



**LSHK-ARF 2014**  
**December 6, 2014**  
**City University of Hong Kong (Co-Organizer)**

**Program**

**Venue: Yellow Zone, Academic Building 1, City University of Hong Kong**  
Lecture Hall 11 (on the 4<sup>th</sup> floor) and classrooms Y5-303, Y5-304, Y5-305, Y5-306 (all  
on the 5<sup>th</sup> floor)

08:30 – 09:00	<b>Registration (Y5-303)</b>
09:00– 09:10	<b>Opening &amp; Presentation of Outstanding Thesis Award (LT-11)</b>
09:10 – 10:30	<b>Thesis Awardee Report (LT-11)</b>
10:30 – 10:45	<b>Tea Break (next to Y5-306)</b>
10:45– 11:25	<b>Keynote Speech (LT-11)</b> Pragmatics and the Law Jacob L. Mey
11:25 – 11:50	<b>AGM (LT-11)</b>
	<b>Parallel Session 1a (Y5-303)</b> Chair: Kwok Bit-Chee, City University of Hong Kong
11:50 – 12:10	東勢客家話舌尖前音聲母顎化與否之聲學探究 鄭明中, 張月珍
12:10 – 12:30	宋元等韻圖三四等界限模糊的現象及現代方言的反映 孔品淑
12:30 – 12:50	粵東閩南語的分群 鄭至君
	<b>Parallel Session 1b (Y5-304)</b> Chair: Mathias Gerner, City University of Hong Kong
11:50 – 12:10	Scalar Model and Chinese Climax Constructions Ka-fat Chow
12:10 – 12:30	Differential argument marking in the Himalayas Cathryn Donohue
12:30 – 12:50	Logophor, empathy, and ziji Hyunjun Park

	<b>Parallel Session 1c (Y5-305)</b> Chair: Peggy Mok, The Chinese University of Hong Kong
11:50 – 12:10	The Beneficial Effect of Third Language Acquisition and Trilingual Mental Lexicon Yanjiao Zhu
12:10 – 12:30	Emergent Morphology & Phonology: An example from Assamese Diana Archangeli, Douglas Pulleyblank
12:30 – 12:50	Resistance to compensation for coarticulation in Cantonese Jonathan Yip
	<b>Parallel Session 1d (Y5-306)</b> Chair: Tang Sze Wing, The Chinese University of Hong Kong
11:50 – 12:10	从语义场的角度看广州方言词汇的传承与变异 林茵茵
12:10 – 12:30	Scalar Mat-construction in Cantonese Margaret Nga Yee Lam
12:30 – 12:50	副词“也”语义演变及功能扩展的认知解释 陈鸿瑶

12:50– 02:00	<b>Lunch (next to Y5-306)</b>
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02:00 – 03:30	<b>Special Session: Language Policy Issues in Hong Kong S.A.R (LT-11)</b> Chair: Casuar Lun, City University of Hong Kong Invited Speakers: Tang Sze Wing, The Chinese University of Hong Kong Kwok Wing-yin, SCOLAR, EDB
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03:30 – 03:45	<b>Tea Break (next to Y5-306)</b>
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	<b>Parallel Session 2a (Y5-303)</b> Chair: Paul Law, City University of Hong Kong
03:45 – 04:05	汉语中的“给予”与“取得”类双宾结构 杨萌萌 胡建华
04:05 -- 04:25	Tense interpretations in different modes of discourse Wuyun Saina
04:25 – 04:45	Non-Canonical Object Construction in Chinese: A corpus study Yu'an Yang
04:45 – 05:05	Atypical Objects in Mandarin Chinese Bei Chen
	<b>Parallel Session 2b (Y5-304)</b> Chair: Jonathan Yip, The University of Hong Kong
03:45 – 04:05	Syllable as tone-bearing unit for Japanese: a Target Approximation perspective Albert Lee, Yi Xu

04:05 -- 04:25	Prosodic Phrasing in Monolingual, Multilingual and Second-Language Learners' Speech Vessela Dimitrova
04:25 – 04:45	Production of Mandarin coronal sibilants by adult Korean speakers Jing Shao, Bin Li
04:45 – 05:05	Underspecified tone in Cantonese English Suki Yiu
	<b>Parallel Session 2c (Y5-305)</b> Chair: Olivia Kwong, City University of Hong Kong
03:45 – 04:05	Collocational features of China English: A corpus-based contrastive study Jianli Liang, David C. S. Li
04:05 -- 04:25	A Multilingual Corpus: Its Construction and Application Shan Wang, Francis Bond
04:25 – 04:45	A Corpus-based Study on the Awareness of Prosodic Structures in Learners of Chinese as a Second Language Yanhui Zhang, Zhe Gao
04:45 – 05:05	Editing and reading Chu bamboo manuscripts: Paleography, syntax and textual cohesion Marco Caboara
	<b>Parallel Session 2d (Y5-306)</b> Chair: Tom Lai, City University of Hong Kong
03:45 – 04:05	澄海話兩種“乞伊”結構的句法分析 金佳
04:05 -- 04:25	云澳方言的特殊“乞伊”结构 张静芬
04:25 – 04:45	香港漢字書寫系統中異體字的部件簡化——以三組形似部件為例 尤盛
04:45 – 05:05	论元的选择与“他的老师当得好”及其他 胡建华

	<b>Parallel Session 3a (Y5-303)</b> Chair: Wuyun Saina, The Chinese University of Hong Kong
05:10 – 05:30	Mandarin connective haishi: a Hamblin-set for questions and unconditionals Mengxi Yuan, Yurie Hara
05:30 – 05:50	汉语副词“才”作为时间或排他性副词在复杂句的语义分析 张蕾, 李宝伦
05:50 – 06:10	客家話的“同”字處置式 鄭秋晨 Scalar Mat-construction in Cantonese Margaret Nga Yee Lam
	<b>Parallel Session 3b (Y5-304)</b> Chair: Yurie Hara, City University of Hong Kong
05:10 – 05:30	The L2 Acquisition of the Mandarin Potential Complement Construction Stella Yan Cong
05:30 –	Factors delaying the acquisition of prepositions in L2 English

05:50	Atsushi Fujimori
05:50 – 06:10	Referentially dependent subject nouns in L2 Japanese narratives: A preliminary study Shinsuke Tsuchiya, Noriko Yoshimura, Mineharu Nakayama
	<b>Parallel Session 3c (Y5-305)</b> Chair: Foong Ha Yap, The Hong Kong Polytech University
05:10 – 05:30	The analysis of the cohesion and coherence on Basic Law in Hong Kong: A Discourse Analysis Charles Ko
05:30 – 05:50	Returning to halted storytelling in conversation: forms and actions Xin Peng, Wei Zhang
05:50 – 06:10	Structural and Information-structural Effects on Accessibility in Pronoun Resolution: Saliency from Subjecthood and Focusing in Chinese Discourse Daniel Tsz-hin Lee
	<b>Parallel Session 3d (Y5-306)</b> Chair: Peppina Lee, City University of Hong Kong
05:10 – 05:30	Acquisition of Chinese Notional Passive by L2 Chinese learners: an empirical study Wang Jia
05:30 – 05:50	The Disturbance in Language Acquisition and the Vanishing of [V 而(ER)V] Coordinate Verb Phrase Man Shan Tong
05:50 – 06:10	Acquisition of Cantonese Perfective Aspect Marker 咗 by Adult L2 Mandarin-speaking Learners Jing Zhong, Ziyin Mai

## Keynote Speech

### Pragmatics and the Law

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The talk seeks to place the old question of the 'power of words' in a pragmatic perspective, especially to the extent that the law and legal texts are concerned. Questioning the wisdom of the old adage "Saying it does not make it so", I show that words do have an effect (a fact that philosophers and linguists have tried to capture, using the concepts of 'speech act' and 'pragmatic act'); in particular, the *legal* components of this 'verbal power' are precisely what makes contractual acts valid (even though sometimes, words can be left out, or replaced by actions, the context permitting).

Based on a couple of historical and contemporary cases, the talk will show how the words actually make the crucial difference in a variety of contexts: not only legal, but also social, educational, and others. The pragmatic angle (i.e., the orientation towards the user) is always paramount, in that our words shall comply with what are often called the users' pragmatic 'affordances' in the situation in which the words are uttered.

#### **Bio**

Professor Jacob L. Mey is Professor Emeritus of Linguistics at the University of Southern Denmark. He holds honorary Dr. Phil. degrees from the Universities of Zaragoza, Spain (1993) and Bucharest, Romania (2006). In 2008, Professor Mey was presented with a Life Time Award from the University of Southern Denmark for his work in Pragmatics. Professor Mey's research interests concern all areas of pragmatics, with an emphasis on the social aspects of language use, the pragmatic impact of computer technologies, and the pragmatic use of literary devices. Currently, he is University Fellow in the Department of English at Hong Kong Baptist University.

## Emergent Morphology & Phonology: An example from Assamese

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Linguistics has long been dominated by a largely top-down approach to language, striving to understand properties of a hypothesized innate language endowment, “Universal Grammar”. At the same time, advances in cognitive science (driven in part by the influence of generative linguistics), have increased our understanding of human mental capabilities. This leads in turn to a reassessment of how we conceive of grammar – whether it is largely “Universal” or whether it is acquired through general human capabilities turned to the language problem, leading to a primarily bottom-up “Emergent Grammar”.

Emergent Grammar assumes language acquisition relies heavily on discovering similarities, counting frequencies, and making categories to create a symbolic system that characterizes relations among the various categories. This leads to an allomorphy-based grammar – for all morphemes. Part of the job of the grammar is to encode relations between allomorphs; another part of the job is to determine which allomorph to use in a particular context.

In this paper, vowel harmony and related phenomena in Assamese illustrate how an Emergent Morphology and Phonology interact. Assamese has an asymmetric 8 vowel inventory, [i e ε a ɔ o u]. In learning phonological properties, beyond learning that each of these sounds is relevant to the language, the learner will also identify similarities among members of this category, leading to generalizations like (a) High front vowels are advanced; (b) Low vowels are retracted. As longer sequences are identified, the learner will add other generalizations: (c) Mid vowels in closed syllables are retracted; (d) Sequences of  $RTR_{[-low]}^{\wedge}ATR$  do not occur. As morphemes are identified, the learner will go on to discover that (e) Within morphemes, sequences of  $ATR^{\wedge}RTR$  do not occur ([i] is exempt). Allomorphs that alternate due to harmony will be systematically related based on  $ATR/RTR$ .

These conditions govern lexical items and they govern the selection of the correct allomorph when there is a choice to be made. There are however exceptions to some of these general conditions. On the lexical side, there are a few advanced mid vowels in closed syllables, e.g. [dol] ‘temple’; there are also  $RTR^{\wedge}ATR$  sequences, e.g. [ɔxex] ‘limitless’. These types of exceptions are unremarkable under the bottom-up Emergent approach: as the learner approaches language, regularities and sub-regularities emerge; lexical exceptions are a vestige of such data-driven acquisition.

On the generalization side, while the low [a] is typically not a harmony target ( $RTR_{[-low]}^{\wedge}ATR$ ), preceding certain morphemes, it is a target: [kɔpal] ‘destiny’ but [kopoliya] ‘destined’. The relevant suffix, [-iya] is special in that it requires a preceding advanced vowel, {  $iya_{ATR}$  }. The choice, then, is between [kɔpaliya $_{ATR}$ ] and [kopoliya $_{ATR}$ ]: only the latter satisfies the requirement of a preceding advanced vowel. The form [kɔpal] must be the default, surfacing in isolation and before  $ATR$  morphemes without lexical requirements.

Morphosyntactic properties also drive allomorph selection: the morphemes selected must satisfy the morphosyntax of the item itself. One example is the “portmanteau” morpheme, a type of suppletion where a single phonological unit represents two distinct morphological categories. For example, in Assamese, the tense and person markers are typically kept separate: [xuŋilɔ] ‘smell-past perfect-1<sup>st</sup>person’ [xuŋisɔ] ‘smell-present progressive-1<sup>st</sup>person’. The future is typically [ib] as in [xuŋibq] ‘smell-future-2<sup>nd</sup>ordinary’. However, the 1<sup>st</sup> person future is not \*[xuŋibɔ], but rather [xuŋim]. In identifying which allomorph combination is best, and evaluating \*[xuŋibɔ] and [xuŋim], the grammar will select [xuŋim]: [xuŋ] satisfies ‘smell’ but neither 1<sup>st</sup> person nor future while [im] satisfies both 1<sup>st</sup> person and future (though not ‘smell’). By contrast, in \*[xuŋibɔ], each morpheme satisfies only one of the morphosyntactic criteria, and so is less desirable (6 violations vs. 3 violations).

## Atypical Objects in Mandarin Chinese

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This paper aims to provide an analysis of the atypical objects in Mandarin Chinese. Specifically, the Chinese atypical objects are VO constructions, such as *chī shítáng* ‘eat in the canteen’, *fēi Guǎngzhōu* ‘fly to Guangzhou’, and *xiě máobǐ* ‘write with writing brush’, etc., and it has been termed in a various ways by different authors. Such as “restricted object” (Li 1983), “substitute object” (Xing 1991), “adverbial objects” (Lin 2001), “atypical patient object” (Zhang 2004, Ren 2005), “oblique object” (Sun 2010), and “non-canonical objects” (Barrie & Li 2012), etc. We first review of these some previous researches on atypical objects, such as the hypothesis related to rtheme, the light verb analysis, the empty element hypothesis, and so on. It is pointed out that these previous studies all concentrate on certain aspects of the atypical object constructions, and a general and comprehensive analysis and account concerning the atypical objects is yet to be provided. We demonstrate, in this paper, that the atypical objects in Mandarin Chinese are not obligatory arguments of verbs, which can occupy normal typical object positions under certain conditions.

