



The 20<sup>th</sup>  
North American Conference  
on Chinese Linguistics

The Ohio State University  
Columbus, Ohio

25-27 April 2008





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The NACCL-20 Program Book is compiled by Marjorie K.M. Chan and Hana Kang, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.

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# WELCOME TO NACCL-20!

We are delighted to host the 20<sup>th</sup> North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL-20), which is being held at The Ohio State University on 25-27 April 2008. The event celebrates NACCL's 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary at its birthplace, The Ohio State University! Our campus is located in Columbus in the heart of Ohio, the "Buckeye State."



We look forward to your attendance at this exciting 2-1/2 day conference. Scholars from over 70 institutions in 13 countries/regions around the world will be presenting at NACCL-20. Papers on Chinese linguistics cover the full range of topics in the packed schedule, with four parallel sessions on the first two days, and three parallel sessions on the third morning.

In addition to 113 papers scheduled to be presented at the conference, we have invited three plenary speakers. Our special invited guest and speaker is **Edwin G. Pulleyblank** (蒲立本), Professor Emeritus, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, and one of the world's most respected and influential scholars in Chinese linguistics and Chinese history. The *Proceedings of the Twentieth North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics* will be dedicated to Professor Pulleyblank, in honor of his eighty-fifth birthday. Co-sponsored in association with The Institute for Chinese Studies as part of the Institute's "Rethinking China" Lecture Series, Professor Pulleyblank's plenary speech on Saturday is a public lecture and is, hence, open to all.

Two plenary speakers with international reputation in Chinese linguistics as well as close connections to NACCL's twenty-year history are **James H.-Y. Tai** (戴浩一), National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan—the architect and senior organizer of NACCL-1 (NECCL-1) when he was a faculty member at The Ohio State University—and **Yen-hui Audrey Li** (李艷惠), University of Southern California, the creator of the NACCL Proceedings series. We have also invited two other colleagues who have had historical ties to NACCL, namely, **Thomas Ernst** (殷天兴), at University of Massachusetts and Dartmouth College, and **Robert Sanders** (沈德思), University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. We deeply appreciate our five colleagues who have accepted our invitation to come to join us in celebrating NACCL's 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary.

We thank our sponsors for their generosity in making this event possible, and all those who have chipped in, volunteered, and worked diligently to assist in preparing for the conference. We are honored that you have come from near and far to participate at this year's NACCL conference. We welcome you—or welcome you back, as the case may be—to our Buckeye State and to The Ohio State University!

Sincerely,

Marjorie K.M. Chan, Chair  
NACCL-20 Organizing Committee  
Associate Professor, Department of E. Asian Langs. & Lits.  
Adjunct Associate Professor, Department of Linguistics

NACCL-20 Website: <http://chinalinks.osu.edu/naccl-20/>



# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With Gratitude to ...

## **The Ohio State University Sponsors**

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Graduate and undergraduate student volunteers from DEALL, Linguistics, and Education to  
assist at the conference site

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# ON-SITE REGISTRATION & OTHER INFO

## 1. NACCL-20 On-Site Registration

Ramseyer Hall (Building 090, 29 West Woodruff Avenue) - Room 136 (Lounge):

April 25-26 (Fri-Sat): 7:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon, 1:00 - 4:00 p.m.

April 27 (Sun): ~ Closed ~

- Conference Program Packets are available at the on-site registration table in the Lounge (RA 136) for those who have pre-registered.

## 2. Session Locations

### Plenary Sessions I & II

- To be held in Ramseyer Hall (RA), Room 100. (Building 090, 29 West Woodruff Avenue)

### Plenary Session III

- Co-hosted by NACCL-20 and the Institute for Chinese Studies, as part of ICS' "Rethinking China" lecture series
- Open to the public
- To be held in Hagerty Hall (HH), Room 180. (Building 037, 1775 College Road)

### Main Sessions

- To be held in Ramseyer Hall (RA):

RA 100: A-Sessions

RA 110: B-Sessions

RA 336: C-Sessions (except 1-C, in RA 115)

RA 065: D-Sessions

(Note: Floor plans for Ramseyer Hall are placed on pages 140 and 141 in this conference program book.)

## 3. Ramseyer Hall Lounge (RA 136)

- In addition to being the room for on-site registration and pick up of conference program packets, the Lounge in Ramseyer Hall, Room 136, is also where tea, coffee, and pastries will be available before the sessions begin and during the 15-minute breaks between sessions.

### Lounge Hours:

- The lounge in RA 136 will be available at the following times:

April 25-26 (Fri-Sat): 7:30 a.m. - 12:00, 1:00 - 4:00 p.m.

April 27 (Sun): 7:30 a.m. - noon

# The 20<sup>th</sup> North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL-20)

第二十屆北美漢語語言學會議

25-27 April 2008



## Conference Program

### NACCL-20 On-Site Registration

Ramseyer Hall (Building 090, 29 West Woodruff Avenue)

Room 136 (Lounge):

April 25-26 (Fri-Sat): 7:30 a.m.-12:00, 1:00-4:00 p.m.

April 27 (Sun): ~ Closed ~

Note: Asterisk (\*) is placed beside a presenter's name if the presentation will be given in Chinese only.

### Lounge (RA 136):

Tea, coffee, and pastries will be available before the sessions begin and during the 15-minute breaks in the lounge.

Hours: The lounge in RA 136 will be available at the following times:

- April 25-26 (Fri-Sat): 7:30 a.m.-12:00, 1:00-4:00 p.m.

- April 27 (Sun): 7:30 a.m.-12:00 noon

## Friday, 25 April 2008

8:00-8:30	<b>Coffee/Tea &amp; Pastries</b> (Ramseyer Hall, Room 136) On-Site Registration (RA 136): 7:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon, 1:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.
8:30-8:45	<b>Welcoming Remarks</b> (Ramseyer Hall, Room 100) ◇ NACCL-20 Organizing Committee & Committee Chair ◇ Representatives from sponsoring units & NACCL-1 (1989) Organizing Committee
8:45-9:45	<b>Plenary Session I: Keynote Speaker</b> (Ramseyer Hall, Room 100) <b>LI, YEN-HUI AUDREY (李艷惠)</b> , University of Southern California. “Case, 20 Years Later” <b>Chair:</b> Tai, James H.-Y. (戴浩一), National Chung Cheng University
9:45-10:00	<b>Tea &amp; Coffee Break</b> (RA 136)

<b>Fri. 04/25/08 Session 1. 10:00-12 :00</b>				
	<b>Session 1-A (RA 100)</b> Syntax/Semantics	<b>Session 1-B (RA 110)</b> Valency Operations	<b>Session 1-C (RA 115)</b> Tones & Prosodic Boundaries	<b>Session 1-D (RA 065)</b> Classifiers & Dialects
	<b>Chair:</b> Ernst, Thomas (U Mass. & Dartmouth College)	<b>Chair:</b> Yuasa, Etsuyo (DEALL, OSU)	<b>Chair:</b> Beckman, Mary (Linguistics, OSU)	<b>Chair:</b> Chao, Fang-yi (U of Maryland)
10:00-10:30	<b>Chen, Weirong</b> (U of Hong Kong) Relative clauses in Hui'an dialect	<b>Lin, Huei-Ling</b> (National Chung Cheng U) Long versus short disposal constructions in Taiwan Southern Min	<b>Sanders, Robert</b> (U of Auckland) Tonetic sound change in Taiwan Mandarin: The case of Tone 2 and Tone 3 citation contours	<b>Yip, Chak Lam Colum</b> (U of Washington) Complicating the oversimplification: Chinese numeral classifiers and measure words
10:30-11:00	<b>Wu, H.-H. Iris</b> (MIT) Overt evidence for Tense node in Chinese	<b>Li, Dianyu</b> (Ashland Community and Technical College & Tianjin Foreign Studies U) Analyzing passive constructions in the finite state	<b>Lee, Ok Joo</b> (Ewha Womans U) Some thoughts on high boundary tones in Mandarin Chinese	<b>Wang, Lianqing</b> (DLI) Historical and dialectal variants of Chinese general classifiers
11:00-11:30	<b>Cheng, Hsu-Te Johnny</b> (U of Connecticut) Attitude phrase and the puzzle of reconstruction	<b>Yang, Yuan-chen</b> (Yale U) Adversity and the Causer Constraint	<b>Yang, Chunsheng</b> (OSU) Cues of prosodic boundaries in L1/L2 Mandarin Chinese speech	<b>Liu, Yi-Hsien</b> (U of Southern California) Number deletion and classifier realization in Mandarin and Taiwanese nominals
11:30-12:00	<b>Ng, Shukhan</b> (CUNY) On-line interpretation of empty categories in Chinese	<b>Ai, Ruixi</b> (Defense Language Institute) & <b>Chen, Jidong</b> (CSU at Fresno) A puzzle in Chinese dative shift	<b>Fung, Roxana</b> (Hong Kong Polytechnic U) Variation and mergers of tones in Hong Kong Cantonese	<b>Liu, Chen-Sheng</b> (National Chiao Tung U) The adjective-classifier compound adjective in Taiwanese
12:00-1:30	<b>Lunch</b>			

**Fri. 04/25/08 Session 2. 1:30-3 :30**

	<b>Session 2-A</b> (RA 100) Morphology/Syntax	<b>Session 2-B</b> (RA 110) Historical Morph. & Syntax	<b>Session 2-C</b> (RA 336) Tone Production & Perception	<b>Session 2-D</b> (RA 065) CMC & Orthography
	<b>Chair:</b> Unger, James M. (DEALL, OSU)	<b>Chair:</b> Sun, Chaofen (Stanford U)	<b>Chair:</b> Wan, I-Ping (National Chengchi U)	<b>Chair:</b> Winford, Donald (Linguistics, OSU)
1:30-2:00	<b>Paris, Marie-Claude</b> (Université Paris 7) On marking plurality in Mandarin Chinese	<b>Caboara, Marco</b> (U of Washington) The first person pronoun in the Chu bamboo script: An analysis of the character 𠄎 (= 吾) in the Guodian and Shanghai Museum Texts	<b>Hung, Tsun-Hui</b> (OSU) Identification of acoustically modified Mandarin tones by English-speaking musicians	<b>Riha, Helena</b> (OSU) & <b>Baker, Kirk</b> (OSU) Survey of Roman letter word types in written Chinese
2:00-2:30	<b>Pirani, Laura</b> (Utrecht U & U of Verona) Bound roots in Mandarin Chinese and comparison with European “semi-words”	<b>Deng, Lin</b> (U of Washington) <i>Zhi</i> 之 in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions: From a perspective of its discourse uses	<b>Lee, Chao-Yang</b> (Ohio U), <b>Tao, Liang</b> (Ohio U) & <b>Bond, Zinny S.</b> (Ohio U) Talker and contextual effects on identifying fragmented Mandarin tones	<b>Kim, Sun-A</b> (U of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) Mental representation of Chinese words in visual word recognition
2:30-3:00	<b>Lin, Yi-An</b> (U of Cambridge) A probe-goal approach to parametric differences in Mandarin and English nominal phrases	<b>Wang, Pingli</b> (U of Hawaii at Manoa) The distribution and correlations of morphological causatives in Old Chinese	<b>Liao, Rongrong*</b> 廖荣蓉 (DLI) Mandarin learners’ tonal patterns: An acoustic study	<b>Gao, Liwei</b> (DLI) Language change in progress: Evidence from computer-mediated communication
3:00-3:30	<b>Li, Chao</b> (College of Staten Island, CUNY) On the headedness of Mandarin resultative verb compounds	<b>Huang, Yu-Cheng</b> (National Hsin-chu U of Education) The lexicalization and grammaticalization of the degree adverb <i>gewai</i> in Mandarin Chinese	<b>Guo, Lijuan &amp; Tao, Liang</b> (Ohio U) Tone production in Mandarin Chinese by American students: A case study	<b>Zhu, Bo</b> (OSU) A sociolinguistic analysis of dialect use in Chinese weblogs
3:30-3:45	<b>Tea &amp; Coffee Break</b> (RA 136)			



<b>Fri. 04/25/08 Session 3. 3:45-5:45</b>				
	<b>Session 3-A (RA 100)</b> Syntax-Semantics Interface	<b>Session 3-B (RA 110)</b> Psycholx & L2 Acquisition	<b>Session 3-C (RA 336)</b> Phonetics/Phonology	<b>Session 3-D (RA 065)</b> Hist. Phonology & Syntax
	<b>Chair:</b> Shen, Yang (Peking U)	<b>Chair:</b> Brew, Chris (Linguistics, OSU)	<b>Chair:</b> Lin, Yen-Hwei (Michigan State U)	<b>Chair:</b> Chu, Chia-Ning (National Chengchi U)
3:45-4:15	<b>Ernst, Thomas</b> (U of Massachusetts & Dartmouth College) Adverbs and positive polarity in Mandarin Chinese	<b>Packard, Jerry</b> (U of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) Relative clause processing in L2 speakers of Mandarin and English	<b>Yeh, Chia-Hsin</b> (Michigan State U) Perception-articulation motivated OCP of Hai-lu Hakka	<b>Luo, Futeng*</b> 罗福腾 (SIM U, Singapore) 现代汉语撮口呼韵母数量偏少的历史原因
4:15-4:45	<b>Donazzan, Marta</b> (Université Paris 7) Presupposition, times and degrees: The case of Mandarin <i>hái</i>	<b>Jin, Lingxia</b> (U of Arizona) Markedness and second language acquisition of word order in Chinese	<b>Wu, Xianghua</b> (Simon Fraser U) Is perception of Mandarin Tones 2 and 3 categorical for native speakers?	<b>Zhao, Tong*</b> 趙彤 (Renmin U) 上古漢語後元音的構擬
4:45-5:15	<b>Huang, Yahui Anita</b> (U of Texas at Austin) Presuppositions in Chinese bare conditionals	<b>Zhang, Yongfang</b> (U of Akron) How Chinese native speakers handle written style material in reading and its application in second language instruction	<b>Lee, Seunghun J.</b> (Rutgers U) Voicing neutralization and syllabification: Numerals in Du'an Zhuang	<b>Wu, Sue-mei</b> (Carnegie Mellon U) Instrumentality: The core meaning of the coverb <i>Yi</i> 以 in Classical Chinese
5:15-5:45	<b>Chang, Melody</b> (Yuxi Normal U) & <b>Zhu Yong-Qiang</b> (Yuxi Normal U) Sentence final particles in Naxi: A study of parametric syntax	<b>Gao, Qian</b> (DLI) Word order in Mandarin: Reading and speaking	<b>Jiao, Liwei*</b> 焦立为 (U of Pennsylvania) 汉语方言声调格局的共性	<b>Wu, Xiaoqi</b> (DLI) The word order of the double-object structure with GEI revisited
5:45-	<b>Free Time</b>			

## Saturday, 26 April 2008

<b>Sat. 04/26/08 Session 4. 8:15-10:15</b>		On-Site Registration (RA 136): 7:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon, 1:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.		
	<b>Session 4-A (RA 100)</b> Syntax/Semantics	<b>Session 4-B (RA 110)</b> Historical Syntax/Semantics	<b>Session 4-C (RA 336)</b> Across Chinese Dialects	<b>Session 4-D (RA 065)</b> Syntax/Semantics
	<b>Chair:</b> Liu, Meichun (National Chiao Tung U)	<b>Chair:</b> Fung, Roxana (Hong Kong Polytechnic U)	<b>Chair:</b> Hong, Beverly (U of District of Columbia)	<b>Chair:</b> Sanders, Robert (U of Auckland)
8:15-8:45	<b>Que, Min</b> (Utrecht U) The scope of Mandarin bare nominals	<b>Sun, Chaofen</b> (Stanford U) Old Chinese *-s, or departing tone, passive, and Middle Chinese resultative verb compounds	<b>Tseng, Yu-Ching</b> (U at Albany, SUNY) Branching consistency as a syntactic OCP constraint on Hakka relative construction	<b>Hu, Wenze*</b> 胡文泽 (US Naval Academy) The uneven distribution of semantic focus among <i>Ba</i> sentences
8:45-9:15	<b>Shen, Yang</b> 沈阳 (Peking U) 处所义补语结构的句法构造和韵律制约	<b>Herforth, Derek</b> (U of Sydney) Notes on the Pre-Han beneficiary ditransitive	<b>Huang, Hui-Yu Catherine</b> (National Chiao Tung U) On the ambiguity in the affirmative/negative “V <i>u/bo</i> NP” construction in Taiwanese Southern Min	<b>He, Baozhang</b> 何宝璋 (College of the Holy Cross) 谈“有(一)点 + 静态动词 (stative verb)”的语义及语用功能
9:15-9:45	<b>Simpson, Andrew</b> (USC) & <b>Ho, Tam</b> (U of Leiden) The syntactic structuring of passive in Chinese and Vietnamese: A comparative view	<b>Chao, Fang-yi</b> (U of Maryland) The sentence-final <i>lai</i> 來 and <i>qu</i> 去 in early Chan “Recorded Sayings” ( <i>Yulu</i> 語錄)—Aspect or modality?	<b>Kuong, Io-Kei Joaquim</b> (U of Macau) A new look at Cantonese question particles: The grammatical functions of <i>mo4</i> , <i>me1</i> , and <i>maa3</i>	<b>Liu, Haiyong</b> (Wayne State U) Expletive negation in Mandarin <i>cha-dian-mei</i> ‘miss-bit-not’ + V structure
9:45-10:15	<b>Hu, Jianhua</b> (CASS) & <b>Pan, Haihua</b> (City U of Hong Kong) Mandarin intransitive verbs and their objects at the syntax-information structure interface	<b>Chu, Chia-Ning*</b> 竺家寧 (National Chengchi U) 早期佛經詞義的義素研究	<b>Qian, Nairong*</b> 钱乃荣 (Shanghai U) 上海方言的时态	<b>Wang, Xin</b> (Beijing Language and Culture U) The semantics and pragmatics of “ <i>lian...dou</i> ” constructions in Mandarin Chinese
10:15-10:30	<b>Tea &amp; Coffee Break (RA 136)</b>			

**Sat. 04/26/08 Session 5. 10:30-12:30**

	<b>Session 5-A (RA 100)</b> Modality & Focus	<b>Session 5-B (RA 110)</b> Psycholx & Syntax/Semantics	<b>Session 5-C (RA 336)</b> Phonology & Speech Errors	<b>Session 5-D (RA 065)</b> L1 & L2 Acquisition
	<b>Chair:</b> Paris, Marie-Claude (Université Paris 7)	<b>Chair:</b> Packard, Jerry (U of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)	<b>Chair:</b> Lee, Ok Joo (Ewha Womans U)	<b>Chair:</b> Nakayama, Mineharu (DEALL, OSU)
10:30-11:00	<b>Liu, Meichun</b> (NCTU) & <b>Hsieh, Aiyu</b> (NCTU) A frame-based account of harmonic combination of modal verbs: The case with Mandarin verbs of dynamic modality <i>xiang</i> and <i>yao</i>	<b>Wang, Zhijun</b> (UC Davis) Context coercion in sentence processing: Evidence from Chinese	<b>Lin, Yen-Hwei</b> (Michigan State U) Patterned vowel variation in Standard Mandarin loanword adaptation: Evidence from a dictionary corpus	<b>Wang, Chiung-Yao</b> (Michigan State U) & <b>Schmitt, Cristina</b> (Michigan State U) The acquisition of T3 sandhi in Mandarin-speaking children
11:00-11:30	<b>Chen, Liping</b> (U of Pittsburgh) The scalarity of <i>dou</i> in focus structure	<b>Huang, Yu-Chi</b> (USC) Investigating filler-gap dependencies in Chinese topicalization	<b>Duanmu, San</b> (U of Michigan) The spotty-data problem in phonology	<b>Chang, Hsiang-Hua</b> (Michigan State U) & <b>Schmitt, Cristina</b> (MSU) Semantic mappings of bare and demonstrative nominals in Child Mandarin
11:30-12:00	<b>Li, Kening</b> (Harvard U & U of Washington) Contrastive focus structure in Mandarin Chinese: 是...的 or 是?	<b>Lai, Wei</b> (Pennsylvania State U) Chinese animal metaphor – The six domesticated animals	<b>Wan, I-Ping</b> (National Chengchi U) Speech errors and aphasic speech in Mandarin: Implications for speech production	<b>Hsu, Dong-Bo</b> (U of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) Structural persistence in Mandarin Chinese preschoolers
12:00-12:30	<b>Hsu, Yu-Yin</b> (Indiana U) Sentence-internal topic and focus in Chinese	<b>Zhang, Qing</b> (Ball State U) The negative auxiliary in Chinese imperative	<b>Liu, Joyce H.-C.</b> (National Tsing Hua U) & <b>Hsu Samuel Wang</b> (Yuan Ze U) Speech errors of tone in Taiwanese	<b>Liang, Szu-Yen</b> (U of Texas at Arlington) The acquisition of Chinese shape classifiers by L2 adult learners
12:30-1:45	<b>Lunch</b>			

Sat. 04/26/08 Plenary Session. 1:45-2:45	
1:45-2:45	<p><b>Plenary Session II: Keynote Speaker</b> (Ramseyer Hall, Room 100)</p> <p><b>TAI, JAMES H.-Y. (戴浩一)</b>, National Chung Cheng University.          “The Nature of Chinese Grammar: Perspectives from Sign Language”</p> <p><b>Chair:</b> Li, Yen-hui Audrey (李艷惠), University of Southern California</p>
2:45-3:00	<b>Tea &amp; Coffee Break</b> (RA 136)

Sat. 04/26/08 Session 6. 3:00-4:30				
	<b>Session 6-A</b> (RA 100) Aspect/Event Structure	<b>Session 6-B</b> (RA 110) Discourse & Socio-Pragmatics	<b>Session 6-C</b> (RA 336) Phonetics/Phon-Syn Interface	<b>Session 6-D</b> (RA 065) Sociolinguistics & Identity
	<b>Chair:</b> Hooi Ling Soh (U of Minnesota)	<b>Chair:</b> Kuong, Io-Kei Joaquim (U of Macau)	<b>Chair:</b> Duanmu, San (U of Michigan)	<b>Chair:</b> Herforth, Derek (U of Sydney)
3:00-3:30	<b>Williams, Alexander</b> (U of Maryland, College Park) Themes, cumulativity, and resultatives in Mandarin	<b>Lin, Huey Hannah</b> (West Virginia U) Mind your <i>ou</i> , <i>a</i> and <i>la</i> – A socio-pragmatic analysis of sentence-final particles in modern Chinese	<b>Poss, Nick</b> (OSU), <b>Hung, Tsun-Hui</b> (OSU) & <b>Will, Udo</b> (OSU) The effects of tonal information on lexical activation in Mandarin	<b>Liao, Silvie</b> (UC Davis) A perceptual dialect study of Taiwan Mandarin: Language attitudes in the era of political battle
3:30-4:00	<b>Chief, Lianchang</b> (UCLA) & <b>Koenig, Jean-Pierre</b> (U at Buffalo, SUNY) When semantic <i>structure</i> matters: Mandarin induced change of state verbs	<b>Wu, Chen-huei</b> (U of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) Filled pauses in L2 Chinese: A comparison of native and non-native speakers	<b>Cheng, H.-J. Jung Kristy</b> (U of Delaware) & <b>Peng, Anne</b> (U of Delaware) <i>To de</i> or not to <i>de</i> : Adjectival modifiers in Mandarin Chinese	<b>Jay, Jennifer W.</b> (U of Alberta) Rapper Jin’s (歐陽靖) <i>ABC</i> : Acquiring spoken Cantonese and transnational identity through Hong Kong TV and restaurant culture
4:00-4:30	<b>Hsiao, Hui-Chen Sabrina</b> (U at Buffalo, SUNY) Event composition of directional verb complexes in Mandarin	<b>Tao, Yuan</b> (Hong Kong Polytechnic U) & <b>Tao, Hongyin</b> (UCLA) A usage-based approach to argument structure: The cases of <i>kaishi</i> 开始 and its implication	<b>Tieu, Lyn Shan</b> (U of Toronto) Prosodic constraints on the syntax of non-referential objects in Chinese	<b>Kang, Hana</b> (OSU) Code switching and writer’s bilingual identity: Discourse analysis of Adeline Yen Mah’s <i>Falling Leaves</i> and <i>Luoyeguigen</i> 落葉歸根

<b>Sat. 04/26/08 Plenary Session III &amp; ICS “Rethinking China” Lecture* – Public Lecture. 5:00-6:00</b>	
5:00-6:00	<p><b>Special Invited Speaker</b> (Hagerty Hall 180 – Building 037, 1775 College Road)</p> <p><b>PULLEYBLANK, EDWIN G. (浦立本)</b>, Professor Emeritus, University of British Columbia.  “Language as Digital: A New Theory of the Origin and Nature of Human Speech”</p> <p><b>Co-Chairs:</b> Jay, Jennifer W. (謝慧賢), University of Alberta, and  Herforth, Derek (何德睿), University of Sydney</p> <p>* This plenary lecture is hosted by NACCL-20 in association with Ohio State University’s Institute for Chinese Studies, as part of its  “<i>Rethinking China</i>” Lecture Series.</p>
6:30-	<b>Banquet</b>

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**SHUTTLE: 6:15 p.m.**

Three Ohio State University shuttle buses will be assembled at 1775 College Road outside Hagerty Hall to transport hotel guests and banquet attendees to the University Plaza Hotel.

**Saturday Banquet**

University Plaza Hotel and Conference Center  
3110 Olentangy River Road  
Columbus, Ohio 43202  
Tel: +1 614 267.7461

Banquet-Closing Musical Performance by OSU School of Music Student Tsun-Hui Hung & Prof. Udo Will		
1.	阮若打開心內的門窗 If we open our heart	二胡/ 洪充惠, 笛/ Udo Will erhu/ Tsun-Hui Hung, flute/ Udo Will
		呂泉生 曲 洪充惠 編曲 Composed by Quan-Sheng Lü, Arranged by Tsun-Hui Hung
2.	大姑娘美 Pretty girl	板胡/ 洪充惠 Banhu/ Tsun-Hui Hung
		劉明源 曲 Composed by Ming-Yuan Liu
3.	陽關三疊 Farewell at Yang Guan	古琴/ Udo Will, 二胡/ 洪充惠 Guqin/ Udo Will, erhu/ Tsun-Hui Hung
		古曲 Udo Will, 洪充惠 編曲 Traditional music, Arranged by Udo Will and Tsun-Hui Hung

## Sunday, 27 April 2008

<b>Sun. 04/27/08 Session 7. 8:30-10:30</b>			
	<b>Session 7-A</b> (RA 100) Revisiting <i>LE</i> & <i>ZHE</i>	<b>Session 7-B</b> (RA 110) Pragmatics of Requests & Refusals	<b>Session 7-C</b> (RA 336) Dialects & Spoken/Written Discourse
	Chair: Simpson, Andrew (USC)	Chair: Collins, Daniel (Slavic, OSU)	Chair: Hirvela, Alan (Education, OSU)
8:30-9:00	<b>Ren, Fei</b> (U of Texas at Austin) Temporal interpretation of <i>-le</i> in Chinese	<b>Meng, Nan</b> (OSU) Making requests: A pragmatic study of mother-child dyads	<b>Leung, Genevieve</b> (U of Pennsylvania) “分析體內 chemicals lor!”: Intersections between language ideologies about written Cantonese and the multiliteracies of Hong Kong Cantonese speakers
9:00-9:30	<b>Tham, Shiaowei</b> (Wellesley College) & <b>Soh, Hooi Ling</b> (U of Minnesota) Verb- <i>le</i> clauses as minimal narratives	<b>Li, Shuai</b> (Carnegie Mellon U) A study of interlanguage pragmatic development of making request by American learners of Chinese	<b>Yan, Jing</b> (The Columbus Academy & OSU) Linguistic assimilation and dissimilation: Social variation of Vernacular Written Cantonese (VWC) at different levels of linguistic structure
9:30-10:00	<b>Zhang, Lan</b> (U of Memphis) Locative inversion and aspect markers <i>le</i> and <i>zhe</i> in Mandarin Chinese	<b>Dong, Xinran</b> (OSU) Requests in academic settings in Chinese, Russian and English	<b>Tsai, I-Ni</b> (U of California at Los Angeles) The Mandarin Chinese particle <i>ei</i> and its projectability in daily conversations
10:00-10:30	<b>Politzer-Ahles, Stephen</b> (Kenyon College) The puzzle of Mandarin 了: An integrated approach	<b>Yang, Jia</b> (OSU) How to say ‘No’ in Chinese: A pragmatic study of refusal strategies in five TV series	<b>He, Yi</b> (OSU) Humor in discourse: A linguistic study of the Chinese dialect film, <i>Crazy Stone</i> (疯狂的石头)
10:30-10:45	<b>Tea &amp; Coffee Break</b> (RA 136)		



<b>Sun. 04/27/08 Session 8. 10:45-12:15</b>			
	<b>Session 8-A</b> (RA 100) Syntax/Semantics	<b>Session 8-B</b> (RA 110) Sociolx, L2 Acquisition & Typology	<b>Session 8-C</b> (RA 336) Language Contact & Sign Language
	<b>Chair:</b> Pan, Haihua (City U of Hong Kong)	<b>Chair:</b> Chiang, Mien-hwa (U of Pennsylvania)	<b>Chair:</b> Jay, Jennifer (U of Alberta)
10:45-11:15	<b>Chief, Liancheng</b> (U of California at Los Angeles) Adverbs of completion <i>quan</i> and <i>wanquan</i> in Chinese	<b>Qin, Xizhen</b> (OSU) Choices in terms of address: A socio-linguistic study of Chinese and American English practices	<b>Zhang, Dongbo</b> (Carnegie Mellon U) & <b>Li, Liu</b> (Carnegie Mellon U) Vitality perceptions, language use and language maintenance and shift in Pittsburgh Chinese community
11:15-11:45	<b>Xie, Zhiguo</b> (Cornell U) Intervention effects revisited: A perspective from Mandarin Chinese	<b>Tian, Yuan</b> (Ohio U) Universals and cross-linguistic variations in the acquisition of imperfective aspect: The case of Chinese	<b>Zheng, Rongbin</b> (OSU) Zhongxian (中仙) Min dialect: A preliminary study of language contact and stratum-formation
11:45-12:15	<b>Kuo, Pei-Jung</b> (U of Connecticut) Light verb construction as a case of remnant movement	<b>Rouzer, Jack H.</b> (OSU) Adjectivals and adverbials: On the representation of quantities and qualities in Chinese and implications for language typology	<b>Xu, Wang</b> (OSU alumna) & <b>Chan, Marjorie K.M.</b> (OSU) Modality effects revisited: Iconicity in Chinese Sign Language
12:20-12:30	<b>Conference Closing Remarks</b> (Ramseyer Hall, Room 100) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◇ NACCL-20 Organizing Committee Chair</li> <li>◇ NACCL-1 (1989) Organizing Committee</li> </ul>		
12:30-	<p><b>No-host Lunch on North High Street</b>  <i>(for those with later or next-day flights, etc., subject to interest)</i></p> <p><b>Thank you for coming to NACCL-20 and have a safe trip home!</b></p>		

# Abstracts

## **Abstracts**

### **Plenary Session Authors**

1. Pulleyblank, Edwin G. (University of British Columbia)
  - Public lecture (“Rethinking China” Lecture Series, Institute for Chinese Studies)
  - Plenary Session III
2. Li, Yen-hui Audrey (University of Southern California)
  - Plenary Session I
3. Tai, James H.-Y. (National Chung Cheng University)
  - Plenary Session II

**Language as Digital:  
A New Theory of the Origin and Nature of Human Speech**

Edwin G. Pulleyblank

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The “language”, so-called, of an electronic digital computer is based on a single, binary, contrast symbolized as 0/1 which is used to create a vocabulary of “bits” (0 or 1) combined into sets of eight, called “bytes”, a set number of which, typically two or four, is called a “word”. The meanings to be assigned to these computer “words” are supplied by the programmer who then uses them to perform computations. My claim is that in human spoken languages we similarly make up words out of combinations of consonants and vowels, referred to collectively as phonemes, of which every language has a well defined, limited, set. This is in contrast to the inarticulate cries of pain, fear, surprise, etc. that, as Darwin noted, we humans share with other animals. The reshaping of the human vocal tract on which Philip Lieberman has placed such emphasis was certainly necessary, but could not by itself have created language. As Darwin suggested, the first use of the voice was probably to enable humans to sing, not to talk. Furthermore, as Merlin Donald has proposed, bipedalism would not only have been a first step towards oral language but would also have freed the hands to communicate by gestures. Donald proposes a mimetic stage of consciousness at the time of Homo erectus between the episodic consciousness of lower animals and the mythic consciousness of speaking humans. The final leap to digital phonology and, in Donald’s terms to mythic consciousness, must have been a change in brain structure that took place when Homo sapiens came with their Cromagnon culture from Africa to Europe and after a period of coexistence replaced the culturally inferior Neanderthals.

## Case, 20 Years Later

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Linguistic theories facilitate systematic discovery and meaningful description of what languages really are. In turn, careful investigation of individual languages contributes to further theoretical developments. I will demonstrate how the study of the grammatical properties of Chinese in the light of the theory of abstract Case in the last two decades offers an example of how the tools made available by linguistic theories provide a better understanding of Chinese in relation to other languages on the one hand and, on the other, the in-depth study of Chinese contributes to theoretical refinement. However, 20 years have not been long enough to solve all mysteries—residual problems will be addressed and possible solutions evaluated.

Morphological cases (e.g., nominative, accusative) generally are indicative of the grammatical functions and ordering of the constituents in a language. For instance, a nominative-marked noun phrase tends to be the subject of a tensed clause (bearing a close relation with the tense of a clause), and an accusative-marked noun phrase tends to be the object of a verb (bearing a close relation with a verb). Case theory in the framework of Principles and Parameters (Chomsky 1981) capitalizes on the structural relation encoded in morphological case markings and phrases the generalizations regarding the distribution of categories in terms of abstract Case, which brings together languages with and without morphological cases in a unified manner. Li (1985, 1990) extensively investigates how the notion of abstract Case plays a role in the issues of order and constituency in Mandarin Chinese, in contrast to other types of languages. The properties of Case and conditions on Case assignment (adjacency and directionality requirement) help derive word order possibilities (e.g., SVO, SOV) and account for the positional constraints of different categories (such as the postverbal constraint in Chinese as noted in Chao 1968, Huang 1982 and the options to rescue those violating the constraint).

However, studies in the last two decades show that cross-linguistic word order variations can be better described in terms of verb movement: whether the verb of a clause moves at all and if it moves, where it is moved to (to the position of *v* (small *v* in Chomsky 1995) or Tense etc.). The recognition of different possibilities of verb movement not only brings forth more empirical generalizations (including the use of negative NPs, Huang 2003) but also renders unnecessary the adjacency and directionality conditions on Case assignment, simplifying the grammar. On the other hand, the notion of abstract Case leads to the detailed investigation of the distributional possibilities of categories like PPs, NPs and clauses. NPs and clauses were regarded as similar in the earlier works (Li 1985, 1990, Tsai 1995, also in Tang 2000), and PPs, in complementary distribution with NPs (Case Resistance Principle, Stowell 1981). However, these empirical generalizations have been called into question. We will review the complications, arguments and some recent works such as Larson and Yamakido (2005) and Li (2007) on the categories that may appear as nominal modifiers, the peculiar behavior of PPs, the different distribution of NPs and clauses, demonstrating again how grammatical theories help us better describe complex properties and how analyses are improved accordingly.

# The Nature of Chinese Grammar: Perspectives from Sign Language

James H.-Y. Tai

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This talk begins with a brief review of sign language as natural language. As pointed out by Fischer (1978) and others, sign language and young creole languages share striking similarities. These similarities include: “no distinction between tensed and infinitival clauses, no tense marking but a rich aspectual system, no pleonastic subjects, no true passives, the occurrence of transitive verbs with agent subjects as intransitives with patient/theme subjects as well, pervasive topic-comment word order, pervasive topic-comment word order, the use of content words as grammatical markers, no prepositions to introduce oblique cases, preverbal free morphemes to express completive aspect.” (Aronoff, Meir, and Sandler 2005). One cannot fail to notice that Chinese grammar also exhibits most of these structural features. Equally interesting is the fact that both Chinese and sign language use as much as possible the knowledge of the world to simplify their grammars, thus allowing very free word order.

The structural similarities between sign languages and young creole languages can be accounted for by the fact that both types of languages are young languages with an acquisition ambience of mixed language input in contact situations. Yet, due to modality effect, while young creoles lack inflectional morphology, sign languages have rich simultaneous inflectional morphology. Thus, Aronoff, Meir, and Sandler (2005) conclude that inflectional morphology in spoken language is a function of age, and that arbitrariness of grammatical system is a property of old languages, not of human language. This creates an enigma for the Chinese language: why didn't Chinese, during the course of its long history, develop a rich morphology, as in European languages? Our answer is that Chinese has opted to utilize functional mappings rather than inflections for making distinctions among different word classes. This strategy is in line with Nisbett's (2003) contention that Chinese cognition focuses on relations rather than on attributes of individuals. Furthermore, given the fact that both sign language and Chinese optimize world knowledge to simplify syntax, the “Simpler Syntax” hypothesis recently advanced by Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) can be made even simpler.

## References

- Aronoff, Mark, Irit Meir, and Wendy Sandler. 2005. The paradox of sign language morphology. *Language* 81.2:301-344.
- Culicover, Peter and Ray Jackendoff. 2005. *Simpler Syntax*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, Susan D. 1978. Sign language and creoles. In Patricia Siple (ed.), *Understanding Language Through Sign Language Research*. New York: Academic Press.
- Nisbett, Richard E. 2003. *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently...and Why*. New York: The Free Press.



## **Abstracts**

### **Main Session Authors**

The following 113 abstracts are organized alphabetically by surname (or that of the first author in the case of multiple authors).

## A Puzzle in Chinese Dative Shift

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Alternations between the Dative Construction (DC) and the Double Object Construction (DOC) have been argued to be semantically constrained, i.e., only if the goal argument (as in 1b) or the benefactive (as in 2b) of the verb in the DOC is a possible possessor of the theme argument (Pinker, 1898; Gropen et al., 1989).

(1) a. I sent a post card to John.

b. I sent John a post card.

(2) a. I bought a post card for John.

b. I bought John a post card.

In (1b), *John* (the goal argument) ends up possessing *the post card* (the theme argument), and therefore the verb *send* can alternate between the DC and the DOC. Similarly, in (2b), *John*, the benefactive argument, ends up possessing the theme argument, and thus the verb *buy* can also alternate.

Mandarin, in contrast, allows verbs that select a goal to alternate between DC and DOC, as in (3a-b), but not a benefactive argument, as in (4a-b):

(3) a. *Wo song le yi-zhang mingxinpian gei Zhangsan.*

I sent PFV one-CL postcard to Zhangsan

b. *Wo song le Zhangsan yi-zhang mingxinpian.*

I sent PFV Zhangsan one-CL postcard

(4) a. *Wo mai le yizhang mingxinpian gei Zhangsan.*

I bought LE one-CL postcard for Zhangsan

b. *\*Wo mai le Zhangsan yi-zhang mingxinpian.*

I bought LE Zhangsan one-CL postcard

(4b), if grammatical, can only be interpreted as “I bought a post card from Zhangsan”, in which ‘Zhangsan’ becomes the source from whom I got the post card. If ‘Zhangsan’ is considered as the benefactive (i.e., as in 4a), (4b) is ungrammatical.

This paper argues that the semantic constraint on the alternation of DC and DOC as proposed by Pinker (1989) and Gropen et al. (1989) has to be coupled with syntactic constraints associated with the subcategorization framework of the dative verb in the lexicon in Chinese. In particular, at the syntactic level, the goal, the benefactive, and the theme argument in the DOC all have to be within the relevant VP of the dative verb to allow the alternation. That is, only argument in one object position can alternate with another argument in a ‘similar’ object position. In English, the goal or the benefactive in the DOC is a core (subcategorized) argument of the verb within the relevant VP as genuine objects, but in Chinese only the goal is a core (subcategorized) argument within the VP and the benefactive argument is adjoined to VP as an adjunct (not subcategorized by the verb in the lexicon). Therefore, it cannot alternate with the theme argument – the other core argument of the dative verb in an indirect object position.

