

# 歐洲漢語語言學會第八屆研討會

## BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

### of the 8<sup>th</sup> Conference of the European Association of Chinese Linguistics

Thursday 26 – Saturday 28  
September 2013  
EHESS, Paris, France

(update: September 23)

Sponsored by:



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**Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation  
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## New resultative complements in Chinese Weibo messages

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This paper aims at exploring newly emerging, non-standard resultative complements (RC) in Chinese Weibo messages. While Chinese Internet language is known to be heavily influenced by foreign languages (Gao 2012), the emergence of new RCs shows a creative language use within the existing languages system, i.e. independent of such influences. In Chinese Weibo messages, a wide range of uncommon RCs such as 毙 *bì*, 死掉 *sǐdiào*, 崩 *bēng*, 爆 *bào* can be found. Semantical and syntactical features of these RCs were investigated using the Leiden Weibo Corpus (LWC, <http://lwc.daanvanesch.nl/>, cf. Van Esch 2012).

To determine their degree of grammaticalization and lexicalization, this analysis relies upon theories about the historical establishment of RCs (Shi 2002, Li 2008). Examples from the LWC are examined with regard to the following aspects: (1) syntactic construction in which the RC appears, (2) transitivity of the verbal head, (3) possible combinations with verb types, (4) pragmatic functions in the utterance. With respect to (1-3) it will be shown that a large majority of the constructions follows the structure [verb + RC + aspect marker], while the verb usually consists of one syllable and describes a quality or state of a person. Examples violating this rule provide evidence for the degree of grammaticalization and lexicalization of the RC in question. Combination with a disyllabic word is indicative of a grammaticalized resultative complement, that can be used with many different verbs. On the other hand, transitivity of the verb in the construction is a marker for a high degree of lexicalization. I will argue that the pragmatic function of these RCs is not “informative”, but could even be seen as a violation of the Gricean maxim of quantity. Rather, the RC expresses the attitude of the speaker towards the information given, such that the basic meaning of these emergent RCs may be captured as “to undergo an extreme state” and in this sense is similar to the expression [verb + 死 *sǐ* + 了 *le*] (Xu 2010).

The study of the new RCs in in Weibo messages gives us the rare chance to observe a process of grammaticalization on a micro-level almost in real-time.

## More on the origin of direct object markers in Sinitic

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The origin of object markers (henceforth: OM) in Sinitic languages has been studied quite extensively, both in a diachronic and in a (synchronic) comparative perspective (see, e.g., Chappell 2006). Typical sources for OM in this language family are take/hold verbs (e.g. S. Mandarin 把 *bǎ*), give/help verbs (Wenzhou 代 *dei*11) and comitative markers (Meixian Hakka 同 *t'ung*11; Chappell 2006). However, there is another source for OM which has not received much attention thus far, i.e. tell/call verbs, as Xinjiang 招 *[tʂao53]* ‘to beckon’ and Yexian 叫 *[tɕiau312]* ‘to call, cry’ (Shi & Wang 2009).

Both give/help verbs and tell/call verbs are known to grammaticalise into markers of causativity and of passive voice. S. Mandarin 给 *gěi* ‘to give’ and 叫 *jiào* (cognate to Yexian *tɕiau312*, possibly < 教 *jiào* ‘to teach’), are both used as such. It has been argued that give/help verbs follow two different pathways of grammaticalisation: from verb to OM via a beneficiary/dative stage, and from verb to passive marker via a causative stage; it has also been claimed that tell/call verbs develop into causative and passive markers, but not into dative markers (Chappell & Peyraube 2011).

However, both Xinjiang 招 *[tʂao53]* and Yexian 叫 *[tɕiau312]* are used as causative, passive, and object markers. In these dialects, the dative/beneficiary markers derive from give verbs, at least in Xinjiang, and thus we have no evidence of a dative usage for those tell/call verbs which would have paved the way for the OM usage. While the semantic shift from causative to passive of tell/call verbs has been thoroughly studied, the shift to OM of these verbs is puzzling. Xu (2006) highlights that the S. Mandarin OM 把 *bǎ*, causative/passive 叫 *jiào* and passive 被 *bèi* are all semantically and structurally related, differing mainly as to the volitionality of the state of affairs involved; 把 *bǎ* and 叫 *jiào* may even be interchangeable, provided that the marked object is [+human] and the verb is [-volitional] and [-concrete]. Based on this insight, we will examine the contexts in which Xinjiang 招 *[tʂao53]*

and Yexian 𪛗 [tɕiau312] appear, with particular regard to the features of the subjects, objects and verbs involved (animateness, volitionality, etc.). We will then propose a double grammaticalisation path for the development of these verbs, arguing that causative meaning may be extended both towards passive marking, on the one hand, and towards object/patient marking on the other one.

## Structuring space in Chinese and French narrative discourse

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The aim of this study is to investigate how languages express space domain (Motion events) at the discourse level. This work gives a cross-linguistic comparison between French and Chinese, of the way information is organized in the narrative discourse, given the same communicative complex task. The procedure used is the analysis of an oral corpus comprised of the verbal production of adult native Chinese and French speakers. The discourse produced is a fiction story based on a picture-book.

Creating a functioning spatial surrounding for events involves a number of skills such as: cognitively representing the various spatial configurations; keeping track of the spatial information across utterances in a specific order for the narrative to be coherent; and finding the appropriate linguistic means to express those spatial concepts. This analysis describes the relationship between those three dimensions: spatial concepts, linguistic forms and information organization.

The spatial concepts used to inter-relate spatial information in texts fall into different subcategories that reflect different ways of conceptualizing the configuration under description into spatial episode. The study reveals that those concepts influence the linguistic form used, with, for example in Chinese, the recurrent directional resultative 到 *dao*. They also influence the linearization of information at the discourse level between main structure and side structures of the text. Moreover, information organization plays a role in linguistic forms; for example, the use of 来 *lai* / 去 *qu* in the directional resultatives has a close relation with the location expression. The analysis shows differences at every level between the two groups. Besides the fact that the two groups of speakers retell the same story, their discourse differ in the spatial concepts chosen to express space domain and the information organization in spatial episode.

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## Metaphor and Figurative Language in the *Daodejing* 道德經: a perspectivist approach

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One can say that the Chinese tradition has not produced an extensive metaphorology in the sense that the word is usually employed in the studies and classification of metaphors and tropes in the Western tradition (the *wén xīn diào lóng* 文心雕龍 being a remarkable exception in terms of its systematicity). In the Chinese classical texts tropes and figures of speech are typically associated with the studies of poetry and the exegesis of some emblematic words of the Chinese tradition, such as *fù* (賦), *bǐ* (比) and *xīng* (興), introduced in the 大序 *dǎxù*. However one can naturally

identify in the Chinese texts occurrences of metalanguage and, more specifically, the usage of metaphorical figures that configure tropological relationships and networks.

In this context, this paper will present analyses of instances of one of the founding texts of the Chinese canon, the *Daodejing* (*dàodéjīng* 道德經) - in its different versions - where one can glimpse at tropological operations that invite us to rethink the word «metaphor» as an universal metaterm. This work investigates Derrida's hypothesis, offered in «La Mythologie Blanche», that metaphor is a philosopheme and also the product of a system of philosophemes usual to the Western tradition, such as reason/emotion, nature/culture, universal/relative, among others, that in turn correspond themselves to tropes liable to be at least questioned, as far as their universality, under the close scrutiny of the tensions identified in the *Daodejing* and in the context of Daoist philosophy and the exegetical traditions in classical China.

With this aim in mind, this research subscribes the theoretical basis of the post-structuralist vector and, more specifically, follows the tenets proposed by Perspectivism (by authors such as Nietzsche, Deleuze, Viveiros de Castro and Talbot Taylor) using them as guidelines for an insight into classical Chinese linguistic introspection. In conclusion, this paper intends to show in its reading of the *Daodejing* a Chinese linguistic worldview that may give support to it as a situation of extreme alterity. It would then offer a possibility that the usage of the notion of one single metaphor that is frequently employed in Western-based linguistics studies to the Chinese Daoist texts could be called into question. A more multifaceted metaphor could then emerge, not as some concept to be universally defined, but rather as a sign of the metalinguistic activity that is culturally and historically determined.

## The V-COPY constructions in Mandarin - Redux

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The focus of this talk is the verb-copy construction (VCC) of Mandarin Chinese, where two (or more) copies of the same verb surface in a single clause, without any direct semantic consequence of this multiplicity. In recent years, some partially converging proposals emerged in Chomsky's (1995, 2001) minimalist framework holding that in this construction both VP-level and V-level operations are involved: V-copy is not a single construction, but a group of surface lookalikes, with different underlying structures, and syntactic effects are heavily interspersed with semantic/pragmatic and phonetic considerations: Gouguet 2005, Bartos 2006, Cheng 2007, Tieu 2009. On the other hand, other recent contributions (Fang & Sells 2007, Hsu 2008) call many assumptions of the earlier analyses into question, presenting data neglected so far. I'll examine and refute these new 'counterarguments', and refine an earlier analysis to cater for the full range of structural variety involved, by incorporating certain components of Gouguet's (2005) and Tieu's (2009) proposals.

In this split account, VCC with durative/frequency phrases involves the copying of the whole lowest VP (V+obj) to a PredP-adjoined position, to serve as a domain adverbial, as in Gouguet (2005). In such cases both this V-copy, and another one raised independently to Asp0, are spelled out, not being directly chain-related, yielding the adjacency of V-in-Asp and the duration/ frequency phrase: (1). VCC with manner/resultative complements is an instance of V-chain- formation: the innermost complement of V is the manner/result phrase (witness its crucial property: object-preposing/V-copying is obligatory with any kind of object phrase); chain reduction then deems two copies to be pronounced: the top one by default, and the lowest one as a clitic-host for *-de* of the manner/result XP: (2). If the object is removed from its base position, pronouncing the lower V-copy becomes superfluous: (3). Finally, VCC in simple resultatives is due to base-generating V+obj as a domain adverbial at PredP-level: (4).

- (1) Wo [PredP [VP *kan shu*] [AspP *kan-le* [VP *san-ge xiaoshi* [VP~~*kan-shu*~~]]]]  
I read book read-prf three-cl hour
- (2) Wo [AspP *kan* [vP ~~*kan*~~ [VP *shu* [V' *kan* [XP *-de hen lei* ]]]]]  
I read book read -de very tired
- (3) *Shu* wo [AspP *kan* [vP ~~*kan*~~ [VP ~~*shu*~~ [V' ~~*kan*~~ [XP *-de hen lei* ]]]]]  
book I read -de very tired
- (4) Wo [PredP [VP *kan shu*] [AspP *kan-lei-le* [VP~~*kan*~~ [ResP *lei* ]]]]  
I read book read-tired-perf



## Semantic ways of monosyllabic colour terms' emergence

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Colour can be expressed in language either *implicitly*, i.e. by naming an object that has a characteristic colour assigned by cultural tradition, or *explicitly*, i.e. by naming directly the colour itself or describing it through another colour. The data elicited from etymological dictionaries and classical texts allowed to determine the following ways of monosyllabic colour terms' (CT) emergence:

1. Semantic extension of the lexemes that originally denoted:
  - a) organic and mineral colorants (丹 *dān* 'cinnabar' → 'crimson, vivid red', 藍 *lán* 'indigo' (*Polygonum tinctorium*) → 'blue');
  - b) natural objects or artefacts of certain colour (灰 *huī* 'ashes' → 'grey', 驪 *lí* 'black horse' → 'black' (of pelage));
  - c) dyed fabrics (紅 *hóng* 'the colour that [undyed silk] fabric acquires after being immersed in red and white dyes' → 'pink');
  - d) characteristic colours of certain natural objects that became semantico-phonetic elements and act as secondary semantic nodes (朱 *zhū* 'a tree from the stem of which is drawn some red pigment' → 'bright red' → 緋 *zhū* 'the colour that [undyed] silk cloth acquires after being immersed four times in red dye', 袂 *zhū* 'red jacket', 硃 *zhū* 'cinnabar, vermillion');
  - e) the colour concept evolution (彩 *cǎi* 'combined by interwoven multicoloured threads' → 'coloured, colourful' (of textiles), 色 *sè* 'facial expression, mood' → 'colour' (both of textiles and abstract concepts), 顏 *yán* 'glabella' → 'colour').
2. Doublets:
  - a) phonetic doublets (緋 *qiàn* 'dark-red' is the result of dyeing with 茜 *qiàn* 'madder' (*Rubia cordifolia*));
  - b) semantic doublets formed by reduplication of the earlier CT (赤 *chì* 'red' → 赫 *hè* 'red, fiery red');
  - c) semantic doublets where the earlier CT is the semantic determiner (白 *bái* 'white' → 皎 *jiǎo* 'glistening white', 皤 *pó* 'white' (of hair, snow));
  - d) phonosemantic doublets with the limited set of contextual semes (驪 *lí* 'black' (of pelage), 黎 *lí* black (of hair), 黧 *lí* blackish-yellow (of complexion)).

The process of colour terms' emergence can be expressed by the following semantic relations: "object → its characteristic quality" and "quality → the process of its acquisition".

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## Notes on Qín and Chǔ writing differences during the Warring States period

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Unearthed documents from the Warring States down to the Hàn period reveal a complex situation of writing that looks different from what the historiographic and lexicographic tradition tell us. According to *Hànshū Yìwénzhì* and *Shuōwén jiězhì*, Qín simplified the writing, rejected all the graphs that did not conform (合) to their own graphs, and invented the clerical script.

I shall point out some significant features concerning the writing traditions of Chǔ and Qín during this period (4<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> BC). The fact that Chǔ, Qín and the other kingdoms had a common ancestor in the script of the Shāng and the Zhōu explains why we hear of no problem in the reading of each others texts or characters at that time (Sūn Hè 孙鹤 2009: 16). But it appears that Chǔ and Qín have used their own strategies to write down words. A close study of the ink documents from these two kingdoms reveals not only differences in the way they write words, but also in the way they write graphs and graphemes. We see, for example, different restrictions for the choice of the

positions of the constituents between Qín and Chǔ ; we notice certain differences in their treatment of graphs when they are independent and when they are not ; and we can also see interesting simplified graphs in Chǔ that were not used in Qín, even though the Chǔ people or scribes were never celebrated as reformers. I shall present examples for each of these observations and illustrate how simplified characters existed before the Qín period. Regional differences turn out to have been different adaptations of earlier traditional graphs in the various kingdoms.

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## A Quantitative Study of Near-Synonymous Compound Verbs in Mandarin Chinese

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The aim of this paper is to quantitatively explore Chinese near-synonymous compound verbs with a cognitive approach. The two-character compound verbs in four Chinese versions for Milan Kundera's masterpiece «The Unbearable Lightness of Being», as well as their correspondent words in the English version and the French version, are retrieved and integrated into a database of correspondent translation word sets. For example, we have { *yunxu* (允許), *renke* (認可), *yunxu* (允許), *xuke* (許可), 'to permit', 'permettre'} as one of these sets. By comparing nearly 5000 sets of the correspondent Chinese translation words in the database, which are supposed to be synonymous or at least near-synonymous, we find out two interesting facts. Firstly, though the mutual W- overlapping rates (defined as the percentage of the correspondent words being the same in two versions) among the 4 versions range from 10% to 29%, the mutual C-overlapping rates (defined as the percentage of the correspondent words sharing at least one character in two versions) range from 49% to 70%, which is obviously much higher than their average W-overlapping rate. What is even more surprising is that the two versions having the lowest mutual W- overlapping rate of only 10% turn out to have the highest mutual C- overlapping rate of 70%. Secondly, the percentage of two different correspondent words being listed as synonymous words in *Tongyici Cilin* (同義詞詞林), a widely-used Chinese thesaurus in semantic research, is only about 32%, which is unexpectedly low. To account for the phenomena above, we propose that there exists, as a consequence of frequency effect (cf. Bybee 2007) of compounding, a set of core characters for the sense determined by a synonym set (termed synset in WordNet, cf. Fellbaum 1998). This paper shows that the usage of synonymous compounds by different translators might reflect their nuance through the choice of different core characters. Our research also shows that the high combination productivity among the core characters of a sense makes it extremely difficult to exhaustively collect all possible synonymous compound verbs in a thesaurus.

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## The choices of different forms of indefinites in Mandarin Chinese reflect speakers' mental space

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This paper captures how different forms of indefinite NPs, such as classifier phrases (CIP) and numeral phrases (NumP) in Mandarin reflect speakers' mental construals based on the approach of mental space (Fauconnier 1997).

