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Contact des langues entre le chinois et le truku (langue austronésienne de Taiwan): quelles grammaires en contact?

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Au cours de cette intervention seront présentés des phénomènes linguistiques (doublement morphologique, variation positionnelle) dont on fait l'hypothèse qu'ils sont induits par le contact entre deux langues typologiquement distinctes, dans un contexte où l'une des deux langues est dominante. L'ordre des mots dans les deux langues différant tant au niveau de la phrase qu'à celui des syntagmes (on examinera plus particulièrement le domaine du syntagme nominal), les phénomènes observés posent la question de la compatibilité de grammaires en compétition dans un même énoncé. On interrogera ainsi les contraintes sur le *codeswitching* invoqués par nos prédécesseurs (Woolford 1983, Myers-Scotton 1997, Auer & Muhamedova 2005) à la lumière de ces phénomènes observés dans le discours mixte chinois-truku.

Structures informationnelles et linguistiques du français et du chinois dans le discours de description spatiale

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L'objectif de cette étude expérimentale est d'analyser les interactions qui existent entre les structures informationnelles et linguistiques dans la construction d'un type de discours que l'on appellera « description spatiale statique » (Carroll & von Stutterheim 1993 ; Watorek 1998 ; Trévisiol *et al.* 2010). Nous comparons ces interactions dans deux langues, le français et le chinois. Nous essayons ainsi de répondre à la question suivante : *la grammaire d'une langue a-t-elle une influence sur les choix des informations à transmettre et leur organisation dans le discours pendant le processus de production langagière ?* (Levelt 1989 ; Slobin 1996) La procédure utilisée est celle d'une analyse de corpus oraux basée sur la description d'une image (représentant un centre-ville constitué d'une place, de rues et de bâtiments). Les informateurs se divisent en deux groupes : 18 locuteurs natifs du français et 18 locuteurs natifs du chinois. Le modèle d'analyse du discours utilisé est celui de la *Quaestio* (von Stutterheim & Klein 1989). Les réponses ont été étudiées au niveau de la structure du discours (structures principales et secondaires), des domaines référentiels encodés dans le topique (espace et/ou entités) et du mouvement référentiel en topique (déroulement de l'information du domaine des entités entre les énoncés). Les résultats révèlent les phénomènes suivants : (1) les francophones utilisent une des deux structures principales possibles plus fréquemment que les sinophones ; (2) les francophones produisent plus de topiques implicites et moins de topiques encodant simultanément les domaines de l'espace et des entités que les sinophones ; (3) le type de maintien anaphorique des entités en topique privilégié par les francophones est différent de celui des sinophones. Ces résultats montrent que les moyens linguistiques les plus opératoires dans une langue (propositions relatives, compléments circonstanciels de lieu, adverbes, particules locatives...) ont une influence sur le choix et l'organisation des informations transmises dans le discours.

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Semantic-Pragmatic Development of a Spatial Noun *The* in Korean: From a Grammaticalization Perspective

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This paper attempts to explore the evolution of pragmatic marking function derived from a Korean locative noun *the* ‘place/ground’ from a grammaticalization perspective. Korean is a dynamic language which exhibits the development of a variety of lexical nouns into grammatical markers, such as markers of clausal subordination, adnominalizers, sentence-final particles, or predicators. To acquire such grammatical status, lexical nouns recruited as items to run into the cline of grammaticalization go by way of the intermediate stage of the so-called defective nouns. Nominal *the*, among others, is an instance par excellence of impressive defective nouns (i.e. nominalizers) that carries diverse grammatical functions evoking pragmatic meanings. As a grammaticalized nominalization marker in present-day Korean, this form exhibits functional-semantic versatility (Ahn 1997, Lee 2009) to varying degrees, such as modal, aspectual and epistemic stance marking functions (Rhee, 2011, Baik 2014). *The*’s development as a nominalizer is influenced by structural constraints, as well. In other words, this defective noun is semantically so bleached that it normally cannot be used independently, and requires complex morphosyntactic operations for grammaticalization (Ahn 1997, Kang 2004), which is configured with the string as [Adnominal Clause-Noun-Copula].

With this regard, this paper focuses on how *the* evolved from a locative noun into a pragmatic marking nominalizer. We first examine the development of this locative noun into a semantically generalized noun (e.g. a defective noun), by the use of both a synchronic corpus (e.g. 21st Sejong Project) and diachronic Korean literatures (from 15th to 20th century). Further, we analyze how this defective noun came to be reinterpreted not only as a clausal subordinator, but also as a predicator signifying pragmatic mood when it occurs in the ‘copula construction (Nam 2004)’. Our additional focus is on the discussion of grammaticalization processes whereby this nominalizer acquired pragmatic meanings from

(inter)subjectification of interlocutors (Traugott 2003, Traugott & König 1991).

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Verbal plurality: A view from Mandarin Chinese

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Verbal plurality refers to the pluralisation of actions in natural language. According to Cusic's theoretical framework (1981: 64), verbal plurality can occur at three different levels: **phases**, **events** and **occasions**. Cusic (*ibid.*: 255) demonstrated the phenomenon of verbal plurality due to the semantics of adverb(ial)s of repetition, distributivity or frequency, such as again and again, one by one, always, and so on. In Mandarin Chinese, the class of frequency adverbs (as a general grammatical category: e.g. zongshi 'always', cháng 'often', chángcháng 'often-often', jingchang 'frequently', shichang 'often', ou'er 'once in a while', youshi 'sometimes') and the class of iterative or distributive adverbials (e.g. buduan(di) 'continuously', fanfu 'repeatedly', pinpin 'frequently', lülü 'time and again', yiciyoyici 'again and again' and so forth (hereafter, iterative adverbials) can all be interpreted as indicating a plurality of actions, as (1)-(2) show.

- (1) 小明总是/常/常常/经常/时常/偶尔/有时听演讲时打瞌睡。
XM zongshi / chang / changchang / jingchang / shichang / ou'er / youshi [**ting yanjiang shi**] dakeshui.
XM always/often/often-often/frequently/often/once in a while/sometimes [**listen speech time**] doze off
"Xiaoming always/often/often-often/frequently/often/once in a while/sometimes dozes off [**when listening to a speech**]."
- (2) 小明不断地/反复/频频/屡屡/一次又一次地打瞌睡打了正正一个小时。
XM buduan-di / fanfu / pinpin / lülü / yiciyoyici-di da-kesui da-le [**zhengzheng yi-ge xiaoshi**].
XM continuously/repeatedly/frequently/time and again/again and again doze off doze-Acc. [**full one-Cl. hour**]
"Xiaoming dozed off continuously/repeatedly/frequently/time and again/again and again [**for one full hour**]."

We will show the compatibility of the above two classes of adverb(ial)s with the five situation types in the sense of Smith (1994) to explain the (a)telicity and boundness of these adverbials. We will then distinguish the pluralisation of actions at the occasion and event levels with help of the duration complement and temporal subordinate clause. Specifically, we claim that the two classes of adverb(ial)s express verbal plurality at different levels: frequency adverbs tend to express verbal plurality at the occasion-level while iterative adverbials tend to express verbal plurality at the event-level. This can be seen with their (in)compatibilities with a temporal subordinate clause (cf. 1 & 3) and a durational complement (cf. 2 & 4).

- (3) * / ?? 小明不断地/反复/频频/屡屡/一次又一次地听演讲时打瞌睡。
XM buduan-di / fanfu / pinpin / lülü / yiciyoyici-di [**ting yanjiang shi**] dakeshui.
- (4) * / ?? 小明总是/常/常常/经常/时常/偶尔/有时打瞌睡打了正正一个小时。
XM zongshi/chang/changchang/jingchang/shichang/ou'er/youshi da-kesui da-le [**zhengzheng yi-ge xiaoshi**].

The scope of occasion-level adverbs is higher than the scope of event-level adverb(ial)s as the former category can precede the latter:

- (5) 小明总是/常/常常/经常/时常/偶尔/有时 +不断地/反复/频频/屡屡/一次又一次打瞌睡
XM zongshi/chang/changchang/jingchang/shichang/ou'er/youshi + buduan-di/fanfu/pinpin/lülü/yiciyoyici-di da-kesui
" Xiaoming always / often / often / frequently / often / once in a while / sometimes + dozes off continuously / repeatedly / frequently / time and again/again and again"

Van Geenhoven (2004:179, 2005) proposes that verbal plurality (or in her terms, "pluractional") markers like "repeatedly" may give rise to atelicity of verbal predicates and the multiple events can be distributed to subintervals over a period of time (cf. 6). We argue that in Chinese, (occasion-level) frequency adverbs and (event-level) iterative adverbials also indicate the atelicity of predicates, but at their own levels.

- (6) Mary discovered fleas on her dog repeatedly for six weeks.

