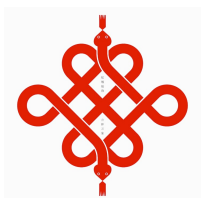


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CONFÉRENCIER(E)S INVITÉ(E)S KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

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CHAPTER I: RÉSUMÉS DES CONFÉRENCIER(ÈRE)S INVITÉ(E)S

CHAPTER I: ABSTRACTS OF KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

ERLEWINE Michael Yoshitaka

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Interrogative and standard disjunction in Mandarin Chinese

Mandarin Chinese lexically distinguishes the disjunctors in alternative questions (*háishi*) and in disjunctive assertions (*huòzhe*), reflecting a distinction that Haspelmath (2007) and others have called "interrogative" versus "standard" disjunction. In reality, *háishi* also allows for number of non-interrogative uses, subject to significant speaker variation. I argue that these patterns reflect broadly two types of grammars: those where *háishi* syntactically enforces that its alternatives be interpreted for question-formation or similar, and those that do not. For the latter, more liberal speakers, *háishi* can be used non-interrogatively in the same environments that *wh*-phrases can be. The study and analysis of this pattern of variation leads to the conclusion that a so-called "interrogative disjunction" could be so specified via its syntactic specification or through its semantics alone, with both strategies being attested amongst speakers of Mandarin Chinese.

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Language Technologies for Endangered Languages in the Himalayas

By the end of the century, over half of the 6500 languages spoken in the world will die out (Turin, 2007). Nepal's situation is particularly dire: of the 120+ distinct languages identified in the 2011 census, 60 are endangered due to globalisation, socio-political unrest, and environmental challenges. The loss of these languages also means the loss of unique cultural and religious identifiers. Given this, there is a need for methods and tools to preserve linguistic diversity. A major challenge in language preservation, however, is the transcription bottleneck (Shi et al., 2021): transcribing one minute of audio requires an average of 40+ minutes (Durantin et al., 2017). This becomes even more complicated for endangered languages with no (standardised) orthographies or documentation. While advanced automatic speech-recognition (ASR) tools are available, they are often ineffective for these extremely low-resource languages (Foley et al., 2018).

In this talk I will present case studies on four different Trans-Himalayan languages: Kaike (Dolpo, Nepal) Dzardzongke (Mustang, Nepal), Newar (Lalitpur, Nepal) and Baima (/pêkê/, 白马语, Sichuan and Gansu, China). Using ASR models fine-tuned for low-resource languages (Coto-Solano 2021, 2022), I show that endangered languages benefit from a specific set of optimisation procedures, such as different types of data augmentation, transfer learning from and the development of new romanised orthographies. For both Baima and Dzardzongke, it is clear that tones are still difficult, which is unsurprising given the languages on which most ASR models are based on. Fig. 1 shows representative examples of target reference sentences + the prediction by ASR models trained on as little as 5 minutes of transcribed Dzardzongke language data compared with 251 minutes in different types of recording environments. The Character and Word Error Rates naturally go down with more data, but it is also evident that the quality of the recording and original transcriptions make a difference. In addition, adding further feature to enhance performance like a custom-made Dzardzongke dictionary that acts as a spell-checker in the post-processing phase can really make a difference.

Dzardzongke controlled near-native narrative			
1. [smt-041-296]	“When 2 (more) came, Ódrong-Gepo arrived at the end”		
Target transcription	<i>nyí onga ódrong gepo katsa ru dzangi léparak</i>	CER	WER
5 mins	<i>ngi o nga odrong gepo katsa ru dzangi leparak</i>	13	62
251 mins	<i>nyi onga ódrong gepo katsa ru dzangi leparak</i>	7	38
Dzardzongke native conversation in noisy environment			
2. [smt-005-896]	“Then all of a sudden, having gone outside,”		
Target transcription	<i>da japsowe phita la sori</i>	CER	WER
5 mins	<i>ta jzapdi phital sori óo</i>	48	100
251 mins	<i>da zaptsi phitala sori</i>	20	60
251 mins + Dict	<i>da lapti phita sori</i>	32	40

Fig. 1 - Sample results for Dzardzongke

Newar and Kaike each present their own challenges with non-standard spelling and lack of data from related language respectively. Kaike is not a Tibetic language and there are no close relatives with sound recordings and transcriptions available to add to the data set and improve the results (as is possible for Dzardzongke to some extent, with transfer learning from Standard Tibetan). For Newar, Fig. 2 show the worst, the average and the best results for the models trained on just over 3 hours of mixed data from Newar varieties spoken in the Kathmandu valley. The main issue with Newar is the lack of a standardised way of spelling, and the fact that there are three different scripts in use (Pracalit, Devanagari and romanised, illustrated in Fig. 2). All deviations from the target transcriptions are counted as errors, but can actually still be accepted as perfectly good transcriptions as there is no strict standardisation of orthography and variation is widely allowed.

RESULTS	Newar
Target	dhayegu caiṃ chuyā
Prediction	akā tem tyān
Target	gana vanegu methāy gana vane le
Prediction	ganaṃ vanegu methāy ganaṃ vane le
Target	athe dhayāḥ māḥgu
Prediction	athe dhayāḥ māḥgu

Fig. 2 – Sample results for Newar

Finally, I’ll show how new language technologies such as these ASR models can also help with language revitalisation with the development of an app for endangered language and cultural heritage.

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CHAPITRE II : L'ASPECT ET LE TEMPS VERBAL À TRAVERS LES LANGUES

CHAPTER II: ASPECT-TENSE CROSS-LINGUISTICALLY

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Understanding L1 Italian learners' use of Chinese resultative verb compounds: Evidence from a video description task

Mandarin Chinese makes extensive use of resultative verb compounds (RVCs). These compounds are highly diverse and can be categorized into different subtypes based on their meaning and the nature of the result constituent. More specifically, in this talk we will take into account: (i) change-of-state RVCs (CoS, e.g. 踢破 *tī-pò* 'kick-break'); (ii) RVCs containing phase complements (PCs; e.g. 学完 *xué-wán* 'study-finish'); (iii) RVCs in which the result is expressed by the whole VP following V1 (VPs, e.g. 切成八块 *qiē-chéng bā kuài* 'cut into eight pieces'). Resultatives are among the most challenging compounds for L2/FL Chinese learners (Yu 2003, Zhang 2014), due to their morpho-syntactic and semantic complexity. Research on the acquisition of RVCs is still limited (e.g., Yang 2003a-b, 2004; Zhang 2014), and no studies have specifically examined L1 Italian learners. This study seeks to fill this gap by investigating how L1 Italian learners acquire Chinese RVCs. Chinese and Italian exhibit significant typological differences, with Chinese being a satellite-framed language and Italian a verb-framed language (Talmy 2000). Italian resultative constructions (RCs) are far more restricted than those in Chinese. Specifically, Italian only allows prepositional RCs in unmarked sentences (Napoli 1992), such as *tagliare la carne in piccoli pezzi* 'cut the meat into small pieces', which are akin to Chinese resultatives in (iii), while CoS and 'pure' PC RCs are generally excluded. Given these differences, we expect L1 Italian learners to face challenges in acquiring Chinese RVCs. To investigate this, the study addresses the following research questions:

1. Are there variations in the use of the three types of RCVs among learners at different proficiency levels and between learners and native speakers?
2. What are the main explanatory factors that cause delays and difficulties in the use of RCVs by Italian learners?

The study involved 162 L1 Italian university students across three proficiency levels (beginner, intermediate, advanced) and 33 Chinese native speakers (CNSs) as a control group. Participants completed a written video description task. Data were analyzed using a non-parametric Generalized Linear Mixed-Effects Tree model to identify differences and correlations.

Results show that advanced learners and CNSs produce significantly more CoS and PC than VP RVCs, while intermediate and beginner learners produce significantly more VP RVCs and fewer CoS and PCs. Regarding PCs, as the proficiency level increases, the variety of PCs produced also increases, indicating an expansion in the learners' lexical knowledge and a better understanding of the constructional mechanisms of PC RVCs. Indeed, a greater variety is noticeable in V1s as well as in V2s. Conversely, beginner learners tend to produce (1) high-frequency compounds they have memorized and (2) compounds with functional equivalents in Italian, such as V+完 *wán* (e.g., 看完 *kàn-wán* 'read-finish, finish reading'), which corresponds to Italian periphrastic constructions like *finire di* 'finish to' + infinitive.

Concerning CoS, their limited use by learners suggests that mastering the constructional mechanisms of these RCs requires time, indicating they are acquired at a later stage. This is likely due to the typological distance between the two languages and the different strategies used to express such events, which are generally expressed with a result verb in Italian (e.g. *rompere* 'break'). As for VP RVCs, their frequent use by beginners may be attributed to L1 transfer, as Italian allows prepositional RCs in unmarked sentences, as well as input influence.

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Aspect en coréen et changement d'état : le cas des Adj-ke toeta

Longtemps réduites par la tradition grammaticale coréenne à un rôle de passif voire d'inchoatif (aux côtés de -jita), les constructions en Adj-ke toeta jouent un rôle plus important dans le changement d'état *santhe pyonhwa* / 상태변화 / 狀態變化 (littéralement *santhe* = 'état' et *pyonhwa* = 'changement'), notion apparue récemment en linguistique coréenne.

Nous commencerons par un bref rappel de l'émergence et de l'évolution de cette problématique. Puis, dans un second temps, nous réexaminerons le problème, à la lumière de la notion de phase du procès, mise en place par Laurent Gosselin dans *Aspect et formes verbales en français* (2021), qui renouvelle la conception de la catégorie aspectuelle.

1. La tradition coréenne

C'est Choi Hyun-Bae (1929) qui ouvre la voie à ce qui deviendra la problématique du changement d'état en remarquant que certaines constructions adjectivales combinées avec - eci- ou -ke toeta ne relèvent pas de la voix passive stricto sensu. Il cite notamment ces deux exemples :

(1) 날이 점점 추워진다

nal-i cōmcōm chu-w-ṭ-ci-n-ta

jour-NOM peu.à.peu froid-CE-PRS-DECL

'Il fait de plus en plus froid.'

(2) 그 사람이 점점 가난하게 되었다

ki salam-i cōmcōm kananh-a-ke toe-ṭss-ta

cette personne-NOM peu.à.peu pauvre-CONN-CE devenir-PST-DECL

A la suite de Choi, plusieurs linguistes (Choi Kyu-soo 2005, Jun Youngchul 2008, Kim Jung-Nam 2009, Kim Sunyoung 2015) ont tenté d'enrichir la description en recourant aux notions de gradabilité, de modalité, ou d'absence d'agentivité dans les procès décrits. Mais ces travaux, dans l'ensemble, se cantonnent à la description d'effets de sens (comme l'humilité ou encore la contrainte extérieure) observés en contexte, sans mettre en évidence les propriétés proprement aspectuelles des Adj-ke toeta.

2. Réanalyse du changement d'état dans la construction Adj-ke toeta

L. Gosselin (2021) propose de décrire l'aspect, en distinguant différentes phases d'un procès articulées de manière dynamique : phases préparatoire / pré-processuelle, initiale, médiane, finale, résultative. En adoptant une telle perspective, nous montrerons que -ke toeta associe systématiquement deux phases :

1. une phase pré-processuelle, qui prépare l'état à venir
2. une phase résultative, où l'état a fini par être réalisé.

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Towards a Typology of Progressive Aspect Marking in Sinitic

Compared with other aspects of grammar, the aspectual systems of Sinitic languages have received relatively more scholarly attention (e.g. Chappell 1992, Shi 2005, and Rao 2011). Nevertheless, sample-wise, the existing studies are, generally speaking, neither balanced nor comprehensive; goal-wise, they aim at providing a descriptive account in general, rather than a typological and/or historical analysis. Also, the aspectual category of progressive in Sinitic appears to be understudied, especially from a typological perspective.

In this paper, we present the results of a first pilot study of progressive aspect marking in 41 Sinitic varieties that employ the *zài* 在-type progressive. The dialects considered belong to the Mandarin, Gan, Xiang, Min, Hakka, and Yue groups. We conceive this pilot study as a first step in developing an exhaustive typology of progressive marking constructions in Sinitic. In our sample, we observed four different marking patterns:

Type I: Preverbal single marking

- (1) 张三 在 打 李四
 Zhāngsān zài dǎ Lǐsì
 Zhangsan PROG hit Lisi
 'Zhangsan is hitting Lisi'

Type II: Post-VP single marking

- (2) 他 打 麻将 在
 Tā dǎ májiàng tsə3
 3SG hit Mahjong PROG
 'S/he is playing Mahjong' (Huoshan Jianghuai Mandarin; Zhu 2022, p. 10)

Type III: Verb suffix

- (3) 佢 吃在 饭
 qú chī-zài fàn
 3SG eat-PROG food
 'S/he is eating' (Cangwu Yue; Xie 2020, p. 35)

Type IV: Preverbal and postverbal double marking

- (4) 现在 还 有 谁 在 看 电视 在?
Xiànzài hái yǒu shuí zài kàn diànshì zài
now still have who PROG watch TV PROG
'Who is still watching TV now?' (Baokang Southwestern Mandarin;
Chen 2006, p. 56)

After illustrating the morpho-syntactic strategies found in our sample, we shall discuss the typological patterns and areal distribution sources for those constructions, and their pathways of grammaticalization. Also, we shall offer comparative remarks with Sinitic languages adopting other 'be.at' verbs as markers of progressive aspect, as e.g. Zihu Min 那 *nā45-21* (Peng 2017), as well as the parallel 'be.at' + locative marker construction, as e.g. Tunxi Hui 是莫里 *ɛi²⁴-mo³¹le* 'be.at-dist.dem' (Lu 2018).

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The Emergence of Future: The Case of *li* 哩 in Northwestern Chinese

Cross-linguistic research shows that progressive and habitual meanings are semantically linked to future reference (Tommola 2000; Haspelmath 1998; Tatevosov 2005). In Northwestern Chinese, markers used for future, progressive, and habitual contexts often overlap, leading scholars to propose mood, habitual, and irrealis as potential sources of future markers (Xu 2014; Fan 2017; Tang 2018; Zhao 2021). Yet, the diachronic emergence of future markers remains debated.

Although generally applicable in progressive, habitual and future contexts, we found that *li* 哩¹ does not behave uniformly across Northwestern Chinese dialects. Instead, it shows two distinct usage patterns(see Table 1).

Table1 The Multifunctionality of Sentence-Final *li* 哩 in Northwestern Chinese

	Type A			Type B		
	Gangou (Zhao 2021)	Tangwang (Xu 2014)	Lanzhou (Jia 2017, fieldwork)	Xi'an (Lan 2011, fieldwork)	Dali (fieldwork)	Qingxu (fieldwork)
Progressive	着哩 tʂɿ li	寨 tʂɛ	着哩 tʂɿ li	着呢 tʂə ɳi 呢 ɳi	的哩 ti li 哩 li	的哩 təʔ ləʔ 哩 ləʔ
Habitual	着哩 tʂɿ li	寨 tʂɛ	着哩 tʂɿ li	呢 ɳi	哩 li	哩 ləʔ
Future	哩 li	哩 li	哩 li	呢 ɳi	哩 li	哩 ləʔ

In Type A dialects (e.g., Ganggou, Lanzhou, Tangwang), “tʂɿ着+ *li* 哩” is used in progressive and habitual contexts, while *li* 哩 alone marks future:

¹ The form *li* 哩 exhibits phonological variation across dialects, such as [ɳi] 呢 in Xi'an and [ləʔ] 哩 in Qingxu, but these are instances of the same morpheme and are uniformly represented as *li* 哩 in this paper. Similarly, all phonetic variants of tʂɿ 着 are represented as tʂɿ 着 for consistency. Besides, the tʂɛ 寨 in Tangwang is likely a fused form of a disyllabic structure, such as tʂɿ li 着哩.

Gangou (Zhao 2021)²:

- (1) 尼个俩头洗着哩。
 ni-ge lia tou xi zhe-li
 3SG DU head wash PROG.
 They two are washing their hair.
- (2) 我们家里一老面条吃着哩。
 wo-men jia-li i-lao mian-tiao chi zhe-li
 1SG-PL home always noodles eat HAB
 Our family always eat noodles.
- (3) 老张兵当去哩。
 lao-zhang bing dang qu li
 lao-zhang soldier become go FUT
 Laozhang is going to be a soldier.

In Type B dialects (e.g., Xi'an, Dali, Qingxu), “*tʂʰ* 着+ *li* 哩” is restricted to progressive contexts. In habitual and future contexts, *li* 哩 appears without *tʂʰ* 着:

Xi'an (Fieldwork):

- (4) 他吃烟着呢。
 tʰa⁵¹ tʂʰɿ³¹⁻²⁴.iã³¹ tʂə ŋi
 3SG smoke PROG SFP
 He is smoking.
- (5) 他吃烟呢。
 tʰa⁵¹ tʂʰɿ³¹⁻²⁴.iã³¹ ŋi
 3SG smoke SFP
 He is smoking./He smokes./He is going to smoke.

We argue that *li* 哩 across dialects originates as a sentence-final particle with a grammatical licensing function, not encoding a specific mood. It functions similarly to a present tense marker in languages with overt tense morphology by signaling “here-and-now” relevance.

Crucially, *li* 哩 exhibits different degrees of grammaticalization as a future marker. In Type A, the frequent co-occurrence of *tʂʰ* 着 with *li* 哩 in present contexts produces a contrast between “*tʂʰ* 着+*li* 哩” (present) and *li* 哩 alone (future), supporting the functional solidification of *li* 哩 as an independent future marker. In Type B, however, *tʂʰ* 着 is confined to progressive and “*tʂʰ* 着+*li* 哩” co-occur exclusively in progressive contexts, preventing such solidification. Additionally, the presence of a competing future marker *ia* 呀 likely inhibits further development of *li* 哩 in this direction.

² Due to a lack of IPA in the cited articles, Pinyin has been used to transcribe these examples.

This comparative analysis reveals how aspect and temporal reference interact in Sinitic languages. This variation demonstrate that grammaticalization is shaped by both syntactic environments and functional competition among markers.

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CHAPTER III : LINGUISTIQUE HISTORIQUE

CHAPTER III: HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

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Reconstructing Old Chinese **-ik* and **-ik-s* — New approach using Han-Era Material

A few word families and *xiéshēng* 諧聲 have Middle Chinese (MC) *-it*, *-ek*, and occasionally *-ik*. For instance, *srit* 蝨 ‘louse’ also has the MC reading *srik* (Zhōu Fǎgāo, 1962), and the word is reconstructed in Proto-Tibeto-Burman as *s-r(y)ik* by Matisoff (2003). To account for such word families and *xiéshēng* series, Baxter and Sagart (2014) reconstruct an Old Chinese (OC) final *-ik*. The outcome of this rhyme, *-ik* > *-it* or *-ik* > *-ek*, is claimed to be dialectally conditioned, but the conditioning has so far received very little attention.

Additionally, there are rare instances of a MC rhyme *-ik*, pointing to a third dialectal environment in which OC *-ik* is preserved as such. In words constructed with a post-coda *-s* suffix, this three-way split change yields an even more complex picture. The original OC *-ik-s* theoretically produces respectively:

- *-ik-s* > *-it-s* > *-it-s* > *-ij-s* in one dialect,
- *-ik-s* > *-ek-s* > *-e-s* > *-eH* in another, and
- *-ik-s* > *-ik-s* > *-i-s* > *-ijH* in a third dialect in Late Han Chinese (LHC),

following the sequence of sound changes described in Baxter (1992). The result is a perplexing situation in which characters like 致 or 利, so far reconstructed with *-it-s*, apparently rhyme with both OC *-it-s* and OC *-ij-s* characters in the Han poetic corpus, and transcribe both *-is* and *-i* syllables in Han Chinese translations of Buddhist texts (Baley, Hill, & Caldwell, 2023).

In this talk, I propose that such rhyming and transcription behaviour is best explained by amending the reconstruction of these characters to *-ik-s*: not only does it better explain the available data, it also increases the number of words for which we can reconstruct *-ik(-s)*. These new characters, added to the small body of characters already known to have *-ik*, allow us to better understand the geographical distribution of the various outcomes of *-ik(-s)*, thereby improving our understanding of the dialect landscape in early Old Chinese.

