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BOOKLET OF ABSTRACTS

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On the study of grammar in Vietnam

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This report focuses on the study of syntax section in the history of Vietnamese grammar research.

Relatively, the history of Vietnamese syntax research can be divided into three phases: the first phase influenced by Eurocentrism; the second phase (from the years after 1945 to the end of the 1980s) characterized by traditional grammar combined with some western theoretical approaches; the third phase (from the 1990s to the present) been in favor of meaning- based grammar.

The division of 3 phases is only relative, because there are interwoven cases, for example, Truong Vinh Ky belonged to the first phase, but he had ideas ahead of his time, worthy of being placed in the later phases, such as the distinction of unit nouns (in fact he called them “noms numériques”) and mass nouns as well as the idea of a case grammar applied to Vietnamese (before Fillmore 1968); or Thompspon since 1965 had discovered the focal construction of Vietnamese sentences, a feature of a Topic-prominent language.

The most important point is that many researchers have discovered the typological characteristics of Vietnamese which resulted in its classification as a Topic-prominent language.

If we look back at the history of Vietnamese syntax research in association with theoretical issues, it can be said that almost all of the world’s important syntactic theories have, through different paths, had influences to the study of Vietnamese syntax to some extent. For Vietnamese, a typical isolating language, researchers have been increasingly inclined to describe Vietnamese syntax in the direction of meaning-based grammar (that is Systemic Functional Linguistics and its Discourse Semantics Systems such as the Appraisal framework approach) and are not too much in favor of formal criteria in syntactic parsing.

Description et analyse de l'accent des composés de type NOM-GENITIF-NOM en japonais moderne

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Malgré plusieurs études morphologiques (par exemple Suzuki (1978) ou Takeda (2008)) montrant que les unités lexicales de type NOM-GENITIF-NOM en japonais moderne sont subsumées par un ensemble de sous-groupes allant du nom composé au syntagme, il ne semble pas à première vue que celles-ci aient reçu une attention particulière quant à leur comportement accentuel. Cette communication a pour but de décrire le comportement accentuel de ces composés de type $NnoN^1$ dans la variété de Tokyo, que nous présentons ci-dessous² :

- (1) a. *Kaki*[°] + *no* + *ki* -> *kaki-no-ki* « plaqueminier »
« Plaquemine + de + arbre »
- b. *Sai* + *no* + *me* -> *sai-no-me*[°] « face d'un dé »
« Point + de + oeil »
- c. *yuki* + *no* + *sita* -> *yuki-no-sita* « fruit d'une plante basse »
« Herbe + de + fruit »

Dans ces exemples, les noms composés sont formés de trois éléments : en (1a) : *kaki*, l'enclitique *no* puis *ki*. En (1b) : *sai*, *no* puis *me* et enfin, en (1c) : *yuki*, *no* et *sita*. Si nous nous intéressons au patron accentuel de chaque élément, nous observons que : (1a) *kaki* est atone, *no* n'a pas d'accent, et *ki* est accentué. Cependant, le patron accentuel produit ne préserve aucun des accents des constituants et possède son propre accent. De plus, l'accent est sur *no* élément qui ne porte pas d'accent à l'origine. Dans l'exemple (1b), le même phénomène se produit ; l'accent de *sai*, originellement à l'initiale, n'est pas préservé, tout comme celui de *me*, et le patron formé est atone. Dans l'exemple (1c), il en va de même pour l'accent originel de *yuki* et du patron atone de *mi* qui ne sont pas préservés dans le patron accentuel du nom composé où l'accent est, encore une fois, sur *no*.

L'objectif de cette communication est de présenter une analyse accentuelle de ces composés à l'interface de la morphologie et de la syntaxe, qui semblent arborer un comportement à première vue différent de celui des mots composés par juxtaposition (Kageyama dans Lieber et Pavol 2009).

Lors de cette communication, nous aborderons, dans un premier temps, la question de l'accent lexical en japonais, quelques principes morphologiques des noms composés en japonais contemporain puis leurs règles d'accentuation. Dans un second temps, nous présenterons la base de données de 900 mots composés que nous avons élaborée en vue de mener cette recherche. Celle-ci est construite sur la base du *nihon kokugo daijiten* et du dictionnaire d'accentuation et de prononciation de la NHK édition 2016. Pour finir, nous procéderons à la description et à l'analyse de l'accent des composés de notre base de données.

¹ A partir de maintenant nous nommons $NnoN$ les composés NOM-GENITIF-NOM du japonais moderne. Les mores accentuées sont indiquées en gras rouge et [°] signale les mots atones.

² Les patrons accentuels sont issus du dictionnaire d'accentuation et de prononciation NHK 2016

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On ‘structural particles’ in Sinitic languages: typology and diachrony

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In the Chinese linguistic tradition, the term ‘structural particle(s)’ (结构助词 *jiégòu zhùcí*) is used to refer to functional elements which mainly act as markers of modification and as nominalisers. In Standard Mandarin, ‘structural particles’ refers to markers realised as *de* (/tə/), which correspond to three distinct characters (的, 地 and 得), depending on the function, in the current written standard (Wiedenhof 2017). Despite their homophony, and despite the fact that they could all be written with the character 的 in the past, they have different origins (see e.g. Ōta 1987[1958]; Sun 1996; Feng 2004). Through the analysis of their origin and through comparison within Sinitic, we may easily realise that the relationship between form and function for these particles is indeed quite complex: the distribution of the phonological forms of these markers and the characters used to write them do not always reflect their origin; besides, the same functions are mapped onto different markers in Chinese dialects. For instance, in Haimen, a Wu dialect of Jiangsu, the marker of adnominal modification is 个 *go²⁰²*, the marker of adverbial modification is 叫 *teio⁰²*, the marker used in the verb complement construction (Lamarre 2004) is 来 *le⁰⁵³*, and the nominaliser is 个 *go²⁰⁴* (Wang 2011).

In this talk, we shall present an overview of the range of variation in the domain of structural particles in Sinitic, based on the analysis of a convenience sample of Chinese dialects. We shall highlight some areal and genealogical trends in the distribution of these forms, and we shall also discuss some hypotheses on their origins and on their evolution. Specifically, we focus on the markers of adnominal and adverbial modification, which evolved in a similar construction, namely XP_1 – marker – (NP_2 / VP_2), and perform a similar function (i.e. they both express a relation of modification). The verb complement construction, on the other hand, is significantly different and grammaticalised in a different syntactic environment; besides, its range of variation in Sinitic has been already investigated before (Lamarre 2004).

We will show that the markers used for adnominal and adverbial modification may overlap, but this does not entail that they necessarily always derive from the same source. For adnominal modification, the most common types of markers of modification we found in our survey are:

- a. Markers with a *t*- initial, like Standard Mandarin 的 *de* and 地 *de*
- b. Markers with a velar (mostly, *k*-) initial, like Cantonese 嘅 *ge*
- c. Markers with a *n*- initial, like Kunming Mandarin *nə⁴⁴*
- d. Markers with a *l*- initial, like Heshun (Jin) 哩 *lei³¹*

These are not equally distributed across Sinitic: while the a. type is widespread in Northern China, type b. is most often found in Wu and Yue; type c. is found in Southwestern Mandarin (but may be found also in Northern China); type d. is chiefly (but not exclusively) found in Henan, Shanxi and Shandong. Also, while type a., c. and d. particles often mark both adnominal and adverbial modification, this is not usually the case for type b. particles. Markers of adverbial modification apparently have a greater degree of variety, including constructions and forms not attested for adnominal modification; also, adverbial modification is generally unmarked in some dialects (see Lin 2015).

As to the origin of these particles, we will show that this is a very debated issue, and consensus still seems to be lacking. The most often cited sources for these markers (see Feng 2004; Chen 2007; Arcodia 2017) are demonstratives (for all four types), classifiers (type b.) and localisers (type c. and d.). We will show that, while ‘ordinary’ demonstratives and classifiers are still used in some Sinitic languages to mark (adnominal) modification, localisers were used (mostly) between the Song and Ming periods to mark possession and adverbial modification (Liu 2017), and even in the Qing literature with Henan features (Feng 2004). Elaborating on the existing proposals, we shall argue that markers of adnominal and adverbial modification may sometimes arise from different sources and undergo formal merger, due to structural analogy and/or to phonetic similarity.

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Mandarin Chinese post-nuclear glides under *-er* suffixation

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The phenomenon of *-er* suffixation (儿化, *erhua*) widespread in Beijing (and surrounding area) speech, but also present in many Chinese dialects, as well as Standard Chinese, has received much attention and numerous analyses already. Here I nevertheless offer a new perspective on one particular point: the issue of the differential behavior of postnuclear glides (*j* vs. *w*) under *erhua*. (1) below summarizes the chief cases of phonological change induced by *erhua* (V is any main vowel, *r* represents the rhotic item, whether segmental or featural, depending on the particular analysis – phonetic adjustment details are ignored here):

- (1) a. V → Vr *except*: V[hi, front] → ə̃r e.g.: 湖 hu → hur, 把 ba → bar, BUT 鸡 ji → j[ə̃]r
b. Vj → Vr, Vn → Vr, Vng → V^[nas]r e.g.: 牌 pai → par, 根 gen → ger, 空 kong → k[õ]r
c. Vw → Vwr e.g.: 好 ha[w] → ha[w]r, 勾 go[w] → go[w]r

Thus, crucially, postnuclear *w* is retained, while *i* is deleted. Among the countless various analyses of *erhua*, the two most widely cited are Lin's (1989, 2007) and Duanmu's (1990, 2007). Lin accounts for the dual pattern of postnuclear glides on articulatory grounds: the forms **-ir/*-yr/*-jr* cannot exist because there is articulatory incompatibility in specifying a vocalic segment simultaneously as [front, high] and [retroflex], since the latter feature implies tongue retraction. Thus such a V is reanalysed as a glide gesture on the onset (C^j), and the rhotic item surfaces as a default mid-V + r, that is: [ə̃r], while a postnuclear glide of this type is deleted. But this account is problematic because (i) it is not clear why the alleged violation by *-j* is resolved by deletion, rather than by conversion to [ə̃r]: [a(j)ə̃r]; (ii) in several Northern dialects where *erhua* is NOT rhotic (i.e. a similar production-based, articulatory account is not available), the same differential behavior is attested between Vj and Vw diphthongs, e.g.: Wang (2018) for Hebei Mandarin, or Shi (2017) for Henan Jin; (iii) and it resorts to too many stipulations (Duanmu 2007). Duanmu's account is more principled: it assumes that *erhua* is a [+retroflex] feature under the Cor node; this feature is added if the host sound can host it (i.e., if it lacks Cor: u, o, e, ə, a, ŋ), or replaced by [r] if it cannot (= if it has its own Cor node specified: i, y, n, z, r). However, as Lee (2005) shows, *erhua* is NOT primarily a coronal feature (its primary characteristic is NOT coronal-apical curling but tongue(-root) retraction), so the distribution should be the reverse of what Duanmu predicts: coronals should be able to host this articulator feature, while non-anteriors might have to be replaced by [r]. Moreover, the *-ŋ* rhymes become ill-understood in Duanmu's account: for him, *-ŋ* should be rhotacized by an added [+retroflex] Cor, rather than replaced. **Proposal:** We should distinguish Vj from Vw: *j* is more consonantal than *w*, thus while both are in coda position lexically, *w* can be reanalysed as part of a diphthong in the nucleus (under 'pressure', such as the coda-usurpation by an *erhua* -r), while *j* cannot. Support for this view comes from the differential behavior of *j* and *w* postnuclear glides before syllables beginning with a like glide: in Vj+(0)jV sequences (*hai_yao*, *leiyu*) the coda and the prenuclear *j*- may merge into a geminate [jj], while this is very rare with *w* in *-aw* + (0)wV (*hao_wanr*, *laowo*), and practically non-existent for *-ow* + (0)wV (*gou_wu*, *dou_wo*). *Erhua* can thus essentially be analysed as the filling/overwriting of the syllable coda by [r]. Lexical codas (n, ŋ, j, w) are overwritten, with *w* salvaged by reattachment to an N-internal position. (V-nasalization by ŋ obtains prior to the coda-replacement.) The 'V[hi, front] → ə̃' change (as in 鸡儿 j[ə̃]r) is due to articulatory adjustment.

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Degree achievements in Mandarin Chinese: A comparison between 加 *jiā*+ADJ and 弄 *nòng*+ADJ verbs

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In this talk I will focus on degree achievements in Mandarin Chinese, specifically on transitive degree achievements like those in (2a-b) (BCC corpus):

- (1) a. 牛奶加热到 37 度左右[...]
niúnáǐ jiā-rè-dào sānshíqī dù zuǒyòu
milk increase-hot-up.to 37 degree approximately
'Warm the milk up to about 37° C [...]'
- b. 我用了 20 分钟把烧卖弄热。
wǒ yòng-le èrshí fēnzhōng bǎ shāomài nòng-rè
I use-PFV 20 minute OBJ steamed.dumpling make-hot
'I heated the *shaomai* up in 20 minutes.'

Both 弄 *nòng* 'make' and 加 *jiā* 'increase' have been analyzed as causative light verbs (see Basciano 2013, 2019). In particular, 弄 *nòng* 'make' is a causative light verb combining with different change of state verbs, including adjectives, while 加 *jiā* is the spell-out both of the causative component and of the increasing event in the logical representation of the complex verb. Following Hay, Kennedy & Levin (1999), Basciano (2019) represents an event like the one in 我们加宽了路面 *wǒmen jiā-kuān-le lùmiàn* 'we increase-wide-PFV road.surface, we widened the road surface' as in (2):

- (2) ∃ e, d [加 *jiā* 'increase' (宽 *kuān* 'wide' (路面 *lùmiàn* 'road surface')) (d)(e)]

Basciano (2019) observes that 弄 *nòng* 'make' may seemingly combine quite freely with adjectives, while 加 *jiā* only combines with open scale adjectives. In (1), 弄 *nòng* and 加 *jiā* combine with the same adjective, apparently with the same meaning. Following Rothstein (2008), Basciano (2019) speculates that 加 *jiā* specifies the direction of change, meaning 'cause an increase in a certain property', without specifying a value, while verbs formed with 弄 *nòng* specify a value in the property range, without specifying the direction, meaning 'cause to have the value X in the property range': 加热 *jiā-rè* 'increase-hot, heat, warm up' ('cause an increase in temperature') vs. 弄热 *nòng-rè* 'make hot' ('cause to have a temperature value in the (contextually determined) hot range').

In this talk we will address the following research questions:

- 1) Are 弄 *nòng* and 加 *jiā* interchangeable in degree achievements based on open scale adjectives? May 弄 *nòng* be freely attached to open scale adjectives?
- 2) Are 弄 *nòng* and 加 *jiā* used for different telic senses of degree achievements?

In order to answer these questions, I will explore this issue through a corpus investigation based on the BCC corpus of Modern Chinese. Through this investigation I will show that:

- 1) aspectually, 弄 *nòng* and 加 *jiā* display different properties: differently from 加 *jiā*, 弄 *nòng* cannot be found with the progressive or durative aspect marker, with 'for X time' expressions, and with the resultative 到 *dào* 'up to' (see ex. 1a).
- 2) 弄 *nòng* is generally allowed with closed-scale adjectives or with open scale adjectives which have both a comparative endstate and a standard endstate, but not with those that have only a comparative endstate.

Based on Kearns' (2007) account of degree achievements, I argue that 弄 *nòng* always marks the telic accomplishment sense, i.e. 'cause to become X' (the interpretation of the implicature is given by the

standard value of the property). In contrast, complex verbs formed with 加 *jiā* are basically atelic - they specify the direction of change without specifying a value - but also have the telic achievement sense 'cause to become X-er' (comparative endstate). Thus, when they attach to the same open scale adjective, as in (2), they convey different meanings.

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Chinese and Sino-Japanese lexical items in the Hachijō language of Japan

Due to the diffusion of *Hàn* characters and of Chinese political, scientific and cultural models during the Middle Ages, Chinese loanwords now form a significant part of the lexicon of many Eastern-Asian languages, which, following Samuel Martin (*The Phonemes of Ancient Chinese*, 1953, p. 4) are often called ‘Sino-Xenic’ languages. This statement is true for almost all the languages of Japan, with the notable exception of Ainu.

Thus, in standard Japanese, Chinese loanwords are so numerous that, for the most part, they form their own lexical category called 漢語 *kango* ‘*Hàn* words’, which is considered distinct from ‘loanwords’ *per se*, called *gairaigo* 外来語. Those *kango* are found in all semantic fields of Japanese, and are estimated to form about one third of the commonly used Japanese lexicon, and possibly more than half of the language’s lexemes. To some extent, they do have a few morphosyntactic, phonological and lexical idiosyncrasies within Japanese, but they were also ‘nativised’ and altered in many ways, and many new compounds not originally existing in Chinese were also coined within this category. Thus, they are best referred to as ‘Sino-Japanese’ words, rather than ‘Chinese loanwords’.

Similarly, the remote Hachijō language, spoken on small volcanic islands in the south east of Tōkyō, features many Chinese and Sino-Japanese lexical items.

Those are, not unlike Standard Japanese *kango*, found in various semantic fields, such as:

- daily-life objects: *hacchi* ‘bowl’ (SJ 鉢 *hachi*), *dōsoku* ‘candle’ (SJ 蠟燭 *rōsoku*), *indō* ‘ashtray’ (cognate of SJ 印籠 *inrō* ‘seal box’ / ‘pill box’), etc.
- natural species: *dēzu* ‘soybean’ (SJ 大豆 *daizu*), *renge* ‘pink wood-sorrel’ (SJ 蓮華 *renge* ‘lotus flower’), etc.
- social concepts: *bimbō* ‘poverty’ (SJ 貧乏 *bimbō*), *shōbē* ‘trade’ (SJ 商売 *shōbai*), etc.
- family sphere: *kyōdē* ‘siblings’ (SJ 兄弟 *kyōdai*), *kajoku* ‘family’ (SJ 家族 *kazoku*), etc.
- abstract concepts: *ē* ‘love’ (SJ 愛 *ai*), *jiki* ‘strength’ (SJ 力 *riki*), etc.
- religious concepts: *nebbutsu* ‘prayer to Buddha’ (念仏 SJ *nembutsu*), *yuhē* ‘mortuary tablet’ (SJ 位牌 *ihai*), etc.
- counting and dating: *ippo* ‘one long object’ (SJ 一本 *ippon*), *dēnen* ‘next year’ (SJ 来年 *rainen*), etc.

Similarly, like in standard Japanese, they also underwent various evolutions and alterations, that makes them mixed Sino-Japanese lexemes rather than mere Chinese loanwords.

The existence of those ‘Sino-Hachijō’ lexical items has long been noted and proved especially useful in the study of Hachijō’s historical phonology. Indeed, since most of them do have a clear cognate in standard Japanese and are commonly shared by all the varieties of Hachijō, they are especially useful to observe the phonetic innovations common to all Hachijō varieties, as well as to identify some of the isoglosses between them.

However, to my best knowledge, those words have so far never been investigated in any scientific study as forming a distinct lexical category within Hachijō; nor have they, as it seems, been compared with their equivalent in standard Japanese.

Therefore, this presentation will be dedicated to the description of Chinese and Sino-Japanese lexical items in Hachijō, in various aspects, such as:

- their history within Hachijō language, and their various layers of borrowings and adaptations
- their phonological structure and evolutions
- their morphosyntactic behaviour and associated markings
- their frequency of use in both ancient sources and in the contemporary language

In all those aspects, those words will also be compared to their Standard Japanese counterparts, in order to observe both the similarities and the differences between them, and to better understand the lexical structure of both languages.

Xu Shen's graphic analysis revisited

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Like other writing systems, the Chinese writing is based on a limited number of basic elements. Compared to the 26 letters of the alphabet, or the 70 hiragana and katakana signs for (modern) Japanese, the precise number of basic units is unknown in the Chinese case. It is almost never touched upon, or varies a lot, not only between specialists and corpora, but even within the same corpus. In trying to elucidate the reason for such a different treatment in the case of the Chinese script, one cannot but focus on the first author who developed a proper analysis of the script.

When Xu Shen wrote the *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字, the first dictionary of Chinese characters compiled at the end of the first century, he provided a systematic analysis of more than 9 000 characters. Considering that their structure was best brought out by the older style of graphs known as the small seal script, he based his analysis on this older style, which kept graphemes more clearly apart.

If compound characters can include more than 10 basic graphemes, Xu Shen basically only retained 2 main constituents to which he attributed a phonetic or a semantic function. Most characters (about 86% in *Shuo wen*) consist in the combination of a semantic and a phonetic constituent (形聲字). In these cases, Xu Shen's distinction between semantic and phonetic constituents considerably simplified the graphic analysis. Once a constituent is attributed a phonetic function, there is no need to try to understand its meaning in a character (or provide *ad hoc* interpretations for it).

But what about semantic compound characters without identifiable phonetic constituent, included in the other 14% characters in *Shuo wen jie zi*? The study of semantic compound characters is more complex and, at times, more subjective, but it allows a better understanding of Xu Shen's motivation. I shall present the different strategies and formulae (从二 X, 从反 X, X 省, 从 X 持 Y, etc..) employed by Xu Shen in these cases, with concrete examples, and discuss the interpretation of the relative location of the constituents (such as for example in 安: 从女在宀下). The latter as well as the different kinds of motivated explanations, Xu Shen often adds, show that the graphic analysis is designed to ascertain the gloss of the character. We will see that even though Xu Shen provided some graphic analyses with 3, 4 or even 5 constituents, in most cases, he basically retained 2 main semantic constituents. Systematic and sound as it may appear, Xu Shen's analysis in terms of constituents, clearly motivated by the semantic interpretation of the characters, has eluded the fundamental question concerning the basic units of the Chinese writing system.

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Abstract: Cartographic fieldwork on sentence-final particles – Three challenges and some ways around them

Sentence-final particles (SFPs) relate to the cartographic enterprise (esp. Cinque 1999) insofar as they are able, and indeed tend to, cluster in a fixed order in many languages. However, although a comparative approach is as integral to cartography as it is to other branches of generative theory, I argue that the cross-linguistic comparison of SFPs has been impeded by a number of empirical difficulties. I then propose and briefly evaluate several ways to cope with these difficulties.

I start by focussing on three challenges associated with collecting data on SFPs, demonstrating each with examples from my own fieldwork on different varieties of Yue and Min Chinese (Sino-Tibetan), as well as Singlish (English creole, Singapore).

