Encyclopedia *of* Chinese Language *and* Linguistics

PREVIEW

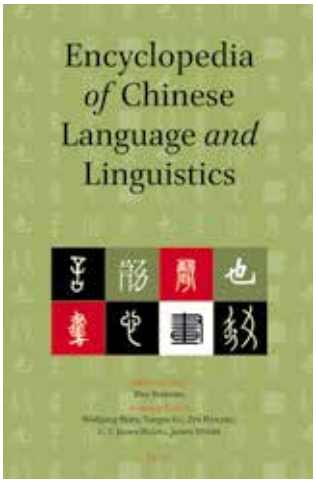
Editor-in-Chief
Rint Sybesma

Associate Editors
Wolfgang Behr, Yueguo Gu, Zev Handel,
C.-T. James Huang, James Myers

BRILL

Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics (5 Volumes)

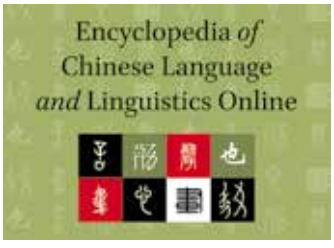
Editor-in-Chief: **Rint Sybesma**, Leiden University
Associate Editors: **Wolfgang Behr**, University of Zürich, **Yueguo Gu**, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, **Zev Handel**, University of Washington, **C.-T. James Huang**, Harvard University and **James Myers**, National Chung Cheng University



· November 2015
· ISBN 978 90 04 18643 9
· Hardback (5 Volumes (4 + index volume))
· List price EUR 1,248 / US$ 1,716
· **Pre-publication price EUR 1,040 / US$ 1,430**

The *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics* offers a systematic and comprehensive overview of the languages of China and the different ways in which they are and have been studied. It provides authoritative treatment of all important aspects of the languages spoken in China, today and in the past, from many different angles, as well as the different linguistic traditions they have been investigated in. In more than 550 articles, written by the major specialists in the field, it offers a synthesis of the most important research in Chinese linguistics and provides adequate and up to date bibliographical coverage. As such it is the reference source for information on:
- the Sinitic and non-Sinitic languages of China, including Sign Languages: their lexicon, syntax and sound structure
- their history and situation today
- the writing systems: their emergence, development, spread and use today
- the history of Chinese linguistics, both the indigenous and the Western traditions
- the sociolinguistic situation, language contact and language variation
- psycho- and neurolinguistic studies on Chinese, including first language acquisition
- second language acquisition and language pedagogy
- and many other aspects of Chinese and Chinese linguistics (e.g., Chinese in the diaspora, Chinese loanwords in other languages, history of lexicography, etc.).

Also available online



· More information on brill.com/eclo
· Available from 2015
· E-ISSN 2210-7363

Purchase options and 2015 prices
· Annual Subscription: EUR 480 / US$ 635
· Outright purchase: EUR 1,872 / US$ 2,490

Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics

BRILL

List of Articles (subject to change)

Aspect, Modern

1. Introduction

A major goal of research on aspect is to determine which aspectual elements are universal and which are not, and where in the grammar aspectual information is represented. The study of Chinese aspect contributes to this general goal by enriching the empirical base upon which a theory of aspect can be built.

The term "aspect" has been used to refer to "viewpoint aspect" and "situation aspect" (Smith 1991, 1994). Viewpoint aspect, also referred to as grammatical or syntactic aspect, focuses on the temporal perspective of the situation, and involves distinctions such as imperfective and perfective. Assuming that situations may have an initial point, an end point and internal stages, imperfective viewpoint focuses on part of a situation, with no information about its initial and end points, while perfective viewpoint focuses on the situation as a whole, including both the initial and end points (Smith 1991, 1994). Viewpoint aspect is formalized as a relation between the interval of time during which an event takes place (situation time) and the time span about which a sentence makes an assertion (topic time) in Klein (1994) and Klein *et al.* (2000). The imperfective aspect is defined as the situation where topic time is properly included in situation time (i.e., where topic time is a proper subset of situation time), and perfective aspect describes the situation where situation time is included (properly or improperly) in topic time. In Mandarin, imperfective viewpoint markers include *zài* 在 and *-zhe* 著 while perfective viewpoint markers include verb-*le* 了 (to be distinguished from sentence-*le* 了, see below) and *-guo* 過.

Situation aspect, also known as Aktionsart or lexical aspect, is concerned with the internal structure of the situation. Four distinct situation classes (sometimes referred to as Vendler classes) are often assumed. They are states, activities, achievements and accomplishments. The classes differ from each other in terms of whether or not the situation described is temporally bounded (telic), extended in time (durative) or dynamic (not static) (Smith 1991, 1994). The distinctions are often represented using features. For example, states (e.g., *gāoxìng* 高興 'be happy') are [-telic], [+durative] and [+static]; activities (e.g., *tīng* 聽 'listen') are [-telic], [+durative] and [-static]; achievements (e.g., *dǎ-pò* 打破 'break') are [+telic], [-durative] and [-static]; and accomplishments (e.g., *gài yī zuò qiáo* 蓋一座橋 'build a bridge') are [+telic], [+durative] and [-static] (Smith 1991, 1994). The different aspectual categories are distinctions at the level of linguistic expressions. They refer to the way in which a sentence describes real world events/states, not the actual structure of the real world events/states (Smith 1983, 1991). One common linguistic test distinguishing telic from atelic situations involves the use of durative adverbials (Verkuyl 1972, Tai 1984). For example, the durative adverbial *zài wǔ nián nèi* 在五年內 'within five years' may appear in a sentence describing a telic situation as in (1a), but may not appear in a sentence describing an atelic situation as in (1b).

1. a. 他在五年內學會了中文。
   Tā zài wǔ nián nèi xué-huì-le
   3SG in five year within study-know-ASP
   Zhōngwén.
   Chinese
   'He learned Chinese within five years.'
   b. *他在五年內學了中文。
   *Tā zài wǔ nián nèi xué-le
   3SG in five year within study-ASP
   Zhōngwén.
   Chinese
   *'He studied Chinese within five years.'

Other linguistic tests distinguishing the different aspectual classes in Mandarin can be found in Smith (1994) and Tai (1984). Early studies of situation aspect have considered situation aspect as a property of lexical items. More recent works have considered it a property of verb phrases or sentences because of the recognition that nominal arguments and adjuncts affect the aspectual properties of the sentence (Verkuyl 1972, Dowty 1979, Smith 1991, Tenny 1994, Ritter and Rosen 1998, Liu 2003, 2006, Soh and Kuo 2005).

2. Viewpoint Aspect

Verb *-le* in Mandarin is generally considered a perfective aspect marker (Li and Thompson 1981, Smith 1991, 1994, Soh and Gao 2007).

2. 他看了那本書。
   Tā kàn-le nà běn shū.
   3SG read-ASP that CLF book
   'He read that book.'

This analysis, while widely accepted, is however not uncontroversial. There have been proposals that *-le*

is a realization marker (Liu 1988, Sybesma 1997, 1999, J.-W. Lin 2003), a relative anteriority marker (Shi 1988), or a marker of both tense and aspect (Ross 1995, J.-W. Lin 2000, Z. Wu 2000). An important source of the controversy is disagreement about certain basic empirical generalizations. One such disagreement involves whether verb-*le* always provides a terminative/completive reading (see section 4), or whether it may contribute an inchoative/change of state or a present continuative reading when the situation described is a state or an activity. Within this debate, there is a question of whether verb-*le* may appear in stative sentences at all. The determination of the semantic and distributional properties of verb-*le* is complicated by the fact that *-le* may also appear in a sentence final position (sentence-*le*). Researchers disagree on whether verb-*le* and sentence-*le* are instances of the same morpheme or distinct morphemes since they pattern alike in some ways but not others (see Sybesma 1999, Soh 2009). Many of the disagreements thus involve how the data is divided (e.g., whether *-le* in a certain example is an instance of verb-*le* or sentence-*le*) and whether a certain reading found in a sentence is due to *-le*, the predicate itself, or whether it arises as an implicature. For example, consider (3) with *-le* appearing simultaneously in verb final and sentence final position. Here, the disagreement involves the source of the change of state reading. Citing such sentences, some authors (e.g., Liú 1988, Sybesma 1997, 1999, Klein *et al.* 2000, J.-S. Wu 2005) consider that verb-*le* can occur in stative sentences, giving rise to a change of state reading.

3. 張三胖了。
   Zhāng Sān pàng le.
   Zhang San fat ASP
   'Zhang San has gotten fat/gained weight.'

Although the *-le* particle in (3) may in principle be an instance of verb-*le* or sentence-*le*, the assumption that it is verb-*le* is not unreasonable given that it can be followed by a measure phrase as in (4); by definition, such phrases cannot follow sentence-*le* as sentence-*le* appears at the end of the sentence.

4. 張三胖了兩公斤。
   Zhāng Sān pàng-le liǎng gōngjīn.
   Zhang San fat-ASP two kilogram
   'Zhang San has gained two kilograms in weight.'

However, a question arises as to whether the change of state reading is due to verb-*le* or to the predicate *pàng* 胖, the question being whether *pàng* denotes a state ('to be fat') or a (degree) achievement ('to gain weight'). The latter appears to be the case (J. Lin 2004:87, Huang 1997, contra Shen 2004; see also Sybesma 1999). This is because the change of state reading is possible in the absence of *-le*:

5. 喝果汁會讓你一個月胖一公斤。
   Hē guǒzhī huì ràng nǐ yī gè
   drink fruit juice will make 2SG one CLF
   yuè pàng yī gōngjīn.
   month gain.weight one kilogram
   'Drinking fruit juice will make you gain one kilogram per month in weight.'

The debate on whether verb-*le* may provide an inchoative/change of state or a present continuative reading when the situation described is a state or an activity extends to examples where the linear position of *-le* clearly indicates its status as verb-*le* or sentence-*le*. For example, J.-W. Lin (2003: 267) suggests that verb-*le* may contribute a present continuative reading in the sense that the event described by the sentence is presented as having "begun before the speech time and is still ongoing". An example from J.-W. Lin (2003:266–267) is given below, with translations from Soh and Gao (2007).

6. 我 (在波士頓) 租了一間公寓。
   Wǒ (zài Bōshìdùn) zū-le yī jiān
   1SG LOC Boston rent-ASP one CLF
   gōngyù.
   apartment
   'I am renting an apartment (in Boston).'
   'I rented (entered into a rental agreement for) an apartment (in Boston), and I am renting it.'

The issue involves how to account for the present continuative reading in some atelic sentences with verb-*le*. It is important to note that the present continuative reading is not possible with many activity sentences with verb-*le* (J.-W. Lin 2003, Soh and Gao 2007). An example is given below.

7. 他做了運動。
   Tā zuò-le yùndòng.
   3SG do-ASP exercise
   'He exercised.'
   Not: 'He is exercising.'

J.-W. Lin (2003) assumes that a present continuative reading is in principle available with atelic predicates and its absence in some sentences is due to independent reasons. On the other hand, Soh and Gao (2007)

take the position that the present continuative reading is in general not available with atelic predicates and it is only available with a small set of verbs. Such verbs are ambiguous between activities and achievements. They suggest that the present continuative interpretation arises as an implicature, and is not due directly to verb-*le*.

Researchers disagree on whether verb-*le* may appear in stative sentences. This is because *-le* appears to be unacceptable in some stative sentences, but not others.

8. *他像了爸爸。
   *Tā xiàng-le bàba.
   3SG resemble-ASP father

9. 他有了五百塊。
   Tā yǒu-le wǔ bǎi kuài.
   3SG have-ASP five hundred CLF
   'He has acquired five hundred dollars.'

For example, the acceptability of (9) is taken by some as evidence that verb-*le* may appear in stative sentences with the translation 'he now has five hundred dollars' (Shi 1990:108), instead of the translation given above. There is however reason to maintain that verb-*le* cannot appear in stative sentences. This is because, as Soh and Gao (2007) have shown, the potential counter-example in (9) does not denote a state, but an achievement instead (see also Yang 2011). If verb-*le* cannot appear in stative sentences, then its inability to appear in habitual sentences follows (J.-W. Lin 2000, Soh and Gao 2007), since habitual sentences are semantically stative (Smith 1994, Smith and Erbaugh 2005).

The experiential marker *-guo*, which expresses that the event described has been experienced at least once before, is also usually considered a perfective aspect marker (Iljic 1990, Smith 1994, Pan and Lee 2004, J.-W. Lin 2007, J.-S. Wu 2008).

10. 他看過那本書。
    Tā kàn-guo nà běn shū.
    3SG read-EXP that CLF book
    'He has read that book before.'

While *-guo* and *-le* are both perfective aspect markers, *-guo* is unlike *-le* in that it imposes a "discontinuity" requirement. In particular, for telic situations with transitory final states, the final state of the situation no longer obtains with a *-guo* sentence, in contrast to a *-le* sentence (Smith 1994:117):

11. a. 他們上個月去了香港。
       Tāmen shàng gè yuè qù-le
       3PL last CLF month go-ASP
       Xiānggǎng.
       Hong Kong
       'Last month, they went to Hong Kong (they may still be there).'

    b. 他們上個月去過香港。
       Tāmen shàng gè yuè qù-guo
       3PL last CLF month go-EXP
       Xiānggǎng.
       Hong Kong
       'Last month, they went to Hong Kong (they are no longer there).'