The interpretations of indefinite NPs are co-determined by their syntactic positions and the properties of predicates in a sentence. Mandarin Cl(assifier) Phrases, [Cl+N], and Numeral Phrases, [yi 'one'+Cl+N] are similar in many ways. As in (1), they are both nonspecific indefinites. However, Mandarin [Cl+N] is not simply a phonological reduction of [yi 'one'+Cl+N] (Cheng & Sybesma 1999). Which one is employed depends on whether speakers have access to a referent in the mental space evoked by space builders such as bounded predicates and *ba*-construction, as shown in (2) and (3). In (2a) and (3a), the indefinite numeral phrases must have a specific referent due to the realis mood, whereas (2b) and (3b) are ungrammatical. (2c) shows [CL+N] does not have a specific reading. The mental spaces in question in (2a) have a correspondent referent between Base Space and Past Space. As for (2c), no correspondence exists between Base Space and Speaker's Desire Space for the NP in question.

- (1) a. wo xiang mai [ben shu]  
I want buy [CL book]  
'I want to buy a book.' [indefinite nonspecific]

- b. wo xiang mai [yi ben shu]  
I want buy [one CL book]  
'I want to buy a book.' [indefinite nonspecific]

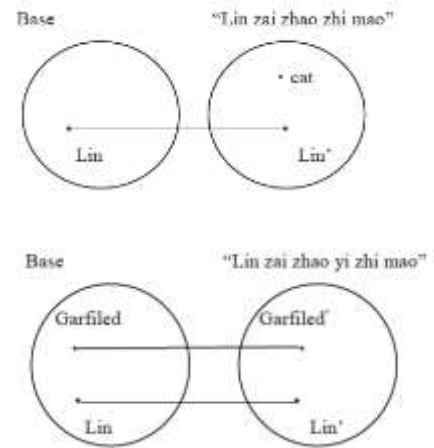
- (2) a. wo chi-wan-le [yi-kuai binggan]  
I eat-finish-PERF one-CL cookie  
'I finished a cookie.'

- b. \*wo chi-wan-le [kuai binggan]  
I eat-finish-PERF CL cookie  
Intended reading: 'I finished a cookie.'

- c. wo xiang chi [kuai binggan]  
I want eat CL cookie  
'I want to eat a cookie.' (no particular one)

- (3) a. wo ba [yi-kuai binggan] chi-wan-le  
I BA one-CL cookie eat-finish-PERF  
'I finished a (particular) cookie.'

- b. \*wo ba [kuai binggan] chi-wan-le  
I BA CL cookie eat-finish-PERF  
Intended reading: 'I finished a (particular) cookie.'



A specific referent is construed as existing in actuality, whereas a nonspecific referent is construed as existing only in an embedded space, without corresponding to any actual individual (Langacker 2009). [CL+X] sets up a new element in some space, which can be described as X, as shown in (4). Speakers cannot access a referent in Base Space. In contrast, [yi 'one'+Cl+N] implies there is a certain referent in some accessible space which can be described as X, as in (5). There must be a coherent referent in the spaces established by the discourse. The choice of the two indefinites also hinges on syntactic positions. Mandarin subject indefinites must have a specific reading. [yi 'one'+Cl+N], not [Cl+N], can occur in subject position if the sentence involves a stage-level predicate and realis tense, as in (6). Specificity in object position is underspecified. [yi 'one'+Cl+N] must have a specific reading under the realis tense, as in (2a). Under irrealis tense, [yi 'one'+Cl+N] yields a nonspecific reading, as in (1b). In sum, the specificity of indefinites can be viewed as the correspondence of the same role among non-conflict mental spaces. This study claims that in Mandarin the different forms of indefinites encode different corresponding relations between Base Space and speakers' mental spaces.

- (4) Lin zai zhao [zhi mao]  
Lin PROG look for CL cat  
'Lin is looking for a cat.'

- (5) Lin zai zhao [yi zhi mao]  
Lin PROG look for one CL cat  
'Lin is looking for a cat.'

- (6) zuotian [(yi) ge ren] lai zhao-guo ni  
yesterday one CL person come look-for-EXP you  
'A (particular) person came here to look for you yesterday.'

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## **They probably will spread their painted skin on the bed at night...: A socio-pragmatic analysis of verbal humor on *Kāng Xī Láile***

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Humor has long attracted scholarly interest in many academic disciplines, such as linguistics, psychology, anthropology, etc. In the area of linguistics, many studies focused on the structure, form or content of jokes or joking. Norrick (1993) has a step further in analyzing joking behaviors in naturally occurring conversations. His findings on humor, however, cannot be applied to the data collected in Taiwan, since humor is culture-specific. Based on a 225-minute corpus consisting of five episodes from *Kāng Xī Láile* (a popular TV variety show in Taiwan), this study intends to analyze humor in Taiwanese verbal interactions from a socio-pragmatic perspective. Both qualitative and quantitative analyses will be conducted.

Analyzing the data, this study has found that the linguistic strategies employed by the participants on *Kāng Xī Láile* may include the uses of personal narratives, wordplay, sarcasm, other- deprecating humor, self-deprecating humor, self-bragging humor and *Wulitou* “Nonsense”. Among them, the strategy of *Wulitou* “Nonsense”, which derives from Cantonese and is deeply influenced by post-modernism (Tan 2000), is used only in the Chinese-speaking society (i.e., Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, etc.). These strategies, we suggest, serve some interpersonal functions in the process of eliciting amusement. Second, hearers' responses to humorous remarks can be further divided into four categories: high involvement in humorous remarks, rejection to humorous remarks, *Tucao* “a resistant, quick verbal response to someone else's words” and sudden silence. In analyzing the first type of response, we have borrowed Tannen's (1984, 1989) term of “high involvement strategy” in conversations. In our data, hearers are found to use this strategy to support the humorous remarks of other participants. The second response is found to contain certain types of discourse markers (e.g., *méiyǒu* “no”). The third response, being face-threatening by nature, can be used to build rapport with other participants. Finally, sudden silence is used to show hearers' lack of interest, which further creates another humorous effect. We also argue that gender plays an important role in the use of these strategies. For example, male participants in using other-deprecating humor are found to be more salient in volume and action than their female counterparts. In a nutshell, the findings of this study have revealed certain characteristics of Taiwan's media culture, which perhaps have further influenced Taiwanese's everyday verbal interactions.

## **Exploration of the Phonetic Difference in Stops between Hakka Infant-Directed Speech and Adult-Directed Speech**

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Infant-directed speech (IDS), a speaking register adults typically use to address infants, plays the most salient role in early language acquisition. As compared with adult-directed speech (ADS), IDS is, phonetically, a form of clear and hyperarticulated speech. For infants' needs, adults modulate their speech to produce phonetically enhanced linguistic categories and maximize the learnability of them. Such ubiquitous IDS modifications have been evidenced in many phonetic-acoustic investigations of tones, intonations and vowels. Relatively, little attention has been devoted to consonantal manifestations in IDS. For this reason, this study was concerned with phonetic realizations of six oral stops /p, t, k, ph, th, kh/ in Hakka between IDS and ADS, exploring whether or not phonetic differences between them help infants' language acquisition. Five mother-infant dyads participated in the recordings of ADS and IDS over the first six months after infants' birth. Their ages ranged from 34 to 37 years ( $M = 35.4$ ,  $SD = 1.14$ ). Testing materials included 18 commonly-used disyllabic phrases, with target stops appearing in the first syllables and preceding three corner vowels [i, a, u]. Recordings of IDS and ADS were collected from mothers' natural verbal interaction in connected speech with their infants and the experimenter, and were analyzed by PRAAT for voice onset time (VOT) of stops, spectral peak frequency of stops' release bursts, and obstruent/syllable (O/S) ratio. The results were shown as follows. First, in terms of VOT, IDS had longer VOT than ADS in aspirated stops, but not in nonaspirated stops. The expanded VOT difference between aspirated and nonaspirated categories benefited infants' phonetic categorization and facilitated language learnability. Second, in comparison with ADS,

spectral peak frequencies of stops of different places of articulation were significantly heightened in IDS, but different stops still remained spectrally separable from one another, which was beneficial for infants' perceptual distinction of stops. Third, the O/S ratios in IDS were not larger than those in ADS. This result showed not only the articulatory difference between vowel and consonant in lengthening but also the role of appropriate onset-rime percentage in syllables for language acquisition. Finally, this study also gave support to the concept of perceptually-based « phonetic enhancement » in IDS consonantal research. To be conclusive, mothers modified the stops in Hakka IDS systematically and strategically, and provided well-specified VOT distinctions among different stops.

## The Evolution and Characteristics of Chinese phonology on 14-17 Century

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The development of the Phonology of Ming Dynasty from 14th to 17th centuries is a important stage in the history of Chinese language. Many phonological phenomenon in modern dialects can be linked to the Ming Dynasty. This study has the significance in three aspects, the first is to build precision dating in the whole history of Chinese phonology, the second is for better understanding on the formation of modern dialects, especially Jianghuai Mandarin, the third is for application to the rhythm and melody study on literature analysis of Ming Dynasty, include Kunqu Opera and poetry rhyme, it will largely enhance the ability in aesthetic appreciation of the Literary works.

In addition, this research involves the concept of the “Southern Mandarin” at that period. Due to the political, economic, academic status that have largely promoted Southern China area from Song Dynasty on, the “Southern Mandarin” formed gradually and it became more and more important than the Northern Mandarin in Ming Dynasty. This is the main reason why the first Ming emperor built the empire capital at Nanjing.

The contents of this paper will explore several aspects in initials at those period, such as why the zero initials become expand, how the palatalization developed, what is the real situation of medium system, how the nasal ending -m changes, what is the development of finals, all of these have significant evolution occurs at the Ming Dynasty (14-17 century).

As for the research materials, we will focus on the “*Hongwu Rhymes*” (1375) of early Ming period, “*Yun Lue Yi Tong*” (1442) of middle Ming period, as well as the “*Yun Lue Huitong*” (1642) of late Ming period.

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羅常培 耶穌會士在音韻學上的貢獻

## Verb-Object incorporation in Tangwang

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The Tangwang language is mainly spoken in the village of the same name situated in the Northeast of the Dongxiang County within the Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu Province. It is the vernacular language among the 14,000 inhabitants divided into Han (44%), Hui (17%), and Dongxiang (39%). The Tangwang language is close to the Hezhou variety of the Lan-Yin subgroup of Northwestern Mandarin. Its vocabulary is mainly composed of Chinese words (95%), and in a much lesser extent, of Dongxiang words (2%), Arabic (0,5%), Persian (0,5%); the remaining 2% are of unclear origin.

The Tangwang language displays features commonly associated to OV languages (head-final, relative-noun, postpositional phrases only, dependent clause preceding the matrix clause, mainly suffixing).

Saliently, the different grammatical functions of nouns and pronouns in the sentence, with the exception of the subject, are marked by case suffixes. This concerns both arguments and adjuncts:

- (1) 我 那阿 羊肉哈 炭啦 烤給寨。  
 wɔ̌ nə-a jãzɰ-xa thɛ-la khɔ̌-ki-tʂɛ  
 1SG 3SG-DAT mouton-ACC coal-INSTR roast-APPL-IMPERF  
 I roast lamb meet to him with coal

Beside its dominant OV order, Tangwang also displays VO order in two different conditions. First, when the object corresponds to a quantified and indefinite patient:

- (2) 祖比德 老师哈 问寨 兩 個 问题。  
 tsupitə lɔʂɰ-xa wə̌-ljɔ̌ ljã kə wə̌tɕhi  
 Tsupitə teacher-DAT ask-PERF two CL question  
 Tsupitə **asked** the teacher **two questions**.

Second, when takes place verb-object incorporation:

- (3) 我 吃羊肉寨/寨。  
 wɔ̌ tʂhɰ-jãzɰ-tʂɛ/-ljɔ̌  
 1SG eat-mouton-IMPERF/-PERF  
 I eat/ate mouton. (= ‘I am/have been a mouton eater’ ‘\*I eat/ate some mouton)

The incorporation is restricted to bare object nouns: it cannot apply to pronouns or a proper nouns; the incorporated noun cannot take a determiner, a case marker or a plural suffix.

Only telic verbs can be submitted to incorporation; verbs such as *ne* 爱 ‘love’, *eĩ* 想 ‘think’ or *jo* 要 ‘want’ are excluded. When incorporated, a verb cannot take its usual suffixes (resultative, directive, applicative or causative); as for the aspectual suffixes, they always follow the incorporated VO.

From a typological point of view, the incorporation is quite rare among the languages of the world. The languages which display such a phenomenon usually preserve their dominant constituent order: right incorporation for VO languages and left for OV ones. The case of Tangwang seems quite exceptional insofar it shows an OV dominant order and a VO incorporation. This confirms, on one side, that the underlying order in Tangwang is VO and, in the other side, that the dominant OV order, with a specific marker on the object, is a secondary phenomenon. Moreover, the asymmetry VO-OV in Tangwang cannot be considered as reflecting a “mixed” situation implying the superposition of Altaic and Chinese syntactic features.

## Classifiers and events

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Classifiers are considered in formal linguistics as an essential component of the syntax-semantic makeup of nominal expressions. According to one view, classifiers make visible the atoms in the denotation of NPs, making counting and quantifying possible (Cheng & Sybesma 1999, Chierchia 1998, Borer 2005); more rarely, they are viewed as structuring and typing the domain (Nomoto 2010) without providing identity criteria for the units. Less attention has been paid to event classifiers. We tackle this topic by focusing on the semantics of some V(erb)al Cl(assifiers) in Mandarin, which we call ‘weak’ referential expressions contributing only aspectual bounds to eventualities. ‘Weakness’ wrt indefinite NPs surfaces in the impossibility of enumeration (1a- b) or of entering in focus and elliptical constructions (Paris 2011, Donazzan 2013).

- (1) a. *Kan yi ben/ san ben shu*  
 read one /three book(s)  
 b. *Xia yi tiao/\*san tiao*  
 frighten one/\*three times

Assuming that the lexical V introduces the property of the intensional set, VCI guarantee its instantiation(s) through aspectual bounding, whereas identification of events is done by Tense anchoring. A bounded event is thus a discrete entity without being an identified entity. Verb Noun property-characterization Aspect Classifier/Number discretization Tense Determiner individuation

The term 'instance of kind' was introduced to talk about the existential strictly non-specific reading of nominal expressions that would otherwise support a specific reading, ('This rose grows everywhere'). We apply it to the verbal domain and argue that at least some VCIs support a similar weak reading. These VCIs participate to the construction of an intensional event type, whose instantiations are typed through the predicate, the participants and Aktionsart. A V + VIC phrase thus denotes in a partitioned domain that is not necessarily coupled with information for identifying its members, and introduces a referent that qualifies only as an instance of the kind. We further support our claim with the analysis of aspectual expressions of discretization in European languages, e.g. nominalizations in Romance (Gaeta2000, Scher2004, Acquaviva2005). Our study thus confirms the need of an articulated view of classifiers. Next, the use of the term 'instance of kind' is extended to the case where (i) the availability of this interpretation is linked to dedicated lexical or functional material and (ii) more specific interpretations can arise only through external contribution.

## **Prosodic-boundary marking of Topic-Comment structures in discourse context: an experimental study of the sensitivity to the pause marking duration**

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The question of the prosodic marking of Topic structures in Mandarin Chinese has hardly been addressed by the literature. This study aims at providing a start to fill this gap by giving a linguistic, behavioral and neuro-linguistic description of the Prosodic Boundary marking (henceforth PB) given by the pause in Topic-comment sentences. This investigation is mainly carried out through experimental neuro-linguistic methods and through acoustic-phonetic speech analysis. Experimental data included behavioral ratings and ERP recordings of 37 Mandarin-speaking native subjects listening to a corpus of 270X3 Topic critical-sentences, which were declined in three different auditory presented conditions preceded by (21X2) short narratives, constituting two informatively different contexts (A or B). The two discourse contexts differed according to their information load in relation with the Topic NP and the three conditions meant to manipulate the contextual accessibility (e.g. contexts A or B), the prosodic saliency (a. and b.), and the syntactic hierarchy of the spatial information (DP) at Topic position (c.):

- a. [ + PB-marked] Topic condition, with a pause after topic NP (i.e. the grammatical and natural condition).
- b. [ - no PB] topic condition sustained reading of the sentence controlled for the naturalness of the comment-clause, but with no pause between Topic and Comment.
- c. Coordination Structure condition, where the relation of the two initial NPs is syntactically cued by the coordination conjunction 和 *hé*.

