Methodology & Results

- Participants
- Filler items

Comprehension task

Syntactic Analysis

- Overt lower-Deg

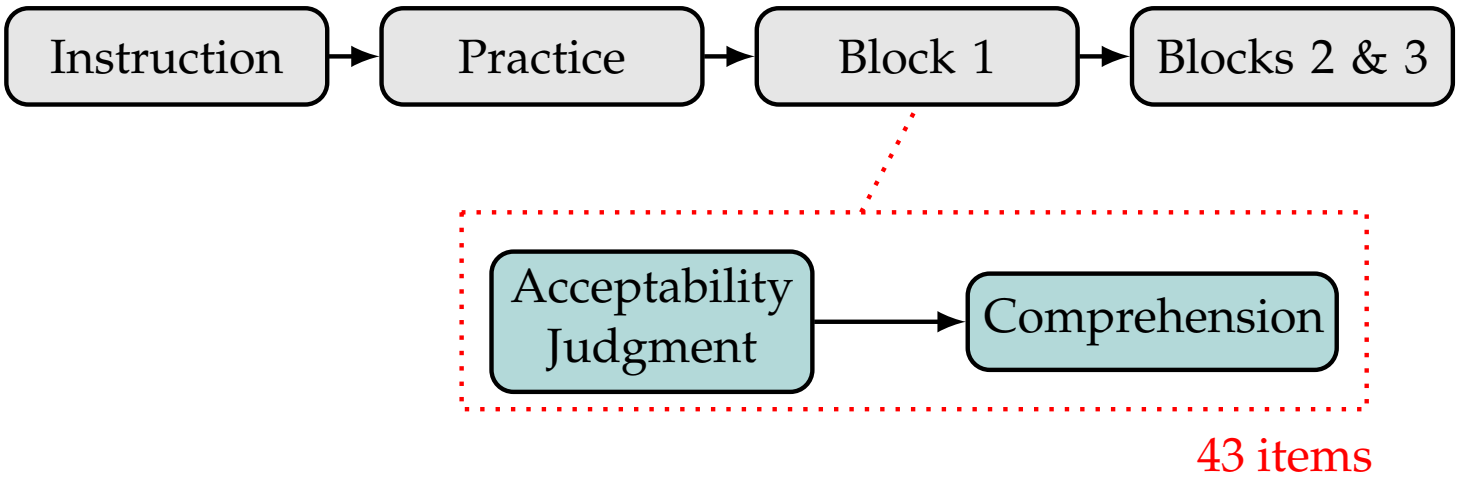
Implication

- Lexicalization
- Category

Participants

- 23 native speakers of Mandarin (13 women and 10 men)
- age: 18-42 (M = 24.6 years, SD = 6.04 years)

