#### A Critical Look at the "Critical Age Hypothesis"

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The fact that even our closest relatives in the animal kingdom cannot be taught language strongly suggests that language is based on biological foundations unique to our species. These foundations comprise the child's abilities to acquire its first language effortlessly as part of its normal maturation process, regardless of the language and of the learning environment. These foundations also comprise the adult's abilities to learn foreign languages, though the task is both different in nature and significantly more difficult. In recent years, we have deepened our knowledge of these foundations quite a bit; my purpose in this paper is to discuss a central issue in this area, the Critical Age Hypothesis, CAH.

The CAH was most clearly put forward in 1967 in an important book by E.H.Lenneberg, BIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF LANGUAGE. Lenneberg ascribes special importance to puberty, after which "the ability for self-organization and adjustment to the physiological demands of verbal behavior quickly declines" p.158. The CAH is part of a larger issue of how much of our abilities for language, if any, is special and exclusively dedicated to language, as opposed to how much is based on domain-general, non-exclusive abilities. As in any science, the simplest hypothesis would be one which makes no special assumptions – the null hypothesis. In this case, the null hypothesis is the domain-general hypothesis: that language does not require anything biological that is exclusively dedicated to it.

One line of support that has been brought in for the CAH is the poverty of stimulus argument: the child has only access to such inadequate and poor quality samples of language in its environment that the learning is only possible because of special biological equipment. This line of argument is ill founded for two major reasons. One reason is that with recent advancements in linguistic research using large data-bases, it can be shown that the child in fact has the opportunity of hearing all the linguistic samples necessary for it to deduce the patterns of the language.

The other reason is that we are becoming increasingly aware that the child is equipped with powerful dynamic abilities for interpreting and learning from its environment, much beyond being just a passive hearer to the surrounding sounds. A particularly important discovery is its ability to extract statistical dependencies in the linguistic samples it hears, and put these to use in language learning.

More to the point for the discussion of CAH is the fact that language is a composite faculty, made up of many different parts. For present purposes, we note a sensori-motor part for hearing and producing new sounds. This is probably the part which is most subject to maturational constraints, similar to other sensori-motor skills involved in learning sports or musical instruments. We note a computational part which packs morphemes into constructions when we speak, and unpacks constructions for their semantic content when we hear. This part corresponds to abilities in certain types of abstract reasoning, highly dependent on effective short term memory, which probably peak much after puberty. We note yet another part for

learning new words or constructions, and committing these to long term memory. This part presumably remains robust throughout life, until it is eventually compromised by old age.

The remarks made above apply differently to the learning of native language versus the learning of a foreign language, a difference which motivated the CAH at the outset. In the latter case, the native language is clearly helpful in some ways while interfering in other ways. And of course, as in the discussion of all human behavior, we must be mindful of a tremendous amount of variation across groups as well as across individuals.

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## LIVAC : A Synchronous Corpus of Chinese: Some methodological considerations and applications

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Developments in linguistic research have increasingly relied on sizable authentic language data rather than mainly based on the sampling of intuition of the linguist or of one or more informants. This is especially so with advances in computer science which can be harnessed for the meaningful study of language in ways not possible before.

As a synchronous corpus, LIVAC, differs from the well- known corpora on Chinese and other languages in a number of ways. At the Languages Information Sciences Research

Centre of the City University of Hong Kong, efforts have been made since 1995 to rigorously analyse the Chinese language as used in Beijing, Hong Kong, Macau, Shanghai, Singapore and Taipei, for example, on the basis of data derived through a common and synchronously preset window approach.

Such an approach differs from other characteristic corpus linguistics efforts thus far in a number of significant ways, in terms of the purposeful overlap of coverage across space and of the dynamic maintenance of the coverage across time.

The data which have been processed cover 11 years and have involved more than 200 million Chinese character tokens which have yielded more than 1 million word types.

This talk will review the methodological background and introduce some of the current applications of the results from LIVAC for linguistic research. Other applications for the educational and government sectors, and for information mining highly relevant to the IT and related industries will be also discussed.

# A Comparative Study of Proper Name Derivatives in Chinese and English 漢語及英語專名衍生詞的比較研究

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When new words are needed to label novel objects, constructs, ideas or discoveries, derivation of proper names is a productive way of generating these neologisms. Proper name derivatives (or PN derivatives) are words derived from proper names such as boycott (v.) from Boycott (a personal name), Maotai wine (n.) after Maotai Village in China (a geographical name), aspirin (n.) from Aspirin (a brand name), etc. This study aims at investigating and comparing the derivatives of proper names in Chinese and English, in which PN derivatives are collected from dictionaries and other sources and subsequently checked in corpora. It is found that most of the Chinese PN derivatives are derived from geographical names but most of the English derivatives are formed from personal names. While English personal names can be extended from naming human beings to denoting artifacts, attributes or even actions, etc., the extension of Chinese personal names is usually more limited, i.e. from denoting a unique person to connoting a particular kind of persons. Moreover, whereas Chinese derivatives are typically formed by compounding a proper name with a head noun indicating the taxonomy of the entity represented, an English proper name does not usually require extra elements for becoming a new word; the name itself can be shifted and acquire a new meaning. In both Chinese and English, PN derivatives are usually nouns, and there are more adjectives than verbs in Chinese; but the opposite is found in English. Proper names also form idioms but it is more common in Chinese than in English.

The disparity between Chinese and English could be attributed to different cultures about names (extralinguistic factor) and structural complexities (linguistic factor). Orthography may also play a role in the extension of proper names in the two languages.

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# Child Language Acquisition of Modality and its Scale of Strength in Mandarin Chinese<sup>1</sup>

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Based on 143 transcribed sessions from three Mandarin-speaking children in Beijing, the study first discusses the process in which children acquire key modal words in Mandarin at early stages. Studied from the perspective of semantic development, the data provides Chinese-particular evidence for the same acquisition sequence that has been well discussed in many other cross-linguistic studies, i.e. the sequence in which the dynamic and deontic use of modality both occur before the epistemic use in early child language. Such an acquisition sequence sheds light on a close relationship between language development and cognitive maturity. Following in the footsteps of Sweetser (1990), we account for the acquisition data from a cognitive linguistic approach by means of the metaphorical mapping from the sociophysical world onto the reasoning world.

With the aim of exploring the scale of modality in Chinese and its early language acquisition, we conducted an experiment on 60 children aged from 04;00;00 to 08;00;00 and 15 adults in Beijing. The subjects were expected to answer questions after they listened to some stories. The results show that the children aged from 04;00;00 to 05;00;00 are aware of the difference in the strength of modality that modal words in the positive form bring about in propositions and moreover such knowledge is fully developed at the age of 07;00;00-08;00;00. In contrast, when handling modal phrases in the form of double negation, even the children aged from 07;00;00 to 08;00;00 have trouble identifying the difference in modal strength. Comparing the acquisition of deontic scale with that of epistemic scale, the results don't lead us to the conclusion that Mandarin-speaking children process the former with more dexterity than they do the latter although deontic modality occurs before epistemic modality in children's spontaneous utterances. Although children are able to use an individual lexical item at early stages of language development, it may well happen later that they succeed in acquiring the semantic relation the item holds with others in its semantic field.

The longitudinal data was taken from the corpus of Chinese Early Child Language (CELA), which is a project supervised by Thomas Hun-tak Lee. Funding from a Hong Kong CERG grant entitled 'The Acquisition of Word Order and Argument Structure in Chinese: Its relevance to the Continuity Hypothesis' (CityU 1245/02H), for which Thomas Lee is the Principal Investigator, is hereby acknowledged. Without the support from BJCELA members and student helpers, the study couldn't have been finished. Special thanks should also be given to the teachers and children at the pre-school and primary schools where I carried out my experiment in Beijing.

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#### A Preliminary Exploration of Headless Relative Clauses in Chinese

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This paper investigates the head drop phenomenon in the Chinese headless relatives and seeks a solution to explain why the head of the Chinese relatives can be dropped and how it happens and under what condition it will happen in order to probe for the nature of head drop. From the formation mechanism of the relative clauses to the occurrence of head drop, a detailed elaboration on the nature of head is made in order to find a correct analysis, the topic-drop analysis. It is proposed that head drop is actually a topic-drop phenomenon. The evidence on the impossibilities of the *pro*-drop analysis strengthens this point. Then a close relation between head drop and topic drop is shown up to further support the point. By comparing two kinds of drop a clear distinction between the topic-drop and *pro*-drop shows up. What can be drawn from the comparison is that the topic-drop analysis well explains the head drop phenomenon in Chinese relatives whereas the *pro*-drop one fails in the impossibility for recovery of a resumptive pronoun in the dropped head position.

Besides, two prerequisites for the occurrence of head drop in Chinese relatives are proposed in this paper. One is discourse setting while the other is focus requirement. Only if a relative clause is set in a discourse the head of the relative is possible to drop. In addition, the dropped head noun must be the focus of the matrix clause. A topic is always the focus of its own sentence and its drop also needs a full discourse, which indicates that some relation may exist between the dropped head and the topic. Therefore, it can be concluded that the head drop in headless relatives is topic-drop and the null head is a zero topic. Also a mechanism for head drop is assumed, which is topicalizaiton of the head noun followed by drop of the head noun.

