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2008 年香港語言學學會學術年會

Abstracts

Linguistic Society of Hong Kong
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December 6-7, 2008
Chong Yuet Ming Amenities Centre
The University of Hong Kong

Program

Day 1 December 6, 2008 (Saturday)

- 8:30-9:00 Registration (Chong Yuet Ming Amenities Centre, HKU)
- 9:00-9:10 **Opening Remarks** (Lecture Theatre P3)
Stephen MATTHEWS
Department of Linguistics, University of Hong Kong
- 9:10-9:15 **Presentation of Outstanding Thesis Awards** (Lecture Theatre P3)
- 9:15-9:35 **MA Awardee Report** (Lecture Theatre P3)
Feifei YU
How the Chinese Locative Words with Shang Express the Concept Shang
Department of Chinese and Bilingual Studies, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University of Hong Kong
- 9:35-9:55 **MPhil Awardee Report** (Lecture Theatre P3)
Kevin Ming Kei CHAN
The Perception and Production of Lexical Stress by Cantonese Speakers of English
Department of Linguistics, University of Hong Kong
- 9:55-10:15 **PhD Awardee Report** (Lecture Theatre P3)
Sherman LEE
A Study of Language Choice and Language Shift Among the Hakka-speaking Population in Hong Kong, with a primary focus on Sha Tau Kok
Department of English, City University of Hong Kong

10:15-10:30 BREAK

Parallel Session 1a (Lecture Theatre P4)

Chair: Yicheng WU (University of Hong Kong)

- 10:30-11:00 石定栩
漢語的語氣
香港理工大學
- 11:00-11:30 Peppina Po-lun LEE
Cantonese Sentence-Final Particle *Tim* ‘add’ as an Enriched Scalar
City University of Hong Kong
- 11:30-12:00 Candice CHEUNG
Wh-fronting in Mandarin
Chinese University of Hong Kong

Parallel Session 1b (Lecture Theatre P3)

Chair: Virginia YIP (Chinese University of Hong Kong)

- 10:30-11:00 Hin Yee WONG
The Acquisition of Verb Particle Construction in Bilingual Cantonese-English children
Chinese University of Hong Kong
- 11:00-11:30 Xin WANG
Partial Awareness of L1 and L2 Masked Primes in Lexical Processing
National University of Singapore
- 11:30-12:00 Yuxiu HU
An Empirical Study on the Extent of L1 Influence
University of Hong Kong

Parallel Session 1c (Lecture Theatre P1)

Chair: Vicky MAN (Hong Kong Baptist University)

- 10:30-11:00 Carine Yuk-man YIU
A Preliminary Study on the Change of Rising Tones in Hong Kong Cantonese: An Experimental Study
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
- 11:00-11:30 Man Fung KAM
The F0 of Cantonese 9 Tones from Hong Kong University Students
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
- 11:30-12:00 Peggy MOK
Early Bilingual Acquisition of Speech Rhythm: Cantonese and English
Chinese University of Hong Kong

12:00-1:00 **Annual General Meeting (Lecture Theatre P3)**

1:00-2:30 LUNCH

Parallel Session 2a (Lecture Theatre P4)

Chair: Yang GU (Chinese University of Hong Kong)

- 2:30-3:00 楊曉東
漢語動補結構的小句內移位和小句外移位
韓國國立忠南大學
- 3:00-3:30 林素娥 鄧思穎
從湘語邵東話“起 / 倒”看兼語句、被動句、處置句的結構
香港理工大學

3:30-4:00 曾莉
基於事件語義學的漢語雙賓語句分析
華中科技大學

Parallel Session 2b (Lecture Theatre P3)

Chair: Adams BODOMO (University of Hong Kong)

2:30-3:00 Noriko YOSHIMURA, Mineharu NAKAYAMA & Philip HAWKE
Nominative Case and Third Person *-s* in Japanese Students'
Compositions: What Happens before and after Spell-Out?
University of Shizuoka, The Ohio State University & University of
Shizuoka

3:00-3:30 Mable CHAN
Acquisition of *Be* by Cantonese ESL Learners in Hong Kong and its
Pedagogical Implications
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

3:30-4:00 Grace Yuk Wan LIM & Anna Sing Chi CHEUNG
Comparison of Errors in Written English between Hong Kong Chinese
and Mainland Chinese University Students
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Parallel Session 2c (Lecture Theatre P1)

Chair: Ping JIANG (Chinese University of Hong Kong)

2:30-3:00 王志潔
北京話雙音組詞重音對實詞素綴化的約束
美國海軍學院

3:00-3:30 Yingshing LI
Investigating Southern Min Subsyllabic Structure Using a Maximum
Entropy Model of Phonotactic Learning
National Chung Cheng University

3:30-4:00 朱曉農
音系學就是音節學
香港科技大學

4:00-4:20 BREAK

Parallel Session 3a (Lecture Theatre P4)

Chair: Dingxu SHI (The Hong Kong Polytechnic University)

- 4:20-4:50 李榕
韓禮德主位理論和曹逢甫主題理論的檢驗—以老舍作品《我的母親》的分析為例
北京大學
- 4:50-5:20 Vincent Tao-Hsun CHANG
From Meaning Construction to Discourse Topic
National Chengchi University
- 5:20-5:50 Dong WANG
The Licensing and Interpretation of NPI *Shenme* in Chinese
Shandong University/City University of Hong Kong

Parallel Session 3b (Lecture Theatre P3)

Chair: Peggy MOK (Chinese University of Hong Kong)

- 4:20-4:50 Hsueh Chu CHEN
An Acoustic Analysis of Pause Patterns in Chinese Learners' Speech Production
Hong Kong Institute of Education
- 4:50-5:20 Mung Ha LAU
L1 Influence on the Phonological Acquisition of Cantonese by Putonghua-speaking Learners
University of Hong Kong
- 5:20-5:50 李文欣
英語學習者在學習“/s/”後清塞音送氣情況時遇到的問題
南開大學

Parallel Session 3c (Lecture Theatre P1)

Chair: Picus Shizhi DING (University of Hong Kong)

- 4:20-4:50 Chung-Pui TAI
Tibetan Prescript *ba* and Syllable Roundness: Evident from the Tibetan Transcription of Tangut Characters
- 4:50-5:20 Yaya PENG
Nasal Vowel Realization: Synchronic or Diachronic?
Chinese University of Hong Kong
- 5:20-5:50 鄭明中
優選論下語言的共時與歷時變異：以粵北土話小稱詞為例
國立聯合大學

Day 2 December 7, 2008 (Sunday)

Parallel Session 4a (Lecture Theatre P3)

Chair: Ben AU YEUNG (Chinese University of Hong Kong)

- 9:00-9:30 陶媛
助動詞“好”、“容易”、“難”的比較
香港理工大學
- 9:30-10:00 張和友 鄧思穎
同一身份、不同功能：普通話與粵語系詞允准空語類能力差異分析
香港理工大學
- 10:00-10:30 Derek HERFORTH
Linguistic Reflections on the Golden Rule in Old Chinese
University of Sydney

Parallel Session 4b (Lecture Theatre P4)

Chair: Jenny WANG (United States Naval Academy)

- 9:00-9:30 Winnie CHEUNG & Lian-hee WEE
Speaker-specific VOT Profiles of Bilinguals: Case Study of Hong Kong
Hong Kong Baptist University
- 9:30-10:00 Mingxing LI
Cantonese [i:] ~ [ɪ] Alternation: Licensing by Cue & Contrast Shift
Chinese University of Hong Kong
- 10:00-10:30 Sunyoung OH
Application of International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to Second Language Acquisition in Hong Kong
City University of Hong Kong

10:30-10:50 BREAK

Parallel Session 5a (Lecture Theatre P3)

Chair: Haihua PAN (City University of Hong Kong)

- 10:50-11:20 Wenbin WANG
A Semantic Investigation on *Almost* Modifiers
Shandong University/City University of Hong Kong

- 11:20-11:50 Ben AU YEUNG
Numerical Basis of Count-Mass Distinction
Chinese University of Hong Kong
- 11:50-12:20 John WAKEFIELD
Cantonese Semantic Primes: an Examination of the Mental Predicates
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Parallel Session 5b (Lecture Theatre P4)

Chair: Wei ZHANG (City University of Hong Kong)

- 10:50-11:20 Michelle Kin-Ling LI
The Functions of *Long* in Chinese Pidgin English
University of Hong Kong
- 11:20-11:50 Kit Yeng IONG
Cross-Cultural Linguistic Analysis - A Case Study: the Bilingual
Welcoming Speech in the Recruiting Websites of Different Casinos and
Resorts in Macau
University of Macau
- 11:50-12:20 Kun ZHANG, Hok Shing CHAN & Andrew MOODY
Studies on Language Attitudes in the Pearl River Delta—A Critical
Review and a New Perspective
University of Macau

12:20-2:00 LUNCH

Parallel Session 6 (Lecture Theatre P3)

Chair: Peppina LEE (City University of Hong Kong)

- 2:00-2:30 Boban ARSENIJEVIC & Joanna Ut-Seong SIO
Deriving Cantonese Relative Clauses
University of Amsterdam & Hong Kong Baptist University
- 2:30-3:00 Foong-Ha YAP & Jiao WANG
From Light Noun to Nominalizer: A Diachronic Analysis of Chinese
zhe and *suo*
Chinese University of Hong Kong
- 3:00-3:30 Haihua PAN & Ning YANG
An OT Account to Differential Object Marking in Sino-Tibetan
Languages
City University of Hong Kong & Beijing Language and Culture
University

3:30-3:50 BREAK

Parallel Session 7 (Lecture Theatre P3)

Chair: Sze-Wing TANG (The Hong Kong Polytechnic University)

- 3:50-4:20 張小衡
漢字排檢的筆形歸類和排序問題
香港理工大學
- 4:20-4:50 Cherie Cheuk-Lam WONG
A Study on the Pre-verbal and Post-verbal *Gang2* in Cantonese
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University
- 4:50-5:20 Chloe Chi-Man HO & Felix Yim-Binh SZE
Body Leans In Hong Kong Sign Language: Marking of Contrast
Chinese University of Hong Kong
- 5:20-5:50 張蕾 李寶倫 潘海華
分配算子“各”及相關問題
香港城市大學

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Deriving Cantonese Relative Clauses

Boban ARSENIJEVIC & Joanna Ut-Seong SIO
University of Amsterdam & Hong Kong Baptist University
B.Arsenijevic@uva.nl & jsio@hkbu.edu.hk

Introduction: In Cantonese, a marker *ge* is required to intercept between the relative clause (RC) and the noun, (1). In this paper, we propose a feature valuation account to derive Cantonese RCs, focusing on the properties of *ge*.

Decomposing *ge*: We argue that *ge* lexicalizes a pair of unvalued nominal features: [Dem] and [CI]. [Dem] is a nominal deictic feature, specifying that the expression establishes reference in the way characteristic of nominal expressions: in terms of the spatial relations of proximity and distance. Different values of proximity and distance can be assigned to [Dem]. [CI] is the feature specifying whether the denotation of the expression is subject to division (e.g. count, mass) (Borer 2005), and if so, how (e.g. shape, size, function, type, etc.). The pair of features lexicalized by *ge* constitutes the core of the nature of the nominal category, something like a null noun, with no lexical and only minimum functional features (reference and division). There is empirical support for analyzing *ge* as a combination of both [Dem] and [CI] features: (i) the onset *g-* in Cantonese appears in items involving a deictic component, such as the adverbial marker *gam* which mediates between manner adverbials and the VP, but can also be used purely deictically (2) and the distal demonstrative *go*, (3) (Sio & Tang 2007); (ii) in some southern dialects of Chinese, the counterpart of *ge* is the word normally used as a demonstrative and the most general classifier (e.g. the Chaozhou *kai*, the Wenzhou *ki*, etc.). (iii) *Ge* and [Dem] plus [CI] also show resemblance in NP-ellipsis contexts where both can be a licenser, (4).

The analysis: The relativization site in the Cantonese RC contains a null noun, lexicalized as *ge*, and bearing only two features: [Dem] and [CI]. The RC is adjoined to the NP (Aoun and Li 2005). These two unvalued features require valuation. In view of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), *ge* will have to move to SpecCP (triggered by, for instance, an edge feature, Chomsky 2005), where it is accessible to the respective features of D and CI of the nominal that contains it, (5). That movement is involved in the derivation of Cantonese RCs is supported by the possible use of resumptives when the extraction site is within an island, but not when it is an argument, (6). The valuation of *ge* by functional projections of the head noun results in identity between *ge* and the head noun.

Advantages: Aoun and Li (2005) adopt a raising analysis for argument relativization in Chinese, incorporating a representational approach that makes adjunction comply with the extension requirement. However, in such a model, it is unclear how multiple RCs can be accommodated, especially in cases where one is embedded under the other for binding reason, (7). For our analysis, which is a matching analysis in spirit, this problem does not arise. Furthermore, A & L observe that reconstruction is not possible for QPs in Chinese, leading to the idea that only NPs can reconstruct in Chinese. In our approach, information on quantification is expected to be not interpreted in the relativised site as *ge* only has a [Dem] and a [CI] feature.

Data:

(1) DEM-CL-RC-*(GE)-N

(2a) maai-maai gam sik

(2b) gam zou aa

slow-slow GAM eat
'eat slowly'

GAM do SFP
'do it this way'

(3) go bun syu
DEM CL book
'that book'

(4a) nei ge syu bei ngo ge ___ hou tai
2SG GE book compare 1SG GE good read
'Your books are more interesting than mine.'

(4b) nei bun syu bei ngo go bun ___ hou tai
2SG CL book compare 1SG DEM CL good read
'Your book is more interesting than mine.'

(5) [DP D_i [CLP CL_k [CP/RC [DEM]_i [CL]_k C] [NP N]]
GE (DEM + CL)

(6) a. keoi maami sei-zo ge go go naam-zai
3SG mother die-ASP GE DEM CL boy
'The boy whose mother died'

b.* ngo gin keoi ge go go naam-zai
1SG see 3SG GE DEM CL boy.
Intended reading: 'the boy that I see'

(7) ni hui kandao [[wo xiwang mei ge xueshengi dou neng dai t lai de]
2SG will see 1SG want every CL student all can bring come DE
wo gei tai de shu]
1SG give 3SG DE book
Lit. 'You will see the book that I gave to him_i that I hope every student_i will bring.'

Selected References:

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Numerical Basis of Count-Mass Distinction

Ben AU YEUNG

Chinese University of Hong Kong

benjamin@cuhk.edu.hk

Count-mass contrast in nouns has long been argued as to how objects and stuff denoted by nouns are grammatically counted or measured and hence the conclusion that it is independent of the structures of matters (e.g. Pelletier 1975). This count-mass feature is an idiosyncratic property of grammar that the collective term *furniture* in English for example is a mass noun while another collective term *toy* is a count noun.

