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Du système protase-apodose sans marqueur compacté en chinois mandarin contemporain

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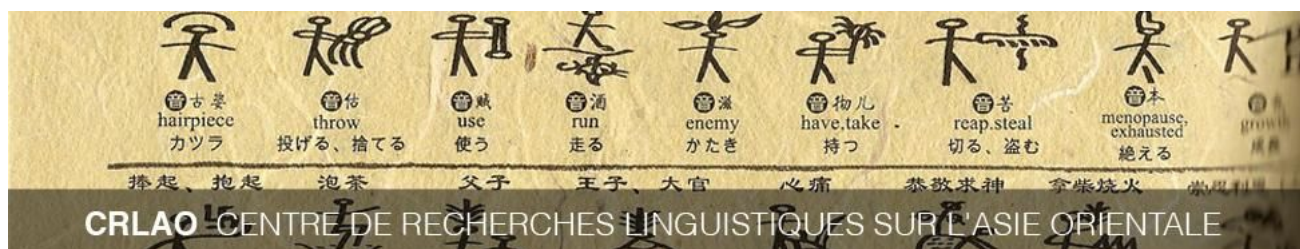
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Diversity in Northern Sinitic languages

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Since the late 1970s, the idea of a ‘Universal Chinese Grammar’ (Chao 1968; see Matthews 1999) has been called into question, with a slow but steady growth of studies showing that Chinese ‘dialects’ are, indeed, diverse at all levels, including morphology and (morpho-)syntax (see Chappell 2015a a.o. for an overview). There appears to be a general consensus on the fact that there is a major divide between Northern and Southern China, often claimed to be motivated by language contact (Hashimoto’s 1986 ‘altaicization’ vs. ‘taiization’ hypothesis), with the addition of a ‘hybrid’ Central zone (Norman 2003). As to the largest group within Sinitic, i.e. Mandarin, while its internal diversity is also increasingly recognized, it is generally seen as following again the north-south divide (Northern Mandarin vs. Southwestern and Jiang-Huai Mandarin); also, the Mandarin varieties of the Qinghai-Gansu *Sprachbund* are now seen as another typologically distinct area within Northern China (Chappell 2015b; Szeto, Ansaldo & Matthews 2018).

In my contribution, I would like to propose that there is another area within Northern China, spread over the Shanxi, Shaanxi, Henan, Hebei, and Shandong provinces, with an apparent focal point in Henan, in which we find Sinitic (Mandarin and Jin) languages possessing some features not seen elsewhere (or, at least, not common elsewhere). These include: 1. reduced/fusional morphology (see Arcodia 2013, 2015; Lamarre 2015); 2. object markers based on speech act verbs (see Chappell 2013); 3. structural particles with an *l*-initial (see Chen 2013 a.o.). I will discuss the possible origins for these features, and I will show their distribution based on my own survey of a sample of dialects in this area. While these three features do not necessarily occur with very high frequency in the same dialect, we argue that this may well be an artifact of the data, and that their distribution is anyway clearly skewed, with a stronger presence in Henan. As to their diffusion, I propose that they are innovations, rather than retentions, in line with the innovative profile of (most) Mandarin dialects; also, differently from the Gansu-Qinghai *Sprachbund*, the Central Transitional Zone and the Far Southern Zone, which possess features often attributed to contact, and from ‘relic’ zones as Eastern Shandong, the developments at issue here seem to be the product of convergent development within the area at issue, and fully within part of Northern Sinitic.

Keywords: Sinitic, Mandarin, Differential Object Marking, nonconcatenative morphology, grammaticalization, linguistic areas

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Dialectal variation and speech processing: Evidence from Mandarin speakers

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There has been a wealth of linguistic data explaining dialectal variation in languages across the globe. Growing evidence suggests that speech processing difficulties can arise for listeners due to variation in regional dialects. Existing research on dialectal variation and speech processing, however, has focused on segmental variation and is rather limited to Indo-European languages. The fact that most speakers in Mainland China are bi-dialectal (or bilingual) speakers of their native regional Sinitic varieties and Standard Chinese raises empirically and theoretically interesting questions about the way Chinese speakers process speech, with multiple competing sound systems in their minds.

In this talk, I will discuss findings from experiments that tap into dialectal variation and speech processing in Mandarin speakers (i.e. speakers who speak a Mandarin dialect and Standard Chinese). I will first introduce lexical tonal variations in the Mandarin dialects of Chinese and different patterns of tonal mapping between these dialects and Standard Chinese. I will then present evidence from perceptual judgment and reaction time data as well as eye-movements and EEG-based brain responses which reveal the effects of dialectal variation on speech processing. I will show that despite the high level of mutual intelligibility across the Mandarin varieties, cross-dialect tonal variations not only affect different levels of spoken word processing but also impinge on listeners' predictive processing during sentence comprehension.

Une hypothèse sur la nature et l'origine du 'cislocatif' 𑖃𑖄 $dj\dot{i}^2$ en tangoute

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4 juin 2019

Il est admis depuis [Kepping \(1985\)](#) que le tangoute possède deux séries de préverbes directionnels grammaticalisés ayant respectivement une valeur de perfectif et d'optatif (table 1).

Série	Direction		Translocatif	Cislocatif	Centrifuge	Centripète	Neutre
	Haut	Bas					
D1 : perfectif	𑖃 .a	𑖄 nja^1	𑖃𑖄 dja^2	𑖃𑖄 $dj\dot{i}^2$	𑖃𑖄 . $wj\dot{i}^2$	𑖃𑖄 $kj\dot{i}^1$	𑖃𑖄 $rj\dot{i}r^2$
D2 : optatif	𑖃𑖄 . jij^1	𑖃𑖄 njj^2		𑖃𑖄 dij^2	𑖃𑖄 . wjj^2	𑖃𑖄 kjj^1	𑖃𑖄 $rjijr^2$

Tab. 1: Préverbes directionnels en tangoute

S'il existe un parallélisme évident entre ces deux séries, l'équilibre est rompu pour le translocatif et le cislocatif, qui ne possèdent qu'un corrélat optatif. Une analyse de la sémantique et de la structure argumentale des verbes associés à 𑖃𑖄 dja^2 et à 𑖃𑖄 $dj\dot{i}^2$ révèle ensuite qu'*a contrario* de 𑖃 .a (haut) et de 𑖄 nja^1 (bas), pour lesquels on peut trouver des cognats tant en khroskyabs qu'en horpa ([Lai 2017](#) p. 321), aucune direction claire ne se détache pour le translocatif et le cislocatif (le rôle de 𑖃𑖄 dja^2 semble ainsi plus être d'indiquer la conscience de la séparation résultant du changement apporté par le verbe).

Par ailleurs, les seuls potentiels cognats (horpa) que nous connaissons, $d\dot{a}$ (gyurong) et $t\dot{a}$ (khangsar) n'encodent pas de direction.

Le taux d'occurrence de 𑖃𑖄 $dj\dot{i}^2$ enfin est anormalement faible (13 apparitions dans le Leilin, 83 pour le translocatif) et, fait notable, il n'apparaît que quand le P est troisième personne.

Nous avons déjà remarqué dans [Beaudouin \(2018\)](#) que l'alternance pour les deux préverbes correspondait à une des alternances thématiques (table 2) mises en exergue par [Gong \(2001\)](#), pour lesquelles [Jacques \(2009a\)](#) a montré qu'elles provenaient d'un ancien suffixe de troisième personne *-w ayant fusionné avec le thème A pour produire le thème B.

Notre hypothèse : 𑖃𑖄 $dj\dot{i}^2$ résulte de la fusion de 𑖃𑖄 dja^2 avec un préverbe d'*inverse* ([Jacques et al. 2014](#)) ou *marked transitive* ([Sun 2019](#)) *-w-, qui possède en ouest-rgyalronguique la particularité de s'être généralisé au sein des schémas $3 > 3$.

Thème A	Thème B	Exemple d'alternance	Glose
a	-> i/ə	𐞗 <i>kja'</i> – 𐞘 <i>kji'</i>	avoir peur de

Tab. 2: Quatrième classe de conjugaison du verbe en tangoute

Cette hypothèse est supportée tant par des cognats en horpa (v-) et en khroskyabs (u-), que par la place de l'inverse au sein du gabarit, juste après le directionnel, et la présence de phénomènes analogiques de fusion de l'inverse avec d'autres préverbes au sein des positions préfixantes dans des langues apparentées.

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A Southeast Asian Perspective on Sinitic Equative and Similitive Constructions

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The aim of this paper is to compare three main types of Sinitic equative constructions with representative languages from Southeast Asian language families, including Tibeto-Burman, Kra-Dai, Hmong-Mien and Austroasiatic. In equative constructions, an entity, A, (the *Comparee*) is judged against a benchmark, B, (the *Standard*) to express that both possess an equal degree of the given dimension or quality (the *Parameter*).

Also called comparatives of equality, equatives have been the subject of a number of differing analyses including Bisang (1998), Henkelmann (2006), and Haspelmath (2017). Nonetheless, to date there has been no in-depth typological study focusing on equatives in Sinitic with respect to the Southeast Asian linguistic area. In many Sinitic languages (Sino-Tibetan, China), the common construction typically makes use of a conjoined noun phrase to link the two entities under comparison as well as a degree adverb meaning ‘same’ or ‘equal’, as in Shaowu 邵武 (Northwestern Min, Fujian). The conjunction in the conjoined NP is derived from a comitative, if not from a grammaticalized verb of giving or helping.

- (1) SHAOWU (Northwestern Min, Sinitic)
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| NP _A | Conjunction | NP _B | Adverb _{same} | Verb |
| <i>Comparee</i> | <i>STM</i> | <i>Standard</i> | <i>PAM</i> | <i>Parameter</i> |
| Lau ⁵⁵ -san ²¹ | pən ²¹ | xieŋ ³⁵ | kə ⁰ iəŋ ³⁵ | kau ²¹ |
| old-three | CONJ | 2SG | the.same _{ADV} | tall |
- ‘The third eldest child in the family is as tall as you.’ (data from S. Ngai forthc.)

Two other types of Sinitic equative constructions are based on the cognitive schemata of REACH and RESEMBLE respectively.

After examining the main types of Sinitic equatives, the comparison is made with the situation in Southeast Asian languages, where the CONJOINED and RESEMBLE equatives both appear to be common strategies, as in Khmer, Vietnamese, Thai (cf. Bisang 1998) also in Lao and Lahu, among others. A representative example is given for Khmer in (2) which uses the similitive verb *do:c* ‘to be like’ in a RESEMBLE equative, which is a common source semantic domain.

- (2) KHMER RESEMBLE EQUATIVE (Khmeric, Austroasiatic)
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| NP _A | Verb | RESEMBLE | NP _B |
| <i>Comparee</i> | <i>Parameter</i> | <i>EquativeVerb</i> | <i>Standard</i> |
| [__a: kraoj nih] _A | thom | do:c | [klo:k] _B |
| ANA last | this big | be.like | squash |
- ‘This last-named (had a head) as large as a squash.’ (Haiman 2011:200)

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Null and overt subjects in sentences with the discourse marker “*ranhou*”: A preliminary analysis of native and non-native speakers’ oral productions

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In this paper we propose an analysis of the use of *ranhou* ‘then’ as discourse marker (DM) in native speakers (NS) and non-native speaker’s (NNS) oral productions in Chinese, focusing on the distribution of overt and null subjects. The research questions are: (i) in NSs’ productions, how are overt and null subjects distributed in relation to the various DM functions of *ranhou*? (ii) Is the distribution different in NNSs’ productions, and if so, how?

According to different grammars *ranhou* is a conjunction used in temporal coordinative sentences, in which an action starts after another one is finished, and it is often followed by a null subject (e.g. Lü *et al.*, 1980). However, several scholars underlined that in natural conversations the predominant use of *ranhou* is non-temporal, and analyzed its discourse functions beyond its lexical meaning (e.g., Liu, 2006; Tsai & Chu, 2015). Such functions include conceptual sequencing, lexical retrieval, topic development, topic shift, and turn hold (cf. Tsai & Chu, 2015; Wang, 2018; Wang & Huang, 2006). Romagnoli (forthcoming) recently conducted a corpus-based study focused on CSL learners, and found that the DM *ranhou* is mainly used as a discourse filler and turn continuation device.

In the present study we analyzed randomly selected parts of two oral corpora, one consisting in telephone conversations between Chinese NSs, and one consisting in monologues or dialogues of NNS of different nationalities. We were thus able to collect 190 occurrences of *ranhou* (both as conjunctions and DMs) for NS and 200 occurrences for NNSs. The analysis showed that in NSs’ productions (i) *ranhou* is used more often as a DM than as a temporal conjunction (DM: 64%; Conj.: 26%) and that (ii) the subject following the DM is, in most cases, overt (60%). The results also showed that in NNSs’ productions (iii) *ranhou* is mainly used as a conjunction (62.5%); and that (iv) the rate of overt subjects following the DM is slightly higher than the one observed in NSs’ productions (69%).

Comparing the occurrences of overt and null subjects, our main findings are that (i) when NSs use *ranhou* as DM signing topic-shift, the relevant subject is always overt, while when it functions as conceptual sequencing, turn holding, or lexical retrieval, overtness is preferred but not mandatory; and that (ii) in NNSs’ productions, null subjects are mainly found when *ranhou* functions as a conceptual sequencing device (Example 1).

(1) *Wo de xingqu aihao shi ting yinyue, ranhou liiyou*
1SG GEN passion hobby to.be to.listen music then to.travel
“My hobbies are listening to music, then travelling”

As for the differences between NS and NNS, (iii) when NNSs use overt subjects after conceptual sequencing DMs, the relevant subjects are often preceded by other sequencing markers to make sequentiality even clearer (Example 2).

(2) ...*Ranhou di er shi zu fang kunnan*
...Then ORD two be rent house difficult
“... Then the second is [that] renting a house is difficult”

On the contrary, NSs do not use other sequencing markers in sentences with overt subjects in which *ranhou* is used as conceptual sequencing DM. Thus, we propose that NNSs do not seem to fully grasp the sequencing function of conceptual sequencing DM, hence, they reinforce it by using other markers, showing a crucial difference with NSs.

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-neun daero en coréen : un marqueur modal ?

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Si le coréen possède de multiples connecteurs capables d'instaurer un rapport chronologique de succession simple entre deux événements tels que -ko -고, -n hwue-ㄴ 후에, -n daume -ㄴ 다음에, -n dwie -ㄴ 뒤에 etc. il dispose également d'une variété de connecteurs spécifiques permettant d'insister sur la rapidité de la transition entre les événements. Les trois marqueurs habituellement décrits -ja -자, -jamaja -자마자 et -neun daero -는대로 seraient de parfaits équivalents aux locutions conjonctives dès que/aussitôt que en français s'ils ne présentaient pas des contraintes sur le plan aspectuo-temporel inconnues en français. En effet, alors que -jamaja -자마자 enchaîne deux événements quel que soit le temps verbal, -ja -자 relie plutôt des événements au passé et -neun daero -는대로 au futur. Le connecteur -neun daero qui fait l'objet de cette étude, ne se contente pas d'indiquer seulement l'existence d'un ordre temporel fixe entre deux événements et la rapidité du passage de l'un à l'autre, il traduit également la perception que le locuteur a de cette transition temporelle.

