



**The 28th Annual Conference of
the International Association of Chinese Linguistics (IACL-28)
國際中國語言學學會第28屆年會**

An Online Conference (Zoom)

**Programme and
Abstracts**

**The Chinese University of Hong Kong
May 20-22, 2022**

Organizers



香港中文大學
The Chinese University
of Hong Kong

語言學及現代語言系
Department of Linguistics
and Modern Languages

Co-sponsors



國際中國語言學學會

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About IACL-28

The International Association of Chinese Linguistics (IACL) holds an Annual Conference on Chinese linguistics at various institutions in Asia, North America, Europe, and Australia since its establishment in 1992. The event serves as an important occasion for scholars and researchers working on Chinese linguistics across the globe to present original, unpublished research work in all subfields of linguistics on any variety of the Chinese languages or other languages of China.

Due to the pandemic, the 28th Annual Conference of the International Association of Chinese Linguistics (IACL-28), originally planned to be hosted by Zhejiang University in 2020 and held in Hangzhou, has not taken place as scheduled. Subsequently, the Executive Committee of IACL decided that the dates of the 28th Annual Conference of the International Association of Chinese Linguistics (IACL-28) will be moved to May 20-22, 2022, the event to be hosted by The Chinese University of Hong Kong. As the pandemic situation in Hong Kong remains severe, IACL-28 will take place in a completely online manner via Zoom.

國際中國語言學學會（IACL）自 1992 年成立以來，已先後在亞洲、北美、歐洲以及澳洲等多個地區成功舉辦國際中國語言學學會年會，吸引了全球眾多從事中國語言學研究的學者和研究人員參加，為漢語及中國境內其他語言在各語言學分支領域的原創研究成果提供了重要的展示平台。

由於新冠疫情的影響，原定於 2020 年由浙江大學主辦的國際中國語言學學會第 28 屆年會（IACL-28）未能如期舉行。因此，IACL 理事會決定將 IACL-28 延期至 2022 年 5 月 20 日至 22 日，由香港中文大學主辦。鑒於目前香港疫情仍然嚴峻，IACL-28 將通過 Zoom 以完全線上的方式召開。

About YSA

The Young Scholar Award (YSA) competition first took place at the 1994 Annual Conference (ICCL-3) held in Hong Kong. It is then held once a year in conjunction with the IACL Annual Conference. A maximum of 5 finalists will be shortlisted this year. Finalists will present their papers at a special session of the Conference. The final winner will receive an award certificate at the closing ceremony.

首屆「青年學者獎」(YSA) 競賽於 1994 年在香港舉辦的年會(ICCL-3) 上啟動，其後每年與國際中國語言學學會的年會一併舉行。本屆年會將選出最多 5 名入圍者。每名入圍者將於年會的特別專場中宣讀論文。最終勝出者將在年會閉幕式上獲頒獎項證書。

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Organization



Organizer:

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

Co-sponsors:

Faculty of Arts
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

International Association of Chinese Linguistics



國際中國語言學學會

Local Organizing Committee:

Chair: Haihua PAN

Members: Victor PAN, Margaret LEI, Shuxiang YOU

Academic consultant: Zhuo CHEN

Design work: Kinson LEE

Technical support: Michael CHENG, Kinson LEE

Logistics support: Chris CHEUNG, Yurika NG

Research assistants and student helpers: Hiu Yeung CHAN, Siu Wing CHAN, Kam To CHENG, Qingyi CHEN, Yanrong DU, Pik Wai KWAN, Tai Yi LAU, Wenqi LI, Siyu WANG, Ka Kiu WONG, Yu XIA, Zetao XU, Ziyi ZHAO, Ziyang ZOU

Reviewers of YSA papers and regular abstracts:

Huba BARTOS, Zhenguang CAI, Grace Wenling CAO, Ao CHEN, Yujie CHEN, Zhenyu CHEN, Zhuo CHEN, Lawrence CHEUNG, Zhexiang CHU, Xiliang CUI, Redouane DJAMOURI, Caterina DONATI, Xiufang DONG, Yuqiao DU, San DUANMU, Xiaolei FAN, Yuli FENG, Yang GU, Rui GUO, Miao-Ling HSIEH, Shenai HU, Xiaoshi HU, Renxuan HUANG, Bit-Chee KWOK, Huei-ling LAI, Paul LAW, Peppina LEE, Margaret LEI, Bing LI, Chao LI, Chen LI, Tianshu LI, Xuping LI, Huayong LIN, Jo-Wang LIN, Danqing LIU, Meichun LIU, Ziyin MAI, Peggy MOK, Chia-Jung PAN, HaiHua PAN, Victor PAN, Youyong QIAN, Zhen QIN, Mamoru SAITO, Yimin SHENG, Wenlei SHI, Joanna Ut-Seong SIO, Alexander SMITH, Yi-Ching SU, Sze-Wing TANG, Quan WAN, Changsong WANG, Qiming WANG, Yingying WANG, Lian-Hee WEE, Fuxiang WU, Jianming WU, Jiun-Shiung WU, Ruiwen WU, Zhuang WU, Saina WUYUN, Beibei XU, Bo XUE, Barry C.-Y. YANG, Xiaolu YANG, Kuang YE, Carine Yuk-Man YIU, Shuxiang YOU, Ning YU, Boping YUAN, Yulin YUAN, Xiaoyu ZENG, Fangqiong ZHAN, Hongming ZHANG, Jisheng ZHANG, Linmin ZHANG, Niina Ning ZHANG, Qingwen ZHANG, Xiaoqian ZHANG, Yang ZHAO, Peng ZHOU, Ren ZHOU, Jialei ZHU

YSA Final Competition Panel:

Chair: Takashi TAKEKOSHI

Members: Jianhua HU, Thomas Hun-tak LEE, Peppina Po-Lun LEE, Bing LI, Danqing LIU, Feng SHI

Chairs of Keynote Speeches:

Thomas Hun-tak LEE, Bing LI, Danqing LIU, Victor Junnan PAN, Feng SHI, Jisheng ZHANG

Session Chairs:

Lawrence CHEUNG, Kengo CHIBA, Andy CHIN, Yang GU, Jie GUO, Fang HU, Tae-Eun KIM, Huei-Ling LAI, Paul LAW, Xuping LI, Feng-Hsi LIU, Mei-chun LIU, Mingming LIU, Stephen MATTHEWS, Pik Ki Peggy MOK, Youyong QIAN, Yi-ching SU, Sze-Wing TANG, Wei-Tien Dylan TSAI, Edwin TSAI, Binli WEN, Jianming WU, Jiun-Shiung WU, Rui-Wen WU, Xiaolu YANG, Qingwen ZHANG

Bio-sketch of Keynote and Invited Speakers

I. Keynote Speakers

Yuming LI 李宇明

李宇明，北京語言大學教授，中國辭書學會會長，中國語言學會語言政策與規劃專業委員會會長，《語言戰略研究》主編。主要研究領域為理論語言學、語法學、心理語言學和語言規劃學。出版《兒童語言的發展》《漢語量範疇研究》《語法研究錄》《Language Planning in China》《語言學習與教育》（修訂本）《李宇明語言傳播與規劃文集》《人生初年——一名中國女孩的語言日誌》等著作。

Alain PEYRAUBE 貝羅貝

Alain Peyraube is Emeritus Director of Research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS, Paris, France) and Chair Professor of Chinese Linguistics at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, Paris). He served as Director of the Institute of East Asian Linguistics (CNRS & EHESS) from 1985 to 2000 and Director of the Institute of Advanced Studies, Collegium de Lyon, from 2010 to 2016. He has been an Honorary Professor at Peking University since 2007, and a distinguished member of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences since 2009. As a founding member of the Scientific Council of the European Research Council (ERC), he served ERC from 2005 to 2013. He became a member of the European Academy (Academia Europaea) in 2006, the Chair of its Linguistics Section in 2013, and member of the Board of Trustees in 2016. Alain Peyraube also served as the President of the International Association of Chinese Linguistics in 1998. As a specialist in Chinese historical syntax and linguistic typology of Sinitic languages, he has authored five books and around two hundred articles on Chinese studies, mainly with respect to Chinese linguistics. His latest research has been done within a broadly functional and cognitive framework from a cross-linguistic perspective.

貝羅貝，法國國家科研中心（CNRS）名譽主任，法國社會科學高等研究院（EHESS）漢語語言學講座教授。1985 至 2000 年任東亞語言學研究所所長（CNRS&EHESS），2010 至 2016 年任里昂大學高等研究所所長。北京大學名譽教授，中國社會科學院傑出會員，歐洲研究理事會科學委員會創始委員（2005 至 2013 年），歐洲科學院院士（2006 年）、歐洲科學院語言學學部主席（2013 年）、歐洲科學院董事會董事（2016 年）。貝羅貝曾擔任國際中國語言學學會會長（1998 年），是漢語歷史語法和漢語族語言類型學專家，出版中國語言學研究相關的專著 5 部、論文約 200 篇，近期關注跨語言視角下的功能和認知框架研究。

Takashi TAKEKOSHI 竹越孝

Takashi Takekoshi is Professor in Department of Chinese Studies, at Kobe City University of Foreign Studies. He received his M.A. from Tokyo Metropolitan University in 1992. Before joining Kobe CUFS as an Associate Professor in April 2010, he was Associate Professor teaching Chinese linguistics in Aichi Prefectural University (2003-2010) and Kagoshima University (1997-2003). His research interests lie primarily in Chinese historical syntax, with a special focus on materials outside of China, such as Korean-Chinese bilingual textbooks in Chosun dynasty, *The Secret History of Mongols*, *Huayiyiyu*, and Manchu-Chinese bilingual textbooks in Qing dynasty. He has published or co-edited 20 books --- such as *A Study of Xiangyuan Tiyu* (Hakkobang, 2011), *Yuan-Ming Hanyu Wenxian Mulu* (Zhongxi Publishing, 2016), *Manhan Chengyu Duidai* (Peking University Press, 2018) --- and research papers in edited books, conference proceedings and journals such as *Chugoku Gogaku* (*Bulletin of the Chinese Linguistic Society of Japan*), *Hanyushi Xuebao* (*Journal of Chinese Historical Linguistics*), *Munzu Yuyan* (*Minority Languages of China*), *Yuyanxue Luncong* (*Essays on Linguistics*) and *Lishiyuyanxue Yanjiu* (*Journal of Historical Linguistics*).

His service to the field includes refereeing for conferences and for various journals such as *Chugoku Gogaku*, *Hanyushi Xuebao*, *Yuyanxue Luncong* etc. He was elected to the Executive Committee of International Association of Chinese Linguistics (2015-2017) and served as Organizer for IACL-27, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies (2019). He now serves as Vice President of International Association of Chinese Linguistics (2019-) and President of the Chinese Linguistic Society of Japan (2022-).

Benjamin K. T'SOU 鄒嘉彥

Benjamin T'sou has been doing research on the Chinese language from the perspectives of sociolinguistics and computational linguistics and has published in these areas. He is the founding President of the Asian Federation of Natural Language Processing and of the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong. He was also on the Executive Board, Chinese Information Processing Society of China. The Language Atlas of China 《中國語言地圖》, of which he was a general editor and contributor, was awarded a First-Class prize in research by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He is also a member of Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer (Belgium).

Jie ZHANG 張杰

Jie Zhang is currently Professor and Chair of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Kansas. He holds an MA and a Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of California, Los Angeles and previously taught as a Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics at Harvard University. As a theoretical and experimental phonologist, he has a particular interest in tone, from its phonological patterning and formal modeling to its production, perception, and processing. His work has been funded by the US National Science Foundation and the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for Scholarly Exchange, and he has published in journals such as *Phonology*, *Journal of Phonetics*, *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, *Journal of Neurolinguistics*, and *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*.

Hongming ZHANG 張洪明

Hongming Zhang received his BA & MA in Chinese from Fudan University, and MA & Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of California-San Diego. He is currently chair professor and Dean of the University International College (UIC), Macau University of Science and Technology (M.U.S.T.), and serves concurrently as Director of the Educational Development Center (EDC). Prior to joining M.U.S.T. in 2022, he was a tenured full professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where he served for more than 26 years. He taught at several other institutions including Fudan University, San Diego Mesa College, and National University of Singapore. He is also the recipient of Chair Professor of the Global Experts Recruitment Program 千人计划讲座教授, Chang Jiang Scholar Chair Professor 长江学者讲座教授, Chern Shiing-shen Chair Professor 陈省身讲席教授, honorary director of the Linguistics Institute of Nankai University, Wilson T.S. Wang--New Method College Visiting Professorship in Language Education 王泽森新法学院语文教育访问教授 of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Chair Professor (adjunct) of Institute for World Literatures and Cultures of Tsinghua University, and honorary adjunct/guest professor and co-advisor of several other institutions. Aside from serving the International Association of Chinese Linguistics 国际中国语言学学会 as its president, he is also the vice president of the International Society for Chinese Language Teaching 世界汉语教学学会, the series editor of *Routledge Studies in Chinese Linguistics*, the executive editor of *International Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, and the associate editor of *Asian Languages and Linguistics*. His academic interests lie in the fields of the interface study between syntax and phonology, prosodic phonology, language change, rules/forms of classical poetic composition, and second language education and acquisition. His major publications include *Prosodic Studies: Challenges and Prospects* (Routledge 2019), *Syntax-Phonology Interface: Argumentation from Tone Sandhi in Chinese Dialects* (Routledge 2017), and *Tonal Prosody in Yongming Style Poems* (Nankai 2015).

II. Invited Speakers

Edith ALDRIDGE 李琦

李琦 (Edith Aldridge) 女士於美國康乃爾大學取得博士學位，研究領域為句法理論以及歷史語言學。其博士論文關注南島語言中的詞序與作格性，並以菲律賓語和賽德克語進行了跨語言的比較；其中所使用的賽德克語語料來自 2000 年在南投縣進行的田野調查。畢業後，研究範圍則拓展到漢語的句法演變，近日更同時進行南島語言和古漢語兩方面的研究。最新的主要研究目標為原始南島語言動詞詞綴的構擬、以及上古到中古漢語中的詞序演變。自 2019 年 7 月起於語言學研究所擔任副研究員一職，自 2021 年 9 月起升等為研究員。

Gong CHENG 程工

Gong Cheng received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from Fudan University in 1995, with a dissertation on long-distance anaphora in the Minimalist framework. He currently works for Zhejiang University as a Leading Scholar in Humanities and a professor at its School of International Studies. He was the first linguist who introduced Chomsky's Minimalist Program to Chinese readers. His 1999 monograph, *On Linguistic Universalism* (《语言共性论》), was one of the earliest Minimalist studies on Chinese syntax. He holds positions at various academic organizations as well as visiting professorships at several universities, won 4 National Social Science Grants and many scholarly awards, and authored several well-known monographs and papers. His major research interest includes syntax and morphology. In recent years, his work has become increasingly centered on the morphosyntactic properties of Chinese, with a framework that integrates Minimalist Program and Distributed Morphology.

Hin-Tat CHEUNG 張顯達

Hin-Tat Cheung received his Ph.D. in Child Language Doctoral Program from the University of Kansas. He has been investigating a wide range of issues in developmental psycholinguistics, including grammatical acquisition, developmental language disorders and childhood bilingual development. For promoting research in first and second language acquisition, he and his associates have constructed two corpora: Taiwan Corpus of Child Mandarin (<https://lope.linguistics.ntu.edu.tw/tccm/>) and the LTTC English Learner Corpus (<http://www.lttcelc.org.tw/>). He is the founding head of the Department of Linguistics and Modern Language Studies and the founding director of the Centre for Research in Linguistics and Language Studies (<http://www.eduhk.hk/crlls/>).

He was previously the Director of the Audio-Visual Educational Center (2001-2006, now known as Foreign Language Teaching and Resource Center), the Director of the Graduate Institute of Linguistics (2007-2009) of National Taiwan University (NTU), and the President of the Linguistics Society of Taiwan (2007-2009). Between 1999 and 2011, he received the Excellence in Teaching Award for five times while serving as a faculty member of NTU.

II. Invited Speakers

Xiufang DONG 董秀芳

董秀芳，北京大學中文系教授、博士生導師、北京大學中國語言學研究中心研究員。主要致力於詞彙、句法和語篇的共時與歷時研究。曾獲教育部高等學校科學研究優秀成果獎、胡繩青年學術獎、中國社會科學院青年語言學家獎、北京市哲學社會科學優秀成果獎、國家級教學成果一等獎（集體專案）等多種獎項。入選 2013 年度教育部新世紀優秀人才支持計畫。入選 2016 年度教育部青年長江學者。入選 2019 年度教育部長江學者特聘教授。《中國語文》編委，中國大百科全書（第三版）語言文字卷分支副主編，中國社會科學院語言研究所專業技術資格評審委員會委員，全國語言與術語標準化技術委員會辭書編纂分技術委員會委員。出版專著《詞彙化：漢語雙音詞的衍生和發展》（修訂再版）、《漢語的詞庫與詞法》（修訂再版）、《漢語詞彙化和語法化的現象與規律》，主編著作和教材各 1 部，發表論文 110 餘篇。

Jo-Wang LIN 林若望

Jo-Wang Lin's major research interests include the distributivity operator 'dou', the plurality marker '-men', tense and aspect, comparatives and grammar of degrees, restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, quantification of wh-phrases and so on within the framework of formal semantics.

林若望的主要研究興趣是以形式語義學的架構來研究漢語句子的語義問題，研究焦點涵蓋分配性算子"都"，複數標記"們"，時制與時態，比較句與程度語法，限制性與非限制性關係子句，WH-詞組的量化分析等。

Danqing LIU 劉丹青

Danqing Liu is currently Professor of the School of Humanities at Shenzhen University. He has served as the Director of Linguistics Institute at Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), Chair and Professor of the Department of Linguistics, School of Graduate Studies, CASS, Chief Editor of *Zhongguo Yuwen* (*Studies of the Chinese Language*), Vice President of the International Association of Chinese Linguistics, President of the National Association of Chinese Dialectology, and General Editor of the Volume of *Language and Linguistics of the Chinese Encyclopedia* (3rd Edition). His research fields include linguistic typology, syntax, Chinese dialectology, theoretical linguistics, language and culture, and applied linguistics. He has published several books and 180 plus papers written in Chinese and English, such as *Yuyan Leixingxue* (*Linguistic Typology*), *Yuxu Leixingxue yu Jieci Lilun* (*Word Order Typology and a Theory of Adpositions*), *Yufa Diaocha Yanjiu Shouce* (*A Handbook for Grammatical Investigation and Research*), *Huati de Jiegou yu Gongneng* (*The Structure and Functions of Topic*) co-authored with Liejiong Xu, and *Nanjing Fangyan Yindang* (*An Audile Archive of the Nanjing Dialect*). *Nanjing Fangyan Cidian* (*A Dictionary of the Nanjing Dialect*).

劉丹青，深圳大學人文學院教授。曾任中國社會科學院語言研究所所長、研究員，中國社會科學院研究生院語言學系主任、博士生導師，《中國語文》主編、國際中國語言學學會副會長、全國漢語方言學會會長及《中國大百科全書·語言文字卷》（第三版）主編。其研究領域為語言類型學、句法學、漢語方言學、理論語言學、文化語言學和應用語言學，迄今已發表中英文學術論文 180 餘篇、出版多部著作，如《語言類型學》、《語序類型學與介詞理論》、《語法調查研究手冊》、《話題的結構與功能》（與徐烈炯合著）、《南京方言音檔》、《南京方言詞典》等。

II. Invited Speakers

Feng-Hsi LIU 劉鳳樺

Feng-Hsi Liu teaches Chinese linguistics and language. Her research interests are primarily in three areas: syntax-semantics interface, word order variation, and second language acquisition of semantic concepts.

Waltraud PAUL 包華莉

Since 1994, Waltraud Paul has been a researcher at the CNRS (Centre national de la recherche scientifique i.e., the French National Center for Scientific Research) and affiliated with the CRLAO (Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l'Asie orientale i.e., Center for linguistic research on East Asia). Her main interest is the syntax of modern Mandarin, with occasional excursions into the diachronic syntax of Chinese. She has extensively published on a large variety of phenomena in Mandarin Chinese, from the structure of the extended VP (including the *bǎ* construction and double object applicative construction) over *shi...de* focus clefts to the sentence periphery (*sentence-final particles* as C-heads) and the so-called *Topic Prominence* of Mandarin Chinese. (Cf. her website <http://crlao.ehess.fr/index.php?177> for more information.)

With Guido Vanden Wyngaerd, she formed the core team around Johan Rooryck in founding the fair open access journal *Glossa: A journal of general linguistics* in 2015, when the entire former editorial team of Elsevier's *Lingua* resigned in order to serve on *Glossa*'s editorial board. Since 2016, she has been an associate editor of *Glossa* and a vocal advocate of open access. (<https://www.glossa-journal.org/>)

Feng SHI 石鋒

石鋒，南開大學教授，《南開語言學刊》名譽主編和《實驗語言學》名譽主編，《中國語言學報（JCL）》副主編，LINGUA 編委，教育部審音委員會委員。曾應聘北京語言大學銀齡學者，以及中央民族大學、天津師範大學、遼寧師範大學、雲南民族大學等特聘教授或兼職教授，以及香港城市大學電子工程學系研究員和日本名古屋學院大學大學院客員教授。

石鋒主要研究領域為實驗語言學、語言演化、語言接觸與語言習得。出版論著《語音格局—語音學與音系學之交匯點》、《語調格局—實驗語言學的奠基石》、《聽感格局—漢語語音聽感特徵初探》、《韻律格局—語音和語義、語法、語用的結合》、《秋葉集》、《銀齡集》等 20 餘種，在國內外發表論文 200 餘篇。

Dingxu SHI 石定栩

石定栩，1992 獲頒美國洛杉磯南加州大學語言學博士。研究興趣為句法、語義、教學語法。

II. Invited Speakers

Sze-Wing TANG 鄧思穎

Sze-Wing Tang is Professor and Chair of the Department of Chinese Language and Literature at The Chinese University of Hong Kong and concurrently serving as Director of the T.T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre of the Institute of Chinese Studies and Director of the Research Centre for Chinese Language and Linguistics of the CUHK Shenzhen Research Institute. He received his BA and MPhil from The Chinese University of Hong Kong and PhD from the University of California, Irvine. His research interests lie primarily in Chinese syntax, theoretical approaches to the study of Chinese dialects, and comparative grammar.

鄧思穎現任香港中文大學中國語言及文學系教授兼系主任，並兼任中國文化研究所吳多泰中國語文研究中心主任、香港中文大學深圳研究院中國語文研究中心主任。畢業於香港中文大學，先後獲文學士和哲學碩士學位，其後在加州大學爾灣校區獲哲學博士學位。研究興趣主要是漢語句法學、漢語方言的理論分析、比較語法學。

Hongyin TAO 陶紅印

Hongyin Tao is Professor at Asian Languages and Cultures Department, University of California, Los Angeles. He received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of California, Santa Barbara in 1993. His research interests lie in interactional linguistics, applied linguistics, social and cultural linguistics, and corpus linguistics. He is the Executive Editor of *Studies in Chinese Language and Discourse* (John Benjamins).

Wei-Tien Dylan TSAI 蔡維天

Wei-Tien Dylan Tsai is Professor of Linguistics at the Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University. He is a syntactician and is specialized in Syntactic Theory, Syntax-Semantics Interface, Chinese Syntax, Austronesian Syntax. He teaches syntax courses at all levels, introductory linguistics courses, topics on Chinese and Austronesian linguistics, and topics on the Syntax-Semantics interface on a regular basis.

II. Invited Speakers

Yang ZHAO 趙楊

Yang ZHAO got his PhD degree from the University of Cambridge and is now professor and dean of the School of Chinese as a Second Language of Peking University. His research areas include second language acquisition, generative grammar, sociolinguistics and language education. He has published monographs, works of translation and research articles in renowned presses and mainstream journals, and has completed numerous research projects at national and university levels. His professional titles include the associate chair of the International Society for Chinese Language Teaching, chief-editor of the journal *International Chinese Language Education*, associate director of the SLA Society of China Association for Comparative Studies of English and Chinese, and member of the National MTC SOL Steering Committee.

趙楊，北京大學對外漢語教育學院教授、院長、博士生導師，劍橋大學博士。研究興趣包括第二語言習得、生成語法、社會語言學、語言教育等，出版專著譯著多部，在國內外學術期刊發表論文數十篇，主持國家社科基金等科研專案多項。擔任世界漢語教學學會副會長、全國漢語國際教育專業學位碩士生教育指導委員會委員、《國際中文教育》期刊主編、中國英漢語比較研究會二語習得研究專業委員會副會長等學術職務。

III. Speakers of Special Forum

Qunhu GONG 龔群虎

Qunhu Gong is Professor of Department of Chinese Language and Literature, Fudan University.

Dingqian GU 顧定倩

Dingqian Gu is Professor of Institute of Special Education, Faculty of Education in Beijing Normal University and Director of the National Research Center for Sign Language and Braille (NRCSLB).

顧定倩，北京師範大學教育學部特殊教育系教授、國家手語和盲文研究中心主任。

Jieqiong LI 李潔瓊

Jieqiong Li is currently a PhD student of Linguistics at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Her academic interests lie in sign linguistics and (bimodal) (bilingual) language acquisition.

李潔瓊目前於香港中文大學修讀語言學博士。她的研究興趣為手語語言學以及（雙渠道）（雙語）語言獲得。

Yim Binh Felix SZE 施婉萍

Felix Sze received her M.Phil. in Linguistics from The Chinese University of Hong Kong in 2000 and her doctoral degree from the Centre for Deaf Studies, University of Bristol, in 2008. Before joining the Department of Linguistic and Modern Languages, she was a post-doctoral research fellow at the Centre for Sign Linguistics and Deaf Studies (CSLDS), CUHK, conducting research projects on sign language and providing sign linguistic training to the deaf junior researchers from Asia-Pacific countries. Her current research interests include the documentation of sign language lexical variants and discourse data in the Asia-Pacific region, sign language typology, information structure and non-manuals in Hong Kong Sign Language, as well as language development of deaf children in Hong Kong.

施婉萍於 2000 年在香港中文大學取得語言學哲學碩士學位，並於 2008 年取得布里斯托大學聾人研究中心博士學位。在加入香港中文大學語言學及現代語言系之前，她作為博士後研究員在中大手語及聾人研究中心（CSLDS）工作，進行手語研究項目，並為來自亞太國家的聾人初級研究者們提供手語語言學培訓。她目前的研究興趣包括亞太地區手語詞彙變體和語篇數據的記錄，香港手語的手語類型學，信息結構和香港手語的非手控特徵，以及香港聾童的語言發展等。

Wai Lan Glandys TANG 鄧慧蘭

Wai Lan Gladys Tang received her doctoral degree in applied linguistics at the University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom. Her research interests are language acquisition and language pedagogy. Her interest in sign language research also took her to embark on a series of research projects in recent years on the linguistics of Hong Kong Sign Language, the acquisition of sign language and the development of deaf literacy by deaf children. She has published on second language acquisition, second language pedagogy, sign linguistics, sign language acquisition and deaf education. She is Director of the Centre for Sign Linguistics and Deaf Studies, Asian liaison of International Sign Linguistics Society and member of the Advisory Board of Sign Language Linguistic Society.

Dan WEI 魏丹

Ms. Wei is the former director of the Department of Language Application and Administration of the Ministry of Education, P.R.China. Her area of research has mainly focused on language policy and language legislation. After her retirement, she has been working in the National Research Center for Sign Language and Braille (NRCSLB), and participating in the project of the Chinese National Sign Language Research, as well as the study of sign language syntax and its standardization.

魏丹，教育部語言文字應用管理司原綜合處處長。主要研究語言政策和語言立法。退休後曾在國家手語和盲文研究中心工作，參與國家通用手語、手語的語言文字規範和手語句法研究。

Xiao Monica WEI 維肖

Wei Xiao received her MA in Sign Linguistics in 2013 and her M.Phil in Linguistics in 2020 from The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). Between and after the studies she has been working as a research assistant at the Centre for Sign Linguistics and Deaf Studies (CSLDS), CUHK, on different aspects of Hong Kong Sign Language. She picked up HKSL, sign language linguistics and Deaf culture during her study and work. Her research interests lie in the sociolinguistic aspects of sign languages, phonological and lexical variation, and sign language phonology. Besides research work, she has been interpreting for Deaf individuals in BA and MA programmes for years.

維肖於 2013 年及 2020 年分別取得香港中文大學（中大）的語言學碩士（手語方向）及語言學哲學碩士學位。期間，她亦在中大的手語及聾人研究中心任職研究助理，參與研究香港手語的不同計劃。通過讀書及工作，她學會了香港手語，了解了手語語言學及聾人文化。她的研究興趣在於手語的社會語言學層次，語音及詞彙變體，以及手語語音學。除了研究工作，她還曾為就讀本科及碩士的聾人擔任手語翻譯數年。

Wai Lam Brenda YU 余煒琳

Wai Lam Brenda Yu received her BEd(Hons) degree in Professional and Vocational Education at the Education University of Hong Kong. She is currently a student in the Master of Teaching programme at the Education University of Hong Kong. She joined the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages at The Chinese University of Hong Kong in 2003 as a researcher in the Child HKSL Corpus research team. Afterwards, she began receiving training in teaching of Hong Kong Sign Language and Sign Linguistics by joining the Asia Pacific Sign Linguistics Research and Training Program organized by the Centre for Sign Linguistics and Deaf Studies (CSLDS). She is currently working as a Hong Kong Sign Language teacher at the Department, through which she has been heavily involved in developing the HKSL curriculum as well as production of HKSL teaching and learning materials. She and other members of the HKSL teaching team has been responsible for the alignment of the HKSL curriculum with CEFR since 2016.

余煒琳於香港教育大學取得了專業及職業教育學士（榮譽）學位，她目前在香港教育大學繼續攻讀教育碩士課程。她於 2003 年加入香港中文大學語言學及現代語言學系擔任研究員參與聾童香港手語語料庫研究。通過手語及聾人研究中心（CSLDS）舉辦的亞太區手語語言學研究及培訓計劃，她接受了香港手語教學及手語語言學的培訓。她現時於語言學及現代語言學系擔任香港手語教師，期間積極參與了香港手語課程的研發及香港手語教學資料的製作工作。自 2016 年以來，她和手語教學團隊的其餘成員負責依據歐洲語言共同參考架構（CEFR）調整香港手語課程。

III. Speakers of Special Forum



Xuan ZHENG 鄭璇

Xuan ZHENG is a professor at the Faculty of Education, Beijing Normal University, and a member of the National Research Center of Sign Language and Braille (NRCSLB). She received her PhD degree in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics from Fudan University, and has been engaged as a teacher of DHH students in tertiary education for the for 11 years. Her research focus mainly lies in sign linguistics and Deaf education. She is the primary investigator for 3 national-level projects, and a number of projects at the provincial and ministerial-level; She has accomplished many academic publications and monographs. She is also a visiting professor at several universities across the country.

鄭璇 北京師範大學教育學部教授，國家手語和盲文研究中心成員。2009 年於復旦大學語言學及應用語言學專業獲博士學位，此後從事聽障高等教育一線教學 11 年。主要研究手語語言學、聽障教育，主持國家級課題 3 項、省部級課題多項，發表、出版學術論文和專著教材多篇。兼任國內多家高校客座教授。



The 28th Annual Conference of the International Association of Chinese Linguistics (IACL-28)

May 20-22, 2022

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Conference Program 會議議程 [2022-05-19]

Note: Time Zone = China Standard Time (CST; GMT+8)

May 20, 2022 (Friday) AM 2022年5月20日(星期五) 上午

8:30-9:00am	Log-in 登入		
	ZOOM ID: 964 4097 2577; Passcode: iacl28main Plenary Session 1		
9:00-9:30am	Opening Ceremony 開幕式 Welcoming Speech by Professor Alan K. L. CHAN, Provost, The Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學陳金樑常務副校長致歡迎辭 Group Photo Taking 分組合照		
9:30-10:15am	Keynote Speech I 主旨演講 (一) (Chair: Bing LI 李兵) Why Would 蓮花清瘟 be Mistaken for 蓮花清瘟? – Revisiting the Stress Issue in Mandarin Hongming ZHANG 張洪明		
10:15-11:00am	Keynote Speech II 主旨演講 (二) (Chair: Jisheng ZHANG 張吉生) Experimental Studies of Chinese Tone: From Behavioral to Neurolinguistic Methods Jie ZHANG 張杰		
11:00-11:15am	Tea Break 茶歇		
	ZOOM ID: 957 2418 6115; Passcode: iacl28a Session 1A (Chair: Yang GU 顧陽)	ZOOM ID: 923 6012 8100; Passcode: iacl28b Session 1B (Chair: Mingming LIU 劉明明)	ZOOM ID: 918 8473 6515; Passcode: iacl28c Session 1C (Chair: Huei-Ling LAI 賴惠玲)
11:15-11:50am	Invited Talk I 特邀演講 (一) A Guide to Construct Non-canonical Wh-questions: A Cross-linguistic Perspective Wei-Tien Dylan TSAI 蔡維天	Invited Talk II 特邀演講 (二) Why Do We Say 拉開 But Not 拉關? Feng-Hsi LIU 劉鳳樺	Invited Talk III 特邀演講 (三) On the Topic of Topic Constructions: Genre and Multimodality Perspectives Hongyin TAO 陶紅印

	Regular Presentations 分組報告 1 Syntax & Semantics I [E] 句法、語義 (一) [英]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 2 Semantics [C] 語義 [中]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 3 Syntax & Semantics II [E] 句法、語義 (二) [英]
11:50am-12:15pm	Scope and Reconstruction in Chinese <i>Paul LAW</i>	再議寬、窄焦點 <i>Fangqiong ZHAN and Haihua PAN</i>	Event Classifiers in the Nominal Domain <i>Xiaoqian ZHANG</i>
12:15- 12:40pm	Independent Scope and the Structure of Locative <i>Ba</i> - constructions in Mandarin <i>Tian GAN and Cheng-Yu Edwin TSAI</i>	漢語全稱量化詞的語義映射規則 <i>Lei ZHANG and Haihua PAN</i>	A Constructional Account for DP-Incorporation in Mandarin <i>Xiaopei ZHANG and Meichun LIU</i>
12:40-1:05pm	A Dual-Thread Model for Relative Clauses: From Acquisition to Typology <i>Yuqiao DU and Victor Junnan PAN</i>	也談漢語中的冗餘否定 <i>Weiping WEN</i>	On the Syntax-semantics Interface of <i>Henduo</i> and <i>Henshao</i> in Mandarin Chinese <i>Yueming SUN and Peppina Po-Lun LEE</i>
1:05-2:05pm	Lunch 午餐		

May 20, 2022 (Friday) PM 2022年5月20日(星期五) 下午

1:50-2:05pm	Log-in 登入		
	ZOOM ID: 957 2418 6115; Passcode: iac128a Session 2A (Chair: Edwin TSAI 蔡承佑)	ZOOM ID: 923 6012 8100; Passcode: iac128b Session 2B (Chair: Tae-Eun KIM 金兌垠)	ZOOM ID: 918 8473 6515; Passcode: iac128c Session 2C (Chair: Takashi TAKEKOSHI 竹越孝)
	Regular Presentations 分組報告 4 Semantics & Pragmatics I [C] 語義、語用 (一) [中]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 5 Experimental Phonetics & Phonology I [C] 實驗語音、實驗音系 (一) [中]	YSA Final Competition 青年學者獎決賽
2:05-2:30pm	對比焦點與“都”的統一解釋 <i>Kesheng LI</i>	喉塞尾韻與口塞尾韻的語音差異 — 以潮州方言為例 <i>Qing LIN</i>	(2:05-2:35pm) 漢語方言的等比句 — 方言比較和類型學的研究 <i>Yik-Po LAI 黎奕葆</i> (2:35-3:05pm) True Resultatives and Pseudo-Resultatives <i>Jiaojiao YAO</i>
2:30-2:55pm	The Focus Structure in Northern Wu Chinese <i>Sunhao YU</i>	漢語曲折調的聲調感知對比研究 — 以漢語母語者和韓國留學生為例 <i>Chen LI and Jung-Yueh TU</i>	
2:55-3:20pm	從趨向到目的—「來」在連動結構中的句法位置與韻律表現 <i>Xinjunrong HUANG</i>	河南鞏義方言稱呼語面稱的變調現象 <i>Minyu SONG</i>	

3:20-3:45pm		一項個體聲調變異的縱向研究 <i>Lei LIANG, Kangdi LIU and Jin WANG</i>	(3:05-3:35pm) 音系短語構建的普遍性與多樣性— 來自閩東、莆仙與閩中方言的證據 <i>Shuxiang YOU 尤舒翔</i>
3:45-4:10pm		祁縣方言入聲調的聲學表現與演變趨勢 <i>Kangdi LIU and Lei LIANG</i>	(3:35-4:05pm) 跨語言視域下“也”字極性句和任指句 分佈受限問題研究 <i>Ying ZHANG 張瑩</i>
4:10-4:25pm	Tea Break 茶歇		
	ZOOM ID: 957 2418 6115; Passcode: iac128a Session 3A (Chair: Dylan TSAI 蔡維天)	ZOOM ID: 923 6012 8100; Passcode: iac128b Session 3B (Chair: Meichun LIU 劉美君)	ZOOM ID: 918 8473 6515; Passcode: iac128c Session 3C (Chair: Lawrence CHEUNG 張欽良)
4:25-5:00pm	Invited Talk IV 特邀演講 (四) Interface Analysis of Chinese Subjective Evaluative Adverbs <i>Dingxu SHI 石定栩</i>	Invited Talk V 特邀演講 (五) 從引入事件到引入評價： 漢語中承接性副詞或連詞的主觀化 <i>Xiufang DONG 董秀芳</i>	Invited Talk VI 特邀演講 (六) L2 Chinese Acquisition of Split Definiteness by Native English Speakers 英語母語者對漢語“分裂定指性”的習得研究 <i>Yang ZHAO 趙楊</i>
	Regular Presentations 分組報告 6 Syntax & Semantics III [C] 句法、語義 (三) [中]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 7 Syntax & Semantics IV [C] 句法、語義 (四) [中]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 8 Historical Linguistics I [C] 歷史語言學 (一) [中]
5:00-5:25pm	漢語述賓結構習語句法初探 <i>Jiaying HUANG and Xiaoshi HU</i>	“感到”“覺得”的敘實性差異及其影響因素 —兼談情感形容詞的敘實性連續統 <i>Enxu WANG</i>	現代漢語程度副詞“很”的來源及演變 <i>Hang WANG and Pingping GE</i>
5:25-5:50pm	漢語“動賓帶賓”現象和新聞標題的信息結構 <i>Yewei QIN</i>	“還”主觀性的漂移 <i>Lijuan ZHANG</i>	從「是乜」到「乜嘢」— 粵方言事物疑問代詞詞形演變考論 <i>Xiuwei ZENG</i>
5:50-6:15pm	試論漢語“沒/不怎麼VP”的否定義來源 <i>Changsong WANG</i>	“總是”和“老是”的對比辨析 <i>Siyuan YIN</i>	表情態義的“起來”與“來著”的語法化過程 與演化機制研究 <i>Yingxiao MA, Yongjin PARK and Jinhyeon SEO</i>
9:30-11:30pm	[IACL Executive Committee ONLY] IACL Executive Committee Meeting		

May 21, 2022 (Saturday) AM 2022年5月21日(星期六) 上午

8:00-8:30am	Log-in 登入		
	ZOOM ID: 964 4097 2577; Passcode: iac128main Plenary Session 2		
8:30-9:15am	Keynote Speech III 主旨演講 (三) (Chair: Li SHEN 沈力) Altaic Interference in the History of Chinese: "Han'er Yanyu" and Its Descendants <i>Takashi TAKEKOSHI 竹越孝</i>		
9:15-10:00am	Keynote Speech IV 主旨演講 (四) (Chair: Danqing LIU 劉丹青) 語言數據的類型及生產要素屬性等問題 <i>Yuming LI 李宇明</i>		
10:00-10:15am	Tea Break 茶歇		
	ZOOM ID: 957 2418 6115; Passcode: iac128a Session 4A (Chair: Sze-Wing TANG 鄧思穎)	ZOOM ID: 923 6012 8100; Passcode: iac128b Session 4B (Chair: Peggy MOK 莫碧琪)	ZOOM ID: 918 8473 6515; Passcode: iac128c Session 4C (Chair: Kengo CHIBA 千葉謙悟)
10:15-10:50am	Invited Talk VII 特邀演講 (七) Move One When You Have Two: On Split Topicalization in Chinese <i>Gong CHENG 程工</i>	Invited Talk VIII 特邀演講 (八) 漢語普通話輕聲的連續統 <i>Feng SHI 石鋒</i>	Invited Talk IX 特邀演講 (九) 先秦漢語中「NP而VP」小句與對比焦點 <i>Edith ALDRIDGE 李琦</i>
	Regular Presentations 分組報告 9 Syntax & Semantics V [E] 句法、語義 (五) [英]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 10 Experimental Phonetics & Phonology II [E] 實驗語音、實驗音系 (二) [英]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 11 Historical Linguistics II [C/E] 歷史語言學 (二) [中/英]
10:50-11:15am	Wangmian Sentences as Possessor Raising <i>Liumao ZHONG</i>	Do Second-language Learners' Productivity of Mandarin Tone Sandhi Change with Increasing Proficiency? <i>Zhen QIN</i>	上古漢語“吾”、“我”的句法語義分工 <i>Mengyuan TONG and Fangxin LU</i>
11:15-11:40am	Licensing VP Movement and Ellipsis in Mandarin and Cantonese <i>Tommy Tsz-Ming LEE</i>	Omnisyllabic Tone in Hong Kong Cantonese: Tonal Patterns in Non-Lexical Hesitation Markers <i>Robert SEVILLA</i>	漢語動詞“對”的語義演變 <i>Meixia ZHANG</i>
11:40am-12:05pm	Separable Verbs as Partial Deletion in Cantonese <i>Sheila Shu-Laam CHAN, Tommy Tsz-Ming LEE</i> <i>and Ka-Fai YIP</i>		The Origin of the *N- demonstratives in Archaic Chinese and their Reflexes in Modern Dialects <i>Jung-Im CHANG</i>

12:05-12:30pm	The Syntax of Pseudo-Possessive Construction in Chinese <i>Xiaoshi HU, Ziqi WANG and Ruiru ZHANG</i>		The Development of the Chinese Cleft Construction: A Constructionalization Approach <i>Fangqiong ZHAN</i>
12:30-1:30pm	Lunch 午餐		

May 21, 2022 (Saturday) PM 2022年5月21日(星期六) 下午

1:15-1:30pm	Log-in 登入		
	ZOOM ID: 957 2418 6115; Passcode: iac128a Session 5A (Chair: Xuping LI 李旭平)	ZOOM ID: 923 6012 8100; Passcode: iac128b Session 5B (Chair: Rui-Wen WU 吳瑞文)	ZOOM ID: 918 8473 6515; Passcode: iac128c Session 5C (Chair: Paul LAW 羅振南)
	Regular Presentations 分組報告 12 Semantics & Pragmatics II [C/E] 語義、語用 (二) [中/英]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 13 Historical Linguistics III [C/E] 歷史語言學 (三) [中/英]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 14 Semantics & Pragmatics III [C/E] 語義、語用 (三) [中/英]
1:30-1:55pm	探究漢語構式 V 掉、V 完之語意異同 <i>Yunhan WANG and Huichen S. HSIAO</i>	於雅樂 (Camille Imbault-Huart) 《京話指南》的音系和“南系”京話 <i>Kengo CHIBA</i>	The Implicit Negation of the REGRET-type Predicates in Mandarin <i>Yifa XU</i>
1:55-2:20pm	Plural Denotation of Morpheme <i>Zú</i> (族) in Mandarin Chinese <i>Yan LI and Huahung YUAN</i>	《蒙古字韻》的重紐現象分析 <i>Yingji AN</i>	<i>Gèng</i> : A Special Comparative Morpheme Able to Operate on Covert Predicates <i>Zhuang CHEN</i>
2:20-2:45pm	Repetition of a Time: <i>Shíshí</i> (時時) in Mandarin Chinese <i>Huahung YUAN</i>	原始閩語長、短元音對立的來源及相關問題 <i>Bit-Chee KWOK</i>	<i>Ji</i> in Mandarin Chinese: Polarity and Scalarity <i>Zhixian HUANG</i>
2:45-3:10pm	A Corpus-based Study of the Time Orientation of <i>Qian</i> ‘front’ and <i>Hou</i> ‘back’ in Chinese <i>Shuqiong WU</i>	中古遇攝字在閩西客家話的音韻演變 <i>Chunhui HO</i>	A Distributional Semantic Approach towards the Study of Construction: The V-shenme(什麼)-V Construction Revisited <i>Jing CHEN, Bo PENG and Chu-Ren HUANG</i>
3:10-3:35pm	Scalar Modifiers in Southern Min: A Corpus-based and Historical Study of Near Synonym <i>Haowen JIANG and Ruiling HUANG</i>	The Fate of Old Chinese *-p/-t-s in Bai and Related Issues <i>Man Hei LEE</i>	語言學視角下的漢語趨向補語語義自動分類模型 <i>Ming Yue LI, Young Hoon JEONG and Byeong Kwu KANG</i>
3:35-3:50pm	Tea Break 茶歇		

	ZOOM ID: 957 2418 6115; Passcode: iac128a Session 6A (Chair: Qingwen ZHANG 張慶文)	ZOOM ID: 923 6012 8100; Passcode: iac128b Session 6B (Chair: Stephen MATTHEWS 馬詩帆)	ZOOM ID: 918 8473 6515; Passcode: iac128c Session 6C (Chair: Yi-ching SU 蘇宜青)
3:50-4:25pm	Invited Talk X 特邀演講 (十) How to Recognize a Serial Verb Construction When You Encounter One: The Case of Mandarin Chinese <i>Waltraud PAUL 包華莉</i>	Invited Talk XI 特邀演講 (十一) 類指成分的話題化功能及其成因 <i>Danqing LIU 劉丹青</i>	Regular Presentations 分組報告 17 Psycholinguistics [C/E] 心理語言學 [中/英]
			(4:00-4:25pm) The Potential Source of the Processing Difficulty of Complement Coercion: A Self-paced Reading Study in Mandarin Chinese <i>Wenting XUE, Meichun LIU, Stephen POLITZER-AHLES, Jyh-Lang TZENG and Tingting XU</i>
	Regular Presentations 分組報告 15 Syntax & Semantics VI [E] 句法、語義 (六) [英]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 16 Language Variation & Change I [E] 語言變異及演變 (一) [英]	
4:25-4:50pm	Remarks on Verbs in the Chinese Locative Existential Construction <i>Jie GUO and Yang GU</i>	TWO-languages: Towards a New Typology of Coordinating Conjunctions <i>Kin Wing Kevin CHAN</i>	Production-comprehension Asymmetries of Syntactic Processing in Chinese Older Adults <i>Chenwei XIE, Yun FENG and Shi-Yuan William WANG</i>
4:50-5:15pm	Locative Inversion in Mandarin Chinese Revisited <i>Chang LIU</i>	A Typology of Alternative Questions in Chinese and Other East Asian Languages <i>Xinyi LI</i>	Why Leads to Stronger Complex NP Island Effects in Wh-in-situ <i>Dawei JIN</i>
5:15-5:40pm	(Non-)Speaker Orientation of Evaluative Adverbs of Surprise under Attitude Predicates <i>Lawrence CHEUNG</i>	A Typological Split of Tai-Kadai Languages along Political and Natural Borders <i>Chingduang YURAYONG and Pui Yiu SZETO</i>	究竟是詞還是短語？ ——一項對漢語動補式結構的心理語言學研究 <i>Quansheng XIA and Ai WANG</i>
5:40-6:05pm	A Comparative Study of Sentence-final Particles: The Syntax of <i>Le5</i> in Cantonese and <i>Ba</i> in Mandarin in the Clausal Periphery <i>Ka-Wing CHAN</i>	Modern Diglossia in Chongqing: Stability and Change <i>Yijun SHI and Pui Yiu SZETO</i>	The Use of Prosodic and Syntactic Cues in the Comprehension of Focus by Cantonese-speaking Children with and without Autism Spectrum Disorder <i>Emily Haoyan GE, Fang LIU, Hoi Kwan YUEN and Virginia YIP</i>
6:05-6:30pm	Contrastive Topic Marking across Wu Language Varieties in China <i>Dawei JIN and Wei ZHOU</i>	Contrastive Simplification of Near-synonym MSC Compounds in Mandarin and Cantonese: A study on Morpho-syllabic Differentiation in Dialectal Developments <i>Benjamin K. T'SOU and Yaxuan JI</i>	The Dynamic Prominence Status of Thematic Roles in Simulated Mandarin Conversations <i>Fang YANG, Martin PICKERING and Holly BRANIGAN</i>

May 21, 2022 (Saturday) PM 2022年5月21日(星期六) 下午

1:15-1:30pm	Log-in 登入
	ZOOM ID: 969 8681 7035; Passcode: iacl28sign Special Forum: Sign Language and Linguistics in Chinese Context 特別論壇: 漢語環境中的手語和手語語言學 (Chair: Felix SZE 施婉萍)
1:30-2:00pm	Constructing the Fudan Corpus of Chinese Sign Language <i>Qunhu GONG</i>
2:00-2:30pm	Adapting Three British Sign Language Assessment Tests in Hong Kong Sign Language <i>Yim Binh Felix SZE and Xiao Monica WEI</i>
2:30-3:00pm	Reflections on the Levelling Standards of Chinese National Sign Language Proficiency and Tests <i>Dan WEI</i>
3:00-3:10pm	Tea Break 茶歇
3:10-3:40pm	Revamping the Hong Kong Sign Language Curriculum Based on the Guidelines of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) <i>Wai Lam Brenda YU, Chun Yi Connie LO, Kwan Ngai Kenny CHU, Yiu Leung Aaron WONG, Ho Yan Codey LO, Yin Fai Jafi LEE</i>
3:40-4:10pm	The Current Status of the Chinese National Sign Language Research <i>Dingqian GU</i> Scaffolding Literacy Development for DHH Children: Reflections on the Composing of CSL-Chinese Bilingual Books <i>Xuan ZHENG</i>
4:10-4:40pm	A Comparison of Code-blending Between Parental Input and Child Output: a Case Study <i>Jieqiong LI and Wai Lan Gladys TANG</i>

May 22, 2022 (Sunday) AM 2022年5月22日(星期日) 上午

8:00-8:30am	Log-in 登入		
	ZOOM ID: 957 2418 6115; Passcode: iac128a Session 7A (Chair: Jie GUO 郭潔)	ZOOM ID: 923 6012 8100; Passcode: iac128b Session 7B (Chair: Feng-Hsi LIU 劉鳳樺)	ZOOM ID: 918 8473 6515; Passcode: iac128c Session 7C (Chair: Xiaolu YANG 楊小璐)
8:30-9:05am	Invited Talk XII 特邀演講 (十二) 再論虛指「甚麼」 <i>Sze-Wing TANG 鄧思穎</i>	Invited Talk XIII 特邀演講 (十三) “的”字結構: 談轉指與自指 <i>Jo-Wang LIN 林若望</i>	Invited Talk XIV 特邀演講 (十四) Identifying Developmental Speech Sound Disorders in Putonghua-speaking Children: Observations from Chengdu Putonghua <i>Hin-Tat CHEUNG 張顯達</i>
	Regular Presentations 分組報告 18 Dialectal Grammar [C/E] 方言語法 [中/英]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 19 Semantics & Pragmatics IV [E] 語義、語用 (四) [英]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 20 Syntax & Semantics VII [E] 句法、語義 (七) [英]
9:05-9:30am	Identifying Patient Subject Constructions in Taiwan Southern Min <i>Huei-Ling LIN</i>	Counterfactual Presupposition, Exhaustivity, and the Semantics of Mandarin <i>Hai</i> <i>Cheng-Yu Edwin TSAI</i>	How Chinese Conceptualizes and Expresses Interactivity in Terms of Solidity <i>Ning YU</i>
9:30-9:55am	Liang(two)-CL-NPs and Definiteness in Shaoxing Wu <i>Jennifer YAO and Stephen MATTHEWS</i>	Severing Free Choice Inferences from Exhaustivity <i>Bo XUE</i>	Exploring the Boundary Creation of Causative Events from the Perspective of Event Segmentation Theory—A Case Study of Direct and Indirect Causation <i>Mengmin XU</i>
9:55-10:20am	Revisiting Postverbal ‘Acquire’ in Cantonese <i>Chit Yu LAM</i>	Issue-dispelling Effects of Chinese Conditional Questions <i>Satomi ITO</i>	“Běnlái (本来)” and “Yuánlái (原来)”: A Case Study of the Theory on KNOWLEDGE[知識] vs. EXPERIENCE[體驗] in Chinese <i>Sachiko SHIMOJI</i>
10:20-10:45am	廣州粵語非疑問句句末的“先”再議 <i>Yuting JIANG</i>	Disjunctions in Mandarin Chinese, Alternatives, Informativeness, and Inquisitive Semantics <i>Qianqian REN</i>	Syntactic Characteristics of Wh-questions in Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL) <i>Linghui GAN</i>
10:45-11:00am	Tea Break 茶歇		

	ZOOM ID: 957 2418 6115; Passcode: iac128a Session 8A (Chair: Binli WEN 溫賓利)	ZOOM ID: 923 6012 8100; Passcode: iac128b Session 8B (Chair: Fang HU 胡方)	ZOOM ID: 918 8473 6515; Passcode: iac128c Session 8C (Chair: Andy CHIN 錢志安)
	Regular Presentations 分組報告 21 Grammar of Chinese Dialects & Minority Languages [C/E] 方言及少數民族語言語法 [中/英]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 22 Phonology-based Interdisciplinary Studies [C/E] 音系相關的跨學科研究 [中/英]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 23 Language Variation & Change II [E] 語言變異及演變 (二) [英]
11:00-11:25am	Scope Assignment in Q-Neg Sentences in Nuosu Yi and Mandarin Chinese <i>Yunchuan CHEN, Tingting HUAN and Shigu JIABA</i>	The Representation of Variable Tone Sandhi in Shanghai Chinese <i>Hanbo YAN, Yu-Fu CHIEN and Jie ZHANG</i>	MSC Variations in Metaphorization among Pan-Chinese Speech Communities <i>Ka-Fai YIP and Benjamin K. TSOU</i>
11:25-11:50am	Causative Constructions in Pingwu Baima Language <i>Shihan FENG</i>	From Yongming Style to Shen-Song Style: The Inheritance and Development of Tonal Prosody from a Statistical Perspective <i>Yanwen WU</i>	Reevaluating the Classification of the Yuè Dialects: A Dialectometric Approach <i>John CARLYLE</i>
11:50-12:15pm	瓦罕塔吉克語的複雜動詞 (Complex Verbs in Wakhi Tajik) <i>Dianfeng HOU and Bing LI</i>	從植物生態因子看優選論的制約條件 <i>Youyong QIAN, Yuxia YIN and Ouya FANG</i>	The Emergence of Cantonese Ultra-low and Low-rising SFPs <i>Chaak Ming LAU</i>
12:15-12:40pm	長沙話的中層實現體標記“咖” <i>Xiaoqian PEI</i>		Cantonese <i>Dāk</i> 得 vs. Mandarin <i>De</i> 得: A Diachronic Analysis of Word Order Patterns <i>Giorgio Francesco ARCODIA and Luisa Maria PATERNIC</i>
12:40-1:40pm	Lunch 午餐		

May 22, 2022 (Sunday) PM 2022年5月22日(星期日) 下午

1:25-1:40pm	Log-in 登入		
	ZOOM ID: 957 2418 6115; Passcode: iacl28a Session 9A (Chair: Jiun-Shiung WU 吳俊雄)	ZOOM ID: 923 6012 8100; Passcode: iacl28b Session 9B (Chair: Youyong QIAN 錢有用)	ZOOM ID: 918 8473 6515; Passcode: iacl28c Session 9C (Chair: Jianming WU 吳建明)
	Regular Presentations 分組報告 24 Pragmatics [C] 語用 [中]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 25 Phonology-Morphosyntax Interface [C/E] 音系-形態句法接口研究 [中/英]	Regular Presentations 分組報告 26 Chinese Grammar in Cross-linguistic Perspective [C] 漢語語法及跨語言比較 [中]
1:40-2:05pm	梯級模型視野下“包括”的雙重用法 <i>Lingping ZHONG and Weiping WEN</i>	On the Syntax-phonology Interface -- Evidence from Tone Sandhi Processes in Chinese <i>Guhui LI</i>	基於語義地圖的 ha 類交互主觀性標記研究 <i>Tiantian ZHENG</i>
2:05-2:30pm	“我問你”的元語用功能及其在語篇中的管界 <i>Yunyun ZHAO</i>	Interactions between Phonology and Morphosyntax: A Case Study of Pingxiang Tone Sandhi <i>Qingyi CHEN and Shuxiang YOU</i>	並列結構反轉詞的語義分工— 以“兄弟”與“弟兄”為例 <i>Guilin LEI</i>
2:30-2:55pm	“大概”與“大約”的模糊限制功能差異及教學思考 <i>Xue ZHANG</i>	山東榮成話的謂詞變音—兼及變音的單一來源說 <i>Dazhen WU</i>	“木桶原理”與“反木桶原理”下可能情態的計算： 以法語和漢語為例 <i>Caixia WANG</i>
2:55-3:20pm	句法驅動下的專名隱喻現象 <i>Rui YANG</i>	A Preliminary Study on the Phonology of Mangjing Awa, a Mon-Khmer Language Spoken by Bulang People in Southwest China <i>Wei HAN</i>	位移事件一般編碼原則： 漢語、西班牙語和英語對比研究 <i>Tao ZHANG</i>
3:20-3:35pm	Tea Break 茶歇		
	ZOOM ID: 964 4097 2577; Passcode: iacl28main Plenary Session 3		
3:35-4:20pm	Keynote Speech V 主旨演講 (五) (Chair: Victor Junnan PAN 潘俊楠) On the Adversative Conjunctions in Medieval Chinese 中古漢語的轉折連詞 <i>Alain PEYRAUBE 貝羅貝</i>		
4:20-5:05pm	Keynote Speech VI 主旨演講 (六) (Chair: Thomas Hun-tak LEE 李行德) Some Salient as well as Divergent and Convergent Linguistic Developments in Chinese – A Big Data and Trans-Millennial Approach <i>Benjamin K. T'SOU 鄒嘉彥</i>		
5:05-5:20pm	Tea Break 茶歇		

	ZOOM access restricted to IACL members.
5:20-6:30pm	Closing Ceremony & IACL Membership Business Meeting 閉幕式及國際中國語言學學會會員大會

Abstracts of Keynote Speeches

语言数据的类型及生产要素属性等问题

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“语言数据”在中文语境里还是一个较新且较少使用的概念。在网上查“语言数据”，可见2016年有“语言大数据联盟”的消息，2020年7月有《光明日报》发表李宇明《语言数据是信息时代的生产要素》的文章，之后有上海外国语大学设立“语言数据科学与应用”专业硕博学位、成立“语言数据与智慧教育研究中心”的消息，2021年9月有浙江财经大学“语言数据创新班”招生简章等。

“语言数据”较少见用的原因是：其一，人们已习惯使用“语言材料、语料（库）、语言资源”这类说法。如2003年，在“973计划”的特别专项“中文语料库建设”支持下，中国科学院自动化所等单位成立了“中文语言资源联盟”（Chinese Linguistic Data Consortium）。这一联盟的建立是借鉴美国“语言资源联盟”（Linguistic Data Consortium）的经验，目的是为共建共享中文资源、促进语言信息处理的技术进步。上文两个联盟中文名中的“语言资源”就与英文名中的Linguistic Data相对应。其二，“数据”（data）研究者，习惯用“数据”“大数据”这样的上位概念，不需要或不能自觉区分语言数据和其他数据，确须指明时才加“语言”作限定，如“语言大数据联盟”。其三，本质上是对“语言数据”的重要性认识不足，研究还比较薄弱。

语言数据是以语言符号体系为基础构成的各种数据，内部可以细分为五类：

一、语言学科数据。指语言符号系统本身的各种数据，如语音、语汇、语法、语篇等，也包括文字、标点符号、音标等。有必要时，还可以将其分别称为语音数据、语法数据、文字数据等。语言学科数据是对语言这一客体进行研究而得到的各种认识，属于语言学知识范畴，辞书、教科书、语言学论文著作等是其通常的贮存方式。

二、话语数据。也可以称为“言语数据”，指在语言交际中产生的口语和书面语等各种数据。这类数据是语言（文字）作为载体（或主要载体）所负载的各种知识与信息，存在于人类生活、工作、学习、休闲娱乐等各个领域，是语言数据中最为丰富最为重要的一类。话语数据可以是不同领域的，可以是单语、双语和多语的，可以是平面媒体、有声媒体、网络媒体和融媒体的。

三、语言衍生数据。涉及语言的社会属性、生存状态、媒介装备等相关数据。比如各语言（文字）的地域分布、母语和第二语言使用人口等，各国的国语（或官方语言）及语言能等，各语言的重要文献数量及翻译状况等、语言技术水平和语言产业状况等，甚至也涉及各语言所拥有的非物质文化遗产、语言社团的综合实力及对人类的贡献等。它是语言在长期社会应用中所形成的一系列附属数据，对于衡量一种语言的生存状况、判断国际语言格局具有重要意义。

四、人工语言数据。利用语言（文字）而设计的特殊符号系统，以及运用这些特殊符号而产生的各种数据。比如盲文、手语、电报代码、旗语、灯语等，主要是将文字（或拼音符号）转写为特殊符号，用于特殊人群、特殊场合的特殊交际。在符号转换的过程中，也可加入一些特殊成分，比如手语中就加入了一些自然动作或聋人群体的传统动作。

五、语言代码数据。指生活中、科技活动中使用的各种代码和科技语言，如科技符号、公式、图表、音乐曲谱、机器语言、计算机编程语言等，还有身份证号码、红绿灯、各种标记、网络文本中的表情包等。这是最广义上的语言数据。在语言生活中，这些人工语言或单独使用，或与自然语言结合使用；有些可以“翻译”为自然语言，有些不易“翻译”，但都需要以自然语言作为“元语言”进行定义、描述或解释。在一个所谓的“读图时代”“超语时代”，这些人工语言的使用越来越频繁，产生的数据越来越重要。

在英文语境中，“语言数据”（linguistic data、language data）是近几十年来使用较为频繁的术语。linguistic data 大致对应于上文的语言学科数据；language data 大致对应于上文的话语数据，比如“无界译者”公司提出的“语言数据倡议”(Language Data Initiative)，但有时也可指称语言衍生数据，如威尔士政府的“威尔士语语言数据”(Welsh language data)、美国等国家或地区人口普查中的语言数据等。

语言数据的研究与应用，过去主要集中在语言学、计算语言学、信息科学等领域。随着数据科学的发展，特别是数据成为人工智能发展的主要驱动因素，语言数据的研究与应用，迅速扩展到诸多学科和社会领域，弥散到人类的各个生活空间；因为语言数据占人类数据量的大多数，特别是利用互联网收集话语数据的便利性和处理话语数据的能力得到快速提高，迅速促进了“数字科学”“数据科学”的发展。在“数字科学”“数据科学”的发展中，语言数据发挥了举足轻重的作用，因为所处理的“数字”“数据”主要是语言数据。

科学是第一生产力。科学的发展必然会促进生产力的发展，进而对生产关系也将进行相应调整。数字科学并未将自己局限于科学领域，而是以其巨大的科学成就推动人类进入“数字经济”时代，数据不仅是数字科学的核心要素，也嬗变为数字经济的重要生产要素。2019 年 10 月中国已经明确：“健全劳动、资本、土地、知识、技术、管理、数据等生产要素由市场评价贡献、按贡献决定报酬的机制”。这是对数据具有生产要素性质的首次明确表述，把数据与“劳动、资本、土地、知识、技术、管理”并列为第七大生产要素，可以通过市场“按贡献取酬”。2020 年 3 月又专门发布《关于构建更加完善的要素市场化配置体制机制的意见》，对土地、劳动力、资本、技术、数据等生产要素做出了市场化的具体安排。

在数据作为数字科技的关键要素、数字经济的关键生产要素的时代，“语言数据”必然成为学术研究的热点，成为发展经济争相拥有的对象。就学术而言，需要清醒认识语言数据所具有的数据共性和自己特性，界定清楚语言数据的内涵与外延，研讨语言数据的功能及其实现方式，建立语言数据（资源）学科及人才培养体系，推进语言数据科学的发展。语言数据在四大领域发挥功能最为显著：

第一，语言保护。在语言资源保护领域，语言数据发挥了重要作用，如 2008 年国家语委启动的“中国语言资源有声数据库建设”，2015 年启动的“中国语言资源保护工程”。但是全世界有 7000 多种语言，多数语言面临濒危，为了全球语言保护亟需为哪些语言建立语言数据库，依什么标准建立什么样的语言数据库，怎样积世界之力联合建设和开发利用语言数据库，是需要解决的大问题。

第二，语言教学。在语言教学领域，语言数据发挥着决定性的作用，特别是线上教学成为主导方式的今天。要满足母语教学、外语教学、海外华语教育、中文国际教育等各种语言教学的需求，教育界和教育产业界必须把相关的各种语言数据，特别是语言学科数据和话语数据进行积聚整合，精准发送到使用者手中。

第三，语言研究和语言产品研发。语言研究和语言产品研发，必须依赖语言数据，比如汉语语法规律的研究离不开语料库，建立语言能力的指数评价体系需要全球的语言衍生数据，辞典本来就是一种特殊的语言数据库，特别是线上辞典，辞典编纂也早过了“抄卡片”的年代。语言数据库已成为语言学研究的基本工具，成为语言产品研发的基本建设。

第四，语言信息处理。语言信息处理是语言数据最重要的功能领域。其一，计算机要获得语言智能，能够从事“语言行为”，必须依靠大量的语言数据“饲喂”，依靠“数据驱动”；其二，计算机的“社会计算”，主要处理的就是各领域的语言数据。这一领域有许多发展中的问题，比如利用语言学科数据，使语言智能的发展变“数据单轮驱动”为“数据+规则双轮驱动”；如何建立可以测试评价计算机语言智能和语言行为的语言数据库；如何扩充英语之外的“双语平行语料”，提升非通语种的自动翻译能力；如何解决“语言小数据”问题，提升专门社会领域、专业学术领域的语言处理问题；如何利用语言数据为特殊行业、特殊人群配备 AI 助手等。

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至于说语言数据作为关键生产要素，应当做哪些工作，学界业界还较少讨论。也许下面这些内容是必要的：全力支持语言数据的科学研究，大力发展语言数据产业与职业，建立和完善市场机制，逐步建立语言数据收集、加工、交换、贮存及产权、收益等相关的技术标准、法律法规和政策体系，充分发挥其生产要素的经济功能和社会功能。其中语言数据库的共建共享是首要问题，可以说从研究生做博士论文到每一个社科基金语言项目，从每一个辞书编纂项目到美意自然语言语言处理工程，几乎是人人都要建语言数据库，但却不能实现学界业界共享，其学力和财力的浪费已难以计算。

总之，语言数据是一个较新但又十分重要的话题，对它的研究超出了现有语言学的范畴，也超出了其他学科的单一学科范畴，需要多学科联袂进行交叉研究；语言数据问题也超出了学术研究范畴，成为社会发展的重要问题，需要全社会的共同参与。

On the Adversative Conjunctions in Medieval Chinese

中古汉语的转折连词

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Adversatives ensure an oppositional relationship, i.e. a relationship in which the second phrase or proposition (subordinating sentence) reverses what has been stated previously or at least considerably restricts its scope. They are generally conjunctions or adverbs that express a clear and strong opposition or a reserve or a restriction.

We will first try to make a clear distinction between adversative conjunctions (or conjunctive phrases) and adversative adverbs, even if this distinction is not always easy to make, since several conjunctions are probably derived from adverbs. The paper will be devoted to conjunctions only.

These adversative conjunctions are documented as early as Ancient Chinese, even if the syntactic constructions of Classical Chinese are certainly more paratactic (leaving the semantic relationship to be inferred from the context) than hypotactic (subordination explicitly marked by conjunctions or adverbs). In Late Archaic Chinese (Classical Chinese par excellence), the following ones are common, especially in concessives or in conditionals: *ér* 而 meaning 'but' and not only 'and', *rán* 然 or *ránér* 然而 (rare at the time of the Warring States period, but quite common under the Early Han) and sometimes *ránzé* 然则 'but, however', *suī* 虽 'although, even if' or *suī ... ér* 虽而 (with *ér* having an adversative meaning), *suī ... ér* 非而 'even if not', *zòng* 纵 'even though', etc.

We will study more particularly their use in Medieval Chinese (Early Medieval during the Wei-Jin-Nan-Bei-Chao period, and Late Medieval from the Tang dynasty on) where they are still commonly used, especially *ér*, *rán*, *ránér*, *ránzé*. We will also investigate when and why new adversative conjunctions such as *zǐshì* 子是 or *zhǐshì* 只是, *dàn* 但 and later *dànshì* 但是 after emptying of the copula *shì*, first appeared, most of them under the Tang period.

We will show that it is logically useless and even counterproductive to distinguish between coordinating conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions, as has often been done in previous research on Chinese conjunctions. Any true conjunction can be expressed as a coordination as well as a subordination.

An interesting opposition is that between the conjunctions instituted by the speakers and those inscribed in the language, such as the one that distinguishes *pero* and *sino* 'but' in Spanish, as for example in *Ese perro ladre, pero no muerde* [that dog barks but does not bite] vs. *La ballena no es un pez sino un mamífero* [the whale is not a fish, but a mammal].

We will see if such an opposition can allow us to better account for the evolution of coordinating conjunctions in Medieval Chinese.

Altaic Interference in the History of Chinese: “Han’er Yanyu” and Its Descendants

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“Han’er yanyu” (漢兒言語) is a concept in Chinese historical linguistics proposed by Tatsuo Ota (1954). The term was originally recorded in the *Lao Qida* 老乞大 and *Piao Tongshi* 朴通事, Chinese conversation books published under the Joseon dynasty in the 14th century, and refers to a kind of creolized Chinese language originating from long-term contact between Chinese and Altaic languages such as Mongolian, Khitan, Jurchen, and Korean. The grammar of this language was deeply affected by the Altaic languages, with its most obvious features being the frequent use of SOV word order and postpositions. Ota stated that “Han’er yanyu” had disappeared by the early Ming dynasty to be replaced by “Guanhua” (官話). However, many other Chinese conversation books were published over the centuries for the training of interpreters in the Korean peninsula, such as the *Xunshi Pinghua* 訓世評話 (1473), *Xiangyuan Tiyu* 象院題語 (1670), and *Huayin Qimeng* 華音啓蒙 (1883), and manuscripts such as *Nine Guixing* 你呢貴姓 (end of the 19th century), in addition to several revisions of the *Lao Qida* and *Piao Tongshi*. Previous studies have revealed that the features of the language reflected in these textbooks published in the Joseon dynasty are similar, but there has been hardly any examination of their linguistic differences. In this study, we will discuss the similarities and differences between “Han’er yanyu” and its descendants.

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Some Salient as well as Divergent and Convergent Linguistic Developments in Chinese— A Big Data and Trans-Millennial Approach

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In the last few decades surrounding the emergence of the new millennium, the Pan-Chinese speech communities have witnessed epochal changes. With the additional and rapid technological developments in the information age, we could now also catch sight of the concomitant new developments of lexical and grammatical variations which may be related to the emergence of tangible and intangible variegated cultural artifacts and salient events. In this paper, we propose to review some latitudinal and longitudinal developments by means of [LIVAC*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LIVAC_Synchronous_Corpus), a 700-million-character Chinese corpus that draws on media materials from six Chinese speech communities since 1995 and covers a critical period in contemporary Chinese history. It provides an uncommon window to explore the mutual relationships between language and the broader societal and cultural contexts in which they are embedded so as to deepen our understanding of the Chinese language and of its diverse communities of speakers.

Our focus will range from the rise of tri-syllabicity and portmanteau-like words, linguistic enrichment in quantitative and qualitative terms, resulting from indigenous and cross-regional enrichment to innovative manipulation of grammatical as well as pragmatic devices such as light verbs and metaphors, and alternate modes of obtaining information. The rise of contrastive convergent and divergent trends also invites explanations in the larger context of the Chinese society.

*LIVAC: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LIVAC_Synchronous_Corpus

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Yip, K.F. & Tsou, B.K. (2022). MSC variations in metaphorization among Pan-Chinese speech communities (IACL -28)

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Experimental Studies of Chinese Tone: From Behavioral to Neurolinguistic Methods

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This talk begins with an overview of the phonological aspects of tone such as tonal contrast, feature representation of tone, and the analysis of tone sandhi. The traditional methods of using lexically manifested tone patterns and typological generations on tonal inventories and tone sandhi have provided key insights on these issues in earlier theoretical work, but have also run into intractable problems due to the complexity, variability, and phonetic arbitrariness of the tone patterns. This talk advocates adopting phonetic, psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic methods to further advance our theoretical understanding of tonal phonology, from acoustic studies of tonal contrasts, auditory priming studies on tonal representation, to ERP and MMN studies of the production and perception mechanisms of tone sandhi. These methods are illustrated by studies of various Chinese tone systems in Mandarin, Wu, Southern Min, and Hakka. The talk ends with a call for openness and collaboration in the study of Chinese tone and for respect for the linguistic diversity of tone patterns in Chinese dialects.

Keynote Speeches

Why Would 連花清瘟 be Mistaken for 蓮花清瘟?—Revisiting the Stress Issue in Mandarin

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In the Chinese linguistics field, many scholars argue that Mandarin Chinese is a stress language, and claim that compound words and phrases in Mandarin have different phonological performance with different stress patterns (Feng 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2016; Duanmu 2000, 2007, etc.). However, these views do not correspond to the linguistic facts of Mandarin Chinese. 連花清瘟 lianhua qingwen, a Chinese medicine popular for being used in the treatment of COVID-19 patients provides strong evidence to prove that Mandarin is a language without word stress. 連花 lianhua in 連花清瘟 lianhua qingwen is a phrase with a juxtaposed structure, referring to the two herbs, i.e. "forsythia (連翹 lianqiao)" and "honeysuckle (金銀花 jinyinhua)". However, people frequently mistake it for the compound word 蓮花 lianhua "lotus" with a nominal modifier head structure, and consequently replace 連花清瘟 with 蓮花清瘟 in writing. It can be seen that in Mandarin that there is no phonetic distinction between phrases and words in the sense of phonological category, let alone stress pattern. In this study, I will provide more evidence from various perspectives (including experimental phonetic analysis and speech perception) to demonstrate that Mandarin Chinese is not a stress language.

Abstracts of Invited Talks

先秦漢語中「NP 而 VP」小句與對比焦點

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本文將針對以下所示「NP 而 VP」構式進行語意、句法分析。首先，依據「而」前 NP 的語意性質，「NP 而 VP」小句可以分為兩類。若 NP 是無指的名詞詞組（如 1a、1b），「NP 而 VP」表達說話者認為 NP 不應該有 VP 表示的性質，比如(1a)中「其子而食之」是違背人類社會常理的事情。但是，NP 表定指時，「NP 而 VP」通常轉為表達違實（counterfactual）語意的小句，比如（1c）有「管仲不懂禮」的預設（presupposition）。

- (1) a. 其子而食之，且誰不食？（《韓非子·說林上》）
「如果連自己的兒子都吃，還有誰他不敢吃？」
- b. 是猶弟子而恥受命於先師也。（《孟子·離婁上》）
「這好像弟子接受老師的命令而感到羞恥一樣。」
- c. 管氏而知禮，孰不知禮？（《論語·八佾》）
「如果管仲懂禮，還有誰不懂禮？」

本文將提出，能夠解釋以上兩類「NP而VP」小句的異同之語意特徵是NP與VP之間的對比焦點，亦將提出對比語意來自「而」作為逆轉連詞的功能（呂叔湘1942、梅廣2015、等）。具體而言，「而」表示NP與VP之間存在著矛盾，即NP不應該有VP表示的屬性（property），而若NP是定指名詞詞組（即實際上存在的人或事物），NP與VP之間的矛盾很容易產生違實的語意。

不少學者發現到「NP 而 VP」構式通常表示焦點，如于富章（1983）、楊榮祥（2008）、宋洪民（2009）、龔波（2017）等。呂叔湘（1942）、傅書靈（2010）、梅廣（2015）再進一步提出「而」作為逆轉的連詞，因此一部分「NP 而 VP」構式表示 NP 與 VP 之間存在著某種矛盾。但是，以往研究未曾提到過以上兩個類型之間語意上的差異，亦未提出過能夠概括兩者的統一語意特徵。

此外，本文也同意呂叔湘（1942）、薛鳳生（1991）、楊榮祥（2008）、宋洪民（2009）、梅廣（2015）等，將「NP 而 VP」構式分析為由兩個謂語（predicate）構成的並列結構。根據跨語言的佐證，本文亦能夠解釋謂語的並列結構如何衍生對比焦點的解釋，因為焦點成分通常以謂語的形式出現。

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Move One When You Have Two: On Split Topicalization in Chinese

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Split topicalization (ST) refers to a construction in which an apparently single noun phrase “splits” in two positions, with one as the topic (TOP) in the clause-initial position and the other its remnant (REM) in the comment. We identify two major types of ST constructions in Chinese: the *regular* STs, where REM is either a *de*-phrase as in (1a), or a numeral-classifier phrase as in (1b), and the *gapless* type where REM is a full NP as in (2). The first type has long been argued to involve subextraction of the head N from an underlying continuous NP, while the second is traditionally considered as a type of base-generated hanging topics.

(1) Regular

- a. Juben wo xihuan Cao Yu de
play I like Cao Yu NOM
'As for plays, I like Cao Yu's.'
- b. Pingguo ta chi le liang ge
Apple he eat ASP two CL
'As for apples, he ate two.'

(2) Gapless

Cao Yu de juben wo xihuan Leiyu
Cao Yu NOM play I like thunderstorm
'As for Cao Yu's plays, I like The thunderstorm.'

Building on the idea first proposed in Xu & Langendoen (1985) that *de* phrases in (1a) could be treated as an independent NP, we attempt to show that TOP and REM related in all STs are two independent NPs. We will corroborate our argument with extensive crosslinguistic evidence, including nominalization of REM with morphological devices, determiner overlap, as well as number mismatch, among others. We demonstrate that, contrary to the prevailing practice, TOP in a Chinese ST, regular or gapless, is derived by movement, as it clearly manifests movement properties, including the ability to undertake unbounded A'-movement, sensitivity to islands, reconstruction effects in binding and scope, license of parasitic gaps, the alternation between the relative ordering of TOP and subject, and the duality of interpretation. In view of the aforementioned evidence, we conclude that a subextraction or base-generation analysis is inadequate on both empirical and conceptual grounds. Therefore, we propose a new mode of analysis based on labeling theory as developed by Chomsky (2008, 2013, 2015) and Ott (2011, 2015). Under the proposed account, TOP and REM are externally merged in some vP-internal position, receiving the same thematic role from the verb. However, direct merge of TOP and REM forms a structure of the type {XP, YP}, which is locally unstable for its lack of a detectable head for labeling. Movement must thus displace one of them, yielding the “split” effect.

Identifying Developmental Speech Sound Disorders in Putonghua-speaking Children: Observations from Chengdu Putonghua

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According to ICD-11, children with developmental speech sound disorder (hereafter SSD) suffer from deficits in the acquisition, production and perception of speech, leading to reduced intelligibility and ineffective communications. Errors produced are outside variations expected for age and level of intellectual functioning but cannot be fully explained by hearing, structural or neurological deficits. Based on the linguistic characteristics of error patterns, subtypes of SSD can be identified (Dodd 1995) and it has been applied to the investigation of SSD in Putonghua-speaking children from Beijing (Zhu & Dodd 2000). In this presentation, I will report new findings on error patterns in Putonghua produced by children from Chengdu, which is based on a recent large scale survey of 1470 children. In addition to comparisons of error pattern between Chengdu and Beijing, methodology issues in deciding typical and atypical error patterns will also be addressed.

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从引入事件到引入评价：汉语中承接性副词或连词的主观化

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承接副词“就”可以连接两个相继发生的事件，构成“VP1 就 VP2”的形式。经过主观化，“就”后可以引入说话人的主观评价性成分，经常出现的评价性成分是“好”。“VP 就好”原来是复句，但由于作为第二个小句的“好”在形式上比较短小，复句经过小句融合有可能被重新分析为单句。其中的“就好”由于高频连用有了词汇化倾向，向表示祈愿的语气词演变。汉语史上其他一些承接性副词或连词也发生了类似的主观化演变，比如“即”“便”“才”“则”等。这表明，从引入客观的事件到引入主观的评价在汉语中是一种比较常见的演变路径。

“的”字結構: 談轉指與自指

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朱德熙(1983)認為現代漢語句法平面上的名詞化手段是在謂詞性成分後面加上“的”，並進一步把謂詞性後的名詞化標記“的”一分為二。例句(1a, b)中的“賣房的”可直接稱代賣房子的人，(1c, d)中“吃的”可直接稱代吃的東西。朱先生將這種“X 的”的稱代用法稱之為“轉指”，也就是由“的”名詞化造成的名詞性成分“X 的”與原來 X 中的謂詞性成分所指不同，此用法將原先表示陳述的 X 轉化為表示指稱的“X 的”。

- (1) a. [賣房的]很會騙人。 b. 我不喜歡[賣房的]。
c. [吃的]還很多。 d. 他不喜歡買[吃的]。

可是，並非把“的”加在任何的 X 上都可用來當作句子的主賓語，比方說，我們就不能用(2b)來表達(2a)，用(2d)來表達(2c)，用(2f)來表達(2e)等等。

- (2) a. 他破產的消息讓大家很驚訝。 b. *[他破產的]讓大家很驚訝。
c. 他彈鋼琴的聲音很好聽。 d. *[他彈鋼琴的]很好聽。
e. 我找不到他工作的地方。 f. *我找不到[他工作的]。

這一類不能單用“X 的”來稱代時間、地點、方式、工具、原因等的表達式，只能用來修飾名詞，當作定語，此時“的”名詞化後所造成的名詞性成分和原來的謂詞性成分所指相同，朱先生稱這種“X 的”為“自指”用法，是單純的詞類轉化，只和原來自身的謂詞意義相關，不是和謂詞蘊含的對象相關。

但有一些學者指出自指的“X 的”似乎也可獨立稱代時間、地點、方式、工具、原因等，如下面(3)-(6)的例句。

- (3) 我在部隊學了好幾門技術，還就屬[開車的]最有用。
(4) 你去的方地方定下來了，[我去的]還沒定下來。
(5) 說起電影，老王愛看[打仗的]，不愛看[言情的]。
(6) 兩個人重新想了許多方法，再也沒有比[進城找事的]好，...

本篇論文的主要目的就是要對“X 的”表達式的轉指、自指以及“X 的 N”結構作深入的分析，釐清“X 的”的轉指機制和限制，說明為什麼(2b,d,f)這類句子不合格，(3)-(6)卻又是合格的。最後，我們也會討論“X 的”的稱代用法比如“吃的”，“喝的”為什麼優先稱代物而不是人。

类指成分的话题化功能及其成因

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关于话题及话题化的指称条件，学界长期聚焦有定，对类指关注不够。这是因为印欧语的话题化主要集中在论元话题化，分为话题化（狭义，空位话题化）和左出位两大类。这两类话题化主要适用于有定成分。话题优先的东亚语言中，类指成分有很强的话题化功能，因此对类指成分话题功能的讨论常常来自东亚地区学者，如曹逢甫（Tsao 1979），陈平（2004）、李廷玟（Lee 2011）等。本文主要探讨类指成分在汉语话题化中的重要作用及其成因。

对于类指成分，学界对其语义及句法属性研究很深入（Carson 1977 以来，包括 Krifka et al. 1995, Chierchia 1998 等），而对其信息结构属性的关注则很少。在指称上，类指与有定无定的上位义“个体指”相对，但在信息结构上更接近有定，尤近专有名词，都属于共享的长时已知信息，略别于一般有定的现场已知信息。这是类指成分话题化的信息基础。

汉语类指成分的话题化功能很强。本文总结汉语话题化构式共有 4 大类（暂不包括分句式话题）——论元性话题、语域式话题、分裂式话题、同一性话题；4 大类下分 19 个话题小类（有些还可以再细分）。我们逐一考察 19 种话题小类对有定和类指成分的适用性（有定和类指分别用 D 和 K）表示，结果如下：

论元话题句

- 1-1 受事主话题句：D. 那个橘子我吃了。K. 橘子我喜欢。
- 1-2 受事次话题句：D. 我那个橘子吃了。K. 我橘子喜欢。
- 1-3 受事主话题复指句：D. 那个橘子你吃了它。K. 橘子，我不喜欢这东西。
- 1-4 受事次话题复指句：D. <上海话> 依搿只橘子吃脱伊。（义同1-3D）
- 1-5 主语复指话题句：D. 小王，他已经毕业了。K. 橘子，这东西很好吃。

语域式话题句

- 2-1 上位-下位语域式话题句：K. 水果，荔枝最好吃；水果我最喜欢吃苹果。
- 2-2 集体-成员语域式话题句：D. 侦察二班，小王最灵活；这桌菜，我最爱清蒸鱼。
- 2-3 整体-部分语域式话题句：D. 这头大象鼻子长。K. 大象鼻子长。
- 2-4 动词性语域式次话题句：K. 他学习认真；王护士照顾病人很用心。
- 2-5 语域式次次话题句：D. 老太太给女儿么，一根项链，给儿媳么，两只戒指。
K. 大人们常常给男孩么，玩具车，给女孩么，洋娃娃。

分裂式话题句

- 3-1 分裂式主话题句：K1. 衬衫我买了三件；K2. 衬衫我买了这件；K3. 衬衫我买了蓝的。
- 3-2 分裂式次话题句：K1. 我衬衫买了三件；K2. 我衬衫买了这件；K3. 我衬衫买了蓝的。

同一性话题句（拷贝式话题句）

- 4-1 紧密式动宾型同一性话题句（重动句）：K. 我干活干累了；他洗衣服洗湿了鞋。
- 4-2 让步性同一性话题句：K. 好是好，就怕来不及了；真品倒是真品，就是年代很近。
- 4-3 对比性名词性同一性话题句：K. 粮食，粮食不够了，药品，药品用完了。
- 4-4 强调感叹型同一性话题句：K. <沪> 小明聪明是聪明得来！（小明可聪明啦）
- 4-5 过去完成时体同一性话题句：K. <沪> 等我赶到，伊拉跑也跑脱了。（等我赶到，他们早已经走了）
- 4-6 焦点同一性话题句：K. 事情坏就坏在他手里；现在出门旅行，快就快在高铁。
- 4-7 紧缩条件句同一性话题句：K. 去就去；付钱就付钱，又不是付不起。

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以上显示，有定成分适合充当其中的 8 类话题，而类指成分适合充当其中的 17 类话题，明显多于有定话题。本文指出汉语类指成分话题化有三个成因：

- 1、信息地位：作为共享的长时已知信息有充当话题的潜力。
- 2、类型特点：汉语为话题优先语言，其话题作为固有的句法成分衍生出丰富多样的话题构式，话题作为显赫范畴，从主要由有定成分充当的现场已知信息，扩展到共享长时已知信息，后者就包括类指成分。
- 3、认知图式：类指成分主要做语域式、分裂式和同一性 3 大类话题，均属框架式话题，这些话题都与述题内的相应部分构成“大-小”（先大后小）认知图式，如上位-下位、整体-部分、类指-个体、无界-有界等。这些，都遵循“框架大于内容原则”（Liu 2004）这一框架式话题的话题化原则。

话题不显赫的主语优先语言，如英语，没有这些类话题结构，类指也就难以获得话题化功能。但话题比英语略微显赫的部分印欧语言，也允许符合大-小认知图式的部分特殊话题构式存在。例如，据 Gasde（1999），德语中存在与无空位语域式话题接近的“自由主位”（free theme）；据 Van Hoof（2006），德语中也存在分裂式话题结构。另据 Aboh & Dyakonova（2009）、Vicente（2009）、Bastos-Gee（2009），俄语、西班牙语和巴西葡萄牙语等也存在同一性话题。其中的语域式话题主要由上位名词充当，分裂式话题和同一性话题主要由无界的名词性或动词性成分充当，包括类指成分，而述题中的相配成分则呈现指称量化或时体情态等有界性，全都遵循框架大于内容原则。如德语的分裂式话题（Van Hoof（2006））：

[Wein] habe ich nur [zwei Flaschen __] dabei.
葡萄酒有 我 只 两 瓶 给我 ‘葡萄酒我只买了两瓶’

总体上，印欧语言的话题化（广义），主要是论元性成分前置的话题化，其主要动因是从已知信息到新信息的交际动力学（dynamics of communication）原理，这是布拉格学派以来为大家所熟悉的原理。这使得国际上话题化研究长期主要只关注有定成分充当的现场已知信息，这是话题化的充分条件，而忽略类指成分。而以 Chafe（1976）所谓汉语式话题为代表的很多汉语话题结构都属于框架设置话题。框架式话题对现场已知性的需求不很刚性，其主要动因是构建基于“框架大于内容原则”的认知图式。通常作为长时已知信息的类指成分能满足共享已知信息这一话题化的必要条件，再加上述题部分的相应配对成分，就足以形成大-小认知图式，从而得以实现话题化。“框架大于内容原则”所支撑的认知图式，并非汉语特设，它在很多话题优先语言中都起作用，甚至在部分印欧语中也有展示，只是引起注意较晚。Chafe（1976）将“汉语式话题”的主要功能定性为框架设置时，汉语话题结构的小类大部分还没有被发掘，Chafe 的定性具有一定的洞察力和预见性，因为后来发掘出的多种话题构式，甚至印欧语的一些新发现话题，绝大部分都属于框架式话题。

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Why Do We Say 拉開 But Not 拉關?

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In this study we examine a number of issues that concern the formation of result verb compounds (RVCs). First, it is well-known that RVCs are highly productive. The first verb (V1) usually describes an action and it can combine with a variety of second verb (V2), which describes a result, e.g., 擦破, 擦亮, 擦白, 擦乾; similarly, a result described by V2 can be associated with different actions, e.g., 壓壞, 踢壞, 吃壞. However, RVCs are not completely productive. Expressions such as *拉關, *按蹲 have been observed to be unacceptable (Chen 2006). Why are these forms ill-formed? In particular, 關, which implies a result (a closure) is not a good V2, e.g., *推關, *撞關. Why can't it be a second component of an RVC? Secondly, V2 not only takes verbs that describe a resultative state, it can also be filled by an activity verb, e.g., 逗笑, 氣哭. Yet most activity verbs cannot occur in this position, e.g., *逗玩, *氣跳. How do we account for the difference between the two types of activity verbs? Third, when we look at corpus data, however, we find innovative RVCs, ones that are questionable to many speakers, e.g., 嚇跳, 拉站, 推坐, (被風) 吹關, 拉關 (窗簾). The number of tokens of these forms is small; we find them vary in acceptability. 嚇跳 is more acceptable than 拉關 and 拉站. How do we explain their occurrence in corpora, especially 拉關?

All of these questions concern V2. We assume the restrictions observed above have to do with the meaning of V2—only verbs of certain meaning can fill the V2 position. We adopt the event structure approach to verb meaning (Baker, 1997; Beavers & Koontz-Garboden, 2020; Davis & Koenig, 2000; Dowty, 1979; Folli & Harley, 2005; Folli & Ramchand, 2002; Hale & Keyser, 1993, 1997, 2002; Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995; Marantz, 1997; Ramchand, 2008; Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 1998; Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997; Wunderlich, 1997; among others). In this approach, a verb meaning consists of two parts: a structural component that includes a small number of primitive predicates, e.g., CAUSE, ACT, BECOME, indicating event types, and a root component that describes idiosyncratic actions and states. We propose when two simple verbs are combined, the event structure of each verb is combined and the structural component may be augmented with CAUSE and BECOME, depending on the type of RVC. Following Tham (2012) and Liu (2019) we assume that as a second component of an RVC, V2 includes the predicate BECOME regardless of whether the same verb lexically includes BECOME as a simple verb. We show that 關 has a simple event structure despite its strong implication of result. It includes one predicate, ACT, in its meaning. However, for a small number of speakers the verb has taken on an additional meaning, the change of state meaning with BECOME as its predicate. This meaning allows it to occur in (被風) 吹關. The reason that 笑, but not 玩, occurs as V2 also has to do with the BECOME component—the former can be used non-agentively with a change of state meaning while the latter cannot.