Despite the unpredictability of which noun is count or mass, research has been focusing on why there is such a contrast. Chierchia (1998) inherited the tradition of the Boolean lattice treatment of count-mass nouns and singular-plural dichotomy, proving that mass and count nouns share the same atomic domain but differ in various closure of the sums of atoms. By equating mass nouns and bare plurals, he viewed the count-mass contrast as a reflex of how the atoms in the lattice are set.

The problem of Chierchia (1998) is pointed out by Rothstein (2007) as not explaining why the formal Boolean atoms in both count and mass nouns are asymmetrically available for counting. That is to say, count nouns can see the atoms directly and hence can count the referents directly with the plural *-s* in English while mass nouns cannot see the atoms and have to rely on the classifier-of structure. Following the traditional formal atomic treatment, Rothstein suggested Measure-atoms (M-atoms) in the grammar as the interface between the formal domain and the grammatical domain. Although the formal Boolean atoms are available in count and mass nouns, M-atoms are already built inside count nouns in the lexicon, making the denotation directly countable. As for mass nouns, M-atoms have to be realized syntactically and so mass nouns are counted indirectly with the classifier-of construction. After all, count and mass nouns differ in how linguistic expressions refer.

One of the problems of Rothstein's analysis is that while M-atoms for mass nouns are regarded as some form of classifier, she was silent on whether or not the M-atoms for count nouns also belong to the classifier. On the one hand, she did not want to completely depart from the spirit of the Boolean atomic analysis and hence the name *M-atoms*. On the other hand, she did not say whether the M-atoms in count nouns are classifiers or not. Nor did she mention that the plural *-s* on count nouns should be regarded as classifier or not. So in solving the count-mass problem, she had to face the tension among the Boolean lattice spirit, M-atoms and classifier, not to mention the marked interpretations of count sense of mass nouns and mass sense of count nouns.

In the meantime, Au-Yeung (2007) proposed that the classifier has a dual feature, $(1_{\text{set}} \times 1_{\text{size}})$, originating from multiplication. That is, the (1×1) element in $m \times (1 \times 1) \times 1$ (where m is a natural number) develops into classifier in language. In Chinese, it turns into the sortal classifier. In English it becomes the plural *-s* on count nouns. Given the feature of classifier as $(1_{\text{set}} \times 1_{\text{size}})$, if Rothstein's M-atoms are linked to classifier in terms of the structure of multiplication, then the root of count-mass distinction can be correlated to the manipulation of multiplication in the number faculty. This new approach towards the numerical origin of classifier is going to open a new line of

inquiry into finding out the root of count-mass distinction by asking:

- (i) How does the use of multiplication start a mathematical approach towards the representations of count and mass nouns?
- (ii) What is the role of classifier in this multiplicative basis of count-mass contrast?
- (iii) How does the multiplicative model predict the marked interpretations as count sense of mass nouns and mass sense of count nouns?

Selected References:

- Au-Yeung, Ben Wai-Hoo. 2007. Multiplication basis of emergence of classifiers. *Language and Linguistics* 8, 4: 835-861.
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- Pelletier, F. Jeffry. 1975. Non-singular reference: some preliminaries. *Philosophia* Vol. S No. 4 P. 451-465.
- Rothstein, Susan. 2007. Counting and the mass-count distinction. Ms. Bar-Ilan University. (<http://faculty.biu.ac.il/~rothss/Counting%20and%20the%20Mass%20Count%20Distinction%20june%202007.pdf>)

Acquisition of *be* by Cantonese ESL learners in Hong Kong and its pedagogical implications

Mable CHAN

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University
egmable@inet.polyu.edu.hk

The present study of the acquisition of *be* by Cantonese ESL learners in Hong Kong investigates the relationship between knowledge, input and performance. *Be* is an exponent of two fundamental properties of sentence structure in English: tense and subject verb agreement. Neither of these properties is realised overtly in Cantonese and therefore Cantonese ESL learners have to establish these properties from scratch.

Past research has reported different kinds of problems in the acquisition of English *be* by learners of different L1 backgrounds, including omission, overgeneralization and substitution of *be* for *have*, but few attempts have been made to provide a comprehensive account of these interlanguage features and how the topic can facilitate our understanding of the key issues in SLA.

This study aims to fill this gap by examining the data obtained from an English test which consisted of three parts: a grammaticality judgment task, a production task and an acceptability judgment task completed by 243 Cantonese ESL learners in Hong Kong (of primary two and five, secondary one, four and six, and undergraduates of year 1 and 2) and a control group of 12 native English speakers.

The results shed light on a number of theoretical and pedagogical issues: the role of the L1 in the constructions involving *be*, whether any properties associated with *be* remain persistently problematic for Cantonese speakers; what the developmental stages are in the acquisition of *be*; what the relationship between morphology and syntax is (i.e. between knowledge and performance), and finally suggesting how teachers can make use of the findings in selecting appropriate teaching approaches, equipping themselves, and being aware of what is 'teachable'.

From Meaning Construction to Discourse Topic

Vincent Tao-Hsun CHANG

Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan

Vince.T.Chang@gmail.com , 94555001@nccu.edu.tw

This paper investigates contemporary Chinese and English discourse topic across text genres based upon relevance-theoretic approach (Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995, Noveck & Sperber 2006), as compared to previous studies from syntactic/structural and functional/cognitive points of view (Chu 1993, 1999, 2000, Chen 1996, Hedberg 1990, van Oosten 1986). Since grammar on its own is typically insufficient for determining the full meaning of an utterance, the assumption that the discourse is coherent or ‘makes sense’ plays a vital role in meaning construction as well (Asher & Lascarides 2005). Just as syntactic surface structures display ramifications of underlying structures, we can well appreciate the inferred implicit meanings as potential topics conveyed and enriched by the interplay of syntax-semantics-pragmatics and discourse, as shown in this study.

van Oosten (1986: 22-3) treated sentence topic as ‘a constituent inside a sentence which most directly evokes the discourse topic which is relevant in the current sentence,’ thus in (1) below:

(1) Your cup is on the table.

Your cup is the sentence topic that directly invokes such possible discourse topics as ‘the location of the hearer’s cup,’ ‘getting tea,’ ‘enjoying oneself,’ ‘being sociable and polite,’ etc. In this sense, discourse topic is a cognitive scene or a set of such scenes, which may or may not be verbally realised in the discourse. On the other hand, in Mandarin Chinese (Chu 1993: 30-1):

(2) Xinfengli ta zhuangbujin zhexie zhaopian.
envelope-in he/she put-not-in these photos
‘Into the envelope he/she can’t put these photos.’

Chu’s analysis claimed the pronoun *ta* ‘he/she’ is more qualified as subject/topic than *zhexie zhaopian* ‘these photos’ and *xinfengli* ‘in the envelope,’ for the topic attributes of *ta* (being a nominal, preverbal position) outnumbered *zhexie zhaopian* (being a nominal) and *xinfengli* (preverbal position) by two to one. van Oosten examined the topic of universal prototype with cognitive explanation; Chu investigated the prototypicality of topic in Mandarin Chinese. They both dealt with the prototype of sentence/discourse topic with a set of attributes to evaluate the appropriateness and qualification of topic candidates. Using general criteria to decide a topic is linguistically ideal, somehow if it fails to catch the panorama of linguistic facts or language use, it will be epistemologically improper. As such, I argue and demonstrate in this paper that either sentence topic or discourse topic can be suitably approached within relevance-theoretic account with no need of prototype concerning topicality. This further echoes the main theme of (Neo-Gricean/radical) cognitive pragmatic theories, enhances the explanatory adequacy of relevance theory, and reifies the dynamic interaction of pragmatic interpretations and global coherence in discourse processing.

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An Acoustic Analysis of Pause Patterns in Chinese Learners' Speech Production

Hsueh Chu CHEN
Hong Kong Institute of Education
hsuehchu@ied.edu.hk

Pause has been defined operationally as the measurable silence between the words on either side of a syntactic boundary. While pausing is critical for intelligibility (Anderson-Hsieh, 1992), the literature contains few acoustic studies on the significance of pauses among ESL learners. The major goal of this study is to investigate the difficulties in English speech pause patterns encountered by Taiwanese learners through examining acoustic measures.

An acoustic study designed to measure the three aspects of pausing was conducted. These patterns were: pause duration, pause frequency, and the distribution of pauses. They are defined and measured as follows (Riazantseva, 2001): (a) Pause frequency refers to the number of silent pauses that occur per sentence. (b) Pause distribution refers to the silent pauses that occur *at-constituent* boundaries (e.g. before or after NP constituent) and *within-constituent* boundaries (within NP constituent). (c) Pause duration refers to the length of silent pauses and was measured in milliseconds and reported in seconds.

Four groups of subjects were recruited to produce a long English text, including 10 Americans from the US, 10 Chinese learners with low English proficiency (EFL-L) from Taiwan, 10 Chinese learners with high English proficiency (EFL-H) from Taiwan, and 10 ESL Chinese learners (ESL) from the US. The passage was recorded and analyzed with the Praat software. A new *norm-referenced* variability index (VI) was proposed and measured over the timing variables in this study.

Major findings of this study are as follows. First, the three variables of the Taiwanese learners display specific patterns that deviate from those of native English speakers. They demonstrate more frequent and inappropriate pausing. Some word boundaries are maintained through the insertion of short pauses and glottal stops. The EFL-L, the EFL-H, and the ESL learners behave differently in acoustic timing patterns. The ESL learners do not significantly outperform the EFL-H learners on all the three variables.

Language proficiency affects the way a person uses pauses when speaking an L2. In this sense, pausing could be a developmental phenomenon: pausing becomes more native-like as higher language proficiency is achieved. Also, the random pauses produced by EFL-L largely enhance the impression of syllable-timing patterns, whereas EFL-H and ESL were passing through the syllable-timing stage and moving to the other direction of stress-timing. Based on these findings, it can increase the understanding of interlanguage phonetics and phonology and second language acquisition.

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Wh-fronting in Mandarin

Candice CHEUNG

Chinese University of Hong Kong

candicech@gmail.com

This paper investigates *wh*-fronting phenomena in Mandarin, focusing on their morphological, semantic, and syntactic properties. I present evidence against the analysis of *wh*-fronting as an instance of *wh*-topicalization (Xu & Langendoen 1985, Tang 1988, Li 1996, Wu 1999, Kuong 2006, Pan 2006), and in favor of the analysis of *wh*-fronting as a type of identificational focus construction exemplified by clefted questions in English and French, among other languages (Cheung 2008). Specifically, I propose that the preposed *wh*-phrase functions as the identificational focus in constructions involving *wh*-fronting in Mandarin on a par with the cleft constituent in clefted questions in English while the rest of the clause constitutes the presupposition (1). Based on the evidence that *wh*-fronting is subject to locality conditions and can license parasitic gaps (PGs), I further propose that the preposed *wh*-phrase undergoes overt movement to Spec-FocP, a designated position for identificational focus a la Kiss (1998).

The evidence in support of the distinction between *wh*-fronting and topicalization comes from two major sources: morphologically, a topic can be followed by a topic marker (TM) such as *a*, *ya*, *ma*, etc. according to Li & Thompson (1981) while preposed *wh*-phrase cannot, as illustrated by the contrast between (2) and (3). Syntactically, topic structures can be subdivided into gapped and gapless topic structures, as in (2) and (4), respectively, depending on the availability of a gap in the comment clause while preposed *wh*-phrase must be linked to a gap, as in (5). Justifications for the analysis of *wh*-fronting as a type of identificational focus construction come from hitherto unnoticed interpretive properties of constructions involving *wh*-fronting in Mandarin. Interpretation-wise, the preposed *wh*-phrase always expresses exhaustive identification, which Kiss considers as the characteristic property of identificational focus (see also Vergnaud & Zubizarreta 2005, Zubizarreta & Vergnaud 2006, a.o.). This can be verified by the conjunction test devised by Zubizarreta & Vergnaud (2006) as a diagnostics for exhaustivity. They observe that clefted questions in French, as in (6a), cannot be answered by two conjoined clauses with each containing an identificational focus, as in (6b), since it violates the requirement of “uniqueness of description” imposed by exhaustivity. The same is observed in Mandarin, as in (7a)-(7b).

In terms of its syntax, the evidence in support of the overt movement analysis of the *wh*-phrase comes from reconstruction effects, locality conditions, and the PG construction. (8a)-(8b) show that coindexation of the pronoun in the preposed phrase with the proper name in the subject position is ruled out by Principle B, suggesting that the preposed *wh*-phrase must undergo reconstruction. (9) demonstrates that the preposed *wh*-phrase cannot be extracted from within a complex NP (CNP) due to locality conditions, but it can license the PG trapped inside the CNP within the adjunct clause, as in (10).

This paper concludes by addressing the implication of the current analysis of *wh*-fronting phenomena to the left periphery of Mandarin along the spirits of the cartographic project developed by Rizzi (1997) (see also Cinque 1999, 2002, Rizzi 2004, Benincà 2004). Badan & Del Gobbo (to appear) have recently proposed the schema in (11) as the left periphery of Mandarin, where different types of topics are proposed to occupy positions higher than *lian* ‘even’-focus. If the analysis proposed in

this paper is correct, it suggests that Mandarin can accommodate two focus positions in the left periphery, one for the identificational focus licensed by *wh*-fronting, and the other for *lian* ‘even’-focus, as in (12), which is supported by the fact that the identificational focus must precede *lian*-focus, as in (13a)-(13b).

