

How much visibility do endangered Japonic varieties have in Japan? – The example of Hachijō¹

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Hachijō is a small Japonic variety, traditionally spoken on a few islands of the Izu archipelago, roughly 300 km south of Tōkyō. Its position within the Japonic family is still a matter of debate (see, for instance, KUPCHIK, 2011:7, vs. PELLARD, 2018:2) and while it was, until recently, almost universally considered to be a dialect of Japanese, the current tendency among linguists is to rather treat Hachijō as a distinct Japonic language.

Due to the pervasion of the standard dialect from Tokyo, Hachijō can now be considered to be somewhere between ‘severely endangered’ and ‘critically endangered’ in its native territory. Thus, it was included in 2009 in UNESCO’s *Atlas of the World’s Languages in danger* (MOSELEY, 2009), alongside seven other languages of Japan (namely Ainu, and six of the Ryukyuan languages). In the local communities, this international recognition led to an increasing awareness, and several efforts toward the preservation or revitalisation of the language were intended in the last 14 years (cf, for instance, MOTEGI, 2013).

In this perspective, we can wonder what kind of image and visibility was given to Hachijō in the public space of the south Izu islands in the last few years, and what this image indicates about the perception of the language, both within the local communities, and within Japan as a whole.

The key concept for analysing how visible a language is and how it appears, is the notion of ‘linguistic landscape’, which quantifies the appearances of languages and dialects, and analyses both their symbolic and their informational functions on various displays, such as public or commercial signs and graffiti (LANDRY & BOURHIS 1997), but also, more generally, on commercial products, and especially on those targeted toward tourists (see, for instance, INOUE, 2000, 2011, 2012 & 2022), or even on food menus (LONG, 2012). Among the main purposes of this analysis lies the idea that the perceptions associated with those displays do not only reflect the local or national sociolinguistic conditions, but can in fact play a role in shaping the perception of minoritised languages among the local and national communities, thus further influencing the language’s vitality as a whole (GORTER, MARTEN & VAN MENDEL 2012).

Thus, this presentation will question where, how, why and by whom Hachijō is portrayed in the linguistic landscape of Hachijō-jima and Aogashima (Tokyo Metropolis, Japan), and what this indicates about the perception of the language, both within the local communities, and in Japan as a whole. To the best of my knowledge, such a study was never conducted about Hachijō. It will be based on photographic data and interviews collected during my fieldwork on those islands, in March-April and June 2023.

More specifically, a first introductory part will be dedicated to the problematic of linguistic landscapes in Japan, and to the situation of Hachijō within this framework.

A second part will be dedicated to a spatial and typological inventory of the dialect occurrences in the island’s public signs.

Finally, a third and final part will be dedicated to the recent ‘dialect branding’ or merchandising that seem to be emerging in the South Izu islands, and could be the first step toward building a form of ‘cultural ecotourism’ or ‘linguistic tourism’ in this territory (see LONG, 2004; 2011; 2012 for an analysis of similar phenomena on the neighbouring islands of Ogasawara).

1 I’d like to address warm thanks to Saana SANTALAHTI for introducing me to the concept of ‘linguistic landscape’, and thus inspiring me the idea of this presentation.

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Les suffixoïdes sino-japonais en japonais — Une proposition de classement

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Le japonais dispose d'une classe de morphèmes qui s'apparentent aux semi-suffixes (Marchand [1969]) ou affixoïdes (Booij [2005]) observés dans d'autres langues, comme par exemple *man* en anglais. Leur propriété première est de se comporter aussi bien comme des noms (*A man run*) que comme des affixes (*a police-man*). En japonais, il s'agit de morphèmes comme *ryou* «quantité»: *ryou wa sukunai* («la quantité est faible») et *osui-ryou* («quantité d'eau contaminée»).

Malgré une forte présence en terme de fréquence, et malgré la productivité des constructions dans lesquelles elle apparaît, cette catégorie de morphèmes est peu étudiée en tant que catégorie homogène. On ne dispose que de descriptions de morphèmes isolés (ex: Shimada [2000] parmi beaucoup d'autres), sans tentative de vue d'ensemble.

Nous proposons ici une synthèse des propriétés de cette catégorie.

Nous mentionnerons tout d'abord les propriétés morphophonologiques de base des suffixoïdes. Ils constituent un sous-ensemble parmi les morphèmes sinojaponais de une unité phonologique. Nous proposerons une liste complète. Nous constatons que les morphèmes sont sémantiquement très variés: comptables, massifs, relationnels ou non.

Nous discuterons ensuite des propriétés distributives qui amènent à les classer comme des suffixoïdes, à savoir le comportement comme nom et comme suffixe. Tous les morphèmes que nous travaillons ici n'ont pas la même facilité à se comporter comme l'un ou l'autre. Cela ne remet pas en cause la raison d'être de la catégorie. Nous proposons d'utiliser une échelle pour classer les morphèmes et montrons comment les répartir entre comportement nominal et comportement suffixal.

Les morphèmes peuvent aussi se comporter comme des «radicaux» affixables, ce qui s'apparente plutôt au comportement d'un nom: *jin_{rad}-rui* (lit. «humain_{rad} genre» «genre humain»); *hachuu_N-rui* «genre reptile»).

Les suffixoïdes sino-japonais ont des caractéristiques propres, qui n'ont pas d'équivalent dans une langue comme l'anglais. Il s'agit de leur capacité à se comporter comme des «classificateurs»: *nihon-ki_{suf} go-ki_{CL}* «Japon-appareil - 5 CL; cinq appareils japonais».

On s'interrogera pour finir d'une part sur le degré de figement de certaines constructions (par exemple *jin-rui*) et la capacité à détecter ce figement. D'autre part, on étudiera aussi la présence de suffixoïdes dans la strate lexicale japonaise native et celle des mots étrangers.

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A note on a terminological / conceptual problem in Western
analyses of the Chinese writing

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A fundamental distinction lies between Western and Chinese linguistic traditions. Each tradition has developed its own analysis on different basis and provided original linguistic typologies. In the west, for example, 8 “parts of speech” were distinguished on the basis of words in the 2nd s. BC, whereas in China, 6 so called “types of characters” were proposed on the basis of the script in the 1st s. AD. Graphic etymology, which would not be conceivable with a mere phonetic writing, was even developed during that time. Yet the fact that writing records the spoken language has long been recognised by Chinese scholars (Harbsmeier 1998:32, Levi 1995: 47).

If modern linguists present today characters as corresponding to morphemes, some identify them as the basic units of the Chinese script (Arcodia & Basciano 2021, Handel 2021). This poses a conceptual problem and goes against the general idea of writing based on a limited number of basic elements which combine to write down words or morphemes.

In this presentation I would like to point out a terminological and conceptual problem related to the fact that the translation in western languages of some essential Chinese linguistic terms related to writing is far from being flawless. The rendering of *zì* 字, for example, as “character”/ “graph” is not only incomplete, it is also misleading and seem to produce some quite unfortunate misconceptions. A refinement of the conception of *zì* 字 in western language is needed to allow a clearer understanding of the Chinese writing system. I shall present the different uses of the term *zì* 字 in a historical perspective to show that the term *zì* 字 was not just a simple graphic symbol, a kind of typographic sign so to speak, but has always integrated the necessary links between the written signs and the spoken language until it was replaced by *cí* 词 in the 20th c. I shall then address the question of basic elements of the Chinese script and show that it is not because there is no special term for “basic element” that basic elements do not exist.

