

**2011 Annual Research Forum**  
**Linguistic Society of Hong Kong**

**LSHK-ARF 2011**

**Abstracts**

**December 3, 2011**

**City University of Hong Kong**

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**Organizer:**

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**Sponsor:**

Department of Chinese,  
Translation and Linguistics,  
City University of Hong Kong



**Parallel Session 1b (B5208)**

Chair: Paul LAW, City University of Hong Kong

- 10:15 – 10:40 楊稼輝  
“很”，類指句，與焦點定位  
衡陽師範學院
- 10:40 – 11:05 張慧麗 潘海華  
重音累積與焦點競爭——把字句動詞的複雜性  
香港城市大學
- 11:05 – 11:30 石定栩  
隱含式預設和狀語  
香港理工大學

**Parallel Session 1c (B5209)**

Chair: Wei ZHANG, City University of Hong Kong

- 10:15 – 10:40 Giovanna TANG & Helen WAN  
The Representation of “Kong Girl”: The Reflection of the Power Relation between  
Men and Women in Hong Kong Through Language Use  
The University of Hong Kong
- 10:40 – 11:05 Ying YANG  
A corpus-assisted discourse study of the Renminbi issue: Comparing US and Chinese  
newspaper discourse  
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

**Parallel Session 1d (B5210)**

Chair: Li FAN, Beijing Forestry University

- 10:15 – 10:40 Yuli FENG  
Dou-quantifiable Quantificational Expressions  
City University of Hong Kong
- 10:40 – 11:05 張蕾  
“不是 P，就是 Q”格式的語義研究  
香港城市大學

**11:30 – 12:30 LSHK Annual General Meeting (AGM) (LT-9)**

**12:30 – 02:00 LUNCH (Staff Lounge, 9/F, City University of Hong Kong)**

01:30 – 02:00 **Afternoon Registration (B5211)**

**Parallel Session 2a (B5207)**

Chair: Andy CHIN, The Hong Kong Institute of Education

- 02:00 – 02:25 范莉, 宋剛  
普通話兒童早期語言中的焦點  
北京林業大學 北京語言大學
- 02:25 – 02:50 Xiawei DUAN  
The Acquisition of Chinese Collective Classifiers in 6 to 10-year-old  
Mandarin-speaking Children  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

02:50 – 03:15 Ruya LI, Dingxu SHI & Jianhua HU  
Children's Interpretation of Elliptical Structures with Pronouns  
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University & Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

**Parallel Session 2b (B5208)**

Chair: Foong Ha YAP, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

02:00 – 02:25 Siu-pong CHENG  
Semantic and Syntactic Properties of “*gam2joeng2/dim2joeng2...faat3*” in Cantonese  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

02:25 – 02:50 Cherie WONG  
The Cantonese Sentence Final Particle *gaa2*  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

02:50 – 03:15 Jess LAW & Haoze LI  
Applicative and *bei2* in Cantonese  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

03:15 – 03:40 Yin Yee LAI  
Perfective and Perfect in Cantonese  
City University of Hong Kong

**Parallel Session 2c (B5209)**

Chair: Lawrence CHEUNG, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

02:00 – 02:25 田啟林  
淺析指示代詞對“吃了他三個蘋果”之類結構的影響  
廣東外語外貿大學

02:25 – 02:50 Nadia CAMPORESE  
Some notes on adverb position and interpretation  
The University of Hong Kong

02:50 – 03:15 Qiaoli LIN  
A Re-examination of the Headedness of Mandarin Resultative Verb Compounds  
City University of Hong Kong

03:15 – 03:40 Aijun HUANG  
*Wh*-indefinite *ji* ‘how-many’ in Mandarin Chinese is a Positive Polarity Item  
Macquarie University

**03:40 – 03:55**

**TEA BREAK**

**Parallel Session 3a (B5207)**

Chair: Angel CHAN, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

03:55 – 04:20 Joyce LOK  
Interlanguage pragmatics of Hong Kong ESL learners: A case study of their L2 requests in spoken discourse  
University of Cambridge

04:20 – 04:45 Yanhui ZHANG & Boji LAM  
The Processing of Anaphora in English and Chinese Discourse by Chinese as Second Language Readers: an Eye Movement Study  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

04:45 – 05:10 Eunjeong OH  
Acquisition of the Unaccusative-Unergative Distinction in L2 Korean by Japanese and Chinese Speakers  
Sangmyung University

**Parallel Session 3b (B5208)**

Chair: Caesar LUN, City University of Hong Kong

03:55 – 04:20 Tak-Sum WONG  
The Historical Origin of the Post-clausal *sin* in Cantonese  
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

04:20 – 04:45 Yanhong PAN & Adams BODOMO  
Colour Ideophones in Zhuang  
The University of Hong Kong

04:45 – 05:10 Weirong CHEN, Huiling XU & Foong Ha YAP  
Why some causative ‘give’ constructions develop beyond the passive to also form the unaccusative: Evidence from Southern Min dialects  
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University & Macquarie University

**Parallel Session 3c (B5209)**

Chair: Tom LAI, City University of Hong Kong

03:55 – 04:20 Gladys TANG, Jia LI, Qun LI, Karen CHEUNG, Scholastica LAM, Chris YIU  
Developmental stages of Chinese passives by deaf and hard-of-hearing children  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

04:20 – 04:45 Emily LAM & Gladys TANG  
Production of Nominal Compounds by Cantonese-speaking Deaf Children  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

**Parallel Session 3d (B5210)**

Chair: Carine YIU, The Hong Kong University of Science & Technology

03:55 – 04:20 Cat H.-M. FUNG  
Code-blending of Hong Kong Sign Language: Adopting the null theory from code-switching  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

04:20 – 04:45 Jafi LEE, Cat H.-M. FUNG, Betty CHEUNG, Gladys TANG, Scholastica LAM  
The development of Hong Kong Sign Language Elicitation Tool (HKSL-ET)  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

05:10 – 05:20 Break

**Special Session (MMR)**

Chair: Prof. Haihua PAN; Moderator: Prof. Thomas LEE

Title: “Reflecting on where we’ve been and where we should go: 25 years and counting.”

06:30 - **Banquet (Staff Lounge, 9/F, City University of Hong Kong)**

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## **Aren't some languages more syntactic than others?**

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Recently Anne Zribi-Hertz published an article entitled “Are some languages ‘more pragmatic’ than others?”. It is a critical review of Huang Yan’s hypothesis that some languages are more pragmatic than others and that in the pragmatic languages like Chinese syntactic structure is more closely related to semantic representation and/or pragmatic information. She counter-argues that the contrast between the more pragmatic languages and the more syntactic languages always pertain to sentence-grammar, crucially not to the speakers’ world knowledge. The three issues discussed in her article are ambiguity resolution for zero anaphora, ambiguity resolution for long-distance reflexives and Chinese-style versus English-style topics. This presentation considers and comments on the arguments of the opposite views. It shows that either has some problems. On the one hand, it is difficult to quantify the amount of syntax used in each language; on the other hand, it’s hard to maintain that all languages are equally syntactic.

## Some notes on adverb position and interpretation

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In recent years, much attention has been paid to the distribution of adverbs in the clause structure.

Linguists have tried to determine what the licensing processes and the mechanisms of interpretation of adverbs are. In this article I will look at some evidence supporting the proposal that adverbs are licensed as specifiers of functional projections (Alexiadou 1995: the Adverbial Licensing Principle).

As noted in the linguistic literature, there are adverbs whose interpretation changes according to their position in the sentence. This is what happens, for example, with the adverb “presto” in Italian, that renders the English adverbs “soon”, “early” and “quickly”:

- 1a) Presto la sveglieranno  
Soon her wake up-3pers. pl  
They will wake her up soon [Cinque 2004]
- 1b) La sveglieranno presto  
Her wake up-3 pers. pl early  
They will wake her up early
- 1c) Fallo presto!  
Do it quickly

Similar examples also appear in Mandarin Chinese.

- 2a) Ta pao de hen kuai  
He run DE very fast  
He run very fast
- 2b) Ta hui hen kuai de likai  
He will very soon DE leave  
He will leave soon

As we can see from the above examples, *kuai* can be “fast” or “soon”. Other adverbs – such as *hai* – display a similar behavior.

I will argue that while some of the analysis proposed for adverbs (such as the adjunct analysis) fail to account for such syntactic characteristics, the *Adverbial Licensing Principle* and its more recent developments offer a straightforward explanation.

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## Why some causative ‘give’ constructions develop beyond the passive to also form the unaccusative: Evidence from Southern Min dialects

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Previous studies have shown the causative-to-passive development involving the ‘give’ verb in a number of languages such as Manchu-Tungusic (e.g. Nedjalkov 1993; Knott 1995) and Sinitic languages such as Mandarin, Cantonese and Southern Min 閩南 (e.g. Hashimoto 1988; Yap & Iwasaki 2003). In a few Southern Min (Sinitic) varieties (e.g. the Quanzhou 泉州 and Hui’an 惠安 varieties in Fujian 福建; the Chaozhou 潮州, Shantou 汕頭, Jieyang 揭陽 and Chenghai 澄海 varieties in Guangdong 廣東), the passive use of the ‘give’ verb is further extended to an unaccusative use (cf. Lin 1996; Li and Zhang 1997, 2000; Matthews, Xu & Yip 2005; Matthews & Yip 2008; Chen 2011). An example of unaccusative use in the Hui’an dialect is given in (1), where *si* 死 ‘die’ is an unaccusative verb, and the third person pronoun *i* 伊 occurs as a resumptive pronoun.

Matthews et al. (2005) examined why passive and unaccusative constructions are both marked by the morpheme *k'e?* in the Jieyang dialect from syntactic and semantic perspectives. According to their study, morphosyntactic parallels between passive and unaccusative constructions are found in a number of languages such as Latin, Italian, Albanian, and the English interlanguage grammars across different L<sub>1</sub> backgrounds. In addition, passive and unaccusative constructions in the Jieyang dialect share thematic and aspectual properties, which motivate the extension of passive morphosyntax to unaccusative predicates.

This paper aims to further explore why a few languages such as the Jieyang and Hui’an varieties of Southern Min further develop an unaccusative use of the ‘give’ verb, while many other Sinitic varieties do not. Our findings reveal that, in addition to the *ba* 把 or *jiang* 將 pre-transitive constructions, the Southern Min varieties also make productive use of the ‘NP patient + object marker + 3SG resumptive pronoun + VP’ pre-transitive construction, as in (2) from Hui’an in which the third person pronoun (3SG) is a resumptive pronoun for the patient NP in topic position. Structural parallels can be observed between this type of pre-transitive construction and the passive ‘give’ construction in the Southern Min varieties involved, as in (3).

Pre-transitive constructions involving a patient NP subject and a resumptive pronoun, such as (2), however, are not available in other Sinitic languages such as Mandarin Chinese, as seen in (4). In this paper we argue that the existence of pre-transitive constructions such as (2) paves the way for the emergence of unaccusative ‘give’ constructions such as (1) in the Southern Min varieties.