本文考察汉语里中心语缺省关系子句中的中心语脱落现象; 试图解释汉语关 系子句中心语会发生脱落的原因;并探索该现象如何发生以及在什么条件下会 发生,以便揭示该中心语脱落现象的本质。从汉语关系子句的构成机制到中心 语脱落的发生,我们做出了详尽的描述并试图揭示其本质,意在获取一个正确 的分析法,即:话题脱落分析法。我们提出中心语脱落现象实际上就是话题脱 落现象,而话题脱落与中心语脱落之间的紧密联系进一步印证了此观点。通过 对两种分析法的比较,即:话题分析法和代词分析法,我们可以清楚看出只有 话题分析法才能很好地揭示中心语在汉语关系子句中发生脱落的现象,而代词 分析法的不可行性在于在中心语发生脱落的位置上无法追回一个恢复性代词, 这 就更加证明了我们提出的观点。此外,我们还提出了中心语在汉语关系子句中 发生脱落的两个先决条件。其一,语篇环境的设置;其二,焦点信息的形成。 具体说来,只有当一个关系子句设置在一个语篇环境下,并且其中心语是其所 在主句的焦点信息时,该中心语才会发生脱落。一个话题经常是其所在句子的 焦点信息,它的脱落也必须在一定的语篇环境下才会发生,这就意味着话题脱 落与中心语脱落之间一定存在着某种联系。根据以上的所有论证,我们得出结 论:中心语脱落现象在中心语缺省关系子句中就是话题脱落现象;零中心语就 是零话题。我们也假设了一套中心语脱落的机制,即:中心语首先发生话题转 换然后再发生脱落。

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#### 大陸中文的語言特點

### 馮淑儀 香港理工大學

一般人認為漢語口語的地域差異很大,方言間的可懂度很低。但是,書面語則具有相當高的一致性。要是能認得相當數量的漢字,或者會說普通話,就可以和其他華語文地區居民自由溝通,這種看法與事實有一定距離(游汝杰、鄒嘉彥 2004)。由於政治社會制度以及意識形態的不同,中港兩地的書面語一直存在着很大的差異。隨着兩地交往的不斷增加,越來越多人認識到這個差異。可是,過往的研究較集中於討論香港書面語因受方言及英語的影響而產生的港式中文(如:石定栩、朱志瑜 1994,2000,石定栩、王燦龍、朱志瑜 2002,石定栩、邵敬敏、朱志瑜 2006 等等),並往往把中港兩地書面語的差異歸咎於港式中文。其實,大部分香港人對理解大陸中文存在相當大的困難。對他們來說,大陸報刊上使用的中文跟一般教材上的普通話以及所謂典範的現代白話文著作有很大的差距。大部分香港人都不能完全明白以下句子:

- (1) 經濟適用房將有硬規距。
- (2) 我們將全力打造逛街的氛圍。
- (3) 一個營業執照只能申請設立一個銷售網站,不同申請人申請同一 地點的銷售網站時,將優先先報名者。

即使某些句子的意義還是可以根據語境來加以推斷,但它們都會被香港人視爲怪誕和錯誤的用法。這種落差使香港人認爲標準漢語並不標準,並且抗拒大陸中文。本文把香港人看不懂的大陸中文加以整理和分析,嘗試歸納出大陸中文的詞滙和句法特點。在整理的過程中,本文發現大陸中文跟所有語言一樣,都處於不停變化的狀態。港式中文的語言變異,如詞的轉類、搭配關係的轉變、句法結構受英語的影響等等,也同樣發生在大陸中文身上,只是變異的具體對象有所不同而己。本文試圖從語言學的角度對上述現象進行探討。(字數:666)

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#### **Topic and Focus in Cantonese**

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This paper aims at investigating two grammaticized discourse functions, topic and focus, in Cantonese. Topic and focus are the two functions which a topicalized phrase can bear, where topicalization refers to the construction of which the sentence-initial phrase is identified with a missing constituent in the sentence (Rosen 1998).

While topic has been widely studied in Mandarin Chinese, a topic-prominent language (Li and Thompson 1976), with research ranging from functional studies (e.g. Tsao 1979) to formal theoretical analyses (e.g. Her 1991), the same notion in Cantonese has received comparatively less attention. Though the two languages are both a variety of Chinese, they exhibit different properties with regard to a number of syntactic phenomena. An independent account of topic is therefore necessary for the Cantonese language. Not much research on Cantonese focus as a topicalized function has been documented in the literature. This paper investigates Cantonese topic as a syntactic notion, along with the other grammaticized discourse function, focus, based on the definition of topicalization given in Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG), which restricts the two functions to be identified with a missing function in the sentence. It has been commonly assumed that topic and focus encode old and new information respectively. A more fine-grained definition will be given to the two concepts in Cantonese with reference to the discourse information they bear, beyond the oversimplified old-and-new distinction, by modifying Li and Thompson's (1981) definition of topic in Mandarin and employing Choi's (2001) information features of [+/-New] and [+/-Prom]. It will also be investigated how the two functions are morphosyntactically marked in the language. I propose that sentence particles in Cantonese can be divided into two groups, with one group being the topic markers and the other group being the focus markers. A wrong marker will lead to the unacceptability of the construction (see examples (1) and (2)). For constructions where the sentence-initial phrase is marked by a sentence particle which can act as either a topic or a focus marker, it will be demonstrated, based on Cheung's (1997) analysis, that the two functions can be distinguished by deciding whether a sentence final particle is allowed.

#### **Appendix**

**Examples** 

- (1) 邊個 食咗 杯 雪糕 叩可? a. bin1go3 sik6zo2 bui1 syut3gou1 aa3 eat. PERF who ice-cream cup **PART** 
  - 'Who has eaten the cup of ice-cream?'
  - b. 杯 雪糕 啊/\*囉 我 食咗 buil syut3goul aa4/\*lol ngo5 sik6zo2 CL ice-cream PART 1. SG eat. PERF 'As for the cup of ice-cream, I have eaten it.'
- (2) 你 咩 耶可? 食咗 a. keoi5 sik6zo2 me1 aa4 2. SG eat. PERF **PART** what 'What have you eaten?' 囉/\*呵 b. 杯 雪糕 我 食咗 bui1 lo3/\*aa4 sik6zo2 syut3gou1 ngo5 **PART** 1. SG eat. PERF CL ice-cream

'It is the cup of ice-cream that I have eaten.'

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#### A Survey on Presupposition and Appreciation of Jokes

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Humor is regarded as a universal human phenomenon, and funny situations, funny stories, even funny thoughts occur everyday to virtually everybody (Raskin 1984:1). What it is that native speakers laugh at and why they feel that something is funny have long been the subject of different disciplines. From the linguistic perspective of humor research, two models are largely accepted: the first model (the script-based semantic theory of humor; SSTH) addresses what makes a text humorous and a cognitive account mobilizing the notion of scripts and script opposition; the second model (the general theory of verbal humor; GTVH) deals with the issue of what makes a text humorous in a comprehensive way. Interdisciplinary perspectives on the study of humor have achieved considerable agreement about the techniques of jokes and the causes of mirthful laughter (Norrick 1993: 2). However, why non-native speakers always get lost in humorous texts such as jokes and what is lacking in the process of understanding and appreciating jokes have been paid less attention to. This paper attempts to explore how non-native speakers appreciate jokes by examining the presupposition embedded in jokes which is supposed to be one of the reasons bringing about failure in understanding jokes in cross-cultural communication. An "information-processing" model of jokes is employed to investigate the relationship between presupposition and appreciation of jokes.

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# The acquisition of Cantonese double object and prepositional datives in Cantonese-English bilingual children

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This study analyzes the development of Cantonese inverted double object and prepositional datives in Cantonese-English bilingual children. It is observed that bilingual children produce several different non-target dative constructions before target constructions, and each child differs from others in his development of double object and prepositional datives. The findings argue for a high degree of interactiveness between the bilingual children's two grammars.

Acquisition studies on English monolingual children reveal that double object datives are acquired significantly earlier than prepositional datives (Snyder and Stromswold 1997), and the delay of prepositional datives is attributed to the late development of GO (1) (Viau 2006). A similar developmental pattern is also observed in Cantonese-English bilingual children, but the delay of prepositional datives can be better explained by the ambiguity between directional and dative to (Gu 2006). It is still interesting to see how bilingual children develop their Cantonese datives, as Cantonese has an inverted double object constructions (2) and has no ambiguity in dative and directional to (3).

This study analyzes 5 bilingual children's longitudinal data from the Hong Kong Bilingual Child Language Corpus (Yip and Matthews in press). 4 of 5 children produce double object datives and 3 of 5 produce prepositional datives within the recording period. For inverted double object datives, 3 of 4 children start with ungrammatical [Theme-bei2-Goal] or [bei2-Goal-Theme] orders (4), and 3 of them produce non-target [bei2-Theme-bei2-Goal] constructions (5), which closely resemble Cantonese prepositional datives. However, there is no single developmental pattern that every bilingual child follows. For prepositional datives, children's first prepositional dative is target-like, and it emerges between non-target double object and target inverted double object datives. However, 1 child creates a prepositional dative with [Goal<Theme] order (6), and uses it together with other target prepositional datives.

The non-target Cantonese double object and prepositional datives exhibit crosslinguistic influence from English, as they either do not appear in monolingual children's utterances or occur with a lower frequency. Such transfer effects can be explained by input ambiguity factors, as Cantonese allows null objects, so that children are faced with different positions to fill the null NP/PP in. However, [Themebei2-Goal], [bei2-Themebei2-Goal] and [Goal<Theme] order in prepositional datives are not grammatical in English either, and they are generated by children's own topicalization and dative alternation rules. Further study will address this issue by comparing bilingual children with monolingual children in their development of double object and prepositional datives.

### Examples:

- (1) Predicates containing GO:
- a) Prepositional datives: CAUSE [NP1 GO NP2] e.g. John gave Mary a book.

- b) Directional to: [GO NP1] e.g. John went to hospital.
- (2) Inverted double object datives with the [Theme<Goal] order in Cantonese: Ngo5 bei2 zo2 [Theme jat1 bun2 shu1] [Goal keoi5] 'I gave him a book.'
- (3) Dative to vs. directional to in Cantonese prepositional datives: a. Prepositional bei2-datives: dative to (possessional goal) Ngo5 gei3 zo2 go3 baau1gwo2 bei2 (\*heoi3) maa4maa1 'I sent a package to my mother.'
- b. Prepositional heoi3-datives: directional to (locative goal) Ngo5 gei3 zo2 go3 baau1gwo2 heoi3 (\*bei2) Leon4deon1 'I sent a package to London.'
- (4) Various double object dative constructions bilingual children have produced: a. [THEME bo1bo1] bei2 [GOAL keoi5] aa1 (Sophie 1;08;30) 'give him the ball' b. bei2 [GOAL ngo5] [THEME jat1 tiu4] aa1 (Sophie 2;03;24) 'give me one'
- (5) Non-target [bei2-Theme-bei2-Goal] construction: bei2 [THEME jat1 go3] bei2 [GOAL ngo5] (Alicia 1;11;05) 'give one to me.'
- (6) Prepositional datives with [Goal<Theme] order: maai5 bei2 [GOAL ngo5] [THEME cin2] (Sophie 2;05;02) 'buy money for me.'

