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The Similarities and Differences in the Semantics and Syntactical function of the Sentence-final Particle 啊(/a/) in Cantonese and Taiwanese

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Introduction

The sentence-final particle is a unique element that existed in Sino-Tibetan and Austroasiatic languages families compared to Indo-European languages. Sentence-final particles included lots of messages like the speaker's attitude, the speech act and some other additional information. Thus, understanding the final sentence particles is very significant when we want to build up the bonding and solidarity with Chinese people. Cantonese has the maximum number of final particles amongst the ten varieties of Chinese. There are 15 sentence-final particles (without counting the homonyms but in a different tone and the compound particles). Meanwhile, the Min language has the second most sentence-final particles which are 8 in total.

In this paper, we will focus on the Cantonese sentence-final particles which spoken in Hong Kong and the South Min language which spoken in Taiwan for analysis. Since Hong Kong people and Taiwanese has a more similar value and attitude, and their culture and information flow is active, open and reliable, it is worth to study their similarity and difference between the two languages in the usage of sentence-final particles. The research aims to improve the two nations intimacy during daily conversation. It also wants to explore whether the same sentence final particle will produce different meaning in Cantonese and South Min language. The paper intends to reduce the misunderstanding during the conversation between the two regions.

Research Question

Since there are too many sentence-final particles in the two languages, the paper will narrow down to study the final particles $\P(/a/)$ in Cantonese and Taiwanese $\P(/a/)$.

First of all, it will explore the usage and meaning of 啊(/a/) in both Cantonese and Taiwanese through the literature review by Law Sam-po, Leung Chung-sum, Fang Xiaoyan, K. K. Luke and Ing Cherry Li. Meanwhile, if the usage of 啊(/a/) is different in the two languages, which final particle will use to replace the same expression.

Finally, it will discuss how sentence intonation affect the usage and meaning of sentence-final particles $\Psi(a)$.

1. The Nature of Sentence Final Particles 啊(/a/)

Both Cantonese and Taiwanese used sentence-final particles 阿(/a/) very frequently in the daily conversation. In Cantonese, it is the most frequent one (Leung 2005:25). On the other hand, in Taiwanese, the usage of 阿(/a/) is the third frequent sentence-final particle (Li 1999:91).

1.1 The Similarity of 啊(/a/)

1.1.1 Expressing speaker attitude and reinforce the content

Final particles Ψ (/a/) could help speakers to strengthen their expression and emotion without changing the sentence intonation in both Cantonese and Taiwanese (Law 1990:10). It is mainly used in the interrogative and declarative sentence.

Cantonese:

Declarative sentence:

```
nei5 zung6 sik6 m4 sik6 faan6?
A: 你 仲 食 唔 食 飯?
2SG still eat NEG eat rice?
```

sik6 faan6 aa3

B: 唔 食 <u>啊</u>。

NEG eat SFP

Interrogative sentence:

hai6 lei5 siu2-ze2 aa4?

係 李 小姐 啊?

is Li(surname) Miss SFP?

Taiwanese: *Utterance-Final Particles in Taiwanese:*

Declarative sentence: A Discourse-pragmatic Analysis

pp.94

A-eng na e a boe khi?

A-eng(name) why will still NEG go?

A-eng khi a

B: 阿永 去 啊

A-eng(name) go SFP

Interrogative sentence:

Utterance-Final Particles in Taiwanese:

A Discourse-pragmatic Analysis

pp.109

koh chit-le,... het-le sa-lang a3?

閣 一個 那個 啥人 啊?

still one-CL that-CL what-person SFP?

From the about examples, we can see that the usage of /a/, in both Cantonese and Taiwanese used after the declarative sentence and interrogative sentence, is to emphasise the subject of the sentence.

1.1.2 Expressing exclamation and suspicious

The other common usage of /a/ in both languages is expressing exclamation and suspicious. In Cantonese, /a/ is used to shoe a sudden realisation of the situation on the part of the speaker, or it can express the mismatch between the speaker attitude and the reality (Law

1990:20). In Taiwanese, the use of /a/ often gives the impression that the speaker wants to get the addressee's attention and to show activation of the speaker's prior knowledge state (Li 1999:135).