The first of these challenges is that many SFPs express sets of nuanced meanings, which are not always amenable to cross-linguistic mapping. This makes it challenging to determine if two SFPs from different languages are semantically similar enough to be assigned to the same semantically motivated functional head, encumbering the pursuit of the ‘one feature – one head’ approach characteristic of cartography (Baunaz & Lander 2018).

Second, because SFP behaviour is affected by both syntax and pragmatic context, SFP clusters judged unacceptable in a certain context cannot be automatically deemed syntactically unviable, for they may be idiomatic in other contexts. This inability to definitively rule out SFP combinations would hamper any attempt to work out the relative order of SFPs.

Adding to the same problem is a third challenge, namely the pervasive inter-speaker variation in what SFP combinations are judged acceptable in what pragmatic contexts.

In response to each challenge, I propose coping strategies and outline their benefits and drawbacks.

I commence by touching on two ways of facilitating the cross-linguistic comparison of SFP data. The first is to classify the SFPs elicited for each language into a set of semantically/ functionally delineated categories designed to be cross-linguistically relevant, e.g. tense/ aspect-related, adverbial (e.g. expressing restrictive or additive focus), conveying illocutionary force, and speaker attitude-related (e.g. Li 2006 on Sinitic languages, Le 2015 on Vietnamese). Such a system, coupled with facts on the relative order and co-occurrence restrictions of SFPs in each language, could be used to determine if SFPs provisionally assigned to each semantic group might plausibly be associated with one functional head. Another strategy is to work with native speakers of more than one language featuring SFPs, exploring how they render contextualised utterances containing SFPs in each language, and possible differences to baseline monolingual speakers in how they use SFPs. Such a strategy may yield clues as to whether semantically similar SFPs in different languages are more closely associated in the mind of a bilingual speaker than those which are semantically distinct, and further serve the making out of functional heads based on meaning.

Next, to reduce the influence of pragmatic factors on speaker judgement, corpus data could be collected and analysed to provide plausible contexts for SFP combinations of interest. The same data could be tweaked to test for the acceptability of other SFPs or SFP combinations, minimising the risk of sentences being judged degraded due to inappropriate contextualisation on the part of the researcher. Although this method does not definitively demonstrate which SFPs or combinations of SFPs are (un)acceptable under which circumstances, it has the additional advantage of potentially alerting researchers to unexpected occurrences of SFPs or their combinations.

Thirdly, to cope with inter-speaker variation, judgements should be elicited from as many native speakers belonging to the same speech community as is feasible. This holds especially of SFP clusters that are not universally accepted. Simple tabulation and/ or more advanced tools such as the Likert scale could be used to quantify inter-speaker variation (cf. Vander Klok 2012 on modal markers in Javanese). Also, I demonstrate that simultaneously eliciting sociolinguistic data from the same pool of speakers would enable the researcher to make out if syntactic reasons exist for certain clusters being more acceptable than others, or whether other factors are at work.

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Corrélation entre l'absence d'article et la divergence lexicale

– comparaison entre le chinois mandarin contemporain et les langues à articles, l'anglais et le français

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Contrairement aux langues à articles comme le français (*le, la, les, un, une, des, du, etc.*) et l'anglais (*the, a, an*), le chinois (mandarin) ne possède pas d'articles morphologiquement marqués (mais il connaît d'autres déterminants !).

Löbner (1985, 2011) distingue quatre types de noms différents : a. les noms sortaux (*livre, eau*) ; b. les noms individuels (*soleil, température*) ; c. les noms relationnels (*soeur, branche*) ; d. les noms (lexicalement) fonctionnels qui sont non ambigus référentiellement (*père, tête*). (Voir aussi Barker 1995, Partee & Borschev 2003)

D'après lui (2011, p20), il existe un lien intime entre les types de noms et les types de déterminants: certains modes de détermination nécessitent certains types de noms. Pourtant les noms peuvent subir des glissements (shifts) coercitifs en raison de la détermination *non-congruente*. L'auteur (2011, p.22) distingue trois niveaux de *shift*: « a. level 0 semantic interprétation ; b. level 1 adjustment at type level: application of general lexical meaning shifts ; c. level 2 adjustment at token level: application of shifts that draw on particular contextual information. »

Nous constatons qu'il existe en anglais et en français de nombreux noms polysémiques qui peuvent être attribués à différents types d'entités, quand il s'agit des *shift* de niveaux 0 et 1: à un niveau sémantique (niveau 0), on trouve des noms polysémiques, *child* (fr. *enfant*): « descendant direct de » vs. « non-adulte » ; Grâce au lexique dynamique (level 1), on voit la distinction classique massif/comptable : \emptyset *glass* vs. *a glass* (fr. *du verre* vs. *un verre*).

Duval (2015) argumente qu'une telle polysémie est essentiellement due à la présence de différentes catégories d'articles qui ont tous leur « interprétation » préférée: un article partitif (ou l'absence d'article, un « article zéro ») va généralement de pair avec une « interprétation » massive (comme \emptyset *glass*, \emptyset *water* ou \emptyset *sand*) tandis qu'un article indéfini est le déterminant le plus congruent avec un interprétation sortale (*a glass, a dog, a house* etc.). Pourtant, dans une langue comme le mandarin, à la place des articles, on recourt à la divergence lexicale dans la sélection d'un type d'entité: la distinction massif/comptable 玻璃 *bōli* vs. 杯子 *bēizi* « \emptyset *glass* vs. *a glass* », 月球 *yuèqiú* vs. 卫星 *wèixīng* « *la Lune* vs. *une lune* », 乙烯基 *yǐxījī* vs. 黑胶唱片 *hēijiāo chàngpiàn* « \emptyset *vinyl* vs. *a vinyl* », etc.

Inspirées d'observations faites par Duval (2013, 2015) sur le coréen qui est une langue sans articles, nous présenterons dans cette communication les données issues du lexique chinois et les comparerons avec celles observées en anglais et en français. Afin de soutenir une corrélation typologique cohérente entre l'absence d'article et la divergence lexicale, nous allons montrer que des polysèmes nominaux en chinois ont des comportements beaucoup plus contraints que ceux en anglais ou en français: les transferts de l'interprétation massive à l'interprétation comptable sont très rares, par exemple.

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Chinese Inter-clausal Anaphora in Conditionals: A Linear Regression Study

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Chinese inter-clausal anaphora, as in *Wosuiranxiang fa cai, keshibuganmaoxian*. ‘I although want to get rich, yet don’t dare to take risks’ is considered ‘rather striking’ (Chao, 1968) because of the way the subject can be fronted or not, which might come from reference patterns of the two clausal subjects. Previous corpus investigations (Xu (1995), Chen (2016) and others) have suggested a direct relation between reference patterns (disjoint reference or co-reference between the two subjects) and the position of the subject. The present study explores other factors that might play a role in predicting either the structure or the reference patterns.

Corpus data for 25 conditional subordinators are grouped according to logic relations from Huang and Liao (2002). 8007 sentences were subject to the final statistical analysis, performed by means of linear-models. In model 1, it is found out that in predicting structure, the genre Newspaper is less likely than Literature in getting fronted structure; disjoint reference pattern is less likely to indicate fronted structure than conjoint reference pattern; NP in the first clausal subject position is more likely to be associated with fronted structure than other pronouns or wh-words or personal pronouns; NP in the second clausal subject position is more likely to result in fronted structure than personal pronouns but less likely than zero pronoun in the same place; fronted subject in clause two is more likely to lead to fronted structure than un-fronted one.

Our second model studies variables that have an influence on reference pattern. The genre Newspaper is less likely than Literature in predicting disjoint reference patterns; fronted structure is less likely than un-fronted structure in arriving at disjoint reference patterns; NP in first clausal subject is more likely to lead to disjoint reference patterns than other pronouns or wh-words or personal pronouns; NP in second clausal subject is more likely to target disjoint reference pattern than other pronouns or wh-words or personal pronouns or zero; fronted subject in second clause is more likely to relate to disjoint reference than un-fronted subject in the same place. Motivations include accessibility, accumulated accessibility, topicality, contrastive topic, and others. Such models are probably applicable to other types of inter-clausal anaphora.

Key words: Inter-clausal anaphora; conditionals; Linear Regression Models

Differentiating two types of Mandarin unconditionals: Their internal and external syntax

An empirical observation Lin (1996) makes about Mandarin unconditionals is that *buguan* ‘no matter’ in the antecedent is usually optional (1). He proposes that *buguan* has a null counterpart, and unconditionals with or without an overt *buguan* share identical internal syntax as they both involve embedded interrogatives. Using novel data, this paper challenges this analysis, and argues that Mandarin unconditionals with *buguan* (“headed”) and those without *buguan* (“bare”) differ from each other regarding both their internal and external syntax. In particular, I propose: $\boxed{[i]}$ only headed but not bare antecedents are CPs with a [+q] C⁰ and a full-fledged left periphery, supporting Haegeman’s (2003) truncation approach to adverbial clauses lacking main clause phenomena; $\boxed{[ii]}$ bare antecedents are externally merged at Spec *douP* (à la Lin 1996, Constant & Gu 2010, Tsai 2015, a.o.) whereas headed antecedents may have a lower merge site, providing cross-linguistic evidence for Haegeman’s (2003) and Endo & Haegeman’s (2019) proposal that the external syntax of adverbial clauses correlates with their internal syntax.

- (1) (*buguan*) **ta-ziji_i** de jiaren shuo shenme, **Lisi_i** dou hui bangzhu bieren.
 no matter 3SG-SELF DE relative say what, L. DOU will help others
 ‘No matter what relatives of himself_i say, Lisi_i will help others.’

Under proposal $\boxed{[i]}$, several contrasts are understandable. For instance, the “interrogative adverb” *daodi* is only compatible with headed antecedents (2). This follows directly under Huang & Ochi’s (2004) claim that *daodi* is licensed within the scope of a C_[+q] and my proposal that only headed antecedents have C_[+q].

- (2) ***(buguan)** Zhangsan **daodi** mai shenme, Lisi dou hui fuqian.
 no matter Z. DAODI buy what L. DOU will pay.money
 ‘No matter what the hell Zhangsan buys, Lisi will pay.’

This approach also receives dialectal support from Wuhu and Nanjing Mandarin, where a yes-no question can be formed with a pre-verbal question particle *ha* (Wuhu) or *a* (Nanjing) (3a), and they both require an overt *pegun* (the cognate of *buguan*) when occur in an unconditional antecedent (3b).

- (3) a. ta **ha/a** hunxi Lisi? b. ***(pegun)** ta **ha/a** hunxi Lisi, wo dou hen gaoxin
 3SG Q like L. no matter 3SG Q like L. 1SG DOU very happy
 ‘Does s/he like Lisi?’ ‘No matter whether Zhangsan likes Lisi, I’m very happy.’

Furthermore, the lack of a full-fledged left periphery explains the incompatibility between a bare antecedent and elements that are independently argued to be in the C domain. For example, only headed but not bare antecedents allow evaluative adverbs like *qishi* ‘actually’ or *pianpian* ‘oppositely’, and epistemic modals like *dagai* ‘probably’ (4), all of which are argued to occur in the C domain (Yang 2015, Tsai 2015).

- (4) ***(buguan)** **qishi/pianpian/dagai** shui hui lai, Lisi dou gaoxing.
 no matter actually/oppositely/probably who will come L. DOU happy
 ‘No matter who actually/oppositely/probably will come, Lisi is happy.’

Meanwhile, extending the analysis of the external syntax of English conditionals (Iatridou 1991, Haegeman 2003, Bhatt & Pancheva 2006, a.o.) to Mandarin unconditionals, I assume that both headed and bare antecedents are externally merged within the consequent and then fronted to the canonical pre-consequent position, supported by reconstruction effects of anaphoric binding illustrated in (1) (vs. Pan & Paul 2018). However, I argue that headed and bare antecedents differ in their merge sites. Proposal $\boxed{[ii]}$ offers a straightforward account for interactions between word order variations and the occurrence of *dou*: (a) only headed antecedents but not bare antecedents can be post-consequent, and *dou* is not obligatory in the presence of a headed antecedent (5a); whereas (b) bare antecedents require an obligatory *dou* (5b).

- (5) a. Lisi kending hui hen gaoxing, ***(buguan)** shui xihuan ta.
 L. definitely will very happy no matter who like 3SG
 ‘Lisi definitely will be very happy, no matter who likes him.’

- b. shui xihuan ta, Lisi kending ***(dou)** hui hen gaoxing.

Moreover, proposal $\boxed{[ii]}$ accounts for the fact that only headed but not bare antecedents are compatible with backward VP ellipsis: only the headed antecedent may have a reconstruction site within the consequent that is low enough for VP ellipsis to be licensed (6a), whereas since a bare antecedent is externally merged at Spec *douP*, which is always higher than *vP* of the consequent, VP ellipsis can never be licensed (6b).

- (6) a. **[buguan]** Zhangsan ken-bu-ken Δ _i, Lisi dou ken jiban *t_i*.
 no matter Z. be.willing.to-NEG-be.willing.to L. DOU can work.overtime
 ‘No matter whether Zhangsan is willing to or not, Lisi is willing to work overtime.’
 b. ***[Zhangsan ken-bu-ken Δ]_i, Lisi *t_i* dou ken jiban.**

Aspect, Evidentiality, and Modality in Shuhi

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This paper presents a new analysis of verbal enclitics and auxiliary verbs that encode aspect, evidentiality, and modality in Shuhi (a.k.a. Shixing, Xumi, ISO 639-3 *sxg*), a Tibeto-Burman language of Southwest China. Shuhi is underdescribed, and the few previous studies of its verbal enclitics and auxiliary verbs differ considerably in their analysis. To give one example, the auxiliary verb *dzaŋ* is analyzed as an indirect evidential marker (Huang and Renzeng 1991), a direct evidential marker (Sun et al. 2014), and a durative marker (Chirkova 2009, 2017).

The analysis in this paper is based on a corpus of 80 interlinear texts that include, among others, translations from Mandarin Chinese, elicitation with non-verbal stimuli, personal narratives, folk stories, procedural texts, conversations, as collected with over twenty speakers from the three main sub-varieties of the language of the upper, middle, and lower reaches of Shuiluo River (the corpus is available at elararchive.org). In addition to providing an updated analysis of verbal enclitics and auxiliary verbs that encode aspect, evidentiality, and modality, the scope of the corpus (the range of genres and the number and provenance of speakers) facilitates addressing two likely causes for the notable differences in previous descriptions of Shuhi. Specifically:

(i) differences in data sets used for analysis: making greater use of elicitation from Mandarin Chinese in Sun (1983), Sun et al. (2014), and Huang & Renzeng (1991), as opposed to greater reliance on spontaneous discourse in Chirkova (2009, 2017)

(ii) differences between the sub-varieties of Shuhi, possibly reflecting contact influence from different languages: Sun (1983) and Sun et al. (2014) focusing primarily on the sub-varieties of the lower and middle reaches of Shuiluo River, which are in contact with the Pumi and Mosuo languages; and Huang & Renzeng (1991) and Chirkova (2009, 2017) focusing on the sub-variety of the upper reaches of Shuiluo River, which is in contact with Kami Tibetan.

The present paper presents a system of aspect, evidentiality, and modality in Shuhi that is more elaborate than previously recognized in terms of the number of grammatical elements and their interrelationships. The system is furthermore argued to be (i) shared by all sub-varieties of Shuhi, and (ii) both similar to and different from the corresponding systems in its contact languages. In relation to past situations, Shuhi exhibits a complex interplay between the lexical semantics of the verb (controllable and non-controllable, internal and observable state verbs), aspect, and the egophoricity-evidentiality parameter, as has also been commonly noticed in the neighboring languages (e.g. Sun 1993; Lidz 2010; Tournadre 2011; Tournadre & LaPolla 2014; Daudey 2014). In relation to non-past situations, on the other hand, Shuhi has a more elaborate system of epistemic modality than its contact languages, as well as a distinct grammaticalized category of irrealis (counterfactual conditionals, optatives, recommendations). The presentation details the morphological structure of the verbal paradigm, and the meanings of individual markers, their interplay, and their correlations with directional prefixes.

In view of the notable differences in previous descriptions of Shuhi, the presentation concludes with reflections on available methodologies of data collection and analysis, and strategies that could be most adapted for recovering complex linguistic structures at the intersection of evidentiality system with other semantic and pragmatic systems in underdescribed languages.

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Nouns and verbs' syntactic shift: some evidences against Old Chinese parts-of-speech system's flexibility (analysis of Lunheng I A.D.)

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Despite the ongoing discussions on Chinese parts of speech, specifically Old Chinese, (Guō, Ruì 2002), (Sun, Linlin 2020), (Zádrapa, Luká 2011), there are still many gaps to fill in. The most well studied periods on this issue are the period of modern Chinese and early classical Chinese (V - III centuries BC), while the object of our research is a less studied period - the end of the late classical (II century BC - II century AD) (Kryukov and Huang 1978).

Due to the absence of inflectional morphology, morphological analysis in question of defining parts of speech seems rather impractical. The rigid structure of an SVO-type sentence makes syntactic analysis almost the only way to indicate lexeme's part of speech.

Accurately determined syntactic position markers for noun and verbal lexemes, such as reflexive 自 *zì* or non-grammaticalized yet 被 *bèi*, the third person pronoun 之 *zhī* and its homonym the dependence marker 之 *zhī*, can help to make an automatic algorithm, differentiating noun and verbal lexemes.

Ten groups of syntactic position markers were chosen for noun (e.g. transitive verbs, possessive pronouns, demonstratives etc) and verbal lexemes (e.g. negative adverbs, modal verbs, verbal conjunctions etc), eighty-four thousand two hundred forty-one clauses were parsed on the basis of Lunheng, the percentage error is close to one percent, when the algorithm marked one lexeme as a noun and a verb simultaneously. However, the problem of unmarked lexemes, where the syntactic function can only be determined in the context remains unsolved.

As a result, we have got not only a list of marked noun and verbal lexemes, but also a list of lexemes, considered to be noun or verbal, which changed their noun (or verbal) syntactic function to the opposite. The percentage ratio of such lexemes turned out to be almost the same in both groups, close to 25%: noun → verb, verb → noun. Some nouns can be found which never act as a verb and never join up any of the verb position markers, there special features may give a clue to a prototype noun features in Old Chinese. Yet, there every single verb can be in a noun position and join up with the noun position markers.

Such cases form a table of dependencies, where, for example, verbal lexemes in a verb position are more willing to attach to verb position markers than noun lexemes in a verb position. The percentage of verb syntactic position markers' compatibility drops sharply when they interact not with the verbs in the verb positions, but with the nouns in the verb position, yet we can't say the same about noun syntactic position markers' compatibility with the verbs in the nominal positions. All this proves once again that the derivation of nouns from verbs is characteristic process of The Sino-Tibetan languages, whereas the reverse type is exceedingly rare (Benedict 1972).

These facts may also indicate a different functionality of noun and verbal lexemes, despite the fact that both nouns and verbs can change their syntactic position in a clause staying unmarked. So there still a difference between nouns and verbs, and some dependencies can be found. It cannot be said that the parts-of-speech system in Old Chinese, specifically the period of the I century AD, is absolutely flexible when noun and verb lexemes occasionally change their syntactic function to the opposite showing no difference in the range of functioning.

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Bridge and Factive Verbs: differences from an Information Structural Perspective

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Substantial evidence has been provided that the licensing of null subjects (NS) in Chinese depends on the creation of anaphoric chains, based on an AGREE relation between local links, which is crucially headed by a specific type of Topic, the so-called Aboutness-shift Topic (henceforth, A-Topic, cf. Frascarelli 2007, Frascarelli and Casentini 2019).

Topic chains have different characterizations depending on the type of matrix verb. In particular, bridge and factive verbs (cf. Emonds 2004, Heycock 2006) are distinguished, among other things, for the possibility of licensing an A-Topic in their embedded C-domain (Bianchi and Frascarelli 2010). Specifically, A-Topics can be realized in the complement clause of a bridge verb as is shown in (1). Notice that, since Topics are located in the C-domain, the subject position is assumed to be filled by a NS, whose interpretation depends on the Topic chain created by the A-Topic. The target sentence is preceded by a context (in square brackets):

- (1) [Zai huiyi qijian Hongliang turan zhan-qi-lai pao le chu.]
In meeting time Hongliang abruptly stand up run PERF go out
‘[During the meeting, Hongliang stood up abruptly and ran out of the room.]’

[Zhangsan]_kA-Topic [e]_k shuo [<Hongliang_j>]_{silent A-Topic} [e]_{j/*k} yao qu jie ta qizi.
Zhangsan [e] say Hongliang [e] have to go pick up 3.SG wife
‘[Zhangsan]_k [e]_k said [<Hongliang_j>]_{silent A-Topic} [e]_{j/*k} has to go and pick up his wife.’

As we can see, the NS can only be co-referent with *Hongliang*, showing that it is the most local A-Topic in the relevant structure.

On the other hand, A-Topics are not allowed in the complement of a factive verb. Indeed, if we consider the interpretation provided by informants for sentence (2) below, the NS is still interpreted as coreferent with the matrix A-Topic, even though *Hongliang* is proposed in the context as the most feasible discourse antecedent.

- (2) [Hongliang gaosu Zhangsan ta zuijin you kunnan,
Hongliang tell Zhangsan 3SG lately have difficulty
ta shi-ye le erqie ta nü'er Sunli xiang chu-guo xuexi.]
3SG lose-job PERF and 3SG daughter Sunli wish go-abroad study
‘[Hongliang said to Zhangsan that he has been having a very difficult period, he lost his job and his daughter would like to go abroad for her studies.]’

[Zhangsan]_kA-Topic [e]_k hen yihan [<Hongliang_j>]_{silent A-Topic} [e]_{j/*k} bu neng gei Sunli qian.
Zhangsan [e]_k very regret Hongliang [e] NEG can give Sunli money
‘[Zhangsan]_kA-Topic regrets that [<Hongliang_j>]_{silent A-Topic} [e]_{j/*k} can't borrow her money.’

Specifically, the statistical analysis carried out on the results of the present experiment supports this hypothesis, showing that the Chinese informants who collaborated selected *Hongliang* in (1) as the feasible antecedent for the relevant NS (M: 0.2 SD: 0.9), rather than *Zhangsan*, $t(96) = 2.3$, $p = 0.03$. On the contrary, they selected *Zhangsan* as co-referent of the relevant NS (M: 0.6 SD: 1) in (2), rather than *Hongliang* $t(96) = 2.7$, $p = 0.01$.