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# A preliminary analysis on the derivation of Chinese comparative constructions GUO Jie

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The study of comparative constructions has long been the focus of a typological study of the universal grammar. Different approaches from different perspectives have been adopted to explore the syntactic representations as well as the semantic interpretations of comparative constructions in human language. Among others, Bresnan (1973, 1975) gives a syntactic study of the primary patterns in English comparative constructions. Napoli (1983) argues for a base-generated analysis of comparative ellipsis by proposing two thans, one being a preposition, the other coordinator. Corver (1993) studies the subcomparative constructions in English and Dutch and argues for a different derivational process of subcomparatives. Stassen (1985) analyses crosslinguistic typology of comparatives and tests the principle of optimal harmony in comparative formation. Kennedy (2000, 2002) again analyses two major comparative constructions in English: comparative deletion and comparative subdeletion and argues that the apparent distinct behavior of these two constructions can be explained by a simple distinction between overt and covert movement, which follows from general constraints on the relation between movement and deletion. Similarly, Chinese comparative constructions have also aroused the research interests of many scholars. Liu Yuehua (1983) puts Chinese comparative construction into two categories and analyzes the four elements involved. Li Linding (1986) argues for a distinction between complete comparative constructions and deleted comparative constructions in Chinese. Li Zhen (1986) and Shao (1992) analyses the possible substitution or deletion of the compared constituents in Chinese comparative constructions. Liu Danging (2003) and Li Lan (2003) study the word order of comparative constructions in Chinese dialects. These studies have been very fruitful in categorizing and describing the empirical data and laid a solid foundation of the researches in Chinese Comparative constructions. However, few studies have provided a theoretical explanation for the derivation of this structure. Therefore, in this paper, I am going to follow the lines of the analysis on English comparative constructions and discuss the derivation of Chinese comparative constructions. In section 1, I will introduce and summarize the previous researches on comparative constructions in both English and Chinese; in section 2, I will focus on Chinese data and analyze the syntactic representation of them; in section 3, I will discuss whether Kennedy's movement analysis can be extended to Chinese. Last section is the conclusion.

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#### 汉语表达空间域的认知策略及语序

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在汉语主谓句和话题句中,表达物理或心理空间的方所范畴和比较范畴,其认知策略都是目标先于参照点,跟语序一致。就传递信息而言,方所范畴中的目标表现为已知信息,而参照点是新信息。而在比较范畴中,多数比较句式,如"比"字句"和/跟"字句等,其主、客体(包括比较点,如有的话),都属于已知信息,而比较结果则是新信息。但在"于"字句中,其客体也是新信息的一部分,这是客体成分充当谓词补语的结果,也说明"于"字句的话语功能不同于其它的比较句式。汉语的另一特征是它的修饰语必须出现在中心语之前,造成偏正结构中参照点似乎先于目标的假象。但这并不跟信息结构相矛盾,因为偏正结构是重组信息的手段,使在新的信息结构充当新的成分。这是语言传递信息的普遍原则。其它语言,如英语,修饰语则可以出现在中心语之后,使其认知策略在信息结构和偏正结构中相互一致。忽略了语言个体的差异,是以往的研究未能确认跨语言认知策略和语序的一个原因。

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#### Is there count-mass distinction in Chinese?

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In some Indo-European languages like English, there exists the grammatical countmass distinction. More specifically, in English count nouns can be pluralized and enumerated by cardinal numerals, the fuzzy quantifiers *many*, and modified by the distributive universal quantifiers *every* and *each*, and the disjunctive quantifier *either* (See (1a) below). On the other hand, mass nouns cannot be enumerated directly by cardinal numerals. Instead the quantification of mass nouns need resort to classifiers; generally occur in the singular, and are selected by the fuzzy quantifiers *much* and *a little* (see (1b) below).

1) a. two apples/ three apples/ many apples/every apple/each apple b.\*two waters/ two glasses of water/ much water /little water

As an isolating language, Chinese does not have plural morphology, and Chinese nouns need to resort to classifiers in order to be enumerated. However, Cheng and Sybesma (1998, 1999) claim that the count-mass distinction exists in Chinese grammar as well, realized at the classifier level. According to them, there are count classifiers and mass classifiers, with the former selecting the nouns which denote discrete and countable entities, and the latter creating a unit of measurement for making the nouns countable. The working hypothesis of the account is that crosslinguistically, the plural morphology and the classifier system are in complementary distribution.

Upon close examination, Cheng and Sybesma's account cannot explain why classical Chinese nouns don't necessarily appeal to classifiers, e.g., 三人行,必有我师, and why in some languages like Paiwan classifiers are restricted to co-occur with count human nouns Tang (2004). Both classical Chinese and Paiwan do not have plural morphology. That is, the so-called complementary distribution between plural morphology and classifier system does not firmly hold. Logically speaking, then there may not exit the count-mass distinction as Cheng and Sybesma claim.

Alternatively, I follow Lyons (1977) that there exist universal countability for the purpose of individuation and enumeration, and both classifier system and plural morphology are two possible, but NOT the two sole means to make countability visible. Classifiers uniformly are taken as "unit counters" to carve out individuals denoted by nouns (Iljic 1994, Greenberg 1972), without making the distinction of count vs. mass classifiers. Thus, for ancient Chinese nouns and non-human Paiwan nouns countability still exists, but is invisible to grammar system. For modern Chinese, classifier system makes countability visible, but it does not necessarily suggest the obligatory existence of the count-mass distinction.

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### 汉语作为第二语言被字句习得的考察

# 黄月圆 杨素英香港浸会大学

此研究考察了母语为英语的留学生习得汉语被字句的情况。汉语和英语属于不同语言类型,在被动范畴,两者的差异明显。汉语被字句的关键是要满足终结性的要求。英语被动句不受这样的限制。 我们通过自然作文语料和专题测试语料考察习得者产出和理解汉语被字句的能力,探讨制约被字句习得的因素。我们的发现主要有三点: 第一,习得者对终结性情状有强烈的意识,反映出他们在习得被字句的过程中受终结优先这条普遍倾向的制约。第二,他们也受母语迁移的影响。第三,掌握汉语的定界成分是习得的难点。

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# Hong Kong Cantonese Pronunciation: Chaos, Cause and Consequence

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From 2007 onwards, an oral examination will be included in HKCE Chinese. Although students have the freedom to choose between Cantonese or Mandarin, it is obvious that Cantonese is the only option for most students. But then a terrible problem arises: as pronunciation consists of 5% of the paper, how can the student prepare for this part?

Hong Kong Cantonese (HKC) is famous for its liberty: no standard (or too many standards) for its pronunciation and transcription, and no standard writing form exists. For oral communication, one must learn to tolerate a word spoken in different pronunciations, especially those spoken by elderly people and new immigrants. For example, the word for "roof" may be uk1jim4, uk1jam4 or uk1sim4. For reading pronunciations, one is used to the fact that the sounds they hear from TV news, teachers and friends are different from "traditional" dictionaries.

The reading pronunciations of Cantonese were practically unaffected in Post-war Hong Kong schools, when Hong Kong people used Cantonese in Guangzhou as the standard and Huang Xiling's (1941) Cantonese pronunciation dictionary was the only source of reference. Despite multiple dialect origins of the students, we had little problems with the pronunciation. Cantonese from the radio also strictly followed the dictionary pronunciations.

Pronunciation chaos arose as a result of the development of Hong Kong into a metropolis, when more and more immigrants entered Hong Kong and when TV and radios are no longer as "careful" with the pronunciations as before. Some DJ's are brought up outside of Hong Kong and have problems with the phonology of traditional Cantonese. Phone-ins and live interviews are also source of sub-standard Cantonese.

Lacking of linguistic knowledge, most people cannot distinguish between pronunciation errors (e.g. coda -ng> -n), free variations, colloquial sounds, or a recent sound change. Attempts to disambiguate Cantonese pronunciations among scholars added more chaos as some scholars base their "correct" reading on historical documentation of Guangyun (廣韻) complied 1000 years ago. Together with character borrowing (Tongjia 通假) and special reading of surname and place names, reading a character in Cantonese becomes an impossible mission.

To make the problem more complex, some teachers just read a character according to their own knowledge, and some of them are wrong as they misrecognize the characters in question: e.g. 慑 (coeng3) mistaken as 慑 (zoeng3). Most teachers mix the concepts altogether, and fail to help their students to take care of their pronunciations effectively. As there is no "standard" pronunciation in HKC, the coming HKCE examination mode may make student think that speaking in Mandarin is the only way to ensure a high grade.

## Validating self-reported code-switching through breaching: A study of code-switching motivations in Hong Kong and Taiwan Li David

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This paper reports code-switching motivations in a CERG-funded replication, experimental study. In sociolinguistic research, with the exception of language attitude surveys, participants' own views on or intentions behind specific language behavior tend to be dismissed as unreliable and ignored, and are therefore not included in data analysis. The exclusion of respondents' subjective accounts of their own language behavior as data naturally has epistemological and methodological consequences. Accordingly the researcher's theory-driven 'objective' analysis becomes the only legitimate type of evidence for whatever meaning attributed to context-specific instances of code-switching.

There are two main explanatory frameworks of code-switching motivation at present: the Markedness Model (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993b, 1998; Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai 2001) and the conversation-analytic approach (e.g. Auer 1984a,b, 1988, 1995, 1998; Gumperz 1982; W. Li 1994, 1998, 2002, Li and Milroy 1995). In either framework, there appear to be two epistemological gaps between meanings ascribed to code-switchers in bilingual interaction and meanings as intended by the code-switchers themselves: (a) lexical gap or semantic incongruence, and (b) topic- or field-specific code-switching. These two epistemological gaps can never be satisfactorily filled without involving the code-switchers' own accounts of what they perceive as happening and whether their code-switching is driven by some specific intention. The crucial question is how the code-switcher's input could be obtained without the known flaws and inaccuracies observed in previous studies.

In this comparative study as well as in the earlier small-scale study (Li & Tse 2002), a multi-methods design proved very productive and enlightening: the 'bracketing' technique in ethnomethodology 'revelation through disruption', reflective diary, and focus group. Data were collected from 108 university students in three multilingual, Chinese-dominant cities: two in Taiwan, one in Hong Kong. For one day, participants were asked not to use any language other than Mandarin (Taiwan, 65) or Cantonese (Hong Kong, 43). Two types of self-reported code-switching motivations are discussed: linguistic (3) and interactional (2). Most participants reported being inconvenienced in their informal communication with others; few could avoid using other languages, resulting in code-switching. Contrary to a long-standing belief that self-report data are unreliable, the findings suggest that code-switchers' input regarding code-switching motivations are very instructive. The key to quality self-report data is awareness-raising before the data collection process. Inadequacies of the Markedness Model and the CA approach will be discussed (http://personal.cityu.edu.hk/~endavidl/index3.htm). (395 words)

Semantic and/or stylistic incongruence owing to problems with a lack of translation (referential) equivalents

(1) 到咖啡廳點咖啡,平常我都會直接說「一個小杯冰 Cappuccino。」可今天,我跟店員說:「一個小杯冰的卡布奇諾。」不僅店員用怪異的眼神看我,連我自己都覺得自己像個鄉巴佬一樣,很糗,真的。當時我超想瞬間消失在他面前!!好不習慣啦!!!!! (TCU Bu F4)

[I] was ordering coffee in a café; usually I would say directly 'a small cup of *Cappuccino*'. But today, I said to the waiter 'a small cup of chilled ka bu qi no'. Not only did the waiter gaze at me with startling eyes, I myself too felt like a bumpkin, very embarrassed, really. At that moment I really wanted to instantly disappear in front of him!! [I'm] not used to that at all!!!!