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A Study of Dialectal Differentiation in *Shijing* Rhymes

The rhyming patterns in the *Shijing* (《诗经》) may not reflect a single unified phonological system. Temporally, the 305 poems were composed over a span of approximately 570 years, from the early Western Zhou to the late Spring and Autumn period (1046–476 BCE). Geographically, they encompass the fifteen *Guofeng* (《国风》) and the *Shang Song* (《商颂》) and *Lu Song* (《鲁颂》), distributed across the Yellow River basin, as well as the *Daya* (《大雅》) and *Xiaoya* (《小雅》), which are concentrated in the capital region of Western and Eastern Zhou respectively. Scholars such as Gu Yanwu (顾炎武) and Jiang Yong (江永) previously noted that the interrhyme of the Dong (东) and Qin (侵) groups, as well as the Zheng (蒸) and Qin (侵) groups, reflects ancient dialectal features—though these observations have yet to receive adequate scholarly attention. This study comprehensively examines the rhyming behaviors of *-m and *-p final rhyme categories, revealing traces of dialectal differentiation embedded in the rhymes of the *Shijing*.

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Is 春 an Old Word for 'Egg' ?

The etymology of Chinese 春 **tʰun > tsyhwin > chūn* 'springtime' is not known. Baxter and Sagart (2014) might as well have reconstructed **-u[n]* because *-r* is also possible given the phonetic element. There existed in Old Chinese a vulgar word for 'egg', different from 蛋 and 卵, for which no Chinese character exists. It is only attested in Cantonese *tʰœn* A1, Hakka *tʰun* A1. The word is vulgar because, at least in Cantonese, it also refers to the testicles, but it is also vulgar in the sense of 'popular'. It is presumably for that reason that it lacks a character. Here again, final *-n* is ambiguous for *-r*. Assuming the ending was **-r* rather than **-n*, the word exhibits the Sino-Tibetan sound correspondence OC **-ur*, Bodo *-əy*, Lushai *-ui*, -Proto-Karen **-ej*, WT **-u*, matching the PTB word for 'egg' in Benedict's Conspectus (1972): **twiy=twəy*.

Is there a real-life connection between eggs and the Chinese new year season ? in general birds “will nest and lay eggs during the warmer months in the north [of the US]. Typically, the timeline ranges between early spring and late summer”.¹ Late winter or spring is the time that hens (...) start laying eggs. One US site reports that “One of our employees who's at a mid-latitude in the US reports that any girls [hens, LS] who stop laying during the winter begin again regularly — and surprisingly precisely — on February 1 or 2, about halfway between the winter solstice and the spring equinox.”

I wonder if the Chinese name of spring is not etymologically “when hens start laying eggs again” again after the winter interruption. This would be a time worth recording for early Chinese farmers as it meant the possibility to rely on this source of protein-rich food again. The mid-latitude US date for the onset of egg-laying coincides with the Chinese New Year: “the first day of Chinese New Year begins on the new moon that appears between 21 January and 20 February” (Wikipedia).²

If valid, this etymology implies that hen-keeping was widespread at the time of the 'egg' > 'spring' semantic shift, although this may be before the Old Chinese period, potentially well before.

Finally, a question: don't New Year yuanxiao 元宵 look like eggs ?

¹<https://www.skedaddlewildlife.com/location/durham-region/blog/when-do-birds-lay-eggs/>

²<https://www.mypetchicken.com/blogs/faqs/when-will-my-chickens-begin-laying-again-in-the-spring>

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Valency Change in Chinese: The Case of the (Labile) Verb 敗 *Bài*

Labile verbs are a notable feature of Chinese, yet their study has only recently gained researchers' attention (e.g., Basciano 2010; Zhang 2017, 2019; Du, Zuo & Li 2024). Even less is known about the mechanisms behind the development of Chinese labile verbs. This paper takes the labile verb *bài* (敗) 'to defeat/ruin~defeated/ruined' and investigates the diachronic shift in its transitivity from Old Chinese to Modern Chinese. The study focuses on three research questions: (1) What are the diachronic patterns of transitivity in *bài*? (2) How can existing frameworks, particularly Ramchand's (2008) framework using a syntactic approach to argument structure (as applied to diachronic change by Meisterernst 2023), explain these patterns? and (3) How do the diachronic patterns align with broader changes in Chinese morphosyntax? Using data from the Academia Sinica Corpora and CCL Corpus, this study combines a corpus-based diachronic approach with syntactic analysis to investigate the verb *bài* in four historical stages of Chinese, including Old Chinese (11th c. BCE–2nd c. CE), Middle Chinese (2nd c. CE–10th c. CE), Early Mandarin Chinese (11th c. CE–19th c. CE), and Modern Chinese (20th c.–present). Morphophonological factors in Old Chinese are considered. A normalized and randomized set of samples from each stage was extracted and manually coded for multiple linguistic features, such as transitive and intransitive uses, serial verb constructions, resultative compounds, and collocations with aspect markers. This study, with data from an extended historical period, provides insights rarely explored in existing research on valency change in Chinese.

The data demonstrates a significant decline in the verb's transitive use, accompanied by an increase in its intransitive usage. Additionally, the use of serial verbs and verbal compounds involving *bài* rises as its valency decreases, especially since the Early Mandarin Chinese period, mirroring broader syntactic changes in the language, such as the emergence of analytic structures, and in particular periphrastic causative constructions replacing originally labile verbs such as *bài*.

The paper argues, based on the structure proposed by Ramchand (2008), that the decrease in transitivity of *bài* can be viewed as a loss of V-to-v movement, originally giving rise to lability (Fig. 1a), and the lexicalization of *v* by a causative light verb instead (e.g., 打 *dǎ* or 擊 *jī*, 'to hit'), to form disyllabic compounds like 打敗 *dǎbài* or 擊敗 *jībài* ('to defeat', Fig. 1b). Afterwards, some of these compounds turned into lexicalized disyllabic words (e.g., with 打 *dǎ* being a 'dummy verb' as it no longer seems to contribute very much to the verbal meaning). Syntactic change and grammaticalization resulting from the loss of syntactic movement is a well-discussed mechanism (e.g. Roberts & Roussou 2003; McFadden 2015 for Indo-European languages; Meisterernst 2023 for the Chinese language). However, the dynamics

between valency shifts and morphosyntactic change are so far rarely discussed. This paper seeks to address this gap by examining the specific case of *bài*, offering insights into how these dynamics played out in the diachrony of Chinese.

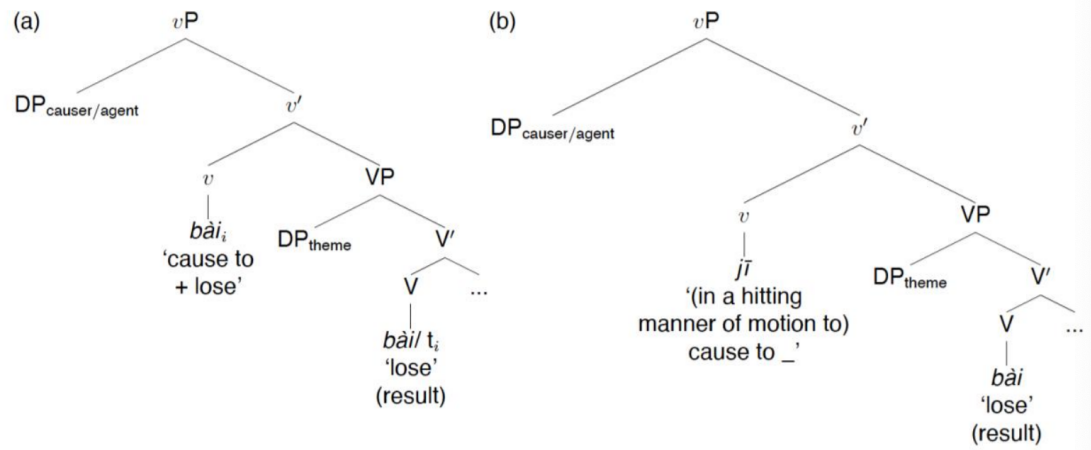


Fig. 1: Labile *Bài* as V-to-v-movement (a); Intransitive *Bài* and Causativization by Compounding (b)

Data Sources

Academia Sinica (Tagged) Corpus of Old Chinese, Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin Chinese. Academia Sinica, Taiwan. <https://www.ling.sinica.edu.tw/main/en?code=list&ids=23>

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Talk about how Chu Bamboo Slip Recorded Chu Dialect of the Warring States Period -- On the Nature of Chu Bamboo Slip and the Formation of Chu Dialect in Warring States Period

Since the publication of Guo Dian Chu Bamboo Slips in the 1990s, a large number of Chu Bamboo slips have been continuously introduced to the world, including bamboo books of Warring States (1-9) collected by Shanghai Museum , bamboo slips of Warring States (1-14) collected by Tsinghua University, the Warring States bamboo slips(1-3) collected by Anhui University ,and so on. They are very important for us to study the phonology of the Warring States. Before using Chu Chu Bamboo slips to study the phonology of the Warring States, we should firstly clarify the nature of the Chu Bamboo slips. Was it the Chu dialect recorded by Chu Bamboo slips? If so, how did Chu Bamboo slips record the Chu dialect?

Li Shoukui (2017) investigated the formation process of Chu characters and believed that Chu characters gradually differentiated from the common characters of the Western Zhou Dynasty and formed a mature "Chu characters" with unique configurations, fonts and usage habits in the middle and late Warring States period. Mr. Li put quotation marks on the Chu characters. That is to say, although the Chu script has its own character habits and unique font style, the truly newly created Chu characters are not enough to record the Chu dialect at that time, and most of the characters still use the common characters of the Western Zhou Dynasty. Ye Yuying (2019) made a comprehensive investigation of the unique characters used by the people of Chu and found that there were about 800 characters that could be found for phonetic correspondence. Ye Yuying (2024) put forward the concept of "common characters in the Warring States" for the first time, and believed that it was necessary to distinguish the common characters in the Warring States from the regional characters in terms of characters, on this basis, the phonetic different between the Yayan and dialect in Warring States could be found.

As we know, there are a large number of words coming from the common language in modern Chinese dialects, and the pronunciation of these words has different changes in different dialects. Similarly, there were a large number of words coming from the Western Zhou Dynasty in the Chu dialect. The pronunciation of these words will also change in Chu. A word which comed from the Western Zhou Yayan often used different characters to recorded it. One of which inherited from the Shang and Zhou characters, the other was the unique character used by Chu people. We believe that the characters inherited from the Shang and Zhou dynasties recorded the pronunciation

of Yayan in the Warring States, and the characters used by Chu people reflected the pronunciation of Chu. Latest in the middle of the Warring States period, the Chu dialect had been formed.

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The Old Chinese Reconstruction of 黍 MC *syoX* ‘*Panicum miliaceum* (glutinous millet)’

Millet was a staple cereal grown in ancient Northern China. The logograph 黍 MC *syoX* ‘*Panicum miliaceum* (glutinous millet)’ was attested very early as in Shang oracle-bone inscriptions, and thus the word {黍 MC *syoX* ‘*Panicum miliaceum* (glutinous millet)’} is likely native to Chinese. However, linguists have not reached an agreement on the reconstruction of this word in Old Chinese.

Current scholarship presents three principal reconstructions: First, some scholars like Starostin (1989:562–3), Zhèng-Zhāng (2013:484), Lǐ (2022, 51–2), and Pān (2024, 194) classify it as belonging to an *L- series, reconstructing it as Starostin’s Early Old Chinese *sla, Zhèng-Zhāng’s Old Chinese *hja?, Lǐ’s and Pān’s OC *la?. Second, Schuessler (2007:493; 2009:56) reconstructs it as *nha?. Third, scholars like Baxter & Sagart (2014, 138) classify it as belonging to a *T-series, and reconstruct it as *s-t^ha?. Contrasting with these approaches, Zhāng (2022) disputes any stop consonant origin for this term, though he provides no alternative reconstruction.

In this article, I support the proposal for *L-series classification. I begin by refuting competing reconstructions, then reassess and present the evidence in favor of the *L-series reconstruction, and finally discuss a diachronic phonological development surrounding this word.

1. Critique of the Reconstructions of Schuessler’s and of Baxter and Sagart’s

First, Schuessler’s reconstruction of *nha?—explicitly marked as provisional—relies on a problematic comparison with Written Tibetan རྩ་ nas ‘barley’. This hypothesis suffers from an unaddressed referential discrepancy between millet and barley. Without stronger evidence, this remains an ad hoc comparison rather than a systematic correspondence.

Second, Baxter and Sagart’s reconstruction of *s-t^ha? depends on a sound gloss as 暑 Baxter and Sagart’s Old Chinese *s-t^ha? for 黍 in the *Shuōwén jiězì* 說文解字 (c. 100 CE). However, such sound glosses are often unreliable. Even if accepted, the gloss’s late attestation in Eastern Han raises concerns and suggest it may reflect folk etymology postdating the merger of distinct origins of MC sy- initial.

2. Evidence that 黍 Belongs to an *L-series

While I acknowledge the significance of the excavated and received texts cited by Lǐ (2022, 51–52) and Pān (2024, 194)—which suggest contact between 黍 (MC *syoX*) and *L-series words—I contend that some of their analyses lack precision. The main evidence is as follows.

(a) Philological or etymological evidence

i. The name of the Duke Chū of Jin's (晉出公, r. 474–452 BCE) chief archivist (太史) is recorded as 屠黍 (OCBS *[d]ʰa-s-tʰaʔ > MC du-syoX) in the *Lǚshì Chūnqiū* 呂氏春秋 (c. 239 bce), but the surname appears as 者余 (OCBS *tAʔ-la > MC tsyaeX-yo) in Warring States-period Jin seals (Xǐhuì 3238, 3311) and as 屠餘 (OCBS *dʰa-la > MC du-yo) in the *Shuōyǎn* 說苑.

ii. The toponym 負黍 (OCBS *[b]əʔ-s-tʰaʔ > MC bjuwX-syoX) in received texts like the *Zuǒ zhuàn* 左傳 and *Shǐ jì* 史記 represents a place in the state of Hán 韓 during the early Warring States period. Scholars generally follow Wú (1998, 554–5) in interpreting the term 馱余 (OCBS *ʔ-la > MC ʔ-yo) on Hán weapon inscriptions (Jíchéng 11317–11319) as a variant of 負黍.

iii. The character 黍 (𥽿 *Hèjì* #37517, Huáng category 黃類, Liu et al. 2014, 436), composed of semantic 黍 and phonetic 余 (OCBS *la > MC yo), is deciphered as an orthographic variant of 黍 in the Huáng category (Wáng 2021).

iv. Possible etymological relationship between {稌 OC *l̥aʔ > MC thuX ‘glutinous rice’} and {黍 OC *laʔ (?) > MC syoX ‘glutinous millet’}, both referring to glutinous grains, further supports for the reconstruction 黍 OC *laʔ.

(b) Evidence from Mǐn

The reconstruction OC *laʔ of 黍 (MC syoX) aligns with the evidence from Mǐn dialects, viz. /s/ for 黍 in Xiàmén and Fúzhōu (cf. 舍 OCBS *[l̥]Ak-s > MC syaeH ‘lodging-house’, Xiàmén /sia 5/ in 宿舍 ‘dormitory’).

(c) Potential comparison with Jinghpo

The previously dismissed but potentially valid comparison with Jinghpo ja³³ ‘kind of millet’ (cf. Peiros and Starostin 1996, IV-238) becomes plausible under this reconstruction (cf. 予 MC yoX < OC *laʔ ‘to give’ :: Jinghpo ja³³; pace Sagart 1999, 178–9).

3. Late Diachronic Sound Change

The Qín-era bamboo slips, Fúchú 祓除 (c. 215 bce), reveal a contact between 黍 OC *laʔ and 疏 (OCBS *sra > MC srjo ‘wide apart’). This suggests in certain dialects around 215 BCE, *l̥- may have shifted to a sibilant like *s-, as a late development.

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CHAPITRE IV : LE JAPONAIS

CHAPTER IV: JAPANESE

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Typologie des mots composés *XnoY* en japonais moderne

Ce travail traite des constructions *XnoY* en japonais issues de la combinaison de deux unités lexicales jointes par la particule enclitique *no*, laquelle marque le génitif. Le présent exposé traitera uniquement des mots composés génitifs dont des exemples sont présentés en (1) :

- (1) a) 柿の木
Kaki-no-ki
Plaquemine-GEN-arbre
Plaqueminier
- b) 秋の七草
Aki-no-nanakusa
Automne-GEN-sept herbes
Sept fleurs automnales

Cet exposé a trois objectifs : i) faire l'étude des propriétés morphosyntaxiques et sémantiques des *XnoY* ; ii) faire l'étude de l'accent des *XnoY* et montrer que l'accent est un indicateur de figement linguistique non négligeable ; iii) proposer une typologie fine des constructions lexicalisées à partir des résultats obtenus.

Pour répondre à ces trois objectifs nous étudions un corpus de 1096 *XnoY* rassemblés par nos soins à travers différentes ressources lexicographiques. Nous examinons dans l'ordre leurs propriétés sémantiques, morphosyntaxiques et accentuelles.

L'étude des propriétés sémantiques a été réalisée à l'aide de tests de substitution et d'ajout d'un adjectif antéposé à la construction. Ces tests ont révélé que : i) certaines constructions ont développé des sens figurés par métaphorisation ou métonymisation par exemple *hana-no-shita* ('nez' *no* 'dessous') « philtre » ; ii) un adjectif antéposé ne peut pas porter sur *X* seul, que le sens de la construction soit littéral ou figuré ; iii) certains *XnoY* comme *yu-no-hana* « gisement de minéraux de source d'eau chaude », littéralement « fleur d'eau » n'ont plus qu'un sens figuré.

Les propriétés morphosyntaxiques des *XnoY* ont été évaluées à l'aide de tests d'ajout d'un adjectif entre *no* et *Y*. Les tests ont montré que : i) certaines constructions comme *aki-no-sora* « ciel d'automne » acceptent l'insertion d'un adjectif dans leur configuration mais leur sens change et cela révèle une légère démotivation sémantique du *XnoY* ; ii) l'insertion dans une construction ayant un sens figuré n'est jamais tolérée.

Nous avons aussi remarqué que : i) un petit nombre de constructions ont un marqueur de composition autre que *nocomme* *uwa-no-sora* « tête dans les nuages » dans lequel *ue* « dessus » devient *uwa* ; ii) certains *XnoY* peuvent occuper la position d'*X* ou *Y* comme *hatsu-hinode* « premier lever de soleil de l'année » ;

L'étude des propriétés accentuelles des *XnoY* a révélé qu'un grand nombre d'entre eux peut être analysé à l'aide des règles d'accentuation du syntagme phonologique. Cependant, certaines constructions sont accentuées, contre toute attente, sur la particule *no* comme *kami-no-ke* « cheveu ». Ces constructions accentuées sur l'enclitique refusent toujours l'insertion d'un adjectif dans leur structure et un adjectif antéposé à gauche ne peut porter que sur l'ensemble de la construction. L'accent peut aussi jouer un rôle de démarcation entre le sens littéral d'une construction et son sens figuré par exemple *kawa-no-ji* ('rivière' *no* 'lettre') qui, lorsqu'il est accentué sur *no* signifie « position où l'enfant est entre les deux parents » et lorsqu'il est accentué sur *ji* « caractère chinois de la rivière ». L'étude a permis de distinguer 11 types différents de *XnoY* (tableau 1), en fonction de la présence ou de l'absence des propriétés identifiées. Par exemple, le type 1 ne réussit que le test d'antéposition.

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Une base de données des morphèmes sino-japonais à une unité phonologique, et à caractère nominal

En japonais, la strate lexicale sino-japonaise comporte une catégorie de morphèmes (K_{UNC}) à une unité phonologique sino-japonaise et à caractère nominal, dont le comportement morpho-syntaxique est proche de celui des semi-suffixes (Marchand (1969)) ou affixoides (Günter Dietric (1987)) . Ils ont un double comportement de nom commun et de suffixe. Par exemple *ryō* peut apparaître seul ou déterminé en tant que nom, ou bien comme suffixe de noms communs: *shibō-ryō* «litt:graisse-quantité; quantité de graisse». Ils peuvent en plus entrer dans la formation de mots sémantiquement transparents *sui-ryō* «litt: eau-quantité; quantité d'eau» ou non (*ryōshi* «litt: quantité-enfant; quantum»). D'autres morphèmes qui semblent appartenir à la même famille ont une distribution plus limitée. Par exemple *sui* « eau » ne fonctionne que comme composant de mot.

Contrairement aux verbes sino-japonais à une unité morpho-phonologique (Nomura (2001); Miyake (2010) ...), et bien qu'ils soient au moins aussi présents, les K_{UNC} et leurs propriétés distributives n'ont fait l'objet d'aucun recensement exhaustif. Tout au plus, ils sont donnés en exemple dans les descriptions des structures de mots sino-japonais (Nomura (1974), parmi beaucoup d'autres). Certains d'entre eux, plus particulièrement ceux qui se rapprochent le plus de purs suffixes, voient leur sens décrit en détails (Arakawa (1986) , etc.). Mais ces études ne cherchent pas à dégager de généralités couvrant une classe entière de morphèmes. Tant et si bien que l'existence et les propriétés d'une catégorie de K_{UNC} reste une hypothèse.