- (1) *hue khɔ i si khui*  
 flower give 3SG die go  
 ‘The flower died.’

- (2) *by ka i kuin khai*  
 door OM 3SG close RVC  
 ‘Close the door.’
- (3) *ua khɔ i bã*  
 I give 3SG scold  
 ‘I got scolded by him.’
- (4) \**men ba ta guan le*  
 door OM 3SG close PRT  
 ‘Close the door.’

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## Semantic and Syntactic Properties of “*gam2joeng2/dim2joeng2...faat3*” in Cantonese

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Rao et al. (2009) describes that *faat3* “is often used in collaboration with deictic pronoun *gam2* or interrogative pronoun *dim2*.” The co-existence of *gam2/dim2* or *gam2joeng2/dim2joeng2*, and *faat3* is probably associated with the discontinuous construction as proposed by Tang (2006), which states that the use of pre-verbal and post-verbal elements in such construction appears to be redundant. This paper continues to study the semantic and syntactic features of “*gam2joeng2/dim2joeng2...faat3*,” and supports Wong’s claim (2010) that these elements also form a discontinuous construction.

The embedded part between *gam2joeng2/dim2joeng2* and *faat3* is a VP, with or without an object, as in (1), which differs from its counterpart in Mandarin, as in (2). It is argued that the Cantonese *faat3*, unlike its Mandarin counterpart, allows a wider scope of denotation. While the status of *fǎ* in Mandarin is dubious (suffix or lexicon?), the Cantonese *faat3* is arguably a lexicon and can be used productively. This paper attempts to study the semantic nature of *faat3* and that of the preceding VP.

The pre-verbal elements (*gam2joeng2/dim2joeng2*) can appear without the post-element, but not the other way around. The mandatory use of pre-verbal elements in this construction shows that the following structure is verbal, since both of them are used to modify VP. Also, the optionality of *faat3* shows that it is likely to be a post-verbal adverb. On the other hand, the use of *faat3* disallows the use of aspect markers in VP, as illustrated by (3) and (4). In actual usage, the post-element seems to stipulate a particular aspectual form, which will be studied in this paper.

It asserts that with *joeng2*, the pre-verbal *gam2joeng2/dim2joeng2* and post-verbal *faat3* are semantically similar and repetitive, and syntactically related, both serving as the adjunct to VP. They are “discontinuous” in the sense that they occur at more or less the same syntactic position. Discontinuous constructions in Cantonese are so named for their apparent redundancy and correlation. This paper aims at exemplifying this concept.

- (1) *dim2 sik6 (tiu4 jyu2) faat3* How to eat (the fish)?
- (2) *zěnyàng chī (\*yú) fǎ* How to eat (\*fish)?
- (3) *keoi5 dim2 sik6 zo2 tiu4 jyu2* How did he eat the fish?
- (4) *\*keoi5 dim2 sik6 zo2 tiu4 jyu2 faat3* \*How did he eat the fish?

## The Acquisition of Chinese Collective Classifiers in 6 to 10-year-old Mandarin-speaking Children

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Collective classifiers such as 'dui'("pair"), 'shuang'("double"), 'chuan'("string") had been argued as function words that occur between the numeral and the noun to fulfill syntactic requirements (Lü 1942, Lu 1956, Gao 1957) like other Chinese classifiers. Various researchers have investigated the quantification function, semantic features and individuation function of Chinese classifiers: Cheng & Sybesma (1998, 1999) put forward the view that Chinese classifiers can be divided into count-classifiers (corresponding to the individual classifiers) and mass-classifiers, with the collective classifiers grouped under the latter category. Huang (2009) and Huang and Lee (2009) propose that different types of mass-classifiers exhibit distinctive individuation properties, with collective classifiers behaving in different ways than container classifiers and standard measures. Cheng (1996) divided collective classifiers into quantity-denoting classifiers and non-quantity-denoting classifiers. Zong (2010) identifies a number of typical semantic features of collective classifiers, such as the "link up" meaning of 'chuan', and the specific requirement on NPs of 'qun'("group"). On the acquisition of classifiers by Chinese children, previous researchers (Ying 1983, Fang 1985, Erbaugh 1986, Hu 1993) indicate that four to seven-year-old children's acquisition of collective classifiers seems to be a slower process than the acquisition of individual classifiers, with most children of this age range mastering only 'shuang' and 'dui'. Huang (2009) reveals that children acquire the quantification function of individual classifiers earlier than its individuation function. However, there has been no systematic controlled study on Chinese children's acquisition of collective classifiers.

In this study, we take the view that collective classifiers bear the individuation function proposed by Huang (2009) and Huang and Lee (2009). We investigated the comprehension and production of 5 typical Chinese collective classifiers by Mandarin-speaking children aged between 6 and 10: 'shuang'("double"), 'dui'("pair"), 'qun'("group"), 'pai'("row"), and 'chuan'("string"). Five experiments consisting of picture choice, picture verification, and picture naming tasks were conducted, to examine when children become sensitive to the quantity denotations of these classifiers, as well as meaning differences between pairs of collective classifiers, such as the semantic distinction between 'dui' and 'shuang', and that between 'qun', 'pai' and 'chuan'.

The results show that most of the 6-year-old Mandarin-speaking children have acquired the quantity denotations and semantics features of these five collective classifiers, but some of them still need more time to fully grasp these characteristics. For instance, in the experiment which tests children's understanding of the quantity meaning of 'shuang' and 'dui', 2 out of the 13 6-year-olds still consistently chose pictures depicting situations with other than two objects (which falsify the test situations). Children at the age of 10 hardly made any mistakes.

Our results invite us to propose that children first acquire the quantity meaning of the collective classifiers, as well as the specific semantic features of the classifiers; the acquisition of the individuation function of collective classifiers is much delayed, as more than half of the 8-year-olds still accepted partial object situations and substance situations according to our data. Our result is consistent with the findings of Huang (2009) and "The Early Lack of Noun Individuation Hypothesis" she proposes. We suggest, however, that the individuation requirements of collective classifiers may not be as strong as those of individual classifiers.

## 普通话儿童早期语言中的焦点

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焦点的儿童早期习得研究为了解意义与意义有效表达的雏形知识提供了很好的切入口。在自然语料研究方面, Lee (1995、2000)报告, 粤语儿童在3岁左右就能自发表达限制焦点。孔令达、傅满义(2004)报告了1-5岁普通话儿童语言中与焦点相关的副词的始现时间。在实验研究方面, Crain等(1992)、Crain等(1994)、杨小璐(2000, 2002, 2009)、Notley等(2009)的实验表明, 儿童对限制副词的理解与成人迥异, 他们将主语焦点混淆为VP-焦点, 这与Paterson等(2003)的实验结果不同。杨小璐的实验还表明, 4-6岁的儿童对“才”和“就”激活的级差表现出的敏感, 但到8岁才完全掌握; Liu (2009)的实验反映出, 2岁儿童已经能理解重读的“还”与重读的“又”, 但7岁儿童才能准确诠释重读的“也”与非重读的添加算子。

目前基于跟踪语料, 针对02;05前普通话儿童焦点知识发展情况的研究还不够, 以下问题的答案有待进一步澄清, 如: 儿童何时开始自主使用形式标记来凸显信息重心, 表达焦点? 形态与句法标记间, 哪一种最先被儿童采用? 同类的焦点标记在个体语言中出现是否有先后? 儿童早期使用各种焦点标记的具体情况如何?

基于4名儿童、共计195次的长期跟踪语料, 本研究梳理了02;05前的普通话儿童对词汇焦点标记(“是”、“把”、“连”、“又/也/还/只/才/就”)和语法焦点标记(如对举句)的习得情况。语料表明: (1) 在02;05之前, 儿童已开始使用“是”字句、“把”字句、副词、对举句和SOV语序来凸显核心信息。(2) 不同的焦点标记在习得时间和使用情况上存在差异, 特别体现在词汇形式的焦点标记相对语法形式的焦点标记较早习得, 添加性焦点相比限制性焦点较易习得。(3) 不同儿童表现出一些习得差异。

含有这些焦点标记的儿童自发话语在数量上并不都呈现多产性, 但未发现语误的情况。这表明02;05的儿童对于主要焦点标记已经拥有了比较好的知识。另一方面, 成人语法中用于标记焦点的形式并未都在儿童自发话语中出现, 这说明对焦点知识的掌握是一个渐进的过程。

## Dou-quantifiable Quantificational Expressions

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Szabolcsi (2010) assumes that scope is not a primitive notion and can be dissected into finer components. A universal quantifier like *every* has two scopes, an existential scope and a distributive scope. The existential scope determines to what extent the quantifier can be referentially independent; while the distributive scope determines how it may induce referential dependency of its co-argument. This view can be extended to *dou*-quantification. As to the meaning of *dou*, the sum operator analysis (Huang 1995) and the maximality operator analysis (Cheng 2009) point to the existential scope of *dou* and the distributive operator (Lin 1998) relates to its distributive scope.

This paper argues that *dou* is a universal quantifier with an inherent distributive scope, yet its existential scope is provided by a noun phrase to its left rather than inherent to itself. The distributive scope is understood in a generalized fashion, it is not the case that the distribution relates every atomic part in the sum denoted by a noun phrase and the property denoted by the verbal predicate. Rather the distributive scope relates every aggregate of an aggregation pattern of the sum with the verbal predicate (cf. Gillon 1992).

As to *dou*-quantifiability, the paper includes a critical review of the strong NP account by Lin (1998) and Wu (1999), the G-specificity analysis by Liu (1997) and the high-degree account initiated by Xu (2006). By re-examining *dou*-quantifiability over various quantificational phrases, the paper proposes tentatively that *dou*-quantifiable noun phrases are required to exhibit stability of reference at least to some extent. Since *dou* is a universal quantifier with a distributive scope but not an existential scope, it can only target an existing sum with some stability of reference and relate an aggregation pattern of the sum with the verbal predicate. However, it per se cannot pick out the salient set or sum.

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## **Code-blending of Hong Kong Sign Language: Adopting the null theory from code-switching**

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This paper examines code-blending in Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL) produced by a deaf child, CC, between age 2;0.26 and 6;6.26. Adopting the null theory approach from the code-switching studies of spoken languages, we intended to develop a universal model of language mixing which can account both code-switching and code-blending in bilingual production.

CC is born to deaf parents and he began to receive sign language input since age 1;9.6. At the same time, he is exposed to spoken language input from the majority hearing environment since birth as well as through focused speech-training since pre-school. This kind of early exposure to both HKSL and Cantonese during the period of primary language development is viewed as a kind of bilingual acquisition, more specifically, bimodal bilingual acquisition. With the availability of two sets of articulators (manual and vocal), bimodal bilinguals have an option of mixing two languages simultaneously (i.e. code-blending) in addition to sequential mixing (i.e. code-switching). Since code-blending and code-switching are also language mixing phenomena, they should share similar properties and be governed by similar grammatical constraints.

