



**2010 Annual Research Forum of the
Linguistic Society of Hong Kong
(LSHK-ARF 2010)**

Abstracts

(version 1.0)

December 4, 2010

Teaching Complex at Western Campus (TCW)

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Organizer: Linguistic Society of Hong Kong

Sponsor: Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Transportation & Registration Information

The 2010 Annual Research Forum of the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong (LSHK-ARF 2010) will be held in the Teaching Complex of Western Campus (TCW 西部教學大樓) at The Chinese University of Hong Kong. You can reach the conference site by car, shuttle bus or shuttle light bus.



1. By car from the university entrance (not Chung Chi College 崇基學院 entrance) to TCW

Enter the university entrance on the left, and go straight along the left lane of the University Avenue. The building on the left is TCW.

Note that parking is only available at the John Fulton Center (富爾敦樓), which is next to Benjamin Franklin Center (范克廉樓).

The CUHK campus map can be found below:

<http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/english/campus/cuhk-campus-map.html>

2. By shuttle bus to TCW

The shuttle buses stop at the University bus station near the University MTR Station.

Shuttle bus to New Asia College

Take the shuttle bus to New Asia College (新亞書院) and alight at Fung King Hey Building (馮景禧樓). TCW is located on the left of Fung King Hey Building.

Shuttle service before 9am: only three shuttle buses go to New Asia College before 9am. The earliest one departs at 7:45am, the second one at 8:15am, and the last one at 8:45am.

If you get on one of those ‘Additional Service’ shuttle buses (加班車), please alight at Sir Run Run Shaw Hall (邵逸夫堂). Go straight along the Central Avenue. Cross the road at the university library and the grey building on the opposite side of the road is TCW.

The schedule of the shuttle service can be found below:

http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/transport_unit/timetable_1.pdf

3. By shuttle light bus to TCW

The shuttle light buses stop at the University shuttle light bus station near the University MTR Station. Take the shuttle light bus to Fung King Hey Building. TCW is located on the left of Fung King Hey Building.

Transportation fee for each passenger (including CUHK staff and students): HK\$4.5

The schedule of the shuttle light service can be found below:

Up route: http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/transport_unit/SLB_up_route.pdf

Down route: http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/transport_unit/SLB_down_route.pdf

Registration

Pre-registration:

Website: www.lshk.org

On-site registration:

Morning: LT7 Teaching Complex of Western Campus (TCW), CUHK

Afternoon: 2/F Teaching Complex of Western Campus (TCW), CUHK

Program

December 4, 2010

Teaching Complex at Western Campus (TCW)

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

- 8:30-9:00 **Registration (LT7)**
- 9:00-9:08 **Welcoming (LT7)**
 Haihua PAN
 City University of Hong Kong
 Gladys TANG
 The Chinese University of Hong Kong
- 9:08-9:10 **Presentation of Outstanding Thesis Awards (LT7)**
 Haihua PAN
 City University of Hong Kong
- 9:10-9:30 **MA Awardee Report (LT7)**
 Xiaochun CAI
 Sentence-Medial Particles in Shantou Dialect
 The Chinese University of Hong Kong
- 9:30-9:50 **MPhil Awardee Report (LT7)**
 Xiangjun DENG
 The Acquisition of the Resultative Verb Compound in Mandarin Chinese
 The Chinese University of Hong Kong
- 9:50-10:10 **MPhil Awardee Report (LT7)**
 Hin Yee WONG
 The Acquisition of Verb Particle Constructions in Cantonese-English Bilingual Children
 The Chinese University of Hong Kong
- 10:10-10:30 **TEA BREAK (LT7)**
- Parallel Session 1a (Room 201)**
Chair: Kwan-hin CHEUNG
- 10:30-11:00 Ping JIANG & Aishu CHEN
 Where Exactly are Mandarin Interrogative Cues Located:
 Preliminary Findings
 The Chinese University of Hong Kong
- 11:00-11:30 Zhen QIN
 The Perception of Cantonese Tones by Tone and Non-tone
 Language Speakers
 The Chinese University of Hong Kong

11:30-12:00 Lian-Hee WEE
Is Hong Kong English a Tone Language?
Hong Kong Baptist University

Parallel Session 1b (Room 202)

Chair: Andy CHIN

10:30-11:00 Foong-ha YAP¹, Jiao WANG² & Winnie Oi-Wan CHOR¹
From Lexical Verb ‘fear’ to Epistemic Adverbial ‘perhaps, maybe, possibly’: On the Grammaticalization of Malay *kut* (< *takut* ‘fear’), Mandarin *kong3 pa4* (恐怕) and Cantonese *tai2 paa3* (睇怕)
¹The Hong Kong Polytechnic University & ²University of Delaware

11:00-11:30 Winnie CHOR
Asymmetry in Grammaticalization – the Case of Directional Particles in Cantonese
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

11:30-12:00 陳健榮
漢語並列連詞的來源
香港中文大學

Parallel Session 1c (Room 204)

Chair: Yang GU

10:30-11:00 Thomas LEE & Zhuang WU
Numeral Subjects in Mandarin Chinese: Findings from Spoken Corpora
The Chinese University of Hong Kong & Xiangtan University

11:00-11:30 Felix SZE, Tammy LAU, Emily LAM & Chris YIU
The Development of Discourse Referencing in Deaf/hard-and-hearing Children of a Sign-bilingual Co-enrolment Education Programme: a Preliminary Study
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

11:30-12:00 Chuansheng HE
Four Arguments against the Treatment of Indefinites as Variables
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Parallel Session 1d (Room 208)

Chair: Stephen MATTHEWS

10:30-11:00 Yin Fai LEE, Cat FUNG & Betty CHEUNG
Development of Non-manual Adverbials in HKSL by D/HH Children
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

11:00-11:30 Nadia CAMPORESE
Adverbs Internal to VP
The University of Hong Kong

11:30-12:00 Cat H.-M. FUNG
Code-blending in Early Hong Kong Sign Language: Some Preliminary Results from a Case Study
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

12:00-12:40 **LSHK Annual General Meeting (AGM) (Room 208)**

12:40-2:00 **LUNCH**

Parallel Session 2a (Room 201)

Chair: Angel CHAN

2:00-2:30 Ada Hoi Yan LAU, Brenda YU & Pippen WONG
Noun Bias in Hong Kong Sign Language: A Case Study
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

2:30-3:00 Emily LAM, Schola LAM, Tammy LAU & Gladys TANG
Production of Noun-noun Compounds by Deaf or Hard of Hearing Cantonese-Speaking Children
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

3:00-3:30 Li LU
The Acquisition of Postverbal Phrase Structure by Mandarin-Speaking Children
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Parallel Session 2b (Room 202)

Chair: Jingtao SUN

2:00-2:30 Penglin WANG
A Numerical Reinterpretation from 7 to 10: the Case of Old Chinese **sep* ‘10’
Central Washington University

2:30-3:00 Shin KATAOKA
A Functional Development of the Aspectual Suffix *Gan* in Cantonese
City University of Hong Kong

3:00-3:30 Hoi-ki LAW
The Syntax of Cantonese Negative Markers *M4* and *Mou5*
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Parallel Session 2c (Room 204)

Chair: Virginia YIP

2:00-2:30 Dingxu SHI
The Meaning Encoded in the Structure of Chinese DP
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

2:30-3:00 Jing JIN
Ways of Measuring and Measurement Constructions
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

3:00-3:30 Jing YANG
Syntactic Nominalizations in Mandarin
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Parallel Session 2d (Room 208)

Chair: Caesar LUN

2:00-2:30 Fay WONG, Chris YIU & Karen LIN
The Use of Sign Language by Deaf Students in Sign Bilingual Co-
enrollment Classrooms
The University of Hong Kong & The Chinese University of Hong
Kong

2:30-3:00 Hoi-ki WONG
Systemic Functional Linguistics on Bible Translation
City University of Hong Kong

3:00-3:30 Yanhui ZHANG
Similarity and Degree of Perplexity Analysis of Chinese Characters
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Parallel Session 2e “on Cantonese” (Room 212)

2:00-3:30 Ben AU YEUNG
Robert S. BAUER
Kwan-hin CHEUNG
Thomas H.-T. LEE
Doreen WU

3:30-4:00 **TEA BREAK (LT7)**

Parallel Session 3a (Room 201)

Chair: Cathy WONG

4:00-4:30 Tak-sum WONG
An Initial Study on the Outcome of Teaching Phonological
Correspondence in Cantonese Class for Mandarin Speakers
The University of Hong Kong

4:30-5:00 Wen JIANG
An Experimental Study on Pre-nucleus glides in Mandarin Chinese
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

5:00-5:30 Donghui ZUO
Formant Dynamics of Identical Twins' Mandarin and Shanghainese /ua/
City University of Hong Kong

5:30-6:00 Patrick Chun Kau CHU & Marcus TAFT
The mental representation of Second Language Phonological Lexicons: Implications from the Recognition of Mandarin Mispronounced Words by Cantonese and Mandarin speakers
University of New South Wales

Parallel Session 3b (Room 202)

Chair: Peppina LEE

4:00-4:30 Yuying WANG
The Ingredients of Counterfactuality in Mandarin Chinese
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

4:30-5:00 Shan WANG & Chu-Ren HUANG
Temporal features of Event Nouns: A Case Study on *Yǔ* (rain)
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

5:00-5:30 Matthias GERNER
The Logophoric and Reflexive Anaphors in Liangshan Nuosu
City University of Hong Kong

5:30-6:00 潘海華 蔣靜忠
「都」的語義分合及解釋規則
香港城市大學

Parallel Session 3c (Room 204)

Chair: Candice CHEUNG

4:00-4:30 Paul LAW
A Prolepsis Analysis of Raising in Japanese
City University of Hong Kong

4:30-5:00 Lawrence CHEUNG
Uttering the Unutterable with Wh-Placeholders
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

5:00-5:30 李昊澤
談漢語特殊疑問句的焦點干涉效應
香港中文大學

5:30-6:00 楊曉東
方位詞：後置詞？前置詞！
Chungnam National University

Parallel Session 3d (Room 208)

Chair: Yanhui ZHANG

4:00-4:30 Yin Shan YUEN
A Preliminary Study on the Decision-making Process in Meeting
Talk
City University of Hong Kong

4:30-5:00 Karen CHEUNG, Jia LI, Qun LI, Gladys TANG, Scholastica LAM
& Chris YIU
The Development of Written Chinese by Deaf and Hard-of-hearing
Children in a Sign Bilingual and Co-enrolment Programme
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

5:00-5:30 Zhangxin WU
Effects of Contextual Clues on Word Meaning Guessing in L2
Reading
South China Agricultural University

Parallel Session 3e (Room 212)

Chair: Samuel H.-N. CHEUNG

4:00-6:00 ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION on Cantonese

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Adverbs internal to VP

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In recent years the study of adverbs have received much attention from linguists.

In the classical approach (e.g. Radford 1997), adverbs are said to be adjuncts to phrasal projections, since they are typically optional, and appear in a relatively free order.

[adjunct [specifier [head, complement]_{X'}] _{XP}] _{XP}

[adjunct [head, complement]_{X'}] _{X'}

More deep typological studies have brought to light some interesting cross-linguistic phenomena: it appears that most adverbs have a fixed order among themselves, and that they bear unique relationships with some specific functional heads of the verb. Based on these observations, Cinque (1999) has claimed that adverbs occupy the specifier position (of a functional head) rather than the adjunct position.

[adverb [head, complement]_{X'}] _{XP}

Such approach has raised a debate with many arguments both in favour and against. A particular possible exception to the Cinque approach is when adverbs appear to be selected (“sub-categorized for”) by the verb, in examples such as the following:

1) *Paul treated Bill *(badly)*

where the adverb cannot be omitted, and it seems to occupy the position of complement.

[specifier [head, adverb]_{X'}] _{XP}

While it appears that the Cinque (1999) proposal, also called functional-specifier approach, gives a persuasive account of the nature of most adverbs – and he also provides a plausible account to cases like 1) above – we feel that the sentences where adverbs are selected by the verb need a more in-depth investigation.

We will look at some cases from both Italian and Chinese where the meaning of the verb depends from the adverb related to it. For instance in the following sentence:

2) *Lo vedo bene*

Him (I) see well

there are two interpretations: in one it means that my sight is good and so <I see him clearly>, in the other it represents an idiomatic expression meaning <It seems to me that he is in good form>. I will argue that in such cases two different structural positions are available for the adverbs, hence the two readings. In short, I will claim that if it is true that some adverbial PPs, as argued by Cinque (2004), are in a position internal to VP, it could be assumed that also adverbs are in some instances internal to VP.

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The development of written Chinese by deaf and hard-of-hearing children in a sign bilingual and co-enrolment programme

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Within the generative framework, a native speaker's linguistic competence refers to his knowledge of the grammar of a language and all its associated constraints which he can access through production and comprehension (Radford 2004). While acquisition of L1 grammar of hearing children is rapid and effortless, abundant research evidence suggests it is 'delayed' for d/hh children. Some studies report that deaf children demonstrate persistent difficulty in learning grammatical constructions that involve non-SVO word order (Berent 2001; King & Quigley 1985; Quigley et. al. 1976 etc.). Other studies even suggest that their development may 'deviate' from that of hearing children. One such deviation is the sequence of development of the grammatical structures (Pressnell 1973; Leonard 1972; Bochner 1978; Bishop, 1983).

