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Mechanizing Chinese historical phonology: A Look at the Timing of Old Chinese *-s Development

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Because the individual sound changes that make up the history of a language are in effect string rewriting rules, it is possible to mechanize historical phonology (Sims-Williams, 2018b). Given an ordered list of such sound changes, it is trivial to predict the regular outcome of a certain proto-form ('forward reconstruction', Indo-European *póds > Eng. foot), and also feasible to predict the set of proto-forms that could result in a certain attested outcome ('backward reconstruction', Eng. foot < IE *póds, but also incorrect *poh₁eh₁od, *kómpeh₂ds, *pepeh₃ds, etc.). Since even the most rigorous treatments of historical phonology do not have a computer-certified level of rigor, the exercise of formalizing historical phonology – even that of a well-known branch of languages – generates insights.

Patrick Sims-Williams (2018, p. 9) describes his implementation of forward reconstruction with a word processor's search-and-replace function applied to Celtic languages. This low-tech workflow led him to discover previously overlooked cognates of well-known Indo-European roots (Sims-Williams, 2018a) and to identify errors in the traditionally assumed relative chronology (Sims-Williams, 2007). Johnson (1972) observed that most phonological rules can be implemented as finite-state transducers (FST, henceforth 'transducers'). Based on this observation, Kaplan and Kay (1994) developed a concrete mechanism for encoding phonological rules as transducers. The discoveries, with important contribution by Kimmo Koskeniemi, eventually culminated in the Xerox Finite State Toolkit (XFST, Beesley and Karttunen (2003)), which has since enjoyed wide use in synchronic phonology and morphology. When sound changes are encoded as rewrite rules, both forward and backward reconstruction can be carried out directly in negligible time.

Chinese historical is beset by rival camps whose competing reconstructions baffle the non-specialist. The implementation of Chinese historical phonology with transducers would facilitate finding the exact areas of disagreement among different researchers and render trivial the problem of converting among systems to the extent that they are conceptually compatible. Thus, 'mechanized historical phonology' will stimulate precision and consistency among specialists and access among non-specialists.

Following the footsteps of Alex Fink and his software package 'rsca' (reversible sound change applier) which relies on transducers to implement precise backward reconstruction, of Kimmo Koskeniemi who documented an attempt to make transducers that map between Finnish and Estonian (Koskeniemi, 2013), and more recently, of Jouna Pyysalo who implemented his vision of Indo-European historical phonology in transducers, we implement those changes discussed in Baxter (1992), with a few modifications. The transducers we produce substantially reduce the cost of investigating particular questions of Chinese historical phonology. In particular, we will look at the development of Old Chinese *-s, its conditioning and chronology.

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Utiliser l'affixoïde sino-japonais *shu* (種 « espèce ») pour étudier l'interprétation variétale des noms nus en japonais

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En japonais, le nom commun apparaît majoritairement sans marque de quantification (démonstratif, numéral ou autres). Il partage cette propriété avec d'autres langues, dont le coréen et le mandarin, parmi les langues géographiquement les plus proches.

Un courant théorique en sémantique formelle (Krifka [1995], Chierchia [1998, 2021]) avance que dans ces langues, les noms nus font par défaut référence à « l'espèce » (« kind-interpretation » dans la littérature anglo-saxonne). Ainsi, dans une phrase comme (1), le nom dénoterait d'abord l'espèce « chien ». Cette interprétation serait ensuite dérivée par retypage en une interprétation «classique» prédicative (dénotation d'un ensemble d'individus).

(1) *neko ga nete-iru.* (chat S dormir) « Le chat dort. »

Cette hypothèse part initialement de l'observation de l'anglais où l'interprétation « espèce » est caractérisée par un jeu sur le singulier et le pluriel. C'est aussi valable en français (Beysade [2009] etc.). Une occurrence de nom commun s'interprète « espèce » lorsque ses formes singulier et pluriel sont synonymes:

(2) Les chats sont des mammifères. ⇔ Le chat est un mammifère.

Malheureusement, il n'y a pas de preuve directe de l'interprétation espèce pour les langues comme le japonais puisque le test basé sur l'opposition singulier pluriel est inefficace. En effet, le nom commun japonais est invariable par rapport au nombre: *neko* (« chat ») s'interprète aussi bien au singulier qu'au pluriel. Pour (in)valider l'hypothèse d'une interprétation espèce, il faut donc trouver d'autres critères que l'opposition des formes masc-sing. Étonnamment, les avocats d'une interprétation espèce n'ont pas exploité les noms qui font explicitement référence à une « espèce ». Nous ne voyons pourtant pas d'autre solution.

Pour combler cette absence, nous proposons dans cet exposé une description du comportement morphosyntaxique et sémantique d'une expression qui dénote en japonais l'espèce. Il s'agit de l'affixoïde *shu* 種 « espèce ; variété ; sorte ». Nous réfléchissons ensuite comment l'exploiter pour travailler sur l'interprétation espèce des noms communs. La description du morphème *shu* se déroule comme suit. Nous balaierons l'ensemble des compositions possibles en *shu*. En première approximation, on peut dire que le morphème a la particularité de se comporter aussi bien comme un affixe (1) que comme un nom (2) et un radical de nom (3) :

(1) [*nihon shu*] « espèce japonaise » ; [*merino shu*] « espèce mérinos »

(2) [*doushokubutu no shu*] « espèces animales et végétales »

(3) [*shu-meï*] « nom d'espèce »

On détaillera ensuite la nature des relations sémantiques entre les compositions en *shu* et les noms communs présents dans ces compositions. Cette observation apportera les données nécessaires pour décider de l'exploitabilité du morphème *shu* dans le cadre de la détection des interprétations « espèces » des noms communs nus en japonais.

Au-delà de la question de l'interprétation espèce, ce travail vise à apporter des données d'observation sur la catégorie des affixoïdes sino-japonais. Cette catégorie de morphèmes est en effet très présente en japonais mais reste très insuffisamment décrite.

A comparative study of aspectual markers ‘-ess’ in Korean and ‘*đã*’ in Vietnamese

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This paper aims to provide evidence for cross-linguistic variation in the meaning of the perfect, in comparing between ‘-ess’ in Korean and ‘*đã*’ in Vietnamese. Both of them yield either an *anterior* or a *simultaneous* readings relative to the utterance time, as illustrated in (1-2).

- (1) a. *Marie đã viết một quyển sách.* [Vietnamese]
 Marie DA write one CL book ‘Marie wrote a book.’
 b. *Năm nay mẹ tôi đã già.*
 year DEM mother 1SG DA old ‘This year, my mother is already old.’
- (2) a. *Sue-ka ttwi-ess-ta.* [Korean]
 S-NOM run-ESS-DEC ‘Sue ran.’
 b. *Sue-ka ice-nun (manhi) nulk-ess-ta.*
 S-NOM now-TOP much old-ESS-DEC ‘Sue is/got old much now.’

The issue of the nature of these markers is in fact controversial among Korean/Vietnamese linguists. The Korean suffix ‘-ess’ has been analyzed as (i) a past tense (C. Lee 1985); (ii) a perfective (Nam 1996); (iii) ambiguous between past and perfect (Song 1999); and (iv) an anterior/perfect (Chung 2005). Likewise, the Vietnamese marker ‘*đã*’ has received different analyses: (i) a past tense (Bùi Đức Tinh 1952, Thompson 1965); (ii) a tense-aspect marker (Nguyễn K.T. 1997, Panfilov 2002, Trinh 2005); (iii) a multifunctional marker (Do-Hurinville 2009, Phan 2013, Duffield 2014, Phan & Duffield 2019); and (iv) a modal (Nguyen H.T. 2019). Assuming that the Korean suffix ‘-ess’ and the Vietnamese marker ‘*đã*’ respectively are perfect aspect markers yielding different temporal readings, this paper argues that crucially, the distribution of these readings is correlated with the inherent temporal structure of the predicate they are combined with.

Interestingly, the Korean perfect ‘-ess’ and the Vietnamese perfect ‘*đã*’ show different behaviors with respect to stative predicates. First, in addition to an *anterior* reading, ‘*đã*’ attached to a stative predicate may also yield an *inceptive/inchoative* reading where a change into the described state has occurred just before the utterance time and thus, the described state starts to hold at the utterance time (cf. (3)).

