

## The Phonology of Hong Kong English and Nigerian English: A Comparison

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The spread of English to different parts of the world, attributed to the expansion of the British Empire and lately to the political and economic influence of America, has attracted series of studies. Most of these studies seek to situate the varieties of English that emerged particularly in non-native environments within a framework that attempts to adequately account not only for their evolution and growth, but also their level of usage of the language in relation to the Standard (native) variety. Consequently, “new” English-speaking countries are grouped on the basis of shared experiences and levels of English usage. Hong Kong and Nigeria are both classified as countries belonging to the ESL category.

Both countries share some historical consanguinity as both are former British colonies. Colonial presence is therefore the precursor of English language in these countries. This paper hence proposes that the growth and development of English language in both countries should follow a similar if not identical pattern. Consequently the paper argues that the evolution and expansion of English language in Hong Kong and Nigeria follow the trajectory outlined in Schneider’s (2003) *Dynamic Model* which claims that *postcolonial Englishes* evolve and develop in *five characteristic phases of identity construction*. Drawing data from research on Hong Kong English (HKE) and Nigerian English (NE), a comparison is made between the phonology of English in Hong Kong and Nigeria.

HKE and NE exhibit similar characteristics. Both show evidence of similar substrate influence. The absence of the voiced and voiceless interdental fricatives [θ, ð] in Cantonese (Chan and Li 2010) results in the substitution of /θ/ with either [t] or [f] in words like *thin* as well as the replacement of /ð/ with [d] or [f] in words like *they* and *with*. Similarly, the exchange of [f] for /v/ in both initial and final position and [s] for /z/, resulting in the pronunciation of *van*, *live* and *zeal* as [wʌn], [laɪf] and [sil] respectively, are plausibly the result of substrate influence.

Gut (2004) reports a similar phenomenon in NE. Following the absence of such sounds from their local languages, Yoruba and Igbo speakers realise /θ/ as either [t] or [t̪] and /ð/ as either [d] or [d̪] while their Hausa counterparts realise the same sounds as [s] and [z]. In addition, Yoruba speakers realise /v/ as [f] which corresponds to its realisation word-finally by Cantonese speakers while Hausa speakers realise it as [b]. Again Yoruba speakers, as with Cantonese speakers, also pronounce /z/ as [s] because of the lack of /z/ in their consonant inventory.

Both varieties equally show divergent substrate influence in their phonologies. Deterding, Wong and Kirkpatrick (2008) attribute the conflation of initial /l/ and /n/ resulting in the pronunciation of words like *nine* and *knife* as [lam] and [laɪf] to the influence of Cantonese. This conflation is not reported for NE. Such a divergence is not unexpected as the model itself recognises the impact of “the forms and structures provided by all the parties’ native tongues”

As both HKE and NE follow Schneider’s model, this paper proposes that the characteristics of both HKE and NE do not fully support the placement of the two English varieties at the same point along the continuum.

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## An Emergent Phonology is a Transparent Phonology

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The role of an innate language faculty, or Universal Grammar, shaping the phonological component of grammar has been challenged in a growing body of recent research, in favour of Emergent Grammar, a “bottom-up” approach that assumes language structure is determined by using nonlinguistic human cognitive abilities to generalise over what is immediately observable in language. This presentation briefly reviews some of the arguments in favour of an Emergentist approach (e.g. the non-universality of distinctive features, the challenge of mapping sounds to features, etc.), then turns to what an Emergent phonology might look like: a morph-based lexicon with phonotactics and other selectional conditions determining which combination of relevant (observable) morphs is appropriate, and argues that the problem of phonological opacity disappears under Emergence.

*Phonological opacity* refers to instances where the surface form is so removed from the underlying form that the phonological operations relevant for a particular forms cannot be determined from the surface structure (Kiparsky 1973). Yokuts (Newman 1944, Kuroda 1967, Archangeli 1984) presents a complex example of phonological opacity. The language has height dependent round harmony (high vowels in (a.i) and nonhigh vowels in (ia.ii)), lowering of long vowels (b), and shortening of long vowels in closed syllables (c). (Critical vowels are underlined.)

a.i	harmony	logi <u>w</u> h <u>i</u> n	‘pulverized’	vs.	ʔugun <u>h</u> u <u>n</u>	‘drank’
a.ii		tʰunkʰ <u>a</u>	‘close the door!’		loxkʰ <u>o</u>	‘pour!’
b.	lowering	ʔilʔil	‘fan repeatedly’	vs.	ʔileehin	‘fanned’
c.	shortening	ʔileehin	‘fanned’	vs.	ʔilekʰ	‘fan!’

Phonological opacity occurs when the three patterns interact. In [cʰomlaʔ] ‘make him devour’, the [o] is followed by [a] (not [o]) while in [cʰumohnul] ‘place where one was devoured’, the [o] is followed by [u], not [i]. Such phonological opacity is a direct result of the concept of underlying representations, an abstract representation which contains the appropriate phonological information from which (ideally) all surface forms can be derived with straightforward phonological operations (Hockett 1958). Opacity by definition is a particular relation between an underlying representation that is distinct from the related surface representation.

Under a bottom-up Emergent phonology, where lexical representations are composed of observable morphs, the analytic challenges are (i) to identify the phonotactics that govern morphs, such as ‘long vowels are [-high]’ ([ʔilee ]); (ii) to identify the generalizations that relate morphs to each other, such as ‘long vowels in one allomorph (default) relate to short vowels in another allomorph’ ([ʔilee ] to [ʔile]) and (iii) to determine the conditions governing the selection of appropriate morphs when more than one option is available ([ʔilekʰ] over \*[ʔileekʰ] by ‘VV is followed by CV’ and [ʔileekʰhin] over [ʔilekʰhin] by default).

Harmony in Yokuts is not a surface-transparent phonotactic. Consequently, acquiring this language involves learning the harmony pattern associated with different morphs: certain morphs prefer a following [u]; others prefer a following [o]; where there is no preference, the default vowels surface ([i] and [a]): { cʰoom, cʰom }<sub>\_\_ROUND, HIGH</sub> and { lox }<sub>\_\_ROUND, NONHIGH</sub>. The apparent complex opacity of Yokuts disappears under the Emergent, bottom-up approach to phonological patterns.

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## **Subjects Use in Narratives by Cantonese-English Bilingual Children**

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As proposed by the structural overlap theory (Hulk & Müller 2000, Müller & Hulk 2001), the grammatical domain of subject use lies at the interface between syntax and pragmatics and is susceptible to cross-linguistic influence. Given the contact between Cantonese and English, it is hypothesized that overt subjects being obligatorily realized in English will result in an overuse of subjects in Cantonese which licenses both overt and null subjects. 12 locally-born bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA) participants and 20 sequential bilinguals (aged 5 to 10) were asked to perform a narrative elicitation task with the storybook *Frog, where are you?* Their data were compared with English monolingual controls selected from CHILDES database. Cantonese data of BFLA participants and sequential bilinguals were also compared separately to examine whether bidirectional transfer occurred due to different stages of dual language input.

Statistical analyses showed a significant association between bilingual participants and English monolinguals in their choice of subjects. A tendency to overuse overt lexical subjects by BFLA children and sequential bilingual children was observed in both English and Cantonese data when compared with monolinguals. Qualitative analysis of the transcript revealed interlanguage patterns in bilingual children's English which were modelled on Cantonese existential constructions and serial verb constructions. The findings provide support to the structural overlap theory in predicting the occurrence of cross-linguistic influence in the domain of subjects. The data also indicate the importance of language dominance in predicting the directionality of transfer.

# 東勢客家話舌葉音聲母的共時變異探究：社會語音學觀點

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摘要：

本研究從社會語音學觀點探討東勢客家話舌葉音[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]的共時變異。目前，許多與客家話有關的調查均發現[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]有往[ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, s]靠攏的趨勢，即去捲舌與去顎化的無標狀態（捲舌與顎化不可共存），如詔安、海陸、饒平。因此，東勢客家話的[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]的第一種可能變異是往[ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, s]方向變，這也是一種最無標的發展。第二種可能的變異方向是[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]往[tɕ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ]，因為[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]與[tɕ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ]後面都跟著[i]母音或介音，且發音方式相同，發音部位相近。例如，董忠司（1996）主張，凡東勢客家話的舌間面音後接韻母時都有介音[-i-]的存在，這種觀點也反應在一些東勢客家話調查文獻的記音上，如江俊龍（1996）、吳中傑（1997）、江敏華（1998）、塗春景（1998）、羅肇錦（2000）。由於具有[i]母音或介音，加上社會環境中所使用的主流語言（國語、四縣客家話）皆有[tɕ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ]聲母，東勢客家話舌葉音[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]在其顎化特徵可能受到強化而往[tɕ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ]方向變異，強化其顎化特性。最後，舌葉音的第三種可能演變就是不變，東勢客家話[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]依然維持著既捲舌也顎化的特徵，維持在一個最有標的狀態。

為了確認東勢客家話舌葉音[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]是否產生變異及變異方向，本研究針對東勢客家話舌葉音[ʃ]的變異進行社會語音學探究。六十名東勢客家話的發音人參與本研究，依據他們的性別、年齡分成六組，每組十人。本研究透過發音人念讀東勢客家話的發音字表、閱讀短文及國語的發音字的表方式進行語料收集，並採用 PRAAT 測量擦音的「摩擦噪音時長」與「頻譜能量高峰頻率」，並對結果進行統計分析。研究結果顯示，與其他的客家話不同，東勢客家話的[ʃ]並沒有往[s]方向變異，仍維持一個獨立的地位，本研究認為這和[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]與[tɕ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ]之間的「阻擋效應」有關。從跨漢語方言的角度來看，兩組音呈現不可並存的趨勢。有趣的是，在「高前母音、年齡、性別、語體」等因素影響之下，[ʃ]呈現往[ɕ]方向變異的趨勢。本研究也從語言與社會因素出發，說明東勢客家話[ʃ]往[ɕ]方向變異的可能原因。從語言因素來看，將[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]與[tɕ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ]相比，前者出現次數比後者少很多，即[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]較為有標（侯精一，2003；葉曉鋒，2011）。吳宗濟、林茂燦（1989）指出：「這三個音（指/s, ʃ, ɕ/）的部位差別是很小的。而且往往一種語言中聽起來像/s/的音，在另一語言中會聽成/ɕ/。」在聽覺感知無法明確區分且出現的語境幾乎相同的條件下，有標音自然往無標音方向發展。語言因素（發音、語境、感知、標記性）使得[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]往[tɕ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ]方向變異，尤其是在後接母音[i]、說話者年齡較輕、說話者為女性、及較不正式的語體時，變異趨勢特別明顯。從社會因素來看，[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]往[tɕ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ]方向變異很大程度源自於語言政策、語言接觸及語言轉用所帶來的影響，特別是國語。臺灣自從光復以來，國語變成個族群讀共通語。這種「獨尊國語，打壓方言」的政策不利於客家語言的維持與傳承（王甫昌，1998）。張維安（2010）調查顯示，客語聽說能力的好壞與年齡大小成正比趨勢，年齡越小客語能力越差。社會因素（國語政策、語言接觸、語言轉用、使用人口、語言活力、隱形心理、語言使用）使得國語的影響力大幅提升。誠如王士元（2000：118）所言：「語言演變由內部因素所激發，如發音、感知、類推模式的壓力、認知簡易性的要求等。它也可由系統外的因素所激發，如社會心理、正字法、語言接觸等。」所以，在結合語言與社會因素之後，本研究認為未來[tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, ʃ]往[tɕ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ]方向變異機率相當大。

## **Compound and Phrasal Prominence Patterns in Monolingual, Multilingual and Second-Language Learners' Speech**

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This study focuses on acquisition of compound and phrasal prosodic patterns, and tests children's ability to integrate compound and phrase prominence in order to differentiate between minimal pairs of utterances, e.g., "hot dog" (type of food) and "hot dog" (hot canine).