In order to develop a universal model of language mixing, we adopted the null theory from the code-switching studies of spoken languages (Mahootian 1993; MacSwan 1997, 2000, 2009; Chan 2003, 2008) to analyze the HKSL-Cantonese code-blending data. According to the null theory, the language supplying the head X<sub>0</sub> determines the head-complement order of a code-switched phrase XP. Where TP and NegP of HKSL is head-final while those of Cantonese is head-initial, mixing between these two languages provides a site of examination for the possible head-complement orders. CC's and adult input data show the failure to observe the null theory. When X<sub>0</sub> is blended, the mixed phrase can be in either Head-Comp or Comp-Head order. It challenges the claim of null theory that 'head determines head-complement order'.

This paper attempts to derive an account for language mixing phenomena by adopting the null theory. Assuming no third grammar for code-blending and code-switching, we argue that the null theory generally holds true while unimodal and bimodal bilinguals reveal different access to head parameters during language mixing.

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## Gestural Coordination and the emergence of tones in Lhasa Tibetan

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This paper proposes how laryngeal complexity, the tone, could emerge from sequential complexity, consonant clusters, by examining tonogenesis in Lhasa Tibetan on the basis of the articulatory and acoustic data recorded by Electromagnetic Articulograph (EMA, the Carstens AG500 system) from three native speakers. The acoustic data confirmed the high-low contrast of tones in Lhasa on the one hand and a high correlation between tonal contours and syllable types on the other. In other words, the high-low contrast emerged earlier than contour contrast in Lhasa tonogenesis, which is different to the classical Vietnamese case (Haudricourt 1954) and Chinese case (Pulleyblank 1962). The intergestural timing revealed a C-center organization for the Lhasa syllable production, namely the vowel gesture begins around the midpoint between the consonant gesture and tone gesture. That is, the tone gesture is coordinated like an additional consonant to the CV production. Results suggest that Lhasa tonogenesis followed general coupling principles in syllable production (Nam, Goldstein and Saltzman 2010), and in the long-term historical development, the competitive coupling relations initiated the simplification process for Lhasa consonant clusters, and finally the tone gesture emerged as an integrated component of syllable production.

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## ***Wh*-indefinite *ji* ‘how-many’ in Mandarin Chinese is a Positive Polarity Item**

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*Wh*-indefinites in Mandarin (e.g., *shei* ‘who’ and *nali* ‘where’) are generally taken as Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) (Huang 1982; Cheng 1991; Li 1992). This study focuses on the *wh*-indefinite *ji* ‘how many’. It will be shown that *ji* distinguishes itself from *wh*-indefinites identified as NPIs (hereafter, NPI *wh*-indefinites) but patterns like the well-known Positive Polarity Item (PPI) *some* in English. Relevant observations are as follows.

First, *ji* can occur in affirmative sentences without an licenser (e.g., inferential *le*), as distinguished from NPI *wh*-indefinites (Tsai 2002).

- (1) a. *Zhangsan mai le ji ben shu.*                      b. *Zhangsan mai le shenme shu \*(le).*  
Zhangsan buy ASP how many CL book              Zhangsan buy ASP what book Inf  
‘Zhangsan bought a few books.’                      (intended) ‘ZS bought some  
book(s).’

Second, *ji* cannot stay in the scope of clausemate negation, as attested by the lack of the ‘none’ interpretation in (2).

- (2) *Yuehan mei jian ji ge pengyou*                      ***Ji ge > Neg***  
John Neg meet how-many CL friend  
‘John did not meet many friends.’

*Ji* in (2) is assigned a ‘small-amount’ interpretation, instead. To compare, NPI *wh*-indefinites (e.g., *shei*) under negation are assigned the ‘none’ interpretation, on par with the NPI *renhe* ‘any’ (3).

- (3) *Yuehan mei jian shei/renhe pengyou*                      **Neg > *shei/renhe***  
John Neg meet who/any friend  
‘John did not meet anyone/any friends.’

Third, *ji*, like PPI *some*, exhibits ‘high’ referentiality ((4) and (5)). This departs from NPI *wh*-indefinites which convey ‘low’ referentiality (6) (Cf. Giannakidou 2009).

- (4) *John does not like some students. They are Mary and Paul.*  
(5) *Zhangsan bu xihuan ji ge ren.*                      *Tamen shi Wangwu he Lisi*  
Zhangsan Neg like how-many CL person              they Aux Wangwu and Lisi  
‘There are a few persons that Zhangsan does not like. They are Wangwu and Lisi.’  
(6) *Zhangsan bu xihuan shei.*                      \* *Tamen shi Wangwu he Lisi*  
Zhangsan Neg like who                      they Aux Wangwu and Lisi  
‘Zhangsan does not like anyone. \* They are Wangwu and Lisi.’

Fourth, on a par with PPI *some* in (7), *ji* is interchangeable with NPIs in a set of linguistic contexts (such as extracausal negation), *salva veritate* (8). Both *some* and *ji* are under the scope of the extracausal negation, on a par with the NPI *any* and *shenme*. (Cf. Jasperson 1909-1949; Baker 1970; Szabolcsi 2004)

- (7) *I don't believe* [<sub>CP/IP</sub> *John ate some (=any) of the apples.*] Neg > [<sub>CP/IP</sub> *some*]
- (8) *Wo bu xiangxin* [<sub>CP/IP</sub> *Yuehan chi le ji ge(=shenme) pingguo*] Neg > [<sub>CP/IP</sub> *jige/shenme*]  
 I Neg believe John eat Asp how-many CL (what) apple  
 'I don't believe John ate any apples.'

In short, the linguistic properties of *ji* discussed above invite us to propose that the *wh*-indefinite *ji* in Mandarin is a PPI. The identification of the PPI status of *ji* suggests a divide between NPI *wh*-indefinites and PPI *wh*-indefinites within the category of *wh*-indefinites in Mandarin Chinese.

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## Perfective and Perfect in Cantonese

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This paper aims to provide a descriptive analysis of the sentence final particle (SFP) *lei4*. It is found that *lei4* does not only have aspectual properties but also tense properties. In particular, the tense is relative tense.

The status of *lei4* in the literature is controversial. It is claimed that *lei4* is either a perfective marker (i.e. Yiu 2001) or an inner particle realized in V3 in the syntactic structure (i.e. the extended projection of V) which carries the semantic feature [Tense] or other features like [Focus]. In other words, the former is claiming that *lei4* has only aspectual properties while the latter tense properties.

However, it is found that *lei4* is not a mere aspectual marker. There are two reasons: First, theoretically speaking aspect and tense are different from each other. However, it does not prevent them impinging on each other. In other words, an aspect marker should not be incompatible with any tense. However, it is observed that *lei4* is not compatible with future reference time (both in simple sentence and complex sentence). Consider:

1. a. \*聽日 會 落雨 嚟。  
Tomorrow MOD rain LEI  
'Tomorrow it will have rained.'
- b. \*佢 去 韓國 嚟 先 決定 去 日本。  
He go Korea LEI then decide go Japan  
'He has been to Korea before he decided to go to Japan.'

It is also observed that *lei4* can co-occur with perfective marker, i.e. *zo* or *gwo*. If *lei4* is a mere perfective marker, the co-occurrence should not be expected.

2. 啱啱先 睇咗/過 本書 嚟。  
Just PRT read PERF/PERF CL book LEI  
'He has just read a book.'

In other words, *lei4* is sensitive to reference time and it has some more properties other than perfectivity that allows it to co-occur with perfective markers. These two characteristics can be accounted for if one adopts the claim that *lei4* has tense properties, especially relative past tense.

The reason is that only tense is sensitive to and can establish a temporal relationship with reference time, whereas aspect has nothing to deal with the location of event. According to Comrie (1985), there are two kinds of tenses, namely absolute tense and relative tense. Absolute tense refers to 'a tense which includes as part of its meaning the present moment as deictic centre.' (1985: 36) Relative tense indicates 'the reference point for location of a situation [to be] some point in time given by the context, not necessarily the present moment.' (1985:56) In particular, the reference time in relative tense can be the present moment although it is not necessary.

*Lei4* can locate an event prior to a reference time and the reference time need not to be the present moment, although it can be. Analogously, *lei4* is similar to English 'present perfect', indicating the temporal order as: E\_R,S

5. a. 佢 去 圖書館 嚟  
He go library LEI  
'He has just been to the library.'

'past', indicating the temporal order as: E,R,S

- b. 佢 上個禮拜 去 過 圖書館 嚟。  
He last week go PERF library LEI  
'He had had a surgery a year ago.'

'past perfect', indicating the temporal order as: E\_R\_S

- c. 佢 上個禮拜 去過圖書館。果時佢唔知圖書館裝修過嚟。  
He last week go PERF library that time he not know library renovate PERF LEI  
'He went to the library last week. At that time he did not know the library had been renovated.'

The reference time can be established by the context, namely the default present moment for (a), the overt adverbial 'last week' in (b) and the discourse in (c). Therefore, that *lei4* has relative tense properties is confirmed.

Moreover, from the sentences (a) and (c) above, we can observe that the location of the event must be anterior to the reference time. Such temporal order can be represented as E\_R which is exactly a perfect will indicate.

Although we do not agree that *lei4* is a mere perfective marker, we do not deny that *lei4* has aspectual properties. *Lei4* does have aspectual properties, namely perfectivity and discontinuity. Three of them manifest the internal structure of the situation, rather than the external relationship with other time points. Consider:

6. a. #佢 行 去 學校 嚟， 但 未 行 到。  
He walk go school LEI but yet walk arrive  
'#He has walked to the school but he did not arrive.'
- b. #佢 去 學校 嚟， 宜家仲 喺 學校。  
He go school LEI now still at school  
'#He has been to school but he is still at school.'

Sentence (a) demonstrates perfectivity by the illegal conjunction with the assertion of continuation. Sentence (b) demonstrates discontinuity of the state by the awkward assertion of continuity of the state. These sentences show that *lei4* does not only view the situation itself but also extends beyond the situation. Such extending viewpoint is not a typical perfective viewpoint but perfect which is analyzed as marked perfective in Smith (1997).

In brief, *lei4* contains both aspectual properties as well as relative past tense properties. From both aspectual properties and tense properties, it is found that *lei4* is a perfect marker.

## Learnable vs. Unlearnable Harmony Patterns

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**Hypothesis** This study hypothesizes that some logically possible phonological patterns are unattested because of limitations on how humans abstract regularities from speech.

**Background** Virtually all phonological patterns are *regular* (Kaplan and Kay, 1994); i.e., describable with finite-state automata. However, many regular patterns are not phonological. Heinz (2007, 2010) shows that phonotactic patterns belong to the “Strictly Local” (SL) and “Strictly Piecewise” (SP) *subregular* regions. If these subregular boundaries are psychologically real, then logically possible, regular sound patterns outside these regions ought not be learnable by humans.