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從“者”類後置型關係從句看漢語關係從句的特點

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提要：

漢語是目前已知的語言中極少數 VO 型語序而關係從句前置於核心名詞的語言之一。作為具有優勢語序的類型學參項，關係從句以後置為優勢語序。這符合 Hawkins 提出的“重成分後置”原則，即人類語言傾向於把重的（即長和/或結構複雜的）成分放在右邊（即後面）。而漢語作為 VO 型語言，絕大多數關係從句位於核心名詞之前，這種特殊的語序在類型學上是十分罕見的。

除了語序特殊之外，漢語的關係從句還與“名詞短語可及性等級序列”有所偏離。Keenan & Comrie (1977) 提出了“名詞短語可及性等級序列” (Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy, 簡稱 AH):

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

這一等級序列的主要目的是提供上述這些名詞性成分在被提取出來構成關係從句時的難易程度。如果嚴格按照這一等級序列，主語的提取應該比直接賓語更容易、更自然，但據劉丹青（2005）的考察，“漢語的關係從句提取論元時優先提取賓語”。

上述兩種特殊性都十分符合現代漢語的情況，但在漢語史上曾經出現過一類由“者”標記的關係從句，卻十分符合上述兩種類型學上的共性，不僅在語序上是後置的，而且該類關係從句也完全符合 AH。具體例子如：

- (1) 大夫送葬者，歸見昭子。（左傳·昭公二十一年）
- (2) 南門之外有黃犢食苗道左者。（韓非子·內儲說上）
- (3) 群臣吏民能面刺寡人之過者，受上賞。（戰國策·齊策一）
- (4) 求人可使報秦者，未得。（史記·廉頗藺相如列傳）

本文主要從“者”類關係從句出發，詳細描寫該類關係從句，並結合該類關係從句在歷史上的發展，探索漢語關係從句的特點。

關鍵詞：關係從句，上古漢語，語序

U-shaped development of inchoative states in Korean child language

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In the recent literature, it has been argued for the existence of so-called “inchoative states” (henceforth INS) which do not fit into the standard classification (cf. Vendler 1967), in languages such as Salish languages (Bar-el 2005), Japanese (Kiyota 2008), Korean (Chung 2005, Lee 2006, Choi 2015) and Chinese (Chang 2003). An INS predicate describes a property of an individual/object just like a typical stative predicate. Crucially, an INS also makes reference to an *onset* (i.e. an initial boundary) of the described property, unlike a stative predicate. Hence, it can yield, in the absence of an inchoative morpheme corresponding to ‘become’, an “inchoative interpretation” (cf. (1a-b)), according to which the property associated with the predicate starts to hold at the reference time.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) a. <i>INS in Korean</i> (Chung 2005) | b. <i>INS in Japanese</i> (Kiyota 2008) |
| Mina-ka nulk-ess-ta. | Taroo-ga tukare-tei-ru. |
| Mina-NOM old-PFCT-DEC | Taroo-NOM tired-PFCT-PRES |
| ‘Mina got old.’ | ‘Taroo got tired.’ |

Following Bar-el (2005)’s analysis of INS in Salish languages, Choi (2015) argued that INS in Korean contain a BECOME event giving rise to an inchoative reading in (1a). The inherent inchoativity of INSs in Korean can be illustrated by incompatibility with the overt inchoative marker *-e ci* in (2b) below.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (2) a. stative predicate: <i>pikonha</i> | b. INS predicate: <i>cichi</i> |
| Juno-ka pikonha- e ci -ess-ta. | Juno-ka cichi- *e ci -ess-ta. |
| Juno-NOM tired-INCHO-PFCT-DEC | Juno-NOM tired-INCHO-PFCT-DEC |
| ‘Juno got tired.’ | ‘Juno got tired.’ |

In (2a), the inchoative marker *-e ci* deriving an inchoative verb via the addition of a BECOME operator to the meaning of a predicate can freely combine with a stative predicate which does not involve an intrinsic transition to the described property. However, in (2b), *-e ci* cannot felicitously combine with an INS which is lexically inchoative, due to the morphological blocking effect (cf. Aronoff 1976).

In this paper, we explore experimentally the question of whether Korean children can draw a distinction between INSs and stative predicates in terms of the distribution of the overt inchoative marker *-e ci*. A forced-choice preference task (cf. Montrul 1998) was conducted with 30 Korean children aged from 4 to 6 (mean age(MA)= 5;4) and 20 Korean adults (MA=30;7) as the control group. The experimental conditions were constructed with predicate type (*INS vs. stative predicate*) and inchoative form (*lexically-specified vs. morphologically-specified form*) as factors. If children know that inchoativity is lexically specified in INS together with the distribution of *-e ci*, then they will choose the lexically-specified/bare form of INS (i.e. INS+ \emptyset). Likewise, if they know that stative predicates lack inherent inchoativity, then they will choose the morphologically-derived form of stative predicates (i.e. stative+*-e ci*).

The results for stative predicates showed a typical development pattern, while those of INSs revealed a discontinuous development pattern in Korean child language (cf. Table 1). We assume that the acquisition of INSs exhibits a so-called ‘U-shaped’ pattern (cf. Pinker 1984, 1991). The results of the preference task will be discussed in more detail.

Table 1. Target-like performance (%) for the preference task

	4-year-olds	5-year-olds	6-year-olds	Adults
States + <i>-e ci</i>	63.33%	85%	100%	98.33%
INS + \emptyset	75%	45%	60%	85%

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Incompatibilité entre des articulations continues dans les processus de registro-tonogène : exemples en vietique, en thai et en chinois.

Par articulation continue, il faut entendre ici :

- la fricative laryngale finale **-h**, encore largement attestée en austroasiatique et en particulier en vietique (viet-muong), et autrefois présente en chinois et en tai-kadai.
- la voix soufflée (*breathy voice*) associée aux unités des séries consonantiques relâchées lors des processus de registrotonogène et de tonogène.
- la vélarisation de **-r-** médial en chinois archaïque (*Old Chinese*).

On montrera comment les difficultés de la phonation simultanée entre ces articulations continues (non occlusives) vont annihiler la formation du trait le plus récent avec en conséquence :

- En vietnamien : confusion des tons *hỏi-ngã* (centre et sud), consécutive à l'incompatibilité entre **-h** (préservé) et la voix soufflée en série consonantique relâchée.
- Dans les dialectes des langues thai et lao : confusion fréquente des tons écrits avec l'accent 'may ek' (correspondant aux tons *hỏi-ngã* du viet).
- En chinois archaïque (*Old Chinese*) : les reconstructions sur la base du *Qiyèyùn* montrent que la vélarisation de **-r-** médial a créé régulièrement le grade II en série tendue, à côté du grade I. Tandis qu'en série relâchée, supposée associée à la voix soufflée, le **-r-** médial disparaît sans entraîner la création d'un nouveau grade à côté du grade III.

Ces types d'anomalies, quoique très fréquents, ne sont pas généralisés.

Specification of the Person Feature in Pronominal Binding
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Normally, personal pronouns are in specific forms which are associated with discourse references. In order to refer to himself/herself, a speaker uses 1st person pronominal forms, in Japanese, *watasi* ‘I’, *watasizisin* ‘myself’. In binding relations, the same person specification between the pronominal subject and its bound object is observed in (1).

- (1) *Watashi-wa sugu-ni watasizisin/*anatazisin/*herself kagami-de mita.*
 I-Top soon myself/yourself/herself-Acc mirror-by saw
 ‘I looked at myself/*yourself/*herself in the mirror shortly.’

The 1st person pronoun in subject position binds a 1st person reflexive and the selection of the other reflexives is ungrammatical. This agreement phenomenon appears to indicate that inherent reference is contingent on morphological content. However Japanese personal pronouns also bind the underspecified *zibun* ‘self’ (Kuroda 1973) as in (2).

- (2) *Watashi-wa sugu-ni zisin-o kagami-de mita.*
 I-Top soon self-Acc mirror-by saw
 ‘I looked at self in the mirror shortly.’

The same pronominal subject in (2) tolerates the underspecified reflexive. The selection of the additional bound pronoun shows that the bound pronoun is not always required to have the same person as the referent that the antecedent denotes. Note that the same binding alternations are observable with 2nd and 3rd person pronouns in Japanese. Based on the examples in (1) and (2), I argue that referential and morphological specification of the person feature is not always in one-two-one relations in syntax. In my approach I dissociate notional/semantic person from grammatical/morphological person that refers to various morphosyntactic properties regularly associated with specific notional person forms (cf. Harley & Ritter (2002).

Noguchi (1997) and Furuya (2009) observe that Japanese personal pronouns allow for the presence of demonstratives and adjectival modifiers in the left periphery in (3) (Choi 2014 for Koran).

- (3) [(Kono) (kawaii) *watashi-wa sugu-ni watasizisin/zisin-o kagami-de mita.*
 this cute I-Top soon myself/self-Acc mirror-by saw
 ‘(Lit.) (This) (cute) I looked at self in the mirror shortly.’

The grammaticality of a demonstrative and an adjectival modifier suggests that Japanese personal pronouns exist at a lower position of a DP as Noguchi (1997) and Furuya (2009) argue. I assume the schema in (4) for Japanese personal pronouns.

- (4) [DP (demonstrative) [(adjective) [XP pronoun]]]

Given the structure in (4), I assume the values of the person feature that a Japanese 1st person pronoun possesses in (5).

- (5) [DP D [XP *watasi* [Speaker, 1st]]]

With the structure in (5) in mind, I argue that the D head does not necessarily possess the same person feature values as the personal pronoun inside the DP. I propose that Japanese allows two types of DPs with a 1st person pronoun in (6).

- (6) a. [DP D [Speaker, 1st] [XP *watasi* [Speaker, 1st]]]
 b. [DP D [Speaker] [XP *watasi* [Speaker, 1st]]]

The D head in (6a) possesses both notional and grammatical person while the D head in (6b) only involves notional person. When a 1st person pronoun in subject position possesses the structure in (6a), it binds a 1st person reflexive because both referential and morphological specification that the antecedent possesses is realized on the bound pronoun as in (1). By contrast, a 1st person pronoun with the structure in (6b) binds the underspecified reflexive as in (2) since the antecedent lacks grammatical person. Both agreement relations in binding are illustrated in (7).