This analysis contrasts with Lin’s (2001) proposal that Chinese does not have argument structure (subcategorization) in the lexicon. The dative and double object alternation shows that Chinese allows partial subcategorization in the lexicon.

Gropen, Jess; Pinker, Steven; Hollander, Michelle; Goldberg, Richard & Wilson, Ronald (1989). The learnability and acquisition of the dative alternation in English. *Language* 65, 205-257.

Lin, Tzong-Hong (2001). *Light Verb Syntax and the Theory of Phase Structure*, doctoral dissertation, University of California, Irvine.

Pinker, Steven (1989). *Learnability and Cognition: The Acquisition of Argument Structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

## The first person pronoun in the Chu bamboo script An analysis of the character 𠄎 (= 吾) in the Guodian and Shanghai Museum Texts

The usage of the character 𠄎 standing for the first person pronoun 吾 is a distinctive feature of the Guodian and Shanghai Museum Texts. The equivalence is noted in passing by the editors in a note,<sup>1</sup> but the character is not analyzed in the standard reference work on the Warring States script, He Linyi's *Zhanguo guwen zidian* 戰國古文字典, nor to my knowledge has any study been devoted to justify it on phonological and grammatical grounds. As the system of first person pronouns in the language of the late Warring States was undergoing a considerable amount of fluctuation and as the phonological reconstruction of the graph is problematic, the problem deserves consideration.

If we consider a text of the Guodian corpus with transmitted counterparts,<sup>2</sup> the Laozi, we see how the character corresponds to 吾 in the received version:

𠄎所以有大患者，爲𠄎有身。及𠄎亡身或可【患】？<sup>3</sup>  
吾所以有大患者，爲吾有身，及吾無身，吾有何患？

But only textual correspondence is not enough, as shown by the correspondence between 亡 and 無, which is not uncontroversial, or by the systematic substitution of the tabooed character 弗 (in the Mawangdui and Guodian versions of the Laozi) with 不 (in the received versions). The character has 虎 as its phonetic,<sup>4</sup> while the character 吾 (\*ŋa) has 五 (\*ŋaʔ) as its phonetic- in Baxter's system 1992, 虎 is \*hlaʔ.<sup>5</sup> The phonetic similarity between the two syllables is not too close- the pronoun 余 \*la seems actually a better candidate, as far as the phonetic similarity goes. Syntactically, the syntax of 余 in the late Warring States (especially in the *Chuci*) presents a large overlap with the syntax of 吾. The basis for identifying 𠄎 with 吾 is based mainly on collocation, namely on three occurrences in the Shanghai corpus material of the phrase 𠄎子 corresponding to the phrase 吾子, quite frequent in the language of the Warring States.<sup>6</sup>

To evaluate how far the collocation argument can go in deciding for 吾 against 余, I will provide a discussion of the phonological reconstruction of 虎 in Baxter's system (both \*hla or \*hŋa are possible in the latest version of the system) as well in Li Fangkuei's and Zheng Zhang Shangfang's systems, an overview of the syntactic properties of 吾 and 余 in the late Warring States, and an exam of other characters used for the first person pronouns in the Guodian and Shanghai texts.

<sup>1</sup> *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998, page 116, note 52.

<sup>2</sup> As represented by the Heshang Gong and Wang Bi versions.

<sup>3</sup> 《老子》乙, strip 9, *Guodian Chumu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998, page 118.

<sup>4</sup> Another form of the first person pronoun in the Chu manuscripts is 𠄎 which has 魚 \*ŋa as phonetic- in this case the similarity with 吾 (\*ŋa) is beyond question. It is interesting to note that the 虎 element seems not to be the phonetic here, unless we have here one case of a character with double phonetic. As for the 壬 element, it can stand for a wide range of sounds and meanings in the Chu script, none (to my knowledge) close to 吾.

<sup>5</sup> Cognate to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman \*k-la 'tiger' (see James Matisoff, *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, page 173).

<sup>6</sup> The phrase 吾子 is very frequent in the *Zuozhuan*, where it is used as a form of polite. At the same time, there is also one occurrence of 余子 in *Zuozhuan* 左傳昭4: 問其對曰余子長矣.

## Semantic Mappings of Bare and Demonstrative Nominals in Child Mandarin

Hsiang-Hua Chang and Cristina Schmitt, Michigan State University, email:changhs9@msu.edu

In this paper we test children’s generic and definite anaphoric interpretations of bare nominals in Mandarin. **Background and hypothesis:** Previous work on the acquisition of English shows that children allow generic/kind readings in definite plural noun phrases, even though definite plurals cannot be generic in English (Pérez-Leroux et al. 2004, Gelman 2003). This suggests that children may start with a representation that always allows definites to be generic. Mandarin has no overt articles, but bare nominals can be interpreted as kinds, definite anaphoric expressions and indefinites (Cheng and Sybesma 1999, among others). Following Chierchia (1998), we **hypothesize** that the kind-denoting interpretation is basic for bare nominals in Mandarin, while the definite anaphoric interpretation is obtained via covert type shifting. If kinds are basic and covert type shifting is universal, we expect children to allow both generic reading and definite anaphoric readings for bare nominals. However, if type shifting is costly, in ambiguous contexts children should prefer the generic interpretation for bare nominals.

**Methods and materials:** We test children’s comprehension of bare nominals (ambiguous between generic and definite reading) and demonstrative nominals (definite in the context) in subject position. We use a modified version of the task used in Pérez-Leroux et al. (2004). The test sentences in Mandarin appear without any verbal markers describing atypical members of a kind (e.g. vegetarian tigers). The target questions with a bare or a demonstrative nominal subject ask about the typical (1) or the atypical (2) characteristics of the kind. When the participant accepts the sentences with typical characteristics of the kind (‘yes’ to (1)) or reject those with atypical characteristics (‘no’ to (2)), the response is counted as a generic reading. Conversely, the answer is coded as definite when they reject a sentence as (1) and accept a sentence as (2).

這兩隻老虎只吃青菜，你看牠們在吃紅蘿蔔，這些兔子很高興，因為老虎不會吃牠們，現在讓我問你：



These two tigers only eat vegetables. See, they’re eating carrots. The rabbits are happy because they won’t get eaten. Now let me ask you: (Filler questions were omitted here.)

- (1) 這些老虎吃肉嗎? Do these tigers eat meat?  
 (2) 老虎吃紅蘿蔔嗎? Do tigers eat carrots?

- (1) No (definite – refers to context)  
 (2) No (generic – refers to kind)  
 Yes (definite – refers to context)

**Results and discussion:** We provide results from 61 children, aged three to five, and 47 adults divided in two groups A and B. **Generic interpretation for nominals:**

Version A	age:3	age:4	age:5	adult	Version B	age:3	age:4	age:5	adult
Bare	48%	75%	94%	63%	Bare	50%	80%	92%	65%
Demonstrative	45%	63%	76%	6%	Demonstrative	54%	59%	41%	24%

(The results of the two counterbalanced test versions -- counterbalanced ordering of the nominal types: bare or demonstrative -- are found to be significantly different and thus cannot be combined. This is due to considerable individual variation among participants, especially the discrepancy in interpreting demonstratives.)

While 3 year-olds are performing at chance level, which may be the result of a yes-bias typical of this age, the results show that 4 and 5-year-olds have a clear generic bias for bare nominals when compared to adults. The results for bare nominals support the hypothesis that the definite anaphoric reading is costly for the child and in a context of ambiguity children prefer the generic reading. The considerable amount of generic readings for demonstratives is surprising given that demonstrative nominals usually do not allow generic readings in adult grammar. However, if we compare Mandarin results with English and Spanish results (Perez-Leroux et al. 2004), the results are quite similar and suggest that learning that not all nominals can be generic is harder.

## Sentence Final Particles in Naxi: A Study of Parametric Syntax

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Yong-Qiang Zhu Yuxi Normal University

Naxi is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the southwest of China.

This paper aims to show that the “sentence final particles (SFP)”<sup>1</sup>, which have generally been considered in pragmatic domain, actually play a prominent role in the syntax of Naxi.

Unlike English, the inflectional components such as aspect, modality, and mood in the Naxi language are not expressed in morphosyntactic categories but in the analytic categories of SFP, as shown in the Naxi examples (1)-(4): (Data is basically quoted from Mu (2006))

- (1) xur<sup>31</sup> gur<sup>33</sup> ne<sup>31</sup>  
rain fall SFP[*progressive/witness*]  
“(I see) it’s raining.”
- (2) ηə<sup>31</sup> xa<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>55</sup> dzi<sup>33</sup> mbur<sup>33</sup>  
I rice eat SFP[*future/volitional/outward*]  
“I will (go) eat rice.”
- (3) nur<sup>33</sup> xdzi<sup>31</sup> u<sup>31</sup> fa<sup>33</sup>  
you water fetch SFP[*imperative/emphasis/forceful*]  
“(Hurry up!) You fetch the water!”
- (4) ηə<sup>31</sup> mo<sup>33</sup> nur<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ur<sup>33</sup> ko<sup>55</sup> t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>33</sup> yur<sup>33</sup> dtur<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>a<sup>33</sup> zə<sup>55</sup> se<sup>31</sup>  
my mother NW he KO book one CL give SFP[*perfective/verified*]  
“(I verify that) my mother gave him one book.”

From the examples above, it is worthy to note that the pragmatic information of the speaker’s perspective (e.g., evidentiality, direction, attitude, etc.) is also “inflected” in the SFP.

Based on the empirical evidences, the SFP in Naxi is thus proposed to be represented as clausal functional projections, roughly parallel to the concept of Evaluative Mood or Evidentiality Mood Projections in Cinque’s sense (1999). In the Naxi language, TP/IP is defected, and the inflectional system denoted in SFP is syntactically represented in CP domain. Accordingly, the striking properties in Naxi can be boiled down to the inherent properties of CP-prominent parameter (vs. IP-prominent parameter), in line with the so-called “cool languages” (Ross 1982, Huang 1984) or “discourse-oriented languages” (Tsao 1979).

### Selected References:

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<sup>1</sup> “Sentence final particles” in this paper is a cover term, referring to the postverbal components in Naxi. Meanwhile, SFP is short for “sentence final particles” throughout the paper.

**The Sentence-Final *Lai* 來 and *Qu* 去 in Early Chan “Recorded Sayings” (*Yulu* 語錄)  
— Aspect or Modality**

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*Lai* 來 'to come' and *Qu* 去 'to go' are two verbs, which denote the direction of an action. In the early Chan 禪 *Yulu* 語錄 (9<sup>th</sup> century to 11<sup>th</sup> century), these two verbs are found to appear at the sentence-final position to function as a grammatical particle. Previous studies on these two particles, such as Chen (1992), Cao (1995) and Guo (2000), have been based on the assumption that tense, aspect and mood are three distinct grammatical categories, which can never be realized together in one single form and that temporal reference is the criterion for differentiating these three grammatical categories. Therefore, *lai* and *qu* can each only be either an aspect marker, a modal marker, or a tense marker, depending on whether temporal reference is relevant. However, this assumption of one-to-one relationship between form and grammatical category cannot satisfactorily account for the different readings of each particle in different contexts. For instance, *qu* in (1) indicates the change of the status in a declarative statement; whereas in (2) seems to mark the irrealis modality in a conditional sentence.

(1) Zhe ge shiseng huan feng qu ye 這個師僧患瘋去也。

This-CL-monk-suffer-craziness-qu-ye  
This monk suffers from craziness.

(2) Ruo jian ze si ta qu 若見，則似他去。

If-see-then-resemble-he-qu  
If I can see, then I will resemble him.

In addition, such assumption also fails to clarify the relationship between *lai* and *qu* and other sentence-final particles with similar functions in the Chan Buddhist linguistic system, such as the emerging particle *liǎo* 了. This paper investigates *lai* and *qu* from the perspectives of the interaction between modality and aspect. Based on Wallace (1982), this paper examines the discourse as well as semantic conditions of these two particles. It is proposed that the modality of these two particles is conditioned by variety of context factors; whereas the aspectual readings are inherited from their verb usages. While modality and aspect are functions of different grammatical categories, they interact and co-exist in the utterances.

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## The Scalarity of *dou* in Focus Structure

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This paper addresses the semantics of *dou* in (1): the sentence has the *even* reading when the subject is focused. This phenomenon has been discussed in the literature and it has been under debate whether *dou* in (1) can be united with the distributive *dou* in (2). For example, Shyu (1995), Wu (1999) and Portner (2002) treated it similarly as the distributive *dou*, and Gao (1994), Sybesma (1996), Zhang (1997), and Hole (2004) argued that it should be treated differently from the distributive *dou*. What is shared among them, though, is that (1) involves the focus structure *lian...dou/ye* in (3) that has the following characteristics: (i) *lian* is optional; (ii) *dou* alternates with *ye* ‘also’; and (iii) *lian* is dependent on *dou/ye*.

- |     |                                     |                     |                     |                |                |
|-----|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|
| (1) | [John] <sub>f</sub>                 | <i>dou</i>          | <i>huale</i>        | <i>yifuhua</i> |                |
|     | John                                | <i>dou</i>          | draw ASP            | one-CL picture |                |
|     | ‘Even John drew a picture.’         |                     |                     |                |                |
| (2) | John he                             | Mary                | <i>dou</i>          | <i>huale</i>   | <i>yifuhua</i> |
|     | John and                            | Mary                | <i>dou</i>          | draw ASP       | one-CL picture |
|     | ‘John and Mary each drew a picture’ |                     |                     |                |                |
| (3) | <i>Lian</i>                         | [John] <sub>f</sub> | * ( <i>dou/ye</i> ) | <i>huale</i>   | <i>yifuhua</i> |
|     | even                                | John                | <i>dou/also</i>     | draw ASP       | one-CL picture |

Previous studies of it focus on *lian...dou* and take the *even* meaning as the structural meaning of it and *lian ...ye* is implicitly/explicitly taken as akin to *lian...dou*. This paper shows that putting *lian...dou* on a par with *lian...ye* is on the wrong track because they have different presuppositions. Evidence for this comes from the different readings of *dou* and *ye* independently of *lian*: *dou* minus *lian* has the scalar reading but *ye* minus *lian* has only the existential reading. When *lian* is added, both *lian...dou* and *lian...ye* have the scalar readings but *lian...ye* has the additional existential presupposition. This predicts that *lian...dou* is not identical to *lian...ye*. The assumed difference between *lian...dou/ye* is shown to resemble that between *even/also* in English as discussed in Rullmann (1997), which has led Rullmann to propose that the existential presupposition is not part of the meaning of *even* but is derived indirectly from the assertion and scalar presupposition. Given the parallelism between *lian...dou/ye* and *even/also*, I follow Rullmann, assuming that *lian* is similar to *even* in having only the scalar presupposition. Then I show how the pieces are combined compositionally following Karttunen and Peters (1979) and Rooth (1985)’s treatment of *even*. The implications of this analysis are also discussed. One is the predicted ambiguity of *dou* between the distributive and scalar readings. The other is the problem of why doesn’t *lian* suffice to yield the scalar reading without *dou/ye* in Chinese as *even* does if *lian* has the semantics of *even*. I not only provide evidence in support for the ambiguity of *dou* but also propose an analysis for the latter that adopts the feature checking of Shyu (1995) and the distinction of strong/weak features of Lin (1998).

## Relative Clauses in Hui'an Dialect

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The relative clause is an important topic in linguistic typology. However, variation among relative clauses in Chinese dialects has not attracted much attention. This paper examines relative clauses in the Hui'an dialect from the perspective of typology. The Hui'an dialect belongs to the Quan-Zhang subgroup of the Southern Min dialect family.

We explore relative clauses in the Hui'an dialect based on six parameters: (a) the position of the head noun relative to the restricting clause; (b) how the head noun is expressed in the restricting clause; (c) the role of the head noun in the restricting clause; (d) the role of the head noun in the main clause; (e) the encoding of the head noun in the main clause; and (f) the relativization marker used.

Our basic findings in terms of the aforementioned parameters can be outlined as follows:

(i) Relative clauses in the Hui'an dialect mainly belong to the head-final type. There also exists, however, a head-initial type of relative clause as in (1):

- (1) *lu e hi kO tha tiON-bun e*  
female E that CL study Chinese E  
'that girl who studies Chinese'

In (1), the restricting clause *tha tiON-bun e* 'who studies Chinese' follows the head noun *lu e hi kO* 'that girl'.

(ii) The 'gapping' strategy is very common in subject, object, oblique and possessor relatives, while the 'pronoun-retention' strategy is obligatorily used in comparative and indirect object relatives.

(iii) Indirect object is less accessible to relativization than oblique and possessor. This seems to clash with the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie, 1977).

(iv) The head noun mainly functions as topic, subject, object or predicate nominal in the main clause.

(v) According to the encoding of the head noun in the main clause, relative clauses can be divided into three types: headed, headless and light-headed relatives (cf. Citko, 2004). In the Hui'an dialect, a light head can be demonstrative and 'demonstrative (+numeral) + classifier'.

(vi) Relative clauses in the Hui'an dialect fall into two types based on the relativization marker used, i.e. relatives with *e* and demonstrative relatives. '*e*' is the counterpart of *de* in Mandarin. Relatives with *e* indicate a general referent, while demonstrative relatives refer to an entity or a definite category.

## To *De* or Not to *De*: Adjectival Modifiers in Mandarin Chinese

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The topic of this paper is the use of *de* in Mandarin DPs with adjectival modifiers. Modified DPs exhibit two patterns: the *A-N* sequence (1) and the *A-de-N* sequence (2). Some combinations of adjectives and nouns allow for both sequences while some prefer one sequence over the other. We propose that this is a result of, not only syntactic factors, but prosodic factors as well. In our analysis, *A-N* and *A-de-N* are syntactically the same underlyingly and the presence of *de* is determined phonologically. We will also show that previous theories of *A-N* and *A-de-N* cannot account for the differences in variations for monosyllabic (MS) and disyllabic (DS) forms.

Our analysis is based on two earlier claims in the literature: a) feet in Mandarin are disyllabic and b) they are formed in trochees from left to right (Duanmu 2000 among others). We propose that *A-N* and *A-de-N* have the same underlying syntactic form since the surface variations can be explained in other ways. Syntactically *de* sits in Mod<sup>0</sup> and takes an adjective as a complement (2). We assume that *de* is a clitic and cliticizes to the following phrase and that it marks the boundary of a phonological constituent. We predict that with a MS adjective in a neutral context, the *A-N* sequence is preferred. Since *de* divides the phrase into two phonological constituents, a MS adjective preceding *de* in an *A-de-N* sequence would result in a MS foot (3). Such a phrase is degraded because it violates the preference to form DS feet (4). In an *A-N* sequence, however, the MS adjective can form a binary foot with a MS noun or a ternary foot with a DS noun. There do exist cases containing MS adjectives in the *A-de-N* sequence. These adjectives, however, are typically interpreted as having contrastive focus. We claim that it is this contrastive focus makes the illegitimate foot acceptable. Lastly, we predict that a DS adjective can form its own foot and therefore the presence or absence of *de* does not affect the acceptability of the phrase (5).

There have been quite a few analyses trying to account for the two patterns. However, those analyses generally miss a large part of the data which shows that prosodic factors also have a major effect. We will discuss Simpson's (2001, 2002) relative clause analysis and Paul's (2005) semantic domain analyses. Counterexamples will be provided to show that these analyses are inadequate while our analysis avoids the problems they face.

- (1) a. keai nusheng  
      cute girl  
      b. keai de nusheng  
          cute DE girl  
          'a cute girl'
- (2) [NP [N' [ModP [AdjP Adj] [Mod de]]][N' N]]
- (3) \*(S) (de N)
- (4) a. ?(lu) (de hua-ping)  
      green DE vase
- b. (lu-se) (de hua-ping)  
          green-color DE vase  
          'a green vase'
- (5) a. (lu-se) (hua-ping)  
      green-color vase  
      b. (lu-se) (de hua-ping)  
          green-color DE vase  
          'a green vase'

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## Attitude Phrase and the Puzzle of Reconstruction

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**Introduction** It is well known that some overtly moved phrases behave as if they were not moved and are interpreted in their base, pre-movement positions, a phenomenon often described as reconstruction. Some researchers advocate the syntactic reconstruction (SynR) approach (Lebeaux 1995, Romero 1997, Fox 1999), drawing attention to the relation between binding conditions and scope, *de re/de dicto* and binding conditions. Therefore, (1b) cannot have the *de dicto* reading because reconstructing the subject phrase back to its base position will result in Condition C violation. Other researchers propose the need for semantic reconstruction (SemR) (Lechner 1998, Sharvit 1999), employing semantic mechanisms such as higher type traces to account for the discrepancy between surface order and interpretation.

**Problems** There are cases which seem to be problematic for both approaches, as shown in (2). (2) is derived from (1a), with the pre-posing of the experiencer phrase. The subject phrase occupies a position higher than the universals introduced by *seem* in both cases, and, yet, the *de re* reading is missing in (2). Another set of sentences which also seem to be problematic for both approaches is given in (3)-(5). (3) and (4) show that *ziji* ‘self’ must be interpreted as *de se* when it is embedded under an intensional verb, but can be interpreted as *de re* otherwise. As shown in (5b), even when the *wh*-phrase has been overtly moved, it can still be interpreted as *de se*, as if it has not moved.

**Analysis** I propose that the problem noted in (2) and (5) can be accounted for under the semantic approach. Specifically, I claim that experiencer phrases are world-introducing phrases and can limit all the possible worlds to those satisfying the description denoted by the experiencer phrase. It serves as a closer world binder and that explains why only the *de dicto* reading is possible.

- (1) a. A friend of hisi seemed to Johni to have been in an accident. *de dicto* / *de re*  
b. A friend of Johni seemed to himi to have been in an accident. *\*de dicto* / *de re*
- (2) To Johni, a friend of hisi seem to have been in an accident. *de dicto* / *\*de re*
- (3) Lisi shuo pashou tou-le ziji-de pibao (4) Akiu kanjian Lisi mai-le ziji-de zhaopian  
Lisi say pickpocket steal-asp self-‘s purse Akiu see Lisi buy-asp self-‘s picture  
‘Lisi said “that thief stole my purse”.’ (*de se*) ‘Akiu saw Lisi buy self’s picture’ (*de re/de se*)
- (5) a. Zhangsan shuo pashou tou-le na-yi-zhang ziji de zhaopian? *de se* / *\*de re*  
Zhangsan say pickpocket steal-asp which-one-cl self ‘s picture  
b. Na-yi-zhang ziji de zhaopian Zhangsan shuo pashou tou-le? *de se* / *\*de re*  
which-one-cl self ‘s picture Zhangsan say pickpocket steal  
‘Which picture of himself did Zhangsan say that the thief stole?’

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## Adverbs of Completion *Quan* and *Wanquan* in Chinese

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In this paper, I provide a semantic analysis of two preverbal adverbs of completion, *quan* and *wanquan* ‘completely’ in Mandarin Chinese. The English sentence, *the room is completely dark*, can be translated into two Chinese sentences, (1) or (2). However, there are some cases in which only one of them can be used as shown in (3)-(6). Both adverbs indicate that the event is completed, but they construe differently how the event comes to be completed. Expanding on the work of Kennedy and McNally (2005), I propose that *quan* requires the theme/patient to be incremental (Dowty 1990), whereas *wanquan* requires the event type it modifies includes a resulting scalar property. The distinction is similar to Moltmann’s (1997) notion of participant-related and event-type related readings of adverbs of completion.

I claim that the distinction between the two adverbs follows from the fact that *quan* has scope over the NP and *wanquan* has scope over the result state. For example, (1) means that every corner of the room is dark, whereas (2) means that the darkness reached the maximal point on the darkness scale. In (3), there is a homomorphism between the part-whole structure of the banana and that of the eating event. That is, with the temporal progression of the eating event, more and more banana is consumed. (5) is ungrammatical because of the way we construe the washing event. There is no part-whole incremental structure of the physical extent of the shirt in the washing event. This analysis also accounts for the grammaticality of (7). The bare NP *chenshan* ‘shirt’ refers to a set of shirts which constitutes an incremental theme.

I suggest that *wanquan* modifies an eventuality whose result state (i) can be construed as a scale, and (ii) must be morphologically marked. First, in (6) the state of cleanliness can be construed as a degree on a scale from dirtiness to cleanliness. In contrast, in (8) the state of being dead has no degree, i.e., people are either alive or dead. Second, the result state has to be morphologically expressed. For example, the lexical meaning of the verb *wash* is associated with a result of cleanliness as the desired result of the event (Talmy 2000). (9) is inappropriate because the associated result is not morphologically expressed. In contrast, the state of cleanliness is explicitly expressed by *ganjing* ‘clean’ in (6). The result has to be expressed because *wanquan* requires the boundary that marks to be entailed and it is well known that Chinese monomorphemic change of state verbs do not necessarily entail result (Tai 1984; Smith 1991; Lin 2004).

Both *quan* and *wanquan* require a complex scale (cf. Beavers 2007), that consists of at least a minimal degree, a middle degree, and a maximal degree, where the minimal degree must not equal the maximal degree. The inequality condition excludes cases like (8). The maximal degree entails the existence of the upper bound of a scale. This accounts for why (10) is unacceptable because the lack of the upper bound on the scale of dirtiness. That is, a minimal amount of dirtiness qualifies as dirty, but there is no maximal degree of dirtiness.

The scale involved is not the same, though, for both adverbs. For *quan*, the relevant scale is formed out of the object-part structure of the theme/patient and for *wanquan*, the relevant scale is the scalar property that underlies the result state. As a consequence, although the meaning of completion entails the existence of a boundary, the nature of the boundary that these two adverbs target is different. The boundary for *quan* is denoted by the maximal portion of theme/patient NP denotation, whereas the boundary for *wanquan* is the maximal degree of the event’s scalar result.

- (1) 房間全黑了 ‘The room is completely dark.’
- (2) 房間完全黑了 ‘The room is completely dark.’
- (3) 這根香蕉他全吃了 ‘He complete ate the banana.’
- (4) #這根香蕉他完全吃了 ‘He complete ate the banana. (lit.)’
- (5) #這件襯衫他全洗乾淨了 ‘He completely washed the shirt clean. (lit.)’
- (6) 這件襯衫他完全洗乾淨了 ‘He completely washed the shirt clean. (lit.)’
- (7) 襯衫他全洗乾淨了 ‘He completely washed the shirts.’
- (8) #他把李四完全殺死了 ‘#He completely killed Lisi. (lit.)’
- (9) #這件襯衫他完全洗了 ‘#He completely washed the shirt. (lit.)’
- (10) #這件襯衫他完全洗髒了 ‘#He completely washed the shirt dirty.’

## When Semantic Structure Matters: Mandarin Induced Change of State Verbs

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English induced changes of state stems such as kill can be translated into Mandarin either as a monomorphemic verb *sha* ‘kill’ (hereafter, Simplex Verb or SV) or as a resultative  $V_1V_2$  compound (hereafter, Complex Verb or CV) *sha-si* ‘kill-die’. It is well-known that Mandarin SVs differ model-theoretically from their English counterparts (Smith, 1991, among others). Thus, (1) shows that the change described by *sha* ‘kill’ need not be complete, although the proto-Patient must have undergone some change. CVs, on the other hand, are, with respect to the completeness of the change, model-theoretically equivalent to their English counterparts, as (2) illustrates. In this paper, (i) we show that, notwithstanding this model-theoretic equivalence, CVs are not equivalent in compositional potential to their English counterparts; (ii) we model this dissociation between model-theoretic and compositional properties through the use of underspecified semantic representations.

(1) 孫麻子把老羅殺了，沒殺死。<sup>Google Attested</sup>

(2) #孫麻子把老羅殺死了，沒殺死。

The following table summarizes three diagnostic tests that suggest that V2 and only V2 in CVs can be in the scope of Temporal, Aspectual, and Modal operators (henceforth, TAMs).

	<i>Simplex COS Verbs</i>	<i>Complex COS verbs</i>
Prospective marker <i>kuai</i>	(3a) *阿甘快讀書了	(3b) 阿甘快讀完書了
Prospective marker <i>zai</i>	(4a) 阿甘在讀書	(4b) *阿甘在讀完書
Durational Verb Copying	(5a) 阿甘讀書讀了一天	(5b) *阿甘讀完書讀了一天

(1) The prospective marker *kuai* in Mandarin denotes the time interval that immediately precedes a maximal result state (in the sense of Hay et al. 2001 and Beavers, 2007). The fact that SVs cannot be modified by *kuai*, as (3a) shows, is easily explained by the fact that they do not describe a complete change of state (the killing or reading may not have entirely affected the proto-Patient, i.e. may not be maximal). This suggests that only the meaning of  $V_2$ , not that of  $V_1$ , can be in the scope of TAMs. (2) The contrast between (4a) and (4b) shows that CVs are incompatible with progressive aspect. As is widely accepted, progressive operators require a dynamic input (Dowty, 1979). The incompatibility between *zai* and CVs confirms that the process phase denoted by  $V_1$  is not available for TAM modification. (3) The contrast between (5a) and (5b) shows that only SVs can undergo verb copying. The durational phrase in the verb copying construction requires its input to be a process in the sense of Bach (1986) or de Swart (1998). The fact that CVs cannot enter into this construction suggests that their process phase (what  $V_1$  helps describe) cannot be in the scope of TAM operators. In brief, the observations suggest that only the result phase of the induced change of state (what  $V_2$  helps describe) is “visible” to TAMs: Only  $V_2$  is in the scope of TAMs and only the semantic properties of  $V_2$  (not those of  $V_1$ ) are relevant to the possible or impossible co-occurrence of particular TAMs and CVs.

In the second part of this paper, we show that Minimal Recursion Semantics (MRS, Copestake et al., 2005) provides a natural model of the model-theoretic equivalence and compositional non-equivalence of Mandarin CVs and their English counterparts. In MRS, the semantic content of linguistic signs is a list of elementary predications (EPs). Each EP has a handle which serves as its label. Among the list of EPs, one of them is distinguished. It is called the expression’s local top and its handle is the value of a LTOP attribute. Crucially which EP is an expression’s local top (i.e. which handle is the value of LTOP) affects the scope of operators like quantifiers and TAMs. In headed-phrases, the LTOP is the handle of the EP corresponding to the head, but more specialized constructions can specify the handle of other EPs as LTOP. We hypothesize that the LTOP of  $V_1V_2$  compounds corresponds to the EP contributed by  $V_2$  (either because it is the head of the compound, as argued by e.g., Tai, 2003, or because of a construction-specific identification). Because TAM operators, as a group, select the LTOP of the expression they modify, our hypothesis accounts for the fact that only the EP contributed by  $V_2$  (and its arguments) is in their scope. Since, on the other hand, the English counterparts of Mandarin CVs lexicalize both the process and result phases within a single stem, the local top of English VPs (which corresponds to the single EP of its verbal head) includes both phases in its scope. As Copestake et al. argue, underspecifying the value of LTOP can provide a simple and elegant model of scope ambiguities. We show that the constructional specification of the value of LTOP can also provide a natural model of the kind of cross-linguistic differences in compositional potential of model-theoretic equivalents illustrated by the contrast between Mandarin CVs and their English counterparts.

早期佛經詞義的義素研究  
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傳統訓詁學的詞義研究往往只處理歷時的詞義演化中，所發生的擴大、縮小、轉移諸模式，很少論及在古代漢語共時層面的詞義系統問題。同時，在分析技術上也未能深入一個詞義的內部，探索其深層結構，找出構成這個詞義的諸要素。現代語言學的一些理論和觀念，正好彌補了這方面的不足。詞義場理論（semantic field）提供了詞義系統研究的依據，義素分析法（Sememe analysis）把傳統的詞義單位區分成了更小的辨義成分。這些新觀念、新方法完全可以引入古代漢語的研究上。材料方面，中古漢語中，最能反映當時實際口語，而材料又最為龐大的，就是佛經資料了。佛經保留了大量當時的語言紀錄。古代的譯經者為了更有效地傳播佛法，總是運用社會大眾的口語來進行佛經的翻譯。所用的詞彙，在當時都是耳熟能詳的群眾用語，所以佛經不僅是宗教的、思想義理的、文學的、更是一座豐富的「語料庫」。

在研究材料上擬作比較嚴格的斷代，觀察東漢到西晉的佛經中的同義詞、近義詞、反義詞、類義詞。把他們一組一組的找出來，分析其中的義素。找出各組詞彙意義的共同性和差異性。意義比較時，除了參考各種古代的工具書，如《說文》、《經典釋文》、《慧琳音義》之外，也參考前人的各種註解和訓詁資料。此外，還使用「以經證經」的方法，用大量的佛經句例，從上下文語境之中，觀察該詞的具體含意，包含核心意義和色彩意義。可以進行的途徑，有下面幾個方面：第一是佛經理有許多詞素易序的結構（AB/BA替換），都是同義並列結構。我們可以觀察二詞間的共性和差異性。也可以分析詞素單用時的義素成分。例如：1. 知識／識知2. 熱惱／惱熱等例。第二，我們擬摘出佛經中的同義詞群、類義詞群進行其中所蘊含的義素分析工作。例如：「貢高／僞慢」、「哀音／哀樂」等。第三，佛經中有大量的新生複合詞，觀察其組成詞素間的語意聯繫。例如：名詞+名詞組成的並列結構。例如：殃禍、魂神、宗家、衢路、顏貌（500 羅云忍辱經）空無、吾我（103 佛說聖法印經）。形容詞+形容詞的並列結構例如：清淨、威猛（500 羅云忍辱經）清涼、安隱（118 佛說鶡掘摩經）。動詞+動詞的並列結構，例如：驚怪、往來、消滅、燒煮、布施、毒害（500 羅云忍辱經）思念、消除、休息、解脫、分別、思惟、毀壞、別離（103 佛說聖法印經）。第四，我們還可以觀察這些中古詞語的歷時演變。特別是「同形義異」的詞。例如「交通」、「感激」在佛經中的意義和今天並不相同，那麼其間的哪項義素發生了調整？嘗試找出其中變化的脈絡。

## ***Zhi* 之 in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions: From a Perspective of its Discourse Uses**

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The current paper attempts to examine the types of discourse usage of *zhi* 之 in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions. Traditional grammatical analysis on *zhi* in this body of texts mainly focuses on perplexing issues such as its spatial reference type. Recent studies have demonstrated that discourse analysis is of special importance for studying demonstratives. The author is thus prompted to examine the types of discourse usage of *zhi*, following the classification in Himmelmann (1996). Preliminary result revealed that, unlike the other demonstrative *zi* 兹 attested in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions, *zhi* is mainly found with tracking or textual use and that there seem to be no indisputable examples of situational use of *zhi* even when used attributively in such phrases as *zhi ri* 之日 or *zhi yue* 之夕. It is suggested that *shi* 是 in classical Chinese may be linked to *zhi* although the latter occurs in more limited grammatical positions. The reconstructed pronunciation of *zhi* on one hand and those of *shi* and its variant 時, on the other seem to favor this association.

### ***Reference***

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## Presupposition, Times and Degrees: The Case of Mandarin *hái*

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When modifying gradable properties, Mandarin *hái* may convey two interpretations (1a/b), that have been accounted for under a scalar analysis (Liu 2001).

- (1) Zhāngsan hái niánqīng.  
a. Zhangsan is still young. (*temporal*)  
b. Zhangsan is even younger/ is rather young. (*comparative/ borderline*)

In its comparative reading, *hái* yields an E(valuative) interpretation, similar to that of scalar modifier *gèng* (2). The two adverbs have different semantic properties, though, since *gèng* doesn't allow post-V Differential Measure Ps (3) (Paris 1988).

- (2) Zhāngsan (bǐ Lǐsī) hái /gèng niánqīng.  
Zhangsan is even younger (than Lisi). ( $\rightsquigarrow$  Zhangsan and Lisi are both tall)
- (3) a. Zhāngsan (bǐ Lǐsī) hái niánqīng (sān cūn)  
b. Zhāngsan (bǐ Lǐsī) gèng niánqīng (\*sān cūn)

**Goal** The goal of this paper is to get a unified semantic analysis for *hái* working on the hypothesis of a structural analogy between its domains of application in (1a/b): the predicate in (1a/b) denotes a closed interval on the (oriented) ordered set of times and degrees.

**Analysis** I will propose an analysis of *hái* in terms of additive presupposition (3). The presupposed item and the asserted one are related by the ordering relation R.

- (3) [[*hái*]] =<sub>def</sub>  $\lambda P \lambda i \lambda x. P(x)(i) \ \& \ @ \exists i' [i' R i \ \& \ P(i')]$

The discussion will focus in particular on comparative constructions. In order to achieve a unified semantics for temporal and comparative *hái*, I will defend the hypothesis that the scalar-like interpretation of *hái* in (2) is the result of the standard additive presupposition applied to E predicates (Bierwisch 1989), which denote closed intervals on the D scale. Scalar modifiers like *gèng* bear the presupposition that the comparison standard denotes a MAX(imal) d, thus asserting that the compared item exceeds the interval selected for its comparison class. On the contrary, *hái* presupposes that a (relevant) antecedent is to be found within the selected interval, without conveying any information about its position on the scale. In a compositional analysis, the contrast in (2)/(3) is explained also as a structural difference. Despite the similar interpretation of *hái* and *gèng*, I will show that *hái* in (2) cannot be considered a degree modifier. Rather, *hái* modifies a VP-external projection, and the two interpretations in (1a/b) depend on the semantic type of the predicate.

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## **Requests in Academic Settings in Chinese, Russian and English**

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Cross-cultural studies of speech acts have done numerous contrastive analyses of certain speech acts across different languages and cultures to appreciate the similarities and differences in realizing specific speech acts and to enhance understanding among people from different cultures. As the assessment of cultural context and social variables varies cross-culturally, different societies may utilize different strategies even for the same activities. For example, there is a cross-cultural variation in the preferences for orientation towards positive or negative politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987; Blum-Kulka, 1988).

It is generally stated that English reflects the negative politeness orientation and English speakers would consider keeping distance as the way of being polite and prefer using indirect strategies when making requests. Russian and Chinese may reflect positive politeness orientation and prefer using direct strategies. For instance, based on an empirical study of Chinese requests Lee-Wong (1994) found out that the dominant use of request strategy is direct and the use of directness in the form of imperative is socially acceptable and not perceived as impolite in Chinese culture.

The present research is based on the data collected from 25 Chinese Russian and English students studying at The Ohio State University, respectively. They participated in the research by filling out the questionnaire containing 14 request situations in Chinese. It has been concluded from the research that the most used request strategy in Chinese requests is conventional indirect strategy, which is contrary to Lee-Wong's findings on Chinese requests.

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## The Spotty-Data Problem in Phonology

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The main job of a linguist is to study grammar—either universal grammar or the grammar of a particular language. Chomsky (1957), Halle (1962), and Chomsky and Halle (1968) propose that a grammar is a set of rules, which are well defined, so are the set of structures they generate. In addition, knowing the grammar, a speaker has the intuition to judge whether a structure is or is not good in his/her language, whether the structure has been used before or not. For example, Halle (1962) argues that speaker intuition can be used to judge whether a sound sequence is well formed, even if it is not a real word. For example, ‘*bick*’, ‘*nis*’, and ‘*bnik*’ are (or were) not real English words but the first two are possible words while the third is not.

However, recent studies (e.g. Frisch et al 2000, Myers and Tsay 2005, and Zhang 2007) have shown that speaker judgment on possible words is not always clear cut. Similarly, many studies have noted that consistent judgment on syllable boundaries can be hard to obtain (Gimson 1970, Treiman and Danis 1988, Giegerich 1992, Hammond 1999, Steriade 1999, Blevins 2003).

In this talk I discuss some examples in phonology where the boundaries of grammar are not clear. I focus on what I call the ‘spotty-data’ problem, which refers to the fact that we often do not have enough data to determine where the boundaries of grammar are. An example is shown in (1), based on the CELEX lexicon.

(1) The ‘spotty-data’ problem in English

Word form	Possible	Used	% used
CVC	2,415	615	25.5%
CVCCVC	5,832,225	6,000	0.1%

American English has 23 onset C (excluding [ŋ]), 5 short (lax) V, and 21 coda C. This gives 2,415 possible CVC syllables. English has about 3,000 uninflected monosyllabic words, which include CVVC (842), CVC (615), CCVVC (453), CCVC (326), etc. The second most frequent type, CVC, includes 615 syllables. This means that just one fourth of all possible CVC words are used. In addition, if any two CVC syllables can form a disyllabic word, there are about 6,000,000 possible disyllabic words, yet English only uses around 6,000 uninflected disyllabic words. This means that just 0.1% of all possible disyllabic words are used.

