2009 Annual Research Forum of the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong

Abstracts

Linguistic Society of Hong Kong
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December 12, 2009
The Hong Kong Institute of Education

Program

December 12, 2009

8:30-9:00   Registration (B4-LP-04)

9:00-9:10   **Welcoming and Presentation of Outstanding Thesis Award**
(B4-LP-04)

9:10-9:30   **MA Awardee Report** (B4-LP-04)
Donald Timothy WHITE
Speech Rhythm Development in a Balanced Cantonese-English Child
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

9:30-9:50   **MPhil Awardee Report** (B4-LP-04)
Aijun HUANG
Count-mass distinction and the acquisition of classifiers in Mandarin-speaking Children
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

9:50-10:50   **Keynote Speech** (B4-LP-04)
Prof. Christopher KENNEDY
Severing the Degree Argument from the Adjective
The University of Chicago
(Chair: Thomas Hun-tak LEE)

10:50-11:00	BREAK

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On the nature of *wh*-fronting in Cantonese
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

11:30-12:00   Qingwen ZHANG, Sze-Wing TANG & Joanna SIO
Classifier Reduplication and Distributivity in Kaijian Dialect
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University & Hong Kong Baptist University

12:00-12:30   Chuansheng HE
Double binding and the semantic interpretations of bare nouns in Chinese
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Parallel Session 1b (B4-LP-10)

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11:00-11:30 Marco CABOARA

The particle *ye* 也 in the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts

University of Washington

11:30-12:00 Haoze LI

VP Ellipsis and Cartography of Modal Verbs

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12:00-12:30 范曉蕾

從漢語方言的多義情態詞看"能性"情態概念的語義關聯

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The Acquisition of the Resultative Verb Compound in Mandarin

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

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The Interpretation of Verb+le and Resultative Verb Compounds By Mandarin-speaking Children

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

12:00-12:30 Yueyuan HUANG & Suying YANG

Linguistic and rhetorical features in L2 Chinese essays of Japanese speakers

Hong Kong Baptist University

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If Tones Had Weights

Hong Kong Baptist University

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The Chinese University of Hong Kong

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Merging tones in Hong Kong Cantonese

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香港理工大學

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The University of Hong Kong

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From head-marking to dependent-marking in the history of English personal pronouns: A case of degrammaticalization?
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Severing the degree argument from the adjective

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The distribution of measure phrases is subject to both cross-linguistic and language-internal variation. Some languages (like English and Mandarin) allow measure phrases with both comparative ('2 centimeters taller') and positive adjectives ('2 centimeters tall'), though which positives allow measure phrases is variable ('*2 kilograms heavy' is impossible in English but 'wu gongjin zhong' is possible in Mandarin). Other languages (like Russian and Japanese) allow only the first option. The goal of this talk is to try to shed some light on the semantic and syntactic principles governing the distribution of measure phrases, and more generally, to use these facts to motivate a general theory of the meaning and structure of scalar predicates in which: 1) lexical expressions like 'tall' and 'heavy' denote neither properties nor relations, as typically assumed, but rather "bare" measure functions which map objects to measures of their height, weight, etc.; and 2) additional degree arguments, such as the one saturated by a measure phrase, are introduced by functional morphology. These arguments are based primarily on three distinct kinds of constructions in three typologically distinct languages: degree questions in Northern Norwegian; the morphology of comparative and measure constructions in Navajo; and the syntax of transitive comparatives (such as 'Zhangsan gao Lisi yi dian') in Mandarin.

The particle *ye* 也 in the Guodian and Shanghai Museum manuscripts

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The particle *ye* 也, with its extremely high textual frequency and its poorly understood multiple functions, plays a central role in Classical Chinese Grammar (6th to 3rd century BCE). It functions as marker of nominal predication, but it is not a verbal copula, and beside this usage, it also functions as a final particle, it is used in interrogative sentences and certain other constructions; it is also a particle occurring in the middle of a sentence and at the end of correlated clauses. The original function of *ye* 也 cannot be recovered from its etymology, which is unknown- it is one of the few function words which does not derive from any known full lexical word; its historical development is also problematic: it is unattested in the *Book of Documents* and completely absent from the epigraphic sources (Oracle Bones and Bronzes); while present in the *Book of Odes*, its syntactic behavior stabilizes only in the *Analects* and later texts. The manuscript texts from Guodian (around 300 BCE) and the related manuscript texts stored in the Shanghai Museum contain the earliest datable usages of *ye* 也 and are a philologically much more reliable source of data than the transmitted pre-Qin texts.

In this paper, which is based on the work I am doing on the same topic for my dissertation, I will present data derived from a complete screening of the texts based on a functional analysis of the usage of *ye* 也 in terms of three basic functions: marker of nominal predication, discourse marker of topic, final particle marking verbal predicates; I will as well present arguments in favor of considering the final particle as the original function and propose an evolutionary path linking it to the copular usage.

Consonantal mergers in Cantonese revisited

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Consonantal mergers are amongst the ongoing sound changes in Hong Kong Cantonese. Mergers which have received attention in the phonological and sociolinguistic literature include those between syllable-initial /n-/ and /l-/, /ŋ-/ and /ø-/, /kw-/ and /k-/, /khw-/ and /kh-/, as well as syllable-final /-ŋ/ and /-n/, and /-k/ and /-t/. For instance, Bauer's (1982) study of the delabialisation of velar initial /kw-/ found that the innovative form /k-/ was in high use by younger speakers in casual speech, while Ho's (2004) study found that the merger between /n-/ and /l-/ was almost complete, in favour of the innovative use of /l-/.

Through real-time sociolinguistic studies, discoveries have been made about mergers that were previously thought impossible. Minimal pair tests have been performed in order to find out about speakers' production and perception of mergers, the possible outcomes of which are summarised in the following table (Labov, 1994: 354):

Table 1. Four-cell table of the minimal pair test

		Spoken	
		same	different
Judged	same	a	b
	different	c	d

Possibilities (a) and (d) are outcomes which confirm the traditional belief that production equates perception and were generally thought to be the most likely outcomes. However, (c) was also found to be widespread, due to the influence of orthography on speech judgment. On the other hand, outcome (b), meaning speakers produce a distinction between two words in their speech but do not perceive the same distinction, was generally thought to be impossible. Yet, variationist studies of mergers have found such instances to occur. For instance, Ho's (2004: 182) study discovered that some subjects produced a distinction between /n-/ and /l-/ in their reading style which they subsequently could not perceive. The term *near-merger* has been applied to this phenomenon.

This paper argues that there is a need to re-examine Cantonese consonantal mergers in light of such findings and through controlled minimal pair tests to determine their exact sociolinguistic status. It is hoped that this study will lead to a better understanding of the mechanisms underlying the transmission of Cantonese consonantal mergers in social and linguistic space, and more generally contribute to the study of mergers in variationist studies.

Selected References

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Phonological Correlates:
## Structural Versus Non-Structural Ambiguity

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Regardless of whether one recognizes the English spoken in Hong Kong (henceforth HKE) as a variety of English, HKE has an intonation pattern so distinctive that speakers are often capable of disambiguating structurally ambiguous sentences. To understand this, two kinds of ambiguity (see (1) and (2) below) are studied from both the production and perception perspectives.

(1) Structural Ambiguity
    e.g. *Mike beats the man with a ruler*

    a.   Interpretation I

```
                 IP
          ┌──────┴──────┐
         NP            VP
         /\        ┌────┴────┐
        /  \       V        NP
       /    \      |      ┌──┴──┐
      /      \     |     NP    PP
     Mike   beats  the man  with a ruler.
```

    b.   Interpretation II

```
                 IP
          ┌──────┴──────┐
         NP            VP
         /\        ┌────┴────┐
        /  \      VP        PP
       /    \     /\        /\
      Mike  beats the man  with a ruler.
```
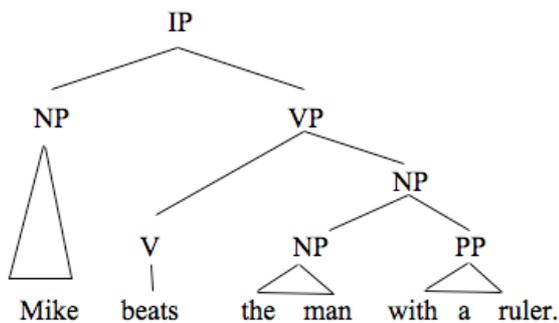
(2) Categorial Ambiguity
    e.g. *Flying planes can be dangerous*
        a.   Interpretation I
        b.   Interpretation II

```
                    IP
          _____
   a. NP/b. VP              AuxP
        /\                 /    \
       /__\               /_____\

   Flying  planes    can  be  dangerous.
```
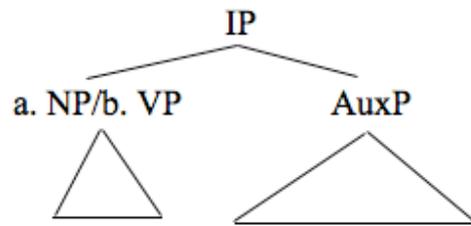
When played recordings of sentences such as (1), speakers of HKE generally successfully disambiguates the utterances, but not for recordings of sentences such as (2). This suggests that syntactic constituencies are reflected in the prosody. Acoustic analysis reveals that prosodic boundaries in HKE are indicated by a low tone (L%), which occurs at the right edge of phonological phrases, a finding that is supported by research in HKE such as Cheung (2008), though these works had not addressed issues of interaction between prosody and syntax.

