

The Linguistic Society of Hong Kong



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Annual Research Forum 2019

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December 7 2019 (Sat)
The Education University of Hong Kong



ARF 2019 is hosted by
Department of Linguistics and Modern Language Studies
The Education University of Hong Kong

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LSHK Annual Research Forum 2019
Venue: The Education University of Hong Kong
Date: 7 December 2019 (Saturday)
Program (version 0.8)

0925–1020	Opening Remarks & Presentation of Outstanding Thesis Awards (Venue: D3-LP-07) LSHK Outstanding Thesis Awards PhD category: SZETO Pui Yiu (HKU) <i>Typological variation across Sinitic languages: Contact and convergence</i> (Supervisor: Professor Stephen Matthews) MPhil category: KI Mei Ying (CUHK) 粵語升降句調研究 (Supervisor: Professor Tang Sze-Wing) MA category: Sharon LEE Tsoi Lam (HKU) <i>Focus prosody in Cantonese: the case of verb-copying constructions</i> (Supervisor: Professor Stephen Matthews)
1020-1040	Tea Break (Outside D3-LP-07)

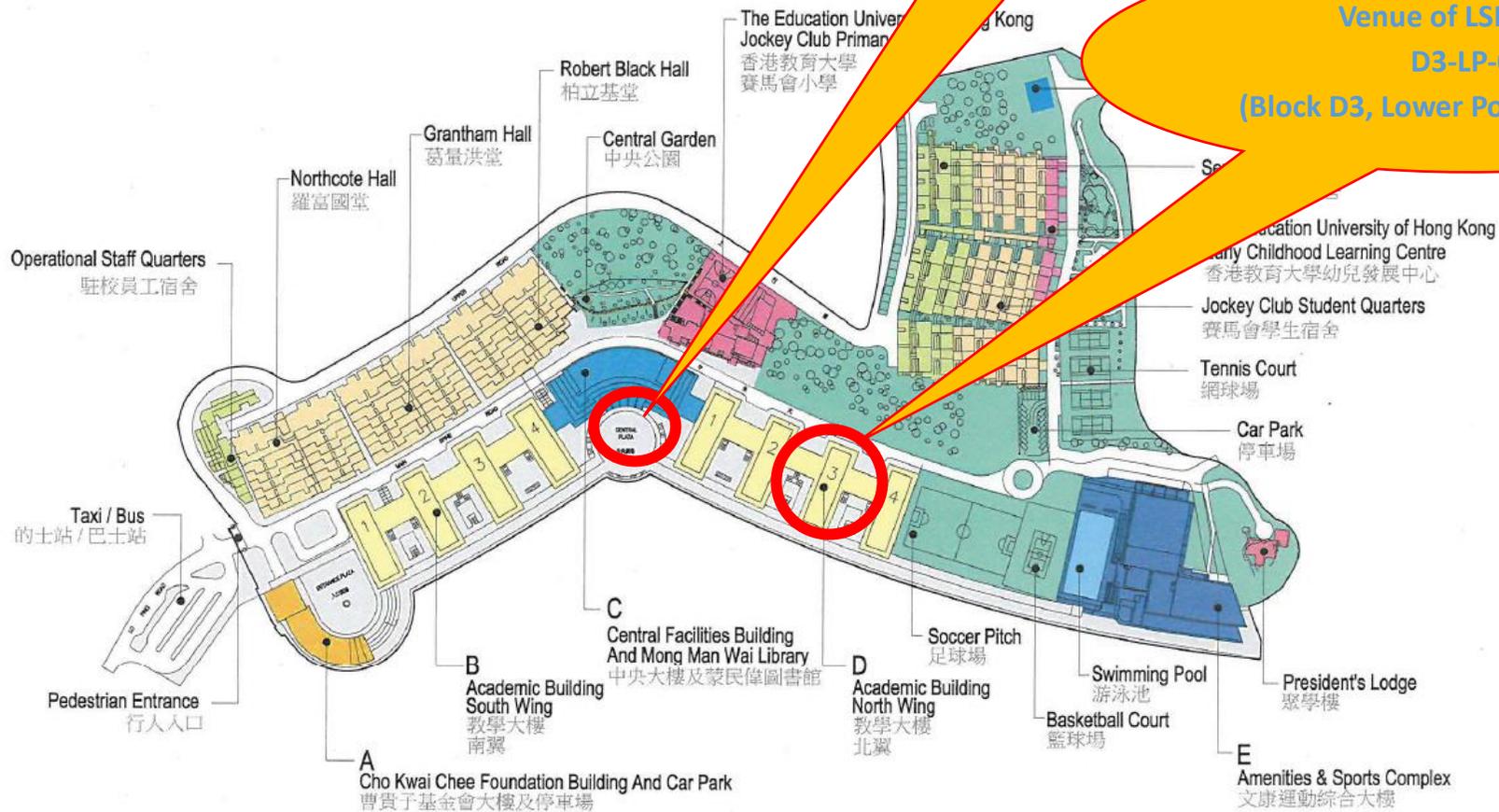
	Session A1 Chair: Stephen MATTHEWS (D3-LP-07)	Session A2 Chair: LAU Chaak Ming (D3-LP-10)	Session A3 Chair: Margaret LEI (D2-LP-18)
1040-1100	Zhaoyu AN Influence of Nepali on Kathmandu Newar in Morphosyntax: a Study on the Use of Classifiers	Jackie Y-K. LAI How to Verb-Double in Chinese	Sonia HUI Adaptation of Colour References in Bilingualism- A study of Cantonese-English Bilinguals
1100-1120	Gita DHUNGANA Variable Ergative Case Marking in Non-perfective Aspect in Nepali	Ka Fai YIP & Tommy T-M. LEE Sentence-initial root modals and focus	Ka Ho KAN & Virginia YIP The Acquisition of English Verb-Particle Constructions and Chinese Directional Verb Complements in Hong Kong Bilingual Children and American Heritage Chinese Children
1120-1140	Cathryn DONOHUE & Mark DONOHUE Semantic transitivity and case licensing in Bumthang	Tracy Xin Luo, Chu-Ren Huang & the HKLO Team Hong Kong Linguistics Olympiad: A Brief Introduction	The Haley KAYAN Multilingual Cantonese/English Texts: using <i>-ing</i> as a multifunctional clitic in written Cantonese
1140-1200	Hongdi DING 涼山彝語及鄰近藏緬語中的橋接重複： 一種口語文化的敘述特點		Candice Chi-Hang CHEUNG, Yicheng RONG, Yixuan XIONG, Sally Lok Ting CHAN, Cynthia CHOW, Janice CHU, Caroline Man Yan WONG, Man Tak LEUNG and Tempo Po Yi TANG Steps in theory-of-mind development in Cantonese-speaking children with and without autism spectrum disorders
1200-1300	AGM and election of LSHK Executive Committee Officers (Venue: D3-LP-07)		
1300-1420	Lunch (University Canteen, Block C, Podium)		

	Session B1 Chair: Regine LAI (D3-LP-07)	Session B2 Chair: TANG Sze-Wing (D3-LP-10)	Session B3 Chair: Caesar LUN (D2-LP-18)
1420-1440	Joaquim KUONG To split or not to split: What foreign names reveal about the commonalities and differences in the Cantonese and Mandarin transliteration strategies	Tommy T-M. LEE <i>M-zi</i> ‘not-know’ in Cantonese as an epistemic marker	Jeremiah CHUNG Proposed Open Source Ethnolinguistic studies of LSHK and beyond
1440-1500	Wenxi FEI, Mingyu WENG and Albert LEE Phonetic Realisation of Narrow Focus in Suzhou Wu-dominant and Mandarin-dominant Bilinguals	Yin To CHUI Omissible Cantonese miratives and their differentiation	Yin Hei KONG (江彥希) Arthur Cooper 漢字研究綜述
1500-1520	Him Nok LEE 語調和聲調的交互作用 導致粵語低降調句末助詞聲學表現的分歧 ——粵語低邊界調的提出	Chit Yu LAM A DP account for variation in classifier dependency in Cantonese and Mandarin	Xiaojuan HU 漢語湘贛方言中的句末虛化處所結構 “在+X”
1520-1540	Joanna Ut-Seong SIO and Frantisek KRATOCHVIL The ‘fuzzy’ classifier in Longdu (Zhongshan Min)	Ka Fai YIP 粵語易位句的韻律句法研究	Yuk Sai NAM A systematic review of research in Hong Kong Language Policy from 1995 to 2019
1540-1600	Tea Break (outside D3-LP-07)		

	Session C1 Chair: Bit-chee KWOK (D3-LP-07)	Session C2 Chair: Peppina LEE (D3-LP-10)	Session C3 Chair: LI Bin (D2-LP-18)
1600-1620	Xuan LI 美壩白語的完整體	Jia REN Mandarin focus marking, exhaustivity and the exhaustive marker <i>shi</i>	Felix SZE, Kloris LAU & David LAM Computerized tests for vocabulary knowledge in Cantonese and Hong Kong Sign Language for children under the age of three
1620-1640	Man Hei LEE 蔡家話威寧方言調查報告 [Report on the Weining Dialect of Caijia]	Mimi TIAN Semantics of the deictic motion expression and its effect on the telicity of directional verb constructions in Mandarin	Felix SZE, Jafi LEE & Monica Xiao WEI Adaptation and development of sign language assessment tools for hearing and deaf children in Hong Kong
1640-1700	Yifa XU 廣東肇慶等地粵語表方式的動後助詞	Jennifer YAO Genericity and generic NPs in Mandarin and English	Vivian Y.Y. Yip “Tam Jai dialect”: language ideologies and indexicality of “non-standard” Cantonese in Hong Kong

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The Education University of Hong Kong Tai Po Campus 香港教育大學大埔校園



Lunch venue: Canteen
(Block C, Podium level)

Venue of LSHK-ARF:
D3-LP-07
(Block D3, Lower Podium, Room 7)

Table of Content	Page
Abstracts of Theses of The LSHK Thesis Awards	
Typological variation across Sinitic languages: Contact and convergence Pui Yiu SZETO	1
粵語升降句調研究 Mei Ying KI (祁美瑩)	2
Focus prosody in Cantonese: the case of verb-copying constructions Sharon Tsoi Lam LEE	3
Abstracts of ARF presentations	
Influence of Nepali on Kathmandu Newar in Morphosyntax: a Study on the Use of Classifiers Zhaoyu AN	4
Query about "cleverly remember" Dong Tonghe's old sinigrams with shared phonetic symbol table Gengze CHEN	5
Steps in theory-of-mind development in Cantonese-speaking children with and without autism spectrum disorders Candice Chi-Hang CHEUNG, Yicheng RONG, Yixuan XIONG, Sally Lok Ting CHAN, Cynthia CHOW, Janice CHU, Caroline Man Yan WONG, Man Tak LEUNG and Tempo Po Yi TANG	6
Omittable Cantonese miratives and their differentiation Yin To CHUI	7
Proposed Open Source Ethnolinguistic studies of LSHK and beyond Jeremiah CHUNG	8
Variable Ergative Case Marking in Non-perfective Aspect in Nepali Gita DHUNGANA	9
涼山彝語及鄰近藏緬語中的橋接重複：一種口語文化的敘述特點 Hongdi DING	10

Semantic transitivity and case licensing in Bumthang Cathryn DONOHUE & Mark DONOHUE	11
Phonetic Realisation of Narrow Focus in Suzhou Wu-dominant and Mandarin-dominant Bilinguals Wenxi FEI, Mingyu WENG and Albert LEE	12
漢語湘贛方言中的句末虛化處所結構 “在+X” Xiaojuan HU (胡小娟)	13
Adaptation of Colour References in Bilingualism- A study of Cantonese-English Bilinguals Sonia HUI	14
The Acquisition of English Verb-Particle Constructions and Chinese Directional Verb Complements in Hong Kong Bilingual Children and American Heritage Chinese Children Ka Ho KAN & Virginia YIP	15
Multilingual Cantonese/English Texts: using <i>-ing</i> as a multifunctional clitic in written Cantonese The Haley KAYAN	17
清儒語文學與現代漢語方言的互相詮釋—以孔廣森古音理論為例 Weihan KONG (孔薇涵)	18
Arthur Cooper 漢字研究綜述 Yin Hei KONG (江彥希)	19
To split or not to split: What foreign names reveal about the commonalities and differences in the Cantonese and Mandarin transliteration strategies Joaquim KUONG	20
How to Verb-Double in Chinese Jackie Y-K. LAI	22
A DP account for variation in classifier dependency in Cantonese and Mandarin Chit Yu LAM	23

語調和聲調的交互作用導致粵語低降調句末助詞聲學表現的分歧 ——粵語低邊界調的提出 Him Nok LEE (李謙諾)	24
蔡家話威寧方言調查報告[Report on the Weining Dialect of Caijia] Man Hei LEE (李文希)	26
<i>M-zi</i> ‘not-know’ in Cantonese as an epistemic marker Tommy T-M. LEE	27
美壩白語的完整體 Xuan LI (李煊)	28
Hong Kong Linguistics Olympiad: A Brief Introduction Tracy Xin Luo, Chu-Ren Huang and the HKLO Team	29
A systematic review of research in Hong Kong Language Policy from 1995 to 2019 Yuk Sai NAM	30
Mandarin focus marking, exhaustivity and the exhaustive marker <i>shi</i> Jia REN	31
The ‘fuzzy’ classifier in Longdu (Zhongshan Min) Joanna Ut-Seong SIO and Frantisek KRATOCHVIL	32
Computerized tests for vocabulary knowledge in Cantonese and Hong Kong Sign Language for children under the age of three Felix SZE, Kloris LAU and David LAM	33
Adaptation and development of sign language assessment tools for hearing and deaf children in Hong Kong Felix SZE, Jafi LEE and Monica Xiao WEI	34
Semantics of the deictic motion expression and its effect on the telicity of directional verb constructions in Mandarin Mimi TIAN	35
廣東肇慶等地粵語表方式的動後助詞 Yifa XU (徐毅發)	36