I shall argue that the reason so few syllables are used is not because there are massive phonological constraints against most of the unused syllables, but because a language does not need many morphemes. In particular, I show that there are only about 10,000 morphemes in Chinese and English, and only half of them are frequently used.

In view of the spotty-data problem, we need to reconsider what we mean by rules and exceptions. For example, does English have a rule (constraint) against the onset [sf-], except ‘*sphere*’ and ‘*sphinx*’? Or does English not have such a rule (constraint) but happens not to have used many words with [sf-]? Does Cantonese have a rule (constraint) against two labial sounds in a word, except [pəm] ‘pump’ (Yip 1988)? Or does Cantonese not have such a rule (constraint) but happens not to have used many words like [mou], [fou], and [p<sup>h</sup>ou]? I shall discuss how we should approach such questions.

## Adverbs and Positive Polarity in Mandarin Chinese

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Recent attempts to account for the distribution of adverbs have appealed to their semantic properties; in one such account, Nilsen 2004 proposed that speaker-oriented adverbs (SpOAs), such as *yexu* “perhaps” and *xingkuai* “fortunately” are positive polarity items. I show here that Nilsen’s generalization, formulated on the basis of English and Norwegian data, holds also for Mandarin Chinese. This approach accounts for the inability of such adverbs to occur not only within the scope of negation (see 1), but in questions and counterfactuals (in 2-3), also typical negative polarity environments:

- (1) Ta (\*bu) dagai hui dasuan canjia jinniande huiyi.  
S/he not probably will plan attend this-year’s meeting  
“She will (\*not) probably plan to attend this year’s meeting.”
- (2) \*Lisi yexu cong Deguo huilai-le meiyou?  
Lisi perhaps from Germany returned or-not  
“Did Lisi perhaps come back from Germany?”
- (3) \*Ruguo ta buxing mai-le henduo xinde yifu, jiu zaogao le.  
if s/he unfortunately bought many new clothes then mess ASP  
“If she unfortunately bought a lot of new clothes, that’s a big problem.”

Nilsen’s scale-based approach to this polarity behavior of SpOAs is problematic. I show here that the phenomenon can instead be handled on a version of Giannakidou’s (1999) (Non-)Veridicality (NV) theory, in which SpOAs are taken as expressions of the speaker’s strong commitment to the proposition Q represented by the adverb. Crucially, this commitment requires that Q be true in all worlds in the speaker’s belief model. Thus, in an affirmative sentence like 1 without *bu* “not”, the speaker believes the proposition Q = [it is probable that P], where P = [She will plan to attend this year’s meeting]. Since the speaker must be committed to the truth of Q, embedding it under negation results in a direct contradiction. Moreover, both questions (2) and conditionals (3) leave open the possibility that the proposition at issue might be false; again, Q is not true in all worlds in the speaker’s belief model, as the adverb requires.

The NV theory handles such data in a more plausible way than a Nilsen-style approach, and also can more easily capture cross-linguistic and lexical variation. This result has several theoretical implications. First, the (Non)Veridicality theory of polarity derives a measure of support, over scalar approaches to polarity à la Nilsen. Second, there is further evidence for a more semantically-oriented theory of adverb ordering (contra Cinque 1999), i.e. as an explanation for why SpOAs normally must precede negation, yet in some constructions in some languages may actually follow negation.

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Nilsen, Øystein (2004), “Domains for Adverbs,” *Lingua* 114, 809-847.

## Variations and Mergers of Tones in Hong Kong Cantonese

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Hong Kong Cantonese stands out from other tone languages in the world by having a rich system of tonal contrasts. There are six contrastive tones in the language, namely, high level (T1), high rising (T2), mid level (T3), low falling (T4), low rising (T5) and low level (T6). However, this highly complex and symmetric tonal system is in the process of re-organization. Some reports claimed that speakers could not distinguish the two rising tones, such as 想 [u; ɸ] ‘think’ T2 vs. 上[u; ɸ] ‘up’ T5 (So and Varley, 1991, Cheung 2002, Bauer, Cheung and Cheung 2003 etc.). Some reports claimed that speakers could not distinguish the two non-high level tones, such as 慰 [y 8k\_] ‘stomach’ T3 vs. 胃 [y 8k] ‘stomach’ T6 (Chow 2006 and Mak 2006). In addition to these two changes, some speakers find it difficult to distinguish the mid level T3, such as 義 [ji] ‘righteous’, from the low rising T5, such as 已 [ji] ‘already’, according to our observations. In fact, the merger of T3 with T5 is quite plausible. Even among speakers who still maintain the six contrastive tones, morphologically motivated and unmotivated alternations between T3 and T5 for a number of words are found (Wong 2006).

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Clearly, some kind of significant sound change is going on in the Hong Kong Cantonese tone system. However, works documenting this sound change are scarce in number and fragmentary in content. The overall picture is still murky. The paper attempts to provide a full picture on this on-going sound change by first identifying the tonal categories that exhibit variation and merger, then the directions of the mergers, and finally the motivations of the changes.

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## Language Change in Progress: Evidence from Computer-mediated Communication

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With its ever increasing use, computer-mediated communication (CMC) has become a progressively well documented research area (e.g., Baron 2000; Crystal 2006; Danet & Herring 2007; Gao 2007; Yu *et al* 2001). In this paper I present an analysis of emergent language usages in CMC in Chinese. Applying the construct of apparent time (Labov 1963, 1966), I argue that these linguistic data demonstrate language change in progress.

The data examined cover both novice lexical items and sentences featuring “syntactic anomalies”. Lexical examples are given in (1), and exemplar “grammatically anomalous” sentences are given in (2) below. Sentences (2a-d) exemplify change in word category. In (2a), the noun “伊妹儿” was used a verb. In (2b) the noun “阳光” was used as an adjective. In (2c) the adjective “黑” was used as a verb. And in (2d) the adjective “狂” was used as an adverb. Sentence (2e) exemplifies change in word order, where “先” was moved to the end of the sentence. And sentence (2f) exemplifies the use of a redundant element, “的说”.

- (1) 猫 (‘modem’), 灌水 (‘to publish low-quality posts online’), 楼主 (‘a person initiating a discussion topic’), 酱紫 (‘this way’), 偶 (‘I’), LD (‘spouse’)
- (2a) 她常伊妹儿我。 (‘She often e-mails me.’)
- (2b) 她很阳光。 (‘She is very happy-go-lucky.’)
- (2c) 美国政府网站被黑。 (‘The U.S. government website was hacked into.’)
- (2d) 那人狂难看。 (‘The man is extremely bad-looking.’)
- (2e) 谢了先。 (‘Thanks ahead.’)
- (2f) 同意的说。 (‘Agreed.’)

In this paper I also discuss two other questions regarding the use of sprouting CMC expressions online: 1) is the use of expressions in question confined to the mode of CMC? 2) assuming that Chinese web-users are mostly those of young generation, is the use of expressions under discussion an age-grading phenomenon? Based on the discussion I point out that the linguistic data in question rather reflect language change in progress, the use of which is beyond the boundary of either mode of communication or netizens’ age.

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## Word Order in Mandarin: Reading and Speaking

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It has been noticed in many recent publications (Chen 2007, Gao 2002, 2007 and 2008, Feng 2002, etc) of Chinese linguistics that major differences have been found in spoken and written forms. That is, what we read and what we say may become so different that different measures have to be taken in CFL education. In this paper, I take a close look at the word order of both the colloquial and formal forms of the language.

First I discuss the phenomenon that pre-clause conjunctions such as ‘*ruguo*’ are disappearing in the spoken form. In its place we more and more use of the post-clause ‘*dehua*’, as is shown in (1). This is also true with temporal conjunctions such as ‘*deshihou*’. Then I argue that in spoken forms, many prepositions have now taken up the function of a case marker while a lot of locative words begin to take up the function as postpositions. For instance, ‘*zai*’ has shown a lot of properties of a locative marker while ‘*-shang*’ behaves more like a postposition in creating a locative phrase with different categorical properties from a nominal phrase, as is shown in (2). In the same way, some temporal words like ‘*hao*’ and ‘*nian*’ began to show properties of postpositions with the dropping of the preposition ‘*yu*’.

Next, I show that many post-verbal objects have repositioned themselves as pre-verbal marked complements in spoken forms. For instance, the object of ‘*manyi*’ in (3a) is pre-posed in (3c). To accommodate the change in the written form, a light verb is generally used before the verb, as is shown in (3b). I also discuss the different positions of subordinate clauses in written and spoken forms. I show that the written form has inherited some archaic Chinese conjunctions. When we use those conjunctions to introduce subordinate clauses, the modifying clauses may be positioned after the matrix clause. However, when we replace the archaic conjunction with a modern one in the colloquial language, the modifying clause is no longer possible to be placed after the matrix clause. The phenomenon is shown in (4). This shows that the principles are now more restrict to limit any modifiers to a position before the modified.

Accompanied with the pre-nominal adjectival modifiers and pre-verbal adverbial modifiers, the spoken form has now demonstrated mostly head-final properties and should be classified as a head-final language while the written form remains mostly head-initial except the modifiers. I would argue that the change in the spoken form is due to frequent contact with head-final languages such as Japanese, Korean and Mongolian. The resistance of the change in the written form is due to first language interference from southern dialect speakers. The difference between the colloquial and written forms has put a big challenge to educators of CFL. The paper will conclude with some constructive suggestions on the pedagogical issues in CFL education.

- (1) a. 如果教学环境改变了, 学生的学习情绪也会随之改变的。  
b. (如果) 下雨的话, 我们就不去了。
- (2) a. 他在墙\*(上)挂了一幅画。  
b. 墙\*(上)被他挂了一幅画。
- (3) a. 学校领导很满意你们处理这个事件的方式。  
b. 学校领导对你们的处理方式表示满意。  
c. 我对这个人很满意。
- (4) a. 已有八百多头牲口被杀, 以防止疫情扩散。  
b. \*已有八百多头牲口被杀, 为了防止疫情扩散。  
c. 为了防止疫情扩散, 已有八百多头牲口被杀。  
d. \*以防止疫情扩散, 已有八百多头牲口被杀。

## **Tone Production in Mandarin Chinese by American Students: A case study**

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This study reports findings on the developmental stages of tone acquisition by American students in their first year of Mandarin Chinese learning. The study aims at identifying the different developmental characteristics of each of the four tones in near-natural speech over two academic quarters, and the self-monitoring of tone production during conversations in Chinese. Through auditory analysis of the data, the study confirms the difficulty of tone 3 in near-natural conversations due to both the intrinsic difficulty of the tone and the environment of tone production due to tone sandhi changes. Furthermore, the study finds that the production of tone 2 is also difficult for these students, which confirms findings from tone perception studies by prior research (e.g., Lee, Tao & Bond, in press).

Sixteen native speakers of American English in their first year Chinese language classes participated in this study over the course of one academic year. The data were collected at the end of each academic quarter over two non-consecutive quarters, with a total of 32 oral presentations plus spontaneously produced questions and answers. The study focused on analyzing the development of participants' tonal production in discourse to evaluate the effect of surrounding phonetic context on the development of accurate tone production.

The findings of this study highlight the most challenging aspect of tone production for American L2 learners of Chinese, and suggest that appropriate pedagogical methods and materials are needed for improving tone learning. The study also promotes the methods for early monitoring and practicing of tones from instructors as a crucial factor for improving the accuracy of L2 learners' tonal production.

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## 谈“有（一）点 + 静态动词(stative verb)”的语义及语用功能

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在汉语语言学和对外汉语教学领域里，“有（一）点+形容词”被认作为一个常见的固定用法。一般的语法著作和对外汉语教材都简略地介绍该结构表示少量，意义消极或与本来预料不符。近来更有新的研究认为“有（一）点+形容词”这种结构在句中所表达的是一种消极，负面的评价。笔者认为，前人的定论至少存在两个问题，一个是语言资料涵盖不全，另一个是与语言事实不完全符合。本文从调查现代汉语语言资料着手，分析“有（一）点”后所加的静态动词的类及所表示的不同情境(situation)，力图对该结构的语义及语用功能有一个透彻的了解。

本文语言素材来自《北京大学汉语语言学研究现代汉语语料库》。首先我们发现，“有（一）点”后所加的静态动词不仅仅是形容词，还有相当数量的心理感觉/活动的动词。这类动词通常可以用“很”来修饰，所表示的是静态情境。在现代汉语时体系统的研究中，这些动词也被视为静态动词。如：有点感动，有点得意，有点讨厌。除此之外，语料还告诉我们这一结构所表达的并非完全是消极的和负面的。如：

1. 只要沙漠里稍微降了一点雨，地面稍稍[有点]湿润，它就立刻发芽，生长开花。
2. 不过北京人吃饭什么的是[有点]儿，是[有点]儿爱考究。
3. 眼 g én <方> (1) 滑稽；有趣：这段相声真~ | 这孩子笑的样子[有点]儿~。

“有（一）点 + 静态动词”所表示的情境也不是单一的静态情境(stative situation)，它还可以用来表示变化后的状态。如，有点紧张起来，有点明白过来了。

在搜集分析语料的同时我们还发现在全部语料库中有109例“有（一）点太+静态动词”的句子，而只有一例“有（一）点很+静态动词”的句子。这就使我们不得不考虑如下两个问题。一个是该结构是否真的表示少量，另外一个，也是更重要的就是该句式的语用功能。“有（一）点+静态动词”表示说话人的主观意志，看法和态度，而不是客观的判断或描述。由于表示主观的看法和态度，该结构的使用在于使语气变得缓和委婉。

**Humor in Discourse:  
A Linguistic Study of the Chinese Dialect Film, *Crazy Stone* (疯狂的石头)<sup>i</sup>**

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Discourse analysis has recently begun to explore humor in discourse from both the linguistic and socio-cultural perspective. Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997) analyzed different types of humor in conversational joking, such as teasing, joking about others and self-denigrating. In their article they raised one main question, namely, what are the functions and outcomes of verbal interactions and social interactions that involve conversational joking. Based on their question, three levels of questions are developed to examine humor in discourse in the analysis of the film, *Crazy Stone* (疯狂的石头). The first level is strictly linguistic in the study of humor. The second level is from the societal perspective. The third level is the interaction between language and the socio-political context. With respect to the three levels, three questions are posed. 1. What linguistic devices are used for creating humorous effect in verbal interactions? 2. What humorous effects result from the social interactions between (or among) the interlocutors? 3. How does the script writer or director manipulate language choice and language form in the socio-political context of modern China to create humor?

Adopting the ethnography of speaking approach used in Boxer and Cortes-Conde (1997), this paper examines the humor in a 2006 Chinese dialect film, *Crazy Stone*. The film, *Crazy Stone*, is chosen because it is a comedy film and it was the most popular of its genre in China when it was released. Part of the reason for its appeal to the populace is that it addresses social and political aspects of life in China today through the use of humor. The corpus for the study is a DVD version of *Crazy Stone*. Excerpts of conversations that contain humor are analyzed in this paper. An example is illustrated below.

秦秘书: 老谢, 八个月都没发工资了, 搞得有声有色的嘛!  
Secretary Qin: Lao Xie, you haven't paid your employees for eight months. You did a good job!  
谢厂长: 要我说啊, 早点喊大家下岗, 这个才是做善事, 早死早超生呀.  
Factory director Xie: In my opinion, I would have done a good deed if I had fired all of them. The sooner they die, the sooner they go to the heaven!

In this example, there are three levels at which humor is created. The first level is linguistic. The two characters are teasing each other by using humorous phrases, such as “the sooner they die, the sooner they go to heaven”早死早超生. There is also irony in considering it a good deed to fire employees: the way to get rid of the pain caused by the economic development of China is to get rid of the people, the employees. The second level is the societal situation behind this conversation. People consider being fired as being better than continuing to work at this factory, indicating that the government's economic policy has not achieved its purpose and is ridiculed by the people. The third level extends beyond the analysis of the words and conversation into the socio-cultural realm. The default language for films in China is Standard Chinese. However, the choice of dialect rather than the standard reflects some underlying message of the script writer and director, cloaked in the use of humor.

Boxer, Diana and Florencia Cortes-Conde. 1997. From bonding to biting: Conversational joking and identity display. *Journal of Pragmatics* 27 (1997): 275-294.

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<sup>i</sup> The movie *Crazy Stone*, in Chinese 疯狂的石头, was directed by a young director Ning Hao 宁浩 in 2006, and published by China film group & Warner & Hengdian film Company 中影华纳横店影视有限公司.

## Notes on the Pre-Han Beneficiary Ditransitive

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In Late Zhou Chinese (4–2c. BCE), 爲 *wéi* ‘make; act as; be’ figures in three distinct constructions each with two postverbal phrases: a robust ditransitive (1a), a quasi-ditransitive with subject complement (*Z* in 1b), and a passive (1c). There is no evidence to support treating 爲 as the adposition *wèi* ‘for, on behalf of’ in any of these syntactic contexts.

1a.	[X <sub>Agent</sub>	爲	make	Y <sub>Beneficiary</sub>	Z <sub>Artefact</sub> ]	X makes Z for Y.	agent ditransitive
1b.	[X <sub>Theme</sub>	爲	act.as	Y <sub>Beneficiary</sub>	Z <sub>Role</sub> ]	X acts.as Z for Y.	service ditransitive
1c.	[X <sub>Patient</sub>	爲	be	Y <sub>Agent</sub>	VERB <sub>trans</sub> ]	X is VERB-ed by Y.	passive
2a.	吾能	爲		之	足		Zc 117/57.16
	1p	able	make	3pO	foot	I can make feet for it.	
2b.	箕子	爲		之	奴		Ly 18.1/51.5
	PN	act.as			slave	Viscount Ji served him as slave.	
2c.	幾	爲		之	笑	而不陵我	Zz 10.16.3/364.7
	how (豈)	be			laugh	CON NEG scorn 1p	

How can (we) be ridiculed by them and (they) fail to scorn us?

In all three, pronominalization of *Y* by oblique *zhī* 之 (as in 2a-c) rather than possessive *qí* 其 shows *Y* to be an independent NP, not an adjunct of *Z*, as often claimed (cf. He). Reflexives, topicalization, “wh-”, and narrow focusing all confirm the NP status of *Y* in (1a, b). The paper explores two further aspects of this constructional array.

In the evolution of passive, (1b) furnished the template for succeeding [*wéi* Agent *suǒ* 所 Verb] shortly before the Han (-1c.–3c.). Ambiguity between (1b, c) occurs when *Z* in (1b) may be construed as either noun or verb, licensing the inference from ‘serve.as for.Y drink’ to ‘be drunk by Y’ (cf. Pulleyblank’s derivation by “pivot”; Yang & He). Object nominalization of the verb by *suǒ* preserves the (1b) schema of two postverbal NPs, even when *Z* is itself unambiguously verbal: lit. ‘be for.Y the.drunk’ implying ‘be drunk by Y’. (1c) and later V > NP recategorization by *suǒ* may prove counterexamples to claims that passive is a verbal category (Haspelmath). Far from passivizing the verb, *suǒ* deverbalizes it, allowing it to unify with (1b) in a highly analytic expression of constructional meaning — here, a voice alternation with minimal recourse to morphology.

Agentive (1a) is both considerably older than the other two sub-types and more diverse than is suggested by citing *wéi* alone as verb in the construction. Largely obsolete by Han, (1a) is attested from at least mid-Zhou (-8c.) with factitives and verbs meaning ‘set.up, plant’, among others. The analysis of *Y* in such early data as a displaced locative (Peyraube, Zhang) assumes VP-internal movement for which supporting evidence is as yet lacking.

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## Event Composition of Directional Verb Complexes in Mandarin

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Less attention is paid to the semantic distinction between a directional verb compound (DVC) and a serial verb construction (SVC) (Kang 2001; Lu 1977; Newmeyer 2004; Paul 2004; Zhang 1991; Zou 1994). In this paper, I study why DVCs and SVCs denote various meanings in Mandarin and propose how speakers' interpretations of these constructions in (1)-(2) can possibly be better explained based on the interaction between the event templates (hypothetically) associated with the construction and the notions of PATH.

When describing a spatial change-of-location event, both DVCs and SVCs in (1)-(2) are commonly used to encode directed motion events in Mandarin. At first glance, (1a) and (1b) are similar, except for each being adjoined with a different  $V_2$ , *jin* 'enter' and *hui* 'return'. The varied interpretations of (1b) and (2b) do not surface without provided context. Although the *result*-associated reading is relatively prominent, the complicated differences emerge as soon as we append the sentences in (1) and (2) to an adverbial phrase *qi dianzhong* 'seven o'clock' and a temporal scope-sensitive adverb *cai* 'CAI; only' (Bi 1988; Lai 1999). Two differences are observed. First, the interpretations of the SVC in (1a) and (2a) are similar but distinct. Secondly, when comparing (1b) and (2b), we notice that the interpretation of (2b) is ambiguous. The question remains then as to what triggers the dual interpretations: a lexical distinction (e.g., PATH  $V_2$ ), the construction (e.g., DVCs vs. SVCs), or both.

In this study, (i) I show that the semantic event composition of sub-events is asymmetric across DVCs and SVCs in terms of *event headedness* (Pustejovsky 1995; *stage saliency* Caudal 2005); (ii) I propose that the key to capturing the event composition is the distinction of PATH notions, viz. a minimal vs. an extended PATH (Wechsler 2003; Beavers 2002); (iii) I demonstrate that three distinct event representations are associated with an SVC involving an extended PATH, while only one (result-salient) representation is realized when appearing with a minimal PATH. I conclude that the varied readings exhibited in a DVC/SVC is actually a characteristic of the interaction between the representations (event templates) of DVCs (*result-salient*)/SVCs (*manner/means-salient*) and the notions of PATH.

- 1.(a) 他開進學校去了。  
'He drove **into** the school.'
- (b) 他開回學校去了。  
i: 'He is on her/his way to the school (**by car**).'  
ii: 'He **arrived** at the school (**by car**).'
2. (a) 他開車進學校去了。  
'He **drove** into the school.'
- (b) 他開車回學校去了。  
i: 'He is on his way to the school (**by car**).'  
ii: 'He **arrived** at the school (by car).'

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## Structural Persistence in Mandarin Chinese Preschoolers

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Structural persistence or syntactic priming refers to the phenomenon that after the speaker hears or repeats a previously encountered sentence, he tends to re-use the structure of this sentence for later production. This phenomenon has been extensively investigated in the Germanic adult speakers such as English, Dutch and German speakers and has been extended its domain to the English preschoolers. However, few studies have been reported regarding such an issue on Chinese-speaking preschoolers whose typology of language is very different from Germanic languages. In addition, the alternation of the SVO vs. Ba construction and the alternation of the dative constructions have not been discussed in terms of the structural persistence perspective. The purpose of this study is to investigate these two types of Chinese syntactic alternations to see whether Chinese preschoolers whose age range between 4;6 to 5;8 can also exhibit the effect of the structural persistence effect for these alternations in the production-to-production condition and in the comprehension-to-production condition and whether this effect is a short-term memory effect or an implicit memory effect. 96 preschoolers were tested individually by using the animation depiction paradigm. The results indicated that Chinese preschoolers also exhibited structural persistence in both types of alternations in the production-to-production condition but only the dative alternation exhibited the priming effect in the comprehension-to-production condition. The null result of the SVO vs. Ba alternation suggests that procedural accounts are more appropriate for the priming effect. Also they were sensitive to the functions the priming effect carries in the dialogue. In addition, structural persistence involved a learning process, not a short-term effect. Structural persistence could be obtained in spite of the distance between language families.

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## Sentence-internal Topic and Focus in Chinese

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It has been a point in dispute whether, in Chinese, the object preposed to the position between the subject and the predicate as in (1) is **Topic** (e.g., Tsao (1990) and Paul (2002)) or **Focus** (e.g., Tsai (1994) and Shyu (1995)).

- (1) Zhangsan [ **na.ben shu** ]<sub>I</sub> kan.le **ec**<sub>1</sub>  
Zhangsan **that.CL book** read.PERF 'Zhangsan read that book.'

Through the careful examination of this and other constructions, this paper argues that the "split-CP" approach *à la* Rizzi (1997) can and should be extended to the "lower INFL domain" in Chinese, enabling Topic and/or Focus to appear in this sentence-internal (hereafter **S-internal**) domain in a specific way to be described below.

With respect to sentences like (1), we find that a bare NP can in fact be either Topic or Focus S-internally. First, the emphatic *shi*, which is known to modify only a focused item, is compatible with the S-internal NP when it provides an answer to a *Wh*-question as shown in the discourse (2), but not when it bears a given information, as indicated in (3).

- (2) A: ni **SHEMO** xiwan.le? (Baogao?)                      B: wo **SHI ZUOYE** xiewan.le (baogao hai.mei)  
you **WHAT** write.PERF                                      I **SHI ASSIGNMENT** write.PERF paper not.yet  
'What did you finish? (Paper?)'                              'It is the assignment that I finished (,not papers).'
- (3) A: ni **zuoye** xiwan.le ma?                                      B: wo (\***SHI**) **zuoye** xiewan.le  
you **homework** write.perf Q-PART                              I **SHI homework** write.PERF  
'Did you write the **homework**?'                                      'I wrote the **homework**.'

The discourse in (3) shows that the S-internal NP, *homework*, is a Topic, and thus is not compatible with emphatic *shi*, as opposed to the S-internal NP in (2). Second, it is known that indefinite phrases cannot be interpreted as Topics in Chinese, but the S-internal NP can be indefinite, as reported by Tsai (1994). Thus, it is testified that the S-internal domain can host Topic and Focus. While previous researches only illustrate a one-sided fact, it should be noted that both Topic and Focus are available to S-internal NPs, when proper contexts are provided. Moreover, as expected, Topic and Focus may co-occur S-internally, but in fixed order, as in (4).

- (4) 'Speaking of *books*, it is the **NOVEL** that he read most.'  
a. ta [**shu**] [**XIAOSHUO**] kan.de zui duo                      b. \*ta [**XIAOSHUO**] [**shu**] kan.de zui duo  
he **book** **NOVEL** read.result most many                      **NOVEL** **book**

I will attempt to capture all these facts by postulating Topic and Focus projections in this hierarchical order in the lower INFL-domain, i.e., between TP and vP in Chinese. Topic and Focus can be licensed at two different projections with the TopicP preceding the FocusP S-internally, on a par with the CP domain. This analysis can account for the information structure carried by the S-internal elements, their co-occurrence and their ordering restriction. I will demonstrate that the phenomenon of the preposed object is better accounted for under the present analysis. The discussion will then proceed to show how the proposed analysis is applied to explain the so-called verb-duplication construction, a little peculiar phenomenon in Chinese. By this joint approach of syntax and the information structure, I will demonstrate that issues related to sentences like (5), such as fixed ordering and aspect-marker taking, will be properly accounted for, and that problems in the previous analyses will be avoided and can also be explained away under the proposed analysis.

- (5) 'Speaking of *doing exercise*, it is **PLAYING TENNIS** that he can play for a long time.'  
ta [<sub>Top-VP</sub> **zuo yundong**] [<sub>Foc-VP</sub> **DA WANGQUI**] keyi [<sub>VP</sub> da haoji.xiaoshi]  
he **do exercise** **PLAY TENNIS** can play many.hour

## Mandarin Intransitive Verbs and Their Objects at the Syntax-Information Structure Interface

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It has been noted that in Mandarin Chinese some intransitive verbs can take objects like transitive ones, but they are not used as causative verbs when they take two arguments, deriving a SVO structure, as shown below:

(1) Wang Mian si le fuqin  
die ASP father

‘Wang Mian’s father died.’

It is unclear why the Chinese intransitive verb *si* ‘die’ can occur with both a subject and an object. A reasonable hypothesis is that only unaccusative verbs can occur in the above structure in Chinese. Assuming *bing* ‘ill’ in Chinese is an unergative verb, then the acceptability difference between (1) and (2) can be accounted for.

(2) \*Wang Mian bing le fuqin  
ill ASP father

‘Wang Mian’s father was ill.’

However, such an account may fail to account for the acceptability of the following sentence (Shen 2006):

(3) Wang Mian jia bing le yi-ge ren  
home ill ASP one-CL person

‘A person was ill at Wang Mian’s home.’

In this paper we propose an abstract verb analysis of the above object-taking intransitive constructions. We propose that there is an abstract verb HAVE expressing the meaning of EXISTENCE in the above constructions, which can be followed by a VP complement, be it an unaccusative or unergative structure. The function of this abstract verb HAVE is to assert the existence of an event/state denoted by its VP complement (cf. Huang 1987). In case this abstract verb is merged with an unaccusative VP, the VP head will be raised to the abstract verb HAVE, which is realized as *-le* after the raised verb is head-adjoined to it (Wang 1965). In this case, the sole object argument of VP need not move, as shown in (1), given that Mandarin can be viewed as a surface unaccusative language. Under this analysis, the sentence-initial NP in (1) may occupy a non-thematic subject position provided by the abstract verb HAVE. If it is merged with a VP projected from an unergative verb as in (2), then the sole argument of VP is the underlying subject of VP, which must be raised in accordance with the relevant verb raising if it is definite. It is assumed that a definite VP-subject must be raised to the sentence subject position to satisfy the relevant requirement imposed on it by the information structure. However, if the sole argument of VP is an underlying indefinite subject (as in the case of unergativity), it may stay within its VP-subject position and ultimately function as the object of the sentence after the verb is raised to HAVE, as its movement is not required by the partitioning of information. The present analysis relies crucially on the interaction between syntax and information structure. The key point is that the non-canonical order of arguments in the above well-formed structures is often a reflex of the informational status of the relevant NPs and their configurational properties.

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## The Uneven Distribution of Semantic Focus Among *Ba*-Sentences

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Hu (2005) argues that “instead of “execution” (Wang 1944-1945), “disposal” (Li and Thompson 1981), or “topic-comment” (Hsueh 1989), the grammatical relationship reflected in the *Ba*-construction, “A *Ba* B+C” is that of causation in a sense that in relation with A, B is rendered in a resultative state described by C with the marker *Ba* indicating the direction of causation. However, among actual *ba*-sentences built on the *ba*-construction, such a grammatical meaning is not evenly manifested as felt by native speakers. For example, although many of the most frequently encountered *ba*-sentences in daily life demonstrate a strong sense of a cause-result relationship with a semantic focus on the resultative state itself, others show a weaker relationship since the focus shifts from the result to the action leading to the result, and some even demonstrate a strong sense of “disposal” with an emphasis on the process of action rather than the result. The current proposed study will argue that there is an unbalanced realization of the grammatical meaning as characterized by Hu among different types of *ba*-sentences structured on the basis of the *ba*-construction, and that there is an implicational scale in terms of the degree of manifestation of this causative meaning, from the typical to the non-typical, among *ba*-sentences from the view point of the prototype theory (Rosch 1973) in cognitive grammar.

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## On the Ambiguity in the Affirmative/Negative "V u/bo NP" Construction in Taiwanese Southern Min

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This paper is aimed to describe and explain the ambiguities in the V u/bo NP 'V have/ not-have NP' construction in Taiwanese Southern Min (henceforth TSM). The structure, whether affirmative or negative, induces two kinds of meanings which are referred to as generic and episodic readings. Under the generic reading, sentence (1) denotes Abing's capability of studying well, hence it is usually reminiscent of a modal usage. On the other hand, the episodic reading in sentences such as (2-3) expresses the meaning that Abing went to buy clothes and that he ended up getting his clothes (2) or not (3).

Although previous studies (see Cheng 1997, Huang 2003, Li 1996, Tang 1996, Teng 1992, among others) claim that u 'have'/bo 'not-have' serves as a resultative complement of the preceding verb in the V u/bo NP construction, they offer no account of the paradox which hinges upon the configuration. This article not only stands in line with the claim that V-u/bo is a resultative compound, but provides a comprehensive investigation into the ambiguous phenomenon.

Furthermore, it proposes that the generic and episodic readings, corresponding respectively to atelic states and telic states (cf. Kratzer 2000), lie in the interaction between predicates and the post-verbal nominal phrases (Dowty 1979, 1991, Krifka 1990, 1992, 1998). Precisely, an episodic (telic) reading is captured when the V u/bo is followed by nominals such as quantifier noun phrases (4) or definite ones (5), each type of which serves as the incremental themes. A generic reading, on the contrary, is coerced into V u/bo when the post-verbal nominal phrase does not serve as the incremental theme (6-7).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) Abing thak bo tshe.<br>(name) read not-have books<br>'Abing is able to study well.'                              | (5) Abing tshha bo tsi-le tsutsi.<br>(name) find not-have this-Classifier address<br>'Abing failed to find this address.' |
| (2) Abing be u saN.<br>(name) buy have clothes<br>'Abing went to buy clothes and got what he wanted.'                | (6) Tsi-tsia gu seN bo guling.<br>this-Classifier cow produce not-have milk<br>'This cow can not produce any milk.'       |
| (3) Abing be bo saN.<br>(name) buy not-have clothes<br>'Abing went to buy clothes but did not get any.'              | (7) Tsi-tsia yuNaN thi bo mo.<br>this-Classifier sheep shave not-have wool<br>'This sheep has no wool to shave.'          |
| (4) Abing thak bo saN-pun tshe.<br>(name) read not-have three-Classifier book<br>'Abing read less than three books.' |   |

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## Presuppositions in Chinese Bare Conditionals

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The treatment of conditional sentences in Mandarin Chinese has been a topic of much debate. One of the most controversial issues involves the semantic interpretation of anaphoric pronouns in bare conditionals (Cheng and Huang 1996; Pan and Jiang to appear; Lin 1996, 1998). Under Cheng and Huang's account, Chinese pronouns that are assumed to be referential in nature cannot occur in the consequent clause of a bare conditional where unselective binding is employed, while others (Lin 1996, 1998; Pan and Jiang to appear) consider a second type of bare conditional which admits an anaphoric pronoun:

- (1) *Shei shangxueqi na diyiming, shei/ta zhexueqi jiu keyi dang banzhang.*  
who last semester get top-one who/he this semester then can serve leader  
'Whoever scored the best last semester can serve as the leader this semester.'

This paper reexamines the syntactic and semantic distributions of Chinese conditionals with a focus on presuppositions in bare conditionals. First I bring the reader's attention to a generic use of the antecedent *wh*-NP and its consequent pronoun in bare conditionals. I challenge previous analyses which assume that a consequent pronoun can only be permitted in a bare conditional if episodic tense/aspect is present, and if it has an existential presupposition and a uniqueness implication (Lin 1996; Pan and Jiang to appear). In light of additional data, Lin's Condition on Donkey Pronouns in Bare Conditionals becomes suspect which states that "a donkey pronoun in a bare conditional is felicitous only if it picks out a unique referent" (1996, p.251). Just as an English singular indefinite can receive a generic interpretation in a sentence describing a rule (Cohen 2001), I show that the antecedent *wh*-indefinite and its consequent pronoun in a Chinese bare conditional can receive a characterizing generic reading, if the conditional happens to describe a rule, a regulation, or a socially accepted norm:

- (2) (Genju xuixiao de guiding), *shei shangxueqi na di-yi-ming,*  
according school DE rule who last semester get top-one  
*ta/shei zhexueqi jiu keyi dang banzhang.*  
he/who this semester then can serve leader  
'(According to the rule of the school) whoever scored the best last semester can serve as the class leader this semester.'

Tense/aspect is present in (2) but neither an existential presupposition nor a uniqueness implication is entailed.

Analogous to Beaver (2001) who suggests that presuppositions are not to be conventionally marked in the grammar, I argue that a bare conditional containing a consequent pronoun does not automatically constitute an existential presupposing expression. Judging the use of Chinese conditionals in terms of speech act theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1969, 1979), a speaker's use of a bare conditional will always be felicitous regardless of the existence of a unique discourse referent satisfying the description of the conditional. On the other hand in a context which supplies such a referent where the conversational participants take it for granted that such a referent exists, a speaker's use of a *ruguo/yaoshi* 'if' conditional will be infelicitous

# The Lexicalization and Grammaticalization of the Degree Adverb GEWAI in Mandarin Chinese

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This paper intends to investigate the processes of lexicalization and grammaticalization that the Chinese disyllable ‘格外 ge-wai’ has been through during its chronological development. In Modern Chinese ‘格外 ge-wai’ functions as an adverb, and connotes the meaning of *extraordinarily*. However, from a historical view, in Archaic Chinese ‘格 ge’ was a noun and referred to *the twigs and branches of trees*. By Tang, it had already developed into a polysemous word, meaning *fences* or metaphorically referring to *laws* or *institutions*. Later in South and North Dynasties, ‘格外 ge-wai’ high frequently appeared in Chinese written materials and developed the meaning of *being beyond laws and institutions*. It is not until Sung that ‘格外 ge-wai’ started to become a word meaning *extraordinarily*. Conclusively, though metaphorical extension of the original meaning and function of branches of trees (‘格 ge’), the meaning of fences and regulations had been developed, and later by adding the word ‘外 wai’ meaning *outside* or *beyond*, the phrasal sequence of ‘格 ge’ and ‘外 wai’ was gradually lexicalized into a word serving an adjective purpose, and later on the word ‘格外 ge-wai’ further underwent the process of grammaticalization and became an degree adverb with the meaning *extraordinarily* used to modify the verb.

## Investigating Filler-gap Dependencies in Chinese Topicalization

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Psycholinguistic research on English wh-questions shows that a wh-word ('filler') results in the parsing mechanism searching for an upcoming gap. Chinese has no wh-movement, but it has been argued (e.g. Shi 1992, 2000, Huang, Li & Li 2004) that Chinese topic constructions may be derived by movement and thus involve a filler-gap dependency between the topicalized noun ('filler') and its trace/gap. Gap positions are constrained: A gap in an adverbial clause (AC) results in ungrammaticality but a main clause gap is fine. Crucially, an illicit AC gap can be saved by a licit main clause gap (1a). Ting & Huang (to app) analyze such AC gaps as parasitic gaps (PG). PGs are possible with transitive verbs but cause island violations after coverbs (1a). Our experiment investigates (a) whether on-line processing supports the claim that there is a PG in the AC which is connected to the topic via filler-gap dependency, and generally (b) how syntactic and semantic information constrain the structural dependencies the parser considers during processing. We conducted a self-paced reading study manipulating (i) verb type (transitive verb//coverb) and (ii) plausibility (is the topic noun a plausible object of the verb in the adverbial clause), (ex.1). Phillips (2006) found that when the parser attempts to construct a wh-dependency for a potential PG in English, implausible verbs lead to slower reading times than plausible verbs.

**PREDICTIONS:** If real-time processing is subject to island constraints such that a filler-gap dependency is constructed between the topic noun and the hypothesized PG with transitives but not coverbs, we predict plausibility to have no effect at the verb in coverb conditions, but to cause a slowdown at the verb in the transitive-implausible condition (1b) relative to the transitive-plausible condition (1a).

The **RESULTS** reveal a slowdown at the verb in transitive conditions, with implausible verbs slower than plausible verbs ( $p < .05$ ). There is no significant difference between the plausible and implausible coverb conditions at the verb. The plausibility effect at the verb in the transitive conditions supports the view that a filler-gap dependency is being formed, and is compatible with the claim that there is a PG which is connected to the topic via filler-gap dependency. Moreover, real-time parsing of topicalizations appears to be sensitive to island constraints because the reading time pattern at the verb suggests that no filler-gap dependency is constructed in the coverb conditions. As a whole, our findings support the view that parsing mechanism aims at achieving both accuracy and efficiency.

**EXAMPLES:** (PG=parasitic gap, TG=true gap)

(1a) Plausible transitive verb // Plausible coverb Na-ge yuan-gong, zai lao-ban{jian-guo PG // \*han PG jian-guo}zhi-hou, TG li-ke jiu bei kai-chu le. That worker, after the boss {met PG // \*met with PG}, TG was fired immediately.

(1b) Implausible transitive verb // Implausible coverb Na-jia gong-chang, zai lao-ban{jian-guo PG // \*han PG jian guo}zhi-hou, TG li-ke bei guan-bi le. That factory, after the boss {met PG // \*met with PG}, TG was immediately closed.

