關鍵詞：連結標記、客語、形容詞修飾關係、部分性

英文摘要：This project investigates the associative marker *gai* in Hakka complex noun phrases, exploring its syntax and semantics. It is argued that the *gai* marker hosts a functional projection *ClassP* in the nominal structure and is shown to encode the concept of partitivity, namely denoting a potentially specific subset of a larger set. This analysis of *gai* is shown to fit with the cross-linguistic picture regarding classification and partitivity.

英文關鍵詞：associative marker, Hakka, adjectival modification, partitivity

科技部補助專題研究計畫成果報告

客語形容詞連結標記研究

A study of Adjectival Gai Constructions in Hakka

計畫編號：MOST 108 – 2410 – H – 003 – 027 –

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一、前言 **Forward**

Complex noun phrases in many languages contain an apparently meaningless, sometimes optional, element whose function is to mediate between the modifier and modifiee. For ease of exposition, I will call this element an associative marker in the discussion, without imposing any theoretical presumptions. There have been extensive discussions targeting associative markers, and different proposals from various perspectives have been made. Along this line of inquiry, this project undertakes the investigation of Hakka associative *gai* in complex noun phrases, exploring its syntax and semantics as well as the ensuing theoretical implications on the modification structure. I argue that the *gai* marker hosts a functional projection ClassP in the nominal structure and is shown to encode the concept of partitivity.

二、研究目的 **Research Objectives**

The associative marker *gai* in Hakka (a Sinitic language) can link various types of phrases to their modified noun: a modifying noun phrase (NP), an adjective phrase (AP), a preposition phrase (PP), a relative clause (RC) or a

complement clause.¹ It is also possible to have more than one *gai* within a complex NP.

(1) *The distribution of gai*

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|----------|---------|---------|----------|-----|---------|-----|--|--------------------------|
| a. | hoggau | (gai) | guitin | | | | | | | <i>NP-(gai)-NP</i> |
| | school | GAI | rule | | | | | | | |
| | 'rules of the school' | | | | | | | | | |
| b. | vu | (gai) | sam | | | | | | | <i>AP-(gai)-NP</i> |
| | black | GAI | clothes | | | | | | | |
| | 'black clothes' | | | | | | | | | |
| c. | hi | toibed | *(gai) | lu | | | | | | <i>PP-gai-NP</i> |
| | to | Taipei | GAI | road | | | | | | |
| | 'the road to Taipei' | | | | | | | | | |
| d. | gi | zhungrhi | *(gai) | cha | | | | | | <i>RC-gai-NP</i> |
| | he | like | GAI | car | | | | | | |
| | 'the car that he likes' | | | | | | | | | |
| e. | Ahin | giedfun | *(gai) | siausid | | | | | | <i>CompClause-gai-NP</i> |
| | Ahin | marry | GAI | thing | | | | | | |
| | 'the news that Ahin got married' | | | | | | | | | |
| f. | gi | mai | gai | di | fonggien | gai | kuaimug | gai | | |
| | he | buy | GAI | at | room | GAI | cypress | GAI | | |
| | vong | gai | zoger | | | | | | | |
| | yellow GAI table | | | | | | | | | |
| | 'the yellow cypress table at the room that he bought' | | | | | | | | | |

¹ The Hakka dialect this study works with is based on the Northern Hailu variety spoken mainly in Taoyuan, Taiwan. Differences in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax can be observed between various sub-dialects of Hakka including Sixian Hakka, Hailu Hakka, Dapu Hakka, Zhaoan Hakka and Raoping Hakka. Distinct Hakka varieties might also differ to some extent in the forms of their associative markers. The spelling conventions used in this report follow from the system issued by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan. Tonal marking is omitted in this report. Unless otherwise noted, the Hakka data cited here come from the author's fieldwork.

An important observation we can make in (1) is that *gai* can be optional only when linking a nominal or adjectival modifier to its modified noun but must be obligatory in the other cases. Given the distributional disparity, this study focuses solely on cases where *gai* displays optionality, namely when *gai* occurs in the frame of [XP-(*gai*)-N]. In particular, a key lesson we learn from the controversy over the analysis of Mandarin *de* is that the existence of several different instances of *de* within complex NPs poses one major obstacle for a satisfying analysis. The situation in Hakka gets more complicated than Mandarin *de* since, in addition to linking different types of modifiers to nouns, *gai* can also function as a sortal classifier and as a demonstrative. It thus seems reasonable in the current study to differentiate distinct types of *gai* and to assume that each instantiation of *gai* within the extended nominal projection is composed of different feature make-up, depending on its hierarchical position. Therefore, due to the heterogeneous nature and distribution of the phrases preceding *gai*, I assume that *gai* may instantiate different heads on the nominal spine (cf. Paul 2017 on Mandarin *de*). Different types of *gai* come with distinct structural/interpretational properties and thus what is argued for the optional *gai* in this study is not meant to apply to phrases involving the obligatory presence/absence of *gai* as in (1c)-(1e).