**Present Study** No studies to date have tested the phonological learning of regular patterns outside these subregular regions. An example of such a pattern is First-Last Assimilation (FL). FL requires words whose first and last segments are sibilants to be harmonic, but permits any number of disharmonic intervening sibilants. This pattern substantially differs from the attested long-distance Sibilant Harmony (SH), which prohibits disharmonic intervening segments and is SP. From a linguistic/cognitive perspective, FL is plausible: word edges have special status in phonology (Beckman, 1998; Endress et al., 2009). Therefore, FL is ideal for testing whether the absence of such patterns from natural language phonologies is due to computational complexity.

**Methodology** The artificial language learning paradigm (e.g. Folia et al, 2008; Gómez & Gerken, 2000; Petersson et al., 2004; Reber, 1967) was employed. Subjects were exposed to stimuli generated by either a SH or FL grammar according to experimental condition. In the testing phase, two stimuli were presented at each trial, and subjects were asked to choose the one more likely to belong to the language they heard during training. A control condition (no training) was conducted to obtain the baseline. Forty-two English monolingual subjects were recruited in total. Subjects from all three conditions were tested on the same test stimuli, of which there are only three possible groups: words that were well-formed according to both SH and FL (note: all words which obey SH also obey FL); words that were well-formed according to FL but not SH; and words that were ill-formed according to both SH and FL.

**Preliminary Results** Pairing these stimuli yields three categories for comparison: (a) FL/\*SH vs. \*FL/\*SH; (b) \*FL/SH vs. FL/SH; and (c) FL/\*SH vs. FL/SH. Subjects from the SH and FL conditions were expected to perform differently in (a) and (c) if they had internalized their respective patterns. Control subjects were expected to perform at chance across categories, as all test words were well-formed in English. One-way ANOVA revealed a condition effect for (b) ( $F(2, 39) = 5.895, p = .006$ ) and (c) ( $F(2, 39) = 4.188, p = .023$ ), but not (a) ( $F(2, 39) = .260, p = .772$ ). Post-hoc comparisons showed that SH and FL were not significantly different but were both significantly different from the control group in (b) and (c).

**Conclusion** Subjects in the SH condition internalized the SH pattern, while subjects in the FL condition did not learn the FL pattern. These preliminary results are consistent with the hypothesis that the SL and SP boundaries are psychologically real.  
(499 words)

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## Production of Nominal Compounds by Cantonese-speaking Deaf Children

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There is a common consensus that deaf children generally demonstrate lexical developmental delay when comparing with their hearing age-mates. In a study which examined the written production of Chinese compounds by deaf individuals adults, a great number of interesting morphological errors were reported (Liang & Liu 2008) such as lexical invention (e.g. 浴間 *jok6gaan1* 'bath-area'), morpheme substitution (e.g. 食室 *sik6sat1* 'eat-room'), addition (e.g. 西裝服 *sai1zong1fuk6* 'western-suit-clothes'), deletion (e.g. 毛球 *mou4kau4* 'hair-tennis'), reversion (e.g. 傘雨 *saan3jyu5* 'umbrella') and others. Do results such as these signal that deaf learners of Chinese compounds have morphological knowledge fundamentally different from their hearing peers? Compounding is a highly productive morphological process of creating new words from concatenating two or more roots (Fabb 1998). Compounds are most prevalent in Cantonese and can be divided into

different subtypes. Funded by the Jockey Club Sign Bilingualism and Co-enrolment in Deaf Education Programme (JC-SLCO), The Hong Kong Jockey Club Charities Trust, the current study will focus on nominal compounds. By comparing and analyzing the nominal compounds produced by primary school aged deaf (N=26) and hearing (N=24) children, this study attempts to address two basic questions. Do deaf children develop a morphological structure of nominal compounds that is comparable to that of hearing children? What are the morphological processes that deaf children might demonstrate in acquiring nominal compounds?

A total number of 2800 tokens were elicited from both deaf and hearing children based on 56 stimuli for nominal compounds in a picture naming task. Despite an overall poorer performance among the deaf children when compared with their hearing peers, we found no observable differences between these two groups of subjects in terms of the pattern of using different types of nominal compounds, the complexity levels, and head assignment. This study tries to classify the production errors based on the framework of the X-bar morphology developed by Packard (2000). Types of errors were driven by how individual morpheme(s) are modified within a single compound. It was found that although deaf children use the same modification strategies in their language production, there is a higher tendency for them to make multiple modification processes within a single compound, when the nominal compounds are not immediately available to them in the production. Yet, our analysis suggests that the newly formed compound was mostly conforms to the morphological modifier-head structure suggested in Packard (2000). For instance, a child produced \*結婚衫 *git3fan1saam1* from the target compound 婚紗 *fan1saa1* 'bridal veil' had actually retrieved a hyponym 衫 *saam1* as head, instead of the morpheme 紗 *saal*. As head, it merges with another compound 結婚 *fan1git3*, which we believe they learn as a lexical unanalyzed chunk. To conclude, multiple morpheme modification within a single compound, inappropriate addition of a morpheme during the compounding process, and the use of verbs or verb phrases to replace the target compounds are the main causes contributing to the interesting errors produced by deaf children.

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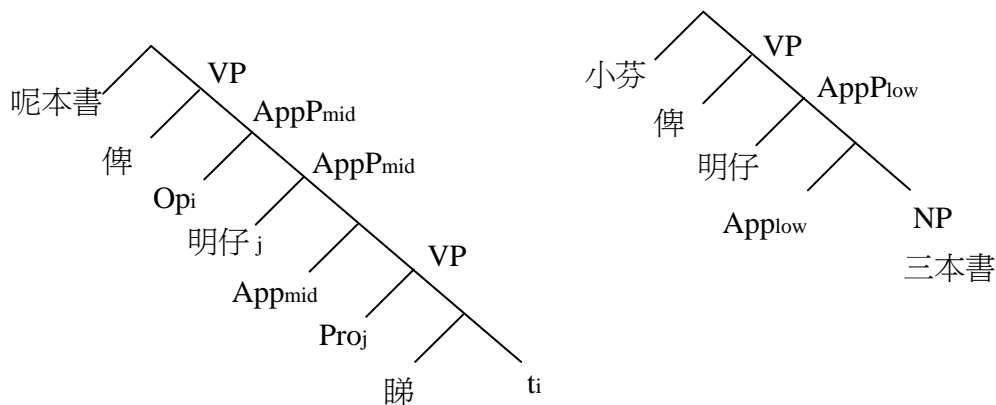
## Applicative and *bei2* in Cantonese

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The goal of this study is three-fold. First, we discuss a construction previously unnoticed in the literature of dative constructions in Cantonese (2). (1) is a typical dative construction. (2) corresponds to part of the dative construction that does not include the agent and the dative verb, hence the name Agentless dative construction (ADC). *Bei2* in ADC behaves more like a verb rather than a dative preposition, which is assumed for the categorial status of *bei2* in (1) (Tang 1998). The verbal status of *bei2* in (2) is verified by various diagnostics: the affixation of postverbal aspect marker (3) and postverbal particle (4), and the possibility for *bei2* to enter into negation (5) and A-not-A question (6).

Second, we argue that previous accounts (Cheng, et al. 1997, Huang, et al. 2009) of dative constructions relying on the light verb CAUSE are inapplicable to ADC, which lacks a causative event. We propose to analyze ADC as an applicative structure along the lines of Pylkkanen (2002) and Tsai (2007). Such applicative analysis is also applicable to the double object construction (DOC) in (7). Specifically, we argue that *bei2* in ADC selects a middle applicative phrase, which introduces a Beneficiary argument, as its complement (7) while *bei2* in DOC selects a low applicative phrase, which introduces a Recipient argument, as its complement (8). One implication of our study is that if the analysis of ADC is extendable to the dative construction like (1), we can subsume the dative, which is left out in Pylkkanen (2002), into the applicative family.

- (1) 小芬送[呢本書俾明仔睇]。 (2) 呢本書俾明仔睇。  
 (3) 呢本書俾咗明仔睇。 (4) 呢本書俾得明仔睇。  
 (5) 呢本書唔俾明仔睇。 (6) 呢本書俾唔俾明仔睇？  
 (7) 呢本書俾明仔睇。 (8) 小芬俾明仔三本書。





## **The development of Hong Kong Sign Language Elicitation Tool (HKSL-ET)**

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Child sign language data has been drawn from independent studies on individual grammatical phenomena (cf. Newport & Meier, 1985; Lillo-Martin, 1999; Emmorey, 2002) as well as assessment tool (Haug, 2005; Herman & Roy, 2006; Hermans, Knoors, & Verhoeve, 2009). While Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL) acquisition studies focusing on specific linguistic structures are accumulating, no assessment tool has been designed that aims at getting a broader picture of deaf children's overall HKSL development. With the support of the Hong Kong Jockey Club Charities Trust, the development of the Hong Kong Sign Language Elicitation Tool (HKSL-ET) attempts to fill this gap. This paper reports particularly on the methodological and linguistic considerations in the development of the HKSL-ET.

The HKSL-ET consists of both comprehension and production tasks in testing morphological and syntactic knowledge. Comprehension of HKSL is elicited via a grammaticality judgment task. Children's production of HKSL is assessed via three different elicitation procedures: (i) an elicited production task for wh-questions, yes/no questions and negation, (ii) a picture description task for classifier constructions and (iii) a story retelling task for verb agreement and modals. Starting from 2009, pilot tests have been implemented on deaf children studying under the Jockey Club Sign Bilingualism and Co-enrolment in Deaf Education Programme.

A number of linguistic considerations are associated with the nature of HKSL. Being a minority language, HKSL involves a lot of variations on lexical items as well as word order and this may be due to the fact that Deaf signers are bilinguals. Inclusion of variant forms is necessary in order not to underestimate deaf children's knowledge on HKSL. Another linguistic consideration is how to dissociate gestures from natural sign language in the assessment. Since both natural sign language and gestures share the visual-gestural modality, signs which look the same or similar to gestures have been identified to preempt the confusion between the assessment of linguistic knowledge as against gestures. As a young language, HKSL contains a number of signs which are phonetically similar but are belonging to different grammatical categories. For example, the classifier of a screwdriver may share the same handshape with its lexical sign. If these signs are involved in the test items, it is unclear whether the deaf children are producing a lexical sign or a morphologically complex sign. Analysis of these productions has consequences for how we posit the development of HKSL by deaf children, in particular, their morphological and syntactic structure from a developmental perspective.

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## Children's Interpretation of Elliptical Structures with Pronouns

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This study investigates Mandarin-speaking children's interpretation of the elliptical structures containing the pronouns as in (1).

- (1) Milaoshu            mo-le ta-de bizi, Daisy ye shi/mo-le.  
Mickey Mouse touched his nose Daisy also be/touched  
'Mickey Mouse touched his nose, Daisy did too.'  
a. 'Mickey touched Mickey's nose, Daisy touched Daisy's nose.'  
b. 'Mickey touched Mickey's nose, Daisy touched Mickey's nose.'  
c. \*Mickey touched the dinosaur's nose, Daisy touched his horse's nose.'

