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"中国北方地区语言接触与汉语历史演变"第三届巴黎研讨会摘要集

1. Arienne DWYER "Assessing the impact of Mongolic on contact processes on the Amdo plateau"
2. ZHANG Jingting & Alain PEYRAUBE "Possession and ownership in the Gan'gou language."
3. YANG Yonglong "青海甘沟话的任指表达" "The expression of general indefinite meaning in Gangou Chinese dialect"
4. Redouane DJAMOURI "Pronouns and proforms in Tangwang"
5. Kevin CHAN KIN-WING "On the syncretism of [TWO = conjunction] in Gansu-Qinghai Sprachbund: Towards a new typology"
6. Takashi TAKEKOSHI "再谈句尾的"有"" "Rediscussing sentence final you"
7. Mariarosaria GIANNINOTO "The Hundred Chapters: a Qing period conversation manual and its Western adaptations"
8. Norikazu KOGURA "Diachronic Development of Sibe and Language Contact with Chinese dialects: Focusing on Morphology and Auxiliaries"
9. LI Lan "甘肃方言的第三人称代词和远指代词" "Third person pronouns and distal demonstrative pronouns in the dialects spoken in Gansu"
10. Dan XU "The word order change and the case raising attested in the earlier oral document Hua'er spread in the Gansu-Qinghai area"
11. ZHOU Chenlei "周屯话的"哩"——将来时还是其他" "Is marker li in Zhoutun a tense marker or something else?"
12. ZU Shengli "清代刑科题本供词中所见的引语动词"的话"——兼谈假设助词"的话"的来源" "On the quotation verb dehua as found in the Confessions of the Criminal Institutions records of the Qing dynasty - A preliminary discussion on the origin of the topic marker dehua'
13. CHEN Dandan "再论助词"来着"的来源" "On the origin and development of Chinese particle laizhe"
14. Sami HONKASALO "Managing interpersonal common ground in Dungan: The origin and functions of $=k^hu$"
15. MIN Chunfang "甘青河湟方言"上""下"的扩展功能" "Functional extension of *shang* and *xia* in the Hehuang Dialects of the Gansu-Qinghai area."
16. Giorgio ARCODIA & Trang PHAN "A historical and comparative perspective on grammatical marking of past tense in Sinitic: on 来(着) *lái(zhe)*and related particles"
17. XIAO Yanyun "甘肃石羊河流域方言的语法特征" "Grammatical Features of dialects along the Shiyang River in Gansu".
18. XING Xiangdong "从永靖新寺话透视河湟方言语言接触中的声调表现" "The tonal changes in the Xinsi Dialect of Yongjing in Gansu from the perspective of Language Contact."
19. LI Xuping & HE Ruyi "临夏方言的"说"类标记：引语还是示证？" "Shuo in Linxia Mandarin: quotative or evidential marker?"
20. Julie LEFORT "Archaisms and contact induced change in the negation system of Dongxiang Mongolian"
21. LI Xiaojie & MIN Chunfang "语言接触视角下甘肃临夏话"们"的复杂用法" "The Complex use of men in the Linxia dialect spoken in Gansu from a Language Contact Perspective."
22. Christine LAMARRE & SONG Na, "East-West variation in Northern Chinese and what it can tell us about language contact"

"Assessing the impact of Mongolic on contact processes on the Amdo plateau"

Arienne DWYER
University of Washington (Affiliate Professor of Linguistics)
University of Kansas (Professor Emerita of Linguistic Anthropology)
arienne@ku.edu

Since at least the Chinggisid incursions of the early 13th century C.E., Mongols have exerted a noticeable cultural and linguistic influence on other groups in northern Tibet. This paper attempts specifically to identify patterns in the diffusion of Mongolic features into local non-Mongolic (Sinitic, Bodic, and Turkic) languages. As a result of contact with Mongolic, beyond identifying features in individual languages, which features show up in many or most of the region's other languages? Can we generalize about impacts on a particular level of language (e.g. phonology, morphosyntax), a particular sub-region, a particular historical period, or impacts only to one family (e.g., Sinitic)? Only by examining the region as a whole can such macro-patterns be identified.

Just to take a few examples from debates over the last 30+ years, a Mongolic (or in some instances Turco Mongolic) source can be argued for: local Sinitic *zhe* clauses (see Dwyer 1992, 1995, Zhu et al. 1989, Djamouri 2015), local Sinitic constituent order (Hashimoto 1986), and the case-marking of various local Sinitic varieties (Dwyer 1992, Xu 2015). In local Amdo Turkic, calquing patterns dominate, such as privative +*siz* having been replaced by constructions with *yoq*, a calque of Mongolic *ügue constructions (Schönig 2003:416). And of course the lexicons of languages from Wutun to Sarig Yugur have significant Mongolic components, whose semantic categories will be discussed.

For sources, I rely equally on the excellent grammars of individual Amdo languages, as well as my own multilingual database from collaborations with Turco-Mongolic and Sinitic communities in Amdo.

This areal approach is inspired by previous areal work in our scholarly community, including analysis of contact phenomena. Why focus on Mongolic influence on non-Mongolic? Areal studies of contact-induced change in the area have tended to focus on one of three topics: (1) the diffusion of Mongolic features into *Mongolic* languages (e.g. Nugteren 2011), (2) the influence of the two dominant macrolanguages, Sinitic and Bodic, on Turco-Mongolic (e.g. Chen 1985, Lefort 2017, Lu 2014, Rona-Tas 1966, Simon 2016, etc.), or (3) the Sprachbund as a whole (e.g. Dwyer 1995, Slater 2003, Janhunen 2004). In contrast, work on Mongolic to-non-Mongolic contact in Amdo is sparser, with the notable exception of the hosts of this meeting (see e.g. Schönig *passim* 2005, Peyraube 2017).

By providing an overview of patterns in the Mongolic linguistic and cultural elements, the paper attempts to explore the motivations for their longevity.

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"Possession and ownership in the Gan'gou language"

ZHANG Jingting, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
Alain PEYRAUBE, Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l'Asie orientale (CRLAO)
alain.peyraube@gmail.com
zhangjingting2013@qq.com

This paper is about possession in the Gan'gou dialect (or language) spoken in Qinghai Province.

As with many linguistic terms, the label 'possession' is something of an approximation. As Lyons (1977: 722) points out, in everyday use, the term 'possession' tends to be used in a restricted sense of 'ownership'. In fact, there are many kinds of possession, and 'possessive' NPs can subsume a range of meanings within a broad concept of 'association' between entities (see Aikhenvald 2013: 2-6; Dixon 2010: 262-5). Indeed, the term 'associative phrase', originally used to describe African languages, is now used as an umbrella term for any NP expressing a relationship between two entities that partly subsumes possession and ownership.

First, we will study the different types in Gan'gou's pronominal and nominal possession, depending on the nature and semantics of the possessor, the possesse, and the possessive relationship, including, among others: (i) ownership; (ii) whole-part relations, with the common distinction between alienable vs. inalienable possession; (iii) kinship relations, with the distinction between inherent and non-inherent possession; (iv) location and orientation; (v) time, quantification material; (vi) association in general; etc.

The possessive marker 的 [tɕi] or [ti] is used for all these types, like in Standard Mandarin :
小王的车, 我们的房子 (ownership); 小张的胳膊, 商店的门 (whole-part relations); 窗台的外面 (location-orientation); 兰兰的牙医 (association in general); etc. The difference with Standard Mandarin is that in Gan'gou this marker, which is the same as the demonstrative pronoun, can never be deleted, under any circumstances.

Another marker is used in Gan'gou, and it's more interesting to know why. This marker, *nang* "囊 [naN]", unknown to Standard Mandarin, undoubtedly refers to the Mangghuer language (土族语), with which the Gan'gou dialect has been in permanent geographical contact for several centuries. Example in Gan'gou: 你羊哈囊喂给. Mangghuer has indeed two possessive enclitics*, ni* and *nang*, the latter being a reflexive possessive form, and *ni* a non-reflexive one. Both of them are optional means of indicating possession, but they are commonly used in the language (see Slater 2003: 89-91, 173-176; Yang Yonglong 2015).
The second part of this paper will attempt to show that Gan'gou most likely borrowed this marker, which is unknown to Mandarin, from Mongghuer.
A final section will briefly discuss the predicative possession.