Experimental Design



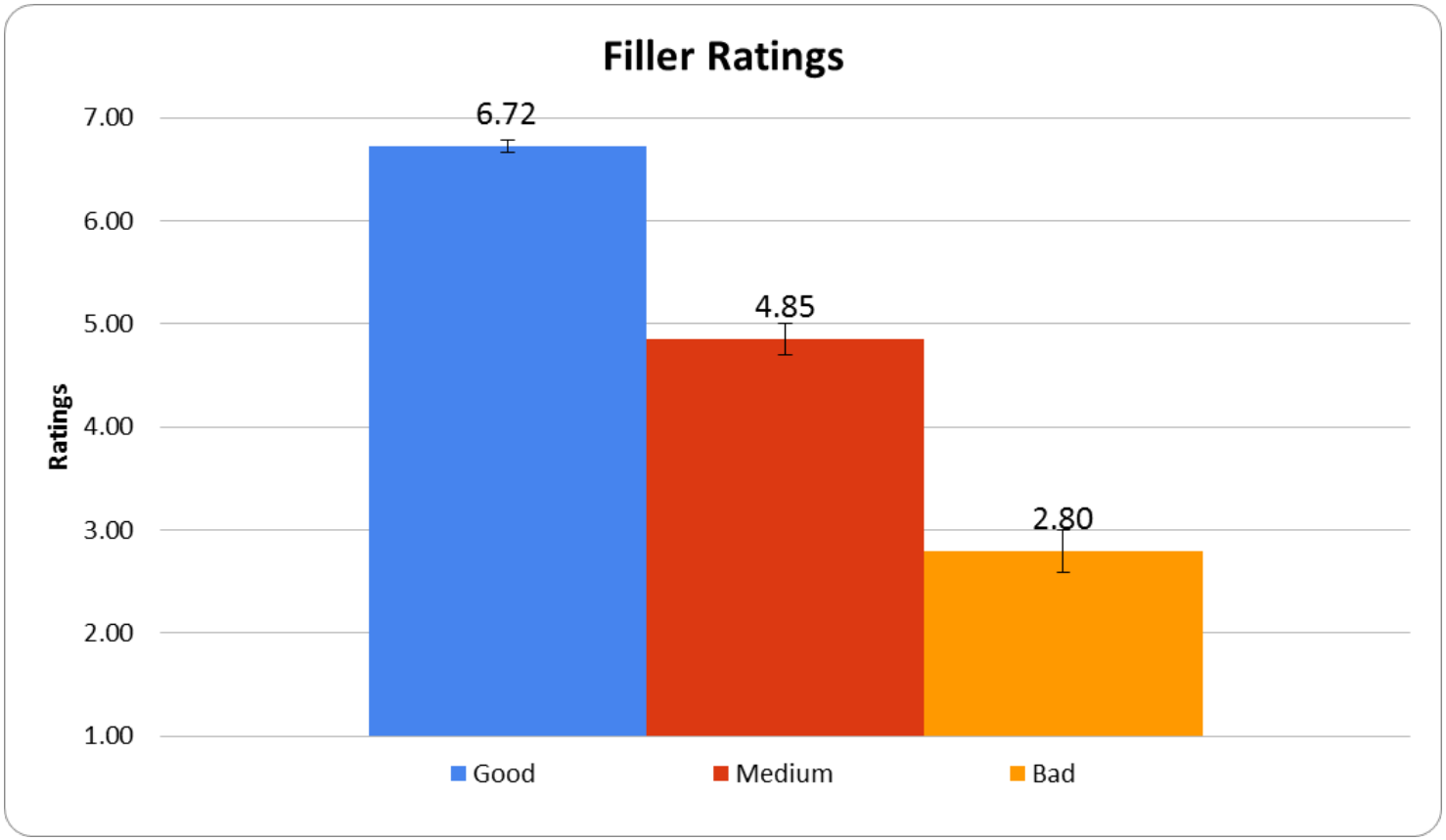
For each item:

1. Rate the sentence
2. Choose a picture
3. Jump to the next item

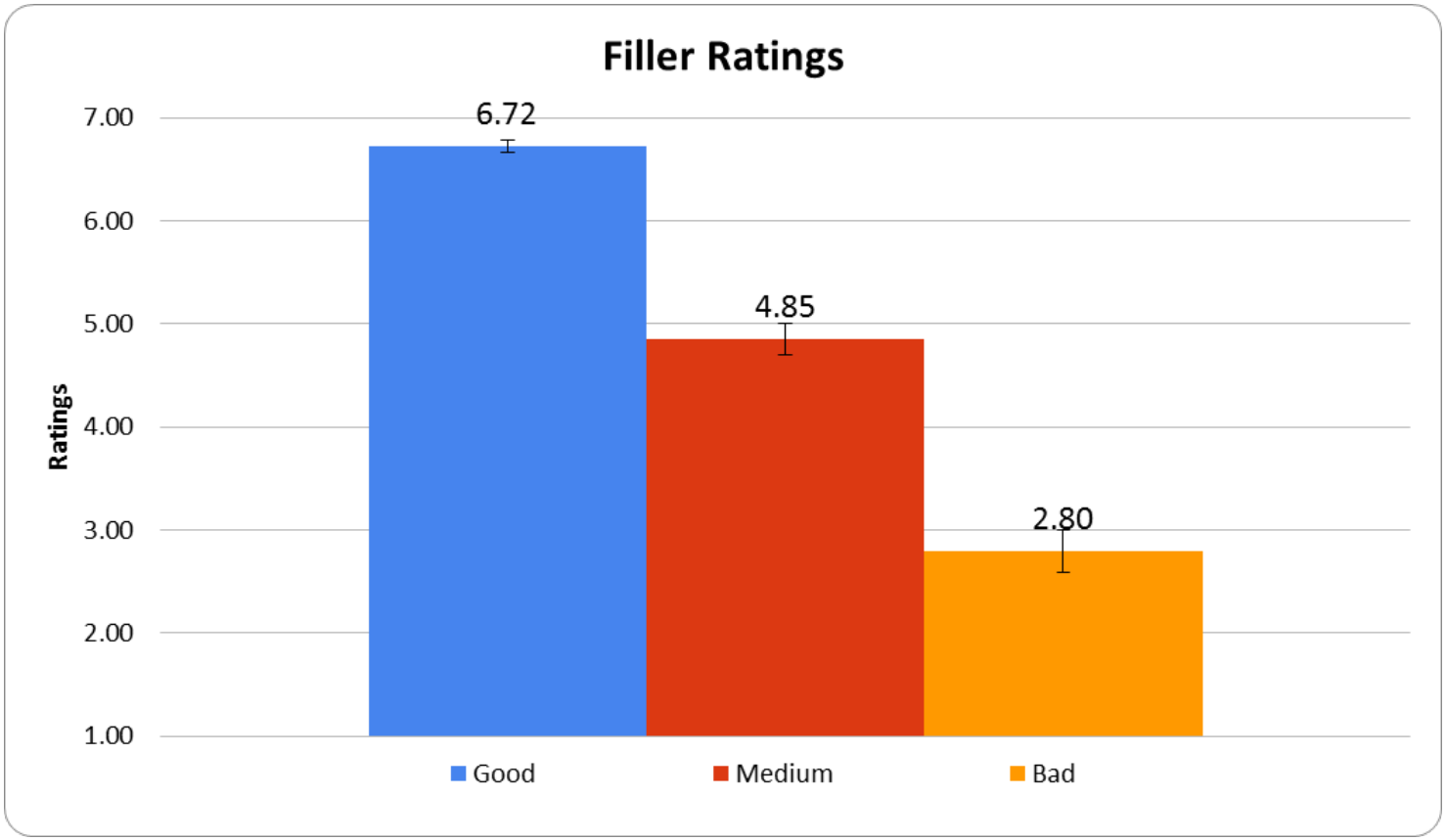
Note: 8 conditions x 4 lexicalization x 2 (VP+AP) = 64 experimental items → + 64 filler items → 128 items divided in 3 blocks