Ainsi, nous nous intéresserons en particulier au cas de -neun daero à travers, notamment, les incompatibilités qu'il présente dans des enchaînements d'événements au futur, comme en 1) :

1) 봄이 오자마자/ ?는 대로 동백꽃이 필 것이다.

Bomi o-jamaja/ ?-neun daero dongbaekkochi phil keosida

Dès que le printemps s'installera, les fleurs des camélias s'ouvriront.

Les incompatibilités d'emploi de -neun daero dans certains enchaînements au futur révèlent que le connecteur ne se limite pas à l'enchaînement de deux événements sur le plan strictement temporel mais fait intervenir la perception que le locuteur a de l'enchaînement, ou plus exactement de la survenue de l'événement e2 par rapport à l'événement e1.

Décrivant des phénomènes naturels de l'arrivée du printemps en e1 et de l'épanouissement du camélia e2, cet exemple exclut toute expression de l'attitude subjective du locuteur par rapport à la possibilité ou la nécessité qu'une proposition soit vraie. Ceci empêche l'emploi de -neun daero, que nous considérons comme un marqueur modal au sens large (Gosselin, 2010 ; Barbet, C. et de Saussure, L., 201) alors que -jamaja est accepté dans la mesure où sa fonction sémantique principale est purement temporelle (Son et Couralet, 2016) et dépourvue de la moindre valeur modale.

La valeur modale mise au jour par -neun daero est, selon nous, épistémique, : elle s'appuie sur la règle générale ou l'habitude remarquée par le locuteur qui le conduit à attendre la survenue de l'événement e2 suite à l'événement e1 introduit par -neun daero. Ce qui tendrait à montrer que l'emploi du connecteur -neun daero dans des exemples comme en 2) :

2) 지수의 편지가 도착하자마자/는 대로 나는 서울로 갈 것이다

Jisuuy phyeonjiga dochakha-jamaja/-neun daero naneun seowullo galkeosida

Dès que la lettre de Jisu arrivera, je partirai pour Séoul

exprime une modalité d'attente exclusive de la survenue de l'événement e2. L'expression de cette modalité est, par exemple, totalement absente dans l'emploi de -jamaja qui, bien que compatible au futur, se limite au marquage de la succession au niveau strictement temporel.

Les études menées en Corée sur les propriétés des connecteurs l'ont été principalement dans le domaine de la didactique des langues pour rendre compte de la diversité des usages du connecteur en coréen standard. Mais aucune étude jusqu'à présent n'avait encore posé explicitement la question de la valeur modale du connecteur temporel *-neun daero*. Si les études traditionnelles se sont bornées jusqu'à présent à décrire *-neun daero* comme un marqueur assurant simplement une transition temporelle, le présent travail contribue à étendre la problématique des connecteurs temporels en coréen à la modalité, dans le cadre restreint de deux événements enchaînés.

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Embedded tense/aspect in Mandarin

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This paper investigates constraints on the time reference of relative clauses (RCs) in Mandarin, a language with no grammatical tense. We show that (i) Mandarin RCs with bare (aspectually unmarked) eventive predicates yield temporal free readings, and this even in an intensional context (Sun 2015); (ii) RCs with an overt aspectual marker (*guo*) do not allow later-than-matrix (LtM) readings in an intensional context, similar to English past-tensed RCs. This similarity validates the Upper Limit Constraint (ULC) proposed by Abusch (1994). Why do Mandarin RCs with bare eventives violate the ULC? We claim that the ULC only applies to overt morphological temporal items (tense / aspect), but not to semantic tense / aspect.

1. Scope analysis for English RCs

English RCs in extensional contexts have been argued to yield “independent interpretations”: the *presenting* event in (1) is temporally ordered relative to utterance time (UT), and can either precede or follow the matrix *talking* event.

(1) Mary talked to the professor who presented at the conference.

In an intensional context, the LtM reading of RCs is available only if the DP is interpreted *de re* (Abusch 1988). Under a *de re* construal, (2) means that there is a specific professor that Mary was looking for, and s(he) presented before or after the searching event. Under a *de dicto* reading (Mary was looking for *any* professor who presented), the LtM reading (presentation follows the searching event) is blocked. This provides evidence for a “scopal analysis” of interpretations of RCs: the relativized DP scopes out of the matrix TP to license an independent *de re* reading. (Stowell 1993, Ogihara 1996)

(2) Mary was looking for a professor who presented at the conference.

The question remains why forward-shifted readings of RCs are banned under a *de dicto* reading. We can explain it by Abusch’s (1994) ULC, that is, “the local evaluation time is the upper limit for reference of tenses” in intensional contexts.

2. Mandarin RCs and the ULC

The ULC cannot carry over to Mandarin RCs with bare predicates. The LtM reading is available even if the relativized NP is interpreted *de dicto*, as shown in (3).

(3) Zuówǎn, Lùlù zài zhǎo yí-ge tiào bālěiwǔ de nǚhái.
last.night Lulu PROG look-for one-Cl dance ballet DE girl.
‘Last night, Lulu was looking for a girl who had danced/was dancing/**would** dance ballet.’¹

The interpretation of RC in (3) violates the ULC: the subordinated event time (ET) and the matrix evaluation time is freely ordered. However, if the RC is marked by perfect *guo*, the LtM reading is no longer available for the same predicate. In (4), the dancing event precedes the searching event.

(4) Zuówǎn, Lùlù zài zhǎo yí-ge tiào-*guo* bālěiwǔ de nǚhái.
last.night Lulu PROG look-for one-Cl dance-PFT ballet DE girl.
‘Last night, Lulu was looking for a girl who (had) danced ballet.’

Mandarin RCs with overt perfect aspect, unlike bare RCs, have similar behaviors to English past-tensed RCs: they do not allow forward-shifted readings wrt the matrix ET in intensional contexts, which can be correctly captured by the ULC. The contrast between the

¹ The RC in (3) can also receive a habitual reading that we leave aside in the talk.

Mandarin RCs with overt perfect aspect, unlike bare RCs, have similar behaviors to English past-tensed RCs: they do not allow forward-shifted readings wrt the matrix ET in intensional contexts, which can be correctly captured by the ULC. The contrast between the temporal interpretation of RCs with and without overt perfect aspect in Mandarin suggests that the ULC is a constraint on morphological temporal items, but not on semantic tense/aspect.

3. Analysis for Mandarin RCs

A scope analysis has been proposed for English RCs. One of the arguments comes from the *de re/de dicto* contrast in intensional contexts: the *de re* reading can be captured under the assumption that the relativized DP scopes out of the matrix TP. As for Mandarin RCs with bare eventive predicates, they allow temporal free readings under both *de re* and *de dicto* contruals of the NP. Therefore, the argument for assigning wide-scope to the relativized NP seeking for a higher RT (=UT) no longer stands. We propose that Mandarin bare RCs syntactically remain in the scope of the matrix clause (*in-situ*), taking the matrix ET as its RT, and the embedded ET is temporally anchored freely wrt the RT.

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Quelques remarques sur l'aménagement des familles linguistiques Austronésienne et Tai-Kadai dans l'aire de l'Asie Extrême-Orientale

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Nous commençons par rappeler notre communication présentée il y a dix ans, délai suffisant pour évaluer sa validité :

Ferlus, Michel. 2009. Les premières expansions austronésiennes. Communication à *The Eleventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*. Aussois, France, 22-26 juin. < halshs-00952334 >

Dans cette communication on avait démontré que les chiffres supérieurs (de 4 à 10, à peu près) utilisés dans les langues du Sud et de l'Est de Taiwan semblaient provenir des langues parlées aux Philippines. Cette idée contredisait donc la théorie en cours du "Out of Taiwan".

A partir de ce jour, on n'a plus remarqué de références au "Out of Taiwan" et le monde des chercheurs concernés par ce sujet est resté étrangement silencieux. L'expression "Out of Taiwan" ayant cessé d'être utilisée sans débat audible on peut en conclure que cette théorie avait été abandonnée par ses promoteurs.

Ces comportements, refus du débat scientifique, sont intellectuellement navrants dans le milieu de la recherche qui est le notre.

J'avais alors proposé l'expression "Out of Guangdong" qui paraissait plus réaliste quoique assez imprécise. Cette région côtière, très découpée avec ses deltas et ses îles, paraissait propice au développement de la navigation hauturière. L'idée ne fut pas suivie d'effet ! En fait, les causes de l'expansion austronésienne ne peuvent être que complexes et multiples. Le développement du commerce a sans doute été déterminant. Quoiqu'il en soit, il sera toujours difficile de retrouver la région de départ des anciens Austronésiens vers les îles.

Un dernier argument invalidant le "Out of Taiwan" nous est récemment apparu. Rappelons d'abord que les peuples de Taiwan sont passés de la culture du millet à la riziculture. La mémoire de ce changement est conservée dans un rituel qui consiste à planter un pied de millet dans le champ de riz. Une tradition semblable a été observée à Luzon, mais dans ce cas la plante rituelle est un tubercule. C'est la preuve irréfutable que Luzon, et plus largement le territoire des Philippines, n'ont pas pu être peuplés par des populations venant de Taiwan.

D'un point de vue méthodologique, il est fascinant de voir comment un détail d'apparence secondaire, ici le souvenir de la culture des tubercules, peut bouleverser une vision générale.

Il faut donc imaginer un autre processus. Avant de peupler les îles, les ancêtres des austronésiens étaient donc des continentaux ; il restera néanmoins très difficile, voire impossible, de retracer les anciennes limites de l'espace austronésien continental.

La famille Tai-kadai est très diversifiée, elle comporte de nombreuses langues et dialectes. La structure syllabique tend à évoluer du sesqui-syllabisme vers le monosyllabisme. Les correspondances observées ne permettent pas forcément des reconstructions exactes.

Tout oppose les Tai-kadai aux Austronésiens, malgré des contacts certains. Les Tai-kadai étaient des horticulteurs de tubercules (taro ou igname). Or les peuples horticulteurs sont des sociétés fragiles. Les tubercules ne permettent pas de constituer des réserves alimentaires durables contrairement au riz qui peut s'engranger pendant des mois. Les peuples rizicoles ont un avantage stratégique indiscutable sur les horticulteurs.

Les Tai-kadai n'ont adopté la culture du riz qu'assez tardivement, au contact des Austro-asiatiques. C'est ce changement qui leur a permis de se perpétuer en tant que peuple jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

La structure syntaxique oppose également les deux familles : les langues Austronésiennes conservatrices ont une syntaxe extrêmement complexe dite ‘à focus’, tandis que les langues Tai-kadai ont une syntaxe simple, sans morphologie verbale. Ces différences n’ont pas empêché les emprunts de l’Austronésien vers le Tai-kadai. Ces emprunts ont parfois laissé croire à une parenté génétique entre les deux familles linguistiques.

Les peuples de langues Tai-kadai ont su changer et s’adapter tout en conservant les traces des états anciens. Etant restés continentaux et dans la “sphère chinoise”, on peut disposer de renseignements historiques assez fiables.

L’exposé présentera des faits linguistiques susceptibles de témoigner de l’histoire complexe de ces deux familles de langues, Austronésien et Tai-kadai, avec quelques aperçus sur l’Austro-asiatique.

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An Information-Structural approach to interpretation of null subjects in Mandarin Chinese

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1. Introduction and goal. This paper proposes an analysis of the acceptability and interpretation of referential null subject (NS) in Chinese, in different clausal types, from an information-structure (IS) perspective.

2. Background for the analysis. Radical *pro*-drop languages (also known as ‘discourse’ *pro*-drop languages) are traditionally defined as ‘pragmatic’ or ‘context-dependent’ type of *pro*-drop. According to this theory a sentence like (1) is totally fine and the NS can be interpreted through a context analysis (cf., among others, Song, 2009; Yuan, 2014):

(1) ___ *dao le*. *pro* arrive PERF

‘ ___ arrived.’

The present analysis, however, shows that a pragmatic approach to anaphora resolution cannot account for the complexity of this phenomenon and that an IS approach is required for a comprehensive explanation of D-linking in radical *pro*-drop in Chinese.

3. The experiment. The present study is based on the data collected through three original surveys. Participants (Chinese L1 speakers) were asked to express their judgment (on a Likert scale, from 0 to either 4 or 6) concerning the acceptability and interpretation of a NS in diverse clausal types, randomly presented with and without a previous context in the experimental test (distributed online with free access, obtaining 129 full responses).

4. Analysis of data. It will be shown that in Chinese the interpretation of *pro* depends on a syntactic dependency (Agree) with the established A-Topic (which may be silent, if continuous across chain of clauses), as is the case in consistent and partial *pro*-drop languages (cf. Frascarelli, 2018). Evidence will be thus provided that, despite the presence of a context, the acceptability and interpretation of NSs in Chinese depends on an IS-strategy. Consider (2):

(2) *Sunli xiang rang ta de nü'er zai Nankai Daxue xuexi. Zuotian [Sunli de nü'er]j tongguo le Tianjin Daxue yixue xi de gaokao.*

‘Sunli would like her daughter to study at Nankai University. [Sunli’s daughter]j yesterday passed the test to enter the Medicine Department of Tianjin University...’

*#*Sunlik, suiran ___j tongguo le gaokao,*
Sunli although *pro* pass PERF university admission exam

danshi ___k haishi bu gaoxing.

but *pro* still NEG happy.

‘Sunlik, although *pro*j passed the university admission exam, *pro*k is still not happy.’

Despite the context seems to suggest *Sunli’s daughter* as the most feasible antecedent for the NS in adverbial clause, the presence of the overt A-Topic *Sunli* in the relevant sentence

blocks the possibility of a purely pragmatic link (notice that this sentence is judged as acceptable without a context, with both the NSs interpreted as co-referents of *Sunli*).

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Morpho-phonology of numeral compounds in Japanese: the case of foreign specifiers

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This dissertation deals with the morpho-phonological variations which occur in numeral+specifier compounds in Japanese. Japanese is considered as a “numeral classifier language” (Allan, 1977:286) because a specifier is obligatory in expressions of quantity. For example:

二匹 の 猫 を 飼っている
 ni hiki no nek o katte iru

2 **SPE: small animal** GEN cat ACC keep
 “I keep two cats”

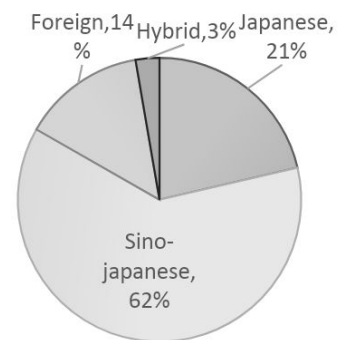
In the example above, the number of cat must be indicated by a numeral compound *ni-hiki* where *ni* “two” is the numeral and *hiki* “small animal” is the specifier.

Numeral compounds may appear, at first, very irregular. Indeed, in terms of morpho-phonology, they show many variations which may be found within the numeral (presence or absence of nasal consonant, depalatalization), within the specifier (gemination, voicing, cases where /h/ or /w/ becomes a plosive /p/) or within the whole compound (the accent pattern may vary from one compound to the other). However, these variations are not systematic and we find cases where no variation occurs.

