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Abstract Book

Co-organizer:

Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages, CUHK

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LSHK Annual Research Forum 2020
Venue: The Chinese University of Hong Kong
(Online via Zoom)

Date: 11-12 December 2020 (Friday and Saturday)

Programme

Day 1 (11 December)

09:00-09:15	Online Log-in
09:15-09:30	Opening Remarks
09:30-10:00	LSHK Outstanding Thesis Awards and Presentation
10:00-11:15	Keynote Speech 1: Professor Marjorie CHAN, The Ohio State University Chair: Professor Thomas LEE, Tianjin Normal University/The Chinese University of Hong Kong
11:15-11:30	Break
11:30-12:15	Annual General Meeting (AGM) (Current LSHK members only)
12:15-14:00	Lunch Break

	Session 1A: Sociolinguistics and typology Chair: Caesar LUN	Session 1B: Dialectology and grammaticalization Chair: Bit-chee KWOK	Session 1C: Phonetics and SLA Chair: Mingxing LI
14:00-14:25	Anindita Sahoo and Foong Ha Yap Valence change and voice phenomena: Analysis of middle and passive uses of <i>jibaa</i> constructions in Odia	Kin Wing Kevin Chan A re-examination on the Coordinating Structure Constraint in typological perspective	Zhiqiang Zhu and Peggy Mok Preliminary ultrasound investigation on the production of Chinese /t/-/l/ by Japanese learners
14:25-14:50	Sin Yee Melody Li A unique case of language contact – Yilan Creole in Taiwan	葉家輝, 鄒嘉彥, 季雅璿 漢語動詞虛化初探: 京港澳三地同中之異	Him Nok Lee, Regine Lai, Stephen Matthews and Virginia Yip The contact effect of Cantonese sentence- final particles in the bilingual prosody produced by Cantonese-English bilingual children
14:50-15:15	Cathryn Donohue Nubri: Identity as a key to vitality	Xinyu Gan 大埔縣客方言個體量詞與饒平縣潮 方言的語言接觸及其獨特性	Noble Po Kan Lo Chinese-speaking Students in Universities: Challenges and Pedagogical Approaches
15:15-15:40	Xiang Shi Modern day formation of a pidgin: Pseudo- Chinese and its characteristics	Hui Tan 現代漢語 A-not-A 問句中的“A”及其與問句形 式的關係	Pui Yiu Tsang Cross-script Phonological Priming in Cantonese-English Bilinguals and the Influence of Phonetic Similarity
15:40-16:05	Hongdi Ding and Gegu A'Er Place names in Liangshan Yi (Tibeto- Burman): Their structures and semantics	Yiwei Fang, Xianhui Ye, Song Lu and Foongha Yap 從道義/認識情態助動詞到中動標誌: “可” 結構的語法化研究	Lin Wanxin L1 Pronunciation Influenced by Homophony in L2: A Case Study on Yangjiangese-Mandarin Bilinguals

16:05-16:15	Break
16:15-17:30	Keynote Speech 2: Professor Danqing LIU, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Chair: Professor Haihua PAN, The Chinese University of Hong Kong
	End of Day 1

Day 2 (12 December)

	Session 2A: Discourse analysis and language development Chair: Winnie CHOR	Session 2B: Phonetics and phonology Chair: Peggy MOK	Session 2C: Syntax and semantics 1 Chairs: Peppina LEE & Edwin TSAI
9:15-9:40	Jesse Yip and Winnie Chor Exploring the communications of social support in threads about anxiety and depression on Baby Kingdom: A discourse-pragmatic approach	Yin Hei Kong 晚清民國時期「正音」概念之新變	Ka-Fai Yip On the position of perfective aspect
9:40-10:05	Chor Kun Kelson Tsui The parataxis-hypotaxis syntactic distinction between Chinese and English: Do Chinese learners form English subordinate clauses less frequently and effectively than other learners?	Chunzi Li, Kin Man Carmen Tang and Regine Lai The Impact of Computational Complexity on Phonological Learning	Yifa Xu On the temporal structure of the 'not.yet' negator <i>mei6</i> in Cantonese
10:05-10:30	Tianyang Lu The use of modal verb can in CGTN articles: How does CGTN construct the identity of the U.S. in handling the Covid-19 crisis	Xinran Ren and Peggy Mok Consonantal Effects of Stop Aspiration on Onset F0 in Cantonese: Direction, Duration and its Use for Contrast Enhancement	Chun Hau Ngai The Emergence of the Dative Marker; Evidence from Psycholinguistics
10:30-10:55	Hoi Shan Yuki Wong The Use of Language in the NCCPC Reports from 1956-2017: An Exploratory Content Analysis	Weijun Zhang and Chen Lan 甘孜縣藏語“送氣擦音”之語音學本質	Shijia Wang A Syntactic Study of Dummy Pronominal Ta (他/它) in the V+Ta+XP Construction

10:55-11:20	Yaxuan Ji and Benjamin K. T'sou A Cross-cultural Study of Apology Strategy on Chinese Second Language Learners	Hanbo Liao Tai Tonogenesis Revisited: Evidence from Thirty Modern Tai Varieties	Paul Law Aspectual <i>-le</i> , focus-sensitive <i>-ery</i> and reconstruction in Mandarin Chinese
11:20-11:30	Break		
11:30-12:45	Keynote Speech 3: Professor K. K. LUKE, Nanyang Technological University Chair: Professor Sze-Wing TANG, The Chinese University of Hong Kong		
12:45 – 14:00	Lunch Break		

	Session 3A: Syntax and semantics 2 Chair: Lawrence CHEUNG	Session 3B: Syntax and semantics 3 Chair: Saina WUYUN	Session 3C: Sign language and language cognition Chair: Felix SZE
14:00-14:25	Suet Hin Tong and Margaret Lei An Experimental Investigation on Domain Restriction of the Adverb <i>Sin1</i> in Cantonese	Cindy Wan Yee Lau Two uses of <i>dou</i> in Cantonese	Yuya Yanai Hearing Students' Language Attitude towards Hong Kong Sign Language and Deaf People in the Secondary Bimodal Bilingual Co-Enrollment Program
14:25-14:50	Lawrence Cheung and Sheila Chan Semantics of the intensifier Gwai 'ghost'	Yixuan Yan Distributivity in Child Mandarin	Felix Sze From gestures to grammatical non-manuals in sign language: a case study of polar questions and negation in Hong Kong Sign Language
14:50-15:15	Qingwen Zhang and Xiaojun Luo 廣州粵語“先”的句法語義再分析	Thi Hong Quy Nguyen On the three semantic domains of the sentence-final particles 'LAA' in Cantonese	Candice Chi-Hang Cheung, Yicheng Rong, Yixuan Xiong, Man Tak Leung and Tempo Po Yi Tang Scaling of Theory-of-Mind Understandings: A Comparison of Hong Kong and U.S. Children
15:15-15:40	黎奕葆, 武大真 漢語方言的狀語性指示詞	Yueming Sun and Peppina Lee On the Semantics of <i>henduo</i> 'many' and <i>henshao</i> 'few' in Mandarin Chinese	Yao Sun Mouth Gesture Categorization in Hong Kong Sign Language
15:40-16:05	Qingwen Zhang and Shiyin Tang 很不很 非常很 ——貴州都勻話的“很”字研究	Yenan Sun The interaction of aspect marking and QUD in Chinese	Yiwei Fang Identities on the shelf: a multimodal semiotic analysis of chocolate bar packaging

16:05 – 16:15	Break
16:15 – 17:35	<p style="text-align: center;">Special Roundtable Session on “Linguistics in Hong Kong”.</p> <p>Invited discussants: Prof. Thomas LEE, Prof. Steven MATTHEWS, Prof. Dingxu SHI, Prof. Sze-Wing TANG, Prof. Benjamin T’SOU and Prof. Eric ZEE (Moderators: Dr. Peppina LEE and Dr. Felix SZE)</p>
17:35 – 17:45	Closing Remarks

Keynote speeches

Xùndú (訓讀) and Other Strategies for Rendering Local Chinese Dialects

Marjorie K.M. Chan (陳潔雯)
The Ohio State University

Replacing the reading of a Chinese character using a non-homophonous, colloquial synonym, or near synonym (*xùndú* 訓讀), in local Chinese dialects is rarely discussed in Chinese dialectology. This contrasts sharply with Japanese, which makes extensive use of 訓讀 *kundoku* (訓読み *kun'yomi*), a phenomenon involving ‘meaning reading,’ or ‘reading by gloss,’ of Chinese characters through substituting native lexicon for Chinese ones. Among Xu Shen’s (許慎) Six Principles (六書) is that of phonetic loans (假借), where a character’s pronunciation is retained, while its meaning is discarded. Ostensibly missing is the converse, that of semantic loans, where a character’s meaning is retained, while its pronunciation is discarded.

Named or unnamed, across Chinese dialects, the practice of semantic loans, or *xùndú* (訓讀), has been observed in the past. In the mid-nineteenth century, for example, Williams (1852:xiii) describes as follows this particular mode for writing colloquial Cantonese words:

“characters having nearly the same meaning as the colloquial word, but of an entirely different sound, are adopted, so that even if the reader does not know the vulgar sound he will make no mistake as to the sense. Thus, the words *chung* 烘 to roast, used for *nung*, to scorch, to scowl; *chung* 孔 a hole, used for *lung*; are instances of this mode of adaptation.”

A century later, in his brief, one-page communication, Zhan (1957:50) describes—tentatively as *xundu* (訓讀)—the peculiar use of synonyms for colloquial words in the Hainan (Min) dialect. More extensively, the second edition of the *Hanyu Fangyan Cihui* (汉语方言词汇) provides ample examples of *xundu* (訓讀) readings across the Chinese dialects. Not surprisingly, in that source, there are very few cases of *xundu* readings among the Mandarin dialects. It is among the Min dialects, especially the two Southern Min dialects of Xiamen and Chaozhou, where one finds the most cases. This practice is less prevalent in the Yue dialect group, with its access to a rich repertoire of vernacular characters, in addition to using phonetic and semantic loans.

This presentation will make use of the second edition of the *Hanyu Fangyan Cihui* and other sources to explore in greater depth the use of *xundu* and other strategies by Chinese dialect speakers to read and write their local variety. Other related topics will also be addressed.

Selected references:

Beijing Daxue Zhongguo Yuyan Wenxuexi (北京大学 中国语言文学系). 1995. *Hanyu Fangyan Cihui* (汉语方言词汇). Second edition. Beijing: Yuwen Chubanshe.

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Zhan, Bohui (詹伯慧). 1957. Hainan fangyan-zhong tongyizi-de “xundu” xianxiang (海南方言中同義字的“訓讀”現象). *Zhongguo Yuwen* (中國語文) 60:50.

语言库藏类型学的义项非独立观（提要）

Non-discrete senses of polysemes: A perspective of linguistic inventory typology

刘丹青

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义项独立观广泛通行，即认为某多义单位出现在实际言语中只有一个义项得到使用而独立存在。但我们认为人类语言形义关系复杂曲折，义项并不都是独立、自由的语义单位，很多情况下多个义项以不同方式同时存在，处于在线联系状态。

义项非独立性一是表现在词义上。多义词的基本义独立性很强；而非基本义并非都可完全独立，它出现时往往同时伴随着基本义的出现，两者可以有单向在线共存（在线依存）关系。如“路、路线、路径、途径”基本义是空间意义上供行走、位移的道路；隐喻义是行为所需要的方法准则过程。如果该隐喻义项是独立的，与其搭配的动词和量词分别应是“用、采取、使用”和“个、种”等。但事实上它们常与“走”和“条”搭配使用，也即其进入特定的物性结构后表空间道路的基本义就会浮现出来，紧密伴随着转义的理解。在基本义的强大制约下，某些转义的使用可能存在双重解读，听话人接受的意义仍然是基本义，同时在头脑中迅速转化出转义。基本义呈现的强度或转化的速度并非恒量，会随着转义的巩固和基本义的淡化而变化。

义项非独立性还表现在句法结构上。以双宾语构式为例，听话人听到双宾构式的句子，不管动词是否有给予义，都将句子整体理解为给予事件，然后结合语境和百科知识推导出实际的语义关系。这是构式的基本义项对派生义项的影响，是跟某些多义词一样的双重解读现象。构式的转义出现时，其基本义也可以同时存在，并未隐退和抑制，转义并非独立的存在。

语言中除了语言单位直接表达的目标语义，还有其在用法限制中形成的语义，即“寄生范畴”。寄生范畴完全依附于宿主范畴，形义关联度最弱，义项独立性也最弱；基本义项的形义关联度最高，义项独立性也最强：义项独立性与形义关联度常常呈正相关性。但两者并非一一对应，如一些化石义项（“管”的钥匙义），形义关联度很低，但义项独立性却很强。

形义关联度和义项独立性的共时差异是在历时演变中形成的，重新分析和库藏裂变是其重要影响因素。

重新分析方面，以普通话“在”为例，其介词用法“主语+在 X+V”中“主语+在 X”部分很多是能够成立的主谓结构，“在 X”在充当动词的状语的同时，与前面主语的主谓关系没有完全消失，存在动词对介词“在”影响强烈，两个义项在线共存。而副词“在”跟存在动词和处所介词的关系更加淡薄，但也很难保证用于具体语句时语言心理上已完全摆脱基本义项或源头义项的影响。

库藏裂变会导致语言单位的完全独立，分化为失去联系的两个不同的语言单位。但这种独立性是作为形义结合体的语言单位的独立性，不是义项独立性。

一个单位同时指向两个义项的情况，并不都是义项非独立现象：如屈折语的一个形态要素包含多个语法范畴意义，它们没有主次和显隐之分，这完全不同于义项非独立性现象；另如静态的歧义现象在更大语境中很容易消除，只剩一个义项，这也与义项独立性无关；再如双关现象，其每种解读都可以不依赖另一种解读而独立存在，因此也不是义项非独立性。

义项非独立观具有多重意义。共时平面，促成我们重新思考语言的产出和理解机制。多义单位的基本义可能程度不等地影响转义，人类对大量的派生义项的理解是在基本义项的在线共存基础上通过更加复杂的在线运算来获得的。历时平面，王云路等提出核心义理论弥补了义素分析法的局限，核心义作为基本义或语源义中的特征性要素与转义在线共存，是造就转义的重要中介力量。跨语言层面，在跨语言交际包括第二语言学习和翻译中，对应的义项常常因为有不同的基本义或语源义而难以达至真正的对等，它们都处在语种库藏结构所决定的义项网络中，受到义项非独立性的影响。

Words, Meaning Potentials and Occasioned Uses

K.K. Luke

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Wittgenstein's famous adage "Meaning is use" is both intriguing and inspiring. By equating the grammar of words (and classes of words) with their use, Wittgenstein draws our attention to the life-giving properties of the occasion, i.e., how words come to life on an occasion of use. In this paper I offer an elaboration and explication of Wittgenstein's insight with examples from *Philosophical Investigations* as well as conversational data from Singapore and Hong Kong. Drawing on Phenomenology, Ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysis, and William Croft's Radical Construction Grammar, I argue that the grammar/meaning of a word/construction is indeed its use on a specific occasion.

Parallel sessions

A re-examination on the Coordinating Structure Constraint in typological perspective

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Coordinating Structure Constraint (henceforth, CSC) is a well-known constraint on movement proposed in Ross (1967). This rule states that in a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct. For instance: (Ross 1967:158)

- (1) What sofa will he put the chair between [some table and t]?

While CSC seems to be a universal rule, Zhang (2010) notes that CSC does not always apply to the coordinating conjunctions in Chinese: (Zhang 2010:114)

(2) *Huochē huì gēn qìchē xiāngzhuāng ma?* ‘Might the train collide with the bus?’ In the above sentence, the rising verb *huì* is inserted in the coordinating construction *huochē gēn qìchē* ‘train and bus’. As a result, Zhang (2010) challenges the idea that “coordinating conjunction” is a genuine category in Chinese. Yang and Hu (2018) approach this issue in two aspects: they agree with Zhang (2010) that when coordinating structures are in the subject position, the coordinating conjunctions behave similar to verbs. However, when coordinating structures are placed in the object position, CSC is always observed in Chinese:

- (3) **Mary, wǒ rēnwéi bāba xǐhuan hé John.*

Intended: ‘I think that the father likes Mary and John.’ (Yang and Hu 2018:61)

This phenomenon is coined by Yang and Hu (2018:62) as the “subject-object asymmetry” (主賓不對稱).

In the current investigation, we created an extensive database of coordinating conjunctions in 234 Chinese dialects and 45 non-Sinitic languages of first-hand data, together with 830 sets of second-hand data. The two major observations are made. First, CSC applies to all languages as long as [-comitative] events are involved. Second, of all the languages that employ the same gram to serve as a comitative marker and a coordinating conjunction (i.e., WITH-language, Stassen 2000), CSC can be violated under a special circumstance. (i) For the Co-Agent type WITH-languages (Chan 2020), CSC can be violated when coordinating structures are in the subject position. There are 96 languages belong to this type, including Chinese, Bikele, Twi, etc. (ii) For the Co-Patient type WITH-languages, CSC can be violated when coordinating structures are in the object position. We have found 54 languages that belong to the latter type, such as Vietnamese, Laos, Telugu, etc.

Keywords Comitative; Coordinating conjunctions; Coordinating Structure Constraint; Typology; WITH-languages

Reference

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- Yang, Mengmeng and Hu Jianhua 楊萌萌、胡建華. 2018. He de jufa 「和」的句法. *Yuyan Jiaoxue yu Yanjiu* 語言教學與研究 3: 58-70.
- Zhang, Niina. 2010. *Coordination in Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Semantics of the intensifier *Gwai* ‘ghost’

Lawrence Cheung and Sheila Chan

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Background Though Cantonese *gwai* (lit. ‘ghost’) can be used as a grammatical morpheme for intensification. Based on Cantonese speakers’ judgment, they suggested *gwai* as an intensifier for degrees, quantities, states, and “strength” of assertion (Chan, 2004; Lee & Chin, 2007; Matthews & Yip, 1994). However, rigorous tests for these claims are lacking. What further complicates the problem is that little has been said about whether *gwai* makes the semantic contribution when it occurs in different morphosyntactic positions, e.g. in adjectival expressions and in verbal expressions.

Research questions (1) Does *gwai* make similar semantic contribution (e.g. intensification) when it occurs in (i) adjectival expressions and (ii) verbal expressions? (2) If the answer to (1) is yes, can the different uses of *gwai* be accounted for in a unified way?

Problems We will provide evidence that *gwai* makes different semantic contributions when it occurs in adjectival vs. verbal expressions at the descriptive level.

a. *Gwai* is not a degree modifier: While many claimed that *gwai* in *leon-gwai-zeon* 論鬼盡 ‘very clumsy’ functions like a degree modifier ‘very’ in adjectival expression, it is odd to paraphrase *gwai* in the same way in verbal expressions (e.g. *daa-gwai-laan* 打鬼爛 ??‘very break’/??‘broken to a high degree’; *sei-gwai-zo* 死鬼咗 ??‘die to a high degree’). This is consistent with Chan’s (2004) observation that adjectival expressions with *gwai* exhibit cannot always replace ‘very X’.

b. Polarity of the base is different: *Gwai* behaves differently in adjectives and verbs with different connotations. *Gwai* as an intensifier cannot be used as an infix if the adjective carries positive connotation (e.g. **seng-gwai-muk* 醒鬼目; **cung-gwai-ming* 聰鬼明). In contrast, the requirement does not seem to be relevant to verbs (e.g. *zap-gwai-hou* 執鬼好 ‘tidy the damn thing up’; *fong-gwai-sung* 放鬼鬆 ‘relax a damn thing’).

