Buckeye East Asian Linguistics Forum 7

Friday, 6 November 2026



http://u.osu.edu/beal/beal-forum/



THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

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Buckeye East Asian Linguistics Forum 6

Friday, 6 November 2026

The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Hosted by

Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures
The Ohio State University

A Hybrid Event
On-Site and Virtual via Zoom

Program Book



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General Information

1. Online Registration

https://u.osu.edu/beal/beal-forum/2026-2/registration/

- Register by Monday, 2 November 2026.

2. Buckeye East Asian Linguistics Forum 7 (BEAL Forum 7)

Date: Friday, 6 November 2026 (Eastern Standard Time (EST)

On-Site: The Ohio State University
Agriculture Administration Building ("AA")
Rooms 246 & 247 – West Campus (Google Map)
2120 Fyffe Road
Columbus, OH 43210

Virtual: Via Zoom: Zoom Main Room and Breakout Rooms A & B

The Buckeye East Asian Linguistics Forum 7 **(**BEAL Forum 6) provides a platform primarily for graduate students to articulate and exchange ideas on their research findings with forum participants. It is a one-day event with keynote lectures and students' presentation sessions. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, students' presentation sessions in BEAL Forum 1 through BEAL Forum 3 were all on-site, poster sessions. However, from BEAL Forum 4 through BEAL Forum 6, we had keynote presentations and 15-minute presentations in parallel sessions via Zoom. BEAL Forum 7 is a little special, in hosting it in hybrid mode, in including a special session that is dedicated to Professor Mineharu "JJ" Nakayama of The Ohio State University, celebrating his distinguished contributions to Japanese linguistics. His extensive research — encompassing first and second language acquisition, language processing, syntax, and more — has significantly advanced the field of Japanese linguistics and cross-linguistic research. Beyond his pioneering scholarship, Professor Nakayama has been a steadfast mentor to many graduate students and an exemplary champion for emerging researchers, notably through his role in spearheading and organizing the BEAL Forum since 2014. Presentations in this honorary session will focus on topics related to Professor Nakayama's areas of expertise.

The BEAL Forum is an excellent opportunity to present one's research in a public arena and to receive comments individually. The Forum is intended to showcase regional research activities in East Asian linguistics. The event is free and open to the public. As in the case of previous BEAL Forums, as part of this event, a Proceedings volume will be published through Ohio State University's Knowledge Bank, a service of The Ohio State University Libraries.

BEAL Forum 7 is free and open to the public, although registration is required to assist with tea/coffee breaks and catered lunch, and in order to obtain the Zoom link.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

The 7th Buckeye East Asian Linguistics Forum
(BEAL Forum 7)

Friday, 6 November 2026

Date: Friday, 6 November 2026 - Eastern Standard Time (EST)
Mode: Hybrid: In-person and virtual via Zoom
Host: Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures (DEALL), The Ohio State University
Registration: Free and open to the public, but online registration required (for name tag and Zoom link)
On-Site: The Ohio State University
Agriculture Administration Building ("AA"), Rooms 246 and 247 – Part of West Campus (Google Map)
2120 Fyffe Road
Columbus, OH 43210
Virtual: Via Zoom: Zoom Main Room and Breakout Rooms A and B

8:10-11:50	**On-Site Registration & Pre-Registration Packet Pick-Up** CFAES Café AA Ground Floor
8:10-8:30	**Coffee/Tea & Refreshments** AA 246
8:30-8:40	**Welcoming Remarks** **DEALL Chair, Professor Patricia Sieber** **GREAL President, Keitaro Mitsuhashi** On-Site: AA 246 Virtual: Zoom Main Room

8:40-9:30	**Keynote Speech I** **Professor Seth Wiener (**Carnegie Mellon University) *Dumplings, Sleep, and Research*
	Chair: Professor Zhiguo Xie (OSU) On-Site: AA 246 Virtual: Zoom Main Room
9:30-9:40	**Coffee/Tea Break** AA 246

Fri. 11/06/2026 Session 1. 9:40-10:40		
	1-A Virtual Session: Syntax & Semantics I On-Site: AA 246 Virtual: Zoom Breakout Room A	**1-B Virtual Session: Phonetics & Phonology** On-Site: AA 247 Virtual: Zoom Breakout Room B
	Chair: David Dai	Chair: Ka Fai Law
9:40-10:00	**Preston Law** (University College London) *Revisiting the Null-Dative Hypothesis in the Cantonese Double Object Constructions*	**Hyun Gu Kang** (Saarland University) *Regional Variation in an Ongoing Sound Change: Seoul vs. Gyeongsang Korean*
10:00-10:20	**Keith Tse** (Ronin Institute for Independent Scholarship (RIIS) 2.0/Institute for Globally Distributed Open Research and Education) *Chinese Voice Alternation: Voice Asymmetry and Thematic Parameters of Transitivity*	**Dinkur Borah** and **Amalesh Gope** (Tezpur University) *Level or Contour? Establishing the Tonal Architecture of Yimkhiung (Tibeto-Burman)*
10:20-10:40	**Liu Feixiong Hasutai** and **Adam Joel Ensign** (Independent Researchers) *Examination of Syntactic Asymmetry in Path Verbs and Manner-of-Motion Verbs: Development on Xun Jia's Study of Case and Aspect in Sibe*	**Wanqiu Dai** (Fudan University, iFlytek Research, Beijing Foreign Studies University), **Pengfei Shao** (iFlytek Research), and **Jiajia Su** (BFSU) *Towards Automatic ToBI Annotation of English Prosody Produced by Mandarin Speakers: A Speech Foundation Model-Based Pilot Study*
10:40-10:50	**Coffee/Tea Break** AA 246	

10:50-11:50	**Special Panel** *The Ideologies of AI: Prompting and Performance in East Asian Languages* **Presenter 1: Dr. Paul Ueda (**Indiana University) *AI and Language Hierarchies: Language Choice and Audience in Taiwan* **Presenter 2: Professor Jae DiBello Takeuchi (**Indiana University) *AI Language Tasks: Successes, Failures, and Stereotypes in a Low-resource Japanese Dialect* **Discussion:** *Approaching AI as an Object of Sociolinguistic Inquiry*
	Chair: Professor Marjorie K.M. Chan (OSU) On-Site: AA 246 Virtual: Zoom Main Room
11:50-12:40	**Catered Lunch** AA 246 & 247

Fri. 11/06/2026 Session 2. 12:40-1:40		
	2-A On-Site Session: Languages & Dialects in China I On-Site: AA 246 Virtual: Zoom Breakout Room A	**2-B On-Site Session: Chinese Discourse Studies** On-Site: AA 247 Virtual: Zoom Breakout Room B
	Chair: Professor Mark Bender	Chair: Miki Arakaki
12:40-1:00	**Linjun Yao** (The Ohio State University) *Quantifier Scope Interpretation in English-Dominant Heritage Speakers of Mandarin Chinese: A Test of the Full Transfer/Full Access Model*	**Ka Fai Law** (OSU alumnus) *Production of Sentence-Final Particles in Heritage Cantonese: Two Case Studies*
1:00-1:20	**Qingke Sun** (The Ohio State University) *A Comparative Study of Nasal Codas in Northern and Southern Chinese Dialects: Evidence from Huaxian Jin and Taipei Southern Min*	**Lizzy Jianing Feng** (The Ohio State University) *Why Are People Mocking Zhang Weiyi? Negotiating Soft Masculinity on Chinese Social Media*
1:20-1:40	**Junyu Sun** (The Ohio State University) *By the Power of Tengri: The Formation of the Standard Opening of Edicts in Mongolian Pidgin Chinese*	**Lyla Wang** (The Ohio State University) *Beyond Hierarchy: Female Address Practices and the Negotiation of Politeness in Hong Lou Meng*
1:40-1:50	**Coffee/Tea Break** AA 246	

Fri. 11/06/2026 Session 3. 1:50-3:30	
	Special Session **in Honor of Professor Mineharu Nakayama**
	Chair: Professor Akiko Kashiwagi-Wood (Oakland University) On-Site: AA 246 Virtual: Zoom Main Room
1:50-2:10	**Q&A with Professor Mineharu Nakayama**
2:10-2:30	**Liang Tao** (Ohio University) *Fuzzy Syntax*
2:30-2:50	**Hibiki Komazawa** (Ohio University) *Social Pressure and Language Ideology:* *Backlash Toward Japanese-Accented English in Responses to Sanae Takaichi*
2:50-3:10	**Keitaro Mitsuhashi** (The Ohio State University) *Utterances Ending in Nouns without -Da or -Desu* *in the Desu/Masu Default Speech Level in Japanese:* *Why Do They Appear Despite Speech-Level Mismatches?*
3:10-3:30	**Yuyang Han** (The Ohio State University) *From Dialect to Dialect:* *Translating Terms of Address in the Japanese Translation of Fanhua*
3:30-3:40	**Coffee/Tea Break** AA 246

3:40-4:30	**Keynote Speech II** **Sayaka Abe** (Middlebury College) *Making Sense of Causal and Subjective Meaning in Japanese: A Cognitive and Historical Linguistic Perspective*
	Chair: Professor Etsuyo Yuasa (OSU) On-Site: AA 246 Virtual: Zoom Main Room
4:30-4:40	**Coffee/Tea Break** AA 246

Fri. 11/06/2026 Session 4. 4:40-6:00		
	4-A Virtual Session: Syntax & Semantics II On-Site: AA 246 Virtual: Zoom Breakout Room A	**4-B Virtual Session: Languages & Dialects in China II** On-Site: AA 247 Virtual: Zoom Breakout Room B
	Chair: Xuan Ye	Chair: Yuyang Han
4:40-5:00	**Miguel Germán Román** (Indiana University / Colgate University) *(Im)perfective Tense Marking: The Usage of -te i by Heritage Speakers of Japanese*	**Xiaolin Niu** (University of Washington) *From Causers to Affectees: Jiào Syncretism and Affectedness in Central Plains Mandarin*
5:00-5:20	**Hajime Mori** and **Kaustubh Ghoshal** (New York University) *Decomposing Japanese -kamo: A Compositional Analysis of Epistemic Possibility and Scalar Ignorance*	**Chen Chen** (Shandong University), **Jared Sharp** (University at Buffalo), **Liu Feixiong Hasutai** (Independent Researcher) *Anomalous Usages of Manchu's Accusative Marker '-be'*
5:20-5:40	**Yu Tazaki** (Nanzan University) *Asymmetry between Unaccusatives and Unergatives in Subject Movement*	**Yan Li** (University of Georgia) *Nǔ Xiānsheng in Chinese: A Corpus-Based Study of Semantic Variation and Change*
5:40-6:00	**Krisangi Saikia** (Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute) and **Amalesh Gope** (Tezpur University) *Speech Rhythm in Read and Spontaneous Zeme: A Multi-dimensional Acoustic Study of a Tonal Naga Language*	**Ke Wang** (Zhejiang University) *From "Birth" to "Later": The Diachronic Semantic Development of Hou (后) in Chinese*
6:00-6:15	**Closing Remarks** **GACL President, Linjun Yao** On-Site: AA 246 Virtual: Zoom Main Room	

Plenary Session Abstracts

Dumplings, Sleep, and Research

Professor Seth Wiener
Carnegie Mellon University

Understanding speech in a noisy environment (the “cocktail party problem”) requires listeners to perform rapid auditory scene analysis. In tone languages like Mandarin Chinese, fundamental frequency performs two tasks: identifying who is speaking while simultaneously determining what is being said. What happens when vocal pitch and word pitch come into conflict during multi-talker cocktail parties? This talk will cover a fun exploration of auditory perception, pitch processing, and why some of life's simplest pleasures, like dumplings and sleep, might just hold the key to understanding how the brain extracts meaning from acoustic chaos.

Short Biography: Seth Wiener is an Associate Professor of Second Language Acquisition and Chinese Studies and the Director of Graduate Studies in the Department of Languages, Cultures & Applied Linguistics at Carnegie Mellon University. He received his BA from Boston University and his MA and PhD from The Ohio State University. He has directed the Language Acquisition, Processing, and Pedagogy Lab or LAPP Lab at Carnegie Mellon for over a decade. He is an Associate Editor for the journal *Language Learning*.

Making Sense of Causal and Subjective Meaning in Japanese:
A Cognitive and Historical Linguistic Perspective

Professor Sayaka Abe
Middlebury College

What can language change tell us about the associations we make between different types of concepts, such as MOTION and EMOTION? Drawing on the usage of selected Japanese verbs and their grammaticalized counterparts in historical data, this talk presents the mechanisms underlying these associations. I use causation (how events occur) and subjectivity (how such occurrences are understood) as key theoretical terms, and argue that both inform language use in contemporary communication.

Short Biography: Sayaka Abe teaches undergraduate and graduate courses at Middlebury College. She received her Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University at Buffalo. Her scholarship focuses on cognitive semantics, pragmatics and historical linguistics. She brings these areas together in her current book project, which examines how Japanese encodes emotive and other sensory concepts. Her research also extends to educational linguistics (the teaching of linguistics) as she works to make linguistic theories and data relevant to education more broadly and to advocate for the field.

Special Panel Abstracts

Special Panel:

"The Ideologies of AI: Prompting and Performance in East Asian Languages"

Panel Abstract: Using East Asian sociolinguistics, this panel treats generative AI as an object of critical inquiry and examines AI's performance on language tasks involving dialectal variation. The panel begins with two presentations of research findings from AI experiments conducted using Taigi and Japanese. Collectively, the findings demonstrate how language ideologies emerge in AI responses. Following the two presentations, attendees will be invited to participate in a discussion on the methodological implications of investigating AI as an object of inquiry itself, and not merely as a tool for sociolinguistic study. A key takeaway of the panel is the importance of applying East Asian sociolinguistics to the critical evaluation of AI.

Presenter 1 – Presenter 2 - Discussion

Presenter 1. Dr. Paul Ueda (Indiana University)

Title: "AI and Language Hierarchies: Language Choice and Audience in Taiwan"

Abstract: The Taigi language portion of the study was designed to assist a hypothetical US-based user in drafting communications for various interlocutors located in Tainan, Taiwan. The results of the experiment showed mixed performance. Based on previous research by this author, human participants reported feeling comfortable using Taigi in all domains, both professional and personal (Ueda 2025). However, in the present study, while ChatGPT left Taigi unchanged in personal communications, it consistently recommended against Taigi in professional domains. This trend was observed even when the user explicitly stated their preference for Taigi. In professional communications, ChatGPT typically recommended either a complete switch to Mandarin or employed a lexical borrowing code-switching strategy—such as *phainn-sè* 歹勢 for "sorry." These performative displays of Taigi were referred to as increasing the "warmth" and "friendly local flavor," while Mandarin was the preferred language choice for maintaining professional readability. Across many of the variables, ChatGPT continued to espouse a diglossic divide between Mandarin and Taigi and reinforce standard language ideologies. These findings suggest some heretofore unexamined impacts of AI usage in cross-cultural contexts. Further, this study underscores the importance of AI-fluency training to create savvy users who can harness the capabilities of AI, while being mindful of its shortcomings.

Bio: Dr. Paul Ueda graduated from The Ohio State University in 2025 with a degree in East Asian Languages and Literatures. He studied Chinese linguistics under Professor Marjorie K.M. Chan. His dissertation, entitled *Taiwanese Orthographies and Social Identities*, presented a multifaceted exploration of sociolinguistic variation in Taigi, a Sinitic language in Taiwan. Beyond orthographic variation in Taiwan, Dr. Ueda also researches Artificial Intelligence and sociolinguistics, digitalization and technological systems, and the politicization of language.

Presenter 2. Professor Jae DiBello Takeuchi (Indiana University)

Title: "AI Language Tasks: Successes, Failures, and Stereotypes in a Low-resource Japanese Dialect"

Abstract: The Japanese portion of the study used prompts that directed ChatGPT to assist a hypothetical US-based user in the completion of language tasks that included features from a dialect of Ehime Prefecture, Japan. Ehime Dialects tend to be low-resource, as was underscored by results showing mixed performance: while some of ChatGPT's responses included accurate dialect usage, others did not. ChatGPT sometimes produced dialect output that was based on other regions and failed to confirm regional information before offering recommendations. Further, guidance in the response output consistently conveyed ideologies that restricted dialect usage, privileged Standard Japanese, and reinforced native speaker bias.
This study raises several important concerns. For example, AI recommends a kind of "dialect lite" consisting of isolated dialect tokens with a preference for a "touch" of dialect, rather than more full dialect use. The ideological nature of AI's recommendations are hidden behind a veil of neutrality, making it difficult for non-specialist users to critically interpret its recommendations. An additional concern is that reliance on AI for language tasks could result in acceleration of standardization and contribute to dialect leveling in which specific dialects shift toward a generic "Western dialect." Low-resource dialects are more likely to be at risk of undergoing such shifts. These findings demonstrate the importance of further inquiry into how ideologies are recreated in AI output and underscore the need for AI-related research that centers East Asian languages.

Bio: Jae DiBello Takeuchi is Associate Professor of Japanese and Coordinator of the Japanese Language Program in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at Indiana University. Dr. Takeuchi conducts research in Japanese sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, second language acquisition, and foreign language pedagogy. She studies the experiences of Japanese second language speakers who are long-term residents of Japan. She is particularly interested in how they navigate Japanese speech styles, such as dialects and *keigo*, which they encounter in local communities, workplaces, and leisure activities. Some of these findings are presented in her book, *Language Ideologies and L2 Speaker Legitimacy: Native Speaker Bias in Japan*. She also studies linguistic microaggression and considers how speaker identity and markers such as accent impact L2 speakers' acceptance in Japanese communities. More recently, she has been examining generative AI from the standpoint of Japanese sociolinguistics.
At Indiana University, Dr. Takeuchi teaches courses in Japanese language and sociolinguistics. Before coming to Indiana, she taught Japanese at Clemson University and served as the director of the Languages and International Business program. In 2026, she is the president-elect of the American Association of Teachers of Japanese (she will serve as president in 2027, and past-president in 2028).