The goal of this research is twofold: (i) to describe in a comprehensive manner all the variations which occur in numeral compounds and their distribution throughout the paradigms and sub paradigms; (ii) to understand the mechanisms from which these variations arise.

This research is based on a database consisting of 662 specifiers and, when possible, their paradigm from 1 to 10. We used the dictionary *kazokata no jiten* (Iida, Machida:2004) to find a list of specifiers. Then, we used *NHK nihongo akusento jiten* (NHK:1985, 1998) and *NHK akusento shinjiten* (NHK:2016) to find their paradigm (form and accentual pattern of the numeral compounds from 1 to 10). So far, we have obtained the paradigm of 241 specifiers on 662 (41%).

Specifiers in numeral compounds can be sorted according to their origin: Japanese (*iro* “color”, *soroi* “set”...), Sino-Japanese (*hiki* “small animal”, *sai* “age”...), Foreign (*inti* “inch”, *peezi* “page”...) and hybrid (*dai-me* “subject” (Sino-Japanese+Japanese), *heihoo-meetoru* “metre square” (Sino-Japanese+Foreign)...).



Distribution of specifiers by origin



In our database, foreign specifiers account for 14 % of the total specifiers (for which we have information). Our database contains 88 foreign specifiers, and we have the paradigm of 62 of them.

The figures reveal that half of the foreign specifiers are 3 mora-long (51%) like *inti* “inch”, and 26% of are 4 mora-long like

meetoru “metre”. Foreign specifiers can be at most 8 mora-long (1 case): *maikuromeetoru* “micro-metre”.

Statistically speaking, foreign specifiers are longer than other specifiers. Indeed, 89% of Sino-Japanese are 1 or 2 mora-long and 87% of Japanese specifiers are 2 or 3 mora-long. Respectively, they never exceed 4 or 3 mora. We do not include hybrid specifiers.

About the origin of numerals, it can be seen that Sino-Japanese numerals are mostly used (more than 97% for 3, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10). Numerals 1 and 2 are particular because in 8 cases on 62, they can be either Sino-Japanese or Japanese numerals. Numerals 4 and 7 mostly Japanese (respectively, 98% and 94%).

Concerning the morpho-phonological variations mentioned earlier, there is no case of voicing of the initial consonant after the numeral *san* (“three”), no depalatalization after *kyuu* (“nine”) and there is no alternation nasal/no nasal with *yon* (“four”).

However, we find gemination with the numerals *iti* (“one”), *roku* (“six”), *hati* (“eight”), and *zyuu* (“ten”). With *zyuu* (“ten”), gemination is *always* accompanied with depalatalization.

We can also mention the fact that gemination can occur before fricatives like in *zyuh-herutu/zih-herutu* (“ten hertz”) and *zyuh-huito/zih-huito* (“ten feet”) without using a plosive /p/ as it is the case with Japanese or Sino-Japanese specifiers.

In conclusion, numeral compounds with foreign specifiers show a few variations: only gemination, sometimes associated with depalatalization (in the case of *zyuu* “ten”). One interesting fact is the tendency to preserve the specifier and to avoid voicing of the initial consonant for example. We still need to study the accentual pattern of these numeral compounds and also to compare these results with other specifiers.

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从上声的分化看湖南汝城话的归属

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汝城县隶属于湖南省，地处湘粤赣三省交界处，通行语言为汝城话。关于汝城话的归属问题目前学界仍存在争议，中国语言地图集（2012）和曾献飞（2006）将汝城话划分为客家方言，陈立中（2002）则认为汝城话应被归为湘南土话。本文将从音韵学角度出发，根据中古上声字在汝城话中的归派情况来讨论汝城话的归属问题。

前人的诸多研究（如Hashimoto 1973; 丁邦新 1982; Norman 1989）显示，上声字的归派在客家话中具有显著区别于其他方言的特征，同时也是判断一个方言是否属于客家话最重要的证据之一。中古全浊上声字和次浊上声字在汝城话中的归派均呈现出二分的情况。全浊上声字在汝城话中部分读阴平，部分读阳去。次浊上声字部分归阴平，部分归上声。从这些字在汝城话中的使用情况来看，全浊上声字中读阴平的字均属于较早的词汇层次，因此我们推断汝城话中全浊上声字中读阳去的是在全浊上声变为阴平后受读书音影响而产生的结果。次浊上声字的分化情况比较复杂，我们将结合上古汉语和其他方言对这一问题进行探讨。

对照前人关于客家话的研究，我们发现汝城话中上声的分化情况高度符合客家话的特征。但我们认为，从发生学角度来看，上声的分化不能用作客家话的划分标准。正如Sagart（1998）所指出的，到目前为止，还不存在一个能够真正划清客家方言与其他方言界限的简单标准。尽管汝城话与客家话在上声字的归派上显示出来的高度相似性无法让我们确定汝城话是否属于客家方言，但我们将在本文中对这一现象背后隐藏的历史内涵进行思考，并借此探讨汝城话与客家话之间的关系。

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MODAL VERBS AND HABITUAL EVENTS (A COMPARISON BETWEEN CHINESE AND ENGLISH)

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In some languages modal verbs are used to express not only possibility and necessity but also habitualness. This is the case of *hui* in Chinese and *will/would* in English. While this use is well documented for *will/would*, it has been largely overlooked in the case of *hui*.

Traditionally, two values are distinguished, capacity and probability, as illustrated below:

CAPACITY

(1) *Ta hui youyong.*
<s/he-HUI-swim>
'S/he can swim.'

PROBABILITY

(2) *Mingtian hui xia yu.*
<tomorrow-HUI-fall-rain>
'It will rain tomorrow.'

This dichotomy does not fully capture all the possible senses and uses of *hui*. The data shows that the latter is also often used to indicate habits or characteristic behavior, whether permanent or past. This use is hardly reducible to capacity, let alone probability.

HABITUALNESS

(3) *Fan hou ta hui chou yi zhi xuejiayan.*
<meal-after-he-HUI-smoke-one-CL-cigar>
'He would smoke a cigar after dinner.'

Sentences such as (3) are very common, their frequency of occurrence is high (at least fifty percent of all occurrences of *hui*). Notwithstanding this fact, they are hardly represented in the literature, if at all.

According to the conventional view, the modal verb *hui* deals with the possible and the unrealized. It is generally compared to English *can/could*. However, just like *will/would* in English (cf. Quirk et al.), *hui* may be used to describe habitual events. In particular, like English *would*, it can refer to events that repeated themselves in the past. Such events (past habits) were not merely possible, but did actually occur. These facts challenge both the traditional dichotomy and the standard definition of *hui*.

Indeed, habitualness cannot be explained in terms of possibility/probability. It implies that the same events occur in the same circumstances. The events in question do not occur randomly but regularly (i.e. their occurrence is inevitable, whenever the proper conditions are met).

In light of the above, the conclusion is twofold. First, habitualness suggests that *hui* does not express possibility but some kind of necessity. Second, typologically, Chinese *hui* resembles English *will/would* rather than *can/could*.

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KEYWORDS: modality, habitualness, typology, Chinese, English

‘Mental inflection’ in Chinese as the central grammatical concept in works by Father Iakinf Bichurin

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The research deals with the characteristic idea of *'umstvennoe slovoizmenenie'* or *mental inflection* in Chinese, put forward by a prominent Russian sinologist of the XIXth c. - Nikita Y. Bichurin (Father Iakinf or Hyacinth, 1777-1853) in the scope of his language-related works. The concept of *mental inflection* was a remarkable attempt to interrelate the Chinese language's non-identical features with the idea of innate structural patterns in more than a century ahead of the Universal grammar rise.

Bichurin's predecessors in Chinese grammarian studies (Varo, Bayer, Prémard, Fourmont, Morrison, Abel-Rémusat – all mentioned and reviewed in the Prologue to his *Kitaiskaya Grammatika*, ¹⁸³⁵) implemented variant approaches to Chinese language mastery, adhering to European languages' grammatical/terminological systems (Herbsmeier 1998; Coblin & Levi 2000; Breitenbach 2000, 2008; Klöter 2011; Chappel & Peyraube 2014). Bichurin appeared on the sinological scene with a highly original idea: Chinese native-speakers' comprehension of mental patterns, such as objects' relations, action, state or quality, is not based on certain grammatical indications in the forms of words. Thus, he intuitively grasped the essence of what a century later will be described as non-syntactic morphology. Father Iakinf developed this theory in the language-related sections of *China, its inhabitants, customs, traditions, education* (1840), kept to it in *Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire* (1842/2002) and touched upon it in a number of unpublished works.

In global sinology Father Iakinf is mainly renown as a historian, ethnographer and commentator. His philological works also appeared in the scholar focus within the last two centuries. However, his theoretical linguistic insight, based on profound knowledge of both the Chinese academic sources and European sinological achievements at that time, has hardly ever fallen under a particular study. Two decades have passed since C. Harbsmeier noticed it in *Language and Logic in Traditional China*: «Only ten years after Abel-Rémusat's *Eléments* the Russian missionary Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin published his *Kitaiskaya Grammatika* (Peking, 1832), in which he develops the characteristic idea of *umstvennoe slovoizmenenie* or 'mental inflection'. This work deserves careful comparison with its Western European contemporaries and has been sadly neglected by Western sinologists» ^(1998: 18). I believe it is time to contribute to that task, which might hopefully allow us to depict with new sketches the historical scene of early European grammar approach to China.

Keywords: mental inflection; Chinese grammar; innate structures; non-syntactic morphology

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Falsetto or High Pitch: Analysis of Lexical Tones in Wucheng dialect of Yongxiu from the Parameters of F0, OQ and SQ in EGG Signal

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Wucheng town is in the northeast of Yongxiu county², and Wucheng Gan dialect is one of the Yongxiu dialects. There are 19 initials (or *shengmu*), 64 finals (or *yunmu*) and 7 lexical tones [5]. And 7 lexical tones are listed below:

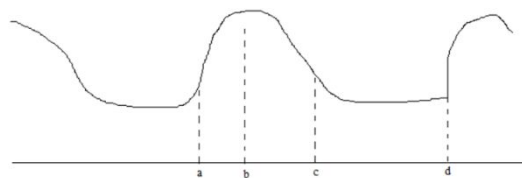
Table 1: 7 lexical tones of Wucheng dialect

T 1	<i>yinping</i>	low-falling	21	‘高, tall or high’	T 2	<i>yangping I</i>	low-risin g	2 4	‘河, river’
T 4	<i>shangshen</i>	low-falling-risin	21	‘五, five’	T 3	<i>yangping II</i>	high level	4 4	‘龙, dragon’
T 5	<i>g</i>	g	3						
T 6	<i>qusheng</i>	mid-rising	35	‘暗, dark’					
	<i>yinru</i>	high	5	‘笔, pen’	T 7	<i>yangru</i>	low	2	‘舌, tongue’

From previous research [6][1], it was reported that there is falsetto in *yinru* (T6) of Wucheng dialect. This research investigates lexical tones in Wucheng dialect from the parameters of F0, OQ (open quotient) and SQ (speed quotient) in EGG signal to find out whether there is falsetto in lexical tones or not, and if the lexical tones are heard highly it is falsetto or voice with high pitch.

There are 10 participants³ in this experiment. The 5 male speakers are between 42 and 65 years old, and the 5 female speakers are 40 and 58 years old. They were born and have been living in Wucheng town, Yongxiu county. They all could speak Wucheng dialect and Mandarin. Participants were required to read words⁴ twice in a soundproof room. The data are analysed in Excel 2016.

EGG signal is analysed in Matlab 2016b⁵ to extract F0, OQ and SQ. And F0, OQ and SQ in mean value will be used in analysis. The definition [2][3] of F0, OQ and SQ is in Figure 1 (see below).



² Yongxiu county is in the south of Jiujiang City, Jiangxi Province, China.

³ They were paid for their work.

⁴ The words [4][5] are CV syllables of which C is stop, and V is monophthongs. We are analysing the results from the perspective of different monophthongs. Herein, we introduce the analysed results of [i] as the monophthong in CV syllable. T1 is [ti], T2 is [p'i], T4 is [t'i], T5 is [ti], T6 is [ti], and T7 is [t'i]. And in T3, there is no word in CV syllable with stop as its C and [i] as its V. Therefore, only six lexical tones are analysed. In totality, there are 120 words.

⁵ It was programmed by Linguistic Lab, Chinese Language and Literature, Peking University,

Figure 1: Definition of F0, OQ and SQ in EGG signal

Figure 1 illustrates definitions of F0, OQ and SQ. First, the fundamental frequency (F0) is defined as 1/‘ad’ (Hz). Second, the open quotient (OQ) is defined as the ratio of ‘cd’ over ‘ad’. Third, the speed quotient (SQ) is defined as the ratio of ‘bc’ over ‘ab’.

For this research is in progress, we introduce the analysed results of lexical tones in Wucheng dialect. They are shown below:

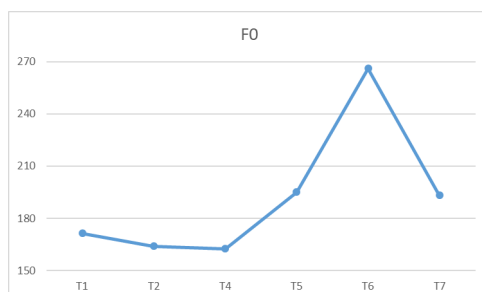


Figure 2: F0 of lexical tones in Wucheng dialect



Figure 3: OQ of lexical tones in Wucheng dialect

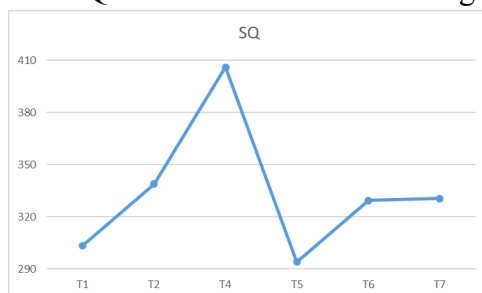


Figure 4: SQ of lexical tones in Wucheng dialect

Quantitative analyse of F0, OQ and SQ (see the figures above) shows that there is one lexical tone, i.e., T6 (*yinru*) with high pitch, but OQ and SQ do not have significant cues of falsetto or voice with high pitch, compared with the data of different phonation types[2].

It is concluded that T6 (*yinru*) is a kind of phonation types in the continuum between falsetto and voice with high pitch.