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How to Recognize a Serial Verb Construction When You Encounter One: The Case of Mandarin Chinese

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Practically every surface string with more than one verb in Chinese has been considered a *serial verb construction* (SVC), because in Chinese linguistics the term SVC is typically not used to refer to a unique construction with an associated set of predictable properties, but instead serves as a cover term for a myriad of separate constructions with completely different structures, such as control structures, sentences with postverbal purposive clauses or preverbal adjunct clauses, with sentential subjects etc. (cf. Paul 2008). Strangely enough, the so-called *directional verb compounds* (cf. Li & Thompson 1981: 58), 'V1_{displacement} V2_{direction} *lái* (come)/ *qù* (go)', have not been termed SVCs. This is probably due to their misanalysis as compounds, i.e. as words, despite the well-known fact that aspect suffixes and objects can occur at different positions "inside" the alleged compound (e.g. *bān-chū-lái*), as shown in (1b) – (1c):

(1)

- a. Tā cóng fángjiān lǐ bān -chū-lái -le [yī bǎ yǐzi].
 3SG from room in transport-exit-come -PERF 1 CL chair
 b. Tā cóng fángjiān lǐ bān -chū -le [yī bǎ yǐzi] lái.
 3SG from room in transport-exit-PERF 1 CL chair come
 c. Tā cóng fángjiān lǐ bān -le [yī bǎ yǐzi] chū-lái.
 3SG from room in transport-PERF 1 CL chair exit-come
 'She brought out a chair from the room.' (Liu/Pan/Gu 2001: 572)

In fact, these "compounds" turn out to be genuine SVCs in the strict sense as defined by Collins (1997), representing a single event with one aspect/tense marker and sharing of the internal argument. (For first proposals in this direction, cf. Ernst 1989, Law 1996, Paul 2005, 2008). This analysis allows us to derive the different positions for the shared internal argument *yī bǎ yǐzi* 'a chair' observed in (1a-c) by raising of the verb(s) to *v*, starting from the internal argument sharing SVC 'V1 object DP *pro* V2 *lái*'. In (1c), only V1 raises to *v* (as is standard), whereas in (1a-b) V1 and V2 or all 3 verbs move to *v*, each verb adjoining to *v* as closely as possible (*tucking in* à la Richards 1997), thus maintaining the relative order between the verbs (cf. Collins 2002). This also correctly predicts that the object must follow the verb (sequence) bearing the aspectual suffix, for it is the verb (sequence) adjoined to *v* that further raises to Asp°.

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汉语普通话轻声的连续统

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客观世界普遍存在着连续统。自然语言中到处可以发现连续统的存在。汉语的轻声实际表现为一个连续统。非轻声和轻声之间，从形式和意义两个方面都不存在绝对的分界，而是呈现出读音的轻化表现与意义的虚化程度相互联系，逐渐递减的连续统。通过语音实验和对照分析。我们得到轻声连续统原理：从常态字音到轻声之间是一个连续统：非轻声→可轻声→必轻声→正轻声。

Interface Analysis of Chinese Subjective Evaluative Adverbs

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Lexical items like *queshi*, *shizai*, *guoran*, *wangwang*, *genben* and *pianpian* are often treated as adverbs with the function of modifying predicate or clause. In sentence (1), however, *queshi bingle* ‘has indeed been sick’ in (1) is not a subset of *bingle* and *queshi* therefore does not modify *bingle* in the usual sense. *Queshi* actually stands for the speaker’s evaluation and judgement of the at-issue proposition conveyed by the clause, saying that it is true even though there have been doubt and skepticism about its accuracy, and forms a new proposition together with the at-issue proposition. The same is true for the relationship between *zhende* ‘true’ and *cizhile* ‘have resigned’ in (2). *Queshi* and *zhende* thus could be analyzed as subjective evaluative adverbs or speaker-oriented adverbs of confirmation.

(1) *Luo Jing queshi bingle.*

Luo Jing indeed sick-Perf.

‘Luo Jing is indeed sick.’

(2) *Wang Zong zhende yijing cizhile.*

Wang Boss true already resign Perf.

‘It is true that Prof. Wang has resigned already.’

The *pianpian* in (3) and (4) also stands for speaker’s evaluation of the at-issue proposition. The at-issue proposition of (3) is that A-Biao was not shortlisted for the leading role in a new movie and the speaker uses *pianpian* to indicate that the result goes against most people’s expectation. The at-issue proposition of (4) is that it started to rain in the afternoon and *pianpian* means that raining is the last thing to be expected. *Pianpian* is an adverb of mirativity.

(3) *Zuizhong mingdanli pianpian meiyou A-Biao.*

final list-inside against-expectation not-have A-Biao

‘Contrary to the expectation, A-Biao is not in the list of finalists.’

(4) *Xiawu pianpian xiaqile dayu.*

afternoon against-wish fall Perf. big-rain

‘Against his wish, it started to rain heavily in the afternoon.’

Guoran, *wangwang* and *genben* can be analyzed in the same way, as subjective evaluative adverbs for expected result, probability and refutation. These adverbs could appear before temporal, locative and manner adverbial, negative morpheme and deontic or dynamic modals but not after them. These properties could be accounted for if it is assumed that each subjective adverb has its own maximal projection Eval(uative)P, which is a layer of Split CP and takes TP as complement directly or indirectly. The structural relationship of EvalP and other layers of Split CP provides an explanation for the behaviors and interaction of these constituents, including Mod^{Epis}P the maximal projection of epistemic modal, NegP the maximal projection of negator and EmphP the maximal projection of emphatic marker *shi*.

再論虛指「甚麼」

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漢語的「甚麼」有一種非疑問的用法，往往表示了否定的意義，如(1)用在動詞「跑」後的「甚麼」表示不滿；(2)用在形容詞「重」後的「甚麼」也表示否定（呂叔湘等 1980）。這種作為不及物動詞和形容詞賓語的「甚麼」，屬於「虛指」（朱德熙 1982）。蔡維天（2011，2015）對這種虛指用法的「甚麼」則稱為「非典型疑問詞」。本文重點討論漢語表示否定意義的虛指「甚麼」，從詞法和句法兩個層面，探討這種否定義「甚麼」的語法特點。從生成語法學的角度，提出詞綴說，解釋「甚麼」的語序現象，並認為否定義「甚麼」組成一個「不完整」的句子。

本文首先重溫近年生成語法學對虛指「甚麼」的主要分析，包括輕動詞說、驚訝不認同說、否定義務情態說這三種動詞移位說的分析，指出若干值得思考的問題。雖然他們的分析發現了不少值得注意的現象，但也有些漏洞，不能忽視。

在文獻已有的基礎上，本文提出詞綴說，即否定義「甚麼」應該分析為詞綴，在詞法裏，以添加詞綴的方式，黏附在詞幹之上，形成附加式合成詞，表達否定意義。這個詞綴，既可以是前綴，又可以是後綴，甚至用作中綴。所黏附的詞幹，可以是單音節，可以是多音節。

在句法裏，這個附加式合成詞組成動詞短語，作為動詞短語中心語，用作謂語，但具備名詞性特徵。經中心語移位後，移到輕動詞的位置。輕動詞短語之上有個「有缺陷」的時間詞短語。語氣詞短語的斷言特徵，跟標句詞短語的否定義算子和疑問特徵結合起來，表達了說話者否定、不認同某種動作行為或狀態的意思，既表示不以為然，也有疑惑之意。

最後，本文從詞幹的多樣性、體和詞法互排性、「你個頭」等幾方面，簡述否定義「甚麼」詞綴說的優點。這些現象的討論，不僅作為支持本文分析的理據，加深對漢語普通話否定義「甚麼」的認識，也可以借此讓我們從跨方言、跨語言甚至是歷時的角度，繼續探索跟否定義相關的詞法句法現象，思考詞庫與句法之間的關係。

- (1) 你跑甚麼？！
- (2) 重甚麼！才一百來斤。

On the Topic of Topic Constructions: Genre and Multimodality Perspectives

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As far as major characteristics of Mandarin Chinese is concerned, there is a near universal agreement that Mandarin Chinese can be characterized as a 'topic-prominent' or 'topic-comment' language (Li and Thompson 1976; LaPolla 2009). However, some recent works have appeared to challenge this claim, based on textual frequency information. A further complication is that different scholars can define topics in quite different ways, making theory-neutral comparisons extremely challenging. In this talk, I first present quantitative evidence from multiple genres of Chinese discourse – natural conversation, news reportage, academic text, and legal document - to show that topic constructions can vary greatly from one text type to another. Then I conduct a qualitative, micro-analysis of conversational Chinese, focusing on multimodal features. The results indicate that a proper understanding of how topics are deployed in conversational interaction has to take into consideration a multitude of factors, including lexico-grammar, conversation structure, speaker role, prosody, and gesture. I conclude that there is a need to explore methodological alternatives, preferably interface and interdisciplinary approaches, in dealing with extensively researched yet highly controversial issues such as topic constructions in Chinese linguistics.

A Guide to Construct Non-canonical *Wh*-questions: A Cross-linguistic Perspective

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A typical question seeks information from the addressee, while a non-canonical *wh*-question expresses either illocutionary forces other than interrogation, such as warning and denial, or speaker's attitudes such as surprise and annoyance. This paper lays out a few strategies to construct a non-canonical *wh*-question. First we leave out rhetorical questions such as (1) and (2), where the denotation of the *wh*-expression in question is an empty set in the former and a singleton set in the latter (cf. Han 2002; Phan & Tsai 2022):

- (1) ni shuo! shei hui zuo zhe-zhong shangtianhailide shi.
 you speak who will do this-CI atrocity thing
 你 說! 誰 會 做 這種 傷天害理的 事?!
- 'Tell me! Who will do such an atrocity?!' ⇒ Nobody will do such an atrocity!
- (2) ni shuo! shi shei ba ni yangda de?!
 you speak be who BA you raise DE
 你 說! 是 誰 把 你 養大 的?!
- 'Tell me! Who raised you?!' ⇒ It's me who raised you!

In terms of pragmatics, these cases are essentially about making a statement forcefully by asking a question with apparent answers (i.e., knowingly ask a question 明知故問).

As laid out in the seminal work of Hamblin (1973) and Karttunen (1977), a typical *wh*-question essentially combines the speech act of information-seeking with existential quantification over *wh*-expressions (hence a set of propositions as possible/true answers). In the same spirit, we propose that a non-canonical *wh*-expression has two components: one involves negation over modal quantification on the semantic side (see also Cheung 2008), while the other is to substantiate a non-interrogative speech act on the pragmatic side. We therefore elect to define a non-canonical *wh*-question as a constituent question losing its interrogative force to a performative construal of warning, whining, denial or disapproval, etc. In this paper, we mainly concern ourselves with the morpho-syntactic aspect of this duality analysis, and show how non-canonical *wh*-questions can be built by drawing insights and evidence from typological comparisons. First consider the following minimal pair to sharpen our intuition:

- (3) a. How did John do this to her?
 b. How could John do this to her?!

(3a) is a typical instrumental *wh*-question. (3b), on the other hand, expresses the speaker's disapproval instead of an inquiry for the addressee. It means something like "John did this to her, but it should not be possible (and hence should not be allowed)". In other words, the speaker is in denial of something he or she believes to be a fact. We would like to suggest that it is this conflict of beliefs that results in the peculiar interpretation of (3b): With appropriate stress/intonation adjustment (cf. Rett & Sturman 2021), the presence of the modal *could* appears to be the key to "shifting" the force from interrogative to disapproval (sometimes characterized as whining, surprise or bewilderment).

Nevertheless, very often we do not find a tensed modal in the Mandarin counterpart of (3b), where a denial/causal *how* merges high in the left periphery, as exemplified by the following

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disapproval, causal and mirative construals (cf. Tsai 2008, 2015; Stepanov & Tsai 2008; Tang 2011; Pan 2015; Cheng 2021; Yang 2021; Tsai & Yang 2022):

- (4) **zenme** Akiu zheyang dui ni?! (denial-disapproval *how*)
 how Akiu this.manner treatyou
 怎麼 阿 Q 這樣 對 你?!
 'How can Akiu treat you like this/as such?'
- (5) Akiu **zenme** laoshi chidao?! (causal-mirative *how*)
 Akiu how always late
 阿 Q 怎麼 老是 遲到?!
 'How come Akiu is always late?!'

Interestingly, both sentences can be paraphrased with a lexical modal *hui* 'will' without changing their semantics, as evidenced by the following examples:

- (6) **zenme** Akiu **hui** zheyang dui ni?! (denial-disapproval *how*)
 how Akiu will this.manner treatyou
 怎麼 阿 Q 會 這樣 對 你?!
 'How can Akiu treat you like this/as such?'
- (7) Akiu **zenme** **hui** laoshi chidao?! (causal-mirative *how*)
 Akiu how will always late
 阿 Q 怎麼 會 老是 遲到?!
 'How come Akiu is always late?!'

Likewise, an instrumental *how* merges low to form a typical *wh*-question, as in (8), which again can be paraphrased with the modal *hui*:

- (8) Akiu pingchang **zenme** shao zhe-dao cai? (instrumental *how*)
 Akiu usually how cook this-Cl dish
 阿 Q 平常 怎麼 燒 這道 菜?
 'Usually how did Akiu treat you?'
- (9) Akiu pingchang **hui zenme** shao zhe-dao cai? (instrumental *how*)
 Akiu usually will how cook this-Cl dish
 阿 Q 平常 會 怎麼 燒 這道 菜?
 'Usually how did Akiu treat you?'

Furthermore, the strategy of combining a *wh* and a modal in forming a non-canonical *wh*-questions is quite productive in Classical Chinese: As observed in Lau & Tsai (2020), *an* 安 is typically interpreted as 'where' in a locative *wh*-question like (10). By contrast, when *an* appears in front of a modal such as *neng* 'can', as in (11), its reading is very much in line with the denial-disapproval usage of *zenme*, forming a non-canonical *wh*-question:

- (10) Peigong **an** zai?
 Duke.of.Pei where at
 沛公 安 在? (史記·項羽列傳)
- (11) bao er bu ji **an** neng bao da?
 violent and not stop how can remain strong

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暴 而 不 戢， 安 能 保 大？ (左傳，宣公十二年)

‘If a state is violent and does not refrain from waging wars, how can it remain strong?’

It is in this respect that Classical Chinese and English patterns together in typological terms. On the other hand, modern Chinese differs from them in turning on the silent mode of the modal component in licensing non-canonical *wh*-construal, presumably due to the prominence of its mood and modal categories over tenses (Mei 2015; Tsai 2019). Furthermore, we can still spot this trait with the obligatory presence of *ē* ‘will’ and *thang* ‘can’ in the following Taiwan Southern Min (TSM) non-canonical *wh*-questions:

- (12) i ná *(ē) bô lâi?!
s/he how will not come
伊 哪 會 無 來?!

‘How come s/he wouldn’t come?!’ or ‘Why the hell wouldn’t s/he come?!’

- (13) lí ná *(thang) tsò hit khuán tāitsi?!
you how can do this kind thing
汝 哪 通 做 彼 款 代誌?!

‘How could you do such thing?!’

Along this line, it becomes possible to decode another strategy of non-canonical *wh*-question formation: There is a curious tone sandhi pattern of (*sī*-)*án*-*tsuánn* ‘(Foc.)how’ in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM), as illustrated by the contrasts between (14-15) and (16) (see also Lau & Tsai 2020):

- (14) **sī-án-tsuánn**⁵¹ Tsuí-sūn teh bô huann-hí ah?! (disapproval *how*)
Foc.how Tsuisun ASP not happy SFP
是按怎 水順 咧 無 歡喜 啊?!

‘How come Tsuisun is being unhappy?!’

- (15) Tsuí-sūn **án-tsuánn**⁵¹ teh bô huann-hí ah? (causal *how*)
Tsuisun how ASP not happy SFP
水順 按怎 咧 無 歡喜 啊?

‘How come Tsuisun is being unhappy?(!)’

- (16) Tsuí-sūn **án-tsuánn**⁵⁵ teh bô huann-hí ah? (manner *how*)
Tsuisun how Asp not happy SFP
水順 按怎 咧 無 歡喜 啊?

‘In what way did Tsuisun show his unhappiness?’

The disapproval *how* in (14) and the causal *how* in (15) are pronounced with a falling tone (i.e., its citation tone 51), whereas the manner *how* in (16) carries a high-level tone (i.e., the sandhi tone 55). In addition, the disapproval *how* comes with a focus marker (i.e., *sī* prefixed to *án-tsuánn* ‘how’ with prominent stress). This prosody-semantics correspondence thus lends support to the high-low dichotomy in question: Namely, disapproval *how* and causal *how* merge high to form an independent tone sandhi domain in the left periphery, while manner *how* merges low to form a tone sandhi domain with *vP* (i.e., the main predicate). As a result, it is not unreasonable to assume that there is a silent modal in TSM that follows outer *how* in (14-15) and precedes inner *how* in (16). It thus functions as a delimitator of the two distinct tone sandhi domains in prosodic terms.

Finally, it is possible to combine the prosodic-semantic strategy with an implicit applicative construction in the verbal domain to produce a non-canonical *wh*-question. As exemplified by the

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whining construal of Mandarin *shenme* ‘what’ in (17a), it may well involve a silent light verb FOR that attracts the main verb *ku* ‘cry’ to form the apparent VO construction on the surface (cf. Tsai 2021; Yang 2021), as illustrated by (17b):

- (17) a. ni ku shenme?!
 you cry what
 你 哭 什麼?!
 ‘What the heck are you crying for?! (You shouldn’t be crying.)’
 b. ni <ku>-FOR shenme <ku>
 you cry what cry

It is established by Yang and Tsai’s (2019) experimental work that FOR is much more prominent than *shenme* ‘what’ in prosodic terms, a trait very different from an ordinary *wh*-question. Interestingly, the TSM counterpart of (17) also carry a combo focus marker *sī leh* in a preverbal position (cf. Lau & Tsai 2020), as evidenced by (18):

- (18) lí sī leh khàu án-tsuánn?!
 you Foc Leh cry how
 汝 是 咧 哭 按怎?!
 ‘How the heck are you crying?! (You shouldn’t be crying.)’

To sum up, although we do not have a full-fledged semantic account of the negative modality, it is likely that they are encoded by various functional elements along the clausal spine, as well as prosodic cues such as stress and intonation. We thus conclude that a non-canonical *wh*-construal may contain the following four components:

- I. On the morpho-syntactic front, it combines a *wh*-expression and a modal (which can be silent), very often accompanied by a focus/mood marker.
- II. On the semantic front, it involves negation over modal quantification.
- III. On the pragmatic front, it substantiates a non-interrogative speech act.
- IV. On the prosodic front, it is associated either with a peculiar intonation, or with a stress shift onto certain functional elements.

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L2 Chinese Acquisition of Split Definiteness by Native English Speakers

英語母語者對漢語“分裂定指性”的習得研究

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Definiteness entails uniqueness or familiarity. In Mandarin Chinese, uniqueness is represented by bare nouns whereas familiarity is realized as demonstratives. This divide is termed as *split definiteness* (SD). The present study lists 6 types of contexts in Chinese where uniqueness or familiarity is represented and explores L2 acquisition of SD by native English speakers. An empirical study using acceptability judgment test suggests that advanced learners can acquire SD but intermediate learners cannot, which provides support to the Interface Hypothesis. L1 transfer and the nature of interfaces are singled out to account for the results of the study.

汉语存在分裂定指性现象，光杆名词表示唯一性定指，指示词组表示熟悉性定指。本文总结了汉语的 6 种表达唯一性或熟悉性定指的语境，并通过可接受性判断测试考察母语为英语的中高级汉语学习者对光杆名词和指示词组表示定指的习得情况。研究发现，高级水平的学习者基本能够掌握分裂定指性而中级学习者尚未完全掌握，在一定程度上验证了界面假说。本文从一语迁移、界面性质等视角探讨了影响分裂定指性习得的因素，对学习者的语言表现做出解释。

关键词 Key Words

Split definiteness; bare nouns; demonstratives; native English speakers; Interface Hypothesis

分裂定指性；光杆名词；指示词组；英语母语者；界面假说

Abstracts of Special Forum

Constructing the Fudan Corpus of Chinese Sign Language

復旦大學中國手語語料庫建設

Qunhu GONG 龔群虎

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National Social Science Foundation: "Research on the Construction of Sign Language Corpus Based on Chinese and Minority Languages"*, supported with the great help and assistance from many Deaf people, and carried forward with contributions from Fudan graduate students' thesis and dissertation research projects. Over the years, we have concentrated our efforts on video collection, transcription and linguistic annotations for more than 1,000 common lexical signs elicited from over 100 deaf people from 31 provincial capitals across mainland China. Meanwhile, videos of dialogues and narratives collected mainly in Beijing and Shanghai are translated, transcribed and annotated with linguistic information including phonetics, morphology, syntax, facial expressions and body movements, as well as discourse markers. All these data has formed a structured database and a discourse corpus, which is searchable and lays the initially foundation of the basic corpus platform. Thus, the corpus consists of two main parts: the Sign Database and the Discourse Corpus.

1. The Sign Database, i.e. "Corpus of Common Signs in Representative Cities in Mainland China", has 1450 valid entries (including core lexical signs, basic signs, and common signs) with a signing duration of 120 hours or so. Accumulated duration of annotations is about 120 hours on regional variations of common signs, about 60 hours on handshapes, about 120 hours for Chinese influences, about 120 hours on signs of Chinese morphemes in loan translations, about 4 hours on mouth movements, about 2 hours on phonetics and phonology, and about 60 hours on monomorphemic sign annotations. The annotation work of regional variations on common signs across different cities is currently ongoing. We have achieved several accomplishments based on our research such as "A Quantitative Study on Sign Language Variations of Common Sign Language Vocabulary in Representative Cities across Mainland China" (Chen Yaqing, 2019) and "Dialects or languages: A corpus-based quantitative approach to lexical variation in common signs in Chinese Sign Language (CSL)》 (Chen & Gong 2020), "Quantitative Research on Monomorphemic Signs in Representative Cities across Mainland China" (Lu Yizhi 2019), "A Quantitative Study on the Influence of Chinese on Common Signs Used in Representative Cities in Mainland China" (Korawee Kanket 2019), "Quantitative Analysis on the Comparison of Sign Language Handshapes Used in Major Cities in China" (Ke Yan 2020), "A Quantitative Study on signs of the Chinese Morphemes in Loan Translations from Representative Cities across Mainland China" (Vichuma Kaewmanotham 2021), etc. Based on all the above, a relatively comprehensive corpus of natural sign languages used by Deaf people in major cities in China has been formed. Relative information can be retrieved by the searching function in the self-developed software platform.

2. Discourse corpus, i.e. "Chinese Sign Language Discourse Corpus", mainly contains data from Shanghai and Beijing which collected (mainly) by Deaf researchers, supplemented with other provincial capital cities across mainland China. Total duration of the discourse story corpus of 31 provincial capital cities is about 31 hours long. Our annotation progress: for the same story stimuli, duration of annotations is about 3 hours and 21 minutes on the regional variations, about 37 minutes on the phonology, morphology and mouth movements respectively. The total duration is about 64 hours for the Dialogue and Story Corpus in Beijing and Shanghai Sign Languages. The annotations are research-driven and mainly focused on Shanghai Sign Language: about 2 hours and 27 minutes on phonetics and phonology, about 2 hours and 25 minutes on morphology, about 2 hours and 53 minutes on mouth movements, about 3 hours and 3 minutes on turn-takings, and about 800 tokens on word order and syntactic annotations. In addition, annotations of the noun phrases and verbal propositions are underway. The finalised data can be retrieved by a direct search on the platform, or a search in Elan files embedded on the platform

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for research and maintenance purposes. We've accomplished a few research projects based on the corpus data: "A Corpus-based Study on the Distinctive Features of Shanghai Sign Language Phonological System" (Wang Zhongnan 2021), "A Study of Mouth Movements in Shanghai Sign Language Based on Corpus" (Zhang Xiaoqian, 2021), "A Corpus-based study of Turn-Taking in Shanghai Sign Language" (Wang Yaqi 2022), "A Study of Noun Phrases in Shanghai Sign Language" (Xu Yayun, 2022).) and so on.

Since Tibetan Sign Language has certain particularities, we have carried out small-scale data collection and relevant corpus construction. Relative studies have been done such as "The Lexical Variations between Tibetan Sign Language and Sign Languages in Other Major Cities across Mainland China & the Syntactic Structure of Tibetan Sign Language" (Liu Hongyu 2020).

The software platform for the Fudan Corpus of Chinese Sign Language has been developed and set up. Meanwhile, the online version is under construction. The corpus search function supports options such as the single item and multi-item search. Moreover, functions such as generating the geographic distribution map of lexical sign information are also provided.

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復旦大學中國手語語料庫是主要依託國家社科重大項目“基於漢語和部分少數民族語言的手語語料庫建設研究”，承蒙眾多聾人大力協助，以復旦研究生學位論文課題研究為驅動進行建設的。多年來，我們集中力量對大陸地區 31 個省會代表點百余名聾人進行千餘條手語常用詞進行視頻採集、轉寫和語言學標注，同時對以京滬為主的對話和故事視頻進行翻譯、轉寫和語音、形態、語法、表情體態及會話標記等語言學標注，分別形成可檢索的結構數據庫和長篇語料庫，初步鋪設了基礎性語料平台。語料庫分手勢庫和長篇語料庫兩大部分：

一、手勢數據庫，即“中國大陸地區代表城市常用手勢語料庫”，有效詞條 1450 條(分核心詞、基本詞、常用詞)，手勢時長約 120 小時。各地常用詞異同標注約 120 小時，手形標注約 60 小時，漢語影響標注約 120 小時，仿譯手勢中漢語語素的手勢表達標注約 120 小時，口動標注約 4 小時，語音及音系標注約 2 小時，單純手勢標注約 60 小時，各地與通用手勢異同標注正在進行。研究成果如《中國大陸地區代表城市常用手語詞彙異同計量研究》（陳雅清 2019）、《Dialects or languages: A corpus-based quantitative approach to lexical variation in common signs in Chinese Sign Language (CSL)》（Chen & Gong 2020）、《中國大陸地區代表城市手語單純手勢定量研究》（盧一志 2019）、《中國大陸地區代表城市手語常用詞中漢語影響的計量研究》（夏天美 2019）、《中國主要城市手語手形對比的定量分析研究》（柯燕 2020）、《中國大陸地區代表城市仿譯手勢中漢語語素的手勢表達計量研究》（吳勝美 2021）等。最終形成比較完整的中國主要代表城市聾人自然手語詞彙語料庫，通過自主開發的軟件平台進行檢索。

二、長篇語料庫，即“中國手語語篇標注語料庫”。以上海和北京兩地為主，大陸其他省會城市為輔，語料系聾人採集或聾人為主採集。其中，31 個省會城市的長篇故事語料時長約 31 小時，標注情況：同一故事中各地手語用詞異同比較標注約 3 小時 21 分，音系、形態和口部動作標注分別約 37 分鐘。京滬會話語料及故事語料時長約 64 小時，標注以研究驅動，以上海手語為主：語音及音系標注約 2 小時 27 分，形態標注約 2 小時 25 分，口部動作標注約 2 小時 53 分，話輪轉換標注約 3 小時 3 分，語序等句法標注約 800 句。此外，名詞詞組及動作性事件標注正在進行中。最終結果可直接或由平台調用 Elan 檢索，以便研究維護。研究成果如《基於語料庫的上海手語音系區別特徵研究》（王仲男 2021）、《基於手語語料庫的上海手語口部動作研究》（張曉倩 2021）、《基於語料庫的上海手語話輪研究》（王雅琪 2022）、《上海手語名詞詞組研究》（許亞雲 2022）等。

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藏族聾人手語有一定特殊性，我們進行了小規模的數據採集和小型語料庫建設。相關研究如《西藏地區藏族手語詞和其他主要城市手語詞的打法差異及藏族手語的句法結構》（劉鴻宇 2020）等。

復旦中國手語語料庫軟件平台已經開發搭建，網絡版在建。語料檢索有單項及多項聯合等選項，同時提供手勢信息地理分佈圖繪製等功能。

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參考文獻（略）

Adapting Three British Sign Language Assessment Tests in Hong Kong Sign Language

將三種英國手語評估測試改編應用到香港手語

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We attempted to adapt three British Sign Language (BSL) Assessment Tests into Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL) to test the sign language abilities of deaf and hearing children. The three tests are: a Vocabulary Test (VT; Mann, 2009; Mann & Marshall, 2012), a Receptive Skills Test (RST; Herman, Holmes & Woll, 1999), and a Production Test (PT; Herman et al., 2004). The detailed information of each test is listed in the table below.

Test names	Suitable age	Testing knowledge
BSL-VT	4 – 15 years	Perception and production of vocabularies
BSL-RST	3 – 13 years	Morphosyntax (negation, number and distribution, verb morphology, classifiers, etc.)
BSL-PT	4 – 11 years	Narrative skills; morphology and syntax

Following the adaptation steps of the BSL team, we first consulted the Deaf and hearing sign linguists, teachers of the Deaf, and adult native signers for the VT and RST tests. Specifically, we checked whether the original items in each test were suitable, age appropriate or cultural appropriate for HKSL users. We also designed the distractor items in the VT so that they could be phonologically, semantically or visually similar with the target signs. One Art student drew the pictures of all items to ensure the consistency of drawing style. We then piloted the revised tests on two Deaf adult native signers, who confirmed that all items were correct and pictures appropriate. The RST and VT were then piloted on 11 and 18 hearing non-signing children, respectively, to eliminate the possibility of guessing the item correctly without signing knowledge. Some pictures were further revised accordingly.

For the PT, we re-shoot the whole stimuli video using teachers of the Deaf, whom the students were very familiar with and could be attracted more easily. One scene from the original video was deleted due to inappropriate culture, and another scene was added as it appeared in all 4 Deaf native signers' pilot result. We also replaced a follow-up question that was related with the deleted scene, and the replaced question was tested on two Deaf signers to see whether they could provide consistent answers.

Finally, we conducted the Deaf pilot of all three tests on 11 native and early sign language learners in our co-enrollment programme aged 3-15 years. In this presentation we will present the preliminary results of the Deaf pilot data, as well as our next steps.

測試名稱	適宜年齡段	測試內容
BSL-VT	4 – 15 歲	詞彙的感知和產出
BSL-RST	3 – 13 歲	形態句法（否定、數與分佈、動詞形態、量詞等）
BSL-PT	4 – 11 歲	敘事技巧；形態和句法

本研究嘗試將三種英國手語 (BSL) 的評估測試方法改編到香港手語 (HKSL) 的評估測試系統中，以測試聾童及健聽兒童的手語能力。基於英國手語的三個評估測試分別為：詞彙測試

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(VT; Mann, 2009; Mann & Marshall, 2012)、接收能力測試 (RST; Herman, Holmes & Woll, 1999) 和產出測試 (PT; Herman et al., 2004)。上表列出了各項測試的詳細信息。

依照英國手語團隊的測試改編步驟，我們首先就詞彙測試 (VT) 及接收能力測試 (RST) 的設計，分別諮詢了聾和健聽的手語語言學家、聾人教師和以手語為母語的成人。具體來說，我們對測試中的各個測試項目都進行了檢查和改編，以確保其適用於對應年齡段和文化背景的香港手語使用者。我們也設計了詞彙測試的干擾項，以使它們在音系、語義或視覺上與目標選項相似。所有的測試項目的圖畫均由同一位美術專業學生完成，確保了繪畫風格的一致性。進行了相應的調整和改編後，我們對兩名本地成年聾人手語者進行了前導測試，他們確認了所有測試項目都正確且圖片合適。接下來，我們對 11 名健聽的非手語兒童進行了接收能力測試 (RST)；對另外 18 名健聽的非手語兒童進行了詞彙測試 (VT)，以消除在沒有手語知識的情況下正確猜測項目的可能性。依據前導測試結果，我們對一些圖片進行了相應的修改。

對於語言產出測試 (PT)，我們邀請聾人老師全程入鏡拍攝，並製作了實驗所用視頻。視頻中的聾人老師為學生們 (即被試) 所熟知，所以被試者更容易被他們的手語所吸引。在原始的英國手語團隊實驗視頻中，其中一個場景由於與本地文化背景不適應而被刪除，相應地，我們將另一個在之前 4 名本地聾人手語者的前導測試結果中都出現過的場景添加到了實驗視頻中。此外，我們還替換了一個與刪除場景相關的後續問題，並對兩名本地聾人手語者就該替換問題進行了測試，看他們是否能提供一致的答案。最後，我們在手語雙語共融計劃中選擇了 11 名聾童進行了所有三項測試的前導測試和數據收集。被試聾童年齡介於 3-15 歲之間，均為母語手語者和早學手語者。在本次演講中，我們將展示在改編後的測試中聾童的前導測試數據和初步分析結果，以及我們接下來的測試相關安排和研究計劃。

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Reflections on the Levelling Standards of Chinese National Sign Language Proficiency and Tests

關於國家通用手語等級標準和水準測試問題的思考

Dan WEI 魏丹

It is a rigid demand for sign language development in China to establish the levelling standards and tests for evaluating one's proficiency of Chinese National Sign Language (CNSL). First, it is necessary to specify the differences among Chinese Sign Language, Chinese National Sign Language and dialects of Chinese Sign Language, as well as their relations. It is also necessary to clarify the language status and language policy of the sign language. Secondly, taking our own national conditions as the basis, we've made reference to CEFR (i.e. Common European Framework of Reference for Language: Learning, Teaching, Assessing) for the establishment of a theoretical framework. Accordingly, the purpose, nature, and role of the levelling standards and tests have been carefully considered, in order to propose the preliminary design and the guiding principles for levelling standards and tests of CNSL proficiency. Next, closely following the levelling standards, status and scope of the tests, the target group, formality and dimensions of the tests, as well as the testing goals are further confirmed. Finally, problems to be explored in the process of developing the tests for CNSL proficiency will be discussed.

研製國家通用手語等級標準和水準測試是我國手語事業發展的剛需。首先，需要明確中國手語、國家通用手語和地方手語所包含的內容以及彼此的關係，明確手語的語言地位和語言政策。其次，立足本土國情，借鑒《歐洲語言共同參考框架：學習、教學、評估》搭建理論框架，思考國家通用手語等級標準和水準測試的目的、性質和作用，提出國家通用手語等級標準框架的初步設想和基本原則。繼而，根據等級標準進一步確定國家通用手語測試的定位、範圍、對象、測試形式、測試維度、測試方法和評定目標。最後，提出國家通用手語水準測試研製中尚待進一步探索的問題。

Revamping the Hong Kong Sign Language Curriculum Based on the Guidelines of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)**根據歐洲語言共同參考架構 (CEFR) 發展香港手語課程的改革過程**

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The Chinese University of Hong Kong established the Hong Kong Sign Language programme in the 2005/06 academic year offering elective courses for both undergraduate and postgraduate students. The programme started with beginner-level courses only in the following academic years and began offering Hong Kong Sign Language III or above nine years later. The number of classes offered each academic year gradually increased from two classes per year to twenty-five classes in the 2021/22 academic year. A considerable number of undergraduates who completed Hong Kong Sign Language VI developed a career in Deaf Education or Sign Language Interpretation after graduation or pursued further education in the relevant fields. The development of the programme has been arduous since there lacked severely deaf researchers and deaf teachers at the beginning. This fundamental problem was resolved by developing internal training courses to prepare the necessary personnel for sustaining the programme development. Currently, four Deaf teachers who have completed training at the higher diploma level up to master's level formed a sign language teaching team at CUHK. They have accumulated six to seventeen years of teaching experience. Apart from teaching HKSL courses, the team has been responsible for revamping the HKSL curriculum through alignment with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). The work led to substantial modification to the design of teaching materials and assessment approaches.

The HKSL teaching team at CUHK has mainly referred to the information and guidelines provided by the 'PRO-Sign' project in reviewing the course objectives, course contents, and assessment approaches. The 'PRO-Sign' project was led by Christian Rathmann, Tobias Haug, Beppie van den Bogaerde and some other sign language researchers. The project adopts the European Common Reference Framework (CERF) in the reform and development of sign language teaching. The project applied CEFR to consolidate the set of descriptors suitable for describing sign language proficiency with consideration of sign language use and its linguistic characteristics. Using these descriptors, the CUHK team analyzed the Hong Kong Sign Language I to VI courses step by step, and determined the corresponding proficiency level (i.e., CEFR A1 to C2) of each course. During this process of alignment, there identified aspects of sign language abilities that were not addressed in the courses of the corresponding levels. The teaching materials were modified accordingly with specific supplementary contents added as well. Taking the revamp of Hong Kong Sign Language I as an example, the team noticed the previous curriculum did not include training on the ability of interactive performance and language processing described in Level A1. Therefore, the teaching contents of HKSL conversations were rewritten. Other types of HKSL texts were added to supplement the originally dialogue-based materials teaching contents. At the same time, sign language explanations were added to the teaching materials to replace/strengthen the originally text-based study guides, topic introductions, and grammar explanations. In terms of assessments, apart from setting up rubrics with reference to CEFR for assessing language production and interactive performance, the team redesigned exercises and assignments by introducing a series of multiple-choice (MC) questions with questions and choice options provided all in sign language video clips. At present, mapping of CEFR reference descriptors and revamp of the curriculum for both Hong Kong Sign Language I and II have completed. Revamp of the curriculum of Hong Kong Sign Language III and IV, as well as the revision of assessment tools for Hong Kong Sign Language I and II are currently in progress.

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The reference descriptors in CEFR provided effective guides in our gradual adjustment of the Hong Kong Sign Language curriculum to ensure it is progressing level-by-level and enables the students to build up their language skills systematically. Although this process is not easy, CEFR has provided us with a clear direction for improvements. In addition, CEFR has offered us a framework for discussion of the assessment to ensure different teachers grade the students based on a unified set of criteria. With the existing framework to follow, time for discussions among teachers has been greatly shortened and therefore the workload reduced. Moreover, students can clearly evaluate their learning progress and their level of proficiency by referring to the reference descriptors of CEFR. However, we encountered many difficulties during the revision of the exams. Previously, the exam paper on comprehension was designed with students responding to video-recorded questions by writing or signing out their answers directly. Instead of this format of comprehension testing, multiple-choice questions are more suitable with consideration of the CEFR recommendations. Nevertheless, it's not an easy task to design the MC questions. For instance, indirect questions should be designed to ensure a certain degree of difficulty in the exam questions. In the future, we will continue to revamp the HKSL curriculum and collect students' opinions to discuss and decide how to address problems in the curriculum and seek improvements. We are looking forward to participating in more overseas workshops on CEFR and learning from people in different places. If opportunities are available, our team would also like to exchange ideas with them and get opinions from them on our new curriculum.

香港中文大學於 2005/06 學年開始開辦香港手語課程，供本科生及研究生作為選修科目修讀。當時每學年只設初階程度，直至九年後才開始穩定提供香港手語(三)或以上程度的課程；班數由開初的每學年兩班逐漸增加至 2021/22 學年的二十五班。不少本科生皆藉著完成香港手語(六)裝備自己，踏入聾人教育或手語傳譯專業範疇進修或就業。課程發展過程艱巨，特別是開首必須透過校內自設培訓解決香港並沒有聾人研究及教學人員的根本缺陷。現時中大的手語教學團隊由四位聾人導師組成。他們有六至十七年的教學年資，分別完成了高級文憑至碩士程度訓練，在主責教學的同時亦根據歐洲語言共同參考架構 (CEFR) 改革課程，大幅度地修改了教學材料設計及能力評估方式。

中大的手語教學團隊主要參考 PRO-Sign 項目提供的資訊及指南檢視課程目標、教學內容及評量方法。PRO-Sign 項目由 Christian Rathmann, Tobias Haug, Beppie van den Bogaerde 等手語研究學者帶領，引進歐洲語言共同參考架構改革及發展手語教學的工作。項目考慮了手語的應用及其語言特質，引用 CEFR 來整合適合描述手語熟練程度的參考指標。中大團隊運用這些指標，逐步分析當時的香港手語(一)至(六)課程，以判別課程指向 CEFR A1 - C2 中的哪一個能力等級。過程中亦識別出課程在發展相關程度手語能力未涵蓋的方面，然後針對性地修改並擴充了教學材料。以修訂香港手語(一)的過程為例，團隊特別注意到當時的課程未有觸及 A1 等級中互動表現及語言處理方面的能力發展，因此著手重新編寫手語會話學習材料，並適量加添文體，補充以往運用對話為主要教學材料的缺欠。同時更在教材中增加手語解說取代/加強以往以文字編寫的學習指導、題目解說、語法解釋等教學輔助部分。評測方面，除了參考 CEFR 編寫應用於判別語言表達及互動表現的評分規定，團隊重編了用於訓練及評測理解能力的練習，重新設計一系列以手語影片製作問答部分的多項式選擇題。至今，香港手語(一)及(二)已經完成 CEFR 參考指標的配對及課程重編，現時正逐步進行香港手語(三)及(四)的課程重編，以及香港手語(一)及(二)的評測工具修訂。

CEFR 的參考指標能有效協助我們逐步調整香港手語各級課程，以確保課程循序漸進，協助學生系統化建立語言能力。雖然過程仍然不易，但 CEFR 為我們提供了清晰的方向去改進。此外，CEFR 也為我們提供了討論評分標準的框架，確保不同導師能做出一致的評分，在此框架基礎上，亦可縮短討論的時間，減輕導師們的工作負擔。而學生也能夠以 CEFR 的參考指標清楚地判斷自己的學習進度及能力程度。然而，在修改考試內容的過程中，我們亦遇到不少困難。以往考試理解部分，學生觀看影片後需以文字或手語作答。根據 CEFR 的建議，這個題型不太合適，選擇題會比較合適。但要設計選擇題並不容易，例如為確保題目有一定難度，設計題目時需要使用較為間接的提問法。未來我們會繼續進行課程改革，並會收集學生意見，再討

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論決定如何改善課程的不足。亦希望可以參與外國的 CEFR 工作坊，向不同地方的人取經；如有機會亦可以就我們的新課程與對方作交流，聽取意見。

The Current Status of the Chinese National Sign Language Research 國家通用手語研究的現狀

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Research on Chinese National Sign Language in mainland China is an important responsibility for State Language Commission. Ministry of Education. State Language Commission and China Disabled Persons' Federation together with other concerned authorities have initiated *The Action Plan for Standardization of Chinese National Sign Language and Braille (2015-2020)* and *(2021-2025)* consecutively. Since 2011, NRCSLB and China Association of the Deaf (CAD) have been working together to carry out research on the Chinese National Sign Language. Major work has been conducted in the four areas listed below:

1 · The project has accomplished the publication of *Lexical of Common Expressions in Chinese National Sign Language* in 2018, and *Chinese National Sign Language Dictionary* (4 ver.) in 2019. *Chinese Manual Alphabet*, and *The National Anthem of the People's Republic of China in Chinese National Sign Language* have been established. In the future, we are going to further polish the *Chinese National Sign Language Dictionary* and the standardization of its use.

2 · Act in concert with the compulsory education curriculum in deaf schools, we studied and published *Common Expressions in Chinese National Sign Language in Math*, *Common Expressions in Chinese National Sign Language in Physics*, *Common Expressions in Chinese National Sign Language in Arts*, *Common Expressions in Chinese National Sign Language in PE*, *Common Expressions in Chinese National Sign Language in Computer Science*. *Common Expressions in Chinese National Sign Language in Chemistry* and *Common Expressions in Chinese National Sign Language in Biology* are to be released shortly. We will keep up with the study of *Common Expressions in Chinese National Sign Language in Geography* and *Common Expressions in Chinese National Sign Language in History*, in hope of establishing a comprehensive system in Chinese National Sign Language for all subjects in the curriculum.

3 · Develop the sign language service for emergencies at the national level, as well as sign language expressions for ancient Chinese characters and poems.

4 · Study the levelling standards of the Chinese National Sign Language proficiency.

中國內地通用手語的研究是國家語言文字工作的組成部分，國家教育部、國家語言文字工作委員會、中國殘疾人聯合會等主管部門先後制定了《國家手語和盲文規範化行動計畫（2015-2020 年）》《第二期國家手語和盲文規範化行動計畫（2021-2025 年）》。國家手語和盲文研究中心和中國聾人協會一起，從 2011 年開始持續進行國家通用手語的研究工作。主要開展四個方面的工作：

1 · 2018 年出版了《國家通用手語常用詞表》，2019 年出版了 4 冊《國家通用手語詞典》，制定了《漢語手指字母方案》《〈中華人民共和國國歌〉國家通用手語方案》。未來還將繼續完善國家通用手語詞典和有關通用手語規範。

2 · 配合聾校義務教育課程教學，研究出版了《數學常用詞通用手語》《物理常用詞通用手語》《美術常用詞通用手語》《體育和律動常用詞通用手語》《計算機常用詞通用手語》，即將出版《化學常用詞通用手語》《生物常用詞通用手語》，並將繼續研究《地理常用詞通用手語》《歷史常用詞通用手語》，在 2025 年初步形成學科通用手語體系。

3 · 開展國家應急手語服務研究、中國古文字、古詩文手語研究。

4 · 研究國家通用手語水準等級測試標準。

Scaffolding Literacy Development for DHH Children: Reflections on the Composing of CSL-Chinese Bilingual Books

搭建聽障兒童讀寫能力發展的支架：基於中國手語-漢語雙語讀物創編的思考

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Qualitative Similarity Hypothesis (QSH) proposed that DHH children are comparable to their age-matched hearing children in terms of developmental trajectories, errors made and strategies used in spoken language reading and writing. Although, DHH children have retarded and delayed development according to the quantitative data, they ultimately attain a level similar proficiency as their hearing peers. (Paul, 2005) However, scaffolding is needed during the process. Deaf and hard-of-hearing (DHH) children are early bilinguals in CSL and Chinese. CSL, as the most easily learnt and first fully acquired language for DHH children, can offer a semantic scaffolding for DHH children to develop their reading skills and help them comprehending Chinese. Based on this idea, we've created and published two CSL-Chinese bilingual readings. They primarily focus on DHH children's reading skills and try to develop their signacy to serve as a language scaffolding for literacy.

“大手小手：我的第一套手語書” aims at pre-school and early school aged DHH children. It includes 9 picture books, 1 teacher's book and 1 student's book. “中華手語大系（視聽版）” targets DHH students in primary and secondary schools and consist of three editions including “手語說漢字”，“手語讀論語” and “手語誦唐詩”. In general, characteristics of the two set of books are listed below:

To begin with, the philosophy in compiling the books is that sign language input comes first. We consider sign language as a scaffolding to support the development of early Chinese reading and writing, and emphasize the use of sign language by teachers as an accessible language for students in Chinese teaching. Specifically, in “大手小手：我的第一套手語書”，“100 個急用先學手語詞” contributes to the enlightenment of CSL, and the other 9 bilingual picture books help DHH children to build up connections from signs to meaning and from signs to text.

Secondly, in terms of teaching strategy, Scaffolding and Zone of Proximal Development should be taken as the theoretical basis. Students should first master the phonological knowledge in sign language before we jump in to help with their development of sign language and Chinese reading skills. Since sign language nursery rhymes and sign language poems exquisitely present the phonological structure of sign language (e.g. handshape, movement, and location), through learning the above, DHH children can develop their language intuition, strengthen their phonological awareness, and feel the beauty of the language. Subsequently, they can use this as scaffolding to learn characters, words, sentences and develop their reading skills. At the same time, they will be able to map the sign language concepts to written texts.

Moreover, in terms of presentation, multi-modal information is made accessible to DHH children including colorful drawings, sign language pictures, written Chinese and sign language videos of words and phrases, stories, poems as well as nursery rhymes to offer them a multi-media learning experience. The books have integrated 100 sign language nursery rhymes and 100 teaching plans for kindergarten themed activity into the characters and plots in the picture books, in order to provide the front-line teachers read-made in-class teaching kit.

定性相似假說（Qualitative Similarity Hypothesis，QSH）認為，在有聲語言讀寫能力方面，聽障學生所經歷的不同階段、產生的錯誤、使用的策略都和聽力健全的同齡人相似，雖然在量化視角下有所減緩或延遲，但最終能達到和年齡相匹配的水平（Paul, 2005）。但這一過程的實現需要支架的幫助。聽障兒童是中國手語（CSL）和漢語的早期雙語者。中國手語作為聽障兒

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童最容易習得、最先真正完成習得的語言，可以為他們建構對書面語言的理解提供一種概念框架，促進他們對漢語的理解。基於這一理念，我們創編了兩套中國手語-漢語雙語讀物，聚焦聽障兒童的閱讀技能，試圖通過中國手語讀寫能力（signacy）的發展為漢語讀寫能力（literacy）構建語言支架。

《大手小手：我的第一套手語書》以學前期和學齡初期的聽障兒童為主要對象，包括 9 冊繪本，1 冊教學用書和 1 冊學習用書。《中華手語大系（視聽版）》面向中小學聽障學生，分《手語說漢字》《手語讀論語》《手語誦唐詩》三冊。總體上看，這兩套雙語讀物的特色如下：

首先，在編寫理念上，堅持手語輸入先行，以手語為支架支持漢語早期讀寫能力的發展，強調教師在向學生教授漢語知識的時候使用學生可理解的手語。以《大手小手》為例，“100 個急用先學手語詞”致力於中國手語的啟蒙，9 冊雙語繪本幫助聽障兒童建立從手勢到意義、手勢到文本的連接。

其次，在教學策略上，以支架理論為基礎，考慮到學生的“最近發展區”，在學生掌握了手語音韻學知識之後，再幫助其發展手語和漢語閱讀技能。手語童謠、手語詩歌等作品巧妙地體現了手語的語音結構（如手形、運動和位置），聽障兒童通過學習這些內容可以培養語感，增強語音意識，感受語言之美；之後可以此為支架，學習字、詞、句，發展閱讀能力，並學習如何將手語概念與書面文字聯繫起來。

再次，在形式呈現上，將豐富多彩的繪畫、手語插圖、漢語書面語和詞句、故事、詩歌、童謠等手語視頻結合在一起，為聽障兒童提供多模態，多媒體的學習體驗。在繪本中人物和情節的基礎上將 100 首手語兒歌和 100 個幼稚園主題活動教案融入其中，為一線教師提供現成的課堂教學工具包。

A Comparison of Code-blending Between Parental Input and Child Output: a Case Study

比較父母語言輸入與兒童語言輸出中的語碼截搭(Code-blending): 個案研究

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Previous research into language mixing in bilingual children has generated divergent views concerning the role of parental input in relation to child language acquisition. While some researchers assume that language mixing in child output is a result of mirroring the mixing in parental input (the null hypothesis, Goodz 1989, see also Yip and Matthews 2016), others argue that child mixing output reflects the interplay of other factors rather than input (e.g., language dominance, parental discourse strategies) (see e.g., Genesee et al 1995, Lanza 2001, Meng and Miyamoto 2012). All these arguments are primarily based on data from spoken languages and only a limited number of studies focus on bimodal bilingual children who are acquiring a sign language and a spoken language simultaneously (e.g., Petitto et al 2001 on LSQ-French, van den Bogaerde and Baker 2006 on NGT-Dutch, Lillo-Martin et al 2014 on ASL-English).

To better understand the relation between child output and parental input, this study examines child's output and parental input in the nominal domain. The study involved a congenitally deaf child (WT) who was exposed to HKSL since birth from his Deaf native signing mother and who began to acquire Cantonese as an early sequential L2 at around age 2, after cochlear implantation. We wish to see if WT's language mixing (i.e., code-blending) matches that of his mother, a prediction based on the null hypothesis (Goodz 1989).

The data for this study were drawn from the *Child HKSL-Cantonese Bilingual Corpus* (<http://www.cslds.org/acquisition/en-us/Corpora>). WT's nominal expressions were extracted from 14 HKSL target sessions (each about 45 minutes; age range: 1;0-4;3; only deaf signing adults present) and 14 corresponding Cantonese target sessions (each about 30 minutes, age range: 1;0-4;3; only hearing non-signing adults present, with occasional presence of WT's mother without active participation). Nominals of his mother came from 4 HKSL target sessions with WT aged 1;0;19, 2;0;24, 3;0;23 and 4;0;20 respectively (in addition, child-directed input of a Deaf signing researcher CON involved were also coded for comparison). For each nominal expression extracted, we coded its modality (e.g., HKSL-only, Cantonese-only, code-blending), nominal structure (e.g., bare noun, Num+N), grammatical function (e.g., subject, object) and referential properties (definite, indefinite, generic, etc.).

Results are as follows. First, as shown in Table 1 and Figure 1 & 2, before implantation (age $\leq 2;0$), he predominantly relied solely on the manual mode (i.e., HKSL) when interacting with others (SL-target settings: 92%, speech-target settings: 82%; sometimes non-linguistic vocalizations (such as *mm*, *aa*, *jaa*) were observed with signing). Second, after implantation (age $> 2;0$), he gradually produced more and more code blends regardless of language settings. Overall, he used HKSL most frequently (42%) in the sign-target sessions and Cantonese most frequently (73%) in the speech-target sessions (Table 1); yet, he produced a considerable proportion of code blends in the sign-language target sessions (38%) and speech-target sessions (12%, see Table 1). We interpret this phenomenon as a function of his increasing knowledge of Cantonese and co-activation of two linguistic systems in language production. WT was less pressurized in suppressing Cantonese in the sign-language target sessions, similar to the findings of Lillo-Martin et al 2014 on child ASL-English bilingualism. Third, code-switching was seldom observed, and WT's language selection patterns were not static but changed over time, with different proportion of language production type associated with different ages. Overall, a U-shape pattern in code-blending production, as evidenced by the up (2;0-3;6)-down (3;6-4;0)-up (4;0-) tendency associated with blend ratios (see Figure 1).

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Since 4;0, both his Cantonese-only and Cantonese/HKSL code blends outnumbered his SL-only output, which may suggest a change of dominant language from HKSL to Cantonese (Figure 1).

Turning to the language production patterns of WT's mother (MOT), we found out she was HKSL dominant throughout (95% (1;0)-81% (4;0)), with a small increase in code blends when WT became older, and his Cantonese's proficiency increased (4;0; see Figure 3). Nevertheless, MOT was more likely to blend than the Deaf signing researcher (CON) (Table 1 and Figure 3). The MOT patterns apparently differ from WT's as reported above.

To sum up, our findings corroborate with previous findings from other bimodal language pairs (e.g., Lillo-Martin et al 2014, Petitto et al 2001), suggesting WT's interlocutor sensitivity developed at a young age. It also suggests that child code-mixing is not merely a result of modeling after parental input; and it is subject to multiple factors, including discourse contexts, relative proficiency in the language pair.

Appendix

Table 1. Overall language production types by WT, MOT and CON (a Deaf signer)

	WT (HKSL target)		WT (Cantonese target)		MOT (HKSL target)	CON (HKSL target)
	Before CI (<2;0)	After CI (>2;0)	Before CI (<2;0)	After CI (>2;0)	4 sessions	3 sessions*
Blends (+phonation)	3 (2%)	367 (31%)	2 (4%)	62 (12%)	31(5%)	6 (1%)
Blends (partial Can word)		4 (0.3%)				
Blends (-phonation)	5 (3%)	88 (7%)			27(4%)	1 (0.2%)
Can-only	1 (1%)	211 (18%)	5 (11%)	369 (73%)		
SL-only	92 (57%)	491 (42%)	17 (38%)	75 (15%)	554 (91%)	461 (99%)
SL+non-ling vocal	55 (35%)	7 (1%)	20 (44%)	2 (0.4%)		
Code-switch		1 (0.09%)				
Excluded	1 (1%)	7 (1%)	1 (2%)	1 (0.2%)		
Total	157 (100%)	1176 (100%)	45 (100%)	509 (100%)	612 (100%)	468 (100%)

(Notes: Can=Cantonese; tokens with invisible hands or face were excluded; *CON did not interact with WT during the HKSL-target session with WT aged 3;0;23)

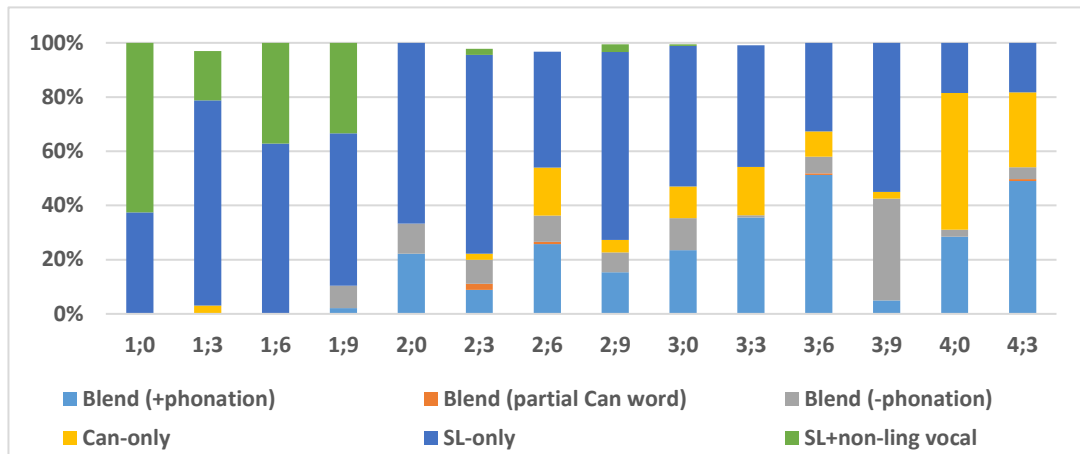


Figure 1. Proportion of WT's language outputs (HKSL target sessions)

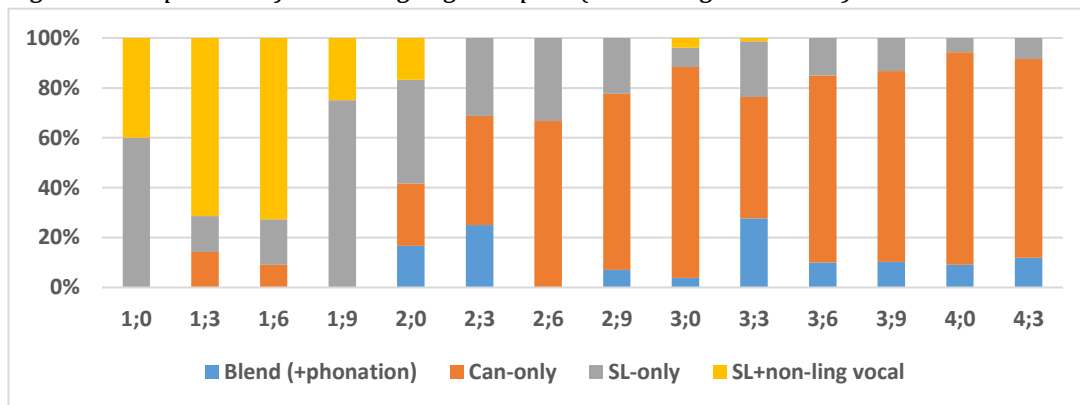


Figure 2. Proportion of WT's language outputs (Cantonese target sessions)

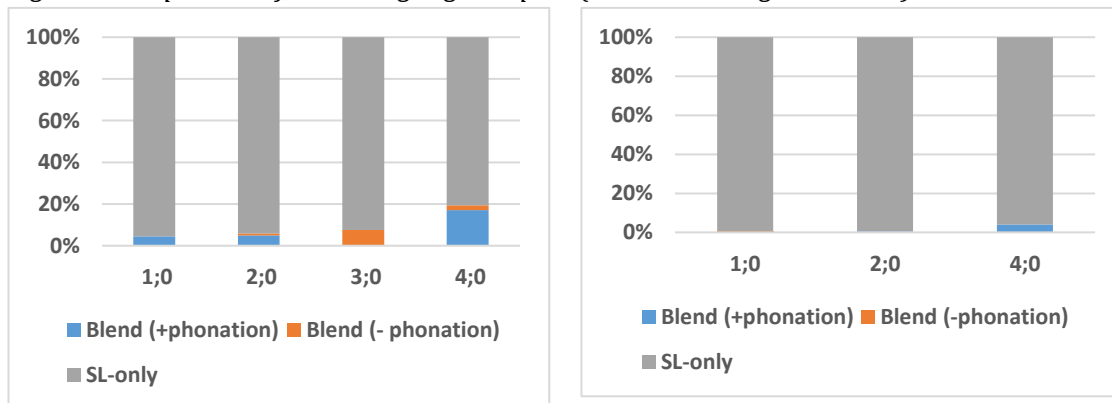


Figure 3. Proportion of MOT's (left) and Deaf Signer's (right) input (HKSL target sessions)

先前對雙語兒童語碼混合的研究中,在就父母的語言輸入在兒童語言獲得中的作用方面,學界持有不同的看法。一些學者認為,兒童語言輸出中的語碼混合(language mixing)是對父母語言輸入中的語碼混合的鏡像反映(零假設, Goodz 1989, 另見 Yip & Matthews 2016), 亦有其他學者認為,兒童語碼混合輸出反映的是其他因素的相互作用,而不僅僅受父母的語言輸入影響(例如,語言優勢、父母言談策略等)(參見 Genesee et al. 1995、Lanza 2001、Meng & Miyamoto 2012)。上述研究與相關論點主要基於來自口語雙語兒童的數據,目前,只有少數的研究關注到了雙渠道雙語兒童(即同時獲得手語和口語的兒童)(例如 Petitto et al. 2001 年關於“魁北克手語-法語”的研究、van den Bogaerde & Baker 2006 年關於“荷蘭手語-荷蘭語”的研究, Lillo-Martin et al. 2014 年關於“美國手語-英語”的研究)。

為更好地理解兒童語言輸出和父母語言輸入之間的關係,本研究將對父母輸入與兒童輸出中的名詞域(名詞性表達)進行重點分析。是次研究對象為一名先天性聾童 (WT), 他從出生

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伊始，即接受其以手語為母語的聾人母親的手語輸入，在 WT 約 2 歲完成人工耳蝸植入後，開始獲得作為早期接續性雙語中第二語言（L2）的粵語。本次研究旨在觀察 WT 的語碼混合（即語碼截搭 Code-blending）是否與他母親的語言輸入相匹配，這也是基於零假設 (Null Hypothesis) 的預測 (Goodz 1989)。

本次研究的資料來自香港中文大學手語及聾人研究中心開發的“聾童香港手語廣東話雙語語料庫” (<http://www.cslds.org/acquisition/en-us/Corpora>)。

WT 的名詞性表達是從 14 次以香港手語為目標語的語料收集和 14 次以粵語為目標語的語料收集中摘錄所得的，其中：以手語為目標語的語料收集每次約 45 分鐘，WT 年齡範圍：1;0-4;3，只有成年聾人手語者在場；以粵語為目標語的語料收集每段約 30 分鐘，WT 年齡範圍：1;0-4;3，僅有成年健聽非手語者在場 (WT 的母親偶爾會在場，但不會主動參與互動)。WT 的母親所使用的名詞性表達是從 4 個香港手語目標會話中摘錄的，4 段會話中 WT 的年齡分別為 1;0;19、2;0;24、3;0;23 和 4;0;20；此外，我們用同樣的方法亦對剛提到的這 4 次語料收集中包含的聾人手語研究員 CON 面向 WT 的語言輸入進行了分析。對於提取摘錄的每個名詞性表達，我們對其不同方面的屬性都進行了編碼，主要包括以下幾類：語言模式與渠道（例如：“純香港手語”、“純粵語”、“香港手語與粵語語碼截搭”），名詞結構（例如：光杆名詞、“數詞+名詞”），語法功能（例如：主語、賓語）和指稱屬性（定指、不定指、類指等）。

研究結果如下。首先，如表 1、圖 1 及圖 2 所示，在進行人工耳蝸植入前（年齡 \leq 2;0），WT 在與他人互動時主要依靠手控渠道（即香港手語）：以香港手語為目標語的語料收集場景中占 92%，以粵語為目標語的語料收集場景中約占 82%；有時，我們亦觀察到 WT 在進行手語表達時會有非語言發聲（例如 mm、aa、jaa 等）。其次，在人工耳蝸植入後（年齡 $>$ 2;0），無論目的語言的設置如何，WT 開始在會話中產出越來越多的語碼截搭（即，打手語的同時也說粵語）。總體而言，他在手語為目標語的場景中最常使用的是香港手語（42%），在粵語為目標語的場景中使用粵語最頻繁（73%）（見表 1）。然而值得關注的是，他在不同的語料收集場景中都產出了相當大比例的手語-粵語語碼截搭，其中以手語為目標語的場景占比 38%，以口語為目標語的場景中占比 12%（均見表 1）。我們將這種現象解釋為 WT 在對粵語的瞭解不斷加深的同時，手語及粵語這兩種語言系統在語言產出中獲得了共同激活。我們發現，WT 在手語為目標語的場景中抑制口語（粵語）的壓力較小，類似於 Lillo-Martin 等人在 2014 年關於兒童“美國手語-英語”雙語研究的結果。

在 WT 的個案中，語碼轉換 (Code-switching) 很少被觀察到，WT 的語言選擇模式不是一成不變的，而是隨著時間的推移而不斷變化發展，在他的不同年齡段，語言產出的類型比例並不相同。總體而言，他所產出的語碼截搭 (Code-blending) 數據呈 U 形，語碼截搭產出先呈現向上遞增 (2;0-3;6)，再向下 (3;6-4;0)，最後再向上增加 (4;0 之後)，相關數據請見圖 1。

從 4;0 開始，WT 的純粵語輸出和“粵語+香港手語”的語碼截搭數量都超過了他的純手語輸出，這可能表明他的優勢語言已從香港手語轉變為粵語（見圖 1）。

我們轉向觀察 WT 的母親 (MOT) 的語言產出模式會發現，她在整個 WT 的語料收集過程中都是以香港手語為主導的 (95% (1;0)-81% (4;0))，隨著 WT 年齡的增長和粵語水準是不斷提高，WT 母親 (MOT) 的語碼截搭只略有增加（體現在 4;0 這次語料收集，見圖 3）。不過，WT 母親 (MOT) 比聾人手語研究員 (CON) 更傾向於進行語碼截搭（請見表 1 和圖 3）。如上所述，MOT 的語言產出模式顯然與 WT 不同。

總而言之，我們本次研究的發現與之前其他的雙渠道雙語“父母-子女”語言產出研究結果相吻合（例如，Lillo-Martin et al. 2014, Petitto et al. 2001）。本研究表明，WT 對於對話者的語言意識在語言獲得早期已經發展起來；本研究還表明，兒童的語碼混用 (code-mixing) 不是對父母的語碼混用簡單模仿的結果，而是受多種因素影響，包括談話的語境、正在發展中的雙語的相對熟練程度等。

附錄

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表1. WT, MOT 與 CON (聾人手語者) 的總體語言產出類型

	WT (香港手語目標會話語境)		WT (粵語目標會話語境)		MOT (香港手語目標會話語境)	CON (香港手語目標會話語境)
	植入前 (2;0)	植入後 (>2;0)	植入前 (2;0)	植入後 (>2;0)	4 次語料收集	3 次語料收集*
截搭 (有發聲)	3 (2%)	367 (31%)	2 (4%)	62 (12%)	31(5%)	6 (1%)
截搭 (不完整粵語詞彙)		4 (0.3%)				
截搭 (無發聲)	5 (3%)	88 (7%)			27(4%)	1 (0.2%)
純粵語	1 (1%)	211 (18%)	5 (11%)	369 (73%)		
純手語	92 (57%)	491 (42%)	17 (38%)	75 (15%)	554 (91%)	461 (99%)
手語+非語言發聲	55 (35%)	7 (1%)	20 (44%)	2 (0.4%)		
語碼轉換 Code-switch		1 (0.09%)				
被剔除的數據	1 (1%)	7 (1%)	1 (2%)	1 (0.2%)		
總計	157 (100%)	1176 (100%)	45 (100%)	509 (100%)	612 (100%)	468 (100%)

(注: 含有不可見手勢、面部表情的對話語料已被剔除; *WT 年齡為 3;0;23 的那次語料收集, CON 未作為對話者)

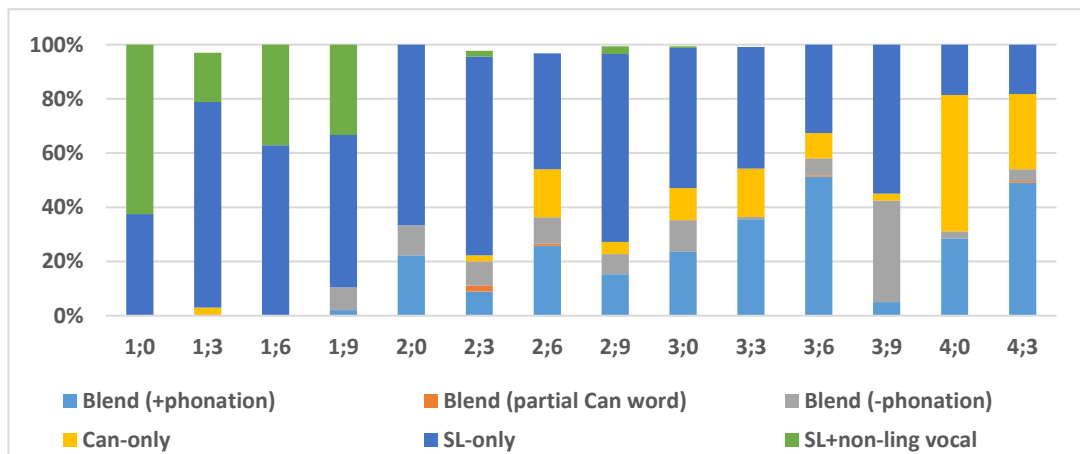


圖1. WT 在香港手語為目標語的語料收集場景中各類型語言產出比例

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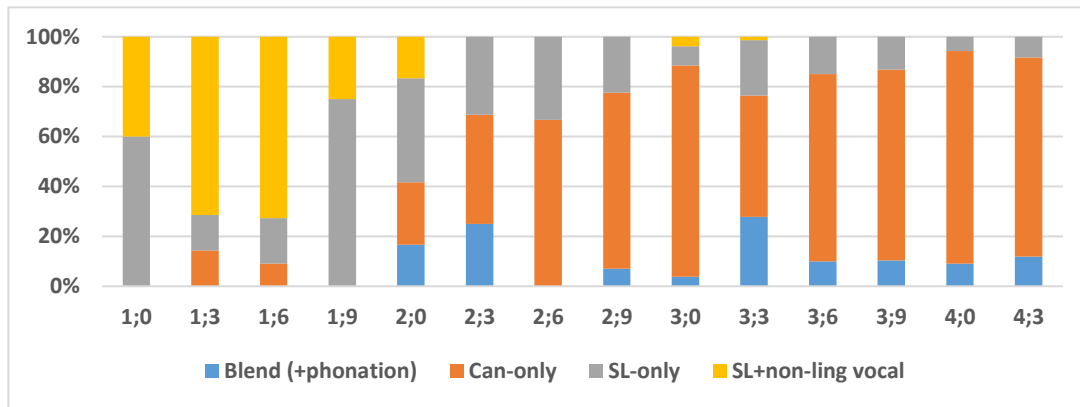


圖2. WT 在粵語為目標語的語料收集場景中各類型語言產出比例

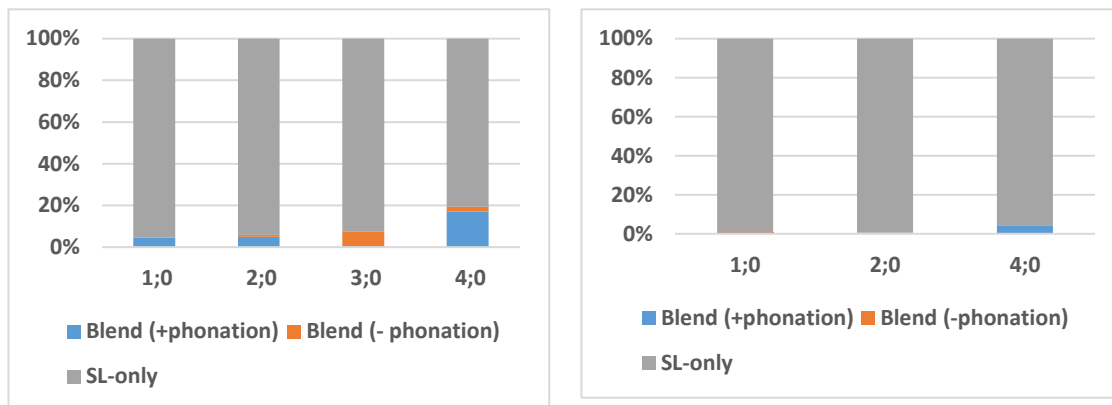


圖3. MOT (左圖) 與聾人手語研究員 CON (右圖) 在香港手語為目標語的語料收集場景中各類型語言產出比例

Young Scholar Award (YSA) Papers

漢語方言的等比句——方言比較和類型學的研究

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摘要：本研究結合來自筆者調查、方言文獻及語保平台的語料，對漢語方言的等比句作出宏觀而深入的考察，提出一個包含九個類型的漢語等比句分類方案。過往文獻往往強調等比句在方言中的共性，等比句的方言差異可說是被忽視的課題。本研究確認等比句在方言中的語序高度一致，但同時發現：在相同的語序下，可以由不同種類的標記來構成不同的等比句，而不同方言通行的等比句不盡相同。最為人熟悉的「老王跟老張一樣高」在廣府片粵語其實不太普及；廣東以至廣西流行「老王跟老張那麼高」和「老王跟老張一樣那麼高」。「老王像老張那麼高」雖被文獻視為最主要的類型之一，但其實在中部方言不甚通行。「老王有老張那麼高」在方言很普遍，但它無法在文獻的跨語言等比句分類方案中歸類為任何類型。甚至一種被認為在世界語言中不存在的等比句，其實在漢語方言中並不罕見。

1. 引言

等比句 (equative construction; comparative construction of equality; 又稱平比句) 是表示事物或人之間在某個具級差性的 (gradable) 特性上程度為相等的句式 (如 Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998: 278; Henkelmann 2006: 371; Haspelmath et al. 2017: 10)。例如「老王跟老張一樣高」，表示「老王」和「老張」在「高」這個具級差性的特性上程度相等。和差比句一樣，等比句同樣表示程度的比較；不同的是等比句表示比較雙方程度相等，而差比句表示其中一方程度較高 (如 Haspelmath et al. 2017: 10)。

雖然等比句與差比句同屬程度比較的句式，但等比句受到的關注比差比句少得多。相比於差比句的跨語言類型學研究歷來取得了十分豐碩的研究成果 (如 Ultan 1972; Andersen 1983; Stassen 1985; 2005; Heine 1997; Bobaljik 2012; Dixon 2012; Stolz 2013)，¹ 等比句的同類研究在文獻中相對少見：較早的主要有 Ultan (1972)、Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998)、Henkelmann (2006)，不過近年的 Haspelmath et al. (2017) 才是首個針對等比句且基於大型全球性樣本而進行的類型學研究。

和跨語言的研究一樣，在漢語的研究中，等比句的研究成果同樣落後於差比句。差比句在文獻中已經有過不少綜合大量方言語料的方言比較研究，並且在類型學的框架下對方言語料作出了深入的討論，研究成果展示了差比句的形式在漢語方言中極大的多樣性，並發現了不同形式在地理上的分布特點 (如 Ansaldo 1999; 李藍 2003; 吳福祥 2010; Chappell 2015; Chappell & Peyraube 2015)。反觀等比句的同類研究，仍然處於起步階段。Yue-Hashimoto (1993) 作為方言語法調查的指南，是宏觀地討論到漢語方言等比句的早期著作。Bisang (1998) 最早從類型學的角度討論漢語等比句，不過只考慮到共同語的情況。Chappell (2016) 最早以類型學的方法宏觀地考察多種漢語方言中的等比句，是相當重要的文獻，不過研究屬初探性質，只考慮了 11 個方言點及普通話，主要依靠二手材料而未有對有關句式進行專門調查，研究成果很大程度上未能展現等比句的方言差異。方蕊 (2020) 考察了 46 個方言點的等比句，材料比前人豐富，不過仍是依靠二手材料，對於等比句的方言差異也未有真正的發現。

本研究希望以更大的樣本和更翔實的語料考察漢語方言的等比句，目的是同時展現出等比句在方言中的共性和差異，並且回應一些相關的類型學議題。

接下來第 2 節先介紹構成等比句的主要成分；第 3 節進行文獻回顧；第 4 節交代本研究的語料來源；第 5 節提出本文的漢語等比句分類方案；第 6 至第 12 節分別檢視各類等比句在方言中的情況，並進行有關的討論；最後在第 13 節作出總結。

2. 構成等比句的主要成分

根據 Ultan (1972: 126-128)、Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 279) 和 Haspelmath et al. (2017: 11)，等比句的構成和差比句一樣可以分為五個主要成分：主體 (comparee)、基準 (standard)、參數 (parameter)、基準標記 (standard marker)、參數標記 (parameter

¹ 有關差比句的類型學研究文獻可參看 Stolz (2013) 和 Treis (2018) 的介紹。

marker)。²以「老王跟老張一樣高」為例。「老王」是主體，即被比較的對象，主體通常就是主語 (Utan 1972: 126)；「老張」是基準，即援引來與主體比較的對象；「高」是參數，即所比較的方面。主體、基準、參數這三個成分都是詞彙性的，可以充當這三個成分的詞理論上無限多 (Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998: 279)。「跟」是基準標記，即和基準有密切聯繫的標記；「一樣」是參數標記，即和參數有密切聯繫的標記。兩個標記是功能性的成分，它們在一個語言（或方言）的特定句式中很大程度上是固定的 (Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998: 279)。

3. 文獻回顧

文獻一般認為漢語等比句的方言差異比差比句小：例如 Yue-Hashimoto (1993: 157) 就指南北方言的差比句差異明顯，而等比句在不同方言中都是使用相同的結構，只是其中特定的標記有不同的詞源；張楨 (2005) 也指等比句在方言中只見「基準先於參數」的語序，不如差比句一樣還存在「參數先於基準」的語序。

Bisang (1998: 707-720) 基於共同語的情況提出了一個漢語等比句的通用句式：

主體－基準標記－基準－參數標記－參數

他指其中的基準標記可以選擇「跟」、「有」、「像」，參數標記可以選擇「一樣」、「那麼」；選擇不同的標記會得出如例(1)至(3)所示的不同等比句。

- (1) 我妹妹跟你一樣好看。(Bisang 1998: 709) (「跟」+「一樣」)
- (2) 我妹妹有你那麼好看。(Bisang 1998: 709) (「有」+「那麼」)
- (3) 我妹妹像你那麼好看。(Bisang 1998: 709) (「像」+「那麼」)

不過，假若不同的基準標記和不同的參數標記可以自由組合，理論上在例(1)至(3)以外其實應該還有三種等比句，即如例(4)至(6)。然而，例(4)這種說法在普通話是不好接受的；歷時研究 (Peyraube 1989；張楨 2006；2010；李焱、孟繁杰 2010) 也沒有提及過對應的句式。那麼在方言中又是否存在此式等比句呢？這是本研究考察的重點之一。

- (4) ?我妹妹跟你那麼好看。(「跟」+「那麼」)
- (5) 我妹妹有你一樣好看。(「有」+「一樣」)³
- (6) 我妹妹像你一樣好看。(「像」+「一樣」)

Chappell (2016) 基於對多種漢語方言的考察，把等比句分為：並聯等比句 (conjoined equative)、「有」字等比句 (have equative)，以及「像似」等比句 ('resemble' equative)。這三個等比句類型實際上相當於上面 Bisang (1998) 基於共同語以舉例形式給出的等比句，不過 Chappell (2016) 的處理在基準標記和參數標記之間更強調前者的重要性。Chappell (2016) 沒有討論不同方言對於三類等比句是否有不同偏好；等比句的方言差異可說是被忽視了的課題。

方蕊 (2020) 以 46 個漢語方言點的語料歸納出四個等比句類型：⁴

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| ① 主體－標記 1－基準－標記 2－（參數） | ③ 主體－標記－基準－（參數） |
| ② 主體基準合併－標記－（參數） | ④ 主體－基準－標記－（參數） |

類型①相當於上面 Bisang (1998) 提出的句式。類型②在普通話例如(7)，主要特點是把主體與基準合併為一個複數名詞短語。類型③在普通話例如(8)，相比於類型①少了（相當於程度標記的）標記 2。類型④相比於類型①則少了（相當於基準標記的）標記 1，方蕊 (2020: 50-52, 90) 指「普通話平比句沒有這種結構類型」，而在方言文獻中這個類型也是最少見的，她提供的例子如南寧粵語的例(9)。不過，本文認為普通話也是有這個類型的等比句的，對應例(9)的「這條路那條路都一樣寬」或者換成更加典型的內容如「老王老張一樣高」都並無不可，比較雙方

² 五個主要成分的術語都在文獻中有很多不同的別稱，這裡引用的三篇文章之間術語也不盡相同。本文所用的根據 Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998)。別稱的介紹可參看 Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 註 3-7) 和 Treis (2018: ii)，在此不贅。

³ 此式在普通話不算常用，但是可以接受，特別是比較書面的語體。

⁴ 方蕊 (2020) 的考察包括沒有參數的形式；本文專門考察具有參數的等比句。方蕊 (2020) 稱參數為「比較結果」。

在其中無非是不用連詞的並列結構；而方言文獻少見這類型的例子，可能是因為文獻的作者不認為（或沒有注意到）有需要特意為不用連詞的並列結構變體提供例子。

- (7) 這兩個罪人一樣愚蠢。（方蕊 2020: 11 引 BCC 語料庫）
- (8) 果實有拳頭大，種子有栗子大。（方蕊 2020: 12 引 BCC 語料庫）
- (9) 看，個這條路嚟，條路都一樣闊。（方蕊 2020: 26 引陸識為 2011）

Haspelmath et al. (2017) 以全球性的 119 種語言為樣本，提出了一個包含六個主要類型的等比句分類方案：

- 類型 1：獨用基準標記 “Kim is tall [like Pat].”
- 類型 2：兼用程度標記和基準標記 “Kim is [equally tall] [as Pat].”
- 類型 3：主體與基準統一為單一名詞短語，兼用程度標記 “[Kim and Pat] are [equally tall].”
- 類型 4：用「達到／相等」概念動詞為主要謂語 “Kim [reaches/equals Pat] in height.”
- 類型 5：用「達到／相等」概念動詞為主要謂語，兼統一主體與基準為單一名詞短語 “[Kim and Pat] are equal (to each other) in height.”
- 類型 6：用「達到／相等」概念動詞為次要謂語 “Kim is tall [reaching/equaling Pat].”