Discussion: "Approaching AI as an Object of Sociolinguistic Inquiry"

Special Session to Honor of Professor Mineharu Nakayama Abstracts

Fuzzy Syntax: Zero Anaphora in Chinese Discourse Processing

Liang Tao
Department of Linguistics
Ohio University

This study evaluated the role of syntax in reference-tracking of Mandarin Chinese discourse, proposing a fuzzy nature of syntax. Results from two experiments show that conceptual packaging of information is more important than specific syntactic structures when elliptical expressions are presented with zero anaphora, leaving syntax to be at a fuzzy stage. The findings complement the theoretical study of fuzzy grammar as indeterminate boundaries of grammatical categories.

In Mandarin Chinese discourse, sentences containing zero anaphora become elliptical with nominal referents missing. This study finds that, contrary to the general belief of form-meaning mapping in sentence processing, native speakers were ready to accept the same elliptical sentence with an active, a causative, a BA-construction or even a passive interpretation. Specifically, re-construction of an elliptical utterance into any one of the syntactic patterns was equally acceptable. The exact syntactic pattern for the elliptical utterance, therefore, became fuzzy. But the conceptual interpretation of both the utterance and the missing referents were agreed upon in the task of reference tracking.

The study proposes that information associated with specific syntactic structures is present only with overt presentations of the structures, without which syntax may be fuzzy or underspecified without compromising presentation of conceptual information; therefore, elliptical expressions with multiple occurrences of zero anaphora are processed without the constraint of specific syntactic structures, and syntactic structures maybe fuzzy during Chinese discourse processes.

An accessibility centered, context-dependent principle of emergent reference is thus proposed to account for discourse processes with abundant zero anaphora in Mandarin Chinese.

Social Pressure and Language Ideology:
Backlash Toward Japanese-Accented English in Responses to Sanae Takaichi

Hibiki Komazawa
Ohio University

This study investigates 1) patterns of public evaluation in online backlash towards English spoken by a Japanese politician Sanae Takaichi and 2) linguistic and extralinguistic features embedded in the public evaluation. Previous studies show that L1 Japanese speakers evaluated native-like English more favorably than accented varieties (Amano, 2005); yet L1 Japanese speakers' perceptions of Japanese-accented English remain underexplored. Public reactions to a Japanese speaker's English use could extend beyond linguistic competence and reflect socially situated attitudes toward Japanese-accented English, and language ideology.

Using posts collected from X (formerly Twitter), this quantitative study will analyze what users criticize and how they evaluate Takaichi's English. Search will be conducted using keywords such as "Sanae Takaichi", "English", and "English proficiency". By systematically analyzing how linguistic form and social evaluation interact in online discourse regarding a Japanese speaker's English, this study will contribute to research in Japanese linguistics education and language ideology. Methodologically, this study employs thematic analysis and coding to identify recurring patterns in metalinguistic commentary and examine how language use is evaluated in online discourse. This approach also demonstrates the value of mobile application technologies, such as social media resources for analyzing metalinguistics commentary, with potential applications to computational approaches to stance and evaluation.

The findings are expected to offer several pedagogical implications for English education in Japan, from the perspective of "My English", which was proposed by Shiozawa (2020) for Japanese L2 English learners based on the concept of Global Englishes. In the perspective of "My English", Shiozawa claims that, instead of aiming to acquire native-like English, unique and communicative English should be commonly accepted among learners. Additionally, he emphasized on the importance of setting goals on what kind of English learners try to obtain, depending on each of their needs.

This is an ongoing research project which was initially conducted by one author. However, it is going to be revised and developed, cooperating with my advisor, as well as the second author. By the time the conference is coming up, the data analysis and result may be changed due to the substantial revision, though the idea and the purpose of this research will remain as it is.

Data Analysis

The data analysis section includes table 1, which represents the transcription of each backlash post. In this abstract, the transcription is not provided to fit the data in one page.|

Themes	Descriptions
Political Criticisms	The main focus of the backlash is Takaichi's political stance, and English is a part of material to justify their criticisms.
Pure Hatred	Criticizing target's appearance as well as her English proficiency
Outperformance	By criticizing the target's English, users try to show off their knowledge, skills and power.
Secondhand Embarrassment	Users feel embarrassed and uncomfortable with the target's English and concern how foreign people perceive Japanese speaker's English

Table 2: Thematic Coding of the Backlash Posts on X

Linguistic Features	Extralinguistic Features
● Pragmatic Competence (jokes) ● Syntax (grammar) ● Lexicon (vocabulary) ● Speaking ● Phonology (intonation)	● Political Stance ● Appearance ● Perception of people outside of Japan ● Nativeness ● U.S. norms

Table 3: Linguistic and Extralinguistic Features Included in the Criticisms

Reference

Amano, S. (2005). 日本人英語学習者の非母語話者英語に対する態度—非母語話者アクセントが話者評価に及ぼす影響. [Japanese English learners' attitudes towards non-native speaker English: The influence of non-native accent on speaker evaluation]*多元文化*,*5*,1-13.10. https://doi.org/18999/muls.5.1

Shiozawa, T. (2020). *Kokusai eigoron karano nihono eigokyouiku eno shisa* [implications for English education in Japan from the perspective of "world Englishes": A proposal for the model of "my English"]. *Journal of Asian English Studies, 22*, 13–56. https://doi.org/10.50875/asianenglishstudies.22.0_13

Utterances Ending in Nouns without *-Da* or *-Desu* in the *Desu/Masu* Default Speech Level in Japanese: Why Do They Appear Despite Speech-Level Mismatches?

Keitaro Mitsuhashi
The Ohio State University

This study focuses on downshifted utterances ending in nouns without *-da* or *-desu* in the *desu/masu* default speech level, which has not been discussed thoroughly in previous studies, and presents a hypothesis to explain why they can appear despite speech-level mismatches.

Japanese mainly has two distinct speech levels: the *desu/masu* (≈ polite) speech level and the plain (≈ non-polite) speech level. Previous studies on speech levels indicate that although the *desu/masu* speech level is predominantly used as the default in initial meetings, speech-level downshifts to the plain speech level are often observed (Ide, 2006; Ikuta, 1983; Takiura, 2005; Usami, 2002; among others). Speech-level downshifts occur in specific utterances, such as soliloquy-like utterances, which resemble self-talk in form (the plain speech level) but are used within interaction. The notion of "undifferentiation of <politeness>" by Nitta (1991) theoretically explains why speech-level downshift is easily achieved in soliloquy-like utterances. He argues that for <politeness> to be differentiated (i.e., to exist), there needs to be an opposition between the plain speech level and the *desu/masu* speech level. Following this argument, <politeness> is undifferentiated in soliloquy-like utterances, as only the plain speech level is used. Put simply, although soliloquy-like utterances appear in the plain speech level in the *desu/masu* default discourse, they do not function as the informal style, which is mainly used between family members and close friends (Cook, 2002, 2008; Maynard, 1991).

However, observing natural discourse data reveals that there are downshifted utterances in the plain speech level other than soliloquy-like utterances: utterances ending in nouns without the speech-level marker for nouns, *-da* for the plain speech level or *-desu* for the *desu/masu* speech level. Although these utterances appeared in previous studies on speech level (see Ijuin, 2004; Maynard, 1991; Okazaki, 2020), why these plain speech-level utterances without the "undifferentiation of <politeness>" seen in soliloquy-like utterances can appear in the discourse whose default speech level is *desu/masu* has not been adequately addressed. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to focus on utterances ending in nouns without *-da* or *-desu* in natural discourse data and approach them with a working hypothesis to explain why they can be used in the *desu/masu* default speech level.

To identify utterances ending in nouns without the speech-level markers, this study investigates an entire 16-minute discourse between two Japanese native speakers from the BTSJ corpus (Usami, 2023). Utterances are coded by speech level and part of speech using clearly defined procedures. Out of 348 coded utterances, 214 were produced by the younger speaker whose default speech level was *desu/masu.* Of those utterances, only 12 were identified as the plain speech level, and five utterances were categorized as soliloquy-like utterances using the framework of Conversation Analysis (Goodwin, 1981; Sacks et al., 1974) by primarily focusing on the speaker's gaze activities and changes in speech and volume, which are characteristics of soliloquy-like utterances (Mimaki, 2000; Yoshino, 2016). The rest of the utterances were classified as nouns in the coding phase, which are not marked by *-da* or *-desu*. Li (2011) and Shoji (1992) argue that nouns without *-da* or *-desu* function as the informal style. However, the data of the present study indicate that this argument does not fully capture how utterances ending with nouns without *-da* or *-desu* function in the *desu/masu* default discourse. In the present data,

the utterances in the plain speech level, other than soliloquy-like utterances, were all nouns without *-da* or *-desu.* If these utterances were used as the informal style, downshifted utterances would appear even in other parts of speech. Furthermore, if they were used as the informal style, it is expected that they would appear more in the later stage of the discourse as the psychological distance between the speakers becomes closer. However, utterances ending in nouns without *-da* or *-desu* are observed even in the initial phase of the discourse. Based on these observations, it is considered that they are not used in the informal style. Instead, the present study assumes that these utterances may achieve the morphological "undifferentiation of <politeness>" by avoiding the dichotomy between *-da* and *-desu* (Mitsuhashi, 2026). As the opposition between the two speech levels is not maintained due to the lack of these speech-level markers (Nitta, 1991), the <politeness> of utterances ending in nouns without *-da* or *-desu* can be undifferentiated. By assuming the morphological "undifferentiation of <politeness>," these utterances no longer need to be treated as the informal style, and the two aforementioned issues do not arise. In other words, although speech-level downshifts are observed in initial interactions, this does not indicate a mixing of styles caused by using the informal style (typically reserved for close friends) when speaking with someone for the first time. Instead, it enables the view that the concept of <politeness> in downshifted utterances is undifferentiated, thereby maintaining a consistent style throughout the discourse of initial meetings. Lastly, this research sets the trajectory for future research by suggesting that more detailed classifications of nouns without *-da* and *-desu* may be needed to further develop the concept of the morphological "undifferentiation of <politeness>."

This study sheds light on research on speech level by examining utterances ending in nouns without *-da* and *-desu,* which were classified as the plain speech level in previous studies without much discussion of how they should be treated, and by presenting a hypothesis to explain why they can be used in the *desu/masu* default discourse. The analysis also suggests that presupposing the notion of the "undifferentiation of <politeness>" allows us to examine the complex phenomenon of <politeness> more precisely rather than approaching it through a dichotomous framework of <politeness> and <non-politeness>.

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From Dialect to Dialect:
Translating Terms of Address in the Japanese Translation of *Fanhua*

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Abstract

Literary dialect cannot be transferred through one-to-one equivalence: both authors and translators select features that make social difference legible (Sánchez 1999). Terms of address are especially consequential because they encode not only reference but also kinship, hierarchy, intimacy, and group belonging (Braun 1988). *Fanhua* □ □ is unusual in contemporary Chinese fiction for its sustained use of a Shanghai dialect register, while Rika Uramoto's 2022 Japanese translation uses Kansai dialect as a broad counterpart to the source text's regional voice. Existing discussions have addressed the translator's dialect-for-dialect strategy (Jia and Uramoto 2020), the mediatized value of Japanese dialects (Jinnouchi 2007), and the narrative effects of dialectal form in *Fanhua* (Han 2025). Yet little attention has been paid to terms of address, where regional voice intersects most directly with relational meaning. This paper asks how Shanghainese address forms are redistributed when the target language lacks equivalent kinship categories, social titles, or local associations.

The study compares recurring address forms in representative dialogic passages from the 2013 Chinese edition with their renderings in the 2022 Japanese translation. Through close comparative analysis, it classifies these forms as kinship terms, status-bearing titles, or locally marked personal forms of address, and traces shifts along three dimensions: lexical specificity, regional markedness, and interpersonal stance. The analysis treats translation as a socially situated practice rather than isolated lexical substitution (Inghilleri 2023). It identifies three recurrent operations: standardization, dialectal compensation, and pragmatic recalibration.

The comparison reveals an asymmetry between macro-level dialect representation and micro-level relational meaning. At the macro level, Kansai forms preserve the perception that the dialogue is regionally marked and sustain a contrast with standard Japanese. At the micro level, however, specific address relations are frequently reorganized. Standard Japanese forms improve accessibility but reduce Shanghai-specific associations; Kansai expressions compensate for lost regionality by indexing familiarity or informality; and target-language titles sometimes preserve status while altering the precise social identity of the addressee. Kinship terms show the strongest flattening. Shanghainese distinguishes relatives and fictive kin through categories that Japanese often collapses into a more general form such as 叔父さん *ojisan*. When 爷叔 *yéshū* and 小娘舅 *xiǎo niángjiù* occur in the same utterance, both can therefore surface as 叔父さん, obscuring the source text's contrast between a Shanghai-specific respectful address and a maternal kinship role. By contrast, 小开 *xiǎokāi* becomes 若旦那さん *waka-danna-san*, which partially recreates its association with youth and wealth but relocates that identity within a Japanese status vocabulary.

These patterns show that dialect-for-dialect translation does not preserve a stable package of social meanings. Rather, it redistributes indexical meaning across linguistic levels: Kansai dialect compensates for regional markedness at the level of voice, while individual address terms may neutralize kinship distinctions, recalibrate hierarchy, or shift interpersonal distance. The contribution of this study is therefore twofold. For translation studies, it demonstrates that apparent dialectal equivalence can coexist with systematic pragmatic loss and compensation. For pragmatics, it shows how address forms mediate the translated construction of relationships: changes in naming a character alter the social position from which that character is recognized. The Japanese *Fanhua* consequently preserves regional otherness while reconstructing the relational map through which Shanghai identity becomes narratively meaningful.

Example 1 Redistribution of meaning in three address forms

Chinese form and pinyin	Source-text social meaning	Japanese translation	Pragmatic effect
爷叔 *yéshū*	Older male; Shanghai-specific respectful address	叔父さん *ojisan*	Regional and social meaning generalized
小娘舅 *xiǎo niángjiù*	Maternal younger uncle	叔父さん *ojisan*	Kinship distinction neutralized
小开 *xiǎokāi*	Young man from a wealthy family; Shanghai-specific status term	若旦那さん *waka-danna-san*	Youth and status partially preserved

Chinese: 我讲，我是称呼香港爷叔、小娘舅，还是小开。

Wǒ jiǎng, wǒ shì chēnghu Xiānggǎng yéshū, xiǎo niángjiu, háishì xiǎokāi. (Fanhua, 40)

Japanese: おかしいなって思いました。それから、香港の叔父さんか、叔父さんか、若旦那さんか、何て呼んだらエエのかわからへんから聞いたんです。

Okashii na tte omoimashita. Sorekara, Honkon no ojisan ka, ojisan ka, waka-danna-san ka, nante yondara ee no ka wakarahen kara kiitan desu. (Blossoms, 98)

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Parallel Session 1-A Abstracts

Revisiting the Null-Dative Hypothesis in the Cantonese Double Object Constructions

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This paper revisits the null-dative hypothesis in the Cantonese double object constructions (hereafter DOCs). In Cantonese, ditransitive constructions can exhibit two types of word order: V-DO-IO (*to*-datives and inverted DOCs) and V-IO-DO (typical DOCs). Crucially, since the lexical verb *bei* 'give' and the prepositional dative markers are homophones, it is posited that the inverted V-DO-IO word order is derived from its *to*-dative counterpart, where the latter *bei* is phonologically dropped (Xu & Peyraube 1997, Tang 1998, 2015, Lee 2011, Yeh 2020, Chin 2022). Consider:

(1) a. Ngo bei jat bun syu keoi. (V-DO-IO; DOC)
1SG give one CL book 3SG
'I give him/her a book.'

b. *Ngo bei keoi jat bun syu. (V-IO-DO; DOC)
1SG give 3SG one CL book
Intended: 'I give him/her a book.'

c. ??Ngo bei jat bun syu bei keoi. (V-DO-IO; *to*-dative)
1SG give one CL book BEI 3SG
'I give a book to him/her.'

While the hypothesis is well supported by prosodic and cross-linguistic observations, it certainly has limitations. Even though the dative marker is dropped, it is not clear whether the IO remains categorically a PP (with a null head) or a DP. Moreover, the dropping of the dative marker may also be explained by the distinctness condition (Richards 2010; see also Pan 2025, 2026) in syntax. It is unlikely that the dropping is merely a PF deletion without structural consequence. I argue in this paper that the null-dative hypothesis is indeed an oversimplification, yet not a total failure. The scopal relations between the IO and the DO in both the *to*-dative and the inverted DOC show similarities, which may still indicate a potential derivation. For all ditransitive constructions in Cantonese, the IO sits either left or right at Spec,VP and the DO the complement of V; the inverted DOC and the *to*-dative would have an ascending structure, whereas the typical DOC a descending structure (*à la* Grabska & Abels 2022, Grabska 2023, Abels in press; see also Janke & Neeleman 2012), schematised as below:

(2) a. [VP [V' V DPDO] [DPIO]] (V-DO-IO; inverted DOC)
b. [VP [V' V DPDO] [PPIO]] (V-DO-IO; *to*-dative)
c. [VP [DPIO] [V' V DPDO]] (V-IO-DO; typical DOC)

As predicted in these structures, I show that the *to*-dative and the inverted DOC exhibit similar scopal behaviours, in which the IO scopes over the DO. However, because the IO in the inverted DOC can be extracted to undergo A-movements such as object fronting and the *lian…dou* construction (Cao 2025a,b) under the ban on preposition stranding (see e.g. Abels 2003, 2012), the IO in such a construction would have to be a true DP categorically speaking. Based on these considerations, it is concluded that while the null-dative hypothesis might still be useful in accounting for the diachronic change of the inverted DOC in Cantonese, yet mostly irrelevant for synchronic syntactic derivations. As an implication, the findings provide a foundation for subsequent analyses of similar phenomena, namely the ditransitive construction in other Sinitic languages.