Genericity and generic NPs in Mandarin and English Jennifer YAO	37
粵語易位句的韻律句法研究 Ka Fai YIP (葉家輝)	38
Sentence-initial root modals and focus Ka Fai YIP & Tommy T-M. LEE	39
“Tam Jai dialect”: language ideologies and indexicality of “non- standard” Cantonese in Hong Kong Vivian Y.Y. Yip	40

Typological variation across Sinitic languages: Contact and convergence

Pui Yiu Szeto

University of Hong Kong

Recipient of The LSHK Thesis Award (PhD Category)

Decades of works dedicated to the description of (previously) lesser-known Sinitic languages have effectively dispelled the common myth that these languages share a single “universal Chinese grammar”. Yet, the underlying cause of their grammatical variation is still a matter for debate. This thesis focuses on the typological variation across Sinitic varieties. Through comparing the typological profiles of various Sinitic languages with those of their non-Sinitic neighbors, we discuss to what extent the variation within the Sinitic branch can be attributed to areal diffusion. Variation across Sinitic is often explained from the perspective of language contact – sandwiched between Altaic languages to its north and Mainland Southeast Asian (MSEA) languages to its south, Sinitic can be considered typologically intermediate between these two groups of languages, where Northern Sinitic shows signs of convergence towards Altaic languages and Southern Sinitic towards MSEA languages. For example, the northern varieties tend to have a smaller number of classifiers, tones and codas, as well as a stronger tendency to disyllabicity and head-final constructions.

However, the notion of “Altaicization” (Hashimoto 1976) is a moot point. Despite the typological differences between Northern Sinitic and Southern Sinitic, as Bennet (1979) argues, there is little evidence for “Altaicization” as many of such differences can hardly be put down to Altaic influence; instead, they are more likely due to the typological convergence between Southern Sinitic and MSEA languages. Moreover, there is evidence that the typological variation across Sinitic cannot be amply explained by areal influence from non-Sinitic languages. Some Sinitic varieties are known to exhibit certain distinct typological characteristics. For instance, analyzing the disposal, passive, and comparative constructions across the Sinitic branch, Chappell (2015b) argues that there are no fewer than five principal linguistic areas in China.

Taking into account over 350 language varieties of seven different genetic affiliations (Sinitic, Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Hmong-Mien, Tai-Kadai, Austroasiatic) and 30 linguistic features, we conduct a typological survey with the aid of the phylogenetic program NeighborNet (Bryant & Moulton 2004). Our results suggest that convergence towards their non-Sinitic neighbors has indeed played a pivotal role in the typological diversity of Sinitic languages. Based primarily on their degree of Altaic/MSEA influence, the Sinitic varieties in our database are classified into four areal groups, namely 1) Northern, 2) Transitional, 3) Central Southeastern, 4) Far Southern. This classification scheme reflects the intricate interplay between areal convergence, regional innovations, and retention of archaic features. The findings suggest that contact-induced typological change can occur rather rapidly, especially if given the appropriate sociolinguistic conditions.

Furthermore, this thesis highlights the interdependence between the meticulous analysis of qualitative linguistic data and the proper application of quantitative tools in typological studies. Although this study is chiefly concerned with Sinitic typology, the quantitative approach adopted herein can potentially help shed new light on the challenge of typological comparison in other areas.

粵語升降句調研究

祁美瑩

香港中文大學

Recipient of The LSHK Outstanding Thesis Award (MPhil Category)

關於粵語句調的研究專著一向不多，而現有的研究多是從句類審視句調，又或是著眼於句調跟字調之間的影響，甚少考察句調的音、義、句法、語用間的關係。為了填補這個不足，本文以升降調作為試點，從語音、語義、句法、語用等多角度進行考察。本文三個主要章節如下：

一、語義、語用功能。第二章通過話語分析，分析升降調的語義、語用功能，為升降調所表達的意義找出一個具體、實際可操作的定義。本文認為，說話者以此句調否定聽話者的信念。

二、語音體現。第三章以實驗語音為手段，找出升降調的語音體現，同時考察升降調、字調之間的疊加關係。從實驗數據可見，升降調除了在T1 體現為降勢之外，在其餘五個聲調中都體現為升降勢，以「後續疊加」的方式黏附於字調之後。

三、句法分析。第四章分析升降調的句法地位。根據前兩章的分析，升降調具有獨立的意義、語音形式，理應可分析成句末助詞，佔有一定的句法地位。參照《粵語語法講義》對粵語助詞的分類、層級分析，升降調可以跟層級最低的事件、時間助詞共現，所以應分析為層級稍高的焦點助詞。

本文通過界面研究，考察粵語升降調的語言學特性，望能對粵語句調研究帶來新的思考方向。

Focus prosody in Cantonese: the case of verb-copying constructions

Sharon Tsoi Lam Lee

University of Hong Kong

Recipient of The LSHK Outstanding Thesis Award (MA Category)

The Cantonese verb-focusing construction – V1-*dou1mei6*-V2, a near-cognate with Mandarin's (*lián*-)*yě/dōu* – is one example among many in the understudied yet diverse group referred to as verb-copying constructions. Existing research investigates mainly its syntactic and semantic properties, while its prosodic properties were largely left untouched.

In a production experiment involving 10 native Hong Kong Cantonese speakers aged 18 to 24 (mean=21.8), it is found that the construction shows a default prosodic pattern involving significant changes in F0 and duration of the focused verb working together in a cooperative manner. Speakers can choose to realise focus in either or both ways, i.e. an insignificant F0 raise in the focused verb would be accompanied by a significant durational lengthening, vice versa. The study yielded no consistent or significant results in terms of pitch range expansion or the controversial post-focus compression found in multiple previous studies.

The current study demonstrates a workable alternative methodology for eliciting natural focus prosody with no priming or other influence from the experimenter. Additional findings of the study shed light on the F0 prosodic pattern of verb-topicalisation, another verb-copying construction, where the topicalised verb displays a pitch contour that lies between that of verbs in sentences with neutral intonation and focus prosody.

Influence of Nepali on Kathmandu Newar in Morphosyntax:

A Study on the Use of Classifiers

Zhaoyu AN

The University of Hong Kong

Abstract

This paper investigated the ongoing change of Newar classifier system, aiming to find clues of language contact and grammatical assimilation between Nepali and Newar. It hypothesised that the classifier system of Newar was becoming more similar to that of Nepali, especially for younger speakers. To test this hypothesis, I conducted a survey on 18 native Newar speakers living in Kathmandu Valley. They were asked to complete a questionnaire related to classifier use. Their responses were recorded, transcribed and analysed. Results obtained justified the hypothesis, indicating the existence of ongoing grammatical change.

Keywords

Language contact, classifier, morphosyntax, Newar, Nepali

Query about “cleverly remember” Dong Tonghe’s old sinigrams with shared phonetic symbol table

——raise 35 questions to Professor Feng Zheng’s “*Early years NTU students how to cleverly remember 22 old rhyme groups sinigrams with shared phonetic symbol table* ——to celebrate two professors Long Yuchun and Du Qirong 90 years birthday did it for them”

關於「巧記」董同龢上古諧聲表的質疑

——馮蒸教授著〈早年臺大學生如何巧記上古韻廿二部諧聲表——為慶祝龍宇純、杜其容二教授九十華誕而作〉一文之三十五問

Gengze Chen

National Taiwan Normal University

Key words

Feng Zheng, Early years NTU students, Dong Tonghe’s old sinigrams with shared phonetic symbol table, 22 old rhyme groups sinigrams with shared phonetic symbol table, Long Yuchun and Du Qirong

關鍵詞：馮蒸、早年臺大學生、董同龢上古諧聲表、廿二部諧聲表、龍宇純、杜其容

Abstract of paper

論文摘要

中國大陸首都師範大學文學院馮蒸教授於2018年12月1日(星期六)在臺灣臺中市的東海大學人文大樓舉辦「龍宇純先生學術研討會」中發表〈早期台大學生如何巧記上古音諧聲表——為慶祝龍宇純、杜其容教授九十華誕而作〉一文。在此次會議前後，也以〈早年臺大學生如何巧記上古韻廿二部諧聲表——為慶祝龍宇純、杜其容二教授九十華誕而作〉分別刊載於《國文天地》(402期)(頁11—16)和〈古文字微刊2018-12-29 02:20:38〉。本文對於以上「刊載有關此文」，提出「十點三十五個疑問」，希望能對漢語音韻學中的上古漢語諧聲的教學和學習有所參考。

關鍵詞：馮蒸、早年臺大學生、董同龢上古諧聲表、廿二部諧聲表、龍宇純、杜其容

目次

一、緣起

二、馮蒸教授著〈早年臺大學生如何巧記上古韻廿二部諧聲表——為慶祝龍宇純、杜其容二教授九十華誕而作〉一文之三十五問

- 1.古韻分部，說法不一[Q1]
- 2.同聲同部，亦有例外 [Q2—Q5]
- 3.諧聲數量，各有差異 [Q6—Q8]
- 4.意義串連，擾亂系統 [Q9—Q10]
- 5.廿二韻部，廿二故事[Q11—Q18]
- 6.龍杜老師，如何「巧記」[Q19—Q20]
- 7.«巧記»故事，應該省思[Q21—Q22]
- 8.前人做法，並非「巧記」[Q23—Q24]
- 9.作者原創，版權問題[Q25—Q31]
- 10.明確年份，應該說明[Q32—Q35]

三、結語

參考資料

Steps in theory-of-mind development in Cantonese-speaking children with and without autism spectrum disorders

Candice Chi-Hang Cheung, Yicheng Rong, Yixuan Xiong, Sally Lok Ting Chan, Cynthia Chow, Janice Chu, Caroline Man Yan Wong, Man Tak Leung and Tempo Po Yi Tang

The Polytechnic University of Hong Kong

It has been debated that the developmental step of theory of mind (ToM) of children with autism spectrum disorders (ASD) follows a delayed or deviant development model relative to that of typically developing (TD) children (Hoogenhout & Malcolm-Smith, 2014). One goal of our study is to examine whether and how the ToM development of Cantonese-speaking children with ASD differs from that of TD children in order to see whether the findings support the delayed or deviant development model, or both. We also compare our findings with previous studies to examine whether the developmental sequence of ToM is subject to cross-cultural variation.

37 children with ASD ($M = 6.41$ years, $SD = 1.78$) and 142 TD children ($M = 5.81$ years, $SD = 1.85$) participated in this study. The two groups were matched on verbal mental age and nonverbal intelligence. We examined children's sequences of ToM development using the five-step ToM scale developed by Wellman and Liu (2004) (see also Zhang, Shao, & Zhang, 2016). The five ToM tasks assessed children's understanding of diverse desires (DD), knowledge access (KA), diverse beliefs (DB), false belief (FB), and hidden emotion (HE). Participants' language ability was measured by the receptive subtest of the Reynell Developmental Language Scales (Reynell & Huntley, 1985) and the Test of Hong Kong Cantonese Grammar, a subtest of the Hong Kong Cantonese Oral Language Assessment Scale (T'sou et al., 2006). Participants' nonverbal intelligence was assessed by the Primary Test of Nonverbal Intelligence (Ehrler & McGhee, 2008).

The chi-square analyses showed that ASD group did not significantly differ from TD group in the passing percentages of the five ToM tasks. To control for the effect of chronological age, hierarchical multiple regression was conducted which showed that the total score of the five ToM tasks in ASD group was significantly lower than that of the TD group. Results from two linear regression analyses further showed that chronological age could predict the total scores of the ToM tasks in both groups of children, and the developmental rates of ToM ability were not significantly different between the two groups of children when chronological age was the predictor.

As for the developmental sequence of the five-step ToM scale, the results of the Guttman scalogram analyses and the Rasch analyses showed that the developmental sequence of ASD group was $KA > DD > DB > FB > HE$, which differed from that of TD group: $DD > KA > DB > FB > HE$. Compared with previous studies, the ASD group in the present study demonstrated a different developmental sequence of ToM from that of Mandarin-speaking children with ASD (Zhang et al., 2016) and that of Australian English-speaking children with ASD (Peterson, Wellman, & Liu, 2005; Peterman, Wellman, & Slaughter, 2012). In contrast, the TD group showed the same developmental sequence as Mandarin-speaking TD children in Zhang et al. (2016), but it differed from that of Australian English-speaking TD children in Peterson, Wellman, & Liu (2005) and Peterman, Wellman, & Slaughter (2012).

In sum, our finding that children with ASD had significantly poorer ToM ability relative to TD children after controlling for chronological age but showed similar developmental rates of ToM ability, supports the delayed development model. In addition, our finding that children with ASD had a different developmental sequence on the ToM scale compared with TD children supports the deviant development model. Therefore, the present study supports both delayed and deviant development models, which is consistent with Zhang et al.'s (2016) finding. Moreover, our finding that TD children in Hong Kong and mainland China showed a different developmental sequence of ToM from TD children in Australia suggests that ToM development is subject to cross-cultural variation.

