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Keynote Speaker 1: Dan Xu
Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz

Dan Xu is currently professor at Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz (Germany) and Principal Investigator of an ERC project titled "Tracing language and population mixing in the Gansu-Qinghai area". She is also a member of Academia Europaea (2021). She has been Dean of the Chinese Department of the INALCO (2001-2004) and the first President of the Association of Chinese Research and Teaching in France. She has been invited to be an Honorary professor in four Chinese universities and in 2009 she was elected Senior Member of the University Institute of France (IUF).

Keynote lecture
Linguistic research needs new concepts and new methods

Historically, the Gansu-Qinghai area has been a human migration corridor and a road of transcontinental culture exchange between Central and East Asia. It is also the eastern section of the Silk Road. Our Project ERC-2019-AdG-TRAM 883700[1] tries to determine the linguistic situation in the Hexi Corridor (Gansu-Qinghai borders) by targeting nomadic and farming languages and populations. With an interdisciplinary approach, we try to offer a global vision of language and population mixing in the Gansu-Qinghai area.

Two subjects will be dealt with in the talk.

1. Core vocabulary vs. syntactic features.
The qualitative and quantitative study of syntactic features plays a more important role in language contact and mixing than the core vocabulary. We must give more weight to syntactic features in studying language contact and the mixing process. This approach can explain why in the Gansu-Qinghai area after long-term contact, languages belonging to different language families and groups have been mixed in some cases while others have not.

2. Interdisciplinary approach
The work of non-linguists can shed light on linguists' investigations. By exploiting interdisciplinary approaches, we are trying to identify different layers of languages and populations in the Gansu-Qinghai area. Genetic and archeological research results offer a reliable framework. Our investigations refer to their timescales to trace back corresponding historical events and language changes.

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徐丹，文少卿，王传超（主编）2023《语言，基因，考古—以甘青地区为中心的跨学科探索》上海：上海科技出版社。

Keynote Speaker 2: Rint Sybesma

Leiden University

Rint Sybesma is a professor of Chinese Linguistics at the Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS) and the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL); he teaches linguistics courses at all levels in the department of Chinese studies. He was educated in Leiden, the Netherlands (Universiteit Leiden), and Shenyang, China (Liaoning Daxue). He holds MAs in Linguistics and Sinology (1987; Leiden) and a Ph.D. in Linguistics (1992; Leiden). His main research area is the syntax of the Sinitic and non-Sinitic languages of China and comparative syntax more generally.

Keynote lecture

Invisible tense and visible non-tense: Exploring the extent to which Mandarin and Dutch are similar

In earlier work (Sybesma 2007), I have pointed out parallels between the tense-and-aspect systems of Dutch and Mandarin. For instance, the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (1) was explained by hypothesizing that, in both languages, a sentence with non-stative predicates in the past tense cannot be used to denote a completed event. Tense is not enough: in non-stative predicates, we also need Aspect (see Sun 2014), as (2) shows.

(1) a. * Zhāng Sān   zuótiān   mǎi yī   běn   shū
         Zhang San   yesterday   buy one CL   book
     b. * Ik   kocht   gisteren   een   boek
         1S   bought   yesterday   a   book

(2) a. Zhāng Sān   zuótiān   mǎi-le   yī   běn   shū
         Zhang San   yesterday   buy-PRF   one   CL   book
     b. Ik   heb gisteren   een   boek gekocht
         1S   have yesterday   a   book bought

Inspired by Katz (1995), Sun (2014) also points out that Mandarin stative predicates can do without Aspect. The same applies to Dutch, as (3) shows.

(3) a. Dāngshí/xiànzài, Zhāng Sān hěn   gāoxìng.
         at.the.time/now   Zhang San very happy
     b. Ik   ben nu/was toen   heel blij
         1S   am now/was then   very happy

In (1)-(3), the Dutch examples are marked for tense, while the Mandarin examples are not, but that may simply be a detail: either we assume covert tense in Mandarin or we defend the claim that in Dutch, the tense morphemes are meaningless (they are just agreement markers; Sybesma 2007).

Now, the situation in (3) only applies to Stage Level Predicates. H.Cheng and Sybesma (2021) argue that Mandarin sentences with Individual Level Predicates are best analyzed as not

involving any tense/T/TP at all. In this paper, I will, first, look at the behavior and possible analysis of Individual Level Predicate sentences in Dutch and, second, explore the consequences for the parallels between Mandarin and Dutch observed above. H.Cheng and Sybesma (2021) hypothesize that Individual Level Predicate sentences in Dutch are tenseless as well.

In the meantime, I will also go back and consider sentences with le and their Dutch counterparts as the examples in (2). In Mandarin, we simply have the verb and the suffix le, in Dutch we have an auxiliary and a participle. While the sentence reports about an event that happened in the past, the auxiliary is in the present tense. It may be the case that the auxiliary does not express tense at all and that the present tense *form* is just the default.

Keynote Speaker 3: Federico Masini
"Sapienza" University of Rome

Federico Masini is Full professor of Chinese Language and Literature at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy and Director of the Language Center (CLA) at Sapienza University of Rome. From 2001 to 2010 he has been Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the same University. He has been honored numerous awards, including «The 8th Special Book Award of China», by Ms Liu Yandong, Vice Prime Minister of PRC (August 28, 2014), and the «China Italy Science Technology Innovation Cooperation Contribution Award» at the presence of the Italian Minister of Miur and of the Chinese Minister of Science and Technology (November 17, 2015).

Keynote lecture
Why do we study Chinese missionary linguistics

Missionary linguistics once considered to be exclusively a historical or cultural discipline, dedicated to the study of linguistic works prepared by European missionaries accompanying geographical discoveries during the 16th and 17th centuries, has over the decades become a discipline that requires the use of knowledge both of a historical nature, but also and above all of an epigraphic, glottological and linguistic nature. Thanks to missionary linguistics, particularly relating to the Sinophone area, it has been possible not only to further the study of our cultural relations with the countries visited by the missionaries but above all to find out information regarding the linguistic conditions in China and the countries inhabited by Sinophone speakers, such as the Philippines. As a result of this research, it is possible to reconstruct the linguistic conditions of Mandarin Chinese and various Sinic dialects during the late Ming and Qing decades. The presentation will offer a general view of Chinese missionary linguistics presenting also some practical usage of these materials.

Keynote Speaker 4: Clare Wright

University of Leeds

Clare Wright is associate Professor in Linguistics & Language and School Director of Postgraduate Education. She teaches across the MA programme, and on core modules for the undergraduate programmes. She is a member of the Language@Leeds research network, and continues to pursue international research and teaching exchanges, working with colleagues in Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China, and other partners in UK and EU. Her areas of expertise include Second language task-based pedagogy, L2 fluency, L2 morphosyntax, L2 Mandarin, psycholinguistics, and internationalisation of higher education.

Keynote lecture
Researching Chinese language learning in the digital era: A strategic look ahead at challenges and opportunities

This talk presents a strategic overview on the ways in which research into Chinese language learning and teaching faces challenges but also opportunities from the rise in technology and digital contexts. Recent decades have shown an exponential growth of global interest in learning Chinese, including an interest in communicative and task-based approaches to teaching and learning (Wright, 2021). Research shows that technology-supported activities can boost motivation and improve individualised learning in and out of the classroom (Wang et al, 2016; Wright et al., 2022). During the recent pandemic, language teachers found many emergency ways to turn their classes online, often with great success (Wang & East, 2020). Technology-based research and practice also has shed important light on other aspects of language learning, e.g. providing valuable access to real-life language use through corpora (Xu & Brezina, 2016), investigating mobile-assisted language learning (e.g. Kan et al., 2018), or using eye-tracking methods to gain insights into character learning and reading fluency (Wright & Wang, 2023; Na et al., 2024).

Despite the improved wealth of access to language learning experiences via technology, questions remain over the availability and suitable use of digital tools within second language acquisition. During the talk, I will present findings from two current research projects; firstly, exploring whether real-life immersion in the Chinese-speaking context is needed to develop communicative abilities, e.g. during a typical study abroad period (Wright, 2020). I will present findings from a recent investigation of the "Virtual Year Abroad" experienced by UK Chinese language degree students during the pandemic, where digital teaching and interaction with Chinese hosts was provided, but travel to China was impossible. Using mixed methods, we investigated linguistic fluency development (Sun & Zhang, 2023) cross-referenced against students' experiences. We found that, in some ways, the virtual year abroad was less of a problem than predicted in terms of linguistic development, but yet had profound impact on students' confidence in using the language, particularly in relation to interactional fluency skills. I will draw out what these findings suggest for the future of "real" study abroad. Secondly, I will discuss an ongoing project investigating students' multilingual use of digital social media in developing linguistic abilities, and the risks of being "permanently on, permanently connected" (Vorderer et al., 2016). I will finish by discussing ways in which research can

inform future pedagogic practices in the context of Generative AI and digital-supported Chinese language learning and teaching.

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Abstracts

Was the *Foshuoshiba nili jing* 佛說十八泥犁經 (T731) translated from Gāndhārī? An analysis of the Chinese transcriptions of eighteen Indo-Aryan names of hells

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Among Chinese Buddhist sources describing other worldly realms, the *Foshuoshiba nili jing* 佛說十八泥犁經 (T731) is often mentioned in the literature as the earliest textual source presenting the underworld divided in eighteen different hells (8 hot hells + 10 cold hells). As such number of major hells does not typically appear in Indian Buddhist sources but later became quite popular in China, the classification presented in the text has attracted the interest of scholars. One feature of this scripture, however, has generally limited the possibility for further scrutiny from a linguistic, philological and doctrinal perspective: the Chinese transcriptions of the Indo-Aryan names of the eighteen hells occur in the sutra in forms otherwise unattested anywhere else in the Chinese Canon. Besides being hapax, these eighteen names also show an erratic phonological shape that, at first glance, in many cases does not provide an immediate correspondence with the names found in Indian sources.

On the basis of a thorough comparison with Sanskrit, Pali and Chinese sources and on the Late Han Chinese and Middle Chinese reconstructed forms, this paper attempts to provide a complete set of Indo-Aryan correspondences for the eighteen Chinese transcriptions occurring in the text. The classification found in the sutra is close to the one of northern traditions, where a set of hot hells is combined with a set of cold ones. However, the results show that the classification found in T731 is quite peculiar: the *mahāvīci* hell, *mowubeici* 莫 (←草) 烏卑次 (Late Han mɑk ʔɑpie tshi^C, based on Schuessler 2007) in our sutra, occupies the sixth position among the hot hells as in an earlier systematization instead of the eight (and last) standard position. The set of cold hells resembles instead an expanded list of ten hells found in different versions of the *Kokālikasūtra* but typically not occurring in the standard (8+8) northern system (van Put 2007). Such peculiar system of eighteen hells could thus represent a line of transmission stemming from a relatively early formulation otherwise unattested in its integrity in Indian sources.

The Taishō Canon ascribes the translation to the Eastern Han translator An Shigao 安世高 (fl. ca. 148–180). Even though such attribution is highly dubious (Radich 2019), the text can be still chronologically placed in the early period of translation of Buddhist texts on the base of internal evidence (vocabulary and style) as well as of other historical evidence. Moreover, certain phonological features emerging from the Chinese reconstructed forms, such as the presence of the cluster *pr*-in word initial position as found in the eight hell listed in the sutra, i.e. *buludoubanhu* 不盧都般呼 (LH pu lɑtɑi bɑn hɑ$^{(C)}$, Sanskrit *pratāpana*, Pali *patāpana*,), appear to exclude Pali or a Prakrit variety close to it as the source for the Chinese transcriptions. On the other hand, early Chinese Buddhist translations are commonly associated to Gāndhārī, namely the Middle Indo-Aryan variety that served as the language of Buddhism in North-West Indian and Central Asia during the first centuries of the Common Era (cf. Pulleyblank 1983). In the light of this, the paper discusses in detail the phonological evidence from the eighteen names of hells that could argue in favor or against the Gāndhārī hypothesis.

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How lexical tones and intonation patterns of Mandarin are synchronized in the production of Hungarian learners of Chinese

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Keywords: *acoustic phonetics, tones, intonation, L2 production*

This study attempts to provide a brief summary of our experimental research on how atonal Hungarian (L1) learners of Mandarin (MC, L2) fare with synchronizing lexical tone and intonation production in MC yes/no interrogative and declarative sentence types. Physiologically, both lexical tone and intonation are the function of the vibration of the vocal chords, which can be characterized by the fundamental frequency (f_0) ('t Hart et al. 1990). While both L1 and L2 declaratives feature a descending pattern, the hallmark of MC yes/no questions is an elevated f_0 curve (compared to declaratives) throughout the whole utterance (Shen 1990, a.o.), whereas Hungarian yes/no questions consisting of more than two syllables feature a rising-falling contour (Varga 2002) commencing on the tonic syllable. We hypothesized that due to these sharply different interrogative character contours in L1 and L2, and the absence of tones in L1, the synchronization of tone and intonation in contrasting questions with declaratives would pose problems for the learners. Our experiments involved interrogative-declarative utterance pairs syntactically – in one we used both particle-marked and non-marked questions, in the other we studied sentences with neutral tone sequences. The analysis of neutral tones was important because their f_0 realization is dependent on both tonal context and intonation (Chen & Xu 2006). **Method.** Syntactically unmarked disyllabic, as well as particle-marked (吗) trisyllabic and pentasyllabic (ending in three neutral tone syllables) questions with full answers were produced by two L2 learner groups (lower and upper intermediate levels), as well as by a native speaker group. The extracted f_0-contours were computed dependent on the normalized duration of syllables, and compared by generalized additive mixed models (GAMMs). **Results.** MC native speakers discriminated interrogative and declarative f_0 curves significantly by positioning interrogative f_0 curves to a higher level, and this distinction affected the neutral tone sequences, as well. In disyllabic non-marked and trisyllabic particle-marked questions, lower-intermediate learners produced patterns similar to the L1 interrogative character contour in both types of questions, while the group of more advanced learners, although approximating the native L2 contour in most cases, failed to produce the elevated f_0 pattern in either type of interrogatives. In sentences with utterance-final neutral tone sequences, neither L2 learner group managed to produce a native-like pattern: Unlike native speakers, the preceding full tone had no effect at all on the realization of neutral tones, probably related to the fact that the proper production of the preceding lexical tone in and by itself proved problematic for both L2 groups. **Discussion.** Mandarin native speakers discriminated interrogative and declarative f_0 curves by elevating the interrogative f_0 curve well above the declarative, which L2 learners failed to reproduce, regardless of the length of the utterance. On the other hand, we found clear traits of learners transferring L1 question intonation patterns to L2 production in *some cases*, while in others (especially in the second experiment) the learners' production of question intonation was more reminiscent of what is found in English (i.e., terminal elevation of f_0) – which may possibly be attributed to English being the typical first foreign language of Hungarian learners, Chinese having "L3" status, thus this appears to be an instance of L2→L3 transfer.

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Chinese resultative verb compounds in L2 writing: a preliminary analysis of L1 Italian learners' output

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Mandarin Chinese makes extensive use of resultative verb compounds (RVCs), which can be divided into: (i) change-of-state RVCs (CoS, e.g. 踢破 *tī-pò* 'kick-break'); (ii) RVCs containing phase complements (PCs; e.g. 学完 *xué-wán* 'study-finish'); (iii) 'prepositional' RVCs, in which the second element is a preposition-like item (e.g. 放在桌子上 *fàng-zài zhuōzi-shàng* 'put on the table').

It has been observed that resultatives are probably the most difficult category of compounds to acquire for L2/FL Chinese learners (see Yu 2003, Zhang 2014), due to their complexity from both a morpho-syntactic and semantic point of view. However, studies on the acquisition of RVCs are rather scarce (see e.g. Yang 2003a, 2003b, 2004, Zhang 2014) and focus on English, Korean, and Japanese learners. There are no studies on the acquisition of RVCs by L1 Italian learners. RVCs are particularly challenging for Italian learners due to the typological distance between the two languages (Chinese is a strong satellite-framed language, whereas Italian is a verb-framed language; Talmy 2000) and to the different strategies used to express these events in the two languages. Indeed, in contrast to Chinese, Italian resultative constructions (RCs) are subject to a wide range of restrictions. For example, only prepositional RCs seem to be allowed in unmarked sentences in Italian (Napoli 1992), while those expressing a change of state are excluded (Talmy 2000). Furthermore, 'pure' PCs are always excluded, even with a prepositional complement.

In this talk we aim to observe the linguistic performance of L1 Italian learners and address the following research question: are there any differences in the production of different types of RVCs? To this end, we administered a written production task (i.e., a narrative video description task) to 18 L1 Italian university students at the intermediate level and to a control group of 13 Chinese native speakers. The data were then analyzed using the non-parametric Conditional Inference Tree test to examine potential differences/correlations.

Preliminary results show that L1 Italian learners do not encounter particular difficulties in producing prepositional resultatives and employ them more frequently than Chinese native speakers, who prefer directional resultatives (p=.001). This tendency may be attributed to L1 transfer. However, when it comes to CoS resultatives or PCs, learners often do not produce resultatives. This difference between prepositional resultatives and CoS/PC resultatives is statistically significant (p=.001). Furthermore, it appears that L1 Italian learners manly avoid the production of PCs rather than CoS resultatives (p=.01), often producing 'target-like' resultatives for the latter. This suggests an understanding of the constructional mechanisms of CoS resultatives, which are more compositional in meaning compared to PCs, whose meaning must primarily be memorized.

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Specialised lexicography in the PRC: a case study of monolingual Chinese lexicographical works on education

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Keywords: *lexicography; Chinese-language lexicography; specialised lexicography; education.*

'Specialised lexicography' refers to reference works, such as dictionaries and encyclopaedias, that deal with special-purpose language and collect specific lemmas and information related to particular subject fields (Svensén, 2009). Especially during the 1980s and 1990s, there was an unprecedented surge in the compilation and publication of specialised lexicographical works (专科辞书) in the People's Republic of China (PRC), also driven by the implementation of the Second National Lexicographical Plan (1988-2000). Chinese political institutions have consistently encouraged the compilation of these products, viewing specialised lexicographical tools as crucial for providing knowledge to support the country's efforts in economic, technological, and scientific reform and modernisation (Wei et al., 2014; Zhao, 2023).

Drawing on previous research on lexicography in China and the interplay between (Chinese) lexicographical works and their social-political, ideological, and cultural context (Fishman, 1995; Chen, 2017; Bertulessi 2023), this paper examines a corpus of specialised monolingual Chinese lexicographical products collecting terminology from the field of education. Given the pivotal role attributed to education in China, both socially and politically, as well as in relation to the country's development, several dictionaries and encyclopaedias on the subject have been published in recent decades. The works examined in this paper include the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Education* (教育百科辞典, 1988), the *Great Dictionary of Education* (教育大辞典, 1990, 10 volumes), the *Encyclopaedia of Chinese Education* (中国教育百科全书, 1991), and the more recent *Great Encyclopaedia of Chinese Education* (中国教育大百科全书, 2012, 4 volumes). The paper provides an analysis of selected entries from these works, aiming to examine the lexicographical treatment of specific educational concepts and issues, with a particular focus on the cultural and political dimensions. Therefore, the analysis specifically targets entries related to the functions and objectives attributed to education in society. The analysis, which is qualitative in nature, also takes a diachronic perspective to observe how the lexicographical treatment of certain entries may have evolved over time, reflecting socio-political and cultural changes.

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On word- and sentence-length palindromic(-like) structures in Modern Standard Mandarin

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Keywords: *prosodic morphology, ambinym, reversal, palindromic structure*

In alphabetic languages with phoneme-based writing systems, palindromic structures are formed by rearranging letters (letter-unit palindromes, e.g., Eng. *level*, *rotator*) or whole words (word-unit palindromes, e.g., "Fall leaves after leaves fall") and demonstrate axial and/or linear symmetry. The phonotactics of Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM) do not permit resyllabification or free reverse phoneme order, and the usage of a consonant without reliance on a vowel sound significantly limits the abilities of MSM in palindrome art. Furthermore, Chinese has undergone a significant reduction in its syllabic inventory over the past 1500 years, with the current number of syllables being only 1334 (Duanmu 2008).

Another key factor is the anagram mass percentage. The average length of an English word is approximately five letters. This implies that each word contains approximately 120 different letter combinations that could potentially be other words, or anagrams. Consequently, the anagram mass of the English word is less than 1% (1:120) (Epstein 2009). In Chinese, where the average word length is between 2,131 and 3,487 characters (Schindelin 2017), the proportion of anagrams ranges between 28.6% and 46.9%.

The focus of this paper is threefold. The first objective is to identify the distinctions between *ambinyms* and *reversals* – both traditionally referred to as 回文 *huíwén* – and bring to light the morphosyntactic, semantic, and phonological qualities that remain hidden within word-length ambinyms (e.g., 互相 *hùxiāng* – 相互 *xiānghù* 'mutual') and reversals (e.g., 故事 *gùshi* 'story' – 事故 *shìgu* 'accident'). Secondly, it will be argued that prosody not only constrains morphology, causing syntactic resegmentations and maintaining the same rhythmic groups in phrase-length palindromes (e.g., 上海自来水来自海上) when reading in reverse direction, but that it is also part of morphology, and thus always operates with the central stressed syllable in both directions, each time subordinating different components. The third objective of this paper is to analyse the differences between word-unit palindromes and chiasmatic structures (e.g., 知者不言, 言者不知), which are frequently included in the category of 回文 *huíwén* or referred to as 回环 *huíhuán* and often translated into English as "regression" (Jì 2009; Wǔ and Zhāng 2009). Chiasmatic structures are observed in a variety of linguistic phenomena, including tongue twisters, sayings, antithetical couplets, and advertising slogans.

The examples presented in this paper demonstrate that the word-unit palindromic structures are an effective means of illustrating the interdependence of Chinese morphosyllables. Consequently, palindromy should be considered a word formation process, potentially highly (up to 46,9%) productive. In the case of the phrase-length palindromes, the caesura always operates with the same morphosyllable and causes major syntactic perturbations. By demonstrating the semantics of wordplay, clever tricks and tricky cleverness, palindromic structures can be used as a basis for teaching word formation and simple sentence formation without the rigid burden of function words.

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Morphosyntax and prosody interaction: A perceptual study of Chinese classifiers

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Since Cheng and Sybesma's (1998, 1999) work, there has been a debate about the syntactic headedness of measure words (i.e., classifier/massifier). The discussion has led to the proposal of various structures to account for Chinese nominal expressions that contain a measure word (e.g., *yi1-tiao2-yu2* 'one-classifier-fish') either as left-branching [[Num C/M] N] (Her 2012, Hsieh 2008, Huang 1982, Tang 1990), or right-branching [Num [C/M [N]]] (Borer 2005, Cheng and Sybesma 1999, Hsu 2014, Huang, Li, and Li 2009, Tang 1990). Based on both speech production and perception tasks, Allassonnière-Tang et al. (2021) reported that native Mandarin speakers processed classifier phrases in conjunction with its preceding numeral, supporting a left-branching structure. However, it is important to note some limitations of their study: The sample size was relatively small (20 participants), and the items may have been biased, as they only considered monosyllabic numerals and classifiers, excluding instances with disyllabic numerals (e.g., *liang3bai3-kou3-jing3* 'two hundreds wells') where the disyllabic numerals are often parsed as an independent prosodic word due to the disyllabic word preference (Duanmu 2002), and the accuracy is relatively lower (72%). It remains unclear whether the results reflect morphosyntactic phrasing or only prosodic preference.

Therefore, we conducted a refined noise identification experiment assuming that the perceived location of noise indicates the implicit syntactic boundaries, with more participants (n = 36), a higher accuracy threshold (90%), and more items (each of target and control condition has 10 items; 40 in total) that are ten-character-long sentences containing a target phrase in the center of each sentence. The four conditions were (a) phrases with a monosyllabic numeral (e.g., ***yi1****-tiao2-yu2*) and (b) phrases with a disyllabic numeral (e.g., ***liang3bai3****-kou3-jing3*)), both (a-b) used only classifiers and no massifiers, and two control conditions that used three-syllable phrases with an uncontroversial right-branching structure: (c) one with a monosyllabic modifier (e.g., ***gao1*** *wei1xian3* 'high risk') and (d) the other with a disyllabic modifier (e.g., ***nai4xin1*** *deng3* 'patiently wait'). Noise was applied on the middle of the classifier or the second character in each target phrase. Participants were required to indicate the position of the noise (before or after target character) as soon as they perceived it. For more reliable results we only included data from participants who achieved 90% accuracy in the practice session due to individual effects for speech-noise task (Carbonell, 2017). **Our results** show that participants perceived the syntactic boundary reliably, i.e., between the monosyllabic modifier and the head phrase (56.06%) and between the disyllabic modifier and the head phrase (58.95%), consistent with results in Allassonnière-Tang et al. (2021). More importantly, these participants also perceived the noise as occurring between the classifier and

a disyllabic numeral (57.93%) and the monosyllabic numeral (52.61%), contrary to what Allassonnière-Tang et al. (2021) reported. The results of generalized linear mixed effects models show that the identified boundary-differences in number-classifier groups and in modifier-modifiee groups are not significant (ps > 0.05), suggesting that participants' perceived syntactic boundaries support a right-branching analysis of number and classifier phrases.