La présente étude vise à apporter des données exhaustives au débat. Elle consiste à observer systématiquement 300 morphèmes, considérés comme vraisemblablement des K_{UNC}, dans une quinzaine de distributions morphosyn-taxiques. Les distributions sont réparties en quatre sous-ensembles: (1) Capacité à être préfixé par un quantificateur (*kaku* «chaque», *zen* «tous», ...) ou un préfixe adjectival *shin* «nouveau»; (2) Capacité à postfixer/suffixer un nom commun (voir *shibō-ryō* ci-dessus); (3) Degré d'autonomie et comportement syntaxique de nom (déterminable ou non, autonome ou non); (4) Comportement comme compteur individuel. Nous faisons toutefois l'hypothèse que le (4) pourrait être en fait une propriété de nom commun (Narita (1990)) Les observations ont été rassemblées dans une base de données, librement diffusée.

Notre présentation décrit le contenu de la base de données et la méthodologie adoptée. Nous ferons tout d’abord un rappel très général sur le lexique sino-japonais. Puis nous justifierons le choix des morphèmes et des distributions étudiées. Pour ce qui concerne la méthodologie, nous rendrons compte de la façon dont nous avons traité le problème récurrent en linguistique des «zones grises», lorsqu’il est difficile de déterminer l’acceptabilité d’une forme. La méthode consiste à intégrer cette difficulté dans la description car nous estimons que c’est en soi une information. Enfin, fort des données ainsi rassemblées, nous pouvons établir qu’il existe bien une catégorie morpho-syntaxique de KU_{NC} (Table ci-dessous). Quelques morphèmes ont un comportement de suffixoïde au sens strict du terme, mais ils sont peu nombreux.

acceptabilité	exclusivement nom	nom et affixe	exclusivement affixe
stricte	26%	54%	10%
moyenne	27%	56%	8%
lâche	28%	57%	7%

Table 1: Répartition des KU_{NC}; la part restante n’a pu être classée

La base de donnée est volontairement de taille limitée. Elle nécessitera ultérieurement plusieurs développements: ajouter des entrées et des distributions. La description avait pour but premier d’observer la compositionnalité sémantique des formes constituées de KU_{NC}. Il sera indispensable d’ajouter une description phonologique, en particulier l’accentuation. Cela pourrait constituer un critère pour déterminer la segmentation des mots. On observe par ailleurs une classe de morphèmes très similaire en sino-coréen. La base de données pourrait donc être étendue à d’autres langues sinoxéniques.

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Les Particules Finales d'Énoncé Yo en Japonais Standard et O en Mandarin de Chongqing

La particule finale d'énoncé (désormais PFE) *yo* en japonais standard et la PFE *o* en mandarin de Chongqing (dialecte mandarin parlé dans la ville de Chongqing et appartenant au groupe mandarin du Sud-Ouest, désormais abrégé CQ) ont retenu notre attention par leurs ressemblances phonétique et fonctionnelle. Cette étude a donc pour objectif d'identifier leurs similitudes et leurs différences sur le plan sémantico-pragmatique selon leur utilisation dans différents types d'actes illocutoires. Comme leur nom l'indique, les PFE se trouvent systématiquement en fin d'énoncé. En ce qui concerne leur rôle dans l'énoncé, les PFE en chinois sont employées pour « exprimer différentes attitudes subjectives, et intersubjectives, de la part du locuteur » (Chappell et Peyraube 2016, 321) ; celles en japonais « encodent principalement la modalité interactionnelle » (Iwasaki 2013, 302) et « concernent essentiellement le problème de la régulation des relations inter-énonciateurs (Dhorne, Kawaguchi, et Aoki 1995, 243). Les PFE en chinois et en japonais sont donc à appréhender dans le cadre de l'interlocution, de la subjectivité et de l'intersubjectivité. Commençons par la PFE *yo* en japonais. Selon Iwasaki (2013, 303), *yo* « est un marqueur d'information non partagée ». Cao (2000, 5) a qualifié sa fonction comme celle de « rappel ».

Quant à Nakata (2015, 35), lorsque le locuteur emploie cette PFE, soit « il donne à son interlocuteur une information que ce dernier ignore », soit « il évoque une information que l'interlocuteur devrait savoir et lui demande d'y faire attention ». En somme, *yo* indique que l'énoncé auquel elle appartient constitue une information nouvelle pour l'interlocuteur ou une information que ce dernier ne prend pas en compte. Ces analyses nous paraissent justes pour les énoncés assertifs, les assertifs étant un type d'actes illocutoires où « le locuteur s'engage [...] sur la vérité de la proposition exprimée » (Searle 1979, 12). Par exemple, si une mère voit son fils sortir sans veste, elle lui dit en japonais :

- (1) *samui yo.*
froid PFE
« (Il fait) froid. »

En incluant *yo* dans l'énoncé, la locutrice indique que l'énoncé constitue soit une information nouvelle pour son interlocuteur soit un rappel ; autrement dit, l'interlocuteur ignore ou ne fait pas attention au froid qu'il fait à l'extérieur.

Nous constatons que dans les énoncés assertifs, la PFE *o* en CQ fonctionne d'une manière comparable à *yo* en japonais. Si la mère était locutrice native de CQ, elle aurait dit³ :

- (2) *lən³ no.*
froid PFE
« (Il fait) froid. »

Cependant, les analyses de Iwasaki, Cao et Nakata ne sont pas à même d'expliquer l'emploi de *yo* dans les questions. Par exemple, A est en train d'essayer une nouvelle robe, et elle a hâte de connaître l'avis de B :

- (3) *dou yo ?*
comment PFE
« Comment (tu la trouves) ? »

Dans l'énoncé (3) en japonais, au lieu de donner une information nouvelle à son interlocuteur ou lui rappeler une information que ce dernier ne prend pas en compte, la locutrice demande de l'information à son interlocuteur et *yo* rend cette demande linguistiquement explicite.

Nous constatons que *yo* en (3) ne se traduit pas par *o* en CQ. De plus, *o* dans l'énoncé suivant en CQ ne se traduit pas non plus par *yo* en japonais : sur le tournage d'un film, il y a du chaos. Ne comprenant pas la situation, un membre du tournage demande :

- (4) *sa⁴tsz-tchin²khwan⁴ o ?*
que-situation PFE
« Qu'est-ce qui se passe ? »

Dans cet énoncé, non seulement le locuteur demande de l'information, mais il est aussi surpris par l'événement qui est survenu. Comparée à *yo*, *o* marque de surcroît l'inattendu de l'événement dans une question.

En somme, la correspondance entre la PFE *yo* en japonais et *o* en CQ n'est que partielle. En analysant leur mise en jeu dans différents types d'actes illocutoires (assertifs, questions, directifs, expressifs, etc.), nous discernerons mieux leurs similitudes et leurs différences sur le plan sémantico-pragmatique et nous nous efforcerons de dégager la fonction spécifique de chacune des deux PFE dans le système auquel elle appartient.

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CHAPITRE V: LE CONTACT DES LANGUES

CHAPTER V: LANGUAGE CONTACT

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Subordination in Tangwang

This study examines subordination strategies in Tangwang, a Mandarin-based language spoken in Gansu Province, China. Although its vocabulary is predominantly of Mandarin origin, Tangwang exhibits striking structural features—such as a prevailing OV word order, clause-final conjunctions, and nominal case-marking suffixes — that closely align with those found in Altaic languages. The language offers a compelling illustration of contact-induced grammatical change, shaped by long-standing multilingualism and intensive language contact dating back to the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368 AD).

This study investigates the principal strategies to mark subordination in Tangwang and explores how these strategies reflect both contact-induced influence and internal linguistic evolution.

The primary mechanisms for forming complex sentences in Tangwang include the adjunction of adverbial clauses through clause chaining and subordination via exploitation of the sentence-initial topic position. Clause chaining entails the sequential linking of clauses without overt conjunctions, typically using non-finite verb forms. These constructions convey temporal relations such as simultaneity or succession and often follow ‘converbs-matrix verb’ patterns, which are typologically reminiscent of Altaic languages structures. The key marker of adverbial clause adjunction is the suffix -tɕə (from Middle Chinese 著 *zhuó* > *zhe*), which signals non-finite adverbial clauses and expresses temporal simultaneity, as in the sentence:

- (i) 尕西電視哈看著茶哈喝寨
kaɕi [_{ADV.CI} *tɕʰɿ-xa* *kʰ-tɕə*] *tɕʰa-xa* *xʷɿ-tɕ*
 Kaɕi TV-OBJ watch-tɕ <—> tea-OBJ drink-IMPF
 ‘Kaɕi, watching television, drinks tea’

In contrast, subordination in Tangwang involves more explicit markers of dependency, such as topicalizing markers and conjunctions, to express purpose, condition, and cause. These structures are probably modeled on Mongolic counterparts and follow a head-final syntactic configuration. A particularly notable strategy involves the use of the existential copula ʂɿ (是 *shì* in Chinese) as a topic marker, which introduces a topicalized clause with temporal or conditional implications—reflecting both the head-final syntactic structure and the influence of Altaic languages on the use of the existential copula as a topic marker.

- (ii) 尕西电视哈看(底会/底话)是, 那茶哈喝寨
 [top kaɕi tɕʰɿ -xa kʰ (tɕix^{wi}/tɕix^{wa})*(ɿ)] nə tɕʰa-xa x^{wɿ}-tɕ
 Kaɕi TV-OBJ watch (when/if) TOP 3SG tea-OBJ drink-IMPF
 'When/if Kaɕi is watching television, he drinks tea'

Although the usage of *-tɕə* as a converbal marker appears to reflect internal evolution in Tangwang as a representative of Northwestern Mandarin, its obligatoriness suggests either structural reinforcement or convergence with Mongolic languages. Additionally, the use of the topic marker *ɿ* in the protasis points to structural borrowing from Mongolic languages.

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'VP + 'go'/'come'/'walk'/'give' constructions in Tangwang and language contact'

Tangwang (唐汪话) is a Chinese variety spoken in southern Gansu in China that has undergone significant structural transformation due to prolonged contact with Mongolic languages—particularly Dongxiang—spoken in the same region. Drawing on recent fieldwork data, this study investigates the use of deictic directional in imperative sentences in Tangwang. I will describe the VP + 'go'/'walk'/'come'/'give' constructions found in this variety and will try to establish if they can be analysed in term of an imperative system by focusing on their complexity and divergence from other Chinese varieties in the area. Special attention will be given to potential contact-induced changes and parallels with Mongolic patterns.

In some North-western Chinese varieties, the hortative ('let's do this') is typically expressed in VP+*ZOU* 走 'walk' (but also VP+*LAI* 来 'come' or VP+*QULAI* 去来 'come-go') constructions and are bound to first-person plural inclusive subjects, while VP + *QU* 去 'go' is used with all other persons (Lamarre, forthcoming 2025). Tangwang, however, presents a more elaborate paradigm: deictic directionals used for the imperative mood seem to be distributed according to the first, second, and third persons, in both singular and plural forms, e.g. (Lefort fieldwork 2024):

1. 我觉睡走
wɔ̌ ʂʷiteiɔ̌ tsu
1sg sleep walk
'I go to sleep'
2. 我格人地玩来
wɔ̌ kʷɿzə tei wɛ̃n le
1sg own man play come
'I go play on my own !'
3. 你睡觉去
ni ʂʷiteiɔ̌ tɕʰi
2sg sleep go
'Go to sleep'
4. 那家格人地玩给
nəteia kʷɿzə tei wɛ̃n ki
3sg own man play give
'Let him play on his own'

VP + ‘go’ constructions are similar to other North-western Chinese varieties when they are used with second persons (‘do this’) as in (3); VP + ‘walk’ (1) and VP + ‘come’ (2) constructions are both found with first persons (‘I wish to do this’ and ‘let’s do this’), but VP + ‘come’ conveys a more emphatic tone. Additionally, VP + ‘give’ (4) is found with third persons (‘have him do this’). This paradigm seems to be closer to what is found in Mongolic languages which features imperative suffixes for first person (desiderative/voluntative), second person (optative) and third person (permissive). Formally speaking, only the ‘permissive’ marker *ki* 给 ‘give’ resembles to a Mongolic marker and has been hypothesised to be a direct loan from Dongxiang - *gie* (Min 2018: 372-373). On the other hand, VP + ‘go’/ ‘walk’/ ‘come’ constructions would be result of reanalysis or a calquing process at an earlier stage of contact. As pointed out by Yang Yonglong (2012) the multiplicity of this kind of constructions in Yuan and Ming dynasties literature favour the result of language contact with Middle Mongolian. Although comparable constructions are attested in neighbouring Chinese varieties such as Lanzhou, Linxia, Gangou, and Zhoutun for the hortative (Lamarre, forthcoming 2025), the complete three-person paradigm appears to be unique to highly restructured contact varieties like Tangwang and Wutun, spoken in Qinghai, in intense contacts with Mongolic and/or Bodhic languages, which suggest secondary influence and later developments.

This paper will also explore the possible Mongolic origins of the imperative markers and the stratification of Mongolic influence on Tangwang’s imperative system. Two developmental scenarios will be discussed: (1) the full paradigm was originally introduced through contact with Middle Mongolian, with only certain varieties such as Tangwang preserving the third-person permissive due to continued contact; or (2) VP + deictic marker constructions emerged independently, with the third-person permissive developing later under more localized Mongolic influence.

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Coda Adaptation of Arabic Loanwords in Xi'an Hui Chinese

The Hui are Sinophonic Muslims in China, speaking different Chinese varieties incorporating numerous Arabic and Persian loanwords. The loanwords has a long history, originating in the Jingtang education in the 16th century. Classical Arabic permits complex consonant clusters in coda positions, with few restrictions on consonantal distribution, whereas Xi'an Mandarin Chinese prohibits consonant clusters in coda positions and restricts the types of consonants. Due to significant phonological differences between Chinese and Arabic, these loanwords undergo specific adaptations. This study is based on a corpus of 496 Arabic loanwords in Xi'an Hui Chinese collected through fieldwork. It addresses two questions: (1) what strategies are used in coda adaptation, and why; (2) what factors influence the choice of epenthetic vowels.

1. What strategies are used in coda adaptation?

Deletion is highly restricted and mostly occurs under phonetic non-prominence and morphosyntactic conditions. It typically involves the removal of the glottal stop /ʔ/ and the feminine marker *-t* in Classical Arabic nouns, as shown in (1) and (2). In some cases—especially with verbal loanwords—disyllabification leads to deletions, as in (3):

- (1) *rija:ʔ* → *ʔeiɿ jaɿ* ('showing-off')
- (2) *tawbat* → *tʰɔɿ pæɿ* ('repenting')
- (3) *xala:sʔ* → *xæɿ ljaɿ* ('to be even')

Direct mapping without epenthesis is also restricted, occurring only in cases involving nasal consonants and geminates, as in (4) and (5). However, not all nasal consonants are adapted this way—likely due to influences of Arabic orthography and Quranic recitation norms, as in (6):

- (4) *qurba:n* → *kwəɿ ɿ paŋɿ* ('Eid al-Adha')
- (5) *qubbat* → *kwenɿ pæɿ* ('dome')
- (6) *jaqin* → *jeɿ keiɿ niɿ* ('certainty of belief')

From the perspective of Optimality Theory, there is a typical mode of coda adaptation. Two primary markedness constraints—CODACON (Ito, 1996) and *COMPLEX (Zhang, 2003)—require codas to match native patterns and ban coda consonant clusters, respectively. These reflect the structure of L1 phonology. Notably, the faithfulness constraint MAX-IO (preventing deletion) plays an important role,

even outranking the diphthongization constraint WinMd (Yip, 1993). The proposed constraint ranking is: CODACON » *COMPLEX » MAX-IO » WinMd » DEP-IO

2. What factors influence the choice of epenthetic vowels?

Epenthesis is the predominant adaptation strategy. Three main factors influence the choice of epenthetic vowels:

a. Minimal Saliency (Kenstowicz, 2003)

The default vowel of L1, /ɤ/, bearing a low tone, is often used as the epenthetic vowel, even though it is not frequent on the surface. It is susceptible to its surroundings and may undergo consonantal assimilation and vowel harmony, as in:

(7) *fakk* → *ɤɛnʌ kʰɤʌʌ* ('skeptical thing')

b. Phonological Harmony

Most epenthetic vowels are assimilated by the preceding consonant, as in (8). Vowel harmony does occur but is limited to isolated cases, as in (9):

(8) *hi:dʰ* → *xəʌ zuʌ* ('menstruation')

(9) *xatnat* → *xæʌ tʰæʌʌ næʌ* ('circumcision')

c. Enhancement Effect (Stevens & Keyser, 1989)

Epenthetic syllables on the word edge are more likely to be assimilated. Word-final codas tend to release more airflow, making the epenthetic vowel more perceptually prominent and susceptible to assimilation. Compare:

(10) *witr* → *weiʔʔ tʰɤʌʌ ʌəʌ* ('the Witr prayer')

(11) *zaka:t* → *tsæʌ kʰaʌ tʰiʌʌ* ('donation')

Overall, the coda adaptation in these loanwords reflects a pattern based on L1 phonological constraints, but is also influenced by perceptual and non-grammatical factors, paralleling experimental findings from other languages such as Korean (Kim, 2021).

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Adverbs of Chinese Origin in Western Yugur

The Western Yugur language is an endangered Turkic language spoken exclusively in China. It is located in a complex linguistic area where it is in close contact with Amdo Tibetan, Mongolian, and predominantly the local Chinese dialect (Dwyer, 2022; Xu, 2021). Western Yugur is one of the native languages of the Yugur ethnicity, whose other native language, Eastern Yugur, belongs to the Mongolic language family. Existing research indicates that Western Yugur has undergone linguistic borrowing in multiple domains, with contact-induced changes affecting phonology, lexicon, and morphosyntax (Chen, 1985, 2004; Dwyer, 2022; Xu, 2021). While noun loanwords are commonly studied, a specific group of adverbs with possible Chinese origins has not yet received sufficient scholarly attention.

This paper investigates adverbs in Western Yugur that may have originated from Chinese, with a focus on their phonological adaptation and semantic shifts. Following the definition provided by Hengeveld (2023), we identify 160 adverbs from the dictionary compiled by Lei (1992), excluding derivational adverbials. Among these, 37 adverbs exhibit clear traits of Chinese influence. Since Lei's (1992) data primarily derive from fieldwork conducted in the 1950s, we supplement this dataset with 18 additional adverbs of a similar pattern from our ongoing corpus of the language to reflect contemporary usage.

Our preliminary analysis suggests that these adverbs likely represent takeover copies introduced by Western Yugur–Chinese bilingual speakers (see Code Copying Model promoted by Johanson, 2023). Their primary sources are Chinese adverbs, although a few originate from Chinese prepositions that have shifted to an adverbial function, such as *jəutʂa* ('yóu zhe/ 由着'). In terms of phonological adaptation, segmental features exhibit inconsistencies: diphthongs may be realised as either monophthongs or diphthongs, while suprasegmental features, such as tones from the source language, are not retained. These adverbs span various semantic fields, including TIME, MANNER, FREQUENCY, DEGREE, and MODALITY.

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CHAPITRE VI : LEXICOLOGIE ET LEXICOGRAPHIE

CHAPTER VI: LEXICOLOGY AND LEXICOGRAPHY

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Présentation de plusieurs dictionnaires de langues rares

Comment modéliser la création de dictionnaires eu égard à la diversité des langues et des linguistes ?

Ma réponse personnelle à cette problématique a été la création d'un logiciel, Lexika, dont la finalité est la modélisation, la création et l'édition automatisées de dictionnaires de langues rares (Galliot 2017-2024). Ce logiciel offre au linguiste un haut niveau de personnalisation, et ce, afin d'épouser la diversité linguistique, tout en permettant de mettre l'accent sur l'esthétisme de l'ouvrage final. Ainsi, chaque dictionnaire créé peut être unique dans sa structure et sa composition.

Ce logiciel, codé en Julia, XSL et LuaLaTeX, a la chaîne de traitement suivante : dans un premier temps, à partir de fichiers sources au format MDF (Toolbox, logiciel bien connu des linguistes de terrain) et de fichiers de configuration hautement personnalisables au format YAML, un fichier dictionnaire au format XML (avec le modèle souhaité) est généré, puis, dans un second temps, à partir de ce fichier XML et d'un fichier de gabarit XSL (pour définir le type de dictionnaire, les styles, la mise en pages, etc.), un fichier LaTeX est généré puis compilé pour produire et éditer un document PDF maqueté et imprimable.