Evaluating the linguistic competence of spoken language of d/hh children is challenging due to their deficient auditory input. In this study, we report on an experimental study that attempts to bypass the auditory channel by focusing on assessing d/hh children's knowledge of written Chinese. In the HK context where the grammar of written Chinese is more akin to Mandarin than Cantonese, and given the fact that much research evidence has suggested that grammatical knowledge is one of the essential predictors of reading skills as reading requires the ability to integrate information across linguistic units (Paul, 1998, 2003), it is imperative that some measures be adopted to assess their knowledge of written Chinese.

The Chinese Grammatical Knowledge Assessment has been developed with this specific purpose in mind. The assessment tool consists of 27 grammatical components divided into two levels on the basis of degree of linguistic complexity. Level 1 consists of 11 components and targets at pre-primary students; Level 2 consists of 16 grammatical components and targets at junior primary students. In the current pilot study, the subjects were those d/hh children who have been enrolled in the kindergarten and P1-P3 of a primary school in a sign bilingual and co-enrolment programme. In the presentation, we will focus on their performance in these assessments, highlighting the grammatical structures they find difficulty in acquiring, in particular, relative clauses, locative existentials and reflexives. We will also discuss the developmental errors they produced, which corroborates with earlier findings that d/hh children's are following similar developmental patterns as hearing children (Quigley's study 1976).

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Uttering the Unutterable with *Wh*-Placeholders

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Placeholders are markers signaling the substitution of phrases, words or even sub-word syllables that cannot be uttered for pragmatic reasons. Cantonese uses single *wh*-words, or “*wh*-placeholders” (WHPHs) hereafter, to perform the function. They are typically used when the speaker cannot find the right word in speech.

- (1) John hou zungji **me** gaa.
 John very like what SFP
 ‘John likes WHAT [=AVOCADOS].’

Property 1: WHPHs are neither information-seeking nor echo questions. They can be found in declaratives, imperatives or interrogatives. Nor are Chinese WHPHs ordinary *wh*-indefinites, which require a negative licenser (Li 1992).

Property 2: Though WHPHs substitute the intended word/phrase, the interlocutors know what WHPHs stand for in context. Out-of-blue context is impossible. In (1), the interlocutors know from the discourse/context that ‘what’ means “avocados.”

Property 3: WHPHs can correspond to phrasal elements or non-phrasal elements, e.g. a verb (2a).

- (2) a. Ngo zanhai soeng **me** John!
 I really want what John
 ‘I really want to WHAT
 [=BEAT] John.’

PROPOSAL: WHPHs has the basic property of being a variable over a quantification domain (Cheng 1991). A WHPH quantifies over the domain of the phonological form of the intended word. In contrast, regular *wh*-indefinites or interrogative *wh*-words quantify over a set of objects or propositions. (1) is paraphrasable as (3): there is a phonological form *x* of the intended expression *y* (= ‘avocados’) such that John likes *y*. (Ω = intended element replaced by the WHPH). The *wh*-variable is bound by an existential binder in the left periphery. The restriction to the phonological form domain captures the intuition that the denotation of ‘what’ is fixed (Property 2). As the variable does not apply to the meaning part, the WHPH must be used when its meaning is made available independently. The phonological orientation of WHPHs also explains Property 3. The analysis also explains why ‘what’ is the unmarked *wh*-form. ‘What’ is the unmarked form for phonological elements like echo *wh*-questions.

References

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Li, Y.-H. A. 1992. Indefinite wh in Mandarin Chinese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 1(2):125–155.

Asymmetry in grammaticalization – the case of directional particles in Cantonese

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This study explores the grammaticalization of four pairs of directional particles in Cantonese, namely *lai4* ‘come’ and *heoi3* ‘go’, *ceot1* ‘move out’ and *jap6* ‘move into’, *hoi1* ‘move away’ and *maai4* ‘move towards’, and *soeng5* ‘ascend’ and *lok6* ‘descend’. The concept of ‘pair’ is intrinsically interesting because a pair of particles is basically a pair of antonyms. Members of a pair only differ in one semantic feature and thus we might expect some kind of parallelism between their paths of developments. However, this does not seem to be the case. Based on a close examination of a diachronic database assembled by the author,¹ it is found that one member of these pairs often displays a grammaticalization path quite different from the other, and none of the four pairs actually displays a wholly symmetrical relation in their evolutions. This is what we label ‘asymmetry in grammaticalization’.

Xu (2008) suggests that the phenomenon of ‘asymmetry’ is especially common in the expression of space in Chinese. He remarks that in Chinese, ‘it is often possible to find pairs of asymmetrical structures expressing opposite concepts: one structure without a counterpart or two symmetrical structures that do not express opposite meanings. These structures are especially attested in expressions related to space.’ (2008: 176). The grammaticalization of directional particles serves to exemplify ‘asymmetry’ in Cantonese.

Taking the grammaticalization of *ceot1* and *jap6* as an example, it is found that *ceot1* has gone farther in its grammaticalization. *Ceot1* can be used to express a more abstract kind of ‘moving out’, showing that some features or intentions are uncovered and perceived, as in *Ngo5 tai2 dak1 ceot1 nei5 hou2 tou5ngo6* ‘I can see that you are very hungry’ and *Ngo5 teng1 dak1 ceot1 nei5 m4 hoilsam1* ‘I can hear that you are not happy’. Theoretically speaking, *jap6*, the counterpart of *ceot1*, could also have undergone a parallel development to become a particle meaning something is ‘covered’ and ‘not seen’. However, the sentence **Ngo5 daap3jing3 sau2 jap6 nei5 ge3 bei3mat6* ‘I promise to keep your secret’ makes no sense to speakers of Cantonese. The observation here shows that often particles *could have* developed in a certain way, they just *do not*. In other words, there are always *gaps* in the development of grammatical items.

¹ The database consists of materials from four sources: 1/ eight sets of early Cantonese pedagogical texts (compiled between 1828 and 1941), 2/ transcriptions of Cantonese films (nine from the 1950s, seven from the 1970s, and three from the 1990s), 3/ five Cantonese dictionaries, 4/ a Cantonese corpus consisting of transcriptions of about 29 hours of tape-recordings (late 1990s).

In this study, the asymmetric behavior of each pair of particles is discussed, and speculation about their asymmetry is attempted.

References

XU DAN (ed.). 2008. *Space in languages of China: cross-linguistic, synchronic and diachronic perspectives*. New York: Springer.

The mental representation of Second Language Phonological Lexicons: Implications from the Recognition of Mandarin Mispronounced Words by Cantonese and Mandarin speakers

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Cantonese speakers tend to mispronounce monosyllabic words in Mandarin where both words are homophones in Cantonese but not in Mandarin (Zeng, 2009). For example, the words 聲 ‘sound’ and 星 ‘star’ are both pronounced *singl* in Cantonese but *shengl* and *xingl* in Mandarin respectively. Hence, some Cantonese speakers may mispronounce the word 聲 ‘sound’ as *xingl* in Mandarin. This kind of mispronunciation is due to the negative transfer at the lexical rather than the phonological level from the first language because there is an involvement of lexical entries from both the first and second languages. A disyllabic word transcription task was carried out on Cantonese and Mandarin listeners to examine whether non-native listeners are better than native listeners in understanding Mandarin mispronounced words which show characteristics of Cantonese accent. Listeners heard mispronounced version (e.g., *xinglyinl*) or the correctly pronounced version (e.g., *shenglyinl*) of words (e.g., 聲音 ‘sound’) spoken by a native Mandarin speaker and then wrote down the words in Chinese characters. They were told that the speaker was from a Cantonese background and may have mispronunciations in her Mandarin productions and the participants were asked to guess the intended words spoken by the speaker. Results showed that Cantonese listeners understood these mispronunciations better than Mandarin listeners, supporting an interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit for listeners (Hayes-Harb et al., 2008). It was further shown that this benefit cannot be completely accounted for by the similarity of sounds between the Cantonese pronunciation (e.g., *singl*) and the Mandarin mispronounced version of the words (e.g., *xingl*) in a subsequent sound similarity judgment task. When Cantonese listeners’ phonological proficiency improves, their recognition accuracy for the correct pronunciation improves while that of the mispronounced word does not deteriorate. A dual-route second language spoken word recognition and production model is proposed to account for these findings. Word recognition is purely sublexical while production is both lexical and sublexical, and the strengths of the two routes depend on language proficiency.

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Code-blending in Early Hong Kong Sign Language: Some Preliminary Results from a Case Study

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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 to 6;6. Deaf children in Hong Kong have early exposure to both HKSL and spoken languages from very young age. Such kind of *bilingual acquisition* of languages of two different modalities (*visual-spatial mode* and *auditory-vocal mode*) is called *bimodal bilingualism*, in contrast to *unimodal bilingualism* which characterizes bilinguals of two languages within the same modality (c.f. Johnson et al 1992, Berent 2004).

While unimodal bilinguals are observed to *code-switch* between two languages, bimodal bilinguals tend to co-temporally articulate two languages at the same time, i.e. *code-blending*. In this paper, the Deaf child, CC, produced different types of code-blends, namely *lexical blend* and *phrasal blend* with the definition given in 0 and a corresponding example is given in (2). In (2), *dangdang* ‘wait’ and *WAIT* ‘wait’ form a simple lexical blend. Within the same utterance, there is a phrasal blend, namely the co-articulation of Cantonese phrase *bin leong-go aa* ‘change two-CL SFP’ and HKSL phrase *CHANGE TWO* ‘transform into two’.

Looking further into the morphological properties of lexical blends, some lexical blends are observed to have morphological reduction in either language, as demonstrated in examples (1) and (4). On the other hand, phrasal blends can be further classified into three types with definitions given in (5). Example (6) is a Type A phrasal blend in which a HKSL V⁰ *TAKE-PILLS* ‘take pills’ blends with a Cantonese VP *sik joek* ‘eat medicine’. Example (7) is a Type B phrasal blend in which a VP *fong hai dou* ‘put be here’ co-articulates with a VP *PUT_a* ‘put here’. Lastly, Type C phrasal blend forms a syntactic constituent by elements stemming from two modalities, namely the VP is formed by the Cantonese verb *bei* ‘give’ and the HKSL noun *BISCUIT* ‘biscuit’ in (8).

From the part of data we attempt to analyze, CC’s code-blends suggest that they are systematically constrained in that head of XPs shared by the two languages triggers the production of code-blends and they all conform to the grammar of both languages. Type C phrasal blend provides further evidence to the claim in Donati and Branchini’s (2009) study of Italian-LIS (Lingua dei Segni Italiana/Italian Sign Language) that word order differences are the result of different PF linearizations, thus, only one syntactic structure is generated but linearized twice.

(1) Classifications of code-blending:

- (a) Lexical blend
The co-articulation of sign and speech at the word/sign level, i.e. lexical head X^0 .
- (b) Phrasal blend
The co-articulation of sign and speech within the framework of a syntactic phrase.

- (2) Cantonese: dangdang , bin leong-go aa ?
wait change two-CL SFP
HKSL_{LH}: gesture[get someone's attention]
HKSL_{RH}: WAIT , CHANGE TWO ?
hey wait transform two

‘Hey, wait, is (s/he) transforming into two (clones)?’ (CC 5;0.8, Cantonese-HKSL)

- (3) Morphological reduction in HKSL: (4) Syllable reduction in Cantonese:
Cantonese: gaudim . Cantonese: luk .
nine o'clock six
HKSL: NINE . HKSL: SATURDAY .
nine Saturday

(It's) nine o'clock.'

(CC 3;6.28, Cantonese-HKSL)

(Today is) Saturday.'

(CC 5;6.20, Cantonese-HKSL)

(5) Phrasal blends

Type A: An X^0 element blends within an XP in the other language.

Type B: One Cantonese phrase blends with one HKSL phrase.

Type C: The sign and speech elements together form a phrasal constituent.

(Fung 2010)

- (6) Type A phrasal blend
Cantonese: sik joek .
eat medicine
HKSL: TAKE-PILLS .
take pills

‘(I am now having a medical prescription. I need to) take some pills.’

(CC 4;0.23, Cantonese-HKSL)

(7) Type B phrasal blend

- Cantonese: fong hai dou .
put be here
HKSL: ... PUT_a .
put-LOC

Hey, put (it) over here.'

(CC 6;0.28, Cantonese-HKSL)

(8) Type C phrasal blend

- Cantonese: bei .
give
HKSL: BISCUIT .
biscuit

Give (me) biscuits.'

(CC 3;0.13, Cantonese-HKSL)

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The Logophoric and Reflexive Anaphors in Liangshan Nuosu

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Liangshan Nuosu (Tibeto-Burman: P.R. of China) is regionally and it seems cross-linguistically unique in displaying African-style logophoric anaphors and a Chinese-style reflexive anaphor in the same language. The features of both anaphor groups can be represented as follows:

Reflexive Anaphor	Logophoric Anaphors
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Subject orientation in ongoing clauses- Object-orientation in resultative clauses- Sub-commanding antecedent- Various pragmatic blocking effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Binding only in speech clauses- Syntactic blocking effect <p>(the secondary speaker who TP-governs the anaphor blocks co-reference with other secondary speakers)</p>

Four arguments against the treatment of indefinites as variables

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Indefinites have been a persistent challenge due to their peculiar island-escaping properties and quantificational variability effects. To account for these facts, one may treat indefinites not as inherent existential quantifiers, but rather as variables interpreted in situ bound by long distance operators.