Researchers disagree on whether the "discontinuity" property is part of the semantics of *-guo* or whether it is a derived property (Iljic 1990, Smith 1994, Yeh 1996, Pan and Lee 2004, J.-W. Lin 2007, J.-S. Wu 2008). For recent analyses of *-guo*, see Pan and Lee (2004), Ljungqvist (2007), J.-W. Lin (2007) and J.-S. Wu (2008).

The aspectual morpheme *zài*, which precedes the verb, is a typical progressive viewpoint aspect marker, in that it focuses on the internal stages of non-stative situations and has a dynamic conceptual meaning (Smith 1994).

12. 他在看書。
    Tā zài kàn shū.
    3SG PROG read book
    'He is reading.'

Also like a typical progressive marker, *zài* may not appear in sentences describing achievements (Smith 1994:122). *Zài* contrasts with the imperfective marker *-zhe*, which tends to focus on results and has a static conceptual meaning (Smith 1994). An example with *-zhe* is given below.

13. 他躺著。
    Tā tǎng-zhe.
    3SG lie-DUR
    'He is lying down'.

The suffix *-zhe* presents a continuous and stable situation without regard to endpoints. It focuses on states of position and posture and other states that can be seen as resultative. It may also present the internal stages of an event in a static manner.

As shown above, aspectual viewpoint markers in Chinese may appear pre-verbally or post-verbally as

verbal suffixes. Mandarin imperfective *zài* is preverbal, while the perfective *-le*, the experiential *-guo* and the imperfective *-zhe* are post-verbal suffixes. Despite their differing surface positions, both the preverbal and post-verbal aspectual markers are generally assumed to be associated with an aspectual head above vP at some point in the derivation (Cheng 1991, Gu 1995, Tsai 2008, Huang, Li, Li 2009) ("vP" is the top layer of the verb phrase, of which "VP" is the lexical core).

14. $[_{\text{AspP}}$ Asp $[_{\text{vP}}$ v $[_{\text{VP}}$ V]]]

A pre-verbal aspectual marker occupies Asp and appears before the verb in v. A post-verbal aspectual marker has been analyzed as either occupying Asp, with Asp lowering to v (Cheng 1991) or being generated affixed to the verb, with verb raising to Asp in covert syntax (Gu 1995, Huang, Li and Li 2009).

Several recent studies have suggested the existence of more than one aspectual projection in Chinese syntax (Gu 1995, Shen 2004, Tsai 2008, Soh 2008). One type of argument is based on the occurrence of typical viewpoint aspectual markers (Gu 1995, Tsai 2008). For example, Gu (1995) argues for the existence of more than one aspectual projection on the basis of the fact that viewpoint aspectual markers may co-occur. Another type of argument is based on the co-occurrence of viewpoint aspectual markers with elements that are not traditionally assumed to be viewpoint aspectual markers (Shen 2004, Soh 2008). Focusing on sentence final particles, Shen (2004) argues that a group of sentence final particles (e.g., sentence-*le, ne* 呢*, laizhe* 來著 and a null element ∅) are aspectual in nature and they head an aspectual projection (that is head final) immediately above vP as shown in (15).

15. $[_{\text{AspP}}$ $[_{\text{vP}}$ v $[_{\text{VP}}$ V]] Asp]

Sentence-*le* is considered a marker of perfect aspect, while *ne* is a marker of progressive aspect and *laizhe* a past progressive marker. According to Shen (2004), sentence final aspectual particles have a dynamic feature, [±dynamic], and they syntactically agree with a light verb in terms of the relevant feature. The analysis is motivated by a search for a principled account of the occurrence of certain sentence final particles, which appear to correlate with the dynamicity of the predicate. How the head final AspP is to be related to the head initial AspP assumed in previous analyses is not addressed in Shen (2004). To the extent that Shen's (2004) analysis predicts the occurrence of sentence final aspectual particles, it provides evidence for more than one syntactic projection associated with aspect in Mandarin above vP.

Soh (2008) proposes that there is more than one syntactic projection associated with aspect, on the basis of an analysis of the relation between verb-*le* and sentence-*le*. Following Huang and Davis (1989), Soh (2008) claims that verb-*le* and sentence-*le* are the same morpheme, and attempts to derive their differences through their distinct syntactic position, assuming that verb-*le* heads an aspectual projection immediately above vP, and sentence-*le* heads a projection above TP but below CP (Soh and Gao 2006).

16. a. $[_{\text{CP}} \ldots [_{\text{TP}} \ldots [_{\text{AspP}}$ *-le* $[_{\text{vP}} \ldots]]]]$ (verb-*le*)
b. $[_{\text{CP}} \ldots [_{\text{AspP}} [_{\text{TP}} \ldots [_{\text{vP}} \ldots]]$ *-le*$]] \ldots$ (sentence-*le*)

Soh (2008) proposes that *-le* is a marker of change (cf. Sybesma 1999), and that it may mark one of three types of change depending on its syntactic position: transitions relating eventualities (E-transitions), transitions relating values on a scale (V-transitions) and transitions relating propositions (P-transitions). In particular, verb-*le* may mark E-transitions or V-transitions, while sentence-*le* marks P-transitions. To the extent that this analysis is on the right track, it offers evidence of an aspectual projection that is high up in the structure, scoping over TP.

3. Situation Aspect

Studies of situation aspect (sometimes referred to as event structure) are primarily concerned with determining what the building blocks of situations are and how and where in the grammar situation aspect information is represented (Rosen 1999, Tenny and Pustejovsky 2000).

[*This article has been abridged for this preview booklet.*]

Hooi Ling Soh

Aspectual Adverbs

Aspectual adverbs describe a relation between the beginning or end of a current state and a current stage of that state. Included in traditional grammar books are examples such as *zhèngzài* 正在 'right at', *réngrán* 仍然 'still', *jiànjiàn* 漸漸 'gradually', *céngjīng* 曾經 'once', *cónglái* 從來 'ever', *jiù* 就 'then', *cái* 才 'until', etc. These aspectual adverbs may function differently in different dialects, but only standard Mandarin will

be discussed in this article. The most typical example of aspectual adverbs discussed in the literature is the opposition between *already* and *still* in English. Löbner (1989, 1999) argues that this pair of words is a "logical dual", i.e., the meaning of the one is logically equivalent to the external negation of the internal negation of the other. For example, *John is already asleep* is logically equivalent to *It is not the case that John is still not asleep*. In contrast, other authors (Van der Auwera 1993; Michaelis 1996; Israel 1997) analyze *already* and *still* as (pragmatic) scalar operators, stating how early the state begins or how late it ends. On this analysis, *already* marks the asserted state as occurring early with respect to some expected alternative possibility, whereas *still* marks an asserted state as continuing later than an expected alternative possibility. Some authors, such as Lee (2008), argue that both analyses are necessary.

In contrast to English *already*, Mandarin *yǐjīng* 已經 'already' has received much less attention in formal analysis and no one seems to have analyzed it in opposition to *hái* 還 'still' or *réngrán* 'still'. Most studies contrast *yǐjīng* with *céngjīng* 'ever' rather than with *hái* (Mǎ 2003; Cáo 2003). According to Lin (2000), what a formula of the form *yǐjīng* (*P*) asserts is that proposition *P* is true before a certain time *t*, which is formally represented as follows:

1. P<i,t> t' t[t < t' & P(t)]

This analysis of *yǐjīng* is confirmed by later works such as Mǎ (2003), who argues that the grammatical meaning of *yǐjīng* is not to indicate completion or change of state as some traditional works say but to emphasize that the proposition modified by *yǐjīng* has become a fact before the utterance time, or before another time or a certain action. An important consequence of this analysis is that the proposition modified by *yǐjīng* doesn't have to describe a past situation, but can denote a present or future situation. In this respect, as Mǎ (2003) points out, *yǐjīng* is different from *céngjīng*. The latter can only modify a past situation as illustrated by the following examples.

2. 去年我曾經/已經看過這本書。
   Qùnián wǒ céngjīng/yǐjīng kàn-guò zhè
   last.year 1SG ever/already read-ASP this
   běn shū.
   CLF book
   céngjīng: 'Last year I had the experience of reading this book.'
   yǐjīng: 'I had already read this book last year.'

3. 他現在*曾經/已經在睡覺。
   Tā xiànzài *céngjīng/yǐjīng zài shuìjiào.
   3SG now ever/already PROG sleep
   céngjīng: intended 'He was sleeping now.'
   yǐjīng: 'He is already sleeping now.'

4. 他下個月大概*曾經/已經看完了。
   Tā xià ge yuè dàgài
   3SG next CLF month probably
   *céngjīng/yǐjīng kàn-wán le.
   ever/already read-finish ASP
   céngjīng, intended: 'He will have probably had the experience of reading it next month.'
   yǐjīng: 'He will probably have read it already by next month.'

Besides the above difference in temporal location, (3) shows that the eventuality modified by *yǐjīng* might continue into the speech time, whereas the eventuality modified by *céngjīng* must end before the speech time.

Note that although it is often true that the use of English *already* and Mandarin *yǐjīng* implies a preceding negative state (*yǐjīng* / *already* (*P*) implies a change from not *P* to *P*), this presupposition is not always true as (5) shows for Mandarin (cf. Michaelis's 1996 discussion of *already*).

5. 你不會想放一台除濕機在這裡吧。這裡已經夠乾燥了。
   Nǐ bù huì xiǎng fàng yī tái
   2SG not will want put one CLF
   chúshījī zài zhèlǐ ba. Zhèlǐ yǐjīng
   dehumidifier in here SUG here already
   gòu gānzào le.
   enough dry ASP
   'You don't want to put a dehumidifier in here. It's already dry enough here.'

Certainly (5) does not imply that it was not dry here before the speech time. To the contrary, the discourse indicates that it was.

For English *already* it has been claimed (see, e.g., Van der Auwera 1993 and Hoepelman and Rohrer 1981) that it invokes an earliness intuition: it contrasts the actual situation with an anticipated or expected situation in which the same state starts later. For many instances of Mandarin *yǐjīng* the same applies. However, data like the following show that this earliness presupposition cannot be true (see Michaelis 1996 and Lee 2008): in (6) it is not implied that the onset is earlier than expected.

6. 昨晚我回家得很晚。正如我所預期的，孩子們已經睡了。
   Zuó wǎn wǒ huí jiā de hěn wǎn.
   last night 1SG go home SUB very late
   Zhèng rú wǒ suǒ yùqī de
   right as 1SG NMLZ anticipate PRT
   háizimen yǐjīng shuì le.
   children already sleep-ASP
   'Last night, I got home quite late. As I anticipated, the kids were already asleep.'

Lee (2008:342) proposes that the core meaning of *already*, which is applicable to *yǐjīng*, is that the speaker is making a temporal contrast with an alternative, which denotes the same state holding at a later time. For example, (6) contrasts the fact that the children are asleep with a possible situation of their going to sleep at a later time, i.e., after the father's return. So *yǐjīng*, just like *already*, not only requires that the proposition modified by it is past relative to a reference time but also that its actual truth contrasts with a possible alternative truth.

Hái 'still' is another word that is often cited as an example of an aspectual adverb in that it relates the beginning of a state and a current stage of that state. It shares with English *still* the presupposition of a prior continuation of the same state. Thus, the sentence in (7) not only asserts that John is asleep now but also presupposes that he was asleep before.

7. 約翰還在睡覺。
   Yuēhàn hái zài shuìjiào.
   John still PROG sleep
   'John is still asleep.'

It has been well-accepted that the continuative reading is one of the major uses of *hái*. However, the continuative use of *hái* occurs most naturally with atelic (or, unbounded) situations (Donazzan 2008, Zhù 2010). Here are two more examples.

8. 他還是個孩子。
   Tā hái shì ge háizi.
   3SG still COP CLF child
   'He is still a child.'

9. 我還沒吃飽。
   Wǒ hái méi chī-bǎo.
   1SG still not eat-full
   'I am still not full yet.'

This indicates that the continuative *hái* is aspectually sensitive to the telicity or boundedness of the situation that it modifies. Interestingly, when *hái* occurs with a telic or bounded situation, the sentence is still grammatical but its meaning is shifted to an additive interpretation, as illustrated by (10).

10. 我還買了一個蘋果。
    Wǒ hái mǎi-le yī ge píngguǒ.
    1SG still buy-ASP one CLF apple
    'I also bought an apple.'

This is why *hái* is often contrasted with other repetitive or additive adverbs such as *zài* 再 'again' and *yòu* 又 'again' or *yě* 也 'also' by traditional Chinese linguists (for example, Jiǎng and Jīn 1997; Lù and Mǎ 1999; Mǎ 2000; Zhù 2010). It is beyond the scope of this short article to discuss the differences among these additive adverbs.

The continuative and additive uses do not exhaust the meanings of *hái*. This adverb also has a so-called scalar interpretation in that it may occur in comparative constructions such as (11).

11. 張三比李四還高。
    Zhāng Sān bǐ Lǐ Sì hái gāo.
    Zhang San compare Li Si hai tall
    'Zhang San is taller than Li Si.'