These examples thus support the hypothesis that the antecedent of a NS in a radical language like Chinese must be the A-Topic heading a topic chain, like in consistent and partial pro-drop languages (Frascarelli 2007, Frascarelli 2018). Furthermore, in line with previous works on this subject, a crucial distinction between bridge and factive verbs must be also assumed in Chinese, affecting the creation of topic chains and, consequently, the interpretation of NSs.

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Prenasalization in Longjia

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Longjia is a Sino-Tibetan language that was formerly spoken in Western Guizhou, China. It is related to Caijia (e.g., GMSWSB 1982: 110-125, LPSZ 2003: 184f., Bo 2004, Hsiu 2018, Lü 2020) and thus could belong to an archaic branch of Sinitic (e.g., Wu & Shen 2010, Sagart 2011). The Longjia are classified as Bai minority but underwent language shift to Southeastern Mandarin towards the end of the 20th century. Available materials are limited and not always reliable. They are by and large restricted to a brief sketch that exists in a printed (GMSWSB 1982: 22-43) and a handwritten version, which contains several typos (GMSGL). There are brief word lists that contain typographic problems (CGZZ 2004) or were written with the help of Chinese characters (Zhao et al. 1985 [1926]: 362f., Hsiu 2013).

This study reports the rediscovery of handwritten field notes from the 1980s that have never been published before. These materials, originally collected by Zhang Jimin 张济民 and Li Juewei 李珺伟 in 1982 in Dafang county, were acquired in an antiquarian bookshop in Guiyang in 2020. They are much more extensive (about 175 pages), are written with the help of an exact phonetic notation, and do not exhibit the problems of the published materials. To make the materials accessible to the scientific community, they are currently being prepared for publication.

After a brief introduction to the available data and the newly discovered materials, this talk addresses the feature of prenasalization, which will serve as an illustration of the value and importance of the field notes. Prenasalized consonants are an areal feature of Mainland Southeast Asia (e.g., Ratliff 2015) and Longjia exhibits several prenasalized plosives (Table 1).

Table 1: Examples for prenasalization in Longjia

Meaning	Dafang Longjia	Interpretation
wind	mpiaŋ ⁵⁵	bilabial [m̥p]
bean	ntau ⁵⁵	alveolar [n̥t]
tree	n̥tu ⁵⁵	retroflex [n̥ʈ]
skirt'	nkui ⁵⁵	velar [ŋk]

Prenasalization is absent from Caijia (Table 2). In a few cases, Caijia exhibits a voiced instead of the expected voiceless plosive, e.g. *pia*³³ ~ *bia*³³ ‘white’ (Longjia *mpɛ*³³), which could be a relic of a prenasalized consonant.

Table 2: Potential cognates of Longjia and Caijia (Lü 2020) with and without prenasalization

Meaning	Dafang Longjia	Hezhang Caijia
fat	mpei ⁵⁵	py ²¹
wind	mpiaŋ ⁵⁵	pã ³³
to ask	mpia ⁵⁵	pia ³³
to fly	mpei ⁵⁵	py ³³

Prenasalization in Longjia appears to have different origins but at least in some cases, it could go back to Old Chinese (Table 3). Several exceptions that are still in need of an explanation will be discussed during the, e.g. OC *b^ʳrak 白 ‘white’ (Mandarin *bái*).

Table 3: Potential cognates of Longjia and Old Chinese (Baxter & Sagart 2014) with prenasalization

Meaning	Dafang Longjia	Old Chinese	Mandarin
bean	ntau ⁵⁵	*[N.t]ʰo-s 豆	dòu
to carry in the arms, ...	mpau ⁵⁵	*[m-p]ʰuʔ 抱	bào
to carry on the back, ...	mpa ³³	*m-p ^ʰ ək-s 背	bēi
tree	n̥tu ⁵⁵	*m-toʔ-s 树	shù

The study concludes with an extensive survey of Western Guizhou, showing areal and typological parallels of Longjia to surrounding languages, such as Dafang Gelao *mpɛ*¹³ ‘mouth’ (Dafang Longjia *mpiaŋ*⁵⁵).

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A Study on the Old Tibetan Manuscript IOL Tib J 433-2:
Transliteration, Translation and Commentary

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Abstracts:

This paper focuses on a so-called “pre-canonized” Old Tibetan manuscript serving as the manual (Tib. *cho ga*) of building the *stūpa*, which is believed to be translated from the Sanskrit text titled as **Samantamukha-praveśa-raśmi-vimaloṣṇīṣa-prabhāsa-dhāraṇī-vacanasūtrāntoddhṛtāṣṭottara-śatacaityāntara-pañcacaitya-nirvapaṇa-vidhi* (Reciting the Dhāraṇī of the Immaculate Light from the Buddha-Crown entering All-gates, and the manual of building 108 or 5 stūpas, extracted from the Sūtrapīṭaka).

To begin with, the full transliteration, translation and commentary of the manuscript are presented as the usual procedure;

Furthermore, two parallel “canonized” *sūtras* in the bsTan ’gyur of the *Tibetan Tripitaka* are compared throughout the analysis with the manuscript and themselves, of which mistakes or misunderstanding happened during the circulation, but the parallel texts offer more liability and opportunity to carry out the right understanding; the critical editions of the two parallel texts are therefore demonstrated after comparing with sDe dge, Pe cin, gSer bris ma, sNar thang, Co ne, dPe bsdur ma and so forth different canonical versions for further studies.

Based on the comparison, a further investigation of the linguistical change is stated at the same time, which it is also helpful for us to see the development of the Tibetan language at the pure linguistic level, viz. some of the particular changes of the Tibetan words forms transforming from Old Tibetan into Classical Tibetan. For example, the aspirated Labial *pha* and the unaspirated Labial *pa* exist both in this manuscript, which states that this manuscript might had been written during the period when the voiced and the voiceless consonants were still interchangeable. That is to say, it was on the period when the Tibetan language itself was experiencing the differentiation between Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan. Following this a search for the authorship of this manuscript is examined to show whether or not the author “Bodhisatwa” recorded in the colophon could be Śāntarakṣita, then the time of authoring the text of this manuscript should not be late than A.D. 788 when Śāntarakṣita still lives.

On the syntax of Pseudo-Possessive Constructions in Chinese: a derivation by sideward movement

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The present work argues for a base-generation analysis for the pseudo-possessive construction (PPC) in Chinese. Central to PPC is the syntax-semantics mismatch. As in (1), the subjects *ta* ‘he’ and *Zhangsan* and the objects *laoshi* ‘teacher’ and *ke* ‘lesson’ are semantically related as subject-predicate by a possessive marker in a nominal phrase.

- (1) a. *Ta-de laoshi dang-de hao.* b. *Zhangsan-de ke shang-de xueshengmen hunhunyushui.*
 his teacher act-De well Zhangsan’s course teach-De students sleepy
 ‘He acts well as a teacher.’ ‘Zhangsan’s course makes the students feel sleepy.’

Previous analyses of PPC are classified into two types: the reanalysis account (Pan and Lu 2011) and the verb raising account (Huang 2008, Tang 2009, 2010). However, neither of these accounts is plausible. On the one hand, the reanalysis account treats PPC on a par with verb copy constructions or topic constructions. The possessive marker either replaces the verb between *ta* and *laoshi* in (2a), or is inserted between the topic *ta* and the subject *laoshi*, as in (2b). However, this account fails to specify the motivation of *de*-insertion, which transforms a VP into a DP.

- (2) a. *Ta dang laoshi dang-de hao.* b. *Ta, Top laoshi dang-de hao.*
 he act teacher act-De well he teacher act-De well
 ‘He acts well as a teacher.’ ‘As for him, he acts well as a teacher.’
 c. *Ta-de laoshi dang-de hao.*
 his teacher act-De well
 ‘He acts well as a teacher.’

On the other hand, central to the verb movement analysis is to nominalize the verb relating *ta* and *laoshi*. Huang (2008) takes the nominalized phrase as a gerundive, as in (3a); while Tang (2009) analyzes it as a derived nominal, as in (3b). Nevertheless, neither of the nominalization operations is appropriate, as gerundives are rather verbal than nominal, while derived nominals are not derived forms (Chomsky 1970).

- (3) a. [_{VP} *ta-de v*_{do}-dang* [_{GerundiveP} ~~*ta-de Gerundive*~~ [_{VP} *laoshi V* (de hao)]]]_o.
 b. [_{VP2} [_{NomP} *ta-de Nom-e* [_{VP1} *V1-e laoshi*]] V2-dang de hao]

In this article, we argue for a sideward movement analysis for PPC. Specifically, the possessive nominal is base generated in an independent workspace. Two ideas are embedded in the current analysis. First, central to PPC is the *V-de* phrase. Following den Dikken (2006), Huang et al. (2009), and Bartos (2019), we take resultative *V-de* phrases as full clauses, as in (4a); and descriptive *V-de* phrases as small clauses headed by a Relator head, as in (4b).

- (4) a. *Zhangsan_i pao de* [_{CP} *C pro_i hen lei*] b. *Lisi* [_{RelatorP} [_{VP} *pao*] Relator-de [_{Predicate} *kuai*]]
 run De very tired run De fast
 ‘Zhangsan ran and as a result he got tired.’ ‘Lisi runs fast.’

Second, no syntax-semantics mismatch is involved in PPC, as the possessive structure is not obligatorily related to possession. As in (5), *Zhangsan* can be interpreted as the person who possesses, cooks, sells, buys, or orders the dish.

- (5) *Zhangsan-de cai hao-chi.* (Zhangsan’s dish=the dish that Zhangsan has/cooks/sells/buys/orders)
 Zhangsan’s dish good-taste
 ‘Zhangsan’s dish tastes well.’

Based on the above discussion, the PPCs in (1) are derived as in (6). The object is copied after being introduced in the structure. Afterwards, the two copies of the object merge with two different heads in two workspaces. One copy merges with a verb, while the other parallelly merges with the possessive marker and forms the DP structure.

- (6) a. [_{VP} [_{DP} *Zhangsan-de laoshi*] v-dang [_{RelatorP} [_{VP} ~~*V-dang laoshi*~~] Relator-de hao]]
 Zhangsan’s teacher act de well

b. [_{VP} [_{DP} Zhangsan-de ke] v-shang [_{ResultP} [_{VP} V-shang ke] Result-de [_{CP} xueshengmen hunhunyushui]]]
Zhangsan's course teach De students sleepy

Key words: Pseudo-possessive, *V-de* phrase, syntax-semantics mismatch, sideward movement

Revisiting postverbal modals in Cantonese

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Chinese modals have received much attention recently in the syntactic literature, either under the cartographic approach (Tsai 2015, 2017) or within the ‘modals as verb’ approach (Lin, 2011, 2012). Most existing studies focus on preverbal modals, while little attention has been given to postverbal modals within these new frameworks (but see Cheng & Sybesma 2004). This paper examines postverbal modals in Cantonese along the line of Tsai (2015, 2017) and identifies the topography of postverbal modals and their structural positions. I argue that (i) the modals argued to be realized in different layers of functional categories (ModPs) by preverbal modals (1) can find their postverbal counterparts (2); (ii) postverbal modals are overt realizations of functional heads of ModPs.

(1) Top>ModP^{Epistemic}> TP> ModP^{Deontic}>ModP^{Capacity}>vP> ModP^{Dynamic}>VP (Tsai, 2015, 2017)

(2) (a) Keoidei zyu-**ngaang** nei-gaan uk. (b) (Gangeoi kwaiding) Keoidei zyu-**dak₁** nei-gaan uk.
 3PL. stay-NGAANG this-CL house along rule 3PL. stay-DAK₁this-CL house
 ‘They must stay in this house.’ They can(=are allowed to) stay in this house

[epistemic] (according to rules.) [ought-to-do deontic]
 (c) Keoidei zyu-**dou2** nei-gaan uk. (d) (Zung-zo zoeng), Keoidei zyu-**dak₂** nei-gaan uk.
 3PL. stay-DOU2 this-CL house get-PERF prize 3PL. stay-DAK₂ this-CL house
 ‘They can(=have capacity to) stay in this house.’ ‘They can(=are able to) stay in this house’
 [ought-to-be deontic] (because of a prize.) [dynamic]

First, the postverbal *ngaang* (Tang, 2003) in (2a) is interpreted as an epistemic modal (which often co-occurs with epistemic elements like *sat* ‘definitely’) above TP (hence the ungrammaticality in (3)), different from *dak₁* (2b), *dou2* (2c), and *dak₂* (2d), which are under TP such that they can be negated by *m*. (Note that the position of *m* varies.)

(3) Keoidei (sat/jatding) (m) zyu (m)-***ngaang/-dak₁/-dou2/-dak₂** nei-gaan uk.
 3PL. definitely (NEG) stay-(NEG) NGAANG/DAK₁/DOU2/DAK₂ this-CL house
 ‘They definitely*must not/are not allowed/should not/are unable to stay in this house.’

Second, deontic modals *dak₁* (2b) and *dou2* (2c) can be distinguished from dynamic modal *dak₂* (2d) based on their compatibility with the degree adverb *hou* ‘very’. Only dynamic modals *dak₂* allow *hou* ‘very’, while deontic modals *dak₁* and *dou2* cannot co-occur with *hou* ‘very’ (4). This is expected if *dak₂* occurs in a much lower position close to VP at the lexical layer in which stative predicates often can be modified.

(4) Keoidei loenggo hou jam-***ngaang/*dak₁/*dou2/dak₂** nei-zung zau.
 3PL. two-CL very drink- NGAANG/DAK₁/DOU2/DAK₂ this-kind alcohol.
 ‘They two are really able to drink this kind of alcohol.’

Third, Tsai (2017) observes that only capacity modals (*ought-to-be* deontics, specifically) allow subject indefinites, which distinguishes two subtypes of deontic modals, *ought-to-be* deontics and *ought-to-do* deontics, respectively. This is confirmed in (5) (with an optional *ought-to-be* deontic adverbial *hoji* ‘can’): only *dou2* can license subject indefinites, while *ought-to-do* deontics *dak₁* cannot.

(5) Loeng-go jan (hoji) zyu -***ngaang/*-dak₁/-dou2/*-dak₂** nei-gaan uk.
 two-CL person may stay NGAANG/DAK₁/DOU2/DAK₂ this-CL house
 ‘Two persons can stay in this house.’

It can be seen that postverbal modals, similar to preverbal modals, are realized in different structural positions (1), summarized in (6)

(6) Top>ModP^{Epistemic} *ngaang*> TP> ModP^{Deontic} *dak₁*>ModP^{Capacity} *dou2*>vP> ModP^{Dynamic} *dak₂*>VP

The cartographic approach predicts the hierarchal order of modals. Postverbal modals in lower positions are predicted to occur closer to the verb, this is borne out in (7) by the ungrammaticality due to the fact that a higher modal precedes the lower one.

(7) *Keoidei zyu-**ngaang-dou2** nei-gaan uk. (b) *Keoidei zyu-**ngaang-dak₁** nei-gaan uk.
 3PL. stay-NGAANG-DOU2 this-CL house 3PL. stay- NGAANG-DAK₁ this-CL house

However, the ungrammaticality in (7) does not mean inherent incompatibility for multiple modals. The cartographic approach further predicts that different types of modals can co-occur so long as they follow the hierarchical order in (1/6). This is borne out in (8), epistemic modal adverbials can co-occur with deontic postverbal modals (heads) (8a), similar to preverbal modals (8b).

(8) (a) Keoidei **sat/jatding** zyu-**dou2** nei-gaan uk. (b) Zoengsaam **waakze hang** heoi Heonggong.
 3PL. definitely stay-DOU2 this-CL house ZS. perhaps willing go Hong Kong
 ‘They definitely can stay in this house.’ ‘Perhaps ZS is willing to go to Hong Kong.’

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What Does 怀疑(*huaiyi*) Mean?: An Investigation into the Semantics of the Dubitative Verb in Mandarin Chinese

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This paper attempts to investigate the semantics of the dubitative verb 怀疑(*huaiyi*) in Mandarin Chinese. Dubitative verbs have always been an interesting topic in the field of syntax and semantics cross-linguistically because of their debatable denotations and peculiar complementation patterns (Anand & Hacquard, 2013; Huddleston, 1994; Karttunen, 1977a, 1977b). 怀疑(*huaiyi*) is yet more complicated due to its ambiguity between two empirical interpretations—the first is ‘having a tendency not to believe’ (*huaiyi*₁), and the second one is ‘having a tendency to believe’ (*huaiyi*₂) (Feng, 2017; Han, 2001; X. Li, 1987; Lu, 2016; Yuan, 2014; J. Zhang & Wu, 2013). This can be revealed when 怀疑(*huaiyi*) embeds either non-interrogative complements or interrogative complements with ‘B-not-B’ or ‘M-not-M’ structures, in the terminology of Hagstrom (2006):

- (1) a. 他们居然怀疑这个项目的可行性。
they even *huaiyi*₁ this-CL program
structural-PTCL feasibility.
‘They even doubt the feasibility of this program.’
(Yuan, 2014, p. 7)
- b. 人们怀疑许多不明飞行物与外星人有关。
people *huaiyi*₂ many UFOs
with aliens relate.
‘People suspect that many UFOs are related to aliens.’
(Yuan, 2014, p. 2)
- c. 小黄怀疑小唐是不是喜欢小强。
Huang *huaiyi*? Tang be NEG be like
Qiang.

- d. 小唐怀疑小邱会不会弹吉他。
Tang *huaiyi*? Qiu can/would NEG
can/would play the guitar.

Therefore, there seems to be an additional disambiguation mechanism at work in the process of its interpretation. This paper claims that this disambiguation mechanism can be explained through related concepts in information structure, such as focus (Badan, 2015; Halliday, 1967; K. Li, 2009; Schaffer & Chen, 2001; H. Zhang & Pan, 2019), alternative semantics (Hinterwimmer, 2012; Rooth, 1992, 2016, 1985) and givenness (Hinterwimmer, 2012; Schwarzschild, 1999). In order to apply this claim to 怀疑(*huaiyi*) + interrogative complements with ‘B-not-B’ or ‘M-not-M’ structures, this paper also attempts to clarify some compositional issues based on the fruitful developments in question semantics (Biezma, 2009; Biezma & Rawlins, 2012; Hagstrom, 2006; Hamblin, 1958, 1973; Pruitt & Roelofsen, 2011; van Rooy & Safárová, 2003) and Chinese syntax (Huang, 1991; K. Li, 2009; McCawley, 1994). It is concluded that the interpretation of this dubitative verb is essentially related to the logical relationship between the content proposition and the immediate contextual evidence as claimed in Lu (2016), mainly depending on the location of the informational focus and the ‘givenness’ status of the content proposition in the embedding complement. As for the precise denotation of this verb in the sense of formal semantics, the paper claims that it is similar to the hybrid semantics of *doubt* in English proposed by Anand and Hacquard (2013), but with a crucial difference: the preference assertion is bidirectional and needs to be determined by the aforementioned disambiguation mechanism.

Appendix

1. The proposal for the semantics of *huaiyi* of this paper is given below:

(2) For the verb *huaiyi* in the Mandarin natural language, define its metalanguage definition as BIASED-BELIEF.

(a) **The definition in the metalanguage:**

BIASED-BELIEF(A, p, w) is defined iff

p -verifiers in $DOX_{A,w} \neq \emptyset \wedge p$ -falsifiers in $DOX_{A,w} \neq \emptyset$.

[Uncertainty Condition]

If defined = 1 iff

$\exists w' \in DOX_{A,w} : [p(w') = 1] \wedge$

p -falsifiers $\neq_{PROB_{A,w}}$ p -verifiers

where p -verifiers in $DOX_{A,w} =$

$\lambda S'' . S'' \subset DOX_{A,w} \wedge \forall S''' \subset S'' : [\forall w' \in S''' : [p(w') = 1]]$

p -falsifiers in $DOX_{A,w} = \neg p$ -verifiers in $DOX_{A,w}$

[Doxastic Assertion]

[Preference Assertion]

$(= pow(DOX_{A,w} \cap p))$

(b) **The semantics of *huaiyi*:**

$\llbracket A \text{ huaiyi } \varphi \rrbracket^w = \text{BIASED-BELIEF}(A, \iota p[\text{HIGHLIGHT}(p) \wedge p \in \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket], w)$

(c) **The disambiguation mechanism:**

a. When φ is a clausal complement and $|\llbracket \varphi \rrbracket^F| = 1$, $\llbracket huaiyi \rrbracket = \llbracket huaiyi_1 \rrbracket$ i.e. $\exists w' \in DOX_{A,w} : [p(w) = 1] \wedge p$ -falsifiers $>_{PROB_{a,w}}$ p -verifiers, where $p = \iota p[\text{HIGHLIGHT}(p) \wedge p \in \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket]$.

b. When φ is a clausal complement and $|\llbracket \varphi \rrbracket^F| > 1$, $\llbracket huaiyi \rrbracket = \llbracket huaiyi_2 \rrbracket$ i.e. $\exists w' \in DOX_{A,w} : [p(w) = 1] \wedge p$ -verifiers $>_{PROB_{a,w}}$ p -falsifiers, where $p = \iota p[\text{HIGHLIGHT}(p) \wedge p \in \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket]$.

2. **Key words:** dubitative verb, Mandarin Chinese, disambiguation, information structure, formal semantics.

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La divergence d'emplois discursifs des démonstratifs *zhè* et *nà* en chinois parlé – la grammaticalisation de *nà* vers un article défini et la définitude dans la langue chinoise

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Relevant de ce que Bühler (2008 [1934]) appelle « le champ déictique » de la langue, les démonstratifs remplissent des fonctions primordiales dans la communication linguistique et constituent également une catégorie universelle dans toutes les langues du monde. De nombreux linguistes ont travaillé sur la complexité et l'étendue déictiques des démonstratifs. Un fameux exemple entre autres : l'article défini vient souvent du démonstratif dit distal (Greenberg 1978 ; Lü 1990 ; Epstein 1993 ; Laury 1997 ; Huang 1999 ; Massé-Arkan 2017). Comme c'est le cas pour le français, où *le/la/les* proviennent de la série *ille* en latin.

Du côté de la langue chinoise, l'opinion largement partagée est qu'elle ne possède pas de système complet de déterminants, comme Norman (1988 : 160) le souligne : « le chinois manque d'articles, mais cela crée étonnamment peu d'ambiguïté. Les éléments définis peuvent être marqués explicitement par des modifieurs, qui sont eux-mêmes intrinsèquement définis, tels que les démonstratifs et les possessifs... ». Li et Thompson (1981 : 131-132) sont du même avis : « il n'y pas de mots grammaticaux en chinois mandarin qui équivalent à *the* et *a* en anglais », mais ils ont pointé le fait que « le démonstratif *nei* 'that' commence à fonctionner comme *the*, le numéral *yi* 'one' comme *a* s'ils ne sont pas accentués ».

