Correlation between word order and information structure in Hong Kong Sign Language (HKSL)

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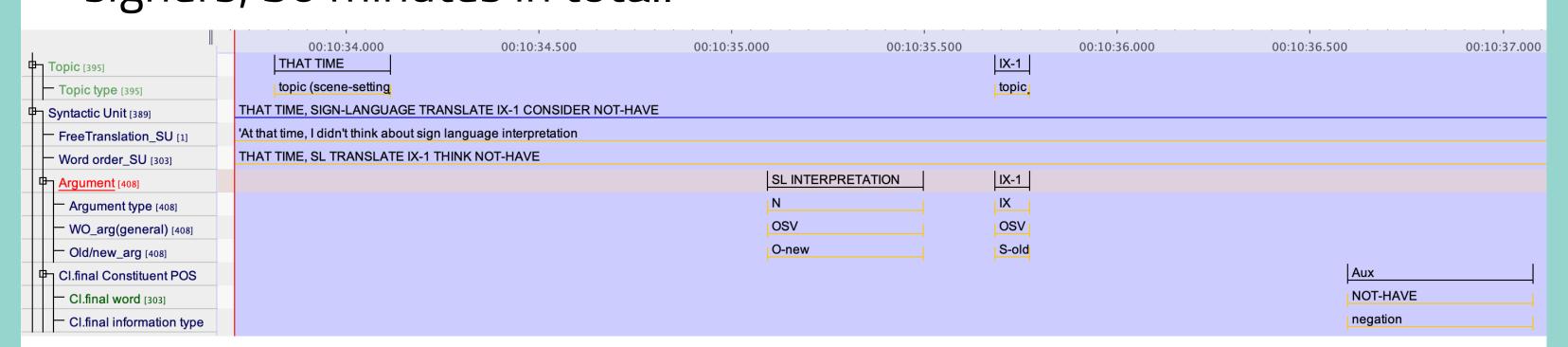
INTRODUCTION

Research Question: Do the word order patterns change in HKSL when the arguments are New versus Old?

- Like many sign languages, HKSL allows **word order alternation** (Sze, 2000; 2021; Gan 2022).
 - LISA BUY CAR (SVO, default)
 - LISA CAR BUY (SOV)
 - CAR LISA BUY (OSV)
- Cross-linguistically, correlation between **information structure and word order alternation** has been attested (Krifka 2008; Kiss 1995; Neeleman and Vermeulen 2012b; Borise 2023, Bobaljik 2022, 2023, a.o.).

DATA CODING PROCEDURE

• **Data:** A collection of naturalistic monologue clips by 2 Deaf L1 signers; 30 minutes in total.



• STEP 1. Identify relevant Syntactic Unit (SU)

- Adopt the *ASL MLU coding guide (20190201 version) to u*se evidence from syntax, semantics and prosody of the sentences.
 - Exclude: Interrogatives; Question-Answer Pairs
 - **Count as one SU:** Embedded sentence; indirect report with role shift (except if action role shift is used for a separate sentence)
 - Count as separate SUs: Clauses in coordination
 - Double checked by a Deaf L1 RA.

• STEP 2. Identify arguments in each SU

- Include: Nominal arguments and IX pronouns
- **Exclude:** Covert arguments; arguments incorporated in classifiers (Sze 2000); double object constructions
- **Predicates:** transitive verbs; intransitive verbs (include adjective predicates and nominal predicates)

STEP 3. Annotate the word order of each argument

• STEP 4. Annotate information structure status of the arguments

- Adopt the criteria in Bobaljik (2022, 2023)
 - New: Referent not previously introduced in discourse.
 - **Old:** Referent previously mentioned in discourse; 1st and 2nd person pronouns (when not explicitly contrastive); Quoted clauses are treated as distinct discourse from the main narrative.
 - **Contrastive:** An explicit contrast is observed between referents relative to some action.

• REFINEMENT 1: Mark sentence topics

- Step 1. Exclude topic-less sentences
 - identificational; predicational; event-reporting (Lambrecht 1994)
- Step 2. Identify Scene-setting topic & Aboutness topic (adapt the combination of Sze 2008: 63; Kimmelman 2014: 46; and Calderone 2020: 221)
- REFINEMENT 2: Annotate information structure type of clause-final constituents
 - new; old; emphatic; negation; functional

RESULTS

SUMMARY

- The clause-final position is associated with new information.
- Subjects are prevalently pre-verbal;
- Both new and old objects can be preverbal or postverbal;
- Properties of verbs and information structure status of the arguments (new/old, topic) affect the word order alternations;

The clause-final constituents prevalently convey new information, suggesting that the clause-final position in HKSL is somehow associated with new information.

Various of factors affect the word order together (New/old argument, Topic-hood, verb types)

Subjects are prevalently pre-verbal (SV) regardless of the topic-hood & being New/Old.

Objects

- Topic objects: most are OV
- Non-topic objects:
- O_{new} prefers OV;
- O_{old} prefer VO;
- With non-final verbs that do not enforce OV order, both O_{new} and O_{old} prefer VO, suggesting that HKSL may prefer to utilize the default SVO order when possible.

	new	old	emphatic	negation	functional	Total
Adjective	46	5	2	1		54
Adverb	11	1	1	8		21
Aspect					3	3
Auxiliary	1			5	2	8
Gesture			1		9	10
IX		45	10			55
Modal			3	2	15	20
Noun	10	1				11
Numeral	5					5
Particle					9	9
Verb (CL)	17	2				19
Verb (lexical)	65	3	5	13		86
Wh-element					2	2
Total	155	57	22	29	40	303

Table 1: Part of Speech and information structure status of clause-final constituents

Dottom	Non-	topic	Top	Total		
Pattern	New	Old	New	Old	Total	
SV	79	41	3	100	223	
VS	0	0	0	5	5	
S doubling	1	7	1	10	19	
Total	80	48	4	115	247	

Table 2: Word order patterns of subjects with new/old information

Pattern	Non-topic		Topic		Total	
rattern	New	Old	New	Old	IUlai	
OV	38	23	3	13	77	
VO	23	34	1	2	60	
V doubling	2	4	0	0	6	
Total	63	61	4	15	143	

Table 3: Word order patterns of objects with new/old information

Dottom	Non-fi	nal Verbs	Final	Final Verbs Total	
Pattern	New	Old	New	Old	Total
OV	18	14	20	9	61
VO	21	31	2	3	57
V doubling	2	1	0	3	6
Total	41	46	22	15	124

Table 4: Word order patterns of non-objects with different types of verbs

DISCUSSIONS

• Considering more controlled *elicitation data* and *judgment data*, HKSL displays a preference to **locate focus in the clause-final position.**

Word order	baseline	IO-focus "Who did Gladys give the book to?"	DO-focus What did Gladys give Brenda?	
S-DO-V-IO (a) GLADYS BOOK GIVE BRENDA	Good 4	Good 4	Good 3.5	
S-V-IO-DO (b) GLADYS GAVE BRENDA BOOK	? 3	* 1.25	Good 3.75	

• Further, locating focus in the clause-final position is related to the prosodic saliency of the sentence (Gan, in prep; Wilbur 1996, 1997, 2012).

REFERENCES

Scan the QR code for full list of bibliography.



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