- (3) *Ngoài đường trời đã sáng.*
 Out road sky DA bright ‘It got bright out there.’

However, the Korean perfect ‘-ess’ suffixed to a stative predicate yields an *anterior* reading where the described state occurred prior to the utterance time, and thus is not true at utterance time (cf. (4)). Note that, the Korean perfect ‘-ess’ yields an inchoative/inceptive reading only with so-called inchoative state predicates (cf. Choi 2015) which are inherently/lexically inchoative (cf. (2b)).

- (4) *Sue-ka ecey/*cikum aphu-ess-ta.*
 S-NOM yesterday/now sick-PCFT-DEC ‘Sue was sick yesterday/*is sick now.’

This different behavior between ‘-ess’ and ‘*đã*’ illustrates that languages can vary in how they express inchoativity. In Vietnamese, the meaning of inchoativity can appear with the perfect, while in Korean, it can appear with the lexical semantics of certain predicates (i.e. inchoative states). Second, the Vietnamese perfect ‘*đã*’ combined with stative predicates allows a universal perfect reading, just like the English perfect, while the Korean perfect ‘-ess’ disallows it, as shown in (5a-b).

- (5) a. *Mary đã ốm từ tuần trước, nhưng bây giờ không ốm nữa.* [Vietnamese]
 Mary da sick since week last but now NEG sick more
 ‘Mary *has been* sick since last week but she is fine now.’
- b. **Sue-ka welyoil-pwuthe aphu-ess-ci man, cikum-un an-aphu-ta.*
 S-NOM Monday-since sick-PFCT-butnow-TOP not-sick-DEC [Korean]
 ‘Sue *has been* sick since Monday, but she is fine now.’

The difference with respect to the (un)availability of universal perfect readings shown in (5a-b) suggests that the Korean perfect ‘-ess’ and the Vietnamese perfect ‘đã’ may not share the same Perfect Time Span. Details and relevant references will be presented in the talk.

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Table 1. Different temporal readings of -ess in Korean and đã in Vietnamese

	-ess (Korean)	đã (Vietnamese)
States	Anteriority	Simultaneity Inchoativity
Inchoative states	Simultaneity Inchoativity	X
Activities	Anteriority	
Accomplishments	Anteriority	
Achievements	Anteriority	

Yak is a yak is a yak is a yak

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The domestic yak (*bos grunniens*) is an important cultural pivot for speakers of many Trans-Himalayan languages, and a commercial and linguistic contact point for different groups. While the exact timeframe for domestication of this quintessential herbivore is unknown, Jacques et. al (2021) suggest two separate domestication events among ancestors of the languages with the richest yak terminology, Tibetic and Rgyalrongic. Within the People's Republic of China, Tibetic languages in Sichuan and Qinghai have, until recently, served as regional trade *lingua francas*. Many yak terms in non-Tibetic languages are transparent Tibetic borrowings, yet there are few studies devoted to investigating modern-day yak terms in Tibetic (Ebihara 2018). The present study offers a detailed account of Tibetic yak terms in the Minyag Rabgang region of Sichuan, an area which borders and encompasses a number of non-Tibetic languages. It proposes a framework for approaching and categorizing both yak terms and yak-husbandry knowledge as well as their semantic extensions. It includes diagrams and photos illustrating different taxonomies of yaks which will be particularly useful to fieldworkers operating within the Tibetosphere.

Modern-day pastoralists assign yaks different names on the basis of age, genetics, or physical traits such as color, marking, and horn-shape. These taxonomies reflect both animal husbandry knowledge and ethnobiological knowledge of the surrounding environment. For instance, descriptive yak terms often use other local fauna as points of reference, as in *wa rŋa* (Wylie) 'fox-tail' to describe a yak with a bushy tail. Yak terminology is also the source of many common idioms and metaphors. As an example, referring to an individual as a family's *mdzo mo dkar mo* (Wylie) 'white female yak-cow hybrid' in Tibetan implies that the individual brings the family wealth. This neologism rests on two pieces of context-specific knowledge: that white yaks are rare and that yak-cow hybrids produce more milk than pure-bred female yaks. Terms relating to yak-tack, butchering, and herding are often similarly extended beyond their original semantic domain. Given the deep cultural significance of the yak and the notable continuity in modern domestic yaks and archaeologically attested populations (Chen et. al 2023), a framework for probing such associations holds implications for future studies in ethnozoology and culture across yak-herding communities.

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L'acte de parole du conseil en japonais : analyse sur Twitch

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La théorie des actes de parole, introduite par Austin (1962) puis développée par Searle (1969) stipule que le langage permet de réaliser des actions et propose cinq catégories pour classer ces énoncés. L'acte de parole du conseil appartient à la catégorie *directive* (comme les ordres) qui vise à influencer les actions de l'interlocuteur. Contrairement aux ordres, le conseil n'a été que peu étudié.

En japonais, le conseil a été analysé sous différents angles : la théorie de la politesse (Hoshino, 2005), le modèle de Kumatoridani et Murakami (1992), l'apprentissage du japonais (Takahashi, 2018) et la communication sur des forums (Morrow, 2012).

D'autres études ont proposé une typologie de la forme linguistique du conseil : direct, mitigé et indirect (Hinkel, 1997) ; mais aussi des rôles que le conseiller peut adopter comme *consultant* ou *critic* (Goldsmith, 1999). Comparant l'anglais américain et l'arabe égyptien, Hosni (2019) a analysé l'influence de trois paramètres de la communication (distance sociale, relation de pouvoir et imposition) sur la formulation du conseil d'après la typologie de Hinkel.

Je présente une étude de corpus compilant 178 conseils donnés dans un contexte interactionnel qui n'a pas encore été étudié en japonais : Twitch, une plateforme de streaming de vidéo en direct. Les conseils proviennent de vidéos de jeux vidéo et sont donnés aux joueurs par les spectateurs en commentaire dans un fils de discussion instantanée.

Les précédentes études sur Twitch se sont intéressées aux motivations qui entraînaient les spectateurs à regarder ces vidéos (Gros et al., 2018 ; Hilvert-Bruce et al., 2018), et ont essayé de comprendre la nature des interactions entre les joueurs et leurs spectateurs (Hamilton et al., 2014 ; Kim et Kim, 2022). Cependant, aucune étude n'a regardé en particulier le conseil sur cette plateforme.

Je propose d'utiliser la classification tripartite de Hinkel, les rôles de Goldsmith et la distance sociale étudiée dans Hosni pour analyser la façon dont les japonais conseillent sur Twitch.

J'ai analysé mes données via des modèles bayésiens multinomiaux en observant l'influence du rôle du conseiller et de la distance sociale (variables indépendantes) sur la forme du conseil (variable dépendante). La distance sociale a été calculée d'abord par le rôle attribué aux spectateurs sur la chaîne, puis par le niveau de politesse utilisé dans les commentaires.

La forme la plus utilisée dans cette étude est le conseil mitigé, caractérisé entre autres par des *hedges*.

- (1) 友達 かも
Tomodachi kamo
 Ami peut-être
 « C'est peut-être un ami »

Dans l'exemple 1, l'expression « peut-être » est un *hedge*. En prenant les conseils mitigés comme niveau de référence, l'analyse statistique suggère un effet du rôle (préférence pour les conseils directs et indirects dans le rôle de *critic* que *consultant*) et de la distance sociale (préférence pour des conseils mitigés et/ou indirects dans des relations socialement plus distantes). Le modèle selon le niveau de politesse suggère une préférence pour des conseils directs et indirects dans une relation proche que distante.

Cette étude permet de voir le conseil sous un nouvel angle en considérant l'influence de la distance sociale et d'un nouveau paramètre (le rôle du conseiller) sur la formulation du conseil dans la communication en ligne.

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Lost in the framework: On Paul's (2022) analysis of Chinese directional SVCs

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In her recent work, Paul (2022) distinguishes *bona fide* serial verb constructions (SVCs) from what have traditionally been billed as directional verb compounds in Chinese literature, based on the somewhat prominent yet outdated notion of object sharing (Baker 1989; Collins 1997). She subsequently provides a complementation analysis with *pro* for these constructions in the spirit of Collins (2002).