- (1) (Shi) [shei]_{IDENT-FOC}, [Mali zui xihuan]_{PRESUPPOSITION?}
 be who Mary most like
 ‘Who is it that Mary likes most?’
- (2) [Meiguihua]_{GAPPED-TOP} a/ya/ma, Mali zui xihuan __.
 rose TM/TM/TM Mary most like
 ‘(As for) roses, Mary likes most.’
- (3) *(Shi) [shenme hua]_{IDENT-FOC} a/ya/ma, Mali zui xihuan?
 be what flower TM/TM/TM Mary most like
 ‘*(As for) what kind of flowers is it that Mary likes most?’
- (4) [Hua]_{GAPLESS-TOP} a/ya/ma, Mali zui xihuan meiguihua.
 flower TM/TM/TM Mary most like rose
 ‘(As for) flowers, Mary likes roses most.’
- (5) (Shi) [shenme hua]_{IDENT-FOC}, Mali zui xihuan (*meiguihua)?
 be what flower Mary most like rose
 ‘What kind of flowers is it that Mary likes (*roses) most?’
- (6) a. A: C’est [qui]_{IDENT-FOC} qui a écrit un livre sur les rats? (French)
 ‘It is who that wrote a book about cats?’
 b. B: *C’est [_{DP} le chat]_{IDENT-FOC} qui a écrit un livre sur les rats,
 et c’est aussi [_{DP} la chauve-souris]_{IDENT-FOC}
 ‘It is the cat that wrote a book about rats, and also the bat.’
- (7) a. A: (Shi) [shenme shuiguo]_{IDENT-FOC}, [Mali mai-le]?
 be what fruit Mary buy-Perf
 ‘What kind of fruits is it Mary bought?’
 b. B: *Shi [pingguo]_{IDENT-FOC}, [Mali mai-le]. Shi [lizi]_{IDENT-FOC}, Mali
 be apple Mary buy-Perf be pear Mary
 ye mai-le.
 also buy-Perf
 ‘What kind of flowers is it Mary bought?’
- (8) a. Ta_{*i/j} zui xihuan Zhangsan_i de na-zhang zhaopian?
 he most like Zhangsan de which-Cl photo
 ‘Which photo of Zhangsan_i does he_{*i/j} like most?’
 b. (Shi) [Zhangsan_i de na-zhang zhaopian], ta_{*i/j} zui xihuan?
 be Zhangsan DE which-Cl photo he like most
 ‘Which photo of Zhangsan_i is it does he_{*i/j} likes most?’
- (9) *(Shi) [shei]_{IDENT-FOC}, ni tingdao [CNP Wangwu dasuan kaichu de yaoyan]?
 be who you hear Wangwu plan fire DE rumor
 ‘*Who was it that you heard the rumor that Wangwu had planned to fire?’
- (10) (Shi) [shei]_{IDENT-FOC}, [Adjunct zai ni tingdao [CNP Wangwu dasuan kaichu *pg*
 be who at you hear Wangwu plan fire
 de yaoyan] zhihou], Lisi jiu mashang guyong-le?
 DE rumor after Lisi then immediately hire-Perf
 ‘Who was it that Lisi immediately hired after you heard the rumor that
 Wangwu had planned to fire?’
- (11) Aboutness TOP > Hanging TOP > Left-dislocated TOP > *Lian*-FOC > IP
 (12) IDENT-FOC > TOP > *Lian*-FOC > IP
 (13) a. (Shi) [zai nar]_{IDENT-FOC}, lian zhe-ben shu, ni dou zhao-de-dao?

be at where even this-Cl book you DOU find-Res-get
'Where was it that even this book, you could find?'

b. *Lian zhe-ben shu, (shi) [zai nar]_{IDENT-FOC}, ni dou zhao-de-dao?
even this-Cl book be at where you DOU find-Res-get

Speaker-specific VOT Profiles of Bilinguals: Case Study of Hong Kong

Winnie H.Y. CHEUNG & Lian-Hee WEE
Hong Kong Baptist University
lianhee@hkbu.edu.hk

This research explores VOT as a speaker-specific property within the context of English-Cantonese bilingualism in Hong Kong. Utterances collected from five individuals for /p, t, b, d/ vary over two languages and four emotional states. Results show that VOT means by themselves appear to be generally useless as a speaker-specific property because there is as much inter-speaker variation as there is intra-speaker. However, in this paper, we have been able to show that the profile of VOT shifts of each phoneme across the two languages is speaker-specific. The crucial notion here is VOT L-shift, which is defined as follows.

VOT L-Shift

VOT L-shift is the change in the mean VOT of any given phoneme across two languages.

When calculated across a comparable set of plosives across languages, what one will get is the VOT L-shift profile of any individual speaker. The number of logically possible profiles will depend on the number of languages commanded by the individual and the number of plosive phonemes that may be said to correspond across the languages, giving us the following formula:

$$\text{Number of VOT L-shift profiles} = 2^P C_2^L$$

, where P = number of phonemes; and L = number languages > 1

Thus in the case of Cantonese-English bilinguals, where there is a two-way distinction for a set of six plosives, the number of profiles will be 64, giving a 1.56% chance of a perfect match. Though not quite of DNA reliability, it does have clear forensic applications.

Extrapolating from this, profiles of VOT shifts across other parameters like emotional states and even vowel adjacency would be likewise speaker-specific. Herein lies the viability of VOT for speaker-identification.

Linguistic Reflections on the Golden Rule in Old Chinese

Derek HERFORTH

Chinese Studies, University of Sydney

derek.herforth@usyd.edu.au

It is well known that Old Chinese (OC) allows only the periodic sentence (尾重句), the sort that withholds its main point until the end. English, on the other hand, allows both periodic and loose sentences. The distinction ‘periodic/loose’ has traditionally been drawn in terms of ‘subordinate’ and ‘main’; for languages like Chinese, however, it may be redrawn to refer to the two orderings of the informational constituents ‘restrictor’ and ‘assertion’. Thus, any phrase that restricts the scope of assertion must precede in OC. The same constraint does not apply to English, where the Golden Rule may be stated either ‘Whatever you want people to do to you, do also to them’ (periodic) or ‘Do to others only what you would have them do to you’ (loose). Compare the single OC option: ‘What one does not want, do not apply it to others’ (己所不欲 毋加諸人, etc., four parallel variants). The OC array does not represent a choice between stylistic alternatives, as in English, but is predetermined by features of language design. Much has also been made of the use of negation in the Chinese version: 不欲..., 毋加 ... (Allison, Nivison, Liu, et al.). This too is unlikely to be the result of conscious, stylistic choice. While OC certainly has multiple items for ‘only’ (唯, 獨, 徒, etc.), when the initial phrase restricts a directive or a generic assertion, double negation is strongly preferred to the lexical expression of ‘only’.

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Body Leans in Hong Kong Sign Language: Marking of Contrast

Chloe Chi-Man HO & Felix Yim-Binh SZE

Chinese University of Hong Kong

siuman188@yahoo.com.hk & felix_cslds@cuhk.edu.hk

This paper aims at investigating when and how one of the nonmanual features, body lean, expresses the notions of contrast at different levels of grammar in Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL). According to the literature of American Sign Language (ASL) (Wilbur and Patschke 1998) and Sign Language of the Netherlands (NGT) (Kooij, Crasborn and Emmerik, 2006), the functions of body leans range from prosodic, lexical, semantic to pragmatic levels. In HKSL, use of body leans differs from ASL and NGT at the prosodic levels: forward lean in HKSL is not required in contrasting the ‘stressed’ constituent in a sentence with the ‘unstressed’ one. At the lexical level, body leans share the same notion of marking contrast between actor ‘involvement’ and ‘non-involvement’ by forward and backward leans respectively across the three sign languages. At the semantic level, marking of ‘exclusion’ from ‘inclusion’ by body leans is more common in HKSL when the overt signs of focus particle ‘only’ or the pronoun SELF are absent. The independent use of body leans to add extra meaning to the sentences in HKSL proves that they play an important role in the organization of grammar rather than being solely gestural. Moreover, direction of leans diverges from the relation of inclusion-forward and exclusion-backward. It is more flexible and is pragmatically determined due to its dependence on the lean behaviour of the signer in the preceding utterance or the conceived locations of referents in the discourse. The current study also compares the cross-modal use of body leans between speakers of Cantonese and signers of HKSL. The preliminary observation suggests that lean accompanying spoken Cantonese is less common and if it does occur, it may only share the notion of marking contrast of actor ‘involvement; and ‘non-involvement’ on some lexical verbs as in HKSL.

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An Empirical Study on the Extent of L1 Influence

Yuxiu HU

University of Hong Kong

lucillehu@hkusua.hku.hk

The *extent* to which L1 influences L2 acquisition is still debatable and not many studies have provided entirely satisfactory answers, although most people, if not all, agree on the existence of L1 transfer. In some studies, errors produced by language learners are divided into interlingual and intralingual errors in terms of causes, although such researchers themselves who do the classification admit that there is no clear line between these two kinds of errors, and some studies have neglected the influence of some absent structures in L1. The present paper first proposes a model for error classification and then reports on an empirical study investigating the *extent* of L1 on the acquisition of L2. Two sets of English compositions written by the same group of native Mandarin speaking students at different time were collected for the study. The following tentative results were obtained: (1) The percentage of Mandarin influenced errors occurring in the first set of data is 57%, which means that half of the total number of errors was influenced by Mandarin; after one year's study, L1 influence get reduced by 20%; (2) all types of errors appear much fewer in the first set of data than in the second set, except for spelling and sentence fragment errors; (3) the subjects make great progress on tense, tense inconsistency and verb forms; (4) although the subjects made less article errors in terms of the total number after one year's study, in terms of percentage they made more of them, and unlike the other types of error, the percentage of L1 influence on article gets much higher in the second set of data; (5) The area in which L1 has a most profound influence in both sets of data is within grammar or syntax, rather than within lexis. These results will be explicated in the presentation along with a discussion about the implications for language teaching and learning in general.

Cross-cultural Linguistic Analysis

A Case Study: the Bilingual Welcoming Speech in the Recruiting Websites of different Casinos and Resorts in Macau

Kit Yeng IONG
University of Macau
salina_hotaru@yahoo.com.hk

“Macau is a special place which has been playing an important role in the cultural exchange between the East and the West...”¹. Since the liberation of the gaming industry in 2002, many overseas investors have come to Macau to develop their business, Chinese language and English language have been prevailing here. Within these few years, online recruitment system (both in Chinese and English) appears and becomes popular too.

In this study, six welcoming speeches from three categories of casinos and resorts are chosen as the main tool for linguistic analysis and cultural comparison. The three categories are: 1) foreign enterprises: the Wynn Resorts, and the Venetian Macao-Resort-Hotel, 2) joint-venture enterprises: Crown Macau and MGM GRAND Macau and 3) two branches of the sole local company SJM: The Fisherman’s Wharf and the Grand Emperor. All the six hotels are opened between 2006 and 2008.

This research focuses on whether the cultural differences of different companies have affected the writers/ translators/ text-generators of the written materials in decision making of producing the texts. The welcoming speeches are quoted because they are the first written texts in all the front page of recruiting websites, they act as the first impression of the companies on the targeted readers, even though English version and Chinese version are provided, great linguistic differences can surely be observed, from which great value for cross-cultural contrastive analysis can be evaluated.

The Cultural Scripts Theory advocated by Wierzbicka (1972,1985,1991,2003) acts as the framework of this study, since this thesis examines the significance of different cultural factors which have shown in the Chinese version and the English version of the welcoming speeches. Extracts of the texts, sets of grammatical constructions and samples of lexicons will be discussed and compared in details, then the Politeness Theory formulated by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson (1987) will act as a proof of the impact of the text-generators’ discourse produced on the targeted readers.

The final result shows that the text-generators from different companies with different cultural background have adopted distinctive linguistic factors in producing the texts, even with the similar cultural background, for example, the Wynn and the Venetian Macao-Resort-Hotel which are completely under foreign ownership, the linguistic policies show variations, in which the cognitive factors of the text-generators itself will probably be one of the underlying reasons.

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¹ See the 澳門娛樂場, May 25, 2008 from http://www.macau.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=19&Itemid=82&lang=t_chinese.

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The F0 of Cantonese 9 Tones from Hong Kong University Students

Man Fung KAM

Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
kammanfung@yahoo.com

Cantonese tones have been studied many times; however, most of the studies are not deep enough. It is true that we lack detailed research on Cantonese tones and the fundamental frequencies (F0s) of 9 tones are not described. In this paper, an experimental study of Cantonese tones is done and the F0s of 9 tones will be described one by one. 10 informants, some of them are studying in university and one has just graduated during the time of recording, from 19-23 years old were recorded and their recordings are analyzed and described with details.

To compare the F0s of different informants, we firstly normalized the values of these components. After the normalizations, we compare and analyze the F0s of different tones, mainly the shape of F0.

The present paper tries to find out the best tone letter system to represent the tones in Cantonese according to the comparison at the first part. Also, this paper distinguishes the concepts tonetics and tonology, which are parallel to phonetics and phonology, for a better solution to the problem of *Ru* tone.

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L1 Influence on the Phonological Acquisition of Cantonese by Putonghua-speaking Learners

Mung Ha LAU
University of Hong Kong
lemonlau@hkusua.hku.hk

There exists a lot of literature on foreign language learning by Putonghua speakers (Jia 1995, Figueredo 2006) and Cantonese speakers (Wong 2005, Meng 2003), but little, if any at all, can be found on how Putonghua speakers learn Cantonese. In order to address this apparent research gap, this study focuses on second language acquisition of Cantonese by learners whose L1 is Putonghua. In this study, we aim to investigate which aspects of pronunciation are considered the most difficult by the learners, which of the errors found in our data occur most often, under what phonological environments the learners make such errors, and to what extent L1 phonology influences the acquisition of L2. Through error analysis, comparative phonological studies and informants' subjective appeal, both segmental and suprasegmental difficulties are elicited.

Some questionnaires were administered to the Putonghua-speaking informants and some interviews were conducted. We have the following preliminary findings: (1) Most of the interviewees mentioned tones as constituting the most difficult area. (2) More participants rated high entering tones as the hardest ones, a lot of interviewees graded both consonants /ŋ/ as in /ŋa:5/ ('elegance') and /jy/ as in /jyu:2/ ('fish') to be the most difficult, and many interviewees considered the vowel /œ/ as in /sœ:ŋ5/ ('above') the most difficult. As per the pilot interview results, (3) the speakers often mixed up the tone inventories as there are only four tones in Putonghua whereas there are nine in Cantonese. (4) The Putonghua speakers are not used to producing word-initial nasal consonants and glide-involving consonants. Finally, it is found that the L1 of the learners exerts negative influence on their L2 as the learners will produce accented speech. Our findings are expected to have pedagogical implications for learners.

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Cantonese Sentence-Final Particle *Tim* ‘add’ as an Enriched Scalar Particle

Peppina Po-lun LEE
City University of Hong Kong
ctpllee@cityu.edu.hk

Cantonese sentence-final particle (SFP) *tim* ‘add’ is argued to be an element postposed to the sentence-final position from the verbal or adverb position, with its lexical meaning of “add” preserved. Based on its lexical meaning of “add”, previous analyses claim that *tim* is an additive particle carrying the meaning of “in addition to” and/or a scalar particle like English “even”, and they support their claim by the frequent co-occurrence of *tim* with particles and adverbs carrying additive and scalar meanings (cf. Zhan 1958; Cheung 1972/2007; Kwok 1984, Law 1990; Leung 1992/2005; Matthews & Yip 1994; etc.).

In this paper, based on Giannakidou’s *even* landscape (2007), we argue that *tim* is an enriched *even*, which is distinct from English *even* and the three Greek counterparts mentioned under her landscape. Like other *even* realizations, *tim* consists of two components, namely the scalar and the existential components, with the former not shared by other additive particles and thus unique to “even”. For the scalar component, *tim* demonstrates the following three unique features: (1) *tim* requires an upward marking in the scale (henceforth, “increment”) which relies on neither top-of-scale nor bottom-of-scale interpretations, and this makes *tim* distinct from English *even* and its Greek counterparts. Owing to such an increment requirement, the scalar interpretation of *tim* has led to a similarity constraint which states that the degree or quantity in contrast must not clash in the scale, that is the two cannot be marking opposite direction in the scale; (2) unlike English *even* or Greek *akomi ke* and *out* which relies on the likelihood scale, *tim* and Greek *esto* are more alike in the sense that what it requires is simply a scale to satisfy its semantics, but it is not selective towards the scale, hence “flexible-scale” interpretation. In other words, *tim* will simply appeal to the scale determined linguistically or which is salient in the context, and such a scale can be any scale, be it a degree or a quantity scale; and (3) like Greek *esto*, *tim* is not polarity sensitive, which is different from English *even* and the other two counterparts of Greek *even*, as what *tim* requires is an increment, with the relevant scale be revised to accommodate the required increment reading. In terms of existential component, *tim* is no different from other *even* counterparts in that it presupposes the existence a contrasting item, which is required to facilitate the marking of the relevant increment, and the contrasting and the contrasted items must be related, hence the relatedness requirement.