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Sluicing and sluicing-like constructions in Mandarin Chinese

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It is argued that Mandarin Chinese (hereafter MC) has complicated sluicing-like constructions since a morpheme ‘*shi*’ and a co-indexed antecedent appear obligatorily with *wh*-phrases, *shenme* ‘what’ and *shei* ‘who’, but optionally with other *wh*-phrases, as shown in (1):

(1) a. Wh-phrase *shei* ‘who’ and *shenme* ‘what’ require *shi* and an overt antecedent

Lisi yujian moureni, keshi wo bu zhidao *(shi) shei.
Lisi meet someone but I not know BE who
‘Lisi met someone, but I don’t know who he met.’

b. Other *wh*-phrases except *zemeyang* ‘how’ do not require ‘*shi*’ and an overt antecedent

Lisi mai le fangzi, dan wo bu zhidao (shi) zai nali.
Lisi buy LE house but I not know BE at where
‘Lisi bought a house but I don’t know where the house is’
‘Lisi bought a house, but I don’t know where he bought a house.’

In this talk, I recategorize MC sluicing data to prove that MC indeed has both sluicing and sluicing-like constructions. Based on the facts, three types of structures are introduced to identify some gaps such as pied-piping and island sensitivity. The first type, exemplified in (1), is sluicing-like constructions since no IP deletion happens. Here I adopt Wei’s (2004) pseudo sluicing construction, [*pro*+ (be)+*wh*]. ‘*pro*’ is coindexed with the overt antecedent in the first conjunct and obligatory *shi* ‘be’ performs as a copula. As for (1b) with the meaning ‘where he bought a house’, optional *shi* functions as a focus marker.

The other two types are sluicing constructions. The second type, analyzed by Chung et al’s (1995) LF copying approach, first, the empty IP gets its meaning from the antecedent conjunct. Then the displaced constituent PP is adjoined to CP, coindexing a position within the complement of *C*⁰ at LF. Merger, the process whereby the conditions on the semantic variable bound by the Q-operator are inherited from the content of two phrases the *wh*-indefinite and the inner antecedent, happens, as demonstrated in (3):

(3) [_{IP1} Lisi mai le fangzi], dan wo bu zhidao [_{CP}[_{PP}zai nali^x] [_C [_C⁰ e^x[_{IP} [_{PP} t_i]]].
Lisi buy LE house but I not know at where
‘Lisi buy a house, but I don’t know where he bought a house.’

Since no movement of the sluiced *wh*-phrase happen, island constraints are not expected to hold, which conflicts with Wang’s (2002) focus and deletion analysis and Wei’s (2004) event *pro*.

The third type addresses the adjunct-*wh* phrases like *weisheme* ‘why,’ *shenmeshihou* ‘when’ etc., as illustrated in (4). The *wh*-phrase is base-generated in spec CP, and via LF copying the antecedent conjunct, the empty category can get its meaning.

(4) [_{IP1}Zhangsan yijing zhidao le [_{IP2} Lisi zuobi] de yuanyin], dan wo hai bu zhidao weishenme e_{1/2}
Zhangshan already know SFP Lisi cheat DE reason but I still not know why
‘Zhangsan has already known the reason why Lisi cheated, but I don't know why Lisi cheated.’
‘Zhangsan has already known the reason why Lisi cheated, but I don't know why Zhangsan knew it.’

Regarding the above-mentioned aspects, I argue that MC displays both sluicing and sluicing-like structure.

An acoustic study of two types of tonal sandhi in Shanghainese

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This study investigates acoustic patterns of tonal sandhi in disyllabic units under real morphosyntactic conditions in Shanghainese. Shanghainese is a tonal language with an active performance in tonal sandhi patterns: two distinct types of tonal sandhi are regulated by specific morphosyntactic environments, left-dominant sandhi (LDS) is found within phonological compound word, and right-dominant sandhi (RDS) presents in prosodic phrase in structures like V-O, S-P, V-C, Adv.-V, etc. (Chen, 2000; Xu et al., 1981). The difference between RDS and LDS implies that a syntagma can receive two different tonal representations in distinct morphological and syntactic environments, as exemplified below:

- (1) 炒饭/tsɔ̌33.vɛ44/ “the fried rice” (LDS)
炒饭/tsɔ̌44.vɛ23/ “to fry the rice” (RDS)

Recent acoustic research has supported the distinction between LDS and RDS in Shanghainese (Ling & Liang, 2019; Zhang & Meng, 2016). Based on previous research, our experiment aims to take a further step by examining acoustic patterns of tonal sandhi in Shanghainese under real morphological and syntactic conditions.

Specifically, we investigated disyllabic units of every possible tone combination (5 tones x 5 tones = 25 combinations) under both RDS and LDS conditions. The RDS and LDS conditions were created by using two semantically and syntactically correct phrases that possess distinct syntactic structures but share identical tone sequences and syllable structures:

- (2) 后天我/ɦɿ22 tʰi33 ɲu23/... “The day after tomorrow I will (do something)”
荷兰买/ɦu22 lɛ33 ma23/... “Netherlands sells (something)”

Our data consist of recordings from three female native speakers. Pitch curves were standardized by using the log z-score method. By comparing our findings with previous research, we aim to uncover additional insights into the tonal realizations of RDS and LDS in Shanghainese under real morphosyntactic conditions. Specifically, we seek to investigate the intricate relationships between phonology, morphosyntax, and prosodic hierarchy within Shanghainese tonal sandhi domain, thereby providing further details.

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Towards a typology of bridging repetition in Sino-Tibetan languages

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This presentation focuses on bridging repetition (a.k.a. tail-head linkage) in Sino-Tibetan (ST) languages. Bridging repetition refers to a clause combining strategy with the function of ensuring discourse cohesion in narratives through the repetition of the verbal predicate at the beginning of the adjacent sentence (see Longacre 1983; de Vries 2005). This phenomenon at the interface of discourse and syntax is commonly found in ST languages, as readily attested in corpus-based reference grammars of individual languages (e.g. LaPolla & Huang 2003: 247-248; Daudey 2015: 536-537; Ngai 2021: 514-516). However, despite its obvious salience, bridging repetition in ST languages has not yet been subjected to a systematic typological study. Neither are data from ST languages well represented in cross-linguistic research on this phenomenon (e.g. Seifart 2010; Guérin & Aiton 2019; Olguín Martínez 2023). This presentation aims at bridging this gap by proposing some general characteristics of this type of linkage in ST languages, as primarily based on a subset of genetically and grammatically diverse languages spoken in one geographical area: Southwest (SW) China.

We focus on five languages that we have first-hand knowledge of: (1) Liangshan Yi (Loloish), (2) Lizu and (3) Shuhi (Qiangic), (4) Baima (Tibetic), (5) SW Mandarin (Sinitic). For each language we have selected ca. 4,181 clauses of spontaneous story-telling by multiple speakers of different genders and ages. We find bridging repetition in all languages, albeit with different frequency. There is a clear dividing line in the sample that appears to correlate with the use of a practical writing system. Non-written, that is, non-Sinitic languages in our sample, have a higher frequency of bridging repetition (7.36%, or one instance of bridging repetition per 13.6 clauses) than the one written language in our sample, SW Mandarin (1.6% or once instance of bridging repetition per 60.5 clauses).¹ Our language sample further reveals both similarity and variation in the form and function of bridging repetition. In most cases, bridging clauses are reduced main clauses in that they cannot contain TAM markers that occur at the edge of a main clause. However, in one case (Baima), the dependency is chiefly marked in the prosody rather than in the morphology. Conversely, Baima is similar to other languages in that it uses bridging repetition to highlight semantic (relative temporal) relationships between clauses. This is contrasted with Shuhi, which rather relies on the information structural category of topic to convey the pragmatic relevance of the bridging clause.