- (7) the person feature of the antecedent the person feature of the bound pronoun selection of the bound pronoun
 a. [DP D [Speaker, 1st]] ... [DP D [Speaker, 1st]] \Rightarrow *watasizisin* ‘myself’
 b. [DP D [Speaker]] ... [DP D [Speaker]] \Rightarrow *zibun* ‘self’

The current argument receives a support from the English pronominal alternations in (8).

- (8) [DP The new me] requires [myself/herself] to have a disciplined, strong, focus and healthy mind and body.

The 1st person pronoun in subject position is located within a DP and the DP binds either 1st or 3rd person pronoun. The pronominal alternations are the same as those in Japanese once 3rd person in (8) is considered as a default person feature for English (Baker 2011).

Based on the Japanese pronominal binding relations, I argued that referential and grammatical contents of the person feature are not always in one-two-one relation in syntax. Although the current analyses handled only DPs with a 1st person pronoun, it also accounts for binding relations with 2nd and 3rd person.

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QUESTIONS ABOUT QUESTIONS
(MODAL PARTICLES *MA* AND *NE* IN INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES)

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It is generally agreed that in interrogative sentences the modal particles *ma* and *ne* are in complementary distribution. *Ma* occurs only in polar questions (*yes-no* questions). *Ne* occurs only in non-polar questions (i.e. *wh-* and alternative questions).

In this paper I show that *ma* does sometimes appear in *wh*-questions. It actually transforms a *wh*-question (content question) into a *yes-no* question (polar question). This transformation takes place at a higher meta-level, it is a question about a question. For example :

You sha kunnan ma ?

<have-what-difficulty-MA>

‘What is the difficulty, (you ask) ?’

Note that at the beginning of such sentences one may introduce *ni wen* ‘you ask’ :

Ni wen you sha kunnan ma ?

<you-ask-you-what-difficulty-MA>

‘What’s the difficulty, you ask ?’ / ‘What’s the difficulty, (did) you say ?’

This is part of a universal phenomenon known in the literature as ‘echo utterances’. A special case of it are questions about questions (i.e. questions raised to the second power). An echo question is a type of direct question that repeats part or all of something which someone else has just said. We use echo questions either because we did not fully hear or understand what was said, or because it’s content is too surprising to be believed.

The corollary of that is that in the majority of cases a « *ne* question » can be changed into a « *ma* question ». For example :

Zhe huizi zuo shenme ne ? → *Zhe huizi zuo shenme ma ?*

<this-a while-do-what-NE> <this-a while-do-what-MA>

‘What are you doing now ?’ ‘What am I doing now, you ask ?’ /

‘What am I doing now, (did) you say ?’

Zhe shi shei ne ? → *Zhe shi shei ma ?*

<this-be-who-NE> <this-be-who-MA>

‘Who is this person ?’ ‘Who is this person, you ask ?’ / ‘Who is this person, (did) you say ?’ /

‘Are you asking who this person is ?’

The *ma* sentences above are *yes-no* questions about *wh*-questions. We have here a linguistic device for making polar questions out of non-polar questions.

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Les composés apophoniques en japonais

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Il existe en japonais un procédé morpho-phonologique de composition marqué par une apophonie de la voyelle finale du premier élément, comme illustré dans les exemples en (1) :

- (1) a. ame « pluie » + kasa « ombrelle » → ama-gasa 雨傘 « parapluie »
b. hune « bateau » + nori « monter » → hunā-nori 船乗り « marin »
c. mune « poitrine » + kurushii « douloureux » → muna-gurushii 胸苦しい « (se sentir) oppressé »
d. ki « arbre » + no « de » + « ha » « feuille » → konoha 木の葉 « feuille d'arbre »

Les voyelles concernées par ce phénomène d'apophonie sont les suivantes :

- (2) e (< *ë) / a- : (ame / ama- 雨 « pluie », sake / saka- 酒 « alcool », te / ta- 手 « main », etc.)
i (< *i) / o- (< *ö) : (ki / ko- 木 « arbre » et hi / ho- 火 « feu » ; deux lexèmes seulement)
i (< *i) / u- : (tsuki / tsuku- 月 « lune », kami / kamu- 神 « dieu » ; deux lexèmes seulement)

Les voyelles *e* et *i* sont celles qui apparaissent dans la forme indépendante du premier élément (E1), dite forme *roshutsu* 露出 (« forme exposée ») ou bien dans la forme compositionnelle, tandis que *a*, *o* et *u* apparaissent uniquement dans la forme compositionnelle de E1, dite forme *hihuku* 被覆 (« forme couverte »). A notre connaissance, ce phénomène n'a été envisagé que d'un point de vue historique (Arisaka 1931, 1934, Sakakura 1966, etc.).

L'objectif de ce travail est de porter un regard synchronique sur ces composés. Pour ce faire, nous avons collecté dans le dictionnaire *Kôjien* (Shinmura 2008) tous les composés impliquant une alternance *e* / *a*¹ comportant en E1 les 17 lexèmes nominaux d'origine Yamato suivants : 天 ame / ama- « ciel », 雨 ame / ama- « pluie », 稻 ine / ina- « riz », 上 ue / uwa- « dessus », 末 ure / ura- « extrémité (d'une branche) » 風 (風邪) kaze / kaza- « vent, rhume », 金 kane / kana- « or, argent, métal », 声 koe / kowa- « voix », 酒 sake / saka- « alcool de riz », 菅 suge / suga- « laîche », 手 te / ta- « main », 種 tane / tana- « graine », 爪 tsume / tsuma- « ongle, griffe », 船 (舟) hune / hunā- « bateau », 目 (眼) me / ma- « œil », 胸 mune / muna- « poitrine », 棟 mune / muna- « faîte, poutre faitière ». Cette collecte nous a fourni un corpus total de 1767 composés.

Dans cette communication, nous présenterons d'abord une typologie générale des composés apophoniques, basée sur les paramètres suivants : classe lexicale de E1 et E2 (*wago*, *kango*, *gairaigo*), catégorie grammaticale de E2 (nom, adjectif en *-i*, adjectif en *-na*, nom déverbal, nom déadjectival, verbe, adverbe), patron accentuel, valeurs sémantiques (composé déterminatif ou coordinatif) et leur corrélation avec la présence de *e-* ou *a-* à la fin de E1.

Nous nous intéresserons ensuite plus particulièrement aux interactions entre l'apophonie et les autres marqueurs de composition existant en japonais, notamment le *rendaku* (« voisement de liaison »). L'analyse statistique du corpus établit en effet que l'apparition de la forme de couverture dans E1 (la forme en *a-*) est statistiquement corrélée à celle de l'apparition d'un *rendaku* au début de E2, à l'exclusion des E1 monomériques *te* 手 et *me* 目, qui seront présentés et discutés lors de la présentation à la lumière du travail mené par Irwin et Lyddon (2016).

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¹ Les composés apophoniques en *i/o-* et *i/u-* feront l'objet d'une étude ultérieure.

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A corpus based diachronic study of the Chinese nominal classification system in area of animate lexicon

柯丹 (Ke, Dan)¹

Mandarin-Chinese uses numeral classifiers to classify the nouns into different classes like long things, flat things etc. Most of the classifiers developed from nouns and lost their semantic meaning as time passes. How will classifiers develop in the future? The noun classes in Bantu-languages indicate that they developed from classifiers in the past (Denny & Creider 1986). Some linguists assume that the classifiers may develop into noun-class-markers. How is the situation in nowadays classifier languages, like Chinese?

In the past, Mandarin-Chinese had more than 100 classifiers to categorize its nouns. Therefore the categories always overlap. In modern spoken Mandarin-Chinese, there are only 20–40 classifiers in use (Erbaugh 1986), so that the nouns are categorized into 20–40 great categories. In a corpus based analysis the usage of the commonly used classifiers for animate terms would be checked in the Old-Mandarin-Chinese and in the modern Mandarin-Chinese. The results suggest that in the last 300 years the classifier 只 *zhī*, which originally means “Birds”, would be used more and more frequently for the animal terms. Tai (1994) thus calls 只 *zhī* the default-classifier for animal terms (Tai 1994). It seems that the classifier 只 *zhī* highlight the semantic feature [+ animate] and build its own category. Besides that, the classifier 条 *tiáo* highlights the feature [+ long]. Classifiers like 匹 *pǐ* and 头 *tóu* lost their influence and are only used for some exceptions, so that fast all animal terms would be packed in the 只-category and 条-category.

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Anthropocentric Classification in Mandarin Chinese

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The numeral classifiers in Chinese receive considerable attention in linguistic research. The status of the general classifier 个 *gè* is yet still under discussion. It is often assumed that the classifier 个 *gè* could replace any specific classifier to classify/individualize a noun. This view is challenged in the current study.

个 *gè* may be used as a classifier for lot of nouns but the usage of this classifier is not equally accepted. The degree of acceptance is based on concrete principles. In a corpus analysis on the basis of the CCL corpus of the Peking University, we investigated which animate terms would be most closely associated with the classifier 个 *gè*. The results suggest that the generalization of the classifier 个 *gè* follows the anthropocentric continuum as it has been developed by Köpcke/Zubin (1996:484). To scrutinize the anthropocentric continuum as such, we designed an online-questionnaire in which Chinese native speakers as well as German native speakers had to score animals with regard to their level of animacy. This way, we provide evidence for the hypothesis that Chinese native speakers make use of the same animal categories as German speakers. Hence, the anthropocentric continuum can also be applied to language processing of Mandarin Chinese.

