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Japanese Quantifier-float and grammaticality judgments

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Aim: to explain why grammaticality judgments on Japanese Quantifier-float fluctuate.

Observations: Japanese has numeral quantifier floating such as in (1), which corresponds roughly with English Q-float (e.g. “the students both drank wine.”).

- (1) Gakusei-ga futa-ri sake-o nonda.
Students-Nom two-CL wine-Acc drank (CL=classifier)
“Two students drank wine.”

In 1980 Kuroda and Haig independently drew a descriptive generalization, which we refer to as Kuroda-Haig Generalization (KHG) in this talk: a subject-oriented numeral quantifier (NQ) cannot be placed within VP, as exemplified in (2). (See Miyagawa (2017) for detail.)

- (2) a. ^{*/?} Gakusei-ga [VP sake-o futa-ri nonda].
Students-Nom wine-Acc two-CL drank
“Two students drank wine.”
- b. ^{*/?} Mizugi-sugata no josei-tachi-ga [VP tanoshisooni go-nin oyoida].
Swimsuit-wearing Gen woman-Pl-Nom merrily five-Cl swam.
“Five women in swimsuits swam merrily.”

Some linguists, however, claim that the KHG is questionable because grammaticality judgments involving KHG vary from person to person. For example, Takami and Kuno (2014: 115) argue that even the same speaker is apt on occasion to change his/her judgment. This paper is an attempt to explore where the instability regarding the KHG comes from.

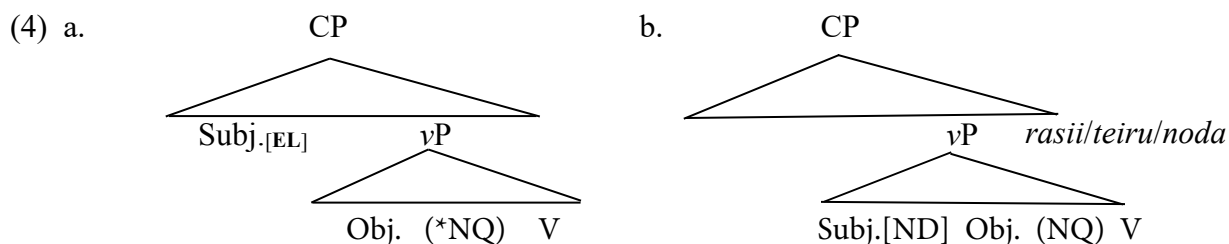
Analysis: The sentences in (3) are typical counter-examples to the KHG.

- (3) a. Gakusei-ga sake-o san-nin nonda-**rasii**.
Students-Nom wine-Acc three-Cl drank-I hear
“I hear three students drank wine.”
- b. Mizugi-sugata no josei-tachi-ga tanoshisooni go-nin oyoi-**teiru**.
Swimsuit-wearing Gen woman-Pl-Nom merrily five-Cl swimming-be.
“Five women in swimsuits were swimming merrily.”
- c. Daigakusei-ga jazz-dance-o san-nin odotta-**noda**.
college student-Nom jazz-dance-Acc three-Cl danced-NODA
“I take it that three college students did jazz dance.”

Example (3a), in which *-rasii*, a reporting expression, is placed at the sentence-final position, sounds much better than (2a). The progressive *-teiru* in (3b), generally described as an aspect marker, can be used as an evidential marker (cf. Sadanobu & Malchukov (2006)). In (3c) the sentence-final expression, *-noda* is to present information that only the speaker knows. A careful examination reveals a common trait among these sentences: they are “presentational,” that is, they have the function of presenting direct perceptions of actual situations to the hearer as new information. Then raises a question: why is this the case?

Since Kuno (1973) it has been generally accepted that *ga*-subjects can be functionally divided into two readings: exhaustive listing (EL) and neutral description (ND). Hasegawa (2008) observes that *ga*-subjects in root clauses are interpreted as ND if the clauses are “presentational.” That is, when a *ga*-subject has the ND reading, the KHG can be ignored.

Adopting the cartographic approach developed in late generative grammar (cf. Rizzi (1997)), it can be claimed that the two types of *ga*-subjects can be syntactically differentiated: the one with the EL reading is located in the CP domain (i.e. discourse domain), while that with the ND reading in the *v*P, or the propositional domain, as illustrated below.



These structures tell us that the subject and its associated NQ must belong to the same domain (i.e. the propositional domain). The structure in (4a) is that of the core data (2), where the KHG is maintained. On the other hand, that in (4b) is the one of counter-examples in (3), in which the KHG is not observed. This is confirmed by (5), in which an ungrammatical clause is embedded into the matrix sentence.

- (5) Kimi-wa [seito-ga tabacco-o 3-nin sutta]-no-o sitteimasu-ka?
 you-Top student-Nom tabacco-Acc 3-Cl smoked-COMP-Acc know-Q
 “Do you know that three students smoked?”

Were the embedded clause a root sentence, it would be ungrammatical according to the KHG. This is because a subject in an embedded clause is interpreted as a non-focalized one, that is, one with the ND reading, according to Kuno (1973).

What is of significance for our research question is: The interpretational distinction between the ND and the EL is not absolute, but ambiguous/unclear without (explicit) markers such as *-teiru* and *-noda*, which help make a sentence “presentational.” As pointed out in Hasegawa (2008), it is impossible to understand sentences without these markers as presentational in spoken registers, but it might be possible in writing (e.g. dairies, newspapers, novels, etc.). Thus the grammaticality judgment on Q-float is apt to change, for it depends on the interpretation of *ga*-subjects. Therefore, our conclusion is that the fluctuation at issue comes from the mode of a sentence. When a sentence is “presentational,” the KHG is not observed, but when non-presentational, it is maintained.

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Introduction d'un nouveau référent dans le récit en chinois L2 : quelle structure informationnelle ?

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Pendant la production d'un discours, le locuteur doit réaliser de nombreuses tâches comme tout d'abord celles de l'attribution d'un statut d'accessibilité des référents, d'une structure informationnelle et d'une structure thématique (Levelt 1989). Dans cette perspective, nous nous intéressons à comment les nouveaux référents animés (protagonistes) et inanimés (entités) sont introduits dans le récit en chinois langue étrangère (Turco 2008, Zhang 2011).

La procédure utilisée consiste en l'analyse d'un corpus oral collecté auprès de locuteurs natifs du français et du chinois, ainsi que d'apprenants francophones du chinois (un groupe de niveau débutant et un autre de niveau intermédiaire). Le stimulus utilisé est une bande dessinée composée de dix planches de quatre dessins. Elle présente un récit de quête pendant laquelle le personnage principal rencontre d'autres protagonistes dont l'apparition est inattendue (sortie d'une entité à trois dimensions). Cette condition peut, d'après Bailard (1981), entraîner la production d'énoncés à sujet nominal postverbal ou inversion locative (Bresnan 1994, Huang & Shi 2016, Lahousse 2011, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, Wu 2006, Zhang 2016, Zhang & Fan 2010). Cette étude traite de deux questions : quels facteurs influencent la façon dont les apprenants introduisent un nouveau référent dans le récit ? Quels développements observe-t-on avec l'augmentation de leur compétence en L2 ?

L'analyse du corpus fournit les résultats suivants : 1) en français, les locuteurs utilisent principalement la structure prédicative canonique (SVO), ils placent un sujet agentif en position préverbale, que ce soit pour introduire une nouvelle entité en fonction d'objet, par le biais des actions du personnage principal (ex. a), ou pour introduire un nouveau protagoniste en fonction de sujet (ex. b) ; 2) en chinois, les locuteurs utilisent majoritairement l'inversion locative, ils introduisent une nouvelle entité (ex. c) ou un nouveau protagoniste (ex. d) en position postverbale, un syntagme référent à une information ancienne et identifiable dans le discours est donc suivie par un syntagme marqué comme indéfini et référant à une information nouvelle dans une structure « présupposition-assertion » (terminologie de Lambrecht 1994) ; 3) les apprenants débutants produisent des énoncés le plus souvent corrects sur le plan grammatical, mais ils utilisent la même structure prédicative canonique que l'on trouve dans le corpus en français ; 4) les apprenants intermédiaires ne se différencient pas des débutants pour l'introduction des entités, mais ils procèdent de façon différente des trois autres groupes pour l'introduction des protagonistes puisqu'ils choisissent souvent la structure présentative (ex. e) ou l'inversion locative, mais avec un verbe d'existence (有 *yǒu* « avoir ») plutôt que d'apparition comme les sinophones (p. ex. 冒出 *mào-chu* « jaillir-sortir »).

Les productions des apprenants débutants présentent des similitudes syntaxiques avec celles en français. On pourrait voir ici une influence de la langue maternelle sur la L2 (structure syntaxique ou registre de langue). Cependant, Pienemann *et al.* (2005) montre qu'à un niveau initial comme celui de nos informateurs, les apprenants établissent communément un alignement non marqué entre agent, sujet et premier syntagme nominal de l'énoncé et que ce n'est qu'avec le développement du lecte qu'ils deviennent capables de modifier cet ordre linéaire en topicalisant un autre constituant (hypothèses de l'appariement lexical et du topique). Les apprenants intermédiaires sont en mesure de topicaliser une expression locative, comme le font les sinophones, même si c'est encore dans des proportions différentes. Ils présentent tout de même une différence importante avec la langue cible au niveau du verbe utilisé : ils placent

rarement ces nouveaux référents après un verbe inaccusatif d'apparition ou de déplacement, peut-être parce qu'ils ignorent la possibilité de placer un référent animé dans cette position.

- a. Le chien voit un trou de souris.
- b. Un ouvrier sort de la bouche d'égout.
- c. 树上 有 个 洞。
shù=shang yǒu gè dòng
arbre=sur avoir CL trou
« Il y a un trou dans l'arbre. »
- d. 洞里 钻出 一 只 松鼠。
dòng=li zuān-chu yī zhī sōngshǔ
trou=dans se faufiller-sortir un CL écureuil
« Du trou sort un écureuil. »
- e. 有 一 只 兔子 出来。
yǒu yī zhī tùzi chū-lai
avoir un CL lapin sortir-venir
« Il y a un lapin qui sort. »

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Issues in proto-South-Western Tai phonology: the futility of reconstruction in view of 15th c. written evidence

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Li (1977) posits for proto-Tai a series of medial -r- clusters, such as *hr-, *thr-, and *xr-, merging in Thai (Siamese) to /h-/. For the reconstruction of an intermediate form in proto-South-Western Tai *hr- he relies solely on Ahom evidence retaining simple /r-/ initials in such cognates.

It will be shown that such a reconstruction is wholly irrelevant as evidence from inscriptions, located in Chiangrai, Phayao, and Nan provinces of Thailand, and dating from the mid 15th to the late 16th c. CE, actually show cognates with /hr-/ clusters intact, as for instance

15th/16th c. Thai (northern dial.)	Li's Proto-Tai	Thai (Sukhothai dial.) 14th c. / present
หฺรอก <i>hrāk</i> 'spear, lance'	*hr-	หอก /hò:k/
หฺริน <i>hrin</i> 'stone'	*thr-	หิน /hĩn/
หฺรก <i>hrak</i> 'six'	*xr-	หก /hòk/

There is, however, another issue which practitioners of orthodox reconstruction in this case eschew: that chronologically earlier textual evidence (14th c. from Sukhothai province) represents a more innovative dialect (hr- > h-) than the chronologically later northern dialects that have retained hr-clusters.

The group of 14th c. dialects from Sukhothai was much earlier subject to convergence of Mon and Khmer phonological systems, and hence innovated (as these clusters are unknown in Mon and Khmer), whereas dialects north of that area came into contact with that innovated Thai dialect at a later date, and hence retained PSWT clusters for quite some time.

Finally, given the innovative character of 14th c. Sukhothai dialects, textual evidence from that corpus should be used with caution in linguistic comparison and reconstruction.

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Indexation et alternance thématique du verbe tangoute dans le Lèilín

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Le tangoute revêt en comparatisme sino-tibétain une importance toute particulière, notamment du fait d'un conservatisme morphologique remarquable, paradoxalement corrélé à une simplification syllabique résultat d'un processus de transphonologisation que Miyake (2012) nomme "compression".