This presentation attempts to provide explanations for the similarities and differences between the languages in our sample with reference to relevant local typological, genetic, and areal characteristics. Our findings are further brought in line with the syntactic, semantic, and information packaging properties of bridging repetition as described for other ST languages in the literature, so as to tentatively sketch a typological profile of bridging repetition in that language family.

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¹ Baima Tibetan does not have a written tradition.

On the Attributive Possessive Pronouns in the Rucheng Language

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This paper investigates the attributive possessive pronouns *ŋau*²¹, *ŋjou*²¹ and *tejou*²¹ in the Rucheng language (Hunan province, China), a Sinitic variety whose affiliation remains a controversial issue.

As languages lacking inflectional morphology, Sinitic languages rarely have distinct possessive forms for their pronouns. Rucheng use five main strategies to form possessive noun phrases. The most salient characteristic of the expression of possession in Rucheng is that this dialect use a series of monosyllabic attributive possessive pronouns (see example 1) derived from the singular personal pronouns and a series of locative nouns meaning 'X's family' which is derived from the attributive possessive pronouns (see example 2).

Our research focuses mainly on the attributive possessive pronouns as a systematic device which is uncommon in Sinitic languages but widely attested in variants of Hakka (c.f. Dong 1956, Yang 1957, Li 1965, Norman 1988:255, Lin 1996, Yan 1999, Wen 2019, Xiang 2001, 2002, etc.), a branch of the Sinitic languages to which Rucheng is closely related. This study not only gives an overview of the syntactic and semantic functions of these Rucheng possessive pronouns, but also attempts to find their origin. Based on morpho-syntactic, semantic, and phonetic evidence, we will argue that the attributive possessive pronouns resulted from a fusion process of the singular personal pronouns (*ŋei*³³, *ŋtɕei*³³) and the noun 屋 *wu*³⁴ 'house, home, family'.

Examples:

- (1). *ŋau*²¹ *li*⁴³*li*⁴³
1SG.POSS.KIN Lili
'my (daughter/wife/sister/friend...) Lili'
- (2). *ŋau*²¹-*naŋ*⁴³ *toŋ*⁵⁵*xu*⁴³
1SG.POSS.KIN-LOC classmate(s)
'my classmate(s)' (literal meaning: 'classmate(s) of my family')

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Referential function of specific classifiers in Xiamen Southern Min – evidence from a cognitive experimental study

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Abstract: Numeral classifiers in Sinitic languages are known for their multifunctionality (individuation, classification, referentialization, etc.) to various extents. The referential function of numeral classifiers is associated with the bare classifier construction [CL N] combined with word order (preverbal/postverbal) and information structure in many Sinitic languages such as Mandarin Chinese, Cantonese and Wu. Remarkably enough, however, the bare classifier construction is absent in Xiamen Southern Min (XSM) (and many other Southern Min varieties). This raises the question of whether and to what extent XSM numeral classifiers are associated with referential functions. The present study starts out from the difference between specific and general classifiers in XSM. While specific classifiers are selected according to the semantic characteristics of nouns and are often limited to a specific (often small) set of nouns, the general classifier *e*⁵ can basically co-occur with any count noun. As will be presented in this paper, the more specific semantics of specific classifiers can be used for expressing referentiality in terms of identification of objects when used in combination with the demonstrative in [DEM CL N].

This will be shown by a cognitive experiment adapted from the “Hidden color-chips task” (Enfield and Bohnermeyer 2001) on the use of XSM numeral classifiers in exophoric contexts. Its 18 participants tried to manipulate the addressees’ attention on various objects in the immediate physical space through language as well as deictic gestures to solve the task. The location and type of the objects were carefully designed to be used to observe the impact of the following factors: (a) the referents’ distance from the speaker/addressee [\pm distant]; (b) the referents’ visibility for the speaker/addressee (i.e., if there is anything blocking the view; [\pm visible]); (c) the uniqueness of a potential referent (i.e., if there is any similar item adjacent to the referent [\pm unique]). These factors were checked for effects on the choice (1) between using a bare noun or the [DEM CL (MOD) N] construction and (2) between the use of a specific vs. the general classifier if the DEM construction is used. The effects of other well-known influencing factors like information structure, grammatical relation, givenness and number are minimized by the experimental design.

The results show that all the participants use finger or eye gestures to point out at the relevant objects. While no statistically significant influence from any of the factors was found for (1), the use of specific/general classifier in (2) showed the following three significant effects, involving all three factors ($p \leq 0.05$).

- I. If the referent is [+unique], speakers prefer a specific classifier to refer to the referents with [-distant] over those with [+distant].
- II. If the referent is [+unique] and [-distant], speakers prefer a specific classifier to refer to the referents with [+visible] over those with [-visible].
- III. If the referent is [+distant], speakers prefer a specific classifier to refer to the referents with [-unique] over those with [+unique].

Effects I and II may suggest the conflation of [\pm distant] and [\pm visible]. This can be motivated by the fact that near and clearly visible referents need less specification for being identified. Effect III is motivated by the problem that the distal demonstrative and the pointing gesture are not distinctive enough for clearly identifying a given referent within a group of far-away referents. Thus, the specific classifier is adopted to point out semantic contrasts.

Key words: numeral classifier, referentialization, cognitive linguistics, Xiamen Southern Min.

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**Etude comparative sur les aspects contrastés de -kess- et de -(eu)l keos-
en tant qu'expressions modales**

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Cette étude examine d'abord les fonctions grammaticales et les caractéristiques sémantiques de deux expressions coréennes -kess- et -(eu)l keos en tant qu'expressions modales, et tente de les clarifier en se concentrant sur les significations de 'volonté' et 'conjecture' en tant qu'expressions modales. En premier lieu, des différences syntaxiques et sémantiques se révèlent lors de l'expression de la volonté d'agir dans le futur. En second lieu, même lorsqu'il s'agit d'exprimer une conjecture sur une certaine chose ou situation, l'utilisation est classée selon qu'il s'agit d'une pensée ou d'un jugement subjectif, d'une pensée ou d'un jugement objectif ou d'un fait général. Enfin, en plus de ces quelques critères, il existe des cas qui ne sont pas clairement distingués, et qui doivent être considérés dans des situations pragmatiques.

Mots-clés : -kess- , -(eu)l keos-, expressions modale, volonté, conjecture

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Tōkyō Japanese as a tone language

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Since at least one century, Tōkyō Japanese has been commonly considered a pitch accent language. The aim of this presentation is to reconsider this classification by taking into account the result of an original research on the de-accentuation phenomenon (Urasoko, 2020, 2021, 2023, in preparation) as well as the typological approach initially proposed by the africanist phonologist Larry Hyman (2006, 2009). According to Hyman, only two prosodic types exist in the world's languages: the stress language type and the tone language type. What is commonly referred to as "pitch accent" actually resorts to the latter type, and should therefore be considered as tone.

In Japanese phonology, the term 'de-accentuation' refers to the categorical change of a lexical item from accented to unaccented, as for instance the word *amagutu* 'rain shoes' (with an accent on *ma*, indicated in bold) pronounced as *amagutu*^o, where the word, having lost its accent kernel, has turned into an unaccented item with no pitch drop. Our research on de-accentuation in Tōkyō Japanese shows that examples of this phenomenon can also be found in tone languages. We propose to analyze de-accentuation in the autosegmental framework (Goldsmith 1976; Haraguchi 1975). Instead of considering de-accentuation as a loss of an accent kernel, we consider it to be the result of a tone shift. Under this approach, the Japanese de-accentuation phenomenon can now be viewed as a tonal phenomenon similar to the ones frequently observed in languages known to be tone languages (Hyman and Schuh 1974; Hyman 1975). The formal mechanisms at hand are the so-called horizontal assimilation (i.e. tone spreading) and the vertical assimilation.