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Chinese Voice Alternation:
Voice Asymmetry and Thematic Parameters of Transitivity

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In difference to other co-verbs (CVs) that assign thematic roles to their complements with which they form phrases (1a-d), Chinese *ba* (把) and *bei* (被) do not form phrases with the following element that instead forms phrases with the lexical verb phrase (2a-b). Instead, *ba* and *bei* involve object-raising (3a-b) that resembles grammatical voice alternations (Wang (1957)).
Traditional analyses account for the superficial word order by A'-movement of the preposed object to Topic/Focus based on its referentiality (Tsao (1987), Ting (1998), Huang (1999)), as indicated by preposed bare \\specific preposed objects are also attested in both constructions (4b-c). Rather, both *ba* and *bei* select lexical verb phrases that are highly transitive/affective (Li (2006)), as the lexical verb can never be bare and they must denote change in the object and/or show aspectual value (Liu (1997), Feng (2002a)). The transitivity of the lexical verb phrase is further supported by the fact that both *ba* and *bei* can optionally select an affective marker *gei* (給) as the head of the lexical verb phrase (5), which indicates an intermediate A-position for the preposed object (Tang (2001), Kuo (2010)). *Ba* and *bei* can hence be analysed as grammatical voice heads (Active and Passive respectively) merged above a functional head (Affect) optionally lexicalised by *gei*, and these introduce arguments in their specifiers that are co-referential to the core arguments of the lexical verb phrase, which accounts for the preposing of the object to the specifier of Affect (*gei*) (3a) or the specifier of Passive (*bei*) (3b).

The derivation of *ba*- and *bei*-constructions resembles high applicatives that introduce new arguments above the VP (Pylkannen (2008)), even though the arguments introduced are core (subject/object of the main verb) rather than oblique (Peterson (2007)). Due to the intervening arguments in the specifier immediately above (SpecPassive – SpecActive - SpecAffect), Spec-to-Spec A-movement is ruled out for object raising due to locality/minimality of movement (McGinnis (2008)).

Moreover, despite the structural parallels between *ba*- and *bei*-constructions (3a-b), there is evidence that *bei* is merged higher than *ba* as it accepts a wider range of complements (Huang, Li, Li (2009:154-162)), which indicates asymmetry in Chinese voice alternations (Zhang (2001)). First, *ba*-constructions can be passivised by *bei* where *bei* dominates *ba* and the preposed object of *ba* is raised further to the subject position of *bei*-constructions (6a). Secondly, *bei* can be used with verbs in which the object is indirectly affected whereas *ba* cannot (6b), as *ba* denotes direct manipulation by an agent (Ziegeler (2000)). In terms of thematic roles, it can be argued that *bei* can trigger the preposing of objects that correspond to 'beneficiary/experiencer/recipient', which *ba* cannot (6b), and the wider range of verbal complementation in *bei* entails a thematic hierarchy above the lexical verb phrase (Passive–Active-Affect) that merges the core arguments of the lexical verb phrase (passivisee-agent-affectee) (6a).

This hierarchy can be derived from the lexical semantics of *ba* and *bei* as lexical verbs in Medieval Chinese serial verb constructions (SVCs) ('take/hold' and 'receive/undergo/experience' respectively). As *ba* and *bei* are reanalysed as high applicatives in the monoclausal restructuring of SVCs due to object co-reference between the two verb phrases (Peyraube (1985, 1996), Feng (2002b)), *ba* 'take/hold' entails direct manipulation of an object in the possession of the subject (7), which entails a stronger type of transitivity where the object is directly affected by the subject (Ziegeler (2000)). By contrast, *bei* 'undergo/receive/experience' can select a wider range of affectees, since in addition to many examples where the object is strongly affected by the subject

(8a), there are examples where the object is less directly affected, namely verbs that denote a more abstract type of affectedness where the preposed object can be classified as 'recipient/beneficiary/experiencer' (8b). Chinese voice alternation, therefore, provides a typological alternative to passivisation in Western languages which is Case-driven by Burzio's (1986) generalisation where the Caseless object of the passivized verb undergoes movement to the subject position in order to be assigned Case (Chomsky (1981)). Instead, Chinese *ba* and *bei* seem to be voice applicatives that trigger the preposing of different types of objects, and since *bei* 'undergo/receive/experience' can select internal arguments ('recipient/beneficiary/experiencer') that *ba* 'take/hold' cannot, *bei* is merged higher than *ba* in the thematic hierarchy of voice applicatives (passivisee-agent-affectee). The derivation of Chinese voice applicatives is hence not structurally determined by Case but thematically driven by the lexical semantics of CVs *ba* and *bei*, which also conforms to the thematic naturing the cross-linguistic examples of applicatives (Peterson (2007), Bosse (2015)).

1a) 我 跟 張三 很 處得來 / 跟 張三 我 很 處得來
I with Zhangsan very get.along with Zhangsan I very get.along
'I get along very well with ZS.'/ 'With ZS I get along very well' (Huang, Li, Li (2009:116))

1b) 他 用 刀 殺-了 很多 雞 / 用 刀 他 殺-了 很多 雞
he use knife kill-ASP many chicken use knife he kill-ASP many chicken
'He killed many chickens with a knife.' / 'With a knife he killed many chickens' (Huang, Li, Li (2009:116))

1c) 我 在 桌子-上 擺-了 一-盆 花 / 在 桌子-上 我 擺了 一-盆 花
I on table-LOC put-ASP one-CL flower on table-LOC I put-ASP one-CL flower
'I put a pot of flower on the table.' / 'On the table I put a pot of flower.' (Huang, Li, Li (2009:116))

1d) 張三 對 李四 很 客氣 / 對 李四 張三 很 客氣
Zhangsan to Lisi very polite to Lisi Zhangsan very polite
'Zhangsan is very polite to Lisi.' / 'To Lisi Zhangsan is very polite' (Huang, Li, Li (2009:116))

2a) *把 這塊 肉 你 先 切切 吧 / *被 李四 張三 昨天 打-了
BA this-CL meat you first cut-cut SFP BEI Lisi Zhangsan yesterday hit-ASP
'This meat, you cut it first.' (Li (2006:382)) / 'By Lisi, Zhangwan got hit yesterday.' (Huang, Li, Li (2009:116))

2b) 他 把 門 洗-好 (和) 窗戶 擦-乾净 / 他 被 親人 懷疑 (和) 外人 指責
he BA door wash-finish and window wipe-clean he BEI relative suspect and outsider blame
'He washed the door and wiped the window clean.' (Li (2006:383)) /
'He was suspected by his relatives and blamed by outsiders.' (Hashimoto (1987:42))

3a) Subject BA Object $_i$ Verb t $_i$

3b) Object $_i$ BEI Subject Verb t $_i$ (Feng (2002b:148))

4a) 請 你 把 筆 給 我
please you BA pen give me
'Please give me the pen.' (Li (2006:411))

4b) 小張 把 個 孩子 生 在 火車-上 了
Xiaozhang BA CL child give.birth at train-LOC SFP
'Little Zhang gave birth to a child on the train.' (Wang (1985:51))

4c) 只 見 一 個 小白臉 被 一 個 大鬍子 拎將-起來 扔-出 屋-外
only see one CL kid BEI one CL big.beard pick-up throw-out house-LOC
'A young kid happened to get picked up and thrown out of the house by a man with a big beard.' (Li (1993:41))

5) 弟弟 把 杯子 (給) 打-碎-了 / 杯子 被 弟弟 (給) 打-破-了
brother BA cup GEI hit-break-ASP cup BEI brother GEI hit-break-ASP
'Brother broke the cup.' (Tang (2001:283)) / 'The cup was broken by brother.' (Tang (2001:259))

6a) 他 被 朋友 把 一-個 太太 給 騙-走-了
he BEI friend BA one-CL wife GEI cheat-away-ASP
'He was cheated by his friend of one of his wife.' (Chen (2003:1173))

6b) 他 被 人 擊出-了 一-記 全壘打 / *他 把 人 擊出-了 一-記 全壘打
he BEI person hit-ASP one-CL full.run he BA person hit-ASP one-CL full.run
'He got hit a full run by someone.' / 'He hit someone a full run.' (Huang, Li, Li (2009:159))

7) 武 把 高皇 用 刃 刺 之
Wu BA GaoHuang use blade stab him

‘Wu takes GaoHuang and stabs him with a blade.’ >‘Wu stabs GaoHuang with a blade.’ (前漢書評話□)

8a)	她	又	被	張-木匠	抓-住	她	的	頭發
	She	again	BEI	Zhang-woodman	grab-ASP	she	POSS	hair
	把	她	按	在	床-上			
	BA	her	pin	at	bed-LOC			

‘She got grabbed in the hair by Woodman Zhang again, who pinned her onto the bed. (趙樹理, 羅漢錢)

8b)	村-裡…	都	得	被	財主-們	逼-死	幾	個	人
	village-LOC	DOU	get	BEI	owner-PL	force-die	several	CL	people

‘The village suffered the deaths of several people by the landlords.’ (高玉寶 25)

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Examination of syntactic asymmetry in path verbs and manner-of-motion verbs: Development on Xun Jia's study of case and aspect in Sibe

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Abstract

This study investigates two asymmetries between path verbs (PVs) and manner-of-motion verbs (MMVs) and underlying rationale for their existence as a development on differences noted in Jia's (2013) foundational study of directional case-marking in Sibe (Tungusic). Asymmetry I, or the case asymmetry (Ex. 1), describes the difference in the assignment of case markers on the destination noun phrases of PVs and MMVs, especially as seen in the use of the locative (LOC) *-de* or lative (LAT) *-ci*. For PVs like *genemi* (to go), both LOC and LAT are valid to mark a destination, meanwhile, for MMVs like *feksimi* (to run), only LAT may mark the destination while LOC is used to indicate the scope of the entire action. This usage may be accounted for by applying Ramchand's (2008) event structure framework. Because PVs are typically telic, they have a Result projection (ResP) in which locative NPs attach to the Result head to denote the location of the arrival. Meanwhile, typically atelic MMVs lack a ResP, which causes LOC NPs to attach to the Process head to denote the scope of the action instead of the arrival (Fig. 1). Although the presented data for this case asymmetry is explainable with Ramchand's framework, limitations exist in the broader application of this approach, especially in terms of cross-linguistic applicability, the scope of locative usage, and the attachment of temporal adjuncts.

Distinct from the first asymmetry, Asymmetry II, or the aspectual asymmetry, describes the disparity between compatibilities of aspects and configurations of PVs and case forms on destination NPs. While PVs as well as MMVs paired with LAT NPs are compatible with all aspects in question, the progressive *-maχei* is invalid in PVs with LOC NPs (Ex. 2). This incompatibility is caused by a viewpoint conflict in which the progressive aspect requires an ending point outside the reference time while the telic nature of PVs with LOC NPs requires the ending point to be inside the viewpoint (Fig. 2). Exceptions in the broader usage of *-maχei* will be explained with additional examples. This study on Sibe motion verbs contributes to understandings of case, applications of Ramchand's framework as regards Asymmetry I, and further studies on aspect as seen in Asymmetry II.

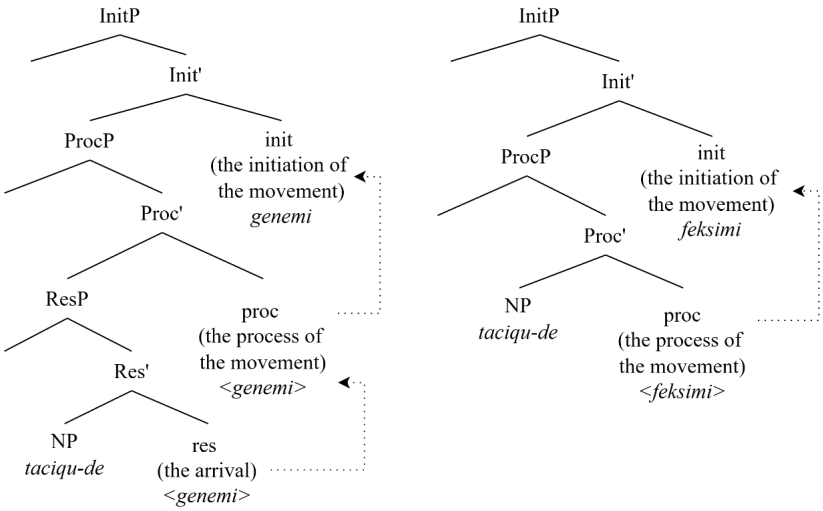
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Selected Examples and Figures

(1) a. (PV) *bi* *taciqu-ci/-de* *gene-mi.*
1.SG school-LAT/-LOC go-IMPF
'I go to the school.'

b. (MMV) *bi* *taciqu-ci/#-de* *feksi-mi*
1.SG school-LAT/-LOC run-IMPF
'I run to the school.' / 'I run #at school.'

Fig. 1. PV (left) and MMV (right) with LOC NPs using Ramchand's framework



(2) A. (PV+LOC)

a. *bi* *taciqu-de* *gene-Xei.*
1.SG school-LOC go-PERF
'I went to the school.'

b. *bi* *taciqu-de* *gene-mi.*
1.SG school-LOC go-IMPF
'I go to the school.'

c. *bi* *taciqu*-de* *gene-maχei.*
1.SG school-LOC go-PROG
'I am going *at the school.' (simultaneous senses of *going* and *having already arrived*)

B. (PV+LAT)

a. *bi* *taciqu-ci* *gene-Xei.*
1.SG school-LAT go-PERF
'I went to the school.'

b. *bi* *taciqu-ci* *gene-mi.*
1.SG school-LAT go-IMPF
'I go to the school.'

c. *bi* *taciqu-ci* *gene-maχei.*
1.SG school-LAT go-PROG

‘I am going to the school.’

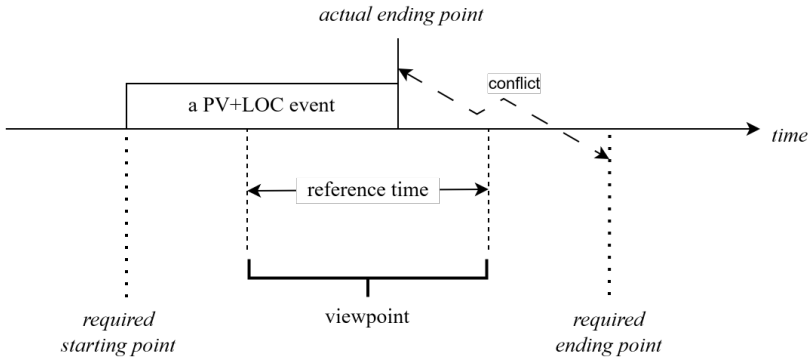
C. (MMV+LAT)

a. *bi* *taciqu-ci* *feksi-Xei*
1.SG school-LAT run-PERF
‘I ran to/toward the school.’

b. *bi* *taciqu-ci* *feksi-mi.*
1.SG school-LAT run-IMPF
‘I run to/toward the school.’

c. *bi* *taciqu-ci* *feksi-maχei.*
1.SG school-LAT run-PROG
‘I am running to/toward the school.’

Fig. 2 The viewpoint conflict caused by PV+LOC+PROG



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Parallel Session 1-B Abstracts

Regional Variation in an Ongoing Sound Change: Seoul vs. Gyeongsang Korean

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1. Introduction

Korean stops show a three-way laryngeal contrast among lax, tense, and aspirated categories, cued mainly by voice onset time (VOT) and the fundamental frequency (f0) of the following vowel. In Seoul Korean (SEK), apparent-time studies have documented a sound change in which the lax–aspirated VOT difference has decreased while f0 has become increasingly important, most clearly among younger speakers (Bang et al., 2018; Choi et al., 2020).

This reweighting varies across regional varieties. Holliday and Kong (2011) found greater lax–aspirated VOT overlap among young speakers in Seoul and Jeju than in Daegu, and Lee and Jongman (2012) found that South Gyeongsang speakers kept a larger VOT distinction than Seoul speakers, with the contribution of f0 depending on lexical pitch pattern. This matters because Gyeongsang Korean (GSK) has lexically contrastive pitch (Jun et al., 2006; Lee & Jongman, 2012), so post-stop f0 may signal both laryngeal category and lexical prosody. Yet GSK prosody is itself changing toward Seoul-like patterns (Lee & Jongman, 2015), and f0 contributes more to the stop contrast for younger than for older South Gyeongsang speakers, although VOT remains important (Lee & Jongman, 2019).

This study tests whether age-related differences in the lax–aspirated contrast reflect regionally differentiated apparent-time trajectories in SEK and GSK. Younger speakers were predicted to show a smaller VOT contrast and a larger f0 contrast than older speakers, more strongly in SEK, given the greater preservation of VOT and the lexical use of pitch in GSK; statistically, this predicts a Laryngeal Category × Region × Age Group interaction. We also address two limitations of earlier work: most studies used read speech, word lists, or elicited productions (e.g., Bang et al., 2018; Holliday & Kong, 2011), and each region was represented by few localities, such as Seoul and its surroundings, Daegu, or Changwon (e.g., Choi et al., 2020; Holliday et al., 2023). We therefore analyze spontaneous corpus speech from multiple localities within each region.

2. Methods

Data. Data came from the NIKL Korean Dialogue Corpus (National Institute of Korean Language, 2025); only private and public monologues were used. Speakers were assigned by principal residence to SEK (Seoul, Gyeonggi; $n = 35$) or GSK (Busan, Daegu, South and North Gyeongsang; $n = 32$), and to Young (teens to thirties) or Old (forties and above) groups (Table 1). Target utterances began with a lax or aspirated stop (/p, t, k/ or /p^h, t^h, k^h/) followed by a monophthong. Phones were aligned with the Montreal Forced Aligner (McAuliffe et al., 2017), and vowel-length distinctions were collapsed given the advanced length merger in SEK (Kang et al., 2015).