Concerning Mandarin Chinese noun classification, we found out that the classifier 个 *gè* can be easily used with nouns for higher primates like 猴子 *hóuzi* or 猩猩 *xīngxīng* although this classifier-nouns-combination is grammatically wrong. This is due to the similarity between apes and humans since 个 *gè* is one of the sortal classifiers for human beings. Apart from this, our data show that the farther a living being's distance from to the anthropocentric center, the more likely the corresponding noun will be used with the classifier 个 *gè*. 虱子 *shīzi* or 珊瑚 *shānhú* for instance are mainly classified by 个 *gè*.

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From NEGATION to COMMON GROUND: Exploring the evolution of information managing particle *-canha* in Korean, from a usage-based approach

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-Canha in Modern Spoken Korean is a particle that occurs at the end of an utterance and functions to manage the information structure in discourse, by explicitly marking what the speaker believes to be shared with the other interlocutor (i.e., common ground) and hence it is often translated in English as the discourse marker *you know*. Originally, *-canha* is known to be the phonologically reduced form of the negative construction *-ci anh-a* (-CON NEG-INDC) ‘X is not’ in Korean. To be precise, it is the negative question construction that *-canha* derived from. Example (1) is such an instance of the negative construction *-ci anh-a* used in an interrogative context.

- (1) *o-cho* *cengto* *ccum* *kel-li-ci* *anh-a?*
five-second degree around take-PASS-CON NEG-INDC
‘Doesn’t it take about five seconds?’

Although the unreduced form *-ci anh-a?* still functions as the negative question construction, however, its reduced form *-canha* seems to have completely shifted its function into an utterance-final particle whose functions are very different from those of *-ci anh-a?*.

This present study explores how *-canha*, a marker that explicitly signals what the speaker believes to be common ground, evolved from *-ci anh-a*, a negative construction, by examining data collected from the 21st Century Sejong corpus. Although understanding linguistic changes usually requires a thorough examination of diachronic (rather than synchronic) data, this paper demonstrates that it is sometimes also possible to trace back the diachronic change that a linguistic form has undergone by examining its synchronic uses, particularly when the change is quite recent and hence any ‘historical’ data cannot be at hand. The evolution of the utterance-final particle *-canha* in Modern Spoken Korean is an excellent example of such case. Because the unreduced form *-ci anh-a*, i.e., the former form of *-canha*, is still actively being used in Modern Spoken Korean with very different functions from those of the reduced form *-canha*, a comparative study of the usages of these two forms could provide us an insight how *-canha* has evolved from its former form.

A quantitatively conducted usage based analysis indeed showed that *-canha* evolved from a long competition between two existing constructions within the domain of negation in Korean (the long form negation *-ci anh-* vs. the short form negation *-anh*), via semantic/syntactic reanalysis, as well as (inter)subjectification processes (Traugott and Dasher 2001, Traugott 2010).

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A Study on Grammar in Context Regarding the Korean Ending Expression ‘-eumyeon an dwaeyo(-으면 안 돼요)?’ .

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The objective of this study is to reveal the function of Korean Ending expressions ‘-eumyeon an dwaeyo(-으면 안 돼요)?’ in a spoken language context and how this connects to saving the speaker’s “face.” Generally in linguistics, ‘principle of politeness’ is dealt along with strategy to save the listener’s “face.” However, in Korean language, saving the speaker’s “face” can be just as important as saving the listener’s “face” when it comes to selecting grammar. Therefore, in this study, through an examination of the semi-spoken language corpus, the need for a description in terms of grammar in context is raised.

First of all, using the relationship between grammar and conversation as a basis, the necessity for ‘grammar in context’ is presented. Theoretical basis for explaining how ‘principle of politeness’ and the speaker’s “face” can be connected is explained, and this chapter insists on the necessity of researching “-eumyeon an dwaeyo(-으면 안 돼요)?”

And, the reasons of choosing the corpus-based approach for this study are described. we focus on the reason why drama corpus is needed to examine the study of the grammar in context regarding the Korean Ending Expression “eumyeon an dwaeyo(-으면 안 돼요)?”.

And, by investigating the number of occurrences of meaning in the corpus, the meaning and function of the Korean Ending Expression “eumyeon an dwaeyo(-으면 안 돼요)?” was analyzed. The corpus used to investigate the occurrences of meaning was one that containing approximately one million lines from dramas, which are very similar to actual spoken language. By analyzing sample sentences in corpus is analyzed, and how “eumyeon an dwaeyo(-으면 안 돼요)?” can be used 1) to pester 2)to make a roundabout argument 3) to express complaints 4) to complain of prohibitions 5) to argue effectively, are verified 6) to ask permission.

And, the influence of the conversation contextual elements has on the Korean Ending Expressions “eumyeon an dwaeyo(-으면 안 돼요)?” are described. A detailed explanation of how “eumyeon an dwaeyo(-으면 안 돼요)?” can be used differently in different contexts and the speaker’s purpose for its use is provided. It comes out that this expression in particular barely used toward older and high-up opponent.

Finally, using the results of this study as a basis, the significance and limitations of this study is discussed as well as issues that have yet to be resolved.

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Medicine for Shoes and Lanterns: The Semantic Network of *Yak* ‘medicine’ in Korean

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This paper investigates the semantic network formed of the various meanings of the Korean form *yak* when it appears in compounds X+*yak* and the cognitive mechanisms that are involved in the formation of the network. More specifically, this paper analyzes the semantic network of this polysemous word within a cognitive semantics framework in terms of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1999) and conceptual metonymy (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Dancygier and Sweetser 2014).

Sweetser’s claim (1990:1) that regularities in conceptual mappings of form to multiple functions exist is supported by this study wherein I have a close look at the example of the Korean polysemous form *yak* in the compounds listed in (1).

- (1) a. *kamki-yak* [cold-YAK] ‘cold medicine’
- b. *soncentung-yak* [lantern-YAK] ‘battery for a lantern’
- c. *moki-yak* [mosquito-YAK] ‘mosquitocide’
- d. *tok-yak* [poison-YAK] ‘poison’

Yak in the compounds makes a good example of a word whose meanings form a radial semantic network (Lakoff 1987) in the following sense. The word *yak* means ‘medicine’ by itself. As shown above, however, the word’s meanings are not identical and morphologically, each of the examples can be categorized depending upon what kind of semantic element appears in the position X in the compound X+*yak*. The example in (1a) has the name of an illness that the substance aims to treat; the example in (1b) has the name of the entity whose function is restored or enhanced by the use of the chemical; the example in (1c) has the name of the insect pest that the chemical aims to remove; lastly, the example in (1d) characterizes the substance that is made of the chemical.

The radial category of *yak* can be understood only in a semantic frame in which humans produce the substance in order to create effects on something or somebody. In this vein, this paper generalizes several regular patterns in the radial semantic network of *yak* into three major semantic categories that constitute the network. First, this paper assumed that the primary meaning of *yak* is medicine, since it clearly evokes the frame MEDICAL TREATMENT when it is used in isolation. Second, its meaning is extended to refer to an instrument that enhances/restores the function of an entity, which is exemplified by *soncentung-yak* [lantern-YAK] ‘battery for a lantern’. Third, *yak* can also be used to refer to a manufactured substance that kills or removes harmful entities, poison. This is exemplified by *moki-yak* [mosquito-YAK] ‘mosquitocide’. The position X of the compound X+*yak* is filled with one of the various frame elements that each of the uses evokes. For instance, the position X is filled with an entity that is repaired for the second meaning, and with an entity that gets removed for the third category.

Semantic extensions involved are modeled in terms of the cognitive mechanisms of conceptual metaphor and metonymy. I argue that the metaphor REPAIR IS MEDICAL TREATMENT is involved in construing words such as *soncentung-yak* in (1b) because the substance that restores the lantern’s function is understood in terms of medication in the frame MEDICAL TREATMENT. This study further argues that frame metonymy is involved in some of the compounds that contain *yak* such as *moki-yak* ‘mosquitocide.’ Although its direct influence might not be regarded as positive from the perspective of the patient, it eventually brings about benefits to humans by removing harm.

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Des contacts, voire une parenté linguistique entre les langues ouraliennes (les langues fenniques) et le chinois ?

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Des études génétiques comparatives récentes, notamment celles sur Y-chromosome entre des peuples ouraliens et des peuples asiatiques laissent supposer des contacts culturels et linguistiques. Les généticiens confirment de nos jours que :

- Les gènes des peuples fenniques sont différents que ceux des peuples indo-européens avec lesquels ils ont vécu pendant des décennies ; (Lahermo et al. : 1996 et Palo et al. : 2009)
- Certains haplotypes appartenant exclusivement aux peuples vivant en Asie ont été identifiés chez les peuples fenniques, parce que ces différentes peuplades ont eu des contacts à un moment donné avant de se séparer. (Kittles et al. : 1998 et Jobling et al. : 1996))

En réalité, avant que la génétique devienne un outil fiable et performant, J. F. Blumenbach avait déjà mis en relief la particularité anthropologique des peuples fenniques (Wiik : 2007) ; et Castrén, lui aussi, avait aussi émis l'hypothèse sur la parenté linguistique entre la famille ouralienne et la famille altaïque (Hajdu : 1975). Mais l'hypothèse d'une parenté linguistique entre le chinois et les langues fenniques a été d'abord proposée par Gao Jingyi (2008).