Cantonese:

dim2 wui5 aa3	gam3	mou5 la	ai5 maau	6 aa3	ha	ai6 gam3	aa4
點會啊	咁	冇	禮貌	啊可	ſ,	系 咁	啊
impossible SFP	so	NEG	polite	SFP	is	s this	SFP

Taiwanese:

bô	khó-l î ng	ah	bô	lé	bô	sòo	ah	án-ne	ah
無	可 能	<u>1811</u>	無	禮	無	數	<u> </u>	按呢	啊
NEC	G impossibl	e SFP	NEG	polite	NEG	rule	SFP	is this	SFP

1.1.3 Topic introduction & old knowledge retravel

The /a/ in Cantonese and Taiwanese also has the function of topic introduction. When a new topic is introduced, there often represents a possible disruption for discourse continuity. Therefore, the sentence-final particles /a/ often has to be made at the junction points to maintain the discourse coherence (Li 1999:106). Meanwhile, Leung Chung-sam proposed that /a/ could signal the speaker's intention to arouse the listener's awareness of a newly introduced topic which is relied on the old knowledge which the speaker and listener had mentioned before (Leung 2005:56).

Cantonese: A study of the Utterance Particles in Cantonese as Spoken in Hong Kong

pp.56

can4	siu2-ze	2 aa4	zou	6-gwo3	zip3	-sin3-	sang1	go2	go3	ne1
陳	小姐	啊,	做	過	接	線	生	個	個	呢。
Chan(surname) Miss	SFP	do-F	PAST	O	perato	r	that	one-CL	SEF

Utterance-Final Particles in Taiwanese:

A Discourse-pragmatic Analysis

pp.106

cho-kang si he si bo thak chiah cho-kang

做工 是那是無讀才做工,

do-labour-work COP that COP NEG study only do-labour-work

taN eng-koe A-sheng e a-kong a7

Taiwanese:

旦 往過 阿 生 的 阿公 啊。

DM before PN ASSC grandpa SFP

a-seng e a-kong kong kha-cha long ti be hi-a

阿生 的 阿公 講 卡早 攏 在 賣 魚仔

PN ASSC grandpa COM earlier all ASP sell fish

hit-tang-a kong sit-pai kong bo hi-a thang be

hit 當陣仔 講 失敗 講 無 魚仔 通 賣

that-time COM fail COM NEG-have fish can sell

阿生的阿公. we can see that /a/ is located after the new information of the context. However, this information is assumed as the pervious metal knowledge of the addressee by the speaker. Also, the use of /a/ has evidently arisen from the new information state to achieve discourse coherence. After that, the speaker may move on to further comments toward the topic.

1.1.4 Rhetorical Question

/a/ could show the unpleasant attitude of the speaker towards the addressee in the interrogative sentence in both Cantonese and Taiwanese. This will form a rhetorical question which does not really need an answer. For example,

Cantonese:

lok6 hou2 daai6 jyu5 daan6-hai6 ngo5 mou5 daai3 ze1
Son: 落 好 大 雨, 但 係 我 冇 帶 遮。
heavily-raining but 1SG NEG bring umbellar

ngo5 faan-gan2 gung1 dim2 lo2 bei2 nei5 aa3 Mother: 我返緊工,點攞俾你啊? $1SG \quad \text{working} \quad \text{how bring to you SFP?}$

Taiwanese:

Utterance-Final Particles in Taiwanese:

A Discourse-pragmatic Analysis

pp.110

li kong chhit-goe chhe-chap, a tio hàn
A: 你 講 七 月 初 十 a 著 案

2SG say July 10th DM report-to-police

ho

B: 好

OK

beh an-chao tan-si li bo ka goa thong-ti goa si tioh àn a7 A: 但是 我 按 怎 你 無 通 知 我 是 欲 著 案 啊 ka 2SG NEG DISP 1SG inform 1SG COP want how report-to-police SFP but

ho ho to-sia li B: 好好多謝 你

OK OK much-thank 2SG

The above examples showed that the speakers used /a/ to show their unpleasant. The mother was not really asking a method to bring the umbellar to her son. She expressed that it is impossible to do so since she was working. In the other example, the speaker complained the police officer did not inform him. A rhetorical question is not a must to take the final particle

/a/ but the attachment of this particle certainly serves to reinforce the obviousness of its answer (Li 1990:111). /a/ also has a feeling that the speaker assumes the information is something already present in or easily retrievable from the knowledge of the addressee (Cheung 2007:384).

1.2 The Difference of 呵(/a/)

Even there are some similarities in the usage of /a/ between Cantonese and Taiwanese. In most of the cases, Cantonese and Taiwanese will use different sentence-final particle to descript the same situation. Apart from the semantic meaning, the syntactic function in the usage of /a/ between the two languages is also different.