Drawing upon the interface constraints between syntax and prosody developed in Selkirk (1986, 1995) and Truckenbordt (1999), this paper presents an Optimality Theoretic account that will correctly locate the L%, leading to an explanation to how speakers of HKE can disambiguate cases like (1) but not (2). To do so, two other constraints are proposed.

(3) MINPh-P = 2σ
A ph(onological) p(hrase) is minimally disyllabic.

(4) ALIGN R, XP
For each Ph-P, there is an XP such that the right edge of Ph-P coincides with the right edge of XP

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Selkirk, Elisabeth. (1995). The prosodic structure of function words. In *University of Massachusetts occasional papers 18: Papers in Optimality Theory*, 439–469. GLSA, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

On the nature of *wh*-fronting in Cantonese

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This paper addresses the nature of *wh*-fronting construction in Cantonese, as illustrated in (1):

(1) Hai   bingo, Maalei zeoi   zungji   aa?
    HAI who   Mary   most like   Q
    'Who is it that Mary likes most?'

My central claim is that the fronted *wh*-phrase in *wh*-fronting construction in Cantonese functions as Identificational Focus (IdentF; also known as "Contrastive Focus") on a par with the cleft constituent in clefted questions in English. I further argue that *wh*-fronting cannot be analyzed on a par with topicalization.

The evidence in support of my central claim comes from the distinct semantic and syntactic properties of the fronted *wh*-word in *wh*-fronting construction. Using the diagnostics for IdentF advanced by Kiss (1998) and Zubizarreta & Vergnaud (2006), I show that the fronted *wh*-word features a constellation of properties associated with IdentF, including exhaustivity, rigid scope, and categorial restrictions. I further show that *wh*-fronting construction in Cantonese is identical to clefted questions in English in terms of the availability of presupposition failure.

While Cantonese is a topic-prominent language (Matthews & Yip 1994), I argue that *wh*-fronting cannot be analyzed on a par with topicalization based on the morphological, semantic, and syntactic differences between the two constructions. Morphologically, the fronted *wh*-word, unlike Topic, is incompatible with topic markers. Semantically, the fronted *wh*-word not only provides new information but is also interpreted as exhaustive, in contrast with Topic which typically conveys old or given information. Syntactically, the fronted *wh*-word cannot be linked to a pronominal element or an epithet unlike Topic.

Based on the fact that *wh*-fronting construction is subject to reconstruction, locality conditions, and can license parasitic gaps, I propose that the fronted *wh*-word must be derived by overt movement. Following Kiss's (1998) analysis of IdentF, I propose that the fronted *wh*-phrase undergoes overt movement to Spec-FocP in the left periphery.

This paper concludes by addressing the implication of the current analysis of *wh*-fronting construction to the left periphery of Cantonese along the spirits of the cartographic approach developed by Rizzi (1997). Benincà & Poletto (2004) argue (contra Rizzi 1997) that Focus should be considered as a "field" hosting Contrastive Focus and Informational Focus, which are ordered hierarchically in Italian. By investigating the ordering restrictions of IdentF and *lin* 'even' Focus, I show that Cantonese is akin to Italian in that Focus also constitutes a field with IdentF occupying a higher position than *lin*-Focus.

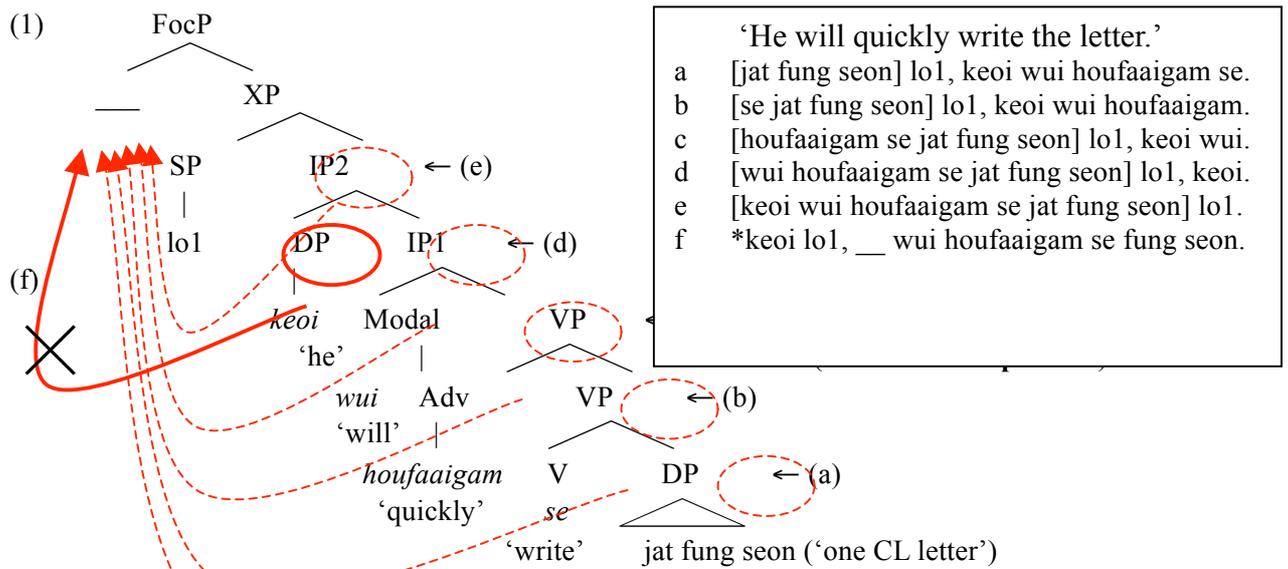# Manifesting the Nuclear Stress Rule in Cantonese

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This study investigates the manifestation of the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR) in the Dislocation Focus Construction (DFC) as a constraint on focus movement (rather than as nuclear stress) in Cantonese. The NSR was proposed to explain the relation between the placement of nuclear stress, the information structure and the phrasal structure observed across many languages (Chomsky & Halle 1971; Cinque 1993; Zubizarreta 1998 among others). Despite the general lack of nuclear stress in Cantonese (Wong et al. 2005), the DFC displays properties that strongly pattern with the NSR in several aspects. <u>First</u>, the set of phrases that can undergo overt movement to the sentence-initial position in the DFC coincide remarkably with phrases projected from the rightmost word or the focus set described in Reinhart (1995) [1a-e]. The pattern is not easily derivable from other syntactic constraints. For example, although subject DPs can freely undergo movement in topicalization and relativization in Cantonese, they are not subject to movement in the DFC because they are on the "major path", thus not a member of the focus set in the sense of the NSR [1f]. <u>Second</u>, both the DFC and the NSR are sensitive to what Zubizarreta (1998) calls the "metrical invisibility" (MI) in the computation of the focus set. Originally formulated to explain systematic exceptions to the assignment of NS for silent or informationally given elements, the MI naturally accounts for many puzzling exceptions in the DFC. For example, pre-verbal preposition objects and object DPs in a pre-verbal adjunct clause are prohibited from focus movement in the DFC as they are not on the "major path" [2a] However, when *all* the materials following these elements are elided, focus movement becomes fine [2b]. On the MI analysis, the ellipsis necessitates adjustment of the focus set, thus accommodating different elements in the focus set. <u>Third</u>, both the NSR and the DFC trigger focus interpretation that can be shown by question-answer contexts [3].

The findings give rise to two interesting implications. <u>First</u>, the strong correlation between the NSR and the DFC suggests that the NSR is at work in the Cantonese DFC, even though it is not manifested as nuclear stress or other phonological features. The data offers some evidence that the NSR can be decoupled from nuclear stress in the PF. It presents some difficulty to the stress-based approach (Cinque 1993; Reinhart 1995 among others) which claims that the focus set is determined by the location of the nuclear stress. <u>Second</u>, the observation provides some new evidence where the NSR can apply in grammatical model. As the movement in the DFC could result in semantic change in the LF, if we assume no PF-LF communication (Chomsky 1995), the NSR must apply before Spell-Out. In fact, since only phrases corresponding to the focus set can be moved, the NSR computation must occur before overt syntactic focus movement in the DFC (i.e. the NSR feeds overt syntactic movement). The conclusion is contrasted with Zubizarreta's findings that in Romance languages, overt movement (i.e. p-movement) feeds the NSR. She proposes the NSR applies at the end of syntactic derivation before Spell-Out. In Cantonese, the NSR must apply before some syntactic movement operations (e.g. focus movement).

(1) FocP

'He will quickly write the letter.'
a [jat fung seon] lo1, keoi wui houfaaigam se.
b [se jat fung seon] lo1, keoi wui houfaaigam.
c [houfaaigam se jat fung seon] lo1, keoi wui.
d [wui houfaaigam se jat fung seon] lo1, keoi.
e [keoi wui houfaaigam se jat fung seon] lo1.
f *keoi lo1, __ wui houfaaigam se fung seon.

XP

SP   IP2   ← (e)

lo1   DP   IP1   ← (d)

(f)

*keoi   Modal   VP
'he'

wui   Adv   VP   ← (b)
'will'

houfaaigam   V   DP   ← (a)
'quickly'   se

'write'   jat fung seon ('one CL letter')

Preverbal PP object dislocation becomes possible with ellipsis (due to focus set adjustment with MI)

(2) a Keoi deoi   tinman   jau hingceoi gaa.   (canonical word order)
        he towards astronomy have interest   SP
        'He has an interest towards astronomy.'

    b *tinman   gaa, keoi deoi   ____ jau hingceoi. (DFC ill-formed without ellipsis)
        astronomy SP he towards   have interest

    c tinman   gaa, keoi deoi   ____ jau hingceoi. (DFC welll-formed with ellipsis)
        astronomy SP he towards   have interest

(3) Q1: Who bought a computer?   Q2: What did he buy?
    A: [Jat bou dinnou] lo, keoi wui maai.
        one CL computer SP he will buy
        'He will buy a computer.' **(A is a good answer to Q1 but not to Q2.)**

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Pragmatic Effects and Processing Cost in Cantonese Topicalization

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This study investigates the processing of canonical SVO sentences as in (1) vs. OSV sentences with a topicalized object (2) in Cantonese. The study aims to test whether a contextual effect favoring topicalization can be induced experimentally, and whether there is an intrinsic processing cost associated with topicalization.