Keywords: Lexical tones; Wucheng dialect; F0; OQ; SQ

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On the conditional marker ‘zhě’ in Old Chinese

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This paper studies the development of ‘zhě’ serving as a conditional marker in Old Chinese. ‘Zhě’ in Old Chinese is a common multifunctional word. Its typical usage is as an agent nominalizer used in a headless relative clause, and its function is to some degree similar to the relative pronoun who/that in English. Sometimes the scope of zhě is beyond VP to a clause, so that it not only occurs in a post-verbal position, but sometimes also the end of a clause, where topic markers always occupy. Under these circumstances, zhě may get an interpretation as a subordinator and more often as a conditional marker. This situation leads some scholars to arrive at the conclusion that zhě with a conditional meaning is just an extended function of the topic marker (Wang 1998[1962]: 365; Zhou 1961:220-221; Yang & He 1992:965; Dong 2004, etc.). Since Haiman (1978), more and more linguists noticed the close relation between topics and conditionals, however, the directionality of this grammaticalization process is still uncertain. Because in Chinese linguistic academia, there are some studies showing that several typical conditional markers develop into topic markers (Jiang 2000:295; Liu 2004; Xing 2005). Nevertheless, as many studies have already noticed, there is a close relationship between nominalization and subordination (Harbsmeier 1981: 210-217; Yap & Matthews 2008; Deutscher 2009; Yap & Wang 2011). Especially in Deutscher (2009), he emphasizes that nominalization should be treated as the origin of subordination. This paper adopts his opinion and aims to verify that by showing the grammaticalization of ‘zhě’ from a nominalizer to a conditional marker in Old Chinese. This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 first of all gives a brief sketch of the historical stages of Chinese and an introduction of the main data on which this research based. Section 3 focuses on the polysemy of zhě in Old Chinese by checking some specific examples. The analysis of the grammaticalization of zhě is given in Section 4. In Section 5 I present my conclusion and question.

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江西吉水赣语“来”的近将来时用法及语义演变

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提要 吉水话的“来”在“来去(LOC./VP)^{将去}”和“来VP来哩/VP来来哩^{快VP了}”结构中有近将来时用法。这两个结构有细微区别：句法表现上，前者的“来”为必现成分，后者第一个“来”可以不出现；前者的主语一般由生命度高的第一人称代词充当，否则隐含说话者将一同去。而后者的主语无此限制，而且无生名词也可充当主语。前者“来”后的谓词只能是高降调的“去”，且“来”、“去”紧密结合，二者之间不能插入任何成分。而后者的VP允许[-自主]、[-可控]的谓词充当；前者可以跟将来时间同现，后者排斥跟“就”之外的时间词同现；此外，前者可用于祈使句，要求听话者跟说话者一同去做某事，后者不能用于祈使句。语义上，前者表示说话者有意愿去做某事，“来”表示说话者的意愿。后者表示说话者根据客观表征迹象对事件即将发生(/状态即将出现)的认识，“来”表示情状即将变化的趋向。来源上，前者是表意愿的“来VP”扩展至“来去”结构后并被重新分析的结果，后者“来”的[+朝向性]与“VP来哩”结构语义相宜并沾染结构义的结果。实际上，“来去”广泛分布于客家话、闽语和赣语等方言中，“来VP+来/去(哩/矣)”结构也见于很多方言。此外，世界语言中也不乏用“来、去”等趋向动词发展为将来时标记的平行用例。

关键词 来 来去 将来时 语义演变

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Differential object constructions in Caijia: New findings in a little-described Language

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Caijia is an isolating, under-described, and non-classified language of SVO spoken by less than 1,000 (LTBEIB 1982) people in northwestern Guizhou Province of China possessing many quasi-Sinitic grammatical features.

Differential object marking (DOM) and differential indexation (DOI) refer to optional direct object marking systems which are determined by semantic or pragmatic factors (Bossong 1985, Aissen 2003, Iemmolo 2011, inter alia). Also known as disposal constructions (Wang Li (1945[1984]), the differential object marking constructions are a pan-Sinitic feature (Chappell 2013). In Sinitic, the marked object in an object marking construction often undergoes an explicit change of state or affectedness/treatment.

Caijia has not only one. First, this paper aims to present three differential object constructions in Caijia in a typological perspective within the Sinitic context. These constructions are:

1. Object marking: $(NP_{\text{SUBJECT}}) - \text{pp}[\text{MARKER}_o - NP_{\text{OBJECT}}] - \text{VP}$
2. Verbal marking: $(NP_{\text{OBJECT}}) - (NP_{\text{SUBJECT}}) - \text{VP}[\text{MARKER}_v - \text{VP}]$
3. Double marking: $(NP_{\text{SUBJECT}}) - \text{pp}[\text{MARKER}_o - NP_{\text{OBJECT}}] - \text{VP}[\text{MARKER}_v - \text{VP}]$

Derived from the verb a^{33} ‘take’ (the citation form), the most common source in Sinitic, a^{33} serves as the object marker (MARKER_o) in Type 1 in Caijia and forms a prepositional phrase preceding the VP, as shown in (1). Apart from this type, Caijia also develops a very special cross-referencing marker on verbs (MARKER_v) from the same source a^{33} ‘take’, as illustrated in (2) and (3). This verbal marking strategy can be used alone under the contexts of zero anaphora ([2]) or object topicalization, i.e. Type 2; it can also be used with the overt object marker forming a double marked construction when the explicit affectedness on the object needs to be emphasized, i.e. Type 3. These two latter types are much less reported in the cross-linguistic literature. Moreover, it is also striking that verbal marking is observed to form differential object constructions in Sinitic. The verbal marking strategy by a^{33} in Caijia does not reflect any person agreement. Instead, it is used to express the explicit change of state or affectedness/treatment of the direct object in a differential object construction.

Second, we attempt to explain how the verb a^{33} ‘take’ has respectively developed into an object marker as well as a verb maker. We propose that the object marker a^{33} and the verb maker a^{33} are derived from two different serial verb constructions. Occupying the first verb position, the verb a^{33} develops in to an object marker from the construction $V_1N_{1(i)}V_2N_{2(i)}$ with N_1 and N_2 co-referential. The verb marker is reanalyzed from the first verb position of the construction $V_1\emptyset_{1(i)}V_2\emptyset_{2(i)}$ with two co-referential NPs dropped, which is due to the heavy use of pro-drop in Caijia and can often be observed when the co-referential direct objects of V_1 and V_2 are already mentioned in the earlier context.

SOURCE	>	TARGET
$V_1 \sim a^{33} N_{1(i)} V_2 N_{2(i)}$	>	object marker a^{33}
$V_1 \sim a^{33} \emptyset_{1(i)} V_2 \emptyset_{2(i)}$	>	verb marker a^{33}

This hypothesis is made on the basis of the fact that (i) different VP patterns are observed in Types 1 & 2 and (ii) the bridging context for the verbal marking **a**³³ can be observed. Examples: (Author's own fieldwork data)

Type 1: Common differential object marking construction

(NP_{SUBJECT}) – PP[MARKER_o – NP_{OBJECT}] – VP
 (1) [...] **a**⁵⁵ mɔ²¹ to²¹tsoŋ⁵⁵ nɛ⁵⁵ pv,²¹ pie⁵⁵ ɔ²¹ ta⁵⁵pv,²¹tv,⁵⁵.
 OM that vaccine PRT put to this shoulder upside
 ‘(Then one) injects the vaccine into this part of one’s shoulder.’
 (extracted from the narrative ‘Cowpox’)

Type 2: Zero anaphora and verbal marking

(NP_{OBJECT}) – (NP_{SUBJECT}) – VP[MARKER_v – VP]
 (2) [...] mɔ²¹ kha⁵⁵ tu⁵⁵ t_v⁵⁵ mɔ²¹ kua⁵⁵se⁵⁵ tv,⁵⁵-xw⁵⁵.
 that hole then PASS that fern block-rise

 ts^hɣ²¹ka⁵⁵ **a**⁵⁵ p^hv,²¹-xw⁵⁵. [...]
 all DCR cover-rise.
 ‘That hole was blocked up by the ferns. (The ferns) all covered up (the hole).’
 (extracted from the narrative ‘A dead tiger’)

Type 3: Double marking

(NP_{SUBJECT}) – PP[MARKER_o – NP_{OBJECT}] – VP[MARKER_v – VP]
 (3) [...] je⁵⁵ pv,⁵⁵ **a**⁵⁵ je⁵⁵ nioŋ²¹ **a**⁵⁵ to²¹ sɿ⁵⁵ ŋue²¹ [...]
 3SG NEG OM 3SG daughter DCR marry to my.family
 ‘He (from the family of Zhang) didn’t marry his daughter (any more) to our family (of Li).’
 (extracted from the narrative ‘Two families’)

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Syntactic features of the conjunction *hé* in Mandarin Chinese

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The conjunction *hé*, although often translated as *and* in English or *et* in French, is different from *and* or *et* in that it does not coordinate elements of all syntactic categories (Paris, 2016; Zhang, 2010). Previous research indicates that *hé* is generally used to conjoin nominal elements, and it links verbal or adjectival elements only when the conjuncts are at the subject position, are under the scope of the same adjunct, are embedded under the same verb, or have the same complement (eg., Liu et al., 1996; Zhu, 1982).

However, these descriptions are insufficient to account for the (un)grammaticality of sentences (1), (2), and (3). *Hé* links two nouns in sentence (1), two modal phrases under the scope of the same adjunct (i.e., “in the kitchen”) in sentence (2), and two predicative verbal phrases sharing no modifying adjunct, complement, or matrix verb in sentence (3). Nevertheless, sentences (1) and (2) are not acceptable while sentence (3) is.

(1) ??*Mǎlì shì [Měiguórén] hé [Fǎguórén].*

Mary be American HE French
‘Mary is American and French.’

(2) **Wǒmen zài chúfáng lǐ [néng xǐ yīfu] hé [kěyǐ zuò dàngāo].*

we at kitchen inside can wash clothes HE can make cake
‘We can wash clothes and make cakes in the kitchen.’

(3) *Yàoshi wǒ [mǎi cài] hé [zhǔ fàn], nǐ néng dǎsǎo yùshì ma?*

if I buy vegetable HE cook meal, you can clean bathroom Int.
‘If I buy groceries and cook, can you clean the bathroom?’

In this study, we examine the syntactic distributions of coordinate structures formed by *hé* and have the following observations. First, in line with the analysis of Aoun and Li (2003), we confirm that *hé* does not link all kinds of nominal elements. In fact, *hé* links DP but not NP, and the coordinate complex it forms is always plural. This explains why sentence (1) is not acceptable: The coordinate complex in this sentence refers to a singular subject and must have a singular interpretation.

Second, we notice that verbal elements linked by *hé* cannot be the main predicate of a root clause, as shown by sentences (2) and (3). Note that the contrast between these two sentences is not due to the difference in the syntactic categories of the conjuncts involved. *Hé* can link modal phrases if the coordinate complex is not the main predicate of a root clause (4).

(4) [*Kěyǐ jìnshí*] *hé* [*nénggòu xià chuáng zǒudòng*] *shì shēntǐ huīfù de*

can enter:food HE can descend bed move be body recover Rel.
zhēngzhào.

sign

‘Being able to eat and being able to leave the bed for a walk are signs of recovery.’

We hypothesize that *hé* contains a [-inf] feature, which it projects to the entire coordinate complex. This feature makes it impossible for the coordinate complex formed by *hé* to function as the main predicate of a finite clause. Sentences (5-a) and (5-b) support this hypothesis. In (5-a), the main verb is *zhīdào* ‘know’, which takes a finite clause as its complement, while in (5-b), the main verb is *bāngzhù* ‘help’, which selects as its complement an infinite clause (cf.

Zhang, 2016). *Hé* can be used to link the verbal phrases of the embedded clause in (5-b), while in (5-a), the usage of *hé* is not felicitous.

(5) a. *Mǎlì zhīdào Bǎoluó [liǎojiě zhè ge guójiā] bìng/yě/??hé [rènshi yìxiē dāngdìrén].*

Mary know Paul understand this CL. country BING/also/HE know some local.people

‘Mary knows that Paul understand this country and know some local people.’

b. *Mǎlì bāngzhù Bǎoluó [liǎojiě zhè ge guójiā] hé [rènshi yìxiē dāngdìrén].*

Mary help Paul understand this CL country HE know some local.people

‘Mary helps Paul to understand this country and to get acquainted with some local people.’

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Relative clause in Chaozhou (Teochew) dialect

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Abstract

Chaozhou (Teochew) dialect is often considered as a Min dialect which shows some distinctive features shared with Cantonese. For instance, Min dialects spoken in Fujian province commonly do not possess the structure [CLF+NP] to express definiteness, whereas the varieties spoken in Guangdong province do, which is seemingly linked to the fact that in Yue dialect such structure is widely spread. Xu (2007)'s study of Jieyang variety of Chaozhou dialect points out that the definiteness of the structure [CLF+NP] is also attested in relative construction, but she did not give a rather detailed description.

In this study, we provide a comprehensive description of relative constructions in the Chaozhou dialect spoken in Chaozhou city. The description includes all noun-modifying structures linked to RC such as nominalization, relativization, genitivization, etc., following the framework GNMCC⁶ proposed by Matsumoto et al. (2017). Our preliminary survey shows that there are several RC markers in Chaozhou dialect: RC marker can be (a) an **individual classifier**; (b) a **general classifier** *kai*⁵⁵ (as in example 1a), which has undergone grammaticalization and thus can be considered as the equivalent to the commonly attested “*de*”; and (c) **individual classifier can also be preceded by a demonstrative** (as in example 1b). But the co-occurrence of all three [*kai*⁵⁵+DEM+CLF+NP] as in mandarin is blocked, in other words, the general classifier is in complementary distribution with other classifiers or demonstratives. Such phenomenon can be accounted for the function of *kai*⁵⁵ as a nominalizer (see also Xu & Matthews (2011) for Jieyang variety). Nevertheless, (d) a **demonstrative** *hia*⁵¹ ‘*that kind*’ or *tsia*⁵¹ ‘*this kind*’, which has rarely been mentioned in literature, can also be used to replace *kai*⁵⁵ in argument relatives (2b) and ‘aboutness relatives’ (3b) in which no overt grammatical relationship appears between modifying clauses and head nouns. This phenomenon could be explained by the fact that these two demonstratives can only be used to refer to a member of a category or a category as a whole, to limit the range of reference, which makes it optimal to be employed in relative construction since the function coincides.

- (1) a. [RC 放 在 许 床格 底] 个 [NP 书]
 *paŋ*²¹²⁻⁴¹ *to*³⁵⁻³¹ *hu*⁵¹⁻²⁴ *ts^huŋ*⁵⁵⁻²¹² *ke*^{ʔ^{β-5}} *toi*⁵¹⁻³¹ *kai*⁵⁵⁻²¹² *tsu*^{β3} book
 put PREP DEM_{DIS} drawer inside CLF:NMLZ
 无-去 啦
 bo^{55-*k^hu*²¹²⁻³¹} *la*³¹
 disappear-go PRT
 ‘The books put in the drawer has gone.’
- b. [RC 放 在 许 床格 底] [NP (许) 本]
 *paŋ*²¹²⁻⁴¹ *to*³⁵⁻³¹ *hu*⁵¹⁻²⁴ *ts^huŋ*⁵⁵⁻²¹² *ke*^{ʔ^{β-5}} *toi*⁵¹⁻³¹ *hu*⁵¹⁻²⁴ *puŋ*⁵¹⁻²⁴
 put PREP DEM_{DIS} drawer inside DEM_{DIS} CLF
 书] 无-去 啦
 tsu^{β3} *bo*^{55-*k^hu*²¹²⁻³¹} *la*³¹
 book disappear-go PRT
 ‘The book put in the drawer has gone.’