Omittable Cantonese miratives and their differentiation

CHUI Yin To (Jeremy), *Hong Kong Polytechnic University*

After its original conception by DeLancey (1997), the concept of ‘mirative’ as a separate grammatical category was sometimes called into question. But recent research in Cantonese has found some success in identifying unique properties – acoustic and syntactic differences – of such particles ‘wo3’, ‘wo4’, ‘wo5’, ‘me1’, etc. that support separation of their mirative reading from other semantic readings (see Winterstein et al., 2018). This paper rests on this development, assumes the mirative status of these particles, and shows that some of them have the additional property of omissibility: they can be dropped without any change to the communicative intent to convey surprise.

(1a) bun2 syu1 nei5 dou1 yau5 mai5 me1

(1b) bun2 syu1 nei5 dou1 yau5 mai5(↗)

You have also bought the book?

In (1a), the sentence-final particle (SFP) me1 is the mirative, but as (1b) shows, the sentence can still convey surprise after the mirative is dropped. The only difference is that the new final syllable is replaced by a rising-intonation toneme, represented by (↗). The same observation can be made to the SFP mirative ge2.

However, omissibility is not a universal property of miratives, and some cannot be dropped if the meaning of surprise needs to be preserved. This paper then shows how to differentiate between omissible and non-ommissible miratives.

(2a) lok6 jyu5 tim1 (↘)

(2b) ? lok6 jyu5

? lok6 jyu5(↗)

Oh, it’s raining.

In (2b), after dropping the SFP mirative tim1, no toneme of the new final syllable can convey the surprise that is captured by the translated equivalent of ‘oh’. The problem now is to make the classification between omissible and non-ommissible miratives. This paper shows that the two classes of miratives are different acoustically. In (1a), me1 is pronounced without any rising or falling intonation, but in (2a), tim1 is already pronounced with a falling intonation. Similar observations can be made to the miratives wo3 and wo5.

This finding also reveals inaccuracies in previous related research. Lam (2014) claims that the distribution of mat1 in mirative sentences must have the following distribution: it always occurs in sentences with a mirative SFP. But if the mirative is an omissible one, mat1 can occur without the presence of such a particle.

Proposal of comparative ethnolinguistic studies of the linguists' communities in the Hong Kong (LSHK), Greater China and beyond

Jeremiah Chung

The purpose of this research is to maximize the open-source collaboration research outcome through ethnolinguistic understanding of and through the linguists' communities with the scalability of the scope in the context of Hong Kong as a hub connecting Greater China (GC) with the global communities.

The language and cultural barriers between the linguists in different GC regions and the global communities obstruct the development of collaborative research and interaction for academic research. The linguists in GC research focus in major languages and seldom go beyond minority languages of their regional/national boundary, despite of the technology of global connection and global language technology in general. The linguists need more reflection, besides academic values, about their social responsibility with relevance to the grassroots. Different institutes have a different degree of tension of proprietary data/research for sustainability and open source/sharing resource collaboration mentality for the common good. The multilingual/cultural linguist LSHK may not aware of their potential to push their limit of contribution in more collaborative and strategic researches to resolve the issues for the welfare of the world.

Approaches:

Data of linguists and their researches in the public domain will be collected and analyzed with python data science (machine learning) tool along with participant observation in a research/post-graduate program and/or in different events and conferences of the linguists' communities in the greater China, with a focus on Hong Kong, then mainland. The write up will be published at least in Chinese and English languages with Open Source license. This will allow flexibility and scalability of different scopes with the potential extension to other disciplines and multidiscipline contexts depending on the resources and outcomes, and financial model. This project is open for collaboration with research/developer/funding partners

The project will result in interactions and collaborations between linguists' communities within and beyond the LSHK. The interactions and collaborations will be documented as an ongoing open-source project to shift the academic research to more relevance and extend the scope of the world's languages beyond the greater China. This pilot project would inspire more cost-effective Chinese/HK linguistic open sources project and resources available to academic communities and the general public.

In conclusion the multilingual/multicultural linguists' communities and open source communities in HK can contribute in a unique way to connect the Greater China with global academic communities and general public.

The GitHub link of the repository of this project can be found:

<https://github.com/JChungYS/EthnoLingGCL>

Variable Ergative Case Marking in Non-perfective Aspect in Nepali

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Nepali exhibits a consistent ergative alignment in the perfective aspect, where subjects of transitive verbs and some unergative verbs are obligatorily assigned ergative case. In the imperfective aspect, however, the use of ergative case marker (-le) is optional for animate agents-- inanimate agents are obligatorily marked with the ergative marker in all aspects. Various hypotheses have been proposed in the past to account for the variable ergative pattern in Nepali. However, there is still a lack of consensus in the literature on how and why animate agents are assigned ergative marker in the imperfective aspect. Past studies have mostly relied on isolated constructions (elicited or scripted), a plausible factor behind the lack of a conclusive account for the phenomenon. This research examines various accounts that have been hypothesised in the literature and test them with mostly naturalistic data obtained from five TV talk shows. Where there were no possibilities to use naturalistic data, utterances with well-defined pragmatic contexts were constructed. This paper argues that combinations of multiple factors including information structure content -- in particular focus and contrastiveness -- and semantic factors -- in particular argument agentivity and verb semantics-- condition the optional ergative marking pattern in Nepali.

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橋接重複 (bridging repetition) 是篇章層面的語言現象，其結構形式是 [.....[參照子句 (reference clause)]]_{句子 1}[[橋接子句 (bridging clause)].....]_{句子 2} (見 Aikhenvald 2015, Guérin 2019)。最早由 Longacre (1968) 提出，也常常被稱為尾首連接 (tail-head linkage)，其典型特徵就是尾首兩個子句相互重複，如以下四川涼山聶蘇彝語 (阿都話) 所示，見例 1 (b) 和 (c)。

- (1) a. tɕ^ho⁵⁵ ta³³, tɕ^hɿ⁵⁵kue³³a³³lɿ³³ do²¹ ti⁵⁵ luw⁴⁴,
 這兒 LOC 支格阿爾 話 附 LNK
 ‘從此，支格阿爾就出名了，’
- b. **tɕ^hɿ⁵⁵kue³³a³³lɿ³³** **dzu²¹**.
 支格阿爾 成為
 ‘就成為了 (家喻戶曉的) 支格阿爾。’
- c. **tɕ^hɿ⁵⁵kue³³a³³lɿ³³** **dzu²¹=nie³³**,
 支格阿爾 成為=後
 ‘就成為了 (家喻戶曉的) 支格阿爾，’
- d. tɕ^ho⁵⁵ ta³³, tɕ^hɿ⁵⁵kue³³a³³lɿ³³ a⁴⁴zɿ³³=o³³.
 這兒 LOC 支格阿爾 大=PFV
 ‘然後，從此，支格阿爾 (就) 長大了。’

橋接子句的主要功能是承上啟下，使參照子句的信息成為舊信息，銜接橋接子句後面的新信息。這種現象幾乎存在於所有以原生口語文化為主的語言社會中，如巴布亞諸語言 (de Vries 2005)，這些語言社會沒有固有的、或者被大眾掌握的民族文字，其社會的文化和經驗一般依靠口頭傳承。正因為如此，橋接重複幫助敘述人獲得處理新信息的時間，同時也幫助聽眾處理現有信息。然而，這種重複或者冗餘則是書面文化 (如漢語社會、英語社會) 極力避免的。

本研究首先對聶蘇彝語 (在四川涼山使用的一種藏緬語) 中的橋接重複進行描寫，包括其識別條件、語法標記、類型以及使用頻率。然後，通過已有文獻，本研究主要從語法標記和子句結合方式兩方面，將涼山彝語的橋接重複與中國西南地區其他藏緬語進行比較，如傈僳語 (Hope 1974)、蒲溪羌語 (Huang 2004)、普米語 (Ding 2014, Henriette 2014)、爾蘇語 (Zhang 2013) 等。最後，本研究指出，之所以在這些藏緬語社會均出現橋接重複這種語言現象，是由於它們也屬於口語文化，筆者將根據口語文化社會的五個語言特徵 (Ong 1982, de Vries 2005) 進行證明。

Semantic intransitivity and case licensing in Bumthang

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Bumthang, a language of central Bhutan, participates in many of the Himalayan areal norms with respect to case marking, including an ergative case that is not categorial in usage, and which can appear with some intransitive predicates. In 2016, Donohue & Donohue reported on the variable use of the ergative case marker in Bumthang transitive clauses, identifying a number of largely pragmatic, semantic, and informational structural contexts that license the use of the ergative case on the subjects. Given the nature of the factors involved we examined similar conditions for arguments of monovalent verbs, not a typical context for receiving ergative case if structural conditions were uniquely determining case, but which would likely also be sensitive to these same factors. We found that there are some contexts in which the sole argument of an monovalent verb can bear ergative case, drawing on some of the same features, but not identical to those relevant for transitive verbs. In particular, the notion of agentivity is of paramount importance for licensing ergative case arguments of monovalent verbs, and we discuss the set of factors that need to coincide for this to happen. Unlike the work presented in Donohue & Donohue 2016 which focussed on transitive clauses, when considering intransitive verbs as well, the notion of ‘semantic transitivity’ (e.g. Hoppen & Thompson 1980) is very useful in understanding the collection of factors contributing to the licensing of ergative case.

A partial illustration of the system is shown in examples (1) – (5). (1) and (2) show that the ergative case is dispreferred when the clause is irrealis, but is required when it is perfective. In (3) – (4) we can see that ergative case marking is not required on monovalent predicates, even when perfective, but that it is possible for an active predicate such as *yer* ‘jump’, but not for a non-active one (*dip* ‘trip, stumble’). Finally (5) shows that ergative case is not possible with *yer* when it is irrealis.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---|
| (1) | Ngat
1SG.ABS
‘I will eat.’ | zama
food | zu-sang.
eat-PERS.IRR | */# Nga-i
1SG-ERG | zama
zu-sang. |
| (2) | Nga-i
1SG-ERG
‘I have eaten.’ | zama
food | zu-s.
eat-PERS.PERF | * ngat
1SG.ABS | zama
zu-s |
| (3) | Ngat
1SG.ABS
‘I tripped.’ | dip-si
trip-SEQ | gae(s).
go-PERS.PERF | * nga-i
1SG-ERG | dip-si gae(s) |
| (4) | Ngat
1SG.ABS
‘I jumped.’ | yer-zé
jump-SEQ | gae(s).
go-PERS.PERF | Nga-i
1SG-ERG | yer-zé
gae(s).
‘I (and not someone else) jumped.’ |
| (5) | Ngat
1SG.ABS
‘I will jump.’ | yer-zé
jump-SEQ | gae-sang.
go-PERS.IRR | * nga-i
1SG-ERG | yer-zé gae-sang |

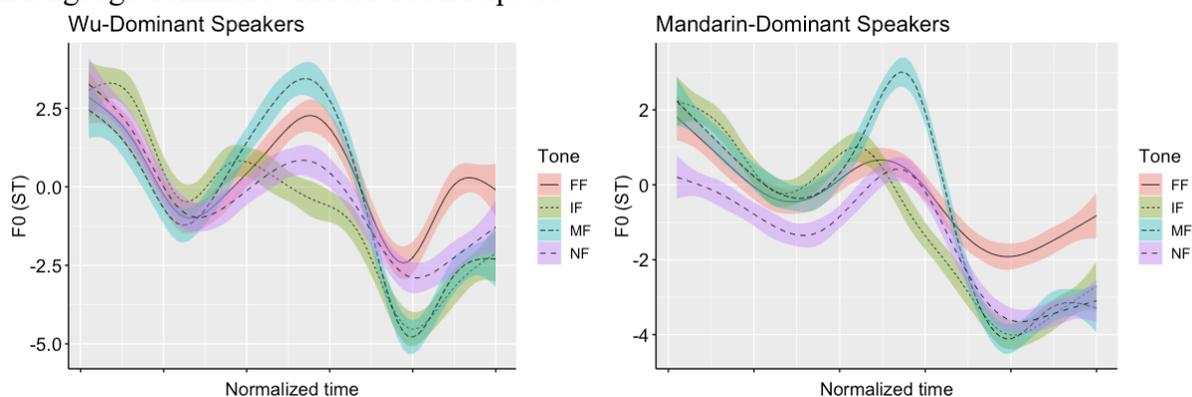
Phonetic Realisation of Narrow Focus in Suzhou Wu-dominant and Mandarin-dominant Bilinguals

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In the past decade, many languages have been classified in terms of whether post-focus compression (PFC) of f_0 range is used to mark narrow focus or not. Xu, Chen, and Wang (2012) reported that PFC was absent in monolingual Taiwan Mandarin speakers' speech, suggesting that this typological feature is easily lost through contact with a -PFC language (Southern Min). In Chen, Xu, and Guion-Anderson's (2014) research, Mandarin-dominant young Southern Min-Mandarin bilinguals showed clear PFC in their Mandarin speech while Southern Min-dominant old speakers did not, showing that PFC could be used as an indicator of one's language background. While Chen et al.'s (2014) findings seem to suggest that language dominance could override the contact effect mentioned in Xu et al. (2012) for highly proficient speakers, it is unclear how language dominance alone affects PFC. To this end, this study tested Suzhou Wu-Mandarin bilinguals, who spoke two +PFC languages on a daily basis. If the Mandarin-dominant bilinguals do not exhibit PFC in their Wu speech, then it can be argued that PFC is not only easy-to-lose through contact, but also hard-to-acquire regardless of the typological status of the two languages (in this case two +PFC languages).