In sum, the following questions will be addressed in this paper:

- (1) How is a different discourse context load influencing behavioral acceptability ratings and ERP's measurements of [ +/- PB-marked] Topic sentences?
- (2) What is the influence on understandability and on acceptability judgment of the reduction or the absence of the PB marking of the syntactic structure under examination?
- (3) How much of the inferential integration requested by the topic-comment relation is disrupted by the absence of PB ?
- (4) What are the effects on Working Memory (WM) of the absence of the PB during online sentence processing? And how do these ERP measurements correlate with behavioral acceptability ratings?

## Resumption in Mandarin relative clauses

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Mandarin relative clauses with full NP resumptives (RC\* hereafter) are regarded as ill-formed in the writing system, and also ungrammatical according to Hsu et al. (2009). However, research on acquisition has shown that children produce them. In this study, we attempt to find out whether native speakers of Mandarin consider resumption grammatical.

In Experiment 1, we elicited subject and object RC, following the procedure of Novogrodsky and Friedmann (2006); the test was run with 124 children (age 3-8) and 20 adults. Resumptives occurred for all child groups, and also in the elicitation of object relatives from adults (e.g., 4-year-olds produced 0.8% of subject RC\*, 10.8% of object RC\*; adults produced 22.5% of object RC\*). Previous results attest resumption from 22.8% (Cheng 1995) to 11.4% (Su 2004) for children in the 4-5 age-range; for adults, Hsu et al. (2009) attest only 1.9% of object RC\*.

In the two subsequent experiments, we asked adult speakers of Mandarin to judge relatives with and without resumption with a five-degree scale (from 'completely acceptable' to 'completely unacceptable'). The same 80 students from Hangzhou participated in Experiments 2 and 3. Each experiment included 12 sets of reversible sentences of the same length, including subject and object relatives with and without resumptives (1).

- (1) *wo xiang dang [ (yanyuan) kan guanzhong de] yanyuan.* SRC(\*)  
I want to be actor look at audience DE actor  
'I want to be the actor who looks at the audience.'

In Experiment 3, the same design was applied to relative clauses where the head noun was preceded by the demonstrative+classifier, e.g., *nage* (2).

- (2) *wo xiang dang [nainai qin (sunnü) de] nage sunnü.* ORC(\*)  
I want to be grandma kiss granddaughter DE na-CL granddaughter  
'I want to be the granddaughter who the grandma kisses.'

The results indicate that relatives without resumption were regarded as more target-like than those with resumption, and the difference reached significance ( $\chi^2(1) = 45.56, p < .001$ ); subject RC\* were judged better than object RC\*, but the difference didn't reach significance (in Experiment 2 or 3). Relatives with resumption and the demonstrative+classifier (e.g., *nage*) were judged well-formed over those without *nage* ( $\chi^2(1) = 36.89, p < .001$ ). We conclude that, even if banned in prescriptive grammar, resumption is part of the grammar of Mandarin, whether child or adult; second, a subset relation between the relative head and the resumptive (rather than identity) renders resumption more acceptable.

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## The *Hanzi xiyi* 漢字西譯 and the development of bilingual lexicography

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The *Han zi xi yi* 漢字西譯 by Basilio Brollo da Gemona was one of the first Chinese-European language dictionaries and exerted a profound influence on the development of bilingual lexicography. This was among the first works that arranged Chinese lemmas following the alphabetic order of phonetic transcription. The dictionary



also includes tables of antonyms, tables of frequent collocations for specific characters and tables of radicals. The manuscript edition we consulted, dated 1698, consists of a 795 page dictionary, plus tables, for a total of almost 9,500 characters. The lemmas are semantically rich and detailed, distinguishing this work from the simple bilingual word lists which appeared during the 16th and 17th centuries.

For each entry, Brollo indicated the Chinese character, the Latin equivalent, compound words and frequent collocations of the characters (in Latin letter transcription) or examples of word use, followed by the translation. The author also included cultural, historical or ethnographical information to the entries, going beyond the simple search for equivalents. Our presentation describes the specific features and technical innovations of this dictionary, situating it in the historical context of the period and highlighting the influence that both Chinese and Western lexicographical traditions exerted on this work.

Furthermore, we will try to underline its links with contemporary and subsequent works (for instance, the influence on the trilingual dictionary *Hán tsé sy y* [*Han zi xi yi*] 漢字西譯, published in 1813) and, more generally, its contribution to the development of bilingual lexicography.

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## Typological comparison of Chinese modal *huì* and English 'will/would'

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The modal verb *huì* in Chinese is commonly associated with possibility. It presents two apparently unrelated values, known as "capacity" and "probability". Compare: (1) *Ta huì kai che*. (2) *Mingtian huì xia yu*. 'S/he can drive.' 'It will rain tomorrow.'

In this paper I show that from a typological point of view Chinese *huì* has much more in common with English 'will/would' than with 'can / could'. Note that in English 'will/would' is on the order of necessity (prediction). Indeed, and quite remarkably, *huì* and 'will/would' cover almost the same range of modal meanings, namely futurity (including the future in the past, conditionality, genericity (generic properties), characteristic behavior (past and timeless habits), conjecture (about present or past events). Both may occur in the conclusion of a logical syllogism.

This typological convergence is not a chance coincidence. The comparison with 'will/would' affords crosslinguistic evidence in support of the claim that *huì* expresses necessity rather than possibility. Moreover, since in English the generic and the specific uses of 'will / would' are not separated, it also provides a crosslinguistic argument for unifying the two traditionally distinguished values of *huì* (i.e. capacity and probability). The passage from one value to the other is a transition from the generic to the specific, implying a difference in contextual determinants. The capacity marked by *huì* is a latent property which reveals itself only under appropriate conditions. Significantly, both *huì* and 'will/would' show great affinity with conditionality. They frequently occur in the apodosis of conditional sentences. Clearly conditionality (i.e. dependence on specific conditions) must not be confused with possibility, but ought to be included under necessity.

This study has important implications for the understanding of modality in general. The case of *huì* clearly shows that capacity (i.e. latent property) can give rise to necessity. This goes counter to what is assumed by linguistic theory, namely that there is a link between capacity or deontic permission and possibility on the one hand, and between deontic obligation and epistemic necessity on the other, any linkage between capacity and necessity being deemed impossible.

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## Chinese Linguistic Rituals

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The present paper reports on the results of a recent project (Kadar 2013), which explored ritual languages usages in different target languages, including Chinese, Japanese, English, Hungarian and Standard Arabic. In this talk I aim to examine ritual practices in Chinese. In my previous work I aimed to elaborate a technical (second order) definition for ritual, in order to be able to define this phenomenon beyond its culture-specific (first order) understandings; the second order definition reads as follows:

Ritual is a formalised/schematic, conventionalised and recurrent act, which is relationship forcing. Ritual is realised as an embedded (mini-)performance (mimesis), and this performance is bound to relational history (and related ethos), or historicity in general (and related social ethos). Ritual is an emotively invested action, as anthropological research has shown. Such a definition is useful because it helps us restricting 'ritual' to certain formularised areas of language usage. As intercultural and cross-cultural research has revealed, it is essentially problematic to contrast certain cultures such as Chinese and Japanese, which are often referred to as 'ritual cultures' (which prefer ritual language usage) with others such as British. From a Durkheimian vantage point, it can be argued that ever since the dawn of humankind, ritual has been a key social phenomenon because of its 'survival value', specifically its potential to enhance the establishment and reinforcement of interpersonal and/or intragroup relations (cf. Durkheim [1912] 1954). Given its mimetic (and iconic) makeup — i.e. relational ritual acts are imitative performances which facilitate interpersonal communication — ritual favours survival in that it serves as a means of conflict resolution and avoidance. Because of this, one can argue that ritual plays an important role in every culture and society (and in every micro-culture within a culture), even though its manifestations may significantly differ from each other. In this study I will examine Mainland Chinese and Taiwanese norms of constructive rituality, by analysing spoken interactions and online data.

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## Metaphorical Uses of Chinese Adjectives from a Typological Perspective

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This study draws upon recent research conducted by the Moscow School of Lexical Typology and its compiled database of cross-linguistic description of qualitative concepts. Its analysis is situated within the framework of lexical typology and focuses on metaphoric usage of Chinese adjectives with the meanings of 'empty', 'full', 'sharp', 'blunt', 'heavy', 'light', 'smooth', 'rough', 'soft' and 'hard.' It employs the material of the database in order to trace the derivation of metaphoric meanings in the Chinese language.

It is generally accepted that the development of metaphors follows certain basic patterns across different languages, which can be attributed to structures of human cognition (cf. "MORE IS UP," Lakoff). However, our research has revealed more complicated cases, where adjectives with the same meaning develop different metaphoric meanings in different languages. For example, the adjective "heavy" in Chinese can be employed describing a great award (*zhòng jiǎng*) or one's great value to someone:

*Nǐ zài wǒ xīn lǐ fēnliàng hěn zhòng*  
 you-LOC-my-heart-LOC-weight-very-heavy,  
 "You are very important to me"

In English the word “heavy” cannot be employed in this manner.

Such phenomena can be accounted for by considering differences in the basic meaning of Chinese and English adjectives. Typologically, we distinguish between objective and subjective meanings of “heavy” (“weighing a lot” vs. “difficult to lift/move”), which may then be lexicalized in different ways. In Chinese, “zhòng” has an objective basic meaning illustrated by the question

*Nǐ yǒu duō zhòng?*  
you-have-how-heavy?  
“How much do you weigh?”

The basic meaning of weight/mass without any negative connotations naturally enfold metaphoric meanings like greatness of amount and importance. In English, the adjective “heavy” is prone to the subjective basic meaning, resulting in potentially negative connotations of phrases like “How heavy are you?”

On the basis of similar examples, the paper suggests that the differences in metaphoric usages can be accounted for by analyzing the basic meanings of adjectives. Thus, given sufficient typological framing, Chinese metaphors that have previously appeared unusual or idiosyncratic will be shown to have reasonably accessible derivation. The results of this study have crucial implications for development and revision of Chinese dictionaries, translation practices, and literary interpretation.

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## On the Etymology of Tangut (Xixia) Cyclic Characters and Calendar Vocabulary

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The ancient Chinese cyclic character systems known as ‘Heavenly Stems’ and ‘Earthly Branches’ as well as the cycle of twelve animals already came to the fore in sinological publications at the turn of the twentieth century. The topic was elaborately examined by Ed. Chavannes, B. Laufer, L. de Saussure, and others. Notes on the etymology of those characters can be found in different ancient Chinese sources, such as the dictionaries *Shuowen jiezi* (2nd century AD) and *Shiming* (ca. 3rd century AD). Other East Asian societies have adopted the Chinese calendar with more or fewer modifications borrowing the cyclic characters as well. But the Tanguts, having invented their own peculiar logographic writing system by 1036, had to create new symbols for every Chinese cyclic character used in the shared calendar. How did they do so? What principles did they use to devise symbols for other symbols with long-forgotten etymologies? The task of deciphering those principles is not very difficult pertaining to the duodecimal cycle, as the Tanguts used the symbols denoting the related animals for that purpose. But the Tangut etymologies become much more difficult to establish when it comes to the decimal cycle. The Chinese *tiangan* characters are simple ones. It means that they belong to the *xiangxing* category (pictograms) according to the *Shuowen* classification. But the corresponding Tangut characters are ideographic compounds suggesting that Tangut philologists implied certain meaning in each of them besides being just simple cyclic symbols. The semantic structure of the above-mentioned characters renders interpretations (which are commonly false etymologies) which can be attested in different commentaries to the Chinese Classics or in traditional etymological dictionaries. The structures are represented by attributive combinations or entire utterances (clauses) codified within the character. We shall discuss these semantic structures of the Tangut characters and compare them with the interpretations of the corresponding Chinese characters from the *Shiming* and Zheng Xuan's commentary to the *Book of Rites*.

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## On Some Quantitative Aspects of the Componential Structure of Chinese Characters

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This paper concentrates on the quantitative analysis of Chinese script in the aspect of the componential structure of characters and the combinability of components. The theoretical premises are based on Bańcerowski's (2009) phonotactic framework, but to avoid its heavy terminological load present study is intended to remain as theory-neutral as possible. The specific purpose is to analyze the set of Chinese characters viewed as sets of components called tactographemes (e.g. the characters {架, 枷, 枒} are composed by the set (tactographeme) {口, 力, 木}). The analysis was carried out on the BIG5 character set (containing 13,051 characters). It is a widely recognized set, containing homogenous characters, large enough to be considered representative and it is a basis for component inventory standard (CNS 11643-2). The componential structure of characters was retrieved from the Ideographic Description Sequences specified in the Unicode Standard for the CJK Unified Ideographs block (75,000+). There are two levels of analysis – the immediate and basic components of characters. The immediate components are part of the IDS descriptions, the basic components were extracted by the recursive analysis of the CJK Unified Ideographs set. The results presented in the paper include:

- the number and list of immediate (1,820) and basic components (315);
- the number of unique sets (tactographemes) of immediate (12,942) and basic (12,231) components that generate the set of characters;
- the average number of characters generated by the sets (tactographemes) of immediate (1.008) and basic (1.07) components;
- detailed data regarding the dispersion of components both in tactographemes and characters.

The choice of BIG5 character set allows to compare the results with an established standard (CNS 11643-2) and with partially similar calculations performed at the Academia Sinica Chinese Documents Processing Lab (CDP) (Chuang & Teng 2009). From this perspective the paper discusses the differences between the obtained results and the CNS 11643-2 standard (517 basic components) and the CDP calculations (2,297 compound components, 441 basic components, 12,990 tactographemes). It is argued that from the strictly structural and graphical perspective the number of basic components based on the BIG5 set can be limited to 315. The low efficiency of Chinese tactographemes in a comparison with alphabetic scripts (results for Polish orthographic words) and some more theoretically committed problems (due to the space limitation impossible to introduce here) are also discussed.

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## I. Bichurin vs. G.M. Calleri: a linguist's interpretation of the "*Systema Phonicum Scripturae Sinicae Translation and Notes*" manuscript

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The paper deals with Arch. Iakinf Bichurin's (also known in European sinology as Father Hyacinth) translation, comments and notes on the *Systema Phonicum Scripturae Sinicae* (or *Phonetic System of the Chinese Writing*) by

G.M. Calleri (1841), a French sinologist of Italian origin. The unique manuscript is kept in the National Archive of Tatarstan Republic in Kazan, it was never published due to an intricate chain of historical reasons. The document was never described in academic literature, nor appeared to be subject to a comprehensive linguistic analysis. Both the Phonetic System of the Chinese Writing and its Russian translation with comments open to a contemporary linguist a broad field for further comparative study on a range of subjects, debated by both the authors:

- scholarly analysis tools and methods, applied in Chinese language studies;
- critical notes and comments on the essential basics of the Chinese language systematic
- description: ideographic and phonetic aspects of a Chinese writing sign, radical and phonetic
- elements distinction, monosyllabic nature of the language, tone issues;
- transcription methods and dictionary arrangement polemics.

A peculiar part of the story are rare notes in pencil, made by a third-party hand throughout the manuscript text. Who's hand is that? The author of pencil notes appears rather critical and sharp on both Calleri's and Bichurin's statements, providing interesting argumentation to what he had underlined or crossed out.

The manuscript, dated back to 1842, reveals I. Bichurin's attitudes to European academicians' polemics on the key issues in the field of Chinese studies, throwing light on intellectual atmosphere of the epoch and thus contributing to better understanding of the European Chinese studies' genesis.

## **Magnet Effect in the perception of Mandarin Chinese T1 and T3**

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The current work is an attempt to study the Magnet Effect (Lacerda 1995) in the perception of Mandarin Chinese (MC) T1 and T3 by systematic manipulation of a synthetic F0 contour. For this purpose, a simple method of F0 contour approximation using second-order polynomial functions was proposed and evaluated in a preliminary study. A syllable consisting of a single vowel /a/ was selected from citation tones speech corpus (Shih 2010). The natural F0 and duration of T1 and T3 realized within that syllable, as occurring in the speech corpus, set the lower and upper bounds for a discrete space of anchor points. The natural constraints of the human articulatory and auditory systems were used to determine the total number of anchor points and their spacing. Here, it was assumed that the smallest auditory relevant change in pitch is 1,5 semitones and the highest velocity of pitch change possible for a human speaker to realize is 120 semitones per second. It resulted in 7 equidistant points on the time axis and 11 equidistant points on the frequency axis (expressed in semitones with respect to 100Hz). Least squares method was used to determine the best fitting second-order polynomials for all possible anchor point triplets, where the x value of the first and third points were fixed on the opposing ends. Additionally, curves that were open downwards and whose vertices appeared beyond the allowed space were eliminated. The resulting F0 curves were resynthesized using Praat's overlap-add algorithm and presented to native speakers in a perception experiment. Each synthetic syllable was preceded by a set of natural syllables selected from the same speech corpus and covering all four tones. The participants were asked which tone was realized in the succeeding synthetic syllable. The results were statistically analyzed. The influence of F0 approximation function parameters on the perception of the tone were determined.