⁶General Noun-modifying Clause Construction


- (2) a. [RC 汝 □ 暝 买] 个 [NP 物件] 无 人 爱
lu⁵¹ tsa⁵¹⁻²⁴ mē⁵⁵ boi⁵¹ kai⁵⁵⁻²¹² muē^{ɾ⁵⁻³} kiã³⁵ bo⁵⁵⁻²¹² naŋ⁵⁵⁻²¹² ai²¹²
 2SG last.night buy CLF:NMLZ thing not.have people want
 ‘Nobody wants the thing(s) you bought last night.’
- b. [RC 汝 □ 暝 买] [NP □ 物件] 无 人 爱
lu⁵¹ tsa⁵¹⁻²⁴ mē⁵⁵ boi⁵¹ hia⁵¹⁻²⁴ muē^{ɾ⁵⁻³} kiã³⁵ bo⁵⁵⁻²¹² naŋ⁵⁵⁻²¹² ai²¹²
 2SG last.night buy DEM_{DIS} thing not.have people want
 ‘Nobody wants that kind of thing(s) you bought last night.’
- (3) a. 伊 有 [RC □ 起 食 杯 水] 个 [NP 习惯]
i³³⁻²⁴ u³⁵⁻³¹ tsau⁵¹⁻³⁵ k^hi⁵¹⁻³¹ tsia^{ɾ⁵⁻³} pue³³⁻²⁴ tsui⁵¹ kai⁵⁵⁻²¹² sik⁵⁻³ kueŋ²¹²
 3SG have get.up drink CLF water CLF:NMLZ habit
 ‘He has the habit to drink a cup of water after getting up.’
- b. 伊 有 [RC □ 起 食 杯 水] [NP 者/□ 习惯]
i³³⁻²⁴ u³⁵⁻³¹ tsau⁵¹⁻³⁵ k^hi⁵¹⁻³¹ tsia^{ɾ⁵⁻³} pue³³⁻²⁴ tsui⁵¹ tsia⁵¹⁻²⁴ /hia⁵¹⁻²⁴ sik⁵⁻³ kueŋ²¹²
 3SG have get.up drink CLF water DEM_{PROX}/DEM_{DIS} habit
 ‘He has that/this kind of habit to drink a cup of water after getting up.’





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L'influence de la graphie chinoise pour « arc-en-ciel » sur os et carapaces et l'impact d'une croyance populaire sur son évolution

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L'étymologie graphique chinoise pour « arc-en-ciel » suggère que l'apparition de ce phénomène naturel a dû être source d'interrogations pour les anciens Chinois. En effet, les données gravées sur os et carapaces du XIII^e s. av. J.-C., attestent de plusieurs occurrences de la graphie énigmatique , servant à rendre compte du sens d'« arc-en-ciel » à cette époque.

L'identification et l'étymologie graphique de  faisant toujours débat, nous nous proposerons d'explorer plus avant ces questions. Si Guō Mòruò 郭沫若 repère la graphie  en 1933, Yú Xǐngwú 于省吾 ne l'identifiera à hóng 虹 « arc-en-ciel » qu'en 1940, ce que Li Xiaohong (2013) a remis en cause. Après un rapide retour sur ce point de désaccord, nous mettrons notamment l'accent sur la lecture attentive des quelques inscriptions où apparaît la graphie  « arc-en-ciel », celle-ci permettant de mettre en relief des indices laissant deviner une croyance ancienne liée à ce phénomène naturel. Nous contribuerons à renforcer ce constat en le mettant en perspective avec les données issues d'une autre écriture d'inspiration figurative, à savoir celle des Dongba de la minorité ethnique Naxi du sud-ouest de l'actuelle Chine (voir Fāng et al. 1983). Ce faisant nous pourrions prendre toute la mesure de l'impact de cette croyance archaïque chinoise liée à l'apparition d'un arc-en-ciel qui s'est répandue bien au-delà de l'actuelle province du Henan, et même en dehors des frontières de la Chine (voir Dubois et al. 2018). Au final, cette étude permettra d'apprécier l'habileté de ceux qui ont fait évoluer la graphie éphémère  en hóng 虹 « arc-en-ciel ».

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Le Tongguk Ch'öng'un : un outil de standardisation de la langue coréenne ?

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L'ouvrage intitulé « Les Rimes correctes du Pays de l'Est » (東國正韻, *TC*), publié en six volumes par la cour des Yi en 1448 sur ordre du roi Sejong (r. 1418-1450), est le premier dictionnaire de rimes du royaume de Chosŏn. Il propose, quelques années seulement après la création de l'alphabet coréen qui allait être employé dans un certain nombre de publications en langue coréenne et en chinois classique, des équivalences entre caractères chinois et syllabes coréennes et peut être ainsi vu à l'époque, après « Les Sons corrects pour l'éducation du peuple » de 1446 (訓民正音, *Hunmin Ch'öng'üm*), comme un second outil complémentaire de normalisation de l'écriture coréenne. Contrairement au *Hongmu Chöng'un Yökhun* (洪武正韻譯訓), le *TC* n'avait en effet pas pour vocation de transcrire fidèlement les sons du chinois ; il proposait une lecture coréenne vernaculaire des caractères chinois (Kang : 212, Lee & Ramsey : 106-107).

Nous proposons, dans notre étude, d'évaluer sous quelles conditions et dans quelles limites le *TC* a servi de modèle, à l'écrit, pour la transcription des caractères chinois et influencé la littérature du coréen médiéval postérieur (période comprise entre le 1443 et la fin du XVI^e siècle) grâce à un corpus de quinze manuscrits, comprenant à titre indicatif le *Wörin Ch'önggang-ji Kok* (月印千江之曲), le *Sökpo Sangjöl* (釋譜詳節), ainsi qu'un certain nombre de *önhae* (諺解, explications vernaculaires) de sutras bouddhiques, publiés entre 1446 et 1496. On observera notamment que les normes orthographiques proposées par le *TC* ne sont pas systématiquement, et pour plusieurs raisons spécifiques, respectées dans les publications officielles et qu'elles se retrouvent progressivement abandonnées dès la fin du XV^e siècle, parallèlement à la disparition de certaines lettres de l'alphabet coréen et de la notation des tons (*pangjöm* 傍點).

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The Japanese particles *ga* and *wa* should be in Focus and Topic head positions

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The aim of this paper is to claim that the Japanese particles *ga* and *wa* should be in Focus and Topic head positions, respectively. Takezawa and Whitman (1998), citing a discussion in Kayne (1994), argue that Japanese particle *ga* should occur in the IP head position. They provide examples like (1a&b) and claim that the particle *ga* and the subject DP do not form a constituent. They propose the structure in (1c), in which the particle *ga* occupies the I head position.

- (1) a. *Eri *ga* dake *ki-ta*
Eri Nom only come-Past
b. Eri *dake-ga* *ki-ta*
Eri only-Nom come-Past
'Only Eri came.'
c. [IP Eri *dake* [I' *ga* [VP *ki-ta*]]

Furthermore, they mention the possibility that the particle *wa* occurs in the C head position, as shown below.

- (2) [CP Zoo [C' *wa* [IP *hana* [I' *ga* [VP *nagai*]]]]
elephant Top trunk Nom long
'An elephant has a long trunk./ As for an elephant, it has a long trunk.'

However, their analysis faces at least one problem. Namely, they cannot provide a slot for the tense particle *ta*, which is naturally assumed to be in the I head position.

Here, let us take into account the cartographic investigation, where topic and focus elements have their own slots in the structure. The sentence in (3a), for example, should be analyzed as in (3b). The structure dictates that *kono-kurasu-wa*, which constitutes topic element, occurs in the Topic Phrase (TopP). Moreover, *dansée-GA*, which constitutes the focus element, is in the Focus Phrase (FocP). The natural assumption is that focus elements are given focal stress. This is shown in the bold case. In each phrase, the particles are in head positions.

- (3) a. *Kono kurasu-wa dansée-GA yuushyuu-da*
this class -Top male-Foc excellent-Cop
'As for this class, it is male students that are excellent.'
b. [TopicP *kono kurasu* [Top' *wa* [FocP *gansée* [Foc' *GA* [TP *yuushuu da*]]]]]

When we turn our eyes into the languages such as Gungbe, extensively discussed in Aboh (2016), we can say that we are on the right track.

- (4) *Náwè ló yà gbákún étòn wε é dè*
woman Det Top hat her Foc she remove
'As for the woman, she took off HER HAT.'

In (4) the particle *yà* occurs the head position of TopP, whereas the particle *wε* is in the Foc head position.

Summing up, in this paper, after we touched upon with the investigation of Takezawa and Whitman (1998), we have modified their analysis and claimed that the particles *ga* and *wa* should occur in the FocP head and TopP head, respectively. We have supported our analysis from the investigation of other languages such as Gungbe, which is assumed to have the focus and topic elements similar to the particles *ga* and *wa* in Japanese.

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Negation in Shaowu, a Sinitic language in northwestern Fujian province of China

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Keywords: Negation, Min languages, Shaowu

Despite the age-old debate regarding what language universals should consist of, a majority of linguists would agree that negation is both human and universal. Indeed, every human language possesses at least one way of negating the truth-value of an utterance, be it on the clausal, phrasal or lexemic level (c.f. Stickel 1975; Dahl 1979; Miestamo 2005; Dryer 2013a, b, c; Haspelmath 2013; Veselinova 2013, van der Auwera & Lejeune 2013).

Shaowu is a Sinitic language which belongs to the northwestern group of Min and is spoken in the city of the same name in Fujian province of China. In this paper, I will present five major forms of Shaowu negative morphemes: [ŋ⁵⁵] 怀 ‘not’, [mau³⁵] 冇 ‘not have’, [uei²¹³] 未 ‘not yet’, [mai²²] 勿会 ‘don’t’ (i.e. negative imperative), and the more literary form [pei⁵³] 不 ‘not’.

	Shaowu	Mandarin
Present and future negator	[ŋ ⁵⁵] 怀	[pu ⁵³] 不
Negative perfective	[mau ³⁵] 冇	[mɛi ³⁵] 没
Negator + verb ‘to have’	[mau ³⁵ iou ⁵⁵] 冇冇	[mɛi ³⁵ iou ²¹³] 没有
Negator + copular	[mau ³⁵ ɛi ²¹] 冇是	[pu ³⁵ ʂ ⁵³] 不是
Negator + verb ‘to exist’	[mau ³⁵ tʰu ⁵⁵] 冇□ _在	[pu ³⁵ tsai ⁵³] 不在、 [mɛi ³⁵ tsai ⁵³] 没在
Future negator	[ai ²² mau ³⁵ iou ⁵⁵] 还有冇, [uei ²¹³] 未	[hai ³⁵ mɛi ³⁵ iou ²¹³] 还 没有、[uei ⁵³] 未
Negative imperative	[mai ²²] □ _{勿会}	[pie ³⁵] 别
Fixed expression ‘but’	[pei ⁵³ kɔ ⁰] 不过	[pu ³⁵ kuɔ ⁵³] 不过

The structural and functional scope of these negative morphemes, their interaction with aspect and modality, as well as the underlying discourse attributes that one negative construction may possess over another will be discussed. The focus will be on standard negation, which can be characterized as the basic means that languages have for negating declarative, verbal main clauses. Non-standard negative constructions, such as imperatives, existentials, non-verbal predicates and negative indefinite pronouns will however also be discussed and compared with dialects and languages in Shaowu’s environs.

The framework set up in Chappell (1994) and Chappell & Peyraube (2016) will be adopted in the present study in which three types of Sinitic languages can be identified and classified according to whether or not their negative verbs can also perform the function of negative markers for past perfective predicates, among other parameters. I will also refer to Croft’s negative existential cycle (1991) and to Zhang Min’s investigation of this cycle for Sinitic (2002).

The data is based on the author’s own fieldwork in Shaowu, Fujian province, China.

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Valeurs sémantico-pragmatiques des particules de mise en relief paradigmatique

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La mise en relief paradigmatique consiste à faire valoir un composant de phrase par rapport aux autres éléments du même paradigme. Il s'agit d'un concept sur lequel les linguistes japonais travaillent depuis quelques dizaines d'années sous la notion de *toritate* (Numata 1986). Les effets produits par *dake* et *sae* dans les exemples suivants en sont des exemples :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) <i>Tarô wa bîru dake nomu</i>
Tarô TH bière uniquement boire
Tarô boit seulement de la bière. | 2) <i>Tarô wa bîru sae nomanai</i>
Tarô TH bière même boire.NEG
Tarô ne boit même pas de bière. |
|--|---|

Dans la phrase (1), la particule *dake* met en relation le composant « bière » avec les éléments du paradigme tels que « vin », « whisky », « saké » afin d'ajouter le sens : « Târo boit *x* » est vraie seulement pour « bière » et fautive pour tout autre élément du paradigme. Cette mise en relief paradigmatique est réalisée en japonais principalement par les particules adverbiales (*fukujoshi*) appelées aujourd'hui particules de *toritate* (PT ci-après). Le même type d'effet est produit en français notamment par les adverbes appelés paradigmatiques (Nølke 1983) considérés comme un élément qui « introduit en tant que présupposé un paradigme d'éléments semblables à l'élément auquel il est attaché dans la phrase actuelle » (cité dans Guimier 1996). Différents sens sont apportés par les PT en japonais et Noda (2015) les divise en six classes comme suit.

- Classe A1 Restriction : *dake* « uniquement » (exemple 1)
- Classe A2 Extrême : *sae* « même » (exemple 2)
- Classe A3 Ressemblance : *mo* « aussi »
- Classe B1 Non-restriction : *demo* « par exemple, ou quelque chose d'autre » (exemple 3)
- Classe B2 Non-extrême : *kurai, nanka* « au moins » (exemple 4)
- Classe B3 Non-ressemblance : *wa* (CONTRAST, exemple 5)
 - 3) *Byôki-da to demo ie.*
malade-PRE CITATION PT dire.ORDRE
« Dis quelque chose comme : “je suis malade” »
 - 4) *Denwa gurai suru beki-da.*
téléphone PT faire devoir-PRE
« On doit au moins téléphoner »
 - 5) *Hiragana wa kakeru.*
syllabaire PT pouvoir_écrire
« Les hiragana, (il) sait les écrire »

Les trois classes de la série A sont définies selon les deux critères suivants : la relation entre l'élément mis en relief et les autres éléments du même paradigme d'une part, et la nature du paradigme qui instaure le domaine sur lequel exerce l'effet de *toritate* d'autre part. La PT de la classe A1 met en relief exclusivement un élément d'un paradigme et exclut tous les autres éléments du paradigme pour faire une proposition vraie, contrairement aux classes A2 et A3 qui réalisent une mise en relief non exclusive. La différence entre ces deux classes réside dans la nature du paradigme : la classe A2 concerne un ensemble ordonné et la classe A3, un ensemble non ordonné. Les trois classes de la série B sont ensuite définies négativement par

rapport aux classes de la série A : classes des expressions de non restriction, de non-extrême et de non-ressemblance.

La présente contribution propose un réexamen de cette classification. Une approche contrastive avec l'analyse de constructions semblables en français permet de mieux cerner la valeur sémantique des PT et d'ouvrir une piste pour la définition d'une typologie différente prenant en compte les effets produits par ces particules dans la structure argumentative.