Deictic and Referential Topic Chains in Mandarin Chinese: A Corpus-Based Analysis of Topic in Dialogical Texts

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Keywords: *Topic chain; 1st person; 2nd person; 3rd person; deictic chains; referential topic*

Topic chains (TCs) serve the purpose of creating a cohesive narrative in natural language, ensuring the continuity of a discussed entity (Topic) across various sentences. Importantly, as is argued in Frascarelli (2018), the presence of $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person pronouns in Italian does not interfere in referential (3rd person) TCs. This means that (null) deictic pronouns enter independent agree relations, and in this respect, Frascarelli follows Sigurdsson (2011) in assuming that the formation of deictic chains relies on a different licensing strategy. Adli (2019) extends this perspective to Spanish, where dialogical texts involve two parallel topic chains: one for local referents ($1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person) and another for nonlocal referents (3rd person). It's noteworthy that both Italian and Spanish are consistent null subject (NS) languages.

In the context of Mandarin Chinese, a radical NS language, studies predominantly focus on referential 3rd person TCs. Despite limited analyses, Frascarelli & Casentini (2019) conducted an acceptability judgment test (AJT) revealing that an intervening 1st person pronoun is significantly less disruptive than a 3rd person DP. However, this lesser disturbance does not preclude the 1st person pronoun from breaking a referential 3rd person TC. As demonstrated in Casentini (2022), in which other alternatives are tested through an AJT, an intervening 1st person pronoun can indeed disrupt a referential TC and initiate a new one.

This paper aims to perform a corpus-based analysis on dialogical Mandarin Chinese text, drawing parallels with Adli (2019). For this purpose, we extracted 150 consecutive Topic-bearing sentences from three telephone conversations (50 + 50 + 50) randomly selected from the CallFriend Corpus, featuring native speakers of Mandarin. Sentential Topics were meticulously labeled based on Person (1st, 2nd, 3rd), Number (Singular, Plural), Phonetic realization (Overt, Null), and Type (New, Continuous, Given). Continuous topics extend the existing TC, while (null) Given topics refer to a co-referent outside the current chain. The data have then been analyzed through the means of Conditional Inference Tree and Chi-squared tests.

Notably, only 5% of instances are null Given topics (i.e., 8). The majority (95%) includes 53 instances of Continuous Topics and 89 instances of New Topics. Among New Topics, 23 instances include 1st or 2nd person pronouns breaking a previous TC. Among these, 10 cases initiate a new TC that is kept continuous for at least two sentences. Critically, there are no statistical differences when comparing these data to the occurrences of 3rd person DPs breaking a TC (i.e., 57 cases), with 20 cases starting a new TC that is maintained for at least two sentences. Consequently, in a radical NS language like Chinese, 1st and 2nd person deictic chains do not appear to rely on a distinct licensing strategy compared to 3rd person TCs, in fact, they can effectively serve as proper "chain-breakers".

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References to syntactic research on European vernaculars in early Chinese studies: James Summers' (1828-91) research on Chinese syntax

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Early European research on Chinese grammar can be seen as an attempt to integrate European linguistic ideas with features of the Chinese language, primarily for pedagogical purposes. The most frequently cited European linguistic tradition in this context is the Greco-Latin model. Nevertheless, with the development of the study of European vernacular languages, the linguistic examination of these languages was incorporated into the study of Chinese. This is particularly noteworthy considering that some early teachers and researchers of the Chinese language had experience teaching other European languages, including their mother tongues, at different stages of their lives. As a result, they placed greater emphasis on linguistic research related to European vernacular languages.

This paper focuses on analysing a topic that received less attention in early research on Chinese – syntax. It presents the research conducted by James Summers (1828-91), the first British professor to systematically study Chinese grammar and a pioneer of English language teaching in Japan. This paper examines how the syntactic research on European vernaculars of his time and the features of the Chinese language are integrated in Summers' study of Chinese syntax. Summers' research on Chinese syntax was directly influenced by the English grammar *The Analysis of Sentences Explained and Systematised* (1853) by British scholar John Daniel Morell (1816–91). Morell's work, in turn, was based on the influential syntactic research of German linguist Karl Ferdinand Becker (1775–1849). Additionally, he referred to works on Chinese grammar by other European sinologists, such as Elijah Coleman Bridgman's (1801–61) research (1841). Because of the incompatibility between European linguistic theory and the nature of the Chinese language, some traces of such "integration" are evident in his elaboration of Chinese syntax, and Summers had to find a way to resolve certain paradoxes. An example of this is Summers' claim that the modifier always comes before the modified unit in Chinese. However, when he applied English grammar to explain an example sentence, the modified "antecedent noun" precedes its modifier, namely, the "adjective clause". This kind of examples leaves traces of a foreign concept being applied to the Chinese language in Summers' works.

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Interaction between approaches to Chinese and English language study in the work of Robert Morrison (1782–1834)

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Robert Morrison (1782-1834) was the first Protestant missionary dispatched to China from Europe. In 1824, he founded the first Chinese language teaching institution in England, the Language Institution for the Propagation of Christianity, and he also established the first English-teaching school for Chinese, namely, the Malacca Anglo-Chinese College, in 1818. Morrison edited and published manuals on Chinese and English, actively engaged in the teaching of both languages, and compiled the first Chinese-English dictionary. Considered a significant figure in the history of Chinese language teaching in the UK and Sino-Anglo cultural exchange, research on Morrison has yielded substantial results, with a focus on his life and evangelization efforts. However, previous research has not engaged in comparison of his work in the fields of Chinese and English language learning and teaching, in other words, there has been no analysis of the *relationship* between his language research methodology and teaching approaches for Chinese and English from the perspective that he was pioneer of both Chinese language teaching in Britain and English language teaching in China.

This paper examines a number of primary accounts by Morrison himself, his wife, and the principal of the Anglo-Chinese College, William Milne (1785-1822). Our comparative analysis primarily takes account of Morrison's Chinese and English manuals, namely, *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* (1815) and *A Grammar of the English Language for the Use of the Anglo-Chinese College* (1823). We intend to highlight how his analysis of English impacted his research on Chinese.

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The grammaticalization of GIVE in Chinese: As a substitutional-hypothetical marker

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Different functions of the ditransitive verb GIVE in diverse languages have been widely discussed (Lu & Szeto, 2023). GIVE can serve as a dative marker, a beneficiary marker, a causative verb or a passive marker in various Chinese dialects as a result of grammaticalization (Chin, 2011). Compared to the above-mentioned functions, GIVE as a substitutional-hypothetical marker is less considered and discussed. Taking Cantonese giving verb as an example, this study sets out to provide a comprehensive description of the hypothetical use of giving verb and examine the mechanisms of grammaticalization including semantic extension and cooptation. The study promotes the understanding of basic lexical item GIVE and illustrates the grammaticalization paths through providing concrete examples, allowing further research and comparison of GIVE with other languages or dialects.

Substitutional-hypothetical markers normally appear at the beginning of conditional subordinate clauses that involve hypothetical participants or conditions (usually time, place, or direction) (Zhou, 2015). In Cantonese, /pei^{35} tsœk^2/ is the most common substitutional-hypothetical marker, while /pei^{35}/ and /wun^2 tsœk^2/ are alternatives. These substitutional-hypothetical markers can be replaced by general hypothetical markers (i.e. /jy^{21} kwɔ^{35}/, /ka^{35} jy^{21}/) when they precede a small clause with /hɐi^2/ (see 1a, 1b). However, compared to the general hypothetical markers, substitutional-hypothetical markers are limited in their usage in terms of syntax and semantics, revealing incomplete grammaticalization. In most cases, they only precede animate noun phrases, typically personal pronouns. Semantically, they require background knowledge shared by the speakers and listeners, and the noun phrases following the substitutional-hypothetical markers have to be new information replacing the old ones from the previous context, leading to new outcomes.

1. Cantonese

a. pei^{35} tsœk^2 hɐi^2 ŋɔ^{13}, ŋɔ^{13} m^{21} wui^{13} kɐm^3 tsou^2
   GIVE SUFF AUX 1SG 1SG NEG MOD this do

b. jy^{21} kwɔ^{35} hɐi^2 ŋɔ^{13}, ŋɔ^{13} m^{21} wui^{13} kɐm^3 tsou^2
   If AUX 1SG 1SG NEG MOD this do

   If I were you, I will not do that.

Substitutional-hypothetical markers grammaticalized from giving verbs are also found in Xinxian dialects, Yiyang dialects, Tongling dialects, etc. Although most scholars treated them as conjunctions, we argue that all these markers still have strong features of verbs by showing the evidence from constituency test and analysis of their distribution.

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Learners' aural receptive knowledge of situation-bound utterances in Chinese as a foreign language: A multiple-choice discourse completion task

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Keywords: *Second language pragmatics, situation-bound utterances, Chinese as a foreign language, receptive pragmatic knowledge*

The acquisition of situation-bound utterances (SBUs) constitutes an integral part of pragmatic competence. As a sub-type of conventional expressions, SBUs are defined as highly conventionalized, prefabricated pragmatic units whose occurrence is tied to standardized communicative situations (Kecskés, 2000). Research on Chinese SBUs has been primarily theoretical (e.g., Zhou, 2012), with few attempts to address this issue from the acquisitional and pedagogical perspectives (e.g., Conti & Lepadat, 2021a, 2021b; Taguchi et al., 2013; Yang, 2016). In particular, learners' receptive knowledge of SBUs in a Chinese as foreign language (CFL) context has received limited attention, even though the recognition of conventional expressions is a necessary condition for production (Bardovi-Harlig, 2009). Conti (2024) preliminarily analyzed CFL learners' written receptive knowledge of Chinese SBUs, finding limited acquisitional patterns. However, as SBUs mainly occur in spoken conversations, aural stimuli would be preferable in terms of ecological validity.

This study aims to investigate CFL learners' aural receptive knowledge of Chinese SBUs based on the following research questions: 1) Does CFL learners' aural knowledge of Chinese SBUs increase with learning experience? 2) What factors affect the aural recognition of the appropriate SBU? To answer these questions, an aural version of Conti's (2024) multiple-choice discourse completion test (MDCT) was implemented on Lime Survey and submitted to 68 Italian university learners of Chinese, spanning year-one to year-three. The MDCT included 18 scenarios eliciting different speech acts (e.g., requests, apologies, etc.); the key options were determined by means of a productive discourse completion test submitted to 65 Chinese native speakers, whereas distractors were learner generated. The data were then compared to the results of the written MDCT (Conti, 2024). Statistical analysis shows a scarce pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic awareness regardless of length of learning experience, type of speech act, or mode (aural/written). These findings, while consistent with Conti (2024), provide further evidence in support of the incorporation of authentic input in the language curriculum.

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Environmental sustainability in the ESG reports of Chinese listed companies: A preliminary corpus-assisted keyword analysis from an ecolinguistic perspective

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Amidst global concern for the escalating environmental crisis, Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) reporting has emerged as a standard practice among listed companies to record and communicate their commitment towards sustainability, with China making no exception. Besides providing investors and stakeholders with information, ESGs are a powerful discursive tool to shape companies' image vis-à-vis mounting public pressure for corporate accountability (Yu & Bondi 2019). In recent years, linguistic research has investigated the discursive dimension of Chinese ESGs, employing methods such as critical discourse analysis (Gong 2019), critical metaphor analysis (Yu 2020), and cross-cultural comparison (Yu & Bondi 2017). Despite progress, little effort has been made to incorporate an ecolinguistic approach in the analysis of environmental discourse in Chinese ESGs.

This study aims to address this gap by employing a systematic, ecolinguistics-informed investigation into vocabulary choices and themes employed in Chinese ESG reports. To this end, we collected a sample of ESG reports from companies listed in the "2021 Chinese Largest Companies per Revenue" (List A), mostly State-owned, and those included in the "2021 Hurun China Private Companies SDG Readiness 100" (List B). Based on the different ownership of the companies in the two lists, and since companies in List B comply with Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) criteria, our assumption is that the two lists may reflect diverse attitudes toward sustainability. After eliminating redundancies from the two lists, we extracted the environmental sustainability section from each report. The final corpus contains 136 semantically-tagged reports (68 in each List), with a size of approximately 500,000 words.

Keyword analysis comparing List A and List B was conducted on Sketch Engine and #LancsBox X for words, multi-word terms, and semantic tags. The results obtained by triangulating keyword analysis and manual clustering of keywords with semantic tagging highlight different sustainability and political discourses across the two subcorpora. Reports in List A resonate with the Party-State agenda, setting a general blueprint towards the attainment of overarching national goals. The discourse of progress towards these goals appears constructed by making reference to overarching principles (e.g., *shēngtài wénmíng* 生态文明 'ecological civilization) and archetypal cases (*ànlì* 案例), rather than insisting on monitoring and accurate metrics. Conversely, reports in List B are more down to earth and tangible, in that they highlight the impacts of corporate operations and mention criteria to monitor them (e.g., *huánjìng guǎnlǐ* 环境管理 'environmental management'), alongside with measures to mitigate potential harm (e.g., *huíshōu* 回收 'recycle'). By doing so, they also appear less prone to the risk of erasing contentious environmental issues (e.g., *qìtǐ páifàngliàng* 气体排放量 'gas emission'). From an ecolinguistic perspective, these findings shed light on the building blocks

of diverse environmental discourses in ESG reporting, and the way corporate environmental discourse may be normalized. On a more political note, they highlight two different approaches that currently coexist in China's sustainability arena: on the one hand, an ideology of sustainability rooted in official, wide-ranging discourses (List A), which by constant reiteration may become interiorized by citizens and power holders alike, strengthening at the same time the centrality of the Party-State; on the other hand (List B), the provision of specific criteria that may enable the public (or part of it, e.g. the companies' shareholders) to hold companies to account for their progress (or lack thereof) in meeting sustainability targets.

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The early lexical borrowings of 'sword' in Sinitic

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There are several proposals on lexical borrowings related to 'sword' involving early stages of the Chinese language. Pulleyblank (1962) discussed the possible origins of 徑路 *jìng lù*/輕呂 *qīng lǔ*, the name of a Xiongnu sword that entered Chinese. Starostin (2008) proposed an Altaic origin of the Chinese word 劍 *jiàn* 'sword', reconstructed as OC *s.kr[a]m-s. Semantically related, we also observe the potential borrowing of 'lance', proposed to be a loan from Chinese 戞 *jiá* OC *kˤrik 'a kind of lance' into Proto-Tungusic *gida 'a spear, a lance' (Cincius, 1949; Schmidt, 1923). This article aims to investigate the above-mentioned lexical borrowings and related terms, such as 'iron', as it is often colexified with 'sword'. Ultimately, this research aims to draw inferences from early contact between the Sinitic-speaking population and their neighbours regarding military and weaponry terminologies.

Methodologically, this research employs the process of elimination: if the similarity in two linguistic forms is unlikely to be explained by inheritance, chance similarity, or linguistic universals, then it is highly likely to suggest a borrowing scenario. Then, the analysis of the lexical items is based on a threefold criterion: phonetic match, semantic match, and cultural context. Findings from other scientific disciplines are taken into account as the last step of the evaluation; in this case, archaeological evidence will provide cultural context to the borrowing situations.

The preliminary result suggests that the Chinese 'sword' is likely to have an origin in Central Asia; however, only the borrowing of 徑路/輕呂 is plausible, while the others are not supported by sufficient linguistic evidence. Additionally, it is possible that Chinese 劍 entered Koreanic and Japonic, although the semantic change requires further investigation.

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What is Register-Grammar?

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This paper argues, following Feng (2010), that register is inherently encoded in grammar, in the sense that linguistic forms are intrinsically born with distinctive features (±Formal), which are generated by communicative-distance (d (x y)) in all linguistic structures and activated by face-to-face interlocutors (such as limerick rhythm with [-F], Latinate-verb dative construction with [+F], monosyllabic↔disyllabic words 家↔家庭/买↔购买 with [-F]↔[+F], etc.). Starting from the types of registers (formal, informal, elevated, etc.) and morphosyntactic forms (morphemes, words, compounds, phrases,etc.), it is argued that Register-Grammar is a new type of grammar that systematically accounts for structures intrinsically encoding abstract communicative properties of human language. Relevant facts and cross-linguistic evidence are offered as arguments for the new claim that the "Icicle-Principle" of Form-Function Unity serves as a constructional foundation for the theory of Register-Grammar (or Yuti-grammar).

Prosodic (dis)similarities in Italian-speakers' L2 Mandarin production: a preliminary analysis

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Keywords: *Phonology, Mandarin Chinese Prosody, L2 production*

The traditional method of Chinese phonetic instruction has long focused primarily on word-level tone production, unfortunately overlooking phrase-level prosody (Yang, 2016). This has led to a notable gap in the development of students' connected speech production, as well as their proficiency in intonation and rhythm (Třísková, 2017). The persistence of the issue can also be attributed to the scarcity of research on L2 Mandarin prosodic production, further hindering a comprehensive understanding of the intricacies involved (Yang, 2020).

The present study centers on minimal prosodic units involving diverse tonal combinations, i.e. disyllabic phrases in context where not only "local" tonal variations (e.g., sandhi) can be found, but also "global" variations (e.g. prosodic focus) influencing the intonational realization of the utterance (Wu, 2004; Cao, 2010). The analysis begins with a pitch-contour analysis of L1 and L2 productions. The participants in the experiment (n=6, fem.) are five native-Italian bachelor third-year students, and one 22-year-old native Chinese informant certified at level 1-A in the Putonghua Proficiency Exam. The dataset encompasses a total of 384 target sentences [16 tonal combinations * 2 intonational realizations * 2 focus realizations * 6 participants.]. Additionally, to assess comprehensibility, the study incorporates an auditory decision task with Beijing-native informants (n=3).

The challenges observed in the qualitative study comprise interesting phenomena, e.g. tone-intonation interference (Fig. 1), deviating from native prosodic strategies and hindering comprehension. Preliminary results suggest that while learners may grasp tonal combinations at a word level, challenges persist in connected speech production. This preliminary study offers valuable insights into the way speakers of a non-tonal language, such as Italian, perceive and articulate Mandarin prosody, also with respect to the concepts of intelligibility, comprehensibility and foreign accent.
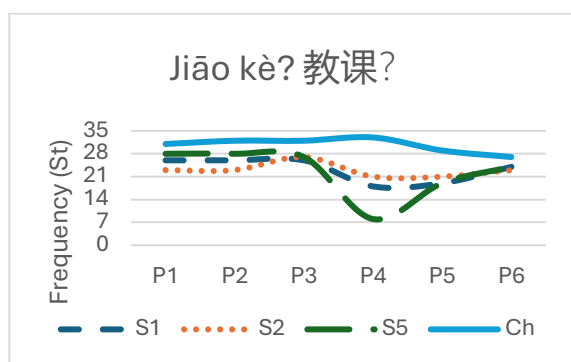

Figure 1. Example of tone-intonation interference within the interrogative "jiāo kè? 教课？", ending with T4 (falling contour, i.e. HL). In L2 productions, the second syllable (P4-P6) change in rising contour (i.e. LH), possibly influenced by intonational demands. The above-mentioned L2 productions differs from L1 productions (Ch) as in the latter a change in the tone register is employed instead of a change in the tone contour. In fact, in the L1 production T4 retains its falling contour.

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Investigating Apprehensional-Epistemic Modality in Mandarin Chinese

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Keywords: *apprehensives, modality, apprehensional-epistemic, typology*

Modality as a strategy to express apprehension is cross-linguistically attested. However, this phenomenon is relatively under-described. This talk will focus on one method, apprehensional-epistemic modality in Mandarin Chinese (MC). In line with Lichtenberk (1995), this is analysed as a category of epistemic modals (relating to what is known) that also express a degree of undesirability on behalf of the speaker.

The focus of the present research is on two of the proposed apprehensional-epistemic （担心-认识情态） markers in MC: *pà* (怕), and *bié*（别）. First identified by Gao (2003), both markers have been described as modal adverbs. However, beyond this initial classification, there remain a number of open questions to be addressed. These include: the relationship the markers have to the copula, and whether this undesirable meaning component is encoded in the markers themselves, or supplied externally through context.

Examples of *pà* and *bié* in this apprehensional-epistemic function are given in (1) below, taken from my fieldwork. Here, *pà* and *bié* are not only functioning as markers of epistemic possibility, expressing a less than certain degree of confidence on behalf of the speaker, but also that they perceive the potential situation of the bicycle being stolen as an undesirable.

(1) 自行车 **怕/别** 是 被 偷-了 吧
   Zìxíngchē *pà/bié* *shì* *bèi* *tōu-le* *bā*
   Bicycle PA/BIE COP PASS steal-PRF PART
   'The bicycle might have been stolen.'

The purpose of the current research project is to provide a comprehensive description of *pà* and *bié* in terms of their respective features, as well as how they might differ from one another, and how they fit into the wider modal system of MC. This talk will present original data collected from native speaker consultants in discussion of two features: co-occurrence with the copula *shì* (是), as in (1) above, and the nature of the 'undesirability' attitudinal meaning component. I also challenge Gao's (2003) claim that the markers also have a (neutral) epistemic function, lacking the undesirability judgement.

The talk will conclude with a working description for each of the two markers, and a discussion of how these contribute to our understanding of both the modal system in MC, and the crosslinguistic typology of apprehensives.

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Factors that modulate transfer at L3 initial stages in English-Irish bilinguals' L3 Chinese grammars

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Third language (L3) learners differ from true second language (L2) learners in the number of interlanguage grammatical systems in their mind. Transfer source selection at the L3 initial stage and relevant factors (e.g., structural similarity, learning sequence, input) have attracted most attention in the nascent field of L3 acquisition (cf. Rothman et al., 2019; Slabakova, 2017; Westergaard, 2019). The present study innovatively investigates key factors that influence initial-stage L3 Chinese grammars with L1 English-L2 Irish bilinguals, whose L1 and L2 do not differ significantly in the overall typological distance to the target L3.

Similar to Chinese, English is SVO and allows double-object constructions (DOCs) for verbs such as *give* and *buy* (as in *John gave/bought Sam a book*). At a micro-level, English is distinct from Chinese in terms of the thematic role of the indirect object in the *buy*-type DOC: it is interpreted as the recipient in English but as the source in Chinese. Irish differs from Chinese and English in word order and DOCs. In Irish, the basic word order is verb-initial (VSO) in tensed clauses, with the nominative subject following the verb (Bobaljik & Carnie, 1992). Moreover, Irish does not allow DOCs but prepositional-dative constructions (Nolan, 2021). A very interesting question to investigate is how background language grammars influence the L3 grammar when English-Irish bilinguals acquire Chinese DOCs.

A sentence-picture matching task with three types of Chinese sentences (Type 1: SVO "小王看见了小李"; Type 2: DOC-*GEI* "给了小李一个苹果"; Type 3: DOC-*MAI* "小王买了小李三瓶酒") was administered to three types of participants: 16 L1 English-L2 Chinese beginners (L2 E), 39 L1 English-L2 Irish-L3 Chinese beginners, and 20 Chinese natives (NS). The L3 learners were further divided into two groups based on their L2 proficiency levels: L3-intermediate L2 Irish (L3-Low I) and L3-near native L2 Irish (L3-High I). *GLMM*s conducted on the whole dataset have returned a significant effect of Group ($p < .001$) and Type ($p < .001$). As presented in Figure 1, neither the L2 nor the L3 learners have problem with SVO and DOC-*GEI*, which shows that L3 learners' L1 English grammar is transferred into the L3 and plays a facilitative role. The L3 learners did not interpret DOC-*GEI* as VSO (the Irish order), suggesting that misleading input does not override deep structural similarity at a macro-level in transfer source selection. For DOC-*MAI*, the L2-E and L3-High I groups erroneously interpreted the indirect object as the receipt, which indicates detrimental transfer effects from their English grammar. Our data support the L3 models that persist that structural similarity determines the transfer source at the L3 initial stage. Interestingly, the L3-Low I group's accuracy rate is significantly higher than the other two learner groups' on DOC-*MAI*. This finding implies that L2 proficiency can modulate the acquisition process of the L3 and an intermediate L2 level is a turning point (cf. Sánchez & Bardel, 2017).