(1) 小 明 好 鍾 意 呢 份 禮 物 (SVO: canonical sentence)
    siu2 ming4 hou2 zung1 ji3 [NP nei1 fan6 lai5 mat6]
    3sg much like this CL present
    'Siu Ming likes this present a lot.'
(2) 呢 份 禮 物 小 明 好 鍾 意 (OSV: topicalized sentence)
    [NP nei1 fan6 lai5 mat6] siu2 ming4 hou2 zung1 ji3
    this CL present 3sg much like
    'This present Siu Ming likes a lot.'

The hypotheses tested are that (i) speakers would process both topicalized (OSV) and non-topicalized (SVO) test sentences following a picture contextually related to the object (O) faster than those following a contextually unrelated picture; (ii) speakers would process canonical sentences such as (1) faster than topicalized sentences (2); and (iii) there would be interaction between the context effect (i) and topicalization (ii), with topicalized sentences showing an advantage following presentation of a picture related to the object.

These predictions were tested using a self-paced, sentence by sentence reading task in Cantonese. Following presentation of a picture, a test sentence was presented in the middle of the screen. A 2 x 2 design was used, with the variables being context (picture related vs. unrelated to the object in the test sentence) and structure (SVO vs. OSV). The reading time per sentence was measured automatically using the software package Paradigm. 45 Cantonese native speakers participated in the experiment.

The results support hypothesis (i): a significant main effect of relatedness is found; and hypothesis (ii): a significant main effect of the canonical SVO structure having an advantage over topicalization regardless of the relatedness of the preceding picture. No interaction was found between the two factors (hypothesis (iii)): the facilitating effect of the relevant picture is equally valid for both SVO and OSV sentences. The results favoring SVO sentences suggests that there may be an intrinsic processing cost associated with topicalization, similar to that observed in Japanese by Mazuka et al (2001).

The Acquisition of the Resultative Verb Compound in Mandarin

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The Resultative Verb Compound (RVC) is composed of two components V1 and V2, denoting an action and the corresponding result. In terms of their internal compositionality, RVCs form a continuum ranging from monomorphemic-like units to phrase-like combinations. Semantically, the RVC reflects an aspectual structure comprising a preliminary activity and a final completion or culmination. They can be classified into several major types (cause, achievement, phase and directional RVCs) based on the semantics of V2 (Li and Thompson 1981).

Previous acquisition research on RVCs in Mandarin has focused on whether or not the child is conscious of their componentiality and aspectual structure. In her longitudinal study of two types of RVCs used by two Mandarin-speaking children from 0;10 (10 months old) to 2;6, Xu (2006) found that about 50% of their RVCs were unanalyzed wholes. Chen (2005) found children as late as 6 years old still mistakenly treated V1 of the RVC as if it entails the meaning of change of state.

This study examines the internal structure and semantic properties of four types of RVCs used by a Mandarin-speaking child from 0;11 to 1;9 covering 30 sessions.

Our findings indicate that with respect to compositionality, around 40% of the child's RVCs were decomposable, with both components having been spontaneously used in prior contexts. About 49% had one of their components used spontaneously in other contexts. The remaining 11% were unanalyzed wholes. It is thus possible that for some RVCs used by children, both the compound and the component morphemes are represented, related by morphological rules in the sense of Jackendoff (1975) or by faciliatory representational links as in Libben's (1998) processing model. For other RVCs, they are initially represented as monomorphemic roots with just one lexical representation. Their compositional structure was acquired when children encounter more RVCs sharing the same component verbs.

At an early stage of development the child did not learn RVCs in an across-the-board rule-governed fashion. Instead, s/he may have relied heavily on phase RVCs and a small number of V1s and V2s to tap into the inner structure of RVCs.

The child's RVCs were used independent of aspect markers, suggesting that the child may treat the aktionsart and the aspect as two different categories.

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Two Ways to Nominalize Predicates in Japanese

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NOMINALIZING PREDICATES In Japanese, there are at least two ways to nominalize predicates. In (1a), the nominalization of the verb *okureru* 'delay' is realized in the infinitive form (so-called *renyoukei*), while the nominalization is done by the complementizer *koto* in (1b).

(1) a. Densha-no okure   b. Densha-ga okureta koto
        train-GEN delay   train-NOM delayed COMP
        'the train's delay'   'the fact that the train delayed'

There are distributional and interpretational differences between these two constructions as depicted in (2) and (3).

(2) a. Densha-no okure-ga sugoi.   b. *Densha-ga okureta koto-ga sugoi.
        'The train's delay is extreme.'   *'The fact that the train delayed is extreme.'

(3) a. Hanako-no hashiri-o omoidasita.   b. Hanako-ga hashitta koto-o omoidashita.
        Hanako-GEN running-ACC remembered   Hanako-NOM ran COMP remembered
        'I remembered Hanako's run.'   'I remembered the fact that Hanako ran.'
     Entailment: specific aspects are observed.   No such entailment
     E.g., the speed, the running form, etc.

PROPOSAL: EVENT VS. SET OF TRUE PROPOSITIONS The *renyoukei*-nominalization generates an event-referring term in Davidson's (1967) framework. *Hanako-no hashiri* refers to a particular running event whose agent is Hanako at the given world-time index and location. In contrast, *koto*, when merged with an IP, generates a term which denotes a set of propositions, which are true in the actual world including the proposition 'Hanako ran', and is diagrammatically depicted in Figure 1. Our analysis is supported by other well-observed facts about a *koto*-phrase such as its factivity (c.f., Kuno 1973).

EXPLAINING ASYMMETRIES According to our proposal, an event is a concrete object, hence it can be measured as in (2a), i.e., placed on a scale, and given a time-length degree, say one hour. In (2b), however, a set of propositions, being a highly abstract object, cannot be measured. As for the interpretational difference, an event is a particular instantiation of some property at a fixed index. Therefore, if an agent is holding a remembering-relation with an event, it directly follows that the agent is holding a remembering-relating with a particular aspect of the property it represents as in (3a). On the other hand, if the agent stands in a remembering-relation with a set of propositions, the differences among the specific aspects of the property are eliminated as seen in (3b).
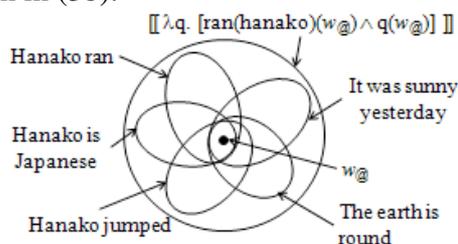

Figure 1: The dot represents the actual world.

Double binding and the semantic interpretations of bare nouns in Chinese

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Bare nouns in mandarin Chinese can freely occur in any argumental position and can obtain various interpretations in different contexts such as definite, indefinite, and generic readings, though some tendencies are noted (Chao 1968, Li 1997, Cheng & Sybesma 1999, Shen 2003, Yang 2003, Kuo 2008).

(1) gou yao   guo malu. [definite]
(2) gou tebie tinghua. [generic]
(3) [fasheng-le   shenme shi?], xiaohai zai ku, daren zai han, gou zai jiao. [indefinite]

There have been roughly two major approaches to bare nouns in Chinese: the Carlsonian kind approach (Carlson 1977, Chierchia 1998), Dayal 2004), and the ambiguity approach (Diesing 1992, Wilkinson 1991, Longobardi 1994, 2001). Current studies along the ambiguity approach (Cheng & Sybesma 1999, Tsai 2001) cannot account for all the three readings without additional assumptions and miss important generalizations concerning bare noun interpretation. In this paper, I pursue a Carlsonian analysis towards how to capture the different semantic interpretations of Chinese bare nouns. More specifically, I will achieve four aims:

(i) substantial arguments will be presented to argue that Chinese bare nouns only denote kinds in any predicate environment, with its seemingly other references coming from the predicates.

(ii) a bare noun is *doubly bound*. Since bare nouns are kinds, so under non-kind predicates, they are not the proper sort to be predicated of by stage-level predicates. In order to reach sortal match, a realization operator introduces a proper sort, i.e., $\lambda i \lambda x^s[R'(x^s, i)]$, of which i represents individuals, a definite entity in discourse, so it must be always definite and always bound by an iota operator; while the stage x^s can be bound by various operators.

(iii) how different interpretations are arising depends on the different operators binding the stage variables, along with some language parametric variations (like Chierchia 1998's Blocking Principle). If the stage is bound by iota operator, then a definite reading is available; if bound by existential operator, indefinite reading is produced; if bound by generic operator, generic reading is produced.