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New Perspectives on the history of Chinese demonstratives

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The paper provides new insights on the evolution of the demonstratives since the Archaic period, and mainly on the two main demonstratives *zhè* 这 and *nà* 那 in Late Medieval and Pre-Modern Chinese, from the Tang period to the Ming period.

The two following issues are discussed:

1. Are the demonstratives basic expressions or whether they have been derived from nouns or verbs as a result of a grammaticalization process? This refers to the well-known controversy between Diessel (1999) or König (2017) who think that they are semantic primitives and Heine & Kuteva (2002, 2007) who believe that grammaticalization implies that all grammatical morphemes are derived from lexical sources. A special new investigation is made concerning the demonstrative *ge* 个 still used today in Southern dialects. It is shown that it could not have been grammaticalized from the classifier *ge* 个.

2. Do we really have a cyclic change concerning the use of the demonstratives *zhè* and *nà* as subjects, as it has been hypothesized? (i) Actually, the demonstratives could not be used alone as subjects in Tang times since they had to be followed by *ge* 个 or *di* 底 that disyllabizes them; (ii) A first change occurred during the Southern Sung where the two demonstratives could be used alone as subjects; (iii) Under the Yuan, the situation was again characterized by the necessity for *zhè* and *nà* to be followed by *de* 的 when used as subjects; (iv) lastly, under the Ming, they are used alone as subjects, as was the case in Southern Sung times and also the case today in Contemporary Mandarin. See Mei Tsu-lin (1986), Désirat & Peyraube (1992).

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Split intransitivity in Mandarin Chinese and related issues

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Based on the observation that the Chinese *translational* equivalents of unergative verbs (ueV) in English such as *sneeze*, *hiccup* are ‘V O’ phrases, *dǎ pēntì/gé* ‘strike sneeze/hiccup’ it has become a widespread view that Mandarin Chinese has no unergative verbs at all (i.e. verbs whose unique argument is VP-external) (cf. a.o. Huang & Roberts 2016: 328). Note that the verb *dǎ* ‘strike’ itself is *not* unergative, but transitive, selecting *pēntì* ‘sneeze’ and *gé* ‘hiccup’ as object. However, a more careful scrutiny of the data reveals quite a few unergative verbs *qua* verbal heads (V°): *gōngzuò* ‘work’, *guì* ‘kneel’, *huáxíng* ‘glide’, *huàng* ‘sway’, *hūxī* ‘breathe’, *nào* ‘make noises’, *késou* ‘to cough’, *kū* ‘cry’; *ǒutù* ‘vomit’, *pá* ‘crawl’, *piāo* ‘float’, *tǎng* ‘lie’, *yóu* ‘swim’, *xiào* ‘laugh’, *zhàn* ‘stand’, *zuò* ‘sit’ etc.

This result is important both for a cross-linguistic comparison of the syntactic and semantic properties of ueV *qua* heads, and for a Chinese-internal comparison between ueV and the second subset of intransitive verbs, i.e. unaccusative verbs (uaV). UaV, defined as verbs whose unique argument is VP-internal, involve verbs of (coming into) existence (*yǒu* ‘exist, have’; *fāshēng* ‘happen’), verbs of (dis)appearance: *lái* ‘come’, *zǒu* ‘leave’, *sǐ* ‘die’ and weather verbs. They typically occur in the so-called existential construction where the unique internal argument occupies a postverbal position:

- (1) {Huāyuán lǐ/ Ø/ Jīntiān} yǒu hěn duō sōngshǔ.
garden in today exist very much squirrel
‘In the garden are many squirrels./There are many squirrels (today).’
- (2) {Yuǎnchù / Ø/ Gānggāng} lái-le jǐ tiáo xiǎo chuán.
far.away just.now come-PERF several CL small boat
‘From far away came several small boats. / There have come several boats (just now).’

Due to the possible presence of a PlaceP in the sentence-initial position of (1–2), the existential construction (ExC) is generally considered a type of locative construction (LoC):

- (3) {Zhuōzi shàng/*Ø/ *Gānggāng} fàng-le yī shuāng xiézi.
table on just.now put-PERF 1 pair shoe
‘On the table has been placed a pair of shoes.’
- (4) {Shù xià/*Ø} zuò-zhe /guì-zhe yī ge nánhái.
tree under sit-IMP /kneel-IMP 1 CL boy
‘Under the tree is sitting/kneeling a boy.’

As illustrated in (3-4), the LoC allows many verb classes, including ueV (e.g. *guì* ‘kneel’). This has led to the conclusion that Chinese has no diagnostic context for uaV (cf. Pan Haihua 1996 among others).

The present talk challenges this view and shows that it is due to the failure to recognize the importance of the (well-known) obligatoriness of the PlaceP in (3-4). It demonstrates the necessity to analyse the ExC (1-2) and the LoC (3-4) as two *distinct* constructions, each with its own associated set of constraints, not as subtypes of the same (locative) construction (*pace*

necessity to analyse the ExC (1-2) and the LoC (3-4) as two *distinct* constructions, each with its own associated set of constraints, not as subtypes of the same (locative) construction (*pace* a.o. C.-T. James Huang 1987,

Y.-H. Audrey Li 1990). The LoC is now defined by the obligatory presence of a PlaceP in sentence-initial position, a temporal adverb is *not* sufficient. In the ExC, by contrast, the sentence-initial position can remain empty (cf. the alternatives provided for the sentence-initial position in (1-2)).

Acknowledging two distinct constructions has several welcome results. First, the ExC can now serve as a diagnostic for uaV. UeV are banned from the ExC, thus confirming the division of intransitive verbs into uaV and ueV established independently. Second, given the distinction ExC vs LoC, the two subtypes of the LoC, ‘PlaceP V-le NP’ and ‘PlaceP V-zhe NP’ can now be given a comprehensive analysis. In particular, Pan Haihua’s claim that the imperfective aspect suffix *-zhe* induces the suppression of the agent is invalidated by examples such as (5) based on Li Linding (1986: 75):

(5) Shǒushùshì ménkǒu (*xīnbùzàiyānde) děng-zhe sān míng
jiāshǔ.

surgery entrance absent-minded wait-IMP 3
CLfamily.member

‘At the surgery entrance are waiting (absent-mindedly) three family members.’

Given the presence of the external argument (*sān míng jiāshǔ*), the unacceptability of the activity-related adverb cannot be due to any “agent suppression” operation. Instead, the correct generalization is rather that activity-related adverbs are excluded in the LoC with *-zhe*, because this construction conveys a situation, a state, rather than an (agent-controlled) activity (cf. Djamouri & Paul 2018).

A Study of Koineization in Modern Urban Shanghai Wu

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Abstract: Researchers in Modern Urban Shanghai Wu (MUSW) have long recognized that an intense focus on the hybridity of MUSW suggests an unaccomplished opportunity for exploring universal and individual case of language/dialect contact and mixing. In 2006, Qian, Wang, and You debated on a series of questions about MUSW, including its nature, its formation, its status of classification within the Wu group, as well as its relations with other varieties of Wu Chinese. In this paper, we seek to foster the deductive argumentation on the koine nature of MUSW and the demonstration of evidences regarding the forming process of this language. Based on the consistent and mutual intelligibility among Northern Wu varieties including Old Shanghai, the forming process of MUSW as a typical koineization case is to be defined, and this conclusion is to be supported with testimony. New insights into the application of koineization theory on Chinese dialectology and study of language contact in the Sinitic family is hence to be gained. The research is conducted by describing and comparing the original differences and later convergence among participating Wu varieties in the forming process of MUSW, on aspects:

1. The phonological simplification process of MUSW towards a ‘common divisor’ of Northern Wu, i.e. extreme reduction of phonemes and simplification of the phonological system;
2. Lexical hybridization of ingredients that are different in forms while functionally different, which led to normal conditions of ‘needless duplication’ in MUSW, with considerable amount of synonymous clusters built with elements from the acrolects, which can be explicitly traced back to their Jiangsu and Zhejiang origins respectively.

Regarding the linguistic result of intensive immigration and blending of population in the local history, the forming process of MUSW can be an immigration-driven koineization.

Keywords: MUSW, koineization, language contact, linguistic hybridity

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The temporal orientation of Chinese necessity modals: some observations on the negated form

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Keywords: Modality, Actuality entailment, counterfactuality, prospectivity

As underscored by Hacquard (2006), in past environments circumstantial modals can have an actual reading, thus yielding actuality entailment. Whereas Hacquard relies on the aspectual distinction between the perfective and imperfective contrast, building on Belnap 1991, Mari (2015: 5) focuses on “a temporal-driven distinction between *past* and *past plus futurity*”. In such model, the entailment arises when *past* does not combine with *prospectivity*. This paper is aimed at checking this framework with the Chinese data, building on the investigation on the temporal perspective of modals conducted by Lin (2006), Tsai (2015), Chen (2012) and Meisterernst (2017). Focusing on deontic and goal-oriented modals as *yīnggāi* and *bìxū*, and on their different scopal properties, the paper will highlight phenomena pointing to a “negative shift” of Chinese modal, wherein, in the presence of negation, the prospective feature is neutralized, thus yielding actuality entailments. More specifically, it will be shown that in past contexts, in a specific pragmatic context that we call “reprimand”, a *factual* reading is available for *bù yīnggāi* ‘should not’, as visible in (1a), whereas *yīnggāi* ‘should’ has either an epistemic (1b) or a counterfactual reading (1c):

- 1) a. *Nǐ bù yīnggāi mǎi le name xūduō báicài.* (Halliday 2009: 185)
You not should buy LE so many cabbage.
‘You shouldn’t have bought so much cabbage.’ (= You did buy ...)
- b. *Wǒ péngyǒu yīnggāi yǐjīng huíqù le.* (Chen 2012: 532)
My friend should already return PRF-
‘My friend must have left.’
- c. *Nǐ zuótiān yīnggāi lái.*
You yesterday should come.
‘You should have come yesterday.’ (= You did not come)

It will also be shown that a proper actuality-entailment effect is not found with the goal-oriented *bìxū*, since a sentence like (2a) is considered acceptable by some informants. An entailment effect is instead found with the strongest goal-oriented marker, *bùdébù*, which surfaces as a double negative form, as in (2b).

- 2) a. *(Nà shíhou) qù dòngwùyuán, Zhēn bìxū zuò huǒchē, dàn tā zuìzhōng méiyǒu zuò huǒchē qù*
(That time) go zoo, Jane **have.to** sit train, but she finally not sit train go.
‘To go to the zoo Jane would have had to take the train, **but finally she did not take the train.**’
- b. *(Nà shíhou) qù dòngwùyuán, Zhēn bùdébù zuò huǒchē, #dàn tā zuìzhōng méiyǒu zuò huǒchē qù*
(That time) go zoo, Jane **cannot.but** take train, #but she finally not sit train go.
‘To go to the zoo Jane **had to take** the train, #but finally she did not take train.’ (=Jane took the train)

Since Mandarin deontic and goal-oriented modals have a covert prospective aspect (Chen 2012: 11), the lack of actuality entailment of *yīnggāi* and *bìxū* is fully consistent with the framework proposed by Mari (2015). Along the same lines, the occurrence of actuality

entailment in the negative forms points to an aspectual coercion, arguably the neutralization of the modal prospectivity feature, triggered by the negation.

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Vowel alternation in compound words in Tokyo and Osaka dialects

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In Japanese, a closed set of words can undergo vowel alternation when they are the first element of a compound word. Examples below are identical in Tokyo and Osaka dialects.

- (1) a. *ame* ‘rain’ + *oto* ‘sound’ = *ama-oto* ‘sound of the rainfall’
- b. *shiro* ‘white’ + *kaba* ‘birch’ = *shira-kaba* ‘Japanese white birch’
- c. *ki* ‘tree’ + *kage* ‘shadow’ = *ko-kage* ‘shade of the trees’

Vowel alternation has been studied extendedly from a historical point of view (Arisaka 1955, Matsumoto 1995, *inter alia*) and it is commonly accepted that the covert forms (*hifukukei*, i.e. *ama-*, *shira-*, *ko-*, etc.) were the first ones to appear, instead of the exposed forms (*roshutsukei*) that are now considered to be the default ones⁷. It has also been pointed out that a tonal change occurred between the covert and exposed forms: fully low-toned covert forms became LH in exposed forms and fully high-toned covert forms became HL in exposed forms (Sakurai 1994).

From compound words such as *ama-gappa* ‘raincoat’ (<*ame* ‘rain’ + *kappa* ‘cape’, from the Portuguese *capa*), it can be said that vowel alternation was still a productive process at least until the 16th century, when the loanword *kappa* was first attested. Salingre (2019) also found that for filler questions using vowel alternation, 57% of the participants chose the form with alternation (ex: *funa-nikawa* ‘boat glue’) when E2 was a native word and 47% when E2 was a loanword (ex: *ama-buutsu* ‘rain boots’). This seems to indicate that vowel alternation is still a productive process in modern Japanese.

In the present study, a corpus of 744 words was collected from the Osaka-Tokyo accent dictionary (Sugitô 1995). Three types of vowel alternation were studied: e/a alternation (*ame* ‘rain’, *ame* ‘heaven’, *fune* ‘boat’, *ine* ‘rice-plant’, *kane* ‘money, metal’, *kaze* ‘wind, cold’, *koe* ‘voice’, *me* ‘eye’, *mune* ‘chest’, *mune* ‘pillar’, *mure* ‘herd’, *nae* ‘seedling’, *sake* ‘alcohol’, *te* ‘hand’, *tsume* ‘nail’, *ue* ‘up’, *yone* ‘rice’), the i/o alternation (*hi* ‘fire’, *ki* ‘tree’) and the o/a alternation (*shiro* ‘white’). Part of the results were similar to what Irwin & Labrune (2016) reports: monomoraic first element are less likely to undergo vowel alternation ($X^2(1, N=744)=271.19$, $p<0.01$) and compound words with vowel alternation had a higher rendaku rate ($X^2(1, N=151)=4.95$, $p<0.05$).

Short compound nouns ($2\mu+2\mu$ or $2\mu+1\mu$) were more likely to undergo vowel alternation than long compounds ($2\mu+3\mu$ or $2\mu+4\mu$) ($X^2(1, N=442)=6.86$, $p<0.01$). This can be explained the same way Rosen (2003) explains why rendaku appears more easily when one of the elements is at least 3μ : prosodic words are made up of two feet in Japanese and so $2\mu+2\mu$ compounds only make up one prosodic word. If rendaku is more likely to appear at the left edge of a prosodic word, then vowel alternation is less likely to occur at the right edge of a prosodic word.

⁷ See Ono (2017) for a debate on whether the covert or exposed forms were the first ones to appear.