(1) $OP_x \dots (OP_1)(OP_2) \dots [NP(x) \wedge Q(x)]$

This kind of unselective binding approach in its naïve form is initially appealing. Thanks to the long-distance binding, the descriptive parts of indefinites can now be evaluated in situ, thus eliminating the need to assume a costly and ill-behaved form of movement. However, it is precisely the long-distance relationship between the quantifier and the variable that lends to serious semantic misinterpretations, more serious and extensive than previously discussed in the literature (Heim 1982, Abusch 1994, Reinhart 1997).

In this paper, I present four arguments against the naïve form of unselective binding approach for indefinites: unwanted specification of head nouns, predicate conjunction in belief contexts, truth conditions (including weak truth conditions, wrong truth conditions, and strong truth conditions), and entailment relations. These problems arise from two factors brought about by the unselective binding: (1) the in-situ restrictive property of an indefinite becomes a conjunct in the interpretation of the phrase in which it immediately occurs, and (2) there may be operators (*if*-conditional, negation, attitude verbs, etc) intervening between the binder and the variable. It is further argued that the choice function approach does not help much because this approach still has wrong predictions in intensional contexts and entailment relation though it is free of (partial) problem of truth condition, predicate conjunction, and unwanted specification of head noun.

These problems are quite substantial because the argumentation developed here is based on some basic laws in logic such as the commutative law of conjunction, de Morgan's Law, and the law of quantifier negation (and not based on other linguistic theories). We can reasonably conclude that in order to get semantics right, the restrictive properties of indefinites must be interpreted along with their binders. QR does this by positing some covert movement. The unselective binding theory of Heim (1982) and Kamp & Reyle (1993) does this via a QR-like rule, which amounts to say that QR is still needed. If this is so, then the Heimian unselective binding loses most of its appeals and can be reduced to the classical QR approach.

I also argue that the four arguments extend naturally to *wh*-in-situ in Chinese. It is interesting that in Tsai (1999), which is the most spelled-out analysis of unselective binding, the descriptive content of the *wh*-word is actually pulled out, not stays in-situ, as witnessed from the following paraphrase (2c) that Tsai gives us.

- (2) a. Akiu kan-bu-qi zuo shenme de ren?
Akiu look-not-up do what DE person
b. $[CP Op_x [Q] [IP Akiu kan-bu-qi [DP [CP Op_i [IP e_i zuo shenme(x)]] de ren_i]]?$
c. 'What is the thing/job x such that Akiu despises [people [who do x]]?'

Where exactly are Mandarin interrogative cues located: preliminary findings

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Previous studies of Mandarin intonation have reached agreements on (i) “pitch register contrast” rather than “pitch direction contrast” is the crucial cue for signaling Mandarin intonation (Ho 1976, Shi 1980, Shen 1985, Shen 1990, Lee 2005), and (ii) most notable pitch register raising occurs in the utterance-final region of Mandarin interrogative sentences (Wu 1982, He & Jing 1992, Lin 2006). However, no consensus has been reached on (a) whether pitch range rising in non-final region of an interrogative sentence also contributes to the question detection or not (De Francis 1963, Shen 1990, Yuan 2004; He & Jing 1992, Lin 2006); and (b) whether the final notable pitch raising is in the last prosodic word or the last syllable of the interrogative sentence (Lee 2005; Peng et al. 2005, Lin 2006).

This study addresses above two disputed issues by conducting a perceptual experiment. 10 native Mandarin listeners are tested in an identification task. In order to improve the inadequacy of using stimuli which lacks complete semantic meaning (Lin 2006; Wu, Tao & Lu 2006), our stimuli corpus contains 64 minimally contrasted question-statement utterances. After 3-cutting manipulation, each type of stimuli is still complete in semantic meaning, and the final syllable of each stimulus contrasts in four tones. The following table contains manipulated stimuli (each stimulus was repeated once in the corpus), and the last row shows the mean correct percentage of question identification.

<u>Utterance in full-length</u>	<u>Cut off the last syllable</u>	<u>Cut off last prosodic word</u>	<u>Cut off the verb phrase</u>
马小明吃汉堡包。/?	马小明吃汉堡。/?	马小明吃。/?	马小明。/?
林小姐来运动场。/?	林小姐来运动。/?	林小姐来。/?	林小姐。/?
王教授讲新闻学。/?	王教授讲新闻。/?	王教授讲。/?	王教授。/?
张先生在办公室。/?	张先生在办公。/?	张先生在。/?	张先生。/?
Mean correct ratio: 93.75	Mean correct ratio: 92.5	Mean correct ratio: 71.25	Mean correct ratio: 72.5

The result of our study shows that the correct question identification percentage drops significantly when the last prosodic word is missing in the stimuli, but the majority listeners are still able to identify the question sentence correctly, even when the stimuli only contains the first prosodic word. Therefore, the proposed “boundary tone” (Pierrehumbert 1980) finds no support from our data. Instead, our findings support the claim that the interrogative cues distribute over an entire utterance, and that the most notable pitch range rising for detecting interrogative cues rests on the last prosodic word rather than on the last syllable of the question sentence.

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An Experimental Study on Pre-nucleus glides in Mandarin Chinese

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Introduction and research questions

Though there is no consensus on the sub-syllable structure, most Chinese phonologists adopt Onset and Rime because of its similarity with Chinese traditional Initial-Ending structure. The hot issue of Chinese syllable structure is the affiliation of glide: a part of Onset or Rime? Does Onset-Rime suit Mandarin Chinese? With the advancement of phonological theory, generative phonologists cast doubts on the affiliation of glide (Duanmu 1990, 2007; Bao 1995, 1996, 2001; Wan 1999; Yip 2003). This paper tries to conduct a “Fanqie” (a language game derived ancient Chinese phonetic notation system) experiment to determine the affiliation of pre-nucleus glide and the possible sub-syllable structure for Mandarin Chinese.

In this paper, we try to answer the following three research questions:

- a. What is the affiliation of glide in the Onset-Rime structure? Could the result give insight to the previous theoretical models? Is a unified account possible?
- b. Would L1 dialect be a factor in the performance of glide affiliation in Mandarin speakers?
- c. Based on the experimental results, could the Chinese syllable structure be illustrated in a moraic-model? What is the difference between the two models?

2. Methodology

This experiment tries to investigate glide affiliation in Mandarin Chinese by testing subjects’ intuitions when they are requested to fuse two syllables into one. In nature, it is a production experiment. The subjects’ choices of onset and rime from the two given syllables are believed to reflect the subject’s phonological knowledge of glide affiliation. Sixteen subjects from CUHK participated in this experiment. The experiment is similar to traditional Chinese Fanqie method (ancient pronunciation guiding system, for example the pronunciation of 特 is annotated as 他彻反, meaning to take the Initial of 他 [t^h] and the Final and tone of 彻 [ɤ51]). The pronunciation of the syllable will be derived by fuse two parts together, which is [t^hɤ51]). The rimes we used in this experiment are based on Modern Chinese (Lin 2008).

3. Results and discussion

In general, Rhyme answer is the preferable to Onset answers and there shows no asymmetry effect between three glides. Onset and Rhyme answers for glide [j] are significantly different for North Mandarin and Cantonese if we analyze the data with respect to different L1 dialect. Other glides do not show this effect cross-dialectally. L1 dialects significantly contribute to the glide affiliation as well. The North Mandarin will give the least Onset answers and then West Mandarin, Wu dialect and Cantonese.

The experimental results are quite clear. In general, the glides [j], [w] and [ɥ] are a part of Rhyme and there exists not asymmetry between [j] and [w]. Since no scholars take L1 as the factor for glide affiliation so far, the point is important

theoretically:

Arguments from the all previous analyses should be re-considered if they contain dialect evidence or subjects speaking various L1 dialects.

For all empirical experiments referring to glide affiliation, L1 dialect should be an important factor.

Only subjects from North Mandarin can reflect characteristics of Standard Mandarin, then the the previous conflicting results of glide affiliation may be accounted for.

Syllable structure of Chinese should be reconsidered if L1 dialect significantly influences glide affiliation: the Glide node may not unified and systematic under Onset or Ryhme.

Appendix:

Result for the Fanqie Experiment												
	[j]-□		[w]-□		□[j]		□[w]		[u]-[j]		[j]-[u]	
	0	R	0	R	0	R	0	R	0	R	0	R
North Mandarin 1	1	5	0	6	0	6	5	1	3	3	0	6
North Mandarin 2	0	6	0	6	1	5	0	6	1	5	0	6
North Mandarin 3	0	6	2	4	0	6	0	6	2	4	1	5
North Mandarin 4	3	3	1	5	0	6	0	6	4	2	1	5
West Mandarin 1	5	1	3	3	1	5	2	4	2	4	1	5
West Mandarin 2	6	0	3	3	0	6	2	4	2	4	0	6
West Mandarin 3	3	3	4	2	0	6	0	6	3	3	1	5
West Mandarin 4	2	4	1	5	0	6	2	4	5	1	0	6
Wu Dialect 1	4	2	4	2	1	5	2	4	0	6	1	5
Wu Dialect 2	4	2	5	1	0	6	0	6	6	0	1	5
Wu Dialect 3	5	1	6	0	1	5	2	4	3	3	3	3
Wu Dialect 4	4	2	3	3	0	6	1	5	2	4	1	5
Cantonese 1	5	1	2	4	2	4	0	6	2	4	3	3
Cantonese 2	4	2	3	3	2	4	3	3	1	5	3	3
Cantonese 3	4	2	0	6	0	6	1	5	2	4	2	4
Cantonese 4	6	0	2	4	3	3	0	6	3	3	2	4
Total	56	40	39	57	11	85	20	76	41	55	20	76

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Ways of Measuring and Measurement Constructions

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This paper centers on the correlation between the ways of measuring and the formation of measurement constructions in Mandarin Chinese. Concerning this issue, a widely held viewpoint among Chinese linguists is that the [Num-CI] containing a measure classifier is a prenominal connotative/descriptive modifier; therefore, the descriptive marker *de* is able to occur optionally between a measure phrase and a noun, bringing about either a [Num-CI-N] or [Num-CI-*de*-N] sequence, e.g. *san gongjin (de) mi* ‘three kilos of rice’, *wu mi (de) bu* ‘five meters of cloth’. (cf. Lu 2007, 2008; Liu 2008).

A careful investigation, however, reveals that the analysis arguing for an unexceptionally optional status of *de* between a measure phrase and a noun head is problematic. By means of elaborately subcategorizing different ways of measuring and examining the (non-)occurrence of *de* between [Num-CI] and N, it is discovered that in many cases the occurrence of *de* is obligatory, opposed to previous studies’ claim. Based on a series of semantic and syntactic comparisons, we suggest that measurement should be further divided into two types: quantificational measurement and attributive measurement. While the [Num-CI] associated with quantificational measurement serves to quantify the noun denotation and the corresponding measurement construction is [Num-CI-(*de*)-N], the [Num-CI] associated with attributive measurement functions to subcategorize the noun denotation in terms of certain quantitative property, with the corresponding structure being [Num-CI-*(*de*)-N] (putting aside the cases in which Num-CI-N is a X^0 compound).

Syntactically, assuming that measure is a function (e.g. Krifka 1998), given the neat syntactic and semantic parallelism shown between the [Num-CI-*de*-N] associated with attributive measurement and the “ordinary” *de*-constructions in Chinese (cf. Sio, 2006; Shi 2008), we suggest that the attributive measure function be merely semantically detectible but syntactically inert, thereby this type of [Num-CI-*de*-N] should be categorized into the ordinary *de*-constructions. On the other hand, by illustrating how the quantificational measure function is both semantically and syntactically “active”, we intend to propose a functional head F which is underlyingly responsible for the quantificationality of a given measurement. And then, adopting a Feature Agreement analysis (c.f. Chomsky 2000; Hornstein *et al.* 2005), we will explain (i) why the [Num-CI] associated with an attributive measurement cannot participate in forming [Num-CI-N] and (ii) why the [Num-CI-*de*-N] associated with quantificational measurement syntactically behaves differently from the [Num-CI-*de*-N] associated with attributive measurement.

A Functional Development of the Aspectual Suffix *Gan* in Cantonese

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Like many Chinese dialects, Cantonese marks its aspects with verbal suffixes. Traditionally *gan* is classified as a progressive aspect marker, signaling “an ongoing action”.

That *gan* has extended its functions beyond the traditional definition of marking a progressive can be observed in the language among younger speakers in Hong Kong. For example, while the notion of “wearing something” or “having put on something” would have to be marked by *zyu*, the durative aspect, in old Cantonese: *zoek zyu*, a preferable alternative now is *gan*: *zoek gan*. This durative-like function of *gan* has been increasingly found in the 21st century materials, which suggests that this is a relatively recent phenomenon.