並得出了三項等比句在世界語言中的概括性觀察 (generalization)：

- 概括性觀察 1：沒有語言的等比句只用程度標記來構成 (“Kim is [equally tall] Pat”)。
- 概括性觀察 2：類型 1 或類型 2 等比句的語序如果為基準在前而參數在後，該語言大多以 OV 為主要語序。
- 概括性觀察 3：類型 1 或類型 2 等比句的語序如果為基準在前而參數在後，基準標記大多在基準之後，而語序如果為參數在前而基準在後，則基準標記大多在基準之前。

Chappell (2016) 和黎奕葆 (2019; 2021) 就漢語的情況回應過 Haspelmath et al. (2017) 的研究。⁵ Chappell (2016) 指出並聯等比句 (參例(1)) 屬於類型 3；黎奕葆 (2019) 補充並聯等比句中的並列連詞同時有介詞用法 (參 Chao 1968: 681)，因此也存在類型 2；而把主體與基準表達為複數名詞或無連詞並列結構的等比句 (參例(7)、(9)) 同樣屬於類型 3。「有」字等比句 (參例(2)) 根據 Chappell (2016) 的看法在語義上相當於類型 4；不過黎奕葆 (2019: 67) 強調「有」字等比句只是「整句理解起來有『達到』概念，但當中所用的動詞『有』本身是表達『擁有』或『存在』的」，不同於類型 4、5、6 動詞本身為「達到」(或「相等」) 概念。至於「像似」等比句 (參例(3))，Chappell (2016) 表示這類等比句不屬於 Haspelmath et al. (2017) 方案的任何類型；⁶ 黎奕葆 (2019) 則認為「像似」義動詞與「相等」概念相近，「像似」等比句可歸類為類型 6。

Haspelmath et al. (2017) 的概括性觀察 2、3 關於等比句的語序，原文已指出漢語是例外，並表示這並不令人意外，因為漢語在前人研究中早就被發現不符合其他跨語言的語序共性。⁷ 黎奕葆 (2019) 進一步指出香港粵語是概括性觀察 1 的例外，存在獨用程度標記的等比句，例如 (10)。雖然這種等比句表層結構與上面方蕊 (2020) 的類型④如例(9)完全一致，不過據黎奕葆 (2019: 69-70) 的分析，這種等比句的比較雙方並不是並列關係，兩者不能互換位置，如「*豬佢咁那麼蠢笨」。黎奕葆 (2019: 72-73) 以普通話不接受「*他豬那麼／一樣笨」，⁸ 而認為普通話沒有獨用程度標記的等比句，並呼籲就這種等比句在漢語方言中的分布作進一步的調查。本文認為普通話不一定沒有這種等比句，只是接受度似乎有人際差異，並容易受句子內容影響，使

⁵ Chappell (2016) 引用的是 Haspelmath et al. (2017) 出版前的版本。呂珊珊 (2019) 也就蔡家話的情況回應過 Haspelmath et al. (2017)。蔡家話是貴州西北系屬不明的語言，有學者認為屬於漢語 (Sagart 2011; 李文希 2020; 也參鄭張尚芳 2010)，而蔡家話的等比句根據呂珊珊 (2019) 的報告與漢語的十分相似。

⁶ Chappell (2016) 的原話是：「This (『像似』等比句) should also be recognized as a possible equative structural type」。

⁷ 有關漢語不符合其他跨語言語序共性的具體情況，可參看 Dryer (1992; 2003)。

⁸ 本文認為「?他豬一樣笨」比「*他豬那麼笨」好接受，接受度至少可以標為「?」。

用上比香港粵語較為有限制；不過，無論普通話的情況怎樣，調查這種跨語言罕見的等比句在漢語方言中的分布無疑是有價值的。

(10) 佢_他豬咁_{那麼}蠢_笨。(黎奕葆 2019: 68)

4. 語料來源

本研究結合了三種來源的方言語料：筆者調查、各類方言文獻，以及新近問世的語保工程採錄展示平台（<https://zhongguoyuyan.cn/>；以下簡稱語保平台）。語保平台提供巨量方言點的語料，呈現宏觀視角；筆者調查的方言點相比之下自是非常有限，但能針對特定問題深入挖掘；介乎兩者之間則有方言文獻的語料和描寫；三者互為補足。

筆者的調查主要在 2019 年 6 月至 2020 年 3 月之間進行，專門就等比句的情況調查了 23 個方言點，覆蓋傳統七大方言，具體方言點臚列如下：榮成官話、洛陽官話、柳州官話、上海吳語、溫州吳語、長沙湘語、邵陽湘語、豐城隍城贛語、蓮花贛語、連平客家話、連平隆街客家話、惠州客家話、貴港客家話、香港粵語（筆者母語）、肇慶粵語、陽春粵語、廉江粵語、南寧粵語、貴港粵語、廈門閩語、永春閩語、汕頭閩語、福州閩語。⁹ 本文所有不註明來源的語料皆出自筆者調查。

語保平台截至 2020 年 11 月 1 日為止提供了 1267 個漢語方言點的語料，¹⁰ 各方言點在方言歸屬上的分布及所在地的分布見表 1 和表 2。¹¹ 在語保平台各方言點的語料中，例句 47 一律為對應普通話「老王跟老張一樣高」的句子，本文以此為各方言點的等比句語料。在少部分方言點收錄了多於一條等比句語料的情況下，語保平台的等比句語料共有 1370 條。本文引用語保平台的語料時會提供調查點負責人姓名及一組五個碼的編號，把編號附在「https://zhongguoyuyan.cn/area_details.html?id=」之後可作為網址直接訪問有關方言點的頁面。以筆者母語為例，引用語保平台香港粵語的語料時，來源註為「吳芳 32C89」，以「https://zhongguoyuyan.cn/area_details.html?id=32C89」可直接訪問有關頁面。

官話	633	晉語	77	吳語	121	徽語	15	湘語	51	贛語	81	
客家話	61	粵語	78	平話	26	閩語	92	不明	32			總計 1267

表 1：語保平台各種方言的方言點數量

新疆	4	內蒙古	15	遼寧	22	吉林	14	黑龍江	21	
青海	2	甘肅	27	寧夏	6	山西	57	河北	58	
西藏	1	四川	134	陝西	37	河南	34	山東	47	
雲南	25	貴州	24	湖北	58	安徽	47	江蘇	82	
		廣西	97	湖南	108	江西	73	浙江	93	
		海南	19	廣東	83	福建	75	台灣	4	總計 1267

註：河北包括北京、天津；江蘇包括上海；四川包括重慶；廣東包括香港、澳門。

表 2：語保平台各地方言點數量

本研究參考的各類方言文獻在此不贅，引用語料時方隨文標出具體文獻。

⁹ 方言歸屬主要根據《中國語言地圖集》第 2 版（熊正輝等 2012）；下同。

¹⁰ 語保平台的官方數字是 1284 個漢語方言點，但筆者發現其中有 17 個方言點是重複的（詳參附錄一），本文提供的數字是排除重複後的數字。語保平台中可能還有若干重複的方言點是筆者未能發現的，但本文提供的數字經過筆者仔細檢查所得，相信實際情況不會相差很遠。筆者識別重複方言點是根據資料中記載的方言點所在地、發音人名單，以及記音。重複方言點的等比句語料有時一模一樣，有時有所不同。如果是前一種情況，筆者會刪去重複的語料；如果是後一種情況，會視為一個方言點收錄了多於一條的等比句語料。關於語保平台含有重複方言點的原因，據筆者觀察估計主要是因為語保平台除了包含「中國語言資源保護工程」的語料，還整合了「中國語言資源有聲數據庫」的語料，而兩者的方言點有少量重複。

¹¹ 語保平台為大部分方言點提供了歸屬的資料，沒有提供的由筆者自行查找判斷，主要根據《中國語言地圖集》第 2 版（熊正輝等 2012）。另外，本文統計的各地方言點數量與語保平台的官方數字不同，這一方面是因為本文減去了重複的方言點（參註 10），另一方面是因為語保平台設有一類「瀕危方言」，其中的方言點不計入任何省份，而本文則把這類方言點也計入相應省份。

5. 漢語九個等比句主要類型

本研究把觀察到的漢語等比句分為九個主要類型（斜體句子作示意之用，在普通話不一定合法；下同）：

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| A 伴隨介詞等比句：老王[跟老張一樣高] | F 獨用後標記等比句：老王[<u> </u> 姚明那麼高] |
| B 比較介詞等比句：老王 <u>比</u> 老張一樣高 | G 統一等比句：[老王跟老張]一樣高 |
| C 「像似」動詞等比句：老王 <u>像</u> 老張那麼高 | H 名參數非典型等比句：老王跟老張 <u>高矮</u> 一樣 |
| D 「有」字等比句：老王 <u>有</u> 老張那麼高 | I 補語非典型等比句：老王 <u>高得</u> 跟姚明一樣 |
| E 普通動詞等比句：老王 <u>趕上</u> 老張高 | |

其中類型 C 等於 Chappell (2016) 「像似」等比句；類型 D 等於 Chappell (2016) 同名的類型；類型 F 相當於黎奕葆 (2019) 獨用程度標記的等比句。

類型 A 至類型 F 所指的等比句都基於以下語序所構成：

主體－（前標記）－基準－（後標記）－參數

這六個類型之間的區分和命名是根據它們用不用前標記和用甚麼前標記而得出的。前標記指在基準前的標記，後標記指在基準後的標記。前標記一般是基準標記，後標記一般是參數標記，但也有個別例外的情況。上述語序公式把前標記和後標記置於括號中，表示涵蓋不用前標記或不用後標記的可能性。例如類型 F 本身的定義就是不用前標記的等比句；類型 D 則是最典型可以不用後標記的等比句（參劉振平 2010；Xie 2014 等）。本文把上述語序稱為漢語等比句典型語序。它相當於 Bisang (1998) 提出的通用句式和方蕊 (2020) 類型①，不同的是它強調標記不必齊全，因此也涵蓋方蕊 (2020) 類型③。

類型 G 所指的等比句為以下語序：

統一的比較雙方－後標記－參數

比較雙方的統一（unified）是借自 Haspelmath et al. (2017) 的概念（在漢語的應用參黎奕葆 2019），包括把比較雙方表達為：連詞並列結構——如此類型 G 對應 Chappell (2016) 並聯等比句；或無連詞並列結構——如此類型 G 對應方蕊 (2020) 類型④；和／或複數名詞——如此類型 G 對應方蕊 (2020) 類型②。三種情況的共通點是比較雙方在句法上成為了單一短語，或者說比較雙方先構成一個句法成分，而後才與參數及標記等其他成分組合成句。類型 G 沒有真正違背漢語等比句典型語序，只是類型 G 把比較雙方統一起來後成分的數量和具體性質有所不同，但以排序來說仍然是比較雙方先於後標記，後標記先於參數。

真正違反上述典型語序的漢語等比句，據本研究的觀察，不是涉及名詞性的參數，就是涉及補語。類型 H 和類型 I 就是分別指在上述兩種條件下違反典型語序的等比句。等比句也可能在遵守典型語序的情況下使用名詞性參數或補語，例如普通話「他們一樣高矮」和「老王長得跟老張一樣高」，這樣的等比句不入類型 H 和類型 I（上述兩個例子可分別歸入類型 G 和類型 A）；類型 H 和類型 I 專指違反典型語序的等比句，名稱中的「非典型」就是指這一點。

表 3 總結了九個等比句類型在語保平台 1370 條語料中各佔的數量。其中類型 A 和類型 G 在統計中合併起來，因為漢語伴隨介詞與名詞性成分的並列連詞往往同形，例如普通話的「跟」，¹² 涉及這種語素的等比句可能存在結構歧義（參 Chao 1968: 681）而無法區分屬於類型 A 還是類型 G，絕大部分語保平台的等比句語料以至方言文獻的語料都存在這種情況。表 3 的數據顯示：除了類型 A 和類型 G，其他類型在語保平台的語料中數量都非常少，甚至完全沒有發現。不過，這絕對不能說明其他類型在實際上就是如此罕見。如上一節交代語料來源所述，所謂語保平台的等比句語料，來自語保平台各方言點語料中對應普通話「老王跟老張一樣高」的句子。「老王跟老張一樣高」本身就是一個類型 A 和類型 G 歧義的等比句，方言調查以此句為參照詢問發音人，最可能得到的回應自然就是方言中同類的等比句；其他類型在方言即使存

¹² 有關漢語伴隨介詞和並列連詞的密切關係，可參看 Liu & Peyraube (1994)、于江 (1996)、吳福祥 (2003)、江藍生 (2012)、陳健榮 (2018；Chan 2020)。

在，也可能要在準確對應「老王跟老張一樣高」的說法不地道甚或根本不存在的情況下，才有機會錄得。¹³

A/G 伴隨／統一等比句	1355	B 比較介詞等比句	1	
C 「像似」動詞等比句	4	D 「有」字等比句	0	
E 普通動詞等比句	0	F 獨用後標記等比句	0	
H 名參數非典型等比句	10	I 補語非典型等比句	0	總計 1370

表 3：語保平台等比句語料中九個等比句主要類型的數量

以下第 6 至 12 節分別檢視上述各類型的等比句在方言中的情況，並進行有關的討論。第 6 節的主題是類型 A 和類型 G，向來被視為漢語最典型的等比句，語料最多，本文著墨也最多。

6. 類型 A 伴隨介詞等比句 和 類型 G 統一等比句

類型 A 伴隨介詞等比句指遵守典型語序而前標記屬於伴隨介詞的等比句：

主體－伴隨介詞－基準－後標記－參數 老王[跟老張一樣高]

伴隨介詞例如普通話的「跟」、「和」、廣東的「同」、吳語的「搭」、閩語的「合／恰／甲」。在語保平台各方言點的語料中，詞彙 1193 收錄了伴隨介詞的形式，可幫助判斷等比句中的前標記是否屬於伴隨介詞。

類型 G 統一等比句指遵守典型語序而比較雙方統一為單一短語的等比句：

統一的比較雙方－後標記－參數 [老王跟老張]一樣高

把比較雙方統一為單一短語的方法包括：使用連詞並列結構（老王跟老張）；使用無連詞並列結構（老王老張）；以及使用複數名詞（他們）。在語保平台各方言點的語料中，詞彙 1136、1137、1165、1192 分別收錄了第三人稱複數代詞、「大家」義代詞、表示總括的「都」義副詞（參呂叔湘 1980），以及名詞性成分的並列連詞的形式，可幫助判斷等比句是否統一比較雙方。

如上一節所述，漢語伴隨介詞與名詞性成分的並列連詞往往同形，上面舉出的幾個伴隨介詞的例子也不例外，涉及這種語素的等比句語料可能存在結構歧義（參 Chao 1968: 681）而無法區分屬於伴隨介詞等比句還是統一等比句；另一方面，本研究也觀察到這兩個類型的等比句的確存在一定的聯繫。因此，本文把這兩個類型安排在同一節。下面我們按這兩個類型的等比句使用甚麼後標記來把它們分為幾類具體的句式，分別討論。

6.1 「伴隨＋一樣」式和「統一＋一樣」式

「伴隨＋一樣」式指以「一樣」義詞作為後標記的伴隨介詞等比句：

主體－伴隨介詞－基準－「一樣」義詞－參數 老王[跟老張一樣高]

「統一＋一樣」式指以「一樣」義詞作為後標記的統一等比句：

統一的比較雙方－「一樣」義詞－參數 [老王跟老張]一樣高

「一樣」義詞例如普通話的「一樣」、官話的「一般」、中原和西南官話的「般（般）」、吳語的「一式／色」、閩語的「平（平）」、廣西的「同（樣）」。「差不多」義詞也可以視為「一樣」義詞的一個特殊小類。

從二手來源所得的相關語料往往存在由連－介同形所引發的結構歧義，無法區分「伴隨＋一樣」式和「統一＋一樣」式。針對這個問題，筆者調查的「伴隨＋一樣」式在主體與伴隨介詞之間加入副詞性成分，或者省略主體，以消除「統一＋一樣」式的歧義；「統一＋一樣」式

¹³ 《中國語言資源調查手冊·漢語方言》（教育部 2015）是指導和規範語保調查的手冊，對於語法例句的調查要求第(2)條訂明：「優先提供方言中可說而與例句結構相同或相近的用例」（教育部 2015: 157）。雖然《手冊》還有第(3)條：「假如另有意義相同而結構不同的句子，並且其常用度和自然度超過或至少不亞於結構相同的用例，也請提供」（教育部 2015: 157），但如上一節所指出，語保平台只有少部分方言點收錄了多於一條的等比句語料，更不用說其實大部分收錄了多於一條的到頭來在本文的框架下仍是屬於同一種句式。

則以複數名詞（而非連詞並列結構）來統一比較雙方，或者加入表示總括的「都」義副詞來提示比較雙方的統一，以避免「伴隨＋一樣」式的歧義。調查發現：一個方言接受「伴隨＋一樣」式的話，也一定同時接受對應的「統一＋一樣」式；反過來，接受「統一＋一樣」式的話，也一定同時接受對應的「伴隨＋一樣」式。換而言之，「伴隨＋一樣」式與「統一＋一樣」式互相蘊涵（mutual implication）。例如(11)至(17)，左句是「伴隨＋一樣」式，右句是「統一＋一樣」式，例子中的方言都同時接受兩式。

- (11) 榮成官話：兄兒_{弟弟}現在跟他哥一般兒高兒。| 他倆一般兒高兒。
 (12) 上海吳語：阿弟現在搭阿哥一樣長_高。| 伊拉_{他們}一樣長_高。
 (13) 邵陽湘語：老寶_{弟弟}現□_{jen21 na35}現在和倒哥哥一樣高哩_{語氣詞}。| 渠大勢_{他們}一樣高。
 (14) 隴城贛語：（小張）同／跟小王一樣高子。| 渠哩_{他們}一樣高。
 (15) 惠州客家話：佢_他其實同我一樣高。| □_{ky35}他們一樣高。
 (16) 香港粵語：細佬_{弟弟}而家_{現在}同阿哥一樣高。| 佢哋_{他們}一樣高。
 (17) 廈門閩語：小弟即陣_{現在}合阿兄平（平）懸_高。| 伯咱_{他們}兩個平大漢_{高大}。

如果「伴隨＋一樣」式和「統一＋一樣」式總是共存，二手語料無法區分此兩式也就不成問題。語保平台的等比句語料如第4節所述以普通話「老王跟老張一樣高」為參照，這參照本身屬於「伴隨＋一樣」式和「統一＋一樣」式，在毋須擔心兩式歧義的前提下，語保平台的巨量語料非常適合我們宏觀地觀察此兩式在方言的分布。在語保平台1267個方言點中，約九成半的方言點（1202/1267）都收錄了「伴隨＋一樣」式或「統一＋一樣」式（兩式一起討論時簡稱「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式）。表4展示按方言歸屬的分組統計，除了粵語只有56%的方言點（44/78）收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式，其他方言都各自有至少93%的方言點收錄有關句式。表5展示按地區的分組統計，除了廣東只有63%的方言點（52/83）收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式，其他地區都各自有不少於84%的方言點收錄有關句式。鑑於粵語組和廣東組的數據偏離主流，筆者進一步按方言片分組對粵語進行統計，表6顯示除了樣本只有一個方言點的未分片儋州粵語組，廣府片粵語收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的比例最低，僅約兩成（5/24），而勾漏片粵語也只有約五成半（12/22）；相反，欽廉片粵語全部12個方言點都收錄了「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式（詳參附錄二）。語保平台語料的這些數據顯示：「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式在方言中總體來說極為通用；不過，相比在其他方言，在粵語，在廣東的方言，尤其在廣府片的粵語，此兩式顯然較不普及。

官話 98% (621/633)	晉語 97% (75/77)	吳語 93% (113/121)	徽語 100% (15/15)	湘語 100% (51/51)	贛語 100% (81/81)
客家話 95% (58/61)	粵語 56% (44/78)	平話 96% (25/26)	閩語 97% (89/92)	不明 94% (30/32)	總計 95% (1202/1267)

表4：語保平台各種方言收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的方言點百分比

新疆 100% (4/4)	內蒙古 100% (15/15)	遼寧 100% (22/22)	吉林 100% (14/14)	黑龍江 100% (21/21)	
青海 100% (2/2)	甘肅 96% (26/27)	寧夏 100% (6/6)	山西 96% (55/57)	河北 100% (58/58)	
西藏 100% (1/1)	四川 97% (130/134)	陝西 100% (37/37)	河南 100% (34/34)	山東 100% (47/47)	
雲南 92% (23/25)	貴州 96% (23/24)	湖北 97% (56/58)	安徽 100% (47/47)	江蘇 100% (82/82)	
	廣西 93% (90/97)	湖南 100% (108/108)	江西 97% (71/73)	浙江 91% (85/93)	
	海南 84% (16/19)	廣東 63% (52/83)	福建 97% (73/75)	台灣 100% (4/4)	總計 95% (1202/1267)

註：河北包括北京、天津；江蘇包括上海；四川包括重慶；廣東包括香港、澳門。

表5：語保平台各地收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的方言點百分比

為免誤導，筆者有責任強調：在語保平台中一個方言點的語料沒有收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式，不代表該方言點就一定不能用此兩式。例如廣州粵語（廣府片）和昭平粵語（勾漏

欽廉 100%	吳化 100%	邕潯 88%	高陽 80%	
(12/12)	(1/1)	(7/8)	(4/5)	
四邑 60%	勾漏 55%	廣府 21%	儋州 0%	總計 56%
(3/5)	(12/22)	(5/24)	(0/1)	(44/78)

註：儋州指在海南未分片的儋州粵語。

表 6：語保平台各粵語片收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的方言點百分比

片)在語保平台收錄的等比句不是「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式(鄭媛 15231; 楊璧苑 01A99),但是這兩個方言其實都可以使用有關句式,見例(18)、(19)。不過,既然語保調查以「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式為參照,而在特定方言群組錄得的語料卻常常是與此不太對應的其他等比句句式,那麼我們至少可以相信在這些方言「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式並不是最地道的句式。

(18) 廣州粵語:阿哥同細佬_{弟弟}一樣高。(潘小洛 2000: 414)

(19) 昭平粵語:我_{leu53}你同高。|兩隻籃同重有嗎?(黃群 2016: 40)

另一方面,筆者的調查也證實:在語保平台中沒有收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的肇慶粵語(廣府片;董光柱 15J10¹⁴),在實際上的確會認為此兩式不自然,如(20)。

(20) 肇慶粵語: ?弟弟原來_那哥哥一樣高。| ?_那兩個人一樣高。

香港粵語(廣府片)在語保平台中也沒有收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式(吳芳 32C89),而在實際上此兩式雖然在香港粵語可以使用(參例(16)),但所用的參數有頗大限制,似乎只有例如「高」、「大」、「長」、「厚」的一類形容詞才能自由進入有關句式,¹⁵其他形容詞進入有關句式可能就不好接受,例如(21)至(23)。¹⁶

(21) 香港粵語: ?阿哥原來同細佬_{弟弟}一樣矮。| ?佢_{他們}一樣矮。

(22) 香港粵語: ?細佬_{弟弟}而家_{現在}同阿哥一樣勤力_{勤快}。| ?佢_{他們}一樣勤力_{勤快}。

(23) 香港粵語: *呢_這個花樽_{花瓶}明明同_{那個}花樽一樣靚_{漂亮}。| *兩個花樽_{花瓶}一樣靚_{漂亮}。

吳福祥(2010)討論方言的「X+A+過+Y」差比句時,曾提出五個條件,主張能滿足這五個條件的才算是真正的「X+A+過+Y」差比句,其中三個條件關於參數的類型,¹⁷筆者認為借用到等比句的討論也是很有啟發性的。這三個條件是:(a)參數可以是雙音節形容詞或形容詞短語;(b)參數可以是動賓短語;(c)參數可以是形容詞的有標記項,即負極的(吳福祥 2010: 239)。例(21)、(22)不太自然顯示香港粵語的「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式不能滿足條件(a)、(c)(而例(23)難以接受更顯示香港粵語此兩式的限制還不止於此)。同處廣東的隆街客家話(語保平台未有包括此方言)使用此兩式也見限制,不能滿足條件(a),如(24),但能滿足條件(c),如(25)。如要挽救例(21)至(24)不好接受的說法,發音人提供的方法是加入程度指示詞,即改用「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式,有關討論見第 6.3 節。其實,香港粵語以至上面提及的廣州粵語、昭平粵語和肇慶粵語,在語保平台中收錄的就是「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式。

(24) 隆街客家話:佢_他撈你一樣勤_{勤快}/慳/欣_{開心}/勤工_{勤快}/慳懂/?歡喜_{開心}。

(25) 隆街客家話:佢_他撈你一樣矮。

我們還沒有討論上面介紹的條件(b):參數可以是動賓短語。本研究發現方言中的「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式若以動賓短語作為參數,普遍會產生問題。Chen (2010: 26)指出過普通話例(26)存在歧義:一個解讀是「張三」和「李四」在「喜歡瑪莉」這個特性上程度一致;另一個解

¹⁴ 筆者和董光柱(15J10)調查的都是肇慶市區的端州話,此方言屬廣府片粵語,語保平台誤作勾漏片。

¹⁵ 這類形容詞相當於文獻中的正極維度形容詞(positive dimensional adjective;參 Bierwisch 1989),或量度形容詞的一個子類(參陸儉明 1989)。它們的特點是:在「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式中作為參數不一定表示主體或比較雙方在有關特性上程度高於一般水平(即文獻中所謂非評價性 non-evaluative,參 Rett 2015),例如「老王跟老張一樣高」並不表示「老王」、「老張」稱得上為「高」。

¹⁶ 對於不同形容詞進入「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的接受度,香港粵語的母語者之間不無分歧。相對而言,「高」、「大」、「長」、「厚」這一類形容詞進入有關句式的接受度最為穩定。

¹⁷ 吳福祥(2010)稱參數為「VP」或「A」,「參數」這個詞用作稱呼那五個判別真正「X+A+過+Y」差比句的條件。

讀是「張三」和「李四」一致存在「喜歡瑪莉」這個特性，但沒有說明程度是否一致，相當於「張三跟李四一樣都喜歡瑪莉」。在本文所採用的定義中，只有前一個解讀屬於等比句的解讀；後一個無關程度的解讀不屬於等比句的解讀，本文建議如此解讀的句子稱為如同句。¹⁸

(26) 普通話：張三跟李四一樣喜歡瑪莉。（歧義）（Chen 2010: 26）

筆者調查發現同類的句子在邵陽湘語基本上一樣存在歧義，不過可以通過重讀來區別兩種意思，如(27)。

(27) 邵陽湘語：哥哥其實和倒老寶_{弟弟}一樣愛吃麵。（歧義）| 哥哥其實和倒老寶_{弟弟}一樣愛吃麵_{重讀}。（如同）| 哥哥其實和倒老寶_{弟弟}一樣_{重讀}愛吃麵。（等比）

然而，在方言更常見的情況是：「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式若以動賓短語作為參數，就只能理解為如同句，如(28)至(33)。

(28) 上海吳語：阿哥其實搭阿弟一樣歡喜_{喜歡}吃麵。| 伊拉_{他們}一樣歡喜_{喜歡}吃麵。（如同）

(29) 隍城贛語：小張同／跟小王一樣歡喜_{喜歡}吃麵。（如同）

(30) 隆街客家話：佢_他撈你一樣愛食煙_{吸煙}。（如同）

(31) 香港粵語：佢_他其實同阿哥一樣鍾意_{喜歡}食吃麵。| 佢_他咁_{他們}一樣鍾意_{喜歡}食吃麵。（如同）

(32) 肇慶粵語：弟弟原來咁_他哥哥一樣鍾意_{喜歡}食吃麵。（如同）

(33) 貴港粵語：阿哥其實同老弟一樣鍾意_{喜歡}食吃麵。（如同）

一些方言甚至根本不容許此兩式以動賓短語作為參數，如(34)、(35)。

(34) 榮成官話：?張三原來跟李四一般兒喜歡瑪莉。

(35) 汕頭閩語：*阿弟合阿哥平愛吃麵。

最後，我們討論「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式使用「差不多」義詞的變體。這種變體似乎沒有方言是不能用的：筆者的調查沒有發現任何方言拒絕有關句式，若干接受的語料如(36)至(40)；而方言文獻討論等比句時雖然不一定提及有關句式，但據筆者所及也沒有文獻指出有關句式在某方言不可接受。

(36) 榮成官話：兄兒_{弟弟}現在跟他哥差不多兒高兒。| 他倆差不多兒高兒。

(37) 上海吳語：阿弟現在搭阿哥差勿多高。

(38) 隍城贛語：小張同／跟小王差不多高子。| 渠哩_{他們}差不多高。

(39) 隆街客家話：佢_他撈你差唔多高。

(40) 香港粵語：細佬_{弟弟}而家_{現在}同阿哥差唔多高。| 佢_他咁_{他們}差唔多高。

在語保平台中只有 20 個方言點收錄了涉及「差不多」義詞的「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式，佔語保平台全部方言點不足 2% (20/1267)。考慮到這種句式就語義而言不是最典型的等比句，在語保平台的語料中記錄很少是完全可以理解的。有趣的是收錄了這種句式的方言點具有明顯的地域性。在該 20 個方言點中，18 個來自西南官話：其中 9 個屬川黔片（主要屬成渝小片），7 個屬西蜀片岷赤小片，2 個屬湖廣片（詳參附錄三），例如(41)至(43)；而這 18 個點都分布在四川東部、重慶，以及貴州、湖南與川渝兩地接壤一帶。「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式使用「差不多」義詞大概是普遍適用於絕大部分方言的，但在語保平台收錄這種句式的方言點幾乎都是來自上述地區，這或許表示這種句式在當地有某種特殊地位，不過具體情況有待進一步的調查。

(41) 長寧官話：老王跟老張差不多高。（代曉冬 16F03）

(42) 麻陽官話：老王和老張差有多高。（孫葉林 26D53）

(43) 萬盛官話：老王和老張差不多一樣高。（楊濤 13C46）

6.2 「伴隨＋指示」式和「統一＋指示」式

「伴隨＋指示」式指以程度指示詞作為後標記的伴隨介詞等比句：

¹⁸ 本文所謂如同句相近於 Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 319) 所說的 disjunct similatives，例如英語「like my wife, I love mushrooms」。不過，disjunct similatives 在漢語對應的說法除了可以是「跟我太太一樣，我喜歡蘑菇」，也可以是「我跟我太太一樣喜歡蘑菇」，不一定涉及外接語 (disjunct)。

主體－伴隨介詞－基準－程度指示詞－參數 老王[跟老張那麼高]

「統一＋指示」式指以程度指示詞作為後標記的統一等比句：

統一的比較雙方－程度指示詞－參數 [老王跟老張]那麼高

程度指示詞例如普通話的「這／那麼」、吳語的「介」（上海：ka53）、粵語的「咁」（香港：kəm33）、客家話的「佢」（梅縣：an31）、閩語的「這／許（□）」（廈門：tsia253 ni21 / hia253 ni35 / tsia211 / hia211）。在語保平台各方言點的語料中，詞彙 1153 收錄了程度指示詞的形式，可幫助判斷等比句中的後標記是否屬於程度指示詞。在文獻回顧的部分指出過我們可從 Bisang（1998）的理論推導出一種未有發現過的等比句，「伴隨＋指示」式和「統一＋指示」式就是這種等比句。普通話能說「統一＋指示」式形式的句子，但沒有等比句的意思。

我們在語保平台中發現 20 個方言點收錄了「伴隨＋指示」式或「統一＋指示」式（兩式一起討論時簡稱「伴隨／統一＋指示」式）（詳參附錄四），例如(44)至(49)。這些方言點的分布具有明顯特性：17 個方言點屬粵語，另有客家話、閩語、官話各一；主要位於廣東，及至廣西東部及海南。不過，就如本文一再強調的，在語保平台中一個方言點的語料沒有收錄某些句式，不代表該方言點就不存在那些句式。「伴隨／統一＋指示」式上述從語保平台看見的分布可能遠遠少於其實際分布，它反映的更像是兼具下面兩種條件的方言的分布：「伴隨／統一＋指示」式常用；而且作為語保調查參照的「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式不地道甚或不能用（作為逼使發音人思考其他說法的契機）。為了確切掌握「伴隨／統一＋指示」式的實際分布，我們有必要通過翻查大量方言文獻和進行針對性的方言調查以獲得更多的線索。

- (44) 三水粵語：老王同老張大家 噉^{kie44} 高。（向寧 15983）
- (45) 博白粵語：老王共老張噉^{kam33} 高。（劉莉 01G14；覃鳳余 01009）
- (46) 桂平粵語：老王□^{na55}老張咁樣^{kem35 ien21} 高。（唐七元 01E09）
- (47) 五華水寨客家話：老王膠老張齊家大家 佢^{an51} 高。（張倩 15F54）
- (48) 電白閩語：老王湊老張 都是□^{hiŋ53} 懸。（陳云龍 15401）
- (49) 東方軍話官話：老王跟老張 都是這^{tsə24} 高。（馮法強 23J18）

我們在方言文獻中發現 11 個方言點存在「伴隨／統一＋指示」式（詳參附錄五）。這些方言點仍然以粵語為主（佔 6 個，其中 3 個與語保平台所見的重複），但此外還有客家話、贛語、吳語和官話；而更重要的發現是使用「伴隨／統一＋指示」式的方言雖然主要分布在兩廣，但絕非只限兩廣，還包括浙江的紹興柯橋吳語和溫嶺吳語、湖北的大冶贛語，以至山東的莒南官話，見例(50)至(53)。

- (50) 柯橋吳語：佢^我阿弟作渠^他介^{ka33} 高。（盛益民 2014: 435）
- (51) 溫嶺吳語：個小人^{孩子}梁橫^就搭渠^他娘^{媽媽}替日^{ti55 ɲia22} 長高^了。（阮詠梅 2012: 228）
- (52) 大冶贛語：我漏^{我家}老二跟你那個大個^{老大}果長高^了。（汪國勝 2000: 219）
- (53) 莒南官話：她弟弟給我這麼高了。（殷彥明 2018: 35）

文獻中還有一個有趣的個案：在賓陽平話，近指的程度（和方式）指示詞與一個「一樣」義詞同形，都是「同樣」（ton213 jen41）（參覃東生 2007: 23），因此例(54)既可以說是「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式，又可以說是「伴隨／統一＋指示」式。¹⁹

- (54) 賓陽平話：細張湊細王同樣^{ton213 jen41} 高。（覃東生 2007: 99）

方言文獻一般不指出一個方言不能用「伴隨／統一＋指示」式，這大概是因為此兩式在普通話也不能用，不預期會存在的事物就不會被指出不存在。因此，筆者親身就此兩式進行的調查，除了希望發現更多使用此兩式的方言，更重要的是為了確認甚麼方言不能使用此兩式，確認此兩式在方言中是不是真的不通用。筆者就此兩式調查過的方言點分為兩組：兩廣之內的有 11 個點，兩廣之外的有 9 個點。兩廣之內的 11 個調查點中，筆者發現只有柳州官話不可使用

¹⁹ 翻查語保平台的語料，「同樣」是廣西及至廣東與其接壤地區用以構成「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式常見的「一樣」義詞，不過那些以「同樣」構成等比句的方言除了賓陽平話在詞彙 1150 記錄了「同樣」（ton213 jen42）具有指示功能（劉莉 01G13；林亦 01008），其他的都沒有同類的記錄。

「伴隨／統一＋指示」式，其餘 10 個點都可以使用：粵語的包括香港、肇慶、陽春、貴港、南寧；²⁰ 客家話的包括連平、隆街、惠州、貴港；另有汕頭閩語。部分例子見(55)至(58)（合法但意思不是等比句的「統一＋指示」式（相當於普通話的情況）也記為「*」；²¹ 下同）。

(55) 柳州官話：*（老王）同老張這麼高。| *老王同老張 都這麼高。

(56) 肇慶粵語：弟弟原來咁哥哥咁大。| 兩家兩個人 咁大。

(57) 連平客家話：（佢我）同佢他□kan21 高。

(58) 汕頭閩語：阿弟合阿哥許／照高。

兩廣之外的 10 個調查點中，只發現洛陽官話可以使用「伴隨＋指示」式，其餘 9 個點都不使用「伴隨／統一＋指示」式，包括榮成官話、上海吳語、溫州吳語、長沙湘語、邵陽湘語、隍城贛語、蓮花贛語、廈門閩語，及福州閩語。部分例子見(59)至(64)。

(59) 洛陽官話：他弟都跟他哥恁高了。

(60) 榮成官話：*兄兒弟現在跟他哥那麼高兒。| *他倆 都那麼高兒。

(61) 溫州吳語：*老王伉老張恁長高。

(62) 長沙湘語：*老弟跟老兄那／咯高。

(63) 隍城贛語：*小張同／跟小王許樣／個樣高子。

(64) 福州閩語：*（老王）共老張只滿／許滿懸高。| *伊他兩隻人 都只滿／許滿懸高。

總的來說，筆者調查確認了「伴隨／統一＋指示」式在兩廣非常通行，而在兩廣以外雖然也見蹤跡，但頗為罕見，並不通用。圖 1 總結了語保平台、方言文獻和筆者調查三種語料來源所見的「伴隨／統一＋指示」式在各地的分布。

此外，筆者調查發現「伴隨＋指示」式和「統一＋指示」式並不總是共存，它們之間似有聯繫但遠沒有「伴隨＋一樣」式和「統一＋一樣」式之間的聯繫那麼穩定，這支持本文提出的漢語等比句分類方案對類型 A 伴隨介詞等比句和類型 G 統一等比句加以區別的做法。例如香港粵語和陽春粵語，它們只能用「統一＋指示」式，不用「伴隨＋指示」式，見例(65)、(66)；相反，洛陽官話只能用「伴隨＋指示」式，不用「統一＋指示」式，文獻中也見大冶贛語有同類表現，見例(67)、(68)；肇慶粵語和南寧粵語則是兩式兼備的例子，見例(56)、(69)。

(65) 香港粵語：?細佬弟弟其實同阿哥咁高。| 細佬弟弟同阿哥 都咁高。

(66) 陽春粵語：*（我細佬弟弟）撈你拱高。| 細佬弟弟撈哥哥兩個 都拱高。

(67) 洛陽官話：他弟都跟他哥恁高了。| *老王跟老張 都恁高。

(68) 大冶贛語：我漏我家老二跟你那個大個老大果長高。| *帶幾間屋房子 都果大，聽隨你得要。（汪國勝 2000: 219-220）²²

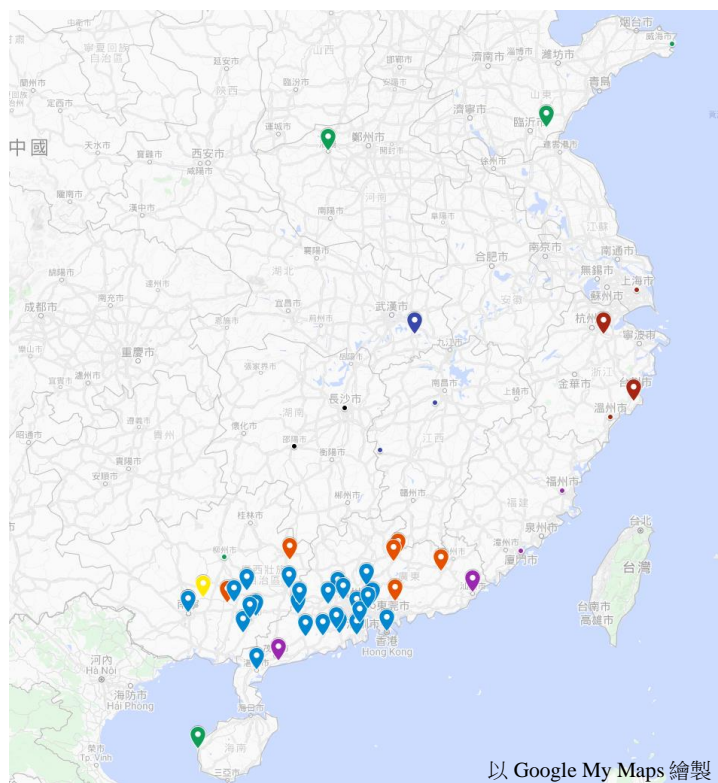
(69) 南寧粵語：佢他同我噉 kem35 大隻大（林亦、覃鳳余 2008: 352）| 嘿在學校有冇同嘿在屋企家咁舒服。| 三弟同四弟 都係是咁瘦。三弟和四弟都一樣瘦。（陸識為 2011: 12）²³

²⁰ 南寧粵語在文獻中已見「伴隨／統一＋指示」式的語料，見例(69)。

²¹ 筆者在調查中判斷一個方言的「統一＋指示」式是否等比句的辦法，是測試它能否（如「統一＋一樣」式一樣）自足地回應「誰比較……」這類問題。普通話「統一＋指示」式不是等比句，「老王跟老張都那麼高」是不能回應「老王跟老張誰比較高」這個問題的，除非說話人邊說邊比劃（這樣就不是自足地回應了），比劃出一個特定的高度，但是這樣其實無異於以「老王跟老張都一米八高」（假設比劃出的高度為一米八）來回應「誰比較高」。儘管「老王跟老張都一米八高」在邏輯上蘊涵等比句的內容「老王跟老張都一樣高」，但我們不會認為「老王跟老張都一米八高」是一個等比句，因為這句子提供的訊息超出了等比句會提供的，它額外指明了一個「高」的特定程度。同樣的原因也適用於說明「老王跟老張都那麼高」邊說邊比劃並不能算是等比句。筆者調查所得的「統一＋指示」式等比句都能回應「誰比較……」這類問題而不指示出任何特定的程度。

²² 右句原文後標記用「一樣」，行文中指「一樣」不能換用「果」，筆者按此說明造出右句示例。

²³ 程度指示詞在林亦、覃鳳余（2008）作「噉」，在陸識為（2011）作「咁」，但應是指相同的語素。南寧粵語不區分程度和方式指示詞，上述兩種寫法並非分別對應香港或廣州粵語的方式指示詞「噉」（kem35）和程度指示詞「咁」（kem33）。另外，這裡最後一個例句的整句釋義是出自原文的。



註：「·」表示筆者調查確認沒有「伴隨／統一＋指示」式的方言點。

圖 1：「伴隨／統一＋指示」式在各地的分布

「伴隨／統一＋指示」式還有一點不同於「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式：前者常常沒有嚴格的否定式。²⁴ 例如連平客家話的「伴隨＋一樣」式可以在「一樣」義詞前使用否定詞來構成否定式，如(70)；「伴隨＋指示」式卻無法構成否定式，如(71)。又如香港粵語的「統一＋一樣」式可以否定「一樣」義詞，如(72)；「統一＋指示」式則不可以否定程度指示詞，如(73)。

(70) 連平客家話：同佢_他一樣高。 | 同佢_他唔一樣高。 | *唔同佢_他一樣高。

(71) 連平客家話：同佢_他□_{kan21}高。 | *同佢_他唔□_{kan21}高。 | *唔同佢_他□_{kan21}高。

(72) 香港粵語：佢_他們兩個一樣高。 | 佢_他們兩個唔一樣高。

(73) 香港粵語：佢_他們兩個都咁高。 | *佢_他們兩個唔咁高。

等比句的歷時研究 (Peyraube 1989；張頴 2006；2010；李焱、孟繁杰 2010) 沒有提及過「伴隨／統一＋指示」式，究竟此兩式是如何產生的呢？筆者注意到存在「伴隨／統一＋指示」式的方言大多使用「同」這個語素作為（其中一個或唯一一個）伴隨介詞和並列連詞（詳參附錄六）；另一方面，《漢語方言地圖集》（曹志耘 2008: 語法卷 040）報告過並列連詞在各方言所用的語素（因為漢語伴隨介詞與並列連詞往往同形，所以《地圖集》報告的實際上差不多也是伴隨介詞的情況），其中「同」的分布與本文圖 1 所示「伴隨／統一＋指示」式的分布存在很大的相似性。相比於其他伴隨介詞，「同」的特點是它存在表示「相同於」的及物動詞用法，例如(74)。²⁵ 我們知道在漢語可以以表示「相似於」的及物動詞來構成等比句（即類型 C「像似」動詞等比句老王像老張那麼高，有關討論見第 8 節）。那麼表示「相同於」的及物動詞「同」又能不能構成等比句呢？我們找到賓陽平話的例子，見(75)、(76)。²⁶

(74) 惠州客家話：佢_他其實同我。 他其實跟我相同。 | 香港粵語：我唔同佢_他。 我跟他不相同。²⁷

²⁴ 所謂嚴格的否定式指不包括通過否定繫詞（不是）來構成的否定式。

²⁵ 也見《現代漢語方言大詞典》海口閩語（陳鴻邁 1996: 219）和南寧平話（覃遠雄等 1997: 301）「同」條，釋為「跟……相同」。

²⁶ 屯昌閩語也可以用及物動詞「同」構成等比句，不過只見否定式，並且在「同」後帶補語「邁」（kau35；到），見錢奠香（2002: 184）。

²⁷ 香港粵語的及物動詞「同」只能用於否定式。

(75) 賓陽平話：細張同細王高。²⁸ 張三高如小王。 | 張三冇同李四高。²⁸ 張三不如李四高。（覃東生 2007: 99, 102）

(76) 賓陽平話：我想同姚明那樣高。（覃東生 2007: 26）

筆者猜測例(76)這種「同_{及物動詞} + 指示」式或許就是「伴隨／統一 + 指示」式的起源：在及物動詞「同」經歷了虛化失去動詞用法後，「同_{及物動詞} + 指示」式被重新分析為「同_{伴隨介詞} + 指示」式以至「同_{並列連詞} + 指示」式，即為最早的「伴隨／統一 + 指示」式。至於(75)那種沒有搭配程度指示詞作為後標記的句式，在「同」虛化後大概就很難保留下來，因為句式只有「同」一個標記，如果「同」不再是動詞而只是一個虛空的伴隨介詞或者並列連詞，無疑就很難獨力表達等比句的意思，事實上筆者在方言中也沒有發現這樣的等比句。²⁹

6.3 「伴隨 + 一樣.指示」式和「統一 + 一樣.指示」式及相關句式

「伴隨 + 一樣.指示」式指以「一樣」義詞繼而程度指示詞作為後標記的伴隨介詞等比句：

主體－伴隨介詞－基準－「一樣」義詞.程度指示詞－參數 老王[跟老張一樣那麼高]

「統一 + 一樣.指示」式指以「一樣」義詞繼而程度指示詞作為後標記的統一等比句：

統一的比較雙方－「一樣」義詞.程度指示詞－參數 [老王跟老張]一樣那麼高

對於慣用「伴隨／統一 + 一樣」式的方言來說，以程度指示詞作為強調成分加入「伴隨／統一 + 一樣」式或許也並無不可，只是這樣構成的「伴隨 + 一樣.指示」式和「統一 + 一樣.指示」式就不是作為一種典型的等比句而存在。本文的討論希望聚焦於作為典型等比句而存在的「伴隨 + 一樣.指示」式和「統一 + 一樣.指示」式。

我們在語保平台和方言文獻中共發現 31 個方言點（分別為 28 個和 5 個方言點，其中 2 個重複）收錄了「伴隨 + 一樣.指示」式或「統一 + 一樣.指示」式（兩式一起討論時簡稱「伴隨／統一 + 一樣.指示」式）（詳參附錄七），例如(77)至(82)。這些方言點以粵語為主，佔 20 個，連同客家話 2 點、土話 2 點及平話 1 點，分布在廣東以至廣西東部及江西南部邊陲；另有江淮官話 3 點，吳、閩、客各一，分布遠離廣東。圖 2 展示「伴隨／統一 + 一樣.指示」式上述的地理分布；以此與圖 1 所示「伴隨／統一 + 指示」式的分布比較，我們可見兩類句式都主要分布在廣東一帶，而遠離廣東的個案則都跨過湖南、江西和福建（或至少其核心地帶）而分布在相對而言北方一點的地區，特別是湖北東部和浙江一帶。以上考察「伴隨／統一 + 一樣.指示」式的分布沒有加入筆者調查的語料，這樣處理是因為筆者針對性的調查很容易會錄得並非作為典型等比句的「伴隨／統一 + 一樣.指示」式。語保調查以「伴隨／統一 + 一樣」式為參照，方言文獻一般也不預設「伴隨／統一 + 一樣.指示」式是需要特別注意的句式，它們在這種條件下仍然錄得的「伴隨／統一 + 一樣.指示」式，應該比較能保證是屬於當地典型和地道的說法。

(77) 廣州粵語：老王同老張一樣咁_{kem33}高。（鄭媛 15231）

(78) 懷集粵語：老王同老張同咁_{kem22}高。（劉燕婷 15622）

(79) 苗栗客家話：姓王的同姓張的共樣_{an31}高。（莊初升 30C90）

(80) 廣豐吳語：老王跟老張一般般俺_{an53}高。（林芝雅 18356）

(81) 乳源桂頭土話：老王摺老張平□_{la4}高。（劉大偉 15F50）

(82) 黃岡官話：他跟他老子一樣箇瘦。（陳淑梅 2001: 150）

²⁸ 整句釋義出自原文。在賓陽平話伴隨介詞是「湊」（ts^hvu55）和「跟」（ken24）（覃東生 2007: 62-63），文獻中未見資料顯示「同」（toj213）是賓陽平話的第三個伴隨介詞；另一方面，在文獻可以找到賓陽平話的「同」（在關係小句中）帶賓語充當調語的例子「同□_{ku33}這種事情是有不可能有□_{o33}的」（像這樣的事情是不能有的）（覃東生 2007: 44；整句釋義出自原文），顯示它是一個表示「相同於」的及物動詞。

²⁹ 張頴（2010: 61-62）指出過在唐詩宋詞中似乎有單用伴隨介詞來表達等比句意思的情況，例如李白〈絳舊贈江陽宰陸調〉「清風蕩萬古，跡與星辰高」；不過，她認為這種句式在語義上不總是有等比句的意思，而且只見於唐詩宋詞中，「可能只是出現於韻律要求嚴格的韻文中的特殊句式」。

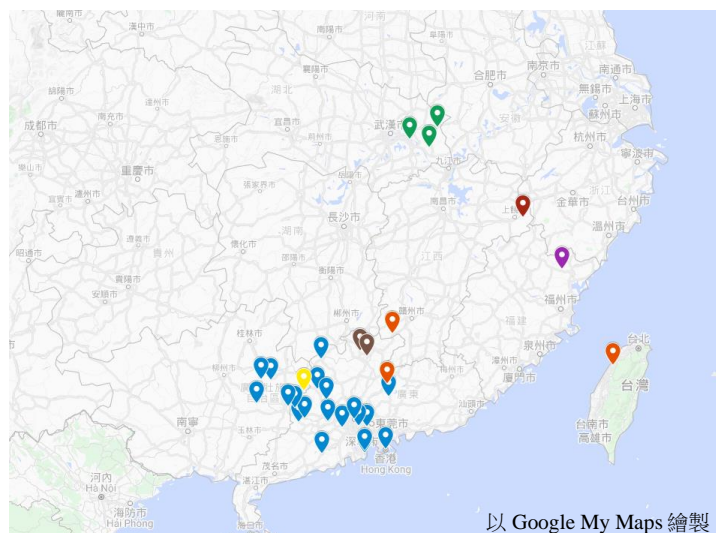


圖 2：「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式在各地的分布

筆者的調查包括兩個在語保平台所見的「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式方言點——香港粵語和肇慶粵語，調查發現它們都兼備「伴隨＋一樣.指示」式和「統一＋一樣.指示」式，見例(83)、(84)。從伴隨與統一兩式聯繫的穩定性來看，「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式的表現與「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式相類。

(83) 香港粵語：細佬_{弟弟}而家_{現在}同阿哥一樣咁高。| 佢哋_{他們}一樣咁高。

(84) 肇慶粵語：弟弟原來_呢哥哥一樣咁高。| 佢哋_那兩個人一樣咁高。

上文提過在香港粵語「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式只有例如「高」、「大」、「長」、「厚」的一類形容詞能自由進入句式作為參數；相比之下，「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式對參數的選擇沒有特別的限制，可比較例(85)至(87)與例(21)至(23)。

(85) 香港粵語：阿哥原來同細佬_{弟弟}一樣咁矮。| 佢哋_{他們}一樣咁矮。

(86) 香港粵語：細佬_{弟弟}而家_{現在}同阿哥一樣咁勤力_{勤快}。| 佢哋_{他們}一樣咁勤力_{勤快}。

(87) 香港粵語：呢_這個花樽_{花瓶}明明同_個個花樽一樣咁靚_{漂亮}。| 兩個花樽_{花瓶}一樣咁靚_{漂亮}。

相比於「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式，「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式還有一個優點：此兩式可以以動賓短語作為參數而不產生如同句的解讀，保持作為等比句的語義，如(88)、(89)（比較(31)、(32)）。上海吳語不以此兩式為典型的等比句，同樣可以利用它們比較動賓短語參數，如(90)（比較(28)），惟常用度成疑。

(88) 香港粵語：佢_他其實同阿哥一樣咁鍾意_{喜歡}食_吃麵。| 佢哋_{他們}一樣咁鍾意_{喜歡}食_吃麵。（等比）

(89) 肇慶粵語：弟弟原來_呢哥哥一樣咁鍾意_{喜歡}食_吃麵。（等比）

(90) 上海吳語：阿哥其實搭阿弟一樣迭能歡喜_{喜歡}吃麵。| 伊拉_{他們}一樣迭能歡喜_{喜歡}吃麵。（等比）

等比句的歷時研究（Peyraube 1989；張楨 2006；2010；李焱、孟繁杰 2010）沒有提及過「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式。筆者認為「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式可能是地方性的「伴隨／統一＋指示」式遇上「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的廣泛流行而產生的混合形式。這個主張可以解釋為甚麼我們在上文可以看見「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式有着與「伴隨／統一＋指示」式相似的地理分布。此外，從數據上來說，在語保平台 1267 個方言點中，如上文所述只有 28 個方言點收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式，20 個方言點收錄「伴隨／統一＋指示」式，分別只佔整體 2.21% (28/1267) 和 1.58% (20/1267)。假若上述兩類句式沒有任關係，它們在語保平台純粹因為巧合而同時收錄在同一個方言點的機會率可謂微乎其微。更甚的是語保平台只有少部分方言點收錄了多於一條的等比句語料（1267 個方言點收錄 1370 條語料）。在這樣的條件下，語保平台仍有兩個方言點同時收錄了上述兩類句式，見(91)、(92)，這顯示兩類句式的分布是存在相關性的。當然，這相關性的背後是否就是筆者所猜測的那種演變關係，無疑有商榷餘地。

- (91) 鬱南粵語：老王**挈**老張**一樣**噉 kem35 高。 | 老王**挈**老張**大家** 噉 kem35 高。（徐國莉 15F58）
 (92) 沙田粵語：老王**啦**老張**一樣**咁 kem24 高。 | 老王**同**老張**大家** 咁 kem24 高。（姚瓊姿 15991）

最後，既然筆者主張「伴隨／統一＋指示」式與「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式混合而成「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式，那麼「伴隨／統一＋指示.一樣」式——程度指示詞先於「一樣」義詞的句式——是不是也可以從相同的來源混合出來呢？答案是肯定的。我們在語保平台和方言文獻中發現 4 個方言點收錄了「伴隨／統一＋指示.一樣」式，都是浙江舟山的吳語，分別是定海（徐波 08519）、岱山（徐波 08959）、嵊泗（陳筱姁 08F78）、普陀（沈俏璐 2009），例如 (93)、(94)。這類句式出現在浙江與本文的理論相合，因為在浙江及其周邊地區也能找到「伴隨／統一＋指示」式（來源句式）和「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式（來源相同的句式）（參圖 1、圖 2）。如上所述，岱山是其中一個發現到「伴隨／統一＋指示.一樣」式的方言點，徐波（08959）引《岱山鎮志》（湯濬 1927）：「岱山……大約於乾隆年間開始遷者為多，其人多系慈溪、鎮海、山北（今屬慈溪）等鄉轉徙到此，亦有自紹興來者。」其中紹興柯橋就有文獻記錄了「伴隨／統一＋指示」式，見例(50)。

- (93) 定海吳語：老王**搭**老張**介** ka52 **一樣**長高。（徐波 08519）
 (94) 普陀吳語：小紅奔跑勒得**搭**其他**介** **一樣**快。 | 姐姐**搭**妹妹**介** **一樣**長高。（沈俏璐 2009: 26）

6.4 伴隨介詞等比句的其他句式

方言文獻中還有「伴隨＋似的」式——即以助詞「似的」作為後標記的伴隨介詞等比句，筆者只發現一例，見(95)，文獻指同類句式還可見於其他膠遼官話，特別是在遼寧（孫聰 2020: 76）。雖然伴隨介詞和「似的」或「也似」這類助詞構成的結構在北方方言很常見，³⁰不過除了例(95)，筆者在文獻中沒有發現過這種結構用來做形容詞的狀語表示程度，王洪君（2000: 62）甚至表明陽高吳家堡晉語的「也似的」結構不能做狀語。

- (95) 瓦房店官話：王姨**和**她媽媽**似的**賢惠。（孫聰 2020: 73）

此外，方言文獻中還有「伴隨＋狀標」式——即以相當於普通話「地」的狀語標記作為後標記的伴隨介詞等比句，³¹只見於柯橋吳語，如(96)。柯橋吳語的狀語標記「咽」（ga22）與程度指示詞「介」（ka33）可能是同源的（都來自「個」³²），如此「伴隨＋狀標」式或許可以視為「伴隨＋指示」式的特例（柯橋吳語同時有「伴隨＋指示」式，參例(50)）。

- (96) 柯橋吳語：作阿興**咽** ga22 長高。 | 諾你**作**係你二哥哥**咽** ga22 懷乖就好哉了。（盛益民 2014: 264, 435）

「伴隨＋似的」式和「伴隨＋狀標」式不應存在對應的統一等比句，因為助詞「似的」和狀語標記應該都是後附成分，後附於基準，但是把比較雙方統一為一個成分卻又意味着句子沒有獨立於主語的基準可以後附。

主流的後標記「一樣」義詞和程度指示詞都屬於參數標記，句法上與參數的關係比較密切，可以脫離基準使用，例如(97)至(99)；但是助詞「似的」和狀語標記是基準的後附成分，應該沒有如(97)至(99)所示的用法，屬於基準標記。由此，在作為前標記的伴隨介詞也是基準標記的前提下，「伴隨＋似的」式和「伴隨＋狀標」式屬於 Haspelmath et al.（2017）獨用基準標記的類型 1 等比句，特點是兩式都分別在基準前後各有一個基準標記。Chappell（2016）和黎奕葆（2019）以 Haspelmath et al.（2017）的分類方案檢視過漢語的等比句，但都沒有發現過漢語存在類型 1 等比句。

- (97) 普通話：老王跟老張一樣高，**一樣**帥。

³⁰ 江藍生（1992）認為「似的」、「也似」這類助詞有兩個來源，分別是「是」和「似」；普通話書面上寫「似的」但口語實際上讀「是的」。儘管認識到這類助詞可能有兩個來源，不少研究仍然把它們歸為同一大類（如李思明 1998；李焱、孟繁杰 2010）。這一方面是因為認同它們的共性，另一方面也大概是因為難以區分。

³¹ 一些方言由方式或程度指示詞來充當狀語標記，這裡所說的狀語標記不包括這種狀語標記。

³² 徐波（2004）論證過舟山吳語的指示成分「介」來源於「個」；盛益民（2012: 345）討論柯橋吳語的「介」引用了徐波（2004）的說法。

- (98) 香港粵語：細佬_{弟弟}同阿哥一樣咁高，一樣咁型_帥。 | 細佬_{弟弟}同阿哥一樣咁高，咁型_帥。
 (99) 隆街客家話：佢_他撈你_{koŋ21} 高，_{koŋ21} 瘦。

最後，在語保平台 1355 條伴隨介詞等比句或統一等比句的語料中，有 10 條在後標記的位置上涉及筆者未能分析的語素（詳參附錄八）。這些語料在上文討論中未計入任何具體句式。

7. 類型 B 比較介詞等比句

類型 B 比較介詞等比句指遵守典型語序而前標記與差比句基準介詞同形的等比句：³³

主體－差比基準介詞－基準－後標記－參數 老王_比老張一樣高

差比基準介詞最典型的例如普通話的「比」。³⁴ 在語保平台各方言點的語料中，例句 46 收錄了差比句的形式，可幫助判斷等比句中的前標記是否與差比句基準介詞同形。

筆者在語保平台和方言文獻中各發現一例比較介詞等比句，都來自太湖片吳語，均屬「比較＋一樣」式——即後標記為「一樣」義詞，見(100)、(101)，當中的比較介詞具體來說都是「比」。許寶華、湯珍珠（1988: 478）在三十年前已經表明上海吳語例(101)的句式「新派已不大用」；筆者最近與兩名分別於 1952 年和 1979 年出生的上海吳語發音人進行調查，他們都已經完全不接受「比較＋一樣」式。「比」本身只是一個「比較」義的語素，沒有表明比較得出的結果是程度相等（等比）還是程度不相等（差比）（參 Ansaldo 1999），因此存在以「比」這個語素構成的等比句是非常合理的；³⁵ 問題是存在以「比」這個語素構成的差比句同樣合理，如果兩種以「比」構成的比較句都並存的話，聽話者就需要等到後標記（例如「一樣」義詞）的出現或不出現才能分辨說話者在說哪一種比較句，因此在「比」字差比句極其通行的前提下，「比」字等比句就很容易被淘汰。

(100) 臨安吳語：老王_比老張一樣高。（徐越 08964）

(101) 上海吳語：惠惠個的功課_比敏敏一樣好。 | 今年個的雞蛋_比仔舊年一樣多。 | 伊_他比仔伊拉_他阿哥一樣用功。（許寶華、湯珍珠 1988: 478）

8. 類型 C 「像似」動詞等比句

類型 C 「像似」動詞等比句指遵守典型語序而前標記屬於「像似」義動詞的等比句：³⁶

主體－「像似」義動詞－基準－後標記－參數 老王_像老張那麼高

「像似」義動詞例如普通話以至很多方言都用的「像」、粵語的「似」。

Chao（1968: 682）指出過普通話的「像似」動詞等比句大多用作從屬小句，如「像他那麼聰明的一個人」。朱德熙（1982: 2-3）也指出過普通話這類等比句只能用於例(102)這類表示「比擬」的語境，不能用於例(103)這類表示「實際的比較」的語境。總的來說，「像似」動詞等比句在普通話不是最典型的等比句。

(102) 普通話：這兒的耗子_像貓一樣大。 | 臉色_像紙一樣白。（朱德熙 1982: 3）³⁷

(103) 普通話：*裡頭_像外頭一樣冷。 | *這種蘋果_像那種一樣甜。（朱德熙 1982: 3）

「像似」動詞等比句不是所有方言都通用的，其中在贛語似乎最不流行。張燕娣（2007: 245-246）曾指出南昌贛語不能用「像」構成等比句；而大冶贛語雖然可以，但汪國勝（2000: 219）指：「用『像』不及用『跟』地道，實際上用得比較少；而且要用也多用於假設，或以否定的形式出現」。筆者調查過蓮花贛語和隍城贛語：蓮花贛語完全不能用「像似＋指示」式——即後標記為程度指示詞的「像似」動詞等比句，見例(104)，而「像似＋一樣」式——即後標

³³ 一些方言的差比基準介詞和伴隨介詞同形（參金小棟、吳福祥 2018），這裡所說的比較介詞等比句不包括由這種差比基準介詞構成的等比句。

³⁴ 差比句的標記不一定是介詞，例如粵語常見的「過」一般分析為補語（如張洪年 2007: 114-115）。

³⁵ 李向農、魏陽陽（2019: 48）認為「比」與「和」、「跟」一樣，是在「伴隨」義的基礎上來作為等比句標記的，可備一說。

³⁶ 源自上古漢語的「像似」義動詞「如」常常可以被有限制地使用（例如構成熟語或者專門用於否定式），這裡所說的「像似」動詞等比句只包括由方言中最主要的「像似」義動詞所構成的等比句。

³⁷ 這兩組例子原文用「跟」而非「像」，筆者按原文對「像」可否替換「跟」的描述造出這兩組例子。

記為「一樣」義詞的「像似」動詞等比句——也只有否定式，如(105)；隍城贛語「像似+指示」式只用於假設，如(106)，但「像似+一樣」式則可自由使用，如(107)。周洪學（2015: 211-212）指安仁贛語本身只有「像似+指示」式，「像似+一樣」式是新近受普通話影響而來。如果這個說法也適用於蓮花贛語和隍城贛語，不考慮它們非固有的「像似+一樣」式，那麼隍城贛語的「像似」動詞等比句就非常有限了，蓮花贛語更是完全沒有。

(104)蓮花贛語：*渠_他像你箇高。| *箇_這本書像字典箇厚。| *渠_他不像你箇高。

(105)蓮花贛語：*渠_他像你一樣高。| *箇_這本書像字典一樣厚。| 我不像你一樣高。

(106)隍城贛語：?小張像渠_他爺_{爸爸}許樣高。| *箇_這本書像字典許樣厚。| ?小張不像渠_他爺_{爸爸}許樣高。| 我像你個樣有錢就好嘍_{語氣詞}。

(107)隍城贛語：小張像小王一樣高。| 小張不像小王一樣高。

另外，筆者的調查發現隆街客家話完全不用「像似」動詞等比句，不論「像似+指示」式還是「像似+一樣」式，見(108)。鑑於客家話和贛語的密切關係（如羅常培 1940 [1999]），似乎不單純是個別事件。

(108)隆街客家話：*佢_他像佢阿爸□_{koŋ21}／一樣高。| *底_這本書像字典□_{koŋ21}／一樣厚。| *佢_他唔_不像佢阿爸□_{koŋ21}／一樣高。

盧小群（2007: 342-354）用過一定的篇幅系統地介紹不同湘語方言的各種比較句，但關於「像似」動詞等比句，只提到否定式的「像似+指示」式，肯定式的完全沒有被提及。筆者調查確認邵陽湘語的「像似」動詞等比句限制很大，所用的是「像似+指示」式（不用「像似+一樣」式，見(110)），只有否定式，而且參數不能為單音節，如(109)。

(109)邵陽湘語：*老寶_{弟弟}像爸爸那／那咖高。| *張三有_不像李四那／那咖高。| *老寶_{弟弟}像哥哥那咖聰明。| 老寶_{弟弟}有_不像哥哥那咖聰明。

(110)邵陽湘語：*老寶_{弟弟}像爸爸一樣高。| *老寶_{弟弟}有_不像哥哥樣聰明。

總的來說，贛語、客家話、湘語這三種中部方言都存在不通行「像似」動詞等比句的情況，其中在贛語的證據最多。

在語保平台中只有 4 個方言點收錄了「像似」動詞等比句。考慮到語保調查的參照屬伴隨介詞等比句或統一等比句，語保平台的語料肯定不能反映「像似」動詞等比句在方言中的常見程度；但從另一個角度來看，在這種條件下仍然錄得「像似」動詞等比句的方言點，應該都以這類等比句為最地道的等比句之一。這 4 個方言點有 2 個是桂柳片西南官話，見(111)、(112)，都是「像似+一樣」式；另外 2 個是廣府片粵語，見(113)、(114)，都是「像似+指示」式。地理上這些方言點都在南方：最北的是平塘官話，也不過在貴州南部；其餘的在廣東和廣西。

(111)象州官話：老王像老張一樣高。（白云 01E23）

(112)平塘官話：老王像老張一樣高。（吳偉軍 17D98）

(113)佛山粵語：老王好似老張咁_{kom24}高嘅。（馬蔚彤 15557）³⁸

(114)南海粵語：老王好似老張咁_{kom33}高。（彭詠梅 15F49）

與語保平台所見不無相合，筆者翻查十九世紀的早期粵語文獻，發現現存當時寫得最好的一本廣州話教材 *Cantonese Made Easy* 在第二版（Ball 1888）特別提到等比句（原文稱為 Comparative of Equality），³⁹ 當中介紹的就是「像似+指示」式的「像似」動詞等比句，見(115)；⁴⁰ 而現在跨方言看來都很典型的伴隨介詞等比句和統一等比句卻沒有被提及。⁴¹

(115)好似呢條咁長^{hò tsz ɛní ɛt'íu kom} ㄟch'õng, as long as this one (Ball 1888: 60)

³⁸ 馬蔚彤（15557）記錄的是佛山話，語保平台在若干處誤作台山話。

³⁹ Cheung（2006）考證過此書音系與現今標準粵語大致相同；有關此書作者的背景也可參看 Cheung（2006）。

⁴⁰ 此外還介紹了類型 F 獨用後標記等比句——「個隻咁大 ko² chek_o kom² tái², as large as that one」（Ball 1888: 60）。有關類型 F 的討論見第 11 節。

⁴¹ 有關等比句在早期粵語的情況，可參看黎奕葆（2021）。

在雲貴川、廣西和中南半島的壯侗語、南亞語以至藏緬語同樣使用以「像似」義動詞構成的等比句。壯侗語的包括泰語 (Bisang 1998: 715)、傣語 (刀潔 62772)、寮語 (Enfield 2007: 329)、壯語 (趙衛因 2016: 74-75; 何霜 62659; 儂常生 62874)、布依語 (周國炎 1998: 269-274)、水語 (韋學純 2011: 204, 293)、佯僂語 (姜莉芳 62871); 南亞語的包括越南語、高棉語 (Bisang 1998: 715)、佤語 (趙秀蘭 62676); 藏緬語的包括嘉絨語 (Jacques 2018: 39-40)、彝語 (Bu 2018)。⁴²

9. 類型 D「有」字等比句

類型 D「有」字等比句指遵守典型語序而前標記為「有」這個動詞的等比句：

主體—「有」—基準—後標記—參數 老王有老張那麼高

「有」字等比句似乎沒有方言是不能用的：筆者的調查沒有發現任何方言不能用「有」字等比句，若干語料如(116)至(120)；而方言文獻討論等比句時雖然不一定提及「有」字等比句，但據筆者所及也沒有文獻指出「有」字等比句在某方言不能用。⁴³

(116)上海吳語：張三有李四介／嵒能（介）高。

(117)長沙湘語：張三有李四那／咯高。| 張三有李四高。

(118)隍城贛語：小張有小王許樣高。| 小張有小王高。

(119)香港粵語：張三有李四咁高。

(120)廈門閩語：小弟有阿兄則尼懸高。| 小弟有阿兄懸高。

語保平台的等比句語料中完全沒有「有」字等比句，這大概是因為「有」字等比句與用作語保調查參照的「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式在語義上存在比較顯著的差異，例如 Yue-Hashimoto (1993: 157-158) 就從語義角度把「有」字等比句稱為「等於級」(equalling degree)，區別於稱為「相等級」(equal degree)的伴隨介詞等比句、統一等比句和「像似」動詞等比句。⁴⁴

根據 Xie (2014) 的分析，「有」字等比句是「有」帶小子句 (small clause) 賓語所構成的，「有」後面整個「基準—後標記—參數」的成分都是「有」的小子句賓語。本文認為這種結構在等比句中是比較特別的，在這種結構中「有」不能像其他前標記一樣簡單分析為基準標記，因為基準只是「有」的賓語的一部分，同時參數也是其賓語的一部分，甚至基準是能夠省略的部分（例如普通話「老王有這麼高」），而參數是絕對不能省略的部分（例如普通話「*老王有老張」）。過去 Bisang (1998) 和 Chappell (2016) 把「有」字等比句的「有」標籤為基準標記，大概是因為其在表層形式的位置在基準之前，遠離參數；現在考慮到「有」字等比句的實際結構，本文認為他們的做法是不無疑問的。此外，「有」字等比句的這種結構也無法歸類為任何 Haspelmath et al. (2017) 的等比句類型。從名目上來看，「有」字等比句最接近的類型是用「達到／相等」概念動詞為主要謂語的類型 4 等比句；不過在 Haspelmath et al. (2017: 14-15) 的描述中，這類等比句以基準為賓語，以參數為間接成分 (oblique constituent) (“Kim [reaches/equals Pat] in height”)，「有」字等比句並不是這樣的結構。

「有」字等比句的小子句賓語在典型的情況下是「基準—後標記—參數」，然而在文獻中我們還發現柯橋吳語可以把其他等比句句式的謂語部分——即「前標記—基準—後標記—參數」——整個都作為小子句賓語嵌套 (embed) 在「有」字等比句之中。例(121)嵌套的是「伴

⁴² 這裡引用的材料有部分語保平台的少數民族語料 (刀潔 62772; 何霜 62659; 儂常生 62874; 姜莉芳 62871; 趙秀蘭 62676)，這些語料的例句 81 展示了以「像似」義動詞構成的等比句，例句 32 顯示該「像似」義動詞可以單獨充當謂語。

⁴³ 有少數方言不用「有」這個語素表達「領有」義，它們能不能用「有」構成等比句，又能不能用它們自身的「領有」義動詞構成同類的等比句，有待進一步的考察。

⁴⁴ Yue-Hashimoto (1993) 區分「相等級」和「等於級」的做法沿襲自 Chao (1968: 681-682)，不過兩類實際所包括的句式與 Chao (1968) 略有不同。「相等級」和「等於級」這兩個翻譯術語取自 Chao (1968) 的丁邦新譯本 (趙元任 2002)。就普通話「有」字等比句的語義特點，可參看劉振平 (2010) 和 Xie (2014)。

隨＋指示」式；例(122)嵌套的是「伴隨＋狀標」式。「伴隨＋指示」式和「伴隨＋狀標」式本身都是柯橋吳語可以獨立使用的句式（參例(50)、(96)）。

(121)柯橋吳語：亨那座山有作二兩層樓介高。（盛益民 2014: 435）

(122)柯橋吳語：人有作我咽長高唻呢。|無有作渠咽長高。（盛益民 2014: 436）

10. 類型 E 普通動詞等比句

類型 E 普通動詞等比句指遵守典型語序而前標記為動詞但不是「像似」義動詞和「有」（簡稱普通動詞）的等比句：

主體－普通動詞－基準－後標記－參數 老王趕上老張高

普通動詞通常帶可能、動相或結果補語來構成這類等比句。這類等比句有部分常常不用於表示肯定，以表示否定為常。與「像似」動詞等比句和「有」字等比句一樣，這類等比句的否定式表示主體的程度低於基準的程度，而不是中性的程度不相等。

「比」是其中一個典型的普通動詞可以用以構成這類等比句。從文獻所見，它分布的範圍很廣，特別在南方，例如(123)至(127)。

(123)攀枝花官話：莫得沒有哪家的磨子比得上邱華家的這們大。|養兔比不上養魚來錢掙錢。（彭德惠等 2006: 61, 64）

(124)上海吳語：我是比勿及小王介漂亮個的。（錢乃榮等 2007: 247）

(125)長沙湘語：甚麼人都比不過她那樣騷風騷。|任何人都比不過你的臉皮厚。|哪個都比不過他的嘴巴子會講。（盧小群 2007: 350）

(126)蓮花贛語：有沒有哪隻馬比得上這隻馬有力。（曾海清 2017: 60）

(127)昭平粵語：有有是也甚麼菜比得上酸菜好吃咧了。|□nu44 哪個都比有不上佢嘴咁□lem53 甜。|種乜嘢甚麼都比有不上種花得錢賺錢（黃群 2016: 42）

「趕」是北方方言構成等比句最有代表性的普通動詞，例如(128)至(132)。相比於上面「比」構成的等比句，「趕」所構成的等比句表示肯定和表示否定是一樣常見的。

(128)大連官話：他趕上我胖了。（孫聰 2020: 74）

(129)潁上官話：他現在生活都趕上你那樣滋潤了。|妹妹都趕上她哥哥高了！（吳曉紅 2009: 94）

(130)團風官話：是不是有得沒有哪佢趕得倒這佢□k^hou312 聰明？（何洪峰 2001: 37）

(131)武漢官話：這些房子趕不倒那些房子好。（朱建頌 1992: 39）

(132)小店晉語：他都趕上你高咧。（王淑冰 2019: 41）

其他可以構成等比句的普通動詞例如不同官話方言中的「跟」、「頂」（孫聰 2020: 72, 75）、「攆」（胡利華 2011: 58；孫聰 2020: 74）、「折」、「貼」（何洪峰 2001: 37）、「敵」（彭德惠等 2006: 64；尚瑤 2017: 111）；以及一些南方方言的「同」（錢奠香 2002: 184；覃東生 2007: 26, 99, 102；參例(75)、(76)）、「當」（林亦、覃鳳余 2008: 353）、「學」（唐志東 1986: 99；黎奕葆 2021: 61-63）。

討論比較句的方言文獻中記錄了很多不包括參數的「主體－普通動詞－基準」的語料（老王比不上老張）；筆者的考察限定於包括參數的語料。

11. 類型 F 獨用後標記等比句

類型 F 獨用後標記等比句指遵守典型語序並且在不統一比較雙方的情況下不使用任何前標記的等比句：

主體－X－基準－後標記－參數 老王[__ 姚明那麼高]

在文獻回顧的部分介紹過 Haspelmath et al. (2017) 的跨語言考察認為世界語言中沒有獨用程度標記的等比句，而我們在這裡討論的獨用後標記等比句其實就是相當於這種等比句。除了黎奕葆 (2019; 2021) 最近討論過香港粵語的獨用後標記等比句，據筆者所及，這類等比句此前並沒有在方言語法專書以至討論等比句或比較句的方言文獻中被提及過。語保平台的語料也無法觀察這類等比句，因為識別這類等比句需要排除直接相鄰的主體與基準屬於無連詞並列結構，

而語保平台的語料其比較雙方「老王」、「老張」有很多相同的屬性，兩者直接相鄰時很難說不是並列結構。因此，這部分的語料都來自筆者調查。

調查發現榮成官話、上海吳語、香港粵語、貴港粵語都有獨用後標記等比句，例如(133)至(135)；汕頭閩語、邵陽湘語、隍城贛語、隆街客家話、連平客家話則基本上不用這類等比句，如(136)至(139)。⁴⁵ 由此看來，雖然這類等比句不是每個方言都有，但也不算罕見。

- (133)榮成官話：這本兒書字典那麼厚。| 這本兒書字典一樣厚。
 (134)上海吳語：伊那本書字典介／搿能厚。| ?伊那本書字典一樣厚。
 (135)香港粵語：本書字典咁厚。| *本書字典一樣厚。
 (136)汕頭閩語：?只這本書字典許／照厚。| *只這本書字典平厚。
 (137)邵陽湘語：*箇這本書字典那／那咖厚。| *箇這本書字典一樣厚。
 (138)隍城贛語：*個這本書字典許樣厚。| *個這本書字典一樣厚。
 (139)隆街客家話：*底這個老鼠貓□_{koŋ21}大。| *底這個老鼠貓一樣大。⁴⁶

如果要把獨用後標記等比句分析為某類等比句省略了前標記的結果，那麼最有可能的那類等比句應該就是「像似」動詞等比句。就現有語料來看，一個方言中但凡存在一種獨用後標記等比句的句式，該方言就一定同時存在「像似」動詞等比句的對應句式。例(133)至(139)左句是「__+指示」式——即獨用程度指示詞後標記的等比句，右句是「__+一樣」式——即獨用「一樣」義詞後標記的等比句；例(140)至(143)左句是「像似+指示」式，右句是「像似+一樣」式。比較兩組例子可見：有「__+指示」式就同時有「像似+指示」式（榮成、上海、香港），儘管有「像似+指示」式不代表有「__+指示」式（汕頭）；有「__+一樣」式就同時有「像似+一樣」式（榮成），儘管有「像似+一樣」式不代表有「__+一樣」式（上海）。

- (140)榮成官話：張三像李四那麼高兒。| 這本兒書像字典一樣厚。
 (141)上海吳語：阿弟像阿爸介／搿能高。| 阿弟像阿爸一樣高。
 (142)香港粵語：本書好似字典咁厚。| *本書好似字典一樣厚。
 (143)汕頭閩語：阿弟像阿哥許／照高。| ?阿弟像阿哥平高。

換而言之，我們可以就漢語方言提出以下的蘊涵關係（implicational relationship）：

「像似」動詞等比句特定的一種句式 \subset 獨用後標記等比句特定的一種句式

如果不是「像似」動詞等比句，其他類型的等比句是無法與獨用後標記等比句得出相同的蘊涵關係的。例如伴隨介詞等比句，榮成官話、上海吳語、香港粵語都沒有「伴隨+指示」式（榮成、香港參例(60)、(65)），但仍然有「__+指示」式；又如統一等比句，榮成官話、上海吳語沒有「統一+指示」式（榮成參例(60)），但仍然有「__+指示」式；又如「有」字等比句，榮成官話沒有「有+一樣」式，但仍然有「__+一樣」式。

12. 類型 H 名參數非典型等比句 和 類型 I 補語非典型等比句

類型 H 名參數非典型等比句和類型 I 補語非典型等比句都是違反典型語序的等比句，前者藉着使用名詞性的參數而違反典型語序，後者藉着使用補語而違反典型語序：

老王跟老張高矮一樣 老王高得跟姚明一樣

這兩類等比句在普通話都是存在的，並且相信在絕大部分方言都存在。除非一個方言沒有辦法使用名詞性成分表達參數（高矮／身高／高度／高的程度等等），或者不使用補語，否則大概都能用這兩類等比句。

⁴⁵ 獨用後標記等比句作為定語（字典一樣厚的書）或補語（老王長得姚明那麼高）有時會比較容易接受。不過，從 Haspelmath et al. (2017) 所引用的語料來看，他們對等比句的考察限於用作主句的等比句，他們也表明過定語用法的等比句不在其考察範圍之內（Haspelmath et al. 2017: 15-16）；為保持研究成果的可比性，本研究對獨用後標記等比句的考察也集中在主句層面上。

⁴⁶ 如果在主體和基準之間加入明顯停頓，如「底這個老鼠，貓□_{koŋ21}大」，句子勉強可以接受。

在語保平台中有 9 個方言點收錄了名參數非典型等比句，其中 4 個屬川黔片或西蜀片西南官話，4 個屬晉語（詳參附錄九），例如(144)至(147)。⁴⁷ 名參數非典型等比句大概在絕大部分方言都存在，但是在語保平台收錄這類等比句的方言點幾乎都是來自上述兩個群組，看來在當地這類等比句特別重要。

(144)井研官話：老王跟老張**高矮**差不多啲。（劉小文 16F11）

(145)江油官話：老王和老張**高矮**都差不多。（劉凱 16C13）

(146)延安老戶話晉語：老王老張**高低**一樣樣地。（高峰 35H24）

(147)偏關晉語：老王和老張**身個兒**一樣。（余躍龍 12A85）

我們注意到藏語的等比句似乎只能以名詞性成分來表達參數（胡坦 1985: 3）；嘉絨語茶堡話的文獻更明確指出過他們最常用的等比句是由名詞化的參數所構成的（Jacques 2018: 40-42）；羌語的文獻在等比句的簡介中也展示過名詞性參數的等比句（LaPolla & Huang 2003: 89-90）。這些語言的名詞性參數等比句都與語保平台所見的漢語名參數非典型等比句有着相同的語序，並且都使用「一樣」義詞。筆者認為這些語言可能與西南官話發生觸接，導致名參數非典型等比句在西南官話的一些方言點成為了主要的等比句。須強調的是名參數非典型等比句是漢語既有的，語言接觸所引致的是這類等比句在西南官話的一些方言點其重要性得到提升（參 Heine 2008）。至於晉語一些方言點為何同樣流行名參數非典型等比句，有待進一步的調查。

例(147)表達參數的是「身個兒」，這種表達方式並不是最明確的，句子得出比較「高」的程度的意思或多或少是一種隱涵（implicature）。這類句子在普通話可以再加真正的參數，例如「老王跟老張個子一樣（高／大）」。從這個角度來看，例(147)這類句子其實未有參數，不是完整的等比句。語保平台的等比句語料共有 2 個方言點收錄了這類句子，分別是偏關晉語（余躍龍 12A85）和石樓晉語（喬全生 12D85）。

語保平台中還有一個方言點的等比句語料十分特別，見(148)。這個等比句違反典型語序，但屬於名參數非典型等比句還是補語非典型等比句並不明確。歸為名參數非典型等比句，會懷疑「高」是不是一個名詞性成分；歸為補語非典型等比句，又不免會問為甚麼「差不多」前面沒有補語標記「得」。筆者傾向視此例為名參數非典型等比句，因為此例出自川黔片西南官話，正屬上述流行名參數非典型等比句的其中一個群組。⁴⁸ 不過，此例的「差不多」其實是補語也不是不可能的，因為粘合式（即不帶「得」的）程度補語在川渝的西南官話特別發達，如「累很了」、「哭很了」，在普通話則是說「累得很」（或「太累了」）、「哭得太厲害了」（參梁德曼 1982: 158-159；王春玲 2011: 203-210；涂慧 2017: 45-49）。除了此例有可能是補語非典型等比句，語保平台沒有錄得其他等比句語料屬於這個類型。

(148)巴南官話：老王跟老張**高差不多**。（鍾聿新 13180）

上述一共有 10 個方言點收錄了違反典型語序的等比句，其中 3 點同時收錄了遵守典型語序的「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式，餘下 7 點則只見違反典型語序的等比句。換而言之，在語保平台的語料中，沒有收錄典型語序等比句的方言點只佔整體約 0.55%（7/1267），其餘 99% 以上的方言點都有語料證明能使用典型語序等比句。沒有收錄典型語序等比句的 7 個方言點分別是：北川官話（劉凱 16F02）、井研官話（劉小文 16F11）、綦江官話（楊濤 13333）、巴南官話（鍾聿新 13180）、石樓晉語（喬全生 12D85）、偏關晉語（余躍龍 12A85）、湖州吳語（徐越 08F66）。它們是否真的沒有典型語序等比句，有待進一步的調查。

13. 總結

語保平台新近問世，巨量的方言語料對方言研究有極大的裨益，本研究即為一例。本研究結合了來自筆者調查、方言文獻及語保平台的語料，對漢語方言的等比句作出了宏觀而深入的考察。本文提出了一個包含九個類型的漢語等比句分類方案，是至今文獻所見同類分案中為

⁴⁷ 第 6.1 節指出過川渝一帶有一些方言點在語保平台收錄了涉及「差不多」義詞的「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式，這裡 4 個收錄名參數非典型等比句的西南官話方言點就是處於相同的地區，而相應地這 4 點中有 3 點所收錄的名參數非典型等比句用上了「差不多」。

⁴⁸ 據此，在表 3 的統計數字中，此例計入了名參數非典型等比句。

全面的，可作為日後方言語法研究對等比句進行描寫的參考框架。過往文獻往往強調等比句在方言中的共性，等比句的方言差異可說是被忽視的課題。本研究支持前人對於等比句語序的看法，等比句在方言中的語序的確是高度一致的。根據語保平台的語料，99%以上的方言點都有證據顯示能使用以下典型語序的等比句：「主體－（前標記）－基準－（後標記）－參數」。不過，本研究同時發現：在相同的語序下，可以由不同種類的標記來構成不同的等比句，而不同方言通行的等比句不盡相同。在文獻中最為人所熟悉的「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的確是在不同方言中都極為通用的等比句；不過，相比在其他方言，在粵語，在廣東的方言，尤其在廣府片的粵語，這類等比句顯然較不普及。廣東以至廣西流行「伴隨／統一＋指示」式和「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式；它們在兩廣以外也見蹤跡，但頗為罕見。其中「伴隨／統一＋一樣.指示」式可能是「伴隨／統一＋指示」式與「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的混合形式；能夠以動賓短語作為參數而不產生如同句的解讀，是它相對於「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的一大優點。「像似」動詞等比句在文獻中被視為漢語最主要的等比句類型之一，不過本研究發現贛語、客家話、湘語這三種中部方言都存在不通行這類等比句的情況，其中在贛語的證據最多；這類等比句對於一些南方方言似乎比較重要，壯侗語、南亞語等鄰近語言也以「像似」義動詞構成等比句。「有」字等比句大概普遍存在於不同的漢語方言，但是其結構比較特別，它無法在 Haspelmath et al. (2017) 的跨語言等比句分類方案中歸類為任何類型。漢語甚至存在 Haspelmath et al. (2017) 認為世界語言中沒有的一種等比句——獨用程度標記的等比句，這在本文系統稱為獨用後標記等比句。我們發現這類等比句在漢語中雖然不是每個方言都有，但也不算罕見；從現有的語料來看，它與「像似」動詞等比句之間存在蘊涵關係。至於在漢語內部而言罕見的等比句，我們發現了「伴隨／統一＋指示.一樣」式、「伴隨＋似的」式、「伴隨＋狀標」式和「比較＋一樣」式。除了「伴隨＋似的」式來自官話，其他都來自吳語。

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附錄一：語保平台重複的方言點

01G30=01029; 01G18=01146; 01G31=01030; 01G27=01027=01164; 01G21=01020; 01G14=01009; 01G22=01021; 01G15=01145; 01G13=01008; 01G23=01022; 01G29=01017; 01G25=01163; 02G51=02139; 02G49=02134; 02G47=02135; 10G61=10099

附錄二：語保平台收錄和不收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的粵語方言點

欽廉片收錄：崇左 01J63; 欽州 01G24; 東興 01G16; 防城 01E03; 靈山 01E14; 合浦 01E10; 北海 01C8; 港口 01013; 小江 01024; 檀圩 01019; 廉江 15232; 河口 09J95 吳化片收錄：化州 15F42 邕潯片收錄：貴港 01G18=01146; 南寧 01G22=01021; 龍州 01803; 憑祥 01E18; 右江 01007; 平馬 01004; 橫縣 01015/不收錄：桂平 01E09 高陽片收錄：陽春 15F57; 梅菪 15F53; 陽江 15236; 高州 15226/不收錄：赤坎 15973 四邑片收錄：開平 15J11; 新會 15988; 台山 15235/不收錄：斗門 15J07; 恩平 15F41 勾漏片收錄：蒙山 01G21=01020; 岑溪 01G32; 蒼梧 01E02; 容縣 01E19; 北流 01E01; 陸川 01148; 桂嶺 01162; 藤縣 01026; 里雍 01154; 石南 01151; 連山 15F46; 陽山 15989/不收錄：玉林 01G31=01030; 博白 01G14=01009; 平南 01E17; 昭平 01A99; 德慶 15J06; 懷集 15622; 四會 15F51; 廣寧 15976; 封開 15224; 連南 35H06 廣府片收錄：八步 01G19; 新興 15F55; 寶安 15F38; 增城 15237; 佛岡 15225/不收錄：梧州 01G27=01027=01164; 高明 15J09; 羅定 15J15; 龍門 15J14; 肇慶 15J10; 鬱南 15F58; 南海 15F49; 香洲 15986; 順德 15985; 番禺 15975; 沙田 15991; 三水 15983; 佛山 15557; 廣州 15231; 石岐 15238; 從化 15222; 莞城 15223; 香港 32C89; 澳門 33C88

未分片不收錄：儋州 23J22

附錄三：語保平台收錄涉及「差不多」義詞的「伴隨／統一＋一樣」式的方言點

西南官話川黔片：岳池 16F29; 中江 16F30; 雁江 16C38; 資中 16C39; 秀山 13C82; 梁平 13331; 萬盛 13C46; 墊江 13327 (以上成渝小片); 貴陽 17277 西南官話西蜀片岷赤小片：通川 16F05; 筠連 16F37; 屏山 16F17; 長寧 16F03; 古蔺 16C09; 思南 17281; 仁懷 17280 西南官話湖廣片：麻陽 26D53; 玉屏 17D99 其他：馬鞍山 21A27; 臨湘 26D51

附錄四：語保平台收錄「伴隨／統一＋指示」式的方言點

粵語：玉林 01G31=01030; 梧州 01G27=01027=01164; 博白 01G14=01009; 桂平 01E09; 北流 01E01; 羅定 15J15; 斗門 15J07; 鬱南 15F58; 恩平 15F41; 四會 15F51; 順德 15985; 赤坎 15973; 沙田 15991; 三水 15983; 石岐 15238; 從化 15222; 莞城 15223 其他：水寨 15F54; 電白 15401; 東方 23J18

附錄五：方言文獻收錄「伴隨／統一＋指示」式的方言點

粵語：北流—你冇_不同佢老弟咁樣頑頑皮 (楊奔 2006: 48); 南寧—例(69); 梧州—細張同細王咁高 (余凱 2009: 85); 台山—佢同你該 k'oi11 高₃₅變調 (甘于恩 2010: 112); 開平—佢同你該 k'oi11 高 (同上); 恩平—佢同你□k'ua21 高 (同上) 其他：公會—嘅這件衫衣服同知那件衫揆樣 ai13 iəŋ31 薄 (楊坦 2012: 13); 柯橋—例(50); 溫嶺—例(51); 大冶—例(52); 莒南—例(53)

附錄六：伴隨介詞和並列連詞使用「同」和不使用「同」的「伴隨／統一＋指示」式方言點

使用「同」：香港；肇慶；莞城；沙田；順德；從化；石岐；三水；鬱南；梧州；台山；恩平；開平；斗門；玉林；北流；四會；南寧；貴港_粵；連平；隆街；惠州；水寨；公會 不使用「同」（或沒有證據顯示使用「同」）：羅定；陽春；赤坎；博白；桂平；賓陽；貴港_客；大冶；汕頭；電白；柯橋；溫嶺；洛陽；莒南；東方

附錄七：語保平台和方言文獻收錄「伴隨／統一＋一樣指示」式的方言點

粵語：廣州 15231—踢足球同打籃球一樣咁辛苦 (潘小洛 2000: 415); 香港 32C89—我同你一樣咁 gam 叻 能幹 (張洪年 2007: 373); 澳門 33C88; 香洲 15986; 沙田 15991; 番禺 15975; 高明 15J09; 龍門 15J14; 肇慶 15J10; 廣寧 15976; 懷集 15622; 德慶 15J06; 封開 15224; 鬱南 15F58; 連南 35H06; 恩平—佢同你唔不系是一樣□k'ua21 高 (甘于恩 2010: 112); 梧州—細張同細王一樣咁高 (余凱 2009: 85); 昭平 01A99; 蒙山 01G21=01020; 平南 01E17 其他：新豐 15987; 大余 18E27; 韶關 35H08; 桂頭 15F50; 鋪門 01161 (以上廣東一帶); 黃岡—例(82); 英山 07D39; 蕲春 07169; 廣豐 18356; 周寧 02555; 苗栗 30C90 (以上遠離廣東)

附錄八：語保平台後標記位置涉及筆者未能分析語素的伴隨介詞等比句或統一等比句語料

官話：付馬 35H12—□nə44; 會寧 14A66—河 xə44; 通海 09D90—些些 cie31cie31; 永勝 09A77—些 cie31 吳語：奉化 08F64—做樣 tsəu53 iə0; 新昌 08957—擎樣 dzin22 aŋ45 粵語：儋州 23J22—會 hsi22 閩語：河頭 08K15—送 san21; 同安 02G47=02135—解 e0; 福安 02191—呢 ni44

附錄九：語保平台收錄名參數非典型等比句的方言點

西南官話川黔片或西蜀片：北川 16F02; 江油 16C13; 井研 16F11; 綦江 13333 晉語：石樓 12D85; 延安 35H24; 綏德 28997; 偏關 12A85 吳語：湖州 08F66

註：語保平台的方言點編號附在「https://zhongguoyuyan.cn/area_details.html?id=」之後可作為網址直接訪問語保平台有關方言點的頁面

True Resultatives and Pseudo-Resultatives

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Abstract

This study distinguishes true resultatives and pseudo-resultatives. We propose that while true resultatives involve vCAUSE (a causative structure) and Manner Conflation, pseudo-resultatives involve vDO (an agentive structure). This structural difference has strong explanatory power on the typological differences between satellite-framed and verb-framed languages (see Talmy, 1985). Moreover, although both English and Mandarin are satellite-framed languages and exhibit true resultatives, quite a few differences are observed, such as the word order and the (im)possibility of forming intransitive resultatives. We claim that vCAUSE selects a Small Clause in English resultatives, but selects a root in Mandarin resultative V-Vs. Furthermore, our proposal has meaningful implications on Chinese syntax itself. In particular, it can explain why some resultatives require the occurrence of 把 *ba* and why the “small size” constraint is not always observed. Finally, with our account, the historical change from Old Chinese lexical/morphological causatives to Mandarin resultative V-Vs is illustrated syntactically.

Keywords: syntax, resultatives, causatives, Mandarin, verb compound

1 Introduction

Resultatives refer to single clause constructions that describe an event of a change of state, involving Manner (the causing eventuality) and Result (the end state), neither one introduced by morphological marker or conjunction, such as *John hammered the metal flat* (see Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995; Williams, 2008; a.o.). Talmy's (1985) typology, from a cognitive perspective, distinguishes satellite-framed languages (e.g., Germanic languages and Chinese) and verb-framed languages (e.g., Romance languages and Japanese), in how motion events and caused-result events are expressed. For example, the Romance counterparts of English resultatives such as *John hammered the metal flat* are not allowed, as shown in (1).

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>John</i> | <i>hammered</i> | <i>the metal</i> | <i>flat.</i> | (English) |
| | b. | * <i>Jean</i> | <i>a martelé</i> | <i>le metal</i> | <i>plat.</i> | (French) |
| | | John has hammered the metal flat | | | | |
| | c. | * <i>Gianni</i> | <i>ha martellato</i> | <i>il metallo</i> | <i>piatto.</i> | (Italian) |
| | | John | has hammered | the metal | flat | |
| | d. | * <i>Juan</i> | <i>martilleó</i> | <i>el metal</i> | <i>plano.</i> | (Spanish) |
| | | John | hammered | the metal | flat | |
| | e. | * <i>O João</i> | <i>martelou</i> | <i>o metal</i> | <i>plano.</i> | (Portuguese ¹) |
| | | John | hammered | the metal | flat | |

¹ The Portuguese examples in this study are all from the European Portuguese variety.

A distinction between “strong resultatives” and “weak resultatives” is proposed in Washio (1997): strong resultatives are those in which “the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are completely independent of each other” (1997: 7); in weak resultatives, the verb denoting the causing eventuality, though not necessarily implicating or entailing a certain change, has “a disposition toward certain result without lexically implying such a result” (1997: 16). It is claimed that languages vary in whether these two types of resultatives are allowed. Crucially, Washio shows that although Japanese rejects strong resultatives (2a), it allows weak resultatives (2b) and “spurious resultatives” (in a similar sense as “adverbial resultatives” in Kratzer [2005], that the result part functions like a VP modifier) (2c). Differently, Romance languages are restricted in forming weak resultatives (3a, b), but exhibit spurious resultatives, as shown in (3c), an example from Duarte & Oliveira (2010).

(2) Japanese (Washio, 1997)

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| a.?? | <i>John-ga</i> | <i>kinzoku-o</i> | <i>petyanko-ni</i> | <i>tatai-ta.</i> | (Strong resultative) |
| | J.-NOM | metal-ACC | flat | pound-PAST | |
| | 'John pounded the metal flat.' | | | | |
| b. | <i>kanozyo-wa</i> | <i>teeburu-o</i> | <i>kirei-ni</i> | <i>hui-ta.</i> | (weak resultative) |
| | she-TOP | table-ACC | clean | wipe-PAST | |
| | 'She wiped the table clean.' | | | | |
| c. | <i>kare-wa</i> | <i>niku-o</i> | <i>atuku/usuku</i> | <i>kit-ta.</i> | (spurious resultative) |
| | he-TOP | meat-ACC | thick/thin | cut-PAST | |
| | 'He cut the meat thick/thin.' | | | | |

(3) Portuguese

- | | | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>O João pintou</i> | <i>a parede</i> | <i>de amarelo.</i> | (weak resultative) |
| | John painted | the wall | of yellow | |
| | 'John painted the wall yellow.' | | | |
| b. | <i>#O João congelou o</i> | <i>gelado sólido².</i> | (weak resultative) | |
| | John froze | the ice-cream | solid | |
| | Intended: 'John froze the ice cream solid.' | | | |
| c. | <i>O arquiteto construiu</i> | <i>a cisterna oculta.</i> | (spurious resultative) | |
| | the architect constructed | the cistern hidden | | |
| | 'The architect constructed the cistern hidden.' | | | |

In this study, we argue that the existing resultatives in Japanese and Romance, either under the name of “weak resultatives” or “spurious resultatives”, actually are all “pseudo-resultatives” (terminology originally from Carrier & Randall, 1992), which have a distinct structure from the “true resultatives” such as John hammered the metal flat. Within the theoretical framework of Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995) and Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993, 1994), we claim that true resultatives involve a causative structure headed by vCAUSE, while pseudo-resultatives involve an agentive structure headed by vDO, as will be presented in the following sections. This structural difference can explain various distinct properties between true resultatives and pseudo-resultatives, such as: a) true resultatives, but not pseudoresultatives, can express strong resultative meanings; b) true resultatives, but not pseudoresultatives, allow intransitive resultatives. Both true resultatives and pseudo-resultatives are attested in Mandarin Chinese. We argue that sentences such as (4a), which may express strong resultative meanings

² The adjective sólido ‘solid’ is not meant to form an NP with the noun gelado ‘ice-cream’, but to serve as a result predicate.

(i.e., the interpretation [ii]), are true resultatives, involving vCAUSE. They allow the Causee to occur postverbally, but it is also possible for the Causee to raise to 把 *ba*, as in (4b). In contrast, (5a) belongs to the pseudo-resultative category, which involves vDO and only expresses weak resultative meanings (the strong resultative interpretation [ii] is unacceptable). Contrasting to true resultatives, the pseudo-resultative structure allows the result constituent to have a “bigger size” (contrasting to the monosyllabic result component in [4]), and requires the Causee to occur in a higher position (i.e., attached to 把 *ba*), as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (5b, c), where the Causee occurs post-verbally.

- (4) a. 孩子 涂 黑 了 墙。
haizi tu hei le qiang.
 child paint black ASP wall
 i. ‘The child painted the wall black.’
 ii. ‘The child painted on the wall, and this made the wall black (i.e., dirty) accidentally.’
- b. 孩子 把 墙 涂 黑 了。
Haizi ba qiang tu hei le.
 child BA wall paint black ASP
 i. ‘The child painted the wall black.’
 ii. ‘The child painted on the wall, and this made the wall black (i.e., dirty) accidentally.’
- (5) a. 他 把 墙 刷 成 了 紫色。
Ta ba qiang shua cheng le zise.
 he BA wall paint become ASP purple-color
 i. ‘He painted the wall purple.’
 *ii. ‘He painted on the wall, and this made the wall purple accidentally.’
- b. *他 刷 成 紫色 了 墙。
 **Ta shua cheng zise le qiang.*
 he paint become purple-color ASP wall
 ‘He painted the wall purple.’
- c. *他 刷 墙 成 紫色 了。
 **Ta shua qiang cheng zise le.*
 he paint wall become purple-color ASP
 ‘He painted the wall purple.’