Gloss (11) is true if Li Si's height counts as tall according to the standard of height and Zhang San's height exceeds that of Li Si's. This interpretation of *hái* is quite unique and does not have an exact counterpart in the use of English *still*, though English has a use like *Yesterday it was cold, but today it's colder still.*

The various interpretations of *hái* raise an important question of whether they can all be unified under the same core meaning. A few attempts have been made in the literature but there is no consensus. Liu (2001) approaches this issue within a scalar model framework according to which *hái* is associated with a higher value, and the proposition it modifies entails another proposition already in the context (see also Shén 2001). In contrast, Donazzan (2008) treats it as a repetitive adverb which contributes an existence presupposition of an item *y* that is of the same type as the asserted one and ordered with respect to it by a relevant ordering relation. Despite the differences between individual proposals, it seems that scalarity plays an important role in the semantics of *hái*.

Bibliographical References

Auwera, Johan van der, "Already and Still: Beyond Duality," *Linguistics and Philosophy* 16, 1993, 613–653.

Cáo Fèngxiá 曹凤霞, "Fùcí 'céngjīng' yǔ 'yǐjīng' de yǔfǎ yìyì jí qítā 副词 '曾经' 与 '已经' 的语法意义及其他" [The Grammatical Meanings and Other Issues of the Adverbs *Céngjīng* and *Yǐjīng*], *Xuéshù Jiāoliú* 学术交流 11, 2003, 140–143.

Donazzan, Marta, "Presuppositions on Times and Degrees: The Semantics of Mandarin Hai," in: Marjorie K.M. Chan and Hana Kang, eds., *Proceedings of the 20th North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics* (*NACCL–20*), Columbus: The Ohio State University, 2008, 597–610.

Hoepelman, Jakob, and Christian Rohrer, "Remarks on *Noch* and *Schon* in German," in: Philip Tedeschi and Annie Zaenen, eds., *Syntax and Semantics: Tense and Aspect*, New York: Academic Press, 1981, 103–126.

Israel, Michael, "The Scalar Model of Polarity Sensitivity: The Case of Aspectual Operators," in: Danielle Forget, Paul Hirschbüler, France Martineau and Maria-Luisa Rivero, eds., *Negation and Polarity*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1997, 209–229.

Jiǎng Qí 蒋淇 and Jīn Lìxīn 金立鑫, "*Zài* yǔ *hái* chóngfùyì de bǐjiào '再' 与 '还' 重复义的比较" [A Comparison of the Repetitive Meaning of *zài* and *hái*], *Zhōngguó Yǔwén* 中国语文 3, 1997, 187–190.

Lee, EunHee, "Aspectual and Focus Adverbs in English and Korean," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 26, 2008, 339–358.

Lin, Jo-wang, "On the Temporal Meaning of the Verbal *-le* in Mandarin Chinese," *Language and Linguistics* 1/2, 2000, 109–133.

Liu, Feng-Hsi, "The Scalar Particle *hai* in Chinese," *Cahiers de Linguistique - Asie Orientale* 29/1, 2001, 41–84.

Löbner, Sebastian, "German *Schon-Erst-Noch*: An Integrated Analysis," *Linguistics and Philosophy* 12, 1989, 167–212.

Löbner, Sebastian, "Why German *Schon* and *Noch* Are Still Duals," *Linguistics and Philosophy* 22, 1999, 45–107.

Lù Jiǎnmíng 陆俭明 and Mǎ Zhēn 马真, *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Xūcí Sǎnlùn* 现代汉语虚词散论, Běijīng 北京: Běijīng Dàxué 北京大学出版社, 1985.

Mǎ Zhēn 马真, "*yǐjīng* hé *céngjīng* de yǔfǎ yìyì '已经' 和 '曾经' 的语法意义" [The Grammatical Meanings of *yǐjīng* and 'ever'], *Yǔyán Kēxué* 语言科学 1, 2003, 23–28.

Mǎ Zhēn 马真, "Guānyú biǎo chóngfù de fùcí *yòu*, *zài*, *hái* 关於表重复的副词又再还" [On Repetitive Adverbs *yòu*, *zài* and *hái*], *Yǔfǎ Yánjiù Yǔ Tànsuǒ* (*shí*) 语法研究与探索（十）, Běijīng 北京: Shāngwù 商务印书馆.

Michaelis, Laura A., "On the Meaning and Use of *Already*," *Linguistics and Philosophy* 19, 1996, 477–502.

Shén Jiāxuān 沈家煊, "Gēn fùcí *hái* yǒuguān de liǎng ge jùshì 跟副词 '还' 有关的两个句式" [Two Constructions Related to *hái*], *Zhōngguó Yǔwén* 中国语文 6, 2001, 483–493.

Zhù Dōngpíng 祝东平, "*Zài*, *hái* chóngfùyì yǔ dòngcíxìng cíyǔ de yǒujié-wújié 再、还重复意与动词性词语的有结无结" [*zài*, *hái* and the (A)telicity of the Verb], *Hànyǔ Xuéxí* 汉语学习 5, 2005, 55–61.

Jo-wang Lin

Brand Names

Brand names play an important role in determining the success or failure of a new product or service (Armstrong and Kotler 1997), influencing its acceptance by the public (Charmasson 1998). Thus brand names are a crucial component of marketing strategies. A well-made brand name should suggest positive connotations and the relevance of the product, be short, distinctive and easy to memorize (Robertson 1989; Kohli and LaBanh 1997). In choosing a brand name one should take into account phonological, morphological and semantic aspects (Chan 1990; Chan and Huang 1997; Chan and Huang 2001a); hence, the specific characteristics of a particular language significantly affect the creation of brand names.

1. Chinese Brand Names

From a linguistic point of view, Chinese brand names have some particular features that distinguish them from brand names in Western languages. These are related to the considerable structural differences between Chinese and Indo-European languages. Modern Chinese is a tonal language and is characterized by a quasi-perfect correspondence between syllable, morpheme and character. However, most morphemes are bound, and thus they must combine with other morphemes to form words: the majority of Chinese words are combinations of two or more morphemes (either free or bound), each represented by a character in writing. In particular, Modern Chinese shows a strong tendency to form disyllabic words: before 200 BC, disyllabic words were roughly 20% of the lexicon (at least in the written language); a stronger tendency to disyllabification developed during the Hàn period (206 BC–220 AD), and estimates for disyllabic words in the modern language are above 80% (Shi 2002:70–72). Moreover, since words are formed mainly by combining existing lexical morphemes/characters, i.e. content units, Chinese names tend to be more meaningful than names in languages like English, such that the meaning of the name's components should be carefully chosen. Whereas in English, which is written with a phonographic alphabet, one can make up a word from a phonological string without any meaning as, say, *glapt*, in Chinese each grapheme normally conveys a meaning; thus, if we make up a word such as *lóng-dèng* 隆瞪, the constituents have a meaning of their own, i.e. 'prosperous' and 'glare', despite the fact that the word as a whole does not make any sense.

Furthermore, the differences in writing system seem to affect crucially the creation of brand names. Research has shown that native speakers of Chinese seem to be more receptive towards writing cues and consumers are more likely to rely on visual representations, while English native speakers seem to be more receptive towards phonological cues and consumers apparently rely mainly on phonological representations (Schmitt *et al.* 1994; Pan and Schmitt 1995; 1996)

In Chinese, names can be composed less freely than in a language like English (see Chan and Huang 2001a). The phonographic system allows English to form a name simply by scrambling letters (e.g. *Kodak*, *Wii*), by creating acronyms, by compounding, by blending, by clipping, by adding a (non-meaningful) syllable to an existing word (e.g. *Motorola*), etc. In contrast, Chinese brand names are formed mainly by: 1) "borrowing" an existing term, such a geographical name, as in *Tiānzhù shān* 天柱山 'Tianzhu mountain' (a cigarette brand), or an existing word, e.g. *Jiěfàng* 解放 'liberation' (a truck brand); 2) abbreviation, e.g. *Zhōngguó yīqì* 中國一汽 'China one-car', from *Zhōngguó dì yī qìchē jítuán gōngsī* 中國第一汽車集團公司 'Chinese automobile factory No. 1'; 3) compounding, e.g. *Jīn-hóu* 金猴 'golden-monkey', a leatherwear brand (see Chan *et al.* 2009). Different corpus-based studies (e.g. Chan and Huang 1997; Chan and Huang 2001; Chan *et al.* 2009) have demonstrated that the most commonly used means is compounding, mainly of the modifier-head type.

1. 飛馬 *Fēi-mǎ* 'fly-horse' (bicycles)
   白貓 *Bái-māo* 'white-cat' (detergent)
   雪洋 *Xuě-yáng* 'snow-ocean' (soft drinks)
   冷香 *Lěng-xiāng* 'cold-fragrance' (cosmetics)
   金獅 *Jīn-shī* 'golden-lion' (bicycles)

Other strategies can be found too, e.g. reduplication (see *Zhōngguó míngpái wǎng* 中國名牌網 'Chinese brand names net'):

2. 加加 *Jiā-jiā* 'add-add' (soy sauce)
   力力 *Lì-lì* 'strength-strength' (ceramics)
   杉杉 *Shān-shān* 'Chinese.fir-Chinese.fir' (male Western-style clothes)

Another strategy consists in creating names like *ài-lí-sī* 愛麗絲 'love-beautiful-silk' (cosmetics), which are not structurally analyzable, since they are not formed by a particular word formation strategy (see Chan and Huang 2001a, Chan *et al.* 2009). In these names, syllables are chosen and arranged to evoke the sound of a foreign name (as "Alice" in the example above), and characters are carefully selected to suggest proper (positive) meanings; they are created to attract female consumers through connotation of exoticism, uniqueness, beauty, romance, etc. (see Chan and Huang 2001a, Chan *et al.* 2009).

Some acronyms or initialisms can be found too (see table 1; *Zhōngguó míngpái wǎng* 'Chinese brand names net').

Acronyms/initialisms can be formed from English (a-b) or can originate from the (romanized) Chinese name of the company, choosing the initials of some of its syllables (c-d).

There are some particular cases, too, as shown by table 2.

The name LINIX (a) seems to be formed simply by scrambling letters (in LINIX, only 'LI' is the first part of the syllable *lián* 聯); in ZOJE (b), 'Z' and 'J' and 'O' and 'E' can be traced back to the first two syllables of the name of the company, but their selection does not follow any obvious pattern along the initial/rhyme boundaries within these syllables. A particular case is

Table 1. Brand names formed by acronyms/initialisms

Company name	Brand name	Product/service
a. 大連機床集團 *Dàlián jīchuáng jítuán* 'Dalian Machine Tool Group'	DMTG	machine-tools
b. TCL 通訊設備 *Tōngxùn shèbèi* 'TCL Telecommunication Equipment' (TCL = Telephone Company Limited)	TCL	telecommunications
c. 萬年青運動器材 *Wànniánqīng yùndòng qìcái*	WNQ	body building equipment
d. 比亞迪 *Bǐyàdí*	BYD	automobiles and rechargable batteries

represented by SORL (c), where 'R' and 'L', the initials of the first two syllables of the name of the company, are preceded by two other unrelated letters, 'S' and 'O'. These brand names can be considered as pseudo-acronyms. Finally, ZTE 中興 (d) is formed by combining a (pseudo-)acronym (possibly created by putting together the first syllable of the Chinese name and the initials of the English *Telecomunication Equipment*) with a Chinese name.

In addition, there are alphanumeric brands too, e.g. 555 (batteries and cigarettes), 5A (toothbrush), or brands formed by characters and figures, e.g. *Tàifēng* 泰豐 888 (telephones). The numbers used in these brands are generally all considered as favorable numbers in Chinese culture (see table 3).

Chinese brand names can be formed by one to five syllables (Chan *et al.* 2009), but given the tendency of Chinese towards disyllabism, there is a strong preference for brand names to be formed by two syllables (see exx. 1), which are easier to memorize (and also correspond to a minimal prosodic word in Mandarin; see Féng 2001), followed by three syllables names, e.g. 步步高 *Bùbù-gāo* 'step.by.step-high' (mobile phones) (see Lǔ 2005, Chan *et al.* 2009). One-syllable names are not frequent and are often followed by *pái* 牌 'brand' (see Lǔ 2005), forming a disyllabic name, e.g. *Hǔ-pái* 虎牌 'tiger-brand' (forage).