We propose to classify this new use of *gan* as a resultative function, which should be differentiated from the durative use of *zyu*. Combing through data in the 20th and 21st centuries, this study aims to examine *gan* to offer an analysis that accounts for this resultative function as a derivative from the core notion of progressiveness.

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Production of noun-noun compounds by deaf or hard of hearing Cantonese-speaking children

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By analyzing the production errors elicited in picture naming test, this paper explores the semantic relations exhibited by deaf or hard of hearing (d/hh) children in the acquisition of nominal compounds. Many empirical findings demonstrate that d/hh children have overall deficits in lexical development when compared with their hearing age-mates. It has been said that d/hh children not only learn less, but also learn less well (Coppens et al. 2010), with the conceptual knowledge less coherently and consistently organized (Marschark et al. 2004). However, there are little studies looking into the semantic relations d/hh children have in lexical production. The present study aims to fill this gap.

Compounding is a morphological process of creating new words from concatenation of two or more roots (Fabb 1998). This word formation process is particularly productive in Chinese with a clear preference for noun compounding (Huang 1998), wherein the majority is $[N_1N_2]_N$ type (Packard 2000). According to Packard (2000), the relation between the N_1 and N_2 can either be a ‘parallel’ relation or a hierarchical ‘modifier-modified’ relation, with a variety of modification relations exhibit in each type of classification which may well reveal one’s conceptual word knowledge, but there have been scarce findings regarding the d/hh children. In a study which examined the written compound productions of d/hh Mandarin-speaking children, Liang and Liu (2008) reported a number of errors on compound morphological construction approach. Majority of these errors involve making changes on one of the components in the compound words, such as lexical invention (e.g. *daai6tseoi4dei6* ‘big-discard-floor’), morpheme substitution (e.g. *sik6sat1* ‘eat-room’ instead of *sik6tong4* ‘eat-hall’), addition (e.g. *sai1zong1fuk6* ‘western-suit-clothes’), deletion (e.g. *mou4kau4* ‘hair-tennis’), reversion (e.g. *saan3jyu5* ‘umbrella’) and others. However, the lexical semantic knowledge revealed by those errors was not discussed.

The dataset in this study is sourced from a large scale project, within which the expressive vocabulary was assessed via the Hong Kong Cantonese Oral Language Assessment Scale (HKCOLAS) (T’sou, B. et al. 2006). Out of the 100 expressive nominal vocabularies, 36 disyllabic noun-noun compounds were selected as a base for error analysis. The study adopts a semantic relation approach to focus on approximately 300 error tokens produced by 22 primary school-aged deaf students who are suffering from congenital profound hearing loss. Preliminary results replicate the findings by Liang and Liu (2008) that a great amount of errors involve modification of the components within compounds such as morpheme substitution (e.g. *jau4seon3* ‘post-box’), but there is also a portion of errors with lexical semantic relations differed from the targets (e.g. *jau4seoi2* ‘swimming’ instead of *waa1haai4* ‘flipper’, *bou1* ‘pot’ instead of *zam1baan2* ‘cutting board’). Qualitative analysis of errors produced by d/hh children from the point of view of lexical semantic relations is suggested.

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Noun bias in Hong Kong Sign Language: A case study

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The universality of noun bias in children's early vocabularies has long been a controversial issue. Gentner (1982) concluded from her cross-linguistic study on English, German, Japanese, Kaluli, Mandarin and Turkish that children learn nouns before verbs. She further proposed that nouns are universally predominant in children's early vocabularies and it can be explained by the Natural Partitions Hypothesis, which assumes "the category corresponding to nouns is, at its core, conceptually simpler and more basic than those corresponding to verbs and other predicates" (Gentner 1982:301-302). This proposal is further supported by some studies on English (Goldfield 1993, Shatz 1994), Italian (Caselli et al. 1995) and Hebrew (Dromi 1987).

However, the findings of a number of studies were against Gentner's view of universality of noun bias. Tardif's (1996) study provided evidence that Mandarin-speaking children's early production of Chinese vocabularies is dominated by verbs. Regardless of how the category "noun" and "verb" were defined, there appeared no evidence of a noun bias. She tried to explain the results in terms of a higher frequency of verbs in the adult's input, a higher frequency of verbs being placed at the beginnings and ends of utterances (salient utterance positions) and the morphological simplicity of Mandarin. Contexts in which observations occur also play a large role in understanding the composition of children's early vocabularies. Activities like 'toy play' induce more verbs while 'book reading' encourages the production of nouns (Tardif, Gleman and Xu 1999).

The present study attempts to address this issue by examining the development of noun-verb acquisition in a signed language. Our data were extracted from the Child HKSL Corpus, which consists of a set of longitudinal data of a deaf child named CC. Based on naturalistic conversations with native signers and fluent hearing or deaf signers, we examined 10 monthly video sessions from age 1;9.27 to 2;6.17. A preliminary analysis of the data suggests a noun bias in CC's early vocabularies. Excluding all the imitated utterances, a total of 481 nouns (including common nouns, proper names and pronouns) and 229 verbs (including plain verbs, spatial verbs and agreement verbs) were found. Following Tardif (1996, 1999), this study attempts to find out if noun bias exists in CC's early lexicon when type-token ratios and definitions of noun and verb are examined in more detail. Further analysis of the use of noun and verb in various contexts and the morphological transparency of HKSL will be carried out in attempt to provide explanations for such a bias.

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The syntax of Cantonese negative markers *m4* and *mou5*

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Despite the fact that Cantonese hosts a wide range of negative markers, few previous studies offer an adequate account of the differences between the negative markers. As a pioneer study of the negative markers in Cantonese, this paper investigates the syntactic statuses of two negative markers *m4* and *mou5*, whose Mandarin counterparts *bu* and *mei(you)* are of much contention over the decades. More specifically, it is argued that *m4*, whose distributional pattern resembles putative adverbs in that it can occur in multiple positions, plus the inability of it to license VP ellipsis, is best analyzed as a negative adverb. On the other hand, *mou5*, whose distributional pattern does not resemble that of adverbs, is able to license VP ellipsis, hence suggesting that *mou5* is a head type element which is best analyzed as the head of NegP. Languages having multiple negative markers which display distinct syntactic properties are not unique to Cantonese (and Chinese). Previous studies in English also suggest a distinction between head type *n't* and adverb type *not* (Pollock 1989; Kayne 1989). Studies in European languages also confirm such a phenomenon in a wide range of Romance languages (Zanuttini 1996, 1997).

In addition, while previous studies in Mandarin favored a hierarchy of NegP-AspP /TP-VP (Wang 1965; Cheng and Li 1991; Chiu 1993), this paper argues that such a hierarchy is not applicable to Cantonese, based on the fact that in the presence of the Neg⁰ *mou5*, the attachment of the post verbal aspect marker *-gwo3* to the verb would violate the Head Movement Constraint (HMC). Therefore, it is argued that NegP should be located higher than both AspP and VP in Cantonese.

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A prolepsis analysis of raising in Japanese

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This paper argues that the raising construction in Japanese is not derived by movement applying to a base sentence (see (1a,b)). It suggests a prolepsis analysis (see also Hoji 2005) according to which the *o*-marked NP is base-generated in the matrix clause, and is related to a null pronoun in the *to*-phrase (or *ni*-phrase) complement (see (1c)). Several pieces of evidence are presented to show that the *o*-marked NP is not raised from the *to*-phrase. The prolepsis analysis is a natural consequence of the general syntax of Japanese and requires no additional theoretical assumptions to account for the facts. Like many other languages, Japanese (and Korean) too is subject to general constraints on movement.

Kuno's (1972, 1976) several arguments including those concerning case-marking, adverb placement, word-order inversion, quantifier scope and reflexivization as well as Tanaka's (2002) regarding binding by local and long-distance scrambling, multiple *wh*-phrases, clefts with multiple foci and the positioning of negative polarity items and adverbs only show that the *o*-marked NP is in the matrix clause, not that it has moved there from an embedded clause. That the *o*-marked NP originates in the matrix clause is supported by a wide range of cases where it occurs without a clausal complement (see (2a)), or with an overt subject in the *to*-phrase (especially when they are not adjacent, see (2b,c) and also Kitagawa 1977 and Kaneko 1988 for similar examples and Yoon 2007 for comparable Korean data; the degraded status of (2b) is due to the general preferred avoidance of overt pronouns). If the *o*-marked NP is raised from the embedded clause, then problems arise as to why a fragment of an idiom cannot be raised (see (3); Kuno's (1976) data on idioms are not uncontroversial), and why the *no koto* variant of the *o*-marked NP is possible in the matrix but not in the embedded clause (see (4), Kuno's (1972, 1976) *koto*-incorporation and Ohta 1997). Moreover, there is not much independent evidence for the subject being *o*-marked internal to the clause it originates in; therefore, it is difficult to see how the subject of the lower clause can be case-marked with *o*- and scrambled, presumably via A-bar movement, to the matrix clause (see Sells 1990).

The example in (5a), inspired by Yoon's (2007) comparable Korean example, may give the impression that the *o*-marked NP is the non-nominative subject raised from the embedded clause showing up with accusative case doubling the locative case assigned in the lower clause. But locative and temporal phrases with the same apparent case-stacking are possible without raising (see (5b,c), Kaiser et al 2001 for other examples as well as Schütze 2001 for Korean) or a clausal complement (see (5d)). Contrary to Yoon's claim, then, an inanimate NP may well be a proleptic object.

The contrast between (6a) (or other variants with the *to*-phrase preceding the *o*-marked NP) and (6b) (or other variants with the *to*-phrase following the *o*-marked NP) may recall violations of Fiengo's (1977) Proper Binding Condition (PBC) (see also May 1977), and is often taken to be evidence that the *o*-marked NP has been raised from the embedded clause (Kuno 1972, 1976, Saito 1983, Sells 1990, Bruening 2001, Tanaka 2002). However, given that (2b) is possible, and the fact that the subject generally need not be overt in Japanese, it must in principle be possible for (6a,b) to have alternative derivations with a *pro* subject in the embedded clause, e.g., (6c,d). This is also true in movement analyses. If the surface form of (6a,c) is indeed ungrammatical, then the structure in (6c), possible in principle, must be excluded too.

The exclusion is independent of the PBC, there being no improperly bound trace. I suggest that it be related to discourse anaphora. The null pronoun *pro* is employed to avoid mentioning the discourse-old and salient NP it refers to. There is no point in having the *o*-marked NP after *pro* in (6c), if the very reason of using *pro* is to avoid mentioning in the first place the foregoing discourse-old and salient NP. (6c) is fine in contexts eliciting new information, e.g., by a question like *nan-to Taroo-ga Hanako-o omotte iru no?* ‘What does Taroo think of Hanako as?’.

The prolepsis analysis of the raising construction in Japanese (and Korean) has several desirable consequences. As no movement is involved, the question of whether the *o*-marked NP is A- or A-bar-moved to its surface position does not arise. The issue is significant, for A-movement from a finite clause to a position after the subject of a higher clause does not seem to be independently attested (see Mahajan 1990, Saito 1992) and is barred on principled grounds. Likewise, the fact that the *o*-marked NP cannot be marked nominative, unexpected if it raised from the embedded clause, also follows, for it originates in the matrix clause. Most relevantly, given the independently possible structure in (1c) (see (2b)), there is no reason for the derivation in (1b) complicating the general theory of movement.

From a cross-linguistic perspective, the prolepsis analysis has the welcomed property that Japanese (and Korean) is no exception to the general ban on A-movement out of a finite clause. Tanaka’s (2002) proposal that there be an A-edge to the left of CP through which the embedded subject may A-move out of the clause would get around the ban, but would require independent justification for which empirical evidence is hard to come by (see also Yoon 2007 for an account along similar lines for Korean).

- (1) a. Taroo-ga [Hanako-ga tensai da to] omotte iru.
 -NOM -NOM genius BE that thinking PROG
 ‘Taroo thought that Hanako was a genius.’
 b. Taroo-ga Hanako-o_i [*t_i* tensai da to] omotte iru.
 c. Taroo-ga Hanako-o_i [*pro_i* baka da to] omotte iru.
- (2) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-o itumo omotte iru.
 -NOM -ACC always thinking PROG
 ‘Taroo always thinks of Hanako.’
 b. ?[kare-ga_j tensai da to]_i Hanako-ga Taroo-o_j *t_i* omotte iru.
 he-NOM genius be that -NOM -ACC thinking PROG
 ‘Hanako thinks of Taroo that he is a genius.’
 c. Taroo-ga gakusei-o itumo [san-nin-dake-ga tensai da to]
 -NOM -ACC always three-person-only-NOM genius
 BE that
 omotte iru.
 thinking PROG
 ‘Taroo always thinks of students that only of them are geniuses.’
- (3) a. Taroo-ga [saru-mo ki-kara ochiru to] omotte iru.
 -NOM monkey-also tree-from fall that thinking PROG
 ‘Taroo thinks that a monkey too can fall from a tree’
 OR ‘Taroo thinks that a skillful person can sometimes make a mistake’
 b. Taroo-ga saru-o_i [*t_i* ki-kara ochiru to] omotte iru.
 -NOM monkey-ACC tree-from fall that thinking PROG
 ‘Taroo thinks of a monkey that he can fall from a tree’
 NOT ‘Taroo thinks of a skillful person that he can sometimes make a
 mistake’
- (4) a. *Yamada-wa [musuko-no koto-ga baka da to] omotte iru.