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"青海甘沟话的任指表达"
"The expression of general indefinite meaning in Gangou Chinese dialect"

YANG Yonglong 杨永龙

中国社会科学院语言研究所 – Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
yangylong@sohu.com

甘沟是青海省民和回族土族自治县的一个乡。甘沟话具有北方汉语的语音系统和词汇系统，语法结构具有一系列阿尔泰语系的语言或安多藏语的特征。如：
（1）SOV 语序；（2）后置格标记；（3）非指人复数标记；（4）反身领属标记"囊"；（5）双繫式、致使式"V 给"；（6）副动词标记"着"、"是"；（7）后置表持续的助动词"坐"……

普通话的任指表达主要通过包含疑问代词的特定句式或特定词形表达，如"现在的人谁都知道地球是圆的"。吕叔湘（1942）《中国文法要略》把不表疑问的疑问代词称作"无定指代词"，功能有二：表示不知的称为"虚指"，表示不论的称为"认指"。

甘沟话的任指表达形式主要是以疑问代词为基础进行的形态句法操作，但是相对于普通话而言丰富得多。

甘沟话的疑问代词系统是：

问人	阿个
问事物	啥
问处所	阿里/阿
问时间	阿会儿
问方式	阿么

甘沟话的任指表达形式：
（1）零形式，纯疑问代词，但是往往用在带"是"的条件句之后，如"阿个……是"
　　阿个去是一挂成哩呀。（不管是谁去都行）
（2）有前加成分+疑问代词。如"是阿个"
　　是阿个去是成哩呀。（不管是回去都行）
（3）有后加成分：疑问代词+后加成分。如"阿个阿"
　　我阿个阿认不得（我无论谁都不认识）。
（4）疑问代词重叠，如"阿个阿个"
　　阿个阿个去是成哩呀。（不管是回去都行）

各种表达形式的来源是什么？与周边少数民族语言有没有关系？这也是本文希望讨论的问题。

"Pronouns and proforms in Tangwang"

Redouane Djamouri

Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l'Asie orientale (CRLAO-CNRS-EHESS)

Redouane.djamouri@ehess.fr

The Tangwang language, spoken in the Hezhou region of Gansu province, is frequently considered as a prototypical example of a highly Altaic-influenced variety of Chinese. It exhibits a prevailing Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) order and exclusively employs head-final adpositions and conjunctions. In this discussion, our attention will be directed towards the morphology of pronouns in Tangwang. The objective is to more comprehensively assess the external influences shaping the formation and the evolution of the various pronominal paradigms within the language.

Person		Personal	Reflexive	Reciprocal
1ʳˢᵗ		wɤ(mu) 我(仏)	kʷɤtɕʲa(-nə) 各家(呢) kʷɤzɤ̃(-nə) 各人(呢)	jitɕʲa-jitɕʲa 一家一家
2ⁿᵈ		ni(mu) 你(仏)		
3ʳᵈ	Unmarked	nə(mu) 那(仏)		
	Animate	tʰa(mu) 他(仏)		
	Human, in absentia	zə̃-tɕʲa(mu) 人家(仏)		

The entirety of this paradigm attests to a distinctly Chinese origin for all the items, without exception. However, *nə* 那, as an unmarked third-person pronoun is derived from the distal demonstrative *nə* 那, also attested in Tangwang. This derivation is likely the result of an external influence. It is highly probable that there is a concern here to replicate the symmetry observed in Mongolic (and Turkic) languages, where the 3rd person pronoun and the distant demonstrative take on an identical form (e.g., Khalkha Mongolian *ter* standing for two different items: 'that' and '(s)he').

The plural forms are expressed through the regular suffixation of *-mu* 仏 to the singular root-forms. Note that *-mu* is also the (sole and unique) plural suffix associated with nouns (the identity of the plural suffix for both pronouns and nouns is a phenomenon rare enough in the world's languages to be underscored here).

Like the example of the first-person plural pronoun *wɤ-mu* 我仏 in the table below, case markers can be suffixed to each of the pronouns listed above. Despite some phenomena of phonetic accretion that may blur the regular segmental correlation of the 'root-case suffix' type [wɤ-mu-xa] 1-PL-ACC → [wɤ-ma], we cannot consider that there are any unanalyzable forms in Tangwang. It should be also noted that there is no divergence between nominative and objective/oblique cases, unlike what is observed in Mongolic languages (e.g., Written Mongolian: *bi* (nom) ~ *minu* (gen) ~ *namayi* (acc) ~ *nadur* (dat)).

	Nom. -Ø	Obj. -xa 哈	Gen. -tɕi 底	Com. Instr.-la 啦	Abl. -xaɕʲɛ 哈些	Loc. -tʂətʰali 这它里
1pl	wɤ-mu 我仏	wɤ-mu-xa 我仏哈 (wɤ-ma 我麻)	wɤ-m(u)-tɕi 我仏底	wɤ-mu-la 我仏啦	wɤ-mu-xa-ɕʲɛ 我仏哈些 (wɤ-ma-ɕʲɛ 我麻些) (wɤ-ma-xa-ɕʲɛ 我麻哈些) (wɤ-maa-ɕʲɛ 我麻阿些)	wɤ-mu-(tɕi)-tʂətʰa-li 我仏(底)这它里 wɤ-mu-tʂətʰa-(li) 我仏这它(里)

The same applies to the paradigm of demonstrative pronouns, which includes four deictic levels. These four forms can also take the plural suffix *-mu* and be followed by a case suffix: 1. Proximal 这 tʂə 'this' ; 2. Distal 那 nə 'that' ; 3. Remote 那阿 nəə 'that over there' ;4. Very distant 那嗷呢 nəɔːnə 'that way over there'

	Nom. -Ø	Obj. -xa 哈	Gen. -tɕi 底	Com. Instr. -la 啦	Abl. -xaɕʲɛ 哈些	Loc. -li 里
very distant PL	那嗷那仏 nəɔːnəmu	那嗷那仏哈 nəɔːnəmu-xa	那嗷那仏底 nəɔːnəmu-tɕi	那嗷那仏啦 nəɔːnəmu-la	那嗷那仏些 nəɔːnəmu-ɕʲɛ	那嗷那仏里 nəɔːnəmu-li

We will finally examine the case of a possessive pronominal suffix probably of Mongolic origin, but which in Tangwang takes two distinct forms, *-nə /-ni*. These two suffixes take a noun phrase under their scope and both mark its right boundary (after the plural suffix *-mu* followed by the case suffixes). *-nə* refers to the agent as possessor regardless of the person, while *-ni* refers to a possessor other than the agent.

(1) 我/你/那　　书哈呢　　　那哈　　卡给寮
   wɤ/ni/nə$_i$　　ʂu-xa-nə$_{i/*j}$　　nə$_j$-xa　　kʰa-ki-l^{j}ɔ
   1sg/2sg/3sg book-acc-poss 3sg-dat give-appl-perf
   I gave him my book./ You gave him your book./ He$_i$ gave him$_j$ his$_{i/*j/*k}$ book.

(2) 我/你/那　　书哈尼　　　那哈　　　卡给寮
   wɤ/ni/nə$_i$　　ʂu-xa-ni$_{*i/j/k}$　　nə$_j$-xa　　　kʰa-ki-l^{j}ɔ
   1sg/2sg/3sg book-acc-poss 3sg-dat　　give-appl-perf
   I gave him$_j$ his$_{j/k}$ book/ you gave him$_j$ his$_{j/k}$ book/ He$_i$ gave him$_j$ his$_{j/k}$ book.

These few examples testify to the great regularity and stability of pronominal paradigms in Tangwang. A comparison with neighboring languages clearly shows the degree of morphological innovation specific to this language. While a dual influence can be highlighted (Altaic and Chinese), it is still difficult to determine how these influences operated or how these changes spread within the language to give rise to such paradigms.