In this talk, I will critically examine both the concept of object sharing and Paul's analysis. First, I will argue that the term “object sharing” is unclear and misleading. I will demonstrate that the so-called “object sharing” SVCs Paul (2022) refers to are actually switch-subject / switch-function SVCs as identified in the typological literature, or pivotal constructions / *jiānyǔshì* in the Chinese linguistic tradition. Moreover, I will show that “object sharing” is not a defining property of SVCs from a cross-linguistic perspective. That is to say, “object sharing” does not license SVCs; rather, it is merely a feature observed from the data. This leads to the question of whether Chinese directional SVCs necessarily involve “object sharing”. I will illustrate, specifically in the case of *bān chū lái*, that object sharing is not required given that subject sharing is also possible in this scenario. To address the terminological issue, I treat SVCs as a comparative concept (à la Haspelmath 2016) for cross-linguistic relevance. In such manner, all traditionally called directional verb compounds fit the bill for SVCs.

I will then critically assess Paul's analysis, highlighting several flaws, which stems from her theoretical stance, concerning structural options, monoclausality, the status of *chū lái*, headedness, and the empirical motivation for *pro*. Based on empirical observations, I will argue that adjunction is the optimal structure for Chinese directional SVCs. I will propose an adjunction analysis that better captures the syntactic and semantic properties of directional SVCs in Chinese with fewer assumptions. Specifically, in the case of *bān chū lái*, *bān* serves as the constructional head, whereas *chū lái* is an adjoined compound headed by *chū*. The V1OV2V3 (*bān yǐ zǐ chū lái*) order is derived via the *v*-to-Asp raising of *bān*, while the V1V2OV3 (*bān chū yǐ zǐ lái*) or V1V2V3O (*bān chū lái yǐ zǐ*) order is explained through the *same* raising of a verbal complex, where *chū* or *chū lái* incorporates into *bān* respectively (after the assumption that “a syntactic item can potentially be inserted under different heads” (Chen 2023: 35); cf. also Déchaine 1993: 811).

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Applicative constructions in Mandarin

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Applicative is a significant operation of clausal morphosyntax, as it deals with the complex interaction between lexical semantics, valency, and peripheral arguments and their realization in verbal argument structures. In earlier and recent studies, applicative constructions have received much attention in languages with morphological complexity, such as agglutinative or polysynthetic languages, and even in fusional languages. The systematic exploration of applicative constructions in isolating language such as Mandarin Chinese is not yet sufficiently thorough. Some scholars taking *-gěi* as an applicative marker in Mandarin, e.g. Lu et al. (2015), Chappell (2024). This is a narrow type of applicative construction in Mandarin than its general definition.

Applicative constructions are defined as a means some languages have for structuring clauses which allow the coding of a thematically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core-object argument (Peterson, 2007:1). In this sense, Mandarin Chinese contains a wide range of applicative constructions. The semantic roles of applied objects encompass beneficiary, maleficiary, recipient, possessor, location, instrument, manner, cause, purpose, material, etc. (See some examples below).

- (1) Lǎo lǐ xiū-le wángjiā sān-shàn mén. (Beneficiary)
Lao Li repair-PFV Wang family three-CL door
'Lao Li repaired three doors for the Wang family.' (Lu, 2002)
- (2) Wǒ chī-le tā yī-gè píngguǒ. (Maleficiary/Possessor)
1SG eat-PFV him one-CL apple
'I ate an apple of Zhang San.' (Lu, 2002)
- (3) Dìdì sòng-(gěi)-le wǒ yīgè qiú. (Recipient)
little.brother send-(APPL)-PFV 1SG one-CL ball
'My little brother sent a ball to me.'
- (4) Háizi-men hē xiǎo bēi. (Instrument)
child-PL drink small glass
'Children drink (with) small glass.'

In this article, we will describe the main types of applicative constructions in Mandarin Chinese and then analyze the syntactic properties of these applicative constructions, as well as discuss the distinctions among verb classes that apply to the three ways mentioned above.

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Catégories et terminologie linguistiques dans les dictionnaires manuscrits sino-européens

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La Chine possède l'une des plus riches et des plus anciennes traditions d'études linguistiques et a notamment joué un rôle majeur dans l'histoire mondiale de la lexicographie (Considine 2019 ; Bottéro 2019). Depuis la fin du XVI^e siècle, le chinois et ses variétés ont également constitué les langues cibles ou sources de dictionnaires rédigés dans des langues européennes. Cette production de dictionnaires occidentaux des variétés de chinois peut être considérée comme le fruit d'interactions entre les traditions lexicographiques occidentale et chinoise (Wang 2009), une rencontre qui s'est traduite par de « nouvelles pratiques lexicographiques » (Klöter 2019), tant au niveau de la macrostructure que de la microstructure des dictionnaires. Ces dictionnaires bilingues ou trilingues constituent des sources importantes pour la linguistique historique mais aussi pour l'historiographie linguistique, en particulier pour étudier l'évolution des catégories et de la terminologie linguistiques. La terminologie adoptée pour décrire les caractères chinois, les sons et la grammaire de ces langues dans ces premiers dictionnaires européens témoigne de la coexistence et de l'hybridation de catégories et de termes issus de diverses traditions linguistiques. Nous y trouvons notamment les apports de la phonologie et de la grammatologie chinoises, mais aussi l'insertion de marques de nature grammaticale, ou encore de nature sociolinguistique (Zwartjes 2018). Dans les entrées de ces dictionnaires, les marques de nature grammaticale et les romanisations sont deux éléments particulièrement intéressants. La tradition linguistique chinoise se caractérise en effet par la richesse de ses études phonologiques (Luo 2015), tandis que les études grammaticales ont été marginales (Peyraube 2001 ; Gianninoto 2019). Ainsi, dans les ouvrages missionnaires sur les langues chinoises, la description grammaticale est largement fondée sur la tradition linguistique occidentale (Chappell & Peyraube 2014), mais les entrées des dictionnaires incluent souvent des citations issues de sources chinoises (textes canoniques, commentaires, gloses et dictionnaires antérieurs) ou bien intègrent des catégories et des termes issus de la tradition chinoise (Gianninoto 2023). Par contre, les catégories et la terminologie employées pour décrire les sons des diverses langues sont souvent liées à la tradition phonologique chinoise. A cet égard, les différentes catégories de tons (leur nombre, les définitions données, les correspondances avec des catégories connues) constituent un exemple intéressant. Par ailleurs, l'analyse des divers systèmes de transcription, et en particulier des signes diacritiques adoptés dans ces dictionnaires pour signaler les tons ou certains traits segmentaux, est également digne d'intérêt.

Afin d'étudier la contribution des dictionnaires manuscrits occidentaux à l'histoire de la linguistique chinoise et dans la perspective de la circulation des savoirs, le projet ANR ChEDiL réunit plus de vingt chercheurs dans les domaines de l'histoire culturelle, de l'histoire de la linguistique et des humanités numériques, analysant le même corpus de dictionnaires manuscrits à partir de perspectives différentes et complémentaires. La numérisation de nombreux dictionnaires manuscrits et la création d'une base de données en libre accès de dictionnaires transcrits figurent parmi les objectifs du projet.

Cette communication se focalise sur l'un des volets de ce projet, relatif à l'histoire de la linguistique, et s'appuiera sur des exemples représentatifs issus de ce corpus de dictionnaires manuscrits, pour comparer et analyser le métalangage adopté dans les préfaces et entrées de ces ouvrages lexicographiques.

