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Scholz, F.

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Appendices

Appendix 2.1

Comparison between published tone sandhi descriptions and the current findings.
Bold = (reasonable) match with contours in the previously published literature.

Citation forms	This thesis	Chen 2000	Hou 1998	Qian 1992	Rose 2000, 2002, 2004	You & Yang 1998
33+33	42.31	M.M	33.33	44.44	32.33	11.33
33+31	42.31	L.L	22.12	44.24	21.11	11.13
33+35	42.31	HM.MH	42.35	52.44	53.23	53.35
33+24	44.22	HM.MH	42.35	52.44	53.23	53.35
33+42	22.44	MLM.HM	22.42	44.52	22.4	13.53
33+11	22.35	MLM.HM	22.42	44.52	22.4	13.53
33+313	35.42	HM.Lq	35.13	25.24	45.311	53.13
33+212	35.42	HM.Lq	35.13	25.24	45.311	53.13
31+33	31.22	L.M	22.33	22.44	32.33	11.33
31+31	31.22	L.L	22.12	22.24	21.11	11.13
31+35	35.22	HM.MH	42.35	52.34	343.23	53.35
31+24	35.22	HM.MH	42.35	52.34	343.23	53.35
31+42	22.44	MLM.HM	22.42	22.52	11.4	13.53
31+11	22.35	MLM.HM	22.42	22.52	11.34	13.53
31+313	35.42	HM.Lq	-	25.24	35.311	53.13
31+212	35.42	HM.Lq	-	25.24	35.311	53.13
35+33	44.22	HM.M	42.33	52.44	53.22	42.33
35+31	42.31	HM.ML	42.21	52.21	52.21	42.11
35+35	44.22	HM.MH	42.35	52.34	53.23	53.35
35+24	44.22	HM.MH	42.35	52.34	53.23	53.35
35+42	42.31	HM.ML	42.21	52.21	52.1	42.11
35+11	44.22	HM.L	42.22	52.22	53.22	42.11
35+313	35.42	HM.Lq	35.13	25.24	45.311	53.13
35+212	35.42	HM.Lq	35.13	25.24	45.311	53.13
24+33	31.22	HM.M	42.33	52.44	343.22	42.33
24+31	31.22	HM.ML	42.21	52.21	343.21	42.11
24+35	35.22	HM.MH	42.35	52.34	343.23	53.35
24+24	35.22	HM.MH	42.35	52.34	343.23	53.35

24+42	31.22	HM.ML	42.21	52.21	232.1	42.11
24+11	31.22	HM.L	42.22	52.22	343.22	42.11
24+313	35.42	HM.Lq	35.13	25.24	35.311	53.13
24+212	35.42	HM.Lq	35.13	25.24	35.311	53.13
42+33	44.22	HM.M	42.33	52.44	53.22	42.33
42+31	42.31	L.L	22.12	44.24	32.12	11.13
42+35	44.22	HM.MH	-	52.34	53.23	53.35
42+24	44.22	HM.MH	-	52.34	53.23	53.35
42+42	42.31	HM.ML	42.21	52.21	52.1	42.11
42+11	44.22	HM.L	42.22	52.22	53.22	42.11
42+313	35.42	HM.Lq	35.13	25.24	45.311	53.13
42+212	35.42	HM.Lq	35.13	25.24	45.311	53.13
11+33	35.22	HM.M	42.33	52.44	343.22	42.33
11+31	31.22	HM.ML	-	52.21	343.21	42.11
11+35	35.22	HM.MH	42.35	52.34	343.23	53.35
11+24	35.22	HM.MH	42.35	52.34	343.23	53.35
11+42	31.22	HM.ML	-	52.21	232.1	42.11
11+11	35.22	HM.L	42.22	52.22	343.22	42.11
11+313	35.42	HM.Lq	35.13	25.24	35.311	53.13
11+212	35.42	HM.Lq	35.13	25.24	35.311	53.13
313+33	22.33	Lq.M	21.33	3.44	1.33	1.33
313+31	42.31	L.L	22.12	4.24	31.11	11.13
313+35	22.35	Lq.MH	21.35	3.34	1.34	1.35
313+24	22.35	Lq.MH	21.35	3.34	1.114	1.35
313+42	22.42	Lq.HM	21.42	3.52	3.52	1.42
313+11	42.31	Lq.L	21.22	3.22	3.33	1.11
313+313	35.42	Lq.Lq	21.13	3.24	4.311	1.13
313+212	35.42	Lq.Lq	21.13	3.24	4.311	1.13
212+33	22.33	Lq.M	21.33	2.44	1.33	1.33
212+31	42.31	L.L	22.12	2.24	21.11	11.13
212+35	22.35	Lq.MH	21.35	2.34	1.34	1.35
212+24	22.35	Lq.MH	21.35	2.34	1.114	1.35
212+42	22.42	Lq.HM	21.42	2.52	2.52	1.42
212+11	42.31	Lq.L	21.22	3.22	12.33	1.11
212+313	35.42	Lq.Lq	21.13	3.24	23.211	1.13
212+212	35.42	Lq.Lq	21.13	3.24	23.211	1.13

Citation forms	This thesis	You 2002	Zhang 2007a	Zhengzhang 1964a, b	Zhengzhang 2008
33+33	42.31	11.33	55.55	22.33	11.33
33+31	42.31	22.21	22.13	22.2	11.12
33+35	42.31	53.35	42.35	43.34/22.33	43.34
33+24	44.22	53.35	42.35	43.34	43.34
33+42	22.44	13.53	22.42	213.43	11.53
33+11	22.35	13.53	22.42	213.43	11.53
33+313	35.42	53.13	35.213	43.12	34.13
33+212	35.42	53.13	35.213	43.12	34.13
31+33	31.22	11.33	33.55	22.33	11.33
31+31	31.22	22.21	22.13	22.2/42.21	11.12
31+35	35.22	53.35	42.35	43.34	43.34
31+24	35.22	53.35	42.35	43.34	43.34
31+42	22.44	13.53	22.42	213.43	11.53
31+11	22.35	13.53	22.42	213.43	11.53
31+313	35.42	53.13	35.213	43.12	34.13
31+212	35.42	53.13	35.213	43.12	34.13
35+33	44.22	42.33	42.33	42.33	42.33
35+31	42.31	42.21	42.21	42.21/22.2	42.21
35+35	44.22	53.35	42.35	43.34	43.34
35+24	44.22	53.35	42.35	43.34	43.34
35+42	42.31	42.21	42.21	42.21	42.21
35+11	44.22	42.11	44.22	42.22	43.11
35+313	35.42	53.13	35.213	43.12	34.13
35+212	35.42	53.13	35.213	43.12	34.13
24+33	31.22	42.33	42.33	42.33	42.33
24+31	31.22	42.21	42.21	42.21/22.2	42.21
24+35	35.22	53.35	42.35	43.34	43.34
24+24	35.22	53.35	42.35	43.34	43.34
24+42	31.22	42.21	42.21	42.21	42.21
24+11	31.22	42.11	44.22	42.22	43.11
24+313	35.42	53.13	35.213	43.12	34.13
24+212	35.42	53.13	35.213	43.12	34.13
42+33	44.22	42.33	42.33	42.33	42.33

42+31	42.31	22.21	22.13	22.2/42.21	11.12
42+35	44.22	53.35	42.35	43.34	43.34
42+24	44.22	53.35	42.35	43.34	43.34
42+42	42.31	42.21	42.21	42.21	42.21
42+11	44.22	42.11	44.22	42.22	43.11
42+313	35.42	53.13	35.213	43.12	34.13
42+212	35.42	53.13	35.213	43.12	34.13
11+33	35.22	42.33	42.33	42.33/22.33	42.33
11+31	31.22	42.21	42.21	42.21/22.2	42.21
11+35	35.22	42.11	42.35	43.34	43.34
11+24	35.22	53.35	42.35	43.34	43.34
11+42	31.22	53.35	42.21	42.21	42.21
11+11	35.22	42.33	44.22	42.22/213.43	43.11
11+313	35.42	42.21	35.213	43.12	34.13
11+212	35.42	53.13	35.213	43.12	34.13
313+33	22.33	1.33	22.55	21.33	01.33
313+31	42.31	22.21	22.13	22.2	11.12
313+35	22.35	1.35	22.35	21.34	01.34
313+24	22.35	1.35	22.35	21.34	01.34
313+42	22.42	1.42	22.42	21.42	01.42
313+11	42.31	1.11	22.22	21.22	01.11
313+313	35.42	1.13	22.213	21.12	01.212
313+212	35.42	1.13	22.213	21.12	01.212
212+33	22.33	1.33	22.55	21.33	01.33
212+31	42.31	22.21	22.13	22.2	11.12
212+35	22.35	1.35	22.35	21.34	01.34
212+24	22.35	1.35	22.35	21.34	01.34
212+42	22.42	1.42	22.42	21.42/42.21	01.42
212+11	42.31	1.11	22.22	21.22	01.11
212+313	35.42	1.13	22.213	21.12	01.212
212+212	35.42	1.13	22.213	21.12	01.212