Cette conservation s'observe dans le nombre de qualités reconstruites pour les voyelles, de l'intensité (Gong 1999) à l'uvularisation (hypothèse de Gōng 2017), parfois échos d'anciens affixes dérivationnels. Le verbe est également le lieu d'occurrence de phénomènes *flexionnels*, participant tant de sa structure argumentale que d'une logique de hiérarchie référentielle (Silverstein 1976) similaire sous bien des aspects au système d'indexation de langues du taxon rgyalronguique de la famille qianguique.¹

La présente présentation s'entendra à faire part des observations résultant de notre confrontation à l'un des documents les plus volumineux du corpus tangoute, eu égard aux phénomènes d'indexation et d'alternance ; dans un premier temps, est montré le caractère obligatoire de l'accord, confirmation de l'hypothèse de Gong (2001), et infirmation des analyses de LaPolla (1992) ; puis sont analysées les exceptions apparentes, dues à des occurrences en contexte dépendant (impératif, chaînes converbiales - cf. exemple 1). Nous évoquons au passage nos hypothèses relatives à d'autres formes d'alternances, en contexte intransitif, voire non verbal (exemple 2). Enfin, est effectuée une mise en regard avec le groupe ouest rgyalronguique, formé des sous-groupes horpa/stau (Jacques et al. 2014), et khroskyabs (Lai 2017).

(1) 纒纒 纒纒 纒纒 纒纒 纒纒 纒纒 纒纒 纒纒 纒纒 纒纒

ŋa² tja¹ sə¹thu¹ rjir²-phjii¹∅ njji¹.jwir² gi² zow² xu¹zji¹ rjir² ber¹ kie.j²-ŋa²
1SG TOP situ DIR1-send[A]∅ letter one hold wife COMMIT see desire-1SG

Le situ m'a envoyé, je porte une lettre et j'ai envie de voir ma femme. (Leilin 08.11.A6)

(2) a. 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒

tsəj¹ zjo.² zju²lhiow² zji²
little time[B] fish_flesh sell

Quand il était petit, il vendait de la chair de poisson. (Leilin 07.26.A2)

¹ La réunion des études sur le tangoute et sur les langues rgyalronguiques est un phénomène extrêmement récent, dont le principal instigateur est Jacques (2014) ; notre étude s'inscrit dans la mouvance de cette impulsion en associant l'attention portée sur le contenu révélé par les documents à une mise en perspective avec des langues supposées proches.

b. 𪛗𪛘𪛙𪛚𪛛𪛜𪛝𪛞𪛟𪛠𪛡𪛢𪛣𪛤𪛥𪛦𪛧𪛨𪛩𪛪𪛫𪛬𪛭𪛮𪛯𪛰𪛱𪛲𪛳𪛴𪛵𪛶𪛷𪛸𪛹𪛺𪛻𪛼𪛽𪛾𪛿

kiow² tũ¹ lji.².io.¹ zji.¹nwu¹ .jaar² zji.j¹ .wja¹mja¹ dzji⁰.wji¹ lhji⁰ ɲwu²
Jiang Dong area child shout time[A] parents ERG frighten INSTR
tejow¹ / lji.j² .jɿ²
Zhang Liao come say

Quand un enfant du Jiangdong criait, les parents disaient pour lui faire peur que Zhang Liao allait venir. (Leilin 09.15.B3)

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La traduction automatique du japonais vers le français : état des lieux

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La traduction automatique dite « neuronale » a supplanté en moins d'une décennie la méthode dite « statistique » qui jusque vers 2015 dominait largement la traduction automatique. La question est de savoir si la méthode neuronale, qui a montré son intérêt pour les paires de langues bien pourvues en corpus alignés bilingues [1] [2], profite aussi à une paire de langues comme le japonais-français, qui dispose de très peu de corpus alignés et de bonne qualité.

Après un bref rappel non technique sur les caractéristiques des méthodes, nous proposons de faire un état des lieux en évaluant les progrès faits avec l'approche neuronale. A travers une revue de la littérature, nous comparons quelques résultats obtenus avec des méthodes statistiques et des méthodes neuronales. Nous verrons que les progrès sont mitigés. La raison la plus évidente est le manque de corpus alignés [3].

Nous ferons une liste des possibles remèdes à cette situation. Nous verrons que la méthode neuronale ouvre de nouvelles pistes originales, comme la combinaison de corpus d'entraînements [4]. Sur la base des travaux les plus récents, nous réévaluerons aussi les pistes traditionnelles : recours à une interlingua, hybridation des techniques (méthode neuronale + méthodes à base de règles), pré-réordonnancement [5]. Nous nous (ré)interrogerons aussi sur le rôle que peut jouer le linguiste. L'approche statistique l'avait complètement marginalisé. Peut-il à nouveau contribuer de façon significative à faire progresser la traduction automatique dans le nouveau contexte ?

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Interface Syntaxe-Prosodie : étude comparative du *wh-in-situ* en chinois, coréen, japonais et vietnamien

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Bien que la prosodie soit un composant fondamental dans le processus de production/réception du message linguistique, les syntacticiens sont encore à la recherche d'une théorie capable de rendre compte adéquatement le rôle qu'elle joue pour la communication verbale. Sans tenir compte des informations encodées par prosodie, il est, par exemple, impossible de décrire la structure syntaxique de la phrase chinoise ci-dessous, laquelle n'a rien d'ambigu en situation de communication réelle avec une intonation appropriée :

- (1) Ta zai chi-zhe shenme ?
He PROG eat-DUR what
'**What** is he eating ?' / 'Is he eating **something** ?'

Pour répondre à cette question fondamentale concernant le rôle de la prosodie dans un modèle syntaxique, Pan (2014, à paraître) examine le *Wh-in-situ* en chinois dans le cadre du Programme Minimaliste (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004) et propose une solution prometteuse. En effet, ses travaux montrent qu'en traitant, suivant Tsai (1994), les syntagmes *wh-in-situ* comme des variables sous la portée d'un opérateur approprié (lequel est déterminé en fonction des indices intonatifs portés par l'énoncé) et en exploitant un mécanisme fondé sur l'hypothèse de réparation du system computationnel au sens de Reinhart (1997, 2006), il est possible de résoudre correctement le problème posé par le « typage des énoncés » en chinois (Cheng 1991, Cheng & Rooryck 2000).

Dans ce travail, nous voulions mener une étude comparative entre quatre langues d'Asie, en occurrence le chinois mandarin, le coréen, le japonais et le vietnamien, dont les syntagmes *wh-* se comportent de manière grosso-modo similaire (i.e., pas de déplacement *wh-* au niveau de la structure de surface), le but étant de décrire d'abord la répartition spécifique et respective de la fonction des différents composants grammaticaux (la syntaxe, la morphologie, le lexique et la prosodie) de ces langues, et ensuite confronter le modèle de Pan aux diversités de ces langues.

Nous comparerons les deux contextes étudiés par Pan (à paraître): (i) les contextes de légitimation non-ambigus ("*unambiguous licensing contexts*") et (ii) les contextes de légitimation ambigus ("*ambiguous licensing contexts*"). Comme le montrent les exemples ci-dessous, (i) les premiers concernent les contextes tels que "yes-no questions" (question *oui/non*), "quantifier context" (contextes comportant un quantificateur universel), "if-conditional clauses" (énoncés avec une proposition conditionnelle), où les "Wh-in-situ" s'interprètent de manière non-équivoque en chinois mandarin, (ii) la deuxième, les contextes tels que "negation contexts" (contextes en négation), "non-factive verb contexts" (contextes avec les verbes non-factifs) etc. où les *wh-* peuvent recevoir plusieurs lectures différentes en chinois mandarin en fonction de la propriété prosodique de l'énoncé :

- (i) [unambiguous licensing contexts]
Ta chi-le shenme ma? (*Question oui-non*)
he eat-PERF what Q_{yes-no}
✓ 'Did he eat anything ?' (∃) / ✗ 'What does he eat ?' (Q)
- (ii) [ambiguous licensing contexts]
Ta **mei** chi shenme (*Contexte de négation*)
he NEG eat what
✓ 'He did not eat anything.' (∃) / ✓ 'What didn't he eat?' (Q)

Le tableau en annexe récapitule la comparaison sommaire des quatre langues étudiées dans les mêmes contextes de légitimation. Après la présentation et l'explication synthétiques des données de ces quatre langues, nous discuterons des problématiques théoriques que pourraient poser les spécificités des langues comparées, afin de contribuer à l'élaboration d'une théorie de syntaxe dans laquelle la prosodie aura sa place légitime.

Annexe (Tableau de comparaison) :

o = ambiguous without prosody / x = unambiguous (possible readings: interrogative operator Q or quantificational operator \exists / \forall)

language	Chi.	Jap.	Kor.	Viet.	Examples
context	ambig.	ambig.	ambig.	ambig.	
simple wh-in-situ (like)	x (Q)	x (Q/ \exists ?)	x (Q)	x (Q)	What do you like? / You like something.
Yes/No question	x (\exists)	x (Q/ \exists)	o (Q/ \exists)	o (Q/ \exists)	Did he eat anything? / He ate something.
If-conditional	x (\exists)	x (\exists)	x (\exists)	x (\exists)	If you want to eat anything, tell me then
Universal Q	x (\forall)	^x x (Q/ \forall ?)	x (\forall)	x (\forall)	For what x, does he eat every x? / He eats everything
Epistemic Verb (seem)	x (\exists)	x (\exists)	x (\exists)	x (\exists)	It seems that he has already eaten something.
simple wh-in-situ (eat)	o	x (Q/ \exists)	o	x (Q)	What is he eating? / He is eating something
Negative Sentence	o	x (Q/ \exists)	o	o	What didn't he eat? / He did not eat anything.
Non-Factive Verb (think)	o	x (Q/ \exists)	o	x (Q)	What does Zhangsan think that Lisi bought? / Zhangsan thought that Lisi bought something.
Epistemic Adverb (probably)	o	x (Q?/ \exists)	o	o	Where would she probably go alone? / She would probably go somewhere alone.
Epistemic Verb (be afraid)	o	x (Q?/ \exists)	o	x (Q)	For what x, such that his father is afraid that Lisi did x? / His father is afraid that Lisi did something wrong.
Desirative (want)	o	x (Q/ \exists)	o	x (Q)	What does he want to drink? / He wants to drink something.

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De la registrogenèse à la tonogenèse : formation des tons en chinois archaïque et en chinois ancien

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Les recherches sur la tonogenèse dans l'aire de l'Asie Orientale sont dans une situation paradoxale : ce phénomène est aujourd'hui bien compris pour la plupart des langues de cette aire (Daïque, Austroasiatique et Sino-Tibétique en partie), tandis que l'origine de ces phénomènes reste à déchiffrer dans les anciens traités chinois. Il faut donc relire ces documents à la lumière des connaissances modernes.

On commencera par rappeler les principaux processus de formation des systèmes de registres de voix et/ou de tons dans les langues de l'Asie Orientale. Le stade de la registrogenèse se stabilise en système de tons ou en partition vocalique. Ce préambule est absolument indispensable pour comprendre les idées développées dans cet exposé.

Les phénomènes de registro-tonogenèse en série : exposé sur les étapes de la formation des tons en Chinois :

- Registrogenèse par le contraste inhérent /T~L/ (T: tendu ~ L: relâché) entre groupe initial C.C- (T) et initiale simple C- (L) de syllabe. A la suite de la simplification C.C-> C-, le contraste /T~L/ remplace l'ancienne distinction des initiales. Chacune des deux séries développe des changements vocaliques spécifiques. En chinois, c'est le stade du chinois archaïque (*Old Chinese*) objet du *Shìjìng* (Baxter). On ne peut savoir si ces changements se sont continués par un système tonal.

- Registro-tonogenèse par le contraste /T~L/ entre les séries d'initiale sourde (T) et sonore (L). C'est le stade du chinois ancien, d'abord le *Early Middle Chinese* monosyllabique objet du *Qièyùn*, suivi par le *Late Middle Chinese* objet du *Yùnjìng* (Pulleyblank). Le processus s'est terminé par un système tonal.