Quelques interprétations approfondies sur l'emploi des zéros en chinois à l'aide de la notion de *chaîne de référence* – étude de cas à partir des exemples parallèles issus de *Jean-Christophe*

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Selon les définitions de plusieurs auteurs anglophones et francophones (Chastain, 1975, Corblin, 1995, Charolles, 1988, Schnedecker, 2021), une *chaîne de référence* est constituée des expressions renvoyant à la même entité du monde, sur la base de laquelle nous avons proposé une version en chinois :

“指称链条”指的是在同一语境中的三个及三个以上的共指表达所构成的链条，主要包括但不限于名词短语，代词和零形式。共指对象可以是话语中提及的任何对象，包括但不限于人，物，事件，时空概念，抽象概念等。(Guo, 2023 : 37)

L'extrait suivant contient une chaîne du personnage « Christophe » dont les composants sont surlignés, comme *Christophe*, *son*, *ses*, etc. Cette chaîne en français est constituée des formes explicites, alors que dans la chaîne parallèle en chinois, certains composants n'ont pas de forme explicite que nous appelons *zéro*, marqué par « Ø » :

À quelque temps de là, à l'école, où Christophe passait son temps à regarder les mouches au plafond et à donner des coups de poing à ses voisins, pour les faire tomber du banc, le maître qui l'avait pris en grippe, parce qu'il remuait toujours, parce qu'on l'entendait toujours rire, et parce qu'il n'apprenait jamais rien, fit une allusion inconvenante, un jour que Christophe s'était lui-même laissé choir, à certain personnage bien connu dont il semblait vouloir suivre brillamment les traces. (extrait de *Jean-Christophe*, Romain Rolland)

过了一晌，克利斯朵夫上学了；他老望着天花板上的苍蝇，Ø把拳头捶着旁边的孩子，Ø推在地下；他动个不停，Ø笑个不停，Ø从来不念书。有一天，克利斯朵夫自己摔在了地下，讨厌他的老师便说了句难听的话隐射某个大家知道的人，说他大概要青出于蓝的走上那条路了。(traduction de Fu Lei)

Notre corpus bilingue permet d'observer que les chaînes des deux langues ne contiennent pas autant de zéros. Ces derniers présentent une proportion beaucoup plus importante en chinois qu'en français. Par exemple, la chaîne du protagoniste du roman est composée de 27 % de zéros en chinois (1032 occurrences), contre 4 % en français (161 occurrences). Par le biais de l'observation de la composition des chaînes de référence en chinois dans un corpus parallèle composé des extraits de *Jean-Christophe* et de sa traduction par Fu Lei (totalisant 151 720 mots et caractères), nous cherchons à expliciter les occurrences et les conditions textuelles des zéros en tant que composants essentiels des chaînes en chinois, par rapport à celles du français. Nous proposons ainsi quelques modèles pour expliciter les conditions spécifiques permettant l'emploi des zéros en chinois.

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The Grammar of Approximating Number Pairs (ANPs) in Mandarin Chinese

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Approximating number pairs (ANPs) are a kind of approximative expression that takes a number pair and expresses a quantity close to it. For example, ‘there are twenty or thirty people here’ usually does not mean the disjunction of precisely either twenty or thirty, but rather an approximate range around these two numbers. In Mandarin, expressions like 二三十 ‘twenty or thirty’, 六七百万 ‘six or seven million’ present similar effects.

There are constraints on the structure and choice of numerals: while expressions like ‘six or seven books’ and ‘three or four thousand participants’ are commonly used, ‘twenty- or thirty-six cats’ and ‘thirty or fifty biscuits’ are either anomalous or denote a precise disjunction rather than being approximative. Likewise, 六七百本书 ‘six or seven hundred books’ is well-formed and approximative; it is anomalous to say either 六八百本书 ‘six or eight hundred books’ or 二三十六只猫 ‘twenty- or thirty-six cats.’ Studies like Eriksson et al. (2010) statistically generalized the constructions and meanings of ANPs through corpus studies on select European languages, giving characterizations like ‘the gap between the two numbers in the pair must be a divisor of both values’ (Eriksson et al., 2010). However, the same surface-level rules for well-formed ANPs fail to apply straightforwardly to a language like Mandarin with drastically different numeral-noun constructions.

Chinese numerals are generated by placing a simple digit from 1-9 before a base like 十 (10), 百 (10²) to express multiplication (Her, 2017). The segments are then added in decreasing orders of magnitude. For example, the numeral ‘53’ is expressed as 五十三 (5 10 3), where 五 (5), 三 (3) are the simple numeral multipliers and 十 (10) is the numerical base multiplicand. Additionally, Mandarin is a classifier language (Jiang et al., to appear), requiring nominal classifiers between numerals and noun phrases, like in 三只猫 ‘three CL cats’. We note that the inherent quantities encoded in the classifiers also serve as multiplicands, as 三打蛋 ‘three dozen eggs’ denotes $3 \times 12 = 36$ eggs.

Mandarin ANPs show many distinctions from the documented ANPs in European languages. Mandarin ANPs do not reduplicate the base: 二三十 (2-3 10) ‘twenty or thirty’ is well-formed but 二十三 (2 10 3 10) sounds anomalous. In addition, the disjunction ‘or’ present in English ANPs like ‘Two or three hundred cats’ must not be present in Mandarin counterparts: 两三百只猫 (2 3 10² CL cat) is a valid ANP, but 两或三百只猫 (2 or 3 10² CL cat) and 两百或三百只猫 (2 10² or 3 10² CL cat) mean ‘precisely 200 or 300 cats’ and are not approximative.

This paper offers a description of Mandarin ANPs, proposing a new set of rules for the well-formedness of ANPs based on grammatical rather than mathematical properties, covering previously unaccounted data while also being largely congruent to existing proposals. The new proposals also align with theories of other approximatives in Mandarin like 左右 ‘or so’ and 多 ‘more’, shedding light on the universal properties of the cognition of approximation. This also helps address challenges for language learners amid surface level distinctions between ANPs in different languages.

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A Construction Study on the Function Word *yě* in *Lúnyǔ* Version from the Hàn Tomb of Dìngzhōu

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This paper focuses on the function word *yě* in *Lúnyǔ* (*The Analects of Confucius*) Version from the Hàn Tomb of Dìngzhōu (hereafter DL). It demonstrates first that *yě* is in its nature a particle instead of a copula in that there is no so-called copula in ancient Chinese and that it does serve as a particle in a sentence including serving as sentence momentum and tone potential. Furthermore, cognitive semantics is applied to make a unified explanation of these two roles. According to Talmy (2000), a Motion event refers to a situation that includes motion or the continuation of a stationary location. Therefore, the sentence momentum and tone potential mentioned above correspond to the motion and the continuation of a stationary location respectively. Specifically, when *yě* is used in the middle of a sentence or phrase, the components in front of it are both known information and the focus of the sentence, and also play a role in advancing the sentence; when it is used at the end of a sentence, it means to strengthen the judgment of various tones, including affirmative, negative, imperative, question, and exclamation. Moreover, although *yě* in both locations has different kinds of grammatical components in front of it, including nouns, verbs, adverbs, noun phrases, subject-predicate phrases, verb-object phrases, and adjective phrases, all of them can be unified under the cognitive semantic theory. This paper not only shows the wide applicability of cognitive semantic theory, but also enriches the research path of Chinese grammar by further studying the function word *yě* in DL.

.....曰：“莠狄之有君也¹,不若諸[夏之亡也].”^{四〇}

..... <i>yuē</i> :	“ <i>Yí Dí</i>	<i>zhī</i>	<i>yǒu</i>	<i>jūn</i>	<i>yě</i> ,	<i>bù</i>
V(PRED)	NP(SBJ)	PREP	V(PRED)	N(OBJ)	YE ²	ADV (NEG)
say (PST)	NAMES	[relationship]	have	prince	YE	not
..... *[G]wat:	“*[I]əj *I ³ ek	*tə	*[G]wə?	*C.qur	*IAj?	*pə

<i>ruò</i>	<i>zhū</i>	[<i>Xià</i>	<i>zhī</i>	<i>wáng</i>	<i>yě</i>].” ⁴⁰
V(PRED)	PRN(ATR)	NP(SBJ)	PREP	V(PRED)	<i>ye</i>
like	numerous	NAME	[relationship]	not.have	<i>ye</i>
*nak	*ta	[³ *[G]ra?	*tə	*maŋ	*IAj?].” ⁴⁰

.....said: “That there is emperor in Yídí is not better than that there is [no emperor in countries of Xià]”⁴⁰

There are two *yě* in the sentence. The first one is in the middle of the sentence, shows a pause and a momentum to advance the sentence, and function as a motion; while the second one is at the end of the sentence, and plays a role in strengthening the negative tone. However, both are preceded by a noun phrase, the former with N + 之 + Verb-object structure and the latter NP + 之 + N (an adj functions as a noun). They combine to express a dynamic event.