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## Acquiring Mandarin Phonemes by Children of Immigrants

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The number of immigrants increases tremendously in Taiwan. Most of them came from Southeast Asia by marriage. On average, one of the eight newborns has a foreign mother whose native language is not Mandarin. Mothers are usually primary care takers of children. These children thus receive limited input of Mandarin. It calls for concern whether this will affect their acquisition of Mandarin or not.

Following studies on language development by children of Vietnamese and Indonesian immigrants (Kuo, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011), the present study investigated Mandarin phonological acquisition by children of Thai immigrants. One-hour spontaneous speech samples were recorded from two to six-year-old children of Thai mothers, a boy and a girl from each age group. The findings show that children of Thai immigrants have unique and common difficulties with children of Vietnamese, Indonesian or Taiwanese mothers.

Thai children made similar mistakes with Indonesian children that were not observed in Taiwanese or Vietnamese children. Like young Indonesian children who simplified complex vowels, the two-year-old Thai boy tended to simplify complex vowels such as reducing /kai/ 'cover' as [ka] or even /jimu/ 'block' as [mu] or [m]. The challenging affricates for Vietnamese and Taiwanese children (Kuo, 2009) do not seem to be a problem for them. They preferred affricates to fricatives, which were also observed in their mothers. For example, the three-year-old boy changed /s/ to [ts].

Like Vietnamese, Indonesian and Taiwanese children, Thai children have difficulties in retroflex, nasals and aspiration. They tended to replace retroflexes with alveolars just like many adult Mandarin speakers in Taiwan. Dropping codas were found in younger children of other immigrant groups, but were found in five-year-old Thai children. Other older children tended to change the place of articulation of coda such as pronouncing the velar nasal as the alveolar nasal. Thai children were often confused by aspiration like their mothers.

One thing special about Thai immigrants is that some of them spoke Thai with their children while Vietnamese or Indonesian immigrants in the previous studies communicated with their children with their limited Mandarin. It seems that children communicated with their mothers in Thai and got most Mandarin input from other people result in best Mandarin acquisition. The results have valuable implications about the interactions between input and innate constraints in language acquisition.

## "Positional Morphology" as a Way to solve the problem of Parts of Speech in Chinese

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According to Latin / Greek grammarians, parts of speech should be fixed by dictionary, e.g. should be expressed by different words. In present-day Chinese morphological "freedom" is still much wider than in any European language. A suitable formulation: Chinese lexical units (not equal to "European" words) changes by parts of speech (as, for example, German nouns do it by cases), or: the parts-of-speech meaning is determined just by the **position** in a sentence and does not belong to the lexis. And the result of syntactic position is what we call **morphological position**. As for the morphological transitions, three types of them may be defined:

**occasional** — when the resulting form is stylistically coloured and does not belong to the norm but is allowable by its meaning;

**fixed** — when a unit stably takes several positions; it is most common in the contemporary language;

**extra-fixed** — when the initial and the resulting form are different by their sounding or writing, a way to form genuine homonyms. Accordingly, three main categories describing parts-of-speech states may be proposed:

**route** — unlimited possibility to fill in endless number of positions determined only by stylistics, but not restrained by the grammar;

**range or diapason** — possibility of a lexical unit to "fluctuate", to range between several (close / related) positions and "tints";

**position** — specific position in a sentence which determines part-of-speech meaning in any specific situation, it tends to be fixed (what, in fact, is still unachievable in contemporary Chinese).

The **range** is a common form of movement / existence of lexical units in contemporary Chinese; for example, the most widely presented are: “noun → relative adjective”, “adjective → adverb”, “verb → preposition”, “qualifying adjective ↔ verb”, “verb → [gerund] → noun”, “noun → measure word” and many others.

## Body movements, sudden feelings and semelfactives

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With the rise of interest toward lexical aspect in Chinese, some studies (Smith 1991, Yang Suying 2000) added a 5<sup>th</sup> class of **semelfactives** to the Vendlerian 4 classes, but with sparse internal evidence. We discuss here the predicates that typically cooccur with *yi* ‘one’, an understudied semelfactive marker (Jakhontov 1957:151-2; Chinese transl.1958:158-61 called it a ‘punctual past’ marker), which also conveys suddenness, ex.:

王团长两手一张，肩膀一耸。（曲波 Qu Bo 《林海雪原》）

Wáng tuánzhǎng liǎng shǒu yì zhāng jiānbǎng yì sǒng.

Wang commander 2 hand YI open shoulder YI shrug

Commander Wang opened both hands and shrugged his shoulders. (*Tracks in the snowy forest*, Chap. 4)

More recent studies (Chen Guang 2003, Chen Qianrui et al. 2006, Yin 1999 etc.) failed to reach an agreement on the aspectual value conveyed by *yi*-V, mostly because they try to find a label that may subsume the connector use and the aspectual use. We focus here on sentences where *yi* may not be interpreted as a connector (sentence-final use etc.). *yi*-V requires an atelic predicate: it is not available for achievement verbs (including V-Result compounds). Unlike verbal classifiers and verbal reduplication, it is infelicitous with activities, but is frequent with [-control] predicates (‘shiver’, ‘blush’, ‘start’, ‘blink’ etc.) and adverbials with a ‘couldn’t help’ meaning. It shows a strong affinity with semelfactives, i.e. punctual, atomic events which do not lead to a significant consequent state.

We distinguish 3 types of predicates that typically occur in the *yi*-V pattern: 1) typical semelfactives predicates, mostly bodily movements such as ‘wink’, ‘shrug one’s shoulders’, ‘kick’, ‘jump’, ‘wave’, or sudden feelings or visual sensations such as ‘feel a surge of pain/ surprise’, ‘sink (heart)’, ‘flash’ etc. They often enter the multiplicative pattern *yi*-V *yi*-V (ex. ‘sway (hips)’); 2) Less typical semelfactives, which may involve result state when combining with *zhe* instead of multiplicative reading, such as ‘blush’, ‘bend one’s back’, ‘straighten one’s neck’, ‘curl one’s lips’, ‘twitch one’s mouth’ (in contempt or disbelief), ‘give a (an angry or surprised) stare’; 3) motion verbs involving a body part, such as posture verbs and placement verbs: ‘sit’, ‘lie (down)’, ‘squat’, ‘stand’, ‘put’, ‘tuck (into one’s clothes, one’s bosom)’, ‘squeeze (into)’ ‘throw’, ‘pull’, ‘push’. In this case *yi*-V profiles the quick body movement involved, and requires the deactivation of the [+telic] feature brought by the postverbal goal phrase, by moving it to a preverbal position (adjunct). This is consistent with the [-telic] feature of semelfactives.

We conclude with some remarks on the functions of *yi*-V in narratives.

## 試論近代漢語 i 介音的增生現象

(Emergence of Medial [i] in Modern Chinese)

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漢語音韻的歷史發展從宋代開始以至於明代，是一個關鍵性的階段，現代方言的很多重要音韻現象，都可以往前追溯到宋代，更進一步還能聯繫到明代的韻書和韻圖。其中，「介音的演化」可說是近代語音發展中，牽動漢語聲母、韻母甚至是影響整個音節結構的重要動力，因此，若能釐清漢語介音的發展脈絡，勢必有助於了解從中古後期的宋代到近代漢語語音的變遷。

中古洪音到現代漢語變成細音的，大致可以歸納出一個比較嚴格的規律：凡是中古二等開口舌根（牙喉音）字，現代漢語在主要元音和聲母中間增添了一個 i 音位，例如：江  $k\alpha\eta > t\epsilon i a\eta$ 、巷  $\gamma\alpha\eta > \epsilon i a\eta$ ，此外又如皆、佳、間、眼、姦、顏、交...等也是一樣的狀況。對於中古開口二等舌根（牙喉音）字的演變歷程、i 介音增生的原因究竟與聲母及元音之間的互動有怎樣密切的關係，正是本論文關注的焦點。

事實上早在元代《中原音韻》裡就把「江」字與三等「姜」並列，把「庚、更、羹、耕」與三等「京、驚、荊、兢」及四等「徑、涇」等字混列；此外，江陽韻中二等的「講、港」也與三等的「鑑」並列，可見中古二等開口舌根（牙喉音）字，由洪變細的現象於元代已開始萌芽。繼元代之後，明中葉《韻略易通》（西元 1442 年）與明末《韻略匯通》（西元 1642 年），三者皆是明代極為重要的韻書，它們對於中古二等開口舌根（牙喉音）字的安置，一定程度反映了明代初到明末的語音變遷。

本論文重點在於探討近代漢語中 i 介音增生問題究竟和聲母、主要元音、聲調有何關聯？另外，中古二等開口二等牙喉音在目前漢語方言中的分布情形為何？各顯示了什麼現象？也同樣是我們關切的焦點所在。

故本文研究材料，起自宋代刊行的《韻鏡》（西元 11161 年），擴及近代官話先驅《中原音韻》（西元 1324 年），乃至明代中葉《韻略易通》與明末葉《韻略匯通》，企圖從這四本韻書對於開口二等牙喉音字的歸類，探討這類字在宋代以至於明代末葉產生了怎樣的變化。這個問題不僅反映了共同語中 i 介音增生與發展的脈絡，同時在漢語音韻史上也占有重要的地位。

The historical development of the Chinese Phonology from the Song Dynasty (宋代) to the Ming Dynasty (明代) is a critical stage. Many phonological phenomena in modern dialects can be further dated back to the Song Dynasty. During these two periods, diachronic sound changes across dialects were observed. Specifically, they were described in the rhyme books and tables in Ming Dynasty. In this study, the medial [i] is special in the sense that it involves composition of onsets, rhymes and syllables. This work focuses on diachronic alternations of the medial [i], which is of value by indicating historical phonological changes in Middle Chinese after the Song Dynasty.

The medial [i] that is absent in Middle Chinese may surface in Modern Chinese, if the onset is the second grade (i.e. category) of velars, as in (1)-(2). Additional examples include words such as *jie* (皆) 'all', *jie* (佳) 'good', *jian* (間) 'room' and *jan* (眼) 'eyes'.

(1)  $k\alpha\eta > t\epsilon i a\eta$  *jiang* (江) 'big river'

(2)  $\gamma\alpha\eta > \epsilon i a\eta$  *xiang* (巷) 'alley'

In Yuan Dynasty (元代), *Zhongyuan Yinyun* (中原音韻), one of Chinese rhyme books, made no difference between the second grade of velars (e.g. *jiang* 江 'big river', *jiang* 講 'speak', *kang* 港 'harbor') and the third grade (e.g. *jing* 京 'capital', *jing* 驚 'surprise', *jiang* 姜 'person's name'), the fourth grade (e.g. *jing* 徑 'route', *jing* 涇 'name of a river'). Later, the other three rhyme books (c.a. 1375-1642 A.D) in Ming Dynasty (明代) reported a similar pattern for the medial [i]. Following the earlier studies, this research presents sound changes of second grade of velars by examining the distribution of excrescent [i] in different Chinese dialects. Data in question are obtained from *Yunjing* (韻鏡) in Song Dynasty, and *Hongwu Zhengyun* (洪武正韻, 1375 A.D), *Ynlue Itong* (韻略易通, 1442 A.D), *Ynlue Huitong* (運略匯通, 1642 A.D) in Ming Dynasty (明代). This work is of great interest in how excrescent [i] is motivated and in how it interplays with structures of onsets, rhymes and syllables.

## Modals and Negation in Taiwan Southern Min

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This paper explores the relationship between modals and negation in Taiwanese. Deontic modals will be mainly discussed, including: *thang1* 'may', *tioh8* 'must', *ai2* 'have to' and *tioh8 ai2* 'must'. Based on Iatridou and Zeijlstra (2013), universal deontic modals may vary depending on the scope of negations. They point out that in English, must and should take wide scope with respect to negation, while have to and need take narrow scope. This scopal pattern is examined in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM). The present study finds that in TSM, the linear word order basically determines the scope of negation and modals. When the word order is 'negation > modal', the negation obtains the wider scope. This finding makes TSM different from English.



There are two types of negation in TSM: *m7* and *bo5*. The combination of the two negative forms and the deontic modals are attested and the possible combination is strikingly rare. Lien (2013) has shown forms of negative patterns with respect with types of modals. There two types of combination of negation and modals:

- (i) lexical+lexical (negation + modal), e.g. *m7 thang1* 'do not', and
- (ii) fusion (neg+mod), e.g. *bian2* 'don't have to', *be7* 'will not (volitional)' and *mai* 'do not'.

The present study proposes that a pairing asymmetry occurs when modal and negation combines together. For example, if *thang1* indicates existential deontic, its negative correspondence, *m7-thang1*, should be negative existential. However, the semantics of the negation of *thang1* relates to *bian2*, rather than *m7-thang1*. The *m7-thang1* indicates negative universal deontic. This pairing asymmetry of negation and modals rarely occurs in other languages.

This paper also studies the positive/negative polarity in TSM. The deontic modal verb *tioh8* is assumed to function as a positive polarity item in TSM. No deontic modals are found as negative polarity items in TSM. However, the volitional modal *keng2* is assumed to serve as a negative polarity item. The paper demonstrates data to illustrate the polarity phenomenon in TSM. This paper generally deals with four issues of negation and modals in TSM: the negation/modal scope patterns, the combinations of negation and modals, the asymmetric pairing of negation and modals, and positive/negative polarity.

## Chinese children's interpretation of scope in prepositional datives

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In the analysis of scope, it is often assumed that the dative in Chinese can be analyzed on a par with their counterparts in English, with the [V-NP-GEI-NP] structure (prepositional dative, PD hereafter) exhibiting scope ambiguity and the [V-(GEI)-NP-NP] structure (double object dative, DO hereafter) being scope unambiguous (e.g. Aoun and Li 1989; Xu and Lee 1989; Yang 1991). Such analyses have been inspired by studies of English datives (Barss and Lasnik 1986; Larson 1988, 1990) based on various binding facts. While the scope disambiguity found in DO is never disputed, there may be grounds to question the scope ambiguity of PD in Chinese. First, the acquisition study of Su (2001) shows clear evidence that both adults and children predominantly favored an existential wide scope reading than a universal wide scope reading in PD with '*mei*' in direct object position. Secondly, the recent typological survey by W. Li (2012) has shown that Northern Mandarin speakers overwhelmingly use a structure with the prepositional GEI-phrase preceding the verb rather than the PD; unlike their Southern counterparts. These findings suggest that the postverbal positioning of quantifiers in dative structures may be more constrained than previously assumed.

In this study, we investigate the scope interpretation of the existential and universal quantifiers in postverbal position in PD by children and adults, controlling for quantifier order and the distributivity of the universal quantifier on four types of PD. Using the Truth Value Judgment task (Crain and Thornton 1998), we tested 120 Mandarin-speaking preschool children and 48 adult controls, each on one PD type. Our findings show that children behaved like adults in showing sensitivity to quantifier order and the distributivity of quantifiers. Children also resembled adults in regarding PD with '*mei*' direct object as being scopally ambiguous, undetermined or unacceptable, indicating that the direct object position in PD resists distributive universal quantifiers, lending support to the syntactic representation of quantifiers (Beghelli and Stowell 1997).

While adults consistently opted for only one scope reading in PD with universal indirect object, around half of the children consistently accepted both scope readings. Children's preference for accepting both readings corroborates earlier acquisition studies indicating that preschool Mandarin-speaking children did not show strict adherence to scope isomorphism (Lee 1991, 2008; Zhou 2011). Our findings also confirm earlier studies suggesting a better mastery of the non-distributive universal quantifier 'all' than the distributive 'every' (Drozd and Van Loosbroek 2006; Van Der Ziel 2012).