Measurements. VOT was the interval between closure release (estimated automatically as the largest increase in short-term RMS energy within the aligned consonant) and voicing onset (the aligned vowel onset); a random subset of boundaries was checked manually. f0 was measured at the vowel midpoint with Praat-Parselmouth (Jadoul et al., 2018) and converted to semitones relative to each speaker's mean. Speech rate (syllables/s) was normalized per speaker. The dataset comprised 7,521 utterances (SEK 4,736; GSK 2,785), of which only 460 were aspirated.

Analysis. Linear mixed-effects models for log VOT and f0 were fitted with lme4 (Bates et al., 2015) and lmerTest (Kuznetsova et al., 2017). Fixed effects were Laryngeal Category, Region, Age Group, and their three-way interaction (sum-coded), with place of articulation, speech rate, and discourse type as controls; random effects included by-speaker and by-word intercepts and by-word slopes for Region and Age Group (f0 model: also a by-speaker slope for Laryngeal Category). Group contrasts were derived from estimated marginal means (emmeans; Lenth & Piaskowski, 2026) with Holm-adjusted pairwise comparisons; VOT estimates were back-transformed to ms.

3. Results

VOT. Aspirated stops had longer VOT than lax stops, $F(1, 2721.1) = 12.11$, $p < .001$, while faster speech and public (vs. private) monologues were associated with shorter VOT (both $p < .001$). Region and Age Group had no significant main effects, and no interaction involving Laryngeal Category was significant, including the predicted three-way interaction, $F(1, 4996.1) = 0.08$, $p = .784$. Thus, there was no evidence that age-related differences in the VOT contrast differed between SEK and GSK. Pairwise comparisons (Table 1; Figure 1a) nevertheless showed longer VOT for aspirated stops in all four groups, significant in three of them but not for older GSK speakers.

f0. Aspirated stops were followed by much higher f0 than lax stops, $F(1, 171.7) = 306.49$, $p < .001$; place of articulation and speech rate also had significant effects. The Laryngeal Category × Region ($p = .087$) and Laryngeal Category × Age Group ($p = .154$) interactions were not significant, nor was the three-way interaction, $F(1, 139.9) = 0.003$, $p = .954$. The f0 contrast was significant in all four groups (all $p < .001$; Table 1; Figure 1b).

Table 1. Estimated lax–aspirated contrasts by Region × Age Group (Holm-adjusted *p* in parentheses; all f0 contrasts $p < .001$).

Group	# Speakers	VOT (ms): asp. / lax	Δ log VOT (*p*)	Δ f0 (semitones)
SEK, Old	18	51.9 / 45.2	0.139 (.032)	6.27
SEK, Young	17	56.8 / 45.2	0.229 (< .001)	7.26
GSK, Old	8	45.2 / 40.4	0.114 (.398)	5.15
GSK, Young	24	54.1 / 46.1	0.162 (.032)	6.06

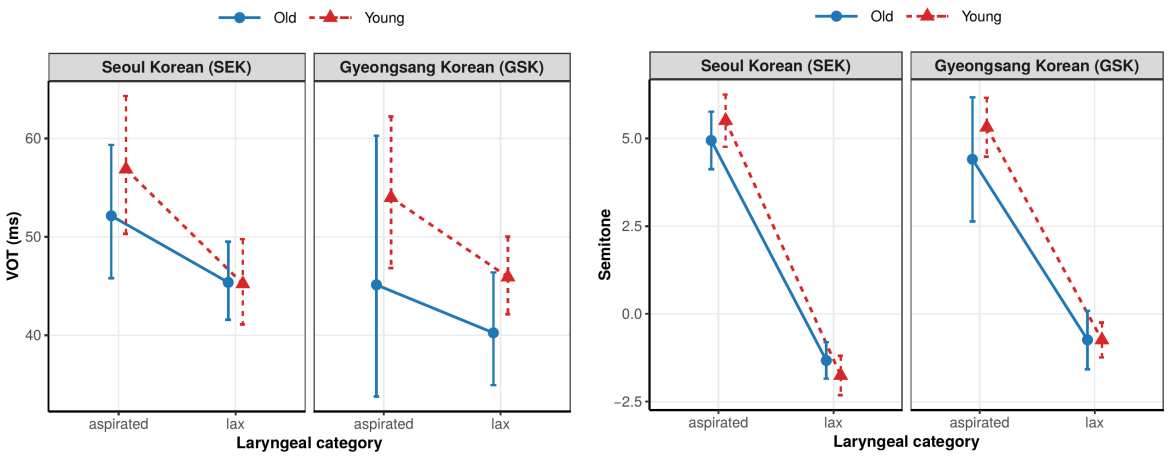


Figure 1. Estimated marginal means for the lax–aspirated contrast by Region and Age Group: (a) VOT (ms) and (b) f0 (semitones); error bars show 95% confidence intervals.

4. Discussion

Both VOT and f0 differentiated lax and aspirated stops, but the predicted apparent-time pattern was not observed: younger speakers did not show a smaller VOT contrast together with a larger f0 contrast than older speakers, and this did not differ reliably between SEK and GSK. This differs from previous apparent-time studies of SEK (Bang et al., 2018; Choi et al., 2020) and supports neither a simple shift from VOT to f0 across generations nor a scenario in which SEK is uniformly more advanced and GSK more conservative. Numerically, both contrasts were, if anything, larger for younger speakers in both varieties (Table 1), but the Age Group interactions were not significant. VOT was also sensitive to speech rate and discourse type, which may partly explain why patterns from controlled studies do not always carry over to spontaneous speech.

The GSK results provide a clearer finding: f0 was a robust correlate of the contrast in both younger and older GSK speakers despite the lexical use of pitch, consistent with Lee and Jongman (2012, 2019). Lexical pitch accent thus does not eliminate consonant-induced f0 differentiation, although, because lexical accent patterns were not annotated, we cannot determine how the two sources of f0

variation interact within words.

These conclusions are constrained by the sample: aspirated tokens were sparse (460 of 7,521), place of articulation was unevenly distributed, and speakers were imbalanced across age and variety, with only eight older GSK speakers (Table 1). Broad age groups and pooled localities may have obscured finer generational and subregional differences, and modeling VOT and f0 separately does not quantify their relative weighting. The non-significant three-way interactions should therefore not be taken as evidence of absence. Future work with more balanced samples, finer-grained age and locality information, lexical pitch-accent annotation, and joint VOT–f0 analyses is needed to test whether these findings are robust. For now, previously reported apparent-time and regional patterns do not straightforwardly generalize to the spontaneous speech examined here.

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Level or contour? Establishing the tonal architecture of Yimkhiung (Tibeto-Burman)

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The Naga languages have been characterised as register systems since Weidert (1987), yet the level-versus-contour question on which that characterisation rests has never had a formal criterion. The standard practice compares mean fundamental frequency (f0) across hypothesised categories and supports the comparison with visual inspection of time-normalised pitch tracks (Coupe, 2014), but statistics computed on means are formally silent on trajectory shape, and inspection, however careful, cannot separate a level tone riding declination from a genuine lexical fall (Ladd, 2008). Yimkhiung (ISO 639-3: yim), a threatened Central Naga language of eastern Nagaland, states the problem acutely: it stands as a register system in the comparative record and as an all-contour system in its one instrumental study of the Kuthur variety (Gope and Raguibou, 2021).

This paper resolves the question for the Langa variety with a two-part design that establishes the quality of each tonal category by mathematical modelling and validates the quantity and reach of the categories by supervised classification. Twelve native speakers produced seven minimal triplets, twenty-one segmentally identical CV and CVC monosyllables in three-way meaning contrast, in the carrier [inə X tʰɑto] 'I said X' with sense fixed by a priming sentence, five repetitions each, providing 1,260 tokens of which 1,214 entered analysis. F0 was extracted at eleven equidistant points over the normalised tone-bearing unit and transformed to speaker-centred semitones. A token-level linear model estimated midpoint height and slope, the slope of each category was read against the declination baseline, half-interval slopes located the fall in time, and a quadratic comparison assessed the adequacy of the linear summary. Machine learning (ML) classifiers trained on the eleven f0 points alone were evaluated under nested leave-one-speaker-out and leave-one-series-out validation.

The Langa variety distinguishes exactly three lexical tones with the stable ordering H (high) > MF (mid-falling) > L (low) across every speaker and series: balanced speaker-level midpoints of 2.62, −0.05, and −4.83 semitones (Figure 1), all pairwise contrasts significant after Holm correction ($p < .001$) and corroborated by token-level mixed-effects models. The slope diagnostic divides the categories in kind, not merely in degree. H and L show shallow overall slopes (−0.34 and −0.69) consistent with declination over a level target, whereas MF falls at −1.28 with a late-minus-early slope difference of −2.05 (Table 2), concentrating its fall in the second half of the tone-bearing unit; the quadratic model improves materially on the linear one for MF alone. ML classification validates the three-way contrast, where support vector machine (SVM) classifier recovers the categories from unseen speakers at a macro-F1 of 0.933.

The tonal architecture of Langa Yimkhiung can therefore be stated with some precision. The variety distinguishes three lexical tones, two of which are level, while the third is a contour realised as a fall concentrated in the second half of the tone-bearing unit. The resolution rests on the combination of mathematical and statistical modelling with supervised ML classification. The former establishes what each tonal category is, once declination is admitted as the null hypothesis, and the latter confirms that the contrast so established generalises beyond the speakers and words sampled. Since these procedures require only controlled recordings of the kind that documentary fieldwork routinely produces, they can be extended to any tonal languages for which such material can be gathered, and the earlier disagreement over the language is accordingly best read as a limitation of method rather than a property of the system.

What the present results offer, then, is a quantitative account of one Naga tonal system and a procedure through which the tonal typology of the wider family can be re-examined language by language.

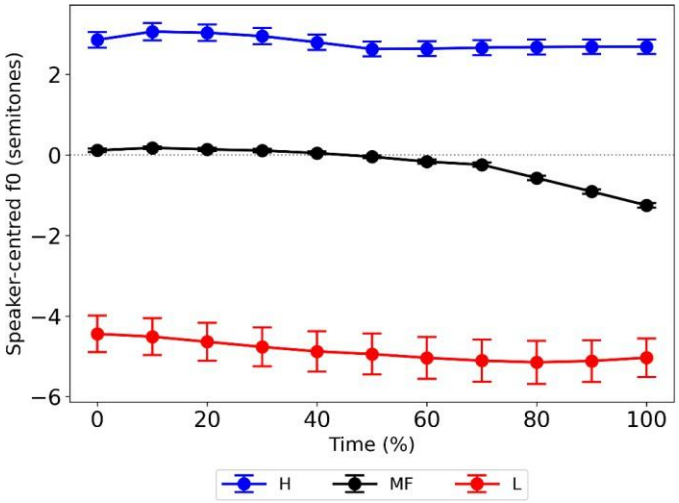


Figure 1. Speaker-centred semitone trajectories for H (high), MF (mid-falling), and L (low). Points show speaker-balanced means at eleven normalised time points; bars show 95% confidence intervals across the twelve speaker means.

Tone	luŋ series	Midpoint height (ST)	Overall slope	Late − early slope
H (high)	'fall or roll'	2.623 [2.419, 2.827]	−0.342 [−0.388, −0.296]	0.628 [0.518, 0.739]
MF (mid-falling)	'with'	−0.054 [−0.100, −0.008]	−1.283 [−1.347, −1.219]	−2.045 [−2.187, −1.903]
L (low)	'stone'	−4.832 [−5.364, −4.299]	−0.691 [−0.809, −0.574]	0.748 [0.560, 0.935]

Table 1. Balanced speaker-level estimates with 95% confidence intervals (n = 12), illustrated with the luŋ minimal triplet, one of seven series in our data. All pairwise midpoint contrasts are significant after Holm correction ($p < .001$). The strongly negative late-minus-early value separates the mid-falling contour (MF), whose fall concentrates in the second half of the tone-bearing unit, from the two level tones (H and L).

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Towards Automatic ToBI Annotation of English Prosody Produced by Mandarin Speakers: A Speech Foundation Model-Based Pilot Study

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Prosodic annotation plays a central role in spoken language research and contributes to the study of speech production, perception, and language learning. The Tones and Break Indices (ToBI) framework provides a widely adopted system for representing prosodic structure in terms of phonological tones and break indices (Beckman & Elam, 1997). Originally developed for Mainstream American English (MAE_ToBI), ToBI has been widely used in prosodic research and has motivated automatic annotation systems such as AuToBI (Rosenberg, 2010) and PyToBI (Domínguez & Rohrer, 2019). However, relatively little work has examined automatic ToBI annotation in second-language (L2) speech, particularly for learners whose first language is a tone language such as Mandarin Chinese. This pilot study investigates whether a speech foundation model can automatically recover major English pitch accent and boundary tone categories in native and Mandarin-speaking learner speech, and whether performance varies across proficiency groups and prosodic categories.

Speech data were collected from 60 speakers, including native English speakers (N = 13), near-native Mandarin-speaking learners of English (N = 19), advanced learners (N = 17), and intermediate learners (N = 11). All non-native participants were native speakers of Mandarin Chinese. Participants read experimental sentences varying in sentence type (declarative vs. question), sentence length (7, 14, and 21 syllables), and focus condition (control vs. contrastive focus), with contrastive-focus sentences further varying in focus position (medial vs. final). Each sentence condition included two sentences. Each participant produced all 36 sentences, yielding 2,196 annotated utterances. All recordings were force-aligned using the Montreal Forced Aligner (McAuliffe et al., 2017), and prosodic annotation was performed by the first author following MAE_ToBI conventions. Ten percent of the corpus was independently annotated by a second trained linguist, yielding high inter-annotator agreement (Cohen's $\kappa = 0.81$; see Mayo et al., 1997). Speech representations were extracted using Meta's Massively Multilingual Speech model (MMS-1b-all), a wav2vec 2.0-based multilingual speech foundation model (Pratap et al., 2024). The model was adapted for ToBI sequence prediction using parameter-efficient adapter fine-tuning and a CTC-based objective. A two-stage prediction strategy was used to first detect pitch-accent presence and then predict specific ToBI categories. Data were partitioned at the speaker level into training, validation, and held-out test sets. The final split contained 44 training speakers, 8 validation speakers, and 8 test speakers, with two speakers from each proficiency group in the test set. Given the limited number of L+H tokens in our corpus and the fine-grained nature of pitch-accent distinctions in the acoustic signal, we merged L+H with L* rather than modeling it as an independent category. This decision was also informed by previous work showing that some distinctions among ToBI pitch-accent categories are relatively subtle and gradient in both production and perception (Steffman et al., 2022, 2024). The resulting five category inventories comprised H (including !H), L* (including L*+H), L+H* (including L+!H*), H-H%, and L-L% (due to limited data of H-L% and L-H%.). The rare H+!H* categories was not modeled in classes. Model performance was further examined across proficiency groups.

Preliminary results indicate that automatic prediction of major prosodic categories is feasible even in a relatively small learner corpus. Training dynamics and evaluation performance are shown in Fig. 1. On the held-out test set of 294 utterances from eight speakers, the model achieved 43.2% exact sequence-match accuracy and a macro-averaged F1 score of 0.739 based on sentence-level category presence. When individual ToBI tokens were considered, macro-F1 was 0.700. Performance varied substantially across ToBI categories. Boundary tones were comparatively robust, with F1 scores of 0.953 for H-H% and 0.955 for L-L%, whereas pitch accent categories showed lower and more variable performance. L+H* had the lowest F1 among the five categories (0.483), followed by H* (0.524), while L* achieved a higher F1 of 0.780, whereas L+H* (0.483) and H* (0.524) were more difficult to recover. H* performance was particularly low in the near-native group (F1 = 0.194) (see Table 1 for performance of ToBI categories).

Performance also varied across groups (see Table 2). The native group achieved the highest overall macro-F1 (0.792), followed by the advanced (0.755), near-native (0.708), and intermediate (0.649) groups. Thus, overall performance was broadly consistent with proficiency level, with the more advanced learner groups outperforming the intermediate group. However, the pattern was not consistent across individual ToBI categories. Boundary tones were well recovered in all groups: F1 scores for H-H% and L-L% exceeded 0.97 in the native, near-native, and advanced groups, whereas both were below 0.90 in the intermediate group. H* showed much greater variation across groups, with F1 scores of 0.754, 0.618, 0.318, and 0.194 for native, advanced, intermediate, and near-native speakers, respectively. The particularly low H* score in the near-native group contrasts with its relatively strong performance on other categories: the near-native group outperformed the advanced group on H-H% (0.986 vs. 0.971), L* (0.900 vs. 0.733), and L-L% (1.000 vs. 0.973). Given the small number of test speakers in each group, this irregularity may reflect speaker- and sample-level variation rather than a systematic non-monotonic proficiency pattern.

L* also showed a notable group difference. Its F1 was high in the native (0.838), near-native (0.900), and advanced (0.733) groups, but substantially lower in the intermediate group (0.633). This pattern may be relevant to the prosodic differences between Mandarin and English. Mandarin is a lexical tone language in which pitch is primarily organized around lexical tone, whereas English uses pitch accents to mark post-lexical prominence. Previous research has suggested that Mandarin does not employ pitch accents in the same way as English (Féry, 2016: 262) and that Mandarin-speaking learners may therefore have difficulty acquiring English pitch-accent categories that have no direct L1 counterpart. In particular, Mandarin focus is commonly realized through expansion of the local pitch range while preserving the underlying lexical-tone contour, and the realization of focus varies across tones; for example, focus tends to raise the pitch target of Tone 1 but can lower the pitch target of Tone 3 (Wang et al., 2020; Xu, 1999). Previous work on Mandarin-speaking learners of English has also reported greater difficulty with L* than H*, consistent with the possibility that Mandarin speakers tend to associate prosodic prominence with higher pitch (Liu & Chen, 2016).Thus, the relatively low L* recovery in the intermediate group may be related to the acquisition of an English low-pitch-accent realization that is not directly represented in the Mandarin prosodic system. This interpretation remains tentative, however, because the present test set is small and the model's recovery performance cannot by itself distinguish L1 transfer from speaker- and data-related variation.