## Identification of Acoustically Modified Mandarin Tones by English-Speaking Musicians

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The perception of music and speech both involve processing complex acoustic stimuli. It remains unclear, however, whether the same or distinct mechanisms are implicated in music and speech perception. Previous research suggested that musical training may facilitate linguistic pitch perception (Alexander, Wong, and Bradlow, 2005). Deutsch et al (2006) reported higher proportion of absolute pitch possessors in tone language (mandarin) speakers. This study explored the relationship between musical and linguistic pitch processing in four experiments. Two groups of participants were involved, musicians and non-musicians (as a control group), and all participants were native American English-speakers. In the musical tone perception task, 36 English-speaking musicians were asked to listen to synthesized musical tones of three timbres (pure tone, piano, and viola) and to identify the note names in the absence of any reference pitch. In the linguistic tone perception task, both groups, who had no prior experience with Mandarin, were given a brief tutorial on Mandarin tones. They were then asked to listen to and identify the four tones, superimposed on the syllable [sa], produced by 32 Mandarin speakers. The Mandarin tone task included three variants, intact, silent center, and onset only conditions. In the intact condition, the entire syllable was presented. In the silent-center variant, 70% of the vocalic center was digitally silenced, leaving only the consonant and the first and last 15% of the vowel in the acoustic signal. In the onset-only condition, only the consonant and the first 15% of the vowel were preserved, and the remainder of the syllable was silenced. Despite the limited exposure to the Mandarin tones, the musicians identified the intact Mandarin tones at 68% correct and non-musicians at 44% correct. For the digitally modified tones, despite the limited amount of pitch information, tone identification accuracy reached 54% for musicians and 36% for non-musicians in the silent-center condition 31% correct for musicians and 28% correct for non-musicians in the onset-only condition. While these results appeared to suggest that musical training might facilitate linguistic pitch processing, no significant correlation was found in the identification accuracy between musical tones and Mandarin tones, weakening the argument that musical and linguistic pitch processing are closely associated.

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## **Rapper Jin's (歐陽靖) *ABC*: Acquiring Spoken Cantonese and Transnational Identity through Hong Kong TV and Restaurant Culture**

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Jin (Jin Auyeung 歐陽靖) is a twenty-five year old Asian American rapper born and reared in Miami, currently known for his rap supporting Barrack Obama. He has been selling himself as an Asian American and a transnational Chinese who has successfully carved a place into mainstream black American hip hop culture. In the past several years, his unique style has been throwing one or two Cantonese phrases, or even a stanza, into his mainly English free-style battling and rap lyrics, but a year ago, he released *ABC*, a CD which is 98% in Cantonese.

My primary purpose in this paper is to analyze *ABC*'s ten songs, written and performed by Jin, from two perspectives: his acquisition of Cantonese from his parents and from Hong Kong television, and the construction of his identity as a transnational Chinese in multi-ethnic America.

## 汉语方言声调格局的共性

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Ian Maddieson(1978)提出了声调的共性，共有 14 条。本文用“桌上语音工作室”(MiniSpeechLab, 朱思俞、石锋等 1999)分析了四十处汉语方言(侯精一等 1996-1999)的声调格局。在实验的基础上，验证或否定了 Maddieson 的声调的共性理论的前八条理论；并在此基础上，提出了汉语方言声调格局的两种倾向。

Maddieson 提出的声调共性以及本文的结果：

**共性 1** 一种语言的声调可能有多至五个调级的对立，但不可能再多了。没有反例。

**共性 2** 具有较多调级的声调系统所占据的音高范围较大。很难证明。广州话至少有 4 个调级，调域是 125 (216-91)赫兹；而北京话只有两个调级，调域却高达 122 (220-98)赫兹。更明显的例子是银川话，只有三个声调，两个调级，可是调域更高达 130 (257-127)赫兹，比广州话的还要大。

**共性 3** 语音上的中调是无标记的，两极的声调标记程度高。不正确。郑锦全 (Cheng1973)统计了 737 处汉语方言，结果是汉语方言的平均调值是 3.09，要高于五度的平均值 2.50。另外，根据本文对 40 处方言的统计，平调、升调、降调都是高调域分布的多。

**共性 4** 高调有标记系统比低调有标记系统更为常见。不正确。请参看共性 3 的辩正材料。平调、降调和升调都是低调有标记，惟一相反的情况是降升调，高降升调比低降升调少见，有标记。

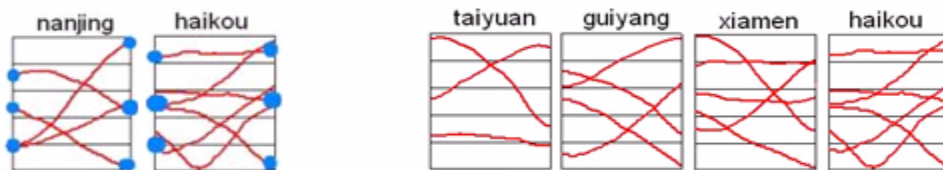
**共性 5** 允许在一个词或语素中出现不同声调序列的语言也会允许其中出现相同声调的序列。**共性 7** 一种语言如果有拱度声调，那么它也就会有平调。不正确。成都、贵阳、上海、天津等方言在语音学层面上都没有平调。如下图所示。还有，平遥话无论如何也找不出平调来。



**共性 6** 如果一种语言在一个词中允许调级向相反方向的连续转变，那么也就只允许有一次这样的转变。不正确。本文的 40 处方言没有发现明显的反例，但是河北迁西等地却有双折调。

**共性 8** 一种语言如果有复杂的拱度，也就会有简单的拱度。没有反例。

本文得出的声调格局的倾向。**倾向一：起点和终点数目基本对称。**例如下图中的南京、海口。声调格局的这一性质使得声调的音系学分析成为可能。**倾向二：调型基本对称。**例如下图中的太原、贵阳、厦门、海口。这一特点可能会成为调型演变的方向。



## Markedness and Second Language Acquisition of Word Order in Chinese

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Li & Thompson (1981: 26) stated that Chinese has no basic word order since it is a language claimed to be more discourse-oriented. Word order variation in Mandarin Chinese poses a great challenge to English learners who learn Chinese as a foreign/second language in that English is more canonically oriented in its SVO order. There is a growing body of literature (Hu, 1995, 2004; Wu, 1996; Li, 1999, among others) focusing on second language acquisition of Chinese word order but few empirical studies have applied the markedness theories to the field analysis, which has been extensively discussed in linguistic studies in the last century. Thus, the purpose of the current study is to explore the difficulties of native English speaking learners, in acquiring Chinese word order and how it is related to the markedness theories, in particular, the Differential Markedness Hypothesis (DMH) proposed by Eckman (1977) in which the degree of learner difficulty in second language acquisition can be predicted according to the degree of typological markedness between L1 and L2. The more the degree of markedness, the more difficult it is for the learners. The current study employs a carefully planned grammaticality judgment task in which the novice and intermediate groups of English Chinese learners are asked to judge four categories of sentence types in Chinese: topic comment, pro-drop, locative inversion, and canonical SVO sentences. Two-way ANOVA shows that the two groups demonstrate a similar pattern of learning difficulty, the main effect of proficiency is not significant but the main effect of syntactic types is significant. The study reveals that learners have the higher degrees of learning difficulty in topic-comment and pro-drop sentences, which are more marked in Chinese compared with the respective value in English, and lower degrees of difficulty in locative inversion and the canonical SVO sentences due to their similar degree of markedness in L1 and L2. The study supports the DMH hypothesis and thus suggests a positive input of linguistic data of marked structures in L2 is essential to the improvement of L2 learners' learning processes.



**Code Switching and Writer's Bilingual Identity:  
Discourse analysis of Adeline Yen Mah's *Falling Leaves* and *Louyeuguigen* 落葉歸根**

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In discourse analysis, code switching has been utilized to examine the interrogators' identities and their relationships in utterances. However, only a few scholars have applied code switching theories to other written texts, such as novels and autobiographies, to examine the identities of bilingual writers and their relationship with readers (Li 2004). Historically, many bilingual writers have illustrated the reality of bilingual communities using code switching in their novels. However, scholars have not investigated the change in the writers' identity and their different use of language depending on the readers. This study fills the gap by investigating how a Chinese-English bilingual writer revealed her different identities, in terms of language and culture, through her use of Mandarin-English code switching depending on the target readers.

This study examines two language versions of Adeline Yen Mah's autobiography, namely, an English version, *Falling Leaves*, and a Mandarin Chinese version, *Louyeuguigen* 落葉歸根. Both versions of the autobiography portray the life of the author, Adeline Yen Mah, in China, Hong Kong, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Unlike many other translated autobiographies, the writer herself translated her English work (*Falling Leaves*) into Chinese for Taiwanese readers. Thus, this study can examine how the writer intentionally code switches between Chinese and English to reveal her different identities to readers in Taiwan, on the one hand, and to readers in the United States, on the other.

A broad definition of code switching is used, namely, alternation in the use of relatively complete utterances from two different languages and insertion of elements from one language into another. The analysis here also draws from two theories of discourse analysis: contextualization cue (Gumperz 1982) and discourse theory (Gee 2005). Contextualization cues are used to examine how the writer created the context of each chapter, as well as how she inserted semantic contents (code switching) into the story. Gee's (2005) discourse analysis theory is used to understand how the writer situated her identity within the two autobiographies. Three phenomena are analyzed in detail and compared across the two versions of the autobiography: 1) frequency of code switching, 2) different patterns of code switching, and 3) different functions of code switching. The study draws on identity theory from Gee (2005) to explain the different distribution patterns across the two versions of the autobiography. The results of this study suggest that code switching offers a meaningful approach to examine other genres, such as autobiographies and other written texts where a writer may reveal different identities depending on who their readers are.

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## Mental Representation of Chinese Words in Visual Word Recognition

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Debates and theoretical proposals on the mental representation of Chinese words have centered around morpheme-by-morpheme versus whole-word processing. Traditionally, the morpheme has long been considered as the unit of lexical access in Chinese, since one morpheme usually consists of one orthographic unit with one syllable. Recent studies have argued against morpheme-based models of the Chinese mental lexicon (Zhou & Marslen-Wilson, 1994, 1995; Packard, 2000), however, these studies do not refer to the visual domain of lexical processing.

To test the unit of the Chinese mental lexicon in the visual domain, an experiment was carried out in which lexical decision times were measured for three different types of nouns consisting of two characters but different numbers and types of morphemes: (1) one-morpheme bi-character phonetic loanwords (e.g., 咖啡 *kāfēi* ‘coffee’ and 吉他 *jítā* ‘guitar’), (2) derived words composed of one content morpheme and one suffix (e.g., 妻子 *qīzi* “wife-affix”=‘wife’ and 木头 *mùtóu* “tree-affix”=‘wood’), and (3) compound words with two content morphemes (e.g., 上衣 *shàngyī* “upper-clothes”=‘upper garment’ and 西装 *xīzhuāng* “west-costume”=‘Western costume’). These three types of words differ in terms of the quantity (one or two) and type (content or affix) of morphemes.

The hypothesis of the study is two-fold. No significant difference in the lexical decision times among the three word groups would tend to support the whole word processing models, since it indicates that the participants do not treat words composed of different morphemic structures differently. On the other hand, significant differences in the reaction times to different word types with very different morphemic structures would suggest morpheme-by-morpheme lexical processing of Chinese. The experiment involved a lexical decision task, in which 23 native Chinese speakers made lexical decision responses to visually presented Chinese words and nonwords, and the reaction times and the error rate were measured and analyzed. The results indicate that the response times significantly differ depending on word frequency, but not on word types. It suggests that the word, rather than the morpheme or the character, is the unit of the Chinese visual lexical processing.

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## Light Verb Construction as a Case of Remnant Movement

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In this paper, based on Chinese data, we provide a new analysis of deriving the light verb construction (henceforth LVC) following the idea of remnant movement. Contrary to a regular verb, the verb in LVC is said not to assign any theta-role to the arguments in the sentence, which gives it the name ‘light verb’. Instead, the arguments at the sentence level get theta-roles from the verbal noun (henceforth VN). The following Chinese sentence (1a) can be easily shown to be a LVC based on the tests in Grimshaw and Mester (1988) and Saito and Hoshi (2000). (Thus in (1a), the VN has to assign Agent to the subject ‘CSI’ and Theme to ‘this case’.) In a LVC, the VN cannot be topicalized, passivized, or be dislocated in a cleft construction, as shown in (2), (3) and (4) respectively. The heavy verb counterpart is shown in (1b), whose VN can pass all the tests above. G&S (1988) and S&H (2000) both propose that these syntactic differences are due to some theta-role transferring mechanism in LVC (Argument Transfer for G&S, and LF Incorporation for S&H). Thus there is a tightly bound relationship between the VN and the light verb, which results in the immobility of the VN.

- (1) a. CSI [<sub>NP</sub> zhege anzi] jinxing le [<sub>VN</sub> diaocha]      b. CSI jinxing le diaocha  
CSI this case proceed ASP investigation      CSI proceed ASP investigation  
‘Grissom made an investigation of the case.’      ‘Grissom made an investigation.’
- (2) \*?[<sub>VN</sub> Diaocha]<sub>i</sub>, CSI [<sub>NP</sub> zhege anzi] jinxing t<sub>i</sub> le .  
investigation CSI this case proceed ASP  
‘CSI made an investigation of this case.’
- (3) \*[<sub>VN</sub> Diaocha] bei CSI [<sub>NP</sub> zhege anzi] jinxing le .  
investigation by CSI this case proceed ASP  
‘An investigation was made by CSI of this case.’
- (4) \*Shi [<sub>VN</sub> diaocha] CSI [<sub>NP</sub> zhege anzi] jinxing le  
is investigation CSI this case proceed ASP  
‘It is the investigation that CSI has made of this case.’

However, we disagree with the claim that the unique LVC syntactic distinctions are due to the difference whether a verb is light or heavy. We assume that even in a LVC, the verb is heavy, which means that it assigns Agent to the subject and Theme to the VN. The reason why LVC is unique is because the Theme argument ‘this case’ in (1a) is in fact moving out of the VN. Once there is an argument moving out of the VN projection, it leaves a trace. When we want to move the VN which contains a trace, this remnant movement has to obey the Proper Binding Condition, which requires that traces must be bound (cf. Lasnik and Saito (1992) and many others). However, as pointed out by Müller (1996) and Saito (2003), in remnant movement, proper binding condition has to be obeyed only when the phrase which undergoes remnant movement has the same kind of movement as the one which leaves a trace in it. Recall that in a LVC, the VN cannot undergo topicalization, passivization or dislocation in a cleft construction. In Chinese, the movement of an object from postverbal position to a preverbal position (between the subject and the verb) has been argued to be an operation of internal topicalization, as in Ting (1995) and Paul (2002). Thus in sentence (1a), the Theme Argument ‘this case’ can be viewed as being topicalized from the object position in the VN projection. Assuming that topicalization is an operator movement, it then follows that the VN cannot undergo further operator movement (The long passivization like (3) in Chinese has been argued to involve operator movement, as in Ting (1998)). As for sentence (1b), there is no trace left in the VN since there is no movement out of it. It then can undergo operator movement without causing any violation.

With the investigation in Chinese data, we propose a new analysis to deal with the light verb construction. We propose that there is no distinction on the verb itself. The only difference causing different syntactic behaviors depends on VN: whether there is movement out of it or not. As a case of remnant movement, its unique syntactic patterns then follow.

**A New Look at Cantonese Question Particles:  
The Grammatical functions of *mo4*, *me1*, and *maa3***  
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This study reexamines the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic roles of question particles in Cantonese. Whereas question particles such as *maa3*, *me1*, *aa1*, *aa3*, *aa4*, *aa4*, *haa2*, *ho2*, and *ne1* (reported in Yuan (1960), Kwok (1984), Matthews and Yip (1994), Huang (1996), among others) have been studied extensively in terms of their pragmatics, the syntactic and semantic characterization deserves further investigation.

One Cantonese question particle that has not been described previously in the literature is *mo4*. This particle which is used in yes-no questions is hardly used in Hong Kong and Guangzhou Cantonese, but is still widely used in Macao and in some areas in the Canton province (including Zhongshan). One of the important pragmatic functions of this particle is that it carries linguistic implicatures similar to those in *me1* (cf. 1).

Cantonese question particles interact with negative markers in very interesting ways. While the neutral yes-no question particle *maa3* does not co-occur with negative markers (unlike Mandarin *ma*), *mo4* and other question particles in Cantonese do. Our investigation of the co-occurrence of question particles and aspect markers also reveals that on the one hand, *maa3* never appears in yes-no questions that contain the perfective aspect marker *zo2*, or *mei6* ‘not yet’, or *mou5* ‘have not’ in spoken Cantonese (cf. 2), on the other hand, *mo4* does not show this restriction even though *mo4* co-occurs far more frequently with *mou5* than with *mei6* in our corpus.

As far as the syntax is concerned, this study finds that Cantonese question particles are restricted to direct questions, meaning that such particles only occur in main clauses, but not embedded contexts. This generalization is likely to be related to the fact that embedded yes-no questions typically take the form of A-not-A questions or what Cheng et al. (1996) call “negative particle questions” (cf. 3).

Overall, this study contributes to our better understanding of the complex and sometimes subtle syntactic and pragmatic differences among common question particles attested in Spoken Cantonese.

- (1) a. Keoi5 lei4 mo4/me1?                      b. Keoi5 m4 lei4 mo4/me1?  
       he come Q-PRT                              he come Q-PRT  
       ‘He is coming? (I thought he’s not)’    ‘He is not coming? (I thought he is.)’
- (2) \*Keoi5 sek6-zo2/mei6 sek6/mou5 sek6 faan6 maa3?  
       he eat PERF/not-yet eat/not eat rice Q-PRT  
       ‘He has had dinner/He has not had dinner (yet)?’
- (3) a. Keoi5 m4 zi1 ba4ba1 lei4-m4-lei4.  
       he not know dad come-not-come  
       ‘He doesn’t know if Dad is coming.’  
       b. Keoi5 m4 zi1 ba4ba1 lei4-zo2 mei6.  
       he not know dad come ASP not-yet  
       ‘He doesn’t know if Dad has come (or not).’  
       c.\*Keoi5 m4 zi1 ba4ba1 lei4 mo4/maa3.  
       he not know dad come Q-PRT  
       ‘He doesn’t know if Dad is coming.’  
       (unacceptable if Q-PRT is construed as occurring in the embedded question)

## **Chinese Animal Metaphor—the Six Domesticated Animals**

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It is argued by many that animal metaphors comprise a subcategory of conceptual metaphors whereby human behaviors are understood in terms of animal behaviors. While this study agrees with the premise that animal metaphors are conceptual metaphors, it is suspected that some unique Chinese animal metaphors do not completely support the claim that animal metaphors involve the correspondence between animal attributes and characteristics of humans.

Previous studies on animal metaphors focus on the correspondence between animals' attributes and human behavior; however, social roles of animals and the relationships between humans and animals may also be the triggers that activate the mapping of animal metaphors. In Mandarin Chinese, there is a specific term, *liu chu* ("the six domesticated animals"), to indicate the following animals that are very close to human life: the horse, the ox, the sheep, the chicken, the dog, and the pig. This study's hypothesis is that the mapping of metaphorical expressions of the six domesticated animals involves the idea of these animals' "social roles."

This study will adopt corpus-based approaches to first collecting the animal metaphors involving the six domesticated animals, and then examining the types of animal metaphors created in Chinese culture in order to verify the hypothesis. The study will adopt Brades's (1984) spatial categorization of animal metaphors in Tzintzuntzan and Tambiah's (1969) social-spatial classification to examine Chinese animal metaphors.

The purpose of this study is twofold. First, the study suggests that metaphorical expressions of the six domesticated animals are culture-specific. Second, animal metaphors cannot only reflect how people perceive themselves in terms of animal attributes but also can reveal animals' spatial/social relations to human beings.

The analysis proves the hypothesis that the mapping of the domesticated animal metaphors involves animals' social roles. Moreover, animals' social roles are determined by their spatial relations to humans and their economic value.

## Talker and Contextual Effects on Identifying Fragmented Mandarin Tones

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Human listeners are known to be capable of compensating for degraded acoustic signal in speech perception. Listeners attempting to perceive speech must also deal with talker variability. This study investigated identification of fragmented Mandarin tones produced by single versus multiple speakers. Six minimal pairs, including all six Mandarin tonal contrasts, were digitally processed to generate intact, silent-center, center-only, and onset only syllables. The syllables were produced either in isolation or with a carrier phrase *qing3 shuo3* \_\_ (“Please say \_\_”). The stimuli were presented in four blocks, randomized for each participant: (1) single speaker, isolated syllables; (2) single speaker, syllables with the carrier; (3) multiple speakers, isolated syllables; and (4) multiple speakers, syllables with the carrier. Forty native listeners of Mandarin were put under time pressure to identify the tones of the syllables by pressing buttons on a computer keyboard. Response accuracy and reaction time for each stimulus were recorded and analyzed. Overall, the results showed higher accuracy for the single-speaker stimuli and when the syllables were presented with the carrier. Furthermore, the difference between isolated and contextual tones was greater in the multiple-speaker condition compared to the single-speaker condition. Analyses of the four blocks showed that silent-center syllables were identified as accurately as intact and center-only syllables only when the stimuli was produced in context by the single speaker. In addition, identification of Tone 4 was consistently most accurate and least influenced by acoustic modification across all four blocks. These results indicated an interaction between talker variability and presence of context on fragmented tone identification.

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## Some Thoughts on High Boundary Tone in Mandarin Chinese

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The intonation produced with an utterance in natural speech is the final product of F0 implementations performed at different prosodic levels, such as syllable, prosodic word, prosodic phrase, breath group, and prosodic group (adopting Tseng 2005 for hierarchical prosodic grouping). It also represents local and global F0 effects which are in close interaction with the syntax and pragmatics of an utterance. Localized F0 effects in Mandarin, other than lexically-specified tones, were observed early by Chao (1933, 1968) who defined two types of utterance-final F0 variations as rising ending and falling ending.

Many researchers have noticed that the localized F0 effects realized towards the end of an utterance, “rising ending” in Chao’s term, play an important role particularly in distinguishing questions from statements (Ho 1977, Wu 1982, Shen, J. 1985, Lee 2000 etc.). If we adopt this view, then we may posit a high boundary tone (hereafter %H) when describing the so-called question intonation in Mandarin. However, many other researchers have claimed that the F0 variations that may look localized towards utterance-final position in questions result from the globally expanded pitch range or globally rising slope (Gårding 1984, 1987, Shen, X.-N. 1989 etc.). Therefore it can be argued that no %H would be needed.

The present study examines yes-no questions elicited using natural conversations of which pragmatic contexts were carefully controlled, and finds that both global and local F0 implementations were performed to cue questions in Mandarin. It further finds that what have been perceived as “localized” F0 effects in prior studies in fact represent two types of prosodic phenomena – one is pitch raising associated with pragmatic focus reflecting contextual information structure, and the other is pitch raising localized towards the very end of an utterance that cues questions. These findings suggest that we need to distinguish different sources for F0 manipulations and that we posit %H to describe the latter type of localized F0 raising. They also help us understand why, despite global F0 cues, listeners refer to a high pitch cue at the very end of an utterance in identifying questions as opposed to statements (Yuan 2004).

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## Voicing Neutralization and Syllabification: Numerals in Du'an Zhuang

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**Introduction** The aim of this paper is to present the numerals of Du'an Zhuang elicited from a native speaker, and to analyze the voicing neutralization with respect to syllable structures in Optimality Theory. The numerals between 1 and 10 are as follows.

(1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	[ɬɛu]	[ɬoŋ]	[ɬam]	[ɬi]	[ha]	[jɣk]	[sɣt]	[pɛt]	[ɕiu]	[sɛp]
tone	35	33	24	33	31	24	33	33	31	31

**Data** The example in (2a) shows that inputs with /p/ or /b/ neutralize to voiceless [p] when they are in coda position in the output (i.e. [sɛb] is not allowed). In contrast, /p/ and /b/ neutralize to [b] when they are in onset position as in (2b-c). The syllabification in (2b) is proposed because voiced stop codas are not allowed (\*[sɛb.ram]). Note that Du'an Zhuang has both [p] and [b] in word-initial onset position as in [pau] 'wife' and [bi:] 'fat (noun)' unlike Wuming Zhuang, the standard dialect.

- (2) a. [sɛp] 'ten'  
b. [sɛ.bram] 'thirteen'  
c. [sɛ.bɛt] 'eleven' \*[sɛ.pɛt]

**Analysis** There are three pressures in the grammar of Du'an Zhuang; (i) keep the voicing contrast in word-initial onsets, (ii) neutralize codas to voiceless stops, and (iii) neutralize onsets in non-initial positions to voiced stops. The pressure in (i) is due to the following ranking: IDENT(VOICE)-wd[ >> \*VOICE >> IDENT(VOICE) (Lombardi 1995, Beckman 1997). Positional faithfulness dominates general markedness, which in turn dominates general faithfulness. Under this ranking, the voicing contrast is preserved in word-initial position (due to IDENT(VOICE)-wd[). Elsewhere, the voicing contrast is neutralized to [-voice].

This ranking predicts that all voiced stops in (2b) should also neutralize to voiceless stops due to the context free markedness constraint \*VOICE. However, this is not the case as shown in [sɛ**b**ram] in (2b). I propose that the voicing of [b] in [sɛ**b**ram] is due to the syllabification. An input labial stop (/p/ or /b/) is neutralized to a voiced stop when it is syllabified into an onset. This type of voicing neutralization in onsets has also been observed in Mohawk (Postal 1968). Therefore, I argue that the voice feature should not be privative. Thus, \*VOICE should be split into \*[+VOICE] and \*[-VOICE]. Furthermore, there is a positional markedness constraint \*[+VOICE]/CODA, which bans voiced consonants in coda position.

The bidirectional neutralization described above is a result of the interaction of these constraints in the following ranking: IDENT(VOICE)-wd[ >> \*[+VOICE]/CODA, \*[-VOICE] >> IDENT(VOICE).

**Conclusion** The numerals of Du'an Zhuang show neutralization to voiced stops in onsets and neutralization to voiceless stops in codas, while word-initial onsets maintain their voicing contrast. This voicing neutralization dependent on syllabification is analyzed as the interaction between the positional markedness constraint \*[+VOICE]/CODA and general markedness.

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## “分析體內 chemicals lor!”: Intersections between Language Ideologies about Written Cantonese and the Multiliteracies of Hong Kong Cantonese Speakers

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A rarity compared to other Chinese vernaculars, Cantonese has its own written form, which includes many characters unknown to standard Mandarin. Since Cantonese is termed a “dialect,” it is often associated with less positive linguistic attitudes even by its own speakers. Though China is supposedly “unified” by a language standard, the continued usage and further development of written Cantonese signifies the personal identities of Cantonese-speaking people and the vitality of the Cantonese language. Though Cantonese is nowhere near extinction, written Cantonese literacy can be seen as a means of cultural and linguistic preservation. Although Cantonese has always been at the periphery of Chinese unity and the “Great Tradition” of the standard, given historical evidence, linguistic attributes, the media, technology, and the author’s study, it seems Cantonese actually has a stronger hold than people, even its own speakers, give it credit for.

This paper builds upon the research of Li (1996, 2000), Snow (2004), and Bauer (1998). Data from this study come from the researcher’s own investigation conducted in Hong Kong during the summer of 2006, collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews, a matched-guise test, and individual reading/written response with 30 random Cantonese speakers. Results revealed that many Hong Kong young people consider being a Cantonese speaker a debilitating educational handicap because it is “only” a dialect. Delving deeper into the issue, however, there is also ample evidence to suggest that despite certain culturally-embedded language ideologies about dialects and written vernaculars, written Cantonese recurrently seeps into academic realms in linguistically creative and unique ways. Drawing from examples from other marginalized written vernaculars (e.g., African American English, Norwegian), alternative ways are offered to look at the existence of rich and multiple ways of discourse available to the Hong Kong Cantonese speaker. The author asserts that these multiliteracies are assets that should not be discounted, as they can frame language as sites of action and empowerment instead of disadvantage.

## On the Headedness of Mandarin Resultative Verb Compounds

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There has been a lot of discussion in the literature as to whether Mandarin resultative verb compounds (RVCs) like *ca-ganjing* ‘wipe-clean’ in (1) have a head. Concerning the headedness of RVCs, there are four logical possibilities and each of them has been proposed in the literature: (i) V1 being the head (e.g. Cheng & Huang 1994; Li 1990, 1993, 1995, 1999; Wang 2001); (ii) V2 being the head (e.g. Tai 2003, Yong 1997); (iii) both V1 and V2 being heads (e.g. Gu 1992); (iv) neither V1 nor V2 being the head (e.g. Huang & Lin 1992).

This paper reviews some representative accounts, points out problems with each of them, and argues for the fourth possibility from the point of view of argument realization. The main evidence for the headlessness of Mandarin RVCs comes from the fact that there are different ways of realizing the Causer and Causee arguments licensed by resultatives ((1-2)). On the assumption that the way the arguments of the head of an RVC are realized in the overt syntax should be maintained on the compound level (cf. Li 1990, 1995), the fact that the Causer and Causee arguments can be realized in different ways argues against any claim that Mandarin RVCs have a head. Take (2) as an example. The fact that neither the realization of the external and internal arguments of V1 nor the realization of the single argument of V2 is maintained on the compound level poses a problem for all the following claims: (i) V1 as head, (ii) V2 as head, and (iii) both V1 and V2 as heads.

- (1) Zhangsan **xi-ganjing-le** yifu.  
Zhangsan wash-clean-PERF clothes  
‘Zhangsan washed his clothes clean.’
- (2) Na-bao yifu **xi-lei-le** Zhangsan.  
that-CL clothes wash-tired-PERF Zhangsan  
‘(Zhangsan washed that bundle of clothes) and the clothes got Zhangsan tired.’

Further support for the headlessness proposal comes from the fact that there is crosslinguistic evidence from Japanese and Swedish for the “head feature percolation” assumption adopted in this paper. Specifically, given the independent evidence that Japanese and Swedish RVCs are head-final, the fact that (3) and (4) are ungrammatical can be readily explained if head feature percolation is assumed. Furthermore, the unavailability of the second reading for Japanese sentences like (5) can also be easily accounted for if the head feature percolation condition is adopted. Therefore, there is strong evidence from Japanese and Swedish RVCs that the head feature percolation assumption is needed.

- (3) \*Sorerano fuku-ga John-o **aria-tsukare-ta.** (Japanese)  
those clothes-NOM John-ACC wash-get.tired.PAST  
Intended: ‘John washed those clothes and the clothes got John tired.’
- (4) \*De där kläderna **tröttvättade** John. (Swedish)  
those there clothes tired.washed John  
Intended: ‘John washed those clothes and the clothes got John tired.’
- (5) John-ga Bill-o **oi-aki-ta.** (Japanese)  
John-NOM Bill-ACC chase-get.bored-PAST  
a. ‘John chased Bill and as a result John became bored.’  
b. \*‘John chased Bill and as a result Bill became bored.’

Given that the head feature percolation condition is independently motivated, I take the grammaticality of sentences like (2) in Mandarin to be crucial evidence for the headlessness of Mandarin RVCs. Importantly, the fact that Mandarin RVCs are headless is theoretically significant. That is, in terms of headedness, there are not only headed but also headless verb compounds. This challenges the view that all compounds have a head as all phrases do (e.g. Selkirk 1982, Di Sciullo & Williams 1987, and Lieber 1992). Meanwhile, it poses a problem for the “syntax-all-the-way-down” approach to morphology.

## Analyzing Passive Construction in the Finite State

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Previous analyses of passive constructions are either by transformation from active to passive or by lexical rules changing object to subject function. In these analyses, participants in world events are treated as playing the thematic roles mapping to grammatical functions. The problem is that, by comparing active and passive constructions, scholars have found not only changes in grammatical functions but also in predicate verbs. Classic methods in analyzing English passive construction is to treat BE and the verb's +en form as passive markers. In analyzing Chinese BEI construction, Shi & Hu (2005) treat BEI as the single clause passive marker and process verbs as the only possible predicates. However, He (1996) provided strong evidence in his GB analysis that, in Chinese, the BEI passive sentence is NOT the counterpart of ordinary active sentences. And it is hard to take GET in English GET passive sentence as a marker only (See also Langacker 1991). This paper attempts to propose analyzing passive sentence in the finite state, taking the past participle of the process verb as denoting the resultant state subsequent from the process and the passive marker as the predicate. Considering the world event, the sentence expresses the resulting state of a befall or bestow while, considering the subject of the sentence, the sentence expresses the meaning of receiving the state. English, Swedish as well as Chinese examples will be used. The consequence of such an analysis can well account for the fact that passive sentences can not only describe events that bring bad but also good results. Methodologically speaking, the 'finite state' as the background for any grammatical analysis is consistent with subjectivity.

## Contrastive Focus Structure in Mandarin Chinese: 是...的 or 是?

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(1) and (2) below illustrate two types of cleft sentences in Mandarin Chinese, one with 是...的 and one with 是 alone (both 是 are unstressed). Due to the apparent structural and semantic similarity between Chinese sentences like (1) and (2) and English cleft structure *it was/is... that/who...*, the main pragmatic function of the former is often claimed to be signaling contrastive focus, just like its English counterpart, and additionally 是 is a focus marker. However the literature is inconsistent in the treatment of which type of cleft sentences, 是...的 or 是, or both, is the construction of contrastive focus, (for example, Hoh & Chiang (1990) treats 是 cleft as focus structure, Teng (1974) cites 是...的 instead, yet saying 是 is optional and Lü (1985) lists both). In this paper, I show that only 是 cleft is the canonical structure of contrastive focus in Mandarin and suggest that a different pragmatic function be associated with 是...的 cleft.

Based on three important empirical observations, I claim that 是...的 cleft cannot be a structure signaling contrastive focus. First, 是...的 cleft cannot be used to emphasize any post-verbal element even if you put stress on the intended words ((3)). Second, 是...的 can only be used for past and generic situations but not future ((4)), a very strange restriction for a contrastive focus structure. Third, 是...的 is frequently (and very often mandatorily) used in contexts where no contrastive focus is intended at all ((5)).

On the other hand, the 是 cleft structure is free of all these problems. It can focus on any sentential constituent including post-verbal constituent if you put stress on it ((6)). It can be used for future events ((2)) and as a matter of fact any temporal situations, and its use is highly context-dependent, only when a pragmatic contrastive focus is intended, as it should be. It is the true marked structure signaling contrastive focus in Mandarin Chinese. Furthermore, I argue that 是 is the copula instead of a focus marker based on the facts that it can be negated and that it cannot occur rightward of the main verb. The interpretation of the cleft structure ‘A 是 B’ is ‘With regard to A, it is the situation/case that B’.

So how to analyze 是...的 cleft then? I claim that it is a structure of direct equation between two nominal constituents connected by the copula 是, 的 is simply a relative clause marker and the following head noun is covert yet base-generated there. A crucial contrast between the grammaticality judgments of (7) and (8) supports this view. (7) is grammatical because 告诉 is a (di)transitive verb, and there exists something that the 的 clause can be potentially equated to, such as 这件事, whereas (8) is ruled out precisely because 笑 is an intransitive verb and nothing even potentially can be reconstructed before 是 that is equated with the 的 clause. I propose that the major pragmatic function of 是...的 cleft is to *identify* the subject/topic with the situation or property denoted by the relative clause marked by 的.

- (1) 我是在大学认识他的。
- (2) 张三是明年去法国。
- (3) \*我是去了法国**两次**的。
- (4) \*他是明天离开的。
- (5) 你是什么时候到的?
- (6) 他是去了法国**两次**, (e.g. 不是三次)。
- (7) 是张三告诉我的。
- (8) \*是张三笑的。(Intended meaning: it was Zhangsan who laughed.)

## **A study of Interlanguage Pragmatic Development of Making Requests by American Learners of Chinese**

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In line with recent focus on acquisitional issues in interlanguage pragmatics, the present cross-sectional study investigates the interlanguage development of making requests by 60 American learners of Chinese across low (G1), intermediate (G2), and high (G3) proficiency levels determined by the amount of formal instruction on Chinese. Learner data was collected through Oral DCT (oral discourse completion task), which consisted of 20 hypothetical situations of varying degrees of power, imposition and social distance. Baseline data was collected from 20 native speakers of Chinese and 20 native speakers of American English. By concentrating on request strategies, this study investigates both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic development of learner requests. The results are twofold: (1) from the pragmalinguistic perspective, with increasing Chinese proficiency, American learners increased their use of the conventionally indirect strategy and decreased the use of the direct strategy, while the use of the non-conventionally indirect strategy remained at a low level. Comparison with Chinese native speaker data revealed that learners' overall pragmalinguistic development was deviant, gradually moving toward English native speaker's norm; (2) from the sociopragmatic perspective, only advanced learners (G3) demonstrated target-like contextual variation of both direct and conventionally indirect strategies to the power variable in low-imposition situations. In addition, learners across three proficiency levels demonstrated more target-like tendency of contextual variation in situations with low imposition and equal power status than in situations with high imposition and unequal power status. Explanations of the observed phenomena are offered, and the presentation ends with some theoretical and pedagogical implications.

## **The Acquisition of Chinese Shape Classifiers by L2 Adult Learners**

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Many researchers believe that linguistic classifications ‘may be reflexes of basic cognitive categories’ (Adams and Conklin, 1973: 1). Much work has been dedicated to the exploration of the relationships between linguistic categorization and human cognitive categorization. Studies about the structure and function of classifiers and how learners from non-classifier-language background acquire this linguistic feature provide much insight into how linguistic categorization reflects cognitive categorization. Historically, much attention has been given to the acquisition and the development of Chinese classifiers by L1 children; little, if any, is known about how adult learners of Chinese acquire this linguistic feature. To that end, the current study employs an experimental design of comprehension tests in order to explore the acquisition of eight shape classifiers denoting one-, two- and three-dimensional objects by adult speakers of English and Korean. The participants were 29 English-speaking and 29 Korean-speaking adults with various Chinese proficiency levels. They were first presented with ten objects made of clay with a similar size, weight and color, but with various shapes. Then a set of eight phrases in Chinese, e.g., ‘一X 黏土’ (where X stands for the eight different shape classifiers), was given to the participants. Their task was to match each object with the phrase that best describes the denoted object. In this presentation, I will report on 1) the relative order of acquisition of these shape classifiers by all participants; 2) the emergence order of classifier acquisition as compared and contrasted with that demonstrated by L1 children; 3) the differences in emergence order between the English- and Korean-speaking groups and their possible causes. Lastly, I will also discuss the implications of this study and its potential contribution to the field of Chinese pedagogy.

## Mandarin Learners' Tonal Patterns: An Acoustic Study

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Although non-native pronunciations of English tonal patterns have been well analyzed in many studies, non-native pronunciations of Chinese patterns is an area without much research attention. When native English speakers speak Mandarin Chinese, the most noticeable characteristic of the accent is usually that the Mandarin tones vary largely in the speech stream. Are there any systematic patterns of tonal change in the accented mandarin? If so, what are they?

This paper introduces an acoustic study of Mandarin tonal sequences produced by native English speakers. Sound recordings of spontaneous speech by two Mandarin learners have been analyzed through empirical and acoustic analysis. The empirical analysis is conducted by native Mandarin speakers who are experienced in teaching the language and are familiar with learner speaking sounds. The acoustic analysis is performed with the Praat software package. Pitch tracks of the speech and other acoustic information have been produced and analyzed.

In both empirical and acoustic analysis, by comparing the learner tones with standard tones syllable by syllable, there is no consistent correlation between any learner-produced tone and any of the four Mandarin tones. The acoustic analysis shows that any Mandarin tone may vary among large ranges of heights and shapes in the learners' speech.

However, during the empirical analysis, when the experienced instructors listened to the speech sequence by sequence, they felt that the accent is very familiar, which is typical of what they heard in daily instruction. Because accent is contributed by several prosodic factors, it is difficult to identify any tonal patterns alone.

At closer examination of the pitch tracks within groups of syllables, it was noticed that the shapes of the pitch tracks are often similar with each other when two to four or even more syllables are grouped together. This finding matches the auditory impression that patterns do exist. A further analysis reveals that the length of the syllables in a group is also distributed with certain patterns. The phenomenon is explained with the conclusions of previous research on Mandarin and English tonal and intonational systems (Wu 1990; Liao 2005; Pierrehumbert 1980).