In addition, some adjectival nouns can also have a manner reading, while others can have a behavior reading. We thus distinguish three types of nouns:

**Type a:** *chengshi* ‘honesty’, *xixin* ‘carefulness’, *cuxin* ‘carelessness’, *zisi* ‘selfishness’...

4. a. *wo hen qingpei ta de chengshi / xixin.*

‘I admire the degree of his honesty / carefulness.’

[degree interpretation]

‘I admire his honest / careful behavior.’

[behavior interpretation]

The behavior reading can be overtly expressed by *xingwei* ‘behavior’:

4. b. *wo hen qingpei ta de chengshi / xixin xingwei.*

‘I admire his honest / careful behavior.’

**Type b:** *tongku* ‘pain’, *kunhuo* ‘puzzle’, *kuaile* ‘happiness’, *shangxin* ‘sadness’...

5. *wo jide ta de kunhuo / tongku / kuaile / shangxin.*

‘I remember how puzzled / pained / happy / sad he was.’

[degree interpretation]

‘I remember how he was puzzled / pained / happy / sad.’

[manner interpretation]

The manner reading can be expressed overtly by the noun *moyang* ‘manner’:

6. *wo jian guo ta de tongku moyang*

‘I have seen how he is in pain.’

**Type c:** *zang* ‘dirtiness’, *ganjing* ‘cleanness’, *re* ‘hotness’, *suan* ‘sourness’, *tian* ‘sweet’...

Nouns in this group can only have the degree reading (no manner or behavior reading):

7. *wo zhidao ta fangjian de zhang*

‘I know how dirty his room is.’

[degree interpretation]

## When one disappears; when one stays

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It has been frequently observed that the number ‘one’ in nominal expressions [Number + Classifier + NP] in Beijing Mandarin (BM) can be missing (e.g., Lu 1944, Chao 1968, Li and Thompson 1981, Paris 1981, Tang 1990, A. Li 1996, Cheng and Sybesma 1999, Chen 2004, Borer 2005, Hsieh 2008, X. Li 2011, Li and Bisang 2012, Jiang 2012, Huang 2013, Liu 2013, Zhang 2013). Two main lines of analyses have been proposed - ‘one’ undergoes phonological deletion (PF deletion) or ‘one’ is simply not present grammatically (base-generation approach). This work focuses on the comparison of ‘one’-deletion in BM and the general absence of ‘one’-deletion in Taiwan Minnan (TWM) (e.g., A. Li 1996, Cheng and Sybesma 1999, Huang 2013, Li 2013, Liu 2013). It argues that a PF deletion approach not only more adequately accounts for when ‘one’-deletion is possible in BM (conditioned by the strengths of the neighboring syllables in the proper contexts, sensitive to a Government-based Nuclear Stress Rule; see Feng 1995, 2010, 2012, Li and Feng 2013) but also correctly predicts the contrast in ‘one’-deletion between BM and TWM due to their broader distinction in how focus or weakening is encoded. Stress is much more prominently utilized in BM than in TWM (cf. stress-focus correspondence, such as in Selkirk 1984, Reinhart 1995). The tonal behavior of TWM requires each syllable but the last of a major phrase (verb phrase, noun phrase) to take the combination tone and the last one, the isolation tone, both of which are full tones, not weakened neutral tones. Syllabic weakening or strengthening is normally not used, especially in non-NP/VP-final positions (Shyu 2010 for experimental studies showing that Taiwan Mandarin speakers were not sensitive to stress for focus-encoding. See Pierrehumbert & Bekman 1988, Kanerva 1990, Downing et al. 2004, Koch 2008, among others, for phonological phrasing marking focus and Li 2013 for Phonological Insertion as a manifestation of such a phonological phrasing strategy). That is, the conditions allowing ‘one’-deletion in BM are in general not replicable in TWM - making ‘one’-deletion unavailable. The TWM counterpart of BM ‘one’-deletion can be the attachment of a diminutive morpheme *-a* to the classifier [Number + Classifier + *a* + NP]. The diminutive construction - phonologically lengthening and raising the pitch of the classifier because of the *-a* attachment, also allows ‘one’-deletion to an extent. This exception to the general impossibility of ‘one’-deletion in TWM provides further support for a PF-deletion approach to ‘one’-deletion. The study also has important implications on the general theory regarding (de)-focusing in different tonal languages.

## Requests in Chinese e-mails: Strategy types, discourse patterns and interpersonal variations

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With the increasing use of the Internet as a means of communication, the study of requests by e-mails has evolved. Most previous researches in this area have been conducted around the use of the English language. This study, however, aims to investigate strategies and discourse pattern employed in Chinese request e-mails, and to explore the influence of interpersonal factors on the choice of requestive strategies. The data include 160 e-mails written in academic situations, elicited from 40 university students in Taiwan, all of whom are native speakers of Mandarin Chinese. The result reveals that, on average, a Chinese request email include 1 to 2 head acts accompanied by 9 to 10 supportive moves. Most of the head acts are realized through direct strategies, among which, «hedged performatives» and «want statements» are the two most preferred ones. As to supportive moves, «grounders» outnumber all the other strategies used in the e-mails. In relation to the information sequence, Chinese e-mail requests prefer an «indirect discourse», where the first head acts could be seen only after 59% of the supportive moves are used. Regarding interpersonal variants, the present study shows that both «social distance» and «relative power» have significant effects on the choice of strategies. The findings support Gu's (2011) observation that e-mails, as a communication means, are more similar to personal handwritten letters than to any computer-mediated platforms. Requests made by e-mails are like those made through letters on both strategy and discourse levels. Besides, «reducing status effects», which could be found in some online communication platforms, are absent in the data of present study.

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## The Comprehension of the Compound Reflexive *taziji* and the Personal Pronoun *ta* by Mandarin-speaking Individuals with Down Syndrome

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Language in Down syndrome has become the subject of intense interest because Down syndrome serves as a field for testing various theories of language acquisition. The present study attempts to explore the comprehension of the compound reflexive *taziji* and the personal pronoun *ta* by Mandarin-speaking individuals with Down syndrome within the framework of generative grammar. According to Perovic (2001, 2002), English-speaking individuals with Down syndrome have difficulties interpreting sentences with reflexives like (1a) as opposed to those with personal pronouns like (1b).

- (1)     a. Is Mowgli tickling himself?  
          b. Is Mowgli tickling him?

Ring and Clahsen (2005) propose that such a selective deficit is due to the fact that the formation of A-chain is impaired among this group of people. In order to test if the formation of A-chain is impaired among

Mandarin-speaking adolescents with Down Syndrome, 8 participants, matched on chronological age and IQ to typically developing individuals, complete a picture truth-value judgment task, adapted from van der Lely and Stollwerck (1997), in which participants listen to 48 sentences like (2) and be required to indicate whether or not the experimental questions accompanying the picture stimuli match the pictures shown.

(2) a. 男孩在搔他自己的癢嗎 'Is the boy tickling himself?'

b. 男孩在搔他的癢嗎 'Is the boy tickling him?'

From this task, the current study aims to identify whether there exists a delay of Principle A effect among this population and whether a specific syntactic operation (namely the formation of A- chain) is impaired in this population.

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## Network Approaches Reveal the Complexity of Chinese Dialect History

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Ever since August Schleicher first proposed the idea that the development of languages are best visualized with the help of a tree, this view was controversially discussed in the linguistic world, leading to various opposing theories. The reluctance of many scholars to accept the tree as the primary model for language history was due to the problem of conflicting signals in linguistic data: Many resemblances between languages would simply not point to tree-like development. Despite these common observations, the majority of phylogenetic approaches has been based on the tree model, while network approaches have been rarely applied.

Due to the specific sociolinguistic situation in China where divergent linguistic varieties developed under the roof of a common culture and writing system, the history of the Chinese dialects is complex and intertwined. Chinese dialects are therefore a good test case for methods which no longer take the family tree as their primary model.

We present the results of an improved method for phylogenetic network reconstruction applied to Chinese dialect data. Our method builds on an earlier approach by Nelson-Sathi et al. (2011) who plot gain-loss events onto a reference tree to uncover hidden borrowings in the history of the Indo-European languages. In contrast to previous approaches (Hamed & Wang 2006), this method is character-based and captures both vertical and horizontal aspects of language history. Compared to Nelson-Sathi et al. (2011), our method introduces many improvements, including the handling of multifurcating (as opposed to bifurcating) trees, varying rates of gain and loss events, and new techniques for the areal representation of language relations (see the attached Figure). Our data is based on the *Xiàndài Hànyǔ fāngyán yīnkù* (Hóu 2004), a database covering translations of 180 concepts into 40 varieties of Chinese. According to our results, the majority of characters in the data (55%) cannot be readily explained with a tree model. Not only reflect the inferred borrowing events general uncertainties of Chinese dialect classification, they also reveal the strong influence of the standard language.

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## Initial consonant assimilation in Putian dialect

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Initial consonant assimilation is a common sound change in Eastern Min dialect, this change is also observed in Putian dialect, which is spoken in the middle coastal area of Fujian Province, and it is located between Eastern Min and Southern Min. Based on the data from Chen (1998), for disyllabic words, initial consonants assimilation in Fuzhou dialect can be generalized to several rules, the initial obstruents in the second syllable will undergo either of them:

[Dor] --> zero/ V\_\_V (dorsals are deleted in intervocalic position)

[Cor] --> [+voi] / VV (coronal sonorant [l] or voiced fricative [ʒ])

[Lab] --> [+voi] / V\_\_V (voiced bilabial fricative)

[-son] --> [+nas] / [+nasal] (an initial consonant becomes nasal after a nasal coda.)

As we can see these are basically assimilation processes except for the dorsal consonants which are deleted between two vowels. This kind of assimilation occurs only in frequently used words, for new words or disyllabic phrases, initial obstruents in the second syllable remain unchanged. In Putian dialect, the initial consonant assimilation is quite similar to Fuzhou dialect, initial obstruents in the second syllable also exhibit dorsal deletion in intervocalic position and nasalization after a nasal coda.

[Dor] --> zero/ V\_\_V

[-son] --> [+nas] / [+nasal] (an initial consonant becomes nasal after a nasal coda.)

But there are some variations for coronal and labial obstruents. In Liu (2000)'s proverbs and sayings, we find that labial obstruents are deleted in intervocalic position too. And coronal obstruents basically change into a lateral sonorant.

[Lab] --> zero / V\_\_V (data from Liu 2000)

[Cor] --> [+voi] / V\_\_V (coronal sonorant [l], no [ʒ])

There seems to be a set of markedness constraints for voiced obstruents in Putian and Fuzhou dialect, \*g >> \*b, \*ʒ >> \*l. In Fuzhou dialect, related faithfulness constraints cut into \*g and \*b, \*ʒ, therefore, only dorsals are deleted. In Putian dialect, \*ʒ and \*b are ranked higher than related faithfulness constraints. For the variations above, we may get an impression that lateral sonorant is less marked than voiced obstruents, so it can survive in intervocalic position in all variations. But some other variations are observed in different sub-dialects of Putian, one speaker from Baisha town deletes the intervocalic lateral instead of bilabial obstruents. We will provide more evidence in the whole text to show that the deleted laterals are obstruent.

## Expression of Aspect in Complex Sentences with Finite Object Clause in Mandarin Chinese

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The expression of aspect in Mandarin Chinese has been widely examined (Li & Thompson 1981, Lin 2003, Ljungqvist 2003, Klein, Li & Hendriks 2000 among others). Generally, the earlier studies were based on a small amount of suggestive data and they did not differentiate simple and complex phrasal contexts.

The present study is based on investigation of the near totality of Mandarin predicates allowing a finite object clause; for each of them at least one example was collected, the principal source being the linguistic corpus CCL (Center of Chinese Linguistics) developed by the Peking University. Our main goal is to demonstrate precisely and to provide explanations about the kinds of restrictions imposed on the matrix predicate as well as on the subordinate predicate in complex sentences with a finite object clause regarding the three aspect markers (*le*, *guo*, and *zhe*). Following the framework of Lexicon-Grammar of Maurice Gross (1984), the result of our investigation will be given in the form of double entry tables regrouping the matrix predicates and their respective behaviors regarding the markers. We will distinguish mainly four types of situation according to which matrix predicates are to be grouped: (i) no restriction at all over the matrix predicate and its subordinate predicate, (ii) no restriction over the matrix predicate whose subordinate predicate can not bear any marker at all, (iii) restrictions over the matrix predicate and not over its subordinate, (iv) matrix predicate totally incompatible with aspect markers, its

subordinate predicate is not. For each type of situation we will attempt to provide explanations based on semantic factors.

This study is a prolongation of earlier works on this subject, but it is conducted on a very large amount of data and from a comparative perspective between Mandarin and French. The resulting tables constructed following the framework of Lexicon-Grammar are very demonstrative tools for conclusive remarks in the theoretical area, they can also be used as a practical guide for Chinese learners as to the use of aspect markers in complex sentences in Mandarin.

## **New words and new types of compounds in Modern Chinese.**

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A large amount of new words appear in Chinese language every year. In 2010 the official list of new words consisted of 396 items, in 2011 their amount increased to 594. Most of them are formed as the typical Chinese compounds, but some of them are formed by another mechanism, e.g. the word 驴友 ‘a travel companion, a backpacking friend’. Everybody knows another word 旅友 “a travel companion” and which pronunciation is very similar to our example. The morpheme 驴 reflects the semantic component ‘carry on the back like an ass’ and the meaning of the homophone 旅 “to travel”. From the verbs 旅游, 旅行 ‘to travel’ the verbs 驴游 and 驴行 ‘bag packing (travel)’ are formed. And here we have a new mechanism of forming new words, when the phonetics plays the same important role as the semantics.

Another mechanism of making new words is the appearing of new productive noun morphemes which can be the head of the attribute compound. For example, speaking about the group of people the morpheme 族 is used, e.g. 啃椅族. This word means the young people, usually students, who spend a lot of time in McDonalds, KFC and other restaurants of fast food, reading, playing cards etc. The form of the word 啃老族 is very similar to the previous one. It means the young people, who have already graduated from the university or institute, but can't find the appropriate job and leave on the money of their parents.

The third mechanism is the reinterpreting the already existed words, e.g. 白骨精 means ‘White Bone Demon’ from the Chinese novel *Pilgrimage to the West*, who turned into a beautiful woman and tried to seduce Zhu Bajie, but Sun Wukong defeated her three times. This word also means ‘sinister and ruthless woman’. Now this word has got a new positive meaning: 白 means 白领 ‘white collar worker’, 骨 means 骨干 ‘backbone’, 精 means 精英 ‘elite’. So the whole word gets a new meaning ‘a beautiful talented white-collar woman’.

The forming of new words needs much more serious investigation, but even these few examples can show that in new Chinese compounds phonetics starts to play very important role and it should be taken into account.

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## **Possibility modals and the subject in Pre-Tang Chinese: a syntactic approach**

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In this paper the syntax of the modal verbs of possibility is at issue with particular regard to the semantic implications different subjects of the modal predicate, in particular causer, agent or theme subjects, can have. In Late Archaic Chinese the most important modal verbs expressing possibility and ability are *néng* 能 ‘can, be able to’, *dé* 得 ‘be able to’, and *kě* 可 ‘possible, can’ (Peyraube 1999, Liu 2000, Li 2001, Meisterernst 2008). The basic function of *néng* 能 is to express participant-internal possibility, i.e. ability, involving a causer or

agent (volitional) subject, but it also expresses circumstantial participant-external possibility, and the deontic value of permission (Li 2004), involving a non-volitional subject. Contrastingly to *néng* 能, the modals *dé* 得 and *kě* 可 express participant-external, or root possibility values as their basic meaning, usually involving a non-volitional subject. The thematic role of the subject, i.e. agent or cause, is one of the defining characteristics of volitional modality and a criterion to distinguish volitional modals from deontic (and circumstantial) ones; the latter are usually characterized by a non-volitional subject (Durbin 2006); volitional and non-volitional subjects occupy different syntactic positions. Consequently, the different modal values of *néng* 能, and those of *dé* 得 and *kě* 可, can be derived from the characteristics of their respective subjects, namely, their differences with regard to the [+/- VOLITION] features of the subject of the embedded verb.

However, syntactically, in Pre-Tang Chinese all modal auxiliary verbs, including possibility modals and true deontics, apparently occupy the same position, a position below aspect (assumed for ability and goal oriented modals e.g. in Hacquard 2006); this is born out by their position with regard to aspecto-temporal adverbs which are assumed to be generated in a higher AspectP, thus having the modal in their scope; whereas modal verbs are assumed to be located within vP (e.g. by Durbin 2006). Their position is different from that of epistemic markers which are usually realised as sentential adverbs, always located above aspecto-temporal adverbs. Additionally, the implications of the semantics of the lexical source of the modal for the thematic role of its subject and the modal interpretation of its complement will be discussed. While most of the modal verbs (possibility and deontic ones) are derived from state verbs, the possibility modal *dé* 得 is derived from an achievement verb which can have both, theme and agent subjects.