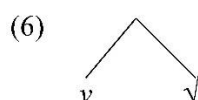
The following section, §2, will present the theoretical assumptions in this study. In §3, we will propose syntactic structures for true resultatives, based on which the typological distinction between satellite-framed and verb-framed languages is syntactically illustrated, and the different properties between English and Mandarin true resultatives are explained. In §4, the syntactic structures of pseudo-resultatives are proposed, and the distinction between Mandarin true resultatives and pseudo-resultatives is explained, showcasing the predictive power of our account. More implications of our proposal on Chinese syntax will be presented in §5, including some ambiguous resultatives and the historical evolution of Chinese resultatives. In the end, §6 summarizes the main arguments in this study.

2 Theoretical assumptions

2.1 The little v

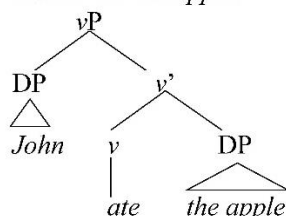
Distributed Morphology (DM, henceforth; Halle & Marantz, 1993, 1994; Marantz, 1997) claims that syntax is the only generative system responsible for both word structure and phrase structure. DM hypothesizes that the “Narrow Lexicon” consist of two classes of units: the “atomic roots” and the “atomic bundles of grammatical features”. The roots are acategorical and can only get categorized and interpreted by merging with a categorizing functional head x , such as v , n , or a , which categorizes a lexical root as a verb, noun, or adjective.

In particular, the core structure of a verb phrase contains a little v head and a root $\sqrt{}$, as in (6): the little v semantically introduces an eventuality, and the root modifies the event by contributing semantic content

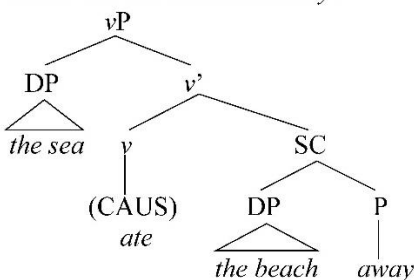


According to Folli & Harley (2005), the different nature (e.g. causative, unaccusative, stative, unergative) of events is determined by the different “flavors” of v heads that contain specific event-semantic content, such as v_{CAUSE} , v_{BECOME} , v_{DO} . In particular, v_{DO} is an agentive v , which requires an animate Agent subject; v_{DO} can take a straightforward Incremental Theme as its complement, and is a true verb of creation, as in (7a). In contrast, v_{CAUSE} is a causative v , which only requires that the subject be a possible Cause; v_{CAUSE} takes a state as its complement, creating essentially a resultative structure, as in (7b).

(7) a. *John ate the apple.*



b. *The sea ate the beach away.*



(Folli & Harley, 2005)

In (7b), the little v takes a Small Clause (represented by “SC”) as its complement, containing the Causee and the result predicate. This structure can be simplified as (8a). However, we claim that in resultative structures, v_{CAUSE} may also directly select a root, similar to how lexical causatives are derived in Pylkkänen (2002), as shown in (8b). As will be presented in §3.1, these two types of v_{CAUSE} selection can explain how English and Mandarin true resultatives differ, such as the contiguous vs non-contiguous word order and the (im)possibility of forming intransitive resultatives.

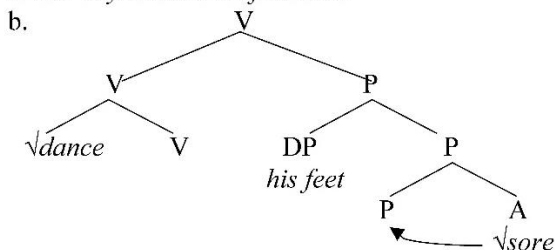
- Having presented how the result part is derived, in the next section, we will focus on how the manner is derived in syntax.

Assuming with Hale & Keyser's (1993) l-syntactic approach, Harley (2005) proposed that instrumental denominal verbs, such as *hammer* in (9a), involve Manner Incorporation applying to the little *v*, which takes a complement headed by an event-denoting root, as shown in (9b)³. According to Harley, through Manner Incorporation, the root describes the Manner in which a *v* is accomplished.

- Haugen (2009) further proposed that instrumental denominal verbs such as *hammer* involve Conflation, in opposition to Incorporation. Following Hale & Keyser's (2002) distinction between Incorporation (à la Baker, 1988) and Conflation, Haugen assumes that Incorporation involves head-movement, accounted for by Move (i.e. Copy), whereas Conflation is simply the equivalent of compounding (< Merge). Therefore, Haugen claims that in (9), the root of *hammer* is merged (or conflated) as an adverbial directly into *v*. This root does not come from a complement position (i.e., Incorporation), but rather, is adjoined to *v* directly (i.e., Conflation).

³ In Harley (2005), the Manner Incorporation is preliminarily represented by a 'thought balloon', as in (9).

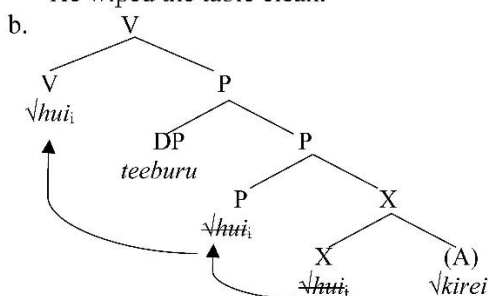
- (10) a. *The boy danced his feet sore.*



(Mateu, 2012)

- (11) a. *kare-wa teeburu-o kirei-ni hui-ta* (Japanese)

he-top table-acc clean wipe-past
'He wiped the table clean.'



(Mateu, 2012)

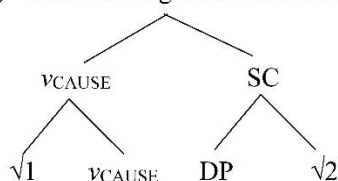
We follow Mateu (2012) and claim that Manner Conflation is a parameter that divides languages into two groups: languages with [+Manner Conflation] feature are satellite-framed languages, exhibiting strong resultatives; in contrast, languages with [-Manner Conflation] feature are verb-framed languages. Note that although Japanese and Romance languages are both verb-framed languages, the weak resultatives, such as (11), are allowed in Japanese but very restricted in Romance languages (see [3]). We hypothesize that the apparent resultatives in verb-framed languages, either weak resultatives or spurious resultatives, share the same structure – the structure of pseudo-resultatives, as will be shown in §3.2.

3. True resultatives

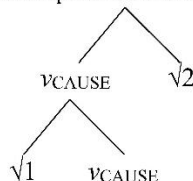
3.1 Syntactic structure

We claim that true resultatives involve v_{CAUSE} . In §2.1, we showed that v_{CAUSE} may select a Small Clause or a root as its complement. Assuming with the Manner Conflation presented in §2.2, we thus have two possible structures for true resultatives. In (12a), v_{CAUSE} takes a Small Clause as its complement, which contains a Causee and a result-denoting root (represented by “ $\sqrt{2}$ ”); the manner-denoting root (“ $\sqrt{1}$ ”) conflates to v_{CAUSE} as an adjunct to modify the event by specifying the manner. This is the structure of true resultatives with non-contiguous word order, such as the English resultative John hammered the metal flat. In (12b), v_{CAUSE} directly takes a result-denoting root (“ $\sqrt{2}$ ”) as its complement, and the manner root (“ $\sqrt{1}$ ”) adjoins to v_{CAUSE} via conflation, specifying the manner. We propose that this is the structure of the so-called “resultative verb compounds” or “resultative V-Vs” in Mandarin, a compound-type of true resultatives, such as (4a).

(12) a. Non-contiguous true resultative



b. Compound true resultative



Contrasting to non-contiguous resultatives, in compound resultatives, $\sqrt{1}$ and $\sqrt{2}$ merge or conflate to the same functional head vCAUSE, and this is how V-V adjacency is yielded. As shown in (13), the non-contiguous word order is not allowed in Mandarin.

(13) He kicked the door open.'

- a. 他 踢 开 了 门。
Ta ti kai le men.
 he kick open ASP door
- b. *他 踢 门 开 了。
 **Ta ti men kai le.*
 he kick door open ASP

Although syntactically formed, each V-V unit shows high integrity and exhibits compound features – it functions as one V0. As shown in (14), both V1 and V2 are subject to a “small size constraint”. We hypothesize that as compounds, these V-Vs also follow the disyllabic tendency observed in most lexical words in Mandarin, and therefore, each component tends to be monosyllabic.⁴

(14) a. 他 唱 {哭/*哭泣} 孩子们 了。

*Ta chang {ku/*kuqi} haizimen le.*
 he sing cry children ASP
 ‘He made the children cry by singing.’

b. 他 {跑/*跑步} 累 了。

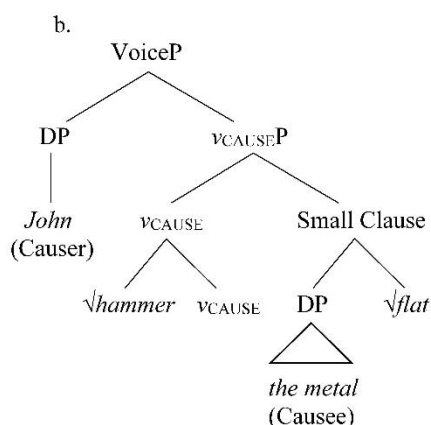
*Ta pao/*paobu lei le.*
 he run tired ASP
 ‘He got tired by running.’

3.2 Argument realization

In non-contiguous true resultatives, as shown in (12a), the Causee is generated inside a Small Clause and occurs at an object position in the sentence, as metal in John hammered the metal flat. Following Kratzer’s (1996) proposal that external arguments are syntactically introduced by Voice, we claim that the Causer is generated at [Spec, VoiceP], as in (15b).

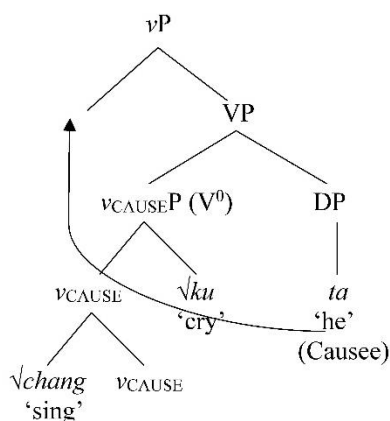
(15) a. *John hammered the metal flat*

⁴ However, although not common, components with more than one syllable are also observed in some Mandarin resultative V-Vs, such as 清楚 qingchu ‘clear’ and 糊涂 hutu ‘confused’.

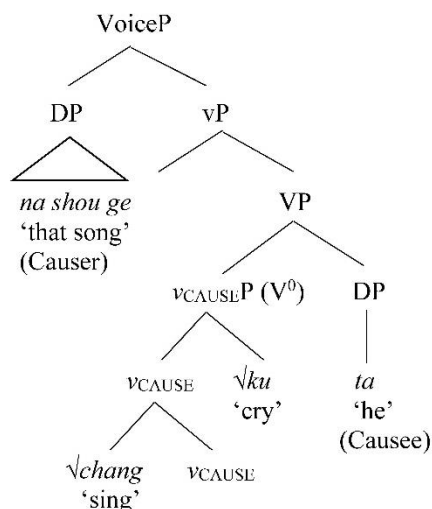


In contrast, the argument realization seems to be more complex in compound resultatives. As shown in (12b), the complement of v_{CAUSE} is a result-denoting root ($\sqrt{2}$), without involving any NP. As presented earlier, each V-V shows high integrity and functions as one verbal unit: by merging or conflating to v_{CAUSE} , the two roots contribute semantic content to the same causative event. In this case, each V-V is quite similar to verbs such as *break*, which functions as one verbal unit but intrinsically denotes a complex meaning (i.e., a caused-result event). We hypothesize that the Causee is always generated at an internal argument position of the V-V unit. When the semantics of this V-V does not involve intentionality, the Causer can be suppressed, and in this case, the Causee may raise and become the surface subject, as in (16a).⁵

(16) a. Inchoative V-V



b. Causative V-V



⁵ Since Mandarin allows null subject, it is also possible for Causee to stay in situ, as in:

唱 哭 他 了。
Chang ku ta le.
 sing cry he ASP

他 唱 哭 了。
Ta chang ku le.
 he sing cry ASP
 'He got to cry by singing.'

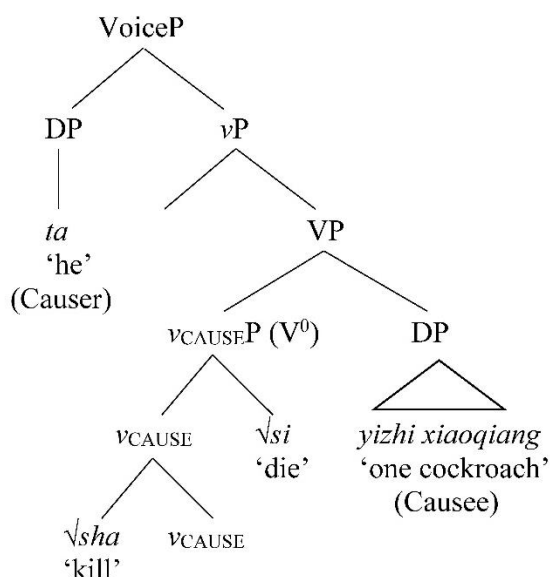
那 首 歌 唱 哭 他 了。
Na shouge chang ku ta le.
 that CL song sing cry he ASP
 'That song's singing made him cry.'

What we have now is an unaccusative structure, similar to the structure of *The snow melted*, where the surface subject *the snow* is an internal argument of *melt*. We will call compound resultatives of this type "Inchoative V-Vs". When the Causer is overt, we assume that it is generated at [Spec, VoiceP], as in (16b), which is a causative counterpart of (16a). We will call V-Vs of this type "Causative V-Vs", similar to the causative use of *melt*, as in *The heat melted the snow*.

However, some transitive V-Vs do not allow intransitive alternation. For example, the occurrence of the Causer is obligatory in (17a), as shown by the ungrammaticality of the intransitive counterpart in (17b). We will call this type of compound resultatives the "Accusative V-Vs", echoing telic action verbs such as *kill* and *cut*, which intrinsically denote an intentional action with an implication of a result – e.g., 'dead' for *kill*, and 'in pieces' for *cut*. The syntactic structure of (17a) is presented in (18), where the Causer is generated at [Spec, VoiceP], and the Causee takes the position of an internal argument.

- (17) a. 他 杀 死 了 一 只 小强。
Ta sha si le yi zhi xiaoqiang.
 he kill die ASP one CL cockroach
 'He killed one cockroach to death.'
- b. *一只小强 杀 死 了。
 **yi zhi xiaoqiang sha si le.*
 one CL cockroach kill die ASP
 Intended: 'One cockroach got killed to death.'

(18) Accusative V-V



Comparing (16b) and (18), we can find that Accusative V-Vs and Causative V-Vs do not show a structural difference. We attribute their distinct behavior in causative alternation to semantic reasons, in the same spirit as Levin & Rappaport's (1994 *et seq.*) insights on alternating and non-alternating verbs. Each V-V unit, in line with single verbs, depending on its semantic meanings, may exhibit unaccusative or accusative properties. When the expressed caused-result event does not involve intentionality, it may allow causative alternation and have both Inchoative and Causative uses, echoing verbs such as *melt*. When the caused-result event involves intentionality, just like verbs such as *kill*, the Causer is required to occur, disallowing intransitive counterparts.⁶ Therefore, the difference between (16b) and (18) is analogous to the difference between *The heat melted the snow* and *John killed one cockroach*: while having the same syntactic structure (i.e., the transitive pattern involving VoiceP), the verbs' semantic differences (partially) determine the (im)possibility of causative alternation.

However, causative alternation never occurs in the non-contiguous type such as English true resultatives. As shown in (15b), the structure of English resultatives involves an embedded Small Clause, which contains a DP (i.e., the Causee) and a result-denoting root. Such a structure prohibits the Causee to move out of the Small Clause, preventing alternation. Furthermore, since English does not allow null subjects, a consequence is that the Causer is required to be overt to fulfill Case checking requirements. For this reason, English does exhibit intransitive true resultatives, as shown in (19a). Only when a reflexive pronoun occurs to make both Causer and Causee "filled up" that the sentence become acceptable (see Simpson, 1983; Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2001), as shown in (19b).

- (19) a. **She sang hoarse.*
 b. *She sang herself hoarse.*

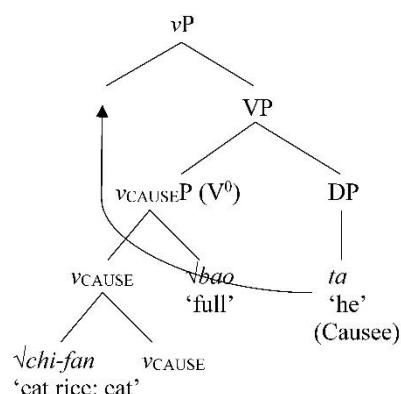
Comparatively, the argument realization of English resultatives is more "stable" – nonexceptionally, the surface subject position corresponds to the role of Causer, and the NP at the surface object position receives the role of Causee. In contrast, in compound resultatives, such as Mandarin resultative V-Vs, the position of the surface subject or object does not define the role of Causer or Causee. As shown in (16a), the Causee may move up and become a surface subject.

Furthermore, in Mandarin resultative V-Vs, the manner-denoting root may be a complex one, such as those in (20), which constitutes a more complicated case. We hypothesize that in (20), 吃饭 *chi-fan* 'eat rice' and 喝酒 *he-jiu* 'drink alcohol' conflate to v_{CAUSE} as complex roots. As shown in (21), which illustrates the structure of (20a), 吃 *chi* 'eat' and 饭 *fan* 'rice' form a complex root, which conflates to v_{CAUSE} as one manner-denoting root.

- (20) a. 他 吃 饱 饭 了。
Ta chi bao fan le.
 he eat full rice ASP
 'He got full by eating.'
 b. 他 喝 醉 酒 了。
Ta he zui jiu le.
 he drink drunk alcohol ASP
 'He got drunk by drinking alcohol.'

⁶ Some apparent intransitive counterparts of Accusative V-Vs may be formed via topicalization, but it is not a case of causative alternation.

(21) Inchoative V-V with complex $\sqrt{1}$



Despite containing two elements, the complex root should meet the general requirements for “root” and is supposed to denote a somewhat “basic” meaning. 吃饭 *chi-fan* ‘eat rice’, although containing a noun meaning ‘rice’, fulfills the “basic” requirement: this complex root expresses the generic meaning of ‘to eat’. In actual use, Mandarin-speakers may say 吃饭 *chifan* even if rice is not a part of the meal. As expected, if we replace ‘rice’ with ‘bread’ or ‘noodles’, the sentence becomes ungrammatical (22a), because the meaning of ‘eating bread’ or ‘eating noodles’ is too specific for roots. Similarly, in (20b), 喝酒 *he jiu* ‘drink alcohol’ denotes the generic meaning of ‘drinking’, and therefore is a plausible complex root. If we replace 酒 *jiu* ‘alcohol’ by 葡萄酒 *putaojiu* ‘wine’ or 这瓶酒 *zhe ping jiu* ‘this bottle of alcohol’, the sentence becomes unacceptable, as shown in (22b). Given this, the “complex root hypothesis” seems to be plausible. However, there is one problem: why the surface word order of (21) is not 吃饭饱 *chi fan bao* ‘eat rice full’? In other words, how is V-V adjacency achieved from the structure in (21)? We hypothesize that this is due to certain constraints in phonetic realization post-syntactically, on Morphological Structure (see Halle & Marantz, 1993, 1994). It is yet unknown whether such constraint is universal or Mandarin-specific. We will leave this matter to future studies.

- (22) a. *他 吃 饱 {面包 /面条} 了。
 **Ta chi bao {mianbao /miantiao} le.*
 he eat full {bread /noodles} ASP
 ‘He got full by eating bread/noodles.’
 b. *他 喝 醉 {葡萄酒 /这 瓶 酒} 了。
 **Ta he zui {putaojiu /zhe ping jiu} le.*
 he drink drunk {wine /this bottle alcohol} ASP
 ‘He got drunk by drinking {wine/this bottle of alcohol}.’

To sum up, compared to non-contiguous true resultatives (e.g., English true resultatives), compound true resultatives (e.g., Mandarin resultative V-Vs) show more flexibility in argument realization due to structural differences. While the positions of surface subject and object in English true resultatives define the roles of Causer and Causee respectively, this is not the case with Mandarin resultative V-Vs: in Inchoatives V-Vs (16a), the surface subject position may be occupied by a Causee; moreover, some apparent transitive V-Vs may also have an Inchoative

structure, as in (21), where the surface object comes from the manner-denoting root, and the surface subject takes the role of Causee. This is one of the main reasons why semantic ambiguity may occur in Mandarin resultative V-Vs, a phenomenon that has been observed in various studies (e.g., Li, 1990, 1995; a.o.). For example, the sentence in (23a) yields two possible interpretations. Based on the interpretation (i), the surface object is supposed to take the role of Causee (the result ‘tired’ is predicated of the ‘horse’), and therefore this interpretation corresponds to an Accusative structure⁷ similar to (18) – in this case, 他 *ta* ‘he’ is generated at [Spec, VoiceP], and 马 *ma* ‘horse’ is at [Compl, VP]. In contrast, the interpretation (ii) corresponds to an Inchoative structure, since the result ‘tired’ is predicated of ‘he’, the surface subject. Similar to (21), in this case, 骑马 *qi ma* ‘ride horse’ conflates to v_{CAUSE} as a complex root, denoting a generic category of human activity – ‘riding horses’. Since complex roots are subject to “basicness” constraint, this structure would crush if we replace 马 *ma* ‘horse’ by 那匹马 *na pi ma* ‘that horse’. As expected, in (23b), the Inchoative interpretation is not accessible anymore (the interpretation [ii]).

- (23) a. 他 骑 累 马 了。
Ta qi lei ma le.
 he ride tired horse ASP
 i. ‘He rode a horse, and this made the horse tired.’
 ii. ‘He got tired by riding a horse.’
 b. 他 骑 累 那 匹 马 了。
Ta qi lei na pi ma le.
 he ride tired that CL horse ASP
 i. ‘He rode that horse, and this made that horse tired.’
 *ii. ‘He got tired by riding that horse.’

3.3 Resultatives without Manner

We have claimed that true resultatives, either belonging to the non-contiguous-type or the compound-type, all involve Manner Conflation, as shown in (12). As already mentioned in §2.2, verb-framed languages such as Romance languages and Japanese cannot form true resultatives because they have the feature [- Manner Conflation]. Then, theoretically, it may be possible for these languages to form resultatives that do not involve Manner Conflation. In other words, they may allow structures like (12) but without any manner-conflating root.

This hypothesis seems to be true. Without Manner Conflation, the non-contiguous structure in (12a) would look like (24a), which is attested in Romance languages – namely, the simple resultatives involving light verbs, as exemplified in (25a). In this case, we claim that the light verb (e.g., *fazer* ‘to make’, *tornar* ‘to turn’) is a phonetic realization of v_{CAUSE} , as shown in (25b), a partial structure of (25a). As to the structure in (12b), if Manner Conflation is removed, it will end up being a structure that is attested in Japanese, although under the notion of “causatives” instead of “resultatives”, as shown in (24b).⁸ More specifically, they are the so-called “lexical causatives”,

⁷ We claim it to be Accusative but not Causative because it does not allow transitive alternation:

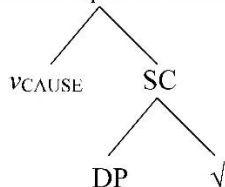
* 马 骑 累 了。
 * *Ma qi lei le.*
 horse ride tired ASP

Intended: ‘The horse got tired because of (someone’s) riding.’

⁸ Since Japanese is a head-final language, the positions of the head v_{CAUSE} and the root are adapted.

involving morphological markers that can causativize a result-denoting root (see Pylkkänen, 2002), such as (26a), the structure of which is partially presented in (26b). In this case, the functional head v_{CAUSE} is phonetically realized by the morphological marker -as-.

(24) a. Romance simple resultatives



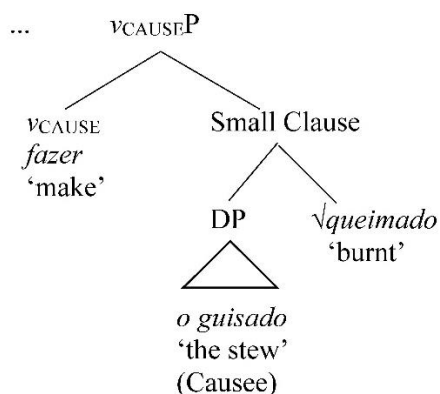
b. Japanese lexical causatives



(25) a. Portuguese (Duarte & Oliveira, 2010)

O cozinheiro fez o guisado queimado.
 the cook made the stew burnt
 'The cook made the stew burnt.'

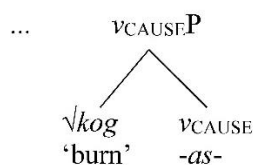
b.



(26) a. Japanese (Pylkkänen, 2002)

Taroo-wa niku-o kog-asi-ta.
 Taro-TOP meat-ACC burn-CAUSE-PAST
 'Taroo scorched the meat.' / 'The meat got scorched to Taro's detriment.'

b.



Therefore, the correlation between the feature on Manner Conflation and the possibility of forming true resultatives seems to be quite straightforward. While both English and Portuguese exhibit structures where v_{CAUSE} selects a Small Clause, English, but not Portuguese, allow noncontiguous true resultatives; while both Mandarin and Japanese allow v_{CAUSE} to directly embed a result-denoting root, Mandarin, but not Japanese, can form compound-type of true resultatives. This further confirms the role of the Manner Conflation parameter in the crosslinguistic variation on resultative formation.

4. Pseudo-resultatives

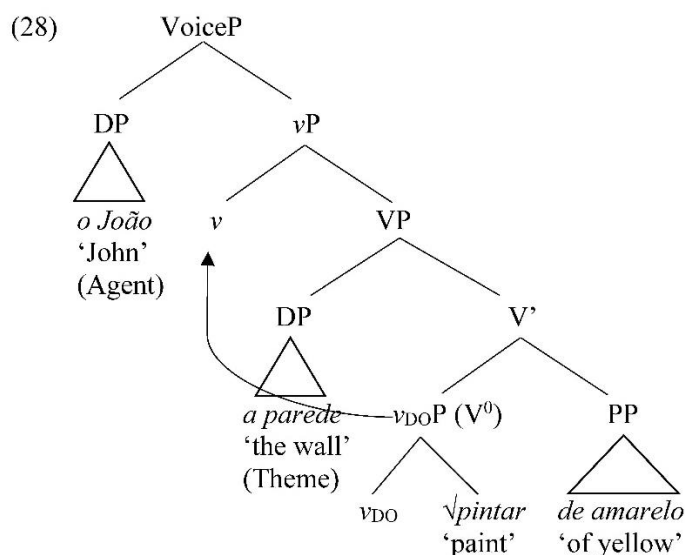
4.1 Syntactic structure

Although Japanese and Romance languages do not allow strong resultatives, weak resultatives and spurious resultatives have been found in these languages (restriction may exist, see §1). The Portuguese sentence in (3a), here repeated in (27a), is an example of weak resultative, where the result predicate *de amarelo* ‘of yellow’ is a conventional complement of the verb *pintar* ‘paint’. The example in (3c), repeated in (27b), is a case of spurious resultative since *oculta* ‘hidden’ functions as a modifier of the VP headed by the verb *construir* ‘construct’. It does not produce a true resultative meaning that ‘the cistern was not hidden earlier, but became hidden due to the action of constructing’. But rather, the conveyed meaning is that ‘hidden’ specifies the way how to construct the cistern.

(27) Portuguese

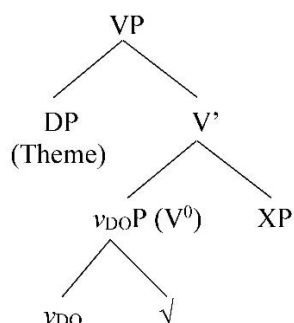
- a. *O João pintou a parede de amarelo.*
 John painted the wall of yellow
 ‘John painted the wall yellow.’
- b. *O arquiteto construiu a cisterna oculta.*
 the architect constructed the cistern hidden
 ‘The architect constructed the cistern hidden.’

We call both examples pseudo-resultatives, in opposition to true resultatives. While true resultatives involve v_{CAUSE} (see §3.1), we hypothesize that pseudo-resultatives involve v_{DO} . That means, pseudo-resultatives do not have a causative structure, but rather, an agentive structure. For instance, the sentence in (27a) has the structure in (28), where a root $\sqrt{}$ incorporates into v_{DO} to be categorized into an agentive verb, *pintar* ‘paint’, which takes a DP (*a parede* ‘the wall’) as its internal argument, and a PP (*de amarelo* ‘of yellow’) as its complement (i.e. its modifier). The Agent is generated at [Spec, VoiceP].

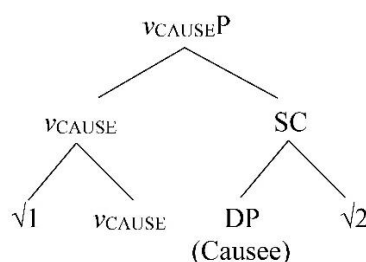


A comparison between pseudo-resultative and (non-contiguous) true resultative structures thus is illustrated in (29).

(29) a. Pseudo-resultative



b. (Non-contiguous) true resultative



In pseudo-resultatives, the root $\sqrt{}$ incorporates into v_{DO} to form an agentive verb, and the role of Theme is assigned to the DP at the internal argument position; contrastingly, in true resultatives, the manner root $\sqrt{1}$ conflates to v_{CAUSE} as an adjunct, and the DP generated inside the Small Clause is a Causee. Therefore, a crucial difference between these two structures is that the object and the main verb have thematic relations in pseudo-resultatives, but not in true resultatives. As a consequence, true resultatives allow those in (30), where *his feet* is not a Theme of *dance*, and *the beach* is not a Theme of *eat*, which would not be possible in pseudoresultatives. Romance languages and Japanese can only form pseudo-resultatives and therefore do not allow the type of resultatives where the object is not a Theme of the main verb, as shown in (31).

(30) a. *John danced his feet sore.*b. *The sea ate the beach away.*

(31) a. Japanese (Washio 1997)

**buku-wa zibun-o kutakuta-ni odot-ta.*
 I-TOP self-ACC tired dance-PAST
 'I danced myself tired.'

b. Portuguese

**O João dançou os seus pés doloridos.*
 John danced the his feet sore
 'John danced his feet sore.'

4.2 Mandarin pseudo-resultatives

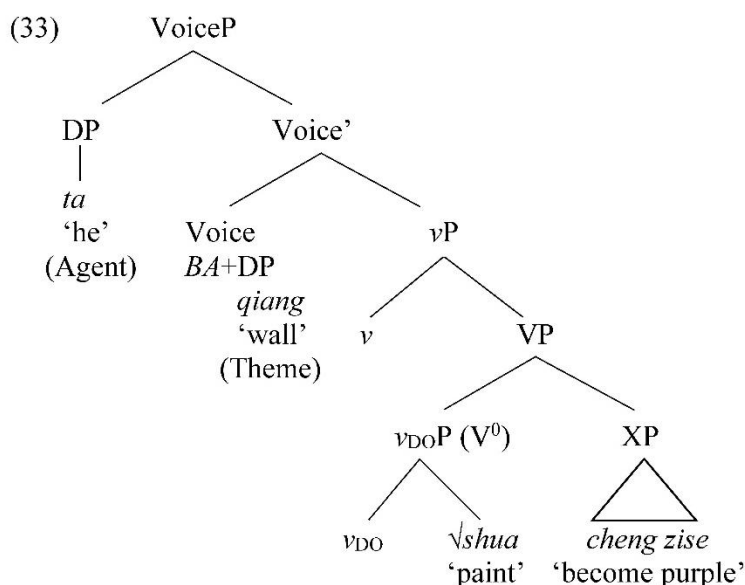
We claim that Mandarin sentences such as those in (32) involve pseudo-resultative structures. Contrasting to the true resultatives (i.e., Mandarin resultative V-Vs), the result part in pseudo-resultatives is not subject to the "small size" constraint (see §3.1), as shown in (32a), where the result part, 成紫色 *cheng zise* 'become purple', is much heavier than the monosyllabic result component in resultative V-Vs. This is because in pseudo-resultatives the result part is denoted by a phrase (i.e., XP) (see [29a]), instead of a root as in resultative V-Vs ($\sqrt{2}$ in [12b]).

(32) a. 他把墙刷成了紫色。

Ta ba qiang shua cheng le zise.
 he BA wall paint become ASP purple-color

- 'He painted the wall purple.'
- b. 请 将 文章 分 段。
Qing jiang wenzhang fen duan.
 please JIANG article divide paragraph
 'Please divide the article into paragraphs.'

The structure of (32a) is presented in (33). The root \sqrt{shua} 'paint' incorporates into v_{DO} to be categorized into an agentive verb, which is modified by its XP complement, *cheng zise* 'become purple'. However, different from the Portuguese example in (28), the internal argument, 墙 *qiang* 'wall', occurs at a higher position here, attached to 把 *ba*. We posit that 把 *ba* is a phonetic realization of the light verb head Voice, and that 把 *ba* has an uninterpretable feature that requires the raise of an internal argument.



However, this does not seem to be the full story. Note that the sentences in (32) would be ungrammatical without the occurrence of 把 *ba*, as shown in (34).

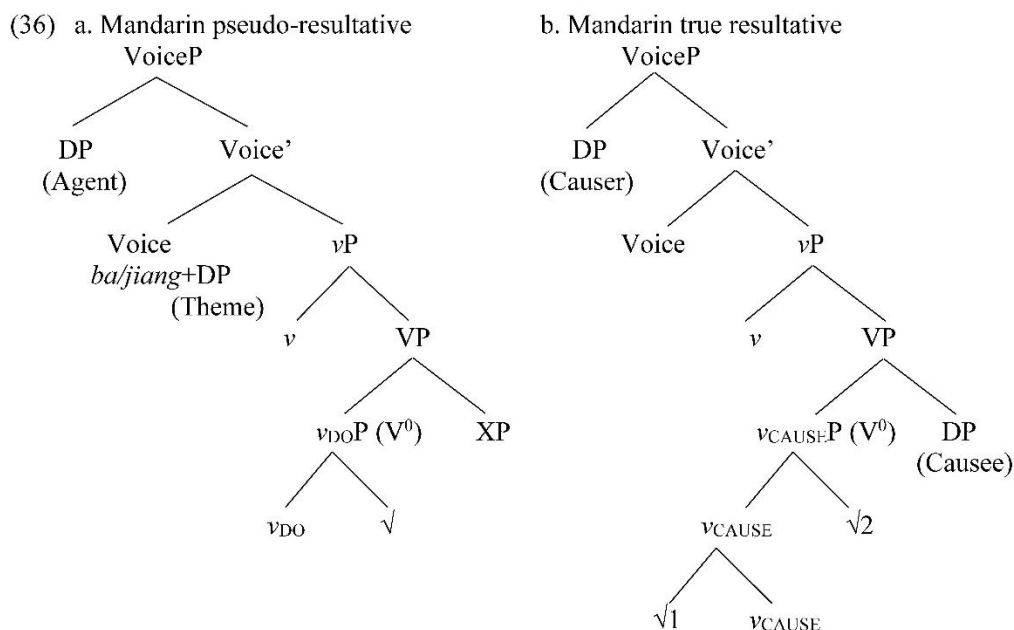
- (34) a. *他 刷 墙 成 了 紫色。
 **ta shua qiang cheng le zise.*
 he paint wall become ASP purple-color
 'He painted the wall purple.'
- b. *请 分 文章 段。 /*请 分 段 文章。
 **Qing fen wenzhang duan. /*Qing fen duan wenzhang.*
 please divide article paragraph/ please divide paragraph article
 'He divided the article into paragraphs.'

We attribute this to Mandarin's constraint on VP branching, which also results in the ungrammaticality of the double object structure in (35).

- (35) *他 给 了 一 本 书 孩子。
 **Ta gei le yi ben shu haizi.*
 he give ASP one CL book child
 'He gave a book to the child.'

Due to this constraint, in (33), the DP 墙 *qiang* 'wall' cannot occur at the verb's internal argument position, and the only legit position for this DP to occur is at Voice. In (32a)/(33), the head Voice is phonetically realized by 把 *ba*, and in (32b) it is realized by 将 *jiang*.

A comparison between Mandarin pseudo-resultative and true resultative (i.e., resultative V-V) is presented in (36).



The structural differences can explain several distinct properties of the two types of resultatives.

Semantic meanings. Strong resultative meanings are possible in true resultatives, but not in pseudo-resultatives. In strong resultatives (36b), the manner denoted by $\sqrt{1}$ and the result denoted by $\sqrt{2}$ are generated independently, and there is no selective relation between these two. A particular combination of $\sqrt{1}$ and $\sqrt{2}$ would be possible as long as the intended caused- result event is culturally recognized (i.e., it is possible in the real world). For this reason, true resultatives may convey strong resultative meanings, where the result is not an expected or conventional consequence of the manner, as in (37a). Contrastingly, in pseudo-resultatives (36a), the result part, namely the XP, is a complement of the main verb, functioning as its modifier. This implies a close semantic relation between the main verb and the result part. In particular, the result part specifies the intention (in case of weak resultatives), or the way how the activity is conducted (in case of spurious resultatives) of the main verb. As shown in (37b), the strong resultative meaning is not possible in pseudo-resultatives. This semantic difference also applies cross-linguistically: as presented previously, Romance languages and Japanese do not allow Manner Conflation and cannot form true resultatives, and therefore, strong resultative meanings are not attested in these languages.

- (37) a. 孩子 涂 脏 了 墙。
 Haizi tu zang le qiang.
 child paint dirty ASP wall
 'The child made the wall dirty by painting (on it).'

- b. *孩子 把 墙 涂 成 脏的。
 *Haizi ba qiang tu cheng zang-de.
 child BA wall paint become dirty
 'Child made the wall dirty by painting (on it).'

Eventhood. Pseudo-resultatives denote one single event, while true resultatives denote a complex event composed of two subevents. For example, the true resultative in (37a) involves a causing subevent, 'painting on the wall', and a result subevent, 'the wall becoming dirty'. In contrast, the pseudo-resultative in (32a) conveys one single event only, namely 'painting the wall in purple', which cannot be further divided into two, because 'in purple' is exactly the way how 'the wall is painted' – these two refer to the same event. This difference also applies cross-linguistically. In English, *John sang his throat hoarse* is a true resultative and involves two subevents, 'John's singing' and 'the throating becoming hoarse'; in contrast, *John took the jacket off* is a case of pseudo-resultative, where *take off* expresses one single event involving one activity – there is no such causing subevent of 'taking', which resulted in the subevent of 'off'; *take* and *off* both refer to the same activity.

Word order. In Mandarin strong resultatives, the object can occur post-verbally (37a), but in Mandarin pseudo-resultatives, as shown by the contrast between (32) and (34), it has to occur at a higher position, namely at Voice, due to the VP branching constraint in this language. This word order difference is Mandarin-specific.

"Size" of the result. This is also Mandarin-specific: in Mandarin true resultatives, the result component has to have a "small size" (see §3.1), but in pseudo-resultatives, there is no such constraint. This is because Mandarin true resultatives belong to the compound-type, and the result meaning is conveyed by a root, namely $\sqrt{2}$ (see [36b]). In contrast, the result meaning is expressed by an XP in pseudo-resultatives (36a), and therefore no "size constraint" applies.

5. More implications in Chinese

5.1 Ambiguous resultatives

The constraints in true resultatives and pseudo-resultatives in Mandarin are presented in a simplified manner in Table 1, where "×" means "no constraint". It can be observed that while pseudo-resultatives show restriction in the semantics and the position of the object, true resultatives show restriction towards the "size" of the result part. This implies a superset effect. For example, true resultatives constitute a superset in terms of semantics: it allows not only strong resultative meanings, but also weak resultative meanings which pseudo-resultatives can express, as in (4a). True resultatives also show superset effect regarding the position of the object: the object not only can occur in an internal argument position (4a) but can also raise to 把 *ba* (4b), the position that pseudo-resultatives require. On the other hand, pseudo-resultatives show a superset effect regarding the "size" of the result part: it allows the result components to have a "big size" (32a), but also allows monosyllabic components (32b).

Constraints	True resultatives	Pseudo-resultatives
Semantics	×	No strong resultative
Position of the	×	No post-verbal position
"Size" of the result	No "big size"	×

Table 1 Constraints in true and pseudo-resultatives

Therefore, to find out the category of a given resultative in Mandarin, we may rely on the following diagnosis, focusing on whether any constraint is violated:

(38) Diagnosis on Mandarin resultatives

- a. If it expresses a strong resultative meaning, it is a true resultative.
- b. If the object occurs post-verbally, it is a true resultative.
- c. If the result part has a “big size”, it is a pseudo-resultative.

In Mandarin, there are some ambiguous resultatives, which may correspond to either a true resultative or a pseudo-resultative structure, such as those in (39), where each example can yield two interpretations. Note that in both examples, no strong resultative meaning is expressed, and the result component has a “small size”. Therefore, the diagnosis in (38a) and (38c) cannot apply here. The remaining diagnosis is (38b). By moving the object to the internal argument position, as shown in (40), we find that the interpretations in (i) of both examples are no longer acceptable. That means, the interpretation (i) in each example corresponds to a pseudo-resultative structure, disallowing the object to occur post-verbally, while the interpretation (ii) corresponds to a true resultative structure.

(39) a. 妈妈 把 衣服 做 大 了。

Mama ba yifu zuo da le.

Mom BA clothes make big ASP

i. ‘Mom made the clothes too big.’ (pseudo-resultative)

ii. ‘Mom made the clothes bigger.’ (true resultative)

b. 我 把 颜色 调 深 了。

Wo ba yanse tiao shen le.

I BA color mix dark ASP

i. ‘I made the color too dark.’ (pseudo-resultative)

ii. ‘I darkened the color.’ (true resultative)

(40) a. 妈妈 做 大 了 衣服。

Mama zuo da le yifu.

Mom make big ASP clothes

*i. ‘Mom made the clothes too big.’

ii. ‘Mom made the clothes bigger.’

b. 我 调 深 了 颜色。

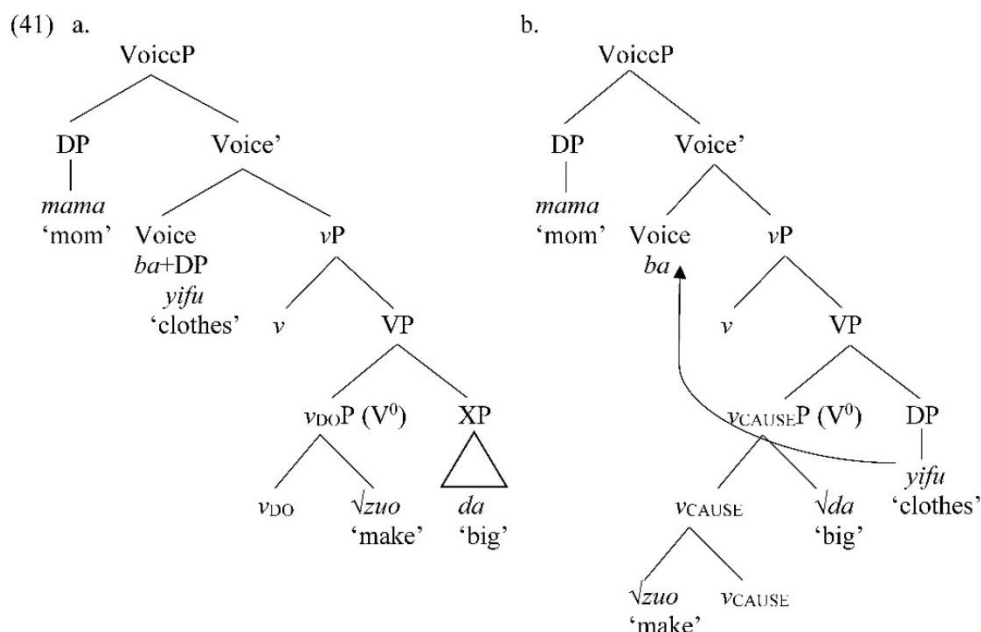
Wo tiao shen le yanse.

I mix dark ASP color

*i. ‘I made the color too dark.’

ii. ‘I darkened the color.’

Taking (39a) as an example, the interpretation (i) corresponds to the pseudo-resultative structure in (41a), where 大 *da* ‘big’ is a complement of the main verb 做 *zuo* ‘make’, and the DP 衣服 *yifu* ‘clothes’ has to be generated at Voice. In contrast, the interpretation (ii) corresponds to the true resultative structure in (41b), where the manner root $\sqrt{\text{做}}$ *zuo* ‘make’ and the result root $\sqrt{\text{大}}$ *da* ‘big’ merge or conflate into v_{CAUSE} to form a resultative V-V compound, and the DP 衣服 *yifu* ‘clothes’ is generated at an internal argument position but later moves up to Voice triggered by 把 *ba* (in this structure, if 把 *ba* does not occur, this DP would stay *in situ*, resulting in the surface order in [40a]).



Note that there is an interesting semantic difference between (i) and (ii) in (39a): while (i) conveys the meaning that ‘the clothes were made too big, not as how it should be’, (ii) expresses the meaning that ‘the clothes became bigger than how it had been previously’. I claim that this semantic difference can also be explained by structural differences. In (41a), the result part functions as a modifier of the agentive verb and therefore is activity-oriented. More specifically, ‘big’ comments on how the activity of ‘making clothes’ went. Therefore, (41a) conveys a spurious resultative meaning. In contrast, (41b) is a true resultative structure, where ‘big’ is a result-denoting root merged into *vCAUSE*, encoding the end state of the Causee, and is Causee-oriented. Consequently, the conveyed meaning in (41b) is that ‘the clothes became big’.

5.2 Historical development

Another implication of our proposal is the historical change in how caused-result meanings are expressed in Chinese.

According to various diachronic studies (e.g., Mei, 2012; D. Xu, 2006; T. Xu, 1998; a.o.), lexical and morphological causatives (see Baker [1988] and Kulikov [2001] for their definitions) were widely used in Old Chinese. The example in (42a), cited in D. Xu (2006), contains a lexical causative, where the causative use of 树 *shu* ‘tree’ is formally indistinguishable from its non-causative counterpart. The example in (42b), cited in Mei (2012), presents a morphological causative, where the causative meaning is produced by the prefix *s-.

- (42) a. Lexical causative
 树 之 以 桑 (Mencius⁹)
Shu zhi yi sang.

⁹ *Mencius* is a collection of anecdotes and conversations of the Confucian philosopher Mengzi. Most scholars believe that the text was probably written during the late 4th century BC.

tree it with mulberry
'Plant it with mulberry.'

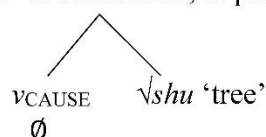
b. Morphological causative

败 *brads > bwai 'ruined, defeated'

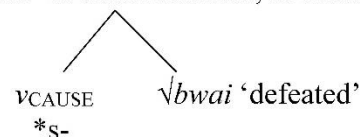
*s-b- > *prads > pwai 'to ruin, defeat'

We claim that both examples in (42) involve a root-selecting *v*CAUSE. When the head *v*CAUSE is phonetically null, a lexical causative is formed, as shown in (43a); when *v*CAUSE is phonetically realized by a morpheme, a morphological causative is formed, as in (43b).

(43) a. *shu* 'to make trees, to plant'



b. *pwai* 'to make defeated, to defeat'



Over the language development, the lexical and morphological causatives gradually went into disuse in Chinese (see D. Xu, 2006; Shi, 2002; a.o.). Although some lexical causatives can still be found (44a), and -化 *hua* may be considered a causative morpheme (44b), in Modern Chinese, the meanings of causation of a change of state are mostly produced by resultative V-Vs, involving both manner and result, as shown in (44c).

(44) a. 游戏 可以 活跃 气氛。

Youxi keyi huoyue qifen.

game can dynamic atmosphere

'Games can make the atmosphere dynamic.'

b. 我们 要 美化 生活 环境。

Women yao mei-hua shenghuo huanjing.

we should beautiful-CAUS life environment

'We should make the living environment beautiful.'

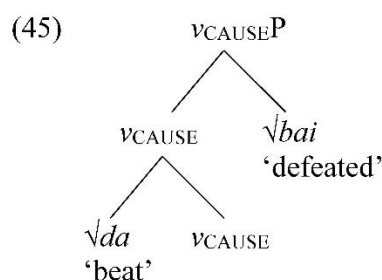
c. 孩子 打 败 了 巨人。

Haizi da bai le giant.

child beat defeated ASP giant

'The child defeated the giant.'

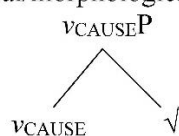
In §3.1, we have proposed that the structure of Mandarin resultative V-Vs involve a root-selecting *v*CAUSE and Manner Conflation. Therefore, the V-V in (44c) has the structure in (45), where the result-denoting root *√bai* 'defeated' incorporates into *v*CAUSE and gets causativized, and the manner-denoting root *√da* 'beat' conflates to *v*CAUSE as an adjunct to modify the causative event.



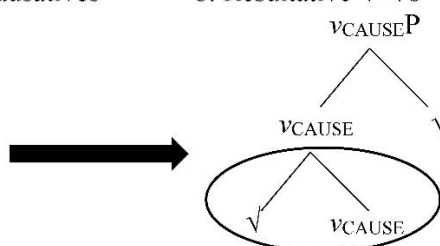
Diachronic evidence shows that the resultative V-Vs did not exist from the beginning of Chinese language history. They emerged and increased rapidly during A.D. 600-1300, were widely used in the 10th century, and had been established as a syntactic pattern by the 12th century (Shi, 2002). Following authors such as Shi (2002) and D. Xu (2006), we posit that the rise of the resultative V-Vs was closely related to a disyllabification tendency in the Chinese lexicon. Comparing the structures in (43) and (45), we can find that a big difference resides in the occurrence of the manner-denoting root via Manner Conflation. We thus hypothesize that the disyllabification tendency impacted Chinese causatives/resultatives syntactically by obligating the Manner Conflation, as illustrated in (46).

(46) Historical change motivated by disyllabification

a. Lexical/morphological causatives



b. Resultative V-Vs



6. Summary

This study distinguishes true resultatives and pseudo-resultatives from a syntactic perspective. It has been proposed that true resultatives have a causative structure involving *vCAUSE* and Manner Conflation, while pseudo-resultatives have an agentive structure involving *vDO*.

Our proposal can explain the typological difference between satellite-framed and verb-framed languages. We posit that satellite-framed languages but not verb-framed languages allow Manner Conflation. As a result, satellite-framed languages such as English and Mandarin can form true resultatives, which may express strong resultative meanings and do not require the object to have grammatical relation with V1; in contrast, verb-framed languages such as Japanese and Romance languages can only form pseudo-resultatives, which can only express weak or spurious resultative meanings and require the object to have grammatical relation with the main verb.

We further proposed that true resultatives have two types: a non-contiguous type (e.g., English resultatives) where *vCAUSE* takes a Small Clause as its complement, and a compound type (e.g., Mandarin resultative V-Vs) where *vCAUSE* directly selects a root. This distinction can explain the differences between English and Mandarin true resultatives, such as the word order, the (im)possibility of forming intransitive resultatives, and the thematic relations.

Our proposal has quite a few meaningful implications on Chinese syntax. Through the syntactic distinction between true resultatives and pseudo-resultatives, we managed to explain why some Mandarin resultatives require the occurrence of 把 *ba*, why the “size constraint” is not observed in all resultative expressions, and why some resultatives show ambiguousness. Moreover, with our account, the impact of the disyllabification tendency on the historical change of Chinese resultatives is quite straightforward: the Manner Conflation gradually became obligatory, forcing the shift from lexical and morphological causatives to resultative V-Vs.

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音系短语构建的普遍性与多样性——来自闽东、莆仙与闽中方言的证据¹

Shuxiang YOU 尤舒翔

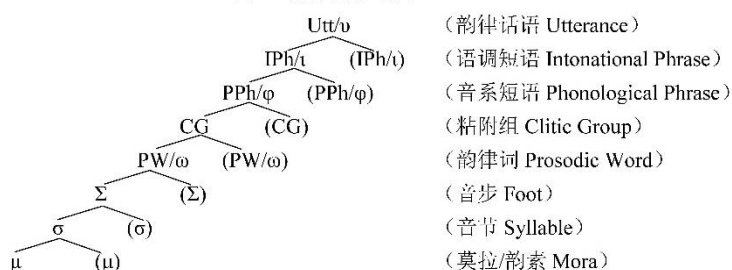
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

摘要 本文利用福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安和沙县这六个闽方言中的短语层面连读变调材料，对人类语言中的音系短语构建问题进行讨论。本文的论述表明，音系短语是这些闽方言短语层面连读变调的运用辖域，而这一辖域的构建在不同的闽方言中既有相似之处，又存在差别。本文检验了三类主要的音系短语构建方法（基于边界的方法、基于关系的方法以及基于语段的方法）在这些闽方言中的运用情况，并证明，在这三类方法中，基于边界的方法存在的问题最为突出，无论是此类方法中最初提出的边界参数设定，还是后期在优选论框架下发展出的同界/包含理论与匹配理论，都无法对本文涉及的闽方言材料提供合理的解释。与之相比，基于关系的方法和基于语段的方法具有更强的解释力，但也存在各自的问题与缺陷。本文结合闽方言和其他语言中的情况对人类语言音系短语构建的普遍性与多样性进行了考察，指出了现有方法中存在的问题，利用“原则+参数”的方法对基于关系的方法做出了修改，并提出对于音系短语构建的普遍性与多样性问题来说，实际上就是要解决“音系短语重构”的问题。在音系短语构建（特别是音系短语重构）过程中，句法位置（补足语、附加语、指示语）、音系短语分枝等因素在不同的语言中相互交织，形成了人类语言中多种多样的音系短语构建结果。

1. 引言

在音系-句法界面的研究当中，音系短语（Phonological Phrase）的构建一直是一个极其重要而又充满争议的问题。音系短语，又称韵律短语，在间接参照理论（Indirect Reference Theory）的代表性理论韵律音系学（Prosodic Phonology；见 Selkirk 1978/1981，1984，1986；Hayes 1984/1989；Chen 1985，1987；Nespor & Vogel 1986，2007 等）所提出的韵律层级（prosodic hierarchy）之中位于韵律词与粘附组之上、语调短语之下（如图 1 所示，另见 Zec 1988；Zhang 1992，2017；张洪明 2014 等），由一个或多个韵律词或粘附组构成。

图 1. 韵律层级结构



音系短语在人类语言中扮演着重要角色，是许多音系规则运用的辖域，例如意大利语的 Raddoppiamento Sintattico 规则、英语的 Iambic Reversal 规则、法语的联诵 (Liaison)、以及 Chimwi:ni 语（索马里的一种班图语言）的重音指派 (Stress Assignment) 与元音缩短 (Vowel Shortening) 等。这些音系操作都发生在音系短语的辖域之内，而不能跨越音系短语辖域的边界进行运用（见 Hayes 1984/1989；Selkirk 1986；Nespor & Vogel 1986，2007 等）。虽然音系学家普遍认为音系短语是一个基于句法信息构建起来的韵律单位，但其构建过程中具体需要利用哪些句法信息以及句法信息通过何种方式来构建音系短语，至今仍是悬而未决的问题。

¹ 本文中所用部分闽方言材料来自于笔者 2019 年进行的方言调查，该调查得到 XXXXXX 的资助（项目名称：XXXXXX；项目编号：XXXXXX）（为方便匿名评审此处隐去相关信息）。

从 20 世纪 80 年代至今，音系学家提出了诸多音系短语构建方法，其中最具代表性的便是基于边界的方法（End/Edge-Based Approach；见 Chen 1985，1987；Selkirk 1986 等）和基于关系的方法（Relation-Based Approach；见 Hayes 1984/1989；Nespor & Vogel 1986，2007 等），这两种经典音系短语构建方法均在 20 世纪 80 年代提出。到了 20 世纪 90 年代，基于边界的方法在优选论（Optimality Theory；见 McCarthy & Prince 1993；Prince & Smolensky 1993 等）的框架下发展出了同界/包含理论（Align/Wrap Theory；见 Truckenbrodt 1995，1999；Selkirk 1996，2000 等）。进入 21 世纪之后，一方面，在句法领域最简方案（Minimalist Program）内的语段理论（Phase Theory）以及多次拼读（Multiple Spell-Out）（见 Uriagereka 1999；Chomsky 2000，2001，2004 等）的影响下，Dobashi（2003，2009）、Ishihara（2003，2007）等又提出了基于语段的音系短语构建方法（Phase-Based Approach）。另一方面，Selkirk（2009，2011）在优选论中的对应理论（Correspondence Theory；McCarthy & Prince 1995）及最简方案和语段理论的影响下，将基于边界的方法进一步发展成为匹配理论（Match Theory）。

上述这些音系短语构建方法大致可分成三大类，一是基于边界的方法（包括其最初的边界参数设定 *end parameter setting* 以及在优选论影响下诞生的同界/包含理论与匹配理论），二是基于关系的方法，三是基于语段的方法。这三类构建方法的区别在于，虽然它们都利用句法信息来构建音系短语，但所利用的句法信息的类型并不相同。其中，基于边界的方法在构建音系短语的过程中主要参照的是句法短语中心语（*head*）的左右边界或整个句法短语（即中心语的最大投射 *maximal projection*）的左右边界；基于关系的方法主要利用的是与句法短语结构有关的 X 标杆理论（*X-bar theory*）中的一些概念，例如中心语、补足语（*complement*）、附加语（*adjunct*）与指示语（*specifier*）之间的相互关系，以及句法分枝（*syntactic branching*）与中心语的递归/非递归方向（*recursive/non-recursive side*）等；而基于语段的方法则将音系短语辖域与句法中的语段（*phase*）和拼读域（*Spell-Out domain*）直接联系起来。

无论是以上哪一类音系短语构建方法，都可以解释某些语言中短语层面的音系现象，因此，这三类方法都有各自的支持者，相关研究也都不少。在基于边界的方法中，利用边界参数设定进行的研究包括 Chen（1985，1987）、Selkirk（1986）、Selkirk & Tateishi（1988）、Selkirk & Shen（1990）；Kenstowicz & Sohn（1997）等；利用同界/包含理论进行的研究包括 Ghini（1993）、Truckenbrodt（1995，1999，2002）、Selkirk（1996，2000）、Sandaló & Truckenbrodt（2002）、Prieto（2006）等；利用匹配理论进行的研究包括 Selkirk（2009，2011）、Elfner（2012）等。利用基于关系的方法进行音系短语构建的研究包括 Hayes（1984/1989）、Nespor & Vogel（1986，2007）、Cho（1990）、Condoravdi（1990）、Kidima（1990）、Hayes & Lahiri（1991）、Frota（2000）等，而利用基于语段的方法进行音系短语构建的研究则包括 Dobashi（2003，2005，2009，2017）、Ishihara（2003，2007）、Kahnemuyipour（2004，2009）、Kratzer & Selkirk（2007）、Pak（2007，2008）等。

然而，无论是上述哪一种音系短语构建方法，都存在一些无法解释的语言现象与难以轻易解决的理论问题²。这些问题包括但不限于：哪些句法信息才是音系短语构建过程中真正不可或缺的，句法边界、句法关系还是语段？对某个具体的语言来说，哪种方法更合适？从跨语言的角度来看，哪种方法具有更强的解释力？不同的方法之间是否存在结合的可能性？这些问题都尚未得到令人满意的回答。

本文将利用部分闽方言中的短语层面连读变调材料，并结合前人对于其他人类语言的探讨，对音系短语构建问题进行讨论。文中使用的闽方言材料均来自笔者于 2015 年和 2019 年

² 关于不同音系短语构建方法的比较以及相关的综述与评论，可参见 Bickmore（1990）、Cho（1990）、Inkelas & Zec（1995）、Elordieta（2008）、Downing（2011）、Cheng & Downing（2012）、Dobashi（2014）等。

进行的方言调查，共涉及 6 个不同的闽方言，包括闽东方言的代表福州方言、莆仙方言的代表莆田方言和仙游方言、以及闽中方言的代表三明方言、永安方言和沙县方言。

下文的内容分为五个部分：第二节介绍上述六个闽方言中的短语层面连读变调基本情况；第三节到第五节分别尝试运用基于边界的方法、基于关系的方法以及基于语段的方法来构建这些闽方言中的短语层面连读变调辖域，分析不同闽方言中音系短语构建的普遍性与多样性，探讨和比较不同音系短语构建方法的优劣。第六节总结全文的分析与发现。

2. 闽东、闽中与莆仙方言的短语层面连读变调及其辖域

本节介绍福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安和沙县方言中的短语层面连读变调基本情况，并对这些方言中的短语层面连读变调辖域进行初步讨论。这些闽方言中都存在复杂的单字调系统与丰富的连读变调，且各自的连读变调在词层面与短语层面都有着不同的表现。在词的层面，这些闽方言的连读变调都是强制性运用的，变调与否完全由音系条件（即声调组合）决定，与词的结构类型（单纯词、派生词或者复合词）无关。然而，在短语层面，这些闽方言中的连读变调运用情况却要复杂得多，其运用既要满足一定的音系条件，又要受到短语结构类型的控制，因此变调都只能在一部分短语中发生，而在另一部分短语中要受到阻断。

结合前人研究³与笔者所做的田野调查，可将上述闽方言中的连读变调在不同类型短语中的运用情况总结如下（表 1 及本文例子中，“=” 表示连读变调发生在两边的声调之间，使前字的声调发生改变；“#” 表示连读变调在该位置受到阻断，两边的声调即使满足发生连读变调的音系条件，前字的声调也不发生变化。）

表 1. 福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安、沙县方言的短语层面连读变调

变调情况 方言 短语类型	福州	莆田、仙游 三明、沙县	永安
主谓短语	主 # 谓	主 # 谓	主 # 谓
定中短语	定 = 中	定 = 中	定 # 中
状中短语	状 = 中	状 = 中	状 # 中
动补短语	动 # 补	动 # 补	动 # 补
动宾短语（简单宾语）	动 = 宾	动 = 宾	动 = 宾
动宾短语（复杂宾语） ⁴	动 # 宾	动 = 宾	动 # 宾

从表 1 中可以看出，这六个闽方言在短语层面连读变调上既有相似之处，又存在差别。从短语类型的角度来看，在主谓短语、动补短语以及包含简单宾语的动宾短语中，这些方言的连读变调表现一致（都在主谓短语和动补短语中被阻断，而在包含简单宾语的动宾短语中运用），但是在其他几类短语中存在差异。从方言之间的横向对比来看，莆田、仙游、三明和沙县这四个方言的情况相同，可以归为一类；福州方言与莆田、仙游、三明和沙县的情况基本相同，唯一的区别是在包含复杂宾语的动宾短语中，福州方言的连读变调在动词和宾语之间受到阻断；永安方言的情况则与其他几个方言存在较大区别，其连读变调在短语层面的运用范围最小，只运用于宾语部分为简单宾语的动宾短语之中。相关的例子如（1-3）所示（“→” 箭头前为短语的底层音系形式，箭头后为表层形式；“*” 后的形式表示根据该方言中的一般连读变调规则理应产生、但实际上并未产生的变调形式；例子中与讨论直接相关的声调用粗体表示；本文讨论只针对声调变化，因此例子中不涉及声母和韵母发生的变化）。

³ 除福州方言外，前人对其他几个闽方言连读变调的研究基本都集中在词的层面，对于短语层面的连读变调研究屈指可数。其中涉及福州方言短语层面连读变调的文献包括 Chen & Norman (1965)、Chan (1980)、Wright (1983)、Shih (1986)、Hung (1987)、Zhang (1992、2017)、Chan (1998) 等，涉及仙游方言短语层面连读变调的只有戴庆厦 (1958) 和李如龙 (2001)，而其他闽方言中的短语层面连读变调现象在前人研究中则几乎找不到任何直接相关的讨论。

⁴ 我们根据宾语的情况，将动宾短语分成两类。一类由动词加上简单宾语构成，即宾语部分只包含一个名词；另一类则由动词加上复杂宾语构成，即宾语部分包含一个定中短语。

(1) 福州方言短语层面连读变调示例

I. 主谓短语 (主 # 谓)

- a. 伊跳_{他跳} i⁴⁴ t^hju²¹³ → i⁴⁴ # t^hju²¹³ *i⁵¹ = t^hju²¹³
 b. 我买菜 ŋwai³¹ me³¹ ts^hai²¹³ → ŋwai³¹ # me⁴⁴ ts^hai²¹³ *ŋwai²¹ = me⁴⁴ ts^hai²¹³

II. 定中短语 (定 = 中)

- a. 旧书 kou²⁴² tsy⁴⁴ → kou⁴⁴ = tsy⁴⁴
 b. 大葡萄 twai²⁴² pu⁵¹ to⁵¹ → twai⁵¹ = pu³¹ to⁵¹

III. 状中短语 (状 = 中)

- a. 真贵 tsin⁴⁴ kwi²¹³ → tsin⁵¹ = kwi²¹³
 b. 齐来 tse⁵¹ li⁵¹ → tse³¹ = li⁵¹

IV. 动补短语 (动 # 补)

- a. 食饱_{吃饱} sje²⁵ pa³¹ → sje²⁵ # pa³¹ *sje²³¹ = pa³¹
 b. 跳野悬_{跳得很高} t^hju²¹³ ja³¹ kein⁵¹ → t^hju²¹³ # ja²¹ kein⁵¹ *t^hju²¹ = ja²¹ kein⁵¹

V. 动宾短语 (简单宾语) (动 = 宾)

- a. 卖菜 me²⁴² ts^hai²¹³ → me⁵¹ = ts^hai²¹³
 b. 食葡萄_{吃葡萄} sje²⁵ pu⁵¹ to⁵¹ → sje²¹ = pu³¹ to⁵¹

IV. 动宾短语 (复杂宾语) (动 # 宾)

- a. 看旧书 k^han²¹³ kou²⁴² tsy⁴⁴ → k^han²¹³ # kou⁴⁴ tsy⁴⁴ *k^han²¹ = kou⁴⁴ tsy⁴⁴
 b. 买新衣裳 me³¹ sin⁴⁴ i⁴⁴ suon⁵¹ → me³¹ # sin²¹ i⁴⁴ suon⁵¹ *me²¹ = sin²¹ i⁴⁴ suon⁵¹

(2) 莆田、仙游、三明、沙县方言短语层面连读变调示例

I. 主谓短语 (主 # 谓)

- a. 伊来_{他来} i⁵³³ li²⁴ → i⁵³³ # li²⁴ *i³¹ = li²⁴ (莆田)
 b. 鸭叫 v²¹ kiu⁵² → v²¹ # kiu⁵² *v²⁴ = kiu⁵² (莆田)
 c. 阿弟坐_{弟弟坐} a⁵³³ ti²¹ le²¹ → a²⁴ ti²¹ # le²¹ *a²⁴ ti⁵² = le²¹ (仙游)
 d. 汝开车_{你开车} ty³² k^hwi⁵³³ ts^hja⁵³³ → ty³² # k^hwi²⁴ ts^hja⁵³³ *ty²⁴ = k^hwi²⁴ ts^hja⁵³³ (仙游)
 e. 俺来_{我来} ʃ⁵³ la⁵¹ → ʃ⁵³ # la⁵¹ *ʃ³³ = la⁵¹ (三明)
 f. 佢开车_{他开车} ŋy⁵³ k^hwe⁵³ t^hɔ⁵³ → ŋy⁵³ # k^hwe³³ t^hɔ⁵³ *ŋy³³ = k^hwe³³ t^hɔ⁵³ (三明)
 g. 猪吃_{猪吃} k^hqi²¹ je⁵³ → k^hqi²¹ # je⁵³ *k^hqi⁴⁴ = je⁵³ (沙县)
 h. 你买菜 ŋi³³ me²¹ ts^hai²⁴ → ŋi³³ # me⁴⁴ ts^hai²⁴ *ŋi⁴⁴ = me⁴⁴ ts^hai²⁴ (沙县)

II. 定中短语 (定 = 中)

- a. 好笔 xo³⁴² pi²¹ → xo²⁴ = pi²¹ (莆田)
 b. 红桶 an²⁴ t^han³⁴² → an³³ = t^han³⁴² (莆田)
 c. 新厝_{新房子} lin⁵³³ ts^hou⁵² → lin²⁴ = ts^hou⁵² (仙游)
 d. 小火车 t^hjeu³² xwi³² ts^hja⁵³³ → t^hjeu²² = xwi²⁴ ts^hja⁵³³ (仙游)
 e. 大铺_{大店} to³³ p^hu³³ → to⁵⁵ = p^hu³³ (三明)
 f. 旧电影 kjau³³ taiŋ³³ jã²¹ → kjau⁵⁵ = taiŋ⁵⁵ jã²¹ (三明)
 g. 新厝_{新房子} sein³³ ts^ho²⁴ → sein⁴⁴ = ts^ho²⁴ (沙县)
 h. 白衣裳 pa⁵³ i³³ ʃin³¹ → pa²¹ = i⁴⁴ ʃin³¹ (沙县)

III. 状中短语 (状 = 中)

- a. 更贵 ken⁵² kwi⁵² → ken⁵⁵ = kwi⁵² (莆田)
 b. 还看 ai⁵² k^hwã⁵² → ai⁵⁵ = k^hwã⁵² (莆田)
 c. 乱做 lwoŋ⁵² tso⁵² → lwoŋ⁴⁴ = tso⁵² (仙游)
 d. 都看报 tou⁵³³ k^hwa⁵² po⁵² → tou²⁴ = k^hwa⁴⁴ po⁵² (仙游)
 e. 太好 t^hɔ³³ xu²¹ → t^hɔ⁵⁵ = xu²¹ (三明)
 f. 齐来 tse⁵¹ la⁵¹ → tse³³ = la⁵¹ (三明)
 g. 乱唱 lwi²⁴ t^hin²⁴ → lwi⁴⁴ = t^hin²⁴ (沙县)

h. 都买厝 都买房子 $tu^{33} me^{21} ts^{h}o^{24}$ → $tu^{44} = me^{44} ts^{h}o^{24}$ (沙县)

IV. 动补短语 (动 # 补)

- a. 气死 $k^{h}i^{52} i^{342}$ → $k^{h}i^{52} \# i^{342}$ $*k^{h}i^{55} = i^{342}$ (莆田)
 b. 开出 $k^{h}wi^{533} ts^{h}o^{21}$ → $k^{h}wi^{533} \# ts^{h}o^{21}$ $*k^{h}wi^{24} = ts^{h}o^{21}$ (莆田)
 c. 饿死 $jeu^{533} i^{32}$ → $jeu^{533} \# i^{32}$ $*jeu^{22} = i^{32}$ (仙游)
 d. 看完 $k^{h}wa^{52} xo^{32}$ → $k^{h}wa^{52} \# xo^{32}$ $*k^{h}wa^{44} = xo^{32}$ (仙游)
 e. 吃饱 $je^{353} xu^{21}$ → $je^{353} \# xu^{21}$ $*je^{21} = xu^{21}$ (三明)
 f. 想出来 $sja^{21} t^{h}qi^{13} la^{51}$ → $sja^{21} \# t^{h}qi^{35} la^{51}$ $*sja^{13} = t^{h}qi^{35} la^{51}$ (三明)
 g. 放好 $pou^{24} xo^{21}$ → $pou^{24} \# xo^{21}$ $*pou^{21} = xo^{21}$ (沙县)
 h. 唱起来 $t^{h}i^{24} k^{h}i^{21} lai^{31}$ → $t^{h}i^{24} \# k^{h}i^{44} lai^{31}$ $*t^{h}i^{21} = k^{h}i^{44} lai^{31}$ (沙县)

V. 动宾短语 (简单宾语) (动 = 宾)

- a. 买鞋 $pe^{342} e^{24}$ → $pe^{24} = e^{24}$ (莆田)
 b. 卖厝 卖房子 $pe^{31} ts^{h}ou^{52}$ → $pe^{55} = ts^{h}ou^{52}$ (莆田)
 c. 看报 $k^{h}wa^{52} po^{52}$ → $k^{h}wa^{44} = po^{52}$ (仙游)
 d. 讲新闻 聊天 $kw^{32} li^{533} mw^{24}$ → $kw^{24} = li^{22} mw^{24}$ (仙游)
 e. 卖厝 卖房子 $me^{33} ts^{h}ju^{33}$ → $me^{55} = ts^{h}ju^{33}$ (三明)
 f. 吃肉 $je^{353} ny^{353}$ → $je^{21} = ny^{353}$ (三明)
 g. 买米 $me^{21} mi^{21}$ → $me^{44} = mi^{21}$ (沙县)
 h. 洗衣裳 $se^{21} i^{33} fi^{31}$ → $se^{44} = i^{44} fi^{31}$ (沙县)

IV. 动宾短语 (复杂宾语) (动 = 宾)

- a. 买新鞋 $pe^{342} li^{533} e^{24}$ → $pe^{24} = li^{31} e^{24}$ (莆田)
 b. 卖旧厝 卖旧房子 $pe^{31} ku^{31} ts^{h}ou^{52}$ → $pe^{55} = ku^{55} ts^{h}ou^{52}$ (莆田)
 c. 做新鞋 $tso^{52} li^{533} e^{24}$ → $tso^{44} = li^{22} e^{24}$ (仙游)
 d. 买大厝 买大房子 $me^{32} twa^{21} ts^{h}ou^{52}$ → $me^{24} = twa^{44} ts^{h}ou^{52}$ (仙游)
 e. 卖新厝 卖新房子 $me^{33} sa^{53} ts^{h}ju^{33}$ → $me^{55} = sa^{33} ts^{h}ju^{33}$ (三明)
 f. 借好书 $tsju^{13} xu^{21} fy^{53}$ → $tsju^{35} = xu^{13} fy^{53}$ (三明)
 g. 买新厝 买新房子 $me^{21} sei^{33} ts^{h}o^{24}$ → $me^{44} = sei^{44} ts^{h}o^{24}$ (沙县)
 h. 洗白衣裳 $se^{21} pa^{53} i^{33} fi^{31}$ → $se^{44} = pa^{21} i^{44} fi^{31}$ (沙县)

(3) 永安方言短语层面连读变调示例

I. 主谓短语 (主 # 谓)

- a. 猪吃饱 $k^{h}qi^{21} je^{54}$ → $k^{h}qi^{21} \# je^{54}$ $*k^{h}qi^{33} = je^{54}$
 b. 你买菜 $ni^{52} me^{21} ts^{h}a^{24}$ → $ni^{52} \# me^{33} ts^{h}a^{24}$ $*ni^{33} = me^{33} ts^{h}a^{24}$

II. 定中短语 (定 # 中)

- a. 新厝 新房子 $sa^{52} ts^{h}ju^{24}$ → $sa^{52} \# ts^{h}ju^{24}$ $*sa^{33} = ts^{h}ju^{24}$
 b. 旧电影 $kjau^{24} tei^{24} ja^{21}$ → $kjau^{24} \# tei^{33} ja^{21}$ $*kjau^{44} = tei^{33} ja^{21}$

III. 状中短语 (状 # 中)

- a. 乱唱 $lum^{24} t^{h}jam^{24}$ → $lum^{24} \# t^{h}jam^{24}$ $*lum^{44} = t^{h}jam^{24}$
 b. 过寒 更冷 $ku^{24} kum^{33}$ → $ku^{24} \# kum^{33}$ $*ku^{44} = kum^{33}$

IV. 动补短语 (动 # 补)

- a. 吃饱 $je^{54} po^{21}$ → $je^{54} \# po^{21}$ $*je^{21} = po^{21}$
 b. 唱起来 $t^{h}jam^{24} k^{h}i^{21} la^{33}$ → $t^{h}jam^{24} \# k^{h}i^{33} la^{33}$ $*t^{h}jam^{44} = k^{h}i^{33} la^{33}$

V. 动宾短语 (简单宾语) (动 = 宾)

- a. 卖水 $me^{24} fi^{21}$ → $me^{33} = fi^{21}$
 b. 洗衣裳 $se^{21} i^{52} fjam^{33}$ → $se^{33} = i^{33} fjam^{33}$

IV. 动宾短语 (复杂宾语) (动 # 宾)

- a. 借新笔 $tsju^{12} sa^{52} pi^{12}$ → $tsju^{12} \# sa^{52} pi^{12}$ $*tsju^{55} = sa^{52} pi^{12}$
 b. 洗白衣裳 $se^{21} po^{54} i^{33} fjam^{33}$ → $se^{21} \# po^{54} i^{33} fjam^{33}$ $*se^{33} = po^{54} i^{33} fjam^{33}$

从(1-3)中的例子不难看出,在这些闽方言中,短语层面连读变调不仅仅由音系条件决定,更要受到短语内部句法结构的影响,在受到阻断的短语类型中,即使相关的声调组合符合该方言中发生连读变调的条件、理应根据一般的连读变调规则发生变化,连读变调也不会发生。由此可见,这些闽方言中的短语层面连读变调是典型的音系-句法交互作用的现象。此外,从表1以及(1-3)中的例子可以看出,这几个闽方言的连读变调在短语层面的运用辖域都并非简单地对应于某一个或某一类句法短语。因此,我们就需要回答以下两个问题:(a)这些闽方言的短语层面连读变调辖域是什么?(b)既然这些闽方言中的短语层面连读变调是一个音系-句法交互作用的现象,同时其辖域又不能简单地对应于某一个或某一类句法短语,那么应该如何利用句法信息来构建这些方言中的短语层面连读变调辖域?

这两个问题涉及两个方面,一是音系规则的运用辖域,二是音系与句法的交互作用,而这正是韵律音系学所最关心的。如图1的韵律层级结构所示,韵律音系学所提出的韵律层级中包含多个韵律单位,而每一个韵律单位都可以作为某些特定的音系规则或语音过程运用的辖域。那么究竟哪一个韵律单位构成了上述闽方言中短语层面连读变调的运用辖域?

韵律音系学认为,不同韵律单位的定义与构建需要利用不同类型的音系或非音系信息,在图1所示的韵律单位之中,只有韵律词、粘附组以及音系短语这三个韵律单位的定义与构建需要利用形态句法信息(见 Nespor & Vogel 1986, 2007; Zhang 1992, 2017; Pak 2005; Pak & Friesner 2006; 张洪明 2014 等)。在这三者之中,韵律词代表的是音系与形态(构词)之间的交互作用,是利用非音系信息建立的韵律单位中最低一级的韵律单位,其辖域的大小大致相当于一个形态句法词(见 Booij 1983, 1996; Booij & Rubach 1984; Nespor & Vogel 1986, 2007; Booij & Lieber 1993; Hannahs 1995a, 1995b 等)⁵,而粘附组则由一个可以独立使用的词作为宿主(host)加上与其相邻、附于其上的粘附成分(clitic)构成(参见 Hayes 1984/1989; Nespor & Vogel 1986, 2007; Cohn 1989 等)⁶。然而,从表1以及(1-3)的例子中可以看出,在这些闽方言的短语层面,发生连读变调的几类短语均包含两个或两个以上的形态句法词,因此这些闽方言中的短语层面连读变调辖域必须大于韵律词。同时,这些发生连读变调的短语中并不包含任何粘附成分,因此其构成的连读变调辖域也不可能对应于粘附组。在基于形态句法信息构建的三个韵律单位之中,只有音系短语可以包含两个或两个以上能够独立使用的词,因此,这些闽方言的短语层面连读变调辖域只能对应于音系短语。

如此,便可以针对这些闽方言的短语层面连读变调做出如下假设:如果这些方言中的一个句法短语由两个或两个以上的形态句法词构成,那么只有当这个句法短语所有组成成分都被包含在同一个音系短语的辖域中时,连读变调才会在这个句法短语中运用。反之,如果一个句法短语的组成部分被包含在两个不同的音系短语之中,连读变调就会在这个句法短语中受到阻断,无法运用在位于两个音系短语边界位置的组成部分之间。换言之,短语层面的连读变调只能发生在音系短语的辖域之内,而不能跨越音系短语辖域的边界进行运用⁷。

在确定了音系短语作为本文所涉闽方言中短语层面连读变调的辖域之后,我们就需要解决之前提出的第二个问题,即如何利用句法信息来构建这些闽方言中的音系短语。从本节的讨论中不难看出,在短语层面,这些闽方言的连读变调运用的短语类型既有相似之处,又存在差别,因此这些闽方言在音系短语辖域的构建上也必然存在普遍性与多样性。那么,对于这些

⁵ Nespor & Vogel (1986, 2007) 指出,韵律词的辖域大小只能小于或等于一个形态句法词。

⁶ Zwicky (1977)、Klavans (1982, 1985) 等提出,人类语言中的粘附成分与一般的可以独立使用的词不同,通常属于一些功能性的、相对封闭的类别,例如助动词、代词(多为宾语代词)、限定词、介词、后置词、连词以及否定词和疑问词等。此外,粘附成分与词缀之间也存在诸多不同(见 Zwicky & Pullum 1983; Haspelmath & Sims 2010 等)。

⁷ 在其他汉语方言中也存在类似现象(见 Chen 1985, 1987, 1990, 2000; Selkirk & Shen 1990; Zhang 1992, 2017 等)。

闽方言来说,哪些句法信息才是音系短语构建过程中真正不可或缺的,是句法边界、句法关系还是语段?从跨方言的角度来看,引言部分所提到的三大类音系短语构建方法中,哪种方法具有更强的解释力?我们将在下文中针对这些问题进行讨论。

3. 基于边界的方法在闽东、闽中与莆仙方言中的运用

从本节开始,我们将在第二节所述六个闽方言短语层面连读变调的语言事实基础上,尝试运用不同的构建方法来构建这些闽方言中的短语层面连读变调辖域——音系短语,并比较不同构建方法的优劣,以此来探讨不同闽方言中音系短语构建的普遍性与多样性。本节将讨论基于边界的方法在本文所涉六个闽方言中的运用,分别利用边界参数设定(3.1 小节)、同界/包含理论(3.2 小节)与匹配理论(3.3 小节)对这些闽方言中的音系短语进行构建。

3.1 边界参数设定

基于 Chen (1985, 1987) 对厦门方言的研究, Selkirk (1986) 提出利用四个与句法成分边界有关的参数来定义句法与音系之间的映射关系,如(4)所示。

(4) 音系短语构建的边界参数设定

(I) a. $]_{\text{Xhead}}$ b. $\text{Xhead}[$ (II) a. $]_{\text{Xmax}}$ b. $\text{Xmax}[$

根据(4)中的边界参数,人类语言中存在四种可能的音系短语类型,即利用“ $]_{\text{Xhead}}$ ”(音系短语右边界对应于句法短语中心语右边界)或者“ $\text{Xhead}[$ ”(音系短语左边界对应于句法短语中心语左边界)构建的音系短语⁸,以及利用“ $]_{\text{Xmax}}$ ”(音系短语右边界对应于句法短语右边界)或者“ $\text{Xmax}[$ ”(音系短语左边界对应于句法短语左边界)构建的音系短语。Selkirk (1986)认为,厦门方言的变调规则与 Chimwi:ni 语的重音指派都以“ $]_{\text{Xmax}}$ ”这一参数所构建的音系短语作为规则运用的辖域,而埃维语(Ewe, 加纳的一种班图语言)的变调规则则是以“ $\text{Xmax}[$ ”所构建的音系短语作为运用的辖域。此外,法语的联诵规则所运用的辖域虽然也是音系短语,但是法语中的音系短语是利用“ $]_{\text{Xhead}}$ ”构建出来的。Selkirk (1986)并没有给出利用“ $\text{Xhead}[$ ”构建音系短语的例子,但 Chen (1990)指出,温州方言中存在相关证据,该方言中的声调中和(tonal neutralization)运用的辖域正是由“ $\text{Xhead}[$ ”构建出来的音系短语。

那么,边界参数设定的方法能否构建出本文所涉闽方言的音系短语并对这些方言的短语层面连读变调做出正确预测?根据第二节的讨论,这些闽方言的短语层面连读变调只能发生在音系短语辖域之内,不能跨越音系短语辖域边界进行运用。因此,可以将表 1 与(1-3)中所示的短语层面连读变调基本情况及其对应的基本句法结构与音系短语构建预测表示如下:

表 2. 福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安、沙县方言短语层面连读变调及相关句法结构与音系短语构建

短语类型及句法结构	福州方言变调情况及音系短语构建预测	莆田、仙游、三明、沙县方言变调情况及音系短语构建预测	永安方言变调情况及音系短语构建预测
主谓短语 [NP] [VP]	主 # 谓 (NP) _φ (VP) _φ	主 # 谓 (NP) _φ (VP) _φ	主 # 谓 (NP) _φ (VP) _φ
定中短语 [[AP] N] _{NP}	定 = 中 (AP N) _φ	定 = 中 (AP N) _φ	定 # 中 (AP) _φ (N) _φ
状中短语 [[AdvP] A/V] _{AP/VP}	状 = 中 (AdvP A/V) _φ	状 = 中 (AdvP A/V) _φ	状 # 中 (AdvP) _φ (A/V) _φ
动补短语 [V [AP/VP]] _{VP}	动 # 补 (V) _φ (AP/VP) _φ	动 # 补 (V) _φ (AP/VP) _φ	动 # 补 (V) _φ (AP/VP) _φ
动宾短语(简单宾语) [V [N] _{NP}] _{VP}	动 = 宾 (V N) _φ	动 = 宾 (V N) _φ	动 = 宾 (V N) _φ

⁸Selkirk (1986) 将利用“ $]_{\text{Xhead}}$ ”或者“ $\text{Xhead}[$ ”这两个参数构建的音系短语称为“小音系短语”(small phonological phrase)。

动宾短语（复杂宾语） [V [[AP] N] _{NP}] _{VP}	动 # 宾 (V) _φ (AP N) _φ	动 = 宾 (V AP N) _φ	动 # 宾 (V) _φ (AP) _φ (N) _φ
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假如利用边界参数设定的方法来构建这些闽方言中的音系短语，那么就存在四种可能的构建方法，各自对应于（4）中所示的其中一个参数。然而，无论采用（4）中的哪一个参数，都会在解释这些闽方言的短语层面连读变调时遇到困难。

假设这些闽方言中的音系短语是利用“ $]_{xhead}$ ”这一参数来构建的，那么就意味着这些方言的音系短语右边界必须与句法短语中心语的右边界一致。这一设定可以预测在主谓之间和动补之间将出现音系短语边界，从而使主谓短语和动补短语中连读变调被阻断的现象得到解释。然而，这一参数设定存在两个主要问题：第一、定中短语和状中短语中，定语 AP 和状语 AdvP 的中心语右边界与音系短语的右边界重合，无法解释除了永安以外的几个闽方言中定中之间以及状中之间发生的连读变调；第二、动宾短语中 V 的右边界与音系短语的右边界重合，无法解释这几个方言中都存在的动词与简单宾语之间发生变调的情况，也无法解释莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言中动词与复杂宾语之间发生的变调。

如果利用“ $x_{head}[$ ”来构建这些闽方言中的音系短语，也会遇到类似的问题。虽然“ $x_{head}[$ ”这一参数要求音系短语的左边界必须与句法短语中心语的左边界一致，从而使主谓之间和动补之间连读变调被阻断的情况得到解释，但是对于定中短语、状中短语以及动宾短语中的情况无能为力。一方面，在定中短语和状中短语中，中心语 N/A/V 的左边界与音系短语的左边界重合，无法解释福州、莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言中的实际情况；另一方面，在动宾短语中，若 N 的左边界与音系短语的左边界重合，则 V 与 N 必定被包含在两个不同的音系短语之中，既无法解释动宾短语（简单宾语）中的变调现象，也无法解释莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言动宾短语（复杂宾语）中的情况。

这些闽方言中的音系短语也不能利用“ $]_{x_{max}}$ ”进行构建。根据“ $]_{x_{max}}$ ”的要求，音系短语的右边界与整个句法短语的右边界一致，这可以解释各个闽方言中主谓之间连读变调被阻断的现象以及动宾短语（简单宾语）中的变调现象。然而，这一参数设定存在诸多问题：第一、在定中短语和状中短语中，由于附加语 AP/AdvP 右边界与音系短语右边界重合，使得 AP/AdvP 与中心语被包含在两个不同音系短语之中，无法解释除永安以外的几个闽方言中定中短语和状中短语的变调情况；第二、在动补短语中，整个动词短语 VP 的右边界及补语 AP/VP 的右边界与音系短语右边界重合，因此在动词 V 与补语之间并不存在音系短语的边界，这无法解释这些闽方言中动补之间连读变调被阻断的情况；第三、在动宾短语（复杂宾语）中，“ $]_{x_{max}}$ ”将 AP 右边界以及整个 VP/NP 的右边界都标记为音系短语右边界，因此预测的音系短语构建结果是 (V AP)_φ (N)_φ，显然不符合任何一个方言中的实际情况。

利用“ $x_{max}[$ ”来构建这些闽方言中的音系短语也同样存在无法解释的问题。与“ $]_{x_{max}}$ ”相反，“ $x_{max}[$ ”要求音系短语左边界与整个句法短语的左边界一致，如此一来，主谓之间和动补之间连读变调被阻断的现象可以得到解释。但这一参数设定在其他几类短语中都将遇到问题：第一、在定中短语和状中短语中，只有附加语 AP/AdvP 的左边界与音系短语左边界重合，因此整个定中短语和状中短语只构成一个音系短语，这无法解释永安方言中的情况；第二、“ $x_{max}[$ ”在动宾短语中使 NP 左边界必须与音系短语左边界重合，那么 V 与 NP 就被包含在两个不同音系短语之中，这显然无法解释这些闽方言在动宾短语（简单宾语）中的变调现象，也无法解释莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言动宾短语（复杂宾语）中的情况。

根据上述讨论，边界参数设定在这些闽方言中的运用情况可以总结如下（“√”表示该参数可以解释短语中的变调情况，“×”则表示存在无法解释的现象）。从表 3 可见，边界参数设定这一方法最突出的问题在于，无论采用边界参数设定中的哪一个参数，在这些闽方言中都无

法同时预测动补短语和动宾短语（简单宾语）中的连读变调情况，也无法同时预测动宾短语（简单宾语）和动宾短语（复杂宾语）中的情况。因此，基于边界的方法中最早提出的边界参数设定方法无法准确地构建出这些闽方言中的音系短语。

表 3. 边界参数设定在福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安、沙县方言中的运用

运用情况 参数及方言		主谓	定中	状中	动补	动宾 (简单宾语)	动宾 (复杂宾语)
]Xhead	福州	√	×	×	√	×	√
	莆田、仙游、三明、沙县	√	×	×	√	×	×
	永安	√	√	√	√	×	√
Xhead[福州	√	×	×	√	×	√
	莆田、仙游、三明、沙县	√	×	×	√	×	×
	永安	√	√	√	√	×	√
]Xmax	福州	√	×	×	×	√	×
	莆田、仙游、三明、沙县	√	×	×	×	√	×
	永安	√	√	√	×	√	×
Xmax[福州	√	√	√	√	×	√
	莆田、仙游、三明、沙县	√	√	√	√	×	×
	永安	√	×	×	√	×	√

3.2 同界/包含理论

基于边界的方法在 20 世纪 90 年代发展出了同界/包含理论，利用制约条件之间的交互作用来进行音系短语的构建。Selkirk (1996) 将 (4) 中的边界参数设定发展成为同界/包含理论中的一对重要制约条件，即 $A_{\text{ALIGN-R}}(XP, \varphi)$ 与 $A_{\text{ALIGN-L}}(XP, \varphi)$ ，分别如 (5a) 和 (5b) 所示。

(5) a. $A_{\text{ALIGN-R}}(XP, \varphi)$ ：句法短语 XP 的右边界与音系短语的右边界同界。

b. $A_{\text{ALIGN-L}}(XP, \varphi)$ ：句法短语 XP 的左边界与音系短语的左边界同界。

Selkirk (1996) 还在优选论的理论框架下，将早期韵律音系学理论中的严格分层假设 (Strict Layer Hypothesis, 见 Selkirk 1984; Nespor & Vogel 1986, 2007 等)，分解为四条一般制约条件：层级性 (layeredness)、中心性 (headedness)、穷尽性 (exhaustivity) 和非递归性 (nonrecursivity)。其中非递归性被看作是音系短语构建中的另一条重要制约条件。Selkirk (1996) 对非递归性所做的原始定义为“若 $i=j$ ，则韵律单位 C_i 不能统制韵律单位 C_i ”，具体到音系短语构建这一问题上，就意味着一个音系短语不能统制另一个音系短语，即不允许出现递归结构的音系短语。与 Selkirk (1996) 的定义略有不同，Truckenbrodt (1999) 对非递归性 (下文简称 N_{ONREC}) 这一制约条件的定义如 (6) 所示。