- Ces phénomènes concernent les initiales et sont à bien distinguer de la tonogenèse par les finales laryngales de syllabe. En chinois, -Ø > ton *píng*, *-ʔ > ton *shang*, *-h > ton *qù*. Ces changements sont présents dès le *Qièyùn*.

Problème : le chinois est la première langue de l'Asie Orientale à avoir développé un système tonal en utilisant successivement la registrogenèse et la tonogenèse. Une question se pose : quelle est la relation historique entre les deux phases de ces processus ? Est-ce que la tonogenèse est une conséquence logique et inévitable de la registrogenèse ? Ou bien ces deux phénomènes sont-ils sans lien de cause à effet ? Nous proposerons une explication à l'aide d'arguments sociaux-historiques.

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Le *Traité chinois des particules et des principaux termes de grammaire* (1869) : un exemple de traduction et d'adaptation de la terminologie linguistique chinoise

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Le *Jīngzhuàn shìcí* 經傳釋詞 « Explication des particules dans les Classiques et dans les commentaires » (1798) de Wáng Yīnzhī (1766-1834) est un ouvrage central dans le développement des études grammaticales chinoises (Hú 1987 : 327). Cet « essai systématique de classification et d'explication des particules » (Peyraube 2000a : 57) a fait l'objet de plusieurs commentaires et suppléments et a exercé une influence décisive sur la première grammaire autochtone, le *Mǎ shì wéntōng* 馬氏文通 (1898) (Chappell et Peyraube 2014 : 111).

Dans sa préface, Wáng souligne à quel point, dans le contexte de la philologie impériale, une grande place était réservée aux explications des mots pleins tandis que l'analyse des mots vides était négligée. Pour combler cette lacune, l'auteur analyse de nombreuses particules issues des Classiques confucéens et d'ouvrages des époques Zhou, Qin et Han (Wáng [1798]1984 : 3-4 ; Peyraube 2000b). Ce corpus inscrit son ouvrage dans le climat intellectuel de son époque dominé par l'« école Han » (ou le « savoir des Han », *Hàn xué* 漢學) qui se proposait de revenir à la signification authentique des textes canoniques grâce à l'étude de la philologie Han et pré-Han (Peyraube 2000 : 57 ; Elman 1984). Stanislas Julien (1799-1873), professeur au Collège de France et figure clé de la sinologie européenne au XIX^e siècle, inclut une traduction partielle du *Jīngzhuàn shìcí*, sous le titre « *Traité chinois des particules et des principaux termes de grammaire* », dans sa célèbre *Syntaxe nouvelle de la langue chinoise* (1869). Cet hommage à la tradition philologique chinoise est sans doute lié à l'importance qu'il reconnaît aux particules dans la description linguistique. Ce « *Traité* » représente la première traduction de l'ouvrage de Wáng dans une langue occidentale ainsi qu'un exemple remarquable de présentation des méthodologies et de la terminologie linguistique chinoises dans une langue européenne.

Si les catégories linguistiques occidentales ont été largement appliquées aux langues chinoises et si la terminologie grammaticale d'inspiration occidentale a été progressivement traduite et utilisée dans des ouvrages chinois (Pellin 2009), les traductions et adaptations des mots et des catégories de la philologie chinoise demeurent, par contre, rares. Cette communication se propose de comparer les deux textes et d'analyser la sélection et la traduction des lemmes, les références supprimées ou ajoutées par Julien, ainsi que la terminologie forgée par le sinologue pour rendre des catégories et des termes chinois en français.

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Presupposition, Negation, Definiteness (Chinese Evidence)

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In Chinese, aspect and modal markers such as the suffix *-le*, the phase complement *guo* and the particle *laizhe* occur only in affirmative sentences. Strictly speaking, they lack a negative form. That is to say, they cannot co-occur with *mei* (*you*), and are deleted in the negative form. Following Declerck (1988), I argue that such markers are incompatible with the negative existential quantifier because they presuppose existence.

In Mandarin Chinese, two aspect markers are derived from the full verb *guo* ‘to pass, cross’: the well-known suffix *-guo* (‘experiential aspect’) and the less familiar ‘phase complement *guo*’.

EXPERIENTIAL ASPECT	PHASE COMPLEMENT
(1) <i>Wo he-guo kafei.</i> <I-drink-GUO ₁ -coffee> ‘I have drunk coffee before.’	(2) <i>Wo he.guo kafei.</i> <I-drink-GUO ₂ -coffee> ‘I have finished [have had/drunk] my coffee.’ (It’s over.)

It is a well-known fact that different stages of grammaticalization are related to distinct prosodic patterns. Increasing grammaticalization relates to decreasing prosodic prominence. The phase complement *guo* stands halfway between the resultative verb compound (RVC) and the verbal suffix *-guo*, as shown below.

	suffix <i>-guo</i>	suffix <i>-le</i>	phase complement <i>guo</i>	RVC
tone/accent	–	–	–/+	+
negation <i>mei</i> (<i>you</i>)	+	–	–	+
potential form	–	–	–	+
suffixation by <i>-le</i>	–	–	+	+

The phase complement *guo* (*guo*₂) is formally differentiated from the suffix *-guo* (*guo*₁) by a series of prosodic, distributional and other features. It indicates that a particular, i.e. expected, event has passed the dividing line between the present and the past and, by that very fact, is now included among the bygone events. *Guo*₂ may be suffixed by the aspect marker *-le* to validate the resultant state of this temporal passage. The event being considered as bound to happen, its occurrence is only a matter of time. *Guo*₂ signifies that the expected event **actually** took place, it is a confirmation of a presupposition.

Negation is the main criterion for discriminating between *guo*₁ and *guo*₂. Unlike the former, the latter is deleted in the negative form. Compare:

(3) *chi-guo xiaomi / mei chi-guo xiaomi*
<eat-GUO₁-millet / NEG-eat-GUO₁-millet>
‘have eaten millet (before)’ / ‘have never eaten millet (before)’

(4) *chi.guo fan le / hai mei chi ne*
<eat-GUO₂-food-FP (final particle) / still/yet-NEG-eat-FP>
‘have had one’s meal’ (It’s over.) / ‘haven’t had one’s meal yet’

Negation proves that presupposition is part of the grammatical meaning of the phase complement. With *guo*₂, the existence is presupposed, therefore it cannot be negated by the

negative existential quantifier (*mei*) *you*. There is a logical contradiction between the two. *Guo*₂ is regularly contrasted with *hai mei ... ne* ‘have not ... yet’ in the negative. The presence of *hai* is an additional proof of presupposition.

This paper offers an explicit formalization of the phenomena under discussion. It is shown that the phase complement involves two occurrences of the event: the first occurrence is pre-constructed (i.e. pre-asserted), the second is predicated by the speaker. As a quantification marker, *guo*₂ marks a qualitative **identification**: the actual occurrence (second occurrence) = pre-constructed occurrence (first occurrence, which technically corresponds to **definiteness** (Strawson 1950, Culioli 1990). Unlike the suffix *-guo*, characterized by indefiniteness, the phase complement *guo* involves definite occurrences.

This has important theoretical implications : (a) presupposition cannot be negated; (b) the presupposition of existence entails definiteness; (c) definiteness implies existence.

Although the paper concentrates on the phase complement *guo*, the theoretical conclusions hold true also for *-le* and *laizhe*.

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Keywords: pragmatics, aspect, presupposition, negation, definiteness.

Identification de l'adjectif coréen : fonction syntaxique des morphèmes « *neu(n)* » et « *eu(n)* »

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La notion d'adjectif est particulièrement difficile à préciser dans une perspective de linguistique générale (Creissels, 1979 : 139) et la délimitation d'une classe d'adjectifs reste une question délicate. Une approche typologique permet de prendre en compte les spécificités d'une langue et à ce titre nous proposons de décrire l'adjectif coréen à la lumière des grammaires occidentales.

Creissels (2002 : 5) fait le constat que « les langues tendent à avoir une classe de mots qui se distingue à la fois de la classe des noms et de celle des verbes », ces mots étant caractérisés par des propriétés spécifiques. En effet, bien que les adjectifs aient dans certaines langues des propriétés grammaticales similaires à celles des noms ou des verbes, les adjectifs remplissent en général les deux fonctions suivantes : d'une part, prédicats intransitifs ou complément d'une copule dans une structure prédicative, et d'autre part, modificateur du nom tête dans une structure déterminative (Dixon, 2004). Ces deux propriétés syntaxiques caractérisent les adjectifs dans beaucoup de langues, entre autres en français où ils assument la fonction attribut ou la fonction épithète (Riegel, Pellat, Rioul, 1994). Mais en coréen les candidats au statut d'adjectif sont des mots qui ont les mêmes caractéristiques morphologiques que les verbes, un fonctionnement prédicatif identique et sont regroupés dans la même classe de mots appelé syntagme verbal. Cette ambiguïté, Nam J-S. (1997) l'évoque en considérant que « la distinction entre verbes et adjectifs est largement intuitive », voire « arbitraire » (1997 : 109). Cependant la grammaire coréenne identifie bien deux catégories au sein du syntagme verbal : *dongsa* qui exprime l'action, le mouvement ou le processus d'un sujet comme *ka-da* 'aller' et *hyeongyongsa* qui exprime la qualité, l'état ou l'existence d'un être ou d'un objet comme *yeppeu-da* 'être joli' (Na C-Y., 2009). Nous choisissons ici d'appeler ces deux catégories respectivement verbes d'action et verbes d'état.

Mais ce critère sémantique n'étant pas suffisant pour distinguer le verbe d'action du verbe d'état, nous essaierons de clarifier la situation en proposant un critère morphosyntaxique. Pour cela nous présenterons les morphèmes « *neu(n)* » et « *eu(n)* » qui s'attachent au radical verbal et nous identifierons leur fonction syntaxique au sein des structures déterminative et prédicative en coréen. Nous nommerons notamment le morphème « *eu(n)* » suffixe adjectival et verrons comment le morphème « *neu(n)* » caractérise le verbe d'action. Enfin, pour synthétiser ces résultats et les positionner par rapport aux notions d'attribut et d'épithète, nous dresserons un tableau récapitulatif « Distinction entre l'adjectif et le verbe en coréen ».

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Case-Mismatches in Korean LNR: An Experimental Study

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Introduction: Nakao (2010) and Chung (2010) claim that the element that undergoes Japanese and Korean left-node-raising (LNR) as in (1)—the pivot—must check the same Case in both gap positions. However, we found that Korean seems to tolerate Case-mismatches of LNRed pivots as in (2a, c).

- (1) [Kheyikhu-lul]_{pivot} John-i ___ mantul-ko Mary-ka ___ mek-essta. [Korean]
 cake-ACC John-NOM make-& Mary-NOM eat-PAST
 ‘The cake, John made ___, and Mary ate ___.’
- (2) a. **[DAT, 1st conjunct]**
 √Chelswu-eykey chinkwu-ka swul-ul sa-ko pwumonim-i *e* wilo-hayssta.
 Chelswu-DAT friend-NOM alcohol-ACC buy-& parents-NOM comfort-PAST
 ‘To Chelswu, friends bought drink ___, and his parents comforted ___.’
- b. **[DAT, 2nd conjunct]**
 ??Chelswu-eykey pwumonim-i wiloha-ko chinkwu-ka *e* swul-ul sa-ssta.
 Chelswu-DAT parents-NOM comfort-& friend-NOM alcohol-ACC buy-PAST
 ‘To Chelswu, his parents comforted ___, and friends bought drink ___.’
- c. **[ACC, 1st conjunct]**
 ?Chelswu-lul pwumonim-i wiloha-ko chinkwu-ka *e* swul-ul sa-ssta.
 Chelswu-ACC parents-NOM comfort-& friend-NOM alcohol-ACC buy-PAST
- d. **[DAT, 2nd conjunct]**
 *Chelswu-lul chinkwu-ka swul-ul sa-ko pwumonim-i *e* wilo-hayssta.
 Chelswu-ACC friend-NOM alcohol-ACC buy-& parents-NOM comfort-PAST

In this light, we propose that the pivot in Korean LNR in fact belongs to the first conjunct only.