- TOP son-GEN matter-ACC fool be that thinking PROG
 ‘Yamada thinks that his son is a fool.’
- b. Yamada-wa musuko-no koto-o_i [*t_i* baka da to] omotte iru.
 -TOP son-GEN matter-ACC fool be that thinking PROG
 ‘Yamada thinks of his son that he is a fool.’
- (5) a. watakushi-ga koko-kara-o_i [*t_i* zibun-no tochi da to] omotte iru.
 I-NOM here-from-ACC self-GEN land be that thinking PROG
 ‘I believe my land begins from here.’
- b. Taroo-ga soko-kara-o itumo [(?sore-no) hanbun-ga Hanako-
 no
 -NOM there-from-ACC always that-GEN half-NOM -
 GEN
 tochi da to] omotte iru.
 land be that thinking PROG
 ‘Taroo always thinks of (the land) from there (on) that half of it is
 Hanako’s land.’
- c. Taroo-ga dainizi sekai-taisen-mae-o orokanimo [wahe-ga
 -NOM second world-great war-before-ACC foolishly
 peace-NOM
 nakatta to] sinzite iru.
 not that believing PROG
 ‘Taroo foolishly believes of (the period) before WW II that there was no
 peace.’
- d. watakushi-ga koko-kara-o hanbai shite iru.
 I-NOM here-from-ACC sale do PROG
 ‘I’m selling (the land) from here.’
- (6) a. *[*t_i* tensai da to]_j Taroo-ga Hanako_i-o *t_j* omotte iru.
 genius be that -NOM -ACC thinking PROG
 ‘Taroo thinks of Hanako that she is a genius.’
- b. Hanako-o_i [*t_i* tensai da to]_j Taroo-ga *t_i* *t_j* omotte iru.
- c. [*pro_i* tensai da to]_j Taroo-ga Hanako-o_i *t_j* omotte iru.
- d. Hanako-o_i [*pro_i* tensai da to]_j Taroo-ga *t_i* *t_j* omotte iru.

Numeral subjects in Mandarin Chinese: Findings from spoken corpora

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The apparent prohibition of numeral phrases from the subject position in Chinese has traditionally been captured by the generalization that subjects tend to be definite (Chao 1968, Li and Thompson 1981, Zhu 1982). Research in the last three decades has shown that when a numeral phrase denotes quantity and not individuals (Li 1997, 1998), licensed by contexts such as modals and flip flop constructions (Lee 1986, Tsai 2001), it can occur freely in subject position. If it is individual-denoting, a numeral phrase in subject position will have varying degrees of acceptability, depending on factors such as the presence of sentential modifiers, the vividness of the descriptive modifier of the nominal, the complexity and nature of the predicate, and discursal context (Fan 1985, Lee 1986, Shyu 1995). Scholars have tried to account for this restriction in terms of general syntax-semantic mapping principles, event quantification and information structure (Lee 1986, Cheng 1991, Li 1998, 1999, Shyu 1995, Xu 1997, Tsai 2001, Huang 2004; Lu and Pan 2009). It should be observed that despite the copious literature on this topic, discussions of the restriction have been based almost exclusively on linguists' intuitions, the exception being Fan (1985), who drew examples from written texts, but without attempting a quantitative analysis.

In this paper, we wish to shed light on the subject restriction in Chinese with comparative findings from Mandarin and English spoken corpora, using Erbaugh's Pear Stories corpus as well as data from two child language corpora. Based on the adult narratives in Mandarin and English (with 20 subjects for each language), we found that only 1.5% of the numeral phrases used by the Mandarin adults (5 out of 339) were found in subject position with a non-specific individual-denoting reading, compared to 10.5% in adult English (43 out of 419). On closer inspection of the use of numeral phrases for referent introduction, out of a total of 100 opportunities, subject numeral phrases were used for referent introduction only 5% of the time by the Mandarin speakers, and 38% of the time by the English speakers. The subject numeral phrases in Chinese tended to occur as objects of an existential verb or a verb of perception/cognition. In our analysis of child-directed adult utterances, we examined the transcripts of two children each from the Brown corpus and the BJCELA corpus for numeral phrases denoting small numbers. Our findings reveal that subject numeral phrases were rare in child-directed speech, for both Mandarin and English. A total of only 6 numeral subjects (out of 2123 numeral tokens) occurred in the Chinese data, all in the story-telling context, preceded by a verb of perception or communication. Our findings from spoken language vindicate the subject restriction in Chinese and confirm the difference between Chinese and English vis-a-vis the subject. Our data highlight the importance of the individual-denoting subject numeral phrase, and the difficulty of indefinite subjects to undergo existential closure.

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Development of Non-manual Adverbials in HKSL by D/HH Children

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Non-manual adverbials are unique grammatical components in sign language by which verb modifiers are realized through overlaying of non-manual features on the predicate. Nevertheless, there are only a few studies on the acquisition of non-manual adverbials by deaf children. Reilly & Anderson (2002), in their study on the development of non-manual morphology in deaf children of deaf parents acquiring ASL as their native language, claim that manual signs take developmental precedence over non-manual behaviors. For non-manual adverbials, children participating in their study mastered the non-manual adverbials after they had mastered the manually signed lexical correlates i.e. the manual adverb that shares the same semantics with the non-manual adverbials. They claim that recognition and production of adverbials emerges as early as the age of two and, by the age of 3;6, children have acquired and used frequently a diverse repertoire of adverbials.

In the current study, we aim to examine d/hh children's knowledge on HKSL morphology of non-manual adverbials. We will discuss preliminary findings from a set of experimental data on non-manual adverbials generated by 17 d/hh children. They were aged between 5 and 10 and divided into three cohorts according to their years of enrollment in a sign bilingual program conducted in HK. A great majority of these d/hh children are late learners of HKSL who are exposed to both HKSL and Cantonese at school. The tasks involved both comprehension and production of HKSL non-manual adverbials.

The d/hh children's general performance in both comprehension and production tasks suggests that a majority of them has not yet acquired non-manual adverbials. Though it is observed that the rate of target attainment for both tasks increased from cohort 3 (the youngest) to cohort 1 (the eldest), the rate of target attainment for cohort 1, who have had at least three years of HKSL exposure, reached only 56.67% (comprehension) and 46.67% (production). Most errors observed are absence of obligatory non-manual adverbials even though they have already produced the target manual structures typically characterized as classifier predicates. Yet, we observe grammatical manual modification on the movement of the predicates that correlates with the semantics of the target non-manual adverbials. Therefore, it is suggestive that the d/hh children first develop the use of classifier predicates, followed by manual modification on movement to encode the adverbial meaning, and finally the adoption of non-manual features that obligatorily accompanies the manual modification.

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The acquisition of postverbal phrase structure by Mandarin-speaking children

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The Phrase Structure Constraint (PSC) as formulated by Huang (1982, 1984, 1994) states that Chinese is largely head-final, permitting only the head of VP to branch to the left on the lowest level of expansion. Due to the PSC, which reflects an inconsistency of head direction in phrase structure, a complex verb or a verb phrase is prohibited from taking an adjunct, making verb reduplication necessary, unless the object is definite. In a verb reduplication structure, as shown in (1-4), the object is complement to the first verb, whereas the adjunct is linked to the reduplicated verb. Given that sentences with verbs taking clausal complements occur before 3-year-old in child language (Bloom 1990; Lee 1999), it would be interesting to see whether these postverbal adjunct structures pose problems for young children.

- (1) V + Object +V + Durational phrase
- (2) V + Object +V + Frequency phrase
- (3) V + Object +V *de* + Resultative phrase
- (4) V + Object +V *de* + Manner phrase

In this exploratory study, we explore two issues: (a) at what age Mandarin-speaking children are sensitive to PSC and; (b) whether postverbal adjunct structures involving verb reduplication structures pose any problems for Mandarin-speaking children. Two experiments were carried out, including an elicitation imitation task, and an elicited production task based on video description, with 11 children aged between 3 and 6;9 serving as subjects.

In the first experiment, the materials consisted of 12 ungrammatical sentences and 20 grammatical sentences, covering 4 types of phrases: duration, frequency, result and manner. The grammatical sentences comprised 16 verb reduplication structures and 4 structures with definite objects which did not involve verb reduplication. An elicited imitation task was carried out in which children had to imitate sentences read out in a random order by the investigator. The children imitated the grammatical structures with grammatical sentences 85.5% of the time, and the ungrammatical non-verb-reduplication structures 59.2% of the time, reflecting sensitivity to the difference in grammaticality status between sentences that observe PSC and those that violate it. However, children did not all produce verb reduplication structures in their imitations. They produced verb-reduplication structures 67.7% of the time in imitating grammatical verb reduplication structures, and 43.2% of the time when imitating ungrammatical non-reduplication sentences that could be salvaged by verb reduplication. While the sample size was too small for age comparison, the figures indicate an ability to handle verb reduplication structures by 6 years of age.

In the second experiment, children were asked to view 12 video clips and then answer 3 questions after viewing each one. The 12 video clips depicted three types of activities, each of which was enacted in four different ways, highlighting the duration and frequency of the action, as well as the manner and the result of the action. The

performance on children shows that 3-year-old children were not found to produce verb-reduplication-structures in our data, whereas children 4 years of age and older produced verb-reduplication-structures 71.5% of the time. On the whole, verb-reduplication-structures were elicited by all the tested children 55.3% of the time.

The findings from this investigation indicate that Mandarin-speaking are aware of the PSC by three years of age, but the ability to use verb reduplication structures spontaneously for postverbal adjuncts develops at a later stage. Postverbal adjunct structures are marked structures that are acquired in the preschool years.

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The perception of Cantonese tones by tone and non-tone language speakers

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This study examined the perception of six Cantonese lexical tones by tone language (Mandarin) speakers and two groups of non-tone language (English and French) speakers. Language specific experience, that is L1 prosodic background, is predicted to play a significant role.

The performance of tonal discrimination task is measured in terms of discrimination errors and reaction time (RT).

Although the discrimination errors revealed that all listener groups tended to confuse the tone pairs with similar phonetic features (i.e. T2–T5, T3–T6 pairs), the language-specific patterns for three groups can be found. Mandarin group did much better than English and French groups, which didn't differ significantly in terms of both error percentage and RT. Thus, contrary to So (2010), the contrastive use and phonemic status of lexical tones in Mandarin facilitate the perception of Cantonese tones.

Besides the phonological aspect, the phonetic details of L1 prosodic background account for language-specific errors (e.g. T1-T3 for Mandarin group, T5-T6 for English group and T2-T6 for French group). The framework of the Perceptual Assimilation Model (PAM: Best, 1995; Best & Tyler, 2007) and Attention to Dimension Model (A2D: Francis & Nusbaum, 2002; Francis, Ciocca, Ma & Fenn, 2008) are compared to investigate how L1 prosodic aspects exert influence on the perceptual performances of Cantonese tones and which model can account for the perceptual differences of different L1 groups in a comprehensive way.

In summary, the linguistic experience is studied in terms of phonological vs. phonetic aspects and in the framework of PAM vs. A2D. In addition, the psychoacoustic factor, that is the phonetic similarity between six Cantonese tones, is found to affect the tonal perception by three L1 groups of naïve listeners in a similar and important way.

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The Meaning Encoded in the Structure of Chinese DP

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Ever since Abney (1987) put forward the DP-hypothesis, DP has become a much debated issue in the study of Chinese syntax. Although there is still argument against the existence of D and its maximal projection DP in Chinese (e.g., Zhou 2005, 2006, Zhang 2010), the debate is mainly conducted under the assumption that there is DP in Chinese, and focused on what the Chinese DP dominates and what the internal structure of DP is (e.g., Si 2006, Huang et al 2009).

One of the controversies is whether the marker *DE* for relative clause should be considered D and hence the head of DP (Simpson and Wu 2002, Si 2006). It will be argued in this paper that the element in D establishes the relationship between DP and the discourse or the immediate environment, namely, determines the definite status of DP. Although *DE* might be a demonstrative in Classic Chinese, the syntactic and semantic properties of *DE* are fundamentally different from those of determinatives like demonstratives *zhe* “this” and *na* “that”, indefinite *mou* “a certain”, alternative-additive *ling* “other”, interrogative *na* “which” and universal quantifiers *mei* “every”, *renhe* “any”, *ge* “each” and *suoyou* “all”. *DE* is an intrinsic part of a relative clause that can function as the modifier of different layers of the nominal phrase.

Another controversy is the status of numeral and classifier within DP. It is often assumed that both the numeral and the classifier have their own maximal projection, namely, NumP and CIP (Li 1999, Huang et al 2009). However, a relative clause can only appear before Num but not before Cl, although both can be modified by a word. A reasonable explanation is that Num and Cl form a compound Num-Cl and its maximal projection is Num-CIP.

A third controversy is based on nominal phrases like that in (1). The argument is that *Zhangsan* is in the Spec of DP while both *tamen* “they” and *na* “that” are under D. A Chinese DP thus could have a doubly-filled head (Huang et al 2009). The issue is that, in terms of meaning, *Zhangsan* and *tamen* “they” in (1) form one constituent which is in an appositive relation with the rest of the nominal phrase. It is more reasonable to not adopt the doubly-filled D analysis but treat (1) as an appositive phrase, in which the apposition relation is between two DPs.