À date, plusieurs dictionnaires ont été créés et édités, et certains d'entre eux ont été regroupés dans une collection, Lexica, qui a pour objectif de contribuer à la valorisation et à la préservation des langues rares, en même temps qu'aux progrès de la lexicographie numérique (Galliot s. d.). Ces dictionnaires favorisent la Science ouverte, avec le dépôt des ouvrages et des données sous licence Creative Commons, notamment sur HAL, où le portail de la collection est hébergé.

Cette communication vise ainsi à présenter les trois premiers dictionnaires de la collection :

- na – chinois – français – anglais, d'Alexis Michaud (Lacito), en 3 versions (Michaud et al. 2024a,b,c)
- japhug – chinois – français, de Guillaume Jacques (Crlao) (Jacques et al. 2025, Galliot 2025)
- yuanga – français, d'Isabelle Bril (Lacito) (Bril et al. 2025)

Les deux premiers décrivent des langues sino-tibétaines (Sichuan-Yunnan), tandis que le troisième décrit une langue austronésienne (Kanak – Nouvelle-Calédonie).

La communication présentera ces dictionnaires, en se focalisant sur leurs points communs, mais surtout leurs différences, les problèmes et points spécifiques propres à chaque dictionnaire (particularités linguistiques à modéliser et à styliser, comme des paradigmes, collocations, variantes régionales, notes multilingues, éditions multiples

liées, etc.), illustrant ainsi la diversité des langues et les choix techniques derrière. Une partie plus technique pourrait illustrer aussi la chaîne de traitement elle-même, ainsi qu'éventuellement certaines difficultés, comme les caractères, glyphes, textes enrichis, coupures de mot, ordres de tri lexicographique, contrôle qualité, etc. (Galliot 2023).

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Resultatives at the Interface with Information Structure: Some Remarks Based on Corpus Data

Resultative verb compounds (RVCs) in Modern Standard Chinese are composed of two verbal elements in a causal relation: V1 denotes the causing event, while V2 encodes the resulting event or state. RVCs exhibit well-known peculiarities at the syntax-semantics interface, as well as in terms of event structure, which have been investigated by numerous scholars (Basciano 2019; Cheng and Huang 1994; Her 2004; Huang and Lin 1990, among others). Their syntactic structure and realization patterns vary depending on how the arguments of each of the two verbs are mapped onto the RVC, generally distinguishing between subject- vs. object-oriented and intransitive vs. transitive patterns (Basciano 2015).

An aspect that has received comparatively little attention, however, is the interaction between RVCs and information structure—the organization of utterance elements based on whether they convey presupposed or topical (i.e., already known) information, which tends to appear earlier in the sentence, or focal information, which introduces new or non-presupposed content that cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech (Lambrecht 1994). Corpus data reveal that multiple argument realization patterns (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005) are available for RVCs, including preverbal patients/objects or the 把 *bǎ* construction, depending on whether the focus is, for instance, on the patient or on the result of the action (which may be a resultant state, object, or location).

- (1) 接着 他 就 把 那 篇 文章 翻译成 中文。
jiē.zhe tā jiù bǎ nà piān wénzhāng fānyì-chéng zhōngwén
 then 3SG just BA that CLF article translate-become Chinese
 'Then he translated that article into Chinese.'

In (1), the patient of V1 章翻 *fānyì* 'translate'—namely 那篇文章 *nà piān wénzhāng* 'that article'—appears in preverbal position, introduced by the marker *bǎ*, thereby leaving the focal position available for the resultant object: the second argument of V2 成 *chéng*, 中文 *zhōngwén* 'Chinese'.

This study aims to provide both qualitative and quantitative insights into possible argument realization patterns in Chinese resultative verb constructions (RVCs), with particular focus on structures exemplified by (1). After a theoretical overview of argument realization phenomena—including alternations and inversions—as well as a discussion of information structure, the study presents preliminary findings from two corpus-based investigations. The first draws on naturally occurring data from the BCC BLCU corpus to identify attested word order patterns, notably APV, PAV, PV,

and constructions featuring *bǎ/ jiāng* + PV. The second investigation is based on recall tasks conducted with native speakers of Chinese. The elicitation materials, including video stimuli, were designed to prompt a variety of actions typically expressed through RVCs, such as placing, moving, and hanging objects. The results reveal a range of argument realization patterns, shedding light on preferred structures and on variation across different event types.

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Désirable ou admirable ? Commentaires sur les corps masculins en mandarin et en français : une étude pragmatique de l'e-politesse

Sur les plateformes des réseaux sociaux, les commentaires postés sous les vidéos virales deviennent un terrain privilégié pour observer comment les locuteurs mobilisent le langage afin d'exprimer leur intention. Cette étude se propose d'analyser, dans une perspective pragmatique contrastive, les commentaires publiés en mandarin et en français sous les vidéos courtes de jeunes hommes mettant en scène leur corps dans une visée ostentatoire, sans intention didactique (conseils sportifs, nutrition, etc.), sur quatre plateformes : Douyin et REDnote (chinois), TikTok et Instagram (français).

Notre corpus est constitué de 1000 commentaires authentiques (500 en chinois, 500 en français), recueillis en 2025 sous les vidéos de profils sélectionnés selon des critères comparables : influenceurs non professionnels du secteur érotique, centrant leur contenu sur des danses, gestes corporels ou poses valorisant leur muscle. Ces publications, bien que culturellement marquées, ont en commun un usage du corps comme déclencheur de réactions discursives fortement évaluatives.

L'analyse, fondée sur la pragmatique contrastive (House & Kádár, 2021), mobilise également les travaux sur la (im)politesse (Culpeper, 2011 ; Locher & Watts, 2005) et sur les actes de langage (Searle, 1975 ; Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2005 ; House & Kádár, 2021). Elle vise à décrire les formes langagières de l'appréciation du corps masculin, en particulier les stratégies de mitigation, d'exagération, d'ambiguïté ou de suggestion sexuelle (Paveau, 2014).

Les premiers résultats révèlent une forte divergence : les commentaires en français sont majoritairement marqués par une politesse positive atténuée, avec des formules relevant de l'appréciation esthétique et valorisante :

- (1) Beau gosse. [Congratulate Speech Act]
- (2) Plaisir des yeux. [Congratulate]
- (3) Vous avez un corps somptueux. [Congratulate]
- (4) Très très fort, bravo ! [intensifier+Congratulate]

Toutefois, certains propos, bien que plus rares, prennent des tournures plus suggestives, exprimant un désir scénarisé ou romantisé :

- (5) Il peut me faire tout ce qu'il veut. [Willing]
- (6) Ça donne envie de se réveiller à côté de lui. [Opine]

À l'inverse, les commentaires en mandarin présentent une fréquence plus élevée de formulations à connotation sexuellement implicite, souvent sous forme d'humour, d'hyperbole ou d'auto-dérision :

- (7) 想吃 ('vouloir manger' au sens littéral) « je veux te croquer ». [Willing]
- (8) Supermarket 我 ('supermarché+moi' au sens littéral) « fonce sur moi ». [Request]
- (9) 秒我也愿意 ('même une seconde, je suis d'accord' au sens littéral) « même si l'acte est bref, j'accepte d'avoir relation sexuelle avec toi ». [conditional+Willing]
- (10) 开春逛窑子 ('je vais trainer au bordel au printemps' au sens littéral) « avec la saison où le désir sexuel est augmenté, l'envie d'aller à la maison de prostitution me reprend ». [Resolve]

Ces énoncés traduisent une appropriation langagière du corps plus explicite, et une plus grande tolérance à une transgression ritualisée dans l'espace public numérique. L'analyse préliminaire met en évidence des différences au niveau des formes pragmatiques employées dans les deux langues. Les commentaires en français tendent à encadrer la sexualisation dans une esthétique valorisante et indirecte, en privilégiant les actes de type *Congratulate* et en recourant à des énoncés d'éloge tempéré, tandis que ceux en mandarin affichent une tendance à l'expression du désir, souvent ludique et transgressive. Une analyse plus fine des paramètres sociopragmatiques (âge, genre, anonymat perçu, culture, etc.) fera l'objet d'un développement ultérieur.

Cette recherche participe à une réflexion sur les formes d'expression du désir dans les interactions numériques, en croisant les apports de la pragmatique contrastive, de la (im)politesse, et des études sur le discours sexuellement connoté.

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CHAPITRE VII : TYPOLOGIE LINGUISTIQUE

CHAPTER VII: LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY

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Applicative Constructions in Vietnamese: A Typological Perspective

Applicative constructions in Asian languages are typically of the benefactive type, with applicative markers often deriving from the verb GIVE. These markers usually appear after the main verb, forming a compound verbal structure, as seen in the V-*gěi* pattern of Mandarin Chinese and the V-*te yaru/ageru/kureru/kudasaru* patterns of Japanese. These patterns introduce a beneficiary argument, thereby increasing the syntactic valency of the main verb by one. Descriptive and typological studies of applicative constructions in Mandarin, Korean, Japanese, and other Asian languages are relatively extensive (Shibatani, 1994, 1996; Pardeshi, 1998; Tomioka & Kim, 2017; Sawada, 2014/2024; Chappell, 2024). However, research on applicative constructions in Vietnamese remains limited. This study, within a typological framework, aims to provide a systematic description of applicative constructions in Vietnamese.

The grammatical functions of *cho* in Vietnamese exhibit multifunctionality. It can function as a main verb, expressing the meaning GIVE, and forming double-object constructions. It can also form dative structures with the pattern V + DO + *cho* + IO or serve as an auxiliary verb following the main verb to form applicative constructions with the pattern V + *cho* + IO + DO, as illustrated in (1).

Vietnamese (Nguyễn, 1976: 924)

- (1) a. Ông thư-ký đưa cái quạt cho cô y-tá.
CLF.M secretary hand CLF fan to CLF.F nurse
'The clerk handed the fan to the nurse.'
- b. Ông thư-ký đưa (cho) cô y-tá cái quạt.
CLF.M secretary hand GIVE CLF.F nurse CLF fan
'The clerk handed the nurse the fan.'

Regarding the word *cho*, which immediately follows the main verb in Vietnamese, traditional studies have considered it as a preposition or postposition (Matisoff, 1991; Ngo, 2020). However, from a typological perspective, given its structural parallelism with applicative alternations found in other Asian languages—such as Mandarin Chinese, illustrated in example (2) below— this study argues that *cho* should be analyzed as an auxiliary verb rather than as an adposition. This change of a lexical verb into an auxiliary is a case of grammaticalization.

Mandarin

- (2) a. Zhāng Sān shāo-le yī-gè bāofu gěi tā.
Zhang San take-PFV one-CL baggage to 3SG
'Zhang San took a baggage to him.'
- b. Zhāng Sān shāo-gěi-le tā yī-gè bāofu
Zhang San take-GIVE-PFV 3SG one-CLF baggage
'Zhang San took him a baggage.'

The structural correspondence illustrated above suggests that Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese share significant commonalities in their applicative expressions. The typological analysis of GIVE-type applicative constructions in Vietnamese can offer deeper insights into areal universals among Asian languages.

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Applicative Constructions in Lanzhou Dialect

The applicative voice is a valency-increasing operation. An applicative construction is typically defined as a syntactic structure that bears an overt verbal morphological marker and allows a peripheral semantic role argument or adjunct to be promoted to a core object argument, thereby increasing the valency of the verb compared to the original structure. The introduction of an applicative argument is always accompanied by an overt applicative marker, which generally serves to indicate the semantic role of the applicative argument (Peterson, 2007; Polinsky, 2013; Zúñiga & Creissels, 2024). In Mandarin Chinese, there are also overt applicative markers that introduce non-core arguments, such as the post-verbal *gei* "give" in double object constructions (Paul & Whitman, 2010; Sun Tianqi, 2015, 2019).

According to the *Language Atlas of China* (2012), the Lanzhou dialect belongs to the Jincheng subgroup of the Lanyin Mandarin group. In the Lanzhou dialect, there is only one type of ditransitive construction used to express giving, namely: A + GIVE1 + R + V-GIVE2 + T, and in some cases, there may even be three instances of GIVE, as in the example:

- (1) tha^{31} ku^{442-53} və^{442} $\text{ku}^{442}\text{-ku}$ i^{13-11} pə^{442} fu^{31} .
 3SG PREP 1SG GIVE -APPL one CL book
 He gave me a book / He gave a book to me.

In this sentence, the first ku^{442} is a preposition and the second ku^{442} is a verb—these two are uncontroversial. However, the word class of ku remains a subject of debate. We argue that ku in the Lanzhou dialect functions as an applicative marker.

This paper draws on fieldwork data and existing research to examine applicative constructions in the Lanzhou dialect. It explores the types of verbs that can appear in the “V- ku ” structure, the semantic roles of applicative objects, and the word order patterns of applicative constructions. It also compares the applicative constructions in the Lanzhou dialect with those in Standard Mandarin, highlighting both similarities and differences.

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CHAPITRE VIII : LINGUISTIQUE MISSIONNAIRE

CHAPTER VIII: MISSIONARY LINGUISTICS

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Syntactic Structures Related to *kēn* 跟 in 19th-Century South-Western Mandarin: Evidence from a Missionary Dictionary

The *Dictionnaire Chinois-Français de la Langue Mandarine Parlée dans l'Ouest de la Chine* (1893; henceforth *Dictionnaire*) offers a valuable record of the South-Western Mandarin used in the Southern part of Sichuan province at the end of the 19th century (Chen, 2016). Precious studies have examined some specific aspects of South-Western Mandarin, like its prepositional system (Jin, 2016), the usages of a multifunctional *kēn* (Li & Liu, 2015; Cao 2023). This study analyzes the corpus from the *Dictionnaire* to reexamine the functions of *kēn* and its different syntactic positions in the ditransitive structure and passive structure.

As a verb, *kēn* can carry the meaning of 'give' or 'follow'. As a preposition, *kēn* can be used as: (i) dative marker for the recipient or beneficiary; (ii) lative marker, used in both directions; (iii) comitative marker and (iv) equative marker. Besides these basic usages, *kēn* can be compounded with the verb *lā* 拿 in the passive structure.

More detailed discussion will concentrate on the following structures and their variants: a. V + T + *kēn* + R; b. A + (T) + V + *kēn* + R; c. (A) + (T) + V1 + *kēn* + R + V2; d. P + *lā kēn* + A + Vp.

Examples:

- a. 付 兩吊 跟 他
Fóu leàngtiào kēn t'ā
 pay two-CL DAT 3SG
 'Give him two ligatures (of money)' [donne-lui deux ligatures.]

- b. 我 的 馬褂 顛 跟 你
Gò tǐ màkoú tiēn kēn gni
 1SG GEN overcoat exchange DAT 2SG

'I exchange my overcoat with you (for money or something else).' [Je te troque mon pardessus (contre argent ou autre chose).]

c. 我 说 跟 你 聽
Gò chǒ kēn gni t'in
1SG tell DAT 2SG hear

'I tell you something.' [Je vais te dire la chose.]

d. 我 拿跟 強盜 偷 了
Gò lākēn k'iāngtáo t'eōu lò
1SG PASS robber steal PERF

'I was stolen from by robbers.' [J'ai été volé par les voleurs.]

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The Grammar of Time Reference and Tense in Early Middle Japanese: an Overview of the Main Observations

My research concerns the grammar of time reference and tense marking in Early Middle Japanese (EMJ). Despite the long philological tradition which studies the tense-aspect auxiliaries of Classical Japanese, my research is the first to address a fundamental question: 'Is the language of the Heian period, Early Middle Japanese (EMJ), a tenseless or a tensed language?'

This question had proven difficult to answer over the 125 years intervening between the publication of the earliest English grammar of Classical Japanese, and that of the more recent Classical Japanese grammar by Vovin. In fact, the prevailing approach had been to present Classical Japanese verbal morphology as a catalogue of individual morphemes. This approach is unconcerned with paradigmatic distinctions (for instance, past tense *vs* present tense), and characterises not only reference grammars of Classical Japanese, but also books entirely devoted to tense and aspect in Classical Japanese.

In this talk, I will present evidence in the form of examples showing that EMJ is a tenseless language. One that features optional past tense marking: a specific kind of past tense found in a number of tenseless languages, such as Tlingit (a Native American language), and some Polynesian and creole languages. The conclusion that EMJ is tenseless was reached after observing that:

- Temporal (un)boundedness, i.e. (im)perfective viewpoint, is the one parameter that determines the time reference, past or present, for verbs bearing no tense-aspect affixes:
 - Verbs that bear no tense-aspect affixes, such as *kaku* 'wrote', refer to a specific past episode, e.g. '(on a specific day) he wrote a letter to his parents', if the sentence contains implicit or explicit reference to a temporal boundary.
 - Instead, in absence of such a reference, verbs that bear no tense-aspect affixes, such as *kaku* 'writes', denote generic statements about the narrative present, e.g. 'he (often) writes letters to his parents'.
 - If the sentence contains reference to a temporal boundary, stative verbs bearing no tense-aspect affixes, such as *miyu* 'be visible' or *sumu* 'reside', undergo implicit type-shifting as inchoatives, e.g. *miyu* 'became visible', *sumu* 'moved to, began to live at'. This phenomenon is known cross-linguistically: in English, a stative verb, such as *like*, denotes a state, e.g. *he likes chocolate*. However, reference to a temporal boundary prompts a reanalysis of the stative verb as an inchoative, e.g. in *he liked her immediately*, *like* actually means *come to like*. This phenomenon is proof that many

EMJ verbs bearing no tense-aspect affixes do coincide with underlying perfective viewpoint.

- Conversely, verbs marked for past tense, such as *kaki-ki* 'wrote' always refer to a past situation. However, past tense marking in EMJ is not obligatory, as in 'marked regardless of relevance considerations' [2], like in English. Past tense in EMJ is marked optionally, when the pastness of a situation is a salient communicative point, and hence triggers a discontinuity inference. For instance, (i) 'he (often) wrote letters to his parents (but no longer does)'; (ii) 'he came here (before, but he is gone)'; (iii) 'he promised (but did not keep his promise)'. Similar pragmatic inferences are also attested for the plus-que-parfait and the trapassato in French and Italian, respectively.

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CHAPITRE IX : TRAITEMENT AUTOMATIQUE DES LANGUES ET INTELLIGENCE ARTIFICIELLE

CHAPTER IX: NATURAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING AND ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

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Evaluation of Neural Machine Translation on a Chinese–Vietnamese Parallel Corpus Using Automatic Metrics and Human Annotations (MQM)

This project aims to evaluate the quality of neural machine translations or NMT (Barbin 2020) from Vietnamese to Chinese in specialized fields (medicine, gastronomy, biblical), by crossing automatic metrics (eg. BLEU, chrF) with human annotations (Snover and Dorr 2006) following the MQM (Multidimensional Quality Metrics) framework.

The Chinese (Traditional characters)–Vietnamese parallel corpus (in TMX format), extracted from the OPUS platform, was cleaned, segmented into 100 segments, and annotated in a CSV file with the following columns: *system*, *doc*, *doc_id*, *seg_id*, *rater*, *source*, *target*, *category*, and *severity*.

A) Reference example:

Và , đất là vô_hình và trống_không , sự mờ tối ở trên mặt vực ; Thần_Đức_Chúa_Trời vận_hành trên mặt_nước .

地是空虛混沌 . 淵面黑暗 . 神的靈運行在水面上

Đức_Chúa_Trời phán rằng : Phải có sự sáng ; thì_có sự sáng .

神說、要有光、就有了光

B) Examples of candidates:

Each segment was translated by two separate systems, for example:

1) a standard engine (Google translation):

Và , đất là vô_hình và trống_không , sự mờ tối ở trên mặt vực ; Thần_Đức_Chúa_Trời vận_hành trên mặt_nước . Đức_Chúa_Trời phán rằng : Phải có sự sáng ; thì_có sự sáng .

[Now the earth was formless and empty, darkness was over the surface of the deep, and the Spirit of God was hovering over the waters.

And God said, "Let there be light," and there was light.]

地是空虛混沌，淵面黑暗。神的靈運行在水面上。。

神說：「要有光！」就有了光。

Dì shì kōngxū hùndùn, yuān miàn hēi'àn. Shén de líng yùnxíng zài shuǐ miàn shàng.

Shén shuō: “Yào yǒu guāng!” jiù yǒu le guāng.

2) a large language model (ChatGPT 4.0).

Và , đất là vô_hình và trống_không , sự mờ tối ở trên mặt vực ; Thần_Đức_Chúa_Trời vận_hành trên mặt_nước .