Based on large-scale corpus, a total of 1337 verbs were examined one by one in the current study to see if they have atypical object use through detailed manual analysis. Our analysis reveals that only 70 verbs could take atypical objects and all of these verbs are monosyllabic. By examining the thematic roles of the atypical objects, this paper divides the atypical objects into eight kinds, including Instrument, Location, Material, Manner, Reason, Role, Source, and Time. Our investigation shows that atypical objects have very special syntactic and semantics properties, and that there are also restrictions on the verbs which can take atypical objects.

## 副词“也”语义演变及功能扩展的认知解释

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通常认为虚词没有词汇意义，只有语法意义，但从认知语言学的角度来讲，虚词意义是对事物间关系的概念化，是人类比较和类推能力的反应，副词“也”的意义正是对“异同比较”关系的概念化，人的认知视角的变化，突显了“也”字概念结构中的不同部分，对“也”字意义的诸多探讨也是对“也”字意义理想化认知的结果。从“关联副词”到“语气副词”是“也”的主观性逐渐增强的过程，是“也”的非范畴化的过程，是“也”这个话语标记形成的过程，是预设差异功能获得的过程，副词“也”一系列的意义转变和功能扩展，都可以在这个过程中得到解释，找到答案。

“类同”作为“也”的原型意义，是比较思维的结果，它蕴涵着得出这个结果的“比较”的思维过程。“带前提句的也字句”的比较框架客观存在，“也”表现为客观的异同比较，功能也较单一，这时对于比较框架的理想化认知的结果形成了关联副词“也”的语义多义性——“添加”、“同中有异”、“异中有同”、“并存”、“递减”。而“零前提句的也字句”和“不带前提句的也字句”，随着前提句语义内容逐渐由现实事件变为非现实事件，比较框架的客观性减弱，比较行为的主观性增强，进而变成主观的评价，语气副词“也”开始表达“评价”的情态义。

“比较”是范畴化的前提，“类同”是以“同项”为语义纬度进行分类的结果，因此，副词“也”具有归类功能——当说话人把某一非共识性成员归入某一共识性范畴时，是说话人强烈主观性的表现。由于该成员具有归入该范畴的最低可能性，在该范畴的语用梯级中，“也”具有了级差算子的功能，也带来了反预期的话语效果，可以说，比较框架的改变带来了副词“也”的功能多义性。

无论是关联副词“也”还是语气副词“也”，其具有语篇衔接功能是毋庸置疑的，但其语篇衔接功能的实现方式明显不同。当“也”字的“类同”义突显时，小句中的类同特征是它们前后衔接的理由，当“也”字具有主观性倾向时，虽然也是“类同”义突显，但隐性衔接已经体现了说话人一定的元语意识，语篇端点不都在语篇之内，听话人要经过语用推理才能实现“也”的“类同”义。语气副词“也”，“类同”的概念意义隐去，过程意义突显，“也”仅仅表现为一种关联，衔接起分别存在于说话人预设和话语命题的语篇端点，成为标记说话人对命题态度的话语标记，引导听话人通过“搭桥参照”来实现话语之间的连贯。

“也”的意义变化也随之带来人际和语篇功能的变化，但正如刘正光（2006）所言，语言行为的范畴化具有理解的特征，理解的特征使得范畴化具有动态性。范畴的边界是模糊的，语言形式能够用来表达一些边缘意义，这意味着表达的意义发生了一定的变化，而这种变化在形式上会通过词汇、语法和结构特征体现出来，但变化的动因则产生于语用交际意图。可见，交际意图才是语言发展变化的根本动力，交际意图促使说话人对同一概念结构做出不同的识解，以满足其交际目的的需要。



## Mental Representation of Emotional Words in the Chinese-English Bilingual Lexicon

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Previous studies proposed that emotional words were represented and processed differently in the bilingual lexicon. The words about emotions under investigation in those studies, however, were not consistent. They did not clearly distinguish emotion words (words denoting emotional states, like *happy* or *sad*), emotion-laden words (words that elicit emotions but do not express feelings directly, like *wisdom* or *cancer*) and emotional words (an umbrella term for both emotion words and emotion-laden words). The inconformity of terms and mixed stimuli used in previous studies lead to two possible hypotheses: emotion words are processed differently from concrete and abstract words (Altarriba, Bauer & Benvenuto, 1999; Altarriba, 2003; Altarriba & Bauer, 2004); emotional words are processed differently from neutral words (Altarriba & Canary, 2004; Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Ayçiçeği & Harris, 2004).

Two cross-language translation priming experiments were conducted to test the two hypotheses respectively. Twenty highly proficient Chinese-English bilinguals were asked to do a lexical decision task in Chinese-English condition and English-Chinese condition in each experiment. There were two within-subject factors: word type (emotion words, concrete words and abstract words in Experiment One; neutral words, positive words and negative words in Experiment Two) and language condition (EC and CE conditions). The reaction time and error rate of different types of words were compared. In Experiment One, the reaction time of emotion words was different from concrete words but not significantly different from abstract words in both language conditions. In Experiment Two, negative words were responded significantly slower than positive and neutral words in both language conditions. An interesting phenomenon is that the reaction time in the CE condition and EC condition was nearly the same for neutral words while it differed significantly for emotional words.

There are mainly three implications of the current study. First, emotional words, not emotion words, are represented and processed differently in the bilingual lexicon. Previous studies on words related to emotions considered only emotion words or emotion-laden words. The results of the two experiments, however, suggest that these two types of words should be grouped and examined as a whole since they are characterized as having emotionality. Most importantly, emotionality and concreteness should be treated as two separate dimensions charactering words as well as influencing word processing. Secondly, emotionality of words influences word processing, with negative valence slowing down the reaction time. It also partially confirms the suggestion that the effect of valence on word processing is influenced by task requirements. Finally, the phenomenon that representational asymmetry was observed only in emotional words suggest that asymmetric link between the two lexicons and the concepts may be influenced by the emotionality of words for highly proficient bilinguals. The disappearance of asymmetric link between L1 and L2 lexicon has not been observed in previous studies. It suggests that the emotionality should be taken into consideration when investigating the representational asymmetry in the bilingual lexicon.

### Reference

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## Parallel Sessions

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## Scalar Model and Chinese Climax Constructions

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Climax (遞進) constructions and scalar models are two very different notions which have been studied by different groups of scholars. Traditionally, climax constructions have been studied as a subtype of Chinese complex sentences by Chinese grammarians, while scalar model is a conceptual tool developed by such Construction Grammarians as Fillmore *et al* (1988) and Kay (1990) for studying scalar reasoning and certain linguistic items called “scalar operators” (SOs). While the aforesaid two types of studies were historically unrelated, there is indeed a connection between them. The two most important English SOs studied under the Scalar Model Theory (SMT), i.e. “even” and “let alone” (or “not to mention”), correspond to two important climax construction connectives (CCCs) in Chinese, i.e. “lian\_dou” and “hekuang”.

The objective of this study is to develop an enhanced SMT based on the notion of informativeness and then apply it to the study on the scalar use of the Chinese CCCs, which will be seen as SOs. Under this framework, the proper use of SOs is constrained by “conditions of use”. For example, from Fillmore *et al* (1988) and Kay (1990) one can derive the following condition of use for “even p, not to mention q”:  $I(p) > I(q)$  where  $I(.)$ , called the I-function, is a measure of the informativeness of the two propositions p and q. In this study, I will derive the conditions of use for the Chinese CCCs (scalar use) in a similar fashion. For example, the condition of use for the most common climax construction “budan p, erqie q” can be shown to be:  $I(p) < I(q)$  whereas the condition of use for the anti-climax construction “budan bu p, faner q” can be shown to be:  $I(\neg p) < I(q)$  where “ $\neg p$ ” represents the negation of p.

Moreover, certain peculiar phenomena concerning Chinese CCCs as pointed out by Xing (2001) and Zhou (2007) can be easily accounted for by using this framework. Examples of such phenomena include: the use of the inclusive construction “chule p, hai / bingqie q” as a climax construction, the appearance of the comparative particle “geng” in certain climax constructions such as “budan p, (erqie) geng q” and “shangqie p, geng (hekuang) q” where “geng” plays opposite roles, etc. This study thus sheds new light on the traditional study of Chinese climax constructions.

### References

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## The L2 Acquisition of the Mandarin Potential Complement Construction

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The main concern of this paper is the second language acquisition of a language specific structure—the Mandarin potential complement construction. This is different from most of the languages in the world including English where modal notions are expressed by modal verbs and auxiliaries. It is a syntactic construction used to convey potential possibility in Mandarin and Cantonese. The various behaviors of the modal expressions in these three languages, i.e., English, Cantonese and Mandarin, raise interesting questions in second language acquisition research. The present study aims to explore how Cantonese speaking learners and English speaking learners process the Mandarin potential complement construction. Acceptability judgment test and corpus study were conducted to examine typical learning difficulties and essential acquisition patterns in the course of acquiring the Mandarin potential complement construction.

Given that the Mandarin potential complement construction is less marked than the Cantonese counterpart, but more marked than English modal expressions, I hypothesized that Cantonese speaking learners would have more native-like performance than English speaking learners. Surprisingly, this hypothesis was not completely confirmed in the present study. The thesis concluded that for both English speakers and Cantonese speakers, the acquisition of the irrealis nature of the Mandarin potential complement construction is of the highest difficulty degree. Moreover, English speakers have more native-like performance than Cantonese speakers with respects to the word order issues of this construction. While Cantonese speakers have more accurate judgment than English speakers on the distinction between modal verbs and the Mandarin potential complement construction. I will spell out the subjects' performance from the perspectives of language transfer theory, markedness theory, the subset principle and other language acquisition theories.

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## Differential Argument Marking in the Himalayas

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This paper outlines various uses of the ergative case in languages of the Himalayas. In this area, the ergative case is seldom straightforwardly used to mark all transitive subjects (e.g. Tibetan; see Tournadre 2010), and instead shows a broad range of functions. However, understanding this variability in case marking has proven to be quite challenging (e.g. Chelliah & Hyslop 2011).

In this paper I focus on the use of the ergative case marker in one particular language, Bumthang, a Bodic language of central Bhutan described in van Driem 1995). I report on fieldwork (done together with Mark Donohue) based on elicitation and textual analysis from the variety spoken in Ura, in the south-east of the language's range. The results of this focused study show that there is wide variability involved, dependent on many factors, including positional variance due to information structure differences, as well as TAM, lexical aspect, and animacy. While each of these factors have been shown to be important in determining the use of ergative case in other languages described as showing split ergativity, Bumthang shows us that at least in some languages, *all* these factors are important in understanding the use of the ergative case marker. In particular, the information structural properties and/or their impact for positional licensing appears to be a new contribution to the typology of case marking.

This work is further situated within the body of work discussing case variation or differential argument marking in general, and the degree of observed variation in a language like Bumthang is discussed in terms of how any of the existing models may account for this kind of differential argument marking.

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## Non-Trivial Distribution of Mandarin *dou*-A Relook at *Dou*'s Compatibility with Predicate Types

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Lin (1998) treats the Mandarin *dou* as a cover-based distributive operator in the sense of Schwarzschild (1996). Also, he steers away from former notions like distributive sub-entailment (Dowty, 1987) and proposes the proper subset condition as in (1) to explicate *dou*'s compatibility with various types of VP predicates. Essentially, in Lin (1998), when *dou* takes a VP as its scope and a noun phrase as its restrictor to induce distributivity, there must exist a proper subset in the denotation of the noun phrase that also satisfies the VP denotation.

(1) Proper subset condition (henceforth as PSC)

*Dou* only occurs with predicates which have a proper subset entailment on the group argument.

This paper investigates the distributive effect of *dou* and discusses the problems with PSC by Lin (1998). Instead of Lin's separate condition on predicate types, this paper argues that it is essentially the non-trivial distribution of *dou* that constrains its compatibility with different predicate types.

**Problems with PSC** Lin (1998)'s PSC cannot fully countenance the Chinese data. It is sometimes too loose-fitting. In cases where *dou* is associated with a plurality of two individuals, one cannot find a proper subset of the plurality that is also in the VP denotation, yet *dou* may still be licit as compared in (2) and (3).

(2) Tamen liang-ge dou huxiang da-le-zhao. (3) \*Tamen liang-ge dou shi tongxue.  
they two-CL DIST each-other beckon-ASP-greeting they two-CL DIST be classmate  
'They two greeted each other.' 'They two are classmates.'

Also, PSC can be too tight-fitting. In cases with collective predicates, even though there is a proper set that is also in the extension of the VP denotation, the occurrence of *dou* is not permitted. For instance, in the scenario visualized in Figure 1, among the 26 policemen surrounding the bookstore, 24 of them encircled the store and the rest 2 stood at the entrance to reinforce the enclosure. Despite that a proper subset consisting of 24 policemen also surrounded the bookstore, (4) is still hardly acceptable in the scenario.

(4) \*Na-xie jingcha dou ba shudian baowei-le.  
those policeman DOU BA bookstore surround-ASP  
'Those policemen surrounded the bookstore.'

Figure 1



**Trivial or non-trivial distribution** When investigating the distributive force of certain expressions, we distinguish trivial and non-trivial distribution. If distributivity is viewed as a relation, by trivial distribution, we refer to cases when there is no variation between the sorting key and the distributed share. Champollion (2010) argues that the English *all* allows trivial distribution, that is, distribution down to one single atom. For instance in (5), the gathering event in the VP denotation is distributed to one single group atom built from the plurality of people. Balusu (2006), however, proposes that reduplicated numerals in Telugu do not allow trivial distribution. For the temporal reading of (6), it is normally impossible that the same two monkeys jumped in each time interval.

(5) All people gathered. (6) RenDu renDu kootu-lu egir-i-niyi  
2 2 monkey-PI jump-Past-3PPI  
Temporal key reading: '2 monkeys jumped in each time interval.'