Overall, the model recovered boundary tones reliably and achieved moderate performance on L*, but showed greater difficulty with H* and L+H*, particularly in some learner groups. The group-level results do not show a simple proficiency gradient, although higher-level speakers perform better than the lower-level group. The results further suggest that differences between Mandarin and English prosodic systems may be relevant to the recovery of English pitch accents, particularly for categories such as L* that have no straightforward counterpart in Mandarin. Further work with

a larger and more balanced speaker sample is needed to determine whether these patterns reflect systematic L1-related differences or variation arising from the model and dataset.

Fig. 1. Training loss curves of the proposed two-stage MMS-based ToBI prediction model (left) and Evaluation CER across training epochs on the validation set (right).

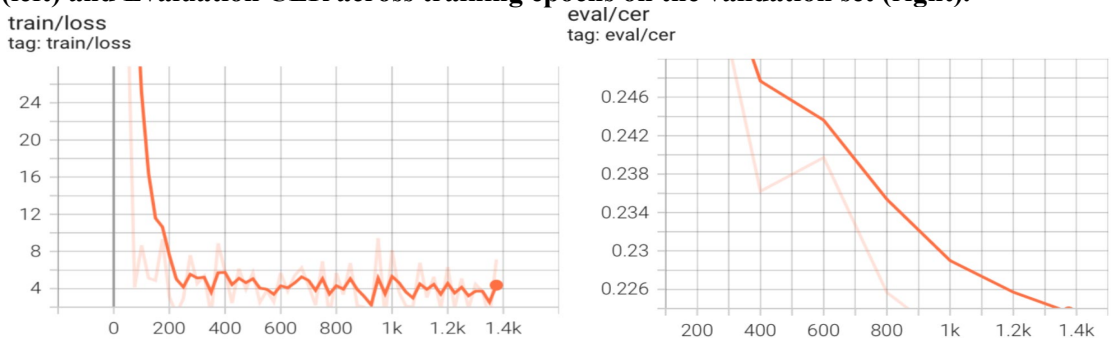


Table 1. F1 scores for individual ToBI categories on the held-out speaker test set

Category	Precision	Recall	F1	Support
H*	0.58	0.48	0.524	149
H-H%	0.96	0.95	0.953	151
L*	0.79	0.77	0.78	149
L+H*	0.61	0.4	0.483	143
L-L%	0.94	0.96	0.955	142

Table 2. Performance across proficiency groups on held-out speakers.

Group	Utterances	CER	Exact	macro-F1	H*	H-H%	L*	L+H*	L-L%
AD	71	0.2563	0.4366	0.7547	0.618	0.971	0.733	0.478	0.973
IN	80	0.2949	0.3	0.6492	0.318	0.889	0.633	0.519	0.886
NA	74	0.1512	0.5946	0.7917	0.754	0.976	0.838	0.421	0.97
NN	69	0.2892	0.4058	0.7081	0.194	0.986	0.9	0.462	1
all	294	0.2529	0.432	0.7388	0.524	0.953	0.78	0.483	0.955

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Parallel Session 2-A Abstracts

Quantifier Scope Interpretation in English-Dominant Heritage Speakers of Mandarin Chinese: A Test of the Full Transfer/Full Access Model

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This study investigates how English-dominant heritage speakers of Mandarin Chinese interpret sentences with quantifier-negation configurations (e.g., *all-not*, *every-not*), testing the roles of first language (L1) transfer and Universal Grammar (UG) in second language (L2) development. While English allows both a surface scope and an inverse scope reading of such sentences, Mandarin allows only the surface scope reading. This contrast provides a test case for the Full Transfer/Full Access (FTFA) model (Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996), which claims that L2 learners initially transfer their L1 grammar and restructure it through access to UG.

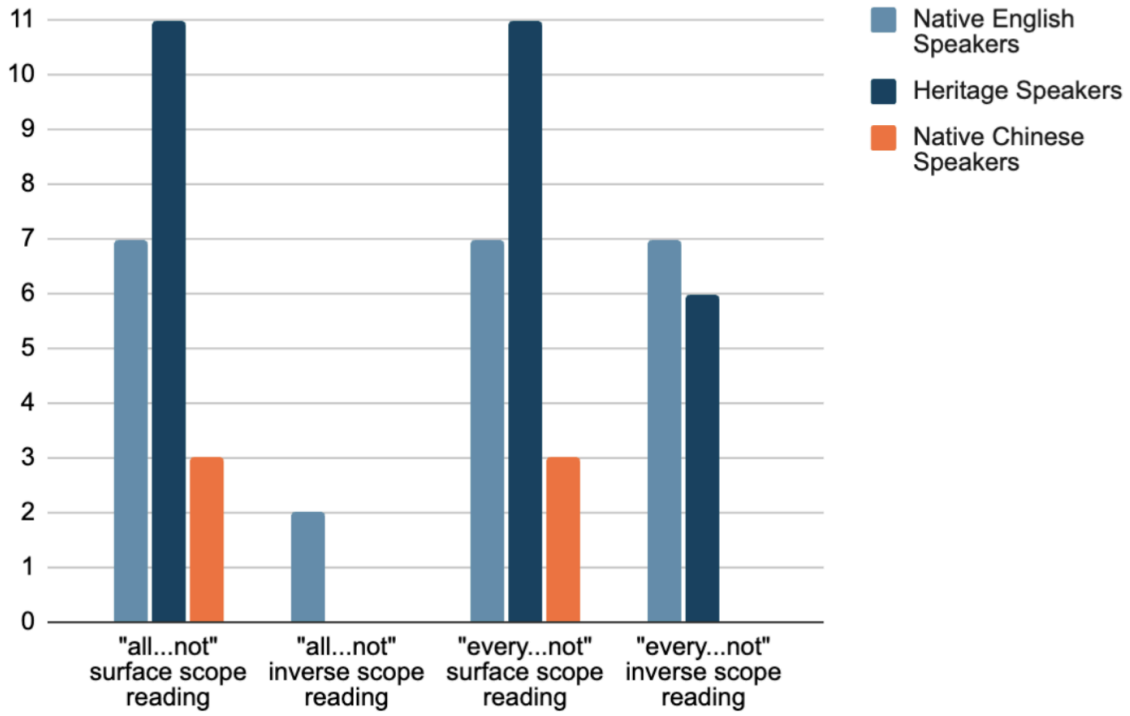
Twenty-one participants completed a written Truth Value Judgment Task, including eleven Mandarin heritage speakers, seven native English speakers, and three native Mandarin speakers. Heritage speakers' Chinese proficiency was pre-assessed in a placement test, providing an independent measure of their L1 reading ability that is related to performance on the scope task. During the experiment, participants evaluated English sentences against short stories designed to distinguish surface- and inverse-scope interpretations. The results showed a strong preference for surface scope in *all-not* configuration across all three groups, consistent with the Processing Economy account (Anderson, 2004). This pattern likely reflects the independent property of *all*, which behaves more like a group-denoting quantifier and resists distributive (inverse-scope) construction. The *every-not* configuration, where *every* more readily forces a distributive reading, showed more variation: a majority of heritage speakers (six of eleven) accessed the inverse scope reading, patterning with native English speakers rather than with the native Chinese speaker controls. However, heritage speakers with stronger Mandarin listening and speaking abilities were more likely to prefer surface scope, whereas those with weaker abilities patterned more closely with native English speakers.

These findings provide partial support for the FTFA model. The ability of some heritage speakers to access the English-specific inverse scope reading is consistent with the possibility that sufficient L2 input facilitates UG-driven restructuring of interlanguage grammar. At the same time, the stronger preference for the surface scope reading among heritage speakers with higher L1 proficiency suggests that the developmental status of the L1 grammar may influence the extent of restructuring, although this preference may reflect a native-like L1 grammar that resists restructuring, an L1 grammar that never fully matured past a more flexible childhood stage, or task-specific performance effects that obscure a restructured interlanguage grammar. Therefore, this study highlights that L1 transfer and UG access are not mutually exclusive explanations, but may operate differently across individuals depending on factors such as the entrenchment of the L1 grammar, the completeness of childhood L1 acquisition, and the gap between L1 performance and L1 competence. Overall, this study contributes to the literature on SLA by demonstrating that heritage speakers are not a uniform population with respect to interlanguage development, and it points to the need for independent measures of L1 competence, different quantifier types like *all*, *each, every*, and larger and more balanced samples in future research on this question.

Table 1. The four English test sentences

1. All the sheep did not jump over the fence.
2. All the crew members did not leave the ship.
3. Every horse did not jump over the fence.
4. Every knight did not fight the monster.

Fig. 1. Number of participants who accessed surface scope and inverse scope readings, by quantifier type



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A Comparative Study of Nasal Codas in Northern and Southern Chinese Dialects: Evidence from Huaxian Jin and Taipei Southern Min

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Background: In Middle Chinese, syllables with nasal codas (Yángshēng 阳声韵) were distributed across nine yùnshè (rime groups) and ended in one of three nasals: bilabial */-m/ (Xian 咸 and Shen 深), alveolar */-n/ (Shan 山 and Zhen 臻), or velar */-ŋ/ (Dang 宕, Jiang 江, Zeng 曾, Geng 梗, and Tong 通). Standard Mandarin retains only /-n/ and /-ŋ/ as syllable codas, while /-m/ survives only as an initial. Because nasal codas are articulatorily and perceptually less stable than nasal initials (Xu, 1986; Shi et al., 2019), they are particularly susceptible to sound change, including merger, vowel nasalization, vowel restructuring, and eventual coda loss (Zhang, 2007; PKU, 1995). Cross-dialectal surveys (Lee & Zee, 2023), however, suggest that these developments are neither uniform nor determined solely by broad geographic classification.

Objectives and Data: This study compares the diachronic reflexes of Middle Chinese nasal codas in two contemporary varieties: Huaxian Jin (滑县; Northern Henan Jin), representing Northern Chinese, and Taipei Southern Min, representing Southern Chinese. The dataset comprises 427 syllables from the nine relevant yùnshè in the Survey of Chinese Dialect Characters, excluding checked-tone (rùshēng) syllables ending in stop codas. Data were elicited from one primary informant for each variety and checked against a second, more conservative informant. Both surviving codas and residual vowel nasalization were transcribed.

Key Findings: Huaxian Jin exhibits extensive coda reduction: historical */-m/ and */-n/ are almost entirely lost, causing historically distinct rime groups to merge into open syllables with endings such as /-i/ or into nasalized vowels. Nasalization occurs mainly when the vowel nucleus is the high front vowel /i/, which precludes a following /-i/ coda. A small residue of /-n/ survives in free variation only after bilabial initials (e.g., 本, 盆, 门). By contrast, historical */-ŋ/ is retained throughout the dataset, supporting its status as the most stable nasal coda across the two varieties.

Taipei Southern Min is comparatively conservative. Historical */-m/ is retained in roughly two-thirds of eligible syllables; where it is lost, the change is accompanied by vowel nasalization or, in a minority of frequent colloquial items, a shift to /-n/. Conditional literary–colloquial (wén–bái 文白异读) alternation and grammatical conditioning (e.g., 敢) are also attested. Historical */-n/ remains robust but varies across rime groups. In Shan she, it competes with /-ŋ/, /-m/, and nasalization; in Zhen she, a more systematic literary–colloquial split is found, with literary readings favoring /-n/ and colloquial readings favoring /-ŋ/. Historical */-ŋ/ is best preserved overall, but alternates with /-n/ or nasalized vowels in Dang, Zeng, and especially Geng she. In Geng she, literary readings tend to retain /-ŋ/, whereas colloquial readings favor nasalization or /-n/, suggesting that contact with Mandarin may contribute to register-based variation.

Across both varieties, historical */-ŋ/ is the most stable coda, whereas */-m/ and */-n/ are more susceptible to change. The two varieties nevertheless show different, only partly overlapping pathways: coda loss and vowel restructuring in Huaxian Jin, compared with coda retention and register-conditioned variation in Taipei Southern Min. These findings suggest that nasal-coda

evolution follows multiple pathways rather than a single linear trajectory. The observed patterns appear to reflect the interaction of language-internal phonological tendencies with external sociolinguistic factors, including language contact and register differentiation, rather than a simple North–South divide.

Data

Yùnshè (Rime group)	Historical coda	N	Huaxian Jin (main reflexes)	Taipei Southern Min (main reflexes)
Xian 咸	*-m	48	/-i/ (near-categorical)	/-m/ retained; some loss + nasalization
Shen 深	*-m	13	Nasalized vowel, no coda	/-m/ retained; wén–bái alternation
Shan 山	*-n	114	/-i/ (merges with Xian she)	/-n/ ~50%; /-ŋ/, /-m/, nasalization, free variation
Zhen 臻	*-n	63	Nasalized /ĩ/ (nucleus /i/) or /-i/; rare /-n/, free variation	/-n/ (wén) vs. /-ŋ/ (bái), majority /-n/
Dang 宕	*-ŋ	50	/-ŋ/ retained	/-ŋ/ majority; some nasalization
Jiang 江	*-ŋ	11	/-ŋ/ retained	/-ŋ/ fully preserved
Zeng 曾	*-ŋ	17	/-ŋ/ retained	/-ŋ/ majority; 8 tokens → /-n/
Geng 梗	*-ŋ	57	/-ŋ/ retained	/-ŋ/ (wén) vs. nasalization/-n (bái); free variation
Tong 通	*-ŋ	64	/-ŋ/ retained	/-ŋ/ near-categorical; sporadic /-ʔ/, /-m/

Table 1. Distribution of the 427 sampled syllables across nine yùnshè and the principal reflexes of Middle Chinese nasal codas in Huaxian Jin and Taipei Southern Min.

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By the Power of Tengri:
The Formation of the Standard Opening of Edicts in Mongolian Pidgin Chinese

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From the time of Chinggis Khan, Mongol rulers granted religious communities exemptions from parts of taxation and corvée labor. After the Mongols conquered China, they extended this policy to Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucian institutions. The central court issued prohibitory edicts (*jinyue shengzhi* 禁約聖旨) in Middle Mongolian, and local officials translated them literally into Mongolian pidgin Chinese (蒙式漢語) and carved the translated texts onto steles at religious sites (sometimes bilingual texts were carved on the steles).

This paper examines bilingual prohibitory edicts to explore the formation of literal-translation documentary style (*yingyi gongdu wenti* 硬譯公牘問題). Analyzing on the bilingual edicts collected in Kȯgjiltü's *Basiba Zi Menggu Yu Wen Xian Hui Bian* (八思巴字蒙古語文獻彙編), I research the standard opening invocation "By the power of Eternal Heaven, under its protection and great blessing, the emperor's edict [states]:" (*moŋga dėŋri-yin k'üč'ü-dür, yėke su ǰali-yin ihėn-dür, qān ǰarliq manu.* 長生天氣力裏,大福蔭護助裏,皇帝聖旨), and changes in the language of the Mongolian pidgin Chinese edicts, especially their opening invocations and formulaic phrases of prohibitory edicts. By comparing opening innovation with Song and Ming edict openings, I show how Mongol edict language acculturates the Chinese concept of the Mandate of Heaven with the Mongol veneration of Tengri.

I argue that Kublai's accession as Great Khan in 1260 created political and administrative conditions that gradually encouraged convergence in edict translation. Inscriptions carved after 1260 share opening formulas and phrases of prohibitory edicts. These changes reveal how central guidance and local translation practices jointly produced new administrative conventions. I further suggest that the Mongolian pidgin Chinese of these edicts provides evidence for the expansion of colloquial syntax and non-classical grammatical patterns in official texts.

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Parallel Session 2-B Abstracts

Production of Sentence-Final Particles in Heritage Cantonese: Two Case Studies

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Cantonese sentence-final particles (SFPs) are a distinctive feature of Cantonese grammar, serving important pragmatic functions such as expressing a speaker's attitudes and emotions. Although previous research has examined Cantonese SFPs from phonological, syntactic, semantic-pragmatic, and sociolinguistic perspectives (Kwok 1984; Law 1990; Tang 2002; Chan 2002; Cheung 2009), relatively little attention has been paid to how heritage speakers acquire and maintain these discourse-pragmatic markers (Ko 2000; Lim 2018; Lee & Law 2001). Given the cognitive complexity and high frequency of SFPs in everyday interaction, their production provides a useful window into heritage language development.

Research on heritage language acquisition has highlighted the importance of input quantity, input quality, and opportunities for language use (Zhang 2016; Ribiero 2024). However, less is known about how differences in sociolinguistic contexts shape heritage speakers' command of discourse-pragmatic features. This study investigates the following question: To what extent do sociolinguistic contexts influence Cantonese heritage speakers' production of SFPs?

This study presents two case studies of adult Cantonese heritage speakers in the United States. Both participants were exposed to Cantonese from early childhood through family interactions, but they were raised in markedly different sociolinguistic contexts. One participant grew up in a large, well-established Cantonese-speaking community with regular access to Cantonese-speaking peers, community institutions, and public domains of Cantonese use. The other participant grew up in a region with a comparatively small Cantonese-speaking population and more limited opportunities to use Cantonese outside the home. These contrasting contexts allow for an exploratory examination of how community-level factors may affect the acquisition of Cantonese SFPs.

Data come from a role-play task with twelve scenarios, targeting a range of four Cantonese SFPs *aa3*, *lo1*, *zek1*, and *ge2*. Productions were analyzed for overall SFP frequency, SFP functions, and appropriateness of use across scenarios. Because this study involves only two participants and a single data-collection point, it is intended as an exploratory comparison rather than an investigation of developmental trajectories.

The findings suggest notable differences between the two speakers. The participant raised in the larger Cantonese-speaking community produced SFPs more frequently and demonstrated greater sensitivity to pragmatic distinctions associated with individual particles. In contrast, the participant from the smaller Cantonese-speaking community relied on a more restricted SFP inventory and exhibited reduced use of SFPs in contexts where they would be expected in baseline Cantonese interaction. While the case-study design does not permit strong generalized claims, the findings suggest that variation in sociolinguistic environments may be associated with differences in heritage speakers' production of discourse-pragmatic features.