Figure 1
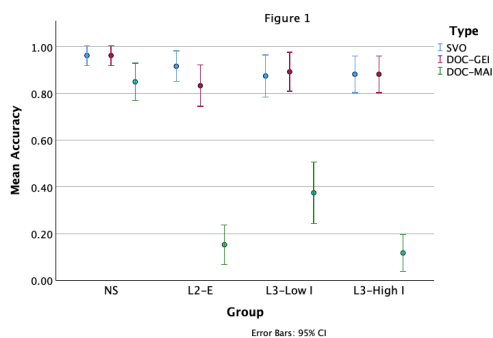
Phonetic motivations for sonorant occlusivization in Shakou Hakka

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Keywords: *phonetics, sound change, Hakka, occlusivization, ultrasound tongue imaging*

Occlusivization, a type of fortition in which continuant consonants become plosives, is a widespread but relatively undescribed property of many southern varieties of Sinitic (Luo 1958; Xu 2019). For instance, Luo (1958) postulates that in the variety of Linchuan Gan, original /l/ transitioned to modern [t] through stages including [ld] and [d]. Xu (2019) shows that occlusivization of laterals (but not nasals) is widespread throughout Hakka and Gan, but is also found in many southern Xiang and some Min and Hui varieties. Shakou, an under-described variety of Hakka spoken near Yingde in northern Guangdong province, exhibits variable occlusivization of both lateral and nasal sonorants (namely /l/, /m/, and /ŋ/), which may provide synchronic phonetic evidence for the intermediate stages of sonorant > plosive sound change. In this variety, /l/ is variably realized as centralized [l^d ~ ^{l}d ~ d] (Fig. 1), while initial /m, ŋ/ may be realized as denasalized [m^b ~ ^{m}b ~ b] and [$ŋ^g$ ~ ^{ŋ}g ~ g]. Compare the following items:

Variety	两 '**two**'	梨 '**pear**'	老 '**old**'	你 '**you**'	热 '**hot**'
Mandarin	liang	li	lao	ni	re
Ganxian (Hakka)	tioŋ	ti	lɔ	ni	ɲiɛ
Shakou	$l^{(d)}$ioŋ	$l^{(d)}$i	lo	$ŋ^{(g)}$i	$ŋ^{(g)}$iɛt

This study examines the phonetic realization of occluded sonorants in Shakou, data for which was collected from 6 speakers (3M/3F) through fieldwork in Yingde. High-speed mid-sagittal (120fps) and coronal (160fps) ultrasound tongue images were recorded along with synchronized acoustic and nasalance recordings. Partial or full occlusion of /l/ occurred in 27.5% of words with high /i, y/, exceptionally before /e, u/, but not in words containing /a, o/ (Fig. 2). The occluded portion of /l/ has an average duration of 42ms and is characterized by a significant decrease in mid-frequency acoustic energy (–6dB, $p < 0.001$). Ultrasound data reveal tongue body raising and parasagittal contact during lateral occlusion, consistent with overlap between the tongue gestures required for /l/ (with lateral airflow) vs. /i, y/ (with lateral bracing). Denasalization, which has a similar mean duration of 39.5ms, occurs in 37.5% of words with /i, y/, 25.6% of words with /e, u/, and 14% of words with /a, o/. While these patterns differ with regard to their phonological conditioning, gestural interaction during sonorant-vowel sequences may provide a common underlying mechanism for both processes.

Fig. 1: occlusivized [ˈdi]

Fig. 2: Variants by manner and vowel
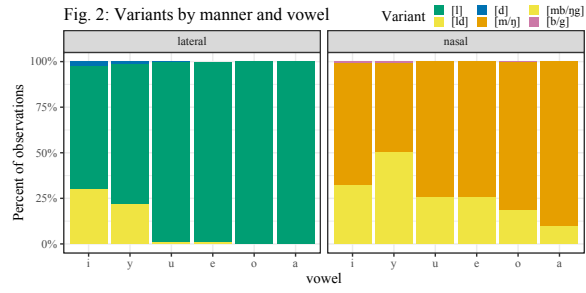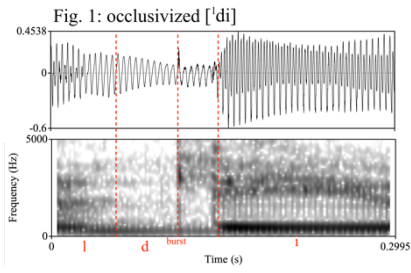
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Justifying a dichotomy of questions in Mandarin: Evidence from a timed grammaticality judgment task

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The prevailing taxonomy of questions in Mandarin, and cross-linguistically, adopts a three-way distinction of polar questions, disjunctive questions, and *wh*-questions (e.g., Huang, Li & Li 2009), as shown in examples (1-3), respectively. However, in the spirit of Occam's Razor, a minority view of a two-way distinction has been proposed: polar questions (PQs) and constituent questions (CQs) (e.g., Tang 1984: 383-384; Her, Che & Bodomo 2022). Disjunctive and *wh*-questions are thus merely subcategories of CQs. This PQ v. CQ dichotomy is evidenced from different perspectives. Syntactically, PQs and CQs are distinguished by their respective compatibility with Q particle *ma* and *ne*, adverb *nándào* 'don't tell me' and *dàodǐ* 'after all', and inability and ability to serve as indirect questions, hence embedded clauses. Pragmatically, PQs seek (dis)confirmation of an assumption, while CQs seek information to fill the gap indicated by a *wh*-element. Semantically, PQs put forth a *singleton* set, hence a single proposition, while CQs denote a *multi-membered* set of propositions (e.g., Bhatt & Dayal 2020).

(1) *Nǐ   nándào/*dàodǐ   xǐhuān   Yuēhàn   ma/ *ne?*
    you   don't tell me/*after all   like   John   Q-MA/ *Q-NE
    'Dou you like John?'
(2) *Nǐ   *nándào/dàodǐ   xǐhuān   Yuēhàn   háishì Mǎlì   (ne)/* ma ?*
    you   *don't tell me/after all   like   John   or   Mary   Q-NE/*Q-MA
    'Do you like John or Mary?'
(3) *Yuēhàn   hàn   Mǎlì, nǐ   *nándào/dàodǐ   bǐjiào xǐhuān   shéi   (ne)/* ma?*
    John   and   Mary you   *don't tell me/after all   more   like   who   Q-NE/ *Q-MA
    'Between John and Mary, who do you like more?'

However, to our knowledge, no experimental studies have examined the syntactic evidence. To fill this gap, we conducted a web-based timed grammaticality judgment task with 41 adult Mandarin native speakers, who read each sentence one at a time and gave judgment; their judgment and response times (RT) were recorded. In the task, the PQ vs. CQ distinguishing features shown in examples (1-3) were all used to create sentences of the two conditions (grammatical vs. ungrammatical). Each participant read 31 grammatical and 25 ungrammatical sentences, as well as 24 fillers, for a total of 80 sentences. The unequal number in the two conditions is because direct and indirect question forms are grammatical in disjunctive and *wh*-questions, but not PQs. Results showed that 91% of the responses are consistent with our predictions, meaning that the syntactic tests are reliable. The log-transformed RTs to grammatical (mean = 2165 milliseconds) and ungrammatical sentences (mean = 2538 milliseconds) were significantly different ($z = -6.18$, $p=<.001$). Additionally, a significant difference in RTs was found between PQs and CQs ($z = -8.21$, $p=<.001$). Overall, the results from both judgment and RTs provide evidence for a dichotomy of questions in Mandarin.

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Compositionality in Sichuanese modal system

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Keywords*: Sichuanese, Chinese, syntax, modality*

In this work I investigate the post-verbal modal marker DE in Sichuanese (a southwestern Mandarin variety), which, at a first sight, seems to be highly ambiguous among various root modal readings when appearing in the [V-DE] construction. I will show that the various modal readings are not "squeezed" into the single morpheme DE, but rather are structurally distinct and mark several syntactic positions. In particular, DE only signals basic alethic modality and is compatible with various other types of modal markers, showing how the compositional strategy works in the domain of modality.

DE seems to almost entirely cover the whole spectrum of non-epistemic modality:

(1) *Zang^{1}san^1 ho^1 de^2 pi^{2}jiu^3.*
     Zhangsan   drink **DE**   beer
a. 'Zhangsan can drink beer (e.g. he is in a good state of health).'   *pure possibility*
b. 'Zhangsan is permitted (by someone) to drink beer.'   *permission*
c. (with an emphasizing tone) 'Zhangsan is quite able to drink beer.'   *strong ability*

Given that canonical modal auxiliaries are pre-verbal in Sichuanese, how can the post-verbal modal marker DE be analyzed? Are there any disambiguating strategies at the structural level?

I argue that a) DE is not an ambiguous modal marker, but just an **alethic** modal marker (Von Wright 1951) expressing an underspecified 'pure possibility'; b) the various modal readings are marked by the co-occurrence with higher disambiguating elements in the functional domain.

To better represent the "compositional strategy", I follow Cinque (1999, 2006) in adopting a cartographic approach to the clausal structure and argue for the following root modal hierarchy, by adding a ModPAlethic(II) lower than all root modal projections:

(2) [ModPObligation ***gai*** [NegP ***bu*** [ModPAbility (***da***) [ModPPermission ***koyi*** [ModPAlethic(II) DE]]]]]

The hierarchy in (2) is supported by the availability of the following disambiguating elements:
i) canonical pre-verbal modal auxiliaries as for instance *koyi* 'can (permission)':

(3) *Ze^4-go^4 dian^{4}fan^{4}bao^3 hai^2 **ko^{3}yi^3** yong^4-de^2.*
     This-CL rice-cooker   still   can   use-DE
     'This rice-cooker can still be used.'

ii) the sentence-final particle *lao,* which expresses speaker's attitude and activates the necessity modal *gai* 'should':

(4) *(**Gai^1**)   xi^3 de^2 yi^{1}fu^2 **lao^2**.*
     (Should) wash DE   clothes*lao*
     '(You) should/'d better wash your clothes (now).'

iii) an (overt/covert) functional degree adverb *da* 'big/very' for the 'strong ability' reading as in (5), which I argue is always covertly present in positive sentences (see (1c)).

(5) *Zang^{1}san^1 ho^1 bu   (**da^4**)   de^2 pi^{2}jiu^3.*
     Zhangsan   drink NEG   big/very   DE   beer
     'Zhangsan is not quite able to drink beer.'

Moreover, the basic negative form [V-**bu**-DE] can only have the 'not possible' and an additional 'necessary not' reading, suggesting that the negative marker *bu* has rigid scope as in "necessity> **bu** >possibility". It therefore stays lower than ModP$_{Obligation}$, where deontic necessity is encoded, and higher than ModP$_{Ability}$, occupied by the indicator of 'strong ability.

Summing up, the "ambiguity" of DE can be solved by the "compositional strategy" used in Sichuanese modal system. It further provides strong empirical support for Cinque's (1999, 2006) root modal hierarchy, showing how modality is universally structurally encoded. Moreover, the verb in negative sentences seems to go higher than in positive sentences, which may also be involved in the activation of various modal readings in a particular way.

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A prosodic study on *yě* 也 in Dìngzhōu Hàn tomb *Lúnyǔ*

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Keywords: *function word yě, Dìngzhōu Hàn tomb Lúnyǔ, Sense Group Prosody, "X" and "X yě"*

This paper discusses *yě* 也 in Dìngzhōu Hàn tomb *Lúnyǔ* (hereafter DL) from the perspective of prosody. Prosodic method put forward by Féng Shènglì would firstly be briefly introduced, from which it is found that yě is only one syllable which is composed by two moras, thus not enough to be a foot to analyze independently. Furthermore, we propose the concept of Sense Group Prosody to study *yě* of a function word but from the perspective of prosody instead of word class on the extra *yě* sentences in DL. Finally, the phrases where *yě* occurs discussed are divided into to two categories: "X" and "X *yě*". This study not only jumps out of the situation that scholars have difficulty in deciding the nature of *yě*, but also discusses from a new perspective. It shows that the discussion of vocabulary should consider the stylistic nature of the text and has certain positive significance for the study of Chinese language history.

For example, for all those phrases with *yě* extra in DL than in the transmitted one, we start from the fewer syllables. 師也, 求也, 儉也 are exactly a foot composed by two syllables; 爲政也, 夫人也, 可畏也, 難事也, 無益也, 廢之也, 不行也 are composed with a *yě* and a foot; 不爲政也, 不可求也, 有弗智也, 無以言也, 無以立也, 食夫稻也, 衣夫錦也 are two foots; 使民戰栗也, 德之不脩也, 學之不講也, 子之燕居也, 未之有得也, 言必有中也, 過猶不及也, 勿施於人也, 不可小知也, 去之公室也, 退而學詩也 are two foots plus a *yě*; 夷狄之有君也, 從大夫之後也, 不善不能改也, 聖人之言也 are three foots; 聞道之不能徙也 are three foots plus a *yě*. Because of the function of SG, we read each of the above phrase with almost the same time no matter how many characters there are. In this case, we consider the all the full foot (s) as "X", and the plus *yě* phrase as "X *yě*". As a result, when the SG is full foot, *yě* functions more as a syllable to complete the foot and is read as a falling tone, while *yě* is in "X *yě*", it functions more of the strengthen of the whole tone of the phrase and is read as a raising tone.

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On the origin of the definite Cl-N in Cantonese: Evidences from the teaching materials and dictionaries in the 19th Century

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Classifiers in Cantonese can combine with a bare noun to form a nominal phrase Cl(assifier)-N(oun). As in many Southern Chinese dialects, the Cl-N phrases in Cantonese denote both definiteness and indefiniteness. The indefinite Cl-N is restricted in the object position, while the definite Cl-N yields a more flexible syntactic distribution. On the one hand, the indefinite Cl-N is believed to be derived from the indefinite "One"-Cl-N by omitting "One"; since they share the same interpretation and distribution, they are syntactically and semantically interchangeable. On the other, the origin of the definiteness of the Cl-N is highly controversial. There are mainly three hypotheses in the literature for the origin of the definiteness of Cl-N (Wang & Gu, 2006): 1) The first Hypothesis suggests that the definite Cl-N is generated by the omission of the determiner in the Det-Cl-N phrase. The definiteness is the heritage of the omitted determiner (Chao, 1968). 2) The second suggests that the definiteness of the Cl-N is distributed by the classifier, which inherited the definiteness from the classifier in the Dong-Tai Language (You, 1982). 3) The third suggests that the capability of the Cl-N to denote the definiteness is distributed by its structure and syntactic position in the sentence (Shi, 2002). The current studies show that neither of these hypotheses is perfectly compatible with modern Cantonese for the following reasons: 1) Unlike the Dem-Cl-N, the Cl-N in Cantonese does not denote distance. Therefore, the Cl-N is not equivalent to the Dem-Cl-N, and the Omission Hypothesis is ruled out. 2) Classifiers in Cantonese behave differently from the classifiers in Zhuang (the descendant of Dong-Tai Languages), the Heritage Hypothesis remains sceptical. 3) Previous research demonstrated that different interpretations of the Cl-N indeed correspond to different internal structures and that the indefinite Cl-N is restricted in the object position. However, for the definite Cl-N, it is not clear how the syntactic position affects its interpretation.

A historical study is then conducted based on ten teaching materials and dictionaries in the 19th Century and three corpora of early Cantonese to investigate the origin and the derivation of the definite Cl-N in Cantonese. The results of the investigation show that 個 [ko^{33}] is the most common classifier in the 19th Century. Moreover, in the first half of the 19th Century, the classifier 個 [ko^{33}] and the distal demonstrative 個 [ko^{33}] are homonyms. Until 1856, the tone of the distal demonstrative is reported changed into [ko^{35}] in the Dem-Cl phrases 個個 [ko^{35}ko^{33}] *that one*, in order to be differentiated from the reduplication of classifier 個個[ko^{35}ko^{33}] *everyone*. In 1874, a new character 嗰 is reported to be created for the distal demonstrative (Takekoshi 2005). Nevertheless, 個 remains the main character for the distal demonstrative in the 19th Century. Besides, in the first half of the 19th Century, 個-N seemed to be the most common definite Cl-N phrase; other classifiers barely formed a definite Cl-N. Furthermore, unlike the definite Cl-N in modern Cantonese, the 個-N denotes not only the definiteness but also the distance, more precisely the distal distance: 個-N is often translated as *that*-N in English. This phenomenon sustained until the first half of the 20th Century. In Fulton (1931), there is a sentence where 個-N is compared with the proximal Dem-Cl-(N), which shows that 個-N indicates indeed the distal distance.

(1) 我愛個人好似呢個一樣。
    ᶜngó oiᴾ koᴾ ᵴyan ᶜhò ᵴts'z ᶜni koᴾ yatᴐ yeung�
    'I like this man as much as I like the other.'   — Fulton 1931, lesson 55, p.70

Meanwhile, 個 is observed to be the subject of the copula in the sentence such as 個係惡人 *that is (a) bad man*, which is abnormal and even ungrammatical in modern Cantonese. These observations shed light on the hypothesis that 個 in the very first definite Cl-N phrase 個-N, as well as the subject of the copula, probably derives from the haplology of the demonstrative and classifier 個個 [ko^{35}ko^{33}], meaning that the definite Cl-N may originally be Dem-Cl-N. The "Cl"-N pattern extends later to other classifiers. But is the homonym of the demonstrative and classifier 個 in Cantonese a coincidence? Similar phenomena are also reported in the Wu dialects (Lin 2018, Chao 1928, a.m.) and the Hakka dialects (Zhang 1990, 2001). The isomorph of the demonstrative and classifier 個/个/(箇 in certain cases) is observed in the early dialect data (see the Database of Early Chinese Dialects). The historical studies show that the general classifier 個 and the demonstrative are probably in a close relation in grammaticalization in the southern Chinese dialects.

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Contrastive and referential function of Meixian Hakka specific classifiers in exophoric contexts

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Numeral classifiers (CL) in Hakka are known for their multifunctionality (e.g., individuation, classification, referentialization, relationalization). What is much less well known is the discrepancy in the functional range of specific classifiers (which are selected according to the semantic characteristics of nouns and are often limited to a specific set of nouns) and general classifiers (which can basically co-occur with any count noun). Some previous studies based on endophoric (narrative texts) show that in some Sinitic varieties, the difference in semantic specificity between specific CLs and general CLs contributes to referentiality. The present study of Meixian Hakka CLs examines the function of specific and general CLs under exophoric (dialogic) conditions in an adapted version of the "Hidden color-chips task" experiment.

The 18 participants tried to manipulate the addressees' attention on various objects in the immediate physical space through both language and deictic gestures. The objects were associated with different specific CLs or with the general CLs *ke*^{55} 個 or *tsak*^{2} 隻 and placed according to the following factors: (a) distance from speaker; (b) visibility to speaker; (c) uniqueness (adjacent to items with same classifier). These factors were observed for potential effects on the choice (1) between using a bare noun or the demonstrative construction [DEM CL(N)] and (2) between the use of a specific CL vs. a general CL if the demonstrative construction is used. The effects of other well-known influencing factors like information structure, grammatical relation and number are minimized by the experimental design.

The results show that, among other things, there is a higher tendency ($p \leq 0.05$) to use SpecCL in the [DEM CL (N)] construction if more than one object with same CL [-unique] are too far away for clear identification by a DEM or a pointing gesture. Thus, the specific CL can be seen as a last resort to create contrast if DEM and gestures are not distinctive enough. This is also the case in later mentions of an object, which contradicts the findings of Erbaugh (2013) that specific CLs tend to be used with first-mentioned nouns and then "downgrade" to general CLs in later mentions. Therefore, more generally, this paper also shows that the full functional range of CLs in general, and specific vs. general CLs in particular, depends on integrating exophoric and endophoric texts.

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From Negative to Conjunctive: 無 *bo*^{55} in the Jieyang Southern Min Dialect

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In the Jieyang Southern Min dialect, the negative 無 *bo^{55}* has evolved into a conjunctive that is used in multiple constructions: negative conditionals, cause and effect, disjunctives and proposals, as in (1)-(4):

(1) 伊　　　整　　　過　　　容，　　　　無　　野樣　　　死。
　　i^{33}　　tsiã$^{42-35}$　kue$^{213-53}$　ioŋ^{55},　　bo^{55}　iã$^{53-24}$iõ$^{22-21}$　si^{42}.
　　3SG　　make　　ASP.exp　appearance　NEG　ugly　　　die
　　'She must have had cosmetic surgery; otherwise, she would be very ugly'.

(2) 硬否　　　個　假　個，　　　　無　照　　　便。
　　ŋẽ$^{35-21}$hou^{42}　kai^{55}　ke^{42}　kai$^{55-22}$,　bo^{55}　tsio$^{213-42}$　pĩ^{33}.
　　definitely　COP　false　SFP　　NEG　so　　　cheap
　　'It must be fake, that's why it's so cheap'.

(3) 無　哩　伊　去，　　　無　哩　我　去。
　　bo$^{55-22}$　le^{33}　i^{33}　khu$^{213-21}$,　bo$^{55-22}$　le^{33}　ua^{42}　khu$^{213-21}$.
　　NEG　TOP　3SG　go　　　NEG　TOP　1SG　go
　　'Either he will go or I will go'.

(4) 無　　（哩）　乞　　　我　試　　　下　睇？
　　bo^{55}　(le^{33})　kheʔ$^{2-5}$　ua$^{42-21}$　tshi$^{213-21}$　e$^{35-21}$　thõi$^{42-213}$.
　　NEG　(TOP)　permit　1SG　try　　　CL　look
　　'How about let me have a try?'

This paper aims to describe the multiple functions of 無 *bo^{55}* and to construct its grammaticalization path as compared with those of 否則 *fouze*, 'otherwise or else', and 要不 *yaobu*, 'if not', in Mandarin. It is common in Chinese and other languages for a negative to combine with its adjacent conjunctive to develop a new conjunctive. However, the Jieyang dialect exhibits a unique feature in that 無 *bo^{55}* is grammaticalized into a conjunctive *per se* by applying a complicated process of reasoning involving the logical relations among clauses without the support of any conjunctive constituents. This phenomenon can provide a new model for the study of grammatical evolution.

Putonghua, *wu* dialect, Italian: language family policy in Teramo (Abruzzo)

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In order for a minority language to be maintained, family is a crucial domain (Fishman 1991, Spolsky 2012). Therefore, what is called family language policy is "a deliberate attempt at practicing a particular language use pattern and particular literacy practices within home domains and among family members" (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). This paper investigates family language policy in fifteen Chinese families in Teramo (Abruzzo, Italy) from two of the three perspectives outlined by Spolsky (2009): ideology and practice. The study focuses on three languages: *Putonghua*, the *wu* dialect, and Italian; it has been carried out through the usage of structured interviews and questionnaires. Although there is still a strong bond to Zhejiang among the older family members, the results show that the *wu* dialect has been almost abandoned in favour of the more prestigious Mandarin, and there is no interest in maintaining the parents' mother tongue because it is seen as 'rural', 'unpolite', or even useless. These findings contribute to the understanding of how family language policy impacts on language maintenance and shift.

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Utterance-final particle *ma* in Chongqinghua

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This study aims at analysing the utterance-final particle (UFP) *ma* in Chongqinghua – a Mandarin dialect spoken in the city of Chongqing and belonging to the subgroup Southwestern Mandarin. The UFP *ma* in Chongqinghua is to be distinguished from 吗 in Standard Mandarin in that it is not a polar question marker. It is also to be distinguished from 嘛 in Standard Mandarin since it does not convey the idea of 'the addressee not knowing what he or she should have known' – a discourse function attributed to 嘛 by Qiang (2008, 54).