- (1) Zhangsan tamen na ji ge langutou
Zhangsan they that sever Cl. lazy-bone
“these lazy-bones like Zhangsan”

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The development of discourse referencing in deaf/hard-and-hearing children of a sign-bilingual co-enrolment education programme: a preliminary study

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This paper is a progress report on a research project that investigates the development of discourse referencing in Cantonese narratives by deaf/hard-and-hearing (d/hh) who are acquiring spoken Cantonese and Hong Kong Sign Language in a sign-bilingual (i.e. sign language + spoken language) co-enrolment (i.e. deaf and hearing students) education programme.

Discourse referencing refers to the means by which referents are introduced, maintained, and reintroduced in a discourse. Developmental patterns of discourse referencing in narratives provide a good window to look into children's acquisition of nominal and pronominal forms, as well as the process through which children gradually master the pragmatic knowledge of using the appropriate forms to meet the constantly changing communication needs of the listener (Wong & Johnston 2004). For typically developing hearing children, complete mastery of discourse referencing devices is attained after the age of ten (Hickmann 2003, To 2006). Previous studies on different spoken languages show that young children very often use definite NPs, pronominals, and even zero forms to introduce new referents into the narratives, reflecting a general lack of ability to assess the listener's knowledge of the referents and code their information status accordingly. The awareness of the distinction between definite and indefinite NP forms only emerges after the age of 7 to 9, when the knowledge of referent maintenance in discourse also begins to mature (Warden 1976, Wigglesworth 1990, Bamberg 1987). Similar findings have been reported in studies that look at the acquisition of Cantonese discourse referencing strategies (Wong & Johnston 2004, To 2006).

It is a well-known fact that prelingually deaf children show significant delays in the development of spoken language relative to hearing age-mates (Cole and Paterson 1984, Geers 2006, among others). Studies on the narrative production of deaf children, however, are few and far between, and little is known about how deaf children acquire discourse referencing in a spoken language and how far their development lags behind or deviates from that of the hearing peers. Our study aims at filling this particular gap of knowledge.

The data of this study come from deaf/hard-and-hearing children who participated in a storyretelling task. These students are currently enrolled in a sign bilingual co-enrolment programme in which deaf and hearing students are learning via spoken and signed languages in a regular school setting. The majority of them were born to hearing parents, with exposure to sign language only after joining the co-enrolment programme. With regard to their narrative production, we would like to look specifically into the frequency and the linguistic forms with which referents are introduced, maintained and reintroduced in a narrative context. Preliminary observations reveal that, similar to hearing children acquiring Cantonese, deaf children tend to use definite forms to introduce new referents. There is also an overuse

of pronominal forms even in ambiguous contexts involving more than one possible co-referential antecedent. In addition to this, we've observed some interesting morphosyntactic errors that are unique to deaf children, which indicate that apart from pragmatic knowledge, they also lag significantly behind the hearing peers in the development of NP structures in general.

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A Numerical Reinterpretation from 7 to 10: the Case of Old Chinese **sep* ‘10’

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The numerals with which I am concerned in this presentation are those of Indo-European for ‘seven’ and Chinese for ‘ten’. It is convenient for the purposes of comparative method to phonetically reconstruct the Indo-European ‘seven’ as **sep~*septm* and the Old Chinese ‘ten’ as **sep~*sip*. The latter can be based on the Chinese dialectal forms such as Hakka *s p*, Cantonese *šap*, Minnan *sip~tsap*, Mindong *seih* and on the other Sino-Tibetan forms such as Shui *sup*, Maonan *z p*, and Lajia (Yao) *tsep*. While reconstructions are being made, and the data are being said to support each attempt, one of the necessary sources of number conception--that is the numerical reinterpretation in language contact situations--has been virtually neglected in traditional fields of both Indo-European and Chinese studies. I argue that, given the early conterminous geographical distribution of Chinese and Indo-European in the region west of the Yellow River, the Indo-European **sep* ‘seven’ was numerically reinterpreted into Old Chinese **sep* ‘ten’ through Tokharian which was the easternmost Indo-European language and which came into close contact with Chinese in ancient history. High among the reasons for this switch from an indigenous coinage in each numeral slot towards a reanalysis of the then available numeral was the imbalance in number conception in the different languages involved in contact. Each language group brought its own number system into this cross-linguistic contact. Owing to the increased demand for numerals capable of expressing a large amount, numerals would from time to time upgrade their value toward a higher reference. In addition to its arithmetic value, a numeral may practically acquire situational fuzziness denoting more or less than its regular value. There should have been no cognitive barrier in shifting a numerical value up and down. It is a much-studied phenomenon that, for instance, number three once denoted a large quantity equal to ‘many, multitude’, and as such may very possibly be fraught with indeterminacy in its value. I assume that early Chinese acquired the numeral **sep* ‘ten’ after they had already secured number seven in their counting system. This difference in value may be explained by the imbalance once existed in these languages in history. Relatively speaking, when the numerical proto-morpheme **sep* was in circulation, Chinese came to compute it ten while number seven was wanted in Indo-European.

Temporal features of Event Nouns: A Case Study on yǔ(rain)

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Typical nouns are usually used to represent concrete or abstract objects, such as 窗户 (window), 思想 (thought). However, there is a kind of nouns which have internal structure and can denote process. These nouns are called event nouns, temporal nouns or process nouns. They are a particular type in Mandarin Chinese.

(储泽祥 2000) gave three discrimination formulas to explore temporal adaption of nouns: I 式: N + 期间; II 式: N + 前/后/以前/以后/之前/之后; III 式: N + 时期/时代 (包括 N + 时候 N + 年代 N + 阶段 时光 等相关格式). The results shows that different types of nouns have different temporal adaption ability. (邵敬敏 & 刘焱 2001) pointed out that some nouns possess dynamic property, which has distinction in degree. They divided these nouns into momentum dynamic nouns, temporal dynamic nouns and processive dynamic nouns based on a series of identification methods. (刘顺 2004) held that some common nouns have internal and external temporality. The former means that things expressed by nouns have internal processes; the latter is temporary and acquired by some nouns with the passing of time in the external world. Based on these studies, we proposed a case study on 雨 (rain). The aims of this research are to find out the evidences of 雨 (rain) as an event, reveal event types of 雨 (rain), and investigate temporal location of the 雨 (rain) event.

The preliminary results are as follows:

1. Evidence of 雨 (rain) as an event:

(1) duration

那里秋季平均每天要下 14 个小时的雨。

Here 14 个小时 clearly denote the time span of the rain.

(2) dynamics

In 大雨, 暴雨, 雨 does not mean the raindrops; rather, it means the intensity, which is an event reading.

(3) Combination with event modifiers

In Sinica corpus, 雨 (rain) can be in composition with six measure words: 场, 次, 种, 趟, 阵, 滴. When it combines with the first five words, it represents an event, which takes up to 88.9%. When it combines with 滴, it represents the raindrop, with a low percentage of 11.1%.

Measure word	type	frequency	percentage
场	event	18	66.7%
次	event	2	7.4%
种	event	2	7.4%
趟	event	1	3.7%
阵	event	1	3.7%
滴	object	3	11.1%
Total	/	27	100.0%

2. Event types of 雨(rain)

(1) Process

雨(rain) is usually used to express a process with no culmination. For example, 長長的火車在斜斜的雨中斜斜駛過。

(2) Accomplishment

雨(rain) can also be used to express accomplishment, which has a process and delimiting point. For instance, 雨漸漸停了。

3. Temporal location of the raining event

When combined with aspectual markers, demonstratives, locative nouns, and time nouns, 雨(rain) can have different temporal location.

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The Ingredients of Counterfactuality in Mandarin Chinese

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For several decades, counterfactual sentences and counterfactuality have attracted the attention of linguists, philosophers and logicians. Studies on it have been carried out from various perspectives, including the *metalinguistic theory* of counterfactuals proposed by Goodman (1955) and Sellars (1956), possible world semantics for counterfactuals by Lewis (1973) and Stalnaker (1975), and discussions on the grammatical and semantic functions of Chinese counterfactual markers by Chen Guohua (1988) and Jiang Yan (2000). In recent years, an important concept has been introduced to the study of Chinese counterfactuals – realis/irrealis dichotomy. There have been several PhD dissertations which study Realis/Irrealis distinctions in Chinese (Luo, 2006; Li, 2006; Wang, 2007; Zhang, 2008). Summing up the fruits of earlier research, we can find insightful views on the topic, but no systematic explanation is available for the seemingly unrelated counterfactual markers in Chinese.

English and Chinese differ in the ways to expressing counterfactual meaning. The English language has the subjunctive mood, which enables English speakers to discuss various states of affairs that they know are false. In contrast, Chinese does not have a specific form, or even if there are counterfactual markers, they are usually ambiguous.

With linguistics interfacing with a number of other disciplines, and new concepts being introduced, we are now able to exploit new tools to obtain new findings. Based on the analysis of several major counterfactual ingredients, i.e. temporal elements, negation and syntactic structure (hypothetical conjunctions), we will apply Bayesian probability theory to the exploration of counterfactuality in Chinese. Today, probabilistic method has been widely used in linguistics. The reason for adopting Bayesian method is that the method and counterfactual sentences share two features: gradiency and subjectivity. By formalizing counterfactual interpreting, we can not only observe the contribution made by each counterfactual ingredient, but their contribution can even be quantified.

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Is Hong Kong English a Tone Language

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A number of studies describe pitch patterns in the English spoken in Hong Kong (henceforth HKE) as tones (Luke 2000, Cheung 2008 and Wee 2008).

This present study is of disyllabic words in HKE. It turns out that only three kinds of tone patterns are attested in HKE disyllabic words (across all lexical categories and morphological concatenations), listed in (1).

(1) Tone patterns of HKE disyllabic words

	σ_1	σ_2	
a.	high	low	e.g. <i>glóry</i> , <i>bríefing</i> , <i>clóckwise</i> , <i>gréetèd</i>
b.	high	falling	e.g. <i>sómetîmes</i> , <i>óutsèll</i> , <i>ínbôrn</i>
c.	mid	falling	e.g. <i>creâte</i> , <i>girâffe</i> , <i>befôre</i> , <i>becâme</i>

Prima facie, one would expect other combinations of high, low, mid and falling to be possible, but it turns out that only the three listed in (1a-c) are possible out of 16 logically possible combinations.

The description above raises the question if HKE is indeed tonal in the sense of possessing lexical tones. With only three attested pitch combinations for disyllabic sequences, it is rather likely that HKE is in fact a pitch-accent language. Thus, I will argue that the high tone is in fact a phonetic manifestation of a prosodic head, an assumption made in earlier works such as Luke (2000) and Cheung (2008). There is no need for any postulation of a mid tone or a low tone beyond the low tone boundary marker of a prosodic constituent. This would generate all and only those tonal patterns found in mono- and disyllabic words, effectively explaining why only three of 16 logical possibilities are attested.

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The Use of Sign Language by Deaf Students in Sign Bilingual Co-enrollment Classrooms

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Oral education for deaf children was a philosophy went unchallenged until the 1970's. Most parents and educators used to believe that the development of deaf children's spoken language was the sole route to independence and social integration. During this period of time, sign language was highly suppressed in all education settings internationally.

Starting from the 1970's, with the blossom of the acquisition theories, sign languages were proved to be a full-fledged natural visual language, which is fully accessible to deaf children (Grosjean & Groljean, 1982; Grosjean, 2006, 2008; Wilbur, 2000). Sign Language is not necessary the first language for most of the deaf children, but the one they could fully access. The acquisition of a sign language has proved to be effective in assisting deaf children to build up a good foundation for academic learning and development of literacy skills (Mayberry, Lock, & Kazmi, 2002; Stewart, 1992). This does not mean that the role of spoken language should be downplayed. On the contrary, many researches had proved under a naturalistic acquisition immersion, sign language could help the spoken language development of the deaf children (Taeschner, 1983, 1991). With equips from a first language, deaf children will have a better idea of how to communicate using spoken language (Toe, Beattie, & Barr, 2007).

With these evidences and successful experiences from other countries in teaching D/HH students by using sign language bilingually, we would like to investigate whether the same method could function effectively in a Cantonese speaking society like Hong Kong.

This study includes both qualitative naturalistic classroom observation and quantitative analysis based on the video data collected in 4 phases at four month intervals in Hong Kong's co-enrollment classrooms. The recorded data were coded by observation schemes modified according to Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) classical work on the Initiation-Response-Feedback/ Follow-up (IRF) model and classroom interactional analysis (Triadic Dialogue) model proposed by Lin (2007). We focus on analyzing the D/HH students' communication using sign language with other participants in sign bilingual co-enrollment classrooms in Hong Kong. Conditions of these interactions and the code-switching of the languages they used for communication were investigated in order to examine the role of sign language and spoken language in the co-enrolment classroom setting.

The preliminary results indicates that the use of sign language in co-enrolment setting allows the D/HH students to involve in the classroom just as their hearing peers. The use of sign language in the co-enrollment classroom setting significantly helped student-teacher interaction and boosted hearing-deaf interaction. Implications and good practices/ interventions on detailed pedagogical practices in each setting will be presented.