Keywords: function word *yě*, Dìngzhōu Hàn Tomb *Lúnyǔ*, particle, function analysis, cognitive semantics

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¹ The *yě* marked with a line below is the object of study.

² For those *yě* to be discussed, we use YE; we use *ye* for undiscussed *yě*.

³ This first square bracket is from DL; the second one is from the reconstruction of phonology.

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The evolution of Chinese polar questions: From negative particle to A-not-A

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This study has examined the development of polar question strategies in Chinese from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. The key empirical observation is that the most common polar question strategy has changed from negative particle questions (NPQ) until the late 19th century to a preference for A-not-A questions. To account for the historical shift in preference, the pragmatic functions of different polar question strategies have been explored to identify the possible pragmatic drive behind the historical change. This paper argues that the change in polar question strategy has demonstrated a preference for ‘neutral’/non-biased polar question structures.

On the historical development of Chinese polar questions, Zhang (1990) proposed a historical account of the development of NPQs, and traced the occurrence of such structures back to Classical Chinese (Pre-Qin to Han Dynasty), where the negative particle was *fǒu*. It is further suggested that NPQs predate other types of polar questions; particle questions came second, and A-not-A questions are later innovations. Aldridge (2011) also suggests that Mandarin question particle *ma* was derived from the negator *wú* through grammaticalisation. This study has drawn on the data from two Cantonese corpora of different time periods to explore the polar question development in Cantonese particularly – *Early Cantonese Colloquial Texts* (1828–1924), and *The Corpus of Mid-20th century Cantonese*. Focusing on polar questions involving either of the standard negators, *m4* ‘not’ or *mou5* ‘not.have’, corpus evidence has shown that 19th century Cantonese, akin to present-day Mandarin, commonly allowed these two standard negators to appear in NPQs (1-2). But the structure gradually diminished at almost the same time as the A-not-A structure gained prominence in late-19th century.

(1) *Nei-di caa ngaam m aa?*
 You-POSS tea right not SFP
 ‘Is your tea alright?’ (Bridgman, 1841)

(2) *Nei nipaai jau gin-dou keoi mou ne?*
 You recently have see-CPL3.SG not.have SFP
 ‘Have you seen him/her recently?’

Synchronically, in terms of speaker intention encoded in polar questions, most existing analyses have regarded A-not-A questions as pure information questions which occur in neutral contexts. In Mandarin, for instance, A-not-A questions stand in contrast with *ma* questions which are regarded as non-neutral questions. The present study has investigated more systematically into the contexts where A-not-A questions in Mandarin and Cantonese, and where NPQs in Mandarin may occur. Participants have been provided concrete situations and several polar question forms to rate for appropriateness. The findings have shown that A-not-A questions in both Cantonese and Mandarin can mostly appear in neutral contexts; in the minority cases where speaker bias is involved, it is mostly positively biased. NPQs in Mandarin have shown a contrary pattern where it is acceptable in both neutral and positively biased contexts, but with preference for the latter.

Therefore, based on the synchronic pattern, this paper suggests that the pragmatic factor of speaker bias in polar questions is indeed encoded in the different polar question strategies. In Chinese, the speaker intention encode in both NPQs and in A-not-A questions does overlap – both allowed in neutral and positively biased contexts – only that the former is preferred in positively biased contexts, while the latter is the preferred structure for neutral contexts. The replacement of most NPQs by A-not-A questions in Cantonese could then be attributed to the preference and need for a pragmatically neutral strategy to present polar/binary options in a question through the historical development of a language.

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Réorganisation du poids relatifs des indices acoustiques dans l'acquisition en L2 : Production des occlusives du coréen L2 par les apprenants francophones

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Dans le contexte de l'acquisition d'une nouvelle langue, les apprenants sont confrontés à des défis phonétiques et phonologiques. Du point de vue phonologique, l'acquisition d'une nouvelle langue implique l'apprentissage de nouveaux contrastes phonémiques [5]. Au niveau phonétique, l'apprenant doit apprendre quels indices sont pertinents pour les contrastes de la L2, ainsi que le poids relatif de ces indices. Le coréen est un cas intéressant car il a les contrastes laryngaux à trois catégories (lenis, fortis et aspirée) qui contrastent phonétiquement par des différences de VOT, mais aussi de f0 (voir revue [3]), tandis que la plupart des langues ont les contrastes laryngaux à deux catégories tel que le français (voisé vs. non-voisé) réalisé uniquement par le VOT. Nous examinons dans cette étude comment les apprenants francophones du coréen L2 traitent plusieurs indices acoustiques, VOT et f0, pour distinguer trois catégories d'occlusives du coréen.

Dans cette perspective, 21 étudiantes francophones en première année d'études coréennes ont participé à une tâche de production de manière longitudinale pour un total de 8 sessions. 25 locutrices natives du coréen ont participé en tant que groupe contrôle natif. Avec l'aide de Praat [1], nous avons mesuré les valeurs de VOT et f0 sur la voyelle suivante, puis en utilisant l'analyse discriminante linéaire (LDA), nous avons quantifié les poids des indices VOT et F0 pour différencier les contrastes parmi Aspirée vs. Fortis, Fortis vs. Lenis, et Lenis vs. Aspirée. Selon l'étude de [4], le VOT est l'indice le plus fiable pour distinguer l'aspirée de la fortis, tandis que la f0 est l'indice le plus pertinent pour le contraste Aspirée vs. Lenis, et pour le contraste Lenis vs. Fortis est bien séparé sur les deux indices.

Les résultats globaux montrent que les apprenantes s'appuyaient davantage sur le VOT que sur la F0 dans leur production. Cela confirme les études précédentes selon lesquelles les apprenants L2 se réfèrent initialement à l'indice principal de la L1 pour les contrastes L2 au début de l'apprentissage (ex. [2]). Plus précisément, le poids relatif pour les apprenantes est le suivant : poids supérieur du VOT vs. f0 pour distinguer la fortis de l'aspirée, poids équivalent pour le VOT et la f0 pour la distinction entre la fortis et la lenis, et poids supérieur du VOT vs. f0 pour distinguer la lenis de l'aspirée. Dans le contexte d'une étude longitudinale, nous avons observé des résultats intéressants. Tout d'abord, les apprenantes ont mieux réussi à produire le contraste d'Aspirée vs. Fortis dès le début d'apprentissage. Étant donné que le VOT est l'indice principal utilisé en français pour le voisement, les apprenantes ont été capables d'appliquer cet indice convenablement. Deuxièmement, nous avons constaté une amélioration du contraste de Fortis vs. Lenis. Au début, les apprenantes ont accordé plus d'importance au VOT, mais à partir de la troisième session, elles ont commencé à utiliser la F0. Cela suggère qu'elles ont adapté et utilisé des indices secondaires de leur langue native dans leur L2. Enfin, bien que le contraste de Lenis vs. Aspirée ait été produit avec uniquement le VOT, cela peut être interprété comme une étape d'interlangue en L2.

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**Conférence plénière / Keynote speech:
Computer-Assisted Approaches to the Comparison of South-East Asian
Languages**

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Computer-assisted language comparison refers to integrated approaches in historical linguistics and linguistic typology that are neither fully computationally oriented nor completely manually executed. These approaches have made some progress over the past decade, specifically also in the comparison of South-East Asian languages and in the application to Chinese historical phonology. In the talk, I will give an overview on the current state of the art of the discipline, introducing some tools and workflows that have been developed so far, and pointing to future challenges for computer-assisted approaches in historical linguistics.

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Taxonomic level of categorization influences classifier choice

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Despite established conventions dictating the pairing of classifiers with certain nouns in Mandarin, in practice, there is notable variation in classifier choice (Zhang, 2007; Gao and Malt, 2009). This variation is not only interspeaker—stemming from dialectal differences or tendencies towards simplification (e.g., an increase in general classifier (GCL) use)—but also intraspeaker, reflecting the adaptability of individual language use across different contexts Ahrens (1994). In this paper, we delve into an understudied factor that correlates with this variation: the role of the taxonomic level of the noun.