Participants include one adult native-English speaker and six school-aged respondents from three different language backgrounds: English as a first language (BrE), multilingual with English as a dominant language (ML), and Cantonese learners of English as a second language (L2). The test items, also used in previous experiments (Atkinson-King, 1973; Vogel & Raimy, 2002), were produced in compound and phrasal conditions based on visual clues. The following prosodic features were measured: (i) mean pitch values on each compound and phrase constituent in semitones; (ii) duration of each constituent, and pause duration between constituents; and (iii) pitch contour (including pitch accents and boundary tones).

The results indicate that the BrE and ML children employed pitch characteristics as expected for the compound, but not for the phrase. Pitch was only an important factor in signalling the contrasts for the monolingual adult. Duration values were expected to be longer in the phrase targets, especially on the second constituent (Vogel & Raimy, 2002) and this was only shown in the adult data and in the utterances of one of the BrE children, an indication that children might acquire pause and duration cues before pitch cues to mark the phrase pattern.

In conclusion, the ability to accurately contrast prominence patterns of compounds and phrases is acquired quite late in children's prosodic development. Early researchers claim that children can produce compound stress by age two (Clark et al., 1985); however, this study seems to indicate that even at ages 9–11, children's production is not acoustically precise, and contains ambiguity and conflicting prosodic and temporal cues.

Multilingual children may even develop this ability at a later stage, depending on the language input, and L2 speakers are likely to show no contrast in their production. The tonal change in Cantonese compounds (Matthews & Yip, 2011) could be a common feature of Hong Kong English compounds and may account for the tendency towards apparent late stress (Setter, 2010). It is likely that L2 speakers acquire the native-like pattern on a case-by-case basis and slowly expand their repertoire depending upon the extent and nature of input and interaction. This relationship between a pre-established pattern (Cantonese and Hong Kong English preferences) and acquiring (to a greater or lesser extent) a new native-English pattern may also explain some of the differences in the ability of the test participants to perceive or express the contrasts.

The study also examines the possible reasons for children's difficulties in manipulating the prosodic cues and signalling the compound-phrase prominence differences. These include learning of (i) stress shift; (ii) de-accenting rules in intonational phonology; and (iii) the concurrent acquisition of, including a lexicalization process, of two different categories of compounds (early- vs. late-stressed).

## **Test of first language competence: An example of Nuosu in Liangshan, Sichuan**

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This research talks about how to develop competence test for speakers of vulnerable first language (L1) based on descriptive linguistics. The main purpose is to identify those speakers' L1 competence when the dominance of the L1 is challenged by another language or already lost.

As a prototype of such test, a full computerized test of the Nuosu language is designed after a year-long fieldwork. Nuosu is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Liangshan, Sichuan, China. Most of the Nuosu people are illiterate in their L1 and Chinese is becoming a dominant language in the community. Through computer technology, we have built a user-friendly interface to overcome the literacy issue and made the test applicable to all Nuosu speakers, literate or illiterate.

In the current research, we will first talk about four principles governing such competence test: 1) testability, 2) dialectal consistency, 3) sustainability and 4) no formal learning needed. Then in terms of the Nuosu competence test per se, we will address its three components: 1) morphological competence, 2) syntactic competence and 3) semantic competence, the selection of linguistic features, the structure of the test, the question types, and the marking scheme.

The test has been applied to three groups of Nuosu people: young speakers (19.8), middle-aged speakers (40.6) and older speakers (66.3). The result shows that the performance of middle-aged and older speakers is close to ideal speakers with an average correctness rate of over 90%; but the performance of the young speakers is relatively low, about 79%. Moreover, a similar test of mandarin Chinese is designed and applied. The result shows that the performance of young speakers' Chinese is the best among the three groups. Finally, we will discuss the subjects' bilingual competence in Nuosu and Chinese.

# Differential argument marking in New Guinea

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This paper investigates variable case marking in Fore, a language of the highlands of New Guinea. Specifically, there is a complex interaction of morphology, syntax and pragmatics determining when the subject will bear case marking. I present and discuss data from Fore, a Papuan language, which is both head- and dependent-marking. In head-marking (pro-drop) languages when both arguments of a transitive verb are third person, there is a potential ambiguity as to the identity of the subject and object. In Fore, this potential ambiguity is avoided by adding NPs to the clause and a few apparent strategies for distinguishing the core arguments may be observed: these include appealing to a ‘default’ interpretation based on the (relative) animacies of the arguments, word order freezing, and case marking as outlined in Donohue & Donohue (1998). These phenomena have a natural explanation in terms of the markedness of associations between animacy and grammatical function, but such functional explanations typically have no place in generative grammar.

In this paper, I develop an account of these data that formalizes the intuitive functional explanation within Optimality Theory. I make use of harmonic alignment of universal prominence scales following Aissen (1999, 2003) to define the contexts, ‘floating’ constraints to model the optionality of case marking, and use comprehension-directed bidirectional optimization to model the general interpretive principle of ambiguity avoidance.

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**The Contribution of Constructions in Mandarin Sentence Comprehension for  
Both L1 and L2 speakers**

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Present studies have shown that besides verbs, constructions are also indicators in English sentence comprehension for both native English speakers and Mandarin learners of English. However, comparing with English, Mandarin is a more paratactic language. Based on such typological difference, constructions may play a different role in Mandarin sentence comprehension. This research tries to figure out in sentence comprehension: first, whether constructions indicate meanings in Mandarin; second, whether constructions play a different role in Mandarin and English; third, whether constructions play a different role for Mandarin L1 and L2 speakers. To answer these questions, this research adopts a sorting paradigm which requires participants to divide sentences into different groups based the meanings. Results have shown that in sentence comprehension: (1) constructions do indicate meanings in Mandarin; (2) constructions are more important clues in Mandarin than English; (3) Mandarin L1 speakers rely much more significantly on constructions than verbs; (4) Mandarin L2 speakers use both constructions and verbs but no significant preference has been found.

## 現代漢語中的“一+VP”結構考察

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現代漢語語法中數詞不能直接修飾動詞，但是“一+VP”結構作為文言成分的遺留，仍然在現代漢語中大量使用。相對於上古漢語，現代漢語中的“一+VP”結構在句法和語義等方面已發生了變化。為了全面深入地研究該結構，本研究主要回答“是什麼”、“為什麼”以及“怎麼樣”三個問題。“是什麼”包括“一+VP”結構內部分類以及各類的句法、語義和語用特點是什麼。“為什麼”指的是“一+VP”結構既然不符合現代漢語的句法規則，為什麼還能存在于現代漢語語法系統中。“怎麼樣”指的是現代漢語“一+VP”結構的各類用法是怎麼發展而來的。為了回答以上三個問題，本文從共時和歷時兩個維度來對“一+VP”結構進行研究。

與現有研究不同，對“一+VP”結構進行分類是本研究的起點，共時研究和歷時研究都是在分類的基礎上展開的。研究顯示，“一+VP”結構可分為表動量和表時體兩大類，兩類結構的句法構成、語義內容和語用功能呈現出不同的特點。基於索緒爾的語言價值理論和功能主義的語言觀，具體採用“系統融合度”的概念，研究認為“一+VP”結構在現代漢語中的存在和使用是為了滿足語義表達、語用表達和結構構造的需要。通過對“一+VP”結構從先秦時代到近現代的歷時考察，發現表時體的“一+VP”結構產生于先秦時期，表動量的“一+VP”結構產生于唐宋時期。語用環境是該結構虛化發展必不可少的驅動力。現代漢語中“一+VP”結構的異質表現和複雜用法是歷時發展的結果。

## **The Acquisition of Mandarin and Cantonese Nominal Structures by Hong Kong Deaf Children-- a comparative study**

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This research aims at comparing the acquisition of Mandarin and Cantonese nominal structures by 22 deaf children in HK who were studying together with hearing peers in a sign bilingual co-enrollment programme in a primary school and were diagnosed of having mild to profound hearing loss, wearing either hearing aids or cochlear implants and have been exposed to input of Cantonese, Hong Kong Sign Language, written Chinese and English so as to provide some evidence for bilingual language development and the existence of LAD.

In 2010, Lee reported that the Mandarin nominal structures of typically developing children are firstly composed of bare nouns, pronouns, proper names and demonstratives. The classifier-bearing nominals develop at a later stage, with a lag of three months. Following Sio (2006), Lee posits that children's initial projection of Mandarin nominals is Specificity phrase that selects a NP. By two years old, more nominal projections are specified when the numeral and the classifier-containing structures are integrated into the Specificity phrase. The mastery of [ $\pm$ definite] features shall have to depend on the acquisition of the related linguistic features that go into the signaling of information structures and cognitive development related to theory of mind.

Felix (2011) investigated the use of Cantonese nominals by a same group of deaf children with the current study but from a narrative reference perspective. While acquiring Cantonese, the deaf students showed a delay of mastering the grammatical markings for (in)definite reference but they are sensitive to the referential properties of different types of nominal expressions and their corresponding mappings with discourse functions. But her research did not focus on analyzing the syntactic projections of the nominal structures produced by the deaf children which makes hard for us to compare their development of nominal structures in Cantonese with that in Mandarin.