According to Li and Thompson (1989, 317), UFPs indicate how the utterance to which they are attached 'is to be taken by the hearer'. Chappell and Peyraube (2016, 321) state that they are used 'to express a variety of different subjective, and intersubjective, attitudes on the part of the speaker'. Both studies point out that intersubjectivity is an integral part of the function of UFPs. Therefore, this study attempts to investigate the function of *ma* from the perspective of intersubjectivity, which 'refers to the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of his or her awareness of the addressee's attitudes and beliefs' (Traugott 2010, 33).

If UFPs are used to express the speaker's attitude, it is necessary to identify the linguistic level at which this attitude is expressed. Analysing the adverb *frankly* in the sentence 'Frankly, you are drunk', Searle (1979, 166-67) claims that the adverb 'is predicated of the speech act that is being performed in the utterance of the sentence'. Given some functional similarities between *frankly* in English and UFPs in Mandarin, the present study argues that as far as *ma* is concerned, the speaker's attitude is to be analysed with respect to the speech act performed by the utterance, rather than its propositional content. For example, A and B are in a very delicate situation and A believes that B is not aware of it, So A says[2]:

(1) *li³   ɕjau³tɛ²   pu²   ma?*
    2SG   know   NEG UFP
    'Do you know it or not? (Just answer the question!)'

In utterance 1, *ma* assumes the function of pushing the addressee to answer the question. It is therefore not situated at the level of the propositional content, but at the level of the speech act, the act of questioning.

The story continues, A has decided to explain the situation to B and he begins his explanation with the following utterance:

(2) *o³   kɛ¹-li³   swo²   ma.*
    1SG   to-2SG   tell   UFP
    'I tell you.'
    'Listen'

With *ma*, utterance 2 is understood as a unilateral decision made by the speaker. Therefore, *ma* is predicted of the speech act of decision making.

The third example is unrelated to the previous ones. A responds positively to B's request:

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[2] Superscripts in the glosses indicate the lexical tone of the syllable to the left. There are four tones in Chongqinghua: tone 1 is H(igh), tone 2 is L(ow), tone 3 is HL and tone 4 is LH.

(3) *xau³*   *ma.*
    good   UFP
    'OK.'

Again, *ma* is predicted of the speech act of decision making.

To sum up, since pushing the addressee to answer the question can also be analysed as a decision made by the speaker and imposed on the addressee, the present study proposes that the intersubjective function of the UFP *ma* is to signal to the addressee that the speech act in question is to be understood as a unilateral decision made by the speaker.

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Contradicting patterns – How Hungarian learners of Mandarin produce rising and falling lexical tones in interrogative and declarative sentence types

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The acoustic phonetic study aims to investigate how atonal learners of Mandarin (MC) produce rising (T2) and falling tone (T4) in interrogative and declarative sentence types. Although lexical tones and intonation have distinct functions in language, the pitch-change that constitutes both contours is the function of the vibration of the vocal chords, which can be characterized by the fundamental frequency (f_0) [1]. In MC the actual acoustic realization of lexical tones is highly dependent on sentence type (i.e., intonation) [2]: lexical tones in interrogative utterances are elevated to a higher f_0 level, and may also be characterized by expanded f_0 range [3], however, the overall direction of the f_0 curve (rising or falling) remains invariable. In contrast, in most atonal languages (such as Hungarian) yes/no interrogatives are uttered with a rising, while declaratives are produced with a descending, f_0 contour [4]. In view of these differences, we are seeking answers to the following questions: How do atonal L1 learners of MC synchronize lexical tone and intonation in their L2 MC production? In particular, how do atonal L1 learners cope with the interference (contrary patterns) of L1 and L2 interrogative and declarative contours: Producing the rise of T2 in declaratives, and the fall of T4 in interrogatives. **Method.** We recorded the production of two L2 learner groups (lower and upper intermediate L2 levels), as well as a native control group (5 female/group). Meaningful monosyllabic T2 and T4 MC utterances were read out with interrogative and declarative intonation, embedded in short dialogues, with 8 repetitions. The extracted f_0 curves were estimated dependent on the normalized duration of the vocalic section and compared by generalized additive mixed models (GAMM). **Results.** Native speakers produced the interrogative T2 and T4 f_0 patterns positioned to a significantly higher f_0 level compared to their declarative counterparts. Both interrogative and declarative T2 monosyllables showed rising patterns, with the tonal curve remaining recognizable, just like T4s, whose characteristic fall remained persistent in both sentence types, too. Both learner groups' tone production differed significantly from the native patterns in terms of the f_0 curves' shape, both in declaratives and in interrogatives. If the direction of the f_0 change (i.e. rising/falling pattern) is considered exclusively, both learner groups managed to utter interrogative T2s with a moderately rising curve. However, unlike in natives' production, T2 declaratives were characterized with an overall level pattern. This level pattern can be attributed to the same effect in both L2 groups' production: tonal rise and intonational descent apparently cancelled each other out, yielding a 'levelled' average f_0 curve. As regards T4 realizations, both L2 learner groups uttered interrogative T4 monosyllables with a strikingly rising pattern, in contrast to the falling shape observed in natives' production, indicating that intonation overrode tone production for them. Declarative T4 units showed a falling shape, but it did not approximate the steepness of the native realization. **Discussion.** MC lexical tone production in interrogative and declarative sentence types posed problems to atonal L1 learners. They deviated from native production most severely in those cases where the transferred L1 intonation interferes with L2 tone. In interrogative T4, the L1 rising intonation pattern completely overrode the fall of the L2 tonal f_0 curve. Declarative T2 was not produced with an overall descent, but did not show the rising shape of the L2 tone, either.

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Constructing a cross-linguistic lexical production task in Mandarin

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Keywords: *Cross-linguistic lexical task, Mandarin, lexical production, language acquisition*

Numerous countries possess rich histories of bi- or multilingualism, while many traditionally monolingual countries, like the United States, are witnessing a growing trend toward bilingualism owing to increased immigration (August & Shanahan, 2006). Nevertheless, most lexical assessments were initially devised for monolingual individuals, rendering them unsuitable for evaluating bilinguals accurately.

The existing Mandarin vocabulary tests are either adaptations from English, such as the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Lu & Liu, 1998), or have undergone distinctive development processes compared to tests in other languages, thereby making them unsuitable for assessing bilingual individuals or supporting cross-linguistic investigations. Kuo (2024) followed the procedures employed in Cross-Linguistic Lexical Tasks (CLT) across 32 languages (Haman, Łuniewska, and Pomiechowska, 2015) and developed the Cross-linguistic Comprehension Task in Mandarin. In this talk, we will present the development of a cross-linguistic production task in Mandarin that adheres to the same methodology. Initially, a naming task was given to twenty Mandarin-speaking adults with a collection of 308 pictures as in various language versions of the CLTs. Dominant names for the pictures with high agreement were selected as candidate words. The other 43 Mandarin-speaking adults were asked to recall the age of acquisition of the target words. The complexity index was calculated based on double standardized length in phonemes, number of roots, prefixes, suffixes, frequency of exposure, and if it is a loan word or has initial friction or consonant clusters. Target words were selected with comparable age of acquisition and complexity index with target words in other languages so that the task could be used along with tasks in other languages for bilingual assessment or cross-linguistic research. They were put into a picture naming task tailored for preschool-aged children. There are noun and verb subtasks, each with two practices and 30 test trials.

The task was administered to 300 Mandarin-speaking children aged 2-6 in Taiwan. ANOVAs reveal a significant increase with age ($F=14.260$, $p<.0001$ for nouns; $F=17.487$, $p<.0001$ for verbs) signifying an internal validity. Slit-half reliability yields a robust positive correlation for both nouns ($r= .455$) and verbs ($r=.373$).

The introduction of this Mandarin picture expressive vocabulary measure not only furnishes an effective tool for assessing Mandarin productive vocabulary in preschoolers but also serves as a valuable instrument along with CLTs in other languages for assessing bilingual productive vocabulary or conducting cross-linguistic research in the domain of language acquisition.

Interpretations of Bare Nouns in Three Languages

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Keywords: *bare nouns, language typology, semantics, syntax*

This paper focuses on the interpretations of bare nouns in three languages: Mandarin, Southern Min and English. Bare nouns are nouns occurring without demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, classifiers and other nominal modifiers. While the syntactic forms are simple, the semantic interpretations are complicated. The bare nouns can refer to different interpretations. The strength of nouns is a common topic when linguists discuss bare nouns. The difference between strong nouns and weak nouns will be studied in this paper. We also discuss the types of verbs which influence the reference of bare nouns and the grammaticality of bare nouns. Luo (2022) discusses bare nouns in the incorporated constructions in Mandarin, but the related constructions are rarely analyzed in SM. This paper will study the bare nouns in incorporated constructions in SM. Milsark (1977) distinguishes weak nouns from strong nouns in terms of the contexts, especially the existential construction. The noun phrase interpretation will be associated with type-shifting proposed by Partee (1986). In addition, McNally (2020) assumes that different types of verbs change the references of bare nouns. This paper examines Milsark's, Partee's and McNally's ideas to discuss the bare nouns in three languages. Lien (2023) points out that the interpretation of bare nouns needs to be considered in the context. This paper also follows Lien's idea to analyze data in the three resources: Bible, Stray Birds, and Anne of Green Gables. These three data resources represent different contexts and genres.

The issue of bare nouns can be related to the topic of language typology. The finding of the paper is that SM uses bare nouns the most often than Mandarin and English when they occur in the same language context. English uses definiteness 'the' more often, when compared to Mandarin corresponding data. For example, in Mathew 1:24, the 'wife' in English is expressed by the possessive pronoun 'his'; in Mandarin 'wife' is expressed in a BA construction; in SM 'wife' is expressed by a bare noun.

1:24   When Joseph woke from sleep, he did as the angel of the Lord commanded him: he took his <u>wife</u>.

1:24   Yuēsè xǐng le, qǐ lái，jiù zūn zhe Zhǔshǐzhě de fēnfù <u>bǎ qīzǐ</u> qǔ guòlái 約瑟醒了，起來，就遵著主使者的吩咐把妻子娶過來

1:24   Iô-sé-huh chhéⁿ khí-lâi liáu-āu, chiū chiàu Chú ê thiⁿ-sài só˙bēng-lēng ê, khì chhōa Mâ-lí-ah lâi chò <u>bó˙</u> 約瑟醒起來了後，就照主 ê 天使所命令 ê，去娶馬利亞來做 <u>bó˙</u>

The definiteness of nouns is the strongest in English and the weakest in Southern Min. Bare nouns in Mandarin do not express strong definiteness as bare nouns in English. However, bare nouns in Mandarin do show some definiteness because they occur in the BA construction. The data in Stray Birds and Anne of Green Gables also display the same finding that English tends to use 'the', while SM tends to use bare nouns in the same context.

A Parallel Dimension of Written Chinese: the Dungan Language

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Keywords: *Chinese writing, dialectology, Dungan language, Chinese script reform*

The Dungan language (*Dongganyu* 東干語, *dunganskij jazyk*) is the mother tongue of ca. 150,000 Chinese-speaking Muslims akin to the Huis (*Huizu* 回族), settled since the late 19th Century in a few villages in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The most salient feature of this language, which has been the subject of authoritative studies by Dragunov, Dragunova (1937), Hashimoto (1978), Imazov (1993), and Kanno (2013), is the exclusive use since the 1950s of a phonographic script based on Kazakh Cyrillic. In an effort to root Soviet nationalism among its ethnic groups, the USSR had already fostered the spread of literacy among the Dungans during the Latinisation campaigns of the 1920-30s; but in hindsight, the modern Dungan literary language is, in effect, heir to an even older literary tradition emerged among Chinese Muslims by the late Qing period.

Bridging Soviet linguistics (e.g., Imazov 1977) with Chinese dialectology (e.g., Lin 2003), this paper aims to ponder the course and reasons for the Dungan language evolving into a parallel dimension of written Chinese. Attention will be paid to the language's relation to the previous sporadic use of the Perso-Arabic script to note vernacular Chinese among Chinese Muslims (*Xiao'erjing* 小兒經) discussed, e.g., in Bausani (1968). Confronting Meir (1990), our aim is also to show how the development of the Dungan literary language likely provided Soviet linguists and language planners with convincing evidence to posit that a phonographic, toneless orthography such as Latinxua Sin Wenz 拉丁化新文字 could effectively replace the Chinese characters for writing Standard Mandarin (*Guoyu* 國語, *Putonghua* 普通話) and other Chinese vernaculars as well.

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Post and preverbal objects in spoken Chinese motion events: a pragmatic corpus- based analysis

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Keywords: *pragmatics, directional verb compounds, direct object, locative object*

As widely known, motion events in modern Chinese are usually expressed by directional verb compounds (DVCs), which can be found in the simple (1) or in the complex form (2).

(1) 你　　　什么时候　　回来?
　　2sg　　when　　　return-come
　　'When will you come back?'
(2) 对，　　他们　在　　中国, 有的时候　　跑回美国来.
　　Right,　3pl　be.at　China　sometimes　run-return-USA-come
　　'Yes, they are in China and sometimes come back to the Unites States.'

　　　Another important distinction to be made is that between direct object and locative object. As for the position of the latter, the literature is unanimous in claiming that locative objects can only occur before the deictic verb, as in (2). More articulated seem to be the options available for direct objects, whose position within the sentence is affected by different variables. One of this is the definite feature and, according to different views, such as Zhu (1982) and Paul (2022), definite object cannot be found after the DVC if the verbal morphemes occur in adjacent order.

　　　In this study, we aim to better understand the nature of the object preceding or following the DVC in naturally-occurring speech by considering not only its definiteness but also the activation status of the referent. To this aim, a total of 600 occurrences of simple and complex directional compounds with *lái* 来 and *qù* 去 were extracted from the CallFriend Corpus of telephone conversations between native speakers, resulting in 180 occurrences containing direct and/or locative objects. The data were annotated for definiteness (definite/indefinite/indeterminate), following Chen (2004), activation (active / semantically-accessible / situationally-accessible/textually-accessible / unused / inactive), based on Chafe (1987) and Lambrecht (1994), and object position. The results of multiple correspondence analyses show that: i) it is surface marking of definiteness rather than referent activation that affects object position; ii) indefinite direct objects tend to be produced mostly after V1 in simple DVCs, while in complex DVCs they appear with similar frequency after V1 and V3, but never after V2 (cfr. Liu et al. 2001); iii) definite and indeterminate direct objects are frequently anticipated with *bǎ* 把 or through topicalization, otherwise they appear after the V1 in simple and complex DVCs and (only rarely) after V3 in complex DVCs; iv) locative objects mostly occur immediately before the deictic V, but they can also be topicalized, especially with the simple DVC variant.

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Sequential Features and Discourse Functions of Chinese Agreement Responsive Routines from an Interactional Perspective

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Keywords: *interactional linguistics, agreement, sequence, expectation*

"Agreement" is a pervasive responsive behavior in human daily communication, playing a crucial role in facilitating smooth interaction. In Chinese, a rich variety of linguistic expressions are employed to convey agreement, including a category of formulaic routines whose structures are relatively fixed. These routines have established conventional meanings and pragmatic functions, evolving into standardized sentences that serve as effective means of expressing agreement.

This research employs a conversation analytic approach, focusing on the commonly used synonymous agreement routines "就是" (jiùshì), "(那)可不(是)" (nà kě bù shì), and "那是" (nà shì) in spoken Chinese. The study reveals nuanced usage differences among them, particularly in terms of the conversational sequences in which they tend to appear. In adjacent pairs, "(那)可不(是)、那是" are more inclined to respond to "confirmatory questioning" compared to "就是." In post-expansion sequences, "就是" is more prevalent in post-expansion after "consensual stance response" while "(那)可不(是)" and "那是" are more common in post-expansion after "questioning/speculating response".

Throughout conversational sequences, all three expressions index independent access to a position or knowledge explicit or implied in the previous turn, providing a means for the respondent to assert their epstemic authority. Simultaneously, they imply a reinforced expectation on the part of the respondent. However, the expressions differ in the specific manifestation of their expectation reinforcement. "就是" expresses agreement while presupposing that the respondent's response aligns with the speaker's original expectation. Conversely, "(那)可不(是)、那是" express agreement while presupposing a response that contradicts the speaker's original expectation. "那是" is exclusively used to agree with the speaker's anticipated scenario.

This study enhances our understanding of agreement responses in Chinese social interaction, elucidating why speakers choose different linguistic forms to express agreement in seemingly similar contexts.

Syntactic derivation of VP-Neg questions in Chinese Jin dialects

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In Chinese Jin dialects, the negative element '*pəʔ*' is most frequently used in the sentence-final position to transform a declarative sentence into a yes-no question, which has demonstrated a tendency to co-occur with other sentence-final particles (SFP), as shown in (1a-b).

(1) a. tʰa   tsʰəʔ   lau   fæ̃   ljɛ   **pəʔ**?
      he   eat   Perf   meal   *ljɛ*   'Neg'
      Has he eaten?'
   b. vai   xəusəŋ   saŋɕɥəʔ   lə   **pəʔ**   lə?
      that   guy   be.in.school   *lə*   'Neg'   *lə*
      'Is that guy in school?'

This talk will show that the SFPs in VP-Neg questions head three separate projections in the left-periphery with a fixed hierarchical order, and the derivation of VP-Neg question should be analyzed as a complement to specifier (Comp-to-Spec) raising, rather than the VP-deletion.

      First, the sentence-final 'Neg' should be distinguished from the negative adverb in an ordinary negative sentence, which heads the illocutionary force projection (iForceP). The sentential aspect particle is located in a lower projection (S.AspP) that only takes a TP as its complement.

(2) a. [S.AspP [TP vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ] ljɛ].   'That guy has been in school.'
   b. [S.AspP [TP vai xəusəŋ **pəʔ** saŋɕɥəʔ] ljɛ].   'That guy has no longer been in school.'
   c. [iForceP [S.AspP [TP vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ] ljɛ] **pəʔ**]?   'Has that guy been in school?'

Note that the aspectual SFPs are not directly linked to speakers' subjective attitudes and provide sentences with aspectual readings only, which can be examined through the embeddability test proposed by Pan (2015). The projections oriented towards the sentence itself, like S.AspP, can be embedded into a clause, while iForceP and Attitude Projection (AttP) cannot, as in (3a-b).
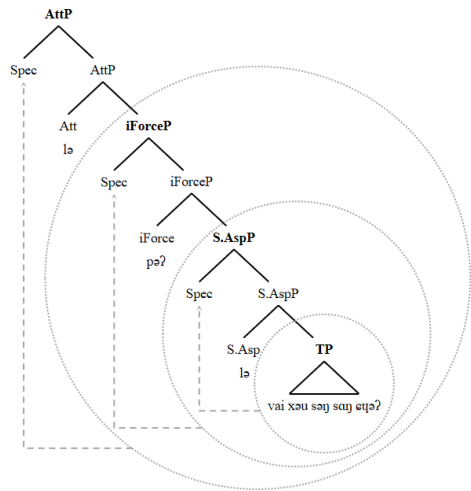
(3) a. [DP [CP [S.AspP [TP   saŋɕɥəʔ] [S.Asp°   ljɛ/lə]] [C°   tə]]   vai xəusəŋ]   kʰaʔ tsəntɕʰi   lə.
                      be.in.school   *ljɛ/lə*   tə   that guy   very competitive   *lə*
      'The guy who has been/ is in school is very competitive.'
   b. * [DP [CP [AttP [TP saŋɕɥəʔ] [Att° lə/mə]] [C°   tə]] vai xəu səŋ]   kʰaʔ tsəntɕʰi   lə.

Therefore, the syntactic structure of the VP-Neg question in (1b) can be represented in (4). This suggests that the VP-deletion approach is not suitable for Chinese Jin, as exemplified in (5a-b).

(4) [AttP [iForceP [S.AspP [TP vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ] [S.Asp° lə]] [iForce° pəʔ]] [Att° lə]]?
(5) a. Copy: vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ lə pəʔ saŋɕɥəʔ lə?
     Delete: vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ lə pəʔ ~~saŋɕɥəʔ~~ lə?
   b. * [S.AspP [iForceP [S.AspP [TP vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ] [S.Asp° lə]] [iForce° pəʔ]] [S.Asp° lə]]?

Conversely, the Comp-to-Spec raising perfectly adapted to derive VP-Neg questions. Each SFP in the sentence, including 'Neg', projects a phase and bears an EPP feature, which must be satisfied. TP, as its complement, is generated at the lowest position within the structure and undergoes continuous raising driven by the Edge Feature (EF). Each sentence produced through movements is grammatical, as illustrated below.

(6) Step 1: [S.AspP **[TP vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ]** [S.AspP lə ~~[TP vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ]~~]].
     Step 2: [iForceP **[S.AspP [TP vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ] [S.AspP lə]]** [iForceP pəʔ ~~[S.AspP [TP vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ] [S.AspP lə]]~~]]?
     Step 3: [AttP **[iForceP [S.AspP [TP vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ] [S.AspP lə]] [iForce° pəʔ]]** [AttP lə ~~[iForceP [S.AspP [TP vai xəusəŋ saŋɕɥəʔ] [S.AspP lə]] [iForce° pəʔ]]~~]]?

AttP
    Spec   AttP
            Att   iForceP
            lə   Spec   iForceP
                        iForce   S.AspP
                        pə?   Spec   S.AspP
                                    S.Asp   TP
                                    lə   ʔeʈʂa ʈʂɯ ʂəŋ nəx ɕɑⱱ

Newness, definiteness, and heaviness as determinants of locative inversion in Mandarin Chinese: An acceptability judgment study

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This study investigates how newness, definiteness, and heaviness affect locative inversion in Mandarin Chinese. Locative inversion, characterized by a preposed locative and a postposed NP which bear the same relation to the verb as in the uninverted construction, has been observed in various languages, including English, Bantu languages, and Chinese (see (1)). Factors such as information structure, animacy, and weight considerations are widely acknowledged to be crucial in the choice of constituent ordering (cf. Rosenbach 2005). However, these factors are often highly correlated. Taking locative inversion in Mandarin Chinese as a case study, I will present an experiment exploring the following questions: (a) Are newness, definiteness, and heaviness independent factors, or is one of them merely epiphenomenal to the others? (b) Which of these factors has a greater influence over constituent ordering?

1a.　　台上坐着主席团.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(locative inversion)
　　　$[_{LocP}$ *Tai-shang]　zuo-zhe $[_{NP}$　zhuxituan]*.
　　　　stage-on　　　sit-IPFV　　presidium
　　　'On the stage sat the presidium.'
1b.　　主席团坐在台上.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(uninverted construction)
　　　$[_{NP}$　*Zhuxituan]　zuo $[_{LocP}$　zai tai-shang]*.
　　　　Presidium　　sit　　　at stage-on
　　　'The presidium sat on the stage.'

I designed a 2 x 2 x 2 experiment with newness (new, given), definiteness (indefinite, definite), and heaviness (longer, shorter) as independent factors. The study uses eight randomly selected passages from a collected dataset. Four passages provided contexts with locative inversion, while the other four involved uninverted constructions. Each passage was then adapted to the conditions. Ninety-six native Mandarin Chinese speakers participated in the experiment, which was run and distributed with the online experiment generator Labvanced. Participants were asked to (i) choose the construction that sounds more natural and (ii) rate the naturalness of the two constructions on a scale from 0 to 100.

　　　Statistical analysis shows that there is no significant correlation between the factors. Newness, definiteness, and heaviness each provide independent and unique information in explaining variation in acceptability scores, with no factor being merely a derivative of another. Standard accounts of locative inversion emphasize the importance of information structure, where more familiar information typically precedes less familiar information. This study empirically confirms the significant effect of newness on locative inversion, finding that it has a more pronounced effect than definiteness and heaviness. This finding adds to a growing body of empirical research showing that central informational factors influence the selection of other argument alternation pairs, such as dative and genitive alternations (cf. Bresnan & Ford 2010, Velnić & Anderssen 2022). Additionally, factors (feature levels) favor the construction differently: while locative inversion is favored by new, indefinite, and long themes, the uninverted construction is favored by given, definite, and shorter themes. This aligns with the pattern of 'Harmonic Alignment' (Aissen 1999; Bresnan et al. 2007), which suggests that in sentences, referent objects that are given, definite, animate, and shorter in length tend to precede those that are new, indefinite, inanimate, and longer in length.