We specifically examine whether nouns representing basic level (e.g. dogs) or subordinate level (e.g. huskies) categories affect the binary choice between using a GCL vs. a specific classifier (SCL), in cases where the classifier choice does not affect the identification of the referent. We include as GCLs *ge*, the conventional general classifier, but also *zhi*, which is general for entities in the animal domain, based on Frankowsky et al. (2022)'s results and on the fact that *zhi* is semantically broader than other specific animal-related classifiers.)

Classifier choice reflects semantic features such as humanness, animacy, shape, and functionality (Gao and Malt 2009; Kuo and Sera 2009). For example, the specific classifier *tiao* is supposed to encode the features “oblong” and “cylindrical”, and thus occurs with 蛇 *she* ‘snake’. However, *tiao* can also combine with 狗 *gou* ‘dog’. Thus, semantic features do not fully account for classifier assignment. Commonly used semantic features also do not explain variation in choice between GCLs and SCLs. We consider the taxonomic level of the noun as an orthogonal grouping that offers a distinct perspective from semantic considerations that have been traditionally claimed to explain classifier use.

To explore the role of the taxonomic level, we carried out a picture-naming task involving 48 native Mandarin speakers recruited on Prolific. We used 81 images as stimuli, comprising 18 basic-level items, 36 subordinate-level items, and 27 fillers. Participants were presented with side-by-side frames containing contrasting quantities of the same objects and were instructed to say the quantity of the objects of target images together with either a basic or subordinate level noun indicated through prior auditory input. We found a preference for specific classifiers with basic level nouns ($\beta = 0.33$, $p = 0.015$), and for general classifiers with subordinate level nouns.

We close the presentation with some speculations about the explanation of the results. One possible factor is cognitive economy (Rosch, 1978). As summarized in Ungerer and Schmid (2013), subordinate categories lack cognitive economy because they are represented by inefficiently many attributes compared to basic level categories. The preference for specific classifiers with basic level categories may balance cognitive economy and specificity: Using a specific classifier when prompted by a basic level category might provide additional detail to efficiently convey precise information without overloading cognitive processing. In contrast, the tendency to use general classifiers with subordinate level nouns might be explained if we consider that the detail provided by a specific classifier together with the intrinsic specificity of a subordinate category would be even less cognitively economical, while a general classifier is sufficient for effective communication.

In conclusion, this study enriches our understanding of the cognitive processes underlying classifier selection and provides new insights into the interaction between linguistic structure and conceptual organization in Mandarin Chinese.

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Remarks on non-canonical relative clauses in Mandarin Chinese

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(1) exemplifies what we call canonical relative clauses (RCs) in Mandarin Chinese. They are prenominal and involve a modification marker *de*. The RC with *de* can either precede the demonstrative-numeral-classifier sequence or follow it (cf. Aoun & Li 2003, Huang, Li, Li 2009, Lin & Tsai 2015).

- (1) a. [Zhāngsān hěn xǐhuān _{-i}] **de** nà -yī-ge xuéshēng;
 Zhangsan very like de that -one-CLF student
 ‘that one student that Zhangsan likes a lot’
- b. nà -yī-ge [Zhāngsān hěn xǐhuān _{-i}] **de** xuéshēng;
 that -one-CLF Zhangsan very like de student
 ‘that one student that Zhangsan likes a lot’

In this paper, we investigate four types of non-canonical relative clauses, which lack the marker *de*. As shown in (2), they include RCs with an obligatory demonstrative (DEM-RCs, (2a), cf. Cheng & Sybesma 2009), RCs with an obligatory clitic *suǒ* (SUǒ-RCs, 2b), *yǒu* ‘have’-existentials (2c) and Secondary Predication Constructions (2d). Unlike DEM-RCs, SUǒ-RCs, which can be headless (cf. Zhao & Zhang 2022 on *suǒ*-RCs in classical Chinese), allow noun phrases of any type to be relative Heads (cf. corpus data in Yu 2011). Our first goal is to systematically examine the last two types, which are existential sentences with the definiteness restriction (cf. Huang 1987, Zhang 2008, Liu 2013, Del Gobbo 2014), along with other RCs (see Tai (1978) for an early analysis of (2d) as involving a RC).

- (2) a. [_{RC} _{-i} hěn xǐhuān Zhāngsān] *(nà-)yī-ge xuéshēng;
 very like Zhangsan that-one-CLF student
 ‘that one student that likes Zhangsan a lot’
- b. [_{RC} wénjí-zhōng *(suǒ) shōu _{-i}] mǒu-xiē lùnwén;
 collection-inside SUO include certain-some articles
 ‘certain articles that the collection includes’ (Yu, 2011, 170)
- c. yǒu [yī-ge xuéshēng] [_{RC} Zhāngsān hěn xǐhuān _{-i}].
 have one-CLF student Zhangsan very like
 ‘There is one student_i that Zhangsan likes a lot _{-i}.’
- d. Zhāngsān jiāo-guò [yī-ge xuéshēng] [_{RC} Lǐsì hěn xǐhuān _{-i}].
 Zhangsan teach-EXP one-CLF student Lisi very like
 ‘Zhangsan has taught one student_i that Lisi likes a lot _{-i}.’

Our second goal is to examine the relationship between the relative Head and its RC internal position. Recent studies of RCs show that relative Heads can originate inside RCs (*Raising* strategy) or be merged outside of RCs (*Matching* strategy) (cf. Sauerland (2003), see Bhatt (2015) for an overview). While the Raising type shows reconstruction effects, the Matching type can be diagnosed by the possibility of stacking and extraposition (cf. Cinque 2020). We will show that i) in contrast with canonical RCs with *de*, DEM-RCs and SUǒ-RCs can neither be stacked nor be extraposed, suggesting the Raising strategy; ii) two types of existential sentences (cf. 2c and 2d) differ with respect to reconstruction effects (for binding condition and idiom interpretation), indicating that they are structurally different (pace Zhang 2008, Liu 2013, Del Gobbo 2014); iii) unlike canonical RCs with *de*, which are ambiguous between Raising and Matching, each type of non-canonical RCs selects only one structural strategy. We argue that the surface postnominal position of the RCs in existential contexts is obtained because of extraposition (*contra* Li (1990) on the lack of extraposition in Mandarin Chinese).

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Affectedness and Intentionality of Passive Subject in Mandarin Chinese *Bèi*-Construction

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This contribution investigates semantic features of passive subject (i.e. patient, stimulus, or other possible θ -roles as passive subject) in Mandarin Chinese *bèi*-construction. I propose two features that are manifested by the subject of *bèi*-passive yet are either vague or silent in its corresponding active form: affectedness and intentionality.

First, I argue that the passive subject of incremental theme verb must undergo a change, unlike its active form counterpart, which may exhibit vagueness or ambiguity on the result due to sublexical modality (cf. Dowty 1979, Koenig & Muansuwan 2020, Martin & Schäfer 2017, among others) and hence allows zero result reading, cf. (1) and (2). This feature is tested in an ongoing 1–7 Likert-scale experiment. It is predicted that *bèi*-passive of such verbs is less acceptable in contexts where the patient undergoes no change, analogous to the behavior of change-of-state verbs, e.g. *cā* ‘wipe’ vs. *tōu* ‘steal’.

- (1) Zhāngsān cā-le hēibǎn, dànshì shénme yě méi cādiào.
‘Zhangsan wiped the blackboard, but nothing was erased.’
- (2) Hēibǎn bèi Zhāngsān cā-le, ??dànshì shénme yě méi cādiào.
intended: ‘The blackboard was wiped by Zhangsan, but nothing was erased.’

Second, the animate passive subject can show intentionality through modifier, e.g. *gùyì* ‘deliberately’, whereas it is unable to reveal intentionality in active. Additionally, contrary to the ambiguous source of intention in English passive (depending on individual interpretation), it can be clearly identified in *bèi*-passive via word order, cf. (3) and its English translation.

- (3) Lǐsì (gùyì)₁ bèi Zhāngsān (gùyì)₂ zhuàngdào.
‘Lisi was deliberately hit by Zhangsan.’
= 1: ‘Lisi was hit by Zhangsan and this was what Lisi intended.’
= 2: ‘Lisi was hit by Zhangsan and this was what Zhangsan intended.’