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"On the syncretism of [TWO = conjunction] in Gansu-Qinghai Sprachbund: Towards a new typology"

Kevin Kin-wing CHAN
Hong Kong Shue Yan University
kwchan@hksyu.edu

Heine and Kuteva (2012) noted that some languages employ the same form for the numeral 'two' (or a dual marker) and a coordinating conjunction. For example, 'tara' signifies 'two' in Aranda and also serves as a coordinating conjunction connecting two noun phrases. Regrettably, the polysemy of [TWO = conjunction] is often dismissed as "incidental instances" (Stassen 2000: 16), resulting in limited scholarly attention. Our research suggests that the phenomenon of polysemy is more prevalent than previously thought. This paper reveals that the syncretism between [TWO] and [conjunction] is commonly observed in the Gansu-Qinghai Sprachbund. For instance, in Mandarin spoken in Dingxi (定西), *liaŋko* serves as the numeral 'two', a comitative adposition, and a coordinating conjunction for noun phrases:

(1) [*phiŋ³⁵ko⁰ liaŋ⁵⁵ ko³⁵ ɕiaŋ⁵⁵ tɕiao⁵⁵*] *wo⁵⁵ tou⁵⁵ ɕi⁵⁵ xuan⁰*
    Apple   and   banana   1SG all like
    'I like [apples and bananas].'

Despite variations in the polysemy of *liaŋ⁵⁵ ko³⁵ ₃* across different Gansu-Qinghai Mandarin dialects, a consistent implication relationship is observed in our database, which consists of 125 dialects:

(2) *Numeral + Classifier > Adverb 'together' > Comitative markers > Conjunction (for animate NPs) > Conjunction (for inanimate NPs) > Conjunction (for VPs)*

This study proposes two main arguments. Firstly, the syncretism pattern of [TWO = conjunction] is observed in Gansu-Qinghai Mandarin (see Peyraube 2017) and Mongolian languages (Bonan, Santa, and Mongour). Secondly, the [TWO = conjunction] polysemy is evident in other Mongolic family varieties within and beyond Gansu-Qinghai (Hasbartar 2001), but rarely in other Sino-Tibetan languages. This suggests that the grammaticalization of *liaŋₛko* in Gansu-Qinghai Mandarin was triggered by language contact with Mongolian languages, a claim further supported by historical evidence. Furthermore, this paper offers contributions to the field of typology. Given that the [TWO = conjunction] polysemy is more common than previously thought, the AND/WITH dichotomy (Stassen 2000) should be reconsidered, and languages should be reclassified into AND-languages, WITH-languages, and TWO-languages.

Keywords: Comitatives; Coordinating conjunctions; Grammaticalization; Mongolic languages; TWO

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"再谈句尾的'有'"
"Revisiting the sentence final *yǒu*"

竹越 孝 Takashi Takekoshi

日本 神戸市外国语大学 Kobe City University of Foreign Studies, Japan

ttakekosi@gmail.com

在元、明代反映中国北方的语言接触的文献中，往往可以看到出现于句尾的"有"。关于其语义与功能，《老乞大集览》云："元时语必于言终用有字，如语助而实非语助，今俗不用。"此文难以解释，似乎是助词，但实际上不是助词，这是何意？此外，太田辰夫先生曾对元人贯云石《孝经直解》（1308）一书中对句尾"有"的解释是："此是不拥有任何语气的零助词。"这种说法亦令人困惑，"零助词"有何必要置于句尾呢？但本文认为，以上两种说法亦具有一定的道理。

在元代的蒙汉合璧白话碑、明初的《蒙古秘史》以及甲种本《华夷译语》来文（即"例文"）的旁译（逐词翻译）这三种蒙、汉对译文献中，"有"一词的蒙语对应词可以分为三种：一、表示领有、存在义的动词 a-, bü-；二、表示"成为"义的动词 bol-；三、表示现在时的动词词尾，如 -mu/-mü, -yu/-yü 等。以上三种文献中对应词的分布如下：

蒙汉对译文献中句尾"有"的蒙语对应词（cf. 竹越 1999）

	动词 a-, bü-	动词 bol-	现在时动词词尾
《蒙汉白话碑》	+		
《蒙古秘史》	+		+
《华夷译语》	+	+	+

从上表可以看出，随着时代的推进，蒙语对应词的范围显然在扩大：在元代的《白话碑》中，其范围仅限于动词 *a-, bü-*；在明初的《蒙古秘史》中，它扩大至现在时动词词尾；而到了《华夷译语》，又扩大至动词 *bol-*。同时可以看出，蒙语的核心对应词应为动词 *a-, bü-*，因为此二词与"有"之间确实有语义上的联系。那么，其范围扩大至现在时动词词尾的动机何在？我们认为：

中期蒙语（Middle Mongolian）动词 *a-, bü-* 置于名词、形容词后可以表示判断，或置于动词后可以表示进行、持续等体貌。我们可以推断，句尾"有"产生的原因是在语言接触背景下发生的一种母语迁移（transfer）。在《古本老乞大》一书中，句尾"有"用于判断句"是……有"、"动+有"或"形+有"这几种形式，这些均合乎蒙语的词序，如：

（1）是汉儿人<u>有</u>。（《古本老乞大》2b3）

（2）好择钞也与料钞一般<u>使有</u>。（同上，37a9）

但在《孝经直解》一书中，"有"的位置并不限于上述几种形式，而用于"动+宾+有"等形式，如：

（3）以这个勾当顺治<u>天下有</u>。（《孝经直解》1a6）
（4）这般上头，<u>显得咱每父母名听有</u>。（同上，1b8）

上例中"有"一词与动词相隔开，这并不合乎蒙语的词序，而合乎汉语的词序。此现象说明在元代汉语中发生了一种重新分析（reanalysis）：人们将"有"一词视为汉语语气词。《蒙古秘史》《华夷译语》二书的蒙、汉语对应关系反映这种情况，译者将此词作为蒙语动词词尾的译词而使用的动机正在此处。

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"The Hundred Chapters: a Qing period conversation manual and its Western adaptations"

Mariarosaria GIANNINOTO
ReSO, Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3
mariarosaria.gianninoto@univ-montp3.fr

The *Tanggū Meyen* [The Hundred Chapters] is a Manchu conversation manual published in China in the mid-18th century. It originated a "series of conversation manuals" (Takekoshi 2017a; see also Takekoshi 2015 & 2017b), as the Manchu text of its dialogues was translated into Chinese and Mongolian, and widely used to learn and teach these languages. The texts and dialogues were also included in Western language editions providing English translation as well as lexical and grammatical explanations, and were largely used by Europeans to study both Manchu and Chinese. These works made extensive use of Western linguistic categories and terminology, but were also influenced by the Qing period Chinese textbooks of Manchu. Moreover, these textbooks also reflect the influence of the rich Qing period production of Western works on Chinese languages, from which categories and terms are borrowed (particularly to describe categories absent from the Greco-Latin tradition). The Western translations and adaptations of the *Hundred Chapters* thus stand at the crossroads of different linguistic and didactic traditions. This communication, after introducing the conversation manual and its different editions (monolingual, bilingual and trilingual), focuses on three of its adaptations in Western languages (Wade 1867a & b; Möllendorff 1892; Fraser 1924), highlighting how the *Hundred Chapters* were adapted to serve as a basis for the linguistic description of Manchu and Chinese for Europeans, and highlighting the mixture of pedagogical approaches and descriptive categories that characterize the Western editions.

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"Diachronic Development of Sibe and Language Contact with Chinese dialects: Focusing on Morphology and Auxiliaries"
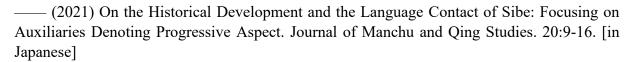
Norikazu Kogura
(ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)
koguran@aa.tufs.ac.jp

Sibe is one of the Manchu-Tungusic languages spoken in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China. Sibe is considered to be genetically close to the Manchu (Classical Manchu, which was spoken during the Qing Dynasty, and modern colloquial Manchu). However, there are several important differences in grammatical structure between Manchu and Sibe, such as verb morphology and the use of auxiliary verbs, and the question is how these differences arose. Furthermore, the speakers of the Sibe language, migrated from the Northeastern region to present-day Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in 1764-1765 during the Qing Dynasty, and experienced contact with many languages including northern Chinese dialects, Mongolic languages, and Turkic languages. The study of the linguistic changes caused by language contact is essential in elucidating the development of Sibe. This presentation aims to summarize the linguistic changes that occurred in Sibe from the perspective of language contact especially with Chinese dialects, based on Kogura (2019, 2021, 2022).

