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Abstract Handbook

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Opening session and Annual General Meeting:
Lecture Theatre 8

AM parallel sessions: Lecture Theatres 3, 4, 7
PM parallel sessions: Lecture Theatres 11, 12, 13

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How empathic interaction is achieved in online medical consultations in the context of Mainland China

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While empathy is believed to play a key role in doctor-patient communication (Silverman et al., 2013), and the speech acts involved have also been identified in online medical consultation (OMC) in the western context (see Pounds & Pablos-Ortega, 2015), few studies have attempted to explore the interactional features of such interactions. Related studies are even scarce in the context of Mainland China, though China sees an increasing growth in e-healthcare platform activities and OMC would remain promising in China owing to an “Internet plus healthcare” policy put forward by Chinese government this year.

To fill the gap, the present study explores 30 asynchronous text-based empathic interactions collected from three e-healthcare platforms used in Mainland China, aiming at finding out the discourse features of clinical empathic interactions. Data are identified based on an integrated category framework, made up of existing categories in relation to patients’ (potential) empathic opportunity, doctors’ empathic responses, and elicitation of patients’ empathic opportunity. Three types of empathic interaction sequences are found. It is also found patients’ potential negative emotions are presented through repetition, and doctors’ empathy is demonstrated through formulation and agreeing. To conclude, the study discusses different empathic interaction sequences and speech acts used in empathic interactions.

Respectez-nous as we feminise the rhyme: Women Rappers and Gender Empowerment in French hip-hop

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ABSTRACT OF PAPER

French women have long been in a subordinate position as compared to men, and females are underrepresented in nearly every sector in France (including in pop culture). Moreover, this sort of gender discrimination is even worse for women of colour in France, as they are nearly invisible aside from the menial service jobs that they usually occupy. Due to their lack of a voice in France, one of the only outlets available for women of colour to express their frustration, communicate with one another or uplift themselves is the medium of hip-hop music. This paper introduces readers to the subject of female-led resistance to gender inequality in France via the contemporary medium of French-language hip-hop. This paper analyses lyrical educational empowerment by women in French “rap” by discussing a few examples of this ever-evolving thematic concept of positive resistance via the rhyme as we briefly deconstruct a few songs by the four major female rap artists in France over the past 20 years.

KEY WORDS

French women, female rappers, French hip-hop, lyrical resistance, Rap as protest

The enterprise of love: marketized intimacy and individualized self in post-90s Chinese lesbians' discourses

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Abstract

This chapter presents a discursive analytic study of two sets of interview data in which two post-90s (i.e. born in the 1990s) Chinese lesbians describe their intimate practices. The intimate activities that have emerged from the interview include intimate argument, cohabitation, marriage and breakup. Findings suggest that in enacting these intimate practices, these lesbians largely adopt business logic and discourses to frame and evaluate both their partners and their relationships. In other words, in their enactment, the discourse of marketization both erodes and marginalizes the discourse of romantic love. Out of this, a highly individualized and capitalized lesbian subjectivity is thus constituted. This is in line with both the marketization of society by neoliberal imperatives since China's market reform and the globalized homonormative ideal where gay and lesbian subjects are expected to be responsible for their own well-being. This indicates further the blurred line between the public sphere and the private sphere in urban China as the public logic and discourses have in a way colonized the private sphere. The urban Chinese lesbian intimate practices, in Max Weber's words, are 'disenchanted'.

Attractiveness in the Sounds of Brand Names: A Perceptual Study on Cantonese Listeners

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A basic notion in linguistics is the arbitrary relation between meaning and speech sounds. With this general pattern being true, a few case studies have shown certain degree of correlation between specific speech sounds and their perceived meaning. For example, experimental studies (Köhler 1947, Ramachandran & Hubbard 2001, among others) showed that nonce words like *takete/kiki* tend to be perceived as being related to jagged shape while those like *maluma/bouba* to rounded shape. Along with such observation, studies have also indicated that, when used in brand names, some speech sounds are more likely to be related to more attractiveness than others. For example, a corpus study by Pogacar et al. (2015) showed that plosives are more commonly used than fricatives in top brand names; an experiment on written forms by Klink (2000) suggested that high-frequency consonants like fricatives are likely to be related to qualities that are prettier, friendlier, and more pleasant. While these claims were all supported by empirical evidence, there have been relatively few known studies directly testing the auditory perception of the attractiveness of speech sounds in brand names.

Based on the previous studies, two research questions are raised in this study: (i) is there any relation between certain speech sounds and the perceived attractiveness of a brand name? (ii) if yes, which is perceived as being more attractive, fricative or plosive? To answer these questions, a two-alternative forced-choice experiment was conducted in which listeners chose between two auditory names for a brand that they perceived as being more attractive. The presented products include four types: Fragrance, Camera, Clothing, and Milk, to cover a variety of product types. The auditory stimuli (i.e., the brand names) were nonce words produced by two native English speakers, a male and a female, both trained phoneticians. Within each stimulus pair, e.g., *fesk-pesk*, the two auditory names minimally contrast by their onsets, e.g., a fricative ([f, v, s, ʃ]) vs. a stop ([p, b, t, k]). The participants were 24 native Cantonese listeners, 12 male and 12 female, all undergraduate students.

The experiment results turned out to show diverse patterns of perceived attractiveness across different types of products: (a) for Fragrance and Camera, fricatives tend to be perceived as more attractive than stops; (b) for Clothing, the reverse pattern is observed, where stops are generally judged as more attractive than fricatives; (c) for Milk, however, there is no indication of difference between fricatives and stops. In addition, the same patterns are observed for stimuli in the male voice and the female voice. In general, this study shows that (i) for brand names, there seems to be an indication of the correlation between speech sounds and perceived attractiveness of a product and that (ii) for fricatives vs. stops, different patterns exist across different product types.

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Self-paced Reading Analysis of Chinese Complement Coercion: Eventive VS. Entitive Complement Nominals

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This study aims to explore the controversial issue on the complement of complement coercion in Chinese. Complement coercion refers to a linguistic phenomenon in which an event-selecting verb (e.g., *begin*) coerces its entity-denoting argument into an event type so as to meet the semantically selectional restriction of the verb (Pustejovsky, 1991); otherwise, there would be type mismatch occurred in the expression. Take *began the book* as an example. The verb *began* is supposed to combine with an event-denoting argument. In the given expression, however, *the book* denoting an entity is taken as the complement but the expression is still acceptable. Referring to Pustejovsky (1991), the verb *began* here coerces the complement *the book* into an eventive interpretation (e.g., *reading*) to satisfy the semantic restriction. While the complement coercion has been agreed to be a universal linguistic mechanism, the property of the complement of the coercion configuration has come to be controversial. Linguists, such as Briscoe, Copestake, and Boguraev (1990) and Copestake and Briscoe (1995), hold the point that only entity-denoting nominal can be the complement of the coercion, while others, such as Song (2011) and Lin, Hsieh, and Huang (2009), insist that both entity-denoting and eventive nominals can be the complement of the coercion. It has been reported by previous studies on the sentence processing (e.g., McElree et al., 2001) that processing coercion sentences (e.g., ...*began the book*) will take longer reading time than their non-coercion counterparts (e.g., ...*began reading the book*/... *read the book*).

To this point, the current study is going to examine whether a complement coercion sentence with either an eventive NP complement or an entitive NP complement will elicit the same/ a similar processing pattern during the real-time comprehension. We will conduct a self-paced reading experiment to examine the reading time at the complement position with three conditions: (a) [$V_{\text{event-selecting}} + NP_{\text{entity}}$], (b) [$V_{\text{event-selecting}} + NP_{\text{eventive}}$], and (c) [$V_{\text{preferred}} + NP_{\text{entity}}$] as a control. An example is shown in (1) including a Chinese event-selecting verb 错过 ‘miss’. If the reading time (RT) at the complement of the three conditions is demonstrated as: $RT_a = RT_b > RT_c$, then we probably could say that both types can be taken as the complement of a coercion configuration. But if the reading time of the NP complement of the three conditions is shown as: $RT_a > RT_b = RT_c$, then the complement could mostly likely be only the entitive NP, or at least the processing pattern with the two types of the complement is different.

- (1) (a) 农夫因错过了马车而懊悔。
- (b) 农夫因错过了比赛而懊悔。
- (c) 农夫因卖掉了马车而懊悔。

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A Preliminary Acoustic Experiment on Tone Production by a Cantonese Post-stroke Aphasic Speaker

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A standard paradigm for tone production studies is to ask informants to read a set of isolated syllables which are minimal pairs of tones, and these syllables are recorded and further analyzed. This paper reports a preliminary acoustic experiment on tone production by a Cantonese post-stroke aphasic patient, KF, who is a male speaker aged 52 and with lesion in left hemisphere. KF was asked to read aloud a list of syllables “夫 fu1, 苦 fu2, 富 fu3, 符 fu4, 婦 fu5, 父 fu6”, which are a set of minimal pairs of Cantonese six tones. KF was also asked to describe the family scene picture in Cantonese Aphasia Battery (E. M. Yiu, 1992). The sound recordings of these two tasks (isolated tones: 3 repetitions per tone; tones in speech: 6~11 items per tone) were analyzed and compared with those data of normal people (L. Zhang, 2017), as juxtaposed in Fig. 1. In isolated form, as shown in Fig. 1a and Fig. 1b, the aphasic patient exhibits a pattern of severely collapsed T3, T6, and T5; only the patterns of T1, T4 and T2 are comparable to normal people. Especially T5, which should be a rising tone, is mispronounced as a falling tone by KF. Thus, from the perspective of traditional tone research method (only to study isolated citation form), KF should be judged to have severe disruption in tone production. However, the tone patterns shown in Fig. 1c and Fig. 1d are very similar, which indicates that KF can produce the six tones correctly in continuous speech. This pilot study tells us that tone production in different contexts may lead to very different judgements and conclusions for aphasic patients. A more comprehensive study should be carried out to further assess the tone production problems of aphasic patients.

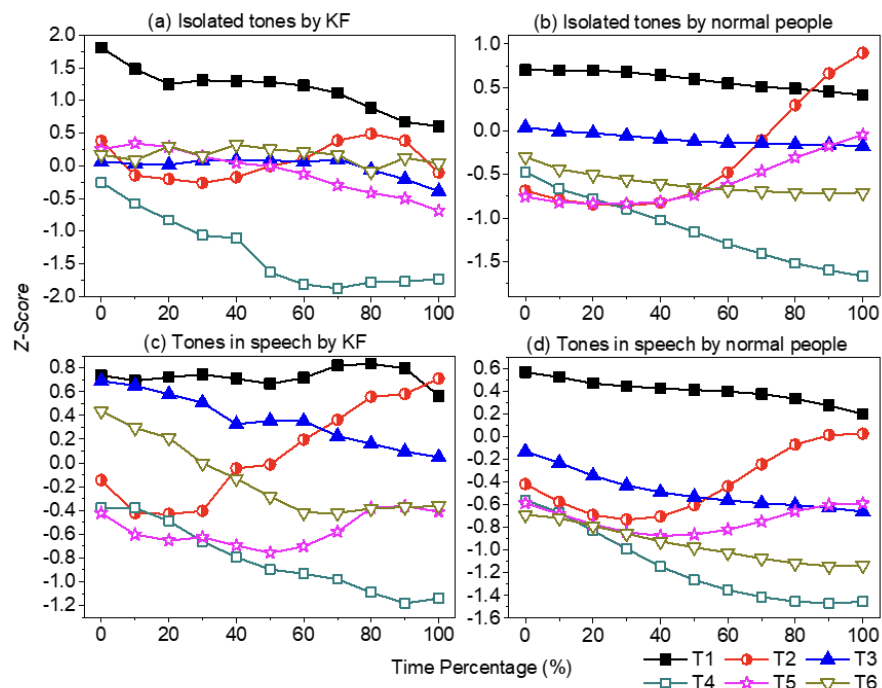


Fig. 1 Cantonese tones in isolated form and in continuous speech by an aphasic patient KF versus by normal people.