Construction of a longitudinal multimodal interlanguage corpus: An ongoing study with L1 Italian and L2 Chinese

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Keywords: *TCFL, mutilmodal interlanguage corpus, corpus construction, Chinese processing*

The proliferation of Chinese interlanguage corpora has significantly advanced research in Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL). In recent years, an increasing number of scholars have actively contributed to the development of Chinese interlanguage corpora, resulting in a construction surge (Cui & Zhang, 2011; Lee et al., 2018; Li, 2021; Iurato, 2022). This paper concentrates on a corpus project named as the MICICL (Multimodal Interlanguage Corpus for Italian Chinese Learners). This ongoing project integrates data across three modalities: pictures, audio, and text. Notably, the MICICL operates as a longitudinal corpus, meticulously tracking the progress of each participant to illuminate their learning journey.

This paper provides an overview of the MICICL, detailing the intricacies of data collection processes, and elucidates the strategies employed for data processing and analysis:

1. Data Collection Process: The collection of data is primarily situated at an university in Italy, utilizing a combination of online and offline methodologies. This section delves into the methodological considerations of data collection, emphasizing the need to maximize control over variables and guide students in expressing their authentic proficiency levels.

2. Data Processing and Analysis Approaches: the MICICL adopts distinct processing methods tailored to each modality. The paper addresses the intricate challenges associated with designing transcription/annotation methods, particularly in handling the considerable volume of inaccurately written Chinese characters produced by learners. Managing incorrectly written characters, which cannot be seamlessly input or displayed in standard computer characters, poses a substantial hurdle. Additional challenges discussed include determining error annotation standards across modalities, defining granularity and versatility of error annotation, and striking a delicate balance between providing adequate versus excessive annotation information.

This paper aims to provide a comprehensive insight into the outlined aspects of the MICICL, opening the floor for valuable opinions and guidance.

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Chinese passive constructions and grounding: a preliminary corpus-based functional analysis

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Keywords: *Pragmatics, Chinese passive constructions, grounding theory, discourse functions*

The passive voice has emerged as a subject of interest and inquiry due to its distinctive feature of promoting the patient by defocusing the agent. In the Chinese context, a growing body of research explores passive constructions considering both syntactic and semantic aspects (Cui & Sung 2022; Xiao, McEnery & Qian 2006, among others). However, limited attention has been given to their pragmatic dimension, creating a gap in understanding their communicative functions.

Adopting a functionally oriented approach, this study investigates the role of the Chinese passive voice as a grounding device in discourse. The three categories of passive constructions identified by Po-Ching & Rimmington (2016), i.e., marked passive constructions, notional passives and lexical passive structures, were isolated from the tailor-made multi-genre specialized *Corpus of Chinese Environmental Discourse* (CCED) and were analyzed according to Hopper's foregrounding theory (1979). With the aim of discerning whether, and which, passive constructions are used to highlight (foreground) portions of discourse or demote (background) others, a contrastive examination has been carried out focusing on the properties of foreground-background distinction: sequentiality of event, aspect, subject presupposition, predicate kinesis, and realis. Specifically, the degree of salience realized through the passive voice has been assessed from the perspective of the VP, NP patient, clause type and hierarchy connections within the discourse (Li 2018). In addition, the results were further observed, both quantitatively and qualitatively, by intersecting the grounding system with the transitivity analytical tool (Hopper & Thompson 1980).

Preliminary results indicate that Chinese passive constructions exhibit a low degree of participants' interactivity and transitivity. These structures tend to be linked to inanimate, abstract, and vague entities, such as 市级部门 *shìjí bùmén* 'municipal-level departments' and 环境问题 *huánjìng wèntí* 'environmental issues', thereby contributing to a lower level of dramaticity in discourse. The passive voice is found to be commonly employed to introduce background information or downplay certain elements within a text, resulting in decreased processing priority and reduced accessibility. While distinctions among the three categories of passives can be identified in terms of semantic prosody and emotional expressiveness, the passive voice in Chinese appears to serve as a tool to convey an overall sense of indirectness, mitigate conflicts, and foster social harmony in communication.

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Token agreement strategy and development of discourse structuring markers: With example of Chinese *dāngrán* 'yes, of course; but'

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Keywords: token agreement strategy, discourse structuring marker, dāng rán

Search of historical Chinese data from Corpus (http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/) reveals that Chinese *dāng rán* was first used as a predicate meaning 'should be so' in Chinese no later than the 3rd century BCE; see (1).

(1) *Rénzhě zhī dào, gù **dāng rán** yé?* '**Should** the moral persons' way originally **be so**?' [*Mencius*, Gaozi (《孟子·告子》); 372 BCE to 289 BCE]

In Chinese no later than the 13th century, it was used as an affirmative response marker in a dialogue context; see (2).

(2) *Kěxué yīnwèn: "Fán Shūchuán zhōng rúcǐ zhě, jiēkě qiězhì zhī?" Yuē: "Gù **dāng rán**."* 'Kexue thus asked, "Can we generally leave aside what is written in the Book of History?" (The master) said, "Of course **yes**."' [*Zhuzi's Language Category*, Vol. 79 (《朱子语类》卷七十九); 1276]

In Chinese no later than the mid-19th century, it was used as a supplementing discourse structuring maker (DSM) to introduce the following clause; see (3).

(3) *Nǐde qiántú huòfú, zàicǐ yījǔ, zhēnshì dìyī lìhài guāntóu. **Dāng rán** nǐ yěshì nénggòu xiǎngdédào de,* dào *yòngbùzháo wǒ lái ráoshé le.* 'Your future fortune essentially depends on this. This is your most important time. **Of course**, you can think about it yourself and do not need me to talk more about it.' [*The Eight Immortals are Enlightened*, Chapter 57 (《八仙得道》第 57 回); 1868]

In Chinese no later than the early 20th century, it was used as a concessive DSM; see (4).

(4) *Gōngzǐ yé, wǒ tíqǐ yīwèi lái, nǐ dàgài méi jiànguò miàn. **Dāng rán**, yěděi yǒugè ěrwén.* 'My Lord, I mention a person. You probably have not met him, **but** you should have heard of him.' [*The Three Swordsmen*, Chapter Six (《三剑侠》第 6 回); 1915]

This study argues that the diachronic changes of the Chinese DSM *dāng rán* may be explained as having followed a token agreement strategy that "expresses brief agreement with the other speaker's immediately prior turn but then quickly disagrees with some aspect of the person's argument or brings up a new topic that supports the speaker's thesis" (Holtgraves 1997: 231; also see Author and Zhou Forthcoming). The changes may help to account for the different usages of the loan words of Chinese *dāng rán* in Korean (i.e., *tangyen* 'of course') and in Japanese (i.e., とうぜん 'of course; but'). Cross-linguistically, the token agreement strategy may be adopted to account for the formation of other similar DSMs, including Korean *kulenikka* and *Kulssey*, Spanish *eso sí*, Latin *sane*, Hungarian *persze*, Swahili s*awa*, and others.

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Empirical Study on Agentivity in Mandarin Chinese Passivisation with *Bèi*-Construction

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With *Agent Prototypicality* from Dowty (1991), it is assumed that verbs showing more agentive features (e.g. volition, causation, etc.) are more compatible in different linguistic constructions (also cf. DeLancey 1984, Primus 1999, *inter alia*). However, previous studies indicate that various semantic features may dominate in different linguistic constructions. This domination is not the ensemble of multiple agentive features, but the prominence of a particular semantic feature, which contradicts the *Agent Prototypicality* (cf. *Agent Prominence* proposed by Himmelmann & Primus 2015).

This study investigates the passivisation in Mandarin Chinese, *bèi*-passive as an example. Following Dowty's quantitative approach to agentivity and his definition of agentive features, cf. (1), an acceptability judgment test in a 7 Likert scale was implemented to figure out whether transitive verbs with different number of agentive features differ based on their quantitative agentivity in Mandarin Chinese passivisation with *bèi*-construction. Six tested transitive verb classes are listed in (1). 180 agentless *bèi*-passives as critical items, i.e. 6 verb lexemes for each verb classes and 5 theme lexemes for each verb lexeme, were constructed following a one-factorial design with six levels for the factor verb class and were distributed evenly in 5 lists. Examples are shown in (2). Each list contains 36 critical items and 72 fillers in a randomized order. Regarding object-taking, passive subjects, i.e. theme NPs, in all tested items were selected from the corpus for its ability to be the objects of the target verb in actives. Prior to the experiment, verbal strong collocates of *bèi*, their *Semantic Prosody* in *bèi*-passive (cf. Sinclair 1991, Xiao & McEnery 2006) and the word frequency, i.e. verb lexemes, theme NPs and their co-occurrences, were tested in a corpus-based pre-study.

(1) Six tested verb classes with agentive features according to Dowty (1991)

BREAK	WATCH	SEE	HATE	KNOW	EXHIBIT
[causation]	[volition]	[sentience]	[sentience]	[sentience]	[ϕ]
[volition]	[sentience]				
[sentience]	[movement]				
[movement]					

(2) Examples from the tested items in verb class W and H:

 a. Yuèliang bèi guāncè. b. Xiāngcài bèi tǎoyàn.
   moon   BEI observe   coriander BEI dislike

   'The moon is observed.'   'The coriander is disliked.'

(3) Acceptability cline in Mandarin Chinese:
 a. B > S, W, K > E
 b. B > S, W > H, E
 c. H = K

Results of the acceptability test (participants: *n* = 59, data fitted with cumulative logit regression model), as shown in (3), reject the prediction based on the *Agent Prototypicality*, e.g. WATCH = SEE ($p > .95$). Additionally, significant differences appear *within*-group (e.g. *hàipà* 'fear' < *tǎoyàn* 'dislike' in HATE), which suggests that verbs classified by agentive features do not always behave consistently in a given linguistic structure. The data seem to suggest a prominent effect of causative affectedness (one of the patient features in *Patient Prototypicality* from Dowty 1991), which is assumed to be the

direct factor facilitating passive structures in literature (e.g. Shibatani 1985, Jaeggli 1986, Truswell 2009, *inter alia*). The non-causative verbs W and S, however, do show high acceptability. Since my data are in line with the scalar affectedness approach to passivisation (for affectedness typology in passive, cf. Washio 1993, Ting & Li 2017; for scalarity of affectedness, cf. e.g. Beavers 2011), I suggest that scalar affectedness plays a prominent role in *bèi*-construction in Mandarin Chinese. The impact of affectedness on passivisation is to be investigated in subsequent studies.

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The morpho-syntax of Archaic Chinese verbs: Loss of morphology as trigger for the emergence of analytic structures

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Keywords: historical linguistics, morpho-syntax, derivational morphology, resultativity

In this presentation I will briefly introduce my new project on the diachronic morpho-syntax of Chinese, in which the reconstructed morphology of Chinese verbs is at issue. The corpus established for this study contains all verbs which have the falling tone (*qusheng*) in Middle Chinese, for which a suffix *-s* has been reconstructed, based so far on Unger (1989), Pulleyblank (1991), the word list of Baxter and Sagart (2014), Jin (2006). The *-s* suffix is the most frequently attested, and the most uncontroversial and best studied affix of Chinese. However, there is still some debate about the precise morpho-syntactic functions of this suffix; different functions have been proposed for it e.g. in Downer (1959), which have been reconsidered e.g. in Jacques (2016), Zhang (2022) (see also Meisterernst 2023), since more evidence from related languages has become available. Acknowledging the different functions of the Archaic Chinese affixes, including the suffix *-s*, my project concentrates on verbal functions related to resulativity and causativity, possibly leading to a new distinction between inner and outer causation (Kratzer 2005) in Chinese.

My hypothesis is that the suffix *-s*, and the verbal morphology in Chinese in general, was derivational and not grammatical and that it rather served to derive aktionsart types than to express grammatical aspect (contra Unger 1983, Jin Lixin 2006); the expression of aktionsart types (lexical aspect) is typical for derivational morphology (Kiefer 2010). I propose that the derivational morphology of Archaic Chinese was hosted in a split VP (following Ramchand 2008), and that its loss was one of the triggers for a change of Chinese from a more synthetic to an analytic language. More specifically, I will investigate to which extent an analysis of the *-s* suffix as an overt *res* head in the sense of Ramchand (2008) may account for both unaccusative/intransitive and causative/transitive verbs, or whether two separate suffixes *-s*, indicating an *init* (causative) head, or inner causation, and a *res* head have to be assumed (e.g. Schuessler 2007). That the reconstructed affixes are hosted in a split VP following Ramchand (2008) is supported by the morpho-syntax of the new structures that emerge at the end of the Archaic period, when the verbal morphology increasingly lost its transparency. These structures include the disyllabification of verbs, which frequently consist of a process and a resultative component, and resultative constructions, including the source structures of the Modern Mandarin aspectual suffixes. Example (1) shows the cognate verbs *zhì* 'arrive' (LAC), and *wăngzhì* 'arrive' (MC). The former is a typical res verb, whereas the latter includes a process and a res part.

(1) a. 三戰三北，乃至于吳。 (Guoyu, Jinyu 2)
   *Sān   zhàn   sān   bèi   năi   zhì(*ti[t]-s)   yú   Wú*
   Three fight three flight then arrive   PREP Wu
   'After three fights and three flights, they arrived in Wu.'
   b. 即往至屋所，
   jí   wăngzhì   wū   suŏ
   then go.arrive house place,
   '… they went and arrived at the place of the house, …' (Taisho 1462, 8, 6th c)

In order to provide evidence for my hypothesis, all verbs in the corpus will be subjected to the tests established cross-linguistically for the determination of the event structure of verbs. The corpus of verbs will be open access. It will be connected to and compared with the phonological entries in the *Jingdian shiwen* by Lu Deming (6th – 7th c. CE) (see also Huang 1992, Wang 2011, 2014 and others). If available, example sentences from the *Jingdian shiwen* and from the Archaic Chinese literature on

which the cross-linguistically established syntactic tests will be conducted, will be accessible in the corpus.

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Philippine Hokkien Through Time: A Comparative Exploration of Phonological Reconstructions

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Keywords: phonology, historical linguistics, missionary sources, Southern Mǐn

The Philippines has been a destination for Chinese migration for centuries, predating Spanish colonization in the archipelago. Primarily originating from the Southern-Mǐn speaking region of Fujian province, these migrants contributed to the development of a local variety of Hokkien. During the 17th century, Spanish missionaries studied this language to facilitate evangelization, leaving limited yet valuable missionary sources that offer insights into the linguistic landscape of the time.

Presently, only two comprehensive studies delve into the structure and content of Philippine Hokkien philological sources: Van der Loon (1967) and Klöter (2011). Van der Loon (1967) succinctly describes the sound system of Philippine Hokkien, relying on *Doctrina Christiana en Letra y Lengua China* as the main reference. On the other hand, Klöter (2011) provides a meticulous analysis of the *Arte de la Lengua Chio Chiu*. In this research, the goal is to compare these two reconstructions of Early Philippine Hokkien phonology, identifying both their consistencies and differences. Although these two systems are highly similar, they hold opposing views on the glottal stop, the relationship between [m, n, ŋ] and [b, l, g], and the analysis of mid-vowels.

Taking a broader perspective, this study also aims to compare the reconstructions with Proto-Southern Mǐn (PSM) proposed by Kwok (2018). The development of EMH from PSM resulted in the loss of the breathy articulation of the nasal sounds *mh, *nh, and * ŋh, the change of the alveolar stop *d to an affricate, the disappearance of *ɻ, *ɯ, *õ, and *ø, and the merging of two *shǎng* tonal categories into one. Innovations were apparent in the endings such as the emergence of the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/, the nasal endings /un/ and /iaŋ/, the closed ending /iak/, the nasalized ending /uĩ/, and the two syllabic nasals /m/ and /ŋ/.

Through this comparative analysis, a synthesis of the current state-of-the-art research on Early Philippine Hokkien can be achieved — shedding light on potential gaps in the existing literature. Furthermore, the study seeks to highlight areas for future exploration, anticipating the discovery of additional Early Philippine Hokkien sources that can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of its linguistic evolution.

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Complex anaphoric phenomena: a study of zero, partial, and evolving anaphora

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Anaphoric phenomena are a fascinating and complex aspect of language. Mechanisms governing anaphoric encoding and resolution were shown to exhibit considerable cross-linguistic variation (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Huang 2000). While several attempts have been made to account for anaphoric phenomena in Chinese, no unified consensus exists with respect to how the speakers choose among different anaphoric means in a given situation and to the nature of the mechanisms governing anaphoric phenomena (syntactic vs. pragmatic etc.). This lack of agreement stems from language-specific complexities Chinese exhibits, including (ii) comparatively less transparent coreference encoding, with a high frequency of zero anaphora (i) a higher degree of reliance on inference for disambiguation (Huang, 1994; Li & Thompson, 1979; Tao & Healy, 1996, 2005). Moreover, there has been little analysis of complex phenomena such as partial coreference and evolving or evolutive anaphors (Asher, 1998; Korzen, 2009), i.e., expressions referring to an entity that undergoes changes in its properties over time, as in (1).

(1) 然后 $\emptyset_n$ 整理成面团 $_o$，入不锈钢碗 $_p$ 里。…. $\emptyset_{p/o}$ 盖上湿布，$\emptyset_o$ 发酵至两倍大，如图所示。
ránhòu $\emptyset_n$ zhěnglǐ-chéng **miàntuán$_o$** *rù* **bùxiù gāng wǎn$_p$** *lǐ*
then $\emptyset_n$ arrange-become dough$_o$ insert stainless steel bowl$_p$ in
'Next, knead (the mixture) until it forms a dough and place it in a stainless-steel bowl.'
$\emptyset_{p/o}$ *gài-shàng shī-bù* **$\emptyset_o$** *fājiào zhì liǎng-bèi dà rú tú suǒ shì*
$\emptyset_{p/o}$ cover-up wet-cloth$\emptyset_o$ ferment until two-time big as picture NMLZ show
'Cover it with a damp cloth and allow it to rise until it doubles in volume, as shown in the picture.'

This research looks at complex anaphoric phenomena like that in (1) in Chinese procedural texts, as compared to English and Italian, which differ substantially in terms of coreference tracking systems. After a cross-linguistic overview of the features of procedural texts, it provides a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the type, frequency, and nature of anaphoric devices used in authentic texts in these three languages. Data were analysed by two independent raters who performed separate assessment. The analysis devotes particular attention to the choice of different forms (e.g., full noun phrases over pronouns or zero forms) in relation to the nature of anaphoric relations, distinguishing between exact or partial coreference, evolving anaphors, and other relevant categories. The study ultimately attempts to elucidate how disambiguation is allowed, assessing the extent to which inference is necessary. The study has also uncovered instances where anaphoric means are selected irrespective of the activation status of antecedents, contrary to what predicted by most theories.

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Cantonese in mid 19th - early 20th century U.S.: A Sociolinguistic Analysis

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In the 19th century, tens of thousands of Chinese immigrants arrived on the western coast of America. The majority of them hailed from Southern China and the standard language they used was Cantonese. This study aims to investigate whether the new sociocultural context where Cantonese was spoken affected the language itself.

In order to answer the above question, this study has selected five works compiled between the mid-19th and early 20th centuries intended for teaching Cantonese to foreigners, or vice versa. Other questions naturally arise: What kind of Cantonese is depicted in these works? Who were the intended speakers? What language registers were used? Are there any lexical and grammatical innovations? What sociocultural information can we gather from these texts?

A qualitative descriptive analysis will try to reveal the "kind" of Cantonese portrayed and the language domains and registers. It will also seek to assess the influence of American language and society on Cantonese, mainly in terms of lexicon and grammar. The descriptive methodology, adapted from the communication model of Lasswell (1948) and further developed by Fishman (1965) and Labov (1973), *who, says what, to whom, how, when, and where*, will take into consideration the interlocutors – their gender, nationality, age, social status – (who, to whom) and their relation, the contents of the discourse (what), the registers, the styles, the politeness levels (how), the context or the domain - family, friendship, leisure, education and work - (when, where). The research will focus also on finding traces of lexical innovation, syntactic/semantic/pragmatic variation. In order to determine whether a word is a new formation, a comparison will be made with the Cantonese-English dictionaries compiled in Southern China in the previous years or more or less at the same time, such as Morrison 1828; Williams 1856 and Eitel 1877.

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Main pragmatic functions of Chinese particle *a* 啊 in Taiwan Mandarin oral interactions

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Keywords: pragmatic markers, a 啊, *Taiwanese Mandarin Chinese, corpus analysis, conversation analysis*

This contribution is an analysis of the main functions of the modal particle *a* 啊 used as "pragmatic marker" (following the definition by Fraser 1999, Fraser 2006) in Chinese language. Pragmatic functions of the particle *a* 啊 in conversation have been identified by previous studies (Lee-Wong 1998, Li and Thompson 1981) and they include: reduction of the illocutionary force in requests where face threat is implicit (Liu 2011) and the use of a milder tone in exclamations where an answer is not requested (Lee-Wong 1998); moreover, *a* 啊 can express a surprised reaction (Liu 2011), or it can show a caring attitude by the speaker (Shei 2014; Chu 2002).

As far as register is concerned, particle *a* 啊 is used both in formal and informal interactions and contexts show a relatively low social distance between interlocutors, while a high degree of imposition is involved (Shei 2014; Lee-Wong 1998). In these contexts, the use of particle *a* 啊 makes the question more informal and softens the imperative mood.

This contribution investigates how particle *a* 啊 is used in oral interactions, in particular when it appears in dialogue. Using conversation analysis, a corpus of radio interviews have been observed to answer the following research questions: does particle *a* 啊 cover the same pragmatic functions as those observed in other contexts by previous studies? Do these functions vary with the variation of the social distance in interactions?

The corpus of radio interviews is a collection of ten-hours recording in Taiwanese Mandarin Chinese and it consists of interviews conducted by students either to scholars with an expertise in various academic subjects, or to young people who have specialized in some particular sport activity; this corpus will be compared to the occurrences of *a* 啊 retrieved in the transcripts of the NCCU Corpus of Spoken Taiwan Mandarin available online. The preliminary results show that the functions of the particle *a* 啊 correspond to those already found in literature, although a slightly more frequent use of the particle to show agreement and mitigate the tone is detected in radio conversations, when social distance between interviewer and interviewee is involved.

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A Computer-Assisted Tool for the Authomated Detection of Rhyme Patterns and Assonance Chains in Old Chinese Excavated Texts

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Keywords: *rhymes, historical phonology, excavated texts, Old Chinese*

Rhyme patterns in ancient texts constitute an essential source of data for the phonological reconstruction of Old Chinese (OC). Current reconstructions are mainly built on rhyming patterns in transmitted sources, yet the availability of a remarkable amount of newly excavated manuscripts dating back to the late Warring States period (ca. 4th cen. BC) allows us to bring our understanding of Old Chinese rhymes further (see Krijgsman 2019). In our talk, we propose a novel computer-assisted approach to rhyme investigation in annotated manuscripts. The starting point are standardized digital texts in *kaishu* 楷書 transcription (see List et al. 2019 for ideas on standardization of rhyme data). The first step involves automatically importing OC reconstructions from BS (2014). When a character is not found, the OC reading for its phonophore is searched (based on approaches discussed by Hill and List 2019). Subsequently, the generated OC readings are organized into rhyme classes by identifying rhymes through segment matching. To enhance the analysis, a layer of codes for impure rhymes is introduced, enabling the classification of rhymes into fixed sets of classes with markers for multiple classifications. Finally, the algorithm explores potential rhymes within the dataset, examining units based on predefined criteria. This algorithm, presented with a test on excavated rhyming manuscripts (e.g. *Daoci* 禱辭 Qinghua vol.8), serves as a versatile tool adaptable to both manual and automatic operations. Due to space limitations, more details on underlying data and implementation of the tool will be provided during the talk.

