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### **List of papers/presenters, contact information, and abstracts**

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## Abstract 1

# Is Mandarin prevocalic ‘r’ an approximant or a fricative? Articulatory evidence from ultrasound imaging

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The consonant ‘r’ in Mandarin has been categorized as a “retroflex” since Chao (1968). Later studies, however, found no ‘retroflexion’ in the articulation of this sound (Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996; Lee & Zee, 2003). The phonetic realization of the ‘r’ attracts attention because it carries important implications in phonological theories. It has been long debated whether Mandarin prevocalic ‘r’ is an approximant or a fricative. Some categorized this sound as an approximant (Lee & Zee, 2003; Lin, 2007), while others described it be as a rhotacized fricative /z/ (Kalgren, 1915-1926; Duanmu, 2007). The current study aims to address this issue by examining the articulation via ultrasound imaging. Previous studies (Lin 2005) provided EMA data for the articulation of Mandarin ‘r’, but the tongue shape of ‘r’ sound is still not fully understood with only point-tracking measurements. Ultrasound imaging technique allows us to capture most part of tongue contour. We hypothesized that the prevocalic ‘r’ shares a common lingual gesture with the syllabic ‘r’ if Mandarin prevocalic ‘r’ is an approximant, while the lingual gesture of prevocalic ‘r’ should resemble those of postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ and affricate /tʃ/ and /tʃʰ/ if Mandarin prevocalic ‘r’ is a rhotacized fricative /z/. Ten native Mandarin speakers (5 men and 5 women) who grew up in Northern China were recorded. Speakers read monosyllabic words containing prevocalic ‘r’ in /ɿ a ɤ u/ vowel contexts, postvocalic ‘r’ in /i ɿ ɿ y u a ɤ/ contexts, and syllabic ‘r’. We also recorded disyllabic words with syllabic ‘r’ or postvocalic ‘r’ in the same segmental context to compare the differences between the syllabic ‘r’ and the ‘r’-suffixation. Our preliminary data showed that the lingual gestures of the prevocalic ‘r’ were different from that of syllabic and postvocalic ‘r’. The tongue contours of the prevocalic ‘r’ show no visible differences from those of the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ and affricates /tʃ/ and /tʃʰ/ (Figure 1) but are clearly distinct from those of the syllabic and postvocalic ‘r’s (Figure 2). The contours for the syllabic and postvocalic ‘r’s in Mandarin largely resemble those of the English /r/, produced with either bunched and retroflex gestures (recorded separately but not shown here). Our articulatory data support the hypothesis that Mandarin prevocalic ‘r’ can be better represented as a voiced fricative /z/ in phonological analysis instead of an approximant /ɹ/.

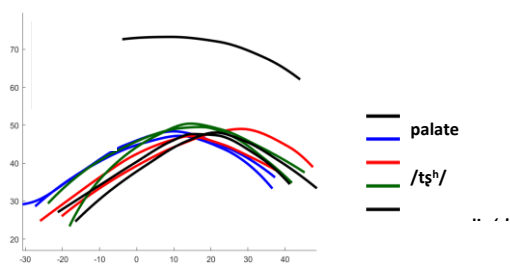


Figure 1. Tongue splines of prevocalic ‘r’ in

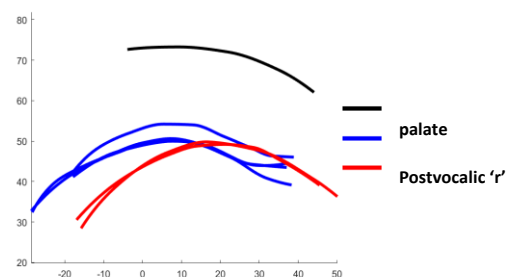


Figure 2. Tongue splines of prevocalic and

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## Abstract 2

## 客語兒向語與成人語單、雙元音聲學比較研究

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「兒向語」(infant-directed speech) 是一種成人對嬰兒說話時所採用的特殊語體，也是兒童語言習得早期最重要的語言輸入。兒向語裡元音的語音表現已為大量文獻所關注，但這些文獻以研究西方語言居多，且均以[i, a, u]三個頂點元音為研究標的。有鑑於此，本研究將透過客語對兒向語與成人語裡的單元音[i, e, a, o, u]與雙元音[ia, ua, ai, au, eu, oi]進行聲學分析，藉以瞭解中元音與雙元音在兒向語中的語音體現。研究問題如下：其一，非頂點元音（如[e, o]）在兒向語裡的語音體現如何？其二，雙元音（GV與VG）在兒向語中的語音體現又是怎樣？

本研究選取十組母嬰配對為參與者，並採用 11 個常用的客語雙音節詞做為研究字表，其中第一個字為本計研究的所欲分析的目標音節。本研究首先進行兒向語與成人語的錄音工作，之後再針對每一個常用詞挑選出 3 個清晰樣本，因此每位母親的兒向語與成人語分別有 33 個樣本。接著，本研究利用 PRAAT 分析單、雙元音的第一與第二共振峰數值，並將共振峰數值標準化為巴克值（Bark），最後透過巴克值來繪製兩種語體單元音的元音格局圖與雙元音的元音走勢圖，也利用巴克值來計算元音的相關聲學參數。

本研究的分析結果如下：（一）就元音時長而言，單、雙元音均有延長。兒向語中時間訊號的延長有助於吸引嬰兒的注意力，幫助嬰兒後續的語音學習。然而，雙元音的延長比例小於單元音，這種情況與單、雙元音的長度本質及漢語方言的音節須要維持適當的聲韻比有密切的關係。（二）就單元音而言，與成人語相比，兒向語的元音格局下降，元音空間面積略為縮小，元音聲學距離縮短。雖然本研究兒向語的元音沒有表現出先前文獻所描寫的元音誇大情況，但是兒向語的單元音可以透過它們彼此之間的頻譜特徵而獲得區分，因此不會產生感知上混淆，特別是在嬰兒擁有最佳的語音感知能力的時期。（三）就雙元音而言，與成人語相較，兒向語雙元音的時長變長，元音聲學距離較長，因此

發雙元音時有較長的時間做出更為到位的滑動，這無疑將有助於嬰兒對於雙元音的感知區辨。最後，本研究將兒向語元音的分析結果與兒童元音習得相互整合，說明兒向語的元音聲學表現與兒童元音習得之間的不一致性。本研究是兒向語元音研究中首次將中元音與雙元音列入考量，研究結果也說明了本研究的創新性與貢獻度。