(6) N_{ONREC} ：没有互相分离的两个音系短语，其辖域范围大小必须一致。⁹

除了 $A_{\text{ALIGN-R/L}}(XP, \varphi)$ 与 N_{ONREC} 以外，同界/包含理论中还有一条与音系短语构建相关的重要制约条件，即 Truckenbrodt (1995, 1999) 提出的 $W_{\text{RAP-XP}}$ ，如 (7) 所示。

⁹ 原文为 “Any two phonological phrases that are not disjoint in extension are identical in extension” (Truckenbrodt 1999: 240)。这一制约条件要求递归结构的两个音系短语在辖域范围大小上尽可能相似，并允许对于“辖域范围大小一致”的程度性违反 (gradient violation)。例如， $[(XY)_{\varphi} Z]_{\varphi}$ 这样的递归结构音系短语要优于 $[X (Y)_{\varphi} Z]_{\varphi}$ ，原因在于前者中内部的音系短语 $(XY)_{\varphi}$ 与外部的音系短语 $(XY Z)_{\varphi}$ 在辖域范围大小上的差别仅在于缺少了 Z ，而后者中内部的音系短语 $(Y)_{\varphi}$ 与外部的音系短语 $(XY Z)_{\varphi}$ 相比，不但缺少了 Z ，而且缺少了 X 。

(7) W_{RAP-XP} : 任意一个以词汇性中心语为核心的句法短语 XP (lexically headed XP) 都必须被包含在一个音系短语之中。

同界/包含理论将人类语言中的音系短语构建看作是这些可违反的制约条件交互作用的结果, 认为正是由于这些制约条件之间不同的层级排序 (ranking), 才产生了音系短语辖域在不同语言中的差异¹⁰。以非洲的班图语言为例, 在 Kimatumbi 语 (坦桑尼亚的一种班图语言) 中, 音系短语构建是利用 $A_{ALIGN-R}(XP, \varphi)$, $W_{RAP-XP} \gg N_{ONREC}$ 这一制约条件排序来实现的; 在 Chicheŵa 语 (马拉维的一种班图语言) 中, 音系短语是利用 W_{RAP-XP} , $N_{ONREC} \gg A_{ALIGN-R}(XP, \varphi)$ 来构建的; 而在 Chimwi:ni 语中, 构建音系短语时的制约条件排序则变成了 $A_{ALIGN-R}(XP, \varphi)$, $N_{ONREC} \gg W_{RAP-XP}$ (见 Truckenbrodt 1995, 1999; Seidl 2001 等)。

与边界参数设定一样, 同界/包含理论在分析本文所涉闽方言中的音系短语以及短语层面连读变调时, 同样遇到了难以解决的问题。

如第二节所示, 本文所涉六个闽方言的连读变调都必须运用于动词和简单宾语之间, 因此动宾短语 (简单宾语) $[V [N]_{NP}]_{VP}$ 的音系短语构建结果应为 $(V N)_{\varphi}$ 。若想构建出这一正确的音系短语, 须满足几个要求: (a) 句法短语左边界不能与音系短语左边界重合, 否则一旦内部的 NP 左边界与音系短语左边界重合, V 与 N 将被包含在不同音系短语之中, 因此 $A_{ALIGN-L}(XP, \varphi)$ 在这些闽方言中的排序必须很低; (b) 不允许出现递归结构的音系短语, 否则一旦内部的 NP 和外部的 VP 构成递归结构的音系短语, V 与 N 之间也将存在音系短语边界, 因此 N_{ONREC} 在层级排序中必须处在一个较高位置; (c) 动词和简单宾语构成的整个 VP 应被包含在一个音系短语之中, 因此 W_{RAP-XP} 也必须处在一个较高位置。可见, 若要利用同界/包含理论对这些闽方言中的动宾短语 (简单宾语) 做出符合事实的音系短语构建预测, 制约条件排序应为 W_{RAP-XP} , $N_{ONREC} \gg A_{ALIGN-L}(XP, \varphi)$, 如表 4 中的竞选表 (tableau) 所示。

表 4. 福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安和沙县方言动宾短语 (简单宾语) 中的音系短语构建
(W_{RAP-XP} , $N_{ONREC} \gg A_{ALIGN-L}(XP, \varphi)$)

$[V [N]_{NP}]_{VP}$	W_{RAP-XP}	N_{ONREC}	$A_{ALIGN-L}(XP, \varphi)$
a. $(V N)_{\varphi}$			*
b. $(V)_{\varphi} (N)_{\varphi}$	*!		
c. $((V)_{\varphi} N)_{\varphi}$		*N!	*
d. $(V (N)_{\varphi})_{\varphi}$		*V!	
e. $((V)_{\varphi} (N)_{\varphi})_{\varphi}$		*N! *V	

从表 4 可见, 候选项 b 违反了 W_{RAP-XP} (VP 未能包含在一个音系短语之中), 候选项 c、d、e 均违反了 N_{ONREC} (其中, 候选项 c 内部的音系短语比外部的音系短语少了 N , 候选项 d 内部的音系短语比外部的音系短语少了 V , 而候选项 e 存在两个内部音系短语, 分别比外部的音系短语少了 N 和 V), 而候选项 a 则只违反了层级排序较低的 $A_{ALIGN-L}(XP, \varphi)$, 因此被选为优选项, 符合这些闽方言动宾短语 (简单宾语) 中的音系短语构建情况。

然而, W_{RAP-XP} , $N_{ONREC} \gg A_{ALIGN-L}(XP, \varphi)$ 这一层级排序在动补短语中将遇到明显的困难。在动补短语 $[V [AP/VP]]_{VP}$ 中, 这几个闽方言的连读变调都无法运用于动词和补语之间, 因此在构建音系短语时, 动词中心语 V 和补语部分的 AP/VP 之间应该存在音系短语的边界。这就要求: (a) 句法短语的左边界必须与音系短语的左边界重合, 即 $A_{ALIGN-L}(XP, \varphi)$ 这一制约条件在这些闽方言中的排序必须很高; (b) 允许出现递归结构的音系短语, 如果内部的 AP/VP 和外

¹⁰ 除了上文提到的几条制约条件以外, Ghini (1993)、Truckenbrodt (1999)、Sandaló & Truckenbrodt (2002)、Prieto (2006) 等还提出了 $A_{ALIGN-FOC}$ 、*P-PHASE、UNIFORMITY、INCREASING UNITS 等制约条件。这些制约条件与下文的讨论不直接相关, 也不影响下文的分析结果, 因此不展开讨论。

部的 VP 构成递归结构的音系短语，V 与补语部分的 AP/VP 之间也将存在音系短语边界，因此，NONREC 这一制约条件在层级排序中必须处在一个较低的位置；（c）动补短语构成的整个 VP 无须被包含在同一个音系短语之中，因此 W_{RAP-XP} 必须处在一个较低的位置。这些要求与动宾短语（简单宾语）中的要求是相互矛盾的，这就使得适用于动宾短语（简单宾语）的制约条件等级排序 $W_{RAP-XP}, NONREC \gg ALIGN-L(XP, \varphi)$ 无法在动补短语中对音系短语构建做出正确的预测。如表 5 所示，这一层级排序将选择候选项 a 作为优选项，但这一候选项显然不符合这几个闽方言动补短语中的音系短语构建情况。

表 5. 福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安和沙县方言动补短语中的音系短语构建
($W_{RAP-XP}, NONREC \gg ALIGN-L(XP, \varphi)$)

[V [AP/VP]] _{VP}	W_{RAP-XP}	NONREC	$ALIGN-L(XP, \varphi)$
* a. (V AP/VP) _φ			*
b. (V) _φ (AP/VP) _φ	*!		
c. ((V) _φ AP/VP) _φ		*AP/VP!	*
d. (V (AP/VP) _φ) _φ		*V!	
e. ((V) _φ (AP/VP) _φ) _φ		*AP/VP! *V	

由上述讨论可见，在优选论影响下发展出的同界/包含理论无法同时正确地在动宾短语（简单宾语）和动补短语中进行音系短语构建。由于这两类短语在本文所涉六个闽方言中连读变调的情况都正好相反，适用于前者的制约条件层级排序必定与适用于后者的层级排序相互矛盾。因此，同界/包含理论并不能为这些闽方言的短语层面连读变调提供合理的解释。

3.3 匹配理论

Selkirk (2009, 2011) 在优选论以及最简方案和语段理论的影响下将基于边界的方法进一步发展成为匹配理论。匹配理论认为，“界面范畴”（interface categories，即韵律词、音系短语以及语调短语；见 Itô & Mester 2012）之间的层级关系是建立在句法基础上的，在句法-音系交互作用中需利用分句（clause）、短语（phrase）以及词（word）这样的句法概念，分别对应于音系中的语调短语、音系短语及韵律词。因此，在音系短语构建过程中，需要一条句法-韵律结构的忠实性对应制约条件（faithfulness correspondence constraint），即 Match (Phrase, φ)，如（8）所示。此外，匹配理论在构建音系短语时还需要一条标记性制约条件（markedness constraint），即如（9）所示的 BinMin (φ, ω)（另见 Inkelas & Zec 1995；Selkirk 2000 等）。

（8）Match (Phrase, φ)：句法短语的左右边界都应当对应于音系短语的相应边界。

（9）BinMin (φ, ω)：一个音系短语应该至少包含两个韵律词。

匹配理论认为，人类语言中的音系短语构建主要通过 Match (Phrase, φ) 与 BinMin (φ, ω) 之间的交互作用来进行，而这它们之间不同的层级排序造成了不同语言在音系短语辖域构建上的差异。例如，在 Xitsonga 语（非洲南部聪加人使用的一种班图语言）和意大利语中，音系短语是利用 BinMin (φ, ω) \gg Match (Phrase, φ) 这一排序来构建的，而在 Chimwi:ni 语和德语中，则需要利用 Match (Phrase, φ) \gg BinMin (φ, ω) 来进行构建（见 Selkirk 2009, 2011）。

与边界参数设定以及同界/包含理论一样，匹配理论在构建本文涉及的六个闽方言中的音系短语时也遇到了无法解决的问题。

如第二节中所示，在本文所涉闽方言中，包含简单宾语的动宾短语 [V [N]_{NP}]_{VP} 都只能构成一个音系短语中，即动词和简单宾语被包含在同一个音系短语之中 (V N)_φ。为了准确预测这一音系短语构建结果，必须将 BinMin (φ, ω) 排在 Match (Phrase, φ) 之前，如表 6 所示。

表 6. 福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安和沙县方言动宾短语（简单宾语）中的音系短语构建
(BinMin (φ, ω) >> Match (Phrase, φ))

[V [N] _{NP}] _{VP}	BinMin (φ, ω)	Match (Phrase, φ)
* a. (V N) _{φ}		*
b. (V) _{φ} (N) _{φ}	*! *	*
c. ((V) _{φ} N) _{φ}	*!	*
d. (V (N) _{φ}) _{φ}	*!	
e. ((V) _{φ} (N) _{φ}) _{φ}	*! *	

根据匹配理论，句法单位中的词必须与韵律单位中的韵律词匹配，因此表 6 中的候选项 b、c、d、e 中都有至少一个仅由单个韵律词构成的音系短语，这就违反了排序较高的 BinMin (φ, ω)。而候选项 a 虽然违反了 Match (Phrase, φ)，但是 Match (Phrase, φ) 的排序低于 BinMin (φ, ω)，因此被选为优选项，对动宾短语（简单宾语）中的音系短语构建做出了正确的预测。

BinMin (φ, ω) >> Match (Phrase, φ) 这一制约条件层级排序在解释主谓短语和动补短语中的连读变调时遇到了困难。在本文所涉及的六个闽方言中，连读变调在主谓短语和动补短语中均受到阻断。以“伊跳_{他跳}”“猪_{猪吃}”这样的主语和谓语都只包含一个韵律词的主谓短语为例，如表 7 所示，BinMin (φ, ω) >> Match (Phrase, φ) 这一层级排序将选择候选项 a 作为优选项，从而使得主语和谓语包含在同一个音系短语之中，这显然与实际情况不符。类似的，如表 8 所示，这一层级排序在动补短语中，同样将选择候选项 a 作为优选项，并将动词和补语包含在同一个音系短语之中，这也与第二节中所见的语言事实相左。

表 7. 福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安和沙县方言主谓短语中的音系短语构建
(BinMin (φ, ω) >> Match (Phrase, φ))

[NP] [VP]	BinMin (φ, ω)	Match (Phrase, φ)
* a. (NP VP) _{φ}		**
b. (NP) _{φ} (VP) _{φ}	*! *	
c. ((NP) _{φ} VP) _{φ}	*!	*
d. (NP (VP) _{φ}) _{φ}	*!	*
e. ((NP) _{φ} (VP) _{φ}) _{φ}	*! *	

表 8. 福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安和沙县方言动补短语中的音系短语构建
(BinMin (φ, ω) >> Match (Phrase, φ))

[V [AP/VP]] _{VP}	BinMin (φ, ω)	Match (Phrase, φ)
* a. (V AP/VP) _{φ}		*
b. (V) _{φ} (AP/VP) _{φ}	*! *	*
c. ((V) _{φ} AP/VP) _{φ}	*!	*
d. (V (AP/VP) _{φ}) _{φ}	*!	
e. ((V) _{φ} (AP/VP) _{φ}) _{φ}	*! *	

从上述讨论可见，匹配理论在构建这几个闽方言的音系短语时也存在問題。若要正确地预测动宾短语（简单宾语）中的音系短语构建情况，必须将 BinMin (φ, ω) 排序在前，将 Match (Phrase, φ) 排序在后，而这一排序将在对主谓短语和动补短语中的音系短语构建进行预测时选择错误的优选项，这一矛盾的情况在匹配理论中无法得到解决。

3.4 小结

前三个小节在本文所涉六个闽方言短语层面连读变调材料的基础上，分别考察了基于边界的方法在三个不同时期所提出的音系短语构建方法，即边界参数设定、同界/包含理论以及匹配

理论。通过前面的讨论，可以发现，这些方法在构建这些闽方言的音系短语时，都存在一些难以解释的情况。其中最突出的问题就是，基于边界的方法始终无法合理地解释这些闽方言中共同存在的动宾短语（简单宾语）与动补短语之间的差异：无论哪一种方法，都无法同时对这两类短语中的音系短语构建与连读变调做出准确的预测。

4. 基于关系的方法在闽东、闽中与莆仙方言中的运用

与基于边界的方法不同，基于关系的方法在构建音系短语时并不参照句法中的“边界”信息，而是利用中心语、补足语、附加语与指示语之间的相互关系、句法分枝以及中心语的递归/非递归方向等句法信息。基于关系的方法对于音系短语辖域的构建规则如（10）所示。

- （10）音系短语的构建（原文见 Nespor & Vogel 1986，2007；另见张洪明 2014；You 2020 等）
音系短语的辖域由一个包含了词汇性中心语 X （lexical head X ）的粘附组或韵律词¹¹及其非递归方向的所有粘附组或韵律词组成。如果另一个词汇性中心语 Y 不在 X 的最大投射 XP 之内，则 Y 所在的粘附组或韵律词不包含在前面建立的音系短语之中。

除了（10）中所示的音系短语构建规则之外，基于关系的音系短语构建方法中还有一条音系短语重构（ φ -restructuring）规则，如（11）所示。

- （11）音系短语重构（原文见 Nespor & Vogel 1986，2007）
一个不分枝¹²的音系短语（non-branching φ ），如果是位于词汇性中心语 X 递归方向上的第一个补足语，则这个不分枝的音系短语与包含 X 的音系短语合并为一个音系短语。

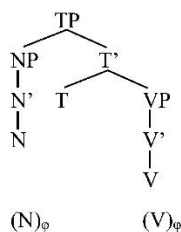
Nespor & Vogel（1986，2007）认为，这条重构规则在一些语言中不能运用，如法语、埃维语和 Quechua 语（南美洲原住民的一种语言），在一些语言中是非强制性运用的，如英语和意大利语，而在一些语言中则是强制性运用的，如 Chimwi:ni 语。Hayes（1984/1989）和 Nespor & Vogel（1986，2007）还指出，在 Chimwi:ni 语中，这条重构规则的强制性运用实际上并不考虑补足语构成的音系短语的分枝情况，换言之，无论中心语 X 递归方向上第一个补足语构成的音系短语是否分枝，都会被纳入包含中心语 X 的音系短语之中。而且，这一现象并非 Chimwi:ni 语独有，在 Kimatuumbi 语中也存在相同的情况（另见 Odden 1990）。因此，Hayes（1984/1989）和 Nespor & Vogel（1986，2007）提出，人类语言在构建音系短语时的共同点可能在于，音系短语辖域都必须包含一个词汇性中心语及其非递归方向上的所有成分，至于音系短语是否能够重构、能否包括递归方向上的补足语以及这个补足语构成的音系短语是否必须不分枝，不同语言中的情况有所不同。Vogel（2009b）则在此基础上提出一条语言普遍原则，认为若一个语言允许音系短语中包含不分枝的补足语，那么这个语言一定也有不包含补足语的音系短语，而若一个语言允许音系短语中包含分枝的补足语，那么这个语言一定也有包含不分枝补足语的音系短语（以及不包含补足语的音系短语）。

基于关系的方法可以合理解释本文所涉闽方言中主谓短语、动补短语和动宾短语（简单宾语）的音系短语构建情况。为便于说明，此处将各类句法短语的内部结构以句法树形式表示，如（12）所示。根据基于关系的方法所预测的音系短语构建情况列于句法树下方。

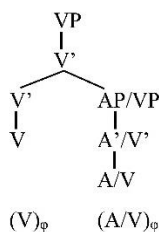
¹¹ 在 Nespor & Vogel（1986，2007）提出的音系短语原始定义中，由于最初的严格分层假设不允许出现层级跨越（level-skipping）的情况，音系短语只能由低一层级的粘附组构成。但是，在优选论框架下严格分层假设分解出的四个一般制约条件中，穷尽性（“若 $j < i-1$ ，则韵律单位 C^i 不能直接统制韵律单位 C^j ”）和非递归性一样，也是可以违反的，这一情况已经在诸多人类语言中得到证实（见 Inkelas 1989/1990；Itô & Mester 1992/2003；Prince & Smolensky 1993；Hayes 1995；Vogel 2009a；张洪明 2014；Zhang 2017；You 2020 等）。因此，此处将 Nespor & Vogel（1986，2007）所提出的原始定义略作修改，允许音系短语由低一层级的粘附组或低两个层级的韵律词构成。

¹² Nespor & Vogel（1986，2007）的“不分枝”指一个音系短语只包含一个粘附组。由于穷尽性制约条件已被证明是可违反的（见脚注 11），音系短语重构规则中“不分枝”这一概念应改为“一个音系短语只包含一个粘附组或一个韵律词”。

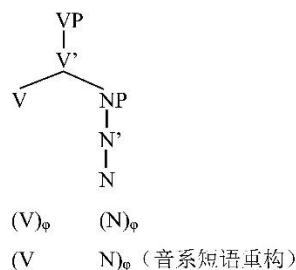
(12) a. 主谓短语



b. 动补短语



c. 动宾短语 (简单宾语)



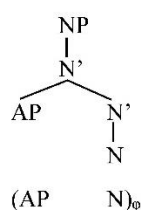
从(12)中可以看出,在主谓短语(12a)中,由于充当主语的名词短语 NP 的中心语 N 位于动词中心语 V 的最大投射 VP 之外, N 与 V 被包含在两个音系短语之中,这一预测与事实相符。在动补短语(12b)中,动词中心语 V 在补语部分的中心语 A/V 的最大投射 AP/VP 之外,因此动词中心语 V 和补语部分的 A/V 也被包含在两个音系短语之中,这一预测也符合实际情况。动宾短语(简单宾语)(12c)的情况与前两者稍有不同。根据(10)中的音系短语构建规则,由于动词中心语 V 位于名词中心语 N 的最大投射 NP 之外,因此动词中心语 V 和宾语 N 应构成两个音系短语。但是,从本文所涉闽方言中的实际情况来看,动词与简单宾语应被包含在同一个音系短语之中。我们可以假设(11)中所示的音系短语重构规则在这几个闽方言中是强制性运用的,如此一来,简单宾语构成的不分枝音系短语就与包含动词中心语 V 的音系短语合并,动词与简单宾语之间的连读变调就得到了正确的预测。

基于关系的方法也可为此些闽方言动宾短语(复杂宾语)中存在的不同情况提供解释。如第二节所示,在包含复杂宾语(分枝宾语)的动宾短语中,福州方言和永安方言的连读变调都在动词和复杂宾语之间受到阻断,而莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言的连读变调则可以运用。这一问题可以借助 Hayes (1984/1989)、Nespor & Vogel (1986, 2007) 和 Vogel (2009b) 等提出的音系短语重构的多样性来进行解释。可以假设,在福州方言和永安方言中,音系短语重构只能将递归方向上的补足语构成的不分枝音系短语纳入到中心语所在的音系短语,而在其他几个闽方言中,音系短语重构允许递归方向上的补足语构成的分枝音系短语与中心语所在的音系短语合并。如此一来,这些闽方言中动宾短语(复杂宾语)和动宾短语(简单宾语)的音系短语构建以及连读变调情况就都得到了合理的解释。

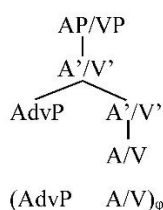
从上述讨论可知,一方面,在面对这些闽方言中共同存在的动宾短语(简单宾语)与动补短语之间的差异时,音系短语重构规则使得基于关系的方法具有了比基于边界的方法更强的解释力;另一方面,基于关系的方法中提出的音系短语重构问题上的多样性还能够解释动宾短语(复杂宾语)中存在的不同情况。

然而,基于关系的方法在对定中短语和状中短语进行音系短语构建时遇到了困难。这两类短语的内部结构以及根据基于关系的方法所预测的音系短语构建情况如(13a-b)所示。

(13) a. 定中短语



b. 状中短语



从 (13) 中可见, 根据 (10) 中的音系短语构建规则, 由于定语部分的 AP 和状语部分的 AdvP 分别位于中心语 N 和 A/V 的最大投射之内, 定中短语和状中短语都只能构成一个音系短语。这一预测符合福州、莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言中的实际情况, 但唯独不能解释永安方言中连读变调在定中短语和状中短语中被阻断的现象。

要解决这一问题, 最简单的方法是允许音系短语构建除了在递归方向的补足语上具有多样性以外, 还必须在非递归方向的附加语上也具有类似的多样性, 即有些语言词汇性中心语非递归方向的附加语必须与中心语被纳入同一音系短语之中 (如福州、莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言), 而有些语言非递归方向的附加语可以与中心语分属不同的音系短语 (如永安方言)。如此一来, 基于关系的方法提出的音系短语构建规则便可以用 (14) 中的“原则+参数”来表示。这些参数可以涵盖本文所涉六个闽方言的音系短语构建情况, 如 (15) 所示。

(14) 音系短语构建中的原则与参数 (基于关系的方法)

I. 原则: 音系短语的辖域必须包含词汇性中心语 X

II. 参数:

- a. [附加语] (若 YP 为 X 非递归方向上的附加语, 将 YP 纳入 X 所在的音系短语)
- b. [补足语] (若 ZP 为 X 递归方向上的补足语, 将 ZP 纳入 X 所在的音系短语)
- c. [分枝] (若 X 递归方向上的补足语 ZP 构成一个分枝的音系短语, 将 ZP 纳入 X 所在的音系短语)

(15) 福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安和沙县方言的音系短语构建情况 (基于关系的方法)

I. [附加语]

- a. [+附加语]: 福州、莆田、仙游、三明、沙县
- b. [-附加语]: 永安

II. [补足语]、[分枝]

- a. [+补足语] [+分枝]: 莆田、仙游、三明、沙县
- b. [+补足语] [-分枝]: 福州、永安
- c. [-补足语]: 无¹³

由本节论述可见, 与基于边界的方法相比, 基于关系的方法在分析本文所涉六个闽方言中的音系短语构建时具有更强的解释力。在基于关系的方法基础上提出的音系短语构建原则与参数可以涵盖这六个闽方言中的全部情况。但值得注意的是, (14) 中提出的“原则+参数”这一解决方案实际上是允许音系短语重构不仅可以发生在中心语递归方向的补足语上, 也可以发生在中心语非递归方向的附加语上。这一方案的问题在于, 基于关系的方法中的音系短语构建规则原始定义 (10) 并不允许这种情况存在。根据 (10) 的定义, 中心语 X 非递归方向上的所有成分, 只要处在 XP 之内, 就应与 X 纳入同一音系短语之中, 而 Hayes (1984/1989) 和 Nespor & Vogel (1986, 2007) 等人的研究中也未提及任何例外¹⁴。同时, 音系短语重构规则的原始定义 (11) 也并不涉及附加语的情况。因此, 除永安方言之外, 是否还存在其他利用[-附加语]参数构建音系短语的语言, 需要更多的语言事实来进行验证。

¹³ 在上文提及的其他人类语言中, Chimwi:ni 语和 Kimatuumbi 语属于 (15IIa) 这一类型, 英语和意大利语属于 (15IIb), 而法语、埃维语和 Quechua 语则属于 (15IIc)。

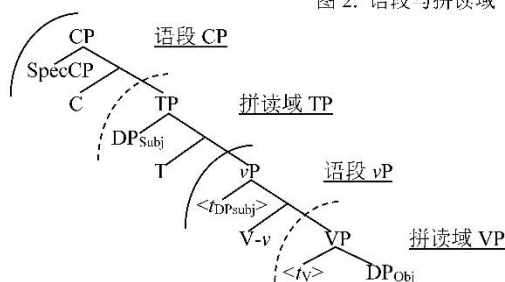
¹⁴ 基于边界的方法对附加语的看法也基本相同, Chen (1987)、Selkirk & Tateishi (1991)、Truckenbrodt (1999) 等均认为名词前的形容词与动词前的副词这一类附加语的右边界不与音系短语右边界重合。Selkirk & Tateishi (1991)、Truckenbrodt (1999) 等更是提出这些附加语只是句法中心语, 并不会投射为句法短语, 因此其右侧不会插入音系短语右边界。

5. 基于语段的方法在闽东、闽中与莆仙方言中的运用

根据 Uriagereka (1999) 的多次拼读理论, Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004 等) 提出了语段理论, 认为句子的推导过程是以语段为单位、分语段进行的 (derivation by phase)。在 (16) 所示的主动宾结构中, CP 和 vP 被视作语段¹⁵, 而语段中心语 C 和 v 的补足语, 即 TP 和 VP, 则被称为拼读域, 如图 2 所示 (另见 Kratzer & Selkirk 2007; Dobashi 2009 等)¹⁶。其中, vP 先形成语段, 但须等到语段 CP 形成时才会进行 vP 的诠释与评估。当 CP 形成时, v 的补足语 VP (拼读域 VP) 离开句法, 被送往音系组成部分, 即被“拼读” (spelled-out)。而后, 随着句法推导继续进行, C 的补足语 TP (拼读域 TP) 也将离开句法, 被传送到音系组成部分。

$$(16) \quad [_{CP} C [_{TP} DP_{Subj} T [_{vP} t_{DP_{Subj}} V-v [_{VP} t_V DP_{Obj}]]]]$$

图 2. 语段与拼读域



在语段理论和多次拼读理论的影响下, Dobashi (2003, 2009, 2017)、Ishihara (2003, 2007)、Kahnemuyipour (2004, 2009)、Kratzer & Selkirk (2007)、Pak (2007, 2008) 等提出了基于语段的音系短语构建方法, 将音系短语辖域与语段和拼读域等概念直接联系起来。然而, 前人研究对于音系短语如何利用语段和拼读域进行构建有着不同的看法。其中, Dobashi (2003, 2009)、Kratzer & Selkirk (2007) 等认为只有拼读域才会映射为音系短语¹⁷。而与大多数研究对语段和拼读域的看法不同, Ishihara (2003, 2007) 则认为, 被拼读的是整个语段本身, 换句话说, 拼读域和语段一样, 都是 CP 和 vP (另见 Fox & Pesetsky 2005)。Ishihara (2003, 2007) 据此提出, 整个语段/拼读域 (CP 和 vP) 应当被映射为音系短语。

因此, 与基于边界的方法和基于关系的方法不同, 基于语段的方法中, 无论哪种观点, 实际上都认为音系短语构建无需涉及短语边界或最大投射等句法信息, 只需将拼读域映射为音系短语即可 (区别只是在于 Ishihara 的“拼读域”等同于“语段”)。另外, 根据 Dobashi (2003, 2009), 拼读域中的成分被传送到音系组成部分映射为音系短语之后, 相邻两个音系短语之间仍可通过重构合并为一个音系短语。如第二节的讨论及表 2 所示, 若本文所涉六个闽方言中短语层面连读变调的运用辖域为音系短语, 则连读变调被阻断的句法短语 (如主谓短语、动补短语) 必定构成两个音系短语, 那就意味着这些句法短语必然包含两个拼读域, 且这两个拼读域映射出的两个音系短语之间不能发生重构。而连读变调可以运用的句法短语 (如包含简单宾语的动宾短语) 只构成一个音系短语, 那么存在两种情况, 一是这类句法短语只构成一个拼读域

¹⁵ 之后的许多研究表明, DP 也可以被视为语段 (见 Bošković 2002, 2005; Dobashi 2003; Chomsky 2004; Svenonious 2004; Matushansky 2005 等)。若 DP 为语段, 则其中心语 D 的补足语 NP 就构成拼读域。

¹⁶ 值得注意的是, 基于边界的方法和基于关系的方法中采用的是传统的 X 标杆理论中的句法结构, 因此与 (16) 以及图 2 中的句法结构并不相同。

¹⁷ Kratzer & Selkirk (2007) 对于拼读域与音系短语之间映射关系的看法实际上略有不同。根据德语中的材料, Kratzer & Selkirk (2007) 提出只有拼读域中位置最高 (最左边) 的短语才会被映射为音系短语, 而其他不处于拼读域起首位置的短语则不包含在任何音系短语之中。

，这个拼读域直接映射为一个音系短语，二是这类句法短语包含两个拼读域，且这两个拼读域映射出的两个音系短语之间发生了重构。据此，可以对本文所涉六类短语在不同方言中的音系短语构建及相应的拼读域构成做出如下假设（“{...}”表示拼读域，“=>”表示映射，“->”表示重构，“a/b/c”表示该短语中存在不同的预测选项）：

表 9. 不同短语在不同方言中的音系短语构建预测与拼读域构成预测

短语类型	福州方言	莆田、仙游、三明、沙县方言	永安方言
主谓短语	{主}{谓} => (主) _φ (谓) _φ	{主}{谓} => (主) _φ (谓) _φ	{主}{谓} => (主) _φ (谓) _φ
定中短语	a. {定中} => (定中) _φ b. {定}{中} => (定) _φ (中) _φ → (定中) _φ	a. {定中} => (定中) _φ b. {定}{中} => (定) _φ (中) _φ → (定中) _φ	{定}{中} => (定) _φ (中) _φ
状中短语	a. {状中} => (状中) _φ b. {状}{中} => (状) _φ (中) _φ → (状中) _φ	a. {状中} => (状中) _φ b. {状}{中} => (状) _φ (中) _φ → (状中) _φ	{状}{中} => (状) _φ (中) _φ
动补短语	{动}{补} => (动) _φ (补) _φ	{动}{补} => (动) _φ (补) _φ	{动}{补} => (动) _φ (补) _φ
动宾短语 (简单宾语)	a. {动宾} => (动宾) _φ b. {动}{宾} => (动) _φ (宾) _φ → (动宾) _φ	a. {动宾} => (动宾) _φ b. {动}{宾} => (动) _φ (宾) _φ → (动宾) _φ	a. {动宾} => (动宾) _φ b. {动}{宾} => (动) _φ (宾) _φ → (动宾) _φ
动宾短语 (复杂宾语)	a. {动}{定中} => (动) _φ (定中) _φ b. {动}{定}{中} => (动) _φ (定) _φ (中) _φ → (动) _φ (定中) _φ	a. {动定中} => (动定中) _φ b. {动}{定中} => (动) _φ (定中) _φ → (动定中) _φ c. {动}{定}{中} => (动) _φ (定) _φ (中) _φ → (动定中) _φ	{动}{定}{中} => (动) _φ (定) _φ (中) _φ

如表 9 所示，由于这些闽方言在定中短语、状中短语和动宾短语（复杂短语）中的音系短语构建存在差异，因此可以假设它们相应的拼读域构成也并不相同。这种假设问题在于，若不同方言在这三类短语中确实存在拼读域构成方式的不同，那么反过来就意味着这几类短语在这些闽方言中存在句法结构上的差别。然而，根据目前所得的材料，我们无法证明这几类短语的句法结构在不同闽方言中存在这种差别。因此，更为合理的假设应该是：虽然这几类短语在不同闽方言中存在音系短语构建上的差别，但这并不是因为它们在不同方言中句法结构以及拼读域构成不同造成的，而是因为它们构成的拼读域被传送到音系组成部分之后，在不同方言的音系部分进行了不同的操作，在有些方言中发生了音系短语的重构，而在另一些方言中却不发生。简而言之，这三类短语在不同闽方言中存在的音系短语构建上的差别，不是在“映射”及映射之前的句法部分产生的，而是映射之后在音系部分由于“重构”上的差异产生的。根据这一新的假设，我们可以对表 9 中定中短语、状中短语以及动宾短语（复杂宾语）的音系短语构建预测与拼读域构成预测进行修改，修改结果如表 10 所示。

表 10. 不同短语在不同方言中的音系短语构建预测与拼读域构成预测（修改版）

短语类型	福州方言	莆田、仙游、三明、沙县方言	永安方言
主谓短语	{主}{谓} => (主) _φ (谓) _φ	{主}{谓} => (主) _φ (谓) _φ	{主}{谓} => (主) _φ (谓) _φ
定中短语	{定}{中} => (定) _φ (中) _φ → (定中) _φ	{定}{中} => (定) _φ (中) _φ → (定中) _φ	{定}{中} => (定) _φ (中) _φ
状中短语	{状}{中} => (状) _φ (中) _φ → (状中) _φ	{状}{中} => (状) _φ (中) _φ → (状中) _φ	{状}{中} => (状) _φ (中) _φ
动补短语	{动}{补} => (动) _φ (补) _φ	{动}{补} => (动) _φ (补) _φ	{动}{补} => (动) _φ (补) _φ
动宾短语 (简单宾语)	a. {动宾} => (动宾) _φ b. {动}{宾} => (动) _φ (宾) _φ → (动宾) _φ	a. {动宾} => (动宾) _φ b. {动}{宾} => (动) _φ (宾) _φ → (动宾) _φ	a. {动宾} => (动宾) _φ b. {动}{宾} => (动) _φ (宾) _φ → (动宾) _φ
动宾短语 (复杂宾语)	{动}{定}{中} => (动) _φ (定) _φ (中) _φ → (动) _φ (定中) _φ	{动}{定}{中} => (动) _φ (定) _φ (中) _φ → (动定中) _φ	{动}{定}{中} => (动) _φ (定) _φ (中) _φ

5.1 基于语段的方法在主谓短语和动宾短语中的运用

若利用基于语段的方法对本文所涉六个闽方言中的音系短语构建情况进行分析，那么分析结果必须符合表 10 中所做的预测。我们先从 (16) 中的主动宾结构入手，考察基于语段的方法在主谓短语和动宾短语中的运用情况。倘若采用 Dobashi (2003, 2009)、Kratzer & Selkirk (2007) 等人的看法，即认为只有语段中心语的补足语，才会构成拼读域并映射为音系短语，那么 (16) 与图 2 中的句法结构产生的拼读域与音系短语映射结果应当如 (17) 所示。

$$(17) \quad \text{拼读域: } \{DP_{\text{Subj}} T t_{DP_{\text{Subj}}} V-v\} \{t_V DP_{\text{Obj}}\} \\ \text{音系短语映射: } (DP_{\text{Subj}} T V)_{\varphi} (DP_{\text{Obj}})_{\varphi}$$

然而，(17) 中所示的音系短语构建情况却很少在人类语言中见到，在大多数人类语言中，主语 DP_{Subj} 并不会与动词 V 被包含在同一个音系短语辖域之中。在本文所涉及的六个闽方言中，连读变调在主语和谓语之间也总是被阻断的，因此基于语段的方法在 (17) 中所预测的音系短语映射结果并不能解释这些闽方言中的情况。

Dobashi (2003, 2009) 提出利用拼读单位的线性化 (linearization) 过程来解决拼读域与音系短语辖域不匹配的问题。在 (16) 和图 2 中，拼读域 VP 中的 $(t_V DP_{\text{Obj}})$ 和拼读域 TP 中的 $(DP_{\text{Subj}} T t_{DP_{\text{Subj}}} V-v)$ 是被分别送往音系组成部分的，前者先于后者传送。Dobashi (2003, 2009) 假定每个拼读域在线性化的过程中，都会留下最左边的成分。因此，当拼读域 VP 被线性化时，最左边的 t_V 被留下，实际上只有 DP_{Obj} 被送往音系组成部分，并映射为一个音系短语，如 (18a) 所示。类似的，当 TP 被拼读时，最左边的 DP_{Subj} 被留下，其余的成分被送往音系组成部分，并映射为音系短语，如 (18b) 所示。留下的 DP_{Subj} 则在之后的推导过程中被送往音系组成部分映射为音系短语，于是就产生了如 (18c) 所示的音系短语构建情况。

$$(18) \quad \text{a. } (DP_{\text{Obj}})_{\varphi} \quad \text{b. } (T V)_{\varphi} (DP_{\text{Obj}})_{\varphi} \quad \text{c. } (DP_{\text{Subj}})_{\varphi} (T V)_{\varphi} (DP_{\text{Obj}})_{\varphi}$$

对 (16) 这样的主动宾结构来说，Dobashi (2003, 2009) 利用基于语段的方法所做的音系短语构建预测 (18c)，实际上与基于关系的方法提出的音系短语构建规则 (10) 所做的预测结果是一致的，这一预测将主语和谓语分隔开来，因此可以解释本文所涉及的几个闽方言主谓短语中连读变调在主谓之间被阻断的现象。

由于 (18c) 中的预测同时将动词和宾语部分分隔开来，因此在面对闽方言动宾短语（简单宾语）时会遇到困难。Dobashi (2003, 2009) 在分析意大利语时提出，基于语段的方法中可以利用“分枝”与“音系短语重构”的概念来解决这一问题。这里的“分枝”来源于 Inkelas & Zec (1995) 提出的一条制约条件，即音系短语构建中存在一种偏好：音系短语最好由至少两个韵律词组成（这一观点后来便发展成为第 3.3 节中提及的 $\text{BinMin}(\varphi, \omega)$ ）。Dobashi (2003, 2005, 2009) 在此基础上提出了一条韵律分枝制约条件 (prosodic branching constraint) 及相应的重构规则。因此，当动词宾语不分枝时（即只包含一个韵律词时），宾语可以与动词被纳入同一个音系短语之中，这实际上与基于关系的方法中对于动宾短语的看法类似¹⁸。在本文所涉六个闽方言中，也可以在 (18c) 的基础上，利用 Dobashi (2003, 2009) 的“分枝”与“音系短语

¹⁸ Dobashi (2003, 2009) 对于音系短语重构的看法与基于关系的方法并非完全相同。如 (11) 所示，在基于关系的方法的原始规则中，音系短语重构只能发生在中心语递归方向的补足语上，而且“分枝”也仅针对补足语构成的音系短语而言。然而，Dobashi (2003, 2009) 则认为重构既可向左运用也可向右运用，且不仅局限于补足语。根据 Dobashi (2003, 2009)，音系短语重构既可以使一个不分枝的补足语纳入到其左边的音系短语之中（如意大利语中的动词宾语），也可以发生在主语（指示语）构成的音系短语上，使不分枝的主语纳入到其右边的音系短语之中（如坦桑尼亚的班图语 Kinyambo 语中就可以出现 $(DP_{\text{Subj}} T V)_{\varphi} (DP_{\text{Obj}})_{\varphi}$ 这样的音系短语构建情况）。此外，从下文第 5.2 节对附加语拼读问题的讨论中可以看出，Dobashi (2003, 2005) 的“音系短语重构”也可以发生在附加语和中心语之间。

重构”，将动宾短语（简单宾语）中的简单宾语（不分枝宾语）构成的音系短语纳入动词所在的音系短语，这符合表 10 中对这些闽方言中动宾短语（简单宾语）的预测 b，即动词和简单宾语分别被包含在两个不同的拼读域之中，映射为两个音系短语，而后通过重组合并为一个音系短语。

然而，这一分析不能解释莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言动宾短语（复杂宾语）中的情况。如前文所述，在这四个方言中，动词和复杂宾语之间发生连读变调，应被包含在同一个音系短语之中。由于复杂宾语是一个分枝的结构，因此不能使用 Dobashi (2003, 2009) 的“音系短语重构”将其纳入动词所在的音系短语中。第四节中提到，这四个方言中的这种情况与 Kimatuumbi 语中的情况相同，即无论宾语是否分枝，都会被纳入包含动词的音系短语之中。Dobashi (2003, 2009) 认为这与“分枝”以及“音系短语重构”无关，而是由句法结构引起的。他提出，在 Kimatuumbi 语中，动词 V 移位到 T，而 DP_{Obj} 移位到 vP 的指示语位置，因此其句法结构与音系短语构建应分别如 (19a) 和 (19b) 所示，这与意大利语的情况不同：

- (19) a. [CP C [TP DP_{Subj} V-v-T [vP DP_{Obj} t_{V-v} [vP t_V t_{Obj}]]]]
 b. (DP_{Subj})_φ (V DP_{Obj})_φ

Dobashi (2003, 2009) 的分析虽然可以解释 Kimatuumbi 语与意大利语的分别，但是这一解释如果套用到闽方言中恐怕难以令人信服，因为我们无法根据现有的材料证明这些闽方言中存在类似的句法结构上的差别。

Ishihara (2003, 2007) 基于日语材料提出的音系短语构建方法在分析动宾短语（复杂宾语）时也遇到了困难。根据 Ishihara (2003, 2007)，拼读域和语段是一样的，整个语段/拼读域 (CP 和 vP) 被映射为音系短语。因此，(16) 中的主动宾结构产生的音系短语映射结果应如 (20) 所示。这一映射结果将主语和谓语隔开，可以解释主谓短语的情况。同时，(20) 将动词与宾语包含在同一音系短语之中，因此同样可以对动宾短语（简单宾语）中的情况作出解释，且并不需要利用“分枝”和“音系短语重构”，这符合表 10 中对动宾短语（简单宾语）的预测 a，即动词和简单宾语被包含在同一个拼读域之中，映射为一个音系短语。

- (20) (DP_{Subj} T)_φ (V DP_{Obj})_φ

与 Dobashi (2003, 2009) 的分析不同，(20) 中的这一映射结果可以解释莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言中连读变调发生在动词和复杂宾语之间的现象，但是却无法同时预测福州方言和永安方言中连读变调在动词和复杂宾语之间被阻断的情况。

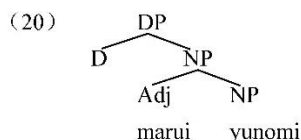
可见，在 (16) 所示的主动宾结构中，无论是 Dobashi (2003, 2009) 还是 Ishihara (2003, 2007) 的分析，虽然都可以解释本文所涉六个闽方言中主谓短语和动宾短语（简单宾语）的音系短语构建问题，但是在面对动宾短语（复杂宾语）中音系短语构建的多样性时，都会遇到一些困难。

5.2 基于语段的方法在定中短语、状中短语和动补短语中的运用

本小节考察基于语段的方法在本文所涉闽方言的定中短语、状中短语和动补短语中的运用情况。中心语前的定语和状语及动词后的补语在句法上都属于附加语，因此，如果我们用基于语段的方法来对这几类短语中的连读变调情况进行分析，就必须考虑附加语的拼读问题。

Uriagereka (1999)、Chomsky (2004) 等认为，附加语单独构成拼读域，独立于其嫁接 (adjoined to) 到的语段的拼读域之外。Dobashi (2003, 2005) 对于附加语映射问题的讨论也基于这一观点，他在讨论日语 DP 的音系短语构建时提出，作为附加语的形容词嫁接于 NP 之上，因此当 NP 被拼读时，形容词也同时被拼读。以 (20) 为例（原例见 Dobashi 2003，

2005)，在语段 DP 之中，NP 构成了语段中心语 D 的拼读域，而形容词 *marui*（“圆的”）作为附加语嫁接于名词 *yunomi*（“茶碗”）之上，构成自己独立的拼读域。NP 与附加语的拼读发生在同一时间，*marui* 的线性顺序位于 *yunomi* 之前，因此此时只有 *yunomi* 被映射为音系短语，如（21a）所示。而到了后续的推导阶段，*marui* 也被映射为音系短语，于是就产生了如（21b）所示的音系短语构建情况。然而，（21b）中的 $(yunomi)_\phi$ 违反了第 5.1 小节提到的韵律分枝制约条件，因此必须发生重构，重构后的音系短语构建情况如（21c）所示¹⁹。



- (21)
- a. $(yunomi)_\phi$
 - b. $(marui)_\phi (yunomi)_\phi$
 - c. $(marui\ yunomi)_\phi$

Dobashi（2003，2005）对于附加语的这一分析也可用于解释福州、莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言定中短语和状中短语的情况。在这五个闽方言中，若定语/状语构成的拼读域独立于其所嫁接的 NP/VP/AP 拼读域之外，那么也将映射产生与（21b）类似的音系短语构建，即定语/状语与其相对应的中心语被包含在不同的音系短语之中，如（22a）所示。但是根据 Dobashi（2003，2009）的“分枝”与“音系短语重构”，可以使中心语构成的不分枝音系短语引起音系短语重构，纳入定语/状语所在的音系短语之中，如此定语/状语和中心语将合并产生与（21c）类似的音系短语，如（22b）所示，这样便解释了这五个闽方言中连读变调在定语/状语和中心语之间运用的情况。然而，永安方言中的情况与众不同，定语/状语必须与中心语被包含在不同的音系短语内，因此，这一分析需要解决的一个关键问题就是，为何（22b）中由中心语构成的不分枝音系短语引发的重构不会在永安方言中发生。

（22）福州、莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言定中短语和状中短语的音系短语构建

- a. 音系短语映射： $\{定/状\}\{中\} \Rightarrow (定/状)_\phi (中)_\phi$
- b. 音系短语重构： $(定/状)_\phi (中)_\phi \rightarrow (定/状\ 中)_\phi$

Dobashi（2003，2005）的分析没有涉及动词后附加语的拼读问题。如果动词后的附加语，如动补结构中的补语部分，在拼读上的表现与定中短语和状中短语中的定语/状语相似，那么也应该单独构成拼读域，独立于动词所在的拼读域，如此便会映射出两个音系短语，如（23）所示。这一假设可以解释本文所涉闽方言动补短语中的连读变调情况，不过必须同时满足一个附加条件，即动补结构中必须不能发生由于不分枝音系短语引起的音系短语重构。然而，这一条件背后的原因尚不明确²⁰。

（23）福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安和沙县方言动宾短语的音系短语构建

- $\{动\}\{补\} \Rightarrow (动)_\phi (补)_\phi$

5.3 小结

根据本节的讨论，基于语段的音系短语构建方法在本文所涉六个闽方言中的运用情况可以总结为以下两个方面。

一方面，基于语段的方法可以解释这些闽方言中主谓短语和动宾短语（简单宾语）的音系短语构建问题，其中 Dobashi（2003，2009）的方法需要利用基于关系的方法中已出现的

¹⁹Dobashi（2003）提出，附加语不需要满足这条分枝制约条件，因此在（21）中，重构并不是由附加语 *marui* 引起的，而是由于 $(yunomi)_\phi$ 中只包含一个韵律词所致。

²⁰这可能与动补短语的句法结构有关。若认为补语部分的 A/V 之前存在空主语（empty subject），则可以假设音系短语重构由于空主语 *pro*/PRO 的存在而不能发生。当然，这一点还有待进一步考察。

“分枝”和“音系短语重构”的概念，而 Ishihara (2003, 2007) 的方法则不需要这两个概念。但无论是 Dobashi (2003, 2009) 还是 Ishihara (2003, 2007) 的方法，都无法很好地解释动宾短语（复杂宾语）中音系短语构建的多样性。前者的分析不能解释莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言连读变调在动词和复杂宾语之间运用的现象，而後者的分析则无法预测福州方言和永安方言连读变调在动词和复杂宾语之间被阻断的情况。因为根据现有材料无法证明动宾短语（复杂宾语）在这些闽方言中存在句法结构上的不同，所以此类短语中出现的音系短语构建的多样性问题，也许仍然需要引入类似 (14) (15) 中的参数才能进行合理的解释。

另一方面，基于语段的方法虽然可以解释这些闽方言定中短语、状中短语和动补短语中的情况，但是也留下了若干需要进一步研究才能证实的问题。例如，在定中短语和状中短语中，为何由定语/状语构成的拼读域映射出的音系短语只有在永安方言中才不会与中心语所在的音系短语发生重构？又如，既然 Dobashi (2003, 2005, 2009) 基于 Inkelas & Zec (1995) 提出的韵律分枝制约条件可以适用于多种不同的短语类型，如动宾短语、定中短语、状中短语甚至主谓短语（见脚注 18），那么在本文所涉六个闽方言的动补短语中，为何均不存在由不分枝音系短语引起的音系短语重构？这些问题都不是现有的方法能够轻易解释的。

6. 讨论与结语

本文在六个闽方言短语层面连读变调材料的基础上，对基于边界的方法、基于关系的方法以及基于语段的方法这三类音系短语构建方法进行了比较，并探讨了不同闽方言以及其他多个人类语言中音系短语构建存在的普遍性与多样性。

由第二节的讨论可知，一个适用于这些闽方言的音系短语构建方法，必须既能对这些闽方言中出现的普遍情况（连读变调在主谓短语和动补短语中受到阻断却在包含简单宾语的动宾短语中得到运用）进行正确预测，又能为其中存在的多样性（不同方言的连读变调在定中短语、状中短语和包含复杂宾语的动宾短语中的不同表现）提供合理解释。从前文的比较中可以发现，这三类方法在构建这些闽方言的音系短语辖域时，均存在不同程度的问题。

在这三类方法中，基于边界的方法存在的问题最为突出。从第三节的讨论中可以看出，无论是此类方法中最初提出的边界参数设定，还是后期在优选论框架下发展出的同界/包含理论与匹配理论，都无法同时对闽方言中普遍存在的连读变调在动补短语中被阻断而在动宾短语（简单宾语）中运用这一现象进行准确的预测。

与基于边界的方法相比，基于关系的方法和基于语段的方法在面对这些闽方言中的材料时具有更强的解释力——这两类方法都可以对具有相同表现的几类句法短语（主谓短语、动补短语与包含简单宾语的动宾短语）中的情况做出正确的分析与预测，也都可以利用“分枝”和“音系短语重构”的概念来解释不同方言中的情况。然而，这两类方法在表现出音系短语构建多样性的定中短语、状中短语和动宾短语（复杂宾语）中仍然存在一些问题，同时，基于语段的方法对于动补短语的分析也并不完善。

在面对动宾短语（复杂宾语）中的多样性时，基于关系的方法要比基于语段的方法略胜一筹。基于关系的方法允许中心语递归方向的补足语构成的音系短语在“分枝”上存在多样性，因此，利用 (14) 中提出的[补足语]和[分枝]这两个参数便可涵盖本文所涉六个闽方言在动宾短语（复杂宾语）中的所有情况。动宾短语（复杂宾语）中的这种多样性以及[补足语]和[分枝]这两个参数的作用同时也能得到其他人类语言相关现象的佐证。与基于关系的方法不同，基于语段的方法中虽然也存在“分枝”和“音系短语重构”这两个概念，但是 Dobashi (2003, 2009) 认为复杂宾语与动词包含在同一音系短语中的情况与这两个概念无关，而是单纯由句法结构造成的。这一分析虽然可以解释 Kimatuumbi 语中的情况，但是直接套用到闽方言中则欠缺说服力。而 Ishihara (2003, 2007) 的分析在不需要“分枝”和“音系短语重构”的情况下，将动词

和复杂宾语包含在同一个音系短语之中，因此可以解释莆田、仙游、三明和沙县方言中连读变调发生在动词和复杂宾语之间的现象，但这样的分析显然无法预测福州方言和永安方言中连读变调在动词和复杂宾语之间被阻断的情况。

而在定中短语和状中短语中，永安方言连读变调与众不同的表现给基于关系的方法和基于语段的方法都制造了难题。要解决这一问题，基于关系的方法可以利用（14）中提出的[附加语]参数对不同闽方言在定中短语和状中短语中的不同表现进行解释。然而如第四节所述，这一方案实际上是允许音系短语重构不仅可以发生在中心语递归方向的补足语上，也可以发生在中心语非递归方向的附加语上，其问题在于，根据基于关系的方法提出的音系短语构建规则以及重构规则的原始定义并不允许存在与永安方言的情况类似的现象，而且利用基于关系的方法进行音系短语构建的前人研究中也未提及相似的情况。因此，（14）中提出的“原则+参数”形式的音系短语构建方法是否真的可行，还需要更多语言事实来验证。基于语段的方法虽然要求作为附加语的定语/状语构成的拼读域独立于其所嫁接的 NP/VP/AP 拼读域之外，使定语/状语与相对应的中心语被包含在不同音系短语之中，但可以借助 Dobashi（2003，2009）的“分枝”与“音系短语重构”，使中心语构成的不分枝音系短语发生重构，与定语/状语所在的音系短语合并，这样可以解释除永安方言以外的其他闽方言中的情况。然而，如第五节所述，若要用这一分析来解释永安方言中的情况，则必须解释为何中心语构成的不分枝音系短语所引发的重构不会在永安方言定中短语和状中短语中发生。

至于动补短语中的音系短语构建，基于关系的方法显然要优于基于语段的方法。从第四节的讨论中可知，基于关系的方法利用 X-标杆理论中的句法结构，可以从一开始就将动词后的附加语与补足语区分开，从而解释动补短语中连读变调被阻断的情况。与基于关系的方法不同，基于语段的方法则必须假设动词后附加语与定语/状语等中心语前的附加语一样，与动词所在的拼读域映射出两个音系短语，从而解释本文所涉闽方言中连读变调在动词和补语之间被阻断的情况。然而，这一方案必须满足一个附加条件，即基于语段的方法中提出的由不分枝音系短语引起的音系短语重构不能发生在动补短语映射出的两个音系短语之间。从第五节的讨论中可知，在基于语段的方法中，这种重构存在于动宾短语、定中短语、状中短语甚至主谓短语之中，那么为何唯独不见于动补短语，则需要进一步的研究才能说明。

从第三节到第五节的讨论中可以看出，不管是从本文涉及的六个闽方言还是从文中提及的其他人类语言（英语、意大利语、法语、日语、埃维语、Quechua 语、Chimwi:ni 语、Kimatuumbi 语等等）来看，在音系短语构建的普遍性与多样性问题中，实际上需要解决的都是一个“重构”问题（即是否将一个音系短语与另一个音系短语合并的问题）。基于关系的方法和基于语段的方法之所以在本文所涉及的闽方言当中具有比基于边界的方法更强的解释力，其原因也在于前两者都允许音系短语重构的存在。从前文的讨论中可以看出，在不同的人类语言中，音系短语重构可以有多种不同的运用情况，如（24）所示。可见，在人类语言的音系短语构建（特别是音系短语重构）过程中，是否允许重构、重构发生的位置、分枝等不同因素在不同的语言中相互交织，形成了人类语言中多种多样的音系短语构建结果。

（24）音系短语重构在不同语言中的运用情况

- I. 是否允许音系短语重构发生
 - a. 完全不发生；b. 可以或者必须发生
- II. 在发生音系短语重构的语言中，音系短语重构发生的位置
 - a. 补足语与中心语之间
 - b. 附加语与中心语之间
 - c. 指示语与中心语之间

- d. 在上述多个位置均可发生
- III. 发生重构的音系短语是否需要满足“不分枝”这一条件
 - a. 附加语和指示语构成的音系短语必须满足这一条件
 - b. 补足语构成的音系短语是否需要满足这一条件视具体的语言而定

本文根据福州、莆田、仙游、三明、永安和沙县这六个闽方言中的短语层面连读变调材料，确定了音系短语才是这些方言短语层面连读变调的运用辖域，检验了不同音系短语构建方法在这些闽方言中的运用情况，分析了不同方法存在的优势和缺陷。本文在对闽方言的材料进行分析的同时，还结合其他语言中的情况，对人类语言中音系短语构建的普遍性与多样性进行了考察，指出了现有的音系短语构建方法中存在的问题，并利用“原则+参数”的方法对基于关系的方法做出了修改。如果仅从本文涉及的六个闽方言以及其他多个人类语言中的情况来看，基于关系的方法和基于语段的方法似乎具有更强的解释力。但由于这些方法都存在各自的问题和缺陷，我们需要对更多的语言进行考察才能为这些方法分出优劣。也许正如 Bickmore (1990) 所说，“我们目前仍在寻找一种跨语言的参数化的具有描写充分性的（更遑论解释充分性）音系短语构建规则”²¹。希望通过本文的研究，能够为真正意义上地解决人类语言音系短语构建中存在的问题提供帮助。

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²¹ 原文为“We are still in search of a parameterized cross-linguistic phonological phrase-construction rule with descriptive adequacy (let alone explanatory adequacy).” (Bickmore 1990 : 17)

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跨语言视域下“也”字极性句和任指句分布受限问题研究

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提要:“类同一极端”是跨语言普遍关联的一组概念,很多语言中表类同的添加算子都衍生出了表极端的极性添加算子的用法。然而,汉语“也”尚未衍生出此功能,因为单独的“也”不能如真正的极性添加算子那样激发出事件实现的“可能性”(也体现为一种“非现实性”)。因此“也”需要句中其他成分提供类似功能,这种对句法环境的要求就是“也”字极性句和任指句出现的条件。文章以此分析了“也”字极性句和任指句为什么常出现于否定式且常与极小量共现,“也”字极性句肯定式为什么需要“连”的辅助,以及“也”字任指句肯定式为什么在少数情况下也能被允准的缘由。最后从方法论的角度探讨了跨语言视角对单一语言问题分析与解释的作用。

关键词 也;极性添加算子;极性句;任指句;非现实性

一 引言

现代汉语“也”本质上是一个添加算子(additive particle),其基本义是表“类同”,指添加的某一情况与前述情况有相同或相近的部分,如“菜吃了,饭也吃了”。若新添加的这一事物被标举为可能集合中的一个极端成员,那么“也”就表达“极端”义,接近一个极性添加算子(scalar additive particle)。比如,“一口饭也没吃”中“一口饭”因其数量的极小性而被标示为一系列包含不同数量的集合中的一个极端成员,其所在句子可理解为“甚至连一口饭也没吃”,通过语用推衍得出“没有吃任何饭”这样的否定全部的语义。本研究将这样的句子称作含“也”的极性句。

含“也”的极性句分布受限。参考语法如吕叔湘(1980:595),Wang and Sun(2015:342)以及Huang and Shi(2016:426)普遍指出含“也”的极性句多存在于否定句中。我们发现,含“也”的极性句若出现于肯定句中,则须与“连”搭配使用才能传达极端义³¹。

除极性句外,“疑问代词+也”所构成的任指句的肯否定式分布差异更为显著。很多对比“疑问代词+也/都”格式的研究都指出,“疑问代词+也”几乎都分布于否定句中,极少分布于肯定句,而“疑问代词+都”则在肯否定式中均有分布(朱德熙 1982;杉村博文 1992;毕永峨 1989;杨凯荣 2002;张怡春 2011;巴丹 2013)。例如:

- (1) a. 这个消息谁也/都不知道。
- b. 这个消息谁*也/都知道。

本研究尝试从“也”的性质入手,探讨“也”与典型的极性添加算子之间运作机制的差异,由此阐释“也”字极性句和任指句存在上述分布限制的原因,并给出类型学示例佐证。

二 以往的研究

以往的研究大多是通过对比上述格式的“也”、“都”句发现“也”的分布受限问题的。其中,相当一部分研究是将对比结果进行句法、语义或者语用层面的描写,只有为数不多的研究尝试对“也”字极性句和任指句的分布受限问题作出进一步的解释。下面我们仅对给出解释的研究作分类概述。

³¹ 含“也”极性句的肯定式若无“连”,往往表达的是“类同”义,其“极端”义如有,也是会话涵义(conversational implication),非规约涵义(conventional implication)。后面会举例详述。

2.1“婉转”说

第一类解释是将“也”字极性句的分布受限问题归结于“也”的“婉转 (downtoning)”语气用法。Biq (1989: 13) 指出“全称否定与婉转口气密切相关, 因为后者着重于级阶的下端。全称肯定占有级阶的最上端”。“也”字极性句确实可以通过否定极小量来否定全部。但是这如何与“也”本身的“婉转”用法相关, 该研究并未详细说明。此外, “婉转”用法属于该研究所指出的“也”在第三个平面即话语平面上的用法, 而“也”字否定极性句并非全都属于话语平面, 很多属于第二个平面即认识情态范畴的用法, 对于这一点, 文章也没有做出解释。邵敬敏、赵秀凤 (1989) 同样指出对“也”字极性句来说“否定语气显得婉转一些, 适宜于否定句”, 但是也未作深入阐述。

2.2“偏指”说

第二类解释将“也”字任指句中疑问代词的用法认定为“偏指”用法, 认为这种偏指用法是造成“也”字任指句肯否定分布存在差异的重要缘由。杉村博文 (1992) 指出, “疑问代词+也”格式中, “疑问代词借助‘也’的‘类同’义表示一种极端情况”。“谁也没来”即“一个也没来”。杨凯荣 (2002) 认为“Wh+也+否定”实际上和“一个+也+否定”在语义上相似, 都是通过否定最小量达到对数量的完全否定。这样的看法加深了我们对“也”字任指句的认识, 也是本研究的一个重要基石。

然而, 基于此所作出的对“也”字任指句肯否定分布差异的解释, 我们认为还不够全面。杉村博文 (1992) 指出上句中“来一个”是最有可能发生的情况, 通过否定这种情况, 来强调“连最有可能发生的情况也没有发生”的意思。若将其变为肯定句, 则句子变为“一个也来了”, 即“连最有可能发生的情况也发生了”, 这样的说法就是言之无物, 等于说废话, 因此“也”字任指句多出现于否定句中。这里是将疑问代词的“偏指”用法固定理解为“最小量”。事实上, 如作者自己指出的那样, 逻辑上可以有两种情况, 一是“连最有可能 P (肯) 的那一个也 (否)”, 二是“连最有可能 P (否) 的那一个也 (肯)”。若偏指用法用于指称极性序列的最大量, 那么逻辑上就形成第二种理解。例如, 疑问代词偏指上述语境中“最不可能来的某个成员, 如最高领导”, 则上述第二种逻辑情况就出现了, 即“最有可能不来的最高领导也来了”, 这样的句子是肯定句, 其说法显然不是言之无物的。该研究指出“也”字任指句一般只能用于第一种理解, 不能用于后一种理解, 并将其归因于“习惯使然, 约定俗成”, 我们认为是不够有说服力的。

2.3“正反对举”说

第三类解释是从否定句语用预设的角度来解释“也”字任指句肯否定句分布差异的。袁毓林 (2004) 提出“正反对举、结果类同”假说, 意指“谁也不 VP”这样的句子存在正反对举型的预设——“虽然有的个体不具有 VP 所表示的属性, 但有的具有 VP 所表示的属性”, “谁也不 VP”的语用含义是: 你别以为{虽然有的个体不具有 VP 所表示的属性, 但有的具有 VP 所表示的属性}, 实际情况是{这些个体不具有 VP 所表示的属性, 那些个体也不具有 VP 所表示的属性}, 即都不具有 VP 属性。该研究指出这种正反对举的语用预设是否定形式所特有的, “也”表个体虽不同但是结果类同, 恰好可以否定这类正反对举命题。因而“也”字任指句否定格式占优势。

这个解释联系到了“也”表“类同”的本义, 而且非常符合我们的语感, 但是依然存在有疑问的地方。比如, 这个解释中所提到的否定句的语用预设是概念层面的, 而且是可以推衍至汉语之外的其他语言的。可以说, 任何语言中含任指形式的全称否定句都会蕴含这样一个正反对举的语用预设。那么, 若该解释成立, 我们有理由推断, 其他语言中“Wh+类同词”表任指的句子也应当如同汉语“也”字任指句一样, 出现于否定句中。而跨语言事实并非如此。用“Wh+类同词”来表统括义其实是跨语言一个非常普遍的现象。WALS (World Atlas of Language Structure) 上显示, 在调查的 116 种世界语言中, 有 43 种语言使用“疑问词+表并列或类同的词”来表示统

括义，其中并未指出这类统括义只能用于否定式（Gil 2013）。事实上，很多例子都是肯定式，比如：

日语 *mo*

- (2) **dono** otoko **mo** ga sutukeisu sanko o hakonda.
which man also nom suitcase three-clf acc carry-pfv
'Every man carried three suitcases.' (Gil 1995: 340)
谁都提了三个箱子。

豪萨语 *kóo*

- (3) **kóo-wàné** mùtum yá nàa yìi.
even-which person 3sg.m prog do
'Every person is doing it.' (Haspelmath 1995: 370)³²
谁都在做这个。

上述跨语言示例表明，“也”字极性句和任指句在肯否定句中的分布差异可能另有原因。我们似乎应当将“也”置于一个跨语言的大背景下去观察，才能更好地认清“也”的个性特征，也才更容易找准“也”之所以出现一系列句法语义限制的缘由。

三 “类同”与“极端”的概念关联

引言中所提到的“也”的两个功能——“类同”与“极端”，实际上在跨语言范围内存在广泛的概念关联。König (1991) 将“添加算子”分为两类，一类为“非极性添加算子”，另一类为“极性添加算子”，分别对应于“类同”和“极端”两个功能。这两类算子的共同之处也是显而易见的。“两者本质上都是存在性算子，只不过后者还附加了一个更具体的、带有极性的规约性含义（König 1991：66）”。Shank (2004) 也做出了同样的分类和分析。由此，我们有理由推断，普通的“添加算子”极有可能派生出“极性添加算子”的用法。类型学研究也确实证实了两者之间的密切联系（Zhang 2016）。下文我们将援引文献探讨“极端”义产生的典型模型。

3.1 典型的极性模型

Fillmore, Kay, and O'Connor (1988) 曾针对“极性添加算子”提出过一个经典的极性模型。这一模型指出“*even* 这样的极性添加算子表明其所在句子所构成的命题比上下文语境中出现的其他命题具有更高的信息度”。其中，*even* 所在句子构成的命题被称作 TP (text proposition)，而其他命题被称作 CP (context proposition)。由于 TP 和 CP 之间存在信息度上的差异，以此总会形成从 TP 到 CP 的一种语用推衍关系，这就是极性模型形成的机制。

这里我们需要强调的是这一模型关键之处在于不同的信息度与命题实现的不同可能性直接相关。换句话说，*even* 所在的命题是在事件实现的“可能性 (likelihood)”方面与其他命题作比较。正如 Fauconnier (1975：257) 以及 Kay (1990：72) 所指出的，*même / even* 激发出一个主观条件方面的“可能性”序列 (a scale of subjective conditional probability)。邵敬敏 (2008) 在讨论“连”字句框式结构的时候也明确提出“连”字句可接受度的关键是事件实现的可能性。这种“可能性”就决定了“极性添加算子”并非讨论真值意义。Karttunen and Peters (1979) 指出 *even* 是真值语义条件是置空的 (truth-conditionally vacuous)。Kay (1990: 75) 也曾指出 *even* 应被分析为一个“非真值语义条件 (non-truth conditional) 的算子”。我们将典型的极性算子的性质及其构成的极性模型在这里做一梳理，以便接下来我们将汉语“也”与之对照。

³² 虽然 *kóo* 在这里被译为 *even*，但是它本身是一个类同词 (additive focus particle)，参见 König (1991)。

3.2 从“类同”到“极端”

现在我们可以将“非极性添加算子”和“极性添加算子”作一对比。表“类同”的“非极性添加”算子仅表示新增加的一个论元满足命题属性，但并未指出该论元与潜在的成员之间的关系，更不涉及新论元与潜在论元在实现命题可能性方面的差异。而表“极端”的“极性添加算子”则在表达存在一个新增论元的基础上，额外激发出一个包含这个新增论元和诸多潜在论元之间关系的一个极性序列。“极性添加算子”标示的论元所形成的命题是所有命题中实现的可能性最低的，也是信息度最大的。例如命题“连最高领导也/都来了”中，“最高领导来”相较于“普通人来”而言，是更不可能实现的，因此也是信息度更高的。

四 “也”是“极性添加算子”吗？

上一节的分析表明，“极性添加算子”可以被看作是“非极性添加算子”的一种语用加强型的特例。因此，在很多语言当中，我们都能看到非极性添加算子承担起了极性功能，派生出极性添加算子的用法。

现代汉语“也”囊括“类同”义和“极端”义，似乎也是其中一员。但是事实上，通过具体的语言分析我们会看到现代汉语“也”并非真正的“极性添加算子”。

4.1 “也”字极性句的肯定式

“也”在极性句的肯定式中不能产生极性义的规约涵义（conventional implicature）。即使有极性义产生，也是“也”字临时附带的会话涵义（conversational implicature），该涵义可被语用测试消除。

我们可以通过“也”和“都”的对比，更清楚地看到这一点。比如，“这次聚会小王都来了”这句话中，我们可以很自然地得到“小王是最不可能来这次聚会的人”这一涵义，且这一涵义固着于“都”的语义结构之中。也就是说，即使上下文语境没有提示“小王来聚会”属于超出预想的情况，我们依然能够得出这样的标示极端的意义。此外，假如我们想要用语用测试删除这种意料之外的涵义，会得到语用上矛盾的情况。例如：“？这次聚会小王都来了，但是他来我并不感到意外。”

若这句话中的“都”换为“也”，则情形就不一样了。“也”在“这次聚会小王也来了”这句话中只能发挥表“类同”的功能，“也”不能激发出含“小王”和其他可能成员之间关系的一个极性序列。换句话说，“也”无法标示“小王来这次聚会”具有高信息度。同时我们也可以注意到，相较于“都”而言，上述“也”字句附加语用测试就不会产生矛盾义。“这次聚会小王也来了，但是他来我并不感到意外。”

我们之所以觉得“也”能够提供“极端”义，是因为“也”常常与标举极端的“连”字共用，形成一种框式结构（邵敬敏 2008）。这种极性义是由整个结构“连……也”给出的，而非“也”字本身。但是“都”则不同，“都”可以单独激发极性序列，而无需“连”的辅助。

上述测试和分析表明，单独的“也”字在肯定句中不能产生极性义。

4.2 “也”字极性句的否定式

接下来我们考察“也”字出现在极性句否定式中的情况。“也”字在否定式中有很多限制条件，比如“也”字往往要跟极小量共现。“他一个字也不认识”，通过否定极小量“一个字”，来实现对全量的否定。那么，当“也”字句中出现的数量不是极小量时，“也”是否发挥“极性添加算子”的功能呢？

假设小康始终是班里的第一名，他参加了一个含有一等奖、二等奖、三等奖这三个奖项的竞赛。所有师生都认为他至少能拿个二等奖回来。但是，小康这次的表现让大家失望了。在这样的背景信息下，可以针对小康在竞赛中的表现给出以下句子：

- (4) a. 二等奖都没拿到。
b. 二等奖也没拿到。

上述两个句子的语用内涵是不同的。为了彰显这种不同，我们可以尝试从(4a)与(4b)中分别选取一个句子填入下面两句话的空白处。

- (5) a. _____，更别说一等奖了。
b. _____，只拿了三等奖。

我们将(5)放于一旁，先来分析(4)中两个句子的不同。(4a)“二等奖都没拿到”中的“都”激发出一个极性序列中不同论元所涉及事件实现的可能性，这里“没拿到二等奖”的可能性小，由此推导出可能性更高的“没拿到一等奖”。与之不同的是，(4b)“二等奖也没拿到”中的“也”并不激发出一个含有不同可能性的事件序列，他所引出的是“只拿到三等奖”这个事实。也就是说，(4b)句子蕴含的是一种事实而非可能性。

这也是为什么我们会发现将(4a)填入(5a)会比较符合语感，(4b)填入(5b)会比较符合语感。这里“都”激发的是一种基于极性序列的事件发生的可能性，而“也”引出的是事实而非可能性。

上节 3.1 中回顾的典型极性模型，强调了真正的“极性添加算子”激发的是非真值语义框架下的一种可能性。参照这种模型并结合上述例句分析，我们不难看出“都”是真正的“极性添加算子”，“也”因其引导出的是事实非可能性而不属于真正的“极性添加算子”。事实上，“也”在上述句子中的表现依然属于存在性算子的功能，属于“非极性添加算子”。

我们对此还可以做进一步的引申讨论。前面设定的场景信息中，只有“一等奖”、“二等奖”、“三等奖”这三个选项成员，那么“都”所激发的可能潜在事件数量少，“也”所引导的事实情况也相对是唯一的。如果在其他真实的生活场景中使用上述类型的“都”、“也”句，可能会面临一个情况：“都”作为“极性添加算子”标示出可能性最低的事件，本身已具有足够的信息度，说话人和听话人都可以据此做出语用推衍，因此对上下文中信息的跟进没有太多要求。而“也”因为本身不能激发一个极性序列，那么当选项成员较多时，就会对上下文有信息跟进的要求，否则就会无法明确“也”所引导出来的事实究竟是什么。

基于大规模实际语料的调查结果恰好印证了这一点：“都”式侧重于特例，选取事件框架中特殊、最引人注目的事件进行描述，属于突显强调；而“也”式则重在对比，一般在上下文、会话现场出现另一个对比对象，属于对比强调。(巴丹 2012: 53)”例如：

- (6) 入夜上炕，翻来掉去，昔日的腥风血雨便来到眼前，连肩上那陈旧的伤口都隐隐疼了起来。(冯骥才《石头说话》)
(7) 连医生也一边长叹道：“而今世风日下，年轻人不学好，连中年人也都跟着坏。”(方方《定数》)(转引自巴丹 2012: 53)

综上，我们认为“也”不是“极性添加算子”³³。在肯定句中，“也”若没有“连”的辅助，本身不能激发出一个极性序列。即使在特定语境中激发出了极性义，也是临时的会话涵义，是通过语用测试删除的。在否定句中，“也”字句须与表最小量的词共现，若没有最小量词或者没有否定极项(Negative Polarity Item)，那么“也”字句引出的是事实，而非真正的“极性添加算子”所能引出的事件发生的可能性。

³³值得一提的是，这里的讨论限官话方言区的“也”。我们的调查显示，某些方言区的“也”的性质可能有所不同。例如晋方言中的“也”就属于“极性添加算子”，可以独立激发极性序列，可以蕴含事件发生的可能性。

五 “也”在极性句和任指句中的分布

上一节我们探讨了“也”的性质，本节我们将由此解释“也”的性质是如何造成“也”字极性句和任指句的受限分布的。

5.1 “也”字极性句的受限分布

汉语“也”在性质上不属于真正的“极性添加算子”，因为它引出的是事实而非事件发生的可能性。事实与可能性之间的不同是前者属于现实性的（*realis*），后者属于非现实性的（*irrealis*）。如果一个事实被证明不存在，那么其现实性的属性就被转变为非现实性的属性。那么此时“也”就与真正的“极性添加算子”存在一致性了。

我们仍以上节中小康拿奖项的事情为例。句（4b）“二等奖也没拿到”意指小康只拿到三等奖。现在我们如何调整才能使之变为非现实性的呢？那就可以让“只拿到三等奖”这一事实也不存在，即{“没拿到一等奖” \wedge “没拿到二等奖” \wedge “没拿到三等奖”}。换句话说，如果是全称否定句，那么就可以实现非现实性。在这种情况下，“也”的性质类同于一个真正的极性添加算子。

要实现这样的变换，只需将句（4b）作如下调整：

(8) 三等奖也没拿到。

由于上述场景中只设置了一等奖、二等奖和三等奖三个奖项，那么否定最小量，就实现对所有值的全部否定。这也正是为什么“也”（包括“连……也”结构）总是与最小量共现，因为只有这样，“也”（包括“连……也”结构）才能对应于非现实性，才能与极性添加算子的运作机制保持一致。

现在我们可以再次梳理含最小量的“（连）……也”否定结构是通过怎样的机制获得与相应的“（连）……都”结构同样的极性意义的。以“他（连）一个字也/都不认识”为例，“都”本身能够独自激发一个极性序列，“不认识一个字”被置于这个序列的最底端。它能够推导出“不认识两个字”，“不认识三个字”等等潜在命题。而“也”本身不能激发一个极性序列，是句中最小量“一个字”发挥了功用，它天然成为一个序列中的最底端。否定这个命题，就实现了对其他全部命题的否定，由此也就实现了极性添加算子所关联的非现实性。

5.2 “也”字任指句的受限分布

“也”字任指句的分布受限问题也可以由同样的方式加以解释。小康的这个例子已经证明若使用“也”，就只有在所有事件都未发生的情况，才能实现一种“非现实性”，从而与极性添加算子的运作方式保持一致。而任指句中疑问代词的任指用法加否定词就与这样的需求完美匹配。在“谁也没来”这样的句子中，就是上述的所有事件都未发生的情况。那么在具体的解读方式上，我们认同杉村博文（1992）和杨凯荣（2002）的看法，即“谁”事实上等同于极性序列中的极小量，因为“谁”也是偏指极性序列中最容易“来”的那个成员。否定这一命题，就意为“最容易来的那个成员也没来”，句义就等同于“一个也没来”。因此，只有在否定句中，“也”字任指句才能通过对最小量的否定实现对全部可能情况的否定，才能实现“非现实性”，从而与真正的极性添加算子的运作机制保持一致。

那么除了“所有事件未发生”是一种典型的“非现实性”表现之外，是否还有其他方式实现“非现实性”？

我们的说法同样还能解释为什么“也”能够出现在极少数任指句的肯定式中。“也”非真正的极性添加算子，本身无法激发出极性义所要求的事件实现的可能性，或者说一种“非现实性”。而汉语中恰恰有一类词本身就表达一种可能性和非现实性，那么，在这类词出现的句法环境中，“也”字任指句就可以突破否定句的限制而出现在肯定句当中。汉语中的这类词就是情态词“得”、“会”等。巴丹、张谊生（2012）曾搜集了 640 条“也”字任指句，发现其中有 21 例肯定式。这

21 例肯定式中除了有一部分是谓语由否定性词语充当外，剩余的都是谓语为“得 VP、会 VP”结构的。例如：

(9) “富贵, 明天就是国庆节了, 把火烧得旺些, 怎么也得给我把钢铁煮出来。”(余华《活着》)

(10) 这块就留给我吧, 我怎么也会死在你的前面的。(余华《活着》)

转引自巴丹、张谊生(2012: 72)

由此, 我们通过分析汉语“也”的特性, 认为“也”非真正的极性添加算子, 因其本身不能激发出事件实现的可能性。若出现于极性句, 则往往对出现的句法环境有很高的限制条件。因为其自身无法提供极性添加算子的功能, 那就必然需要句法环境中的其他成分提供类似功能。在极性句的肯定式中, 需要有“连”标示极端; 在极性句的否定式中, 需要与极小量这样的天然含极性的成分共现, 以实现全部事件的否定, 从而实现事件的“非现实性”。在任指句中, 疑问代词加否定词帮助实现对全部事件的否定, 也同样实现了“非现实性”。此外, 若“也”字任指句加入“会”等情态词将事件转变为“非现实性”, 也能实现对肯定式的允准。

六 余论

以上“也”字句分布受限的解释如果合理的话, 就应当能够预测其他语言中的添加算子如果和汉语“也”有相似的性质, 其分布也会同样受限。跨语言研究中确实有这样的例子。德语中的 *auch* 与汉语的“也”类似, 是一个典型的表“类同”的添加算子(例如 *Wenn du gehst, gehe ich auch* “你去, 我也去”), 而不是一个极性添加算子(König 1991: 24)。但是, König (1981: 123) 指出, 在否定极项存在的情况下, *auch* 可以出现, 并协助表达否定全部的意义。

(11) *Keiner von uns kann auch nur ITALIENISCH.*

none of us knows even Italian

‘None of us even knows ITALIAN.’ (Schwarz 2005: 132)

我们谁也不会意大利语。

有趣的是, 这里 *auch* 后接一个表限定的类似于汉语“只”的 *nur*, 这就与汉语当中“也”与极小量配合在否定句中表全称否定非常相似了。

反过来说, 假如一个语言中的“添加算子”与“也”不同, 本身就能够承担起“极性添加算子”的功能, 那么其所在的极性句或任指句就应当没有本文所说的受限情况。现在重新审视 2.3 中曾举过的日语和豪萨语在肯定式任指句中的例子:

日语 *mo*

(12) *dono otoko mo ga sutukeisu sanko o hakonda.*

which man also nom suitcase three-clf acc carry-pfv

‘Every man carried three suitcases.’ (Gil 1995: 340)

谁都提了三个箱子。

豪萨语 *kóo*

(13) *kóo-wàné mùtum yá nàa yì.*

even-which person 3sg.m prog do

‘Every person is doing it.’ (Haspelmath 1995: 370)

谁都在做这个。

我们发现日语的 *mo* 与豪萨语的 *kóo* 都是真正的极性添加算子。豪萨语 *kóo* 本身是个添加算子, 但是同时也有极性添加算子的功能, 因此在上述句子中直接被译为 *even*。而日语的 *mo* 虽然在 Gil (1995) 中被解释为 *also*, 但是它也具有真正的极性添加算子的功能。比如:

(14) 三歳の子供もしていること

Mitose no kodomo mo shite iru koto

three-year-old GEN child even do this thing

三岁小孩都知道这个。

因此，本身具有极性添加算子功能的词所在的任指句就不会如汉语“也”一样存在肯否定句分布的限制。

综上，虽然跨语言的研究显示，很多语言中的添加算子都衍申出了极性添加算子的功能，但是汉语“也”尚未发展出此功能，因为“也”不能单独激发出极性序列，也不能得出序列中所蕴含事件发生的可能性。“也”所引出的是事实，是现实性的；而真正的极性添加算子蕴含的是可能性，是非现实的。在特定条件下，“也”字句可以获得非现实性，从而得到事件发生的一种可能性的语用含义。这种特定条件就是“也”字极性句和任指句的分布条件。我们的分析统一回答了“也”字极性句和任指句的分布受限的缘由，并解释了为什么在少数任指句肯定式中“也”依然可以存在。此外，将这个分析扩展于其他语言，也可以得到正反两方面的跨语言数据支持和验证。

本研究是将汉语内部问题置于跨语言背景之下去探讨的一个尝试。从跨语言普遍概念关联“类同一极端”入手，结合其他语言中真正的极性添加算子的运作机制去考察汉语“也”的性质是否有其特殊性，并由此分析“也”字句的分布限制缘由。最终再将这个分析和解释拿去跨语言数据中去做正反两方面的核实。正如 Haspelmath (1997: 7) 所指出的，跨语言视角可以帮助我们更好地认识一个现象是语言的个性特征还是共性特征。若属于个性特征，那就不适宜去给出一种可能适用于全部语言的过度概括 (overgeneralization) 和解释；若属于共性特征，则不适宜去寻找一个仅适用于这个单一语言的过窄概括 (undergeneralization) 和解释。在跨语言数据日益丰富的今天，相信这一视角会给予汉语研究更多裨益。

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Abstracts of Oral Presentations

《蒙古字韵》的重组现象分析

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“重组”本是中古汉语切韵系韵书、韵图三等韵字中出现的一种对立现象。关于重组对立的语音区别，经过多家学者多年的讨论目前基本认为是介音区别。重组三等 B 类字介音较松、靠后，常以 -i- 或 -ɪ- 来拟音，重组四等 A 类介音较紧、靠前，拟为 -i-。《蒙古字韵》则是一部由十三世纪新创蒙古语拼音文字八思巴字来注汉字音的韵书。此书韵字以八思巴字头来分类，且与《古今韵会举要》（1297）字母韵系统基本一致，都反映了当时的元代汉语。

《蒙古字韵》中仍保留了一部分中古汉语重组字的对立现象，使用了不同的八思巴字音来注了不同的音。例如：“奇”（支韵 B 类）与“歧”（支韵 A 类）是一对中古汉语重组对立字，《蒙古字韵》八思巴字前者元音为 ω ，后者元音为 $\bar{\omega}$ 不用音。根据麦耘（1995），《蒙古字韵》中唇音字已基本无重组，牙喉音见、溪、群、晓母有 20 对，影、喻、疑母则 14 处仍反应了 [i] 与 [ɪ] 重组介音的对立。

麦耘（1995）这一研究成果的得出是根据了照那斯图、杨耐思（1987）的《蒙古字韵》八思巴字转写系统，对以上两字的转写分别为 ω (i) 和 $\bar{\omega}$ (èi)。但是笔者认为照那斯图、杨耐思（1987）的八思巴字转写系统可能存在问题，特别是 \mathfrak{U} (è)、 \mathfrak{U} (e) 两元音的转写，笔者认为根据中古蒙古语的八思巴字转写特征恰恰相反反应转写为 \mathfrak{U} (e)、 \mathfrak{U} (è)，以上反映重组对立的八思巴字转写也应该为 ω (i) 和 $\bar{\omega}$ (ei)。其实除了麦耘（1995），不少学者研究也都引用了照那斯图、杨耐思（1987）的转写系统。这两个八思巴字元音常与中古汉语三等字对应，並与三等重组对立现象具有密切的关系，本文将以前新的转写系统来对《蒙古字韵》的重组对立现象进行重新梳理和语音分析。

Cantonese *dāk* 得 vs. Mandarin *de* 得: A Diachronic Analysis of Word Order Patterns

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The morpheme *dāk* 得 is used in modern Cantonese with a broad range of functions. It can be used as a particle introducing an adverbial construction (Matthews & Yip 2011: 203-205), as a particle introducing the so-called 'potential complement' (néngxìng bǔyǔ 能性補語; Cheung 2007: 125), and as a verbal (quasi-)suffix, indicating that the state of affairs denoted by the verb may happen (possibility, permission, but sometimes also ability; see Cheng & Sybesma 2004, among others). *Dāk* 得 is part of an areal cluster of 'acquisitive' modals, i.e. modals deriving from a verb meaning 'come to have', which spans over most of China and Mainland Southeast Asia (MSEA; Sybesma 2008).

If compared to its Mandarin cognate *de* 得, and to its equivalents in MSEA languages, *dāk* 得 seems to cover a smaller range of functions and (modal) meanings (e.g. it cannot be used to mark EXTENT, or to express 'acquired ability'), and, also, to be more grammaticalized, in terms of boundedness and semantic bleaching (Yang 2005; Sybesma 2008). Also, there appear to be several possible patterns for the negation of *dāk* 得 and for the position of the object in the potential complement, which seem to reflect different historical strata, and different registers (i.e. 'true' colloquial vs. standard-influenced literary Cantonese).

After a general introduction on *dāk* 得 in modern Cantonese, and in related Sinitic/MSEA languages, we shall focus on the issue of negation and word order patterns: specifically, of patterns of negation for the potential complement (here, including its quasi-suffixal use; see Cheung 2007: 127) and the position of the object. We will propose a comparison of *dāk* 得 constructions with the patterns of historical development of the potential *de* 得 in mainstream literary Chinese, with a particular focus on its relationship with the resultative construction, and we will examine a sample of texts from the 19th and early 20th century written in Cantonese by Western scholars, missionaries, and officers. For our corpus of early Cantonese, we mainly chose textbooks and reference materials designed for English-speaking learners, as they mostly represent the colloquial Cantonese of their time.

On the basis of a perusal of the literature (e.g. Yue 2004; Yang 2005; Paternicò 2019) and on the analysis of a sample of early Cantonese texts, we will argue that: (1) the resultative and potential complements had a very different development in Mandarin and in Cantonese, being in the former (in a sense) 'more' grammaticalized; (2) Cantonese *dāk* 得 is also significantly different from its other MSEA counterparts; (3) native and 'imported' (i.e. literary) constructions for the negation of *dāk* 得 have different roles in modern Cantonese grammar.

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Reevaluating the Classification of the Yuè Dialects: A Dialectometric Approach

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Anne Yue-Hashimoto (1988; 1991)'s studies represent the first methodologically rigorous attempt at a comprehensive classification of Yue dialects. Previous investigations of Yuè dialect phonology relied on restrictive sets of isoglosses that overestimated the importance of certain phonological developments while failing to characterize the overall dialect situation. She overcame this limitation by selecting the variance of thirty-one historical phonological categories and three lexical items as isoglosses and then analyzing their distribution using the traditional methodology of linguistic geography. This methodology, however, has limitations of its own. Drawing isoglosses by hand is a laborious process prone to error. Investigators have to restrict the number of features they choose as criteria for isoglosses as a matter of practicality. Ultimately, this selection of features cannot be free of bias. In this study, we undertake a new classification of the Yuè dialect using techniques from dialectometry. Dialectometry seeks to empirically measure linguistic differences between dialects. It relieves investigators of the burden of choosing features to compare, and with the power of modern computing, offers more precise ways to represent dialect diversity and continua visually.

In this study, we measure the lexical distance between 70 Yuè dialects recorded in the surveys of Zhān, Cheung, et al. (1987a,b; 1994; 1998), Zhān et al. (2000), Yue-Hashimoto (2005), Xiè (2007), and Lǐ (2014) and Xiǎn (2016). Distance between lexical items is approximated by finding the Levenshtein Distance between the phonetic transcriptions of lexical items following the methodology of Nerbonne and Kleiweg (2003). Using these distances, we then use the technique of Multidimensional Scaling to approximate the positions of Yuè dialects relative to each other in a three-dimensional plane. Mapping these positions to RGB color values, we can visualize the dialect continuum on a map. We also use these differences to calculate a "cluster composite map" that shades the boundaries between dialects by cophenetic distance as obtained from a "noisy" weighted group average clustering of the dialect sites using the methodology of Nerbonne, Kleiweg, et al. (2008). Finally, we propose that the Yuè dialects should be split into four major groups: 1) a northern inland Fēnglián Group (封連片), 2) the Guǎngfǔ Group (廣府片), 3) the Sìyì Group (四邑片), and 4) a southwestern Yōngxún Group (邕潯片).

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A Comparative Study of Sentence-final Particles: The Syntax of *le5* in Cantonese and *ba* in Mandarin in the Clausal Periphery

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Background: The Cantonese sentence-final particle (SFP) *le4* is reported to have two major usages, namely expressing suggestive tone (Tang 2015: 253) and agreement-seeking (Zhang and Ni 1999: 195). Tang (2015: 252) also further analyses that it can only present with dynamic predicates and volitional verbs (2015: 253), so as to mark the imperative modality in the sentence. As *le4* is agreement-seeking, it also spans across two syntactic domains, from Degree to Call on Addressee (CoA) under movement. However, one similar SFP *le5*, which exists in Cantonese conversation (1), is not greatly discussed and categorized into any type of the SFPs.

(1) 張 三 冇 上 堂 *le5*
 Zoeng-saam mou soeng tong *le5*
 Zoeng-saam NEG attend lecture SFP
 ‘Zoeng-saam did not attend the lecture, did he?’

Another puzzle is that *ba* in Mandarin is also observed with agreement-seeking function (Li and Thompson 1981), and a low speaker’s commitment to the propositional content (Li 2006). I also compare the core semantics, and the syntactic position and movement of *ba* with *le5* and *le4* in Cantonese in the clausal periphery proposed by Tang (2020: 9).

Proposal: To provide an answer to my first puzzle, I argue that although *le5* and *le4* share some of the phonological, suprasegmental, syntactic, semantic similarities, they perform different functions, as observed in their requirements to the predicates and verbs of the sentences they mark, as well as their intonation. I further argue that the movement from Degree to CoA of the both particles are driven by different motivation, due to their meaning difference.

Specifically, I argue that *le5* should not be the SFP of the imperative type, as it is compatible with non-human verb, non-controllable verb and non-volitional verb. *le5* also accepts both static predicates and dynamic predicates. On the other hand, however, *le4* accepts nothing above except the dynamic predicates, as the speech acts drawn by an imperative sentence must be done by a causer with cognition (Tang 2015: 253). The CoA function of *le5* is also different from *le4*, as it is agreement or confirmation seeking with a rising intonation, without the sole “self-confirmation” meaning expressed by *le4*.