Appendix 2.2

Possible syllables in Wenzhou, after Zhengzhang 2008: 177ff. Dark shading: Unattested syllables. Light shading: Mismatch Zhengzhang 2008 – this thesis.

	a	ɜ	ə	o	u	∅	i	ai	ɛi	au	ou	iɛ	uɔ	aŋ	ɜŋ	oŋ
p^h	p ^h a	p ^h ɜ	p ^h ə	p ^h o			p ^h i	p ^h ai	p ^h ɛi			p ^h iɛ	p ^h uɔ	p ^h aŋ	p ^h ɜŋ	p ^h oŋ
p	pa	pɜ	pə	po			pi	pai	pɛi			piɛ	puɔ	paŋ	pɜŋ	poŋ
b	ba	bɜ	bə	bo			bi	bai	bɛi			biɛ	buɔ	baŋ	bɜŋ	boŋ
m	ma	mɜ	mə	mo			mi	mai	mei			miɛ	muɔ	maŋ	mɜŋ	moŋ
f	fa		fə	fo	fu		fai	fei		fou		fiɛ		faŋ		
v	va		və	vo	vu		vai	vei				viɛ		vaŋ		
t^h	t ^h a	t ^h ɜ	t ^h ə				t ^h i	t ^h ai	t ^h ɛi	t ^h au	t ^h ou	t ^h iɛ	t ^h uɔ	t ^h aŋ	t ^h ɜŋ	t ^h oŋ
t	ta	tɜ	tə				ti	tai	tɛi	tau	tou	tiɛ	tuɔ	taŋ	tɜŋ	toŋ
d	da	dɜ	də				di	dai	dɛi	dau	dou	diɛ	duɔ	daŋ	dɜŋ	doŋ
ts^h	ts ^h a	ts ^h ɜ	ts ^h ə	ts ^h o			ts ^h i	ts ^h ai	ts ^h ɛi	ts ^h au	ts ^h ou	ts ^h iɛ	ts ^h uɔ	ts ^h aŋ	ts ^h ɜŋ	ts ^h oŋ
ts	tɕa	tɕɜ	tɕə	tɕo			tɕi	tɕai	tɕɛi	tɕau	tɕou	tɕiɛ	tɕuɔ	tɕaŋ	tɕɜŋ	tɕoŋ
dz	dza	dzɜ	dzə	dzo			dzi	dzai	dzei	dzau	dzou	dziɛ	dzuo	dzaŋ	dzɜŋ	dzoŋ
n	na	nɜ	nə	no		nø	ni	nai	nei	nau	nou	niɛ	nuɔ	naŋ		noŋ
s	sa	sɜ	sə	so			si	sai	sei	sau	sou	siɛ	suɔ	saŋ	sɜŋ	soŋ
z	za	zɜ	zə	zo	zu		zi	zai	zei	zau	zou		zuɔ	zaŋ	zɜŋ	zoŋ
l	la	lɜ	lə	lo			li	lai	lei	lau	lou	liɛ	luɔ	laŋ	lɜŋ	loŋ
tc^h	tc ^h a			tc ^h o		tc ^h ∅	tc ^h i	tc ^h ai		tc ^h au	tc ^h ou	tc ^h iɛ	tc ^h uɔ	tc ^h aŋ		tc ^h oŋ
tc	tca			tco		tç	tci	tcai		tcau	tcou	tciɛ	tcuɔ	tcaŋ		tcoŋ
dz	dza			dzo		dç	dzi	dzai		dzau	dzou	dziɛ	dzuo	dzaŋ		dzoŋ
ɲ	ɲa			ɲo		ɲ∅	ɲi	ɲai		ɲau	ɲou	ɲiɛ	ɲuɔ	ɲaŋ		
c	ca			co		c∅	ci	cai		cau	cou	ciɛ	cuɔ	caŋ		coŋ
j	ja			jo		j∅	ji	jai		jau	jou	jiɛ	juɔ	jaŋ		joŋ
k^h	k ^h a	k ^h ɜ	k ^h ə	k ^h o	k ^h u	k ^h ∅	k ^h i	k ^h ai	k ^h ɛi	k ^h au		k ^h iɛ	k ^h uɔ	k ^h aŋ		k ^h oŋ
k	ka	kɜ	kə	ko	ku	k∅	ki	kai	kɛi	kau		kiɛ	kuɔ	kaŋ		koŋ
g	ga	gɜ	gə	go	gu	g∅	gi	gai	gei	gau		giɛ	guɔ	gaŋ		goŋ
ŋ	ŋa	ŋɜ	ŋə	ŋo	ŋu			ŋai	ŋɛi	ŋau		ŋiɛ	ŋuɔ			
ʔ	ʔa	ʔɜ	ʔə	ʔo	ʔu	ʔ∅	ʔi	ʔai	ʔɛi	ʔau			ʔuɔ	ʔaŋ		ʔoŋ
h	ha	hɜ	hə	ho			hi		hei	hau			huɔ	haŋ		hoŋ
fi	fi	fiɜ	fiə	fi			fi		fiɛi	fiau		fiɛ	fiuɔ	fiaŋ		fioŋ

Appendix 3.1

Analysis of degree of lexicalization of the stimuli used in Chapter 3 experiments 1 and 2.

Criteria:

- M = Morphology: One of the two morphemes is bound
- Se = Semantics: The meaning of the phrase is idiomatized and cannot (fully) be retrieved from the meaning of the two parts
- Sy = Syntax: The object cannot be freely moved within the sentence, for example in a preverbal position
- Lex = Degree of lexicalization, expressed numerically

Experiment 1

Hanzi	Citation forms	Translation	M	Se	Sy	Lex
买车	<i>ma24 ts^hu33</i>	'to buy a car'	/	/	/	0
卖车	<i>ma11 ts^hu33</i>	'to sell a car'	/	/	/	0
卖菜	<i>ma11 ts^hei42</i>	'to sell vegetables'	/	/	/	0
写信	<i>sei35 saŋ42</i>	'to write a letter'	/	/	/	0
踢球	<i>t^hei42 dzau31</i>	'to kick a ball'	/	/	/	0
找人	<i>zaŋ11 naŋ31</i>	'to look for a person'	/	/	/	0
喝水	<i>ha42 sɿ35</i>	'to drink water'	/	/	/	0
喝酒	<i>ha42 tɕou35</i>	'to drink alcohol'	/	/	/	0
退票	<i>t^hai42 p^hiɛ42</i>	'to return a ticket'	/	/	/	0
写字	<i>sei35 zɿ11</i>	'to write characters'	/	/	/	0
唱戏	<i>tɕ^hi42 sɿ42</i>	'to sing opera'	/	/	/	0
打人	<i>tiɛ35 naŋ31</i>	'to hit a person'	/	/	/	0
开门	<i>k^hi33 maŋ31</i>	'to open a door'	/	/	/	0
煮饭	<i>tsei35 va11</i>	'to cook rice'	/	/	/	0
煮菜	<i>tsei35 ts^hei42</i>	'to prepare food'	/	/	/	0
煮面	<i>tsei35 mi11</i>	'to cook noodles'	/	/	/	0
停车	<i>deŋ31 ts^hu33</i>	'to park a car'	/	√	/	1