In support of this analysis, we will also discuss a seemingly minor terminological issue, which, we argue, can shed light on the typological debate concerning the tonal or accentual nature of the Japanese word-prosodic system. It is intriguing to see that Japanese linguistic research uses an English loanword to describe the Japanese prosodic system. Indeed, the term *akusento* (アクセント) has been used in Japanese from the beginning of the 20th century (at least since Sakuma 1916). We would like to consider the possibility that this terminological choice may have biased the approach of linguists towards the categorization of Tōkyō Japanese as an accent language.

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE TURKIC VOCABULARY IN DONGXIANG MONGOLIAN AND TANGWANG CHINESE

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Tangwang Chinese (唐汪话) and Dongxiang Mongolian (东乡语) are languages spoken in the Autonomous county of Dongxiang (东乡族自治县) in Southern Gansu. According to historical evidences (Chen 2006), it is possible that the Dongxiang people were originally speakers of a (several different?) Turkic language(s) and that they shifted to Middle Mongolian during the 13th century. However, Dongxiang's lexicon is mainly Mongolic, and features a relatively small number of Turkic words. Its syntax remains strictly Mongolic. On the other hand, although the greatest part of the syntax of the Tangwang language features non-Sinitic traits that resemble to the Turkic and Mongolic languages, its lexicon remains mainly Chinese. Only 2% of the vocabulary is foreign (Xu 2014), and includes a very small number of Turkic loans.

For this paper, I propose to give an overview of the Turkic vocabulary found in both languages. There are about 50 words of Turkic origin in Dongxiang, which I have classified as 1. Words from the common Turkic-Mongolian vocabulary and early Turkic loans present in Middle Mongolian. Those words could have been borrowed at the moment of their possible language shift from Turkic to Mongolic (e.g. *alima* 'fruit' < **alma* 'apple'; *basi* 'tiger' < **bars*; *khuzha* 'ram' < **kočgar*; *tulun* 'leather pocket' < **tulum*); 2. Regional vocabulary, which are secondary loans from Turkic languages, shared among the other Mongolic languages spoken in the Gansu-Qinghai region (e.g. *tashi* 'stone' < **taš*; *bagva* 'toad' < **baqa*; *giejie* 'paper' < **kegde*), and loans that are unique to the Dongxiang language, of which certain words do not have cognates in Modern Turkic languages spoken in China and are most probably inherited from Middle Turkic (e.g. *ba'er* 'money' < **baqir* 'coper coin'; *lashigva* 'noodles' < **laqsha* 'noodles'). This Turkic lexicon reflects different types of contact-induced and sociolinguistic mechanisms, that is to say language shift (adoption of a new lexicon), areal diffusion (borrowings in the context of the Gansu-Qinghai linguistic area), and inheritance (substrate residues). I will then analyse the few words of Turkic origin found in Tangwang Chinese. Given their phonological aspects and in comparison with their cognates found in the other Turkic-Mongolic languages of the region, those words are, for the greatest part, most probably loans resulting from secondary influence of the Dongxiang language (e.g. *koko* 果果 'breast' < Dongxiang *gogo* vs Eastern Yughur *hkön* ~ *hgön*; Monguor *kugo*; Bonan *kugo* ~ *kukə* ~ *kuko*; Mogghul *kökä* 'nipple'; common Turkic **kögüz*). However, some words semantically differ from their possible source (e.g. *anei* 'grand-mother' < ?* *anei* 'mother') and a few forms suggest secondary developments (e.g. *lepaxa* 癩巴蛤 'toad' < ?* *bagva*).

Keywords: Dongxiang language, Tangwang Chinese, Turkic Vocabulary, Loanwords

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The Hierarchical Order of Sentence-Final Aspect Particles in Chinese Jin Dialects
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Sentence-Final Particles (SFP) in Mandarin Chinese head different types of functional projections in the left-periphery. These projections are hierarchically organized in a fixed order, which is subject to the “Subjectivity Scale Constraint (SSC)”: the higher a functional projection is, the more subjective the interpretation of such a projection becomes, the more difficult for it to appear in embedded clauses (cf. Pan, 2015, 2019). Sentential Aspect Projection (S.AspP) is located in a relatively lower position in the left-periphery. This talk will show that Chinese Jin dialects possess three different layers inside S.AspP. Two different aspectual particles can co-occur in the same sentence and the combination gives rise to a new aspectual reading. Importantly, the three layers also follow a fixed hierarchical order, as shown in the table.

Projections	Particles	Discourse function	Reference time
S.AspP (Sentential Aspect)	low layer	<i>tə</i>	durative aspect
	middle layer	<i>lje</i>	perfective aspect
		<i>lə</i>	ingressive aspect
		<i>ja</i>	progressive aspect
high layer	<i>lai</i>	experiential aspect	the point of speech

Firstly, the durative particle *tə* is located in the lowest position and cannot take scope over other particles. In (1a), *tə* follows the TP to indicate an ongoing state; the progressive *ja* co-exists with *tə* and occupies a higher position, which anticipates that a durative event, such as “I stay at home”, is about to occur ($tə < ja$). However, like (1b), the sentence will be ungrammatical if the order between *tə* and *ja* is reversed ($*ja < tə$). The same situation can be seen when *tə* co-occurs with the perfective particle *lje* or with the ingressive particle *lə*.

- (1) a. [S.AspP1 [S.AspP2 [TP ɣɿ tsai təja] [S.Asp2° tə]][S.Asp1° ja]].
 I be.at home tə ja ‘I’m going to stay at home.’
 b. *[S.AspP1 [S.AspP2 [TP ɣɿ tsai təja] [S.Asp2° ja]][S.Asp1° tə]].

The experiential particle *lai* is also higher than *tə*, as shown in (2a-b). The combination [$tə < lai$] expresses a past experience of an ongoing event, in which *tə* is still a durative marker, and *lai* is located in the higher S.AspP1 which provides the sentence with an experiential reading.

- (2) a. [S.AspP1 [S.AspP2 [TP nja kʰæ̃ su] [S.Asp2° tə]][S.Asp1° lai]].
 he read book tə lai ‘He was reading a book.’
 b. *[S.AspP1 [S.AspP2 [TP nja kʰæ̃ su] [S.Asp2° lai]][S.Asp1° tə]].

Secondly, the experiential particle *lai* heads the highest aspectual projection. In addition to the hierarchy between *lai* and *tə*, as shown in (2a-b), *lai* is also higher than the perfective particle *lje*, the ingressive *lə* and the progressive *ja*. For instance, the co-occurrence of *lai* and *ja* gives rise to an experiential interpretation, in which the event is most likely an incomplete plan or intention. In (3a), the lower *ja* indicates that the event “I pay for the bill” will happen, whereas the higher *lai* turns this upcoming event into an unaccomplished experience ($ja < lai$).

- (3) a. [S.AspP1 [S.AspP2 [TP ɣɿ tɕʰiŋ kʰaʔ] [S.Asp2° ja]][S.Asp1° lai]].
 I treat guest ja lai ‘I was going to pay for the bill.’
 b. *[S.AspP1 [S.AspP2 [TP ɣɿ tɕʰiŋ kʰaʔ] [S.Asp2° lai]][S.Asp1° ja]].

Thirdly, the perfective *lje*, the ingressive *lə* and the progressive *ja* cannot co-occur. The cooccurrence of any two of these aspects within the same sentence is impossible, as illustrated in (4a-c).