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普通话母语者对英语齿间清擦音/ θ /和齿龈轻擦音/s/的产出与感知研究

Native Mandarin Speakers' Production and Perception of English Voiceless Interdental and Alveolar Fricatives

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普通话母语者对英语语音的感知和产出一直是语言研究重点，其中/s、 θ 两个擦音常让学习者混淆。本研究基于前人对英语擦音的研究及二语习得理论SLM，以18位普通话母语者为被试，研究他们对英语/ θ 、s/的产出和感知。研究包括发音和感知实验。发音实验选取了20组/s/和/ θ /的最小对比对作为录音材料，擦音分别位于词首、词中和词尾。分析了发音正确率、错误类型和相应的声学特征。感知实验采用相同测试项，并插入干扰项，组成共80个单词的感知实验材料。被试根据录音在4个包含目标擦音的选项中做出选择，从而分析感知正确率及错误类型。

产出实验结果显示/s/和/ θ /的平均正确率分别为93.49%和64.31%，且不论在哪个位置，/s/的正确率都高于/ θ /。/ θ /有135次错误发音，其中111次是替换错误，用/s/替换/ θ /的次数最多共103次。/s/共有19次错误发音，其中17次是替换错误，用/ θ /替换/s/的次数最多共14次。本研究也对录音进行了声学分析。据前人研究，/s、 θ /差异在声学特征上主要体现为：/ θ /的频谱重心COG高于/s/；/s/的强度大于/ θ /；/s/的音长长于/ θ /。分析发现，控制组和被试每组最小对比对中/s/的强度都大于/ θ /，但控制组/s、 θ /之间的强度差更大。计算擦音的相对音长发现两组之间差异不大，/s/的相对音长均长于/ θ /。总体来说强度和音长都符合前人描述。被试组与控制组的重心差异较大。控制组的/ θ /重心高于/s/，为8045.31Hz和6766.73Hz。而被试组/ θ 、s/的重心为8375.34Hz和8648.88Hz，二者数值近似，前者与控制组接近，后者远高于控制组。说明普通话母语者/s/的发音非常靠前，达到甚至超过了英语/ θ /的位置。总的来说，产出实验中/s/的情况比/ θ /好。

感知实验的结果显示，/ θ /和/s/的平均正确率分别为60.49%和69.87%。/s/的错误次数为111，错误类型均为把/s/错听为/ θ /。/ θ /的错误次数为123，93次是错听为/s/，29次是错听为/f/，1次是错听为/j/。从感知实验的结果来看，普通话母语者在听感上并不能很好区分/ θ /和/s/的差异，但/s/的感知正确率还是高于/ θ /。

总的来说，/ θ 、s/在产出实验中的正确率都高于感知实验，尤其是/s/。说明被试并不能很好的在感知上分辨这两个擦音，但却比较容易产出/s/这个擦音。造成这样的原因可能是普通话/s/的发音部位非常靠前接近/ θ /，导致没能成功建立/ θ /的语音范畴，使普通话母语者难以在感知上正确区分它们。根据SLM，感知影响产出，本研究中的情况却正好与之相反，这可能是由于英语拼写和实验设计的问题导致了产出和感知上的不平衡。

关键词：普通话母语者、英语、齿间清擦音、齿龈清擦音、感知、产出、声学特征

Developmental Patterns of Prosodic Focus Marking: A Case for Chinese Learners of English

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This study investigated Chinese English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) learners' acquisition of the prosodic marking of broad focus and narrow focus in English. English and Chinese are typologically different in terms of focus marking. While in both languages broad focus is the default (the unmarked form) and narrow focus the less frequent (the marked form), in English both broad focus and narrow focus are realized prosodically, but in Chinese only narrow focus that is not marked syntactically is realized prosodically. To investigate the developmental patterns of prosodic focus marking by Chinese EFL learners, we conducted a cross-sectional study with 80 Chinese EFL learners of different proficiency levels, who participated in four tasks: comprehension, perception, production and prediction. Results showed that the participants performed worse on the broad focus items than on the narrow focus items in the perception, comprehension and prediction tasks but better on the broad focus items in the production task. In general, participants of higher proficiency performed better than those of lower proficiency in all four tasks, demonstrating improvements with proficiency. Corresponding to their performances in the tasks, the participants' perception, comprehension and awareness of broad focus developed later compared with those of narrow focus, but their production of broad focus developed earlier. Explanations for the uneven developmental patterns were sought.

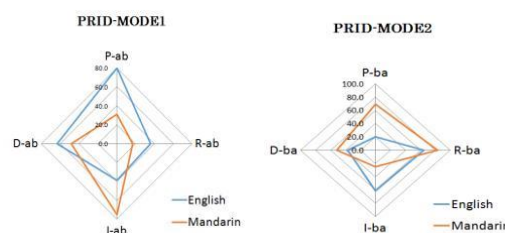
The PDIR-Mode-Based Dynamic Analysis of Underlying Phonological Features of Mandarin Tone and English Stress^{*1}

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The view that English is a stress language and Mandarin is a tone language has lasted for centuries. While, in the recent 20 years, the fast development of English prosodic phonology opens another window to Mandarin phonology, and the suprasegmental tone and stress also bring new debates and findings. Based on over 20 years' literatures, these studies can be categorized into three trends: 1) English phonology is Chinese phonology; 2) Chinese phonology equals to English phonology; 3) Chinese phonology is Chinese phonology. The first two have substantially contributed to analyze Mandarin prosodic phonology in universal typological way and trend 3 holds on the importance of Mandarin's own features. All the three trends have provided great help for Chinese phonology. Based on the studies above, this research initiates a comparative study in a new way and hope provide more objective evidences for further study.

And as Shen (2012) explains the reasons why comparative studies between Mandarin and English are difficult: one is the ignorance of the systematic mechanism of the evidence; the other is the ignorance of the evidence from the internal language. Experimentally, the four parameter factors (pitch, pitch range, duration and intensity) have been applied to analyze prosodic phonology, but usually only one or two factors have been focused in one study. This study tries to take all the four parameters into consideration to further explore the underlying structures of English and Mandarin systematically. In terms of the evidence from the internal languages, English is stress-predictable and its analysis is foot-based. Foot is the metrical unit with visibly minimal heavy-light-alternation. Therefore, the discussion whether Mandarin is a stress language can be narrowed down to whether Mandarin phonology has foot layer or not. Due to the multi-complex of phonology, this initiative study simplifies the external linguistic condition to avoid more outside factors. The disyllabic words will be the main focus for the next two reasons: one is because stress is the heavy-light segment alternation, so at least two syllables are needed to make a comparison, another is that Chinese is a "one syllable-one tone-one word" language, so at least two-syllable combination are needed to explore its phonological behavior. For English, two major stress types (heavy + light; light + heavy) are studies (such as "airport, famous", etc.). As for Chinese, 16 tone patterns (1+1, 1+2, 1+3, 1+4, 2+1, 2+2, 2+3, 2+4, 3+1, 3+2, 3+3, 3+4, 4+1, 4+2, 4+3, 4+4, such as "饮茶 yin3cha2, 书桌 shu1zhuo1", etc.) has been analyzed in detail. This study proposes the PDIR analysis mode to normalize the parameter to carry out the comparison. The current findings are as follows:



After detailed research, this study points out different from the previous ones, this study finds out different stress type and different tone type demonstrate differently and there are potential homogenous and heterogeneous phonological behaviors between the two languages. It is premature to make the final conclusion and we need diachronic evidence, quantitative acoustic analysis and objective reasoning to establish Chinese phonology.

Key Words: tone, stress, disyllabic, PDIR

¹ This study is supported by Chinese national social science fund "Comparative Studies on Mandarin and English Underlying Prosodic Structure Mechanism" (ZX20170049).

A Study on the Improvement of the Foreign Words' Pronunciation in Korean TTS

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The purpose of this study is to look at the pronunciation of foreign words in Korean produced by TTS, point out their problems, and suggest ways to improve the problems. The Korean TTS has made remarkable progress. However, there are still some problems in the processing of the segmental sounds. My recent paper raised some questions and provided answers regarding the TTS processing of pronunciation. The main questions and answers are as follows.

(1) Should TTS be based on standard pronunciation or actual pronunciation?

: Collective treatment is not valid. In some cases, standard pronunciation should be applied, and in others actual pronunciation should be applied.

(2) In which case should standard pronunciation be applied, and in which case should actual pronunciation be applied?

: If more of the standard pronunciation is used in speech, the standard pronunciation should be applied, and the actual pronunciation should be applied if more of the actual pronunciation is used.

(3) What criteria will be used for applying standard pronunciation and for applying actual pronunciation?

: Acceptance of standard pronunciation by users should be considered. If users prefer standard pronunciation, they should only provide actual pronunciation when there is a significant amount of use of actual pronunciation, and if standard pronunciation is used, they should still provide standard pronunciation. In the opposite case, the opposite should be done.

However, the pronunciation of foreign words remains a problem in Korean. Korean has three main structures: native, Chinese, and foreign. Among them, native and Chinese words are set as standard pronunciation according to the standard pronunciation regulations, but foreign words do not have standard pronunciation. For example, in the sentence "옷로비 사건은 온라인 매체에서 다루고 있다.(A clothing lobby incident is covered by the online media.)," "옷로비(clothing lobby)" and "온라인(online)" are foreign words. In these words, there are two ways to pronounce a chain of $\text{L}-\text{r}(n-1)$. One is to be nasalization as $\text{L}-\text{L}(n-n)$, the other is to be lateralization as $\text{r}-\text{r}(l-l)$. As a result, they are pronounced as [온노비(onnobi)] or [올로비(ollobi)], and pronounced as [온나인(onnain)] or [올라인(ollain)]. How is TTS currently pronouncing this?

(4) TTS in Naver Papago(NP): [온노비(onnobi)], [올라인(ollain)]

(5) TTS in Google Translator(GT): [올로비(ollobi)], [올라인(ollain)]

While NP produces pronunciation according to the type of actual pronunciation, GT is positive in that similar phonetic sequences are handled using the same rules. So how do we deal with this? This study examines how speakers pronounce the pronunciation of foreign words in real world language. In addition, look at how the foreign words are pronounced in TTS. And we want to compare the two to see how much the TTS pronunciation is consistent with the actual pronunciation and how far apart it is. Based on these comparative data, I would like to propose how to handle the pronunciation of foreign words.

Formal co-evolution of form and meaning

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Roberts and Roussou (R&R) (2003) and van Gelderen (2011) propose Minimalist accounts of grammaticalization which argue that grammaticalization is a form of ‘structural simplification’ which is a natural type of parametric change in first language acquisition, and Simpson and Wu (S&W) (2002) analyse a closely related type of syntactic change named ‘lateral grammaticalization’ (LG), also within Minimalism. While Vincent and Borjars (V&B) (2010:292-293) contend that ‘lateral grammaticalization’ is problematic for R&R’s model of syntactic change (henceforth ‘standard grammaticalization’ (SG)), I defend their accounts by arguing that LG conforms to their Minimalist definitions of formal simplicity and the discrepancies between SG and LG raise important and novel insights into the frequency and empirical effects of grammaticalization, which is a central concern in R&R’s (2003:2-5) and an important consideration for the co-evolution of meaning and form in syntactic change (Bybee (2003)). R&R (2003) and van Gelderen (2011) define parametric markedness in terms of syntactic dependencies where functional heads which hold *Move* and *Agree* relations with their lexical complements are preferentially eliminated yielding functional elements merged directly under functional heads, which conforms to R&R’s (2003:198-200) ‘upward feature analysis’ of grammaticalizing elements being diachronically shifted to higher functional positions ($F_{\text{Move}} > F_{\text{Agree}} > F_{\text{Merge}}$). S&W (2002) argue that Chinese copula *shi* and adnominaliser *de* undergo ‘lateral’ reanalysis from nominal (D) to verbal functors (T) as cross-linguistic examples of copulas often display tense and subject-agreement distinctions in accordance with their original deixes as determiners (S&W (2002:198-199)) and in Chinese cleft constructions adnominaliser *de* strongly implies past-time interpretation and is hence reanalysed as a past-tense marker:

- 1a) wo shi gen Zhangsan qu Beijing de
I COP with Zhangsan go Beijing DE

‘It was with Zhangsan that I went to Beijing.’ (past-time obligatory) (S&W (2002:176))

This ‘lateral’ reanalysis (D > T) conforms to R&R and van Gelderen’s formal simplicity as *shi* and *de* hold agreement with their (empty) nominal complement (D_{Agree}) which is lost when they are reanalysed as T elements (T_{Merge}), even though their genesis as entirely new functional categories differs from ‘upward feature analysis’ in SG. Furthermore, while grammaticalization typically displays interface effects of weakening (R&R (2003:218-219), cf Campbell (2001)), Chinese *shi* and *de* do not display any perceptible differences in morphophonology and their ‘lateral’ reanalysis actually entails a gain in semantic content in the form of a new category (T). These differences can be accounted for by collostructional analysis (Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003)), since it has been influentially proposed that weakening in grammaticalization is caused by the rise in collocational range of grammaticalizing elements (Haspelmath (1999), Bybee (2003)) and newly formed categories in LG crucially restrict the collostructional distribution of Chinese *shi* and *de* as the latter is only used in past-time clefts (S&W (2002:177)) and cross-linguistically denominal copulas show morphological distinctions of tense and subject-agreement which form subsets of copular constructions. SG and LG then seem to display opposite effects of weakening as while ‘semantic bleaching’ causes rise in frequency and morphophonological weakening (SG), the formation of new functional categories entails a gain in formal semantics which restricts the collocational range of the grammaticalizing element and pre-empts morphophonological weakening (LG), which constitutes a formal typology of syntactic change.