Our study recruited six young female Wu-Mandarin bilinguals (age $M = 22.17$, $SD = 1.83$) for a production experiment. Among these participants, four self-identified as Mandarin-dominant while two considered themselves as Suzhou Wu-dominant. Narrow focus was elicited using the 'mini-dialogue' paradigm, where participants were instructed to read aloud a question and a corresponding answer in pair. The leading question contained one piece of wrong information, which would then elicit one contrastive focus in each answer sentence: Neutral Focus (NF), Initial Focus (IF), Medial Focus (MF), Final Focus (FF). From each speaker, 80 utterances were recorded.

The data from four Mandarin-dominant speakers suggested that PFC was lost while the data of two Wu-dominant speakers showed clear PFC in the Suzhou Wu speech. These findings indicate that language dominance of bilinguals influences PFC in their speech, but further research on language dominance should be anticipated.



Keywords: language dominance, prosodic focus, post-focus compression (PFC)

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胡小娟

漢語中的非完整體一般採用不同的語法形式區分動作正在進行和狀態正在持續，前者稱為“進行體”，後者稱為“持續體”。現代漢語普通話用動詞前的“在”表進行體，用動詞後的“著”表持續體。根據王健（2005），漢語方言區分進行體和持續體的方式可歸納為四種類型，其中，第二種類型為“用前加動詞的虛化處所介詞結構表示進行，用後加動詞的虛化處所介詞結構表示持續”，第四種類型為“用前加動詞的虛化處所結構表示進行，用緊跟動詞的助詞表示持續”（頁 246），分別以蘇州話和揚州話為例：

- (1) a. 我**勒海**著毛衣。（我在穿毛衣） b. 我毛衣著**勒海**。（我穿著毛衣）
(2) a. 我**在**吃飯。 b. 門口站**到**一個人。

有一些湘贛方言似乎是這兩種類型的雜糅，用動詞前的虛化處所結構表示進行體，用緊跟動詞的助詞和句末的虛化處所結構表示持續。比如：

- (3) a. 渠**在** *kuɛ⁴⁴* 著毛衫。（他在穿毛衣）
b. 渠著**倒**哩毛衫**在** *kuɛ⁴⁴*。（他穿著毛衣）——蓮花贛語
(4) a. 還**在**格**困**，困固久。（還在睡，睡這麼久）
b. 有人同你打**到**在格。（有人幫你打著）——永新贛語（龍安隆，2016）
(5) a. 我**在**吃飯，過一會就來。
b. 我抱**著**佢**在**底。（我抱著孩子）——岳西贛語（儲澤祥，2004）
(6) a. 頭前**在**爾**落**修路。（前面在修路）
b. 扇門開**倒**在爾**落**。（門開著）——新化湘語（羅昕如，2011）
(7) a. 我**在**咯裡搞飯吃。（我正在做飯）
b. 桶裡裝**嗒**水**在**咯裡。（桶裡裝著水。）——益陽湘語（夏俐萍，2007）

已有研究大致都將湘贛方言中句末的虛化處所結構“在+X”分析為持續體標記，表示某種狀態或動作完成後形成的結果的持續，能跟其它持續體標記（如永新贛語的“到”、新化湘語的“倒”）或完整體標記（如嶽西贛語的“著”、益陽湘語的“嗒”）並用。

但是，通過對蓮花贛語的觀察，我們發現，其句末的虛化處所結構“在 *kuɛ⁴⁴/kɔ⁴⁴*”的句法分佈非常廣，從句式的角度看包括存現句、動補句（結果補語、狀態補語、程度補語、可能補語）、狀中句（否定副詞、處所狀語、方式狀語等）和形容詞謂語句等，從時體態的角度來看包括現實句和非現實句、完整體句和非完整體句等，這遠遠超出了典型的持續體標記的分佈範圍。另外，“在 *kuɛ⁴⁴/kɔ⁴⁴*”在有的情況須強制使用，在有的情況下可省略。因此，本文以蓮花贛語為研究起點，考察湘贛方言中句末虛化處所結構“在+X”的句法分佈規律，在此基礎上分析其語義和話語功能。我們認為，蓮花贛語的句末“在 *kuɛ⁴⁴/kɔ⁴⁴*”為話語標記。

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Adaptation of Colour References in Bilingualism- A study of Cantonese-English Bilinguals

Sonia Hui

Abstract: Numerous studies demonstrate that bilinguals with different language background may have different semantic memory on certain linguistic categories. Studies that tested bilinguals with different language pairs, Russian-English (Pavlenko et al., 2017) Greek-English (Athanasopoulos, 2009), Japanese-English (Athanasopoulos et al., 2011), suggest that frequency of language use plays an important role in colour categorization. However, studies for language pairs like Cantonese and English, which share most, if not all, of the basic colour terms are rarely found. This paper investigates the semantic memory on the prototype of the basic colour terms and looks into the relation of colour perception and the onset period of L2 acquisition. It is hypothesized that bilinguals with earlier onset have more fine-grained colour perception, comparing to later onset bilinguals.

The Acquisition of English Verb-Particle Constructions and Chinese Directional Verb Complements in Hong Kong Bilingual Children and American Heritage Chinese Children

Ka Ho Kan and Virginia Yip

Previous research has identified the English verb-particle constructions (VPCs) as a vulnerable domain in bilingual acquisition, susceptible to both quantitative and qualitative cross-linguistic influence (CLI) (Wong, 2010; Yip & Matthews, 2007). Questions remain regarding such a vulnerability in heritage language acquisition (Polinsky, 2018). We conducted a longitudinal corpus-based study to compare the developmental patterns of English VPCs in Hong Kong Cantonese-English bilinguals and Mandarin-English heritage bilinguals in the U.S. with their monolingual counterparts.

The English VPC is formed by concatenating a transitive verb (V), a particle (Prt) and a direct object (which can be a lexical NP or a pronoun PRN). A particle is homophonous to prepositions (e.g. in and on) in English. VPCs with a lexical NP as its direct object can be manifested in two orders, as in (1a) and (2a):

Red: English (Thim, 2012) ; Blue: Cantonese/Mandarin (Huang & Shi, 2016)

	<u>Lexical NP as object</u>	<u>Pronoun as object</u>
1. split:	(a) V+NP+Prt (pick the book up)	(b) V+PRN+Prt (pick it up)
2. non-split:	(a) V+Prt+NP. (pick up the book)	(a)*V+Prt+PRN (*pick up it)
3. split:	(a) *V+NP+Prt (*拎本書起/*拿書起)	(b) *V+PRN+Prt (*拎佢起/*拿它起)
4. non-split:	(a) V+Prt+NP. (拎起本書/拿起書)	(b) V+Prt+PRN (拎起佢/拿起它)

However, a split order is obligatory when the direct object is a pronoun as in (1b), otherwise it results in ungrammaticality as in (2b). A cross-linguistic counterpart of the English VPCs in Chinese (both Cantonese and Mandarin) is the Directional Verb Complement, which is composed of a directional verb (V), a particle (Prt) and a direct object. Note that the DVC word order is obligatory non-split in Chinese, as in (4a) and (4b); otherwise it results in ungrammaticality, as in (3a) and (3b). Note that such an obligatory order is not determined by the lexical/pronominal nature of the direct object.

Previous monolingual acquisition research showed that monolingual English-speaking children have a strong tendency to produce the split order earlier and more often than the non-split order (Synder, 2007). Moreover, it is extremely rare for them to use the ungrammatical *V-Prt-PRN order (Ho, 2003). A distribution analysis of split/non-split order in Hong Kong Cantonese-English bilinguals and American Mandarin-English bilinguals showed a prominent language dominance effect. Bilingual children who are more Chinese-dominant tend to produce the non-split order earlier and more often than the split order. Qualitative CLI is found in the majority of bilingual children, regardless of language dominance, suggesting that structural overlap predicts the existence of qualitative CLI.

The longitudinal data from monolinguals and bilinguals indicate that a structural overlap effect is at work, opening up the possibility for qualitative CLI in bilinguals. The degree of quantitative of CLI and age of acquisition are shaped by language dominance in general. However, Hong Kong Cantonese-English bilinguals did produce significantly more non-split order than Mandarin-English heritage bilingual growing up in the U.S., indicating an input effect. This is because heritage bilinguals receive more English input (which favors the split order) than Hong Kong bilinguals do.

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**Multilingual Cantonese/English Texts:
using -ing as a multifunctional clitic in written Cantonese
The Haley Kayan**

Multilingual Cantonese/English texts is a phenomenon of code-switching, involving the use of Cantonese and English in writing. Since the research target is written rather than spontaneous spoken data, it raises issues of applying canonical code-switching theories, such as conversational analysis model (Auer, 1998) and markedness model (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). Therefore, compared with conversational code-switching, written language mixing remains relatively understudied, on the one hand. On the other hand, researchers often employ semiotic, literacy, sociolinguistic and discourse-pragmatic analyses to written multilingualism (e.g. Androutsopoulos, 2006; Hinrichs, 2006; Lee, 2007; Sebba et al., 2012); few researches (e.g. McLellan, 2005) adopt structurally oriented analysis.

The present study thereby focuses on the structural or grammatical analysis of Cantonese/English written data, the lesser-explored orientation to written multilingualism but in the tradition of Myers-Scotton (1993a). It is observed that the English inflection morpheme – *ing* has been used in internet written Cantonese as a multifunctional clitic, namely as an aspectual clitic (see example 1), and as a derivational morpheme (see example 2).

- (1). 1 個計劃結婚，1 個認真拍拖 *ing*

‘One of them is planning to get married; one is in a serious relationship.’

(Source: Forum hkgolden)

- (2). 金鐘 *ing*

‘Being in Admiralty/ I am coming from Admiralty /I am currently in Admiralty’.

(Source: Forum LIHKG)

Methodologically, data for the present study, about 300 tokens, were collected from a popular forum LIHKG in Hong Kong, and also from Tianya, a major Mainland China online forum for comparative purpose. It is found that in 81.25% of the LIHKG tokens, *-ing* is used as an imperfective clitic, either being encliticized or endoclititicized to its host; while 18.75% used to derive nouns into verbal expressions. However, in Tianya, *-ing* is only used as an imperfective enclitic; neither the derivational function nor the use as an imperfective endoclititic was found. It is also observed that the derivational function of *-ing* is being picked up by the young generation in Hong Kong as a template in their spoken Cantonese. The findings suggest that English *-ing* is more expressive in English/Cantonese than English/Mandarin texts. They also suggest different proficiency of English of people in Hong Kong and Mainland China.

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清儒語文學與現代漢語方言的互相詮釋一

以孔廣森古音理論為例

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摘要

中國古音學自清代開始有了系統化的研究，清儒提出的成果至今仍有重要的參考價值，是研究上古音的主要理論基礎。而清儒的上古音研究是建立在歸納古韻語韻腳以及形聲字聲符之上，他們建立了一套以古代漢籍文獻為研究範圍的古韻語條例，將古音分類；至二十世紀初，西方語言學引進國際音標之後，語言學家才將這些「類」擬測其音值。也就是說，清儒是基於「語文學」的視角來研究古音，雖然奠定了後來探討古音音值的基礎，但他們所採用的文獻，時代和地域的跨度並不是當時的學術進程可以釐清的。因此，清儒雖然歸納出諸多古音條例，但其成果難免有「扁平化」的疑慮。所謂「扁平化」，是筆者對這些古音條例的形容，意指這一套古音條例的適用範圍並不明確，只能概括地說，這是「上古音系統」，而上古必定也有方言的差異，如果從清儒的研究取材來說，文獻的時代與地域跨度也沒有明確的界定。

基於以上所述，本論文的研究主旨是：以孔廣森的古音學理論為例，將清儒的上古音研究成果立體化，界定其理論的適用範圍。研究問題是：一、清儒所建立的「語文學」和「漢語方言學」如何互相詮釋，以測試清儒所提出古音條例的適切性。二、誠如李榮對江永的「四等洪細說」界定時代與地域，清儒所提出的古音條例也會有時間與地域的限制，以孔廣森的古音學說為例，佐以現代漢語方言的研究成果，探討其古音條例的所指範圍。

論文取材以江永的《詩聲類》為範圍，加上晚近調查的現代漢語方言調查報告，及目前方興未艾並取得豐碩成果的漢語方言層次研究為輔。研究方法以方言文獻歸納與文獻比較為主，並運用語言的演變規律，探討孔廣森上古音理論的時間地理範圍。論文的預期成果是：釐清孔廣森提出的古音學理論與現代漢語方言相符與否，在地理及時代分佈趨勢的情況。而與孔廣森古音學理論相符或不相符的方言，目前所呈現的現象是新變的或是存古的。藉由既有的方言層次研究成果，印證這些符合及不符合孔廣森古音理論的方言面貌，究竟經歷了哪些演變歷程。藉此研究，試圖開啟清儒基於文獻歸納的「語文學」與現代語言學及方言學互相詮釋的窗口，進一步窺得古音學家所建構的上古音系之堂奧。