Following Lee (2010), we have analyzed the Mandarin nominal structures produced by deaf children in written form in the previous studies. The results have showed similar development profile. Syntactically, they would first develop the Specificity phrase which selects a NP at Primary 1 then master the [ $\pm$ definite] feature by incorporating determiners into the specifier position of Specificity phrase. Semantically, they could use the nominal structures to express right meanings, both definite and indefinite starting from Primary 1. But no research has been done to investigate their bilingual development. To this end the current research project aims to compare HK deaf children's development of Mandarin and Cantonese nominal structures in the syntactic and semantic level.

The results would show syntactically they would exhibit similar developmental stages in both Mandarin and Cantonese with the specifier position of the Specificity Phrase first vacant then occupied by the determiners and semantically they would grasp the definite/indefinite features of all the nominal structures. But they may have different patterns in using the nominals in Mandarin and in Cantonese since the nominals in these two languages have different properties (e.g. phrase comprises of a classifier and a noun cannot act as subject in Mandarin but it is entitled to do so in Cantonese). Their sensitivity to these differences may indicate their satisfying development in both languages.

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# Accounting for the asymmetrical interpretation of thematic and non-thematic verbs in L2 English

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The availability of Universal Grammar (UG) in adult second language acquisition (SLA) has received considerable attention in recent years. In this article we investigate the interpretation of English thematic and non-thematic verbs by adult Chinese speakers in relation to two UG-related theories, namely the *Valueless Features Hypothesis* (Eubank 1993/94, 1994, 1996) and the *Interpretability Hypothesis* (Tsimpli and Dimitrakopoulou 2007). Three groups of adult Chinese speakers of L2 English were invited to take part in an acceptability judgment test consisting of thematic and non-thematic verbs. Their responses were compared with those of a native control group. It was found that there is a discrepancy between native and non-native mental representations of the grammars concerned; whereas native grammars require English thematic verbs to remain *in-situ* but allow non-thematic verbs to raise, neither thematic nor non-thematic verbs are allowed to raise in learners L2 English grammars. Results of the study argue against the *Valueless Features Hypothesis*, which posits that the L1 syntactic features of INFL are initially inert and are not transferred. Instead, the results support the *Interpretability Hypothesis*, which argues for the inaccessibility of uninterpretable features beyond a critical period. In particular, it is argued that syntactic features not selected during early stages of primary language acquisition become inaccessible in subsequent language acquisition.

**Key words:** thematic, non-thematic, UG, partial access, non-droppable, second language acquisition



- (2) Ngo tai-zo bun syu **jat ci** zaa. (Tang 1998)  
 I read-ASP CL book one-time only  
 Intended I: 'I read the book once only.'  
 Intended II: '\*Only I read the book once only.'
- (3) **AaMing** lai zaa (, aaMan ng lai).  
 Ah Ming come only (Ah Man not come)  
 'Only Ah Ming comes (but not Ah Man).'
- (4) **Ngo jatgojan** fuzaak go bougou zaa.  
 I one-CL-person responsible CL report only  
 'Only I (one person) am responsible for the report.'
- (5) **Haasi m hapgaak ge hoksang jiu** lautong zaa.  
 Exam not pass Prt student need detention only  
 'Only the students who do not pass the exam need to have detention.'
- (6) **AaKoeng** zidou SiuMing m sikjyu zaa.  
 Ah Keung know SiuMing not eat-fish only  
 'Only Ah Keung knows that Siu Ming does not eat fish.'
- (7) (Zhiyou) **wo yi ge ren** hui nian Yingwen eryi. (Elrewine 2015b)  
 Only I one CL person can read English only  
 'Only I (one person) can read English.'
- (8) Fung singkeing hokhaau jau **zauwui** zaa.  
 Every Friday school have assembly only  
 Intended I: 'Every Friday, the school only has assembly (but no class).'

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## Usages of /laa1/ among Teenagers in Hong Kong

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It is observed that teenagers in Hong Kong tend to be heavy users of the particle /laa1/ (啱), especially on public occasions such as giving speeches and presentations. It is hypothesised that teenagers in Hong Kong are shaping potential new usages of /laa1/. Historically, Cantonese utterance particles have been used for various pragmatic functions, such as eliciting a list of items (Fang, 2003; Matthews & Yip, 2011) and drawing attention to the previous topic (Matthews & Yip, 2011). With the possible new trends in using /laa1/, the television show *City Forum* was the platform for a first-phase qualitative analysis. Based on students' live speeches in the show, the usages of /laa1/ can be compared with the findings of previous literature, and it plans to identify the new usages/patterns of /laa1/ among teenagers in Hong Kong. The results have demonstrated that /laa1/ may have extended its pragmatic meanings, such as giving advice and urging for something. Moreover, new usages may have arisen when /laa1/ is used for greeting and softening the tone. To further investigate into the situation, a longitudinal study across decades should be conducted in future.

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# The typological anomaly of Japanese geminates in Hong Kong L2 learners

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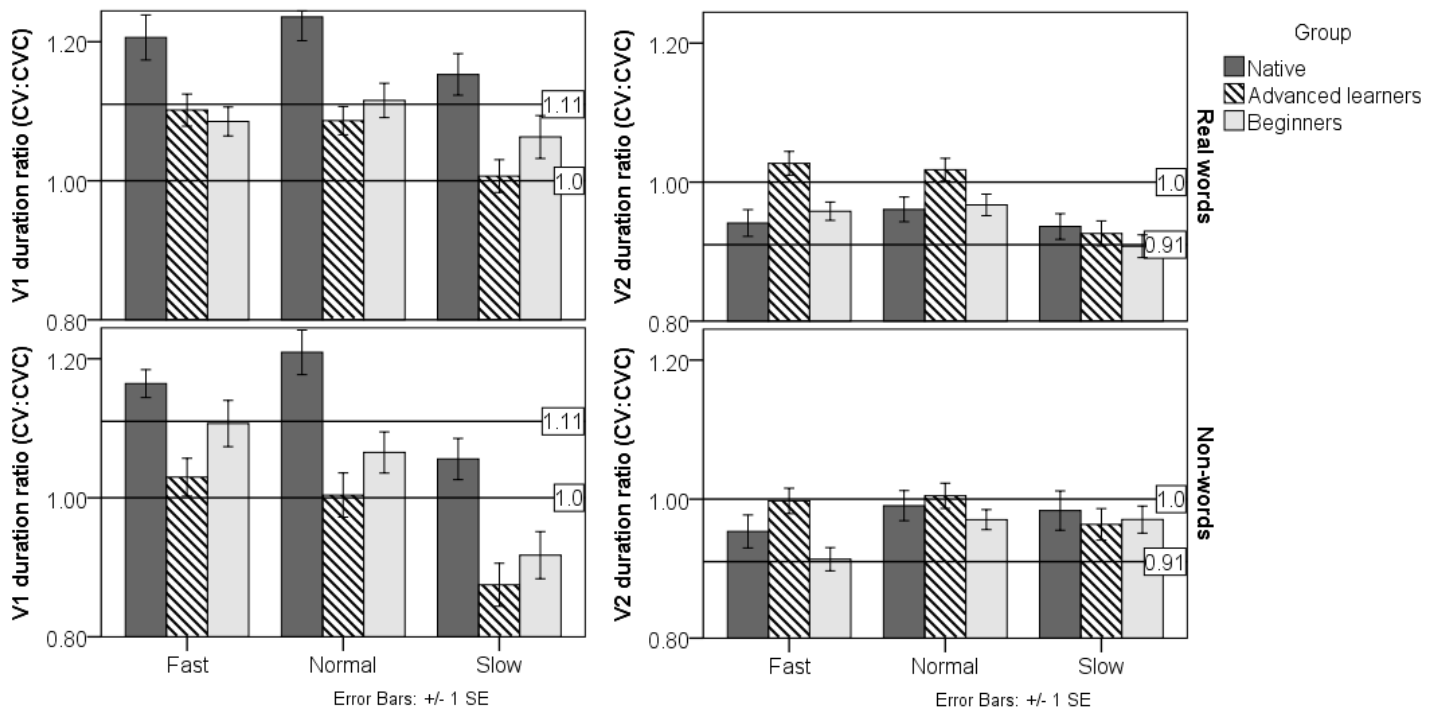
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Across languages vowels are shorter before geminates [1]. They are often deemed to close their preceding syllable (i.e. CV.CV $\Rightarrow$ CV**C.CV**), which in turn has shorter vowel duration. That vowels before a geminate are longer than their pre-singleton counterparts in Japanese thus makes it an exceptional language to this universal tendency. In Japanese, pre-geminate vowels (V1) are 11% longer than their pre-singleton counterparts, whereas post-geminate vowels (V2) are 9% shorter than corresponding V2's [2]. Since the duration of V1 and V2 is external to the closure duration of the geminates per se, it is interesting whether L2 learners will acquire these vowel duration patterns which run counter to universal tendency.

We carried out a production study with 5 native speakers of Japanese, 10 beginner learners (1<sup>st</sup> year BA Japanese Studies) and 10 advanced learners (4<sup>th</sup> BA Japanese Studies having spent a year in Japan). We controlled for word type (real vs. non-words), speech rate (normal, slow, fast), and syllable structure (CV.CV vs. CVV.CV vs. CVC.CV). From each speaker 405 utterances (3 repetitions for each condition) were collected for acoustic analysis.

The diagram below shows V1 and V2 duration ratios (CV.CV and CVC.CV) of the three speaker groups. Native speakers (solid dark grey) always manifested a >1.0 V1 ratio, suggesting that their V1 was always longer before a geminate. On the other hand, the learner groups were inconsistent in their V1 lengthening behavior, i.e. V1 duration ratio was not always >1.0 (e.g. non-words at slow speech rate). We submitted a subset of the data with only the two learner groups to ANOVA, and found that the effect of consonant length (singleton vs. geminate) was non-significant on V1 duration. These results suggest that Hong Kong L2 learners do not violate Maddieson's typology [1] in their production of Japanese geminates.



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## Analyzing errors of pronoun use in an HKSL-Cantonese bimodal bilingual child

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Shifting reference in the acquisition of personal pronouns poses difficulties to child learners. It is commonly observed that children tend to make pronoun reversal (e.g. using *you* to mean *I*, or vice versa) in the early stages of pronoun use (Clark 1978, Charney 1980, Evan and Demuth 2011 among others). However, this observation is based on spoken language and there has been little research verifying whether deaf children learning signed language will display a similar tendency.

Unlike spoken languages, personal pronouns in signed languages look very much like the co-speech gesture of pointing, directing the index finger towards the signer or the addressee to represent first and second person respectively. Given the property of transparency of reference, it seems natural to predict that pronoun acquisition in signed language should be easier, earlier or even error-free when compared with that in spoken languages.