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## **A Perceptual Dialect Study of Taiwan Mandarin: Language Attitudes in the Era of Political Battle**

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Due to the political separation of Taiwan and China and the contact with native Taiwanese speakers since 1949, the standard Mandarin in Taiwan has differed from the standard Mandarin in China. Although the government has enforced its “Mandarin Only Policy”, strictly treating Mandarin as the only office language in Taiwan, Taiwan Mandarin has even become more diverse among speakers because of different degrees of contacts with regional dialects and also the conflicts between different ethnic and political groups. Located against this background, this paper has two foresights. First, drawing on Silverstein’s (1996) concept of indexicality, I will discuss how different phonological variants in Taiwan Mandarin can possibly produce indexical relationships between linguistic variants and social or political identity. Second, I will examine the people of Taiwan’s perceptions of two varieties of Taiwan Mandarin: *Taipei qiang* ‘Taipei accent’ and *Taizhong qiang* ‘Taichung accent’. Taipei accent is considered as the standard Mandarin in Taiwan because of Taipei’s higher concentration of Mainlanders retreated from China. One hundred and fifty-eight students were recruited to listen to four speakers from Taipei and Taichung and rate the voice on twelve traits using a six-point scale rate. Listeners were also asked to answer the region where the speaker is from in a forced-choice question with five choices. The aim of the study was to see if listeners’ categorization judgments of where the speakers are from would affect their linguistic attitudes and also if different linguistic variants index certain social or political identity. The study finds that salient dialect-specific properties are important cues for listeners to identify a speaker’s regional categorization. Besides, the consequence of the contested political ideologies manipulated by two major political parties has resulted in new indexicality of the linguistic features. Different varieties of Taiwan Mandarin index not only the traditional status traits but also the political inclination and cosmopolitanness. Finally, the study demonstrates that perceptual dialectological method can be used to examine how language ideologies are realized in people’s metapragmatic comments and how different indexical values can be mingled together.

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## Long versus Short Disposal Constructions in Taiwan Southern Min

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Chinese passives are often classified as long and short passives, depending on whether the Agent phrase is present or not. (Huang 1999) In the same pattern, disposal constructions (DCs) in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM) can also be classified into two groups: long and short, depending on whether the Patient phrase is referential or not. In (1), *ka* is immediately followed by *i*, which refers to he/she and thus (1) is taken to be a long DC. On the other hand, *ka* in (2) is immediately followed by a verb, not a Patient phrase, and even though the word *i* can be added after *ka* as in (3), this added *i* is still non-referential. Both (2) and (3) are thus taken to be short DCs.

(1) *gua beh ka i chu-huat.* I want KA he punish ‘I want to punish him.’ (Long)

(2) *i khi ka thau bih tiam hia.* he go KA secretly hide at there ‘He secretly hid there.’ (Short)

(3) *i khi ka i thau bih tiam hia.* he go KA he secretly hide at there ‘He secretly hid there.’ (Short)

Before the structures of DCs are proposed, further clarification regarding the definition of long and short DCs is in order. Huang (1999) does not consider that TSM has short passives since *hoo*, the passive marker, in passives like (4) is actually a contraction of *hoo* plus *i* ‘he/she’. That is, (4) is derived from (5).

(4) *gua hoo phah-tioh a.* I PASS hit-arrive PRT ‘I was hit by him.’

(5) *gua hoo i phah-tioh a.* I PASS he hit-arrive PRT ‘I was hit by him.’

Along the same line of argument, (6) is taken to be a long DC as it is derived from (1) and *ka* is a contraction of *ka* plus *i* ‘he/she’. That is, the type of DCs is not determined by whether the Patient phrase is present or not but by whether the Patient phrase is referential or not.

(6) *gua beh ka chu-huat.* I want KA punish ‘I want to punish him.’ (cf. (1)) (Long)

Long DCs in TSM are argued to have a D-structure as in (7), which is closer to the structure for short passives proposed by Huang (1999).

(7)  $[_{IP} \text{gua} [_{I} \text{I} [_{VP} \text{v} [_{VP} \text{i}_i [_{V'} \text{ka} [_{VP} \text{Pro}_i [_{V'} \text{chu-huat } t_i]]]]]]]]$  (D-structure for (1) and (6))

As to short DCs, they are proposed to have a D-structure as in (8), where *ka* (*i*) is argued to form a prepositional phrase.

(8)  $[_{IP} \text{i} [_{I} \text{I} [_{VP} [_{PP} \text{ka} (\text{i})] [_{VP} \text{thau bih tiam hia}]]]]$  (D-structure for (2) and (3))

Long DCs such as (1) are derived from (7) via verb raising of *ka* to a higher VP shell and A-movement of Pro from the object of *chut-huat* ‘punish’ to the subject of *chut-huat* position, and Pro is controlled by the closest NP c-commanding it (Principle of Minimal Distance, Rosenbaum (1970) and Chomsky (1980)), while no movement is involved in the derivation of (2) from (8). Arguments from deletion of the *ka*-phrase, (non-)referentiality of the *ka* NP, occurrence of an extra patient phrase, and pronunciation of *ka* can be proposed to support the proposal that long and short DCs have different D-structures.

## Mind Your *ou*, *a* and *la* – A Socio-pragmatic Analysis of Sentence-final Particles in Modern Chinese

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The purpose of this study is two-fold. The first is to examine the pragmatic functions of certain sentence-final particles (SFPs) in Chinese, specifically their role in altering speech acts in naturally occurring modern Chinese. The second is to compare the findings with an on-line corpus database using the built-in concordance program (Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese). When examining the natural speech data (persuasive sales talks collected in Taiwan), the initial analysis indicates a flourishing of SFPs. Three SFPs stand out in terms of frequency, namely *ou*, *a* and *la*. To further determine their functions and the types of speech acts they carry, an integrated socio-pragmatic approach is applied by taking into account both the global context (the cultural and situational factors) and the local context (sequences before and after the utterance) in the analysis. The results indicate that the main functions of *ou*, *a* and *la* in the sales talks are warning, showing impatience/naming the obvious, and urging. Even though these particles are indispensable in performing the speech acts needed in the sales persons' interactions with the customers, some of their pragmatic functions found in the data are rarely included in Chinese textbooks or dictionaries. When running the search on these particles using the concordance program in the corpus database, very few results match the functions of those SFPs found in this study. One of the possible reasons is because the main source of the corpus comes from written texts. It is also a problem to decide the pragmatic functions of those particles that actually show up in the concordance because the proper context information needed for the analysis, i.e. the before and after utterances and the socio-pragmatic factors, is not present. In addition to the research findings on Chinese pragmatics, this study also provides pedagogical implications. Some of the important pragmatic functions of the SFPs found in this study are not mentioned in Chinese textbooks. It is proposed that the pragmatic functions of SFPs, especially their roles in producing speech acts should be introduced to students in order to minimize the gap between Chinese language teaching materials and natural speech. This study also introduces an innovative technique in data collection called Natural Data Elicitation Technique, which solves the problem of the "observer's paradox" in data collection for empirical research because it allows research control and collects natural speech efficiently and ethically.

## **Patterned Vowel Variation in Standard Mandarin Loanword Adaptation: Evidence from a Dictionary Corpus**

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Background: Vowel adaptation in Standard Mandarin (SM) has exhibited a high degree of variation as it is common to adapt the same English vowel to several different vowels. For example, in addition to [ei] in SM, English [ei] can have less faithful correspondents such as [ai] and [i] in SM loanwords. Although deviation from faithful vowel adaptation could sometimes be attributed to individual users' or translators' preferences for particular characters based on semantic considerations, it is unclear if the seemingly chaotic variation in SM vowel adaptation is simply arbitrary and random or instead has general patterns and restrictions. Previous studies of vowel adaptation in SM (Lin 2007ab), based on roughly 200 randomly collected loanwords containing more than 400 vowel tokens, suggest a strong tendency for vowel backness to be more faithfully replicated than height and rounding. However, without examining a larger corpus, it remains to be seen what the detailed patterns of vowel adaptation in SM really are.

The study, findings, and analysis: This quantitative study examines vowel adaptation patterns in SM loanwords based on a corpus of more than 4200 transliterated proper names for place and people with a total of 8974 vowel tokens listed in the appendixes of *Oxford Advanced English-English and English-Chinese Dictionary* (1978). The findings are: (i) In terms of the front-back dimension, English non-central non-low vowels and diphthongs are mostly matched in backness in SM, whereas the SM matches for English central vowels and low vowels vary to a larger extent; (ii) in terms of the height dimension, English high and low vowels (including [ai] and [au]) have a strong tendency to be retained as high and low respectively in SM, whereas matches for English mid vowels mostly vary between mid and low in SM; (iii) the match between mid and low vowels and that between mid and high vowels are tolerated to various degrees, but a match between high and low monophthong vowels rarely occurs; (iv) a rounding mismatch rarely occurs for English unrounded vowels in the adaptation process, whereas non-high back rounded vowels, mid central vowels, and back diphthongs can be matched with an unrounded correspondent in SM. These patterns of vowel adaptation in SM loanwords are analyzed within the Optimality-Theoretic framework with a set of loanword-specific faithfulness constraints called MIMIC that relates a loanword output to the identifiable foreign percept (Yip 2006).

Theoretical implications: There have been heated debates about how loanwords are adapted: through the pure phonetic route (Peperkamp and Dupoux 2003), or the pure phonological route (Paradis & LaCharité 1997, LaCharité and Paradis 2005), or the combination of perception and phonology (Silverman 1992, Yip 1993, Steriade 2001, Kenstowicz 2003, Kang 2003, Yip 2006). The complex and yet patterned vowel variation in SM loanword adaptation has implications for feature theory in general and theories of loanword phonology in particular by contributing to our understanding of how vowel features are perceived and organized, what and how variation can be tolerated in loanword adaptation and why, and how the cognitive system processes loanword adaptation.

## A Probe-Goal Approach to Parametric Differences in Mandarin and English Nominal Phrases

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Compared with English, (in)definiteness and plurality in Mandarin as in (1) can be exhibited with bare nominals due to the lack of articles and rich number morphology; however, according to Pereltsvaig's (2007) Universal-DP Hypothesis, the syntactic structure of nominal phrase is universal regardless of the presence of lexical items which realize the heads of the functional projections. Hence, it is reasonable to argue that Chinese nominals in the argument positions always project to Determiner Phrase (DP) with null determiners and share the same mechanism of encoding definiteness and plurality with English. This is contrast to Cheng and Sybesma's (1999) assumption that Chinese and English have different encoding mechanisms of definiteness and Li's (1999) analysis of plural marking in Mandarin and English. Cheng and Sybesma believe that definiteness is encoded by the classifier head in Chinese whereas it is encoded by the D head in English. The two types of encoding strategies that they assume are schematised as in (2). However, I propose that there should be only one functional projection being the locus of the [definite] feature, and I suggest that the D head is the candidate. As for the encoding of plurality, following Li, I maintain that the head of Num(er)P is the locus of the [number] feature. Yet her head movement analysis of plural morpheme *-men* in Mandarin and *-s* in English is rejected based on the fact that English and Mandarin have an unvaried [Adj(ective)-N(oun)] order as shown in (3). If the suffix *-s* were base-generated in Num and the N raised to Num as proposed by Li, (3a) should be ungrammatical and (3b) should be grammatical, for the N has to move across the Adj to adjoin to Num. Yet this is not the case. Thus, I propose that these two morphemes are the instantiation of the head of light noun projection (nP) and their realization is in the phonetic representation (PF) rather than in the Narrow Syntax in conformity with a Distributed Morphology approach. Further, I will argue that the head of nP, which is lexically realized as the classifier in Mandarin in the Narrow Syntax, is the source of the [referential] feature. The syntactic structure that I postulate for nominal phrase is schematised as DP>NumP>Specific(ity)P>nP>NP. In terms of formal features, each functional projection above NP carries one interpretable feature and several uninterpretable features related to the other functional projections. For instance, the D head is composed of an interpretable [definite] feature and the uninterpretable [number], [specific], [referential] features. According to Chomsky's (2001) Probe-Goal theory, the interpretable feature under each functional head interacts with the uninterpretable feature under other functional heads via Agree. For example, the interpretable [definite] feature on D values and deletes the unvalued uninterpretable [definite] feature on n by Agree, whereas the interpretable [referential] feature on n values and deletes the unvalued uninterpretable [referential] feature on D by Agree. In contrast to Cheng and Sybesma's and Li's analyses where different underlying structures are assumed for Mandarin and English, the current model provides a unified account to explain their parametric differences. In addition, Pereltsvaig's (2007) proposal that the projection of DP is a property of Universal Grammar can be maintained within the current Probe-Goal approach, which allows Mandarin not to lexically realize the functional head D.

(1) húfēi mǎi **shū** qù le

Hufei buy book go Particle

'Hufei went to buy a/the book/books.'

(Adapted from Cheng & Sybesma 1999)

(2) a. Mandarin: [<sub>NumeralP</sub> Indefinite [<sub>ClassifierP</sub> Definite]]

b. English: [<sub>DP</sub> Definite [<sub>NumP</sub> Indefinite]]

(Adapted from Sio 2006)

(3) a. pretty girls

b. \*girls pretty

c. piàoliàng bōbèi-men

d. \*bōbèi-men piàoliàng

## The Adjective-Classifier Compound Adjective in Taiwanese

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The Taiwanese adjective-classifier (henceforth A-CL) string has the following major properties: (A) It is not expandable in structure because the marker for modifying phrases *e* cannot occur between A and CL (cf. (2)). (B) Such a string shows properties belonging to the category of adjectives in Chinese languages (i.e., it can only occur as predicate in a complex form) (cf. (1) and Zhu (1982)). (C) Adjectives allowed in such a string are so limited that only *tua* ‘big’, *se* ‘small’, *tshim* ‘deep’, *tshen* ‘shallow’, *khua* ‘wide’, or *tng* ‘long’ are allowed (cf. (3)). (D) Only the classifier *king* ‘classifier for buildings’, *tsua* ‘row’ and *liao* ‘chunk’ can occur with adjectives other than *tua* ‘big’ and *se* ‘small’. (E) Only individual classifiers, container, classifiers, group classifiers, and measures for verbs of action can occur in the A-CL string (cf. (4)).

(1) Tsit-liap lingko \*(tsin) tua-/se-liap.

This-CL apple very big-/small-CL

‘This apple is very big/small.’

(2) tsit-liap tua-/se-(\*e)-liap (e) lingko

one-CL big-/small-(\*E)-CL (E) apple

‘a big/small apple’

(3) Tsit-king tshu kha tua-/se-/tng-/tshim-/tshen-/khua-king.

This-CL house more big-/small-/long-/shallow-/wide-CL

‘This house is bigger/smaller; the length of this house is bigger; the depth of this house is bigger/smaller; the width of this house is bigger.’

(4) \*Tsit-tsiok po kha tua-/se-tsiok. (measure classifier)

This-CL cloth more big-/small-CL

‘\*This inch of cloth is longer.’

We shall argue that the Taiwanese A-CL string is a compound adjective, and the three crucial parameters of its adjectival scale (i.e., a set of degrees, a dimension, and an ordering function) are morphologically dismantled by having the dimensional parameter expressed by the classifier component and the ordering function parameter by the adjectival component; that is, in an A-CL compound adjective the classifier that has to ‘carry’ some salient physical feature functions to provide a dimension (i.e., scale) along which the relevant property of the noun (phrase) predicated or modified by the A-CL compound adjective is measured, and the adjective in the A-CL compound adjectives denotes an ordering function that orders the set of points (i.e., degree values) toward the upper or lower end of the scale (dimension).

## Expletive Negation in Mandarin *Cha-Dian-Mei* ‘miss-bit-not’ + V Structure

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Lü (1980) and Zhu (1959) have discussed the unstressed expletive negator *mei* (M) in Mandarin *cha-dian-mei* (CDM) ‘miss-bit-not’ + V ‘almost not’ structure, when V is semantically unattractive (e.g. *shuaisui* ‘break’) or neutral (e.g. *lai* ‘to come’). Thus, (1)a and (1)b are both syntactically negative, despite *cha-dian* ‘miss-bit’ (CD) means ‘almost’. But when V is semantically attractive (e.g. *jige* ‘to pass an exam’), CDM + V is syntactically positive, as in (2)b.

- (1) a. Beizi chadian shuaisui. = b. Beizi chadianmei shuaisui. (V: semantically unattractive/neutral)  
 cup CD break cup CDM break (M: expletive)  
 ‘The cup almost broke.’ ‘The cup almost broke.’
- (2) a. Ta CD jige ≠ b. Ta CDM jige. (V: semantically attractive)  
 he miss.bit pass.an.exam he miss.bit.not pass.an.exam (M: non-expletive)  
 ‘He **almost** passed the exam.’ ‘He **almost didn’t** pass the exam.’

Zhou (2003) argues that all CDM + V structures are potentially ambiguous, but can be disambiguated by placing stress on V or M, cf. the contrast between (3)a and (3)b:

- (3) a. Ta CDM si. ≠ b. Ta CDM si.  
 he die he die  
 ‘He **almost died**.’ ‘He **almost didn’t die**.’

I argue: (i) like Mandarin passive voice, CDM + V is by default an adversity structure that allows only semantically unattractive V and is syntactically negative, thanks to expletive negation, cf. (1)b and (3)a; (ii) (2)b and (3)b that allow semantically attractive V should be segmented as syntactically positive CD + MV: the stressed M forms a trochee with V (Duanmu 2003) for negation (Huang 1988) and then is cancelled by CD. Unlike (2)b, (4)a, e.g., with the perfective marker *le* attached to the semantically attractive V *jige* ‘to pass an exam’, is syntactically negative. The use of *le*, which is in complementary distribution with M as shown in (4)b, forces the expletive status of M in (4)a, which is, however, not the case in (2)b, where *le* is absent.

- (4) a. Ta CDM jige le. b. Ta M jige (\*le). (M-*le* in  
 he pass.an.exam Perf. he pass.an.exam Perf. complementary  
 ‘He almost passed the exam.’ ‘He didn’t pass the exam.’ distribution)

(5)b, with a post-verb O(bject) and a semantically attractive V *da po* ‘to break the WR’, is syntactically negative. I argue that the non-head stress on O (Duanmu, 2003) attracts V to form a VO iamb, leaving the unstressed M to the CDM trochee; i.e. prosodic segmentation is sensitive to

- (5) a. Shijie jilu, ta CDM dapo. b. Ta CDM dapo shijie jilu. to syntactic constituency.  
 world record he break he break world record  
 ‘He **barely broke** the WR.’ ‘He **almost broke** the WR.’

While Mandarin stress is hard to feel (Duanmu, 2003; Buring 2007), I argue that the focus marker *jiu* ‘as minimum as’ and *cai* ‘not until’ (Hole, 2006) are employed as more tangible syntactic cues for the CD + MV segmentation and interpretation:

- (6) a. Ta CD cai M jiege. ≠ b. Ta CD jiu M jige.  
 he not.until pass.an.exam he as.minimum.as pass.an.exam  
 ‘He **almost passed** the exam.’ ‘He **barely passed** the exam.’

I conclude: prosodic and syntactic cues distinguish syntactically positive CD + MV from syntactically negative adversity CDM + V. Judging from its pragmatics and the use of the subjective evaluational adverbs *cai* and *jiu*, CD + (M)V is one of the few counter-factual expressions in Mandarin. Cross-linguistic data from Russian and Catalan illustrate that expletive negation often occurs in counter-factual expressions or where ‘almost’ occurs, cf. (Abels, 2005).

## Speech Errors of Tone in Taiwanese

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Analysis on speech errors provides different evidence to investigate the psychological reality of phonological units, syllable structures, etc. and the reality of phonological rules as well as processes. In this study, we analyze tone errors of spontaneous speech in Taiwanese collected from radio programs to tackle three issues. The first issue is a comparison between segmental errors and tone errors. Studies of tone errors in Thai (Gandour 1977) and in Mandarin (Wan 2007) show that tone errors behave similarly to segmental errors in that they are mainly context conditioned. We would like to see if Taiwanese tone errors also show similar results. Second, previous studies showed that language-specific tone rules make little or no contribution to the occurrence of tone errors. Taiwanese provides a good ground to examine this issue because there is a unique and complex tone sandhi phenomenon in Taiwanese. Hence, the second issue is to investigate the effect of the tone sandhi phenomenon on the occurrence of tone errors. In the literature, there are mainly two alternative models accounting for this tone sandhi phenomenon. One is the rule-based model (Cheng 1968) and the other is the allomorph-selection model (Hsieh 1970). The third issue of this study is to investigate the mechanism of Taiwanese tone sandhi phenomenon. We would like to see which tone sandhi model can account for our data better.

Consider the first issue. The results showed similarities as well as differences between tone errors and segmental errors. On the one hand, they behave similarly regarding the distance between the error and the source words. However, on the other hand, they behave differently regarding the context factors of directionality as well as the phonological similarity between the target and the error source. As to the second issue, our study shows that this language-specific tone phenomenon plays an important role in the occurrence of tone errors, a finding different from previous studies. Moreover, regarding the mechanism of the tone sandhi phenomenon, our results seem to support the allomorph-selection model better.

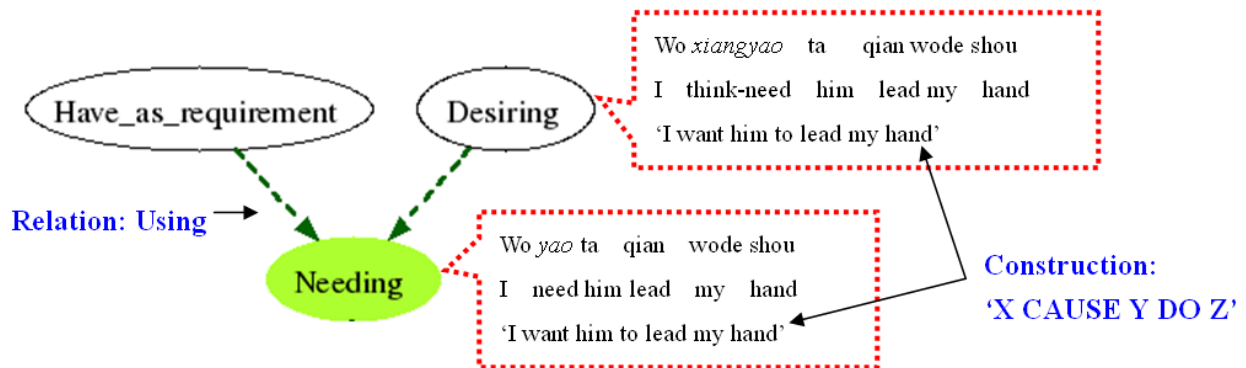
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## A Frame-based Account of Harmonic Combination of Modal Verbs: the Case with Mandarin Verbs of Dynamic Modality *xiang* and *yao*

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This paper provides a frame-based account of harmonic combination of Modal verbs exhibited in two commonly used dynamic modality verbs, viz. *xiang* 想 and *yao* 要, in Mandarin. By exploring the two forms sharing relevant modal meanings, this paper aims to illustrate the conceptual correlations between *xiang* and *yao* which resulting in the harmonic combination and lexicalization of *xiangyao* and the ways they are coded in grammar. Modally harmonic, defined as the combinations of modal auxiliary and another modal word expressing the same degree of modality (Lyons 1977:807, Coates 1983:45), is limited in English owing to the fact that there is no harmonic combinations of modal verbs (e.g. \*He *may could* come tomorrow) but only that of modal verbs and modal adverbs (e.g. He *may possibly* come tomorrow.) On the contrary, there has been a consensus that, in Mandarin Chinese, modal verbs can harmonically combine with each other (e.g. Ta mingtian *keneng bixu/yinggai hui/bixu yao lai* ‘He might have to/should/have to come tomorrow’) (cf. Tsao 1993, Lin 1995, Tang & Tang 1998, and Cheng 2001). Among the harmonic combinations of Mandarin modal verbs, there is a discrepancy with respect to dynamic modality type. Tang & Tang (1998) argues that verbs of dynamic modality would not harmonically combine with each other since there is a conflict between their meanings or sources of obligation. However, according to the counter example which Cheng (2001) found in corpus, the harmonic combination of dynamic modality, which is the lexicalization of *xiangyao*, do exist. Moreover, she suggests that the functions of the modally harmonic, in accordance with Halliday (1970) and Coates (1983), are mutually reinforcement and disambiguation. Following Cheng’s findings, this paper attempts to examine the different usages of *xiang* and *yao* by applying the framework of Frame Semantics. Under the framework, the polysemous *Xiang* belongs to different frames: *ponder* (Cogitation Frame), *imagine* (Awareness Frame), *believe* (Certainty Frame), *miss* (desiring Frame), *want* (Desiring Frame), *conceive* (Invention Frame), *guess* (Estimating Frame), and *suppose* (Opinion Frame) while the polysemous *yao* belongs to: *wish* (Desiring Frame), *like* (Experiencer\_subj), *will* (Desiring), *request* (Request Frame), *expect* (Expectation Frame, Opinion Frame), and *beg* (Attempt\_suasion Frame). From the eight frame-to-frame relations, Inheritance, Perspective\_on, Subframe, Precedes, Inchoative\_of, Causative\_of, Using and See\_also, in FrameNet (Fillmore, et al. 2004), the correlations between meanings shared by *xiang* and *yao* can be demonstrated graphically. The fact that *xiang*, *yao* and *xiangyao* share similar modal meanings such as in *Wo xiang/ yao/xiangyao ta qian wode shou* ‘I want him to lead my hands’ can be accounted for by the relations among the frames which the shared meanings attaching to. In addition, the shared syntactic construction ‘X CAUSE Y DO Z’ provides the evidence of how the semantic similarity is coded in grammar (shown as the figure below).





## Number Deletion and Classifier Realization in Mandarin and Taiwanese Nominals

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The present paper deals with some of the different behaviors in Mandarin and Taiwanese (Southern Min) nominal phrases. A simple comparison of these two languages has been mentioned in Cheng and Sybesma 2005. Both languages are similar with regard to the interpretations and distributions of Num-Cl-NPs and bare NPs. The only difference is that Cl-NPs never occur in Taiwanese, definites or indefinites, while they can occur as indefinites in Mandarin (e.g. *ta chang-le shou ge*. she sing-PF Cl song ‘she sings a/ \*the song’). Cheng and Sybesma attribute this to the parameter that numeral is restricted to an overt form in Taiwanese, whereas there is no such restriction in Mandarin. With the presence of a classifier, Cl-NPs in Mandarin are guaranteed to have a covert Num head, and thus always indefinite. In Taiwanese, the presence of a classifier must be accompanied by an overt numeral, and hence Cl-NPs never surface. However, we do find Cl-NPs in Taiwanese as in (1), which are derived from one-omission. What is puzzling is that in Mandarin such one-omission is not possible in (2).

(1) Taiwanese

a. (chi) *chhioh gwa/ poan* one foot more/half ‘one foot and more/half’

b. (chi) *gang gwa/ poan* one day more/half ‘one day and more/half’

(2) Mandarin

a. \*(yi) *chi duo/ban* one foot more/half ‘one foot and more/half’

b. \*(yi) *tian duo/ban* one day more/half ‘one day and more/half’

We adopt a feature-based analysis to account for such a difference, claiming that classifiers bear both number and definiteness features. The relative strength of the features is what sets these two languages apart with respect to number deletion. This feature-based analysis also explains the discrepancy of classifier realization in bare demonstrative structure in (3)/(4) and the adjectival predicate in (5)/(6).

(3) **Zhe (ge)** *jia duo dian*, **na (ge)** *shao dian*. (Mandarin)

this Cl plus more a little that Cl minus a little

‘(I want) more this, fewer that.’

(4) **Chit \*(e)** *ge gwa*, **hit \*(e)** *kiam gwa*. (Taiwanese)

this Cl plus a little that Cl minus a little

(5) *Zhe jian xuexiao hen da/ xiao/ gao/ kuan* **\*jian** (Mandarin)

this CL school very big/small/tall/ wide CL

‘This school is very big/ small/tall/ wide.’

(6) *Chit keng hakxau chin* **toa/se/\*koan/\*khoah keng** (Taiwanese)

this Cl school very big/ small/tall/ wide CL

## 现代汉语撮口呼韵母数量偏少的历史原因

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现代汉语普通话和各方言的韵母系统“开、齐、合、撮”四呼中，一般说来，撮口呼的韵母最少。这几乎是一种普遍存在的现象。

代表点	开口呼	齐齿呼	合口呼	撮口呼
北京话	14	11	10	4
扬州话	15	15	12	4
苏州话	17	15	9	4
温州话	15	7	6	4
长沙话	12	9	7	8
双峰话	12	9	6	4
南昌话	22	15	19	6
广州话	38	19	6	3
福州话*	12	13	13	9

\*未包括变韵韵母在内。

通过上述表格的数字可以看出，除了长沙话撮口呼韵母略多于齐齿呼以外，其他各地的撮口呼韵母都是很少的。为什么会形成这样的不平衡格局？是什么原因导致这一现象发生的？鉴于目前对这一问题的讨论甚少，笔者拟从历史音韵学角度对这一现象形成的原因做一些探讨。本文主要以中古时期《广韵》音系为主要参考点，总结归纳撮口呼韵母少的主要原因与古代的等、呼、韵以及古今演变关系有直接联系：

一、中古 16 摄中，开口呼摄多，合口呼摄少，这从总体格局上奠定了中古音系中开口呼字多于合口呼，也为后世的现代汉语开口呼/齐齿呼韵母相对较多，而合口呼/撮口呼韵母相比较少打下了基础。

全部是开口呼的摄有 4 个：效、流、深、江；但是，全部是只有合口呼的摄只有 2 个：遇、通；开口呼和合口呼俱有的摄有 10 个：果、假、蟹、止、咸、山、臻、宕、曾、梗；其中，咸摄有 7 个韵属于开口呼，只有 1 个韵属于合口呼。

二、中古 206 韵中，与三等、四等开口韵相比、属于三等、四等合口韵的数目相对较少。

这从具体韵母方面限定了现代汉语中撮口呼韵母的数量之少。统计如下：

(1) 开口三等韵有 23 个（以平以赅上去）：戈、麻、祭废、支脂之微、宵、尤幽、盐严、侵、仙元、真（臻）殷、阳、蒸、庚清；开口四等韵有 5 个：齐、萧、添、先、青。二者合共 28 个韵。

(2) 合口三等韵只有 17 个：戈、鱼虞、祭废、支脂微、凡、仙元、淳文、阳、职、庚清；合口四等韵只有 3 个：齐、先、青。二者合共 20 个韵。

(3) 合口三等、四等韵比开口三等、四等韵少 8 个韵。

三、中古能够与四等韵拼合的声母相对较少。

四、古今语音演变中的正常规律与例外，促使撮口呼韵母减少。

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## Making Requests: A Pragmatic Study of Mother-Child Dyads

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According to Bruner (1983), there are three aspects of children's language acquisition. The first is in terms of well-formedness: that he or she is becoming able to make utterances that conform to the rules of grammar. The second aspect of language is its capacity to refer and to mean. The third is pragmatics. The purpose of this study is to investigate different types of requests made by either mother or child in their daily interactions within family environment. The study also aims at addressing how different grammatical structures are used in contextualized situations as well as how a certain pragmatic intent is expressed within a specific context.

Data were collected from mother-child interactions in different daily routine activities which were audio-recorded within family environment. The transcripts derived from about 20 hours of interactions between mothers and their 3-8 year old children in eight Chinese families were analyzed and categorized into two major categories: mother-initiated and child-initiated request making. The descriptive analysis system, proposed by Green and Wallat (1981), was employed based on the theoretical constructs from the fields of sociolinguistics, conversational analysis, and the study of teaching and learning.

The results show that mothers tend to make both direct and indirect requests, but children use more direct than indirect ones. Both mother and child make requests for a wide range of purposes, however, mothers tend to use more didactic talk in making requests. For example, requesting the child to eat more shrimp in a meal. In the indirect requests, mothers use both A-not-A questions and sentence final particles to soften their requests. As for the children, they tend to use sentence particles in their requests when inviting their mothers to join them. However, most of their direct requests are simply made by using models such as 要 *yào*, or 想 *xiǎng*.

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## On-line Interpretation of Empty Categories in Chinese

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Gap-driven processing occurs when a gap precedes its filler, as in English constructions like (1). Similar constructions in Chinese were investigated in two self-paced word-by-word reading experiments. At issue is the parser's strategies for locating a filler. Does it follow an *Active Gap Strategy* analogous to the *Active Filler Strategy* (Frazier & Flores D'Arcais 1989)? Does it prefer a specific or a generic ('arb') interpretation? Does it favor a preceding filler if available?

**Experiment 1:** Materials as in (2). (All examples in English gloss.) The gap in the initial subject-complement clause could be understood as *arb* with no filler; or as controlled by a subsequent filler. An active-gap parser would adopt the first available NP (*child* in (2a)). When *de* (prenominal modifier marker, like 's in English) is encountered, it becomes clear that *child* is not the head of its NP. When *nanny* is encountered, it must be substituted for *child* as filler for the gap. A reading slowdown is therefore predicted. Version (2b) provides a baseline. The first noun in the matrix is *kindergarten*, an implausible filler. If the parser is sensitive to plausibility, *kindergarten* wouldn't be adopted as filler on-line, so no reinterpretation cost would occur on subsequently encountering *nanny*.

**Results:** There was no reading time difference ( $p > .5$ ) at the first noun (*child/kindergarten*), but a significant slowdown ( $p = .028$ ) at *de* for (2b) relative to (2a), which we interpret as due to inability to integrate *kindergarten* as the filler. (Previous self-paced reading studies of Chinese found that integration processes involving plausibility-checking show reading-time effects one word later than the critical word.) This indicates that the first noun is contemplated as a potential filler, without waiting for subsequent material that could disambiguate. At the second noun (*nanny*) and following, reading was slower following the plausible filler. Though only a numerical trend, this comports with the prediction that filler revision (from *child* to *nanny*) is needed only in that case. These results support the Active Gap Strategy.

**Experiment 2:** Materials as in (3). In (3a,b), a preceding filler (*John*) is available. If the parser adopts it, the Active Gap Strategy wouldn't be triggered, and *people/Sue* in the next clause wouldn't be interpreted as filler – the sentence might have ended as in (4). Only the final predicate *tired* would suggest this was wrong, and that *people/Sue* was the real filler. So a revision cost is predicted at the final predicate. By contrast, in (3c,d) where no possible filler precedes the gap, an active-gap parser would adopt *people* or *Sue* in the next clause as filler, so no revision cost would be incurred later.

**Results:** At the final predicate (*tired*), (3b) showed the predicted slowdown. (3a) unexpectedly did not, but we hypothesize this is because *people*, unlike *Sue*, can be semantically inclusive of *John*. At the *people/Sue* position, there was a significant integration cost exclusively for *people* when the gap had no previous filler, in (3c). This suggests that generic interpretation is dispreferred on-line compared with searching for a later specific referent.

- (1) [<sub>e<sub>arb/i</sub></sub> Exercising every day] is good (for Anne<sub>i</sub>).
- (2)
  - a. [<sub>e<sub>i</sub></sub> Having broken a few toys] did not make **child** DE nanny<sub>i</sub> more-careful.
  - b. [<sub>e<sub>i</sub></sub> Having broken a few toys] did not make **kindergarten** DE nanny<sub>i</sub> more-careful.
- (3)
  - a. John fears [[<sub>e</sub> doing intense exercise every day] often makes **people** feel tired].
  - b. John fears [[<sub>e</sub> doing intense exercise every day] often makes **Sue** feel tired].
  - c. It is obvious [[<sub>e<sub>i</sub></sub> doing intense exercise every day] often makes **people<sub>i</sub>** feel tired].
  - d. It is obvious [[<sub>e<sub>i</sub></sub> doing intense exercise every day] often makes **Sue<sub>i</sub>** feel tired].
- (4) John<sub>i</sub> fears [[<sub>e<sub>i</sub></sub> doing intense exercise every day] often makes people/Sue feel envious].

## **Relative Clause Processing in L2 Speakers of Mandarin and English**

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This paper presents the results of experiments that investigated long-distance dependency processing costs in second-language (L2) speakers of Mandarin and English. Using a self-paced reading task, the processing of sentences containing subject-gap and object-gap relative clauses was examined.

The results show that both L2 groups experienced predicted relative clause gap site effects, namely, the Mandarin L2 group processed subject-gap relative clauses more slowly, and the English L2 group processed object-gap relative clauses more slowly. A more detailed analysis found that for the Mandarin L2 group, processing slowdown for the subject-gap clauses occurred at the relative clause verb and the relative clause head. For the English L2 group, processing slowdown for the object-gap clauses occurred only at the relative clause verb.

Based on these results, it is argued that the observed gap site effects are due to the processing cost of long-distance filler-gap integration, and the cost of keeping an antecedent active in memory during the processing of a long-distance filler-gap dependency. It is further argued that the observed results are best explained by the Declarative/Procedural Memory L2 Hypothesis, which states that L2 speakers have relatively good command of declarative memory and relatively poor command of procedural memory in the processing of their second language.

## On Marking Plurality in Mandarin Chinese

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The two items *bu tong* ‘different’ and *bu yiyang* ‘different’ are generally considered to be synonymous. This is proven in (1) and (2), where *bu tong* and *bu yiyang* alternate. In (1) *bu tong* and *bu yiyang* are in a noun modifying position ; in (2) they are in predicative position.

- (1) xueshengmen kan-le      *bu tong*      de /      *bu yiyang*      de      shu  
student-pl.    look at-Sfx    different      de /      different      de      book  
the students read different books
- (2) Tamen gege    dou    *bu tong/bu yiyang*  
they    CICI    all    different/ different  
they are all different

But in other contexts, such as the comparison of equality for instance, *bu tong* and *bu yiyang* do not alternate : *bu tong* is not acceptable, as seen in the contrast in grammaticality between (3) and (4).

- (3) \*Zhangsan    gen    Lisi    *bu tong*      gao  
Zhangsan    with    Lisi    different      tall
- (4) Zhangsan    gen    Lisi    *bu yiyang*      gao  
Zhangsan    with    Lisi    different      tall  
Zhangsan is not as tall as Lisi

In this paper we will try to tease out the contexts that allow the interchangeability of *bu tong* and *bu yiyang* from those that disallow it . When *bu tong* and *bu yiyang* indicate nominal plurality, we will show that the types of plural entities they mark are different. This semantic difference explains why *bu tong* and *bu yiyang* sometimes alternate and sometimes do not.

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## Bound Roots in Mandarin Chinese and Comparison with European “Semi-words”

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This paper is about a morphological phenomenon in Mandarin Chinese which is exemplified by the following complex forms:

- a. [[磁][带]] *cí dài* (magnetism - tape) ‘(magnetic) tape’
- b. [[脑][力]] *nǎo lì* (brain - power) ‘intelligence’
- c. [[电][子]] *diàn zǐ* (electricity – particle) ‘electron’

What all these forms have in common is that they are bound-root words (cf. Packard, 1998, 2000): they look like compounds but the constituting parts are bound morphemes, or, “bound roots”. Bound-root words (complex forms in which at least one of the parts is a bound morpheme) are very common in Mandarin Chinese (cf. Sproat and Shih, 1996).

The questions I would like to answer are: 1. What is the status of the constituting parts: are they affixes (they are after all bound) or nouns (on the basis of their lexical meanings one would categorize them as nouns)? 2. What is their trigger in word-formation?

I will approach these questions from a more general point of view and look at phenomena in various European languages, which also involve bound roots. In particular I will look at the so-called “semi-words” (“*semi-parole*” in the Italian literature, cf. Scalise, 1994) in Romance and Germanic languages. Examples of semi-words are the two constituting parts in the English [[*biblio*][*graphy*]] and in the Italian [[*video*][*teca*]] (video – collection ‘video shop’), all bound morphemes that would be classified as nouns judged by their lexical meaning.

Words formed with bound roots in Mandarin and European semi-words are very similar: they have the same morphological structure and they share a similar historical and lexical development. The constituting elements are all bound roots in that even if they are bound, they behave more as content words with a lexical meaning (like constituents in compounds). Historically, they derive from old free forms (*i.e.*, Mandarin bound roots from Old Chinese monosyllables, European semi-words from Greek and Latin words) and the words they are still productively used to form are part of the more technical and modern vocabulary (*e.g.*, Mandarin 电子 (*diàn zǐ*) ‘electron’; Italian *logopedia* ‘speech therapy (logopaedics)’).