### Field-specific jargon due to the 'medium-of-learning effect'

(2) 本人課餘活動是練習柔道,在柔道上有很多名詞都會用上日語,如果不用日語去講就會做成不方便。因爲習慣用比賽用的專有名詞,用中文覺得很難聽。(TDU Ch M2)

My extra-curricular activity is judo. In judo many terms are in Japanese; it would be inconvenient if [we] don't use Japanese. Because [we] are accustomed to using special [Japanese] terms for judo competition, the [corresponding] Chinese [terms] are difficult to follow.

#### The principle of least effort

室友跑來問我有關 DNA 疫苗的 paper:「到底那個 microparticle 的作用是什麼?」,我也就很順口的回答:「阿那個micropartical (sic.) 就是要攜帶 DNA 到細胞去的,然後因爲有~~~」此時的我「阿」了一聲,又違規了,所以我馬上改口:「阿那個微粒就是要攜帶去氧核糖核酸到細胞去的,然後因爲有~~~~」,要把 DNA 講成去氧核糖核酸,真的很麻煩,於是後來只用核酸替代…(TDU Sc M4)

[when my] roommate came and asked me about the paper on *DNA* vaccine: 'what is the function of that *microparticle*?', I just responded without giving any thought: 'oh that *micropartical* (sic.) serves to carry *DNA* to the cells, then because there is...'. It was then that I uttered "ah", [for I realized I] violated the rule again. So I changed the wording: 'oh that wēili ['microparticle'] serves to carry qù yǔng hé táng hé suān ['DNA'] to the cells, then because...'. To express *DNA* as qù yǔng hé táng hé suān is really troublesome, and so later I replaced it with hé suān ['nucleic acid'].

#### Accommodating to the language choice and/or speaking style of the interlocutor(s)

(4) 在說到大陸的 CEPA 的時候,如果還要很 謹慎的把他硬翻成中文,那可能會被同 伴追著打。...字彙其實是在大家都使用 的情況之下所以自己不得不用的,形成 了一種群眾壓力,像是一些行業中所使 用的術語,即便有國語可以說,他們還 是習慣用原本的外來語言,如果一個新 入行的菜鳥不跟他們一樣的,鐵定會不 好過的。(TDU Bu M3) When *CEPA* [Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement] was mentioned, if [I] had insisted on carefully rendering it into Chinese, I probably would have been chased after and beaten. ... Words cannot be avoided if they are used by everyone else; this way group pressure is generated and so [you] have got to use them; like the jargon of any trade, even if Mandarin expressions exist, people are still accustomed to using the foreign language expressions; if those who are new to the trade fail to follow this practice, they are bound to suffer.

#### Indexing social identity

(5) When I called to some companies in order to request for their willing (sic.) to participate into my research, I tried to speak the Chinese word [教授, gaau3 sau6, 'professor'] but seems not so powerful in order to persuade the companies to join my study... maybe we do think that English would show our status (HCU Bu M4)

## Cantonese Verbal Art in the Articulation of Youthful Defiant Voices: An Analysis of Hong Kong Hip Hop Ray Lyrics

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Making local Hip-Hop music and lyrics in Hong Kong has always been a marginal practice engaged in mostly by grass-root youths who find in this music genre and this trans-local sub-culture the powerful symbolisms to express their defiant voices to mainstream society. These Hong Kong youths express in their local language— Cantonese—rap lyrics their sharp critique of society, of the education system, and of what they see as mainstream hypocritical practices and overly commercialized mass Through using Cantonese raps in artful and witty ways they media practices. construct alternative discursive spaces where their defiant voices and sharp social critique can be heard in a fun yet powerful way. In this paper I shall draw on interviews of an influential Hong Kong Hip-Hop MC—MC Yan of the former popular Hong Kong band, LMF (LazyMuthaFuckaz), and analysis of his Hip-Hop lyrics to discuss how some youths in Hong Kong construct their powerful voices and identities in pockets of alternative spaces in a society that privileges the middle classes with their cultural capital, and in an education system where the local language of Cantonese is placed at the bottom of the linguistic hierarchy.

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#### 《汉语语言文字启蒙》与字本位教学法

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《汉语语言文字启蒙》(以下简称《启蒙》)最早出版于 1989 年,是目前法国 使用最多的汉语教材。该书异常重视汉字教学,称为"字本位教材"。国内对外 汉语教学界对它也非常重视,评介者一直不断(如刘社会1994,王若江 2000)。1994年,徐通锵正式提出字本位语言理论。此后,对外汉语教学界也 有人(如吕必松 2003、2005)开始主张,应该遵循汉语的本来面目进行教学, 把"字"(而不是"词")看成是对外汉语教学的基本单位,用"字本位教学法"取 代"词本位教学法"。在实践方面,字本位倡导者的最重要证据就是《启蒙》。 这样,对《启蒙》的认识就不单单是对一本教材的评价问题,而是关涉到教学 基本单位和教学路子等重大问题。然而,有关《启蒙》的很多看法却并不准 确、全面。本文对《启蒙》进行了重新分析。结果表明,从总体上看,《启 蒙》仍然是以词本位为框架的,而不是一本完全的字本位教材。 此外,结合对《启蒙》的分析,我们还讨论了这样几个观点:一、语言教材在 选择所教汉字时,必须采用包括汉字因素在内的综合标准;二、语言教材不应 该仅仅满足干把词汇列举出来,还需要把它们用在有意义的语境中,并且进行 有意义地练习;三、字词比是评价教材的一个重要指标,但字词比不仅仅是字 词关系问题,还和教材编写的其它方面密切相关,不能孤立地来看待字词比; 四、语言教材编写的一般程序是"以文定词,以词定字",相反的路子("以字定 词、以词定文")基本上不可能;五、在语言教学和文化教学的关系上面,不能 以牺牲语言教学为代价来重视文化教学,反之亦然。我们认为,这些原则在对 外汉语教材编写中具有普遍意义。

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# Language-specific realisations of syllable structure on vowel-to-vowel coarticulation

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This study investigates the effects of syllable structure on vowel-to-vowel coarticulation. Most previous studies on vowel-to-vowel coarticulation used only open syllables (CV). However, various studies show that syllable onset and coda consonants are different acoustically [1], articulatorily [2], typologically [3] and perceptually [4]. Languages also have different realisations of syllable structure. For example, syllable structure in Thai is much simpler than in English. Syllable-final stops are unreleased in Thai and they cannot be resyllabified. Syllable-final stops in English can be unreleased or released with different degree of aspiration. Intervocalic stops in English can also become ambisyllabic under some circumstances [5]. All this suggests that language-specific realisations of syllable structures could affect the degree of vowel-to-vowel coarticulation allowed in a language, but effects of syllable structures on v-to-v coarticulation are still poorly understood. Open syllables  $(/CV_1\#pV_2/ \text{ and }/CV_1\#tV_2/)$  versus closed syllables  $(/CV_1p\#V_2C/ \text{ and }/CV_1t\#V_2C/)$  are compared in Thai and English. The vowels used are /a/ and /i/ (long vowels in Thai). Six native speakers per language (both male and female) read 5 repetitions of the materials made up of real-word sequences in both languages embedded in carrier phrases at a normal speech rate. Target vowels can be V<sub>1</sub> (anticipatory coarticulation) or V<sub>2</sub> (carryover coarticulation). F1 and F2 frequencies at vowel edge (offset for V<sub>1</sub> and onset for V<sub>2</sub>) of the target vowels without contrastive stress and the intervocalic duration are measured. Results show that there is no Language difference in F1. In F2, Thai, a tone language with a simple and well-defined domain of the syllable, consistently allows less v-to-v coarticulation for both open and closed syllables than English, a language with more variable syllable structures. This language difference cannot be explained by the intervocalic duration. Open and closed syllables, however, do not affect v-to-v coarticulation differently in both languages. Language-specific realisation of syllable structure represents a higher phonological unit than the phonemes, which incorporates important syntagmatic relationships in speech production. The results here highlight the importance of investigating other aspects of syntagmatic relationships in coarticulation in the future.

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### An anthropological-linguistic approach to computer-mediated communication

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Numerous studies of computer-mediated communication (CMC) have shown that, apart from conveying information, participants also perform different kinds of acts in order to achieve certain social and psychological purposes – e.g. constructing identities, making relationships, building communities and expressing affective behavior. They often make use of language, text structure and style, and text-based symbols to this end (e.g. Thurlow et al. 2004).

Since the medium in CMC is predominantly written text and there is a lack of paralinguistic cues, researchers from education, communication and computer science mainly resort to the analysis of text, text structure and styles in their development of categories and indicators – e.g. affective responses and behavioral indices (cf. Rourke et al. 1999) – to describe and analyse online messages. In general, non-linguist researchers in CMC bracket together such uses of language under the label "linguistic acts", defined and classified by the purposes they aim to achieve – e.g. asking clarification and expressing personal views in general (cf. Cecez-kecmanovic and Webb 2000).

On the other hand, there is a considerable amount of CMC research which is properly linguistically oriented, adopting the perspective of various linguistic sub-disciplines and applying their methodologies to analyses. An obvious example is Herring (2004), which sets up a branch of study called Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis (CMDA). She proposes that CMDA should be tied up with five discourse analysis paradigms (e.g. Text and Conversation Analysis), while CMDA issues and methods are re-organized around four domains of language (e.g. structure and meaning) with speech acts figuring prominently as one of the linguistic phenomena.

This paper proposes that the act of indexing, as propounded in anthropological linguistics, underlies many of the "linguistic acts" in online communication mentioned above. This act refers to "how language form and content signal sociocultural dimensions of specific communicative events" (Ochs 1994), in which case the meaning of linguistic indexes are mainly interpreted in relation to the situation of utterance, rather than being arbitrary or purely symbolic. The attribution of indexicality to the linguistic acts helps to explain such uses as emoticons, punctuations, and text styles to index (signal) affect stances, social relationships and structures in CMC. It also helps to account for why "speech acts" in online communication are defective vis-à-vis the standard accounts by Austin and Searle.