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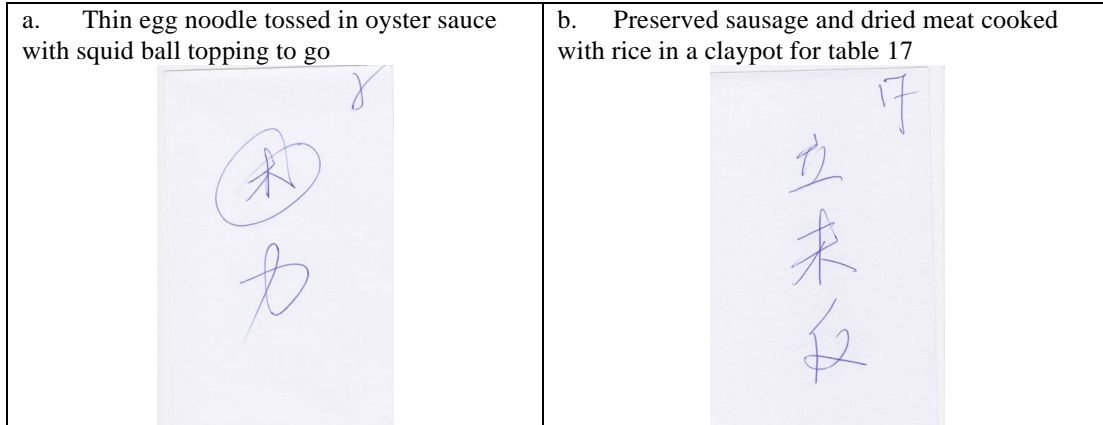
### Abstract 3

# Principles of the Hong Kong Kitchen Shorthand

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**Abstract:** This paper looks into the Kitchen Shorthand (KS) which may have amused and bemused many Hong Kongers but have never hitherto been systematically studied. A pair of this cryptic writing are reproduced below.



The examples show clear resemblances to Chinese orthography upon which the KS is based. In (b) for example, three graphemes are actually discernible, although they would be nonsensical to the uninitiated. In (b), the topmost graph is identical to the Chinese character for ‘stand’, the second identical to the character for ‘not yet’ and the third ‘reverse’, which when strung as presented, makes for utter gibberish. The example in (a) is much harder to discern although prima facie also made of Chinese graphemes.

For many Hong Kongers, KS is a distinctively local cultural artefact. It is also quite productive and can adapt to novel usage as it also captures the millions of combinatory possibilities and minor adjustments to specific order, therefore reflecting deeper principles at work. This paper explains that KS principles include the removal of redundancy, the use of (near-)homophony, the extraction of distinctive graphemes, the use of convenient idiosyncratic symbols and the strategic positioning of information on the writing space. These principles are motivated by the imperative of efficiency, and the product is a set of characters that remains distinctly Chinese even when it involves novel strategies like grapheme extraction and recombination. Such data triggers thought on the cognitive properties that must underlie the Chinese scribe so that even when not highly literate, the sociocultural context of HK would produce the KS that is so intuitive to use.

## Abstract 4

### Reconciling Inquisitive Semantics and Generalized Quantifier Theory

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In the 2010s, Inquisitive Semantics (IS) has risen to become an influential theory that provides a uniform treatment of declaratives and interrogatives. While in its early years IS analyses treated the whole sentence as a unit, in recent years attempts have been made to extend the analyses to subsentential constituents, including quantifiers, which have been extensively studied under Generalized Quantifier

Theory (GQT). However, the treatment of quantifiers under IS as in Theiler (2014) and Ciardelli *et al* (2017) is very different from the traditional treatment of GQT. Apart from treating many quantifiers as being inquisitive, IS also has to use specifically designed operators  $\rightarrow$  and  $\sim$  for the denotations of some quantifiers, such as the following denotation of the determiner “no” as appeared in Ciardelli *et al* (2017):

$$(1) \quad \text{no} = \lambda X \lambda Y [\bigcap_{x \in U} (X(x) \rightarrow \sim Y(x))]$$

The above denotation is very different from the one under GQT:

$$(2) \quad \text{no} = \lambda X \lambda Y [X \cap Y = \emptyset]$$

The reason for the discrepancy between the two theories is that the predicates  $X$  and  $Y$  in (1) have type  $e \rightarrow (s \rightarrow t) \rightarrow t$ , while those in (2) have type  $e \rightarrow t$ . A consequence of this discrepancy is that we may have to abandon the treatment of GQT and it is not clear whether all quantifiers successfully treated under GQT, such as “more boys than girls”, can be treated in a comparably elegant way under IS.

To solve the problem, I first argue for a non-inquisitive version of quantifiers, which is adequate for the usual purpose of treating quantified statements. I next observe that a predicate under IS in fact contains a lot of redundancy because each such predicate is the power set of a set of possible worlds. By eliminating the redundancy, we can derive predicates with a simpler type, i.e.  $s \rightarrow (e \rightarrow t)$ . In other words, corresponding to each predicate  $X$  with type  $e \rightarrow (s \rightarrow t) \rightarrow t$ , there is a predicate  $X^*$  with type  $s \rightarrow (e \rightarrow t)$ . By using  $X^*$ , the traditional treatment of GQT can then be restored under the framework of IS. For example, the denotation of “no” will become

$$(3) \quad !\text{no} = \lambda X \lambda Y [\text{Power}(\{w: X^*(w) \cap Y^*(w) = \emptyset\})]$$

where  $!$  represents the non-inquisitive version of the quantifier and  $\text{Power}$  represents the power set operation. Since  $X^*$  and  $Y^*$  have type  $s \rightarrow (e \rightarrow t)$  and  $w$  is a variable with type  $s$ ,  $X^*(w)$  and  $Y^*(w)$  have type  $e \rightarrow t$ , and so “ $X^*(w) \cap Y^*(w) = \emptyset$ ” in (3) is exactly parallel to “ $X \cap Y = \emptyset$ ” in (2). Other quantifiers can also be treated in the same line as in (3). The proper treatment of quantifiers has significance in the study of interrogatives containing quantifiers, such as “Which book is liked by more boys than girls?”, which contains the quantifier “more boys than girls”. The results of this study can thus contribute to a proper treatment of these interrogatives.

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## Abstract 5

### Modality as an aspect in finite verb phrases of English

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It is widely known that a finite verb phrase of a clause in English consists of three components: tense, aspect and voice. While the two tenses, present and past, and the two voices, active and passive, are recognized and generally agreed, the number and constituents of aspects may not be so simple and they are open to dispute.



This paper proposes that a new aspect, the ‘modal’ aspect, be included in addition to the commonly recognized ones, namely ‘simple’, ‘perfect’ and ‘continuous’ (also known as ‘progressive’). With the inclusion of the ‘modal’ aspect, there are four single aspects: ‘simple’, ‘modal’, ‘perfect’ and ‘continuous’. They can be combined to form multiple aspects according to the aforesaid sequence.

Except for the ‘simple’ aspect, which is mutually exclusive with the others and always stands alone, the other three aspects can be combined in accordance with their hierarchy to give four multiple aspects: ‘modal perfect’, ‘modal continuous’, ‘perfect continuous’ and ‘modal perfect continuous’. Altogether there are eight aspects for the English finite verb phrase: ‘simple’, ‘modal’, ‘perfect’, ‘continuous’, ‘modal perfect’, ‘modal continuous’, ‘perfect continuous’ and ‘modal perfect continuous’.

The two tenses and eight aspects, together with the two voices, give 32 TAVs (an acronym formed with ‘Tense’, ‘Aspect’ and ‘Voice’) of the English finite verb phrase.