A further point worth further stressing is that when I state that *gai* is optional, this statement should be understood in the sense that *its presence or absence does not affect grammaticality* but not in the sense that it makes absolutely no difference in interpretation, as will be further revealed later. Moreover, for explicatory purpose, I will refer to the *gai* of our current concern (i.e. *gai* present in the frame of [XP-(*gai*)-N]) as “optional *gai*” due to its apparent optionality, though the term should be treated with caution as described above.

三、 文獻探討 **Literature Review**

As can be observed in the data of (1), Hakka *gai* is similar in its distribution to Mandarin *de*, which has long been a subject of debate as to its grammatical status.² *De* has been analyzed in many different ways, including as a complementizer (Cheng 1986), as a nominalizer (Paris 1979, Zhang 1999), as a Case assigner (Li 1990, Larson 2009), as a determiner (Simpson 2002), as the head of a ModP (Rubin 2003, Sio 2006, Tang 1990), as the division marker of two different domains (Paul 2005), as a type-shifter (Huang 2006), as a marker of predicate inversion (Den Dikken and Singhapreecha 2004), as a type of classifier (Arsenijevic and Sio 2007, Cheng and Sybesma 2009) - to mention just a few influential or relatively recent proposals. These efforts notwithstanding, a consensus on the role of *de* is yet to be reached.

Despite the intense investigation of Mandarin *de*, the associative marker *gai* in Hakka has been paid little attention from the generative grammar perspective in the literature. Earlier works on Hakka *gai* mainly concentrated on the relevant grammaticalization process from the historical linguistics or functional grammarian viewpoint (e.g. Lai 2015). Recently, Tseng (to appear) offers an optimality theoretical (OT) based approach to explain the syntactic and semantic phenomena related to the morpheme *gai* in Hakka noun phrases.³ A successive-cyclic OT model is proposed, in which a syntactic OT component generates alternative patterns regarding the presence of *gai* and a semantic OT component is responsible for pairing syntactic forms with semantic meanings. Though Tseng presents an interesting OT analysis of nominal *gai* phrases, some more interpretational contrasts between *gai* phrases and *gai*-less phrases are not addressed; more importantly, her work did not really focus on and thus pin down the exact structural status and function of the *gai* marker itself. In light of this, this project aims to fill in such a gap from another generative perspective.

² The morpheme *gai* has roles other than being an associative marker. It also functions as a sortal classifier and a distal demonstrative. In contrast, Mandarin *de* does not display the two uses.

³ The associative marker is transcribed as *kai* in Tseng's work because it follows a different spelling system from the current study.

四、 研究方法及結果討論 **Method and Result Discussion**

The semantics of optional *gai* can be generalized to two major facets. First, *gai* is potentially specific. Though the presence of *gai* does not always invoke specific reading, when specificity is intended or needed for licensing the use of certain linguistic objects (such as an anaphoric form), *gai* has to appear. Take (2) for example. For (2) to be a felicitous sentence, the interlocutors (presumably in a car dealer in this case) must have seen more than one car model before discussing their preference. The occurrence of *gai* in (2) is driven by the fact that there exists a set of cars known to the interlocutors in the context and the particular red car (liked by the speaker) is contained and referred to from that set.

- (2) *suirhan ngai dong zhungrhi fung gai cha,*
though I very like red GAI car
mgo ngai lai cin nau gai-toi.
but I son very hate that-CL
'Though I like the red car, my son really hates it.'

In this sense, *gai* has an individuating function so that it singles out the division of one entity (or one class of entities) out of a given type.

Secondly, in a sequence of *XP-gai-N*, the denotation of *XP-gai* represents a subset type of N. Precisely, reference to a set of N, which is composed of various types of N familiar to the speakers, is established; meanwhile, at least one element from the type denoted by *XP-gai* is included within that particular set. For instance, for the case of (3), the insertion of *gai* is licensed since reference to a set of friends is made available in the discourse, i.e. there are (at least) two types of friends. As such, the speaker can go on and talk about the friendship type he is in among many possibilities.