1.2.1 In Taiwanese: Explanations and Justifications

The most obvious usage of /a/ in Taiwanese is used to emphasis the reason and to give explanation when the speaker feels that some kind of misunderstanding may arise in the context (Li 1999:115).

Taiwanese:

Utterance-Final Particles in Taiwanese:

A Discourse-pragmatic Analysis

pp.114-115

si sa-ma-lang ta-eng beh ho lin khi Tai-pak haNh?

A: 是 啥米人 答應 欲 與恁 去 台北 啥?

COP what-person agree want let 2PL go Taipei SFP

he si ka-ki kong e li be-ki e? li soa a7 B: 那 是 你 你 家己 講 的 啊啊 煞 袂記 咧 that COP 2SG self say NOM SFP DM 2SG should forget SFP

het-le sia-mi tua-uē lai lan tau chia-png hit am 那個 啥米 大衛 來 咱 兜 吃 飯 彼 暗 that-c1 what David come 1PLI home eat-meal that night li ka-ki chhin chhui ta-eng e a7 你 家己 親 嘴 答應 的 <u>啊</u> 2SG self very-mouth agree NOM SFP

With the attached /a/ at the end of the sentence, B is trying to remind A that something he said before, which should be his pervious knowledge but has been forgotten at that movement. It is also an explanation to the A's question. Meanwhile, B is trying to defend his position and putting the blame back to the person who is blaming him. Thus, /a/ can work as justification.

However, in Cantonese, it used 嘅(/ke/) to achieve this function. Leung stated that 嘅(/ke/) is used as justification and perdition. In addition, it shows the unpleasant, inpatient attitude of the speaker towards the listener (Leung 2005:60). Using the same example in Taiwanese as in Cantonese, it will be as follow:

Cantonese:

bin1-go3 jing1-sing4 bei2 nei5 heoi3 toi4 bak1
A: 邊個應承俾你去台北?
who authorize let you go Taipei

ne1-go3 hai6 nei5-zi6-gei2 gong2 ge2 nei5 mong4 gei3 zo2 aa4 呢個 己 你 忘 記 咗 B: 係 你 自 講 嘅, 啊。 this is SFP you forget-PAST **SFP** you-self say

go2-go3 daai6-wai6 lai4 ngo5-dei6 uk1kei5 sik6 faan6 go2 maan5 嗰 個 大 衛 嚟 我 哋 屋企 食 飯 嗰 晚。 that David home come our eat meal that night

nei5-zi6-gei2 can-hau2 jing1-sing4 ge2 你 自 己 親 口 應 承 <u>嘅</u>。 you-self personally authorize SFP

1.2.2 In Cantonese: Denounce the topic

This usage of $\overline{\mathbb{M}}(/a/)$ is used to express the anger and the denunciation from the speaker to the topic. This $\overline{\mathbb{M}}(/a/)$ only functions as an exclamation marker but does not serve the cohesiveness purpose to the context as other sentence-final particles do (Leung 2005:55).

Cantonese:

A study of the Utterance Particles in Cantonese as Spoken in Hong Kong

pp.55

ne1-go3 je5 aa1 mat1 gam2 gaau2 aa3 dim2 zaa1 ce1 呢 個 野 <u>啊</u>! 乜 咁 搞 <u>啊</u>! 點 揸 車! this guy SFP why this make SFP how drive car

On the contrary, Taiwanese also has this kind of expression, but it does not use /a/, it uses 啦 (/lah/) instead. 啦(/lah/) in Taiwanese often carry a tone of impatience, fury and strong emotion. Chen Chiou-mei (1988:58) suggested that 啦(/lah/) "makes for a powerful curse, exhibiting the speaker's impatience and inflammation."

Taiwanese:

tsit khí lah àn-tsuán lah án-ne khui tshia 這 齒 啦! 按 怎 啦! 按呢 開 車! this guy SFP what-happen SFP how drive car

There are still some more minor different semantic usages of (/a/) in Cantonese and Taiwanese. As the content is limited, we only can focus on the major one. In the following, the paper will discuss the syntactic different of (/a/) in the two languages.

1.2.3 In Cantonese: Make a short phrase into a sentence

Sentence-final particles are syntactically essential in some short phrase utterances in Cantonese. It could make the short phrase becomes competed. The sentence could be formed

as Subject + Verb + Sentence-final particles (Fang 2003:37). In Cantonese, sentence-final particle /a/ also has this function. For example,

Cantonese:

廣州方言句末語氣助詞

1. *pp.37*

bou-zo2 seoi2 mei6?