The realization of the ‘modal’ aspect is very simple. Whenever a modal verb (the eight groups and twelve members – will/would, shall/should, can/could, may/might, must, ought to, and the two semi-modals, ‘need’ and ‘dare’ in interrogative and negative structures), the verb phrase is in the modal aspect. The modal verb to be used is for the interlocutor to decide and falls beyond this discussion, which focuses on the structure of the finite verb phrase of the English language.

The ‘discovery’ of the ‘modal’ aspect and its incorporation in the aspect system of English might have a significant impact on the learning of English for non-native speakers as they would have a clearer and more precise concept about the ‘TAVs’ of the English finite verb phrases.

From referential to evaluative uses:  
On the classifier-demonstrative *di* in Wugang Xiang

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The Wugang dialect, a variety of Xiang dialect, has a general plural classifier *di*. Similar to Mandarin *xiē* and Cantonese *di<sup>1</sup>*, it can be used as a quantity classifier (Zhang & Tang 2014) referring to a small amount of things in the construction [DEM+*di*+N], or as an indicator of a slightly higher degree as in the [ADJ+*di*] and [ADV+*di*] constructions, with examples such as *gao di* ‘(a bit) taller’ or *me di* ‘(a bit) more slowly’. However, it is interesting to note that different from Mandarin *xiē*, which seldom appears independently without any pre-modifier, a common phenomenon in Wugang dialect is to elide the demonstrative in [DEM+*di*+N] constructions to form [*di*+N] constructions which are frequently associated with negative evaluations. In this study, we will examine, both qualitatively and quantitatively, how Wugang *di* constructions develop from referential to evaluative uses.

More specifically, we analyze tokens of [*di*+N] constructions used in daily conversations. These constructions are then analyzed according to the following structural types and functions: (i) indefinite referent [*di*+N] equivalent to English ‘some’, usually with a small quantity reading, (ii) definite referent [*di*+N] without negative evaluation, (iii) definite referent [*di*+N] with a distancing effect, (iv) definite referent [*di*+N] situated in negative contexts, (v) definite referent [*di*+N] with negative evaluation, and (vi) indefinite referent [*di*+N] with negative evaluation, in which *di* is fully grammaticalized from a classifier into an attitudinal marker. These six functions are classified into two major types, namely, numeral classifiers which include (i) and (vi), and demonstrative classifiers which include the others. We observe that the latter have further grammaticalized into ‘classifier-demonstratives’ via covert expression of the demonstratives *ni* ‘that’ and *go* ‘this’. Our data also show how the function of *di* as an attitudinal marker is further expanded in [*di*+*ni/go*+*ge*+N] constructions, which yield negative evaluations in the sense of ‘N (=someone/something/someplace) *such as this?!*’ Examples include *di ni ge jen* ‘people such as these!’ or ‘such people!’

Using an interactional linguistic framework (see Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001), we analyze how [*di*+N] constructions are used to evaluate others negatively. The findings of this study show how classifier demonstratives can be used to express speaker’s subjective stance in interactional talk. Our analysis reveals that the possible source for the emergence of [*di*+N] with negative evaluation, i.e. type (vi), may be the psychological distancing effect from the covert distal demonstrative *ni* ‘that’ in the source construction (i.e. [*di*+N] < [*ni*+*di*+N]) and its highly frequent association with negative pragmatic contexts. Data for our analysis come from a 9-hour database of casual conversations among native speakers of Wugang Xiang.

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## Abstract 7

# Spoken Language Iconicity: An Investigation of 66 Languages

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Based on a wordlist of 100 basic lexical terms from 66 genealogically unrelated languages, I have investigated whether each term tends to be represented by morphemes with or without certain sounds. The results show that a significant portion of 100 meanings show positive and/or negative correlations with certain sounds, many of these correlations supported by previous experimental studies and/or cross-checked by other typological studies. Morphemes for round body parts ('navel', 'neck', and 'breast') frequently bear rounded vowels, because of the articulatory similarity between lip rounding and round shapes. Morphemes that signify oral actions correlate with the corresponding articulatory gestures ('to blow' = labial stops, 'to suck' = coronal fricatives, and 'to bite' = dorsal stops). Nasals are frequent in morphemes that refer to the speaker ('I') or what is closer to the speaker ('this' and 'you'). These correlations once again demonstrate that the mapping between sound and meaning in spoken languages is not entirely arbitrary but can be, to some degree, iconic.

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## Abstract 8

## Co-occurrence of Cantonese “HLHL” contour intonation and sentence-final particles

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There is little research on Cantonese intonation in the past. The discussion on its syntactic position is correspondingly inadequate too. Out of the six intonation patterns (“suprasegmental utterance particles”) listed in Leung (2005), there is one intonation pattern (marked as  $\overset{\wedge}{\searrow}$ ) that has a complex pitch contour, which warrants a closer examination.

The contour intonation was first identified in Lam (2002) as a “sentence-final double contour intonation” (“the contour intonation” or “HLHL” hereafter) that expresses “a mood of emphasizing” (1). It is shown to be a prolonged falling-rising-falling intonation pattern in the spectrogram.

### (1) The contour intonation (Example from Lam 2002)

子：我 游 蛙 泳 唔 使 用 浮 板， 你 信 唔 信 ？

zi2: ngo5 jau4 waa1 wing6 m4 sai2 jung6 fau4 baan2 nei5 seon3 m4 seon3?

Son: I swim breaststroke no need use kickboard, you believe not believe?

“When I swim in breaststroke, I do not need a kickboard. Do you believe?”

母： 信！

mou5: seon3! HLHL

Mother: Believe!

“Sure!”

This paper argues that when the speaker holds the assumption that the hearer is obviously wrong, then the falling-rising-falling intonation is used to emphasize the speaker’s disagreement towards the hearer’s stance.

This paper aims to find out the syntactic position of the contour intonation. According to their meaning and functions, SFPs can be classified into 7 types: event, temporal, focus, modality, interrogative, imperative and mood (Tang, 2015). The contour intonation is assumed to be a SFP and preliminarily analyzed as a combination of a focus type SFP and a modality type SFP. It is found that the co-occurrence of the contour intonation and SFPs is very consistent: it can only co-occur with event type and temporal type SFPs – SFPs at the lowest syntactic position. It is thus hypothesized that the contour intonation is a higher SFP so that it cannot co-occur with SFPs higher than event type and temporal type. According to the analysis of Tang (2015), focus type SFPs are related closely to the predicate, while modality type SFPs have a function of expressing a subjective thought, judgement or knowledge of the speaker. They both match with the usage of the contour intonation – “presupposing” the stance of the hearer and “emphasizing” the disagreement towards it. Failing to co-occur with focus type or modality type SFPs also supports that the contour intonation may occupy the same syntactic position.