**Conditions on *dou*'s compatibility with predicate types** By investigating the Chinese data, we argue that the distribution induced by *dou* should be non-trivial, that is, both the entities in the sorting key and the distributed share need to have multiple parts to at least induce some variance between them. On the contrary, if the sorting key or the distributed share contains merely one member, the use of *dou* is ungrammatical as it is impossible for entities in the sorting key and the distributed share to vary with each other.

Contra Lin's PSC, we propose that it is basically the non-trivial distribution of *dou* that rules out sentence (3) and (4). In (3), the VP denotation is symmetric, that is, an event where *a* is a classmate with *b* equals an event where *b* is a classmate with *a*. Thus, the two individuals are in fact related to one same event of being classmates and there is no variation between the sorting key and the distributed share. While in (2), greeting events are asymmetric and the two individuals can vary with two events of greeting between them when quantified by *dou*. And (4) is unacceptable as the noun phrase 'those policemen' cannot be interpreted as multiple group atoms satisfying the VP denotation in the scenario specified.

The non-trivial distribution of *dou* is formalized as two conditions on the sorting key and the distributed share as in (7-b) and (7-c). The multiple-atom domain requirement (7-b) demands that the sorting key should contain multiple atoms, which can be groups or individuals; while the multiple-event requirement (7-c) demands that the distributed share should involve multiple subevents which are also in the VP denotation.

- (7) a.  $[[Dou_{\theta}]] = \lambda P_{\langle v, t \rangle} \lambda x \lambda e [*P(e) \wedge \forall y [y_{atom} \leq x \rightarrow \exists e' [e' \leq e \wedge P(e') \wedge \theta(e') = y]]]$
- b. **The multiple-atom domain requirement:**  $\exists y \exists z [y \neq z \wedge atom(y) \wedge atom(z) \wedge y \leq x \wedge z \leq x]$
- c. **The multiple-event requirement:**  $\exists e' \exists e'' [e' \leq e \wedge e'' \leq e \wedge e' \neq e'' \wedge P(e') \wedge P(e'') \wedge \theta(e') \leq x \wedge \theta(e'') \leq x \wedge atom(\theta(e')) \wedge atom(\theta(e''))]$

**Conclusion** When *dou* induces distributivity, the effect should be non-trivial, that is, the sorting key and the distributed share should be able to vary with each other at least to some extent. *Dou*'s compatibility with various predicate types cannot be explained by the proper subset condition; rather, it is explained as the consequence of non-trivial distribution, which echoes with the cross-linguistic data in Telugu.

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## Factors Delaying the Acquisition of Prepositions in L2 English

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This is a preliminary study of how Japanese EFL learners acquire the function of prepositions in transitive structures. Prepositions (Ps) are a functional category akin to verbs (Jackendoff 1977), although Ps are often treated as adjunct to verb phrases across languages. This adjuncthood has largely been unexplored in L2 acquisition, particularly in association with the semantic notion of telicity, the endpoint of an event, denoted by Ps and verbs (Inagaki, 2002; Fujimori and Kondo, 2012). In Fujimori and Kondo, intransitive verbs which denote directed motion and manner of motion were combined with directional (*to*) and locational (*under*) Ps, and the verb phrases were given in a Truth Value Judgment (TVJ) task. The results showed that intermediate Japanese EFL learners acquired the verbal telicity first. The present study examines whether Japanese EFL learners encounter difficulties in understanding the telicity of Ps in transitive structures.

In the experiment a TVJ task was conducted with 154 lower-intermediate Japanese college EFL learners (TOEIC average 454.2, SD 58.8). In a test token, either a transitive verb (*give*), an achievement verb (*kick*) or an activity verb (*carry*) occurred with a directional or a locational P and two tokens were provided for each of the seven tested verb-preposition combinations, as shown in table 1. The participants were asked to judge if each test token matched its corresponding animated movie clip. The participants were divided into two groups for which the same set of written test tokens was provided with different telicity movie clips in a Latin Square design. Several native speakers of English confirmed that the directional Ps only yield telic interpretations, while the locational Ps yield either telic or atelic interpretations, as in table 1.

Table 1 The tested verb-preposition combinations and their correct response rates

Verb type	Directional P		Locational P	
	GOAL	LOCATION	GOAL	LOCATION
Ditransitive [+telic]	DG TRUE (.838)	DG FALSE (.896)	n/a	n/a
Achievement [+telic]	TG TRUE (.935)	TG FALSE (.682)	TLG (Object goal) TRUE (.721)	TLL TRUE (.656)
Activity [-telic]	AG TRUE (.870)	AG FALSE (.766)	ALG (Event goal) TRUE (.870)	ALL TRUE (.877)

A one-way ANOVA was performed with the correct response rates for the seven TRUE conditions DG, TG, AG, TLG, ALG, TLL, ALL highlighted in table 1 and there was a significant effect on verb-preposition combination ( $F(6,532)=11.013, p<.01$ ). Pairwise comparisons showed a significant difference ( $\alpha=.05$ ) between AG, ALG, ALL on the one hand and TLG, TLL on the other. Given that there was no difference among AG, ALG, and ALL, the results indicate that the responses were affected by the verbal telicity. With an atelic verb, a locational PP unambiguously denotes the goal/location of the entire event, being adjunct to the verb phrase syntactically. With a telic verb, in contrast, such a PP denotes either the location of the entire event or the goal of the direct object. In the latter case a PP is sister to the direct object within the verb phrase in the sense of Ritter and Rosen (1998). Hence, with a telic verb, the semantico-syntactic ambiguity of a locational P caused trouble in judgment. The participants performed well with the directional Ps across the verbs, because they only denote the goal. However, a one-way ANOVA with the correct responses for the FALSE conditions DG, TG, and AG showed a significant difference ( $F(2,228)=10.814, p<.01$ ) and the FALSE condition of DG was more correctly rejected than those of TG and AG. These results suggest that rigidly obligatory Ps with ditransitive verbs are acquired early and optional Ps with



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transitive verbs are acquired late. The findings of this preliminary study shed light on factors delaying the acquisition of the function of P<sub>s</sub> associated with verb phrases in L2.

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## 论元的选择与“他的老师当得好”及其他

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最近有多篇论文讨论“他的老师当得好”这一结构的生成。一些形式语法学者为这类的例子提供了各种抽象的结构图以及生成方式（黄正德 2008；潘海华、陆烁 2011），但一般讨论都回避了一个重要的问题，即：“当得好”的主语为什么不可以是“老师”？在“他的老师当得好”这一结构中，“他的老师”形成了“NP1 的 NP2”这样的伪定语结构，在这一结构中，是 NP1 还是 NP2 做“当得好”的主语？也就是说，这个句子应该从句法上分析为“他当得好”还是“老师当得好”？这一点形式派学者并没有认真讨论。如果实际情况是“老师”而不是“他”做“当得好”的主语，那么就不存在着把“他的老师当得好”重新分析为“他的当老师当得好”或“（他）当他的老师得好”这样的初始结构的问题。如果认为“老师”不能做“当得好”的主语，只能做“当”的宾语，那就等于不承认汉语中有受事主语句。

说“他”是“当”的主语，而“老师”是“当”的宾语，并不是一件理所当然的事。如果我们进行话题化测试，就会发现我们既可以有（1）这样的结构，又可以有（2）这样的结构：

- (1) a. 他啊，老师当得好 b. 他啊，就老师当得好（其他就不怎么样了） c. 他就老师当得好  
(2) a. 老师啊，他当得好 b. 老师啊，就他当得好（其他人不行） c. 老师就他当得好

怎么看（1）中的例子，取决于怎么看受事主语句。不承认受事主语句，在某种程度上就等于凭语义断主语。如果仅凭语义，可以认为“他”是“当”的主语，“老师”是“当”的宾语。但实际上，很多情况下，我们不一定能清楚地把握用以判断主语的语义。比如在以下例句中，我们似乎不太好确定是“他”看得远还是“眼光”看得远。

- (3) 他的眼光看得远

在这一例句中，我们可以把“眼光”看做“看”的外论元吗？也就是说，眼光能看吗？仅凭语义来判断主语，必然会遇到这类难以断定的问题。对例（3）进行话题测试，我们可以有下面的两种变式。

- (4) 他啊，我一直认为眼光看得远 (5) 论眼光，我一直认为他看得远

从以上两种话题变式来看，NP1 和 NP2 似乎都可以做主语。

汉语语法系统与英语语法系统的不同点在哪儿？英语语法系统是一套特征核查（feature checking）系统，而汉语语法系统是一套搭配与解读系统。本文将主要从英汉语两种不同的语法系统入手，依据显著性和局部性交互作用机制，对“他的老师当得好”以及其他所谓的汉语形义错配的例子进行分析；本文将论证：汉语这类的例子的生成与汉语是一种 pro 脱落和话题悬空语言是分不开的，这类例子中论元的分布和选择取决于显著性与局部性的交互作用，而不是那些缺乏独立证据证明的轻动词结构。根据这一分析，在“他的老师当得好”这一结构中，“他的老师”是话题，而“当得好”是述题；在述题结构中外论元角色实现为 pro，因此述题的结构是：[pro 当得好]。述题中的 pro 的解读取决于显著性和局部性的交互作用，而这正是本文论述的重点。

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## 澄海話兩種“乞伊”結構的句法分析

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普通話中的“給”由於其“多功能”性一直以來是學界的討論熱點。潮汕澄海話中與其相對應的“乞”同樣用法也相當複雜。本文討論澄海話中由“乞”標記的、包含虛指的第三人稱代詞“伊”（他）的兩種特殊結構——“**A類**”的（1）和“**B類**”的（2）。本文首先討論兩種結構的語義特點：兩者都包含一種“不如意”義，即都涉及一個蒙受者，但**A類**的蒙受者在句外，例如（1）的蒙受者不是“個賊”，而是句子以外的某人，如說話者；**B類**的蒙受者卻在句內，即（2）的“個賊”。其次討論兩種結構的語法特點。兩者的謂語都是一個有自然終點的事件、表現狀態的變化；但在謂語動詞的選擇上**A類**選擇帶“自動性”的非作格類不及物動詞，**B類**選擇“受動性”的非賓格類不及物動詞。從“乞伊”的句法分佈上看，兩種結構中的“乞伊”都位於助動詞之下、方式狀語之上；不過，**A類**“乞伊”不能搭配致使性“外自己”，**B類**“乞伊”不能搭配伴隨性“內自己”。本文最後分析兩種結構的生成機制，主要異同在於：蒙受者在**A類**是一個空語類，而蒙受者在**B類**是經過移位操作的小句主語；**B類**小句謂語動詞的“受動性”決定了結構中存在一個致使性外輕動詞，“自動性”謂語動詞的**A類**結構則沒有；**A類**結構的“伊”是小句主語話題化移位元操作留下的成分，**B類**結構的“伊”則指涉一個虛化的前因事件或致使者。本文的分析可適用於普通話的蒙受句，通過澄海話與普通話的比較，我們將發現：普通話“給VP”結構同樣也可以一分為二，**A’類**的（3）蒙受者在句外、謂語動詞帶“自動性”；**B’類**的（4）蒙受者即為主語、謂語動詞帶“受動性”、結構中存在一個致使性外輕動詞。我們相信“給VP”結構中也應有具備不同語法功能的第三人稱代詞“他”，只不過通過句法操作併入“給”字（Tang 2001）。

- （1）個賊乞伊走去。（賊給跑了）
- （2）個賊乞伊死去。（賊給死了）
- （3）賊給跑了。
- （4）賊給死了。

## **The Analysis of the Cohesion and Coherence on Basic Law in Hong Kong: a Discourse Analysis**

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In the paper, we would adopt CDA as the method to analyze the ‘Chapter VIII: Interpretation and Amendment of the Basic Law’, from <http://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/basiclawtext/index.html>. First of all, as a literature review to demonstrate how does the CDA to literature work, we attempt to analyze the Charles Dickens’ description of fog by adopting the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method. Besides attempting to discuss how the text is a coherent text by using Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) as a framework, we also will investigate how the text reflects Charles Dickens’ style. Finally, we would have an analysis of the extracts from the Basic Law of Hong Kong employing the Critical Discourse Analysis. The paper introduces the audience to the power of CDA, and shows how CDA can be applied to the world apart from literature, but also the context of legislation and/or juris (or law).

