The Grammaticalization of Modal Particles in Shanghainese
---The case study of $hi^{23}k\ddot{a}^{34}$

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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) \( h_i^{23} k\tilde{a}^{45} h_i^{23} k\tilde{a}^{34} \)

\( h_i \) stupid \( h_i \) says

‘\( h_i \) says \( h_j \)’s stupid!’
Sentence final \(hi^{23}k\ddot{a}^{34}\) that cannot be 'moved back'


(3)  \(hi^{23}  \ k\ddot{a}^{45}  \ hi^{23}  \ k\ddot{a}^{34}\)

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)  
\[ \text{hi}^{23} \quad \text{k\~a}^{45} \quad \text{hi}^{23}\text{k\~a}^{34} \]

he stupid SFP

‘He’s stupid (rather than smart)!’
From quotative to SFP: Grammaticalization of $hi^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$

Verb of saying a quotation marker, e.g.

$m\tilde{i}$ and $t\tilde{i}$ in Nama (Krönlein 1889:231,309; Hagman 1977:137);

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

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

$ta\tilde{a}$ in Saramaccan CE and $taki$ in Sranan CE (Lord 1989:335);

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

$\tilde{A}\tilde{r}o$ and $f\tilde{o}$ in Vai (Koello 1968:122, 134);

$prepa$ in Buru (Klamer 2000:76), etc.
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).
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)
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 \(\rightarrow\) 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)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage 1:</th>
<th>Clause-1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clause-2,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clause-3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[er  yi  yi].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[that,./and~but finish ASP].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[(and~but) that’s it!]</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Stage 2:</th>
<th>...</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clause-2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SFP.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 $hi^{23}kā^{34}$: Quotative $\rightarrow$ SFP

(5)
Stage 1: Quotative Clause$_1$ + Clause$_2$ (verb of saying, definite source)

Stage 2: Clause + Reportive Particle (indefinite source)

Stage 3: Clause + SFP (counter-expectation)
A third position of $hi^{23}kã^{34}$

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

(6) $mən^{23}kʰɤ^{34}dɤ^{23}gə^{12}$ $mo^{12}ziã^{23}$ $hi^{23}kã^{34}$, $huɛ^{23}tə^{55}$ RAP
outside carpenter ? can RAP

'(It's unbelievable that) the carpenter outside can do RAP!'

(7) $tɛ^{hi^{34}}$ $sɛ^{53}gə^{12}hɔ^{23}dɤ^{23}$ $hi^{23}kã^{34}$, $gə^{12}nən^{23}hiã^{23}$ $ʦɿ^{34}$ $ɦioŋ^{23}$ $ʦʰɛ^{53}pʰiɔ^{34}$
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 $hi^{23}k\dagger^{34}$ also expresses 'counter-expecting' meaning (Han & Shi 2012a), however:

- It does not occupy the SFP position;
- Nor, is it in the so-called $SFP_{2}$ 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, \( t \) (Qian 1996; Xu and Liu 2007), \( ne, a, mə \) (Han, Arppe and Newman 2013), etc.

- It is proposed that \( hi^{23}kā^{34} \) 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

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

(→quotation marker)

semantic bleaching

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

clausal integration

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

position lowering

topic+$h\tilde{i}^{23}k\tilde{a}^{34}$ (topic particle)+....
Thank you!
:-)