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## Abstract 9

# 新加坡澄海話「V-not-VP」式正反問句的語法限制

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Cole and Lee(1997)曾對新加坡潮汕方言的正反問句進行了描寫與分析，其中提到該語言在「V-not-VP」式正反問句，也在「K-VP」與「V-not-VP」的混合式「KV-not-VP」。「V-not-VP」式不是本土潮汕方言固有的、典型的疑問式(張敏 1990，施其生 2000，邵敬敏、周娟 2007 等)，「KV-not-VP」混合式更有違朱德熙(1985)、黃正德(1988)、Huang, Li and Li(2009)的理論預測。本文針對以上兩個特點，考察了新加坡澄海話正反問句「V-not-VP」式和「KV-not-VP」式的使用現狀及語法特點。我們調查了四位發音人，皆為澄海籍土生土長的新加坡人。調查中我們發現:新加坡澄海話確實在「V-not-VP」式正反問句，但明顯是受外來語(新加坡華語)影響而產生，且受到比較大的語法限制。而關於「KV-not-VP」混合式，新加坡澄海話母語者認為該結構不合法，這一表現與經典理論預測相符。

本文著重討論新加坡澄海話正反問句簡單式「V-not-VP」式，有三個現象值得進一步關注:一，新加坡澄海話「V-not-VP」式相比於華語，對謂語的要求比較嚴格，只接受單音節動詞，且不接受形容詞，如(1)所示。二，潮汕話中非常普遍的「否定詞接鄰助動詞時二者合音」的操作無法進入「V-not-VP」式，例如(2a)中當「唔」和「要/會」合音為「𠵼/𠵼」時句子不合法。三，外來的「V-not-VP」與本土的「VP-Neg」的連調表現相似，兩者的謂語都由兩個連讀變調域構成，如(3)所示(方括號「[]」表示一個連調域)。(1)a. 食唔食麵?吃不吃麵?

b. \*食麵唔食(麵)?吃麵不吃(麵)?

c. \*雅唔雅?漂不漂亮? (2)a. \*要𠵼來?/會𠵼𠵼?要不要來?/會不會游泳?

b. 好唔好食?/曉唔曉寫?願不願意吃?/會不會寫? (3)a. V-not-VP : [食<sup>5</sup>] [唔<sup>35-21</sup> 食<sup>5</sup>] ?吃不吃?

b. VP-Neg : [要<sup>212-31</sup> 食<sup>5</sup>] [啊<sup>33</sup> 𠵼<sup>212</sup>] ?要吃不? 本文認為，導致「V-not-VP」式相比於新加坡華語和本土潮汕話受到更多語

法限制的原因是:普通話(華語)「V-not-VP」式是通過 V 在音韻層進行重疊並插入否定詞生成的(Huang 1991, HLL 2009)，澄海話典型正反問句「VP-Neg」由聯合結構(Tang 2015, 金佳 2016)生成，前者是單調語結構而後者是雙調語結構，再加上澄海話的否定詞系統比普通話(華語)複雜得多，因此「V-not-VP」式在澄海話中「水土不服」:例如，合音操作早於重疊操作，導致複合否定詞無法進入「V-not-VP」;又如，形容詞無法搭配否定詞「唔(不)」而只能搭配「𠵼(不會)」導致形容詞無法進入「V-not-VP」;再如，「V-not-VP」式中「食唔食」作為一個單調語結構卻受「VP-Neg」影響被拆分為兩個連調域。



## Abstract 10

# Revisiting the Role of Input in Enforcing Multilingualism at a Young Age – A Case Study of a Chinese Infant Speech Development

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The current longitudinal study provides a qualitative analysis of the speech comprehension and production of a trilingual Chinese infant Effy. Due to her multi-cultural family background, she was observed to be simultaneously competent in Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese and English. Natural speech (video) recording, mothers' diary and observation were used throughout since she was 1-year-old. Beside the emergence of an advanced sentence comprehension and production of her mother tongues at 1;8, her capability in both English interrogative comprehension and production was observed to be exceptional. The focus of the observation is to analyse Effy's trilingual comprehension and production of interrogative structures (emerging the earliest at 1;9) in different contexts.

Table 1. Parametric Variations in Interrogatives in Cantonese, Mandarin Chinese and English

No.	Question Type	Cantonese/Mandarin Chinese	English
I	Yes-No Questions	The use of question particles	No question particles
II		A-Not-A question: Repeating either the verb or adjective with a negative NOT in between	No A-Not-A questions
III		Existential question: Using the combination of the existential auxiliary HAVE and negative morpheme NO in forming <i>Haven't?</i>	Existential question: Making use of auxiliary verb and <i>there</i>
IV		With a Rising Tone: Subj + Verb + Obj?	
V		<i>Wh</i> -Questions	<i>Wh</i> -in-situ

Preliminary results provided evidence for Chomsky's Universal Grammar and showed parametric variations, listed in Table 1, in yes-no questions and *wh*-questions in her speech comprehension and production across the three languages. Effy's data demonstrated that the specific input exposure had triggered correct syntactic representations to the corresponding languages in her mental grammar (Chomsky 1980).

Useful data is provided in re-examining the role of language input, which Liu and Kager differentiated between the general language input and direct language exposure (2016), in particularly the kinds that enhance child speech development in a multicultural environment, and sheds light on child multilingualism under the exposure of a multicultural environment.



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## Abstract 11

### Acquisition of Chinese compound by deaf learners in Mainland China

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Researchers have found that compound awareness plays a central role in children's vocabulary acquisition and literacy development (Chen et al., 2008), yet little is known about deaf learners' compound awareness. A test of Chinese compounds was designed to investigate deaf compound awareness. In this presentation, we will focus on VV compounds (i.e., Resultative Verb Compound) and VO compounds. As part of the compound assessment, a grammaticality judgement task was used to test deaf learners' awareness of separability of RVC and VO verb phrase that may be parsed as VO compounds by deaf learners. Participants include 479 deaf students from P3 (Year 3 of primary school) to S3 (Year 3 of secondary school) from deaf schools in Mainland China. A group of hearing students from P1 to P6 (Year 1 to Year 6 of primary school) also took part in the test.

Two types of VV compound were tested in this study. According to the component of V2, they are classified as completive RVC (e.g., *chidiao*) and result-state RVC (e.g., *qiekai*). In order to examine deaf learners' knowledge of compositionality, participants are asked to judge the grammaticality of the unseparated forms (e.g., *qiekai-xigua*, V1V2-O) and the separated forms (e.g., *\*qie-xigua-kai*, V1-O-V2). Results showed that deaf students, especially those studying in primary school, are not as sensitive as hearing children in rejecting the ungrammatical V1-O-V2 forms. It seems that deaf learners adopt both endocentric compounding and verb-NP-particle structure, which according to Snyder's TCP (the compounding parameter) are concurrently acquired by English-speaking and German-speaking children (Hanink & Snyder, 2014; Snyder, 2016). Even at S3, some deaf learners still accepted the separated forms, although they performed better in completive RVC (84% accuracy) than in result-state RVC (73% accuracy). The difference may be caused by the event interpretations of the RVC, as V2 is more salient than V1 for the result-state RVC in Mandarin-speaking children (Deng, 2010).