Rappelons qu'il y a deux morphèmes démonstratifs *zhè* et *nà* en chinois mandarin. Selon la plupart des linguistes, *zhè* et *nà* sont organisés à partir du centre déictique du locuteur et précisent respectivement si le référent est proche ou éloigné du locuteur sur les plans spatial, temporel, psychologique ou social (Teng 1981 ; Xu 1987 ; Tao 1999 ; Wu 2004 ; Yang 2010). En revanche, certains linguistes ne sont pas d'accord avec le repère de la distance pour les démonstratifs chinois, Paris (1990) propose par exemple que la situation interlocutive de *zhè* et *nà* est conçue non pas comme une relation de vis-à-vis telle que présent/non présent, mais comme une relation de co-orientation, c'est-à-dire une relation en tandem.

L'intérêt de cette étude porte sur la divergence des emplois discursifs des démonstratifs chinois *zhè* et *nà* en chinois parlé, le processus de grammaticalisation du démonstratif *nà* vers un article défini et la notion de définitude dans la langue chinoise. Suivant la taxinomie pragmatique des démonstratifs proposée par Himmelmann (1996), nous avons d'abord catégorisé les emplois discursifs des démonstratifs chinois en déixis situationnelle, qui réfère aux entités présentes dans la situation d'énonciation ; anaphore, qui récupère son référent dans le discours antécédent ; déixis de discours, qui renvoie à un segment du discours ; et emploi mémoriel, qui identifie son référent à partir des connaissances partagées entre des interlocuteurs.

Nous avons annoté par la suite 1000 occurrences de démonstratifs dans un corpus oral spontané en mandarin taïwanais (25 conversations familières face-à-face, 108373 mots au total), en nous focalisant notamment sur ces usages discursifs assumés par les démonstratifs chinois *zhè* et *nà* dans le corpus.

Après une première analyse quantitative, nous avons obtenu une statistique montrant clairement la spécialisation de *zhè* et de *nà* en deux groupes d'emplois distingués : le démonstratif proximal *zhè* se spécialise en déixis situationnelle et discursive, tandis que *nà* s'emploie majoritairement en anaphore et en emploi mémoriel. Selon nous, ce décalage résulte d'abord de l'opposition sémantique entre *zhè* et *nà*, et aussi de leurs différents statuts cognitifs (Apothéloz 1995 : 169-171) et de leurs rôles topiques du discours (Schnedecker 2006 ; Guillot 2017 : 173-178) : si *zhè* indique la proximité, est utilisé pour faire devenir un référent qui n'était pas encore saillant le focus des locuteurs et marque la rupture topicale ; *nà* en revanche indique la distance, s'emploie pour marquer un référent saillant et assure avant tout une relation d'identité et de continuité topicale. A cela s'ajoute le fait que, même si *zhè* et *nà* peuvent tous les deux encoder l'exophore et l'endophore, une proportion importante des démonstratifs *nà* s'emploie déjà dans les contextes où le locuteur présuppose que, l'identification d'un référent provient des connaissances partagées entre lui et son allocutaire, qui sont beaucoup moins dépendantes de la situation d'énonciation (Huang 1999 ; Chen 2004).

Ainsi, cette spécialisation du démonstratif distal *nà* en anaphore et en emploi mémoriel (notamment en construction déterminative sur le plan syntaxique) constitue pour nous un signe fort que celui-ci est en train de se grammaticaliser vers un article défini, d'autant plus qu'il peut être utilisé en anaphore associative et en emploi générique, qui, effectivement, font l'objet des usages typiques de l'article défini en français ou en anglais. Outre tous ces aspects mentionnés ci-dessus, on essayera également

d'examiner l'atténuation phonologique de *nà* dans certains contextes spécifiques, qui est un autre signe symbolique de sa grammaticalisation vers article défini.

Suite à ces analyses quantitatives et qualitatives, nous tenterons de définir à quel stade se trouve « l'article défini » en chinois en nous appuyant sur les stades de grammaticalisation esquissés par Greenberg (1978). Nous ferons enfin une ouverture sur la notion de définitude sous l'aspect translinguistique, en montrant si la définitude peut être une catégorie grammaticale pour le français ou l'anglais au sens strict, elle ne peut néanmoins s'exprimer totalement à travers des outils grammaticaux en chinois, dont la définitude est une notion multifactorielle sur les plans sémantique, syntaxique, pragmatique et discursif.

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Formation of Tangut Buddhist Language: Between China and Tibet

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The Tanguts were Tibeto-Burmans, who established a kingdom of Western Xia (1038-1227) in the Ordos region and the Gansu corridor. They created their indigenous ideographic script and actively translated Buddhist texts from Sinitic and Tibetan into the language of their own. A significant amount of the Tangut Buddhist scriptures was excavated by a Russian explorer, Pyotr Kozlov, in 1908-1909 from the ruins of an abandoned Tangut city of Khara-Khoto (presently in Inner Mongolia, PRC). A careful analysis of various aspects of xylographic and manuscript editions of the Tangut Buddhist texts, such as their spatial organization, pictorial decoration, and vocabulary usages, reveals a much more complex picture of Tangut Buddhist interactions than the one presented in the Chinese chronicles. One of the possible research methods for scholarships on external influences on Buddhism in Western Xia is through linguistic examination of the Tangut Buddhist terminology

In my paper I argue that Northern Song Buddhism was not the sole source of inspiration for the Tanguts in constructing their own Buddhist vocabulary. Positioned precisely on the religious and civilization carrefour of Sinitic, Tibetan, and Uighur civilizations, the Tanguts presented to the world a unique cultural and linguistic amalgam. At the first step, I will show various potential origins (Sinitic, Tibetan, Sanskrit) of the Tangut Buddhist terminology. My statement will be based on the comparative vocabulary list of the key Tangut Buddhist terms extracted from various Buddhist scriptures. Supposedly, the texts had various proveniences and came to Western Xia through different routes – official and private import. During the second step, on the base of Chinese and Tibetan historiographical sources, as well as the remaining Tangut votive graffities and Tangut sūtra colophons, I demonstrate viable explanations of their origin.

Origins of Southern Sinitic *ts^h* corresponding to Middle Chinese *s-* and *sr-*

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Various modern Southern Sinitic languages (mostly Min 閩語, and less commonly the Chuqu cluster 處衢片 of Wu 吳語, Hakka 客語 and Gan 贛語) sometimes have aspirated affricate initials (written as ‘TS^h’) corresponding to Middle Chinese (MC) initials *s-* 心母 and *sr-* 生母 (Chen & Li 1991; Norman 1991, among others). The present paper aims to explore the historical origins of these correspondent sets, thereby enhancing our understanding on the phonological history of Southern Sinitic. On top of proposing new sound laws to account for such features, we also consider early Sinitic loanwords in the Hmong-Mien languages which provide valuable hints for the reconstruction.

The first origin of the correspondent set can be traced back to Old Chinese (‘OC’) *nə-s-. We observe that two words with MC initial *s-* generally have reflexes of /ts^h-/ in Min:

- (1) 臊 ‘rank smell (of goat)’ (MC *saw*): Fuzhou 福州 ts^ho¹ | Putian 莆田 ts^ho¹ | Xiamen 廈門 ts^ho¹ | Jian’ou 建甌 ts^hau¹ | Shibe 石陂 ts^ho¹
- (2) 腥 ‘rank smell (of fish)’ (MC *sey*): Xiamen ts^hi¹ | Datian 大田 ts^hɿ¹ | Chaoyang 潮陽 ts^ho¹ | Putian ts^ha¹

Readings with an aspirated affricate initial are noted for 撕 ‘to tear’ in Chuqu Wu:

- (3) 撕 ‘to tear’ (MC *sey*): Changshan 常山 ts^hɿ¹ | Yushan 玉山 ts^hɿ¹ | Jiangshan 江山 ts^hu¹.

Interestingly, all these words have very early Sinitic loan forms in the Mien language spoken in Jiangdi 江底, realizing as /dz-/, e.g. dzja:u¹ ‘rank smell (of goat)’ | dzi:ŋ¹ ‘rank smell (of fish)’. Taking the Hmong-Mien historical phonology into consideration, Jacques (2020) suggests that the donor OC forms can be reconstructed as *nə-s-, e.g. *nə-[s]^ɿej > MC *sey* ‘rank smell (of fish)’. We propose that the reflexes in Min and Chuqu Wu are resulted from the following sound change: /ts^h-/ < nts^h- < OC *nə-s-. In the ancestor of other Sinitic languages, the prefix *nə- dropped off without a trace.

The second origin of the correspondent set is OC *s.l-, *s.n- or *s.r- (‘s + sonorant’). Based on their observation on phonetic series, Baxter & Sagart (‘B&S’ 2014:144) have reconstructed *s-nu (> MC *sjuw*) for 羞 ‘shame’, considering that it shares the phonetic element with 紐 ‘fastener’ *n<r>u[?]. The Min forms of this word are:

- (4) 羞 ‘shame’ (MC *sjuw*): Fuzhou ts^hieu¹ | Xiamen ts^hiu¹

Their aspirated affricate initials probably come from *st^h- < *s^l- < *s.l- (B&S 2014:144). We may supplement two examples of this type which would have developed into MC *sr*-:

- (5) 生 ‘raw’ (MC *sraeng*): Fuzhou ts^hiaŋ¹ | Putian ts^ha¹ | Xiamen ts^hi¹ | Jian’ou ts^haŋ¹ | Yong’an 永安 ts^hõ¹
- (6) 搜 ‘to search’ (MC *srjuw*): Xiamen ts^hiau¹ | Leizhou 雷州 ts^hiau¹.

We propose the development of these examples as follows: /ts^h-/ < *st^h- < *sr̥- < OC *sr-. Only the lexicons of the earliest layer of Southern Sinitic were affected by this sound change. In later layers, *sr- would maintain as a fricative.

Akitani (2019) identifies an important phonological innovation in early Min and Chuqu Wu where dental fricatives before the medial *-i- would have developed into aspirated postalveolar affricates, i.e. *si- > *t^hi-. His examples include 笑 ‘laugh’ and 惜 ‘love dearly’:

- (7) 笑 ‘laugh’ (MC *sraeng*): Fuzhou ts^hieu⁵ | Putian ts^hiau⁵ | Xiamen ts^hio⁵ | Yong’an ts^hiu⁵ | Yunhe 雲和 t^hiaɔ⁵
- (8) 惜 ‘love dearly’ (MC *sjek*): Leizhou ts^hoi⁷ | Jian’ou ts^hio⁷ | Yong’an t^hiu⁷.

We observe that words involved in this sound change are still distinguishable from those coming from the other two origins (i.e. OC *nə-s- and *s + sonorant), as they commonly realize as postalveolar affricates in early Min or Chuqu Wu.

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Title: “Language and cultural mixing: a study of vocabulary enrichment and shift in the Mongolic language of the Gansu-Qinghai area”

The Hexi corridor, situated at the border between Gansu-Qinghai area, hosts languages from different families including Sinitic and non-Sinitic. Their contacts have induced a situation which is often described as a linguistic area (e.g. Dwyer 1992). This region comprises different Mongolic languages which have been isolated from the other Mongolic languages and have been influenced by the surrounding languages to a greater or lesser degree. Hence, they have common typological forms inherited from Middle Mongolian as well as features which have been induced by language contact. While inherited vocabulary from middle Mongolian (Delige'erma & Bo 2006 ; Nugteren 2011) and lexical borrowing from Chinese, Tibetan, and to some extent Turkic (Nugteren & Moos 1996, 1998, Field 1997) has been quite well studied so far, the study of loanwords through the prism of vocabulary shift and enrichment remain under-studied.

Beyond the descriptive goal of identifying particular loanwords and their histories, the study of loanwords has shown that lexical borrowing is often culturally motivated and that social factors are the main reason for it. The later include diglossic environments (where the donor language is considered as “prestigious”) or, from the recipient point of view, where “cultural pressure” (Thomason & Kaufman 1988) or “loss of vitality (of the recipient language)” (Myers-Scotton 2006) are observed. Thus, there are two main reasons for loanwords to be borrowed: 1. To enrich a language with new concepts, often motivated to fill a linguistic gap (this type of borrowing can be therefore considered as “loanword by necessity” (Haspelmath 2009), and 2. To replace an existing native word and therefore contribute to lexicon shift. In other words, “cultural borrowings” designate a new concept coming from outside, and “core borrowings”, duplicate meanings for which a native word already exists (Myers-Scotton 2002).

For this presentation, I propose to give an introduction about the subject of vocabulary shift and core borrowings in three Mongolic languages of the Hexi Corridor, namely Bonan, Dongxiang and Shira Yughur by analysing about 200 middle Mongolian words in relationship with the agricultural and pastoral vocabulary (related to animal husbandry, agricultural tools, horse-culture, farm buildings, food and cooking utensils, geographic elements and clothing etc.) and their cognates. As these three languages have very different genesis contexts and cultural backgrounds, and as they have been in contact with different languages and communities, the analysis of cognates is expected to reflect the different contacts (mainly local Chinese for Dongxiang, Chinese and Tibetan for Bonan, and Chinese, Tibetan and Turkic for Shira Yughur), but also the cultural evolution and change in lifestyle, mostly shifting from nomadic to sedentary and pastoral to agricultural they have been through history. The replacement of either Mongolic cognate or earlier borrowings from Tibetan and Turkic languages by Chinese terms is also expected. For example, Mongolic *göörö*- ‘to hunt’ has been replaced by Chinese (compound) loanword in Dongxiang *dawi gie* (from local Chinese *dawei* 打围 ‘encircle’ + *gie* Mongolic auxiliary), by Tibetan compound loanword *rdag ala* (from Tibetan *rdag* ‘beast’ + Mongolic *ala* ‘to kill’) in Bonan (Qinghai dialect) and conserved under the form *gure:sle* in Shira Yughur. The variety of terms found shows how these languages have been influenced by the surrounding languages and how they have adopted or retained concepts mirroring cultural influence, change and maintenance.

Key words : Mongolic languages ; vocabulary shift ; core borrowings ; agro-pastoral vocabulary ; Bonan ; Dongxiang ; Shira yughur.

The semantics and pragmatics of *you ren* ‘there is someone’ in Chinese

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This contribution concerns Chinese biclausal “presentational” structures introduced by the existential operator *yǒu* ‘have, exist’. Examples of biclausal *you*-structures put forward in the literature typically include quantified nouns (e.g. *yí-ge rén* ‘a person’) and the bare noun (BN) *rén* ‘person(s), someone’ denoting the general human referent (e.g. *Yǒu rén qiāo mén* ‘There is someone knocking at the door’, Lǚ 1942 [1985]: 101; *Yǒu rén lái kàn nǐ* ‘There is someone to see you’, Chao 1968: 727; *Yǒu rén gēi nǐ dǎ-diànhuà* ‘There is someone who telephoned you’, Li et Thompson 1981: 131; *Yǒu rén zǒu-le* ‘There is someone who left’, Cài 2004). There is consensus in the literature about the pragmatic function of *you*-structures, which is that of introducing new referents into discourse (Lǚ 1942 [1985]: 101, Li & Thompson 1981: 612, among many others). On the other hand, it has also been acknowledged that BNs as referring expressions tend to promote peripheral entities into discourse, i.e. not topics-to-be (Sun 1988, Li 2000, LaPolla 1995: 306). In this study I analyze the occurrence of the [*yǒu* + *rén* + VP] pattern on the *Běijīng kǒuyǔ yǔliàokù* (BJKY) corpus, which reflects the Mandarin variety spoken in the Beijing area. It will be shown that *rén* can have either a specific – as in all the examples cited above, and in (1) – or a partitive (2) reading when appearing within the biclausal *you*-structure:

- (1) 后边儿有人跟着你

Hòubianr yǒu rén gēn-zhe nǐ
Behind EXIST people follow-DUR 2SG

‘There’s someone [≠ some people] following you behind.’ (BJKY)

- (2) 有人就讲哈尔滨那儿冷得很

Yǒu rén jiù jiǎng Hā’ěrbīn=nàr lěng de hěn
EXIST people then say Harbin=there cold COMP much

‘There are people [= some people] who say that it is very cold in Harbin.’ (BJKY)

A number of properties triggering a specific or partitive reading of the pivot will be discussed, beginning with the co-occurrence in the sentence of an episodic/individual predicate (including both lexical and coerced meanings). Specific-reading [*yǒu rén* + VP] structures can be considered eventive presentational sentences, in that they put forward the occurrence of an unanalyzed EVENT (LaPolla 1995: 317), where the entity (denoted by *rén*) is generally not referred to in the following text (Lena 2020: 229-237). On the other hand, I argue that partitive-reading [*yǒu rén* + VP] structures are not “presentational” in essence: these forms do not intend to introduce a new referent or a new event into the discourse. Rather, the *you*-structure is used here to assign a partitive reading (‘some persons’) to the BN *rén* which otherwise receives a universal interpretation (‘all persons’) by default in preverbal position. Note that these semantic notions are different from pragmatic distinctions based on referent identifiability.

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“Let’s do it!/I’m going to do it!”: The emerging function of *qilai* in Chinese

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This study aims to explore the emerging meaning of “let’s do something/I’m going to do something” contained in the construction V+ 起來 *qilai* with an additional pragmatic function meaning “to amp up the mood”.

The construction 起來 *qilai* has undergone certain grammaticalization processes. The original meaning of *qilai* indicates an action completed with an upward movement “from a lower place to a higher place” (e.g. 他站起來了 *ta zhan qilai le* “He stood up”). From there, other meanings have been derived: the inchoative meaning “to start, to begin” (e.g. 他笑起來了 *ta xiao qilai le* “He began laughing.”) and the completive meaning where “the event denoted by the verb is finished” (e.g. 書收起來了 *shu shou qilai le* “The books had been put away.”) (Chang, 1994; Chen, 2006; He, 2004; Tsai, 2008; Wang, 2005).

These studies conclude that *qilai* encodes a change point and a following duration (Cao, 2000; Chen, 2006), as well as the scalar quantity feature (Tsai, 2008). A corpus-study of Cherici (2019) found that V+ *qilai* involves an overall co-occurrence of COS (change of state) 了 *le* with past time reference.

However, it seems that the grammaticalization process of V+ *qilai* is still going on. Based on colloquial and online data, we found that a new function of *qilai* has emerged: “let’s do something” or “I’m going to do something” that amps up the mood of the context. This function is based on the aspectual meaning “to start, to begin” and the metaphorical extension, from physical “upward movement” to “amplifying emotional state”, which corresponds to the conceptual metaphor HAPPY IS UP (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). This function is frequently used in online shopping sites by the sellers to encourage their consumers to buy things by using 買起來 *mai qilai* “Go and buy it!” Here are some examples:

(1) 6折 特价 宠物 云 商城 买 起来!
6 zhe te jia chongwu yun shangcheng mai qi lai
“40% discount on our products for pets on our online shop. Come and get it!”

Furthermore, *qilai* can also be used from a first-person viewpoint, meaning “I’m going to do something” by letting the audience experience a cheery mood.

(2) 我 有 加班费, Dyson 买 起来!
wo you jiabanfei Dyson mai qi lai
“With my bonus, I’m going to buy a Dyson (vacuum cleaner)!”

The context of the second example is that the person who speaks will receive a bonus and can finally buy something that was out of their budget. By using *qilai*, they tell their friends that they will accomplish this action and demonstrate happiness. This function is frequently used when someone shares a picture of their delicious food on their social network by saying 吃起来, meaning “I’m going to eat!” and share their good mood with their audience.

By examining these examples, we observed that *qilai* lost its traditionally defined function of “encoding a change point and a following duration”, and that, in these cases, only the aspectual meaning “to start, to begin” has remained. Moreover, a pragmatic function that is used to create a vivid ambiance between the interlocutors has emerged. This study suggests that we could revisit the interaction between the tense and the aspect of *qilai* as well as its pragmatic functions.

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The TMA system of Yilan Creole Japanese (Taiwan)

Yilan Creole (YC), the only known Japanese-based creole with Austronesian influences, was first briefly described in Chien and Sanada (2010). It is resulted from Japanese colonization of Taiwan when Atayal and Seediq (Austronesian) speakers were forced to live together. YC has seen no comprehensive study so far but is facing endangerment due to language shift to Mandarin and/or Atayal, and there are different YC varieties, all of them under-described. Based on published studies and ongoing fieldwork, this presentation describes the TMA system of one variety of Yilan Creole and discusses its typological implication in creole studies.

The TMA system of YC is generally more lexical than grammatical. Except the only past tense particle or clitic *ta* in (1) (also in Chien 2016), tenses are either unmarked, or indicated by adverbs (Chien & Sanada 2010, Qiu 2015), derived from Japanese, Atayal (2) or Mandarin (1).

(1) watasi **qunen (Mandarin)** wal mi-ta wakarū mo.
 1.SG **last year** already see-PAST know already
 “(Yes,) I met him last year.”

(2) are **raral (Atayal)** ga ngahi’ muhi’ **teru**
 3.SG **before** TOP sweet potato plant **PROG**
 “He was planting sweet potatoes before.”

Three aspectual distinctions are found in YC – progressive, perfective and habitual. The first two are mostly expressed with the Japanese-derived particles *teru/toru*, also demonstrated in the above (2), while habitual can be marked with the same *teru/toru* particles or adverbs (3).

(3) **mutu** llyung a-lex ga skinut balay ay.
 usually water that TOP cold very SFP
 “That lake is usually very cold.”

The mood system is also quite lexical. Verbs such as *wakarū* “know” are used to express probability (4), whereas the Atayal particle *ma* “according to” marks evidentiality (5).

(4) **wakarū** utux ngahi muhi ta ma.
 know one sweet potato plant PAST? supposedly (speculative)
 “(I think) he was planting one sweet potato (for me).”

(5) watasi no suyan mlikuy ga
 1.SG GEN sibling boy TOP

 a-lex de mici l’tux **ma.**
 that LOC water cold **according to (quotative)**
 “My brother says that water is cold (but I don’t believe him).”

Based on the partially inflectional and partially lexical TMA system, YC behaves unlike typical creoles, which have been described as having preverbal TMA particles. These findings will be discussed in relation to other creoles, as well as the lexifier Japanese.