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Quantifier scope ambiguity in Mandarin revisited

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Issue. Since Huang (1982), Mandarin has been known as a “rigid scope” language in that doubly quantified sentences do not show scope ambiguity attributable to QR. For instance, (1) only permits the surface scope (SS; $\exists > \forall$) but not the inverse scope (IS; $\forall > \exists$) reading.

(1) 有一個人買了每一本書

This view was experimentally examined and refuted by Zhou & Gao (2009), who claim that IS reading is available to native speakers. Note that this conclusion is based on sentences with a universal subject and an existential object; such data cannot be safely used to prove the IS because the IS logically entails the SS reading. Scontras et al. (2017) focus on speakers’ judgment on sentences like (1) and confirm that they are indeed unambiguous. Nevertheless, a number of recent theoretical studies argue that scope ambiguity does manifest in more complicated data, e.g. the DOC (2) and nonfinite complement clause (3).

(2) 李四送一本書給每一個小孩 (Lin 2013; also Huang 1982, Wu et al. 2017, Larson & Wu 2018)

(3) 李四要求某個男生幫助每個女生 (Lin 2013; also Larson & Wu 2018)

In other words, the IS ($\forall > \exists$) reading is claimed to be available in (2) and (3). Unfortunately, these studies offer no theoretical analyses or judgment tasks to justify such claim about the IS reading.

Experiment. We designed an online pilot experiment involving 20 participants. Test items included one DOC-type sentence and two sentences with an embedded clause (see Table 1). Each sentence was paired with an image describing either the SS or the IS scenario. For each sentence, participants were asked to rate on a 7-point scale the appropriateness against a given scenario. Each participant rated 3 test items together with 3 fillers. The sentence-image pairs were randomized so that some participants saw the SS scenario of a sentence while others saw the IS scenario. Results for each test item are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

	Test items	SS scenario	IS scenario	<i>p</i> -value
#1	小梅買了三塊蛋糕給每一個男生	3.47 (N = 15)	5.40 (N = 5)	0.039
#2	老師要求一個男生幫助每一個女生	4.90 (N = 10)	1.80 (N = 10)	0.002
#3	老師要求某個男生幫助每一個女生	5.56 (N = 9)	1.64 (N = 11)	0.000

For all three items, there is a significant correlation between scope and rating such that the IS scenario received higher ratings than the SS scenario for item #1, and the reverse is true for #2 and #3. Only 1 out of the 11 participants who read the IS scenario of #3 gave it a high rating (> 4).

Discussion. The results of #2 and #3 show that the IS reading is not permitted in the embedded clause, regardless of whether the embedded subject is headed by *yi* ‘one’ or *mou* ‘some/certain.’ This fact suggests that the ambiguity account in previous literature needs to be reconsidered. On the other hand, the results of #1 seem to confirm scope ambiguity in the DOC-type sentence. However, the IS reading is actually the favored one, which is at odds with the Processing Scope Economy (Anderson 2004). Moreover, participants generally considered the filler item “瑪麗送了那本書給每一個人” appropriate for the scenario where Mary gave three identical books to three different individuals, respectively (mean = 5.55). As the item has only one quantifier but is nevertheless acceptable in such scenario, we argue that the high ratings of #1 against the “every-boy-receives-one-cake-individually” scenario are actually not due to the IS, but instead to a covert distributive operator, which distributes different sets of three cakes to individual boys. A crucial assumption in this proposal is that the direct object in #1 has to refer to “instances of 3-cake pluralities” rather than to some existing three cakes. This assumption is in fact required for interpreting DOCs of this type; ‘one book’ in (2), for instance, must be understood as ‘one book copy.’

We theoretically investigate a few other sentences which have been claimed to be scopally ambiguous, e.g. ‘張三經常跟每一個學生吃飯’ (Lin 2013). Note that if ZS often dines with every student together (the SS reading), then it follows that, for every student *x*, ZS often dines with *x* (the IS reading). That is, the SS and IS readings are not independent; the former entails the latter. It is thus not possible to tease the two scope readings apart by checking the compatible scenarios. We conclude that whether such case is really ambiguous is far from settled at this point and is subject to further assessment.

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Presupposition effects and standard negation in Gaozhou Cantonese

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This paper presents original data from Gaozhou Cantonese and argues that there is only one standard negator in the variety and yet the incompatibility between negation and aspect marking strongly resembles the pattern well-known in Mandarin *méiyǒu*. Gaozhou Cantonese is a variety spoken in Gaozhou, Maoming, a county situated in the southwestern part of the Guangdong Province; documentation and formal study on the variety have been scarce. Based on the official county chronicle, there are two standard negators recorded in the variety – *mau5* ‘not’ and *mau5 jau5* ‘not have’ – which are suggested to be interchangeable. Natural data from the field, however, shows that *mau5* ‘not’ is the only standard negator, with *jau5* ‘have’ only used in negative existential or possessive constructions as a verbal predicate meaning ‘to exist’ or ‘to possess’.

Moreover, *mau5* as the only standard negator in Gaozhou Cantonese, displays an incompatibility with all aspectual marking except the experiential aspect – a pattern found in Mandarin standard negation with *méiyǒu* ‘not-have’ and Hong Kong Cantonese *mou5* ‘not.have’. Typologically, an affirmative-negative asymmetry in the aspectual categories expressed is no novelty. But where Chinese is concerned, the aspectual incompatibility in Gaozhou Cantonese negation shows that the aspectual sensitivity in Chinese varieties may not be attributed to a need for division of labour between the standard negators in the system, nor the fact that negators like Mandarin *méiyǒu* or Hong Kong Cantonese *mou5* are inherently perfective as many have suggested in the literature. I argue that the negation-aspect incompatibility observed in Gaozhou Cantonese (and other Chinese varieties) is generated by general principles of presupposition.

In this paper, I propose that aspect in Chinese encodes definiteness (cf. Ramchand’s 2008 analysis of Russian aspect). Precisely, aspect encodes definiteness of the Assertion Time within the event time frame the same way determiners encode definiteness of nominal reference. And just as definite nominal expressions have the existence of the denoted entities presupposed, a definite aspect presupposes the existence of the situation it modifies; such presupposition is not cancellable under negation. Therefore, standard negation in Gaozhou Cantonese, as well as Mandarin *méiyǒu* and Hong Kong Cantonese *mou5*, are only compatible with indefinite aspects, i.e. experiential aspect and at times with imperfective aspects. When a sentence is marked by a definite aspect, such as, perfective, the situation concerned is presupposed to exist and asserted to exist at a unique time moment within the time frame of the event by the aspect marker. The negation of such sentence thus anomalously expresses that ‘there is a unique reference time for the event which is one of the time moments in the temporal trace function of the event, but the event does not exist’.

In sum, this paper introduces new empirical data from a previously un(der)-studied variety of Cantonese to show that the Mandarin-style aspectual incompatibility is attested in a system with only one standard negator. The new observation points to a re-understanding of the nature of the negators, and prompts for a more general explanation for such incompatibilities based on presupposition effect in definite expressions, which in turn extends the concept of definiteness to the verbal domain.

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A Non-unified Account to Cantonese 'Dou'

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This study investigates the function and the structural position of Cantonese *dou* with a reference to an asymmetry between *dou* in Mandarin and Cantonese. Among the commonly discussed functions of *dou* in Mandarin, the most common reading of Cantonese *dou* is reported to be an additive adverbial reading – ‘also’. This is surprising especially when one considers that *dou* in Mandarin is only argued to be interchangeable with *ye* ‘also’ in the *even*-focus construction (cf. Shyu 1995), but not in other uses of *dou*. We will show that different interpretations of Cantonese *dou* are not generated in the same structural position, and this in turn will help to understand the differences between *dou* in Mandarin and Cantonese, and why an additive reading becomes a common reading of *dou* in Cantonese.

Dou in Mandarin sentences like (1) may quantify a plural NP on its left showing universal or distributive readings (e.g., (1a), Cheng, 1995; Xiang, 2008; Zhou & Crain, 2010; Ke et al., 2018; Li & Yuan, 2018; Feng & Pan, 2018), or it may quantify the NP on its right providing an exclusive reading (e.g., (1b), see Li & Yuan, 2018; Feng & Pan, 2018). The quantifier function requires a plural NP (e.g., (1a) vs. (2a)).

- (1) 他們都吃蘋果。 (2) 他都吃蘋果。
a. They all (can) eat apples. a. *He all (can) eat apples.
b. They only eat apples (but not peaches). b. He only eats apples (but not peaches).

However, when Mandarin sentences like (1) are translated into Cantonese word by word, as in (3), the quantifier reading (3a) and the exclusive reading (3b) seem to disappear. Such sentences are most naturally interpreted as ‘also’ and are often used in scenarios that either (i) contrast two groups of people (the subject), as in cases when someone is talking about a group of people ate certain fruits/apples, and the speaker knew and wanted to indicate that the group at issue (佢哋) also eat apples, or (ii) emphasize the object (e.g., (3c) can be interpreted as the subject not only eats a certain fruits/food, but also apples).

- (3) 佢哋都食蘋果 (4) a. 佢哋全部都食蘋果。
a. #They all/each ate apples. ‘They all eat apples.’
b. ?*They only eat apples but not peaches or other food. b. ?/*佢哋全部食蘋果。
c. They also eat/ate apples. ‘They all eat apples’

To provide a **universal quantifier reading**, a quantifier *cyuubou* (全部 ‘all of’) is often required (e.g., (4)), except when the sentence has a sentential adverb; we found that the universal quantifier *dou* is located between a sentential adverb and a frequency adverb (5a), but it cannot precede the sentential adverb (5b) or follow the frequency adverb (5c). When *dou* is at a post-frequency adverb position, it provides a **habitual reading** (6a)), and yet, it means ‘also’ before a frequency adverb (6b) or a manner adverb (7).

- (5) a. 佢哋夏天(全部)都經常出國玩。 (6) a. 佢經常都食蘋果。
‘All of them often travel abroad in summer.’ ‘They eat apples most of the time.’
b. *佢哋(全部)都夏天經常出國玩。 b. 佢哋都經常食蘋果。
c. * 佢哋夏天經常(全部)都出國玩。 ‘They also eat apples often.’
(7) 佢(都)慢慢(*都)開車。 (8) 我(?都)星期三(都)有堂。
‘They also travel abroad in summer.’ ‘I have classes on Wednesday, too.’

In addition to the more common post-temporal position, colloquially, speakers may occasionally place *dou* ‘also’ before a temporal adverb to emphasize the additive reading on things/events at issue (e.g., (8)).

In brief, when the additive *dou* ‘also’ can modify *vP* (6b) and *VP* (7) or *T* (8), it cannot follow manner adverbs (cf. (6a)). The multiple positions of *dou* ‘also’ may explain why such additive reading is the most common one for Cantonese *dou*. To universally quantify a subject, *dou* tends to occur with *cyuubou* (4) and can only be located between sentential adverbs and frequency adverb (5a). Relative positions between adverbs and *dou* signal different uses of *dou*. These suggest that different functions of *dou* are associated with different structural positions, arguing against a unified account to these various functions of *dou* in Cantonese. Based on these, we will also present how *dou* interacts with other constructions in Cantonese.

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Determining the role of *dou*-licensing in intervention effects of why-questions – An experimental study

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Overview This paper presents experimental evidence that the relative ordering of the *why*-adjunct and the licenser *dou* determines the acceptability of universal *why*-questions in Chinese. The previous research on the intervention effects has differed over whether universal quantifiers induce intervention effects, as well as the strength of such intervention (Ko 2006; Yang 2011; Liu 2017). In our experiment, we obtain acceptability ratings data from both orderings between *weishenme* and *dou*, and compare them with minimally contrasted data based on a three-way distinction of quantifier type (upward entailing, non-monotonic, downward entailing). The latter measurements serve as good benchmarks for gauging the acceptability of universal *why*-questions, as previous authors have indicated that intervention is the most robust with downward quantifiers and the least robust with upward quantifiers (Lin 1998; Ko 2006). Our experiment reveals that universal intervention is crucially ordering-sensitive: with *weishenme* preceding *dou*, acceptability patterns with upward. Contrarily, with *dou* preceding *weishenme*, acceptability patterns with downward.

Procedure 18 participants (Mandarin speakers; 23-30 years old; 9 male and 9 female; college educated) are recruited to rate online Qualtrics sentences on a 1-5 scale (ascending). Each individual answers 63 target questions and 126 filler questions (all stimuli items contextualized and randomized). Target sentences fall into two groups.