From the phonological point of view, corpus-based studies have shown that there is a strong preference for two-syllable names in which the second syllable

Table 2. Brand names formed by (pseudo-)acronyms/initialisms

Company name	Brand name	Product/service
a. 橫店集團聯宜電機 *Héngdiàn jítuán liányí diànjī*	LINIX	electrical machinery
b. 中捷縫紉機 *Zhōngjié fèngrènjī*	ZOJE	sewing machines
c. 瑞立集團 *Ruìlì jítuán*	SORL	auto parts
d. 中興通訊 *Zhōngxīng tōngxùn* Zhong Xing Telecommunications Equipment	ZTE 中興	telecommunications

Table 3. Common semantic areas in brand naming

Semantic area	Examples	Brand name examples
good luck, fortune	吉 *jí* 'lucky', 福 *fú* 'fortune', 和 *hé* 'harmony', 富 *fù* 'rich', 運 *yùn* 'luck/fate'	富紳 *Fù-shēn* 'rich-gentleman' (men's clothing) 鴻大運 *Hóng-dà-yùn* 'great-big-fortune' (cigarettes)
nature (power and strength), traditionally auspicious animals and plants	龍 *lóng* 'dragon', 馬 *mǎ* 'horse', 鳳 *fèng* 'phoenix', 燕 *yàn* 'swan', 松 *sōng* 'pine', 山 *shān* 'mountain', 蘭 *lán* 'orchid'	鳳凰 *Fènghuáng* 'phoenix' (bycicles) 松鷹 *Sōng-yīng* 'pine-owl' (wollen sweaters) 錦龍 *Jǐn-lóng* 'brocade-dragon' (electrical machinery)
favorable and lucky numbers	雙 *shuāng* 'two/pair', 三 *sān* 'three', 五 *wǔ* 'five', 六 *liù* 'six', 七 *qī* 'seven', 八 *bā* 'eight', 九 *jiǔ* 'nine', 百 *bǎi* 'one hundred', 萬 *wàn* 'ten thousand'	金六福 *Jīn-liù-fú* 'gold-six-fortune' (spirits) 三禾 *Sān-hé* 'three-grain' (bakery products)
positive colors	紅 *hóng* 'red' (happiness), 金 *jīn* 'golden' (richness and power), 青 *qīng* 'green' (youth and freshness), 藍 *lán* 'blue' (peacefulness), 白 *bái* 'white' (purity and elegance)	白貓 *Bái-māo* 'white-cat' (detergent) 紅梅 *Hóng-méi* 'red-plum' (TV)
beauty and intimacy (wishful, elegant and appealing)	美 *měi* 'beautiful', 愛 *ài* 'love', 絲 *sī* 'silk', 雅 *yǎ* 'elegance'	真愛 *Zhēn'ài* 'true-love' (woolen blanket) 佳美 *Jiā-měi* 'good/beautiful-beautiful' (ceramics)

has a 'high' tone (either first or second tone): according to Chan and Huang (1997, 2001a), high-toned syllables have a high pitch and, thus, are more sonorous and are also easy to pronounce. Chinese speakers seem to have a strong preference for names that can be pronounced sonorously; sonority can result in a pleasing feature in pronunciation and this may enhance the memory and help generate favorable brand perception (Chan and Huang 2001a, 2001b; see also Wú *et al.* 2010).

From the semantic point of view, Chinese brand names usually have a positive connotation, but may have a neutral connotation too, especially in some categories of products (e.g. matches and spirits; see Chan and Huang 1997, Chan and Huang 2001a). In this respect, it is important to take into account the cultural background and the importance given to symbolic implications of good wishes and fortune (Chan 1990, Schmitt and Pan 1997). In brand names, words from the following semantic areas are often found (see Ang 1997, Lǔ 2005, Chan *et al.* 2009).

Moreover, brand names often contain elements that describe the characteristics and qualities of the products: bicycle brand names, for instance, often make use of words related to strength and speed, and brands of beverage products often contain words related to water and/or coldness (see ex.1) (Chan and Huang 1997; 2001b; Huang and Chan 1997).

2. Translation of Foreign Brand Names

According to Li and Shooshtari (2003), a brand name is a sociolinguistic symbol, which carries cultural meanings; for this reason, it is very important to take into account cultural and linguistic differences in order to obtain an effective Chinese translation of a brand name. In the Chinese market, standardized brand names are generally not accepted, due to the significant differences between Chinese and Western languages and scripts and to cultural factors; thus, Western companies make great efforts to adapt their brand to the Chinese market.

Different strategies are used to translate a foreign brand name into Chinese (see Zhang and Schmitt 2001, Wāng and Zhāng 2005, Arcodia and Piccinini 2006). One of these strategies is phonological adaptation (see Alon *et al.* 2009).

3. Sony → *Suǒ-ní* 索尼 'rope-nun'
   Ferrè → *Fèi-léi* 沸雷 'boil-thunder'
   Pierre Cardin → *Pí-ěr-kǎ-dān* 皮爾·卡丹 'skin-you-card-red'
   Motorola → *Mó-tuō-luó-lā* 摩托羅拉 'rub-entrust-net-pull'

The examples in (3) apparently make use of characters without relevant meaning. In applying this strategy, syllables have to be carefully chosen in order to avoid associations with homophones with a negative or irreverent meaning (see Francis *et al.* 2002; Chan and Huang 1997). In some cases, the phonological adaptation of the foreign brand name can be combined with a word indicating the category of the product, creating a hybrid form, e.g. *Barbie* → *bā-bǐ-wáwa* 芭比娃娃 'banana-compare-doll'.

A more effective strategy than phonological adaptation without relevant meaning is the phonological adaptation of the foreign name (either the whole name or part of it) combined with a favorable meaning, which can also suggests a characteristic, quality or function of the product (see Wāng and Zhāng 2005; Arcodia and Piccinini 2006; Alon *et al.* 2009).

4. Coca Cola → *Kěkǒu-kělè* 可口可樂 'tasty-amusing'
   Barilla → *Bǎi-wèi-lái* 百味來 'one-hundred-flavour-come'
   Vileda → *Wēi-lì-dá* 微力達 'minute/profound-power-arrive'
   Maybelline → *Měi-bǎo-lián* 美寶蓮 'beautiful-precious-lotus'

The importance of choosing proper syllables/characters, able to attract Chinese customers (which is crucial for the creation of Chinese brand names too; see above), is well exemplified by the history of the translation of the brand name *Coca Cola*, which was first introduced to China as *Kěkǒukělà* 可口可蠟, trying to reproduce the phonological form of the original name. However, this name suggested something like 'pleasant to mouth and wax (*là* 蠟)', as a consequence of which it could not be accepted in the Chinese market and had to be changed (see Li and Shooshtari 2003, Alon *et al.* 2009).

Sometimes phonological adaptation takes into account only some of the syllables composing the foreign name, as e.g. *Logitech, Luó-jì* 罗技 'net-skill'. For the brand name *BMW*, only the first two letters of the German initialism ('Bayrische Motoren Werke') have been taken into account, creating *Bǎo-mǎ* 寶馬 'treasure-horse', which suggests that the characteristics of the car are like those of a precious horse (Lǔ 2005).

Another strategy is word-for-word translation:

5. Pioneer → *Xiānfēng* 先锋 'pioneer'
   Red Bull → *Hóng-niú* 紅牛 'red-bull'
   Microsoft → *Wéi-ruǎn* 微軟 'micro-soft'
   General Motors → *Tōngyòng qìchē* 通用汽車 'general motor'

In some cases, the translation presents some differences with the original name. For example, *Mr. Muscle* is rendered in Chinese as *Wēiměng xiānshēng* 威猛先生 'brave mister'. In the Chinese version of the brand name, 'muscle' is replaced by a word more appealing for the Chinese public (see Li and Shooshtari 2003), i.e. *wēiměng* 'brave'; moreover, the word *xiānshēng* 'mister' follows *wēiměng* 'brave', since, differently from English, in Chinese any title like 'mister' follows the proper name (Arcodia and Piccinini 2006).

This strategy is avoided when the translation would contain a non-positive image in the Chinese culture. A good example is a Cantonese leather goods brand, for which the English name *Fortune Duck* was chosen. The English name was not translated into Chinese as *Xìngyùn yā* 幸運鴨 'fortune duck', since a duck is considered as a negative symbol, alluding to a man who lives off a woman (Zhāo 2007). Therefore, the name *Kē-chūn-dé* 科春得 'discipline-spring-reach' was chosen, probably because these characters are pronounced in Cantonese as *fo1-ceon1-dak1*, thus being a phonological adaptation of the original word.

Another strategy to translate foreign brand names is the creation of an original name (see Wāng and Zhāng 2005; Arcodia and Piccinini 2006), which describes the function or some of the characteristics/qualities/benefits of the product, or, in any case, which contains characters with a positive connotation:

6. Bref → *Miào-lì* 妙力	'wonderful-power' (household products)
Rejoice → *Piāo-róu* 飄柔	'float-soft' (shampoo)
Ariel → *Bì-làng* 碧浪	'green.jade-wave' (laundry detergents)
Energizer → *Jìn-liàng* 勁量	'strength-quantity/capacity' (batteries)

Original names are generally created following the same principles used in the creation of Chinese brand names, with a preference for disyllabic names with positive and suggestive connotations.

In some cases, the originally created brand contains an indication of the phonological form of part of the source word, as in *Athlon* (microprocessors) → *Sù-lóng* 速龍 'speed-dragon', where the first character highlights one of the qualities of the product, while the second syllable/character is a phonological adaptation of the last part of the original name and, at the same time, bears a positive connotation (see table 3). In the case of *Kit Kat* (chocolate), *Qíqiǎo* 奇巧 'intriguing/ingenious/exquisite', an existing term, has been chosen; this is a strategy adopted also in the creation of Chinese brand names (see above). The name *Qíqiǎo* not only can convey positive suggestions, but also preserves the alliteration of the initials of the two syllables that form the original name. Moreover, note that *qiǎo* 巧 is the first syllable of the word *qiǎokèlì* 巧克力 'chocolate'.

Sometimes different strategies are combined; for example, the brand *The North Face* has been rendered as *Lèsīfēisī* 樂斯菲斯, where *lèsī* 'happy-this/thus' is an *ad hoc* creation, while *fēisī* is a phonological adaptation of *face* (see Arcodia and Piccinini 2006), something like 'happy face', where the repetition of *sī* 斯 also creates a rhyme. *Starbuck*s has been rendered as *Xīngbākè* 星巴克, where *xīng* 'star' translates the first part of the name, while *bākè* is the phonological adaptation of the remaining part, *bucks*. Another example is *Oil of Ulan* (*Ulay*/*Olay*/*Olaz*), which has been translated as *Yùlányóu* 玉蘭油. The first two syllables of the name, *yùlán* 'magnolia', are a phonological adaptation of *Ulan* (name of the brand in Australia) and, at the same time, represent a very positive meaning: magnolia is both a very popular flower in China and a symbol of nobility and elegance (Lǔ 2005); the last part of the name, *yóu*, is the translation of *oil*.

[*This article has been abridged for this preview booklet.*]

Bianca Basciano

Diglossia

Diglossia refers to the complementary coexistence of two linguistic varieties within a speech community, typically one of which is an elevated code (the H[igh] language) used for higher order social functions such as religious sermons, government missives and formal writing, the other of which is the everyday vernacular (the L[ow] language) used in lower level exchanges with friends and family. Diglossia in China has taken different forms throughout the ages: in pre-modern China, the division between Literary Chinese used for writing and the regional vernaculars employed in speech is a textbook case of classic diglossia; whereas in contemporary China, the tension between Mandarin as a standard language and the local dialects spoken in each region constitutes a form of societal bilingualism that approximates diglossia in a broader sense.

1. Diglossia in Pre-modern China

Linguist Charles Ferguson, who coined the term "diglossia" in 1959, described Chinese as

"represent[ing] diglossia on the largest scale of any attested instance" (1959:337–338). Indeed the complementary roles served by the literary and vernacular languages in pre-modern China are in many ways typical of the roles of H and L languages in classic diglossia. Classic diglossia requires specialization of function for H and L, namely "in one set of situations only H is appropriate, and in another only L, with the two sets overlapping only very slightly" (Ferguson 1959:328). Such is the case with literary and vernacular Chinese, the former of which was perceived as the only vehicle deemed suitable for writing, as it is the language of "all works making the least claim to correctness, propriety and chasteness" (Letter from Walter Medhurst, Alexander Stronach, and William Milne to the London Missionary Society (1851), in Zetzsche 1999:93). Furthermore, in diglossia the H language is "a written variety which is the mother tongue of nobody" (Coulmas 1987:117)—a designation that applies fittingly to Literary Chinese, which is learned in school by a small elite and is never used for daily conversation by any speech community (Snow 2010:160).

With regard to the origins of the H language, which in many traditions consist of archaisms frozen by social conventions (Bright 1976:66), Literary Chinese likewise traces its roots to canonical writings of the Warring States (403–255 B.C.) period, after which time writers continued to model their prose on this early language while the spoken language underwent independent development (Norman 1988:83). Perpetuation of the H language is helped along by its high social prestige, together with restricted access to the more formal situations for which H is appropriate—normally the reserve of the educationally privileged (Hudson 2002:5–6), resulting in H becoming part of a tradition of restricted literacy in a speech community that is overwhelmingly illiterate (Walters 1996:161–162). Such is the case in China, where mastery of the literary language, while viewed by the populace as a road to power and glory via success in the imperial examinations, nevertheless was beyond the reach of the uneducated masses, and hence restricted to elite circles (Snow 2010:161).

While the literary language had served as the preeminent vehicle for writing in China for some two thousand years, it underwent rapid decline in the twentieth century as China was swept by the winds of modernization. The combined forces of modernization, urbanization, mercantalism, and industrialization create demands for a literate labor force, and, accompanied by the breakdown of rigid class barriers, increased fluidity of role relationships, and the democratization of education, literacy, and knowledge, lead eventually to the dissolution of diglossia (Hudson 2002:32). The result is often that H is displaced by L, producing a new standard more closely related to certain educated varieties of the vernacular (Hudson 2002:30). The process is well-documented in China, as reflected in the writings of European missionaries who, in the eighteenth and ninteenth centuries, initially spoke of translating the Protestant Bible into Literary Chinese, seen then as "the chaste and correct style of language", before resorting to various compromises between the literary and vernacular languages, then finally discarding the literary translations in favor of the now widespread Union Bible version in colloquial Mandarin (Zetzsche 1999).