Previous studies show that pronoun development in signed language acquisition resembles that in spoken language acquisition, in terms of developmental patterns or time of occurrence (Petitto 1984, 1994 on ASL, Hatzopoulou 2008, 2011 on Greek Sign Language, Li & Tang 2015 on HKSL). Moreover, children learning signed languages were also reported to make reversal error in some studies (c.f. Lillo-Martin 1999) but not all (e.g. Hatzopoulou 2008). As reported by Jackson (1989), a hearing child with deaf parents and learning ASL and English simultaneously was observed to make reversal errors in both languages in the context of possessive pronouns. The overall courses of acquisition in the two languages are similar but not identical. The subject produced more error types in ASL and demonstrated a longer period of time of first-second person reversal in ASL than in English.

The present study is concerned with whether pronoun acquisition in HKSL, given transparency of reference, is relatively easier and error-free when compared with that of Cantonese. We address the issue by analyzing the longitudinal data of a congenitally deaf child (WT), who received cochlear implantation at age 1;11. We focus on the pronoun reversal errors demonstrated in his HKSL (acquired from birth) and Cantonese. The bimodal bilingual data cover the age from 10 months to 4 years old. Based on the data, we found that the child was hardly found make pronoun reversals in his HKSL pronoun development, although he seemed to have experienced a short period of time of pronoun confusion in his HKSL, about 5 months (1;11 - 2;4), during which he showed a tendency to imitate the adult's utterance involving a pronoun. For example, when

the deaf adult signed “IX\_1 TEACHER” the child also signed “IX\_1 TEACHER” (2; 02.27). In contrast, he sustained a much longer period revealing erroneous use of personal pronouns in his Cantonese even after age 4, but the error ratio is minimal. Among the errors, pronoun reversal like “YOU=ME” type is most frequently observed. Unlike his HKSL, the pronoun reversal errors began to show up in his Cantonese after he was well into 3 years of age, a time hearing children have usually passed the period of pronoun reversal. The data suggest that pronoun reversal may be a modality-specific acquisition phenomenon, occurring only among children acquiring spoken languages.

## 题目

汉语未完整体结构“在V着”的句法、语义及语境研究

## 摘要

汉语的两个“未完整体(imperfective aspect)”标记“在”和“着”可以构成三种未完整体表述：“在V”、“V着”和“在V着”。前人研究多关注“在V”与“V着”，对“在V着”的研究很少。本文从以下两个角度研究“在V着”的语义特征与句法结构：一、考察“在V着”结构整体在不同语境中的分布；二、分析其内部句法及语义的组合过程。

在语境研究部分，本文对比了“在V着”与另外两个未完整体结构“在V”与“V着”在学术、新闻、文学、网络四类语境以及口语、书面语两类语体中的分布，发现“在V着”结构在“排斥在时间轴上占据一定长度的时间名词”以及“倾向于表述静态情境”两个方面与“V着”一致，但并不具有“构成地点倒装句(locative inversion)”、“构成连动结构(verb serial construction)”等典型的“V着”的句法功能。此外，在对动词的选择上，“在V着”与“在V”一致，倾向于选择具有动态特征(dynamic feature)的动词。本文根据上述特征推断“在V着”的内部结构为：“在”首先选择动词构成“在V”，然后再同“着”结合构成最终的“在V着”结构。

对“在V着”内部语义组合过程的分析结果与上述推断一致。在这一部分，本文在前人对“在”与“着”语法意义研究的基础上，修正了对“在”与“着”语法意义的理解：认为体标记“在”并非标记“动作的进行”，而是标记“一个存在某个动作或某种状态的具体时点”；体标记“着”的语法意义并非“标记动作的持续”，而是“将一个具体的动作或状态转化为一个抽象的属性”。据此，“在V着”内部的语法组合过程只可能是：“在”首先标记一个其上存在动词所表述事件的、在时间轴上占据一定长度的时间点，之后“着”将这个具体时间点上的动作或状态抽象为一个属性。因此，“在V着”结构整体的语法意义为“将一个具体时间点上的动作或状态属性化”；相应地，其句法结构为[AspP [VP [Adv 在] VP] 着]。另外，本文发现“在”对动词的选择有时受“着”的语义特征影响，这说明“在V着”已经形成一个内部具有特定结构的整体，而非“在V”与“V着”的简单叠加。

## The Semantics of *Shi/shi...de* Sentences and Its Exhaustivity

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**Overview** This paper examines the semantics of *shi/shi...de* sentences, illustrated in (1), which is a structure widely recognized as the cleft construction in Chinese. Special attention will be paid to its exhaustivity feature. It is argued that (i) *shi/shi...de* sentences do not convey exhaustivity in the same fashion as *zhi/zhiyou* sentences. (ii) Not all types of *shi/shi...de* sentences are exhaustive, with exhaustivity only associated with one subtype, namely, *shi/shi...de* sentences with the clefted focus being definite. (iii) The exhaustivity of *shi/shi...de* is derived from the composition of the definiteness of clefted focus and the semantics of *shi*.

(1) *Shi Xiaogao chidao le*  
*Shi Xiaogao late ASP*  
'It is Xiaogao who was late.'

**The proposal** Three possibilities exist for *shi/shi...de*'s exhaustivity, meaning that it could be on presupposition, on assertion or conveyed as a kind of implicature. However, we hold that firstly, *shi/shi...de* sentences do not express exhaustivity in the same fashion as *zhi/zhi...you*. That is to say, *shi/shi...de* does not assert its exhaustivity. This claim is supported by three pieces of evidence. More specifically, *zhi/zhiyou* and *shi/shi...de* behave differently when co-occurring with an additive particle, being questioned, and also when being reinforced. It is further claimed that *shi/shi...de* does not presuppose its exhaustivity either. Because it fails most of the projection problems shared by prototypical presuppositions, for example, conjunction as a filter and negation, conditional antecedents as well as modals as holes. What is interesting is it also fails some crucial criteria of being an implicature either. We instead argue that exhaustivity cannot be considered as a separated component, but is derived from the meaning components of the semantics of *shi/shi...de*.

Another observation we made is that *shi/shi...de* sentences are not always exhaustive. To be specific, it is found that exhaustivity is only associated *shi/shi...de* sentences with definite NP being cleft focus.

Based on the above observation, in line with Hedberg (1990, 2000), Percus (1997), Han & Hedberg (2013), we propose a definite analysis towards *shi/shi...de* sentences and its exhaustivity. It is claimed that *shi* is a contrastive focus marker in terms of its semantic/pragmatic function, and is a copula in terms of lexical semantics. Meanwhile, for a *shi/shi...de* sentence to be exhaustive, the exhaustivity conditions, which requires *shi* to denote an equative relation and the denotation of the cleft focus equal to that of the cleft clause, should be satisfied.

To illustrate with an example,

(3) *Shi [Xiaogao he Xiaopang]<sub>f</sub> chidao le.*  
*Shi Xiaogao and Xiaopang late ASP*  
'It was Xiaogao and Xiaopang that were late.'  
*Presupposition:  $\exists x$  [Chidao'(x)]*  
*There is someone who was late.*  
*Assertion:  $\_x$ [Chidao' (x)]=a*  
*The one who was late (in the domain) were Xiaogao and Xiaopang*  
*To paraphrases: Xiaogao and Xiaopang are all those who were late.*

# The role of identification of Hong Kongers' attitudes towards Guoyu and Putonghua

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This study investigates how the attitude of 53 university students from Hong Kong towards two Mandarin varieties are influenced by the identification of the speakers' place of origin. Verbal guised techniques are employed in this study, combining with questions eliciting overt beliefs and preferences related to Guoyu and Putonghua. The results of the semantic differential scale are neutral when the respondents are uninformed the place of origin of the speaker. Whilst, a drop could be witnessed on both varieties among all dimensions if the respondents are aware of the place of origin of the speak. Furthermore, the discrepancy of Putonghua between the informed and uninformed group is more remarkable than it of Guoyu. The majority of university students from Hong Kong prefer to have a Taiwanese friend and a Taiwanese teacher, while they consider Hong Kong locals should learn Putonghua rather than Guoyu. The finding indicates the identification of speakers affects the evaluation and the attitudes towards language varieties.

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## On the Category of 'adjectives' and related issues in Tunxi Hui

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Whether or not there is a distinct category of adjectives in Sinitic languages has been an on-going issue of disagreement among linguists for many years. With respect to Mandarin Chinese, Li & Thompson (1981) advocates that the so-called adjectives represent merely a subcategory of verbs. In relation to Cantonese, Matthews and Yip (1994) generally agrees with Li & Thompson (1981)'s view that the 'so-called' adjectives in Cantonese belong mostly to a subclass of verbs, with only a few exceptions of attributive adjectives. On the contrary, Paul (2003) claims that there exists a distinctive category of adjectives in Mandarin on the grounds that the words concerned can serve as attributive prenominal modifiers in two distinct forms, with and without *de*.

Interestingly in Tunxi Hui, a very little-studied Hui variety of Sinitic languages, the debatable adjective-like words cannot function as attributive modifiers before N, i.e. \*[A *ka*<sup>1</sup> N], for example in (1). Rather, they serve almost exclusively in predicative uses just like other verbs, as in sentence (2).

Attributive modification

- (1) \**i*    *tei*        (*kuen*)    ***tsau***    *ka*        *tey-p<sup>h</sup>o*  
one CL        (very)    fat        GEN        pig-FEM

Predicative construction

- (2) *mo*    *tei*        *tey-p<sup>h</sup>o*        *teian*        ***tsau.***  
that CL        pig-FEM        very        fat  
'That sow is fat.'

Such distribution hence casts some doubts on the nature of the adjective-like words in Tunxi Hui, since the arguments used by Paul (2003) do not apply.

Moreover, not all the adjective-like words can occur in the Adj.-N. construction, as demonstrated in example (3). Apparent cases of the Adj. -N. phrases are limited to lexical compound, as in (4).

- (3) \**i*    *tei*    ***tsau***    *tey-p<sup>h</sup>o*  
one CL fat pig-FEM

- (4) *t<sup>h</sup>ala-kue*  
*dirty-devil*

'someone who do not care about hygiene'

As neither attributive modification with or without *ka* is available in Tunxi Hui, the main arguments for distinguishing adjectives disappear and a verbal analysis of property words is supported.

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<sup>1</sup>*ka* is the Tunxi Hui equivalent of the Mandarin *de*, and the Cantonese *ge*, as in the construction of [A *de* N] and [A *ge* N] in Mandarin and Cantonese respectively.