Group 1 sentences (the *universal* group) comprise the universal *suoyoude* ‘all’-quantifier, the universal *mei*-classifier-NP, and a bare definite plural. In the case of definite plurals, a bare NP always receive a definite plural reading and universality/distributivity is enforced by the presence of *DOU*. In all subgroups, two conditions are formed based on the relative position of *weishenme* and *DOU*. **Group 2** sentences comprise three subgroups based on quantifier monotonicity (including upward entailing (UE), downward entailing (DE), nonmonotonic quantifiers (NM)). Each task sentence obeys a configuration of [quantifier < *weishenme* < VP].

quantifier type	quantifier	fixed item	independent variable 1	independent variable 2	fixed item
Universal type-1	suoyoude ‘all’	NP	weishenme	DOU	VP
	suoyoude ‘all’	NP	DOU	weishenme	VP
Universal type-2	mei+CLF ‘every’	NP	weishenme	DOU	VP
	mei+CLF ‘every’	NP	DOU	weishenme	VP
Definite plural	∅	NP	weishenme	DOU	VP
	∅	NP	DOU	weishenme	VP

Table 1 Factorial design of target sentences in Group 1

quantifier type	quantifier	Fixed item	weishenme ‘why’	Fixed item
DE	henshao ‘few’	NP	weishenme	VP
UE	daduoshu ‘most’	NP	weishenme	VP
NM	ji + CLF ‘a few’	NP	weishenme	VP

Table 2 Factorial design of target sentences in Group 2

Results Paired t-test reveals that, across all three subgroups within Group 1, the relative position of [weishenme < DOU] is consistently preferred over the opposite relative position. Differences in ratings between the two conditions are the most significant in the bare plurals subgroup, followed by the all-quantifier subgroup and the every-quantifier subgroup (Table 3). Paired t-test also reveals a main effect of quantifier type in the mean rating value within Group 2, confirming that intervention effects differ along the line of monotonicity (Table 4).

condition (<i>weishenme</i> < <i>dou</i> vs. <i>dou</i> < <i>weishenme</i>)	t-value, p-value
suoyoude ‘all’	t(53) = 10.22, p<0.001
mei+ CLF ‘every’	t(53) = 5.83, p<0.001
bare quantifier	t(53) = 15.73 p<0.001

Table 3 Results of paired t-tests across the subgroups of Group 1

condition/t-value, p-value	Upward Entailing (UE)	Non-monotonic (NM)	Downward entailing (DE)
UE	-	7.19 (p<0.001)	15.67 (p<0.001)
NM	7.19 (p<0.001)	-	5.17 (p<0.001)
DE	15.67 (p<0.001)	5.17 (p<0.001)	-

Table 4 Results of paired t-tests across the subgroups of Group 2

Next, an inter-group comparison reveals that the acceptability data in the upward entailing (UE) environment are nondistinguishable from the [weishenme < DOU] interaction in the universal environment. Moreover, ratings in the downward entailing (DE) environment are measured similarly with the [DOU < weishenme] interaction in the universal environment (t = 0.021, p > 0.05).

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The acquisition of locational and directional prepositional constructions in L2 English by adult Chinese speakers

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This study tests adult Chinese speakers of second language (L2) English in the domain of manner of motion verbs with locational and directional prepositional phrases. Ninety-eight Chinese speakers (a language which disallows ambiguity between locational and directional readings in sentences like *Tom ran under the bridge*) were asked to interpret locational and directional PPs in English (a language which allows ambiguous locational and directional readings). The learners were divided into three proficiency levels and their performance was compared with a native speaker control group. The results from a written picture-matching test indicate that there is a discrepancy between native and non-native mental representations of the grammars concerned; whereas native grammars allow ambiguity between locational and directional readings, L2 learners overwhelmingly prefer locational readings to ambiguous readings of prepositional constructions. Results of the study lend support to the UG and Subset Principle Delinked Hypothesis, one of the predictions of the Subset Principle (Berwick 1985; Wexler and Manzini 1987), which argues that learning principles and UG may not be interactive in adult second language acquisition, resulting in a grammar which represents neither the L1 nor the L2 but is nevertheless a natural language permitted by UG.

Keywords: locational, directional, UG, subset principle, prepositional constructions, second language acquisition

非華語學生手部動詞習得研究

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手部動詞是動詞次範疇中重要的下位分類，非華語學生在學習該類動詞時存在不少困難。本文以香港某中學的非華語學生為對象，針對手部動詞的學習，透過調查問卷和訪談等收集數據，詳細分析其偏誤用例，探討其偏誤類型，並提出教學策略。

學生的主要偏誤類型包括動賓誤配、誤用反義詞、誤用動詞重疊形式等。針對這些問題，本文認為手部動詞的學習應該遵循由易到難、由淺入深、由簡到繁的原則，注重運用直接法、情景教學法等。

關鍵詞：非華語、手部動詞、偏誤、詞彙

3 至 4 歲漢語普通話兒童處所類“把”字句理解研究

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“把”字句作為現代漢語普通話中一種多產、高頻且具有漢語特色的句式，一直是兒童語言獲得研究中的熱點問題。把字句的基本結構是 NP1+把+NP2+V，按照 NP2 所擔任的題元角色，“把”字句可以分為受事、客事、感事、處所和工具五類。已有的研究表明，不同類型的“把”字句對於兒童而言存在獲得上的先後順序，處所“把”字句較晚獲得。已有的“把”字句獲得研究都提及了兒童處所“把”字句的產出非常延後，但兒童對處所“把”字句的理解是否存在問題尚待探討。本文通過實證研究提出，兒童對於處所“把”字句確實存在理解層面的困難，理解層面的困難可能是造成處所“把”字句產出延後的一個重要因素。

本研究為調查漢語普通話學齡前兒童對處所“把”字句的理解情況，共設計了三組理解實驗，對 8 名 3 至 4 歲漢語普通話學齡前兒童的處所“把”字句的理解情況進行了測試。實驗一為圖片選擇測試，實驗目的為測試兒童對於“把”字句中 NP2 的理解傾向性，即測試兒童更傾向於將“把”後的 NP2 理解為受事還是處所；實驗二為典型受事“把”字句真值判斷測試，實驗目的為測試兒童能否正確理解典型的受事“把”字句；實驗三為典型處所“把”字句圖片選擇測試，實驗目的為測試有方位名詞做 NP2 處所標記的情況對兒童理解處所類“把”字句是否產生影響。

實驗結果發現，相對於典型的受事“把”字句，3 至 4 歲兒童大對處所“把”字句的理解存在困難；4 歲年齡組與 3 歲年齡組對處所“把”字句的理解無顯著年齡組間差異；NP2 位置上出現的處所標記如“上”、“裡”等方位詞對兒童理解處所類“把”字句總體來說無顯著影響；女生被試組對處所標記詞的投射敏感度高於男生被試組，女生被試組對帶有處所標記方位詞的處所“把”字句的理解情況更接近於成人；性別或是影響處所“把”字句獲得的重要因素。本實證研究通過三個理解實驗證明 3 至 4 歲漢語普通話兒童對於處所類“把”字句確實存在理解困難，從語言理解層面對以往的兒童“把”字句獲得研究進行了補充。

關鍵字：“把”字句；處所類；兒童語言獲得

A cross-sectional study on the acquisition of Chinese VV compounds in DHH children

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Verb compounding is one of the most common syntactic processes in Mandarin Chinese. A VV compound is formed by concatenating a main verb with a particle that denotes the result of such a main verb. Regarding the acquisition of VV compounds, previous research has predominantly focused on the acquisition of such compounds in monolingual children such as in Mandarin-speaking children (Deng, 2010) and Cantonese-speaking children (Keung, 2007). There were even fewer previous studies examined the later acquisition of such VV compounds, during school age and also during the acquisition of literacy. This research was motivated to fill the research gap of how deaf and hard of hearing (DHH) children have developed VV compounds in their school years from a bimodal bilingual perspective.

The current research adopts a lexical semantic approach by categorizing the particles into three broad types that convey different semantic meanings respectively: Resultative—with the particles denoting the state (such as *din6 sei2*); Directional (such as *laai1 haa6*); and Completive—denoting the achievement (such as *zou6 jyun4*). Note that the result particles for the directional and completive ones can be stacked to convey a variety of meanings. This corpus-based research conducted examined the written narrative of the frog story by DHH children. Their acquisition is measured by a few statistical means, with age of first emergence and production rate give us an idea about the usage in DHH children. This study also addresses the productivity of the three kinds of resultatives.

There are five main findings. Firstly, DHH children were found to produce significantly fewer correct VV compounds than typically developing children. Regarding productivity, typically children were found to modify the VV compounds with aspect markers or to expand the VP by stacking up the result particles. But 22% of DHH children did not use such modifications. A correlation analysis was performed to investigate whether there is any relationship between the performance of DHH children and their linguistic (spoken/sign) input. No correlation was found between one's correct performance and his/her input. Fourthly, the proportion of the three types of VV constructions was computed. It was found that DHH children and typically developing children both produced significantly more directional VV than the other two kinds. Regarding the error types, while no error was found in typical developing children's VV compounds production, DHH children were found to misuse result particle. DHH also incorporate an incorrect V1 to their result particles. Miscellaneous errors included reversed word order, omission of de-, reversed VC components, addition of an extra result particle, semantic mismatch between the V and the result particle and addition of an extra argument.

This research has revealed the acquisition pattern of resultatives in DHH children. The data indicated a marked delay in the concerned acquisition as shown in the production rate and productivity. This suggests that linguistic competence could have been compromised due to the impoverished input received by DHH children. As for the developmental sequence, both the DHH group and the typically developing group had demonstrated a similar pattern in their proportion of VVs.

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Learning Multiple Languages and Becoming Cosmopolitan Citizens in the Face of Stereotypes: The Case of Minority Youth in South Korea

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Abstract: Minority youth are treated as a “problem” that needs to be remedied through more vigorous integration in society (Valdés, 1996). Although globalization has added further complexity to the situation, few studies account for the ways in which globalization closes down or opens up ways for minority youth to view themselves.

Understanding people are who they are due to the way they talk (Cameron, 1997), this study examines how two Korean minority teenagers use their semiotic resources to construct their identities under globalization. Drawing on ecological perspectives (Kramsch, 2002), I employed a case study method (Yin, 2003). Jinsoo was a 13-year-old boy with a Filipina mother; Korean was the predominant language at home, but some traces of English were found. Heedong was a 15-year-old boy with a Vietnamese mother; his family used both Korean and Vietnamese. I spent one year in their homes and classrooms. The collected data included fieldnotes and interviews. Adopting discourse analysis (Blommaert, 2005), I focused recursively on how the teenagers positioned themselves in their daily lives. Grounding the analysis in their words, I used descriptive coding to topicalize what they expressed (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Analytical categories included mother’s language(s), English, and mobility.

Despite the pervasive social stigmatization of minority youngsters, Jinsoo and Heedong negotiated the imposed identities and carved out third places for themselves. Jinsoo’s familiarity with English led him to consider the Philippines as a stepping-stone to the U.S. and to further his educational career. Learning Vietnamese, Heedong strived to connect with his Vietnamese family and work in different countries. Indeed, the two teenagers were becoming cosmopolitan citizens who developed ethical values like solidary (Appiah, 2006) and who were willing to belong to diverse local/global communities (Canagarajah, 2013). This study stresses minority youth’s agency in exploring their identity options in the context of globalization.

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從港式粵語中的「潮語」看語碼轉換的意義——以粵英轉換及粵普轉換為例

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壹、研究動機及價值

首先，港式粵語為粵語廣州話之下的一個分支，有別於一般「廣府話」。其形成因素主要因為香港由一八四一年至一九九七年為英國殖民地，加上香港的人口結構多元且複雜，使在香港的粵語廣州話增添不少地區的文化或口音，更出現不少語碼轉換的情況，形成港式粵語。然而，近年來香港社會出現了「潮語」的概念。「潮語」並不是港式粵語的一個分支，而是港式粵語的一部分，變化日新月異，而且靈活度高。雖然過往已有不少學者研究港式粵語中的「潮語」，但大多數都是圍繞著「潮語」的語法及詞構。本文試以粵英語碼轉換及粵普語碼轉換的「潮語」作為焦點，並分析大眾使用這些用語的原因，以及當時社會狀況對「潮語」出現的影響。

貳、研究方法

本文的焦點在於「潮語」，「潮語」即為潮流用語，就此筆者可能會比較多用到網絡資源，如電影對白、網上報章、網上資料庫等等。但筆者同樣會運用到部份學者的論文以及實體書目，以作為論文參考，並作為分析之理據。由於筆者為香港人，母語為粵語，因此個人對本題目已有一定應知，並盡會以香港市民角度看各「潮語」的用法。

參、預期成果

筆者預期本論文最終可以分析部份語碼轉換的「潮語」能被繼續使用的原因，以及當時的社會狀況對個別「潮語」的影響。同時亦分析出香港市民在使用語碼轉換的「潮語」的態度和意義所在。

Cantonese Enregisterment and Entextualization

Alexander Hochner

In recent years, in Hong Kong, there has been a resurgence of the use of Cantonese in written media outside of tabloids and text messages, along with an increased focus by native speakers on the importance of preserving their language. These media include works of fiction, such as 男人唔可以窮, and books intending to increase native speakers' awareness of the inner workings of Cantonese, such as 廣東話要我 by Ben Sir. Unlike Standard Written Chinese (SWC), Cantonese writing in Hong Kong is based upon the speech habits of the authors, who seek to reflect in their texts a closeness to their everyday language that is not afforded through the use of SWC. This closeness is reflected not only in the use of Cantonese-specific characters, words, grammar, and idioms, but also in the sentence-final particles, which feature largely in dialogue. Due to the lack of a written standard, Cantonese offers a great deal of flexibility in its written form. Alternate characters are common for many common words, and sometimes certain characters are replaced with alternatives to achieve a visual effect, such as replacing 都 (*dou1*) with 刀 (*dou1*).