This study contributes to research on heritage Cantonese and heritage language pragmatics by highlighting the role of sociolinguistic context in shaping speakers' use of SFPs. More broadly, it demonstrates how differences in opportunities for social interaction in the heritage language can influence the development of subtle pragmatic competencies, while also underscoring the need for larger-scale studies to examine these relationships more systematically.

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Why are People Mocking Zhang Weiyi?
Negotiating Soft Masculinity on Chinese Social Media

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This study examines how Chinese online audiences interpret and contest “Lao Nai Gou 老奶狗” (literally “old little puppy”), a coined label for a soft masculine persona performed by Chinese actor Zhang Weiyi (张维伊) in the recent Chinese online reality show *Her Prime*. This persona combines signs of maturity and material success with signs of cuteness, dependency, and childlike intimacy. In this show, his interactions with his wife are highly stylized, featuring extreme creaky voice, exaggerated bodily gestures and facial expressions, alongside visual signs such as side-parted bangs and displays of material success. Initially, "Lao Nai Gou" is introduced as a playful label for Zhang’ s affectively intimate interactions with his wife. As the label circulates through processes of enregisterment (Agha, 2003), however, its meanings become increasingly contested. This study thus asks how audiences bundle vocal, interactional, embodied, and visual signs in reinterpreting “Lao Nai Gou,” and how they position this emerging persona in relation to established Chinese masculine personae and ideologies.

Focusing on a dataset consisting of 212 comments collected from ten show clips and three parody videos of Zhang’s performance on *Xiaohongshu*, *WeChat* Channels, and *Bilibili*, this study analyzes how online audiences interpret and contest Zhang’s performance through metalinguistic and multimodal content analysis. Among the features of Zhang’s performance, audiences pay special attention to his creaky voice, describing it as “sounding like a motorcycle in his throat” or “there’s a frog in his throat.” Within the persona, creaky voice is bundled with an affluent, business-like style, including a gold watch and earphones, which are associated with maturity and accomplishment, and conventional masculinity, thereby contributing to the “Lao (old)” aspect of the label. When this bundle co-occurs with *sajiao*, a childlike, feminine, dependent register (Christian, 2010), however, “Lao” is reinterpreted as aging, unattractive, and pretentious in audiences’ comments. Similarly, the softness and cuteness associated with “Nai Gou” (“little puppy”) are reinterpreted as femininity and immaturity, while the persona thus evaluated as greasy and inauthentic. Apart from vocal resources, visual signs contribute to this process. For example, side-parted bangs have previously been linked with youthfulness and softness in soft masculine personae like “Xiao Xian Rou” (ELLEMEN, 2019). However, in parody videos of his performance, Zhang’s bangs are exaggerated with facial expressions to emphasize greasiness. This reinterpretation potentially aligns “Lao Nai Gou” with the negatively evaluated “greasy man” persona, characterized by the excessive performance of outdated masculinity (Wenfei, 2025).

Therefore, these reinterpretations reveal ongoing negotiations over desirable masculinity in contemporary China. Rather than stabilizing as a coherent and desirable soft masculine persona,

"Lao Nai Gou" circulates as an unstable, inauthentic, and mockable figure whose meanings are continually reshaped by audiences. More broadly, this study contributes to sociolinguistic research on how vocal quality, gendered registers, and visual signs are bundled and reinterpreted in the circulation of emerging gendered personae in East Asian online media.

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Beyond Hierarchy: Female Address Practices and the Negotiation of Politeness in *Hong Lou Meng*

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Politeness practices in historical societies cannot be fully understood through contemporary universal frameworks, as they are shaped by culturally specific social relations and interactional norms. Previous research has shown that politeness practices in eighteenth-century China differ from Western frameworks and contemporary conceptualizations, particularly in their relationship with social hierarchy and address systems (Skewis, 2003). This study investigates politeness practices in eighteenth-century China through gendered address terms among female characters in *Hong Lou Meng* (红楼梦). Focusing on first- and second-person pronouns (e.g., *wo* 我 'I' and *ni* 你 'you'), kinship terms (e.g., *jiejie* 姐姐 'elder sister', *meimei* 妹妹 'younger sister', *nainai* 奶奶 'grandmother'), and social titles (e.g., *furen* 夫人 'Madam'), this study examines how address forms function as politeness strategies in interpersonal interactions.

Using a corpus-based approach, this study analyzes frequent collocations and interactional contexts in which female-oriented address terms are employed, with attention to the roles of gender, age, social hierarchy, and relational positioning. The findings demonstrate that, consistent with previous research on male characters in the same novel, politeness in eighteenth-century China was not simply achieved through indirectness. For female characters in *Hong Lou Meng*, different address forms served diverse communicative goals and produced different interpersonal effects. Rather than being governed by a single principle such as gender or social hierarchy, politeness practices among female characters were shaped by the intersection of age, gender, status, relational positioning, and communicative intentions. The findings demonstrate that, consistent with previous research on male characters in the same novel, politeness in eighteenth-century China was not simply achieved through indirectness. Address forms do not function as fixed indicators of either deference or intimacy. On the other hand, their interpersonal effects depend on how age, status, and relational positioning intersect with communicative intentions in context. The contribution therefore extends beyond demonstrating that women, like men, can communicate politeness without indirectness. It foregrounds variation among female characters and examines how address practices both reflect and negotiate social relationships. By treating gender as a social context within which age, status, and relationships vary, the study offers a more differentiated account of politeness as represented in *Hong Lou Meng*.

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Table 1. Cluster of *wo* 我 'I', drawn from Antconc (Version 4.3.1)

Sorted to the left			Sorted to the right		
Cluster Types	Rank	Frequency	Cluster Types	Rank	Frequency
我也不	1	126	笑道我	1	301
我们这	2	80	说道我	2	125
我们家	3	72	玉道我	3	106
我们的	4	69	不是我	4	83
我知道	5	65	告诉我	5	69
我告诉	6	56	如今我	6	61
我们也	7	48	知道我	7	58
我听见	8	48	所以我	8	47
我这里	9	48	人道我	9	42
我如今	10	45	来了我	10	42

Table 2. Cluster of *jiejie* 姐姐 'elder sister', drawn from Antconc (Version 4.3.1)

Sorted to the left			Sorted to the right		
Cluster Types	Rank	Frequency	Cluster Types	Rank	Frequency
姐姐你	1	46	宝姐姐	1	79
姐姐的	2	28	道姐姐	2	51
姐姐们	3	25	好姐姐	3	48
姐姐不	4	22	二姐姐	4	25
姐姐说	5	21	凤姐姐	5	25
姐姐也	6	18	人姐姐	6	24
姐姐在	7	15	你姐姐	7	21
姐姐妹	8	15	了姐姐	8	14
姐姐一	9	11	林姐姐	9	12
姐姐还	10	11	说姐姐	10	12

Parallel Session 4-A Abstracts

(Im)perfective Tense Marking:
The Usage of *-te i* by Heritage Speakers of Japanese

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Research on heritage language speakers offers important insights into how grammatical systems develop and vary under conditions of differential bilingualism (Ortega 2020). However, heritage speakers of Japanese remain comparatively understudied, particularly with regard to their use of verbs and aspectual marking. In broad research on the acquisition and use of grammatical aspect markers, substantial evidence supports the influence of lexical aspect, as proposed by the Aspect Hypothesis (Andersen & Shirai 1994, 1996, Bardovi-Harlig & Comajoan-Colomé 2020). By focusing on a specific population of heritage speakers of Japanese, the present pilot study aims to test the impact of lexical aspect, along with a variety of other form-focused linguistic and relevant social variables, on the use of aspectual marking (*-te i* marking) in Japanese. I focus on the following two questions:

1. Regarding heritage speakers of Japanese, what linguistic and extralinguistic variables condition the variable use of *-te i*?
2. In which ways do heritage, first language, and second language speakers of Japanese differ or coincide in their use of *-te i*?

Using the International Corpus of Japanese as a Second Language (Sakoda 2020), a total of 26 speakers were divided into three groups: 7 speakers of L1 Portuguese and heritage Japanese (H JP), 9 speakers of L1 Spanish and L2 Japanese (L2 JP), and 10 first language Japanese speakers (L1 JP). For the purposes of this study, a speaker who had both one or more grandparent and parent who spoke Japanese was considered to be a heritage speaker of Japanese. The use of monolingual benchmarks has often been problematized in heritage studies; for this reason, the L2 JP and L1 JP groups serve as two distinct control groups.

All verbs produced by each participant on a storytelling task and a picture description task were extracted, resulting in a total of 1,113 tokens. The dependent variable was the application of *-te i* marking or the absence of *-te i* marking. Linguistic variables considered were Tense (Past (*–ta*), Non-past (*–(r)u*)), Politeness (Plain (*–ø*), Polite (*–mas*)), Polarity (Positive (*–ø*), Negative (*–nai*)), Lexical Aspect (State, Achievement, Accomplishment, Activity (Shirai 2013)), Transitivity (Transitive, Intransitive), and Task Type (Picture Description, Story Telling). Extralinguistic variables included Learning Environment (In Japan, Outside of Japan), Speaker gender (Male, Female), Age, Time in Japan, JCAT Proficiency. It should also be noted that Learning Environment was only considered for the L2 JP speaker group, due to a small number of heritage speakers within the corpus. Detailed participant information, token counts, and extralinguistic values can be found in Table 1 below.

The results from three multivariate analyses using Rbrul (Johnson 2009) can be seen in Table 2, in which Lexical Aspect and Tense were significant across all speaker groups. As predicted by the Aspect Hypothesis, all speaker groups favor *-te i* marking with activity verbs. Regarding Tense, all speakers favor *-te i* marking with non-past verbs, and disfavor *-te i* marking with past

verbs. For the H JP group, Time in Japan was also significant, where the use of *-te i* marking decreases as Time in Japan increases. While the results from the H JP group include two conditioning factors that have often been cited as significant variables for the marking of imperfective/ perfective aspect, the fact that Task Type was not significant is a clear deviation from the other two groups. At the same time, Politeness, which directly affects the linguistic form, was not significant for the H JP group either. These results may be interpreted as a limited ability to modulate morphosyntactic features across distinct contexts, especially since previous research has indicated that heritage speakers differ from L1 speakers in their capacity to shift between registers consistently (Wiese et al. 2022). Importantly, increased Time in Japan only appears to correlate with *-te i* marking for the H JP group, but seems to actually lower rates of *-te i* expression. This is all the more important since JCAT Proficiency is a significant predictor for the L2 group, but not for the H JP group.

The results from this pilot study speak to the differences between L1, L2, and heritage speakers of Japanese. Keeping in mind that heritage speakers performed differently from L1 and L2 speakers on these specific tasks, along with distinct extralinguistic factors that condition their linguistic behavior, these initial results represent the importance of examining heritage speakers within the L1-L2 speaker continuum. It should also be noted that the differences in extralinguistic impact on both heritage speakers and L2 speakers suggest differing needs regarding language education, aligning with previous research on heritage speakers' distinct instructional needs (Kondo-Brown & Brown 2008). More broadly, the findings contribute to our understanding of how linguistic experience shapes grammatical variation across diverse bilingual populations.

Table 1. Participant Information

	Heritage (H JP)	**First Language (L1 JP)**	**Second Language (L2 JP)**
L1	Portuguese	Japanese	Spanish
JCAT Proficiency	184-251	N/A	59-214
Learning Environment	In Japan	N/A	In Japan, Outside Japan
Age	44-54	23-49	21-58
Time in Japan	15-25	N/A	0-23
Gender (M / F)	(2 M / 5 F)	(5 M / 5 F)	(4 M / 5 F)
Total Participants	**7**	**10**	**9**
Tokens per group	**280**	**406**	**427**

Table 2. Conditioning variables according to speaker group (XX = p<.000001, X = p<.001)

	Lexical aspect	Tense	Politeness	Task type	Speaker gender	Time in Japan	JCAT Score	Learning environment
H JP	XX	XX				XX		N/A
L1 JP	XX	XX	XX	XX		N/A	N/A	N/A
L2 JP	XX	XX	X	XX	X		X	X

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Decomposing Japanese *-kamo*: A Compositional Analysis of Epistemic Possibility and Scalar Ignorance

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[The puzzle:] The Japanese expression *-kamo* has two interpretations that, on the surface, seem to have little to do with one another: an epistemic possibility reading (1-a), and a scalar ignorance reading (1-b), which encodes that the speaker's ignorance of this question is unlikely.

(1) taroo-ga tookyoo-ni iru ka mo wakar-{anai/imasen}
taroo-nom Tokyo-loc be KA MO know-neg

a. Interpretation 1. 'Taro might be in Tokyo.'

b. Interpretation 2. 'I don't know even whether Taro is in Tokyo (and I really should).'

Note that both interpretations are available with either form of negation in (1): plain - anai or polite -imasen. This suggests that negation applies compositionally in both interpretations. We focus only on -nai negation here.

- Proposal: -kamo can be decomposed into the question particle -ka and the scalar particle -mo, and the two interpretations follow from a distinction in syntactic structure.

[Syntactic structural difference:] We argue that the two interpretations of (1) correspond to two different syntactic structures shown in (2). This structural difference is supported by the fact that one can insert a clear intonational pause in between - ka and -*mo* in Interpretation 2, but not in Interpretation 1.
(2) a. [[taroo-ga tookyoo-ni iru] [ka mo]] wakara nai (Interp. 1: Epistemic Possibility)
b. [[[taroo-ga tookyoo-ni iru] ka] mo] wakara nai (Interp. 2: Scalar Ignorance)

[Semantic properties of each particle:] Our analysis is based on alternative semantics (Hamblin 1973), where the meaning of a sentence is a set of propositions.
Based on Uegaki & Roelofsen (2018) and the central proposal of Uegaki (2018), we propose the lexical entry for $-ka$ as a question particle as in (3):
(3) a. $[\,[-ka]\,] = \lambda\alpha_{\tau t} \cdot \langle ? \rangle \alpha$, where τ is an arbitrary type.

b. $\langle ? \rangle \alpha := \alpha \cup \bigcup_{p \in \alpha} \{\lambda w. \neg p(w)\}$ if α is of type $\langle st, t \rangle$ and $|\alpha| = 1$; α if α is of type ⟨ st, t ⟩ and $|\alpha| > 1$.

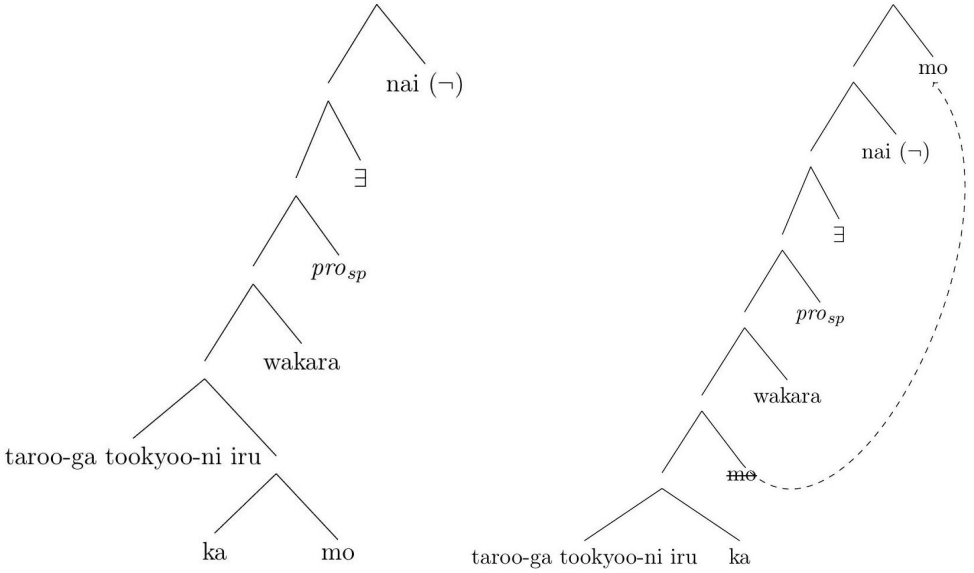
When the input α is a declarative sentence that represents a proposition p, $\alpha - ka$ denotes a polar question $\{p, \neg p\}$. If α is not of type $\langle st, t \rangle$ at an intermediate stage of the derivation, the□ ?□ operator is left unreduced and carried over to the next step.
We analyze -*mo* as a scalar particle like even, which involves a presupposition that the prejacent is not likely to be true as in (4) (Sawada, 2007; Oda, 2012).
(4) a. $[\,[-mo]\,] = \{\lambda p_{st} \lambda w_s . [\text{unlikely}(p)(w)]. p(w)\}$, where $[\psi]. \phi$ means ϕ presupposes ψ.
b. $\text{unlikely}(p)(w) := \forall q \in \text{Alt}(p). q \neq p \rightarrow q >_{\text{likelihood},w} p$
Following the core idea of Guerzoni (2003, 2004), we further assume that scalar -*mo* only combines with a declarative sentence, i.e., a singleton. When -*mo* attaches to a question denoting multiple alternatives, composition fails, as formalized in (5) as a post-suppositional constraint.

(5) Scalar -mo post-supposition: the composition of X-mo is computed only if the result of composition is a singleton; otherwise, it is undefined.

[Analysis:] We assume point-wise functional application $\{\alpha_{\sigma\tau}, \alpha'_{\sigma\tau}, \dots\}\{\beta_{\sigma}, \beta'_{\sigma}, \dots\} = \{\alpha(\beta), \alpha(\beta'), \dots, \alpha'(\beta), \alpha'(\beta'), \dots\}$ (Hamblin, 1973) and that negation and predicates only apply to at-issue content (i.e., only ϕ in $[\psi].\phi$). We also assume covert existential closure ∃ (Alonso-Ovalle, 2006) defined in (6). Two different interpretations follow from the distinct syntactic structures in (7).