To answer the first question, I propose they are not affixes but nouns for three reasons. First, because of their lexical meaning. Secondly, they can attach to other bound roots. And finally, they can be both first and second word constituent, as in compounds (cf. Scalise, 1984; Sproat and Shih, 1996; Packard, 1998). With respect to the second question, their word formation trigger is morphological: since they are bound, they can only form new words by combination with other forms.

In this paper, both Mandarin and European cases will be analysed according to these proposals.

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## The Puzzle of Mandarin 了: An Integrated Approach

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Many theories have been put forth to describe the nature of Mandarin 了 (*le*) and the rules that govern where and when it is used. The foundation for much of this theory lies in Chao (1968) and Li & Thompson (1981), both of which see the immediate post-verbal suffix *-le* and the sentence-final particle *le* as two distinct (although phonologically and orthographically identical) morphemes that perform two distinct functions. Specifically, in Li & Thompson's theory verbal *-le* was imagined as a marker of perfectivity, and its availability as well as its place within a sentence was accounted for through analysis of boundedness—a combination of syntactic factors such as the presence of classifiers, and semantic factors such as a verb's lexical aspect, as described in Shi (1990), Sybesma (1997), and Lin (2006). Sentential *le*, on the other hand, was seen as a marker of “Current Relevant State” in the sentence, and thus performed a role in discourse rather than a semantic or syntactic role.

This approach has contributed a great deal to our understanding of 了, but fails to explain everything. Many utterances are produced, in many different mediums, that seem to break the pattern in usage of 了: there are sentences where the insertion of 了 in post-verbal or sentence-final positions is constrained, or where so-called verbal *-le* and sentential *le* are actually interchangeable, or where verbal *-le* is performing the function of sentential *le* or vice versa. Finally, from a theoretical standpoint, the distinction between *-le* and *le* would be undesirable in a parsimonious paradigm.

In this study I follow Shi (1990) in challenging the traditional separation of *-le* and *le* into two separate morphemes, and I identify other factors that may better explain the distribution of 了 in various places within the sentence. Specifically, I explain the different roles of *-le* and *le* in terms of **scope** (similar to Shi's theory of Relative Anteriority), and I identify a **prosodic test** that rules out clause-final 了 in some cases where it would apparently have been licensed by semantics, and a **pragmatic filter** that allows prosodically ill-formed sentences to be produced if they are fulfilling a special pragmatic task (such as generating contrastive stress). These operations not only allow us to account for a wide variety of sentences without resorting to dividing *-le* and *le*, but they also suggest a more integrated derivational model that can account for prosodic and pragmatic considerations that come into effect after Spell-Out in natural speech.

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## The Effects of Tonal Information on Lexical Activation in Mandarin

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The role of tonal information in perceptual processing and in spoken and visual word recognition of Chinese has become a prominent topic in recent research. However, it remains to be seen how tonal information is represented in the mental lexicon or how tonal information constrains lexical activation. For example, is tonal information processed early during lexical activation, similar to segmental information, or is it processed only after lexical retrieval (Cutler, 1986)? In a priming study, Lee (2007) found that Mandarin words differing only in tone (i.e. segmentally identical, but tonally distinct) failed to cause the speeded responses typical of segmental form priming. He argues, in line with previous research (Cutler & Otake, 1999; Cutler and Donselaar, 2001; Cooper, Cutler, & Wales, 2002), that this is evidence for the (relatively late) online use of tone to constrain lexical activation. Yip (2001), however, in a shadowing study of Cantonese, found facilitation for segmentally identical words that have different tones. This leads him to question the effect of tones on spoken word processing. We take on these issues in a set of priming experiments studying the effect of tonal information when the prime and target are segmentally unrelated. We performed a shadowing task with 14 participants and a lexical decision task with 19 participants (all native Mandarin speakers, 6 participants of the second task also participated in the shadowing task). In both tasks a series of 94 syllables, half of them Mandarin words and half of them pronounceable non-words, were presented twice, preceded by a prime syllable with unrelated segments and either a matching or a non-matching tone. In both experiments we found a small (about 10 ms for shadowing and 17 ms for lexical decision) but highly significant inhibition in cases where the tone of the target words and the primes match. We argue that our results suggest a group activation of candidates with the same tone that increases competition with the representation of the target word. These novel findings support the view that tones constrain lexical activation, but differently than stress in non-tonal languages as suggested by Chen et al. (2002).

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## 上海方言的时态

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一种权威的理论认为：汉语句子的表示事件只有“体”的形式，而“时”是用时间名词或上下文来表示的。这种说法不全面。本文讨论吴语上海方言中“时”、“体”结合的复合时态。

上海方言中句尾通常被称作“语气词”的“了”，相当于苏州方言的“哉”，是现时相关状态的标记 (Li 1982) 它表示的是事件行为发生的“现在、当下状态”，是观察事件出发的“现在时点”，它成为上海方言中“现在时”的标志。而上海方言的“来”字结构“垃拉”或“垃海”，现今在动词前表达句子的“进行体”，在动词后表示动作结束后其状态在延续的“存续体”。如“我坐垃海。”

上海方言存在“时”与“体”结合的复合时态，与英语法语同类时态意义相似。从“现在”时点出发观察，事件的状态可分为三段：已经完成，正在进行，将要发生。上海话对这样三种事件状态都有专用的时态表示法。

### 一、现在完成时态

它在动词后用“垃海”或“垃拉”加表示现在时“了”组成“垃海了”或“垃拉了”表示。如：我家生买垃海了。家具我已经买好在那儿了。

### 二、现在进行时态

它用“垃海”或“垃拉”置于动词前，“了”位于句末表示。如：伊生活垃拉做了。他现在正在做活。

### 三、现在即行时态

它在动词后用表达即行的“快”加上表达“现在视点”的“了”表示，表示从现在时间出发观察事件就将发生。如：火车开快了。现在火车马上就开。表示“近过去”的语助词“个”，在特定场合成为上海话“过去时”的标志。

### 四、过去完成时态

它在动词后用“垃海”或“垃拉”加表过去的“个”。如：条子我写拉海个，侬寻出来看看好了。条子我在以前已经写好在那儿，你找出来看一下就可以了。

### 五、过去进行时态

它用“拉海”或“垃拉”置于动词前，“个”位于句末表示。如：我看见侬垃拉写个，侬勿要赖脱。我看见你刚才正在写，你别抵赖。

上海方言中的复合时态，过去还有一种与宁波话相同的形式，在美国传教士 Pott (1920) 分析上海方言曾举例：我垃拉吃。I was eating. 区别于现在进行时态：我垃里吃。I am eating. 因为“垃拉”相对于近指“垃里”，由方所的远指语法化转为时间上的远指，即成为表示过去的行为，放在句子动词前表示了过去进行，“垃里”为现在进行。此种用法随着近指用法“垃里”消失而消退。

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**Choices in Terms of Address:  
A Sociolinguistic Study of Chinese and American English Practices**

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The study of terms of address has always been a popular topic within sociolinguistics. Notable among these studies, Brown and his colleagues (Brown and Ford, 1961; Brown, 1965) argued that the use of forms of address is primarily determined by the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, mainly in terms of their power and solidarity. This so-called Invariant Norm of Address is applicable to both English and Chinese (Lambert, 1967; Kroger et al, 1979). Meanwhile, more scholars recognized the difference between the two languages. Chao's study (1956) showed that Chinese have a much more complicated kinship system than that of American English. Zhou (1998) investigated how to address non-family members among Chinese and Americans. His findings indicated that, firstly, kinship terms are extended to non-family members in Chinese while it is rare in American English. Secondly, titles are used more often to address superiors by Chinese than Americans. Wang (2003) ascribed these differences to different sociocultural factors and politeness rules.

Most of knowledge about usages of terms of address in these studies was obtained from paper-pencil procedures such as questionnaire, interview and casual observation. However, paper and pencil procedures may lack ecological validity, impose artificial dimensions upon the respondent, or encourage a consistency and delicacy of differentiation not found in ordinary life (Kroger, et al, 1979). Furthermore, people use different forms of address in different situations, but it is hard to depict every aspect of a situation through a questionnaire or an interview. Therefore, the responses merely based on paper-pencil investigations were very likely unnatural, partial, even inaccurate.

In this study, the usages of address are collected from two Chinese movies and two American movies which were considered to better reflect social reality by portraying various interpersonal relationships in different situations. The purpose of this study, then, is (a) to compare the usage of address between Chinese and American English in situation-based contexts; (b) to compare the results with previous findings based on paper-pencil investigations. The findings indicate that besides the determinants of power and intimate, other factors including age, gender, motivation, and situation are also important factors in determining the choice of terms of address. And the relative importance of these factors is different between Chinese and American English.

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## The Scope of Mandarin Bare Nominals

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Since Carlson (1977), it has been widely acknowledged that bare nominals normally can only take narrow scope, whereas regular indefinite NPs may receive narrow or wide scope with respect to other operators or predicates such as attitude verbs, negation, and quantifiers. The contrast is shown in (1).

(1) a. Mulan wants to meet **detectives**. (opaque reading only)

b. Mulan wants to meet **a detective**. (opaque or transparent reading)

Following this line of research, Yang(2001) and Rullmann&You(2003) claim that Mandarin bare nominals also only have narrow scope, hence should be distinguished from regular indefinite NPs. According to them, except having an opaque reading, the bare nominal *zhentan* ‘detective’ in example (2) does not have a transparent (namely specific indefinite) but a definite interpretation.

(2) Mulan zai-zhao **zhentan**.

Mulan be-looking-for detective

i. ‘Mulan is looking for detectives.’ --opaque reading

ii. ‘Mulan is looking for the detective(s).’ --definite reading

In this talk, I present new data showing that Mandarin bare nominals may receive not only narrow scope, but also intermediate and wide scope, given an appropriate context.

For example, as illustrated in (3), the bare noun *feilong* ‘flying-dragon’ may take widest scope as a specific indefinite, or intermediate scope (scope out of the complex NP but stay in scope of ‘every’) as a relative specific indefinite (Von Heusinger 2002), or narrow scope as a non-specific indefinite.

(3) Mei-ge wushi bixu biaoyan [shi-zhong buzhuo **feilong** de wushu.]

Every-CL witch has-to perform 10-CL capture flying-dragon De witchcraft

i. ‘There is a certain flying-dragon, such that every witch has to perform ten kinds of witchcraft to capture that flying-dragon.’ --wide scope

ii. ‘For each witch, there is a certain flying-dragon, such that he has to perform ten kinds of witchcraft to capture that flying-dragon.’ --intermediate scope

iii. ‘Every witch has to perform ten kinds of witchcraft to capture some flying-dragon(s).’ --narrow scope

Based on this observation, I argue that Mandarin bare nominals may behave like regular indefinites with respect to scope, by which I will challenge the standard view that bare nominals are cross-linguistically narrow scope indefinites. A crucial implication of this study is that the Neocarlsonian Approach (Chierchia 1998) -- namely bare nominals unambiguously refer to kinds -- fails to extend to Mandarin bare nominals.

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## Temporal Interpretation of *-le* in Chinese

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Lin (2006) argues that the perfective morpheme *-le* is not a pure aspectual marker; it also encodes semantic past tense. The evidence is that (i) sentences with *-le* are often interpreted to be in the past; and (ii) *-le* is incompatible with the future modal auxiliary *hui*. He claims that in sentences like (1) where *-le* in the first clause (*-le1*) seems compatible with the future context, *-le* conveys ‘relative past’. However, Lin’s proposal cannot explain why *-le* is not allowed in the second clause of the bi-clausal complement of *hui*. If *-le2* in (1) is ruled out because it denotes ‘absolute past’, *-le1* encoding ‘relative past’ should also obtain the ‘absolute past’ interpretation, clashing with the future context. Contrary to our expectation, *-le1* cannot be removed from the sentence, as (2) shows.

- (1) wo hui ci *-le* xing zai dong (\**-le*) shen.  
I AUX take PERF leave then depart  
After having taken leave, (and only then) I will depart.
- (2) wo hui ci \*(*-le*) xing zai dongshen.  
I AUX take leave then depart  
After having taken leave, (and only then) I will depart.

In this paper, I argue that (i) *-le* in (1) is a perfective morpheme presenting a situation as bounded and terminated; and (ii) the ‘pastness’ associated with *-le* is a default pragmatic inference rather than a semantic denotation; the (un)availability of the ‘past’ interpretation contributes to the (in)compatibility of *-le* with the future context. (i) is supported by the fact that the first event in a sequence of future events cannot be unbounded or atelic; *-le* is needed in this case to make the sentence well-formed, see (3). This also explains why *-le1* in (2) cannot be removed.

- (3) wo hui chi \*(*-le*) fan zai kan danshi.  
I AUX eat \*(PERF) meal then watch TV  
I want to watch TV after eating the meal.

(ii) is supported by the evidence that in a sequence of clauses, the temporal interpretation of the first clause with *-le* relies on that of the second clause. Since *-le* in the second clause retains its default ‘past’ interpretation, it is incompatible with the future modal *hui*. In contrast, *-le* in the first clause does not have any temporal interpretation, and so is compatible with *hui*.

- (4) a. ta dao *-le* Beijing, hui gei wo da dianhua.  
he arrive PERF Beijing AUX to me make call  
After arriving at Beijing, He will call me.
- b. ta dao *-le* Beijing, gei wo da *-le* ge dianhua.  
he arrive PERF Beijing to me make PERF CL call  
After arriving at Beijing, he called me.

This analysis can successfully account for the (in)compatibility of *-le* with *hui* without appealing to the notion of semantic tense. It is thus consistent with the standard characterization of *-le* that *-le* expresses boundedness and has to do only with aspect.

## Survey of Roman Letter Word Types in Written Chinese

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Chinese orthography is showing the effects of contact with English through the use of roman letters in written discourse. Using roman letters in Chinese writing creates a problem because the writing systems are mismatched with respect to the linguistic units they delimit. While Chinese writing delimits syllables and morphemes using characters, English writing delimits phonemes and words using strings of letters combined into orthographic words. We examine how the mismatch between the syllabic writing system of Chinese and the phonemic writing system of English is overcome to accommodate the incorporation of roman letters into Chinese writing.

We analyzed the use of roman letters in two sections of the *Chinese Gigaword Corpus, Third Edition* (LDC2007T38), which represents two Chinese societies that differ in their degree of language contact with English: ‘internationalized’ Taiwan (Central News Agency/CNA) and ‘internationalizing’ mainland China (Xinhua/XIN). Fifteen years of CNA and XIN newswires were examined (1991–2005). The use of roman letters has increased in both portions of the corpus over time but is significantly more common in CNA than XIN, with 113.5 letter strings per 100,000 Chinese characters in CNA and 26.9 in XIN. We interpret this as evidence of Taiwan’s greater degree of Chinese-English language contact. Categorizing letter strings by script type, we find that All\_Caps are most frequent in both portions and are usually acronyms (*SARS*) or initialisms (*WTO*). Mixed\_Case and Lower\_Case fully spelled-out words also occur but tend to be nonce borrowings appearing as hapax legomena (*Barracuda180*, *thermalcoal*). The proportion of All\_Caps to Mixed\_Case is 94% in XIN and 77% in CNA, indicating Taiwanese society’s broader exposure to a wider variety of English words.

We suggest that the high frequency of upper case letters used as abbreviations and the relative lack of spelled-out words reflects a preference for using letters in the manner of Chinese *zì*, most of which are pronounced as individual syllables, have independent meanings, and are written with a graph that fills an ‘equidimensional square’ (Boodberg 1957). Letters used as ‘roman letter *zì*’ are usually pronounced with their individual letter names, most of which are one syllable in length; have independent meanings that either abbreviate a longer unit (*CD* < compact disc) or have a contextual meaning (*A* in *A* 组 ‘group A’ refers to the ‘first’ group); and fill a self-contained equidimensional square (*A* and 组 each fills a square).

We conclude that the use of roman letters as a new type of Chinese character is innovative but not surprising. Chao (1968:136) asserted that *zì* are the ‘sociological word’ in Chinese, the linguistic unit that speakers are “practically concerned with in various ways”. Since *zì* are the primary metalinguistic unit for Chinese speakers, roman letters may also be used in ways that make them *zì*-like. Our study shows that roman letters whose properties match those of *zì* are used most frequently in written Chinese. We conclude that the use of roman letters as ‘roman letter *zì*’ is common enough that it may indicate a move toward a mixed writing system.

## Adjectivals and Adverbials: On the Representation of Quantities and Qualities in Chinese and Implications for Language Typology

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Early work by Lyons (1966) showed some of the ways in which the notions—or substantive universals—represented by parts-of-speech categories can distribute differently across languages. Well-known examples from the Chinese Linguistics literature show differences in the part-of-speech representation of quantities and qualities between Mandarin and English:

1. *ta jia-cuo le ren*  
she marry-wrong PERF person  
?she mis-married a person (adverb quality); glosses in English as adjective quality:  
She married the wrong person. (Hsieh 1978)
2. *ta you diu le yi-ben(r) shu*  
he again lost PERF one-CL book  
?he again lost a book (adverb quantity); glosses in English as adjective quantity:  
He lost another book. (Tai 1982)
3. *ta shi women xin-lai-de laoshi*  
he is our new-arrive-DE teacher  
he is our newly arrived teacher (adverb quality); glosses in English as adjective quality:  
He is our new teacher.

Whether the above contrast can be said to represent a strong or a weak distinction between the two languages depends on the extent to which the substantive universals, quantity and quality, are coded differently versus the extent to which their codings overlap.

Evidence of a strong preference for representing quantities and qualities adverbially in Chinese is shown by what carries over when Chinese native speakers write in English—exemplified by the ‘a’ sentences, below—in which quantity and quality is represented adverbially. The ‘b’ sentences—in which quantity and quality are represented adjectivally—are the more English-like alternative.

- 4a. The authors offer a definition of existentialism roughly.
- b. The authors offer a rough definition of existentialism.
- 5a. We need to study more on actual student behavior.
- b. We need more study on actual student behavior.
- 6a. She completely resolved the matter.
- b. She resolved the entire matter.

To further test the extent and strength of this adjective-adverb distinction between the two languages, Chinese native speakers who are bilingual in English were asked to translate a set of English, ‘b’ type, adjectival sentences into Chinese. This talk will report results showing—with some interesting exceptions—that the preference for adverbial representation appears quite strong in Chinese. For typology, this means that one more feature can be added to the collection of features that linguists notice when thinking about typological parameters.

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## **Tonetic Sound Change in Taiwan Mandarin: The Case of Tone 2 and Tone 3 Citation Contours**

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This study examines citation tone pronunciation in Taiwan Mandarin (TM), with particular focus on that system's two phonetically unstable tonal categories of Tone 2 (*yangping*) and Tone 3 (*shangsheng*). Altogether, 51 native-speaking informants were recruited. Of these, 19 were male and 32 were female, 22 were monolingual speakers of TM and 29 were bilingual speakers of TM and Taiwan Southern Min (TSM). They ranged in age from 15 to 64, with a distribution of 26 individuals in the 50-64 year old age group, 6 in the 30-49 year old age group and 19 in the 15-29 year old age group. Previous studies of TM citation tones are inconsistent in their claims about the underlying contour shapes of TM Tones 2 and 3. Most claim that Tone 2 now takes a dipping contour, while at least one study claims that it is still a rising contour. Likewise, most studies claim that Tone 3 is now a low, falling tone. However, one scholar claims in multiple studies that it remains a dipping contour (Fon 1997, Fon et al. 2004), while one study observes alternation between falling and dipping contours. The static snapshot presented by our own data confirms the partial validity of each of the above claims, not only at the level of the speech community, but in many cases even within the pronunciation of individual speakers. By looking at the data from a more dynamic perspective, however, the situation becomes significantly clearer. The older the age group, the more that age group as a whole favors the prescriptive rising and dipping contours for Tones 2 and 3 respectively. This holds true regardless of language background. Additionally, we observe that the change in Tone 2 from a rising contour to a dipping contour appears to have begun prior to the initiation of change in Tone 3 from a dipping contour to a falling contour. We also observe that females are much more likely than males to consistently stick to the same tone shape regardless of whether the tonal shape being favored is the conservative, prescriptive one or the innovative one. Finally, we find that bilinguals, more so than monolinguals, are more likely to use the prescriptive rising contour for Tone 2 and the prescriptive dipping contour for Tone 3. In observing these facts, we note that the traditional neogrammarian model of sound change is incapable of accounting for the obvious allotonic diversity at both the individual and speech community levels. However, our findings appear consistent with some of Shen's (1997) more subtle views of sound change, in particular where he states that "When a change starts it affects every relevant word with the same chance, and the probability of change for any changed word is a function of time. The probability of change becomes higher when the change is closer to its end. The probability of change at a certain point of time only determines the overall average of the changed words, but which word will get changed by an individual is random." Therefore, although the type of sound change observed in our own study does not involve either categorical mergers or splits, making it more resemble phonetic change than it does phonemic change, it would nevertheless appear that tonetic change does exhibit the same probabilistic, rather than absolute behavior observed for phonemic change.

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# 处所义补语结构的句法构造和韵律制约

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## 1. 处所补语结构两种结构变化的句法构造

Sybesma 和沈阳（2006）曾采用“补语小句（SC）理论”来分析结果补语结构。如下：

（1）包含定指名词的结果补语结构的底层结构：a. 小 D [唱<sub>[SC1]</sub> 那个人哭] / b. 小 D [打<sub>[SC1]</sub> 那杯子碎]

→ a1. 小 D 把那个人<sub>i</sub> [VP 唱<sub>[SC1]</sub> t<sub>i</sub> 哭了] → a2. 小 D 把那个人<sub>i</sub> [VP 唱哭了<sub>[SC1]</sub> t<sub>i</sub>]

→ b1. 那杯子<sub>i</sub> (小 D) [VP 打<sub>[SC1]</sub> t<sub>i</sub> 碎了] → b2. 那杯子<sub>i</sub> (小 D) [VP 打碎了<sub>[SC1]</sub> t<sub>i</sub>]

假设包含有定指名词的处所补语结构（2）中也有与结果补语结构类似的小句“那本书在桌子上”。这样也就可生成下面的（2a/b）的结构。例如：

（2）包含定指名词的处所补语结构的底层结构：小 D [放<sub>[SC1]</sub> 那本书在桌子上]

→ a1. 小 D 把那本书<sub>i</sub> [VP 放<sub>[SC1]</sub> t<sub>i</sub> 在桌子上] → a2. 小 D 把那本书<sub>i</sub> [VP 放在<sub>[SC1]</sub> t<sub>i</sub> 桌子上]

→ b1. 那本书<sub>i</sub> (小 D) [VP 放<sub>[SC1]</sub> t<sub>i</sub> 在桌子上] → b2. 那本书<sub>i</sub> (小 D) [VP 放在<sub>[SC1]</sub> t<sub>i</sub> 桌子上]

假设包含不定指名词的处所补语结构的小句中有一个空动词“Φ（有）”，整个小句是：“放<sub>[SC 在桌子上]</sub> V（Φ 有）一本书<sub>在桌子上</sub>”。小句中的“在”并不是动词，“在桌子上”只是个附加语（PP/NP as adjunct）；而且小句中包含了两个同义和同形的附加语“在桌子上”（也就是同一个成分的“拷贝（copy）”）。这样处所补语结构无论派生出处所连谓结构还是处所双宾结构，向上提升与主句动词合并的都是小句的空动词“Φ（有）”，而作为宾语的“一本书”和作为附加语的“在桌子上”就都留在小句中。二者的区别仅仅在于：在语音或语义实现过程中会因成分冗余而无法通过核查，因此必须在最终表层结构中删除其中一个。事实上恰好这两种删除就分别构造了汉语的处所连谓结构（3a）和处所双宾结构（3b）。例如：

（3）包含不定指名词的处所补语结构及其派生过程：

a. 放<sub>[SC2]</sub> 在桌子上 V（Φ 有）一本书在桌子上 → 放<sub>#</sub>[SC Vt 一本书在桌子上]

b. 放<sub>[SC2]</sub> 在桌子上 V（Φ 有）一本书在桌子上 → 放<sub>#</sub>[SC 在桌子上 Vt 一本书]

## 2. 处所补语结构两种结构变化的韵律制约

上述现象也是符合韵律规则的。根据“句子核心重音指派规则”（Feng, 2001），汉语句子的核心重音由动词指派，而且动词后只能指派一个重音成分。这样来看：包含定指主语名词的补语小句（“那本书在桌子上”）作为受动词支配的补语成分，其中就包含两个重音成分：小句的题元性主语“那本书”和小句的题元性宾语“桌子上”。因此在小句动词“在”提升与主句动词合并成一个复合动词“放在”的情况下，两个重音成分中就必须有一个（小句主语）要前移到主句动词前。而包含不定指宾语名词的补语小句（“在桌子上有一本书在桌子上”），其中本来就只有一个重音成分：即小句的题元性宾语“一本书”；而“在桌子上”作为附加成分并不负载重音，因此在小句空动词“有”提升与主句动词合并成一个复合动词“放（有）”的情况下，无论是“一本书”还是“桌子上”，都不需要前移到主句动词前。

## 3. 双宾结构句法构造和韵律制约的一致性

可以假设所有的双宾结构都一样具有类似处所双宾结构的两种底层补语小句形式和相应的韵律制约。因为一方面事实上所有双宾结构的两个宾语间都可能有两种语义关系和两种结构形式；另一方面也就可解释为什么构成双宾结构时客体远宾语必须是不定指名词（因为是这个名词小句空动词“有”的宾语），而构成其他结构（如把字结构或话题结构）时这个客体宾语又必须是定指名词（因为这个名词是小句的主语）。

参考文献（略）

## The Syntactic Structuring of Passive in Chinese and Vietnamese: A Comparative View

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Much interesting research has been carried out on the syntactic structure of Mandarin passive constructions in recent years, with significant results described in Ting (1998), Huang (1999), and Tang (2001). Huang (1999), in particular, places modern Mandarin *bei*-constructions in a broad comparative perspective, incorporating insights from the diachronic development of *bei* passives, and the synchronic realization of passive in non-Mandarin varieties of Chinese (Cantonese and Southern Min) as well as other East Asian languages such as Japanese and Korean. The present paper adds a further comparative perspective on Chinese-type passives and their parametric variation in East Asia with a consideration of passive structures in Vietnamese, an Austroasiatic language which has received much influence from Chinese as the result of earlier, prolonged Chinese dominance of the northern part of the country, during the formative years of the Vietnamese language.

Passive structures in Vietnamese show much obvious similarity to those in Mandarin, and seem to be closer to Chinese in surface structure than the passive in Japanese and Korean. The canonical adversity-type passive in Vietnamese is formed with a morpheme *bị* that is closely related to Chinese *bei*, and displays many of the same properties that Chinese *bei* passives have: (a) clear signs of a (possible) two-clause structure, (b) resistance to resumptive pronouns in the ‘gap’ position, (c) locality effects in the post- *bị/bei* portion of the construction, and (d) indications that a ‘short passive’ may be an option alongside ‘long passives’ (as in Chinese – Huang 1999) see example (1). Interestingly, Vietnamese also forms parallel *non*-adversity passive constructions with a second morpheme, *được*, cognate with Cantonese *dak* and Mandarin *de*. Elsewhere, Vietnamese *được* occurs as (a) a post-verbal modal of ability similar to Cantonese *dak*, (b) a lexical verb meaning ‘to receive’, similar to both Cantonese *dak* and Mandarin *de*. This is illustrated in example (2).

(1) Nam bị (thầy giáo) phạt (\*anh ta). (2) Nam được (thầy giáo) khen (\*anh ta).

Nam PASS teacher punish him Nam PASS teacher praise him

‘Nam was punished (by the teacher).’ ‘Nam was praised (by the teacher).’

This paper probes how the two passive types in Vietnamese are both similar and different from modern Mandarin *bei* constructions, and addresses the issue of non-gap and indirect passive structures, relative quantifier scope between the surface subject and elements in the post-*bị/bei* part of the construction, the potential occurrence of agent-oriented adverbs predicated of the surface subject, productivity limits of the Vietnamese passive, and the significant phenomenon of *intransitive passives* in Vietnamese, in which an intransitive verb appears following *bị* (3) in a way that is not at all possible in Chinese (4):

(3) Nam bị ốm. (4) \*Zhangsan bei bing-le  
Nam PASS be.sick Zhangsan PASS be.sick ASP  
‘Nam has got sick.’ intended: ‘Zhangsan has got sick.’

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## Old Chinese \*s-, or Departing Tone, Passive, and Middle Chinese Resultative Verb Compounds

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It has been observed (Wang 1958, Mei 1991) that in Old Chinese a VV sequence such as V 殺 is coordinate in nature. Furthermore, the second V in this sequence changed into an intransitive verb, thus giving rise to the resultative verb compounds. Mei (1991) attributed the change in transitivity to the loss of the Old Chinese pre-fixal causative marker \*s- (or distinction by voicing). However, it remains unclear what licensed a transitive V1 to co-occur with an intransitive V2 in a coordinate construct. This study shows that many of the V1s are both syntactically and semantically ambiguous. For example, the Old Chinese 壓 can be used either as a transitive verb (壓殺) or as an intransitive verb (壓死). Moreover, in 餓殺其子(論衡: 齊世), 餓 is a causative/transitive verb but an intransitive in 餓死沙丘宮(史記: 趙世家). 壓 as a transitive verb can select an experiencer subject just like the intransitive 餓. Levin (1999: 225-43) argues that transitive verbs are not identical and can be divided into two groups, core transitive verbs (CTV) and non-core transitive verbs (NCTV). Whereas the object of CTV is licensed by the verb's complex event structure, the object of NCTV is licensed by the verb's core meaning (or constant) with a simple event structure that is very similar to an intransitive verb. In this light, the 壓死 VV compound is a coordinate structure is motivated the similarity of two simple event structure in forming a hypotactic VV compound. The co-occurrences like 壓死、壓殺、誅殺、誅死 motivated two further processes: First, as an achievement verb, 死 can be semantically bleached to mark no more than an end point (delimitedness). Second, an analogy between 殺 and 死 was made, thus making V 殺 to mean V 死 as is evidenced by many V 殺's in Early Modern Chinese and modern dialects. The emergence of sequences like 打頭破 in Middle Chinese and 打死之 in Early Modern Chinese noted by Mei (1991) can then be explained in terms of the transitivity of the CTV 打 that might disqualify an intransitive 破 to co-occur with it in a parataxis. 打破頭 is allowed only by those who already adopted the analogy noted above. This study also shows that this lexicalization process (or the union of the two verbs) proceeded in three stages: parataxis (coordinate structure)→hypotaxis (壓死、誅死)→head initial resultative verb compounds(打死之). This study has also found that Chinese resultative can be predicated of non-agent subject, thus typologically more robust than that in English as was observed by Levin (1999).

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## A Usage-Based Approach to Argument Structure: The Case of Kaishi 开始 and Its Implications

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Argument structure is typically defined as the association of verbs and their nominal participants. While traditional work on argument structure is dominated by a lexical semantic approach, where the number and types of argument that a verb can take are viewed as a central concern and, are, more importantly, intuited based largely on semantic properties of verbs in isolation, a usage-based approach views argument structure as fluid and subject to language use. Specifically, an emergent hypothesis has been made to recognize the impact of frequency of use: the more frequent a verb is the less stable its argument structure (Tao 2000, 2007, Thompson and Hopper 2001). In this paper we investigate the use of *kaishi* in Mandarin written and spoken corpora. Our results support the emergent view of argument structure.

Our findings indicate that as a high frequency verb (ranked #314 among top 8000 common words according to the Beijing Language Institute Chinese Frequency Dictionary) *kaishi* “to start, to begin” in written Mandarin has a wide variety of uses, ranging from taking a nominal argument (父母劝青芝开始她的旅行) to a verbal clause (学生们坐不住了, 开始窃窃私语), from multiple arguments (i.e. transitive use) to single arguments (i.e. intransitive use, e.g. 假期开始了), with variability in word order involving the patient argument (or an affected entity). Interestingly, such variation has discourse pragmatic correlates, along the clines of volitionality and process vs. event. We argue that such a wide range of variability and the pragmatic implications pose a challenge to the intuition based approach to argument structure, for such evidence would be difficult to imagine or fit into a single argument structure. Our examination of spoken discourse yields further interesting data: *kaishi* can be, and often is, used as a temporal element, functioning as an adverbial or discourse conjunction. This use is often realized in the form of a lexicalized unit involving *yi* ‘one’ and *kaishi* (i.e. 一开始), among others. We take this to be a further development of grammaticalization (or lexicalization): as *kaishi* is being used frequently in certain discourse contexts, its morphosyntactic behaviors begin to change, resulting in new, emergent lexical units in the language.

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## Verb-*le* Clauses as Minimal Narratives

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We propose that the Mandarin verbal aspectual particle *-le* in postverbal position (verbal *-le*) has a discourse function of marking the clause it occurs in as a Narrative. This treatment is based on a recent semantic analysis of verbal *-le* as (i) marking a transition between two eventualities that (ii) has occurred prior to some reference time (Soh, to appear). We observe (i) and (ii) are hallmarks of Narrative discourse, which typically consist of a sequence of eventualities (including states) that are temporally ordered relative to each other (Smith 2005). Achievement ((1)) and accomplishment ((2)) predicates encode a change of state which verbal *-le* marks as having occurred, thus these verbal *-le* clauses entail a transition between some preceding eventuality and its result state. They independently exhibit Narrative traits. Activity predicates ((3)) do not entail a change of state, but verbal *-le* indicates the activity is terminated.

- (1) Hong Lili zai zhuomian shang de shou zhua-zhu-le Zhao Shengtian de shou.  
Name be.at table.surface upon Assoc hand catch-hold-LE Name Assoc hand  
Hong Lili's hand on the table caught hold of Zhao Shengtian's hand.
- (2) Wo gei ziji dao-le yi bei cha. (3) ?wo he-le cha  
1sg give self pour-LE one cup tea 1sg drink-LE tea  
I poured myself a cup of tea. I drank tea.

We assume the termination semantics coerces an interpretation of a transition between the activity and the following state of its cessation. We relate this point to the observation that an activity verbal *-le* clause is often felt to be 'incomplete' ((3)) in isolation (Li and Thompson 1981: 200, Wu 2005: 300). We attribute this oddness to a pragmatic condition that interprets the state characterized by the cessation of an activity as informationally weak, and thus a deficient second eventuality for the purpose of narration. We support this approach with corpus facts, which show that in Narrative fiction, accomplishment and achievement verbal *-le* clauses occur frequently, but activity verbal *-le* clauses seldom do occur, unless accompanied by another structurally parallel clause ((4)), which provides the needed "second eventuality" in the Narrative. Supporting a distinction between Narrative and Report modes of discourse made by Smith (2005), activity verbal *-le* clauses in isolation do, however, occur regularly in news reports ((5)).

- (4) Ye Ye beidili zhao-le Zhao Shengtian, chuchukelian-de su-le kuzhong  
Name secretly look.up-LE Name pitiful-ly speak-LE difficulty  
Ye Ye secretly looked up Zhao Shengtian, and spoke pitifully of her difficulties.
- (5) Jizhe zai shangchang fangwen-le butong renshi  
reporter be.at department.store interview-LE different people  
(Our) reporter interviewed various people at the department stores.

We further show the relative anteriority of the transition indicated by verbal *-le* (point (ii) above) must be a lexical specification of verbal *-le* and not due to a default interpretational rule. Evidence comes from a restriction on the kind of temporal subordinator a verbal *-le* clause is compatible with: a verbal *-le* clause may be introduced by *yihou* 'after' but not by *yiqian* 'before' (6), in contrast with a subordinate clause without *-le*, which may occur with either temporal subordinator (7).

- (6) Women kan-wan-le dianying yihou/#yiqian gei ta da-dianhua.  
1pl watch-finish-LE movie after/before give 3sg call.on.phone  
'After/Before we finished watched a movie/movies, we phoned him/her.'
- (7) Women kan-wan dianying yihou/yiqian gei ta da-dianhua.  
1pl watch-finish movie after/before give 3sg call.on.phone  
'After/Before we watched a movie/movies, we phoned him/her.'

## **Universals and Cross-linguistic Variations in the Acquisition of Imperfective Aspect: the Case of Chinese**

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The acquisition of aspect has been extensively studied in second language acquisition. Previous research has suggested that the acquisition of aspect by L2 learners is influenced by the interaction between lexical and grammatical aspects, individual differences such as L1 and proficiency level, as well as instruction. However, prior studies have mostly focused on Indo-European languages in which the conflation of tense and aspect tend to cause terminology ambiguity. Chinese, on the other hand, differs from other languages in that it does not mark tense morphologically, which provides a good opportunity to test the findings and hypotheses about the acquisition of aspect based mainly on Indo-European languages.

In this study, data were collected by using an acceptability judgment test and a picture description task. The participants were one controlled group of Chinese native speakers (n=5) and two experimental groups of L2 Chinese learners: second-year students (n=10) and third-year students (n=5) in the Chinese Program of Ohio University. Four hypotheses based on the Aspect Hypothesis and other previous findings were tested: 1) The acquisition of Chinese progressive *zai* by American students will begin with activities and then extends to accomplishments, even wrongly to achievements; 2) The acquisition of durative *-zhe* by American students will begin with states and then extend to other types of verb constellations; 3) L2 learners will understand the use of durative *-zhe* better than progressive *zai*; 4) L2 learners will have difficulties in associating mixed telic-stative verbs with the correct imperfective markers in different contexts.

The first two hypotheses were not testified. The data from the written task supported the third hypothesis. The fourth hypothesis was supported by the data, but further research was suggested to interpret the result. The results suggest that the Aspect Hypothesis may help us to understand L2 acquisition of Chinese imperfective aspect markers but other factors such as instruction also play an important role when the learners create the form-meaning associations in their acquisition.

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## Prosodic Constraints on the Syntax of Non-referential Objects in Chinese

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The literature on Chinese null objects is extensive, but lacks a uniformly agreed upon consensus as to the exact nature of the null object, and the referential properties assigned to it. Much of the research has been devoted to the phenomenon of topic-drop, whereby the topic of discussion is phonetically deleted, resulting in the referential null object, as in (1) (Huang 1982).

- (1) John, wo yijing jian guo le e  
John, I already meet PST PRF  
'John, I already met'

Less attention has been paid to the generic bare noun in Chinese. Many intransitive verbs in English appear with generic objects in Chinese, yielding non-referential readings:

- (2) Lisi zai chang ge (3) ta zai pao bu  
Lisi PROG sing song he PROG run step  
'Lisi is singing' 'He is running'

Cheng and Sybesma (1998) assume that the null object in Chinese is the referential *pro*, and propose that in order to achieve a non-referential reading in Chinese, a generic dummy object is inserted so as to block *pro*. I argue that a non-referential null object exists in Chinese:

- (4) bu yong le, xie xie, wo yijing chi le  
no need, thanks, I already eat PRF  
'No thanks, I already ate'

In this paper, I study the distribution of the overt bare noun by looking at non-referential contexts in which the bare noun can and cannot be found. The bare noun is not pronounced when there is an additional postverbal constituent, as in (5) and (6).

- (5) \*ta pao bu de hen kuai (cf. ta pao de hen kuai)  
he run step DE very fast  
'He runs very fast'  
(6) \*ta du shu liangge zhongtou (cf. ta du liangge zhongtou)  
he read book 2-CL hour  
'He read for two hours'

Feng (2002) provides a prosodic analysis of this postverbal constraint, proposing that the VP to which the adverb or duration/frequency phrase adjoins is simultaneously assigned weak [w] stress by the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR) and strong [s] stress by virtue of inheriting [s] stress from the upper segment of the split VP pair. I apply Feng's stress assignment mechanism to derive an analysis of non-referential objects in Chinese within a minimalist framework. Following Roberge (2002)'s Transitivity Requirement, which states that there is always an object position projected, I propose that this obligatory object is realized as either null or overt depending on prosodic stress assignment. With the stipulation that a vP phase containing phonological material must contain a stressed non-head, we can account for instances of the overt bare noun. I will then discuss other instances of the null and overt bare noun, proposing that when the verb is merged with a manner *de*-phrase as in (5), the verb must copy, resulting in a verb copying construction. Crucially it is at PF that conditions on linearization determine which copies of the verb are pronounced, and whether the null or overt bare noun is selected.