Keywords: 上古音 漢語方言 清代古音學 孔廣森

Arthur Cooper 漢字研究綜述

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Arthur Cooper (1916-1988) 的論著，以中國古典詩歌之英譯，尤其為人熟悉。至於其所作漢字研究，則較為人忽略。有見及此，本文將為 Cooper 漢字研究之觀點作一討論。

有關漢字性質，Cooper 相信“logographic”會比“ideographic”較貼切，但他不認為拼音文字就完全沒有“ideographic”的成份，只是程度多寡之別。漢字的性質導致其解讀需要兩個過程：先通過思考引起“derivations”或“metaphor”，然後再由“context”加以制約。Cooper 進一步解釋時，分別以文學角度，比較漢字與意象的共通點；又以哲學角度，援引《孟子》二則，說明漢字之性質及其“brevity”的特點，何以有助思想家透過“derivations”闡述個人哲學理念；以讀者角度言，則體現漢語的語法是“inherent”的，講求“transferred in one’s mind from one’s own language”，大有後來興起漢字為意合文字說（陳遠止、麥淑儀，2007）之意味。Cooper 又提出注意漢語韻律能有助解讀意合性文字，然而筆者認為意合問題，不是單靠注意韻律能夠解決。綜合所理解之漢字性質，Cooper 認為漢字的優點在於認讀上歷久不衰，但要探求本義則不容易，而漢字書寫系統，亦影響中國人的思考模式，較為傾向保守，不利科學發展。

與同時代西方學者相較，他們不少論及漢字的形體，均遵從“六書”說（Wieger, 1965; McNaughton, 1979）。Cooper 則把造字方法歸納成三種，而其中“phonetic compound”一項，Cooper 沒有同意以往主流研究視“聲符”為表音的看法，以“word associator”稱“意符”以外的偏旁，更強調其“had a meaning”的角色；另，有學人固守西方文字發展階段說（Taylor, 1883; Gelb, 1963），是以支持各種漢字改革，包括羅馬化（DeFrancis, 1950）。Cooper 則較為客觀，指出這些改革如何與漢字之性質相違，而更值得注意的是，Cooper 所提出的衡量標準：“thought”、“communication”，顧及了語言在“precision”與“creative thought”方面的需要，同時與其文字、文哲共治一爐的研究方法一致。有關漢字的學習問題，學界不少意見認為漢字“難讀、難認、難記”，Cooper 則提出漢字較拼音文字容易學習的理由。

Cooper 的研究方法，將語言、文學、哲學的情況一併考慮，與中國“文史哲不分”的學術傳統一致，因而間或得出新見，實有斟酌採納的空間。Cooper 的研究進路，相信能為後人借鑒，就漢字、漢語應用之各種現象，作更全面、深入的探討。

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To split or not to split: What foreign names reveal about the commonalities and differences in the Cantonese and Mandarin transliteration strategies

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Cantonese and Mandarin speakers habitually provide characters in written Chinese for names of non-Asian celebrities and public figures, particularly in news reporting, the entertainment business, sports, among other areas. It is quite common for the same foreign name to be written differently in the diverse printed media, as in the name David Beckham (碧咸 vs. 貝克漢姆) or Novak Djokovic 迪祖高域 or 祖高域 vs. 喬科維奇 vs. 小德). The present survey-based study investigates the phonetic vs. non-phonetic tactics adopted by Cantonese and Mandarin speakers (and translators) in transliterating foreign names. Previous studies on loanwords and name translation (e.g., Hsieh, et al., 2009; Wiebusch and Tadmor, 2009; Wang, 2012; Li, 2017) have demonstrated that speakers and translators adopt various methods, resorting to sound-based transliteration, meaning-based translation, as well as both transliteration and free translation. Li (2017), for instance, shows that phonetic stress in the source language (like English) may correspond to particular tones of the Chinese characters chosen. However, the extent to which spelling may impact the choice of characters in the target names is so far understudied.

This study aims to explore the effects of spelling vs. phonetics of the source names on the adoption of the written Chinese versions. Forty informants (namely 20 Cantonese and 20 Mandarin university students) were recruited to transliterate forty football players' names, grouped into five categories and chosen from three major European football leagues, i.e., Spanish La Liga, German Bundesliga, and English Premier League. To assess the effects of orthography, names with a silent <h> (as in *Hernandez* and *Wickham*), names containing the Spanish <j> (a velar fricative /x/, as in *Jimenez* and *Rojo*), Portuguese names ending in <-inho> (with <nh> pronounced as /ɲ/, as in *Paulinho* and *Fabinho*), and German names <Sch-> (pronounced as a voiceless palatal fricative as in *Schulz* and *Schmeichel*) were targeted.

It is found that a foreign name's spelling considerably influences the target name in written Chinese. Both groups of informants relied more on spelling than phonetics, and tended to transliterate a name by assuming that a non-English foreign name is read according to English pronunciation rules. Moreover, Mandarin speakers are more likely than the Cantonese counterparts to transliterate a name based on the source spelling. Another prominent finding is that Cantonese speakers adopt shorter names compared with Mandarin informants, possibly due to the differences in syllable structures between Cantonese and Mandarin. This finding coincides with Cantonese speakers' non-splitting strategy in dealing with the <Sch> sequence, particularly when this letter sequence is followed by a consonant letter. Overall, the study broadens our understanding of (non-)phonetic tactics adopted in transliteration. Spelling in the source names is arguably as indicative as phonetics in predicting the ultimate form of a foreign name in written Chinese.

Keywords: transliteration proper names Cantonese Mandarin spelling

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How to Verb-Double in Chinese

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Under the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 1995), the spell-out of multiple chain links may lead to repetition. If it can be shown that movement is at work, that may well be what's responsible for the doubling of verbs that we sometimes find in Chinese.

- (1) a. Lisi **qi-le** nei-pi ma {san ci / liang-ge xiaoshi} b. Lisi **qi** nei-pi ma **qi-le** {san ci / liang-ge xiaoshi}
 Lisi ride-PFV that-CL horse three time two-CL hour Lisi ride that-CL horse ride-PFV three time two-CL hour
 ‘Lisi rode the horse {three times / for two hours}.’ ‘Lisi rode the horse {three times / for two hours}.’

Indeed, that ingredient is present in Cheng's (2007) recent account of Chinese V-doubling: the V⁰ (e.g. *qi* ‘ride’) undergoes head movement, resulting in an X⁰-chain whose links are both spelt out. The fact that sometimes a V-doubling sentence freely alternates with its canonical counterpart, as seen just in (1), means that whatever it is that renders both links of a V⁰-chain distinct must not be obligatory. Cheng thus resorts to a fusion operation that's optional, and V-doubling obtains if fusion applies.

In this presentation, I'll pursue an alternative. Inspired by Hein (2018), I propose that Chinese V-doubling arises as a result of the relative timing of Chain Reduction (Nunes 2004) and Head Movement, both of which I consider to be postsyntactic operations. Importantly, there's a functional head F⁰ that bears the structure-building feature (e.g. [**•V₂•**], in Müller's system) that attracts VP in the syntax. After VP gets attracted to Spec-FP, the V-copy contained within the lower VP copy undergoes (postsyntactic) Head Movement to v⁰, followed by Chain Reduction that only targets XP-copies. There's no spell-out of multiple chain-links, but in the end, we yield V-doubling nevertheless.

- (2) a. Syntax: ... [FP [VP V ...] F [... [v ... [VP V ...]]]] (VP-fronting)
 b. Postsyntax: i. ... [FP [VP V ...] F [... [V+...+v ... [VP ...]]]] (Head Movement)
 ii. ... [[FP [VP V ...] F [... [V+...+v ... [~~VP ...~~]]]] (Chain Reduction)

Evidence from idioms and the presence of lexical identity effects support a movement approach. An idiomatic interpretation is available in (3), and although *kan shu* and *du shu* both mean ‘read’ and are thus synonymous, (4) is ungrammatical.

- (3) Lisi kai dao kai-le liu-ge xiaoshi (4) *Lisi {**du** shu **kan-le** / **kan** shu **du-le**} liu-ge xiaoshi
 Lisi open knife open-PFV six-CL hour Lisi read book read-PFV read book read-PFV six-CL hour
 ‘Lisi performed medical operations for six hours.’ Int.: ‘Lisi read for six hours.’

It's also been noted that the first V in a V-doubling sentence is somewhat ‘defective’, in the sense that it may take no aspectual marking (Huang 1982; see also Paul 2002). This follows, for we have bare VP-fronting in (2a).

- (5) a. Lisi (mei zhou) kai che kai san ci b. Lisi kai che kai-**le** san ci
 Lisi every week drive car drive three time Lisi drive car drive-PFV three time
 ‘Lisi drives three times (every week).’ ‘Lisi drove three times.’
 c. *Lisi kai-**le** che kai san ci d. *Lisi kai-**le** che kai-**le** san ci

Now, notice that the first V may (further) front together with its following object(s).

- (6) [**qi** nei-pi ma]₁, Lisi ₁ qi-le {san ci / liang-ge xiaoshi}
 ride that-CL horse Lisi ride-PFV three time two-CL hour
 ‘Lisi rode the horse {three times / for two hours}.’

This is a surprise, since if V-doubling indeed involved the spell-out of multiple links of an X⁰-chain, the object immediately after the first V should sit in a Spec. (It's crucial that (6) involve movement. I'll elaborate on this in the presentation, if need be.)

Furthermore, the present account provides us with a handle on the previously unnoticed puzzle that FrPs/DrPs are obligatory in verb-doubling sentences, and only in verb-doubling sentences.

- (7) a. ^{OK}Zhangsan **qi-le** nei pi ma b. *Zhangsan **qi** nei-pi ma **qi-le**

Even in the face of (7a-b), I believe we can maintain that F⁰ (i.e. the functional head that introduces frequency/durative expressions) is always optional. As I shall demonstrate, the key to this puzzle lies in constraints on phrasal movement. This means that it's unclear how an analysis involving X⁰-movement may handle (7a-b), X⁰-movement being exempt from those constraints.

There're other ways of yielding V-doubling in the literature (e.g. Huang 1982, 1992; Paul 2002). Paul (2002) relies on a new category (i.e. Proxy⁰), which serves as some kind of placeholder that's to be substituted with a V-copy. The present account need not assume that Proxy⁰ exists. Huang (1982, 1992), on the other hand, essentially pursues a non-movement analysis, which treats the first verb and its following object(s) in a V-doubling sentence as a base-generated adjunct. Crucially, if we ignore that non-movement part of the analysis, the present proposal in fact comes closest in spirit to Huang's classic proposals.

In short, if we see Chinese V-doubling the way I suggest here, what we have is then an account where doubling simply comes free. Because this account involves no complication with chain resolution, chain resolution proceeds as usual. Moreover, we have V-copying only when the structure contains the [**•V₂•**]-bearing F⁰, and this obviates the need of an optional grammatical operation.

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A DP account for variation in classifier dependency in Cantonese and Mandarin

Chit Yu Lam

Bare nouns in Chinese often have generic reference (i.e. kind-referring) as in (1a), but there are two cases where they do not. The first instance is when they are proper names (PN) (1b); the other is when they are not proper names but still object-referring (1c). All three interpretations are possible in Mandarin, but the last meaning is disallowed in Cantonese. Such reading is only licensed by the presence of a classifier as exemplified below:

- | | | |
|---------------------|--|--|
| (1) Bare nouns as: | [Cantonese] | [Mandarin] |
| a. Generic | gau zungji sik juk
dog like eat meat
<i>Both meaning: 'Dogs love to eat meat.'</i> | gou ai chi rou
dog like eat meat |
| b. PNs | loubaan maai-zo gaa ce
boss buy-PFV CL car
<i>Both meaning: 'Boss bought a/the car.'</i> | laoban mai le liang che
boss buy PFV CL car |
| c. Object-referring | *(zek) gau soeng gwo maalou
CL dog want cross road
<i>Both meaning: 'The dog wants to cross the road'</i> | *(zhi) gou yao guo malu
CL dog want cross road |

The stricter dependency on classifiers in Cantonese also renders modifications of the noun by demonstratives (e.g. [DEM + N], [DEM + MOD-m + N] and [MOD-m + DEM + N])¹ unacceptable without the mediation of the classifier. But all three structures are acceptable in Mandarin.

To account for this observation, I propose that Mandarin DPs differ from those in Cantonese in having another type-shifter (τ) in D^0 in addition to the one in CL^0 . Normally, Mandarin NPs use the type-shifter in CL^0 , except when generating the reading in (1c), since in such case, there is no overt classifier to fill CL^0 and thus CL^{\max} is not projected following Bare Phrase Structure. With the type-shifter in D^0 absent, Cantonese nouns cannot produce the non-PN object-referring interpretation and cannot be directly modified by a demonstrative without the presence of a classifier. This proposal provides further support for (i) DP-hypothesis in Mandarin and Cantonese, (ii) the claim that Chinese bare nouns need type-shifting to occupy argument positions (Cheng and Sybesma 1999; Li and Bisang 2012 i.a., but c.f. Chierchia 1998), as well as (iii) the experimental finding that classifiers are more commonly used in Cantonese than Mandarin (Erbaugh 2002). Nevertheless, the explanation here better accounts for empirical facts in that the distribution of bare nouns and bare classifier phrases does not depend on definiteness, and better accommodates the presence of demonstratives and modifiers. Crucially, it shows that D^0 exists in Chinese nominals alongside CL^0 (contra the $CL^0 = D^0$ claim in Cheng and Sybesma 1999 i.a.).