Experiment: Starting with the inquiry on the empirical reality of the Case-match requirement, we aim to answer the following questions: (i) ‘Is the Case-match requirement affected by the Case of the LNRed pivot—inherent Case (IC) vs. structural Case (SC)?’; (ii) ‘Is the Case-match requirement affected by the locus of the matching Case?’ Accordingly, we executed an acceptability judgment experiment based on a 2 × 2 factorial design with the two factors CASE (*DAT* vs. *ACC*) and LOCUS (*1st conjunct* vs. *2nd conjunct*), as sampled in (2).

Results: As shown in (2), the acceptability scores appear to be lowered when the Case of the pivot is not checked in the first conjunct, and when the pivot bears a SC (i.e., *ACC*). A two-way ANOVA test indicated a main effect of CASE ($p < .001$) as well as LOCUS ($p < .001$) and a significant interaction between the two ($p < .05$). In brief, the participants seem to distinguish the difference in two types of Case and its locus, whose effects appear to be super-additive.

Analysis: Since Nakao’s (2010) ATB scrambling or Chung’s (2010) multiple dominance accounts assume that the Case of the pivot is shared between each conjunct, they have difficulty in explaining why certain instances of Case-mismatch are judged to be better than the other. Alternatively, we propose that the LNRed pivot is scrambled only within the first conjunct, and the gap in the second conjunct is *pro* (*e*) that refers to the LNRed pivot as in (3).

(3) [TP cake₁-ACC [TP John-NOM t₁ make]] & [TP Mary-NOM *pro*₁ eat-past]

The apparently LNRed pivot is just subject to the Case (and θ -) requirement in the first conjunct, which is independent from that of *e* in the second conjunct. The Case licensed in the second conjunct is a SC in (2a), whereas that of (2c) is an IC. In terms of the Visibility Condition (Chomsky 1986), *e* in (2c) violates the θ -criterion because an IC assigner cannot discharge a θ -role without IC. Since *e* is Caseless, the verb cannot check its Case against it (Bošković 2008). On the other hand, (2a) is more acceptable than (2c) because SC is independent from θ -role. As a result, even if the verb cannot check its SC feature against *e*, there is no θ -criterion violation, unlike in (2c). In short, *e* in (2a) receives a θ -role, but *e* in (2c) does not. On the other hand, (2b) and (2d) are degraded, compared with (2a) and (2c), because the first conjunct Case-licensing requirement of LNR is not satisfied. Summing up, the Visibility Condition is responsible for the difference between (2a) and (2c), and possibly for the difference between (2b) and (2d).

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A corpus investigation of motion-cum purpose [VP-*qu*] ('go and VP') patterns involving Goal NPs in Modern Chinese

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Since Lu Jianming's seminal studies on Chinese *motion-cum-purpose patterns* (Lù 1985; 1989), many studies have been devoted to patterns A and B which coexist in Standard Mandarin to express a motion 'go' or 'come' followed by a VP (purposive of the motion):

<p>[Pattern A] (Common/Southern Pattern)</p> <p>(1b) 去 洗 手 <i>Qù xǐ shǒu !</i> go wash hands 'Go and wash your hands!'</p>	<p>[Pattern B] (Northern Mandarin & Jin)</p> <p>(1a) 洗 手 去 <i>Xǐ shǒu=qu !</i> (TV drama JH) wash hands=go</p>
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Recent studies (Lamarre, to appear) suggest that pattern B, which is prevalent in Northern China, may actually be analyzed as a case of *Associated Motion*, i.e. a morphosyntactic pattern where a morpheme encoding motion is affixed onto a verb root expressing an action happening before, during or after the motion (see Guillaume 2016). What we call here "motion-cum-purpose" pattern B would be in Northern Mandarin a subtype of such *associated motion patterns*, used in situations when the agent moves to the deictic center or away from the deictic center in order to accomplish an action. In Pattern B, *qu* and *lai* are clearly not affixes, but they are nevertheless unstressed clitics, whereas in Pattern A *qù* is a full verb in a Serial Verb Construction (Lamarre to appear discusses previous studies such as Chao 1968:479, Lu 1985 & 1989, and Zhū 1982:165-167, and provides further evidence to support a grammaticalization of deictic verbs in Pattern B).

Previous studies showed that Pattern B is excluded in southern varieties of Sinitic such as Cantonese or Chaozhou (Cao 2008 vol. 3 map 78), but that the distribution of Patterns A and B goes beyond a dialectal (northern vs. southern Chinese) opposition, and may also be accounted in terms of formal style vs. spoken, informal style (Lù 1985). Yang Yonglong (2012) led a systematic investigation on their distribution in various historical documents and suggested that language contact with neighboring Altaic languages may be a key factor to account for the historical development of Pattern B in Northern Chinese (see also de la Fuente et al. to appear on Manchu, and Jacques et al. to appear on Sino-Tibetan languages).

However, most of the previous studies have focused on the 2 patterns illustrated in (1a) and (1b), and we still lack a clear view of the way they interact with connected syntactic patterns in various corpora. This paper aims at providing a more complete picture of the various patterns involving deictic motion, Goal NPs, and Purpose VPs. For this purpose, we look at three sets of data, respectively taken from (I) novels reflecting Modern Written Chinese of the 1980's, (II) a spoken contemporary corpus (TV dramas reflecting Standard Mandarin), and (III) a *wuxia* (martial arts) novel: *Crane Startles Kunlun* by Wang Dulu, which reflects a slightly earlier stage of northern Chinese (1940's).

We investigate Pattern A and B, together with Pattern C (去洗手去! *Qù xǐ shǒu qu!* 'Go and wash your hands!'), which combines both a full verb *qù* and an associated motion marker *qu*. This latter pattern provides further evidence in favor of the grammaticalization of *qu* and *lai* in Pattern B. We consider Patterns B and C to be associated motion patterns.

	Pattern A	Pattern B	Pattern C	Pattern A vs. Patterns B&C
(I) 1980 Novel	41,3%	49,3%	9,4%	41,3% // 58,7%
(II) TV Drama	76,5%	21,5%	2%	76,5% // 23,5%

The distribution of motion-cum-purpose patterns A, B and C in corpus I and II

We also investigate a vast array of related motion-cum-purpose patterns such as patterns involving Goal NPs, as in (2), where the bleached path motion verb *shàng* ‘move to’ (originally ‘ascend’) is followed by a Goal NP, and by the purpose VP, then by *qu*.

- (2) *Xiàwǔ wǒ jiù shàng shìchǎng mài=qu.* (下午我就上市场卖去)
 afternoon 1sg then move.to market sell=go
 ‘This afternoon I’ll go to the market to sell them.’ [TV drama JH 5]

As suggested in Yang (2012), this pattern may explain how the morpheme *qu* ‘go’ (which expresses here deictic motion in order to complete an action) came to be located after the purpose VP, and became an associated motion marker. In order to assess the relationship between the clitic *qu* ‘go (and VP)’ in Pattern B and deictic directionals (clitics located after the main verb, which express information about the deictic orientation, centrifugal or centripetal, of the action), we also investigate patterns such as (3) and (3’):

- (3) *huí-wū=qu* (回屋去) (3’) *huí-wū shuìjiào=qu* (回屋睡觉去)
 Return-room=go return-room sleep=go
 ‘Go back to your room.’ ‘Go back to your room and sleep.’

This investigation shows that the number of pattern types involving Goal NPs and Purpose VPs is much higher in corpora II and III than in corpus I which reflects Modern Written Chinese. The distribution of the various patterns in each corpus also supports the hypothesis of a close link between deictic directionals and associated motion markers (please note that only data taken from earlier stages of Chinese will allow us to prove this hypothesis).

In a second part, we discuss for these corpora the inventory of the verbs or VPs which are marked by associated motion markers (Pattern B), those which appear in “classical” motion-cum-purpose patterns using a full deictic motion verb, and those in “redundant pattern” C. We look at the semantic features of the purpose VPs, such as aspectual marking and volitionality, and also at features such as sentence types. We also compare the predicates which occur in motion-cum-purpose Patterns B and those which combine with deictic directionals. If we consider that **associated motion** may be defined as the grammatical category specifically handled by grammatical morphemes that associate a translational motion event with the non-spatial event to which the verb refers (Guillaume 2016:81), this raises the issue of the respective status of directionals and of associated motion markers in linguistic systems which make an extensive use of both, such as Northern Mandarin.

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L'alternance thématique dans la morphologie verbale du dialecte d'asama du tokunoshima

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Le tokunoshima est une langue japonique appartenant à la sous-famille des langues Ryûkyû, parlées dans un archipel d'îles dans le sud du Japon. Malgré la petite taille de l'île de Tokunoshima, les dialectes qui y sont parlés présentent une forte variation, et ce notamment au niveau des tons. Le dialecte d'asama, que nous nous proposons d'étudier ici, présente un système tonal particulièrement intéressant, avec notamment une interaction forte des tons avec la longueur vocalique. Si le système tonal des noms de l'asama a fait l'objet de plusieurs études au cours des dernières décennies, études qui ne sont d'ailleurs pas encore parvenues à un consensus, il n'en va pas de même pour la morphologie verbale, qui n'a pas encore été étudiée.

La morphologie verbale de l'asama a la particularité de présenter une forte alternance thématique (voir un aperçu dans le tableau ci-dessous), mettant en jeu plusieurs phénomènes : alternance segmentale, alternance tonale, longueur vocalique... Nous nous concentrerons ici sur quelques formes verbales caractéristiques de l'alternance thématique présente dans la morphologie verbale de l'asama, afin de mettre en évidence les différents phénomènes mis en jeu, notamment en ce qui concerne les tons et la longueur vocalique.

	Forme	jùmjuí "lire"	túbjúí "voler"	kóorákjúí "sécher"	m'áarjúí "naître"
	<i>IPFV</i>	jùmj	túbj	kóorákj	m'áarj
	<i>PROH</i>	jùmj	túbj	kóorákj	m'áarj / m'áarĭ
	<i>NEG.IPFV</i>	jùm	túb	kóorák	m'áarĭr
	<i>DES</i>	jùm	túb	kóorák	m'áarĭ
	<i>PFV</i>	jùd	túd	kóorácj	m'áarĭt
	<i>SEQ</i>	jùud	túd	kóorácj	m'áarĭt
	<i>PROG.IPFV</i>	jùud	tùd	kóorácj / kóorácj	m'áarĭt / m'áarĭt

Nous commencerons donc par expliciter ces différents phénomènes, à travers l'étude de plusieurs exemples tirés d'un corpus de données naturelles établi sur le terrain. Nous étudierons ensuite la manière dont sont liés ces différents types d'alternances, afin de mieux comprendre les mécanismes qui régissent la morphologie verbale de l'asama. En nous basant sur les résultats obtenus, nous nous interrogerons ensuite sur le meilleur moyen d'établir une classification des verbes en fonction de ces différentes alternances thématiques.

L'étude de ces phénomènes d'alternance thématique présente notamment un intérêt pour une meilleure compréhension des changements survenus au niveau du système tonal au cours de l'évolution des langues ryûkyû, et pourrait donc permettre à terme d'affiner notre compréhension du système tonal du proto-ryûkyû et du proto-japonais. Nous finirons donc par mettre en perspective les résultats obtenus afin voir ce qu'ils pourraient apporter à cette épineuse question de la reconstruction du système tonale des ancêtres des langues japoniques actuelles.

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A Chinese Existential Construction: Internally Headed Relative Clause or Appositive Clause?

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Huang 1987 observed a fourth type of Existential Constructions (ECs) in Mandarin Chinese which is characterised for i) the presence of the experiential marker *-guo* or the perfective marker *-le*, ii) the openness of transitive verb classes, and iii) the Definite Effect (DE) at the presence of a secondary predicate. He took the 'descriptive expression' following the 'object' as a secondary predicate. We follow the terminologies adopted in the semantic literature on ECs (cf. McNally 1992, Francez 2007), calling the 'object' in (2) existential *pivot*, and the constituent following the pivot existential *coda*.