Filler items

- Fillers as benchmark
- Predetermined acceptability
- 23 native speakers of Mandarin



Comprehension task



Filler items

1. Researcher determined the acceptability by sentences
2. Pilot informants (n = 5) $\rightarrow$ sentences are rearranged
3. Good/medium/bad in the study is determined by pilot informants

Example of Filler sentences

Group	Sentence (code)	Pilot	Expt
Bad	老奶奶摔了坏一个花瓶 (*f044*)	1.8	3.30
Bad	山坡被小狗跑来下了 (*f055*)	2.8	2.17
Medium	屋子小狗进了两次 (*f041*)	4.2	4.52
Medium	屋子被小狗进了 (*f040*)	4.2	3.60
Good	老奶奶摔坏了一个花瓶 (*f018*)	7	6.91
Good	小狗进屋子来了 (*f039*)	7	6.78

Overt lower Deg^0 *chu* and split-AP

Closed Adj's do not occur with *chu*
→ Lower Deg^0 *chu* 出 requires movement

***bi*-comparatives**

(1) ta-de-fenshu bi pingjun-fen gao (chu) hen duo
his.score BI average.score high EXCEED very much
'His score is much higher than the average.'

(2) beizi bi pingzi (*chu) man (*chu) hen duo
cup BI bottle EXCEED full EXCEED very much
Intended: 'The cup is much fuller than the bottle.'