Multi-dimensional analysis To account for the above, we propose that *gwai* as an infix is an expressive, like *damn* in English (e.g. ‘I have to mow the damn lawn.’) based on Potts’ (2005) multi-dimensional semantic analysis. *Gwai* contributes a negative attitude along the speaker attitude dimension independent of the descriptive content of the sentence. This explains why Cantonese speakers find sentences with *gwai* to be ‘stronger’ but it does not directly modify the adjective or its descriptive content per se. Though the account is a bit similar to Beltrama & Lee’s (2015) analysis, we argue that there is not sufficient evidence that the analysis of intensifier *gwai* and negation *gwai* should be treated in the same way.

Selected references

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Scaling of Theory-of-Mind Understandings: A Comparison of Hong Kong and U.S. Children

Candice Chi-Hang Cheung, Yicheng Rong, Yixuan Xiong, Man Tak Leung and
Tempo Po Yi Tang
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Previous studies have found that the development of false-belief (FB) understanding in Hong Kong Cantonese-speaking children was delayed compared to English-speaking children living in the U.S., suggesting that the developmental timing of FB understanding is subject to cross-cultural variations (Liu et al., 2008). Such cross-cultural variations are also manifested in the developmental sequence of theory-of-mind (ToM) scale, which includes diverse desires (DD), diverse beliefs (DB), knowledge access (KA), FB, and hidden emotion (HE) (Wellman & Liu, 2004). Specifically, children growing up in the Western cultures, including those of the U.S., showed the developmental sequence (from the easiest to the hardest): DD > DB > KA > FB > HE (Wellman & Liu, 2004; Wellman, Fang, & Peterson, 2011), whereas children from the Eastern cultures showed a disparity with this sequence specifically for DB and KA tasks: that is, children growing up in mainland China, Iran, and Turkey have been found to understand KA before DB (Wellman et al., 2006; Wellman et al., 2011; Shahaieian, et al., 2011; Selcuk et al., 2018). The current study aimed to examine cross-cultural influence on ToM understandings by comparing Hong Kong children's performance on a 5-point ToM scale (Wellman & Liu, 2004; Peterson et al., 2005) with that of a previously studied sample of U.S. children (Wellman & Liu, 2004).

75 Cantonese-speaking children living in Hong Kong participated in the current study. Specifically, there were 25 3-year-olds ($M = 3;07$; range: 3;02–3;11), 25 4-year-olds ($M = 4;06$; range: 4;00–4;11), and 25 5-year-olds ($M = 5;07$; range: 5;00–6;06). Participants in each age group were matched with the U.S. English-speaking children studied in Wellman and Liu (2004) on chronological age. The Cantonese version of Wellman and Liu's (2004) 5-point ToM scale was administered on the Hong Kong children.

The passing rates for the five ToM tasks in Hong Kong children were 93.33% for DD, 76.00% for KA, 65.33% for DB, 37.33% for FB, and 8.00% for HE. Chi-square analyses showed that the passing rates for DB, FB, and HE were significantly lower in Hong Kong children than the U.S. sample in Wellman and Liu (2004), whereas no significant difference was found between Hong Kong and the U.S. children for DD and KA. Using the Guttman scalogram and Rasch analyses, we found that the developmental sequence was DD > KA > DB > FB > HE in Hong Kong children. In contrast, the developmental sequence was DD > DB > KA > FB > HE in the U.S. sample according to Wellman and Liu (2004).

Our findings have shed new light on the cross-cultural influence on developmental timing and sequence of ToM. First, the poorer performance of Hong Kong children on DB, FB, and HE than the U.S. counterparts suggests that the developmental timing of DB, FB, and HE in Hong Kong children is delayed relative to the U.S. children. We compared the developmental timing of DB, FB, and HE in Hong Kong children with that in a previously studied sample of mainland Chinese children (Wellman et al., 2006) and revealed that the delayed development in Hong Kong children cannot be attributed to cross-cultural influence. Second, that KA was mastered before DB in Hong Kong children indicates that they remain heavily influenced by the Eastern cultures even though Hong Kong is considered more "Westernized" than mainland China. We end by discussing how the pedagogical experience of Hong Kong children might contribute to their delayed development of DB, FB, and HE.

Place names in Liangshan Yi (Tibeto-Burman): Their structures and semantics

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The present study describes the word structure and semantics of place names in Liangshan Yi, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by about 2 million people in Liangshan, Sichuan, southwest China. Place names are all nominals, formed mainly in Liangshan Yi through compounding, such as Noun-Noun, see (1), Noun-Verb, see (2), and Verb-Noun, see (3). The formation can also be recursive, such as [noun-verb]verb-noun, see (4). Structure of complex Verb-Noun place names may also reflect the original Sino-Tibetan relative clause in some vestigial way. However, since place names are lexical and their references should be unitary, or the only individuals which fit the definite reference, the nominalizer =su³³ encliticizing to normal relative clauses of Liangshan Yi is not used in place name compounds. This is also true for generic concepts in Liangshan Yi, see (5). Deletion of the nominalizer to restrict the uniqueness of place names is also reported with =tr (的) in Mandarin Chinese (Sun 2013).

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------------|
| (1) ʂu ⁵⁵ lo ³³ | (2) lo ⁴⁴ ka ³³ | a ²¹ mo ²¹ |
| China fir:woods | the intersection of forest and gully | be big |
| 'name of a residential area in Butuo' | 'name of a mountain in Butuo' | |
| (3) ŋo ³³ zɿ ³³ | (4) vi ⁵⁵ dzo ³³ lo ³³ | |
| be stable:water | boar:meet woods | |
| 'name of a river in Liangshan' | 'name of a residential area in Butuo' | |
| (5) xa ²¹ zɛ ²¹ du ³³ ŋa ²¹ tʂho ⁵⁵ | | |
| Hanyang exit rifle | | |
| rifles with brand Hanyang | | |

Moreover, semantic componential analysis, revised from Tent and Blair (2011), reveals that place names in Liangshan Yi are mainly based on topographic features, such as mountain, boulder and cliff. However, since similar topographic features are easily found and thus ambiguity emerges, more semantic components are introduced in place name compounding, such as animals, plants, persons and events. After Chinese place names are sampled, it is found that the Chinese ones are dominantly based on abstract concepts, such as east-west-north-south, evaluation and numerical. The advantage is that ambiguity is largely reduced. Therefore, place names in Liangshan Yi are relatively complex, both semantically and structurally.

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Nubri: Identity as a key to vitality

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The Nubri people are an ethnically Tibetan community in the high Himalayas in northern central Nepal. Nubri language has evolved alongside Tibetan, the liturgical language of the community, but in this context I examine how different conditions have impacted contemporary linguistic practices. The Nubri identity of Tibetan is strong, especially in a Nepalese context, due to its remote geography, unique history and continued cultural practices, such as trade across the border with Tibetans across the border during a two-week window each summer. However, younger Nubris are gravitating towards Kathmandu, either for schooling or simply due to the lure of urbanity and modernity and the promise of socio-economic improvement as well as the chance to participate in more pop cultural offerings that they are exposed to online. This is clearly impacting Nubri language. I describe some of examples of the impact and discuss how these different conditions interact and try to unravel the complex of factors with a view to evaluating the actual status of Nubri's vitality.

Keywords: Nubri, Tibeto-Burman, Language attitudes, Social identity, Language vitality

Identities on the shelf: a multimodal semiotic analysis of chocolate bar packaging

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This study investigates how chocolate bar brands incorporate signified packages to enhance their product differentiation from a multimodal semiotic perspective. Previous studies have suggested the effects of product packaging on consumers' purchasing process (e.g. Silayoi & Speece 2004; Underwood 2003) and the vital role chocolate packages play in attracting potential consumers (Shekhar & Raveendran 2013). Based on a multimodality framework (Kress & van Leeuwe 2006), the study examined 113 different chocolate bar products in terms of their representation of both visual elements (colors, shapes and graphics) and informational elements. The analyses on visual elements reveal that, by adopting symbolic signs, chocolate bar packaging represents the key features of the products (e.g. color and flavor) as well as their distinctive identities. Culturally constructed visual elements are also commonly adopted and serve as myths. The linguistic parts contain the well-designed brand names, mandatory information and persuading texts. Taking advantage of irregular shapes, eye-catching colors, graphs and topographies, the interaction with the customers can be realized in "the system of gaze" (van Leeuwen 2005). The visual and textual elements are arranged together to display the product concepts as a whole and fulfill the compositional meanings.

By seeing chocolate bar packaging as a semiotic mode, this study presents how multimodality functions in this dynamic discourse. Our findings reveal that packaging connotes sociocultural meanings and helps establish communicative acts with the consumers, with further implications to exploring social semiotic landscapes in marketing and visual design fields.

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从道义 / 认识情态助动词到中动标志：“可”结构的语法化研究

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摘要

本研究旨在从历时角度探究“可”如何从道义情态助动词 (deontic modal) 及认识情态助动词 (epistemic modal) 演变为中动语态标记。先前研究表明, 助动词“可”在先秦汉语中就已作为中动语态标记出现, 并可表达受事潜能性 (王丽玲, 2011); 现代汉语中, “可”、“可以”能作为辅助性中动句标记出现 (例: 薛兵, 2015; 古川裕, 2005)。但目前对助动词“可”的历时性研究仍相对缺乏。本文利用语料库追溯了“可”从实义动词发展到中动标记的演变过程, 并探究了“可”与“可以”不同结构的相关性。

如图 1 所示, “可”最初用作实义动词, 表“允许”意。到了周, “可”作动词, 意为“符合”; 作形容词, 意为“好的、合宜的”。[NP_{施事}+可+V]结构最初出现于周, 本研究认为情态助动词“可”在其中大致有四种不同的功能用法: (i) 道义情态“可”表能力 (ability), 有先前研究认为该用法是从其形容词结构[NP_{可也}]发展而来 (巫雪如, 2018); (ii) 道义情态“可”表允许 (permission) 或在否定句“不可”中表禁止 (prohibition); (iii) 道义情态“可”表义务 (necessity/ obligation); (iv) 认识情态“可”表可能性 (possibility)。在战国时期, 由认识情态用法发展, “可”作副词表约数, 如例句 (1)。

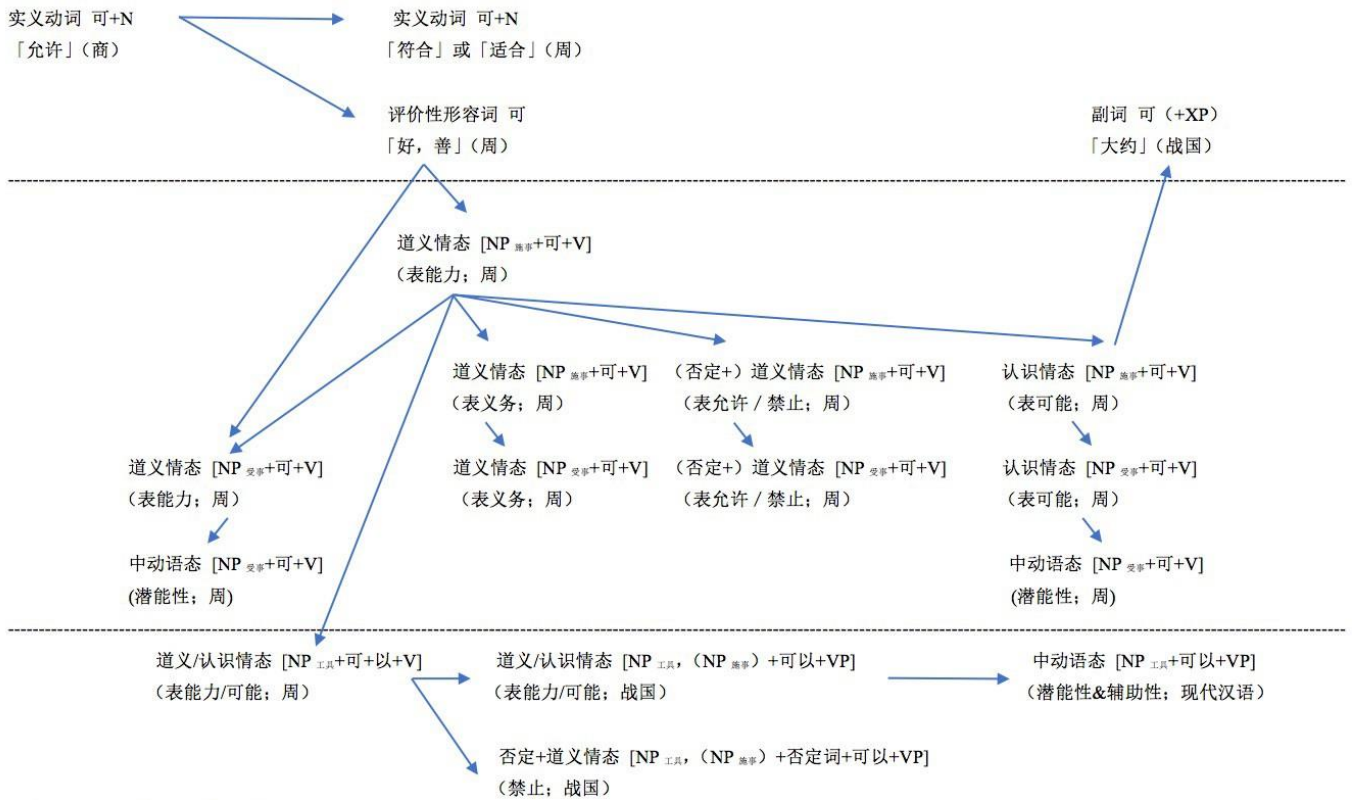
[NP_{受事/主题}+可+V]结构最早也出现于周, “可”能在其中担任上述的全部四种功能。此时, 若“可”为道义情态且表能力, 其结构可进一步表示为[NP_{受事/主题}+(NP_{施事})+可+V], 如例 (2) 所示; 若“可”为认识情态表可能性, 句子结构可表现为[NP_{受事/主题}+施事能动条件 (enabling condition for NP_{agent})+可+V], 如例 (3) 所示。通过省略施事, 受事的主题化, 以及句子主观性的加强, 此两种结构发展为潜能性中动句 (potential middles)。

“可”也能够与工具性介词“以”结合, 组成“可+以”结构。在周时期, 此结构可表示为[NP_{工具}+可+以+VP], 如例 (4); 战国时期, 这一结构进一步发展为[NP_{工具}, (NP_{施事})+可以+VP], 如例 (5); 现代汉语中, 双音节认识情态助动词“可以”通常出现在[NP_{工具}+可以+VP]中动结构中, “可以”为潜能性中动 (potential middle) (如例 (6)) 或辅助性中动 (facilitative middle) 标志 (如例 (7))。

基于 Kemmer (1993) 的跨语言中动研究和 Traugott (1989) 的主观性研究, 本文讨论了主观化过程如何影响潜能性和辅助性中动结构的演变。我们认为“可”结构的发展呈现出从低主观性到高主观性、低语用功能到高语用功能的特征, 说话者利用“可”结构表达主观性评价或观点; 这在句法结构中体现为施事省略和受事主体话题化, 并部分因此发展为中动结构。本研究有助于我们理解汉语中动标志的形成, 以及进一步认识情态助动词与中动语态的联系。

句例:

- (1) 可四千人
- (2) 罐(权), 可去可归。
- (3) 信積则可信也。
- (4) 它山之石, 可以攻玉。
- (5) 有国之母, 可以长久。
- (6) 战争保险就可以省掉。
- (7) 刀可以切菜。



图表一：“可”结构的语法化过程

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论文标题：大埔县客方言个体量词与饶平县潮方言的语言接触及其独特性

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大埔县西靠梅州市梅县区，东南面与潮州市饶平县接壤，由于通商和通婚等社会行为，大埔县客方言与饶平县潮方言发生了大量语言接触。通过对大埔县客方言和饶平县潮方言老、中、青三代母语者语音素材的收集和分析，发现两地方言的个体量词在老、中、青三代中都普遍存在意义泛化现象。与梅县区标准客方言比较，大埔县客方言个体量词的语法及发音都趋近饶平县潮方言，而饶平县潮方言没有显著的变化，具有相对稳定性。与此同时，在大埔县客方言老年一代的个体量词中出现了大量具有特殊发音和意义的个体量词，到中年一代逐渐减少，到青年一代时近乎消失。然而，在饶平县潮方言中没有发现类似的现象。因此，研究推断，大埔县客方言语言接触现象显著、变化明显，具有不稳定性，而饶平县潮方言则保持相对的独立性和稳定性。

[关键词]大埔县客方言；饶平县潮方言；个体量词

A Cross-cultural Study of Apology Strategy on Chinese Second Language Learners

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In the global context of migration and culture exchange, needs for cross-cultural communication have been increasing. Sociopragmatic competence, which may cause cross-cultural pragmatic failure (Thomas, 1983) has not attracted sufficient attention. This study investigates Chinese second language learners' sociopragmatic acquisition of apology strategy. It aims to explore what apology strategies are adopted by Chinese language learners (CLL) and how they differ from the Chinese native speakers (CNS) on apology strategies.

A discourse completion test (DCT) questionnaire was designed to test the two groups of participants (43 CLL and 41 CNS). It consists of three parts: (1) personal information and Chinese learning background, (2) six scenarios in which the social status of the offended are varied, and (3) CLL's experience and preference on pragmatic learning. All the questionnaires were delivered online by their Chinese teachers.

The results suggest that both CLL and CNS tend to adopt similar strategies, such as *Illocutionary Force Indicating Device* (IFID, e.g. sorry), *address*, and *offer of repair*, to higher status interlocutors (e.g. academic supervisor). But the two groups adopt strategies that different from each other when the offended are of equal status (e.g. roommate) or lower status (e.g. younger sister). For example, our findings show that more than half of CLL adopt *address* and *IFID* to apologize to their younger sisters, while a higher percentage of CNS chose a more negative strategy: *reduce responsibilities*. The differences may partly result from a Chinese sociopragmatic norm, which echoes the observation of Li (2007) that in Chinese culture, people tend to avoid apology or use special apology strategy in intimate relationships. CLL, in contrast, may have a relatively similar attitude towards family members and other acquaintance. Similar finding was reported by Rabab'ah & Fowler Al-Hawamdeh (2020) on the English speakers' attitudes towards family members when minor offence committed.

Although previous studies mentioned CNS may use less IFID (Cui&Li, 2012; Nakkouri, 2013), there is no remarkable difference between CLL and CNS in terms of *IFID* use in the current study. A possible explanation may be that 70% of CNS are below 26 years old, and the apology strategy may undergo changes for the younger generation born after 90s (Qing, 2007).

It is interesting to find that CLL's contact hour with native speakers may have a bearing on their apology strategies. According to the questionnaires, 77% of the CLL participants feel anxious about the appropriateness of their apology speech act, such as the important differences shown by the study. However, few systematic curriculum learning opportunity or official learning materials are provided. It will be good if further efforts could be made to mend the gap.