The sentence in (1) is ambiguous with either the sloppy reading shown in (1a) or the strict readings shown in (1b). Certain possible interpretations are ruled out by the grammar as shown in (1c). Thornton & Wexler (1999) argue that the interpretations of the VP ellipsis structures are constrained by the parallelism principle which stipulates that the two conjuncts should be structurally or referentially identical.

Using the truth value judgment task (Crain & Thornton 1998), we found that children (4;0-4;9, M=4;5, N=20) demonstrated adult-like rejection of the ungrammatical interpretation of the sentences like (1) while accepting the grammatical ones to certain extent (cf. Foley et al. 2003). The results indicate that children's interpretation of the elliptical structures is constrained by the parallelism principle. Given the lack of evidence in the input to learn the principle, the present results lend support to the theory of Universal Grammar (cf. Crain 1991).

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## **A Re-examination of the Headedness of Mandarin Resultative Verb Compounds**

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Despite the huge amount of research on resultative verb compounds(henceforth RVCs) over the years, it remains an issue of intense debate in the literature as to which component should be the head of the compound, or whether there is a head there at all. Arguing from the lexicalist point of view, which holds that the structure is projected from the lexical items within, researchers have put forward different proposals conceivable: V1-headed, V2-headed, double-headed, headless, or variably headed. It is shown in this paper that none of the current proposals has done full justice to the facts. Both the V1-as-head and V2-as-head claims are weak for their limited empirical coverage. The “double headedness”, “headlessness” and “variable headedness” claims all suffer from the theoretical problem of sacrificing universal structural endocentricity by singling out Chinese facts as idiosyncratic.

It is pointed out that in all current researches authors unexceptionally fail to tell the lexical semantics of RVCs from their variable syntactic behaviors and this failure is largely due to the shared notion that words are built in the lexicon and the head of an RVC is lexical. It is argued that the variable behaviors exhibited by RVCs are beyond the explanatory power of the lexicalism and a non-lexicalist approach to the problem is a feasible way out.

The fact that only V2 is available for negation and for the temporal, adverbial and modal modification suggests that the traditional notion that there are two causally related subevents “process” and “result” encoded in an RVC is ungrounded. Following Chief(2007), the author take RVCs as induced change of states with the process sub-event only lexically entailed. Under the assumption that words, as well as phrases, are built up in the syntax and lexical items are reduced to conceptual verbal roots that cluster around a functional head as assumed in the Distributed Morphology, this paper claims that an RVC is minimally headed by the change-of-state event licenser BECOME, in whose maximal projection V2 functions as the complement but V1 is degraded to be the manner modifier of head. The compound is eventually formed through two syntactic operations merge and incorporation. Essentially, a c-commanding DO or CAUSE will trigger upward head-movement from the v[BECOME]P, leading to variant syntactic behaviors of an RVC. The advantages of the non-lexicalist account proposed lies in the fact that it not only clarifies the facts, overcomes the theoretical and empirical inadequacies of various current accounts, but does not fail to capture the insights in them.

## **Interlanguage pragmatics of Hong Kong ESL learners: A case study of their L2 requests in spoken discourse**

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This study compares the spoken requests in English (L2) by a group of Hong Kong Cantonese ESL students who are studying at postgraduate level in the UK with their Cantonese (L1) requests and the English requests by British native English speakers. The three sets of spoken data are compared in terms of (i) the level of directness of Head Acts, (ii) internal and external mitigating devices, (iii) term of address for superiors and (vi) turn-taking behaviour.

Instead of using discourse completion tasks, this study collected spoken requestive discourse with open role-plays, which allow examination of the turn-taking features and the full interactive discourse. There are nine role-play scenarios which HK students studying in the UK are likely to encounter; different combinations of role relationships (+/- social distance and +/- power relations) were incorporated into the scenario design. The role-play data were analysed with the Cross-cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP) Coding Manual developed by Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989).

The retrospective interviews following the open role-plays acted as a form of methodological and data triangulation. The interview response provide justification for the politeness strategies employed by the three control groups and throws light on the sociopragmatic aspect, whilst the open role-play data throw light on the pragmalinguistic aspect.

In terms of directness levels of the Head Acts, the three control groups employed similar strategies across the nine scenarios. However, in terms of mitigation, HK students tend to under-use internal modifications and rely on external modifications in English, partly due to negative L1 pragmatic transfer. With regards to addressing their superiors, there were noticeable differences between HK participants' Cantonese and English data. Regarding turn taking behaviour, some HK participants produced utterances that are too long with very few turn-takes when requesting in English, which may be problematic according to the British participants' comments.

A report by The Census and Statistics Department in 2005 suggested that in every ten degree holders in Hong Kong, four of them obtain their qualification overseas, which is a significant number. The most popular overseas studying destinations are all English-speaking countries except China. Thus there is an actual need for HK students to enhance their L2 pragmatic competence. Explicit instructions and pragmatic awareness raising activities might help them to enhance their pragmatic competence in the target language context.

## Acquisition of the Unaccusative-Unergative Distinction in L2 Korean by Japanese and Chinese Speakers

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The Unaccusative Hypothesis stipulates that intransitives are classified into two classes, unaccusatives and unergatives, which have distinct syntactic and semantic properties (Burzio 1986, Perlmutter 1978). The single argument of unaccusatives, bearing a Theme role, is base-generated in object position, whereas the single argument of unergatives, bearing an Agent role, originates in subject position. Nevertheless, unaccusatives and unergatives are identical on the surface: both features a subject and an intransitive verb. The unaccusative-unergative distinction is presumably universal, but languages vary as to the morphosyntactic reflexes of such a distinction. Given such crosslinguistic variation, a learnability problem arises for L2-acquisition of unaccusativity (Yip 1995, Zobl 1989). The acquisition of unaccusativity in L2-Korean has been unexplored. This study examines the L2 acquisition of unaccusativity in Korean by Japanese and Chinese speakers to determine whether L2-learners are sensitive to the unaccusative-unergative distinction in Korean.

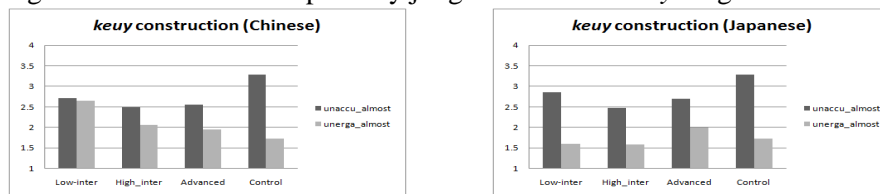
**Theoretical background:** The unaccusative-unergative distinction in Japanese is manifested in several phenomena (Kageyama 1996). The *-te iru* construction, possible with both unaccusatives and unergatives but associated with distinct readings, is used as a diagnostic (McClure 1995). Quantifier floating serves as another diagnostic (Miyagawa 1989): unaccusative subject, but not unergative subject, can be separated from its associated quantifier. The unaccusative-unergative distinction in Chinese manifests itself more straightforwardly (Li 1990, Yuan 1999). As long as the single argument of unaccusatives is indefinite, it may remain in situ (object position), which is not available with unergatives. Recently, a number of studies have attempted to characterize split intransitivity in Korean and argued that the unaccusative-unergative distinction holds in Korean (Cho 1995, Kim 1990, Lee 1994). Although unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs are not distinguishable under ordinary circumstances in Korean, the distinction between the two can be manifested via a few diagnostics. Park (2001) notes that degree adverbs like *keyu* 'almost' are used with unaccusatives but not with unergatives. The (in)compatibility with resultative *-e/a iss-* is another diagnostic. A Korean resultative exclusively takes intransitive telic verbs denoting changes of state, and expresses the resultant state from a completed action (Martin 1992, Ahn 1995, Lee 1993), which suggests that unaccusatives, but not unergatives, are used with the resultative. The asymmetry between unaccusatives and unergatives observed in Japanese regarding quantifier floating is also attested in Korean (Ko 2004), which also serves as a reliable diagnostic.

**Hypothesis and prediction:** The main objective of this study is to examine how unaccusativity is represented in Japanese and Chinese learners of Korean, using the three diagnostics stated above. Precisely, this study put the following prediction to the test, employing Acceptability Judgment Task (with a scale of 1-4 (higher numbers correspond to more acceptable sentences): if L2-learners recognize the relevant distinction in Korean, they will observe that the degree adverbial *keyu*, resultative *-e/a iss-*, and quantifier floating are exclusively available with unaccusatives. The developmental paths of Japanese-speaking and Chinese-speaking learners are expected to diverge given that Japanese shares many similarities with Korean regarding unaccusativity. This study also examines the validity of Kang (1998)'s claim that the verb *ci-* is a morphosyntactic reflex of unaccusativity in Korean, originated from the observation that *ci-* typically used as a passive auxiliary appears as part of a certain subset of unaccusatives. Given the assumption that overt morphosyntactic evidence guides (or expedites) acquisition (Montrul 1997, Sorace 1993), language learners are expected to acquire unaccusatives with *ci-* before unaccusatives without *ci-*.

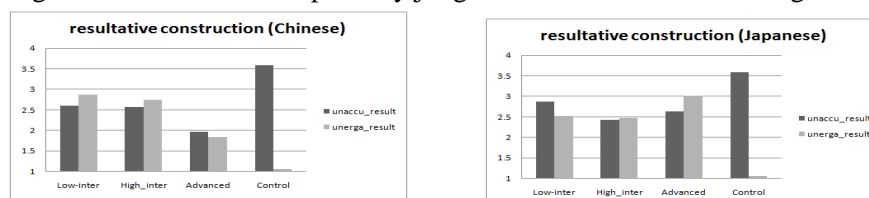
**Results and implications:** Overall results show that both groups of learners have largely acquired the knowledge of the relevant distinction in L2-Korean, being able to discriminate between unaccusatives and unergatives regarding the adverb and quantifier floating diagnostics. However, they failed to observe the distinction regarding the resultative. On the whole, the Japanese subjects were more willing to accept both unaccusative and unergative verbs with resultative than the Chinese subjects. This willingness may be attributed to the existence of the Japanese *te iru* construction. Crucially, simply noticing the presence of an equivalent construction in their L1 is not enough because the usage of the Korean resultative construction and that of the Japanese *te iru* construction do not converge completely. While Korean resultative is available exclusively with unaccusative verbs, Japanese *-te iru* is possible with both unaccusative and unergative verbs. The overall results suggest that the Japanese subjects (particularly, advanced ones), recognized the similarity between Korean resultative and Japanese *-te iru* construction but they failed to realize crucial difference between the two. As for the Chinese group, Chinese also has an aspectual marker *guo* (along with *le*), which can denote a resultant state. However, *guo* is quite different from the Korean resultative *-e/a iss-*. The Chinese subjects' failure of differentiating between unaccusatives and unergatives is attributable to such divergence between L1 and L2. Regarding the role of *ci-*, any consistent pattern was not available for either group, suggesting that *ci-* doesn't influence acquisition of unaccusativity in any noticeable way. Roles of other factors like frequency, morphological complexity, multifunctions of *ci-* are also considered in interpreting this result. **Word count: 818**