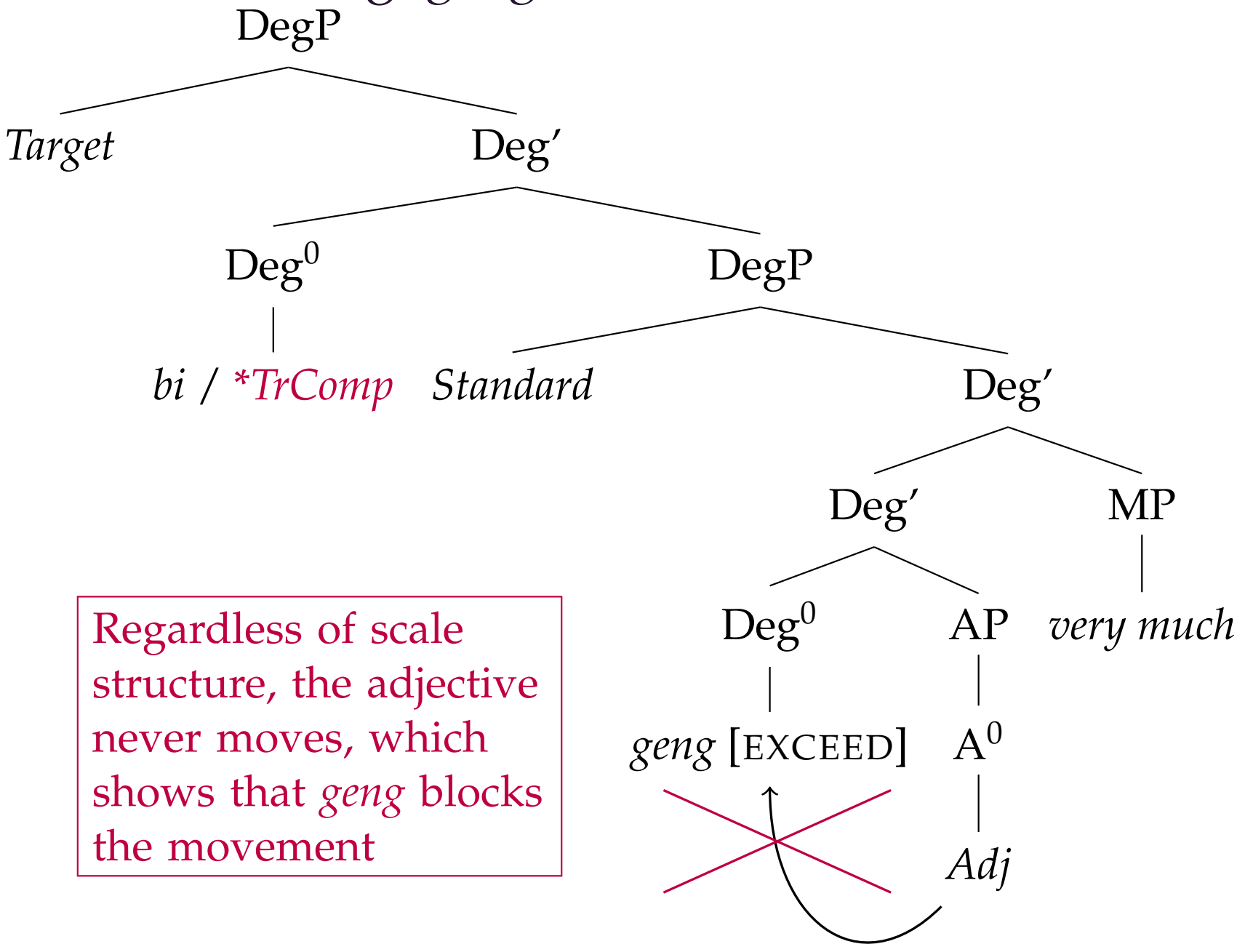
Since **TrComp** always requires movement and does not allow closed scale adjectives, it does not show the A^0-to-lowerDeg^0 movement.

Overt lower-Deg: *geng*

(3) beizi bi pingzi (geng) { man / da }
cup BI bottle more full big
'The cup is fuller than the bottle.'

(4) beizi (*geng) { man / da } pingzi (*geng) yi-dian
cup more full big bottle more a.little
'The cup is fuller than the bottle.'

Overt lower-Deg: *geng*



Regardless of scale structure, the adjective never moves, which shows that *geng* blocks the movement

Decomposing Adjectives: *chu* and *geng*

	chu 出	*geng* 更
bi + Adj_{open}	*bi* Std Adj_{open} *chu*	*bi* Std *geng* Adj_{open}
bi + Adj_{close}	**bi* Std Adj_{close} *chu*	*bi* Std *geng* Adj_{close}
TrComp + Adj_{open}	Adj_{open} *chu* Std	**geng* Adj_{open} Std
TrComp + Adj_{close}	*Adj_{close} *chu* Std	**geng* Adj_{close} Std

Table: Difference between *chu* and *geng*

- *chu* is an affix at lower Deg^0 (resists closed Adj)
- *geng* is a head at lower Deg^0 (allows open & closed Adj)
- *bi* occurs with both *chu* or *geng*
- TrComp allows *chu*, but not *geng*

chu, *geng* and measure phrase

- *chu* always have measure phrase
- *geng* allows measure phrase (slight preference for no MP?)

More on Nanosyntax

- Typically, terminal nodes in syntax represent morphemes.
- Nanosyntax nodes are sub-morphemic
- A morpheme may represent multiple nodes

Mismatch between Syntax and Semantics

Alternative theory for V–A non-distinction in Mandarin: *Mismatch*

- This study supports a distinction between V and A in Mandarin
- The challenge from distribution tests is the assumption that 'aspect marking must show verbhood'

Do stage-level predicates count as 'time-sensitive'?

Adjective-internal variation

The 3-way taxonomy does not capture the Adjective-internal distinction between individual-level and stage-level predicates

- Individual-level predicate are not sensitive to time.
- Stage-level predicate are.
- We saw John { naked / #intelligent }.
- *naked* is s-level; intelligent is i-level.

1. Toledo & Sassoon: s-level compares across situations, and i-level compares across individuals
2. time-sensitive means formal Tense-Aspect(-Mood), but not lexical-semantic