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Proto-Sino-Tibetan Interrogative *g in Inquiry-Related Expressions in Old Chinese

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On the basis of the reconstruction of Proto-Sino-Tibetan interrogative *ga/*ka (Sun 1995, Matisoff 2015), this article proposes that a few words in Old Chinese containing the element *g can be clustered as the *g-family words. They include interrogative pronouns (何 *ga, 其 *gə), sentence-final interrogative particles (乎 *ga, 抑 *ʔjək), and preverbal modal particles (可 *khajʔ). These *g-family words are etymologically associated together as they share the core function of coding a situation in which more than one proposition or possibility is confronted.

The *g-words this article concerns are 何 *ga, 其 *gə, 抑 *ʔjək, 可 *khajʔ and 乎 *ga, all of which mainly appear in inquiry-related expressions. The oracle scripts of the Shang Dynasty (1600 to 1046 B.C.) recorded the questions from human and the answers from the god. A number of enquiry structures contained 其 *gə as a preverbal particle while some cases additionally used the sentence-final interrogative particle 抑 *ʔjək or 執 *tjip. In the oracle texts, 其 *gə might not be a dedicated interrogative marker but more of a multifunctional modal particle that conveyed the meanings of willingness, possibility, or future tense (Huang 2020). We presume that 抑 *ʔjək might be derived from 其 *gə, given that the alternative reconstruction of 其 can be *g^hi.əg (KBJ Karlgren) or *gjəg (Li Fang-Kuei). Later, in the text of *Shi Jing* 詩經 (Western Zhou, 1046 BC-771 BC) and *Shang Shu* 尚書 (Spring and Autumn, 772 BC-476 BC), 乎 *ga had become the most common sentence-final interrogative particle. 何 *gaj, the interrogative pronoun of WHAT, and 可 *khajʔ, the epistemic modal particle of CAN, also appeared in the text. The transition of 何 *gaj and 可 *khajʔ might happen through the hypophora structure. By the middle stage of Old Chinese, 抑 *ʔjək started to appear at the beginning of a sentence to introduce an optional proposition into the alternative question, like *or* in English. The development of 抑 *ʔjək to sentence-initial position might have been prompted by the construction of the alternative question through connecting two polar questions. The above *g-words are used in a non-assertion context where more than one proposition or one possibility exists, and a range of functional words are thus clustered, including (1) the interrogative pronoun, referring to a range of possible candidates; (2) the polar question particle, inquiring which answer, the provided proposition or its counter-proposition, is the right one; (3) the modal particle, indicating the unrealistic state of the current proposition as other possibilities may exist.

The inquiry-related cluster can also be attested beyond the *g-family of Old Chinese. In Old Chinese, we can relate 誰 *djuj, the interrogative pronoun of WHO, to 執 *tjip, the sentence-final interrogative particle we have mentioned. Besides, The etymological relation between the preverbal interrogative marker and sentence-final interrogative marker can also be seen in some Chinese dialects, such as *kə* (preverbal position) and *kɛ* (sentence-final position) in Kunming dialect, and *aʔ* (preverbal position) and *a* (sentence-final position) in Suzhou dialect. Besides, 可 *khajʔ gradually developed into a preverbal interrogative particle and was differentiated into 克 *khə*, 格 *kə* and 阿 *a* in different dialects. Yu (1984), Jing (1988), and Sun (1995) suggest that the *khə/kə/a*+VP structure in Chinese is parallel to the polar question structure in some Tibeto-Burman languages, where the preverbal interrogative morpheme is adopted such as *e*-VP of Tibetan and *gu*-VP of Dulong. Taking it a step further, we can extend this *g-network to pronouns given that Wolfenden (1929), Matisoff (2003) and Jin (2006) argue that *g- can be a pronoun prefix. Therefore, we associate the interrogative meaning with the indefinite pronoun for their similarity of low definiteness.

Overall, our research attempts to cluster *g-words based on the reconstruction of Proto-Sino-Tibetan interrogative *ga/*ka, aiming to present an alternative perspective to trace the source of some grammatical words in Old Chinese, that we may not dig out the so-called original words but at least we understand how to build a network for those related grammatical words.

Key Words: Old Chinese, Proto-Sino-Tibetan, Interrogative Structure, Etymology

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Defining Serial Verb Constructions in Taiwan Southern Min

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Serial verb constructions (SVCs) have been widely discussed, and one of the hotly debated issues is their definition. Haspelmath (2016) pointed out that the problem with the past study on SVCs is with the definition that is too general. He then proposed a restricted definition of SVCs (“A serial verb construction is a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs” (p. 296)) and formulated ten universals.

Haspelmath’s claim, however, is not based “on a systematic sample of language” (p. 291). Therefore, this paper aims to examine Haspelmath’s narrow definition and universals against the data in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM), a Chinese language spoken by more than 80% of people in Taiwan (Cheng 1985). Under Haspelmath’s narrow definition, an SVC is a construction and thus its meaning has to be compositional. It is monoclausal, and there is only one way of negation. The verbs in an SVC are independent in the sense that they are dynamic and can occur without another verb. There is no linking element between the verbs, and one of the verbs cannot be the argument of the other.

In TSM, sentences such as (1) are considered SVCs. As a construction, the meaning of (1) is compositional. There is only one way to form negation, and thus (1) is monoclausal. The verbs involved, *the* ‘take’ and *tshut-khi* ‘go out’, are both dynamic independent verbs, there are no linking elements between the verbs, and there is no predicate-argument relation between the verbs.

(1) *i bo the tsit e tiann-a tshut-khi.*

he not take one CL pot go_out

‘He did not take one pot out.’

Further examination of SVCs in TSM demonstrates that the ten universals proposed by Haspelmath are supported in TSM data. To illustrate, according to Generalization 6, “if there is just a single person, tense, mood or negation marker, it occurs in a peripheral position, that is, preceding the first verb or following the last verb” (p. 309). Indeed, in the SVC in (1) the negator *bo* ‘not’ precedes the first verb. A sentence with the negator preceding the second verb is not allowed as demonstrated in (2).

(2) **i the tsit e tiann-a bo tshut-khi.*

he take one CL pot not go_out

Generalization 7 states that “in all SVCs, all the verbs share at least one argument” (p. 309). In the SVC in (1) the two verbs share the same subject *i* ‘he’. Moreover, Generalization 8 (“All languages with SVCs have same-subject serial verb construction, possibly along with other types” (p. 310)) is also supported by TSM data.

According to Generalization 10, “an SVC cannot have two different agents, that is, when a non-agent is shared, then the agent must be shared as well” (p. 310). In an SVC such as (3), where the two verbs share the object *te* ‘tea’, the agent *i* ‘he’ is also shared.

(3) *i sui phau te lim.*

he right_away make tea drink

'He made tea to drink right away.'

To sum up, Haspelmath's restricted definition of SVCs is applicable to SVCs in TSM. The SVCs thus defined in TSM do follow the ten universals proposed by Haspelmath.

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Expressing displacement in Chaoshan Min: Competition between constructions of different marking strategies

Like many other varieties of Southern Min, Chaoshan makes use of a broad range of markers and constructions to express displacement or disposal meanings (Matthews and Yip 2008; Chappell 2013), with the head-marking *kai*⁵ *i*¹ construction (1) being relatively distinctive of this dialect cluster; meanwhile, dependent-marking disposal constructions marked with *pa*² (2) and *tsiaŋ*¹ (3) (cognates with the Standard Mandarin *bǎ* and *jiāng* respectively), borrowed from the literary layer (Xu 2007), are also attested. A combination of these two types of constructions produces the double-marking construction (4), which may serve to disambiguate between the disposal and benefactive interpretations of *kai*⁵ (Matthews and Yip 2008). Moreover, topicalization (which produces a zero-marking construction) (5) represents another common strategy for expressing displacement.

- (1) *kai*⁵ *p^hij⁵kuē²* ***kai*⁵** ***i*¹** *t^hiak⁴* *kiŋ²* *tiou⁵* *suā³*
 CLF apple **DIS** **3SG** stick tight CLF line
 ‘Stick the apple to the line.’
- (2) ***pa*²** *kai*⁵ *keŋ¹tsie¹* *paŋ³* *lo¹* *iu⁵* *soi³* *t^ho¹i⁵* *toŋ¹kaŋ¹*
DIS CLF banana put LOC more small oval middle
 ‘Put the banana in the middle of the smaller oval.’
- (3) ***tsiaŋ*¹** *tsek⁸* *kai*⁵ *bo¹* *pak⁴p^hue⁵* *keŋ¹tsie¹* *paŋ³* *lo¹* *tua⁷*
DIS one CLF NEG peeled banana put LOC big
t^ho¹i⁵ *e⁷miŋ⁷*
 oval below
 ‘Place an unpeeled banana under the big oval.’
- (4) ***tsiaŋ*¹** *mue⁸kiā⁶* ***kai*⁵** ***i*¹** *puā¹* *zik⁸* *lai¹*
DIS thing **DIS** **3SG** move enter come
 ‘Move the thing inside.’
- (5) *siaŋ⁵au⁶* *tsek⁸* *kai*⁵ *p^hij⁵kuē²* *paŋ³* *na⁶* *kai*⁵ *sā¹kak⁴heŋ⁵* *hā⁵toi²*
 last one CLF apple put LOC CLF triangle inside
 ‘Put the last apple inside the triangle.’

Focusing on the Chenghai dialect of Chaoshan, this study examines the use of various types of disposal constructions, and the competition among them. To this end, we carried out the fruit cart task (Aist et al. 2012; Polinsky 2015) to elicit the production of disposal constructions from native speakers of the Chenghai dialect. At this stage, 30 participants of different age groups have been recruited. As shown in Table 1, the frequency of using the zero-marking construction increases with age, which suggests that this construction type may be losing ground bit by bit despite its dominance at present. Our preliminary results also point to a remarkable increase in the use of *pa*² construction in the younger generations, which is indicative of Mandarin influence. On the other hand, the use of *kai*⁵ *i*¹ construction remains largely stable across generations. This characteristic construction’s resistance to contact-induced change is possibly related to its polyfunctionality (6–7) (see Lin 1996 for further examples) and high frequency in everyday speech, as well as its lack of close counterparts in Mandarin. Overall speaking, the older generations tend to use a narrower range of constructions to express displacement. Provided that stable bilingualism persists in the region, the Chenghai dialect may evolve an increasingly elaborate system for expressing displacement or disposal meanings, in which a clearer division of labour among different constructions may gradually emerge.

- (6) *lui⁶* *lā²* ***kai*⁵** ***i*¹** *t^hi³* *kai*⁵ *t^hau⁵*
 bother 2SG **DAT** **3SG** shave CLF head
 ‘Please shave his head (for him).’
- (7) *ua²* *tsa²* *tsiu⁶* ***kai*⁵** ***i*¹** *tā³-kue³*
 1SG early then **DAT** **3SG** say-EXP
 ‘I have told him/her before.’

Table 1: The use of various construction types in different age groups

Construction type \ Age group	Dependent-marking	Head-marking	Double-marking	Zero-marking
10–19	40%	11.43%	0%	48.58%
20–29	42.24%	4.22%	0%	53.52%
30–39	27.27%	1.96%	13.72%	56.86%
40–59	9.79%	6.52%	1.09%	82.61%
≥80	0%	7.89%	0%	92.1%

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Aspects of Locative Inversion in Mandarin Chinese

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This paper investigates the syntax of Locative Inversion (LI) in Mandarin Chinese. This construction has the surface structure Loc + V + Asp + NP. This order contrasts with a canonical SVO order in Mandarin Chinese. The construction has also been referred to as existential sentences (Huang 1987), presentative sentences (Hu 1995), existential structure (Yang and Pan 2001) and locative construction (Paul et al. 2019) in the literature. (1a) illustrates an instance of Mandarin LI. The verb *guà* ‘hang’ is preceded by a localiser phrase and is followed by a Theme argument. The verb can be suffixed either by the durative aspect marker *-zhe* or by the perfective aspect marker *-le*. It has been well observed in the literature that only the perfective *-le* is compatible with the occurrence of the passive *bèi* (Pan 1996) and a subject-oriented adverbial ‘deliberately’ (Feng-his Liu 2007), cf. (1b).

- (1) a. qiáng-shàng guà **-zhe/-le** yì-fú huà
 wall-on hang -ZHE/-LE one-Cl painting
 ‘On the wall was hung a painting.’
 b. qiáng-shàng **bèi Zhāngsān/gùyì** guà***-zhe/-le** yì-fú huà
 wall-on PASS Zhangsan/deliberately hang-ZHE/-LE one-Cl painting
 Lit. ‘On the wall was hung a painting by Zhangsan/deliberately.’

We raise three questions:

- (2) Questions:
 a. What is the position and origin of the preverbal localiser phrase?
 b. What are the classes of verbs that can enter LI?
 c. What does the ‘selection’ of aspectual markers tell us about the syntactic structures?

We argue that (i) the preverbal localiser phrase moves from inside the VP to SpecTP (*pace* Paul et. 2019), not in a topic position (*pace* Yu 1995); (ii) based on Yu (1995) and Feng-his Liu (2007), we provide a refined classification of verb classes that can enter LI. We argue that there is no uniform structure for LI with different classes of verbs, and that the localiser phrase does not always originate in the same position within VP; (iii) based on the interpretative differences induced by the presence of temporal adverbials (Na Liu 2010) and of the adverb *yòu* ‘again’, we show that the *-le* marking LI has a more complex event structure than the *-zhe*-marking LI. At last, building on Nie (1989), Yeh (1993) and Smith (1997), we further observe that when marked with *-zhe*, different verb classes in LI are interpreted with a stative reading (*guà* ‘hang’-verbs), or a progressive reading (*zǒu* ‘walk’-verbs), or both (*zhòng* ‘plant’-verbs, cf. (3)). We propose that different VP structures, which can be embedded under the durative *-zhe* in Asp^o, determine the interpretative differences.

- (3) yuánzi-lǐ **zhòng-zhe** yì-kē shù (Smith 1997)
 yard-in plant-ZHE one-Cl tree
 a. ‘In the yard is being planted one tree.’ - progressive reading
 b. ‘In the yard is planted one tree.’ - stative reading

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Disposal and Passive: What Can Gei+VP Tell Us About Semantic Prosody?

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The auxiliary verb “Gei” (Lü, 2015) as a colloquial word can occur preverbally in the Ba and Bei constructions: Ba+NP+Gei+VP (disposal: subject acts on NP) and Bei+NP+Gei+VP (passive: subject is acted on by NP). Li and Thompson (1989) argue that the function of Gei is to pragmatically highlight the disposal of something in Ba construction. However, there is a lack of literature focusing on the semantic prosody of the above two constructions, my research question is: how is semantic prosody of Gei+VP in Ba and Bei constructions distributed and what factors contribute to this distribution?

In this study, all my data regarding Gei+VP in the two constructions was retrieved from BCC (<http://bcc.blcu.edu.cn/>), a large and balanced database with multiple domains. My framework comes from semantic prosody, defined in Hunston and Thompson (2000) as “the speaker or writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint or feelings about the entities and propositions that he or she is talking about” (p. 5). Hence, the function of semantic prosody is to connect semantic analysis with the collocation of words or phrases in multiple contexts.

By doing corpus analysis, I found that positive (e.g. (1)) and neutral contexts (e.g. (2)) occur more often (28.6%) in the construction Ba+NP+Gei+VP than that of Bei+NP+Gei+VP (0.9%). However, negative semantic prosody has a lion share in Ba (e.g. (3a)) and Bei (e.g. (3b)) constructions, with 71.4% and 99.1% respectively. I argue the reasons are twofold: 1) historical data tells that the meaning of Bei+NP+Gei+VP as a passive construction centers on negative interpretation in its development. In contrast, the negative meaning of Ba+NP+Gei+VP emerges late but “disposal” (Wang, 1947) as its constructional meaning can render the negative context in the corpus; 2) semantic compatibility (Yoon, 2012) makes “disposal” denoted by Ba construction and the meaning of Gei+VP becomes compatible.

- (1) *Ta ba bing gei zhihao le.* (2) *Wo jintian tiquan ba shengri gei guo le.*
3SG BA illness Gei cure particle 1SG today ahead.of.time BA birthday Gei spend particle
‘He cures his illness.’ ‘Today I spent my birthday ahead of time.’
- (3a) *Wo ba yao gei nongshang le.* (3b) *Wo bei dianhua gei chaoxing.*
1SG BA waist Gei hurt particle 1SG Bei telephone Gei waken
‘I hurt my waist.’ ‘I was wakened by the (sound of) telephone.’

The finding echoes Partington’s (2014) viewpoint, showing “prosodies are not a property of words, they are a property of groups of recurring, inter-collocating phrases” (p. 287), and “the distribution of evaluative meaning spreads across phrases both synchronically and diachronically” (p. 295). It is suggested that semantic prosody should shift its focus from traditional synonym comparison to the inquiry of common phrases or sentence patterns.

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From PUT to differential object marker: A case study of the verb PUT in the Panshi dialect (Sinitic)
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Differential object marking (DOM) and differential indexation (DOI) refer to optional direct object marking systems which are determined by semantic or pragmatic factors (Bossong 1985, Aissen 2003, Iemmolo 2011, *inter alia*). The differential object marking constructions are a pan-Sinitic feature and various lexical sources for object markers are attested, which can be classified into three major types according to Chappell (2013):

I. TAKE/HOLD; II. GIVE/HELP; III. COMITATIVE

This paper reports a rare lexical source for object markers—the verb of placement 搁 $k\gamma^{44}$ ‘put, place’ in the Panshi dialect of Northeastern Mandarin. See example one for both its lexical and object-marking uses.

(1) 搁包搁桌儿上吧。

$k\gamma^{213}$ pau⁴⁴ $k\gamma^{44}$ tʂu⁴⁴ ʂaŋ pa.
DOM bag put table upside PRT

‘Put the bag on the table.’

The verb 搁 GE ‘put, place’ is characterized by its multi-functionality in Northeastern Mandarin as well as in other Mandarin varieties. Nevertheless, being an object marker, this phenomenon is rarely reported in the literature and this object marking function of the verb PUT is not common either within Northeastern Mandarin.

By using the model of context-induced grammaticalization (Heine 2002), this paper aims to reconstruct the grammaticalization pathway from the verb of placement $k\gamma^{44}$ ‘put, place’ to the object marker $k\gamma^{213}$ in Panshi. We propose that the object-marking function is not directly derived from its lexical form ‘put, place’ but is developed from its function of locative preposition with the locative verb as the mediate stage, i.e. ‘put, place’ > locative verb > locative preposition > DOM.

As in many other Northeastern Mandarin varieties, the verb $k\gamma^{44}$ ‘put, place’ in Panshi demonstrates a large range of polysemy and multi-functionality. Apart from its object-marking function, it can also be used as a locative verb ($k\gamma^{213}$), a locative/temporal preposition ($k\gamma^{213}$), an ablative preposition ($k\gamma^{213}$), an instrumental preposition ($k\gamma^{44}$), a conditional topic marker and a conditional clause marker ($k\gamma^{44}$). One can immediately observe the tonal alternation which is related to different meanings and functional assignments. All the functions related or derived via the locative verb $k\gamma^{213}$ bear the contour ton [214], while those derived from the verb of placement bear the high level ton [44]. This tonal alternation plays a key role to reconstruct the pathway for the object-marking function of $k\gamma^{213}$ in Panshi. Although instrumental prepositions are common sources for object markers in Sinitic, we will show that the only possible bridging context in Panshi whereby the object marker can be reanalyzed is the context of locative preposition.

Bridging context

(2) 搁这屋铺上木地板

$k\gamma^{213}$ tsei⁵² wu⁴⁴ p^hu⁴⁴-ʂaŋ mu⁵²ti⁵²pen²¹³.
LOC/DOM this room floor-up wooden.floor

Locative: ‘(We’ll) use wood parquets **in this room**.’

DOM: ‘(We’ll) **floor this room** with wood parquets.’

The case of the object marker $k\gamma^{213}$ in Panshi shows its particularity, in terms of its lexical source (PUT) and its pathway (locative preposition > DOM), among other Sinitic languages. However, our hypothesis also shows its plausibility and contributes to the diversity of Sinitic languages.

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冤 *Yuan!* Chinese Injustice in a Metaphor Perspective

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Abstract

Prompted by the pathbreaking work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*, metaphor is no longer considered a rhetorical artefact by cognitive linguists, as they have shown that metaphor is a fundamental tool of our thinking that we cannot make short of to make sense of the world around us, to create it, and especially to conceive of and talk about abstract concepts, including legal ones (e.g., Kövecses 2010; 2020; Hanne and Weisberg 2018). Perhaps even more importantly, metaphor does not only happen in language and in our minds, but also, via embodied simulation, in our body (e.g., Johnson 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Gibbs 2005; Casasanto 2009; Maalej and Yu 2011; Littlemore 2019). Under the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) that is largely welcomed in cognitive linguistics, metaphor is defined as “understanding one conceptual domain [called target domain] in terms of another conceptual domain [called source domain]” (Kövecses 2010, 4). Linguistic metaphors such as “She had a *head start* in life”, “I’m at a *crossroad* and don’t know what to do”, “He feels like he’s *stuck* and can’t *move on* with his life” map the source domain of JOURNEY onto the target domain of LIFE, and are thus said to realise the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, formalising the fact that we conceive of life as if it was a journey (it has a starting point, an end, there are crossroads and moments in which we need to stop, there are impediments to our motion, etc.). Metaphor studies tend to focus on English, while research on the Chinese language is remarkably limited and largely comes from the output of a single scholar, Ning Yu (e.g., 1998; 2009a; 2009b).

Despite the fact that law is concerned with and regulates each and every aspect of our lives, rarely have scholars focussed on this specialised language (but see e.g., Hanne and Weisberg 2018; Philippopoulos- Mihalopoulos 2016; Golder 2019; Mannoni 2021), while limiting their studies on neighbouring areas, such as morality. Particularly, Yu and colleagues (Yu 2015; 2016; Yu, Wang, and He 2016) have described the Chinese moral system from the conceptual metaphor perspective by using a source-oriented approach (i.e., from source domains to words), showing that this system draws from sight and space. Specifically, these scholars argue for the existence of ten pairs of source domains to map MORALITY and IMMORALITY, respectively: WHITE-BLACK (thus, MORAL IS WHITE vs IMMORAL IS BLACK), LIGHT-DARK, CLEAR-MURKY, CLEAN-DIRTY, PURE-IMPURE; and HIGH-LOW (MORAL IS HIGH vs IMMORAL IS LOW), UPRIGHT-TILTED, LEVEL-UNLEVEL, STRAIGHT-CROOKED, BIG-SMALL.