	A	B	C	D	E
1		邦	與	大	夫
2	Step 1	歲	獻	諸	汝。
3		*pˤroŋ	*m-q(r)aʔ	*lˤa[t]-s	*p(r)a
4	Step 2	*s-qʷʰat-s	*s-ŋˤar	*ta	*naʔ
5		--	--	--	-a
6	Step 3	--	--	--	-aʔ

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An Indo-Iranian source for *chē* 車 'chariot, wheel'

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The Chinese name of the chariot: *chē* 車, MC *tsyhae*, refers in texts and paleography to the chariot and to the spoked wheel, as well as instruments using spoked wheels. Shaughnessy (1988) places the introduction of the chariot to China at c. 1200 BCE, from a west Asian source. Following Shaughnessy's papers, proposals were made that *chē* 車 could be a loan from Indo-European, ultimately reflecting PIE *$k^w ek^w$l-o 'wheel', as part of the transmission of the horse/chariot/wheel cultural complex from the Central Asian steppes to East Asia (Pulleyblank 1996; Mallory and Mair 2000; Schuessler 2007). In this presentation we will argue that the IE source of the Chinese word is Proto-Indo-Iranian *cakra 'wheel' or Proto-Iranian *caxra id., which reflects PIE *$k^w ek^w$l-o. We will review aspects of the reconstruction history of *chē* 車. We will then show that the reconstruction *[t.q^h](r)A in Baxter and Sagart (2014) provides an attractive fit to Indo-Iranian *cakra ~ *caxra 'wheel', as outlined below:

Indo-Iranian	ca	k (x)	r	a
OC *chē* 車	t	k^h~q^h	r	a

Archaeologically war chariots with spoked wheels appear almost simultaneously in the near east and in Sintashta, a south Siberian site near the Kazakh border, ca 1900 BCE. Anthony (2007) regards the Sintashta people as speakers of an early Indo-Iranian language. Eastward radiation of the light war chariot reaching Shang China along the road outlined by Shaughnessy before 1200 BCE is entirely plausible.

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Language interpreting and cultural mediation practices in Chinese in Italian healthcare settings: Implications through conversation analysis and qualitative content analysis

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The total number of overseas Chinese in Italy accounts for more than 300.000 (ISTAT, 2023), which makes Italy the third most relevant destination for these people in Europe, after the UK and France. Thus, the issue of the exercise of language rights for Chinese-speakers in Italian social settings has gained an increasing importance in media and public discourse in the past few years (Pedone, 2020; Scibetta, 2022).

The current contribution aims at introducing preliminary results drawn from the "THE (Tuscany Health Ecosystem) Spoke 3" project, the main aim of which is to investigate, from different perspectives, foreigners' attitudes towards the Italian public healthcare system, as well as their interactional practices with medical personnel.

The main research questions at the basis of the contribution regard the following points: - Can Chinese-speaking patients and medical personnel effectively communicate, with the support of cultural mediators, in Italian healthcare settings? - To what extent do miscommunication episodes and/or intercultural stereotypes affect interactions between Chinese-speaking patients and medical personnel with the support of cultural mediators?

First, quantitative data about Chinese-speaking patients in the Tuscan public healthcare system and the presence of language interpreting and cultural mediation services dedicated to these people will be provided. Moreover, after having provided results of a quantitative analysis drawing from questionnaires administered to around 150 Chinese patients about their attitudes towards the Tuscan healthcare system, examples drawn from audio-recordings collected in different structures, involving doctor-patients interactions carried out with the presence of cultural mediators, will be introduced. An analysis of specific excerpts will be proposed through Conversation Analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, 1974) and Qualitative Content Analysis (cf. Cho & Lee, 2014), and coding and labeling processes will be carried out and monitored according to the principles of Chinese Discourse Studies (Shi-xu, 2014).

Interactional patterns (e.g. turn-taking, sociolinguistic registers, illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect of utterances, non-verbal and para-verbal language) and culture-based generalizations and stereotypes occurring in conversations will be particularly investigated, especially in light of the meaning negotiation conducted thanks to the presence of mediators.

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On the nonexistence of Xiang: Subgrouping and lexico-morphological features

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Subgrouping in historical linguistics presents unique issues with respect to establishing genetic relationships (Harrison 2003; Campbell & Poser 2008: 155), and this is particularly true for the Sinitic languages, which have often resisted clear attempts at subgrouping using the traditional criterion of distinctive shared innovations. Within Sinitic, the Xiang group presents a particular conundrum: despite the received opinion that 'Xiang' represents a valid taxonomic unit within Sinitic and the definition of various subgroups (Yuan 1960, 1983, 2003; Wu 2005; Chen & Bao 2007, 2012; Bao 2017), the search for unique innovations defining the grouping (and many of its subgroups) has not had positive results. This has led some (Zhou & You 1988; Coblin 2011) to claim that the grouping is in fact merely a taxonomic convenience and, for the purposes of phylogeny, should be divided into smaller subgroups which *do* present unique innovations.

The present study attempts to contribute to the search for distinctive shared features for Xiang by supplementing phonological features with lexico-morphological properties. Features were gathered from Cao (2008) and then cross-checked with published materials on several core varieties of Xiang. Examples of features investigated include the distribution of demonstratives, attributive markers, aspect markers, lexical items such as the words for 'child' and 'small', etc. We find that clusterings of lexical-morphological isoglosses allow us to identify several small subgroups within Xiang. Broadly speaking, our findings allow us to identify three groups – a northern subgroup (including the dialects in and around Changsha), roughly corresponding to the traditional 'New Xiang' dialects, a group approximately corresponding to Coblin's (2011) Common Central Xiang (CCX), and a more southerly subgroup represented by the dialect of Shaoyang. No isoglosses could be defined for the entire Xiang group, supporting the claim that the grouping is geographical-cultural rather than linguistic.

Because of the greater borrowability of lexical and morphological items, as compared to systematic phonological innovations, the boundaries of the subgroups identified may not correspond precisely to genetic groupings; therefore, future work would attempt to connect the groups identified in this manner to phonological innovations. One possible interpretation of the findings is that a phylogenetically well-defined 'core' can be identified together with a 'periphery' of dialects which are not genetically related but are in intensive contact with the core.

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Ye: Additivity or Scalarity?

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It has been widely acknowledged that Mandarin utilizes various means to express the meaning of EVEN, including the adverbs like *shenzhi, jinran, juran,* and syntactically composed *lian…dou* or *lian…ye* constructions. The syntax and semantics research has paid much attention to the focus nature of the (displaced) *lian*-phrase and its contribution to the scalar implicature presupposition. Another widely discussed issue concerns the quantification nature of *dou*. While *dou* in *lian…dou* is often likened to the regular *dou* in terms of universal quantification operator (Paris 1979; Shyu 1995, 2014; Yuan 2004; among many others) or distributive operator (cf. Lin 1998), it is further characterized as a maximality operator (as in Giannakidou & Cheng (2006), and Xiang (2008)), or a scalar operator. Moreover, since *dou* and *ye* are often interchangeable in *lian…dou/ye* construction, they are often treated alike (Paris 1979; Shyu 1995, 2014, "parametric *dou/ye*" in Hole 2004; etc.). However, questions arise as to whether *dou* and *ye* are in fact synonymies in *lian* sentences. Most of the studies converge on the basic additivity nature of *ye* even in *lian*-sentences (*leitong fuci* in Ba 2012; Ma 1982, 2014; Niu and Luo 2022; Zhou 2009, or meaning extension in Biq 1989, etc.), whereas others contend for a distinct category for the "scalar *ye*" (Hole 2017; Yang 2018). This paper first aims to elucidate the nature of *ye,* specifically in *lian*-sentences, wh-indefinites, and *wulun* clauses.

(1) Lian   ta ye/dou   lai   le.
     'Even (s)he has come.'
(2) Wǒ   wúlùn tí   shénme   tiáojiàn,   tā   dou/*yě   dāying.
     'No matter what conditions I bring up, he will not agree.'
(3) Wǒmen shénme   dǐxì   dou/*yě   zhīdao!
     'We don't know any exact detail!'

We argue that *ye* be better treated as an additive focus adverb, unlike *dou* in the above cases which requires a maximally/universally quantified domain. In addition, the scalar meaning in *lian…ye* sentences is either compositionally derived in syntax or contextually determined, cf. Shyu (2016, 2018). It further accounts for cases in which *ye* is allowed, such as total negation (negative polarity), and sentences containing modals.

The current study bears on issues including articulating the distinction between *dou* and *ye,* and it sheds further light on the comparisons with other Chinese additive particles (*yi* 亦*, hai* 還).

NP-ellipsis (NPE) in Cantonese

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This paper identifies two kinds of post-classifier NPE in Cantonese, depending on whether the missing NP can be made overt.

Type 1 (NP can be made overt):

(1) keoi5　　m4　　jiu3　nei1　tiu4　jyu2.　Keoi5 jiu3　go2　tiu4　___.
　　 3SG　　 NEG　want　this　CL　　fish　3SG　want　that　CL
　　 'S/he does not want this fish; S/he wants that one.'

The gap in (1) has to be interpreted as the same kind of objects as the antecedent (i.e., fish), not just any object that is compatible with the classifier *tiu4* (e.g., rope). It is possible to realize the missing NP, *jyu2* 'fish', in (1) overtly, without any meaning differences.

Type 2 (NP cannot be made overt):

(2) Mary　　tiu4　kwan4　　jau5　doi2　　　gaa3.　Ngo5 dou1　soeng2maai5 tiu4　___
　　 Mary　　CL　　dress　　have　pocket　　SFP　1SG　also　　want　buy　CL

With the gap, the interpretation is such that the speaker wants to buy a dress that is of the same kind as Mary's dress, i.e., with pockets. This is similar to 'one' in English (as in 'Mary's dress has pockets. I also want to buy one.'). If the NP *kwan4* 'dress' is made overt in (2), the interpretation is that the speaker simply wants to buy a dress of any kind (as in 'Mary's dress has pockets. I want to buy a dress too.'). The difference in meaning (between having a gap and an overt NP) suggests that (2) is not a case of deletion.

We propose that Type 1 post-classifier NPE is a case of PF deletion, licensed by a Classifier Phrase, associated with classification and individuation (Alexiadou & Gengel 2012). This kind of NPE is not possible with definite [Cl-N] and [Bare modifier-Cl-N] phrases (which are also definite). In addition to Cantonese, we will provide data from a Min Chinese variety (Longdu Min) to support this claim. Assuming that definite classifiers undergo movement from the classifier head to D, while indefinite classifiers stay in place (Sio 2006, Li & Bisang 2012), the inability for definite classifiers to license NPE could be because only overt functional heads can license ellipsis (see also Conner 2015), and such deletion happens before linearization when the hierarchical structure is still accessible. When Type 1 post-classifier NPE occurs in the presence of a demonstrative, as in (1), the classifier is in fact indefinite. In Type 2 post-classifier NPE, the gap is an anaphoric empty noun which refers to a kind antecedent, which might not be syntactically present.

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Speech rhythm in Mandarin Chinese: Narratives with a different degree of spontaneity

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Spoken discourse may take various forms. From a broader perspective, Clark (2014, p. 292) distinguishes spontaneous forms of communication that are "created on the fly" from the manufactured varieties that are "prepared, reworked, and turned into an artifact or performance." Their general linguistic features differ on both grammatical and lexical levels. Spontaneous speech is characterized by an overall fragmented and unintegrated syntax. It is demonstrated by an occurrence of relatively simple phrases and clausal constructions and a preference for paratactic over hypotactic patterns (Miller & Weinert, 1998, p. 22ff). Moreover, the structure of clause complexes is intricate in a way that it can simultaneously relate to a whole configuration of thoughts. As such, the grammatical intricacy can compensate for the otherwise lower lexical density per clause (Halliday, 1989, p. 87). To help ensure messages are understandable, speakers "carefully stage" the sections with more lexical information provided in the long strings of words (Miller & Weinert, 1998, p. 22ff). The prosodic effects are one of the main tools used for this purpose. They also have the ability to reflect elements of language that are not provided through the choice of vocabulary or encoded in the grammar (cf., e.g., Crystal, 2000, p. 179).

Prosodic research indicates that a unique speech rhythm characterizes colloquial Mandarin Chinese. According to O. Švarný et al. (1998), the rhythmical features are organized in terms of categorically distinct entities (e.g., stressed and unstressed syllables) and relations (e.g., a relatively stronger or weaker tone prominence). Syllables with different properties are grouped and create different rhythmical patterns. Their research on speech rhythm has shown that the rhythmical features are, among others, "variable according to… the overall length of the predicative and nominal complexes…" (Švarný et al., 1998, p. 7). Given the above-mentioned linguistic features of spontaneous and prepared spoken discourse, it is reasonable to assume that their rhythmical arrangement may show significant differences.

This paper investigates how the speech rhythm in Mandarin varies between different types of narratives. Four Chinese native speakers from Beijing were each asked to record three types of narratives. The first two are based on a reproduction of a selected short story (approx. 60 sec). Each speaker was asked to read it first and, afterward, to retell the plot in their own words. The third task comprised telling a story of a personal experience (> 150 sec). The data were analyzed based on the theoretical and methodological framework of O. Švarný. On a global level, the rhythmical organization of all speeches shows a high degree of similarity. This feature is stronger in the case of the smaller linear rhythmical units. From the micro perspective, the spontaneous speech indicates a higher variability of the observed variables. This fact is influenced by the heterogeneous nature of its syntactic structures, comprising both fragmented and highly elaborated clauses. Analysis has revealed that the most prominent factors affecting the rhythm include the speaker's emotional involvement, the speaking rate differences occurring within a short amount of time, and the use of discourse markers.

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The futurity reading of *huì*: Distributional features from a corpus-based study

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This paper aims to shed light on the factors that trigger the futurity reading of the epistemic marker huì in Modern Standard Chinese. The literature agrees on the relevance of the Aktionsart of the verb embedded under huì (Lin 2003, 2006, Ren 2008, a.o.). We want to investigate the role played by other factors such as the presence of temporal anaphoric relation within the clause (intraclausal) or with the antecedent (interclausal), the cooccurrence with epistemic markers and the performative value of the utterance. To this end we have analysed 710 bilingual records with futurity huì, extracted from the English-Chinese Parallel Concordancer, and have annotated the relevant properties obtaining the data shown below.

Table 1: Environments of huì in futurity reading

Temporal anaphora	*Environment*	*n.*	*%*	*n.*	*%*	*Constructions*	[+commissive]	
							n.	*%*
+	Interclausal	399	56%	228	32,1%	Main proposition of complex sentences	25	3,5%
	Intraclausal			136	19,2%	NP$_{time}$ /PP$_{time}$ + *huì*	37	5,2%
				35	4,9%	*Huì* + PP$_{time}$	27	3,8%
-	Epistemic	132	19%	55	7,8%	NP + Mod$_{Epistemic}$ + *huì*	2	0,3%
				77	10,9%	(NP) + (*shì*) *huì* ….*de*	26	3,7%
	Bare Commissive	157	22%	158	22,1%	NP + *huì*	157	22,1%
	ND	22	3%	21	3,1%	NP + *huì*	0	0,0%
		710	**100%**	**710**	**100%**		**436**	**38,6%**

As shown above, the tokens with anaphoric time reference amount to 56% (75% of them do not contain epistemic modals or final de). Following Klein's (1994) terminology, intraclausal reference is observed when time phrases, adverbs and adverbials occur within a clause, while the interclausal type refers to tokens where huì occurs in the main clause of complex sentences, describing an event that is anaphorically related to the topic time of the preceding utterances, as in (1). This behaviour is consistent with Saillard and Chen's (2012) account and can be explained in terms of modal subordination, where a discourse antecedent provides a domain restriction and huì is in anaphoric relation to the antecedent (Roberts 1989).

(1) *Jíbiàn   ăn   tóuhuáisòngbào,   tā   yě   huì   bă   ăn   tuīchūqu*
    even.if   1SG   throw.onesf.into.sb.arms   3SG   too   FUT   BA   1SG   push.out.go
    'If I throw myself at him, he will only push me away.'   (Mo Yan, *Tianxiang xing*)

The tokens without time reference are grouped into two classes; the first has an epistemic flavour and includes huì combined with the modal particle de expressing certainty (always in dialogical contexts and typically with a reassuring nuance), and/or with epistemic adverbs such as yídìng 'certainly' (mostly non-commissive). The second group is represented by bare-huì tokens (no temporal anaphora and no epistemic markers) and is mostly observed in performative utterances in which the speaker promises to fulfil a task, similar to Copley's (2009) offer-future. When occurring with a temporal reference, this commissive future also instantiates as "*Huì* + PP$_{time}$" (27, 3,8% of the total), as in (2).

(2) *Wǒmen huì zài 2000 niándǐ qián wánchéng dìyī qī gōngchéng.*
1PL FUT at 2000 year.end before complete first phase project
'We will complete phase 1 of the project by 2000.' (Policy Address)

During the discussion we will also present the pragmatic contexts and the anaphoric relation to the preceding context of the remaining non-commissive bare-*huì* tokens (22, 3%), as (3).

(3) *Wǒ bùyào nǐ de bīng, wǒ māmā huì mǎi gěi wǒ chī.*
1SG neg.want 2sg DE popsicle 1SG mom FUT buy give 1SG eat.
'I do not want your popsicle; mother will buy me one.' (Qian Zhongshu, *Weicheng*)

The data above suggest that temporal-anaphoric relation and the utterance performative value are significant factors in the making of huì futurity reading.

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Southwestern Mandarin as a typological group: Unity in diversity

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Among Mandarin subgroups, Southwestern (SW) Mandarin stands out for its vast geographic reach, sizable speaker population, and its function as a lingua franca for ethnic minorities in SW China. Previous typological studies of Sinitic languages broadly categorize most SW Mandarin dialects into a distinct areal group, termed "Southwestern" by Chappell (2015) and "Transitional" by Szeto and Yurayong (2021). This implies a shared set of typological features uniting SW Mandarin dialects. However, given their extensive geographic span and frequent contact with diverse languages (both Sinitic and non-Sinitic), a certain level of internal variation is to be expected.

Inspired by the distinction between genetic stability and areal stability (Nichols 2003), this study pursues two main objectives. First, through a comparative analysis of the typological characteristics of SW Mandarin against other Mandarin subgroups, we aim to identify genetically stable features inherent in Mandarin. These enduring features persist across its diverse dialects, notwithstanding centuries of separation and interactions with diverse language varieties. Second, by pinpointing features that exhibit variation within SW Mandarin despite its relatively shallow historical depth, we strive to distinguish between traits stemming from internal development within geographically focused dialects and those potentially attributable to language contact.

Expanding upon Szeto and Yurayong's (2021) database, we analyse 87 Mandarin dialects, 25 of which belong to the SW subgroup. 11 typological features emerge as statistically significant differentiators between SW Mandarin and other subgroups of Mandarin. Of particular interest are commonly shared features in SW Mandarin unlikely attributable to language contact, such as the colexification of 'hand' and 'arm', the absence of an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first-person plural pronoun, and the infrequent use of demonstratives as sentence subjects. Moreover, employing the Neighbor-Net algorithm (Bryant and Moulton 2004), we discover that dialects in Sichuan form a structurally coherent group, while those spoken in other regions tend to be more heterogeneous. We will attempt to account for the observed phenomena by considering various sociohistorical and geographical factors.

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Gendered discourse in pandemic crisis: An analysis of linguistic strategies in directive speeches by male and female city mayors in Taiwan

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In the context of advancing gender equality in patriarchal societies like Taiwan, an increasing number of women are entering traditionally male-dominated professions and pursuing political careers. This trend has captured the attention of linguists interested in exploring communication style variations between men and women in professional contexts since the 1980s. Despite this, limited attention has been given to linguistic research on gender differences within Taiwan's political landscape.

This study examined how male and female city mayors in Taiwan articulate directives to their constituents in media discourse amid the global pandemic. Analyzing fifty COVID-19 press conferences held by city mayors from five administrative regions in 2021, this research scrutinized word-for-word transcriptions of YouTube clips. The investigation focused on how mayors, based on gender, rhetorically manage the pragmatics of directive speeches, emphasizing their authority through linguistic choices.

Results indicate that both male and female mayors employed linguistic strategies to assert their administrative power while issuing directives in the media. Nevertheless, gender variations emerged. Male mayors often demonstrated power and professionalism syntactically, utilizing imperative forms to encode their directives, while female mayors tended to employ performative verbs, such as qing 'please' fostering a friendlier and softer image. Despite this indirect syntactic approach, female mayors used more repetitions and adverbial intensifiers, such as wubi 'by all means' to underscore their instructions to citizen addressees. Moreover, at the discourse level, female mayors were more likely than their male counterparts to provide reasons for their directives and express gratitude for citizen cooperation.

These gender disparities may be attributed to the minority status of female politicians in the male dominated political system, compelling them to employ linguistic strategies to assert authority and wield power in media discourse. In summary, female mayors actively utilized linguistic tactics to emphasize their perspectives and elucidate reasons for directives, reflecting the necessity to navigate a political landscape still dominated by males in Taiwanese society.

Subject-oriented resultatives in Mandarin revisited

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This paper revisits subject-oriented resultative verb compounds (RVCs) in Mandarin Chinese as in (1)-(3) below. I employ force-dynamics (Talmy 1976, Croft 1991) and underspecified semantic representations (Kaufmann andWunderlich 1998) to posit surface interpretational constraints on Mandarin RVCs, arguing that S-RVCs call for separate force-dynamic and causal representations.

(1) *Lǐsì   hē-zuì   le* (2) *Lǐsì   zǒu-lèi-le* (3) *bǎobao   kū-xǐng-le*
   NAME   drink-drunk   PRT   Lisi   walk-tired-PFV   baby   cry-wake-PFV
   'Lisi drank himself drunk.'   'Lisi walked himself tired'   'The baby cried itself awake.'

I argue that subject-oriented RVCS (S-RVCs) are allowed just in case (**I**) the entity bearing the result undergoes some kind of change (true of all RVCs), and (**II**) it is the initiator of the event described by the RVC. Both conditions are fulfilled by (1)-(3), and (II) successfully distinguishes (3) from its object-oriented counterpart (4), which can be passivized with BEI (5). Object-oriented RVCs (O-RVCs), e.g. (6) always allow a BEI passive paraphrase, but (3) does not.

(4) *bǎobao   kū-xǐng-le   bǎomǔ* (5) *bǎomǔ bèi   kū-xǐng   le*
   baby   cry-wake-PFV nanny   nanny   BEI   cry-wake   PRT
   'The baby cried the nanny awake.'   'The nanny was cried awake.'

(6) *càidāo   (bèi)   qiē-dùn   le*
   knife   BEI   cut-dull   PRT
   'The knife was cut dull.'

(II) captures the tendency in Mandarin S-RVCs for the second member (V2) to be a predicate selecting an animate participant role, since first, initiators of change tend to be agents, which tend to be animate, and second, only animate entities can affect themselves. Yet as (7) shows, SRVCs require neither animate or volitional initiators nor a psych-predicate V2: In (7) (infelicitous in a BEI passive), the initiator of the "absorbing full" event is inanimate and non-agentive, yet it changes to become full of broth (Sybesma 1999: 51). (CCL = from the online CCL PKU corpus.)

(7) *mǐfěn   xī-bǎo-le   tāngzhī*
   rice.noodle   absorb-full-PFV   broth
   'The rice noodles absorbed and became full of broth.' (CCL)

I further assume that in Mandarin event descriptions, including RVCs, (**III**) the initiator and force recipient in the same event cannot be realized by the same noun phrase. III reflects the asymmetrical nature of force transmission (Croft 1991), and allows for (8), in which the force recipient of *chī* 'eat' (the medicine) is distinct from the initiator of eating (the father), but rules out (9), in which the force recipient of *dǎ* 'hit' is also its initiator.

(8) *érzi   gěi   fùqin   chī   yào,   fùqin   **chī-sǐ**   le*
   son   give   father   eat   medicine   father   eat-die PRT
   'The father died from eating medicine given by his son' (CCL)
(9) **tā   **dǎ-sǐ**   le*
   3sg   hit-die PRT
   Intended: (S)he hit and killed him/herself.

Examples such as (10), where the force-recipient of the eating event is the subject, seem problematic for III, and motivate distinguishing the force-dynamics of a sentence from its causal structure.

The cyclic force-transmission chain in (11) captures the intuition that the force-recipient of the eating causes the dying event, but the initiator of the RVC event is still the eater, respecting (III).

(10) mù-ěr   chī-sǐ   rén   le!
     wood-ear   eat-die   person PRT
     'People died from eating woodear mushrooms!' (CCL)

(11)   ACTION   (12) $\lambda e \exists y \exists x \exists e1 \exists e2$ [INIT(e, e1)
                $\rightarrow$ &FIN(e, e2)&eat$'$(w, z, e1)&
      person $\leftarrow$ mushrooms   mushroom$'$(y) & person$'$(x)
                CHANGE   & die$'$(x, e2)]

I assume for (10) an underspecified Semantic Form (SF) representation (Kaufmann and Wunderlich (KW) 1998) that is conceptually interpreted (Maienborn 2000). (12) represents (10) as an event e with an initial subevent e1 of eating, a final subevent e2 of someone dying. The participants of chī 'eat' are represented as free variables. KW's Connexion (The arguments of the predicates in an SF structure are meaningfully related to each other), interprets w as x and z as y. A version of KW's Coherence (subevents in a complex resultative predication are causally or contemporaneously interpreted) yields the requisite causative interpretation. O-RVCs would have a standard acyclic force transmission chain. The non-canonical force transmission structure of Mandarin SRVCs echoes the absence of a force-recipient in English subject-oriented resultatives (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2001), highlighting the cross-linguistic relevance of the current analysis.