The arguments of this presentation can be summarized as follows. (1) Tungusic languages have alternation of verbal suffixes according to vocalic stems and consonantal stems, but Manchu and Sibe are losing the consonantal stems. This morphological change was caused by the influence of Mandarin Chinese in the northeastern region. (2) Sibe has a tense-aspect marker -*ma χ e*, which does not exist in Manchu. These marker are borrowed Mongolic and Turkic languages, not from Chinese dialects. (3) These two points suggest that the influence of Chinese dialects on Sibe was mainly on morphophonology and phonotactics (limited CVC syllable structure of Chinese dialects compared to Tungusic languages), and Chinese dialects did not provide Sibe with any tense-aspect marker.

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"甘肃方言的第三人称代词和远指代词"
"Third person pronouns and distal demonstrative pronouns in the dialects spoken in Gansu"

李篮 Li Lan,
中国社会科学院 Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
lilan@cass.org.cn

第三人称代词与远指代词同形，是阿尔泰语系诸语言一个重要的语言类型学特点。西北地区的汉语长期与阿尔泰诸语言密切接触，是否也会受这个语言特点的影响，是一个值得仔细研究的问题。本文先根据一些语言调查材料，指出，在中国，第三人称单数形式与远指词同形，主要见于蒙古语、保安语，维吾尔语等阿尔泰语系语言，但汉藏语系也有一些特殊形式，在古汉语中，彼也是兼用于第三人称和远指的。整理甘肃方言第三人称代词和远指词的读音情况我们发现，只有个别地方呈现第三人称代词与远指词同形的情况。但根据甘肃汉语方言第三人称和远指词的错综对应读音关系后我们认为，在早期甘肃方言中，第三人称与远指词同形是很常见的，现在只有个别地方同形的主要原因是甘肃各地的汉语受主流汉语的影响，第三人称代词逐渐被他替换，从而与读 *na* 音的远指词脱离了关系。

"The word order change and the case raising attested in the earlier oral document *Hua'er* spread in the Gansu-Qinghai area"

Xu Dan

Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, Germany & CRLAO, France

xusongdan@gmail.com

The present paper attempts to study the Hua'er, published during the 1920's-the 1950s, completed by a linguistic investigation in the 1960s. "Hua'er", created by different ethnic groups, and very popular in the Gansu-Qinghai area, belongs to oral literature. The data shows that the word order was VO and no case marker was needed when a few OV orders occurred. The same phenomenon was also attested in the data of the 1960s. The raising of "case markers" seems to be triggered by topic markers. The latter elements were from model particles or interjections, such as "xa, la, ma, ya". In today's Hua'er in Hezhou, the case marking has been full-fledged, and different accusative/dative markers have been unified into the same writing form "xa". The language attested in Hua'er provides us with significant proof for the source of case marking in the Gansu-Qinghai area. The correlation between the topic and accusative markers reveals a universal significance in general linguistics.

Example:

> 1. a. 尕妹的模样**啦**画上。(张亚雄 1940）
>   b.尕妹的模样**哈**画上。(张亚雄 1940)

Key words: Hua'er, case marking, topic marker, languages in the Gan-Qing area

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"周屯话的"哩" ——将来时还是其他?"
"Is marker li in Zhoutun a tense marker or something else?"

周晨磊 – ZHOU Chenlei
中国社会科学院 Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
zhouchenlei@126.com

通常认为汉语是没有时范畴的(Lin 2006, 2012)。近年来有学者对此提出不同看法。Arcodia(2023)认为汉语部分方言的"时"范畴处于萌芽状态,和体、情态等其他范畴有所重叠,而北方汉语方言中时范畴的语法化程度更高。和本文有关的是甘青语言区域。Arcodia 以甘沟话、西宁话和周屯话为例,认为甘青语言区域内存在将来和非将来的对立。陈前瑞、邱德君(2021)也认为在北部和西北区域存在语法化程度较高的将来时标记。

赵绿原(2021)对甘沟话的时体系统做了详细描写,认为甘沟话存在未完整体-完整体-将来时的三分时体系统。其中,将来时用"哩"标记:

(1)a. 老张兵当去了_{老张去当兵。}(已经去了)

　　b. 老张兵当去哩_{老张将要去当兵。}(还没有去)

(1a)和(1b)唯一的不同是表过去的(1a)用"了",而表将来的(1b)用的是"哩"。同属甘青语言区域的唐汪话(徐丹 2014,Xu 2017)也有"哩"可表将来。见下例:

(2)我走哩_{我要走了。}(徐丹 2014:244)

Arcodia (2023),陈前瑞、邱德君(2021)将上两例中的"哩"作为(语法化程度较高的)时标记看待。赵绿原(2021:419)认为例(1)中的"哩"从表非现实情态"发展出标记将来时的功能并最终独立"。徐丹(2014)则认为例(2)的"哩"用作将然体标记。表将来的"哩"究竟属于时范畴还是体范畴?这是本文试图回答的第一个问题。

"哩"还有其他用法:

(3)甘沟话(赵绿原 2021:416):

　　a. 老张啊钱五块有哩_{老张有五块钱。}

　　b. 我学生是哩_{我是学生。}

　　c. 他猴子啊像哩_{他像猴子。}

(4)唐汪话(徐丹 2014:244-5):

　　a. 来要着吃哩_{来要吃的啦/要饭来了。}

　　b. 按照我木说老天爷哩,你木说什么哩_{按照我们的说法叫老天爷哩,你们怎么叫呢}?

甘沟话的"哩"用于存在领有句(3a),判断系词句(3b)和比拟句(3c)。唐汪话的"哩"则用作"表肯定、疑问或缓和语气"的语气词。赵绿原(2021)将例(3)的"哩"视为未完整体标记,称为"哩1",区别于例(1)中表将来的"哩2"。徐丹(2014)则将表语气的"哩"和例(2)中表将来的"哩"视为一体,认为"哩"表将来的用法是从其语气词用法随文衍生的。表将来的"哩"和其他用法的"哩"有没有联系?如何看待它们之间的关系?这是本文拟讨论的第二个问题。

本文考察青海贵德周屯话的"哩"。我们认为周屯话的"哩"本质上是语气词,其表将来的用法是一种寄生功能,且该功能本身更适合归入将然体而非将来时。结合其他甘青方言的情况,我们认为甘青语言区域在描写范畴意义上不存在时范畴。

祖生利 Zu Shengli
中国社会科学院语言研究所 Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
zushl@cass.org.cn

清代刑科题本是清代地方军政长官将辖内所审理的死刑案件，经刑部复核后由内阁题请皇帝裁决的过程中形成的文字记录，其语言尤其涉案者的供词具有很强的叙事性和口语性，加之年代确定，是研究清代汉语很有价值的可靠材料。

本文主要利用学界已整理出版的清代乾隆朝和嘉庆朝两种刑科题本，重点考察了其供词部分所见的引语标记"的话"的大量用例，分析其用法，并结合同期满汉对照材料，讨论"的话"引语标记用法的满语来源。在江先生 2004 年的基础上，进一步讨论"的话"的话题标记和假设助词用法的产生过程和动因机制，及满语的接触干扰对其在清代中期的出现可能存在的影响。本文认为，"的话"演变为话题标记的原型语境是"说起/提起……的话"，而"的话"与"的事"语义相通；"的话"演变为假设助词的原型语境则是"若/要（不）是……的（情况）"，基于对"是……的"结构的否定性假设。

"再论助词"来着"的来源"

"On the origin and development of Chinese particle laizhe"