## Old Chinese and bamboo manuscripts from the Chu region during the Warring States period

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In studies of textual history, one distinguishes the date of manuscript production from that of textual composition. In researches of historical phonology with manuscripts as their subject materials, one needs to consider yet another layer of date in addition to the last two, viz., the time that the orthography (graphic structure) in question was first invented. Thus finding evidence for such phonological phenomena in manuscripts as dialects of the period contemporaneous with the date of manuscripts requires thorough diachronic and synchronic comparisons with thus far available excavated and transmitted paleographic and lexical sources. In this regard, the question of whether and how, if any, Warring States Chu manuscripts reflect a Chu dialect is parallel with the relation between the Qin orthography, as seen in Qin manuscripts and in the Shuowen Seal Script, and a Qin dialect. By the same token, the newly discovered Chu script in the writings of the shared Zhou Chinese cultural sphere, whether in the forms of literary-philosophical texts or all sorts of funerary writings, reveals the Old Chinese phonology to the same extent as its Qin state counterpart does: we often find in character forms in Chu manuscripts that have phonetic components distinct from the familiar received Qin script, cases of alternative phonetic graphs stemming from the same phonological system as the Old Chinese. These forms can for instance help us clarify the OC initial consonant of a MC initial with multiple origins or throw new light on OC word family relations.

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## The metaphor of light in *Wenxin diaolong*

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*Wenxin diaolong* by Liu Xie (5th century), the first Chinese work of literary criticism, has attracted the attention of researchers from the philological point of view, but the language of the text itself has never been the object of linguistic research. We focus on analyzing the language of *Wenxin diaolong* concentrating on its lexical aspect.

The language of *Wenxin diaolong* is highly poetical and full of metaphors. Metaphorical patterns are systematically used by Liu Xie as an independent method of clarifying his ideas, and form a separate dimension of the text. This makes the text difficult to analyze using the usual philological apparatus. Systematic linguistic study of these metaphors can help us reveal an important level of meaning behind this text.

One of the main concepts of *Wenxin diaolong* is *wen* 'written language, literature'. This is a highly polysemic concept; its meaning in this text varies from 'graphic sign' and 'written language' to 'literature', 'culture' and 'structure'. After analyzing words used in metaphorical descriptions of *wen* in different contexts, we distinguished several semantic groups of such words. Some of these groups of metaphors, such as graphical characteristics and structure, quite understandably correspond with two of the basic meanings of *wen*. However, one important group of metaphors could not have been easily anticipated on the basis of the primary meanings of *wen* – that of light. This group includes such words as *huàn* 'lustrous', *guāng* 'light', *míng* 'bright', *bǐng* 'luminous', *liè* 'ardent', etc. Metaphors from this group carry different meanings in different descriptions of *wen*:

*wén zì shǐ bǐng*

'writing first emerged (**brightened**)'

*Táng Yü wén zhāng, zé huàn hū shǐ shèng*

'It was during the T'ang and the Yü reigns that writing really began to flourish (**shine**)'.

Our research also considers how the analytical approach we have developed with a view to elucidating new semantic dimensions of the concept *wen* can expand our understanding of the semantic domain of other key concepts in the text.

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## Negation as Diagnostic in VP-Ellipsis in Mandarin Chinese

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We distinguish two types of VP-ellipsis in MC: the so called V-Stranding VP-Ellipsis (VSVPE) in which the V projection is deleted after the verb was moved from V to v; and the canonical VP-Ellipsis (VPE) of *shi* ‘be’-support which is pointed out to be a deep anaphora occurrence by Ai (2006). It has also been argued that the auxiliary verb *shi* ‘be’ is actually a pro-VP (Li, 1998) and the negation of it (cf.1) in the target clause should be recognized as an instance of Stripping rather than a canonical VPE as its counterpart in English (Ai, 2006). However, I will demonstrate that neither the strong nor the weak pragmatic control can sustain this statement. In fact, both the positive and the negative *shi* ‘be’- support construction in MC is the case of canonical VPE.

- (1) *Zhangsan hen xihuan ta-de mama, (danshi) Lisi que bu shi.*

Zhangsan very like his mother but Lisi yet Neg. BE

Zhangsan likes his mother very much, (but) Lisi doesn't.

Xu (2003) claimed that *shi* ‘be’ cannot be used to replace a verb phrase when either the first or the second clause is negative in form». However, this is not what the distribution of negation in VPE tells us. The distinctive tolerance between two negative morphemes, *bu* and *mei*, in MC regarding different types of verbs shows that there is an hierarchy of the negative projections in the VPE (cf.2). The two negative morphemes have to be posited at different levels in the syntactic structure to account for the two possible target clauses in (2b). This study also shed light on the whole hierarchy of adverbs in MC, as the analysis has to account for the fact that the adverbs as *conglai* ‘always’ in the antecedent clause somehow affect the grammaticality and the identity interpretation of the target clause (cf. 2).

- (2) a. *Zhangsan (conglai) bu shanghai bieren, Lisi ye shi.*

Zhangsan always Neg hurt others Lisi also BE

‘Zhangsan will never hurt the others, neither will Lisi.’

- b. *Zhangsan (conglai) mei shanghai guo bieren, Lisi ye mei you / shi.*

Zhangsan always Neg hurt Exp. others Lisi also Neg HAVE / BE

‘Zhangsan never hurt anyone, neither did Lisi.’

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## The Expression of Motion Events: what gets lost in translation?

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Languages of the world are considerably different with respect to the lexicalization patterns to express motion events. This domain can hardly be explored without mentioning Talmy's theoretical framework, according to which languages can be divided into “verb-framed” and “satellite-framed” (Talmy, 1991). In the former type, Path is encoded by the main verb:

- (1) Uscii di corsa dalla cucina  
‘I exited the kitchen running’

whereas in the second one it is expressed by a satellite:

- (2) 我跑出了厨房。  
‘I ran out of the kitchen’

According to this classification, Italian is considered a verb-framed language (1), whereas Chinese is classified as satellite-framed (2). However, Chinese has been also classified as “equipollently-framed” (Slobin, 2004, 2006) and Italian cannot categorically be classified as “verb-framed”, considering the productive system of verb-particle constructions (Masini, 2005). The cross-linguistic variation has been approached by different perspectives and frameworks. In particular, narrative texts have been used to confirm the validity of typological classification (Chen and Guo, 2008) and to elicit the different information about motion events provided by the translated versions of the same source text (Slobin, 2005). It has been underlined how descriptions in satellite- framed languages contain more information about manner and path of motion, whereas verb- framed languages have richer scene-setting

descriptions. This paper will focus on the differences between Chinese and Italian in expressing motion events by comparing translated narrative texts. To this end, I will collect and analyse a corpus consisting of Chinese and Italian translated texts, belonging to contemporary literature, and I will address the following research questions:

- How do the two languages differ in describing motion events?
- Which are the linguistic forms adopted to fill the lexical gaps in translation?
- Which components of motion events are given prominence in translated texts? The analysis of the data will discuss and quantify:
  - the loss of information regarding the manner and the omission of deictic elements, especially in Italian target texts;
  - the cases of correspondence of Chinese directionals with Italian particles;
  - the rendering and specification, by added information, of the motion events in Chinese target texts descriptions.

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## Some new features of Dungan language typology

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Dungans of Central Asia have more than 150-year-old history. The isolation from China has essentially affected not only their life, but on their language as well. Dungan language (literary form is based on the dialect of Gansu) has traditionally been viewed from two perspectives: Chinese scholars consider it as a «variant of Chinese»[1], Soviet linguists in the 1920s described Dungan as a separate language without its own writing system. Before 1928 Dungan people used Arabic alphabet for writing (*Xiǎo'érjīng*), it is still used by Muslims in China. In 1928 Central Asia's Dungan was romanized, in 1953 it was switched to the Cyrillic alphabet.

There are some interesting distinctions between Dungan and Chinese at all levels. Unlike Putonghua Dungan phonetic system has three tones instead of four, new consonants, diphthongs desire to monophthongs, etc. Dungan is an isolating language with some features of agglutination, its morphology has a full verbal affix system. Some linguists [2] described a particular expression of Aspect-Time and Modal systems in Dungan.

For example, Chinese distinction between predicate expressed by the verb's complement, and predicate expressed by the verb without an object, in Dungan language is morphologically unified:

Dungan (**di** corresponds Chinese **zhe**)

ta kan fudini 'he is reading a book'

ta zudini 'he goes'

ta mā kan fudi 'he [currently] is not reading a book'

ta mā zudi 'he [currently] is not going'

Chinese

tā kàn shū ne 'he [currently] is reading a book'

tā zǒuzhe ne 'he [currently] is going'

tā méi kàn shū ne 'he [currently] does not read a book'

tā méi zǒuzhe 'he [currently] is not going'

The report is devoted to examples of Dungan morphology which helps to make conclusions about the Dungan language development trends.

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## A corpus-driven approach to the grammatical and discursive functions of *nage* 那个 / *zhege* 这个

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Whereas there are studies on *nage* as a [determiner + classifier] sequence, pointing out its emergence as a definite marker in oral speech (Huang Shuan-Fan, 1999), as well as publications on the discourse functions of *nage/zhege*, alongside other discourse markers (Liu Binmei, 2009; Wang Yan, 2011), and even studies on filled pauses in Mandarin Chinese, listing *nage* as a frequent pause filler (Tseng Shu-Chuan & Dafydd Gibbon, 2006; Zhao Yuan & Dan Jurafsky, 2005), none of the published studies has attempted to give a unified account of these three uses of *nage* (and arguably *zhege*). We propose that distributional and semantic criteria be devised in order to ascertain which of these functions *nage/zhege* fulfills in a given utterance in natural speech. The aim of this talk is to ascertain the following hypotheses, through the detailed analysis of all occurrences of *nage/zhege* in spontaneous speech corpora:

- *Nage/zhege* as a [determiner + classifier] sequence is not restricted to demonstrative uses; rather it can be shown to encompass different levels of proposed grammaticalization scales for demonstratives (see Christian Lehmann, 2002: 33-34);
- *Nage/zhege* as a [determiner + classifier] sequence shares most of its distributional properties with *nage/zhege* as a pause filler, most notably its affinity with noun phrase positions; however, the distribution of *nage/zhege* as a pause filler is less constrained, since it can stand for a variety of other elements;
- *Nage/zhege* as a pause filler does not inherit the grammatical and semantic contents of the [determiner + classifier] sequence, namely the demonstrative, distal/proximal and definite/ specific features of the determiners;
- *Nage* is anaphoric whereas *zhege* is merely deictic, which explains the broader use of *nage* in its discourse marker and pause filler functions.

The data are extracted from a set of oral corpora of Mandarin Chinese natural speech recorded in Taiwan, totaling over 5,400 words. All instances of *nage/zhege* are classified according to their function in the utterance (determiner + classifier sequence, pause filler, or discourse marker) and their distribution and meaning is characterized and statistically processed. Not only are all four hypotheses confirmed, but criteria for identifying the function of *nage/zhege* in a given utterance are derived from our findings.

## An analysis of temporal interpretations of bare predicates in Mandarin

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This paper proposes an analysis of temporal interpretations of bare predicates (i.e. predicates without aspectual marking) in Mandarin. We provide evidence against the **Default Viewpoint Aspect** hypothesis (DVA). We argue that bare predicates in Mandarin only allow aspectually stative readings (generic/habitual/stative construal) and we can account for this stativity by assuming that zero aspect is a null operator that takes a predicate of type  $\langle m, t \rangle$  (where  $m$  stands for “moment”,  $i$  for “interval”, and  $t$  for “truth value”) and returns an  $\langle I, t \rangle$  type at AspP. On my analysis, the fact that bare predicates give rise at the AspP level to stative predicates — that is, predicates of times with the *subinterval property* — is specifically due to the fact that they start out as predicates of type  $\langle m, t \rangle$ .

Following the DVA hypothesis (Bohnenmeyer & Swift 2004), Lin (2006) argues that atelic predicates (states/activities) have default imperfective aspect ( $TT \subseteq ET$ ) [2], which leads to an on-going present reading; telic predicates (accomplishments/ achievements) have default perfective aspect ( $ET \subset TT$ , where  $TT$  stands for “topic time” and  $ET$  for “event time”). Lin stipulates an order of precedence for topic time and speech time ( $t_{Top} < t_0$ ) in the definition of perfective to derive past readings for telic predicates. (See also Smith (2005)).

Both Lin and Smith correctly predict the stative readings of bare states ((1)) but their analysis **does not go through for bare eventives**: bare activities only allow habitual/generic readings ((2)), and do not have on-going readings as Lin and Smith predict; bare accomplishments/achievements do not yield past readings as predicted by the DVA analysis, but are ill-formed ((3)-(4)).

- |   |   |  |                                     |
|---|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Ta hen gaoxing.</i><br>3sg very happy<br>'He is very happy.' | (2) <i>Lisi da wangqiu.</i><br>Lisi play tennis<br>'Lisi plays tennis'. | (3) # <i>Ta xie yiben shu.</i><br>3sg write one-cl book<br># 'He writes a book.' | (4) # <i>Lisi ying.</i><br>Lisi win |
|---|---|--|-------------------------------------|

Importantly, bare accomplishments/achievements modified by an adverbial or a quantificational adverb are perfectly fine ((5)-(6)). They describe a habit/regularity of the subject rather than a single event.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (5) <i>Ta mei-nian xie yi-ben shu.</i><br>3sg every-year write one-cl book<br>'He writes a book every year.' | (6) <i>Lisi zong ying.</i><br>Lisi always win<br>'Lisi always wins.' |
|--|--|

This suggests that bare telic predicates become felicitous only when they appear as part of a larger syntactic constituent that describes a state.

To conclude, bare predicates only allow aspectually stative readings in Mandarin. We propose a semantic analysis for stative readings of bare predicates.

## On a possible connection of the Old Chinese negatives in \*p- and the so-called “distal” pronouns 夫 and 彼 — Reconsidering a Passing Comment by A.C. Graham

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In his investigation of the topic-marker *fú* 夫 Graham (1972:88–89) proposes a contrast between a rising tone member and a level tone member in the following word pairs:

- (1) 彼 \*piaˊ (rising) vs. 夫 \*bˊ i=woˊ (level).
- (2) 匪 \*pi=wərˊ (rising) vs. 夫 \*bˊ i=woˊ (level), Graham's 'n'est-ce pas'.
- (3) 匪 (rising) vs. 非 \*pi=wər (level).

This tonal opposition is reinforced by the level tone members' ending in \*-o. For Graham, rising tone members generally occur phrase-finally. Their level tone counterparts indicate that there is some information to follow: the syntactical head with non-final 'dependent' pronouns, the expected answer with sentence-final question particles. A closer look at the reconstructions proposed by Schuessler yields an interesting picture: He traces \*pəi back to \*pui, following to the common view that 非 originates from the negation 不 \*pə plus the copula \*wi 佳 (Schuessler 2007:232). Suggesting that 彼 \*pai? derives from \*pa-?i, he proposes a palatal suffix \*-i. Thus, the merely suprasegmental feature of phrase-final pronouns proposed by Graham, i.e. their rising tone, turns out to be segmental. Additionally, the unmotivated variation of vocalism between rising -a' and level -o disappears. Schuessler treats 匪 as identical to 非. Yet, Graham's remark suggests that the choice of 匪 vs. 非 is more than simply a matter of graphic variation: Following Graham yields a reconstructed pronunciation \*pəi? (analogous to \*pai?). Consequently, 匪 and 彼 only differ in the vocalism of the nucleus [±low], and it is not surprising that the former is sometimes written by almost homophonous 彼.

In my presentation, I shall attempt to evaluate Graham's above-sketched proposal correlating \*p- both in negatives (非) and in distal pronouns like 夫 and 彼. After a few remarks on the morphophonological aspects of Graham's thesis in view of more recent reconstructions of OC, I shall concentrate on its assessment on the basis of a functional analysis of 彼, 夫 and 非 in selected excavated texts and epigraphical materials not considered by Graham.