In diglossic speech communities, "decline of a classical variety is often accompanied by catastrophic political events involving the breakdown of classical society itself" (Hudson 2002:34), and "the new sociohistorical structure creates a new literary language out of the spoken language then current" (Pulgram 1950:461–462). The wholesale replacement of Literary Chinese with vernacular writing coincides largely with the end of imperial rule in China, culminating in the Vernacular Language Movement (*báihuà yùndòng* 白話運動) of 1917—this happening within two short decades of the introduction of western education in China, the abolition of Confucian-style civil service examinations, and the overthrow of the Qīng dynasty (Barnes 1982:262).

While the Vernacular Language Movement is viewed today as largely successful, the end result, as is the case in many post-diglossic communities, is not complete displacement of the literary language with the vernacular, but rather a merger of the original two norms (Wexler 1971:345–346). It has been noted that when H is replaced or partially merged with the vernacular to produce a new standard, the lexicon, in particular, lives on in the new standard in the form of a "large-scale transfer of terminology" in the realms of "upper-class civilization, abstractions, and professional technologies" (Kahane and Kahane 1979:194). Lexicon aside, stylistic constraints serve to further distance the new written language from its colloquial counterpart, as sociocultural norms commonly dictate that the grammatical structure of written texts be less casual and more elevated than that of spoken utterances (Hudson 2002:24), such that speech communities "generally do not feel that ordinary, everyday speech is appropriate for written use" (Ferguson 1968:29–30). Such is the case with

Modern Standard Chinese, in which "there is often considerable incorporation of classical elements—stereotyped phrases, truncated terms, even classical constructions—into what is ostensibly a vernacular piece of writing" (DeFrancis 1984:244). Unique to Chinese is that phonology plays a role in the choice between literary and colloquial registers, as the modern language is subject to metrical constraints requiring quasi-literary disyllabic forms in certain word formation templates (Duanmu 1999; Feng 2005). In other words, Modern Standard Chinese is characterized by ways of amalgamating Classical Chinese with modern writings that are essentially motivated and licensed by prosody (Feng 2005:17)—the result of which is a "distinction between the written and spoken languages" which, in the words of early Republican philologist Huáng Kǎn 黃侃, while not as great as that in pre-modern times, is nevertheless "anything but coincidental" (Huáng 2001:199; see also Syntax-Phonology Interface).

2. Societal Bilingualism in Present-Day Greater China

In contrast with the distinct and functionally-complementary varieties of Chinese language used respectively for writing and speech in pre-modern China, in present-day Chinese society it is speech itself that is split among different dialects for use in different domains. Depending on region and locale, present-day societies can be (1) monoglossic—as is the case in Mandarin-speaking regions where the local dialect differs minimally from Modern Standard Chinese, (2) diglossic—in regional urban centers where speakers master a mainstream dialect in addition to Mandarin, or (3) triglossic—in rural areas where in addition to the local vernacular speakers have the need to acquire not only Mandarin but also the mainstream dialect of the regional administrative or cultural hub. An example of a monoglossic community would be the capital Běijīng, where spoken Pekinese exhibits considerable overlap with the modern standard language. The southern city of Guǎngzhōu 廣州, on the other hand, exemplifies the diglossic setup, where, in addition to Mandarin, standard Cantonese is spoken and held in high regard; whereas natives of other villages and towns in the southern Guǎngdōng and Guǎngxī provinces need to master not only their local dialect, but also standard Cantonese for communication across the region, and standard Mandarin for exchanges at the national level, making for an instance of triglossia.

That spoken Chinese alternate between standard and dialect appears to be a longstanding tradition. The *Analects* (7:18) write of Confucius (551–479 B.C.) switching from his native tongue into an "elevated register" when "conducting rituals and reciting poetry or history". Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci wrote in his travel journals (1582–1610) of "a spoken language common to the whole Empire, known as the Quonhoa . . . [which] is now in vogue among the cultured classes, and is used between strangers and the inhabitants of the provinces they may visit . . . A province dialect would not be used in polite society, although the more cultured classes might use it in their home province as a sign of neighborliness, or perhaps outside the province from a sense of patriotism" (Gallagher 1942:46–47).

The division of labor between local dialect and standard language described above is termed by Ferguson (1959:336) as a "standard-with-dialects" setup, which is regarded as diglossia, if at all, only in the most marginal sense. Most crucially, standard Mandarin—the H language in this instance—is a language with real native speakers, unlike Literary Chinese in the prior example, a purely learned language that nobody speaks natively. The presence of native H-language speakers in the midst of the diglossic community implies that, given the right conditions (e.g., if the H language is used in education and media), the H language may encroach upon territories previously occupied by the L language. Whereas in classic diglossia it is the H language that is subverted by the L language under the pressures of popular developments and nativist rebellions (Kahane 1986:498), in instances of societal bilingualism with partial overlap of function between languages, it is the L language that eventually loses ground, driven out by younger generations educated in the more prestigious and economically more viable H language (Hudson 2002:30).

The general demise of the Chinese regional dialects in modern times has largely coincided with the promotion of Mandarin as a national language since the mid-twentieth century. T'sou (1980:278) predicted back in the 1980s that, as Mandarin becomes more widespread, "the regional H languages are clearly losing ground and may be reduced to the status of L languages in times to come", effectively reducing triglossia to diglossia. More recently, it would appear as if the mainstream dialects are under threat even in urban regional centers as Mandarin steadily gains ground. In Táiwān, it was not until the 1990s that the public was made aware of impending attrition of its indigenous Southern Mǐn 閩, Hakka, and aborigine

dialects among the younger generation, after harsh enforcement of a Mandarin-only policy over 40 years had successfully converted some 90% of the population into Mandarin speakers (Li 2009:136–137). This awareness led to efforts to promote local dialects in education and media, eventually opening up broadcast outlets to non-Mandarin programming and culminating in the drafting of the Language Equality Bill (*Yǔyán píngděngfǎ cǎo'àn* 語言平等法草案) in 2003—measures which have met with only limited success in the effort to revive dialect use (Chen 2010:86–89; Li 2009). In Guǎngzhōu, birthplace of standard Cantonese, schooling which emphasizes the exclusive use of the national language appears to have bred a new generation of monolingual Mandarin speakers incapable of communicating with grandparents fluent only in Cantonese (Hú and Zī 2010; Lai 2010)—this intergenerational rift, plus rumors of encroachment on Cantonese content by Mandarin programming at the city's pre-eminent television station, led to a series of mass protests in July and August of 2010, with tens of thousands taking to the streets of Guǎngzhōu and Hong Kong demanding that "Cantonese people speak Cantonese" and appealing to the public to "boycott Mandarin" (Mudie 2010).

A microcosm of the future of Chinese diglossia is perhaps to be found in Chinese communities in Malaysia, home to an array of southern Chinese dialects a generation ago, but now dominated by a younger generation that "views the use of dialects as outdated and unfashionable" (Ng 2010), and are capable of speaking only Mandarin and English, with limited ability in Cantonese and Hokkien (Southern Mǐn dialect), thanks to the popularity of entertainment from Hong Kong and Táiwān. In neighboring Singapore, since the launch of the government-led "Speak Mandarin" campaign of 1979, dialect use in the home has dropped by a staggering 57% while the use of Mandarin and English have grown by 44% and 14% respectively (Kwan-Terry 2000:98–103).

Throughout Greater China, the future of Chinese diglossia looks to be one of Mandarin domination and subsequent dialect endangerment, as "more and more parents are abandoning their native dialects in favour of Putonghua, believing this will give their children better access to education and jobs" (Yu 2010). But as Mandarin wins out, like most *lingua francas* spread over a vast territory, it is likely to develop regional variants as it absorbs elements of substratum languages that have been displaced by it. The presence of Mǐn dialect vocabulary and southern Chinese syntax in Taiwan Mandarin (Her 2010, Cheng 1985) and the emergence of "cosmopolitan Mandarin" in China which selectively incorporates features of Mandarin spoken in Táiwān, Hong Kong and Singapore (Zhang 2005:444–458) are a harbinger of what may be the onset of newly emerging standards in post-diglossic China.

Bibliographical References

Barnes, Dayle, "Nationalism and the Mandarin Movement: The First Half-Century," in: Robert L. Cooper, ed., *Language Spread: Studies in Diffusion and Social Change*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982, 260–290.

Bright, William, "Phonological Rules in Literary and Colloquial Kannada," in: *Variation and Change in Language: Essays by William Bright*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976, 65–73.

Chen, Su-chiao, "Multilingualism in Taiwan," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 205, 2010, 79–104.

Cheng, Robert L., "A Comparison of Taiwanese, Taiwan Mandarin, and Peking Mandarin," *Language* 61/2, 1985, 352–377.

Coulmas, Florian, "What Writing Can Do to Language: Some Preliminary Remarks," in: Simon Battestini, ed., *Developments in Linguistics and Semiotics, Language Teaching and Learning, Communication Across Cultures* (*Georgetown University Round Table on Language and Linguistics 1986*), Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1987, 107–129.

DeFrancis, John, *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984.

Duanmu, San, "Stress and the Development of Disyllabic Words in Chinese," *Diachronica* 16/1, 1999, 1–35.

Feng, Shengli, "On the Formation and Model of Written Chinese Grammar," *Journal of Chinese Language Studies* 1, 2005, 17–49.

Ferguson, Charles, "Diglossia," *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 10/1, 1959, 214–234.

Ferguson, Charles, "Language Development," in: Joshua A. Fishman, Charles A. Ferguson and Jyotirindra Das Guptas, eds., *Language Problems of Developing Nations*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1968, 27–35.

Gallagher, Louis J., *The China That Was: China as Discovered by the Jesuits at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1942.

Her, One-soon, "On the Indigenization of Taiwan Mandarin," *Journal of the Macau Linguistics Association*, 35/1, 2010, 19–29.

Hú Jūn 胡军 and Zī Yǒngtíng 资勇庭, "Tóngshēng tóngqì zǔsūnliǎ jìngbiàn 'jītóngyājiǎng' 同声同气祖孙俩竟变'鸡同鸭讲'" [Grandmother and Granddaughter No Longer Speak the Same Language], *Yángchéng Wǎnbào* 羊城晚报, July 9, 2010.

Huáng Kǎn 黄侃, *Huáng Kǎn rìjì* 黄侃日记 [Diary of Huáng Kǎn], Nánjīng 南京: Jiāngsū Jiaòyù 江苏教育出版社, 2001.

Hudson, Alan, "Outline of a Theory of Diglossia," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 157, 2002, 1–48.

Kahane, Henry, "A Typology of the Prestige Language," *Language* 62, 1986, 495–508.

Kahane, Henry, and Renée Kahane, "Decline and Survival of Western Prestige Languages," *Language* 55, 1979, 183–198.

Kwan-Terry, Anna, "Language Shift, Mother Tongue, and Identity in Singapore," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 143, 2000, 85–106.

Lai, Chloe, "TV Switch to Putonghua Rekindles Fight over a Voice for South," *South China Morning Post,* July 11, 2010.
Li, Chen-ching, "Multilingualism in Action: Language Education Policy in the Rapidly Changing Society of Taiwan," in: Maria Torres-Guzmán and Joel Gómez, eds., *Global Perspectives on Multilingualism: Unity in Diversity*, New York: Columbia University Teachers College Press, 2009, 134–143.
Mudie, Luisetta, "Cantonese Protests Spread," *Radio Free Asia*, August 2, 2010.
Ng, Si Hooi, "Keeping the Dialects Alive," *The Star* (Malaysia), March 21, 2010.
Norman, Jerry, *Chinese*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
Peyraube, Alain, "Some Diachronic Aspects of Diglossia/Triglossia in Chinese," *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 10/1, 1991, 105–124.
Pulgram, Ernst, "Spoken and Written Latin," *Language* 26, 1950, 458–466.
Snow, Don, "Hong Kong and Modern Diglossia," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 206, 2010, 155–179.
T'sou, Benjamin, "Critical Sociolinguistic Realignment in Multilingual Societies," in: Evangelos A. Afendras, ed., *Patterns of Bilingualism*, Singapore: Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMO), 1980, 261–286.
Walters, Keith, "Diglossia, Linguistic Variation, and Language Change in Arabic," in: Mushira Eid, ed., *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics VIII: Papers from the Eighth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1996, 157–197.
Wexler, Paul, "Diglossia, Language Standardization, and Purism: Parameters for a Typology of Literary Languages," *Lingua* 27, 1971, 330–354.
Yu, Verna, "Cultural Heritage of China at Risk with Decline of Dialects," *South China Morning Post,* July 24, 2010.
Zetzsche, Jost Oliver, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version or the Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999.
Zhang, Qing, "A Chinese Yuppie in Beijing: Phonological Variation and the Construction of a New Professional Identity," *Language in Society* 34, 2005, 431–466.

Chris Wen-chao Li

Jièbǐzì 借筆字

The term *jièbǐzì* 借筆字 (also *jièbǐwén* 借筆文), or 'stroke-borrowing characters', usually designates Chinese characters in which some strokes are shared by different components, or, more often, it refers to aggregated characters (*héwén* 合文) that share single strokes or even entire components.

Although this kind of graphical simplification was already noticed by Qīng dynasty scholars (like Ruǎn Yuán 阮元 and Sūn Yìràng 孫詒讓), the first specialized articles dedicated to this topic were only published at the beginning of the 21st century (Wù 2000:308–337; Liú 2001:397–410).