Secondly, unlike other “even” counterparts, besides its scalar function, *tim* demonstrates an extra function of being a coordinator, when it connects two clauses. However, the relation between the two roles of *tim* is that the basic semantics of *tim* is still as a scalar particle. Hence, it is a scalar particle which demonstrates the use as a coordinator, but not vice versa, and thus, *tim* is considered to be an enriched scalar particle with a coordinating function, hence a coordinating scalar particle.

Our analysis leads to two important theoretical claims. Firstly, *tim* will enrich the overall “even” landscape proposed by Giannakidou, in the way that a scalar particle, which is of flexible-scale type, can be polarity in-sensitive. Moreover, what is important is *tim*, as a scalar particle, relies on neither top-of-scale interpretation nor bottom-of-scale interpretation, which somehow fills the gap between the scalar presuppositions triggered by English *even* and its Greek counterparts. Secondly, apart

from being a scalar particle, *tim* also demonstrates a coordinating function, and hence, reveals an interesting type of scalar particles, namely coordinating scalar particles. Apart from the above, based on the necessary and/or sufficient conditions, we can readily explain the compatibility and the natural co-occurrences of *tim* with other additive particles and scalar particles, and previous analyses of treating *tim* as an additive particle and/or a mood particle will also be unified under our account.

The Functions of *Long* in Chinese Pidgin English

Michelle Kin-Ling LI

Department of Linguistics, University of Hong Kong

kinling@hkusua.hku.hk

Stassen (2000) classifies languages into two types according to the formal markers they use to indicate comitative and NP-coordination constructions: AND-languages use distinct forms to indicate these two functions, e.g. English *with* and *and*; while WITH-languages use an invariant form, e.g. Cantonese *tung4*.

Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) is a contact language mainly used in trade between Chinese and Europeans. Data are drawn from the English sources compiled by Philip Baker and a Chinese source – *The Chinese and English Instructor* (1862), transcribed in Li, Matthews & Smith (2005). This paper investigates the functions of *long* in CPE and discusses its typological classification.

The *Instructor* data show that *long* consistently marks both comitative and coordination (1-2):

(1) he (a)long one gentleman talkee

‘He is talking with a gentleman.’

(2) my (a)long you go see he

‘we will go together to have an interview.’

The English sources have three forms – *long*, *with* and *and* (3-5):

(3) I like werry much do littee pigeon long you.

‘I really wanted to do business with you.’

(4) Truly you go with me, I cumshaw all things.’

‘Surely, go with me, I will thank you for everything.’

(5) He hap five piece chiloh, three piece bull chiloh, and two piece cow chiloh.

‘He has five children: three boys and two girls.’

Though the English sources show that *long* is predominantly used to signify comitative meaning, instances of *long* being used to mark NP-coordination can be found.

(6) My long you No.1 good flen. (cited in Selby & Selby 1995:135)

‘You and I are very good friends.’

Syntactically, comitative *long* can occur in preverbal position as in Cantonese, as well as postverbal position as in English.

The above data suggest that CPE does not follow either the Cantonese or English types straightforwardly, but constitutes a mixture of both semantically and syntactically.

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Cantonese [i:] ~ [ɪ] Alternation: Licensing by Cue & Contrast Shift

Mingxing LI

Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages

Chinese University of Hong Kong

mxlistar@gmail.com

1 Cantonese Allophonic Variation: [i:] ~ [ɪ]

In Cantonese, there is said to be a long/short (tense/lax) variation of front high vowels (Lee 1985, Wang 1999, etc.), where the short (lax) vowel usually occurs in syllable ending with [-ŋ] or [-k]. For example:

ti:p	ti:t	tɪk	ti:m	ti:n	tɪŋ
li:p	li:t	lɪk	li:m	li:n	lɪŋ

It has been argued that the above alternation is allophonic in nature, i.e. the alternation between [i:] and [ɪ] is the allophonic variants of the same phoneme, be it /i:/. In other words, there is length distinction of vowel in Cantonese, but no length contrast of vowels (Wang 1999).

This paper attempts to 1) give a perceptual account of such an allophonic variation, and 2) argues that this variation is the interaction of two perceptual mechanisms, namely, Licensing by Cue and Contrast Shift.

2 Licensing by Cue and *ik

In recent phonology study, there are attempts to give perceptual explanation to phonological rules or constraints (Steriade 1997, Flemming 2003, Hume & Keith 2001, among others), among which is the theory of *Licensing by Cue*, as argued by Steriade (1997). This theory says, contrasts are neutralized first in environments where ‘the cues to the relevant contrast would be diminished or obtainable only at the cost of additional articulatory maneuvers’ (Steriade 1997). Following this rationale, phonological contrast should take perceptual easiness into consideration.

In such a consideration, I will argue that the Cantonese [i:]~ [ɪ] alternation has a perceptual motivation, namely, the inadequate perceptual cue for coda [-k]/[-ŋ] after front high vowel [i]. This is because velar codas usually characterize the preceding vowels with a coming closer of F2 and F3, yet, the F2 and F3 are already close in front high vowel [i], and on the other hand, the F2 and F3 on [i] are also close to the locus of [k]. In return, this obscures the perceptual cues for velar codas.

This explains why *ik* is prohibited in Cantonese.

3 Contrast Shift and ik

Padgett (2001) argues that, in some cases, the phonological contrast of consonant may be shifted. For example, to maintain the phonological contrast of two consonants, alternation may occur on the neighboring vowels. Such a phenomenon is dubbed *Contrast Shift* by Padgett (2001). Put it simply, to preserve the contrast of some sounds, change its neighbors.

With this insight, I will argue for the following phonological mechanism in Cantonese: to preserve the coda contrast between /-p/, /-t/ and /-k/, [i:] shifts to [ɪ]. (With acoustic data, I will show that this perceived [ɪ] has almost no stable vowel formants configuration.)

This explains why [i:] alternates with [ɪ].

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Investigating Southern Min Subsyllabic Structure Using a Maximum Entropy Model of Phonotactic Learning

Yingshing LI

Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Chung Cheng University

Yingshing_li@alumni.ccu.edu.tw

Subsyllabic structure of Taiwan Southern Min is still at issue – while Taiwan Southern Min has long been claimed to be the onset-rhyme type (Bao, 1990; Cheng & Cheng, 1977; Chung, 1996), other experimental studies have argued for the possibility of the body-coda type (Derwing, 2007; Wang & Derwing, 1993). This paper addresses this debated issue by applying a maximum entropy model of phonotactic learning to the dictionary data of Taiwan Southern Min (Tung, 2001). A maximum entropy model (cf. Hayes & Wilson, 2008) is a stochastic model used to predict the behavior of phonotactic learning process. Its learning algorithm can construct the constraint-based grammar that best fits into categorical and gradient phonotactic phenomena of the learning data by yielding the numeric weights of violation of the learned constraints. In addition to the baselines defined by linear feature matrices, the constraints can also be augmented with the suprasegmental tiers to express the non-local or hierarchical relationship of segments.

In this study, totally 6,893 monosyllabic morphemes/characters (i.e., 836 syllable types) were collected as inputs to the model to learn phonotactic patterns of Taiwan Southern Min. Different types of subsyllabic structure (i.e., the onset-rhyme, body-coda, flat, and margin-nucleus types) were chosen to run four times of the modeling. The initial results showed that only the onset-rhyme and body-coda models achieved successful learning even though they constructed the grammars whose weighted constraints differentiated each other. As how native speakers made wordlikeness judgments on syllables (e.g., Kirby & Yu, 2007; Myers, 2002; Wang, 1998), the successful models demonstrated the distinction of systematic gaps, accidental gaps, and real syllables over a continuum of numeric violation scores. To further examine whether the models had obtained the predictability of native speaker's intuitions, we compared the modeling results with the wordlikeness judgments of elicited nonsense syllables from twenty Taiwan Southern Min speakers. A significant correlation effect was obtained in the body-coda model ($r = -.163$, $z = -2.632$, $p < .01$) while the other three ones did not achieve the significant threshold. Our study thus provided another piece of evidence supporting the body-coda subsyllabic structure of Taiwan Southern Min – a sequential, hierarchical, and left-branching subsyllabic constituency not only can benefit phonotactic learning but also can account for the native speakers' phonological representation.

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Comparison of Errors in Written English between Hong Kong Chinese and Mainland Chinese University Students

Grace Yuk Wan LIM & Anna Sing Chi CHEUNG

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University & University of Hong Kong

ecgracel@polyu.edu.hk & anna.cheung@hku.hk

Various studies were carried out on the errors that Chinese speakers made (e.g. Ju, 2000; Robertson, 2000) but very few examined the variations between them due to different dialects (e.g. Hua and Lee, 2005). The purposes of this study were (a) to investigate the kinds of errors made by Hong Kong Chinese (L1 Cantonese) and Mainland Chinese (L1 Mandarin) university students; (b) to compare the error frequency of the two groups; and (c) to explore the underlying reasons behind such differences.

The participants of the study were Hong Kong Chinese students of The Hong Kong Polytechnic University and Mainland Chinese students who were just enrolled in the Foundation Year Programme at the same university. Fifty-seven compositions were collected from each group. After the data had been collected, all the major errors were marked and tabulated for analysis.

The results showed that the major errors made by both groups of students were similar including misuse of words/expressions, determiners, prepositions, singular/plural nouns, tenses and parts of speech. The errors ranked differently between the two groups with the exception on the misuse of words/expressions as both groups were found to have the highest number in this item. Determiners was the second most frequently made error, followed by prepositions, singular/plural nouns, tenses and parts of speech among the L1 Cantonese speaking students. The Mandarin speaking students' sequence was prepositions, determiners, tenses, singular/plural nouns and parts of speech. While both groups revealed similar errors, the frequency of which was generally different. The Mainland students seemed to have made a much higher number on the misuse of words/expressions whereas the Hong Kong Chinese students consistently showed a weaker control of grammar rules as more errors were identified in their compositions. The causes of errors inferred from the study were native language interference, teaching methodology and learning strategies.

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Early Bilingual Acquisition of Speech Rhythm: Cantonese and English

Peggy MOK

Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages, Chinese University of Hong Kong
peggymok@cuhk.edu.hk

This study investigates the acquisition of speech rhythm by Cantonese-English bilingual children and compares it with the development of rhythm in their monolingual peers. Languages can be distinguished into different rhythmic classes of which the two most common are stress- and syllable-timed rhythm. Stress-timed languages and syllable-timed languages differ in several important phonological aspects: syllable structure, vowel reduction and stress. Stress-timed languages have more variation in syllable length and structure, more reduced unstressed syllables, more variation in the phonetic realisation of stress and more stress-related rules than syllable-timed languages (Dauer 1983). It has been demonstrated that English belongs to the stress-timed class (Abercrombie 1967) while Cantonese is typically syllable-timed (Mok forthcoming). However, how bilingual children acquire rhythmically different languages simultaneously is still unclear. So far, only two recent studies compared bilingual and monolingual children's acquisition of speech rhythm, but the results are mixed because they used children from different age groups. Bunta and Ingram (2007) showed that bilingual children display distinct rhythmic patterns from their monolingual peers, while Lleo et al. found no difference. This study contributes to this issue by using longitudinal speech data of the Cantonese-English bilingual children in the CHILDES database (Yip & Matthews 2007) and compares it with monolingual children. Preliminary results were based on four bilingual children, one English child and two Cantonese children. Their utterances were labelled manually into consonantal, vocalic and syllable intervals. The measures of %V, deltaX (Ramus et al., 1999), VarcoX (Dellwo, 2006) and PVI (Grabe & Low, 2002) were used for analysis. First results reveal that durational variability increases with an increasing age (particularly in Cantonese), suggesting that durational patterns are more regular in an early age and that rhythmic differences of both stress-timing and syllable-timing may be acquired later. Also, at age three, data from the monolingual English child exhibits higher variability than both the bilingual and Cantonese-monolingual children, suggesting that children may display early phonological differentiation at the suprasegmental level. More data from both bilingual and monolingual children is currently being analysed. It is expected that the results can shed light on the development of both stress- and syllable-timing in speech and how bilingual children deal with the acquisition of two different phonological systems.

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Application of International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) To Second Language Acquisition in Hong Kong

Sunyoung OH
City University of Hong Kong
sunyoh@cityu.edu.hk

This paper investigates English pronunciation by Cantonese ESL learners with International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). English has been one of the dominant languages in Hong Kong for many decades; however, most ESL learners in Hong Kong do not have enough exposure to correct English pronunciation. It is partly due to the absence of native English speakers in the learning process during school years, and hence more chances to perceive incorrect English pronunciation by language input from non-native speakers, and also due to part by the influence of Cantonese, the first language. IPA is widely used in linguistics and it can be used as a learning tool to assist ESL learners to acquire proper English pronunciation. While it has been suggested that the IPA could help English ESL learners to master the correct pronunciation of English words, hardly any reports have been made on the effects of the IPA training in second language education. Thus, this paper aims to provide a foundation of the use of IPA training in ESL in Hong Kong. The study was conducted to see the effect of IPA training on the pronunciation of English words. English words that are difficult to guess the pronunciation from the spellings were selected (e.g., 'subtle', 'receipt', 'margarine'). 16 ESL learners participated in the study (10 with IPA training, 6 without IPA training). They were asked to read the wordlist twice: the first time without the IPA transcriptions; and the second with the IPA transcription. 20 English words (15 target words, 5 control words) were collected. Results show great improvements upon the second trial with the IPA transcriptions among those ESL learners with the IPA training. No significant change was observed among the ESL learners without the IPA training. The details on the improvement of the pronunciation of each target word will be discussed in the paper along with the pronunciation errors found in both groups for the first trial when the IPA transcriptions were not provided. This will help understand how Cantonese ESL learners segment English words for pronunciation.

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An OT Account to Differential Object Marking in Sino-Tibetan Languages

Haihua PAN & Ning YANG

City University of Hong Kong & City University of Hong Kong/Beijing Language and Culture University

cthpan@cityu.edu.hk & tnyling@yahoo.com

This paper studies the differential object marking (DOM) phenomena in Sino-Tibetan languages. The factors involved in DOM and the motivation behind DOM are discussed, and a bidirectional OT account is proposed to capture the data.