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## The Mandarin Chinese Particle *Ei* and its Projectability in Daily Conversations

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This paper presents an analysis from interactional point of view of the Mandarin Chinese particle *ei*, which has a rising contour, in everyday conversations. In the previous studies, the particle *ei*, sometimes represented by the Chinese character 咦, is commonly characterized as an interjection, showing speaker's inner state of mind and is regarded as an independent unit from the other part of the talk. In terms of its function, it has been described as a token which shows speaker's puzzlement, doubt or surprise (Zhao 1994; Liu et al. 1996). Although the previous analysis might be applicable to some part of the data, it seems that the particle *ei* cannot be fully captured without considering what it is doing interactionally. By conversation-analytic approach, this study attempts to explore the sequential environments the particle *ei* regularly occurs and the interactional actions it accomplishes in talk-in-interaction.

This study is based on three-hour video-recorded data of casual conversations among close friends and some examples collected from daily life. All of the participants are native speakers from Taiwan. After examining the data, it is found that the particle *ei* seems to frequently occur in two distinguished environments: (1) occurring in a turn-initial position, prefacing questions and (2) occurring in turn-medial in a storytelling. It appears that the *ei*-prefaced questions very often switch focus and set to concern certain aspect of background information relevant to the ongoing talk. The switch to the background checking, however, seems to form slight discontinuity in terms of the talk flow. The *ei*-prefaced storyline, on the other hand, commonly describes an unexpected twist and such twist serves as the climax of the story. It suggests that by using the particle *ei*, the speaker alerts the recipients and orients the talk s/he is about to produce, considering immediate preceding talk, as being unexpected and unanticipated.

The finding implies that the particle *ei* does much more than showing speaker's inner state of mind: they accomplish interactional works, projecting and foreshadowing an unexpected, unanticipated and off-track nature of the upcoming units.

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## Branching Consistency as a Syntactic OCP Constraint on Hakka Relative Construction

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Hakka NPs are generally head-final. The head noun follows its modifiers (1, 2). A pronominal relative clause is also head-final, with the modificational *ge* occurs phrase-finally (3):

- 1). [lia ben] su    *'this book'*                      2). [dong ze ge] sei-ngin-e    *'very ugly kid'*  
     this CL book    really ugly GE    kid
- 3). [[dong tai] ge] ge gien vuk    *'the house that is really big'*  
     really big GE that class house

This predominantly head-final order gives way to right-branching as the configuration to mark topicalization. In this paper topicalization is argued to be the result of OT constraint interaction between two alignment constraints: **ALIGN-R(Head, NP)**: favors right-headed NP construction, and **ALIGN-L(Top)**: favors the topic information to be at the left edge.

- 4). **ge gien vuk**, dong tai ge    *'that house, which is really big'*  
     **vuk**, dong tai ge ge gien    *'the house, that one which is really big'*

In multiple embedded relative constructions, a noun within a relative modifier is further modified by another relative clause:

- 5). [[[[hi mi-guet ge] ge zhak sei-lai] kon go ge] ge bun su]  
     go America GE that CL boy read ASP GE that CL book  
     *'the book that the boy who went to the US had read'*

However, when topicalization applies to multiple embedded constructions, we are not allowed to topicalize simultaneously the prominent information of both embedded relative NPs. Only the one that carries the most salient pragmatic emphasis may receive topicalization:

- 6). **ge zhak sei-lai**, hi mi-guet ge kon go ge ge bun su (☺ OK)  
     **ge bun su**, ge zhak hi mi-guet ge sei-lai kon go ge (☺ OK)  
     \***ge bun su, ge zhak sei-lai**, hi mi-guet ge, kon go ge (☹ BAD)

While the OCP is traditionally recognized as a universal phonological constraint and the trigger of violation are elements containing some identical phonological properties. This paper shows a sub-type of the OCP in which the triggers are purely syntactic configurations. Since the OCP can be used as a cooccurrence restriction prohibiting the multiple occurrences of some marked construction, it can be used to prevent the marked branching direction from occurring repeatedly if the basic word order shows the reversed direction. While head-final and left-branching is the basic order to configure Hakka NP, the non-canonical right-branching is thus considered the marked NP configuration. The proposed constraint is **OCP-NP (R-Branching)**: prohibiting multiple right-branching configurations in two depths of branch within an NP, and the overall ranking is: **OCP-NP(R-Branching) >> ALIGN-L(Top) >> ALIGN-R(Head, NP)**.

## Speech Errors and Aphasic Speech in Mandarin: Implications for Speech Production

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This paper aims to demonstrate general and specific comparisons between normal speakers and left-brain damaged patients in Mandarin by looking at their phonological performance errors, and shows how the two error corpora can help provide adequate evidence in support of connectionist approach to phonological encoding.

A total of 5,495 relevant speech errors from native speakers of Mandarin and 3,000 errors from Mandarin aphasic patients, both collected by the author and her research team in a naturalistic setting, are provided to support the following findings: (1) Mandarin speakers have a preference to produce more phonological errors than lexical errors in the two error corpora. It is found that phonological errors are more common than lexical errors in cross-linguistic studies (e.g., Nootboom, 1973; Stemberger, 1989; Wells-Jensen, 1999; Wan & Jaeger, 2003). (2) Studies on cross-linguistic speech errors have shown that source segments influencing target segments usually occur within the context of utterance, and speech-error corpus in Mandarin confirms this property whereas aphasic speakers do not show any contextuality preference (e.g., Nootboom, 1973; Garnham et al., 1982; Wan, 2005). (3) The largest proportion of errors involves substitutions in the two error corpora in Mandarin. Cross-linguistic studies show a general hierarchy of error type in which substitution errors occur more frequently than addition errors, which in turn outnumber deletion errors (Nootboom, 1973; Berg, 1987; Wells-Jensen, 1999). (4) The error distribution in the two error corpora honors syllable structure. The target and source segments share the same syllable structure position. (5) It is reported that there is a tendency to produce more phonological anticipations than perseverations and exchanges in English and other Germanic speech errors (e.g., Nootboom, 1973; Stemberger, 1989; Dell, Burger, & Svec, 1997; Wells-Jensen, 1999). However, Gandour (1977) and Wan (2007b) found the opposite occurring in Thai and Mandarin tone errors, respectively, with more perseverations than anticipations and exchanges. Moreover, studies from aphasic speech do not find a special directionality preference (e.g., Nootboom, 1973; Stemberger, 1989; Dell, Burger, & Svec, 1997; Wells-Jensen, 1999).

This paper shows a general exploration of errors categorized into phonological patterns and an overview of paraphasic studies in cross-linguistic perspectives, focusing on longstanding problems and the aspects of speech production models to which these problems are pertinent. This study will then consolidate and reconcile a number of competing theoretical models regarding the cognitive status of phonological processes which occur during speech production planning and execution in Mandarin, in light of evidence from naturally-occurring speech-error data and from production deficits in left-brain-damaged aphasic patients.

## The Acquisition of T3 Sandhi in Mandarin-Speaking Children

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**Goal:** In this paper we present the results of an elicitation task which tested children's acquisition of tone 3 Sandhi (henceforth T3S) in Mandarin, a rule that applies cyclically and converts a sequence of T3T3 into a sequence T2T3.

**Background:** Previous acquisition research argues that lexical tones are acquired by 2 years of age, well before the completion of acquisition of segments (Demuth, 1995; Li and Thompson (L&T), 1977). Much less is known about the developmental patterns in the acquisition of tone sandhi in Mandarin. L&T using free speech data from 17 children suggests that T3S is learned, with infrequent errors, as soon as the stage of multi-word utterances begins and is mastered by 5 years of age (L&T). To our knowledge, there has not been yet any large-scale **experimental** study on the acquisition of T3S in Mandarin-speaking children.

**Hypotheses:** Since T3S depends on syntactic and lexical information, we hypothesize that structural complexity and lexical properties will play a role in the acquisition of T3S. If children have mastered the grammatical rule associated to T3S from the beginning as proposed by L&T, we expect errors of omission due to performance factors (length, level of embedding and frequency of words) but not errors of commission (over application of T3S). If however they have not mastered the syntactic constraints on T3S, we expect either no sandhi or overgeneralization of T3S in contexts disallowed in the adult grammar.

**Subjects:** 121 children, age 2;9 to 6;11 as well as 25 adult controls from Taiwan.

**Methods and Materials:** An Elicitation Task (Crain and Thornton 2000) is used to test children's ability to apply T3S in the domain of the VP. Twelve short video clips of actions were shown to the subjects who have to answer "What is he doing?" or "What is he VERBing?" immediately after a clip is played. Target answers in which both the verb and the object are of T3 should trigger the application of T3S. For example washing (3) + horse (3) 33 should be realized as → 23 and washing (3) dinosaur (32) → 232, but washing (3) zebra (13) should not trigger T3S.

**The results** do not support the claim that T3S is basically error-free (L&T). We find errors of omission (non-application of T3S) and errors of commission (overuse of T3S). Furthermore, we find that children use strategies not attested in adults, such as "wiggling" from T3 to T2, or producing a deviated in-between tone that is neither T2 nor T3, but has phonetic characters of both T2 and T3. The use of strategies varies depending on lexical properties and length of the phrases that undergo T3S. For example, 22 → 32 produces less errors than 332 → 232. Our results suggest that mastering the syntax and the phonetic properties of T3 sandhi is a long and complex process, since even our older groups have not reached an adult level behavior.

## Historical and Dialectal Variants of Chinese General Classifiers

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It is widely accepted that *ge* is a general classifier in modern Chinese, meaning it can categorize most objects, while a specific classifier is not available; and it can replace most specific classifiers without causing any ambiguity. However, *ge* is not always the general classifiers in the history and/or in all dialects. For example, in modern southern Min (Hainan) dialect, the most popular general classifier is not *ge*, but *mo* (*mei* in Mandarin), which was the general classifier in the Weijin Nanbei period two thousand years ago. On the other hand, in the Xiang and Gan dialect, the general classifier is neither *ge* nor *mei*, but *zhi*, which is a specific classifier in modern Mandarin and other dialects:

Min (Haikou):           一枚人，一枚电视机，一枚山，一枚海，一枚鸡，一枚虫，...  
Gan (Tongcheng):     一隻牛栏 一隻猪圈 一隻车 一隻萝卜 一隻山，...

Even though we see a variety of general classifiers in modern Chinese dialects, they all have a common origin, i.e., a specific name of tree part or animal. While *ge* and *mai* are bamboo and twig, respectively, *zhi* means ‘bird’ in ancient Chinese.

The cross-dialectal and historical examination of the general classifiers in Chinese may provide some evidence to the study of classifiers in Chinese and in the Sino-Tibetan (ST) languages as well. By identifying whether some general classifiers among languages are related—and if yes, in what ways—we may provide evidence to establish the genetic and typological relation among languages in question.

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## The Distribution and Correlations of Morphological Causatives in Old Chinese

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Old Chinese is not as isolative a language as it was once thought to be (Conrady 1896, Maspero 1930, 1952, Haudricourt 1954, Schuessler 1976, Yang 1978, 1979, Mei 1988a, 1989). It is a language which reveals inflectional and derivational morphology and shares more similarities with modern East Asian languages like Gyarong, Khmer or Atayal than to its daughter language Middle Chinese (Sagart 1999). In this paper, I will discuss morphological causatives in Old Chinese, suggesting that the distribution of these causatives in Old Chinese reflects the development of prefix *s-* causative and suffix *-s* causative in Proto-Sino-Tibetan.

Early studies proposed that morphological causatives in Old Chinese were realized by devoicing and departure tone (Zhou 1945, Zhou 1962, Wang 1965). In later studies, prefix *s-* and suffix *-s* were further added as causative forms in Old Chinese (Pan 1981, Mei 1989). However, these studies did not propose that these causatives might have the same origin. Based on the syllabic constraints on each causative in Old Chinese, I propose that (1) Morphological causatives in Old Chinese show a complementary distribution; (2) Morphological causatives in Old Chinese originated from prefix *s-* causative and suffix *-s* causative in Proto-Sino-Tibetan, namely, the sibilant affixal causatives of Proto-Sino-Tibetan were directly preserved in Old Chinese and furthermore the prefix *s-* causative led to the occurrence of the devoicing causative in Old Chinese (by devoicing assimilation) and consequently, departure tone causative in Middle Chinese.

A typological study on morphological causatives in Sino-Tibetan languages is also conducted to support this proposal. The affixal causatives in Proto-Sino-Tibetan are preserved in some languages directly or indirectly; Since voiced-voiceless pairs of causative meaning in some Sino-Tibetan languages is one of the indirect traces of the prefix *s-* causative, it supports the proposed correlation between devoicing causative and prefix *s-* causative. However, the erosion of the prefix *s-* happened quite early in Old Chinese. The prefix *s-* causative has not left any trace in Modern Chinese.

This study suggests that Old Chinese, in the development path taken by its morphological causatives at least, was a pioneer in the transitional period when some of the affixations and derivations in Proto-Sino-Tibetan began to disappear. Such innovations particular to Old Chinese might be one of the proofs for the early separation of Old Chinese from Proto-Sino-Tibetan.

## The Semantics and Pragmatics of “*lian...dou*” Constructions in Mandarin Chinese

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“*Lian...dou*” constructions have been a hot topic among Chinese linguists over the last few decades. Traditional studies have concerned themselves with the part of speech of “*lian*” and “*dou*”, the structural description of the construction and the pre-theoretical enunciation of its meaning (Song 1981; Yin 1982; Zhu 1982; Cui 1984; Zhou 1990). There has also been one pragmatic analysis of the presuppositions, conversational implicatures, and inferences of “*lian...dou*” constructions, which, however, fails to make falsifiable predictions about their interpretation and leaves much for one to expect of explicitness (Cui 1993). Among the few attempts to provide a rigorous description and explanation of the construction is a lattice-theoretical treatment of its semantics (Fang and Fan 2002). This paper proposes that “*lian...dou*” in Mandarin Chinese is a focus-positioning operator and makes the first endeavor to formulate a unified formal semantic and pragmatic account of “*lian...dou*” constructions within the framework of alternative semantics.

This paper proposes that “*lian...dou*” in Mandarin Chinese is a focus-positioning operator with the NP between *lian* and *dou* being necessarily the focus of the sentence. The focus semantic value of the NP forms a subset of the discourse of universe which is mapped to a totally ordered set by *lian...dou*. Then the VP maps this totally ordered set of individuals to a new set of propositions which is totally ordered by probability of becoming true. This mapping is either order-preserving or order-reversing depending on the property denoted by the VP and such pragmatic factors as the speaker’s beliefs and values. If the property is typical of the top of the individual chain, the mapping is ordering-preserving, and if the property is typical of the bottom of the chain, it is order-reversing. The context must entail the proposition chain so that the sentence can be felicitously uttered. The ordinary semantic value of [<sub>s</sub>NP VP] divides the proposition chain into two parts. If the VP is affirmative, only the higher part is relevant to the interpretation of a “*lian...dou*” sentence and if the VP is negative, only the lower part is relevant. This is named as the Principle of Localized Relevance. The derivation of conversational implicature is based on the relevant part of the chain.

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## Context Coercion in Sentence Processing: Evidence from Chinese

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This study investigates the on-line processing of context coercion in Chinese. Coercion is a kind of situation shift that is implicit and contextually governed by the reinterpretation process (de Swart, 1998, 2000). For example,

1. Howard sent large checks to his daughter for years. ---transparent
2. Howard sent a large check to his daughter for years. ---coercion

Sentence 1 is a syntactically transparent sentence because the verb predicate *sent large checks* matches with its adverbial modifier *for years*. However, in Sentence 2, the verb predicate *sent a large check* does not match well with its adverbial modifier *for years*. There is an aspectual clash between a verbal predicate (*send a large check*; completive reading) and a verbal modifier (*for years*; durative reading), and readers have to coerce the punctual event (*sent a large check*) into iterative or repetitive interpretation (*has been sending a check for years*) to make the sentence grammatical. Using self-paced reading paradigm, Todorova *et al.* (2000) found that Sentence 2 is significantly more difficult to process than Sentence 1. Many other studies have also found that the coercion constructions are more time costly than syntactically transparent sentences (Piñango *et al.*, 1999; Traxler *et al.*, 2005; Pickering *et al.*, 2005; McElree, *et al.*, 2006). However, coercion phenomenon in Chinese has not been studied. For example,

3. *wo xiu zhe liang che le, danshi meiyou ba che xiu hao* ---concord (transparent)  
I repair this CL car LE, but not BA car repair well  
I tried to fix the car, but did not succeed.
4. *Wo xiu zhe liang che le, yiqian yizhi bu yuanyi xiu li* ---coercion  
I repair this CL car LE, before always not want repair  
I want to fix the car, (but) I did not want to before.

Sentence 3 is a concord (transparent) sentence and Sentence 4 involves a coercion operation. In this coercion construction, there is a mismatch between *le*'s default meaning (perfectivity) and the conjoined clause because the conjoined clause indicates that *le*'s meaning should be inchoativity. To eliminate the mismatches, *le*'s meaning has to be shifted from perfectivity to inchoativity and the situation has to be coerced into a stative situation in order to accommodate the inchoative-encoding *le*. The results of a self-paced reading experiment indicate that coercion constructions like Sentence 4 are more difficult to process than concord constructions like Sentence 3 and there is a strong coercion effect in reaction time.

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## Themes, Cumulativity, and Resultatives in Mandarin

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This paper uses facts from the resultative construction (RC) in Mandarin, such as (1) and (2), to oppose an argument in Kratzer 2003. According to Kratzer, the thematic relation Theme, construed very generally, is not a “natural predicate.” She says that the “natural predicates” are “cumulative”; a relation  $\Theta$  is cumulative when  $\Theta(e_1, x_1) \& \Theta(e_2, x_2)$  entails  $\Theta(e_1 + e_2, x_1 + x_2)$ , where  $\alpha + \beta$  is an individual with  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  as parts. Kratzer then argues that Theme is not cumulative, in contrast to Agent. It is therefore best, she concludes, to remove Theme from the palette of semantic analysis. But Mandarin RCs, I will argue, show that neither Agent nor Theme is cumulative, making Kratzer’s argument unsound. Thus we have no reason to discard the Theme relation—only reason to reconsider the assumptions that underlie Kratzer’s argument, assumptions about the domain of thematic relations and the granularity of events, which I will discuss in concluding.

RCs provide a case where intuitions about part-whole relations among events are relatively clear—clearer than the cases on which Kratzer 2003 builds its position. In Mandarin as in English RCs, the verb phrase describes an event of change that is distinct from the events of either of its constituent predicates (contra Kratzer 2005). This observation is supported, among other ways that I will discuss, by the interpretation of adverbs; note that the adverb in (3) cannot describe the event of blowing (L. Li 1980). And presumably, if nonplural events can indeed have nontrivial parts, as Kratzer assumes, then this resultative event of change has as a part the event of its initial verb, the *means event*. Part of Al’s pounding the metal flat, then, is Al’s pounding the metal.

(2) shows furthermore that (in RCs where the object controls the predicate of result) the subject identifies the agent of this change, its so-called causer, independently of any further thematic relations its referent might enter, at least in Mandarin (Huang 1988). If the same analysis is applied to English resultatives, these support the cumulativity hypothesis, since the agent of the event of change is always identical to the agent of its means part. But importantly, Mandarin shows that this coincidence of agents is not semantically principled: it is a grammatical accident (Williams 2005). For in (1) and (2), the agent of change need not also be the agent of the event of its means event (Lü 1986, Ma 1987, Y. Li 1990). And this is in violation of cumulativity. The sum of the washing and the washing-tired is just the washing-tired again; but the agent of the washing-tired, the clothes, is not the sum of the agents of these two parts: that would be the clothes plus Big Sister.

Hence Agent is not cumulative, and we can readily show the same for Theme. There are other routes to similar conclusions (e.g. Schein 2002). But Mandarin, by grammatically disentangling thematic relations to the event of change from those to the means event, provides important data in a semantic domain that supplies an ideal test case for Kratzer’s conjecture.

- (1) Yīfú xǐ lèi -le jiějiě.  
clothes wash tired -PFV elder.sister  
‘The clothes made big sister tired from washing.’ (Ren 2001)
- (2) Zhèjiàn shì kù hóng -le Lìsì-de yǎnjīng.  
this matter cry red PFV L-‘s eyes  
‘This matter made Lisi’s eyes red from crying.’ (Huang 1988)
- (3) Lěng fēng (\*hūhū-de) chuī bìng -le tā.  
cold wind (\*howlingly) blow ill -PFV 3s  
‘A cold wind made him/her ill by blowing howlingly.’ (L. Li 1980)

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## Filled Pauses in L2 Chinese: A Comparison of Native and Non-Native Speakers

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Over the past few decades, a number of theoretical and empirical studies have examined how people acquire and use a second language (L2). Fluency is frequently used to distinguish the level of native-like attainment in L2 learners. Researchers have shown that the inaccurate L2 production of suprasegmentals, such as stress timing, peak alignment, speech rate, pause frequency and pause duration might contribute to foreign accents more than inaccurate L2 segmental production (Anderson-Hsieh et. al., 1992; Koster and Koet, 1993; Munro, 1995; Trofiovimich and Baker, 2006). The aim of this paper is to determine whether native and non-native speech can be predicted on the basis of temporal measurements of filled pauses (hereafter, FPs) by training a Classification and Regression Tree (abbreviated as CART, Breiman, Friedman, Olshen, and Stone, 1984).

Clark and Fox Tree (2002) have proposed that the FPs ‘uh’ and ‘um’ are English words which are planned for, formulated, and produced as parts of utterances just as other words are. Moreover, FPs have semantic distinction in speech delay. That is, ‘uh’ and ‘um’ indicate short and long delays in speech respectively. Therefore, FPs are treated as linguistic events which can reflect the fluency of speech.

This project uses spontaneous speech data from a Chinese-as-a-second-language corpus that includes videotaped third-year Chinese classes at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign between 2004 and the present. There are two formats applied in the conversation classes, namely: “Variety Show” and “Debate” (Shih, 2006). In the present study, four-hour spontaneous speech data produced by 15 native speakers and 9 L2 learners in a classroom setting was used. CART was trained to distinguish native and non-native speakers of Mandarin with a set of temporal measurements of FPs, i.e., the *normalized frequency of FPs*, *mean length of FPs*, *normalized duration of FPs* and *rate of speech*. In addition, the analysis will try to determine the contributions of the various quantitative variables to fluency and the thresholds of these variables in separating native and non-native speakers.

The baseline is .625 and .375 for the native and non-native speech, respectively. Among the variables, *rate of speech* has the best predictive power in identifying native (F-score: .891) and non-native speakers (F-score: .853), while the normalized duration of FPs has the worst ability to distinguish the native (F-score .686) and the non-native (F-score: .480) speakers. The performance of the normalized frequency of FPs and the mean length of FPs by themselves reach an F-score above .750 for predicting native speech, while the performance for predicting the non-native is not as good as that of the native speech. Combining all variables results in an excellent performance (F-score: .920, F-score: .853) for recognizing the native and non-native speech.

The results show that the variables *rate of speech*, *normalized frequency of FPs* and *mean length of FPs* are good quantitative predictors, among which the latter two improve the F-score for predicting native speech. Rate of speech is a complex variable which incorporates both frequency of FPs (total number of syllables including FPs) and the time information of FPs (Cucchiari *et al.*, 1999).

On the basis of the present results, several conclusions can be drawn: First, distinguishing between the native and the non-native speech can increase in accuracy based on temporal measurements of FPs. Among these variables, rate of speech appears to be the best predictor. Second, this study suggests that information from the FPs ‘uh’ and ‘um’ is a useful predictor for fluency in further differentiating native/non-native speakers. Third, the classification can be accurately predicted with a set small set of variables.

## Overt Evidence for Tense Node in Chinese

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It is often claimed that Chinese is a language without syntactic Tense node. The arguments for such a claim mostly come in two sorts: first, Chinese does not have obligatory morphological marking of past events and, second, the temporal interpretation of sentences is determined by temporal adverbs or the discourse context. However, this view is sometimes doubted and various works have suggested this language has a possibly empty Inflection or Tense node (Huang 1982, Li 1990, Sybesma 2007). In this paper, I will argue that Chinese does have a T node and I will show that overt formal evidence for the T node, namely overt T agreement, can be observed in Chinese Locative Inversion construction. In particular, I will propose that the Chinese phrase structure has the (partial) hierarchy of TP-AspP-VP (contra Lin 2005), though this fact is often obscured since the TP node projects only when necessary.

A typical Chinese Locative Inversion (LI) example is given in (1). A remarkable property of Chinese LI is that the verb must occur with some aspect marker, though aspect marking is usually optional in this language. Importantly, all kinds of aspectual suffixes may occur in this environment (Lin 2001), as evidenced in (1) and (2), and their occurrence is not necessarily pertinent to event interpretation. Now the question is why the aspect marking is obligatory in LI. I argue the overt presence of aspect markers in LI signals a resolution of potential locality violation. Note that the problem faced by LI is that, when a thematically lower (and thus structurally lower) argument has to raise past a higher argument of the same type, we expect this movement to be prohibited given Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). The way around this problem is to assume that closeness is relativized to minimal domains (Chomsky 1995) and the verb raising can expand the minimal domains and form equidistant environments. Therefore, the verb in LI has to overtly move so that it can save an apparent violation of locality. More importantly, I will argue that the verb raises at least past the Asp head, as revealed by the modal and adverb facts. On top of that, I propose that the reason for the obligatory aspect marking in LI is that when the verb moves higher, presumably to T, it must have passed the Asp node and picked up the aspectual suffix on the way. In other words, the relevant parameter distinguishing Chinese from other Indo-European languages is not whether we have tense or not, but when we can have the right environment to force overt tense agreement or not (cf. Kuroda 1988).

- (1) chitang-li you-zhe geshigeyang de yu  
pond-in swim-DUR various of fish  
Lit. “In the pond swims a variety of fish.”
- (2) a. Hu-bian gai-le henduo fangzi.  
Lake-side build-PERF many houses  
Lit. “Besides the lake builds many houses.”  
b. Zhezuoshan-li faxian-guo yi-ge da baozang.  
This-mountain-in discover-EXP one big treasure  
Lit. “In this mountain discovered a big treasure.”

## Instrumentality: The Core Meaning of the Coverb Yi 以 in Classical Chinese

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*Yi* 以 is one of the most important and commonly used function words in Classical Chinese, and many researchers (e.g. Hsueh 1997, Pulleyblank 1995, Sun 1991, Wu 1997) have contributed to the discussion on *yi*'s meanings and functions. The main issues in the current understanding of *yi* include its verb and coverb usages. Both usages have been thought to exhibit a range of meanings, and *yi* has been thought to be able to occur flexibly either before or after a verb phrase. In addition, *yi* is also thought to be a conjunction indicating the reason, purpose or result of an action. This study proposes that the verb *yi* fundamentally indicates instrumentality, and that the coverb *yi*, which is derived from the verb *yi*, still retains that fundamental notion of instrumentality. The notion of instrumentality has been extended in *yi*'s coverb usage to indicate the means or reason by which an action occurs, or the time which an action occurs. Moreover, I will also argue that the *yi* phrase, when it occurs before a verb phrase, functions syntactically as a modifier to the verb phrase. When the *yi* phrase occurs after another verb phrase, however, the semantic emphasis has been deliberately put on the *yi* phrase, which then serves as the nucleus of the predicate. Thus, different word order of the *yi* phrase actually results in different semantic implications and syntactic functions. This will be illustrated with the phrases 以羊易之 and 易之以羊, in which the position of the *yi* phrase results in different semantic meanings and different syntactic functions.

This study will demonstrate that fully appreciating the special characteristics of Classical Chinese, such as the importance of word order and *yi*'s verbal origin and instrumentality nature, can help us to analyze the language, leading to a better understanding of the function word *yi* and the Classical Chinese texts in general.

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## Is Perception of Mandarin Tones 2 and 3 Categorical for Native Speakers?

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It is widely accepted that phonemic differences are perceived categorically by native speakers (Gandour, 1978). Perception of the four lexical tones in Mandarin, therefore, is categorical for native listeners in that Mandarin employs tones to distinguish word meanings (Hallé et al., 2004). However, as previous studies point out, the perception of two phonemically different tones can be hindered by their prosodic similarities, even for native listeners (Huang, 2001). Tones 2 and 3 are regarded as the most confusing tones in Mandarin because they both demonstrate a falling-rising contour in natural production (Blicher et al., 1990). For listeners to distinguish these two tones, Shen and Lin (1990) suggest that the timing of the turning point and the  $F_0$  difference between the tonal onset and the turning point have to meet a threshold, i.e., the turning points are at 14% and 48% of the total duration for Tone 2 and Tone 3, respectively, while the  $F_0$  difference between the tonal onset and the turning point is 17.5 Hz for Tone 2 and 38.6 Hz for Tone 3.

To test whether the threshold proposed by Shen and Lin (1990) is an index for native listeners to distinguish Mandarin Tone 2 from Tone 3, a categorization test was carried out. Four lexical tones in Mandarin were naturally produced and recorded. Each tone was correctly identified by three native judges when presented individually. The turning point was at 27% for Tone 2 and 40% for Tone 3 of the total pitch length, whereas the  $F_0$  between the tonal onset and the turning point was 29.8 Hz for Tone 2 and 47.25 Hz for Tone 3. Twelve native Mandarin speakers participated in the categorization test which included a discrimination task and an identification task. Two Mandarin tone continua, Tone 2-Tone 3 as well as Tone 1 (high level tone) –Tone 4 (high falling tone) were presented. The results indicate that the perception of Tones 1 and 4 was categorical whereas that of the Tones 2 and 3 was non-categorical. Thus, it appears that Mandarin speakers' discrimination of Tones 2 and 3 can be predicted and elaborated by the measurement of the occurrence of the turning point as well as the fundamental frequency between the tonal onset and the turning point.

## The Word Order of the Double-object Structure with GEI Revisited

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This paper discusses the double-object structure with GEI, its word order and the structure development as described by Peyraube (1994), in comparison with the modern Chinese GEI structures. The double-object structure with GEI in modern Chinese appears in four word order patterns which begin to shape at the end of the Song Dynasty (13<sup>th</sup> century) with varied forms of preposition. 给 occurred in Ming and Qing Dynasties (14<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century).

- A. V – Od – 给 – Oi
- B. V – 给 – Oi – Od
- C. 给 – Oi – V – Od
- D. V – Oi – Od

According to Peyraube (1986), the double-object structure that had taken shape before the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.) has the following patterns:

- A'. V – Od – 於 – Oi
- B'. 以 – Od – V – Oi
- C'. V – Od – Oi
- D' V – Oi – Od

Comparing the patterns above, we find that two patterns: A/A' and D/D' occur in both modern and archaic Chinese while B' and C' no longer in existence. B and C appear after the Han Dynasty. In these two patterns, A do not occurs with certain types of verb and B may have ambiguities (Wu, 1996). The fact that patterns A' and B' have been continued to modern Chinese without word order change cannot be an accident. We argue that this, and limited use of pattern A and ambiguity with pattern B, can be accounted for by natural information flow, or more specifically, identifiability hierarchy, and distance-marking correspondence.

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## Intervention Effects Revisited: A Perspective from Mandarin Chinese

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Focus shows crosslinguistic variation with respect to triggering intervention effects (1). In Korean focus phrases invariably trigger IEs, whether they associate with overt focus sensitive element (e.g. *only*) or not (2). In Mandarin only overt association with focus induces IEs (3).

- ↓
- (1) IEs: \* [...X<sub>i</sub>... [Quantification/Focus Phrase... [ ...t<sub>i</sub><sup>LF</sup>... ]]] (Beck 1996, 2006)
- (2) a. \*[**Mary-ka**]<sub>F</sub>    nwukwu-lul    chotayha-ess-ni?  
       Mary-NOM    who-ACC    invite-PAST-Q  
       ‘Who did [**Mary**]<sub>F</sub> invite?’  
    b. ?\*[**Mary**]<sub>F-man</sub>    nwukwu-lul    chotayha-ess-ni?                    (*man* = ‘only’)  
       ‘Who did only [**Mary**]<sub>F</sub> invite?’    (examples from Kim 2005)
- (3) a. [**Mali**]<sub>F</sub>    qing    le    shei?  
       Mary    invite    PAST    who  
    b. \*zhiyou [**Mali**]<sub>F</sub>    qing    le    shei?    (*zhiyou* = ‘only’)

Beck (2006) developed a semantic analysis of IEs which maintains that wh-phrases and focus are interpreted by the same mechanism (i.e. alternative semantics) and that IEs arise when a focus (~) operator other than the question (Q) operator tries to evaluate a constituent containing a wh-phrase. Her analysis, however, fails to capture the crosslinguistic variation between Korean and Mandarin as observed in (2-3).

My analysis builds on Beck’s and proposes that exhaustivity and focus interpretation, rather than the latter alone, conspire to trigger IEs. The Q operator simultaneously evaluates the focus semantic value of the wh-phrase to its ordinary semantics value and elevates the existential quantification component to an exhaustive interpretation (4). Empirical evidence suggests that not all focus phrases are exhaustive. I posit a  $\sim_{\text{exh}}$  operator for exhaustive focus phrases and  $\sim_{\text{nexh}}$  for non-exhaustive ones.

- (4) a. Who did John invite?  
       b. [Q<sub>I</sub> [John invited wh-somebody<sub>1</sub>]] (Baker 1970)

The contrast between the Korean and Mandarin data in (2-3) is then readily explained. In Korean, both contrastive focus and focus associated with *man* ‘only’ are exhaustive (C. Lee 2003, Y. Lee 2005). The  $\sim_{\text{exh}}$  operator unselectively neutralizes all the foci in its scope and elevates the existential quantification on the wh-phrase to an exhaustive interpretation, thus leaving the Q operator nothing to evaluate (5). This gives rise to the ungrammaticality of (2). In Mandarin, only overt association with focus is exhaustive. The ungrammaticality of (3b) can be explained along the same lines as the Korean data. Regarding the grammatical (3a), the  $\sim_{\text{nexh}}$  operator associated with the focus element [**Mali**]<sub>F</sub> only evaluates its focus semantic value. The Q operator duly elevates the focus semantic value and existentiality of the wh-phrase *shei* ‘who’.

- (5) [Q ... [  $\sim_{\text{exh}}$  [ <sub>$\phi$</sub> ...XP<sub>F</sub> ... wh-somebody ... ]]]

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## Modality Effects Revisited: Iconicity in Chinese Sign Language

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The seminal work of William C. Stokoe and his associates (Stokoe 1960; Stokoe et al. 1965) and the ensuing research by Klima and Bellugi (1979) and their associates have firmly established that sign language is natural language, with a full system of linguistic structures: phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax, etc. Furthermore, as natural language, sign language shares with spoken language such non-effects of modality as duality of patterning (combining of discrete, meaningless components into meaningful units); creation of new vocabulary through derivational processes, compounding, and borrowing; lateralization in the left hemisphere; etc., as analyzed by Meir (2002). The fundamental difference between sign language and spoken language lies in the modality used for its production and perception. Spoken language makes use of the auditory-vocal modality, whereas sign language utilizes the visual-gestural modality.

Despite commonalities between the two modes of human language, there are some fundamental differences in their properties that can be ascribed to modality effects. Iconicity is one of the most salient modality effects and, as such, has generated much interest (Taub 2001, Pietrandrea 2002, Pizzuto and Volterra 2000). Tai (2005) examines iconicity in Taiwan Sign Language (TSL) in the context of modality effects on the structural differences between signed and spoken languages, and argues that iconicity is a fundamental property of natural language. In this paper, we revisit iconicity in signed languages by examining iconic motivations in another Asian signed language, Chinese Sign Language (CSL)<sup>1</sup>, and comparing some of the lexical items in CSL with those in Tai's (2005) study of TSL, which belongs to the Japan Sign Language (JSL) family.

The current study shows that iconicity plays an important role in both TSL and CSL, and some lexical items in these two signed languages share the same iconic motivation. For example, in both TSL and CSL, the sign for WORM is formed with the wiggling of the fingers representing the wiggling of the worm's body. In other cases, such as TREE, different iconic motivations are involved, resulting in different signs: the TSL sign for 'tree' is iconically motivated in the representation of the shape of the tree—its branches, its trunk, as well as the ground from which the tree had grown—while the CSL sign is iconically motivated by representing only the trunk of a tree, in which the part is used to represent the whole. Other iconic devices (size representation, temporal order representation, etc.) will also be examined. The paper concludes with addressing some issues raised in Tai (2005).

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<sup>1</sup> The China Disabled Persons' Federation (2003) reports 20.57 million people in China with hearing or speech impairments, of whom two million are deaf children under the age of fourteen, and around 0.8 million are under the age of seven. For comparison, Tai (2005:21) gives a figure of 110,000 deaf and hearing-impaired people in Taiwan.

The CSL corpus used in this study is generously provided by Professor Gong Qunhu (Fudan University), while the TSL corpus is kindly provided by Professor James H.-Y. Tai (National Chung Cheng University). These corpora are part of larger databases at the respective institutions.

**Linguistic Assimilation and dissimilation:  
Social Variation of VWC in Different Levels of Language Structure**

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Cantonese, the lingua franca of the many subvarieties of the Yue dialect group of Chinese, differs significantly from Mandarin Chinese with respect to phonology, lexicon, and syntax. Its written form, Vernacular Written Cantonese (VWC), is enjoying resurgence in recent years in the Guangzhou (Canton City) region, after decades of suppression since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Against the backdrop of a national language policy, as reflected in the Language Law of 2000, can VWC survive, and thrive, in the current socio-political climate? To what extent can a strong local or regional identity strengthen and extend the use of VWC in Guangzhou community, as opposed to the government-sanctioned standard written language, Standard Written Chinese (SWC), which is based on Mandarin Chinese?

To answer these questions, we conduct a sociolinguistic study in Guangzhou community to examine how a vernacular written language (VWC) is assimilated or dissimilated from a standard written language (SWC) in different social groups. As two opposite directions of language change, assimilation and dissimilation are often observed in the sound change. In the present study, assimilation and dissimilation are discussed in terms of the written language variations. For example, the Cantonese lexical item *lai2* “to come, arrive” is represented by three types of VWC variants: 来, 黎, and 嚟 in Guangzhou community. The use of 来 indicates the strongest assimilation to SWC, whereas 嚟 indicates the strongest dissimilation to SWC.

Collecting data from 116 Cantonese-Mandarin bilingual speakers in Guangzhou who are biliterates in SWC and VWC through a written survey on VWC literacy practices, the current research explores the variation of VWC in three levels of VWC structures, i.e., lexicon, classifier, and syntax. Series of VWC variables in these three levels of language structures are selected from the survey for a frequency distribution analysis. Eight social variables (gender, age, education, income, occupation, SWC and VWC proficiency, and self identity) are tabulated with the selected VWC variables. Based on the figures and tables created to elaborate the significant patterns of language changes, the directions of VWC changes, assimilation or dissimilation, are explored through interpreting the distribution patterns of the different VWC variables in different social groups. The findings suggest that the patterns of using VWC by different social groups vary at the lexical and syntactic levels. Those different patterns are reflected in different ways with respect to intrusion of different written elements, especially SWC, into VWC writings. VWC would remain entrenched in the Cantonese-Mandarin community in Guangzhou, given its social value as a marker of cultural solidarity. Nonetheless, because VWC is not officially recognized by the Chinese government, its exact form may be unstable and may be easily influenced by the standard language (namely, SWC), both linguistically and ideologically.



## Cues of Prosodic Boundaries in L1/L2 Mandarin Chinese Speech

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Recent years have witnessed the increase of studies on the production and perception of prosody. However, little study was conducted beyond tonal prosody. The present research investigated the temporal cues of discourse boundaries in L1 and L2 Mandarin speech. Specifically three questions were investigated: 1) are there temporal cues at various discourse boundaries in the speech of advanced American learners of Mandarin; 2) if so, can the temporal cues reflect the discourse hierarchy? 3) what is the difference between American learners and native Mandarin speakers?