## Figures

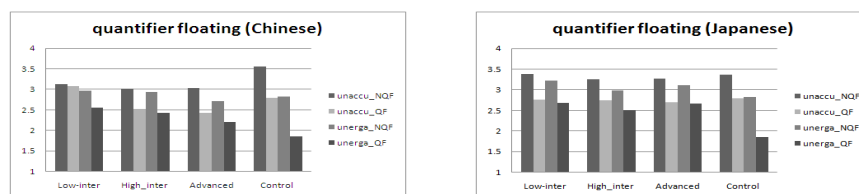
Figures 1 & 2. Mean acceptability judgments on the *keyu* diagnostic



Figures 3 & 4. Mean acceptability judgments on the resultative diagnostic



Figures 5 & 6. Mean acceptability judgments on the floating quantifier construction



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## Colour Ideophones in Zhuang

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The class of words known as ideophone has aroused a substantial amount of interest among researchers. Existing studies show that ideophones are abundant in natural speech forms of African and Southeast Asian languages (cf. Bodomo 2000-2005, 2006; Childs 1994; Dingemanse 2011; Kulemeka 1997; Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz 2001; Watson 2001, etc). From the perspective of phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, this paper investigates data from Qinzhou Zhuang, a minority language spoken in Southern Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. Focusing on ideophones in relation to color, this study demonstrates that this class of words emerges as a vivid and versatile communicative device for the Zhuang people. In addition to that, it is shown that ideophones can be used by speakers to express positive, negative, and neutral dispositions with respect to colour appreciation. Examples in which different ideophones related to the colour red expressing different attitudes of speakers are given below:

- (1) a. *Di mak hungz-sumx-sumx lo.*  
CL fruit red.IDPH PART  
'The fruits are red.' (*Hungz-sumx-sumx* indicates a positive attitude of the speaker with regards to the fact of the fruits being red.)
- b. *Dez de pun-gauj hungz-kem-kem.*  
3.SG POSS hair red.IDPH  
'His/her hair is kind of red.' (*Hungz-kem-kem* indicates a negative attitude of the speaker to the colour of the hair in question.)
- c. *Ciengz puh hungz-diemz-diemz.*  
CL clothes red.IDPH  
'This clothes is reddish.' (*Hungz-diemz-diemz* indicates a neutral attitude of the speaker with respect to the colour of the clothes in question.)

In addition to shedding light on the structure of colour ideophones in Zhuang the study explores cross-linguistic and cross-cultural implications for the structure and use of ideophones in other South-east Asian languages and beyond.

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## 隐含式预设和状语

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预设 (presupposition) 是个相当复杂的语言现象, 可以从语用、语义等方面加以描述。在例(1)的话语中, 通过计算得出的“(汽油)怎么都不够了”这个推断, 是“找加油站”的直接动因, 也可以认为是“找加油站”这个命题的预设。这个推断也可以像例(2)那样不明确说出来, 成为隐含式预设。

- (1) 只剩下小半缸油了。一升油跑八公里, 到五台山还有二百五十公里, 怎么都不够了, 先找个加油站吧。
- (2) 只剩下小半缸油了, 先找个加油站吧。

隐含式预设有时候可以从上下文中推导出来, 有时候还需要一定的标记。“连……都”结构的功能之一就是充当预设的标记。例(3)的命题“连他都说没办法”必然以某个预设为基础, 而“杨老是拱顶结构的权威”则是其中之一。只要有“连……都”存在, 就必然会有一个预设。例(4)可以有許多预设, 包括例(3)中出现的那个。如果像例(5)那样没有“连……都”作为标记, 就不一定有预设。

- (3) 杨老是拱顶结构的权威, 连他都说没办法, 你就死了这条心吧。
- (4) 连杨老都说没办法, 你就死了这条心吧。
- (5) 杨老说没办法, 你就死了这条心吧。

句法上有很多固定的标记是用来提示隐含式预设的。从表面上看, 例(6)的时间状语和句子主要命题有矛盾, 但以“大+时间词+的”形式出现, 就成了预设标记, 提示有个隐含式的预设没有说出来, 全句因而可以成立。至于这个预设是什么, 则取决于说话人和听话人的共识。

- (6) 大星期天的, 你怎么还不赶快起来?

副词通常在句子里充当状语, 有时候也会同时兼任预设的标记。例(7)里的“根本”和“就”句法上是状语, 语义上表示对于相关命题的充分肯定, 但更重要的是充当隐含式预设的标记, 表示反驳某个表扬“他弟弟”的说法。没有标记的例(8)虽然也表示类似的命题, 但却没有预设, 不反驳已知任何命题。

- (7) 他弟弟根本就是个小混混。
- (8) 他弟弟是个小混混。

隐含式预设的标记还有不少, 而且很多已经固定下来成为常用的构式标记了。从句法和语义、语用互动的角度去充分描述这些构式, 从中找到不同语法系统之间的关系, 并找出相应的规律, 可以帮助我们更好地认识汉语语法的本质。

## **The Representation of “Kong Girl”: The Reflection of the Power Relation between Men and Women in Hong Kong Through Language Use**

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The term “Kong Girl” emerged recently and is used to identify a particular kind of Hong Kong woman who is accused of committing so-called “81 sins”, such as being greedy, materialistic, self-centered, etc. The popularity of this term triggered an immense public debate on the Internet and in the media. Despite its pervasiveness and the intensity of the debate, there has been limited academic research conducted on this topic. This paper studies the emergence of “Kong Girl” through investigating how it is borrowed from a neutral term (‘Hong Kong woman’) and now being widely used in the mass media with negative connotations. This paper examines how the labeling of “Kong Girl” is mediated through language use and the ideologies that lie behind this; it discusses how Kong Girls’ characteristics are formulated in relation to commodities such as brand name bags and make-up. This paper adopts a qualitative and discourse analytic approach to analyze a written text and a video extract. Using Bucholtz and Hall’s (2004) *tactics of intersubjectivity* and Ochs’ (1992) *(indirect) indexicality*, a disjuncture of indexical meanings is observed between the representation of “Kong Girl” as an agent and a patient. In addition, the paper shows how the labeling of “Kong Girl” reveals the power relations between men and women in Hong Kong and how Hong Kong women are being marginalized socially and in public discourse. It can be concluded that mass media plays a significant role in not only reflecting but also perpetuating the indexical meanings which solidify the ideology of the hegemonic power that Hong Kong men possess in the society.

## Developmental stages of Chinese passives by deaf and hard-of-hearing children

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Language development by deaf and hard-of-hearing (D/hh) learners has recently attracted attention especially from the perspective of theories of language acquisition. To date, relevant research is largely from studies involving English, with results showing that D/hh learners demonstrate various degrees of language delay when compared with age-appropriate peers. This phenomenon is evidenced by their preference for adhering to the canonical SVO word order, as such, syntactic operations like *wh*-movement or passivization which disrupts this order are bound to lead to learning difficulty (Tervoort 1970; Power & Quigley 1973; Quigley et al. 1974; Berent 1996). Experimental studies on deaf children's acquisition of passives in Dutch (Tervoort 1970) and English (Power & Quigley 1973) show that deaf children go through a stage of interpreting passive sentences by the surface SVO strategy. In addition, deaf children usually use the *by*-phrase as the marker for passives (Power & Quigley 1973). Little is known on deaf children's acquisition of passives in East Asian languages.

This paper attempts to fill this gap by studying the acquisition of Chinese passives by Hong Kong D/hh children. Chinese passives can be categorized into long and short passives. *Bei* in Chinese passives is considered as a verb (Huang et al. 2009). Longitudinal data showed that Mandarin-speaking children correctly produce long passives with *Bei* from age 3 (Zhou et al. 1992), while short passives are rarely used. However, both Chang (1986) and Xu & Yang (2009) found that the comprehension of long passives pose more difficulty than short passives for Mandarin-speaking children. 21 sign bilingual D/hh children studying from P1 to P4 of a mainstream primary school in Hong Kong participated in the study. 23 hearing peers were chosen as controls. Three tasks were designed to examine their comprehension and production of Chinese passives: Sentence construction (SC), Grammaticality judgment (GJ), and Word reordering (WR).

Four developmental stages are identified from the data. D/hh children first begin with limited syntactic or semantic knowledge of Chinese passives in both comprehension and production, evidenced by their preference for the canonical word order (i.e. SVO). Next they proceed to the stage where they acquired the sentence structure of the passive marker but have yet to understand the reversal of thematic roles, agent and patient, as demonstrated by their preference for agentive subjects. Once this is overcome, children still have to distinguish between long and short passive. And the last challenge is to understand the properties of the VP especially the encoding of (a)telicity and verb types.

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## 淺析指示代詞對“吃了他三個蘋果”之類結構的影響

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(1) 這樣的結構在語言學界一直有很大爭議。有些學者認為，它是單賓結構，在“他”和“三個蘋果”之間有一個省略的“的”；另外一些學者則主張，它應為雙賓結構。兩派學者都舉出了有力的證據來支撐自己的觀點。

(1) 我吃了他三個蘋果。

朱德熙（1982）對此類結構也做了簡要分析。他認為，(1) 這樣的結構應為雙賓結構，不過當遠賓語（直接賓語）前面有指示代詞“這”或者“那”時，如 (2)，雙賓結構就轉化為單賓結構。

(2) 買了他那所房子。（朱 1982：119）

朱先生關於 (2) 句為單賓結構的分析得到語言學界的普遍認可。不過，語言學者們卻很少探討為什麼指示代詞“那”的出現會使 (2) 變為單賓結構。我們擬在最簡方案的框架下探索朱先生所發現的這一現象背後的深層機制。

鑒於 (1) 句中動詞後面的兩個名詞之間具有領屬關係，我們認為“他”和“三個蘋果”應在同一 DP 中生成。“蘋果”給“他”指派內在格（與格）。我們提出，內在格如同結構格，也需要核查；它可以在與功能中心語進行一致操作（Agree Operation）中刪除。由於“他”在 (1) 中具有很強的受影響義，我們提出，在此結構中有一個 High-AppI。它具有 EPP 特徵和論元角色。具有內在格的“他”移位到 Spec-AppIP 的位置，刪除自己的內在格特徵並獲得一個新的題元角色。同時 AppI 的 EPP 特徵得到刪除。

(2) 句不能構成雙賓結構是因為 DP 相當於 CP，即 D 是一個 A' 位置。“他”要從穿越 D 移位到 Spec-AppIP 位置必須受一個限制：移位者必須獲得一個新的題元角色，且不與 A' 位置上的中心語發生特徵一致操作(Boeckx, Hornstein, and Nunes 2010)。由於“他”具有[reference]特徵，D 也具有[reference]特徵，而且 (2) 中“他”沒有很強的受影響義，AppI 不能從詞庫中提出，所以“他”就不能移出 DP。鑒於此，(2) 就不能構成與雙賓句相似的結構。

我們的設想能得到德語、法語、西班牙語、希伯來語等跨語言事實的支援。

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## The Cantonese Sentence Final Particle *gaa2*

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Although there are a number of studies specialized on Cantonese sentence final particles in the literature, just a few of them have mentioned *gaa2*, such as Yau (1965) and Fung (2000). According to Fung (2000), *gaa2* serves three main functions: casting doubt (1), contrasting (2), exhorting (3). While the previous studies focused on the semantic features and pragmatic functions of *gaa2*, this paper aims to examine its grammatical properties and the syntactic conditions for its occurrence.