DOM is a cross-linguistic phenomenon where some objects are marked, but not all, relating to the semantic properties of the object NP such as animacy and definiteness (Bossong, 1985; Comrie, 1989). The similar phenomenon has been observed in a great number of SOV Sino-Tibetan languages, where animacy or definiteness of the Object NP and sometimes, the length of object phrase (Tian, 2006; Luo, 2007), are crucial to the distribution of the object marking.

Aissen (2001, 2003) proposed a two-dimensional OT approach to account for the cross-linguistic DOM patterns. The principle of iconicity (Mark NPs with Case) is potentially in conflict with the principle of economy (Penalize case marking). The principle of iconicity consists of a family of constraints relating to the two dimensions of prominence, namely animacy and definiteness. The interaction pattern of these universal constraints is language specific. Yang and van Bergen (2007) claims that word order is another dimension of prominence that needs to be considered in order to account for the DOM patterns in Chinese where objects in a prominent position are marked. In this paper, we offer evidences from SOV Sino-Tibetan languages in favor of a syntactic dimension of prominence, with a revised definition, however.

In Yang and van Bergen (2007), the syntactic prominence is defined with a linear strategy: Preverbal position is more prominent than postverbal position. In SOV languages, this definition is not applicable. In this paper, the syntactic prominence is defined with a structural strategy.

The motivation of object marking is commonly believed to be a functional one, that is, to make distinction between subject and object. However, Aissen (to appear) argues that differential case marking “is often overextended (generalized) and obligatory even where it is not needed to recover grammatical function.” Helen and Andreje (2006) claims that the differential case marking can either distinguish grammatical relations or identify strong arguments depending on the languages type of case-systems. In this paper, we claim that DOM in Sino-Tibetan languages is not determined only by recoverability, and optimization over both form and meaning is needed, in other words, a bidirectional OT approach is necessary to apply.

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Nasal Vowel Realization: Synchronic or Diachronic?

Yaya PENG

Chinese University of Hong Kong

yypeng@cuhk.edu.hk

Chinese languages are classified into ten supergroups (Li 1989, Zhan 2002, Xiong and Zhang 2008). Linguists take the assumption that Modern Chinese evolved from Middle Chinese which had developed from Old Chinese. Both diachronic and synchronic methods are employed to make the delimitation and classification. This paper is a case study of nasal vowels in Xuzhou dialect, a *Zhongyuan* Mandarin spoken in the northern Jiangsu province of China, and aims to find their underlying representations.

There are seven nasal vowels in Xuzhou, [ĩ, ỹ, ũ, ẽ, õ, æ̃, ǣ̃] (Su and Lv 1996). [ĩ, ỹ, ũ, ẽ, õ, ǣ̃] are found to be realized from morpheme concatenation, a morphological process which is well documented in Chinese dialects such as Standard Chinese (Lin 2007). In Xuzhou, when the diminutive suffix [əŋ⁵⁵] is attached to the root morpheme of [iŋ], [yŋ], [uŋ], [əŋ], or [ɑŋ], the velar nasal coda [ŋ] drops but the oral vowel at the nuclear position becomes nasal. It can be concluded that surface nasal vowels obtain the nasal feature from the context and they are realized from oral sounds.

The development of nasal vowels [ẽ, æ̃] can not be explained by morpheme concatenation, because their occurrence does not depend on a preceding or following sound. They can form a syllable on their own, such as [ẽ²¹³] ‘boon’, or [æ̃²¹³] ‘safe’. Qiao (2002) has discussed those Xuzhou nasal vowels whose counterparts in Standard Chinese are oral in open syllables. She suggests that a group of sounds have undergone inter-mutation between oral and nasal finals over time, and the other group change from oral to nasal in contexts. In other words, one group is nasal and the other is oral underlyingly.

My proposal states that both [ẽ] and [æ̃] are derived from oral vowels synchronically. A study of *Fangyan Diaocha Zhibiao* (2005) shows that syllables with nasal codas [m] or [n] in Middle Chinese are produced as nasal rimes in Xuzhou. This diachronic factor reflects language differences and sets a cue. Given that the core evidence for determining allophonic relations is distribution of sounds, the following findings are in support of my argument. First, [e] and [æ] can not be patterned with nasal codas while other oral vowels can. Second, when suffixed with the diminutive morpheme [əŋ⁵⁵], the nasal feature in [ẽ] and [æ̃] falls off.

In sum, diachronic development does not bring nasal vowels into Xuzhou dialect, it is synchronic realization that advance these sounds in speech.

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Tibetan Prescript *ba* and Syllable Roundness: Evident from the Tibetan Transcription of Tangut Characters

Chung-pui TAI
chungpui@gmail.com

In the past there were various opinions on the phonological function of prescripts in the Tibetan transcription of Tangut characters. Sofronov (1968:112) first observed that some Tangut characters which are transcribed by Tibetan prescript *ba* in some fragments can also be transcribed by Tibetan underscript *wa* in other fragments. Nie (1986) made a similar observation that the Tangut characters transcribed by Tibetan prescript *ba* were often correspondent to *hékǒu* (合口) characters (characters which have a medial -w- or main vowel -u) in their Chinese transcriptions. Both of them proposed that the Tibetan prescript *ba* here were in fact denoting the roundness of Tangut syllables, however they did not provide further evident in their works.

This paper first provides detailed evident to the observation of Sofronov (1968) and Nie (1986). It examines the Tibetan transcription of 20 Tangut fragments discovered from Khara-Khoto. These fragments are classified into 5 different types according to their origin and handwriting, labeled as type A to type E. It is found that, the Tibetan underscript *wa*, which is supposed to denote the medial -w-, almost only occurred in type A. Tangut characters which are transcribed by underscript *wa* in type A fragments are often transcribed by a prescript *ba* in fragments of other types. The result is coherent with the observation made by Sofronov (1968).

Besides, 55 Tangut characters with 113 cases are found to be transcribed by Tibetan prescript *ba*. When we cross check these Tangut characters with the Tangut-Chinese glossary *The Timely Pearl* (番漢合時掌中珠), 33 correspondent Chinese transcriptions are identified. All of them, except one case, are *hékǒu* characters. The result shows that Tangut characters which are transcribed by prescript *ba* in Tibetan are almost always transcribed by a *hékǒu* character in Chinese. It gives a strong support to the observation made by Nie (1986).

Previous historical phonological works (Dragunov 1936, Uray 1955) suggest that the original sound value (at the time when the Tibetan writing was created, around the 6th century) of prescript *ba* is a pre-initial consonant /bʰ/ or /v/. However evident from Tibetan transcription of Tangut character in the 12th century showing that the prescript *ba* has already shifted to a sound value similar to medial -w- or main vowel -u. Giving the fact that in many modern Tibetan dialects the prescript *ba* is soundless, the historical phonological change of Tibetan prescript *ba* can be reconstructed as $vC > ^vC > ^wC > C^w > C$. The sound of prescript *ba* in Tibetan has shifted from a pre-initial position to a co-articulation position, marking the final stage before its disappearance.

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Cantonese Semantic Primes: an examination of the mental predicates

John WAKEFIELD

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

clinton.wakefield@gmail.com

The theory of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) claims that all facets of language can be paraphrased using simpler language, and that every human language reduces down to a set of non-reducible semantic primes. NSM-based research has resulted in the discovery of 63 semantic primes for English (Goddard, 2008: 33), and it is claimed that these are universal, i.e., that they are part of the core of every human language. Primes exist at a level below the lexeme level; they are lexical units that may manifest themselves in different forms, and at different levels. Goddard (2008) explained that, depending on the language, a particular semantic prime may belong to a different word class, and in fact may not be manifest as a word at all – it may be a bound morpheme, or a phraseme, for example.

The NSM theory began in the early 1960's, culminating in Wierzbicka's (1996) detailed description of the proposed semantic primes of English, along with proposed universal syntactic patterns (i.e., universally available combinations) of the primes in all natural languages. There have since been numerous comparative studies of other languages' NSMs, using Wierzbicka (1996) as a point of reference. Chappell (1994, 2002) looked at the semantic primes of Mandarin Chinese, and Tong et al (1997) did a partial study of Cantonese semantic primes, examining the primitives of time and space.

The purpose of this paper is to extend the study of Tong et al by proposing the list of Cantonese's mental predicate semantic primes, using Wierzbicka (1996) and Chappell (1994, 2002) as reference points. According to Wierzbicka, the English predicates are THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, and HEAR, and according to Chappell (2002), the corresponding Mandarin mental predicates are, respectively, XIANG, ZHĪDAO, YÀO, GĀNJUÉ, TĪNGDÀO, and KĀNDÀO. For each predicate, I will first comment on Chappell's choice for Mandarin, which was based on the criteria set out by Wierzbicka (1996), and then I will propose what I believe its Cantonese counterpart should be.

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The Licensing and Interpretation of NPI “shenme” in Chinese

Dong WANG

Shandong University/City University of Hong Kong

flasherfffff@hotmail.com

NPI is a significant topic in linguistics, and it involves syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Much attention has been paid to its licensing and interpretation conditions, with proposals related to downward entailment, non-veridical context, scalar implicature posited (cf. Ladusaw 1980, Krifka 1994, Giannakidou 2002, Partee 2006 and among others). Unlike English and other languages, limited research has been conducted on NPIs in Mandarin. If we directly try to apply these methods on NPIs in Mandarin, there will be some limitations.

In this paper, I focus on “shenme” in Chinese. “Shenme” plays multi-roles including NPI, free-choice, and wh-phrase. First, I discuss the methods of DE (Downward Entailment), non-veridical, and scalar implicature, as well as their limitations, based on some counterexamples. Then, I develop a Changeable Scale Items (CSI) based on the traditional scalar implicature to define “shenme”. The very difference between traditional scalar implicature and my CSI approach is that a changeable scalar structure will be proposed for the NPI “shenme” in Mandarin. Based on this changeable scalar structure, I claim that different roles of “shenme” like NPI, FC, and wh-phrase, are determined by its different scalar structures in different contexts. Moreover, I argue that “shenme” has an inherent flaw that it can not express complete meaning independently. It needs other elements to fix its flaws and finish the function of expression, and these elements can be used to explain its distribution. When “shenme” appears in a context, these elements are composed with it to represent distinct number of context-dependent entities. I try to give a unified analysis by CSI method. To prove this, I further show formal definitions of “shenme” in different contexts including interrogative sentences, negative sentences, modal sentences, contexts containing “dou”, conditional sentences, and exclamation sentences. Finally, I discuss extending this CSI to other WH-phrase in Mandarin and relevant items such as any, anybody in English.

A Semantic Investigation on *Almost* Modifiers

Wenbin WANG

Shandong University/City University of Hong Kong

st227@163.com

The goal of this paper is to compare the semantics of Chinese *chadian/jihu* with its English counterparts *almost/nearly*, with special attention paid to two special phenomena demonstrated by Chinese *chadian/jihu*.

To begin with, I will review previous analyses on the semantics of *almost*, including McCawley (1972), Sadock (1981), Von Stechow (1999), Morzycki (2001), Penka (2005, 2006). Next, I will set up a P-T mapping model on the assumption that all (telic) prepositions can be mapped into a scale structure by a property (degree, distance, time etc.). Following the Winter (2006) A-V mapping model, I will set up this P-T mapping model with which I will attempt a semantics for *almost*. With a conditional expression, I will interpret two different readings on *almost*—*S(calar) interpretation* and *C(ounterfactual) interpretation*.

Finally, I will discuss two controversial issues on *chadian/jihu* in Chinese. The first one is about *chadian+mei+VP*—the negation of almost modifiers in Chinese. I propose that different readings about *chadian+mei+VP* are the results of different combination rules of *almost*. As an operator, *chadian* can combine with the negator *mei* in different ways. The other one is about *jihu+daduos*—*almost* modifiers and *vague* quantifiers. In the sentence '*Jihu Daduoshu Ren Dou Xihuan Haixian*', *vague* quantifier *daduoshu* can be modified by *almost* modifier *jihu*, which is conflict with what is claimed by Hitzeman (1992) and Penka (2005, 2006) that *almost* cannot modify *vague* quantifiers. I will interpret this problem with a pragmatical overlap on their semantics.

Partial Awareness of L1 and L2 Masked Primes in Lexical Processing

Xin WANG

Department of English
National University of Singapore
ellwx@nus.edu.sg

Previous studies in L2 lexical processing demonstrated an asymmetry in the lexical decision task with bilinguals. In the masked priming paradigm, when the prime word is in L1 and the target word in L2 and they are a pair of translation equivalents, there is strong translation priming. This effect indicates the L2 processor benefits from previous exposure to its translation equivalent in L1, and thus suggests that L1 and L2 are conceptually connected as argued by the Sense Model and the RHM (Kroll & Steward, 1994; Finkbeiner, Forster, Nicol & Nakamura, 2004). However, when the prime word is L2 and the target L1, the priming effect disappears. To solve this myth, it could be hypothesized that processing L1 primes from script to meaning differs from that in L2. It is questionable whether L2 primes are ever processed in lexical decision at the semantic level.

It has been argued in the masked priming literature that masked cross-modal and semantic priming effects are obtained only with subjects who demonstrate partial awareness of the prime (Kouider & Dupoux, 2004). Since translation priming could be a form of semantic priming, one can reason that translation priming should only occur for subjects who are partially aware of the primes, either in L1-L2 or L2-L1 direction when performing lexical decision. It is unknown whether bilingual subjects will demonstrate differential partial awareness of their two languages. If partial awareness of the masked prime is critical for semantic priming, then it is clear why L1-L2 priming should be stronger than L2-L1 priming in lexical decision.

This study measured the degree of semantic activation of bilinguals' two languages as reflected in partial awareness of masked primes, in order to investigate whether the asymmetric priming pattern could be due to their different automaticity in processing their two languages. The data demonstrated significant difference in processing across bilinguals' two languages. Discussion will focus on the relation between the processing difference and asymmetric priming across languages, and implications of the bilingual model.

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A Study on the Pre-verbal and Post-verbal *gang2* in Cantonese

Cherie Cheuk-Lam WONG
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University
cherie.wong@polyu.edu.hk

Cantonese is renowned for having a rich inventory of post-verbal elements. Even more intriguing is that some of them can also occur pre-verbally. For example, the morpheme *gang2* 梗 can be either pre-posed or post-posed to express the modality of certainty and doubtlessness as in (1).

- (1) 佢梗死。 / 佢死梗。
S/he must die / S/he die must
“S/he will die for sure.”

It has long been accepted that *gang2* can be either pre-verbal or post-verbal without causing much difference in meaning (e.g. Shi, 1995). This paper argues that the two forms have different syntactic and semantic properties. Syntactically, the pre-verbal *gang2* imposes fewer constraints on the predicate as compare with its post-verbal counterpart. For examples, the post-verbal *gang2* is incompatible with verbs indicating atelic events, verbs taking aspect markers and verbs that are disyllabic. However, the pre-verbal *gang2* is not subjected to these constraints.