For VO compound as intransitive (e.g., *kaiche*), results revealed that deaf students tended to consider it as transitive and permit a theme object, like *\*kaiche-bashi*'. The accuracy rate for rejecting an object is from 44% (P3) to 64% (S3) for deaf students in this study. In contrast, the accuracy rate of the hearing students

reached 80% at P2, and increased to 97% at P6. Another important finding is that more than 60% of the deaf students consistently accepted the ungrammatical utterances like ‘\**kanshule-bantian*’, and there was no improvement from P3 to S3, suggesting a stage of fossilization. According to Huang (2008), there is a V-to-*v* movement when generating a proposition like ‘*kanle-bantian-shu*’ (i.e., [<sub>VP</sub> *kanle* [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> *bantian*] [<sub>V</sub> t *shu*]]]). It seems that deaf students regard ‘*kanshu*’ as an inseparable VO compound, hence they moved the whole V’ to *v*, resulting in ‘\**kanshule-bantian*’, which is not acceptable in Chinese. In sum, this study reveals that deaf students are not sensitive to the compositionality of Chinese VV compound and wrongly interpret the VO structure as a transitive and inseparable compound.

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### Abstract 12

## Strong and Weak Pronouns in Tunxi Hui Chinese

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Tunxi Hui, a little-studied variety of the Hui group of Chinese, demonstrates a dichotomy of strong and weak singular personal pronouns. The strong pronouns are formed by affixing a nominal suffix *-le* to the corresponding monosyllabic weak pronouns. Moreover, the weak pronouns can be further divided into a cliticized form and an uncliticized alternative:

Number	Singular		Plural	
	Weak Form			Strong Form
Form	cliticized	uncliticized		
1 <sup>st</sup> person	$a^{23}$	$a^{24}$	$a^{24}le$	$a^{24}ian^{44}$
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	$\eta^0$	$\eta^{44}$	$\eta^{44}le$	$\eta^{44}ian^{44}$
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	$k^h\partial^0$	$k^h\partial^{44}$	$k^h\partial^{44}le$	$k^h\partial^{44}ian^{44}$

Phonologically, the strong forms are higher in pitch, longer in duration, clearer in timbre, compared with their weak counterparts, especially the cliticized ones.

Syntactically, the strong and the weak forms differ in that (i) only the strong forms can occur in isolation or in the clause final position; (ii) the strong forms are preferred in the information/discourse focus position, including the default focus position in a clause, like answers, or in contrast, or with intensification, like a cleft sentence.

The distinctions between the cliticized and the uncliticized weak pronouns are more subtle. Unlike their strong counterparts, they cannot appear alone, which means they are clitics which require a host to ‘lean on’. However, the uncliticized and cliticized weak forms differ in their hosts. The uncliticized weak personal pronouns are proclitics which need to join with the following morphemes, whereas the cliticized weak forms are endoclitics which need to be surrounded and lean both forward and backward onto.

In terms of distribution, therefore, the strong personal pronouns are the most free among all, which are not only allowed in isolation or the sentence final positions, but also discourse focus positions. The uncliticized weak pronouns need to lean backward on, which is hence commonly seen in subject positions. The cliticized weak pronouns are endoclitics which need to be surrounded by other morphemes, as typically appearing in pivotal constructions or double object constructions.

### Abstract 13

## A preliminary comparative analysis of Cambodian Teochew: Evidence for contact-induced change

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This paper begins describing and documenting the Teochew language, of the Sinitic Southern Min family, as spoken in Cambodia, and explores how it differs from other Chaozhou/Teochew varieties spoken in China and Southeast Asia. Preliminary findings of a comparative analysis suggest that multi-generational Teochew and Khmer bilingualism has led to contact-induced change in multiple areas including some aspects of the phonology, lack of SOV clausal word order, use of postpositions as prepositions, reduced grammaticalization of ‘give’, head-initial relative clause constructions, and other grammatical simplifications. However, since data used in this study was only collected from two speakers who no longer

reside in Cambodia, findings should be verified on a broader scale with a variety of speakers in Cambodia. Nonetheless, contact-induced change is expected in Cambodia given the imbalance of power between Khmer and Teochew, a long history of oppression of the Chinese, and the relegation of Teochew usage to primarily home domains.

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## Abstract 14

### 香港與澳門簡縮詞機制及其文化適應性比較

#### 摘要

簡縮詞作為漢語詞彙新造的最重要手段之一，一直以來備受語言學家的關注。簡縮詞是內語言因素及外文化因素共同作用的結果。內部來看，複合詞的結構方式、語素間關係、中心詞的意義涵蓋都決定了其實際功能運用，亦對簡縮新詞的形式有著重要影響。周薦（2004）、刁晏斌（2011）都曾從複合詞內部構詞法的特征來探討簡縮形式。從外部來看，簡縮詞是特定語言文化背景的投射。隨著簡縮詞研究範圍的逐步擴大，簡縮詞背後的社會文化特點開始受到學者們的關注。而香港與澳門雖然同屬粵方言區，在不同的歷史文化滲透下，其簡縮詞發展各具自身特性。如「樓房價值」，澳門簡縮為「樓值」，香港為「樓價」，「彰明顯縣」香港簡縮為「彰顯」，澳門簡縮為「彰現」。鄒嘉彥（2017）在對澳門簡縮詞的研究中也發現相比於大陸和香港，澳門更加傾向雙音節式簡縮，且 AD 結構的簡縮方式尤為突出。基於以上研究，本文試圖通過調查問卷的方式，藉助 LIVAC 大數據「視窗模式」，對香港與澳門語用者的簡縮傾向進行調查分析，旨在以其簡縮習慣為基礎，從簡縮機制、潛在心理實證性以及兩地區自身的歷史文化等角度，探討兩地簡縮詞特征存在差異的緣由。而港澳地區與內地的比較，則仍需進一步探討。

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## Abstract 15

### How fine-grained variability of lexical tones influences native and non-native Chinese listeners' word recognition: An Eye-tracking Study

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An increasing body of eye-tracking research has found that fine-grained phonetic information (e.g., VOT) is used to recognize words during online word recognition. But it remains unclear whether fine-grained variability of lexical tones similarly modulates Chinese listeners' word recognition. Moreover, the cross-linguistic research on tone perception found that Chinese listeners attend more to pitch contour (e.g., rising vs. falling) whereas English listeners attend more to pitch height (e.g., high vs. low). This study investigates whether (and if so, how) fine-grained variability of level and contour tones influences native and non-native Chinese listeners' word recognition.

Native Chinese listeners and proficient adult English-speaking Chinese learners were tested in a visual-world eye-tracking experiment. The target was a level tone (i.e., Tone 1) and the competitor was a high-rising contour tone (i.e., Tone 2), or vice versa. The auditory stimuli were manipulated such that the target tone was either canonical in the *standard* condition, phonetically more distant from the competitor in the *distant* condition, or phonetically closer to the competitor in the *close* condition. Growth curve analysis on native and non-native listeners' fixations suggested that native listeners showed a gradient pattern of lexical competition, with less competition in the distant condition and more competition in the close condition than in the standard condition, only for the contour tone; learners, on the other hand, showed more competition in both the distant and close conditions than in the standard condition only for the level tone. The implications of these results for native and non-native perception will be discussed.