(4) wo kanjian-le gou.
   a. saw (I, ιx [R(x, CANIS)])
   b. $\exists$ x[R(x, CANIS) ∧ saw(I, x)]
(5) gou yao guo malu.
   ιx [R(x, CANIS)) ∧ want-cross-street(x)]
(6) gou tebie tinghua. [generic]
   GENx [R(x, CANIS)) ∧ obedient(x)]

(iv) indefinite reading of bare noun in subject position depends on how the information structure of topic-focus is partitioned: specifically material in the focus gets mapped into the nuclear scope and material in the topic gets mapped into the restrictor (Reinhart 1981, Partee 1991, Krifka 1992, Kiss 1998, Cohen and Erteschik-Shir 2002). When the bare noun subject is mapped into the nuclear scope, it

will be interpreted indefinitely. This is shown in a number of structures which involves overt or covert topic-focus partitioning like: *Wh*-question, *shi*-focusing structure, only-structures, adverbs of quantification, conditionals, etc. In these focus-sensitive structures, the interpretation of bare noun subject depends on how the subject is associated with focus, or whether or not it is mapped into the nuclear scope.

(7) a. [waimian hen chao, shenme zai jiao?] gou zai jiao.

    b. ASS_1 [$\exists$ x[R(x, CANIS) $\wedge$ *zai jiao*(*x*)]]$_i$

(8) a. xiaofangyuan [shi zuo zhe che]$_F$ lai-de.

    ASS [λx (xiaofangyuan x lai de)][x= zuo zhe che]

    [ιy [R(y, xiaofangyuan) $\wedge$ lai de(*y*)][x=zuo zhe che]]

(9) a. zuotian,   xiaofangyuan zhi mie-le   [zheli]$_F$-de huo.

    ONLY [ιx[R(x, xiaofangyuan) $\wedge$ λy(mie-le y de huo)][y=zheli]

    b. zuotian,   zhi [xiaofangyuan]$_F$ mie-le   zheli-de huo.

    ONLY [λx(x mie-le zheli-de huo)][$\exists$ x(R(x, xiaofangyuan))]

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Linguistic and rhetorical features in L2 Chinese essays of Japanese speakers

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This paper reports a small part of our on-going project on L2 Chinese essay writing. We will present a detailed analysis of textual features in Chinese essays written by Japanese speakers. The textual features are grouped into three categories: (1) lexical features (L2 learners' use of nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.), (2) clausal features (such as the *ba*-construction, the topic structure, the resultative *de*-structure, relative clauses, etc); and (3) discoursal-rhetorical features which include conjunctions, emphatics, rhetorical questions, hedges, idiomatic expressions, paragraph organizational features, etc. The characteristics of Japanese speakers' texts are compared with those in the essays of Chinese native speakers and English speakers. Both L1 influence on L2 Chinese writing and the implication for writing instruction to non-Chinese speakers will be discussed.

The processing of Chinese coverb sentences

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Coverbs in Chinese form a complicated class of words in their properties and nature. The members in this category differ in their properties, for example some members can engage in A-not-A questions, but some cannot (Chen, 2002). Francis and Matthews (2006) grouped Cantonese coverbs into one homogenous category as verbs. Chen (2002) classified some coverbs as prepositions and others as both verbs and prepositions. A research question is how the parser represents coverbs in the mind. Using a self-paced reading experiment, we investigated the online processing of the coverb category. A norming test confirmed that there were two groups of coverb: the ZaiType coverb and the CongType coverb. The coverb phrase of CongType coverbs must co-occur with another verb phrase, whereas the coverb phrase of ZaiType coverbs can either stand alone with a subject noun phrase or co-occur with another verb phrase. This means that ZaiType coverbs can be the main predicate or a preposition.

(1) *__CongType coverbs__*:   __ NP VP

彼得剛才 [coverb phrase   從   黃山]   [verb遠眺]。
bide gangcai   **cong** huangshan   yuantiao
Peter just_now   from Mount_Huang gaze_afar
'Peter gazed into the distance from Mount Huang just now.'

(2) *__ZaiType coverbs__*: __ NP (VP)

(2a) *co-occuring with a verb*   (2b) *coverb phrase stand alone*

彼得剛才 [coverb phrase   在   黃山]   [verb遠眺]。 彼得剛才   在 黃山。
bide gangcai   **zai** huangshan   yuantiao bide gangcai   **zai**   huangshan
Peter just_now   at   Mount_Huang gaze_afar Peter just_now   at Mount_Huang
'Peter gazed into the distance on Mount Huang just now.' 'Peter was on Mount Huang just now.'

In the self-paced reading experiment, we compared the reading times of sentences with ZaiType coverbs and CongType coverbs. The two factors were syntax ([coverb + N1 + N1] and [coverb + N1 + V]) and coverb-type (ZaiType coverb and CongType coverb). The results showed that the reading time of the final word of [ZaiType coverb + N1 + N2] was significantly longer than [CongType coverb + N1 + N2]. The reader may expect initially that the coverb was a preposition. At the final word which was the disambiguation point, the structure was reinterpreted when it turned out that there was no other verb in the sentence. The initially preferred [[PP P NP] V] structure was reinterpreted as [V NP].   No such reinterpretation can be made for the CongType coverb. The results suggested that the reader processes these two groups of coverb differently in the mind based on the different syntactic status of the coverbs. The result showed that the coverb is not a homogenous category.

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VP Ellipsis and Cartography of Modal Verbs

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This paper addresses a phenomenon about the licensing of ellipsis in Mandarin Chinese. Although some modal auxiliaries such as *hui* 'able', *neng* 'can', and *keyi* 'can' are able to license VP E(llipsis), as in (1a-c), others such as *(ying)gai* 'should', *keneng* 'may' cannot, as in (2a-c). I propose that this difference can be attributed to their different structural positions.

Built on the typography of Mandarin modals developed by Tsai (2009), I propose that different types of modal verbs lie on different layers in syntactic structure along the spirit of the cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999, a.o.). Following Tsai, epistemic modal verbs such as *yinggai* 'should' and *keneng* 'may' are assumed to be located in the left periphery (or "complementizer layer" using Tsai's terminology), deontic modal verbs such as *keyi* 'may', *yinggai* 'must', are in the inflectional layer, and dynamic modals such as *hui* 'can', *neng* 'can', *gan* 'dare' in the lexical layer. On the other hand, *hui* 'will' in (3), as an epistemic modal verb can license VPE. However, I argue that the modal verb *hui* should be differentiated from the epistemic modal verbs. Following Lin (2006), I think that *hui* may be a future modal verb which, furthermore, shows the complementary distribution with the deontic modal verbs, as in (4). In other words, *hui* should be located in the inflectional layer.

Due to their different structural positions, the constituent which the four kinds of modal verbs can license by ellipsis differ. More specifically, I argue that dynamic modal verbs license VP ellipsis, as (5a), while deontic modal verbs (give examples) and the future modal verb *hui* license vP ellipsis, as (5b). In contrast, epistemic modal verbs cannot license TP ellipsis, as (5c). Finally, my conjecture is that TP cannot be empty so that there is no ellipsis licensed by epistemic modal verbs.

(1) a. 李白会写诗，杜甫也会。
   b. 李白能写诗，杜甫也能。
   c. 李白可以去长安，杜甫也可以。

(2) a. *李白可能回到了长安，杜甫也可能。
   b. *李白应该回到了长安，杜甫也应该。
   c. *李白今年该回长安了，杜甫也该.

(3) 李白明天会去长安，杜甫也会。

(4) a. *李白会可以去长安。
   b. *杀人者会应该判死刑。
   c. *李白会得去长安。
   d. *李白可以会去长安。
   e. 杀人者应该会判死刑。   (*yinggai* as Epistemic, *Deontic)
   f. *李白得会去长安。

(5) a. M^{dyn} $[_{VP}$ Ø]
    b. M^{deo}/M^{fut} $[_{vP}$ Ø]
    c. *M^{epi} $[_{TP}$ Ø]

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The acquisition of Mandarin Stops by L2 Japanese learners: a VOT study

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Cross-linguistic studies of voicing have revealed that VOT is a reliable phonetic dimension for studying voicing contrasts in languages of the world. Studies of L1 acquisition of Mandarin have shown that the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops develops first at the dental or labial place, and then appears at the velar region. However, replacement of the aspirated stops by the unaspirated category was consistently observed until the aspiration distinction has been mastered.

The present study investigates the acquisition of Mandarin stops by Japanese learners. In the first experiment, 4 Japanese subjects of different levels of proficiency and 4 native Mandarin subjects were tested. The speech materials consisted of the two-way contrast in VOT for word-initial labial stops, dental stops and velar stops, namely, /pʰ/、/tʰ/、/kʰ/ and /p /、/t /、/k /. All test words were shown in both characters and *Hanyu pinyin* embedded in a sentence which the subjects were asked to read out.

To test the possibility that the subjects' production may be affected by the reading material being presented in *Hanyu pinyin* rather than Chinese characters, a second experiment divided into two parts was carried out. The subjects were presented the same set of pictures with characters in one reading material and pictures with *Hanyu pinyin* in the other one. Another group of 7 L2 Japanese learners served as subjects. The results show that whether the subjects were presented with character or *Hanyu pinyin*, their VOT values did not differ in the two tests.

Our findings suggest that, unlike L1 acquisition, L2 Japanese learners have formed the distinction between the aspirated stops and unaspirated stops at the beginning stage when they learn Hanyu pinyin, though there were confusions of aspirated stops with unaspirated stops. In addition, they produced aspirated stops at the velar region later than those at the labial and dental places of articulation, namely, /k/ was acquired later than /p/ /t/; however, they acquired aspirated stops at the velar region earlier than those at the labial and alveolar regions, that is, /kʰ/ was acquired earlier than /pʰ//tʰ/. Further study is needed to ascertain whether the phenomenon is common to all L2 learners or is specific to Japanese learners.