Semantically, the pre-verbal *gang2* tends to refer to events that are more objective or events that happened in the past as in (2)

- (2) 琴日場比賽對手咁強，佢梗輸啦 / *佢輸梗啦！
Yesterday CL competition opponent so strong, s/he must lose SFP / * s/he lose must SFP
“It is doubtless for him/her to lose as the opponent was so strong in yesterday’s competition.”

With the pre-verbal *gang2*, the speaker intends to present a fact which is deduced by evidence; with the post-verbal *gang2*, the speaker is giving out his/her prediction towards a future event. As the use of the post-verbal *gang2* is based more on the speaker’s belief, it tends to refer to something more subjective when comparing to its pre-verbal counterpart.

As Finegan (1995) mentioned, subjectivity can be expressed by various ways, ranging from intonation to word order. Based on the above observations, it is believed that subjectivity can be marked by word order in Cantonese. In addition to the above discussion, this paper will further examine the different usage of *gang2* within the framework of subjectivity and subjectification.

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The Acquisition of Verb Particle Construction in Bilingual Cantonese-English children

Hin Yee WONG

Chinese University of Hong Kong

hinnywong@gmail.com

This corpus-based study addresses the question of how language dominance and directionality of language transfer interact by investigating the acquisition of verb particle construction (VPC) in seven bilingual Cantonese-English children.

English VPCs consist of three elements: a verb, a particle and a direct object realized as a lexical noun phrase (NP) or a pronoun. English VPCs allow two orders: namely the split form (where the verb and the particle are separated by the direct object) and non-split form (where the verb and the particle are adjacent). A comparable counterpart to English VPCs is Cantonese directional verb complements construction, which also consists of a verb, a directional particle and an object. The order of its constituents in this construction is more constrained than English, with a predominant non-split order. Though the VPCs in the two languages show a partial overlap of word order in surface structure (both can appear in non-split forms), the properties between the two are different in a number of ways, including the properties of the particle, the compositionality of meaning and the order of the constituents, which pose a challenge to the bilingual Cantonese-English children. The bilingual children's task is to acquire the different properties between the two languages.

Analysis is based on the longitudinal data of seven Cantonese-English bilingual children from the Hong Kong Bilingual Child Language Corpus which is available in the CHIDLES archive (MacWhinney 2000). Qualitative and quantitative difference between monolingual and bilingual language acquisition of VPCs are examined. The Cantonese and English VPCs are extracted from the data and classified as target and non-target forms. The percentage of split and non-split form as well as the types of non-target forms are investigated. Results show that bilingual children behave differently from English monolinguals, creating greater number of non-split constructions and higher percentage of object omissions. Cantonese-dominant and non-Cantonese-dominant children also demonstrate differences in their VPC productions. The interaction of language dominance and directionality of language transfer are discussed based on the analysis.

Yip and Matthews (2007) have conducted an analysis of the development of English VPCs in six Cantonese-English bilingual children including four Cantonese dominant and two non-Cantonese dominant children. Their study found that Cantonese dominant bilingual children produced a higher percentage of split VPCs than the English monolinguals. However, the Cantonese VPCs in monolingual children and bilingual children have not been examined in their study. This study further explores the issue and compares the development of English as well as Cantonese VPCs in monolingual children with the development of English and Cantonese VPCs in bilingual children.

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(487 words)

Examples:

(1) Possessive pronominal *zhe* (Middle Chinese)

麥田佔他家,竹園皆我者

mai tian zhan ta jia zhu yuan jie [wo zhe]
wheat field occupy 3SG home bamboo garden all 1SG ZHE

‘Wheat fields occupy his home; the bamboo gardens all are **mine** (lit. ‘my ones’)’

(*Poetry of Han Shan*, Tang period)

(2) Genitive *zhe* (Late Middle Chinese)

父母載女來訪所謂曾秀才者舟不見

fu mu zai nu lai fang [suo wei zeng xiu zai zhe zhou] bu jian
father mother take daughter come visit so.called (Proper name) ZHE boat NEG see

‘The parents took their daughter to visit the so-called boat of Mr. Zeng, but they couldn’t find it.’

(*Yi Jian Zhi: Zeng Lu Gung*, Song period)

(3) Possessive pronominal *suo* (Late Old Chinese)

心持非我 我所

xin chi fei [wo suo] shi [wo suo]
heart hold NEG 1SG ‘one’ COP 1SG ‘one’

Lit. ‘(My) heart holds that which isn’t **something that I have** to be **something that I have**.’

‘The heart treats that which is not mine as mine.’ (*Fo Shuo Yi Ri Ni Mo Bao Jing*, Han period)

(4) Genitive *suo* (Early Middle Chinese)

誰能救濟我所壽命

shui neng jiu ji [wo suo shou ming]
who can save 1SG GEN life

‘Who can save **my life**?’ (*Zhuan Ji Bai Yuan Jing*, Three Kingdom period)

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A Preliminary Study on the Change of Rising Tones in Hong Kong Cantonese: An Experimental Study

Carine Yuk-man YIU

Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

yyiu@ust.hk

Some scholars noticed that the two rising tones in Hong Kong Cantonese were merged by some speakers (Bauer et. al. 2003, Kei et. al. 2002, Varley and So 1995, Zhang 2002). These studies focused on either the comprehension or the production of the two rising tones. Moreover, only citation forms were involved in these studies. As a result, questions such as if there is a correlation between a speaker's comprehension and production of the rising tones and if the merger is faster in monosyllables or in disyllables were not addressed. This study examines the merger situation of the two rising tones in the comprehension and production of fifteen speakers of Hong Kong Cantonese. Among the fifteen speakers, nine were male and six female. Their average age was 22.5. All of them were born in Hong Kong except two who were born in Dongguan and Panyu and moved to Hong Kong in their early age. The comprehension part involves the citation forms of the nine tones, and ten minimal pairs of compound forms which differ only in the rising tones such as lou13 fu35 'a tiger' and lou13 fu13 'an old woman'. The informants were required to write down the citation forms upon hearing the recording. For the minimal pairs of compound forms, the informants were given two options from which they could choose upon hearing the recording of each pair. Besides, they could also specify if they thought the pair are identical in pronunciation or if they thought the pair are different in pronunciation but s/he failed to differentiate them. In the production part, the informants were asked to read the citation forms and minimal pairs they heard in the comprehension part and their pronunciations were recorded for acoustic analysis.

The result shows that the majority of the speakers were able to differentiate the two rising tones in both comprehension and production. Only few speakers exhibited changes in their rising tones. Among these speakers, some confused the rising tones in both comprehension and production while some showed merger in either part. The result suggested that there was no correlation between a speaker's comprehension and production of the rising tones. In other words, if a speaker merged the rising tones in one part, i.e. comprehension or production, s/he might not merge them in the other part. Regarding the direction of change, in the comprehension of citation forms, speakers who merged the two rising tones identified the low-rising word *ji* 'ear' as a high-rising word; in production, it is found that some words in the high-rising tone were merged to the low-rising tone whereas some words in the low-rising tone were merged to the high-rising tone. Furthermore, it is observed that there was a tendency for the merger of the rising tones to start in citation forms. Last, from the perspective of lexical diffusion, there were more words in the citation form and compound form of the high-rising tone that were merged to the low-rising tone than those of the low-rising tone that were merged to the high-rising tone.

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Nominative Case and Third Person -s in Japanese Students' Compositions: What Happens before and after Spell-Out?

Noriko YOSHIMURA, Mineharu NAKAYAMA & Philip HAWKE
University of Shizuoka & The Ohio State University & University of Shizuoka
yoshimun@u-shizuoka-ken.ac.jp & nakayama.1@osu.edu &
hawke@u-shizuoka-ken.ac.jp

A well-documented phenomenon in second language (L2) acquisition is the existence of a discrepancy between the consistent use of nominative subjects and the variable use of verbal inflection (Lardiere 1998a, 1998b, 2000, Ionin & Wexler's 2002, White 2003). This paper explores the issue by comparing the use of 3rd person singular -s with the assignment of nominative case in Japanese college students' L2 English compositions. In particular, we present crucial evidence that although the learners can do EPP feature checking before Spell-Out (Chomsky 1995), they fail to insert the verbal morpheme after Spell-Out (Embick & Noyer 2001, Embick & Marantz 2008) due to L1 transfer.

88 free compositions were collected from 44 Japanese college students and divided into three groups according to their Institutional Michigan Test (IMT) scores. For a sharper proficiency contrast, the middle group was excluded from the present analysis: 28 compositions in the Low Group A (below 60 IMT points out of 100, average 48.9) and 31 compositions in the High Group B (70 and above, average 77.3). The two groups were significantly different in their scores ($t = -18.98$, $p < 0.000$). Our analyses of 803 sentences showed the almost perfect use of subjects at 99.6% for each of A and B, only one error out of 565 nominative pronominal subjects, and the omission of 3rd person singular present -s at 55.1% for A and 25.9% for B. Statistical evidence further indicated that the difference in the omission rates of -s between the two groups was significant ($t = 2.23$, $p < .030$), and the difference between the -s omission rate and the inaccuracy rate of nominative case-marking was also highly significant ($t = 6.28$, $p < .000$).

These results demonstrate that the Japanese L2 English learners have acquired the EPP-feature checking operation before Spell-Out in syntax far more easily than the -s insertion after Spell-Out, namely, after T-lowering in PF (Embick & Marantz 2008). Since T-lowering occurs for the tense inflection in their L1 and they commit much fewer -ed errors, we speculate that Japanese learners are insensitive to the agreement morpheme insertion due to the absence of such affixation in their L1. If this analysis is on the right track, it is not a prosodic problem *per se*, which induces the variable use of the -s morpheme, as is argued in Goad & White (2004), Goad (2008), and Prevost (2008). Given that as their English proficiency increases, Japanese learners become more competent and less variable in using -s, we conclude that functional features are not impaired but can be accessible in L2 acquisition, hence supporting the Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (Haznedar & Schwartz 1997, Prevost & White 2000) and rejecting the Representational Deficit Hypothesis (Hawkins & Chan 1997, Hawkins & Liszka 2003, Hawkins 2005).

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Studies on Language Attitudes in the Pearl River Delta
—A Critical Review and a New Perspective

Kun ZHANG, Hok Shing CHAN & Andrew MOODY

Department of English, University of Macau

zhangkunbnu@gmail.com & bhschan@umac.mo & amood@umac.mo

Macao has been regarded as the “museum of languages,” although it is small both in territory and population. On the other hand, just because of its smallness, changes in population will not only affect the demographics of this region, but also bring about changes in language situation. Among those linguistic changes, one of the most intriguing and compelling sociolinguistic research areas is language attitude of new immigrants and sojourners in Macao, which is part of an on-going research investigation into language maintenance and shift in Macao. Previous studies of language attitudes in the Pearl River Delta have numerous problems in methodology and the selection of subjects. For example, many of these studies adopt the matched-guise technique, which has various limitations, such as its inability to examine attitudes towards the written form of a language/dialect, such as written Cantonese. Many other studies use a survey questionnaire method that focuses on various samplings of majority speakers of the population — especially student attitudes — but overlooks multilingual influences within the Pearl River Delta population. Relatively few studies, however, use the qualitative method of in-depth interviews, the method advocated in this study, as a way to study language attitudes intergenerationally and through the process of indigenization. Extending research subjects to non-local people will help us see a more holistic picture of language use and attitudes and the diversity among different social groups. In the end, this paper emphasizes the importance of studying the multilingual situation in Macao, an area long ignored by sociolinguists, and highlights the potential value of our on-going study of China mainland students’ language attitudes in Macao.

韩礼德主位理论和曹逢甫主题理论的检验 ——以老舍作品《我的母亲》的分析为例

李榕

北京大学 中文系

lirong1210@126.com

依据韩礼德的《功能语法导论》中的主位理论和曹逢甫《主题在汉语中的功能研究——迈向语段分析的第一步》中的主题理论，笔者分别分析了一个具体的汉语篇章——老舍的经典短篇小说《我的母亲》。目的在于测试韩、曹两种理论哪一种更适合分析汉语语篇。²

两种理论在实际分析中显示出很大的不同，比如在下面的段落中，有单下划线的部分是韩氏理论认为的主位，而带方框的部分是曹氏理论认为的主题，两者很少重合：

“为我们的衣食，母亲要给人家洗衣服，缝补或裁缝衣裳。在我的记忆中，她的手终年是鲜红微肿的。白天，她洗衣服，洗一两大绿瓦盆。她作事永远丝毫不敷衍，就是屠户们送来的黑如铁的布袜，她也给洗得雪白。晚间，她与三姐抱着一盏油灯，还要缝补衣服，一直到半夜。她终年没有休息，可是在忙碌中她还把院子屋中收拾得清清爽爽。”

相比而言，曹理论能显示文章关心的主要人物。这说明其总结的汉语主题的五五个特点从更本质的角度抓住了汉语篇章的特点。³

而韩理论如果用于汉语语篇的分析，似应做较大的改动。韩认为有多重主位：语篇—人际—经验（包括参与者和环境成分，又称“话题”）。但是汉语叙述文体中环境成分大量地出现在参与者之前，如果将其划为主位，文章涉及的中心人物反而无法显示。我们主张把汉语的主位划为四层，语篇—人际—环境成分—参与者。这样，参与者主位显示文章关心的主要人物，再加上分别提供说话人组织语篇的线索，说话人的评价、所叙事实的环境线索的三种主位，语篇的线索更加清晰。

² 部分想法得益于与导师王洪君老师和师兄乐耀同学的讨论，感谢他们。

³ 具体参考曹逢甫著，《主题在汉语中的功能研究——迈向语段分析的第一步》第39页。

英语学习者在学习“/s/”后清塞音送气情况时遇到的问题

李文欣

南开大学外语学院

Leewenxin@yahoo.com

在英语音系中有一条规则：清塞音/p/、/t/、/k/在/s/后面时，如这类词“spew, stew, skew”失去送气（unaspirated）（Ladefoged 2000: 57）。在大学英语教学过程中，发现英语学习者在掌握英语“清擦音+清塞音”这种辅音丛发音时会遇到一系列问题。

首先是许多学习者对这一音系变化界定为“浊化”，通过问卷调查发现这主要是教师的误导，造成学生没有真正掌握“清浊”的概念；在英语中塞音清浊的对立是一个抽象的概念，往往通过其音位变体的送气和相邻元音的长短情况表现出来，而学生往往将表面的送气与否误认为清浊变化。

第二，通过测试发现，掌握送气规则正确与否还与学生的英语音节知识相关。部分学生在单音节词或是“/s/+清塞音”位于词首的词中能够正确运用这个规则，但是在“/s/+清塞音”位于非词首的多音节词中却不会运用这一规则，例如对于“expose”有95%的被试将/p/读成送气，而这些被试大多将/s/与清塞音分别划在两个音节。这说明学习者对英语音节结构知识的掌握会影响以上规则的习得。汉语普通话的辅音是以送气表现对立，因此汉语为母语的学生肯定掌握送气这一语音变化，在英语清塞音的送气上遇到的问题主要是汉语、英语音系上的塞音对立和音节结构方面的差异造成的。而对英语韵律结构的教授是目前英语教学上的薄弱环节。