## 宋元等韻圖三四等界限模糊的現象及現代方言的反映

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漢語語音史的斷代，目前學界是將《切韻》產生以前視為上古音，以《切韻》音系為主的隋唐、五代，乃至於宋代，是中古音，元、明、清是近代音。宋代是中古音到近代音的橋梁。其意義在於，《切韻》系韻書的架構，到了宋代的音韻學著述中有所更動，這也反映了宋代相較於隋唐五代，音系架構有了大幅度的變更，從宏觀的角度來看，從隋唐音到宋代音在韻圖的編排上，早期等韻圖中是 43 轉，到了宋元等韻圖合併為 16 攝。既然宋代音在漢語語音史上是處於橋梁承先啟後的地位，本文擬以「宋元等韻圖三四等界限模糊的現象及現代方言的反映」為題，探討宋元等韻圖中，打破早期等韻圖對於三等韻與四等韻之間界線井然的情況。並且試圖在現代方言中尋找宋代音留下來的跡象。

《切韻》音系三等韻介音是-j-，四等介音是-i-。到了宋代，許多語料中，出現中古三等韻和四等韻並列或者互相注音的例子。可以看出三等韻和四等韻的界線在宋代已經模糊了。本文的研究取材，以幾部宋代語料為觀察對象：《四聲等子》、《切韻指掌圖》、《切韻指南》、《集韻》、《五音集韻》、《古今韻會舉要》、《九經直音》、《皇極經世書》、《詩集傳》。研究方法，先觀察這些韻書對於中古三、四等韻的措置，再從中找出三、四等韻界線模糊的時間順序或地域分佈。最後，從現代方言中觀察三、四等韻的表現，找出與宋代音對應的層次。

## 从语义场的角度看广州方言词汇的传承与变异

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本文从语义场的角度，以核心词为切入点观察三百年间广州方言词汇系统的发展。核心词以斯瓦迪士的《百词表》为据，采用共时、历时相结合的方法，以美国传教士裨治文的《中文读本》（1841）为基础，参考包尔腾的《散语四十章》（1877）、十七世纪屈大均所撰的《广东新语》（1687）以及二十世纪孔仲南的《广东俗语考》（1933），就四部广州方言文献中出现的动词、形容词、颜色词进行穷尽的分析；同时加入非核心词的比较，观察词汇内部竞争以及语义场的变化。研究表明：广州方言中的传承词仍占主流地位，但语义场之中有简化、概括化等情况；此外，方言特征词在核心词的变化中产生了一定的影响。

调查结果：

- 一、传承词占主流地位——基本义的保留与引申义的增加
- 二、语义场的变化——语义场的简化、概括化，搭配关系有变有不变
- 三、核心词与非核心词的比较——核心词汇的变动小而慢，一般词汇的变动大而快
- 四、方言特征词崛起

本文主要有以下的创新点：

- 一、运用词汇层次的理论，把核心词与非核心词区别开来，分别探讨其不同的演变情况，为广州方言词汇的研究提供了新的思路，也获得了一些新的结论。
- 二、文把核心词的概念应用于广州方言词汇的历时研究上，并对近三百年之间广州方言的形容词、动词、颜色词进行了较为详细的语义分析，勾勒出广州方言核心词在三百年间的变化轮廓。

## Syllable as Tone-bearing Unit for Japanese: a Target Approximation Perspective

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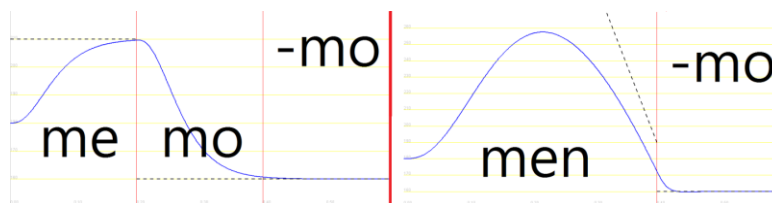
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This study tests the hypothesis that the syllable is the tone-bearing unit of phonetic target approximation in Japanese. Consider the two examples in Fig. 1: both consist of three morae, but *men-mo* has only two syllables. From the perspective of Target Approximation (Xu & Wang, 2001), which assumes each tone bearing unit (typically the syllable) has its own underlying target, we explore whether a word like *men* comprises one phonetic target (i.e. syllable) or two (i.e. morae), with a subset of the corpus reported in Lee et al (2014). Two representations are compared for the heavy accented syllable –High-Low target sequence (mora hypothesis) vs. a single Falling target (syllable hypothesis). Under the mora hypothesis, CVV and CVCV would be modelled in the same way (i.e. both as High-Low, as in left panel of Fig. 1), whereas under the syllable hypothesis they are given different treatments (i.e. Falling for CVV but High-Low for CVCV).

The syllable hypothesis was confirmed by three pieces of evidence from acoustic and modelling analyses. First, a CVCV sequence has a relatively earlier F0 peak than CVV, though the latter is shorter in actual duration, comparable to the Mandarin Falling tone. Second, using PENTAtainer2 (Xu & Prom-on, 2014), the articulatory parameters were extracted for accented syllables. We found that the global target of CVV accented syllables and that of CV accented syllable manifest a clear bimodal distribution, showing that they are two different underlying targets in terms of both slope and height. Third, we implemented the restricted target search function of PENTAtainer1 (Xu & Prom-On, 2010) and tested whether a falling target or a high-low sequence yielded a better local fit. Results showed that for CVV syllables, a falling target achieved significantly better synthesis accuracy, despite a smaller degree of freedom. All these are taken to support the hypothesis that the syllable is the domain of tonal target approximation in Japanese.

**Figure 1:** Conceptual representation of the underlying targets of *memo-mo* ‘memo also’ (High-Low-Low) in the left panel, and *men-mo* ‘face also’ (Falling-Low) in the right panel. The dashed lines represent underlying targets.



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## **Structural and Information-Structural Effects on Accessibility in Pronoun Resolution: Salience from Subjecthood and Focusing in Chinese Discourse**

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The process of reference tracking during reading comprehension is of overwhelming ease and rapidity despite the few semantic information encoded by pronoun for identification of its referent. The intermediate processes before a final interpretation of pronoun has been of great interest in linguistic and psycholinguistic literature for long. Accessibility of a referent in mental representation is said to be immediately determinant to the pronoun resolution and accessibility is said to be manifestly related to salience/prominence caused by language and non-language influences as well (e.g. Arnold et al., 2004; Rohde & Kehler, 2013). From language perspective, subjecthood privilege and focusing effect which were theorized in grammatical and cognitive hierarchies respectively (e.g. Ariel, 1990; Givon et al., 1983, 1990; Gundel et al., 1993) have been experimentally shown, to some extent, to be reliable factors in language processing indicating immediate activation of a referent for pronoun resolution, especially in studies of English language (e.g. Almor, 1999; Gordon, Grosz, & Gilliom, 1993; Hudson-D’Zmura et al., 1997; Kaiser, 2011). However, the universality and interaction of these effects in different languages and in different constructions of a language are not yet fully confirmed.

The goal of this study is two-fold. First, the universality of subject/object asymmetry in grammatical hierarchy of accessibility in two different Chinese word orders, i.e. SVO and OSV, is investigated. Second, the interaction between grammatical roles and focusing is also investigated for the influence to salience of referents. Two computerized self-paced reading experiments in 2x2 factorial designs were conducted (n=48 each). Exp.1 and Exp.2 crossed focused positions (*focused subject/object*) and coherence relations (*continue/shift*) to create four conditions in canonical SVO and topicalized OSV constructions respectively. Reading time and accuracy measures were collected for statistical analysis. Before Exp.1 and Exp.2, a norming task (n=40) had been conducted to norm the experimental materials. The results show that subject/object asymmetry was clear in SVO construction regardless of the focusing effect. In OSV construction, the main subject/object asymmetry was absent when grammatical subject was focused but present when the object position was in focus. There existed an interaction between grammatical roles and focusing in OSV structure. The results of this study may provide evidence of variations in accessibility studies and may shed light on theorization of relevant hierarchies in theories (e.g. Centering Theory) and the influence of information structure in anaphoric processing.

## Collocational Features of China English: a corpus-based Contrastive Study

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This study presents the findings of a systematic empirical investigation of China English (CE) features in contrast to other varieties of English in terms of collocations, words that co-occur and co-select in a distinctively Chinese way. The target corpus data consists of 37 million words of written China English referred to as China English Corpus (CEC), while the corpus used as a reference for contrast is British National Corpus, which represents British English (BrE).

Following the collocational theory proposed by Sinclair (2004, p.39), collocations (co-occurrence of words, e.g., *black coffee*) and colligations (co-occurrence of grammatical categories, e.g., adjective + noun) of CE are investigated and codified. Results include: a) overused collocations of CE (more frequent in number of occurrence, e.g., *scientific way(s)*); b) innovative collocations of CE (not used by BrE, e.g., *in an all-round way(s)*); c) productive use of enumerators as premodifiers (e.g., Three Direct Links); d) a preference for noun as premodifiers; e) certain distinct usages in using genitive phrases as premodifiers (e.g., *people's lives/mind/attention* etc.); e) underused colligation *Noun's + Noun + of*.

The results reveal that CE-specific collocational patterns constitute an important type of CE features, which deserve further thorough investigation of codifications, which may greatly contribute to the accumulation of evidence in support of description of CE as a developing member in WE family.

## Editing and Reading Chu Bamboo Manuscripts: Paleography, Syntax and Textual Cohesion

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The recent discovery of numerous caches of bamboo manuscripts from the late Warring State Period, particularly from the State of Chu, is providing the Chinese linguistic community with rich new data to study the phonology, syntax and pragmatics of Classical Chinese. Especially for texts without transmitted counterparts, though, these data must be treated with caution, as each textual unit need to be reconstructed by first establishing the proper sequence of mostly unnumbered, and often fragmentary, bamboo strips. Different proposals of textual reconstruction are based on a wide range of factors: physical features of the strips, conflicting hypothesis on the reading of given Chu graphs, syntactic context as well as overall textual cohesion.

I will present two Chu bamboo texts from the fourth volume of the Shanghai Museum Collection, “Jian da wang bo han” 簡大王迫旱 (King Jian dispels the drought) and “Zhao wang yu Gongzhitui” 昭王與龔之雎 (King Zhao and Gongzhitui) and evaluate the pros and cons of different textual reconstructions proposed by various scholars in terms of their paleographical, syntactical and pragmatic strength, as a way to raise more general issues about the usage of these new sources as linguistic data.

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## Scalar *Mat*-construction in Cantonese

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This study investigates the special use of Cantonese *mat* 乜 ‘what’ in mirative sentences which express a sense of surprise, as in (1). The *wh*-word *mat* occurs at the beginning of a sentence and does not correspond to any argument, differentiating it from its interrogative counterpart.

(1) *Mat* nei tai-zo      tou hei    me?  
what you watch-Perf CL movie MQ (= mirative question particle)  
What? You have watched the movie?

The lesser-studied *wh*-word *mat* is referred to as ‘scalar *mat*’, as it amplifies the surprise conveyed. Two issues are highlighted in my paper, namely, (i) the distribution and (ii) the meaning of scalar *mat*.

Scalar *mat* can only occur with sentences bearing a mirative sentence-final particle (SFP), e.g. *gaa4* and *wo4*. These mirative SFPs independently convey that the speaker previously holds a belief (i.e. the hearer in example (1) has not watched the movie) but has just recognized that the reverse of the prior belief is correct or is more likely to be correct (i.e. the hearer has watched the movie). The speaker acknowledges that his/her updated belief is contrary to the earlier belief. The gap between the two beliefs, prior belief and current belief, creates the element of surprise. This also explains *why* scalar *mat* often sounds better with the adverb *jyunloi* 原來 ‘actually’ which can imply the speaker's surprise by disclosing that he or she has held the opposite belief earlier. Further, though previous research (Tang, 2008) focuses on the use of scalar *mat* with interrogative mirative SFP, scalar *mat* can actually be compatible with at least one declarative mirative SFP *wo4*.

Semantically, as mirativity is independently contributed by mirative SFPs, scalar *mat* does not directly contribute to the mirative meaning. Instead, its function is to intensify or strengthen the speaker's mirativity by widening the gap between two beliefs. The gap represents the degree of the speaker's psychological preparation to accepting the recent belief. The wider the gap, the lower the degree of acceptance. Scalar *mat* ultimately becomes inappropriate if the surprise implied in the context is weakened.

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## Logophor, Empathy, and *ziji*

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It is well known that long-distance anaphors cannot be readily accounted for in terms of Binding Condition A (Chomsky 1981), and there have been numerous approaches to give an adequate account of long-distance binding in such East Asian languages, like Chinese, Japanese, and Korean.

Since Sells (1987), Yoon (1989), and Huang and Liu (2001), many researchers have argued that bare reflexives in these languages should be divided into two categories: syntactic anaphor and discourse/pragmatic logophor. Given the logophoric reading for the long-distance anaphors, the *dese* interpretation leads to the necessary condition for their logophoric use. Huang and Liu further claim that the blocking effect for Chinese *ziji* is motivated by the perspective conflict along the line with Kuno's (1972) direct discourse representation.

On the other hand, in order to accommodate a unified account of long-distance anaphors in the East Asian languages, we, adopting Oshima (2004, 2007) and Wang and Pan (2014), propose that the long-distance anaphors in these languages have two distinct uses: logophoric use and empathic use. We further suggest that the blocking effect for Chinese *ziji* not be observed in logophoric locus, but exist in empathic locus. If this is on the right track, we can account for that the blocking effect is not the idiosyncratic properties of the Chinese long-distance anaphor *ziji*, but the very natural phenomena observed even in the other languages, such as Japanese and Korean, as shown in (1) and (2). Furthermore, given the notion of empathy, we may also clarify Pan's (2001) puzzle related to Chinese *ziji* as the status of a logophor, which is: (a) a logophoric pronoun does not exhibit the blocking effect; (b) a logophoric pronoun can always have the source or the subject of consciousness as its antecedent, though it is not compatible with perception verbs; and (c) a logophoric pronoun cannot have the first-person pronoun as its antecedent.

(1) \*Tarooi-wa boku-ga zibuni-ni kasi-te kure-ta o-kane-o nakusi-ta rasii.

Taro-Top I-Nom self-Dat lend benef-Past money-Acc lose-Past seem

'Taro seems to have lost the money that I had loaned self (as a favor).'

(2) Chelswui-nun nayj-ka Youngheek-ka kaki??i/j/\*kswukcey-lul

Chelswu-Top I-Nom Younghee-Nom selfhomework-Acc

towa-cwucian-ha-ss-ta-ko pinanha-yss-ta-komittun-ket kata.

help-giving not-do-Past-Decl-Comp criticize-Past-Decl-Compbelieve-Comp seem

'Chelswu seems to believe that I criticized that Younghee did not help my own homework.'

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## Returning to Halted Storytelling in Conversation: Forms and Actions

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An ongoing storytelling in conversation may get halted because of various recipient's response. It has been documented that there are two ways with which the story teller may return to a suspended storytelling, namely, continuation and resumption. Previous literature also shows how speakers skip-connect to their prior talk which was produced earlier in conversation. Recently, the phenomenon of 'returning' to a previously halted units of some kind, e.g. storytelling, other conversational activities, or main line of talk, has attracted increasing attention.

The present study examines storytelling in daily conversation, with a focus on the forms or format through which the storyteller returns to suspended storytelling subsequent to side sequence (or oblique sequence) initiated by the story recipient. Using the approach of conversation analysis, over 100 cases of such 'returning's, collected from 17 Mandarin conversations, are analyzed. A first observation is that the storyteller may return to the halted storytelling subsequent to a minimal side sequence while certain returnings occur after a rather expanded side sequence.