Finally, this analysis also observes some similarities between *le5*, *le4* in Cantonese and *ba* in Mandarin. To provide an analysis for *ba*, I compare the syntactic properties, core semantics and CoA functions of *ba* with *le5* and *le4*, so as to give *ba* a position in the clausal periphery proposed by Tang (2020: 9). I argue that the syntactic position of *ba* in Mandarin also falls on the head of Degree in the periphery, and its motivation to move from Degree to CoA can make reference to the *le4* and *le5* pair in Cantonese.

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TWO-languages: Towards a New Typology of Coordinating Conjunctions

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It is well established that coordinating conjunctions in many languages are developed from comitative adpositions through grammaticalization (Traugott 1986, among others). Stassen (2000) surveys 234 languages and divides them into two types: 103 of them are WITH languages and 131 are AND-languages. The former type employs the same element in expressing the concept of [comitative] and [conjunction], while the latter type employs different elements in expressing these concepts.

According to Heine and Kuteva (2012), some languages use the same form to function as the numeral 'two' (or a dual marker) and a coordinating conjunction. For instance, *tara* 'two' in Aranda serves as a coordinating conjunction connecting two noun phrases. Unfortunately, many scholars believe that the polysemy of [TWO = conjunction] is merely "incidental instances" (Stassen 2000: 16). Thus, this phenomenon has been overlooked.

Nevertheless, our database suggests that this phenomenon of polysemy is not as uncommon as previous scholars claimed. This paper demonstrates that the syncretism between [TWO] and [conjunction] is attested in 84 languages, scattering across various language families (such as Altaic; Oto-Manguean; Austronesian; Austroasiatic; Pama-Nyungan; Niger-Congo; Kx'a; Sino-Tibetan; Hmong-Mien; Tok Pisin, etc.) and continents. More intriguingly, we observe that in 125 Chinese dialects, the [numeral + classifier] cluster *liangge* / *lia* 'two' functions as a comitative preposition and a coordinating conjunction. For example, in Jingzhou Mandarin: *ɕiao42 tsan55 lia42 ko0 phɿŋ13 jou0* [Xiao Zhang + TWO + friend] = 'Xiao Zhang and (his/her) friend'.

Therefore, the current study proposes that the AND/WITH dichotomy (Stassen 2000) should be modified, and the world's languages should be classified into AND-languages, WITH-languages, and TWO-languages. The mechanism and condition for the grammaticalization [TWO > coordinating conjunction] is also discussed in this paper.

Keywords: comitatives; coordinating conjunctions; grammaticalization; TWO; typology

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Oral Presentations

Separable Verbs as Partial Deletion in Cantonese

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Separable verbs. Some Cantonese disyllabic verbs allow verbal suffixes to occur in an infix position, e.g., (1)-(2) (Chan & Cheung forthcoming). The two syllables (referred to as A and B) of the disyllabic *monomorphemic* verb *feilou* ‘fail’ (an English loanword) is separated by perfective suffix *zo* (referred to as x). These verbs are known as separable verbs.

(1) *feilou-zo sap-gei ci* fail-PFV ten-several time ‘failed a dozen times’ (AB-x)

(2) *fei<zo>lou sap-gei ci* fail<PFV> ten-several time =(1) (A-x-B)

The idea. We seek an alternative account to a reanalysis approach that reanalyzes A as a verb and B an object (Chao 1968, *i.a.*), which is less appealing in cases of monomorphemic verbs. Instead, we offer a formal account, under which the apparent separation is indeed partial deletion in disguise. The proposal not only (i) accounts for separable verbs in suffixation, but also (ii) extends to verb separation in *lin...dou* ‘even’ focus construction.

The proposal. Assuming that verbal suffixes head a projection above the verb and that verbal suffixation involves syntactic verb movement to the suffix (Tang 2003, Tsai 2001), we propose a post-syntactic deletion rule induced by affixes in (3).

(3) Affix-induced Syllable Deletion

Affixes optionally trigger deletion on an adjacent syllable of their hosts.

Under the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995 *et seq.*), verb movement creates two copies, i.e. (4)a-b. (3) applies in (4c), and the second syllable of the higher copy is deleted as it is adjacent to the suffix. Then the standard Copy Deletion operation applies to the lower copy, but it only *partially* deletes the complement syllable (i.e., A) for recoverability, i.e. to maintain at least one copy of A and B is realized. The suffix thus ends up intervening A and B in (4d).

(4) Derivation steps for separable verbs

- a. [-x [AB]] (base structure)
- b. [<AB>-x [<AB>]] (verb movement)
- c. [<AB>-x [<AB>]] (affix-induced syllable deletion in (3))
- d. [<A>-x [<AB>]] = A-x-B (partial copy deletion, deriving (2))

Against a reanalysis approach. A reanalysis approach prevailing for separable verbs in Mandarin (Chao 1968, Huang 1984, Packard 2000, *i.a.*) suggests that disyllabic verbs are reanalyzed as a Verb-Object phrase. But the second syllable in the verbs barely displays nominal/object properties. It cannot be preceded by the nominal modifier marker *ge* (= *sen* in (5)), which is otherwise allowed on a genuine object (= *hei* ‘film’ in (6)).

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- (5) *pi-zo seng sapgei jat (*ge) sen*
 present-PFV whole ten.several day MOD present
 “presented for a dozen of days”

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- (6) *tai-zo seng sapgei jat (ge) hei*
 look-PFV whole ten.several day MOD film
 “watched films for a dozen of days”

Extension. The proposal predicts the same to apply to prefixes. This is borne out in *lin...dou*-focus constructions which may target verbs and lead to verb doubling (Cheng & Vicente 2013). In cases of disyllabic monomorphemic verbs, it is possible to double the whole verb A+B (= (7)). Crucially, it is also possible for B to occupy the higher position, stranding A in the lower position (= (8)). The pattern in (8) mirrors the pattern depicted in (4), with the only difference being that syllable deletion is triggered by the **prefixal** *lin*: by (3), it deletes the syllable *pi* (i.e. A) as it is adjacent to *lin*, and Copy Deletion partially applies to the lower copy, deleting B.

- (7) *Lin pisen keoi dou mou pisen* (lin-AB ... AB)
 even present 3SG also NEG.PFV pre(sent) ‘He even didn’t do the presentation.’
 (8) *Lin -sen keoi dou mou pi-* (lin-AB ... AB)
 even (pre)sent 3SG also NEG.PFV pre(sent) =(7)

Implications. (a) It supports a non-lexicalist view where verbal suffixes are syntactic heads (*pace* Gu 1993). (b) Affixation is achieved by head raising, not lowering (*pace* Cheng, Yi & Xiong 2016). (c) Copy Deletion interacts with PF operations, leading to partial deletion on the word level (*cf.* Fanselow & Cavar 2002). **Ref.:** Chan & Cheung. 2021. Morpho-syntax of non-VO separable compound verbs in Cantonese. *Stud. in Chi. Ling* 41(2). Li et al. 2016. Facilitation of transference: The case of monosyllabic salience in HK Cantonese. *Ling.* 54(1), 1-58.

The Origin of the *N- Demonstratives in Archaic Chinese and Their Reflexes in Modern Dialects

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In Archaic Chinese, there exist demonstratives with an *N- initial such as 爾 *nə, 乃 *nâ?, 若 *nak, and 而 *nə. Examples include:

子貢曰:“夫子何善爾也?” <<禮記/檀弓上>>

<<書>>曰:“八音克諧,無相奪倫,神人以和。”乃是謂也。 <<春秋繁露/正館>>

子曰:“君子哉若人!尚德哉若人!” <<論語/憲問>>

比及三年,將復而野。 <<穆天子傳>>

The origin of the *N- demonstratives has been controversial. 爾, 乃, 若, and 而 were frequently used as second-person pronouns in Archaic Chinese. Their occurrences as second-person pronouns predate those as demonstratives. Therefore, it is commonly assumed that the *N- demonstratives derived from the second-person pronouns.

This paper objects to this idea based on the directionality of grammaticalization. A second-person pronoun frequently derives from a demonstrative, but not vice versa. Demonstratives are considered as so-called ‘primitives of grammaticalization,’ i.e., they may give rise to various kinds of grammatical markers while they themselves cannot be historically derived from other lexemes (Plank 1979, Diessel 1999, Kuteva et. al. 2019).

The origin of the *N- demonstratives is as follows. They were borrowed from the neighbouring Proto-Austroasiatic language (PAA). As pointed out by Norman & Mei (1976:274), the Austroasiatics inhabited the shores of the middle Yangtze and parts of the southeast coast from 1000 B.C. to 500 B.C. and gave an influence to Old Chinese. In PAA, the word meaning ‘this’ is reconstructed as *ni?, *nih or *nɔ?, *noh. Therefore, it is not surprising that the *N- demonstratives are actually borrowings from the PAA word meaning ‘this.’

*N- demonstratives must have been broadly spread in southern China in Archaic and Medieval times. For instance, 爾 appears frequently in Six dynasty texts, such as in Shishuo xinyu 世说新语. It may well be because after the Rebellion in the yǒngjiā era (永嘉之亂), the center of koiné moved from the north to Nanjing, which was the capital of Eastern Jin 晉 and the following southern dynasties. 爾 is still broadly used as a near or far demonstrative in modern central and southern dialects, such as Wu, Hui, Xiang, Gan, and Min dialects (Zheng 2017).

In sum, the *N- demonstratives in Archaic Chinese were borrowed from the neighboring PAA languages. Their numbers of occurrences increased significantly in the Six dynasty period. They still survive in many southern Chinese dialects.

Keywords: *N- demonstratives (爾 *nə, 乃 *nâ?, 若 *nak, and 而 *nə); Archaic Chinese; Medieval Chinese; Austroasiatic languages; language contact; borrowing; modern Chinese dialects

A Distributional Semantic Approach Towards the Study of Construction: The *V-shenme*(什么)-*V* Construction Revisited

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Previous studies observed that the *V-shenme*(什么)-*V* construction (e.g., “咱们身正不怕影子斜，你怕什么怕”；“看什么看，干活儿”) in spoken Chinese reflects the speaker’s negative evaluation and stance (Xia & Zhan 2015; Fang 2017, 2021). This paper investigates the distributions of verbs licensed by the construction based on their word embeddings and then discusses how lexical fillers interact with the constructional meaning and their other possible roles.

We first extracted all concordance lines containing the *V-shenme*(什么)-*V* construction from the CCL corpus with the searching pattern *(V)什么(V)* and got 176 token examples. The manual checking then resulted in a list of 75 verb types attested. We visualized the semantic distributions of these verbs based on their meaning representations derived from a large corpus and analyzed how they are related to each other. By plotting and comparing the semantic domains of these verbs, it is suggested that verbs of actions, like run (“跑”), eat(“吃”), and verbs of communication, such as quarrel(“吵”), shout/scream(“叫”) are the two most prominent clusters in the distributional semantic map. We then discuss their semantic interaction with their constructional meaning and their role in attracting possible new lexical fillers.

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**Interactions Between Phonology and Morphosyntax:
A Case Study of Pingxiang Tone Sandhi**

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This paper is an investigation of tone sandhi in the Pingxiang dialect, at both lexical level and phrasal level. The Pingxiang dialect is one of the representative dialects of the Yiliu subgroup of Gan Chinese, in which there are four lexical tones and tone sandhi is always triggered within strings containing two or more syllables. A couple of previous studies have reported that the Pingxiang tone sandhi is somehow decided by the morphosyntactic structure, but these studies only focused on tone sandhi in disyllabic words in this dialect, leaving the question of how tone sandhi applies at the phrasal level unaddressed. To fill in the gap of research, this paper examines the application of Pingxiang tone sandhi at both lexical and phrasal levels, based on the data from field study and phonetic experiments. In this paper, we will show that the tone sandhi rule in Pingxiang is not context-sensitive, namely, the sandhi form of a given tone has nothing to do with the phonological environment, and it does not depend on the tonal value of the adjacent tone. By contrast, the sandhi form of a given tone is conditioned only by its own citation tone. Specifically, the following regular tone sandhi patterns can be observed in this dialect: yinping (13) and yangping (44) change to 4, shang (35) changes to 5, and qu (11) changes to 1 as long as they appear in a sandhi position within the string. The analysis also shows that the sandhi position in a particular string is related to its morphosyntactic structure.

At the lexical level, the tone sandhi position of disyllabic words in the Pingxiang dialect is determined by the morphological structure of words. To be specific, in disyllabic words, tone sandhi occurs in the first syllable in verb-object compounds and derived words with prefixes, while tone sandhi occurs in the second syllable in monomorphemic words, coordination compounds, attributive-head compounds, and derived words with suffixes. The tone sandhi position, however, is random in compounds with adverbial-head, subject-predicate, and verbcomplement structure.

At the phrasal level, the sandhi position is conditioned by the syntactic structure of the phrase. The application of tone sandhi in disyllabic phrases is similar to its application in disyllabic words—it applies to the first syllable in verb-object phrases and to the second syllable in attributive-head phrases, while its application in adverbial-head, subject-predicate, and verb-complement phrases is unpredictable. By contrast, in phrases composed of three or more syllables, the application of tone sandhi is more complicated. It is demonstrated that all syllables of a constituent in the sandhi position will undergo tone sandhi according to the regular tone sandhi patterns, regardless of the internal structure of this constituent. However, in the non-tone sandhi position, a monosyllabic constituent retains its citation form, while a disyllabic constituent may change one of its tones depending on its morphosyntactic structure.

This research provides a comprehensive description and analysis of tone sandhi in the Pingxiang dialect, which shows that tone sandhi in this dialect is not simply a phonological process, but a typical case of the phonology-morphosyntax interface.

Key words: Pingxiang dialect; tone sandhi; phonology-morphosyntax interface

Oral Presentations

Scope Assignment in Q-Neg Sentences in Nuosu Yi and Mandarin Chinese

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Q-Neg sentences are like *All teachers did not use Sandy's car*. There are two possible readings in English (e.g., May, 1985): a. for every teacher, he/she did not use Sandy's car (all>not, surface scope), b. it is not the case that all teachers used Sandy's car (not>all, inverse scope). However, for the equivalent Chinese sentence, as in (2), only the surface scope interpretation is allowed (e.g., Huang, 1982). One proposed account can be found in Lee (1986) and Aoun and Li (1993): in English, the subject QP is raised out of VP while in Chinese, subject raising is prohibited.

- (1) [IP [All teachers]_i [I' did [NegP not [VP t_i use Sandy's car]]]] (English)
 (2) [IP [VP suoyou laoshi [V' meiyou yong [NP Shaheshang-de che]]]] (Chinese)

The inverse scope reading in English can be derived via reconstruction of the raised QP at LF. This difference between English and Chinese has been confirmed by several experimental studies (e.g., Wu & Ionin, 2019) but it is still unknown whether Q-Neg sentences in Nuosu Yi (i.e. Liangshan Yi) such as (3) allow the inverse scope. If Nuosu Yi permits it, do bilinguals of Nuosu Yi and Mandarin Chinese also allow the inverse scope in their Chinese grammar?

- (3) hmatmop kaxjjosumu Shahuopshap vi qypche ap ssi. (Nuosu Yi)
 teacher all Sandy GEN car not use
 a. Surface-scope (all>not): for every teacher, he/she did not use Sandy's car.
 b.? Inverse-scope (not>all): It is not the case that all teachers used Sandy's car.

To address these research questions, we designed a picture-matching truth value judgment task (Crain & Thornton, 1998). Experimental lists were created in Chinese and Nuosu Yi. In each language version, there were 16 critical items, each of which had two conditions: Surface Scope (SS) (all>not) and Inverse Scope (IS) (not>all) (see (4)). Participants said 'Match'/'Mismatch' after listening to each item. Two lists were created, each of which had only one condition of each critical item so that participants saw 8 items per condition in one list. Also, each list included 40 fillers. The Nuosu Yi list was presented before the Chinese list. A Chinese cloze test (Wen, 2015) was used to assess our bilingual participants' Chinese proficiency. Thirteen monolingual Chinese speakers joined as native controls, all of whom consistently accepted SS and rejected IS in Chinese. A total of 16 bilingual speakers of Nuosu Yi and Chinese participated and their data on Nuosu Yi were consistent: 14 (87.5%) participants consistently accepted SS and IS in Nuosu Yi. However, for these 14 participants, their Chinese data diverged: although 7 (50%) participants consistently rejected IS like Chinese monolinguals, 6 (43%) participants consistently accepted IS in Chinese. The implications on early bilinguals' grammar will be discussed.

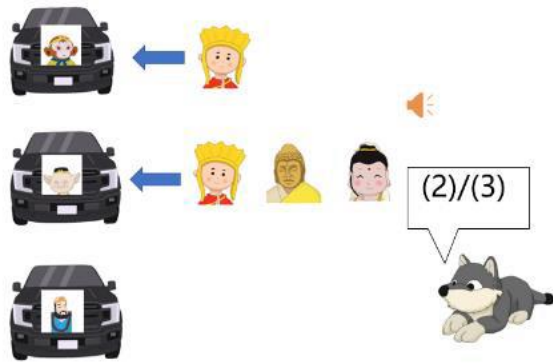
- (4) The experiment starts with a background story: Monkey King, Piggy and Sandy are students studying at school. Their teachers are Monk, Shakramuni and Goddess.

Sample SS item: a. introduction: One day, the students each bought their own car. Afterward, all teachers used Piggy's car and Monk also used Monkey King's car. See below.

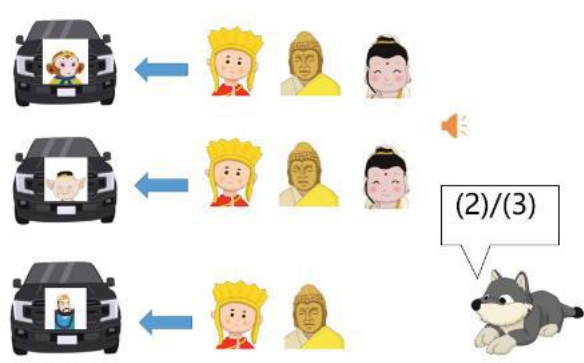
Sample IS item: a. introduction: One day, the students each bought their own car. Afterward, all teachers used Monkey King's and Piggy's cars. Monk and Shakramuni also used Sandy's car. See below.

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Surface Scope (SS) condition



Inverse Scope (IS) condition



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Gèng: A Special Comparative Morpheme Able to Operate on Covert Predicates

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(1) lacks any syntactically accessible gradable predicate that *gèng*/更 can operate on, either as a degree adverb/modifier (Krasikova2008) or as a comparative morpheme (Liu 2010).

- 1) “他们俩, 一个打了人, 一个更杀了人。” (Liu2010, fn.9 ex.ii, my translation)
“Of them two, one hit the person; the other one even killed the person”

In (1), *gèng* is akin to the standard-sensitive scalar particle *even/shènzhì* under Greenberg’s (2018) gradability-based account. If we equate *gèng* with *even/shènzhì* as per this account, (1) would receive this interpretation: it is presupposed that a) *gèng* takes some contextually supplied gradable predicate *G* (say *guilty*); b) “the other one” is *POS* guilty in w_1 worlds where p (*the other one killed the person*) holds and “one” is *POS* guilty in w_2 worlds where p doesn’t hold but p ’s salient alternative q holds (*one hit but didn’t kill the person*); c) “The other one” is more guilty in w_1 than “one” is in w_2 . This seems correct. But *gèng* differs from *even/shènzhì* w.r.t. the scale ordering. In (2), both *gèng* and *shènzhì* stay with the logically stronger proposition (*syntactician(he) ⊆ linguist(he)*), but in (3), with negation, *gèng* but not *shènzhì* can stay with the logically weaker proposition ($\neg \text{syntactician(he)} \not\subseteq \neg \text{linguist(he)}$). (Context for 2-3: Gray asks John whether Bill can solve some syntax puzzle. John replies:)

- 2) “他是语言学家, 更/甚至是句法学家, 肯定能” / “He is a linguist; he is *gèng/even* a syntactician. He can certainly (solve it).”
3) “他不是语言学家, 更/甚至不是句法学家, 肯定不能” / “he is not a linguist; he is *gèng/#even* not a syntactician//let alone a syntactician. He certainly cannot (solve it).”

We follow Liu (2010) in taking *gèng* to be a comparative morpheme carrying an evaluative presupposition but suggest that it is super flexible in being able to **a)** operate on both covert and overt predicates offering the comparison dimension and **b)** combine with both predicates and propositions. Formally, Entry 4, adapted from Greenberg (2018), is proposed for *gèng* combining with propositions. Applying (4) to (1) returns the above descriptive interpretation. For cases where *gèng* combines with predicates, we adopt (5) adapted from Liu(2010).

- 4) $\|gèng\|^{c,g} = \lambda p_{\langle s,t \rangle} \lambda q_{\langle s,t \rangle} : \forall w_1 \forall w_2. w_1 R w_0 \wedge w_2 R w_0 \wedge w_1 \in p \wedge w_2 \in [q \wedge \neg \|\text{COMMENT}_p\| (\|CT_q\|)] \rightarrow \max(\lambda d1. G(d1)(\|CT_p\|)(w_1)) > \text{Stand}_G \wedge \max(\lambda d2. G(d2)(\|CT_q\|)(w_2)) > \text{Stand}_G \wedge \max(\lambda d1. G(d1)(\|CT_p\|)(w_1)) > \max(\lambda d2. G(d2)(\|CT_q\|)(w_2)). p(w_0) \wedge q(w_0)$ where *G* is a contextually supplied gradable predicate, *CT_p* is the subject in *p*, *COMMENT_p* predicate in *p*, *CT_q* the subject in *q*, *COMMENT_q* the predicate in *q*, *Stand_G* the standard on the *G* scale.
5) $\lambda x \lambda P_{\langle d, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda y. : \iota_{\max} d(P(d)(x)) > \text{Stand}_P \wedge \iota_{\max} d(P(d)(y)) > \text{Stand}_P. \iota_{\max} d(P(d)(y)) > \iota_{\max} d(P(d)(x))$

Entry 4 can’t capture (3) if we take *G* to be his ability to solve the puzzle: in w_2 (non-linguist) worlds, his ability is low; in w_1 (non-syntactician) worlds, his ability is not necessarily lower than in w_2 given that he is possibly a non-syntactician linguist. If *gèng* requires the subject in *gèng*-hosting conjunct have a higher degree of *G*, then, with a scale reversed by negation, *gèng* is expected to stay with the non-linguist conjunct, contra fact. We suggest *gèng* does not operate on a propositional level here but combines with the copula verb *shì*/是. Specifically, we propose that the copula verb *shì* in (3) is bi-functional: a) serving as the regular main predicate marking

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membership and b) serving as a measure function measuring *truth/verum/preciseness*. Then, the negator *bù* negates *shì* through suffixation and forms a new measure function measuring *incorrectness / extent of deviation from truth / impreciseness*. If so, (3) would roughly get this interpretation: “saying he is a linguist is incorrect; saying he is a syntactician is even more incorrect”, indirectly addressing the QUD. This would somehow subsume (3) into regular cases where *gèng* combines with gradable predicates. We would motivate this treatment in detail in the talk and provide a formalization inspired by the metalinguistic comparison (Morzycki2011, Giannakidou & Yoon2011). We will also propose a semantic principle based on the extent of the accessibility of gradable predicates and a syntactic principle of adjacency to constrain when *gèng* combines with propositions and when to combines with predicates to preclude over-generation.

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(Non-)Speaker Orientation of Evaluative Adverbs of Surprise Under Attitude Predicates

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Problem: Perspective shifting received much attention in the study of grammatical phenomena whose interpretation is evaluated relative to a person (or judge). They include evaluative adverbs (Jackendoff 1972, Ernst 2009, Wu 2008), expressives, epithets, appositives (Potts 2005), evidentials (Garrett 2001), etc. While these elements are robustly *speaker-oriented* in root clauses, recent studies (Harris & Potts 2009, Schlenker 2021) found that their orientation can sometimes be shifted to a *non-speaker*, e.g. matrix subject when the element is in the complement clause of attitude predicates (1, 2). However, under what conditions the perspective is ascribed to a person is still obscure in the literature. This goal of this study is to uncover factors determining the orientation of Cantonese Evaluative Adverbs Of Surprise (EASs), e.g. *gingjin* 竟然 and *jyunloi* 原來.

Question: What are some rules that govern the perspective of Cantonese EASs in complement clauses of attitude predicates?

Analysis: Cantonese EASs ascribe surprise to a judge (usu. speaker) concerning the state of affairs expressed by the clause S where the EAS is located (Ernst 2002, 2009, Wu 2008). In root clauses, these EASs are robustly speaker-oriented. However, when the EAS occurs in the complement clause of an attitude predicate (i.e. “SU_{mtx} Pred_{att} [P ... EAS ...]”), three possible perspective ascription possibilities are observed.

** Condition #1: If the attitude predicate (Pred_{att}) expresses a belief revision of P, e.g. *hou gingngaa* ‘be surprised’, *faatgok* ‘realize’, the EAS has to ascribe surprise to the matrix subject (SU_{mtx}). Even though Cantonese speakers sometimes report that the speaker is also surprised, the continuation shows that SU_{mtx}’s surprise is not cancellable but the speaker’s is. Under this configuration, EASs are no longer speaker-oriented.

** Condition #2: If Condition #1 fails but the attitude predicate (Pred_{att}) presupposes P, e.g. *m-zidou* ‘not know’, the EAS ascribes surprise to the speaker (3).

** Condition #3: If Condition #1 and #2 fail, the use of EAS becomes unacceptable (4).

The above not only confirms that Cantonese EASs can ascribe surprise to a non-speaker but also reveals that the lexical semantics of the attitude predicate contributes to the perspective shift. The EAS can fail to ascribe the surprise evaluation to anyone, which is a case rarely discussed before. The findings have shown that the interpretation of EASs is not rigidly speaker-oriented but depends on the semantic and syntactic environment.

(1) a John hou caaji [bou dinsi gingjin waai-zo].

John very surprised CL TV EAS be.broken-PERF

‘John was very surprised that the TV is broken.’ [Judge = OK John; *Speaker]

b Continuation: # But John is not surprised that the TV is broken.

c Continuation: OK But I [=speaker] am not surprised that the TV is broken.

(2) a Hai go jat haak, John sin zidou [Bill jyunloi hai go gaandip].

at that one moment John only.then know Bill EAS be CL spy

‘It is not until that moment that John knew that Bill was a spy.’ [J = OK John; *Spk]

b Continuation: #But John is not surprised that Bill is a spy.

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- (3) Houdo jan dou m zidou [Meiseon gingjin jau nei go jancong gungnang].
many people DOU not know WeChat EAS have this CL hidden function
'Many people don't know WeChat has this hidden function.' [J = *many people; OK Spk]
- (4) ?? John jingwai [Bill gingjin hai go gaandip].
John think Bill EAS be CL spy
'John thought that Bill was a spy.' [J = *John; *Speaker]

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于雅乐 (Camille Imbault-Huart) 《京话指南》的音系和“南系”京话

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法国外交官于雅乐 (1857-1897) 1878 年来华, 历任汉口副领事、广州领事等职。其所编汉语教材《京话指南 *Cours Eclectique Graduel et Pratique de Langue Chinoise Parle*》(1887-1889) 共四卷。在法语编写的汉语课本中, 此作规模至今无与伦比。本文对《京话指南》的音系进行了分析, 指出其独特性, 并探讨其原因。

《指南》音系含 25 种声母 (包括零声母)、38 种韵母和 4 种声调。《指南》在绪论中声称系基于“纯粹的汉语”而编纂 (绪论 XV 页), “本书的目的在于教授中华帝国的宫廷以及首都的上流阶层所说的语言” (绪论 XVII 页)。如其名所指, 《指南》反映了当时北京话的一些特征, 如: 颚化 (“家 tɕia”、“起 tɕ'i”、“喜 chi”)、儿化 (“本儿 peunn-eul”、“一点儿 y-tienn-eul”)、轻声 (“绳子 cheng-tseu”、“房子 ou-tseu”)、le 音 (“把钱都带上去了 léao, 一赌都输了 léao”第一卷 171 页)、mei 音和 hai 音 (“还没 'hai mèi”、“还是 'hai-che”、“没烧 mèi chaô”) 等。尽管如此, 我们仍能很容易地看出, 《指南》的音系非常独特, 与其他京话文献截然不同。例如, 其保留一套尖音声母 (“见 tɕiènn” ≠ “贱 tsiènn”; “曲 tɕ 'iu” ≠ “取 ts'iu”; “向 chiang” ≠ “像 siang”)、果摄一等见系字的主要元音都是圆唇的 (“个 kô”、“过 kouô”。参照威妥玛《语言自述集》(1869) “客 k'ê”、“扩 k'uo”)、不采用《自述集》纳入的“这 chei”、“俩 lia”等音节。《指南》的这些特征与一般认为的 19 世纪北京音系明显有异, 具有以南京为中心的官话音系的色彩。

研究表明, 于雅乐将京话色彩浓厚的特征因“北京腔太强”而除掉了。《指南》里有些发音注明“北京腔 (Pékinisme)”, 如“合 (和) 'hann” (第一卷 96 页)、“得 tèi” (第二卷 24 页)、“鸡子儿 tɕi-tseu-eull” (第二卷 129 页)、“来着 lai-tchô” (第二卷 146 页) 等。《指南》是《自述集》初版发表 20 年后才出版的, 其音系不能解释为《自述集》以后的京话音系的历时变化, 而应解释为 19 世纪后半叶的官话共时性差异的一个表现。

值得注意的是, 英国传教士艾约瑟 (Joseph Edkins) 早在 1850 年代末就指出, 移居北方的南籍人士家庭里保持使用一种“南腔”京话, 累代不变。其具体表现在于, 声调虽有北京的四个调类和调值, 但声母和韵母方面却或多或少地保持南京官话的色彩 (Edkins 1857:264) 赵元任也回忆说他小时候“说一种南边口音很重的北京话” (赵元任 1971:303)。由此我们认为《指南》的音系就是“南腔”京话的一个全貌。《指南》的两位中国协助者都是来自南方而居住北京的文人, 也可作旁证。

《指南》虽冠以“京话”, 其编纂意图却“不是出版一套纯粹的京话的课本, 而是教授一般官话即北部和中部的语言共享的特征” (绪论 XVII 页)。实际上, 在 19 世纪, 纯粹的京话还被其他地区的人们认为是不够“雅”, 甚至是“土”的。至少在于雅乐的眼中, “南腔”京话才是“一般官话”。

A Dual-Thread Model for Relative Clauses: From Acquisition to Typology

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Typologically, Chinese demonstrates prevalent General Noun-Modifying Clause Constructions (GNMCC; Matthews and Yip 2017), which classical analysis of relative clauses (RC) fail to account for, while such constructions are ungrammatical in European languages like English. Regarding acquisition, this issue is highly understudied in Chinese; the potential counterparts in European languages are simply treated either as fossilized errors (Diessel 2004) or as longer subcategorization (Roeper 2011). A uniform account is missing for both typology and acquisition. **PROPOSAL & METHOD:** our study, adopting the raising analysis for gap, proposes a unified analysis for the above observations with a dual-thread model. GNMCC is identified as a universally available construction, which competes with RC. Importantly, “raising analysis” can distinguish RC (cf. 1a) from GNMCC (cf. 1b).

- (1) **a.** [Lisi kaiche yong ___] de daohang (gap) **b.** [Lisi kaiche] de daohang(gapless)
 Lisi drive use DE navigation Lisi drive DE navigation

For both: ‘the navigation that Lisi uses when driving’

FOR ACQUISITION, 1) Initially, children universally produce a naïve [target+modifier] construction due to the immaturity of the gap strategy, and this GNMCC-in-effect then loses to the normal RC as the mechanism matures. This process is observed to be long and dynamic. **2)** RC with gap finally wins because gapless constructions, lacking syntactic cues, are harder to interpret and hence must resort to world knowledge to identify the target.

FOR TYPOLOGY, 1) the parameter of preserving/ abandoning GNMCC correlates with the availability of overt/ covert movement in English and Chinese. **2)** Extra factors also influence the exact behavior of the preserved GNMCC-related constructions. E.g., GNMCC is recursive but head-internal RC (HIRC), analyzed as GNMCC with target omitted, is not, as in (2).

- (2) **a.** GNMCC: lüyou de xiangzi li mai diannao de qian. (recursive) travel
 DE suitcase in buy computer DE money

‘the money that (you) buy computer with that is in the suitcase that you use for travel’

- b.** HIRC: *Lisi jiao guo yige xuesheng mai le jian yifu hen haokan. (recursive) Lisi
 teach ASP one.CL. student buy ASP CL. shirt very beautiful

Intended: ‘The shirt that is bought by the student who Lisi taught is beautiful.’

A pilot corpus study has been conducted on 4 Mandarin-speaking children (3 bilingual in English) and 1 English-speaking child from CHILDES, and small-scale judgement tasks are conducted on the adult speech. **Argument 1:** GNMCC-like constructions are produced by both Chinese and English children, and Chinese adults, but not by English adults.

- (3) **a.** niuniu mifan (Luna, 02;01;03) **b.** I miss it cowboy boots. (Adam, 02;06;03)
 pronoun rice **c.** man drives busy bulldozer (Adam, 02; 03;18)
 ‘The thing that cooks rice.’ ‘The man who drives busy bulldozer.’

The simplest form of early GNMCC is demonstrated in (3a), where the modifier is a nominal. The same construction is spotted with the English monolingual, (3b). (3c) demonstrates HIRC where the target is omitted and only the modifier clause is uttered. Importantly, there is no gap in the modifier. **Argument 2:** The previously termed ‘amalgamation’ is analyzed as an HIRC, which contains an omitted target (4; from Diessel 2004, p.134).

- (4) **a.** That’s the rabbit fall off. (Nina, 2;4) **b.** This is the fire engine go ‘wowo’ (Peter, 2;6)
 As the previous research has noted, this amalgamation appears earlier than the canonical RC constructions and is therefore treated as the precursor of RC. This observation conforms to our analysis of HIRC (GNMCC) as an early strategy to replace RC. **Argument 3:** An abuse of RP has been observed in the RC produced by older French children, and these constructions cannot be derived through any movement (Guasti and Cardinaletti 2003). However, this excessive use of RP is precisely predicted under our model, because the GNMCC strategy, mastered by the

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children from very early period, only produces gapless constructions, for instance, structures involving RP, rather than gap.

Causative Constructions in Pingwu Baima Language

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In Pingwu Baima Language, the forms of the causative construction consist of the analytic, the lexical, and the morphological. The analytic is the most important one, which includes the periphrastic, “two verbs in one predicate” and “V-t̥su³¹” constructions, while the other two causatives could also be found at times.

The periphrastic is the most productive causative construction in the language. It includes two verbs as predicate for two different clauses separately. Usually, the former clause is a non-finite, implying a causing event; the latter is a finite, meaning a caused event. They are connected by “n̥i³¹”.

The “two verbs in one predicate” refers to the construction that two verbs act as a single predicate. For example, they take a single specification for TAM and there is no n̥i³¹ between these two verbs. There are three sub-categories of this construction: (1) lexical verb+ lexical verb, such as “n̥əu³⁵ci³¹” (买给), “t̥sə³¹ŋo⁵³” (打哭), etc; (2) lexical verb + highly grammaticalized verb, such as “zə³¹ʃhɛ³⁴¹” (做会), “ga⁵³za³⁵” (绑紧), “ndzə³⁵liu³⁵” (吃完), etc; (3) lexical verb +completive auxiliary , forming “V-mbo³¹” construction, such as “she⁵³mbo³¹” (杀死), “do³⁴¹mbo³¹” (撞坏) and “t̥sa⁵³mbo³¹” (划破).The lexical verbs in the “V-mbo³¹” usually refer to the manner of the behavior. The mbo³¹ is a completive auxiliary, which can not be used as a predicate alone and usually leads to the result of the behavior.

The t̥su³¹ is a special causative verb in the language. It is behind lexical verb to form a “V-t̥su³¹” construction. t̥su³¹ can introduce a causer argument: When the lexical verb is an intransitive verb, t̥su³¹ introduces a causer argument to form a causative transitive sentence. When the lexical verb is a transitive verb, t̥su³¹ introduces a causer argument to form a construction with three participant arguments.

The lexical causative involves two styles: one lexeme and two lexemes. The former means a verb can neither occur in intransitive clause nor in transitive clause. The latter refers to two words totally different in form but with causative connection. The overt causative verb “t̥su³¹” maintains the function to introduce causer argument. This paper argues that there is an implicit functional word with semantic content but without phonetic form in Pingwu Baima language, which has the same syntactic distribution, function and semantic as the causative word “t̥su³¹”. Therefore, the lexical causative of one lexeme is the result of the causer argument introduced by the implicit causative functional word.

Small quantities of the inflectional morphological causative can be found in Pingwu Baima language, such as “da³⁵” (蹭) and “də³⁵” (破), “kə³⁵” (点) and “ka⁵³” (亮).

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Syntactic Characteristics of Wh-questions in Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL)

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This study discusses the syntactic structure of argument wh-questions in HKSL, an SVO language (Sze, 2000) used in the Deaf communities in Hong Kong. Unlike the major surrounded spoken language, Cantonese, which is wh-in-situ (Matthews & Yip, 2013), HKSL displays a preference for a right-moved wh-position. In simple wh-questions, except for subject who, which can appear clause-initially as a subject (1), other argument wh-phrases appear clause-finally (2 to 4).

- (1) a. like eat fish **who** 'Who likes eating fish?' (subject wh)
b. **who** like eat fish
- (2) a. ix-a affect mother regret ix-a **what** (subject wh)
'What made Mom regret?' (Lit.: 'That made Mom regret, what is that?')
b. *ix-a **what** affect mother regret
- (3) a. *aaron visit **who** suddenly 'Who did Aaron visit suddenly?' (object wh)
b. aaron visit suddenly **who**
- (4) a. *aaron eat **what** short-time 'Who did Aaron eat fast?' (object wh)
b. aaron eat short-time **what**

Multiple wh-questions are in general not preferred in HKSL (5). Interestingly, multiple wh-questions in HKSL can be improved under D(iscourse)-linked context (Pesetsky, 1987) (6), which is not the case in Italian. HKSL thus provides a new typological pattern of multiple wh-questions (Bošković, 2002; Stoyanova, 2008, 2004).

- (5) ***who** buy **what** 'Who buys what?'
- (6) **student who** buy **book which** 'Who of the students bought which book?'

HKSL also differs from the pattern of multiple wh-questions found in American Sign Language (ASL, SVO). Wood (2009) shows that non-D-linked wh-phrases in ASL undergo focus movement, which is to the right of the sentence (7); but D-linked wh-phrase must remain in-situ (8). However, in HKSL, the object wh-sign in a multiple wh-question (i.e., D-linked) moves to the right (9) as in simple wh-questions.

- (7) a. ***who** give-up **what** happy 'Who happily gave up what?' [ASL]
b. **who** give-up happy **what** (Wood, 2009, ex.46)
- (8) a. **who** buy **which computer** last-night [ASL]
'Who bought which computer last night?'
b. * **who** buy last-night **which computer** (Wood, 2009, ex. 59, 60)
- (9) a. **student who** buy short-time **computer which**
'Which student bought which computer in a short time?'
b. * **student who** buy **computer which** short-time

An account for the above-mentioned characteristics of HKSL will be provided. I conclude the study by re-emphasizing that sign languages are not the signed version of the surrounded spoken languages.

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Independent Scope and the Structure of Locative *Ba*-constructions in Mandarin

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Overview. This paper examines two existing syntactic analyses of *ba*-constructions in Mandarin (Sybesma 1999, Li 2006) from the perspective of quantifier scope. The canonical *ba* is structurally ambiguous between (1a) and (1b), while the causative *ba* has the structure in (1a) only. The crucial difference is that *ba* in (1a) is a functional head taking *v*P as its complement, whereas in (1b) *ba* and the following NP (“*ba*-NP”) form a VP constituent.

- (1) a. [*ba*P [*ba*’ [*ba* [*v*P NP [*v*’ *v* [*VP* ...]]]]] b. [*VP*1 [*VP*2 *ba* NP][*VP*3 ...]]

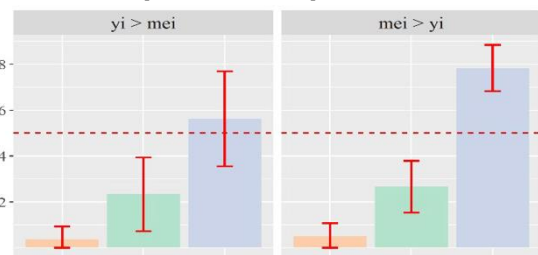
Any analysis that recognizes both structures would make the following prediction, based on the well-known scope isomorphism principle (Huang 1982): If the *ba*-NP in (1a) is a quantified NP (QNP), it should take scope over another QNP in the embedded VP and not vice versa; but in (1b), the *ba*-QNP should not interact scopally with another QNP inside *VP*3 due to the absence of c-command relation between them. We experimentally investigated native speakers’ scope interpretation of locative *ba*-sentences using a truth-value judgment (TVJ) task, and we show that the results support the structure in (1b) but not (1a).

Experimental design and materials. Our TVJ experiment employed a 2 QUANTIFIER ORDER × 3 DISAMBIGUATION design. A total of 24 doubly quantified *ba*-sentences involving *yi* ‘one’ and *mei* ‘every’ (12 *yi* > *mei* ordered, 12 *mei* > *yi* ordered) were tested, and 3 disambiguation pictures were created for each target sentence, one disambiguating for surface scope (SS), one for inverse scope (IS), and one for a mismatched interpretation which served as a lower baseline. Two test sentences are shown in (2) and (3). 90 native adult speakers of Mandarin were recruited from a Hong Kong university and instructed to judge whether the sentence in each trial matched the disambiguation picture or not (true/false).

- (2) 小雨把一根绳子放在每一个凳子上。(yi > mei ordered)
 (3) 小雨把每一根绳子放在一个凳子上。(mei > yi ordered)

Results. Table 1 presents a bar plot of the results. A mixed-effect logistic model found that \exists -wide scope (which corresponds to the SS reading of *yi* > *mei* sentences and the IS reading of *mei* > *yi* sentences) was consistently judged more acceptable than \forall -wide scope ($\beta=1.50$, $z=2.85$, $p<.01$). The results suggest there is no scope interaction between the two QNPs in the locative *ba*-sentences.

Table 1: Proportion of true responses in each condition



Implications. The results do not support (1a), where the *ba*-QNP c-commands the other QNP in syntax and is predicted to be able to take scope over the latter. The \forall -wide (or distributive) scope is however dispreferred for *mei* > *yi* locatives. The findings also cannot be explained by Xu & Lee’s (1989) thematic hierarchy (location > theme) because it is the theme that takes wide scope in *yi* > *mei* locatives like (2). By contrast, the findings can be made compatible with (1b) if the two QNPs do not c-command each other and if the principle of *independent scope* in (4), which complements Huang’s (1982) scope isomorphism, is assumed.

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(4) If two Mandarin QNPs do not c-command each other in the surface structure, there is no scope interaction between them in LF, i.e., they are *scope-independent*.

Specifically, (2) and (3) display independent scope because the number of strings does not vary with respect to the number of stools. This is why the \exists -wide scope (equivalent to the independent scope) reading is far more prominent than \forall -wide scope in both cases. The coordination (5a) used to support (1a) (Li 2006) can be alternatively analyzed by treating the second conjunct as an independently available object-fronting structure without *ba*, as in (5b).

(5) a. 他[把[门洗好]、[窗户擦干净]了]。 b. 他窗户擦干净了。

The Use of Prosodic and Syntactic Cues in the Comprehension of Focus by Cantonese-speaking Children With and Without Autism Spectrum Disorder

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Focus is a key concept of information structure, signifying new or contrastive information in a sentence. In Cantonese, focus can be realized by syntactic means or prosodic prominence. Previous studies have shown that individuals with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) have difficulty in using linguistic cues to mark information structure like focus (Peppé et al., 2007). However, previous research was limited to English-speaking individuals with ASD. It remains unclear whether the previous results hold for autistic children across languages. This study investigated how Cantonese-speaking children with and without ASD used prosodic and syntactic cues to comprehend focus.

In our study, 5 to 8-year-old Cantonese-speaking children with ASD (N=43 and age- and IQ-matched typically developing (TD) controls (N=60) participated in a comprehension experiment. Children first listened to question-answer dialogues (as in (1)) while looking at pictures depicting the scenarios presented on a computer, and subsequently judged whether the answers were correct responses to the questions. The answers were systematically varied in syntax (i.e., Focus particle (FP)) or prosody, leading to either contextually appropriate (1a & 1b) or inappropriate focus (1c & 1d). We examined how group (ASD, TD) and linguistic cues (syntax, prosody) influenced children's judgments and reaction times.

The results showed that Cantonese-speaking children with and without ASD could use syntactic cues to interpret contrastive focus, indicating that both groups of children have developed language-specific preference (i.e., syntactic marking) to interpret focus in Cantonese. While TD children showed similar reaction times to appropriate and inappropriate prosody in the comprehension of focus, children with ASD were significantly faster in responding to inappropriate prosody than appropriate prosody, suggesting prosodic impairments in children with ASD. The findings enhance our understanding of the use of prosodic and syntactic cues in Cantonese-speaking children with and without ASD, and inform evidence-based interventions for Cantonese-speaking children with ASD.

1. Question: 兔仔 食緊 紅蘿蔔?
 rabbit eat-PROG carrot
 'Is the rabbit eating the carrot?'
 Answer: a. 唔係, 係 [狐狸]_F 食緊 紅蘿蔔。
 No, FP fox eat-PROG carrot
 b. 唔係, [狐狸]_F 食緊 紅蘿蔔。
 No, **FOX** eat-PROG carrot
 c. 唔係, [狐狸]_F 食緊 係 紅蘿蔔。
 No, fox eat-PROG FP carrot
 d. 唔係, [狐狸]_F 食緊 紅蘿蔔。
 No, fox eat-PROG **CARROT**

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Remarks on Verbs in the Chinese Locative Existential Construction

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The Locative Existential Construction (LEC) in Chinese refers to the structure with a word order of “S_{Loc}+V+O_{Theme}”, superficially equivalent to the Locative Inversion Construction (LIC) in English. Earlier observations reveal that (i) the V in it is realized by a wide range of verb types—unaccusatives such as *lai* ‘come’, *si* ‘die’, *tang* ‘lie’, unergatives such as *zhan* ‘stand’, *fei* ‘fly’, *pa* ‘crawl’, and those with transitive counterparts such as *fang* ‘put’, *gua* ‘hang’, *xie* ‘write’, as illustrated in (1), (ii) the choice of aspect markers is not free as shown in (1a), and (iii) it is not the case that verbs belonging to the above verb types can all enter the construction as illustrated in (2).

- (1) a. Cunzi-li si le/*zhe yi tou zhu.
Village-in die ASP one CL pig (Lit.) ‘In the village died a pig.’
b. Chuang-bia zhan zhe/le yi ge ren.
window-side stand ASP one CL man (Lit.) ‘By the window side stood a man.’
c. Qiang-shang gua zhe/le yi fu hua.
Wall-on hang ASP one CL picture (Lit.) ‘On the wall was hanging a picture.’
- (2) a.*Wan-li hua zhe yi kuai bing. (hua: unaccusative)
bowl-in melt ASP one CL ice
b.*Men-kou ku zhe yi ge haizi. (cry: unergative)
door-side cry ASP one CL child
c.*Zhuzi-shang faxian le yi tai diannao. (faxian: transitive)
table-on find ASP one CL computer

In previous research, the verb types and their restrictions in LECs are arguably attributable to the argument structure of the verb which is <theme, location> (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995; Pan 1996, among many others). The choice of aspect markers is considered as having something to do with a morphological operation which is agent deletion (Pan 1996).

In this paper, we provide a unified analysis of verbs used in LECs, arguing that verbs allowed in LECs fall into two types verbs of spatial configuration (in the sense of Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995)): (i) agentive locative verbs, subdivided into *lai* ‘come’ type and *zhan* ‘stand’ type; (ii) non-agentive locative verbs, subdivided into *fang* ‘put’ type and *piao* ‘float’ type. We show it is the different lexical semantic sense of each type that explains the occurrence of the verbs as well as the compatibility of aspect markers with the construction. We also argue that the *fang* type which seemingly to be transitive is in fact unaccusative, derived from de-causativization, with the external argument x not projected in LECs. These two types of verbs both are shown to be unaccusative with the argument structure of <location, theme>. We finally argue that these verbs are encoded with a sense of manner of various kinds, each of which can specify the manner of an abstract existential verb HAVE to constitute different meanings of existence of an entity (Theme). Consequently, verbs in LECs can be unified under one semantic representation: y_{Location} HAVE z_{Theme} .

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A Preliminary Study on the Phonology of Mangjing Awa, a Mon-Khmer language Spoken by Bulang people in Southwest China

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Mangjing Awa is a variety (or called ‘阿尔瓦方言’ in Li et al. 1986) of Bulang language (布朗语) spoken by Bulang people (布朗族) in Southwest China. Genealogically, it is a member of the Palaungic group of Northern Mon-Khmer branch of Austro-Asiatic language family. Compared to other Palaungic languages, its phonology takes on a state of transition (1) from a sesquisyllabic type to a monosyllabic type and (2) from phonation-type register to tonal register with a high/low opposition. For the first transition, we can observe the fusion of a presyllable and a main syllable, such as /ɕuiŋ^H/ ‘snake’ and /ɕaŋ^H/ ‘bone’ which are /si ʔuiŋ/ ‘snake’ and /si ʔaŋ/ ‘bone’ in Standard Wa (i.e. Parauk Wa), respectively. The phoneme /ɕ/ has a rarely-heard free variant [s] which was probably a presyllable formerly. There are also some other phenomena of monosyllabicization in different levels: (a) lexical level, e.g. [mlut^H] is the short for /mu^H.lut^H/ ‘rounded, roundish, spherical’; (b) morpho-syntactical level, e.g. [tjaŋ^H] or [taŋ^H] is the short for /ta^H.zaŋ^H/ ‘not yet; cannot’ (in which /ta^H/ is a negative adverb and /zaŋ^H/ means ‘be able to, can’), [ʔɿ^H] is the short for /la^L.ʔɿ^H/ ‘with me’ (in which /la^L/ is a comitative preposition and /ʔɿ^H/ is the first-person singular pronoun); (c) clausal level, e.g. [kɿ^H] is the short for /ku^Hru^H/ ‘where will you go?’. Each level deserves a further deeper study in different aspects. For the second transition, we can observe a basically stable lexical-tone system with a high/low opposition accompanied by an eroded phonation type (i.e. modal vs. breathy). Unlike other varieties of Bulang language in Northern Thailand (Giaphong 2004, Pijitra 1986) that voice quality is the phonological contrast with accompanying different pitches, the tone contrast in Mangjing Awa has gained the dominance. Furthermore, a third tone begins to split from the high tone conditioned by the aspiration loss of consonant initials in two of five hamlets in Mangjing village.

Keywords: Mangjing Awa; Phonology; Monosyllabicization; Tonal register; Tonogenesis

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中古遇攝字在閩西客家話的音韻演變

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中古遇攝包含一等的模韻及三等的魚、虞韻，在非閩西客家話中，主流讀法多是高元音 i、y、u（或是位置較中間的 u）、舌尖元音及成音節鼻音這幾類，魚、虞韻通常也是相混沒有分別；但在閩西客家話中，有不少方言點具有特殊的讀音表現。下表以各地客家話模韻的「布、兔、姑、虎、五」及魚、虞韻的「豬、魚、去、斧、鬚」等字為例（多數例字略去聲母及聲調）：

	臺灣、廣東				湖南	閩西						江西			
	四縣	梅縣	翁源	揭西	炎陵水口	連城城關	宣和培田	新泉	長汀	武平岩前	寧化	大余	寧都	三都	贛縣蟠龍
布	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-i ε	-u	-øə	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u
兔	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-i ε	-e	-ie	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u
姑	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	- ui ε	-u	-øə	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u
虎	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-i ε	-u	-øə	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u
五	ŋ ,	n ,	m	ŋ ,	ŋ ,	n ,	a ŋ	a ŋ	ŋ ,	ŋ ,	ŋ ,	m	ŋ ,	ŋ ,	-u
豬	-u	-u	-y	-u	-y	-i ε	-ɿ	-ɿə	-ɿ	-u	-ɿ	-y	-ie	-u	-u
魚	ŋ ,	n ,	-y	ŋ ,	ŋ ,	-oe	-ɿ	-ɿə	-e	-ε i	-ɿ	m	-ie	-ε	-e
去	-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	-oe	-ɿ	-ɿə	tʃ ^h i he	-i	-iəu -ɿ	-i	-ie	-i	-i
斧	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-i ε	-u	—	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u
鬚	-i	-i	-y	-i	-i	-ɿə	-i	—	-i	-i	-iəu	-y	-iu	-i	-i

在上列例字中，可以見到江西的寧都、三都、贛縣蟠龍在魚韻的「豬魚去」三字有特別的讀法，例字各點多寡不一，在前人的研究中，這類音歸在「魚虞有別」的層次，相關討論可見江敏華(2012)。閩西客家話同樣具有「魚虞有別」的表現，但語音形式更為多樣；模韻的今讀在閩西客家話中極為多樣，有[-i ε]、[-ie]、[-e]、[-øə]等。

閩西在地緣上處於閩、客方言的交界地帶，也與江西客、贛方言區相連，這也使得此處客家方言的語音表現呈現複雜的面貌，吸引我們進行深入的探索。本文擬使用前人對客家話的調查成果(包含閩西客家話及非閩西客家話)、我們歷年在閩西調查所得的第一手語料，探討閩西客家話遇攝字多樣讀音的來源、層次及演變歷程。在研究方法上，我們以中古音系為討論平臺，並參考周鄰閩、客、贛方言在遇攝的讀音類型語格局，分析閩西客家話遇攝字的讀音。

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關鍵詞：遇攝、魚虞有別、客家話、音韻演變

瓦罕塔吉克語的複雜動詞 (Complex Verbs in Wakhi Tajik)

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Complex verbs (also termed complex predicates, compound verbs, or light verb constructions in various frameworks), with their dual nature of words and phrases, provide a test bed for differing theories concerning the division of labor between morphology and syntax. This article contributes to this line of research by presenting a preliminary description of the properties of complex verbs in Wakhi Tajik (ISO639-3: wbl), an under-documented endangered Pamir language spoken in Xinjiang, China.

Wakhi Tajik (hereafter WT) is a richly inflected SOV language known for its second-position pronominal clitics and its complex morphological and phonological processes. Verbs in WT consist of around 320 simplex verbs and over 600 complex verbs.

A complex verb in WT is comprised of a simplex verb root and a non-verbal element (mostly a noun, or less frequently an adjective). The verb root (V) of a complex verb functions as its structural head, bearing the same verbal inflection as simplex verbs, while the non-verbal element (X) contributes to the lexical meaning of the complex verb and does not inflect for number, case, or degree. For example, *vul xak* “to sniff (smell_N+do_V)”, *jəxk wətsn* “to learn (habit_N+become_V)”, *baf difn* “to like (good_A+know_V)”, *kiləw xisak* “to weigh (kilogram_N+pull_V)”, *dindək ding* “to bite (tooth_N+hit_V)”, *tfarx dijiwik* “to walk a horse (wheel_N+cause to hit_V)”, *jizə jitn* “to feel ashamed (shame_N+eat_V)”.

Based on our fieldwork linguistic data, our description suggests that complex verbs in WT have mixed properties of words and phrases. On the one hand, some properties seem consistent with a wordhood analysis of complex verbs (hereafter XVs) in WT. (i) Many of the XVs have noncompositional lexical meanings unique to these combinations; (ii) XVs function as single predicates in terms of their grammatical markings and their argument structures; and (iii) the non-verbal part and the verb root may not be separated by lexical words such as adverbs. On the other hand, some other properties indicate that an XV might be a phrase or a multi-word combination. (i) XVs are separable when inserted by some particles, clitics, or affixes, e.g. prohibitive particle *mə* (*jizə mə jaw* “Don’t be shy”), negative particle *nə* (*jizə nə jawəm* “I don’t feel ashamed”), pronominal enclitic *=(ə)m* (*jizə=m jit* “I felt ashamed”), and negative prefix *nə-* (*jizə nə-jitnkizg/*nə-jizə jitnkizg* “shameless”); (ii) the X part and the V part of the XVs constitute two independent phonological domains.

Keywords: Wakhi Tajik; complex verbs; morphology-syntax interface; Pamir language

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The Syntax of Pseudo-Possessive Construction in Chinese

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The present work argues for a base-generated analysis for the pseudo-possessive construction (PPC) in Chinese. As in (1), the subjects *ta* 'he' and *Zhangsan* and the objects *laoshi* 'teacher' and *ke* 'lesson' are related by a possessive marker in a nominal phrase.

(1) a. 他的老师当得好。 b. 张三的课上得学生们昏昏欲睡。

A number of analyses are proposed to account for such a syntax-semantics mismatch in PPC, which can be classified as the reanalysis account (Pan and Lu 2011) and the verb raising account (Huang 2008, Tang 2009, 2010). However, it will be shown that neither of these accounts is plausible.

On the one hand, the reanalysis account analyzes PPC on a par with verb copy or topic constructions. The possessive marker either replaces the verb between *ta* and *laoshi* in (2a), or is inserted between the topic *ta* and the subject *laoshi*, as in (2b).

(2) a. Verb copy construction: a. 他当老师当得好。 → b. 他的老师当得好。
b. Topic construction: a. 他，老师当得好。 → b. 他的老师当得好。

However, this account fails to specify the motivation of de-insertion, which transforms a VP into a DP; neither can it explain the following dangling topic example.

(3) a. 水果，我吃完了苹果。 → b. *水果的我吃完了苹果。

On the other hand, the core operation in the verb movement analysis is to nominalize the verb relating *ta* and *laoshi*, as shown in (4). Huang takes the nominalized phrase as a gerundive, as in (4a); while Tang argues to analyze it as a derived nominal, as in (4b). Nevertheless, neither of the nominalization operations is appropriate, as gerundives are rather verbal than nominal, while derived nominals are base forms (Chomsky 1970).

(4) a. [_{VP} 他的老师 v*_{do}-当 [_{GerundiveP} 他的 Gerundive [VP 老师((得好))]]]。
b. [_{VP2} [_{NomP} 他的 **Nom-e** [_{VP1} **V1-e** 老师]] V2-当 得好]

Based on the above discussion, we argue for a base-generated analysis for PPC. The main idea is two-fold. First, central to PPC is the V-de phrase, with different structures assigned to resultative and descriptive counterparts. Following den Dikken (2006), Huang et al. (2009), Bartos (2019), we take resultative V-de phrases as full clauses, as in (5a); and descriptive V-de phrases as small clauses headed by Relator, as in (5b).

(5) a. ... 跑得 [_{CP} ... pro 很累] b. ... [_{RelatorP} VP-跑 Relator-得 Predicate-快]

Second, we argue that the possessive structure is not obligatorily assigned the possessive relation. As in (6), *Zhangsan* can be interpreted as the person who possesses, cooks, sells, buys, or orders the dish. Therefore, no syntax-semantics mismatch is involved in PPC, as predicate relations can be expressed by the possessive structure.

(6) 张三的菜特别好吃。(张三的菜 = 张三 拥有/炒/卖/买/点的菜)

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Based on the above two central ideas, this paper argues that PPC is derived by sideward movement, where the possessive nominal is base-generated in an independent workspace. As in (7), the object is copied after being introduced in the structure. Afterwards, the two copies merge with different heads in two workspaces. One copy merges with the verb, while the other parallelly merges with the possessive marker and forms the DP structure. Under the current account, the problems raised by reanalysis and verb movement can be well avoided.

(7) a. [_{VP} [_{DP} 张三的老师] v-当 [_{RelatorP} [_{VP} V 老师] Relator-得 好]]

b. [_{VP} [_{DP} 张三的课] v-上 [_{ResultP} [_{VP} V 课] Result-得 [_{CP} 学生们昏昏欲睡]]]

Key words: Pseudo-possessive, V-de phrase, syntax-semantics mismatch, sideward movement

汉语述宾结构习语句法初探

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本文根据语法语义特性将汉语述宾习语(idioms) 句法结构归纳为三种类型。

第一类习语：宾语位置的名词成分可以搭配名词对应的名量词，也可以搭配修饰事件的动量词，习语引申义的表达不受影响。

- (1) 李明很无辜地背了**两口/次**黑锅。 (2) 老板一星期内开了**五张/次**空头支票。

此类习语中的名词成分还能被关系化，且关系化后中心语可与指示词搭配出现：

- (3) 李明背的**这两口**黑锅让他很无奈。 (4) 老板开的**这几张**空头支票都没有兑现。

第二类习语：名词词组只能与动量词搭配，与名量词搭配则无法表达习语引申义。

- (5) 李明放了女朋友三(**次/*只**)鸽子。 (6) 小丽为了男朋友吃了好几(**次/*碗**)醋。

这类习语的名词组虽然也能被关系化，但中心语却无法与指示词搭配使用。

- (7) 李明放的(**#这只**)鸽子给他带来了严重的后果。 (8) 小丽吃的(**#这碗**)醋很没必要。

第三类习语：名词成分只能与动量词搭配，不能和名量词搭配，否则习语引申义丧失。

- (9) 老板炒了李明三(**次/*条**)鱿鱼。 (10) 小王为兄弟上过无数(**次/*座**)刀山。

此外，第三类述宾结构中的宾语不能被关系化。

- (11) *老板炒的鱿鱼充满了怨气。 (12) *小王为兄弟上过的刀山可真不少。

根据上述的语法特征，本文认为三类习语具有不同的内部句法结构。第一类习语具有完整的述宾结构，即[vP[DP]]结构，且对应的引申义也可分析为[vP[DP]]结构。由于名词词组可搭配名量词使用，关系化的中心语也能与指示词搭配，由此推断该结构中名词词组是 DP。第二类习语的引申义结构应分析为[VP[NP]]。其内部名词词组不能搭配名量词，且关系化后不能搭配指示词，故认为名词为无指称 NP 且结构未投射到 DP 层。最后，第三类习语的引申义不具备述宾结构。由于这类习语只能搭配动量词，而不能搭配名量词，名词成分也不能被关系化，我们认为习语做引申义解读时名词在词法上与动词构成动词性单一词项。

过往的研究认为习语具有固定结构，且习语所表达的意义与其字面意义不同。从加工角度出发，何先友等(2009)提出习语可分析为非构造性(non-compositional)和构造性(compositional)两类：非构造性习语以整体的形式储存和加工；构造性的习语则受习语本身的成分及其字面义影响。本文展示了习语研究的复杂性：同为述宾短语结构习语，有些习语的结构呈现出非构造性(如类型三)，有些却呈现出构造性(如类型一与二)，且构造性习语的内部结构亦各有不同。Marantz(1984)对其他语言相关现象的观察表明习语的引申语义表达与其内部结构紧密相关：一个述宾结构是否具有引申义取决于宾语的结构类型。本文在生成语法的理论视角下对汉语述宾习语的观察证实了这一观点。另外，我们认为习语的词源，以及习语引申义的及物性也对其语法特征和句法结构有影响，需要进一步分析和调查。

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從趨向到目的 — 「來」在連動結構中的位置與韻律表現

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現代漢語中動詞與「來」有很多不同的組合方式，且都有很高的使用頻率。「來」可以出現在動詞前，也可以出現在動詞後，可以帶賓語，也可以不帶賓語。「來」除了作趨向動詞外，還有很多其他功能。本文主要涉及表「趨向」義和「目的」義的結構。如下所示：

- (1) V1(+O)+來+V2：a. 拿一本書來讀。 b. 送一把傘來備用。

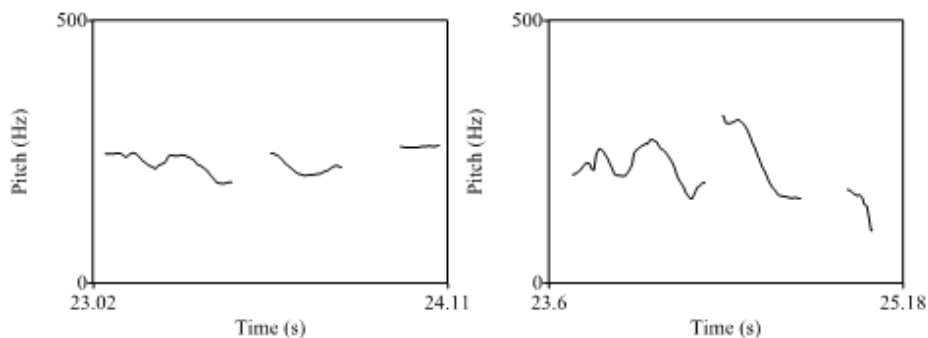
對(1)中「來」的看法眾說紛紜，有認為仍然是動詞的，也有認為虛化為助動詞，更甚者，認為已經虛化為連詞或框式介詞的一部分。學界通常還是把這裡的「來」看作趨向補語，「來」首先與 V1 結合成為一個述補短語。這種重新分析可能是在詞法層面進行，也有可能是在句法層面進行。從古代漢語發展至今，「V1+來+V2」可能往兩個方向發展：一是「來」與 V1 合併，「來」成為 V1 的趨向補語；一是「來」獨立發展，成為標記 V2 為 V1 之「目的」的助動詞。

- (2) a. 那本書，你可以[拿[來[讀]]] b. 那本書，你可以[[拿來]讀]

上面的例子中，「那本書」是「拿」和「讀」的賓語。根據馮勝利（2013），漢語雙音步韻律詞的發展帶來了動詞的合併。按董秀芳（2004）的說法，漢語中「方式或途徑+行為或結果」這一語義模式，會沿著兩條路線演變，一是「方式+行為」的偏正式複合詞，一是「途徑+結果」的述補式複合詞。這種詞彙化的演變方式也為「V1+來+V2」結構的演變帶來了啟示。表「目的」的[拿[來[讀]]]，其「來」在口語韻律中不管是趨向補語還是目的助動詞，都是不能獲得重音的「輕」成分，很容易就貼附到前面的動詞上，形成[2+1]式的[[拿來]讀]，與本是述補式的「拿來」合流。

當 V2 為 V1 可預測的目的時可以輕讀。也就是說，如果是不可預測的目的，則不能輕讀。這種結構涉及「句末集體輕讀」現象（Calabrese 1990，馮勝利 2013）。朱德熙（1982）也說到「趨向補語總是讀輕聲」，因而述補式的「來」是輕的成分；「來」作為助動詞時，在韻律上是隱性成分（馮勝利 2013），但在語義上又是標記目的的凸顯成分。也就是說，其後的 VP 理應是一個被強調的成分，應看作焦點重音。這與核心重音指派並沒有衝突，只是因為焦點標記的介入而產生了重音轉移。

- (3) a. 我得弄點飯來吃（，不是賣）。 b. 我得弄點飯來吃。



「來」在共賓式「V1+O+來+V2」句中，當其作為助動詞時，V2 獲得重音，當其作為趨向補語時，重音則落在 O 上。非共賓式的「V1+O+來+V2」句中，「來」作趨向解讀時，不影響原句句法結構決定的重音，作目的解讀時，便將述補式的重音轉移到了目的小句上。而在「V1+來+V2」句中，「來」既可以是 V1 的趨向補語，也可以是 V2 的目的助動詞。當作目的

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解讀時，由於「來」作為一個韻律上的輕成分，很容易貼附到 V1 之上，形成[2+1]的語流音步，但在這兩種情況下，重音都是在 V2 上。

Ji in Mandarin Chinese: Polarity and Scalarity

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Background The Mandarin *ji* is ambiguous between three different interpretations: (1) as an interrogative word denoting ‘how many’, (2) as a non-interrogative *wh*-indefinite denoting ‘some’, and (3) as a quantity word denoting ‘several’. The present study examines how the non-interrogative ‘some’ (2) and the quantity ‘several’ (3) meanings of *ji* in declaratives can be disambiguated by the licensing conditions of the *wh*-indefinite *ji*.

Puzzles (i) Indefinite *ji* is previously analyzed as a single existential quantifier (Huang, 2013) or a degree-denoting *wh*-word (Chen, 2021). However, previous studies focus primarily on negative sentences, where *ji* does not pattern with other *wh*-indefinites: *Wh*-indefinites are licensed in the non-veridicality contexts, where the truth of a proposition cannot be entailed (Zwarts, 1995). However, *ji* stands out as an outlier as it appears in the assertive sentence with the focus operator *zhi* ‘only’ (cf. (1)), which poses a puzzle on the non-uniformity of *wh*-words.

- (1) Zhangsan zhi-xihuan ji-ge/ shenme ren
Zhangsan only-like JI-CL/ what people
‘Zhangsan only likes some people.’ /# ‘Zhangsan only likes someone.’

(ii) As a quantity word, it is previously regarded as a numeral indeterminative that denotes a vague number (Chao, 1968; Hsieh, 2008; Iljic, 1994; Zhu, 2005; Jiang, 2017). Particularly, it is observed to be scalar as the quantity denoted is [0, 9] (Lü, 1999). However, it is different from other numerals as it cannot be used as a predicate alone (Zhang, 2013). Besides, what is newly observed by us is that the acceptability of *ji* raises with high identifiability of the referent in the context (cf. (2a)), which is not the case for other numerals (cf. (2b)).

- (2) a. Zhangsan renshi ji-ge #yuyanxuejia/ hui shuo zhongwen de yuyanxuejia
Zhangsan know JI-CL linguist / can speak Chinese DE linguist
#‘Zhangsan knows several linguists’ /
‘Zhangsan knows several linguists who can speak Chinese.’
b. Zhangsan renshi san-ge yuyanxuejia/ hui shuo zhongwen de yuyanxuejia
Zhangsan know three-CL linguist / can speak Chinese DE linguist
‘Zhangsan knows three linguists.’ /
‘Zhangsan knows three linguists who can speak Chinese.’

Proposal We propose that there are two variants of *ji*: the ‘negative polarity item *ji* (NPI *ji*)’ and the ‘non-polar *ji* (Non-PI *ji*)’. **(i)** NPI *ji* is not only licensed in non-veridical contexts as other *wh*-words, but the inherent scalarity enables its felicity in the contexts that provide scalar inferences. Based on Israel (2011), we propose that *ji* echoes with the scalar inferencing contexts and makes expressive functions. For example, in (1), *ji* is an emphatic NPI: *zhi* ‘only’ provides a scalar reversing inference. It also excludes other alternatives in the scale of *ji* and restricts *ji* to a lower point in the quantity scale. **(ii)** Non-PI *ji* is a quantity word and appears in highly referential contexts. *Ji* will lose its polarity sensitivity in affirmative sentences where referentiality of a certain object is obligatory and the referent is identifiable from the context. The proposal is supported by cross-linguistic evidence from English ‘some’ (Giannakidou, 2011), which has two variants: Non-PI ‘some’ and PPI ‘some’. The latter appears when it gets high referentiality. The proposal disambiguates the interpretation of *ji* in declaratives by proposing two variants of *ji* based on their sensitivity to polar contexts, which are underlyingly determined by the referentiality of the noun phrase modified. The study further argues that the scalarity of *wh*-words plays a role in their polarity sensitivity: the scalar NPI *ji* is more loosely licensed than other non-scalar *wh*-words.

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Issue-dispelling Effects of Chinese Conditional Questions
汉语轻声之谜及其对词重音研究的启示

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汉语轻声研究一直备受关注，但到底轻声缘何而生，这是未解之谜。本文提出汉语首先要区分“轻声”和“轻音”，并由此导致轻声词和轻音词两大分野。

（一）汉语轻声词分为典型的有区分作用的轻声词（如“地道”和“地道”）和无区分作用的轻声词及仅为习惯用法的轻声词（如“豆腐”）。

（二）汉语轻音词则包括：句法轻音词和语体轻音词。这类轻音词，长期以来大都归入“语法轻音词”，也因此而没有得到应有的重视。本文的“句法轻音词”主要分为两类，一类是绝对自由的句法轻音词，我们将其称为“自由轻音词”，如结构助词“的、地、得”，体态助词“了、着、过”，还有语气助词“呢、吗、呀、啊”等；一类是本身不轻读，在句法中才会轻读的“韵律隐型”轻音词，如代词“他、我、你”及介词等。语体轻音词，如：规矩、地方、扁担、脊梁、学问、云彩、福气、提防等，主要依据不同语体而变。

（三）提出汉语词重音研究的难点就在没有区分音步重音和词重音，并证明汉语为右重的轻重步，而轻声正是在轻重步的作用下，在语法和语体的共同驱动下发生了“重音左移”后的直接产物。

这一假设不仅可以解释为什么汉语的轻声只发生在右边，而且也可以解释“轻声去化”，还可以解释“好好儿”等轻声儿化为阴平背后的语音变化。离开轻重步，没有办法揭开汉语轻声的面纱。离开轻重步，没有办法解释汉语存在的同形体和轻声词。离开轻重步，更无法解释因语体不同而产生的轻重对立。基于以上原因，我们认为汉语的确存在系统的有规律的词重音。

关键词：轻声重音左移韵律语体动因

Scalar Modifiers in Southern Min: A Corpus-Based and Historical Study of Near Synonyms

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This study investigates a pair of scalar modifiers in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM), namely *sio khua* (小可) and *tam po?* (淡薄), both of which are often followed by the diminutive *a* (仔) and function as paucal quantifiers when modifying a nominal (i.e. a bit of X, where X is an entity) or degree minimizers when collocating with a gradable predicate (i.e. a bit Y, where Y is a gradable predicate).

The goal of this study is twofold. On the one hand, we look into a corpus of naturally occurring data in contemporary TSM so as to tease apart the division of labor between the two scalar modifiers in terms of both syntactic functions and collocational tendencies, a task often too elusive to accomplish by resorting to speakers' intuition. Our empirical evidence is based on 377 tokens of *sio khua* and 689 tokens of *tam po?* drawn from Taiwanese Concordancer (see the relevant data below). We are also interested in pragmatic constraints that may be imposed on the target words, particularly the Negative Evaluative Constraint (Sawada 2018:102), whereby degree minimizers combine with negative evaluative predicates but not with positive ones (cf. He looks a bit annoyed vs. #He looks a bit happy). In the spirits of his analysis of near synonyms *chotto* and *sukoshi* in Japanese (both meaning "a bit"), we argue that TSM *sio khua* is not only a degree minimizer but also a speech act minimizer (i.e. attenuating potential uncomfortable effect caused by a speech act), much like Japanese *chotto*.

In a broader perspective, the target words are unique in that both are found in the Quanzhang (泉漳) division of Southern Min (SM), to which TSM belongs, but neither is attested in the Chaoshan (潮汕) division of SM, or more widely, in the Min-speaking areas of Leizhou (雷州) Peninsula and Hainan (海南) Island. Given this limited distribution, the other goal of ours is to trace their origins by examining historical texts. It is found that 小可 became lexicalized as early as Northern Song, when it served as a paucal quantifier, and that its use as a degree minimizer did not emerge until Late Qing, found in SM texts. On the other hand, starting from Six Dynasties all the way to Qing Dynasty, 淡薄 was a compound meaning either 淡 'bland, light', 薄 'weak, slight', or other associated senses, but only limited to qualitative attributes. It is thus inferred that its quantitative sense was recently derived via metonymy. Once it became a paucal quantifier, 淡薄 could then follow the same grammaticalization route as 小可, thus resembling the change from partitive to degree modifier in English (e.g. *a bit of* > *a bit*; Traugott 2007).

Relevant data:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| (1) 小可仔钱niâ, 请m̄-thang 推辞 | '(It's) only <u>a bit of money</u> . Please don't turn it down.' |
| (2) 门小可仔坏去, 关bōe bā | 'The door is <u>a bit broken</u> , (so it) can't be closed tight.' |
| (3) khai 淡薄仔钱, 求得心内ê 平安快乐 | '(I) spent <u>a bit of money</u> so as to feel peaceful and happy.' |
| (4) 天还袂光, 云淡薄仔红 | 'Daybreak is yet to come, (and) the cloud is <u>a bit red</u> .' |

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广州粤语非疑问句句末的“先”再议

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摘要：文章考察广州粤语非疑问句句末“先”句法分布及语义特点，提出两个新观点：一是重新定义以往认为意义较实在的“先 1”，论证它是表次序在先的形容词做谓语；二是认为所谓意义较虚的“先 2”应分为“先 2a”和“先 2b”，分别是表先行施动的助词和表先决条件的助词。后二者的句法允准、时体特征都明显不同，前者表相对非过去事件，聚焦事件的起始点和过程段，后者表绝对将来事件，聚焦事件的瞬间点。因此，三个“先”不能简单统一成“先行体”助词。另外，三者还存在演变关系：“先 1>先 2a>先 2b”，它们语法化程度不同，应该三分。文章通过广州粤语的“先”这一案例说明汉语方言中“先行体”的概念还需要更精准的定义。

关键词：粤语、先、焦点、信息结构、先行体

Why Leads to Stronger Complex NP Island Effects in *Wh-In-Situ*

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It has been controversial in the island literature which type of *wh*-phrase incurs island violations in Mandarin Chinese *in situ* questions. Some proposals argued that island-sensitive items comprise *wh*-adjuncts (Huang 1982; Tsai 1994; Fujii & Takita 2007), defined in terms of structural category (Stepanov & Tsai 2008), restriction of nominal variables (Reinhart 1998), semantic referentiality (Szabolcsi & Zwarts 1993) or d-linking (Pesetsky 1987). Such proposal predicts that *why*-questions and manner *how*-questions pattern **similarly** in island contexts, their degradations being non-significant from each other. An alternative proposal claims that the *why*-adjunct **uniquely** gives rise to island effects due to its idiosyncratic attachment position (Lin 1992; Jin 2015; Murphy 2017). Hence, it predicts that *why*-questions induce a significantly more severe degradation compared with manner *how*-questions in island contexts. The present study shows the latter proposal is supported by an offline acceptability judgment task.

Stimuli For each of the 15 stimuli, 3 sentences have been generated according to the 3 conditions: A) *why*-question B) *how*-question C) *who*-question (The argumental *who*-question serves as the control, eliciting no island effects), all within a relative clause context to probe the CNPC island effects. Table 1 provides sample stimuli across conditions. A sentence explicitly enumerating members of the corresponding domain (individuals, manners, reasons) precedes each target stimulus to serve as the immediate QUD and an exhaustive answer follows each stimulus, so as to make sure that the contextual parameter is identical across conditions.

A) <i>who</i> -relative condition	Guke jueding mai shei zuo de dianxin? customer decide.to buy who made REL pastry 'Who _i did the customer decide to buy the pastry that [t _i made]?'
B) <i>how</i> -relative condition	Guke jueding mai shangdian zenme zuo de dianxin? customer decide.to buy supermarket how made REL pastry 'How _i did the customer decide to buy the pastry that [the market t _i made]?'
C) <i>why</i> -relative condition	Guke jueding mai shangdian weishenme zuo de dianxin? customer decide.to buy supermarket why made REL pastry 'Why _i did the customer decide to buy the pastry that [the market t _i made]?'

Table 1: Sample Target Stimuli Across Three Conditions

Participants and Procedure 18 participants rated the acceptability of 15 target stimuli and 30 fillers from 1 (very unnatural) to 7 (very natural) on a Likert scale presented on Qualtrics. The stimuli were pseudorandomly presented to each participant based on a Latin square design, within a lab setting.

Results No significant effect is observed between the mean ratings of the *who*-question and the *how*-question conditions ($\beta=0.198\pm0.14$) by an ordinal mixed model (Tukey α -adjustment) consisting of a random intercept for participant and item and a random by-participant slope for conditions. Compared against either of these two conditions, a significantly lower rating for the *why*-question condition ($p<0.001$) is observed by the model.

Discussion Results from the acceptability task on CNPC islands provide initial evidence that the causal *why*-adjunct induces significantly stronger island violations than manner *how*. The finding that manner *how* patterns with argumental *wh*-phrases under explicit contextualizations supports the view that *how*'s mild island violations in out-of-the-blue contexts are d-linking effects. In

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addition, we fail to corroborate Stepanov & Tsai's (2008) claim that *how* is island- sensitive under a manner reading and only escape islands under an instrumental reading. Consequently, the results undermine the proposal to formulate East Asian *in situ* islands in terms of an argument-adjunct asymmetry, and instead justify efforts to derive island effects based on the wide scope taking property of causal interrogatives (Bromberger 1997; Murphy 2017).

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Contrastive Topic Marking Across Wu language Varieties in China

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Contrastive topics (CTs) are understood as indexing the existence of at least two alternative entities that participate in the pragmatic function of partial resolution (Büring 2003, 2010). In (1), the contrastive topic phrase *Persephone* in the answer A introduces a statement that resolves some (but not all) of the issues related to the prior question Q. Another contrastive topic phrase *Antonio* then introduces a second statement that resolves the remaining issues from Q. Both *Persephone* and *Antonio* are in this sense contrastive by indexing the other as its alternative.

- (1) Q: What did Persephone and Antonio bring to the house party?
A: [**Persephone**]_{CT} brought a potato soup. [**Antonio**]_{CT} brought a roasted chicken.

Authors including Büring (2003), Gyuris (2002, 2008, 2009, 2012), Tomioka (2010) and Constant (2014) have argued for a basic information structure category for contrastive topics, formulated independent of and without reference to thematic topics. Contrastive topics are thus **parallel** to thematic topics, overlapping with the latter by means of aboutness. This stands in contrast to the **compositional** understanding of contrastive topics as a subcategory of thematic topics that involves contrastivity (Krifka 2007, Vermeulen 2009, 2011, 2012, Neeleman and Vermeulen 2012).

The present work investigates contrastive topics in Sinitic Wu languages, where topic operators are overtly marked by a rich array of dedicated topic particles (Xu & Liu 2002; 2012). We identify a pattern of differential marking of thematic and contrastive topics that is attested across Wu language varieties, which presents evidence for an independent classification of contrastive topics. **Data** We investigated five dialect varieties, each representing one distinct subfamily/sub-dialect of the Wu family (Xu & You 1984). Specifically, our data come from Suzhounese (SuHuJia sub-dialect, Taihu Wu), Yuyaonese (Linshao sub-dialect, Taihu Wu), Ningbonese (Yongjiang sub-dialect, Taihu Wu), Jinhuanese (Jinqu Wu) and Wenzhounese (Oujiang Wu). Each dialect features at least one optionally realized non-tone-bearing suffix/enclitic that is attached to a host and often form a single tone sandhi unit with its host. We elicit native speaker judgment (3 individuals per dialect) regarding whether the topic particle(s) within a given Wu dialect can felicitously be placed in the following environments (* indicates unacceptability in said environment):

Findings:

	Suzhou	Yuyao	Ningbo	Wenzhou	Jinhua
contrastive topic	məʔ, *a, zi	məʔ, pin, *a	məʔ, pin	pi	nei, *məʔ, *a
thematic topic	məʔ, a, zi	*məʔ, pin, a	*məʔ, *pin	*pi	*nei, *məʔ, a
conditional	məʔ, *a, zi	məʔ, pin, *a	məʔ, pin	pi	nei, *məʔ, *a
contrastive focus	*məʔ, *a, *zi	*məʔ, pin, *a	*məʔ, *pin	*pi	*nei, *məʔ, *a

Generalizations: Our results show that Wu varieties feature two sets of distinct and partially overlapping topic-marking devices, lending support to treating contrastive topics as ontologically distinct from thematic topics as a basic information structure category (Büring 2003, Gyuris 2002, 2008, 2009, 2012, Tomioka 2010, Constant 2014).

Our results further indicate that conditional-marking parallels contrastive topic-marking: If a topic particle marks a CT, it also marks a conditional antecedent clause (and vice versa). Similar parallelism is not established between conditionals and thematic topics. We can

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make sense of this distribution just in case conditional clauses are especially well-suited to be contrastive topics, by presenting a contrasting hypothetical possibility (Constant 2010), contra a thematic topic interpretation of conditionals as presenting an aboutness possibility in discourse (Ebert et al. 2014).

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原始閩語長、短元音對立的來源及相關問題

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原始閩語 (Proto-Min; 'PM') 的韻母系統 (Norman 1981) 有八個元音，可按長短分為兩組： $*i$ 、 $*u$ 、 $*\psi$ 、 $*\epsilon$ 、 $*\leftrightarrow$ 為短元音， $*o$ 、 $*\alpha$ 、 $*A$ 為長元音。長、短元音最主要的區別顯示於接輔音韻尾的時候。在閩南語裡，原始閩語長元音 (或簡稱「v:」) 接鼻音韻尾的音節會演變為鼻化韻母，如「山」PM $*-Av >$ 廈門 $/\sigma\upsilon\alpha)^1/$ 、「關」PM $*-uov >$ 廈門 $/\kappa\upsilon\alpha)^1/$ ；至於帶 $*-p$ 、 $*-t$ 、 $*-k$ 塞音韻尾的音節，塞音部分會弱化為喉塞音，如「血」PM $*-u\alpha t >$ 廈門 $/\eta\upsilon t^7/$ 、「發_{~芽}」PM $*-io t >$ 廈門 $/\pi\upsilon t^7/$ 。相反，短元音 (或簡稱「v」) 接輔音韻尾的音節，其輔音韻尾在閩南語裡一律得到保留，如「筋」PM $*-\psi v >$ 廈門 $/\kappa\upsilon v^1/$ 、「骨」PM $*-ut >$ 廈門 $/\kappa\upsilon t^7/$ 。 $*v:C$ 和 $*vC$ 兩類音節在發展上的差異，成為閩南語其中一個最顯著的音韻特徵 (Norman 1991: 354; Kwok 2018:15-16)。

Norman (1981) 沒有交代原始閩語長、短元音對立的來源。這裡不妨提出兩個假說：(1) 來源於古漢語；(2) 來源於南方民族語言底層 (substratum)。就 (1) 而言，原始閩語 $*v:C$ 型音節幾乎可以和古漢語各種音節對應，例如以 $*A$ 作為主元音，「炭」(PM $*-Av$) 是一等字、「山」(PM $*-Av$) 為二等字、「線」(PM $*-iAv$) 則屬三等；同樣地，原始閩語 $*vC$ 型音節和古漢語之間也看不出有什麼特定的對應規則。因此，原始閩語長、短元音的對立，來自古漢語的可能性並不高。那麼，「底層說」又能解決問題嗎？據 Norman & Mei (1976)、Norman (1991)、李如龍 (2005) 等的研究，跟閩語發生過接觸的民族語言，有南亞語、苗瑤語和壯侗語等，其中南亞語和壯侗語的原始語肯定都有長、短元音的對立。前人 (沈鍾偉 2007; 王福堂 2008 等) 已經論證過：廣州粵語的韻母之所以有長、短元音對立現象，應該和壯侗語的底層影響有關。循著這條思路，我們找來了閩語中幾個底層詞，發現了閩語和南亞語 (源語) 之間的對應痕跡，例如：(a) 「𪔵_{孩子、兒子}」PM $*\kappa iAN >$ 廈門 $/\kappa i\alpha)^3/$ ；比較原始越語支 $*\kappa\bar{\square}v$ 'son; daughter' (Ferlus 2007)；(b) 「𪔵_{泡沫}」PM $*\beta Ho t >$ 廈門 $/\pi H\epsilon^8/$ ；比較原始越語支 $*\beta\bar{\square}t$ 'foam' (Ferlus 2007)；(c) 「𪔵_{潮濕}」PM $*\delta\leftrightarrow\mu >$ 廈門 $/\tau\alpha\mu^2/$ ；比較原始越語支 $*\delta\alpha\mu$ 'to soak' (Ferlus 2007)。這幾個例子 Norman & Mei (1976)、Norman (1991) 都已經指出來了，但他們沒注意到兩組語言在韻腹元音長短方面的對應關係。在例 (a) 和例 (b) 中，原始閩語的長元音 $*A$ 和 $*o$ 對應著原始越語支的 $*\bar{\square}$ 。例 (c) 的原始閩語形式帶短元音。它在原始越語支的對應形式同樣帶有短元音。

原始閩語韻母長、短元音對立的現象應該源自民族語言的底層，但並不完整。它可能處於正在消失的階段。文章也會通過和其他語言 (如粵語、仡佬語等) 的比較，檢驗帶長元音的韻腹是否容易導致後頭輔音弱化或丟失。

Revisiting Postverbal 'Acquire' in Cantonese

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This paper revisits a well-established areal phenomenon in Mainland Southeast Asia and Northern Europe involving an element, ACQ(UIRE), that functions as a lexical verb meaning 'to get or acquire' and appears, as a functional item, in numerous seemingly unrelated constructions such as modal constructions, resultatives, descriptive complementation constructions, and focus constructions. The focus of this paper is on the functions of ACQ in Hong Kong Cantonese realised as *dak1*. The similarities and differences between the ACQ- sentences in (1-3) are examined to demonstrate their close connections.

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. keoi coeng dak hou houteng
3.SG sing ACQ very good.to.hear
'S/he sings very well.' – descriptive | b. keoi paau dak faai
3.SG run ACQ fast
'S/he runs fast.' – potential |
| a. keoi bun dak juk zoeng sofaa
3.SG carry ACQ move CL sofa
'S/he can move this sofa.' – potential | b. keoi bun dak zoeng sofaa jap lai
3.SG carry ACQ CL sofa in come
'S/he can move this sofa in here.' – permission |
| a. keoi zaa dak li gaa ce
3.SG drive ACQ this CL car
'S/he can drive this car.' – permission | b. keoi tai dak saam bun syu
3.SG read ACQ three CL book
'S/he read only three books.' – focus |

The ACQ has been commonly treated as a modal for three reasons: (i) the modality interpretation of ACQ-sentences is ubiquitously found in Cantonese (see (2)) and other languages in MSEA and Northern Europe with a similar marker; (ii) in terms of scope, a modal ACQ-sentence expresses matrix modality as with canonical modals (e.g. *hoji* 'can') as shown with the licensing of the free choice item *bin go* 'which CL'; and (iii) *dak* and the canonical modal *hoji* form a modal concord when they co-occur. But ACQ-sentences can also express non-modal meaning as in (1a) and (3b). This finding carries two important implications. First, it shows that *dak* is not a modal element in sentences like (1a) (vs. (1b)). Second, by 'sentences like (1a)' the crucial difference between a descriptive and a potential reading is fact in the (non-)actualisation of the state described in P2. The (non-)actualisation distinction is often indicated by the degree adverb *hou* 'very'; its presence necessitates a [+actualisation] interpretation.

The focus reading (see 3b) of ACQ-sentences is exclusively found in Cantonese (Tang 2002), and it expresses a restrictive meaning of 'only' on the content after ACQ. The fact that both focus reading and permission reading of ACQ-sentences display exhaustive identification which is the defining property of identificational focus (É. Kiss 1998) indicates a connection between the two seemingly unrelated readings/constructions. Specifically, I argue that there is focus in all ACQ-structures in Cantonese, but this focus is information focus, not identificational focus; the latter is only found in focus and permission ACQ-sentences.

Overall, I propose a framework in which the ACQ is a complementizer-like element with its structural position and semantics remains constant regardless of the interpretation of the sentence. The interpretations are derived by three parameters phrased in featural terms, namely [actualisation] on Asp where the Aspect phrase is a small clause, [possibility] on Mod and ACQ and [focus] by the presence/absence of a Foc(us)P (see table below for summary).

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+ actualisation	- actualisation
+ focus <i>focus permission</i> [possibility: deontic]	
- focus <i>descriptive potential</i> [possibility: internal]	

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The Emergence of Cantonese Ultra-low and Low-rising SFPs

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Nutshell This paper puts forward a hypothesis on the diachronic development of ultra-low (T4) and low-rising (T5) sentence-final particles (SFPs) in present-day Cantonese, with evidence from the description of early Cantonese in *Cantonese Made Easy* (Ball, 1888, hereafter CME) and distributional differences between early and present-day Cantonese. Ultralow SFPs come from the fossilisation of sentential intonation, while low-rising SFPs come from the contraction of the lexical tones of two or more syllables.

Issue T4/T5 SFPs in present-day Cantonese are largely absent in earlier descriptions of Cantonese. Cheung (2009) finds only one T5 SFP (*maa5*) type out of 27 types in the entire “Lesson” section of CME. The complete list of 76 SFPs in Ball (1888, p. 112-115) contains 58 SFPs in three broad tone categories (T1: 21, T2: 6, T3: 23, T4: 6, T5: 6, T6: 14). These 12 T4/T5 SFPs are not the ones found in present-day Cantonese. Given the fact that most present-day T1 and T3 SFPs can be found in early Cantonese, the absence of T4/T5 SFPs is puzzling.

Hypothesis (i) The tones of SFPs described in CME can be analysed as sentential intonation that falls on the toneless particle, which is also the last syllable of an utterance. This low intonation was perceived as T6, the only low-level tone at that time, hence the transcription.