A: 煲 咗 水 未?

cook-PAST water NEG?

*bou-zo2 seoi2

B: *煲 咗 水

*cook-PAST water

bou-zo2 seoi2 aa3

煲 咗 水 啊

cook-PAST water SFP

bou-zo2 (seoi2 aa3)

煲 咗 (水 啊)

cook-PAST (water SFP)

2.

lou5-si1 lai4

*老師嚟

teacher come

lou5-si1 lai4 aa3

老師嚟啊

teacher come SFP

In Taiwanese, there is no need to add the sentence-final particle to make the short phrase becomes grammatical. The short phrase can stand alone without adding any particle. Use the above example in Taiwanese version to be the example:

Taiwanese:

1.

sio kún-tsuí ah buē

A: 燒 滾 水 矣 未?

boil hot water PAST NEG

sio kún-tsuí ah

B: 燒 滾 水 矣

boil hot water PAST

sio kún-tsuí ah

燒 (滾 水) 矣

boil hot water PAST

2.

lāu-su lâi

老師來

teacher come

1.2.4 Difference in Particles Compounding

Cantonese final particles are more flexible than Taiwanese since Cantonese has 44 types of compounding particles (Leung 2005:25). However, in Taiwanese, there are only 7 types. Compounding particles makes a single sentence could express more than one emotion at the same time (Fang 2003:92). The coexistence of attitudes and feelings make the delivered message to be more complicated. The economic cost of the speech is reduced (using the minimum words to produce the maximum message) but the ambiguity of the attitude and emotion of the speaker is increased.

There are double, triple and quadruple particles compounding in Cantonese. On the contrary, Taiwanese only have double and triple compounding. In the below, there are some examples:

 Cantonese:
 廣州方言句末語氣助詞

 pp.92-94

Double Compounding:

嚟嘅

→原來佢係神棍<u>嚟嘅</u>。

Triple: Triple Compounding:

嘅啦噃

→我用晒啲錢嘅啦噃。

Quadruple Compounding:

嚟嘅咋咩

→你係小學畢業嚟嘅咋咩?

Taiwanese: 台語的語尾助詞

Double Compounding:

咧啦

→卡拍拚咧啦。

Triple: Triple Compounding:

咧啦乎

→ 駛著有卡緊咧啦乎。

The use of compounding in $\P(/a/)$ in Cantonese and Taiwanese only has double and triple compounding. However, Cantonese has much more compound forms in the use of $\P(/a/)$ than Taiwanese does which is 7:2.

Cantonese compounding with /a/					
啊吓	你唔係啊吓?				
啊啦	你咁衰啊啦!				
啊嗎	唔係啊嗎?				
嚟啊	佢係老師嚟啊。				
啊喎	點解要咁啊喎?				
	佢仲打我쨞啊!				
嚟啊嗎	佢係老襯嚟啊嗎?				

Taiwanese	e compounding with /a/
啊啦	卡好勢 <u>啊啦</u> 。
咧啊啦	有卡斟酌 <u>咧啊啦</u> 。

Besides this, the order of the compound particles is not adding randomly, there is a grammatical structure.

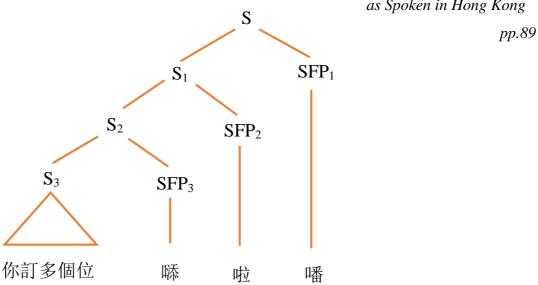
Firstly, if the sentence has '嚟' and '嘅', '嚟' must be pasted before '嘅'. These two particles have a common feature. Both could represent the message of time and make confirmation.

Secondly, When the particles '啦', '囉' and '咋' exited in the middle of the set, it is used to indicate the appearing of the situation, the changing point and the range of the action.

Thirdly, some particles could only exist at the end of the set. Those particles are used to express the subjective attitude of the speaker. For example, '咩', '噃', '啩', '遮' and '啫'. Meanwhile, those particles could not exist together like '*咩噃', '*噃咩' and '*咩遮' (Fang 2003:94).