陈丹丹 CHEN Dandan

中国社会科学院语言研究所 Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

diannachen@126.com

　　"来着"被认为是北京话的重要特征之一，历来引起学者的广泛关注，但其来源还一直是个有争议的问题。关于"来着"的来源，主要有两种不同的看法，一种认为来自汉语自身的发展，如张谊生（2000）和宋文辉（2004）均认为"来着"由其语气词的意义发展而来。一种是从语言接触的角度进行考察。爱新觉罗·瀛生（2004）认为 "来着"来自满语动词过去完成进行时态，"表示动作已做过了，已经过去了，但其状态（结果）现仍存在。"陈前瑞（2006）认为，汉语"来着"的用法可能源于满语过去时的用法，特别是第二、三、四过去时的用法。祖生利（2013）和祖生利、高云晖（2022）更加详尽地考察了"来着"在清代文献里的使用情况，对其满语的来源和产生、语法意义和功能等，进行了非常深入的探讨，认为"来着"主要对应满语的 *bihe* 及相关构式，其核心的语法意义为"追述已然"。

　　本文首先考察了明代和明末清初的文献（《西游记》《金瓶梅词话》《醒世姻缘传》等）中事态助词"来"的用法，其次选取清代五部满汉合璧文献（《满汉成语对待》《清文启蒙》《清文指要》《续编兼汉清文指要》《庸言知旨》），穷尽性地统计其中句末"来"和"来着"的用法，并把二者进行对比分析，认为"来着"是对明清汉语句末事态助词"来"的继承的基础上进行改造形成的。正如祖生利、高云晖（2022）所说："'来着'……是清初满人在习得汉语过程中，受母语对应成分的干扰，对北京官话的事态助词'来'的错误习得而创造出来的形式。"可见"来着"并不是凭空产生的，而是与事态助词"来"有着密切的关系。从清代的满汉合璧文献可以看出，清初还有一些使用"来"对译满语的 *bihe* 及相关构式的用例，《红楼梦》中也有事态助词"来"的用例，"来"与"来着"的使用比例大约为1:2.5。直到清代中后叶，"来着"才完全取代了"来"，在北京话中占据绝对优势的地位。

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"Managing interpersonal common ground in Dungan:
The origin and functions of =kʰu"

Sami HONKASALO
University of Helsinki
samihonkasalo@gmail.com

Keywords: *Dungan, territory of information, sentence-final particles, language contact*

The present talk investigates how Dungan uses the enclitic =kʰu to manage interpersonal common ground in territories of information. The study has the following goals: First, it demonstrates that the enclitic appears in various contexts that at the surface level appear incongruous. Among others, it surfaces in contexts defined as common ground assertion, information reactivation, guiding addressee's attention, and information new to the addressee (1). The last of the functions is sometimes discussed under the label 'engagement,' a grammatical category signalling "differences in the distribution of knowledge and/or attention between the speaker and the addressee" (Bergqvist and Kittilä 2020: 3). Second, to explain the functional versatility, the paper proposes that the range of the various functions are interpretable as common ground management in discourse. Finally, the talk concludes with an analysis of the particle's origin. While the Sinitic languages are famous for "sentence-final particles" (see e.g. Li and Thompson 1981 with =le, =ne, =ba, =ou, =a/ya, =ma in Standard Mandarin), it is challenging to establish a plausible Sinitic etymology for =kʰu. On the other hand, forms resembling =kʰu are identifiable from various Karluk Turkic languages, such as Uzbek =ku. Taking the Dungan migratory routes into account, it is argued that =kʰu originates from Uyghur (2). In all, while the research on contact Sinitic varieties has shown great progress on investigating evidentiality and egophoricity (see e.g. Sandman 2016 on Wutun), the paper illustrates that other intersubjective aspects related to managing territories of information must also be examined in more detail, especially among the contact varieties.

(1) **Kazakhstani Gansu Dungan**

Азиз лагерь 上去的呢 ку.

*aziz   lagʲirʲ = xōŋ   tɕʰī = tini =**kʰu***

Aziz   camp=LOC   go=IPFV=**SFP**

'Aziz is going to a summer camp. (new information to the addressee)' (conversation)

(2) **Ghulja (伊宁) dialect of Uyghur**

*biz   bu   jæ-gæ   ba-ʁan =**ʁu***

1PL   DEM.PROX   place-DAT   go-PTCP.PST=**SFP**

'We were here! (Can't you remember?!)' (example by Ranagul Arupova)

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"甘青河湟方言"上""下"的扩展功能"
"Functional extension of *shang* and *xia* in the Hehuang Dialects of the Gansu-Qinghai area."

敏春芳 MIN Chunfang
兰州大学文学院 Lanzhou University
mchf666@163.com

一、"上"与"下"既是一对表空间概念的反义成分，又是一对多功能标记。在作功能标记时两者分工明确：

1. "下（哈）"在方言中作宾格标记和与格标记；"上"在方言中作与格标记，仅表地点和时间；"上"作为格标记，大量地保存在了历史文献里，如经堂语[1]中的"上"分别作宾格、领格和与位格等，主要指人（经堂语没有"哈"做格标记的用例）。

2. 现代汉语中，"上"的语法化程度高于"下"。甘青河湟方言则相反，"下"（[xa]）的语法化程度较"上"更强，且功能多样。除了用作格标记，记作"哈"外，可以在述补结构中充当补语成分，在此基础上，"下"又语法化为体标记，分别表示完成、曾经、持续三种标记。

二、格标记"哈"和体标记"下"的来源 根据汉语史的资料和目前的研究，我们认为格标记的"哈"是方位词"下"的白读音[xa]，写作"哈"已约定俗成。其一，方位词语法化为格标记，具有普遍性。其二，方位名词"上""下"用文白两读区分了不同的功能标记。"下"在甘青河湟方言有文白两读：使用于名词后，作为格标记的"下"白读[xa]，记为"哈"；而用于动词之后，作补语成分和体标记的"下"虽然也读为[xa]，但仍记为本字，以示二者的区别。否则，一个句子就会就出现多个"下"字。例如临夏话：

(1)汽车尕狗娃<u>哈</u>碾<u>下</u>了。（汽车碾死了一只小狗。）

例（1）"狗"后的"哈"是名称的格标记，记为白读[xa]，而"碾下了"中的"下"是结果补语。一句话用"下"的文、白两读区分了两种不同的语法标记。就跟"行"是"上"的白读音变音一样。

"下"附在动词后，充当补语成分和体貌标记，是方位词"下"作为趋向动词语法化的结果。

[1] 经堂语指的是明清时期，经师们用当时的汉语（"蒙式汉语"）翻译阿拉伯语或波斯语文献，形成的一种特殊的汉语变体。其面貌特征、性质、形成过程与历史上的"汉儿言语"、今天的临夏话、西宁话等西北民族地区接触方言十分相近（敏春芳：2016）。本文经堂语引自马振武先生的《经堂语、阿拉伯文、小儿锦对照本》（简称"对照本"）。引文前面是题名，引文后是"对照本"的卷和章以及"对照本"的页码。如《乃哈里》"此后他们亏己的那些人看见而杂不啦，人（真主）他们上不减轻，他们人不姑容他们。"（14·16/59-61 页）（《古兰经》十四卷第十六章，"对照本"第 59—61 页。文中不再一一注明。）

"A historical and comparative perspective on grammatical marking of past tense in Sinitic: on 来(着) lái(zhe) and related particles"

Giorgio Francesco ARCODIA (馬振國) Ca' Foscari University of Venice
PHAN Thị Huyền Trang (潘氏玄妝) Ca' Foscari University of Venice
giorgio.arcodia@unive.it
thihuyentrang.phan@unive.it

Sinitic languages are very often described as tenseless, since they are mostly seen as lacking (overt) grammatical markers of tense (see e.g. Lin 2006; Matthews & Yip 2011); also, the absence of grammaticalised expression of tense is generally seen as a feature of the whole (East and) Mainland Southeast Asian area (see Enfield 2005; Dahl & Velupillai 2013). However, several types of items in Sinitic have been analyzed as expressing both aspect and tense, tense and modality, or even tense only (see e.g. Xing 2020): very often, this is claimed for sentence final particles in non-standardised Sinitic languages.