1. SFPs in Ball (1888) are combinations of toneless particle and intonation. Intonation can be either H (perceived as T1) or L (perceived as T6). If absent, the syllable will be perceived as T3. The intonational phenomenon is a productive process, evident from (a) systematic differences between T1 and T3, (b) lack of gaps in the paradigm.
2. The pitch realisation of T4 changed from mid-falling (31 in Chao’s number) to lowfalling (21) or ultra-low (11) in the early 20th century.
3. This pitch pattern began to be perceived/reanalysed as T4, the lowest tonal category.
4. H and L Intonation went out of use as a productive device for emphasis. Some fossilised uses of L intonation remain as T4 SFPs.

(ii) Low rising is not a natural intonation pattern (unless an M boundary tone is assumed). It is hypothesised that low-rising SFPs stem from lexical tones. *maa5* and *waa5*, both found in Ball’s list, could have been contractions of *m4* (the negator) and *waa6* (to say) with the particle *aa3*. Other instances of T5 SFPs in present-day Cantonese, including *gaa5*, *zaa5*, *laa5*, can be analyzed as lower particles plus question tag *haa5*, which could have come from *hai6 mai6 aa3* > *ha6waa5* > *haa5*. That these words bear T5 is a coincidence.

Implication By analysing ultra-low SFPs as fossilized intonation, the semantic resemblance between T4 particles can be explained without assuming a synchronically productive intonational morpheme. The emergence of T5 SFPs can be traced to floating tone resulting from contractions, which explains the lack of resemblance across T5 SFPs. Both hypotheses point to a less compositional analysis for the synchronic pattern of SFPs in Cantonese. Shared features in SFPs are likely to be historical remnants, not systematic contrasts in speakers’ mental lexicon (cf. Sybesma & Li, 2007).

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Scope and Reconstruction in Chinese

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The paper investigates the scope of the sentence-final particles (SFPs) *-le* and *éryǐ* and its bearing on reconstruction. We argue on the basis of data concerning the copula *shì*, negation and epistemic modals that (a) these SFPs occur in the split CP (Rizzi 1997) layer of the clause (cf. Tang 1998, Hsieh and Sybesma 2011, Paul 2014), (b) the subject is not internal to TP but is in the higher clause (Huang 1990, Lin and Tang 1995) (c) the interpretation of the subject in the scope of these SFPs is to be accounted for by copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995):

- (1) a. Subject_i (*bú*) *shì*/modal [_{CP} ... [_{TP} *t_i* ...] - *le*/*éryǐ* ...]
- b. [_{CP} ... subject_i (*bú*) *shì*/modal [_{TP} *t_i* ...] - *le*/*éryǐ* ...]
- c. Subject_i *shì*/modal ... [_{TP} subject_i ...]]

There are independent reasons for the copula verb *shì* being a verb taking a clausal complement (Huang 1990). The occurrence of the subject to its left can be derived from raising it from the embedded clause to the matrix clause. Co-occurrence of aspect-conflicting negations is additional evidence that the copula verb *shì* is not in the clause that follows it (see *Zhāngsān_i bú shì [t_i zuótiān méi lái]* 'It was not that Zhangsan didn't come yesterday'). SFPs *-le* and *éryǐ* take scope below negation to the left of *shì* and below epistemic modals (cf. Lin and Tang 1995) (see *Zhāngsān_i bù kěnéng [[t_i zuótiān méi lái] éryǐ]* 'It is possible that Zhangsan only didn't come yesterday'). This follows from the SFPs being in the split CP layer of the embedded clause.

SFP *-le* licenses an indefinite reading of object (Li 1992, Lin 1998, Soh and Gao 2004). An indefinite reading of subject *wh*-phrase is impossible in out-of-the-blue context (see *Shěnmē rén kān-dào Zhāngsān le?* 'Who did Zhangsan see?' NOT 'Someone saw Zhangsan.'). It is nevertheless possible if the topic can be inferred from discourse (see [in the context of some noise in the next room] *Shěnmē dòngxi diào xià lái le (?) Wǒ guòqù kàn kàn* 'What has fallen down? I go over to see.' OR 'Something has fallen down. I go over to see'). This can be accounted for if *-le* is in the split CP layer of the clause scoping over TP.

Several other facts show that subject is semantically in the scope of SFPs *-le* and *éryǐ*. Subject of a predicate of creation must be interpreted internal to TP, for its existence is not independent from the predicate (see *Huā kāi mǎn yuàn le* 'It has become the case that flowers bloomed all over the garden.'). SFP *-le* thus scopes over subject, for it is in the split CP-layer of the clause.

Downward-entailing quantified subject may not be in the scope of SFP *-le*, just like downward-entailing quantified object (Soh 2009) (see **Bú dào liǎng-gē lǎoshī tuì-jàn Zhāngsān le* 'It has become the case that fewer than two teachers recommended Zhangsan'). The same holds when subject occurs to the left of a modal (see **Bú dào liǎng-gē lǎoshī kěnéng tuì-jàn Zhāngsān le* 'It is possible that fewer than two teachers have recommended Zhangsan.'). This can be explained if subject is reconstructed to SpecTP.

Quantification with *dōu* 'all' is subject to the constraint that the argument it is associated with be a clausemate (cf. *Zhāngsān shuō měigē xuéshēng dōu kǎoshì jígé le* 'Zhangsan said every student has passed the exam' vs **Měigē xuéshēng shuō Zhāngsān dōu kǎoshì jígé le*) (Lee 1986, Cheng 1995, Lin 1998). The two may nevertheless be separated by an epistemic modal (see *Měigē xuéshēng kěnéng dōu kǎoshì jígé le* 'It is possible that every student has passed the exam.'). This is a reconstruction effect that can be accounted for by copy theory of movement.

Subject indefinite *wh*-phrase may be licensed a non-commanding epistemic modal licenser in a out-of-the-blue context (see *Shěnmē rén kěnéng/kéndìng zài nàr húnào (?)* 'Who is possibly/definitely making trouble over there?' OR 'It is possible/definite that someone is making

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trouble over there.'). This too is a reconstruction effect that can readily be explained by copy theory of movement.

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The Fate of Old Chinese *-p/t-s in Bai and Related Issues

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Haudricourt (1954:364) hypothesizes that the departing tone in Middle Chinese derives from earlier *-s. Entering tone often shows xiéshēng or etymological connections with departing tone, e.g., 納 'bring into' MC *nop* > *nà* vs. 內 'inside' MC *nwoj^H* > *nèi*. As such, the pertinent departing-tone words are reconstructed as *-p/t/k-s, e.g., 內 OC **n^sup-s*, c.f. 納 **n^sup*. In mainstream Chinese, OC *-p/t-s became *-js and eventually developed into -j^H in Middle Chinese (Baxter 1992:309). Nonetheless, its fate is different in the early Sinitic layer of Bai (abbreviated as Bai below). Words with *-p/t-s have the same set of tones as entering-tone words in Bai (Starostin 1995:175-176), as shown in the Table below (EL=Entering-tone-like), reflecting the elision of *-s in the cluster. Examples of EL words include 肺 'lung' OC **p^hot-s* Bai *p^hia⁴⁴* and 吠 'to bark' OC **Cə.bot-s* Bai *pia⁴²*.

MC tone		Bai tone			
		Nature of MC Initial			
		Vl. Asp.	Vl. Unasp.	Sonorant	Voiced Obstruent
Level		55		21	
Rising		33			
Departing	Non-EL	31	42		31
	EL	44			42
Entering		44			42

Vl.=Voiceless, Asp.=Aspirated, Unasp.=Unaspirated

Similar patterns can be discerned in Ancient Western Chinese, defined as the variety of Chinese spoken between the Han dynasty and Song dynasty within the pass (Guānzhōng) and adjoining areas. The rhyme dictionary *Qìyèùn* states that 秦隴則去聲為入 "In Qín and Lǒng (roughly today's Shāanxī and Gānsù), departing tone becomes entering tone", indicating that (some) departing-tone words end in a stop. For instance, according to *Jíyùn*, 四 'four' and 淚 'tear (n.)' and pronounced *sit* and *lwit*, cf. standard *sij^H* and *lwij^H*. This shared feature, along with other commonalities shared by Bai and Ancient Western Chinese, appears to indicate that the two languages are closely related. This paper will also investigate the reconstruction of the OC form of 四 'four' based on its pronunciations in Bai and Ancient Western Chinese and other evidence.

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Licensing VP Movement and Ellipsis in Mandarin and Cantonese

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Introduction

This talk examines the licensing conditions of VP movement/ellipsis in Mandarin and Cantonese. While the head/phrase distinction is often held responsible for VP movement/ellipsis (Huang 1993, Li & Wei 2014, Tsai 2015), novel observations on **aspectual verbs** (e.g. ‘begin/continue’) show that the correlation is inaccurate. Unlike modal and control verbs, they disallow their VP complement to be (i) *fronted*; (ii) *elided* and (iii) *postposed*. We motivate an account under Phase Theory (Chomsky 2000), particularly the version in Bošković (2014).

The Data

Aspectual verbs contrast with control verbs in licensing VP-fronting (1)/(4) and VP-ellipsis (2)/(5) (data in Mandarin). The difference extends to VP postposing (3)/(6) (data in Cantonese). Δ represents the trace or elided site of the bracketed VPs.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(1) *[manmanbianhong] zhe-hua kaishi Δne
slowly turn red flower begin sfp
Int.: ‘This flower begins to turn red.’</p> <p>(2) *Gupiao jixu [pansheng], loujia ye jixu Δ
Stock continue rise rent also continue
‘Stocks continue to rise; rents also continue.’</p> <p>(3) *po faa hoici Δaa3 [maanmaan bin hung]
cl flower begin sfp slowly turn red
‘The flower begins to turn red slowly.’</p> | <p>(4) [chuguonianshu] Lisi yijing jueding-le Δ
abroad study Lisi already decide-perf
‘Lisi already decided to study abroad.’</p> <p>(5) Ta changshi-le[chisu], wo ye changshi-leΔ
He try-perf eat.vegan I also try-perf
‘He tried to eat vegan; I also tried.’</p> <p>(6) keoi soengsi-gwo/hoji Δaa3 [sik sou]
s/he try-exp/may sfp eat vegan
‘S/he tried to/may eat vegan.’</p> |
|---|--|

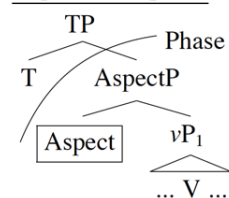
Proposal

We propose that **aspectual verbs (but not control verbs) are functional categories that head an Aspect projection above vP**, a claim supported by independent evidence in Chinese and cross-linguistic observations (cf. Fukuda 2008, 2012). Consequently, sentences with aspectual verbs are mono-clausal and aspectual verbs are within the extended verbal projection (Grimshaw 2000, Bošković 2014). The above asymmetry receives an explanation under **an contextual approach to phasehood** (Bošković 2014).

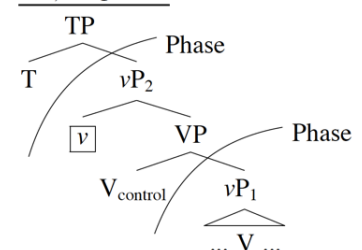
Illustration of Proposal

1. Sentences with aspectual verbs involve a mono-clausal structure (7), not a bi-clausal one for control sentences (8) (both taking vP as complements, following Huang 2017). 2. Assuming with Bošković (2014) that (i) AspectP is within the extended projection of the verbal domain (to the exclusion of TP/CP) and that (ii) the highest phrase in the extended projection functions as a phase, **vP₁ in (17) is the complement of the phase head** (i.e. Aspect), whereas **vP₁ in (18) is not** (i.e. V_{control} is not a phase head). 3. In effect, under anti-locality (Abel 2003), **vP₁ in (17) fails to exit the phase via movement to Spec AspectP because it is too “local”**. It is different from the vP₁ in (18), which is free to employ Spec vP₂ as an escape hatch for subsequent movement. As for modal verbs, we suggest that they are (non- phasal) T heads and belong to the next extended projection.

(7) AspectP as a phase



(8) vP_{1,2} as phases



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Movement of their complement vP is thus allowed (following Bošković 2014). 4. Lastly, the ellipsis facts follow if we assume with Johnson (2001) and Aelbrecht and Haegeman (2012) that vP -ellipsis involves a previous step of vP -movement (or vP topicalization) before ellipsis. The availability of vP -ellipsis is thus tied with that of vP -movement.

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并列结构反转词的语义分工——以“兄弟”与“弟兄”为例

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本报告考察“兄弟-弟兄”一类反转词的语义分工问题。“兄”和“弟”组合成词时，在现代汉语中有两种形式：“兄弟”和“弟兄”。“兄弟”还可读音一分为二，从而使“兄”和“弟”构成三个词：（1）“兄弟 *xiōngdì*”、（2）“兄弟 *xiōngdì*”、（3）“弟兄 *dìxiōng*”。（2）在（1）的基础上将“弟”字轻声化，而（3）则将“弟”挪至“兄”的左侧，进行了语序上的调整。从汉语自身特点来看，（2）的出现符合现代汉语双音节词右侧音节易轻读的特征。《现代汉语词典》（第7版）收录右侧轻读与非轻读的双音节词538组，显示出这一造词法的高度能产性。但双音节词多弱化右侧的读音、凸显左侧的语义，与之相比，“兄弟 *xiōngdì*”明明弱化了右侧“弟”的读音却只保留或更多地保留了“弟”的语义，似在反其道而行之。这该怎样理解？再看（3）。（3）的出现似乎也缺乏普遍性。现代汉语词汇中有“父母”“姐弟”“儿孙”，而词典中不见倒序后的“*母父”“*弟姐”“*孙儿”。与之相对，“兄弟”可倒序为“弟兄”，是否有其语义上的动因？

笔者以为，“兄弟 *xiōngdì*”所示的音声特殊性以及“弟兄 *dìxiōng*”所示的词序特殊性并不是例外，而是汉语内在特征的体现。这种非常规性使二者都带有明显的主观性。本报告从跨语言的角度展开分析，以反转词的存在为切入口，为“兄弟 *xiōngdì*”和“弟兄 *dìxiōng*”的存在寻找理据。

本报告首先通过与日语作比较，证明汉语从句子到词组、词都遵循同一条原则：与常规、典型的语序结构相比，非常规、非典型的语序结构往往带有一定的主观性（*subjectivity*）。接下来在此基础上论证“兄弟 *xiōngdì*”和“弟兄 *dìxiōng*”的语义特征。本报告主要结论如下：

第一，汉语重心偏左，“兄”在左“弟”在右的“兄弟”是遵循这一特征的常规形式，表示由“兄”和“弟”构成的概念义。

第二，“弟”字轻声化的“兄弟”重音在“兄”而语义在“弟”，构成音义对应错位的非常规结构。这是一种以“兄”代“弟”的语用形式，它典型用于称呼和指涉身份低于自己的伙伴，高过对方的人以这种“弟”的形式称呼自己易带谦逊口气。

第三，“弟兄”将本处次要位置的“弟”置于左侧重心处，凸显“弟”的含义，多用于称呼和指涉年龄小或身份低于自己的伙伴们。

第四，“弟”字轻声化的“兄弟”和“弟兄”分别可用于单数个体和复数集合，凸显与对方的友好关系。

张美兰、穆涌（2015）推测“弟兄”勃兴的最主要原因是“兄弟”发生语义扩大并偏指“弟弟”，屈折形式不发达的汉语用逆序形式“弟兄”分担“兄弟”的用法是其必然选择。本报告从共时平面进一步分析“兄弟”、“弟”字轻声化的“兄弟”、“弟兄”的语义分工，并对“兄弟”指“弟”义的理据以及使用反转形式的动因做出统一解释。“兄弟”和“弟弟”无主观义、“弟兄”和“弟”字轻声化的“兄弟”带主观义，它们在现代汉语中的这一分工，无疑是主观化（*subjectification*）的产物。

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张美兰、穆涌（2015）称谓词“弟兄”的历时发展与地域分布，《语言研究》第1期。

汉语曲折调的声调感知对比研究——以汉语母语者和韩国留学生为例

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汉语的四个声调中，以往研究对上声声调的争论最多。在汉语学习过程中，上声声调的发音对留学生来说难度较大。王力（1979）提出的“半上”是低平调”的说法如今正被部分对外汉语教学实践和教材所借鉴。本文将考察角度从声调产出转移到声调感知上，重点关注曲折调的末点调值，运用听辨实验来测试和分析汉语母语者及母语为韩语的二语学习者对普通话曲折调声调的感知差异。韩国人在学习汉语时通常有一定优势，但他们仍觉得学习汉语声调非常困难。关于韩国留学生汉语语音学习偏误的研究大多集中于声母、韵母发音的产出方面，较少关注声调的感知问题。

本文借助praat等软件，以基频赫兹值范围为192-319Hz（半音值为10-19st）的单音节[xai51]作为原始语音样本，合成出13个起点和转折点相同、末点调值不同的曲折调音节，基频最高值为19st，最低值为7st，二者差值为12st，即一个倍频程，基本相当于一个普通人的声调调域（曹文，2010）。音频中共包含调值为2-1-1的声调3个，2-1-2的声调2个，2-1-3的声调3个，2-1-4的声调2个，2-1-5的声调3个。为避免调型过于单调而影响听辨者的注意力和判断力，该调域内的13个平调音节也被合成出来，与13个曲折调音节一起随机排列，形成一个共包括26个音节、时长共3分05秒的音频用于听辨实验。本次听辨实验被试共包括韩语母语组20人（男2人，女18人，平均年龄26.35岁），其汉语水平均为HSK6级；以及汉语母语组20人（男6人，女14人，平均年龄23.10岁）。实验中将汉语4个声调分别记为T1、T2、T3、T4。听辨实验结束后，我们还对韩国留学生进行了简单的访谈，考察在其学习声调过程中，汉语教师所采取的具体教学方法，并分析汉语学习时长、最初学习汉语国家对其声调感知结果的影响。

经由听辨实验和访谈调查，本文得出以下结果：（1）多数情况下，曲折调都不会被中、韩两组被试判断为T1和T4。（2）两组被试都最容易将调值为211的声调感知为T3。这一点与王力（1979）“低平调”的观点、部分对外汉语教学实践采用低平调“211”来进行上声教学的做法呈现出一定一致性。最易被汉语母语者感知为上声声调的调值依次是211、215、214和212、213。（3）整体上，汉语母语者将5个曲折调听成T4的比例稍高于韩国留学生。（4）若曲折调的末点的st值逐渐升高，韩国学生倾向于将其判断为T2的比例也相应升高。（5）当曲折调调值为211时，40.00%的中国人将其感知为T4，而仅有16.67%的韩国学生做此选择。（6）对韩国留学生的访谈调查显示，教师会采用图示法、手势示意法、肢体配合法（如在音高下降时“缩下巴”）等教学方法，强调汉语上声发音“先降后升”的突出特征。（7）汉语学习时长、最初学习汉语的国家两因素对于韩国留学生判断曲折调调值整体上影响不大，较显著的差异体现在韩国留学生对211和213调值声调的判断上。本文对上述结果解释如下：（1）除211调值的曲折调在音高上略有降低外，其余四个调值声调都有“先降再升”的音高特征。（2）汉语母语者听感上最接近上声调的调值已不是214；实际语流中“半上”出现的频率比“全上”多；合成音频中的音质和音长、被试的语言背景等因素，造成上声声调感知差异。（3）汉语普通话声调中去声声调的占比最高（解林清等，2012）。（4）在一定程度上，韩国学生对于曲折调末点音高的感知比中国人更敏感，他们对于阳平声的判断大体上依据曲折调的末点音高。（5）结合汉语学习时长这一因素，汉语母语者和汉语学习时长较长的留学生对于幅度较小的声调下降变化较为敏感。（6）强调汉语上声发音“先降后升”的强化训练使留学生在听辨时更倾向于关注声调是否有音高变化上“先降后升”的转折点。

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On the Syntax-phonology Interface—Evidence from Tone Sandhi Processes in Chinese

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In the spirit of prosodic phonology, this study aims at exploring the interface of syntax and phonology with empirical evidence from sentence-level domain-sensitive phonological phenomena — tone sandhi (TS) from Chinese dialects. Prosodic phonology proposes that the domains in which phonological rules apply are prosodic constituents which are mapped from syntactic constituents. There are presumably two possible mechanisms for computing the phonological domain structure of a sentence: the Syntax-phonology interface is (i) a one-way street in the sense that syntax conditions the prosodic constituent domains for phonological rules (Zhang 2017), or (ii) a platform in the sense that constraints from submodules of grammar interact (Selkirk, 2011). The data collected in this study suggest that factors interact on the syntax-phonology interface to produce the prosodic constituent domains for TS through language-particular domination hierarchy. It is observed in this study that:

- 1) The TS domains of Tianjin, Yuncheng and Type I TS in Shaoxing are defined through Prosodic Word. The size effects on TS domains reveal that prosodic structure markedness constraints override syntax-prosody constituency correspondence constraints, which is evidenced by systematic mismatches between morphosyntactic words and TS domains.
- 2) In three Southern Min dialects, the TS domains are defined through Phonological Phrase. On this prosodic level, syntax-prosody constituency correspondence constraints suppress prosodic structure markedness constraints resulting in the recursivity of Phonological Phrases, which is evidenced by systematic restructuring of TS domains.
- 3) The TS domains of Zhenjiang, type II TS in Shaoxing and Wenzhou are defined through Intonational Phrase. Both linguistic factors (e.g. TS rules) and nonlinguistic factors (e.g. respiration) interact with syntax-prosody constituency correspondence constraints, which is evidenced by systematic mismatches between syntactic and prosodic constituents.
- 4) The data from Yuncheng, Xiamen and Wenzhou, etc. introduce phonology-induced mismatches between syntactic constituents and prosodic constituent domains. Linguistic information from submodules of grammar all could make up the contexts for TS rules, and this in turn affects the construction of TS domains.

The patterns of the construction of TS domains examined above suggest that Syntax, should neither directly nor indirectly, exclusively determine the phonological domain structure of a sentence, but assert its influence through interacting with other submodules of grammar. The interaction mode is summarized as follows:

- a) The correspondence between syntactic constituents and prosodic constituents is principally enforced by syntactic-prosodic constituency correspondence constraints;
- b) Constraints from submodules of grammar may restrain or promote the correspondence between syntactic constituency and prosodic constituency via language-particular domination hierarchies;
- c) It is language-particular that the way that constraints on syntactic-prosodic constituency correspondence interact with constraints from submodules of grammar;
- d) In the same language, on different prosodic levels, it varies the way that constraints on syntactic-prosodic constituency correspondence interact with constraints from submodules of grammar.

Keywords: syntax, phonology, prosody, tone sandhis

对比焦点与“都”的统一解释

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在现有文献中，“都”大致可以分为两类：全称量化-分配算子（即表总括义）和量级隐含算子（即表甚至义）。蒋严（1998）和潘海华（2006）等认为前者是基础用法，后者是从前者中推导出来的。Liu Mingming（2018）等则认为*even-like*“都”是“都”的唯一用法，而全称量化用法是*even-like*“都”的“副产品”。当“都”表示所谓的全称量化意义时，量级隐含意义变得非常微弱（trivial）而被忽视。徐烈炯（2014）反对全称量化-分配算子说，提出：使用“都”的唯一条件是达到了某种预期的程度甚至超越了预期。尽管这符合直觉，但徐烈炯（2014）并没有将这种解释形式化，回应者并不多。本文赞同徐烈炯（2014）的看法，并部分支持Liu Mingming（2018），将“都”的本质看成是语用层面上的量级隐含算子。之所以“都”有不同的解释，均源自于与“都”关联的对比焦点的不同。

用“都($S_{(\alpha)}$)”表示任意一个“都”-句子，其中 α 是句子 S 中的对比焦点。用 $\text{alt}_c(\alpha)$ 表示 α 在语境 C 中的对比项集，即任意 $\alpha' \in \text{alt}_c(\alpha)$ 都与 α 在 C 中构成对比关系。用 $S_{\alpha'}$ 表示用 α' 替换 $S_{(\alpha)}$ 中的 α 之后得到的句子。用 $^0[S_{(\alpha)}]$ 表示句子 $S_{(\alpha)}$ 所表示的无时态命题。用 $\text{ALT}_c(^0[S_{(\alpha)}])$ 是 $^0[S_{(\alpha)}]$ 的对比命题集，即任意一个命题 $\varphi \in \text{ALT}_c(^0[S_{(\alpha)}])$ ，都有 $\varphi = ^0[S_{(\alpha')}]$ 而 $\alpha' \in \text{alt}_c(\alpha)$ 。

据此，“都”的恰当性条件是：“都($S_{(\alpha)}$)”是恰当的当且仅当任意 $^0[S_{(\alpha')}] \in \text{ALT}_c(^0[S_{(\alpha)}])$ ，都有 $^0[S_{(\alpha)}]$ 在语境 C 中为真的概率低于 $^0[S_{(\alpha')}]$ 。

注意， α （即对比焦点）可以是NP，也可以是VP，甚至是小句。例如：

1) A. [老师们]_f都到了，（你怎么还没有到！？）【 α 是NP“老师们”】

任意 $\alpha' \in \text{alt}_c(\text{老师们})$ ， $^0[\alpha \text{到了}_{(\text{老师们})}]$ 在 C 中为真的概率都低于 $^0[\alpha \text{到了}_{(\alpha')}]$ ，而“你 $\in \text{alt}_c(\text{老师们})$ ”。

B. 老师们都[到了]_f，（我还以为他们至少半个小时之后到呢。）【 α 是VP“到了”】

任意 $\alpha' \in \text{alt}_c(\text{到了})$ ， $^0[\text{老师们}\alpha_{(\text{到了})}]$ 在 C 中为真的概率都低于 $^0[\text{老师们}\alpha_{(\alpha')}]$ ，而“半个小时之后到” $\in \text{alt}_c(\text{到了})$ 。

C. [老师们]_f都[到了]_f，（怎么能取消宴会呢！？）【 α 是小句“老师们到了”】

任意 $\alpha' \in \text{alt}_c(\text{老师到了})$ ， $^0[\text{取消宴会}, \alpha_{(\text{老师到了})}]$ 在 C 中为真的概率都低于 $^0[\text{取消宴会}, \alpha_{(\alpha')}]$ 。

D. [Det]_f老师们都到了，（真没有想到！）【 α 是】

任意 $\alpha' \in \text{alt}_c(\text{Det})$ ， $^0[\alpha \text{老师们到了}_{(\text{Det})}]$ 在 C 中为真的概率都低于 $^0[\alpha \text{老师们到了}_{(\alpha')}]$ 。

注意，1c所表达的完整命题等同于“老师到了，取消宴会”。1d中的Det表示任意一个量化限定词。若Det是全称量化限定词时（如“所有，全部”），Det可以省略，此时句子的重音会转移到“都”上。若对比焦点是Det时，依据Horn scale，Det越接近全称量化，“都($S_{(\text{Det})}$)”为真的概率越小。所以“都($S_{(\text{Det})}$)”表示该Det是在 C 中可以使用的最高程度的Det，超过该程度的Det，“都($S_{(\text{Det})}$)”就不可能为真。这也解释了“都”为何可以与“所有，全部”连用，也可以与“大部分”等非全称量化限定词连用。甚至只要预期足够低，也可以与“少部分”等连用。

此外，本文还将论证“他们买了一辆车/他们都买了一辆车”的collectivity和distributivity的差异与“都”无直接关系，而是因“都”的量级隐含而引起的焦点变化导致的。而“他都写小说”也可以在上述框架内可以得到解释。

语言学视角下的汉语趋向补语语义自动分类模型

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趋向补语虽然表现形式单一，但却具有多种语义功能，在含有基本趋向义的同时，还具有结果、状态等引申义。本研究的目的首先在于验证是否可以利用深度学习方法来区分具有多义性的趋向补语的语义。本研究采用基于 **Transformer** 的深度语言模型 **BERT**，它不仅可以学习单词，而且能够判断上下文信息从而学习整个句子，可以很好的捕获语义及其相关语法特征。首先让 **BERT** 模型学习有关趋向补语的多种语义功能信息，然后当新句子被给出时自动判断其趋向补语的语义属性，为此需要先将趋向补语语义进行分类并建立训练数据库和测试数据库。为了对趋向补语进行语义分类，我们考察了前人研究，黄伯荣、廖序东(2007)将趋向补语的语义分为本义、比喻义、引申义；刘月华(1998)将语义分为趋向、结果、状态及特殊义(熟语)，她的观点得到了学界的普遍认同(如贺阳 2004，梁银峰 2007，齐沪扬 2009 等)。本文采取刘月华的分类方法对“起来(5000 条)”、“下来(5000 条)”、“下去(5000 条)”进行人工语义分类建立训练数据库，以便 **BERT** 模型可以通过此数据进行学习；同时再另取各趋向补语的 1000 条新语料对其进行人工语义分类建立测试数据库，用此与 **BERT** 模型的预测结果进行对比来获得测试准确率。通过实验我们初步得出虽然只让 **BERT** 模型学习了 5000 条具有 4 个语义范畴的趋向补语例句，但在语义预测上已经有了相当高的水准，如下表所示：

趋向补语	语义分类准确率
起来	93.0%
下来	96.1%
下去	97.1%

其次本研究运用 **SOC**(Sampling and Occlusion)的可视化算法(Jin et al.,2020)来分析语义分类模型在判断趋向补语语义时哪些成分产生了重要影响。我们之所以选择 **SOC** 算法，是因为它支持层次分析和可视化，它可以对句中每个单词或短语的重要性进行量化。我们发现在分类模型对趋向补语的语义进行判断时，不仅与前面连接的谓词（V/A）有关系，副词、介词短语等语法成分也可对其判断产生影响，如下图所示：



最后我们从语言学的角度对 **BERT** 模型预测的错误结果进行分析，揭示错误类型及其错误原因。我们相信趋向补语语义预测模型在语言处理和理解上是有意义的，通过对语义的深入分析，从而发现语义理解的规律。它也可以作为一种工具用在学习和教学上，使学习者更加深入地理解汉语趋向补语的语法功能，使语义表达更加准确。这种模型不仅可以用在趋向补语的语义预测上，也可以有效运用在其他语法成分上。

A Typology of Alternative Questions in Chinese and Other East Asian Languages

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This study presents a typological study on the coding strategies of alternative questions (AQ) in Chinese and its linguistic neighbours in Asia, with a sample of 102 Sinitic languages (Chinese dialects) and 107 non-Sinitic Asian languages. AQ is a type of question in which the speaker asks the hearer to decide which of two or more alternatives holds. In this type of question, how the alternative relationship between the answers is coded differs from language to language. Previous studies have noted that some languages use a general disjunctive conjunction to connect the alternatives in an AQ, like *or* in English, while some others use an AQ-dedicated conjunction, like *Haishi* 還是 in Mandarin (Chao 1968, Haspelmath 2004, Mauri 2007, Luo 2013). However, not all Sinitic languages adopt the AQ-dedicated conjunction when coding AQ. Our investigation finds that this kind of conjunction is preferred in southern varieties of Chinese, while some northern Chinese dialects tend to drop the conjunction and add a modal particle to each alternative. Besides, over a wide area in China, *shi* 是 and modal particles such as *a* 啊, *me* 嘿 and *lei* 嘞, are adopted as connectors in AQ.

The divergence of Chinese AQ reflects a more general picture of AQ type distribution across East Asia. In the North and the West, languages with the OV order are more likely to drop conjunctions and present each alternative with a question marker; in the East and the South, languages with the VO order prefer the alternative items to be connected by a conjunction and allow the items to appear without question markers. From northwest to southeast, in the transition zone from OV to VO, three atypical AQ types emerge in the Sinitic languages. The first type uses *shi* 是 or modal particles as the connector to items; the second type juxtaposes items without any connector, but adds a modal particle or *shi* 是 on each option; the third type only juxtaposes alternative items without any extra markers at all.

The AQ-dedicated conjunctions like *Haishi* 還是 are reported beyond East Asian languages (Haspelmath 2004, Mauri 2008, 2007, Naapane 2015, Issah 2015). This study argues that many of the AQ-dedicated conjunctions are actually developed from question or non-assertion markers in the sentence-initial position, and this change is more likely to happen in VO languages.

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Plural Denotation of Morpheme *zú* (族) in Mandarin Chinese

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The morpheme *zú* has to be bound with others in a word, often categorized as nouns where it can be at the left or the right side in a word form as [*zú* X] or [X *zú*] (e.g., 族人 or 家族). In the form [X *zú*], X can be an adjective, such as 贵族, 望族, or a noun, such as 藏族, 民族. [X *zú*] can be used as a neologism when X is an AdjP, NP, VP, or an onomatopoe, such as 新酷族, 草莓族, 追星族, 月光族, Soho族 and so on which are metaphorized to describe a certain property of a group of persons (Zhang (2010), Cai et al (2018)). Some authors (Song (2010), Zhou and Huang (2013)) argue that *zú* in the neologism is undergoing a grammaticalization from a content morpheme to a function one. However, from the point of view of its plural denotation, [X *zú*] indicates a plurality of persons whether it is a regular use or a neologism. We observe that with or without the plural suffix *-men*, [X *zú*] denotes a group of persons. *Zú*-NP is yielded to an individual interpretation since the NP subject co-occurs with a collective predicate 分散 (1) (Landman 2000) and with the adverb 都 as well which requires a plural NP at its left.

1. 贵族（们）/亲族（们）/草莓族（们）/月光族（们）（都）分散在社会各处。

This shows the neologism *zú*-NP does share some properties with the regular one. Since it can be pluralized by *-men*, *zú* can indicate also individuals which belong to the group denoted by [X *zú*]. Also, we notice that as a name of a tribe/people, [X *zú*] (X is a proper noun) denotes a kind, also a type of plurality and cannot be pluralized by *-men* (2) and it can be the subject of a kind predicate (Li (1997)).

2. 鲜卑族（*们）在唐代已经消亡。

Therefore, *zú* can be defined as a plural morpheme for nouns referring to humans. We will analyze the plurality denoted by [X *zú*] with its co-occurrence with different types of predicates, which allows to show its interpretations, i.e., individual atoms, group atoms, individual atoms and group atoms both or sums (Landman (2000), Corblin (2008)). This can explain the neologism [X *zú*] is produced on the base of the regular use of the morpheme. Thus, it is not appropriate to consider the neologism *zú* is a grammaticalized item since it is still a content morpheme.

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一项个体声调变异的纵向研究

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近些年来，对语言生理、心理基础的认识已取得不少新进展。语言习得“关键期”的说法也受到了挑战。一些纵向研究表明，尽管在青春期后说话人的大脑可塑性会减弱，但在关键期之后成人的言语在一生中还是会发生诸多方面的变化。参见Wagner & Sankoff (2011) 等。与大量关于说话人之间特别是几代人之间语音变化的研究相比，我们对个体一生中语音变异的了解要少得多。

本文采用社会语音学 (Sociophonetics) 的范式对重庆方言单字调的共时变异状况进行研究。经过相同程序的声学采样与统计分析，追踪调查4位发音人相隔10年的单字调发音，作为真实时间 (real time) 方法研究成年个体声调变异的一种尝试。发音人女性F1、男性M1和女性F2、男性M2在两次调查时 (2010年与2020年) 分别从青年组过渡到中年组、从中年组过渡到老年组——下文分别称为青中年和中老年。研究发现，虽然4位重庆方言发音人10年前后的单字调整体格局变化不大，但在不同单字调发音上均表现出个体之间语言处理的异质性 (heterogeneity)。

从绝对音高的基频赫兹值来看，青中年男性和女性，以及中老年男性随着年龄增长基频分布反而呈现上升趋势，尤其是两位男性升高明显，只有中老年女性的基频分布有较大幅度下降。我们的发现初步印证了成年人的基频变化确实比较复杂，不是随年龄增长而线性下降这种单一模式，个体差异较大。

2010年的实验结果表明，重庆方言单字调的共时变异主要体现为：随着年龄层的降低，阴平调调头逐步下降，调形上升趋势逐步加大，即由高平趋向高升调；上声调头部分凸起的幅度逐渐增大，“凸”形特征正在逐步形成。(梁磊、孟小淋，2013) 我们对四位发音人的基频z值变化做了增长曲线分析 (Growth Curve Analysis)。(Mirman, 2014) 从相对音高来看，中老年女性发音人表现最稳定，但其阴平调在一定程度上参与了2010年调查发现的“进行中的变化”。而其中年龄最大的中老年男性发音人虽然各调的变化最多，却在言语社区的声调变异进程中有更保守的表现。可以说，两位年长的发音人某种意义上有着相反的变异表现——女性整体稳定但参与了社区音变，男性发音的动态性更强却不参与社区音变。两位青中年发音人在突显方言特点的阴平调变异进程上都有持续积极的表现。

总之，无论从青年到中年，从中年到老年，也无论男性、女性，都表现出了相当程度上的语言变异性 (或可塑性)。真实时间的视角，特别是追踪式的“定组研究”，同时结合显象时间的考察，是确认语言变化的发生及其方向更可信的方式。

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Identifying Patient Subject Constructions in Taiwan Southern Min

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As its name suggests, Patient Subject Construction (PSC) is a clause where the patient NP takes the subject position. In Taiwan Southern Min (TSM), a topic prominent language, the sentence-initial NP may be the topic, in addition to being the subject. It is thus difficult to judge the status of a sentence-initial NP. Compared with Mandarin Chinese, TSM has more sentences with objects in the preverbal position for reasons such as phase and aspect markers have to occur at the end of the sentence (Cheng 1992, Lien 1995, Lin 2001). This paper aims to identify PSCs in TSM. Under the consideration of the features of a subject and topic introduced in the past literature (Cheng & Huang 1994, Sybesma 1992, Ting 2006), (1) is identified to be a PSC, where the sentence-initial NP has the features of a subject.

(1) *pian-soo tsua iong-uan a.*

toilet paper use-up PRT 'Toilet paper is used up.'

This paper further considers verbs and contexts in the sentence to determine the status of the sentence-initial NP. To illustrate, in (2) the verb in the reduplicated form has the meaning of doing something a little bit. Therefore, this sentence must involve an agent performing the action of treating the wound. That is, an empty subject (*pro*) is involved in this sentence; the sentence-initial NP *tse siong-hun* 'this wound' is not the subject, and (2) is not a PSC.

(2) *tse siong-hun i-i-leh.*

this wound treat-treat-ASP 'Treat this wound a little bit.'

Example (3) involves the disposal marker *ka*, which indicates that there must be an agent conducting the action. Again, (3) contains an empty subject, and *ti* 'chopsticks' is not the subject; (3) is not a PSC.

(3) *ti ka giah-khi-lai.*

chopsticks KA pick-up 'Pick up the chopsticks.'

PSCs and Middle constructions (MCs) have similar word order, in which the patient NP takes the subject position. This paper also looks into the relation between the two constructions. MCs are often generic sentences and modified by adverbs (Ackema & Schoorlemmer 2017, Keyser & Roeper 1984, Schäfer 2008) as shown in (4).

(4) *cit khuan ian-pit cin ho sia.*

this CL pencil really good write 'These pencils write well.' (Lien 2010:1282)

However, Iwata (1999:527) also mentions that "genericity and modality are only typical, not essential, properties of middles." Lin (2012) discusses non-typical MCs in TSM as in (5).

(5) *mua-ci ciah-liao a.*

sticky-rice-cake eat-up PRT 'Sticky rice cakes were eaten up.'

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Since in a PSC the sentence-initial NP is the logical object of the verb, a PSC must involve a transitive verb. In a typical MC such as (4), the verb *ho sia* 'write well' is not a transitive verb, while a non-typical MC such as (5) indeed involves a transitive verb *ciāh-liao* 'eat-up'. It's thus argued that only non-typical MCs are PSCs.

喉塞尾韵与口塞尾韵的语音差异——以潮州方言为例

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汉语方言中的喉塞韵尾（-ʔ）大多由口塞韵尾（-k、-t、-p）演变而来（朱晓农等2008）。但这一演变是否只涉及韵尾辅音？元音、声调等其他语音特征会不会因此而有所改变？本文采用潮州方言材料，从共时层面考察喉塞尾韵和口塞尾韵的语音差别。潮州话喉塞尾韵与口塞尾韵并存，且都十分短促，无舒化迹象（金健、洪妍2018）。我们选取了2男2女共4位当地发音人，采录了不送气清塞音声母后的“舒声-喉塞尾-口塞尾（包括-k和-p）”对立对，观察其单念和在负载句中的声学表现。初步结果显示，喉塞尾韵和口塞尾韵具有以下几点区别：

1. 韵尾“塞”的程度不同。口塞尾大多表现为持续的静音段；而在句中时ʔ韵尾的静音段很少持续始终，有的甚至没有静音段，取而代之的是嘎裂元音乃至弱僵元音。金健、洪妍（2018）曾对潮州话喉塞韵尾的语音变异做过具体考察，认为喉塞韵尾读成嘎裂元音的只占不到20%，但文章中归为“喉塞”的有的也带嘎裂元音成分，且文章没有识别出声带规则振动的弱僵元音，所以“紧而不塞”的实际比例还要更高。
2. 元音的发声态不同。喉塞韵尾的紧喉动作使其之前的元音紧喉化，而口塞尾尽管也时常伴随着紧喉动作，但该紧喉成分对元音发声态的影响要小得多。
3. 元音共振峰（F1、F2）位置不同。多数情况下（尤其对前元音而言）喉塞尾前的元音位置比口塞尾前的元音更接近舒声元音。
4. 声调的时长和基频曲线不同。总体而言，喉塞尾入声的声调稳定段比口塞尾入声的声调稳定段略长，基频降幅更大。

以上这些声学上的不同，很可能带来了潮州话喉塞尾/口塞尾入声在韵母结构上的一个重要区别：喉塞尾前可以是带后滑音的VG或GVG结构，而口塞尾不行，形成口塞尾韵与鼻尾韵平行，而喉塞尾韵与元音韵平行的音系格局。最后，这些声学上的不同是否能代表塞音韵尾演变的前后两个阶段，还是中间还存在其他过渡阶段，有待进一步研究。但我们应该意识到，塞音韵尾的演变很可能同时伴随着元音、声调等其他方面的变化。

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Locative Inversion in Mandarin Chinese Revisited

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This paper investigates the syntax of Locative Inversion (LI) in Mandarin Chinese. This construction has the surface structure Loc + V + Asp + NP. This order contrasts with the canonical SVO order in Mandarin Chinese. The construction has also been referred to as existential sentences (Huang 1987), presentative sentences (Hu 1995), existential structure (Yang and Pan 2001) in the literature. (1a) illustrates an instance of Mandarin LI. The verb *guà* 'hang' is preceded by a localiser phrase and is followed by a Theme argument. The verb can be suffixed either by the durative aspect marker *-zhe* or by the perfective aspect marker *-le*. It has been well observed in the literature that only the perfective *-le* is compatible with the occurrence of the passive *bèi* (Pan 1996) and a subject-oriented adverbial 'deliberately' (Feng-hsi Liu 2007), (1b).

- (1) (a) qiáng-shàng guà **-zhe/-le** yì-fú huà
 wall-on hang-ZHE/-LE one-Cl painting
 'On the wall was hung a painting.
- (b) qiáng-shàng **bèi Zhāngsān/gùyì** guà***-zhe/-le** yì-fú huà
 wall-on PASS Zhangsan/deliberately hang-ZHE/-LE one-Cl painting
 Lit. 'On the wall was hung a painting by Zhangsan/deliberately.'

We raise three questions:

- (2) (a) What is the syntactic origin of the preverbal localiser phrase?
 (b) What are the classes of verbs that can enter LI?
 (c) What does the 'selection' of aspectual markers tell us about the syntactic structures?

We argue that (i) the preverbal localiser phrase moves from inside the vP to SpecTP (*pace* Paul et al. 2019), not in a topic position (*pace* Yu 1995); (ii) based on Yu (1995) and Feng-hsi Liu (2007), we provide a refined classification of verb classes that can enter LI. We argue that there is no uniform structure for LI with different classes of verbs, and that the localiser phrase does not always originate in the same position within vP; (iii) based on the interpretative differences induced by the presence of temporal adverbials (Na Liu 2010) and of *yòu* 'again', we argue that the *-le* marking LI has a causing event component, whereas the *zhe*-marking LI does not. At last, building on Nie (1989), Yeh (1993) and Smith (1997), we further observe that when marked with *-zhe*, different verb classes in LI are interpreted with a stative reading, or an on-going dynamic reading, or both. We propose different vP structures, which can be embedded under the durative *-zhe* in Asp^o, in order to capture the stative vs dynamic interpretation.

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祁县方言入声调的声学表现与演变趋势

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徐通锵、王洪君（1986）通过调查发现，晋语祁县方言的阴入与平声、阳入与上声在调值和调形上已趋同，如果没有其他因素的干扰，声调的合并将会变成现实。时隔三十五年，为探究祁县方言入声调的演变趋势，我们收集了老、中、青三个年龄段的 30 名祁县发音人语料，利用“显象时间”（*apparent time*）的方法研究两个入声的共时变异，进而推断其历时演变过程、分析演变动因。研究发现，祁县方言目前仍有平声、上声、去声、阴入、阳入五个调类，入声整体上尚未完全舒化，可能也会在未来短时期之内一直保留。

相比三十五年前的发音，一部分入声样本的调形已发生变化，而另一部分仍保持着原来的调形。按年龄组划分，老年人保持原来入声调形的情况多，而部分年轻人的入声调则与调形不相近的舒声调出现了合并。结果表明，音变中的频率效应显著，低频字调形改变的情况更多，频率可能是影响祁县方言声调合并的潜在因素。该变异是接触音变而非自然音变，以“语音突变、词汇渐变”的形式逐词扩散，先影响低频字，后影响高频字。目前这一现象已扩散至中年组，而老年组受该音变的影响还比较小。

对保持原来调形的高频入声字，我们从音高、时长、喉塞尾和发声态考察其与舒声合并的表现。线性混合效应模型（*Linear mixed-effects models*）结果表明，音高上，平声显著高于阴入，上声显著高于阳入；时长上，祁县方言的阴入与调形、调值接近的平声仍存在显著差异，阳入与上声亦是如此。分年龄组来看，青年组不能产出调长有对立区别的上声与阳入，而各年龄组中，平声与阴入在时长上的对立均较为明显。结合喉塞尾来看，一部分阴入字保留了喉塞尾，而阳入的喉塞尾不再明显。这表明阴入和阳入舒化的进程并不相同：上声与阳入的合并已经开始，平声与阴入的合并却晚于前者。发声态上，上声和阳入均存在嘎裂，二者具备合并的可能。

总之，祁县的入声舒化有两种方式，其一是按照徐、王（1986）预测的与相近调形舒声调的合并，其二是接触影响下与调形不相近的其他舒声合并。三个年龄人群均有两种舒化的情况。第一类音变主要表现在青年人群中，而第二类音变已经扩散至中年人群。老年组受两类音变的影响较小。我们认为，内因驱动产生声调合并，调值、调形相近是音变的主要原因。除了内部驱动，语言接触也成为了音变的一大动因。在音变启动之后，受到外方言的影响，祁县方言的入声会产生新的音变路径，由低频字开始扩散。

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表情态义的“起来”与“来着”的语法化过程与演化机制研究

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表情态义 (Modality) 是多种语言中助词 (Particle) 的一个共同语义范畴。从一般语言中表情态义助词的普遍语法化规律来看, 体范畴与情态范畴在历时演化过程中颇具相关性。目前, 汉语学界对于“起来”和“来着”是否具有以上两种范畴意义的观点不尽相同。因此, 本文将以“起来”和“来着”作为研究对象, 通过历时语料探索“起来”和“来着”是否具有情态义, 以及情态义是经由何种路径得以演变而来的。

明代中叶后随着白话小说的大量涌现, 首先产生的是“推断证据情态”类用法的“起来”。在“V₁起来, V₂P”结构中, “V₁”主要集中在观察类动词“看”、言说类动词与心理活动类动词上。在这三类动词语境下, “起来”不仅暗含“结果义”, 并且“V₁起来”也同后方“V₂P”产生一定的关联性, “V₂P”代表的事件并非是真实发生了的。通过V₁的实现, V₂P是话者基于结果对事件原因做出的主观猜测, 也可能是话者基于心智、知识、经历等对事件进行的个人化推测。这些推断或结论是话者所要表述的重点, 其中起到连接作用的“起来”也就被重新分析为“推断证据情态助词”, 如例句(1)。其后, 随着该意义的发展趋于稳定, “起来”经由以下两大途径并最终演化出表示“感官证据情态义”的功能。其一为结构中的V₁以感官类动词为主, 并且“V₂P”也转为由形容词短语AP或能够表达话者感受的词语充当, 如例句(2)。其二是“规则泛化”或“类推”的结果。在动词“看”语境下, “起来”的演变经历了“动词>结果体>完成体>推断证据情态>感官证据情态”一系列连续的演化。而在其他感官动词语境中, “起来”的多种用法却呈现出断裂式分布特征。直至民国、现当代时期, 在“起来”与感官类动词有了更为广泛的结合后, 其感官证据情态义用法才突然展现出来。总而言之, 感官情态结构“V起来”的广泛使用, 应该是在第一种演化途径基础上进而受到“规则泛化”的影响所致。第一种途径是“起来”的感官证据情态义产生的过程, 第二种途径是感官证据情态义扩大使用范围的过程。

我们认为事态助词“来着”的本质是汉语中的“过去未完整体”形式, 它是完成体“来”在向“完整体”发展道路上, 迫于完整体“了”强势发展后另寻出路的演化结果。至于“来”究竟是如何与“着”结合发展而来的, 我们也仅凭元明之际的语料去推知其演化的可能路径。即, 由于话者表达的需要, 事态助词“来”逐渐承担了多种功能。“来着”的出现一方面可以分担“来”所具有的新语义功能(过去事件+事件背景), 一方面还可以在形式上起到区分作用。“来着”的出现应该是应交际社团精确表达的需要而自然选择结果。而事态助词“来着”只有在“有疑而问C句式”中才有进一步演化出情态义功能的可能, 如例句(3)。其演化机制为事态助词“来着”所处句法结构的简单化, 即过去事件结构中的“主语”与“主要谓语动词”的脱落或省略。句法结构简单化又导致了包孕句中的“动词”成为主要谓语动词。由于该动词的非动作性与“脱时间性”, 致使事态助词“来着”无法再表示过去曾经发生的事件。因此, 句中的“来着”在语用推理机制的作用下, 逐步吸收了该语用功能, 从而承担了句中话者情态范畴意义的表达功能。其情态功能一个是话者对问题答案的不确定性, 它属于认识情态范畴; 一个是话者希望听者给出答案, 它属于说话者指向情态。

(1) 我见的物件。”王明道:“前日金角大仙骑的是只金丝犬。这等看起来, 果真是他的洞府无疑了。”黄凤仙道:“石门上明明的写着‘红罗山’。(明·三宝太监西洋记)

(2) 谢福三道:“据我看将起来, 世玉师弟身材矮小, 力量有限, 何能受得八十二斤军器? ……”(清·乾隆南巡记)

(3) 艾虎一怔, 挽住说:“你不是我韩二叔的义子吗? 姓什么来着?”邓九如一笑说:“艾大哥, 你是贵人多忘事, 我叫邓九如。”(清·小五义)

長沙話的中層實現體標記“咖”

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本文主要關注湘語“咖”（ka41）的性質和功能，前人對於“咖”的代表性分析包括完成態和非經歷已然態助詞（伍雲姬 2006），事件界限標記（魯曼 2010），達成標記（Achievement marker, Lu et al. 2019）以及語法化過程中的多功能標記（夏俐萍 2021）等。但上述分析均無法圓滿地解釋“咖”與謂詞和賓語的搭配情況、“咖”的完句表現等句法分佈以及“咖”不要求現實/非現實環境、所在事件為終結事件、所跟動詞具有消除義等語義限制。

本文認為長沙話的“咖”是一個表終點實現或將要實現的中層體標記。說它是中層體是相對於長沙話中的“噠”和結果成分以及動相補語成分而言，“咖”是處於中間位置的體標記。“終點實現或將要實現”指的是“咖”在句法上指明某個事件已經達到它的終點或在將來某一時刻該事件會達到終點。這個終點可以是事件本身所具有的終點，比如謂詞本身的詞彙語義所蘊含的終點（“病咖”“紅咖”中終點由狀態變化謂詞體現），也可以由謂詞後所帶的名詞性成分表達，例如時量、動量以及數量賓語。如果事件本身並不內在具備終點，“咖”可以表示事件終點實現，比如“看咖書噠”“游咖泳噠”。

我們的分析可以很好地解釋長沙話中各種帶“咖”和不帶“咖”的情形，並且指出“V 咖+光杆名詞”結構之所以受限是由於不能完句所致，解釋了“*動結式+咖”不合法的原因。相比夏俐萍（2021），我們的分析更偏重共時層面上、句法結構上“咖”與結果成分、動相補語成分以及“噠”的異同，比如考察“咖”所搭配的動詞類型，“咖”的完句情況等。相比魯曼（2010）和 Lu et al.（2019），我們為長沙話提供了一個不同的體系統層級，其中結果成分和動相補語成分處於最低一層，“咖”居中，“噠”最高。“咖”的出現可以使非終結事件轉變為終結事件，能更圓滿地解釋長沙話中與“咖”相關的例句。

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从植物生态因子看优选论的制约条件

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优选论主张表层输出形式是两种相互冲突的制约条件——标记性制约条件和忠实性制约条件交互作用的结果，提出通过制约条件的排列组合解释语言类型差异（McCarthy 2002, 2008）。在优选论体系中，制约条件具有核心地位。本文旨在指出优选论的制约条件在设定与表述方面存在若干问题，参考植物生态因子的分析模式，反思优选论制约条件的合理性，尝试提出改进方案。

优选论的制约条件在设定与表述方面存在以下问题：

1. 制约条件的抽象性不足。制约条件的设定步骤是，从表层数据提炼出描述性概括（descriptive generalization），然后再推出制约条件（McCarthy 2008：33-39）。制约条件是基于归纳法对音系现象的概括，虽然经过了提炼抽象的过程，但基本仍可视作为对音系表象较为直接的反映。例如，天津方言三字组连读变调时，最右字不参与变调。为了解释此类现象，以往研究一般都提出“最右调不变”这一条制约条件，但该制约条件只是对音系表现的描写而已。

2. 制约条件的设定存在主观性，缺乏有效限制。虽然经典优选论强调制约条件必须具有普遍性，但如何衡量制约条件的普遍性没有一定之规，文献中经常出现个别语言特有的制约条件。加上各种表征理论都可以借入优选论框架进行分析，导致文献中提出的制约条件越来越多。据Ashley等（2010）的统计，1993-2008年期间，语言学4本主流期刊上共提出了1666条制约条件。数以千计的制约条件中，有的功能互相重合，有的是上下位关系，结果出现制约条件共谋，制约条件体系相当庞杂。

3. 制约条件的表述一般以命题形式出现，如ONSET（音节必须有首音）、*VELAR-I（不允许舌根辅音后接舌面前高元音）。这种以命题出现的制约条件，比较适合通过排序来反映语言之间的差异，但不便于基于数学模型进行概率分析。

植物生态学研究多环境变量对植物的影响，植物生态学的分析模式对优选论具有启发意义。植物生态学认为，生态因子的相互影响、共同作用，形成了区域独特的植被类型。生态因子是指对植物生长、发育和分布有直接或间接影响的环境要素。根据生态因子的性质，可以分为气候因子、地形因子、生物因子和人为因子等。这些因子可以进一步分为具体的参数。以气候因子为例，包括各种主要的气候参数，如光照、温度、降水、风和气压等。这些参数通过数学模型，可以解释、预测植被类型。受此启发，对于优选论的制约条件，本文提出以下改进设想：1) 用制约因子代替制约条件；2) 将制约因子分解为具体可量化的参数；3) 基于各参数对语言类型的影响建立数学模型。

汉语“动宾带宾”现象和新闻标题的信息结构

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“动宾带宾”现象（Vn-NP）的生成机制一直是汉语语法研究的一个热点问题。对此，学界形成了两种截然相反却未曾正面交锋过的观点：一种认为是动词Vn及物化产生的动宾短语（如刘大为1998，赵旭等2014，李劲荣2018，齐冲2018等），一种认为是动词Vn提升后的产物，所形成的Vn带“宾语”是一种假像（如冯胜利2002，王永娜2013，蔡维天2017等）。两种方案之所以对立，是基于不同的语言事实。本文认为，这两派所依据的事实基础都不能全面地反映出“动宾带宾”现象的本质特点。

本研究通过定量调查和定性分析重新讨论了“动宾带宾”的语法特点，提出解释其生成机制必须要考虑到它的三大“特别”：(i) 语感特别，一直存在一定程度的不顺畅感；(ii) 语域分布特别，主要在新闻标题中使用；(iii) 句法语义特别，与NCO结构和普通动宾结构都不平行。

在此基础上，本研究在语言特区理论（Language Special Hypothesis）的框架下对“动宾带宾”的生成机制提出了一个关涉全局的解释：“动宾带宾”是出现于新闻标题语言特区的“违规”现象，它实质上是准双向动词结构PP-Vn迫于新闻标题要求其信息焦点居尾这个跨语言的特征而产生的语序变异形式。将Vn-NP处理为标题语言特区特有的“违规”现象，可以无需借助其他任何“补丁”就能合理解释句式多个层次上的特殊表现，相比把它处理为动宾短语或单纯分析为V-v中心语移位显得更为全面、更为彻底。

本研究运用语言特区理论合情合理地解释了“动宾带宾”的生成机制这一焦点问题，反过来也有有力地验证了语言特区所具有的语言学价值。即语言特区的研究可以为深刻认识语言机制、解释语言变异和预测语言发展提供一扇宝贵的窗口。

Oral Presentations

Do Second-Language Learners' Productivity of Mandarin Tone Sandhi Change with Increasing Proficiency?

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The third tone, Tone 3 (T3), in Mandarin is one of the most difficult tones for second-language (L2) learners of Mandarin given its variants in different contexts. First, T3 (214) becomes a rising tone (35) before another T3. This phonological alternation is called the **T3 sandhi** (e.g., 雨伞 *yǔsǎn*, 'umbrella'). Second, T3 becomes a low falling tone (21) when preceding any tone other than T3. This alternation is called the **Half-T3 sandhi** (e.g., 雨衣 *yǔyī*, 'raincoat'). While native application of the Mandarin tone sandhi is often productive among novel words, the tone sandhi patterns are different in phonetic motivation with the T3 sandhi having a weaker phonetic motivation and then a lower productivity. In light of the differences, issues related to their L2 acquisition have yet to be resolved – for instance, how the tone sandhi patterns develop with increasing L2 proficiency. This study investigates how L2 learners' productivity (i.e., ability to apply the tone sandhi rules in novel-wug words) of T3 sandhi and Half-T3 sandhi change with increasing L2 proficiency.

19 Korean-speaking adult L2 learners of Mandarin at **high-** and **low-proficiency** levels completed a wug production experiment investigating their acoustic forms and ability to generalize the tone sandhi rules in wug words. 12 native Mandarin speakers were recruited as controls. The participants were instructed to put the two Mandarin monosyllables they heard together to verbally produce a spoken disyllabic word. While the first monosyllable always carried T3, the second monosyllable carried either T3 (T3 sandhi) or other tones (Half-T3 sandhi). Both **real** and **wug** disyllabic words were included in recordings to assess productivity.

The growth curve analyses on the normalized pitch values (semitone) indicated that the high-proficiency L2 learners had more accurate production (i.e., pitch slope similar to native acoustic forms) than the low-proficiency L2 learners for the tone sandhi patterns. Importantly, the two groups of L2 learners at different proficiency levels both had lower productivity for the T3 sandhi (i.e., less rising slope for wug words than real words) than the Half-Tone3 sandhi (i.e., no difference between real and wug words). The findings suggest that L2 productivity of Mandarin tone sandhi, which patterned like native productivity regardless of L2 proficiency, is likely attributed to different phonetic motivation of the tone sandhi patterns.

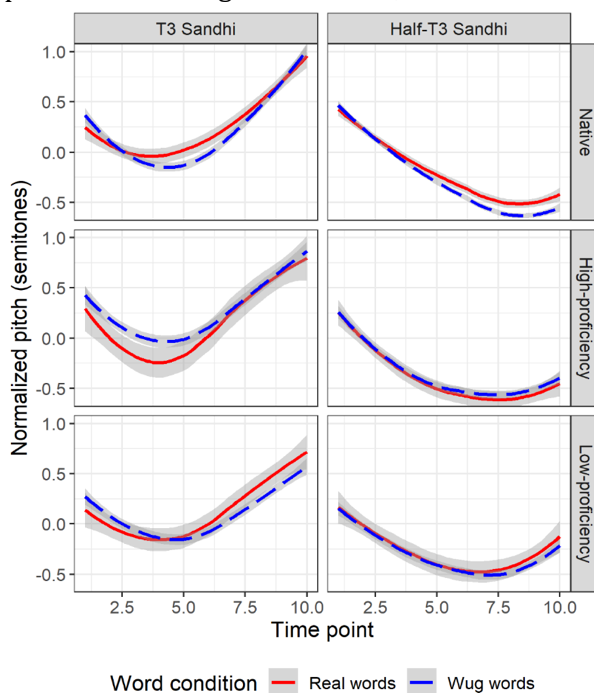


Fig. 1: The normalized pitch values in semitone of Syllable 1 in real words (red) and wug words (blue) of T3 sandhi (left) and Half-T3 sandhi (right) produced by the native Mandarin speakers (top), high-proficiency (mid) and low-proficiency (bottom) learners

Oral Presentations

Disjunctions in Mandarin Chinese, Alternatives, Informativeness, and Inquisitive Semantics

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Introduction This abstract compares several disjunctive forms in Mandarin Chinese that have received extensive discussion (Dong, 2019; Erlewine, 2017; Huang, 1982): *háishì*, *huòzhě* and A-not-A forms. The main issue to be addressed is their compatibility with alternative questions (marked by the sentence-final particle *ne*) and polar questions (marked by *ma*). The discussion is couched in the framework of inquisitive semantics (Ciardelli et al., 2019).

Main data As exemplified in (1) and summarized in Table 1, while *háishì* and A-not-A forms are compatible with alternative questions but not polar questions, *huòzhě* is compatible with polar questions but not alternative questions; *wh*-forms are compatible with both.

(1) Compatibility with question types:

- a. *tā chī píngguǒ háishì júzi ne/*ma?*
he eat apple *háishì* orange *ne/ma?* ‘Does he eat apples, or does he eat oranges?’
- b. *tā chī píngguǒ huòzhě júzi ne*/ma?*
he eat apple *huòzhě* orange *ne/ma?* ‘Is it the case that he eats apples or oranges?’
- c. *tā chī-bù-chī píngguǒ ne/*ma?*
he eat-Neg-eat apple *ne/ma?* ‘Does he eat apples or not?’
- d. *tā chī shénme-shuǐguǒ ne/ma?*
he eat what-fruit *ne/ma?* ‘What fruit does he eat?/Does he eat any fruit?’

Table 1. Compatibility of disjunctive forms and *wh*-forms with question types

	<i>Háishì</i>	<i>Huòzhě</i>	A-not-A	<i>Wh</i> -forms
Alt-Q (<i>ne</i>)	✓	✗	✓	✓
Polar-Q (<i>ma</i>)	✗	✓	✗	✓

Proposal First of all, Rooth–Hamblin alternatives (Hamblin, 1973; Rooth, 1992) and propositional alternatives (Ciardelli et al., 2017) are distinguished: The former compose in a pointwise manner and are subject to semantic intervention; the latter are the maximal elements in an utterance in inquisitive semantics (declaratives have only one maximal element, i.e., noninquisitive; interrogatives have more than one maximal element, i.e., inquisitive).

Then, in line with Erlewine (2017), it is proposed that *háishì*, A-not-A forms and *wh*-forms introduce Rooth–Hamblin alternatives into the computation, which explains their sensitivity to focus intervention (Li & Law, 2016), and *huòzhě* translates into logical disjunction (Gazdar, 1980). Importantly, the complementizer of an alternative question anticipates a set of Rooth–Hamblin alternatives. This explains patterns summarized in the middle row of Table 1.

Furthermore, it is proposed that *háishì* invokes a presupposition that the disjuncts it connects should cover the whole logical space (see Dong, 2019 for a similar explanation for why A-not-A forms cannot occur in declaratives) and that the complementizer of a polar question requires that the nuclear part of the sentence cannot exhaust the whole logical space. This explains patterns summarized in the final row of Table 1 and importantly, the asymmetry between *háishì* and *wh*-forms, as distributions of the two have been assimilated previously.

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Discussion It remains to be explained why *háishì* can occur in declaratives: If *háishì* does come with the presupposition as suggested, the presupposition of (2) would equal its assertion.

(2) *Lìlì chī-le mǐfàn háishì miàntiáo.*

Lili eat-Perf rice *háishì* noodles. 'Lili had rice or noodles.'

Assume that the sentence in (2) is strengthened by a scalar implicature: It is not the case that Lili had both rice and noodles. The consequence is that (2) presupposes that the actual world is a rice-only world or a noodles-only world or a rice-and-noodles world; (2) asserts that the actual world is either a rice-only world or a noodles-only world.

Interestingly, contrary to some judgments reported in Erlewine (2017), *háishì* cannot scope under negation or within an *if*-conditional. As such contexts are downward-entailing and the scalar implicature is not triggered, the resultant sentences are ruled out due to contradiction or triviality.

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Omnisyllabic Tone in Hong Kong Cantonese: Tonal Patterns in Non-Lexical Hesitation Markers

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Abstract: Cantonese tonal patterns have been extensively studied in the past (Killingley 1985; Chen 2000; Mok, Zuo, & Wong 2013, among many others), and differ from Mandarin-like tonal systems in that there is no unstressed or ‘neutral tone’ (Matthews and Yip 2013: 22). Cantonese instead evidences ‘omnisyllabic tone’ (Matisoff 1995), where every syllable in the language is associated with a particular lexical tone (Yip 2002: 272; Sybesma & Li 2007). Work on Cantonese items with regular tonal patterns shows that certain items cluster around certain mid-to-low tones. For instance, the low-level Tone 6 is adopted in loans corresponding to English unstressed syllables (Kiu 1977), and sentence-final particles (SFPs) appear to cluster around mid-level Tone 3 in their default forms (Sybesma & Li 2007). Both of these seem to indicate adoption of a default tonal pattern in order to satisfy the requirement for omnisyllabic tone.

This study aims to expand understanding of the omnisyllabic tonal properties of Cantonese through research on Hesitation Markers (HMs; ‘fillers’). HMs are defined as non-lexical discourse facilitating items which usually precede or follow a pause, such as *uh* or *um* in English, allowing the speaker to hold the floor (Clark & Fox-Tree 2002). These items are comparable to SFPs in that they facilitate discourse, but have a more ambiguous lexical status, can stand on their own in an utterance, and have an unclear tonal profile; the most common Cantonese HMs include 諗, 欸, *e6*, *e4* or 㗎, *em6*, and *m6*. Work by Candea et al. (2005) and Dingemanse & Woensdregt (2020) has discussed the language-specific phonological patterns of these items, as well as their crosslinguistic similarities of form, indicating that HMs are integrated into the phonologies of their respective languages while still evidencing crosslinguistic convergence. However, this has primarily focused on segmental phonology, and it is unclear whether lexical tone functions in a similar way.

This leads to the following question: Do the acoustics of HK Cantonese HMs provide evidence supporting a particular default tone, as in loanword phonology or SFPs, or for no tone in particular, instead indicating that HM F0 is governed by some other domain? In addressing this, the present study gathers HM acoustic (F0, duration) and qualitative (contour, context) data from the PolyU Corpus of Spoken Chinese (<http://wongtaksum.no-ip.info:81/corpus.htm>) across 10 speakers (6 female) and 196 HMs, comparing it against lexical tones (525 items) from the same source. Preliminary comparison of the data across all speakers suggests that HMs do adhere to the segmental and lexical tonal patterns of Cantonese and cluster primarily around the low and mid-level tones both in terms of contour and average F0. However, cross-speaker analysis shows a good amount of variation in F0 unlike that for segments, indicating that intonation or idiolectal effects may play a more substantial role. This has implications for our understanding of how linguistically peripheral or sub-lexical items such as hesitation markers are treated in omnisyllabic tone languages such as Cantonese.

Keywords: Hong Kong Cantonese, lexical tone, hesitation markers, acoustics, phonology

Modern Diglossia in Chongqing: Stability and Change

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Chongqing Mandarin is an influential variety of Southwest Mandarin with quite a high level of vitality. To investigate the causes of its vitality amid the overwhelming dominance of Standard Mandarin (Putonghua) throughout the country, interviews with 16 native speakers of Chongqing Mandarin of different age groups were conducted to study their attitudes towards their mother tongue and the national standard language. The results indicate that the participants generally hold positive attitudes towards both language varieties, but in different ways. To wit, Chongqing Mandarin contributes to a positive sense of local identity, while Standard Mandarin is of great utility value. Chongqing arguably represents a case of modern diglossia (a type of diglossia proposed by Snow [2010]), in which (i) the H variety (Standard Mandarin) is a powerful (inter)national language with a large number of native speakers, (ii) the L variety (Chongqing Mandarin) carries a significant identity value, and (iii) the H and L varieties share genetic and cultural ties. We infer from the participants' response that the diglossic situation in Chongqing will likely remain stable in the foreseeable future as the locals tend to favour the use of Chongqing Mandarin over Standard Mandarin in daily interactions with family and local friends, which can help prevent the encroachment of the H variety into the L domains. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the use of Chongqing Mandarin is actually not restricted to the municipality – this speech variety is part of the Chengdu-Chongqing (aka Chengyu) dialect cluster of Southwest Mandarin, which serves as an influential lingua franca of the Sichuan-Chongqing region. Therefore, Chongqing Mandarin is widely understood over a broad region in southwestern China and plays an H role in relation to a number of Sinitic vernaculars and non-Sinitic minority languages in the area. Such a scenario of double-overlapping diglossia (Fasold 1984) further enhances the vitality of Chongqing Mandarin.

In addition to evaluating the notion of modern diglossia through analysing the linguistic ecology in Chongqing, this study attempts to shed light on the linguistic outcomes of such a diglossic situation. In particular, we focus on the lexical change in Chongqing Mandarin and discuss (i) how it relates to the age, gender, and language attitudes of the speakers, and (ii) how it compares to phenomena observed in other diglossic situations, e.g. the classic case of Arabic (Sayahi 2014). The preliminary results suggest that lexical convergence of the L variety towards the H variety may be much more common in situations of modern diglossia than those of classic diglossia. This provides justification for recognizing modern diglossia as a distinct type of diglossia.

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“*Běnlái* (本来)” and “*yuánlái* (原来)”:

A Case Study of the Theory on KNOWLEDGE[知識] vs. EXPERIENCE[体験] in Chinese

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Two kinds of adverbs express “originally” in Chinese; “*běnlái* (本来)” and “*yuánlái* (原来).” The differences between them are confusing for the Chinese learners in Japan because there is only one counterpart which means “originally” in Japanese.

Firstly, “*běnlái* (本来)” and “*yuánlái* (原来)” can replace each other in many cases as exemplified in (1).

(1) 我 本来 / 原来 不想去北京，但还是去了。

(I didn't want to go to Beijing at first, but I went anyway.)

In some cases, we can only use “*běnlái* (本来)” as exemplified in (2), and other instances, where we can only use “*yuánlái* (原来)” as exemplified in (3) ((2) and (3) are cited from Aihara [相原] et al. 2000).

(2) 星期天 OK 本来 / *原来 就该休息。

(It should have rested on Sunday.)

(3) *本来 / OK 原来 他不是张老师啊！

(It turns out that he is not Mr. Zhang.)

Although in Case (1), the meaning of the sentences is somewhat different, Example. (4) shows the differences more explicitly.

(4) [The speaker is looking for something.]

a. 本来在这儿呢！

(It should be here.)

b. 原来在这儿呢！

(It turned out to be here.)

(By Cherry YU in personal communication.)

Example (4a) sounds like as if the speaker did not find the thing they were looking for and expressed that they could have found it at a particular place, whereas (4b) expresses the state that they found the thing at an unexpected location.

Sadanobu [定延](2008) suggested that the eligibility criterion in utterance has two levels; “Knowledge[知識]” and “Experience[体験].” Sadanobu says that typical “Knowledge” is common language information that can be shared by anyone, but typical “Experience” is only the speaker’s personal proprietary and has the lowest shareability. “Experience” is through some exploration in an unknown environment or situation on a physical level, accompanied by excitement or other emotional feelings. These differences can explain the exceptional usage of the locative markers and “stative verbs + past tense marker,” and so on in Japanese.

We suggest that “*běnlái*(本来)” belongs to the “Knowledge” level propositions and “*yuánlái* (原来)” belongs to the “Experience” level expressions. Shimoji [下地] (2009) pointed out that Chinese negatives “*bù* (不)” and “*méi*(没)” (especially with stative verbs) ” reflected the “Knowledge” level and “Experience” level negations respectively. Additionally, auxiliary verbs which express possibility as “*huì*(会)” and “*néng*(能)” have the same kind of opposition. The point is that there is only one counterpart form in each case in Japanese. These pairs of forms suggest that differentiating “Knowledge” level and “Experience” level by lexical items is one of the typological features in Chinese.

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河南巩义方言称呼语面称的变调现象

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称呼语可以反映方言在音韵方面的典型特征，前辈学者已指出了称呼语所具备的面称与背称之分（郭继懋 1995；曹炜 2005）。巩义市位于郑州市东部，其方言属于中原官话洛嵩片。前人在对中原官话称呼语的研究中，已经对变韵现象进行了探究（李聪聪 2013）；而在巩义方言的口语交际中，包括人名、亲属称谓及职业称谓在内的词语在作称呼语时，在面称和背称上呈现出显著的声调差别，称呼语的面称具有明显的变调现象。

我们运用实验的方法，设计了包含巩义方言阴平、阳平、上声和去声 4 种调类共 16 种组合的人名，将它们置于生活化的语句中，对生活在巩义市区、西村镇和芝田镇的 30 位 20-85 岁的巩义市民在面称和背称的不同情境要求下的称呼语发音声调进行了分析。在使用 *praat* 软件提取音高数据后，采用 *T* 值公式（石锋 1986）进行计算，得出巩义方言称呼语面称与背称的调型。实验研究的结果显示，在 4 种调类的各种声调组合下，巩义方言称呼语面称的调型相对于其背称的调型均呈上升趋势，称呼语尾字的声调与其本字声调相比具有明显的区别。当称呼语位于句首和句中时，这一变调现象尤其显著。

探究巩义方言称呼语面称的变调现象，可以进一步丰富对该方言的音变现象的研究，并可以为探索声调在巩义方言中的语法意义提供新的思路。

关键词：巩义方言；称呼语；面称；变调

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On the Syntax-Semantics Interface of *henduo* and *henshao* in Mandarin Chinese

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As early as Chao (1968), Chinese *henduo* and *henshao* are shown to demonstrate asymmetrical syntactic distributions, with different grammatical functions (see Zhu 1989, Wang 1995, Qiu 1999). Regarding the readings of *henduo* and *henshao*, the two are generally considered to be equivalents to English *many* and *few*. It is well acknowledged that *many* and *few* can serve as an adjective or a determiner (both in the prenominal position), leading to an ambiguity between a modifier type and a quantifier type of expressions (see e.g. Bennett 1974, Westerståhl 1984, Löbner 1987). Partee (2004) further leads to the conclusion that *many/few* can be cardinal or proportional in reading, with the former as either an adjective or a determiner, and the latter a determiner only. By means of targeted investigation via sentence judgement tasks, we argue that, unlike *many* and *few*, interpretations of *henduo* and *henshao* are not determined by a simple ambiguity between an attributive adjective and a determiner, but a diversification among an attributive adjective, a predicative adjective and an adverb, leading to natural tendency to cardinal readings and proportional readings. Preliminary analysis reveals the following points.

Firstly, *henduo* and *henshao* is found to demonstrate diversification among serving as an attributive adjective (1a), a predicative adjective (1b) and an adverb (1c).

- (1) a. *Henduo*/?*henshao* ren chi pingguo. b. Ta chi de pingguo *henduo*/*henshao*.
 many /few people eat apple he eat DE apple many/few
 ‘Many/Few people eat apple.’ ‘The apple he ate are many/few.’
 c. Ta **henduo*/*henshao* chi pingguo.
 he many/few eat apple
 Intended: ‘He often/rarely eats apple.’

Secondly, diversification in syntactic distributions leads to natural quantificational tendencies of *henduo* and *henshao*. Cardinal readings are the dominate readings of *henduo*, while the restricted preference of proportional readings is possible when [*henduo* + NP] is licensed by the topic feature of [Head, TopicP], as in (2), where *henduo* is of a quantifier type and [*henduo* + NP] forms a quantifier phrase (QP) and a tripartite structure (Kamp 1981, Heim 1982, Partee 1995) for quantificational reading is triggered with *henduo* being the operator. While for *henshao*, the preference of the proportional reading is possible, for it mainly functions as the adverb and the predicative adjective.

- (2) *Henduo* xuexiao lai-le jiazhang.
 Many school come-PERF parent
 ‘There are many schools that parents came to.’

Based on findings above, the syntax-semantic mapping of *henduo* and *henshao* can be generalized as follows. For *henduo*, the dominate cardinal readings support its primary function as an attributive adjective of modifier type rather than quantifier type. The restricted preference of proportional readings is possible with the topic projection in *henduo* and when *henduo* serves as the predicative adjective. For *henshao*, as an adverb, it prefers proportional readings. Dominant cardinal readings on a par with *henduo* is not possible in *henshao*, for its restricted function of being the attributive adjective, and modification of *henshao* is possible only under adverbial modification, giving the reading of English *rarely*. This may lead to an implication that Chinese may have determiners, as shown in the restricted proportional readings.

上古汉语“吾”、“我”的句法语义分工

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上古汉语人称代词系统庞杂，多个代词的并行使用既有时间也有地域的因素。然而，第一人称代词“吾”、“我”似乎并不存在时空区分，二者经常共现于同一文本甚至同一句话中。我们认为凡是形式不同，其功能一般相异，共现的“吾”、“我”应该存在分工。

前人关于“吾”、“我”分工的研究主要有形态句法说、语义语用说、方言演变说、韵律重音说等，这些说法各有千秋，但都存在一定局限。譬如形态句法说认为“吾”是主格、领格，“我”是主格、宾格，这样未能在主格上有效区分二者。

针对这些问题，本文从传世文献出发，对CCL语料库中周至西汉的文献进行了穷尽性搜索，共收集4361条出现“吾”或“我”的语料。之后采取等距采样，每五条语料抽取一条，整理出例句1064条（“吾”617条，“我”447条），并总结出上古汉语中“吾”、“我”的句法语义分工（见下表）。其中，A是及物小句中最像施事的论元，P是及物小句中最像受事的论元，S不及物小句的唯一论元。A、P、S是判断格配列的基本句法语义角色（Syntactic-semantic Roles），据此语言主要可分为主宾格和施通格两类：A、S同标为主宾格语言，P、S同标为施通格语言。

	A	P	S	领语	旁语	兼语	总计
吾	354 57.38%	3 0.49%	61 9.89%	198 32.09%	1 0.16%	0 0.00%	617
我	79 17.67%	148 33.11%	102 22.82%	56 12.53%	40 8.95%	22 4.92%	447

首先，由表可见，“吾”主要作A（57.38%），“我”主要作S（22.82%）和P（33.11%），由此可得出上古汉语第一人称代词单数是施通格配置：A单独标记，使用施格形式“吾”；S和P同标，使用通格形式“我”。前人所谓两者皆作主格，是因为没有将A、P分开。

其次，可以看到“吾”也能作S（9.89%），“我”也能做A（17.67%），但这并非是例外，而是分裂性的体现。我们发现其施通格配置具有分裂性，不及物小句的分裂由自主性、话题度等驱动，及物小句的分裂由及物性、实然性等主导。

最后，早期汉语中“吾”、“我”的分工还可以从藏语和现代汉语中找到旁证。藏语和汉语具有亲缘关系，其第一人称代词也存在施格和通格的区别，并且同样具有分裂性。现代汉语中大量的施格动词及施受同形句，则暗含了“施格性”的观察视角。

关键词：上古汉语，第一人称代词，“吾”，“我”，施通格

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Counterfactual Presupposition, Exhaustivity, and the Semantics of Mandarin *hai*

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Background: The Mandarin particle *hai* 还 has a number of uses, including those in (1) to (4). Many studies resort to additivity or related notions to analyze *hai* (Liu 2000; Donazzan 2008; Zhang & Ling 2016; Yang 2017). However, while (1) and (2) may be unified by such approach (e.g. à la Ippolito 2007), it is unclear how *hai* in (1) differs from the ordinary additive particle *ye* ‘also’. It is also unclear why the special inference of (3) that this book is not really cheap, or the “counter-expectation” interpretation of (4) that LS should not be taller than ZS (Tang 2009; Zong 2011; Hu 2017), should follow from the idea that *hai* is an additive particle.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) 李四还吃了苹果(additive; ‘additionally’) | (3) 这本书还算便宜(marginal/borderline) |
| (2) 李四还在睡觉(aspectual; ‘still’) | (4) 李四比张三还高(degree/scale; ‘even’) |

Yet another puzzle is (5): (5a) illustrates the additive use of *hai*, but in (5b) the inference is the opposite. Note that (5b) is not the marginal/borderline use like (3), because (5b) obligatorily evokes alternatives of ‘this book’ whereas the alternatives of (3) are different degrees of cheapness, and thus (3) need not consider this book against other books (Ma 1984).

- (5) a. 我还买得起这本书 → There is some contextually salient thing that I can afford
b. 这本书我还买得起 → There is some contextually salient thing that I cannot afford

Proposal: The proposal in a nutshell is the following: (i) Across all uses *hai* carries an *anaphoric* presupposition as well as a *counterfactual* presupposition, and (ii) the *hai* in (1)-(4) (“*hai*₁”) and that in (5b) (“*hai*₂”) only differ in the propositions to which they are anaphoric.

Specifically, a sentence of the form *hai(p)* (*p* the prejacent of *hai*) asserts *p* and presupposes (6a) (like additive particles do generally) and (6b). Thus, *hai(p)* conveys the truth of *p* while also entertaining the possibility of *p* being *false* under certain counterfactual situations.

- (6) a. A contextually salient alternative proposition *q* is true. (anaphoric presupposition)
b. In some counterfactual situations, *p* could have been false. (counterfactual presupposition)

In this analysis, (1) asserts LS ate apples and presupposes (i) LS ate something else, e.g., oranges, and (ii) LS could have eaten no apples (if e.g. he already ate many oranges). Crucially, (i) and (ii) together amount to the exhaustivity that LS could have eaten oranges only. This explains how the additivity of (1) is similar, but not identical, to that of *ye* ‘also’: Only *hai*₁ has a counterfactual presupposition with an exhaustivity component. Likewise, (2) asserts LS is sleeping and presupposes (i) he was sleeping at a salient time *t* (*t* < now) and (ii) he could have been awake now, i.e. ‘LS is sleeping although he could have been sleeping only at *t* (but not now)’.

This derives the still-like aspectual meaning of *hai*₁. The marginal inference of (3) also stems from (6b), and the meaning of (3) can be paraphrased as ‘This book is considered cheap although it could have been considered not as cheap.’ (4) asserts LS is taller than ZS and presupposes (i) ZS is tall and (ii) ZS could have been the only tall person. This derives the counter-expectation of the degree *hai*₁. In all uses, the counterfactual inference (6b) projects in interrogative and conditional contexts, hence a presupposition.

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Finally, I argue that (5b) differs from all other uses of *hai* in being a *contrastive topic* (CT) construction involving a CT preceding *hai*₂. Crucially, CTs are interpreted exhaustively (Büring 2003; van Rooij & Schulz 2017). Thus, the assertion of (5b) includes the exhaustive interpretation that I can afford *only* this book, while it also acknowledges the existence of other books I can't afford, i.e. the inference shown in (5b). What *hai*₂ does is to add the presupposition that I could have been *unable* to afford this book (if e.g. I had less money than I actually do). This explains the difference of (5a) and (5b), which presuppose (7) and (8), respectively.

(7) A salient proposition of the form 'I can afford *x*' is true (anaphoric presupposition), and the assertion 'I can afford this book' could have been false (counterfactual presupposition)

(8) A salient proposition of the form 'I cannot afford *x*' is true (anaphoric presupposition), and the assertion 'I can afford this book' could have been false (counterfactual presupposition).

Conclusion: *Hai* is a presuppositional particle with built-in modality and exhaustivity.