In this presentation, I will discuss my preliminary research on enregisterment and entextualization vis-a-vis recent developments in Cantonese literature. The core of my research is comprised of analyzing the ways native speakers render spoken features of Cantonese into text. These features include register, accent, and prosody. Unlike many languages that use an alphabet, Cantonese does not use a system of writing that readily transmits pronunciation. A question that arises, then, is how features of speech that rely on pronunciation, such as affect, can be accurately portrayed using Cantonese characters. In this presentation, I will discuss how, for example, authors render the polished veneer of literary or academic Cantonese or the so-called “lazy tone” into writing to develop a character's voice and persona. Chinese characters offer a range of options that differ markedly from alphabets. One method is to use characters phonetically. For example, the author 做金庸的男人 in his novel 《是咁的，我嘅職業係幫人訓覺》 applies this method to indicate the speech habit of a character's maid, who does not have a good grasp of tones: 「喂!飯屋崎啦鵝地」(喂!返屋企啦我哋).

Teasing apart attitudes from social contact using a quantitative variationist approach

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When investigating the correlation between individual speakers' attitude and their linguistic behavior in sociolinguistics, an important issue is how speakers' attitudes can be teased apart from their social contact with other people. Trudgill's deterministic model (Trudgill 2004) argues that speech convergence depends on the frequency of contact, and rejects social factors like attitudes. By contrast, the Communication Accommodation Theory model (Giles & Coupland 1991) advocated for the role of both attitudes and interaction. However, when empirically testing these models, a practical issue is the possible correlation between positive attitudes and more social interaction, as people are inclined to engage with those they think favorably of (e.g., Labov, 2001). So in this paper I ask: will speakers' attitudes play an independent role in language change if their social contact is also taken into consideration?

These issues are investigated by presenting the case of a Chinese immigrant city: Hohhot. It is home to a complex mixture of 'traditional', local residents, who speak Jin (晋) dialect, and migrants, who arrived in the 1950s encouraged by government policy. Thus, a mixed, new vernacular combining features of Jin and Mandarin was formed, known locally as "Hohhot Mandarin". Anthropological studies of Hohhot have shown that there are intense social conflicts between the local-born and migrant communities, and that the degree of integration into the community is different for different individuals (Jankowiak 1993). Given this, I ask whether speakers in the migrant community vary in the degree to which they adopt local Jin-features, and how this variation is conditioned by their attitudes and social interaction with Jin speakers.

35 speakers from three generations of the migrant community were interviewed, with their attitudinal information collected from questionnaires. Principal Component Analysis revealed 4 different attitudinal categories and calculated index scores for each speaker. Speakers' social contact with Jin speakers was also collected and quantified.

Linguistic data were collected from interviews and an elicitation task designed to explore variation in a set of disyllabic words, which display variation in stress: a weak-strong stress pattern is associated with Jin dialect and a strong-weak pattern is typical of Mandarin (e.g. [xuə⁴³la⁵¹] vs. [xua³⁵la], *scribble*). About 1500 l-word tokens were analysed using binomial mixed effects models, which were hand fit with the lme4 library in R (Bates, Maechler & Bolker, 2011; R Core Team, 2017). The independent variables included were age group, sex, town, education, as well as their attitudinal scores and social interaction scores. Word and speaker were treated as random intercepts.

The results found a significant interaction between age group, attitudes and social interaction. For speakers with the same level of social contact with Jin speakers, their stress pattern production was still predicted by their attitudinal scores, indicating that attitude was playing a role that was independent from the effect of social networks. Also, speakers with both more positive attitudes and more social contact with Jin speakers demonstrate the highest probability of using the local variants.

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Tense and Aspect in Mandarin and beyond

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Lin (2010) argues that Mandarin Chinese has no syntactic category TENSE to locate event descriptions in time. Temporal interpretations are claimed to derive from ASPECT. Two semantic arguments are put forward in support of his hypothesis. First, a contrast in temporal interpretations occurs depending on aspectual properties of the verb: telic predicates such as accomplishments receive a past tense reading in out-of-the-blue contexts as in (1a) whereas atelic predicates such as states receive a present tense reading as in (1b). Second, temporal modifiers and discourse context trigger construal shift. Thus, the present tense reading of (1b) disappears when a temporal adverb denoting a past interval is added to the sentence, as in (2):

- (1) a. Zhāngsān dǎ-pò yí-gè bēizi. b. Wó hěn jǐnzhāng.
Zhangsan hit-broken one-CL glass I very nervous
'Zhangsan broke a glass.' 'I am very nervous'
- (2) Zuótiān xiàwǔ wó hěn jǐnzhāng.
Yesterday afternoon I very nervous
'I was very nervous yesterday'

In Lin's view, the facts in (1-2) are unaccountable under a TENSE-based analysis unless *ad hoc* stipulations are adduced. For instance, to account for the temporal contrast between (1a) and (1b), one must posit a phonetically null T head with a PAST TENSE feature in (1a) and a PRESENT TENSE in (1b). Yet, he argues, if a PRESENT TENSE can be assumed in (1b), the same should hold true for (1a), yielding an unwanted present interpretation.

Lin argues for an ASPECT-based account which relies on Bohnemeyer and Swift's (2004) notion of default aspect. According to the latter, perfective (bounded) event descriptions receive a past interpretation by default and imperfective (unbounded) event descriptions receive a present interpretation by default, a result obtained via the semantics of imperfective and perfective aspect in (3a-b) and the default rule in (4).

- (3) a. Imperfective aspect = $\lambda P_{\langle i,t \rangle} \lambda t_{\text{Top}} \exists t [t_{\text{Top}} \subseteq t \wedge P(t)]$
b. Perfective aspect = $\lambda P_{\langle i,t \rangle} \lambda t_{\text{Top}} \lambda t_0 \exists t [t \subseteq t_{\text{Top}} \wedge P(t) \wedge t_{\text{Top}} < t_0]$
- (4) An expression ϕ of type $\langle i,t \rangle$ that serves as a translation of a matrix sentence is true iff $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket (s^*) = 1$, where s^* is the speech time.

According to (3-4), imperfective aspect requires the inclusion of the topic time within the situation time, whereas perfective aspect requires the inclusion of the situation time within the topic time (see Klein 1994 and Kratzer 1998 for details). Under this view, atelic predicates (states or activities) select the imperfective aspect by default, whereas telic predicates (accomplishments and achievements) select the perfective aspect by default.

This paper challenges Lin’s view on broader empirical grounds. First, we show that in languages with overt aspect marking, telic predicates freely combine with both perfective and imperfective aspects as do atelic predicates. That is the case in Tem, a Gur language spoken in Togo. Illustrations are given in (5a-b).

- (5) a. Bú wó-ɔ-dóɔ ɲaawu. b. Bú wɔ-n-dɔwúɔ ɲaawu
 child 3sg-perf-eat rice child 3sg-imperf-eat rice
 “The child ate rice” “The child eats rice”

Second, in languages with a morphologically null head T for present tense, like Chinese T, and overt aspect marking, stative predicates like *be nervous, rich, poor, heavy, skinny, sick, tired, hungry, angry, happy, handicaped, be sleeping*, etc. select the perfective aspect, not the imperfective one, contra Lin’s claims. This is the case in Kirundi, a Bantu language, as illustrated in (6a-b).

- (6) a. Mariya a-ø-ra-shavur-ye b. Mariya a-ø-ra-tung-ye
 Mary 1SA-PRS-AF-be angry-PERF Mary 1SA-PRS-AF-be rich-PERF
 ‘Mary is angry’ ‘Mary is rich’

We also show that Lin’s account leaves unresolved some other facts from Chinese, including the distinction between episodic and non-episodic/generic construals.

We argue for a unified account of these facts which assumes that Chinese finite sentences like (1-2) contain two phonologically null syntactic heads: TENSE and ASPECT. The former encodes the START of an event/start, the latter its END.

We assume that Chinese T has no intrinsic feature; it is a VARIABLE whose uninterpretable temporal feature is valued through AGREE with temporal modifiers or discourse operators (Sybsema 2007). As for Aspect, we claim that it is fully specified for the interpretable [\pm perfective] feature that fills in the END variable. Various semantic construals are shown to derive from those two categories and their features. This study leads to the conclusion that TENSE and ASPECT (or their equivalents) are inseparable in temporal interpretation of finite clauses cross-linguistically, whether they are phonologically null entirely as in Chinese or not as in Kirundi, or English.

The Influence of Tense Interpretation on Discourse Coherence —A Comparison of Three Temporal Modes of Discourse

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In the analytical framework of Centering Theory (cf. Joshi & Weinstein, 1981; Grosz, Joshi, & Weinstein, 1995; 1998; among others), there could be only one attentional focus in each utterance when a reader/receiver processes a discourse. The attentional focus can undergo continuation, retention, as well as shift as discourse unfolds. Discourse modes, according to Smith (2001, 2003, and 2009), are classified into five different types based on the situation and entities they introduce into the discourse as well as their contributions to the text progression; namely *narrative*, *report*, *description*, *information*, and *argument*. Among these five modes, *narrative*, *description* and *report* are temporal modes, each of which is governed by a different set of temporal principles. Specifically, tense in *narrative* conveys continuity interpretation; the deictic pattern is a default interpretation for *report*; and the anaphoric pattern of interpretation meets the feature of the *description* mode.

Adopting Centering Theory as its analytical tool, Wuyun (2016) discusses the extended temporal structures in *narrative* and *report* modes. By tracking the behavior of the attentional focus, the author demonstrates that *narrative* and *report* discourse pattern differently in the ways of maintaining discourse coherence. These differences are attributed to the divergence in tense interpretation of these two modes: continuity (*narrative*) vs. deixis (*report*). The former tense interpretation maintains discourse coherence in more apparent ways, for example through the use of pronominal forms and the inter-sentential function of a specific grammatical category. The latter tense interpretation produces a comparatively non-compact relation between two adjacent utterances. Deixis does, however, make possible both multiple foci branching and multiple foci retention, which together form a “last resort” strategy for preserving the coherence of *report* discourse.

Discourse of *description* progresses in a different way from discourse of *narrative* or *report*: specifically, *description* mode advances spatially. Data show that the spatial advancement of discourse and the anaphoric interpretation of tense affect the attentional focus of a reader/receiver’s when s/he processes a *description* discourse. It is less plausible to follow the traditional definition and recognize only the semantic entities as attentional foci. In the *description* discourses we collected, a locative adverbial usually appears at the beginning of a discourse segment, with scope over the segment that follows. Due to the temporal stability, it is feasible to assume that *description* is modeled with a durative time adverbial that has scope over a given discourse segment, which signals the fixation of attentional focus on that time duration. The attentional focus in *description* is the specific scene/spatial location portrayed within the spatial scope, and the coherence of discourse is determined by the scope of the locative adverbial.

All texts advance through a structure—dynamic or otherwise. Discourse of the temporal modes advance as location—temporal or spatial—changes. In *narrative*, situations are related to each other and the receiver moves through narrative time. With *report*, situations are all related to the viewpoint of the reporter and the time of report. *Description* is advanced through the change of location and is temporally stable. Given the difference in discourse dynamism, the attentional focus varies in different modes of discourse ranging from semantic entity to temporal or spatial location of a State or an Event. Such difference in turn influences the ways how discourse coherence is maintained. The continuous interpretation of tense in *narrative* helps preserve a more coherent discourse relationship; by contrast, the deictic pattern of tense interpretation in *report* makes the discourse relationship between two adjacent utterances fairly non-compact. An anaphoric interpretation of tense in *description* sets a spatial scope, within which discourse coherence is maintained to the full extent.

The semantics of the deictic motion morpheme *-lai* in Mandarin

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Typical expressions that denote motion events in Mandarin include those describe the manner of motion, e.g. *zǒu* “walk” in (1), expressions that denote path of motion, e.g. *jìn* “enter”, and the deictic motion expressions e.g. *-lai/qu*. Deictic motion expressions are considered by some as another type of path. In most of the works on spatial deixis, descriptions that often occur are “location of the speaker”, “location of an agent whose perspective the speaker takes” (Fillmore 1971, Roberts 2015). These views are proved inappropriate by the current research at least for Mandarin.