- (3) ngai he gia lo gai penrhiu
 I be his old GAI friend
 *(mu he sin gai penrhiu).
 not be new GAI friend
 'I am his old friend, not his new friend.'

Crucially, the two principal facets of interpretation are reminiscent of what has been proposed for the concept of partitivity. (4) and (5) are the definition of partitivity and illustrating examples provided by Sleeman (1996):

(4) *Partitivity* (Sleeman 1996:34):

- (i) *Partitive* means 'properly or improperly included within' [a set].
- (ii) *Partitive* also means 'potentially but not necessarily specific'.

- (5) a. Several children entered my room. Two girls began to talk to me.
 b. What have you done today? – I have bought two books.

According to Sleeman, the two girls in (5a) are a subset of the several room-entering children. This subset is construed as specific since its referent is linked to something evoked earlier in the discourse. In (5b), the NP *two books* is not specific since it is not associated with any discourse-linked element; however, *two* is still considered partitive because *two books* refers to a subset of the kind BOOK. All these are comparable to what we have observed in Hakka XP-*gai*-N sequences: in complex nominals with *gai*-modifiers, the two characteristics of partitivity specified in (4) would always be involved, namely denoting a potentially specific subset of a larger set. If we consider this fact in comparison to *gai*-less modifiers, which only differ in the lack of *gai*, then it is reasonable to deduce that the associative marker *gai* encodes the concept of partitivity. Moreover, ever since the seminal work by Barker (1998), it has been acknowledged that partitives also display an important property, i.e. *anti-unique*. What this property means is that a [+partitive] element cannot refer to a unique individual (or set of individuals), but must involve at least two individuals (or sets of individuals) in its extension, causing a degree

of indefiniteness. Accordingly, in a partitive phrase such as *one of John's friends*, John must have at least two friends for this to be a proper partitive and for it to satisfy anti-uniqueness by not referring to a unique individual. This property of partitivity can also be observed with associative *gai*. For example, it is possible to insert *gai* in *ng tiau gai giungziao* 'five bananas' in a scenario where there is more than one heap of bananas that the speaker can choose from. (Consider a scenario in which there is a fruit stand and the bananas are placed in several heaps; one heap is made up of 3 bananas, one 5 and one 7.) Therefore, the use of *gai* here renders the complex NP capable of denoting one of the pre-identified sets, satisfying the anti-unique requirement of a proper partitive.

Given that the role of *gai* is to introduce and describe a class of entities that constitutes a subset of a particular kind, I suggest that the associative *gai* is a class marker that heads a projection above the NP. It realizes a Class Projection (ClassP) and the formal exponent of an interpretable feature [CLASS] is in the head of this functional projection. This [CLASS] head has an edge feature so that a modifying element needs to occupy its specifier position.

五、計畫成果自評 **Self-Evaluation**

Despite the intensive work on complex NPs featuring associative markers, much fewer studies focus on providing an explicit account of the optionality of such markers. Taking Hakka *gai* as our lead, this project is dedicated to filling in this gap and to throwing a different light on the analysis of these apparently optional elements. This report first outlined the key properties of Hakka optional *gai* and then developed a syntax-semantics interface analysis of *gai*. Previous research on *gai* did not specify the exact role of the *gai* marker but only pointed out that *gai*-phrases could make the modified NPs marked by a contrastive meaning. In this respect, this study improves from the literature in that it provides a precise grammatical analysis

of the *gai* marker, rendering the observed semantic peculiarities and syntactic phenomena in a straightforward way. More importantly, this study shows the apparently optional associative markers could serve as class markers encoding partitive construal though their role might often be blurred by the intersective semantics associated with many adjectives. In the principles-and-parameters framework, where the universal principles work in tandem with parameters with values set for particular languages, it is often found that some intuitively equivalent constructions between languages may actually involve very different syntactic representations. If the conclusions reached in this study are on the right track, we have seen another different analysis route the associative markers can take.

This study has achieved some major empirical and theoretical results, which are supported by certain recent lines of research in syntax. Some of the major results have been written as a manuscript submitted to a journal. I believe this project has contributed considerably to understanding the ensuing empirical and theoretical implications as described above, with a better comprehension of modification configurations universally as an ultimate goal. It is believed that the results of this project can provide a solid ground for future inquiry into the relevant issues.

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108年度專題研究計畫成果彙整表

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國內	學術性論文	期刊論文	0	篇	
		研討會論文	0		
		專書	0	本	
		專書論文	0	章	
		技術報告	1	篇	科技部計畫成果報告
		其他	0	篇	
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		專書論文	0	章	
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