Đức_Chúa_Trời phán rằng : Phải có sự sáng ; thì_có sự sáng .

地是空虛混沌，淵面黑暗；上帝的靈運行在水面上。

上帝說：「要有光」，就有了光。

Automatic evaluation of translations was conducted using four complementary metrics — BLEU (Papineni et al. 2002), TER (<https://github.com/fenix01/traduction>), chrF (Popovic 2015), and BERTScore (https://github.com/Tiiiger/bert_score) — to compare the performance of the reference translation, Google Translate, and ChatGPT.

System	BLEU	TER	chrF	BERTScore F1
Google	57.84	2697.30	51.40	0.9185
ChatGPT	51.71	3206.79	46.26	0.9077

The results show that Google Translate outperforms ChatGPT across all metrics. This can likely be attributed to Google’s translation engine being more optimized for Chinese, benefiting from extensive domain-specific data and targeted fine-tuning. ChatGPT, while slightly behind in lexical accuracy, remains competitive in terms of semantic similarity, as indicated by its high BERTScore. This suggests that while it may deviate from the reference in wording, it often captures the intended meaning well.

To deepen the analysis, we compare these automatic scores with human evaluation conducted using the MQM framework (via Marot). This comparison aims to address key questions: Which automatic metrics align most closely with human judgment? In what contexts do these metrics fail to reflect the quality perceived by professional translators? What do discrepancies between human evaluation and automatic scoring reveal about the limitations of current automated evaluation methods? Beyond a simple comparison, we reflect on the broader implications for translation assessment. Can translation quality really be captured by a set of numerical scores? To what extent is human expertise essential for interpreting or calibrating these metrics? In cases of mismatch, should the error be attributed to the translation system, or to the metric itself?

Furthermore, the project includes the pretraining and fine-tuning of a translation model on a specialized corpus — for instance, using mBART50 or mBART-large-50 — selected based on the specific characteristics of the task. We have already

developed an initial version of the model using this Chinese–Vietnamese parallel corpus, trained and fine-tuned by ourselves with mBART. For example:

Và, đất là vô hình và trống không, sự mờ tối ở trên mặt vực; Thần Đức Chúa Trời vận hành trên mặt nước. Đức Chúa Trời phán rằng: Phải có sự sáng; thì có sự sáng.

地是無形的、空的、幽暗在外面。神的靈力在水面上行
神說、有光、就是光

The objective is to build a tailored model optimized for this specific language pair (Vietnamese–Chinese) and domain (eg. biblical and Sino-Vietnamese texts), while also evaluating the effectiveness of our automatic evaluation tools. This exploratory work not only improves translation quality through domain adaptation, but also lays the groundwork for future experiments involving larger or multilingual corpora — including French, Korean, English, Japanese, and more.

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The Chinese *bèi* Passive Construction with Emotion Verbs: A Corpus-Based Study on their Acceptability

Linguistic inquiries into the Mandarin Chinese *bèi* passive construction (BPC) have long posited the incompatibility of this structure with stative verbs like 爱 *ài* 'love' due to their lack of disposal [1] [2], telicity [3], or due to their connotation [4]. Only recently has the possibility of incorporating "verbs denoting sensory and psychological activities" within the BPC been proposed [5], primarily thanks to the increasing influence of usage-based studies (e.g., [6]). However, existing research has not systematically examined these verbs as a unified category nor sought to identify the reasons behind their (un)acceptability.

This study, therefore, investigates the potential compatibility of Emotion Verbs (EVs) with the BPC. Drawing on [7] and [8] that classify these verbs according to the role of the subject (Experiencer, Stimulus, Affecter), we focused on Experiencer-as-Subject verbs, traditionally regarded as problematic with the BPC. Following [8], a dataset of 37 EVs was selected. Two large-scale corpora were used, the BBC and the ZhTenTen Corpus; the CCL corpus was employed for diachronic analysis. Accordingly, we address the following questions:

RQ1: Are there occurrences of EVs within the BPC? If so, what is their distribution, and what are the most frequently used?

RQ2: Do (the most frequently occurring) EVs retain their original lexical meaning, or do they systematically acquire an adverse connotation within the BPC? What textual contexts do these verbs typically appear in?

RQ3: From 1900 to the present, has the usage frequency of the most frequently used EVs within the BPC exhibited an upward trend?

Results indicate that all selected EVs occur within the BPC, with a consistent distribution across the two corpora ($\chi^2=1.34$, $p=1$, Pearson's residuals=.04). As for their semantic properties, both corpora reveal a moderate-to-strong positive correlation between the lexical meaning of the verb and the semantic interpretation of the BPC in which it appears, indicating that these verbs are also frequently employed in non-adverse contexts.

Subsequently, we focused on the six most frequent EVs, three with a non-adverse meaning (关心 *guānxīn* 'care about,' 喜欢 *xǐhuān* 'like,' 爱 *ài* 'love') and three with an adverse meaning (讨厌 *tǎoyàn* 'hate,' 气 *qì* 'get angry,' 嫌弃 *xiánqì* 'detest'). The annotation of text types suggests that these verbs predominantly occur in the BPC

within unstructured textual contexts. Diachronic analysis indicates that the increasing frequency and acceptability of EVs in the BPC can be attributed to two interrelated factors that have interacted throughout the evolution of Chinese:

- the progressive grammaticalization of *bèi* as a passive marker, which has led to a gradual loss of its originally pejorative semantic value, allowing it to evolve into a more abstract passive construction [9].
- the process of “Englishization” in contemporary Chinese [10], which extends beyond the language practices of younger generations who are in direct contact with English.

By challenging prescriptive grammar, this study proves EVs' compatibility with the BPC and enhances understanding of its evolution.

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Analyse comparative de la construction discursive des relations sino-africaines dans les médias chinois et français : une approche linguistique basée sur un corpus bilingue

Ces dernières années, la coopération sino-africaine s'est intensifiée dans les sphères politique, économique, culturelle et militaire, atteignant une nouvelle envergure et attirant l'attention croissante des médias internationaux. Dans ce contexte, la France, forte de ses liens historiques avec l'Afrique, observe attentivement l'essor de l'influence chinoise sur le continent.

Cette étude vise à explorer l'articulation entre le vocabulaire axiologique et émotionnel et le fonctionnement dialogique du discours. L'analyse s'appuie sur trois dimensions principales : le dialogisme de la nomination, la représentation du discours autre ainsi que les opérations de thématisation et de rhématisation.

Le corpus se compose de vingt articles, sélectionnés à parts égales dans trois médias chinois (*Le Quotidien du Peuple*, *Le Quotidien Guangming*, *Le Quotidien de la jeunesse de Chine*) et trois médias français (*Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Point*). Ces médias ont été sélectionnés pour leur audience, leur statut et leur influence. Les articles, collectés via Europress et les sites officiels des journaux chinois, ont été extraits à partir de mots-clés tels que "Chine %2 Afrique" et "sino-africain+", ainsi que "中国和非洲" et "中非". La période couverte s'étend du 1er mars 2013, date de la prise de fonction du président XI, au 30 novembre 2021, marquant la clôture du 8^e Forum sur la coopération sino-africaine.

La méthodologie combine une approche quantitative et qualitative. Le prétraitement des articles repose sur le Python et des outils de TAL comme spaCy, Gensim (LDA) et Scikit-learn (TF-IDF) pour la modélisation thématique. Des analyses de fréquences, de cooccurrences et de correspondances ont été menées à l'aide de la programmation en Python. L'analyse qualitative s'inscrit dans le cadre théorique de l'énonciation (Maingueneau D., 2016), du dialogisme (Bres J. et Nowakowska A., 2005), et de l'école française d'analyse du discours (Maingueneau D., 2014).

Les résultats révèlent des écarts différents entre les deux corpus. D'un point de vue quantitatif, les médias chinois se caractérisent par un lexique à dominante positive comme « 合作 » (la coopération) et « 发展 » (le développement), tandis que les médias français ont davantage recours à des termes critiques ou ambigus tels que « heure des désillusions » et « dépendance ». Sur le plan qualitatif, les médias chinois adoptent un langage à forte connotation positive, promouvant une image harmonieuse des relations sino-africaines. À l'inverse, les médias français privilégient un ton plus critique ou neutre, marqué par une posture distanciée. Cette différence s'exprime dans les choix énonciatifs : discours direct côté chinois ; discours indirect et autonymie côté français (par exemple, en citant directement les propos de responsables chinois

ou de partenaires africains : « 中非友谊 » (l'amitié sino-africaine) ou « 合作双赢 » (une coopération gagnant-gagnant), en recourant au discours indirect attribué à des responsables africains ou des rapports d'instituts de recherche : « le manque de transparence des contrats signés avec Pékin »).

Par ailleurs, les stratégies de thématization révèlent des focalisations contrastées : les médias chinois insistent sur la coopération économique (comme « 中非合作的加强 » — renforcement de la coopération sino-africaine), tandis que les médias français soulignent les tensions politiques et les rapports de pouvoir (comme « la Chine étend son influence en Afrique »).

Cette recherche se distingue par l'articulation rigoureuse entre traitement quantitatif et analyse discursive, permettant de mettre en lumière les mécanismes idéologiques à l'œuvre dans les discours médiatiques plurilingues. Elle s'inscrit dans une réflexion linguistique sur la construction discursive de l'image des acteurs internationaux et entend contribuer aux travaux en linguistique de l'Asie orientale, en analyse comparative du discours ainsi qu'en méthodologies numériques appliquées aux corpus médiatiques.

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CHAPITRE X: PROSODIE & TON

CHAPTER X: PROSODY & TONE

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On Palindromic(-like) Word- and Sentence-Length Structures in Modern Standard Mandarin

In alphabetic languages with phoneme-based writing systems, palindromic structures are formed by rearranging letters (letter-unit palindromes, e.g., Eng. *level*, *rotator*) or whole words (word-unit palindromes, e.g., “Fall leaves after leaves fall”) and demonstrate axial and/or linear symmetry. The phonotactics of Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM) do not permit resyllabification or free reverse phoneme order, and the usage of a consonant without reliance on a vowel sound significantly limits the abilities of MSM in palindrome art. Moreover, Chinese has undergone a substantial reduction in its syllabic inventory over the past 1500 years, with the present number of syllables being a mere 1334 (Duanmu 2008).

Another salient factor is the anagram mass percentage. On average, an English word contains approximately 120 different letter combinations that could be other words, or anagrams, meaning the anagram mass of the English word is less than 1% (1:120) (Epstein 2009). In contrast, in MSM, where the average word length is between 2,131 and 3,487 characters (Schindelin 2017), the proportion of anagrams ranges between 28.6% and 46.9%.

The focus of this paper is threefold. The first aim is to identify the differences between *ambinym*s and *reversals* – both traditionally referred to as 回文 *huíwén* – and to bring to light the morphosyntactic, semantic, and phonological qualities that remain hidden within word-length ambinym (e.g., 互相 *hùxiāng* – 相互 *xiānghù* ‘mutual’) and reversals (e.g., 故事 *gùshi* ‘story’ – 事故 *shìgu* ‘accident’).

Second, it will be argued that prosody not only constrains morphology, causing syntactic resegmentations and maintaining the same rhythmic groups in phrase-length palindromes (e.g., 上海自来水来自海上 *Shànghǎi zìláishuǐ lái zì hǎi shàng*) in backward reading, but that it is also part of morphology, and thus always operates with the central stressed syllable in both directions, subordinating different components each time.

The third objective of this paper is to analyse the differences between word-unit palindromes and chiasmatic structures (e.g., 知者不言, 言者不知 *Zhī zhě bù yán, yán zhě bù zhī*), which are commonly included in the category of 回文 *huíwén* or referred to as 回环 *huíhuán* and often translated into English as “regression” (Ji 2009; Wǔ and Zhāng 2009). Chiasmatic structures can be observed in a variety of linguistic phenomena, including tongue twisters, proverbs, antithetical couplets, and advertising slogans.

The examples presented in this paper demonstrate that the word-unit palindromic structures are an effective means of illustrating the interdependence of Chinese morphosyllables. Palindromy should therefore be considered as a word formation

process, potentially highly productive (up to 46.9%). In the case of the phrase-length palindromes, the caesura always operates with the same morphosyllable and causes significant syntactic perturbations. By demonstrating the semantics of wordplay, clever tricks and tricky cleverness, palindromic structures can be used as a basis for teaching word formation and simple sentence formation without the rigid burden of function words.

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The Prosodic Patterns of Lexical Tones in Gansu Qinlong Zhongyuan Mandarin

In comparison to Chinese dialects in regions such as Wu, Min, Xiang, and other Southeastern dialects, the tone inventories of monosyllabic words in Northwest Chinese dialects are relatively simple, typically comprising 2 to 4 tones. However, these simple inventories give rise to relatively complex tonal sandhi systems. Specifically, the same monosyllabic tone can take on multiple tonal values when connected in speech, complicating the formulation of tonal sandhi rules and making tonal changes in connected speech more intricate and opaque. Additionally, in many areas, the tonal stability of monosyllabic words is gradually weakening, prompting speakers to develop a stronger intuitive grasp of tonal patterns in polysyllabic words rather than monosyllabic tones. In other words, while the tones of monosyllabic words still serve a basic function of distinguishing lexical meanings, their prominence within the tonal system is diminishing, and their role in daily communication is declining. In response to this phenomenon, Xing & Ma (2019) introduced the concept of "lexical tone" in Northwest Chinese dialects, challenging the traditional research paradigm that centers on monosyllabic words tones and shifting focus toward the overall tonal patterns of polysyllabic words. However, the "lexical tone" theory faces two key challenges: first, current research largely relies on auditory judgments and traditional fieldwork, with limited systematic acoustic analysis and empirical data; second, studies on lexical tone predominantly focuses on the generalization and classification of tonal patterns, with insufficient attention given to the phonological mechanisms and cognitive processes underlying their formation.

This study addresses these challenges by using two dialects of Qinlong Zhongyuan Mandarin (Lingtai and Wenxian) as case studies. It examines three acoustic correlates of prominence: fundamental frequency (f_0), duration, and intensity. These parameters were chosen for two main reasons. First, their inclusion broadens the range of parameters compared to traditional research, which has typically focused primarily on pitch. While pitch is a primary prosodic cue in Chinese, duration has also been shown to play a significant role. Second, the inclusion of intensity alongside f_0 and duration enables us to explore the possibility that the prosodic systems of Northwestern dialects may exhibit, in addition to tonal features, stress-like characteristics. F_0 , duration, and intensity are widely recognized in prosodic research as key indicators of prominence (Fry 1958). To investigate these parameters, we invited four native speakers (two from each dialect) to participate in the experiment, during which they produced 60 monosyllabic words and 200 disyllabic words. To minimize sequencing effects, the word lists were randomized.

The experimental results show that in disyllabic words in both dialects, only the lexical tone of the first syllable is preserved, while the lexical tone of the second syllable is neutralized, thus reducing the overall number of possible tone sandhi patterns to the number of tones on monosyllabic words. The Lingtai system can further be characterized as stress-like, with prominence assigned to the first syllable, which is marked by not only the full lexical tone but also longer duration and higher intensity. By contrast, the lexical tone of the second syllable is replaced by a default tone, and this syllable exhibits lower duration and intensity. The Wenxian system, on the other hand, is more complex, as we do not observe significant differences in duration or intensity between the two syllables of disyllabic words. Additionally, the lexical tone of the first syllable appears to spread across the entire disyllabic domain. In conclusion, this study fills a gap in acoustic research on lexical tone in Northwestern dialects. Furthermore, the distinctive features of the two dialects discussed in this study suggest a potential shift in the prosodic structure of Northwestern varieties, evolving from systems based solely on tonal oppositions to hybrid prosodic systems that integrate both tone and stress. Specifically, while the monosyllabic words tone still distinguishes lexical meaning, the tonal behavior in disyllabic words tends to align more with a stress-based system.

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Experimental Insights into the Prosodic Structure of Ersu (Tibeto-Burman)

This study experimentally examines the prosodic structure of Ersu (ISO-639 ers), an endangered Tibeto-Burman language, and empirically tests the hypothesis that Ersu's prosodic system combines lexical tone in monosyllabic words with stress-like prominence in polysyllabic words (Chirkova et al. 2015).

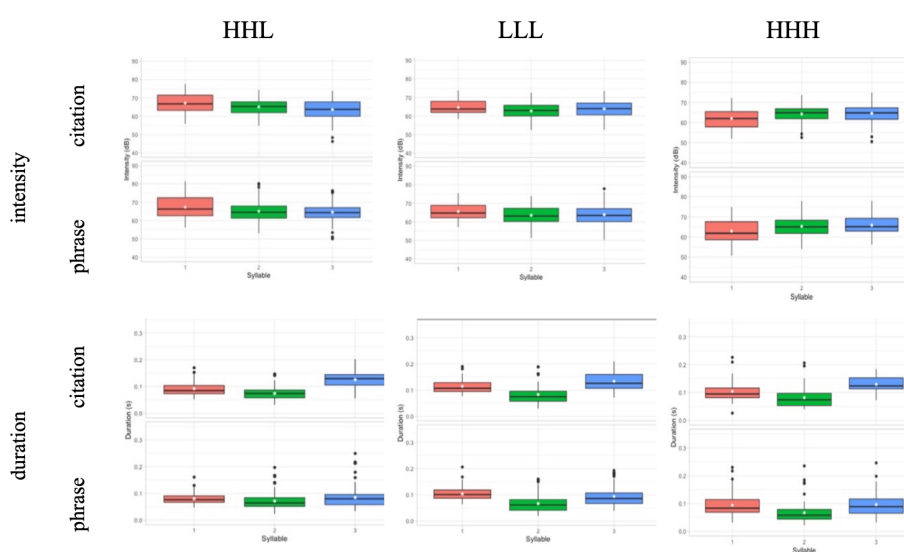
Ersu is proposed as a register tone language with two registers: High (H) and Low (L). In polysyllabic words, the initial syllable retains its tone, while non-initial syllables adopt the tone of the initial syllable. Among the three tone patterns found in di- and tri-syllabic words—H(H)H, L(L)L, and H(H)L—the first two are regular, while the third is exceptional. The exceptional patterns (HL, HHL) are believed to exhibit stress-like features, with the final Low-tone syllable perceived as less prominent, having reduced intensity and shorter duration.

This study aims to deepen our understanding of the Ersu prosodic system by empirically testing previous claims using a small corpus of di- and tri-syllabic words in two contexts: citation (phrase-final) and phrasal (embedded within a phrase). It examines three acoustic correlates of prominence—duration, intensity, and fundamental frequency (f₀)—to distinguish word-level from phrase-level stress and to investigate their interaction with lexical tone.

The analysis draws on field recordings from eight Ersu speakers (3 female, 5 male). Word-list items were transcribed using Praat TextGrids (Boersma & Weenink 2020), and 8,085 acoustic tokens were extracted via a Praat script. Duration and mean intensity were measured once per vowel, while f₀ was measured three times per vowel (vowel onset, midpoint, and offset) to capture both pitch height and contour. Due to gender-based differences in mean f₀ and f₀ range, male and female speakers were analyzed separately. Statistical analysis was conducted using linear mixed-effects models in R (lme4 and lmerTest: Bates et al. 2015; Kuznetsova et al. 2017), with post-hoc pairwise comparisons via the emmeans package (Lenth 2016). Separate models were run for each acoustic parameter.

Our results only partially support the original claims. For the HL tone pattern, the first syllable shows significantly greater intensity only in the citation context (estimate = 2.016, $t = 2.503$, $p = 0.0124$), while durational differences between syllables are not statistically significant in either context (citation: estimate = -0.003, $t = -0.450$, $p = 0.6528$; phrase: estimate = 0.007, $t = 1.206$, $p = 0.2282$). For the HH and LL patterns, f_0 , intensity, and duration do not differ significantly between syllables in either context.

At the trisyllabic level, the HHL tone pattern resembles the LLL pattern in exhibiting peak intensity on the initial syllable across all contexts. In terms of duration, all three tone patterns show consistently longer duration on the final syllable in every context examined (see chart below).



This presentation further explores the implications of these findings for the prosodic organization of Ersu and its closely related language Lizu, for which comparable experimental data are available (Chirkova et al. 2023). More broadly, it contributes to the typology of prosodic systems in under-documented Tibeto-Burman languages of Southwest China (e.g. Evans 2008, 2018).