下雨	<i>fɯ24</i>	<i>vu24</i>	'to rain'	/	√	/	1
看书	<i>tʰsz42</i>	<i>sz33</i>	'to read a book'	/	√	/	1
唱歌	<i>tɕʰi42</i>	<i>ku33</i>	'to sing a song'	/	√	/	1
说话	<i>kuɔ33</i>	<i>fɯ11</i>	'to speak'	/	√	/	1
开车	<i>kʰi33</i>	<i>tsʰu33</i>	'to drive a car'	/	√	/	1
打球	<i>tiɛ35</i>	<i>dzau31</i>	'to play a ballgame'	/	√	/	1
开灯	<i>kʰi33</i>	<i>taŋ33</i>	'to switch on a lamp'	/	√	/	1
做饭	<i>tsou42</i>	<i>va11</i>	'to prepare a meal'	/	√	/	1
跳舞	<i>tʰiɛ42</i>	<i>vu24</i>	'to dance'	/	√	/	1
等车	<i>taŋ35</i>	<i>tsʰu33</i>	'to wait for the bus'	/	/	√	1
回家	<i>vai31</i>	<i>ku33</i>	'to return home'	/	/	√	1
回国	<i>vai31</i>	<i>kai313</i>	'to return home'	/	/	√	1
洗澡	<i>sei35</i>	<i>ju212</i>	'to take a bath'	√	√	/	2
考试	<i>kʰɜ35</i>	<i>sz42</i>	'to take an exam'	√	√	/	2
闭门	<i>pei42</i>	<i>maŋ31</i>	'to shut the door'	√	/	√	2
跑步	<i>pʰuɔ35</i>	<i>bə11</i>	'to run'	/	√	√	2
出国	<i>tɕʰø313</i>	<i>kai313</i>	'to go abroad'	/	√	√	2
出门	<i>tɕʰø313</i>	<i>maŋ31</i>	'to go out'	/	√	√	2
坐车	<i>zu24</i>	<i>tsʰu33</i>	'to take a bus'	/	√	√	2
教书	<i>kuɔ42</i>	<i>sz33</i>	'to teach'	/	√	√	2
走路	<i>tsau24</i>	<i>lə11</i>	'to walk'	/	√	√	2
念书	<i>ni11</i>	<i>sz33</i>	'to study a book'	/	√	√	2
升旗	<i>səŋ33</i>	<i>dzɜ31</i>	'to raise a flag'	/	√	√	2
跑马	<i>pʰuɔ35</i>	<i>mu24</i>	'to ride a horse'	/	√	√	2
摇头	<i>fɯiɛ11</i>	<i>dou31</i>	'to shake one's head'	/	√	√	2
斗鸡	<i>tau42</i>	<i>tsɜ33</i>	'cockfighting'	/	√	√	2
见面	<i>tɕi42</i>	<i>mi11</i>	'to meet'	/	√	√	2
变心	<i>pi42</i>	<i>saŋ33</i>	'to be unfaithful'	/	√	√	2

Experiment 2

Hanzi	Citation forms	Translation	M	Se	Sy	Lex
开灯	<i>k^hi33 taŋ33</i>	'to switch on a lamp'	/	/	/	0
煮肉	<i>tsɛi35 ŋou212</i>	'to cook meat'	/	/	/	0
包书	<i>puɔ33 sz33</i>	'to wrap a book'	/	/	/	0
包机	<i>puɔ33 tsz33</i>	'to charter a plane'	/	√	/	1
救国	<i>tɕau42 kai313</i>	'to save the nation'	/	/	√	1
建国	<i>tɕi42 kai313</i>	'to found a state'	/	/	√	1
卖国	<i>ma11 kai313</i>	'to betray one's country'	/	√	√	2
收心	<i>ɕou33 saŋ33</i>	'to collect one's thoughts'	/	√	√	2

Appendix 3.2

Stimuli from experiment 2 in Chapter 3. Tone numbers in the Wenzhou transcriptions refer to the citation tones on the syllables.

Hanzi	Citation forms	Translation	Type
分队	<i>faŋ33 dai11</i>	'unit, gang'	disyllabic noun
分内	<i>faŋ33 nai11</i>	'duty'	disyllabic noun
资本	<i>tsz33 paŋ35</i>	'capital'	disyllabic noun
书本	<i>sz33 paŋ35</i>	'books'	disyllabic noun
科长	<i>ku33 tci35</i>	'section chief'	disyllabic noun
家长	<i>ku33 tci35</i>	'head of a household'	disyllabic noun
鸡心	<i>tsz33 saŋ33</i>	'chicken heart'	disyllabic noun
机心	<i>tsz33 saŋ33</i>	'watch movement'	disyllabic noun
公园	<i>koŋ33 jø31</i>	'park, garden'	disyllabic noun
公元	<i>koŋ33 nø31</i>	'Christian era; A.D.'	disyllabic noun
石头	<i>zei212 dou31</i>	'stone'	disyllabic noun
食堂	<i>zei212 du31</i>	'canteen'	disyllabic noun
鱼肉	<i>ŋø212 jøu212</i>	'fish and meat'	disyllabic noun
骨肉	<i>kø313 jøu212</i>	'flesh and blood'	disyllabic noun
歪心	<i>va33 saŋ33</i>	'twisted mind'	disyllabic noun
外心	<i>va11 saŋ33</i>	'marital infidelity'	disyllabic noun
包抄	<i>pu33 ts^hu33</i>	'to outflank'	disyllabic verb
包车	<i>pu33 ts^hu33</i>	'chartered vehicle'	disyllabic noun
分布	<i>faŋ33 pø42</i>	'to be scattered'	disyllabic verb
分寸	<i>faŋ33 ts^hø42</i>	'proper restraint'	disyllabic noun
大方	<i>dou11 hu33</i>	'generous'	disyllabic adjective
地方	<i>dei11 hu33</i>	'place, room'	disyllabic noun
开始	<i>k^hi33 sz35</i>	'to begin; start'	disyllabic verb
开水	<i>k^hi33 sz35</i>	'boiled water'	disyllabic noun
公报	<i>koŋ33 pø42</i>	'bulletin; gazette'	disyllabic noun
公布	<i>koŋ33 pø42</i>	'to announce'	disyllabic verb
关心	<i>ka33 saŋ33</i>	'to be concerned'	disyllabic verb
丹心	<i>ta33 saŋ33</i>	'loyalty'	disyllabic noun

外国	<i>va11</i>	<i>kai313</i>	'foreign country'	disyllabic noun
卖国	<i>ma11</i>	<i>kai313</i>	'to betray one's country'	VO-construction
战国	<i>tci42</i>	<i>kai313</i>	'Warring States period'	disyllabic noun
救国	<i>tcau42</i>	<i>kai313</i>	'to save the nation'	VO-construction
建国	<i>tci42</i>	<i>kai313</i>	'to found a state'	VO-construction
鼠肉	<i>ts^hzi35</i>	<i>ɲou212</i>	'rat meat'	disyllabic noun
煮肉	<i>tszi35</i>	<i>ɲou212</i>	'to cook meat'	VO-construction
手心	<i>cou35</i>	<i>saŋ33</i>	'palm of the hand'	disyllabic noun
收心	<i>cou33</i>	<i>saŋ33</i>	'to collect thoughts'	VO-construction
决心	<i>tçø313</i>	<i>saŋ33</i>	'determination'	disyllabic noun
开灯	<i>k^hi33</i>	<i>taŋ33</i>	'to turn on the light'	VO-construction
包机	<i>puɔ33</i>	<i>tsz33</i>	'charter a plane'	VO-construction
包书	<i>puɔ33</i>	<i>sz33</i>	'wrap a book'	VO-construction

Appendix 4.1

List of stimuli for the experiment reported in Chapter 4. “Target word” lists the citation forms of the syllables that form the tone sandhi domain. Bolding indicates contrast location in the context questions.

HH register

a. Target word: 中国 *tcoŋ33 kai313* ‘China’

Target sentence: 不, 我说 中国 大学 这几个字眼.
fu ŋ kuɔ tcoŋ kai da fɯ ki ki kai zɔ ŋa
 no I say TARGET FRAME these words
 ‘No, I say the words Chinese university.’

First syllable focus: 你 说 **美国** 大学 啊?
ni kuɔ mɛi kai da fɯ a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying **American** university?’

