

Vous êtes cordialement invités à une série de
quatre communications dans le cadre du Séminaire à l'EHESS sur
« La typologie linguistique de l'Asie orientale »

présentée par

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sur

**«Les langues sinitiques et leurs caractéristiques
typologiques»**

**La quatrième de ces communications
aura lieu le mercredi 17 février 2016
de 16h à 18h**

dans la salle 131, 1^{er} étage
à l'INaLCO
2, rue de Lille
75007 Paris

**«On the multi-functional 叫啥 $teia^{44}sa^{24}$ in the
Suzhou Dongqiao dialect: a case study on the
relationship between lexicalization and
grammaticalization»**

(La communication sera donnée en anglais)

ABSTRACT

In the Suzhou Dongqiao dialect of Northern Wu (Sinitic), the phrase 叫啥 [$teia^{42}sa^{42}$] literally means 'shout what' or 'call what'. In this function, 叫啥 $teia^{42}sa^{42}$ can not only be used in the context of asking what someone is shouting about, but can also be employed to ask someone's name. Besides these two usages, 叫啥 $teia^{42}sa^{42}$ can also function as a SAY verb, as shown below.

(1) 嗯呢辣浪叫啥“火着哉！火着哉！”

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------|------------|---------|------------|
| $\eta^{33}nəʔ^3$ | $laʔ^3lã^{31}$ | $teia^{42}sa^{42}$ | $hau^{31}zaʔ^3$ | tse^{21} | hau^{31} | $zaʔ^3$ | tse^{21} |
| 3SG | PROG | yell.what | fire be.on | PART | fire | be.on | PART |
| ‘He is screaming “Fire! Fire!”’ | | | | | | | |

In the above example, the interrogative 啥 ‘what’ has lost its original meaning and 叫啥 seems to act less like a phrase than a word. In this respect, it should be noted that two different tone sandhi patterns are possible for 叫啥 in the Suzhou Dongqiao dialect: phrasal tone sandhi $teia^{42}sa^{42}$ and lexical tone sandhi $teia^{44}sa^{24}$ at the word

level. In fact, both tone sandhi patterns for 叫啥 can be applied to example (1), which provides a first indication that 叫啥 in example (1) is undergoing the process of lexicalization.

As a word 叫啥 *teia⁴⁴sa²⁴* can also be used as a reportive evidential marker in the Suzhou Dongqiao dialect. For example :

(2) 叫啥明朝要落雨，侬阿要出去白相呀？
teia⁴⁴sa²⁴ mən²³tsæ⁴³ ia⁴² lo³ʔ³² ŋi³² a⁵ ia⁴² tshə⁵tə^hi⁴²³
 hear.say tomorrow will rain 1PL ADV will go.out
bə³siā²⁴ ia²⁴
 play PART
 ‘It is said that it will rain tomorrow. Whether we should go out to play or not?’

According to Heine & Kuteva (2002), reportive markers are highly prone to further development into mirative markers. This phenomenon can be also found in the Suzhou Dongqiao dialect. For example :

(3) 嗯呢什梗认真，叫啥考试忒及格。
ŋ³³nə³zə³gã³² ŋin³³tsən³¹ teia⁴⁴sa²⁴ khæ⁴⁴sɿ²¹ fən⁴⁴ dziə³ka⁵
 3SG so serious MIRATIVE examination NEG pass
 ‘He is always serious, surprisingly, he did not pass the examination.’

In certain contexts, 叫啥 can be interpreted as an adverb meaning ‘suddenly’ because something which is surprising often happens in an unexpected and sudden manner. We also find that 叫啥 can be used as a conjunction whose function is similar to either ‘but’ or ‘because’ depending on the context.

In sum, 叫啥 is originally a phrase and has undergone a process of lexicalization before the process of grammaticalization. The interrogative 啥 ‘what’ loses its original meaning and becomes part of the new word 叫啥. Typologically, it is a regular grammaticalization pathway in Chinese.

REFERENCES:

- Heine, Bernd & Kuteva, Tania. (2002). *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press.
 Ye, Xiangling. (1998). *Dictionary of the Suzhou Dialect*. Jiangsu Jiaoyu Press.

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