- (1) Wo jiao-guo [yi-ge xuesheng/Lisi].
I teach-Exp one-Cl student/Lisi
'I have the experience of teaching a student/Lisi'
- (2) Wo jiao-guo [yi-ge xuesheng/*Lisi]_{pivot} [hen congming]_{secondary predicate/coda}
I teach-Exp one-Cl student/Lisi very clever
'I have the experience of teaching a student/Lisi who is very clever.' Huang 1987

Recent studies have proposed different syntactic structures than that of Secondary Predication for all four types of ECs listed in Huang 1987. However, we would like to critically review these attractive analyses and argue that none of them holds strong with respect to the empirical coverage and their theoretical designs. Zhang 2008 proposes that pivot and coda form an Internally Headed Relative Clause (IHRC), like Japanese IHRCs (Hoshi 1995, Shimoyama 1999). However, her structure fails because i) the pivot-coda string is not nominal, evidenced by the obligatory absence of the nominal coordinator *he/gen* 'and' in the coordination test; ii) the IHRC construed as E-type anaphora runs against the anti-pronominal property exhibited by the pivot position (Postal 1994); iii) Chinese pivot-coda constituents lack many semantic properties exhibited by Japanese IHRCs, such as Exactly Effects, Relevancy Condition (Kuroda 1976); iv) the IHRC analysis for Chinese ECs seems *ad hoc* given that IHRCs are not attested in other syntactic contexts in Chinese. Lin & Tsai 2015 assimilates ECs to Chinese pre-nominal appositive clauses, or precisely, integrated non-restrictive clauses à la Cinque 2008 (Del Gobbo 2010); however, their only argument is invalid because i) the result from their test applied to Huang's second type ECs (cf. (dis)appearance verbs) should not be generalised to the fourth type ECs; ii) this analysis renders Chinese ECs obscure, because appositives modify definite expressions cross-linguistically, and are rather unexpected to contribute to the indefiniteness of the modified noun phrase. At last, Liu 2013 proposes a Coda-as-VP Complement analysis based on Li 1996 and Tsai 2001; however, her unified structure fails in capturing the difference between the fourth type ECs and other types in terms of the Coda Condition on the exhibition of DE (cf. Huang 1987).

We would like to entertain three hypotheses:

i) the matrix clause with the pivot is juxtaposed with the coda (see also Li & Thompson's 1981 Realis descriptive clause), which has a *pro* co-indexed with the pivot. However, the juxtaposition analysis falls short in accounting for the Island Effect exhibited by the coda and the DE required for the pivot. Besides, Chinese ECs behave differently than two real juxtaposed sentences, which can exhibit split antecedents and the illocutionary independence;

ii) the matrix clause with the pivot makes up a topic phrase for the coda in (3): the pre-coda string is embedded within a topic phrase, i.e. an AspP within SpecTopP of a null Top° (à la Pan 2014), and the pivot *yigexuesheng* 'one student' is co-indexed with the *pro* in the subject position SpecAspP. This proposal accounts for the Island Effect observed in the coda.

(3) [TopP [AspP wok 'I' [Asp' jiao_j-guo 'teach-Exp' [VP t_k t_j [VP t_j [DP yi-ge xuesheng_i 'one student']]]]] Top° [AspP pro_i [DegP hen 'very' [AP conming 'clever']]]].

Unfortunately, this analysis has difficulty in explaining why only the experiential marker *-guo* and the perfective marker *-le* license this construction, in contrast to the progressive *zai-*.

iii) Inspired by Georgian perfect aspect encoding (indirect) evidential meaning (Ramat & Topatze 2007), we speculate that the experiential/perfective markers in Chinese ECs convey the evidential mood. Interestingly, in Georgian, with perfect series verb forms, subjects of transitive are in dative (Boeder 2000, Nash 1995). We tentatively assign the fourth type Chinese EC a syntactic structure in (4) with the matrix subject being introduced by an Appl° (Pylkkanen 2008, Cuervo 2003), which takes an AspP (construed as a result state) headed by the experiential/perfective markers as complement; the matrix (detransitivised) V° embeds a Small Clause *yigexuesheng hencongming* 'one student clever', which is also assumed for Chinese *you* 'have'-existential. The sentence (2) is construed as "the subject is affected by a student being clever through the experience/completion of teaching". We would like to argue that the third analysis is preferred over the previous two.

(4) [... [AppIP wo 'I' [Appl° [AspP jiao_j-guo 'teach-Exp' [VP t_j [Small Clause [DP yi-ge xuesheng_i 'one student'] [CP pro_i [AspP t_i [DegP hen 'very' [AP conming 'clever']]]]]]]]]].

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Lexicographie : corpus, outils et méthodologie pour l'élaboration de la macrostructure coréenne d'un projet de dictionnaire bilingue coréen(s)-français

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Les linguistes coréens du Nord et du Sud ont, depuis la division, publié un certain nombre d'études comparatives sur les politiques linguistiques et le(s) lexique(s) des deux Corée (Kim (1984), Lee (1990), Song (2001), Choi (2003), Moon (2004), Sahoe Kwahag'wŏn Ŏnŏhak Yŏnguso (2010) pour n'en citer que quelques-unes). Néanmoins, il aura fallu attendre 2014 pour que soit concrètement entrepris un projet de dictionnaire, le *Kyŏremal Kŭn Sajŏn (Grand dictionnaire de langue nationale)*, réunissant côte à côte les entrées lexicales des deux langues officielles (sa publication était initialement prévue en 2019 mais les rencontres entre les universitaires des deux pays ont été interrompues en raison des tensions géopolitiques de la région depuis quelques années).

Dans le cadre d'un projet plus modeste mais impliquant la même problématique de compilation d'une macrostructure unie de ces deux variétés de coréen qui ont évolué séparément depuis plus de 70 ans, le dictionnaire coréen(s)-français codirigé avec Patrick Maurus (PU émérite, INALCO), impliquant la participation de spécialistes de linguistique et de traduction littéraire d'universités du Nord et du Sud et dont la publication est prévue au cours de la présente année, nous avons effectué des recherches afin de déterminer, avec les moyens qui ont été les nôtres et en donnant une priorité au principe de récurrence (Sinclair 2003:167), quels pouvaient être les mots et expressions les plus pertinents pour ses futurs utilisateurs.

Nous avons, dans un premier temps, grâce à des outils (KoNLPy, que nous avons préalablement adapté pour les corpus nord-coréens) et des techniques issus du traitement automatique des langues (TAL), collecté le contenu textuel de documents authentiques (environ 12500 pages web) que nous avons ensuite segmenté (et balisé) en items lexicaux. Puis, nous avons classé par ordre de fréquence d'occurrence (taux) l'ensemble des items collectés pour chaque source avant de les fusionner et de réduire leur nombre total afin d'obtenir une première liste provisoire des mots les plus employés à la fois en nord-coréen et en sud-coréen.

Dans un second temps, conscients que notre corpus de taille conséquente mais ne pouvant prétendre refléter exhaustivement et de façon équilibrée les deux langues coréennes dans la diversité de leurs usages (espaces et objectifs de communication, statut social, éducation, origine géographique, âge, sexe des locuteurs, etc.), nous avons ajouté à notre première liste d'entrées, les items lexicaux d'usage fréquent qui n'avaient pu être collectés au sein de nos corpus (1) par le biais d'autres études statistiques et (2) grâce à l'expertise de 5 professeurs et 8 étudiants coréens du Nord et du Sud en leur demandant d'indiquer les entrées provisoires qu'ils n'avaient jamais vues ni entendues dans leur environnement linguistique et d'ajouter des mots et expressions de la langue orale (et de registre familier) qu'ils jugeaient communément employés.

Pendant la compilation et la hiérarchisation de nos données, nous avons également été confrontés à plusieurs choix plus ou moins délicats à effectuer en concertation avec nos différents collaborateurs et notre éditeur : l'ordre alphabétique des entrées, la graphie de certaines lettres (le *th*, 티≡), l'orthographe (des différences en réalité d'ordre morphophonologique telles que le *sai-siot* dorénavant absent en nord-coréen et le *tuŭm-pŏpch'ik*) ainsi que les règles d'espacement entre les « mots » qui sont le résultat de plusieurs

décennies de politiques linguistiques divergentes entre les deux Corée (Lee & Ramsey 2011:289-292, King 1997:109-144, Kumatani 1990:87-108).

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Core and periphery in Code-Switching: A Minimalist program perspective

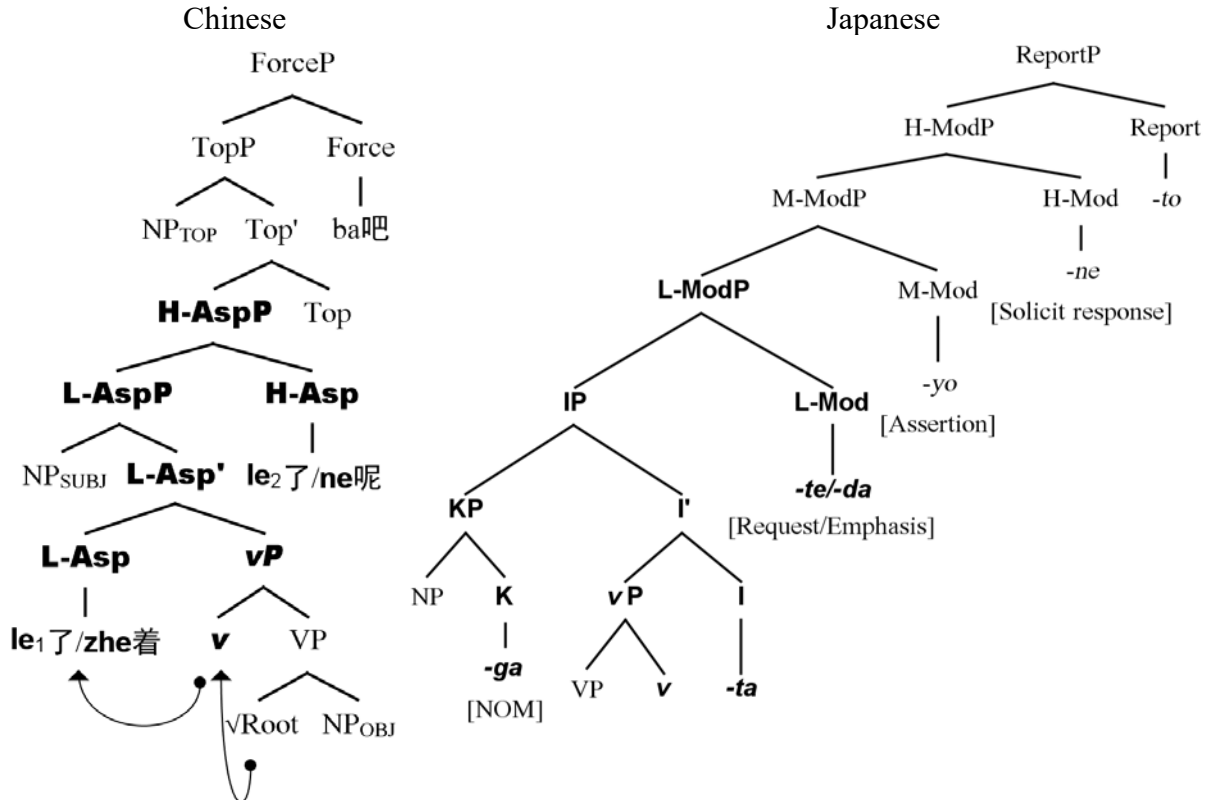
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The objective of this presentation is three-fold. First, we demonstrate that some, but not all, Sentence-Final Particles (SFPs) in Chinese and Japanese are phasal heads, and their complements are spell-out domain. Second, we show that intra-sentential Code-Switching (CS) is only possible between a phasal head and its complement. Third, CS data we collected from three Chinese-Japanese bilingual children argue against FOFC.

We assume that categories are classified into two types: Core and Periphery. Core categories (CCs) are related to Argument Structure; they are attached to an argument or a(n extended projection of a) predicate. They include: v, Tense, Aspect (high/low), Neg, K (NOM, ACC, DAT). They must come from one and only one language. Let's call it Matrix Language (ML). Word order is determined by ML. Peripheral categories (PCs) are adjuncts and modify CCs. They include: roots, Adv, Topic, Focus, and Discourse Modality (Soliciting Response, Assertion, ...). They may or may not come from ML.