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Predicting the Variation of the Ditransitive Construction in Chinese

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The ditransitive construction has variable forms in many languages. Previous literature suggests that the choice of form is not entirely random but is subject to semantic features. More recently, Bresnan's research group (Bresnan et al., 2007; Bresnan & Ford, 2009) presented a highly successful statistical model which uses 14 features to predict the dative alternation in English.

In order to find out whether Chinese ditransitive variation is subject to the same factors, we built a similar model for Chinese. The general picture of Chinese ditransitive variation is more complicated than English, involving at least four types: (a) V DO gei IO, (b) V (gei) IO DO, (c) ba DO V (gei) IO, (d) IO V (gei) DO. For the purpose of this study, we focus on the two post-verbal variants, (a) and (b).

From the Sinica Corpus, we extracted 841 target sentences ((a): 179; (b): 662) involving 18 verbs. The model has one outcome variable, i.e. sentence type, and 18 predictors. 12 predictors were adopted from the English model: accessibility of recipient/theme, pronominality of recipient/theme, definiteness of recipient/theme, number of recipient/theme, animacy of recipient, person of recipient, concreteness of theme, and length difference. Six new binary variables were added: presence of numeral (or quantifier) phrases on theme/recipient, presence of preceding verbs/adverbs/auxiliaries, and presence of following verbs. Each sentence was hand coded for all above variables. The results were entered into a mixed-effects logistic regression model, with verb being the random effect.

Only 4 of the 18 variables turned out to be significant ($p<0.005$): definiteness of theme, concreteness of theme, length difference, and presence of numeral/quantifier phrase on theme. On average, a concrete theme, shorter than recipient, either definite or indefinite, with no quantifier/numeral modifiers, is more likely to precede the recipient, resulting in a type (a) sentence. Using only these four predictors, the model correctly classifies 86.2% of the data, an improvement of 7.5% over the baseline (78.7%).

The results are interesting in many aspects. First, they show that most semantic features that condition English dative alternation are not at work in the corresponding alternation in Chinese; rather, ditransitive variation in Chinese appears to be more sensitive to overt marking (e.g. numeral/quantifier phrases) than abstract semantic concepts (e.g. number). Further, of the semantic factors that are significant, all of them have to do with theme, and none concern recipient. This suggests that the two arguments do not play the same role in conditioning ditransitive variation in Chinese.

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On the Chinese "Causative-Passive" Construction

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This paper discusses the Chinese "Causative-Passive" Construction, exemplified in (1). In actuality, (1) is an ambiguous structure, in which the subject can be interpreted either as a causer or as an agent, as indicated by the gloss.

(1) Zhangsan   ba   le   yi   ke   ya.
    Zhangsan   pull-out   Asp   one   CL   tooth
    'Zhangsan has one of his teeth pulled out.'   [Zhangsan: Causer]
    'Zhangsan has pulled out one tooth.'   [Zhangsan: Agent]

(1) is a "causative-passive" construction only when the subject "Zhangsan" is interpreted as a Causer. In this case, (1) has the syntactic structure as in (2).

(2)

Compare (1) with its English counterpart *John has one of his teeth pulled out*, we can see that (i) Chinese "causative-passive" construction is covert "causative-passive" construction in that it shows no causative verb nor passive marker; whereas English "causative-passive" construction is overt "causative-passive" construction in that it shows overt causative verb *have* and passive morphology; (ii) the lexical verb in the Chinese "causative-passive" construction is in the middle of the subject and the object; whereas the lexical verb in the English "causative-passive" construction is at the sentence-final position. These two differences can be accounted for by different values of the finiteness parameter set in English and Chinese.

Merging tones in Hong Kong Cantonese

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Traditionally, there are six lexical tones (T) for non-checked syllables in Hong Kong Cantonese. In recent years, however, some tone pairs appear to be merging among the younger speakers. In their production, some do not distinguish the two rising tones T2/T5, or the two level tones T3/T6, or the low falling and low level tones T4/T6. Both production and perception experiments were carried out to investigate their merging patterns and whether confusion occurs among these younger speakers.

27 subjects were recruited for the experiments. They were screened for merged tones in their production. 16 speakers merged some tone pairs, while 11 speakers clearly distinguished all six tones. All of these 27 subjects participated in a perception experiment, while only the 16 speakers who merged tones participated in the production experiment. For the perception test, an AX discrimination task using monosyllables was conducted. Accuracy rate and reaction time were measured. For the production task, subjects produced a list of monosyllables and disyllables in a carrier phrase.

Results for the perception test showed that when compared with the subjects who did not merge tones in their production, subjects who merged tones had lower accuracy rate and longer reaction time in general and especially in distinguishing the merging tone pairs. Nevertheless, the latter group could still distinguish the merging tone pairs with above 90% accuracy. Among the merging tone pairs, the T2/T5 pair was the hardest to distinguish by both groups of subjects. Analysis for the production experiment is currently underway.

The results indicate that the merging process of the tones is in progress in the language as a whole and also within individual speakers. Possible reasons for these patterns will be discussed.

The Production and Perception of French initial stops by Wu and Mandarin Speakers

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This study examines the influence of the L1 sound system on the acquisition of voicing contrast in French stops by Wu and Mandarin speakers. The aim is to assess whether the Speech Learning Model (SLM), which focuses on the detailed phonetic differences of L1 and L2 sounds (Flege 1995), or the Phonological-Superiority Hypothesis (PSH), which emphasizes the important influence of L1 phonological factors in cross-linguistic perception (Cho & McQueen 2006), can account for the L2 speech learning results.

French and Wu share the phonological contrast of voiced and voiceless stops despite the fact that different phonetic cues are used in the two languages. Voice onset time is used to distinguish the voicing contrast in French (Abdelli-Beruh 2009) while voice quality is the main cue to differentiate the Wu voicing contrast (Cao & Maddieson 1992, Ren 1987). In Mandarin, stops do not contrast in voicing and the stop contrast is realized in short VOT lag (unaspirated) versus long VOT lag (aspirated) (Roche & Fei 1991). Since the phonetic details distinguishing the stop contrast in both Wu and Mandarin are different from those in French, SLM predicts that the performance of Wu and Mandarin speakers should not be different in learning the voicing contrast of French stops. However, according to PSH, Wu speakers ought to do better than Mandarin speakers because Wu shares the phonological contrast of voicing with French.

15 subjects, consisted of 8 Wu speakers and 7 Mandarin speakers, participated both production and perception tests which aimed to assess their mastery of the French voicing contrast. The group results showed that the Wu group did better than the Mandarin group, which seems to support PSH. But there were large individual variations within each L1 group and certain Wu speakers did not do better than Mandarin speakers in two tests. Because SLM takes other factors such as language experience into consideration, it can better explain the individual data than PSH.

The study indicates that neither PSH nor SLM alone can account for the results

satisfactorily. L2 speech learning is not a simple sound transfer from L1 and other factors such as language experience are proposed to account for L2 speech learning.

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From head-marking to dependent-marking in the history of English personal pronouns:
A case of degrammaticalization?

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This study is aimed to examine a radical change in the morphosyntactic marking or orthographic rules of English personal pronouns i.e. from head-marking (*icham* 'I am') to dependent-marking (*I'm*), which happened in the transition periods from Late Middle English (here after, Late ME) to Early Modern English (hereafter, EModE).

Nichols (1986) introduces one typological methodology viz. head-marking vs. dependent-marking to give an explanation to the examples to follow.

(1) English   (2) Hungarian
    *the man**'s**   house*   *az   ember h'az-**a***
                                the man   house-3sg 'the man's house'

In terms of syntactic relations, these examples are identical because a head noun is being modified by a possessor. However, there is one crucial difference between them. In (1), the dependent *man* takes the genitive marker *-s* due to its relationship to the head noun *house*. In (2), however, it is not the possessor *ember* 'man' but the possessee *h'az* 'house' that is marked. Nichols (1986) regards (2) as a case of head-marking and (1) as a case of dependent-marking, respectively. According to Nichols (1992: 77), the most common tendency is that pronouns have head marking, while nouns do not: pronominal dependents are cliticized or affixed to the head instead of being separate words, as shown in the agreement systems, for example, of many European languages.

The head-marking pattern can be attested in the history of English personal pronouns as in (3). Note that this study is restricted to a historical survey of the first person pronoun.

(3) a.   *ichil* (< ich 'I' + wille) 'I will'
      b.   *icham* (< ich 'I' + am) 'I am'

Like the majority of European languages, English used to follow this grammatical marking approximately up until the very early EModE. In the sixteenth century, however, the head-marking of the first person form e.g. *icham* 'I am' began to disappear almost all of a sudden, while the dependent-marking counterpart e.g. *I'm* rose rapidly, getting stable soon and conventionalized in later centuries.

The morphosyntactic change from head-marking to dependent-marking peculiar to Late ME and EModE cannot be accounted for only by language-internal factors such as inflectional loss and information-chaining: we need to investigate some language-external factors such as a sizeable social trend in the direction of standardizing the English language, settling its variant forms of spelling, orthography and grammar. In short, the shift from head-marking to dependent-marking in the

English pronominal paradigm is closely associated with both linguistic and socio-cultural factors.