In this paper I present the results of my research on *yuān* 冤, an ancient Chinese word that stands at the intersection between morality and law: the word translates into English as ‘wrong, injustice, tort, wrongful or false accusation, wrongful condemnation’ but also as ‘vengeance’ and ‘bad luck’ (Pils 2011; Cao 2018; Mannoni 2020). It has, thus, both legal and moral nuances. *How do Chinese speakers conceive of yuān and its abstract meanings? What are the metaphors that yuān instantiates in the minds of the Chinese? And do these metaphors change the knowledge that we currently have of moral metaphors?* This paper takes an empirical and target-domain oriented approach (from words to source-domains) to answer these questions.

Specifically, besides studying the etymology and the primary meanings of *yuān*, I used the SketchEngine corpus manager (Kilgariff et al. 2014) to access a large corpus of naturally occurring linguistic data, i.e. zhTenTen11, and searched for its collocates. I then grouped all the collocates of *yuān* that I could mark as metaphorical into different semantic categories indicating different possible source domains, and discussed these under the cognitive view of metaphor as above delineated.

The search of metaphor at the level of language in a large dataset such as SketchEngine requires that we systematically consider what counts as metaphor in modern Chinese (e.g., what is the smallest unit of analysis—a key concept in procedures aimed to find linguistic metaphors, such as MIP and MIPVU (Pragglejaz Group 2007; Wang et al. 2019; Steen et al. 2010)).

This study has found a number of source domains used to conceive of Chinese INJUSTICE, such as ANIMAL, HEARING, TASTE, MOTION, WEIGHT, and SIZE, that expand our knowledge of Chinese legal metaphors and prompts us to reconsider our current knowledge of moral metaphors in Chinese.

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Daegu Korean has unaccented words

1. Overview: Daegu (or North Gyeongsang) Korean is unlike Seoul Korean, but similar to Tokyo Japanese in that it is a lexical pitch accent language (Kenstowicz & Sohn 1997, Jun et al. 2006, *a.o.*: hereafter KSJ). Tokyo Japanese has both accented and unaccented words; accented words have an H*+L pitch fall (e.g. zisin (HLL) ‘self’), while unaccented words do not have such a fall (e.g. zisin (LHH) ‘earthquake’) (Pierrehumbert & Beckman 1988, *a.o.*). KSJ claim that Daegu Korean words are always accented unlike Tokyo Japanese words. In this paper, I show that what KSJ call “final-accented” words are in fact unaccented words, showing similarities with unaccented words in Tokyo Japanese. Diachronic facts due to Ramsey (1978) also support my analysis.

2. KSJ’s analysis: KSJ claim that Daegu Korean trisyllabic words have four accent classes (Table 1). Pitch accent assigns H*+L to accented syllables. For example, in the initial-accented word /ménuri/ ‘daughter-in-law’, the first syllable gets an H tone; it is followed by an L tone, which spreads rightward. Jun et al. (2006) claim that H* is assigned to the first syllable and is spread to the second syllable in double-accented words. KSJ observe that final-accented words in isolation behave differently from the other accent classes, as will be discussed later. They claim that the +L tone in the pitch accent is deleted at the lexical level when final-accented words are not followed by a case particle. For example, final-accented words without a case particle (e.g. /wʌnʌmín/ ‘native speaker’) end in an H tone and the floating +L tone is deleted. However, when they are followed by a case particle (e.g. /wʌnʌmín-i/ ‘native speaker-NOM’), the case particle receives the +L tone and the whole Prosodic Word (PWD: N + Particle(s)) behaves like the other accented classes.

	Initial	Penult	Final	Double
In isolation	/mé.nu.ri/ HLL ‘daughter-in-law’	/ʌ.mú.i/ LHL ‘mother’	/wʌ.nʌ.mín/ LLH ‘native speaker’	/ó.ré.pi/ HHL ‘older brother’
/-i/ka/ (-NOM)	/mé.nu.ri-ka/ HLLL	/ʌ.mú.i.ka/ LHLL	/wʌ.nʌ.mí.ni/ LLHL	/ó.ré.pi.ka/ HHLL

Table 1: Four accent classes in Daegu Korean (Jun et al. 2006; ‘: pitch accent)

3. AP formation, not “upstep”: KSJ found that Word2 is downstepped in the possessive (Word1) + noun (Word2) construction when Word1 is not what they call “final-accented”. In /ʌmúí minári/ ‘mother’s parsley’, for example, both words retain their pitch accent and the melody of the whole phrase is LHL LHL, but the peak F0 of /minári/ ‘parsley’ is reduced. KSJ also found that Word2 is “upstepped” when Word1 is what they call “final-accented”. In /namwʌn ʌmúí/ ‘mother from Namwon’, for example, the melody of the whole phrase becomes LH HHL, not LH LHL; the first syllable of /ʌmúí/ ‘mother’ changes to H. These findings are exactly the same as what happens to Tokyo Japanese. Kubozono (1993) observes that in Tokyo Japanese, an unaccented word and the following PWD may form one large accentual phrase (AP), which contains at most one pitch accent and has an initial boundary tone %L (Pierrehumbert & Beckman 1988); on the other hand, an accented word cannot form one large AP with the following PWD. For example, (_{AP} Hiroshima-no tamágo-to) ‘Hiroshima-GEN egg-and’ forms one AP because *Hiroshima* is unaccented (Vance 2008, Ito & Mester 2013); the prosody of the AP is LHHHH HLLL, not LHHHH LHLL. Jun et al. (2006) claim that the AP level is missing in Daegu Korean, but I argue that AP exists in Daegu Korean as in Tokyo Japanese. I analyze /ʌmúí minári/ ‘mother’s parsley’ and /namwʌn ʌmúí/ ‘mother from Namwon’ as (_{AP} ʌmúí) (_{AP} minári) and (_{AP} namwʌn ʌmúí), respectively.

4. Gyeongsang accent shift: Ramsey (1978) showed that the location of pitch accent in Middle Korean (15th-16th century) is shifted one syllable to the left in modern Gyeongsang Korean, which includes Daegu Korean. This means that we predict the absence of final-accented words in Daegu Korean.

5. Particles: Ramsey (1978) claims that monosyllabic case particles in modern Gyeongsang Korean are all “preaccented” because they were accented in Middle Korean. Following McCawley’s (1968) analysis of Tokyo Japanese, I analyze preaccentuation as pitch accent assignment to the preceding syllable and assume that when there is more than one pitch accent in one PWD, only the first one survives. I also assume that unaccented words have a PWD-final H% boundary tone (e.g. /wʌnʌmín/ (LLH) ‘native speaker’) as in Osaka Japanese unaccented words (see Pierrehumbert & Beckman 1988). My analysis can explain the data from Son (2017) in (1-3) and why KSJ’s “final-accented” words become accented with a case particle. The nouns in (a) and (b) are /úri/ ‘cage’ (Initial) and /uri/ ‘we’ (Unaccented = KSJ’s Final), respectively. The particles in (1-3) are /-ka/ ‘-NOM’ (Preaccented), /-k’átʃi/ ‘until’ (Initial), and /-pota/ ‘than’ (Unaccented), respectively. In (1a) and (2a), the pitch accent on the noun survives because it is the first one, but in (1b) and (2b), the pitch accent on the particle appears because the noun is unaccented. In (3a), the only one pitch accent on the noun appears on the surface. In (3b), the PWD-final syllable is realized with an H tone because the whole PWD is unaccented.

- (1) a. /úri/ + /-ka/ → /úri-ka/ (HLL) b. /uri/ + /-ka/ → /urí-ka/ (LHL)
 (2) a. /úri/ + /-k’átʃi/ → /úri-k’átʃi/ (HLLL) b. /uri/ + /-k’átʃi/ → /uri-k’átʃi/ (LLHL)
 (3) a. /úri/ + /-pota/ → /úri-pota/ (HLLL) b. /uri/ + /-pota/ → /uri-pota/ (LLLH)

6. Conclusion: “Final-accented” words in Daegu Korean are in fact unaccented words because they show similarities with unaccented words in Tokyo Japanese.

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Title: A corpus approach to Chinese sentence-initial indefinites

Abstract: The sentence-initial position in Chinese has often been associated with topichood and givenness/definiteness (Li and Thompson 1976, 1981 and subsequent literature). However, observations have been raised against this association, e.g., with informationally new and indefinite referents (Paul, 2015; Bisang, 2016; B. Lu) as well as with so-called 'indefinite-subject sentences' (无定主语句) (Fan 1985; Fu, 2013; S. Lu & Pan, 2009; Zhang, 2019; Zhou & Chen, 2013). However, the statistical relevance of the phenomenon of sentence-initial indefinites (SIIs), as well as its interaction with other features typically connected to the sentence-initial position have not yet been explored.

This paper adopts corpus methodologies to determine (i) the statistical relevance of SIIs of the type of '—CLF N' in big-size corpora, and (ii) whether there is an interaction with animacy/locatability. A large-scale, quantitative and qualitative analysis was conducted on three major generalised corpora: the PKU CCL corpus (470 million characters), the BCC corpus (15 billion characters), and the Sketch Engine ZHTenTen Chinese corpus (13,5 billion characters). The analysis shows that SIIs do not constitute isolated exceptions and that animacy and locatability significantly increase the acceptability of SIIs.

Keywords: sentence-initial indefinites, animacy, corpora, quantitative analysis

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***krup* : exprimer la « totalité » en khmer contemporain**

La notion de « totalité » s'exprime de différentes manières dans les langues : en français on a par exemple *tout, tous, chaque*, en anglais par *all, every* etc. En khmer plusieurs termes tels que *krup, roal, sap, pah, tean*, etc. - selon le contexte peuvent être rendu par « tout, tous, chaque » et permettent d'exprimer cette idée de « totalité » (KLEIBER Georges et MARTIN Robert, 1977, KLEIBER Georges, 2011, ANSCOMBRE Jean-Claude, 2006). Mais la notion de la « totalité » à laquelle ces termes renvoient est abstraite et il importe de mettre en évidence la façon spécifique donc chacun de ces mots construit la notion de « totalité »

Ma thèse (travail en cours), porte sur deux de ces termes : *krup* et *roal*. Nous nous limiterons ici à la présentation de *krup*. Ce mot peut être employé dans différentes constructions syntaxiques : *krup* employé seul, *krup* dans un groupe nominal et *krup* dans une construction verbale en série. Nous nous concentrerons ici sur le cas de *krup* employé seul.

Il est à noter que *krup* employé seul n'existe quasiment pas dans les textes écrits tels que les journaux, la presse en ligne, les fictions, les magazines, etc. Par contre, nous pouvons trouver cet emploi de *krup* dans la conversation quotidienne. Un de nos objectifs sera d'expliquer pourquoi cet emploi a une sphère d'emploi aussi restrictive. Un autre objectif sera d'expliquer l'émergence des différences valeurs qui apparaissent en contexte entre deux interlocuteurs où il est question d'une valeur et de sa représentation. Dans le cas de *krup* employé seul, ces notions sont la confirmation, la suffisance et la mise en doute. Exemples :

(1) Deux amis A et B. A emprunte 1000\$ à B. Un jour, A rend à B l'argent qu'il lui a emprunté. B compte pour vérifier si tout est là. Enfin, B confirme en disant : ***krup* « Tout est là ! »**

(2) Dans un restaurant, deux amis sont en train de regarder le menu. A ne sait pas choisir, alors il laisse B commander les plats. Après avoir commandé 3 plats, B demande à A s'il y aura assez pour eux 2. A répond : ***krup* « C'est assez. » / « C'est suffisant. »**

L'analyse des contextes dans lesquels ces valeurs apparaissent montrera que l'émergence de ces différentes valeurs est liée au fonctionnement sous-jacent de *krup*, que l'on peut décrire en ces termes. *krup* met en jeu deux valeurs : une valeur de référence (X') et une valeur actualisée (X) dont il établit la correspondance.

On montrera comment les valeurs sémantiques observées se construisent de façon spécifique selon les propriétés de X et X' dans les différents contextes, selon le type de contexte discursif dans lequel l'énoncé est inscrit. Pourquoi a-t-on ces différentes valeurs ? Comment émerge la notion de suffisance ? Quel rapport entretient-elle avec la notion de « totalité ».

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How to analyse ‘正在 *zhèng zài* VP’ and the issue of tense and finiteness in Chinese

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This paper shows that ‘*zhèng zài* VP’ (cf. (1a)) is to be analysed as the adverb *zhèng* ‘just, precisely’ preceding and modifying the VP headed by the aspectual (progressive) *zài* : *zhèng* [*zài* VP]. It follows that the sequence *zhèng zài* is neither a (bisyllabic) variant of the adverb *zhèng* ‘just’ (cf. *Xiàndài hànyǔ bābāicǐ*) nor of the aspectual head *zài* (as currently assumed in studies on tense in Chinese) and that it must not be analysed and transliterated as one word *zhèngzài*. This at first sight trivial result is important for studies on aspect, tense and ultimately finiteness in Chinese, given that aspect and temporal adverbs are two separate factors contributing to the computation of tense/finiteness in a Chinese sentence.

Although *Xiàndài hànyǔ bābāicǐ* (p. 672) presents *zhèngzài* as an adverb, i.e. as a single word, it provides on the same page the relevant data pointing in favour of an analysis as adverb *zhèng* ‘just’ distinct from the following progressive aspect head *zài*:

(1a) Wǒmen *zhèng* [_{AspP} *zài* [_{VP} *tǎolùn*]].

1PL just PROGR discuss

‘We’re just discussing [it].’

(1b) *Wǒmen [_{VP} *zhèng* [_{VP} *tǎolùn*]].

1PL just discuss

(1c) Wǒmen [_{AspP} *zài* [_{VP} *tǎolùn*]].

1PL PROGR discuss

‘We’re discussing [it].’

The triple in (1a-c) looks innocent enough, but in fact reveals major properties of Chinese with respect to tense, aspect and finiteness. (1b) vs (1c) shows that (i) an activity verb requires the presence of aspect for a non-habitual, episodic reading (cf. Sun Hongyuan 2014), (ii) that the adverb *zhèng* ‘just’ cannot fulfil this function, and that in this respect (iii) an adverb (*zhèng* ‘just’) is clearly different from an aspectual head (*zài*). As illustrated in (1a), naturally, both can co-occur.

The adverbial status of *zhèng* ‘just’ is confirmed by its being interchangeable with other adverbs, e.g. *hái* ‘still’, *yīzhí* ‘continuously’ when preceding *zài* + VP. Again, adverbs alone cannot license the episodic reading of activity verbs.

(2) Wǒmen *yīzhí*/ *hái* *(*zài*) *tǎolùn*.

1PL continuously/still PROGR discuss

‘We are constantly/still discussing [it].’

Under negation with *bù shì* ‘NEG be’, the adverb *zhèng* on its own can be the negated item. This would be impossible if *zhèng* ‘just’ were a subpart of the - hypothetical - word *zhèngzài*, given that subparts within a word are not accessible to syntax (*Lexical Integrity Hypothesis*):

Context: Mother talks to a third person in the presence of her son.

(3a) Māma: Wǒ dào jiā shí, tā *zhèng zài* xiě zuòyè.

mum 1SG arrive home time 3SG just PROG write homework

Mother: ‘When I came home, he was just doing his homework.’

(3b) Ērzi: Wǒ bù shì *zhèng zài* xiě zuòyè , wǒ shì *yīzhí* *zài* xiě zuòyè.

son 1SG NEG be just PROG write homework 1SG be continuously PROG write homework

Son: ‘I was not doing my homework just at that moment, but I was doing my homework all the time.’

Finally, the one word analysis as *zhèngzài* is invalidated by the cases where (i) the adverb *zhèng* ‘just’ is only acceptable without *zài* and where (ii) *zài* is only acceptable when without *zhèng* ‘just’:

(4a) Nǐ lái de zhēn qiǎo, wǒ *zhèng* *(*zài*) yào zhǎo nǐ.

2SG come DE really opportune 1SG just PROGR want search 2SG

‘You come at the right moment, I just wanted to go and see you.’

(4b) Tàiyáng měi tiān dōu *(*zhèng*) *zài* shēngqǐ luòxià.

sun every day all just PROGR rise set

‘The sun is rising and setting every day.’

This conclusively excludes the analysis of *zhèngzài* as a variant of the progressive aspect *zài* (contra Martin et al. 2020), an important result to be taken into account by future work on tense and finiteness in Chinese.

Early Mandarin Palatalization with reference to Korean Sources

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The Modern Mandarin palatal consonants $j/te/$, $q/te^h/$ and $x/e/$ have two main sources from Middle Chinese, the alveolar affricates/fricatives: 精 *ts, 清 *ts^h, 從 *dz, 心 *s, 邪 *z (All Middle Chinese reconstructions are from Li 1956/2020), or the velar/glottal stops/fricatives 見 *k, 溪 *kh, 群 *g, 曉 *x, 匣 *ɣ. When they pair with the rhymes of the 3rd and 4th division and some rhymes of the 2nd division, the outcome in Modern Mandarin has a palatal consonant as the initial consonant. In Section 1 of this paper, I briefly summarize the relevant sound changes.

In Section 2, I focus on the Korean transcription of Mandarin in *Cungkan Nogeltay Enhay* (중간 노걸대 언해 重刊老乞大諺解 Lit. “Republished *Nogeltay* with Hangul transliteration and translation”), showing that in the Korean, the characters with palatal initial consonants from Middle Chinese velar/glottal stop/fricatives were transcribed with either the hangul for palatal consonants, ㅈ c, ㅊ ch, ㅅ s, showing palatalization (for example, 給 ‘supply’, Middle Chinese *kjəp, Mandarin jǐ, *Nogeltay* ㅈㅣ ci), or the hangul for velar/glottal consonants ㅋ k, ㆁ kh, ㅎ h, not showing palatalization (for example, 今 ‘today’ Middle Chinese *kjəm, Mandarin jīn, *Nogeltay* ㄱㅣ kin). I will show that this suggests the palatalization of the velar/glottal stops/fricatives came in different waves.

In Section 3, I discuss the characters with *x initial (曉母) in Middle Chinese. In *Nogeltay*, the only character with *x initial that shows palatalization is 許 ‘many’ Middle Chinese *xiɔ, Early Mandarin *xiu (All Middle Chinese reconstructions are from Ning 1985), Modern Mandarin xǔ, *Nogeltay* ㅈㅣ syuy, distinguishing the outcome for Korean ㅎ h from that of ㅋ k and ㆁ kh. This contrast suggests that Korean ㅎ h was palatalized to *ç, if followed by a yod.

In Section 4, I subgroup all the characters with the velar/glottal initials other than *x by the following features: 1. Whether they have a glide /w/ (開口 vs. 合口), 2. Which division their rhyme belongs to, 3. Which chóngniǔ (重紐) type their rhyme belongs to if the rhymes are in the 3rd division and show the statistical degree to how each subgroup palatalizes the initial consonants, as follows:

4th and 3rd chóngniǔ type C > 3rd type B and type D > 3rd type A

Although chóngniǔ type A (重紐四) is placed in the fourth division in rhyme tables (韻圖), the *Nogeltay* data shows that the fourth division always palatalizes the initial consonants, but the cases where chóngniǔ type A palatalizes are the fewest, contradicting to the fact that type A should palatalize the most among the 3rd division rhymes (Huang 2012). Based on this, I propose the relative chronology of palatalization of each division and chóngniǔ type.

In Section 5, I present an account of 2nd division palatalizing rhymes based on the OCP.

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A Semantic Study of *henduo* ‘many’ and *henshao* ‘few’ in Mandarin Chinese

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It is well acknowledged that *many* and *few* can serve as an adjective or a determiner (both in the prenominal position), leading to an ambiguity between a modifier type and a quantifier type of expressions (see e.g. Bennett 1974, Westerståhl 1984, Löbner 1987). Partee (2004) further leads to the conclusion that *many/few* can be cardinal or proportional in reading, with the former as either an adjective or a determiner, and the latter a determiner only.

For Chinese, equivalents to English *many* and *few* are considered to be *henduo* and *henshao*, and they are shown to demonstrate asymmetrical syntactic distributions, with different grammatical functions (see Chao 1968, Zhu 1989, Wang 1995, Qiu 1999). Along this line, we further argue that unlike English *many* and *few*, interpretations of *henduo* and *henshao* are not determined by a simple ambiguity between an attributive adjective and a determiner, but a diversification among an attributive adjective, a predicative adjective and an adverb, leading to its overwhelming prominence of cardinal reading over proportional reading.

This study aims to probe into the quantificational structure of *henduo* and *henshao*. Data have been collected from the CCL corpus, with targeted investigation conducted through questionnaires of sentence judgements. Preliminary results reveal the following points.

Firstly, *henduo* and *henshao* is found to demonstrate diversification among serving as an attributive adjective (1a), a predicative adjective (1b) and an adverb (1c).

- (1) a. *Henduo*/?*henshao* ren chi pingguo. b. Ta chi de pingguo *henduo*/*henshao*.
many/few people eat apple he eat DE apple many/few
‘Many/Few people eat people.’ ‘The apple he ate are many/few.’
- c. Ta **henduo*/*henshao* chi pingguo.
he many/few eat apple
Intended: ‘He often/seldom eats apple.’

Secondly, both *henduo* and *henshao* can be modifiers but show a different realization in their readings. The cardinal reading is the dominate reading of *henduo*, which supports its being an attributive adjective. On the other hand, cardinal reading on a par with *henduo* is not possible in *henshao* (see (1a)), and modification of *henshao* is possible only under adverbial modification, giving the reading of English *seldom* (see (1c)). The contrast is not shown when both occur as predicative adjectives (see (1b)).

Thirdly, as an adverb, proportional readings are restricted in *henshao*. However, our findings reveal that, as an attributive adjective, although proportional readings are also restricted in *henduo*, such a reading is possible when *henduo* is licensed by the topic feature of [Head, TopicP], as in (2).

- (2) *Henduo* xuexiao lai-le jiazhang.
many school come-PERF parent
‘There are many schools that parents came to.’

Findings above suggest that Chinese *henduo* and *henshao* are not equivalents of English *many* and *few*. *Henduo* and *henshao* demonstrate diverse syntactic distributions among attributive adjective, predicative adjective and adverb, leading to its overwhelming prominence of cardinal reading over proportional reading. Moreover, proportional readings are possible with topic projection in *henduo*. This may lead to an implication that Chinese may have determiners, which at the very least, is true under such a case.