It is found that *gaa2* only attaches to declaratives (1-2) and interrogatives (3), but not to imperatives (4) and exclamatives (5). It is compatible with both activity predicates (2) and stative predicates (1,6). It also likely co-occurs with modal verbs (7) and modal adverbs/adverbials (8).

From these examples, we see that *gaa2* can be divided into two types: declarative *gaa2* and interrogative *gaa2*. The former carries epistemic modality while the latter carries deontic modality. The declarative *gaa2* can be further divided into two types: one is used for casting doubt and contrasting; another one is used for conveying certainty. Moreover, this paper will further examine the syntactic and semantic relations between *gaa2* and other elements indicating modality in the sentences, such as modal verbs and modal adverbs/adverbials.

- (1) cin4min6 jau5 tiu4 ho4 *gaa2*, dim2gaai2 wan2m4dou2 ge2? (Fung, 2000)  
front-side have CL river SFP why find-no-successful SFP  
“There should be a river up ahead, how come I can’t find it?” (declaratives)
- (2) nei5 ji6suk1 loi6bat1si4 dou1 faan1lei4 *gaa2*, dim2 wui5 lin4 dei6bou6 dou1  
your second-uncle long-not-time also back-come SFP how will even address all  
gaa2co3 gaa3? (Fung, 2000)  
made-wrong SFP  
“Your Second Uncle does visit you once in a while (doesn’t he?), (so) how can he mix  
up the address?” (declaratives)
- (3) dim2gaai2 m4gin3 keoi5 *gaa2*? (Fung, 2000)  
why not-see him SFP  
“Why isn’t he here (this is the question)?” (interrogatives)
- (4) \*mai5 gong2 bei2 jan4 teng1 *gaa2*.  
do-not tell to people listen SFP  
“Don’t tell the others (about that).” (imperatives)
- (5) \*tiu4 kwan4 hou2 leng3 bo3 *gaa2*.  
CL dress very pretty SFP SFP  
“This dress is very pretty.” (exclamatives)
- (6) keoi5 ping4jat6 hou2 zing6 *gaa2*, gam1jat6 gam3 do1 je5 gong2 ge2?  
she usually very quiet SFP today so much thing talk SFP  
“She is very quiet usually, how come she talks a lot today?”

(7) keoi5 ho2ji5 m4 heoi3 *gaa2*.  
he can not go SFP  
“He can (choose) not to go.”

(8) baat3hou6fung1kau4 mou5lei5jau4 zau2 ceot1 gaai1 *gaa2*.  
Typhoon Signal No. 8 no-reason go out street SFP  
“There is no reason (for me) to go out when Typhoon Signal No. 8 is hoisted.”

## The Historical Origin of the Post-clausal *sin* in Cantonese

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In Cantonese, there is a clause-final adverbial modifier *sin* [sin<sup>55</sup>], with a special word order:

1) 你 食 飯 先 啦 ！

*nei5 sik6 faan6 sin1 laa1*

2SG eat rice SIN PRT

“You have meal first!”

*Sin*, meaning *before*, or *first*, is generally used to describe the chronological order between two events; although the subsequent event is usually omitted:

2) 你食飯先啦（，我一陣先食！）

This phenomenon is often cited as *post-positional adjunct*. Some argue that this phenomenon is a Kam-Tai-stratum as a result of language contact:

3) 佢 𠵼 𠵼 ！

*mwnɡz bae gonɡ*

2SG go first

“You go first!” (Zhuang, *Sawndip Sawdenj*: 203)

4) คุณ ไป ครั่ง แรก

*khun pai kráng rêek*

2SG go time first

“You go first!” (Thai)

It can be observed in the Cantonese historical documents that the post-clausal *sin* only appears in late 19<sup>th</sup> century (from 散語四十章 1877):

5) 我出門去先。佢嘅跟班喺後頭嚟追我。

In addition, most Cantonese idioms with *sin* is pre-clausal:

6) 未學行，先學走！

7) 遲來先上岸。

8) 未登天子位先用殺人刀。

Until today, in Canton, it is grammatical to use pre-clausal *sin* construction:

9) 我先去。

One will, therefore, doubt if this phenomenon is truly a result of language contact. In this paper, we are aiming to present another model to explain this special word order in Cantonese.

In Cantonese, in addition to the post-clausal usage of *sin* as mentioned above, there is a pre-clausal usage as well:

10) 我 食 飯 先 飲 湯 喇 。

*ngo5 sik6 faan6 sin1 yam2 tong1 laa1*

1SG eat rice SIN drink soup PRT

“I will drink the soup when I have meal.”

The pre-clausal *sin* “and then” states the condition of some result, or some event to be take place:

11) condition + *sin* + result,

in which the clause preceding *sin* denotes the condition while one that follows *sin* denotes the result. Temporally speaking, the time at which the condition becomes valid generally must precede the time of the result. Taking the same sentence as example, the event *to have meal* must happen before *to drink the soup*. Thus the pre-clausal *sin* also marks the order of the two events. (*confer* Mai(1993))

To emphasize the condition, one can delete the result when answering question:

12) Mother: 你 幾時 先 做 功課 呀 ？！

*nei5 gei2si4 sin1 zo6 gung1fo3 aa3*

2SG when SIN do homework PRT

“When will you do the homework?”

13) Son: 我 食 咗 飯 先 ~~做~~功課 ！

*ngo5 sik6 zo2 faan6 sin1 ~~zo6 gung1fo3~~*

1SG eat PERF rice SIN ~~do homework~~

*first event*

*second event*

“I will do the homework after I have finished the meal.”

↓

14) 我 食 咗 飯 先 ！

*ngo5 sik6 zo2 faan6 sin1*

1SG eat PERF rice SIN

“After I have finished the meal (I will do the homework).”

↓

“I will finish the meal first (and followed by doing homework).”

Semantically, “After I have finished the meal.” entails “I will finish the meal first.” The meaning of *sin* “and then” is therefore (un-)grammaticalized to “first” again. It is likely that this pattern can only be used when answering questions but later it can be used in other situation as well. Similar development can be found in Gushi dialect 固始話 of Central Plain Mandarin (Ye 2010), which also supports this hypothesis.

As mentioned above, both pre-clausal and post-clausal *sin* “first” is found in historical Cantonese and until present-day Canton. If we carefully look at 7), we can take both readings for *sin*, “first” and “and then”, and generate different interpretations. To

resolve the ambiguity, the post-clausal *sin* helps:

15) 遲來上岸先。

Ever since the appearance of the post-clausal *sin* construction, it competed with the pre-clausal *sin* construction representing *first*. The post-clausal one won the championship eventually since it will not cause ambiguity.

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## “很”，类指句，与焦点定位

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汉语形容词作谓语时存在一个有趣的现象，即层级形容词简单式往往要有一个“很”附于形容词前，才能使得句子合法，这可以通过(1)a与(1)b对比体现出来。

(1)a. \*张三高。

b. 张三很高。

针对这一现象，众多学者作出了不同的解释。其中，Huang (1997, 2006)，与贺川生 (2010) 提出“很”是类型转换算子，以挽救语义合成过程中的语义类型不匹配。Liu (2009) 基于 Kennedy & McNally (2005) 等对层级形容词语义的研究，提出“很”是汉语中显性的“POS”。顾阳 (2007) 提出“很”的作用是为句子所表述的情状提供一个参照点，使句子的空间（数）特征得以确认，使得句子满足时制的要求。Grano (2010) 提出，“很”的必须出现是因为汉语中时制（Tense）节点下面不允许光杆形容词。

上述研究从不同的角度加深了我们对“很”的认识，但是，也存在一些不足之处。

基于 Tang & Lee (2000) 及 Tang (2001) 提出的“广义定位原则”，本文认为“很”的出现是因为类指句需要焦点定位 (Tense anchoring)，是类指句与焦点相互作用的结果。本文的证据主要来自以下三个方面：

(一)、“很”只在类指句中具有完句功能，事件句中层级形容词即使有“很”，句子仍然不好接受。

(2)a. #张三很害怕。

b. (听到这个故事后，) 张三很害怕。

(二)、层级性动词词组作谓语的类指句中，动词词组往往由动宾两部分组成，可以独立形成焦点背景关系，从而“很”可有可无。

(3)a. 张三喜欢唱歌。

b. 张三很喜欢唱歌。

(三)、层级形容词简单式可以单独出现在“是。。。的”结构及无“的”定语位置，而这二者都是焦点位置。

(4)a. 这条围巾是红的。

b. 他买了一条红围巾。

“很”的研究，不但证明了“广义定位原则”的正确，也是从汉语的角度对 Krifka (1995) 提出的“类指句往往与焦点紧密相关”这一论断的探讨。

关键词：很； 形容词； 焦点； 类指句

## A corpus-assisted discourse study of the Renminbi issue: Comparing US and Chinese newspaper discourse

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This study examined textual similarities and differences between the US and Chinese newspaper discourse on the RMB issue, and further analyzed how ideological stances and discourse strategies adopted by the two countries' newspapers changed across the time frame (1<sup>st</sup> January 2007 to 30<sup>th</sup> April 2011) with regard to changes in the economic and social-political circumstances.

The database comprises 297 English newspaper articles from four American and Chinese newspapers that addressed the RMB issue between 1<sup>st</sup> January 2007 and 30<sup>th</sup> April 2011. Both of the US and Chinese subcorpora were further divided into four time periods by three critical moments where significant shifts in ideological stance and discourse strategies might emerge: the onset of the global economic crisis which began on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2008 and its offset on 30<sup>th</sup> June 2009, and Chinese President Hu Jintao's state visit to the US on 18<sup>th</sup> January 2011. The corpus-assisted methodology provided various levels of frequency information. Based on quantitative results, two keywords were selected for further analysis—namely, *currency* and *yuan*—so as to identify different stances of the US and Chinese media on the RMB issue. This study then focused on *stronger*, *policy/policies* and *war* metaphors.