The table below shows some examples of the two kinds of "stroke-borrowing characters".

The use of *jièbǐzì* can be observed in very different kinds of writings, from the earliest Shāng oracle bone inscriptions to Hàn literary manuscripts and administrative documents. After the Hàn period, *jièbǐzì* seem to gradually disappear from current writing practices, only remaining in fields like talismanic practice, artistic production, shop signs, or companies' and institutions' logos.

Bibliographical References

Liú Zhāo 刘钊, "Gǔwénzì de héwén, jièbǐ, jièzì 古文字的合文、借筆、借字," *Gǔwénzì Yánjiū* 古文字研究 21, Běijīng 北京: Zhōnghuá 中华书局, 2001, 397–410.
Wù Zhēnwǔ 吳振武, "Gǔwénzì zhōng de jièbǐzì 古文字中的借筆字," *Gǔwénzì Yánjiū* 古文字研究 20, Běijīng 北京: Zhōnghuá 中华书局, 2000, 308–337.

Olivier Venture

[*This article has been abridged for this preview booklet.*]

Languages and Language Families in China

1. What is a Language?

The Chinese linguistic terminology for languages and dialects is to some degree incommensurable with the usual foreign translations. *Yǔyán* 語言, usually translated as 'language', actually corresponds to what is better called macrolanguage; this is due to the fact that Chinese itself, with its shared history, culture, logographic writing system and its millennia of divergence, is regarded as one *yǔyán* in China, whereas the normal linguistic view is that Chinese subsumes a variety of mutually unintelligible spoken varieties. Many other linguistic groupings called *yǔyán* by Chinese linguists have substantial internal diversity, though usually not as much as seen in Chinese. The usual Chinese term for the major varieties of Chinese is *fāngyán* 方言, usually but inaccurately translated as 'dialect'; the same grid is applied to various other groups of languages, and so what Chinese linguists call *fāngyán* (within a *yǔyán*) often refers to separate mutually unintelligible languages, in most cases historically fairly closely related. There is less uniformity in the term for the next category, sometimes called *tǔyǔ* 土語 'place-language' or *tǔhuà* 土話 'place-speech', often translated as 'vernacular'; this is what corresponds better to the usual linguistic usage of 'dialect'. The suffix *-yǔ* 語 can be added to a language or macrolanguage name, as in *Hànyǔ* 漢語 'Hàn macrolanguage'; *-huà* 話 'speech' is often appended to local place names to refer to specific *fāngyán* or *tǔyǔ*, as in *Shànghǎihuà* 上海話 'Shanghai speech', the local *Wú fāngyán* 吳方言 spoken in and around Shànghǎi. When combined, the name of the *yǔyán* comes first, then the name of the *fāngyán* and then the *tǔyǔ*, such as *Hànyǔ Wúfāngyán Shànghǎihuà* 漢語吳方言上海話.

In the mid–1950s, extensive language and dialect surveys were carried out which formed the basis of subsequent Chinese linguistic classification. The outcome was 55 nationalities, the Hàn Chinese majority and 54 national minorities, with a residual category 'unclassified'; one further national minority was added in 1979, but all subsequent requests from 'unclassified' groups for separate nationality status have been rejected, and most of these groups have been assigned to existing national minorities, gradually reducing the 'unclassified' population. Every citizen of China has a nationality which appears on their identity card; this is transmitted from either or both parents.

There were four standard Leninist criteria for nationality status: language, territory, culture and economy. For most national minorities, following the model for the Hàn Chinese and *Pǔtōnghuà* 普通話 'common speech' based on the Běijīng dialect of Mandarin, one standard *fāngyán* was later selected, based on a variety spoken in a historically and geographically central and economically advanced area by a large proportion of the population. In many cases, a writing system was expanded, revised or created to represent the standard *fāngyán* of a national minority, again following the Hàn Chinese model and the mid–1950s character simplification. While all 55 national minorities have constitutional and legal rights to use and develop their languages and cultures, not all have chosen to do so. Education, government and media use standard Chinese, though cadres in minority areas are encouraged to use the local minority language. Minority autonomous areas may also have transitional bilingual education or even some limited ongoing education up to university level.

Up to the early 1980s, the policy was that 55 of the nationalities (other than the Muslim Huí 回) each had one *yǔyán*, and the selected standard *fāngyán* was the main object of study. Since then, there has been gradual recognition of greater linguistic diversity within many national minorities; however, the leadership of some national minorities strongly rejects any such divisions, and linguistic work by Chinese scholars is somewhat constrained by their preferences. Chinese linguists now recognize 129 *yǔyán* according to their current criteria, which are still much broader than normal linguistic criteria for language status: linguistic similarity and close historical and cultural connection. Mutual intelligibility within a *yǔyán* is not required. In-group national minority linguists often categorize degree of intelligibility in terms of percent similarity or time required to learn another putative *fāngyán*. Due to their expertise and experience, they often somewhat overestimate the similarities within a *yǔyán* category. For a summary of this classification, see Shearer and Sun (2002). Foreign scholars recognize a much larger number; the largest inventory is in the Ethnologue (Lewis 2010), which gives a total of 293, though this is somewhat overenthusiastically subdivided and exaggerates the number somewhat.

2. Language Families and Links

There are nine generally-recognized language families represented in China. These are Sino-Tibetan (ST), Austro-Tai (AT), Miáo-Yáo 苗瑤, Mon-Khmer

(MK, or more broadly Austroasiatic), Turkic, Mongolic, Manchu-Tungus, Korean and Indo-European. Most of these families are the subject of separate entries in this encyclopedia. In more macro-oriented genetic classifications, some of these families are combined. Conversely, most Chinese scholars do not combine Tai-Kadai (TK) and Austronesian (AN) into AT. There are also several contact languages at the interface between Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol, Turkic languages, Tajik and Portuguese in various parts of China.

One of the most widely cited macro-combinations is the putative Altaic family, which is usually said to include Turkic, Mongolic and Manchu-Tungus; many Chinese scholars follow this classification; in Chinese it is called *Ā'ěrtài* 阿爾泰. It is also suggested that Korean-Japanese forms part of this Altaic grouping (Miller 1972). Altaic is sometimes further linked with the Uralic family mainly found in eastern Europe; this grouping is called Uralic-Altaic. While the link between Korean-Japanese, Manchu-Tungus and Mongolic appears to be supported by a substantial body of cognate material, resemblances such as vowel harmony, shared between Turkic and Mongolic, appear to be areal and may have diffused, and the Uralic-Altaic link is even more tenuous.

Schmidt (1906) proposed an Austric macrofamily linking Austroasiatic and AN based on a small number of suggested cognates, but this is now usually rejected.

Chinese scholars, following Li (1977), usually classify the Tai-Kadai languages and the Miáo-Yáo languages as branches of ST, but this is based on very large Sinitic loanword strata in the languages of both these groups due to millennia of contact, and not a genetic relationship.

Benedict (1942) demonstrated the AT genetic link between TK and AN, which is now widely accepted, other than by some Chinese scholars following Li (1977). In later publications, Benedict tried to extend this to include Miao-Yao (1975) and subsequently Japanese (1990), but this is not widely accepted. Sagart (2004) has shown that TK is a branch of one of the major AN subgroups of southern Táiwān, while all of the rest of AN including Yami spoken on Lányǔ 蘭嶼 'Orchid Island' southeast of Táiwān as well as many hundreds of languages outside Táiwān across Southeast Asia, the Pacific and in Madagascar, is a branch of another, which is sometimes called Malayo-Polynesian.

Sapir and others tentatively suggested a possible genetic link between ST and the Athabaskan languages of northwestern North America; this was later supported by a number of possible etymologies from the ST side (Shafer 1952, 1957, 1969). Athabaskan is of course included in the wider Na-Dene macrofamily by most Americanists. Various Russian scholars, most notably Starostin, claim a further connection between this ST/Na-Dene group and the North Caucasian and Yeniseian languages, under the name Sino-Caucasian or Dene-Caucasian (Shevoroshkin 1991). While these proposed links have been extensively canvassed in the "emerging synthesis" literature which attempts to link human genetic, archaeological and linguistic evidence, they are not documented with the necessary comparative rigor and need further investigation.

2.1 *Sino-Tibetan Languages*

In China, the majority of languages, with by far the most speakers, are in the ST or Hàn-Zàng 漢藏 family. The standard division of ST is into a Sinitic branch on one hand and a Tibeto-Burman (TB) or Zàng-Miǎn 藏緬 branch on the other. Sinitic is usually divided into seven major *fāngyán:* Guānhuà 官話 or Mandarin, Wú 吳 (Shànghǎi, Zhèjiāng etc.), Gàn 贛 (Jiāngxī), Xiāng 湘 (Húnán), Mǐn 閩 (Fújiàn and Táiwān), Kèjiā 客家 or Hakka (scattered in southeastern China), and Yuè 粵 or Cantonese (Guǎngdōng), with some small additional groups in the southwest such as Wǎxiāng 瓦鄉 in western Húnán and Pínghuà 平話 in central and northeastern Guǎngxī. The Sinitic languages are mother tongues for over 90% of the population of China. There are various alternative subgroupings proposed tor TB; Bradley (2002) proposes five main subgroups: Western (also known as Bodic, Tibetan or Zàng 藏), Southeastern (also known as Burmic, Burmese-Lolo, Lolo-Burmese, Burmese-Yipho, Mran-Ngwi or Miǎn-Yí 緬彝), Northeastern (Qiangic or Qiāng 羌), Central and Sal (Baric plus some other groups). For a full discussion of the languages and internal subgrouping of TB, see the separate entry.

The main language of the Zàng 藏 (Tibetan) nationality is of course Tibetan, with a diglossic literary high written variety in use for more than a millennium, a Lhasa spoken variety that serves as a lingua franca, and many very distinctive local spoken varieties, some of which also serve as regional lingua francas. Two other Western TB languages are spoken by members of the Ménbā 門巴 nationality in China. The Southeastern TB languages are very numerous in China, with six entire nationalities (Āchāng 阿昌, Hāní 哈尼, Jīnuò 基諾, Lāhù 拉祜, Lìsù 傈僳 and Yí 彝) and part of the Nù 怒 and Jǐngpō 景頗 speaking a large number of distinct languages, over fifty in the Ngwi/Yí Branch and five (Āchāng and four groups

within the Jǐngpō) which are closer to Burmese. Other than Qiāng itself and the Nàxī 納西 and Pǔmǐ 普米 (Primi) peoples in Yúnnán, speakers of all Northeastern TB languages in Sìchuān are officially classified in other nationalities, nine (including Pǔmǐ) as Tibetan and one as Mongol. The Central TB languages of China are represented by five subgroups: Nungish which includes Dúlóng 獨龍 and two closely related languages which also extend into Burma and are part of the Nù nationality spoken in northwestern Yúnnán; also seven languages in four other Central TB subgroups in the Luòbā 珞巴 nationality and other small groups in southeastern Tibet, all extending into India. The only Sal TB language of China is Jǐngpō in western Yúnnán.

There are also some nationalities whose TB languages show the effects of very close and long-standing contact with Sinitic and which are therefore difficult to fit into the overall TB schema; these are Tǔjiā 土家, with two languages (Bizi and Moji) now spoken only in western Húnán, and Bái 白, with two languages (Bái and Laemae/Lama) in northwestern Yúnnán. The extinct Western TB language of a state known in Chinese history as Nán 南 (Nam) in western Tibet is better known in Tibetan history as Zhangzhung; original texts survive from Dūnhuáng 敦煌 and elsewhere, and a heavily Tibetanized variety is now the liturgical language of Tibetan Bön religion. Matisoff (2001) tentatively proposes a link between Zhangzhung and the West Himalayish languages, in a different branch of Western TB from Tibetan which is mainly found in northwestern India. Another extinct language is Xīxià 西夏 or Tangut, formerly spoken in what are now Níngxià and Gānsù at the northeastern edge of the TB-speaking area. This is recognized in Chinese history as a non-Hàn Chinese dynasty from 1038 to 1227, which was then comprehensively destroyed by the Mongols led by Genghis Khan (though he died just after the fall of the Xīxià capital); his grandson Kublai established the Yuán Dynasty which ruled China from 1271. Xīxià was a Northeastern TB language; very extensive manuscripts survive, but the reconstructed phonetic readings of Xīxià characters remain a mater of dispute.

There are some controversial recent views about the phylogeny of ST which should be noted. One is that of van Driem (2001), who suggests that Sinitic is just another branch of TB, and that the term ST should thus be discarded; he also prefers to eschew any attempt at internal subgrouping within TB. Another is Beckwith (1987), who suggests that Tibetan is a non-TB language relexified due to heavy contact with Sinitic; this is not plausible. A third is proposed in Sagart (2005), suggesting a link between Austro-Tai and ST, though this remains to be more fully documented.