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A quantitative perspective on Japanese accent

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Standard (Tokyo) Japanese has a free lexical accent system, where each lexical word is assigned or not an accent,¹ with neither the presence nor the location of accent being predictable, especially in nominals. For any nominal consisting of n syllables, there are theoretically $n + 1$ possible accent patterns. Still, it has long been noted that the distribution of accent patterns is skewed, so that a nominal's accent pattern is not entirely unpredictable (Martin 1952; Shibata 1992; 1994; Satō 1993; Kuribayashi 1996; Kubozono 2006). In particular, previous studies have noted that the different accent patterns are not evenly distributed among words of different lengths and different lexical strata (native, Sino-Japanese, foreign). However, such studies simply list differences in the frequencies of the different accent patterns, and hitherto no measure of such skews have been proposed, e.g. previous studies offer no objective way to estimate to what extent accentuation is more predictable in foreign loanwords than in native words.

This study proposes to use information entropy as a measure for estimating and comparing skews and differences in the distribution of accent patterns among nominals. Information entropy $H(X)$ measures in bits the unpredictability of the outcome of a random variable X as a function of the number and probabilities of its different possible outcomes (Shannon 1948a,b).² Here, the random variable is the accentuation of nominals, and the probabilities of the outcomes are the frequencies of the different accent patterns. We also consider the conditional entropy $H(X | Y)$ of X given the knowledge of another variable Y , e.g. the entropy of accentuation given the knowledge of word length.³ We present preliminary results based on the frequency data calculated on the BCCWJ corpus (Maekawa et al. 2013). We extracted the 5000 most frequent long unit nominals and then retrieved the accent pattern of each word from the UniDic database (Den et al. 2007). Since UniDic only contains short unit nominals, the data obtained contains free-standing short units only and excludes short units used as parts of complex words. Our data can thus be viewed as a representative sample of simplex nominals.

We examined the distribution and the entropy of accentuation using both the type and token frequencies of the nominals in our database, both globally but also for the different lexical strata and for different word lengths. We first empirically confirmed that accent location is more easily predicted when computed from the end of the word rather than from its beginning, as is usually accepted. We also observed that the distribution of accent location is globally biased, with the unaccented pattern being largely predominant. This is also the case for all strata except the foreign one, where the antepenultimate pattern is the most frequent. Among the different strata, the Japanese one shows the lowest entropy, which indicates that accent location is easier to predict for Japanese words than for Sino-Japanese and foreign ones. Also, as expected, the longer the word, the more difficult it is to predict accent location, but this trend reverses for very long words (seven morae and more). However, a more fine-grained investigation of accent location by both word length and lexical strata reveals further biases, e.g. for shorter words, it is in Japanese words that accent location is most unpredictable, while it becomes more predictable in longer words.

¹The accent is realised as a pitch fall between the accent-bearing mora and the following one. See Kawahara (2015) for a recent general overview of Japanese accent.

$$^2 H(X) = - \sum_{i=1}^n P(x_i) \log P(x_i)$$

$$^3 H(X | Y) = - \sum_{x \in X, y \in Y} P(x, y) \log \frac{P(x, y)}{P(y)}$$

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The morpheme [kao²¹³] 遘 in Chaozhou dialect: a comparison with Standard Mandarin *dào* 到

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This paper discusses the morpheme [kao²¹³] 遘 “arrive at”, “to”, in Chaozhou (or Teochew), a Sinitic language of Southern Min group, mainly spoken in Guangdong, in south-east China, as well as by an important part of Chinese diaspora, notably in Paris.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the use and the syntactic features of [kao²¹³] 遘 in a motion event. [kao²¹³] 遘 roughly corresponds to Standard Chinese *dào* 到 “to” (See Robert Cheng, 1982, “Directional constructions in Taiwanese”). Like *dào* 到, [kao²¹³] 遘 originally means “arrive at”, but exhibits a prepositional use (Li Rulong 2000, 2007) taking a locative Noun Phrase (NP) denoting the Goal (the end point of a motion) like the preposition “jusqu’ à” (Fortis 2006) in French. However, its use may be more restricted than *dào* 到. For instance, it cannot take a locative Noun Phrase (NP) in a clause with injunctive meaning (i.e., future action) after posture verbs ([tso³⁵] 坐 ‘sit’, [kia³⁵] 倚 ‘stand’, [k‘u⁵⁵] 跼 ‘squat’, [ĩ³⁵] 歹 ‘lie down’) such as shown in the following example:

(1) “Lie down on the couch!”

tǎng *dào* *shāfā=shàng* (Standard Mandarin)
lie_down **arrive** couch=on

*[ĩ³⁵] [kao²¹³] [su ā³³xuak²=teŋ⁴²] (Chaozhou, Gao_Tab2_2)
lie_down **arrive** couch=on

Intended meaning: “Lie down on the couch!”

In Chaozhou, the example (1) is expressed as follows:

[ĩ³⁵] [nā¹¹] [su ā³³xuak²=teŋ⁴²] (Chaozhou, Gao_Tab2_2)
lie_down **to** couch=on

Besides, we show that just like Taiwanese, [kao²¹³] 遘 can appear directly after the deictic path verbs [lai⁵⁵] 来 “come” / [k^hw²¹³] 去 “go” to take a locative NP expressing the Goal. This word order is impossible in Standard Chinese where the locative NP should be inserted between *dào* 到 “to” and *lái* 来 “come” / *qù* 去 “go” .

(2) “We got here in the blink of an eye.”

[nĩ⁷²] [e¹¹] [m ā⁵] [tsu¹¹] [ki ā] [lai⁵⁵] [kao²¹³] [tsio²¹³ko²¹³] (Chaozhou, HHL0014)
blink once eye then walk **come** **arrive** here

**zá* *xià* *yǎn* *jiù* *zǒu* *lái* *dào* *zhèr* (Standard Mandarin)
blink once eye then walk **come** **arrive** here

zhǎ *xià* *yǎn* *jiù* *zǒu* *dào* *zhèr* *lái* (Standard Mandarin)
blink once eye then walk **arrive** here **come**

The analysis is based on various data including: collection of sentences constructed with [kao²¹³] 遘, television series and Pear story narrations (Wallace Chafe¹ 1975).

¹ <http://chafe.faculty.linguistics.ucsb.edu/pearfilm.htm>

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Verbs, Adjectives and Degree Complement in Modern Chinese – Corpus-based analysis and results observations

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This paper presents some general remarks on the type of predicates that appear to be more frequently used with the complement of degree in Modern Chinese.

The input for this research was given by the hypothesis that verbal complements or buyu (补语) in Modern Chinese might cause valency reducing (Lucien Tesnière, 1959) or that object restriction was a verbal feature. With the aim to research further this hypothesis we have observed what kind of words can be part of a predicate that accepts any kind of verbal complement and analyzed the groups. Given the limits of time and space, we will present here only the results for the group referred to the complement of degree (程度补语).

According to Lu (2013), Yip & Rimmington (2006) y Zhao et al. (2012), the following elements are the ones to be considered part of this group: 得很, 得慌, 得多, 得要命, 得不得了, 极了, 透了, 多了, 死了, 够了, 远了. So we have analyzed the 20 most frequently used verbs and adverbs together with these elements. The research was carried out on the BCC corpus (荀恩东 et al., s. f.) and even though the same webpage provides specific statistics for the research carried out, an extensive reading of the analyzed sentences has also been carried out to check that the analysis carried out by the corpus algorithm truly reflects what is intended to be analyzed linguistically.

First of all, by observing the results, we can observe that words considered verbs and adjectives by the search engine are mixed up. It is thus essential to carry out an analytical reading of the results provided by the platform, since the platform does not recognize differences between certain verbs and adjectives, it is also unable to distinguish between 够了 = verb + aspectual le and 够了 = buyu postponed to a verb and/or adjective or between 透了 = second syllable of the verb + aspectual le and 透了 = buyu of degree postponed to a verb and /or adjective.

Second, if transitivity is to be considered a verbal (and not adjectival) characteristic, it can be seen how most of the words classified as verbs in the results and in this section provide information about the subject and their action does not fall on the object; in fact, in the absence of buyu this behavior would not change, that is to say that they are fundamentally intransitive and/or monovalent. It can be concluded that these buyu adhere to verbs and adjectives that already have an intransitive tendency, but this is not a rule applicable to all cases.

Third, with 得很, 得慌 and 得要命 the predicate is mainly monosyllabic; with 极了、透了、死了、坏了、得不得了 disyllabic.

Fourth, while some predicates compatible with some buyu are mainly or more commonly descriptive (大、多、早), some others appear to be more clearly divided between word communicating positive ideas (高兴、开心、快乐、好吃, etc.) and negative ideas (痛、冷、疼、雷、急, etc.).

Fifth, if we consider the type of predicates more frequently compatible with this kind of buyu we can observe how there is a similar pattern to those compatible with preverbal intensifiers (degree modifiers) like 很、非常、真, etc.

Further remarks on specific issues will be added during the oral presentation.

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Le phénomène de la désaccentuation en japonais de Tokyo : Cas des mots d'emprunts occidentaux

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Le japonais de Tokyo est catégorisé comme une langue à accent de hauteur. Contrairement à certaines autres langues à accent de hauteur qui ne possèdent pas obligatoirement de mots atones telles que le sanskrit, le grec ancien, ou certains dialectes coréens comme le gyeongsang du nord (Ito & Mester, 2016 : 472), le japonais de Tokyo se caractérise par le fait que presque la moitié du lexique nominal relève de cette dernière catégorie (47% des noms sont atones parmi 68,000 dans le dictionnaire de prononciation et d'accent (Sakamoto, 1999 : 124)). Ce chiffre considérable est d'autant plus significatif que les mots atones sont interdits dans les langues à accent d'intensité telles que l'anglais selon un des critères définissant l'accent d'intensité (*stress*) proposés par Hyman (2006), à savoir l'*obligatoriness* : « chaque mot possède au minimum un *stress* accent ». Par ailleurs, il existe un phénomène intrigant, concernant les mots toniques du japonais de Tokyo, relatif à ce patron atone : la tendance à la désaccentuation. La désaccentuation désigne le fait de prononcer un mot originellement tonique comme atone. Partant de l'observation que de plus en plus de mots perdant leur accent s'intègrent dans cette catégorie atone, nous considérons que cette tendance n'est pas un simple phénomène passager. Pourquoi ce phénomène se développe-t-il ? Certaines raisons morpho-phonologiques relatives à la longueur et la structure morique des mots ou la présence du morphème désaccentuant, ont déjà été signalées par des recherches antérieures (Giriko 2009, 2011, Ito 2016, Kubozono 1995, 2004, 2006, Labrune 2012, Shioda 2016a, 2016b, 2017, Tanaka 2001).

Notre travail vise à mettre au jour les facteurs phonologiques déterminant la désaccentuation. La méthodologie consiste à examiner les mots ayant subi la désaccentuation dans un corpus de 1,300 mots recueillis dans des travaux précédents (Shioda 2016a, 2016b, 2017). L'éditeur (NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute) du *Dictionnaire de la Prononciation et de l'Accent (Nihongo hatsuon akusento jiten)*, a effectué, en collaboration avec une équipe de linguistes, quatre enquêtes sur l'accentuation d'environ 5,500 mots, sur une période couvrant 7 années, auprès de 1,200 journalistes. Une modification d'accentuation a été constatée sur environ 3,300 mots.

Notre corpus est extrait de la deuxième enquête effectuée en 2009 (Shioda 2016a, 2016b, 2017) : nous avons pu lister les 508 mots désaccentués (243 mots d'origine japonaise, 185 mots sino-japonais, 80 mots d'emprunts occidentaux) parmi les 1,300 mots ayant connu un changement d'accent entre les deux éditions du dictionnaire en 1998 et en 2016. Sur la base de ces données, nous avons examiné les conditions de la désaccentuation en fonction de différents critères phonologiques, en nous focalisant notamment sur l'examen des lexèmes appartenant à la catégorie des emprunts occidentaux. L'observation détaillée de ces 80 mots d'emprunts occidentaux désaccentués nous semble d'autant plus essentielle que les mots d'emprunts sont toniques dans la majorité des cas, soit environ 90%, contrairement aux deux autres strates lexicales qui contiennent principalement (plus de 50%) des mots atones (Sakamoto, 1999).

Le résultat de ce travail montre une corrélation de la désaccentuation avec la place du noyau accentuel originel ainsi qu'avec la longueur phonologique : i) Nous avons constaté une tendance vers la désaccentuation notamment dans les mots toniques dont le noyau d'accent originel se situe en position pré antépénultième ($\chi^2(1) = 14.498, p < .05$) et à l'initiale ($\chi^2(1) = 9.732, p < .05$). En outre, nous avons constaté que les mots avec accent antépénultième résistent à ce phénomène de la désaccentuation ($\chi^2(1) = 6.767, p < .05$). Ce fait est sans aucun doute à interpréter en relation avec l'hypothèse que la position antépénultième serait la position par défaut de l'accent (Martin 1952, McCawley 1965, Kubozono 2006). ii) Concernant la longueur phonologique, les mots d'une longueur de 4 mores sont plus propices à être désaccentués ($\chi^2(1) = 16.639, p < .05$), suivi des 3 mores. Autrement dit, les mots courts et longs (2 mores et 5 mores ou plus) semblent résister à la désaccentuation.

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Convergence of Hakka with Chinese in Taiwan

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Background. Among the original Chinese settlers to Taiwan, a majority of speakers of Minnan and a substantial minority (ca. 15%) of Hakka speakers is counted. The traditionally 'marginal' existence of the Hakkas was repeated in their new homeland. Having been subjected to japanisation and sinicisation in the 20th century, Hakka experienced recognition and promotion by national language policies since about 1989 as part of the 'cultural heritage' of Taiwan. The Hakka language is researched at universities, standardised for written and public use, taught in schools, used in public announcements and on TV, and speakers profit from affirmative action measures on the basis of a language test. Hakka towns advertise their Hakkaness for tourism, Hakka cultural centers offer insights into Hakka culture. Nonetheless, it is known that speaker numbers are falling.

Material & method. In order to assess the microsociolinguistic situation of Hakka as a minority language, a series of open interviews as well as translation tasks were performed with Hakka speakers in various parts of Taiwan during 2017-2020. The interviews were held in Hakka language and partly in Chinese. The data were transcribed and analyzed for language attitudes, language preservation, Hakka identity, as well as grammatical aspects.

Analysis. 1. Hakka competence is age-dependent, and Hakka is less used in daily life. If Hakka is used, there is a high degree of code-switching and borrowing, i.e., phonologically adapted patterns of Guoyu in Hakka. It appears that Hakka is often not the primary language of the speakers. 2. "Taiwanese Hakka" identity does not refer to more recent Hakka migrations to Taiwan. There is a substantial group of Hân migrants from Burma; again, only old persons (70+) are still speaking Hakka (in a more original Yongding dialect), the younger people use Burmese and Chinese (and know some English).

Discussion. In spite of measures to preserve the minority language, it seems to be losing ground. The symbolic value of the language as identity marker cannot be maintained in the modern situation of urbanisation, general education, mass media consumption, globalisation of culture and economy, and inter-linguistic marriages -- factors which all favor the use of wider linguistic resources at the expense of local vernaculars. As an intermediary step in language shift (from Hakka to Guoyu/Hoklo), Hakka experiences quick language change by being assimilated to Guoyu, making it a 'dialect' under the 'roof' (cf. Kloss) of a dominating language. The standardisation efforts and the textbooks for Hakka actually move in the same direction through parallelising idiomatic phrases between the languages.

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Calcul modal du possible dans le cadre de la « loi du minimum » et de la « loi du maximum » : le cas du français et du chinois mandarin

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Les valeurs modales du possible font objet de nombreuses recherches de la linguistique chinoise et française : du dilemme « *realis/irrealis* » de Palmer (1986) et Givon (1994) à l'analyse basée sur la carte sémantique de Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998). Pourtant, ces travaux ne permettent pas d'expliquer le conflit modal entre un marqueur *realis* et son effet *irrealis* ou entre un marqueur *irrealis* et son effet *realis*. Par exemple :

1. Je voulais vous demander de m'accompagner.
2. Georges, tu mettras la table.
3. Língdù yǐxià, shuǐ huì jié bīng.
Zéro degré en dessous eau HUI geler
En dessous de zéro degré, l'eau gèle.

Selon la théorie du temps ramifié (Thomason, 1970 ; Vet, 1981), la valeur du passé de l'imparfait « *voulais* » montre un effet irrévocable (*realis*), alors que son aspect inaccompli exprime un sens de possible (*irrealis*). Ce paradoxe conduit « *voulais* » à l'effet de sens d'atténuation dans l'exemple 1. La même remarque se confirme pour le futur simple d'atténuation « *mettras* », où un conflit se produit entre le *realis* de l'aspect aoristique et l'*irrealis* du temps futur. Quant à *huì* en chinois mandarin, considéré comme *irrealis* (Lamarre, 2007 ; Wang, 2007), il peut néanmoins exprimer un sens assertif.

En associant la théorie du temps ramifié avec le modèle de Gosselin (1996, 2005), nous obtenons la corrélation entre les valeurs aspecto-temporelles en langue de l'imparfait, du futur simple et de *huì* et leurs valeurs modales par les figures suivantes :

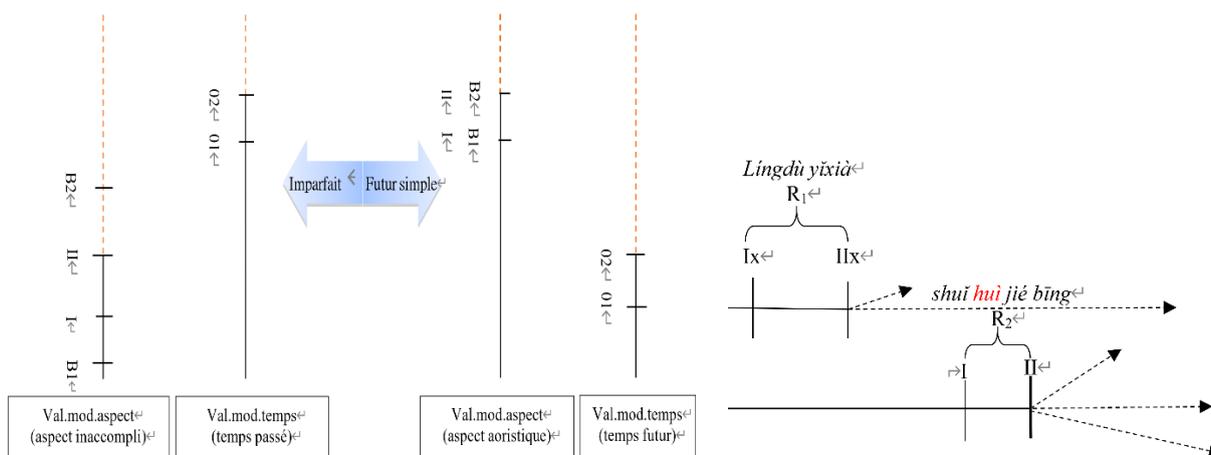


Figure 1

Figure 2

Dans ces figures, le monde irrévocable est représenté par la ligne pleine tandis que le monde possible est noté sous forme pointillée. La ligne pleine de l'aspect inaccompli de l'imparfait est plus courte que celle du temps passé. La valeur modale du procès « *voulais* » est limitée par le « facteur minimum » (*irrealis* de l'inaccompli) pour exprimer l'effet de sens d'atténuation. La même explication s'adapte au cas du futur « *mettras* » où le futur présente le « facteur minimum ».

Pourtant, en chinois mandarin, l'ultériorité de *huì* (Saillard & Chen, 2012) impose deux points de coupure modale : R_1 et R_2 . La factivité du procès dans l'exemple 3 ne porte que sur la valeur déterminée, soit jusqu'à R_2 , ce qui accorde au procès en *huì* un effet virtuellement déterminé (irrévocable), duquel résulte l'effet de sens assertif.

Ainsi, si la valeur modale de l'imparfait et du futur simple dépend du « facteur minimum », l'effet de sens assertif de *huì*, sous l'influence de la factivité de son contexte, est décidé par le « facteur maximum ». L'application de la « loi du minimum » et celle de la « loi du maximum » au calcul modal nous fournissent une nouvelle piste de résolution aux conflits modaux linguistiques.

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Titre de la communication :

Calcul modal du possible dans le cadre de la « loi du minimum » et de la « loi du maximum » : le cas du français et du chinois mandarin

Modal calculation of the possible within the framework of the “law of the minimum” and of the “law of the maximum”: the case of French and Mandarin Chinese

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Merger of /l/ and /n/ in Chongyang Gan Chinese: OT analysis and GLA

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For Chongyang Gan Chinese (CGC), which belongs to the Datong region of Gan Chinese (Wurm, Li, & Baumann, 1987), previous literature using impressionistic methods claimed that only two allophonic variants of /n/ exist in the absence of /l/, that is, [n] and [ɲ] occurring before [i] (Chao et al., 1946). However, with syllable-initial /n/, /l/, and /t^h/, a recording from five CGC native speakers revealed that syllable-initial /n/ remained [n] in all words, but syllable-initial /l/ was produced as [n] and remained the same before [i]. In the four words with /t^h/ as the syllable-initial consonant (i.e., 第地弟递), /t^h/ was pronounced as [l]. Accordingly, we assume there is a merger in progress between /l/ and /n/. To investigate this merger, we initially applied the optimality theory with onset constraints in terms of the sonority scale and then the Gradual Learning Algorithm.

Because there is a generalization regarding the sonority of the syllable onsets such that the onsets prefer to have consonants with low sonority (Smith, 2012), we ranked the onset constraints with the faithfulness constraint in CGC as below:

$$*_{\text{LATERAL-ONSET}} \gg *_{\text{NASAL-ONSET}} \gg *_{\text{STOP-ONSET}} \gg \text{IDENT (Sonority)}$$

The strict ranking of the onset constraints would prohibit the emergence of syllable-initial /l/ since $*_{\text{LATERAL-ONSET}}$ is undominated and ranked above $*_{\text{NASAL-ONSET}}$ and $*_{\text{STOP-ONSET}}$. Therefore, to better account for the merger, it would be more reasonable to treat the strictness of the constraints as a continuum to allow overlapping ranking distributions, which could then introduce variations in sound change (Boersma & Hayes, 2001). To simulate this, we turned to the Gradual Learning Algorithm (GLA) with stochastic OT grammar learning (Boersma & Hayes, 2001).

To train GLA, we selected three underlying forms /ni/, /li/, and /t^hi/ since the alternation between syllable initial /l/ and /n/ basically occurs before /i/ in Gan Chinese (Lu, 2016; Wan, 2009). We assigned all onset constraints a ranking value of (selected arbitrarily) 100 and the faithfulness constraint 80. All legal surface forms were assigned with an equal probability to maximize free variation (Boersma & Hayes, 2001). After 18,000 data, each constraint's new ranking value and the output distribution of each learning stage are given in the tables below (right table in percentages).