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Systemic Functional Linguistics on Bible Translation

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The Bible, the sacred book of Christianity, has been translated into thousands of languages including over four hundred translated versions in English; some of these English translations have been surveyed and classified according to their “equivalence” to the bible’s original language, as published by the Canadian Bible Society – *Our Bible: How it came to us* – in 1997. The survey categorized twelve English translations of the Bible into three groups: “formal equivalence”, “dynamic equivalence”, and “paraphrases”; this classification coincides with the well-established fact that the so-called “translation equivalence” consensus is not yet achieved. This being the case, this study aims at using Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to investigate, first, the linguistic difference between the three groups of translations through analyzing Bible text John 1:1-14 in three different English translation versions (*King James Version*, *New International Version* and *the Message*); second, the potential problems caused by linguistic differences; and third, a more concrete view of “equivalence” through SFL.

Systemic Functional Linguistics is an “applicable” theory which emphasizes on social accountability and it targets to unite theory and practice instead of exploring only theories, and is applicable in many aspects including education, culture problems, translation etc. According to M.A.K. Halliday’s writing about translation, translation and “translation equivalence” happen in all strata of language and that “equivalence at different strata carries differential values” (Halliday, 2001: p.15. See also Steiner & Yallop, 2001). Realizing this, the study spotlights on textual and ideational meaning at the stratum of semantics, i.e., it studies on theme and rheme, the cohesion achieved by thematic progression as well as the text’s process and participants in order to examine on “translation equivalence” and how it becomes observable and achievable in this stratum of linguistics.

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An Initial Study on the Outcome of Teaching Phonological Correspondence in Cantonese Class for Mandarin Speakers

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The Cantonese dialect has long been a popular dialect around the Chinese communities in the world ever since the spreading of Cantonese pop songs and films, and thus the Cantonese culture, from Hong Kong. It is the second most popular Chinese dialect as well. It is therefore many Chinese are keen on learning this dialect, as their second or third dialect. Nevertheless, in comparison with Mandarin, the market of teaching Cantonese as a foreign dialect is only a drop in the ocean. It is, thereby, research in this domain is still at the beginning and is thus unfavourable to the learners. Many problems encountered during teaching and learning remains unsolved.

Cantonese is a member of the Chinese dialects, or the Sinitic languages. It was split from the ancient Mandarin and has been developed as an independent dialect only less than a millennium from now. Hence, in terms of the pronunciation of the cognates, which is in the form of Chinese characters, there is strong systematic correspondence between modern Cantonese and modern standard Chinese. Previous studies primarily focus on this correspondence (Shi 2002) and guides on learning Cantonese pronunciation for Mandarin speakers (Rao 2003). For certain, these studies help teachers and students understand the potential problems that they will encounter and hence favour the teaching of Cantonese. Yet, there is little further research regarding how to utilize these results in teaching practice, not to mention its outcome.

For this reason, this research tries to fill in this gap by investigating the outcome of teaching phonological corresponding rules to Mandarin speakers who are students in the foundation year recently arriving from mainland and Taiwan. The phonological correspondence involves the coronal and velar phonemes in Mandarin (zh, ch, sh, z, c, s, j, q, x) and Cantonese ([ts, ts^h, s, k, k^h, h]). At the beginning of this study, pre-test had been distributed to the students to ascertain the similar level of the two Cantonese classes. At the middle of the semester, the corresponding rules were taught to one class but not to their counterpart, as the control group. After teaching the rules, a post-test was distributed to examine whether they can master the rules well where their counterpart also performed the test in the same week. After three weeks, both classes worked on a delayed post-test for verifying the long-term effect. The results of all three tests were analyzed with inferential statistics (Student's t-test) to explore the difference between the performances of two classes while the outcome of teaching phonological correspondence was reviewed accordingly.

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Effects of Contextual Clues on Word Meaning Guessing in L2 Reading

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This paper reports on a study that investigates, within the framework of Engelbart and Theuerkauf's (1999) theory of context, the effects of contextual cue and part of speech on the ease with which meanings of unfamiliar words are guessed by Chinese EFL learners at different proficiency levels.

Drawing upon the ways of combining contextual clues as proposed in Mondria & Wit-de Boer (1991), 8 combinations of 4 contextual clues were first created. These 4 contextual clues were selected upon a careful analysis of the classification scheme of context as proposed by Engelbart & Theuerkauf's (1999). They were: morphological clue, syntactic clue, semantic clue, and global clue.

Seventy-six university English-majors participated in the study. Selected via a cloze test, they represented two proficiency levels, *i.e.*, intermediate and upper-intermediate. Then they were required to take a computerized word guessing test, in which they were presented with reading passages containing various combinations of contextual clues. The test words were six nonce words (2 verbs, 2 nouns, and 2 adjectives) representing the concepts familiar to them, and the order of presentation was such that the reading passage containing only one contextual clue was presented first, and the number of clue would increase by one if participants failed to guess the unfamiliar word until the passage containing all 4 contextual clues was presented.

The major findings of the study are as follows. (1) There seems to be no correlation between word guessing ability and language proficiency of a certain level, *e.g.*, intermediate level, as indicated in the present study. (2) Participants were usually able to correctly guess the unfamiliar words with the help of any combination of 2 contextual clues. However, if they still failed to correctly infer the meaning of a word after all possible combinations of 2 contextual cues had been tried, then they were unlikely to figure out what the word meant even if they were provided combinations of more clues. (3) Part of speech of an unknown word appears to be unrelated to the ease with which the word can be successfully guessed. (4) The analysis of participants' think-aloud protocols reveals that they tended to draw upon morphological clue and/or global clue at the beginning of guessing. Syntactic and/or semantic clues would be resorted to only when their first attempt failed.

The conclusion of the study is that Engelbart & Theuerkauf's (1999) theory of context can serve as a viable theoretical framework for examining the impact of contextual clues on L2 vocabulary acquisition. In addition, although language proficiency, part of speech of the unknown word, and number of contextual clues needed to guess a word are potential variables that may influence the result of word guessing, their effects may not manifest themselves in situations where concepts of the target words are familiar to learners, and/or the contents and language of the reading passages in which target words are embedded do not pose a challenge to learners.

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Syntactic Nominalizations in Mandarin

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I argue for the existence of syntactic nominalizations in Mandarin Chinese. That is, verbs, adjectives, VPs, and APs can be nominalized in syntax when they appear in argument positions.

It has been argued (e.g. in Aoun and Li 2003, Huang 2006, Zhang 2010) that Chinese uses different conjunction words for different categories. *Erqie* never conjoins nominal phrases (e.g. *Zhangsan* in (1)) while *he* can:

- (1) Ta diaocha le Zhangsan *erqie/he Lisi. [* DP *erqie* DP]
he investigate ASP Zhangsan and Lisi
'He investigated Zhangsan and Lisi.'
- (2) Ta diaocha le Zhangsan erqie diaocha le Lisi. [VP *erqie* VP]
he investigate ASP Zhangsan and investigate ASP Lisi
'He investigated Zhangsan and investigated Lisi.'

Applying this test to nominalization structures, the following data are obtained:

- (3) Women diaocha erqie taolun le zhe ge wenti. [V *erqie* V]
we investigate and discuss ASP this CL issue
'We have investigated and discussed this issue.'
- (4) Diaocha he/*erqie taolun youzhu yu jiejie wenti. [* NP *erqie* NP]
investigation and discussion helpful to solve issue
'Investigation and discussion are helpful in solving the issue.'

Thus, *diaocha* and *taolun* in (4) are nominal elements, as they can be conjoined by *he* but not *erqie*. When the verbs are developed into VPs (*diaocha Zhangsan* and *chufen Lisi*), *erqie* can be used.

- (5) Diaocha Zhangsan erqie chufen Lisi hui yinqi buman. [VP *erqie* VP]
investigate Zhangsan and punish Lisi will cause discontent
'Investigating Zhangsan and punishing Lisi will cause discontent.'

My explanation is that the verbs and VPs are nominalized by null nominalizers in argument positions. In (4), the verb alone is nominalized and becomes a noun; *erqie* cannot conjoin these deverbal nouns. In (5), *erqie* conjoins two VPs and then the whole VP is nominalized.

The present analysis is in line with Gu and Guo's (2010) conclusion that the verbs in Mandarin comparative constructions are actually nominals (*tui* and *la* in (6)).

- (6) Tui bi la shengli.
push BI pull easy
'Pushing is easier than pulling.'

As to nominalization involving *de*, the same test proves that the elements after *de* are nominal rather than verbal.

- (7) Jingcha dui ta de diaocha he/*erqie shenwen
police DUI he DE investigation and interrogation
'the police's investigation and interrogation of him'
(8) Ta de bu qu shi you daoli de.
he DE go is have reason DE
'His going is sensible.' (Zhu 1961:64 (5))

Sentence (8) is a possible counterexample, for *bu* is usually used with verbs. Yet Li (1999) argues against NegP for Mandarin Chinese and suggests that *bu* is an adjunct to the verb. I infer that *bu* does not entail the existence of a VP. Furthermore, *bu* might be a negative morpheme equivalent to the English *un-* (Guo Jie, p.c.).

I propose a syntactic null nominalizer, which comes for free in argument positions. *De* triggers movements of the verb to the position of the null nominalizer and consequently depriving its ability to take arguments directly.

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**From lexical verb ‘fear’ to epistemic adverbial ‘perhaps, maybe,
possibly’:
On the grammaticalization of Malay *kut* (< *takut* ‘fear’),
Mandarin *kong3 pa4* (恐怕) and Cantonese *tai2 pa3* (睇怕)**

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Previous studies have identified several robust strategies that give rise to pragmatic markers at the right periphery (RP) of utterances—often referred to as sentence final particles. One pathway involves the reanalysis of nominalizers into sentence final mood markers (e.g. Yap & Matthews 2008; Yap & Grunow-Hårsta 2010; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona forthcoming and papers therein). A second pathway involves the reanalysis of ‘say’ verbs as sentence final evidential markers (e.g. Simpson & Wu 2002 on Taiwanese *kong*; Wang, Katz & Chen 2003 on Mandarin *shuo*; Yeung 2006 on Cantonese *waa*). A third pathway involves the clausal integration of terminal evaluative clauses such as *er yi (yi)*, *hao le*, *ba le*, *suan le* and *de le* (e.g. Yap, Wang & Lam 2010). In this paper, we examine yet another pathway, namely the semantic extension of lexical verbs expressing fear to epistemic adverbials expressing uncertainty and possibility.

We examine this development in Malay (an Austronesian language), and in Mandarin and Cantonese (both Sinitic languages). As seen in examples (1) to (3) below, these languages show a development in which a higher (matrix) clause with a mental/attitudinal verb such as ‘fear’ is reinterpreted as an epistemic and subjective adverbial expression in utterance-final position. In both Mandarin and Cantonese, as seen in (2b) and (3b) respectively, but not in Malay, the epistemic use of the ‘fear’ expressions could also appear in preverbal position. Malay instead allows a post-predicate position for *kut* that is more tightly integrated to the clause structure, as seen in (1d). We account for this language-specific difference in terms of the higher degree of grammaticalization in the case of Malay *kut* relative to its Mandarin and Cantonese counterparts.

The findings from our analysis are consistent with observed tendencies in grammaticalization, whereby constructions with propositional information frequently develop extended uses within the pragmatic domain (e.g. Traugott 1989, 1995, *inter alia*). Of additional interest in this paper is the tendency for right periphery (RP) pragmatic markers in Malay, Mandarin and Cantonese to be more grammaticalized in terms of degree of bonding (or clausal integration) compared to the parenthetical-type RP pragmatic markers in languages such as English (e.g. Malay *Dia tak dating kut* vs. English *He won't come, (*I'm) afraid*, but recall also some grammaticalized instances such as English *He won't come maybe*, arguably derived from *He won't come, that may be the case*). This asymmetry is partially accounted for in terms of the differential frequency of null subjects in each of these languages, with languages such as English favoring overt expression of the subject and hence restricting processes involving right periphery (RP) clausal integration.

(432 words)

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Examples

- (1) Malay *kut* (< *takut* 'fear')
- a. *Aku takut dia nangis nanti.*
1SG fear 3SG cry FUT(<wait)
'I'm afraid (s)he will cry.'
- b. *Dia nangis nanti, (aku) takut.*
3SG cry FUT 1SG fear
'(S)he may cry, I'm afraid.'
- c. *Dia nangis nanti kut.*
3SG cry FUT maybe
'(S)he may cry, perhaps/maybe.'
- d. *Dia nangis kut nanti*
3SG cry maybe FUT
'(S)he may cry perhaps/maybe.'