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Grammatical Tone in Mainland Southeast Asia

Mainland Southeast Asia (MSEA) is often described as a Sprachbund, where five language families – Austroasiatic, Austronesian, Hmong-Mien, Kra-Dai, and Sino-Tibetan – have undergone typological convergence (cf. Enfield 2005; Sidwell & Jenny 2021). A common feature of many languages in this area is the presence of tone (Henderson 1965; Matisoff 2001), typically employed in a lexically contrastive function, that is, to distinguish lexical meaning. This function can be exemplified by languages such as Thai and Vietnamese. In contrast, grammatical tone – tone restricted to morphosyntactic contexts rather than marking lexical distinctions regardless of context – is far less common in the region. Nevertheless, it is attested (Henderson 1967; Ratliff 1992), particularly in the Tibeto-Burman branch, where an increasing number of case studies report features characteristic of so-called “African-type” tonal systems, exhibiting decomposable contour, grammatical tone, and floating tone.

Henderson (1967) was the first to survey grammatical tone in Southeast Asia, providing examples from Tiddim Chin, Classical Chinese, Cantonese, Bwe Karen, Thai, and Vietnamese. Ratliff (1992a; 1992b) expanded this work, proposing a tonal typology that divides Asian languages into two groups. The first group – including the Hmong-Mien and Kra-Dai families as well as Mandarin Chinese and Vietnamese – primarily uses tone lexically, with limited morphological function. The second group – comprising Tibeto-Burman languages and certain Chinese dialects – exhibits extensive morphological use of tone. Ratliff further correlated the degree of grammatical tone usage (minor vs. major) with structural features such as the number of lexical tones, segmental morphology (analytic vs. synthetic), word structure (monosyllabic vs. polysyllabic roots), and word-building resources (derivational morphology, size of segmental contrasts). She suggested that a language's tonal function is predictable based on these structural properties. For instance, extensive morphological tone is generally associated with languages that possess substantial segmental morphology and word-building resources. However, this correlation was challenged by Hyman (2016), who compared Mandarin Chinese with Mohawk: both languages exhibit only lexical tone, yet the former is analytic while the latter is synthetic.

Building on these studies, our paper presents an updated survey of grammatical tone in MSEA. Drawing on newly available data from a broader range of languages, we statistically test Ratliff's (1992a; 1992b) proposed correlation and explore potential cross-linguistic trends based on the geographic, genealogical, and structural variables represented in our dataset. Specifically, each instance of grammatical tone is coded according to Ratliff's typological parameters and further classified as morphotonology or tonal morphology – a distinction not clearly articulated in previous surveys. Morphotonology describes how morphological processes (e.g., affixation, reduplication, compounding) shape tonal patterns, whereas tonal morphology refers to cases where tone functions as the sole exponent of a morpheme, encoding grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, or case. Incorporating this distinction allows for greater specificity regarding the structural level at which grammatical tone operates in each instance.

Ultimately, our project aims to refine the areal classification of grammatical tone in MSEA, expand the empirical base, enhance our understanding of the phonology-morphology interface in the region's tone languages, and contribute to a broader understanding of the cross-linguistic conditions that foster the emergence and development of grammatical tone.

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CHAPITRE XI : LES LANGUES SINITIQUES

CHAPTER XI: SINITIC LANGUAGES

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Analytic Causative Constructions in Hunan Dialects

This study investigates analytic causative constructions and their corresponding causative markers across 16 Sinitic varieties including Xiang, Gan and Southwestern Mandarin in Hunan Province. All the data in this study come from our own fieldwork. A causative construction is defined as a linguistic expression that encodes a complex event composed of two component events: a causing event and a caused event (Shibatani 1976:1; Comrie 1989:165–166; Song 2013a, 2013b). In the former, a causer—an agent or stimulus⁴—initiates an action or condition that leads to a change of state or action in the causee, who may function as either an agent or an experiencer. Syntactically, causative constructions in Sinitic languages generally fall into three major types:

- (i) **resultative compound causatives** [NPcauser+VCAUS-V+NPcausee],
- (ii) **extent complement causatives** [NPcauser+VCAUS+VCM+NPcausee+VP], and
- (iii) **pivot-causee causatives** [NPcauser+VCAUS+NPcausee+VP] (Chappell & Peyraube 2006).

Our analytic causative constructions comprise type (iii), as well as type (ii) with the causative verb being *GAO* 搞 which originally means ‘make, do’, being a common source cross-linguistically for causative verbs. We argue that *GAODE* 搞得 in the extent complement construction has become lexicalized to be treated as a causative marker in its own right. Consider the following example from Huarong (SWM):

- (1) 他 搞得 我 □ 两 天 都 吃 饭 不 进。
 lɑ³³ kau²¹tɛ³³ ŋo²¹ kɛ²⁴ nian²¹ tɕien⁵³ tou⁵³ tɕhi¹³ fan³³ pu⁴⁵ tein²⁴
 3SG CAUS 1SG this two day all eat meal NEG enter
 ‘He made me lose my appetite for these days.’
 Lit. ‘He made me unable to eat for these days.’

From a perspective of semantic typology, we adopt a tripartite classification of causation: permissive, directive, and coercive. Cases in which the causee has no

⁴ We classify events and states of affairs under stimulus, such as *The spring weather made her sneeze constantly*.

control over the caused event are considered coercive, such as in sentence (1), I have no control over the state of losing appetite. Following Dixon (2012:281), we examined a range of verb types in each dialect, paying particular attention to parameters such as causer intentionality and causee control or volition.

Our findings first show that in Hunan, causative markers exhibit a broad distribution based on their semantic type: Permissive causatives are typically marked by *JIN* 尽 (< ‘exhaust’) and *DENG* 等 (< ‘wait’); Directive causatives favor *YAO* 要 (< ‘want’) and *HAN* 喊 (< ‘call’); Coercive causatives are most often marked by *GAODE* 搞得 (< ‘make’) and *BA* 把 (< ‘take’). However, some markers exhibit cross-categorical flexibility. For example, *JIN* 尽 in *Jinshi* (Southwestern Mandarin) can function as a permissive, directive, and even coercive marker. Similarly, *RANG* 让 in Yueyang (Xiang) occurs across all three types of causatives.

Our study also highlights a previously underexamined group of constructions involving *GAODE* 搞得. These are particularly prevalent when the causee is an **experiencer** and the caused predicate is stative—e.g., ‘angry’, ‘worried’—or when the verb is an unaccusative intransitive, such as ‘fall’. In such contexts, *GAODE* 搞得 is often the only acceptable causative marker across dialects.

Lastly, we explore causatives derived from *GIVE* verbs such as *pa21te33* 把得 in Huarong. These are marginal in usage and tend to retain their original meaning of giving, primarily appearing with verbs like ‘eat’, ‘play’, or ‘know’.

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“Gained Inch by Inch, but Lost Yard by Yard” – Newest Trends in Classifier Use in Hakka

The Hakka numeral classifier system is known to be extremely multifunctional, as the classifiers are employed not only for individuation and classification, but also for referentialization (in/definiteness), while the most frequently used general classifier *ke*⁵³, which serves as a “forerunner” in the grammaticalization of classifiers, extends its functions further to include relationalization and a variety of other grammatical and lexical purposes.

Notably, all four functions mentioned above—individuation, classification, referentialization, and relationalization (cf. Bisang 1999 for a detailed introduction to these terms)—are realized across formally diverse constructions. For instance, the function of individuation is expressed in constructions such as [NUM CL (N)], [DEM CL (N)], [CL CL (N)], and the function of referentialization is conveyed through the bare classifier construction [CL N], which appears in different syntactic positions relative to the verb and carries different referential values ([±definite], [±specific]).

Generally speaking, within the Hakka classifier system, there is a clear correlation between the frequency of a classifier and the extent of its semantic generality and the number of functions it acquires. This pattern closely aligns with the well-studied characteristics of grammaticalization (cf. Bybee 2007; Diessel & Hilpert 2016; Erbaugh 2002 on classifiers).

While previous research on Hakka classifiers has largely overlooked generational variation, the present study addresses this gap by analysing data from a contemporary spoken Hakka corpus and aims at identifying the most recent functional change in classifier usage in Hakka. The results suggest that the extension of the functional range of the general classifier *ke*⁵³ has reached its limits.

The spoken corpus consists of 427 minutes of conversation collected from 16 young speakers (under 25 years old) and 16 old speakers (over 70 years old) of Meixian Hakka. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the corpus data indicates that there is an ongoing functional expansion of Hakka classifiers across generations. The younger speakers exhibit a slightly broader functional range in their use of specific classifiers and the general classifier *tsak*¹ compared to the older speakers, although innovative uses are observed only sporadically.

In contrast, the general classifier *ke*⁵³ shows a substantial decline in functional range among the younger speakers. Unlike the sporadic and gradual nature of the functional extension of classifiers, the reduction in *ke*⁵³’s functional scope appears systematic and rapid. The entire sets of constructions associated with the individuation and referentialization functions of *ke*⁵³—[NUM CL N], [DEM CL N], [CL CL (N)] and [CL N] in both pre- and postverbal positions with various referential values (definite,

indefinite, generic)—have undergone significant decline in frequency, with some constructions virtually falling out of use in the speech of the younger speakers.

On the one hand, the sharp decline in the constructions associated with *ke*⁵³'s individuation function can be understood as a consequence of competing forms, as the competing general classifier *tsak*¹ is gaining frequency in the same constructions. On the other hand, as for the bare classifier construction associated with referentialization, mere formal similarity may also lead to competition in the constructional network and thus play a role in the observed shift.

To be more specific, *ke*⁵³ only exhibits a competitive relationship with other classifiers when the bare classifier construction [CL N] occurs in the postverbal position with an indefinite interpretation, but [*ke*⁵³ CL] in the speech of the younger speakers—regardless of syntactic position or referential value—is notably restricted.

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Verbless Existential Sentences in Mandarin Chinese

As shown by Fan (1963), Peyraube (1980), and Song (1984, 1988), existential sentences in Chinese can be formed without any verb (i.e., verbless), as illustrated in (1). Structurally, verbless existential sentences involve a location-denoting phrase in sentence-initial position and a final noun phrase. In example (1a), the sentence is syntactically and semantically close to its counterpart involving *yǒu* ‘have’ or *shì* ‘be’, as in (2). There has been some debate over whether verbless sentences simply involve *yǒu* or *shì* that has been phonologically dropped. However, this topic has received relatively little attention in the literature.

- (1) a. [桌前]一把旧椅子。 Type I
 zhuō-qian [yī-bǎ jiù-yǐzi].
 desk-front one-clf old-chair
 ‘In front of the desk is an old chair’
- b. [沿着河岸]一行绿柳。 Type II
 [yánzhe hé-àn] yī-háng lǜ-liǔ.
 along river-bank one-clf green-willow
 ‘Along the riverbank is a row of green willows.’ (cf. Song 1984, 1511)
- c. [满山]牛羊。 Type III
 mǎn-shān niú yáng.
 full-mountain cow sheep
 ‘There are cattle and sheep everywhere on the mountain.’
- (2) [桌前]有/是一把旧椅子。
 [zhuō-qian] yǒu/shì yī-bǎ jiù-yǐzi.
 desk-front have/be one-clf old-chair
 ‘In front of the desk is an old chair’

In this talk, we argue that verbless sentences do not involve *yǒu* or *shì* that is then phonologically deleted (cf. Song 1984, 1988; *pace* Fan 1963), and that such sentences can involve a predicate inversion structure (*contra* Fan 1963; Song 1984, 1988; Lei 1993). Additionally, we distinguish three subtypes of verbless existential sentences, as represented by (1), based on two properties: (i) the type of sentence-initial location-denoting phrase, and (ii) restrictions on the final noun phrase. In both Type I and Type II, the final noun phrase requires an obligatory numeral or modifier (cf. Fan 1963; Peyraube 1980). However, they differ in that the sentence-initial position is filled by a localiser phrase in Type I, but by a prepositional phrase (PP) in Type II. In Type III, the sentence-initial location noun must contain a modifier expressing the meaning

‘all, entire, whole,’ such as *mǎn* ‘full, entire’ or *quán* ‘whole’ (cf. Song 1988), and the final noun phrase denotes types rather than tokens.

We argue that in Types II and III, the sentence-initial locative phrase is a fronted or inverted predicate, derived from a subject–predicate structure, as illustrated in (3). By contrast, for Type I, the inversion analysis does not apply, since a non-inverted counterpart is not possible. Instead, we propose that the localiser phrase is related to the indefinite noun phrase via a *pro*, as shown in (4a). The sentence-initial localiser phrase may be base-generated or derived through movement. Example (4b) demonstrates that a localiser phrase can modify an indefinite noun, regardless of the presence of the modification marker *de*. The assumption of *pro* is motivated by the need to avoid a violation of the Left Branch Condition, which would result if the localiser phrase were merged in place of *pro* and then underwent movement.

- (3) a. 一行绿柳[沿着河岸]。
yī-háng lǜ-liǔ [yánzhe hé-àn].
one-clf green-willow along river-bank
b. 牛羊[满山]。
niú yáng [mǎn-shān].
cow sheep full-mountain
- (4) a. [[**localiser phrase**]_i ... [*Complex NP* **pro**_i [indefinite noun phrase]]]
b. [*Complex NP* zhuō-qían (de) [yī-bǎ jiù-yǐzǐ]]
desk-front de one-clf old-chair
‘one old chair that is in front of the desk’

The findings of this study show that locative inversion is possible in verbless existential sentences—unlike in other types of existential constructions involving verbs, which do not exhibit inversion (cf. Paul et al. 2019).

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[Xi'an]**A Synchronic-Diachronic Typology of Simulative Plurals: Evidence in Sinitic Languages**

Simulative plurals constitute a type of heterogeneous plural within the plural category, denoting a class of objects sharing similar features, i.e., X + similar entities.

This paper investigates the coding patterns of simulative plural constructions and the typological origins of simulative plural markers in Sinitic languages of China (Chinese dialects), addressing the following three questions:

First of all, how to define a form as a simulative plural marker in the syntactic aspect?

Previous studies by Daniel & Moravcsik (2013), Mauri & Sansò (2023), and Huang (Forthcoming) mainly define these constructions through semantic features—the animacy, definiteness, or context-dependence of the prototype member "X"—but rarely provide syntactic criteria to identify simulative plural markers. This leads to confusion between simulative plural markers and enumerative markers.

In Mandarin, for example, the structure *píngguǒ shénme de* ("apples and stuff") can express the simulative plural meaning "X + similar entities". However, the same form *shénme de* can also be used in *píngguǒ, xiāngjiāo shénme de* ("apples, bananas, and such things") function as an enumerative particle (also named as general extenders, cf. Overstreet, 1999). The particle *shénme de* thus serves dual roles, but existing research offers no clear criteria to determine whether it acts as a simulative plural marker or an enumerative marker.

Second, new types of source of simulative plural markers in Sinitic languages.

While Mauri & Sansò (2023) listed five sources (e.g., universal quantifier, 'and/with'/'also', 'thing', 'indefinite pronoun', interrogative marker, vagueness/ uncertainty marker), our investigation suggests that there are at least 4 other sources of dedicated simulative plural markers can be listed, that is, plural demonstratives(cf.(1)), loanword (cf. (2)), resemblance marker and locative words. Limited by space, we only show part of the examples below.

(1) Jinhua Wu dialect

苹果	格些/末些	得,	渠	{弗要}	箇。
<i>piŋ³¹³⁻³³kux⁵³⁵</i>	<i>kɛ²⁴sɛ²⁴⁻⁴⁵/mɛ²⁴sɛ²⁴⁻⁴⁵</i>	<i>tɛ²⁴</i>	<i>gɛ²²</i>	<i>fiau⁴⁵</i>	<i>kɛ²⁰</i>
apple	SPL	TOP	3SG	like	SFP
He doesn't like apples and stuff.					

- (2) Beijing Northern dialect (Chen et al., 1997)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--|---|
| 弄 | 两 | 盅 | 酒儿 | 伍的。 |
| <i>nong</i> ⁵¹ | <i>liang</i> ²¹⁴⁻³⁵ | <i>zhan</i> ²¹⁴ | <i>jiu</i> ²¹⁴ <i>er</i> ⁰ | <i>wu</i> ²¹⁴ <i>de</i> ⁰ |
| get | two | CLF | alcohol | SPL |

Third, concerning animacy restrictions on the exemplar member X in simulative plural markers across Sinitic languages. Studies by Daniel & Moravcsik (2013), Mauri & Sansò (2023), and Huang (Forthcoming) claim that X in simulative plurals is typically restricted to non-human animate nouns (e.g., animals) or inanimate nouns. However, our data reveal that in many Chinese dialects, simulative plural markers can attach to human-denoting animate nouns.

- (3) Jinhua Wu dialect
- | | | | | |
|---|---|--|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 学生 | 零{散儿} | 出去 | 嬉 | 便 |
| <i>ue</i> ²² <i>saŋ</i> ³³⁻⁴⁵ | <i>liŋ</i> ⁴⁵ <i>sa</i> ⁰ | <i>tɕ</i> ^h <i>ye</i> ²⁴ <i>hu</i> ⁴⁵ | <i>ɕi</i> ³³ | <i>bie</i> ¹³ |
| student | SPL | go.out | play | then |
| {费用} | 带 | 出去 | 咯 | |
| <i>fəŋ</i> ⁴⁵ | <i>ta</i> ⁴⁵ | <i>tɕ</i> ^h <i>ye</i> ²⁴ -0 <i>hu</i> ⁴⁵ -0 | <i>lɔ</i> ⁰ | |
| do.not | take | outside | SFP | |

Students and such should probably be excluded from casual outings.

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A Nominal Analysis of Complement Clauses in Mandarin Chinese

This paper examines complement clauses (CCs) in the verbal domain of Mandarin Chinese. Based on the following ten clause-taking predicates (Hooper 1975): **1) Strong assertive nonfactives:** *shuō*-say, *xīwàng*-hope; **2) Weak assertive nonfactives:** *rènwéi*-think, *xiāngxìn*-believe; **3) Semifactives:** *zhīdào*-know, *zhùyìdào*-notice, *jìdé*-remember, *fāxiàn*-discover; **4) Factives:** *yuànghèn*-hate, *wàngjì*-forget, we tested their CCs and comparing them with DP arguments in coordination and movement operations within the framework of the Minimalist Program in generative grammar (Chomsky 1995, 2000). We propose that all Mandarin CCs function as DPs.

Their ability to coordinate with DPs supports this, as **argument coordination** is only possible when both conjuncts share the same syntactic category, indicating that the CC in (1) must be a DP.

- (1) Zhāngsān **zhīdào** [DP XiǎoMěi-de mìmì] **hé** [CC LǐSì chī-le pángxiè].
 Zhangsan **know** XiaoMei-PART. secret **and** Lisi eat-PST. crab
 'Zhangsan knew XiaoMei's secret and that Lisi had eaten crabs.'
Pronominalization reinforces the structural parallel between CCs and DPs.
- (2)a. ZhāngSān fāxiàn-le [DP XiǎoMěi-de mìmì].
 ZhangSan discover-PST. XiaoMei-PART. secret
 'Zhangsan discovered XiaoMei's secret.'
- b. ZhāngSān fāxiàn [CC LǐSì chī-le pángxiè].
 Zhangsan discover **LiSi eat-PST. crab**
 'Zhangsan discovered **that Lisi had eaten the crabs.**'
- c. ZhāngSān fāxiàn-le **zhè-gè** / ***zhèyàng**.
 Zhangsan discover-PST. **this-CLF. this way**
 'Zhangsan discovered **this/*so.**'

Since *fāxiàn* selects for DPs (2a) but also appears with CCs (2b), the CC must be a DP for uniform c-selection. Unlike English *I think so*, Mandarin only allows substitution with a nominal proform like **zhègè** (2c), while **zhèyàng** 'so' is impossible.

To explain the nominal nature of CCs, we propose a Determiner-layer atop the structure, following Grimshaw's (2005) mixed category approach: [DP D TP/CP]. An alternative complex-NP structure, [DP D [NP N CP/TP]], is unlikely, as comparisons

with headed relative clauses (HRCs) show : CCs allow **object extraction** to the topic position of the matrix clause (3b) and **argument fronting** to the subordinate clause (3c), whereas these operations are unacceptable for HRCs (4b-c). This contrast suggests distinct internal structures for CCs and HRCs.