## *HO, HO, HO: The Ho2 Family in Cantonese*

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Austin (1962) claims that English imperatives can be rephrased as sentences with an explicit performative. Ross (1970) proposes that declarative sentences are derived from a deep structure that contains an explicit performative verb. Insights of the performative hypothesis of Ross (1970) have been revived under the cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997, 2004, Cinque 1999, among many others), particularly in the works by Speas (2004), Tenny (2006), Hill (2007), and Miyagawa (2012). Based on the sentence-final particle cluster *me1* and *ho2* in (1) in Cantonese, Lam (2014) claims that there are two FORCE heads in the structure, in which *me1* is hosted by FORCE<sub>S</sub> that encodes “asserting” and *ho2* is hosted by FORCE<sub>A</sub> that encodes “asking”. Heim et al (2016) further claim that the lower and the higher functional projections of the speech act structure represent “speaker commitment” and “call on addressee”, respectively. In this paper, I argue that there are at least three *ho2*’s in Cantonese, namely *o3ho2*, *ho2*, and *ne1ho2*. In (2) *o3ho2* is used to form a yes-no question. In (1) and (4) *ho2* is used to invite hearer to confirm that the speaker’s belief toward the truth of the proposition *p* is true. In (3) *ne1ho2* is used to ask the addressee to comment on the question. Though these three *ho2*’s indicate illocutionary force of asking, *o3ho2* forms a yes-no question having a confirmation-seeking function, *ne1ho2* is more like an open-ended question (Chor, Yap, and Wong 2016), while *ho2* seems to form a rhetorical question. A fine grained structure of left periphery will be proposed under a cartographic analysis of pragmatic projections, which allows us to have a better understanding of the *ho2* family and other sentence-final particles in Cantonese and may shed light on the syntax of the speech act domain cross-linguistically.

- (1) Daai6 seng1 zau6 dak1 gaa3 laa3 me1 ho2? 大聲就得㗎喇咩嘢?  
big voice then okay SFP SFP SFP SFP ‘What, can one get by just by being loud? (Lam 2014: 64)
- (2) Keoi5 heoi3 o3ho2? 佢去哦嘢?  
he go SFP ‘He will go, right?’
- (3) Keoi5 sik3 mat1je5 ne1ho2? 佢食乜嘢呢嘢?  
he eat what SFP ‘What does he eat? Please answer and comment.’
- (4) Keoi5 jeng4-zo2 cin2 aa1maa3 ho2? 佢贏咗錢咩嘢嘢?  
he win-Perf money SFP SFP ‘It’s so obvious that he won some money. Do you agree?’

## **Abstract 17**

### **A Study on Mightiness of the Categories of Numeral Classifier and Number and Their Typological Correlation**

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The relation between classifiers and plurality has been much debated. Greenberg (1976) argued that “Numeral classifier languages generally do not have compulsory expression of nominal plurality, but at most facultative expression”. However, in recent years many counter examples have been spotted. Therefore, Liu Danqing (2013) proposed that it is the mightiness of the category of classifiers rather than the mere existence of classifiers themselves is inherently incompatible with plurals. Based on this point, this paper attempts to assess the mightiness of the categories of classifier and plurality in 30 languages, aiming at testing Liu’s hypothesis. After yielding a ranked hierarchy for each category, we find that mightiness on classifiers and plurals shows no clear-cut correlation with each other, which does not support Liu’s proposal in a straightforward fashion. We contend that the reasons for the divergence may lie in three aspects. Firstly, the result may be influenced by the insufficient scale of marks. Secondly, the limited references may lead to inaccuracy of the data and eventually affect the scores. In addition, the unclear definition on plural markers and different understandings towards plurality may account for the divergence.

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## **Abstract 18**

## 秦晋方言并州片的入声音节

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对于秦晋方言的入声，以往的研究普遍描写为带有喉塞韵尾，如《山西方言调查报告》中：“山西方言的入声收喉塞尾[ʔ]”（侯精一、温端政主编 1993:6）。举例来说，在上述报告中，太原为阴入ʔ2，阳入ʔ54；寿阳为阴入ʔ22，阳入ʔ43；太谷为阴入ʔ11，阳入ʔ434。从调值来看，以上三点方言均为阴入低、阳入高，并且除了太谷的阳入可能是一个先降后升的凹调外，其余都是平调或微降调。然而，喉塞尾在语音上的表现为调尾上升，这是因为声带迅速拉紧会引起基频上升（朱晓农 2012:514）。也就是说，喉塞尾引致升调，即以上描写与喉塞尾的语音表现相左，这是问题其一。问题其二是，时长是考量音节时的一个参数，比如传统上用“舒”与“促”来描写声调，入声作为促声，一般认为具有短的特点。而从以上描写中，一方面我们难以确知太原阴入ʔ2与寿阳阴入ʔ22是否存在音节长短的区别；另一方面在喉塞尾存疑的情况下，寿阳的平声 22 与阴入ʔ22，时长极有可能是区别舒声与促声的重要参数。

以上关于秦晋方言中入声音节的两个问题，实质上，一个是关于入声音节发声态和韵尾的问题，一个是音节长短的问题。对此，我们详细考察了并州片 24 个点的入声音节。通过对第一手录音材料的分析，我们考察的结果如下：

一是并州片方言的入声音节中没有喉塞韵尾。入声音节是一个僵声音节，主要表现为嘎裂声或喉堵态。

二是并州片方言的入声音节多为短音节（100 毫秒左右）和中短音节（150 毫秒左右）。

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## Abstract 19



## 漢語語篇中語義實體的篇章可及性

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向心理論框架下的後指中心集合是一個包含了當前語句中所有語義實體的偏序集合，其中顯著度等級最高的語義實體是優選中心並往往作為回指中心。集合中，顯著度最高的語義實體排在最左邊，並最可能成為下一語句的回指中心。其它語義實體向右依次排開，其顯著性依次降低。這一排序直接影響到語篇連貫性和語篇中的指代消解。那麼決定後指中心集合中語義實體排序的因素是什麼？後指中心集合排序有類型學上的差異，即不同語言的語篇內，語句中語義實體的篇章顯著度排序依據不盡相同。這一排序影響了語句中所包含語義實體的篇章可及性，即當前語句中語義實體可否在隨後語句中繼續出現以及如何出現。根據這一排序，我們可以預測某一語句中的中心相對於其隨後語句的可及性。

本研究從七部當代小說中隨機抽取含「把」、「給」、「放」及「被」字語句語篇片段共計463個。通過計算這四種語句與其之前和隨後語句之間的回指中心過渡狀態，我們觀察到漢語含這四種語句的語篇片段中，回指中心過渡依賴語句中特定的語義實體，並呈現較為工整的模式。進而得出以下結論：