Further analysis focuses on the storyteller's systematic practices in returning to halted storytelling. It is found that, (1) returnings can be a direct continuation from where the telling was halted, prevasively prefaced by *ranhou* ('and then'); (2) returnings can also be realized through "resumption devices", such as repeating certain components or units in the halted story, and restarting from the very beginning of the halted story; (3) returnings may be projected by the pre-return indicator *fanzheng* 'anyway'.

The social actions implemented through doing returning have also been investigated. We find that, the "purpose" of returning to halted storytelling goes beyond merely pursuing the completeness of the story. As storytelling often implements certain actions in interaction, its suspension also suspends the course of action it is designed to implement. So returning to halted storytelling is a means by the storyteller to carry on the course of action which was put on hold. In some cases, returning to the halted storytelling makes the original action carried in the telling more readily recognizable, especially when that action was not explicitly envisioned yet when the telling was halted. In other cases, returning to the halted story may implement a new course of action different from the one projected in the telling before it was halted.

Through investigating the forms and actions of storytelling 'returning', the present study contributes to a better understanding toward the organization of storytelling activities in daily conversation.

## **Production of Mandarin Coronal Sibilants by Adult Korean Speakers**

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In this study, acoustic analysis and native Mandarin speakers' judgments were combined to examine the production of Mandarin homo-organic sibilants by Korean learners. First, it was found that the acquisition of the nine sibilants were asymmetric. Learners were less successful at pronouncing good instances of the alveolar and retroflex affricates, i.e. /ts<sup>h</sup>/, /tʂ<sup>h</sup>/, /ts/ /tʂ/. These sounds were not consistently identified as intended Mandarin sound. In contrast, palatal-alveolar sibilants were of advantage in the course of acquisition. The results reported by the native speakers partially align with acoustic measurements of F2 at vowel onset and centroid frequency. Second, the production accuracy of the sibilants improved with the Mandarin experiences, as indexed by the native speakers' judgments. Correspondingly, the acoustic distance and space between pairs of neighboring sibilants are greater in the production by more proficient learners, especially bilinguals, indicating that the realization of the two cues become more native-like as a function of proficiency in Mandarin. Moreover, it was found that phonetic variations such as vowel contexts play a role in consonant production. It suggested that any satisfactory explanation to L2 speech learning should take both phonological and phonetic factors and variables into consideration.

## The Disturbance in Language Acquisition and the Vanishing of [V 而(ER)V] Coordinate Verb Phrase

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Historically, ‘而(ER)’ is changing from a coordinate conjunction into a subordinate element. This paper presents a syntactical and statistical analysis of the possible disturbance in language acquisition, which accounts for the vanishing of [V 而(er)V] coordinating verb phrase in Chinese.

Due to the co-effect of the ambiguity of sentence structure and the linguistic properties of Chinese, including allowing the use of covert coordinator ‘而(ER)’, allowing pro-drop, no inflections, wh-in-situ, etc.; acquiring the true nature of ‘而(ER)’ is very difficult, if not impossible, because of the lack of positive evidence.

In all the texts examined, positive evidence is outweighed by the disturbance. And, diachronically, positive evidence dropped from 14.69%(Mengzi), to 3.49%(Lunheng), then to 1.66%(Shishuo-xinyu).

### Ambiguity of Sentence Structure: Coordinate? Subordinate?

1. SV(O)而 SV(O)  
泉深而魚鱉歸之，草木茂而鳥獸歸之。 (Yi Zhoushu)  
[泉深]而[魚鱉歸之]，[草木茂]而[鳥獸歸之]。  
[泉深[而魚鱉歸之]]，[草木茂[而鳥獸歸之]]。
2. V(O)而 V(O)者  
賞而信者未必真。 (Lunheng) [[賞]而[信]者]  
[賞[而信]者]
3. Interrogative expression  
如欲平治天下，當今之世，舍我而誰也？ (Lunheng)  
[[[Pro 舍我]而[誰]]也]  
[[Pro 舍我[而誰]]也]

### Positive Evidence in Language Acquisition

1. [[V<sub>1</sub> 而 V<sub>2</sub>] O] (Both verbs take the same object complement)  
仲子恥負前言，即吐而出之。 (Lunheng)
2. >2 coordinate clauses  
吾比夫子也，猶黃鵠之與壤蟲也，終日行，而不離咫尺，而自以為遠，豈不悲哉？ (Lunheng)
3. Canonical Gapping  
為客治飯而自（治）藜藿。 (Huai Nanzi)

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## Referentially Dependent Subject Nouns in L2 Japanese Narratives: a Preliminary Study

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It has been pointed out that Japanese native speakers do not frequently use third person pronouns such as *kare* ‘he’ and *kanojo* ‘she’ when keeping track of referents in oral narratives in Japanese. Clancy (1980) reports that L1 Japanese speakers used more nominal forms and null pronouns in their narratives in place of overt third person pronouns. However, we are uncertain how L2 Japanese speakers use different forms to refer to third person referents. In this preliminary study, therefore, we investigated L1 and L2 Japanese speakers’ use of referentially dependent forms (overt pronouns, null pronouns) or referential expressions for third-person referents at the subject positions in narratives. We report what third-person referential forms were used at the subject positions in a story that focused on a single character for an extensive period of time. If there is L1 transfer, English speaking learners of Japanese would use third-person pronouns consistently after the introduction of the main character as they do in English.

A total of 28 speakers participated in the study: 5 L1 English and 5 L1 Japanese speakers, 7 L2 Japanese Intermediate Low speakers (about 300 classroom instructional hours), 5 L2 Japanese Intermediate High speakers (about 440 classroom instructional hours), and 6 L2 Japanese Advanced speakers (beyond 520 classroom instructional hours). All L1 English speakers are native speakers of English who did not know Japanese at all and all L1 Japanese speakers were college students with less than two months experience in the U.S. All L2 Japanese speakers were college age native speakers of American English who had been studying Japanese at a large American university. They were all instructed to tell the story of *The Little Match Girl* (by Hans Christian Andersen) for an imaginary five-year-old boy by using a picture storybook without words. *The Little Match Girl* was selected because the story focuses on a single character—the little match girl, whose name is unknown—for an extended period of time without co-appearances of other animate characters, which could increase the opportunity for narrators to use more referential nouns for the little match girl. The narratives were digitally recorded, transcribed, and analyzed.

Table 1 shows a summary of the uses of referential nouns, null pronouns, and overt third person feminine pronouns (*she* in English/*kanojo* in Japanese). The total numbers of sentences and the sentences with animate subjects per person did not differ much among the five speaker groups. However, the following differences can be noted: a) Japanese narratives did not contain many overt pronouns *kanojo* unlike *she* in English (1.5% vs. 98.1%, the finding similar to that in Clancy 1980). b) L2 Japanese speakers did not use *kanojo* frequently, either. c) The percentages of null pronouns decreased as the proficiency went up among the L2 Japanese speaker groups, getting close to that of the L1 Japanese group. d) The repetitive uses of referential nouns (e.g., *shojo* ‘little girl’) increased as the proficiency went up among the L2 Japanese speaker groups, again getting close to that of the L1 Japanese group. e) The obligatory referential nouns that referred to the little girl after another person appeared in the discourse were used less frequently by the Intermediate Low group compared with the other two learner groups. If L1 transfer is literally taken, one should observe the frequent use of the overt pronoun *kanojo*. However, even the lowest proficiency group did not use *kanojo* frequently. Then, do we not find L1 transfer? Actually, the finding that the use of null pronouns decreased as the proficiency level went up suggests that overgeneralization is gradually corrected. Since they learn the uses of null pronouns in Japanese, they were using them consistently. Some of them may not have known that Japanese uses referential nouns as referentially dependent nouns in narratives. Or simply put, it takes time for L2 Japanese learners to get accustomed to using referential nouns as referentially dependent nouns in

narratives. If this is correct, it is a reverse finding of Inoi (2008) and Sawasaki, Terao, and Shirahata (2014) on L2 English by L1 Japanese learners.

Table 1. Participants' uses of 'she' and referential nouns in the matrix subject positions

	L1 English	L2 Japanese			L1 Japanese
		Intermediate Low	Intermediate High	Advanced	
#of speakers	5	7	5	6	5
# of sentences (per person)	91 (18.2)	117 (16.7)	100 (20)	125 (20.8)	122 (24.4)
# of animate subjects (per person)	69 (13.8)	110 (15.7)	78 (15.6)	83 (13.8)	77 (15.4)
# of <i>she/kanojo</i> (%)	53 (98%)	5 (8.8%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.1%)	1 (1.5%)
# of null pronouns (%)	0 (0%)	47 (82.5%)	32 (69.6%)	27 (56.3%)	25 (37.9%)
# of R-expressions (%)	1 (1.9%)	8 (14%)	15 (32.6%)	21 (43.8%)	44 (66.7%)
# of obligatory R- expressions (%)	1 (100%)	10 (62.5%)	11 (91.7%)	14 (77.8%)	13 (81.3%)

#### Examples

##### (1) Intermediate Low

*Hontoo-ni nani-mo arimasendeshita. Kanojo-wa onaka-ga suite*  
really nothing existed she-Top stomach-Nom empty  
*totemo samukatta desu.*  
very cold was  
'She had absolutely nothing to eat. She was hungry and felt very cold.'

##### (2) Intermediate High

*Musume-san-wa hontoo-ni ano, i-ga, i-ga itai, ano,*  
girl-Top really well stomach-Nom stomach-Nom painful well  
*nani-mo tabenakatta-n desu.*  
nothing ate  
'The girl had..um... a stomachache...um.. She (the girl) had not eaten anything.'

##### (3) Advanced

*Demo genki-ga nakute onaka-mo suitete, ki-ga yowaku natte kita-kara,*  
but vigor-Nom not stomach also empty feeling-Nom weak become because  
*shojo-ga chotto yasumi-o toroo-to omoimashita.*  
girl-Nom a bit rest-Acc take that thought  
'but because (she) felt weak and hungry, she (the girl) thought that (she) would take a break a bit.'

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## **Acquisition of Chinese Notional Passive by L2 Chinese learners: an Empirical Study**

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The present study examines the acquisition of Chinese notional passive by L2 Chinese learners. Notional passive, without passive marker, is an important passive form which distinguishes itself from marked bei-passive. Previous studies have been focusing on the acquisition of bei-passive and results find that L2 Chinese learners tend to generalize the use of the passive marker “bei” in passive expressions. Thus some researchers conclude that it is more difficult to acquire notional passive sentence than bei-sentence for L2 Chinese learners, but others hold an opposite view over this issue. Adopting an empirical approach, we designed two experiments to investigate the comprehension and production of Chinese notional passive by 93 L2 learners from two backgrounds: European(46) and Japanese/Korean(47). In the comprehension experiment, L2 Chinese learners performed a Grammaticality Judgment Test and a Chinese-to-English translation test; in the production experiment, they performed a sentence completion task according to given pictures. The main findings are: (1) L2 learners’ acceptability of notional passive increased with increasing Chinese proficiency but even advanced learners in the present study showed significant difference from native Chinese speakers(control group); (2) L2 learners produced more notional passive sentences than bei-passive sentences and advanced learners showed no difference from the native Chinese speakers; (3) L1 typology affects L2 learners’ comprehension and production of Chinese notional passive sentence. The results are interpreted in the framework of the Competition Model (Bates & MacWhinney, 1982). The present study supports the main claim that the L2 learners’ processing strategy shifts from L1’s cue-pattern to L2’s with increasing L2 input and their acquisition of L2 cues is constrained by such factors as cue frequency and task frequency.

## A Multilingual Corpus: Its Construction and Application

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Multilingual corpora with annotated information play a vital role in linguistic research and natural language processing. For example, the sense-tagged English SemCor (Landes et al. 1998) has been applied in different tasks (Kilgarriff 1998). However, rarely any such resource is available for Asian languages.

Based on Nanyang Technological University Multilingual Corpus (Tan & Bond 2011, Bond et al. 2013), we are building such a corpus for four languages English, Chinese, Japanese, and Indonesian in four genres (story, essay, news, tourism). Two major steps are taken: (i) monolingual sense tagging using respective wordnet; (ii) linking the concepts in each subcorpus to the English corpus. Two sets of tools are created for the two tasks. Many linguistic and practical issues arose during the construction process.

This corpus has been used in the study of idiomatic expressions in Chinese (Ho et al. 2014). It can be used in many other tasks, such as contrastive study of languages, genre analysis, translation, and language learning.

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## Tense Interpretations in Different Modes of Discourse

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Discourse modes, according to Smith (2001, 2003, 2004, 2007, 2009a,b), are classified into five different types with regard to the different situation entities they introduce into the discourse as well as their contributions to the text progression, namely narrative, report, description, information, and argument. Among these five modes, narrative and report are temporal modes, and they progress by different temporal principles. In narrative, if a sentence expresses a bounded event Reference Time (RT) advances, the information that tense conveys after the initial sentence is continuity; if the eventuality is not a bounded event, RT does not change and tense is anaphoric. In report, on the other hand, two adjacent sentences are both oriented to Speech Time. Thus the tense interpretation for report is a deictic one.

The temporal referential relations in different modes have been very well analyzed; however, it remains unknown how such distinction in tense interpretation among modes of discourse affects discourse structure, such as discourse coherence and referential choice. It is our aim to discover the concrete impact different patterns of tense interpretation impose upon natural discourse of Mandarin Chinese with *bei*-passives. To this end, a refined Centering Theory is adopted as our analytical tool, via which we show that *bei*-utterance (U<sub>bei</sub>) bears an intersentential function and that such function is available in both narrative and report with five differences.