- (3) a. ZhāngSān fāxiàn [CC LǐSì chī-le pángxiè].
Zhangsan discover **Lisi eat-PST. crab**
'Zhangsan discovered **that Lisi had eaten the crabs.**'
- b. **Pángxièi**, ZhāngSān fāxiàn [CC LǐSì chī-le ti].
Crab Zhangsan discover **Lisi eat-PST.**
'**Crabs**, Zhangsan discovered **that Lisi had eaten.**'
- c. ZhāngSān fāxiàn [CC pángxièi, LǐSì chī-le ti].
Zhangsan discover **crab Lisi eat-PST.**
'Zhangsan discovered **that crabs, Lisi had eaten.**'
- (4) a. ZhāngSān fāxiàn [RC chī-le pángxiè de] nà-gè nánrén.
Zhangsan discover **eat-PST pángxiè** that-CLF. man
'Zhangsan discovered that man **who had eaten the crab.**'
- b. ***Pángxièi**, ZhāngSān fāxiàn [chī-le ti de] nà-gè nánrén.
crab Zhangsan discover **eat-PST** that-CLF. man
*'**Crabs**, Zhangsan discovered that man **who had eaten.**'
- c. *ZhāngSān fāxiàn [RC pángxièi, chī-le ti de] nà-gè nánrén.
Zhangsan discover **crab eat-PST.** that-CLF. man
*'**Zhangsan discovered that man who crabs had eaten.**'

In conclusion, Mandarin CCs can coordinate with DPs but cannot be replaced by adverbial proforms. They also lack islandhood effects, even with factive predicates. These findings challenge theories treating CCs as some sort of relative clauses attached to a covert noun (Arsenijević 2009) but support their argumental nature (Borsley & Kornfilt 2000, Takahashi 2010, Kornfilt & Borsley 2011, Hartman 2012, Kastner 2015, a.o.). Mandarin CCs are peculiar in their uniform structure across predicates and in having a D-layer without a presuppositional effect, unlike the languages studied by Kastner (2015). Further research is needed on the minimal mixed-category structure [DP D CP], particularly its parallels between DP and CP domains (Wiltschko 2014, Svenonius 2021).

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Les pronoms personnels dans le dialecte de Baoji

Cette étude porte sur le système des pronoms personnels du dialecte de Baoji, une variété appartenant au mandarin de la plaine centrale (中原官话), plus précisément à la sous-zone de Guanzhong (关中), parlée dans la région centrale de la province du Shaanxi. Les données analysées sont issues du travail de terrain réalisé par l'auteure dans une zone rurale de Baoji.

L'exposé se consacre, d'une part, à décrire systématiquement les pronoms personnels de ce dialecte en mettant en lumière leurs propriétés morphologiques et sémantiques ; d'autre part, à proposer une hypothèse sur leur évolution sous l'effet du contact linguistique et à la fois des changements internes à la langue.

Les pronoms personnels dans le dialecte de Baoji encodent des distinctions de nombre, de distance, d'animalité et d'exclusivité. La distinction entre singulier et pluriel est très régulière, marquée par le changement de tonalité, et les formes plurielles sont identiques à leurs formes génitives. Les pronoms de troisième personne constituent la partie la plus complexe du système, présentant plusieurs niveaux de distinction. Deux de ces formes (*ke⁵¹* et *ŋa⁵¹*) fonctionnent également comme des démonstratifs dans cette langue, ce qui soulève des interrogations quant à leur origine.

D'un point de vue diachronique, certaines distinctions, telles que l'opposition inclusif/exclusif, ne sont pas originaires du chinois et semblent résulter d'influences extérieures, notamment du mongol durant la période Jin-Yuan (Lü 1940 ; Mei 1986 ; Liu 1988). Par ailleurs, comme en chinois classique, il est probable que le dialecte de Baoji ne possédait initialement pas de pronom de troisième personne. La complexité actuelle du système pourrait s'expliquer par la coexistence de formes dérivées des démonstratifs par un processus de réanalyse, et d'emprunts au mandarin (*t^ha⁵¹*).

Enfin, cette recherche met en lumière une variété linguistique rarement étudiée qui se trouve dans l'ouest de la région de Guanzhong, à la croisée des influences du mandarin central et des dialectes du nord-ouest, en raison de sa situation géographique à la frontière entre le Shaanxi et le Gansu. Le système pronominal du dialecte de Baoji reflète non seulement l'influence des contacts de langues sur l'évolution du chinois, mais aussi des particularités régionales propres à cette zone de transition. En ce sens, l'étude contribue à une meilleure compréhension des processus par lesquels le contact linguistique peut engendrer de nouvelles distinctions grammaticales, ainsi que des mécanismes d'intégration de ces distinctions dans le système linguistique.

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First-person pronouns				
singular			plural	
$\eta\chi^{51}$			inclusive	exclusive
			$t\text{sa}^{35}$	$\eta\chi^{312}$
Second-person pronouns				
singular			plural	
ni^{51}			ni^{312}	
Third-person pronouns				
singular			plural	
human		General	Proximal	distal
Proximal	distal	Proximal	$t^{\text{h}}a^{312}$	ηa^{51}
$t^{\text{h}}a^{51}$	ηa^{51}	$k\epsilon^{51}$		

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CHAPITRE XII : L'EXPRESSION DU MOUVEMENT ET DE LA DIRECTION

CHAPTER XII: THE EXPRESSION OF MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION

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Taking Another Perspective: Deictic Center Shift in Directional *lái* 来 ‘come’ and *qù* 去 ‘go’

Among the most challenging aspects in the description of directional verb constructions (DVCs) is the deictic information encoded through the usage of *lái* 来 ‘come’ and *qù* 去 ‘go’. A key concept in the study of deixis is that of the deictic center, i.e., the reference point to which a deictic expression is anchored (Fillmore 1997, Talmy 2000). According to Fillmore (1997), in English, the reference point of deictic verbs typically coincides with the speaker's location, but may also coincide with the addressee (for *come*) or an external location (for *go*). Similarly, Mandarin deictics *lái* and *qu* are generally described as expressing motion ‘toward the speaker’ and ‘away from the speaker’, respectively, when used as directional complements (Hui 2011). Moreover, while Liu et al. (2001) claim that for *qu*, the reference point (*lìzúdiǎn* 立足点) can coincide with a third person or place in narrative contexts, previous research has argued that *lái* does not allow for the addressee to represent the reference point (Huang 1978, Nakazawa 2007). However, some authors suggest that under certain (yet-to-be-defined) contexts, pragmatic factors such as empathy can make this option possible (Oshima 2006, Liu et al. 2015). Arguably, the usage and interpretation of the deictic information encoded in *lái* and *qu* depends heavily on context, yet little attention has been paid to naturally-occurring, interactional data.

This study investigates the indexical value of *lái* and *qu* based on spontaneous telephone conversations. Six hundred instances of *lái* and *qu*, used in simple or complex DVCs, were extracted from the CallFriend Corpus and compared with an equal number of occurrences from the CallHome Corpus. All instances were coded for speech act, intersubjectivity, and resonance—the latter two reflecting the (social) relationship between speaker and hearer. Multiple correspondence analyses reveal that most occurrences appear in assertive utterances, with the speaker serving as the deictic center for both *lái* and *qu*. However, regardless of speech act type, a shift in deictic center is attested not only for *qu* (with a third party as reference point), but also for *lái*, where the deictic center shifts from the speaker toward the addressee. Notably, occurrences of *lái* portraying the hearer as the deictic center correlate significantly with the presence of resonance – defined in Du Bois (2014: 372) as “the catalytic activation of affinities across utterances” – and sentence-final markers of intersubjectivity (Tantucci & Wang 2018), both indicating speaker-hearer

engagement. This clearly involves the speaker shifting the deictic center towards the addressee for intersubjective- and empathy-related reasons, as also argued by Wu (2023) for pre-verbal uses of *lai*. Finally, comparison between the two corpora reveals a unique feature in the CallFriend data, a shared reference point between speaker and hearer (e.g., same country of residence) despite being in different locations, which also correlates with the presence of resonance and intersubjectivity markers.

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When motion arises from stationariness: an experimental study of fictive motion in Standard Chinese

Fictive motion has been widely discussed in cognitive linguistics since the 1970s. It refers to the dynamic description of a static spatial scene, typically involving motion verbs. For example, in *the fence descends from the plateau to the valley* (Talmy, 1983), the inanimate figure *fence* does not actually move, yet it is described by the verb *descend*.

Contemporary studies on fictive motion tend to concentrate on three main areas: theoretical frameworks, empirical investigations, and cross-linguistic comparisons. Several studies have explored this phenomenon from a theoretical perspective under various terminologies, notably those by Talmy (1983, 1996), Langacker (1986), and Matsumoto (1996). Experimental studies, both monolingual and multilingual, have been conducted by Rojo and Valenzuela (2003), Matlock (2006), Blomberg (2015), Stosic et al. (2015), among others.

This study explores how fictive motion is expressed in Standard Chinese, using data from an image-based elicitation task designed to prompt participants to produce such constructions. Comparable results have been obtained in French, Swedish, Thai, Italian, German, and Serbian (Blomberg, 2015; Stosic et al., 2015). In this context, we conducted an experiment with 40 native speakers of Chinese (20 men and 20 women), aiming to observe the oral use of fictive motion in their spontaneous productions and to compare these with available data in other languages.

The results indicate that fictive motion is relatively rare in Standard Chinese compared to the other languages studied. One possible explanation, identified through the experimental approach, is that Chinese possesses alternative linguistic means for describing space statically, without resorting to fictive motion expressions. For instance, in describing the same image of electric poles aligned toward the horizon, some participants chose the verb 蔓延 *mànyán* ‘to extend’ (example 1), while others used the classifier 排 *pái* ‘row’ (example 2), which denotes a sequential arrangement and subtly implies directionality and spatial relationship. This observation reveals a tendency toward competition among different constructions, suggesting that the use of fictive motion is partially determined by the lexical and structural system of each language:

- (1) 电线杆是由西向东地往前蔓延。The electric poles stretch forward from west to east.

diànxìngān shì yóu-xī-xiàng-dōng de wǎng-qián **mànyán**
electric pole be from-west-to-east SUB to-forward **extend**

(2) 路中间有一排电线杆。There is a row of electric poles in the middle of the road.

lù=zhōngjiān yǒu yì-**pái** diànxìàngān
road=middle have one-**CLF** electric pole

List of abbreviations

CLF classifier

SUB subordinator

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CHAPITRE XIII : LINGUISTIQUE THÉORIQUE

CHAPTER XIII: THEORETICAL LINGUISTICS

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On the Size of Clausal Complements: The Case of *V-kah* Constructions in Taiwanese Southern Min

This study investigates the size of postverbal complements taken by the compound verb *V-kah* in Taiwanese Southern Min. Previous studies have different views on the syntactic structure of *V-kah* constructions. Lin (2003, 2004, 2017) has proposed a non-unified analysis, according to which *V-kah* constructions with diverse readings should have diverse syntactic structures. In the resultative structure illustrated in (1a), *-kah* is a bound morpheme attached to the verb, forming the complex verb *V-kah*. In the descriptive structure illustrated in (1b), *-kah* is a bound adverb, while in the extent structure illustrated in (1c), *-ka* is a bound complementizer. On the other hand, Yang (2010) posits a unified analysis, in which the compound verb *V-kah* invariably selects a CP (or NP in certain cases) complement, as shown in (2). This study, however, argues that both Lin's and Yang's analyses raise problems of their own. Specifically, the problem with the resultative structure in (1a) is that a puzzle arises as to why a CP-level adverb like *kìng-jiân* 'to one's surprise' cannot occur in the CP complement, as shown in (3a). The problem with the descriptive structure in (1b) is that the nature/function of *-kah* is unclear. Lin does not discuss what kind of adverb (manner, degree, frequency, etc.) it is, nor explain why this semantically bleached, functional morpheme may serve as an adverb which is generally regarded as a lexical morpheme. The problem with the extent structure in (1c) concerns whether it is appropriate to analyze *-kah* as a bound complementizer.

As far as we know from the data we have seen in the literature, a bound complementizer is always attached to some constituent which is located within the CP domain. This is, nevertheless, not what we see in (1c), where the suffix *-kah* is attached to its preceding verb which is located outside the CP domain. Furthermore, the unified structure in (2) is called into question by the grammaticality contrast between (3a-b) and (3c), which indicates that not all *V-kah* constructions behave alike in terms of the tolerance of a speaker-oriented adverb in the postverbal complement clause. Thus, they cannot be treated on a par syntactically. Contrary to the two lines of research reviewed above, this study proposes that the compound verb *V-kah* may select a CP, an IP, or a VP as the complement, as demonstrated in (4a-c), respectively. This study also establishes diagnostic tests to determine the size of clausal complements. It is concluded that postverbal complement clauses should receive a tripartite distinction based on clausal size. This conclusion is compatible with recent studies of Wurmbrand (2001, 2014, 2015) and Huang (2022) with respect to the classification of clausal complements.

Examples

- (1) a. Ii [v thiàu-kah] [CP proi tsin thiám]. (resultative)
 3SG dance-KAH very tired
 ‘S/he danced and got tired.’
- b. I [v tsáu] [ADVP [ADVP -kah] [AP tsin kín]]. (descriptive)
 3SG run -KAH very fast
 ‘S/he ran very fast.’
- c. Thinn-tíng [v kng] [CP [C -kah] [ASPP tshin-tshiünn (extent)
 sky-top bright -KAH as.if
 jít-sí kǎng-khuán]].
 day-time same
 ‘The sky is bright as if it were in the daytime.’
- (2) [VP DP [v’ [v’ V-kah] CP/NP]]
- (3) a. *Ii thiàu-kah [kìng-jîân tsin thiám].
 3SG dance-KAH to.one’s.surprise very tired
 Intended: ‘S/he danced and, to our surprise, got tired.’
- b. *I tsáu-kah [kìng-jîân tsin kín].
 3SG run-KAH to.one’s.surprise very fast
 Intended: ‘S/he ran, to our surprise, very fast.’
- c. Thinn-tíng kng-kah [kìng-jîân tshin-tshiünn jít-sí
 sky-top bright-KAH to.one’s.surprise as.if day-time
 kǎng-khuán].
 same
 ‘The sky is so bright as if, to our surprise, it were in the daytime.’
- (4) a. Thinn-tíng kng-kah [CP tshin-tshiünn jít-sí kǎng-khuán].
 sky-top bright-KAH as.if day-time same
 ‘The sky is bright as if it were in the daytime.’
- b. I bô-îng-kah [IP tsin thiám].
 3SG busy-KAH really tired
 ‘He was so busy that he got tired.’
- c. I sái-kah [VP tsin kín].
 3SG drive-KAH really fast
 ‘He drove to the extent of being fast.’

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Two Types of Non-Canonical Questions in Taiwanese Southern Min: Surprise-Disapproval Questions and Refutatory Questions

This paper studies two types of non-canonical *na*² 哪 questions in Taiwanese Southern Min. The first type either conveys the speaker's denial of the truth of the propositional part of the question, as shown in (1ai), or their rejection of a possibility marked by the epistemic modal *e*⁷ 'will', as in (1bi). I will call them existential refutatory questions and possibility refutatory questions separately. The second type expresses the speaker's surprise and/or disapproval with respect to the event denoted by the propositional part of the question, as illustrated in (1aai) and (1bii). (cf. Mandarin's counterparts in Hsieh (2001), Badan and Cheng (2005), Cheung (2008), Tsai (2008), Pan (2019), Liu (2022), Yin and Hu (2023), and Kiss (2024), etc.

- (1) a. 伊 哪 有 遐爾仔 濟 錢?
I¹ na² u⁷ hiah⁴-ni⁷-a² tse¹ tsinn⁵?
 3SG NA have so much money
 i. 'He doesn't have so much money.' (*refutatory*)
 ii. 'How come he has so much money?' (*surprise-disapproval*)
- b. 伊 哪 會 有 遐爾仔 濟 錢?
I¹ na² e⁷ u⁷ hiah⁴-ni⁷-a² tse¹ tsinn⁵?
 3SG NA E have so much money
 i. 'He couldn't have so much money.' (*refutatory*)
 ii. 'How come he could have so much money?' (*surprise-disapproval*)

Remarkably, both sentences in (1) can be an information-seeking 'why' question (reason-*why*) especially by adding *si⁷-an²-tsuann²* 是按怎 'why' either after the subject or before the subject. For example,

- 2) a. 伊 是按怎 哪 有 遐爾仔 濟 錢?
I¹ si⁷-an²-tsuann² na² u⁷ hiah⁴-ni⁷-a² tse¹ tsinn⁵?
 3SG why NA have so much money
 'Why does he have so much money?' (reason-*why*)
- b. 伊 是按怎 哪 會 有 遐爾仔 濟 錢?
I¹ si⁷-an²-tsuann² na² e⁷ u⁷ hiah⁴-ni⁷-a² tse¹ tsinn⁵?
 3SG why NA E have so much money
 'Why could he have so much money?' (reason-*why*)

The two types of rhetorical questions and the reason-*why* questions can further be distinguished by the use of the modal *beh* for refutatory questions, the sentence-final particle *honn^h* (meaning 'don't you agree') and the mirative marker *leh⁴* for surprise-

disapproval questions, and *hannh* for reason-*why* questions (Chen 1989, Li 1999). Based on the use of the *V + u'* construction (Wang 2015), I show the *na2* that marks refutatory questions is *NA1*, which can occur after *V*, while the *na2* that is used for surprise-disapproval questions and reason-why questions is *NA2*, which has to precede *V*. The two examples in (2) show the reason-why has to occur even higher than *NA2*. If the analysis is on the right track, it may challenge Munaro and Obenauer's (1999: 217-218) analysis of surprise-disapproval questions as being represented above Interrogative Force.

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Separable Complex Predicates in Taiwan Southern Min

Resultative verb compounds in Mandarin Chinese (MC) are composed of two verbs, with the second verb denoting the result of the action performed by the first verb (Li & Thompson 1981). Apart from the insertions of potential markers *de* and *bu*, no other syntactic elements can be inserted into the resultative verb compounds in MC.

What is quite different and interesting in the Wu dialect of Shaoxing in Zhejiang province in China, as explored by Zhu and Sheng (2021), is that the resultative verb-complement structure in Shaoxing Wu allows for what is known as the “split resultative verbal construction” (Mei 1991). As shown in (1), the object can be placed between the verb and the complement. Zhu and Sheng thus propose that the “split resultative verbal construction” in Shaoxing Wu is a serial verb construction rather than a compound verb.

- (1) *taŋ¹-teŋ²⁷* *ieŋ²⁷-gəŋ²⁸* *ŋiŋ² seŋ²⁷* (Zhu & Sheng 2021:332)
 beat-ASP one-CL man dead
 ‘beat a man dead’

Verbal complexes in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM), a Chinese language spoken by more than 67% of people in Taiwan (Chappell 2019), are categorized into resultative, directional, and phasal complexes by Lin (2007). The resultative complexes in TSM, such as *phah-si* ‘hit-dead’, share similarities with those in MC in that no object can be inserted between the verb and the complement. However, they differ in that other syntactic elements can be inserted between the verb and the complement in TSM resultative complexes, as in *phah-hoo-si* ‘hit-cause-dead’ and *phah-u-si* ‘hit-have-dead’. Lin proposes that the resultative complex in TSM is a compound generated at the syntactic level through incorporation and that a resultative complex as in (2) has (3) as its deep structure.

- (2) *gua hit tsiah lagia phah-si a.*
 I that CL spider hit-dead ASP/PRT
 ‘I killed that spider.’ (Lin 2007:337)

- (3) [ASPP[NP *gua*][ASP[ASP *a*][VP1 [NP *hit tsiah lagia*][V1' [V1 *phah*][VP2 [NP] [V2' V2 *si*]]]]]]]
↑↑
(Lin 2007:347)

As to the structure with the addition of *hoo* ‘cause’ between the verb and the complement, as in *phah-hoo-si* ‘hit-cause-dead’, (4) is the deep structure where an additional CAUSP is projected between VP1 and VP2:

(4) [VP1 [NP hit tsiah lagia] [V1' [V1 phah] [CAUSP [CAUS hoo] [VP2 [NP] [V2' V2 si]]]]] (Lin 2007:351)

However, Lin did not discuss the insertion of other syntactic elements such as *u* ‘have’, *iaube* ‘not yet’, and *bo* ‘not’. Let’s consider the adhesive relationship between the verb, complement, and the inserted syntactic elements. The pronoun *i* ‘he’ can come between *hoo* ‘cause’ and the result complement, as in *phah-hoo-i-si* ‘hit-cause-he-dead’. In contrast, *u*, *iaube*, and *bo* must be directly followed by the result complement, as in *phah-liau-u-si* ‘hit-LIAU-have-dead’. That means that *u*, *iaube*, and *bo* are more closely related to the complement. According to *Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwanese Taigi* published by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan, *u* ‘have’, *iaube* ‘not yet’, and *bo* ‘not’ all function as adverbs. Therefore, this paper proposes that for a resultative verb-complement construction such as *phah-u-si* ‘hit-have-dead’ as in (5), (6) is the structure, where the adverb *u* ‘have’ is attached as an adjunct to VP2. The same analysis applies to *iaube* ‘not yet’ and *bo* ‘not’.