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## **John Fryer, Xu Shou and the principles of the Huaxue cailiao Zhong Xi mingmu biao 化學材料中西名目表**

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My paper has a double goal. First, it aims to underline some basic principles underlying the *Huaxue cailiao Zhong Xi mingmu biao* 化學材料中西名目表, the Vocabulary of names of chemical substances, created by Fryer and Xu Shou, its difference with their previous works, such as *Huaxue jianyuan* 化學鑑原, its contribution to modern Chinese lexicon and some problems rising within the work itself. Second, but not less important, I hope my paper will give the due consideration to such a great figure as Fryer and to his commitment to the cause of translation, casting a new light on a period of ferment in the field of translation - the one just before Chinese student went to Japan and had access to a bigger variety of up-to-date translation in a language more accessible for them - often considered as just transitional and whose influence on modern Chinese technical nomenclature can hardly be overestimated.

John Fryer had already spent more than 20 years of his life in China and more than 15 years working for the Jiangnan Arsenal by the time the Vocabulary was finally published in 1885. As one of the goal he clearly stated to be pursued for the good of the cause of translation in China at the end of the 19th century, the Vocabulary can be considered as a fundamental step in Fryer's and his colleague Xu Shou's work up to that point in translating scientific texts in Chinese. Nonetheless, the Vocabulary, one of the few systematic work in the field of chemistry before the end of the 19th century, is often underrated, with the bias against it basically due to a massive resort to transliteration.

## **Qin vs Chu**

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With the growth of archaeological discoveries, since the middle of the XX<sup>th</sup> century, the existence of regional specificities in material culture during the Warring States period (481-221 BCE) has been quite quickly and widely accepted by the academic world. But the fact that Chinese writing itself could be concerned by the phenomenon, as exposed by Li Xueqin 李學勤 as soon as 1959, has long been an object of debates among scholars (see for example Li Yunfu 李運富 1997).

Today, more than 50 years after Li Xueqin pioneer article, the question is no longer to discuss the existence of such phenomenon, but rather to analyze it and to understand it, in its cultural and linguistic aspects, and to appreciate its influence on Chinese writing evolution and on the composition and the transmission of early Chinese literature.

In this perspective, I would like to propose some reflections based on some recently published documents concerning the two best-known written tradition of that time: Chu 楚 tradition and Qin 秦 tradition. Differences here do not only concern the form of the graphs, but also the use of some particular characters that could may be reflect some linguistic particularities. Our reflection will also lead us to evoke the legacy of the Chu writing tradition in early Empire period, in a time when the Qin tradition was already established as a standard.

The existence of such a complex stage in Chinese writing history, impossible to imagine throw transmitted literature, became possible to detect and to study only because of the growing numbers of discoveries of ancient manuscript and inscriptions.

In 2002, archaeologists have excavated in the West of Hunan Province, at Liye 里耶, the remains of an ancient Qin prefecture called Qianling 遷陵. In the center of the city an old well has been excavated. It contained more than 17 000 administrative documents, mostly from imperial period (221-207 BCE), offering scholars a large corpus of Qin writings produced at that time and in that region. At the bottom of this well, seven fragments of Chu documents have also been discovered. The difference between the two kinds of writing is obvious and will constitute the starting point of this presentation.

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## Preverbal Wh-Elements in Late Archaic Chinese

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Late Archaic Chinese (5th-3rdc BC; 'LAC') is classified as an SVO language (Aldridge 2012, Djamouri et al 2012, Meisterernst 2010), but it requires partial fronting of postverbal wh-elements. This paper extends the theory of wh-movement in LAC as clause-internal focus fronting to the edge of vP (Aldridge 2010). Following Hsu's (2008) analysis of modern Mandarin, I propose that wh-elements in LAC also have two distinct positions, internal topic and focus positions, in the lower INFL domain, assuming that a preposed object occupies the specifier of a functional projection below IP and above vP (Paul 2005). Evidence for two structural positions comes from the relative ordering of preposed constituents and negative/modal elements. I show that wh-phrases may be in either 'topic' or 'focus' position, as shown in the linear format of clausal positions in (1):

(1) Subject > Internal Topic > Neg/Modal > Focus > vP

Bare wh-words can appear in either preverbal position in (1) in principle (see (2)). However, wh-words do not appear under negation, apparently induced by some intervention effect (3). Internally complex NPs, however, must be in the higher position – such NPs appear above a medial element (4):

(2) 王將何爲? (國語•楚語上 5th -3rdc BC)

wáng jiāng hé [wéi t hé]?

emperor will what do

'What will the emperor do?'

(3) 何不爲乎? (莊子•秋水 4thc BC)

hé bù [wéi t hé] hū?

what not do Excl

'What do (I) not do?'

(4) 又何魚之能得? (楚辭 4th -3rdc BC)

yòu [hé yú] zhī néng [dé t hé yú]?

then what fish ZHI can catch

'Then what fish can (one) catch?'

If the wh-phrase is a PP, it is in the lower position (5), even if internally complex. (The only exception is with wh-P he/xi-yi meaning 'what for (why)', which occupies the topic position, as is usual for the cross-linguistically 'high' adverbial why.) This implies that the 'inverted' wh-P order must, somehow, be associated with the focus position.

(5) 其將何辭以對? (春秋左傳•隱公三年 5thc BC)

qí jiāng [hé cí] [[yǐ t hé cí] duì]?

3.Gen will what utterance with reply

'What utterances will he reply with?'

In the paper I explore the syntactic consequences of these observations.

## Apparent Postverbal Negation and the Existential Construction

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I propose a new account for the non-occurrence of postverbal negation in Mandarin Chinese (MC) and its apparent appearance in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM). As shown below, the negation *bo* in TSM can occur in a postverbal position while its MC counterpart *mei(you)* cannot. Most previous analyses (Cheng 1979, 1997; Teng 1992, Li 1996; Tang 1996; Huang 2003; Wang 2008; Huang 2009, 2011) agree that the exclusive appearance in TSM is just apparent since long-distance verb movement (c.f. Pollock 1989) is unattested elsewhere and that the affirmative counterpart *u* is subject to the same sort of analysis. The literature nonetheless diverges in the proposed underlying structures and the nature of the elements.

- (1) \*Aming zhuan mei(you) qian (MC)  
Aming earn neg money  
Int. 'Aming earned no money.'
- (2) Abing than bo chiN (TSM)  
Abing earn neg money  
Lit. 'Abing earned no money.'

I suggest an underlying structure similar to resultatives, and the postverbal *u/bo* construction is on a par with the formation of resultative verb compounds (RVCs). Different from the literature, however, the current analysis assumes neither lexically-derived RVCs (Li 1990, 1995, 1999; Huang 1992) nor the idea that *u/bo* are the resultant predicate of RVCs (Cheng 1979, 1997; Huang 2003). Rather, there are two separate lexical VPs, each of which is dominated by a dedicated Inflection; hence, a bi-clausal structure. Crucially, the embedded Inflection licenses the occurrence of an auxiliary verb in the embedded clause. As such, *u/bo* are auxiliary verbs merged in the embedded Inflection domain. This immediately accounts for the cross-dialectal contrast since the MC counterpart *you* (in the standard sense) does not have the auxiliary usage. An important implication from the cross-dialectal research is that it offers a new way of analyzing the existential construction in MC. Given the non-existence of auxiliary *you*, I propose that the existential *you* is a matrix verb, taking as its complement an embedded clause. As such, the indefinite nominal in existentials is a raising-to-object constituent, undergoing Spec-Head feature checking with the matrix verb *you* so that the definiteness effect emerges (c.f. Milsark 1974). The proposal thus contrasts sharply with some previous analyses (e.g. Huang 1987, 1988; Tsai 2002, 2004) which assume the existential *you* as an auxiliary verb. It is also shown that the present analysis can solve some empirical and theoretical problems of the mono-clausal auxiliary analysis.

## 《爾雅》與《說文解字》訓釋常用詞比較研究—以〈釋詁〉為討論範圍

[The comparison research of explanatory notes in *Er Ya* and *Shuo Wen Jie Zi*: focusing on *Shi Gu*]

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本文以兩部中國秦漢時期的詞典(《爾雅》)與字典(《說文解字》)為研究對象。

主要重點在分析二者在訓釋詞義時所使用的訓釋詞(解釋詞彙),彼此涵蓋的意義範圍之同異,藉此探討《爾雅》與《說文解字》所使用的訓釋詞(解釋詞彙)之詞彙性質。《爾雅》與《說文解字》做為中國秦漢時期解釋經典文獻兩部最重要的字詞典,本身在解釋詞義所使用的詞彙存在著「義項」與「詞彙性質」的差別。例如「緒」字在《爾雅》作為解釋「敘」、「業」時表示「開端」義如「緒言」,或表示「未完成的事業、功業」如「緒功」、「緒業」的意思,與被解釋詞之間存在著引伸的詞義關係,而「緒」於《說文解字》用作解釋詞彙時,如「條,扁緒也。」則以它本身原始意義「絲耑」(絲的頭)用作其他相關詞彙的解釋。從上面的例子可以發現,字詞典訓釋詞(解釋詞彙)的義項使用上,存在著核心詞義與非核心詞義、常用與非常用詞義的分別。



本文計畫以《爾雅》〈釋詁〉篇中的解釋詞彙為材料範圍，對照《說文解字》在使用這些詞彙解釋詞義時的義項同異，藉此探討秦漢時期兩部主要的字詞典在解釋詞彙時，核心詞彙與常用詞彙是否相近？被解釋的字詞本身與訓釋詞（解釋詞彙）存在著何種詞義關係？（引申、轉注、假借）做為中國詞典學中詞義訓詁方法與詞彙性質另一種角度的觀察與研究。

**關鍵字：**《爾雅》、《說文解字》、詞彙性質、核心詞彙、常用詞彙

[The study highlights the dictionaries “*Er Ya*” and “*Shuo Wen Jie Zi*” during Qin and Han dynasties as the subjects of study to analyze the explanatory notes and the scope of meanings covered by the above two works with the view of researching the word properties of explanatory notes. As the most important dictionaries during Qin and Han dynasties, “*Er Ya*” and “*Shuo Wen Jie Zi*” illustrate the differences of words in “semantic item” and “word property”.

Take the word “*xu 緒*” for instance, when it is served as “*xu 敘*” and “*ye 業*”, we can see it as “beginning” or “uncompleted business” and it contains the relationship of derivation under this circumstance. However, when “*xu 緒*” is researched in “*Shuo Wen Jie Zi*”, the meaning “the tip of silk” 絲耑 emerges and appears with its original meaning. Judging from the above examples, core and non-core meanings and common and uncommon meanings exist in the dictionaries when it comes to the sense items of explanatory notes.

The study expects to select the words explained in “*Erya*” “*Shi Gu*” as materials to compare the ones in “*Shuo Wen Jie Zi*” for the sake of exploring the correspondence between core words and common words and the relationship between words themselves and their explanatory notes. (derivation 引申, derived characters 轉注, loan character 假借.)]

### 上古漢語重疊構式分析：以《詩經》《楚辭》為例

#### [The Morphological Analysis of Reduplication in Ancient Chinese *Shijing* and *Chuci*]

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本篇研究主要分析古漢語經典《詩經》與《楚辭》中的重疊構式。重疊構式是各時期各語言常見的詞彙構式，一般而言漢語重疊構式若按音節可分 AA、ABB、AAB、AABB、ABAB 等類型。其中從分布上來看，《詩經》中以 AA 重疊式為多，或為擬聲疊音單純詞，或為疊音複詞詞彙表示複數，或與程度增減語義相關。而 ABB/AAB 係比較特殊的重疊構式，ABB 式最早出現在《楚辭》裡，此類構式中兩種語素之構詞、語法、語義關係是值得探討研究之議題。本文將先整理出《詩經》與《楚辭》中之重疊式，先觀察其分布狀況，以便得知古漢語《詩經》與《楚辭》中發展的重疊類型趨勢；再整理分析重疊式的構詞、語義、語法等基本功能；三者，《詩經》以四言句為多，不見容 ABB 式相當合理，而六言七言句多的《楚辭》無此限制。為要分析《楚辭》中 ABB 式其中二語素之相關性，也將整理《詩經》含有 AA 四言句，分析其他語素和 AA 之相關性，再與《楚辭》中 ABB 式互相比較，以顯出重疊構詞機制。

[In this study the morphological reduplication in Ancient Chinese *Shijing* and *Chuci* would be analyzed. Reduplication is found easily in many languages. In Chinese there are disyllabic reduplication form as AA; trisyllabic forms such as ABB or AAB; quadrisyllabic forms such as AABB or ABAB. Most of verses in *Shijing* are quadrisyllabic. It seems that the ABB form is seldom found in *Shijing* because of the quadrisyllabic constraint. However most of the verses in *Chuci* are six/seven syllabic, so the ABB forms are found. The ABB form is a special reduplicated form, and emerged first in *Chuci* and becomes important in many Chinese dialects until now. The two morphemes A and B may be syntactically, semantically and/or pragmatically related. In this paper we firstly try to figure out the semantic relations of the two morphemes in the ABB words in *Chuci*. Secondly we would try to find the semantic/syntactic relations or functions between AA and other morphemes in the quadrisyllabic verses in *Shijing*. Then by comparing the two parts of results, the development of the functions of morphological reduplication in ancient Chinese would be shown.]

## Experiencers as Mental Locations

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In this talk I investigate the transitive use of unaccusative verbs in Mandarin Chinese such as (1) and (2) (cf. Hole 2005, Shen 2006, Huang 2007).

- (1) *Zhangsan fasheng-le che-huo.*  
ZS happen car-accident  
'A car accident happened to Zhangsan.'
- (2) *Wangmian si-le fuqin.*  
WM die father  
'Wangmian's father died on him.'

As the diagrammed analysis shown in (3), I argue that the surface experiencer subject in this construction originates as part of the lower VP and is based-generated as the complement of P (reposition) within the PP argument that denotes the location where certain events take place and have an influence on. Moreover, later in the derivation, the P element is incorporated to the verb while the experiencer argument raises to the [Spec, TP].

(3) [CP [TP NP<sub>i</sub>{location/experiencer} T [VP V-P NP{theme} ti] ]

Evidence for the current proposal comes from the binding facts (cf. Belletti and Rizzi 1988), the parallel syntactic behavior to locative PP inversion in Mandarin, and the fact that experiencers are often realized overtly as locatives in many other languages such as Hebrew (Landau 2009). Finally, I will also compare other alternatives proposed in the literature, including the base-generated experiencer account provided by Huang (2007) and the applicative approach by Tsai and Yang (2008).

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## Maximal Evidentiality and Depth of Embedding: Modal Subordination of Epistemic Modals in Mandarin Chinese

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This paper examines modal subordination of epistemic modals, as defined in Hsieh (2006a, b), in Mandarin Chinese. We observe three types of facts. First, *yíding* 'definitely' is needed for the second sentence presented by *huì* in modal subordination. Second, only *yíding huì* and *jiānghuì* are permitted in the second sentence in modal subordination, among *jiāng*, *huì*, *yào*, *jiānghuì* and *jiāngyào*. Third, verbs of certainty, judgment or prediction, which are identified as epistemic modals in Hsieh (2006a, b), do not allow for modal subordination. Based on the observed facts, we argue for the following points. First, modal subordination in Chinese concerning epistemic modals calls for maximal evidentiality. Although *yíding* is suggested to be a default evidential that performs maximality in Wu (2012) and *jiāng* epistemic necessary future in Wu and Kuo (2012), *yíding* and *jiāng* are similar in that they both are used to express a very high degree of certainty. In other words, *yíding* and *jiāng* both maximize evidentiality expressed by *huì*. As for the third fact, we propose that, even though verbs of certainty, judgment or prediction express epistemic modality, according to Hsieh (2006a, b), they still differ from modal (auxiliaries) and modal adverbs in that the former also express a sense of assertion and this sense of assertion tell these modal verbs apart from modal (auxiliaries) and modal adverbs. Verbs of this type create an SDRS, too deep for modal subordination to be possible.

## Corpus-based Study on Attribute before Noun in Verb- object-noun Collocation

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In Verb-object-noun collocations of Chinese language, some noun usually occur with attribute, such as “结束局面” or “反对思想”. But if there is some attribute put before those nouns, they can collocate with a verb, such as “结束分裂局面” or “反对旧思想”. Some researchers investigated this language phenomenon, Wang Hui (2004) thinks this phenomenon is due to the characteristics of special nouns, she calls those noun (which can't be object without an attribute) non-free noun. Li Jinxia (2008) has proposed that in verb-object-noun collocation, two values noun can't be the object of a verb without attribute. This study uses data from native speaker's corpus, we analyzed verb-noun collocations formed by common verbs. It was found that attributes before nouns in verb-noun collocation are not free. In some collocations noun must be accompanied by attributes. The result of our study shows that the reason why of some attribute before nouns are not free is due to verbs-noun collocation restriction, and not to the characteristics of individual words. The last part of the article discusses the reasons of this phenomenon from many points of view.