In this talk, we propose an investigation of a set of grammatical markers which can seemingly function as exponents of past tense in Sinitic. Specifically, we focus on markers which may be argued to be related to the Mandarin sentence-final particle 来(着) *lái(zhe)*. These markers take the form 来 LAI, 来来 LAILAI, 来着 LAIZHE, or 着 ZHE, and their dominant nature as tense markers emerges from the fact that they can be the sole devices for temporal interpretation in a bare predicate, and that they may combine with aspectual and modal particles, although restrictions do apply. We shall first discuss the use and functions of 来(着) *lái(zhe)* in Standard Mandarin and in premodern Chinese, presenting different hypotheses on the origins and on the pathways of grammaticalization of this construction, including the possible role of contact with Manchu (Zu & Gao 2022). We shall then offer a comparative survey of particles apparently related to 来(着) *lái(zhe)* in a small convenience sample of non-standardized Sinitic languages, divided into two sub-samples: the dialects spoken in Shaanxi, Shanxi, and Hebei provinces, where these markers are said to be more widespread and more grammaticalized as tense markers, and dialects spoken in other regions of China, including the varieties of Fengtai, Lianjiang, Zizhong, and Cantonese. For each dialect, we consider the following aspects of the use of 来(着) *lái(zhe)*-type markers: actual temporal meaning, interaction with aspect, telicity, use with quantized objects, and obligatoriness/systematicity. We shall show how the meaning expressed by the markers surveyed here varies considerably in time and space, and that varieties spoken in South-Central and Southwestern China seem to preserve better historical uses, while Northern Sinitic shows more innovations (Zhang 2021). Also, we shall discuss the historical origins of this group of markers, arguing that they might actually derive from different items which shared an etymon (the verb 来 *lái* 'come'; Zu & Gao 2022).

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"甘肃石羊河流域方言语法的特征"
"Grammatical Features of dialects along the Shiyang River in Gansu"

肖雁云 XIAO Yanyun

兰州大学文学院　University of Lanzhou

1486489061@qq.com

　　甘肃石羊河流域的六县区（民勤、山丹、永昌、凉州、古浪、天祝）方言属于兰银官话河西片方言，总体来看，石羊河流域方言内部既有一致性，也有差异性。

　　具有一致性的特征表现在：1.构词法上，"子"尾词非常丰富，而石羊河流域内大部分方言"儿"尾词并不发达；2.有共同的动量减少貌结构"V+（一）下""V+给下""V+□[kʻa]"；3.绝大部分地区可以使用"VP-啊-不"疑问句，通用"A吗B"问句；4.有一些共同的句法结构，如"A+赶/比/凭+B+W+（Z）""NP+叫+NP+VP"和"（NP）+给+NP+VP"等。

　　存在差异性的特征表现在：1.石羊河流域下游的民勤方言"儿"缀最为发达，而上游和中游地区的方言"子"缀发达；2."领属标记"式适用于石羊河流域内所有方言，但是民勤-山丹型方言对于此种结构的可接受度相对于永昌-天祝型方言较低，永昌-天祝型方言对于"领属标记"式的接受度最高；3.指示代词有"这-那"二分和"这-那-兀"三分两种类型，前者分布于石羊河流域的上游（天祝）和中游（山丹、永昌、凉州、古浪）方言中，后者分布在下游的民勤方言中。指示代词三分型"这-那-兀"是很可能是在"这-那"二分型基础上叠加了外来的"兀"形成的；4.下游民勤方言使用程度副词"太"作补语，上游和中游方言使用"很"作补语；5.中游的永昌方言和山丹方言、下游的民勤方言都使用"VP-啊-不/没"结构表示疑问，上游的天祝方言和中游的古浪、凉州方言使用"VP-不/没-VP"表示疑问。

　　总体来看，甘肃石羊河流域方言语法发展演变呈现出不平衡性。上游天祝方言演变最明显，其次是民勤、山丹、永昌、古浪、凉州等方言。以差比句为例，天祝方言常用"A+B+哈+W+（Z）"句式，是典型的SOV型语序类型，如"扎西的个子旦增哈高"；在除天祝方言外的其他五地方言中，一般使用"A+赶/凭/比+B+W+（Z）"句式，如"扎西的个子赶/凭/比旦增高"。在比拟句中，天祝方言和民勤方言分别使用后置比拟标记"般的"和"也似的"，其中"般的"与西宁方言的"般的"表现出较强的一致性，而民勤方言中的"也似的"与山西、内蒙的晋语有一定程度的相似性。

　　石羊河流域方言发展不平衡的因素主要是外部因素，即地理位置。发展变化最明显的是天祝，天祝位于甘青交界地带，是一个少数民族聚居地，境内的汉语方言受到周边土族语和安多藏语的影响较多。发展演变较慢的古浪、凉州等地方言深居河西走廊内陆，较少受到周边少数民族的影响，因此其方言主要表现为河西片方言的特色。

　　在方言的密切接触下，石羊河流域方言的语法既有兰银官话河西片方言的特征，同时也带有甘青河湟地区语言的特色。民勤、山丹、永昌、凉州和古浪等五地方言体现出兰银官话河西片方言的语法特色，天祝方言在保留兰银官话河西片方言特征的同时，由于其独特的地理位置（位于甘青交界地带），部分语法特征受藏语及阿尔泰语系语言的影响，表现出与西宁、门源等中原官话秦陇片方言平行的句法结构。例如天祝方言在保留官话方言前置处置标记"把"的同时，还吸收了当地土族语等阿尔泰语系语言中的后置处置标记"哈"，两种处置标记表达的处置意义相同。又如在语序类型上，天祝方言表现为OV语序和VO语序相融合的特征。

　　通过将石羊河流域方言与外部的兰银官话北疆片、金城片、银吴片方言以及中原官话秦陇片门源方言的比较后，得出以下结论：

　　在词类部分，通过比较，石羊河流域方言与其他方言的相似度呈现"北疆片＞金城片＞银吴片＞秦陇片"梯度，与兰银官话北疆片方言的词类相似度最大，与中原官话秦陇片方言词类相似度最低。在句式及句类方面，兰银官话四片方言内部一致性相对较强，与秦陇片门源方言存在一定差异。石羊河流域天祝方言的句式及句类特征与门源方言存在一定相似性，如疑问句"VP-哩-不"、比较句"基准+比较标记（把）+比较主体+不到""比较主体+基准+比较标记（哈）+形容词"等。石羊河发源于青海门源县境内的祁连山冷龙岭大雪山，天祝为石羊河流域的上游地区，地理位置上与门源最为接近，故而与青海门源方言的语法特征相似性最强。而中游的古浪、凉州、永昌、山丹和下游的民勤等方言，与源头门源方言的相似度较低，更多表现为兰银官话河西片方言语法的特色。

从永靖新寺话透视河湟方言语言接触中的声调表现

"The tonal changes in the Xinsi Dialect of Yongjing in Gansu from the perspective of Language Contact."