Finally, I provide the event structure for the *bèi*-passives based on the analysis of the aforementioned data (building on Beavers & Lee 2020). I argue that the passivisation of incremental theme verbs necessarily involves change, i.e. degree of change must be encoded in terms of affectedness (cf. Beavers 2011). Furthermore, the intentionality of the passive subject is introduced by *bèi*, which also entails a passive subject *affectedee* and an eventuality *P(v)*. The possibility of applying this event structure to other *bèi*-passive constructions, e.g. gapless-passives, is also considered.

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On the issue of subjecthood in Modern Standard Chinese

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The notion of subject is a fundamental component in most linguistic theories. Depending on the approach, it may be defined as (i) theory-internal, i.e., as a primitive (e.g., LFG) or derived from structural configurations (e.g., GB and related theories), or (ii) as a constituent that presents a number of control and behavioural properties (Keenan (1976) and subsequent literature). With regard to the latter approach, studies conducted on an increasing variety of previously under-described, typologically diverse languages, combined with comprehensive typological databases and improved statistical technologies, have shed new light on the status and role of grammatical relations (GRs) and grammatical subjects, revealing that their behaviour exhibits significant variations across languages. Crucially, in some languages different constructions and tests provided conflicting evidence: in Nepali, for example, agreement and case are assigned to different nominals (see Bickel 2011 for discussion). In such cases, the common approach was to pick out one or a small set of constructions that provided evidence for identifying GRs. However, this approach was criticized as being inconsistent, since it involved using language-specific criteria when the general criteria did not apply in the language (Croft, 2001, p. 30). In this respect, Modern Standard Chinese is a rather interesting case in point: the status of GRs in Chinese has been a topic of heated debate for decades, partly due to the absence of overt GR-specific morphological markers and inadequacies connected with alternative accounts based, e.g., on positional and semantic criteria, in addition to other observations re. the contrasting features it displays in terms of Greenberg's typology of word order correlates (cf. Chappell et al., 2007; Wu & He, 2015). Despite the copious literature on this issue, the question of how to define and identify subjects remains unclear, and scholars hold divergent—and sometimes opposite—views (see for example LaPolla 1990, 2016; Bisang 2006, 2016). Specifically, much uncertainty still exists about the relation between the grammatical notion of subject and the semantic notion of (proto)agent/actor (most prominent argument in the verb's argument structure), as well as that of topic. These issues have led some scholars to hold that subject plays a less significant role in Chinese grammar compared, for example, to topic (Chao 1968; Li and Thompson 1976; Tsao 1990 and subsequent literature), while the sentence-initial/preverbal position has been associated with topichood and with information-structural properties such as givenness, aboutness, and definiteness (Chafe, 1976).

Against this background, this study re-examines the issue of subjecthood in Chinese in light of recent large-scale typological research on grammatical relations worldwide (Witzlack-Makarevich & Bickel, 2019). Starting with an overview of linguistic variation observed in typologically diverse languages, it examines Chinese under the lens of syntactic operations and constructions that are cross-linguistically relevant to the definition of grammatical relations. The methodology adopted is that outlined by Bickel (2011) and Witzlack-Makarevich and Bickel (2013) and involves a systematic investigation of a range of GR-sensitive constructions, including: relativisation, reflexivisation, passivisation, imperatives, topicalisation, equi-NP deletion, topic extraction out of relative clauses, word order permutations, quantifier floating, finiteness, conjunction reduction, control, and raising. The study explores the hypothesis that, just as in several other languages, such constructions may be governed by non-syntactic factors, and highlights the interactions with other components of the language, and specifically argument structure (agents/actors) and information structure (topics). The study is conducted on a strictly empirical basis and avails itself of (i) cross-linguistically validated typological tools; (ii) natural linguistic data/big-size corpus interrogation, and (iii) acceptability checks with native speakers for examples quoted from the literature. The study ultimately sheds light on the motivations underlying the conflicting evidence on subjecthood in Chinese and proposes some general implications for linguistic theories.

Keywords: subjecthood, agenthood, topichood, GR-sensitive constructions, cross-linguistic investigations

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Northern Pekingese vs Southern Pekingese in the missionary documents — Some Western descriptions about the vernacular Chinese grammar

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The history of Pekingese is often discussed in the literature with the consensus of the distinction of inner-city Pekingese and outer-city Pekingese.

The language of modern Beijing has developed over the last three hundred years under completely different demographic conditions in the inner and outer parts of the city. The Han inhabitants of the outer city spoke a dialect that originated in Beijing and always had close contact with the dialects of the various regions of China since the Yuan dynasty. The inhabitants of the Inner City of the Eight Banners spoke a dialect brought from the north-east (the Liaodong 遼東 dialect or the Shenyang 瀋陽 dialect, cf. Aisin Gioro 2004) whose source is the Youyan dialect (幽燕方言 Yōuyàn fāngyán), centred on Yanjing (燕京 Yànjīng) during the Liao 遼 (907-1125) and Jin 金 (1115-1234) dynasties.

According to the accounts of Old Pekingese, written by some Western missionaries between the 19th and the 20th centuries, it turns out that a distinction must be made between northern Pekingese and southern Pekingese, the former of which was spoken in the Jêhol 熱河 region and the latter in the Ho-chien-fu 河間府 region, although it is difficult to radically distinguish the two variants of Pekingese in its pre-modern state. For example, there are differences in the tones of some words, such as 跑 *p'ao*² in Ho-chien-fu Pekingese and *p'ao*³ in Jêhol Pekingese. Differences can be spotted in the pronunciation of some sounds, like 熱 *juo*⁴ in Ho-chien-fu Pekingese, *je*⁴ in Jêhol Pekingese and *juo*⁴ only in Luan-p'ing-hsien 灤平縣 or the series of sounds *huo* in Ho-chien-fu Pekingese, which are more often pronounced *ho* in Jêhol Pekingese. As for grammar, the resources highlighted the usage of 的 *-di* instead of 去 *ch'ü* in Jêhol Pekingese, which is unknown in Ho-chien-fu Pekingese.

The goal of our contribution is to make an initial syntactic assessment of the distinctive uses of the northern and southern variants of Old Pekingese using the two documents below:

- Wieger, Léon (1895). *Rudiments de parler et de style chinois. Dialecte du 河間府, premier volume : Introduction, mécanisme, phraséologie*. Hejianfu, Imprimerie de la Mission catholique (2^e édition : 1899, 4^e édition : 1936).
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These texts will be also compared with the previous grammar books about Northern *guanhua* spoken in Beijing, written during the 19th century by several European missionaries and linguists, in order to acknowledge the finer analysis of the difference between the two variants of Pekingese, which were previously unnoticed.

This is a completely original comparative study of Old Pekingese grammar works, which have received very little attention for their value in terms of the documentation of Old Pekingese.

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Revisiting Accomplishments in Chinese

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Accomplishments, as a verb type described by Vendler (1957), and as a situation type described by Smith (1991/1997), are by definition durational and telic events. Smith considers all of her five situation types to be universal, so that the situation type “accomplishment” exists in Chinese as it does in all other languages (Smith 1990). However, the validity of such a verb/situation type in Chinese has been questioned. For instance, Tai (1984) claims that the verbs that are translation equivalents of English accomplishments in Chinese, typically resultative verb compounds (RVCs) such as *xué-hùì* ‘to learn’ or *shā-sǐ* ‘to kill’, have no duration. Smith (1990), however, points to the fact that RVCs are compatible with certain constructions indicating duration, such as those involving the verb *huā* ‘to spend’ (N *huā* x *shíjiān* V ‘X spent x time V-ing’ or V *huā-le* N x *shíjiān* ‘V-ing took N x time’). Peck et al. (2013) clarify the divergent claims regarding achievements and accomplishments through a semantic feature of scalarity, which allows for the distinction between punctual achievements on the one hand and durational accomplishments and “open scale verbs” on the other, both of which are compatible with the progressive adverb *zài*. Defending an analysis of several kinds of RVCs in terms of “first-phase syntax”, Basciano (2019) further shows that their (in-)compatibility with the progressive viewpoint is linked to the presence or absence of a result layer synonymous with telicity.