(1) *zǒu* *jìn* *-lai/qu*
walk enter LAI/QU

This research focuses on the meaning of *-lai*. In the current analysis, deictic expressions are not path expressions. Actually, the location of the speaker, the source of the motion and the route and vector of the motion all do not occur in the meaning of *-lai*. The only thing that matters is the speaker’s attitude towards the destination. The current analysis is presented below using the theoretical framework of Integrational Linguistics (Lieb 1983), in which the lexical meaning is conceived as a concept in a psychological sense.

$lai_1^L = \langle lai_1^P, \cdot lai_1 \cdot \rangle$

$\cdot lai_1 \cdot = df \lambda z \text{ per}(z) \vee \text{conc}(z) \wedge \{LAI_1\} \subseteq \text{cont}(z)$ where

$LAI_1 = \lambda V V_1 x x_1$:

- a. V is a person;
- b. V_1 is an utterance;
- c. V produces V_1 ;
- d. x_1 is an object, an event or a spatial/temporal/abstract part of an object or an event;
- e. there is an x_2 , such that x_2 is a spatial/temporal/abstract domain;
- f. x is a change of state;
- g. x_1 is in x_2 as a result of x ;
- h. V considers x_2 as ‘belonging to his/her sphere of interest’ during the production of V_1 .

This analysis is distinct from previous studies on deictic motion expressions in two aspects: the property of the destination and the type of the event. In a Chinese LAI-event, the destination can be a place with no agent, such as a desert, therefore it can be a place where no one’s perspective the speaker can take. The destination of a LAI-event has a general content related only to the temporary interest of the speaker at the time of the utterance. This also explains its use in fictional context, in which the place that enjoys *-lai* constantly alters according to the narrator’s attention, not his actual location. As for the event type, the productivity of constructions like (1) makes the range of contexts in which deictic motion morphemes can occur in languages like Chinese much larger than in languages without such constructions. The morpheme *-lai* can be combined with hundreds of different verbal morphemes. In a LAI-event, it is possible that neither the entity nor the speaker changes its location, but there is only a change in settings of the background, e.g. *wéi jìn lai* “surround-in-LAI”. The event is even not necessarily a motion event, e.g. *shùzì shēng shàng lai* “the number rise-up-LAI”. The current analysis that concerns the speaker’s attitude towards the end-state of a change-of-state event is still consistent with all such situations. The paper provides a new approach to deictic motion expressions, which has advantages not only in its simplicity, but also in its power of explanation. It may shed light on the general line of research on deixis and on the nature of lexical meaning.

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摘要

過去對於漢語量詞的研究多著重於名量詞與名詞的搭配與分析，較缺乏對漢語動量詞的全面討論。本文針對中國大陸、香港及台灣地區現代流行語「V.+一波」的句式使用作為開展，企圖為動量詞的語法功能和語序結構、語義特徵作一探討。

現今漢語口語上出現「要不要去夜市吃一波」、「青春就是要闖一波」、「超市大特價，去搶一波？」、「考完試我要回宿舍頹一波」等「V.+一波」口頭及網路用語現象，「一波」語法表現已超出原先數量短語的討論範圍，其語義特徵和語法功能與典型用語多有相異之處，且「一波」在動詞後補語位置時，謂語性成分搭配豐富，具可分析性。

本文研究問題有三個層面：(一) 動量詞功能—藉由與典型動量詞的對比分析，歸納出「V.+一波」的量詞特徵、分類與句法功能；(二) 語義特徵—從「波」字名詞本義到量詞意涵，以及現代流行語使用問卷調查，探討「V.+一波」來源、語義的銜接與轉變；(三) 與典型動量詞「陣」、「番」作一語法功能和語序與語義結構對比研究，並對名量詞、動量詞的分類進行一區辨說明。

本文將「V.+一波」的語法結構與典型動量詞作一對比研究，指出「V.+一波」於句法結構位置、語法功能、與數詞「一」共現的特徵上與典型動量詞異同，並提出現代漢語「一波」為動量詞之主張。此外，本文探討「波」字歷時語義，自造語料及問卷調查結果分析現代用法的義涵，提出「V.+一波」具有下列語義特徵：(1) 動作動詞 + 「一波」、(2) [+ 計事][+ 計量][長時相]、(3) 「大量、延續；動作強調、群體性」、(4) 蘊含主觀大量的情態特徵，使用時帶有衝勁、強烈語氣，多用於邀請他人、(5) 不需要狀語修飾動作動詞，即可表現語義情態及程度。最後，我們比較動量詞「波」、「陣」、「番」的差異，歸納動量詞語序調動間動詞內部結構、賓語和語義指向之關係。

本文對現代漢語流行用語「V.+一波」的句式進行根本性的探討，未來亦盼能為較少文獻研究分析的漢語動量詞，作一系統性的定義、歸納與討論，以及對華語文教學提出漢語量詞的教學建議。

關鍵詞：一波、量詞、動量詞、句式語義、語法功能

Overt contrastive topic marking in East Asian languages—the case with Wenzhounese

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Data This paper motivates the argument that the Wenzhounese (Sinitic-Southern Wu-Oujiang branch) sentence-medial bound morpheme *-ŋi* is a dedicated contrastive topic (CT) marker, characterized in terms of a cartography-based topic abstraction account as follows (Rizzi 1997; Büring 2014; Constant 2014; Aboh 2016). *-ŋi* merges at the head of TopP position as the CT operator. The CT phrase may raise overtly (with subsequent λ -abstraction) to above the CT operator where it is interpreted.

(1) [_{TopP*} [_{Spec, TopP} [topic phrase]_i [_{Top0} CT-*ŋi* λ_i [_{FocP...} [_{FinP...} t_i ...]]]]]

Specifically, we show in example (2) that Wenzhounese *-ŋi* exhibits the following behaviors: (i) It resists an exhaustive focus reading; (ii) It resists maximal elements; (iii) It marks a hypothetical conditional if-clause.

(2) a. [Question: who said this?] ləsi (*ŋi) kuo gi .

teacher (*CT) said DECL.PRT

‘[The teacher]foc said this.’

b. {doubuvaŋ zigy ŋi/?aŋi zigy (*ŋi)}, wu ŋa-ba ɛi ŋa-ba.

{most thing CT/ any thing (*CT)}, all hard-do very hard-do

‘As for most things, they are pretty hard to do./??As for all things, they are pretty hard to do.’

c. ŋi tɛaŋai fiuo ŋi, ŋi you fu vai yaŋ kai peisei.

you if be.hungry CT, you then not will win this game

‘If you are hungry, then you won’t win this game.’

Theorizing (1)’s diagnostics receive a uniform explanation if we adopt standard definitions of contrastive topics, in which speakers address a (sometimes implicit) overall question by partitioning it into subquestions (cf. Rooth 1995). Contrastive topics thus denote alternatives corresponding to these subquestions. CTs thus defined resist an exhaustive focus, which necessarily provides a complete answer to the prior overall question. It similarly resists a maximal element (e.g. *all*-NPs), since the latter does not allow for contrasting alternatives. Furthermore, *if*-clauses have been argued to denote different subsets of possible worlds, each corresponding to a hypothetical situation (von Stechow 1994), lending themselves to a construal as contrasting alternatives. Finally, we show that *-ŋi* cannot mark non-contrastive thematic topics (illustrated by the contrast between 3a and 3b), suggesting its status as a dedicated contrastive topic marker.

(3) a. ?ama mai ŋi o k^hɔ tsə ɛi. ?aba ŋi tsaitsai t^hauyi t^hɔŋ.

mom every day all sleep early very. dad CT, often stay.up

‘(As for) mom, she sleeps early every day. (As for) dad, he often stays up late.’

b. koŋkuot^hɔ mai ŋi o zaiditeyo tɔŋ. ?aba (*ŋi) tsaitsai t^hɔ kai koŋkuot^hɔ.

bus every day all ten stop.by. dad (*CT) often take that bus

??‘The bus stops by at ten every day. Dad, he often takes that bus.’

Implications The contrastive topic marking of *-ŋi* does not carry over to thematic topics, in opposition to the well-known Japanese *-wa* marking, which subsumes both thematic and contrastive topics (Heycock 2008). In this sense, we argue that data from Wenzhounese offer new insight into understanding the distinction in syntactic correlates/surface realization of topic marking in topic-prominent East Asian languages. Furthermore, we observe that Wenzhounese *-ŋi* differs from Mandarin topic-marking *-ne* in that the former cannot appear in sentence-final positions. This observation discredits Constant’s (2014) efforts to unify sentence-final *-ne* (e.g. aspectual marking and question particle) as a subcase of contrastive topic marking.

Revisiting the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH): A Proposal for a New Proto- θ -Role

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In recent decades, a large number of linguistic studies have been carried out on the Theta Theory, which describes the semantic relations between predicates and arguments, the fundamental elements of a proposition. The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) further takes syntax into account and explains the semantics-syntax interface of thematic relationships. The key premise of the hypothesis is that identical thematic relationships should be represented identically at the structural level.

Following the proto-argument approach, the research aims to propose a proto-theta role that is compatible with UTAH. The sub-types of the role include POSSESSORS, EXPERIENCERS and entities having a property or being a state that is described by the predicate. Moreover, it is suggested that the proposed role is assigned by a type of little *v* that is semantically vacuous, but not the type with casual semantics, as illustrated in Figure 1. An example of the structural representation of a sentence that contains AGENT and EXPERIENCER (a subclass of the proposed proto-role) is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 1

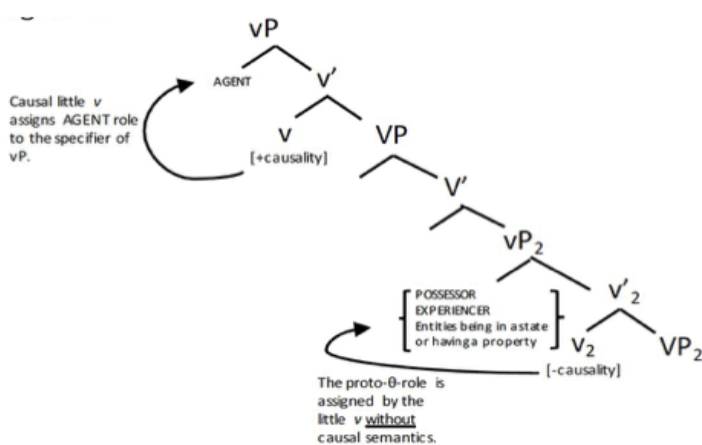
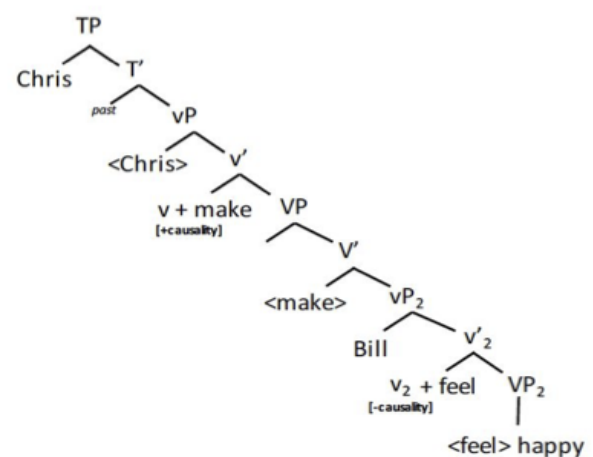


Figure 2



In particular, the research seeks to explore (1) the distribution of the proto-theta role and (2) the cross-linguistic evidence for the role. This study provides an exciting opportunity to advance our understanding of the validity of UTAH and offers some important insights into the positions that certain thematic roles are linked to in deep structure.

Keywords: UTAH, proto-theta role, syntax, semantics

Two subclasses of verbs of thinking in Cantonese

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Introduction: Verbs of thinking (VOT), like other clause-taking predicates, are assumed to have a subcategorization frame of V, [NP, CP]. This paper reports that a subclass of VOT appears to have an alternative frame V, [NP, VP]. The subclassification reveals an unusual syntax-semantic correlation between the subcategorization frame and *uncertainty*.

Observation: Canonically, VOT like *gugai* ‘guess’ and *m-zi* ‘not know’ take as arguments an agent/experiencer and a proposition. A less discussed usage is illustrated in (1) and (2), where the agent/experiencer argument is suppressed and the subject now is not thematically related to the matrix predicate (but the following VP). We call this *the intervening usage*.

(1) [NP Aafan] **gugai** [VP jiggung zau-zo].
 Aafan guess already leave-PFV
 ‘I guess Aafan had left.’

(2) [NP keoi] dou **m-zi** [VP heoi-zo binsyu]. (Yap & Chor 2014:236)
 3SG FOC NEG.know go-PFV where
 ‘I’ve no idea where on earth he’s gone.’

However, not all VOT have an intervening usage, as in (3). The presence/absence of intervening usage divide VOT into two subclasses, as in (4).

(3) *coeng jyu **gokdak / zidou** m-wui ting.
 CL rain think know NEG.will stop
 ‘I think/ know the rain won’t stop.’