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歷史學家以「西學東漸」形容中國的晚清民國時期。晚清時人有見「近者洋人智學之興，器藝之奇，地利之辟，日新月異」，不禁有「真非常之變局」之嘆（康有為，2007，頁 181）。就語言學言，王力（1981，頁 173）認為「西學東漸時期」，「西洋的影響」是涉及「語言學的各個方面」。本文以「正音」入手，管見其時語言學思潮之傳承與創新。

現今關乎發音的知識，稱為「語音學（Phonetics）」，但於晚清民國時期，「Phonetics」卻被翻譯為「正音學」（〈英語正音學〉，1920，頁 55-56）。20 世紀 20 年代有一部字典名為「Introduction to an English-Chinese Phonetic Dictionary」，中文名字就是「《英華正音辭典》」。其編者（1924，頁 756）相信辭典所載「他種英語研究材料」，能表現不同種類英語於「讀音之間，大有異同」，由此可知「他種英語之特點」，而「此種知識」對讀者學習外語與教授英文，均為「有用」。音標、拼音可能不為國人熟悉，民國時期撰述之《世界語講義》（1912，頁 1-4）中「正音」之部份，便以傳統的反切，配合「促長」、「清濁」等概念，介紹相當於現今關於元音、輔音與發音方法的知識。

與讀音標準有關之「正音」工作，由明太祖時之「使人分赴閩廣，教習官音」，至清代雍正設立「正音書館」（李孟符，1911，頁 14），到晚清時期，類近工作還得到留美監生馮秉仁支持（《廣益叢報》，1906，頁 2）。儘管如此，坊間就「正音」之傳統標準，卻見質疑。有國人居住外地一段時間回國後，有感「正音」標準之不宜盲目崇古，應「擇善而從」（黎忠，1897，頁 8）。語調更強烈者，更直指《康熙字典》雖一直視為「正音之鼻祖」，但實「有差謬」，並指摘「村塾教師」之「以訛傳訛」（田廷俊，1908，頁 25-27）。就粵語之「正音」，有人反對過往宿儒「狃於沈約四聲之說，異其聲讀」，致使「音與字」之「不能一致」，因而提倡「粵語」使用者之口語讀音就是「正音」標準之所在，如「縛」字，「粵音作榜，而字書均音博」，應以「榜」音為正（紱菴，1930，頁 1）。可見「正音」之概念，有與傳統相承者，同時於標準方面又有新見，大有「描寫語言學」不重視「歷史演變」之意味（王力，1981，頁 199）。

民國時期有學者創制「正音圖」，作為查找讀音的途徑。與傳統韻圖之「五音」、「四等」相比，新圖將發音方法與部位劃分得更仔細，分成「二十五音」與「宮商角徵羽」五個聲類，並擺脫傳統韻部之說法。另一方面，又將傳統之聲母與韻母，革新為「音母」與「聲母」。編者受「英文 DOG、TOG 之統一」啟發，有感傳統字書標音之不足，如「一」字之讀音，便可作「於悉切」、「衣悉切」、「益悉切」，遂打破傳統「字典字切為神聖不可侵犯」之偏見，留意古今音變，以統一「發音字」與「定聲字」。學生於是掌握「二百九十個發音定聲字」，就能「照式讀出」，於「讀書講話時，必有把握」。（李澹愚，1917，頁 11-18）。

「正音」義涵之新變體現於其與西方現代語音學知識的接觸，如國人就元音、輔音、發音部位與方法的更深入認識，並通過反思傳統學說，提倡重新釐定「正音」之標準。本文將詳細分析新思潮下的各種相關主張，從而窺見「西學東漸」時期，中國語言學所經歷之轉變與挑戰。

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漢語方言的狀語性指示詞

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狀語性指示詞例如普通話的「這麼／那麼」和「這樣／那樣」，它們可以修飾謂詞，例如「這麼／那麼／這樣／那樣寵孩子不好」。本文會考察漢語方言的狀語性指示詞 (a) 具有甚麼功能，以及 (b) 有沒有遠近的區分。

在普通話，「這麼／那麼」和「這樣／那樣」作為狀語分別都可以指示程度和方式；另外「這樣／那樣」也可作為定語，一般稱為指示性狀，但「這麼／那麼」不可以（呂叔湘 1980/1999）。

- (1) 他那樣／那麼高，適合打籃球。（指示程度）
- (2) 你那樣／那麼跑容易摔著。（指示方式）
- (3) 那樣／*那麼的人你不要相信。（指示性狀）在香港粵語，「咁」（gam3）指示程度，不指示方式、性狀；「噉（樣）」（gam2 joeng2）指示方式、性狀，不指程度（張洪年 2013）。
- (4) 佢*噉／咁高，啱打籃球。（指示程度）
- (5) 你噉／*咁跑好易跌親。（指示方式）
- (6) 噉／*咁嘅人你唔好信。（指示性狀）

Boban Arsenijević et al. (2016) 指在漢語指示程度往往不同於指示方式和性狀，所舉例子為普通話和香港粵語。如（4）至（6）所見，香港粵語的確有此現象，呈現「程度 咁 vs 方式、性狀 噉」的區分，而我們發現這現象在其他南方方言是很常見的；可是 Boban Arsenijević et al. (2016) 的普通話語料不無疑問，如（1）至（3）所見，普通話其實呈現「程度、方式 那樣／那麼 vs 性狀 那樣」的區分。我們認為兩種區分類型在漢語中其實存在方言差異。此外，根據張洪年（2013），在早期粵語只有「咁」而沒有「噉」，「噉」是後來分化出來的。如果這看法是對的話，早期粵語呈現的是「程度、方式、性狀 咁」這種沒有區分的類型，然而後來經歷過演變，才產生今天香港粵語「程度 咁 vs 方式、性狀 噉」的區分。

狀語性指示詞在一些方言存在遠近區分，如普通話「這麼／那麼」和「這樣／那樣」；在一些方言卻沒有遠近區分，如香港粵語「咁」和「噉」；還有一些方言並存有區分和沒有區分的兩個系統，如上海吳語「搵能（介）／埃能（介）」區分遠近，而「介」則沒有區分。張洪年（2013）認為「咁」應是來源於「個物」的合音，其中的「個」他認為是相當於「那」的基本遠指指示詞（即今天的「個」（go2），當時仍讀陰去調 go3，還沒發生變調）；但是我們認為其中的「個」其實是量詞。我們認為沒有區分遠近的狀語性指示詞是來源於量詞的，好比在一些方言「量名」結構有相當於「指（量）名」結構的功能，但是卻不分遠近只表有定，如香港粵語「本書好精彩」中，「本書」相當於「這／那（本）書」，但不能區分是「這本」還是「那本」。我們預測如果一個方言存在不分遠近的狀語性指示詞，它應該就是量詞顯赫（劉丹青 2011）的方言。

Two uses of *dou* in Cantonese

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In this study, I suggest two uses of *dou* in Cantonese, namely the additive use of *dou* (= *dou*₁ ‘also’) and the scalar use of *dou* (= *dou*₂ ‘even’). Though *dou* is analyzed as an additive focus particle in the past (Lee & Pan 2010, Matthews & Yip 2011, Lee & Hsu 2018), it does not necessarily convey addition in some occasions. I argue two use of *dou*: *dou*₁ ‘also’ shows addition on quantity (1); *Dou*₂ ‘even’ expresses unexpectedness with/without addition on quantity (2). It may co-occur with (*samzi*)*lin* ‘even’ to form an ‘even’- construction signaling an extreme degree of unexpectedness (3). Since these two uses of *dou* ‘also/even’ show some discrepancies, I suggest these two uses to be analyzed separately.

- (1) 佢哋 都₁ 食 蘋果。 (Lee & Hsu 2018)
Keoi5dei6 dou1 sik6 ping4gwo2
they also eat apples
‘THEY also eat apples.’
- (2) 佢哋 嗰 本 書 都₂ 睇咗。 (Lee & Hsu 2018)
Keoi5dei6 go2 bun2 syu1 dou1 tai2zo2
they that CL book even read.ASP
‘They have read even THAT BOOK.’
- (3) 佢 去過 好多 地方， (Cheung 2007; Lee & Pan 2010)
Keoi5 heoi3gwo3 hou2do1 dei6fong1
s/he go.ASP many places
甚至連 非洲 都₂ 去過 添。
sam6zi3lin4 Fei1zau1 dou1 heoi3gwo3 tim1
even Africa even go.ASP SFP
‘S/he has been to a lot of places, including even Africa as well.’

In (1), *dou*₁ ‘also’ associates with *keoidei* ‘they’ by adding *keoidei* ‘they’ to the set of entities who eat apples. *Dou*₂ ‘even’ in (2) adds *gobunsyu* ‘that book’ to the set of books that they have read, and conveys a sense of unexpected that it is less likely that they have read that book. This use of *dou*₂ ‘even’ can also co-occur with the focus adverb *samzilin* ‘even’, which enlarges the sense of unlikelihood by ranking the proposition *s/he has been to the Africa* to the least likely event along the scale. Comparing with properties with English *even*, I suggest that *lin...dou*₂ ‘even’-construction is the Cantonese counterpart of English *even*.

Selected references: Lee, Po-lun Peppina and Haihua, Pan. 2010. The Landscape of Additive Particles - with special reference to the Cantonese sentence final particle ‘tim’. *Lingua* 120(2010): 1777-1804./ Lee, K. K. & Y. Hsu. 2018. A Non-unified Account to Cantonese 'Dou', paper presented at the LSHK Annual Research Forum 2018. City University of Hong Kong, 1st Dec, 2018.

Aspectual *-le*, focus-sensitive *-eryi* and reconstruction

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The paper investigates the scope of the sentence-final particles (SFPs) *-le* and *-eryi*. I argue on the basis of data concerning the copula *shi*, negation and epistemic modals that (a) these SFPs occur in the split CP (Rizzi 1997) layer of the clause (Tang 1998, Soh and Gao 2004), (b) the subject is not internal to TP but is either in a higher clause (Huang 1988, Lin and Tang 1995, Pan 2019) or in the split CP layer on top of TP (Tsai 2015), and (c) certain interpretive facts showing that the subject is internal to TP are to be accounted for by reconstruction effected by copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995).

- (1) a. Subject (*bu shi*/modal [_{CP} ... [_{TP} ...] – *le/eryi* ...]
b. [_{CP} ... subject (*bu shi*/modal [_{TP} ...] – *le/eryi* ...]
c. Subject *shi*/modal ... [_{TP} subject ...]]

Huang (1988) suggested that the copula verb *shi* is a raising verb taking a clausal complement. The varying word-order can straightforwardly be derived by movement of the subject:

- (2) a. (Bu) shi [[Zhangsan mei jiao gongke] le]
‘It’s (not) Zhangsan that did not hand in the homework.’
b. Zhangsan (bu) shi [[Zhangsan mei jiao gongke] le]
‘It’s (not) Zhangsan that did not hand in the homework.’

Co-occurrence of aspect-conflicting negations is additional evidence that the copula verb *shi* is not in the clause that follows it. The same facts obtain with epistemic modals (Lin and Tang 1995):

- (3) a. keneng [[Zhangsan qu mai dong-xi] eryi]
‘It is possible that Zhangsan only went out shopping.’
b. Zhangsan keneng [[Zhangsan qu mai dong-xi] eryi]
‘It is possible that Zhangsan only went out shopping.’

Syntactically, the subject to the left of *shi* and epistemic modals is therefore necessarily not internal to TP.

Facts concerning indefinite *wh*-phrases (Li 1992, Lin 1998) show that the subject is not in the scope of SFP *-le*:

- (4) a. Zhangsan kan-dao shenme ren le.
‘Who did Zhangsan see?’ OR ‘Zhangsan saw someone.’
b. Shenme ren kan-dao Zhangsan le.
‘Who did Zhangsan see?’ NOT ‘Zhangsan saw someone.’

It nevertheless does not warrant the claim that they are internal to TP (Erlewine 2017), for they may well be in the split CP layer of the clause.

The same conclusion holds for disjunction structures for alternative questions with *haishi* (Erlewine 2014) where the SFPs can be included in the disjuncts:

- (5) a. Zhangsan shi [[xiang-jia] le] haishi [dui ziji shiwang] le]?
‘Has Zhangsan missed home or was he disappointed at himself?’
b. Lisi keneng [[liang-tianmei shui] eryi] haishi [shengbing-le]]?
‘Is it possible that Zhangsan only has not slept for two days or was sick?’

These are cases where the projections of the SFPs lower than the subject are coordinated, and the subject is moved across-the-board (Williams 1978).

Co-occurrence of both SFPs shows that focus-sensitive SFP *-eryi* is in a higher position than aspectual SFP *-le*. It thus follows that the subject is outside the scope of *-le*, for it is outside the scope of the higher *-eryi* (cf. *Zhangsan xiang-jia le eryi* ‘Zhangsan only has missed home.’).

However, several other facts show that the subject is semantically in the scope of SFPs *-le* and *-eryi*. Subject of predicates of creation must be internal to TP, for its existence is not independent from the predicate:

- (6) a. [Hua kai man yuan] le. ‘Flowers have bloomed all over the garden.’
 b. [Huo shao ran] eryi. ‘Only fire has burned.’

Downward-entailing quantified subject is not possible with SFP *-le*, just like downward-entailing quantified object, showing that the subject is in the scope of *-le* just like object:

- (7) a. [{Zhishao, *bu dao} liang-ge laoshi tui-jian Zhangsan] le.
 ‘{At least, fewer than} two teachers have recommended Zhangsan.’
 b. [Zhangsan tui-jian {zhishao, *bu dao} liang-ge laoshi] le.
 ‘Zhangsan has recommended {at least, fewer than} two teachers.’

The same judgments in (6) and (7) hold when the subject is immediately followed by an epistemic modal (cf. {*Zhishao/*Bu dao*} *liang-ge laoshi keneng tui-jian Zhangsan* ‘It is possible that {at least, fewer than} two teachers have recommended Zhangsan.’).

Quantification structures with *dou* ‘all’ is subject to the constraint that the argument it is associated with be a clausemate (cf. *Zhangsan shuo meige xuesheng dou kaoshi jige le* ‘Zhangsan said every student has passed the exam’ vs **meige xuesheng shuo Zhangsan dou kaoshi jige le*). The two may nevertheless be separated by an epistemic modal, apparently violating the clausemate condition if the modal is a matrix predicate:

- (8) a. Keneng [[meige xuesheng dou kaoshi jige] le]
 ‘It is possible that every student has passed the exam.’
 b. Meige xuesheng keneng [[~~meige xuesheng~~ dou kaoshi jige] le]

The facts in (6)-(8) can be straightforwardly accounted for by reconstruction. Movement of the subject leaves behind in the launching site a copy of itself with its formal features where they are interpreted. The subject thus falls under the scope of SFP *-le*.

Independent evidence for reconstruction comes of indefinite *wh*-phrases. They are licensed by a c-commanding licenser (cf. *Zhangsan huaiyi shenme ren zai nar hunao* ‘Who did Zhangsan suspect is making trouble over there?’ OR ‘Zhangsan suspected someone is making trouble over there’ vs *Shenme ren huaiyi Zhangsan zai nar hunao* ‘Who suspected Zhangsan is making trouble over there?’ NOT ‘Someone suspected Zhangsan is making trouble over there’). But an indefinite *wh*-phrase is possible either to the left or right of an epistemic modal licenser:

- (9) a. Keneng [shenme ren zai nar hunao]
 ‘It is possible that someone is making trouble over there.’
 b. Shenme ren keneng [~~shenme ren~~ zai nar hunao]
 ‘It is possible that someone is making trouble over there.’

The indefinite reading of the *wh*-phrase in (9) can readily be explained by reconstruction.

An epistemic modal may scope over the clause to its right as well as the subject to its left (see (12)). It may also license an indefinite *wh*-phrase subject to its right (see (13)). All these three cases can be accounted by reconstruction.

They can be accommodated by reconstruction effected by the copy theory of movement where a displaced phrase may leave its formal features behind in the original position (see (9)).

(12) a. b. *shenme ren huaiyi [Zhangsan zai nar hunao]

The contact effect of Cantonese sentence-final particles in the bilingual prosody

produced by Cantonese-English bilingual children

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This corpus-based study investigates the prosody of the production of Cantonese sentence-final particles by Cantonese-English bilingual children. In recent bilingual first language acquisition research, the interaction between two or more languages in children's development (e.g., cross-linguistic influence) has been at the center of discussion. However, very few studies in bilingual phonological acquisition have focused on the prosodic aspect of bilingual children's productions. This talk will discuss the interaction of a tonal language (Cantonese) and an intonational language (English), and how the use of pitch for intonation and word stress interacts with the pitch patterns of lexical tones in their Cantonese and code-mixed utterances. In addition, many of the semantic/pragmatic functions encoded by intonation patterns in English are expressed with sentence-final particles (SFPs) rather than prosodic cues in Cantonese (Wakefield, 2010). This difference between English and Cantonese can potentially give rise to a transfer effect in the speech of Cantonese-English bilingual children. The current study investigates the production of 8 Cantonese-English bilingual children (5 Cantonese-dominant; 1 English-dominant; 2 balanced) from ages 2;3 to 3;0 in the longitudinal bilingual corpus Hong Kong Bilingual Child Language Corpus (Yip & Matthews, 2007).

We have observed a bilingual intonation pattern: "high pitch followed by a fall", regardless of language dominance of the bilingual children and sentence types. For instance, the pattern in (1) can be attributed to both the superimposition of an English intonation followed by a low boundary tone at the level of intonational phrase, and the transfer of Hong Kong English stress patterns to Cantonese (e.g., in *dak1m1dak1gaa4*). Second, the absence of SFPs seems to preclude the low boundary tone at the utterance final position. For instance, there is no low boundary tone exerted on *din1* in (2). Despite the superimposition of the English intonation in (2), there are still traits of word stress in *Jan1wai1* which indicates an interaction with the pitch patterns of lexical tones in Cantonese. However, the intonation is dampened by a narrower pitch range of tones. The differences between (1) and (2) at the utterance body can be attributed to the composition of monosyllabic words in (2) as well as the difference in language dominance. We argue that the traits of the competition between lexical tones and word stress under the superimposition of English intonation can still be observed in the bilingual prosody produced by Darren, while the superimposition of English intonation seems to dominate in the bilingual prosody (> 25% of all utterances in a representative recording) produced by the English-dominant child Charlotte. On contrary, Cantonese-dominant children produced bilingual prosody in much lower frequencies (< 5% of all utterances in the representative recordings). They usually produced target-like lexical tones and intonation in their Cantonese and code-mixed utterances.

Besides, bilingual children would realize intonation patterns on Cantonese SFPs. For example, the non-target tones in (3) can be attributed to realizing a fall-rise intonation on the SFP. The fact that SFP is used as the domain for the intonation in the experimentation with prosody by the bilingual children is consistent with the location of question intonation in Cantonese (Xu & Mok, 2011).

The above phenomena demonstrate cross-linguistic influence in prosody in the speech of Cantonese-English bilingual children.

(1) *li1go6 li1go6 dak1m1dak1gaa4* (Charlotte 2;03.17)

li1go3 li1go3 dak1m4dak1 gaa3 (target form)

This this can-not-can SFP

"Is this okay?"

(3) *Hai1 aa↗* (Charlotte 2;03.17)

Hai6 aa3 (target form)

Be SFP

"Yes."

(2) *Jan1wai1 mou1 wun1 din1* (Darren 2;09.03)

Jan1wai6 mou5 wun6 din6 (target form)

Because Neg change battery

"Because [we] do not change the battery."