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¹ Abbreviations: DEM = demonstrative; MOD-m = marker modifier

語調和聲調的交互作用導致粵語低降調句末助詞聲學表現的分歧

——粵語低邊界調的提出

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本文旨在從韻律學的角度提出對粵語低降調句末助詞面對語調和聲調的交互作用時在聲學表現上的分歧的一個合理詮釋。

本文以 aa4、zaa4、le4 和 lei4 為聲學實驗的測試對象，其中 aa4、zaa4 僅能用於疑問句，le4 僅能用於陳述句，lei4 則可用於疑問句（標作 lei4I）及陳述句（標作 lei4S）。三句五音節長的句子作句幹，配上上述句末助詞（共 5 個尺度），邀請 10 位粵語母語者在語境下朗讀。

聲學實驗結果如下：在句幹方面，各尺度的音高於絕大部分時間點上皆無顯著分別，顯示疑問語調沒有對粵語的句子構成全局音高提高，結果與 Xu & Mok (2011, 2012)、Wu (2013) 及 Zhang (2014) 相合。在句末助詞方面，在音節的前半時間，5 個尺度的音高皆無顯著分別。隨後，lei4I 的音高比其餘四者都高，且有顯著的差異。Zaa4、aa4 和 le4 的音高亦陸續與 lei4S 展現顯著差異。

總結實驗結果：

- 一、疑問語調沒有對粵語的句子構成全局音高提高；
- 二、在疑問語氣的句末助詞方面，lei4I 的語調明顯向上揚，但 aa4 和 zaa4 不但沒有向上揚，反而向下揚，音高甚至比陳述語氣的句末助詞 lei4S 還要低；
- 三、在陳述語氣的句末助詞方面，le4 的音高比 lei4S 要低；
- 四、Aa4、zaa4 和 le4 三者的音高相若。

本文再進行另一項對照實驗，結果顯示四個句末助詞與其（近）同音詞之 f0 無顯著分別。如此，在句末出現的句末助詞之音高出現分歧，不是源於某句末助詞之聲調本有內在地不同，而是緣於語調的疊加而與聲調產生交互作用。準此，本文從韻律音系學角度指出，此分歧乃源於粵語的低邊界調（L%）。本文的實驗結果反駁了前人對粵語 L% 的假設，包括韓維新（2013）認為 L% 只是表現陳述語氣、Sybesma & Li (2007) 認為除了 aa4 之外（aa4+L%），其他第四調助詞的聲調均來自 L%（如 le4=le+L%），說法與丁思志（2013）的相近。本文認為 L% 與句末助詞的第四調無關，能疊加於任何聲調的句末助詞之上，並進一步提出：粵語 L% 乃透過在一語調句子的右邊界（即最後一音節），音高朝向粵語韻律音系的最低點急劇下降，作為語調句子中最後一音節表現說話者主觀語調（隱含說話者主觀的態度和假定）的標記手段。

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蔡家話威寧方言調查報告

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蔡家人散居於貴州西北部一帶，被中國政府定性為未識別民族，在戶籍檔案中其族人多被歸為漢人、白族或仡佬族。此族的人口共計約兩至四萬，本族語言為蔡家話，惟現今僅有少部份人通曉，估計少於一千人，且以其為母語者壓倒性是年長的人士。蔡家話的方言有二：赫章方言及威寧方言。蔡家話的學術文獻有限，而且主要是圍繞赫章方言的。事實上，威寧方言是二零一三年方為語言學家所知，發現者為修至誠[Andrew Hsiu] (2013)。本人於去年及今年親赴威寧縣一帶調查該方言，探討威寧方言的使用範圍及人口，並記錄其詞彙及音系，亦簡單檢視了其主要的句法特徵。

威寧方言的使用範圍不大，主要集中於四個地方：赫章縣的興旺村李家溝以及威寧縣的牛吃水村、牛角井村省德開、興隆廠村熊家溝。當中，李家溝和牛吃水村的使用者相對較多，各有二十餘人，多為中老年人。

兩種方言俱主要倚靠詞序和虛詞來表示各種語法範疇，黏著語素不豐富，偏向是分析語。此外，兩者的基本語序均是主動賓(SVO)，定語多置於名詞短語前，惟量詞或數量短語置於名詞短語後。

威寧方言和赫章方言的音系的差異有幾。首先，赫章方言的-an 對應威寧方言的-aŋ，如詞項「心」：赫[san³³]-威[san³³]；威寧方言並無-an 韻母。另外，兩種方言的齶顎塞擦音 tɕ-與 tɕ^h-與韻母的搭配有所不同，它們在威寧方言中可與舌尖元音組成音節，但赫章方言則不容許。

前人(薄文澤, 2004; 貴州省民族識別工作隊語言組, 1982; 鄭張尚芳, 2010; Sagart, 2011) 察覺到蔡家話擁有為數不少的非官話漢語詞，然而，目前學術界對於它們的性質(屬固有詞抑或借詞)未有定論；亦因為這個緣故，蔡家話的系屬問題也同樣未有共識。本人記錄了過百個前人未記錄過的蔡家話詞彙，包括踢[t^heɪ⁵⁵]、雙[ɕoŋ³³]、窗[tɕ^hoŋ³³]、臭[tɕ^ho³³]等等，並正在加以分析，冀能為上述兩個課題找到答案。

本人於去年獲得語言學會的學生田調資助，今年須就田調結果作匯報。

Background. A broad theme of this study is to investigate how the speaker’s knowledge is encoded in natural languages. In addition to the widely studied area of (epistemic) modal auxiliaries, studies reveal that a family of indefinites systematically encodes speakers’ ignorance (or failure of identification) (a.k.a. *epistemic indefinites*, following Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2015).

Proposal. (i) The negated predicate *m-zi* ‘not-know’ in Cantonese develops into an epistemic marker that simultaneously serves as an overt binder of a *wh*-indefinite (Kuroda 1965, Cheng 1991). Precisely, a *m-zi-wh* string denotes a specific indefinite encoding the speaker’s ignorance. (ii) *M-zi wh* represents a special member in the family of epistemic indefinites that contrasts with Spanish *algún* w.r.t. the anti-singleton constraint (Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2010), and with French *un ... quelcoque* ‘a(n) ... or other’ w.r.t. free choice interpretation (Jayez & Tovená 2006).

Argument for (i). In (1a), *m-zi* non-canonically appears in a post-verbal but pre-nominal position, one that is unavailable to any other predicates. (1b) suggests that the *m-zi* forms a constituent with the following *wh*-element, as it can be substituted by a ‘one-CL-NP’ nominal. Crucially, (1a), unlike (1b), *cannot* be felicitously continued by a follow-up utterance that encodes speaker’s knowledge, as in (2a) and (b), a characteristic

- (1) a. Aaming taai-zo **m-zi** bin-bun-shu b. Aaming taai-zo jat-bun-shu
 Aaming read-PERF not-know which-CL-book Aaming read-PERF one-CL-book
 (Lit.) ‘Aaming read not-know which book.’ ‘Aaming read one book.’
 (2) a. zikhai Hunglaumung b. gu-haa hai bin-bun
 namely Dream.of.the.red.chamber guess be which-CL
 ‘Namely, Dream of the Red Chamber.’ ‘Guess which book it is.’

Argument for (ii). (3) shows that the domain of quantification of *m-zi* can be a singleton set, as indicated by *zeoi* ‘most’ in the relative clause. It further suggests that the referent, while being unique, cannot be identified in a *relevant* way (i.e. only the property but not the title of the book is identified, cf. Aloni & Port 2015). Despite a unique referent, (4) suggests it is not a definite nominal, or (4) would be contradictory (cf. Dawson 2018). The second conjunct also indicates that *m-zi wh* does not interact with negation and enjoy mandatory wide scope. (5a) suggests that a *m-zi wh* nominal is compatible with episodic contexts, unlike a free choice item *jamho* ‘any’ in (5b). As such, a *m-zi wh* nominal is best characterized as a specific version of English *a certain* NP that requires the speaker’s failure of identification of the referent in a discourse-relevant way.

- (3) Aaming maai-zo **m-zi** bin-bun cyun syudim zeoi gui ge syu
 Aaming buy-PERF not-know which-CL whole bookstore most expensive GE book
 (Lit.) ‘Aaming bought not-know which book that is the most expensive one in the bookstore.’
 (4) Aaming tai-zo **m-zi** bin-bun-syu, daan mou-tai **m-zi** bin-bun-syu
 Aaming read-PERF not-know which-CL-book, but not.have-read not-know which-CL-book
 (Lit.) ‘Aaming read not-know which book, but did not read not-know which book.’
 (5) a. Aaming camjat maai-zo **m-zi** bin-bun-syu me b. *Aaming camjat maai-zo jamho jat-bun-syu me
 Aaming yesterday buy-PERF not-know which-CL-book Q Aaming yesterday buy-PERF any one-CL-book Q
 (Lit.) ‘Did Aaming buy not-know which book yesterday?’ ‘Did Aaming buy any book yesterday?’
 ≈ ‘Did Aaming buy a book that is unknown to me yesterday?’

Discussion. *M-zi* appears to be an overt counterpart of a choice function (Kratzer 1998, Reinhart 1998, i.a.) that binds a *wh*-element, playing a role similar to other possible binders such as *dou* ‘all’ and *mou* ‘not.have’. The current study highlighted a less-discussed interpretation of *wh*-elements in Chinese. Also, (6) shows that *m-zi* can also combine with a *wh*-adverbial, which usually gives rise to an emotional colouring of exaggeration instead of ignorance. Such colouring follows from a specific indefinite analysis in the sense that *m-zi-gei* suggests there exists a specific degree s.t. Aaming runs as fast as that degree. Since degree is a scalar notion, the speaker implies with an unidentified degree that it is beyond his/her imagination, hence exaggeration.

- (6) Aaming pao-dak **m-zi-gei** faai
 Aaming run-RESULT M-ZI-how fast
 ‘Aaming runs VERY fast (I don’t know how fast).’

美壩白語的完整體

李焯

摘要：體，本文也稱之為體貌，是動詞最重要的語法範疇之一。類型學的研究有利於揭示體貌範疇的跨語言共性和類型差異。本文結合體貌類型學研究成果，分析了美壩白語的完整體標記及相關語言現象。美壩白語中存在用語法手段表達的完整體範疇：在動詞後加體標記 $xu55$ 。 $xu55$ 的核心功能是標記謂語的有界性，是跨語言研究中完整體的鑒定特徵。此外，美壩白語中有一個常和完整體共現的語氣詞 $lɔ42$ 。 $lɔ42$ 的基本功能是標記句子的焦點，強調現時相關性，但是，由於常常和完整體共現，也發展出了類似完整體的功能，並且出現在沒有完整體標記的語境中，表達完整體的引申義：狀態變化或過去時。就語言個性來看，由於白語是一個形態不發達的語言，語法標記的強制性不如有形態的語言，表達謂語的完整性可以用完整體標記 $xu55$ ，也可以用 $xu55$ 之外的詞彙手段表達，最常見的是在動詞後加趨向補語。當完整體標記 $xu55$ 或表完整性的趨向詞和語氣詞 $lɔ42$ 共現時，會發生合音： $xu55 lɔ42 \rightarrow xɔ55$ ， $iu35 lɔ42 \rightarrow jɔ35$ ， $\eta\epsilon21 lɔ42 \rightarrow \etaɔ21$ ， $tsɿ21 lɔ42 \rightarrow tsɔ21$ ， $tsu35 lɔ42 \rightarrow tsɔ35$ ，它們的合音形式在分佈和功能上都有別於已有的完整體標記、也有別於語氣詞 $lɔ42$ ，是美壩白語中新發展出的完整體標記。

关键词：白語；完整體；體標記；語氣詞；合音

Hong Kong Linguistics Olympiad: A Brief Introduction

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The Polytechnic University of Hong Kong**

The International Linguistics Olympiad (IOL) is one of the 13 sanctioned international Scientific Olympiads, just like the Mathematical Olympiad or the Informatics Olympiad. These Olympiads allow secondary school students to explore their interests and prove their excellence in an academic area through national and international competition. In addition, they can also earn credentials that are recognized by university admissions to facilitate their future academic careers. Linguistics Olympiads challenge participants to solve real-life data analytic puzzles in a ‘language’ that they do not know. These puzzles focus on the skills and challenge to construct structure and discover new information from a data set and limited clues. In the process, participants learn more about diversity of the world’s languages in terms of various aspects of form and meaning and improve their text based data analytical skills, especially in terms of positing hypothesis with limited data and good logical induction. It also offers a rare and effective venue to introduce linguistics and language sciences to high school students.

The Hong Kong Linguistics Olympiad (HKLO) was founded and officially sanctioned by IOL in 2018. Initiated and supported by the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, it is co-sponsored by LSHK and HKAH, and endorsed by SCOLAR. Organized volunteers, HKLO training started in 2018 and in 2019 held the first HKLO competition. Hong Kong participated and medaled in The First Asian Pacific Linguistics Olympiad (APLO) and successfully sent two teams to The Seventeenth International Linguistics Olympiad in 2019. A featured article on linguistics and Linguistic Olympiad are published biweekly in Wen Wei Po starting in 2019 with the support of the HKLO team. In this presentation, we will briefly introduce the history and development of HKLO as well as a couple of sample Linguistics Olympiad test questions.