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Tangut Group IX Initials Revisited

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The reconstruction of Tangut initials is based on the chaining of fanqie (反切) spellings provided in the Tangut dictionary *Ocean of Characters* (文海), in which all characters are categorized into 9 initial groups. Until now the only complete fanqie chaining of Tangut characters was accomplished by Sofronov (1968). He derived 20 fanqie chains for Tangut group IX characters, which were then further categorized them into 5 lateral and retroflex initials according to the evidence of Chinese and Tibetan transcriptions. Sofronov's reconstruction was later modified by Gong (1981) and became the most recognized reconstruction scheme. This paper re-examines the reconstruction of Tangut group IX initials by utilizing new materials published in recent years (Li 2006, Han 2008, Tai 2008). It illustrates that Sofronov's group IX fanqie chains 5 and 20, 11 and 12 can both further link together. It also points out that the merging of initials l- and ld- into l- in Gong's modification is not supported by the evidence of Tibetan transcription. Recently Sofronov (2004) observed that Tangut initials l- and r- are in contractive distribution. This paper further shows that Tangut initial r- only occurs with retroflex rhymes.

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If Tones Had Weights

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An unresolved issue in the ditonal sandhi of Tianjin is the absence of rules (1d) and (1f), below.

(1) Tianjin Ditonal Sandhi

a.	LL → RL	e.	FL → HL
b.	RR → HR	f.	*FR → HR
c.	FF → LF	g.	RH → LH
d.	*HH → FH	h.	RF → LF

, where L=low, H=high, F= falling, R=rising

Attested sandhi patterns suggest the OCP at both the level of tone contour and tone features (assuming F=hl and R=lh), which makes it paradoxical that (1d) HH (=h.h) and (1f) FR (=hl.lh) are spared from alternation. These have the same sandhi-triggering environments as (1e, g, h).

A handle to this conundrum can be found in the observation that except for (1a), all output disyllables have a tone structure [x.yz] or [x.y], reminiscent of iambic feet structure. If one assumes that tone features are weight units, this pattern may be stated as a constraint such as (2).

(2) *[xy.z]
Do not have ditonal sequences that are [xy.z].

By supplementing the OCP account with (2), which is basically tonal iambicity, an explanation to the full range of patterns in (1) can be obtained

Assuming that tone features contribute weight provides a tonal equivalent for the WEIGHT-TO-STRESS Principle, which in turn leads to a number of predictions on Chinese prosody where weight distinctions of syllables, if any, cannot be derived from rime structure.

In Tianjin, one corroborative piece of evidence comes from the blocking of sandhi when targeted syllables are stressed (say, contrastive focus). Also, L→ R sandhi is being gradually displaced by L→H among younger speakers, suggesting the undesirability of the RL tone sequence beyond the OCP. Further, there are languages like Suzhou and Shanghai, where edgemost syllables provide the tonal melody for the entire (multisyllabic) span of the word after neutralizing the tones of the other syllables. A theory of tonal weights would be able to explain this by marking the edge syllable as carrying tonic stress, consequently all other syllables lose their tones to preserve tonic prominence.

The suggestion that contour tones carry more prosodic weight can be perceptually tested. One could line up sequences of tones such HRHRHR that are digitally generated, and then invite informants to point out any tone that they perceive to be prominent. Results suggest the viability of the idea that tones could play a role in prosodic weight.

A Hypothesis on the Mechanism behind the Lateralization   of the Alveolar Nasal-Initial in Hong Kong Cantonese

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The lateralisation of the alveolar nasal-initial in Hong Kong Cantonese (HKC, *henceforth*), which is more well-known as the sound change n- > l-, has been noticed and studied by linguists for a long time. (Cheung 2003; Zee 1999) The beginning of this process can be traced back to at least as far as to the 1950's as seen from the Cantonese film. Some scholars asserted that this sound change is influenced by the Xīguān 西關 sub-dialect of Cantonese. Anyhow, in terms of articulatory gesture, [l] involves an incomplete closure between the tongue and the roof of the oral cavity while for [n], a complete contact is only required. It is therefore, the production of [l] requires a more complex control of tongue muscle and is thus considered as a more difficult phone. As a result, [l] is less universal than [n] in the inventory of the world's language.

This phenomenon brings two interesting questions:

Although [l] is more difficult to articulate, why does the sound change n- > l- take place instead of l- > n- ?

What is the mechanism behind this *strange* sound change?

It has been found from Boyle (1970: 60−1) that in the 1970's, the vowel in HKC was generally open before a nasal coda (*e.g.* sam^{55} 衫 'clothes') but was nasalized following a nasal initial (*e.g.* ŋɔ̃^{24} 我 '1P sg', mẽn^{11} 文 'language'). Let alone the situation in present HKC, this phenomenon reveals the mechanism behind this sound change. Subsequently, in this research, the following mechanism is proposed, taking the syllable [nam] as an example:

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4
男 'boy'	nam	nãm	lãm	lam
藍 'blue'	lam	lam	lam	lam

Stage 1: Vowel was not nasalised.

Stage 2: V > Ṽ / N__   due to progressive assimilation.

Stage 3: n > l to increase the contrast between the historical n- and {m,ŋ}-initial syllable; the load of nasal-initial class was also decreased.

Stage 4: Ṽ > V since nasalized vowel is not an intrinsic feature in Cantonese

This model explains why the direction is n > l but not l > n; and gives a mechanism behind this sound change, which is not dominant in language universality. Furthermore, this mechanism also involves two interesting phenomena: the quick

emerge and submerge of nasal vowel phoneme (Stage 2 to 4); and the shift of contrastive feature of a minimal pair (stage 1 to 3).

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An experimental investigation
into the high-rising tone change in Cantonese

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In Cantonese, besides the six lexical tones, sometimes a non-high tone could change into a high level or high rising tone in some morphological or phonological environments. This phenomenon is refered to as tone change, or *pinjam*. There are two kinds of *pinjam*, both irregular in nature: one of them modifies the sense of the affected morphemes (*pinjam-s*), the other does not (*pinjam-n*). Previous studies mostly focused on the historical origin and morphological functions of *pinjam*, in addtion to classification and distribution of *pinjam* in Cantonese. It has been suggested that half a century ago, the high-rising *pinjam* is distinctive from the canonical high-rising tone (Tone 2) in that it has a lower pitch at the beggining of the contour; however, over the years, this difference has disappeared due to a merging process. Nevertheless, a recent experimental study has found a statistically significant difference between the tone values of high-rising *pinjam* and canonical Tone 2 based on six speakers, which was taken as evidence for near mergers. Therefore, it is still unclear whether there is a complete merge between the high-rising *pinjam* and canonical Tone 2. It is also unknown whether there are differences in the F0 countours between *pinjam-s* and *pinjam-n*. Moreover, because the checked syllables in Cantonese are lengtherned when they experience tone change, it is interesting to know how their duration is affected by *pinjam*. In this study, eight native Hong Kong Cantonese speakers participated in a production test, in which they produced *pinjam* and the corresponding canonical Tone 2 syllables. The F0 values at 10 evenly-distributed points along the contours of target tones were measured. The F0 values and duration of the checked syllables were compared. Results showed that the F0 value of the high-rising *pinjam* and Tone 2 have been merged completely. The F0 of *pinjam-s* and *pinjam-n* are also not distinguishable. The changed checked syllables with long vowels could be lengtherned to as long as changed unchecked syllables. The results argue against the account of near mergers, and show that even though *pinjam* is related to semantic function (*pinjam-s* and *pinjam-n*) and syllable structure (checked syllables), the merging process is completed in all affected syllables.

Light Verb Construction and Psych Nouns in Mandarin Chinese

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Fu (1994) observes that Chinese psych nouns share many properties with process-denoting derived nominals, but she fails to identify the underlying VP, which will provide a unified account for the structure "NP$_1$ dui NP$_2$ de N". I propose that the explanation involves light verb construction.

I accept Simpson's (2002) analysis of the derivation for (1): V moves to the complement of *de*, head of DP, and the remnant of the VP moves upward to support the clitic-like determiner *de*. The process is shown in (2). But psych nouns such as *xinxin* 'confidence' and *taidu* 'attitude' do not have obvious verbal counterparts.

Huang (1997) proposes that statives (e.g. *xihuan* 'like') are probably embedded under BE/HOLD. I suggest that for sentence (3), [$_V$ *xinxin*] is the result of the noun *xinxin* raising to BE/HOLD. The underlying structure is similar to (4). In (5), the head noun is derived from [$_V$ *xinxin*] in a process similar to (2). The modifying elements in (3) and (6) come after nominal predicates because the latter have moved upward while other NP elements remain behind. This gives support for Huang's proposal about light verb construction for statives.

(1) Zhangsan dui Lisi yanli de piping
     Z.   to   L. severe DE criticism
     'Zhangsan's severe criticism of Lisi'

(2) a. [$_{DP}$ de [$_{NP}$ [$_{VP}$ Zhangsan dui Lisi yanli piping]]]

   b. [$_{DP}$ de [$_{NP}$ [$_N$ piping$_i$ [$_{VP}$ Zhangsan dui Lisi yanli t$_i$]]]]

   c. [$_{DP}$ [$_{VP}$ Zhangsan dui Lisi yanli t$_i$]$_k$ de [$_{NP}$ [$_N$ piping$_i$ t$_k$]]] (Simpson 2002:97 (72-74))

(3) Ta dui chenggong xinxin shizu.
     she to success confidence much
     'She has much confidence for success.'

(4) Ta dui chenggong you shizu de xinxin.
     she to success have much DE confidence
     'She has much confidence for success.'

(5) ta dui chenggong de xinxin
     he to success DE confidence
     'his confidence for success'

(6) Zheli shu henduo.
     here books many
     'Here are many books.'