Second syllable focus: 你 说 **中央** 大学 啊?
ni kuɔ tcoŋ ʔ da fɯ a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying **central** university?’

Whole target focus: 你 说 **外语** 大学 啊?
ni kuɔ va nɔ da fɯ a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying **foreign language** university?’

Pre-target focus: 你 **写** 中国 大学 啊?
ni ɕi tcoŋ kai da fɯ a
 you write TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you **writing** Chinese university?’

Post-target focus: 你 说 中国 **政府** 啊?
ni kuɔ tcoŋ kai dzɛŋfɔ a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying Chinese **government**?’

b. Target word: 战国 *tci42 kai313* ‘Warring states period’

Target sentence: 不, 我说 战国 小说 这几个字眼.
fu η kuɔ tci kai ciɛ cø ki ki kai zɿ ɲa
 no I say TARGET FRAME these words
 ‘No, I say the words Warring states period novel.’

First syllable focus: 你 说 法国 小说 啊?
ni kuɔ ho kai ciɛ cø a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying **French** novel?’

Second syllable focus: 你 说 战争 小说 啊?
ni kuɔ tci tsiɛ ciɛ cø a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying **War** novel?’

Whole target focus: 你 说 言情 小说 啊?
ni kuɔ ni zɛŋ ciɛ cø a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying **romantic** novel?’

Pre-target focus: 你 写 战国 小说 啊?
ni ai tci kai ciɛ cø a
 you write TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you **writing** Warring states period novel?’

Post-target focus: 你 说 战国 戏剧 啊?
ni kuɔ tci kai sɿ tɕai a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying Warring states period **play**?’

c. Target word: 教室 *kuɔ42 sai313* ‘classroom’

Target sentence: 不, 我说 教室 地板 这几个字眼.
fu η kuɔ kuɔ sai dei pa ki ki kai zɿ ɲa
 no I say TARGET FRAME these words
 ‘No, I say the words classroom floorboard.’

First syllable focus:	你	说	卧室	地板	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>ŋ sai</i>	<i>dɛi pa</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying bedroom floorboard?'				
Second syllable focus:	你	说	教堂	地板	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>kuɔ duɔ</i>	<i>dɛi pa</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying church floorboard?'				
Whole target focus:	你	说	厕所	地板	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>tsɛi su</i>	<i>dɛi pa</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying bathroom floorboard?'				
Pre-target focus:	你	写	教室	地板	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>ɕi</i>	<i>kuɔ sai</i>	<i>dɛi pa</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	write	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you writing classroom floorboard?'				
Post-target focus:	你	说	教室	窗户	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>kuɔ sai</i>	<i>tɕ^hu ma</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying classroom window ?'				

HL register

d. Target word: 短袜 *tə35 mu212* 'socks'

Target sentence: 不, 我说 短袜 商店 这几个字眼.
fu ŋ kuɔ tə mu ci ti ki ki kai zɿ ŋa
 no I say TARGET FRAME these words
 'No, I say the words sock shop.'

First syllable focus:	你	说	毛袜	商店	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>mɜ mu</i>	<i>ci ti</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying stocking shop?'				

Second syllable focus:	你	说	短 袄	商店	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>tə ʔɜ</i>	<i>ci ti</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	‘Are you saying short jacket shop?’				
Whole target focus:	你	说	内衣	商店	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>nai ji</i>	<i>ci ti</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	‘Are you saying underwear shop?’				
Pre-target focus:	你	写	短袜	商店	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>tə mu</i>	<i>ci ti</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	write	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	‘Are you writing sock shop?’				
Post-target focus:	你	说	短袜	公司	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>tə mu</i>	<i>koŋ sz</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	‘Are you saying sock company ?’				

e. Target word: 中学 *tcoŋʒʒ fiu212* ‘Middle school’

Target sentence: 不, 我说 中学 考试 这几个字眼.
fu ŋ kuɔ tcoŋ fiu kɜ sz ki ki kai zɜ ŋa
 no I say TARGET FRAME these words
 ‘No, I say the words Middle school exam.’

First syllable focus:	你	说	大学	考试	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>da fiu</i>	<i>kɜ sz</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	‘Are you saying university exam?’				
Second syllable focus:	你	说	中文	考试	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>tcoŋ vaŋ</i>	<i>kɜ sz</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	‘Are you saying Chinese exam?’				
Whole target focus:	你	说	外语	考试	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>va nɔ</i>	<i>kɜ sz</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	‘Are you saying foreign language exam?’				

Pre-target focus:	你	写	中学	考试	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>tcoŋ fiu</i>	<i>kɜ sʒ</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	write	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you writing Middle school exam?'				
Post-target focus:	你	说	中学	校长	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>tcoŋ fiu</i>	<i>vuo tci</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying Middle school principal ?'				

f. Target word: 小麦 *ciɛ35 ma212* 'wheat'

Target sentence: 不, 我说 小麦 商店 这几个字眼.
fu ŋ kuɔ ciɛ ma ci ti ki ki kai zʒ ŋa
 no I say TARGET FRAME these words
 'No, I say the words wheat shop.'

First syllable focus: 你 说 **大麦** 商店 啊?
ni kuɔ da ma ci ti a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 'Are you saying **barley** shop?'

Second syllable focus: 你 说 **小米** 商店 啊?
ni kuɔ ciɛ mei ci ti a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 'Are you saying **millet** shop?'

Whole target focus: 你 说 **蔬菜** 商店 啊?
ni kuɔ sou tsɛi ci ti a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 'Are you saying **vegetable** shop?'

Pre-target focus: 你 **写** 小麦 商店 啊?
ni ci ciɛ ma ci ti a
 you write TARGET FRAME Q
 'Are you **writing** wheat shop?'

Post-target focus: 你 说 小麦 **工厂** 啊?
ni kuɔ ciɛ ma koŋ ts^hɛi a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 'Are you saying wheat **factory**?'

LH register

g. Target word: 牙刷 *ŋu31 sə313* ‘toothbrush’

Target sentence: 不, 我说 牙刷 商店 这几个字眼.
fu ŋ kuɔ ŋu sə ci ti ki ki kai zɜ ŋa
 no I say TARGET FRAME these words
 ‘No, I say the words toothbrush shop.’

First syllable focus: 你 说 **鞋**刷 商店 啊?
ni kuɔ fa sə ci ti a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying **shoe** brush shop?’

Second syllable focus: 你 说 牙**膏** 商店 啊?
ni kuɔ ŋu kɜ ci ti a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying tooth**paste** shop?’

Whole target focus: 你 说 **短**袜 商店 啊?
ni kuɔ tə mu ci ti a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying **sock** shop?’

Pre-target focus: 你 **写** 牙刷 商店 啊?
ni ci ŋu sə ci ti a
 you write TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you **writing** toothbrush shop?’

Post-target focus: 你 说 牙刷 **容**器 啊?
ni kuɔ ŋu sə joŋ ts^hz a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying toothbrush **container**?’

h. Target word: 外国 *va11 kai313* ‘foreign country’

Target sentence: 不, 我说 外国 大学 这几个字眼.
fu ŋ kuɔ va kai da ŋu ki ki kai zɜ ŋa
 no I say TARGET FRAME these words
 ‘No, I say the words foreign country university.’

First syllable focus:	你	说	中国	大学	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>tcoŋ kai</i>	<i>da fu</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying Chinese university?'				
Second syllable focus:	你	说	外语	大学	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>va nɔ</i>	<i>da fu</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying foreign language university?'				
Whole target focus:	你	说	美术	大学	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>mɛi ju</i>	<i>da fu</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying arts university?'				
Pre-target focus:	你	写	外国	大学	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>ɕi</i>	<i>va kai</i>	<i>da fu</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	write	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you writing foreign country university?'				
Post-target focus:	你	说	外国	政府	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>va kai</i>	<i>dzɛŋ fɔ</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying foreign country government ?'				

i. Target word: 蜡烛 *fei212 sei313* 'candle'

Target sentence: 不, 我说 蜡烛 商店 这几个字眼.
fu ŋ kuɔ fei sei ci ti ki ki kai zɿ ŋa
 no I say TARGET FRAME these words
 'No, I say the words candle shop.'