Firstly, report adopts much less pronominal forms than narrative; secondly, considering *center* branching, more than two branched *centers* are involved in report but for narrative, it is always bi-branching; thirdly, with respect to the Continuation+ Shift transition, report prefers to introduce a brand new *backward-looking center* (*Cb*) via U<sub>bei</sub>+1, while narrative relies more on *bei*-object in introducing this semantic entity; fourthly, report draws a relatively vague boundary between the Retain + Retain state and *center* branching; and lastly, violations against the Zero-anaphora Rule in report are much more than those in narrative.

We attribute these differences to the divergence of tense interpretation between narrative and report. It is argued that a continuity interpretation of tense in narrative helps in maintaining a more coherent discourse relation; whereas the deictic pattern of tense interpretation for report makes the discourse relation between two adjacent utterances fairly looser. This distinction in tense interpretation also affects the referential choice of *Cb* as well as the adoption of *bei*-object as new *Cb*. Consequently, it is also claimed that a deictic pattern of tense interpretation makes possible both multiple *center* branching as well as multiple *Cb* retention in report. And deictic tense interpretation generally repels the pronominal referential form.

## Resistance to Compensation for Coarticulation in Cantonese

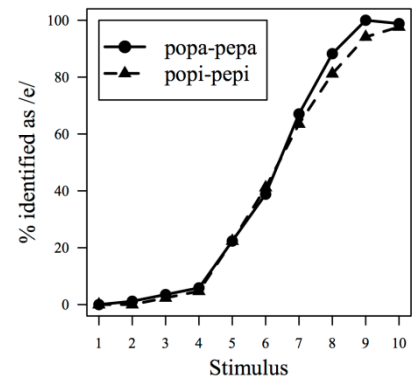
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Listeners are known to be highly sensitive to the acoustic influences of phonetic context, to the extent that the presence of a coarticulatory environment, in which one sound could influence another, leads listeners to expect contextual effects in the speech signal. Previous research has demonstrated that listeners perceptually adjust, or “compensate”, according to coarticulatory context in systematic ways. One example is the perceptual compensation for vowel-to-vowel coarticulatory effects, in which listeners’ perception of vowels is influenced by the articulatory and spectral qualities of a nearby vowel, e.g. in a word like *depot* /'dipo/, /o/ may be produced with a higher F2 that is closer to that of /i/. Beddor et al. (2002) carried out perception study in which speakers of English and Shona (Southern Bantu; Zimbabwe and Zambia), both of which lack front rounded vowels, listened to ten synthetic auditory stimuli along a physical continuum from /o/ to /e/ in two vowel contexts, /pVpa/ and /pVpi/, and identified the first vowel in each stimulus as either /o/ or /e/. Both groups showed compensation for coarticulation according to the vowel context, such that a greater portion of ambiguous stimuli in the middle of the /o/–/e/ continuum was heard as containing back /o/ when the context vowel was high front /i/ than when the context vowel was low central/back /a/. Beddor et al.’s interpretation suggested that listeners are attuned to the coarticulatory patterns in their native language, provided that they have experience listening to such production patterns.

In the current study, it is predicted that speakers of languages that exhibit less coarticulation between vowels, such as Cantonese (Mok, 2007), will compensate less according to vowel context. In a pilot study involving 17 native speakers of Cantonese (10 stimuli  $\times$  5 repetitions), it was found that when listening to the same /pV1pV2/ stimuli used in Beddor et al., listeners showed the exact same crossover boundary between /o/ and /e/ identifications along the stimulus continuum regardless of the context vowel (see Figure 1). In other words, the Cantonese speakers did not perceptually compensate for context-vowel effects. These preliminary findings are interesting because they suggest that listeners’ sensitivity to coarticulatory influences is dependent on the sound inventory of their native language. Cantonese has the mid front rounded vowel /œ/, which is acoustically similar to /o/ when coarticulated with front /i/. The presence of a third Cantonese vowel category along the /o/–/e/ acoustic continuum may account for Cantonese listeners’ resistance to perceptual compensation for coarticulation between vowels. It might also be expected that such anticipatory coarticulation of this kind is not as informative for such listeners as it would be for listeners of languages in which vowel-to-vowel effects are more pervasive, such as English and Shona.



**Figure 1:** Pooled percent /e/ responses of the 17 Cantonese listeners to the /o/–/e/ continuum in the /a/ and /i/ contexts.

Upcoming work will involve the collection of data similar to that in the pilot study, using a more naturalistic set of stimuli, as well as identification-response labels that are more appropriate for Cantonese speakers (e.g. “布” bou6 [pou˥] vs. “比” bei6 [pei˥], rather than the letters “o” vs. “e”). Cantonese listeners’ responses to /o/–/e/ continuum will be compared to their responses to an /a/–/e/ continuum (“𠵼” baa6 [pa˥˩] ~ “比” bei6 [pei˥]), along which Cantonese listeners should perceive only two vowel categories rather than three. Additional data from an AXB discrimination task run on both Cantonese and English speakers will be collected to assess whether these two groups exhibit the same or different levels of sensitivity to gradient changes along the /o/–/e/ continuum according to vowel context.

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## Non-Canonical Object Construction in Chinese: a Corpus Study

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The selection of theta roles for object positions in Mandarin Chinese is less restricted than in languages such as English. For example, for the verb *eat* in English, the object is restricted to Patient (henceforth the Canonical Object). In contrast, Chinese allows a wider range of theta roles: both Patient, the Canonical Object (CO), and Location and Instrument, the Non-Canonical Object (NCO). In what follows, the 'verb plus non-canonical object' structure will be referred to as the NCO construction.

Considering the cross-linguistic difference, it is natural to ask the question: Is the difference systematic, or is it limited to a small number of cases? In other words, is the NCO construction restricted to a small number of verb-object combinations? Over the years, various analyses of the NCO construction reflect divergent positions on this issue. The collocation proposal (Xu, 1986) argues that the NCO construction is a collocation in which a specific verb is combined with a particular non-canonical object by convention, with few examples of such collocations in Chinese. The verb-specific proposal claims that the NCO construction is an idiosyncratic property of a small set of verbs, each of which takes a range of non-canonical objects. In contrast, the Enriched Composition proposal of Zhang (2005) would predict that any [V NP] structure that satisfies certain semantic conditions can receive an NCO construction interpretation. Similarly, the Light Verb proposal of Lin (2001) would also predict that the construction is productive, since it claims that the construction is derived in syntax by using light verbs, a set of universal argument-introducing devices.

Which proposal best characterizes speakers' intuition on the NCO construction is an empirical question. The present study examines the productivity of the construction by using adult and child production data. For the adult data a small corpus was built consisting of *Leiyu* "Thunderstorm", the dramatic work by Cao Yu, and a 100-person interview collection, *Beijingren* "People in Beijing" (Zhang and Xin 1986). After all verb phrases were extracted from the two texts, 14 cases of NCO constructions were found. As will be seen, the frequency of NCO construction is extremely low: among all the [NP V NP] strings, only 7 tokens (0.14%) are NCO instances; among the 210 transitive verbs that could assign Agent and Patient roles, only 8 (3.81%) can take NCOs. This result is consistent with previous intuitions (Xu 1986) and corpus study (Tao 2000) that NCO construction is infrequent and may be a property of certain verbs. With regard to the compositionality of NCO constructions, two cases of the NCO being relativized, and one case of NCO being deleted were found, though this cannot be taken as against the collocation proposal. In view of the case of verb-object idioms, the object can also be relativized and deleted (Yang 2012). Overall, the predictions of the collocation and verb-specific proposals are borne out. The proposals predicting productivity of the NCO construction, namely the Enriched Composition proposal and the Light Verb proposal, cannot be confirmed given the low frequency.

Our findings on the use of NCO constructions in child production also show that children also rarely produce NCO constructions. An initial examination was conducted on 10 transitive verbs that were reported to take both COs and NCOs (Xu 1986, Xing 1996, Lin 2001, Zhang 2005, Ren 2005, Sun 2009), *chi* "eat", *he* "drink", *hua* "draw", *xie* "write", *ting* "listen", *chuan* "wear", *bao* "hold", *wa* "dig", *guan* "close" and *ti* "kick". The production data of CY from 1;06;02 to 02;04;31 and adult input from 0;10;05 to 02;04;31 were analyzed. Only three distinct uses (6 tokens out of 605 tokens) of NCO construction were found in CY's production, involving 2 verbs: *hua* "draw", and *ti* "kick". Two of the three distinct uses *hua xingxing* "draw on the chimpanzee" (4 tokens), and *ti xiaoyi* "kick (the ball) to Auntie" were not found in preceding adult input.



In summary, our results favor the collocation proposal and verb-specific proposal over the Enriched Composition proposal and the Light Verb proposal. However, research on the comprehension of NCO construction is needed to further evaluate the various hypotheses.

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## Prosodic Phrasing in Monolingual, Multilingual and Second-Language Learners' Speech

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This study is a detailed examination of minimal pair contrasts in a prosodic phrasing experiment, based on the Chunking task in the PEPS-C test battery (Profiling Elements of Prosodic Systems–Child version; Peppé & McCann, 2003), designed to assess children's ability to produce ambiguous phrases that can be disambiguating using prosodic cues. The minimal pairs differ in the lexico-grammatical distinction between a list of a compound noun and single noun ("coffee beans and sugar") and a list of three single nouns ("coffee, beans and sugar"). Speakers from different language backgrounds took part in the experiment: monolingual or native speakers of British English (one adult, two children, ages 10;1 and 9;8), multilingual with English as a dominant language alongside Mandarin and Cantonese (two children, ages 10;8 and 9;5) and Cantonese-dominant speakers of English as a second language (adolescent, age 16;6; child, age 9;4). The following phonetic features were investigated: (i) pause duration measured as the silence between words or compound elements; (ii) final-syllable duration measured as Rime duration; (iii) pitch measurements of Hz and semitone levels on accented syllables and mean pitch; and (iv) intonation contours. These are prosodic cues that contribute to prosodic phrasing and mark prosodic boundaries to signal lexico-grammatical differences. The relational aspect of the pause and Rime measurements were expressed as ratios of the 3N mean to the 2N mean. The semitone data were interpreted using the notion of Just Noticeable Difference (JND) in pitch, defined as the smallest perceivable difference between two levels, and reported at 1.5 semitones in t'Hart (1981), Rietveld and Gussenhoven (1985) and t'Hart et al. (2006).

The detailed analysis and comparisons between the speakers' phonology and phonetic realizations of the structure helped capture variation, which is especially important when working with non-standard varieties or child language. Although the claims are restricted to the structure investigated, i.e., lists of nouns, and the individuals tested, they indicate that there are specific differences between the pairs/groups of speakers. All participants used pause as a cue. However, the Cantonese-dominant speakers have the largest ratio values and least absolute differences, which indicates that pause was a more subtle cue for them. The multilingual children pattern with the monolinguals; however, they were not as consistent as the monolinguals. The monolinguals also used Rime duration as a strong cue; they have large and consistent differences, and lower ratio values. The Cantonese-dominant speakers show large ratio values above 50% and have the least difference in Rime duration so for them Rime was a weaker cue. The multilinguals showed aspects of both monolinguals and Cantonese dominant speakers. This is in line with Mok's (2011) claims that bilingual children may delay acquiring the typical English rhythmic pattern, which is not as "stress-timed" as the monolingual, but still more advanced than Cantonese speakers of English. In terms of pitch measurements, only the adult data displayed the most consistent pattern whereas the monolingual and multilingual children showed no consistent pattern and all possible pitch patterns were observed. In their data, however, pitch differences above the JND in pitch varied between 5 and 11 semitones. In contrast, pitch differences in the Cantonese-dominant data were predominantly below the JND of 1 semitone. This means that their pitch displacements were less prominent as compared with the other speakers. The fact that all participants were more consistent in using the temporal features is an indication that pause and duration cues are easier to manipulate and probably acquired earlier than pitch in monolingual, multilingual and second-language context.

## 汉语中的“给予”与“取得”类双宾结构

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汉语中的一些动词可以构成双宾语形式NP1 [V NP2 NP3]，其中NP2 为间接宾语而NP3 为直接宾语，如“给予”类的“给、让、教、送、递、卖”、“取得”类的“买、偷、抢、问”等。有文献认为这两类同为双宾动词，但张伯江（1999）指出了两类动词的不同句法表现，胡建华（2010）针对这些句法现象给出了分析方案。胡建华、杨萌萌（2013）分析了“送、传、递”等与“给、让、教”的不同，指出“给予”类动词内部也有区别，并且提出了鉴别真正双宾动词的标准：双宾动词可以投射双宾句法结构[NP1 V NP2 NP3]，也可以实现为单宾句法结构[NP1 V NP2]，且可以不受限制地选择单宾语。如此，“给予”类中只有“给、让、教”是双宾动词。当用该标准鉴别“取得”类动词时，我们发现尽管这类动词多数在选择单宾时受限，但仍有一些动词似乎可以自由选择单宾，例如：

(1a) 张三偷/抢了李四一只鸡。(1b) 张三偷/抢了一只鸡。(1c) 张三偷/抢了李四。

(2a) 张三问了李四这道题。(2b) 张三问了这道题。(2c) 张三问了李四。

例句(1c)显示，“偷/抢”可以单独选择间接宾语。但这里的“抢/偷”须解读为x ACT-on y，即“x对y做了些什么”（胡建华2010）。值得注意的是，当这类动词单独选择所谓的间接宾语时，会表现出和带双宾时不一样的高及物性，而此时这类动词实际上已经转类，变为单宾动词。我们可以用“把”来验证“偷/抢”单独带间宾时所表现出的高及物性，而“问”则不具备高及物性，分别见(3-4)。

(3a) 张三把李四偷了。(3b) 张三把李四抢了。

(4a) \*张三把李四问了。(4b) \*张三把李四给/让/教了。

我们还可以用话题句及其题元解读，来验证动词的及物性以及动词本身的题元信息。

(5a) \*这个包(，张三)抢/偷了李四。(5b) \*这个包(，张三)打了李四。

(6a) 这个问题(，张三)应该问李四。(6b) 这本书(，张三)已经给了李四。

例句说明及物性低的动词才可能是双宾动词，而一旦具有高及物性，“抢/偷”就成了与“打”一样的单宾动词。故(5a)和(5b)不合法的原因一致：单宾动词只能释放两个题元，以致“这个包”得不到解读。例句(6a-b)显示，“问”的及物性低，故与“给予”类动词相似，可以释放三个题元。

至此，我们发现只有“给、让、教”和“取得”类的“问”能够满足上述鉴别标准。仅从这一点看，前人认为予取两类动词一样，或许并不是绝对没有道理，而胡建华（2010）认为“取得”类的“来源”这一题元不在词库中标注，也或许太绝对。但我们将进一步指出，上述鉴别标准为宽式标准，按此可筛选出四个动词；而我们又发现，粤语、吴语中“给我本书”还可以表达为“给本书我”，但粤、吴等方言排斥以“取得”类动词形成该序列，如“\*问问题我/\*抢本书我”。这一点或可佐证“取得”类动词与“给予”类双宾动词的本质不同。方言中的语言事实还显示，“给”以外的其他“给予”类动词形成该序列也极为受限。按照更为严格的标准，只有“给”才是真正的双宾动词。刘丹青（2001）指出跨语言、跨方言来看，“给他书”这种双宾句式相比于“送书给他”是有标记且受限的。本文以严式标准鉴别双宾动词的结果恰与其观察一致。

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## Underspecified Tone in Cantonese English

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Languages with tonal underspecification have the absence of tone ( $\emptyset$ ) in their tone systems. Underspecified tone is commonly found in the African tone literature (e.g. Pulleyblank 1983, Myers 1998, McPherson 2012) in addition to works in other languages (e.g. Shih 1987, Archangeli 1988, Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988).