- (4) a. * [TP ɣɿ tsʰəʔ fæ̃] lje ja. /* ɣɿ tsʰəʔ fæ̃ ja lje. (✗ perfective & progressive aspect)
 I eat food I eat food
 b. * ɣɿ tsʰəʔ fæ̃ lə ja. /* ɣɿ tsʰəʔ fæ̃ ja lə. (✗ ingressive & progressive aspect)
 c. * ɣɿ tsʰəʔ fæ̃ lə lje. /* ɣɿ tsʰəʔ fæ̃ lje lə. (✗ perfective & ingressive aspect)

We will argue that the fixed hierarchical order among the three S.AspP layers is also closely related to subjectivity, particularly on the reference time. Specifically, the experiential *lai*, as the highest S.AspP, takes the point of speech as the reference time, whereas the lowest durative *tə* takes the point of event. As for the particles in the middle layer, reference time depends on whether there is a time marker within the root sentence. Therefore, the higher a S.AspP is, the more subjective the reference time of such a projection is, which is in accordance with SSC.

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Changements tonals en tai lü : origine et interface phonologie-morphosyntaxe

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Par contraste avec l'Afrique, le ton grammatical est beaucoup moins présent en Asie de l'Est et du Sud-Est, bien qu'il soit attesté dans quelques langues sino-tibétaines (p.ex. khaling, anal, na de Yongning) et une langue tai-kadai (tai phake).

Cette présentation montre que le tai lü, une autre langue tai-kadai, en plus de ses six tons sous-jacents, possède six contours nouvellement formés qui n'apparaissent que dans des contextes morphosyntaxiques restreints, l'un des contextes les plus productifs étant le marquage de la négation (p.ex. *hǎn*⁵⁵ « voir » vs *hǎn*²⁵ « ne pas voir »). Selon la base de données *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (Dryer 2013), la stratégie qui consiste à marquer la polarité via un changement purement tonal n'a été rapporté que dans une seule langue, à savoir l'engenni (langue nigéro-congolaise). Après avoir identifié les facteurs internes et externes ayant initié et façonné l'innovation en question (p.ex. l'existence d'un schéma tonal plus traditionnel dans les contextes morphosyntaxiques concernés, la stabilité tonale, la haute fréquence d'apparition de ces contextes, l'âge et la localisation des locuteurs), j'argumente qu'une tonogenèse est en cours, car les nouveaux contours contrastent désormais avec les tons sous-jacents (cf. l'exemple sur la négation). En outre, étant donné que le phénomène en question est étroitement lié à la suppression segmentale – et non tonale – d'une consonne syllabique nasale [m], une attention particulière sera portée : **a**) au caractère aréal de [m] ; **b**) à l'absence de l'innovation tonale susmentionnée dans des langues voisines présentant des contextes morphosyntaxiques et phonétiques similaires à ceux du tai lü.

Une étude approfondie de ce comportement typologiquement inhabituel des tons en tai lü permettrait de : **a**) mieux comprendre les changements tonals ; **b**) enrichir les connaissances générales sur la façon dont les tons peuvent interagir avec la grammaire ; **c**) enrichir la typologie tonale de la famille de langues tai-kadai et la typologie de l'expression de la négation dans les langues du monde.

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An investigation of structural types and distribution of the repetitive aspect in Sinitic languages

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Abstract: The REPETITIVE ASPECT (REP) *chóngxíng tǐ* 重行体, described by Yang Jingyu (2002), Lin Huayong (2005), Li Xuping (2018: 142) and Wen Changyan (2020), is also named the compensative aspect *bǔcháng tǐ* 补偿体 by Yue-Hashimoto (1993: 85) or *zàicì tǐ* 再次体 ‘repetitive aspect’ by Huang Borong (1996), Qin Fengyu & Wu Fuxiang (2009). It refers to contexts in which verbs of action are performed over again, since the previous action is considered invalid, ineffective, or not desirable in some way. This lexical aspect can be indicated by various strategies including the post-verbal function word *GUO* 过< ‘pass’ in many Sinitic languages, and by cognates of the adverb *ZAI* 再 ‘again’ which optionally co-occurs in the pre-verbal position (cf. Liu Danqing 1996: 28), with reference to such examples as (1):

- (1) Wuyuan dialect 婺源方言 (Hui, Sinitic)
尔再讲过一遍
n³¹ tse³⁵ kã² ku³⁵ i⁴⁴ p^{hɿ}35
2SG REP< again say REP< pass one VCL< once through
‘Please say it once again.’ (Hirata Shoji 1998: 308)

In addition, Xiang Mengbing (1997: 427) observes that the word *t^ha³³* 添< ‘add’ can also signify the repetitive aspect in the Liancheng 连城 Hakka dialect, whose function is equivalent to the adverb *zài* 再 ‘again’ in Beijing.

This study investigates data from the ten main branches of Sinitic languages to analyze the structural types and the geographical distribution of repetitive aspect. Four main types are identified – the pre-marked, mid-marked, post-marked, and double-marked type, as well as six repetitive aspect markers, such as *ZAI* 再 ‘again’ in Northern Mandarin, *HAI* 还 ‘again’< ‘still’ in Xiang, Gan, and Pinghua, *JIE* 介 ‘again’ in Min, *GUO* 过 ‘again’< ‘pass’ in the non-Mandarin dialects of Southern China, *COU* 凑 ‘again’< ‘collect’ in Wu and Hui, and *TIAN* 添 ‘again’< ‘add’ in Hakka, Wu, Hui, Min, and Yue. The repetitive aspect types in Sinitic languages show a clear division into five areas (Northern, Southwestern, Far-Southern, Southeastern and Central areas). The Mandarin dialects tend to use the pre-marked type, while the non-Mandarin dialects show a tendency to use the post-marked type. In addition, the dialects in the transitional linguistic areas display a preference for the double-marked type. Finally, reasons for the distribution of repetitive aspect structures in Sinitic languages, such as word order, semantic change, and a putative grammaticalization path, will also be discussed in this study.

Keywords: repetitive aspect, pre-verbal, post-verbal, Sinitic languages

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Towards a Semantic Typology of ‘Eating’, ‘Drinking’ and ‘Smoking’ in Languages of China

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Abstract

Languages all over the world have their distinctive strategies to express the three basic human activities of eating, drinking and smoking (Noonan 1992, Bowden 1997, Aikhenvald 2009, Newman 2009, among others). In our preliminary study, we collected over 430 languages/dialects in China, some via our own fieldwork, and most from descriptive grammars, dictionaries, and databases (e.g., The Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus and The Data Collection, Recording, and Display Platform for the Chinese Language Resources Protection Project), comprising Sino-Tibetan, Tai-Kadai, Hmong-Mien, Austroasiatic, Austronesian and Mongolic-Khitani languages. We have identified five typological patterns (Table 1) regarding the relationship between these three concepts. Type I corresponds to where ‘eat’, ‘drink’ and ‘smoke’ are expressed by different lexemes, exemplified by major northern Mandarin varieties. Type II represents colexification of ‘eat’, ‘drink’ and ‘smoke’, whereby one generic verb (often the word ‘to eat’) is employed, disambiguated by different objects (being solid, liquid or air) that follow the verb. Type III, Type IV and Type V showcase a split between these three concepts, with ‘eat’ and ‘smoke’ sharing the same morpheme in Type III, ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ allocated with the same morpheme in Type IV, and ‘drink’ and ‘smoke’ colexified with the same morpheme in Type V.