- 一.漢語語篇中居於話題位置的語義實體顯著度等級最高，排於後指中心偏序集合的最左位置。該語義實體篇章可及性最高，且不受其題元角色的限制；
- 二.除話題位置外，後指中心集合排序遵循題元角色等級序列：不同語義實體的篇章可及性受到它在序列上位置的影響，但話題位置的題元角色不參與排序；
- 三.漢語後指中心集合成員排序可以分為兩個層次，第一層確認在語句中實現的首個語義實體為話題，第二層將剩餘語義實體按其在題元等級序列上的位置排序，越靠近序列左端的語義實體顯著性越高，越有可能成為下一語句的回指中心，如下表所示：

第一層	話題				
		第二層	題元等級序列	被	施事>接收者>處所
				把 / 給	接收者>受事 / 客體>處所
				放	受事 / 客體>處所

華語第二語言學習者之單音多義詞認知能力實證研究

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本研究以第二語言學習者及母語者為研究對象，從認知語境和詞義提取兩個角度，調查上述兩組受試者對單音多義詞的認知語用能力。本研究將圍繞以下幾個研究問題展開，觀察二語學習者多義詞的習得狀況：一、受試根據語境推測多義詞義項提取情況為何？母語者和二語學習者的表現差異又為何？二、二語學習者的認知語境中詞語認知能力與其綜合語言能力之間是否存在差異？有何差異？三、如果二語學習者正確習得華語單音多義詞之不同義項，那麼他們的語義提取過程是否跟母語者相同？通過測試與數據分析，本研究有助於了解二語學習者對單音多義詞的習得情況，並從認知語義學的角度為華語多義詞教學提出了建議。

結果顯示，認知語境對二語學習者多義詞的習得起到重要的作用。在認知能力測試中，語境的複雜程度對多義詞的理解有顯著影響，語境越複雜，人們對多義詞理解難度越大。在詞義提取中，不論是母語者還是非母語者，他們不能正確認知零語境下的多義詞的核心意義。同時，在詞義推理過程中，母語者的對多義詞詞義推理過程表現優於非母語者，但非母語者對詞義的推理過程也基本和 Heine 等人(1991) 提出的人類認知過程一致。我們認為造成這一差異的主要原因是與多義詞詞義的習得順序有關。

關鍵詞：多義詞、認知能力、詞義提取、認知語義學

## Abstract 21

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### **Investigating identities in the blogs of the Hong Kong chief executive: a corpus assisted discourse analysis**

A key role of politicians is to ‘present an argument which they want the electorate to believe’ (Wilson, 1990:9) and a political argument unavoidably involves identity work, that is engaging a particular relationship with others. Drawing upon the notion of identity roles (Kong, 2014), which denotes the multiplicity of identity constructions, this article describes what and how identities are constructed in the blogs of CY Leung, the Chief Executive (C.E.) of Hong Kong, through the examination of key words, word list, the collocates and concordance plots in a self-compiled corpus. With the help of corpus analysis in the specific context of Chinese political culture, the findings identify three salient identity roles of C.E. as projected in the blog entries, namely: a capable and insightful leader, problem solver and facilitator. As a leader, the author puts emphasis on creating job opportunities and encourages adolescents to develop their career in Mainland China. As a problem solver, the author shows concerns about livelihood and social issues, such as housing, poverty and economic development, stating his effort into tackling the problems. As a facilitator of the relationship between Hong Kong and Mainland China, the author evaluates Mainland China positively, advocating co-operations between the two places. It is argued that the projections of multiple identities are contributed to the need of establishing the image of ideal Chinese political leader in order to sustain the political power of being a C.E. of Hong Kong. In addition, the validity and methodology of using corpus to explore identity constructions has also been advocated and verified in this article.

## Causative Constructions in Sarikoli: A Typological Perspective

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**Abstract:** Sarikoli is a lesser-known and lesser-studied Eastern Iranian language whose speakers live exclusively in China. The present research represents the first panoramic description of the causative constructions in Sarikoli in a framework based mainly on Comrie (1989) and Song (1996). The only previous study is Gao (1990), which offered merely a description of the formation of Sarikoli morphological causatives, and a smattering of an analytical causative construction based on the verb *ramod* ‘send, command’. According to the authentic data collected by the present author, the types of causative constructions are far more complex than are represented by Gao (1990). There are 14 subtypes in total, most of which are analytic or syntactic causatives. Our findings include that the unmarked analytic causative construction is formed with the verb *wethd* ‘throw (down)’ instead of the previously reported ‘*ramod*’-based one, and some interesting analytic constructions in the form of a prepositional phrase governed by a causative verb, or via clause linkage. We also proposed that ‘THROW->CAUSATIVE’ and ‘PUT->CAUSATIVE’ might be considered two new grammaticalization paths revealed by the Sarikoli data.

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## Abstract 23

# Formal Idiom, Fuzzy Set and Weak Negation

## ——A Case Study on “Da+NP+de” Structure in Mandarin

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**Keywords:**

Da+NP+de, Fuzzy Set, Scalar Model, Mirror Symmetry, Formal Idiom, Negation.

**I “Da+NP+de” Structure and Formal Idiom**

“Da+NP+de” is a very unique structure in Mandarin and especially been used frequently in the Northern Dialect area with fruitful meanings. Some previous studies (Song1994, Shen1996, Xiang1998, Zhao2006, Liu2009) provided very thoughtful interpretations, while still are improvable. We treated it as a Formal Idiom (in terms of Fillmore, Kay and O’Connor 1988; Michaelis 1994), and tried to interpret the meaning and features of it with Fuzzy Set Theory. The approach might be experimental but can clarify the most sentences of this construction.

1. *Da baitian de, ni zai wuzi li shuijiao.*

*Big daytime de, you are room inside sleep.*

*In such a daylight time, you are sleeping inside the room.*

→ Entailed: You are not supposed to be sleeping at the reference time.

**II. Membership Degree and Mirror Symmetry**

Fuzzy Set (Zadeh1965, Klaua1965) is a mathematical concept. Comparing with the classical set (crisp set), it believes that the elements of set do have degree of membership.

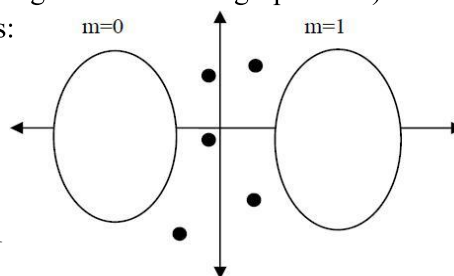
- Classical Set: element membership = 0 / 1
- Fuzzy Set: element membership = [0,1]

Based on this knowledge, we assume that the “Da+NP+de” construction (hereafter DaC) activates a fuzzy set. The elements of the fuzzy set are events which might happen under the time NP referring to. The judgment of membership function value is basically based on the degree of relevance between time and event, which is highly possible conventionalized.

- For a finite set U,  $U = \{x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4, \dots, x_n\}$ ,
- DaC activates a fuzzy set (U,m).