In this talk, I present the case of Cantonese English. I argue that Cantonese English has a privative tone system: /H,  $\emptyset$ /, where  $\emptyset$  syllables either receive derived tones or retain their tonal underspecification on the surface. The evidence is based on a smoothing spline analysis of variance (Gu 2002/2013) to the F0 data. I compare the tone contours of different surface tones, and find that the use of pitch of  $\emptyset$  is sensitive to word/utterance boundary and utterance type, contributing to its distinctiveness in terms of pitch use. The pre-high  $\emptyset$  syllables in a word are specified as M. The post-high  $\emptyset$  syllables are specified as continuing H in non-utterance-final words, and as a L% and a H% at the utterance-final boundary of statements and questions respectively. Any residual post-high  $\emptyset$  syllable in utterance-final words remains underspecified in their surface representation but has a tone due to interpolation. I explain the co-existence of tonal specification and underspecification on the surface by an optimality-theoretical analysis with the relative ranking among markedness constraints domain-specific \* $\emptyset$ , ANCHOR-{L%, H%}, RT, \* $\emptyset$ ...H, \*H...M, and faithfulness constraints IDENT-T and DEPASSOC-T.

Cantonese English introduces an interesting case to tone typology since the African-like tone system of it also has the tonal behaviour of H and  $\emptyset$  sharing traces from both Cantonese tone and English intonation. It sheds light on tonal analyses of other later acquired languages spoken with a tonal mother tongue.

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**Mandarin Connective *haishi*: a Hamblin-set for Questions and USnconditionals**

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Mandarin alternative questions are marked by the connective *haishi*, as in (1). Unlike English *or*, *haishi* cannot occur in declaratives. Another connective *huozhe* occurs in declaratives, as in (2).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(1) Lin qu Meiguo <i>haishi</i> qu Riben (ne)?<br/>         Lin go USA HAISHI go Japan Q<br/>         ‘Does Lin go to the U.S. or Japan?’</p> | <p>(2) Lin qu Meiguo <i>huozhe</i> qu Riben.<br/>         Lin go USA or go Japan<br/>         ‘Lin goes to the U.S. or Japan.’</p> |
|--|--|

The differences between *haishi* and *huozhe* are also observed in (un)conditionals. As in (3) and (4), *haishi* only occurs in unconditionals, whereas *huozhe* only occurs in conditionals.

- (3) Ruguo Lin qu Meiguo *huozhe*/\**haishi* qu Riben, wo hui gen ta qu.  
 if Lin go USA or/HAISHI go Japan I will with he go  
 ‘If Lin goes to the U.S. or Japan, I will go with him.’
- (4) (Wulun) Lin qu Meiguo *haishi*?/*huozhe* qu Riben, wo dou hui gen ta qu.  
 no-matter Lin go USA HAISHI/or go Japan I DOU will with he go  
 ‘No matter Lin goes to the U.S. or Japan, I will go with him.’

We propose that *haishi* generates a Hamblin-set of propositions. This correctly predicts that the semantics of unconditionals involves a set of propositions, which results in an indifference implication (Rawlins, 2008). In contrast, *huozhe* is a standard disjunction.

**SEMANTICS OF *haishi***

We propose that *haishi* is an alternative generator that collects two or more propositions and creates a set containing these propositions, as in (5).

- (5)  $[[haishi]] = \lambda p_1. \lambda p_2 \dots \lambda p_n. \{p_1, p_2, \dots, p_n\}, n \geq 2.$                       (6)  $[[ (1) ]] = [[haishi]](q)(p) = \{p, q\}$

Following Hamblin (1973), a question like (1) denotes a set containing the two answers p ‘Lin goes to the U.S.’ and q ‘Lin goes to Japan’. This interpretation is correctly predicted by (5). As in (6), *haishi* takes in two propositions p and q, and yields the interpretation of (1), i.e., the set  $\{p, q\}$ . (5) also ensures the right interpretation of unconditionals. An unconditional has an indifference implication. For example, (4) indicates that the speaker is indifferent to whether Lin goes to the U.S. or Japan. According to (5), the p-*haishi*-q construction in (4) denotes a set  $\{p, q\}$ . This set combines with the meaning of the consequent, i.e., a singleton set  $\{r\}$  (r = ‘I will go with him’) through pointwise functional application to build a set containing two conditionals, ‘if p, r’, ‘if q, r’. The adverb *dou* ‘all’ universally quantifies over this set and leads to a conjunction: if p, r and if q, r. The choice (p or q) does not matter to the truth of r, which leads to the indifference implication.

**SEMANTICS OF *huozhe*** Unlike *haishi*, the disjunction *huozhe* collects two or more propositions and creates a disjunction of the propositions, as in (7). Thus, the p-*huozhe*-q construction denotes a single proposition p - q, which is the right interpretation of declaratives like (2).

- (7)  $[[huozhe]] = \lambda p_1. \lambda p_2 \dots \lambda p_n. p_1 \vee p_2 \vee \dots \vee p_n, n \geq 2.$

(7) and (5) explain the contrast between (un)conditionals. A conditional is a relation between two propositions, i.e., the antecedent and the consequent. Thus, *ruguo* ‘if’ is of type  $\langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \rangle$ , which takes in two propositions to build a single proposition. The p-*huozhe*-q construction denotes a proposition of type  $\langle s, t \rangle$ , and thus can occur in conditionals. The p-*haishi*-q construction denotes a set of propositions, and thus cannot be an argument of *ruguo*. In contrast, the semantics of an unconditional involves universal quantification over a set of conditionals, which

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requires its antecedent to be also a set of propositions. Since the p-*huozhe*-q construction denotes a single proposition, it cannot be an antecedent of an unconditional construction. Another example is (8). (8) indicates that the speaker does not care who travels to one of the two countries. (8) does not indicate that the speaker does not care which country people travel to. Our analysis correctly predicts that *huozhe* but not *haishi* can occur in (8).

(8) Wulun shei qu Meiguo *huozhe*/\**haishi* Riben, ta dou hui wan de hen kaixin.  
'No matter who travels to the U.S. or Japan, he will enjoy his travel.'

**CONCLUSION** We proposed that *haishi* generates a Hamblin-set of propositions, whereas *huozhe* creates a disjunction of propositions. This analysis unifies the semantics of questions and unconditionals, and accounts for the difference between conditionals and unconditionals.

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## 香港漢字書寫系統中異體字的部件簡化——以三組形似部件為例

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香港所使用的漢字體系是繁體漢字，但它和台灣的漢字體系不完全相同，為配合香港的教學需要，當時的語文教育學院在 1986 年出版了以人手寫成的《常用字字形表》，並先後在 1990、1997 和 2000 年出版了修訂本。在書中附有〈異體字表〉，作為一字的標準字和其通用異體字的最主要參考。

對於書寫漢字，漢字使用者會把漢字分為兩個記憶部份：字形結構和基礎部件。字形結構可劃分為一至多個層級，每層最基本可分為獨體、上下、上中下、左右、左中右、兩面圍繞、三面圍繞、內外和重疊；基礎部件是漢字結構的最底層，為構成漢字的最基礎部份，《香港電腦漢字楷體字形基礎部件表》（資訊科技署、法定語文事務署 2002）就劃分出 644 個基礎部件，而這些基礎部件的其中一個參考依據就是 2000 年的《常用字字形表》。

漢字的異體法可以按字形結構是否改變和基礎部件是否改變分為三類，本文這次利用字形結構不變而基礎部件改變的一類，並以三組形似部件——「艹」和「艹」、「日」和「日」、「四」和「四」為例，以《常用字字形表 2000》中〈異體字表〉提供的標準字和其通用異體字作參考，分析香港漢字書寫系統中異體字的源流和當中涉及的部件簡化。

從分析中可見，「艹」變同「艹」，有合併的趨向；「日」和「日」在非獨用時，異體字都傾向接納作「日」；而「讀」和「賣」本分屬「四」和「四」部件，但「讀」右部份「賣」的異體字變同「賣」。由此可見，異體字的出現有可能會令個別部件數量減少，從而其所牽涉的字形也減少，從字形上看，負擔可能因此而相對減少。但從意義上，與草無關的「艹」可以歸入與草有關的「艹」，而「日」和「日」也變為同一部件，這些簡化某程度上削弱漢字表意功能；而部件的合併也影響了漢字的生成功能，這無疑構成了一定負擔。

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## 云澳方言的特殊“乞伊”结构

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云澳方言是粤东汕头市南澳县云澳镇居民所使用的方言，本文详细讨论了云澳方言特殊的“乞伊”结构的谓语特点及语义特征。该类特殊的“乞伊”结构与云澳方言的使役结构和被动结构一致，主要靠语义进行区别，如例（1-3），其中例（1）是使役结构、例（2）是被动结构、例（3）是本文讨论的特殊的“乞伊”结构。

- （1）伊无乞我睇这本册。（他不让我看这本书。）
- （2）个碗乞伊敲掉去。（碗被他打碎了。）
- （3）a、个孖团乞伊□[puaʔ2]落去。（小孩子摔倒了。）  
b、个孖团乞伊晒去。（小孩子睡着了。）

不同于以往的研究（Matthews et al. 2005, Lin 2011），本文认为“乞伊”结构不是简单的非宾格结构，部分非作格动词也可以进入“乞伊”结构。语义特征的限制是“乞伊”结构选择谓语的依据，即“乞伊”结构的语义特征需要表达“状态的变化”和“不如意的感情色彩”。进入“乞伊”结构的主要动词均是一元不及物动词，谓语不能是光杆动词，其中，“去类补语”是“乞伊”结构中最常见的补语，出现在“乞伊”结构中的“去”主要是作为复合趋向补语、动向补语和程度事态助词，在我们观察的例子中，“去”一般只跟具有[+减少]、[+分解]等的语义特征的动词。本文认为“乞伊”结构和被动结构的“同构性”有三种可能的关系，语义上表达“不如意”的相似性是这两种结构的纽带，“一元动词+去类补语等”采用被动结构以凸显表达“不如意”的语义。



## 汉语副词“才”作为时间或排他性副词在复杂句的语义分析

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普通话副词“才”可以用在复杂句中, 如(1)。而且, 当复杂句的从句中出现“只有”、“除非”或“必须”时, “才”的使用具有强制性, 如(2)。

- (1) 你按照我说的去做, 我才帮助你。  
 (2) a. 只有张三出面, 问题\*(才)能得到解决。  
 b. 除非你答应我的条件, 我\*(才)告诉你事情的真相。  
 c. 你必须去大使馆, \*(才)能申请签证。

本文在既往研究的基础上讨论普通话副词“才”在复杂句中的语义。我们认为, 复杂句中“才”有两种可能的语义: 它可以用作时间副词或是排他性副词(exclusive adverb)。处在主句中的副词“才”与从句在意义上产生联系。当从句指谓(denote)参考时间而“才”仅表示相对于参考时间而言“马上的过去”时, “才”充当时间副词, 在参考时间和相关事件所发生的实际时间之间建立语义关系。其他情况下, “才”用作排他性副词。

作为排他性副词, “才”表示相对于候选项(alternatives)而言只有从句所指谓的断言值(asserted value)能满足相关开语句(open sentence)。它具备焦点小品词(focus particle)的全部三个基本特征并且能通过量化测试(quantification test)和蕴涵测试(entailment test)。“才”对句子的基本语义贡献表现在两个方面: (a) “才”字句预设相应的不带有“才”的句子; (b) “才”字句蕴涵没有候选项满足相关的开语句。

与此前Biq (1984, 1988)等的观点不同, 我们认为, 复杂句中“才”的基本语义功能并不是用来标识必要条件, “才”并不能保证与之相关联的从句可以作为主句实现的必要条件。

排他性副词“才”能引出自己的三分结构(tripartite structure): 从句作为与“才”相关联的成分被映射到核心部分(nuclear scope), 而主句则被映射到限定部分(restrictor)。当从句中的某个成分被标识为焦点, 则该焦点会激发第二个层次的三分结构: 焦点被映射到核心部分而从句的其余部分则被映射到限定部分。该焦点会影响候选项集合的组成, 各候选项只在焦点位置不同。排他性副词“才”的语义表达式大致可以写成(3)的形式。

(3) 才:  $P(k) \& \neg \exists x \in \text{ALT}(k) [P(x) \& x \neq k]$

其中, “ $P(k)$ ”表示: 断言值  $k$  使相关句子  $P$  为真。“ $\neg \exists x [P(x) \& x \neq k]$ ”这部分表示: 否定存在这样一个变量  $x$ ,  $x$  使  $P$  为真, 且  $x$  不等于断言值  $k$ 。“ $x \in \text{ALT}(k)$ ”表示: 变量  $x$  是断言值  $k$  所引出的候选项集合的成员。

“才”可以与“只有”、“除非”和“必须”共现组成“只有/除非/必须……才……”结构。该结构中, 无论是“只有”、“除非”还是“必须”都是一元算子(unary operator), 用来标识与之相关联的成分的唯一性或是必要性, 它们不能在主句和从句之间建立明确的语义关系; 而“才”仍旧用作排他性副词, 它对从句进行否定存在量化(negated existential quantification)操作, 它能在从句和主句之间建立这样的语义关系: 相对于候选项而言, 只有从句所指谓的断言值能满足主句。因此, 带有该结构的句子中“才”的使用通常带有强制性。

## A Corpus-based Study on the Awareness of Prosodic Structures in Learners of Chinese as a Second Language

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The basic prosodic-morphological structures of Chinese compound nouns include “1+1”, “2+1”, “1+2”, “2+2”<sup>1</sup> etc. For learners of Chinese as a second language (CSL), it takes time to build up the morphological awareness on the formation of these structures. Based on the analysis of neologisms in a collection of spontaneous speech from a learner corpus, this study tries to find out whether the awareness of Chinese prosodic structures can be enhanced with the increase of proficiency level.