(6) $\exists\alpha_{\langle st,t\rangle} := \{\lambda w.\exists p_{st} \in \alpha.p(w)\}$. Indeed, $\exists\{\lambda w.\phi(w), \lambda w.\psi(w)\} = \{\lambda w.\phi(w) \vee \psi(w)\}$.

(7) a. Interpretation 1 b. Interpretation 2



1. **Epistemic possibility.** Structure (2-a) composes as in (8). (8-g) means that the speaker does not know either p or $\neg p$, presupposing that p is not the most likely proposition to be true, which captures the epistemic possibility interpretation.

(8) a. [[taroo-ga tookyoo-ni iru]] $= \{\lambda w.p(w)\}$

b. [$[-ka - mo]$]] $= \langle ? \rangle\{\lambda p\lambda w.[\text{unlikely}(p)(w)].p(w)\}$ (from (3) and (4))

c. $(8-\text{a}) + (8-\text{b}) = \langle ? \rangle\{\lambda w \cdot [\text{unlikely}(p)(w)] \cdot p(w)\} =$
$\{\lambda w.[\text{unlikely}(p)(w)].p(w), \lambda w.[\text{unlikely}(p)(w)].\neg p(w)\}$

d. [wakara] $= \{\lambda x\lambda q\lambda w.know(x)(q)(w)\}$

e. $(8-\text{c}) + [\ [wakara]\ ] + [\ [pro_{sp}]\ ] =$
$\{\lambda w.[\text{unlikely}(p)(w)].know(sp)(p)(w), \lambda w.[\text{unlikely}(p)(w)].know(sp)(\neg p)(w)\}$

f. $(8-\text{e}) + \exists = \{\lambda w.[\text{unlikely}(p)(w)].\text{know}(sp)(p)(w) \vee \text{know}(sp)(\neg p)(w)\}$

g. $[\ [(2-\text{a})]\ ] = (8-\text{f}) + \neg = \{\lambda w \cdot [\text{unlikely}(p)(w)] \cdot \neg(\text{know}(sp)(p)(w) \vee \text{know}(sp)(\neg p)(w))\}$
$= \{\lambda w \cdot [\text{unlikely}(p)(w)] \cdot \neg\text{know}(sp)(p)(w) \wedge \neg know(sp)(\neg p)(w)\}$

2. **Scalar ignorance**. As for (2-b), *-mo* covertly raises to avoid composing with a question (cf. (5)). The composition then proceeds as in (10). (10-f) successfully captures the presupposition that the speaker should know whether p or $\neg p$.

(9) mo [[[[taroo-ga tookyoo-ni iru] ka] wakara-nai]

(10) a. [[taroo-ga tookyoo-ni iru]] $= \{\lambda w.\, p(w)\}$

b. $(10-\text{a}) + [\,[-ka]\,] = \{\lambda w.\, p(w), \lambda w.\, \neg p(w)\}$

c. $(10-\text{b}) + [\,[\text{ wakara }]\,] + [\,[pr_{sp}]\,] = \{\lambda w.\, know(sp)(p)(w), \lambda w.\, know(sp)(\neg p)(w)\}$

d. $(10-\text{c}) + \exists = \{\lambda w.\, \text{know}\ (sp)(p)(w) \vee \text{know}\ (sp)(\neg p)(w)\}$

e. $(10-\text{d}) + \neg = \{\lambda w.\, \neg(know(sp)(p)(w) \vee \text{know}(sp)(\neg p)(w))\} = \{\lambda w.\, \neg know(sp)(p)(w) \wedge \neg know(sp)(\neg p)(w)\}$

f. $(10-\text{e}) + [\,[-mo]\,] = \{\lambda w.\, [\text{unlikely}(\lambda w'.\, \neg know(sp)(p)(w') \wedge \neg know(sp)(\neg p)(w'))(w)].\neg\text{know}(sp)(p)(w) \wedge \neg\text{know}(sp)(\neg p)(w)\}$

[Remaining issues:] There are two remaining issues. First, *siru*, another Japanese verb meaning know, can also take a *-kamo* clause as its complement, as in (11).

(11) a. taroo-ga tookyoo-ni iru ka mo sir-e nai taroo-nom
Tokyo-loc be KA MO know-able neg
'Taro might be in Tokyo' (unambiguously)

b. taroo-ga tookyoo-ni iru ka mo sira nai taroo-nom
Tokyo-loc be KA MO know neg
'I don't know even whether Taro is in Tokyo' (unambiguously)

(11-a), with the ability suffix - e, has only the epistemic possibility interpretation, while (11-b), which lacks it, has only the scalar ignorance interpretation. We believe this lack of ambiguity can be accounted for by appealing to the difference between wakaru and siru (Farese, 2018; Mizuno, 2018, 2021).

Second, NPIs such as *sukosimo* 'at all' and *kessite* 'ever' can occur in (1) under the scalar ignorance interpretation, but not under the epistemic possibility interpretation. As (1) shows, both forms of negation are available with either interpretation, so negation must apply compositionally in the epistemic possibility interpretation as well. Why NPIs are not licensed under this interpretation is left for future work.

[Conclusion:] We propose a unified compositional analysis of two readings of *-kamo* by decomposing it into the question particle and the scalar particle. Although some literature has assumed that the Japanese possibility expression *-kamo* is decomposable into ka and mo (e.g., McCready, 2005; Kaufmann & Tamura, 2020), to our knowledge, no compositional analysis has been proposed. This paper therefore contributes to a wider discussion of Japanese modality expressions (Hara, 2006; McCready & Ogata, 2007; a.o.), as well as the cross-linguistic work on the decomposition of epistemic modal expressions (von Fintel & Iatridou, 2008; Vander Klok & Hohaus, 2020).

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Asymmetry Between Unaccusatives and Unergatives in Subject Movement

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Since the earliest studies of unaccusativity in Japanese, the syntactic position of the subjects of unaccusative and unergative verbs has been widely debated (Miyagawa, 1989; Yatsushiro, 1999). Three major proposals have been advanced in the literature: (i) the subjects of both unaccusatives and unergatives obligatorily move from their base-generated positions; (ii) the subjects of both unaccusatives and unergatives can remain in situ; and (iii) the subject of an unaccusative can remain in situ, whereas that of an unergative must move.

To determine which of these proposals is most plausible, Tazaki (to appear) conducted four reaction-time experiments and provided evidence for the third analysis. Specifically, his results suggest that unergative subjects must move to Spec-TP, whereas unaccusative subjects need not move to Spec-TP. Although Tazaki's study shows that unaccusative subjects do not obligatorily move out of VP/vP, the findings do not address whether the subject of unaccusative verbs moves to Spec-vP. Traditionally, subjects are required to occupy Spec-TP for reasons such as EPP satisfaction and Case licensing; however, some recent work (e.g., Saito, 2009) argues that Spec-vP must be filled by an argument. If this view is correct, unaccusative subjects must move from their VP-internal position to Spec-vP. This study therefore addresses the following research question: Do unaccusative subjects obligatorily move to Spec-vP?

To answer this question, I conducted a reaction-time experiment. The rationale for using this method comes from the widely held assumption that sentences involving scrambling impose a greater cognitive load than their non-scrambled counterparts (Koizumi & Tamaoka, 2010). Specifically, when the reader/hearer encounters a scrambled constituent, their parser must identify its original position, resulting in greater processing cost than in the corresponding non-scrambled sentence. This assumption predicts that scrambled sentences will be processed more slowly than their non-scrambled counterparts, and that this processing cost will be reflected in reaction times. The experiment used two types of intransitive verbs: unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs. Twenty unaccusative verbs and twenty unergative verbs were each used in sentences containing a *-de*-marked locative phrase. For each verb, two sentences were constructed, one in Subject–Locative (SL) order and the other in Locative–Subject (LS) order. Examples with an unaccusative verb are given in (1).

(1) a. *aisu-ga* *kooen-de* *toke-ta.* (SL)
ice-NOM park-in melt-PAST
'The ice melted in the park.'
b. *kooen-de* *aisu-ga* *toke-ta.* (LS)

On the basis of their behavior in pseudo-cleft constructions and VP-fronting, I assume that *-de*-marked locatives are adjoined to VP or vP. Given this assumption, the analysis under which unaccusative subjects can remain in their VP-internal position makes the following predictions.

(2) Subjects of unaccusatives can remain in situ ("A < B" means that A is processed faster than B)
a. Unaccusative: $[_{TP}\ [_{vP}\ S_i\ L\ [_{VP}\ t_i\ V]\ v]\ T] > [_{TP}\ [_{vP}\ [_{VP}\ L\ S\ V]\ v]\ T]$
b. Unergative: $[_{TP}\ S_i\ [_{vP}\ t_i\ [_{VP}\ L\ V]\ v]\ T] < [_{TP}\ L_j\ S_i\ [_{vP}\ t_i\ [_{VP}\ t_j\ V]\ v]\ T]$

Because the subject of unaccusatives need not move, the LS order does not involve any instances of scrambling, while the SL order requires scrambling of the subject. This contrast predicts that the former should be processed faster than the latter. By contrast, because unergative subjects always move to Spec-TP, the opposite pattern should be observed: unergative sentences in the SL order should be processed faster than those in the LS order.

The analysis under which the subject of unaccusatives must raise to Spec-vP makes the following predictions.

(3) Subjects of unaccusatives must move to Spec-vP

a. Unaccusative: $[_{TP}\ [_{vP}\ S_i\ [_{VP}\ L\ t_i\ V]\ v]\ T] = [_{TP}\ [_{vP}\ L\ S_i\ [_{VP}\ t_i\ V]\ v]\ T]$

b. Unergative: $[_{TP}\ S_i\ [_{vP}\ t_i\ [_{VP}\ L\ V]\ v]\ T] < [_{TP}\ L_j\ S_i\ [_{vP}\ t_i\ [_{VP}\ t_j\ V]\ v]\ T]$

If unaccusative subjects always move to Spec-vP, unaccusative sentences in the SL and LS orders should be processed at comparable speeds. The prediction for unergative sentences remains the same as in (2). This pattern is predicted because neither the SL nor the LS order in unaccusative sentences involves scrambling, whereas in unergative sentences only the LS order involves scrambling, namely, scrambling of the locative phrase over the subject.

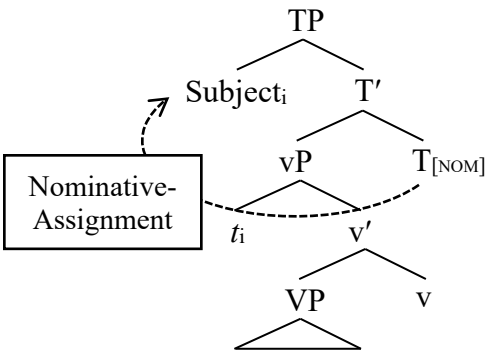
The results of this experiment are summarized in Table 1. A linear mixed-effects analysis revealed a significant interaction between word order and verb type (p = .033), supporting the predictions in (3). Pairwise comparisons revealed that no significant difference was found between the two word orders for unaccusative sentences (p = .595), whereas a significant difference in the predicted direction was observed for unergative sentences (p = .015). These findings suggest that both unaccusative and unergative subjects undergo movement, but that the landing site differs: unaccusative subjects move to Spec-vP, whereas unergative subjects move to Spec-TP.

Table 1: Mean Reaction Times and Standard Deviations

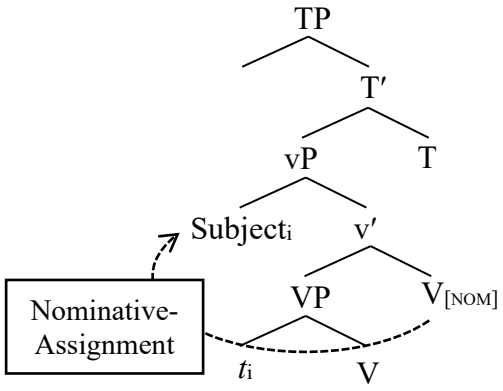
		Reaction times (ms)	
Verb Type	Word Order	M	SD
Unaccusative	SL	1676	588
	LS	1689	600
Unergative	SL	1472	506
	LS	1592	503

Finally, to account for the asymmetry between unaccusatives and unergatives in the landing site of obligatory subject movement, I propose that Japanese has two types of v: one that assigns nominative Case and one that does not. The type of **v** that assigns an external theta role does not assign Case, and is found with unergatives and (di)transitives, whereas the type that does not assign an external theta role assigns nominative Case and is found with unaccusatives. Assuming that Case assignment requires a local configuration, subjects of unergatives and transitives must move to Spec-TP to receive Case from T, as shown in (4a), whereas subjects of unaccusatives must move to Spec-vP to receive Case from v, as shown in (4b).

(4) a. Unergative/Transitive



b. Unaccusative



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Speech Rhythm in Read and Spontaneous Zeme:
A Multidimensional Acoustic Study of a Tonal Naga Language

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Speech rhythm in Zeme remains poorly documented. Rhythm measurements can vary with speaking rate, pausing and reduction, making comparisons across speaking styles important (Dellwo, 2010; Arvaniti, 2012; White and Malisz, 2020). Zeme is a Tibeto-Burman language of Northeast India, closely related to Liangmai and Rongmei (Raguibou, 2026). Published accounts identify Zeme as tonal (Chanu, 2016; Borah and Gope, 2025), but these sources do not establish how tone interacts with stress in the Peren variety examined here. This study compares reading and spontaneous speech by the same speakers to identify which aspects of vowel and consonant timing vary with speaking style.

Nine native speakers from the Peren district of Nagaland produced 'The North Wind and the Sun' in two conditions: reading and spontaneous retelling. We analysed 559 breath groups, comprising speech stretches without internal pauses, with annotations at the phoneme, syllable and phrase levels. Eleven rhythm measures described vocalic proportions and variation in vowel and consonant durations (Ramus et al., 1999; Grabe and Low, 2002; Bertinetto and Bertini, 2008). Two additional measures quantified articulation rate in syllables and segments per second, excluding pauses. We compared the styles using linear mixed-effects models and checked whether the main findings remained consistent across speakers and after accounting for articulation rate.

Both styles show a high proportion of vocalic material. Consonantal-duration variability, measured by the standard deviation of consonantal intervals (ΔC), is greater in read speech than in spontaneous retelling: 61.2 versus 47.1 milliseconds. The read value exceeds those of the stress-timed reference languages, whereas the spontaneous value is close to those of the syllable-timed reference languages in Figure 1. The statistical models indicate lower consonantal variability in spontaneous speech, together with a 4.17-percentage-point increase in vocalic proportion (%V) and an increase of 0.72 syllables per second in articulation rate (Table 1). The two rate-normalised vowel measures, nPVI-V and VarcoV, show no statistically reliable difference between styles. Principal component analysis, which summarises shared variation across the measures, associates the style separation mainly with consonantal timing. A classifier tested on speakers excluded from training identifies speaking style with 68.0% accuracy, compared with 49.8% after randomly shuffling the style labels.

The findings show that comparisons with conventional rhythm categories depend on speaking style and on the measure considered. Rhythm measures should therefore describe timing patterns under specified speaking conditions rather than assign fixed labels to a language. In Zeme, the comparison reveals differences in consonantal timing, while the two rate-normalised vowel measures show no statistically reliable difference between styles. Tone was not analysed directly, so its contribution to vowel timing remains a question for future research.

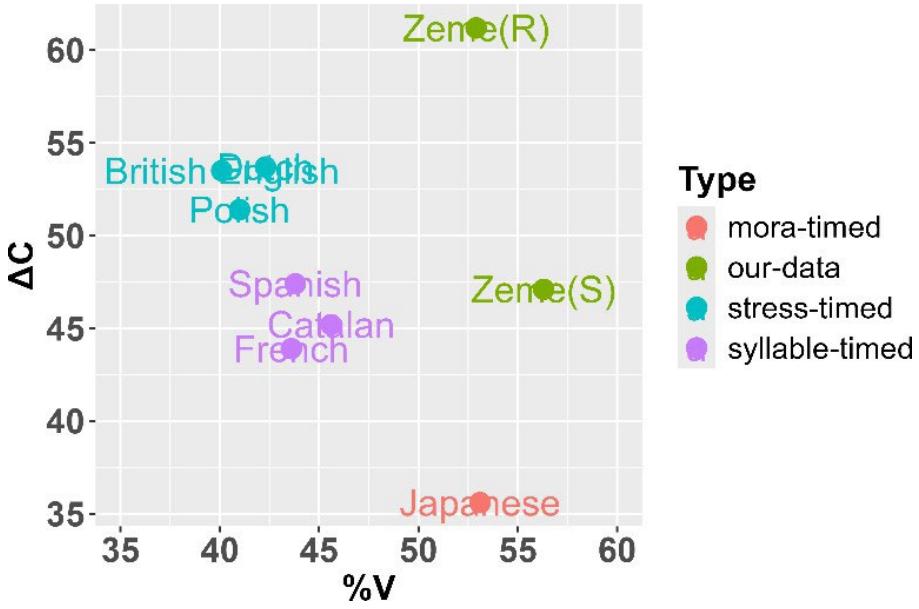


Figure 1. Vocalic proportion (%V) and the standard deviation of consonantal-interval durations (ΔC, in milliseconds) for Zeme read speech (R) and spontaneous retelling (S), alongside reference values from Ramus, Nespor and Mehler (1999). Read Zeme shows greater consonantal-duration variability than spontaneous Zeme, while both styles have high vocalic proportions.

Metric	Dimension	Estimate (S − R)	d	p (FDR)
%V	Vocalic	+4.17 [2.71, 5.64]	0.46	< .001
Syllable rate	Tempo	+0.72 syll/s	0.58	.028
ΔC	Consonantal	−13.78	−0.60	< .001
rPVI-C	Consonantal	−18.24	−0.64	< .001
CCI-C	Consonantal	−13.64	−0.50	< .001
nPVI-V	Vocalic	−0.85	−0.06	n.s.
VarcoV	Vocalic	−1.19	−0.11	n.s.