邢向东 张涛 XING Xiangdong and ZHANG Tao

陕西师范大学 Shaanxi Normal University

xingxd@snnu.edu.cn

1664911233@qq.com

　　永靖县位于甘肃临夏市北部，方言属于中原官话河州片。本文描写甘肃永靖新寺话的声 调，讨论声调的变化与语言接触的关系。

　　一、新寺话的单字调、连读调、词调

　　1.1 新寺话有 2 个单字调：平上 13，去声 55。单字调中来自阴平、阳平、上声（清上 次浊上）及入声的声调合流，去声独立。和甘肃兰州红古话、青海民和马营话等相同。 1.2 新寺话连调式可以分为连读调、词调两类。

　　连读调是组合调，其中来自阴平、上声、阳平的字，在连读调中分立。共有 6 式：❶ 13+13，❷21+13，❸21+55，❹13+55，❺55+13，❻55+55。

　　词调共有 4 式，其中阴平、阳平、上声之间关系复杂，存在多项对立：❶21+13，❷13+55，❹21+55，❸55+21。

　　阳平领头的词调只有 2 式，去声领头的词调只有 1 式，表明这两个调的统摄能力很强。 阴平、上声领头的词调模式较多，说明其统摄能力较弱。

　　词调中大量出现调位中和现象，尤其后字位置上，平上、去声大量合并。如阳平领头的 词调后字只有 55 调，去声领头的后字只有 21 调。

　　总之，词调既保留了单字调合流前的调类区别，又出现大量的调位中和，反映了该方言 的声调具有严重的"词调化"倾向。

　　1.3 词调中的调位中和，导致新寺话部分字声调不稳定，出现严重的"窜调"现象：发 音人在读单字调时，可单说的单音词声调稳定，且大多符合古今声调对应规律；而只在合成 词/双音单纯词中出现的语素的声调不稳定，发音人常常通过该音节在双音词中的连调来判 断其调值：有的与单字调相同，有的则随着连调式中的读法窜入另一个调。因此，"窜调"
的本质是"单字调式微、词调强势"。

　　二、新寺话的语法特点

　　新寺话的词汇几乎全部由汉语词构成。而语法则显然受到了民族语的影响，具有同其他 河湟方言相同的阿尔泰化（可能也有藏语接触因素）的特点。主要表现为 SOV 语序、话题优 先和格标记发达。

　　2.1 SOV 语序：（1）我城里去哩。（2）你他说给。（你告诉他）

　　SOV 语序使得新寺话成为一种话题优先的语言，除了 SOV，还有大量的 OV、OSV。 如：（3）井啊，水窖着。（井，我们叫水窖）

　　2.2 格标记丰富。新寺话的格标记主要有宾格和工具格：（4）我他啊说不过。（5）铅笔 啦写（用铅笔写）。

　　2.3 其他句法特点。如到字句、在字句、把字句缺失；给字句发达：动词修饰成分后置； 选择问句不用关联词。

　　三、关于声调、语法特点与语言接触的讨论

3.1 徐丹（2018）和徐丹、贝罗贝（2018）认为甘青河湟地区已经形成一个"语言区域"，存在一些共享特征。本文赞成这个结论。值得注意的是，该区域汉语方言中存在较多的两调方言。如甘肃兰州红古话、永靖红泉话、临洮三甲集话、临夏城区话，青海东部大通、互助、湟中、湟源、民和、贵德等地的方言。

以上两调方言的单字调调值非常相似：平上 13/142，去声 55/53，以低调、高调形成对立。各调类的来源也基本相同，多是平、上合流，去声独立。

两调方言中，有两个看似矛盾、实则统一的现象：一是单字调的高度简化，加上不同声调之间的"窜调"[1]；二是存在稳定的连读调、词调，尤其是词调非常强势，有向连读调不断扩张的趋势。这种现象可以概括为"单字调式微，词调强势"。这种现象与当地汉语方言同阿尔泰语系语言的接触密不可分。

3.2 在甘青语言区域的语言接触中，声调在音节三要素中的表现，与语法在语言三要素中的表现正好形成一种映照关系，某种意义上具有相似的性质。

在语言三要素中，语音、词汇是建筑材料，语法是结构规律，前者具体，后者抽象。而在汉语音节的三要素中，声母、韵母是由音质音位构成，是具体的，声调是超音段音位，和语法一样抽象。而从甘青方言来看，恰恰是这两个抽象的要素——语法和声调，发生了很大的变化，这种变化的动因同样是语言接触。因此，河湟方言的接触特征不仅表现在语法上，而且表现在声调上。在讨论有关的语言接触理论时，需要观照两个层面：一是语法层面——语序、结构与格标记，一是声调层面——单字调简化与词调发达。两者层次不同，但具有平行关系。

表现在声调上的接触特征，有时可能比语法上的更抽象、更隐蔽、更难把握。比如，河湟方言中词调不断扩张，导致单字调大量减少，字调的窜调现象日益严重。但要确认这是语言接触的结果并不容易。语法中大部分标记是由具体的、有形的成分承载的，而词调的形成只有高低、长短、轻重的变化，音质音位没变，但超音段音位变了。

总之，甘青语言区域中不同语言的共享特点，应当体现在语法和语音两方面。就汉语方言来说，词调的形成是语言接触的重要指标。这是西北方言的词调研究为语言接触理论做出的重要贡献。

进一步的研究方向是探讨阿尔泰语言的重音特征与河湟方言乃至整个西北方言中声调变化的关系。

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[1] 这里有必要区分核心声调单位和边际声调单位，核心声调单位指能够单说的单音词的声调，边际声调单位指不能单说、可以单用（甚至不能单用）的单音节的声调。前者一般比较稳定，后者则可能不够稳定，经常发生"窜调"现象

临夏方言的"说"类标记：引语还是示证？
Shuo in Linxia Mandarin: quotative or evidential marker?"

李旭平 赫如意 LI Xuping and HE Ruyi
浙江大学文学院 Zhejiang University
xupingli@zju.edu.cn
754365835@qq.com

甘青汉语与东乡语、保安语、撒拉语等诸多阿尔泰语系语言深度接触后，产生了一种特殊的汉语方言变体。前人研究（程祥徽 1980；张成材 1998；张安生 2007；罗端 2013；王双成 2022）对甘青汉语的"说"类标记主要持有引语标记说、示证标记说、情态语气标记说等几类观点。本文以临夏方言为考察对象，探讨了"说"类标记的功能和性质。首先，我们从能否省略、否定、添加时体标记以及适用的句类等方面证明了临夏方言的"说"类标记实际上是传闻示证标记，而不是引语标记。其次，我们提出临夏方言的"说"类标记可以充当标句词，从而引介主宾语从句，其语法化路径不同于其他的汉语方言，有自身的演变过程，即言说义动词>示证标记>标句词。最后，我们认为临夏方言的"说"类标记在功能上与蒙古语的示证标记"ge-"相一致，它是长期与阿尔泰语系语言接触下产生的新型标记模式，而不是汉语自身的演变结果。

"Archaisms and contact-induced changed as seen in the negation system of the Dongxiang language"

Julie LEFORT

Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l'Asie orientale (CRLAO-CNRS), France

julie.lefort@cnrs.fr

This paper aims at providing an overview of the archaisms and innovations found in the negation system of the Dongxiang language by focussing on three pre-verbal negators *ese* (realisis negation), *ulu* (irealis negation) and *bu* (prohibitive negation), and the verbal copula *wu* (possessive negator) used to negate sentence final predicates.

We will show that some of these negators are directly inherited from Middle Mongolian (*ese, ulu* and *bu₁*), while other have developed from Middle Mongolian forms (*wu₁*). Chinese negations *bu* 不 and *meiyou* 没有 have also partially superimposed their functions on the existing negations, developping new negations in the Dongxiang language (*bu₂* and *wu₂*).

Most of the time, the standard negation *ese* functions as in Middle Mongolian, where past and perfective forms are negated by *ese*, and non-past and imperfective forms by *ülü* (Brosig: 2015), but it is also used in resultative and directional verbal constructions directly calqued from Chinese, changing the traditional per-verbal negation contstructions for a VnegV one. They are also used with unmarked verbs, thus integrating a temporal value.

The possessive negator *wu* has developed from Middle Mongolian negative adverb *ügei*. However, through a calquing (replication) process, the Mongolic possessive negation *wu* has partially integrated the functions of the Chinese negation *meiyou* 没有 and can be used to negate actions that took place in the past - *wu₂* (2) :

(1) *danshi qingie-se   hha-la-de   jiu   jianglai shi   gie   wu   wo be.*
    but   like.this-COND 3.-PL-LOC then   future   COP house have.not COP FP
    'But, if this is like this, they will not have any house in the future.' (Lefort 2022)

(2) *Hhala baza   bao wu   ba!*
    3P   Linxia fall NEG P
    'They did not go to Linxia' (Lefort 2012)

In addition, the Dongxiang prohibitive particle *bu* (3) is used in the same manner as the Middle Mongolian prohibitive particle *bu*. Under the influence of Chinese, it has further developed to an irealis negation by calquing the Chinese negation *bu* 不 functions - *bu₂* (4):

(3) *chi bu jinda, bu   weila, chi hai-ne   sayi-zhi arugva, bi sagvi-ne.*
    2SG NEG stress NEG cry   2SG shoes-REFL wipe-SIM clean   1SG wait-IMPERF
    'Don't panic, don't cry, wipe the shoes and and I will wait (inside)' (Lefort 2022)

(4) *gaga   bu   xiangxing, azei-ni   yi-dong egve-wo*
    elder.brother NEG believe   elder.sister-3P one-CL   beat-PERF '
    'The elder brother do not believe, and bit his elder sister' (Lefort 2022)

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"语言接触视角下甘肃临夏话"们"的复杂用法""
The Complex use of *men* in the Linxia dialect spoken in Gansu from a Language Contact Perspective."