“木桶原理”与“反木桶原理”下可能情态的计算：以法语和汉语为例

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可能情态研究向来是国内外语言学界的热点课题。从Palmer (1986)和Givon (1994)为代表的现实/非现实偶分理论到Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998)为代表的语义地图理论在可能情态研究的应用。其研究成果日益丰富。然而，现有成果并不能解决法语未完成过去时，简单将来时和汉语情态助词“会”中出现的现实性（或非现实性）语义成分却可表达现实（或非现实）意义的情态冲突问题。请看以下3例：

1. Je **voulais** vous demander de m'accompagne

我挺想让你们陪我去的

2. Georges, tu **mettras** la table.

乔治，你去摆放桌子吧。

3. 零度以下，水**会**结冰。

根据分枝时间理论(Thomason,1970 ; Vet,1981)，例1中，法语未完成过去时“**voulais**（想要）”的过去时属性属于不可逆领域（现实）而其未完成体则表达可能之意（非现实）。然而，例1中未完成过去时却表达可能委婉之意。例2中，简单将来时“**mettras**（摆放）”本身也是不可逆（完整体）和可能（将来时）的矛盾体，却同样在句中表达可能委婉之意。反观例3，“会”作为非现实情态助词(Lamarre, 2007, 王晓凌, 2007)却表达出肯定的断言之意。

我们基于前人研究成果，将分枝时间理论与Gosselin (1996, 2005)的时体语义分析模型结合，得出法语未完成过去时，简单将来时和汉语“会”其固有的时体价值与情态价值的对应关系。请看以下两图：

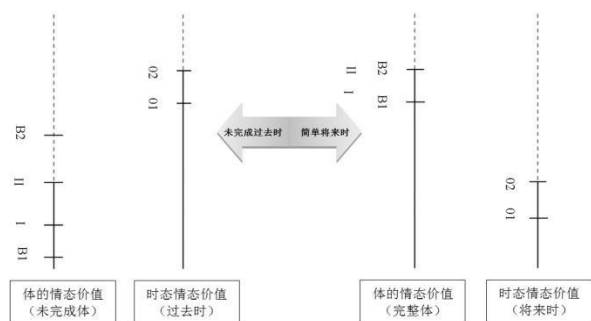


图 1

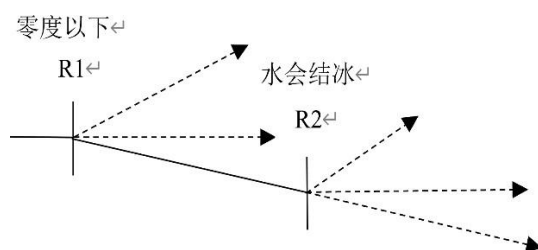


图 2

图1和2实线代表时间轴“不可逆”区域，而虚线或虚线箭头表示“可能”区域。未完成过去时的未完成体的“不可逆”区域（实线），相较于其过去时所体现的“不可逆”区域，处于“短板”状态（未完成体的实线长度短于过去时的实线长度）。事件[B1, B2]的情态价值如同“木桶”中的水，只可能就其“短板”而非“长板”，从而体现“可能”情态价值。同理，简单将来时的可能情态是由将来时“短板”决定。汉语中，“会”的相对先时属性(Saillard & Chen, 2012)使其拥有两个参照区间（参照事件参照区间R1，与“会”连用的事件参照区间R2，且R1位于R2前），即：两个情态分界点。例3事件的“事实性(factual)”使情态分界点R2更加凸显(Gosselin, 2018)。这使与“会”连用的事件产生出一个虚拟的确定含义，从而体现断言之意。

由此，如果法语未完成过去时和简单将来时的可能情态的浮现符合“木桶原理”（短板决定），汉语“会”的断言意义则在相关事件“事实性”的作用下，体现“反木桶原理”特性（长板决定）。该原理在情态领域的应用也为我们解决情态冲突问题提供了新的解决途径。

试论汉语“没/不怎么 VP”的否定定义来源

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如疑问词“什么”一样（如 1a, b）（Huang 1982, 吕叔湘 1992, Li 1992, Aoun & Li 1993, A. Huang 2013 等），“怎么”不仅有疑问义解读（如 2a,b）（朱德熙 1982, Lin 1992, 蔡维天 2007, Tsai 2008 等），还可以与否定词“不/没”一起，构成否定定义解读（吕叔湘 1992 等），如（3a,b）所示。与“什么”一般只选择否定词“没”构成否定定义不同（1b vs. 1c），“怎么”既可以选择否定词“不”（如 3a）、也可以选择“没”（如 3b）构成否定定义。值得注意的是，由“什么”构成的否定和由“怎么”构成的否定都表示部分否定而非完全否定，或者说它们都不是句子层面的否定而是成分否定（参 Klima 1964）。此时的“怎么”都不能换成“怎么样”（参 Tsai 1994, Chen 2021），如（4），但有时可以换成“大”（吕叔湘 1999），如（5）。

本文拟探讨的问题主要有：（1）（1）为什么“什么”和“怎么”所构成的否定句在否定词“不、没”选择上会有差异？（2）“没/不怎么 VP”结构中存在何种语法限制？为什么会存在这些语法限制？（3）“没/不怎么”的部分否定定义是如何产生的？它是三分结构（如 6a）还是二分结构（如 6b）？“怎么”在其中的作用是什么？本文拟在这三方面做初步探讨。我们假设该类结构中的“没什么”、“没怎么”、“不怎么”都是一个词汇性成分，“没什么”类似于英文中的 *few/little*，而“没/不怎么”类似于英文中的 *seldom*。该类结构中的部分否定定义是由这些带否定定义的词汇所触发的。

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------|
| (1) | a. 你想吃什么？ | |
| | b. 我没想吃什么，就想吃点苹果。 | |
| | c. ??*我不想吃什么，就想吃点苹果。 | |
| (2) | a. 你怎么去？ | b. 你怎么去了？ |
| (3) | a. 我不怎么去上海。 | b. 我没怎么去上海。 |
| (4) | a. *我不怎么样去上海。 | b. *我没怎么样去上海。 |
| (5) | a. 我不大去上海。 | b. 我没大去上海。 |
| (6) | a. 没/不 + 怎么 + VP | b. [没/不怎么] + VP |

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“感到”“觉得”的叙实性差异及其影响因素——兼谈情感形容词的叙实性连续统

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叙实性是谓词的一种概念语义功能。判定单义谓词的叙实性，主要考虑其自身的词汇语义情况；判定多义谓词的叙实性，除了考虑词汇语义因素外，还要考虑句法环境、语用频率因素。通过考察“感到”“觉得”的词汇语义和句法环境，发现两者有相似之处，比如都是多义词，都包含非自主感知和自主认识两方面意义，都有叙实和非叙实两种功能等。但如果结合了语用频率数据，会发现两者之间存在着明显的不同：前者往往带情感形容词、主语补足语，倾向于表示叙实；后者往往带主谓小句、宾语补足语，倾向于表示非叙实。另外，基于共现频次和语义和谐律，文章还发现，越是与“感到”频繁共现的情感形容词叙实功能越强，越是与“觉得”频繁共现的情感形容词非叙实功能越强。通过共现频次和语义和谐情况，可以推知情感形容词的叙实性倾向，建立情感形容词从强叙实、较强叙实、中等叙实到较弱叙实的叙实性连续统。

关键词：感到；觉得；叙实性；非自主；情感形容词

现代汉语程度副词“很”的来源及演变

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现代汉语中的“很”是一个典型的程度副词，表示程度高。大部分学者认为“很”来源于实词虚化或语法化，但是“语源颇不易明”（王力，1984：177）。太田辰夫（1991[1988]:205）提到“很”作为副词使用似乎是元代一部分“汉儿言语”变成普通话被继承下来，“现在常用的‘很’元代写作‘很’，在《元典章》及其它特定的文献中屡屡出现，但没有普遍地通用于各种文献”。目前已有的研究对于程度副词“很”的来源和演变过程没有做出比较具体的解释和说明。本文就现代蒙古语程度副词的语法功能，结合元代文献流传后世的删改情况，考察现代汉语程度副词“很”的来源及演变过程，认为现代汉语程度副词“很”是元代北方汉语与蒙古语语言接触的结果。

“很”作为程度副词的用法始于元代，且字形为“很”，主要出现在元代直译体语料与域外会话课本中，元杂剧和散曲中有少量用例。其中，直译体文献中程度副词“很”的语法功能呈现外来特征。元代是蒙古语作为强势语言的时代，汉语受其影响很深，长期的语言交流和接触，使双方的语言发生融合。这种融合趋势表现为蒙古语语法对北方汉语语法的渗透，北方汉语向蒙古语靠拢，北方汉语的语音、汉字或词汇与蒙古语的语法相结合，进而出现一些新词语和新用法，而程度副词“很”就是在这一语言接触过程中产生。程度副词“很”的语音和字形来自汉语，而语法来自蒙古语，两者糅合产生了一个新的语言现象。这种特殊的杂糅现象在“同时资料”里还有很多，如“里、根底、有、呵”本来是汉语语词，但在直译体文字中都被赋予了特殊的意义，用法跟汉语很不相同。

元亡之后，明初“镇压性”和“限制性”等语言政策使语言环境发生了巨大的变化，很多蒙古语来源的外来词都消失了，“很”字作程度副词的用法也长期消失在历史文献中。流传下来的文献中程度副词“很”或删改为其它程度副词，或用“狠”字代替。清中期以后，出于语言的明确性及文字功能的分化，程度副词“很”开始出现并分担“狠”的功能，专门表示程度，“狠”则继续表示凶狠义和程度义。由于清代的官话和以北京方言为基础的普通话等权威语言的影响，程度副词“很”进入到现代汉语的体系。现代汉语逐步规范化以后，“很”专职作程度副词。

探究漢語構式 V 掉、V 完之語意異同

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在漢語中，「V 掉」和「V 完」是兩種具語意重疊的動結構式，先前大多研究多比較「V 完」、「V 好」、「V 了」、「V 成」等動結構式（e.g. 陳忠，2008；丁萍，2009；馬雙，2010），或單從某一構式著手研究語義特徵或結構（e.g. 張國憲，1998；關玲，2003；曹逢甫，2007；崔廣華，2008）。先前研究指出，「V 掉」的語義大多歸結為客體的消失，表具有[+消失]、[+完成]的語義特徵（朴奎容，2000、劉焱，2007；曹逢甫，2007），而「V 完」則帶有[+終點]、[+強動作性]等語義特徵（崔廣華，2008）。然，「V 掉」和「V 完」雖在完成義上具有重疊，仍有不同之處。因此，本文聚焦於分析「V 掉」和「V 完」兩種構式所搭配的動詞類別以及構式整體的時貌，探究其時貌受搭配的動詞類別所影響情況為何並釐清兩構式之間的語義異同。本研究主要運用構式搭配分析法（Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2003）透過中央平衡語料庫進行語料調查其分布差異。

研究結果發現：(1)「V 掉」和「V 完」在時貌上多表示為瞬成類事件或完結類事件，例如和狀態改變動詞搭配的瞬成類事件：『賣掉』、『開完』等，亦或是和動作動詞搭配的完結類事件：『說完』、『去掉』等。(2)基於語料庫分析發現，動結構式「V 掉」和「V 完」在動詞搭配的類別上有明顯差異，「V 掉」多和涉及狀態或物質改變的動詞顯著搭配，如：丟、忘（cf. coll.strength：25.49）；「V 完」則常搭配認知想像類及動作動詞，如：說、看、做（cf. coll.strength：60.00 vs. 35.97 vs. 25.38）。(3)「V 掉」和「V 完」在整體語義特徵上也出現部分不同，「V 掉」語義特徵為[+使事物消耗／消失]、[+狀態改變]、[+完結]、[+物體位移]，用以描述「客體的消失或減少」、「心理狀態的改變」以及「客體的位移」，此結果與劉焱（2007）的研究結果相似，但在劉焱（2007）的結果中未提出「心理狀態的改變」；「V 完」呈現的語義特徵則為[+主語有生性]、[+強動作性]、[+完結]、[+使事物消耗／消失]、[+狀態變化]，和崔廣華（2008）所提出的語義特徵相似，加以表示「動作的完結」、「客體減少或消失」以及「狀態變化的終結」。

總體而言，儘管「V 掉」和「V 完」兩者在時態上都表示完結或瞬時事件，然本文指出兩種構式在所搭配動詞的類別上，除類別為狀態或物質改變、消失或減少的動詞外，其他動詞類別分散在不同的語義類別中，凸顯出不同的語義特徵。而在語義層面，兩者雖在『客體減少／消失義』相同，然主要差異在於「V 掉」強調「客體的位移」以及「心理狀態的改變」，「V 完」則強調「動作的完結」。

關鍵詞：動結構式；語料庫；構式搭配分析

也谈汉语中的冗余否定

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冗余否定具有跨语言的普遍性，不仅在英汉两种语言中存在，在欧亚大多数语言中都存在。我们倾向于认为它是介于否定呼应与否定强化之间的一种多重否定，这种多重否定形式既有普遍性，又有特殊性。普遍性是因为语言的冗余性是人类语言的普遍现象，语言冗余包括否定冗余；特殊性是因为冗余否定受制于语义条件，必须获得允准才合格。

汉语冗余否定多指否定词/否定标记的冗余意义，这种冗余可以分成两个大类，即肯定语境中否定词/否定标记的冗余和否定语境中否定词/否定标记的冗余。前者是单一否定，后者是多重否定，即隐性否定词与否定标记的连用，否定标记没有逻辑语义真值，句子仍表否定意义，其经典格式是“差点儿没 P”结构。

“差点儿没 P”结构有三种形式，分别为异形同义、同形异义以及同句异义。在异形同义结构中，差点儿没 P 与差点儿 P 同义，否定解读受制于评价预期，只有否定评价预期才允准否定解读。同形异义与同句异义是歧义结构，具有冗余否定和双重否定的歧义解读。

“差点儿没 P”的三个结构都含冗余否定解读，其冗余否定由“差点儿”本身的词汇义和否定标记共同引出。

“差点儿”像英语的 *almost/barely*、西班牙语的 *por poco*、法语的 *presque* 一样，具有“差不多”-副词 (*approximate adverbs*——AAs) 的基本特征，一方面，它们与程度副词的语义相关联，具有评价成分，体现说话人的评价预期，另一方面，它们与否定副词的语义相关联，具有隐性否定功能，可以逆转其辖域内命题的极性。当说话人对命题内容不确定、不期望命题内容发生或命题内容发生的可能性较小时，产生否定预期，往往回避陈述真值，这时需要一种语言手段悬置真值，表达说话人对命题的语义评价。否定标记“没”以冗余否定的形式触发评价性语义。冗余否定在语义层面表征非真实性，它既不确认命题的真值，也不否定命题的真值，而是悬置命题真值，悬置真值也是自然语言否定的一个合法功能。在“差点儿没 P”结构中，否定标记“没”有时承担这一功能，这一功能由否定评价预期启动。

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山东荣成话的谓词变音—兼及变音的单一来源说

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谓词变音是指某些汉语方言通过改变动词、形容词的语音形式来实现特定语法功能的现象，其具体表现包括变调、变韵、长音等多种形式（参看陈卫恒 2011、Lamarre 2015）。一般认为，谓词变音是由谓词词干与后附成分（如“了、着、到、得”）的合音引起的。在特定的方言里，谓词变音往往呈现出“同音异义”的特点，典型的例子如河南浚县话可用同一种动词的变韵形式标记完成体、持续体和终点格（辛永芬 2006）。谓词变音这种“同音异义”的特点引起不少国内外学者的关注，目前学界对此有如下几种解释：一种观点认为不同来源的合音成分遵循相同的弱化轨迹，最终在语音形式上趋同（赵日新 2007）；另一种观点认为这些合音成分拥有共同的语义基础，因此它们走向同音并非偶然（柯理思 2009）；还有观点认为最初发生弱化合音的只是个别成分，而其它成分的弱化合音则据此类推而来（Arcodia 2013）。

本文尝试依据山东荣成话的情况提出另一种可能，即不同功能的谓词变音来自谓词词干与单一语素的合音。根据调查，荣成话的谓词变音（表现为儿化变韵形式）具有标记完整体、位移终点和补语等多项功能，有关的例子如下所示：

- (1) 我吃儿[tɕ^hər²¹]三条鱼我吃了三条鱼。（标记完整体）
- (2) 别躺儿[t^hār²¹]地下别躺在地上。（标记位移终点）
- (3) 把桌子搬儿[pər⁵¹]出去把桌子搬出去。（标记趋向补语）
- (4) 我冻儿[tōr³³]坏了我冻坏了。（标记结果补语）

尽管变音在功能上表现出多样性，但就其来源而言，荣成话的变音应该只有“了”这一个合音成分。本文将会依次论证：（1）荣成话中标记完整体、位移终点的变音均源自谓词与“了”的合音；（2）荣成话中标记趋向补语的变音亦源自谓词与“了”的合音，而标记程度、结果补语的变音则由“V 儿 O 了”格式类推而来。以上观点得到当地变音的使用条件、周边方言材料以及历时文献材料的支持。

荣成话的案例带给我们的启示是，谓词变音的多功能性可能直接继承自某个单一的合音成分，这些不同的功能之间具有历时联系。研究谓词变音的不同功能有助于更好地认识它们之间的演变、发展关系。

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Oral Presentations

A Corpus-based Study of the Time Orientation of *qian* 'front' and *hou* 'back' in Chinese

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Based on corpus data and adopting a behavioral profile approach, this study examines the time orientation of Chinese words *qian* 'front' and *hou* 'back'. The corpus analysis yields the following findings. First, the primary temporal meaning of *qian* and *hou* is indicating time sequence, with *qian* meaning 'earlier' and *hou* meaning 'later'. Second, Chinese speakers tend to conceptualize the future as being ahead of them and the past behind them. Both *qian* and *hou* are found to refer to the past and the future. Their contradictory usage arises from the lack of a distinction between Ego-Reference-Point and Time-Reference-Point. Third, *qian* and *hou* are used mainly in five constructions as temporal words. Their constructional profiles reveal that their time orientation correlates with the constructions in which they occur. Based on the corpus results, this study also addresses the motivations underlying their time orientation in various constructions and argue that their time orientation stems from an interplay of temporal metaphors, the constructions in which they occur, and context.

In contrast to the previous qualitative and experimental studies, this corpus-based study demonstrates that Chinese speakers conceptualize the future as being ahead of them with the past behind them and construe the earlier times in front of the later times in the temporal sequence. It presents the first corpus evidence for Yu's (2012) view that the metaphorical orientation of time in Chinese is realized by the pair of conceptual metaphors FUTURE IS IN FRONT OF EGO and PAST IS BEHIND EGO. Moreover, based on corpus data, this study shows that the expressions involving *qian* and *hou* display a strong tendency to take Time as the reference point, which, in turn, suggests that the Time-RP metaphor plays a more important role than the Ego-RP in the time orientation of *qian* and *hou*. This point has not been explicitly mentioned in prior studies. In addition, by adopting a corpus-based behavioral profile approach, this study suggests that the time orientation of *qian* and *hou* in actual usage is negotiated through temporal metaphors, the constructions in which they occur, and the context. These findings suggest that speakers' metaphorical representations of time are shaped by a multitude of factors rather than single space-to-time mappings.

Keywords: Time orientation, metaphor, constructional profile, corpus-based, Chinese

Oral Presentations

From Yongming Style to Shen-Song Style: The Inheritance and Development of Tonal Prosody from a Statistical Perspective

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The Tang dynasty (618-907) is regarded as the golden age in Chinese civilization, during which time the Recent-style verse *jintishi* 近體詩, also known as Regulated verse *gelüshi* 格律詩, was consummated. Recent-style verse is highly regulated, which requires poets to follow a set of rules. Among those rules, tonal prosody is the most complex one which has not been fully understood. The answers to the questions that what the tonal patterns and the critical features of Recent-style verse are, and how the tonal prosody was developed throughout the history, remain unclear.

Yongming style 永明體 of the Yongming Era (483-493) and Shen-Song style 沈宋體 of the Early Tang Dynasty (618-712) are two of the most important stages in the history of poetic tonal prosody. The most significant contribution made by the litterateurs in the Yongming 永明 Era (483-493) is the discovery of the four tones of Middle Chinese, which is the foundation of poetic tonal prosody. And Shen-Song Style played a critical role in shaping the tonal prosody of Recent-style verse. These two styles of verse have been studied by lots of scholars, but most of them fail to systematically and scientifically distinguish the differences and similarities between the two.

Song and Zhang (2015) examine all the pentasyllabic poems of three important Yongming poets (Shen Yue 沈約, Wang Rong 王融, and Xie Tiao 謝朓). By applying statistical methods, they successfully discover two pair-wise contrast rules, Contrast 2-5 and Contrast 5-10, and six common pattern types in Yongming tonal prosody, as given below.

Pattern A	X / X - - ³⁴	mirror	Pattern D	X - X / / (excluding / - / / /)
Pattern B	XX - / -	mirror	Pattern E	XX / - /
Pattern C	X - / / -mirror		Pattern F	X / - - / (excluding / - / / -)

Inspired by Song and Zhang (2015), this study examines 159 pentasyllabic poems in *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (The Complete Collections of Tang Poems) Song Zhiwen 宋之問 collection and 93 pentasyllabic poems in Shen Quanqi 沈佺期 collection. By applying the chi-square test, this study will demonstrate that (1) There are significant differences between Yongming style and Shen-Song style in the *ping-ze* distribution within a couplet; (2) The overall tonal patterns that are preferred in Yongming style are different from that in Shen-Song style; and (3) The distributions of Pattern D, X - X / / (excluding / - / / /), are the same in the Yongming collections and Song Zhiwen's regulated poems. By systematically comparing the tonal prosody of Yongming style and Shen-Song style, this study will show the differences and similarities between the two styles and shed new light on the research of poetic tonal prosody development.

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³⁴ X stands for either *ping* tone or *ze* tone, - stands for *ping* tone, and / stands for *ze* tone.

究竟是词还是短语？：一项对汉语动补式结构的心理语言学研究

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关于汉语词和短语的区分问题，一直是现代汉语重要问题。以往的研究从语音、语义、语法角度来区分词与短语，但均未能解决这个问题（Duanmu, 1998）。近年来，心理语言学研究开始探讨词、离合词和短语的加工机制。结果发现，词和短语具有不同的加工机制，离合词不同于词，更接近短语（张珊珊、江火，2010）。本研究在此基础上，选取汉语动补式结构为研究对象，根据构词成分间能够插入成分的多少，分为以下四种类型：动补式复合词（构词成分间不能插入任何成分，如“杜绝”“加快”）、动补式紧凑结构（构词成分间只能插入“得/不”，如“打倒”“看中”）、动补式松散结构（构词成分间可插入多个成分，如“长大—长那么大”“喝醉—喝酒喝醉了”）和动补式短语（如：“喝饱”“长粗”）。同时，本研究采用空格切分范式（Bai et al., 2008，马利军、张积家，2014），考察不同类型的动补式结构的心理表征。

研究方法

被试：40 名汉语母语者（男女各半），非语言学、非心理学专业。

实验设计：4（结构类型：动补式复合词、动补式紧凑结构、动补式松散结构和动补式短语） \times 2（空格类型：无空格、有空格）的两因素设计。

实验材料：四种动补结构类型各 37 个，共 148 个目标词，匹配了熟悉度、习得年龄、具体性、语义透明度和笔画数（ $ps > 0.05$ ）。同时，还有 148 个假词，如：“变梨”、“举峰”。实验任务：词汇判断任务，

结果与讨论

使用 R 软件中的 lme4 程序构建混合效应的线性回归模型来。反应时结果表明，结构的主效应显著（ $\chi^2=37.2$, $df=3$, $p < 0.001$ ），空格的主效应显著（ $\chi^2=10.56$, $df=1$, $p < 0.01$ ），结构与空格的交互效应不显著（ $\chi^2=0.75$, $df=3$, $p > 0.05$ ）。由于结构、空格类型是我们关心的研究变量，所以进行有计划的两两对比。结果表明，无论是有无空格，短语的反应时长于另外三种类型（ $ps < 0.001$ ），复合词、紧凑结构、松散结构之间没有显著差异（ $ps > 0.05$ ）。在有、无空格的比较中，复合词和紧凑结构都是无空格的比有空格的反应更快（ $ps < 0.05$ ）；松散结构和短语都是有、无空格的反应时没有显著差异（ $ps > 0.05$ ）。正确率的结果表明，结构的主效应显著（ $\chi^2=53.5$, $df=3$, $p < 0.001$ ），空格的主效应不显著（ $\chi^2=0.07$, $df=1$, $p > 0.05$ ），结构与空格的交互效应不显著（ $\chi^2=1.28$, $df=3$, $p > 0.05$ ）。短语的正确率低于另外三种类型（ $ps < 0.001$ ），而复合同、紧凑结构、松散结构之间没有显著差异（ $ps > 0.05$ ）。

无论有无空格，动补式短语的反应时都长于其他三类，正确率低于其他三类。这说明短语作为临时组合，可能没有稳定的心理表征，加工更为困难。同时，动补式复合词和紧凑结构在有、无空格中均差异明显，而动补式松散结构和短语在无空格中没有差异。这说明，紧凑结构具有较为稳定的心理表征，更偏向于词；而松散结构心理表征并不稳定，倾向于短语，但又不同于短语。按照语法标准，紧凑结构和松散结构属于离合词。但离合词内部并不是同质的，与词和短语构成一个连续变化的连续统。因此，本研究结果不完全支持“离合词不同于词，更像短语”的观点，离合词应处于词和短语的过渡地带。

Production-Comprehension Asymmetries of Syntactic Processing in Chinese Older Adults

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Syntactic processing is essential to daily communication. It remains unclear how syntactic processing changes in both expressive and receptive modalities in older adults. The current study aimed to determine whether older adults produce and comprehend sentences in an asymmetrical manner, namely superior production performance but inferior comprehension performance, or vice versa. Furthermore, we explored how it is affected by memory systems, as language is the interference of various basic cognitive abilities, especially the declarative and procedural memory systems (Ullman, 2001; Wang, 1982). Language and memory performance data were collected from 23 younger (aged 24.4 ± 2.7 years; 13 females) and 19 older (aged 68.1 ± 2.6 years; 9 females) Chinese native speaker participants who were both cognitively normal. Participants were asked to complete a constrained production task, which requires them to construct sentences using words given to them. Two syntactic conditions were provided for the verbs that are capable of and are not capable of capturing the Ba construction. An assessment of receptive syntactic processing ability was conducted via the correctness judgment task. Participants were required to identify whether a Ba construction sentence with a word order violation is syntactically congruent or not, while the electroencephalogram (EEG) was recorded. Additionally, declarative memory and procedural memory were measured by the object recognition memory test and the serial reaction time test on two consecutive days. It was found that, regardless of the fact that older adults consumed much more time creating a sentence compared to their younger counterparts ($t(40) = 3.015, p = .004$), there was no significant difference between the two groups in terms of syntactic complexity, $t(40) = .828, p = .413$. Although both groups showed similar accuracy rates of comprehension tasks ($t(40) = -2.069, p = .05$), the main group effect ($F(1,40) = 11.55, p = .002$) was noticed via the omnibus ANOVA on the mean amplitude of the anterior negativity (NA) component elicited by the syntactic incongruent sentence compared to the congruent equivalent (Neville et al., 1991). Furthermore, a significant difference was found on older adults between the syntactic complexity and NA effects after min-max rescale ($t(18) = -4.041, p = .0007$), but not between the thinking time and accuracy rate ($t(18) = -0.698, p = .494$), suggesting that subtle production-comprehension asymmetry already permeated through the neural domains despite it being undetectable on the behavioral level. This potential asymmetry on the neural level may be due to lifelong divergent supports of declarative memory, since it was only correlated with production performance rather than comprehension performance.

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Exploring the Boundary Creation of Causative Events from the Perspective of Event Segmentation Theory: A Case Study of Direct and Indirect Causation

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Central to cognitive and linguistic functioning, event segmentation has become an important research topic in psychology and cognitive linguistics. Event segmentation specifies the process by which people parse a continuous stream of activity into meaningful events (Zacks & Swallow 2007). It is generally held that Macro-Event Property (MEP) can be the criteria for event segmentation in linguistic research (Bohnenmeyer et al. 2011). However, taking temporal property as the only index for event segmentation seems not to be irrefutable.

This study, from the perspective of event segmentation theory in psychology, investigates event boundary creation of direct and indirect causative events in Mandarin. Narratives were elicited from a set of 20 video clips of various causative situation and 30 native speakers of Mandarin Chinese were interviewed. The analysis of narrative data pinpoints divergences in segmentation of direct and indirect causative events.

The results indicate the follows. Firstly, for one given causative event, there exit multiple patterns of event segmentation in terms of different scales, to which a variety of alternative clausal structures map under the principle of iconicity. Multi-clausal structures corresponds to fine-grained segmentation patterns, whereas more concise gestalt structures are driven by coarse-grained segmentation pattern; Secondly, apart from temporal-spatial features, event participants, agent's goal and causative relation can be essential parameters in event segmentation. The demarcation points for boundary creation frequently occur in the achievement of (sub)goals and the accomplishment of (divided) actions; Thirdly, on the conceptual level, event segmentation drives linguistic representation while typological features can influence event segmentation in return. The segmentation scales effect the count of clause, and the demarcation points of event boundary are associated with the organization of clause structure. It is concluded that the scalar continuum of event segmentation provides cognitive explanation for the organization of clause structures from loose to integrated.

Keywords: Event segmentation; Event boundary; Causative events; Clausal union

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The Implicit Negation of the REGRET-type Predicates in Mandarin

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This article discusses the nature and the semantic effects of the implicit negation built in the lexical meaning of REGRET-type predicates in Mandarin. Predicates denoting REGRET or related meanings (such as *hòuhuǐ* 'regret', *yíhàn* 'sorry', and *zéguài* 'blame') are often treated as 'adversative predicates' or 'verbs of implicit negation' in previous studies. Unlike English *regret* and *sorry*, the NPI-licensing tests in this article show that the REGRET-type predicates in Mandarin cannot license all kinds of nominal, verbal or adverbial negative polarity items, which is also different from other typical verbs of implicit negation such as *jùjué* ('refuse') in Mandarin. I argue that the implicit negation of the REGRET-type predicates does not lie in the level of semantic presupposition as some previous studies suggest; Rather, the nature of the implicit negation of REGRET should be understood as the contrariness between the fact and the preferable alternative situation in the past, which reflects the inherent conceptual structure of counterfactual reasoning involved in the emotion of regret. One of the semantic effects of such implicit negation is that the REGRET-type predicates are more prone to activate a negative proposition within its scope than their positive counterparts (such as *gāoxìng* 'glad'), as my corpus study shows. Moreover, I argue that the negator *bù* ('not') in the so-called 'expletive negation' construction '*hòuhuǐ* (*bùgāi*) VP' is in fact a canonical negative word since it displays all kinds of semantic effects of negation. The negative element *bùgāi* ('should not have...') is one type of the counterfactual expressions triggered by the emotive predicates *hòuhuǐ* in the matrix clause.

Keywords: verbs of implicit negation; 'regret'; negative polarity; counterfactual thinking; expletive negation

Severing Free Choice Inferences from Exhaustivity—Free Choice (FC) Inferences as Common Cause Reasoning and the distribution of Mandarin FC Inferences in Intensional Contexts

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This paper carries out a comprehensive study on what kinds of attitude predicates in Mandarin Chinese give rise to free choice inferences in pragmatics involving disjunctors *huozhe/haishi*, that is, which Mandarin intensional attitudes license the following reasoning paradigm in pragmatics: $[\alpha V\text{-atti } p \vee q] \Rightarrow [\alpha V\text{-atti } p] \wedge [\alpha V\text{-atti } q]$ ('V-atti' stands for attitudinal predicates and 'α' is an attitude holder). Seven types of attitude predicates are discussed including knowledge-related veridical, epistemic, preference-based, speech act, inquisitive, habit-denoting, investigation-related and dependency verbs. Except dubitative and inquisitive predicates that are semantically downward entailing and semantically entail Free Choice inferences, only the predicates with a low degree of opinionatedness (formalized by a generalized entropy measure) pragmatically implicate Free Choice inferences. This is called the FC generalization.

Three objections are provided to the current exhaustivity-based analysis, particularly, Innocent Exclusion (IE) and Inclusion (II) EXH approach developed by Bar-Lev and Fox (2017) and Bar-Lev (2018), that treat pragmatic Free Choice inferences as scalar implicatures. First, there are well-documented experiments showing that Free Choice inferences resulting from pragmatic reasoning differs qualitatively from canonical scalar implicatures. Second, the current IE + II exhaustivity-based analysis does not consider the full range of propositional attitudes and it is unclear how it accounts for the FC generalization noted here. Finally, the IE + II EXH faces potentially insurmountable overgeneration problems (and other theoretical issues as well).

Based on these considerations, this paper proposes that Free Choice inferences resulting from pragmatic reasoning should be analyzed as a kind of uncertainty implicature and be derived by the common cause Bayesian reasoning in an operator-free manner. The proposed analysis analyses the signal $[\alpha V\text{-atti } p \vee q]$ as the common cause, from which two distributive Free Choice inferences $[\alpha V\text{-atti } p]$ and $[\alpha V\text{-atti } q]$ are derived coupled with uncertainty propagation. Specifically, an algorithm is supplied to predict which predicates allow pragmatic Free Choice inferences. The seven classes of Mandarin attitudes fall into two broad categories: representation and non-representation attitudes. For representational attitudes, maximizing the entropy represents the most likely state to derive pragmatic Free Choice inferences. For nonrepresentational attitudes, uncertainty is replaced with a desirability calculus and maximizing indifference represents the most likely state to derive pragmatic Free Choice inferences. If attitudes cannot to derive pragmatic Free Choice inferences in the most likely state, they will not allow pragmatic Free Choice inferences which are blocked by a high degree of opinionatedness. The maximal entropy/indifference provides the most likely and natural point to derive Free Choice inferences and can be used a litmus test to predict the distribution of pragmatic Free Choice inferences among attitudinal predicates. If this analysis is on the right track, it shows that exhaustivity (EXH) has nothing to do with Free Choice inferences, hence the plea to sever FC inference from EXH. Broader implications of this proposal are also discussed. In particular, induction and causal reasoning can play a significant role in studying formal pragmatics and human reasoning and the logicity-based deduction should not be granted with any privileged status as argued by the grammatical approach, henceforth, the G-view.

Keywords: Free choice inferences, propositional attitudes, common cause reasoning, maximal entropy, opinionatedness, ignorance, indifference, induction, the G-view

The Potential Source of the Processing Difficulty of Complement Coercion: A Self-paced Reading Study in Mandarin Chinese

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This study investigates the potential source of the processing difficulty elicited from complement coercion. *Complement coercion* involves repairing a semantic type mismatch between an event-selecting verb and an entity-denoting complement (Jackendoff, 1997; Pustejovsky, 1991). This phenomenon is found in sentences such as *Mary started a book*. It has been reported that the entity object elicited processing cost following the verbs that require an event argument, compared with the verbs that do not (e.g., *Mary read a book*). The processing cost was attributed either to the coercion-based semantic enrichment (i.e., coercing the entity object into an event sense) (Traxler et al., 2002), or simply to the lower predictability (thus, high surprisal) of the entity object preceded by an event-selecting verb (Delogu et al., 2017).

To test whether there is any coercion-related effect going beyond the surprisal in the processing of complement coercion expressions, we recorded 48 native Mandarin speakers' self-paced reading times on entity objects following three types of verbs (Delogu et al., 2017): a) *aspectual verbs* (coercion), which semantically select an event object, b) *neutral verbs* (non-coercion), which select either an event or an entity object, c) *control verbs* (non-coercion), which denote a preferred event interpretation for the expressions with aspectual verbs. It is important to note that the predictability of the entity objects after the neutral verbs was manipulated to be at the 'same' level as that after the aspectual verbs, which was achieved via a *cloze norming*. Two additional normings, *preference norming* and *acceptability norming*, were also carried out to generate 45 triplets of stimuli at last. One example is shown below. If the processing cost is triggered simply by the lower predictability of the entity objects, the aspectual verb and neutral verb sentences should elicit similar reading time slowdowns, compared with the control verb sentences. In contrast, if the processing cost is largely triggered by the coercion-based semantic enrichment beyond the surprisal, the aspectual verb sentences should require more processing demands than the other two types of sentences.

Data were analysed with linear mixed-effects models in R. The main effect of verb type was found at the two words after the object noun phrase. The word immediately after the object (e.g., 之前 *zhī-qian* 'before') was read more slowly after the aspectual verbs than after the neutral verbs ($t = -2.569$, $p = .014$) and the control verbs ($t = -2.941$, $p = .005$). The similar processing pattern was also detected at the subsequent word (e.g., 已经 *yǐ-jīng* 'already'), but the reading time difference reached the significance level only between the aspectual and control verbs ($t = -2.708$, $p = .010$). Overall, the results indicated that sentences with aspectual verbs require more processing efforts than those with neutral verbs, although their entity objects were controlled to be equally predictable. Such results are more likely compatible with the enriched composition account.

顾客(a)开始/(b)描述/(c)填写这份问卷之前已经选好商品。(CL= classifier)

gù-kèkai-shǐ/miáo-shù/tián-xiě zhè-fèn wèn-juàn zhī-qian yǐ-jīng xuǎn-hǎo shāng-pǐn

customer start/describe/fill in the-CL questionnaire before already select goods

'The customer has selected goods before starting/describing/filling in the questionnaire.'

Keywords: Complement coercion, Potential source, Self-paced reading, Mandarin Chinese

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The Representation of Variable Tone Sandhi in Shanghai Chinese

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Variation in phonological patterns challenges models of spoken word recognition. One crucial question is how listeners process and represent variant forms in the mental lexicon. It has been shown in behavioral experiments that more frequent forms were responded to more quickly than less frequent forms (e.g., American English word-final *t/d* deletion, Deelman & Connine, 2001). Ranbom & Connine (2007) further showed that in *nt*-flapping in English (e.g., [sɛrə] for *center*), the less frequent form [nt] also had a phonological representation in the lexicon, suggesting that both forms of a phonological alternation contribute to lexical access. These studies, however, mainly focused on variation of phonetic reduction processes, which can be interpreted as processes of late phonology (Coetzee & Pater, 2013). The processing of morpho-syntactically conditioned phonological alternations, which presumably occur earlier in the derivation, has received considerably less attention. The current study investigates one such alternation — a variable tone sandhi pattern in Shanghai Chinese.

The majority of disyllabic verb-noun (V-N) combinations in Shanghai Chinese can undergo a tonal extension tone sandhi, whereby the base tone of the first syllable is spread onto the entire disyllable. But the sandhi applies variably. For example, /ts^hã24/ “to sing” + /ku53/ “song” can be realized with either the sandhi form ([ts^hã33 ku44]) or the reduction form ([ts^hã44 ku53]). The current study investigated how V-N items with variant sandhi forms are processed during spoken word recognition, using an auditorily primed lexical decision experiment in which disyllabic V-N targets were primed by a monosyllable that shared the segments of the first syllable with different tonal conditions.

Forty native Shanghai speakers performed an auditory priming lexical decision task. Each disyllabic target (e.g., [kɔ44 zã13] / kɔ24 zã13/ “to file a grievance”) was preceded by a canonical tone prime ([kɔ24]), an extension tone prime ([kɔ33]), which shared the same tone with the initial syllable of the extension sandhi, a surface tone prime ([kɔ44]), which shared the same tone with the initial syllable of the reduction form, and an unrelated tone prime ([kɔ53]). All primes shared the same segments with the first syllable of the target. After the priming experiment, a familiarity rating task on the disyllabic targets was conducted with the same participants.

The results showed that both the canonical and extension primes facilitated the recognition of V-N targets, suggesting that underlying and extension forms are represented in the mental lexicon due to tone sandhi variation. The findings that both variants, underlying and extension forms, have an effect on V-N recognition is in accordance with Sumner & Samuel (2005), which showed equal effectiveness of different variants in activating a semantic associate in the short term. However, the lack of surface form priming as well as in Chien, Sereno, & Zhang (2016) is inconsistent with findings from Connine and colleagues and Sumner & Samuel (2005) that suggested that non-structure-preserving variants of phonemes (e.g., as the result of flapping or /t/-glottalization in English) are part of the lexical representation. We propose that this difference may have resulted from the different nature between phonological alternations that are morpho-syntactically conditioned or impact entire morphemes, such as Shanghai tonal reduction and Mandarin tone 3 sandhi, and speech-register conditioned reduction processes on the word level.

Taken together with findings from auditory priming studies of other tone sandhi patterns, the current study suggests that certain phonological properties of an alternation, such as its locality and phonological transparency, influence the representation of words undergoing the alternation. Like variation as the result of reduction in late phonology, variation that is syntactically sensitive should be represented in the lexicon as well.

The Dynamic Prominence Status of Thematic Roles in Simulated Mandarin Conversations

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In discourse the prominence status of an entity changes across time. Language systems employ syntactic and information-structural operations to reflect such dynamic status [1]. In Mandarin, various constructions can assign prominence to the Patient but with different magnitude. Specifically, BA-construction encodes the Patient before the verb rendering it conceptually more prominent than a neutral Patient in a canonical SVO structure but still less prominent than the sentence-initial Agent within BA-construction, whereas topicalisation (TOP), left-dislocation (LDT), focalisation (FOC) or BEI-construction encodes the Patient in the sentence-initial position ranking it more prominent even than the Agent. However, little is known about how Mandarin speakers in conversation generate messages that reflect the dynamic prominence status of thematic roles in an event. Do they maintain the prominence status of one particular thematic role across different messages? Do they take into consideration their interlocutors' information-seeking goals?

We investigated this in three experiments (N=48, 64 & 39) using a confederate-scripted priming paradigm in which participants and a confederate took turns to describe pictures to each other and judge whether their pictures matched the other's descriptions. The confederate always gave descriptions first using SVO, TOP, LDT or an intransitive baseline in Expts 1&3, or using SVO, TOP, FOC or an intransitive baseline in Expt 2. Participants then described a different picture depicting the same action with different animate Agent and inanimate Patient. Additionally, in Expt 3 interlocutors asked a scripted question before their partner gave descriptions and the Patient in the target picture was always topicalised in a question (e.g. *the table, who kick-fall le?*). Across all experiments, participants showed a tendency to maintain the prominence of the Patient: they were more likely to produce patient-prominent responses after a TOP ($p < .001$ in Expts 1&2; $p < .01$ in Expt 3) or FOC ($p < .001$ in Expt 2) than an SVO prime. Interestingly, LDT led to more patient-prominent responses than SVO did ($p < .01$) but less than TOP did ($p < .05$) in Expt 1, however, both differences disappeared in Expt 3 ($p = .52, .28$). Given that LDT shares prominence representation with TOP and (at least partially) syntactic representation with SVO, and that the topic-setting question interfered with primes in Expt 3, these results cannot be explained by purely syntactic priming but better explained by a priming effect of prominence independent of syntactic priming.

Moreover, even while maintaining prominence status, participants used constructions that were not used by their interlocutor. In Expts 1&2, they tended to use BA-construction (98% of patient-prominent responses in Expt 1; 86% in Expt 2) to elevate the prominence status of the Patient to a higher gradient but not as high as the animate Agent, suggesting that while maintaining prominence of the Patient, speakers adjust its magnitude to accommodate discourse constraints (e.g. animacy hierarchy). In contrast, in Expt 3 where participants' descriptions constituted an answer to their interlocutor's topic-setting questions, when producing patient-prominent responses they tended to use an ellipsis (45%), BEI-construction (20%) or TOP (25%) to rank the Patient more prominent even than the Agent despite the constraints of animacy hierarchy. This suggests that speaker's knowledge of their addressee's communicative goals influences their encoding of entity prominence in message planning in a top-down fashion that outweighs animacy. Taken together, our studies show that Mandarin speakers maintain the prominence status of a thematic role across different messages and in doing so they accommodate pragmatic constraints in dialogue.

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句法驱动下的专名隐喻现象

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隐喻不仅被认为是一种修辞现象、语用现象，同时也被认为是一种认知现象、语法现象。就专有名词而言，“曹操来了”就是一个典型的隐喻，其中“曹操”作为喻体关联另一个与之具有象似性的本体。简而言之，“曹操”所指称的并非曹操本人。也可以看出，专有名词可以不依赖句法结构实现语义转换。但专有名词同时也存在句法结构下的隐喻现象，比如“小 XX”、“新时代的 XX”、“第二个 XX”、“XX 第二”等，它们都是典型的专名隐喻的句法形式，如例（1）-例（5）所示。

- (1) “李白” [*堪称]
- (2) 小李白 [*堪称]
- (3) 新时代的李白 [堪称]
- (4) 李白第二 [堪称]
- (5) 第二个李白 [堪称]

但专名隐喻的上述表达形式存在内部的语义差异。我们用“堪称”一词对例（1）-例（5）的专名隐喻表达进行测试，发现例（1）和例（2）的隐喻表达不能搭配“堪称”，而只有例（3）-例（5）可以使用“堪称”这个词。我们推测专名隐喻的表达形式与本体和喻体之间的象似性有密切关联，从而形成了上述五类隐喻表达在隐喻程度上的连续统，即例（1）-例（5）隐喻程度呈依次递增趋势。而这种象似性归根结底应该是受到熟悉性的影响，具体表现为两个方面：一个是喻体特征的突显度，决定能否使用隐喻程度较低的形式；二是喻体特征的量，决定能否达到使用隐喻程度较高形式的要求。为了论证该观点，可通过特征罗列来分析上述五类专名的隐喻现象。

- (6) a. (李白) 男性、江油人、长相帅气、交友广
b. #小张是江油人，大家都叫他“李白”。
- (7) a. (李白) 诗人、写诗、有才、豪放、喝酒、放荡不羁、怀才不遇
b. 小张会写诗，大家都叫他“李白”。

首先，例（6a）中的特征通常不会作为本体和喻体（李白）之间象似性的判断标准，如例（6b）所示，不会根据他们在性别、籍贯、外貌等特征关联本体和喻体。而例（7a）所罗列的特征通常都可以作为关联本体和喻体的参考因素，如例（7b）所示。这是因为例（7a）中喻体的特征比例（6a）突显度高。

其次，在例（7）中，特征的选取会对使用哪种隐喻形式有直接影响。比如，例（7a）中，如果只选取其中某一个特征，那么只有“诗人”和“写诗”可以触发小张和李白之间的象似性，而其他特征还不足以达到。这也是受喻体特征的突显度的影响。但是，仅一个特征也只能满足使用例（1）的“李白”作为隐喻表达的条件，而不足以使用其他隐喻表达形式，如例（8）。这表明特征的量确实跟隐喻表达形式之间的隐喻程度相关。

- (8) 小张很会写诗，#我们都叫他新时代的李白/小李白/第二个李白/李白第二。

本文一方面探讨特征（即熟悉性）与不同隐喻表达形式的关系；另一方面，从句法驱动的角度分析不同句法结构对专名隐喻意义的语义影响。

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Liang(two)-CL-NPs and Definiteness in Shaoxing Wu

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Besides as a cardinal numeral denoting number 'two', numeral 'Liang' in Chinese dialects including Mandarin has been widely reported to be used as an approximate number, which is similar to ji 'some' (Lü 1999, Tsai 2002, Wang et.al 2012, Sheng 2019). Such usage of 'liang-CL-NP' in Mandarin however is quite restricted and the approximate interpretation is available only when 1) the tone of 'liang' is neutral and 2) the phrase of 'liang-CL-NP' appears postverbally; otherwise, the 'liang' is only available to be interpreted as quantity 'two' instead of some, as indicated in (1) below.

- (1) a. 她炒了兩個菜。(not neutral)

she fried ASP two CL dish

She cooked two dishes.

- b. 來客人了，炒兩個菜去。(neutral tone and postverbally)

come guest ASP, fried two CL dish go

We have guests and I will go to cook some dishes.

(Wang et.al 2012)

Differing from Mandarin, the approximative reading of 'liang-CL-NP' in Shaoxing Wu are free to be available whenever it appears preverbally or postverbally which is normally interpreted as definite or specific in the preverbal position as in (2) while in the postverbal position is usually understood as indefinite, as in (3):

- (2) 介許多下飯十葛兩個小人奈咯喫得光耐?

so many dishes very two CL little person how eat PART finish PART

There's too many food but few kids. How can they eat up all the food?

- (3) 蘋果)我太多葛多哉，諾馱兩個去。

apple I too many part, you carry two CL go

I have too many apples and you may take some.

Moreover, the 'liang-CL-NP' is preferred in cases such as anaphoric definite reference as in (4), bridging cross-reference as in (5) and reference to salient visible entities as in (6), where a definite reference is used (Simpson 2017).

- (4) 做勿齊嘛我請勒兩個人。不過，兩個人(*葛兩個人)都勿奈咯會做喇。

do not up PART I hire ASP some CL person. But, some CL person all not very can do PART

I can not finish all by myself, so I hired some workers. Those workers however are not helpful.

- (5) 諾買了部二手車啊，兩個輪胎(?輪胎)剛剛換過搭來，嚟嚟新搭來。
(plural entities)

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you buy ASP CL second hand car PART, some CL tires just now change ASP PART,
very very new PART Did you buy a second car? The tires seem just to be changed and look
very new.

- (6) 哦 真当随孤人啊， 两 个 小 人(*葛两个小人/?小人) 骇 死 哉啊。
PART really pity PART, some CL little person scare dead PART
What a pity! The kids were shocked by the accident.

It thus serves as a typical Shaoxing Wu strategy together with bare CL-NPs and bare noun phrases to highlight different aspects of definiteness, as in (4)-(6) above. By examining in detail the spoken data drawn from naturalistic texts like *Lianhualuo* (Chinese traditional Opera in Shaoxing Wu) and conversations by local people, we in this paper aim to report the properties of 'liang-CL-NP' and the alternations between 'liang-CL-NP' and other patterns such as bare nouns, CL-NPs and Dem-CL-NPs to represent different definite reference, which has rarely been mentioned in the literature.

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“总是”和“老是”的对比辨析

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本文从人称搭配、概率类型和扫描方式三方面考察了“总是”和“老是”的异同。首先，通过考察二者与不同人称的组配，指出：“老是”的主观评价是其规约含义，但“总是”的主观评价是一种会话含义，源自说话人信息权威的丢失。然后，结合二者的语义演变路径，指出“总是”既是频率副词、主体间概率副词；“老是”是时间副词、主观概率副词。二者因同为概率副词而可以互换，“老是”因说话人无需提供证据而具有负面色彩。最后，从对时间的认知加工角度来看，“总是”属于次第扫描，“老是”属于总括扫描。这种差异导致二者存在一系列句法分布差异。

MSC Variations in Metaphorization among Pan-Chinese Speech Communities

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That Chinese has many dialects is well-known, but there is less recognition of the varieties of spoken Putonghua and the underlying varieties of Modern Standard Chinese (MSC), with ongoing developments in, for example, Beijing/Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. The body of literature on MSC variations, not only is relatively small, but also focuses mainly on lexical variations or differences in predominantly *morpheme-based* syntactic constructions (e.g. Shi et al. 2006, Diao 2014, Lin et al. 2018).

This paper offers a new perspective on variations in MSC in several notable Chinese speech communities (Beijing, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan) by adopting a *process-based* approach. We stress the role played by dynamic developments of semantic processes such as metaphorization, an important intermediary stage of grammaticalization (Bybee & Pagliuca 1985, Claudi & Heine 1986, Sweetser 1988). We also discuss how the differing trajectories of metaphorization may be linked to socio-cultural interactions and internal language contact among Pan-Chinese speech communities.

This study focuses on the metaphorization of light verbs, exemplified by common but inadequately studied light verbs such as, *da* 'hit', which has undergone robust metaphorical extension from physical striking (e.g. *dasi* 'beat-to-death') to a semantically bleached light verb (e.g. *daya* 'suppress, (lit.) hit-press'). Drawn from the 22-year data of the Pan-Chinese synchronous database LIVAC (Tsou & Kwong 2015), 812 *da*-compound verbs were extracted over the two decades, with over 230,000 tokens in the four Chinese speech communities. The verbs with metaphorical polysemy usage (i.e. covering both literal and metaphorical usage) are singled out for annotation and analysis based on authentic textual samples extracted from two time periods: (i) 1995-2000 and (ii) 2011-2016. A measure, Metaphorization Index (MI), is proposed to quantify latitudinal and longitudinal variations.

While Beijing, Hong Kong and Macau show similar MI values, Taiwan has a significantly lower one, suggesting a lower degree of metaphorization than the other three communities. However, a closer examination reveals that Beijing, Hong Kong and Macau also differ considerably in their internal developments. For example, while the metaphorical usage of *dazhang* 'hit-conflict' meaning 'to compete' has begun to emerge in Hong Kong, this metaphorization process has not yet started in Beijing and Macau where *dazhang* retained its literal meaning as 'battle in war'. Interestingly, Taiwan's development in *dazhang* parallels Hong Kong. The same is observed for other verbs as well, e.g. *daxiang* 'hit-loud', *daxia* 'hit-down' etc. The striking parallel developments in Beijing/Macau vs. Hong Kong/Taiwan reflect interesting socio-cultural interactions upon qualitative analysis on the textual samples. Apart from *da*-compound verbs, other light verbs also have similar asymmetric developments in the four communities. For example, the usage of *zuo* 'make' has drastically increased from 95-00 to 11-16 in Hong Kong and Taiwan, accompanied by a corresponding decrease of *jinxing* 'proceed'. This sharp shift from *jinxing* to *zuo*, however, is not found in Beijing, and Macau even underwent a reverse development. Moreover, the grammatical properties of *jinxing* also differ across communities, again showing a split in Beijing/Macau vs. Hong Kong/Taiwan.

Adopting a process-based approach, this paper offers a novel dynamic perspective and shows how MSC varieties have developed differently in metaphorization and grammaticalization, which also enables us to explore the socio-cultural interactions and contact among Pan-Chinese speech communities through parallel and differential developments of the language.

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How Chinese Conceptualizes and Expresses Interactivity in Terms of Solidarity

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This study analyzes how Chinese conceptualizes and expresses INTERACTIVITY in terms of SOLIDITY within the framework of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) of Cognitive Linguistics. The concept of INTERACTIVITY is here defined as the phenomenon of nonphysical interaction between two abstract entities in a particular relationship, either with two separate entities interacting with each other, or with one enclosed in the other, thus the latter being the environment or context in which the former is situated. Such interaction is often construed metaphorically as physical contact or collision between physical objects with various degrees of hardness or softness. Thus, the interaction can be conceptualized as two physical objects contacting or colliding with each other in a receptive or resistant manner. In a resistant or confrontational context, the object made of harder material will prevail. In a receptive or engaging context, however, the object made of soft material tends to produce positive result. Here, the degree of hardness or softness of the physical object is what is referred to as SOLIDITY. That is, it primarily refers to a tactile experience: Objects feel hard or soft with different types of material they are made of. However, the degree of hardness or softness can be a visual judgment as well. For instance, a piece of iron may look harder than a piece of sponge without being touched.

It is argued in this paper that the conceptualization and expression of the interaction between abstract entities can be summarized by a “primary metaphor” (Grady 1997a, 1997b; Grady and Ascoli 2017): INTERACTIVITY IS SOLIDITY, where INTERACTIVITY is the target concept whereas SOLIDITY is the source concept. This primary metaphor is based on the recurring experiential correlation between the hardness of an object and the durability it possesses or between the softness of an object and the comfortability it provides. In the physical world, harder objects are usually more durable in unfavorable conditions and less susceptible to deformation, erosion, or corrosion from external forces. This is why many heavy-duty tools that we use in our everyday life are made of hard metal, such as knives, scissors, files, and pliers. In contrast, soft objects usually feel more comfortable than hard objects and therefore tend to be more engaging. That is also why many daily-life articles such as pillows, cushions, and clothes are made from soft materials. In short, hard objects can change the form of other less hard objects without their own shape being changed in a confrontational context, whereas soft objects are more agreeable or appealing to the entities in contact with them in a receptive context.

In light of the preceding definition and conception, this study looks at the Chinese adjectives expressing various degrees of solidity, including 硬 *yìng* ‘hard’, 坚 *jiān* ‘solid’, 刚 *gāng* ‘firm’, 软 *ruǎn* ‘soft’, and 柔 *róu* ‘supple’. It examines how such words from the domain of Physical Solidity can express the interaction between abstract entities through metaphorical semantic extensions, guided by the primary metaphor INTERACTIVITY IS SOLIDITY. The data are collected from major linguistic corpora and daily natural discourse online. The analysis of the data shows that the primary metaphor under discussion governs extremely extensive and rich linguistic patterns in the Chinese language, where the adjectives expressing the properties of solidity have consistently developed lexicalized senses in the domain of Interactivity. For instance, 硬 *yìng* ‘hard’ is associated with strength (强硬 *qiángyìng* ‘strong; unyielding’) and 软 *ruǎn* ‘soft’ with weakness (软弱 *ruǎnrùo* ‘weak; submissive’) in the attitude and behavior toward others in the context of confrontational interaction. A comparative analysis of the data also shows that the primary metaphor INTERACTIVITY IS SOLIDITY is especially richly manifested in Chinese in contrast with English, where the salient primary metaphor with the same source is DIFFICULTY IS SOLIDITY, which also exists in Chinese, but manifests itself to a quite limited extent.

The Focus Structure in Northern Wu Chinese

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This paper proposes that ‘focus structure’ dominates the word order of northern Wu Chinese, following the line of logic of Chao (1968), Li, Thompson (1981) and LaPolla (1990, 1995). Specifically, **i)** a semantic focus is required to be placed preverbally, while **ii)** a pragmatic focus should be postverbal.

Firstly, spoken languages and historical vernacular texts suggest that foci of operators, e.g., ‘都’ (even), display an asymmetrical distribution, where postposed focus is infelicitous. Consider the Shaoxing dialect in (1):

- (1) -你今年三十几？ (How old are you in your thirties?)
- (a) -# 我 也 有 [四十岁]_F 哉！
 1 operator have forty years SFP
 s
 ‘I’m even over FORTY!’ (Intended)
- (b) - 我 [四十岁]_F 也 有 哉！
 1 forty years operator have SFP
 s
 ‘I’m even over FORTY!’

In contrast to Mandarin, whose semantic foci are symmetrical:

- (2a) 我 都 有 [四十岁]_F 了！
 1s operator have forty years SFP
 ‘I’m even over FORTY!’
- (2b) 我 [四十岁]_F 都 有 了！
 1s forty years operator have SFP
 ‘I’m even over FORTY!’

The same issue arises in other quantificational operators, e.g., ‘才’ (only if), ‘就’ (only), ‘也’ (also), ‘又’ (again). On the other hand, pragmatic focus (ie. information focus) tends to succeed the main verb immediately, as is in (3).

- (3) -苹果有有吃患咚来？ (Did you finish the apples?)
- 吃 得 [一个]_F 患 带 哉！
 eat TAM one Cl. finish TAM SFP
 ‘I finished ONE.’

While a ‘broad focus’ sentence (Lambrecht 1994) keeps the verbal complements there, leaving the object preverbally.

- (4) 我 苹果 一 个 吃 患 带 哉哩 (，奈个还弗来来)！
 1s apple one Cl. eat finish TAM SFP
 ‘I have already finished an apple.’ (Why does he still not come?)

Additionally, reference tracking in northern Wu reflects the pragmatic focus configurationality. As Wang (2016) pointed out, northern Wu shows a restriction that a definite classifier phrase (CLP) cannot be accommodated in the postverbal position (in comparison to

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Cantonese, where a CLP after verb is ambiguous in definiteness). This paper argues that it is because the discourse-given entities are excluded (Kuno 1972, Li, Thompson 1975, Prince 1992), and similar patterns could be found in pronouns and other nominal phrases.

Keywords: focus, information structure, Wu Chinese, word order

Repetition of a Time: *shíshí* (時時) in Mandarin Chinese

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In the sinologue literature, *shíshí* is labelled as a frequency adverb, such as “adverbs of medium frequency” (中頻副詞)(Shi and Hu 2004, Zou 2011), together with 經常, 常常, 時常, 頻頻, 屢屢 since they indicate repetitions of an occurrence of an action. Zou (2011) observes that *shíshí* denotes two situations, durative and repetitive according to its co-occurrence with a state verb (1) or a telic verb (2). *shíshí* which is durative can be substituted by 一直 while *shíshí* which is repetitive can be replaced by 常常 (2).

(1) 他的高風亮節時時/一直/*常常銘記在我的心中。(durative)

(2) 那組合起來的光亮時時/常常/*一直重新組合。(repetitive)

However, it can be found that in (3), the state verb 擔憂 can co-occur with 常常, not with *shíshí*. This also shows *shíshí* should not be classified in the same paradigm with 常常.

(3) 他吃止痛藥時, {總/經常/常常/*時時/*頻頻}擔憂傷身。

I will propose a unified account that *shíshí* denotes a repetitive situation only. Firstly, according to the definition of the three-level verbal plurality (*phase, event, occasion*) discussed in Cusic (1981), *shíshí* repeats an event which has to be in a single occasion indicated by 吃止痛藥時 while 總/經常/常常 repeats an occasion (3). Secondly, *shíshí* is associated with the boundedness and the telicity of the predicates with which it can co-occur. It can be observed that *shíshí* is compatible with states and achievements and incompatible with activities, semelfactives and accomplishments (4-5) (cf. five types of predicates (Smith 1997)).

(4) 他時時掛念孩子/打碎東西, 手上有什麼摔什麼(state/achievement)

(5) 他*時時寫故事/咳嗽/寫一篇文章 (activity/semelfactive/accomplishment)

The verbal units pluralized by *shísi* are distinct (6), which allows the co-occurrence with the adverb 都. This leads to postulate that since *shíshí* pluralizes an event, there are non-overlapping hiatus temporal intervals between two events (Stump 1981, van Geenhoven 2004).

(6) 他時時(都)思念祖國。

I will show that *shíshí* repeats an event which is a temporal interval viewed as bounded. Since the event denoted by *shísi* is a temporal interval, the adverb is able to bound an achievement (telic) and a state (durative) into the verbal unit. This shows *shísi* repeats a state and an achievement in the same way. A durative situation denoted by *shísi* is not allowed. In sum, *shísi* repeats an event and each event is bounded and distinct in one single occasion.

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A Typological Split of Tai-Kadai Languages along Political and Natural Borders

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Tai-Kadai, a language family indigenous to Far Southern China, can be classified through a conventional historical-comparative method into three major branches: 1) Kra, 2) Hlai, and 3) Kam-Tai (further divided into the Kam, Be, and Tai sub-branches) (Edmonson & Solnit 1997). In the current study, we present an alternative areal-linguistic view that the typological profiles of Tai-Kadai languages display a sharp split between those spoken inside and outside China, which is related to contact with Sinitic.

The variation pattern across Tai-Kadai languages manifests in all areas of language structure, particularly in word order. Typologically, Tai-Kadai are predominantly head-initial languages which place the head before the dependent, e.g., [house-big] 'big house', [I-depart-tomorrow] 'I will depart tomorrow', [dog-which-sleep] 'a dog which is sleeping'. In any case, Tai-Kadai languages inside China have reportedly begun to employ head-final patterns which are currently used alongside and gradually replacing the erstwhile head-initial constructions, e.g., Mulao *naŋ24 ne53* [dog-yellow] = *naŋ24 ne53* [yellow-dog] 'yellow dog' (Bo 2002: 59–60). This phenomenon is taking place in multilingual speech communities, exhibiting an intense contact with Sinitic, a branch of Sino-Tibetan languages with head-final syntax (Dryer 2003).

Our comparative set of typological features across Tai-Kadai languages contain ten isoglosses, which are investigated through binary values: 1 = present vs. 0 = absent. These isoglosses roughly illustrate the typological divide, as given in Map 1. The results imply that the major typological split among modern Tai-Kadai languages can be either associated with China as a political border, or with the foothills of the Himalayas as a natural border.



Map 1. Splitting isoglosses of Tai-Kadai languages

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從「是乜」到「乜嘢」—粵方言事物疑問代詞詞形演變考論

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本文通過考察粵語及周邊方言事物疑問代詞的詞形及其地理分佈，指出粵語最原始的事物疑問代詞為「是乜」，來源自唐代中期出現的疑問代詞「是物」；位處兩廣內陸的勾漏片粵語及小部分平話方言，是如今唯一區域性地保存「是物」原始語音面貌特徵的方言群。本文繼而論證粵方言事物疑問代詞曾經歷「是乜」>「是乜嘢」>「乜嘢」>「乜/咩」的演變，並指出在「是乜」上疊加指物名詞性成分「嘢東西」的動因或與語言接觸有關。

共時層面上，大部分粵語方言的事物疑問代詞都作「乜嘢」，由疑問語素「乜_{什麼}」和指物名詞性成分「嘢_{東西}」組成。惟部分勾漏片粵語使用不可分析的雙音節疑問代詞「是乜」詢問事物（見表1），並構成明顯的區域性分佈。通過和其他漢語方言的比較，本文指出勾漏片粵語「是乜」並非後期方言接觸所導致的混淆形式（contaminated form）。本文認為「是乜」所反映的歷史層次比大多數漢語方言要早，勾漏片粵語是極為罕見、能同時保存唐代疑問代詞「是物」首音節開韻尾及次音節入聲韻尾兩個語音特徵的方言。

本文亦從語言接觸及詞彙化、語法化相關詞形演變機制出發，解釋「是乜」中「是」的脫落和「嘢_{東西}」的附加。本文認為，粵語受到壯侗語事物疑問代詞「指物成分+疑問語素」詞形結構的影響，在原有疑問代詞「是乜」上疊加指物成分「嘢_{東西}」；而後由於經濟原則和對雙音節詞的偏好，部分粵語選擇省略語義更虛且位處首音節的焦點標記「是」，導致事物疑問代詞經歷「是乜」>「是乜+嘢」>「乜嘢」的詞形演變。勾漏片粵語或因「是乜」詞彙化進程較其他粵語迅速，「是乜」一早喪失內部結構性（internal constituency）而變為不可分析的雙音節疑問代詞，從而保留了最早期的形態面貌。

表1、使用「是乜」形式事物疑問代詞的粵語方言

方言點	詞形	方言點	詞形
連山 _{吉田}	什麼 [ɿ ³³ mət ⁵⁵]	岑溪	是乜 [ɿ ²¹ met ⁵]
藤縣	是乜 [ɿ ⁴⁴ met ⁵]	蒙山 _{陳塘}	是乜 [ɿ ³¹ met ⁵]
賀州 _{大寧}	□□ [ɿ ³³ muot ⁵]	蒼梧 _{石橋}	是乜 [ɿ ²² met ⁵]
昭平	什物 [si ²⁴² met ²]	興業 _{石南}	□□ [θi ²¹ mat ²⁴]

The Development of the Chinese Cleft Construction: A Constructionalization Approach

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This paper addresses the development of the Chinese cleft construction, and how the cleft constructional network was formed and developed in the history of Chinese. In Modern Chinese, two types of copula clefts co-exist and they are [NP SHI (XP) VP DE] (abbreviated as VP de clefts) and [NP SHI (XP) V DE NP] (abbreviated as V de NP clefts). Both of the copula clefts cue specificational and contrastive meaning, in which the copula functions as a focus marker marking the immediate post-copula element as a contrastive focus. Adopting the approach of constructionalization, Zhan and Traugott (2015) discussed the emergence of the copula clefts focusing on VP de clefts, yet leaving the development of V de NP clefts untouched. Building on Zhan and Traugott (2015), this study focuses on the gradual development over time of V de NP clefts as well as its relationship with VP de clefts in the cleft constructional network. It is argued that V de NP clefts emerged around 1250 CE which was about 350 years later than VP de clefts (occurred around 900 CE). A key factor in their development is the use in Middle Chinese of relative clause in post-copula position. I argue that the emergence of V de NP clefts also involved analogization to the extant copular construction with deferred reference, which gave rise to semantic and syntactic neoanalysis. When VP de clefts came into being, the network of the cleft construction simultaneously emerged. Once V de NP clefts occurred, they were recruited into the network as a subschema, joining VP de clefts which was adjusted to be the other subschema in the network, resulting the schematic network augmented and expanded. The study is a contribution to the developing field of constructionalization by making more explicit the way how nodes are created in a constructional network and how the network is reorganized and expanded.

再议宽、窄焦点

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本文在刘莹、程工（2021）的基础上，进一步讨论了现代汉语中的“是...的”句，“是”字句以及“的”字结构所涉及的宽、窄焦点的界定问题，窄焦点句中“V的O”和“VO的”的转换问题，以及窄焦点句中“的”的属性问题。我们沿用刘莹、程工（2021）对宽、窄焦点在语义上的认定，认同其“出现在宽焦点句中的‘的’是加强肯定语气的句末语气词”这一论断，但不认同该文对于宽、窄焦点的检验标准，以及“对于出现在窄焦点中的‘的’标记事件的已然性”这一说法。

本文认为检验宽、窄焦点句最有效的手段有两个：1）形式上看重读 2）语义上看预设以及该句和预设之间的关系。如果“是”重读那必然是宽焦点句；如果紧跟“是”的成分重读那必然是窄焦点句。如果是确认或者否认预设那么就是宽焦点；如果是满足预设并排除其他，则是窄焦点。宽焦点句中的“是”字重读，表确认及肯定语气，强调说话人当前表达的命题为真，并且确认听话人的论断或者预设。在有“是”的情况下，“是...的”句的句末“的”可省；在无“是”的情况下，则句末“的”必须出现，承担起加强语气的作用。“的”体现了说话人和听话人对于当前问题存在争议，强调说话人当前表达的命题为真，并且希望听话人能够接受这一观点。窄焦点句中“是”是焦点标记，标记紧跟其后的成分为窄焦点，应该重读，而“是”不重读。窄焦点即为对比焦点，不仅是对预设的识别性断言，而且体现了穷尽性和排他性（排一性）的特征。本文认为现代汉语中有三类窄焦点句，分别是：“（是）...的”（即（是）VO的）句，“（是）V的O”以及“是...”分裂句。在“（是）...的”窄焦点句中，“是”在互动语境中可省，而句末“的”不可省。“（是）V的O”是最典型的窄焦点句，必须表示已然；而其他两类窄焦点句除了表示已然，也可表示常态或未然。然而只有表示已然的“（是）VO的”和“（是）V的O”窄焦点句才可以互相转换。此外，本文还通过对历史来源的考察证明了现代汉语典型窄焦点句“（是）V的O”中的“的”为关系小句标记“的”，而窄焦点句“（是）...的”中的“的”为名词化标记。

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汉语全称量化词的语义映射规则

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Heim (1982) 等用三分结构来描述量化词的语义映射, 指出: 量化词的三分结构可以由句法位置决定, 也可以由语义乃至语用因素决定。潘海华 (2006) 等提出全称量化词“都”的三分结构由句法和语义因素共同决定。那么, 汉语其他全称量化词的语义映射是怎样的? 映射规则受哪些因素影响? 具有怎样的规律?

我们认为汉语缺少限定词位置上的全称量化词, A型全称量化词是汉语实现全称量化的主要方式。根据A型全称量化词与谓词的相对句法位置可将其分为: 修饰性(谓词前)和补足性(谓词后补足语位置)两类。又根据是否具有内在的排他性特征, 将修饰性全称量化词分为排他性和非排他性两个小类。下面将分别讨论上述类别全称量化词的映射规则及影响因素。

总的来说, 汉语全称量化词的三分结构既可以由焦点规则决定, 又可以由关联对象映射规则决定。前者指焦点(短语)被映射到核心部分, 句子的其余部分被映射到限定部分。后者指关联对象被映射到限定部分, 句子的其余部分被映射到核心部分。

排他性全称量化词(即排他性副词), 所引出的三分结构只由焦点规则决定, 无论其关联方向为何种情况, 如“才”。“才”既可以左向关联又可以右向关联。即使左向关联, 其三分结构也由焦点规则决定。例如(1a)可能的三分结构为(1b)。

- (1) a.[张三]F才是我要找的人。 b. $\forall x[x\text{是我要找的人}][x=\text{张三}]$

非排他性全称量化词的语义映射情况较为复杂, 视乎其关联方向及关联对象是否为对比/疑问焦点。(i) 当左向有显性的复数性表达而右向没有对比/疑问焦点时, 相关量化词左向关联, 其三分结构由关联对象映射规则决定, 如(2a)可能的三分结构为(2b)。(ii) 当左向没有显性的复数性表达而右向有对比/疑问焦点时, 相关量化词关联该焦点, 该量化词的三分结构由焦点规则决定。例如(3a)可能的三分结构为(3b)。(iii) 当左向存在显性的复数性表达且右向有对比焦点时, 如果相关量化词左向关联, 则其三分结构仍由关联对象映射规则决定, 如(4a)中“都”可能的三分结构为(4b)。如果该量化词右向关联焦点, 则其三分结构由焦点规则决定。此时(4a)可能的三分结构如(4c)。

- (2) a.他们都喜欢唱歌。 b. $\forall x[x \in [\text{他们}]] [x\text{喜欢唱歌}]$
 (3) a.他总找[李四]F去看电影。 b. $\forall x[\text{他找}x\text{去看电影}][x=\text{李四}]$
 (4) a.他们都选的[李四]F b. $\forall x[x \in [\text{他们}]] [x\text{选的}[\text{李四}]F]$ c. $\forall x[\text{他们选的}x][x=\text{李四}]$

补足性全称量化词不具有排他性特征。由于其补足语的句法身份和自身的词汇语义, 总是选择深层结构中动词的内论元作为关联对象。在句子的表层结构中, 该类词既可以左向关联又可以右向关联, 其所引出的三分结构只由关联对象映射规则决定。例如(5a)中补足性“光”可能的三分结构为(5b)。

- (5) a.他把杯子里的咖啡喝光了。 b. $\forall x[x \in [\text{杯子里的咖啡}]] [\text{他把}x\text{喝了}]$

“还”主观性的漂移

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一、引言

一般认为，“还”的主观性有两种意义，即“持续义”和“反预期义”。“还”的这两种主观性之间有无关系？若有关系，二者是如何建立起这种关系的？建立这种关系背后的心理路径是怎样的？

二、表持续义的“还”

(1) 镇企业每年都是百分之二十几的增长率,持续了几年,一直到现在**还**是这样。(借自谢白羽)

高增霞(2002)指出,“延续”的情景应该至少含有两个实体A、B,并且A、B两项在有向轴上按顺序排列,B是续项(非起始项),延续即是续项上的状态P与前项的关系。我们认为,表持续义的“还”是“还”主观性的基础,其表示的内在时间的持续性是其发展到“反预期”义的逻辑起点。

三、表追加的“还”

(2) 我去了八达岭,**还**去了颐和园。

(3) 对于穷戏迷来说,这应该是很讲“戏道”了,而剧场也会避免冷落局面,人头攒动,演员在台上唱戏就更有劲头。“闭一只眼”的学问还不尽于此。

(“闭一只眼”的学问一看蹭戏想到的《文汇报》)

对于例(2)的两个事件“去了八达岭”和“去了颐和园”,有人理解说话人两个行为动作的持续,但有人开始理解为后一事件是说话人对前一事件描述的追加。对于例(3)的表述就是相对比较明确的追加义。“不尽于此”的出现,说明写作者(说话人)“还”之前的表述是其重点。

从追加义开始,“还”成为了说话人更主观性表达的标记。因为将哪一事实或事件定为追加,很大程度上都是由说话人的主观态度决定的。对于说话人而言持续义还具有心理上的时间性,是“还”更客观的意义,而追加义则加入了更多说话人的主观视角。就思维的一般路径而言,更具客观性的持续义“还”应在具有主观性的追加义“还”之前。

四、反预期的“还”

(4) 这年月的猪比人**还**娇贵呀!(老舍《四位先生》)

反预期是一种非直线的理解方式,是一种更为复杂和有难度的理解过程。一般认为应该处于思维的后段。即反预期的“还”应该是在持续义-追加义之后出现的,而不是相反的过程。

五、“还”主观性的漂移路径

“还”的两种主观性意义之间存在着关联。持续义是更基础的意义,在持续义发展的基础上产生了追加的意义。追加意义时,在表示持续的同时,说话人的主观视点仍在事实或事件前项,后项并非焦点。反预期的“还”是在持续义的基础上,说话人的主观视点已经漂移至事实或事件后项。

“还”主观性的漂移路径可以表示为:持续义>追加义>反预期义

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汉语动词“对”的语义演变

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“对”是古今汉语中的一个常用词。笔者发现,《汉语形义分析字典》、《汉字源流字典》、《汉字形义演释字典》(王朝忠 2006、《字源》等辞书,有关“对”的形义源流梳理大相径庭,对于先秦两汉时期“对”三个主要义位“答也;应也”“配也”“向也”的衍生关系更是众说纷纭,这主要是因为关于常用词“对”的词义演变,至今未见系统研究。

本文以 CCL 语料库-古代汉语语料库为支撑,同时广泛收集历代文献资料,全面考察了“对”的语义演变过程,整理出先秦至当代“对”先后出现的 44 个义位,绘制了“对”的意义衍生脉络图,将“对”的意义划分为 14 个区域,显示除区域①“对,答也”以外,其余 13 个区域内的义位均由“对,配也”发展而来,因此本文提出,动词“对”早期的三个义位中,“对,配也”居于核心地位,中古早期,匹配义“对”向空间语义场发展,分化出了“对,向也”,包括“相向”和“朝着”两个义位。“对,答也”由“对”更古的“酬答”义发展而来,从“口”之“对”是汉代人对原有小篆字形重新设计的结果,是一个形声字。

“原型分裂”和“原型转换”是原型裂变模式(prototype split)的两种主要模式(Ungerer & Schmid 1996: 266)提出这两种。本文认为,“原型分裂”是上古至中古“对”的主要语义演变模式;“原型转换”是现代汉语动词“对”的主要语义演变模式。动词“对”的句法功能演变方向可概括为 4 种:1) 动词>形容词,陈述行为到描述属性;2) 动词>区别词,从行为到指别属性;3) 动词>量词,从陈述到计量和指别;4) 动词>介词,从核心动词到核心动词的论元标记成分,上述四种演化符合语法化的单向性假设。值得关注的是,现代汉语中由匹配义发展而来的动词“对”可带多种语义角色的宾语,如“对答案”“对棋”“对对子”“对心思”“对水”“对表”等,是典型的及物功能提升,应视为句法升级。

类推(analogy)、重新分析(reanalysis)和主观化(subjectification)(Traugott 1999、Traugott & Dasher 2002)这三种主要认知机制在“对”的语义演变过程中均发挥了重要作用。主观性手段包括使动意动、叙事到施为、视角转移与特征提取三种。具体如下:1) 匹配义“对”是作格动词,“掺和”“拼合”“调整”是“对”的使动用法(causative usage),即通过某种行为使宾语所代表的事物具有匹配这一属性。“适合”义是“对”的意动用法(conative usage),即主体认为某物与自己的心理需求相匹配。2) 形容词“对”的产生与话语具有施为功能和交际中的礼貌原则有关。“[有问题]∈[不匹配]”“[不正确]∈[有问题]”,听话人运用回溯推理“不匹配>有问题>不正确”,既然“不对”是“不正确”,那么“对”就是“正确”。3) 意义既包括内容,也包括对内容的识解方式。内容是一致的,说话人视角不同,突显的射体不同,于是便产生了多义性。“核对”“掺和”“拼合”“调整”“适合”区别词“对”、量词“对”、形容词“对”与其匹配义动词“对”位于同一衬体,具有概念上的邻接性,因此这些义位的衍生与转喻有关。近代汉语时期,“对”多种意义和用法的衍生均与语义视角化有关,而语义视角化可视为主观化操作。

关键词:“对”,语义演变,原型裂变,主观化

位移事件一般编码原则：汉语、西班牙语和英语对比研究

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关于人类语言如何编码位移事件（Motion event），根据现有理论框架，S 语言（satellite-framed language）和 V 语言（verb-framed language）遵守不同的编码规则：Talmy（1985，2000）认为，与 V 语言不同的是，S 语言中的方式动词为双式词（lexical doublets），因此，即使是本身不包含位移的自含运动（self-contained motion）动词，当其与附加语（satellite）搭配时，也能编码位移（例如：The ball bounced down the hall）；Aske（1989）、Goldberg（1995）、Narasimhan（2003）和 Pedersen（2016）等学者从构式主义的角度出发，认为 S 语言的路径补语具有 V 语言缺少的句法投射功能，该功能可以将不包含位移的方式含义投射到整个句子结构中，因此，在 S 语言中，即使方式动词本身不包含位移，也能和路径补语搭配编码位移事件。然而，越来越多的语言证据表明，上述两种理论模式均不能对人类语言如何编码位移事件作出完全合理的解释。

在盛行连动结构“C1（Constituent 1：方式动词）+ C2（Constituent 2：路径词）”的现代汉语中，由于 C2 缺乏形态变化，并且既获得了语法化含义、又可以独立充当谓语动词，汉语的类型学归属问题仍然存在很大争议：Talmy（2000）等认为 C2 是补语，汉语是 S 语言；Tai（2003）认为 C2 是连动结构的语义核心，因此汉语属于 V 语言；Slobin（2004）和 Talmy（2012）认为 C2 是路径动词，与编码方式的 C1 语法地位相等，因此汉语应当属于第三种语言类型：E 语言（equipollently-framed language）。

本研究基于分别可以代表三分类型学（E 语言、V 语言和 S 语言）的汉语、西班牙语和英语的语言证据，提出人类语言对位移事件的编码建立在共同的认知基础之上，即：不同语言使用者的感知系统均对动词行为在现实世界中执行时是否包含位移特别敏锐。通过对自主、非自主和他位移事件的编码分析，论证了上述三种语言均遵守共同的“位移事件一般编码原则”：只有当动词行为在现实世界中执行时能够包含或致使动体（Figure）位移，才能和方向指示词共同编码位移事件。汉语连动式在编码位移事件时，C2 不遵守位移事件一般编码原则，既不是路径动词，也不是语义核心；因此，汉语属于 S 语言。

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A Constructional Account for DP-Incorporation in Mandarin

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In Chinese, Duration Phrases (DP) sometimes posit an issue in the structural analysis of the V-DP-*de*-N sequence. This issue can be illustrated by contrasting DPs with other Quantifier Phrases (QP), for example, (a) 读(了)一天的书 ‘read for one day’ and (b) 读(了)一摞的书 ‘read a stack of books’. While 一摞的书 ‘a stack of books’ in (b) is a noun phrase, the sequence 一天的书 ‘one day of book’ is not a felicitous noun phrase in Chinese. That is, the DP 一天 ‘one day’ in (a) is not a proper modifier of the noun 书 ‘book’, but rather a complement of the verb *du* ‘read’. This “form-meaning mismatch” issue (Shen, 2007, pp. 7-8) is also referred to as “quasi-attributive structure” (Zhu, 1982). In this study, the structure V-DP-*de*-N, in which the DP semantically modifies the verb instead of the following N, is defined as a Duration Phrase Incorporation (DP-I) Construction. The cases with attributive reading DPs as modifiers of the object noun (ObjN) are out of the scope of this study. Besides the form-meaning mismatch issue, another noteworthy question concerning this construction is its distinction from a generally acknowledged counterpart, V-DP-N (named as Non-Incorporated (N-I) Construction in this study), such as 读(了)一天书 ‘read for one day’. In terms of form, the two patterns are similar in every aspect except that the N-I Construction does not include a particle *de*. A naturally following question is: Whether the two constructions of similar form show any distinction in meaning and function?

Instead of drawing on retrospective data like previous studies (Lu & Wang, 2020; Shen, 2007), this study provides a corpus-based (the Chinese Web Corpus) account for the DP-I Construction and its distinction from the N-I Construction. Based on the basic tenets of Construction Grammar that constructions are “form-meaning pairs” (Goldberg, 1995), we argue that the V-DP-*de*-N sequence is a DP-Incorporation Construction. It coerces a DP into a modifier of an ObjN by *de*, the “pre-nominal marker of modification” (Liu 2017, p. 73). The object thus is profiled as a quantified noun phrase, which together with an activity verb marks a bounded event.

Following the Transitivity Hypothesis (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 255), if the DP-I Construction codes a bounded event, it collocates more frequently with ‘high’ transitivity features, such as telic Aspect and realis Mode. Its overall transitivity level should also be higher than that of the N-I Construction. To verify this prediction, we have coded 1000 corpus retrieved instances with the ten transitivity parameters (500 instances for each of the two constructions). An independent-samples *t*-test shows that there is a significant difference in transitivity scores of the DP-I Construction ($M = 6.794$, $SD = 1.3019$) and N-I Construction ($M = 5.972$, $SD = 1.35013$), $t(998) = 9.800$, $p < .001$. Therefore, we conclude that by coercing the DP into an ObjN modifier, the DP-I Construction quantifies the ObjN and is thus more transitive than the N-I Construction.

Keywords: DP-Incorporation, duration phrase, form-meaning mismatch, transitivity

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Event Classifiers in the Nominal Domain

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This work focuses on event classifiers that are used in the nominal domain, e.g. 打三个哈欠 (make three yawns). The example is composed of a verb *da* which means ‘perform a sort of action’, a numeral *san* ‘three’, an event classifier (henceforth EClf) *ge* and an event noun *haqian* ‘yawn’. Although the verb syntactically selects the Numeral-EClf-NP sequence as its complement, it does not assign a thematic role to the same sequence. We propose the following structure to capture the property of this construction.

$$(1) [_{VP} V [_{NumP} Num [_{EClfP} EClf NP]]]$$

This structure is similar to the light verb construction in some languages such as English (*do a dance; have a sleep*), Italian (*fare una lavata di camicie (do a washing of shirts); dare una martellata (give a hammering)*), etc. The difference between them is that the verb of Mandarin event classifier construction is not a light verb but rather a content verb.

In addition to 打三个哈欠 in which the object is an event noun, there are also cases whereby the object is an object noun, e.g. 磕三个头 (kowtow three heads). This example reflects a syntactic-semantic mismatch: the numeral-classifier sequence syntactically modifies the object noun *tou* ‘head’, but semantically, *san ge* counts the number of the events of *kowtowing*. In order to solve the syntactic-semantic mismatch, scholars (Huang 1994; Lin 2001; Pan&Ye 2015) propose that *san ge* does not apply to the noun phrase *tou* ‘head’, but rather applies to the verb phrase *ke tou* ‘kowtow head’. Specifically, Huang (1994, 2014) and Lin (2001) assume the existence of an empty light verb such as DO embedding the verb phrase *ke tou* to which the Numeral-EClf sequence adjoins. The verb *ke* then moves to the head DO for the derivation of the Numeral-EClf-NP string. Pan&Ye (2015, 2018) adopt a cognate object structure and propose that 磕三个头 is derived via the distributed deletion in the PF, cf. 磕头三个磕头. Both accounts fail to capture the intuition that the Numeral-EClf-NP sequence parallels the Numeral-Object classifier (OClf)-NP sequence, cf. 磕三个响头 vs. 吃三个红苹果. Moreover, the proposal of cognate object structure cannot explain why cognate object can co-occur with event classifiers, given that both cognate object and event classifier play the same role in event counting. Unlike the above scholars, we assume that when a mismatch arises, the event classifier triggers a type coercion that transforms the object noun into an event noun, pace Pustejovsky (1996) and Yuan (2018).

As to the semantics of event classifier, we will argue that a parallel can be drawn between event classifier and object classifier. Specifically, the event classifier only modifies cumulative predicates, as the object classifier only applies to bare object nouns that have cumulative reference. In the spirit of Krifka (2008, 2013) and Filip&Sutton (2016), we propose that event classifier denotes a counting function, applies to event noun and yields a discrete set comprising atomic events.

- (2) a. $[[haqian]] = \lambda e[YAWN(e)]$
 b. $[[ge]] = \lambda P \lambda n \lambda e [P(e) \wedge \#(e) = n]$ (# is atomic counting function which determines the atomic or singular non-overlapping events)
 c. $[ge haqian] = \lambda n \lambda e [YAWN(e) \wedge \#(e) = n]$ d. $[san ge haqian] = \lambda e [YAWN(e) \wedge \#(e) = 3]$

The numeral-EClf-NP sequence combines with the main verb via the rule of event identification (Kratzer 1996).

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e. $[da] = \lambda x \lambda e [Agent(e) = x \wedge PERFORM(e)]$

f. $[da\ san\ ge\ haqian] = \lambda x \lambda e [PERFORM(e) \wedge YAWN(e) \wedge \#(e) = 3 \wedge Agent(e) = x]$

“大概”与“大约”的模糊限制功能差异及教学思考

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本文依据语用学的模糊限制语(hedges)概念及其分类理据,对“大概”和“大约”这一对近义词语的使用条件、搭配限制、语义理解、语用功能等进行了多角度考察。本研究发现:“大概”是缓和型模糊限制语(plausible shield),它直接标记了说话人的语用模糊性,而并不改变语句的真值条件。它的使用与理解依赖语境和说话人等因素,具有极强的主观性,也倾向于与同样具有语用标记作用的成分搭配共现。而“大约”是变动型模糊限制语(rounder),客观限制了句中数量的变动范围,约束了逻辑语义信息。它可以改变句子的真值条件,因此多与较为明确的数量成分搭配。本研究建议,在国际中文教育中应避免在三级语法点“概数表示法”中纳入“大概”,而是仅将其纳入“情态副词/语气副词”中。

关键词: 模糊限制语; 大约; 大概; 语用; 国际中文教育

“我问你”的元语用功能及其在语篇中的管界

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话语标记作为句法—语篇界面的一种语言现象，它是语言形式的功能类聚，与语类并不存在严格的对应关系，语言系统中的副词、连词、介词、感叹词、短语和小句等都有可能发展出话语标记用法，并进一步演变为专职表语篇衔接或人际交往功能的话语标记。以“我问你”为例，它在口语对话中高频使用，主要出现在如下一些交际场合：

- (1) “我问你，他们有什么理由拆我们的铺子呢？”马威冷笑着问。（老舍《二马》）
- (2) 坂本少佐突然抽出插在裤袋里的右手，指逼伪警务段人员的鼻尖问：“你说，刘队长亲自指挥开枪的，我问你，刘队长的头部有什么特征？”（冯志《敌后武工队》）
- (3) “安什么样子的？怎么个安法？我问你！”监督的绿脸上跳起更绿的筋，象一张不甚体面的傻瓜叶似的。（老舍《牛老爷的痰盂》）

它的出现位置较为灵活，删除它之后，并不影响所在句法的合法性，也不会对句子命题的真值语义造成影响，因此，“我问你”已经演变为了一个话语标记。

作为话语标记的“我问你”，它的使用是说话人元语用意识的反映，其元语用功能主要表现在人际功能和语篇功能两方面：首先，从人际功能上看，一方面作为言外之力指示手段（IFID），“我问你”是对“提问”这一言语行为的明示，能增强言语行为语力，另一方面作为一个权势标记，“我问你”可以用来帮助言者构建自身话语权势，并维护他作为发话人的主导地位，这表现在它经常出现在上对下的不平等关系中；其次，从语篇功能上看，“我问你”一方面可以帮助说话人设立或转换话题，实现新、旧话题的顺利切换，从而保证语篇的衔接与连贯，另一方面受其人际功能的影响，它所在的话轮常常能与后一话轮构成一个意义完整的相邻配对，形成基本的“问-答”语篇，因此“我问你”还有语篇建构功能。

此外，“我问你”还是“带篇章管界的管领词语”之一，它能对篇章中的某些成分形成支配、进行管辖。从其管界的范围上看，“我问你”管界的既可以是单句，也可以是复句或句群。当它对前者进行管辖时，就形成了句子管界，当它对后者进行管辖时，就形成了语篇管界；从其管界的方向上看，“我问你”的管界方向较不固定，它既可以向前管界，也可以向后管界，这取决于它在话轮中所处的位置。

总之，汉语中诸如“我问你”之类的话语标记具有十分重要的语言价值和语言学价值，对它们的考察有助于发现更多的汉语事实，并将以往的相关研究引向深入，如能深化我们对句法与语篇之间的界面关系的认识：话语标记是一种语用现象，它是语言单位或句法结构的语用化，一方面在语篇组织中发挥着重要作用，一方面其语篇功能或形成过程要受到语篇因素，如语篇位置、语体、语境、使用频率等的影响和制约。

基于语义地图的ha类交互主观性标记研究

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本研究以自然发生的口语语料——电视剧台词转写材料为基础，以有声口语语料库和文献语料作为补充，在会话分析和语义地图理论方法的指导下，详细考察了五种语言/方言中的ha类交互主观性标记——广州话ho、台湾国语hoNh、北京话ha、东北方言ha、美国英语huh在不同语境中的具体语义功能。

通过观察ha类标记所处的具体语境，提取了小句分布、话轮分布、序列分布等形式上的依据，以及宿主成分性质、言语行为和言者意图、言听双方信息掌握的权威性 etc 等语义语用依据作为跨语言功能分类的判别标准，概括出了包括依附性和非依附性两个大类的18个语义基元：事实确认、立场确认、知晓确认、核实确认、信息接收、引证说明、追问促应、疑惑困惑、立场对抗、呼叫回应、惊奇惊讶、醒悟认同、反馈信号、征询同意、建议要求、寒暄客套、句外叙述、句内叙述。

以上述18个语义基元作为功能节点，逐步构建了ha类标记的概念空间。遵循连续性要求和最小关联原则，计算比较了节点间的关联度，构建出粗颗粒的概念空间。在此基础上，借助语义分析手段提高了概念空间的解析度，得到更为清晰的细颗粒概念空间，并分割出了五种模式的ha类标记语义地图。

通过对自然发生的口语语料和所绘语义地图的分析，讨论了跨语言中ha类标记在功能、韵律、分布上的共性与个性，并对相关现象进行了解释。具体考察了ha类标记概念空间和语义地图所反映的功能共性和差异，分析了ha前停顿与其辖域和语义指向的关系问题，还对汉语方言中ha类标记与其他语气词共现时的后置性作出了相关的描写和解释。最后，从ha类标记在不同语言中的词类范畴归属和句法地位出发，指出语气词、叹词和附加问两两之间存在着功能共通性，可将其视为一个功能连续统。

关键词：ha 类标记 交互主观性 语义地图 话语分析

梯级模型视野下“包括”的双重用法

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“包括”的基本功能在于限定集合、凸显元素，因而具有对比赋级、隐性扩域的功能，其限制集合中的元素会根据语境适切度形成语用梯级，并进一步发展出递进与让步用法。例如：

(1) 《奥德赛》对阿伽门农和阿基琉斯等英雄的处理，也使熟悉《伊利亚特》的读者，包括专家，找不出明显的破绽。(荷马《奥德赛》)

(2) 他每天都要打一阵手球、网球或羽毛球，使许多白宫的助手，包括一些将军都累得筋疲力尽，垂头丧气。(阿瑟·黑利《身居高位》)

(3) 谁也没权力干涉她的追求，包括至亲至爱的父亲。(路遥《人生》)

(4) 我没怪罪任何人，包括打过我的人。(季羡林《世态炎凉》)

“包括”的递进用法与让步用法具有各自的特征。首先，从表义上看，“包括”的递进用法具有双层表义，一是凸显梯级中的高位元素，使表义内容更进一步；二是通过其右向关联元素生成命题的成立进一步确认其左向关联元素命题的成立以及语用梯级中位于其间元素生成命题的真值，并通过梯距衍推两个元素之外元素生成命题的真值，以实现扩域功能，梯距越大，可确认范围越广，越可衍推集合全集的真值。“包括”的让步用法同样具有双层表义，一是凸显“包括”右向关联元素生成命题的成立，容认与命题框架符合度最低的元素进入该命题框架且生成命题为真，在让步的基础上体现转折义；二是通过其右向关联元素生成命题的成立衍推其所在集合中所有元素生成命题的成立，即若其右项关联元素生成的命题为真，则其所在集合中所有元素赋量生成的命题皆为真，由此衍推出总让义，即任何条件都不能影响命题框架所表事实的成立。其次，从允准环境上看，“包括”表示递进用法时强调级差，对比项必现，其关联的前后成分必须为同一集合中具有梯距的元素，“包括”后的成分使命题为真的可能性要小于其前的成分。“包括”表示让步用法时具有总让义，因而常与全称量词“所有”、任择词“任何”、虚指疑问不定词“谁、什么”等表示全量的词语共现；且在转折的要求下该用法必须出现在否定语境中，包括形式否定与意义否定。

“包括”的递进用法与让步用法虽有不同，但其产生具有共同的内在机制，即都是基于语用梯级而形成的特殊用法，其不同主要由其凸显的重点不同导致，“包括”表示递进用法时重在对比、凸显级差，表示让步用法时则重在转折、凸显极值；同时，二者的形成也与反预期的心理机制密切相关。此外，二者的语用功能类似，都具有加强语义、强化表意功能，且在主观选择基础上形成的“包括”的让步用法具有强烈的主观评价倾向，可表诧异、惊奇、驳斥、不满等多种情态。

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Wangmian Sentences as Possessor Raising

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Selection underlies every syntactic generation, while its supposed rigidity is not always observed. In this work, I identify Wangmian sentences with a class of phenomena where verbs take on one extra “argument”; possessive relation is established between the subject and the object; the extra argument is thematically an affectee of the event in the sense of Hole(2011). These include: a) unaccusatives which also involves aspectuals and predicative possessions; b) passives including source-type DOCs and contact verbs; c) bi-eventives including middles and light verb complexes. The first basic observation is that the extra argument stands in an argument relation to the lower noun, which according to Chomsky(1979) must be base-generated. The second observation is that when de “POSS” disappears, DP becomes split.

Following Szabolcsi(1994), I assume that possessor may raise to spec-DP and await further syntactic operation. For example, in [[Wangmian de] na san-ge t pengyou] “That three friends of Wangmian”, assuming na “that” as D head, Wangmian is raised to spec-DP. And importantly de “POSS” is accordingly raised. Then, what happens in the VP domain is that Wangmian becomes the affectee of the verb. For example, the acceptability of *Wangmian bing le erzi “Wangmian’s son got sick” is contingent upon whether there is a proper mindset to interpret Wangmian as affected. A consequence test is applied to help identify the affectedness. However, affectee is a theta role selected not by the verb. My account is that this affectee role, and implicationaly the case issue, is licensed by raising de “POSS” into VP. This restructuring account finds evidence in the typological parallelism between existentials and possessives. For example, the predicate possession in Coptic Egyptian is wante “have” which is a combination of wa “be” and ante “with”(Reintges&Liptak 2006).

Finally, possessive subjects like Wangmian sentences are neither a control structure as in Guéron(1985, 1992, 2003, 2020) nor a case-driven raising as in Landau(1999), but a result of subjectivization (possibly of the affectee role) as in Munro(1984).

Keywords: possessive subject, affectee, argument structure, raising

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Contrastive Simplification of Near-synonym MSC Compounds in Mandarin and Cantonese: A Study on Morpho-syllabic Differentiation in Dialectal Developments

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It is noted that many common disyllabic words consisting of near-synonym pairs (A+B) are often found in the high register spoken Chinese or in MSC. For example, ronghua 溶化 “dissolve” (rong 溶 “disintegrate” and hua 化 “melt”) and fangwu 房屋 “dwelling” (fang 房 “room” and wu 屋 “house”). However, in spoken Mandarin and Cantonese, the use of one of the monosyllabic near-synonyms is often complementary. For example, for ronghua 溶化 (AB), Cantonese uses rong 溶 (A) while Mandarin uses hua 化 (B); and for fangwu 房屋 (AB), Cantonese uses wu 屋 (B) while Mandarin uses fang 房 (A), and there appears to be no apparent predictability on the choice between A and B by either dialect.

How and why Mandarin and Cantonese choose the complementary near-synonyms is a baffling riddle. These questions also have a bearing on long standing issues related to the morpho-syllabic developments in Chinese. As it is well-recognized, for much of its history, the Chinese language has been monosyllabic, and its problematic homophony has been much more critical than any inflectional European languages (Jespersen 1933). However, the Chinese language has been noticeably developing towards disyllabicity (Lü, 1963; Dong, 2011). This can be seen from studying the syllabaries of different dialects in the historical context (Ke, 2007). Ke's study confirms the concomitant rise of disyllabicity and new morphological structures such as near-synonyms and also supports the view that the differential usage of disyllabic terms in Mandarin (syllabary size around 400) and Cantonese (syllabary size around 700) is related to the extent of postulated homophony (Tsou, 1976).

To answer these questions, we have analyzed a large sample of such bi-morphemic words and found that the division of constituents between older (often Classical) and more recent forms of the Chinese language bears on the different simplification of near-synonym MSC compounds in colloquial Mandarin and Cantonese and holds the key to the apparent riddle raised above. We shall also explore the order of constituents in the relevant derivations and the wider implications on linguistic evolution in Chinese from the typological and cultural perspectives, and the function of the retained classical linguistic elements in the diachronic development of the language.

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