(2) Mandarin kong3 pa4 (恐怕)

- a. *Wo kong pa ta bu hui lai.*
1SG fear 3SG NEG will come
'I'm afraid (s)he won't come.'
- b. *Ta kong pa bu hui lai.*
3SG maybe/I'm afraid NEG will come
'(S)he **may** not come.' or 'I'm afraid (s)he won't come.'
- c. *Ta bu hui lai(,) kong pa.*
3SG NEG will come maybe/I'm afraid
'(S)he won't come, **perhaps/maybe.**' or '(S)he won't come, **I'm afraid.**'

(3) Cantonese tai2 pa3 (睇怕)

- a. 我睇怕佢唔會??。
Ngo5 tai2 pa3 keoi5 m4 wui3 lai4 laak3
1SG look.fear 3SG NEG will come SFP
'I'm afraid (s)he won't come.' (≠ 'fear'; rather equals to 'It looks like')
- b. 佢睇怕唔會??。
Keoi5 tai2 pa3 m4 wui3 lai4 laak3
3SG maybe/I'm afraid NEG will come SFP
'(S)he may not come.' or 'I'm afraid/It looks like (s)he won't come.'
- c. 佢唔會??睇怕。
Keoi5 m4 wui3 lai4 laak3(,) tai2 pa3.
3SG NEG will come SFP I'm afraid
'(S)he won't come, **perhaps/maybe.**'
or '(S)he won't come, **I'm afraid/It looks like.**'

A Preliminary Study on the Decision-making Process in Meeting Talk

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Much literature dealing with meeting talk using CA are from Scandinavia (Asmuß 2002, Kangasharju 1996 and 2002, Schmitt 2006, Svennevig 2008). However, studies of this kind with Cantonese data are rare.

This presentation concerns the decision-making process in meetings among professionals of a medical laboratory in Hong Kong. The data are collected from meetings taking place within a period of five months, where audio-recordings were made. The data are then transcribed and analysed. Conversation analysis (CA) was employed as the research methodology, by which talk-in-interaction is studied on a turn-by-turn basis. This micro-analytical approach examines the structure of dynamic interaction by investigating authentic data.

The analysis focuses on the different stages of the process, including the description of a state of affair (Huisman 2001), the negotiation among the participants, as well as the formulation of a final decision. By understanding the structure of how decisions are made, this presentation tries to address the question of what elements are required in making decisions.

Preliminary results shed light on some characteristics in the decision-making process: reasoning is important in the negotiation process and opinions from an outsider are more powerful than those given by people within the same group. It is the people with higher rank who make the final decision. An exceptional case is also discussed.

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Similarity and Degree of Perplexity Analysis of Chinese Characters

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The study of Chinese scripts has always been a topic drawing continuous scholarly attention from various perspectives. Facilitated with the development of computing technology, recent years saw an increasing interest in the graphic pattern of Chinese characters. This paper focuses on the likelihood of orthographical confusions among any given set of Chinese characters. By defining a normalized metric based on character stroke sequences, we introduce the similarity between two Chinese characters, a unique numerical value falls within the interval $[0, 1]$, measuring to what extent one character is prone to be confused with another. For a set consisting of large quantity of characters, we introduce the concept of degree of perplexity (DP), measuring the number of strokes weighted average similarities between a given character and the rest of the characters in the set. An efficient and easy-to-implement algorithm is designed to compute the similarity and degree of perplexity. Our formulas are calibrated with numerical experiments simulated with the most frequently used 200 characters. Based on the numerical simulations, an exponential functional relationship between the degree of perplexity and the number of strokes is proposed and is calibrated with least square regression. Finally, possible applications of the introduced measures are discussed.

Formant Dynamics of Identical Twins' Mandarin and Shanghainese /ua/

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Formant frequency, constrained both by the physical structure and the preferred articulatory strategies of the speaker, exhibits large between-speaker differences but small within-speaker differences, which makes it an effective parameter in speaker identification. Differentiating speakers using formant dynamics turns out to be quite successful. However, few studies have addressed the possible low identification rate for similar-sounding speakers, although in crime investigation, usually all the suspects sound similar. Identical twins, who have identical vocal apparatus and share most of the language environment, appear to be ideal subjects for such studies. Despite the fact that many identical twins are not easy to distinguish from each other auditorily, previous studies show that they do have acoustic differences in formant frequencies on static points, although such differences are not always large enough to tell the twins apart.

Different from previous studies, this study focuses on dynamic features, instead of static features, of identical twins. The subjects are 8 pairs of Mandarin-Shanghainese bilingual identical twins. They were recorded reading two word lists, one in Mandarin, and the other in Shanghainese. In order to know their attitudes towards being identical twins, a questionnaire was given to them after the experiment. In data analysis, all the target words /kua/, /k^hua/ and /hua/ were taken out. The vowels were divided into 10 equal parts and F1 to F4 were measured on each +10% point. Then the formant trajectories were drawn and compared within each pair as well as across language. The results show that in accordance with previous research, speakers are more likely to differ in higher formants. Yet, like the static features, identical twins' formant dynamics can remain indistinguishable in all the dimensions if the speakers wish to sound the same, while those who do not want to be mistaken for their brother or sister tend to show larger differences. It is also found that bilingual speakers may have different within-pair variability in certain acoustic dimensions for the two languages they speak, and we suspect that is partially due to the different language environment. The results suggest that physical structure and language environment are not the only factors in deciding one's speech patterns, personal choice also plays an important role in it. The study also indicates that in forensic speaker identification, special care should be taken to differentiate suspects when identical twins are involved.

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漢語並列連詞的來源

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Liu & Peyraube (1994)、吳福祥(2003)、劉丹青(2003)等認為古代漢語及至現代漢語方言的並列連詞皆由動詞虛化(又稱語法化 **Grammaticalization**)而產生。然而,「動詞」是一個開放詞類,詞彙數量眾多,單單指出「動詞」是漢語並列連詞的來源,恐怕過於空泛。是否任何動詞皆有可能虛化成並列連詞呢?那些已被証實為並列連詞的來源詞之間有沒有共同的特徵呢? Heine、Claudi & Hünemeyer (1991)進行跨語言研究,發現一個語言成分進行語法化時,其語義特徵會減弱,語法化完成後其產出(output)會保留部份語義特徵。馬貝加(1993)的「詞義滲透」及洪波(1998)的「平行虛化現象」更指出語義接近的實詞會進行相似的語法化路徑。前人的理論帶出一個可能性:那些虛化成並列連詞的動詞有可能具有共同的語義或語法特徵。

本文提出以下論點:(一) 漢語(包括古漢語及現代漢語方言)的並列連詞並非來自單一詞彙,然而這些詞彙之間有共同的語義特徵,即[+物理接近性]和[+主賓並列性];(二) 與並列連詞相關的兩個蘊含層級(implicational hierarchy)可証實[+物理接近性]和[+主賓並列性]是漢語動詞虛化成並列連詞的語義條件。

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谈汉语特殊疑问句的焦点干涉效应

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特殊疑问句的焦点干涉效应(Focus intervention effects in wh-questions)在世界上许多语言中都可以被观察到。这种干涉效应主要是指：在逻辑式中，原位疑问代词(wh in-situ word)和处于 CP 范畴中的疑问算子(Q-op)之间不能出现一个焦点词项(focus item)，否则疑问句不合法。近年来很多研究(Kim 2002, 2006, Beck 2006, Yang 2008)专注于这一领域，提出了一些很有意义的分析，但仍有其问题存在。本文主要通过对比汉语焦点干涉效应的观察指出之前的分析并没有抓住汉语焦点干涉效应的实质。

之前的分析主要体现为两种看法：一种认为焦点词项阻挡了疑问代词和疑问算子之间的句法一致(Agree)关系 (Kim 2006); 另一种认为焦点词项引入的焦点算子(F-op)和疑问算子竞争同一个 C 位置，导致句法推导不合法 (Yang 2008)。

本文在调查了汉语特殊疑问句中的焦点干涉效应后发现这两种分析都没有观察到汉语焦点干涉效应的根本特点：只有当疑问词不做焦点结构中的焦点时，焦点干涉效应才出现。本文所涉及的焦点结构主要有“是”结构、“只(有)”结构、“只有…才”结构。汉语的语言事实(1)–(3)显示，只有疑问词出现在这些结构中的焦点位置上时，疑问句才合法。如果不在焦点位置上，疑问句就会变得很难接受。

(1) “是”结构：

焦点位置在“是”的成分统治域(c-commanding domain)之内

- a. 李白是[在哪里]_F买到了这本书(呢)?
- b. *李白在哪里是买到了[这本书]_F(呢)?

(2) “只(有)”结构：

焦点位置在“只(有)”之后连接的成分

- a. 李白只买了[什么]_F(呢)?
- b. *只有[李白]_F买了什么(呢)?

(3) “只有…才”结构：

焦点位置在“只有”和“才”之间：

- a. 李白只有[在哪里]_F才会看这本书(呢)?
- b. *李白只有[在公园里]_F才会看什么(呢)?

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“都”的语义分合及解释规则

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蒋严（1998）认为，对“都”可以做统一的分析，表全称量化，潘海华（2006）提出用焦点和话题规则具体实现这种统一分析。本文认为，对“都”的统一分析尽管正确，但有必要对“都”的用法作进一步的分解。按“都”的量化域是

否有序，可以把“都”细分成“都 1”和“都 2”，其中“都 1”是无序的，其量化域中的成员无等级差别，而“都 2”是有序的，其量化域中的成员有等级差别。其次，按是用话题规则还是焦点规则进行解释，可进一步细分 a 和 b 两小类。“都 1a”和“都 2a”适用于左向量化的话题规则，无排他性；“都 1b”和“都 2b”适用于右向量化的焦点规则，有排他性。细分后的类别能够解释更多的例句，更好地解释“都”的细微差别，并且更加符合人们的语感。

方位词：后置词？前置词！

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关于介词 (*adposition*) 的一些共识大都局限在形态或者语义上, 例如, 介词是一个封闭的语类; 多为表时空关系的连接词, 且大部分语言的介词都是语法化了的名词或动词(Zwart, 2005), 等等。形式句法的角度看, 介词是词汇性的 (*lexical*) (Den Dikken, 2003; Marantz, 2001; Radford, 2004, 2009) 还是功能性的 (*functional*) (Baker, 2003) 一直存在争议。从类型学的角度看, 英语等 SVO 语言为前置词语言 (*prepositional language*) (1a), 而日韩等 SOV 语言为后置词语言 (*postpositional*) (1b)。

本文的重点放在后置词的争议上, 即方位词的句法属性。Tai(1973)认为方位词是封闭的词类, 起着介词的作用, 因此为后置词(Ernst, 1988); 朱德熙(1982)则将方位词划入跟名词同等的地位的“体词”范畴。李亚菲(2009)等将方位词看作是“名词的一个变体”。刘丹青(2002)等认为汉语同时存在前置词和后置词(即框式介词结构), 其 X-bar 框架下汉语的“双层介词短语”结构如(2)所示。

然而这些分析都没有揭示出“方位词”的本质: 方位词似乎具有“双面性”(Janus-faced): 即具备名词的属性, 又具备介词的属性。本文首先区别单音节方位词和多音节方位词, 两者在句法分布上存在显著差异: 单音节方位词更显示出介词的属性, 多音节方位词更显示出名词属性(见3)。参照 Svenonius (2003, 2006)的“分裂P假说”(Split-P Hypothesis)及对英语复杂介词(*complex preposition*)的分析, 提出“广泛 pP-shell 假说”(GPSH), 认为汉语的“在”、“从”、“到”等前置词为功能型前置词(*functional p*) (类似李亚菲(2009)“轻介词”的说法), 指称空间关系; 单音节方位词指称空间位置(属于 Axial Part), 为词汇型前置词(*lexical P*), 如(4)所示。GPSH 还可以扩展到其它介词的分析中。

这样的分析有几个好处: 首先, 没有违背 Greenberg(1963)语言共性原则: 同一语言中各个语类的中心语参数应该相同; 其次, 没有违背 Huang (1982)中汉语 X-bar 结构模式(即(5), 若 X 为后置词的时候, 后置词短语的中心语也应该居前, 而(2)并非如此); 第三, 语类设置方面可以减少语言中语类的数量(前+后置词 vs. 仅前置词); 第四, 可以解释为什么汉语有些词汇型前置词在语义上很虚(6): 如果“(动/名词) — 介词 — 格词缀”的语法化路线(Hopper & Traugott, 2003, pp. 110-115)是正确的话, 语义很虚的那部分词汇型前置词可能仍处在语法化的进程中。最后, 这种分析还可以侧面支持 Chomsky 的 Uniformity Hypothesis (Chomsky, 2001).

(1) a. on the table

b. tukue-no ue-ni
table-POSS onward-at

(2) [PP [P' 在 [PP [P' [NP 桌子] [PO 上]]]]] (刘丹青 2002)

(3) a. 猫躺在桌子 (*的) 上。 a'. 猫躺在桌子 (的) 上面。(的字修饰)

- b. 猫躺在桌子上，*不是下。 b'. 猫躺在桌子上面，不是下面。(单用测试)
- c. *几只猫躺在桌子上和下。 c'. 几只猫躺在桌子上面和下面。(并列测试)
- d. *猫躺在书架最上。 d'. 猫躺在书架最上头。(形容词修饰测试)

(4) [_{pP} [_{p'} [_{p0} 在] [_{PP} [_{NP} 桌子][_{P'} [_{P0} 上]]]]] (Generalized pP-shell Hypothesis, GPSH)

(5) 汉语 X-bar 结构

a. [_{xⁿ} Xⁿ⁻¹ YP*] iff n=1, X ≠ N

b. [_{xⁿ} YP* Xⁿ⁻¹] otherwise

(4) 你的孩子现在[在我手上/里/中]。

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