然而英语的音节划分不仅受到韵律制约，还受到形态学的影响，某些词素边界会影响音节划分。在部分词中“/s/+清塞音”分属两个词素因而被分别划分在两个音节中，因此位于音节首的塞音读成送气，如果教师不了解这一点，势必造成对清塞音送气规则运用的似是而非（expose vs. distaste[dis.t^heist]）。由此可见，英语清塞音的送气并不是一个简单的“音位变体”规则，它涉及到音系和形态构词两个层面。Ladefoged 对于该规则的描述因而需要重新界定。

第三，通过进一步调查发现，一些英语词中不送气规则使用出现不规律性，也造成了学习者的混淆，例如“discovery”词素划分并不影响音节划分，送气规则发生，“export”中的/p/美音中多倾向于送气，而英音中不送气；“external”中/t/在英音中送气，而在美音中的送气不明显。对于这一类情况可能是由于说话人对词素切分的不一致造成，符合Aronoff (1976)对词素的观点，但是需要进一步的调查研究。

这些问题反映出英语教学在语音方面的不足。这一方面是从事英语教学人员的错误引导造成的，学习者没有真正了解深层的对立与表层语音差异的关联；另一方面是英语的韵律和构词的特点造成的。英语中大部分的“/s/+清塞音”结构是有规律可循的，想要理解和掌握这个发音规律，需要英语教师和学生掌握一些语音和音系学以及形态学的相关知识。

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从湘语邵东话“起/倒”看兼语句、被动句、处置句的结构

林素娥 邓思颖

香港理工大学 中文及双语学系

linsu101@yahoo.com.cn sw.tang@polyu.edu.hk

兼语句、被动句、处置句是湘语邵东话三类基本句式，例如（1）和（2）为兼语句、（3）和（4）为“等”字被动句，（5）和（6）为“担”字处置句。

- （1） 派渠当代表。（派他当代表）
- （2） 你等渠去。（你让他去）
- （3） 衣衫等雨淋湿哩。（衣服被雨淋湿了）
- （4） 阿只细个啲当行等狗咬格一口。（那个小孩子刚才被狗咬了一口）
- （5） 你担饭吃格。（你把饭吃了）
- （6） 你担滴衣衫洗格。（你把衣服洗掉）

邵东话“起/倒”可以分析为助词，它们的意义比较虚，主要起着加强语气的作用，往往在普通话里找不到对应的词汇。句法上，“起/倒”一般可以黏附在“X+N+VP”结构的“X”上，“X”包括兼语句的第一个动词、被动句的“等”、处置句的“担”。

- （7） 嫁起/倒只女等你。（嫁个女儿给你）
- （8） 困起/倒得床上。（躺在床上）
- （9） 送起/倒回来/回去。（送回来/回去）
- （10） 讨起/倒杯水吃。（讨杯水喝）

不过，我们却发现邵东话“起/倒”在兼语句、“等”字被动句、“担”字处置句中的使用却是不统一的。如下面的例子：

- （11） 派起/倒渠当代表。（派他当代表）
- （12） *你等起/倒渠去。（你让他去）
- （13） *衣衫等起/倒雨淋湿哩。（衣服被雨淋湿了）
- （14） *阿只细个啲当行等起/倒狗咬格一口。（那个小孩子刚才被狗咬了一口）
- （15） *你担起/倒饭吃格。（你把饭吃了）
- （16） 你担起/倒滴衣衫洗格。（你把那些衣服洗掉）

以上各例表明，“等”字长被动句不能插入“起/倒”，兼语句、“担”字处置句或成立或不成立，我们认为这些现象跟“X+N+VP”结构的“X”的词类和语义特点有关，还有跟后面的“VP”所表达的事件意义也有关系。其中的原因在本文会详细探讨。

本文从邵东话的“起/倒”来入手，找出湘语的特点，应该有助于我们了解南北方言的语法异同，并进一步通过邵东话这些比较独特的语法特点来探讨汉语兼语句、被动句、处置句等句式的结构特征，从而解决文献上对于这些句式的争议。

汉语的语气

石定栩

香港理工大学

ctdshi@polyu.edu.hk

语气是现代汉语分析中常见的概念，不但用来分析句子的功能、类型以及交际作用，而且还在句末助词的功能与地位分析中起着重要作用。不过，多年来一直困扰学术界的是这一概念的内涵与外延都不清晰，各家的定义相差很远但涵盖范围却又互相重叠，大多将句末助词同语气绑在一起，却又不得不承认语气和助词并非一一对应。

汉语分析中的语气概念其实有着不同的来源。马建忠（1898）是第一个使用这一概念的，但他描述的是日常生活概念，相当于人们说话时的口吻或口气。黎锦熙（1924）是第一个将语气作为语法现象来分析的，也是第一个为语气命名的。他将语气分为决定句、商榷句、疑问句、惊叹句以及附属于决定句和商榷句的祈使句，并且明确指出这些语气“各用相当的助词来帮助”。这五种语气其实源自纳氏英文法（Nesfield 1912）归纳出来的五种英语句子类型 *assertive, optative, interrogative, exclamatory* 及 *imperative sentence*。

目前关于汉语语气的分析，除了沿用黎锦熙的句子类型之外，还有将汉语语气同英语的 *mood* 相提并论，以及作为英语 *modality* 的对等概念来分析的。无论是借用哪一个英语概念，大多数的分析都包括陈述、疑问、感叹及祈使这四种基本语气，而且将句末助词也分为表示陈述、疑问、感叹和祈使的四种，并且以语气词作为判断语气的标准。

汉语的语气到底应该如何定义，应该同英语的哪一个句法范畴相对应，是个可以讨论的问题。但是，汉语的语气应该不可能与 *sentence type, mood* 以及 *modality* 同时对应。汉语的句末助词有可能同某种定义所规定的语气相关，但主张所有的句末助词同 *mood, modality* 和 *sentence type* 都有对应关系，则理论上和实际上都不太可能。目前的做法很容易造成混乱，甚至会将某些分析逼进死胡同。

事实上，一般所说的英语 *mood* 包括陈述、虚拟、祈使三种，汉语中是否有表示虚拟的显性标记是个极具争议性的问题（蒋严 2000），但陈述和祈使形式是的确存在的。问题在于英语中表示陈述的 *mood* 可以出现在各种句子类型里，与陈述句并没有对应关系，汉语中表示陈述的 *mood* 与陈述句也没有必然关系。

解决这种混乱的办法之一是将汉语中表示说话人态度的口吻，表示 *mood, modality* 以及 *sentence type* 的范畴分开来处理，只将其中的一个归结为语气。同时按照句末助词的实际功能进行分类，分别考察与这四个句法语义范畴的关系，这样就可以避免混淆，也可以更好地解释句末助词的实际功能。

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助动词“好”、“容易”、“难”的比较

陶媛

香港理工大学

taoyuan2000@gmail.com

本文要讨论的是出现在以下例句中的“好”“容易”“难”：

- (1) 什么工作都不好干
- (2) 语言学论文难写
- (3) 夏天的衣服容易洗

朱德熙(1982)提出这样的用在动词词组前面的“好”“容易”“难”是助动词。近年来,还有一些学者发现这三个助动词与中动结构(middle construction)有关。(谷川裕,2005;顾阳,1990)然而,对于这三个助动词的异同,除了奥田宽(2000)对“好”和“容易”的语义、句法作了一定比较之外,还很少有学者注意到。本文拟从词汇层与句法层的差异,“好”、“容易”与“难”对主语和补足语的选择的不对称这两个角度来重新考虑“好”、“容易”“难”的异同,初步得到以下的结论:

- 1) [好/易/难+单音节动词]构成词汇形式,如:好/难吃、好/难看,或词汇-句法交界形式,如:好/易/难学、好/易/难记。这两种形式都只能是中动形式。
- 2) [容易+动词]以及[很难+双/多音节动词]构成句法形式,如:容易饿、容易疲倦、容易洗、很难完成、很难改变。这种形式不限于中动。
- 3) “好”只能构成中动形式,而“容易”、“难”还兼容中动、被动结构以及非宾格动词。
- 4) 在补足语动词是无界的时候,“难”只能选择补足语动词的内论元作主语,如:

- (4) 这锅肉很难熟
- (5) a. 这件毛衣很难洗
b. *小王很难洗这件毛衣

而当补足语有界的时候,“难”就不受以上的限制,还可以选择外论元作主语:

- (6) a. 这件毛衣很难洗干净
b. 小王很难洗干净这件毛衣

而“容易”对内论元的选择并不受补足语动词有界或无界的影响:

- (7) a. 这件毛衣很容易洗干净
b. *小王很容易洗干净这件毛衣

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北京话双音组词重音对实词素缀化的约束

王志洁

美国海军学院

najenny@usna.edu

本文试图从音系与词法界面研究的角度来考察北京话(连同以北京话为基础的北方官话及汉语普通话)中实词素的缀化,以及如何以包括词重音在内的形式化标准来检验其词缀资格。文中的考察基于 Wang (2005) 对近年来“准词缀”日趋增多现象的质疑及对某些学者提出的汉语“新的词缀化倾向”(Hermanova-Novotna 1969, 沈孟瓊 1986, 1996)的批判。Wang 在考察了 1968-1998 三十年中由十位有代表性的作者列出的 97 个准后缀及其派生词语之后指出,这些词素的“缀化”大都出于区分者所观察到的它们的“能产性”及某种语义的“虚化”,但各家对“虚化”并未形成任何统一的定义和标准,致使准后缀的范畴不断扩大,竟连缩略语中代表办公室的“办”(党办)和代表大学的“大”(农大)也被列入其中(马庆株 1998:181)。Wang 建议以形式语言学的方法和有关类型学的考虑重新审查词缀的定义及是否有必要建立准词缀这一语法类别,并提出四条形式语法原则作为考量词缀的标准,包括词缀需为粘着词素,需为轻声词素,需附着于单一词性的词根并派生出单一词类,及词缀本身不应为一个开放的类别。本文旨在跟进其中的第二条标准,重点考察除 Wang 讨论过的“-处₂(好处) -性₂(记性) -气(土气)”等轻声词缀之外这一类别的其他成员,如“-道(厚道) -和/乎(热和/乎)”等,主张将真正意义上的后缀以形式化的标准固定下来,而将其他所谓的准后缀还原为合成词的中心词。本文还将以王志洁、冯胜利(2006)提出的北京话双音组只有左重一种词重音的看法重新分析几个广为公认的前缀,如“老-(老张) 阿-(阿婆) 初-(初一)”等,并对诸如“反-(反侵略)”一类的所谓准前缀提出质疑。通过如此分析,作者希望一方面对合格的词缀进行有理有据的筛选和梳理,从而加深对汉语词法的认识,另一方面也对词重音理论及其对缀化的约束作必要的检验。

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汉语动补结构的小句内移位和小句外移位

杨晓东

韩国国立忠南大学

merlinyang@gmail.com

汉语结果补语结构可以粗分为两种类型：V-V 类型（包括 V-Adj）和“得”字类型，其中前者又可以分为不带宾语的 V-V 类型和带宾语的 V-V-O 类型（张宁 2001，Sybesma & 沈阳 2005，石毓智 2004）。Sybesma 和沈阳（2005）分析认为（1a）中的主语“阿 Q”跟动词“唱”之间“在句法结构和语义角色上都没有任何联系”，理由是（1a）和（1b）具有相同的句法结构，而（1b）中“肚子”不可能跟“笑”有语义上的联系。（4）为（1a）的推导过程示意：“阿 Q”从小句主语的位置移出至主句“大主语位置”，小句谓语“哭”移至 V0 不是一步到位的，基于“体投射假设”，“了”是包含在小句中功能性体投射，小句谓语“哭”先移位至 AspP 中心语“了”的位置拼合成“哭了”，这样可以实现“整个句子的‘T 链条’的相互连接一边使得句子得到完整的时态解释”，之后“哭了”上移至主句动词“唱”的位置拼合成复合动词“唱哭了”整体作为 VP 的中心词。（2a）的推导也是类似，只不过“小 D”移位到 Spec-VP 处。

- (1) a. 阿 Q 唱哭了。
b. 肚子笑疼了。
- (2) a. 阿 Q 唱哭了小 D。
b. 阿 Q 写累了论文。
- (3) a. 阿 Q 唱得累了。
b. 肚子笑得疼了。
c. 阿 Q 唱得小 D 哭了。
d. *阿 Q 写得论文累了。
e. 阿 Q 写论文写得累了。
- (4) [V' 唱 [SC/AspP /了 [XP [小主 阿 Q] [小谓 哭]]]] (Sybesma&沈阳 2005)
- └──────────┘ └──────────┘

Sybesma 和沈阳（2005）并没有解释形如（2b）的句子是如何推导的，很明显（2b）中的宾语“论文”跟小句的谓语“累”没有任何关系，却跟主句的动词“写”有着语义上的联系。并且，关于“得”字类型结构中“得”字的位置也无法确定。古汉语中类似（2a）的表达（5a），在插入了为区别连动和动补结构而无任何实意的“教”字后（石毓智 2004），表层的语序却和（3c）相同。这样的现象也在文中也没有说明。

- (5) a. 你割舍随我去任听，与你 [医教手好]。（张协状元[宋代]）
b. 然 [做得官好]，只是使人道是一个好官人。（朱子语类·训门人）
- (6) 他喝[得我都不知道说他什么好了]。

张宁（2001：194）分析了“得”字类型的补语结构后，认为在小句的谓语上方存在一个功能短语投射 FP（如（7）所示），而该 FP 的中心语可以由“得”字填充，也可通过中心语提升来填充。在比较了 V-V 结构和“得”字结构的共同点之后总结出这个 FP 实际上就是轻动词短语 vP。

- (7) a. [FP [F de [XP]]] b. [FP [F Xi [XP [v' t_i]]]]

本文从张宁(2001)的分析出发,认为补语小句中的小句谓语中心词通过在词汇层面和表示变化的词缀“了”结合后才进入到句法推导。“V了”或“Adj了”本身带有表示结果的特征[+R]。而位于补语小句上方的功能短语投射FP的中心语F0同样具有[+R]的特征。特征核查成为V-V类型补语小句谓语移位的动因。“得”字结构中,“得”字是补语标记,它的出现阻止了小句谓语的移位。这同样可以解释(5a)(5b)中“教”和“得”的作用,从而印证石毓智(2004)对这类词作用的判断¹。简而言之,小句内的谓语不必移出小句。而对于(3d)和(3e)的解释还可以进一步说明所谓“小句”其实并不小,其内部也可以有论元的分配,甚至是一个如(6)所示句子。

1. 石毓智(2004:66):...这里的“教(叫)”是一个语法标记,用以把动补结构与连动结构区别开来。在此之前动补结构与一般的连动结构在形式上毫无区别,只能靠语义特征来分辨。

