

# The acquisition of Cantonese sentence-final particles by a Mandarin-speaking child: from monolingual to bilingual

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## Introduction

- **Sentence final particles (SFPs)** are an important functional category in spoken Mandarin and Cantonese appearing in the final position of a sentence encoding a variety of semantic, pragmatic, discourse functions and illocutionary force.

### ➤ Similarities & differences of SFPs in Cantonese & Mandarin

- Overlap in both pronunciation & functions to some extent
- Quantity: **30** basic forms (Matthews & Yip, 2011) vs. **7** or **8** basic forms (Ding 1961; Li & Thompson 1981; Cheung 1998; Chu 1998)
  - pose special challenges to L2 learners
- Mandarin speakers use fewer SFPs in conversation than Cantonese speakers (Alleton 1981)
- SFP clusters:
  - Cantonese: **2 to 4 particles** (Matthews & Yip, 2011)
  - Mandarin: **2 particles** (Zhu 1982; Zhang 2010)

### ➤ Criteria for categorization of SFPs in this study

	Criteria for categorization	Mandarin SFPs	Cantonese SFPs
1	Similar pronunciation, Similar functions	<i>a</i> 啊 <i>lo</i> 咯	<i>aa3</i> 啊 <i>lo1</i> 囉
2	Similar pronunciation, Different functions	<i>la</i> 啦	<i>laa1</i> 啦
3	Different pronunciation, Similar functions	<i>ba</i> 吧	<i>laa1</i> 啦 <i>gwaa3</i> 嘞
		<i>bei</i> 呗	<i>lo1</i> 囉
		<i>ya</i> 呀	<i>aa3</i> 啊
		<i>ne</i> 呢	<i>le1</i> 呢
		<i>le</i> 了	<i>laa3</i> 喇
4	No corresponding counterparts	NA	<i>wo3</i> 咯 <i>tim1</i> 添
5	SFP clusters	<i>le ba</i> 了吧 <i>de ne</i> 的呢	<i>lei4 gaa3</i> 㗎㗎 <i>ge3 laa1 ma3</i> 嘅啦嘛 <i>tim1 ge3 laa3 bo3</i> 添嘅喇嘞

## Research Questions

- What are the non-target SFPs produced by the child?
- Is there any cross-linguistic influence from Mandarin to Cantonese?

## Methodology

- **Tong**: born and raised in Shenzhen, PRC, exposed to Mandarin from birth. Exposed to Cantonese since 3;3 in HK kindergarten
- Longitudinal study:
  - L1 Mandarin: Tong Corpus (Deng & Yip, in press)  
Corpus website: <http://cbrchk.org/the-tong-corpus/>
  - L2 Cantonese: Tong Corpus (Wu 2016) - 9-month video & audio recording at weekly or bi-weekly intervals

Background information of the subject				
Child	Age span of the corpus study		No. of Sessions	MLU
Tong	Mandarin	1;7-3;4	22	1.64-4.59
		4;3-5;0	12	-
	Cantonese	4;3-5;0	12	1.73-3.61

- Data analysis:
  - 1) Transcription
  - 2) Using Commands in CLAN to extract spontaneous utterances with SFPs
  - 3) Categorizing the extracted utterances based on the functions of the SFPs
  - 4) Non-target SFPs

## Results

- **Target-like Cantonese SFPs**:
- 14 types: *aa3*, *laa3*, *gaa3*, *ge2*, *ne1*, *lo1*, *aa4*, *lu3*, *ge3*, *aa1*, *gaa4*, *aak1*, *laa4*, *laa1*
- **Non-target-like Cantonese SFPs**:
- *ba*, *bei*, *ya*, *ma*

Tong's production of non-target SFPs in obligatory contexts		
SFPs	Tokens	Proportion in all non-target SFPs
<i>ba</i>	25	64.10%
<i>ya</i>	7	17.95%
<i>bei</i>	4	10.26%
<i>ma</i>	3	7.69%
Total	39	100%

- *ba* 吧: highest proportion of inappropriate use in the child's Cantonese SFPs.
- Mandarin *ba* 吧 is a SFP that has no phonological counterparts in Cantonese, but is similar in function to two Cantonese SFPs.

➤ *ba* 吧 - *laa1* 啦: “invitation/requests” 4 tokens  
- *gwaa3* 嘞: “uncertainty of the speaker” 21 tokens

### (1) Mandarin *ba* in place of *gwaa3*

- No *gwaa3* 嘞 was found in the child's production.

INV: 你 覺得 佢 係 男仔 車 定  
*lei5 gok3dak1 keoi5 hai6 laam4zai2 cel ding6*  
you think he is boy car or  
女仔 車 啊?  
*lei2zai2 cel aa3*  
girl car SFP  
“Do you think it is a boy car or a girl car?”

CHI: 男仔 吧?  
*naam4zai2 ba*  
boy SFP  
“It is a boy car, I guess?”

### (2) Mandarin *ba* in place of Cantonese *laa1*

- The child's target use of *laa1* 啦 emerged at the age of 4;11.