Silent pause and pre-boundary lengthening are frequently suggested to the most likely candidates for segmenting discourse (see Fon (2004) for a literature review on cues of prosodic boundaries in languages other than Mandarin). Fon (2002) examines the prosodic and acoustic cues in spontaneous speech and finds: 1) that English has both initial and final lengthening across boundaries, while Mandarin Chinese only has a modest degree of final lengthening; and 2) that discourse hierarchy in English is indicated by the degree of final SOI lengthening (SOI-syllable onset interval, defined as the interval between the onset of one syllable and that of the next), as well as by initial syllable and SOI lengthening, whereas only the SOIs at pre-boundary position reflect the discourse hierarchy in Mandarin speech.

Spontaneous speech in this study was elicited by asking subjects to retell a short speechless film, *the Pearl Story* (Chafe 1980), after watching. The spontaneous speech was encoded with discourse segment purpose (DSP), defined as an intention that the speaker tries to convey to the hearer (Grosz and Sidner, 1986). Three levels of discourse disjuncture were labeled: no discourse disjuncture (DSP0), low discourse disjuncture (DSP1), and high discourse disjuncture (DSP2). Acoustic measurements were conducted on two syllables before and after the boundaries. Syllable duration, SOI and silent pause were measured.

The findings of the study show that 1) for L1 Mandarin speech, final syllable lengthening is a salient cue of prosodic boundaries and the pre-boundary syllable was lengthened the most; but the syllable lengthening does not reflect the discourse hierarchy. In addition, silent pause is another cue in L1 Mandarin speech and can reflect the discourse structure; 2) for advanced American learners, final syllable lengthening is not a salient cue of prosodic boundaries, whereas silent pause duration is a salient temporal cue in L2 speech and can reflect the discourse hierarchy of L2 speech.

It was speculated that the difference in temporal cues between L1 and L2 speech might contribute to the perception of foreign accent in the speech of Mandarin learners. This study has pedagogical implications in that instructors might need to pay attention to the temporal rhythm of L2 Mandarin speech in Mandarin teaching.

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## How to Say 'No' in Chinese: A Pragmatic Study of Refusal Strategies in Five TV Series

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Although there are a number of studies of refusal, most of them deal with either English or Japanese (e.g., Morrow 1995, Gass & Houck 1999). Only a handful of studies focus on Chinese (e.g., Liao 1994, Chen & Zhang 1995, Chen 1996), and these studies tend to analyze refusal from the perspective of semantic content. Although examples of refusal strategies are given, the contexts in which these strategies were used are not analyzed in detail. For example, they did not study the contextual restriction of each strategy and hence may make over-generalizations. Furthermore, these studies have focused primarily on the person who conducted the refusal so that the party who responded to the refusal is not analyzed. Considering these limitations, it is necessary to examine when, where, and as well as the roles of the interlocutors (“initiator” and “refuser”). This is the kind of knowledge that learners of Chinese most need when they encounter situations of refusals. This paper therefore analyzes situations in which refusal will occur and examines the refusal strategies and corresponding linguistic forms that can be employed to react to certain refusal situations.

Since refusal is an act in response to other acts, acts that prompt refusals play an important role in the choices of refusal strategies. Therefore, this paper categorizes situations of refusal according to the initiating acts of refusal. The data for analysis is collected from five television series. This data collection method has three advantages: 1) clips from television series provide contextual information; 2) clips from television are materials that are readily adaptable for foreign language learning; 3) contextual variables are easier to control in produced video data, because researchers can more easily select the genre, the topics and the main characters of the television series.

Based on 160 video clips collected from five television series, this paper finds that refusal is initiated by four types of acts: request, offer, invitation, and suggestion. Each type can be subcategorized in terms of their different communicative functions. Based on the data, 12 subcategories are identified (solicited suggestions, unsolicited suggestions, requests for favor, requests for permission/acceptance/agreement, requests for information/advice, requests for action, ritual invitations, real invitations, offers of gifts/favors, offers of drinks/foods and offers of opportunities). A pragmatic analysis is conducted to examine the refusal strategies and corresponding linguistic forms employed to deal with different types of initiating acts.

Both Chinese language instructors and learners of Chinese can benefit from this analysis. For Chinese language instructors, this analysis provides a rationale to select, organize and present examples of refusals in classroom instruction. For learners of Chinese, this analysis functions as a guide to learners on differentiating various refusal situations and directs them to make appropriate linguistic moves when encountering certain initiating acts of refusal.

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## Adversity and the Causer Constraint

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The *ho* construction in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) as illustrated in (1) in isolation makes available adversative and causative interpretations (which in turn allows a strong or a weak reading) (cf. Huang 1999, and references cited therein); the interpretations are disambiguated by further contextualization.

- (1) Goa *ho* i tsao-khi a. (Huang 1999: 33)  
1SG HO 3SG run-away PRT

(a) Adversative: *He ran away on me.*

- (b) (i) Strong causative: *I caused him to run away*/(ii) Weak causative (permissive): *I let him run away.*

However, in this paper I demonstrate that the adversative reading is blocked under four circumstances, namely, when the predicate is unaccusative, the subject of a transitive predicate is non-agentive, the predicate is atelic, and/or the viewpoint aspect is imperfective; in all the examples in (2) only a causative interpretation is available.

- (2) a. Goa *ho* ping yiu-khi a. #*The ice melted on me/I caused the ice to melt.*  
b. Goa *ho* i phin-ti phangchui a. #*He smelt the perfume on me/I caused him to smell the perfume.*  
c. Goa *ho* i khuann densi. #*He watched TV on me/I let him watch TV.*  
d. Goa e *ho* i tsao-khi. #*He is running away on me/I'm causing him to run away.*

These semantic constraints are somewhat puzzling, especially given that other adversative constructions are not subject to these constraints (e.g. Japanese adversative passives, Taiwanese adversative actives). I propose that this restriction in interpretation is due to one common factor—there is no Causer in the embedded clause. The unaccusative predicate does not have an external argument to serve as Causer; the subject of the embedded clause of the transitive predicate is an Experiencer; and when the predicate is atelic or the viewpoint aspect is imperfective, as there is no change of state, there is no causative structure and therefore no Causer in the embedded clause.

This Causer Constraint is not language specific. English has two periphrastic constructions that both allow a causative and an adversative reading: the first construction has a bare embedded verb (eg. *John had Mary run away*, cf. Dowty 1979, chapter 4, fn12) and the second a passive form of the verb (eg. *I had a book stolen*, cf. Chomsky 1965: 21-22). For both constructions, the adversative reading is blocked under the same circumstances as the *ho* construction in Taiwanese. To illustrate, in both *John had Mary smell the perfume* and *John had the music heard* the adversative reading is blocked. To accommodate the passive construction, one modification to the Causer Constraint needs to be made, that is, the Causer in the embedded clause can be implicit. This allows us to formulate the Causer Constraint as in (3).

- (3) *The Causer Constraint*: The external argument cannot be interpreted as an Affectee but must be interpreted as a Causer if there is no other (explicit or implicit) Causer present.

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## Perception-Articulation Motivated OCP of Hai-lu Hakka

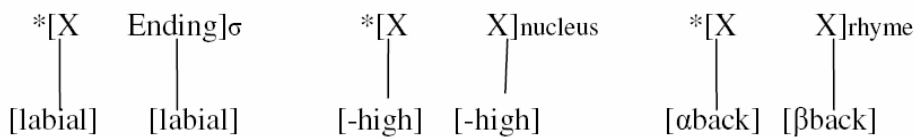
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Chung (1989) proposes three co-occurrence constraints such as labial, height, and backness co-occurrence constraints to rule out \*up, \*op, \*ae, \*ao, \*ei, \*ou, \*uau, \*uiu, \*uou and etc in Hai-lu Hakka. His analysis based on the autosegmental phonology as illustrated in example (1), however, incorrectly rules out legitimate syllables such as *fam53* ‘commit crime’ and *fap5* ‘law.’ In addition, it is also unclear what reason motivates these constraints and why OCP only applies to these features.

### (1) Labial, Height and Backness Co-Occurrence Constraints in Hai-lu Hakka



Boersma (1998) proposes a functional approach to explain the nature of OCP under the OT mechanism. He claims five functional hypotheses for phonology in terms of perception, recognition, and articulation, which conform to Frisch’s (2004) gradient OCP based on phonetically-driven phonology (Hayes et al 2004).

Boersma (1998) and Frisch (2004) respectively propose OCP operation as a result of minimizing both perceptual similarity and articulatory difficulty. Their assumption not only gains empirical support, but also captures a crucial grounding from language processing. However, this proposal poses a theoretical defect in that constraints seem unable to emerge directly from phonetics per se, because phonetics is variant, gradient, and asymmetric unlike symmetric phonology (Hayes 1999).

In this study, I try to analyze three co-occurrence constraints of Hai-lu Hakka in terms of perceptual similarity and articulatory difficulty under the OT mechanism. I propose constraints such as \*[lab, -cont]<sub>2</sub>, \*[lab]rhyme<sub>2</sub>, and the like based on Alderete’s (1997) Self-conjunction Constraint to account for all illicit and licit syllable types in Hai-lu Hakka. Although there is no objective scale to measure either phonetic or phonological features so far, relative markedness of a feature in each segment could be ranked categorically according to its perceptual distinctiveness in different contexts (Steriade 2001) and its articulatory efforts in different transitions (Brownman & Goldstein 1989) within a given language such as Hai-lu Hakka. If this operation is applicable to realize phonological constraints as a result of phonetic influence, it may be promising to work on phonetic measurement of features in each segment in each position. The implementation of such an analysis may also be helpful to delimit the boundary between phonetics and phonology.

## Complicating the Oversimplification: Chinese Numeral Classifiers and Measure Words

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Recent literature on the internal structure of Chinese argument nominals (Cheng and Sybesma 1999, 2005; Tang 2005, 2007; among others) treats any element that appears between numeral and noun as a classifier. Such an assumption leads to gross oversimplification and cannot account for the significant differences between all kinds of numeral classifiers. This paper argues that besides sortal and mensural classifiers there exists a third type of classifier which I termed 'measure words'. I define measure words in Chinese as words which represent dimensions or a unit of measure (weight, height, length, length of time, etc.). Examples of measure words include *jin* 'catty', *gongjin* 'kilogram', *mi* 'meter', *limi* 'centimeter', etc.

### (1) Mandarin

	Numeral Classifier (sortal/mensural)	Measure Word
a.	我想買把刀。	我想走*里/*公里路。
b.	這裡的刀把把都很鋒利。	這城市的路,*里里/*公里公里都很難走。
c.	那把刀真的很鋒利。	那*里/*公里路真的很難走。
d.	這三把刀真夠鋒利。	那三里/三公里路真的很難走。

When occurring in postverbal position as in (1a), CI-N is licensed while Measure-N is ungrammatical. An initial hypothesis might be that measure words do not serve as a unit of individuation; this is supported in (1b), where the classifier is reduplicated to intensify the individuation, resulting in the "each/every" meaning. (1c) and (1d) show that a numeral has to appear with a measure word or else the sentence will not be licensed. Adopting a probe-goal approach in the spirit of the feature-based analysis put forth by Tang (2005), I propose that measure words have a [u Num] feature and argue that the differences between numeral classifiers and measure words in (1a-d) are caused by the need for this feature to be valued.

Cheng and Sybesma (1999, 2005)'s proposal that the classifier head is the locus of definiteness is partly built around the fact that classifiers in Cantonese can occur in sentence-initial position (giving a definite reading). Viewing measure words as classifiers with a different featural composition from sortal and mensural classifiers gives new evidence against the claim that classifiers can head Chinese nominals, since the CIP analysis does not predict the existence of classifiers which obligatorily require a preceding numeral and therefore never occupy sentence-initial position.

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## **Vitality Perceptions, Language Use, and Language Maintenance and Shift in Pittsburgh Chinese Community**

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Previous studies on various language contact situations show that perceptions of the vitality of the ethnic minority group and that of the salient group influence minority community members' attitudes toward maintaining their mother tongue and the typography of their language use and choice (Luo & Wiseman, 2000). As a result of low perceived vitality of the minority group and immersion in the societal language across generations, language shift or the attrition of mother tongue often takes places (Yagmur & Akinci, 2003).

This study intends to follow this line of research and language maintenance and language shift across two generations of Chinese immigrants in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. A set of questionnaires were used to measure subjective vitality perceptions, ethnic identity, attitudes toward Chinese language and its maintenance, patterns of Chinese and English use/choice and abilities in speaking, understanding, reading and writing Chinese and English. These questionnaires were administered to a group of first generation Chinese Americans (CA1) attending weekend service in a Chinese church and a group of second-generation adolescent students in Pittsburgh Chinese School (CA2).

A set of ANOVA and t-tests show that both CA1 and CA2 perceived Chinese American group as having significant lower vitality than the English American group, and CA2's perceived vitality of the Chinese American group was higher than that of CA1; In addition, CA1 identified more than CA2 with the Chinese ethnic group and had more positive attitudes toward Chinese language and its maintenance. With regard to language use, CA1 tended to have a more balanced use of Chinese and English across domains and topics, while CA2 significantly used more English than Chinese. As to the self-rating of language proficiency, a clearly different pattern was found between CA1 and CA2. While CA1 were significantly more proficient in Chinese than in English averaged across different modalities of language skills, CA2's Chinese proficiency were much lower than their English proficiency, especially in reading and writing. These pieces of evidence of language shift across generations were discussed based on the correlation between the different measures.

## Locative Inversion and Aspect Markers *le* and *zhe* in Mandarin Chinese

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Locative inversion construction (LIC) refers to the structure shown in (1).

(1) On the wall was hung a picture. (Loc+V+NP)

Bresnan (1994), based on the data in English and Chicheŵa, proposes that the discourse function of the LIC is presentational focus, in which the referent of the NP “is introduced or reintroduced on the (part of the) scene referred to by the proposed locative”. Pan (1996) suggests that the discourse function of LIC in Chinese is the same. In this paper, I argue instead that the different aspect markers occurring in LIC affect its discourse functions in Chinese. Only with the durative resultative marker *zhe* does the structure express presentational focus. When the perfective aspect marker *le* appears, however, its function is to comment on the scene referred to by the locative (Du, 1999). Evidence for this claim is provided by demonstrating the contrast between LIC with the two different aspect markers. In so doing, I also support the claim that the two aspect markers are fundamentally different, which is against the proposal by Sybesma (1997) where they are both categorized as resultative.

In Chinese LIC, aspect markers *le* and *zhe* appear to be interchangeable sometimes, shown in (2):

(2) zhi shang xie \*(le/zhe) yi ge zi  
paper on write PERF/DUR one CLS word  
‘On the paper was written a word.’

Sybesma (1997) thus suggests that *le* and *zhe* are both resultative. However, closer examination reveals that the two structures behave differently and serve different functions.

First of all, the NP can be omitted in LIC with *le* when it is recoverable from the context, leaving a surface Loc+V structure; whereas this is never the case with LIC with *zhe*:

(3)a. zhe zhang zhi yijing xie-man le, ni huan yi zhang ba.  
this CLS paper already write-full LE, you change one CLS particle  
‘This piece of paper is written full. Change to another piece.’

b. \*zhe zhang zhi yijing xie-man zhe, ni huan yi zhang ba.

Example (3a) suggests that the discourse function of LIC with *le* cannot be presentational focus, since the NP denoting the referent which is supposed to be introduced into the scene is not even overt in the sentence.

Secondly, an agent can appear in LIC with *le* but not in LIC with *zhe*:

(4)a. zhi shang Zhangsan xie le yi ge zi  
paper on Zhangsan write LE one CLS word  
‘On the paper Zhangsan wrote a word.’

b. zhi shang (\*Zhangsan) xie zhe yi ge zi

This is because LIC with *zhe* serves the discourse function of presentational focus, and such a discourse function imposes a <theme, locative> argument structure of the verb (Bresnan, 1994). *Zhe* thus has to delete its agent role, as suggested by Pan (1996). However, the argument structure of the verbs in LIC with *le* does not have to conform to <theme, locative> since the structure does not express presentational focus. An agent can therefore appear, as in (4a).

Based on the contrast demonstrated above, I propose that LIC with *le* and LIC with *zhe* have different discourse functions, and this is derived from the different aspectual meanings of *le* and *zhe*: *le* presents a closed event, while *zhe* presents a continuous state (Smith, 1991).

## The Negative Auxiliary in Chinese Imperative

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The negative auxiliary in Chinese imperative is a much more important and complex area of linguistic study than it might be indicated by the seeming simplicity of its surface grammatical formation, because the variation in its meaning affects its usage in different contexts. These discrepancies often cause non-native speakers of Chinese to misunderstand and improperly handle the negation of Chinese imperatives.

The current study attempts an explanation of the variation in meanings and uses of the negative, and the co-occurrence of the polite imperative maker “请” with the negative auxiliary in the context of Chinese imperatives. The polite imperative marker “请” co-occurs with “不必” and “不用” in negative imperatives. The study also discusses the use of “别”, “不要”, “不许”, “甭”, and “勿”. The findings from this study are based on the survey responses of twenty native speakers of Chinese. All of the respondents have at least an undergraduate college degree and ranged in age from 25 to 50 years old. The questionnaire for the survey contained 68 sample negative imperatives in a multiple choice format. These samples are mainly derived from an anthology of selected short stories, a medium-length novel, and a record of spontaneous speech.

The analysis in this study has strong implications for teaching second language learners of Chinese how to use negative auxiliary correctly in Chinese imperatives. Instructors should teach the meaning of a negative auxiliary as a whole so that the learners will not misunderstand the characters, whose original literal meanings have been lost in a negative auxiliary. In addition, instructors should inform students that the choice of negative auxiliaries depends on language contexts, not on the grammatical structure.

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## **How Chinese Native Speakers Handle Written Style Material in Reading and its Application in Second Language Instruction**

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The relationship between spoken Chinese and written Chinese has a direct bearing on Chinese pedagogy. When Chinese learners come to a higher level, they learn Chinese and connect it with their interests and majors. Therefore they need to read in content areas, which require reading a lot written Chinese materials. However, based on a preliminary study, Chinese learners feel that written Chinese is substantially different from spoken Chinese, and this difference makes it hard to read written Chinese materials. What makes written Chinese so difficult for the learners to learn? What we can offer to help their learning?

Up till now, there is not much research investigating the learners' difficulties in reading written Chinese materials. Also research is missing on how Chinese native speakers handle written Chinese in their reading, which can provide some strategies for our students to learn and apply.

This paper aims to fill that silence by investigating how Chinese native speakers handle written materials. In a pilot study, 13 Chinese native speakers participated in a think-aloud protocols. The participants were asked to read an article and report whatever came to their mind as they went about their reading task. After this, they pointed out any linguistic items (words, phrases and sentences) that they thought were written style, and explained these items. The think-aloud protocol provided first-hand reading process of Chinese native speakers when reading written materials. In addition, the selection and explanation of written items provided their understanding of what are written style as well as how they handle written style items.

Several Chinese learners at high advanced level were also involved in the research. Through a classroom observation, their difficulties in reading the same article were shown. They lacked the ability to analyze the components of the written words. This blocked their ability to locate the corresponding words and structures in their spoken Chinese foundation. Special word structure in the written style like idioms and words carrying deep cultural meaning also contributes to learners' difficulties in reading. A small survey was also done on a few Chinese learners. They read the article and underlined the written style linguistic items. Comparison will be made between their selections of written items and those by Chinese native speakers. By so doing, I hope to check Chinese learners' sensitivity for written Chinese.

The paper proposes some thoughts for teachers to use in assisting their language learners to build up their competence in handling written Chinese. It will also throw lights on how we should design our vocabulary instruction in teaching Chinese as a second language field.

# 上古漢語後元音的構擬\*

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本文討論上古漢語之、宵、幽、侯、魚五部（包括相配的入聲、陽聲韻部）元音的擬測。下面列舉幾家的構擬：

	之	幽	宵	侯	魚
王 力 1957	ə	əu	au	o	ɑ
李方桂 1971	əg	əgw	agw	ug	ag
王 力 1985	ə	u	o	ɔ	a
白一平 1992	i	u, iw	aw, ew	o	ɑ
鄭張尙芳 2003	ɯ	u, iw, ɯw	aw, ow, ew	o	a

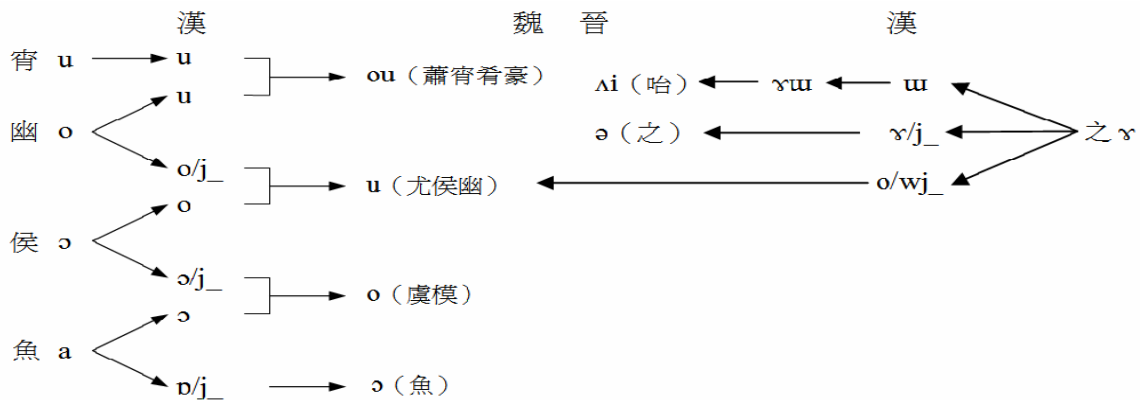
上表列出的五種構擬，在解釋《詩經》的押韻、後續的演變、系統內部的不平衡等現象時都或多或少存在不足。因此，本文提出如下新的構擬：

之  $\gamma$  宵 u 幽 o 侯  $\text{ɔ}$  魚 a

這樣構擬可以更好地解釋以下現象：

(一) 《詩經》的合韻：(1)之、幽合韻；(2)宵、幽合韻；(3)幽、侯合韻。

(二) 上古漢語的後元音在漢以後普遍經歷了高化-複化的演變，在有介音-j-的情況下，這一演變相對滯後。如下圖所示：



(三) 上古韻部中，宵部沒有相配的陽聲韻。這是因為宵部元音是 u，後高元音在發音上與鼻音有矛盾。

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\* The work described in this paper was supported by a grant from the Research Grants Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, China (Project No. 644507).

**Zhongxian (中仙) Min Dialect:  
A Preliminary Study of Language Contact and Stratum-Formation**

Rongbin Zheng  
The Ohio State University

A preliminary study is conducted on the language strata in the Zhongxian (中仙) dialect of the Min dialect group. Located in the southeastern portion of Youxi county (尤溪县) in the middle of Fujian Province, Zhongxian is categorized as belonging to the Hou-Guan section (侯官片) of the Min-Dong region (闽东区), according to the Language Atlas of China. To the best of my knowledge, there are no previous studies on this dialect.

The Zhongxian dialect is studied through tracing the formation of strata in the dialect with reference to migration history and language contact. The following three layers are proposed in this study: (1) a non-Sinitic, aboriginal substratum, (2) a Wu (吴) substratum, and (3) the most recent stratum formed as a result of pervasive influence from Mandarin (Putonghua).

The oldest stratum of the Zhongxian dialect can be traced to the aboriginal inhabitants of Fujian Province who were the Min-Yue (闽越) people. Vestiges from this period are discovered by comparing colloquial words in Zhongxian (and other Min dialects) with those in the Zhuang-Dong language (壮侗语), considered to be the descendant of the old Bai-Yue language (古百越语), genetically related to the Austroasiatic language family. Norman and Mei (1976) present evidence that the language of the ancient Yue people was Austroasiatic and, moreover, assert that “the language of the Min-Yue was of the same linguistic affiliations as that of the other Yue tribes.” The consistency across the languages serves as evidence to support an earlier existence of a non-Sinitic, Min-Yue (闽越) substratum in the language. For the Wu (吴) stratum, much more evidence is available at both the phonological and lexical levels. For example, *yi* 蚁 ‘ant’ has a literary reading and colloquial reading in both Zhongxian and Wenzhou (温州) dialects, and the readings in the two dialects correspond: the literary reading is [ŋi] in Zhongxian versus [ɲi] in Wenzhou, while the colloquial reading is [ŋia] in Zhongxian versus [ŋa] in Wenzhou.

The third and most recent stratum is the result of influences from Mandarin Chinese (Norman 1991), reflected in the variant forms produced by different generations of Zhongxian speakers. Three different initials are used for a word such as *fen* 分 ‘to separate’, for example, representing three different strata in reading pronunciations: a bilabial stop [p] for the colloquial reading used by both older and younger generations; a velar fricative [x] for the literary reading by the older generation, contrasting with the labiodental fricative [f] by the younger generation with extensive exposure to Mandarin. The current study of migration and language contact that resulted in multiple strata in Zhongxian contributes to our understanding of the past and present linguistic development of the Min-Dong (闽东) region, the ancestral site of the Min-Yue people.

---

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## A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Dialect Use in Chinese Weblogs

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The Ohio State University  
Zhu.149@osu.edu

The unique capacity and function of the blogosphere have given rise to a distinct variety of languages (Nilsson, 2003; Nowson, 2005). Weblogs utilize the attributes of both spoken-style on-line language and the conventional written monologue. Yet little research has been done on Chinese weblogs from linguistic perspectives. The unique attributes of weblog writing as “non-private personal diaries” deserve closer examination.

In this study, we approach this question through examining “dialect fabrication” in weblog writing, by which we mean the way that bloggers switch between standard Mandarin Chinese and their dialects in their blog writing. Both blogging manners and motivations are investigated. We looked at the circumstances under which bloggers use dialects, as well as linguistic features of dialectal blogging. We closely examined four weblogs, which systematically switch the writing between the bloggers’ dialects and the standard Mandarin. The four local dialects are respectively from (1) Yantai, Shandong, (2) Chengdu, Sichuan, (3) Hangzhou, Jiangsu, (4) Weihai, Sichuan. One or two articles, ranging from 800 to 1000 characters, were randomly collected from each weblog. The dialectal forms can be divided into four categories: (1) phonological replacement, (2) direct loanwords from dialects and lexical adaptation to dialect words, (3) syntactic adaptation, and (4) dialectal discourse markers. The study conducted a qualitative analysis of the four categories with a pragmatic framework from the stylistics theory. (Halliday, 1978) Two questions were explored: What are the social functions of dialectal language in blogging? How does the weblog, as a special genre, influence language use?

Three social functions of dialect blogging are found—to reveal their personal feelings and emotion (e.g. nostalgia), to establish social identities, and to lead the web trend. For the second question, the study argues that the Internet has created a new communication space, which requires changes to the traditional relationship between individuals and the society. As in weblog writing, the nature of weblogs—a public individual journal genre—determines weblog writers’ desire in both creating individual identity and establishing social bonding, both of which can be achieved through fabricating dialects into weblog writing.

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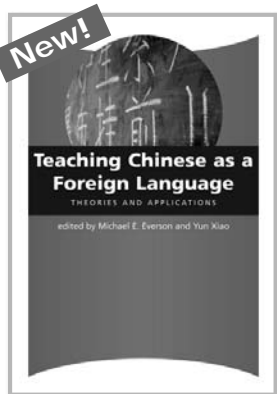
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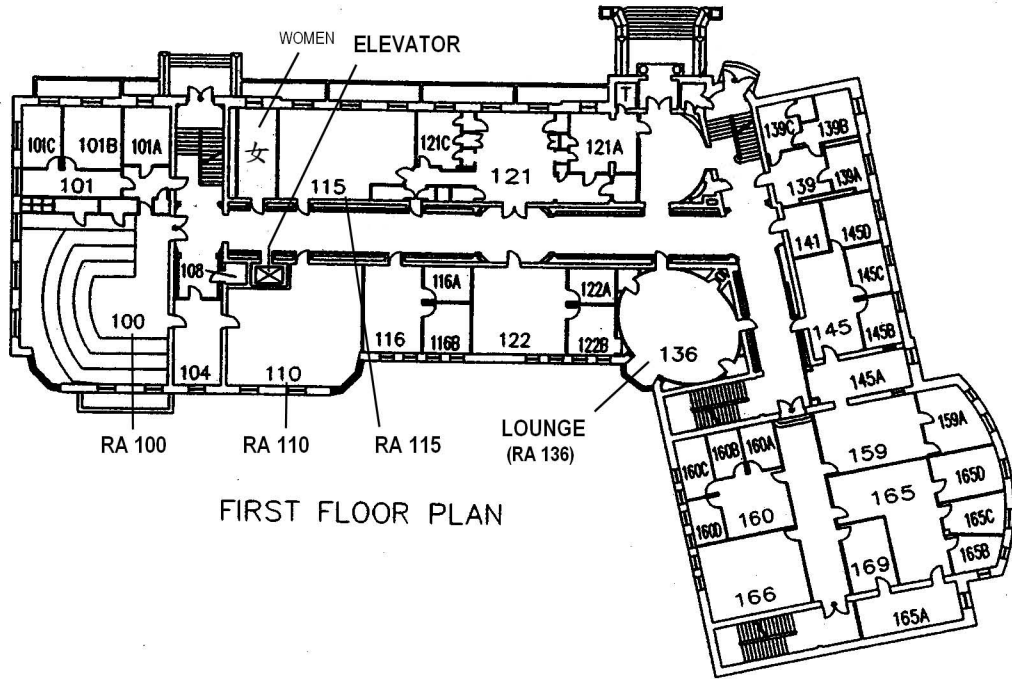
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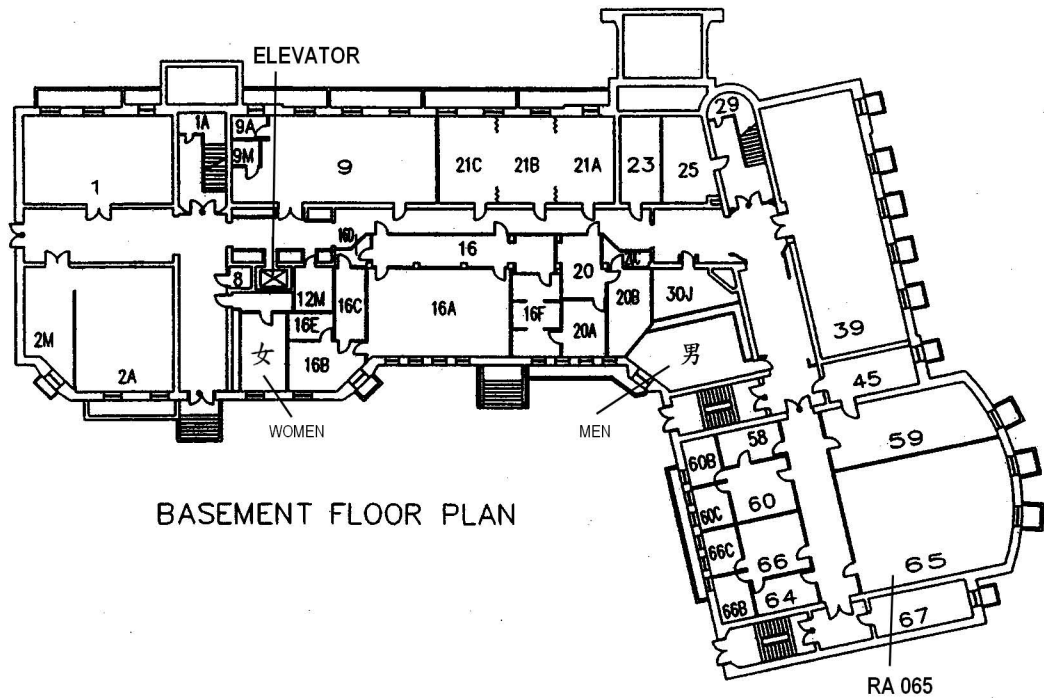
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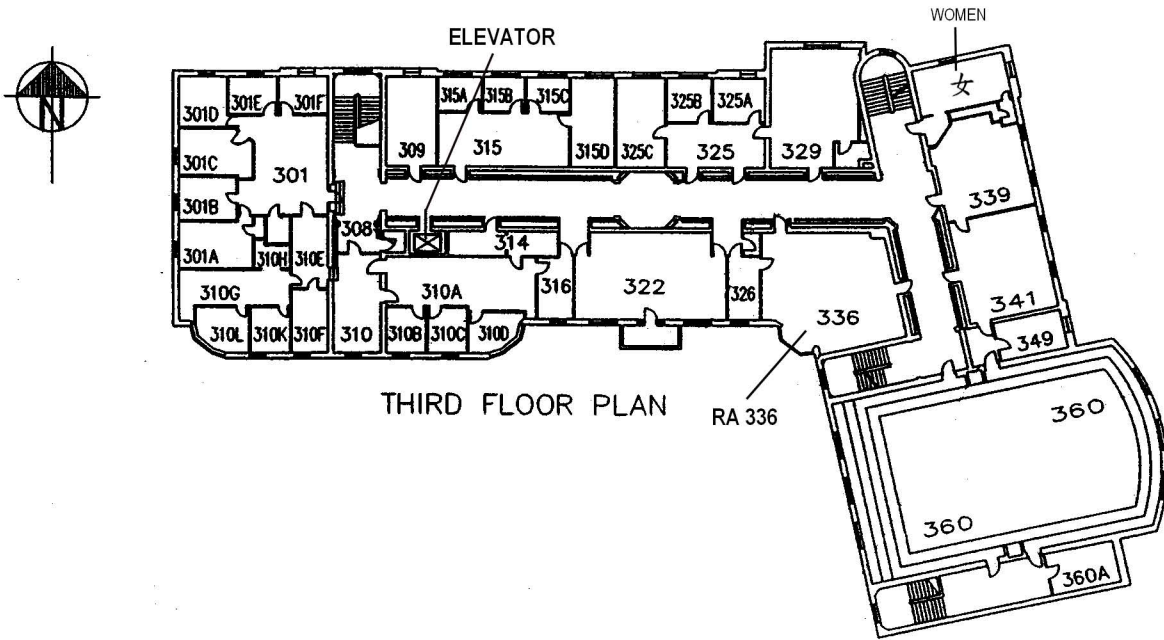


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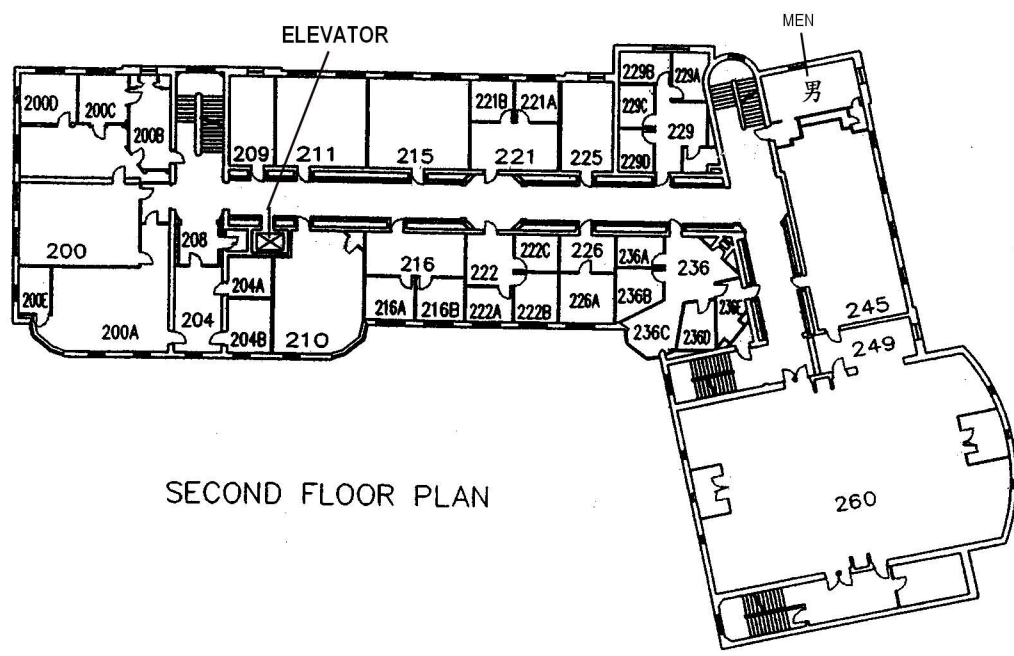


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Chartered buses will be available during the conference to take conference participants between the conference hotel and the conference site on the OSU campus. The shuttle bus trip between hotel and conference site is approximately 15 minutes. Be sure to arrive promptly to catch the shuttle.

The three destinations are:

1. University Plaza Hotel and Conference Center (3110 Olentangy River Road)
2. Ramseyer Hall (Building 090, 29 West Woodruff Avenue, OSU campus)
3. Hagerly Hall (Building 037, 1775 College Road, OSU campus)

## Friday, 25 April 2008

	Depart from U Plaza Hotel	Arrive at Ramseyer Hall	Depart from Ramseyer Hall	Arrive at U Plaza Hotel
<b>Morning</b>	7:00 a.m. 7:30 a.m. 8:00 a.m. 8:30 a.m.	7:15 a.m. 7:45 a.m. 8:15 a.m. 8:45 a.m.		
<b>Evening</b>			6:00 p.m. 6:30 p.m. 7:00 p.m. 7:30 p.m.	6:15 p.m. 6:45 p.m. 7:15 p.m. 7:45 p.m.

**Morning:** The chartered bus service will be available from the hotel during the interval from 7:00 a.m. to 8:30 a.m., with first pick-up from the hotel at 7:00 a.m., arriving at Ramseyer Hall at around 7:15 a.m. The bus will run as a continuous shuttle during the two hours in the morning, with last pick-up from the hotel at 8:30 a.m.

**Evening:** The chartered bus service will be available at Ramseyer Hall during the interval from from 6:00 p.m. to 7:30 p.m., with first pick-up from Ramseyer Hall (on W. Woodruff Ave.) at 6:00 p.m., arriving at the hotel at around 6:15 p.m. The bus will run as a continuous shuttle during the two-hour loop, with last pick-up from Ramseyer Hall at 7:30 p.m.



**Saturday, 26 April 2008**

	<b>Depart from U Plaza Hotel</b>	<b>Arrive at Ramseyer Hall</b>	<b>Depart from Hagerty Hall</b>	<b>Arrive at U Plaza Hotel</b>
<b>Morning</b>	7:00 a.m. 7:30 a.m. 8:00 a.m. 8:30 a.m.	7:15 a.m. 7:45 a.m. 8:15 a.m. 8:45 a.m.		
<b>Evening</b>	(no service)	(no service)	6:15 p.m.	6:30 p.m.

**Morning:** The chartered bus service will be available at the hotel during the interval from 7:00 a.m. to 8:30 a.m., with first pick-up from the hotel at 7:00 a.m., arriving at Ramseyer Hall at around 7:15 a.m. The bus will run as a continuous shuttle during the two-hour loop in the morning, with last pick-up from the hotel at 8:30 a.m.

**Evening:** Three chartered buses will be available at Hagerty Hall at 6:15 p.m. to take hotel guest and banquet attendees to the hotel. Only one trip will be available.

**Sunday, 25 April 2008**

	<b>Depart from U Plaza Hotel</b>	<b>Arrive at Ramseyer Hall</b>	<b>Depart from Ramseyer Hall</b>	<b>Arrive at U Plaza Hotel</b>
<b>Morning</b>	7:30 a.m. 8:00 a.m. 8:30 a.m. 9:00 a.m.	7:45 a.m. 8:15 a.m. 8:45 a.m. 9:15 a.m.		
<b>Afternoon</b>			1:00 p.m. 1:30 p.m. 2:00 p.m. 2:30 p.m.	1:15 p.m. 1:45 p.m. 2:15 p.m. 2:45 p.m.

**Morning:** The chartered bus service will be available at the hotel during the interval from 7:30 a.m. to 9:00 a.m., with first pick-up from the hotel at 7:30 a.m. The bus will run as a continuous shuttle during the two-hour loop in the morning, with last pick-up from the hotel at 9:00 a.m.

**Afternoon:** The chartered bus service will be available at Ramseyer Hall during the interval from 1:00 p.m. to 2:30 p.m., with first pick-up from Ramseyer Hall at 1:00 p.m. The bus will run as a continuous shuttle during the two-hour loop, with last pick-up from Ramseyer Hall at 2:30 p.m.



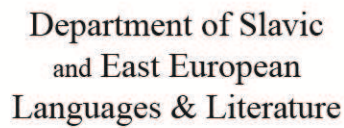
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