The data used for discussion and illustration in this paper were collected from messages posted on the online discussion boards run by a distance learning institute.

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#### **Resultative Constructions in Jingpo\***

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In Jingpo, resultative meanings can either be expressed by two verbal morphemes or be expressed by morphemes such as *hkra* ('until') and *nna* ('because'). This paper discusses these constructions and explores their structural status along with relevant syntactic derivational processes.

There are abundant causative verbs in Jingpo. The form [V1+V2] is quite productive, especially with V2 as a causative verb:

(1) shat shadu jahkut rice cook cause.to.be.cooked "cook the rice"

We demonstrate that this pattern does not conform to the typical resultative constructions; instead it shares the same property with consequential serial verb constructions. We closely examine the transitive and causative nature of V2. Following Baker & Stewart (2002), we suggest that the syntactic structure of this construction involves a conjunction of  $\nu p$ .

The second pattern expressing resultative meaning in Jingpo is to use morphemes such as *hkra* ('until') or clausal connectors like *nna* ('because'):

(2) chye hkra sharin understand until teach "teach until (somebody) understand (something)"

(3) Nau maron *nna* mayu shakrop

too much shout therefore throat cause.to.be.hoarse

kau se ai. AUX (external causation) 1(Subj).3SG(Obj).DYN

"Because there is too much shouting, my throat is hoarse."

The counterparts of these two resultatives in Mandarin are compounds such as *jiao-hui* ('teach-understand') and *han-ya* ('shout-hoarse'). But the Mandarin-type compounded expressions or verb serializations are shown to be impossible in Jingpo. Tsai (2005) examines the Formosan languages, where a conjunction has turned into a complementizer for either adverbial clauses or complement clauses. Following this line of research and the perspectives of syntactic evolvement in Roberts & Roussou (2003) and their upcoming work, we examine the nature of *hkra* and *nna* as well as indications for structural changes that the Jingpo language is undertaking.

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#### "的"字结构与向心结构

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"的"字结构在汉语里的地位本来就比较特殊(朱德熙 1961, 1966, 1978, 1983),随着形式句法理论的引进,近年来又出现了以"的"为核心构成 DeP 的各种理论(如 陆俭明 2003,司富珍 2005,2006,熊仲儒 2005)。这些新理论解决了一些悬而未决的问题,但由于理论基础与传统的观念不同,对一些基本概念的理解也有所不同,所以引起了不少争论(参见 周国光 2005, 2006)。

从现象上说,这些争论的起因是相关的内部结构问题。DeP 说的基本观点是 DeP 以"的"为核心,其补足语(complement)是名词性短语,其指示语(Spec)可以是小句也可以是名词性短语。这样做的目的是为了最大限度地解释各种"的"字结构的组成方式,既包括常见的"木头的房子"、"我们刚买的房子","我们刚买的",也包括较为少见的"我的无力购房"。从理论上说,争论的焦点是如何处理一些相关的句法概念问题,如向心结构与离心结构的区别,"的"与"的"字结构的句法地位,以及"的"后成分的句法地位等。

传统语法认为,"的"前成分与"的"形成"的"字结构,作用是修饰"的"后成分(朱德熙 1978, 1983, 刘月华等 2001)。这种分析符合一般人的语感,也应该是对大部分含"的"结构的正确描述。从这一点上说,核心与补足语的关系不表示修饰关系,并不适宜用在"的"字结构上。另一方面,"的"字结构可以独立使用,起指代作用;而 DeP 分析的后果必然是"的"与后面的名词性成分成为一组,作为 De'独立发挥作用。这显然不符合大多数人的习惯。更重要的是,与其他核心与补足语的组合不同,"的"与后面的成分合在一起并不表示实际的意思,这也不符合形式句法对于核心与补足语关系的设定。

形式句法的结构式应该是实际语义的正确表达。从这一点上说,DeP的结构应该反映修饰关系,而非核心与补足语关系。文献中对此已经有了足够的论述,无论是早期的定语小句理论(Huang 1982),还是近期的定语小句理论(Kayne 1994,陈宗利 2005),都能够表示这种关系,可以用来分析"的"字结构。

与此相关的是"的"字结构与向心结构的关系。DeP 以"的"为核心,自然是向心结构,但这与 Bloomfield (1933)的定义有冲突,也同朱德熙(1984)的论述不符,所以引起了不少争论(如周国光 2005,2006)。问题在于向心结构的定义从一开始就不够严谨,几次修订后仍然有不少漏洞,运用在"的"字结构上也同样会出现问题。要解决冲突,必须从根源着手,重新审视向心结构在句法分析中的地位。

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### The structure of manner adverbials in Cantonese

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**GOAL:** In Cantonese, there is an anaphoric element *gam2* that can be used with an adverb, [adverb-*gam2*]. We argue that all *gam2*-containing adverbials are manner adverbials and provide a structural analysis for the claim.

**OBSERVATIONS:** Clausal/manner ambiguity of the type in English (Ernst 2002), as in (1), does not appear in Cantonese. In Cantonese, if X is an adverb that is compatible with both a clausal and a manner reading, then [X] always gives rise to a clausal reading and [X-gam2] a manner reading, as in (2). It is possible to have the order [X]-[X-gam2] in a sentence but crucially not [X-gam2]-[X], as in (3). It concurs with the observation that manner adverbs, being event internal, have a lower attachment site than clausal adverbs. The connection between gam2 and manner predicts that [X-gam2] adverbials are not compatible with events denoting a 'non-action'. This is shown in (4).

ANALYSIS: The manner reading of [X-gam2] phrases is not induced by gam2, but rather, due to the element joeng2 'appearance', which always follows gam2, either overtly or covertly. The manner reading comes from the lexical semantics of joeng2 'appearance'. The syntactic presence of a lexical item having the semantic association of 'manner' in manner adverbials is also reported in Hebrew (Glinert 1989), as in (5). gam2 has the properties of a demonstrative, with two exceptions. Firstly, it is neutralized with respect to the proximal and distal distinction (Peng 2003). Secondly, it is used in the clausal domain. Structurally, we argue that [X-gam2] adverbials are Manner Phrases, the structure of which is shown in (6), on a par with the structure of demonstrative-containing nominals, as in (7) (Sio 2006).

**POSSIBLE EXTENTIONS:** (i) The lack of clausal/manner ambiguity also holds for Mandarin, with [X-de] adverbials being always manner. However, the parallel between de and gam2 cannot be maintained when a larger array of data is considered (contra Zhu 1980). (ii) [X-gam2] adverbials can stack and appear in the nominal domain. This suggests that [X-gam2] adverbials are adjuncts. (iii) The corresponding question word for gam2 joeng2 is dim2 joeng2, where dim2 'how' is an interrogative element. We suggest that a lot of 'how'-related question words in Cantonese can be decomposed into an interrogative part dim2 and a restrictor part. Only a limited subset of nouns can act as the restrictor.

### Data:

(1) Peter clearly saw the sign. 1<sup>st</sup>: Clearly, Peter saw the sign. 2<sup>nd</sup>: Peter saw the sign clearly.

(2)	a.	Peter	hou2-ming4hin2		gin3dou2	go3	paai2
	laa1						
		Peter	very-clearly	see	CL	sign	SFP

'Clearly, Peter saw the sign.'

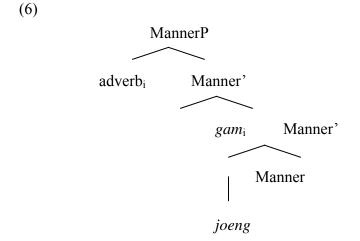
b. Peter <a href="https://hou2-ming4hin2">hou2-ming4hin2</a> gam2 gin3dou2 go3

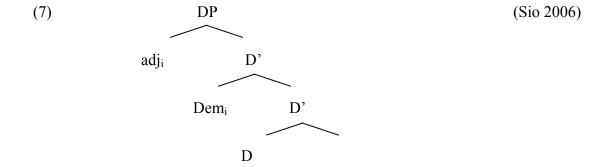
paai2 laa1

Peter very-clearly GAM see CL sign SFP

'Peter saw the sign clearly.'

- keoi5 <u>hou2-ming4hin2</u> hou2-minghin2 gam2 (3) gin3dou2 a. nei5 laa1 He/Shevery-clearly very-clearly GAM see you **SFP** \* keoi5hou2-ming4hin2 gam2 hou2-minghin2 gin3dou2 b. nei5 laa1
- (4) ?? keoi5 dak6dang1 gam2 m4 juk1 He/Sheintentionally GAM NEG move
- (5) hitnahagt be-ófen Maftia you-acted in-way surprising 'You acted surprisingly.'





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# A study on "you(有)+VP" structure in Mandarin Chinese

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The Chinese word you (有) is a polysemous verb that has many meanings and is used widely in various situations. It can express 'possession,' e.g. 我有一本书 (wo you yi ben shu) 'I have a book'; 'existence', e.g. 墙上有一幅画 (qiang shang you yi fu hua) 'There is a picture on the wall'; 'availability', e.g. 各大药店有售 (ge da yao dian you shou) 'This medicine is available in all pharmacies'; 'comparison', e.g. 小明都有他爸爸那么高了 (Xiaoming dou you ta baba na me gao le) 'Xiaoming is as tall as his father now'; 'occurrence', e.g. 他有病了 (ta you bing le) 'He is sick now'.

In some southern dialects such as Cantonese (and Min), you is not only a verb, but also appears in you+VP construction functioning as an aspect auxiliary [cf. Eg. (1)], which was until recently not acceptable in Mandarin Chinese grammar.

Nowadays in Mandarin, we frequently hear *you*+VP constructions among northern Mandarin speakers and it is becoming popular in Mainland China, especially among the younger generation and the media. It seems that *you* now has one more trendy usage in Mandarin, expressing not only possession and existence but also temporal notion, as illustrated in example (2) and (3).

This paper examines the meaning extension and the aspectual function of *you*. More specifically, we traced the mechanism of development of *you* from possession and existence verb to auxiliary. In addition, I illustrated how *you* is distinct from other traditional perfective markers.

Chinese is believed to be a tenseless language, but rich in aspect. Through cross-dialectal influence in late 20<sup>th</sup> century, *you*+VP structure has become popular in Mandarin speaking areas. This study traces the grammaticalization of *you* and suggests that *you*+VP structure might not just be due to language contact, but there must be cognitive motivation and variable and structural facilitation within the language for its occurrence. The path of development of *you* proposed in this study is outlined in figure 3.