(5) *hit tsiah lagia phah u si*
that CL spider hit have dead
‘That spider was hit to death.’

(6) [VP1 [NP hit tsiah lagia] [V1' [V1 phah] [VP2 [ADVP u] [VP2 [NP] [V2' V2 si]]]]]

In TSM the only two examples that seem to allow the insertion of objects inside the resultative verb-complement structure are *tsiah-png-pa* ‘eat-meal-full’ and *lim-tsiu-tsui* ‘drink-wine-drunk’, where *tsiah-png* ‘eat-meal’ and *lim-tsiu* ‘drink-wine’ are verb-object compound verbs. As shown in (7), *tsiah-png* ‘eat-meal’ takes V1 position. The seeming object insertion involves a verb-object compound verb followed by a result complement.

(7) [ASPP [NP gua] [ASP' [ASP a] [VP1 [V1' [V1 tsiah-png] [VP2 [NP] [V2' V2 pa]]]]]]]

In MC, resultative verb-complement structures are often regarded as compound words. However, in Shaoxing Wu, as illustrated in (1), Zhu and Sheng (2021) analyze such structures as serial verb constructions. In contrast to MC, TSM allows for the insertion of syntactic elements within resultative verb-complement structures, which are considered complex predicates.

CHAPITRE XIV : LES LANGUES TIBÉTO-BIRMANES

CHAPTER XIV: TIBETO- BURMAN LANGUAGES

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Évidentialité et aspect en tangoute : identification, relation, comparaison

Le tangoute a connu ces dernières années quelques avancées non négligeables eu égard à la compréhension de ses paramètres de temps et d'aspect. La première grammaire complète d'une langue apparentée, le horpa de Geshiza (Honkasalo 2019) a pu fournir un référentiel sur lequel Beaudouin (2023) s'est appuyé pour proposer la première esquisse du TAMR (temps, aspect, mode, réalité) du tangoute, qui se déploie au niveau des préfixes marquant l'orientation.

L'évidentialité plus précisément se structure au niveau suffixal et consiste en deux morphèmes : l'inférentiel 訖 -sji², et le sensoriel 逕 -djij². Il est intéressant de remarquer que ces deux morphèmes ont été précédemment glosés dans la littérature « perfectif » et « duratif » (Kepping 1985 ; Jacques 2014), des valeurs qui restent compatibles avec leur fonction évidentielle. Un cas semble de prime abord plutôt étrange, bien que ce dernier soit déterminant pour comprendre ce lien aspect/évidentialité : la co-occurrence de l'inférentiel et du sensoriel sur un même verbe.

La présentation se structure autour de trois objectifs : montrer comment l'évidentialité peut être identifiée ; identifier le lien de cette dernière avec l'aspect ; affiner notre compréhension de ces deux notions.

Ces objectifs en tête, après une présentation du système de TAMR tangoute, la communication examine les deux morphèmes dont il est question ici, introduisant le nœud du problème. On poursuit ensuite sur l'investigation du lien évidentialité/aspect : un détour via des distributions similaires observées dans les préfixes de négation permet d'hypothétiser que le tangoute distingue de manière très fine le procès et son résultat. La dernière partie explore des parallèles aréaux et typologiques, afin de voir si cette grille analytique peut être exportée à d'autres langues.

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Evidentiality in Zhimulin Qiang

Egophoric evidentiality has been documented in several Qiangic languages, including Prinmi (Daudey 2014), Gyalrong (Jacques 2019), and nDrapa (Huang 2023). However, within the Qiang language, only Longxi Qiang—a Southern Qiang variety—has been reported to exhibit a non-egophoric evidential marker (Zheng 2021). This paper provides a systematic analysis of the evidential system of Zhimulin Qiang, a Northern Qiang variety, based on a naturalistic corpus collected by the author during fieldwork in Mudu Village, northern Sichuan, between 2021 and 2023.

Adopting Tournadre and LaPolla's (2014) typology, the evidential system of Zhimulin Qiang can be divided into reported evidentiality (marking the source of verbal information) and egophoric evidentiality (marking access to information).

The reported evidential marker *-ji*, derived from a verb meaning 'to report', has grammaticalized into a marker used when the speaker is not involved, or not voluntarily involved, in the event. For example:

- (1) *k^huə* *tsa-rə* *ɤdze-ji* *ba*.
 dog DEM:one-CL bite-HS IND
 I heard that this dog bites people.
- (2) *qa* *da-p^hasi-ji*, *t^handa* *kə* *stiku* *mi-dzy-ji*.
 1sg DIR-tired-NVOL LNK go mood NEG-come-NVOL
 I'm tired, so I don't feel like going.

Three markers encode egophoric evidentiality in Zhimulin Qiang: *-ku*, *-tei*, and *-si*. The marker *-ku* denotes the speaker's personal knowledge; *-tei* is used when the speaker has access to the information, while the addressee does not; and *-si* signals shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee.

- (3) *qa* *mi-dzo-a*, *ka:-ku*.
 1sg NEG-sit-1sg go:PROS:1sg-EGO
 I'm not staying, I'm leaving.
- (4) *lamants^ho* *toto-ngua-kə* *mi* *ŋuə-si*, *ŋuə-tei* *ma?*
 Lamancuo Duoduo-DEF.pl-GEN mother COP-SI COP-NSI Q
 Lamancuo is Duoduo and the others' mother, right?

Speaker choice of evidential markers is context-sensitive. For instance, in narrative discourse such as telling The Pear Story, only *-tɕi* appears. Despite mutual access to the video content, the asymmetry in discourse roles (narrator vs. listener) licenses the use of *-tɕi*.

- (5) tʰala liʔə¹ sə-pʰə ɲi da-xʂə-tɕi.
 LNK pear DIR-scatter NF DIR-exist-NSI
 The pears scattered.

Beyond dedicated evidential markers, various Qiang varieties employ other strategies to encode egophoric and non-egophoric meanings, including lexical items, particles, and auxiliary verbs. In Zhimulin Qiang, the auxiliary verb *tɕə* (derived from the verb ‘do’) functions as a non-egophoric marker, indicating third-party involvement and excluding the interlocutors.

- (6) a. dzaqo zdi tɕə kua?
 foot hurt AUX Q
 Does his/*your foot hurt?
- b. a dzaqo zdi (*tɕə).
 1sg foot hurt AUX
 My foot hurt.

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An Unusual Type of Analogical Levelling in the Person Indexation System of Outer Zbu

Zbu is a rGyalrongic language spoken in northwestern Sichuan, China. We propose to reclassify Zbu dialects into Inner Zbu (Central & Low) vs. Outer Zbu (West = Zbu B, Highest, High), based on our recent fieldwork on the latter and supported by a series of shared analogical innovations in the person indexation system there: 1) the K-prefix, originally restricted to 2→1, extended to 3→1; 2) 1 suffixes in 1→2 forms remodelled by analogy with 1→3; 3) loss of inverse forms in 3↔3.

A \ P	1SG	2SG	3SG
1SG		1→2-Σ-1SG	Σ-1SG
2SG	K-Σ-1SG		2-Σ
3SG	K-INV-Σ-1SG	2-INV-Σ	Σ
INTR	Σ-1SG	2-Σ	Σ

Table 1. Outer Zbu’s non-past indexation pattern

A \ P	1SG	2SG	3SG
1SG		1→2-Σ(-2SG)*	Σ-1SG
2SG	K/2-(INV-)**Σ-1SG		2-Σ(-DIR)*
3SG	INV-Σ-1SG	2-INV-Σ(-2SG)*	Σ(-DIR)*
3'			INV-Σ
INTR	Σ-1SG	2-Σ(-2SG)*	Σ

Table 2. The normal Core rGyalrong non-past indexation (stem alternation omitted)

*in Situ; **in Situ and Tshobdun

The 2→1 prefix K- has been traced to the generic person marker (from the homophonous nominalizer) in Proto-rGyalrongic *GENR- INV-Σ-1, losing the inverse only in Japhug, due either to redundancy with person markers (Jacques 2018), or to incompatibility with semi-finite forms (Jacques 2021: 619). The 2→1 K- vs.

3→1 K- INV- distinction in Outer Zbu, however, points to non-existence of the inverse in Proto-rGyalrongic, as it probably arose first from 3→1 levelled analogically by a 2→1 *GENR-Σ-1, sans inverse, to eliminate all expressions of a specific agent acting on 1st person, overriding Watkins' (1962) law of analogy starting from 3rd person forms. The inverse came in only then to differentiate the two. The outcome exemplifies Heath's (1998) "pragmatic skewing in 1 ↔ 2 pronominal combinations", with a clear local/elsewhere split of which only the latter is accessible to the direct/inverse opposition.

Re-examining Gong's (2018: 8–17) earlier classification of Zbu A vs. Zbu B, we show that his tonality and verbal prefix criteria do not hold once Highest Zbu (non-tonal) and a contact explanation plus a new morpheme analysis for Zbu B prefixes are taken into account. Crucially, Gong (2018: 291) did record High Zbu and Zbu B paradigms, but the other innovations than in 3→1 went unrecognized.

This paper not only enriches the description of an endangered branch of rGyalrongic, but also adds a new case to our understanding of how indexation systems evolve through analogical levelling.

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Comparative Constructions in Zengcheng Dialect of the She Language and the Origin of the Comparative Marker *paŋ*¹¹

This paper provides a preliminary account of comparative constructions in Zengcheng Dialect of the She Language, a critically endangered language belonging to the Hmong-Mien branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family, based on the primary sources obtained from fieldwork.

The comparative syntax of *She (Zengcheng)* exhibits structural plurality resulting from language contact. It preserves the original Hmong-Mien word order “P (Parameter) + M (Marker) + ST (Standard)”, while also exhibiting a word order of “M+ST+P” under the influence of the Mandarin Chinese *bǐ* construction. The latter construction classified into two types based on the origin of the marker, resulting in three major subtypes: (1) the *guò* (literally ‘compare with’)-type, with postposed standards; (2) the *bǐ* -type, with preposed standards using the borrowed marker; and (3) the *paŋ*¹¹-type, also with preposed standards, but using the native *She (Zengcheng)* marker.

The marker *paŋ*¹¹, which originates as a native verb (‘to give’), was reanalyzed as a comparative marker due to homophony with Cantonese *bei*³ (‘give’/‘compare’), undergoing semantic replication through mismatch reanalyzed. Native speakers misidentified the function of the homophonous model-language form, reassigning grammatical roles to a single lexical item. This results in an instance of homophone-based grammatical replication, offering a rare example of inventory fusion in progress.

The findings suggest a dual mechanism shaping the *She (Zengcheng)* comparative constructions: regional contact with Cantonese and top-down influence from Mandarin Chinese. Further more, the hybrid structure of *She (Zengcheng)*’s comparatives demonstrates that even unwritten and endangered languages can maintain grammatical resilience under intense contact, offering new insights into contact-induced change and adaptive strategies in non-written languages.

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Causative in Horpa-Tangut

1. Introduction

Horpa is a group of languages spoken in the west of Sichuan Province, China, with approximately 60,000 speakers that are classified as Tibetans by the Chinese government. The Horpic family is constituted by multiple unintelligible but related dialects. Tangut has been proven to be closely related to Horpic languages, whence the name Horpa-Tangut (Beaudouin 2023).

As for data, this study uses representative languages from all major branches of the Horpa-Tangutic family, especially Phosi, which represents the Northern Horpa, or Stodsde (Liu 2025).

2. Causative in Phosi

In Phosi, the causative prefix *s-* is totally productive, which is relatively rare in Sino-Tibetan languages, e.g. it can even be prefixed to loanwords from Chinese with rare initials: *χên* 'to weld' → *sχên* 'make weld'. It exhibits an extremely complex morphophonology at the same time, with examples like *mqlâk* 'swallow' → *fsqlâk* 'make swallow', *mdzûr* 'be hungry' → *vldzûr* 'make hungry' (Liu 2025). In total, we find eight types of causative derivational strategies in Phosi: *s-*, tonal alternation, voiced assimilation, cluster simplification, lateralisation, affrication, metathesis and labial fricativisation. Multiple strategies can even be mixed, depending on the initials of a verb.

3. Causative in Horpa-Tangut

The causative prefix *s-* is attested in all the Horpa-Tangutic languages. However, none of these languages display such a complex morphophonology. In fact, in all these other Horpic languages, this prefix is no longer productive. Instead, in these languages including Tangut, we find a causative auxiliary with a *p^h-* initial, which we will call the **labial causative auxiliary**.

The etymology of this auxiliary is relatively transparent: it is a denominal verb which is derived from the noun **p^(h)ri* 'message' in Proto-Horpa-Tangut. This verb is grammaticalized into the causative auxiliary in Horpa-Tangut (after the departure of Phosi). This grammaticalisation resembles the multiple usages of Chinese 使 *sĥĭ*.

Considering the low productivity of the causative *s-* in these languages, we can infer that the denominal verb which means 'to bring a message' was grammaticalised into the main causative after the causative *s-* lost its productivity in Central & Western Horpa and Tangut, which is likely a common innovation of these languages.

A cognate of this labial auxiliary is found in Phosi, i.e. *mtʂâ* 'bring a message', but it does not have the causative function. This is most likely due to its early departure from the Horpa-Tangut Urheimat. Phosi has kept this *s*- causative productive unlike the other Horpa-Tangutic languages, not needing such a causative auxiliary at the same time.

4. Conclusion

This study not only explores the astonishingly complex morphophonology of the causative prefix *s*- in Phosi, but also sheds light on a possible major common innovation of the other Horpa-Tangutic languages. This innovation of the causative auxiliary is one of the factors that support a new classification of the Horpa-Tangut family, essentially proposing that Phosi has left the HT family even earlier than Tangut.

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Intrusive vocoids in Japhug onset clusters: Implications for sonority

This study investigates onset clusters in Japhug, an endangered Gyalrong language of the Sino-Tibetan family spoken by several thousand speakers in Sichuan Province, China. One of the most striking features of Japhug phonology is the presence of a large inventory of consonant clusters, many of which are typologically rare. A total of at least 423 onset clusters have been reported (Jacques 2021): 319 biconsonantal clusters and 104 triconsonantal clusters, encompassing both SSP-conforming and SSP-violating structures. Notably, some of these complex onsets may contain intrusive vocoids between the first and second consonants (C_1 and C_2).

Focusing on word onset clusters with two consonants, this study pursues two main objectives. First, it investigates the distributional patterns of intrusive vocoids in both monosyllabic and disyllabic words involving reduplicative morphology (referred to as reduplicated words), with a particular focus on the role of sonority in shaping these patterns.

Sonority, traditionally described through symbolic hierarchies and principles (like the SSP), lacks a universally accepted phonetic correlate. Albert and Nicenboim (2022) redefined sonority in terms of pitch intelligibility, conceptualizing it as a measure of the ability of a speech sound to carry pitch information. Under this approach, sonority is redefined as a perceptual property, shifting focus to acoustic correlates such as amplitude envelope and periodic energy.

For example, Crouch et al. (2023b) used measurements of amplitude envelope to explore the distributional patterns of intrusive vocoids in onset clusters according to sonority shapes in Georgian, another language with highly complex onsets. Albert and Nicenboim's (2022) *Nucleus Attraction Principle* (NAP) accounts for syllabic well-formedness by modeling syllabic parsing as a real-time process of nucleus competition based on sonority and its acoustic correlate—periodic energy, i.e., the acoustic power of periodic components in the signal. In this framework, sonority is defined as the ability to attract the syllable nucleus.

In a C₁C₂V syllable, the greater the sonority (i.e., periodic energy) of C₁, the stronger its competition with the vowel (V) for attracting the syllable nucleus, resulting in reduced syllabic well-formedness. NAP is implemented through two complementary models: a symbolic top-down model (*NAP_{td}*) and a dynamic, acoustic-based bottom-up model (*NAP_{bu}*). *NAP_{td}* evaluates syllabic well-formedness using sonority scores derived from a novel sonority hierarchy, with higher scores indicating lower nucleus competition. *NAP_{bu}*, in contrast, assesses syllabic well-formedness by measuring the distance between centers of periodic energy mass (*DCC*), with larger *DCC* reflecting stronger nucleus competition.

This study adopts NAP and its associated models as the theoretical and analytical framework. Second, drawing on the Japhug corpus derived from Guillaume Jacques's fieldwork, this study examines the correlation between dynamic (*NAP_{bu}*) and symbol-based sonority models (*NAP_{td}* and traditional SSP-based models) in predicting syllabic well-formedness.

The findings reveal that sonority rises exhibit a clearly higher occurrence of intrusive vocoids compared to sonority falls or plateaus. The asymmetrical distribution of intrusive vocoids across sonority shapes, which is also observed in Georgian (Crouch et al. 2023a, 2023b), can be attributed to the need for correct syllabic parsing. Analyses of periodic energy curves reveal that intrusive vocoids constitute a stronger competitor for the nucleus against the vowel in sonority falls than in sonority rises, thus increasing the risk of misparsing.

In reduplicated words, intrusive vocoids are found predominantly in the second syllable, which tends to exhibit lower nucleus competition potential (i.e., smaller *DCC*) than the first syllable. Furthermore, the results show that *NAP_{td}* correlates more strongly with *NAP_{bu}* than do traditional SSP-based models, underscoring the effectiveness of periodic energy as a phonetic correlate of sonority that can be operationalized in both symbolic and dynamic terms.

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Nominalization in Tuha Haoni

This presentation provides a description of different nominalization constructions in Tuha Haoni, a dialect of the Honi language (ISO 639 – how), which belongs to the Southern Loloish group of the Tibeto-Burman branch. The study is based on first-hand fieldwork data collected in Tuha, a mountainous village in Yuanjiang County, Yunnan Province, China, supplemented by reference grammars of other Honi dialects (Yang 2021; Zhang 2024). The framework follows previous typological studies on nominalization (Comrie & Thompson 1985; Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona 2011).

Like other Honi and Hani dialects, Tuha Haoni exhibits typical Tibeto-Burman features (Genetti 2011), where both lexical/derivational nominalization and clause nominalization share the same marker. Nominalization applies not only to verbs but also to adjectives. Additionally, as in some other Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1972), one of its nominalizers *ku*³³ is identical to the morpheme used for marking genitive relationships.

However, Tuha Haoni presents two nominalizers which are not attested in other Honi dialects:

- (1) the presence of a distinct agent nominalizer *tʰɿ*³¹, and
- (2) an alternative nominalization strategy using the general classifier *mɒ*⁵⁵.

The general classifier nominalization predominantly occurs in relative clause constructions, competing with genitive marker strategy. Though less frequent, this strategy is also attested in complementation and adverbial constructions, where case-marking and zero-marking strategies are dominant.

This presentation will focus on these two specific nominalization markers *tʰɿ*³¹ and *mɒ*⁵⁵, discussing their distribution, competition, and functional roles from a typological perspective. It will conclude with a few tentative remarks on their possible diachronic developments.

Examples

- (1)

nu ⁵⁵	v ⁵⁵ nu ³¹	fu ³³	tʰɿ ³¹	jo ⁵⁵	jp ³³ mu ⁵⁵	ja ³¹
2SG	cow	watch	NMLZ	OBJ	see	Q

“Do you see the one who grazes cattle?”
- (2)

ɒ ³¹ pu ⁵⁵	ɒ ³¹ ju ³¹	na ³³ thi ⁵⁵	pa ³³	mɒ ⁵⁵	tho ⁵⁵
grandfather	3SG	mushroom	pick	NMLZ	say

“Grandfather talks about his mushroom-picking.”
- (3)

nu ⁵⁵	mi ⁵⁵ nu ³³	ku ³¹	pa ³³	li ³³ kɒ ³³	tʰɿ ³¹	mɒ ⁵⁵	te ⁵⁵ ji ³¹ -mu ⁵⁵	ɒ ³¹	ja ³¹
2SG	yesterday	money	lose	PFV	NMLZ	find-RES	PFV	Q	

“Have you found the money that you lost yesterday?”

(4)	v ⁵⁵ tɕ ^h u ³¹	mɔ ³¹	n ³¹ pe ⁵⁵	so ³¹	pe ⁵⁵	xu ³¹	mɔ ⁵⁵ /ku ³³
	water	LOC	duck	trois	CL	big	NLMZ
	thi ³¹	mɔ ⁵⁵	mi ⁵⁵	mɔ ⁵⁵ /ku ³³	ni ³¹	mɔ ⁵⁵	
	one	CL	small	NLMZ	two	CL	

“There are three ducks in the water, one big, two tall.”

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