Wakefield, J. C. (2010). *The English Equivalents of Cantonese Sentence-final Particles: A Contrastive Analysis*. Ph.D. dissertation, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

Xu, B. R., & Mok, P. K. P. (2011). Final rising and global raising in Cantonese intonation. *Proceedings of 17th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, 2173–2176. Hong Kong.

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A unique case of language contact – Yilan Creole in Taiwan

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Taiwan is known for being the most possible homeland of Austronesian language family (Blust, 1984), and the use of Min dialect (Taiwanese) and Hakka. However, the Japanese colonization in the last century (1895-1945) has led to the creation of a unique contact language – Yilan Creole – spoken by specific Atayal communities in Yilan County.

As the only known Japanese-based creole with Austronesian influences, Yilan Creole (YC) was discovered in 2006 (Chien & Sanada, 2010a), and little is known about it. There is no comprehensive study of YC so far, but a few individual articles such as case-marking system (Chien, 2016) and pronoun system (Chien, 2018). Because of the shift to Mandarin and standard Atayal in the communities, YC is now facing endangerment. This presentation aims at introducing some sociolinguistic background and a brief grammar sketch of YC, based on published studies as well as ongoing fieldwork.

During colonization, indigenous people were forced to move out of their home mountains and speak Japanese instead of their own languages. Because Atayal and Seediq were mistakenly grouped by the Japanese government (Chien & Sanada, 2010a), they had a mixed population in Yilan County and created Yilan Creole for interethnic communication. The current sociolinguistic situation is not favorable for YC, since Mandarin is the only official language and the medium of instruction in schools (Qiu, 2015). Although the Taiwan government tries to encourage the use of indigenous languages, YC was excluded due to its heavy influence of Japanese (Chien & Sanada, 2010a). The colonial association also leads to negative attitude towards the language, so people lack motivation to learn or transmit YC to the next generation.

According to Chien and Sanada (2010b), the phonology of YC is mostly inherited from Atayal but the morphosyntax is substantially Japanese. Some productive derivational suffixes are found, such as *-suru* (Japanese “do”) which derives verbs from other categories (1).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|---|-----------------------|---------------|
| (1) | baka | à | □ | baka- suru | (Chien, 2015) |
| | “fool” (ADJ) | | | “to look down on” (V) | |

Yilan Creole is a SOV language (Qiu, 2015). Whereas subject and object are distinguished by word order, the Japanese postposition *ni* is used to mark dative case, as shown in (2).

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|---------------|------------|-------|-------|---------------|
| (2) | wasi | la’i | ni | pila | ageru | (Chien, 2016) |
| | 1.SG(subject) | child(object) | DAT | money | give | |
| | “I will give money to my child.” | | | | | |

Chien and Sanada (2010a) pointed out that TMA of YC are mostly expressed through adverbs inherited from Japanese, such as *ima* “now” and *kino* “yesterday”, but verbal inflections are also used (3).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---|---|----------------------------------|-------------|
| (3) | Affirmative present | à | □ | Affirmative past | (Qiu, 2015) |
| | taberu | | | past tense ADV + tabe- ta | |
| | “(to) eat” | | | “ate” | |

Based on the morphosyntactic properties discussed, Yilan Creole appears unlike typical creoles. More work needs to be done to study this unique variety before it disappears, and determine its status among contact languages.

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Tai Tonogenesis Revisited: Evidence from Thirty Modern Tai Varieties

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Tonogenesis is treated as the very first step of the arising of tones in Proto-Tai (PT). Since it is commonly agreed with that PT tone *A was unmarked and tone *D was on checked syllables ending with -p/-t/-k codas as preserved well in most Tai daughter languages, in previous studies, the arguments mainly revolve around the origins of tones *B and *C of the PT or even the whole Kra-Dai languages, as in the following chart.

Table 1. Arguments on the phonetic characteristics of PT/Kra-Dai tones *B and *C

Sources	*B				*C			
	Pitch height	Contour	Vowel duration	Voice quality	Pitch height	Contour	Vowel duration	Voice quality
Pittayaporn (2009:271)	low	rising	long	creakiness	high	falling	short	glottal constriction
Liang & Zhang (1996)	non	non	-	*-h	non	non	-	*-ʔ
Gedney (1989)	non	non	-	*-h	non	non	-	*-ʔ
Sagart (1988:89)	-	-	-	*-ʔ	-	-	-	creakiness
Sagart (2019)	-	-	-	*-R / *-X	-	-	-	*-s

However, none of them were based on the comparison of modern Tai tones, because it was believed that the altered tone distribution of modern Tai varieties has blinded the original appearance of tones in PT. In this paper, we believe that evidence from a comparison of tones from thirty modern Tai varieties effectively suggests that four tone categories arose after the decaying or weakening of the syllable finals *-h and *-ʔ in the early stage of PT, for keeping the semantic distinctions. Early plain syllables with modal voice developed into an unmarked level tone *A, syllables with a final *-h decayed to a rapid falling tone *B to cause an incidental creaky voice, syllables with a final *-ʔ was weakened to cause a rising glottalized tone C*, and syllables with final oral stops *-p/-t/-k were preserved to form the fourth tonal category D*.

Key Words: Tai languages, Tonogenesis, tonal category, glottalization, creakiness

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L1 Pronunciation Influenced by Homophony in L2: A Case Study on Yangjiangese-Mandar in Bilinguals

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For bilingual speakers, cross-linguistic interaction has been observed in which the two lexicons are cognitively interconnected, sharing a network, activated simultaneously during lexical processing (de Bot 1992; Spivey and Marian 1999; Amengual 2001; Fowler et al. 2008; Simonet 2016). For two languages sharing homophones, the relevant lexical entries have also been shown to compete for selection (Rubenstein et al. 1971, Pallier et al. 2001). In this study, the potential interaction was examined in bilingual speakers of Yangjiangese (a branch of Cantonese and the dialect in Yangjiang City, Guangdong Province) as an L1 and Mandarin as an L2.

This study focuses on the potential influence of L2 (Mandarin) on the L1 (Yangjiangese), specifically on the phonetic forms of the lexical items (Chinese characters) that have the same written forms. The participants were 10 primary school students whose L1 was Yangjiangese and who were learning Mandarin as an L2. Based on data from natural production, it was observed that for some L1 lexical items, the pronunciation was neither the forms in L1 (Yangjiangese) nor those in L2 (Mandarin), as illustrated in (1) below. Instead, the lexical items turned out to be pronounced as the L1 phonetic-form the words that are homophones of the target words in the L2.

(1) Examples of L1 forms Influenced by L2

Lexical items	Phonetic forms in L2 (Mandarin)	Phonetic forms in L1 (Yangjiangese)	L1 forms Influenced by L2	L1 phonetic forms of homophones in Mandarin (L2)
a. 察 ‘observe’	tʂ ^h a ³	tʃ ^h at ²	tʃ ^h a ⁴	tʃ ^h a ⁴³ (茶 查)
b. 扎 ‘to bound’	tʂa ⁵⁵	tʃat ²	tʃa ³³	tʃa ³³ (渣)
c. 化 ‘to melt’	h ^w ua ⁵	fa ²⁴	wa ⁵	wa ⁵⁴ (话)

The findings above lend support to the contention that, for a bilingual speaker, the phonetic forms of the lexical items in two languages interacted, confirming previous studies. In addition, it shows that such interaction can occur through the connection of homophones in one language and lead to the change of lexical forms in another language.

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Chinese-speaking Students in Universities: Challenges and Pedagogical Approaches

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With an increasing number of native Chinese speakers choosing to study overseas, English language education has become an important issue for learners wishing to succeed in these endeavours. Although there is considerable research demonstrating the challenges beginner students have learning English, there are relatively few that explore the challenges faced by those who have studied for much of their lives. This study intends to identify common issues and challenges related to English language learning for Chinese native speakers in undergraduate business programs outside of China. In addition, this study will explore possible causes for these systematic issues, while offering recommendations for practice that may help mitigate their negative effects. This study will rely heavily on data collected from independent research that directly engaged language learners from this demographic. While the research did indicate that there were numerous habitual issues related to pronunciation, it appears that they did not negatively impact the individuals ability to communicate effectively.

The use of modal verb *can* in CGTN articles: How does CGTN construct the identity of the U.S. in handling the Covid-19 crisis

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This study examines how the modal verb *can* is used in CGTN news articles to construct the identity of the U.S. in the way it handled the Covid-19 crisis. Following Palmer (2001), I categorize modality into two types: event modality and propositional modality. Event modality indicates events that are not actualized but merely potential, and the enabling factors could be either internal (dynamic modality) or external (deontic modality), while propositional modality indicates the truth value of propositions, with a focus on either the evidence (evidential modality) or judgement towards the evidence (epistemic modality). Furthermore, modality is also associated with speaker (inter)subjectivity.

Dictionaries and grammars frequently identify ability and possibility readings for the modal verb *can*. In this study, its ability reading (i.e., the capacity to complete an action) is classified as dynamic modality, while its possibility reading could either take the form of dynamic possibility (D-Possibility) or epistemic possibility (E-Possibility). D-Possibility indicates an existence of subjectivity in determining an action either occurring or not occurring. For example, the speaker's internal willingness affects the realization or non-realization of an action. E-Possibility, on the other hand, focuses on facts, such as a scientifically proven knowledge. In discourses, these various functions of modal verb *can* are used as pragmatic markers to index speaker's subjectivity.

Data for this study comprised 50 news articles posted on CGTN over a 4-week period from April 2 to April 29, 2020. Of the 91 tokens of modal verb *can* from this corpus, 51% yielded ability readings; D-Possibility readings and E-Possibility readings accounted for 23% and 26% of the tokens respectively. Results of a textual analysis reveal that *can* was used in various ways by CGTN to construct meanings, evoke implications, and display speaker stance. The ability readings of *can* were used to indicate the inability of the U.S. to handle the situation; given that this kind of use could be perceived as offensive, the ability readings were sometimes modulated by mitigative phrases to attenuate face-threats. The D-Possibility readings were used to imply the incorrect decision-making of the U.S. government by comparing the actions taken by the U.S. government with CGTN's expectation, such usage often signalled criticism albeit in an implicit way. The E-Possibility readings were used with the intention to show CGTN's neutral stance and objectivity. In brief, the image of the U.S. created by CGTN is basically negative, but the way this negative identity was constructed is subtle and indirect, indicating that CGTN, while showing its attitude, is aware of the face-needs of both countries.

The findings of this study contribute to our understanding of how modals help to convey speaker subjectivity and implicit meanings in media discourse, especially those relating to politics and international relations.

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The Emergence of the Dative Marker; Evidence from Psycholinguistics

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In Cantonese, the event denoting transfer of possession can be expressed with the following options (but not limited):

Dative double object construction: [bei2 T R]

1. 嗰 男仔 俾 本 書 嗰 女仔
Go2 naam4-zai2 BEI bun2 syu1 go2 nei5 zai2
CL boy BEI CL book CL girl
“the boy gives the girl a book.”

Dative marker construction (including Double BEI-construction): [V T bei2 R]

2. 嗰 男仔 俾 本 書 俾 嗰 女仔
Go2 naam4 zai2 BEI bun2 syu1 BEI go2 nei5 zai2
CL boy BEI CL book BEI CL girl
“the boy gives the girl a book”

Cantonese, unlike its Mandarin counterpart, possesses the unusual [V-T(heme)-R(eceptent)] dative word order (Matthews & Yip, 2011). According to Tang (1998), the Cantonese dative construction originates from the prepositional dative construction (PDC) where the dative marker (second bei2) is deleted to avoid reduplication of identical syllables. As seen in sentence 2, the dative marker emerges when the number of syllable increases between the designate grammatical location of the two bei2 (俾). The goal of our study is to investigate whether there is a relationship between the phonological distance and the emergence dative marker.

Methods: 30 Cantonese native speakers were recruited for the purpose of the study. We used a picture description task with a logograph superimposed to prime participants to use *bei2* (俾) as the main verb or in a double-bei construction. Participants were requested to name pictures denoting the transfer of possession. Responses were then coded based on their syntactic constructions (i.e. dative or double-bei) and the phonological distance (i.e. syllables after the last syllable of the subject to the first syllable of the recipient while excluding the *bei2* (俾) syllable(s)).

Results: The emergence of the dative marker were found to be strongly associated with phonological distance (*Fisher's exact* = 3.43, $p < 0.006$). The results suggest that the use of double-bei construction corresponds to the phonological distance between the designated *bei2* (俾) syllable. Taken together, the results support Tang's (1998) account of haplogy of the dative marker. The dative marker re-emerges when the phonological distance exceeds 4 syllables. However, these results should be interpreted with caution. Only 23 response tokens collected consist of phonological distance with four or more syllables with roughly equal portions of tokens distributed across construction. Moreover, only a minority of the participants (9/30; 30%) use double-bei construction; this suggests a high individual variation in the suited phonological distance for double-bei construction.

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ON THE THREE SEMANTIC DOMAINS OF THE SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLES ‘LAA’ IN CANTONESE

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This paper aims to explain the polysemy network of two Cantonese sentence-final particles, namely ‘laa1’ and ‘laa3’, which are assumed to roughly correspond to the SFP ‘le’ in Mandarin Chinese. ‘Le’ is often analyzed as a polyseme in traditional grammar, with Chao (1968) claiming it to possess as many as 7 different meanings. On the other hand, functional grammar attempts to find a core meaning of ‘le’. According to Li and Thompson (1981), SFP ‘le’ denotes ‘currently relevant state’. The maximalist approach fails to provide a convincing explanation for the connections between the different meanings of ‘le’. In contrast, the minimalist approach cannot explain why ‘le’ is frequently used in exclamative and imperative sentences in addition to declarative sentences.

From the perspective of cognitive linguistics, based on studies conducted by Sweetser (1990) and Shen (2003), Xiao (2009) developed a new approach to explain such phenomenon of ‘le’. The proposal is to divide the interpretations of ‘le’ into three domains: content domain, epistemic domain, and speech act domain. SFP ‘le’ then has three core meanings: i) le^{content} indicates a new state in the real world; ii) $le^{\text{epistemic}}$ indicates a new state in the world of reasoning; iii) $le^{\text{SpeechAct}}$ indicates a new speech act in the world of language. This approach has captured nicely ‘le’ core meanings; however, one major drawback remains: the categorization into the three domains of ‘le’ is far from clear-cut and relies heavily on context. In this paper, I suggest categorizing the three semantic domains of ‘le’ based on its grammar distribution in a sentence. On the one hand, ‘ le^{content} ’ denotes a change ‘from $\neg p$ to p ’ and can appear in an embedded clause or a root clause. On the other hand, ‘ le^{epist} ’ and ‘ le^{SA} ’ only appear in a root clause. ‘ le^{epist} ’ is located at the end of a declarative sentence, manifesting ‘Speaker believes p ’, while ‘ le^{SA} ’ is located at the end of imperative sentences, encoding the speaker’s commitment to the outcome denoted by the utterance.

Based on the discussion of ‘laa3’ and ‘laa1’ in Cantonese (Kwok 1984, Law 1990, Fung 2000, Leung 2005, Tang 2013) and various studies on the left periphery (Rizzi 1997, Pan 2019, Lau 2019, Tang 2020), as well as the Universal Spine Hypothesis (Wiltschko and Heim 2016, Thoma 2016), I attempt to argue for the syntax positions of ‘laa3’ and ‘laa1’. ‘ $Laa3^{\text{content}}$ ’ is base generated inside CP. Epistemic/Speech Act ‘laa3’ and ‘laa1’ have higher syntactic positions than CP, which I term as AttP1 and AttP2, respectively encoding ‘speaker’s attitude’ and ‘addressee’s attitude’. ‘Laa3’ and ‘laa1’ can co-occur with various boundary tones for discourse functions, e.g., calling the addressee’s response to the utterance (H:%, final rise with a short plateau at the very end of the rise), requesting the addressee to accept the utterance (L%, final fall). H:% and L% are argued to have their own syntactic positions, namely DiscourseP, a functional projection encoding the speaker’s Call on the Addressee.

Therefore, I suggest the architecture of the periphery in Cantonese as follows:

[DiscP H:%, L% [AttP2 laa1^{Epist/SA} [AttP1 laa3^{Epist/SA} [CP ...laa3^{content} ...]]]]

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Consonantal Effects of Stop Aspiration on Onset F0 in Cantonese: Direction, Duration and its Use for Contrast Enhancement

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Consonantal effects of stops on onset f0 are implemented differently in different languages, namely, the duration of consonantal effect, the direction of f0 change (rising or falling f0) and its perceptual importance vary cross-linguistically. For example, in English, many studies consistently showed that voiceless stops have a rising effect on onset f0 while voiced stops lowered onset f0, and the duration can reach nearly 100ms or longer into the following vowel (Löfqvist et al., 1989; Dmitrieva et al., 2015). Perceptually, onset f0 in English acts as a secondary cue to the voicing of stops when the primary cue VOT is ambiguous under certain conditions (Abramson and Lisker, 1985). While most research on the consonantal effects examines languages with stops that contrast voicing like English, less is known for languages that contrast aspiration. The present study aims to examine the consonantal effects of stop aspiration in Cantonese. It will also explore the relationship between exact VOT values and onset f0, to investigate when VOT is ambiguous, whether f0 differences will be strengthened to keep stop contrasts distinct. If f0 is used to enhance contrast, when VOT increases/decreases to be closer to the aspirated/unaspirated category, f0 should decrease/increase to enhance the f0 difference for aspiration.

Twenty-three college-aged native speakers of Hong Kong Cantonese (8 males, 15 females) participated in a reading aloud task. They started to learn English at around 2-3 years old, but most of them still spoke English with a typical Hong Kong accent. Both their native Cantonese and L2 English were recorded. The reading materials were designed the way that target syllables with the stop contrasts appeared as the first syllable in C1V1C2V2 disyllabic non-words, with the following vowel V1 varying among /a, i, u/. The disyllabic non-words were further embedded in carrier phrases: “有個_井” (/j̄ eu kɔ _tsen/, ‘there is a _well’) in Cantonese and “It’s a _road” in English, with the disyllabic non-words acting as an adjective of the following noun. Therefore, the stops of interest were placed in similar phonetic environment ə/ə_a/i/u, making Cantonese and English stops comparable in this study. As a group of sample words, 巴波-叭波 /pa55pɔ55/-/pha55pɔ55/ is a word pair for the bilabial and tone1 condition in Cantonese, while babber-papper is the corresponding word pair in English.

VOT of the stops and f0 of the following vowel were obtained using Praat. The f0 values were measured at every 10ms during the first 100ms immediately after voicing onset. 100ms was chosen considering both the literature (Löfqvist et al., 1989; Francis et al., 2006) and the actual duration of the whole vowel (at least 15.2% tokens will be left out if a period longer than 100ms is chosen). The results showed that aspiration had a rising effect on onset f0 in Cantonese, that is, onset f0 after aspirated stops was higher than after unaspirated stops. Besides, the aspiration-related f0 perturbations can extend to around 100ms after voicing. The Cantonese patterns matched native English in terms of both the direction and the magnitude of the consonantal effects on onset f0. However, no correlation was found between onset f0 and VOT values in either Cantonese or L2 English, suggesting that unlike f0 as a secondary cue for stop contrasts in English, when VOT becomes ambiguous, f0 was not strengthened for contrast enhancement in Cantonese as well as in L2 English. This indicates that although consonantal effects in Cantonese showed phonetically similar directions and comparable duration with native English, onset f0 was not used for phonological contrast enhancement.