2.2 *Austro-Tai Languages*

Chinese scholars call the AN languages Nándǎo 南島 'south island'. All of the fourteen surviving indigenous languages of Táiwān are AN. With nine major subgroups among these languages, Táiwān is the area of greatest genetic diversity within AN, and is generally viewed as the original homeland of AN. In China all are classified in the single Gāoshān 高山 'high mountain' nationality, but in Táiwān they are distinguished, as are other groups whose languages are no longer spoken. The group who speak Seediq are officially called Taroko, from the name of the main tourist attraction in their area, Taroko Gorge; some linguists regard Seediq as a dialect of Atayal. Another AN language, Utsat, Tsat or Huíhuí 回回, is spoken on the south coast of Hǎinán by a small group who are members of the Huí (Chinese Muslim) nationality; this language is related to the Chamic AN languages of southern Vietnam.

There are nine nationalities of China who speak TK languages, as well as various small groups within the Hàn Chinese, Bùyī 布依, Zhuàng 壯, Yáo 瑤 and Yí nationalities who speak TK languages but are not recognized as separate nationalities. The standard classification of the TK languages is that there is a Kadai subgroup (as named by Benedict; now often instead called Kradai) on the one hand and a Kam-Tai group on the other. Chinese scholars call the Kam-Tai group Zhuàng-Dòng 壯侗 from the names of the largest nationalities in the two main branches, and they call the Kadai group Gē-Yāng 仡央; the main Kadai nationality is the Gēlǎo 仡佬. The term Zhuàng-Dòng is also sometimes used to refer to TK in general. Within Kam-Tai, there are three branches: the Hlai languages of the Lí 黎 nationality, the Kam-Sui languages and the Tai languages. The Tai languages are separated into three subgroups, Northern, Central and Southwestern. The four Kam-Sui nationalities are the Dòng 侗 (Kam), Shuǐ 水 (Sui), Mùlǎo 仫佬 (Mulam) and Máonán 毛南. The three Tai nationalities are the Bùyī (Northern Tai), Zhuàng (Northern Tai and Central Tai) and Dǎi 傣 (Southwestern Tai).

The sole Kadai nationality in China, Gēlǎo, is widely scattered, mainly in western Guìzhōu but also in northwestern Guǎngxī and southeastern Yúnnán. Relatively few members of this nationality can speak their traditional languages; there are many distinct

languages and dialects. In addition, a few members of the Yí nationality in southeastern Yúnnán speak Làjī 拉基 or Pǔbiāo 普標, a few members of the Yáo nationality in western Guǎngxī speak Yèláng 夜郎, and a few Zhuàng in southeastern Yúnnán speak Bùyāng 布央. Several of these languages, and some additional Kadai languages, are also spoken in Vietnam.

The main language in the Hlai subgroup is Lí itself, spoken in southwestern Hǎinán. This is also spoken by some members of the Hàn Chinese nationality to their west in Hǎinán, where it is called *cūnhuà* 村話 'village speech'. Opinions are divided about the classification of the Be language, spoken in northwestern Hǎinán by some Hàn Chinese and sometimes called the Língāo 臨高 language from the name of the main county where it is spoken; some suggest it also forms a separate subgroup of TK, others include it in Northern Tai.

The Kam-Sui or as they are known in Chinese Dòng-Shuǐ 侗水 languages are represented by four nationalities and various other languages. Dòng or Kam and Shuǐ or Sui are spoken by large groups in southeastern Guìzhōu and adjacent areas of Húnán and Guǎngxī. Máonán and Mùlǎo are spoken by smaller groups in north central Guǎngxī. In addition, Làjiā 拉珈 (Lakkia) is spoken by a few thousand members of the Yáo nationality in east central Guǎngxī; Yánghuáng 佯璜 (Ten, Rao), Mò 莫 (Mak) and Jǐn 錦 (Jiam) are spoken by some members of the Bùyī nationality in south central Guìzhōu; and Biāo 標 (Kang Peu) is spoken by some members of the Hàn Chinese nationality in western Guǎngdōng.

The Zhuàng nationality lives mainly in Guǎngxī; in northwestern Guǎngxī, about 70% speak a Northern Tai language mutually intelligible with that of nearly all of the Bùyī nationality, who live mainly in southwestern Guìzhōu. The other 30% of the Zhuàng live in southwestern Guǎngxī and speak a Central Tai language mutually intelligible with the Tai languages of adjacent areas in Vietnam. In Yúnnán, Bùyī speak a Northern Tai language and Zhuàng speak a Central Tai language. The Dǎi nationality is widely scattered in southwestern Yúnnán and linguistically diverse; the main concentrations are in Xīshuāngbǎnnà 西雙版納 prefecture (Dǎi *Sipsongphanna* '12,000 fields') where the Dǎi speak Tai Lue as in northwestern Laos and adjacent parts of Burma and Thailand. In Déhóng 德宏 prefecture, the Dǎi speak Tai Mao, as in adjacent areas of Burma. Between these two areas, Tai Neu 'Northern Tai' is spoken along the Láncāng 瀾滄 (Mekong) River. In Jīnpíng 金平 county there are speakers of Tai Dam ('Black Tai') as also found in northwestern Vietnam; in western Hónghé 紅河 prefecture and southern Yùxī 玉溪 city, there are Tai Ya, Tai La and so on. All the languages of the Dǎi nationality in China are Southwestern Tai languages fairly closely related to the Tai languages of Burma (there mostly known under the cover term Shan), Laos including Lao, northwestern Vietnam, northeastern India and Thailand including Thai itself.

2.3 *Miáo-Yáo Languages*

Miáo-Yáo, so called from two large nationalities of China whose members speak languages of this family, Miáo and Yáo, is also more recently called Hmong-Mien from the autonyms of two large languages within these nationalities which are also widely spoken in northern Southeast Asia. It is divided into four main subgroups: from west to east, Miáo, Yáo, Bùnǔ 布錦 (various languages, all of whose speakers are classified in the Yáo nationality and most of whom live in southern Guǎngxī) and Shē 畲. There is a great deal of internal diversity within both Miáo and Yáo, as discussed elsewhere. Shē is the moribund language of a numerically large nationality in Guǎngdōng, also extending into Fújiàn, Zhèjiāng and Jiāngxī; however, the language is only spoken in two small areas in central Guǎngdōng. It is sometimes suggested that the Miáo-Yáo languages used to be spoken as far northeast as the lower Yangtze, based on non-Chinese place names which could be from Miáo-Yáo languages.

2.4 *Mon-Khmer Languages*

The vast majority of the Mon-Khmer (MK) or Nányà 南亞 'south Asia' languages are spoken in mainland Southeast Asia, with Khasi in northeastern South Asia and various Nicobarese languages in the Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal. MK in the wider sense including the Munda languages of eastern South Asia is also known as Austroasiatic. Three branches of MK are represented in China. The Northern branch includes the Wǎ 佤, Dé'áng 德昂 and Bùlǎng 布朗 nationalities in southwestern Yúnnán along the border with Burma; these nationalities have speakers of various languages in the Waic, Palaungic and Angkuic branches of Northern MK respectively. Small numbers of speakers of two Khmuic Northern MK languages also live in parts of southeastern Xīshuāngbǎnnà Prefecture along the Lao border. The Pakanic subgroup of MK includes Máng 芒, Pakan or Běngān 本干 and Paliu or Lái 俫, none of whom are

recognized as separate nationalities. The Máng live in Jīnpíng county of southern Yúnnán and nearby in Vietnam. The Pakan live in southeastern Wénshān 文山 prefecture in southeastern Yúnnán, and the Paliu or Lái live in Lónglín 隆林 county in northwestern Guǎngxī, the farthest northeast of any MK language. The third MK branch found in China is Vietic: the Jīng 京 nationality of southwestern Guǎngxī speak Vietnamese; their Chinese name derives from the Vietnamese autonym *Kinh*.

2.5 *Turkic Languages*

There are ten Turkic (Tǔ'ěrkè 土爾克) languages in China. Most are spoken in Xīnjiāng, which is a Uighur autonomous region. There are six recognized Turkic nationalities, plus part of a seventh; three additional Turkic languages are recognized by Chinese scholars. By far the largest group is the 維吾爾 Wéiwú'ěr (Uighur); nearly all Uighur are in China. Other Turkic groups are much more numerous in adjacent countries: 哈薩克 Hāsàkè (Kazakh), 柯爾克孜 Kē'ěrkèzī (Kirghiz), 烏茲別克 Wūzībiékè (Uzbek) and 塔塔爾 Tǎtǎ'ěr (Tatar). The Sàlà 撒拉 (Salar) are a large group found only in China, mainly in Qīnghǎi. The Western or Saryg Yùgù 裕固 (Yugur) in northwestern Gānsù also speak a Turkic language. Of groups not recognized as separate nationalities, the Hākǎsī 哈卡斯 (Khakas) are classified as Kirghiz and live in Hēilóngjiāng; there are more in Mongolia and Russia. The Tǔwǎ 土瓦 (Tuva) in China are classified as Kirghiz and live in northeastern Xīnjiāng; there are far more in Russia and some in Mongolia. The Tǔ'ěrkè 土爾克 are classified as Uzbek and live in northwestern Xīnjiāng; they speak a distinct Turkic language different from standard Turkish.

[*This article has been abridged for this preview booklet.*]

David Bradley

Utterance Particles

Chinese is known to have a large number of sentence-final particles (SFPs), many of which are said to express *yǔqì* 語氣 (roughly translatable as "modality") of various kinds. Each Chinese dialect has its own set of SFPs, though some individual ones may cross dialectal boundaries.

1. Mandarin

The most commonly used SFPs in Mandarin, for instance, include *le* 了, *ma* 嗎, *a/ya* 啊/呀, *ba* 吧, *ne* 呢, *me* 嚜/嘛, etc. Quite a few of them have close counterparts, phonetically or functionally or both, in Cantonese, Taiwanese Southern Mǐn 閩 and other dialects. Except for the "change of state" *le* and the interrogative *ma*, the other Mandarin SFPs are less tangible in their "meanings" or "functions" and are thus treated in different analyses with radically different results. The findings are summarized below along the line of the development of linguistic theory.

Traditionally, Chinese SFPs are plainly listed for their "meanings" and "functions". For example, the particle *a/ya* is listed as functioning to mark: (a) an initial question to start a conversation, (b) a confirmation question, (c) a vocative form, (d) an exclamation, (e) a command, (f) an impatient statement, (g) a reminder, (h) a warning, (i) a pause for the hearer, and (j) enumeration (Chao 1968:803–806). Those functions, however, are not always attributable to the properties of the particle itself. Rather, they are more easily recognizable as labels indicating the particle's compatibility with utterances performing such functions. For the particle *ne*, various analysts claim an even larger number of different "meanings" and "functions". Each of the following sets of its "meanings" and "functions" is cited from one of five independent researchers: (a) reminding, intense inquiry, topic marking, (b) forceful interrogation, (c) certainty, intense inquiry, marking topic change, (d) assumption, conjecture, consultation, (e) inconclusiveness, unchanged state, topic marking, and (f) interrogation, retort, exclamation, suspicion, pause, positive statement (Chu 2009:289–292). Putting aside the obvious overlaps and even contradictions, those labels are, again, just indications of compatibility with the contexts that the particle *ne* may occur in. To the particle *ba*, just as many "meanings" and "functions" can be (and have been!) assigned, such as (a) softened question, (b) suggestion, (c) hesitation, (d) willy-nilly agreement, (e) unheeded warning, (f) previous advice, (g) friendly sarcasm, and (h) politeness/modesty, to mention just a few (Chu 2009:285–287). In fact, an endless list of such labels can be added as long as contexts allow them.

In the past 30 years or so, the rise of functionalism in syntax has contributed greatly to changes in the study of Chinese SFPs. The particles are isolated from the syntactic structures where they

occur and are given "core functions" from which "functions" and "meanings" can be derived through contexts, linguistic and non-linguistic alike. Li and Thompson (1981) assign the following modality and discourse functions to the three Mandarin SFPs below:

a/*ya*: "reduced forcefulness"
ba: "soliciting agreement"
ne: "response to expectation"

Chappell (1991: 47) assigns three unrelated asserting functions to the particle *me*:

me: "obviousness, disagreement, indignation"

More recent developments, however, incorporate discourse functions and communicative effectiveness in the analysis of the Mandarin SFPs. To give some examples, the findings of some other functionalists are summarized in table 1 and 2 below. (Also see Wǔ 2005.)

(The three labels for *me* represent three stages of derivation from semantic representation to modality expression to discourse function.)

(Each of the "meanings" actually consists of two parts: the nature of the message and the intention of the speaker. In the above representations, they are separated from each other by the element *hé* 和 for the particle *ba* 吧 and by the added markers in the square brackets for the other four particles.)

Claims have been made that from the core functions or "prototypical meanings" all alleged uses and meanings can be derived through their contexts. For Chu (2002), for example, the particle *a*/*ya* serves the communicative functions of marking relevance and indicating speaker or hearer orientation. Accompanied by a low pitch, the utterance is speaker-oriented while accompanied by a high pitch, it is hearer-oriented. On the basis of the propositional content, speaker orientation may be interpreted as "agreement", "echo question", "exclamation", "endorsement", etc. while hearer orientation may be interpreted as "warning", "challenge", "request for information", "defense", etc. There is no upper limit to the number of possible interpretations.