Brollo's *Dictionarium sinico-latinum*: A brief analysis of some examples of (disyllabic) words

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The *Dictionarium sinico-latinum* (Chinese-Latin dictionary) by the Franciscan missionary Basilio Brollo (1648–1704) was highly praised as an essential instrument for the study of Chinese; the dictionary was deemed so important that projects to publish it were conceived but, after these plans failed, it was plagiarised in a revised form. There are two versions of the text, composed in 1694 and 1699, including an estimate of 7.000 and 9.000 characters. As explained in the preface to the 1694 dictionary, Brollo consulted a list of native dictionaries, composed by Chinese authors, and dictionaries compiled by other missionaries; the *Dictionarium sinico-latinum* is therefore a summa of roughly a century of lexicographical and lexicological efforts, as well as of the intercultural dialogue reflected in them.

According to the research methods of missionary linguistics, the *Dictionarium sinico-latinum* can be considered an important annotation of linguistic information and an instrument for the interpretation of the Chinese lexicon. Given its purpose as an instrument of study of the Chinese language for Western scholars, it records lexicological innovations that are not present in contemporary printed texts. Based on the efforts of an ongoing PNRR PRIN project (CHIN-DICTIONARY - Brollo's *Dictionarium sinico-latinum*: linguistic innovations, textual connections, and trans-cultural translation, CUP: B53D23029330001), the speakers will focus in particular on the examples listed in the entries of the dictionary, annotated for the most part only in romanised form. Thanks to the comparison with some early Qing lexicographical works which include polysyllabic entries, such as the *Pei wen yun fu* 佩文韻府 (1711) or the *Pian zi lei bian* 駢字類編 (ca. 1726), the speakers will try to demonstrate the role of the *Dictionarium sinico-latinum* as a record of disyllabic words that were considered to appear at a later stage. The purpose of the speech is to point out that a thorough study of the *Dictionarium sinico-latinum* can contribute to a better description of the lexicological peculiarities of the Chinese language in the period considered.

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The Role of visual inputs in Chinese caracter acquisition in students with dyslexia: A case study

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Keywords: *applied linguistics, Chinese language acquisition, inclusive learning, dyslexia*

This work aims to investigate the differences in learning outcomes, cognitive load, and eye-movement patterns of L2 Chinese Language students with dyslexia while studying different categories of Chinese characters. To achieve this goal a case study was carried out: five students with dyslexia and five students without dyslexia (control group) were asked to watch and understand 50 completely unknown Chinese characters on a computer screen. The visual inputs consisted of 25 pictographs, each associated with the original pictogram, and 25 compounds, each presented alongside a metalinguistic explanation. While reading, the students' eye-movement behavior was tracked. Studies in applied linguistics assume that greater cognitive efforts are associated with longer durations and a higher number of fixations (Rayner 1998). Furthermore, studies on dyslexia demonstrated that images facilitate comprehension during the reading process (Mayer 2001) and serve as a valuable support for dyslexic readers (Holmqvist et al. 2017). Building on these premises, the following hypotheses have been made: a) understanding pictographs, specifically derived from visual elements akin to images, would involve a lower number of fixations than understanding compound characters in readers with dyslexia; b) understanding pictographs through the use of original pictograms, visual iconic element comparable to images, would involve a shorter duration fixation than understanding compound characters through the presentation of a metalinguistic explanation in readers with dyslexia. The data were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. A mixed linear model was set up assuming a normal distribution. The linear effects are represented by the interaction between the presence or absence of dyslexia on one side, and the type of stimulus on the other, resulting in a total of four values (D_compounds, D_pictographs, ND_compounds, ND_pictographs, where D indicates the group of dyslexic participants and ND indicates the group of non-dyslexic participants).

The data analysis has shown that: a) there are no significant divergences in the number of fixations on pictographs and compounds in readers with dyslexia; b) instead, the duration of fixations is influenced by the category of character presented in readers with dyslexia. However, contrary to the assumptions made, the presentation of compound characters and metalinguistic explanations results in shorter fixation durations compared to the presentation of pictographs and original pictograms.

As for the comparison with the control group, in terms of the number of fixations on characters, no significant disparities were detected between the two groups. Concerning the mean duration of fixations on the entire visual stimulus, both groups exhibited fewer fixations on compounds and more fixations on pictographs. However, dyslexic participants showed reduced fixation on visual inputs compared to the control group. Moreover, within both groups, the difference in fixation duration between compounds and pictographs was smaller in the dyslexic group, whereas in the control group, this difference was more pronounced.

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Corpus-Assisted Analysis of the Grammaticalization of ba 把 in Written Vernacular Chinese

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Keywords: *Grammaticalization, Chinese historical linguistics, disposal constructions, corpus linguistics*

Written Vernacular Chinese (*Báihuàwén* 白話文), in contrast to Classical Chinese (*Wényánwén* 文言文), describes the written evidence with a non-standard vernacular style of Chinese that is close to the spoken language from Táng to Qīng dynasties (Kaske, 2015; Münning, 2022). This paper adopts a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis to examine the grammaticalization (Hopper and Traugott, 2003; Narrog and Heine, 2011; Lehmann, 2015) of *ba* (*bǎ* 把) in written vernacular novels from the Míng and Qīng dynasties (1368–1912). With a researcher-developed corpus (8,204,419 character count) that contains twenty written vernacular novels across seven genres, this research yields a number of key findings.

Firstly, the data analysis supports the grammaticalization process of *ba* and the constructions it occurs in. It traced the shift from the full-verb use of *ba* with an intermediary "transitional phase" as a light verb in sentence structures where *ba* is used in a clause together with another (full) verb that usually determines the core action. Secondly, a potential layering process and the genre-specific content might explain the remnants of the full-verb-*ba* (i.e., it persisted in certain genres as *ba* continued undergoing further grammaticalization in the research period). Demonstrated by a regression analysis using a linear mixed-effects model, the influence of genre deserves special attention when using literacy sources for historical linguistics analysis (e.g., the frequent verbal use of *ba* describing 'to hold a weapon' in *Lìshǐ Yǎnyì* 歷史演義 'Historical Acts'). Thirdly, among the *ba* constructions in the corpus, a diversification of actions (e.g., physical, mental and verbal actions) and disambiguation of objects (e.g., the use of demonstrative pronouns *zhè* 這 'this' and *nà* 那 'that') can be observed as the functional *ba* continued to evolve.

This research provides innovative methods applied to grammaticalization studies: a combination of fine-grained manual coding and integrated statistical models with a mixed use of corpus-based and corpus-driven[3] methods. The diachronic analysis based on large data extracted from written vernacular novels encourages further studies on language variation and change in Early Modern Chinese.

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[3] Corpus-based studies use data as a source of examples to explore/validate a theory or hypothesis while corpus-driven studies work more inductively in that the patterns found in the corpus are considered a way of expressing regularities (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001; Baker, 2010).

Commonality and diversity of the common taste terms in Chinese dialects

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Based on 35 dialect dictionaries, the article investigates the common taste terms (sour, sweet, bitter, and salty) in Chinese dialects. It examines their sememe structures, including the extended meanings and metaphorical meanings. Commonality and diversity of the common taste terms in Chinese dialects have been attested. Of the four common taste terms, "bitter" is the one in which sememe structure is shared in almost all dialects, from the basic sememe BITTER to the metaphorical meanings HARDSHIP and SADNESS. In some dialects, "bitter" has been grammaticalized and turned into an adverb, meaning DILIGENTLY and EXTREMELY. The taste term "sweet" has shown commonality and diversity. A recurring metaphorical meaning for describing things as pleasant and nice is found in all the investigated dialects. However, an extra sememe, BLAND, is found in the northern dialects. In contrast, in southern dialects like Yue, Min, and Hakka, a different extra sememe describing fresh seafood or chicken is equivalent to "umami" (うま味) in Japanese. The diversity is found in the taste terms "salty" and "sour." In coastal dialects like Wu, Southern Min, and Yue, negative connotations of the taste term "salty" have been developed, for example, STINGY, OBSCENE, or FOREIGN. The taste term "sour" shows a different diversity from "salty." It has metaphorical meanings, such as SARCASTIC, POOR, JEALOUS, or STUBBORN, in various dialects. The origin of the diversity is yet to be revealed for now.

This typological study of the taste terms in Chinese dialects may shed light on Linguistic Relativity. The commonality and the diversity result from how people feel about the tastes. The tastes "bitter" and "sweet" lie at the ends of the taste preference spectrum, with the tastes "salty" and "sour" in between. Bitter is the least preferred, while sweet is the most preferred. The acceptance of salty and sour tastes is related to the taste's degree. Slightly salty and slightly sour are acceptable, but too salty or too sour are otherwise. Therefore, it is reasonable that commonality is found in taste terms "sweet" and "bitter" and that diversity is found in taste terms "salty" and "sour." There is also enough evidence showing that Proto-Indo-Europeans experienced the difference between "sweet" and "bitter" (Mallory & Adams, 2006).

However, the diversity of the taste terms "salty" and "sweet" is closely related to the places where people live. Salty comes from salt, which is mass-produced in coastal areas, while sweetness comes from sugarcanes, which are mass-produced in subtropical regions. It has been observed that taste preference may vary from culture to culture, but the fact cannot be possibly neglected that taste is one of the essential human senses. Therefore, the meanings of taste terms in languages are culturally different as well as physiologically universal.

Putting African Tones and Chinese Tones in the Same Model

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Empirically, downsteps in African languages and tone register in Chinese languages relate to the setting of pitch ranges in tonal manifestations, but a single analytical umbrella has remained elusive. This paper offers a model where the register node dominates tonal features that make up a tone contour, as in (1). Thus, local register spreading as seen in Chaozhou becomes analyzable as (2).
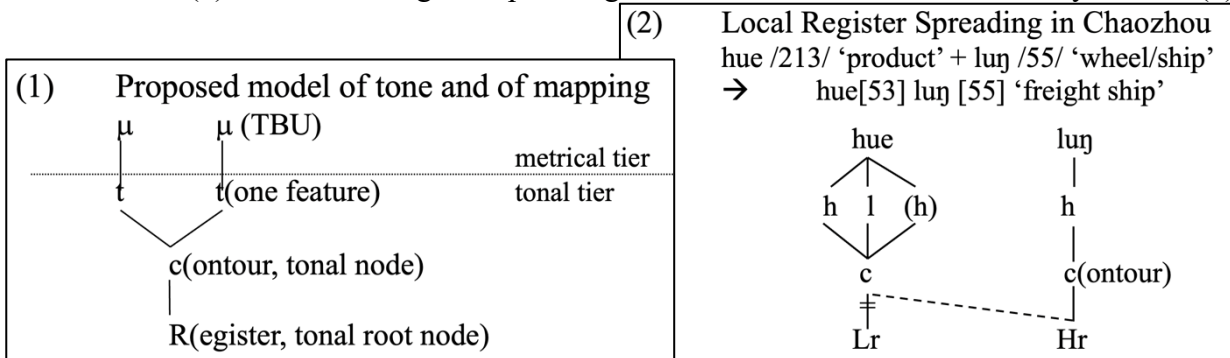
With (1), feature subjacency (Bao 1990:59, Wee 2019:102) becomes unnecessary. With this new model, different syllables can be captured as belonging to the same register domain, thereby offering a similar handle on African downsteps. In (3), the "register" applies across a set of syllables, shown in (4).

(3) Tone terracing in Kikuyu (Clements 1983:167)

moànèkì↓ áhɛìrɛ́ moàɣáhìɲá↓ ɲjátá↓ rémwɛ́
Mwaniki gave (the) weakling stars once.
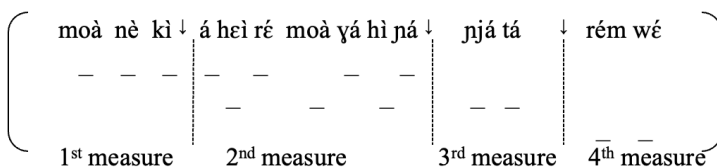
(4) Our analysis (inverting Hyman's (1992:77) model
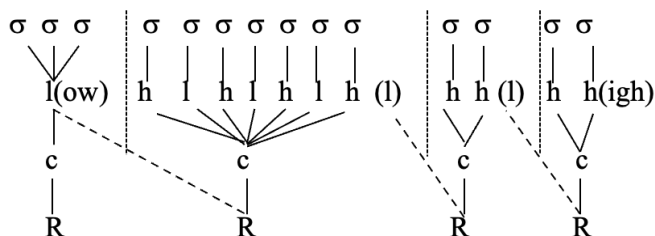
The insight in (4) is the same as Hyman's (1992:77), except here it is clear how register apply to a tonal domain larger than syllables. With this small but novel model, the register effects of African and Chinese languages are captured under a single analytical umbrella.

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The same Chinese character and different meanings: The motive and mechanism of the creation about a character's new meaning

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Keywords: *Chinese character, new meaning, word-formation, mechanism*

In modern Chinese vocabulary, there exists a phenomenon where the meaning of a multi-syllabic word is carried by one of its constituent monosyllabic characters. Furthermore, this monosyllabic character can also be combined with other characters to form new words and expressions. Scholars refer to this phenomenon as "bǐng hé zào cí fǎ" or "compound word formation through combination". This article aims to explore the motives and mechanisms behind the emergence of new meanings for Chinese characters. It suggests that the motive behind this phenomenon is language economy, driven by the principle of linguistic conciseness.The mechanisms involved are believed to include prototype effects, rhythmic coercion, and semantic infiltration, at the very least.This article suggests that the result of "bǐng hé" is the creation of new meanings for Chinese characters. The so-called "bǐng hé zào cí fǎ" is essentially a form of compound word formation, and when these Chinese characters with new meaning are combined with others, they not only create new words but also construct new expressions or phrases. For example:

(1) 现款 (xiànjīn) → 现 (xiàn)
    'cash'   'cash'
    变现 (biànxiàn): to convert into cash, 提现 (tíxiàn): to withdraw cash,付现 (fùxiàn): to pay in cash, 取现 (qǔxiàn): to withdraw cash, 收现 (shōuxiàn): to receive cash, 兑现 (duìxiàn): to cash (a check, voucher, etc.), 贴现 (tiēxiàn): to discount (financial term)
(2) 警察 (jǐng chá) → 警 (jǐng)
    'police'   'police'
    民警 (mín jǐng): community police officer, 武警 (wǔ jǐng): armed police, 乘警 (chéng jǐng): railway police, 警车 (jǐng chē): police car, 警服 (jǐng fú): police uniform, 警械 (jǐng xiè): police equipment, 警棍 (jǐng gùn): police baton
(3) 电报 (dìanbào) → 电 (dìan)
    'telegram'   'telegram'
    急电 (jídìan): urgent telegram, 贺电 (hèdìan): congratulatory telegram, 唁电 (yàndìan): condolence telegram, 通电 (tōngdìan): inform by telegram, 电告 (diàngào): telegraph, send a telegram, 电令 (diànlìng): telegraphic order, telegram command,电汇 (diànhuì): send money through electronic system

In the example above, the meaning of '现款' (xiànkuǎn, cash) is carried by one of its characters '现'(xiàn), which then is created a new meaning, namely '现款' (xiànkuǎn, cash), and it can be freely used to generate many new words and phrases. Similarly, in the example given, '警' (jǐng) and '电' (diàn) are created new meanings in the same way as '现' (xian) .

What the three mechanisms mean are as follows:

Prototype effects refers to the primary unit of Chinese which is Chinese characters. The basic feature of Chinese characters is the one-to-one match between font, syllable and meaning. Characters can consist of complex constructions, including words, phrases and sentences. Meanwhile, complex constructions can also be substituted by one character because of brevity as is shown by the above examples (1-3) .

Rhythmic coercion means that disyllable is the predominant unit of Chinese which can coerce multisyllable into disyllabic rhythmic frame as is shown by the following examples (4-5).

(4) *招学生简章 (zhāoxuéshēng jiǎnzhāng)   VS   招生简章 (zhāoshēng jiǎnzhāng)
    'Enrollment Guide'   'Enrollment Guide'

100

(5) *进学校时间 (jìnxuéxiào shíjiān)   VS   进校时间 (jìnxiào shíjiān)
    'time of entering school'   'time of entering school'

Rhythmic coercion makes a tri-syllabic phrase be compressed into a disyllabic unit in order to form a '2+2' rhythmic structure.

Semantic infiltration also refers to semantic contagion, which refers to this kind of linguistic phenomenon that two linguistic units with high frequency co-occurrence can influence their meaning each other. In the end, one unit may gain the meaning of the other unit. For example, 背 (bèi, back) often frequently co-occur with 诵 (song, read) in ancient time and owing to the semantic infiltration, 背 (bèi, back) gain the meaning of 诵 (song, read), which nowadays means 'recite'.

One cannot expect that there is a clear-cut border between Chinese morphemes and words, and between Chinese words and phrases. This is because in Chinese one character is an independent linguistic unit, and it has its own phonetic form and meaning. And it can be used independently to form words and expressions. So a two-character construction may be a word or a phrase just according to the linguistic context. Semantic transparency and analyticity may be a hint whether a two-character construction is a word or a phrase. Examples are as follows:

(6) 提水 (tíshuǐ)---提纲 (tígāng)   拉车 (lāchē)---拉面(lāmiàn)
    'hold water'   'outline'   'pull a car'.   'a name of noodles'
(7) 总吃(zǒngchī)-总理(zǒnglǐ)   先生先死(xiānshēngxiānsǐ)-先生女士(xiānshengnǚshì)
    'always eat'   'premier'   'first born first die'   'gentleman lady'

In (6), '提水' is a phrase because its meaning can be deduced from their components '提' and '水', whose meaning is transparent and analyzable. But '提纲' is a word because its meaning cannot be deduced from their components '提' and '纲', whose meaning is nontransparent and unanalyzable. Other examples can be analyzed in a similar way. For more information, one can see Wu (2021).

Conditional *pa²¹te³³* in Huarong Dialect

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This research investigates the development of *pa²¹te³³* '把得 GIVE.DIR (＜GIVE.OBTAIN)' from a lexical preposition to a conditional connective in Huarong dialect (a Chinese variant spoken in Hunan province). It has been widely reported that GIVE verbs in Sinitic languages endure multiple extended grammatical functions. In Huarong dialect, the GIVE meaning is expressed by *pa²¹* '把'. When identifying the indirect object in a ditransitive construction, both *te³³* '得' and *pa²¹te³³* '把得' can be used. Most interestingly, it seems that the compound form *pa²¹te³³* '把得' bears a wide range of grammatical functions and serves as a passive marker, an adverbial-like element preceding qualifier phrases (giving a sense of limitation and minimalness), and a counterfactual conditional connective. Examples are shown as follows:

(1) Dative Marker:
他把哒一只笔得/把得我。
Na³³　　pa²¹　ta²¹　ji¹³tsi³³　　　pi¹³　　**te³³/pa²¹te³³**　ŋo²¹.
3SG　　give　PERF　1.CL　　　　pen　　TE/PATE　　1SG
'He gave a pen to me.'

(2) Passive Marker:
钱包把得别个偷落哒。
Tɕhiŋ¹³pau³³　**pa²¹te³³**　　phie¹³ko³³　　lau³³　nuo³³　ta²¹.
Wallet　　　　PATE　　　　someone　　　steal　PERF　PERF
'(My) wallet was stolen by someone.'

(3) Limitation/ Minimalness sense:
把得两三天，作业就写得完。
Pa²¹te³³　liaŋ²¹　san³³　thiŋ³³,　　tso¹³je³³　　tɕhiu³³ ɕie²¹　te³³　wuŋ¹³.
PATE　　　two　　three　day　　　　homework　　then　　　　　write　MOD　finish
'It will only take two or three days to finish the homework.'

(4) Counterfactual Conditional Connective:
把得我晓得他是箇号人，我就不得嫁得他。
Pa²¹te³³　ŋo²¹　ɕiao²¹te³³　　na³³　sʅ³³　ke¹³　xau⁵⁵　ren³³,
PATE　　　1SG　know　　　　　3SG　is　　this　type　man
ŋo²¹　　tɕhiu³³ pu¹³　te³³　tɕia¹³ te³³　na³³.
1SG　　then　NEG　MOD　marry　DIR　3SG
'I wouldn't have married him if I'd known what kind of man he was.'

We propose that *pa²¹te³³* '把得' has undergone a process of semantic abstraction, from indicating giving sth. from a starting point to an intended GOAL, to imply that a scenario (an abstract, metaphoric GOAL) is far away from the initial point (either real or abstract). Thus, a counterfactual conditional interpretation is derived. Our findings in this study will shed light on the topological study of the possible sources of conditionals in Sinitic languages.

Word order variation in Wenzhounese

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Keywords*: syntax, SOV, information structure, aspectual marking*

The canonical word order in Wenzhounese (southern Wu) is SVO, but sometimes only SOV is grammatical (e.g., D. Liu 2001, W. Pan 1997). Regarding this word order variation, I make five generalizations, none of which (except for GEN 5) has been reported previously for Wenzhounese. As such, no published analysis fully captures word order variation in this dialect. The data in this paper, unless otherwise specified, are construed by the author, who is a native speaker of Wenzhounese.

GEN 1 is that SOV is only triggered when the verb is telic, e.g., when marked by a perfective, experiential, or completive marker, or when compounded with a resultative (see Sybesma 2021 for similar observations in Luqiao Wu). An atelic verb cannot be preceded by its object, unless the VP is under contrastive focus.

(1) ŋ   zau   tsʰʐ   dijaŋ   vs.   ŋ   dijaŋ   tsʰʐ-gɔ   ba
     1SG   PROG   watch   movie   1SG   movie   watch-PFV   SFP
     'I am watching a movie.'   'I have watched a movie.'

GEN 2 has been reported in a genetically related northern Wu dialect, Yixing Chinese (X. Hu 2023), and I propose that it also applies in Wenzhounese. The pre-verbal object is either a bare NP, e.g., *dijaŋ* 'movie' in (1), or a definite NP, e.g., *kai bu dijaŋ* 'this CLF movie'. An indefinite numeral phrase like *sɔ bu dijaŋ* 'three CLF movies' remains post-verbal (cf. D. Liu 2015: 106).

GEN 3 also concerns the object of a telic verb. When the object is a pronoun or a bare classifier phrase (e.g., *bu dijaŋ* 'CLF movie'), its distribution is even more restricted. For pronouns, they must be introduced by the disposal marker *de* (equivalent to *ba* in Mandarin; see C. Xie 2023). Classifier phrases need to be split: the noun appears pre-verbally and the classifier post-verbally.

(2) ŋ   *(de)   gi   ta-gɔ   (3)   ŋ   dijaŋ$_i$ tsʰʐ   [bu t_i]$_{ClassP}$ gɔ   ba
     1SG   DE   3SG   hit-PFV   1SG   movie   watch   CLF   PFV   SFP
     'I hit him/her.'   'I have watched a movie.'

GEN 4 pertains to information structure. The object in SOV sentences is a topic in Mandarin (Paul 2002), but not necessarily so in Wenzhounese. Evidence for GEN 4 comes from *wh*-words, which are mutually exclusive with topics (Erteschik-Shir 2007) and can still be pre-verbal. Such sentences can be produced out of blue, without contextual support.

(4) ɳi   [ŋɛ   mø-zʐ]   zɛ-tɕʰi   (*ŋɛ mø-zʐ)   a
     2SG   what   thing   build-PFV   Q
     'What did you build?'

GEN 5 is that when the object stays in-situ, the subject can bind reflexive pronouns and subject-oriented adverbs, as subjects typically do (cf. F. Tan 1991). With object fronting, however, the subject loses this binding ability, unless the fronted object is overtly marked by the disposal marker *de* (C. Xie 2023: 312).

(5) John   (*dedenaŋ)   jy   ta-pʰa-gɔ
     John   on.purpose   bowl   hit-break-PFV
     Intended: 'John broke the bowl on purpose.'