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**Valence change and voice phenomena:
Analysis of middle and passive uses of *jibaa* constructions in Odia**

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This paper examines the diachrony of *jibaa* ('go') voice constructions in Odia, an eastern Indo-Aryan language. Based on tokens of *galaa* and *jaae* constructions (i.e. the past and present forms of *jibaa* constructions respectively) culled from a 6-hour conversational database of contemporary Odia, we first analyze each *galaa/jaae* construction in terms of structural type (transitive vs. intransitive) and voice function (middle vs. passive). We then classify each middle use of these *jibaa* constructions into one of the following subtypes: spontaneous, inchoative and facilitative uses (see 1a-c). In the case of passive constructions, we classify them into either 'agentless passives' or 'passives with an overtly expressed agent' (as in 2a and 2b respectively). Whereas the middle *jibaa* constructions are clearly distinguished by their monovalent semantics and an intransitive structure, the passive *jibaa* constructions are identifiable by their bivalent semantics but with the agent argument sometimes implicitly expressed. To resolve whether the direction of semantic extension is from middle to passive, or vice-versa, we then compare the functional distribution of the *jibaa* tokens from our database of contemporary Odia to those from Old Odia (15th and 16th century) and Middle Odia (17th and 18th century) texts. Middle uses of *jibaa* constructions were attested in the Old and Middle Odia texts, but passive uses were relatively rare, suggesting the possibility of a middle-to-passive extension of the *jibaa* constructions over time. Agentless passives were found to be more frequent than agentive passives, even in contemporary Odia, suggesting that agentless passives could be the bridge construction for the semantic extension from middle to passive. This would be consistent with the following valence-change phenomenon: middle (1-place predicate) > agentless passive (2-place predicate with implied agent) > agentive passive (2-place predicate with overtly expressed agent). Among the middle uses, only spontaneous and inchoative uses were attested in the older texts, with facilitative uses of *jibaa* emerging later in Modern Odia. A similar middle-to-passive development has been observed for Korean *-eci* constructions (Ahn & Yap 2017). Similar to Korean middles, the emergence of facilitative middle *jibaa* constructions in Odia is found to also involve a process of subjectification, whereby the speaker's evaluation is incorporated into the facilitative interpretation of the *jibaa* construction, which we argue accounts for its much later emergence relative to spontaneous and inchoative middle uses (see also Kemmer 1993).

- (1) a. *kaaThi-Ti bhaangi galaa* (spontaneous middle)
stick-DEF break go-PST
'The stick broke.'
- b. *janha-Ti badhi galaa* (inchoative middle)
moon-DEF big go-PST
'The moon has become bigger.'
- c. *resami kapaDaa sahaja-re sukhi jaae* (facilitative middle)
silk cloth easy-in dry-IMP go-HAB
'The silk cloth dries easily.'
- (2) a. *sainika-maana-nku juddha-ku paThaa galaa* (agentless passive)
soldier-PL-ACC war-LOC send go-PASS-PST
'The soldiers were sent to the war.'
- b. *raajaa-nka dwaaraa sainika-maana-nku juddha-ku paThaa galaa*
king-HON by soldier-PL-ACC war-LOC send go-PASS-PST
'The soldiers were sent to the war by the king.' (passive with overt agent)

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Modern day formation of a pidgin: Pseudo-Chinese and its characteristics

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A type of “Internet slang” named Pseudo-Chinese (also known as 偽中国語 *nisechūkoku*) went viral on Japanese Internet around a decade ago. As its name may suggest, Pseudo-Chinese began as a mimicry of the real Chinese language created by Japanese monolingual speakers, by eliminating uniquely Japanese components, in particular the Kana syllabaries, leaving only Kanji (sinograms) to form various types of online discourse that allow barrier-free conversations amongst its users.

Due to the partial mutual intelligibility of Chinese and Japanese lexicon and orthography, after Pseudo-Chinese has spread to Chinese social media, it began to serve as a lingua franca between its Chinese and Japanese users. This language phenomenon is especially common amongst fans of anime culture, who are eager to communicate with the talented monolingual drawers.

An example of conversation in Pseudo-Chinese between a fan and a drawer is shown below:

A : 先生画力強！我大好！我日本語無力、偽中国語勉強中。

Teacher drawing ability good! 1SG big like! 1SG Japanese unable, pseudo-Chinese study PROG.

“Miss/Mister, you are very good at drawing! I admire you very much! I cannot speak Japanese, so I am learning pseudo-Chinese.”

B : 君偽中国語上手！理解理解。

2SG pseudo-Chinese good! Understand understand

“Your pseudo-Chinese is good! I can understand.”

The example above demonstrates many traits of a pidgin, such as the elimination of grammatical inflections and the adoption of analytical TAM markers such as 中 marking progressive aspect. Although pseudo-Chinese is a mostly SOV pidgin, due to the stronger substrate influence of Japanese, speakers are also able to produce SVO word order to achieve a more “Chinese-like” style.

Given that Pseudo-Chinese is often under-estimated as a form of internet slang, little linguistic research has been conducted on this variety in the decade since its birth. This study thus seeks to examine the true nature of Pseudo-Chinese as a newly arisen pidgin of the internet era. By utilizing raw data transcribed from both the natural environment of this pidgin, namely Japanese and Chinese social media, and individual interviews conducted with speakers that vary in language background, this study aims to explore lexicon and morphological components of Pseudo-Chinese. Furthermore, by comparing it with pidgins previously created to facilitate communications

between Chinese and Japanese speakers, such as Kyōwa-go(協和語, “the harmonious language”), this study will also shed light on the sociohistorical and sociolinguistic background of Pseudo-Chinese.

This ongoing research aims to 1) analyse the history of Pseudo-Chinese and its development; 2) create a preliminary glossary for the grammar and lexicon of Pseudo-Chinese; 3) explore the possibility of dialects of this pidgin and the reasons behind such divergence. The results are expected to contribute to the refinement of the definition of a pidgin.

Mouth Gesture Categorization in Hong Kong Sign Language

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The main thrust of this paper is to transcribe mouth gesture features to provide a systematic mouth action transcription in HKSL and to test whether Craborn's framework is applicable in HKSL. Data used in this paper were collected from one narrative story and Hong Kong Sign Language Browser.

Mouth actions in HKSL are transcribed based on British Sign Language (BSL) model because of BSL model has detailed description and integrity of all mouth gesture features. During reviewing literatures, three systematic mouth gesture transcription models have been identified: typology in Swedish Sign Language (SSL), coding scheme in Australian Sign Language (Auslan) and mouth gesture transcriptions in BSL dictionary. Segmental features are used in SSL model. For example, open mouth gesture was described as [+ gap] and /OPEN/. Ten basic features are identified in SSL model. The coding method in SSL reflects mouth component features systematically, but it is rather complicated when it represents the mouth gestures with features combination. Systematic and concrete mouth gesture coding system in Auslan is still vague in tongue-related mouth gestures. Tongue movements have not been marked in Auslan model. Mouth gesture feature transcription in BSL Dictionary are specific. Based on three basic mouth gesture features in BSL: open mouth gesture, closed mouth gesture and tongue-related mouth gesture, specific mouth gesture features are listed in the mouth gesture transcription form. Besides basic types of mouth gestures, teeth movement has also been marked in the data. BSL model provides the most thorough descriptions of all mouth gestures compared with other two models. After the transcription, it is observed that 15 mouth gesture features in BSL also exist in HKSL and two are not found in BSL model.

According to Craborn's theory, mouth gestures are categorized into 4 types: A-type mouth gesture, E-type mouth gesture, 4 type mouth gesture and W-type mouth gesture. Mouth actions in HKSL will be reanalyzed based on Crasborn's criteria and the transcribed features. Across data analysis, all four mouth gesture types have been found in HKSL and two new mouth gesture types have been identified: S-type and P-type. Different mouth action features (**Form 1**) and the frequency of mouth actions types in HKSL (**Table 1**) have been shown in appendix. S-type mouth gesture, named as semantically empty mouth gesture, refers to the mouth gestures sharing the same properties of W-type, but not related the whole face activity. And S-type mouth gesture in HKSL is not echoed by handshape movement. For example, sign APPLE (**Figure 1**) in HKSL. The mouth gesture feature in sign APPLE is "the lips are pushed forward and rounded". On the one hand, this mouth gesture is not associated with the lexical meaning or has independent meaning, because it is not related to the action of eating apple or apple as an object. And this mouth gesture in this sign is not triggered by handshape, also not belongs to the whole face activity. Therefore, mouth movement sharing same properties as this has been marked as a new mouth gesture type in HKSL. P-type mouth gesture is named as property mouth gesture, which refers to the mouth gestures displaying traits of the lexical meaning of the sign instead of depicting the lexical meaning of sign as concretely as 4-type mouth gestures. P-type mouth gesture do not have independent meaning but is lexically associated with manual sign. Although it shares the same properties with E-type mouth gestures, it focuses on the mouth gestures not anchored by handshape movement. For example, sign BOIL (**Figure 2**). The mouth movement in this sign displays a series of plosives to imitate the water boiling in the kettle. The phenomenon of water boiling is iconically displayed with a mouth gesture. Therefore, mouth gestures like this in HKSL have been defined as property mouth gesture. In addition, it is observed that P-type mouth gestures with plosive mouth movement only exists in some lexical verbs such as BOIL, STEAM, BLEED, so it is regarded as an aspect marker of dynamic verbs in HKSL.

Appendix:

Form 1:

Code	Category	Description	Properties
A	Adverbial mouth gestures	Modifying the meaning in sign language	-Independent meaning -Not lexically associated -Not borrowed from spoken language
E	Echo phonology	Mouth action triggered by handshape movement	-Not independent meaning - Lexically associated -Not borrowed from spoken language
4	Mouth for mouth	Mouth action performs the action of the sign	-Independent meaning - Not lexically associated -Not borrowed from spoken language
W	Mouth gesture in whole face	Mouth action with the whole face activity	-Not independent meaning - Not lexically associated -Not borrowed from spoken language
S	Semantically empty mouth gesture	Mouth action not echoed by handshape movement	-Not independent meaning -Not lexically associated -Not borrowed from spoken language -Not related to the whole face activity
P	Property mouth gesture	Mouth action showing the properties of the sign	-Not independent meaning - Lexically associated -Not borrowed from spoken language

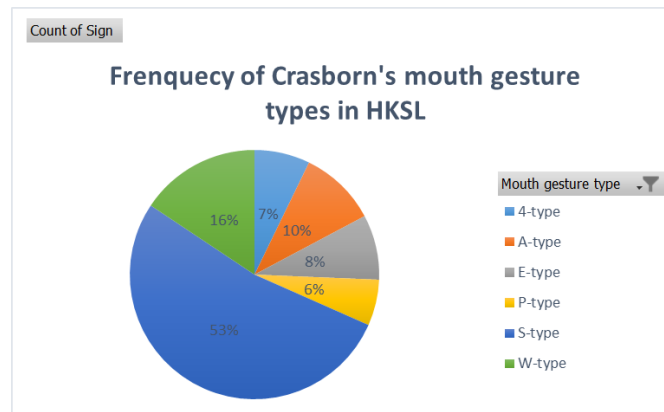


Table 1 Frequency of Crasborn's mouth gesture types in HKSL



Figure 1. APPLE



Figure 2. BOIL

Reference:

Crasborn, O., van der kooij, E., Waters, D., Woll, B., & Mesch, J. (2008). Frequency distribution and spreading behavior of different types of mouth actions in three sign languages. *Sign Language & Linguistics*.11.1. 45-67.

The interaction of aspect marking and QUD in Chinese

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Introduction. It is well known that aspect marking on a matrix eventive predicate is generally required for an episodic reading in Chinese (Tang & Lee 2000; Klein *et al* 2000; Gu 2008; Sun 2014). The bare predicate *shuo* can only have a habitual reading as in (1a); when an episodic reading is intended, some aspectual marker such as the perfective *-le* must be added, as in (1b).

- (1) a. 李四總是跟我說這件事。 b. 李四跟我說?(了)這件事。(‘Lisi told me this matter’)

An intuitive account for the oddness of (1b) is that a sentence without aspect marking only describes a property of events but fails to denote a proposition that the event actually occurs during the topic time (Klein *et al* 2000; Sun 2014), as in (2). Such an account argues that no assertion can be made by uttering a form that does not denote a proposition, capturing native speakers’ intuition that (1b) without aspect marking sounds ‘incomplete’.

- (2) a. [[Lisi gen wo shuo__ zhe jian shi]] = $\lambda e[\text{TELL}(e, \text{LISI}, \text{SPEAKER}, \text{THIS-MATTER})]$
b. [[Lisi gen wo shuo-le zhe jian shi]] = $\exists e[\text{TELL}(e, \text{LISI}, \text{SPEAKER}, \text{THIS-MATTER}) \wedge \tau(e) \subseteq t_{\text{TOP}}]$

(A past tense reading is derived based on the deictic interpretation principle, following Smith & Erbaugh 2005)

Main claims. I argue that aspect marking on matrix verbs is required (for episodic readings) only when the realization of the matrix verb (during the topic time) is addressing the Question Under Discussion (/is at-issue, Roberts 1996). Here are two pieces of evidence: First, while the aspect marking seems ‘near-obligatory’ in (1b), the only reason is that the default QUD is often ‘what happened?’ in an out-of-the-blue context, making the realization of the telling event always at-issue. If we introduce some focus as in (3), the sentence can drop the aspect marking (Tang & Lee 2000). In this case, the realization of a telling event is presupposed (thus not-at-issue) and the main point of uttering (3) is to address a question whether other people besides Lisi did the telling.

- (3) 只有[李四]_F跟我說這件事。(‘Only LISI told me this matter’)

Second, when the matrix verb selects a finite clausal complement, as in (4), the aspect marking becomes optional for an episodic reading. Crucially, while both sentences in (4) can answer a QUD which concerns the embedded content (with (4b) slightly being dispreferred), only the version with aspectual morphology (4b) can answer a QUD concerning the realization of the matrix event, *c.f.* (5), (6). This shows that aspect marking is only required when the matrix content is at-issue.

- (4) a. 李四跟我說[今天特別熱]。 b. 李四跟我說了[今天特別熱]。
(5) *A QUD that concerns the embedded content* (i.e. what the weather is like)
Question: 今天天氣怎麼樣?
Answer: (4a); ?(4b)
(6) *A QUD that concerns the matrix content* (i.e. whether Lisi told me what the weather is like)
Question: 我匯報天氣時你為什麼這麼不耐煩?
Answer: #(4a); (4b)

In sum, the account in (2) is too strong to capture the above data and fails to capture the correlation between the QUD and the presence of aspect marking for episodic readings.

Proposal. I argue that a sentence without aspect marking in Chinese can still denote a proposition (an existential closure is always available), though an extremely under-informative one, as in (7). The semantics in (7) fails to specify the relation between the event time of the telling and the topic time, thus it does not entail the realization of the telling event in the actual world.

- (7) [[Lisi gen wo shuo__ zhe jian shi]] = $\exists e[\text{TELL}(e, \text{LISI}, \text{SPEAKER}, \text{THIS-MATTER})]$

I further propose that generally such an under-informative reading can be enriched into a more informative one that the event is realized (via Default Aspect, Bohnemeyer & Swift 2004; Smith & Erbaugh 2005; Lin 2006) in (8a), but crucially not when the QUD concerns the realization of the event. The reason is that in the latter case, assuming that the discourse participants are rational and cooperative (Grice 1975), the utterance of (1b) without aspect marking by a speaker will lead to the following reasoning in a hearer’s mind: (i) The speaker must make their contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes (by Maxim of Quantity); (ii) Since the QUD (*e.g.* *What happened?*) concerns whether the telling event actually occurred, if the speaker knows that the event is realized, they should use the more informative form, namely (1b) with aspect marking, since it is relevant for the current purpose; (iii) However, the speaker doesn’t choose to use the aspectually marked form but the aspectually unmarked one, which implicates that they do not know whether the telling event in fact is realized or not. Such an ignorance implicature is undesirable since it contradicts the potential enriched interpretation via Default Aspect, as in (8b).

- (8) a. When the QUD is NOT about the realization of the telling event: (7) can be enriched to:

$$\exists e[\text{REAL}(\text{TELL}, t_{\text{TOP}}, e)] \text{ in which ‘REAL’ is defined as: } \forall P, t_{\text{TOP}}, e[\text{REAL}(P, t_{\text{TOP}}, e) \leftrightarrow \exists e'[P(e') \wedge e' \leq e \wedge \tau(e') \subseteq t_{\text{TOP}}]]$$

- b. When the QUD is about the realization of the telling event: The enrichment is contradicted by an ignorance implicature.

While the impression is that conversational implicatures are often cancelable, I follow Lauer (2013, 2014) in arguing that implicatures can be mandatory if the pragmatic pressures driving them are not context-dependent in a particular way – in our case, since the aspectually marked form is always preferred over the unmarked form when the QUD concerns the realization of the telling event, the reasoning in (i-iii) always happens, giving rise to the mandatory ignorance implicature.

Conclusions. This paper argues that the apparent requirement to have aspect marking on matrix event predicates for episodic readings is due to the fact that in an out-of-the-blue context, the default QUD happens to concern the realization of the matrix event. With focus or a biclausal construction (3-4), which potentially introduces a different QUD that does not concern the realization of the matrix event, the aspect marking becomes optional since the enriched interpretation in (8a) will not be blocked by the undesired ignorance implicature.

Selected references. Bohnmeyer & Swift 2004. *Event realization and default aspect*; Klein, Li & Hendriks 2000. *Aspect and assertion in Mandarin Chinese*; Lauer 2014. *Mandatory implicatures in Gricean pragmatics*; Lin, Jo-Wang 2006. *Time in a language without tense: The case of Chinese*; Roberts 1996/2012. *Information structure in discourse: Toward a unified theory of formal pragmatics*; Smith & Erbaugh 2005. *Temporal interpretation in Mandarin Chinese*; Tang & Lee 2000 *Focus as an anchoring condition*.

On the Semantics of *henduo* ‘many’ and *henshao* ‘few’ in Mandarin Chinese

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Partee (2004) claims that English *many* and *few* are ambiguous between the cardinal reading and the proportional reading, differing in their morpho-syntactic roles as an adjective or a determiner. *Many* and *few* serve as adjectives and determiners under the cardinal readings and only as determiners under the proportional readings. Although many studies have been conducted on quantifying words in different languages (see e.g. Milsark 1977; Westerståhl 1984; Cohen 2001; Krasikova 2011), not much has been done on Mandarin.

Many and *few* are generally translated as *henduo* ‘many’ and *henshao* ‘few’ in Mandarin, and this paper aims to study the semantics of *henduo* and *henshao*, in relation to their morpho-syntactic roles. Data have been collected from the CCL corpus, with targeted investigation conducted through experiments. Preliminary results reveal the following observations.

Firstly, while *henduo* primarily functions as an attribute, *henshao* is found to serve dominantly as an adverbial, with the two demonstrating asymmetrical syntactic distributions. Subject and object asymmetry exists in *henshao* but not in *henduo*. For cases where *henshao* serves seemingly as an attribute, there is a covert existential marker *you* ‘have/exist’ converting *henshao* from an attribute to an adverbial in the subject position as in (1a), while not in the object position as in (1b). Contrarily, it is more natural for *henduo* to function as an attribute, with less obvious subject and object asymmetry.