Related Websites:

The International Linguistics Olympiad (IOL): <https://www.ioling.org/>

The Hong Kong Linguistics Olympiad (HKLO) <https://polyu.hk/amuVS>

HKLO Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/Hong-Kong-Linguistics-Olympiad-HKLO-763434627350476/>

HKLO 2019 test paper: <https://urlzs.com/HKdgY>

A systematic review of research in Hong Kong Language Policy from 1995 to 2019

Yuk Sai Nam

A scientometric review of existing research on Hong Kong language policy identifies a growing momentum in the number of articles written in the field, which may have been prompted by the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty from Britain to China in 1997, after which the Hong Kong government adopted the 'biliteracy and trilingualism' language policy. Such research is also found to focus mainly on the education sector, including the controversial policy of the medium of instruction.

This paper uses Citespace, a scientometric analysis tool, to systematically review the research of Hong Kong language policy based on data consisting of 352 articles from 1977 to 2019 retrieved from Web of Science. Co-citation revealed that the evolution of the knowledge domain was closely related to the interaction among eleven major specialties, i.e. transitional Hong Kong, students' perception, teacher education and others. The top three specialties were examined in detail by investigating their corresponding intellectual base and research fronts. The prolific authors who helped connect the networks together were identified. As the first scientometric review in the field of Hong Kong language policy, this study presents several implications for policy makers and researchers.

Mandarin focus marking, exhaustivity and the exhaustive marker *shi*

REN, Jia UCL & CUHK

Particle *shi* has two major functions in Mandarin, namely serving as a copula or a focus particle. This paper mainly concerns the second use of *shi*. Focus particle *shi* has been discussed by many scholars. Recent works on this topic include Cheng (2008), Paul & Whitman (2008), Cheung (2014), Pan (2014) and Erlewine (2015), etc. It is generally agreed that under the focus particle use, *shi* is focus sensitive, with its meaning depending on the placement of focus. The source of the focus reading associated with *shi*, the semantics of *shi* and the categorial status of *shi* remain debatable. This paper tries to contribute to the discussion through introducing two related groups of data, namely the use of focus particle *shi* in Mandarin *wh*-fronting and sluicing-like constructions. The two constructions both concern focus marking in Mandarin.

Hoh & Chiang (1990) and Cheung (2014) propose that Mandarin *wh*-fronting involves contrastive focus marking, with fronted *wh*-interrogatives occupying contrastive focus positions. Wang & Wu (2006) and Murphy (2014) propose that Mandarin sluicing-like constructions involve focus marking as defined in Merchant (2001), with *wh*-interrogatives occupying focus positions. Previous works on Mandarin *wh*-fronting and sluicing-like constructions treat the existence of focus particle *shi* in these two constructions as optional. In this paper we show that fronted *wh*-interrogatives and *wh*-interrogatives at the sluicing sites with or without preceding focus particle *shi* have different semantic interpretations. Exhaustive reading of the *wh*-interrogatives is observed only when the focus particle *shi* is present.

Based on the observation, the paper proposes the following analysis to focus particle *shi*. It is argued that focus particle *shi* observed in *wh*-fronting and sluicing-like constructions should be given a uniform analysis as sentence-initial and preverbal focus particle *shi*. Syntactically, focus particle *shi* is not a copula, but a focus sensitive adverb as only *zhi*. It can freely adjoin to *vP* or *IP*. Contrary to Cheung (2014) and Wang & Wu (2006), the existence of multiple focus associates and some other evidence show that focus particle *shi* does not head a functional projection at the left periphery. The presence of focus particle *shi* is optional, depending on the existence of an exhaustive reading to *wh*-interrogatives or focused constituents.

The paper argues that focus particle *shi* has an exhaustive semantics which is similar to only *zhi*, but they differ in their presuppositions and levels of interpretation. Mandarin focus adverb *shi* has a cleft semantics with an inquiry terminating function, as defined in Velleman et al. (2012). The paper also proposes that Mandarin focus particle *shi* should be treated differently from English *it*-cleft. The two are different in several aspects. English *it*-cleft and Mandarin focus particle *shi* differ in their syntactic structures, with focus particle *shi* enjoying a more flexible distribution. The two constructions also differ in their relations to prosodic focus marking. English *it*-cleft is independent of prosodic focus marking, while for Mandarin focus particle *shi*, its relations with prosodic focus marking depend on the syntactic positions of the focused constituents associated with focus particle *shi*.

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The ‘fuzzy’ classifier in Longdu (Zhongshan Min)

Joanna Ut-Seong Sio and Frantisek Kratochvil

Longdu is one of the three Zhongshan Min variants (Gao 2000). Zhongshan Min belongs to Northeastern Min (Bodman (1982, 1985) and is spoken in a dialect enclave in Zhongshan County, Guangdong Province. In Longdu, there is a classifier that can be used for both bounded objects (e.g., apples) and unbounded objects (e.g., water), similar to the Cantonese *di1*. We refer to it as the ‘fuzzy’ classifier. Unlike regular classifiers, which pose a selectional relation on the noun based on shape, size, function, etc., the fuzzy classifier is compatible with all objects. When used with bounded objects, it expresses plurality; when used with unbounded objects, it denotes an uncertain amount. This ‘fuzzy’ classifier has two forms, depending on whether the phrase is definite or indefinite.

- (1) $w\alpha^{13}$ $k^{h\alpha 55}$ $m\epsilon^{13}$ $n\epsilon i^{11}$ $p^{h\eta\eta 31}g\omega\alpha^{13}$ / $n\epsilon i^{11}$ $\widehat{t\jmath\alpha i}^{13}$
 1SG go buy CL_{fuzzy-indef} apple CL_{fuzzy-indef} water
 ‘I go buy some apples/water.’
- (2) α^{55} $p^{h\eta\eta 31}g\omega\alpha^{13}$ / a^{55} $\widehat{t\jmath\alpha i}^{13}$ $h\alpha^{55}$ $h\alpha^{13}$ $m\alpha^{31}$
 CL_{fuzzy-def} apple CL_{fuzzy-def} water very good taste
 ‘The apples/water are/is very tasty.’

When preceded by a bare modifier, including possessives, locatives, relative clauses, etc., only the definite fuzzy classifier can be used; when preceded by the numeral ‘one’ or ‘have’ in existential sentences, only the indefinite form can be used. When a demonstrative is present, either the definite or the indefinite form of the fuzzy classifier can be used. This is consistent with the claim in Sio (2006, 2008) based on Cantonese, Mandarin and Wenzhou data.

In Cantonese, reduplication of the classifier gives rise to universal quantification. The same applies to Longdu, except that in Longdu, the ‘fuzzy’ classifier can also reduplicate, but only the indefinite version:

- (3) $n\epsilon i^{11}$ $n\epsilon i^{11}$ $p^{h\eta\eta 31}g\omega\alpha^{13}$
 CL_{fuzzy-indef} CL_{fuzzy-indef} apples
 ‘all the apples’

The definite and indefinite fuzzy classifiers also differ in that the noun can be elided only after the indefinite fuzzy classifier but not the definite one.

- (4) $\widehat{ts\alpha i}^{13}$ $n\epsilon i^{11}$ $s\alpha^{33}$ α^{55} $man^{11}\eta\jmath\epsilon^{13}$ ϵ^{11}
 this CL_{fuzzy-indef} be CL what SFP
 ‘What are these things?’

To account for the data, we argue that the definite fuzzy classifier is directly inserted in D and the indefinite fuzzy classifier stays at the classifier head. The indefinite classifier is a unit marker, Cl_{-u}, in the sense of Cheng (2012) and thus it can reduplicate.

**Computerized tests for vocabulary knowledge in Cantonese and Hong Kong Sign Language
for children under the age of three
Felix Y.B. Sze, Kloris Lau and David Lam
The Chinese University of Hong Kong**

This paper presents two computerized vocabulary tests in Cantonese and Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL) for children between 18 and 30 months old developed in our ongoing project that documents the bimodal bilingual vocabulary development of a group of hearing toddlers who are learning HKSL as a second language in a baby crèche setting.

There is sporadic evidence in the literature that sign language learning can enhance the speech development of hearing children at a pre-school age, no matter whether they are learning signs as the first or second language (Orlansky & Bonvillian 1985; Daniels 1994). Our project aims at investigating the bilingual vocabulary development of a group of hearing toddlers (18 to 30 months old) who are learning signs as a second language in a baby crèche. To do so, we have developed two computerized tests using the touch-screen technology (Friend & Keplinger 2003). In the tests, these children would hear/see the target spoken/signed word, and two pictures would show up on the computer screen. They are then asked to touch the correct one on the screen. Friend & Keplinger (2003) suggested that this methodology works well with kids as young as 16 months.

In this presentation, we will present how we developed the two tests and the preliminary findings. So far about 80 hearing children (of hearing parents) with sign language exposure in a baby crèche setting and 200 hearing non-signing children as the control group have participated in the tests. Preliminary observations show that the bimodal bilingual children's Cantonese vocabulary show a slightly stronger positive correlation with age (when compared to the non-signing children, suggesting that learning of HKSL not only does not impede, but may have also enhanced the former's Cantonese development. These bimodal bilingual children generally perform better in Cantonese than in HKSL and their sign language knowledge mildly correlated with their Cantonese scores as well. The test format is found to be feasible for at least half of these children under the age of 24 months, as evident in their high percentage (80% or above) of response consistency in the test validation phase. Our preliminary findings are not yet conclusive, however, given that the non-signing children are mostly raised in their home environment. Baby crèches are rare in Hong Kong, thus creating difficulties in recruiting control subjects with similar language environments. One way to overcome this limitation is to expand the control group, and plans are underway to recruit more hearing non-signing children for the Cantonese test.

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**Adaptation and development of sign language assessment tools
for hearing and deaf children in Hong Kong**

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Studies in bilingualism in spoken languages suggest that acquiring two or more languages can lead to cognitive benefits and better metalinguistic awareness in children. Whether bilingualism involving a spoken and a sign language, i.e., bimodal bilingualism, can have the same positive impact remains unknown. In order to address this research issue, we need reliable sign language assessment tools to find out how a child's sign language knowledge correlates with variables such as performance in cognitive tests, spoken language development, etc. Nonetheless, there are no such available sign language assessment tools in Hong Kong Sign Language yet. This presentation discusses our recent efforts in developing the Hong Kong Sign Language Repetition Test (adult version and a shortened version for children), and the adaptation of three sign language assessment tools of British Sign Language (BSL) into Hong Kong Sign Language, including a receptive skills test focusing mostly on morphosyntax, a narrative test targeting at discourse structure and various grammatical expressions and a web-based vocabulary test. For the Hong Kong Sign Language Sentence Repetition Test, our discussion will be focused on how we evaluate the difficulty levels of individual sentence items in the adult version to select the items for the child's version. For the adaptation of the three BSL assessment tools, we will highlight how we modify the original items to match with the grammatical structures in Hong Kong Sign Language.

Semantics of the deictic motion expression and its effect on the telicity of directional verb constructions in Mandarin

Mimi Tian

Deictic motion expressions *-lai* “towards the sphere of interest of the speaker” and *-qu* “towards a place that is not in the sphere of interest of the speaker” can occur in three-part (1) and two-part (2) Directional Verb Constructions (DVC) in Mandarin Chinese. Other parts in these constructions are expressions denoting a manner of motion, e.g. *zǒu* “walk” in (1), and expressions denoting a path, e.g. *jìn* “enter” in (1) (Bisang 1992).

three-part

(1)	<i>zǒu</i>	<i>jìn</i>	<i>lái/qu</i>	I+II+III
	walk	enter	LAI/QU	

two-part

(2)	a. <i>jìn</i>	<i>-lai/qu</i>	II+III
	enter	LAI/QU	
	b. <i>zǒu</i>	<i>-lái/qu</i>	I+III
	run	LAI/QU	

Though these constructions all contain a deictic expression, they show differences in syntactic combinatory possibilities and in intonation. As shown in Table 1, the two-part expression *zǒu lái* “walk-LAI” can occur after *xiàng wǒ* “towards me” but cannot occur before a measure expression *liǎngmǐ* “two meters”. The two-part expression *guò lái* is in complementary distribution concerning these contexts. From these data, I+III seems to be an atelic expression while II+III is telic. The three-part expression is maximally flexible and can occur in both contexts. There are also variations in whether *lái* occurs in the neutral tone or in the full tone. This talk tackles the problem of how the lexical meaning of *-lai* remains consistent and facilitates the difference in telicity of two constructions containing it.

		<i>xiàng wǒ</i> + “towards me”	<i>+ liǎng mǐ</i> “two meters”	tone on <i>lái</i>
I+III	<i>zǒu lái</i>	✓	✗	full
II+III	<i>guò lái</i>	✗	✓	neutral
I+II+III	<i>zǒu guò lái</i>	✓	✓	?

Table 1 two-part and three-part DVCs

The view on boundedness in the spatial domain by Zwart (2005) is adopted. The distinguishing property is cumulativity according to him: unbounded paths are cumulative, bounded paths are not. As the deictic expression is goal-oriented, it fills one argument slot of the path expression, which would otherwise require a location expression. It will be also shown that the deictic path itself is cumulative and its combination with a manner-of-motion expression can thus result in an atelic expression. This research explores the diversity of the phenomena and illustrates how different levels of the grammatical system are integrated in the sentence meaning composition process.