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Are we self-centered or altruistic speakers: evidence from phonological neighborhood density

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Pronunciation variation is ubiquitous in speech. Just as no two leaves have exactly the same shape, no two utterances sound exactly the same. Existing literature has presented two approaches to explain variation: a talker-oriented view and a listener-oriented view. The former attributes variation to ease or difficulty in production, while the latter to ease or difficulty in comprehension ("listener adaptation"). Different as they might sound, few studies have successfully teased them apart. The fundamental reason is that most well-studied factors, e.g. predictability and familiarity, have the same predictions for production and comprehension, e.g. shortening in high-predictability/familiarity words can be argued by both ease of production and ease of comprehension.

Thus the ideal case is to investigate a variable with different predictions for production and comprehension. Phonological neighborhood density (PND) provides such a case. PND refers to the number words that are phonologically similar to a given word (e.g. *kit* and *cat* are phonological neighbors). It has been shown that high-PND words are hard to recognize, due to competition among neighbors (Luce & Pisoni 1998), but easy to produce, presumably because they have more connections and are more easily-activated (Vitevitch, 2002). Thus the interesting question is whether in communicative speech, the speaker will hyperarticulate high-PND words for the sake of the listener ("listener-oriented") or hypoarticulate them as an automatic consequence of their production system ("talker-oriented").

This study uses data are from the Buckeye corpus (Pitt et al., 2007), which has 40 English speakers' interview speech, of about 300,000 words. Our dataset comprises of 17,540 tokens (569 types) of monomorphemic CVC content words. A mixed-effect model is built on (log) token duration, with speaker and word type as random effects. The variables of interest are PND (i.e. raw count of neighbors) and average neighbor frequency. Control variables include an estimated word duration (based on average lengths of phones), speaker age and gender, word frequency, phonotactic probability, contextual predictability, speech rate, presence of disfluency and previous mentions. Our results show that after partialling out all control variables, PND has a small but significant effect on word duration ($t=-3.324$), in the negative direction. Everything else being equal, having one more neighbor decreases word duration by 0.4%. Average neighbor frequency also has a facilitative but less significant effect.

Our findings of facilitative effect of PND on word duration provide unambiguous evidence for the talker-oriented view. The implications on the model of mental lexicon and speech production are also discussed in detail.

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Classifier Reduplication and Distributivity in Kaijian Dialect

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Kaijian Dialect belongs to the Goulou group of *Yue* dialects which is spoken in Fengkai, a county in the northwest of Guangdong Province. Though Kaijian dialect is similar to Mandarin and Cantonese in that the classifiers in Kaijian dialect can reduplicate to give rise to universal/distributive reading like those in Mandarin and Cantonese do, it behaves slightly different from Mandarin and Cantonese due to the two distinctive particles co-occurring with the reduplicated classifiers. In this paper, we will investigate the classifier reduplicating constructions in Kaijian dialect and explore the correlation between classifier reduplication and distributivity in Kaijian dialect.

Classifiers in Kaijian dialect can be reduplicated in two ways: Cl+Cl and *tok*-Cl-(N)+*tok*-Cl-(N). In our study, the former is taken as bare reduplicated classifiers and the latter complicated reduplicated classifiers. Both types can give rise to distributive reading. The bare reduplicated classifiers can distribute over entities, states and events while the complicated classifiers distribute over events only.

What is worth noting is that there are two distinctive particles *tu* 'all' and *tʃu.·ˑ* 'all' co-occurring with the two types of reduplicated classifiers respectively. It is observed that *tu* 'all' co-occurs with bare reduplicated classifiers and *tʃu.·ˑ* 'all' the complicated reduplicated classifiers. *Tu* 'all' is obligatory for bare classifier reduplication while *tʃu.·ˑ* 'all' is optional for complicated classifier reduplication. When *tʃu.·ˑ* 'all' co-occurs with the complicated classifier reduplication, the distributed parts have to be eventive and telic.

With respect to the status of *dou* 'all' in the Mandarin distributive constructions, there are two major views: Lin (1998) takes it as a distributive operator and Cheng (2009) regards it as a maximality operator. If *tu* 'all' and *tʃu.·ˑ* 'all' are taken as the counterparts of Mandarin *dou* 'all', the debate on their status also remains. Despite their distinctive grammatical representations listed above, neither of them behaves like a distributive operator. This claim is based on the following facts: (i) The particle is not obligatory for all the classifier reduplicating constructions; (ii) An exhaustive reading arises when the particle is present; (iii) The reduplicated classifiers may occur in adjunct and subject positions but never in object position. This requirement is derived from the implicit distributive operator in the reduplicated classifiers which needs a sorting key and a distributive share to constitute a tripartite structure (Choe 1987). Obviously, such a tripartite structure cannot be constituted if the reduplicated classifiers are located in object position (Pan 2009).

The Interpretation of Verb+le and Resultative Verb Compounds By Mandarin-speaking Children

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Previous studies of English-speaking and German-speaking children have shown that the state-change meaning entailed in verbs might be ignored or understood as optional (Gropen et al, 1991; Wittek, 2002). For example, *fill* might be interpreted as "do the action of pouring" with the entailed end-state of "being full" ignored. Mandarin-speaking children could understand the state-change meaning of RVCs, but misinterpret the V1 of a RVC as entailing state-change. Chen (2005) speculated that the perfective –*le* might be a cue indicating that V1 encodes state-change.

This paper aims to test further the validity of Chen's claim based on a systematic subclassification of RVCs, addressing the following issues: 1) Do Mandarin-speaking children interpret V1 as entailing state-change for all sub-classes of RVCs? 2) Is the misinterpretation due to the presence of aspectual –*le*?

12 RVCs, with 12 action verbs serving as V1, were used, divided into 4 sub-classes based on the properties of V2 (unergative, unaccusative, adjectival, and directional verbs). The test items included RVCs such as *da-ku* 'beat-cry'; *jian-diao* 'cut-drop'; *tu-hei* 'brush-black'; *zhai-xia* 'pick-descend'. 36 video clips were designed as stimuli, 12 of which depicted the state-change events; another 12 the non-state-change events, showing the causal action, but no state-change; and the remaining 12 the imperfective situation, in which the agent never fulfilled the action she or he intended to do. Two groups of children (10-11 subjects per group) participated in this experiment, one aged between 4 and 5, the other between 5 and 6. After each clip, the child was asked a yes-no particle question on whether an event had occurred or been completed. There were three types of questions: Type I, II and III, whose verbs were in form of "V1+le", RVC and "bare V1" respectively.

In the state-change situation, as expected, both groups of children replied affirmatively to the question around 90% or more of the time. Regardless of whether the event depicted involved a state-change, children's responses to yes-no questions involving RVCs (Question Type II) were overwhelmingly correct. This confirms that Mandarin-speaking children understand that RVCs denote state-change. For the non-state-change clips, however, contrary to expectation, around 60-68% of children's responses to Question Type I (V1+*le*) and Question Type III (bare V1) were in the negative, confirming the earlier finding of Chen (2005). However, our results cast doubt on the possibility of –*le* serving as a cue of state-change, because children assigned a state-change interpretation even in the bare verb condition in the absence of –*le*.

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從漢語方言的多義情態詞看"能性"情態概念的語義關聯

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　　世界上的語言以及漢語各個方言都有一個情態詞表達多個情態概念的，情態詞的各個語義功能以及某些句法表現也有跨語言／方言的平行性。如北京話的"能"、廈門話的"解"和英語的can都兼有能力、許可、認識可能等"能性"情態義。本文運用"語義地圖模型"理論（Croft2003）和語法化理論，以漢語方言為主要的考察對象，初步發掘"能性"範疇的情態概念（即"能力""許可""可能"）的語義關聯。本文不僅要發掘"能性"情態概念之間的關聯，還要找到與這些情態概念相關聯的其他意義 ——情態義的來源義和由情態義衍生出的情態後意義。

　　我們根據漢語方言的情況界定了一個情態類型體系，能性情態概念有能力、條件可能、條件許可、道義許可、認識可能幾個概念，還有估價和保證兩個邊緣性的情態概念。所考察的情態詞是已發生語法化的形式，就漢語而言，包括半虛化的動詞、助動詞、副詞、結構助詞等。

　　我們分別考察了漢語方言中 40多個方言點的情態助動詞、情態副詞和"能性"義的述補結構的情態意義。漢語方言的能性情態助動詞、副詞形式主要有：會、能、解（閩語）、有法（閩南語）、管（北方官話）、得、敢、可、好、莫、作興、恐怕等，能性述補式主要有：V得，V得C，VC了（北方話），V將來（晉語），V解C（閩語）等。我們得出如下幾個情態情態概念的語義關聯路徑：

　　①能力——條件可能——條件許可——道義許可——估價，

　　②條件可能——認識可能，

　　③不許可——認識可能——反問——強調，

　　④否定——反問——揣測問，

　　⑤認識蓋然/條件可能——保證

　　⑥許可——必要

　　⑦條件可能/認識可能——假設。

　　我們會對這些語義關聯做儘量謹慎的解釋。

　　情態語義演變的若干特點。首先，否定對情態語義演變有制約作用。語義關聯"能力——許可""必要——許可""條件可能——認識可能"等大概都是在否定式中發生的語義演變。第二，語義演變未必總是單向的。語義關聯路徑"認識可能——反問""達成——條件可能""許可——必要"代表雙向的語義演變，我們推測，雙向語義演變發生的必要條件是：兩個語義功能屬於同一概念範疇，有同等的語義虛化程度，語義轄域一般相同。第三，在我們構建的語言關聯中存在"回路"現象（loop），即A、B、C三個概念中每兩個概念都有關聯。"回路"現象大大減弱了"語義地圖"的預測力。第四，情態範疇同多個概念範疇（如體範疇、時範疇、否定範疇等）都有語義關聯。