## Identifying subjects in English infinitives by Japanese high school students

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This study investigates whether Japanese high school students of English can correctly identify the subject referents of infinitives in English. Previously, Yoshimura et al. (2015) reported that Japanese L2 English learners do not show a subject-object asymmetry as observed in L1 English acquisition with respect to the interpretation of PRO in the control structures (Chomsky 1969, Wexler 1992). This is due to positive L1 transfer in addition to their innate EPP knowledge as their L1 Japanese grammar already has the control structure. Nevertheless, the High school group in Yoshimura et al. showed a slightly better performance on the object control than on the subject control, inducing a very weak intervention effect (Belletti and Rizzi 2013). In the present study, we examined five constructions in (1): Subject and Object controls, with *for*, raising, and *tough* constructions.

Thirty Japanese senior high school students (JHS) (TOEIC 215-625) were given a paper-and-pencil questionnaire with the five constructions (5 sentences each, 40 sentences in total including 15 fillers). They were divided into two groups (n=15 each): the lower TOEIC group (LOW) had a mean score of 285 (SD 40.045) while the higher group (HIGH) had a mean TOEIC score of 443 (SD 92.578). The score difference between the two groups was significant ( $t(14)=9.613$ ,  $p<.004$ ). Table 1 shows the average percentages of the correct responses of the subject referents of the infinitive verbs. An ANOVA revealed the two groups were significantly different ( $F(1, 738)=7.1$ ,  $p<.008$ ) and the sentence types were also significantly different ( $F(4, 738)=6.941$ ,  $p<.000$ ). However, there was no significant interaction ( $F(4, 1948)=.285$ ,  $p<.888$ )

The object control structure seemed the easiest, and the raising construction appeared the most difficult construction for JHS learners to identify the correct infinitive subject referents. The subject control, the *for*-DP-to-VP, and the *tough* constructions fell between those two, as seen in Table 1. Again the slight worse performance on the subject control may have had a very weak intervention effect as supported by the fact that their performance improved in the more proficient group (marginally significant between the two groups,  $p<.052$ ). In the *for*-DP-to-VP construction, the JHS learners tended to interpret *for* as 'for the sake of' rather than the infinitive complementizer. As for the *tough* constructions, when the JHS learners were not certain about the meaning of an infinitive verb like *consult* or *please*, they opted to take it as an intransitive verb rather than a transitive one, thereby choosing the incorrect subject for the infinitive clause. When we limit our analysis to the construction of *seem to DP to VP*, their correct response rates were extremely low (22/22% for LOW and 31.11 for HIGH). They wrongly took the DP adjacent to *to* as the subject of the infinitive clause due to a relatively strong effect of the Minimal Distance Principle (Rosenbaum 1967). We attribute their great difficulty with the raising construction to a combination of the following three factors: (a) the absence of infinitive raising structures in Japanese (negative L1 transfer, Yoshimura and Nakayama 2010), (b) the delayed introduction of the *seem-to* construction and the total lack of the *seem to DP to VP* sequence in English textbooks used in Japanese high schools, and (c) the complicated syntactic operation of NP-movement. We thus conclude that L1 transfer, positive or negative, input, lexical learning, and syntactic complexity are all crucially involved in acquiring the antecedent of the PRO subject in infinitive constructions in L2 English.

- (1) Sub      *Hanako promised Susan to join the school tennis team.*

- Q: Dare-ga gakkoo-no tenisu chiimu-ni sankashimasu ka 'Who is going to join the school tennis team?'  
 A: 1. Hanako 2. Susan 3. both 4. I don't know
- Obj *Tom ordered Kate to return home by six o'clock.*  
 Q: Dare-ga 6-ji made-ni ie-ni kaerimasu-ka 'Who goes back home by 6 o'clock?'  
 A: 1. Tom 2. Kate 3. both 4. I don't know
- For *Yoko arranged for Ken to meet the tour group at the airport.*  
 Q: Dare-ga hikoojoo-de ryokoogruupu-o demukaemasu-ka? 'Who meets the tour group at the airport?'  
 A: 1. Yoko 2. Ken 3. both 4. I don't know
- Seem *Jake appeared to Steve to have fun on his business trip.*  
 Q: Dare-ga shuchoo-no-toki-ni tanoshisoodeshita-ka. 'Who seemed to be having fun on his business trip?'  
 A: 1. Jake 2. Steve 3. both 4. I don't know
- Tough *Mr. Yamada is easy for Ms. Sato to consult during the lunch break at school.*  
 Q: Dare-ga gakkoo-de soodan-shiyasui desu-ka. 'Who is easy to consult at school?'  
 A: 1. Mr. Yamada. 2. Ms. Sato 3. both 4. I don't know

Table 1 Percentages of correct responses by group and control type (%)

	Subject C	Object C	For	Raising	Tough	Total
Low (n=15)	65	73	64	49	61	63
High (n=15)	80	84	69	55	71	72

# **Phonological Changes in Cantonese-English Code-Mixing for ESL Learners in Hong Kong**

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The purpose of this study was two-fold. First, this study identified how ESL learners make phonological changes of English words in a code-mixing context and investigated whether learners of various proficiency levels produce these words differently. Second, it examined ESL learners' attitudes towards Cantonese-accented English and code-mixing in the classroom context and explored the relationship between English proficiency and the use of code-mixing. Two groups of learners were recruited to participate in the research, where each represented the high-proficiency (HP) and mid-proficiency (MP) samples of participants, according to their results in English public exams. A specially designed code-mixed script, an English translated version and a list of isolated English words served as the tasks for collecting phonological data, where any phonological variations of the same collection of words across the three tasks were recorded and analyzed. A questionnaire survey was then used to examine participants' opinions on code-mixing and its effects on pronunciation learning. The results showed that HP and MP learners pronounced numerous words similarly in a Cantonese-accented manner; however, MP learners were less likely to switch back to the correct pronunciation when the context of code-mixing was changed to pure English or when given a list of isolated English words. For instance, HP participants tended to replace the /t/ with /l/ only in the context of code-mixing but not in pure English and isolated words, whereas MP participants were observed with this consonant substitution across the three contexts. The survey results found that MP learners tended to be slightly more positive towards Cantonese-accented English and the use of a mixed code in English as a medium of instruction (EMI) classrooms. Nonetheless, the use of code-mixing was less preferred in English lessons for learners of both groups. Both groups considered Cantonese-accented English as a symbol of identity as Hongkongers.

Key words: Interlanguage phonology; pronunciation learning; language attitude;

## Story beginnings in Chinese conversation

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Storytelling, regarded as an activity “central to the fabric of social interaction” (Thornborrow and Coats, 2005), is prevalent in daily conversation. It is not surprising that storytelling (or narrative) has been studied across a number of disciplines including communication studies, conversation analysis, psychology, linguistics, interactional linguistics, and sociolinguistics. In this presentation, we report a preliminary study on storytelling in Mandarin Chinese conversation using the approach of conversation analysis. The focus of our investigation is on story beginnings. For this purpose, 53 storytelling sequences in six conversations are examined.

As literature from conversation analysis has demonstrated, successful launch of stories in conversation is often a function of carefully designed story preface, e.g. a two-turn sequence where the intending teller establishes tellership through interactional work with the other participant(s) (Sacks, 1974, 1995a, 1995b). One major issue negotiated through such a two-turn sequence is the suspension of the usual turn-taking practice (Sacks et al 1974) so that an extended turn space can be secured for the upcoming telling. It is also noticed that not all story prefaces consist of a two-turn sequence. The intending teller may start telling by a characterization of the upcoming story or use a range of linguistic devices to show its coherence or disjunction in relation to the on-going conversation (Jefferson, 1978, Yasui 2011).

An initial inspection of our current collection shows that the majority of the stories are not prefaced by a two-turn sequence. Only a small portion of the cases do. Our further analysis of the data then addresses the question of whether there are systematic differences between stories prefaced with or without the two-turn sequence. It is found that how a particular story is launched is relative to its sequential placement and the intended interactional function of the story. For instance, when a story follows a stance displayed by the teller in his/her earlier talk, it is likely that the story is employed to substantiate that stance, and therefore no full-fledged two-turn story preface is needed. As conversational stories are not pre-packaged but emergent, our findings suggest that the choice of the form of story beginnings is sensitive to whether the story is told as an initiative action or as in response or support of other actions.

## Pagu articles *o* and *ma*: are they linkers or just noun markers?

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Pagu is a non-Austronesian language spoken in North Halmahera, Maluku Province, Indonesia. It is grouped together with 5 other languages: Tobelo, Modole, Galela, Tobaru and Loloda known as Northeast Halmaheran Languages (NEH). All of them have cognate articles: *o* and *ma* (Holton 2006).

Previous studies have been conducted by several researchers on the two articles in NEH, i.e. Wimbish 1991 on Pagu and Holton 2006 on Tobelo. Wimbish claims that both *o* and *ma* are noun markers. The first functions to mark ‘non-nuclear’, the latter ‘nuclear’ nouns. According to her, the nuclear vs non-nuclear distinction marks whether a noun is important or not in the sentence. She adds that while *o* might mark either an indefinite or definite noun, *ma* can mark definite ones only. Holton on the other hand, calls both articles ‘relational noun markers’ namely that both function to link two nouns in the noun phrase. He also adds that *o* is the ‘default’ noun marker, whenever *ma* is not present in a single noun phrase. The following exemplify the use of *o* as a linker in the attributive construction (1) and *ma* in a possessive-(like) construction (2) (Holton 2006 p. 2).

- |     |  |     |   |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| (1) | <i>o hene o tonaka</i><br>NM turtle NM land<br>‘land tortoise’ | (2) | <i>o gota ma roehe</i><br>NM tree NM-body<br>‘tree trunk’ |
|-----|--|-----|---|

My research (taken from several trips to the field from 2012 to 2015) shows that neither analysis is correct. Following Holton, *o* is used as a default noun marker (whenever *ma* is not present) (see (3)). However it is not a linker in Pagu. The attributive construction like in (1) above results from the order of the two nouns (Head Modifier) not from the presence of *o*. Furthermore, *ma* functions as either (i) a ‘familiar’ marker (*ma dunia* of (4)) or (ii) a linker in the possessive-(like) construction (4). (Note the context of (4): speakers talking about the time when Pagu people still lived in their old village).