Our proposals are: (i) Phases are not dynamic but fixed; every PC is a phase, and the lowest CC is a phase. (ii) Vocabulary items are inserted in a spell-out domain from one and only one language so that no CS is observed within a phase complement.

For concreteness, let us see the distribution of relevant categories (CCs in bold letters).



The following facts (Chinese in bald, and Japanese in italics) with few exceptions strongly suggest we are on the right track.

1. *v*, Tense, Aspect, K all come from ML.

- (1) **zhège-o shuǐ-ni ire-te.** (-o, -ni and -te are all Japanese.)
 this-ACC water-DAT put-REQ
 ‘Put this in water.’

2. Word orders is determined by ML.

- (2) **Xiǎo-fēichóng-wa-ne búyào yǎo Xin-tyan.** (SVO since Neg *bù* is Chinese.)
 little-flying-TOP-PART not bite (name)
 ‘The little flying does not bite me.’

- (3) **Wāngwang dà-xīguā tabe-ru.** (SOV since T/Asp is Japanese.)
 dog big-watermelon eat-PRES
 ‘The dog is eating the big watermelon.’

3. Roots, Modifiers, and modal COMPs may or may not come from ML.

- (4) **Māma bāopí-si-te, bāo-si-te.** (Root verb + functional *v* -si ‘do’)
 Mom peel.skin-do-REQ peel-do-REQ
 ‘Mom, peel (the fruit), peel it.’

- (5) **Bǎobao wǎn-de hēnǎi.** (Only instrumental -de is Japanese)
 baby bowl-with drink-milk
 ‘I will have milk with a bowl.’

4. Higher COMPs (Chinese *ba* 吧; Japanese *yo, ne, ...*) may or may not come from ML.

- (6) **Kore hoikuen-no oisu ba?**
 this nursery school-GEN chair FORCE
 ‘This is a chair of the nursery school, right?’

Japanese reportive -to is the highest complementizer and it is selected by the verb so that it behaves like Case markers and it comes from ML (Japanese).

- (7) **Wáwa bù-lěng -to yut-ta yo.**
 doll not-cold -that say-PAST M-MOD
 ‘The doll said she was not cold.’

5. The lowest COMP must come from ML.

- (8) a. **Kàn-bu-jiàn rén le ne.**
 see-not-see people H-ASP H-MOD
 ‘I could not see anybody.’

- b. **Zenbu huijiā le yo!**
 all go home H-ASP M-MOD
 ‘All went home, I’m telling you!’

- c. **Bǎobao wū-li ne zyan.**
 baby room-in H-ASP L-MOD
 ‘Can’t you see I’m in the room?’

The examples (8) show Chinese high aspectuals *le* and *ne* are CCs and always spelled-out together with lower categories, and that Japanese Middle and High modals are phasal PCs.

If Chinese high aspectuals are CCs, it means that they are members of extended projection of a predicate. The problem is that they are head-final (Paul 2015; Pan & Paul 2016), and their complement is head-initial, violating FOFC (Sheehan et al. 2017). FOFC requires that “A head-final phrase α P cannot immediately dominate a head-initial phrase β P, if α and β are members of the same extended projection,” but the high aspectuals and their complement constitute the structure $[\alpha_P [\beta_P \beta \gamma] \alpha]$. Erlewine 2017 proposes that *le* and *ne* are phasal heads, and that FOFC holds only within individual Spell-Out domains. However, as argued above, Chinese *le* and *ne* are not phasal, but are members of the same extended projection as their complement, which argues against FOFC.

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Focus particles, structural positions, and interpretations of focus elements in Japanese

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It has been argued in the Japanese literature that focus particles such as *dake* (=only) provoke exhaustive identificational focus (hereafter, EI-focus) interpretation, regardless of their structural positions. In (1a&b), both the *dake*-phrases provoke EI-focus reading. Both the sentences mean that it is only Haruki Murakami's novels that *Taro* wants to read.

- (1) a. Taro-wa Murakami Haruki *dake-ga* yomi-tai
 T-Top Haruki Murakami-only-Acc read-want to
- b. Murakami Haruki *dake-ga* Taro-wa yomi-tai
 Haruki Murakami-only-Acc T-Top read-want to

The aim of this paper is to argue against this widely-held view. Namely, our claim is that the structural position, together with the focally stressed particles, determines the interpretation. This indicates a focus element including the *dake*-phrase in the *vP* territory actually designates contrastive focus (hereafter, CF), not EI-focus. Besides, we claim that a focus element in the sentence initial position indicates EI-focus. Let us examine examples below.

- (2) a. Taro-wa Murakami Haruki to Higashino Keigo-ga yomi-tai no?
 T-Top Haruki Murakami and Keigo Higashino-Acc read-want to Q
 ‘Does Taro want to read Haruki Murakami's novels and Keigo Higashino's novels?’
- b. Taro-wa dare-no shoosetsu-ga yomi-tai no?
 T-Top who-Gen novel-Acc read-want to Q
 ‘Whose novels does Taro want to read?’

To answer the question (2a), we can utter (1a). This indicates the CF effect the *dake*-phrase denotes. Similarly, to answer the question (2b), we can use (1b). This seems to signal the EI-focus effect the *dake*-phrase denotes.

However, we can actually answer these questions differently. (3a&b) are both legitimate answers to (2a&b).

- (3) a. Taro-wa Murakami Haruki-GA yomi-tai
 T-Top Haruki Murakami-CF read-want to
- b. Murakami Haruki-GA Taro -wa yomi-tai
 Harkuki Murakami-EI-focus T-Top read-want to

In (3a&b), the particles *ga* have a focal stress on them, and provoke CF and EI-focus effect, respectively. Moreover, we can cancel the EI-focus effect the *dake*-phrase seems to have. This is shown below.

- (4) Iya, soo-ie-ba Taro-wa Higashino Keigo-mo yomi-tai- n-da
 No, come to think of it, T-top Keigo Higashino-also read-want to Decl
 ‘No, come to think of it, I remember Taro also wants to read Keigo Higashino's novels.’

We can easily continue (4) to (1b), which indicates that it is not the *dake*-phrase itself but the structural position, together with the focal stress on the particle, that gives rise to EI-focus effect. On the other hand, we cannot continue (4) to (3b). This again clearly indicates the structural position dictates the EF focus effect.

Another piece of evidence comes from the scopal interactions between negation and phrases with a focal particle EI-F particle. (5a) is a slightly modified version from Sano (2006:50).

(5) a. Taro-wa oya-ni-made soodan-si-nak-atta
 T-top parent-Dat-even consult with-do-Neg-Past
 ‘Taro didn’t consult even with his parent’ **even>not & not>even**

b. Oya-ni-made Taro-wa soodan-si-nak-atta **even>not**
 parent-Dat even T-Top consult with do-Neg-Past
 ‘Even with his parent, Taro didn’t consult.’

c. Oya-NI Taro-wa soodan-si-nak-atta **parent>not**
 parent-EI-focus T-Top consult with-do-Neg-Past
 ‘It is with his parent that Taro didn’t consult.’

In (5a), the *made*-phrase can have scope over or under the negation. On the other hand, in (5b) the *made*-phrase scopes over negation. Similarly, in (5c), the phrase marked with NI takes wider scope than negation. This also indicates the EI-F effect the scrambled phrase denotes.

Now we are in the position to propose the Japanese phrase structure, which is schematized in (6a). We assume the left peripheries both in the CP and the *vP* zone. (6b) is the structure for (3b), and (6c) is the structure for (3a).

(6) a. [_{TopP} [_{FocP}[_{TopP} [_{TP} [_{TopP} [_{FocP} [_{TopP} [_{vP} [_{VP}...]]]]]]]]]]]]
 b. [_{FocP} Murakami Haruki-GA [_{TopP} Taro –wa [_{TP} t_{subj} [_{vP} t_{subj} [_{VP} yomi]tai]]]]] : CP zone
 c. [_{TopP} Taro-wa [_{FocP} Murakami Haruki-GA [_{vP} [_{VP} yomi]tai]]] : *vP* zone

Summing up, in this paper, we have argued that the structural position, together with a focally stressed particle, determines the CF and EI-focus interpretation.

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Sur différents moyens syntaxiques pour une mise en relief paradigmatique : étude contrastive français-japonais

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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) *Tarô wa bîru dake nomu* 2) *Tarô wa bîru sae nomanai*
Tarô TH bière uniquement boire Tarô TH bière même boire.NEG
Tarô boit seulement de la bière. 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 : « Târô boit *x* » est vraie seulement pour « bière », et fausse pour tout autre élément du paradigme.

Cette mise en relief paradigmatique est réalisée en japonais principalement par les particules adverbiales (*fuku-joshi*), mais d'autres unités telles que des adverbes ou des particules locutionnelles peuvent également produire le même type d'effet (Nihongo kijutsu bumpô kenkyûkai 2009). En français, elle est réalisée notamment par certains adverbes, appelés adverbes paradigmatiques (Nølle 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). De même qu'en japonais, d'autres unités telles que des adjectifs, des prépositions ou encore des conjonctions peuvent entraîner des effets similaires. Différents sens sont apportés par les particules de toritate et les adverbes paradigmatiques, en particulier la restriction (*dake* ou *uniquement*), l'extrême (*sae* ou *même*), la ressemblance (*mo* ou *aussi*), etc.

Le paradigme ou l'ensemble (E) auquel appartient l'élément mis en relief (e) peut être explicité. Dans le cas de l'exemple 2, le paradigme introduit en tant que présupposé est la classe d'alcool et cet ensemble peut être indiqué, comme le montre l'exemple 3, en japonais par le thème et en français à l'aide de la structure d'apposition.

- (3) 太郎は、アルコール_Eはビール_eさえ飲まない。

Tarô wa arukôru wa bîru sae nomanai
Tarô TH alcool TH bière même boire.NEG
Tarô ne boit pas d'alcool_E, même pas de bière_e.

Les langues japonaise et française disposent en effet de deux grands types de moyens syntaxiques à cet effet : structures d'apposition (ex. 4) et de comparaison (ex. 5)⁴.

- (4) On leur procure le nécessaire_E, **notamment** des vêtements_e.
彼らに衣服_e **など** 必需品_Eを提供する。

Karera ni ifuku nado hitsujuhin wo teikyôsuru
Eux DAT vêtements etc. nécessaire ACC fournir

- (5) Ce sont des personnages tels qu'on les voit quand on feuillette un journal_E **comme** Elle_e, par exemple.

⁴ Exemples français provenant de la *Base textuelle FRANTEXT*, ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine. Online: <http://www.frantext.fr>. Version décembre 2016.

例えば『Elle』のような雑誌_Eをパラパラと読んでいると見かけるタイプの人物だ。

Tatoeba “eru” no yōna zasshi wo paraparato
Par exemple « ELLE » comme magazine ACC de manière feuilletante

yondeiru to mikakeru taipu no jinbutsu da.
lire quand voir type GEN personne COP

L’emploi des expressions de comparaison est abondant en français, même pour produire le sens de restriction, réalisé en japonais principalement par différentes expressions de toritate.

- (6) Et désormais, il ne me faut plus rien_E **d’autre que** cette promenade quotidienne_E.⁵
これからはこういう散歩_E だけを日課に暮らしてえよなあ。

korekarawa kōiu sampo **dake** wo nikka ni kurashitēyona
désormais ce genre de promenade seulement ACC tâche quotidienne comme
vouloir vivre

De par le mécanisme mettant en relation l’élément mis en relief avec les autres éléments du paradigme, l’effet de toritate est fortement lié à la comparaison. La conjonction en français *comme* symbolise ce lien étroit. Elle est utilisée non seulement pour l’expression d’exemple comme l’exemple 5, mais aussi pour celle de restriction ou même de ressemblance comme dans l’exemple 7.