In addition to the lexical typological implication, their distribution displays genetic inheritance and areal diffusion. Type I, Type II and Type III are the major types found in Sinitic languages, which demonstrates areal distribution as well. Northern Mandarin varieties located to the north of the Yangtze River largely belong to Type I, whereas Transitional and Southeastern Sinitic languages, including many Hui, Wu, Min, Gan, Hakka and Southwestern Mandarins typically showcase Type II. Type III, typologically uncommon cross-linguistically, is mainly seen in Far Southern Sinitic languages like Yue, and some Transitional Sinitic languages such as Hui and Jianghuai Mandarin and a few Jin Chinese, in which ‘eat’ is extended to ‘smoke’ probably due to the medical function of tobacco when introduced in China for the first time. Last but not least, distributions of Type IV and V are observed sporadically in some Min, Ping and Hakka varieties. It is likely that historical strata and language contact play an important role in the divergence of the semantic typology on EAT, DRINK and SMOKE in Sinitic languages.

While a large number of Sinitic languages (e.g. Transitional and Southeastern Sinitic) colexify ‘eat’ and ‘smoke’, non-Sinitic languages generally avoid such colexification. In other words, Type II and Type III are not commonly found among the non-Sinitic languages, except for the Tai-Kadai languages. On the other hand, unlike Sinitic languages which seldom colexify ‘drink’ and ‘smoke’ without the link ‘eat’, many non-Sinitic languages directly extend the concept of DRINK to SMOKE, especially in the Tibeto-Burman and Hmong-Mien languages, resulting in their common presence of Type V. Our data also reveal that internal variation is the highest among the Tai-Kadai languages on the co-distribution of the three notions, while it is relative homogenous among the Tibeto-Burman languages.

As a final note, this study pinpoints two linguistic areas with intensive language contact, namely the Qinghai-Gansu sprachbund and the west Lingnan region. Languages belonging to the same phylogenetic affiliation in these two regions, may employ different source lexical items, yielding a highly mixed distribution of the types thereof.

Table 1: Co-distribution of ‘eat’, ‘drink’ and ‘smoke’ in Languages of China

Type	Datapoints	Language	Subgroup	‘eat’	‘drink’	‘smoke’
Type I ‘eat’ ≠ ‘drink’ ≠ ‘smoke’	Beijing	Sino-Tibetan	Mandarin Sinitic	$tʂ^{h_1}ʅ^{55} \sim$	$xʂ^{55} \sim$	$tʂ^{h_1}ou^{55} \sim$
Type II colexification ‘eat’ = ‘drink’ = ‘smoke’	Tunxi	Sino-Tibetan	Hui Sinitic	$tɕ^{h_1}ʅ^{25} \sim$	$tɕ^{h_1}ʅ^{25} \sim$	$tɕ^{h_1}ʅ^{25} \sim$
Type III ‘eat’ = ‘smoke’ ≠ ‘drink’	Zhuhai	Sino-Tibetan	Yue Sinitic	$iak^{21} \sim$	$iɛm^{35} \sim$	$iak^{21} \sim$
Type IV ‘eat’ = ‘drink’ ≠ ‘smoke’	Maonan	Tai-Kadai	Kam-Tai	$na^4 \sim$	$na^4 \sim$	$ɛu:t^7 \sim$
Type V ‘drink’ = ‘smoke’ ≠ ‘eat’	Liangshan Yi	Sino-Tibetan	Burmo-Qiangic	$\sim dzu^{33}$	$\sim ndo^{33}$	$\sim ndo^{33}$

~ stands for the syntactic position of the object

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Enhancing Old Chinese Reconstructions through the lens of Paleography

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The available reconstruction systems of Old Chinese have proven to be an indispensable tool for linguistic research, nonetheless they remain flawed in many aspects and thus call for a continuous refinement. In my talk, I will explain how a more systematic way of incorporating paleographic data as an integral part of the methodology underlying current reconstructions could enhance their outcomes. In particular, the graphic forms preceding the *kaishu* script of many characters and the frequent cases of phonetic borrowing in the unearthed texts can provide considerable information which is worth exploring further. Through some illustrative examples, I will argue that paleographic material can provide insights for a.) reconstructing items not included in current reconstructions; b.) verifying the forms of items included in current reconstructions, and c.) disentangling rhymes that have merged, making them difficult to reconstruct with confidence. A more porous boundary between the fields of paleography and Chinese historical phonology could thus provide new data for answering many of the still open questions relating to Old Chinese.

For space reasons, I provide just two simple examples:

1. *yi* 毘: This item is missing in Baxter and Sagart (2014). I propose to reconstruct it as *ʔit-s. Evidence: MC reading 'ejH (影齊開四去). Origin of -ej 齊 rhyme: *-its 質 or *-ets 祭. The word does not rhyme in the *Shijing* and the other words in the *xiesheng* serie have no reconstructions. Yet, the graph *yi* 毘 is used as a phonetic loan for *yi* 伊 (*zhi bu* 質部) on slip no. 40 of the Anhui University *Shijing* Manuscript. → The word must be reconstructed as *zhi bu* 質部, therefore *-its. (Since there are no *xiesheng* contacts with *k-*, *g-*, *h-*, *x-* or *y-*, the initial must be reconstructed as *ʔ).
2. *feng* 風 𠄎 and *fan* 凡 𠄎 share the same phonophoric on the Chu bamboo slips but they are reconstructed with different rhymes: *prəm and *[b]rom. The reconstruction seems problematic. MC pjuwng 風 (幫東開三平), the -juwng rhyme after labial initials must be reconstructed as *-əŋ (*zheng bu* 蒸部); the MC reading bjom of *fan* 凡 provided by Baxter might be incorrect. *Fan* has the *fanqie* 孚梵, so its MC reading should be bjuwng (並東開三平), again it should be reconstructed as *-əŋ (*zheng bu* 蒸部). According to my reconstructions both items shared the same rhyme in OC as suggested by the phonophorics in the ancient script.

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In Mandarin, the modal *huì* expresses dynamic ability, epistemic possibility, and a varied range of readings that can be boiled down to futurity and habituality (Iljic 1985, Liu 1997, Lamarre 2007, Wu 2020, a.o.). The literature also reported different interactions with temporal phrases, depending on the modal reading. That is, ability reading is incompatible with temporal phrases, while the habitual requires a *time frame* restricting the temporal validity of the event's property, which can also be provided by a situation which triggers a regular response, as in (1).

- 1) *Měi cì yùdào biérén yǒu kùnnán de shíhòu, tā dōu huì shēnchū yuánshǒu.*
every.time meet others have difficulty DE time he all HAB extend assistance
Whenever he sees someone in need, he will always lend a hand. (Liu 1997: 43, Habitual)

This study is intended to test whether futurity and habitual readings can be spelt apart relying on the notions of specificity, referred to a situation anchored to a *specific event time* (Wu 2020). The prediction is that the futurity reading requires some reference to a specific event time located after speech time, while, as already shown in the literature mentioned above, the habitual interpretation requires a time frame. To test the relation between temporal reference and futurity reading, a preliminary corpus-based study is conducted, analysing 747 bilingual tokens from the *English-Chinese Parallel Concordancer*, of which 567 with futurity reading. The results show that the records with futurity reading and specific event time (total 53%, n. 300) are of three types.

(i) Time phrases, adverbs and adverbials (24%, n. 136). Among them are found 18 records including *you* 'exist, there is'. In these cases, the event time, while indefinite, is anchored to a single moment in time restricting the completion of a given eventuality, typically with an optative reading as in (2).

- 2) *Zǒng yǒu yītiān rénmen huì chūlái nǐmen* (Mo Yan, *Hong gaoliang jiazú*)
sooner.or.later exist one.day people FUT liquidate 2pl
The day will come when the people liquidate you. (English translation from the *Concordancer*)

Consistently with our prediction, in negative sentences, the time reference is of the type 'will never/never again', as in *yǒngyuǎn/zài yě bù huì*. Notably, with futurity reading, the time frame is found only in 9 tokens with incremental theme predicates as *zēngjiā* 'increase' in (3), expressing incremental completion of the event (rather than the repeated completion of the habitual reading).