- |     |   |     |  |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| (3) | <i>o Yakobus o namo wa-tibo o Jakarta-ka</i><br>NM Y NM chicken 3SM.NHO-buy NM Jakarta-DAS<br>‘the Jacob bought the chicken in the Jakarta’ | (4) | <i>ma dunia ma orasa gena</i><br>MA world MA time that<br>‘the life (of Pagu people) of that time’ |
|-----|---|-----|--|

I also discuss why *ma* functions as a ‘familiar’ rather than a ‘definite’ marker. One of the reasons is that the possibility of *ma* to co-occur with a determiner such as *gena* ‘that’ (as seen in (4) above (*ma orasa gena*). Further I argue that the ‘familiar’ reading of the noun in the *MA Noun* construction is derived from the possessive construction of *Noun MA Noun*. Finally, this paper proposes that while *o* functions as a generic noun marker by default, *ma* on the other hand is a linker in the possessive construction. It can be used to mark the familiarity of a noun, only if the noun has been introduced previously through a (possessive) relationship with another noun in the discourse.

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## **Basic constituent orders of Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL), Jakarta Sign Language (JakSL) and Sri Lanka Sign Language (SLSL): a preliminary comparison**

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Previous studies on constituent orders in American Sign Language suggest that the basic constituent order of a simple clause may be altered by semantic factors such as the reversibility of the subject and object referents (Fischer 1974, 1975), morphological factors such as the presence of verb agreement (Kegl 1976, 1977) and the use of the object classifier in the predicate (Liddell 1980), as well as syntactic operations such as topicalization of the grammatical object (Fischer 1974, Padden 1988). Subsequent studies on other sign languages (e.g. Volterra et al. 1984, Johnston et al. 2007) typically look at some rather than all of the above-mentioned factors. Hence, typologically, it remains unclear whether these factors are valid and of equal importance in accounting for word order phenomena across other sign languages.

This paper attempts to find out the basic constituent order of HKSL, JakSL and SLSL, and investigates whether and to what extent the above-mentioned factors may alter the basic orders. Data of these three sign languages mainly come from spontaneous production as well as elicited sentences by native or near-native signers. The data collected so far suggest that while SVO is the predominant order in HKSL and JakSL, SOV is strongly favoured in SLSL. In addition to that, HKSL, JakSL and SLSL also differ in the extent to which variant orders are permissible. For instance, semantic reversibility of subject and object appears to be more influential in allowing word order variations in HKSL and JakSL than in SLSL. Moreover, SVO (the default order), SOV and OSV are permissible in the presence of verb agreement in HKSL and JakSL. In SLSL, however, despite the fact that similar verb agreement morphology can indicate clearly who does what to whom, SOV is still strongly preferred, and SLSL signers accept OSV sequence only if O is marked distinctly by a brow raise and is prosodically separated from the rest of the sentence. Use of classifiers also plays a more important role in the word order changes in HKSL and JakSL than in SLSL. The findings of this study suggest that sign languages are in fact far more diverse than are generally assumed, and more research is definitely needed to reveal how constituent order patterns resemble or differ typologically across sign languages.

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## A grammatical analysis of the ‘induced creaky tone’ in Burmese

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This research investigates the conditions and effects of the ‘induced creaky tone’, a grammatical tonal alternation in modern standard Burmese. Burmese is well known for its complex tonal system. Recent work has shown that the five Burmese tones are defined along contrasts in several suprasegmental categories, namely pitch, phonation, intensity and duration (Gruber 2011). My own work addresses a specific tonal alternation phenomenon in modern standard Burmese, the ‘induced creaky tone’ (ICT). ICT is the result of a process by which the last syllable of a noun with personal reference is altered from Low or High into the Creaky tone.

This alternation has several grammatical functions. The present paper focuses on the functions of possessor marking. Production experiments and interviews with seven young native speakers of Burmese from Yangon and Mandalay demonstrate that there are several well-distinguished conditions for this tonal alternation.

Some of these conditions are phonological constraints, for example:

- Creaky, Checked and High tones on the syllables before the final syllable block the ‘induced creaky tone’ on the ultima. ICT occurs only after Low or Neutral tone.
- (1) a. *kìn shwè*      →    *kìn shwɛ̰*                      Low Low      →      Low Creaky  
 b. *hlá shwè*      →    *\*hlá shwɛ̰*                      Creaky Low    →      \*Creaky Creaky
- Low tone syllables are more likely to change into the ‘induced creaky tone’ than High tone syllables.
- (2) a. *ə kò* “elder brother”      →    *ə kɔ̰*                      Low      →      Creaky  
 b. *ə pó* “grandfather”      →    *\*ə pɔ̰*                      High     →      \*Creaky

Some grammatical conditions are also found, for example:

- If the possessive marker *jɛ̰* occurs in a sentence, the ‘induced creaky tone’ is less likely to occur.
  - Tonal alternation occurs only on the last syllable of the last noun in a nominal coordination.
- (3) a. *phèphè*    *nɛ̰*    *mèmə̰*    *èiŋ*    *teí tɛ̰*  
 father    and    mother house    big-realis  
 Father and mother’s house is big.
- b. *\*pè pɛ̰*    *nɛ̰*    *mèmə̰*    *èin*    *teí tɛ̰*  
 father    and    mother house    big-realis

Finally, there are some word and sentence semantic conditions:

- Tonal alternation occurs only on nouns that rank high in the animacy hierarchy.
- Optional tone marking becomes obligatory if the possessor is ‘emphasized’ in the sentence.

These conditions interact with each other in different ways. The phonological conditions and the second grammatical condition are characteristic of a typical boundary tone (Pierrehumbert & Beckman 1988) while the other conditions are not. A comprehensive account of such conditions developed in this paper provides the basis for a grammatical analysis which tests the theoretical options for representing a tonal morpheme in the morpho-syntactic structure of a sentence. The analysis provides a direct comparison of segmental morphemes and tonal morphemes with the same function in the same language. It may also shed light on other theoretical issues such as the interfaces between phonology and grammar, and between tonal morphology and tonal syntax.

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## Quantifying semantic load and language change through a neural network

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Many linguists have addressed the question of why languages change in a certain direction and not the other (i.a. Croft 2000; Aboh 2009; Matras 2011). Several accounts have been put forward, some focusing more on social factors such as status, power and social networks while others focus on cognitive or functional factors such as frequency, saliency and processing costs. Research on contact-induced language change suggests that for an element to be taken over by other speakers that element needs to have salient semantic content (Aboh and Ansaldo 2006).

Building on these findings, a new approach is put forward that applies the notion of functional load (Martinet 1952) to the semantics of individual morphemes. The semantic load of a morpheme is quantified using a recursive neural network and reflects the degree to which that morpheme contributes to the overall meaning of the sentence. With this notion it is then possible to test whether elements of higher semantic load are more likely to be taken over both at the individual level in multilingual speakers and in societies where languages are in contact.

The application of semantic load to language change in a multilingual society is exemplified by looking at competition and selection of variants in Colloquial Singapore English, a mixed language with English as its superstrate language and substrate influence from Mandarin Chinese (Bao 2015). An interesting case study is the aspectual system of Colloquial Singapore English which is largely influenced by Chinese (see (1)).

- (1) I wash my hand already.  
‘I have washed/washed my hands’

This example shows that in Singapore English the adverb *already* is used to express the completion of an event. With the notion of semantic load it is possible to quantify whether aspectual markers in Chinese have a higher semantic load than their corresponding markers in English. It is hypothesized that Colloquial Singapore English is mostly influenced by those elements that in Chinese have a higher semantic load than their corresponding elements in English.

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## On Probability of Discourse Marker *BA* in Mandarin Chinese

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Since Mandarin Chinese is highly dependent on the use of modality particles such as discourse markers, they are utilised as an aid to assist conversation participants in more effectively expressing and comprehending one another. Given that *ba* is one of the most frequently used discourse markers in daily conversation and that the issue of the different pitch heights of *ba* has long been neglected, the central aim of this study is to analyse *ba* and to render a detailed account of its core meaning in a wide variety of contexts from a pragmatic perspective.

According to traditional viewpoints, He *et al* (2006) and Chu (2010) regard the discourse *ba* for expressing ‘uncertainty’ as follows:

- (1) Mum:        Gǎnmào                    le                    *ba*!  
                  have-a-cold CURRENT-RELEVANCE DISCOURSE-MARKER  
                  ‘Look, you’ve got a cold!’

I, however, identify the core meaning of the discourse marker *ba* as ‘probability,’ which would help facilitate the explanation of its property appropriately in every context. Instead of an uncertain mood, discourse marker *ba* in (1) is formed to exhibit a higher probability to the utterance the speaker provided, which interprets it was probable that her child must have caught a cold.

As for the pitch heights, Praat was employed—via spectral analysis—to distinguish existing differences in the pitch heights of *ba*. Further, based on the concept of participant orientation from Li (1999), the function for the high pitch discourse marker is addressee-oriented and speaker-oriented for the low one. The discourse marker *ba* in the study was, therefore, divided into *ba1*, and *ba2* in accordance with its high and low pitch, respectively. The occurrence of *ba1* [to express the speaker’s intention to involve the hearer] and *ba2* [to mark the speaker’s own knowledge state] vary in certain contexts, associating the speaker’s knowledge state with its core meaning of probability and pitch height simultaneously. Consider (2):

- (2)        Kàn Gāngtiě rén                    *ba*.  
                  see Iron-Man DISCOURSE-MARKER

I noticed the pitch variants of discourse marker *ba* as in (2). The first *ba* is phonologically much higher than that of the second utterance. Further, the interpretation for the first utterance should be: it is probable to see Iron Man [express the speaker’s intention to involve the hearer] → how about Iron Man; for the second one: it is probable to see Iron Man [marks the speaker’s own knowledge state] → no, I think it should be Iron Man.

As a consequence, my interest has been raised to explore the phenomenon of the core function of discourse maker *ba* as well as the issue of pitch height given that the above-mentioned issues remain to be addressed.

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## **“Congruence” in intra-sentential code switching online From both structural and sociolinguistic perspectives**

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“Congruence” here refers to the notion of equivalence in grammatical structures between two languages. Decades ago, Weinreich argued that “transfer of morphemes is facilitated between highly congruent structures” (1953, p. 33).

To be more precise, Muysken proposed two types of congruence in code switching, “paradigmatic congruence” (equivalence between grammatical categories in two languages) and “syntagmatic congruence” (similarity of word order) (2000, p. 118). Following these two categories, Deuchar proved that in order for Welsh-English code switching to take place, at least one kind of congruence should be obtained (Deuchar, 2005).

Since all the theories above mainly concern spoken data, this study attempts to adopt the notion of congruence in intra-sentential code switching online. This research aims to find out whether these two types of congruence exist in asynchronous data online. Besides, this study also concerns whether social factors influence linguistic restraints of code switching online.