- (1) a. **Henshao** (you) ren jiang zhege gushi. b. Zhege gushi sheji **henshao** (*you) ren.
 few (have) people tell this story this story involve few (*have) people
 ‘Few people tell this story.’ ‘This story involves few people.’

Secondly, it is found that *henduo* gives priority to the weak cardinal reading (54.57%) over the proportional reading (22.29%) in the subject position. The more salient preference is found in the object position, with cardinal reading of 57.96%. This manifests that regardless of whether it is in the subject or the object position, *henduo* is adjective-like, namely a modifier in sentences. On the other hand, for *henshao*, a covert existential marker *you* ‘have/exist’ exists to convert *henshao* from an attribute to an adverbial in the subject position, and it is also inclined to the weak cardinal reading (45.72%) in the limited cases of being an attribute in the object position. The figures suggest that *henduo* and *henshao* give priority to the weak cardinal reading in both subject and object positions.

Thirdly, topic leads to the proportional readings of *henduo* (46.28%) and *henshao* (59.14%), which manifests that *henduo* and *henshao* are quantifier-like in the topic position.

Generalizing, these findings preliminarily reveal at least the following two points.

- (a) Cardinal readings tend to be the dominant readings in *henduo* and *henshao*, regardless of whether the two occur in subject or object position, while the limited preference of proportional readings occur in the topic position. This shows that both *henduo* and *henshao* are weak quantifiers by nature. Proportional reading is only possible when they are licensed by the topic feature in the [Head, TopicP] position, which is a position assimilating QP.
- (b) English *many* and *few* are lexically ambiguous between the cardinal reading and the proportional reading, which leads to their difference in morpho-syntactic roles as an adjective or a determiner. Chinese *henduo* and *henshao* count on syntactic movement from subject position to topic position, with the topic feature serving as the licencing condition for the proportional reading.

From gestures to grammatical non-manuals in sign language: a case study of polar questions and negation in Hong Kong Sign Language

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The exact relation between hearing people's gestures in communicative contexts (e.g., co-speech gestures, facial expressions, emblems) and sign languages have intrigued researchers for decades. Recent studies suggest that eyebrow raise in polar questions and headshakes in negations in sign languages have arisen from the incorporation of hearing speakers' gestures in similar contexts into sign language grammar via grammaticalization (Janzen 1999, 2012, Janzen & Shaffer 2002, Pfau & Steinbach 2011, Pfau 2015). These proposals appear to suggest that such incorporations are an outcome of language contact, with the spoken languages of the wider hearing communities serving the role of the "donor language" from which eyebrow raise and headshakes are borrowed. This paper aims at reviewing these proposals in light of Wilcox's theory on gesture grammaticalization in sign languages (Wilcox 2004, 2009, 2014). Wilcox argues that gestures can enter sign language grammar along two distinct grammaticalization routes - one via lexicalization (Route I) and the other via prosody/intonation (Route II). With evidence from Cantonese and HKSL conversations, we argue that eyebrow raise in polar questions in HKSL is likely to have evolved from a paralinguistic gestural element into a grammatical marker via a language-internal process due to the universal nature of eyebrow raise in questioning contexts. In contrast, despite their prevalence in Cantonese conversations, negation-related headshakes are not systematically recruited to mark negation in HKSL. Instead, backward head movements have been grammaticalized to become optional markers for negation. These findings, we argue, lend support to the previous claims that headshakes are cultural specific rather than universal. In addition, frequency of occurrence in the hearing community does not appear to be a sufficient condition for a non-manual gesture to enter the linguistic system of sign languages. Eyebrow raise in polar questions and backward head movements in negations in HKSL can be subsumed under Route II proposed by Wilcox, along a language-internal evolutionary path. On the other hand, we will propose that, for sign languages that employ headshakes as markers for negation, the headshakes are likely to have grammaticalized via cross-modal borrowing.

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现代汉语A-not-A问句中的“A”及其与问句形式的关系

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汉语A-not-A问句是指句法结构上由谓词“A”的肯定形式与其否定形式“not A”并列出现的一种疑问句式，“not”主要由汉语否定词“不”或者“没”充当。(朱德熙, 1982)。A-not-A问句的主要形式为“A not AB”以及“AB not A”两类(黄正德, 1988)。近年来, 还有研究讨论了“是不是A”、“有没有A”等新兴形式的A-not-A问句的建构(Wu 1997,何元建 2011,李莹 2015)。

本文认为A-not-A问句生成的核心问题是“A”的重叠, 这一操作依靠形态句法手段、音韵规则和语用因素共同实现。A-not-A问句不同形式中的“A”实际上为不同句法层级的句子成分, 且“A”的成分对问句中的否定词和问句形式十分敏感。“A not AB”形式中的“A”可以为构词语素或词, 则“AB”中的“B”可以是这个词的另一构词语素, 或是它的补足语, 具体取决于重叠发生的范围, 如(1a-c)句所示; 在“AB not A”中“A”只能是词, “AB”是动词的最大投射, 如(2a-c)句所示; 在“A not A”形式问句中, B等于零, 正反并列的两项表面上合二为一, 此时“A”可以是词或短语结构, 如(3a-c)句所示。而“A”的词类由否定词和A-not-A的问句形式共同决定。

- (1) (a) 你喜不喜欢? (A=构词语素“喜”, AB=动词“喜欢”)
(b) 你喜不喜欢苹果? (A=构词语素“喜”, AB=VO短语“喜欢苹果”)
(c) 你喜欢不喜欢苹果? (A=动词“喜欢”, AB=VO短语“喜欢苹果”)
- (2) (a) 你喜欢苹果不喜欢? (A=动词“喜欢”, AB=VO短语“喜欢苹果”)
(b) *你喜欢苹果不喜? (A=构词语素“喜”, AB=VO短语“喜欢苹果”)
(c) *你喜欢不喜? (A=构词语素“喜”, AB=动词“喜欢”)
- (3) (a) 你喜欢不喜欢? (A=动词“喜欢”)
(b) 你喜欢苹果不喜欢苹果? (A=VO 短语“喜欢苹果”)
(c) *你喜不喜? (A=构词语素“喜”)

本论文采用成人语法接受度测试的方法, 以线上实验的方式考察了87名汉语母语者对不同类型A-not-A问句的接受度情况, 探索影响问句各形式合语法性的句法形态操作规则。调查本文共由130个句子组成, 每个句子的接受程度最高为5分, 最低1分。我们发现成人对不同形式的A-not-A问句的接受度呈现梯级分布: 1) “是不是A”、“有没有A”这一类新兴的问句形式接受度最高, 平均接受度在4.4以上; 2) “A not AB”形式问句的接受度次之, 且要受到形式中的“A”的句法层级和词类的影响。人们更倾向于接受“A”由构词语素承担的问句, 在“A not AB”的形式中, 接受度最高的A词类为介词, 其次为动词, 而情态词和副词构成的同一形式问句被认为不符合语法, 这一形式的问句得分在2.82-4.46之间, 平均接受度为3.34; 3) “AB not A”形式问句接受度普遍较低, 位于2.04-2.23; “A not AB”问句中“A”不同词类的接受度有高低之别, 然而“AB not A”形式问句之间没有接受度上的差别; 4) 无论“A”为动词短语或光杆动词, “A not A”形式问句的接受度都是最低的, 平均接受度为2.05。据此, 我们认为成人能够分辨“A”词类和问句形式之间的组合关系, 大部分倾向于接受组合正确的问句, 拒绝形式和“A”词类冲突的问句。“A”的词类和A-not-A问句形式之间存在相互制约关系, “A”的词类对判断一个A-not-A问句合法与否同样起重要作用。这支持了黄正德(1988)和徐杰与田源(2013)对汉语A-not-A问句不同形式生成规则的论证, 同时也有助于为何元建(2011)提出的A-not-A问句形式和“A”语类之间发展不平衡性假说提供实证依据。

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An Experimental Investigation on Domain Restriction of the Adverb *sin1* in Cantonese

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The Cantonese adverb *sin1* (先) carry multiple meanings and can occupy different syntactic positions (Cheng 1997; Wong 2010; Matthews & Yip 2011; Tang 2015). When used as a restrictive focus marker, *sin1* can express a contrastive (1) or exclusive meaning (2) (Cheng 1990; Cheng 1997; Wong 2010; Lau 2019).

- (1) 你 先 係， 我 唔 係。 (Cheng 1997) (2) 我 先 去 外國 讀書。
Nei5 sin1 hai6, ngo5 m4 hai6. Ngo5 sin1 heoi3 oi6gwok3 duk6syu1.
you only be I not be I only go foreign.country study
“You are, I am not.” “Only me will study aboard.”

In terms of syntactic distribution, the restrictive *sin1* must occur preverbally. As shown in the meaning contrast between (2) and (3), the preverbal *sin1* in (2) denotes restrictiveness whereas the postverbal *sin1* in (3) only serves to express temporal precedence.

- (3) 我 去 外國 讀書 先。
Ngo5 heoi3 oi6gwok3 duk6syu1 sin1
I go foreign.country study first
“I will study aboard first.”

The present study pursues an experimental investigation on the domain restriction of *sin1*. Using a five-point Likert scale grammaticality judgment task conducted online through Qualtrics, twenty native speakers of Hong Kong Cantonese were tested on their acceptability of *sin1*-sentences restricting over the subject, the object, and the verb phrase respectively, as exemplified in (4-6).

- (4) Tom 先 畫 緊 油畫， 其他 人 冇 畫 緊 油畫。
Tom sin1 waak6 gan2 jau4waa2, kei4taa1 jan4 mou5 waak6 gan2 jau4waa2.
Tom only paint DURoil.painting other person not.have paint DUR oil.painting
“Only Tom is painting an oil painting, no other person is painting an oil painting.”
- (5) Tom 先 畫 緊 水彩畫， 冇 畫 緊 其他 種類 嘅 畫。
Tom sin1 waak6 gan2 seoi2coi2waa2, mou5 waak6 gan2 kei4taa1 zung2lei6 ge3 waa2.
Tom SIN paint DURwatercolor.painting not.have paint DURother type POSS painting
“Tom is only painting a watercolor painting, (he is) not painting other types of painting.”
- (6) Tom 先 畫 緊 粉彩畫， 冇 做 其他 嘢。
Tom sin1 waak6 gan2 fan2coi2waa2, mou5 zou6 kei4taa1 je5.
Tom only paint DUR pastel.painting not.have do other thing
“Tom is painting only a pastel painting, (he is) not doing other things.”

Our results show that the *sin1*-sentences were strongly accepted under subject association context, with an average acceptability score of 3.76. The object and VP associations of *sin1* were barely accepted, with average acceptability scores of 1.95 and 2.19 respectively. In sum, we argue that the restrictive use of the adverb *sin1* in Cantonese is subject to a positional requirement in having to occur preverbally and the adverb can only be associated with the subject in its domain restriction.

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Cross-script Phonological Priming in Cantonese-English Bilinguals and the Influence of Phonetic Similarity

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It has been controversial whether, for bilinguals, the phonological representations of the lexical items from the two languages are integrated or processed separately. Previous studies on bilinguals have shown that, for two languages with similar written forms, e.g., Dutch and French, there is a phonological priming effect (Brysbaert et al., 1999) suggesting that the phonological representations of two languages are likely to be integrated in the bilinguals' mental lexicon. There have been relatively fewer studies on bilinguals whose two languages are in different writing systems, i.e., different-script languages, with exceptions such as Nakayama et al.'s (2012) study on Japanese-English bilinguals.

The current study investigates (i) whether the phonological representations of two different-script languages are integrated in the bilinguals' mental lexicon, and (ii) whether phonetically more similar words facilitate the activation of specific lexical items. A lexical decision task was conducted to examine whether, for Cantonese-English bilinguals, Cantonese written forms can facilitate the recognition of English words. Twenty-four Cantonese-English early bilinguals were recruited as participants. The target English words (e.g., TICK) were primed respectively by three types of Cantonese primes: (a) cognate translation equivalents (e.g., 剔-TICK), (b) phonological similar (but conceptually unrelated) primes (e.g., 的-TICK), and (c) unrelated primes (e.g., 酒-TICK).

The results showed (1) a priming effect for phonologically similar primes and cognate translation primes, (2) a larger priming effect when the Cantonese primes are phonetically more similar to the English target words. The results turned out to hold true for both one- and two-syllable target words. The observed priming effect suggests that, for Cantonese-English early bilinguals, there is likely to be an integration of phonological representations from the two languages in the bilinguals' mental lexicon, and that phonetic similarity is likely to facilitate the activation of lexical items across two languages.

Keywords: bilinguals, cross-script priming, lexical access, lexicon decision, phonetic similarity

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The parataxis-hypotaxis syntactic distinction between Chinese and English: Do Chinese learners form English subordinate clauses less frequently and effectively than other learners?

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Based on his substantial experience of translating the Bible and analysing its translations, Nida (1982) points out that one of the most important syntactic differences between Chinese and English is the former is paratactic while the latter is hypotactic in nature. In paratactic languages such as Chinese, ideas are often expressed by accumulative clauses carrying syntactically parallel units, and as the relations between clauses can be realised by the order in which they are arranged or by the context in which the speaker or writer communicates, connectors are not required in many cases. On the contrary, writers of hypotactic languages such as English tend to link related clauses, both independent and dependent, together into one single sentence through the use of conjunctions, a tool which also helps indicate the semantic relations between the connected clauses; in other words, the formation of structurally hierarchical sentences and the use of clause connectors are more common in English than in Chinese (Tan, 2001). Such syntactic differences between Chinese and English could potentially pose difficulties to Chinese learners of English. For example, possibly being impacted by the paratactic nature of their first language, they may find it more challenging to grasp the concept of structural hierarchy and to understand the importance of the use of connectors to show clausal relations than other learners of English when learning to construct complex sentences.

With a view to examining the impact of the paratactic nature of Chinese, that is, pertaining to coordination and relying on contexts and logical sequencing of clauses to express relations, on its speakers learning English, a hypotactic language, in this study, the uses of subordinate clauses and relation markers by Chinese learners of English are compared with those by their Japanese, Finnish and German counterparts. From the International Corpus of Learner English (Version 2), a collection of English texts totaling 2.5 million words produced by learners of English from different native language backgrounds, the argumentative essays written by Chinese, Japanese, Finnish and German learners of English with different years of exposure to the language are retrieved for statistical and textual examinations. Although there is no strong numerical evidence showing Chinese learners construct subordinate clauses and use relation markers less frequently, some ill-formed subordinate clauses are found predominantly in Chinese learners' written productions. It is therefore suggested that Chinese learners should be taught more explicitly the proper construction of syntactically hierarchical sentences in written English.

Keywords:

parataxis; hypotaxis; syntactic hierarchy; subordination; relation markers

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A Syntactic Study of Dummy Pronominal *Ta* (他/它) in the V+*Ta*+XP Construction

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In colloquial Mandarin Chinese, the third person singular pronoun *ta* (它/他) in the “V+*ta*+XP” construction behaves quite differently in that it can neither receive focal stress nor be questioned by *shui* (谁), as exemplified in (1). Based on its grammatical behaviors, this study will explore the grammatical status of the dummy pronominal *ta* in the V+*ta*+XP construction.

- (1) a. 先看它/他两场电影再走。 b. *先看‘它/他’两场电影再走。 c. *先看谁两场电影再走？

Syntactically, postverbal *ta* co-occurs obligatorily with NumP, i.e., XP in the V+*ta*+XP construction (2). In line with this, some scholars (Lin and Zhang 2006; Xiong 2013) consider postverbal *ta* as a non-specific determiner clitic taking NumP as its complement. This claim is problematic in that *ta* and NumP do not form a constituent, as tested in (3b).

- (2) a. 看他两场电影 b. *看他电影 c. 玩他(一)个痛快 d. *玩他痛快
(3) a. 我要看他两场电影。 b. *他两场电影, 我要看。

Dummy pronominal *ta* either appears in sentences with perfective aspect (4a) and habitual aspect (4b), or is licensed by modal verbs explicitly or implicitly, i.e., priority/dynamic modality rather than epistemic modality (5), and the licensing of which is subject to locality condition (6).

- (4) a. 我一下子买了他三十斤猪肉。(perfective) b. 我每天都跑他十圈。(habitual aspect)
(5) a. 我必须/想/会跳他三支舞。 b. 我*可能/*或许/*大概跳他三支舞。
(6) a. *我想知道[谁跳他三支舞]。 b. 我想知道[谁想跳他三支舞]。

Semantically, dummy pronominal *ta* emphatically conveys speaker’s subjective feelings. Compared with sentences without *ta* (7a), the insertion of *ta* indicates the speaker’s strong desire (7b) or casualness (7c) of sleeping. Besides, its interaction with the following NumP yields an estimated big/small quantity/amount reading in terms of the speaker’s subjective evaluation as demonstrated in (8b) or (8c).

- (7) a. 我要睡八九个小时。(neutral) b. 真累, 我要睡他八九个小时。(big amount)
c. 我就在下课时候睡他七八分钟。(small amount)

Extra constraints on the V+*ta*+XP construction are observed to express the speaker’s subjectivity. Firstly, the subject should be animate and carries volitional subjectivity (8). Secondly, imperatives and hypothetical conditionals relevant to the speaker’s request/subjective assumption are felicitous to hold *ta* (9). Thirdly, *ta* is legal to occur in *yes-no* questions with the speaker’s bias rather than in A-not-A questions expressing a neutral meaning (Li and Thompson 1979).

- (8) a. 广州马上要刮十二级大风。 b. *广州马上要刮他十二级大风。
c. 广州太热了, 人们想刮他个十二级大风凉快一下。
(9) a. 建他一个网站! (imperative) b. 不来他几个回合是不行的。(hypothetical conditional)
(10) a. 来他两桌牌吗? (*yes-no* question) b. *来不来他两桌牌? (A-not-A question)

The observations above suggest that dummy pronominal *ta* has lost its referential property and is an element to convey speaker’s subjective attitude/evaluation. Given its semantic bleaching and its obligatory attachment to verbs, we posit that postverbal *ta* has been grammaticalized into an affixal functional category, encoding speaker’s subjectivity.

Syntactically, we assume that *ta* encoding subjectivity has its own projection *TaP* which is at the periphery of the extended VP, either selecting AspP as its complement or be licensed by ModP. To derive the right word order, the verb is first attracted by the affix *le* in AspP, and the intermediate phrase V-*le* is further attracted by the affix *ta*, deriving the phrase V-*le-ta*-NumP. If no AspP occurs, postverbal *ta* has to be licensed by higher functional categories or null operators, including modal verbs, imperative operators (Han 1998) and conditional operators (Haegeman 2010).

The Use of Language in the NCCPC Reports from 1956-2017: An Exploratory Content Analysis

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People's Republic of China (PRC) has rapidly developed since its founding under the Communist Party of China (CPC). The reports of the National Congress of the CPC (NCCPC) are important documents providing regular reviews on its past developments and blueprint for the future in the preceding and following five years respectively.

This paper provides content analysis of the 8th to 19th NCCPC reports (1956 to 2017) in key content words by analysis from three perspectives: (1) the lexical patterns, (2) the distributional changes in different domains, and (3) word collocations. In the quantitative analysis, key content words are the register markers, and their distribution and collocation are register features (Biber, 1994).