李小洁　敏春芳 LI Xiaojie & MIN Chunfang

兰州大学文学院 - Lanzhou Univeristy

15619269081@163.com

mchf666@163.com

临夏古称河州，位于甘青民族接触地区的腹地，东乡族、保安族、撒拉族等少数民族比邻而居，和睦相处，互通婚姻。不同类型的语言密切接触，使得临夏话的语言呈现出接触语言的特征，如词汇是汉语的，而语法结构接近阿尔泰语，其中"们"的复杂用法就是一个典型例证。"们"在临夏话（音[mu]）中比比皆是，随处可见，可以用在指人名词和代词后，也可以用在非指人名词后，还可以用在无生命名词和抽象名词如"水们""感情们""价钱们"等后面。"们"的以上用法，除甘肃临夏市的各个县外，青海省的西宁市、乐都县、民和县、循化县、同仁县，以及甘肃省的兰州市、甘南藏族自治州白龙江流域上游的迭部县、舟曲县、宕昌等地的方言中也屡屡出现。

"们"的共时分布及其复杂用法包括两个方面，一是临夏话"们"不表示复数。不过，可以用于表示类指，这样的话"们"不一定限定在有定名词后使用，即使在无定和表示类指的名词后也可加"们"。也可以表示大量和约量，"们"出现在数量短语后也可以表示约数。二是临夏话"们"表示复数，可以出现在疑问代词、指示代词、量词和复数共现结构以及光杆名词后加"们"表示复数。

临夏话"们"的使用范围很广，可以用在名词、指示代词、疑问代词和"的"字短语等后面；从名词的生命度等级来看，临夏话"们"的使用范围可以覆盖从人称代词到无生命名词；从是否离散来看，既可以用在离散名词后，也可以用在非离散名词后。而且临夏话指示代词和疑问代词附加复数标记的用法同样是周边少数民族语言的常见用例。我们认为，临夏话"们"使用的泛化与周边少数民族语言的密切影响有关。语言接触最明显的特征是借入大量的词汇。如东乡语中的汉语借词满目皆是，随处可见。借入的不仅有名词、动词，深度接触可以借入复数标记、构词词缀等。如，东乡语中的复数标记"-ɕiə"是借自汉语的"些"；反之，临夏话"们"的复杂用法是在周边少数民族转用汉语或兼用汉语的时候，将自己母语复数标记的使用规则自然地运用在了汉语复数标记"们"的身上，这是母语对汉语的干扰。

临夏话复数标记"们"和量词"个"的共现，也是语言接触的结果，是两种不同类型语言接触后引发的语法成分的重叠并置。重叠并置是 VO 型的汉语和和 OV 型的阿尔泰语相互重叠融合的结果。无独有偶元代汉语中也有数量结构和复数标记"们"共现的例子，主要集中在一些对译蒙古语的直译体文献中。

本文是从跨语言的角度、从语言接触的视角出发，考察了甘肃临夏话中"们"的共时分布、复杂用法以及形成机制。临夏话光杆名词后面的"们"既可以表单数也可以表复数，既可以表有定也可以表无定，还可以表特指或类指，"们"相当于词缀。另外，临夏话的"们"在疑问代词、指示代词以及量词短语及中也具有复数义，是真正的复数标记。从类型学研究的视角出发，以普通话、甘青汉语方言以及阿尔泰语系语言中复数标记的用法为参照，重点分析了"们"是否具有复数义，是否为复数标记，厘清了临夏话的"们"表复数的条件和语境。对于在语言接触过程中似是而非的情况，我们要顺藤摸瓜，剥茧抽丝，既要考虑汉语史上的使用情况，也要考虑语言接触带来的影响，如此，才能揭开其神秘的面纱，对其产生变化的复杂因素作出合理解释。

"East-West variation in Northern Chinese and what it can tell us about language contact"

Christine LAMARRE & SONG Na
INALCO
christine.lamarre@inalco.fr
songna1982@gmail.com

In order to investigate the mechanisms involved in the emergence, maintenance, replacement or disappearance of contact-induced features at work in northern China in various periods and socio-linguistic settings, we selected 6 morphosyntactic features related to the verbal categories of TAME (Tense, Aspect, Modality and Evidentiality) and Space, that have been discussed for "Altaicized" varieties of Northwest Mandarin spoken in Gansu and Qinghai (hereafter NWM) as possibly triggered by contact with Mongolic, Tibetic and Turkic languages. We contrast them with a non-standard variety of Northern Chinese (Baoding Mandarin, hereafter BM), itself the output of an older contact with "Altaic" languages in the Yuan period, instead of Standard Mandarin (hereafter SM), more influenced by mainstream written Sinitic. While several of these features differ in Baoding and in SM, most of them are also significant from the point of view of a North-South divide in Sinitic.

1. Tense & Aspect – Continuative SFPs also marks Future and Habitual. Bell (2017), Xu (2017: 120), Zhao (2021), Chen & Qiu (2021), among others, hypothesized that the future tense use of continuative sentence-final particles (SFPs: ni, li, lia…) documented in Gangou, Tangwang, Xining and other strongly altaicized varieties of NWM is a kind of "pattern replication". Baoding continuative enclitic SFP ni cannot encode either Future or Habitual: t^ha45 tʂho45iæ̃45-35=ni 'S/he is smoking.' (* 'S/he smokes.', concerning habitual in NWM, see Fan Xiaolei 2017, Bell 2017: 98).

2. Tense & Aspect – A Non-Past vs Past opposition in Continuative and COS markers.

    SFP systems have been documented in some Jin varieties as showing a more clear-cut Tense component than SM (Xing 2020). This applies to Baoding too: as opposed to SM, Baoding has two distinct continuative SFPs, ni and lɛ (or lɛ.tʂo), and two distinct enclitic SFPs encoding Change-of-State, lɛ.ia and lɛ, dedicated for Non-past and Past situations, respectively.

3. Post-V auxiliaries in VC-X type potential forms – Post-head grams encoding dynamic possibility such as 下 xa (or a, described for Gangou in Yang & Zhao 2021 in VC-xa and V-xa) are a typical feature of NW Mandarin, consistent with an OV order (Bell 2017: 70). Such grams are actually found in the whole Northern Mandarin domain, with different sources, mostly 了 (lɔ/lou…, Lamarre 1995), also attested in Zhoutun (Zhou 2022, §4.3.1). See BM : 今儿个作业写完喽 tɕiɤ̃4kɤ tsuɤ5iɛ51 ɕiɛ213-væ̃22-lo 'I can finish my homework today.' (Gangou: 写完下哩).

4. Evidentiality – NWM shows fully developed evidential systems, with close equivalents in the non-Sinitic varieties spoken in the area (Sandman & Simon 2019). BM only has emerging egophoric markers applying to a restricted domain of the language.

5. Space – We find for Associated Motion markers a 2-way system (itive vs Ventive) in BM vs a 3-way system in NWM for commands, with a hortative 'let's go and…' vs an imperative 'you go and…'. Both systems have been discussed as a contact-induced evolution (Yang 2012, Lamarre 2023, etc.).

6. Space – BM has grammaticalized directionals, whereas some NWM varieties spoken in the Gansu-Qinghai area must use a converb construction of the type 赶着进来 kæ̃-tʂə-tsĩ-lɛ (Xu 2017: 109 for Tangwang, see also Lanzhou U. 1996: 210 for Linxia), not accepted in BM. On the other hand, BM differs from SM in that it requires a "dummy" form between the verb and deictic directionals.

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