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基于事件语义学的汉语双宾语句分析

曾莉

华中科技大学

liz20@sohu.com

根据希根伯撒姆 (Higginbotham, 1985) 等事件语义学家的看法, 每一个句子都有一个潜在的事件和它相对应, 这个潜在的事件是动词的一个可以量化的论元, 是动词在句子中的语义角色。因此, 本文将从事件语义学的角度来考察汉语双宾语句合法性满足的前提条件、获取义双宾语句成立的理由及其与单宾语句的区别。

汉语双宾语句合法性满足的前提条件: 第一它的动词要具有有界性; 第二它的动作必须有两个受影响者, 即整个事件必须有三个参与者: 施事、受事、与事, 同时这两个受影响者必须是独立的, 反映在语法上就是它的两个宾语必须具有独立性; 第三它必须能够量化为两个事件: 与施事的致使动作有关的致使性事件, 以及由此引起的子事件: 和与事得到客体物有关的结果子事件, 二者缺一不可。这三点是基于事件的时间和量化特征提出来的, 是汉语双宾语句合法的语义基础和前提。

汉语获取义双宾语句成立的理由: 首先, 它具有典型双宾语句的语义特征: 第一, 这类句子的动词都有起点和终点, 具有有界性。第二, 这类句子的动作都带有两个受影响者, 且这些名词性成分之间的关系是独立的。第三, 也都能够分析为两个子事件, 也是其中一个是致使性的子事件, 以及由此而产生的结果子事件: 与事失去了客事物体的结果子事件。其次, 根据徐盛桓 (2001) 的观点, 获取和给予可以理解为一种负给予和负获取, 因此, 表获取义的双宾语句应属于广义双宾语句式的一个分类。

汉语表获取义的双宾语句与表获取义的单宾语句的本质区别: 获取义双宾语句强调客体在施事与与事之间的移动, 不表示客体的具体领属关系, 能够分析为一个致使事件, 一个结果事件; 而表获取义的单宾语句强调客体的领有状态, 不蕴涵客体具体位置的转移, 只能分析成一个动作事件和一个状态事件, 无法分析为含有一个致使事件, 一个结果事件。

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同一身份、不同功能：普通话与粤语系词允准空语类能力差异分析

张和友 邓思颖

香港理工大学/ 北京师范大学 香港理工大学

hyhm@bnu.edu.cn sw.tang@polyu.edu.hk

引言

普通话（本文暂时以“普通话”代表北方话）的系词是“是”，粤语的系词是“係”（hai⁶）。本文拟以普通话为参照，比较普通话、粤语（以下简称普粤）的系词对某些空语类在允准能力上的差异，并试图对这种差异提出一个假设性的解释。对于这个假设性的解释，一方面，我们希望从别的方言那里得到旁证，另一方面，为了给这个假设提供足够的证据，我们还将从历时材料那里寻找动因。这样，本文提出的假设性解释就获得比较有力的支撑，从而具有存在的合理性。

本文要讨论的是普粤在特异系词句方面的句法差异，称说方便起见，暂且称为话题类系词句。话题类系词句是指下面这些句子，可以看到，即使有相同的语境支持（暂不考虑倚重语境的程度问题），普粤也表现出对立：（1—5）的 a 句在普通话中都能成立，而与之对应的（1—5）的 b 句在粤语中都不好。

- (1) a 狐狸是一个洞。
要表达的意思是：狐狸的屋子是一个洞。
b*狐狸係一个窿。
- (2) a 这裤子是晴雯的针线。
要表达的意思：从针线方式看，这条裤子是晴雯做的。
b *呢裤子係晴雯嘅针线。
- (3) a 那场大火是电线走了电。
b*嗰场大火係电线漏电。
- (4) a 张三是父亲病了。
要表达的意思：张三（没来上课）原因是父亲病了。
b*张三係阿爸病咗。
- (5) a 小张没来上课是父亲病了。
b*小张冇嚟上堂係父亲病咗。

假如我们接受如下事实：共时层面上，“是”的前后项在语义关系上符合“等同于”和“隶属于”两种模式，那么，（1）—（5）的 a 句显然无法纳入这两种模式。粤语索性根本不容纳这种特异的系词句。

这些对立促使我们思考如下问题：

（一）同是一种语言的变体，同为系词，为什么普粤会呈现对立？这种对立是否反映了这两种语言的系词本身在句法特征上的某种差异？

（二）与普粤系词自身特征差异相关的句法表现是什么？这种差异能否得到其他方言的旁证？

（三）普粤系词句的这种差异有无历时动因？

一 空语类允准假说以及普粤话题类系词句分析

话题类系词句在话题与系词之间含有一个空主语 e，其句法结构如（6）所示：

(6) [CP X [IP e [VP 系词 Y]]]

对于“e”的存在性的证明，我们在以往的研究中已经给出。下文还将从方言材料中看到，这个空主语“e”的存在不仅是语义解读的需要，而且在句法上也是需要的。南方有些方言（邵东话、台州话），前项X之后经常有一个话题标记。如果X是话题，那么，空主语“e”作为句子IP的指示语就有句法上的需要。不仅如此，假如我们接受如下事实：共时层面上，“是”的前后项在语义关系上符合“等同于”和“隶属于”两种模式，那么，语义解读也需要这个空主语“e”。

对于普粤上述差异，本文的看法是：这跟普粤这两种语言的系词对空语类主语的允准有关。具体说：普通话系词允许所有类型的空语类，包括指称人或物件的具体范畴的空语类，以及表达一种比较抽象意义的空语类（原因、情况、时间、方式、工具等）；比较而言，粤语的系词一般不允准这些空语类，尤其是抽象意义的空语类。我们将这个结论称为普粤话题类系词句的“空语类允准假设”。

二 谁才是真正的允准者：含有功能算子的系词句

这一节将讨论粤语中的某些“反例”，及含有情态算子“梗”的句子以及条件算子的句子。在比较普粤实例之后，指出：这些含有功能算子（情态、条件）的句子不构成“空语类允准假设”的反例。

三 普粤差异的方言实证

这一节将结合几个主要的南方方言（邵东话、台州话、闽语、客家话），对本文的普粤差异进行验证。我们发现：以“是”做系词的南方方言（邵东话、台州话、闽语）跟普通话表现出很大的一致性。

对本文的“空语类允准假设”提出难题的是客家话，客家话跟粤语一样，也以“係”做系词。理论上，客家话的表现应该跟粤语一致，但调查的结果发现：客家话在较大程度上跟普通话一致。这大概跟客粤的移民史有关，本文对此做了讨论。

四 普粤差异的历时动因

这一节将普粤系词允准空主语的能力差异联系到历时动因上，发现：共时层面上的差异原来“古已有之”。

结语

普粤系词在话题类句子中对空主语允准能力的差异可以看作“内因”，其外在表现为两种语言话题的丰富性。如果我们接受刘丹青（2001）的看法：粤语是最强的SV0型语言，官话是温和的SV0型语言，那么，与之相关的事实可能是：官话（普通话）的话题要比粤语丰富。

分配算子“各”及相关问题

张蕾 李宝伦 潘海华

香港城市大学 中文、翻译及语言学系

leizhang@cityu.edu.hk & ctpllee@cityu.edu.hk & cthpan@cityu.edu.hk

本文在林宗宏(1998)的基础上对副词“各”的语义功能进行了探讨。我们同意把“各”看成分配算子,但认为配对函项是把分类关键词和整个分配成分,而不仅仅是和分配成分的量进行配对。

我们假设当“各”的语义相当于英语中的“each”时,它要求一个取窄域的可被存在量化算子约束的无定 NP 来实现分配依存关系。据此我们可以判断哪些成分可以作“各”的分配成分。由于有定 NP 不能被存在量化算子约束,因此它不能充当分配成分,如“他们各喜欢那个演员”这类句子是不大能说的。对于带有反身代词的 NP 来说,反身代词迫使整个短语取窄域,而该 NP 的中心语可以被存在量化算子约束。带有数量短语的无定 NP 和疑问词短语也可以被存在量化算子约束。因此这三类成分都可以充当分配成分。至于光杆 NP,我们认为一些光杆 NP 不能作分配成分并不是因为它们具有内涵性,而是由于它们表示的是类指的概念,而表示类指时,它们不能被存在量化算子约束。“他们各有优点”之所以能说,是因为句中的光杆 NP 并不表示类指,它是有指的,比如说“优点”具体指的是学习好、有特长等等,此时它可以被存在量化算子约束。

林宗宏(1998)认为“各”要求与它相关联的成分具有外延性(extensionality),我们认为“各”要求它的分类关键词是一个非空的复数性集合。具体来说,陈述句中,这个分类关键词可以是有指的或是具有内涵性的非空复数性集合。而疑问句中,“各”只要求分类关键词在词汇形式上表现为复数性。本文揭示了“人人”等重叠 NP、“很多”一类广义量化词及副词“一般”等不与“各”共现的原因。

我们认为,在某个层次上,“各”必须出现在分类关键词和分配成分之间。我们认为与“都”相比,“各”具有表示“分别”的语义特征。

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汉字排检的笔形归类和排序问题

张小衡

香港理工大学 中文及双语学系

ctxzhang@polyu.edu.hk

汉字笔形的分类和排列是汉字排检和信息检索的基础。然而，笔形的分类和排列都存在着多样性。在分类方面，有四类说、五类说、七类说和八类说等；同一种数类的内部亦存在着归类的差别，例如，在五类说中就有“竖钩归竖”和“竖钩归折”之争（苏培成，2001, p70）。此外，同一种分类法在笔形排列上也存在分歧。例如，五类说的笔形排序法有：“横、竖、撇、点、折”（也称“札”字法或“天上人间”法）、“横、竖、折、撇、点”（“丙”字法）、“点、横、竖、撇、折”（“海天日月红”或“寒来暑往”法）和“点、竖、撇、横、折”（“江山千古”法）等等（傅永和，1999，p10；费锦昌，1997）。

本文通过对上述各种笔形归类和排序法作较为深入的分析 and 比较，认为对于汉字排检来说，“横、竖、撇、点、折”五类说较为合适。提归横，捺归点，各种曲折笔形归折。“竖钩归折”比“竖钩归竖”方便好操作些。笔形排序方面，“横、竖、撇、点、折”（“札”字法）比较好，其优点包括：与“先横后竖，先撇后捺”基本笔顺规则一致，有多种提示助记方法，符合现行国家标准（国家语委，2000），而且已经在社会上广泛使用。

文章中还提出了一种新的笔形排序法，即“点(d)、横(h)、撇(p)、竖(s)、折(z)”字母序法。该法以笔画名称的普通话汉语拼音排序，其优点包括：采用拼音字母序，直接、简便；与英文排检法一致，同国际接轨，有利对外汉语教学；扩充性好，便于增加笔形类别，例如，八类说的字母法排列是“点(d)、钩(g)、横(h)、捺(n)、撇(p)、竖(s)、提(t)、折(z)”。这种思想还可应用于其它拼音（如广州话拼音、日语罗马拼音等）的笔形排序。

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優選論下語言的共時與歷時變異：以粵北土話小稱詞為例

鄭明中

國立聯合大學 客家語言與傳播研究所

mccheng@nuu.edu.tw

由於理論上的缺限，語言演變（language variation）在衍生音韻學及傳統優選論裡一直未受到應有的重視。然而，由於語言觀念的改變及分析方式的突破，近年來共時與歷時的結合已是語言學研究的趨勢；反觀，漢語方言小稱詞在這方面的研究略顯不足。小稱是漢語方言重要的語言現象之一，小稱詞的存在對漢語發展的推演具有很大的意義，但是大部分的研究都侷限於方言語料蒐集與小稱功能描述（曹逢甫，2006），理論分析並不多見，更不用說是利用理論分析來解釋小稱詞歷時變化的動機了。因此，本研究要從理論分析著手，以粵北土話小稱詞為主題，利用理論分析來呼應並觀察粵北土話小稱詞是如何改變、為什麼改變、是什麼樣共同的語法限制牽制著小稱詞的變化軌跡？粵北土話分布在廣東省北部，是一群語言歸屬未明的方言群，帶有閩、粵、客、贛、桂北平話、湘南土話及西南官話的語言特徵，其小稱詞的形成是透過喉塞音增生（glottal stop insertion）的方式，有中塞式、後塞式及無塞式等三種形態。再者，本研究採用「部分制約排序」（partial order constraints）（Kiparsky, 1993; Antilla, 1997, 2002a, 2002b, 2007）。傳統優選論（Prince & Smolensky, 1993, 2004）認為每個語言裡的制約都須要完全排序（total ordered constraints），其主要的缺點就是不允許語言變異產生。但是，語言變化是發展的必然現象，這種呼籲促成了「部分制約排序」的產生。「部分制約排序」允許某些制約不排序，這樣的作法給與語言相當的變化彈性。另外，「部分制約排序」也可以呈現方言變化裡共同的語法限制，這些限制規範了方言變化的方向，呼應了語言是「一個有序的異質體」（an orderly heterogeneity）的看法。鄭明中（2006）及鍾榮富、鄭明中（2007）已對粵北土話小稱詞進行優選論分析，本研究將之前的結果與「部分制約排序」相結合，進一步揭發粵北土話小稱詞是如何演進的，其制約的互動與排序是如何進行，並找出演化的共同限制。本研究亦特別著墨於二個要點：「決定性的不排序」（crucial nonranking）與「非決定性的排序」（noncrucial ranking）、及「去口腔阻塞化」（debuccalization）。

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音系学就是音节学*

朱晓农

香港科技大学人文学部

hmxzhu@yahoo.com

本文重新定义‘音系学’为‘音节学’，并提倡这种音节学。

本文认为：(1)音系学的基本单位不是最小分析单位，而是结构单位：音节。因此，音系学的研究应该以音节为中心展开；(2)音节的构成成份是声母、韵母等音系学单位，而不是辅音、元音等语音学单位。

只有清晰地认识到上述两点，才能区分语音学和音系学这两个学科，这是个100年前自音系学问世以来一直纠缠不休的难题。也只有区分了音系学和语音学，才能给音系学自主的地位，并推进他的自足研究。

仿照家庭在社会学中的定义，本文重新定义了音节：音节是一个语言的音系中最基本、最核心、最重要的结构单位；他由一个声母和一个韵母组成。语言中能够自由运用的最小的语音单位构成一个音节。

音节有内部结构，但不是每个语言或方言的音节结构都相同的。所有音节都有音段层面，但只有复杂的音节才另分出层面。简单音节只有音段层面，声调语还有一个超音段层面，更复杂的音节还有发声态和时长两个层面。因此，一个音节最少只有一个层面，最多可以分为四个层面。不同语言/方言中的音段层面下都分层级，但级数不一定一样多，每一层级上的音节成份也不一定一样多。本文以上海话、北京话、广州话、厦门话等四个方言为例分析了汉语中有所不同的音节结构。

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