Analyses of you+VP in conversations (led by the youmeiyou+VP question) and in declarative sentences reveal that you is an aspect marker, which has some specialness that le and guo have not. The Mandarin perfective marker system is additionally acquiring a symmetric system with you besides the asymmetric systems with le and guo. The cognitive motivation of this new usage of you in Mandarin conforms to a commonly observed development of possession verbs evolving into aspect markers in many other languages.

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# Syllable Weight in Shunping Mandarin

# -- Evidence from retroflex suffixation

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It is generally considered that all full syllables (full syllable: syllable with full value in initial, final and tone) in Mandarin dialects are heavy. This paper, on the basis of evidence from retroflex suffixation, argues that some full syllables in Shunping (Gaoyupu) Mandarin should probably be regarded as light instead of heavy. Look at examples as follows.

	Rhyme Retroflex suffixation Examples			
(1)	-aj	-B <sub>f</sub>	孩儿 xɐ̯ll¹ 'child'	
(2)	-ən	-ə⁴	根儿 kə <sup>t55</sup> 'root'	
(3)	-aw	-aw + wato	桃儿 t <sup>h</sup> aw <sup>11</sup> + wə <sup>to</sup>	
'peach'				
(4)	-əw	$-9M + M9_{4o}$	沟儿 kəw <sup>55</sup> + wə <sup>to</sup>	
'ditch'				
(5)	-aŋ	-aŋ + ŋə <sup>to</sup>	缸儿 kaŋ <sup>55</sup> + ŋə <sup>to</sup>	
'mug'				
(6)	-əŋ	-ອŋ +ŋອ <sup>to</sup>	棚儿 pʰəŋ¹¹ + ŋəゼº	
'shed'				

These examples show that the retroflex suffix remains as an independent syllable, wə<sup>to</sup> or ŋə<sup>to</sup>, if the original syllable ends up with either –w or -ŋ. However, if we assume that all full syllables are heavy, then, we will find a case in which the phonological condition of this kind is satisfied but the retroflex suffix cannot be surfaced as an independent syllable. Consider the following pair of examples.

- (7) thaw<sup>51</sup>套→thaw<sup>51</sup>wəto 套儿 'lasso'
- (8)  $t^h u^{51}$  兔 →  $t^h w e^{451}$  兔儿 'rabbit'

If  $t^h u^{51}$  (8) is regarded as a heavy syllable, then, this syllable will be accordingly understood as having -w ( $t^h u w^{51}$ ) coda. So, both  $t^h a w^{51}$  (7) and  $t^h u^{51}$  (8), would be identical in terms of their codas. However, if this is true, we will be unable to explain why they actually behave in different ways, resulting in presence or absence of  $w e^{to}$ , during retroflex suffixation. Only by regarding the syllable  $t^h u^{51}$  as light, can this fact be properly explained.

The new method tried in this paper is to address a phonological issue by using morphological evidence. It is also hoped that this paper could provide reference for solving the same issue in Chinese dialects in general.

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# 结果补语小句分析和小句的内部结构

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### 1. "小句理论"和汉语结果补语结构分析

采用"小句(small clause)"来分析汉语结果补语结构的基本假设是:结 构中主句动词表示动作行为,而补语小句则表示致使结果,二者合起来表示一 个完整的"动作-结果"事件。汉语不及物的结果补语结构没有外部论元,只 有一个作为补语的内部论元。这个内部论元就表现为一个"补语小句"。如 (1):

(1) 阿 Q 唱哭了。 a. 唱[SC 阿 Q $] \rightarrow (b. 阿 Q_i [唱 [SC t_i]]$ 

# 哭]])

及物的结果补语结构中存在一个包含外部论元的短语结构层。根据 Chomsky(1995),这个句法层次可以称为"vP(小 VP)"。这个层次主要作 用是为"VP(大 VP)"表达的事件提供一个作为"引发者"或"致使者"的 外部论元。如(2):

- (2) 小 D 唱哭了阿 Q。 ([<sub>vP</sub> 小 D [<sub>VP</sub> 唱 [<sub>SC</sub> 阿 Q 哭]]])
- 2. 补语小句分析中需要讨论的几个问题
- 2.1 关于 NP 的语法性质

补语小句中的主语名词只跟小句的谓语动词有句法和语义的联系,而跟主 句的谓语动词并没有直接联系。比如"阿Q唱哭了",表面上看好像其中"阿 Q"跟主句谓语动词"唱"也会有某种联系。但根据补语小句分析,(1)和 (3) 应该没有什么不同。比较:

# (3)肚子笑疼了。 (肚子:[笑[sc t;疼了]])

在及物的结果补语结构中,补语小句的主语跟主句谓语动词也没有句法和 语义联系。不仅在(2)中是这样,下面(4)也是同样情况。比较:

# (4) 小 D 打死了阿 Q。 ( 小 D 打 [ $_{SC}$ 阿 Q 死] )

进一步说, (2) 中不但补语小句的主语"阿 Q"跟主句谓语动词"唱"没 有句法和语义联系,而且表层大主语"小 D"跟主句谓语动词"唱"也应该没 有什么联系。因为"小 D"是在  $\nu$ P (小 VP)的 Spec 位置生成的,语义角色也 并非是"唱"这个动作的发出者(施事),而只是事件的"引发者"或"致使 者"。即(2)和下面(5)应该没有什么不同。比较:

- (5)a. 这篇文章写酸了我的手。 b. 这首歌唱哭了阿 Q。
- 2.2 关于 VP 的构造形式

从结构变化形式上看,(1)也可以做另一种分析。如(6):

# (6)阿Q唱[sc Pro哭]]

但采用本文的分析有这样几个优点:首先是可以统一处理汉语中"阿Q唱哭了"和"肚子笑疼了"。其次是汉语所有不及物结果补语结构都没有外部论元。这就容易进一步说明不及物结构"阿Q唱哭了"与及物结构"小D唱哭了阿Q"的区别和联系。因为后者结构中就包含了前者的结构。第三是可以很容易把汉语结果补语结构跟汉语"把"字句的分析联系起来(Sybesma,1992/1999)。因为汉语的结果补语结构变换成"把"字句,只需要在"v<sup>0</sup>"处插入轻动词(一般所说的介词)"把",不需要更多移位运作就可以实现。

## 3. 汉语结果补语小句的内部结构

"小句"一般定义为"词汇性的主谓短语",不是一个时态性(tense)结构(不是 TP)。但 Abney(1987)的研究证明所有的词汇投射(L(exical)-Projection)都要受到功能投射(F(unctional)-Projection)的控制。如果 Abney 的看法正确,那么显然小句就不应该仅仅是一个词汇性主谓短语。小句和完整句子结构最重要的区别,就在于小句结构没有"时态",这也正是"小句"中要有个"小"字的原因。目前一般都承认汉语结果补语结构的底层语序是[V-NP-R],但表层语序则是[V-R-NP]。上面假设这是通过 NP 和 R 分别发生移位来实现的。现在要讨论:这些成分究竟为什么要移位,这些成分移位的过程又到底是怎样的。

Stowell(1991)曾提出过"谓语指称条件 PRC(Predicate Reference Condition)",即"一个谓语的中心成分必须被一个指称范畴所管辖。"语言中的指称范畴有两个:D(冠词成分)和 Infl(屈折成分)。名词短语要受 D成分管辖,而谓词短语则主要是受 I 成分管辖。按照这一原则,如果小句谓语没有被 I 管辖,这个谓语成分就必须发生移位,也就是要与受管辖的动词"合并",以便接受指称范畴 Infl 的管辖。这一个观点用 Guéron and Hoekstra(1995)的另一种说法:句中任何涉及谓语结构的成分,包括"时"、"体"成分,也包括谓语动词本身(即当动词在词汇上为"空"时),都必须由一个"T 链条(T-Chain)"来相互连接,如果没有这个 T 链条来连接或者这个 T 链条中断,整个句子的事件就无法得到时态的解释,结构也就不合法。这也就是为什么小句内的各种成分必须移位(移出小句)的直接动因。

前述小句的谓语是移位到主句动词位置,即与主句动词合并成一个复合动词,但没考虑怎么处理结构中的"了"。Sybesma(1997/1999)主张把"了"看作包含在小句中的"体投射(aspectual projection)"的中心词,即对"时(tense)"和"体(aspect)"二者不同性质作区分,"时"成分处于 VP 之外,而"体"成分处于 VP 之内。这样不妨假设,如果补语小句中必须包含某些功能性投射,那么这个投射就只是"体投射"。"了"不仅正是这种体投射的中心成分,而这个位置也就正是补语小句的谓语动词所首先移至的位置。也就是说,小句中的谓语动词"哭"并不是直接前移到主句动词 V"唱"的位置,而是首先前移到 AspP 的中心词位置,也就是跟"了"结合成"哭了"。

在这一步之后, "哭了"才又继续向前移位跟主句动词"唱"合并成为一个复 合动词,即"唱哭了"整体上作为 VP 的中心词。之所以要加上小句谓语前移 到 AspP 中心词位置这一步中间站,实际上也就是为了实现前述整个句子 "T 链 条"的相互连接,以便使句子得到完整的时态解释。

上述小句内部谓语动词移位形式的操作,不仅仅是一种理论假设,实际上 也可以得到大量语言事实的支持。中国的少数民族语言壮语和汉语广东话就都 有相关例子,确认这种为了建立"T链条"而形成的小句谓语的移位形式是存 在的。

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### Small clause results and the internal structure of the small clause

This paper presents a short introduction of Small Clause Theory and the small clause approach to Chinese resultative structures. It is shown that the small clause approach seems like a fruitful way of analysing not only resultative structures but also many other similar structures in Chinese. The paper further investigates the internal structure of the resultative small clause in Chinese and concludes that the small clause may contain an aspectual functional projection, headed by le " $\int$ ". The small clause predicate moves towards le " $\int$ " so as to be included in the T-chain which connects all temporal, aspectual and predicative elements in a sentence so as to make temporal interpretaion of the sentence possible.