The analysis shows relative consistency in the word types of all the reports (around 2000 types except for the 10th report with vary length). However, lexical variations have appeared with the new period of critical change. The keyword frequency and quantity of new words show new trends since the 13th reports, which will be shown to the ideological change (i.e., the appearance of “socialism with Chinese characteristics”, 中國特色社會主義). The period of critical change has emerged since 1987, the 13th report, instead of 1977, the 11th report, and the possible reason is related to the Reform and Opening Up (改革開放, since 1978), which echoes the study by Murata (1988) on the 8th to 15th reports (1956 to 1997). Furthermore, beyond Murata's finding, it is interesting to note that many new words appeared in the 19th report (2017), which show a fresh start in both internal and external affairs.

The changes in key content word frequency can indicate policy transition over time, as demonstrated in Murata (1998). From the frequency changes of keywords related to the economy, changes in other developments can also be observed, such as politics, diplomacy, infrastructure, education, and culture. The frequencies of economic keywords are dominant compared to the frequencies of other aspects' keyword before the 15th report (1997), whereas there is a reversal since the 15th. It shows the shift of priority from economy to other domains.

This paper also goes beyond previous studies by looking at the changes in collocated terms over time. For example, “Democracy” (民主) is linked to the progression of people's involvement from “revolution” (革命) to “supervision” (監督) and then “negotiation” (協商); “Freedom” (自由) shows a shift from “obtainment” (得到) to “guarantee” (保證) and then “entitlement” (享有). The analysis in this paper show that content analysis can provide a better understanding of the political and ideological development of China.

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On the temporal structure of the ‘not.yet’ negator *mei6* in Cantonese

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Mei6 (‘未’) is a specialized negative form meaning ‘not...yet’ in Hong Kong/Guangzhou Cantonese. Most studies thought that *mei6* differs from another negator *mou5* (‘冇’) in that *mei6* implies that the event/state under negation is expected (by the speaker) to take place in the future while *mou5* does not hold such expectation. However, one can find the element ‘expectation’ alone is not sufficient to explain and predict the distribution of *mei6* and its contrast with *mou5*.

For example, unlike *mou5*, *mei6* is incompatible with the habitual aspect marker *hoi1* (‘開’), even if the event under negation is expected to be happening in the context:

- (1) *Ngo5 mei6 tai2 hoi1 nei1 go3 toi4, zoe3 gan6
seong2 tai2 ha5.
1SG not.yet watch HAB this CL channel, recently want
watch CL
‘*I have not yet used to watch this TV channel, and I want to watch it recently.’

In addition, *mei6* cannot occur with frequency adverbials such as “ci3 ci3 (‘every time’) in the same clause, even though the event being negated is supposed to happen (2a). Interestingly, the sentence turns grammatical when the *mei6* phrase is followed by another verb phrase as in (2b):

- (2a) *koe5 ci3 ci3 tou1 mei6 sik6 saai3 di1 faan6.
3SG every time all not.yet eat finish some
rice
‘*He hasn’t finished the rice yet every time.’
(2b) koe5 ci3 ci3 tou1 mei6 sik6 saai3 di1 faan6 zau6 zau2 zo2
3SG every time all not.yet eat finish some rice then leave Perf.
‘He leaves when he hasn’t finished the rice yet every time.’

Moreover, *mei6* seems to be incompatible with temporal nouns that denote past time reference such as ‘kam4 jat6’(‘yesterday’) in (3a); however, the sentence become perfect when the time point in the past is specified in (3b):

- (3a) ?? ngo5 kam4 jat6 zong6 mei6 sik6 faan6
1SG yesterday still not.yet eat rice
‘*I had not yet had meals yesterday.’
(3b) ngo5 kam4 man5 kau2 dim2 zong6 mei6 sik6 faan6
1SG yesterday evening nine o’clock still not.yet eat rice
‘I had not yet had meals at nine o’clock last night.’

The three kinds of distributive restrictions of *mei6* shown above cannot be explained simply by the factor of speaker’s expectations and must be related to temporal features encoded in the negator. In this article, I examine the combinational restrictions and interpretations of *mei6* when it combines with the five main situation types, various aspectual viewpoints, and different kinds of temporal adverbials. I then propose a schema of the temporal structure of *mei6* using the classic E/R/S model (Reichbach 1947), which can be described as follows:

Let t(E)=the time when the event/state is expected to take place, t(R)=the reference

time, $t(S)$ =the speech time. The temporal structure of mei_6 requires that: (1) $t(R)$ must be anchored by a specific time point which can be denoted by temporal expressions. If there is no overt temporal expression, then $t(R)=t(S)$; (2) $t(E)$ is identical to either the initial point (I) or the end point (F) of the event/state depending on the situation types of the predicate being negated; (3) $t(E) > t(R)$. I will prove that this semantic description successfully predicts the distributions and interpretations of mei_6 in various kinds of aspectual environments as well as its contrast with the other two negators mou_5 and m_4 in Cantonese.

Keywords: negation; aspect; temporal structure; ‘not yet’; Cantonese

Distributivity in Child Mandarin

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In English, sentences like (1) are ambiguous, one of the readings is ‘three boys are each holding two balloons’, and another is ‘three boys are holding two balloons together’. The former reading is called *distributive reading* (scope-dependent), the latter *collective reading* (scope-independent). The two different interpretations of the sentence involve the psychological representation of numeral concept as well as the processing mechanism of linguistic expressions with number words.

(1) Three boys are holding two balloons.

The development of distributive/non-distributive interpretations of sentences like (1) have been studied in many literature across languages (Brooks and Braine 1996; Musolino, 2009; Syrett & Musolino, 2013; Drozd et al., 2017 among many others). Experimental data from Indo-European languages consistently showed that children prefer the distributive interpretations when interpreting sentences like (1), while adults prefer the collective reading (Gil 1982; Pagliarini et al. 2012; Syrett & Musolino 2013). As Champollion (2015) et al. pointed out, distributive interpretation is essentially a semantic property of predicates, people get the distributive interpretation of sentences by interpreting the predicates as plural. In English, (non)plurality is generally embodied by the *Agreement* markers, such as postverbal *-s*, while Mandarin is a language that lacks plural markers of predicates, which means that people cannot derive the distributive/non-distributive interpretations of sentences like (1) in Mandarin in a morphological way. Thus, an important question arises: how do Mandarin children derive the distributive interpretation of such sentences? Previous studies have investigated the development of scope dependency and found that children can derive scope-dependent distributive interpretation at a very young age (Lee 1986; Lee 1997; Su 2001; Zhou & Crain 2011 among many others), yet little attention has been paid to how children derive the distributive interpretations and to what extent their interpretations differ from that of adults. The answer to this question will help us to understand the development of linguistic expressions with numeral words across languages.

The present study conducted a TVJ (Truth Value Judgement) task (within-subject) to examine the two interpretations of corresponding sentence of (1) in Mandarin (*NumP* sentence) *San-ge nanhai na-zhe liang-ge qiqiu* ‘Three boys are holding two balloons’ by five- and six-year-old children (N=20; range: 5;0 – 6;9, mean: 5;9). The differences between children and adults in distributive and collective interpretation were also tested on the conditions where the above sentences contain two common Mandarin distributive quantifiers *dou* ‘all’ and *ge* ‘each’ respectively, as shown by (2) and (3).

(2) San-ge nanhai dou na-zhe liang-ge qiqiu.

Three boy DOU hold-Asp two-Cl balloon

‘Three boys are all holding two balloons.’

(3) San-ge nanhai ge na-zhe liang-ge qiqiu.

Three boy GE hold-Asp two-Cl balloon

‘Three boys are each holding two balloons.’

The results show that: In general, Mandarin children aged five-six are different from adults in deriving distributive interpretations, which is embodied in: 1. Mandarin adults take collective interpretation as their default interpretation when interpreting sentences like ‘*San-ge nanhai na-zhe liang-ge qiqiu*’, while their derivation of distributive interpretations is marked (requires explicit distributive quantifiers like *dou* ‘all’ and *ge* ‘each’). Although some empirical evidence from Indo-European languages showed a collective-interpretation preference of adults interpreting sentence (1), this preference is particularly strong in Mandarin adults, who even did not judge the *NumP* sentences as ambiguous. 2. Compared with adults, children showed a preference for the distributive interpretation of *NumP* sentences, which is in line with the empirical data from Indo-European languages. More accurately, children are more tolerant than adults in interpreting *NumP* sentences, and they took both interpretations as default, rather than only the collective interpretation as adults. ⁶⁴

Hearing Students' Language Attitude towards Hong Kong Sign Language and Deaf People in the Secondary Bimodal Bilingual Co-Enrollment Program

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This research examined language attitudes of hearing secondary students enrolled in the Sign Bilingual Co-Enrollment Education Program (SLCO) towards Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL). Bimodal Bilingual co-enrollment is characterized by co-learning of hearing and deaf and hard-of-hearing (DHH) students, co-teaching by teachers with signing and speech, sign-bilingual education, and the critical mass of DHH students (Marschark, Antia, & Knoors, 2019). Previous research suggested a positive correlation between sign language proficiency of hearing students and their attitude towards deaf classmates (Bowen 2008; Yiu & Tang, 2014). This research examined if there is a correlation between HKSL proficiency of hearing secondary SLCO students and their language attitude towards HKSL. I conducted a modified Questionnaire Survey (Lai, 2005) on language attitude and a modified Hong Kong Sign Language Sentence Repetition Test (HKSL-SRT, Sze, Wei, & Lam, 2020) online. There were two research questions; 1. *Is there a difference in language attitude towards HKSL and deaf people between secondary school students who enroll in SLCO and those at regular mainstream schools? If the answer is affirmative, what is the difference?* 2. *Is sign language proficiency correlated to their language attitude?* The results showed that SLCO students obtained significantly higher attitude scores for HKSL, especially in the instrumental language attitude. Pooled OLS regression suggested the importance of investigating identity and the relationship with native speakers in language attitude research. HKSL proficiency in non-manual-forms (NMF) showed a moderate positive correlation with language attitude towards HKSL and deaf people. It suggested the importance of explicit teaching about NMF in sign language courses. Also, students who studied in the co-enrolled class at the primary school showed significantly higher proficiency. This experiment could be replicated in the future to create time-series panel data.

Keyword: bimodal bilingual co-enrollment, language attitude, Hong Kong Sign Language Sentence Repetition Test

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On the position of perfective aspect

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An ordering puzzle: The growing literature on VP has reached a general consensus that VP structure needs to be more articulated in *aspect* (Travis 2010, *i.a.*). One representative of relevant efforts in Chinese is Tsai (2008), who proposes a three-tier analysis based on the incompleteness effects of aspectual markers. Perfective aspect *-le* is said to be lower than experiential aspect *-guo*. Yet, *V-guo-le* can be found in natural data as (1).

(1) *Ni kan-guo-le xuduo meijing* (BCC corpus)

2SG see-EXP-PFV many beautiful.scenery “You have seen a lot of beautiful scenery.”

Under the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985), *-le* should be higher than *-guo*, contrary to Tsai’s claim. Where to locate perfective aspect is thus a non-trivial question.

Goals: (i) To argue that perfective aspect is the highest aspectual projection within TP, and (ii) to provide an alternative account for the incompleteness effects of aspect.

Suffix stacking in Yangchun Yue dialect: In Yangchun (陽春) dialect, suffixes may stack up to three. Like Mandarin, experiential *-kɔ33* may be followed by perfective *-pou45*; and like Cantonese, experiential *-kɔ33* may be followed by a suffix of universal quantification *-cvi2* (a rough counterpart of *-saai* “all”). Moreover, the three suffixes may stack together, as in (2). The scopal relation is shown in (3), which may be informally expressed as “He has done an event such that for every book x, he read x.”

(2) *Kvi212 tvi212-kɔ33-cvi2-pou45 ko212 nai45 si45 lɔ33*. (佢睇過齊本個泥書咯)

3SG read-EXP-all-PFV that CL.PL book SFP

“He has read all of these books.”

(3) Perfective > universal > experiential

Note that the ordering is rigid. *V-PFV-EXP*, *V-all-EXP* and *V(-EXP)-PFV-all* are impossible.

(4) a. **hət45-pou45-kɔ33* b. **hət45-cvi2-kɔ33* c. **hət45(-kɔ33)-pou45-cvi2*
eat-PFV-EXP eat-all-EXP eat-EXP-PFV-all

Analysis: Following Tang’s (1996, 2003, 2006) analysis on Cantonese VP and *-saai* “all”, I propose that Yangchun *-cvi2* also occupy a position above *vP* and is thus able to distribute over the (sub-)events. The immediate consequence is that the perfective aspect must be higher than *-cvi2*, and subsequently higher than experiential aspect.

(5) [TP [PFVP *-pou45* [ALLP *-cvi2* [EXPP *-kɔ33* [VP ...

On the other hand, I suggest that the incompleteness effects of verbal suffixes depend on the (non-)existence of Agree relation with a higher operator, but not on their syntactic position. Perfective aspect, though being higher, does not have such a relation and thus fails to anchor tense. The lower experiential aspect, however, may establish a relation with a generic operator and anchor the sentence. (6) is ambiguous between episodic and generic readings. In both Mandarin and Yangchun, only the generic reading is regarded as “complete”, and episodic reading will give rise to incompleteness.

(6) (%) *Ta chi-guo fan*

3SG eat-EXP rice

i. %“(Just now,) he has eaten rice.” (episodic)

ii. “(As an Asian,) he has eaten rice before” (generic)

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Exploring the communications of social support in threads about anxiety and depression on Baby Kingdom: A discourse-pragmatic approach

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How social support is performed and maintained has been of interest to sociolinguists and discourse analysts. More recently, increasing attention has been drawn to investigating social support in the online context, particularly the communicative features of online support groups for mental diseases (e.g. Horgan et al., 2013; Paulus and Varga, 2015, Prescott et al., 2017, among others). A social support group is defined as a group of people who share the same problems congregates with the goal of helping each other to tackle their mutual problems (Finn, 1999). While such online groups for mental illnesses are commonly found in western countries like Australia (e.g. Beyond Blue), the US (e.g. Daily Strength) and the UK (e.g. No More Panic), they are not common in Chinese communities, including Hong Kong. People with similar issues would tend to seek help from a variety of online forums, which often include a section on mental health, or at list health in general. Our present study explores the discourse-pragmatic features of threads involved on the online forum “Baby Kingdom” in Hong Kong – a local online forum which is famous for discussion about parenting, such as pregnancy, early-childhood education and parent-child relationship. In this forum, participants raise questions, share personal experience and exchange useful information about parenting. The communication patterns of the participants involved here seems similar to that of online support groups that are for people with physical or mental health problems. Our study aims to investigate how participants proffer social support to one another in conversations among participants with anxiety and/or depression in Baby Kingdom, addressing two research questions:

- a) What is the sequential structure of the interactions among participants?
- b) What categories of social support are exchanged among participants?

Move analysis (Swales, 1990) is applied to identify the textual boundaries between moves and content analysis is employed to reveal the categories of social support. Thirty threads about anxiety and/or depression in Baby Kingdom were collected and examined with reference to Yip (2020), which revealed communication patterns and types of social support in six online support groups for anxiety and depression based in Western countries. The results indicate that the sequential structure of the interactions in Baby Kingdom is analogous to that of the Western online support groups: thread initiation (direct/indirect request for support) – delivery of social support (request/offer or offer/accept the support) – negotiation (probing questions or discussing ideas)

The conversations in the Western online support groups are primarily limited to requesting and offering support. In contrast, more back-and-forth exchanges are found in Baby Kingdom as more negotiation moves are identified. Moreover, the participants in Baby Kingdom provide more diverse types of social support, including advice, understanding/empathy, compliment and companion, while participants in the WOSG tend to share own experience, thoughts and feelings to show understanding/ empathy to support seekers. This study argues the discrepancies between Baby Kingdom and Western online support groups lie in their contextual settings. Baby Kingdom is not positioned as an online support group, but a general forum where provides more freedom for participants with or without anxiety and/or depression to interact without thematic constraints. The findings provide implications for remedying “robotic” communication pattern that may deprive the therapeutic potential of online support groups (see Yip, 2018 and Yip, 2020).

漢語動詞虛化初探：京港澳三地同中之異

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現代漢語是華語地區共同的書面語，然而，現代漢語在各華語地區的使用呈現出地區特點。如動詞「打」的虛化，在京港臺三地呈現出不同的歷時發展軌跡 (Tsou & Yip to appear)。相比於其他多在書面語中使用的虛化動詞 (沈家煊、張姜知 2013)，虛化的「打」在口語中廣泛使用。香港及澳門口語中，粵方言佔有強勢地位，這兩個地區的現代漢語各有特色，這些特色為何，迄今相關研究不足。本文主要探討香港、澳門「打」動詞虛化異同，兼與北京比較，嘗試描繪其演變歷程並探究起因，為了解方言區漢語應用及發展提供新視野。

本文基於泛華語地區漢語共時語料庫 LIVAC (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LIVAC_Synchronous_Corpus)，研究香港、澳門動詞「打」虛化現象，並與北京比較。LIVAC 所採用嚴謹「共時性」視窗模式，可供搜集「港京滬台澳新」六地具代表性可靠平面媒體語料，時間跨度由 1995 至 2019 年，已嚴謹處理超過 6.0 億字及提取逾 200 萬詞條，有利於研究各華語地區語言發展情況。

經多種篩選方法，LIVAC 提供 1700 多個以「打」為首的詞條 (比較：《現代漢語辭典》200 多個，臺灣《國語辭典》700 多個)。以詞標 (tokens) 計算，京港澳三地共享「打」詞頻率逾 95%，看似相當一致。惟以詞種 (types) 計算，三地共享者只得約一成，地區差異相當大，可見三地同中有異，箇中原因值得探究。

除詞項應用外，三地動詞虛化進程亦各有異同。按虛化程度，「打」詞可分為三類：(1) 保留原義如「打鬥」；(2) 完全虛化如「打壓」；(3) 還有一種正處於虛化過程，如「打響」有實義「打響槍炮」及虛化義「打響名號」。將三類詞詞標相加，三地虛化用法總比例相近，呈現一致性。然而，正過渡到虛化的「打」詞則呈現頗大差異。以「打響」為例，香港傾向使用虛化義，澳門則傾向使用實義，北京為兩者之間。此外，本文亦比較 1995-2000 年和 2011-2016 年兩個時段，發現期間一些「打」詞虛化情況具有地區差異，如「打仗」和「打通」在北京的虛化用法與港澳比較有顯著不同。這可有助研究不同地區如何觸發「打」虛化和擴散過程，促使各地異中有同。相似觀察亦

見於其他虛化動詞，如「進行」和「做」呈現不同時段的地區差異，這不但與刁晏斌 (2012) 對「進行」的地區比較相呼應，同時提供了深層的歷時發展視角，有助了解泛華語地區各地方言如何為漢語發展作出貢獻。

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甘孜縣藏語“送氣擦音”之語音學本質

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甘孜縣藏語系康巴語東部方言之一種，其各類阻塞音（塞音、塞擦音及擦音）皆三分（即清送氣音、清不送氣音、濁音），其清擦音亦有兩類對立：一類僅見於高調音節，其分佈類似於送氣塞音、塞擦音；一類可與高調及低調組合，相當於不送氣音。然甘孜縣藏語中，此等清擦音對立是否同樣為送氣與否之對立尚欠語音學證據支持。