(4)

a. VOT that allow the intervening usage	b. VOT that disallow the intervening usage:
<i>gugai</i> ‘guess’, <i>waaiji</i> ‘doubt’, <i>soengseon</i> ‘believe’, <i>paahai</i> ‘fear’, <i>gamgok</i> ‘feel’, <i>tengman</i> ‘hear’, <i>m-zi</i> ‘don’t know’, <i>m-geidak</i> ‘don’t remember’, etc.	<i>gokdak</i> ‘think’, <i>jingwai</i> ‘think’, <i>gamgok-dou</i> ‘felt’, <i>teng-dou</i> ‘heard’, <i>zidou</i> ‘know’, etc.

Generalization: We suggest the distinction lies on the degree of certainty of the proposition:

(5) Only VOT that involve uncertain proposition allow an intervening usage.

If certainty translates into evidentiality, the verbs in (4a) concerns **indirect experience and hearsay content**, whereas the verbs in (4b) concerns *personal experience and contents with direct evidence*. The distinction, then, corresponds to the evidentiality hierarchy in (6).

(6) Evidentiality hierarchy (Speas 2004:258)

personal experience > *direct (eg. sensory) evidence* > **indirect evidence** > **hearsay**

Potential derivations of (1) & (2): (i) A *pro* + topicalization analysis (cf. Yap & Chor 2014), where, for example, (1) has the structure [TOP Aafan]_i *pro* **gugai** [CP *t*_i jiggung zau-zo]; (ii) Uncertain proposition, like resultative clause, triggers ergativity shift (turning non-ergative verbs in to ergative ones) in the structure of VP (following Hoekstra & Mulder 1990, Cheng 2007), which gives the structure [NP Aafan]_i **gugai** [CP *t*_i jiggung zau-zo].

Selected reference: † Yap, F.-H. and W. O.-W. Chor. (2014). Epistemic, evidential and attitudinal markers in clause-medial position in Cantonese. In W. Abraham & E. Leiss (eds), *Modes of Modality*, 219-260. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. † Cheng, L. L.-S. 2007. Verb copying in Mandarin Chinese. In N. Corver & J. Nunes (eds.), *The copy theory of movement*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. † Hoekstra, T. & R. Mulder. 1990. Unergatives as copular verbs; locational and existential predication. *The Linguistic Review* 7: 1–79.

Exploring Disfluency in Sign Language: A direct observation on a conversation between two native Hong Kong Sign Language signers

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While speech disfluency has been examined adopting various aspects (e.g., Cripps, Cooper, Evitts & Blackburn, 2016; McDougall & Duckworth, 2017), signing disfluency has yet to receive enough attention. For instance, there is no standardized assessment for identifying stutterer in sign language yet (Cripps et al., 2016). The current study, which is the first study of disfluency in Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL), analyzed a conversation between two native signers, and it shows parallels between sign language and spoken language.

Disfluency in speech was described as “any phenomenon originated by the speaker which changes the flow of the speaker's utterance” (McDougall & Duckworth, 2017). It is not only be found in stutterer's production but also frequently produced by fluent native speakers, especially in spontaneous speech. In other words, a disfluency is produced when a language user, no matter what natural language he/she is using, encounters a difficulty in expressing himself/herself during his/her turn of speech or signing.

Unlike speech disfluency which has been studied in the past few decades, signing disfluency has not been systematically investigated. Though there were a handful of studies related to the notion of signing disfluency, the studies have a common weakness—the methodology they adopted. These studies were done by sending participants a questionnaire (Silverman & Silverman, 1971; Rieger, 2001; Cosyns, Herreweghe, Christiaens & Borsel, 2009) or interviewing them (Whitebread, 2004). The participants were asked what behaviour they noticed from other signers (Silverman & Silverman, 1971; Whitebread, 2004; Cosyns et al., 2009) or what signs they thought themselves would use while hesitating (Rieger, 2001). The findings of those studies heavily depended on the subjective opinions of the participants rather than natural signing data, thus they may not be sufficient to reflect the actual situation of signing disfluency.

To provide a more accurate picture of disfluency in sign language with adequate justification, the current study adopts direct observation on signers' conversational data. A ten-minute conversation of two normally fluent HKSL signers was analyzed and a native signer was consulted. In order to comment on whether disfluency in sign language and spoken language is comparable, a comprehensive classification from one of the most recent speech disfluency studies (McDougall & Duckworth, 2017) was taken as a reference.

The current study found that the signers exhibited disfluencies—pauses, prolongations, repetitions, and interruptions—which had also been found in spoken language (McDougall & Duckworth, 2017). Moreover, pauses occurred the most while prolongations were rarely found in the data. Also, shifting of eye-gaze, which is a component of role-shifting in sign language, can also be a symptom of disfluency. This study provides a better understanding of the puzzling issue of disfluency in sign language.

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Syntactic mechanisms in causative passive correlation: a crosslinguistic investigation

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Causative-passive correlation are observed cross-linguistically, and different languages may have different ways to derive this correlation. By investigating the causative-passive correlation in French and Chinese, we show that cross-linguistically causative-passive correlation can be derived by linking the matrix subject to the object of embedded causativized predicate.

In French, causative-passive alternation occurs in the *faire-par* construction with the reflexive clitic *se* bound by the matrix subject, as in (1a). The clitic *se* plays a crucial role in the causative-passive alternation in French. If the clitic *se* is absent, *faire* in French cannot be associated with a passive interpretation, as in (1b).

- (1) a. *Jean se fera critiquer par Candice.*
John CL_{RefI}-make_{Fut} criticize by Candice
'John will be criticized by Candice'
b. *Jean fera critiquer lui-même par Candice.*
John make_{Fut} criticize himself by Candice
'John makes Candice criticize himself.'

Following Roberts (2010), Rouveret (2016) and Hu (2017), cliticization is subject to Phase Impenetrability Condition, and the *faire-par* construction is derived via Smuggling/VP-preposing of the embedded vP. According to Hu (2017), the reflexive clitic is a defective goal taking v as its probe. When the reflexive clitic *se* is bound by the matrix subject, it must be preposed to the edge of the causativized vP before establishing the binding relation, from which it must be attached to the matrix verb, as in (2a). However, when the embedded object is bound by the causee, the clitic *se* should be incorporated to the embedded verb before Smuggling/VP-preposing. Consequently, the clitic must be attached to the embedded verb, as in (2b).

- (2) a. ... [_{vP} Subject_i se_i-v*-*faire* [_{TP} [_{VP} V se_i] T [_{VP} *par* causee v [_{VP}]]]].
b. ... [_{vP} Subject v*-*faire* [_{TP} se_j-v-T [_{VP} *par* causee_j se_j-v se_j]]]].

In Chinese, verbs like *rang* 'let' and *jiao* 'ask' can introduce a structure in which both causative and passive interpretation can be derived. According to Hu and Yang (2015), *rang* and *jiao* can be interpreted either as the causative verb or as the passive verb, and the causative and the passive opposition is very weak in the lexical meaning of verbs like *rang* and *jiao*. The example in (3a) is a causative construction as the object of the embedded predicate is not linked to the matrix subject for interpretation. In (3b), the preferred interpretation has the flavor of passive as the pro object tends to be linked to the matrix subject.

- (3) a. *Zhangsan rang/jiao Lisi piping-le Wangwu.*
Zhangsan make Lisi criticize-Asp Wangwu
'Zhangsan makes Lisi criticize Wangwu.'
b. *Zhangsan rang/jiao Lisi piping-le pro.*
Zhangsan passive Lisi criticize-Asp
'Zhangsan makes Lisi criticize (someone).'
Preferred interpretation: 'Zhangsan is criticized by Lisi.'

Based on the above discussion, it will be argued that a causative verb can occur in a structure associated with a passive interpretation if the object of the embedded predicate is co-referential with the matrix subject, though different languages may choose different ways to establish this co-referential link. In French, this link is established by the reflexive clitic *se* whereas in Chinese, it is done by an empty object. Although the matrix verbs of these constructions in different languages may bear different degrees of causative force, causative-passive correlation is highly possible if the object of the embedded predicate, whether it is a reflexive clitic or a pro, could be linked to the matrix subject in interpretation.

Relation Multiplicity: SUBJ and post-verbal NP in Cantonese Indirect Passives

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A majority of the attested examples in Cantonese indirect passives involve possessor-possessee relation, i.e. the passive subject is shared with the possessor of a bigger NP. However, though it is less common, it is observed that the passive subjects can hold other grammatical relations with the main verb². The aim of this paper is two-fold. First, I am going to lay out the possible grammatical relations between the indirect passive subject and the post-verbal NP as well as the unacceptable ones. Second, I attempt to provide an account for the grammaticality of the findings.

Apart from POSS of active object, the passive subject in Cantonese can also correspond to other constituents in an indirect sentence:

(1) Subject NP = OBL_θ

Zoeng¹ toi² bei² can¹ saang¹ fong³ saai³ d je⁵
張 枱 畀 陳生 放晒 d 嘢
CL table Pass Mr. Chan put all the things

The table was occupied by Mr. Chan's stuff.

(2) Subject NP = POSS of OBL_θ

Can⁴ saang¹ bei² lou⁵ sai³ fong³ zo² zoeng¹ [hai² toi² min²]
陳生 畀 老細 放 咗 張 warning [喺 ___枱 面]_{OBL_θ}
Mr. Chan Pass boss put Perf CL on desk surface

A warning letter was put on Mr. Chan's desk by his boss.

(3) Subject NP = POSS of POSS of OBJ

Can⁴ saang¹ bei² lei⁵ saang¹ ling¹ zo² [[go³ haak³ ge³ din⁶ waa²]
陳生 畀 李生 拎 咗 [[___個 客 嘅] 電話]_{OBJ}
Mr. Chan Pass Mr. Lee take perf. CL client Poss phone number

Mr. Chan had his client's phone number taken by Mr. Lee.

(4) SUBJ NP = SUBJ of relative clause

[can¹ saang¹] bei² Lei⁵ saang¹ maai⁵ zo² [keoi⁵ hou² zung¹ ji³]_{rel.} go² bun² syu¹
[陳生]_{SUBJ} 畀 李生 買 咗 [* (佢) 好鐘意] 果本書
Mr. Chan PassMr. Lee buy Perf 3rd sg very like Det CL book

Mr. Chan had his favourite book bought by Mr. Lee.

² Huang (1999) provides examples of Mandarin and Taiwanese passives in which no semantic relations are held between the SUBJ and the post-verbal NP. Passive construction of this type is termed 'exclusive passives' or 'adversative passives'.

It is found that passive subject NP can correspond to OBL_θ NP, POSS of OBL_θ, and POSS of POSS of OBJ, but not the POSS of SUBJ, OBJ inside a complement clause, SUBJ/OBJ of a relative clause³. Having shown that the indirect passive subjects can associate with more than a possessor role, indirect passives should not be understood as a type of ‘possessive raising’ (Shibatani 1994) and an account targeting on a particular structural position or semantic role would hardly be unified.

Therefore, a unified account will have to seek a role shared by the various NPs an indirect passive subject can associate. I hypothesis that the possibility of these relations is an interplay between topicalizing a certain constituent (in a pragmatic aspect) and comprehension load owing to an island effect (in syntactic aspect).

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³ The passive subject can also correspond with the subject of relative clause if a resumptive pronoun is present before the verb inside the relative clause.

Defectivity: cliticization in French causatives and the long-distance Agree in there-construction

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This work focuses on the Agree involving defective probes or goals. It will be shown that the cliticization in French causative constructions and the *there*-construction can be accounted for by the same conditions.

According to the completeness condition (Chomsky 2000), an element α must have a complete φ -set to delete the uninterpretable features of the paired matching element β . Atkinson (2001) argued on the other hand that a φ -incomplete goal can delete the incomplete φ -feature(s) of a defective probe under matching. Following this idea, the derivation of the *there*-construction in (1a) is shown in (1b).

(1) a. There seem to be likely to be problems.

b. $\text{There}_{\text{Cl}_{[\text{u-person}]}} \text{T}_{\text{finite}[\text{u-}\varphi][\text{EPP}]} \text{-seem} [\text{TP } \text{there}_{\text{T}_{\text{def2}} \text{-to be likely}} [\text{TP } \text{there}_{\text{T}_{\text{def1}} \text{-to be problems}}_{\text{S}_{[\text{I-}\varphi][\text{u-Case}]}}]]]$.

In (2a), in French causative constructions, the complement of the causative verb *faire* in French is a defective TP presenting the VOS order (Roberts 2010; Rouveret 2016; Hu 2017, 2018). In (2b-d), the accusative, dative and locative clitics represent respectively the embedded object, the causee and a locative adjunct. Rouveret & Vergnaud (1980) and Hu (2017, 2018) noticed in such constructions, argument clitics undergo clitic climbing obligatorily, while the climbing for adjunct clitics is optional.

(2) a. Jean fera [TP acheter le livre à Paul à Paris].