- 3) *Xuéshēng de juéduì shùliàng (...) zài wèilái de 25 nián nèi huì bùduàn zēngjiā.*
student DE absolute number in future DE 25 year within FUT incessantly increase
The absolute numbers of students (...) will increase over the next 25 years.

The second scenario including a reference to a specific event time consists of (ii) conditional antecedents ("if A then *will* B") (20%, n.113) and (iii) temporal clauses ("after A then *will* B") (9%, n. 51); in both cases, *huì* is often preceded by *jiù* 'then', as in (4).

- 4) *Shōushi-le Sūn Bǐng, tā jiù huì shōushi wéi fū le.* (Mo Yan, *Tan Xiang xing*)
sort.out-ASP Sun Bing 3sg then FUT sort.out do husband SFP
Once he has disposed of Sun Bing, he will come for your husband.

We will highlight that futurity *huì* can have no reference to event time in these scenarios: (iv) epistemic contexts, namely, in the (*shì*) ... *de* construction expressing certainty (14%, n. 79) or after epistemic adverbs as *yídìng* 'certainly' (9%, n. 53); (v) commissive utterances (21%, n. 122), wherein the speaker engages in fulfilling a required task, as in (5).

- 5) *Yú Zhàn'áo shuō: "wǒ huì hǎohǎo gàn."* (Mo Yan, *Hong gaoliang jiazú*)
Yu Zhan'ao say 1sg FUT carefully do
Yu Zhan'ao said: 'I will do well.' (*Concordancer* Eng. Trans.: "I will,' Yu Zhan'ao promised.")

Finally, we will discuss the contextual features of examples from the remnant 13 tokens (3%) with no time reference, epistemic markers, or commissive meaning.

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Futurity in tenseless languages

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A striking typological property of languages lacking grammatical tense such as St'át'imcets (Matthewson 2006), Paraguayan Guaraní (Tonhauser 2011), Mandarin (Sun 2014), Vietnamese (Bui 2019) and Cantonese (Lee et al. 2022) is the asymmetry between present and past vs. future temporal reference in root clauses. While bare root clauses allow either past or present readings, future readings are generally banned in the absence of futurity marking, and this is so even in the presence of a future time adverb, as shown in (1) from Guaraní and (2) from Mandarin.

- (1) Kuehe /Ko'ãga/#Ko'ẽro a-jahu. (2) Zuótiān/Xiànzài/#Míngtiān Lǐsì hěn jǐnzhāng.
yesterday/now/tomorrow A1SG-bathe yesterday/now/tomorrow Lǐsì very nervous
'Yesterday I bathed/I am bathing now.' 'Yesterday Lisi was/now Lisi is very nervous.'
Not: 'Tomorrow I am going to bathe.' **Not:** 'Tomorrow, Lisi will be very nervous.'

The generalization that future time adverbs (e.g. 'tomorrow' in (1)-(2)) fail to shift the time reference of bare root clauses to future times leads Matthewson (2006) to posit the non-future tense hypothesis for St'át'imcets, –a hypothesis adopted by Jóhannsdóttir & Matthewson (2007) for Gitksan, Sun (2014) for Mandarin, or Bui (2019) for Vietnamese. To account for this restriction under her tenseless analysis of Guaraní, Tonhauser (2011) puts forth a specific discourse restriction (descriptively stated in (3) quoted from Pancheva & Zubizarreta (P&Z) (2023: 11)) that guarantees that topic times in matrix clauses cannot be future times.

- (3) Absolute future reference times are not contextually available.

Pancheva & Zubizarreta (2023) take this restriction to follow nicely from their Evaluation Time (EvalT) shift analysis: in languages like English, perspective shift is limited to narrative contexts; whereas in languages like Guaraní or Cantonese (Lee et al. 2022), perspective shift can apply freely outside of narrative contexts. Crucially, this is the case only for shifting the EvalT backwards into the past. Shifting the EvalT forwards into the future is restricted to narrative contexts across all languages, be it English, Guaraní or Chinese.

In this talk, we argue against this generalization, showing that bare sentences denoting future events in Mandarin and Cantonese do allow backtracking. We propose a futurate analysis for bare sentences yielding schedulable future events, where a modal operator PLAN (Copley 2008) combines with a non-future Topic Time. Sentences with bare predicates describing future-oriented unschedulable events are odd in both Mandarin and Cantonese.

P&Z (2023) and Lee et al. (2022) defend a 'tenseless' analysis for Guaraní and Cantonese. An argument that they put forth against positing covert tense is that sentences with overt future modal marker and a **past** time adverb yield ill-formedness, rather than future-in-the-past readings, predicted, according to them, by a tensed analysis. We show however that combining future marker *wui/hui* and a **present** time adverb in Cantonese/Mandarin also leads to ill-formedness (4)-(5), and there exists future-oriented modals compatible with past and present adverbs. We propose a tensed analysis that captures the incompatibility of future marking with present/past time adverbs, its compatibility with future time adverbs, and the availability of future-in-the-past readings in embedded clauses with future marking.

- (4) #Camjat /#Jigaa wui loyu (5) #Zuótiān/#Xiànzài huì xiàyǔ.
yesterday now will rain yesterday now will rain
Intended : 'Yesterday it was going to rain.' / 'Now, it will rain.'

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A Cartographic Account to *de*-less Pre-demonstrative Relative Clauses in Mandarin Chinese

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Relative Clauses (RCs) in Mandarin can either precede the Demonstrative (PredRC), or follow the Numeral-Classifier cluster (PodRC).

- (1) PredRC > Demonstrative > Numeral - Classifier > PodRC > (AP) > Noun
- (2) [_{PredRC} Ai chi liulian (de)] na liang ge [_{PodRC} ai chi liulian *(de)] nüsheng
love eat durian DE that two CL love eat durian DE girl
'those two girls who love to eat durian'

The PredRC is reported to be less frequently used than the PodRC (Ming 2010, Hsu 2017) and seems to be derived from a PodRC. Aoun and Li (2003) and Zhang (2015) argue that the PredRC is derived from the PodRC via movement. While a PredRC can be formed with or without the subordinator *de*, a PodRC must end with *de*, as shown in (2). This paper adopts a Cartographic approach to investigate the syntax of *de*-less PredRCs in Mandarin Chinese, comparing it with PredRCs with the subordinator *de*. Although *de*-less PredRCs are already mentioned in the literature (Cheng and Sybesma 2009, Wu 2011 a.o.), a systematic comparison with *de* PredRCs from a syntactic point of view still needs to be integrated. This paper suggests that *de*-less PredRCs show the following discrepancies from *de* PredRCs:

- i). **“Finiteness”** - *de*-less PredRCs have a reduced CP: A *de*-less PredRC cannot contain mood adverbs like *qishi* ‘actually’ which are high in the functional hierarchy (Cinque 1999), while a *de* PredRC can. We emphasize that *de*-less PredRCs CAN have an object gap, see also Cheng and Sybesma (2009).
- ii). **Stacking** - *de*-less PredRCs should be derived from Raising: Two *de*-less PredRCs of different types (e.g., one object-RC and one subject-RC) cannot be stacked while two *de* PredRCs can. In addition, *de*-less PredRCs cannot be “extraposed” to the right of the head noun, suggesting that *de*-less PredRCs must be derived by Raising (Cinque 2020), unlike *de*-RCs which can be derived either by Raising or by Matching (pace Lin and Tsai 2015).
- iii). **Compatibility with “which”** - *de*-less PredRCs only used with anaphoric Demonstratives: With a *de*-less PredRC the Demonstrative should be *zhe* ‘this’ or *na* ‘that’ and cannot be substituted by *nǎ_{int}* ‘which’, while with a *de* PredRC it is possible. This is also related to the fact that proper names, pronouns and other strong quantifiers cannot be their heads. We attempt to explain this constraint by supposing that the Raising head of a *de*-less PredRC includes a anaphoric DemP instead of only an NP as suggested by Aoun and Li (2003).