- (7) Pierre **comme** Paul fait partie du comité.
ピエールもポールも委員会のメンバーである。

Piēru mo pôru mo iinkai no membâ dearu
Pierre aussi Paul aussi comité GEN membre COP

Les champs sémantiques que couvrent les constructions formées par les expressions paradigmatisantes et celles de comparaison nous montrent la continuité de ces deux structures qui ne sont, nous semble-t-il, que rarement étudiées dans un même cadre. Nous nous proposons de présenter nos observations sur ces différentes constructions dans des corpus, monolingues (japonais et français) et parallèle français-japonais, afin de nous rendre compte de leurs usages réels.

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⁵ *L’affaire Tournesol, Les aventures de Tintin*, Hergé, Casterman. 日本語版: 『ピーカー教授事件 (タンタンの冒険)』エルジェ, 川口恵子 (訳), 福音館書店

On the non-existence of small clauses in Mandarin Chinese

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Based on A Li's (1985: 270-272) observation that Chinese systematically lacks the equivalent of English *We elected [sc John president]* involving a small clause (SC) (cf. Stowell 1981), this paper argues that Chinese has no SCs at all: there is no clausal projection consisting of a subject and an XP that can not serve as autonomous predicate. (In (2), *dāng* is obligatory):

- (1) John *(is) president. (2) Wōmen xuǎn Zhāngsān *(dāng) zǒngtǒng
 1PL elect Zhangsan act president
 'We elected Zhangsan to act as president.'

The cornerstone underlying the SC construct is that certain non-matrix contexts, e.g. the clausal complement of ECM (exceptional case marking) verbs such as *expect*, *consider* etc. license the predicative function of otherwise non-predicative XPs (compare (3a-b) with (3c)).

- (3a) I consider [SC John/him [AP very intelligent]]
 (3b) I expect [SC that sailor/him [PP off my ship]]
 (3c) John *(is) [AP very intelligent]/ *(is) [PP off the ship].

However, Chinese lacks ECM verbs and has no "corresponding" SC, either. The verb *rènwéi* 'think, assume', often cited as an ECM verb, in fact selects a full-fledged clausal complement compatible with auxiliaries (4a) etc, and thus is not "bare" as expected for a SC. The subject (*tā* in (4a-b)) is case-licensed within the embedded clause, not via the matrix verb *rènwéi*, as evidenced by the unacceptability of the *bǎ* construction (4c).

- (4a) Wǒ rènwéi [cl.compl. tā yīnggāi cáiqǔ dìyī ge fāng'àn]
 1SG think 3SG must choose first CL project
 'I think he needs to choose the first project.' (Lü Shuxiang et al. 2000: 464)
 (4b) Wǒ rènwéi [cl.compl. tā fēicháng cōngmíng/ bù tài cōngmíng]
 1SG think 3SG very intelligent/ NEG too.much intelligent
 'I think she is very bright/she is not too bright.'
 (4c) *Wǒ bǎ tā rènwéi fēicháng cōngmíng
 1SG BA 3SG think very intelligent

Adpositional phrases, i.e. PPs and PostPs, are unable to function as matrix predicates (5a-b), hence cannot function as predicates in non-matrix contexts, either (unlike English (3b)).

- (5a) *Tā [PP cóng Běijīng]. (5b) *Fángzi [PostP cónglín páng/ sān gōnglǐ wài].
 3SG from Beijing house forest near / 3 km beyond
 (6a) *Tā yǒu sān ge xuéshēng [PRO *[PP cóng Běijīng]].
 3SG have 3 CL student from Beijing
 (Intended: 'He has 3 students from Beijing.')

Concerning adjectives, predicative APs are acceptable as autonomous predicates, hence as secondary predicates (6), on a par with verbs, and in contrast to non-predicative (intersective) adjectives which require *shi...de* when functioning as predicates (7a-b):

- (6) Tā yǒu sān ge xuéshēng {[PRO tèbié cōngmíng / [PRO huì shuō déwén]}
 3SG have 3 CL student very intelligent / can speak German
 'She has three students who are very intelligent/who can speak German.'
 (7a) Pánzi *(shì) fāng *(de) (7b) Tā yǒu yī ge pánzi *(shì) fāng *(de)
 plate be square DE 3SG have 1 CL plate be square DE
 'The plate is square.' 'She has a plate which is square.'

Numerous phenomena (mis)analysed as SCs will be argued (i) to involve XPs able to function as autonomous predicates (*pace* Tang Sze-Wing 1998, 2005; Sybesma 1999) or (ii) ditransitive verbs (*pace* Tang Ting-chi 2000), following here Marelj & Matushansky 2015.

Conceptual metaphors for “sentence” in the earliest Chinese grammar studies

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George Lakoff and Mark Johnson’s *Metaphors we live by* (1980) is considered unanimously the founding contribution to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT): its main tenet is that metaphors are not merely a literary trope, but one of the fundamental tools of the mind by means of which to categorize and understand reality. Among the conceptual systems to which CMT has been applied in the research by later cognitivists, communication, language and in some cases sentence and its (grammatical) structures have been object of much debate. Several scholars (such as Reddy 1979, Grady 1998, Mittelberg 2002, Woodard 2014) have formulated a number of conceptual metaphors for language, grammar and sentence: the most often occurring are COMMUNICATION IS CONDUIT, LANGUAGE IS BUILDING, LANGUAGE IS TREE and LANGUAGE IS FABRIC. The primary metaphors lying beneath these conceptual metaphors which are able to describe language and sentence are CONSTITUENTS ARE CONTENTS and ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE.

The present contribution will try to verify whether these metaphors are present in Chinese discourse on language and grammar as well, or on the contrary different conceptual metaphors are employed. Moreover, this contribution will try to assess whether metaphors have changed in time, due to the introduction of Western grammar studies. The goal is to formulate hypotheses on the conceptual metaphors underlying grammatical notions, during the period of formation of a modern and scientific lexicon of grammatical studies; therefore, this will also shed new light to Chinese grammatical investigation and its development.

The object of study will be the terminology for grammar developed in Chinese, and in particular the terms used to refer to the notions of text, sentence (or simply chunks of text) and their inner structures.

The corpus of research will be constituted, on the one hand, by some of the main texts of premodern Chinese linguistics, such as the *Wenxin diaolong* (501) or the *Jingzhuan shici* (1789), where notions related to sentence and its structures occur. On the other hand, some of the earliest grammatical works, influenced by Western linguistics and very often even written by Westerners, dealing with Chinese as well as with foreign languages, published in China between the half of XIX and the beginning of XX centuries, will be taken into study: these include Zottoli (1859), Ma Jianzhong (1898), Yan Fu (1904), Li Jinxi (1924).

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An adjunct account of post-verbal durative phrases in Mandarin Chinese

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In Mandarin Chinese, it was observed that a non-referential object cannot precede a post-verbal durative phrase, whereas a referential object can, cf. (2)-(3). Thus Cheng *et al.* (1997) propose a complement structure for the post-verbal durative phrases in Mandarin Chinese in (1), where *liǎng ge zhōngtóu* ‘two hours’ is analyzed as the complement of the verb and occupies the position NP3. Therefore, it cannot cooccur with a non-referential object which competes for the same position, cf. (2), but a referential object occupying the position NP2. It follows that the same durative phrase and the definite object *nà běn shū* ‘that book’ can coexist, cf. (3).

(1) [_{IP} NP I' [_I VP [_{NP2} V' [_V NP3]]]]

(2) *张三才看了书两个钟头。 (modified from Huang (1994))

Zhāngsān cái kàn-le shū liǎng ge zhōngtóu.
Zhangsan only read-PERF book two CLF hour

(3) 我才看了那本书两个钟头。 (modified from Cheng *et al.* (1997))

Wǒ cái kàn-le nà běn shū liǎng ge zhōngtóu.
I only read-PERF that CLF book two CLF hour
'I only read that book for two hours.'

However, on the one hand, this distinction of distribution between non-referential and referential objects is not entirely predictable by the complement structure analysis with respect to the following cases, where the durative phrase is immediately preceded by a non-referential object in (4) or followed by a referential object in (5).

(4) 张三每天看书两个钟头。

Zhāngsān měitiān kàn shū liǎng ge zhōngtóu.
Zhangsan everyday read book two CLF hour
'Zhangsan read for two hours everyday.'

(5) 他骂了两个小时那——(个人。(Tang, 2001)

Tā mà-le liǎng ge xiǎoshí nà (yī ge rén).
he scold-PERF two CLF hour that one CLF man
'He scold that man for two hours.'

By assuming a process of nominal incorporation (Baker 1988) when the object is non-referential, as in (4), and the incorporated verb+object moves to the edge of $Asp_{\text{grammatical}}P$ to derive the object-durative phrase order, we will be able to explain why an aspectual marker can never attached to a verb when a non-referential object precedes the durative phrase, cf. (2), (4).

On the other hand, if durative phrases are complements of verbs, then in V-stranding VP-ellipsis, they should be interpreted in the ellipsis site like the elided real complement *nà běn shū* ‘that book’ of the verb *kàn* ‘read’ in (6) and (7). However, (8) and (9) show that the elided durative phrase *liǎng ge zhōngtóu* ‘two hours’ cannot be interpreted in the target clause when elided and must be repeated in the ellipsis site to be interpreted.

(6) 张三看了那本书两个钟头，

Zhāngsān kàn-le nà běn shū liǎng ge zhōngtóu,
Zhangsan read-PERF that CLF book two CLF hour
'Zhangsan read that book for two hours.'

(7) 李四也看了两个钟头。

Lǐsì yě kàn-le liǎng ge zhōngtóu.
... Lisi also read-PERF two CLF hour
'... Lisi also read (that book).'

(8) 李四也看了那本书。

... Lǐsì yě kàn-le nà běn shū.

- ... Lisi also read-PERF that CLF book
 ‘...Lisi also read that book.’
 # ‘...Lisi also read that book [for two hours].’
- (9) 李四也看了那本书两个钟头。
 ... Lisi yě kàn-le nà běn shū liǎng ge zhōngtóu.
 ... Lisi also read-PERF that CLF book two CLF hour
 ‘Lisi also read that book for two hours.’

In a word, the durative phrase cannot be interpreted in the ellipsis site when it is elided. This casts doubt on the complement analysis of durative phrases, if we compare the behavior of a real complement in (7) and that of a durative phrase in (8) under the V-stranding VP-ellipsis test.

On the contrary, durative phrases and low-level adverbs, such as manner adverbs, behave in the same way in the V-stranding VP-ellipsis, cf. (10)-(12).

- (10) 张警官慢慢地瞄准了目标。
 Zhāng jǐngguān mànmande miáozhǔn-le mùbiāo,
 Zhang officer slowly aim-PERF target
 ‘Officer Zhang slowly aimed the target.’
- (11) 李警官也瞄准了目标。
 ... Lǐ jǐngguān yě miáozhǔn-le mùbiāo.
 ... Li officer also aim-PERF target
 ‘...Officer Li also aimed the target.’
 # ‘...Officer Li also *slowly* aimed the target.’
- (12) 李警官也慢慢地瞄准了目标。
 ... Lǐ jǐngguān yě mànmande miáozhǔn-le mùbiāo.
 ... Li officer also slowly aim-PERF target
 ‘Officer Li also slowly aimed the target.’

As adjuncts should always be present to receive interpretation in V-stranding VP-ellipsis in Mandarin Chinese (Li, 2002; Ai, 2006), we thus propose that durative phrases should not be analyzed as complements of verbs. Rather, they should be analyzed as adjuncts. However, different from Lin (2007) who proposes that the position of durative phrases is relatively flexible, we claim that durative phrases are adjuncts at a low position, even lower than the manner adverbs, cf. (4). That is why durative phrases are often assumed complements of verbs, cf. Li (1987), Huang (1994) and Cheng et al. (1997).

In the spirit of a syntactic account of lexical aspect (Borer 2005 ; MacDonald 2006 ; Travis 2010), we propose the structure in (13) to account for the syntactic and semantic distribution of durative phrases. When the object is referential, durative phrases can adjoin either to V' or to VP, cf. (3), (5).