First syllable focus:	你	说	灯烛	商店	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>taŋ sei</i>	<i>ci ti</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying lamp shop?'				
Second syllable focus:	你	说	蜡纸	商店	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>fei tsɛi</i>	<i>ci ti</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying wax paper shop?'				

Whole target focus:	你	说	短袜	商店	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>tɔ mu</i>	<i>ci ti</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying socks shop?'				
Pre-target focus:	你	写	蜡烛	商店	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>ɕi</i>	<i>fɛi sei</i>	<i>ci ti</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	write	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you writing candle shop?'				
Post-target focus:	你	说	蜡烛	容器	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>fɛi sei</i>	<i>joŋ ts^h a</i>	
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying candle container ?'				

j. Target word: 语法 *nɔ24 hu212* 'grammar'

Target sentence: 不, 我说 语法 考试 这几个字眼.
fu *ŋ kuɔ* *nɔ hu* *kɜ sɜ* *ki ki kai zɜ ŋa*
 no I say TARGET FRAME these words
 'No, I say the words grammar exam.'

First syllable focus:	你	说	宪法	考试	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>ɕi hu</i>	<i>kɜ sɜ</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying constitution exam?'				
Second syllable focus:	你	说	语言	考试	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>nɔ ni</i>	<i>kɜ sɜ</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying language exam?'				
Whole target focus:	你	说	数学	考试	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>kuɔ</i>	<i>sɔ fiu</i>	<i>kɜ sɜ</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	say	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you saying mathematics exam?'				
Pre-target focus:	你	写	语法	考试	啊?
	<i>ni</i>	<i>ɕi</i>	<i>nɔ hu</i>	<i>kɜ sɜ</i>	<i>a</i>
	you	write	TARGET	FRAME	Q
	'Are you writing grammar exam?'				

Post-target focus: 你 说 语法 老师 啊?
ni kuɔ nɔ hu lɜ sz a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying grammar **teacher**?’

LL register

k. Target word: 文学 *vaŋʒ1 fu212* ‘literature’

Target sentence: 不, 我说 文学 考试 这几个字眼.
fu ŋ kuɔ vaŋ fu kɜ sz ki ki kai zɜ ŋa
 no I say TARGET FRAME these words
 ‘No, I say the words literature exam.’

First syllable focus: 你 说 大学 考试 啊?
ni kuɔ da fu kɜ sz a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying **university** exam?’

Second syllable focus: 你 说 文法 考试 啊?
ni kuɔ vaŋ nɔ kɜ sz a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying **grammar** exam?’

Whole target focus: 你 说 外语 考试 啊?
ni kuɔ va nɔ kɜ sz a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying foreign language exam?’

Pre-target focus: 你 写 文学 考试 啊?
ni ai vaŋ fu kɜ sz a
 you write TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you **writing** literature exam?’

Post-target focus: 你 说 文学 杂志 啊?
ni kuɔ vaŋ fu zɔ tsz a
 you say TARGET FRAME Q
 ‘Are you saying literature **magazine**?’

l. Target word: 腊肉 *la212 ŋu212* ‘bacon’

Target sentence: 不, 我说 腊肉 菜饭 这几个字眼.

fu ni kuɔ la ŋou ts^hei va ki ki kai zɔ ŋa

no I say TARGET FRAME these words

'No, I say the words bacon dish.'

First syllable focus: 你 说 牛肉 菜饭 啊?

ni kuɔ ŋau ŋou ts^hei va a

you say TARGET FRAME Q

'Are you saying **beef** dish?'

Second syllable focus: 你 说 腊肠 菜饭 啊?

ni kuɔ la dzi ts^hei va a

you say TARGET FRAME Q

'Are you saying **sausage** dish?'

Whole target focus: 你 说 豆腐 菜饭 啊?

ni kuɔ dou vɔ ts^hei va a

you say TARGET FRAME Q

'Are you saying **tofu** dish?'

Pre-target focus: 你 写 腊肉 菜饭 啊?

ni ai la ŋou ts^hei va a

you write TARGET FRAME Q

'Are you **writing** bacon dish?'

Post-target focus: 你 说 腊肉 饭店 啊?

ni kuɔ la ŋou va ti a

you say TARGET FRAME Q

'Are you saying bacon **restaurant**?'

Appendix 5.1

Experimental stimuli used in experiments 1 and 2 in Chapter 5. The following list depicts the experimental stimuli as used in both experiments. Information given (from left to right):

- Hanzi: Chinese characters
 MS: Morphosyntactic structure of the phrase
 Citation forms: Broad transcription of target and context syllables
 Target: Lexical tone on target word
 Context: Tone sandhi contour on context word
 1/0: Conflicting context (1) or compatible context (0)
 Translation: English translation of phrase

For the stimuli with the target syllable in final position, the two columns giving the tone information are reversed to reflect the succession of tones in the stimulus phrase.

Hanzi	MS	Citation forms	Target	Context	1/0	Translation
已练习	AVV	<i>jī (li-zai)</i>	24	35-31	1	'practice already'
买皮夹	VNN	<i>mǎ (pei-ka)</i>	24	35-42	1	'buy a wallet'
已公布	AVV	<i>jǐ (koŋ-pø)</i>	24	22-33	1	'announce already'
买黄豆	VNN	<i>mǎ (ʎuɔ-tou)</i>	24	22-33	1	'buy soy beans'
总喜欢	AVV	<i>dzɔŋ (sz-cø)</i>	24	42-31	0	'like always'
买汤圆	VNN	<i>mǎ (p^huɔ-jø)</i>	24	42-31	0	'buy dumpling soup'
已见面	AVV	<i>jǐ (tci-mi)</i>	24	44-22	0	'meet already'
动奋斗	VNN	<i>doŋ (paŋ-tau)</i>	24	44-22	0	'move the trashcan'
还奋斗	AVV	<i>va (faŋ-tau)</i>	31	42-22	1	'fight again'
回温州	VNN	<i>vai (jø-tcou)</i>	31	42-31	1	'return to Wenzhou'
还失败	AVV	<i>va (sai-ba)</i>	31	33-22	1	'lose again'
回南京	VNN	<i>vai (nø-tcaŋ)</i>	31	33-22	1	'return to Nanjing'
还接收	AVV	<i>va (tci-cou)</i>	31	22-33	0	'receive again'
研黄豆	VNN	<i>ni (ʎuɔ-tou)</i>	31	22-33	0	'grind soy beans'
还重设	AVV	<i>va (dzuɔ-sɛi)</i>	31	35-42	0	'rebuild again'
回中国	VNN	<i>vai (tcoŋ-kai)</i>	31	35-42	0	'return to China'
好学习	AVV	<i>hɜ (fu-zai)</i>	35	35-31	1	'easy to learn'

想中国	VNN	<i>ci (tcoŋ-kai)</i>	35	35-42	1	‘miss China’
好翻录	AVV	<i>hɜ (fa-lu)</i>	35	35-31	1	‘easy to duplicate’
打皇后	VNN	<i>tiɛ (va-fiou)</i>	35	35-22	1	‘hit the empress’
弗广播	AVV	<i>fu (kuɔ-pø)</i>	35	44-22	0	‘not broadcast’
想广州	VNN	<i>ci (kuɔ-tcou)</i>	35	44-22	0	‘miss Guangzhou’
好见面	AVV	<i>hɜ (tci-mi)</i>	35	44-22	0	‘meet easily’
打对手	VNN	<i>tiɛ (tai-tcou)</i>	35	44-22	0	‘hit the opponent’
都喜欢	AVV	<i>ɺu (sz-cø)</i>	42	42-31	1	‘like everything’
喝汤圆	VNN	<i>ha (t^huɔ-jø)</i>	42	42-31	1	‘drink dumpling soup’
再见面	AVV	<i>tsɛi (tci-mi)</i>	42	44-22	1	‘meet again’
到广州	VNN	<i>tɜ (kuɔ-tcou)</i>	42	44-22	1	‘reach Guangzhou’
再印刷	AVV	<i>tsɛi (jaŋ-sø)</i>	42	35-42	0	‘print again’
到中国	VNN	<i>tɜ (tcoŋ-kai)</i>	42	35-42	0	‘reach China’
必学习	AVV	<i>pi (fiu-zai)</i>	42	44-22	0	‘certainly learn’
剁猪肉	VNN	<i>tou (tsɛi-pou)</i>	42	44-22	0	‘chop pork’