En tenant compte de récentes découvertes génétiques, paléolinguistiques, archéologiques et aussi d'éléments reflétant un état plus ancien de la langue dans les dialectes, la présente étude tente de trouver des preuves linguistiques de contacts entre le chinois et les langues ouraliennes, et notamment les langues fenniques.

Distributing via an event participant

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In its adverbial use, the Mandarin Chinese morpheme *quan* exhibits many syntactic and semantic similarities with extensively studied *dou* (1), (Lee, 1986; Cheng, 1995; Lin, 1998; Yang, 2000; Xiang, 2008, i.a.). But *quan* has a more restricted distribution. Tomioka and Tsai (2005) claim it is a domain regulator that ensures a good fitting cover, because, unlike *dou*, it would require a distributive operator in the context, and be out with predicates they say are not intrinsically distributive, cf. (2). Lee et al. (2013) reject their argument, arguing that *buy one x* has a ‘once-only’ interpretation due to the specificity of the object—as NPs with the numeral ‘one’ tend to have a specific interpretation in Chinese—but *buy five x* is compatible with *quan*. They propose a double analysis: *quan* is a domain regulator when it cooccurs with a distributive operator, and a universal quantifier when it combines with a collective predicate such as *shi pengyou* ‘be friends’ (3), it quantifies on a domain of degrees such as *quan ping ganjue* ‘completely on feeling’, or it associates with focus. Note that non-affectedness matters more than specific interpretation (4), and that *quan* can force distribution on a singular nominal (5). These facts do not follow from Lee et al.’s proposal, but are accounted for in our unified treatment of adverbial *quan* as event modifier that targets a nominal discharging a θ -role, in (6).

- (1) Xuesheng dou/quan huidao le Faguo.
student all go-back ASP France
All the students went back to France
- (2) Tamen dou/*quan mai le yi bu chezi.
pro.3.pl all buy ASP one Cl car
They all bought a car
- (3) Women quan shi tongxue/pengyou.
we all be classmates/friends
We are all classmates/friends
- (4) Zhaxie haizi quan langsong-le yi shou shige
DEM boy all recite-ASP a Cl poem
All the boys recited a poem
- (5) Zhe ben shu quan bei luan tu luan hua-le
DEM Cl book all BEI doodle-ASP
This book is all doodled
- (6) $\lambda P_{et} \lambda e_e [P(e) \wedge |\{\theta(e') \mid e' \leq e \wedge \theta(e') \in \text{Part}(\theta(e))\}| > 1 \wedge \forall x \in \text{Part}(\theta(e)) \exists e' \leq e [\theta(e') = x]]$

Quan contributes the dependency encapsulated in the θ -role function associated with the targeted participant. It requires the event to be plural, with subevents that are more than one because they are θ -associated with the cells of a non-trivial partition imposed on the referent of the nominal. The domain of the distribution relation—the sorting key of Choe (1987)—is made of the cells of the partition returned by the function *Part* applied to $\theta(e)$, and the subevents are the codomain, Choe’s share. Encapsulating the θ -role (Brasoveanu and Henderson, 2009) helps us to implement a form of homogeneous inner distribution, insofar as no difference among subevents is visible. This captures the intuition of a global predication on the key, called *zhengti xing* ‘globality’ by Zhou (2011) or *set-prominent* property by Lee et al. (2013). Evidence comes from the fact that *quan* is not acceptable if (1) is modified by *gezi* ‘separately’. *Gezi* forces externally visible differentiation among subevents (Yang, 2013). The analysis in (6) also correctly predicts the acceptability of symmetric uses of plural predicates (3). Finally, it covers the combination *quan dou*, which can be considered as an instance of a phenomenon whereby a distributive element in some sense simply reinforces the distributivity of a clausemate universal quantifier, without contributing anything to the overall truth conditions, as noted for Korean by Oh (2006).

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The historical change of the ‘give’ verb *hoo7* in Southern Min

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This paper focuses on the historical change of a handing verb-*hoo7* in Southern Min. Previous studies have suggested that the passive use of *hoo7* derives from either causative use or a handing verb (Hong and Chao (2005), Guo (2010)). In this paper, I propose that it derives from the so-called purposive use as in (1).

- (1) a. 物件 予 先生 處理 [Taiwanese Southern Min]
mih8-kiann7 hoo7 sian1-senn1 tshu2-li2
thing *hoo7* teachers deal handle
‘This thing is for teacher to deal with.’
b. 我 昨昏 煮飯 予 伊 食
gua2 tsa1-hng1 tsu2-png7 hoo7 i1 tsiah8
I yesterday cook *hoo7* him eat
‘I cook for him to eat yesterday.’

I first provide phonological evidence from the ancient Chinese character that *hoo7* can be traced back to 予 as an original character and also 度 in historical literature in Southern Min colloquial-荔鏡記(*Lijingji*). In Chu(楚) documents in Zhou dynasty, 予 and 與 are distinct from each others: the former is a ‘give’ verb while the latter a conjunction. Furthermore, I suggest that the syntactic distribution of *hoo7* in modern Southern Min, such as the inability to delete post-*hoo7* nominals and the incompatibility of insertion of modal verbs in post-*hoo7* sentences. These observations indicate the facts that: (i) the post-*hoo7* sentence is independent from the pre-*hoo7* nominal/sentence, and (ii) is separated from the pre-*hoo7* nomianal/sentence. Based on (i) and (ii), I argue that the pre-*hoo7* nomianals is important in determining the purposive/causative/passive semantics of *hoo7* constructions.

I conclude by adding theoretical explanation from cognitive grammar that, in fact, the volition of the pre-*hoo7* nominal decides the causative/passive/purposive sentences diachronically and synchronically. Finally, I investigate several dialects in which *hoo7* is used and further demonstrate that the causative use of *hoo7* is not omnipresent in these areas. This also strengthens the present proposal that the passive use of *hoo7* is not derived from causative *hoo7*, but from the purposive use.

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Vowel Purity and Rhyme Evidence in Old Chinese Reconstruction

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According to Ho (2016: 176-184) the Old Chinese reconstruction by Baxter and Sagart (2014) contradicts important rhyming principles, especially the *principle of vowel purity* according to which rhymes in the Book of Odes were very strict regarding the identity of vowels, while consonant differences were easily tolerated. Thanks to a digitally available version of rhyme patterns in the Book of Odes (List 2015), which follows the analysis of Baxter (1992), this claim can be quantitatively tested by using the rhyme data to create a *rhyme network* (List 2015) in which rhyme words are modeled as nodes and links between the nodes are drawn whenever two rhyme words are attested as rhyming with each other in the Book of Odes. Once this network is reconstructed state-of-the-art methods for network analysis can test how well a given reconstruction system for Old Chinese reflects the rhyme categories inherent in the network. A very straightforward approach is to compute the *conductance* (Luskovec et al. 2008) for groups of nodes representing different vowel categories in the rhyme network. The conductance of a group of nodes is a measure that estimates the degree of *isolation* or *fragmentation* of the group. If the isolation is high, this means that the group is *pure* and does not share too many contacts with members outside the group. If the conductance is high, this means that the group is highly diverse.

In the study by List (2015), it was already shown that the Old Chinese vowel system proposed by Baxter and Sagart (2014) has a rather low conductance. In principle, this contradicts Ho's claim that the principle of vowel purity would not hold in Baxter and Sagart's reconstruction. What was missing in the study, however, was a detailed comparison with alternative Old Chinese reconstruction systems. Such a comparison would allow for a more general investigation of vowel purity across different reconstruction systems of Old Chinese and thus allow us to test Ho's claim more rigorously. Thanks to the Shànghǎi Research Institute for Comparative Linguistics (*Shànghǎi Gāoxiào Bǐjiào Yǔyánxué E-Yánjiūyuàn* 上海高校比较语言学 E-研究院, <http://www.eastling.org>) many reconstruction systems by different scholars are now online available, including Pān Wúyún (Pān 2000), Bernhard Karlgren (Karlgren 1957), Wáng Lì (Wáng 1980), and Lǐ Fāng-kuei (Shěn 2005). By including these systems into the data from List (2015), we can directly compare the vowel purity across the rhymes in each of the systems and thus quantitatively investigate the role which vowel purity plays across different reconstruction systems. In the talk, I will present the results of this ongoing analysis in detail.

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传教士汉语方言辞书用字研究

摘要：本报告选取西方传教士于 16-20 世纪初所编的比较著名、影响力较大的四部辞书，对其中的俗字、方言用字、新造字等进行初步研究，这四部辞书为：美国汉学家卫三畏的《汉英韵府》、英国传教士纪多纳的《客英大辞典》、英国传教士麦都思的《福建方言字典》、美国传教士睦理逊的《宁波方言字语汇解》。主要研究《康熙字典》《汉语大字典》《中华字海》等字书未收之字，如：**𪛗**、**籀**、**宋**、**𪛗**、**𪛗**。

明清时期，不少西方传教士来到中国，在传教的同时，也为中西文化交流做出了贡献。其中，传教士由于传教需要编纂了不少汉语方言辞书，记录了闽、粤、吴、客家等方言当时的用字情况，记载了大量俗字、方言用字和新造字等，有些是同时期国内材料中所缺乏的，因此，传教士所编汉外辞书就成为我们研究清代方言的珍贵资料，但目前为止国际上对其研究还非常少。通过对其研究，可了解清代汉字在方言地区的传播和使用情况，这在文字学、方言学、欧洲汉学史等领域都有重要价值。也可为“中华字库工程”提供资料。

关键词：传教士；汉语方言辞书；俗字；方言用字；新造字

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Unifier accent, voisement et gémination du japonais

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Les corrélations entre l'accent de hauteur, le voisement et la gémination en japonais ont été constatées par nombre de chercheurs (Kamei 1997 ; Labrune 1998, 2006 ; Takeuchi 1999). Malgré ces observations éclairantes, la raison de ces corrélations reste obscure. Cette contribution propose une tentative qui rend compte des relations entre l'accent, le voisement et la gémination, dans le cadre dit CVCV (Lowenstamm 1996 ; Scheer 2004).