- (13) [_{VP} DP v' [v AspP_{lexical} [DP Asp' [Asp VP [DP V' [V NP]]]]]]

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Axiologie de la préposition 搁 *gē* en mandarin du Nord-Est

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Les prépositions en mandarin sont issues de la grammaticalisation verbale et la plupart d'entre elles peuvent dans d'autres contextes toujours fonctionner comme des verbes.

Le mandarin du nord-est (MdNE), variété considérée comme étant la plus proche du mandarin standard (MS) par rapport aux autres dialectes, partage au niveau syntaxique des points communs avec le MS. La plupart des prépositions du MS se retrouvent aussi en MdNE, mais le MdNE possède lui-même une trentaine de prépositions que le MS n'utilise pas. Par exemple, 搁 *gē* en MS est un verbe qui signifie « déposer/mettre de côté » tandis qu'en MdNE, il peut être prépositionnel ou verbe.

搁	那	搁	着。
<i>gē</i>	<i>nà</i>	<i>gáo</i>	<i>zhe</i>
prép.	là	déposer	duratif

« (Quelque) est déposé par là. »

En MdNE, 搁 correspond à deux morphèmes distincts qui ont chacun différentes réalisations phonétiques possibles. D'après les études statistiques de Yin (2004), 搁 lorsque c'est un verbe s'écrit en pinyin *gáo*, signifie « déposer/mettre de côté » et se réalise généralement [kau¹] ou [kau²] tandis que lorsque 搁 a un emploi prépositionnel, il se réalise [kɤ¹] [kɤ²] ou [kɤ³] et a donc pour variantes en pinyin *gē*, *gě* et *gé*. Mais en fait, le choix pour la prononciation du verbe ou de la préposition est très aléatoire selon les locuteurs, c'est-à-dire qu'on peut entendre également le verbe se prononcer [kɤ¹] ou [kɤ²].

Ce travail se consacre donc à l'étude de la préposition 搁 *gē* du MdNE, qui n'existe pas en MS. Notre analyse porte essentiellement sur la valeur sémantique de 搁 *gē* qui sert à introduire un lieu, une provenance, un instrument etc. On va la comparer également à ses équivalents possibles en MS et d'autres variétés en contact.

La plupart de nos données sont issues de nos recherches de terrain effectuées avec *le programme de sauvegarde des dialectes chinois* qui s'est déroulé dans la région du nord-est de la Chine en 2016.

Mots-clés : syntaxe, préposition, mandarin du nord-est, mandarin standard.

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Chinese *ba*: new Voice head and Voice alternations

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Chinese *ba* displays complex empirical differential object marking (DOM) properties which elude a straightforward formal analysis (Li (2006:376)), since it is widely observed that *ba* selects definite/specific objects which are thematically related to the second matrix verb (Zou (1995:59ff), Li (2006:413ff)) and the matrix verb must not be bare but display transitivity (1a)), complementation (1b)), aspect (1c)), adverbial modification (1d)), and multi-syllabicity (1e)), which conforms to its diachronic formation as a ‘disposal’ marker where *ba* is used in conjunction with transitive/dynamic verb phrases at a more advanced stage rather than a bare verb in its earliest attestations (Feng (2002b), Peyraube (1989)):

- 1a) *ta ba na-difang likai-le
He BA that-place leave-ASP
‘He left that place.’ (Li (2006:397))
- 1b) qing ni ba shu fang *(zai zhuozi-shang)
Please you BA book put at table-LOCALIZER
‘Please put the book *(on the table).’ (Li (2006:392))
- 1c) ta ba nei ge fangzi gai-*(le)
He BA that-CL house build-ASP
‘He built that house.’ (Liu (1997:63))
- 1d) ni neng bu neng ba shu *(zhengzhengqiqi-de) fang
You can NEG can BA book tidy-ADV put
‘Can you put the books *(tidily)?’ (Feng (2002a:248))
- 1e) ba tamen *(bao)*(wei)
BA them surround
‘surround them’ (Feng (2002a:249))

There are numerous movement analyses (Li (2006), Yeo (2015)) which seek to account for the definiteness of the preverbal object via A’- movement to the internal topic/focus projections (e.g. *ba shu fang* (1b)), *ba nei-ge fangzi gai* (1c)), *ba shu ... fang* (1d)), *ba tamen baowei* (1e), cf Hsu (2008)) but fail to account for the complex verbal properties of the matrix verb (Li (2006:413-416)). In this paper, it is proposed that Chinese *ba* is a light verb (cf Huang (1997), Lin (2001)) which heads an Active Voice projection above the Passive Voice head which (re-)activises passive predicates, as supported by examples where *ba* precedes passive markers (e.g. *gei*):

- 2) yi ba huo jiu ba afang gong gei fei le
One CL fire then BA A-Fang palace PASS ruin LE
‘It took just one fire to ruin the palace of A. Fang.’ (Chappell and Shi (2016:465-466))

From this double voice representation (Active – Passive), DOM properties follow, since the complement of *ba* (e.g. *gei fei le* (2)) is not a bare verbal predicate (VP) but a passivized predicate (PassP) whose verbal complement (here *fei le*) must be transitive/dynamic so as to be passivisable, which leads to its aspectual/transitivity/complementation/multi-syllabic properties above (1a-e)). Moreover, the preverbal object of *ba* (e.g. *na defang* (1a)), *shu* (1b)), *nei ge fangzi* (1c)), *shu* (1d)), *tamen* (1e)), *aFang gong* (2))) is not preposed by A'-movement to Top/Foc but by A-movement in passivisation (Feng (2002b:147-151, 2012:129-136)), which in turn suggests that the *ba*-subject (e.g. *yi ba huo* (2)) is also similarly (re-)merged in the specifier of *ba* (Active) and coindexed with the internal subject below so as to avoid violation of Minimality in Spec- to-Spec movement (cf Rizzi (1990)). This formal analysis of *ba/bei*, therefore, suggests two highly similar and parallel Voice projections (Active/Passive) which seem to operate on external (re-)merge and coindexation of arguments due to structural constraints in little *v* rather than internal merge (A-movement) of arguments as seen in Western languages (Roberts (1986:17ff)).

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The Effect of Lexical Tones on Voice Onset Time in L2 Mandarin Production by English Speakers

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Studies of tonal language phonologies have reported the significant effect of lexical tones on the Voice Onset Time (VOT) of the aspirated stops (Liu et al., 2008; Pearce, 2005; Pearce, 2009). However, a question remains as to whether or not L2 Mandarin also exhibits such an influence. Therefore, this study investigates the effect of lexical tones on VOT length for word-initial aspirated stops in L2 Mandarin production. Fifteen native English speakers who had studied Mandarin for at least two semesters at George Mason University were recruited. A control group of eight native Mandarin speakers were also recruited for the purpose of comparing acoustic parameters to ensure that the L2 speakers produce tones correctly. VOT values were measured from the monosyllabic words of /p^ha/, /t^ha/, and /k^ha/ produced at four-tone levels in isolation and in a carrier phrase by the two groups. A total of 24 tokens were randomly assigned to each participant using PsychoPy v1.8.4 (Peirce 2009), giving a total of 552 tokens for both groups. This study predicts: a) lexical tones also affect VOT length in L2 Mandarin production and b) L2 learners of Mandarin exhibit significant shorter VOT values than those of native language (NL) speakers of Mandarin. The results show that VOT values were significantly affected by tones; however, prediction (b) was not met at a significant level. Although L2 learners' VOT were longer than their native English VOT, they were still shorter than the VOT of native Mandarin speakers. The results also suggest that these L2 learners used neither English VOT nor Mandarin VOT values, which might imply the process of L2 acquisition and that these learners are approaching native-like VOT.

Keywords: Voice Onset Time (VOT), lexical tones, Mandarin & English, L1 transfer

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Exploring “grammaticalization” processes in the Chinese writing system

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Grammaticalization, “the dynamic, unidirectional historical process whereby lexical items in the course of time acquire a new status as grammatical, morphosyntactic forms, and in the process come to code relations that either were not coded before or were coded differently” (Traugott & König 1991) has been widely used for spoken languages.

Wiebusch (2009) compares categorial markers of Chinese writing with numeral classifiers and noun classifiers, concluding that they bear more formal similarities with the latter. Myers (2017), on the other hand, shows that “semantic radicals” have many properties of affixes (e.g. closed-class, semantic bleaching, often fixed position), and invokes grammatical properties of the written modality analogous to those in the oral (speech) and visual modality (signing).

This paper will look at the diachronic evolution of categorial markers – or “semantic radicals”. It looks at this process both from the perspective of individual markers used in forming complex characters and gradually acquiring a formal status, and from the perspective of the writing system as a whole that went through typological changes in the course of its documented history.

Specifically, the role of image iconicity and diagrammatic iconicity (Kutscher 2010) will be studied, and the process of their loss as productive types of character formation for the transition to a system with one main productive pattern of new character formation – the combination of a phonetic element roughly representing the pronunciation of a morpheme with a graphemic classifier (= “semantic radical”), providing an indication of its meaning - selected from a closed set.

Following the evolution of individual graphemic classifiers, different mechanisms known from spoken languages, such as semantic bleaching of the original character meaning and reanalysis of certain categorial markers or other elements as graphemic classifiers can be studied. Using notions from diachronic syntax and semantics will also prove useful to explain seeming inconsistencies in the Chinese writing system, as resulting from layering of different steps in the grammaticalization process.

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The minimizer function of *Yīdiǎnr* in Mandarin Chinese

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This paper examines the quantity expression *yīdiǎnr* ‘a little’ in Mandarin Chinese which can function as a minimizer NPI only in contexts involving scalar inferences. Israel (2011) pointed out that polarity is a matter of scalar inferencing and that polarity items are scalar operators which encode both a quantitative value and an informative value. As a particular type of NPIs, minimizers encode a minimal q-value and a high i-value. Due to this property, they are restricted to appear in an appropriately scale-reversing context where their extremely low q-value can be used to support their emphatic informative value. In Chinese, *yīdiǎnr* are interpreted as minimizer only when occurring in contexts like (1)-(2).

- (1) a. Zhāngsān **méi** hē **yīdiǎnr** hóngjiǔ.
Zhangsan NEG drink a little wine
‘Zhangsan didn’t drink **any** wine.’
- b. Wǒ yǒu kùnnán de shíhòu, nǐ jiè guò wǒ **yīdiǎnr** qián ma?
I have difficulty DE moment, you borrow EXP I a little money FP
‘When I have difficulties, have you ever borrowed me **any** money?’
- (2) a. Zhāngsān **lián** **yīdiǎnr** hóngjiǔ **yě/dōu** méi hē.
Zhangsan even a little wine also/all not drink
‘Zhangsan didn’t drink **any** wine (**at all**).’
- b. **Yīdiǎnr** shēngyīn **jiù** néng bǎ Zhāngsān chǎoxǐng.
a little noise then can BA Zhangsan wake up
‘If there is **any** noise, Zhangsan will be woke up.’

(1a) shows that *yīdiǎnr* is interpreted as minimizer under the scope of grammatical negation. (1b) shows that it can also be licensed by a pragmatic negation expressed by a rhetorical positive question, which, according to Sadock (1971, 1974), has the illocutionary force of a negative assertion. In both cases, the scale-reversing property of the negation triggers pragmatic inferences from lower to higher scalar values. Hence, *yīdiǎnr* in these scalar inferential contexts can be used emphatically as a reinforcer of negation by producing a universal quantificational effect.

(2a) and (2b) involve respectively the focus construction *lián...yě/dōu* ‘even’ and the conditional construction *jiù* ‘then’. Both constructions are associated with a set of alternatives for scalar inferences. In (2a), the focused element in *lián...yě/dōu* occupies the endpoint of a contextual scale regarding to the other alternatives in the context. In (2b), the protases provide a potentially infinite set of alternatives that fulfill the apodoses, and the scalar particle *jiù* ‘then’ indicates that the asserted condition ranks lower than some other expected alternatives. Since minimizers, like all the NPIs, are associated with a set of alternatives which introduces an ordering relation such that the polarity item denotes the least element in the ordering (Krifka 1995), these scalar constructions in Chinese provide an appropriate context for the minimizer *yīdiǎnr*.

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