Table 1. Estimated differences between spontaneous retelling and read speech from the linear mixed-effects models. Positive estimates indicate higher values in spontaneous retelling; negative estimates indicate lower values.

Notes: S − R = spontaneous minus read. %V = percentage of analysed speech time occupied by vocalic intervals; ΔC = standard deviation of consonantal-interval durations; rPVI-C = raw pairwise variability index for consonants; CCI-C = control/compensation index for consonants; nPVI-V = normalised pairwise variability index for vowels; VarcoV = 100 times the standard deviation of vocalic-interval durations divided by their mean. Pairwise variability compares successive interval durations. CCI accounts for the number of segments within each interval. d = standardised effect size; n.s. = not statistically significant. The p values were adjusted for multiple comparisons using false-discovery-rate correction.

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Parallel Session 4-B Abstracts

From Causers to Affectees:
***Jiào* Syncretism and Affectedness in Central Plains Mandarin|**

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This paper investigates the extensive syncretism of *jiào* across causative, disposal, passive, and related constructions in Central Plains Mandarin (CPM). Beyond its lexical use meaning 'ask/tell', *jiào* functions as a causative marker (1), a general-disposal marker (2), a causative-disposal marker (3), an adversity-passive marker (4), a replacement marker (5), and a grammaticalized passive marker (6). These constructions share a recurrent *NP1 jiào NP2 VP* configuration, subject to construction-specific variation in argument realization. Despite their formal similarities, they exhibit striking differences in argument interpretation, event structure, and affectedness.

(1) Causative
Tóu duì Tú Wéiyuè bǎi-yì-bǎi shǒu, jiào tā
boss toward Tu Weiyu wave-one-wave hand **CAUSE** 3SG
zuò-xià.
sit-down
'The boss waved to Tu Weiyue, causing him to sit down.'

(2) General disposal
Nǐ jiào chuānglián lā-shàng.
2SG **HAVE** curtain pull-up
'Have the curtain pulled shut.'

(3) Causative-disposal
Zhè jiàn shì jiào wǒ gāoxìng-huài le.
this CL matter **CAUSE** 1SG happy-extreme SFP
'This matter caused me to become extremely happy.'

(4) Passive
Bēizi jiào wǒ dǎ-suì le.
cup **PASS** 1SG hit-broken SFP
'The cup was broken by me, with an adverse effect on the affected party.'

(5) Grammaticalized replacement marker
Fǎnzhèng jiào wǒ, wǒ bù yuànyì qù.
anyway **REPL** 1SG 1SG NEG willing go
'Anyway, if it were me, I would not be willing to go.'

(6) Grammaticalized passive marker
Dēng jiào guān le.
light **PASS** turn.off PFV
'The light was turned off, with an adverse effect on the affected party.'

Previous accounts have approached the multifunctionality of *jiào* from two main perspectives. Lexicalist analyses treat its various uses as instances of polysemy (Wang and Wang 2024; Xiao et al. 2021; Yan and Xu 2005; Zhang 2005), while syntactic approaches derive particular alternations, especially causative–passive correspondences, through broader causative–

ergative mechanisms (Cheng et al. 1997; Feng 1995; Hu 2010; Hu and Yang 2015; Huang 1999; Shen and Mochizuki 2001). Although these approaches capture important properties of individual constructions, a unified explanation remains lacking for the grammatical status of functional *jiào*, the structural basis of its syncretism, and the contrasting manifestations of affectedness in disposal and adversity-passive constructions. The central question is how a single morphological form can systematically accommodate distinct argument interpretations and event-structural configurations without requiring a corresponding proliferation of lexical entries.

I propose a unified analysis in which *jiào* realizes an underspecified Voice head selecting a High Applicative projection, while the interpretations of its arguments are determined by the interaction between Voice, applicative structure, and independently represented event-structural components. Following Kratzer (1996), external arguments are introduced independently of the lexical verb by Voice. Building on approaches that distinguish semantic varieties of Voice (Alexiadou et al. 2015; Schäfer 2008), I assume that Voice may introduce participants bearing different relations to the eventuality, including Causer, Source, and Affectee. The argument following *jiào*, when overtly realized, occupies the specifier of a High Applicative projection (Pylkkänen 2002, 2008). Under Late Insertion in Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993; Harley 1995, 2005; Marantz 1997), these distinct syntactic configurations can receive the same phonological exponent *jiào*. Syncretism thus reflects the morphological realization of a restricted class of Voice configurations, whose interpretive differences are established independently in the syntax and semantics.

The argument interpretations associated with these configurations follow from the decomposition of eventualities into independently represented structural components (Cuervo 2003, 2020). Specifically, v_{DO} introduces a dynamic event, v_{BE} introduces a state, and v_{CAUSE} establishes a causal relation between eventualities. The interpretation of a participant depends on its structural relation to these components: association with v_{DO} supports an initiator interpretation, association with v_{BE} identifies a state holder, and participation in the relation introduced by v_{CAUSE} gives rise to causal dependencies. Different combinations of these components yield the major *jiào* constructions summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 Structural configurations of functional *jiào*

Construction	NP_1	NP_2	Event structure
Causative	Causer	Causee	$v_{CAUSE} + v_{DO}$
General disposal	Causer	Applicative Affectee	$v_{CAUSE} + v_{BE}$
Passive / passive marker	Voice Affectee	Initiator / null Initiator	$v_{BE} + v_{DO}$
Causative-disposal/ replacement marker	Source / contextual Source	Experiencer	v_{BE}

A central consequence of this analysis is that affectedness is structurally heterogeneous. Disposal constructions involve an Appl affectee, directly implicated in both the dynamic event and the resulting state. Adversity passives, by contrast, involve a Voice Affectee introduced above the lower event structure. Its affectedness is established through a relation to the eventuality as a whole, without requiring direct participation in either the dynamic event or the resulting state. The two configurations are contrasted in Table 2.

Table 2 Two structural sources of affectedness

Property	General disposal	Adversity passive
Structural position of Affectee	Spec-ApplP	Spec-VoiceP
Structural domain of affectedness	Event-internal	Event-external
Relation to lower eventuality	Holder of the relevant state	Related to the eventuality as a whole
Typical interpretation	Total / holistic affectedness	Out-of-control affectedness; adversity

I further propose that the adversity interpretation characteristic of passive *jiào* arises from out-of-control affectedness, a relation in which an eventuality affects a relevant participant while unfolding outside that participant's expected sphere of control. The relevant relation is characterized in (7).

(7) Out-of-control affectedness
An individual *x* stands in an out-of-control relation to an eventuality *e* iff *x* does not initiate or participate in the causal chain leading to *e*, while the occurrence of *e* falls outside the control of the relevant stakeholder of *x* and thereby affects *x*.

This analysis yields three broader implications. First, the diversity of argument interpretations across *jiào* constructions follows from independently motivated structural relations involving Voice, applicative structure, and event decomposition. Second, the contrast between disposal and adversity passive demonstrates that affectedness cannot be reduced to a single thematic relation or a uniform event-internal configuration: it can arise either through an argument's direct association with the lower eventuality or through a higher relation to that eventuality as a whole. Third, the syncretism of *jiào* illustrates how a single morphological exponent can realize structurally distinct but systematically related functional configurations. More generally, the CPM paradigm provides evidence that functions commonly described as successive outcomes of grammaticalization may coexist synchronically within a unified system of argument introduction, event structure, and morphological realization.

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Anomalous Usages of Manchu's Accusative Marker *'-be'*

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Abstract

In this paper, we identify anomalous uses of the accusative case in Manchu and provide some clues to understanding the underlying mechanism. Typically, the accusative case in Manchu indicates the direct object of the verb, represented by appending a clitic *-be* next to the nominal phrase, which could be either an ordinary noun phrase (Ex. 1) or a nominalized subordinate clause (Ex. 2). In the latter case, the matrix clause is usually dominated by a communicative or perception verb (E.g. see, hear, say, think, see, know, etc.), while the event referred to by the subordinate clause serves the content of the matrix verb.

However, data from the Manchu documents of the early Qing Dynasty show some anomalous uses of the accusative case on such complex clauses. We identify three subcategories of such uses, namely: (a) the matrix clause is dominated by a non-communicative/perception transitive verb which semantically governs the subordinate subject alone, rather than the entire event of the subordinate clause (Ex. 3); (b) the matrix verb carries its own explicit object within the main clause, whereas the embedded clause still ends in the accusative marker *-be*, which now appears to be left stranded (Ex. 4); (c) the matrix clause is dominated by an intransitive verb, which makes it virtually impossible to bear the subordinate clause as complement (Ex. 5). In this paper, such accusative phrases/clauses will be treated as unlicensed.

Although further investigation is needed to understand the underlying mechanism, we provide some clues as follows. In subcategories (b) and (c), the embedded clause does not serve as the direct object of the matrix verb, but instead as the temporal or the causational background of the event of the matrix clause, which is usually marked by the dative/locative case (*-de*), rather than the accusative. The nuance between taking the dative/locative and the accusative lies in the agency of the matrix subject. That is, when taking the accusative on the subordinate clause, the matrix subject decides to tackle the situation proactively rather than passively. However, when such a background is expressed using dative/locative, the proactivity of the verb is not as salient, nor perhaps is it obligatory.

Lastly, we present an explanation from a similar phenomenon in Japanese. In Manchu, the anomalous double *-be* construction in question also shows a close semantic parallel to the indirect passive: the extra accusative-marked object in the former corresponds to the nominative subject of the latter. Sugai's (2002) analysis of the Japanese indirect passive argues that such nominative subjects in indirect passives correspond to obliques rather than to the accusative objects in active constructions (Ex. 6, 7). Extending this to Manchu, we propose that the anomalous case marker *-be* in question may actually function as an oblique, rather than a true accusative.

Selected Examples

(1) *Lioi Beše* *amasi* *foro-fi* ***tuwa-ra*** ***be*** *Tsootsoo*
Lǚ Bóshē backward turn-PFV.CVB look-IPFV.PTCP ACC Cáo Cāo
eihen ci ***saci-me*** *tuhe-bu-he*
donkey ABL hack-IPFV.CVB fall-CAUS-PFV.PTCP
'As Lǚ Bóshē turned around to look, Cáo Cāo hacked [him] and sent [him] falling off the donkey.' (Ilan Gurun-i Bithe)

(2) *Daiming Gurun i duin jugūn i* ***afanji-ha*** ***be***
Ming Empire GEN four route GEN come.to.fight-PFV.PTCP ACC
abka ama na eme aca-fi ***wa-ha***
heaven father earth mother join-PFV.CVB kill-PFV.PTCP
'The Ming Empire came to fight in four routes, [but] Father Heaven and Mother Earth jointly destroyed [them].' (Manju-i Yargiyan Kooli)

(3) *Mini unenggi tondo mujilen be jafa-fi* ***banji-re***
1SG.GEN sincere faithful mind ACC hold-PFV.CVB live-IPFV.PTCP
be *abka na* ***mimbe*** ***saiša-fi*** *kesi hūturi*
ACC heaven earth 1SG.ACC commend-PFV.CVB grace blessing
baturu hūsun be minde bu-he
strong force ACC 1SG.DAT give-PFV.PTCP
'I live with a sincere and faithful mind, for which Heaven and Earth have commended me, giving me their grace and blessing, and strong power.' (Manju-i Yargiyan Kooli)

(4) *(Ging U)* *loho jafa-fi okdo-me tuci-fi Yuwan Šoo*
Gěng Wǔ sword hold-PFV.CVB engage-IPFV.CVB come.out-PFV.CVB Yuán Shào
be wa-me ***jidere*** ***be*** *Yuwan Šoo i sejen i*
ACC kill-IPFV.CVB come.IPFV.PTCP ACC Yuán Shào GEN wagon GEN
juleri bi-he Yan Liyang gebungge amban ***Ging U*** ***be***
front be-PFV.PTCP Yán Liáng named vassal Gěng Wǔ ACC
saci-me ***wa-ha***
hack-PFV.CVB kill-PFV.PTCP
'(Gěng Wǔ) took a sword and came right at Yuán Shào to kill him; a vassal named Yán Liáng, who was in front of Yuán Shào's wagon, hacked Gěng Wǔ to death.' (Ilan Gurun-i Bithe)

(5) *Daiming ni cooha amasi bedere-fi ing* ***ili-ha*** ***be***
Ming GEN forces backward return-PFV.CVB camp stand-PFV.PTCP ACC
Manju gurun i... Baduri gebungge amban alin i
Manchu realm GEN Baduri named officer mountain GEN
dergi-ci wasihūn kaica-me ***dosi-re*** *jakade...*
top-ABL downward shout-IPFV.CVB enter-IPFV.PTCP when
'The Ming Empire's forces turned back and made camp; an officer of the Manchus named Baduri, while going down the mountain top, shouted and entered [to engage the Ming forces]...' (Manju-i Yargiyan Kooli)

(6) *Jiro* ***ga*** *Taro* *ni* *saifu* *wo* ***nusum-are-ta***
PN NOM PN DAT wallet ACC steal-PASS-PERF
'Jiro had the wallet stolen by Taro.' (Sugai, 2002)

(7) *Taro* *ga* *Jiro* ***kara*** | ****wo*** *saifu* *wo* ***nusum-da***
PN NOM PN ABL | *ACC wallet ACC steal-PERF
'Taro stole the wallet from Jiro.' (Sugai, 2002)

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Nǚ xiānsheng in Chinese: A Corpus-Based Study of Semantic Variation and Change

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In present-day Chinese, *nǚ xiānsheng* 女先生 is often used as a respectful title for women known for their scholarship, moral standing, and cultural influence. However, historical texts show that the term has also been used for women in other social roles, including teachers, performers, doctors, and fortune-tellers. This difference raises a question: How have the meanings and uses of *nǚ xiānsheng* changed over time?
This study examines *nǚ xiānsheng* using data from the BCC (Beijing Language and Culture University Corpus Center) Corpus. The search covered historical and modern Chinese texts, newspapers, literature, and spoken materials. Of the 172 examples collected, 129 remained after false hits, invalid cases, and duplicates were removed. ChatGPT was used to classify the examples by meaning and use. Each example was then manually checked, and the labels were corrected when needed.

The analysis identifies four main categories: (1) educational and scholarly uses (42 cases), including female teachers and learned women; (2) performing uses (31 cases), including female storytellers and *táncí* 弹词 performers; (3) medical and fortune-telling uses (13 cases), including female doctors and fortune-tellers; and (4) honorific and mixed uses (43 cases), including general respectful address, modern honorific titles, and discussions of the term itself.

The findings show that *nǚ xiānsheng* has been used for women with different kinds of knowledge and professional skills. In earlier texts, the term could refer to women who taught, performed, practiced medicine, or told fortunes. In contemporary examples, it is also used to honor women such as Yang Jiang 杨绛 and Ye Jiaying 叶嘉莹 for their scholarship and cultural influence. These uses suggest that the meaning of *nǚ xiānsheng* may have shifted from a broad range of occupational titles toward a more specialized honorific title. However, a fuller comparison across historical periods is needed to establish how this change took place.

By examining these different uses, this study shows how the meanings of a Chinese address term are connected to gender, social roles, and ideas of respect. It also shows how GPT-assisted annotation and manual checking can be used together to analyze historical corpus data.

Keywords: *nǚ xiānsheng* 女先生; address terms; gender; semantic change; GPT-assisted annotation

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From "Birth" to "Later":
The Diachronic Semantic Development of *Hou* (后) in Chinese

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The Chinese character *hou* (后) has developed a range of meanings and uses throughout its history. This thesis traces its semantic development, beginning with its association with childbirth and its subsequent use to refer to rulers and emperors (Guo, 1993). It also examines its use for royal consorts and other figures of authority, as well as its meanings relating to descendants and later generations. In addition to these nominal uses, the thesis discusses the verbal meanings of "to lag behind" and "to inherit," and adjectival uses relating to spatial position and temporal sequence. The historical development of the written form of *hou* (后) is illustrated in Figure 1, from bronze inscriptions of the Spring and Autumn period through the Han dynasty to regular script.

Another aspect of this semantic development is the relationship between *hou* (后) and *hou* (後), which were historically distinct characters. In early Chinese texts, *hou* (后) was frequently used to represent *hou* (後), which conveyed meanings related to being behind in space or later in time. The thesis distinguishes these uses from those associated with *hou* (后) in its own right and considers how the two characters came to be merged as 后 in simplified Chinese. Drawing on examples from classical texts and dictionaries, the thesis traces the development of the meanings and uses of *hou* (后) across historical periods and examines how these changes relate to shifts in social structure and political authority. It also considers the interpretation of *hou* (后) in the oracle-bone phrase "亡后," where it is read as *hou* (後) (Wang, 2011).

The historical meanings and written forms of *hou* (后) also provide a context for examining the long-standing debate over whether the inscription on a Shang-dynasty bronze vessel should be read as "*Simuwu*" (司母戊) or "*Houmuwu*" (后母戊). The early written forms of *si* (司) and *hou* (后) are similar and can appear as mirror images, giving rise to competing interpretations. To evaluate these readings, the thesis examines the meanings and uses of *si* (司), compares inscription patterns such as *Simuwu* (司母戊) and *Simuxin* (司母辛) with forms such as "母爵," and considers the historical emergence of the title 王后 ("queen" or "royal consort"). Based on these comparisons and an examination of the chronology of the title, the thesis argues that "Simuwu Ding" is better supported than "Houmuwu Ding" (Ge, 2012; Man, 2017).

By tracing the semantic development of 后 and examining its role in the debate over the bronze inscription, this study clarifies the character's historical meanings and uses and illustrates how the interpretation of written forms, inscription patterns, and historical context can contribute to the understanding of early Chinese texts.

Illustration



Figure 1. Historical Development of the Written Form of 后

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