此前文獻對普米語、韓國語、平原克倫語等語言中送氣擦音的研究顯示，與送氣塞音、塞擦音類似，送氣擦音於輔音後段、元音起始前會表現出一段非周期性送氣成分，其振幅較擦音段明顯下降（Rabha et al. 2019）。類似聲學表現亦可見於本研究甘孜縣藏語之清擦音，然此類帶真正送氣成分之擦音僅佔本研究所得數據之 50%，另有半數該類擦音並無送氣段。因此，甘孜縣藏語此類清擦音並無穩定送氣特徵，帶送氣成分僅乃其聲學實現方式之一。

本研究以兩類齒齶及齶腭清擦音與甘孜縣藏語音系中所有單元音及兩個高調結合組成單音節實驗刺激，就兩類清擦音（下稱“送氣”一類為I類，“不送氣”一類為II類）之各項聲學參數進行比較，結果清楚顯示：兩類清擦音通過多種聲學實現方式完成語音對立。首先，如圖 1 所示，I類擦音平均時長 201.34 毫秒，顯著長於平均時長 159.03 毫秒之II類擦音（ $t = 6.13, df = 57.57, p < .001$ ）。其次，I類擦音能量分佈頻譜範圍更分散，而II類擦音其能量分佈主要集中於高頻段，因而如圖 2 所示I類擦音之平均譜重心(CoG)顯著低於II類擦音（ $t = -2.74, df = 89.97, p = .007$ ）。最後，圖 3 所示兩類擦音在摩擦強度上亦有分別，尤其在擦音中間段，I類擦音其摩擦強度顯著大於II類擦音。

綜上，文獻中所描寫之甘孜縣藏語“送氣擦音”事實上語音實現方式多樣，較長的時長、較低的譜重心及較強的摩擦強度乃其區別於另一類（“不送氣”）清擦音之語音學本質。送氣成分並非此類擦音穩定固有的聲學特徵，以“送氣擦音”述之並不符合語音事實，音系學所稱張音/弛音對立或較送氣/不送氣能更準確描寫該語言中兩類清擦音的差異。

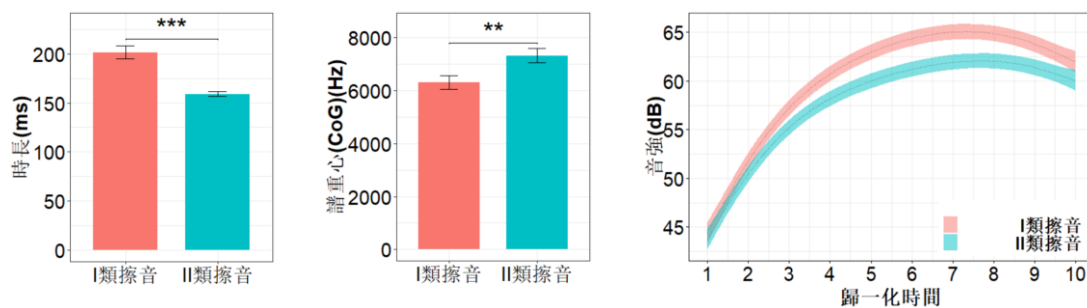


圖 1：兩類清擦音時長

圖 2：兩類清擦音譜重心

圖 3：兩類清擦音摩擦強度

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广州粤语“先”的句法语义再分析

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“先”是粤语中研究较早也较为充分的一个成分(张洪年 1972; 郑定欧 1990; 麦耘 1993; 蔡建华 1995; 陆镜光 2002; 邓思颖 2006, 2012, 2015; 石定栩 2007)。根据邓思颖(2012)的研究, 香港粤语中有三个后置的“先”: 1) 表示事件先后的“先”(如: 你行先); 2) 加强疑问语气的“先”(如: 边个最靚先?); 3) 意义比较虚的“先”(如: 冷静吓先)。广州粤语的“先”虽然也拥有上述的用法, 但还有一些不同于香港粤语“先”的用法, 本文将基于对广州粤语“先”句法语义的观察, 对广州粤语的“先”进行重新分析。

根据我们的初步观察, 广州粤语应该有三个不同的“先”, 分别示例如下:

- (1) 你去食饭先[sin⁵⁵]。(等阵你再冲凉。) (“先₁[sin⁵⁵]”)
(2) 你去食饭先[sin⁵¹]。 (“先₂[sin⁵¹]”)
(3) a. 我听日睇场电影先₃[sin⁵¹]。 b. 你帮我买埋对鞋先₃[sin⁵¹]。
c. 边个最识煮饭先₃[sin⁵¹]? d. 落雨先₃[sin⁵¹]! (“先₃[sin⁵¹]”)

如上所示, “先₁”表示具体事件的次序先后, 调值为55, 而“先₂”表示事件优先于其他所有可能事件, 调值为51, 二者的调值和语义都不相同。“先₃”包括加强疑问语气的“先”和意义比较虚的“先”, 其词汇意义都已虚化, 只拥有语法意义。广州粤语中, “先₃”可出现于陈述句(3a)、祈使句(3b)、疑问句(3c)和感叹句(3d)等特殊句式的句末位置, 调值都为51。

从句法分布上看, “先₁”和“先₂”的句法分布相同, 都可出现在动词短语前(4a、5a), 或动词短语后(4b、5b), 也可同时出现在动词短语前和动词短语后(4c、5c)。

- (4) a. 你先₁[sin⁵⁵]去食饭。 b. 你去食饭先₁[sin⁵⁵]。 c. 你先₁[sin⁵⁵]去食饭先₁[sin⁵⁵]。
(5) a. 你先₂[sin⁵¹]去食饭。 b. 你去食饭先₂[sin⁵¹]。 c. 你先₂[sin⁵¹]去食饭先₂[sin⁵¹]。

但在语义上, “先₁”和“先₂”存在差异。“先₁”表示次序先后, 是“先”的本义, 且总会有一个对应的句子与其相伴出现, 构成事件先后的排序(6a)。“先₂”表示“优先性”的语义, 即事件优先于其他所有的可能事件, 它不需要有一个对应的句子与其相伴出现(6b)。

- (6) a. 你先₁[sin⁵⁵]去食饭, 之后你再去冲凉。 (“先₁”: 谓语指向)
b. 水快滚出嚟啦。你先₂[sin⁵¹]去关火。 (“先₂”: 谓语指向)

“先₁”和“先₂”的语义都优先指向谓语部分(6a、6b), 但在明确的语境中, 也会产生“先₁”和“先₂”语义指向为主语(7a、7b)或命题(8a、8b)的次要解读。

- (7) a. 李四, 你先₁[sin⁵⁵]去冲凉。我同张三之后再去冲。 (“先₁”: 主语指向)
b. 之前一直有人发明倒呢种材料, 你先₂[sin⁵¹]发明呢种材料。 (“先₂”: 主语指向)
(8) a. 小红, 你先₁[sin⁵⁵]去食饭。我等阵再去洗碗。 (“先₁”: 命题指向)
b. 大家记住自己嘅任务。尤其小明先₂[sin⁵¹]去确认好场地。呢个最重要。 (“先₂”: 命题指向)

句法位置上来看, “先₁”和“先₂”都只能出现在位于动词短语前的方式状语“认真”之前(9)和义务情态副词“应该”之后(10), 以及出现在位于动词短语后的事件助词“添”之前(11):

- (9) a. 放学之后, 小明先₁[sin⁵⁵]认真/*认真先₁[sin⁵⁵]做完作业, 再去食饭。
b. 放学之后, 小明先₂[sin⁵¹]认真/*认真先₂[sin⁵¹]做作业。
(10) a. 你放学之后应该先₁[sin⁵⁵]/*先₁[sin⁵⁵]应该做作业, 再去食饭。
b. 你放学之后应该先₂[sin⁵¹]/*先₂[sin⁵¹]应该做作业。
(11) a. A: 食饭之前, 佢饮咗好多饮料先₁[sin⁵⁵]. B: 佢仲食咗好多零食先₁[sin⁵⁵]添/*添先₁[sin⁵⁵]!
b. A: 听朝一早, 我想去跑步先₂[sin⁵¹]. B: 你仲可以耍太极先₂[sin⁵¹]添/*添先₂[sin⁵¹]!

因此, “先₁”和“先₂”都是副词, 句法上位于 MP^{DEO} 之下, 附加在 vP 之上。

不同于“先₁”和“先₂”, “先₃”只能出现在句末位置(12a), 而不能出现在句中位置(12b)。

- (12) a. 边个最乖先₃[sin⁵¹]? b. *边个先₃[sin⁵¹]最乖?

“先₃”在陈述句(3a)、祈使句(3b)、疑问句(3c)和感叹句(3d)等特殊句式中, 分别表示许愿、命令、审问和抱怨等言语行为。因此, “先₃”是一个言语行为副词(Ernst 2004), 句法上位于 SAP 的中心语位置, 选择句式的最大投射 ForceP 作为它的补足语。

很不很 非常很 —— 贵州都匀话的“很”字研究

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本文研究的是西南官话黔南片的贵州都匀话的“很”字。与普通话的“很”不同，都匀话的“很”字既可出现在谓词之前(1a)，也可出现在谓词之后(1b)，还可以出现在句末(1c)。通过对“很”的句法分布和语义限制的观察，本文试图厘清不同“很”的语法性质并对其语法表现加以解释。

(1) a. 他很喝酒。(简称“很₁”) b. 水烫很。(简称“很₂”) c. 他很喝酒很!(简称“很₃”)

从句法分布上看，“很₁”可与所有类型的谓词共现，包括动词中的状态、活动、完结、达成动词以及形容词；它在句中对谓词进行修饰，充当谓词的状态语：

- (2) a. 他很喜欢茅台酒。(解读1: *他经常喜欢茅台酒; 解读2: 他一直喜欢茅台酒)(状态动词)
b. 他很喝酒。(解读1: 他经常喝酒; 解读2: 他一直喝酒。)(活动动词)
c. 他很喝醉。(解读1: 他经常喝醉; 解读2: 他一直醉着。)(完结动词)
d. 他很破纪录。(解读1: 他经常破纪录; 解读2: 他连着破纪录。)(达成动词)
e. 他脸很红。(解读1: 他脸经常(变)红; 解读2: 他脸一直红。)(形容词)

从语义上来看，“很₁”修饰事件类谓词(包括表示变化意义的形容词(2e))时，表达经常性的行为(解读1)，它在修饰无界类谓词时，表达持续性行为(解读2)。值得注意的是，当“很₁”修饰述补类完结动词(如(2c)中的“喝醉”)时，有界的完结动词类似于无界的状态动词，可以表示状态的持续；但当“很₁”修饰有界的达成类动词时，只能表达事件的反复发生。从上述观察可以看出，“很₁”在解读1时是一个复数行为算子(pluractionality operator)，在解读2时是一个持续体算子(continuity operator)(Van Geenhoven 2007等)。有趣的是，“很₁”在表达复数行为/持续意义时，还可跟“很₃”共现，形成两个“很”共现的句子：

- (3) a. 他很喝酒。(他经常/一直喝酒。)(中性解读)
b. 他很喝酒很!(说话人嫌弃)他经常/一直喝酒!(负面评价)

例(3)显示，只含“很₁”的句子描述的是客观事实，是一种中性的解读，而当句末的“很₃”出现之后，增加了说话人对命题“他经常喝酒”的嫌弃之义。另外，“很₃”也不能出现在从句之中：

- (4) a. *[t_i很喝酒很]嘞那个人_i被我赶走啊。(*(说话人嫌弃的)经常/一直喝酒的那个人被我赶走了)
b. *我刚刚看到啊[t_i很喝酒很]嘞那个人_i。(我刚刚看到了(说话人嫌弃的)经常/一直喝酒的那个人)

从“很₃”的分布上来看，它只能出现在句末但却无法出现在从句之中，从语义上来说，“很₃”表达说话人的主观评价，“很₃”的这些语法表现说明它应该是一个句末助词，表达说话人对某个复数事件的主观负面评价。

“很₂”表面看来与“很₃”一样，也是出现在句末位置，但进一步的观察发现，“很₂”应该是谓词的后置修饰语/补语，而非句末助词。这可从以下方面得到证实：首先，“很₂”可与谓词一起出现在从句中(5)；另外，“很₂”对谓词的词类有限制，它只与等级形容词共现(6)：

- (5) a. [t_i红很]嘞那朵花_i没好看。(红得很的那朵花不好看。)
b. [t_i脏很]嘞那件衣服_i别放在沙发上。(脏得很的那件衣服别放在沙发上。)
(6) a. 这朵花红很。(这朵花红得很)(等级形容词)
b. *这个镯子金很。(这个镯子金得很)(非等级形容词)

另外需要注意的是，“很₂”并不是跟所有的等级形容词都能共现：

- (7) a. 这朵花红很。(这朵花红得很)(开放形容词)
b. 衣服脏很/湿很。(衣服脏得很/湿得很。)(封闭形容词 部分封闭)
c. ?衣服干净很/?干很。(?衣服干净得很/?干得很。)(封闭形容词 完全封闭)

上面的例子显示，“很₂”可以跟开放形容词(7a)以及封闭形容词中的部分封闭类形容词(7b)共现，但无法与完全封闭形容词(7c)共现。开放形容词表达的程度义成立与否并没有固定值作为判断标准，部分封闭形容词虽然有固定值作为程度义成立的标准，但是这个值是以量级(scale)中的最小值为标准，而完全封闭形容词则是以量级中的最大值为判断标准(Kennedy 1999; 2001)，(7c)的不合法跟完全封闭形容词中的最大标准与“很”表达的相对程度义的冲突有关。

Preliminary ultrasound investigation on the production of Chinese /r/-/l/ by Japanese learners

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Japanese learners are known for having difficulty in discriminating the English /r/-/l/ contrast [1], largely because Japanese learners typically tend to assimilate both English /r/ and /l/ to a single sound category, the Japanese /r/ [2]. However, very few studies have been down on the sound pair in other languages. This study aims to fill this research gap by investigating the Japanese learner's production of Chinese /r/-/l/ using the ultrasound technique. Past studies have shown that early language experience can provide a significant boost to speakers' production and perception of that language later in life in comparison to L2 learners with no prior experience [3]. This study also focuses on the comparison between simultaneous bilinguals and advanced Japanese learners to test the hypothesis proposed by popular speech acquisition theories [4][5].

The preliminary data included one Advanced Japanese speaker (AJ speaker, who learned Chinese as L2, with over 1-year immersion in Beijing and HSK-6 level), one Japanese-Chinese simultaneous bilingual (SB speaker, who acquired both Chinese and Japanese from an early age with his mother being a native Chinese speaker). The two baseline speakers are one Native Beijing Mandarin speaker (NM speaker) and one Native Japanese speaker (NJ speaker). Four sets of stimuli were designed, i.e., Chinese /r/, including Chinese prevocalic /r/, e.g., “如”, [ɹu], Chinese syllabic /r/, e.g., “儿”, [ə], Chinese postvocalic /r/, e.g., “皮儿”, [b^h iɹ]; Chinese /l/, e.g., “力”, [li]; Japanese /r/, e.g., “り”, [ri]; comparable pairs between Chinese /r/ and Japanese /r/, e.g., Chinese /ran/ and Japanese /ran/. Three repetitions were collected. Tongue contours were traced from ultrasound frames using the Telemed Echo B ultrasound system. The comparison was made via smoothing spline ANOVA [6].

The preliminary findings show: (1) For the Chinese /r/-/l/ sounds, both the AJ speaker and the SB speaker could distinguish between Chinese /r/ and /l/. However, the SB speaker and the NM speaker employed different articulatory gestures to produce the Chinese /r/ sounds. As indicated in Figure 1, they adopted similar tongue gesture for syllabic /r/ and postvocalic /r/, which was different from prevocalic /r/, while the AJ speaker used the similar tongue gesture for all the three Chinese /r/ sounds. (2) For the Japanese /r/, the tongue contour patterns of both the AJ speaker and the SB speaker are similar to the NJ speaker. (3) The discrimination between Chinese /r/-/l/ and Japanese /r/ was more evident in the AJ speaker than the SB speaker, as showing in Figure 2. For Japanese /r/ and Chinese /r/, the AJ speaker clearly adopted two different tongue gestures, while the tongue contours of the SB speaker are more similar. For Chinese /lu/ and Japanese /ru/, the tongue contours of the SB speaker are more overlapping than the AJ speaker as well.

The results showing that the SB speaker did have an advantage over the AJ speaker in producing Chinese /r/-/l/, because the AJ speaker failed to produce allophones of the Chinese /r/ in different articulatory gestures as native speaker did. The AJ speaker successfully established a Chinese /r/ category differently from their Japanese /r/, which supports the claims of SLM [4]. The results also show that the SB speaker is more likely to adopt a similar articulatory gesture for Chinese /r/-Japanese /r/ and Chinese /l/-Japanese /r/, which is possibly due to the long-term cross-linguistic influence between the two languages. Further work will analyze the ultrasound data of other participants and test the perceptual relationship between Chinese /r/-/l/ and Japanese /r/.

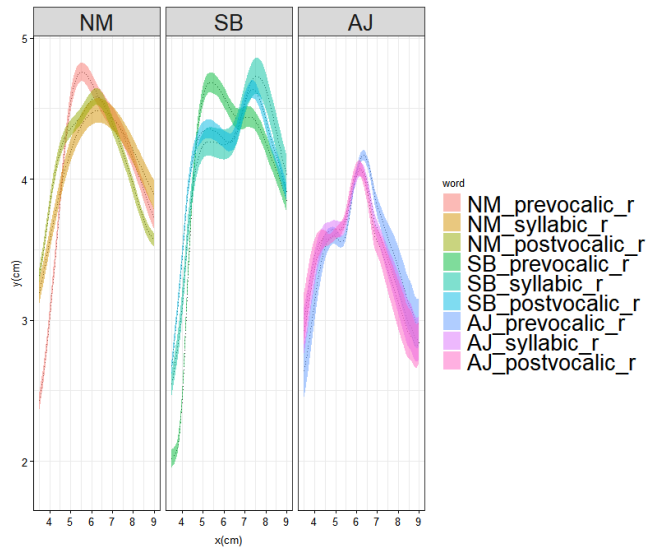


Figure 1 tongue contours of Chinese /r/ sounds by NM, SB and AJ speakers

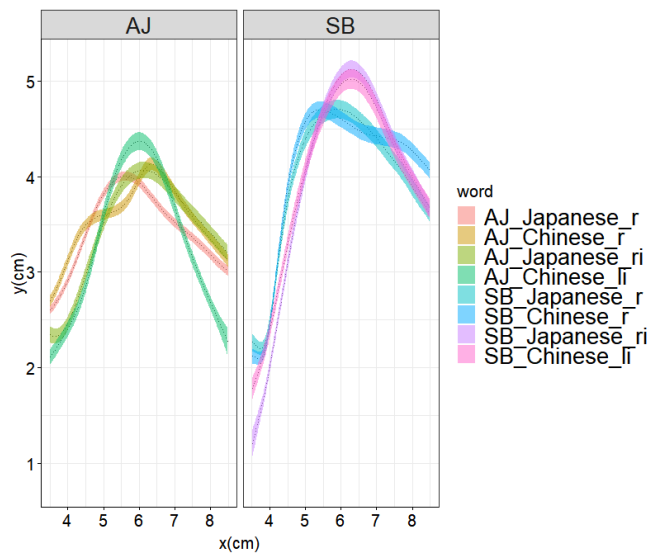


Figure 2 tongue contours of Chinese /r/-Japanese /r/ and Chinese /lu/-Japanese /ru/ by NM, SB and AJ speakers

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