　　最後，我們對各個情態概念進行了義素分析，我們認為，各個語義功能的概念特點是語義關聯的決定因素。一些語義衍生關係比另一些更容易實現、受到結構類型的限制更小，是因為它是符合人類認知限制和傾向的最"自然"的"概念關聯"，是共性較大的語義模式。語義關聯"自然度"高的兩個概念之間的相同義素很多，差異義素較少，也就是說語義演變只是個別義素的更替或消失。如"條

件可能——認識可能”的演變基本上只是“客觀性”到“主觀性”的轉換。我們目前的調查為發現“許可——認識可能”的直接證據，大概是因為這種語義關聯的“自然度”較低，即使存在也是比較少見的，從義素分析上可以看出兩種意義的義素差異較大。

现代汉语 中间句的句法结构

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　　中间句的全称是中间语气句（ middle voice constructions）（Kayser & Roeper 1984；Riemesdijk & Williams 1986）。之所以称为中间句，是因为它既不是主动（语气）句，也不是被动（语气）句。句法上，中间句的动词是典型的宾格动词，但它的主语却不是施事，而是客事；然而，虽说是客事主语，但它却没有被动标记。所以，它似乎处于主动句与被动句之间。正因为这些原因，中间句的语法地位很重要，但历来对汉语中间句的研究很少，对其句法语义特征及其句法结构我们知之不多。跨语言而论，有的语言中既有典型的中间句结构，也有它的复杂形容词谓语的变体，如英语；而有的语言没有前者，只有后者，如汉语。加之汉语缺乏形态，也不分限定与非限定动词，使解析中间句的成分结构成为其句法分析的关键。理论解释如何来衔接，可以留待将来去解决。

复合趋向补语和宾语语序难题的再思考

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通常认为的复合趋向补语和宾语的语序难题是指：

A	B
（1）拿一本书进来	*拿教室进来
（2）拿进一本书来	拿进教室来
（3）拿进来一本书	*拿进来教室

目前已有的描写比较充分，但解释还比较笼统，并未完全找出制约语序变化的因素。我们采用"分化主体链"和"词块插入"的方法，试图从另一个角度审视这一难题。

研究发现，题元合并理论（Higginbotham 1985、黄正德2008）可以作为解释语序变异可能性的基本条件。A组中（1）（2）（3）都可以进行题元合并，而B组中（1）的"教室"得不到V的题元指派，（3）同理。而（2）中"教室"得到了"进"指派的题元角色＜处所＞，因此当宾语是处所宾语时只有（2）这样的语序。但这类现象非常复杂，题元合并理论只提供了最基本的控制条件。于是面临两种处理：一种是放弃原先的结论，重新寻找新的规则以实现"无例外"的解释，这是非常理想化的一种路子，但路径狭窄可能导致"死胡同"。另一种是维持原来的相对稳定、简单的规律，将复杂的变化看成是受到其他因素的影响。陆俭明（2002）描写和分析了很多这类语序变化现象。我们在概括陆文的基础上做了进一步的分析，认为当宾语是受事宾语时，主要是数量成分会影响语序的变化；当宾语是施事宾语时，则有四个影响因素，而且和语序形成大致的对应关系：

1、施事宾语一定是无定成分；

2、动词不带"了"就不可接受语序类型（1）；

3、同等条件下，宾语带上数量成分就可以使用语序类型（3）；

4、"去"不能用在语序类型（2）中。

施事做宾语时的控制条件比受事做宾语时多而复杂。这也许与信息结构有关。因为这些"主语倒置结构"都可能涉及信息结构的问题（潘海华2009），将施事放在动词后是为了凸显表达焦点，于是会相应地采取一些必要的和可选的句法手段，如要求施事必须是无定成分，因为无定成分才是新信息所在；或带上数量成分，同样也是帮助表达新信息，（3）中施事宾语是位于句末，所以这种要求就更强；动词带"了"也与信息结构有关，因为它可以凸显该新信息所带来的变化情况，从而体现整个结构的"隐现"意义，（2）和（3）中动词后已经有一个表示趋向的成分了，它们能提供有关变化的趋势，而（1）则只有动词，所以用"了"也就成为必然。导致"来/去"不平衡的可能原因是"来/去"的虚化途径和句式的"已然"意味。

本文的研究认同陆丙甫/曹德和（2005），认为语法分析最好从最基本的语义关系出发，也就是从论元关系入手，这样具有单纯性和普遍性、理想化。语序变化会带来语义和语用的差异，寻找其中的影响因素能更好地理解语法形式和意义的关系。

非谓形容词的词类地位

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　　六十年代初期，吕叔湘先生指出有些实词只能直接或以"的"字结构方式充当定语，但却不能充当谓语。尽管这些实词可能以名词作中心语，但却不能做主语、宾语；这些词可能以谓词为中心语，但却只能以"是……的"形式作谓语，不能受"很"修饰，否定形式只能用"非"。吕先生说这些词归入哪一类实词都有问题，最好的办法是归入熊如此，但因其特殊的语法表现而应该称为"非谓形容词"（见 吕叔湘、饶长溶1981），差不多在同一时间，朱德熙先生将"只能在名词或助词'的'前边出现的黏着词"归为一类，叫做"区别词"（见 朱德熙1982）。后来虽然有过很多争论，也有过属性词、加词、定量形容词等各种名称，但主流意见都认为可以划出这样一个类别，而且文献中多半以此作为汉语实词的一个类别。这是个完全按照句法功能划分出来的词类，在划分方法上和句法分析中都具有非常重要的理论地位，因而值得从理论和实际上进一步探究。

　　汉语的动词、名词、形容词都能够直接充当定语修饰名词，属于这些类别的黏着语素也能够直接修饰名词。动词、名词和形容词的短语都能够参与"的"字结构间接修饰名词短语，介词短语也有类似的功能。两者的不同之处在于，黏着语素不能单独充当句子成分，也不能进入"的"字结构，所以会有例（1）、（2）中"禽"和"甲型"之间的对立。

　　（1）a. 禽流感 b. *禽的流感 c. *流感很禽 d. *流感是禽的　　 e. *禽很多
　　（2）a. 甲型流感 b. 甲型的流感 c. *流感很甲型 d. 流感是甲型的 e. 病毒定为甲型

　　动词和动词性黏着语素、形容词和形容词性语素之间也有这种差别。就只能修饰名词而不能直接充当谓语或者主宾语这一点而言，黏着语素显然符合区别词的所有分布条件。文献中的单音节区别词有相当一部分其实很可能属于这一类。比如经典的例子"金太阳"不能说成"金的太阳"，"男皮鞋"也不能说成"男的皮鞋"，就应该与"金"、"男"表达特殊意义时的句法地位相关。

　　名词性短语可以作为"的"字结构的一部分充当"是"字句的宾语，形容词性或动词性谓语可以成为"是……的"结构的一部分，以"是……的"形式作谓语因而是名词、动词、形容词短语的共同特点。

　　另一方面，由于偶然的、非句法的原因，有些实词的分布会受到一定的限制。有些复合词表示特定的事物，其中充当定语的成分常常不会用于其它地方。"蓄电池"中的"蓄电"虽然表示动作，但极少充当谓语，显然因为还有个相应的常用词"充电"，这和"蓄水池"与"蓄水"正好形成对立。名词性定语也有这种情况。"公安局"、"公安派出所"中的"公安"极少独立使用，因为还有个常用名词"警察"。有些缩略形式同样只在特定的复合词中出现，"国拨款项"、"私募基金"和"急重病例"中的定语似乎就不单独使用。又比如有些名词短语在充当主语时对谓语有着严格的搭配要求，"甲型、一级、现行"通常不会做主语或宾语，但在（3a）和（3b）那种特定的语境中却非常自然，显然是语义搭配的原因。

　　（5）　 a.　甲型、乙型完全取决于病毒的基因排列。

　　　　　 b.　正好让我抓了个现行。

　　显然，很多实词都具有偶然分布缺项的特性，除了只能充当定语的非谓形容词之外，还有不能充当定语、状语的唯谓形容词和唯谓动词，也有通常不作定语、

状语的唯中心语名词。作为句法分析中的工作概念，非谓形容词和唯谓形容词都有一定的实际地位；但作为实词的分类标准，以非本质、偶发性的缺项分布为基础在理论上没有太多好处，而且可操作性不强，恐怕不一定值得采用。

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來母細音字在一些方言中變讀舌尖齒塞音的音理初探

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在如今的大多數漢語方言中，來母字讀邊音[l]，但在一些方言中，來母細音字被讀為塞音[d]、[dʰ]、[t]或[tʰ]（本文用不帶方括號的d統稱這類塞音）。從方言分佈範圍來看，這類音變分佈很廣，方言類屬不同的地方都有這種音變的痕跡，很可能是自然音變的結果。從本文的方言調查和語音實驗來看，泉州發音人的來母三四等字有著l和d以及它們中間狀態的各種變體，音變仍在進行之中。上海發音人偶然出現[li]變讀為[ti]的情況，說明細音前l易變為d，此音變很可能存在於無意識的發音過程中。從生理發音的角度進行分析， l和d調音部位(place of articulation)相同，但調音動作(manner of articulation)不同。我們從輔音和母音間的音渡動程、舌尖活動情況、氣流強度和方向之間的關係出發，解釋l在細音前易變為d的音變原理。l在細音前易變讀為d，為l和d之間的相互轉化提供了契機。本文討論的音變，對侗台語和漢語方言清濁音變圈中 d和l雙向變化環節的音變原理及過程提供一些具體分析。

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