This paper focuses on two self-forming communities in Beijing and Hong Kong. From October 2014 to September 2015, participants’ status updates in Wechat, especially where intra-sentential code switching occurs, have been collected and transcribed. Besides collecting online data, two participants in each community have been interviewed by the researcher via Skype. Surprisingly, the preliminary findings suggest that a part of digital code switching obtains neither type of congruence. The incongruent structures of digital code switching may be attributed to two factors: participants’ intention to be unique by creating new code switching patterns and their desire to be popular through replicating trendy bilingual words.

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# Variationist Perspectives on Written Chinese Prosodic Constraints in Native Speakers and Second Language Learners

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A recently developed sociolinguistic theory of L2 acquisition by Preston (2002) and Fasold and Preston (2006) presented a model of the grammars in multilingual mind. The selection of variant forms are probabilistically related to social and linguistic context, and to cognitive process, these are Level I, II and III factors.

Feng (2012) suggested that the research of Yuti is to search for inherent association between form and function, that is, to reveal how the *form-function correlation* (Feng, 2012) works in certain category. Feng (2009) proposed the prosodic contains as following:

- a) Disyllabic Foot Structure  
\* $[\sigma] \rightarrow [\sigma\sigma]PrWd$   
Monosyllabic words (or morphemes) must occur in a PrWd (Prosodic word).  
A 和 B \*同  
'A and B are the same.'
- b) Stylistic Coherence Principle  
 $[\sigma] PrWd \rightarrow [\sigma]PrWd + [\sigma\sigma]PrWd$   
A PrWd selects another PrWd in formal writing.  
\*准鸣笛  
'honking is permitted'
- c) Principle of Prosodic Stylistics  
The more formal an expression, the more prosodic words are used to compose it, and vice versa.

According to the Level I&II psycholinguistic models, when the formal Chinese register is defined, formal prosodic constraints would represent in native speakers and Chinese L2 high-mediate and advanced learners' communication and the number of prosodic word is expected to increase. One of the aims is to prove this hypothesis and to get an insight of the differences are between native speakers and L2 learners.

Wang L. (2009) statistical analysis showed that about 90% of the disyllabic verbs can be nominalized. According to the psycholinguistic model Level III, speakers would select the stronger one in their grammar system. Another aim is to see whether nominalization of the disyllabic verbs be in the stronger area of native speakers and the strength of different nominalization structures be imbalanced.

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## The reportative use of wh-doublents in Cantonese

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The reduplicative use of wh-phrases, aka. wh-doublents, in Chinese has been studied descriptively, with the earliest work found in Yu (1964). He reported that wh-doublents in Chinese are often used in reporting other's speech. This feature is applicable to Cantonese as in (1), either in direct or indirect quotation sense. Wh-doublents can also appear in a pure quotation under Cappelen and Lepore's (1997) terminology (2a), after a reportative adverbial expression like *gangeoi* 'according to' (2b) and after a distant verb of saying intervened by multiple clauses (2c). These licensing contexts converge to a generalization similar to Bulgarian quotational indefinites (Koev 2015): reportative context serves as a presupposition for the use of wh-doublents. This view is further supported by the ungrammaticality of wh-doublents in an out-of-the-blue context.

- (1) Mingzai waa keoi dimgaai-dimgaai cidou.  
Mingzai say he why-why late  
'Mingzai mentioned why he was late.'
- (2) a. "Sung matje-matje bei bingo-bingo" hai soeng-banjyu gitkau.  
send what-what to who-who be double-object construction  
'"Send something to someone" is a double-object construction.'
- b. Gangeoi zingfu san cousi, sauwap dai-gwo geido-geido hoji  
according.to government new policy salary low-COMP how.much-how.much can  
sancing mtung ge san zeontip.  
apply.for different GE new subsidy  
'According to the new government policy, one can apply for different new subsidies if his salary is lower than some certain amount.'
- c. Siuming gong-gwo, gaaze gamjat saangjat, keoi heoi-zo ciusi maai  
Siuming say-EXP elder.sister today birthday he go-PERF supermarket buy  
coiliu... keoi wui dimjoeng-dimjoeng zing go daangou...  
ingredients he will how-how make CL cake  
'Siuming has said that today is the birthday of his elder sister, he has been to a supermarket to buy ingredients...he will make a cake in some certain ways...'

However, accepting the use of wh-doublents in negative, conditional and future contexts in (3) pose a challenge to this generalization: the intended content in wh-doublents has not yet been said by the speaker at the utterance time. It seems contradictory to Yu's observation, because the reporter does not make the report based on what the speaker has said. I argue that the original utterances can eventually be located in the reporter's mind, i.e. the reporter should have imagined a possible scenario, with compared to the reality, for the speaker to utter relevant information.

(3) a. Negative context

Mingzai mou gong-gwo keoi dimgaai-dimgaai cidou.  
Mingzai have.not say-EXP he why-why late  
'Mingzai hasn't mentioned why he was late.'

b. Conditional context

Jyugwo Mingzai zanghai waa keoi jau tung bingo-bingo gaauwong, ngo  
if Mingzai really say he have with who-who have.relationship I  
jiu tung keoi leifan.  
will with he divorce  
'If Mingzai really says that he had a relationship with someone else, I will divorce him.'

c. Future context

Wonglousi tingjat jau wui waa baan hoksaang dimjoeng-dimjoeng jai.  
Mr.Wong tomorrow again will say CL student how-how naughty  
'Mr. Wong will criticize again how naughty those students are.'

In order to resolve the paradox, Koev's (2015) metalinguistic analysis is adopted with minor change: wh-doublets are existential indefinites ranging over linguistic objects in any possible world (4). The possible world chosen by the reporter should be highly overlapped with the real world so as to maintain the felicity of the sentence.

(4)  $[[ \text{wh-wh} ]]^M = \lambda P_{u \rightarrow t} \exists z_u P(z)$  if there exists a possible world such that  $\exists y_e \text{utter}(y, z)$

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## **Negative palm-up sign in HKSL: linguistic or gesture?**

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The study presents the use of negative palm-up sign in Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL). The negative palm-up sign in HKSL is considered a linguistic sign. It is a bound morpheme which adds an open 5-handshape with a palm orientation change in constituent negation. It is a negative suffix in negative morpheme. The negative affix can be applicable to nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The negative palm-up sign in HKSL have two meanings, 'not have' and 'not'. Young and old deaf people interpret different meanings when the negative suffixes are used.

## 声调链式演化：惠来普宁案例

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**提要** 本文在潮汕闽语惠来、普宁一带十六个点（如图1）26位发音人（另加汕头三个点四位发音人）的详细声调材料基础上，概括出惠普地区的四种主要声调模式（如图2），并从模式间和新老派之间的共时差异探索声调的系统演化。



图1. 惠普一带地图

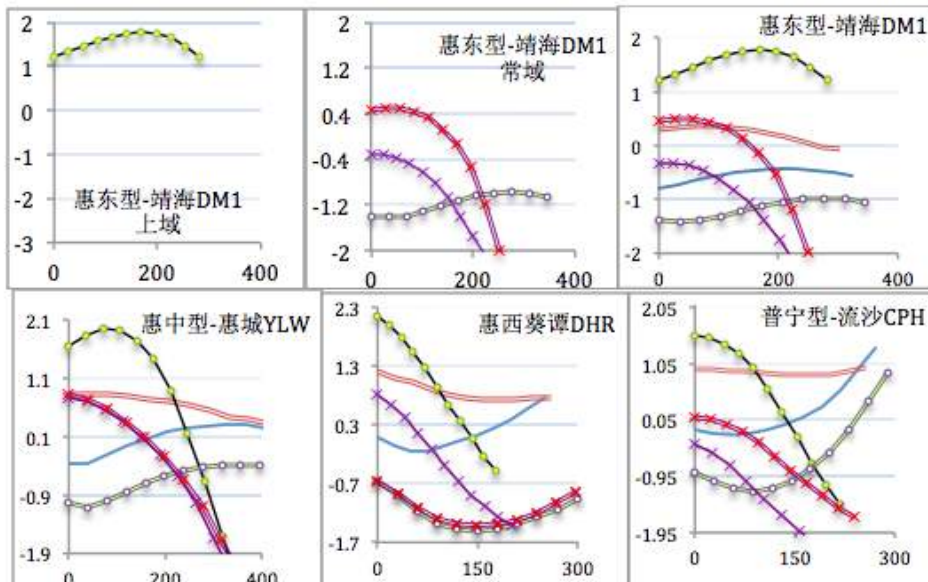


图2. 惠普地区四种主要声调模式

其中涉及到四种链移：降调低化链递换、升调高化链递换、平调低化链递换，以及开通纯低调转换通道连接降调和升调，形成由降调低化链、升调高化

链组成的 V 链大替换。如下图 3 所示：

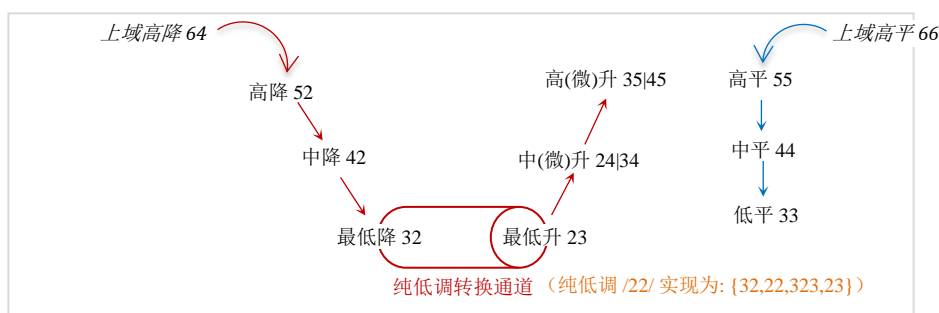


图3. 惠来、普宁一带的四种声调链式递换

这些链移均有可能由于合并或绕道而被打断，本文进一步探讨了惠普一带存在的不同情况的调类合流现象。

**关键词** 声调 链式音变 V形链移 类型学 演化 闽南方言

### **The great tone shift: Exploring tonal evolution from synchronic patterns and variations in Huilai and Puning**

**Abstract:** Based on the firsthand acoustic data from 16 Southern Min varieties used in Huilai and Puning counties, Guangdong, this paper has found four major tonal patterns, which reveals systematic tonal changes. Four kinds of chain shift, namely downward shift of falling tones, upward shift of rising tones, downward shift of level tones, and the V-shaped shift, have been identified which can account for the diversified tonal patterns in the area. This paper also finds different kinds of tonal merger that have interrupted the chain shift.

