

**A corpus analysis of Cantonese *m4zi1* ('don't know') and related negative attitudinal expressions: Implications for the relationship between negation, indefiniteness and stance**

In this paper, we examine the uses of Cantonese *m4zi1* ('don't know') as a negative attitudinal adverbial in spoken discourse. In particular, we first examine the syntactic distribution of attitudinal *m4 zi1* ('don't know') expressions: namely, lexical verb with matrix subject (1a), utterance-initial attitudinal marker without matrix subject (1b), parenthetical attitudinal marker (1c), and post-predicate or utterance-final attitudinal tag (1d). We then further examine possible correlations between syntactic distribution and pragmatic function. An interesting observation about these negative attitudinal expressions is the obligatory presence of an indefinite pronoun such as *mat1* 'what', *bin1go3* 'who', *bin1dou6* 'where', *dim2gaai2* 'why' (e.g. *m4zi1 keoi5 zou6 mat1* lit. 'don't know he do what', meaning '*I don't know what on earth he is doing!*'). Another interesting observation is that *m4 zi1* expresses the attitude of the speaker (in this case, the overt/covert *ngo5* 'I') rather than the attitude of the complement subject *keoi5* '(s)he'. Our analysis highlights the intimate relationship between negation, indefiniteness and stance. Data for this study comes from the *Corpus of Old Cantonese Films in Hong Kong*.

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| (1) a. | 我唔知佢做乜<br><i>Ngo5 m4zi1 keoi5 zou6 mat1.</i><br>1SG not.know 3SG do what<br>'I don't know what (s)he's doing.'       | Lexical verb with matrix subject     |
| b.     | 唔知佢做乜<br><i>M4 zi1 keoi5 zou6 mat1.</i><br>not.know 3SG do what<br>'I've no idea what (s)he's doing.'                | Utterance-initial attitudinal marker |
| c.     | 佢唔知做乜<br><i>Keoi5 m4zi1 zou6 mat1.</i><br>3SG not.know do what<br>'Who knows what (the hell) (s)he's doing(!)'       | Parenthetical attitudinal marker     |
| d.     | 佢做乜，我唔知<br><i>Keoi5 zou6 mat1, ngo5 m4zi1.</i><br>3SG do what 1SG not.know<br>'What (s)he's doing, I've no idea (!)' | Post-predicate attitudinal tag       |

利用語料庫分析廣州話“唔知”與其相關之負面感情態度語句  
——否定、不定及情態間之關係

本文旨在攷察廣州話帶負面感情態度 (negative attitudinal) 的副詞“唔知”不曉得於口頭語篇 (spoken discourse) 中有何用法。於廣州話中，“唔知”語句可帶不同情態，此研究先觀察“唔知”之句法分布情況，即：含主母句 (matrix with subject) 中之詞彙意義動詞 (1a)、缺主母句中之句首情態標記 (1b)、插入型 (parenthetical) 情態標記 (1c)、謂語後或句末附加 (tag) 情態語 (1d)，再一窺眾句法分布與其語用功能 (pragmatic function) 間有何相互關係。

值得一提的是，此等帶負面情態之語句中，必含一不定代詞，如：乜甚麼、邊個誰、邊道何處、點解為何。譬如，“唔知渠做乜！”表面意為“不曉得他幹甚麼”，實則表達“不曉得他**這樣做**到底是幹甚麼！”此外，“唔知”所表達的必然是說話者 (即“我”) 之感情態度，而非補語子句中之主語“渠”的態度。

是研究強調否定、不定及情態間之緊密關係，語料主要來自“香港粵語長片語料庫”。

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| (1) a. | 我唔知佢做乜 <small>我不曉得他幹甚麼</small>      | 含主母句中之詞彙意義動詞 |
| b.     | 唔知佢做乜 <small>不曉得他幹甚麼</small>        | 缺主母句中之句首情態標記 |
| c.     | 佢唔知做乜 <small>天曉得(到底)他幹甚麼(!)</small> | 插入型情態標記      |
| d.     | 佢做乜，我唔知 <small>他幹甚麼，我不曉得(!)</small> | 謂語後附加情態語     |