John make_{FUT} buy_{INF} the book to Paul in Paris

‘John will make Paul buy this book in Paris.’

b. Jean le fera acheter à Paul. / *Jean fera l’acheter à Paul.

John Cl_{Acc}-make_{FUT} buy_{INF} to Paul John make_{FUT} Cl_{Acc}-buy_{INF} to Paul

‘John will make Paul buy it.’

c. Jean lui fera acheter le livre. / *Jean fera lui acheter le livre.

John Cl_{Dat}-make_{FUT} buy_{INF} the book John make_{FUT} Cl_{DAT}-buy_{INF} the book

‘John will make him buy the book.’

d. Jean y fera acheter le livre à Paul. / Jean fera y acheter le livre à Paul.

John Cl_{Locative}-make_{FUT} buy_{INF} the book to Paul John make_{FUT} Cl_{Locative}-buy_{INF} the book to Paul

‘John will make Paul buy the book there.’

Previous analyses treated the cliticization as a case of incorporation (Roberts 2010, for example), motivated by either the EPP feature (Matushansky 2006) or the φ -features of its probe (Nash & Rouveret 2002, Roberts 2010). However, none of them can well explain the climbing asymmetry between argument and adjunct clitics. We argue that argument clitics hold a complete φ -set and a Case feature, while adjunct clitics are defective goals with only a [u-person]. Given the internal structure of the causative construction of *faire* in (3), the preposed causativized v and the T in the complement of *faire* are both defective (Roberts 2010, Rouveret 2016a, Hu 2017, 2018). As a result, the Case features of the embedded object and of the causee must be eliminated by the complete φ -set of the causative v*, while the complete φ -set of the embedded object can delete the [u-person] features of the defective v and T (see (4a, b)). On the contrary, the locative clitic representing a PP adjunct absorbs its Case feature, and its φ -set is defective as the expletive *there*. As a result, adjunct clitics Agree with the defective v-T locally or with the complete φ -features of the matrix v* by climbing (see (4c)).

- (3) ... causer v*-*faire* [TP v-T_{def} [vP object [vP à causee v_{def} [vP V object]]]]
- (4) a. ... Cl_{Acc[i- φ][u-Case]-V*_{[u- φ][EPP]} [TP Cl_{Acc[i- φ][u-Case]} V-T_{def[u-person][EPP]} [vP Cl_{Acc[i- φ][u-Case]} [vP à causee ...]]]]}
- b. ... Cl_{Dat[i- φ][u-Case]-V*_{[u- φ][EPP]} [TP Cl_{Dat[i- φ][u-Case]} V-T_{def[u-person][EPP]} [vP object_{[i- φ][u-Case]} [vP Cl_{Dat[i- φ][u-Case]} ...]]]]}
- c. ... Cl_{Loc[u-person]-V*_{[u- φ][EPP]} [TP (Cl_{Loc[u-person]}) V-T_{def[u-person][EPP]} [vP Cl_{Loc[u-person]} [vP object_{[i- φ][u-Case]} [vP causee_{[i- φ][u-Case]} ...]]]]]]}

Agreement variability in existential constructions: Integrating quantitative and qualitative analyses

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This study is an investigation of the existential constructions in present-day American English, focusing on the use of *there's* with singular and plural subjects. For comparative purposes, non-past existential forms *there is* and *there are* are also examined. By comparing *there's* with the other forms, the study aims to explore the collocational and discursal features specific to *there's*, particularly those of non-agreement. The data for this study is taken from the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE; Simpson et al., 2002) and both quantitative and qualitative analyses are conducted based on the following numbers of existential constructions: 3007 for *there's*, 458 for *there is*, and 708 for *there are*. Although there has been considerable interest in the phenomenon of (non-)agreement, to my knowledge, there have not been any studies to date that examine *there's* integrating both quantitative and qualitative analyses. The main claim of this paper is that the speaker's conception can override grammatical constraints and that non-agreement forms of *there's* are full-fledged forms of expression when followed by plural subjects configured by the speaker as one totality. The findings suggest that *there's* co-occurs with stance-related markers and therefore that *there's* can be distinguished from the other forms as a more subjective form of expression. The study concludes that the notions of singularity and plurality are not fixed conceptions, but have dynamic aspects adaptable to the speaker's interactive needs and manner of conceptualization.

Corpus

Simpson, R. C., Briggs, S. J. Ovens, J., Swales, J. M., 2002. The Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English. The Regents of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

《廣韻》至《集韻》類隔重探

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一、問題意識

（一）《切韻》選音的標準並非全面的 《切韻》序提及編纂過程及選音原則是：「因論南北是非，古今通塞。欲更摭選精切，除削疏緩」。因此，《切韻》音系是經過挑選過的，並非一時一地之音，這已是學術界絕大部分的共識。但必須追問的是，除了留在紙本上的音之外，哪些音是被「摭選」、「除削」而沒有留在《切韻》中的呢？

（二）《大宋重修廣韻》中的「獨用」與「同用」依然無法看出被《切韻》遺漏的那些音《廣韻》各卷卷首的韻目之下注有「同用」、「獨用」，王力認為，必有實際的語音依據。只是，《大宋重修廣韻》是為了因應科舉考而在《切韻》基礎上所增補的韻書，不全然可以反映出當時《切韻》編纂時被「摭選」、「除削」的音。

（三）《集韻》雖然在《廣韻》的基礎上重修，但是多有更動，從中可窺得當時語音的情況，例如在歸字上，有許多地方和《廣韻》不同；此外，《集韻》還修改了《廣韻》的類隔切，改為音和切。

二、研究問題

這些更動，筆者認為，可以從南方方言去探究其線索，《集韻》對於《廣韻》的更動，是否取材於南方方音，這是本研究的研究目的之一。畢竟，中國南方方言相較於北方方言較為錯綜複雜，而中國政經中心長期在北方，從《切韻》來說，「摭選」、「除削」的標準何在？筆者大膽的假設，應是以當時共同語為標準。直至宋代，語音演變的觀念漸漸進入士人心中，編選韻書雖然仍難以完全擺脫傳統，但已能將視野拓展到標準語之外，也因此，標準語之外的方言，能漸漸進入韻書之中。

準此，本論文的研究問題是，從《集韻》對《廣韻》反切的改良當中，試圖找出《切韻》被「摭選」、「除削」的那些方音。

三、研究方法與取材

本研究以文獻資料為主，兼以現代方言調查資料。唯必須說明的是，現代方言受到移民史影響甚為深遠，取材現代方言時，必須細膩地探究該方言發展的來龍去脈，方能得到客觀的結論。

四、預期成果—《廣韻》至《集韻》類隔中所遺漏的方言現象

從文獻上來說，中古音研究若是遇到與《切韻》音系不符合的現象，往往當成「例外」處理。筆者認為，應該忠於《切韻》序所提出的編纂原則—「因論南北是非，古今通塞。欲更摭選精切，除削疏緩」，《切韻》音系並非一時一地之音，若對照現代漢語方言，必然會有許多「例外」現象。然而，筆者認為，這項「例外」並非「例外」，而是當初《切韻》邊纂時，沒有被選入的音。本文將《集韻》對《廣韻》的重新改革視為一個窗口，藉以探究當時被陸法言等人「摭選」「除削」而未能表現在韻書中的音。

關鍵字：廣韻 集韻 類隔

The Affiliation of Yongnan Zhuang in Diachronic Perspectives

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Yongnan Zhuang (YN), a Tai language group registered in the list of Central Tai (CT), frequently share more certain phonological/lexical innovations with Northern Tai (NT) languages, and this has led its affiliation of CT or NT to be debatable. Based on its robust contrastive aspirated initial stops, which lack in NT but are well-developed in CT languages, Chinese linguists have conventionally grouped it as a sub-group of Southern Zhuang of CT (Zhang et al. 1999). Rejecting to the conventional grouping, this paper suggests that YN should be first grouped with NT languages to form a NT-YN sub-branch of which the CT-Southwestern Tai (SWT) sub-branch is a sister, based on evidence from the diachronic hierarchies of linguistic innovations involved in tonal behaviors, initial and vocalic behaviors, as well as exclusive lexical items. Agreeing with Liang and Zhang (1996) and Pittayaporn (2009), initial aspiration in CT-SWT languages is suggested to be of post-Proto-Tai innovation. That languages from YN have developed robust initial aspiration is nothing more than an areal feature shared with the languages from the CT-SWT sub-branch due to the later contact. As an inspiration, it is crucial for language classification to subgroup languages from the same family by using the criterion of shared innovation on diachronic hierarchies and orders.

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西夏語聲母構擬新議

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西夏語是是一種已經消亡的藏緬語，保留了大量寫成於11至13世紀以西夏文寫成的文獻，可以為原始漢藏語構擬提供證據。的西夏人曾經仿照漢文體例編纂西夏文的韻書，是西夏語聲母構擬的重要依據，其中最重要的文獻包括：

- 一、《文海》：按照聲調分平聲、上聲、雜類三部分，各卷下再將西夏字按照韻母排列。《文海》存世有兩個較重要的版本，其中甲種本各字條下有注釋，兼附反切，惟上聲卷全佚。乙種本為簡略版，雖然平聲上聲兩卷齊備，但是內容只記字條，而刪去注釋反切。
- 二、《同音》：按照重唇音、輕唇音、舌頭音、舌上音、牙音、齒頭音、正齒音、喉音、來日音共九個聲母類別排列，各聲母類別下再把西夏字同音歸類。

以上兩項文獻俱為西夏聲母構擬的「內部證據」，透過《同音》可知西夏字的聲母類別，而《文海》的反切資料則能夠把不同的西夏字以陳澧的反切繫連方式連結，形成「反切上字連鎖」，相同反切上字連鎖內的西夏字，可視為聲母相同。在把相同聲母的西夏字歸類，建立西夏語聲母的框架後，再利用夏漢對音、夏藏對音、夏梵對音等「外部證據」，就可以為各聲母擬定音值，進而為各西夏字擬定字音。

然而，西夏語聲母構擬還存在一些問題，主要包括：

- 一、目前學界有幾套西夏語聲母構擬方案，並非所有方案都建基於反切證據。如果不是建基於文獻反切資料的聲母構擬方案，雖然流傳甚廣，卻未必可信。
- 二、由於《文海》甲種本上聲卷佚，上聲字的反切無考，使得各反切連鎖未能完整繫連，同一聲母類別下的不同反切連鎖可能代表相同聲母，也可能代表不同聲母。目前學界即使是依靠反切資料構擬的方案，如果兩個或多個反切連鎖的對音資料反映相同的聲母，即假定它們同屬一個聲母，無法從構擬字音得知該字屬於哪一個反切連鎖。
- 三、部分西夏字未能歸入任何反切連鎖，卻碰巧有對音資料，即按照對音資料直接為該西夏字構擬聲母。

以上種種，雖然令絕大多數西夏字都能夠得到構擬字音，卻無視各構擬字音可靠程度或有差異。學界如果使用來源欠妥的西夏構擬字音作原始漢藏語構擬的依據，將容易出現偏差。

因此，本文提出以下建議：

- 一、西夏語的聲母構擬，必須以《文海》反切為基礎。
- 二、對於不同的「反切連鎖」，即使外部證據顯示他們極可能屬於同一個聲母，依然要區別清楚，例如兩個同樣構擬為p的反切連鎖，應分別以 p₁-、p₂- 標示。
- 三、對於不知反切連鎖而只有外部證據的西夏字，聲母可以 p_x- 標示。
- 四、對於只知聲類而不知反切連鎖，也沒有外部證據的西夏字，聲母可以代表該聲類的大寫字表示，例如 P-。
- 五、對於不知聲類也沒有外部證據的西夏字，聲母可以長方框 □ 表示。

Rapport Management by Chinese Celebrities on Facebook and Weibo

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The paper attempts to examine how Chinese celebrities manage rapport with their followers on social media, with a comparison between the Chinese mainland (on Weibo) and Hong Kong (on Facebook) celebrities. Six months of postings by twelve most-followed Weibo and Twitter celebrities from the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong in 2017 have been retrieved and analyzed. It is found that the prevalent relational acts commonly used by both Weibo and Facebook celebrities to manage rapport with their followers include sharing information, retweeting information, inviting response, and expressing stance, etc.; and the commonly prevalent interactive features include the use of picture or emoji symbols, orality, humor, and codemixing, etc. Nonetheless, differences also exist in that while Weibo celebrities tend to use more acts of directives and expressing stance, Facebook celebrities use more acts of retweeting information and online video sharing; Weibo celebrities tend to use more netspeak and humor whereas Facebook celebrities use more literate, poetic style and codemixing. Using English only also appears on the posts of Facebook celebrities. Finally, the paper concludes with a discussion and explanation of the commonalities and differences between Weibo and Facebook celebrities.

Keywords: Celebrity Discourse, Rapport Management; Speech Acts; Speech Features, Facebook, Weibo