Hanzi	MS	Citation forms	Context	Target	1/0	Translation
干脆买	AAV	<i>(kø-ts^hai) ma</i>	22-33	24	1	‘simply buy’
接收米	VVN	<i>(tci-cou) mɛi</i>	22-33	24	1	‘receive rice’
当面买	AAV	<i>(tuɔ-mi) ma</i>	22-33	24	1	‘deal face to face’
接收马	VVN	<i>(tci-cou) ma</i>	22-33	24	1	‘receive a horse’
赶快动	AAV	<i>(gø-k^ha) doŋ</i>	44-22	24	0	‘hastily move’
贩卖米	VVN	<i>(fa-ma) mɛi</i>	44-22	24	0	‘sell rice’
经常买	AAV	<i>(tcaŋ-ɺi) ma</i>	42-31	24	0	‘buy every day’
喜欢马	VVN	<i>(sz-cø) ma</i>	42-31	24	0	‘like horses’
预先谈	AAV	<i>(vu-ci) da</i>	33-22	31	1	‘talk beforehand’
贩卖田	VVN	<i>(fa-ma) di</i>	44-22	31	1	‘sell the land’
大声谈	AAV	<i>(da-sɜŋ) da</i>	33-22	31	1	‘talk loudly’
贩卖床	VVN	<i>(fa-ma) juɔ</i>	44-22	31	1	‘sell a bed’
当面谈	AAV	<i>(tuɔ-mi) da</i>	22-33	31	0	‘talk face to face’
相信人	VVN	<i>(ci-saŋ) naŋ</i>	22-33	31	0	‘believe in a person’
干脆谈	AAV	<i>(kø-ts^hai) da</i>	22-33	31	0	‘simply talk’
接近人	VVN	<i>(tci-dzaŋ) naŋ</i>	31-35	31	0	‘approach a person’
当面打	AAV	<i>(tuɔ-mi) tiɛ</i>	22-33	35	1	‘hit face to face’
接收狗	VVN	<i>(tci-cou) kau</i>	22-33	35	1	‘receive a dog’

干脆走	AAV	(<i>ky-ts^hai</i>)	<i>tsau</i>	22-33	35	1	‘simply walk’
接近狗	VVN	(<i>tchi-dzhang</i>)	<i>kau</i>	31-35	35	1	‘approach a dog’
经常走	AAV	(<i>tchang-ŋi</i>)	<i>tsau</i>	42-31	35	0	‘walk every day’
喜欢狗	VVN	(<i>si-chy</i>)	<i>kau</i>	42-31	35	0	‘like dogs’
快点走	AAV	(<i>k^ha-ti</i>)	<i>tsau</i>	44-22	35	0	‘walk quickly’
再次算	AAV	(<i>tsɛi-ts^hz̄</i>)	<i>sə</i>	42-31	42	0	‘count once more’
喜欢菜	VVN	(<i>sɜ-cə</i>)	<i>ts^hɛi</i>	42-31	42	1	‘like vegetables’
赶紧剁	AAV	(<i>kə-tcaŋ</i>)	<i>tou</i>	44-22	42	1	‘chop hurriedly’
贩卖报	VVN	(<i>fa-ma</i>)	<i>pɜ</i>	44-22	42	1	‘sell a report’
当面教	AVV	(<i>tuɔ-mi</i>)	<i>kuɔ</i>	31-35	42	1	‘teach face to face’
接近店	VVN	(<i>tci-dzaŋ</i>)	<i>ti</i>	31-35	42	0	‘approach a shop’
干脆喝	AAV	(<i>kə-ts^hai</i>)	<i>hɜ</i>	22-33	42	0	‘simply drink’
接收报	VVN	(<i>tci-cou</i>)	<i>pɜ</i>	22-33	42	0	‘receive a report’

Appendix 7.1

Stimulus materials for experiment 1 in Chapter 7. Questions prompting subject focus (SF), VP focus (VPF), or object focus (OF) are transcribed below as they were given by the speaker with whom they were recorded (see section 7.2.1). Picture references to the QUIS Reference Manual (Skopeteas et al. 2006).

- (1) **woman – hit – man** (QUIS p.101, sheet 1)
- SF** *(ʔa) ni naŋ ʔa tiɛ ki kai nø?*
 which person Q hit this CL male
 ‘Who hits this man?’
- VPF** *kai nø zɜ ta tsou ʔa tci zɜ kø?*
 CL female ASP do which thing
 ‘What is the woman doing?’
- OF** *kai nø zɜ ta tiɛ ʔa ni naŋ (ʔa)?*
 CL female ASP hit which person Q
 ‘Who does the woman hit?’
- (2) **girl – hit – girl (- with hammer)** (QUIS p.101, sheet 1)
- SF** *ʔa ni naŋ (ʔa) jou ki kai luɔ tou zɜ ta k^huo*
 which person Q there.is this CLhammer ASP smack
kai nø mai mai?
 CL female little.child
 ‘Who is hitting the girl with a hammer?’
- VPF** *kai nø mai mai zɜ ta tçø (a) ni?*
 CL female little.child ASP do what
 ‘What is the girl doing?’
- OF** *kai nø zɜ ta tiɛ ʔa ni naŋ (ʔa)?*
 CL female ASP hit which person Q
 ‘Who is the girl hitting?’
- (3) **girl – hit – car (- with hammer)** (QUIS p.102, sheet 4)
- SF** *ʔa ni naŋ (ʔa) jou k^huɔ luɔ tou tçuɔ lɜ k^hu ts^hu?*
 which person Q there.is CL hammer hit CL car
 ‘Who hits the car with a hammer?’

- VPF** *kai nø mai mai zɜ ta tɕø (a) ni?*
 CL female little.child ASP do what
 ‘What is the girl doing?’
- OF** *kai nø mai mai zɜ ta tʰei ʔa ni mø zɜ?*
 CL female little.child ASP hit which thing
 ‘What is the girl hitting?’
- (4) **woman – hit – cow** (QUIS p. 79, item 2 picture 2)
- SF** *(ʔa) ni naŋ (ʔa) zɜ ta tiɛ ki noŋ ŋau?*
 which person Q ASP hit this CL cow
 ‘Who is hitting the cow?’
- VPF** *kai nø zɜ ta tɕø (a) ni?*
 CL female ASP do what
 ‘What is the woman doing?’
- OF** *kai nø zɜ ta tiɛ ʔa ni mø zɜ?*
 CL female ASP hit which thing
 ‘What is the woman hitting?’
- (5) **bike – hit – woman** (QUIS p. 66, item 4 picture 2)
- SF** *ʔa ni moe zi bei kai nø tɕuɔ tcaŋ?*
 which thing to CL female hit
 ‘What hits the woman?’
- VPF** *kai nø hu siɛ ʔa ni zɜ kø?*
 CL female is affected by which thing
 ‘What happens to the woman?’
- OF** *ki pu tʰai da tsʰu ta tɕø (a) ni?*
 this CL bike ASP do what
 ‘Who does the bike hit?’
- (6) **man – kick – chair** (QUIS p.101, sheet 1)
- SF** *ʔa ni naŋ ʔa tʰei tɕʰa taŋ?*
 which person Q kicks CL chair
 ‘Who kicks the chair?’
- VPF** *kai nø zɜ ta tɕø (a) ni?*
 CL male ASP do what
 ‘What is the man doing?’