INV: 你 教 姐姐 玩 咩, 好 唔 好 啊?  
*lei5 gaau3 ze4ze4 waan2 aa1 hou2 m4 hou2 aa3*  
you teach sister play SFP good not good SFP  
“You teach me how to play it, okay?”

CHI: 你 睇 說明書 吧.  
*lei5 tai2 syut3ming4syu1 ba*  
you read Instructions SFP  
“Have a look at the instructions.” (Tong 4;8)

➤ *lo1* 囉 - *bei* 呗 – “obviousness”  
- *lo* 咯 – “emphasis of new situation; affirmation”

### (2) Mandarin *bei* in place of Cantonese *lo1*

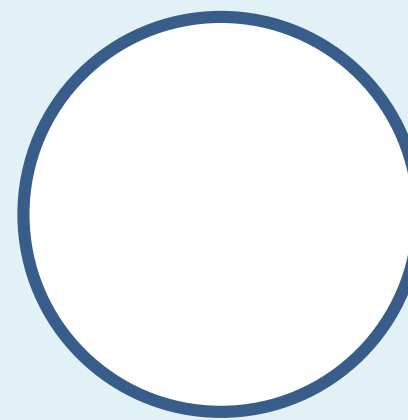
- The child consistently used Mandarin *bei* 呗 in place of *lo1* 囉 before the age of 4;11.

INV: 有 啊? 咁 點算 呢?  
*mou5 aa4 gam2 dim2syun3 le1*  
no SFP then what-to-do SFP  
“No? Then what should we do?”

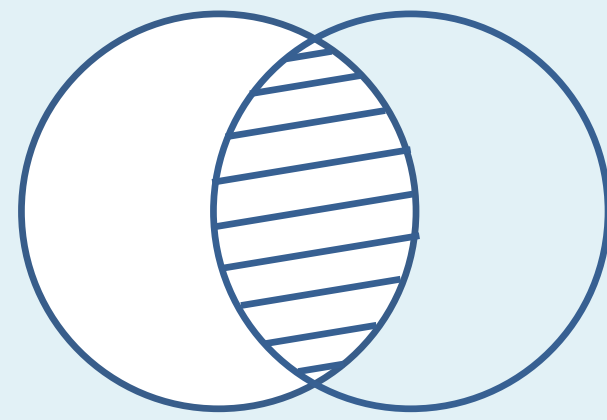
CHI: 自己 拼 㗎.  
*zi6gei2 ping3 bei*  
self piece-together SFP  
“We could piece them together by ourselves.” (Tong 4;11)

## Discussion

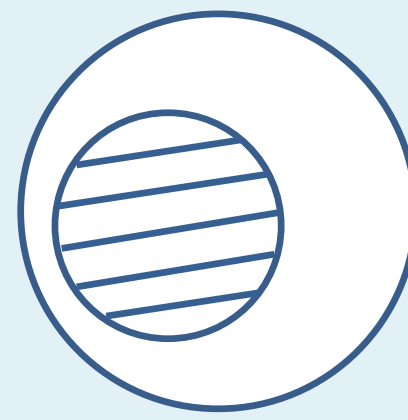
- Non-target uses of SFPs found in the child's Cantonese all fall into the group of Cantonese SFPs that have Mandarin counterparts in functions but differ in pronunciation.
- However, even within this group, the production rate of the target Cantonese SFP is different.



Complete overlap



Partial overlap



Inclusive overlap

- Complete overlap: no (detectable) transfer in this group, except for the pair *ya* & *aa3* (phonological transfer)
- Partial overlap: direct transfer found from Mandarin to the child's Cantonese; not until the last two recordings, the target use began to emerge
- Inclusive overlap: most persistent errors found in the child, target use not attested in our recordings

Relationship	SFP pairs	
	Mandarin SFPs	Cantonese SFPs
1. Complete overlap	<i>ne</i> 呢	<i>le1</i> 呢
	<i>le</i> 了	<i>laa3</i> 喇
	<i>ya</i> 呀	<i>aa3</i> 啊
2. Partial overlap	<i>ba</i> 吧	<i>laa1</i> 啦
	<i>bei</i> 呗	<i>lo1</i> 囉
3. Inclusive overlap	<i>ma</i> 吗	<i>me1</i> 咩
	<i>ba</i> 吧	<i>gwaa3</i> 嘞

- Cantonese SFPs without any counterparts in Mandarin: relatively well mastered, e.g., *ge2* 嘅, but many are still missing in our data
- SFP clusters in both languages developed relatively late due to their greater complexity. They are likely to be mastered after the individual SFPs are mastered.

## Conclusion

- In the domain of SFPs, overlap in either pronunciation or functions between the two languages opens the door for cross-linguistic influence, posing a challenge for the child and making the acquisition process lag behind.
- In particular, overlap in the functions of two SFPs poses more difficulties in the child's acquisition process.
- The nature of the overlap is an essential factor for the strength of cross-linguistic influence:  
Inclusive overlap > Partial overlap > Complete overlap
- High frequency of individual SFPs in L1 Mandarin is also a factor in CLI.

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