Previous accounts of SOV in Chinese dialects include D. Liu (2001), S. Tang (2006), Wang & Wu (2020), Sybesma (2021), and X. Hu (2023). I will demonstrate that none of them can fully capture the generalisations made above. For example, Sybesma (2021) argues for the parallelism between SOV in Wu dialects and S*ba*OV in Mandarin, but GEN 3 and GEN 5 show that SOV and S*de*OV behave differently in Wenzhounese. Regarding X. Hu (2023), the analysis relies on the assumption that the perfective marker is a universal quantifier. I will provide evidence that the perfective marker in Wenzhounese is not a universal quantifier, so X. Hu's (2023) proposal is unsuitable for Wenzhounese.

In sum, this paper thoroughly describes word order variation in Wenzhounese and its interaction with other grammatical factors (telicity, definiteness, binding, etc.). This sets the agenda for future research, which needs to determine whether the above generalizations afford a unified analysis and whether some of them are epiphenomenal.

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Revisit the clausal approach to comparative deletion in Mandarin Chinese

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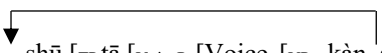
Keywords: *Syntax, Comparative deletion, Verb-copying, Mandarin Chinese*

Background: A long-standing debate exists between the clausal (Liu 2011, 2014; Hsieh 2017; Erlewine 2018) and phrasal analyses (Xiang 2003; Lin 2009, 2022) of Chinese comparatives. A crucial argument for the clausal analysis comes from verb-copying constructions (hence force VCC). Based on Liu (1996), Erlewine (2018) suggests that both the target (TP1) and the standard (TP2) contain a verb and an object, which exactly behaves like a clause rather than a phrase. In order to derive the surface order, VP2 and AP1 in (1a) is deleted under Comparative Deletion Requirement (cf. Kennedy 2002, Corver 2005, a.o.), which requires a local predicate of the target TP to be elided under identity with a local predicate of the standard TP. However, Lin (2022) argues that this analysis cannot explain VCCs like (1b), in which VP3 and VP4 do not form a constituent while it is commonly assumed that only constituents can be deleted.

(1) a.[[TP1   Yuēhàn[VP1   qí mǎ[VP2 qí de [AP1 kuài]]]] [bǐ [TP2Mǎlì [VP3   qí niú [VP4   qí de [AP2 kuài]]]]].
            John   ride horse   BI   Mary   ride cow   ride DE fast
            'John rides horses faster than Mary [rides cows (for 1a)]/[(rides horses) (for 1b)].'
    b.[[TP1 Yuēhàn [VP1 qí mǎ [VP2 qí de [AP1 kuài]]]] [bǐ Mǎlì   [VP3 qí mǎ [VP4 qí de [AP2 kuài]]]]].

Central claim: We argue that the constituency problem can be solved with a new analysis of VCCs, which directly captures certain occurrences associated with ellipsis in *bǐ* comparatives.

Analysis: Meadows & Yan (2023) advocate for verb doubling as PF driven lower copy pronunciation. They assume that the VP *kàn shū* 'read book' undergoes movement to the left periphery and the lower copy of VP is partially deleted, driven by a requirement for *de* to be morphophonologically hosted by the verb under Local Dislocation (Embick 2007), as in (2).

(2) [CP Kàn   shū [TP tā [VoiceP [Voice [VP   kàn shū]] [DeP de [APhěn   kuài]]]]].
        read   book he   read   DE very   quickly
        'He reads books very quickly.'

Based on Meadows & Yan (2023), we argue that the subject has been further topicalized. The direct evidence is that the sentence is ungrammatical when the dislocated VP *xiě zuòyè* 'write homework' follows the quantifier *dōu* 'all', whose position is generally assumed to be lower than TP (see Cheng 1995), as shown in (3b). When the VP precedes *dōu*, the sentence is well formed, as in (3a), which indicates that both the subject and the VP may be topicalized.

(3) a. [TopP1   Tāmen [TopP2 **xiě zuòyè** [TP tāmen [DouP **dōu** [VP [VP   xiě zuòyè] [DeP de   hěn   kuài]]]]]].
        3SG-PL   write homework   DOU   write   DE very   quickly
        'They all write homeworks very quickly.'
    b. *[TP Tāmen [DouP **dōu** [VP **xiě zuòyè**] [VP xiě de hěn kuài]]].

Within the current analysis, the problem of constituency in (1b) is avoided. Both VP3 and VP4 can be deleted as they are identical with VP1 and VP2 respectively, as depicted in (4).

(4) [[TopP1 Yuēhàn [TopP2 [VP1 qí mǎ] [TP [VP [VP2 qí-de ~~mǎ~~] [DeP ~~de~~ [AP ~~kuài~~]]]]] [bǐ
        John   ride horse   ride-DE   BI
     [TopP3 Mǎlì [TopP4 [VP3 ~~qí mǎ~~] [TP [VP [VP4 ~~qí-de~~ ~~mǎ~~] [DeP ~~de~~ [AP kuài]]]]]].
        Mary   fast
     'John rides horses faster than Mary (rides horses).'

Extension: A natural prediction is that VP3 alone shall be able to undergo deletion so long as it has an identical antecedent VP1. This is indeed born out, as seen in (5) (see previous gloss).

(5) Yuēhàn [VP1 qí mǎ] ~~[VP2 qí de]~~ ~~kuài~~ bǐ Mǎlì ~~[VP3 qí mǎ]~~ [VP4 qí de] kuài.

Finally, a *no matter wh*-construction can co-occur with the VCC in the target, indicating an even more complex structure, which poses a problem for the phrasal analysis, as given in (6).

(6) Tā wúlùn   shénme shíhòu   kàn shū   dōu ~~kàn de kuài~~   bǐ Xiǎolán ~~kàn shū~~ kàn de kuài.
     3SG no.matter what time   read book   DOU   BI Xiaolan   read DE fast.
     'No matter when, s/he reads books faster than Xiaolan (reads books).'

Verb Doubling in Mandarin Chinese is Base-Generated

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Keywords: verb doubling, topic, adjunct, Chinese syntax

The derivation of Mandarin verb doubling (or verb copying) constructions, exemplified in (1), has been a long-standing controversy, particularly regarding the identity of the verbs. The configuration is argued to be derived via head and/or phrasal movement of the verb/VP in the second VP (VP2) to a higher position (e.g., Huang 1982, Cheng 2007, Lai 2021, a.o.) or basegeneration of the first VP (VP1) (Hsu 2008, 2013). This study presents new empirical data and supports the claim that VP1 is a base-generated topic.

(1) ta kai   che   kai   le   liang ci.
    he drive car   drive ASP   two   time
    'He drove twice.' (Mandarin Chinese, Huang 1982:48)

First, I demonstrate parallelism between the verb doubling construction and a (sub)class of serial verb constructions (SVCs) (where the verbs can be different), with regards to their contextual licensing, positions for negation and aspectual particles, and interpretation. Subsequently, I claim that the former is a (sub)case of the latter and therefore the identity of the two verbs in the verb doubling construction is purely accidental.

(2) Mary [$_{VP1}$ **tongji** zhangmu] [$_{VP2}$ **suan-cuo**-le   jin'e].
    Mary   add.up account   calculate-wrong-PERF   amount
    '(As for) adding up the accounts, Mary calculated the amount wrong.'

One of the crucial pieces of evidence for the parallelism is an argument-adjunct asymmetry of extraction found between VP1 and VP2, demonstrating that VP1 behaves like an adjunct island: VP1 marginally permits argument extraction from it and does not allow adjunct extraction, which patterns with adjunct islands (e.g., an if-clause); while VP2 allow both argument and adjunct extraction. The proposed structure is represented in (3). VP1s in both constructions are interpreted as topics, which is also part of the parallelism.

(3) [$_{V2P}$ [$_{V1P}$ V1 Object] [$_{V2P}$ V2 ...]]

Second, neither the reconstruction effect nor a suitable gap for VP1 to fit into is found in the verb doubling construction, which poses challenges to copy-and-movement accounts. As in (4), a full DP or a co-indexed pronoun can be realized in VP2, excluding the possibility that the object in the fronted VP1 leaves a trace, which suggests that VP1 and VP2 are generated independently.

(4) Mary   daban   haizi daban-le   xiao-nver/tai   ban-xiaoshi.
    Mary   dress.up   child dress.up-PERF   younger-daughter/3SG   half-hour
    '(For) dressing children, Mary dressed the younger daughter for half an hour.'

The base-generation approach predicts that VP1 is a topic. Given the general rule in Information Structure that fronted foci are moved while fronted topics could be moved (e.g., Left-Dislocated topics) or base-generated (e.g., Hanging Topics), that VP1 is a topic follows the base-generation analysis naturally. Crucially, it cannot be a focus, contra Hsu (2008, 2013). I will show that this is true. Moreover, data will be provided to show that the subject in both constructions is also a topic, and the verb doubling construction is a double-topic construction.

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Error analysis of vocabulary misuse in the interlanguage of French L2 learners of Chinese

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In the research field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), the L2 lexicon, often overlooked until the 1980s in comparison to grammar studies (Meara 1980), has regained increased attention. Lexical errors, as documented by Meara (1984), Gass & Selinker (2000), among others, are identified as the most prevalent among second language learners. Gass (1988) notes that while grammar errors generally result in comprehensible structures, lexical errors may significantly interfere with communication. Therefore, special attention to vocabulary acquisition is essential in both SLA research and the teaching of Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL).

In recent decades, the misuse of vocabulary by CFL learners has become a focal point for researchers and language teachers. Numerous studies have investigated error analysis to examine the systematicity in the interlanguage of CFL learners from various L1 backgrounds. Despite the attention given to English-speaking and Asian CFL learners, limited research exists on lexicon acquisition in the European non-English-speaking sphere (see Zhang 2011 and Xie 2013 for the review), except for Xie's (2013) study based on questionnaires with Italian learners and Poizat's (2018) work carried out with a corpus collected from French-speaking learners. However, it is important to note that Poizat's (2018) study, while presenting a rich repertory of vocabulary errors of French-speaking leaners, has certain limitations, including the absence of clear information about the properties of the leaner corpus. This includes details such as the CFL level, the genre of written texts constituting the corpus (descriptive, argumentative, etc.), and information on the input received by the learners.

This study aims to fill this gap by examining the written productions of intermediate-level CFL leaners at a French university. The cross-sectional corpus constructed from a school year's homework and exams allows for longitudinal and pseudo-longitudinal studies (Gilquin 2015).

In the previous studies, most lexical errors are found to be related to 'confusable' words, which may be formally similar ('synphones' and 'syngraphs', adopting Laufer's (1988, 1991) terms on 'synforms') or semantically similar (often referred to as 'synonyms'). However, focusing on semantic factors, Zhang (2008) convincingly argues that vocabulary misuse in L2 is not restricted to synonyms, and 'confusable words' do not entirely overlap with them. Vocabulary misuse and 'confusable words' must be studied from the perspective of the learner's interlanguage. Hence, in the present study, strict criteria are adopted to define different types of vocabulary misusage.

Preliminary results of the error analysis for intermediate-level CFL learners indicate that vocabulary misuses are primarily due to three factors, sometimes interacting:

1) The misused word and the intended word sharing a morpheme
2) The misused word and the intended word semantically similar in Chinese (synonyms)
3) The misused word and the intended word translated as the same word in L1 French

The findings shed light on the lexicon acquisition properties of intermediate-level L1 French learner of L2 Chinese. Future studies can compare these results with error analysis of learner corpora at other levels (beginning and advanced) to trace the acquisition processes of French CFL learners.

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Under imperatives or deontic modality: Two interpretations of the SFP *to* ("哆") in Chengdu

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The sentence-final particle *to* (哆) in Chengdu (a dialect of Mandarin) has long been thought to occur at the final position of imperatives, encoding relative priority in temporal sequence (Zhang et al. 2001; Wang & Ma 2015). For example:

Child:		ma	ŋo	ɕiaŋ	kʰan	tiansɿ		
		mom	I	want	watch	TV		
		'Mom, I want to watch TV.'						
Mom:	a.	tsoŋ̍ɕe		tsu-wan		lo		to
		homework		do-finish		Inchoative		TO
		'Finish your homework first (and then you watch TV)!'						
	b.	ŋo	iau/ɕiaŋ	ten		xolu	kan-wan	lo	to
		I	need/want	wait-until		work	read-finish	Inchoative	TO
		'I need/want to wait until the work is finished (and then I/we watch TV)'							

In Yang (2002) and Xing (2004), *to* (哆) is seen as the result of the grammaticalization of an imperative SFP *zhe* (着) that is associated with durative aspect in ancient Chinese. This research, instead, proposes that there are two *to* (哆), sharing the same lexical semantics with mandarin adverb *xian* (先), i.e., priority in relative temporal order. One is realized at the head position of imperatives and causes a preceding condition interpretation (***to2***), while the other is an adverbial encoding the relative temporal order of events (***to1***). Several tests can show their differences: 1) clauses with ***to1*** can be embedded as subordinate clauses, while clauses with ***to2*** cannot; 2) ***to1*** can occur in the middle of a clause, while ***to2*** can only be located at the sentence-final position; 3) ***to1*** scopes under deontic modals and dynamic modals, while ***to2*** doesn't.

Pragmatically, deontic modality sentences (DMSs) may contribute directive speech act as imperatives do (Nuyts et al. 2010), while the former have truth values and the later don't and there are essential syntactic differences between them (Han 1999; Portner 2007). An important reason why ***to1*** and ***to2*** are seen as one is that DMSs are seen as a subtype of imperatives in the literature (e.g., Yuan 1993), or the other way round, such as Tang's (2012) analysis on the Cantonese SFP *Sin*. Possibly because of this view, the two distributions of ***to*** are not differentiated in Zhang et al. (2001), Yang (2002) and Xing (2004), although in these studies we can see examples that show ***to*** occurring in both imperatives and DMSs.

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Intertextuality in Chinese connoisseurship literature from the Song to Ming dynasties

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Since at least the late Song dynasty (1060–1279 CE), Chinese scholars have written detailed guides on how to collect and appreciate decorative arts objects. This research applies a text reuse analysis to several such guides by utilizing computational and manual techniques. The aims are to determine the degree of similarity between the texts with statistical certainty and to explore how the texts' differences can inform one's understanding of how the discourse on connoisseurship, specifically on collecting and appreciating decorative art objects, changed over time in imperial China.

This research is valuable in that, although it is commonly known that several texts of the type examined in this study contain passages that demonstrate similarity, no computational linguistic research has been done to determine the degree of similarity (or lack thereof). In addition, no research exists that examines the nuanced differences between the passages that exhibit strong intertextual similarity. Conducting such research adds to the extant discourse on the copying or "reuse" of passages between documents over time in China. This field of study that has gained traction in recent years due to innovations in computational techniques used in the study of digital humanities. Overall, this study also supports the more nuanced study of the changes in discourse on connoisseurship and art collecting from the Song to Ming dynasties.

In this research, first a manual study was conducted to find texts within the chosen genre and timeframe that contain similar passages. The selected texts were then digitized, checked for OCR accuracy, converted into UTF-8, and processed through a text reuse analysis using MARKUS' Comparativus tool. The tool was used to implement fuzzy matching intertextuality algorithm to detect similar passages between the inputted texts utilizing MARKUS' default n-gram (4) and minimum match (7) sizes. The tool also provided cosine similarity scores for both the individual detected passages and the texts as a whole. Once the results revealed particular chapters (*juan* 卷) that exhibited strong similarity, the process was repeated to analyze text reuse among the individual chapters. In addition, the results were considered within the changing socioeconomic context of the related time period.

The three texts examined in this study were *Dongtianqinglü* 洞天青綠 (ca. 1200), *Geguyaolun* 格古要論 (1388), and *Zhangwuzhi* 長物誌 (ca. 1650). In general, the research concluded that particular passages of the three texts show significant similarity, indicating text reuse. Moreover, these passages often revolve around the discourses on select decorative arts objects. At the same time, low similarity scores between the texts inform the development of Chinese connoisseurship literature from the Song to Ming dynasties, revealing changes in trends and preferences.

Phonological Motivation and Acoustic Analysis of the [õ] evolves into [om] in Yuanjiang Bai Dialect

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Nasal endings in modern Bai dialects generally show two evolutionary trends: vowel nasalization or elision. However, some of the post-high nasalised vowels [õ] evolve into [om] in Yuanjiang Bai dialect, which is different from other Bai dialects and is worth investigating the evolutionary mechanism behind this change.

õ		-om/õ	
姜	$k\tilde{o}^{55}$	河（江）	kom^{55} / $k\tilde{o}^{55}$
上方	$t\tilde{o}^{44}$	东	tom^{44} / $t\tilde{o}^{44}$
两	$l\tilde{o}^{31}$	关	lom^{31} / $l\tilde{o}^{31}$
长	$ts\tilde{o}^{24}$	虫	$tsom^{24}$ / $ts\tilde{o}^{24}$
雾	$k\tilde{o}^{31}$	烤	kom^{31} / $k\tilde{o}^{31}$
香	$\varphi i\tilde{o}^{55}$	聪明	φiom^{55} / $\varphi i\tilde{o}^{55}$
闻	$ts^h\tilde{o}^{55}$	葱	ts^hom^{55} / $ts^h\tilde{o}^{55}$

Observing the minimal pairs in the table above, we can see that some people use phonation types to distinguish the two words, while some people use the contrast of [õ] and [om] to distinguish the same two words.

From the internal comparison of Bai dialects and the external comparison of Bai with Chinese and Hani language, we found that the evolution of the post-high nasalised vowel [õ] to [om] in Yuanjiang Bai is related not only to the deep contact with both Chinese dialects of that area and Hani dialects, but also to the weakening of the distinctive function of phonation types. This finding provides an evidence for the mechanism of contact between Yuanjiang Bai, Chinese, and Hani, as well as the direction of the variation of phonation.

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Perceptual Correlates of Pitch Intervals with Standard Chinese Disyllabic Tone Strings

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In songs of tonal languages, lyric discernment entails some kind of tone-tune correspondence. Such correspondence has been found to lie in a non-contradictory pitch transition between the tone and melody of two adjacent syllables (Ho 2006; Wee 2007; Kirby & Ladd 2016). This study contributes that pitch intervals also affect the identification of tones, and hence deserve consideration.

In my study, melodies of three pitch transitions (i.e. level, upward, and downward) composed of two single musical notes were presented as stimuli for identification. Five level melodies were set in different absolute pitches; the lowest was A_3 and highest was C_5 on the piano. The other eighteen melodies involved pitch intervals ranging from minor second to octave. Eight native Standard Chinese speakers, 5 females and 3 males, participated in the experiment. For each stimulant melody, subjects were asked to supply acceptable disyllabic tone combination(s), which come(s) from pairwise combinations of the four Standard Chinese tones: T1 /55/, T2 /25/, T3 /214/, and T4 /51/.

Results show that in the given cases where each syllable has a non-contoured melody, most tones are identified as the two level tones in Standard Chinese, T1 (i.e. /55/) and T3 (i.e. as [21], one of the variants of /214/). Unlike T1, T3 is more perceptible only at lower absolute pitches. However, as the pitch interval becomes larger, the likelihood of perceiving the lower musical note as T3 increases. Meanwhile, the perception of combinations of T3 and the other two tones (i.e. T2 and T4) are only perceived when the pitch intervals are greater than the perfect fourth. In these cases, up- or downward pitch transition regardless, the lower note is perceived as T3 and the higher as T2 or T4.

These results suggest that (i) T1 is the default tone in Standard Chinese tone perception; (ii) the surface tone of T3 plays a role in perception; and (iii) pitch intervals help distinguish T3 from the other tones. These suggestions provide a further understanding of pitch perceptual relationships among the four Standard Chinese tones, especially in the distinction between T3 and T4 in singing—a point uncaptured in Yu's (1963) and Wee's (2007) studies. On this basis, taking pitch interval into consideration enriches the explanations to tone-tune correspondence in Standard Chinese songs.

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Incorporation, separability and headedness: Separable verbal compounds in Mandarin

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The syntax-morphology mismatch In Mandarin Chinese, there are disyllabic verbal compounds in the construction of VN that have both separability and inseparability, which are named as Separable Verbal Compounds (henceforth SVCs) in this paper, such as 跑步 *pǎobù* "run(run-step)". On the one hand, they behave as phrases: they can split and allow the insertion of other syntactic constituents in between, such as auxiliary particles, classifiers, resultative complements, modifiers etc. On the other hand, they behave as compounds: they usually contain bound morphemes, and those bound morphemes are often nominal elements located in the second syllable, such as 步 *bù* "step" in 跑步 *pǎobù* "run(run-step)" and 面 *miàn* "face" in 见面 *jiànmiàn* "meet (meet-face)". Though this is a heated topic in Chinese linguistics, current theories on SVCs are not fully satisfactory (Cheng and Sybesma 1998; Pan and Ye 2015; Ye and Pan 2018; Zhu and Liu 2020).

Main claim Under the framework of distributed morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993; Harley and Noyer 1999), we distribute these two properties into two stages of word formation: incorporation happens at morphosyntax and separation happens at PF with late insertion, i.e., fission at PF (Noyer, 1997). Moreover, there are two approaches of incorporation in these SVCs, N-to-V incorporation and V-to-N incorporation, indicating different headedness.

Late Insertion and Separability In the parallel comparison of SVCs and idioms like *kick the bucket*, we suppose that the spell-out of these constituents happens under the Phase head C (Chomsky, 2000). As a consequence, tense/aspect markers and modifiers are possible to enter into these constituents. Topicalized subjects, as it is located at the specifier of C, are commonly not included in the process of spell-out. Though the structure is built in morphosyntax and undergoes incorporation, the morphemes are still transparent as a morphosyntactic terminal, and they can be translated at the interface with LF and PF. In other words, when inserting lexical items as well as phonological forms, these morphemes are still available and the availability is checked under the C-head.

Headedness and Incorporation One of the major differences between SVCs and monosyllabic verbs is that SVCs are easier to nominalize. For example, 跑 *pǎo* "run" cannot be nominalized, but 跑步 *pǎobù* "run (run-step)" can be nominalized. This paper attributes the nominalization to root-attached *n* heads (Embick 2010), i.e., 步 *bù* "step" in 跑步 *pǎobù* "run (run-step)". We suppose that SVCs have two types of headedness, as well as two patterns for incorporation. One is the the incorporation of a nominal element into a verb root, the N-to-V incorporation, and the other is the V-to-N incorporation. Both incorporations are generated by head-movement (Baker 1988).

The head selection is based on the syntactic environment. If 跑步 *pǎobù* "run (run-step)", for example, is used as the external argument or the internal argument where the specific syntactic position only allows the merge with DP, it would choose the nominal element 步 *bù* "step" as its head. In such cases, the perfective marker *le* cannot be inserted in between, such as 喜欢跑步 "like run-step" versus *喜欢跑了步 "like run *le* step". This also aligns with Borer's exo-skeletal modal (2005a, b, 2013, 2014) that lexical categories are determined by the functional structure.

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An analysis of '你看 nǐ kàn' as a discourse marker invoking politeness in Mandarin Chinese

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This study examines the discourse marker "你看 nǐ kàn" (you see) in Mandarin Chinese, building on previous research (Cao, 2010; Chen & Piao, 2006; Li & Yin, 2011; Wei & Zheng, 2013; Yin & Li, 2011, etc.). The focus is on its utilization as the perception verb "看 kàn" (see) in contexts where it serves both interactional and interpersonal functions. The research investigates how speakers employ this linguistic device to convey politeness in their communication.

When "你看 nǐ kàn" appears in a question, it functions as a consulting marker, wherein the speaker seeks the other party's opinion, speculation, idea, decision, etc. (Yin & Li, 2011). This usage demonstrates the speaker's respect for the listener and helps avoid abruptness in the conversation. On the other hand, when "你看 nǐ kàn" is found in a statement, it serves as a calling-attention marker. It prompts the listener to pay attention to evidence, reasons, and bases or directs focus toward conclusions, results, etc. Through the use of "你看 nǐ kàn" as a reminder, the causal relationship between evidence, reasons, bases, and conclusions, results, etc., is underscored. This approach enhances the rationale and persuasiveness of views presented as conclusions, speculations, proposals, requests, etc., making the results more natural and easily understandable. Consequently, this linguistic strategy contributes to the overall acceptability of the discourse as an act of communicative language.

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