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# An Investigation into Lexical Numeral Systems – Leading to the Way of Greenbergian *Relative Language Universals* Sye Sui Kam

This research project is to investigate the universality of lexical numerals across 200 languages. It has been reported by linguists and anthropologists that the most prominent type of lexical numeral system is base-10 (i.e., the decimal system) in the great majority of languages and dialects in the world despite some regional cultural differences and areal morphological differences of lexical numeral constructions. Joseph Greenberg (1978), particularly in his classic article of linguistic typology, argues that lexical numeral consists of a set of 54 universals. In this research project, cardinal numerals from 1 to 100 of various language families as focused examples have been analyzed lexically, morphologically and arithmetically to further seek the universality of lexical numerals based on our "further modified" Language Universal of Joseph Greenberg – *Relative Language Universals*.

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## 贵阳方言中"把"字的特殊用法

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贵阳方言属于北方方言系统中的西南官话,同普通话相比并没有很多显著的 语法差异。尽管如此,它仍然具有一些自身的特点,其中就包括"把"字的一 些特殊用法。

首先, "把"可以用在动补结构前,作被动标记。贵阳话口语中"被"几乎 不用,同它起相同作用的,用得最多的是"着"[tsau35],其次就是"把"。例 *‡*∏:

(1) a.杯杯把打破噢。

(2) a.鸡蛋把压烂噢,咋个办?

b.杯子被打破了。 b.鸡蛋被压烂了,怎么办?

其次,贵阳话也具有同普通话一样的那种把字句,但在答句中,"把"后的 那个 NP 却往往不出现。这样悬空的"把"在普通话把字句里是不允许的。例 如:

- (3) a.你嘞钱哪点去噢?——我把搞落噢。
- b.你的钱哪儿去了?——我搞落了。
- (4) a.你嘞书嘞?——你把借给同学噢。
- b.你的书呢?——我借给同学了。

最后,"把"字还可用在一元动词、形容词以及词组前,没有处置性和被动 性,大致能表示"了1"或"了2"带来的意义。例如:

(5) a.雨把停噢。

(6) a.火把熄噢。

b.雨停了。

b.火熄了。

(7) a.苹果把红噢。

(8) a.你把憨噢啦?

b.苹果红了。

b.你傻了吗?

(9) a.把出太阳噢,抱被窝出去晒下。(10) a.树都把发芽噢,会冷到哪里去? b.出太阳了,抱被子出去晒晒。 b.树都发芽了,会冷到哪里去?

下面我们将对以上的现象分别给出分析和解释:

首先,作被动标记的"把",其实是贵阳话继承了近代汉语中"把"的被动用 法,例如:

(11)倒把别人取了去。(元曲《风魔蒯通》)

而可以悬空的"把"究竟是什么词性,也是一个值得探讨的问题。对于现代 汉语把字句中"把"的词性,介词说最有力的证据就是"把"不能悬空。被普 遍采纳的一个观点就是,能悬空的就一定不是介词,由此可以排除此悬空的

"把"是介词。另一种可能的解决方案是,认为这个"把"与把字句无关,归 入上文举出的那种没有处置性和被动性的"把",又会带来明显的问题:因为 把后面永远不能出现 V+受事宾语。不论是在答句还是一般陈述中,(12)都是不 能成立的。

### (12)\*我把搞落噢一百块钱

如果仅仅是表示已然或新情况出现的"把",应该不会受此限制。可见悬空的 "把"后确实存在一个删除了的受事 NP。

而对于非处置非被动的"把",我们认为它衍生于以下因素的交汇融合: "把"的处置、被动二重性, "把"的悬空用法以及"把"出现句式的已然态 体貌特征。

首先, "把"既用于处置式, 又用于被动式, 这就消磨了"把"带来的主动和 被动的界限,使得"把"有时用在动词前就可以忽略这两种用法,取而代之的 是非处置非被动的用法。其次,"把"在处置式和被动用法中,都倾向于出现 在动结式或"动词+了"之前,这样就使"把"字也能标示已然或完成的体貌特 征。而"把"的悬空用法与"把"的被动标记用法中,"把"都可以直接出现在动词前,这也为"把+V/A的"中的"把"表示已然的用法提供了形式上的模板。

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# Acquiring null subjects and pre- vs. post-verbal modals in English-Cantonese Interlanguage: A Test of the Full Transfer/Full Access Hypothesis

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This research study investigated Schwartz and Sprouse's (1994; 1996) Full Transfer/Full Access Hypothesis (FT/FA), a theory about interlanguage that proposes full L1 transfer and full UG access. FT/FA argues that 'all the principles and parameter values as instantiated in the L1 grammar immediately carry over as the initial state of a new grammatical system on first exposure to input from the target language' (Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996: 41). FT/FA also argues that full access to UG restructures the interlanguage in later stages, causing parameters to be reset from the settings of the L1 to the settings of the L2. An investigation of FT/FA must therefore look for two things: 1) evidence of either the existence or non-existence of an initial state of complete L1 transfer; 2) evidence regarding the success or failure of parameter resetting in later stages of interlanguage development.

The informants for this study were English-speaking learners of Cantonese (ELCs). The study looked for evidence of L1 transfer and UG parameter resetting by examining the acquisition of null subjects and pre- and post-verbal modals. If FT/FA is correct, then null subjects should not be allowed in the beginning stages of English-Cantonese interlanguage, but they should be acquired later on. Also, if FT/FA is correct, L1 transfer of a word order parameter should cause an NP-MOD-V structure like 'lei5 ho2ji5 heoi3' (you can go) to be easily acquired by beginner ELCs, while an NP-V-MOD structure like 'lei5 heoi3 dak1' (you go can) should not be successfully acquired until later on. Simultaneously, L1 transfer should cause ELCs to incorrectly accept the ungrammatical word order '\*lei5 dak1 heoi3' in the early stages of their interlanguage. In later stages, however, full access to UG should cause ELCs to reject the ungrammatical '\*lei5 dak1 heoi3' in favor of the grammatical 'lei5 heoi3 dak1'.

The findings supported the key tenets of FT/FA. There was evidence of L1 transfer because informants performed significantly better on language tasks related to word order features common to both the L1 and the L2 than they did on tasks related to word orders only present in the L2. And there was evidence of successful parameter resetting because there was a positive correlation between proficiency and performance, and the most advanced informants displayed native-like performance.

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# A Look at the Phonological System of Cantonese in Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century: by the Cantonese Romanisation Scheme Used by the British

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Before the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, Hong Kong has been under the British colonial rule for around 150 years. Not until 1974, the only official language used by the Hong Kong government is English. Therefore, a Cantonese romanisation scheme is required and has been used for the transliteration of the Chinese names for people, streets, roads, *et cetra* in official documents.

Due to the requirement of the transliteration of the names for the official documents, the British government has derived a romanisation scheme at the very beginning of their governance. It can be seen that most of the tokens in the romanisation scheme pronounced in Received Pronunciation match with the pronunciation of present-day Cantonese. However, in some cases, there are some deviations. This phenomenon essentially reflects the historical pronunciation of Cantonese in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

Due to the nature of Chinese script and the tradition of despising of dialectal literature, there is always a shortage of materials for studying the historical phonology of Chinese, not to mention the various southern dialects. The research in historical phonology of the southern dialects mainly relies on the materials left by the missionaries and the textbooks for dialectal-teaching purpose.

Previous researches concerning the geographical names in Hong Kong mainly focus on cultural aspect (Lun 1993) and only a microscopic phonological analysis was briefly mentioned in Zee (1999) but a systematic and quantitative investigation lacks. Therefore, this research tries to fill in this gap by conducting a comprehensive survey of the romanisation scheme.

In this paper, the Cantonese romanisation scheme used by the government will be constructed by generalising the transliteration of the streets' names listed in the book *Hong Kong Guide 2005* published by the Hong Kong Government. The generalised scheme is then compared with the pronunciation of contemporary Hong Kong Cantonese. After that, the differences will be compared with the pervious studies in Cantonese historical phonology while the historical pronunciation reflected will be explained with Chinese historical phonology.

The results of this study show that some onsets, rhymes contrasted in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century have merged to form single ones in contemporary Cantonese.

It can be seen in Table 1 that for each of the following pairs: - /- $\square$ , -/ -, -/ -, -/ -, -/ $\square$ , the distinction was neutralised in modern Cantonese. In the last two cases, the pronunciations of the monophthong and syllabic consonant  $\nabla$  have been shifted to the diphthong and the bilabial respectively.

More interestingly, inconsistencies can also be observed in the romanisation. For instance, the character " $\mathbb{R}$ " is transliterated as Hei in a number of cases. This reflects the historical sound change of the diphthongalisation of to in Cantonese.

Character	Romanisation	Onset/Rhyme	Modern	Reconstructed	
		in LMC	Pronunciation	Pronunciation	
智	Chi	知母			
紫	Ts <b>z</b>	精母			
照	Chiu	照三母			
蕉	Tsiu	精母			
善	<b>Sh</b> in	禪母			
茜	Sin	清母			
麗	Lai	來母			
泥	Nai	泥母			
雅	Nga	疑母 <sub>開</sub>			
亞	A	影母	. ~		
甘	Kom	咸開一			
金	Kam	深開三			
熙	Hi	止開三	hei	hi	
五	Ng	疑母遇合一	=	$\nabla$	

Table 1 The Onsets and Rhymes Contrasted in Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century's Cantonese

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# Serial Verb Constructions in Cantonese and Dagaare: A Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar Analysis

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Serial verb constructions (SVCs) across languages have been widely discussed in the literature. According to Bodomo (1998), an SVC is one in which two or more different verbs share identical arguments within a single clause and is typically conceptualized as a single event. The serial verb construction is a highly productive linguistic phenomenon in both Cantonese (a Yue dialect of Chinese; Matthews 2006) and Dagaare (a Gur language of West Africa; Bodomo 1997). Examples:

Cantonese (data from Matthews 2006: 69):

keoi5 jap6 heoi3 co5.

3SG enter come sit

'He went in and sat down.'

Dagaare (data from Bodomo 1998: 201):

Bayuo da  $ngm\varepsilon$ - $\phi$  la a gan l - $\phi$ 

Bayuo past knock-perf fact. def book caus+fall-perf

'Bayuo knocked the book down' [he knocks the book, he makes it fall]

Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG; Pollard and Sag 1987, 1994) is a non-transformational generative grammar which exemplifies constraint-based lexicalism, in that it is surface-oriented, constraint-based and strongly lexicalist. It has become one of the predominant grammatical frameworks in the areas of theoretical and computational linguistics. SVCs are notoriously difficult to analyze within most grammatical frameworks. This paper investigates the issues of analyzing Cantonese and Dagaare SVCs within the framework of HPSG. Based on earlier works such as Bodomo (1998) and Bodomo, Lam and Yu (2003), it argues that Cantonese and Dagaare SVCs should be analyzed as complex predicates (Alsina, Bresnan and Sells 1997; Hinrichs, Kathol and Nakazawa 1998), on the ground that the verbs in an SVC behave as a single unit to lexicalize one single, albeit complex, event. It further proposes to use the method of argument composition, which has been influential since it was introduced by Hinrichs and Nakazawa (1989, 1994), to formally represent complex predicates in HPSG. Argument composition is a syntactic operation which composes two argument-taking predicates, so that the higher predicate subcategorizes not only for the lower predicate, but also for the lower predicate's arguments.