The "prototypical meanings" of Xú (2008) are built on two parameters: the speaker's assessment of the content of the proposition and his/her expectation of the hearer's communicative role. Xú further measures

Table 1. Core Properties (Chu 1998, 2002, 2006 and Qū and Lǐ 2004)

a/*ya*:	"speaker involvement"
ba:	"speaker's uncertainty" (and "recall to previous context")
ne:	"contrast in previous context" and/or "demand to continue"
me:	"presupposition → insistence → obviousness"

Table 2. Yuánxíng yìyì 原型意義 '(Proto)typical Meanings' (Xú 2008:211–212) (some of the descriptions are shortened and simplified from their original ones)

a/*ya*:	*qiáng chuánxìn shì* [,] *gàozhī qiúyìng* 強傳信式[,]告知求應 'to mark a strong message that informs and/or calls for a response'
ba:	*ruò chuánxìn tuīliàng hé jiāoyóu tīnghuàrén quèrèn* 弱傳信推量和交由聽話人確認 'to mark a weak message that makes an assumption for the hearer to confirm'
ne:	*zài gòngyòng yùshè shàng diǎnmíng* [*bìng*] *qǐng zhùyì* 在共用預設上點明[並]請注意 'to point out something as available from common ground in order to draw the hearer's attention to it'
me:	*qiáng chuánxìn shì lùnlǐ quànqiú ànshì tīnghuàrén yīng jiēshòu* 強傳信式論理勸求[,]暗示聽話人應接受 'to make a strong argument and to hint for the hearer to accept (the propositional content true, factual, logical, etc.)'
bei:	*shùwéi qìzé* 述唯[,]棄責 'to suggest something as the only alternative and to leave it for the hearer to decide on it as such'

the effects of the politeness principles on the "meanings" and she also registers the particles' compatibility with the mood of the sentence—declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory—and the effects thereof. She believes that all these interact with each other to give the general interpretation of each of the particles (Xú 2008:132–237). An example how they may be interpreted is given below in table 3.

Formal syntax, however, isn't absent in the contribution to the study of Chinese SFPs. Based on previous works and her own analysis, Li (2006:4–57) comes to the conclusion that the Mandarin particles *ne*, *ba*, *ma* 嘛/嗎 and *a* serve the evaluative, degree and discourse functions, as stated in table 4 below.

At the same time, Li (2006:57–65) claims that in a generative framework, Chinese SFPs can be treated as "heads of functional projections in the CP [Complementizer Phrase] domain." If so, the co-occurrence ordering of the particles (i.e. *ba a*, *ma a*, *ne ma*, *ne ba*, *ne a*, *ne ba a*, *ne ma a*, but not **a ba*, **a ma*, **ma ne*, **ba ne*, **a ne*, **a ba ne*, **a ma ne*) in an utterance may serve to position them in the hierarchically ordered functional heads as follows:

1. Positions of Mandarin SFPs on the hierarchy of CP functional heads:
   Discourse (*a* 啊) < Degree (*ba,ma* 吧,嘛/嗎) < Force < Evaluative (*ne* 呢) < Mood < Fin

This treatment seems to serve as an account of the interface between formal syntax and pragmatics/discourse. Of course, there are other factors involved in the ordering of the co-occurring SFPs. One of them is the degree of openness of the nuclear vowel of the particle (Wáng, ms.).

Whatever diverse terminology is used in the findings of all the recent studies, there definitely is a trend that the Chinese SFPs can be zeroed in on their core functions, from which various interpretations can be derived through the context. E.g.,

2. a. 現在幾點了？
      Xiànzài jǐdiǎn le.
      now what-o'clock ASP
      'What time is it now?'
   b. 你自己有錶啊。
      Nǐ zìjǐ yǒu biǎo a.
      2SG self have watch PRT
      'But, you have a watch.'

This SFP *a* can be interpreted as serving to indicate: (a) "I'm involved," as by Chu, (b) "Be informed that the information is important (and a response may be required)," as by Xú, and (c) "It is relevant to the discourse," as by Li. Combining all three interpretations, the particle can have the meaning of "I wonder [i.e. I'm involved] why you are asking about the time

Table 3. Interpretation of *bei*:

Content of proposition:	'as only alternative assertion or suggestion'
Hearer's role:	'non-expectation of hearer's role to confirm or act'
Politeness scale:	'used among familiar interlocutors'
Mood of sentence:	
Declarative:	'no demand for confirmation'
Interrogative:	NA
Imperative:	'no demand for action'
Exclamatory:	NA

Table 4. Functions of Mandarin SFPs by B. Li

ne :	"evaluative" in that it indicates that the speaker considers the content to be extraordinary or of particular importance
ba :	"degree" in that it marks a low degree of the speaker's commitment or intention
ma 嘛/嗎:	"degree" in that it marks a high degree of the speaker's commitment or intention (The treatment of 嘛/嘿 and 嗎 as one and the same particle is controversial.)
a:	"discourse" in that it highlights relevance of the utterance to the discourse context

[i.e. relevant to the discourse context] since you have a watch yourself [i.e. the info is important]" and, as a result, the statement is more appropriate and more polite as a response to A's question than when there is no *a* at the end of it.

2. Cantonese

Cantonese is rich in SFPs. Some of the common ones in popular use are: *lo1* 囉, *bo3* 喎, *aa3* 啊, *wo5* 喔, *tim1* 添, *gwaa3* 啩, *me1* 咩, *ze1* 咗, *maa3* 嗎, *ne1* 呢, *ge3* 嘅, *lai4* 嚟, *sin1* 先, *zyu6* 住 and *faat8*. The characters are the ones generally accepted in Hong Kong. One of the particles, *faat8*, doesn't seem to have a corresponding character.

Traditionally, Cantonese particles are listed for "meanings" and "functions", just as those in Mandarin are. But, as there are so many more of them than in Mandarin and many of them can be combined to produce complex particle phrases, a simple listing makes even less sense than in Mandarin. Recent studies propose to dissect them into phonological units and to group them by their phonological features, as listed below in table 5, based on groundbreaking work done by Law (1990) and Fung (2000):

Table 5. Phonological components of Cantonese SFPs (Li 2006:73)

Five Initials:	*g*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *z*
Three Rimes:	*e*, *aa*, *o*
One Coda:	*k*
Five Tones:	1 (55; 53), 2 (35), 3 (33), 4 (21; 11), 5 (13)

(The numerals in parentheses indicate pitch levels of the tones. Not all combinations of the four categories are possible. Some combinations will produce forms not found in the list of popular use presented earlier. This may be due to differences in the data collected, the notations adopted, or the dialects used.)

Further analysis associates core functions to those phonological components and their basic realizations as simplex particles (Li 2006:112–114).

(Tone 2 is not listed above for the reason that it is often regarded as derived from combinations of other features, e.g. *ge3*+*aa1*=*gaa2*.)

Table 6. Core functions of phonological components and basic realizations of Cantonese SFPs

ge3:	asserting factuality
l(*e*):	marking realization
z(*e*):	marking restriction
m(*e*):	marking yes/no questions
n(*e*):	marking evaluative mood
e:	default
aa:	marking relevance
o:	marking noteworthiness
-k:	emotion intensifier
3:	default
1:	marking 'hearer-orientation'
4:	marking 'speaker-orientation'
5:	marking evidentiality

The following examples (taken from Li 2006) illustrate how the functions may be interpreted:

3. a. 快啲食！
   Faai3 dil sik6!
   fast little eat
   'Eat faster!' (as a command)
   b. 快啲食 *aa3* ！
   Faai3 dil sik6 *aa3*!
   fast little eat PRT
   'Eat faster!' (as a suggestion)
   c. 快啲食 *aa1* ！
   Faai3 dil sik6 *aa1*!
   fast little eat PRT
   'Eat faster!' (nudging)

4. a. 廣東人食老鼠 *ge3*。
   Gwong2-dung1-jan4 sik6 lou5-syu2 *ge3*.
   Cantonese people eat mouse PRT
   'It is indeed the case that Cantonese people eat mice.'
   b. 廣東人食老鼠 *ge3 me1*。
   Gwong2-dung1-jan4 sik6 lou5-syu2 *ge3 me1*.
   Cantonese people eat mouse PRT PRT
   'Is it indeed the case that Cantonese people eat mice?' (i.e. 'I don't believe this.' The interrogative force seems to be on "indeed" implicated by *ge3*)

There is, of course, a lot of room for further discussion on, and improvement of, the results from this innovative approach.

3. Taiwanese Southern Mǐn (TSM)

TSM also has a rich inventory of SFPs, among which the following are commonly used and have been treated more or less extensively in linguistic literature. They are listed with their discourse functions below. The characters and spellings follow the system used in *Táiwān Mǐnnányǔ chángyòngcí cídiǎn* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 published online by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China in July 2011.

Table 7. Discourse functions of SFPs in TSM (I. Li 1999)

lah:	marker of finality for the end of a unit of talk
honnh:	negotiation-begging marker to solicit addressee's endorsement
ah:	marker of information status for accessible knowledge
ooh:	marker of information status for new information
leh:	marker of contrast to indicate the information in the utterance as contrasting with some existing idea or information in the discourse.
hannh:	marker of request for response
hioh:	marker of request for confirmation
mah:	marker of speaker's appeal to common ground

The functions, as described above in terms of discourse, are capable of generating conversational implicatures, which are usually regarded as the "meanings" or "functions" of the particles. The examples below illustrate how such implicatures are derived.

5. 我希望你乎小可講一下乎。
   Guá hi-bāng lí *-honnh* sió-khuá kóng
   1SG hope 2SG PRT slightly say
   -tsi̍t-ē-*honnh.*
   a-bit PRT
   'I hope you can just say a little bit (about it).'
   (tone-softening derived from negotiation begging)

6. (Mother trying to persuade her son to marry his girlfriend, who is pregnant)
   M: 你毋佮秋月仔結婚會去予恁爸爸拍死喔。
   Lí m̄ kap Tshiu-guát-á kiat-hun ē khì
   2SG NEG with PN marry will go
   hōo lín pahpah phah -sí *-ooh.*
   PASS 2SG.POSS father beat-dead PRT
   'If you don't marry Tshiu-guát-á, you will be beaten to death—i.e. severely punished—by your father.'
   (as a warning derived from new information)

   S: 我才無愛插遐尒濟咧。
   Guá tsâi bô ài tshap hiah-nī-tsè
   1SG just NEG-want care that much
   tsè *-leh.*
   PRT
   'I just don't care that much.' (as resistance derived from contrast)
   反正乎,我這馬無愛結婚就著矣啦
   Huán-tsìng *-honnh,* guá tsit-má bô ài
   anyway PRT, 1SG now NEG-want
   kiat-hun tō tio̍h *-ah-lah.*
   marry just right PRT PRT
   'Anyway, I just don't want to get married now.' (as stubbornness derived from obviousness + finality)

4. SFPs across Dialects

Terminological differences aside, the SFPs in the dialects display a number of similarities in form and function:

a. Hearer vs. speaker orientation: indicated by high and low tones/pitches, respectively, in all three dialects. The high and low tones/pitches occur, for example, over *a*/*ya* in Mandarin, as Tones 1 and 4 in Cantonese, and over *leh* in TSM.
b. Contrast/new topic: marked by *ne* in Mandarin, by *ne1* in Cantonese, and by *leh* in TSM, which has a variant form *ne*.
c. Tone softening: achieved by the personal-involvement *a*/*ya* in Mandarin, by the default relevance-marking *aa3* in Cantonese, and by the negation-begging *honnh* in TSM.
d. Confirmation-seeking: realized by the speaker-uncertainty *ba* in Mandarin, and by the confirmation-requesting *hioh* in TSM.
e. Realization/finality: marked by *l*(*e*) in Cantonese, *lah* in TSM, and the "change of state" *le* in Mandarin.
f. Factuality: asserted by *ge3* in Cantonese, *de* 的 in Mandarin, and *ge* in some Wú 吳 dialects.
g. New information/focus: marked by *o1* in Cantonese, and *ooh* in TSM but marked by a preverbal *shì* 是 in Mandarin.

[*This article has been abridged for this preview booklet.*]

Chauncey Chu

Contact

If you would like to get in touch with the Brill publishing team please feel free to contact us.

Irene van Rossum, *Acquisitions Editor*
rossum@brill.com

For questions about our marketing please contact Els van Egmond, *Marketing Manager,* at egmonde@brill.com.

BRILL
P.O. Box 9000
2300 PA Leiden
The Netherlands
VAT number NL 001539243 B01
Commercial Register Leiden 28000012

Where to Order

Journal Orders Worldwide & Book Orders outside the Americas

BRILL
c/o Turpin Distribution
Stratton Business Park
Pegasus Drive
Biggleswade
Bedfordshire SG1 8 8TQ
United Kingdom
T +44 (0) 1767 604-954
F +44 (0) 1767 601-640
brill@turpin-distribution.com

Book Orders in the Americas

BRILL
c/o Books International
P.O. Box 605
Herndon, VA 2017 2-0605
USA
T (800) 337-9255
(toll free, US & Canada only)
T +1 (703) 661 -15 85
F +1 (703) 661 -15 01
brillmail@presswarehouse.com

Online Products & Primary Source Collections

sales-nl@brill.com (outside the Americas)
sales-us@brill.com (in the Americas)

Or contact your Library Supplier

For sales information and contact details of our sales representatives, please visit brill.com/services/trade

For General Order Information and Terms and Conditions please go to

brill.com

brillonline.com

Brill's VAT registration number is NL8088.46.243 B01

Printed in the Netherlands

The *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics* is *the* new reference work on all aspects of the languages of China and China's linguistic traditions, written and edited by the foremost scholars in the field.