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陳衛強(2011)報道了從化粵語中表示動作方式的動後虛成分“取[ts^hu³⁵]”，如“條魚蒸取乜就煎取？（這條魚是蒸還是煎？）”，并指出了“取”的一些句法分布特徵，但尚未對此方式標記功能的形成提出解釋。經筆者調查，發現除了從化之外，廣東境內的肇慶（端州區）、廣寧和懷集（下坊話）的方言都有這種動後助詞表示方式義的用法，而且這些地方的“方式助詞”詞匯來源并不相同，但共同點是都能用作某個體範疇的標記，例如：

肇慶（端州）“啱[tu⁵⁵ 陰平]”：

完整體標記：我琴日落啱廣州。（我昨天去廣州了。）

持續體標記：你坐啱等我。（你坐著等我。）

方式助詞：條魚蒸啱還係煎啱？（那條魚蒸著吃還是煎著吃？）

廣寧“到[tou⁵⁵ 陰上]”：

動相補語：我娶到□[e⁵⁵]_{T1}本書。（我買到了那本書。）

持續體標記：老師搵到本書。（老師拿著一本書。）

方式助詞：呢條魚煎到都係蒸到？（這條魚煎還是蒸？）

懷集（下坊話）“緊[ken⁵⁵ 陰上]”：

進行體標記：佢望緊電視。（他正在看電視。）

持續體標記：老師□[nəŋ³³]_拿緊本書。（老師拿著一本書。）

方式助詞：鵝要爛緊正好吃。（鵝要爛才好吃。）

這種方式助詞用法廣泛見于廣西地區的壯語及漢語方言，本文調查則顯示，在粵西地區的粵語也存在這種方式助詞用法，而且其詞匯來源與廣西地區漢語方言的持拿義動詞（“取”“拿”）或虛義動詞（“做”“要”）不同，可能來自于持續體標記在表方式義的連動式（“V1+著+V2”）中的進一步語法化。廣東肇慶等地粵語的方式助詞的發展過程與已有研究構擬的兩條語法化路徑：“持拿義動詞>工具介詞>方式助詞”（黃陽、郭必之 2011）和壯侗語中連動式“V1+V2_{get}”中表“得到”義的V2的重新分析（覃東生、覃鳳餘 2018）均不相同，還需進一步解釋。

另外，方式助詞的句法和語義性質也很值得探討。這些方言點的方式助詞有一些共同的語法特點：（1）“V+方式助詞”之後不能再出現賓語，動詞的賓語必須提前到句首；（2）“V+方式助詞”排斥被動句，從化粵語的“V取”不能被動化，而肇慶粵語的“V啱”雖然可以被動化，其語義解讀發生變化，不表示方式而表示動作完成；（3）“NP+V+方式助詞”變換為關係子句受限；（4）“V+方式助詞”結構式多出現于非現實句中，但有的方言也允許用于表示過去事件的陳述句（從化粵語）。這些語法性質與中動結構(middle construction)有一定的相似之處，但也存在不同。另外，從語義上看，能進入“NP+V+方式助詞”結構的動詞與名詞之間存在一定的“構式效應”，如“魚”等食物名詞和“蒸”等烹飪動詞之間可自由進入這個格式，但“電視”和“瞓”之間就不存在這種關係，因而不能說“*電視我鐘意瞓啱（欲表達：“電視我喜歡躺著看”）”。

Genericity and generic NPs in Mandarin and English

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Numerous studies have been done on genericity. The difference of the generic NPs between English and Chinese, however, has never been answered. Empirically, English abounds in generic *a/an*-NP and Mandarin prefers generic bare NPs, as illustrated by (1-2)-(3-4), where the correspondence in Mandarin is sentences a instead of b, where a sentence with a generic “*yi*-CL-NP” (one-CL) normally is unacceptable in Mandarin.

English

- (1) An Italian is usually short. (Chierchia, 1995)
(2) A cat usually chases a mouse. (as above)

Mandarin

- (3) a. 意大利人通常比较矮小。
b.*一个意大利人通常比较矮小。
(4) a. 猫通常追逐老鼠。
b.*一只猫通常追逐老鼠。

A generic indefinite NP to some extent however is also available in Mandarin under two conditions: (1) pair-matching sentences, as in (5); and the predicate denotes a property true of every potential member of the subject set (inherent property), as in (6).

- (5) 一张床睡两个人
one CL bed sleep two CL people
One bed is crowded with two people.

- (6) 一个男人就该勇敢。
one CL man ought brave
A man ought to be brave.

Furthermore, this paper will disclose the distinction on genericity between English and Chinese, which can be summarized as follows:

English: *a/an*-NP + simple present tense (past) + AdvQ + i-level Pred
a/*a*-NP + simple present tense (past) + i-level Pred (inherent property)
bare NP+ simple present tense (past) + i-level Pred

Chinese: bare NP + i-level P

yi-CL-NP + AdvQ + i-level Pred (inherent property)

Following Chierchia (1995) that i-level predicates with a [+Q] (generic) feature inherently cannot stand on their own and need to be operated on by Gen, paralleling with the negative polarity items, I would like to assume further that the above distinction on genericity between English and Mandarin is due to different options being adopted by English and Mandarin to accommodate the Gen operator. Cross-linguistically, genericity is marked by explicit aspectual morphemes in some languages, such as Czech and Slovak (Filip 1994, Filip and Carlson 1997, Dahl 1995), which allows us to assume that all languages have distinctive habitual morphemes (say, Hab) which can take diverse overt realizations. In English it is the simple present tense which is aspectually imperfective that has a predominant habitual interpretation and plays a big role in accommodation of Gen. Differing from English, Chinese is a tenseless language and has no inflectional morpheme to mark the habitual aspect, lexical items, such as bare NPs with kinds denoting and dverbial quantifiers, thus are the best choices to accommodate the Gen.

粵語易位句的韻律句法研究

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粵語易位句的兩個句法問題：易位句 (right dislocation) 指表面語序上，句子某個成分「後置」到句末，使原應出現在句子末尾的句末助詞出現在句子中間。如 (1)。

(1) 兩個鐘頭喇佢走咗。(兩個小時了他走了。) (Cheung 2009:198)

第一，如何推導出句末助詞的句中位置？這引發出易位句是一個小句（如 Cheung 2009 的移位方案）還是兩個小句（如史有為 1992 的重複刪略方案）的討論。

(2) a. 移位方案（一個小句） b. 重複刪略方案（兩個小句）

[_{CP} 兩個鐘頭[喇[佢走咗] t]]] [_{CP} 佢走咗兩個鐘頭喇][_{CP} 佢走咗兩個鐘頭喇]

第二，為何粵語易位句需要句末助詞出現？本文發現，沒有句末助詞的易位句並不能說，需要加上句末助詞，如 (3)。具體而言，句法位置較高（CP 或以上）的外助詞能使易位句變得自然，句法位置較低的（TP 或以下）的內助詞則不能，如 (4)。

(3) 唔嚟* (囉) 佢。(不來嘛他。) (4) 食先* (啊) 佢。(先吃啊他。)

論點：本文藉由語音實驗提供的韻律證據，論證粵語易位句只有一個小句，而句末助詞要求是句法－韻律互動的結果。

語音實驗：實驗句子包括兩組對立：[1] 易位句 vs. 順序句（一個小句）vs. 順序句（兩個小句）；[2] 句末助詞 vs. 句調。[1]的結果是易位句整句呈現整體降勢音高，「後置」成分沒有明顯的音高重置，與順序句（一個小句）相若，而與順序句（兩個小句）相異。這不但顯示了易位句是一個語調組 (intonational phrase)，並支持易位句是一個小句。[2]的結果是句調無法出現在易位句中。例如，發音人根本不能讀出把疑問句調 H% 放在句中的句子。粵語句調是邊界調 (boundary tones, Xu & Mok 2011)，須出現在語調組的右邊界。易位句是一個語調組，因此句調不能出現在句中（非邊界）位置。

方案：本文提出易位句句法上是一個小句，韻律上是一個語調組，韻律與句法對齊（參馮勝利 2015 的「一句一調」假設）。因此，本文採納移位方案：

(5) [_{FocP} YP [_{CP} 外助詞 [_{TP} XP t_{YP}]]] (一個小句)
()% (一個語調組)

假設 C 必須實現為句調或句末助詞（馮勝利 2015）。由於邊界調不可能實現在句中，因此易位句的 C 必須實現為句末助詞，從而推導出易位句的句末助詞要求。

(6) [_{FocP} ... [_{CP} C-(*)%]/*(外助詞) [_{TP} ...]] (%：句調／邊界調)

理論貢獻：(i) 以韻律證據支持粵語易位句是一個小句，為句法分析帶來啟示；(ii) 顯示在句子層面上，句法－韻律對齊，一個小句便是一個語調組，支持「一句一調」的假設；(iii) 測試句末助詞上的音高是否句調，貢獻句末助詞與句調關係的研究。

Sentence-initial root modals and focus

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Chinese root modals, unlike epistemic ones, are generally disallowed in sentence-initial positions (i.e. they follow the subject). However, it is observed that root modals like *neng* ‘can’ or *hui* ‘will’, if they are in A-not-A form, can appear sentence-initially (Lin & Tang 1995, Huang, Li & Li 2009), as in (1)-(2) taken from Lin (2011:69). To the best of our knowledge, there is no explanation on these sentence-initial root modals (SIMs) yet.

(1) **neng* /**hui* *Zhangsan zhunbei wancan* Int.: ‘Zhangsan can/ will prepare the dinner.’

(2) *neng-bu-neng* /*hui-bu-hui* *Zhangsan zhunbei wancan?*

‘Can/ will Zhangsan prepare the dinner?’

We observe that SIMs are not restricted to A-not-A form only. Building on this, we argue that it is not the A-not-A form that licenses SIMs but the focus following them.

#1 Shi-focus: Lin and Tang observes that insertion of focus marker after the root modal would improve sentences like (1) (1995:62, ft7), as in (3). Importantly, if the focus does not immediately follow the SIM, the sentence is disallowed, as shown by (4).

(3) *Shi-focus construction* (subject)

Keyi shi Zhangsan_F qu Beijing

‘It can be the case that it is Zhangsan who goes to Beijing.’

(4) *Shi-focus construction* (VP/ object)

**keyi Zhangsan shi [qu Beijing]_F*

Int.: ‘It can be the case that Zhangsan go to Beijing (but not do something else).’

#2 Wh-focus: *Wh*-phrases bear inherent focus interpretation. SIM is licensed if it is immediately followed by a *wh*-phrase (as subject in (5)), but it is disallowed if the *wh*-phrase is not immediately following SIM, as object in (6).

(5) *Keyi [shei]_F mianfei qu Beijing?*

‘Who may go to Beijing for free?’

(6) **keyi Zhangsan mianfei qu [nali]_F?*

Int.: ‘Where may Zhangsan go for free?’

#3a Polarity questions: Polarity questions trigger focus scope. SIM is thus licensed in (7) with the presence of question intonation or particles. The subject immediately following it receives focus, indicated by the focus marker *shi*.

(7) *Keyi (shi) Zhangsan (*shi) qu Beijing {↗/ ma}?*

a. ‘Can it be the case that Zhangsan but not someone else go to Beijing?’/

b. *‘Can it be the case that Zhangsan go to Beijing but not do something else?’

By examining the licensing conditions of ‘bare’ SIMs in Case #1-3a on above, we reach (8):

(8) **Generalization on SIMs:** SIMs are licensed only if the elements immediately following them receive focus interpretation.

The incompatibility with VP focus in (7) suggests that SIM is not licensed by the polarity questions *per se*, but the subject focus triggered by questions. Following this line of reasoning, SIMs in (2) are not indeed licensed by the A-not-A form, but the subject focus triggered by A-not-A questions. We observe that A-not-A form does not *always* license SIM:

#3b A-not-A: While SIM is allowed in (2) above and (9)a below, (9)b is disallowed. The difference between (9)a and (9)b is that the subject is focused in the former but not the latter.

(9) [Context: Lisi’s Mainland Travel Permit had expired, so that he cannot go to Beijing...]

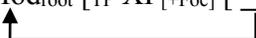
a. *ke-bu-keyi Zhangsan_F qu Beijing?* b. **ke-bu-keyi Lisi qu Taipei_F?*

‘May Zhangsan go to Beijing?’

Int.: ‘May Lisi go to Taipei?’

Proposal: We retain the classic treatment that root modals are base-generated below Spec TP (contra. Hsu (2016), who treats SIMs as *verum focus operators* based-generated in the CP domain), and propose that SIMs can undergo head movement only when it crosses a focus:

(10) [Mod_{root} [TP XP_[+Foc] [___ [VP ...]]]



This focus movement is not allowed if the elements immediately following the moved root modal do not receive a focus interpretation (hence unacceptability of (1), (4), (6), (7)b, (9)b).

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“*Tam Jai* dialect”: language ideologies and indexicality of “non-standard” Cantonese in Hong Kong.

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Abstract

This paper studies the language ideologies of standard and non-standard language of Hong Kong people in the post-colonial era, by demonstrating the dichotomy of standard and non-standard within the dialect *Cantonese*. Through the case study of a local commercial advertisement, I examine how the mediatised linguistic event was taken by the audiences through an analysis of the related metalinguistic online comments it aroused. Seeing that the indexicality of Cantonese is understudied, by drawing on the framework of “orders of indexicality”, I demonstrate how “non-standard” Cantonese became indexical of the national power.

Keywords

Language ideologies, standard and non-standard dichotomy, orders of indexicality, crossing, Cantonese, Hong Kong, immigrants, language and nation

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