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### Aspectual contributions of verbal particles: spatial, temporal and functional

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We study the operation of 'aspectuality marking' by means of 'particles'. In English the post-verbal elements are analysed as 'particles' since they form lexicalized combinations with the preceding verbs. We call these verb-particle constructions VPCs for short.

We take 'aspect' to cover both 'aktionsart' (i.e. lexical aspect) and grammatical aspect (e.g. perfective-imperfective opposition, progressive/non-progressive distinction, etc.). In other words, we do not differentiate between marking with telic particles (aktionsart) and that with atelic particles (aspectual), unlike, for example, Brinton (1988).

We devise two levels of aspectuality marking using particles. One is marking at semantic level, and this has two sub-types. The other is marking at functional level (cf. Hampe 2002). The picture looks like this:

Marking at semantic level:

Type 1a: V + telicity particle → bounded VPC
Type 1b: V+ atelic particle → unbounded VPC

Marking at functional level:

Type 2: telic V + telic particle  $\rightarrow$  bounded VPC (strongest event interpretation)

We find in our Cantonese learner corpus of written English that most particles are telic. The telic particles (Type 1a) largely retain their literal spatial meanings in the resultant VPCs. At the same time, a smaller number of VPCs are formed with telic particles used in their extended or metaphorical sense. Less than 10% of all VPC types involve particles used in their temporal, non-spatial sense which meet Jackendoff's (2002) description of aspectual particles. Some of these aspectual particles fall into our Type 1a, and some others, Type 1b. Only around 10% of all VPC types we have found are formed with atelic particles (Type 1b). And less than 10% of all VPC types involve type 2 marking.

This reveals a picture of the learners' acquisition of aspectuality. Students' use of verbal particles shows that aspectuality is expressed largely through retaining the spatial meaning of verbal particles rather than idiomatic meaning.

To the extent that Type 1a marking (i.e. the particles forming VPCs are mostly telic) overwhelmingly outnumbers type 1b marking, and that most of the host verbs in the telic VPCs are activity verbs (i.e. they are atelic before combing with the particles), we conclude that particles found in our learner corpus contribute primarily to telicity. This is in line with Brinton's (1988) view that particles are basically telicity markers. But our study shows that we have to allow such aspectual feature (i.e. telicity) to be constructed not only by temporal (i.e. non-spatial) meaning, but also spatial meaning. Aspectuality of VPCs is often composed by spatial meanings, sometimes by temporal

meanings and at other times, functional meanings.

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### The grammaticalization of zhe in Classical Chinese

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Previous diachronic investigations in Classical Chinese have focused extensively on functional morphemes such as zhi, suo, xu and di/de. In comparison, the diachronic development of yet another highly versatile functional morpheme, namely zhe, has not received as much attention. This paper first briefly reviews extant literature on the possible etymology of zhe (e.g. Zhou 1959; Zhao 2001; He 1994; Sun 1998), then identifies its various grammatical functions, and traces the trajectories of its semantic extensions (see also Lu 1943; Feng 1992; Cao 1995; Wei 2004 for some related discussions). In this paper, we examine in particular the nominalizing functions of zhe, as in (1) and (2), as well as its mood marking functions, primarily in interrogative and imperative contexts such as in (3) and (4) respectively. Previous studies have not adequately addressed how the mood marking functions of zhe might be linked to its nominalizing functions. In this paper, we show that nominalizer zhe, given its headfinal status, easily lends itself to reanalysis as a sentence-final mood particle. We further show that such a development (from nominalizer to mood marker) is not unique to zhe, but rather is a robust phenomenon both in Chinese as well as in many other languages.

- (1) zhi wo zhe, wei wo xin you know 1SG NOMZ know 1SG heart sad 'Those that understand me will know that I am sad and worried.'
- (2) gong er bi sheng zhe, gong qi suo bu shou ye attack and surely win NOMZ attack 3P all not defend SFP 'The way to attack and surely win is to attack when they (the enemy) are unprepared.'
- (3) an jian fang liu qi shi ru wu liu shi er fei bang ye zhe? where see size six.seven.ten or five.six.ten CONN not.be country PRT PRT

'Have you ever seen territories fifty to seventy (acres) in size and not considered as a country?'

(4) ling Qin Shu zou lai zhe order Name.of.person announce come PRT 'order Qin Shu to come and announce (that)'

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### Improving English Skills in a Short-term Study Abroad Program

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An increasing number of English study abroad programs have been conducted by Japanese colleges in recent years. However, the effects of those programs, in particular, the improvements of participants' English language skills have not been well-studied. In this paper, we discuss Japanese college students' EFL improvement during a three-week summer English study abroad program.

Thirty-one undergraduate students from one Japanese university participated in the three-week summer English study abroad program held in the US during 2004-2006 (8, 12, and 11 participants in 2004, 2005, and 2006, respectively). The program, specifically tailored for this Japanese university, focused on improving student's oral presentation skills through learning American culture. The participants, all in one multi-level skill class, had special lectures such as American politics and Asian-Americans and hosted a Japanese cultural session for American 1-7th graders. Each participant had a conversation partner and experienced a weekend homestay. Accordingly, the program took a broader, holistic approach to improve the students' language skills with a focus on oral presentation skills.

In order to measure the effects of the program, all students took the Institutional Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency (MTELP) and Institutional Test of English Writing (TEW) both before and after the program. Because the program did not offer a specific curriculum for these tests and because their length of stay in the US was short, no significant improvement was expected to occur in the scores. And no such gains were found in the MTELP and the listening comprehension test scores. However, significant improvements were observed in the TEW scores during 2005 (t(11), -2.307, p=0.042) and 2006 (t(10), -5.315, p=0.000). The participants in these two years included more freshmen compared with the 2004 group. Our assumption would have been that those students learned faster and improved more because they maintained basic foundation skills after their study for the entrance examination.

However, when we examined the 2005 compositions carefully, the number of words, the number of sentences, and the complexity of structures did not change very much. Instead, what changed were the organization and the coherence of their essays. Although the program had never focused on writing, these components were actually emphasized through discussions and oral presentations. This finding indicates that writing skill improves even through oral presentation training in such a short-term program. Further research is required to investigate whether or not such writing improvement can be achieved in a similar, but in-home-country program.

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## 两岸三地汉字笔顺规则比较与讨论

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# 1. 前言

笔顺对于汉字键盘输入,手写输入,排序检索和语言教学等都具有很重要的作用。关于汉字笔顺,香港和澳门都没有官方标准。内地和台湾虽有标准 [1,2,3],但皆以字表的形式出现,难以学习掌握。因此,笔顺规则显得尤为重要。本文专题讨论两岸三地的笔顺规则。作为代表,台湾笔顺规则选自官方文献[3];内地和香港笔顺规则选自文献[4,5],因为其中的规则完全一致,而且影响较大。

### 2. 统计比较

据我们统计,内地香港的笔顺规则共有16条,台湾笔顺共17条。其中, 双方含义相同的规则有7条:先横后竖;先撇后捺;从上到下;从左到 右;先外后里,先外后里再封口;缺口朝上的先里后外。

台湾独有的规则 2 条: "凡从'戈'之字,先写横画,最后写点。"和"横画在中间而地位突出者,最后写。"

其余的都是部分含义相同的规则,其中来自内地香港的有9条: 先中间后两旁;点在左上先写点;点在右上后写点;点在里面后写点;右上包围结构,先外后里;左上包围结构,先外后里;左下包围结构,先里后外;缺口朝下的,先外后里;缺口朝右的,先上后里再右下。

## 3. 存在的问题:

- (1). 规则条目太多。
- (2). 许多规则没有说明其适用条件。如香港内地的规则"先横后竖"没有说明其条件是笔画交叉。这方面台湾做得较好。
- (3). 规则之间没有优先级排列,以解决多条规则的条件同时满足时的问题。例如"点在里面后写点>先外后里再封口>先外后里"。例如: 叉,国,同。
- (4). 规则的例外字没有指出。例如, "先横后竖"的例外字有"丑子里"等。
- (5). 有些组合结构没有覆盖到: 例如,只考虑横竖相交和撇捺相交,没有考虑其他笔画相交的情况,如竖提相交: 辆。某些框架結構也没考虑,例如: 爽。

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# Omission and Overgeneration of BE in Chinese-English Interlanguage Grammar:

### **A Corpus-based Study**

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Omission and overgeneration of BE have been widely attested in the acquisition of English as both the first and a second language, but few attempts have been made to provide a comprehensive account of these two phenomena, respectively or as a whole. This paper aims to address this lack by examining the data from a 160,000-token corpus of English writings of Hong Kong university students. The distribution of BE with different forms and functions in the Chinese-English interlanguage will be presented, and the omission and overgeneration data identified by investigating the obligatory contexts. This study will explore a few factors that may influence omission and overgeneration of BE, as characterized by the following linguistic distinctions: copular vs. auxiliary BE forms; finite vs. non-finite BE forms; stage-level vs. individual-level (Calson, 1977) predicate types (in copular constructions); different post-BE constituents (e.g. ergative vs. unergative verbs), as well as the difference between L1 and L2 (i.e. Chinese "shi" vs. English "be"). It will be shown that there exist grammatical contingences with regard to both omission and overgeneration of BE forms in the interlanguage grammar of Chinese learners of English, suggesting that the interlanguage BE is largely rule-based and is subject to grammatical constraints rather than processing factors. Moreover, it will be proposed that omission and overgeneration of BE may result from a few factors working in tandem, such as L1 transfer and the "mis-mapping" between morphology and abstract categories or features (e.g. tense/agreement). The present exploration into the persistent factors influencing the variable use of BE have both theoretical and pedagogic implications. Theoretically, it hopes to provide implications for the current debate on linguistic impairment (e.g. Meisel, 1997; Hawkins, 2000) and Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (MSIL, e.g. Prevost and White, 2000), in accounting for the optional realization of verbal morphology in second language acquisition. Pedagogically, it can shed light on the causes of the variable use of BE in the interlanguage of Chinese learners of English.

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