According to Leung Chung-sum, he promoted a syntactical tree to define the order of the sentence-final particles. He discovered that some sentence-final particles do not necessarily have semantics relation with the topic of the sentence but have the syntactical function in the sentence. Thus, it will form a hierarchical structure amongst different particles. Their hierarchical ordering should be lower level pasted closer with the topic and the highest level pasted at the end of the sentence (Leung 2005:89). Leung used a diagram to show the structure:

A study of the Utterance Particles in Cantonese
as Spoken in Hong Kong
S



2. The Interaction between sentence-final particles 啊(/a/) and intonation

Some people may think that sentence final particles in Chinese is too powerful and too complex in meaning and it is different from Indo-European languages that need to use intonation to indicate the speech act and the attitude of the speaker. According to the American linguist, Zellig S. Harris "English not only does NVX occur, but also any sequence containing at least one free morpheme occurs as an utterance with utterance contour.... We may omit X from the formulae and say that it is an automatic feature of utterance structure." (Zellig S. Harris 1951: 351-352).

In English, the speakers use intonation to include their attitude and feelings in the utterance. For example, in the sentence, 'Peter is going home.' is a declarative sentence for describing a fact in a falling tone. On the other hand, 'You are going home?' is an interrogative sentence for asking a question in a raising tone. In another word, we do not know what the speaker wants by just listen to the speaker's utterance. It must include the context or otherwise using an intonation.

However, in Chinese, it is not necessary to use an intonation or to know the context in delivering the message. It uses the final particles to achieve it. Let's look at the following example.

I want a cup of water. Mrs. Chan?

我想要杯水, 陳太太呢?

In the English phrase, we do not know what the speaker wants to know about Mrs. Chan if we omit the intonation. However, in Chinese, even we do not know the context, we know that the speaker wanted to ask what does Mrs. Chan want to drink. It shows that final particles in Chinese could carry some useful information in the utterance. It could change the sentence form.

However, it does not mean that intonation is optional in Chinese utterance. It interacted with different kinds of sentence final particles and could achieve different kinds of function. In the following, the paper will discuss how sentence particle /a/ interacts with intonation in Cantonese and Taiwanese.

2.1 Changing the speech art of sentences

In the Modern Chinese linguistic studies, some Chinese scholar, including Lü Shuxiang also thinks that an utterance must have intonation. Different tones could express different meanings. Although most of the sentences include subject and predicate, without intonation, it is not a complete sentence. Even there is only a phrase or a word, if speaker used one of the intonation to say it, it is a sentence (Lü 1979:74). Judging from the above evidence, we can conclude that Chinese sentence as:

Chinese utterances = Semantic components + final particles + intonation (phrase/sentence/words)

Chinese Mandarin made good use of the final particles to embed emotion and extra meaning in the statement. However, after several decades in language assimilation with Manchu and Mongolian, some of the utterance final particles in Modern Chinese was lost. Cantonese and South Min Language, as one of the old languages in Chinese region, they keep many final particles in utterances until today.

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Sentences could be divided into four types: declarative, interrogative, imperative and optative. These four kinds of sentences repentant what the speaker wants. However, apart from sentence type, sentences also included a variety of emotions, feelings, and attitudes of the speaker. These kinds of emotions are called 'modality' by 王力 中國現代語法(Wang 1940:160). Wang stands out that "When will are talking, we never can objectively describe a fact. In most of the cases, we include a certain number of emotions. These emotions sometimes are represented by intonation. Notwithstanding, the excitement that could be expressed by intonation is limited. Thus, Chinese define the emotion by using particles. Every language that includes feelings and attitude called modality. The words that include modality called modality particles.' (Wang 1940:162). Lu also suggested that we have to differentiate '語氣' and '口氣'. '語氣' is the four sentence types and '口氣' is the feeling and attitude of the speaker. Lu said that '語氣' (sentence type) and '口氣' (emotion) is not one to one matching. One modality particle could represent more than one speech act; One speech act could use more than several modality particles to express. Some modality particles seem to have no difference between each other. However, they are having some subtle distinction between each other.' (Lü 1982:54).

2.2 The Promotion of Sentence Object

The other function of the sentence-final particle $\mathbb{F}[(a/a)]$ is promoting the object in the sentence. It is because the intonation of the sentence will converge with the tone of the sentence-final particles and it can get the focus of the listener to the object that preceding the sentence-final particle. There is a tone converging between the sentence-final particle actual tone and the sentence intonation.