- OF** *kai nø zɿ ta tʰei ʔa ni mø zɿ?*
 CL male ASP kick which thing
 ‘What is the man kicking?’
- (7) **girl – kick – boy** (QUIS p. 202, item 2)
- SF** *(ʔa) ni naŋ (ʔa) (zɿ t)a tʰei ki kai nø mai mai?*
 which person Q ASP kick this CL male little.child
 ‘Who is kicking the boy?’
- VPF** *kai nø mai mai zɿ ta tçø (a) ni?*
 CL female little.child ASP do what
 ‘What is the girl doing?’
- OF** *kai nø mai mai zɿ ta tʰei ʔa ni naŋ (ʔa)?*
 CL female little.child ASP kick which person Q
 ‘Who is the girl kicking?’
- (8) **boy – kick – man** (QUIS p. 41, item 1 picture 2)
- SF** *ʔa ni naŋ ʔa tʰei ki kai nø ki?*
 which person Q kicks this CL male
 ‘Who kicks the man?’
- VPF** *kai nø mai mai zɿ ta tçø (a) ni?*
 CL male little.child ASP do what
 ‘What is the boy doing?’
- OF** *kai nø mai mai zɿ ta tʰei ʔa ni naŋ (ʔa)?*
 CL male little.child ASP kick which person Q
 ‘Who is the boy kicking?’
- (9) **woman – kick – ball** (QUIS p. 36 item 3 picture 3)
- SF** *(ʔa) ni naŋ ʔa tʰei ki kai tçau?*
 which person Q kick this CL ball
 ‘Who kicks the ball?’
- VPF** *kai nø zɿ ta tçø (a) ni?*
 CL female ASP do what
 ‘What is the woman doing?’
- OF** *kai nø zɿ ta tʰei ʔa ni mø zɿ?*
 CL female ASP kick which thing
 ‘What is the woman kicking?’

- (10) **man – push – car** (QUIS p.101, sheet 1)
- SF** *(ʔa) ni naŋ (ʔa) zɜ ta tɜ ki pu ts^hu?*
 which person Q ASP push this CL car
 ‘Who is pushing the car?’
- VPF** *kai nø zɜ ta tɕø (a) ni?*
 CL male ASP do what
 ‘What is the man doing?’
- OF** *kai nø zɜ ta tɜ ʔa ni mø zɜ?*
 CL male ASP push which thing
 ‘What is the man pushing?’
- (11) **man – push – (other) man** (QUIS p.101, sheet 2)
- SF** *(ʔa) ni naŋ (ʔa) zɜ ta tɜ ki kai nø?*
 which person Q ASP push this CL man
 ‘Who is pushing this man?’
- VPF** *kai nø zɜ ta tɕø (a) ni?*
 CL male ASP do what
 ‘What is the man doing?’
- OF** *kai nø ha ʔa ni naŋ ʔa tɜ?*
 CL male OBJ which person Q push
 ‘Who does the man push?’
- (12) **woman – push – girl** (QUIS p. 202, item 4)
- SF** *ʔa (n)i naŋ ʔa tɜ kai nø mai mai?*
 which person Q pushes CL female little.child
 ‘Who pushes the girl?’
- VPF** *kai nø zɜ ta tɕø (a) ni?*
 CL female ASP do what
 ‘What is the woman doing?’
- OF** *kai nø zɜ ta tɜ ʔa ni naŋ (ʔa)?*
 CL female ASP push which person Q
 ‘Who is the woman pushing?’
- (13) **boy – pull – man** (QUIS p. 202, item 3)
- SF** *ʔa ni naŋ (ʔa) zɜ ta la kai nø?*
 which person Q ASP pull CL male
 ‘Who is pulling the man?’

- VPF** *kai nə mai mai ẓz ta tçø (a) ni?*
 CL male little.child ASP do what
 ‘What is the boy doing?’
- OF** *kai nə mai mai ẓz ta la ʔa ni naŋ (ʔa)?*
 CL male little.child ASP pull which person Q
 ‘Who is the boy pulling?’

(14) **girl – pull – chair** (QUIS p. 144, item 5s)

- SF** *(ʔa) ni naŋ (ʔa) (ẓz) ta la ki tca taŋ?*
 which person Q ASP pull this CL chair
 ‘Who is pulling the chair?’
- VPF** *kai nə mai mai ẓz ta tçø (a) ni?*
 CL female little.child ASP do what
 ‘What is the girl doing?’
- OF** *kai nə mai mai ẓz ta la ʔa ni?*
 CL female little.child ASP pull what
 ‘What is the girl pulling?’

Practice Item:

(15) **boy – throw – ball** (QUIS p. 144, item 4s)

- SF** *ʔa (n)i naŋ ʔa ta ki kai tcau?*
 which person Q throws this CL ball
 ‘Who throws the ball?’

“Bad” answer: *kai nə mai mai.*
 CL male little.child
 ‘A boy.’

“Good” answer: *kai nə mai mai ẓz ta ta ki kai tcau.*
 CL male little.child ASP throw this CL ball
 ‘A boy is throwing the ball.’

- OF** *kai nə mai mai ẓz ta ta ʔa ni mə ẓz?*
 CL male little.child ASP throw which thing
 ‘What is the boy throwing?’

“Bad” answer: *ʔi kai tchau.*
 NUM CL ball
 ‘A ball.’

“Good” answer: *kai nə mai mai ẓz ta ta ʔi kai tcau.*
 CL male little.child ASP throw NUM CL ball
 ‘The boy is throwing a ball.’

Appendix 7.2

Welcome Message for experiment 1 in Chapter 7.

欢迎参加这个实验！

请仔细阅读实验步骤。如果有问题，请问实验人。

这个实验需要您看图片回答问题。请先看图片，然后仔细听问题。听到问题后再根据您看到的图片回答问题。

请用完整的句子，自然流畅的语气来回答问题。答完一个问题后，请点击空格键，进入下一张图片。您随时可以休息几分钟。

请点击空格键。

Welcome to participate in this experiment!

Please read the experimental instructions carefully. If you have any questions, please ask the experimenter.

This experiment lets you look at a picture and asks you to answer a question. Please look at the picture first, and then listen to the question carefully. After having heard the question, please answer it on basis of what you have seen in the picture.

Please use complete sentences when answering the questions, and speak in a natural and easy manner. After answering the question, please press the space bar for the next picture to appear. You may take a rest for a few minutes at any time.

Please press the space bar.

Appendix 7.3

Target sentences and precursor questions for experiment 2 in Chapter 7.

Focus conditions: BF = Broad focus, SF = Subject focus, VPF = VP focus, OF = Object focus

(1) **Target sentence:**

阿妈 正在 做 饭。
ʔa ba zɿ ta tsou va
 dad ASP make rice
 ‘Dad is preparing rice.’

Precursor questions:

- BF** 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’
- SF** 什么人 啊 正在 做 饭?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɿ ta tsou va
 which person Q ASP make rice
 ‘Who is preparing rice?’
- VPF** 阿妈 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔa ba zɿ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 dad ASP do what Q
 ‘What is dad doing?’
- OF** 阿妈 正在 做 什么啊?
ʔa ba zɿ ta tsou ʔa ni ʔa
 dad ASP make what Q
 ‘What is dad preparing?’

(2) **Target sentence:**

阿爸 正在 买 东西。
ʔa ba zɿ ta ma mθ zɿ
 dad ASP buy groceries
 ‘Dad is buying groceries.’

Precursor questions:

- BF** 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’
- SF** 什么 人 啊 正在 买 东西?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɜ ta ma mθ zɜ
 which person Q ASP buy groceries
 ‘Who is buying groceries?’
- VPF** 阿爸 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔa ba zɜ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 dad ASP do what Q
 ‘What is dad doing?’
- OF** 阿爸 正在 买 什么啊?
ʔa ba zɜ ta ma ʔa ni ʔa
 dad ASP buy what Q
 ‘What is dad buying?’

(3) Target sentence:

- 阿妈 正在 抬 一个 男妹妹。
ʔa ma zɜ ta tɛi ʔi kai nθ mai mai
 mom ASP carry NUM CL male little.child
 ‘Mom is carrying a boy.’

Precursor questions:

- BF** 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’
- SF** 什么 人 啊 正在 抬 一个 男妹妹?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɜ ta tɛi ʔi kai nθ mai mai
 which person Q ASP carry NUM CL male little.child
 ‘Who is carrying a boy?’
- VPF** 阿妈 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔa ma zɜ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 mom ASP do what Q
 ‘What is mom doing?’

OF 阿妈 正在 抬 什么人啊?
ʔa ma zɿ ta tɛi ʔa ni naŋ ʔa
 mom ASP carry which person Q
 ‘Who is mom carrying?’

(4) Target sentence:

阿妈 正在 拉 一个 女妹妹。
ʔa ma zɿ ta la ʔi kai nø mai mai
 mom ASP drag NUM CL female little.child
 ‘Mom is dragging a girl.’

