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The Grammaticalization of Modal Particles in Shanghainese

---The case study of $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$

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Two positions of $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$

sentence initial:

- (1) hi^{23} $k\tilde{a}^{34}$ hi^{23} $k\tilde{a}^{45}$
he_i says he_j stupid
'He_i says he_j's stupid!'

sentence final:

(2) fi^{23} $\text{k}\tilde{\text{a}}^{45}$ fi^{23} $\text{k}\tilde{\text{a}}^{34}$
 he_j stupid he_i says
 ‘ He_i says he_j ’s stupid!’

Sentence final $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$ that cannot be 'moved back'

Reportive particle 'with an obscure source of information' (cf. Plaisier 2006: 131-132):

- (3) hi^{23} $k\tilde{a}^{45}$ hi^{23} $k\tilde{a}^{34}$
he stupid someone says
'Someone says he's stupid!'

S(entence) F(inal) P(article) which expresses the speaker-oriented *Force* of counter-expectation (Han & Shi 2012):

(4) hi^{23} $\text{k}\tilde{\text{a}}^{45}$ $\text{hi}^{23}\text{k}\tilde{\text{a}}^{34}$
 he stupid SFP
 ‘He’s stupid (rather than smart)!’

From quotative to SFP: Grammaticalization of *hi*²³*kã*³⁴

Verb of saying a quotation marker, e.g.

mĩ and *tĩ* in Nama (Krönlein 1889:231,309; Hagman 1977:137);

se in Twi (Lord 1989:292ff.);

ye in Kusasi (Kusal) (Lord 1993:198-9);

taá in Saramaccan CE and *taki* in Sranan CE (Lord 1989:335);

sey in West African PE (Lord 1989:332);

Áro and *fó* in Vai (Koello 1968:122, 134);

prepa in Buru (Klamer 2000:76), etc.

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The process of verb of saying grammaticalizing itself into a quotative marker is seen, typologically, throughout languages. And it is natural for this process to involve ‘he says’, such as *yáx-qal* in Cahuilla (Seiler 1977:187).

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However, it's not uncommon for a quotative marker evolving into a reportive particle in the sentence final position. For example, *mere* in Lepcha (Plasier, 2006).

The process, in which a definite source of information becomes indefinite, may involve semantic obscuring of the corresponding pronoun (Han 2012) , i.e. in the 'he says' situation, 'he' is obscured as 'one' or 'someone' to indicate the content reported as hearsay information (Heine & Kuteva 2002:265). For example, *luhuda* (one says) in Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993:232)

- $\text{hi}^{23} \quad \text{kã}^{34}, \quad \text{sa}^{ʔ55} \text{nin}^{23} \quad \text{kã}^{34}, \quad \text{hə}^{ʔ55} \quad \text{kã}^{34}, \quad \text{na}^{23} \quad \text{la}^{ʔ12} \text{hɛ}^{34} \quad \text{tsu}^{34} \text{mã}^{23}$
he say someone say bullshit say you are dream
'It's bullshit that you are all dreaming!'
(SSC, UofA)

Han and Shi (2012b): *hi*²³ ‘he’ carries a feature of [+Subjectivity] and is typically used as an SFP of exaggeration.

Verbs of saying in Chinese → SFP

e.g.

Taiwanese *kong* (Simpson & Wu 2002),
Mandarin *shuo* (Wang, Katz & Chen 2003),
and
Cantonese *waa* (Chui 1994; Yeung 2006).

verb of saying → complementizer, cross-linguistically

e.g.

Egyptian (Gardiner 1957:173),

Koranko (Kastenholz 1987:265-336);

Vai (Koelle 1968:123);

Bemba (Givón 1980:365-6);

Ewe (Lord 1989:307-8);

Chamling (Ebert 1991:79-80);

Buru (Klamer 2000: 78);

Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993:367);

Negerhollands CD (Stolz 1986:229), etc.

Integration of evaluative clauses as sentence-final particles of the preceding clause (see Wang & Yap 2009; Yap, Lam & Wang 2009)

eryiyi:

Stage 1:	Clause-1,	Clause-2,	Clause-3.
	...,	...,	[<i>er</i> <i>yi</i> <i>yi</i>].
	...,	Clause-2 _{<i>i</i>} ,	[that _{<i>i</i>} /and~but
			finish ASP].
	...,	Clause-2,	[(and~but)
			that's it!]
Stage 2:	...,	Clause-2,	SFP.

yeyiyi:

Stage 1: Clause-1, FOC, Clause-2.
 Clause-1, *ye*, [*_yi* *yi*]
 Clause-1, *ye*, [*_finish* ASP].

Stage 2: Clause-1, *yeyiyi*.
 Clause-1, then.
 Clause-1 **SFP**.

Grammaticalization of $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$: Quotative \rightarrow SFP

(5)

Stage 1: Quotative Clause₁+Clause₂ (verb of saying, definite source)

Stage 2: Clause + Reportive Particle (indefinite source)

Stage 3: Clause + SFP (counter-expectation)

A third position of $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$

$hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$ in Shanghainese, however, can also land in a third position in clause, rather than the sentence initial, or final, ones.

- (6) $m\grave{a}n^{23}k^h\chi^{34}d\chi^{23}g\grave{a}^{12}$ $mo^{12}z\tilde{i}\tilde{a}^{23}$ $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$, $hu\epsilon^{23}t\grave{a}^{155}$ RAP
 outside carpenter ? can RAP
 '(It's unbelievable that) the carpenter outside can do RAP!'

- (7) $t\phi^h i^{34}$ $s\epsilon^{53}g\grave{a}^{12}h\jmath^{23}d\chi^{23}$ $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$, $g\grave{a}^{12}n\grave{a}n^{23}hi\tilde{a}^{23}$ $ts\imath^{34}$ $hion\eta^{23}$ $ts^h\jmath^{53}p^h i\jmath^{34}$
 go three months ? this way spend money
 '(It's unbelievable that) (all the) money has been used up in three months!'
 (SSC, UofA)

The above *hi*²³*kã*³⁴ also expresses 'counter-expecting' meaning (Han & Shi 2012a), however:

- It does not occupy the SFP position;
- Nor, is it in the so-called SFP₂ position in clause (cf. Law 2002);
- What's more important, there is always a pause (realized by a comma in the examples) after.

As a typical topic prominent variety (Liu 2001), Shanghainese is abundant with topic marking devices, some of which are used to express counter-expected meanings. For example, *tɔ* (Qian 1996; Xu and Liu 2007), *ne*, *a*, *mə* (Han, Arppe and Newman 2013), etc.

- It is proposed that $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$ in (6) and (7) is a topic particle, which stems from its role as SFP through ‘position lowering’, which is the typical manner of SFPs turning into topic particles in Chinese (Qiang 2010).

*Note, however, that $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$ in (6) and (7) can be freely moved in the sentence final position, while the corresponding 'Carpenter' and 'Three months' still remain as topic.

The whole picture

$hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$ +clause (quotative clause)

(→quotation marker)

semantic bleaching

clause+ $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$ (reportive particle)

clausal integration

clause+ $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$ (SFP of counter-expectation)

position lowering

topic+ $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$ (topic particle)+....

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Thank you!
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