We can conclude then that *de*-less PredRCs are structurally distinct from *de* PredRCs, the presence/absence of *de* in pre-demonstrative RCs is not a free option. This research reveals that in the pre-demonstrative area RCs can go through multiple derivational processes and an even more fine-grained DP hierarchy can be identified.

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The Phonological Analysis of the [v] Sound in Haoni Dialect: A Functionalist Approach

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This communication delves into an examination of the phonological characteristics of the [v] sound in Haoni, a dialect of Hani (ISO 639-3 how) spoken in China's Yunnan province. Haoni belongs to the Southern Ngwi group of languages within the Tibeto-Burman branch. The study, conducted as part of the author's master dissertation, is based on data collected during the initial fieldwork conducted in August 2022. The methodology employed in this research follows the principles of functional linguistics developed by André Martinet. With a communicative relevant perspective, functional phonology investigates the functional behaviour of each sound, assessing whether it serves an oppositional function or participates in complementary distribution with other sounds. Constructing a phoneme inventory involves identifying minimal pairs and distinctive features, while also examining the contextual variants (allophones) associated with each phoneme. Following a brief introduction to the Haoni dialect, the main objective of this study revolves around two central issues concerning the [v] sound: 1) its classification as a consonant or a vowel phonetically, and 2) whether it should be considered a phoneme or an allophone, and if the latter, which phoneme it corresponds to. To address these descriptive challenges, the research initiates by examining the articulatory features of [v] using Praat. Notably, it is observed that [v] exhibits formants and pitch characteristics like other similar vowels such as [u], [o], and the glide [w]. The study then shifts focus to the phonological analysis of [v], where it is revealed that the sound appears in the same positions as vowels (C_#, #_C, absolute context), while also participating in complementary distribution with the sound [u] in specific contexts, except for post-consonant positions. Consequently, it becomes plausible to consider [v] as an allophone of the phoneme /u/ in absolute and preconsonantal contexts. Additionally, it is discovered that [v] occurs in postvocalic positions where other vowels are not attested. Such phenomena in dynamic synchrony necessitate a diachronic analysis to explain the distinctiveness of [v]. Although limited research has addressed this issue, Yang (2016) points out in her thesis that a pull chain process occurs, whereby [u] changes to [v] in certain contexts during linguistic evolution, forming a chain as follows: [v] > [u] > [o]. As the available data is insufficient to generate alternative hypotheses, this study aims to justify whether such an evolution takes place in other South Ngwi languages by providing examples from other descriptive works.

Keywords: Haoni dialect, functional linguistics, phonetics and phonology, Southern Ngwi languages

Examples with [v]:

$xv^{33}v^{31}t^h u^{31}$ “when”

$v^{31}g e^{55}$ “louse”

$p i^{55} v^{33}$ “egg”

$v^{31} t u^{31}$ “head”

$a^{55} t s v^{33}$ “chest”

$v^{55} f v^{31}$ “to eat”

v^{55} “to buy”

$v^{33} k w e^{33}$ “turtle”

$xv^{33}v^{31}t^h u^{31}$ “when”

$v^{55} t s^h u^{31} p v^{31} k u^{33}$ “wet”

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Observation of OV order in classical Chinese with automatic method
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In our work, we test an automatic grammar extraction tool with the four cases of OV word order in Classical Chinese that were mentioned by Alain Peyraube (Peyraube, 1997). To validate the approach, we used a treebank corpus of Classical Chinese constructed by Kyoto University (Yasuoka, 2019; Yasuoka et al., 2022), which is based on the annotation guidelines of the Universal Dependencies project (de Marneffe, 2021). The corpus contains four books of Archaic Chinese (*Lunyu*, *Mengzi*, *Liji*, and *Lisao*) and five books of Medieval Chinese (three Buddhist scriptures, *The Three Hundred Tang Poems*, and *Shibashilue*). Then we compare traditional linguistic results with a corpus based automatic approach for grammar extraction recently proposed (Herrera et al, 2022), which can automatically analyse significant grammatical features in all cases of OV word order and with which we can quantify the analysis by a degree of significance. According to the results obtained by our method, the higher the significance, the more data is shown below.

OV order case concluded by Peyraube	Significance in corpus analysed by grammar extraction tool
Interrogative pronoun	Infinity
Demonstrative pronoun 是 (shi) 'this'	79
Pronoun in negative sentences	21
Noun/NP followed by a preverbal object marker	168

The results obtained with the automatic approach corroborate with the four OV cases in Classical Chinese that were identified by Peyraube. Based on the occurrences of these OV orders in our corpus and the automatic analysis of our tool, we can also confirm that Classical Chinese is an SVO language. These results validate the feasibility of the approach we have adopted. Additionally, the quantitative approach we have used has led us to another OV situation with a reflexive pronoun 自 *zi*. Moreover, our approach shows that the OV order is more significant in Archaic Chinese, and its significance decreases as the language progresses to Medieval Chinese. More detailed data and analysis will be presented in the following article. Although there is still much to delve into in our research and our approach is influenced by the size and quality of the corpus, our initial results are promising.

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Historical Evolution of Differential Place Marking (DPM) in Ancient Chinese

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According to Haspelmath (2019), differential place marking is a situation in which the coding of locative, allative or ablative roles depends on subclasses of nouns, in particular place names (toponyms), inanimate common nouns and human nouns. When languages show asymmetric coding differences depending on such subclasses, they show shorter (and often zero) coding of place roles with toponyms, and longer (often adpositional rather than affixal) coding of place roles with human nouns.

In the Mandarin spoken language, many PPs (especially the ones using the preposition *zài*) placed either after or before the VP are optional. Several Chinese linguists have admitted that there is a deletion of the post-verbal preposition that turns the locative complement into a locative object. This hypothesis of deletion is debatable. Whether the semantic role encoded in the preposition is locative, allative or ablative, the marked location is in a sense more salient than the non-marked (without any preposition).

The paper will firstly briefly discuss the conditions under which these DPM prepositions can be optional, and the cases in which the ellipsis of the preposition *zài* is not accepted neither in a pre-verbal nor in a post-verbal position, due to some (semantical-) syntactical restrictions.

I will trace the historical development of this phenomenon from Archaic Chinese (上古汉语) to Modern Chinese (近代汉语). The history of the following prepositions which have already been the subject of several detailed studies (Shi Dongqing, 2008 among them), will be outlined: locative 於、于、在、著, etc. as well as ablative 于、自、从、由、乎, etc.

I will later study more particularly the use of these locative prepositions with localizers (方位词) to verify the hypothesis of Wang Li according to which the locative prepositions are necessary and the localizers absent in Late Archaic Chinese, whereas it is the reverse (optional preposition and localizer necessary) from Late Han. cf. Peyraube (1994).

Differential place marking (DPM) can be better explained by frequency asymmetries, expectations derived from frequencies, and the general preference for efficient coding. A comparative analysis will finally be undertaken, based on the existing research works (Stolz 2014, Haspelmath 2019) that have given an overview of DPM phenomena in several languages and formulated a number of universals that seem to be well supported.

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