1 The numeric figures refer to the number of syllables, e.g. “1+1” stands for a disyllabic noun.

Data are collected through a Computerized Oral Proficiency Assessment (COPA), a computer-based test system assessing the usage-based language proficiency for learners of Chinese with various language backgrounds. The corpus consists of 28 pieces of 15-minute spontaneous speech in the tasks of responding to 12 interview questions. Subjects are 4 intermediate and 17 advanced English L1 Chinese L2 speakers. Besides, 7 speakers’ Chinese proficiency level is unclear (intermediate or advanced). The recordings are transcribed and tagged with error types, part of speech, etc. by using the software Computerized Language ANalysis (CLAN).

In the transcription, 49 noun neologisms have been identified, where 41 show legitimate prosodic structures and 8 present illegal structures. As examples presented below, the neologisms in (1) are in legitimate structures. But in (2), structures like “1+2” and “3+1” are not productive in modern Chinese. Data analysis shows that “1+1”, the most productive prosodic structure, has the lowest proportion of noun neologism (3.5%); whereas “2+1”, “1+2”, “2+2” and “3+1” have much higher proportion of noun neologisms, i.e. 24.7%, 25.0%, 15.4% and 50.0% respectively. Among all the noun neologisms produced by advanced learners, 24.8% are illegal. Among all the noun neologisms produced by intermediate learners 80.0% are illegal. The noun neologisms with legitimate structures can be divided into two groups: one (1a) having identical structure and same literary meaning with the real word, but the other (1b) having different structure with the real word which may result in a different interpretation. For instance, in (1b), though the words “糖店” and “浪漫书” are prosodically correct, their meaning can be confusing due to mis-collocating the morphemes.

(1) noun neologisms in legitimate prosodic structure (corresponding real words are in brackets):

a. 餐式 (菜式) | 电影馆 (电影院)

meal style (cuisine) | movie pavilion (cinema)

1 + 1 (1 + 1) | 2 + 1 (2 + 1)

b. 糖店 (甜品店) | 浪漫书 (爱情小说)

sugar shop (dessert shop) | romantic book (love fiction)

1 + 1 (2 + 1) | 2 + 1 (2 + 2)

(2) noun neologisms in illegal prosodic structure (corresponding real words are in brackets):

多样子 (多元化) | 打篮球院 (篮球场) | 语 (语言)

many appearance (diversification) | play-basketball yard basketball ground | speech language

1 + 2 (2 + 1) | 3 + 1 (2 + 1) | 1 (1 + 1)

The contrasting numbers of legitimate and illegal prosodic structures indicate that most learners have developed the awareness of using legitimate structures when creating new nouns. However, learners with lower proficiency

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haven't been able to clearly differentiate legitimate from illegal structures yet. In the level of semantics, even learners with higher proficiency who created noun neologisms in legitimate prosodic structures, because of the limited vocabulary size, they are not able to discern the nuances between similar morphemes. For instance, since they do not know the difference between the morphemes “甜品” and “糖”, they accidentally construct “糖店” instead of “甜品店” for a dessert shop.

In conclusion, most learners have acquired basic prosodic structures and learners with higher proficiency have developed the awareness to create noun neologisms in legitimate structure. Further questions on whether the illegal structures have become fossilized need to be investigated through behaviour experiments. In addition, we hope to gain a deeper understanding about morphological parsing - the underlying psychological mechanism in the future studies.

## 客家話的“同”字處置式

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“同”是和類虛詞中分佈較廣的成員，譬如在現代漢語普通話以及包括粵語在內的諸多方言中，它都以兼類詞的身份出現。“同”在梅縣客家話中也不例外，口語中可作動詞、形容詞、並列連詞、介詞、助詞等，且具有多重語義功能。其中在作助詞時，“同”可引導客家話處置式，作為賓語提前的標記。所以，客家話處置式語序與普通話一致，“同”字處置句有相近於普通話之處，同時也展現出方言的獨特性。本文將以普通話處置式的研究成果為參照，比較普通話“把”字句與客家話“同”字句的異同，探索客家話“同”字處置式的使用限制。通過對客家話“同”字句的探討，為漢語處置式做一定的補充。

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## 粵東閩南語的分群

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粵東閩南語指的是通行於廣東省東南部沿海一帶的閩南語，即《中國語言地圖集》（1987）所定義的“潮汕片”閩南語或“潮汕口音”（張振興1985，李新魁1994，侯精一2000，李如龍、姚榮松2008）。粵東閩南語內部之間既有一致性，也有相當明顯的差異表現，因此給我們帶來了一些分區認識上的困難。如潘家懿（1998:40）認為：“潮汕話的範圍包括汕頭、潮州、揭陽三市所轄的絕大部份縣市，福佬話的範圍包括汕尾的海豐、陸豐及惠陽市的惠東、博羅。從語感上講，福佬話與閩南本土的漳、泉、廈方言更為接近。”這不僅反映了粵東閩南語內部分片的模糊性，也折射出部份閩南語系屬不明的問題。

近年來，一些學者嘗試為漢語方言進行分群（subgrouping），如史皓元（1999）、白一平（2006）和秋谷裕幸（2010）等。白一平基於十種官話方言的29項共同創新，演算出官話譜系樹（the Mandarin phylogeny）的模型。對於分群來講，共同創新（share innovation）是唯一有效標準（Fox1995; Campbell 2004）。就漢語方言的情況，我們應當重視音韻結構的共同創新（白一平2006，何大安1988）。

因此，本文採集潮陽、惠來、陸豐和海豐這四個閩南語語料，再加上兩個傳統福建本土閩南語代表——泉州和漳州語料，據此構擬出共同閩南語系統（Common Southern Min: CSM）。從共同閩南語系統中，我們嚴格確認\*e=\*o、\*u=\*i等15項音韻創新，並基於這些共同創新項，利用Camin-Sokal算法，為這六種閩南語進行分群。

	CSM	潮陽	惠來	陸豐	海豐	泉州	漳州
袋	*e	to6	to6	te6	te6	tə5	te6
坐	*e	tso4	tso4	tse4	tse4	tsə4	tse6
刀	*o	to1	to1	to1	to1	to1	to1
帽	*o	mo6	mo6	mo6	mo6	mo5	mo6

本文發現：基於譜系樹模型下的粵東閩南語分群，與我們對粵東閩南語的傳統內部分區的認識相當不一樣。對於傳統“潮汕話”的概念，似乎需要重新定義。本文也揭示了粵東閩南語與福建本土閩南語的歷史淵源。

## 東勢客家話舌尖前音聲母顎化與否之聲學探究

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本研究透過聲學的分析工具與社會語言學的研究方法，對東勢客家話的舌尖前音聲母[ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, s]是否顎化為[t, t<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]進行探究。六十名說東勢客家話的客家鄉親參與本項研究，依據他們的性別（男、女）、年齡（老、中、青）分成六組，每組十人。本研究透過自行設計的發音字表與閱讀短文，採集東勢客家話[s]與國語[ʃ]在不同語言與社會變項（後接元音、性別、年齡、語體）影響下所發出的語音樣本，並利用 PRAAT 對擦音的兩個重要聲學特徵，「摩擦噪音時長」與「頻譜能量高峰頻率」，進行手動測量。研究結果顯示，不論影響變項為何，[s]的摩擦噪音時長明顯短於[ʃ]，[s]的頻譜能量高峰頻率顯著高於[ʃ]，亦即[s]並未顎化成[ʃ]。值得注意的是，高前元音[i]確實會使[s]的摩擦噪音時長增長，頻譜能量高峰頻率降低，但與[ʃ]相較仍呈現明顯差異。最後，本研究一方面從穩定性的角度出發，探討摩擦噪音時長及頻譜能量高峰頻率作為感知客家話輔音的不同，另一方面也從發音、語境、感知等面向為東勢客家話[ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, s]為何不顎化成[t, t<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]提供可能的合理解釋。

## Acquisition of Cantonese Perfective Aspect Marker *zo2* by Adult L2 Mandarin-speaking Learners

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This paper examines the role of first language (L1) structure and indirect negative evidence in second language (L2) input in adult L2 acquisition by investigating the representation of Cantonese aspect marker *zo2* in Mandarin-Cantonese interlanguage grammars.

In L2 acquisition, it is widely acknowledged that positive evidence in the L2 input (i.e., the occurrence of a grammatical structure) can trigger grammatical restructuring (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996). However, whether indirect negative evidence (i.e., the non-occurrence of an ungrammatical structure) can play a similar role is much less clear (Gass 2005). In Cantonese, *zo2* is a perfective aspect marker appearing between a verb and its object (Mathews & Yip 2011). Its Mandarin equivalent is verbal *le* (Peng 2010). Verbal *le* is homophonous to a clause final particle *le* in Mandarin, which is semantically close to verbal *le*, but occupies a different structural position (Li & Thompson 1981; Sybesma 1999; Soh 2009). Whether Mandarin-speaking learners of Cantonese can realize that Cantonese *zo2* is the cross-linguistic counterpart of the verbal *le*, but not the clause final *le*, is an empirical question.

This study used an elicited imitation task, an L2-to-L1 translation task and an acceptability judgment task to elicit relevant data from 15 adult Mandarin-speaking learners of Cantonese in Hong Kong. Fifteen native Hong Kong Cantonese speakers served as controls. The results reveal cross-linguistic mapping between both verbal *le* and clause final *le* to Cantonese *zo2* in early L2 Cantonese grammars. That said, half of the learners tested are able to recover from this non-target-like overgeneralization. The learners' different behaviors towards grammatical and ungrammatical *zo2*-structures tested in the acceptability judgement task are strongly indicative of their sensitivity to indirect negative evidence in the input.

Our study suggests that phonological identity plus semantic relevance is likely to induce L1 transfer. It also sheds new light on the previously underestimated role of indirect negative evidence in restructuring L2 grammar and retreating from overgeneralization.

## The Beneficial Effect of Third Language Acquisition and Trilingual Mental Lexicon

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With the increase of multilingual population, there has been a growth of interest in bilingualism and multilingualism research in the past half century. A large number of bilingualism studies have found that bilinguals store two languages in an integrated lexicon, and due to the experience of choosing one language over another, bilinguals are better at executive function, i.e. tasks involving sustaining attention and inhibiting irrelevant information (e.g., Bialystok, 2001; Bialystok, Martin, & Viswanathan, 2005). This study explores the way a less proficient third language interacts with previously acquired ones in a multilingual lexicon in terms to find out whether learning an additional language during adulthood improves cognitive ability in executive functioning.

The experiment, which took place in Zhuhai, targeted a group of 27 Chinese native speakers with L2 English who were studying L3 German for four to six semesters. 23 Chinese-English bilingual controls of similar L1 and L2 proficiency also joined the study. Lexical decision tasks, in which participants pressed 'yes' or 'no' button as quickly as possible to indicate whether the letter string they saw was a real word, were conducted in two variations: one in English and German, and the other in English and Chinese. The DMDX software (Foster & Foster, 2003) was used for stimulus presentation and for measurement of reaction times (RT) and accuracy. Data were analyzed by SPSS 19.0, using ANOVA test for RT comparison and Chi-square test for error rate comparison.

For the first task, despite the whole experiment was carried in English, L3 learners reacted significantly faster ( $p < .001$ ) in judging English words that resembled German (961.2 ms) than other word types (1127.4 ms), demonstrating a joint activation of L2 English and L3 German. While in the second task that required subjects to react only to English words and ignore words in Chinese Pinyin form, the L3 learners outperformed bilinguals in accuracy ( $X^2 = 9.746, p < .01$ ). That is, in L2 perception, speakers with more languages were better at blocking the noise from native language than bilinguals did, a signal of improved executive function.

The result of the first experiment indicates that a language acquired well after critical period is stored in an integrated lexicon the same way as how two languages are stored in simultaneous bilinguals' mental lexicon. Then, the mechanism of visual word recognition of three languages can be simulated into the Bilingual Interactive Activation model (Dijkstra & Van Heuven, 1998), but the inhibition and activation processes are more demanding due to the involvement of one more language, which might be the reason behind the superior performance of L3 learners in the second experiment. Therefore, language acquisition is not merely adding lexical entries into an existing vocabulary repertoire, but it generates complex interactions between languages that causes restructuration of the mental lexicon in numerous domains. There are types of brain exercises like Sudoku that can boost cognitive abilities, and learning an additional language could be one of them.

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