Ce que l'on sait sur l'accent : dans le cadre dit CVCV, l'accent peut être linéarisé en une unité CV inséré dans le gabarit du mot (Larsen 1994 ; Ségéral&Scheer 2008).

Ce que l'on sait sur la gémination : une géminée l'est par son comportement, non pas par sa réalisation phonétique (géminée virtuelle, cf. Ségéral&Scheer 2001, Barillot&Ségéral 2005).

Ce que l'on sait sur les obstruantes voisées en japonais : d'un côté elles ressemblent fonctionnellement à l'accent, de l'autre côté elles ne géminent jamais, mais alternent dans certains mots avec des géminées sourdes (cf. Labrune 2006). Rappel : géminée et accent = CV supplémentaire.

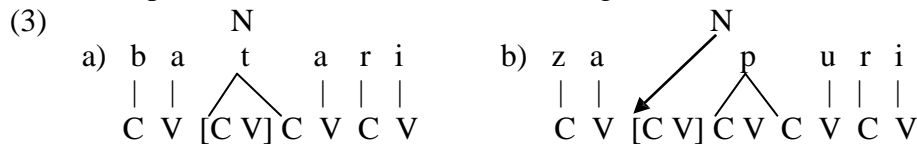
Poussons le raisonnement à l'extrême, nous faisons les hypothèses suivantes :

(1) *Voisement = gémination : en japonais, une obstruante sonore est une géminée virtuelle de sa contrepartie sourde¹.*

(2) *Contrainte gabaritique : un morphème en japonais a une et une seule unité CV supplémentaire pour la gémination et/ou l'accent. Sa position est libre (donc lexical) et peut rester vide s'ils ces derniers sont absents².*

Prédictions :

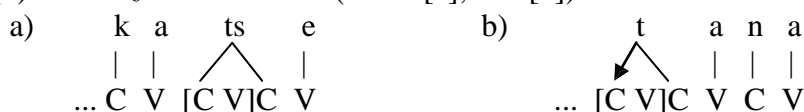
1° L'impossibilité d'avoir des géminées sonores en surface découle directement de (1) (l'élément N est présent dans la structure sans ancrage, cf. Nasukawa 1998), puisque :



Dans (3), deux mots tirés de Labrune (2006), le site [CV] est le site supplémentaire pour accueillir la gémination, comme [b]=/pp/ est déjà géminé dans *zabu*, */ppp/ est mal formé, la seule possibilité est l'ancrage de l'élément N déjà présent, pour donner *zanburi*.

2° La loi de Lyman : pas de rendaku si le second morphème contient déjà une obs. Voisée.

(4) *kamikaze vs kamidana* (/tsts/>[z], /tt/>[d])



dans (4a), la saturation gabaritique fait que k ne peut pas géminer pour donner [g] ; dans (4b) la gémination est possible pour donner [d].

3° Accent et rendaku

(5) *yamakawa vs yamagawa*^o



Dans (5a), [CV] linéarise l'accent ; dans (5b), en absence de l'accent, il accueille la gémination de /k/ pour donner en surface [g]. Idem pour *hitokoe / hitogoe*^o.

Problèmes restants : des contre-exemples existent. Les strates du lexique japonais ainsi que la variation interne (dans le système) et externe (en fonction de l'âge, du sexe, des catégories socioprofessionnelles) sont notamment les plus grands défis pour notre hypothèse.

¹ Un /t/ qui gémine donne [d], mais la concaténation de deux /t/ donne [tt], comme dans *gakkou*.

² Ce CV supplémentaire pourrait être justifié morphologiquement.

Titre : La structure suffixale en japonais : dans le cas des verbes visuels *miru* et *mieru*

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En japonais, le verbe peut suivre plusieurs suffixes. Suzuki (2001) présente une segmentation de la phrase en japonais comme ci-dessous :

(a) 彼女は夫にこの写真を見せたがらなかったらしいね。

kanozyo ha otto ni kono syasin wo mi-se-tagara-nakat-ta rasii ne.

elle / TH / mari / à / cette / photo / PO / voir+faire+avoir envie+NEG+PAS / sembler/ PF

« Elle ne semblait pas avoir envie de faire voir cette photo à son mari. »

Le radical *mi-* scinde l'énoncé en deux : à gauche, la partie des arguments du verbe (sujet qui cause, sujet qui voit et objet vu), à droite, la partie verbale agglutinée des suffixes fonctionnels et des marqueurs discursifs. Dans la partie gauche, les termes nominatifs sont marqués par une particule qui spécifie leur rôle grammatical, comme *ga/ha* (sujet/thème), *ni* (destination) et *wo* (objet). Dans la partie droite, une suite des affixes liés se déroule : 1- affixe factitif *-ase-*, 2- affixe désiratif objectif *-tagara-*, 3- négation *-nakat-*, 4- temps passé *-ta*, 5- conjecture *-rasii*, 6- particule finale *-ne*. Nous pouvons les symboliser comme en (a') et segmenter la phrase comme en (a'') :

(a') $N_{ga} N_{ni} N_{wo} V_{FCT-DES-NEG-PAS-CJT-PT}$

(a'') $[[[kanozyo ha [otto ni [kono syasin wo mi-]_1 se-]_2 tagara-nakat-]_3 ta rasii]_4 ne]_5$

La phrase (a) comprend quatre corrélations. Les premiers crochets correspond au prédicat (objet + verbe), les deuxièmes crochets à la corrélation de diathèse (celui qui entend + factitif), les troisièmes crochets à la corrélation modale (celui qui cause + désidératif + négation), les quatrièmes crochets à la corrélation de probabilité (énonciateur + conjecture) et les cinquièmes crochets à la corrélation énonciative (énonciateur + particule finale). Les deux derniers morphèmes verbaux ne s'associent pas à l'argument explicite, mais sont considérés comme indices corrélatifs à la modalité et à la personne. Nous constatons ainsi que les suffixes verbaux sont liés aux arguments et / ou aux personnes relatives à l'énonciation.

En se fondant sur cette observation, nous étudierons d'abord les études antérieures sur la suffixation verbale (Kitahara (1981) et Teramura (1984)), ensuite examinerons des exemples des verbes visuels *miru* / *mieru*, recueillis dans une base de données informatique qui s'appelle « NINJAL-LWP for BCCWJ » et enfin démontrons que les deux verbes visuels *miru* et *mieru* ne s'associent pas aux suffixes de la même manière, afin d'énoncer une hypothèse que *miru* et *mieru* ont leur propres caractéristiques aspectuelles et modales et disposent leur propre relation interpersonnelle et leur propre processus d'activité visuelle.

Référence :

Suzuki (2001) : « Les verbes complexes de type v-v » dans *Faits de langues - Coréen-japonais*, pp.313-322.

Liste des symboles et des abréviations

CJT : conjecture

DES : désidératif

FCT : factitif

NEG : négation

PAS : passé

PF : particule finale

Tense and Aspect in Early Chinese Buddhist Texts: An analysis on Lokakṣema's Translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*

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Different from Indic languages in which tense and aspect are mostly expressed by inflected forms, ancient Chinese used various types of words such as adverbs and particles to indicate those ideas. Since Chinese Buddhist texts produced in the first centuries A.D. are the initial outcomes of historical language contact between Indic languages and Literary Chinese, they are supposed to contain the earliest translations of tense and aspect from Indic inflected forms into Chinese adverbs and particles before later standardization.

This study takes one of the early Chinese Buddhist texts, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*¹, as an example to discover how tense and aspect were translated given the linguistic differences between the source language (Sanskrit) and the target language. Semantic and syntactic features of the tense and aspect markers in the Chinese Buddhist text are examined and compared with their uses in contemporary non-Buddhist texts for the possibility of the intrusion of vernacular Chinese. Their possible counterparts in the corresponding Sanskrit text are also discussed to investigate to which extent the Sanskrit form might have influenced the choice and use of the marker in Chinese.

Based on the analysis, it is assumed that some expressions of tense and aspect in this translation of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* could be uses of vernacular Chinese which are not frequently found in non-Buddhist texts of the same time period, and certain forms of Sanskrit (e.g. imperative, indicative active) seem to correlate with some specific markers of tense and aspect in this early Chinese Buddhist text.

¹ *Daoxing Bore Jing* 道行般若經, produced by Lokakṣema (支婁迦讖) in the Eastern Han Dynasty (25 A.D. - 220 A.D.).