Therefore, the semantic approaches of “DaC + x” (x is referring to the following-up clause) can be presented acceptably as the ways below, with two types:

- (1)  $\sum x ( (x \in U) \cap (m(x)=0) )$
- (2)  $\sum x ( (x \in U) \cap (0 < m(x) < 1) )$



1 Image 1

### III. Conventionalization and Negation

For Type A (sentence 1 and 2), the membership of  $x$  is 0. Which means the event following-up clause referring to is absolutely not inside the fuzzy set. The relevance between time NP and event  $X$  is negative, in the perspective of conventionalization. Furthermore, under this model, the not-included set ( $m=0$ ) and the fully-included set (kernel set) ( $m=1$ ) are Mirror Symmetry sets (image1). In some way, the whole model is a Scalar Model.

2. *Da guonian de, na ge haizi ku le qilai.*

*Big new-year de, that CL kid cry PER starting.*

*In such a new-year moment, that kid started crying.*

→ Entailed: The kid is not supposed to cry at the reference time.

So when  $m=1$ , the event in this set can not match with DaC. That means when NP-time co-occurs with the natural events of it, the sentence is weird and wrong.

3. *\*Da dongtian de, ta dai le yi ding pi maozi.*

As for Type B ( sentence 4 and 5), the membership is between 0 and 1, but not included the boundaries. This means the relationship between the time NP and event  $X$  in type 2 is vague, concerning the judgment of conventionalization. The event  $X$  is not typically naturally-happening under the time NP, while not a violation either like Type A. But with the construction DaC, we can get the entailment of negation for sure too, just like Type A. Here we may treat DaC more like a formal marker which is implying a weak negation. The event and the NP-time do not have particular conventional relationship at all.

4. *Da baitian de, ni xiang he wo chaojia ma.*

*Big daytime de, you want with me fight SFP.*

*In such a daytime, do you want to fight with me?*

→ Entailed: The addressee is not supposed to fight with the speaker at the reference time.

5. *Da wanshang de, ni xiang he wo chaojia ma.*

*Big night-time de, you want with me fight SFP.*

*In such a night-time, do you want to fight with me?*

→ Entailed: The addressee is not supposed to fight with the speaker at the reference time.

In conclusion, we assume the “Da+NP+de” structure is a typical formal idiom and marked a negation which is negating the following-up proposition. Furthermore, DaC activates a fuzzy set, designates a degree of membership to every possible event item.

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### A Phonation-induced Tonal Evolution

#### --- A Case Study of Entering Tone in Zhajin (渣津) Gan (赣语)

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Zhajin (渣津) is a town in Xiushui (修水), Jiangxi (江西), and the dialect there is characterized by its various phonation types: falsetto (fortis), breathy, creaky as well as modal phonation are widely adopted; furthermore, there are also compound phonation types. The various phonation types not only serve as distinct features of different tonal categories, but more importantly play a role in the process of tonal evolution.

Based on the sound data collected from field trips, experimental phonetics methods are adopted in this research and we found that the pattern of the entering tone system is rather complicated-- the MC entering tone altogether split into eight tonal categories, four for MC *yinru* (阴入) and four for MC *yangru* (阳入).

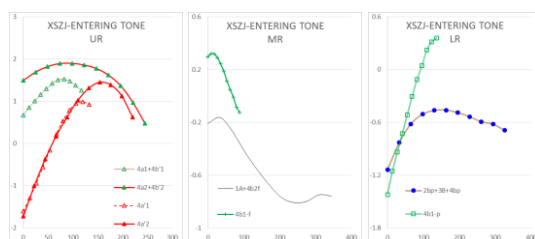


Fig.1: Log Z-Scored pitch pattern of MC entering tone in Zhajin Gan

Six out of these eight categories are independent entering tonal categories and the other two merged into two lax tones respectively, that is, the fricative-onset long *yangru* merged into *yinping* (阴平) and the stop-onset long *yangru* (阳入) merged into *yangqu* (阳去). The four categories originated from *yinru* are all high-pitched falsetto or fortis syllables, and they locate in the upper register while the other four categories evolved from MC *yangru* are breathy (stop-onset) and modal (fricative-onset) syllables, locating in the lower and modal register respectively. Thus, we can get a three-register-eight-categories' entering tonal pattern of Zhajin Gan, four of which are short "tense" tones, two of which are mid-short "tense" tones and the other two are long lax tones. (fig.1)

In essence, the complicated situation of the entering tone pattern is caused by different phonations, and the degree of the phonation of the syllable onsets and codas. For the onsets, the MC *quanqing* and *cizhuo* are "tense" voice, which are all high-pitch falsetto or fortis phonation; the MC *ciqing* category bears a compound phonation type---- breathy combining with fortis----the onsets and the beginning of the syllable is breathy, but the latter part of the syllable is the high-pitch falsetto/fortis. The stop-onset *yangru* is breathy and the fricative-onset *yangru* is modal. For the codas, there are two compound phonation types in codas, one of which is glottal stop (fortis), which induces high pitch and the other is glottal muffle (stiff), which induces low pitch. According to the data and our framework, the coda of the entering tone in Zhajin should be glottal muffle with different degree of glottalization along the continuum, which leading to the differences in tense degree, pitch contour as well as the length of the syllables. It is an in-process evolution and the steps of this evolutionary process can roughly be illustrated in Fig2.

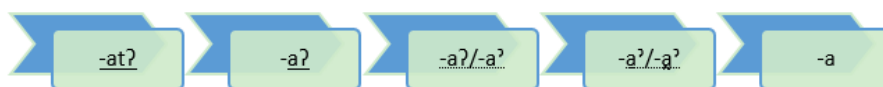


Fig. 2 the coda-phonation induced evolutionary process of the entering tone





## 粵語表示實現的動詞後綴「得」

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粵語動詞後綴「得」可以表示可能或允許，也可以表示焦點「只有」的意思，也可以引出狀態補語（鄧思穎 2000）。但是，很少文獻注意到還有一個表示情況實現的「得」，如（1）、（2），就我們所知只有陸鏡光（1999）、彭小川（2010）、單韻鳴（2012）提及過，但都未有深入描述這個「得」的語法特點。為了補足對這個「得」描述的空白，本文將從謂詞搭配、謂語事件、完句條件等方面探討表示實現的「得」的語法特點，例如不能與非可控動詞搭配（（3））、不能與狀態類謂語事件（state）搭配（（4））、不能以單句完句等等（（5）的「得」不表示情況實現，只表示可能或允許），並嘗試論證它由表示可能或允許的「得」演變而來。

- （1） 佢搵得你就梗係有困難喇。他既然找你就表示他肯定有困難。  
（陸鏡光 1999: 216）
- （2） 出得嚟行，預咗要還。既然出來做小混混，就已經準備好被報復。
- （3） ??佢跌得銀包，就預咗無錢食飯。他既然丟失了錢包，就預料到沒錢吃飯。
- （4） \*佢係得老師，就要教好啲學生。他既然是老師，就要教好這些學生。
- （5） a. (\*)佢打爛得呢樣野。  
b. 佢打爛得呢樣野，就唔驚坐監。他既然打破這東西，就不怕坐牢。

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