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## Discourse Study on Degree Adverb *tǐng* 挺

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*tǐng* 挺 is a high-frequency degree adverb in oral mandarin Chinese. Based on large corpora, this paper observes its discourse distributions in authentic dialogues. It claims that the utterances which *tǐng* frequently mainly occur in 9 kinds of discourse contexts, such as objecting the other interlocutor, reporting new findings, asking anticipation, providing suggestions, formulaic communicative idiom, uncertain statement, etc.

This paper also observes co-occurrences of *tǐng* and the modal particle *de* in the discourse, which phenomenon is often mentioned in the previous studies. The conclusion is that there is no difference between *tǐng* and the other degree adverbs on the selective mechanism of their co-occurrence with *de*. The reason why *tǐng* is comparatively often used together with *de* is that the discourse functions of its utterance in the context coincide with the modal meaning of *de*, which highlights the speaker's subjective attitude to the interlocutor.

In the end, the paper proposes to define the meaning of *ting* as: the speaker describes a high degree of certain nature in a low-commitment way. So *tǐng* 挺 is usually used by the speaker to do face work in the communication.

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## Word order in Gangou Chinese dialect 甘沟话（青海民和）的语序类型

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The basic word order of clause in mandarin Chinese is SVO while other parameters shared both head-initial properties and head-final properties, such as prepositional and GN respectively. This led to controversial opinions on the word order typology of Mandarin Chinese. For example, Li & Thompson (1974) argued that word order of Mandarin Chinese evolved from SOV to SVO, and then further to SOV. On the other hand, Light (1979), Sun & Givon (1985), Peyraube (1994, 1997) insisted that the word order of Mandarin Chinese has always been SVO. Hashimoto (1976, 1978, 1983) related South dialect of Chinese to Austronesia, and North dialect of Chinese to Altaic. Comrie (2008) further demonstrated that Chinese does indeed occupy an intermediate position typologically between North and Southeast Asia. He also suggested that future study should be focused on western languages, not just on northern and southern languages.

Researches has been conducted on the SOV word order of Chinese dialect of the Northwest, such as the work from Ma Shujun (1982, 1984), Charles N. Li (1983), Ma Qiping (1984), Jia Xiru (1990), and Wang Sen (1993). However, these previous studies focused on the basic word order of clause, more than on word order correlation. The present study has chosen the case of the Gangou dialect in order to investigate the Greenbergian word order correlations, employing the framework from Dryer (1992)'s correlation pairs.

Gangou is a township of Minhe Hui and Monguor County in Qinghai Province. Zhu Yongzhong and al. (1997) were the first to bring to our attention the structural similarity between the Chinese dialect of Gangou and the Monguor language. The present study shows that in the Chinese dialect of Gangou there are 12 out of 17 word order features demonstrating a correlation with head-final languages; namely: O-V, subject-V, NP-adposition, predicate-copula, S-question particle, S-adverbial subordinator, N-plural marker, N-genitive, N-relative clause, standard of comparison-Adj, PP-V, and manner adverb-V. The other five features are either not typical or impossible to apply, however some of them correlates with features of head-final languages. As this study will also show, this phenomenon is in accord with other non-sinitic languages spoken near Gangou.

## New uses of the Chinese localizer *zhōng* 中 in written buzzwords

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In contemporary Chinese, the localizers (*fāngwèicí* 方位词) *zhōng* 中 'in' is generally used to indicate a concrete inclusion relationship between the objects (*fāngjiān zhōng de yì zhāng zhuōzi* 房间中的一张桌子 'a big table in the room') or a metaphorical relationship such as a range (*wǒ péngyou zhōng* 我朋友中 'among my friends'), a period (*sān nián zhōng* 三年中 'in three years'), a situation (*zài tòngkǔ zhōng qiánjìn* 在痛苦中前进 'forward in pain') or a process (*zài dòuzhēng zhōng chéngzhǎng* 在斗争中成长 'grow up in the struggle'). While in recent written buzzwords, *zhōng* 中 'in' is specifically related to expressing an ongoing action or situation, for example:

- (1) 今天收到花了，哈！惊喜中！

*Jīntiān shōudao huā le, ha! Jīngxǐ zhōng!*

today receive flower LE, HA ! surprise in

'Today I received flowers, Ha! I'm pleasantly surprised!'

In this example, "Adj + *zhōng*" expresses a situation that we translate with "be + Adj."

The category of words preceding *zhōng* 中 in this structure is not limited to verbs or adjectives, the nouns emerge also in this new expression as shown in the following sentence:

- (2) 《仙剑4》中，谁能指导我一下？

« *Xiānjiàn sì* » *zhōng*, *shuí néng zhǐdǎo wǒ yíxià* ?

The Legend of Sword and Fairy 4 in, who can guide me a little ?

'I'm playing The Legend of Sword and Fairy 4, can someone guide me?'

In this example, “N+zhōng” implies the verb phrase “be doing something”, it emphasizes the process of an event. This new use goes along with another new phenomenon — the letters combination “ing” in Chinese buzzword “X+ing (X can be a verb, an adjective or a noun)” for the same meanings, for example :

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (3) 郁闷 <i>ing</i>    | (4) 土耳其美景 <i>ing</i>  |
| yùmèn <i>ing</i>     | Tǔ'ěrqí měijǐng <i>ing ing</i>                                  |
| depressed <i>ing</i> | Turkey beautiful scenery <i>ing</i>                             |
| ‘Be depressed’       | ‘Be in the process of enjoying the beautiful scenery of Turkey’ |

This paper aims at assorting, sketching and analyzing those new uses on the basis of a fine grained corpus analysis.

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## Is sentential *le* in Mandarin Chinese an aspectual marker or a discursive marker?

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It is argued in the literature that sentential *le* is similar to perfect marker in English whose communicative function is CRS (Li & Thompson). However, this aspectual analysis is not without problems following the proposal of Klein.

(1) a. *women zuotian taolun-le zhe-ge wenti.*

b. *women zuotian taolun-le zhe-ge wenti le, \*(jintian jixu xia yi-ge).*

We yesterday discuss-le Dem-Clf question le today continue next one-Clf

'We discussed this question yesterday. We'll move on to the next question today.'

In (1a), TSit is included in TT and a perfective marker verbal *-le* is used. But notice that a sentential *le* appears in (1b) where the same sentence describes the same situation. In order to adopt the aspectual analysis of sentential *le*, we have to admit that *yesterday* in (1a) is TT while *yesterday* in (1b) is extended TSit. Moreover, we have to account for why the omission of continuation in (1b) makes the sentence sound odd.

Besides different aspectual contexts, sentential *le* appears in conditional sentences.

(2) *ruguo wo shi ni, mingtian wo jiu hui he Xiaoming qu dishinileyuan wan (le).*

If I be you tomorrow I then will with Xiaoming go Disneyland play le

'If I were you, I would go to Disneyland tomorrow with Xiaoming.'

Sentence without *le* can be uttered in two contexts: (i) the listener asks the speaker whether she should go to Disneyland with Xiaoming and the speaker advises her to do it. (ii) the hearer rejected Xiaoming's invitation and the speaker utters that she would do differently. However, only the second context is suitable for sentence with *le*.

After looking at the distribution of *le* in different aspectual and modal contexts: a) sentences containing perfective marker *-le*, progressive marker *zai* and modal verb *yao*; b) stative sentences; c) conditional sentences, we propose that sentential *le* plays a double role: **On one hand**, the speaker validates the proposition expressed by sentence without sentential *le* with respect to a temporal/world reference. **On the other hand**, sentential *le* triggers the presupposition that the asserted proposition is (partially) inconsistent with the epistemic information held by the epistemic agent. Accepting sentence necessitates revising the epistemic state of the agent and omitting the inconsistent information from the epistemic world. It is because of the process of revision, that *le* is often associated with an *actualization* reading (Iljic), or a *contrary to expectation* reading (Soh) or the CRS function.

**Keywords:** aspect; contradiction; discourse marker; presupposition; epistemic state

## A Study on the metaphor models of monosyllabic morphemes denoting animals, bodies and plants

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Wang Hongjun (2005) indicated that the metaphor model of monosyllabic morphemes which denote animals is “looking like X” (for example *diéyǒng*, butterfly style), while the metaphor model of monosyllabic morphemes which denote bodies is “having the same relationship as X has” (for example *tóuyáng*, the bellwether in a flock). She also indicated that the key difference between above two models is coming from whether the morpheme has the sense of “belonging to something”. Based on her study, here this study researched the metaphor model of monosyllabic morphemes which denote plants and found that their metaphor model could be both “looking like X” (for example *shuǐliǔ*, a plant growing in rivers, which has same leaves as the tree *liǔ*) and “having the same relationship that X has” (for example *jīnzhīyùyè*). Wang(2005) also noticed that some monosyllabic morphemes which denote bodies follow the “looking like X” model (for example *méidòu*, a kind of bean with eyebrow shape), but she still thought this is not the main model of that semantic field, because the numbers are less. The present study argues that it is not a matter of numbers. When monosyllabic morphemes which denote plants are analyzed in the same way, we can draw a conclusion that the two metaphor models are not related to semantic fields but related to morpheme senses. We can divide monosyllabic morphemes of above three semantic fields into two groups by their senses. The first group can be called monosyllabic morphemes which denote body parts and plant parts (for example *tóu*, *zhī*), and the second group can be called monosyllabic morphemes which denote plant names or animal names (for example *dié*, *liǔ*). Both groups can follow the “looking like X” model (for example *yúntóu*, *zhúmǎ*). But only the first group can follow the “having the same relationship as X has” model (for example *shāntóu shāngēn*). Besides, the metaphor model of monosyllabic morphemes which denote body parts and monosyllabic morphemes which denote plant parts are not totally same: for the body parts morphemes, the metaphor model is “having the same spatial relationship that X has”(for example *shāntóu*); while for the plant parts morphemes, the metaphor model is “having the same spatial or temporal relationship that X has” (for example *jīnzhīyùyè*).

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## KEY NOTE SPEAKERS' ABSTRACTS

### 從記音到專義---從出土識字教材看秦漢時期漢字發展的大趨勢

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漢字是以圖象為主的書寫記號，「自然」與「人」(包含人體及人為創造物)是漢字初始製作時的具體元素。但是在記錄語言時，漢字常常當作記音符號使用，與它的圖象本義無關。研究漢字的古文字學家都意識到聲符的重要性，將漢字的分類從「六書」到「三書」到「二書」，對表音的漢字加強關注。

從漢字演變歷史看，包含有意符和聲符的形聲字大量增加，是漢字重要的發展趨勢。從記音字到專義字，是形聲字增加的主因，簡單稱之，就是「漢字聲化」。漢字聲化現象長時間持續進行，並不局限於哪個階段，從古文字資料分析，這個趨勢發展的高峰是在戰國秦漢時期，漢字結構中兼有意符及聲符的形聲字大量出現，在整體漢字中，所佔的比例逐漸攀升，成為漢字的主流。

漢字聲化現象主要有四種方式：一、將過去借用音同或音近字記錄語言的方式加以改變，給予每個借用字專屬意符。二、將原本就是專義的象意字，增加其所屬意符，原本的象意字成為兼義的聲符。三、以變換聲符的方式，另造新的形聲字。四、聲符不變，而是變換意思相近的意符，造成新的形聲字。這四種方式造成形聲字的過程並不相同，但從表面結構上看，都同樣是造成兼有義類及聲符的形聲字。這是形聲字比例增高的主因。

漢字發展的歷時演變中，戰國秦漢之間漢字變動的大方向，確實值得特別關注。在戰國簡牘中已經看到許多形聲字大量出現，最適合用來觀察漢字聲化現象的材料，是近代出土的秦漢時期識字教材。過去文獻上記錄秦代書同文字的範本《蒼頡篇》以及西漢新編的《急就篇》，近代屢有相關簡牘出土。這些資料展現秦漢時期的漢字教材真跡，使我們對於當時文字的結構變化及文字的匯聚排比等書寫形式，增加許多認識。

從秦漢識字教材內容看到形聲字大量增加，漢字形體中表示義類的部件逐漸系統歸納，於是「部首」自然地就形成了，這是漢字演變歷史中最重要的大事，從此漢字研究得以綱舉目張，源流有緒。《說文解字》完成及公布，有助於漢字形、義關係逐漸穩定。秦漢時期的識字教材，是《說文解字》編輯完成之前的實用字書，影響既廣闊又長遠，將之與《說文》做比較，用來觀察漢字在秦漢之間變動的大趨勢，正是絕佳的素材。

### Anaphora and co-reference in Classical Chinese: a formal approach

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Co-reference relations and anaphora in Chinese have been studied extensively in recent years. Almost entirely, the focus of attention has been the fascinating situation in Modern Standard Chinese. The present paper is a systematic and mildly formalised attempt to explore systematic aspects of co-reference relations and anaphora in classical (mainly pre-Buddhist) Chinese. These will be shown to differ interestingly from those in Modern Standard Chinese.

## Topic prominence: A “conspiracy” approach

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The idea of topic prominence and subject prominence as typological parameters originates in the work of Li and Thompson (1976). Li and Thompson posit [ $\pm$ topic prominent] and [ $\pm$ subject prominent] as binary features, allowing for the existence of, among others, [-subject prominent] languages. These two features are used to establish a “whole language typology”, in the sense of Hale, Jeanne and Platero (1977): like traditional typological features such as “agglutinating” or “tonal”, the features [ $\pm$ topic prominent] and [ $\pm$ subject prominent] classify entire languages rather than specific subsystems or constructions.

Subsequent studies such as Huang (1984), Huang & Yang (2013) and É. Kiss (1995) basically pursue the same “whole language typology” approach to topic prominence, *modulo* the fact that in Huang (1984) and Huang & Yang (2013) topic prominence is correlated with the features [ $\pm$ null topic] and [ $\pm$ pro drop]. Among the resulting four classes, languages such as Chinese and Japanese are considered to be topic prominent, because they provide evidence for null topics and also allow a pronominal subject to remain covert (*pro-drop*). German, by contrast, does not count as topic-prominent, given that subject pro drop is excluded, although null topics are possible (cf. Ross’s 1982 *pronoun zap*). While topic prominence in both Huang’s and É. Kiss’s system, is not conceived of as the opposite of subject prominence, topic prominence itself again plays the role of a parameter accounting for language variation: it designates languages where sentences of the form ‘topic comment’ represent basic structures not derivable from any other structure.

In this paper we take a different stand and argue that topic prominence is a “conspiracy”, in the classical sense first applied to phonology by Kisseberth (1970): the result of a number of unrelated factors coming together accidentally to produce a seeming functionally unified outcome. To the extent that these factors coincide, a language is more or less topic prominent, but there is no single “whole language parameter” of topic prominence.

The relevant syntactic phenomena are listed below, followed by an indication whether they exist in the language sample under consideration, i.e. Chinese, Japanese and German.

1. Subject pro drop	Chinese: yes	Japanese: yes	German: no
2. Null topic	Chinese: yes (?)	Japanese: yes (?)	German: yes
3. <i>Wh</i> in situ	Chinese: yes	Japanese: yes	German: no
4. Overt spellout of Top	Chinese: optional	Japanese: yes	German: yes (V2)
5. EPP in TopicP	Chinese: no	Japanese: yes/no	German: yes

Subject pro drop is relevant because it allows “subjectless” clauses; this echoes the observation that topic prominent languages often lack expletive subjects such as *there* and *it*. The null topic is most easily detected in the V2 language German, where in matrix clauses the topic position preceding the verb may remain covert, resulting in a verb-first sentence. In Japanese and Chinese, by contrast, no such positional clue exists; instead, the assumption of a null topic is motivated by interpretational considerations. *Wh* in situ is relevant because it enables topicalization in questions, a possibility excluded in the case of *wh* movement. Concerning the overt spellout of Topic°, it is obligatory in German (inflected verb in second position) and Japanese (particle *wa*), but optional in Chinese (e.g. particle *ne*). Last, but not least, there is no EPP-feature in Chinese requiring the topic position to be realized, while such a feature must be assumed for German; Japanese is somewhere in between given that in general the topic position of matrix clauses must be occupied overtly.

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