**Keywords:** tone, chain shift, V- shape shift, typology, evolution, Southern Min

## Dual-functional *chufei* and relevant constructions

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As mentioned by previous studies such as Lü(1980), in Mandarin Chinese *chufei* usually occurs in a certain construction. Moreover, in many cases *chufei*-sentences require the occurrence of other adverbs or conjunctions such as *cai*, *fouze*, *yao*, and *bu* to license it. Consider below.

- (1) *Chufei* ni qing wo, wo \*(*cai*) qu. (Only if you invite me will I go.)
- (2) *Chufei* linshi you shi,\*(*fouze*) badian chufa. (We will start out at eight o'clock, unless we have something to do.)
- (3) *Chufei* ni qing wo, wo \*(*bu*) hui qu. (You invite me, otherwise I will not go.)
- (4) ??(*Yao*) dangshang jingli, *chufei* ni nuli gongzuo. (In order to become the manager, you must work hard.)
- (5) Ta *chufei* bu hejiu, heqi jiu lai shui ye bibushang ta. (When he drinks nobody can match him, unless he does not drink.)

This paper will investigate the semantics of *chufei* and its relation with the relevant constructions, and attempt to explain why the appearance of elements such as *cai* is obligatory in above-mentioned cases. It is argued that, *chufei* is a dual functional operator, which can serve as either an only condition marker or an exceptive operator

In the case that *chufei* acts as a marker of the only condition, it marks its interacting element as the only condition. As a unary operator, *chufei* cannot establish a semantic relation between its associate element and the relevant open sentences. And thus *chufei* usually needs some element to license it. In general, *cai*, *fouze*, *yao* can play this role. In a construction of '*chufei...cai...*', the exclusive adverb *cai* quantifies over the *chufei*-construction, and this construction indicates that negating the existence of such a condition which does not equal to the only condition marked by *chufei* and can satisfy the relevant open sentence. In a construction of '*chufei...fouze...*', the adversative conjunction *fouze* with the meaning of 'if not...not...' will build up a semantic relation between the *chufei*-condition and the rest sentence under consideration. This construction signals that the alternative conditions introduced but not the only condition can fulfill the consequence. In a construction of '*yao...chufei...*', the occurrence of the modal adverb *yao* saves the *chufei*-sentences. In this construction, the first clause expresses a desire to be satisfied, and the second clause denotes the only condition which can satisfy this desire. Here the relation of the two clauses is clear.

In the case that *chufei* functions as an exceptive operator, it is used to restrict the domain of a quantifier. Due to the semantics of *chufei*, the quantificational domain is that the set of the domain of discourse subtracts the set denoted by *chufei*'s associate element. In this case, *chufei* usually occurs in a construction of '*...,chufei...*', for instance, *Jiudian chufa, chufei xiayu* 'We will start out at nine o'clock, unless it rains'.

In the constructions of '*chufei...bu...*' and '*chuei...V...negation of V...*', *chufei* has two possible solutions. Treating *chufei* as an exceptive operator, an (implicit) quantifier will operate on the *chufei*-condition; treating *chufei* as an only-condition marker, an implicit adversative conjunction such as *fouze* should be assumed to connect the two clauses.

## *Gei2, leng4, sung1di1* in Cantonese and the typology of numeral approximation markers

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This paper offers a preliminary exploration on a topic that has often been neglected in the literature of Cantonese linguistics – approximatives occurring with numerals and numeral-classifier phrases, with special emphasis on three typical ones: *gei2* 幾, *leng4* 零, and *sung1di1* 鬆啲, which are often put in the same category ‘approximative numerals 概數詞’ (established largely on semantic terms) in reference grammars. We argue that they represent three distinct types of marking device for numeral approximation, and the distinction is of typological significance.

The approximative *gei2*, *leng4* and *sung1di1* differ in syntax, semantics, and etymology. Their semantic difference is rather straightforward (cf. Tang 2015:44-45). Syntactically, *gei2* is strictly constrained by the syntax of cardinal numbers; *leng4* is partially so, and *sung1di1* is not. Based on distributional evidence, we suggest that the only numeral among the three is *gei2*, while *sung1di1* is a phrasal clitic attachable only to a numeral-classifier phrase (where the classifier/measure word could be omitted), and *leng4* lies between the two categorically. On one hand, though *leng4* is not a numeral per se, it is similar to *gei2* in its capacity of combining with a numeral to form a complex numeral and in turn partake in the formation of a NUM-CLS phrase. On the other hand, it resembles *sung1di1* in that it can also occur after a measure word.

In terms of origin, *gei2* as an indeterminate numeral is apparently derived from the WH-word *gei2/gei2do1*, parallel to the other non-interrogative uses of WH-words. Both *leng4* and *sung1di1* have a verbal origin. Given that the numerical zero (*ling4* 零) is not intrinsic to Chinese language, the approximative *leng4* has nothing to do with the numeral *ling4* 零 etymologically, but is related to the adjectival and nominal *ling4/leng4* 零 in the sense of ‘odd’ or ‘remainder’, and evolved from the verb phrase *jau5 leng4* 有零 ‘have oddment’ along the following paths: *ee shap ko gán tseen yáw leng* 二十個銀錢有零 ‘above 20 dollars’ (*Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect* 廣東省土話字彙, 1828) > 二十個有零 > 二十有零 > 二十零 > 二十零個.

Cross-linguistically, we observe that there are three distinct types of device for signaling numeral approximation, which involve the use of: (a) an indeterminate numeral (usually a WH-variable), (b) a non-numeral element partaking in the formation of a complex numeral, and (c) a non-numeral element occurring at a higher level than the numeral(-classifier) construction (e.g., at the level of NP or VP). The three types differ in (i) structural distance to the numerical core, (ii) scope of approximation, and (iii) degree of grammaticalization. Diachronically, type (c) markers often display a tendency to further evolve into type (b). The Cantonese approximatives *gei2*, *leng4*, *sung1di1* fit in this typology neatly, with *leng4* representing an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization from type (c) to type (b). Examples from other languages include: the indeterminate pronoun and WH-word *nan* in Japanese, the post-numeral *some* (with a covert WH, cf. Anderson 2013) in English (type a); the post-numeral *odd* in English, the derivation affix *-ye* in Korean, *yú* 餘 and *lái* 來 in Middle and Pre-Modern Chinese, *duō* 多 in Mandarin, *pico* in Spanish, *-(t)ína* in Bulgarian (type b); the phrasal affix *-ccum* in Korean, *zuōyòu/shàngxià* 左右/上下 in Mandarin, and *pamaan3* in Lao (type c).

## 文白異讀與構詞 —— 三種閩南語方言的比較

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眾所周知，閩語的特點之一是文白異讀豐富且各成系統，尤其是閩南語最為顯著（楊秀芳 1982 等）。文白異讀某程度上是從構詞的層面體現出來的，因為不同讀音與具體詞彙的結合一般是固定的，不能隨意替換。例如「梯」字在廈門話有兩讀：在「梯田」中讀 [t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>1</sup>]，在「樓梯」中則為 [t<sup>h</sup>ui<sup>1</sup>]。

以往無論是單點描寫（李如龍 1963；何大安 1981；張盛裕 1981；余靄芹 1982；丁邦新 1986 等），還是多點綜合研究（楊秀芳 1982；張琨 1985，1991 等），學者們多從音韻層面切入，側重時間深度上的探討，較少關注文白異讀與構詞的關係。李如龍（1963）、黃宣範（1988）、連金發（Lien 2001，2005）、Chappell（2001）、潘文國等（2004）、郭駿（2009）和車惠純（2012）等均不同程度探討了這一論題。不過他們或是僅以舉例形式加以說明，或是單以某個方言點作為參照對象。稍顯遺憾的是，至今未有對文白異讀與構詞關係進行多點比較的研究，這正是本文撰作的動機。

本文擬選取閩南語三個代表點（廈門、汕頭、海口）進行比較，主要討論以下三個問題：（1）三點的文白異讀在構詞層面上的表現有何異同？不同層次讀音所對應的語素在語義功能、構詞能力等方面有何差別？（2）對某一個閩南語方言點來說，是什麼因素影響了文白異讀在構詞層面上的競爭與分工？（3）對同是閩南語的不同小方言而言，其文白異讀音韻與構詞互動的不同表現反映了各自演化過程的哪些特點？又是什麼因素造成了不同方言點的這種差異？

以下舉例簡要說明，例一：海口話「流」讀文讀音 [liu<sup>2</sup>] 時可用於「四散流」<sup>1</sup>、「流傳」、「流露」等詞彙中，讀白讀音 [lau<sup>2</sup>] 時可用於「流目汁」<sup>2</sup>、「流動」、「流放」等詞彙中。這裡可以說「流傳」、「流露」是書面語詞，「流目汁」是口語詞，所以分別為文讀和白讀；但「流動」、「流放」也是書面語詞，「四散流」很明顯是口語用法，為何分別為白讀和文讀？例二：「泡」的各層次讀音，與其所構成的詞彙，在三點閩南語的分布有同有異，如下表所示：

層次編號	廈門讀音	廈門詞彙	汕頭讀音	汕頭詞彙	海口讀音	海口詞彙
B <sup>3</sup>	phau <sup>5</sup>	泡茶，泡發，泡沫	phau <sup>5</sup>	泡茶，泡發	fau <sup>5</sup>	泡茶，泡發，泡沫，水泡，燈泡
A	pha <sup>6</sup>	水泡，灯泡	pha <sup>4</sup>	水泡，燈泡，泡沫		

「泡茶」、「泡發」在三點都讀為 B 層音；「水泡」、「灯泡」在廈門話和汕頭話都讀為 A 層音；「泡沫」在廈門話讀為 B 層音，在汕頭話則讀為 A 層音；而海口話沒有 A 層，所以上述各詞均讀為 B 層音。類似現象並不少見，到底它們是如何形成的？背後又有何因素起作用？這些都是值得關注的問題。

本文希望以閩南語的比較作為窗口，探討音韻與構詞的界面（interface），藉此加深我們對漢語方言學、接觸語言學和歷史語言學等相關領域的認識。

<sup>1</sup> 「四散流」即「四處逛蕩」，「流」為動詞「逛蕩」之義，是方言固有用法。

<sup>2</sup> 「流目汁」即「流眼淚」，為方言固有語詞。

<sup>3</sup> 我們用字母編號來代表文白的不同讀音層次，A 代表較早期的層次，B 代表較晚期的層次。