Constraint	Ranking value	Underlying form	Surface form	Target language	Initial state	After 6,000 data (noise 10.0)	After 6,000 data (noise 2.0)	After 12,000 data (noise 2.0)	After 18,000 data (noise 2.0)
$*_{\text{NASAL-ONSET}}$	100.03	ni 泥	ni	50	30.7	88.9	39.8	45.4	49.9
$*_{\text{STOP-ONSET}}$	99.94		li	50	69.3	11.1	60.2	54.6	50.1
$*_{\text{LATERAL-ONSET}}$	100.03	li 力	ni	33.3	3.9	70.5	35.0	29.3	32.5
IDENT (Sonority)	51.67	t ^h i 地	li	33.3	85.2	7.1	53.9	36.1	32.7
			t ^h i	33.3	10.9	22.4	11.1	34.6	34.7
			ni	33.3	4.8	70.4	35.0	29.2	32.6
			li	33.3	44.4	7.1	53.9	36.2	32.7
			t ^h i	33.3	50.8	22.5	11.1	34.6	34.7

The initial stage with high noise (see column 5) generated ranking values that prefer /n/ as the syllable initial, but after reducing the noise to 2.0 (see column 6), the possibility of generating other possible surface forms started to increase until approaching that in the target language in the last stage (see column 8). Relating the outputs to the recording, the merger-in-progress of /l/ and /n/ in CGC may mimic the stage in column 5, with high noise that may be contributed by multiple variables such as age, frequency, and dialect contact. In addition, the relatively small sonority distance of these consonants may also result in the deviation in the typical trajectory of this merger.

Keywords: merger, lateral, nasal, Chongyang Gan Chinese

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Marqueur différentiel d'objet *gěi* 给 en pékinois : double perspective synchronique et diachronique

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On relève un seul cas de *jiāng* 将 pour 1462 exemples de *bǎ* 把 comme marqueur différentiel d'objet (MDO) dans le *Corpus du pékinois contemporain parlé* (当代北京口语语料库) compilé par l'Université des langues et cultures de Pékin dans les années 1990. On recense aussi cependant 302 cas de *gěi* 给 MDO dont l'usage a commencé à se répandre à la fin du 19^{ème} siècle (Liu Yun, 2018 : 180-218).

Cette communication est consacrée à ce *gěi* 给 MDO en pékinois. On montrera d'abord que le marqueur différencie l'objet sur une échelle de définitude ou de spécificité, comme dans d'autres langues (voir Bossong 1982, Iemmolo & Arcodia 2014). A l'instar du marqueur plus courant *bǎ*, la construction en *gěi* est syntaxiquement assurée par un prédicat complexe (et jamais simple) et implique sémantiquement un changement d'état ou un changement de lieu de l'objet marqué par *gěi*, Elle s'avère ainsi être une structure [+ télique] en terme d'*Aktionsart* (types de procès).

Les différences entre les marqueurs *gěi* et *bǎ* se mesurent en fonction du degré d'affectation du patient-objet (on a affaire à une affectation partielle lorsqu'il s'agit de *gěi* et totale avec *bǎ*, ainsi que de la possibilité d'une topicalisation de l'objet avec *gěi*, alors qu'elle est interdite avec *bǎ*). (Xiao Lin 2019 : 270-272).

(1) 爸给汤喝了, 可是没喝完

bà gěi tāng hēle, kěshì méi hēwán

'père MDO soupe boire-ASP mais NEG boire-finir'

« (Mon) père a bu de la soupe, mais il n'a pas fini ».

(3) 汤, 爸给喝了

tāng, bà gěi hēle

'soupe père MDO boire-ASP'

« La soupe, mon père en a pris ».

(2) *爸把汤喝了, 可是没喝完

**bà bǎ tāng hēle, kěshì méi hēwán*

(phrase impossible, car *bǎ* implique qu'il a bu toute la soupe)

(4) *汤, 爸把喝了

**tāng, bà bǎ hēle*

De fait, le marqueur *bǎ* est étroitement lié à son objet qui le suit obligatoirement, tandis que *gěi* peut être et doit être considéré comme une préposition orpheline (phénomène de *preposition stranding*).

On discutera aussi plusieurs hypothèses sur la source de ce *gěi*-MDO en pékinois, notamment :

- l'hypothèse de Liu Yun (2018 : 180-218), reprise en fait de Ma Beijia & Wang Qian (2013) pour qui *gěi*-datif ou bénéficiaire > *gěi*-MDO :

(5) 他给我治过一回病 (《武孝廉》)

tā gěi wǒ zhìguò yíhuí bìng

'il MDO je soigner-ASP un-CLmaladie'

« Il a soigné une fois la maladie pour moi ».

(6) 给他治好了, 把他放了 (《北京纪闻》)

gěi tā zhì hǎo le, bǎ tā fàngle

'MDO il soigner bien ASP, MDO il libérer-ASP'

« Soigne-le et libère-le. »

- l'hypothèse de Chappell (2007) pour qui *gěi* et *bāng* 帮 ont été grammaticalisés dans plusieurs dialectes en marqueurs du bénéficiaire, avant d'être à leur tour re-grammaticalisés en marqueurs d'objet direct : *gěi* / *bāng* > marqueur du bénéficiaire > marqueur d'objet direct.

- l'hypothèse de Wang Jian (2004) qui suggère une autre possibilité comme source de *gěi*-MDO en pékinois. Il serait plutôt issu du verbe causatif *gěi*, lui-même dérivé du verbe *gěi* 'donner'. *gěi* [verbe 'donner'] > *gěi* [verbe causatif] > *gěi* MDO. Ce que propose ici Wang Jian, un cas de polygrammaticalisation : (i) un premier processus de grammaticalisation V 'donner' > marqueur du datif ; (ii) et un second, indépendant du premier) V 'donner' > verbe causatif > MDO.

Je tâcherai de montrer que cette dernière hypothèse, reprise ensuite par d'autres linguistes, notamment Lin Sue (2007), Chao Rui (2013), est assurément la plus naturelle et la plus vraisemblable.

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Liang(two)-CL-NPs and definiteness in Shaoxing Wu

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Besides as a cardinal numeral denoting number ‘two’, numeral ‘Liang’ in Chinese dialects including Mandarin has been widely reported to be used as an approximate number, which is similar to *ji* ‘some’ (Lü 1999, Tsai 2002, Wang et.al 2012, Sheng 2019). Such usage of ‘liang-CL-NP’ in Mandarin however is quite restricted and the approximate interpretation is available only when 1) the tone of ‘liang’ is neutral and 2) the phrase of ‘liang-CL-NP’ appears postverbally; otherwise, the ‘liang’ is only available to be interpreted as quantity ‘two’ instead of some, as indicated in (1) below.

- (1) a. 她炒了兩個菜。(not neutral) b. 來客人了，炒兩個菜去。(neutral tone and postverbally)
she fried ASP two CL dish come guest ASP, fried two CL dish go
She cooked two dishes. We have guests and I will go to cook some dishes.
(Wang et.al 2012)

Differing from Mandarin, the approximative reading of ‘liang-CL-NP’ in Shaoxing Wu are free to be available whenever it appears preverbally or postverbally which is normally interpreted as definite or specific in the preverbal position as in (2) while in the postverbal position is usually understood as indefinite, as in (3):

- (2) 介許多下飯十葛兩個小人奈咯喫得光耐?
so many dishes very two CL little person how eat PART finish PART
There’s too many food but few kids. How can they eat up all the food?
(3) 蘋果我太葛多哉，諾馱兩個去。
apple I too many part, you carry two CL go
I have too many apples and you may take some.

Moreover, the ‘liang-CL-NP’ is preferred in cases such as anaphoric definite reference as in (4), bridging cross-reference as in (5) and reference to salient visible entities as in (6), where a definite reference is used (Simpson 2017).

- (4) 做勿齊嘛我請勒兩個人。不過，兩個人(*葛兩個人)都勿奈咯會做喇。
do not up PART I hire ASP some CL person. But, some CL person all not very can do PART
I can not finish all by myself, so I hired some workers. Those workers however are not helpful.
(5) 諾買了部二手車啊，兩個輪胎(?輪胎)剛剛換過搭來，嘜嘜新搭來。(plural entities)
you buy ASP CL second hand car PART, some CL tires just now change ASP PART, very very new PART
Did you buy a second car? The tires seem just to be changed and look very new.
(6) 哦真当随孤人啊，兩個小人(*葛兩個小人/?小人) 骇死哉啊。
PART really pity PART, some CL little person scare dead PART
What a pity! The kids were shocked by the accident.

It thus serves as a typical Shaoxing Wu strategy together with bare CL-NPs and bare noun phrases to highlight different aspects of definiteness, as in (4)-(6) above. By examining in detail the spoken data drawn from naturalistic texts like *Lianhualuo* (Chinese traditional Opera in Shaoxing Wu) and conversations by local people, we in this paper aim to report the properties of ‘liang-CL-NP’ and the alternations between ‘liang-CL-NP’ and other patterns such as bare nouns, CL-NPs and Dem-CL-NPs to represent different definite reference, which has rarely been mentioned in the literature.

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Repetition of a Time: *shíshí* (時時) in Mandarin Chinese

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The adverb of repetition, *shíshí* indicates repetitions of an occurrence of an action (1).

- (1) 他時時 (都) 思念 祖國。
He constantly all think homeland
'He constantly thought of his homeland.'

Zou (2011) claims that *shíshí* refers to two types of expressions, i.e., durative and repetitive according to its co-occurrence with a state verb (2) or a telic verb (3).

- (2) 他的高風亮節時時 /一直 / *常常銘記在我的心 中。 (durative)
his high virtue constantly continuously often keep at my heart inside
'His high virtue stays in my mind constantly/continuously/often.'
- (3) 那 組合 起來的光亮 時時 /常常/*一直 重新 組合。 (repetitive)
that combine raise de light constantly often continuously again combine
'The composed light keeps recombined constantly/often/continuously.'

Shíshí which is durative can be substituted by *yīzhí* (一直) 'continuously' while *shíshí* which is repetitive can be replaced by *chángcháng* (常常) 'often' (2). However, the compatibility of a state verb such as *ānyōu* (擔憂) 'worry' with *chángcháng*, not with *shíshí* (3) shows the denotation of the latter cannot be explained by a substitution by other adverbs.

- (4) 他吃止痛藥 時, {常常/*時時}擔憂 傷 身。
he eat analgesic while often constantly worry harm body
'He often worries if it will harm his health when taking an analgesic.'

I will claim that *shíshí* denotes a repetitive situation only. The adverb pluralizes over events which are distinct (1) since it can co-occur with the adverb of quantification *dōu* (都). *Shíshí* is associated with the boundedness of the predicates with which it can co-occur. It can be observed that *shíshí* is compatible with states and achievements and incompatible with activities, semelfactives and accomplishments (4-5) (cf. five types of predicates (Smith 1997)).

- (5) 他時時 掛念孩子/打碎東西, 手上 有什麼 摔什麼 (state/achievement)
he constantly miss child break thing hand on have what drop what
'He constantly breaks things into pieces. Anything in his hands can drop.'
- (6) *他時時 寫 故事 /咳嗽/寫 一篇 文章 (activity/semelfactive/accomplishment)
He constantly write story cough write one-Cl composition

Following Stump 1981, van Geenhoven 2004, since *shíshí* pluralizes an event, there are non-overlapping hiatus temporal intervals between two events. I will show that *shíshí* repeats an event which is a temporal interval viewed as bounded. This can explain the adverb is able to bound an achievement (telic) and a state (durative) into the verbal unit. Therefore, *shíshí* repeats a state and an achievement in the same way.

In sum, *shíshí* repeats an event and each event is bounded and distinct.

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The development of the Chinese cleft construction: a constructionalization approach

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Abstract

This paper addresses the development of the Chinese cleft construction, and how the cleft constructional network was formed and developed in the history of Chinese. In Modern Chinese, two types of copula clefts co-exist and they are [NP SHI (XP) VP DE] (abbreviated as *VP de* clefts) and [NP SHI (XP) V DE NP] (abbreviated as *V de NP* clefts). Both of the copula clefts cue specificational and contrastive meaning, in which the copula functions as a focus marker marking the immediate post-copula element as a contrastive focus. Adopting the approach of constructionalization, Zhan and Traugott (2015) discussed the emergence of the copula clefts focusing on *VP de* clefts, yet leaving the development of *V de NP* clefts untouched. Building on Zhan and Traugott (2015), this study focuses on the gradual development over time of *V de NP* clefts as well as its relationship with *VP de* clefts in the cleft constructional network. It is argued that *V de NP* clefts emerged around 1250 CE which was about 350 years later than *VP de* clefts (occurred around 900 CE). A key factor in their development is the use in Middle Chinese of relative clause in post-copula position. I argue that the emergence of *V de NP* clefts also involved analogization to the extant copular construction with deferred reference, which gave rise to semantic and syntactic neanalysis. When *VP de* clefts came into being, the network of the cleft construction simultaneously emerged. Once *V de NP* clefts occurred, they were recruited into the network as a subschema, joining *VP de* clefts which was adjusted to be the other subschema in the network, resulting the schematic network augmented and expanded. The study is a contribution to the developing field of constructionalization by making more explicit the way how nodes are created in a constructional network and how the network is reorganized and expanded.

The Semantic and Syntactic Interpretation of Chinese “‘给’+VP”

Studies relevant to ‘给+VP’ construction mainly focused on three types of constructions: ‘把’-construction, ‘被’-construction and “NPpatient ‘给’+VP” construction. Many studies have focused on the feature of ‘给’, which has been marked as ‘auxiliary’, ‘preposition’, ‘disposal marker’, ‘passive marker’, ‘affectedness marker’, ‘informational focus marker’, ‘external force introducer’, etc. This paper would claim that ‘给’ introduces external forces with some verbs, and proposes that ‘给’ is an external force introducer and sometimes a resultative marker.

It is assumed in this paper that 1. the single ‘给’ is passive when the NP is present (that is, ‘给’+NP+VP). We might try to make an argument that verbs that allow both ‘给’ and “‘给’+NP” are those that have a representation of their external argument (or causation) in their ‘anticausative’ form. In this way ‘给’ has the same function as ‘被’. If so, ‘给’ should not co-occur with ‘自己’ (‘without external help’ reading). But the example (2c) shows that sometimes it could co-occur with ‘自己’, which needs an explanation.

- (1) a. 张三给打了。(with an implicit external argument)
b. 张三给打了。 c. *张三自己给打了。
- (2) a. 张三给李四打了。(it makes no difference with the passive sentence)
b. 船给沉了。 c. 船自己给沉了。

2. The single ‘给’ is an experiencer/resultative marker when the NP cannot be present (only ‘给’+VP). We might assume that verbs do not project an external argument (causation) in their ‘anticausative’ form. That is to say, anticausative forms do not project an external argument. In this case, they are supposed to allow ‘自己’, but some predicates do not (see in example (3)).

- (3) a. 学习成绩给提高了。 b. *学习成绩给张三提高了。
c. *学习成绩自己提高了。 d. *学习成绩自己给提高了。
- (4) a. 小鸟给飞走了。 b. *小鸟给张三飞走了。
c. 小鸟自己飞走了。 d. 小鸟自己给飞走了。

3. When there’s ‘被’ and ‘给’, ‘给’ is an experiencer/resultative marker. In this case, ‘被’ is responsible for introducing external arguments (causation), and ‘给’ is used to highlight the result semantically. ‘被’ is absolutely a passive marker, which is indispensable, and ‘给’ here seems to be dispensable. The fact shows ‘给’ does make some difference to the sentence interpretation.

- (5) 张三被李四给打了。
(6) 钱包被小偷给偷走了。
(7) 窗户被雪球给砸到了，但是没有砸破。

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Représenter la signification des locatifs chinois : une approche schématico-dynamique de la polysémie du locatif « li » (里, dans)

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Résumé :

Les locatifs chinois (方位词, *Fangweici*) constituent l'un des sujets très présents dans les études linguistiques. D'une part, ils font l'objet d'un débat sur leur catégorisation grammaticale en raison de la grande hétérogénéité qu'ils manifestent sur le plan syntaxique (C. Hagège, 1975 ; A. Peyraube, 1980) ; d'autre part, sur le plan sémantique, les locatifs sont caractérisés par la polysémie : ils servent à l'origine à l'expression de relation spatiale mais expriment ensuite des concepts plus abstraits.

La présente étude a pour objectif de représenter la signification d'un locatif fréquent en chinois, «li» (里, dans). Nous situant du point de vue des linguistiques cognitives, nous cherchons à décrire le sémantisme de «li» dans ses emplois de nature prépositionnelle. Peu ou prou équivalents aux prépositions spatiales en français, les locatifs chinois expriment avant tout la notion de relation. Qui dit relation dit interaction de deux participants. Dans les analyses concernant une relation spatiale, ces deux partenaires sont appelés *cible* (càd l'objet à localiser) et *site* (càd l'objet de référence), et dans différents contextes, ils interagissent de façon différente selon leurs propriétés et selon l'intention du locuteur, ce qui engendre des relations différentes. Par conséquent, le sens de la préposition spatiale (ou du locatif) dépend largement de son contexte. Ainsi, l'approche constructiviste avec son hypothèse d'un noyau de sens s'avère pertinente en ce qui concerne «li». Pour expérimenter cette voie, nous empruntons le modèle géométrique et fonctionnel (Coventry & Garrod, 2005 ; J.S. Zhang, 2016) qui repose sur la théorie cognitive. Selon ce modèle, le noyau de sens d'une préposition se présente sous forme d'une image-schéma constituée de traits géométriques ou fonctionnels. La géométrie est au premier plan quand il s'agit d'identifier un sens spatial mais lorsqu'elle ne peut justifier son emploi, c'est la fonction, sortie de son arrière-plan, qui va servir de renfort. Si les sens spatiaux se justifient par des traits géométriques et fonctionnels, les sens métaphoriques sont obtenus grâce à la projection de ces traits fonctionnels dans des domaines notionnels (Lakoff, 1980). De cette manière, nous allons nous tourner vers la recherche de ces traits.

Nous appuyant sur la théorie du prototype, la notion profil/base de Langacker (1983) et l'analyse de MEDIUM de Hawkins (1983), nous procédons à une catégorisation des emplois spatiaux de «li» et concluons trois traits géométriques de nature prototypique : [3-d], [frontière], [intérieur], par exemple: 1). 他独自在教堂里 (ta duzi zai jiaotang li, il est seul dans l'église) : là est exprimée la relation spatiale prototypique de «li» avec une mise en saillance de [3-d], [frontière], [intérieur] ; 2). 他站在柜台里 (ta zhan zai guitai li, il se tient derrière le comptoir) : là est exprimée une relation moins prototypique de «li» avec la mise en saillance de [frontière] qui sert à une séparation de l'espace.

Selon le modèle, la structure topologique, constituée de traits géométriques, donne lieu à des effets fonctionnels. Nous énonçons l'hypothèse de deux traits fonctionnels déduits de traits géométriques : [délimitation] et [enveloppement]. Après une étude de la catégorisation des emplois métaphoriques de «li», nous observons que ces deux traits peuvent expliquer les extensions métaphoriques, dans le 3^e exemple que voici: 在刚结婚的头几年里 (zai gang jiehun de touji nianli, dans les premières années du mariage) : le trait [frontière] est projeté dans le domaine temporel et s'adapte à la linéarité du temps pour produire un effet fonctionnel de [délimitation] qui introduit ce sens d'une durée dans le temps.

Nous pouvons conclure en disant que le noyau sémantique de «li» est constitué de traits à la fois géométriques ([3-d], [frontière], [intérieur]) et fonctionnels ([délimitation], [enveloppement]). Notre présente étude fait partie d'une recherche globale destinée à comparer le sémantisme de «dans» et de «li» ; nous espérons pouvoir montrer le degré de similarité entre ces morphèmes grammaticaux dans ces deux langues si éloignées l'une de l'autre.

**The boundary of transition and the topic time interpretation:
On the temporal semantics of sentential *le***

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The semantics of sentential *le* in Mandarin Chinese (MC) has been widely and extensively discussed. Most of the literature on sentential *le* mentioned the following two core properties:

(1a) change of state (ex. Soh 2009)

(1b) a result state that holds at the speech time (ex. Lin 2003)

Many researchers have noticed that sentential *le* signals a change from the previous state to the current one expressed by the predicate (ex. Soh 2009, Xiao & McEnery 2004). Soh (2009) claimed that sentential *le* marks the transition from the negative counterpart of the proposition ($\neg p$) asserted to the current proposition (p) in a model of common ground adjustment, backing his proposal by the restrictions of distribution of sentential *le* with downward entailing quantifiers in MC. But this analysis still fails to explain the tendency to reject sentential *le* with accomplishment predicates with numeral arguments marked by the cardinal “one”:

(2) wo he le yi wan shui le/?wo he yi wan shui le
1sg drink LE one bowl water LE/1sg drink one bowl water LE
I have drunken one bowl of water

My proposal of addressing this problem is that, instead of marking transitions from $\neg p$ to p , sentential *le* marks transitions from a state where the eventuality denoted by the predicate is not realized to the state where it is realized. The notion of event realization is the same as is introduced by Bohnemeyer and Swift (2004). If a predicate P with a subject x is said to be realized within a time interval t , we can say that $P(x)$ holds within t and $\neg P(x)$ holds if not.

Thus sentential *le* marks the transition from $\neg P(x)$ to $P(x)$. Based on this idea, we propose a principle for the restrictions of transition marking with sentential *le*:

(3) The **boundary of transition** should be as clear as possible in order to enable a successful marking.

I will show that applying this principle will help us to explain the difference of acceptability between the two members of the minimal pair in (2) as well as some other curious nuances concerning sentential *le*.

And I will also argue with examples that the speech time is not involved in the temporal semantics of sentential *le*, which means that the result state doesn't need to hold at the speech time with sentential *le*. I propose that when the speaker utters *le*(P) where P is the main predicate of the sentence, (s)he:

(4a) presupposes in the common ground that $\neg P$ holds at t'

(4b) asserts that P holds at a $t > t'$

The central idea is that the speaker presupposes there is a time t' where $\neg P(x)$ holds and which is known by the addressee, and asserts another time $t > t'$ where (s)he is sure that P holds, thus constituting the topic time. I will illustrate with examples the various possibilities of topic time interpretation of sentential *le* and how they give rise to different temporal readings of sentences with sentential *le*.

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