Findings indicate the representative newspapers of the two countries generally followed the national authority line in evaluating the RMB issue. More importantly, this study uncovered systematic differences between the two subcorpora on the RMB issue. A strategy of positive framing with RMB appreciation is identified in the US newspapers whereas the opposite is true in the Chinese newspapers. The discourse of the US newspapers is more diversified in terms of opinion variation and voices involved in the RMB debate. On the whole, the tone of the US newspapers is more aggressive. The parallel analysis of the Chinese newspapers reveals the consistency in content and a monologic feature with the Chinese government dominant as the addresser. Despite these horizontal differences, analysis across the time frame within each subcorpus showed that textual differences also appeared across the four chronologically divided periods. Findings indicated that newspaper reportage on the RMB issue did not remain static, but was rather a dynamic process involving attitude and tone shifts with economic and social-political events as the critical defining moments. Another interesting observation is it was the slow recovery period prior to President Hu's visit that the RMB issue received extensive news coverage on both sides. It was also during this period that the tone of the US newspaper discourse reached its aggressive peak. Findings of this study raised awareness of the benefits of a critical perspective towards language use and social practice.

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## 重音累积与焦点竞争 ——把字句动词的复杂性

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汉语把字句的动词必须要有一定程度的复杂性，这是一个长久以来被观察到的事实。刘凤樾（1997）提出汉语把字句的动词必须表示一个有界的事件，是对把字句中动词形式高度概括的描写。张伯江（2001）从“句法临摹”的角度来解释。“把”字句表示强影响性和弱施动性。而只有动词后面带上表示结果意义的词语，才能表示实践所带来的强影响性。但是“有界”与“强影响性”有时很难界定。同时语义上的条件也排除了戏剧中把字句可以使用单音节动词的情况。

冯胜利（1996, 2000）从韵律角度解释把字句中动词在韵文中可以挂单，在非韵文中必须复杂的现象。这种解释兼顾历史和现实，兼顾韵文和口语，更为有力和统一。但是对于非韵文中把字句动词复杂性的解释是从核心重音指派出发，在具体分析上存在一些问题。

本文仍然从韵律角度来分析把字句中动词的复杂性，但是着眼点落在焦点和重音的关系。文章的核心观点是，把字句的意义是把宾语提前，成为旧信息，动词放在句尾，成为焦点。但是动词本身信息量低（端木三 2007），在句尾不能自动成为焦点，必须通过其他韵律手段使重音进一步累加。可能使用的手段是音高、词长和辅重。在汉语中音高倾向于在窄焦中使用，在宽焦中词长和辅重成为最常用的手段。词汇形式越长、分支越深，越可能获得重音。因此“把”字句中动词必须要有一定的复杂性。越复杂越好。简单的说，这是动词在句尾一定要成为焦点，从而与“把”后宾语竞争，从而尽可能的使用更多重音手段的结果。这种重音要求在戏剧中可以通过语音延长或者音高提高来得到补偿，因此动词可以挂单。另外，文章还探讨了把字句动词复杂的最低程度及左右分支不对称的原因。被动句的情况类似，但被动句中“被”后宾语常常可以省略，因此动词可以是单音节。如果“被”后宾语不省略，动词也必须要有一定的复杂性。

文章首先比较了正常“PN+V(P)”与把字句重音分配的情况，揭示出重音结构中多种重音要素之间互相牵制，共同作用，而不是某一种重音要素单独作用。在汉语中句尾位置、辅重、词类和词长都会对重音的实现做出贡献。最终重音实现的位置要看重音要素累积的程度。

其次，文章揭示出重音结构与焦点的关系更直接。焦点是最直接的驱动力，各种重音要素的分配受到焦点的调控，在焦点部分累积。

最后，从把字句的情况看来，句法可以提供多种结构，韵律会在信息结构的驱动下选择不同的句法结构，在焦点需要的位置实现重音。在句法层面可能需要区分基础结构和附加结构，但是在信息结构和韵律结构层面，可以把基础结构和附加结构统一起来分析。这样使理论更加简单。

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## “不是 P，就是 Q”格式的语义研究

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普通话中“不是 P，就是 Q”这一结构形式大致有三种用法：a. 表示否定 P，肯定 Q，“就”用来表示强调；b. 表选择，P 和 Q 两者选其一，如(1)；c. 表列举，如(2)。本文集中讨论它的后两种用法。

(1) 他不是美国人，就是英国人。

(2) 新战士小王每天不是学习，就是站岗。

我们认为，在这两种用法中，该格式的基本语义是表示在 P 和 Q 两者之间进行选择，二者选一。王弘宇（1996）提出该格式成立的句法条件：必有和 P、Q 意义相反的第三项存在的可能性。他认为排除这个第三项是格式的真正表达目的。然而，事实上，这个第三项并不一定存在，如(3)。排除第三项是由该格式推导出的一个意义，它并不是该格式的核心义。

(3) 人的价值观，不是唯物主义的，就是非唯物主义的。

“选择”用法中，“不是...，就是...”可以看作是表示不相容选言命题的逻辑连接词。例如(1)表达的是，在 P“（是）美国人”和 Q“（是）英国人”两种可能性中进行选择，他具有双重国籍“既是美国人又是英国人”的可能性不被纳入说话人的选择范围。换句话说，P 和 Q 同时为真时，整个句子为真的可能性被说话人排除。

对于“列举”用法的实现条件等问题，以往的研究存在不少争议，具体可参考王弘宇（1995）、刘颂浩（1996）、周有斌（2002）、陈振宇&刘承峰（2006）等的分析。鉴于他们的分析存在一定的问题，我们提出自己的观点。本文认为，“列举”用法中，相关句子表达的是复数性的事件或状态，它由若干个子事件或子状态组成。对每个子事件/子状态来讲，要么 P 使其为真，要么 Q 使其为真。出现下面的情形时，该格式表示列举：P 使得部分子事件/子状态为真，而 Q 使得另一部分子事件/子状态为真。当 P 或 Q 使得所有的子事件/子状态为真时，该格式仍旧为“选择”用法。

## **The Processing of Anaphora in English and Chinese Discourse by Chinese as Second Language Readers: an Eye Movement Study**

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Reading research has shown that the language proficiency of readers would impact the patterns of eye movement during reading (Feng et al., 2009; Rayner, 1998), yet many researches are conducted on monolinguals. Though there is an increase in the reading behavior of bilingual speakers in recent years, the questions of how, and to what extent, the native languages of L2 readers would influence their reading behavior and comprehension in their second language still remain. This pilot study uses eye-tracking protocol to investigate the processing of Anaphora in English and Chinese narrative discourse by readers with various native language backgrounds. The reading materials are also manipulated by providing or withdrawing the support of Pinyin - the pronunciation aids to Chinese characters.

Ten subjects participated in the study, including three Korean speakers and one Dutch speaker with intermediate Chinese proficiency, and five America-born Chinese as heritage language learners. The performance of one Chinese as native language speaker is also recorded as baseline data. Wearing an eye-tracker, the subjects read eight Chinese narrative passages and four English texts of the same genre. After reading each story, the subjects are asked to answer five questions related to the reading, checking their reading comprehension, coreference skills, etc. The information-searching behaviors of the subjects are also recorded.

Although the general finding shows that the times for Chinese reading and question-answering generally increase when Pinyin is not provided with the texts, it would not be appropriate to conclude that Pinyin is facilitative to word recognition as learners' learning experience has to be considered. There are also behavioral variations in how the subjects respond to the questions. For example, one interesting finding shows that fluent reading may not guarantee successful comprehension if the reader takes a character-by-character approach. Readers tend to display difficulties when there are more people involved in a narrative story.

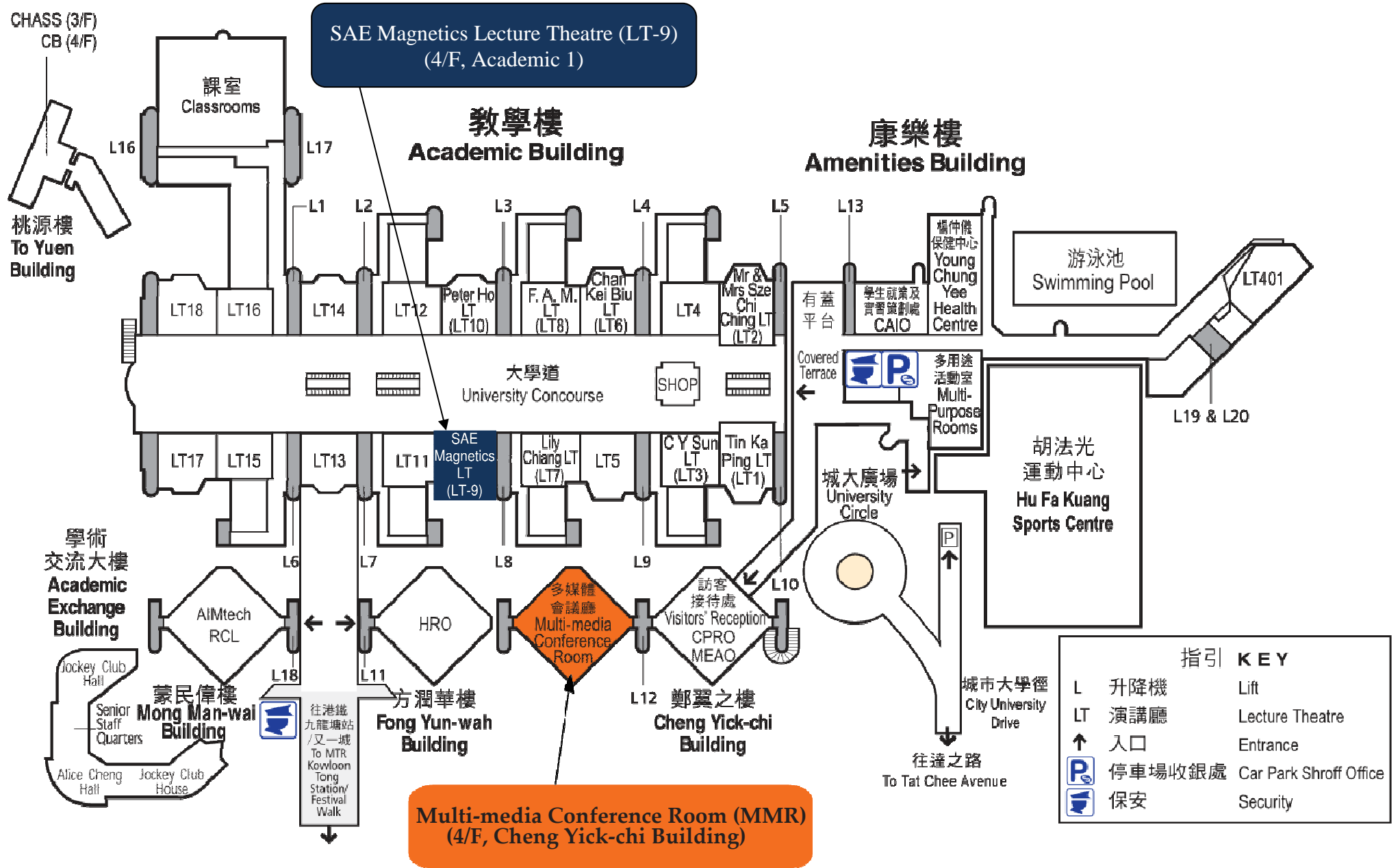
The implications of this study should aid Chinese teachers in adapting reading instruction approaches to populations with various linguistic backgrounds.

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