Precursor questions:

BF 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’

SF 什么人啊 正在 拉 一个 女妹妹?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɿ ta la ʔi kai nø mai mai
 which person Q ASP drag NUM CL female little.child
 ‘Who is dragging a girl?’

VPF 阿妈 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔa ma zɿ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 mom ASP do what Q
 ‘What is mom doing?’

OF 阿妈 正在 拉 什么人啊?
ʔa ma zɿ ta la ʔa ni naŋ ʔa
 mom ASP drag which person Q
 ‘Who is mom dragging?’

(5) Target sentence:

一个男 正在 吻 一个女。
ʔi kai nø zɿ ta vaŋ ʔi kai nø
 NUM CL male ASP kiss NUM CL female
 ‘A man is kissing a woman.’

Precursor questions:

- BF** 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’
- SF** 什么 人 啊 正在 吻 一个女?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɜ ta vaŋ ʔi kai nø
 which person Q ASP kiss NUM CL female
 ‘Who is kissing a woman?’
- VPF** 一个男 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔi kai nø zɜ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 NUM CL male ASP do what Q
 ‘What is the man doing?’
- OF** 一个男 正在 吻 什么人啊?
ʔi kai nø zɜ ta vaŋ ʔa ni naŋ ʔa
 NUM CL male ASP kiss which person Q
 ‘Who is the man kissing?’

(6) Target sentence:

- 一个女 正在 打 一个牛.
ʔi kai nø zɜ ta tiɛ ʔi doŋ ŋau
 NUM CL female ASP hit NUM CL cow
 ‘A woman is hitting a cow.’

Precursor questions:

- BF** 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’
- SF** 什么 人 啊 正在 打 一个牛?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɜ ta tiɛ ʔi doŋ ŋau
 which person Q ASP hit NUM CL cow
 ‘Who is hitting a cow?’
- VPF** 一个女 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔi kai nø zɜ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 NUM CL female ASP do what Q
 ‘What is the woman doing?’

OF 一个女 正在 打 什么啊?
ʔi kai nø zɿ ta tiɛ ʔa ni ʔa
 NUM CL female ASP hit what Q
 ‘What is the woman hitting?’

(7) Target sentence:

一个男 正在 筑 一张桌子.
ʔi kai nø zɿ ta tcou ʔi tci dzu
 NUM CL male ASP build NUM CL table
 ‘A man is building a table.’

Precursor questions:

BF 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’

SF 什么 人 啊 正在 筑 一张桌子?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɿ ta tcou ʔi tci dzu
 which person Q ASP build NUM CL table
 ‘Who is building a table?’

VPF 一个男 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔi kai nø zɿ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 NUM CL male ASP do what Q
 ‘What is the man doing?’

OF 一个男 正在 筑 什么啊?
ʔi kai nø zɿ ta tcou ʔa ni ʔa
 NUM CL male ASP build what Q
 ‘What is the man building?’

(8) Target sentence:

一个女 正在 喝 一杯茶.
ʔi kai nø zɿ ta ha ʔi bai dzu
 NUM CL female ASP drink NUM CL tea
 ‘A woman is drinking a cup of tea.’

Precursor questions:

- BF** 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’
- SF** 什么 人 啊 正在 喝 一杯茶?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɜ ta ha ʔi bai dzu
 which person Q ASP drink NUM CL tea
 ‘Who is drinking a cup of tea?’
- VPF** 一个女 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔi kai nø zɜ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 NUM CL female ASP do what Q
 ‘What is the woman doing?’
- OF** 一个女 正在 喝 什么啊?
ʔi kai nø zɜ ta ha ʔa ni ʔa
 NUM CL female ASP drink what Q
 ‘What is the woman drinking?’

(9) Target sentence:

- 一个 男妹妹 正在 拉 阿爸.
ʔi kai nø mai mai zɜ ta la ʔa ba
 NUM CL male little.child ASP drag dad
 ‘A boy is dragging dad.’

Precursor questions:

- BF** 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’
- SF** 什么 人 啊 正在 拉 阿爸?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɜ ta la ʔa ba
 which person Q ASP drag dad
 ‘Who is dragging dad?’
- VPF** 一个 男妹妹 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔi kai nø mai mai zɜ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 NUM CL male little.child ASP do what Q
 ‘What is the boy doing?’

OF 一个 男妹妹 正在 拉 什么人啊?
ʔi kai nø mai mai zɿ ta la ʔa ni naŋ ʔa
 NUM CL male little.child ASP drag which person Q
 ‘Who is the boy dragging?’

(10) Target sentence:

一个 女妹妹 正在 骂 阿妈.
ʔi kai nø mai mai zɿ ta zu ʔa ma
 NUM CL female little.child ASP scold mom
 ‘A girl is scolding mom.’

Precursor questions:

BF 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’

SF 什么 人 啊 正在 骂 阿妈?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɿ ta zu ʔa ma
 which person Q ASP scold mom
 ‘Who is scolding mom?’

VPF 一个 女妹妹 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔi kai nø mai mai zɿ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 NUM CL female little.child ASP do what Q
 ‘What is the girl doing?’

OF 一个 女妹妹 正在 骂 什么人啊?
ʔi kai nø mai mai zɿ ta zu ʔa ni naŋ ʔa
 NUM CL female little.child ASP scold which person Q
 ‘Who is the girl scolding?’

(11) Target sentence:

一个 男妹妹 正在 欺 一个 女妹妹.
ʔi kai nø mai mai zɿ ta ts^hou ʔi kai nø mai mai
 NUM CL male little.child ASP deceive NUM CL female little.child
 ‘A boy is deceiving a girl.’

Precursor questions:

- BF** 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’
- SF** 什么 人 啊 正在 欺 一个 女妹妹?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɜ ta ts^hou ʔi kai nø mai mai
 which person Q ASP deceive NUM CL female little.child
 ‘Who is deceiving a girl?’
- VPF** 一个 男妹妹 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔi kai nø mai mai zɜ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 NUM CL male little.child ASP do what Q
 ‘What is the boy doing?’
- OF** 一个 男妹妹 正在 欺 什么人啊?
ʔi kai nø mai mai zɜ ta ts^hou ʔa ni naŋ ʔa
 NUM CL male little.child ASP deceive which person Q
 ‘Who is the boy deceiving?’

(12) Target sentence:

- 一个 女妹妹 正在 会 一个 男妹妹.
ʔi kai nø mai mai zɜ ta vai ʔi kai nø mai mai
 NUM CL female little.child ASP meet NUM CL male little.child
 ‘A girl is meeting a boy.’

Precursor questions:

- BF** 你 说 什么啊?
ni kuɔ ʔa ni ʔa
 you say what Q
 ‘What did you say?’
- SF** 什么 人 啊 正在 会 一个 男妹妹?
ʔa ni naŋ ʔa zɜ ta vai ʔi kai nø mai mai
 which person Q ASP meet NUM CL male little.child
 ‘Who is meeting a boy?’
- VPF** 一个 女妹妹 正在 作 什么啊?
ʔi kai nø mai mai zɜ ta tsu ʔa ni ʔa
 NUM CL female little.child ASP do what Q
 ‘What is the girl doing?’

OF 一个 女妹妹
ʔi kai nø mai mai
 NUM CL female little.child
 'Who is the girl meeting?'

正在 会 什么人啊?
zɿ ta vai ʔa ni naŋ ʔa
 ASP meet which person Q

Curriculum vitae

Franziska Scholz was born in Berlin in the former German Democratic Republic on 10 January 1983. She attended primary and secondary school in Berlin, and graduated from the Heinrich-von-Kleist Gymnasium in 2002. In the same year, she took up her studies of Germanic Linguistics, Political science, and Modern history at the Humboldt-University in Berlin. During her studies, she spent one semester in 2005/2006 at the University of Manchester, where she took classes in English Language and Linguistics as well as in General Linguistics. In 2008, she obtained her Magister degree (cum laude) at the Humboldt-University in Berlin, and proceeded to join the research project “An experimental approach to the interaction of tone sandhi and focus expression in six dialects of Chinese” of dr. Yiya Chen at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics in the Netherlands as an *assistent in opleiding* (doctoral researcher). This dissertation is the result of her research in this project.