When the utterance is a complete sentence, the sentence intonation is merged with the tone of the final particle (Final Particle Tone > Intonation tone) (Fang 2003:43). For example,

Cantonese: pp.43

啊 \ (Word actual tone)

佢唔係你女朋友? ✓ (Interrogative sentence actual tone)

佢唔係你女朋友啊? ┪(Interrogative sentence with 啊)

Taiwanese:

啊 \ (Word actual tone)

伊毋是你查某朋友? / (Interrogative sentence actual tone)

The above phrases could from an interrogative sentence after adding a rising tone. However, as the existing of the ultimate particles '啊', the tone of the sentences are converged with the word tone of the final particles. Hence, the sentences will become a falling tone even it is an interrogative sentence.

Besides the effect on changing the sentence tone, the final particles in here are to promote the sentence object to the listener. In the examples, the speaker emphasizes the person's girlfriend.

From the above, we can see that sentence-final particles could promote the sentence subject and affect the interrogative sentence tone (Fang 2003:48).

Secondly, the sentence-final particle $\mathbb{F}(/a/)$ can promote the sentence object, hence, which means that it also has the ability change the focus of the sentence. As mentioned before, when the interrogative sentence's intonation merge with the sentence-final particle's tone, the sentence will change from a rising tone to a falling tone. However, if the interrogative sentence keeps its rising intonation after adding the sentence-final particles, the focus point of the sentence will be shifted (Fang 2003:50).

Cantonese: pp.51

1) A: 你知佢係邊度人? ✓

B:知道。

2) A: 你[知佢係邊度人]啊? ↘

B:知道。

3) A: 你知佢係[邊度人]啊? ✓

B:上海人。

Taiwanese:

1) A: 你知影伊是佗位的人?✓

B:知影。

2) A: 你[知影伊是佗位的人]啊? **↓**

B:知影。

3) A: 你知影伊是「佗位的人]啊?✓

B:上海人。

In the above examples, we can see that the sentence-final sentence particle 啊(/a/) could change the sentence focus together with the sentence-final intonation. In the first interrogative sentence that without the sentence-final intonation, the focus point is the action of knowing. In the second sentence, after adding the sentence-final particles, the intonation of the sentence changed to a falling tone and the action of knowing is promoted. However, in the final interrogative sentence, it kept its raising tone after adding the sentence-final particle '啊'. The focus point of the sentence changed to '邊度人' and '佗位的人'--- people from which place. Thus, the answer to the sentence will be a place but not a yes or no question. It shows that sentence-final particles could change the focus point of a question.

Conclusion

Cantonese and Taiwanese sentence-final particle $\P(/a/)$ is similar in the semantic and syntactical functions. The above evidence showed that $\P(/a/)$ could express the attitude of the speaker and provide some addition messages to the addressee. Meanwhile, it can promote the sentence topic. Even Cantonese and Taiwanese have this similarity, it is still not easy for the people in both region to communicate with each other smoothly. It is because the pervious knowledge of the speaker native language in the sentence-final particles will affect their perception to the similar property which also existed in the other language. A very famous example is, in Taiwan, when the listener did not hear the question clearly, they will reply $\frac{1}{12}$ (/ha/) as pardon. In Japanese, there also is a homophone $\frac{1}{12}$ (/ha/). However, it is a very impolite reply in Japanese mind. Thus, if we misunderstand the final particle between Cantonese and Taiwanese and use it in the wrong discourse, it will damage the relation and ruin everything.

The main purpose of language is for communication. If we cannot deliver the message to your audience because of the misunderstanding in sentence particles, it is a tragedy. Thus, the implication of this paper is to explore the semantic function of the final particle $\P(\langle a \rangle)$ and to recognise the implied message and attitude in the utterance. The paper aims at helping those Taiwanese-learning-Hong Kong people to develop intimacy and solidarity with Taiwanese, since there are not many papers did the Cantonese and Taiwanese sentence-final particles' comparison before. Because of the word limit of the paper, it could not include all the details in the usage of $\P(\langle a \rangle)$ and other sentence-final particles. However, the paper already discussed the major function of $\P(\langle a \rangle)$ in both languages.

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Appendix

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1SG first person singular pronoun

1PLI first person plural inclusive pronoun

1PLE first person plural exclusive pronoun

2SG second person singular pronoun

2PL second person plural pronoun

3SG third person singular pronoun

3PL third person plural pronoun

ASP aspect marker

ASSC associative morpheme

CL classifier

CRS marker of currently relevant state

COM complementize

COP copula

DM discourse marker

DISP disposal marker

NEG negative morpheme

NOM nominalizer

PASS passive marker

PAST past tense morpheme

PN proper noun

RES resultative marker

RT reactive token

SFP sentence-final particle