La notion de *toritate* relève-t-elle vraiment des spécificités en japonais ? — Réflexion à partir d'études contrastives français-japonais —

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La notion de *toritate* fascine les linguistes japonais depuis déjà quelques dizaines d'années. *Toritate* consiste à « mettre en relief certains composants de la phrase, tout en les mettant en relation avec d'autres éléments semblables à l'arrière-plan, afin d'ajouter un sens particulier » (Nihongo kijutsu bumpô kenkyûkai 2009). Cet effet est produit en japonais principalement par les particules de *toritate* (essentiellement des particules appelées adverbiales dans les grammaires traditionnelles) telles que *dake* ou *sae* comme dans les exemples suivants :

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1) <i>Tarô wa bîru dake nomu</i> | 2) <i>Tarô wa bîru sae noma-nai</i> |
| Tarô TH bière DAKE boire | Tarô TH bière SAE boire-neg. |
| Tarô boit seulement de la bière. | Tarô ne boit même pas de bière. |

Cette notion est souvent traduite en anglais par *focalization* et en français par focalisation ou encore par mise en relief, sans pour autant satisfaire les chercheurs japonais, qui, convaincus de l'impossibilité de traduction, revendiquent parfois la conservation (donc l'exportation) du terme *toritate* en d'autres langues. Cependant étant donné l'effet pragmatique-sémantique produit par les unités linguistiques regroupées sous cette catégorie, on se demande s'il s'agit réellement d'un concept spécifique au japonais.

Afin de répondre à cette question, nous tentons, en premier lieu, de cerner la véritable fonction de cette catégorie en mettant notamment en lumière la différence avec la notion de focalisation. La comparaison des définitions de *toritate* et de focalisation nous fait découvrir l'importance capitale de l'intervention des éléments d'un même paradigme dans l'effet de *toritate*. Par exemple, dans la phrase (1), la particule *dake* met en focus le composant « bière » sur la chaîne syntagmatique, en même temps qu'elle le met en relation 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.

En français, cet effet est produit principalement à l'aide de certains adverbes, appelés adverbes paradigmatisants « permettant de référer à un élément appartenant à un ensemble ou une classe » (Guimier 1996). Cette fonction paradigmatisante, dont la définition correspond tout à fait à celle de *toritate*, est définie et étudiée de manière systématique par Nølke (1983, 1996), qui signale également l'existence des travaux similaires de König (1991) sur l'anglais et l'allemand.

La notion de *toritate* n'est ainsi évidemment pas spécifique au japonais, mais, comme pour beaucoup d'autres concepts, les détails du fonctionnement diffèrent largement d'une langue à l'autre sur tout plan, aussi bien lexical que syntaxique ou sémantique. Nous proposons donc dans la dernière partie de réaliser des études contrastives français-japonais de certaines expressions comparables afin de relever quelques spécificités du japonais.

En conclusion, cette étude contrastive montre sans surprise l'universalité de cette fonction et permet de mieux saisir le sens de certaines unités japonaises à la lumière des différences avec le français. Cela confirme l'efficacité de l'approche contrastive multilingue dans la description linguistique.

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Analyse linguistique des poèmes de Wang Fanzhi 王凡志
et du *Wu wang jia jiao* 武王家教 « Instructions domestiques de l'aïeul »

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Au sein des manuscrits de Dunhuang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale, plusieurs poèmes populaires des Tang (8^{ème}-10^{ème} siècles), notamment des pièces de 王凡志 Wang Fanzhi (Wang-le-zélateur, 8^{ème} siècle), ainsi que le *Wu wang jia jiao* 武王家教 « Instructions domestiques de l'aïeul » ont été remarquablement classés et étudiés d'un point de vue littéraire par P. Demiéville (1982).

Ces œuvres représentent des documents précieux en grammaire historique du chinois pour ce qui est du début de la période du bas-médiéval (7^{ème} – 11^{ème} siècles) et complètent l'étude exhaustive menée par Xiang Chu (1991) sur les poèmes de Wang Fanzhi, écrits dans la langue vernaculaire de l'époque.

Après avoir discuté différentes hypothèses de Hu Shi (1928), Iriya (1958), etc., concernant Wang Fanzhi (dont le nom véritable nous est inconnu) et ses créations, on analysera un certain nombre de ces poèmes d'un point de vue linguistique (les pièces 4 D, 10 I, 6 B, 29 A, 29 B, 44 D, 49 A, 4 A, 18 B, etc.). De longs extraits du 武王家教 (P III-2600) seront aussi commentés.

On montrera que plusieurs phénomènes linguistiques qu'on croyait datés de l'époque pré-moderne (12^{ème} – 14^{ème} siècles) étaient déjà attestés en bas--médiéval.

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Construction de la valeur sémantique de possible du suffixe V-*liǎo* dans les dialectes du Liaoning

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La valeur de *possible* de V-*liǎo* fait partie des points grammaticaux importants dans la linguistique du chinois, surtout des dialectes. Pourtant, les travaux actuels (Guo, 1980 ; Lamarre, 1995 ; *etc.*) sur ce sujet ne permettent pas d'expliquer le mécanisme de la formation de cette valeur modale.

Nous voulons montrer comment l'aspect de phase et le concept de *mode de résolution des conflits* permettent de clarifier la provenance de valeur de possible de V-*liǎo*. Cela concerne en particulier les valeurs de V-*liǎo* lorsqu'il fonctionne comme complément de phase finale du verbe.

En associant le modèle ICM (Ideal Cognitive Models) de Langacker (2008) avec le modèle SdT (Sémantique de la Temporalité en français) de Gosselin (1996), nous visons à illustrer la valeur modale de V-*liǎo* par la corrélation entre la temporalité, l'aspectualité et la modalité (Gosselin, 2005). Nous avons décrit la valeur en langue et les effets de sens dérivés du mot *liǎo* dans ce cadre, en proposant des tests linguistiques de paraphrase pour identifier leurs valeurs (Wang, 2016). Considérant la relation parallèle entre V-*liǎo* et V-*dé*, nous nous appuyons également sur les travaux de grammaticalisation de *liǎo* et *dé* proposés par Wu (1998, 2002).

Dans ce travail, nous essaierons d'illustrer le fait qu'un conflit linguistique entre les différents éléments du cotexte peut conduire à une valeur dérivée. La résolution des conflits peut se réaliser par un glissement de sens vers la phase la plus saillante du procès, mais aussi par un recouvrement d'une valeur de l'élément saillant par celle de l'élément moins saillant. Nous défendons que l'usage de V-*liǎo* dans un contexte critique¹ et inaccompli permet d'obtenir une visée indirecte prospective sur la phase finale du procès (Gosselin, 2011). Cet aspect prospectif aide finalement V-*liǎo* à coder la valeur de possible (Gosselin, 2005).

Mots-clés : suffixe verbal potentiel V-*liǎo*, aspect de phase, conflit linguistique

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¹ C'est le contexte où on trouve un conflit linguistique (instructionnel) entre les différents éléments.

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Genetic perspective on language replacement in Siberia

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Abstract:

Recent instances of language replacement may have left pronounced genetic effects, and therefore warrant molecular anthropological investigations. However, little work has been reported with this purpose. Previous research showed that the diversity of paternal Y-chromosome haplogroups in Siberian populations is relatively small, and populations within a language group tend to share the same predominant paternal lineages. To study the origin and diffusion of language groups and recent language replacement in Siberia, we conducted a comprehensive comparison of Y-chromosome haplogroup frequencies among 131 populations in Siberia and nearby regions. We summarized that N1c-M46 and N2a1-P43 were two founding paternal lineages in Uralic language family populations. For the Ket population, the only surviving Yeniseian-speaking group, the predominant lineage is Q-L330. The founding paternal lineages in Mongolic language group populations were identified as C3-Star Cluster and C3d-M407, while the only predominant lineage in Tungusic-speaking populations is C3c-M48. For Turkic language group populations, no predominant lineage was observed. We suggest that a language replacement has occurred if the major paternal lineage of a population is not the predominant one within the language group, but a downstream sub-clade of the lineage having recently expanded from another language group. We propose that after the immigration and admixture of ancient populations, language replacement may have occurred among the Selkups, Tuvan, Kyrgyz, Kazak, Khakassian, Shors, Yakuts, various Mongolic speaking populations, and the Aisin Gioro clan of the Manchu ethnicity. Our research indicates that accurate genetic dating can help us to explore recent differentiations of language groups, as well as to recognize previously unknown demographic admixture and historical language replacement events. This powerful new approach can be applied to other language groups over the world.

Keywords: Genetics; Y-chromosome; Language replacement; Siberia

Phonological Systems of Mandarin Chinese in Ming Dynasty as Reflected from the Behavior of Selection of Chinese Characters in Cháoxiānguǎn yìyǔ and Ānnánguó yìyǔ

Abstract

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Cháoxiānguǎn yìyǔ(朝鮮館譯語; Interpreter's Wordlist of the Bureau of Choson) and Ānnánguó yìyǔ(安南國譯語; Interpreter's Wordlist of Vietnam) are two important historical documents on the lexicon of Korean and Vietnamese compiled by the Government of Ming dynasty (1368–1644). They belong to a series of classified lexicons on foreign languages for diplomacy purposes, known as Huáyí yìyǔ(華夷譯語), featured by using only Chinese Characters to imitate the languages' pronunciations. For lacking sufficient historical records, it is unclear about their writers and editing process. But by comparing with documents written in old Korean scripts (Hangul) and old romanizations of Vietnamese (Quoc ngu) these two books are basically deciphered and ready for further investigations.

This study aims to observe the behavior of the editors on their decisions of selecting Chinese characters to imitate the languages' pronunciations. Base on the phonological correspondences between Chinese characters and the target languages statistical approach will be conducted in order to work out the main tendencies and the priorities of how the editors made their selections. Then a contrastive study will show the differences of the selections between these two books.