In both dialects, when E2 is short, it is frequent for compound words to be unaccented and so the vowel alternation rate and accent patterns were analyzed for short E2. In Tokyo dialect, the vowel alternation rate was higher for unaccented words (0.75) than for accented words (0.42) with bimoraic e/a alternating E1 ($X^2(1, N=129)=13.19, p<0.01$). However, it was the opposite for o/a alternating E1: unaccented words had a lower vowel alternation rate (0.36) than accented words (0.79) ($X^2(1, N=42)=5.25, p<0.05$). The difference in vowel alternation rates was not significant for monomoraic e/a alternating E1 ($X^2(1, N=84)=0.01, p=0.93$) and i/o alternating E1 ($X^2(1, N=31)=0.001, p=0.95$). No significant difference in vowel alternation between accented and unaccented compound words was observed in Osaka dialect for any of the bimoraic e/a alternating E1 ($X^2(1, N=130)=1.33, p=0.25$), o/a alternating E1 ($X^2(1, N=44)=2.07, p=0.15$), i/o alternating E1 ($X^2(1, N=26)=1.42, p=0.23$) and monomoraic e/a alternating E1 ($X^2(1, N=77)=0.14, p=0.71$).

However, vowel alternation had a strong correlation with register conservation in Osaka dialect. In Keihan type dialects, compound words usually take the register (high register *kōkishiki* or low register *teikishiki*) of their first element. Sometimes when the first element has a low register and the second element is short (1 μ or 2 μ), there is no register conservation and the compound word takes the less marked high register. Out of the words studied, eleven have a low register (seven when excluding the monomoraic words). The vowel alternation rate of compounds with no register conservation (0.42) was higher than that of compounds with register variation (0.37), which was in turn higher than that of compounds with total register conservation (0.14). This difference was found to be significant ($X^2(2, N=554)=48.87, p<0.01$).

The fact that vowel alternation appears more frequently with words that do not comply to the compound register conservation rule may indicate that, as Kobayashi (2006) points out, compound words with vowel alternation are more “word-like” while those without are more “compound-like”. As for the relationship between accent and vowel alternation for bimoraic e/a E1, it is similar to what Sugitō (1965) reports on surnames: there is a complementary distribution of accent and *rendaku* in Tokyo dialect but no specific distribution in Osaka dialect. The absence of correlation between accent and vowel alternation for monomoraic E1 even in Tokyo dialect may be due to the low vowel alternation rate for those E1. Further research is necessary to explain the difference in accent patterns between bimoraic e/a E1 and o/a E1.

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containing minimizers *yi*-Classifier-N, such as in (5), on account of the obligatory *dou* quantification at implicature level, vs. regular *dou* at semantic level.

- (7) Ta (lian) yi-ju hua dou/ye bu shuo.
 he including one-Classifier word all/also not talk
 ‘He didn’t say even a word’

This paper further proposes that while the *even* focused nominal minimizers (7) focused by *lian...dou* ‘including...all/also, meaning *even*’ evoke a set of alternative propositions containing contrastive nominals (e.g., Rooth 1985, 1992), *yidian* focused by *dou/ye* here evokes a scale of degrees relevant to the modified predicate. The *pos* morpheme realized by *yidian* is bound by the existential operator *you* in the affirmative sentence (in line with the operator binding requirement of *pos* in Liu 2010), or bound by *dou* in the negative sentences (cf. Shyu 2016). The proposed analysis is further supported by the semantic restriction between the adjectives and *yidian*. Consequently the scale analysis for *yidian* is called for.

This study provides a unified account for total negation on propositions with nominal or adjectival foci (both quantified by *dou*), and it is also parallel with the gradable adjective modifiers as proposed by Liu (2010).

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Du conditionnel temporel subjectif aux valeurs modales du marqueur *huì* en chinois mandarin

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Résumé :

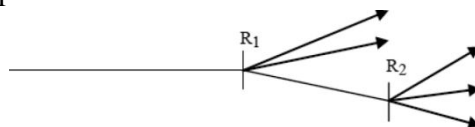
Les valeurs modales de *huì* font objet de nombreuses recherches de la linguistique chinoise. Pourtant, les travaux récents (Iljic, 1985 ; Xu, 1992 ; Wang, 2002 ; Lamarre, 2007 ; Jiang, 2007 ; Fan, 2017, *etc.*) ne permettent pas d'expliquer le mécanisme de la formation de ses emplois assertifs, ni ses problèmes d'incompatibilité dans certains contextes.

La grande similitude des emplois modaux entre le conditionnel français et *huì* (Saillard & Chen, 2012) conduit à nous inspirer des théories du conditionnel (Gosselin, 2005, 2018 ; Bres et *al.*, 2012) pour résoudre le conflit entre la valeur d'ultériorité de *huì* (possible, prédiction) et ses emplois assertifs (nécessaires ou inéluctables, ex : *Língdù yǐxià, shuǐ huì jié bīng*). Cette nouvelle analyse pourrait aussi éclairer la cause de l'effet de sens inattendu de *huì* (Peng, 2005 ; Li, 2007) en nous appuyant sur les travaux du temps ramifié (Thomason, 1970).

Nous adoptons le modèle TMM (Théorie Modulaire des Modalités) de Gosselin (2010) expliquant les valeurs modales des énoncés en calculant les valeurs des différents paramètres. A ce modèle, le paramètre P (participant externe ou interne) est intégré (Van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998) pour mieux distinguer les valeurs modales intrinsèque (savoir-faire) et extrinsèque (prédiction, possible) de *huì*.

Nous viserons à illustrer les valeurs modales de *huì* par les relations entre la nature du participant (P), l'instance de la validation (I), la direction d'ajustement (D), la portée de la force de validation (F) et le niveau syntaxique (N). Nous décrirons la valeur en langue et les effets de sens dérivés de *huì* dans ce cadre, en proposant des tests linguistiques de paraphrase pour identifier ses valeurs.

Dans ce travail, nous exposerons l'idée que la valeur temporelle d'ultériorité de *huì* impose les deux intervalles de référence (R_1 du procès de référence, R_2 du procès en *huì* et R_1 ANT R_2) qui opèrent deux coupures modales.



La factivité du procès dans les phrases de l'emploi assertif nécessaire (*Língdù yǐxià, shuǐ jié bīng*, En dessous de 0°C, l'eau gèle.) ne porte que sur la valeur déterminée, soit jusqu'à R_2 , ce qui accorde au procès en *huì* un effet virtuellement déterminé (irrévocable), duquel résulte l'effet de sens assertif. La non factivité du procès de référence (*rènwéi*, penser) dans un contexte du passé provoque un effet de sens inattendu, puisque la référence non factive oblige le procès en *huì* à se situer dans le champ indéterminé (ex, *Nà shí wǒ rènwéi tā huì lái*. A ce moment-là, je croyais qu'il viendrait.).

Mots-clés : marqueur *huì*, conditionnel, emplois assertifs, modalité chinoise

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Des systèmes protase-apodose compactés en chinois mandarin contemporain

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En chinois, les protases et les apodoses⁸ peuvent être marquées ou non par un « si » (如果 *rú guǒ*, 要是 *yào shì*, 假如 *jiǎ rú*, 若 *ruò*, etc.) et par un « alors » (就 *jiù*, 那么 *nà me*). En l'absence de ces marques, c'est la prosodie qui assure que la proposition1 et la proposition2 constituent une unité – un système –, et non deux énoncés indépendants :

- (1) (如果) 他 来, 我 (就) 走 ↑, ↓
(*rú-guǒ*) *tā lái*, *wǒ jiù zǒu*
(si) 3sg. venir, 1sg. alors s'en aller
« (S')il vient, je m'en vais. »

Dans cette communication, nous discuterons un cas de < S + SV1 + SV2 > qui se trouve à la frontière entre construction verbale sérielle et système protase-apodose, qu'on considérera alors comme compacté⁹, où le SV1 constitue le cadre du SV2 (le SV1 cadratif peut indiquer le moment, le lieu ou la condition de l'action exprimée par le SV2). Un énoncé comme :

- (2) 请 坐 下 来 谈
zuò -xià -lái tán
s'asseoir descendre Vdéc.s'approcher de discuter
lit. « on s'assoit, on discute. »

est ambigu. Il peut s'interpréter ou bien comme un :

lit. « on s'assoit, on discute. »

« Asseyons-nous et discutons » (CVS de succession entre SV1 et SV2)

« Asseyons-nous pour discuter/ discutons assis » (CVS de but entre SV1 et SV2)

ou bien comme un :

lit. « on s'assoit, on discute. »

« Quand on sera assis, on discutera » (système protase-apodose compacté de temps)

« Si et seulement si on s'assoit, on discutera. » (système protase-apodose compacté conditionnel)

Nous nous poserons la question de savoir comment rendre compte de cette différence d'interprétation.

Nous soutiendrons que, dans le premier cas, on a une suite de **procès**, et il s'agit alors d'une construction verbale sérielle, tandis que, dans le second cas, on a une suite d'**événements**, et il s'agit alors d'un système protase-apodose compacté :

⁸ Proposition principale placée après une proposition subordonnée, ou protase. (ex. si tu veux [protase], il partira [apodose]) (Le petit robert)

⁹ Dans la mesure où il n'y a pas de changement (ou reprise) de sujet dans l'apodose, ni de pause prosodique après la protase.

请坐下来谈

<i>zuò</i>	<i>-xià</i>	<i>-lái</i>	<i>tán</i>	
s'asseoir	descendre	Vdéc.s'approcher de	discuter	
V1	V2	V3	V4	
P1			P2	(P = sous-procès)
E1			E2	(E = sous-événement)

La différence réside dans le fait qu'un procès peut exprimer le but d'un autre procès, alors qu'un événement ne peut pas être le but d'un autre événement ; en revanche, un événement peut être la condition (nécessaire ou suffisante) d'un autre événement.

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Classifiers for human nouns in the Min dialect of Chaozhou (Sinitic)

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This paper explores the issue of nominal classification in the Chaozhou dialect, a Min dialect spoken in Guangdong, China. Based on fieldwork data, I show that besides *kai*⁵⁵, a cognate of the general classifier *ge* in Mandarin, there is in the Chaozhou dialect another classifier *tsu*⁵¹ used with human nouns. While *kai*⁵⁵ can also be used for fruit, body parts, clothes and may occur with abstract nouns, the classifier *tsu*⁵¹ described here is restricted to human nouns.

Since classifier *tsu*⁵¹ has never been described in the literature on Chaozhou classifiers (for instance neither Xu (2007) nor Xu & Matthews (2011), who deal with the Jieyang variety of Chaoshan, close to Chaozhou, mention it), we first provide a descriptive and analytical account of the different functions fulfilled by *kai*⁵⁵ and *tsu*⁵¹, based on the four functions of classifiers (i.e. classification, individualization, referentialization, relationalization) put forward in Bisang(1999). *kai*⁵⁵ individualizes the noun while *tsu*⁵¹ is less used for counting, as seen in example (1). [CL+N] in postverbal position, e.g. *kai*⁵⁵⁻²¹²*hak*⁵⁻³*seŋ*³³ ‘a student’, is usually ambiguous between specific and non-specific reading, while *tsu*⁵¹ tends to refer to a specific person, and is therefore less felicitous in (2). Moreover, classifier *kai*⁵⁵ is unacceptable as a relative clause marker if the head noun denotes a person: classifier *tsu*⁵¹ is required in this case as shown in example (3).

- (1) ham⁵⁵⁻⁴¹niã⁵¹⁻²⁴kou³³ kai⁵⁵⁻²¹²kiã⁵¹ tso²²⁻⁴¹tu³³⁻²⁴ suŋ²¹²loʔ³, niŋ⁵¹
 with 2SG_{GEN} aunt GEN children together count-in
 2PL
 hu⁵¹⁻²⁴ lai³⁵ loŋ⁵¹⁻³⁵tsoŋ⁵¹⁻³¹ u³⁵⁻³¹ tsap⁵⁻³zi³⁵⁻²¹² kai⁵⁵⁻²¹²/tsu⁵¹⁻²⁴
 DEM_{DIS} family totally have twelve CL_{KAI}/CL_{TSU}
 nou⁵⁵⁻²⁴kiã⁵¹.
 children
 ‘There are twelve children in your family, including your aunts’ sons and daughters.’
- (2) lu⁵¹ ts’hia⁵¹⁻²⁴ na³¹⁻²¹² hu⁵¹⁻²⁴ko²¹² taŋ⁵¹, ua⁵¹ ke²¹²⁻⁴¹ kie²¹²⁻⁴¹
 2SG ADV PREP there wait 1SG later ask
 kai⁵⁵⁻²¹²/tsu⁵¹⁻²⁴ hak⁵⁻³seŋ³³ k’hu²¹²⁻⁴¹ts’hue³¹ lu⁵¹⁻²¹², ŋ³¹, ua⁵¹
 CL_{KAI}/CL_{TSU} student go look for 2SG PRT 1SG
 thōi⁵¹⁻²⁴ kie²¹²⁻⁴¹tiaŋ⁵⁵⁻²¹² iəu⁵¹⁻³⁵ ho⁵¹⁻³¹.
 see ask who more good
 ‘Please wait a minute, I will ask a student to pick you up later. Hmm, let me see who is better.’
- (3) to³⁵⁻³¹ hu⁵¹⁻²⁴ko²¹² lo²⁴ uaʔ⁵uaʔ⁵kie²¹² tsu⁵¹⁻²⁴/kai⁵⁵⁻²¹² ta⁵¹⁻²⁴pou³³
 PREP there PROG shout CL_{TSU}/CL_{KAI} man
 ti³¹⁻²¹²tiaŋ⁵⁵ a³¹.
 who PRT
 ‘Who is the man shouting there?’

The semantic hierarchy of classifiers presented by Croft (1994) is seemingly less straightforward in Sinitic than in most East and Southeast Asian languages, since human nouns lack a dedicated classifier. According to Cao (2008), classifiers for humans can also be used for other objects, e.g. 头 in Guibei Pinghua and 只 in Hakka dialects. This paper claims that the

feature [\pm human] is relevant in the classifier system of Chaozhou dialect. Although the general classifier kai⁵⁵ may also be applied to human nouns, kai⁵⁵ and tsu⁵¹ display different functions when occurring with human nouns.

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The moraic nasal N in Tokyo Japanese: representations in light of new data

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In this paper, I discuss the representation of the moraic nasal (N) in Tokyo Japanese (TJ). N is generally understood to be an underspecified nasal coda consonant which triggers nasalisation on the preceding vowel (Vance 2008) and which is realised as a dorso-uvular glide in final and intervocalic contexts e.g. /hoN/ [hõũ] ‘book’ or /taN.i/ [tãũji] ‘unit, credit’ from, or as a homorganic nasal preceding consonants, /hoN-tana/ [hõndana] ‘bookshelf’ (McCawley 1968, Itō 1987, Vance 1987, 2008; Labrune 2012, Kubozono 2015). Elsewhere, Youngberg (2017) has argued for a vocalic representation based on the following: ‘nasalisation’ could be underlying nasality, N is a marginal TBU as with other vocalic moras when pre-accented (Higurashi 1983, Labrune 2012), as in (1), and CVN patterns with CVV for tone spreading, as in (2).