According to the evidences discovered in this study we are going to:

1. Reconstruct two varieties of the Mandarin Chinese phonological systems in Ming dynasty.
2. Discuss the phonological developments in these two varieties of the Ming Mandarin Chinese.
3. Discuss the similarities and dissimilarities of the language backgrounds of the editors.

It is hoped that we could demonstrate an interesting case of language variation from the perspective of historical linguistics and language contact.

The syntax of the discourse particle *-yo* in Korean
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The addressee-honorific particle *-yo* in Korean attaches to the verbal predicate at the end of a sentence, conveying politeness towards the addressee. Interestingly enough, the particle can follow sentence-medial materials optionally, as illustrated in (1) below. Notice that medial *-yo* attachment is only licensed in the presence of final *-yo*.

- (1) Kim-i(-yo) ecey(-yo) kkaphey-eyse(-yo) Lee-lul(-yo) manasse*(-yo).
Kim-NOM(-YO) yesterday(-YO) café-at(-YO) Lee-ACC(-YO) met.C*(-yo)
'Kim met Lee at the café yesterday.'

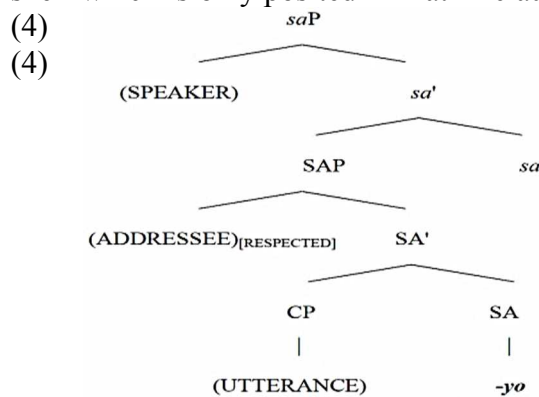
Insensitivity to syntactic islands such as CNP and *wh*-islands, as shown in (2), as well as the crucial dependence of medial *-yo* upon the overt occurrence of final *-yo* leads to propose that this *-yo* attachment takes place at PF; in other words, medial *-yo*'s are 'dummy' copies inserted at PF.

- (2) a. Kim-i [[_{CNPC} Hawai'i-ey(-yo) hanintul-i(-yo) manhta-nun] somwun-ul] tulesse-yo.
Kim-NOM Hawai'i-in(-YO) Koreans-NOM(-YO) many-C rumor-ACC heard-YO
'Kim heard the rumor that there are many Koreans in Hawai'i.'
b. Kim-i [_{WH} Hawai'i-ey(-yo) hanintul-i(-yo) elmana manh-unci] mulesse-yo.
Kim-NOM Hawai'i-in(-YO) Koreans-NOM(-YO) how many-Q asked-YO
'Kim asked how many Koreans there are in Hawai'i.'

Furthermore, it is impossible that a final *-yo* occurs at embedded clauses such as *that*- and *because*-clauses, as in (3), i.e., it can only appear in matrix clauses.

- (3) a. Kim-i [Hawai'i-ey hanintul-i manhta-ko(*-yo)] malhaysse.
Kim-NOM Hawai'i-in Koreans-NOM many-C(*-YO) said
'Kim said that there are many Koreans in Hawai'i.'
b. [Mwucikay-nun mayil pol swu iss-ase(*-yo)] Kim-i Hawai'i-lul cohahay.
rainbow-TOP every.day see possibility exist-because(*-YO) Kim-NOM Hawai'i-ACC like
'Because rainbows, Ce-A can see every day, she likes Hawai'i.'

Such unembeddability of the discourse particle *-yo* is explained by posting a Speech Act (SA) shell which is only posited in matrix clauses but not in embedded environments, as shown in



below (Haegeman 2014, Speas and Tenny 2003).

On this view, final *-yo* is the direct morphological manifestation for the addressee-associated SA head. Whereas medial *-yo* have no syntactic projections like SAP employed only for final *-yo*. This follows straightforwardly if we assume with Yim and Dobashi 2015 that *-yo* attachment targets the right edge of a prosodic phrase.

In sum, only final *-yo* heads the discourse-related SA projection whereas medial *-yo*'s are "dummy" copies (depending exclusively on the presence of final *-yo*) which have no syntactic projection at syntax and are inserted at the edge of a prosodic phrase at phonology.

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A preliminary analysis on the Taliu syllable

The Taliu language is mainly spoken in Liude Yi and Lisu Township, Yongsheng County, Lijiang, Yunnan Province. It belongs to the Yi branch of Tibeto-Burman, Sino-Tibetan. The name “Taliu” is the Chinese transliteration of *t^ha³¹lu³³sy⁵⁵*, which is the endonym of the Taliu people. Taliu does not have writing system, except for some pictorial writing used for religious purposes.

By using the Onset-Rhyme model (Fudge 1987), syllables in Taliu can be analysed into 6 types: V, VC, Ç, CV, CVV and CVC. Ç alone represents syllables with syllabic consonant and only three nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ can be syllabified. And there is a coda restriction in Taliu, in which only two nasals /n/ and /ŋ/ can be coda, and syllables with a /n/ coda mainly appear in Chinese loan words.

Analysing syllable structure gives us a clearer picture of the derivation process of phonological rules. For example, the first part of a diphthong, which is always a high vowel, will be realized as its corresponding glide (i > j, y > ɥ, u > w) when 1) the diphthong forms a phonological word alone and 2) the diphthong is followed by a consonant. This process can be illustrated under the syllable structure in which the high vowel is moved from the nucleus position to the onset position and becomes a glide.

One of the special points of Taliu is the contrast between lax and tense vowels. Studying the syllable weight helps us to come to the conclusion that except for the auditory difference between lax and tense vowels, the basic difference lies in their weight. There were some syllables with a stop in the coda position. Later the coda was lost and in order to maintain the original syllable weight, the weight of the coda was transferred to the preceding vowel, making it a tense vowel. Thus, a lax vowel has one unit of weight, i.e. a mora, while a tense vowel has two.

Generally a consonant has 0 moras, but a syllabic consonant has one mora. And a consonant can also get one mora when it is in coda position, which is called “weight by position”. A syllable with one mora is a light syllable and a syllable with more than one mora is a heavy syllable. So closed syllables in Taliu are heavy syllables.

By combining the syllable types and segmental weights together, it can be concluded that Taliu has a trimoraic constraint, i.e. *μμμ] σ, which means a syllable in Taliu can have two moras at most. The trimoraic constraint explains why tense vowels only exist in monophthongs, but not in diphthongs. And it also explains why the first part of a diphthong needs to be moved to the onset position and realized as a glide when the diphthong is followed by a consonant.

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Verb copying constructions—a strategy of labeling

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In Mandarin Chinese, there are mainly four types of postverbal complements¹(PVCs): 1) resultative and 2) evaluative complements leaded by “de”, 3) durative and frequency complements, 4) resultative verbal compounds. All these post-verbal complements with the exception of durative and frequency complements, when occurring in a transitive construction, require the verb copying form (VCF). Taking the resultative complement as an example:

(1) a. ta xue de hen lei.

3s learn DE very tired (‘he learned and as a result he becomes tired’)

b. ta xue yingyu xue de hen lei.

3s learn English learn DE very tired.

‘he/she learned English to such point that he/she becomes tired’

c. *ta xue yingyu de hen lei/ta xue de hen lei yingyu.

3s learn English DE very tired/3s learn DE very tired English

In the literature, the analysis on the phenomenon can be largely divided into two parts. Some think that the phenomenon is due to the “competition” between the object and the PVC, Huang’s post-verbal constraint (1984) and Li’s Case hypothesis (1990) among others. Others tend to treat verb copying constructions as a PF phenomenon, Cheng (2007), Gouguet(2005, 2008) among others. Agreeing with the first type of analysis, we believe that the idea of “competition” is at core of the verb copying phenomenon and that the pronunciation of two verbal copies is no more than a secondary effect. The goal of this paper is to answer two questions: First, how to capture the idea of competition by theoretical means that can be accommodated into the minimalist framework? Second, why does the phenomenon so special? And why can’t we find it in European languages?

We propose that the basic structure for (1b) is as follows:

(2) {he {v* { α Result.P {_{vP} v-DE {_{vP} learn English}}}}}

The verb first merges with the object forming a VP, which is then selected by an event head *v*, occupied by the morpheme *DE*. The resultative is merged as the sister of *vP* (Spec.*vP* in traditional terms). However, the merge between the Result.P and *vP* will give rise to a symmetric structure α , which, according to the labeling algorithm (LA) proposed in Chomsky(2013), cannot be labeled at the phase level. In order to save the construction, the language chooses to move the VP to the periphery of *v**. By doing so, α will be labeled as *v* by LA. In the mean time, the verb moves to *v* and then to *v**, and the subject is raised to TP, yielding the linear order in (1b). (1c) is ruled out by the labeling problem at the interfaces. At PF, the pronunciation of two verb copies is due to the fact that the VP movement and V movement form two distinctive Chains, after the deletion, there will be two copies left, the highest copy of VP and that of V.

In summery, we argue that verb coping constructions are derived by the VP movement, a strategy to make the symmetric structure {XP, *vP*}(XP a PVC) labelable. The reason why we

¹ Here the term “complement” is merely descriptive. It does not refer to the “complement” in the X-bar theory.

only find verb copying phenomenon in Chinese is because the post-verbal complement is seen in Chinese as an argument of v , demanding the set Merge, while in European languages, the similar elements are often treated as an adjunct, demanding the pair Merge.

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