(1) High tone on VN, V: in pre-accentuation contexts (Higurashi 1983), spreading excluded

/ko o e N/	UR, ‘park’	/te k kj o o/	UR, ‘iron bridge’
[ko o e Ń]	Citation, ‘park’	[te k kj o ó]	Citation, ‘iron bridge’
[ko o e Ń ɕi ka]	‘only the park’	[te k kj o ó ɕi ka]	‘only the iron bridge’

(2) Tone spreading in TJ (Haraguchi 1977^a, Tanaka 2013^b, consultant data^c)

a. CV initial	[ko ná gó ná]	‘crushed to pieces’ ^a
b. CV: initial	[kó ó bá Ń]	‘police station’ ^a
c. CVi initial	[sá í hó o so o]	‘rebroadcast’ ^b
d. CVN initial	[há Ń bá i ki]	‘vending machine’ ^b
e. CVC initial	[pi t tá ri]	‘fit perfectly’ ^c

The patterning of CVV and CVN is accounted for if CVN syllables are in fact C \tilde{V} : syllables. From a Strict CV (Lowenstamm 1996) stance, tone is understood as being sensitive to the branching status of the initial vowel: CVN is a long nasal vowel, triggering tone spread to the initial vowel along with other CVV syllables, while geminates have an independent initial vowel which does not branch and thus patterns with a CV initial word. This is represented in (3) and (4).

(3) Strict CV representation of <keNka> or [kẽ:ká] ‘quarrel

C ₁	V ₁	C ₂	V ₂	C ₃	V ₃
k	ẽ			k	a

(4) CV representation of [bat:á] ‘grasshopper’

C ₁	V ₁	C ₂	V ₂	C ₃	V ₃
b	a			t	a

One issue which remains unclear is the phonetic reality of syllables containing N and nasalisation. For Vance (1987, 2008), nasalisation exists preceding N but this has not been robustly verified. I present initial results from fieldwork, focusing on 4 speakers of Tokyo Japanese recorded using accelerometers on the nasal cartilage and a headworn oral microphone (as in Tronnier 1999 on Ōsaka Japanese, see also Audibert & Amelot 2011). I reconsider the proposed representations in the light of the empirical results. The talk concludes with a discussion of possible alternative representations given for other languages (e.g. Carvalho 2011) and future issues.

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《集韻》平聲卷的改良反切是否反映了“平分陰陽”？

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《集韻》的聲調系統繼承了《廣韻》聲調格局，平聲不分陰陽，這個命題需要證明。本文比較和統計了《集韻》平聲卷的改良反切，從不同角度來論證了《集韻》的平聲不分陰陽，《集韻》平聲卷的改良反切不能反映平分陰陽的音變現象。

《集韻》平聲反切上字聲調的陰、陽之所以跟被切字聲調的陰、陽一致，首先，因為它們都是平聲，《集韻》作者力圖追求跟平聲切下字的聲調跟切上字的聲調和諧一致，只能盡量擇取平聲字來作切上字；其次，在聲調一致的前提下，《集韻》平聲卷的清聲母字只有陰平字，清聲母被切字只能擇取陰平字作切上字；濁聲母的平聲字只有陽平字，濁聲母被切字只能擇取陽平字作切上字。

《集韻》以後、至晚在周德清《中原音韻》時代的北方官話裏，以聲母清、濁為條件，全濁聲母清化后，平聲字分化為陰平、陽平兩個調類，後人讀《集韻》的平聲反切，在讀清聲母的平聲切上字時，只能念出跟清聲母的平聲被切字同樣的陰平調，在讀濁聲母的平聲切上字時，只能念出跟濁聲母的平聲被切字同樣的陽平調，這是《集韻》以後“平分陰陽”規律起作用的結果。

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Some contact-induced linguistic features in languages spoken in Hainan

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This paper discusses some contact-induced linguistic features found in languages spoken in Hainan Island. Hainan Island can be described as a melting pot where languages of different families (Sinitic & non-Sinitic) co-exist and interact. The long-term contact gives rise to many features that deserve our attention. We will illustrate this language contact situation with examples drawn from the Gelong language (spoken in Dongfang city), and the Mai dialect (spoken in Sayna). Some lexical items in Gelong such as numerals show that this language has a stratum of the Hlai language which is an indigenous language on Hainan Island. At the same time, speakers of contemporary Gelong receive influence of sociolinguistically prestigious languages, Hainanese and Putonghua. This brings in another stratum in the Gelong language.

The verb-resultative complement structure in the Mai dialect will be discussed with respect to the relative order of the verb-complement and the object. Our fieldwork investigation shows that older speakers have the word order of V_1OV_2 (e.g. 燒人死) while young speakers have switched to V_1V_2O (燒死人) due to the influence of Putonghua and Hainanese.

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Altaicisation of Northern Chinese: between myth and reality

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In view of various grammatical features displayed by the northern Chinese dialects of the Gansu-Qinghai area and by colloquial Pekinese, Hashimoto (1986) considered that it better to speak about “Altaicisation of Northern Chinese” than evolution of the Chinese language due to the “Altaic influence” or “contacts with Altaic languages”. He suspected that what caused the large scale change in Northern Chinese syntax must be the influence of the mother tongues of Altaic residents (Mandchus in the case of Pekinese) who “later got Sinicized and adopted their own version of the Chinese language”. by accommodating the Chinese lexicon and morphology and “maintaining, however, their own syntax and perhaps most of their phonetics”.

Considering the particular case of the Tangwang language in the Gansu province, often cited as being a model of a highly altaicized variety of Chinese, some evidence will be brought to rule out the hypothesis of a Chinese relexification of an underlying Altaic language. We will first show that despite the exclusive use of postpositions and the frequent OV order, the Tangwang language didn't totally displayed the fundamental OV order specific to the Altaic languages. We will also examine the use of 著 *zhe* verbal subordinator in Tangwang, and show that even if this particular use finds some structural analogies in Altaic languages, one can clearly trace its internal diachronic evolution in Chinese before the Yuan period.

These facts lead us to question the exact content of the Chinese-Altaic language contact, and to formulate some plausible explanations to the convergences observed in Tangwang and Altaic languages.

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« Manchuisms foreign to ordinary “Mandarin” » : contact de langues et interactions des catégories linguistiques dans les sources occidentales d’époque Qing

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Outre une riche production d’ouvrages occidentaux consacrés à la description et à l’enseignement de diverses langues sinitiques, l’époque Qing se caractérise également par l’élaboration d’ouvrages, de dictionnaires, de grammaires et de méthodes dédiés aux langues non chinoises, et notamment au mandchou (à titre d’exemples : Abel-Rémusat 1820 ; Klapproth 1828 ; Gabelentz 1832).

Parmi ces ouvrages figurent les traductions en langues occidentales de méthodes chinoises de mandchou ou bien des ouvrages occidentaux largement fondés sur ces méthodes bilingues. Nous pouvons ainsi mentionner la traduction anglaise du *Qīngwén qíméng* 清文啟蒙 (1730) par A. Wylie (parue en 1855) et la grammaire italienne de mandchou de G. Hoffmann (1883), fondée sur un chapitre de cette méthode. Th. Fr. Wade (1867) propose également dans ses « Hundred lessons » la version chinoise (avec traduction anglaise) des dialogues du *Qīngwén zhǐyào* 清文指要 (cf. Zhang et Qi, 2017), dialogues qui seront repris dans la méthode de P.G. Möllendorf (1892).

La plupart de ces ouvrages utilisent une approche contrastive, comparant le chinois, le mandchou et plusieurs langues occidentales (latin, grec, anglais, entre autres). Les influences réciproques entre chinois et mandchou sont parfois également soulignées, comme le montre Möllendorf (1892 : 14) qui évoquait des « peculiarities of Pekingese », des « Manchuisms foreign to ordinary “Mandarin” » dans son introduction aux dialogues des « Hundred lessons ».

Par ailleurs, nous pouvons relever comment, dans ces ouvrages, la terminologie et les catégories linguistiques occidentales mais aussi chinoises (Takekoshi, à paraître) sont adaptées à la description de la langue mandchoue, ce qui se traduit par un brassage de concepts et de traditions linguistiques.

Cette intervention se propose de présenter brièvement les grammaires et méthodes occidentales de mandchou d’époque Qing pour y examiner le recours aux méthodes bilingues mandchou-chinois. Nous nous concentrerons en particulier sur la superposition de différents modèles de description linguistique ainsi que sur les influences réciproques entre chinois et mandchou telles que celles-ci apparaissent dans ces ouvrages.

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Itive motion in imperative and hortative sentences in Northwest Mandarin

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Many varieties of northern Mandarin have developed a set of clitics which mark motion-cum-purpose, e.g. (1), whereas southern varieties of Sinitic typically use a serial verb construction where a full motion verb is followed by a purposive VP, as in (2) (see Lù 1985 for a basic description, and Lamarre forthcoming for an analysis of these clitics as associated motion markers):

- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| (1) <i>Wǒchī-fàn=qu.</i> | (2) <i>Wǒ qù</i> | <i>chī-fàn</i> |
| 1sg eat-rice=go&do | 1sg go | eat-rice |
| ‘I go and eat.’ | | |

Purpose clitics with an itive meaning ‘go and V’ occur both in imperative and in past narratives, whereas ventive clitics tend to appear in sentences expressing past events (see Lù 1989, in (3) the ventive verb and the ventive clitic combine to express the meaning of ‘come and V’):

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----|-------|--------------|------------|------|--------------------|-----------|
| (3) 因为 | 天 | 不 | 早 | 啦 | 伊老者 | 老 | 没 | 回家 |
| Yīnwèi | tiān | bù | zǎo | la | Yī lǎozhě | lǎo | méi | huí jiā |
| Because | day | not | early | cos | Yi old.man | long | not.yet | come home |
| 不放心 | 所以 | | 来 | 接来 | | 啦 | 《小额》(Xiao E, 1908) | |
| bù fāng xīn | suǒyǐ | | lái | jiē=lai | | la | | |
| not reassured | therefore | | come | meet=come&do | | cos | | |

‘Because it was getting late and Mr. Yi had not come home yet, I got worried and came to meet him.’

In some northwestern Mandarin dialects, a third item is added to this set of deictic motion-related clitics: a specific itive marker [tsou] (from the motion verb 走 *zǒu*[tsou]), replaces 去 [tɕhy] (or [tɕhi]), in hortative sentences (inclusive 1st person plural subject, such as in ‘let’s go and eat!’). See König & Siemund 2007, Birjulin & Xrakovskij 2001, van der Auwera et al. 2003 on hortatives vs. imperatives). The following examples illustrate this phenomenon in a Guanzhong Mandarin dialect spoken in Chunhua 淳化 (Xianyang, Shaanxi).

- (4) 咱看看走!

$ts^{ha}{}^{55}k^{h\tilde{a}}{}^{55}-k^{h\tilde{a}}{}^{21}=tsou^{21}$

1p.incl look-red go&do

‘Let’s go and have a look’

In such varieties, prototypical imperatives (i.e. 2nd person subject imperatives ‘Go and eat!’) use clause-final [tɕhi], a cognate of Standard Mandarin *qu* (from *qù* ‘to go’, as in (1) above).

- (5) 你看看去!

$ni^{52}k^{h\tilde{a}}{}^{55}k^{h\tilde{a}}{}^{21}=tɕ^{h\tilde{a}}{}^{21}$

2S look-redup go&do

‘Go and have a look!’

We first provide a preliminary description of this areal feature, which apparently characterizes northwest Mandarin, based on field survey in Shaanxi and some second-hand descriptions (e.g. Wang 1998, Zhang & Tian 2014, Zhao 2015, Peng & Wang 2017 etc.).

Then we discuss to what extent this split between imperative and hortative is likely to be induced by language contact (see for instance de la Fuente 2012 on Tungusic imperative-hortative systems, and Zhang & Tian 2014 on a corresponding Uighur pattern to this hortative pattern in Xinjiang Mandarin). This discussion must be kept distinct from the debate launched by Yang Yonglong 2012 on a possible link between VP-*qu* patterns and Altaic features in northern China (see Yang 2012, Lamarre forthcoming): it concerns personal paradigms in imperative-hortative systems, not word order.

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Phonologie en contact : le cas de la langue bao'an

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Résumé :

La complexité et la diversité des langues du sprachbound du Gansu-Qinghai attirent grandement l'attention des linguistes depuis les années 1980. Les langues de cette zone géographique appartiennent typologiquement aux trois domaines qui sont "altaïque", bodique et sinitique (Janhunen 2006). Le bao'an, une des langues minoritaires de cette zone, est parlé par les locuteurs du Tongren de la province du Qinghai et par les locuteurs du Jishishan de la province du Gansu. Il est en contact étroit avec les langues qui l'environnent : le bao'an du Qinghai est particulièrement en lien avec le tibétain du Tongren, alors que le bao'an du Gansu se retrouve plus en contact avec le mandarin local. Dans ce cadre, des changements linguistiques induits par ces différents contacts se manifestent dans les deux variétés aux niveaux morphologique, syntaxique mais aussi phonologique.

Dans cette présentation, nous proposons une recherche sur la phonologie de la langue bao'an du Qinghai et du Gansu dans la perspective des contacts de langues et basée sur les données de plusieurs linguistes (Chen 1986; Buhe et Liu 1982; Charles N. Li 1983) ainsi que sur nos propres données. Nous nous pencherons tout d'abord sur la phonologie des deux variétés aux niveaux diachronique et synchronique afin de distinguer les éléments reçus de la langue mongole et ceux empruntés et /ou influencés par les langues avoisinantes. Ensuite, nous nous concentrerons sur les phonèmes qui n'apparaissent que dans les mots-emprunts et essayerons d'analyser leurs stratégies d'adaptation dans la phonologie du Bao'an.

Mots clés : langue bao'an, phonologie, contact de langue, Sprachbound du Gansu-Qinghai

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Cross-linguistic Transfers and Language Contact: A View from South China

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Language contact is to a large extent predicated on wider cultural contact. South China is an unusually complex linguistic area where speakers of very diverse languages have had varying degrees of sustained interaction over extended periods of time, and many kinds of linguistic transfers may be found, ranging from lexical importation, lexical substitution and relexification to pidginization and creolization. Such situations raise interesting questions on *what*, *how* and *why* certain linguistic transfers have taken place. In an attempt to answer these questions, we shall explore the important issues in the context of demographic balance and changing sociolinguistic hierarchy. We shall focus on the lexical domain, including common portmanteau words, and on the grammatical domain, involving reversal of constituents in verbal structure in Cantonese - Zhuang contact in Guangxi and Mai - Li & Jun contact in Sanya, Hainan, as well as in light of broader linguistic issues in language contact.

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Lexical borrowing versus syntactic borrowing in “mixed languages” in China

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Abstract:

Language contact presents mainly two types of borrowing: lexical borrowing and syntactic borrowing. We will present Daohua, Wutun and Tangwang languages, considered as “mixed languages” in China to compare these two types of borrowing and analyze their consequences. It will be shown that lexical and syntactic borrowing do not play a symmetrical role.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74 – 76) proposed a five degree borrowing scale. Theoretically, these degrees could apply to a majority of languages. But given our fieldwork experience, it is difficult to use them since one language often appears between two degrees or shares two of them. Moreover, lexical and structural borrowings do not necessarily exert their impact in a synchronized manner.

We propose that syntactic borrowing is a more reliable parameter than lexical borrowing for determining whether a language is mixed. Even the lexical borrowing reaches a significant level, the language may not necessarily be mixed.

Key words: lexical borrowing, syntactic borrowing, borrowing scale, mixed language,