While these accounts convincingly explain the differences between the relevant verb classes in terms of compatibility with the progressive viewpoint, there remain some puzzles regarding the scope interpretation of duration complements. The ambiguity of duration complements signaled by Guo (1993) is considered by Peck et al. (2013:691) to affect only accomplishments verbs, regardless of their morphological class (monomorphemic accomplishments are exemplified in (1)).

- (1) 张三 过 大桥 过了 三十 分钟 了。
Zhāngsān guò dàqiáo guò-le sānshí fēnzhōng le
Zhangsan cross bridge cross-PFV thirty minute SFP
a. Zhangsan has been crossing the bridge for 30 minutes. (*duration of the situation itself*)
b. Zhangsan crossed the bridge thirty minutes ago. (*duration since the culminating point of the situation*)

In contrast, duration complements of RVCs expressing a result receive a single interpretation, extending from the culmination of the event to the time of utterance (see (2)).

- (2) 这 两 车 撞坏/修好 好久 了。
Zhè liàng chē zhuàng-huài/xiū-hǎo hǎojiǔ le
DEM CL car bump-bad/repair-good long_ago SFP
This car was crashed_[punctual]/repaired_[durational] long ago.

The usual explanation for this contrast is that while the interpretation in (1a) is only available with verbs/situations that have internal duration, the one in (1b) and (2) relies on the existence of a culminating point or *telos*. In this paper we will highlight the role of the morphological structure of verbs in terms of the accessibility of durativity and telicity properties of two different classes of accomplishment.

More precisely, we will focus on monomorphemic verbs in situations that exhibit a duration ambiguity like the one described in (1). Similarly to monomorphemic change-of-state verbs that exhibit the aspectual properties of accomplishments (as in (1) above), incremental-theme activity verbs with a quantized object NP also exhibit telicity (Lin 2008, Peck et al. 2013), hence the ambiguity in the interpretation of the durative complement. However, ambiguity in sentences like (3) is unexpected, since verbs with bare object NPs are usually considered as activities.

- (3) 苏珊 修 车 修了 很 长 时间 了。
 Sūshān xiū chē xiū-le hěn cháng shíjiān le
 Susan repair car repair- PFV very long time SFP
 a. Susan has been repairing cars/the car/her car for a long time.
 b. It's been a long time since Susan repaired the car/her car.

Sentences like (3) show that a durational telic interpretation is available also with bare object nouns, in which case the duration complement can apply to the durational event itself, as in (3b). But duration can also be interpreted as extending from the culmination of the event to the time of utterance, in which case these telic situations behave as punctual achievements, as in (3a). This behavior points to (i) the relevance of two combined factors, namely the incremental feature, and the morphological structure; it also suggests that (ii) a single “accomplishment” class fails to capture the fine-grained durational differences between verb types in Modern Standard Chinese.

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A change of OC *p(h)- to MC xw

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This presentation will introduce examples of word-family contacts between p(h)- and xw- words in Middle Chinese. Probable cognate forms in Tibeto-Burman and Austronesian languages argue that the fricatives evolved out of the stops. The facts will be interpreted as evidence of a change from OC *p(h) to MC xw-. The context of the change will be discussed.

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The use of referring expressions in Mandarin-speaking children: Referential function and character primacy

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People of all ages represent life experiences through storytelling. As an integral part in storytelling, a speaker's appropriate use of referring expressions helps listeners to track characters as a story unfolds. A speaker's use of referring expressions would vary with whether a referent is introduced in narrative discourse for the first time or again, and whether it has been recently out of attention focus (Bamberg, 1987). For instance, indefinite noun phrases (NPs) are frequently used for a new referent, whereas zero anaphora and pronouns are preferred for continued reference to the given referent. The existing literature suggests that the appropriate use of referring expressions may develop over a long period of time. The above-mentioned form-function mappings are expected to be found in narratives of older school-aged children and adults, whereas young children may not necessarily follow such patterns. Additionally, the relative prominence of story characters may also influence children's referential choice (Colozzo & Whitely, 2015; Karmiloff-Smith, 1985).

Unlike languages such as English, German, and French that mark new and given information by means of indefinite and definite articles, respectively, Mandarin Chinese has no fully grammaticalized definite article, the new-given distinction is usually marked by NP types, through a combination of nouns with demonstratives, numerals, or classifiers (Chen, 2004). It is thus informative to investigate how function constraints and character primacy would influence Chinese children's referential choice.

Thirty Mandarin-speaking 5-year-olds, thirty 9-year-olds, and thirty adults were recruited. Narratives were elicited based on *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer, 1969). References to the boy (primary character) and the dog (secondary character) were coded separately. Three major categories of linguistic forms were coded: nominals, pronominals, and null form; three nominals subtypes were differentiated: bare nouns, indefinite NPs, and definite NPs. Referential functions included referent introduction, maintenance, and reintroduction.

The data demonstrated that, for both characters, all participants predominantly employed nominals for introduction and reintroduction, and null form for maintenance. The interplay of referential function and character primacy manifested in the use of nominal subtypes: when introducing the boy, all groups used indefinite NPs; when introducing the dog, 5-year-olds preferred bare nouns, while 9-year-olds chose either definite or indefinite NPs. For subsequent mentions of both characters, bare nouns were used most frequently across groups. Nevertheless, adults showed clear preference for definite over indefinite NPs; 9-year-olds were less successful than adults in this regard; 5-year-olds preferentially used bare nouns for the dog across functions. The results revealed that 5-year-olds and 9-year-olds were still developing the ability to distinguish nominal subtypes. The findings are discussed in relation to language-specific features of Mandarin Chinese. Overall, this study advances our understanding of referential abilities of Mandarin-speaking children.

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Conférence plénière / Keynote speech: Different kinds of post-classifier NP-ellipsis in Cantonese

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Ellipsis is a pervasive phenomenon in Chinese both in the nominal and verbal domain, where some constituents are invisible and yet meaningful (Li and Wei 2014). Within the nominal domain, in addition to whole argument ellipsis, it has been shown that classifiers in Chinese can also license NP-ellipsis (NPE), arguably due to their partitive feature (Cheng & Sybesma 2009, Alexiadou & Gengel 2012). In this talk, I present data to show that (i) there are at least two types of post-classifier NPE in Cantonese, and (ii) cases where post-classifier NP-ellipsis is not possible.

Type 1:

- (1) keoi5 m4 jiu3 nei1 tiu4 jyu2. keoi5 jiu3 go2 tiu4 ____.
 3SG NEG want this CL fish. 3SG want that CL
 ‘S/he does not want this fish. S/he wants that one.’

The gap in (1) has to be interpreted as the same kind of objects as the antecedent (i.e., fish), not just any object that is compatible with the classifier *tiu4* (e.g., rope). It is possible to realize the missing NP, *jyu2* ‘fish’, in (1) overtly, without any meaning differences. This could be analysed as a case of PF deletion due to identity.

Type 2:

- (2) Mary tiu4 kwan4 jau5 doi2 gaa3. ngo5 dou1 soeng2 maai5 tiu4 ____.
 Mary CL dress have pocket SFP. 1SG also want buy CL
 ‘Mary’s dress has pockets. I also want to buy one (of those).’

The interpretation of (2) is such that the speaker wants to buy a dress that is of the same kind as Mary’s dress, i.e., with pockets. There is no nominal syntactic antecedent. If the gap is filled with the NP *kwan4* ‘dress’, the interpretation will be different. It would mean that the speaker simply wants to buy a dress of any kind. The gap in (2) is interpreted as anaphoric to a contextually constructed plural discourse topic (i.e., dresses with pockets) (López 2009, Cornilescu & Nicolae 2010). The whole nominal (the gap + the stranded classifier) has a partitive reading.

Post-classifier NPE in Cantonese is not possible with definite [Cl-N] phrases (in the absence of a demonstrative) and [Modifier-Cl-N] phrases (always definite, Sio 2006). To support this claim, I present data from Longdu, a Northeastern Min variety spoken in Guangdong China (Bodman 1982), where definiteness of one specific classifier is marked overtly (Sio 2024). The Longdu data suggest that a definite classifier cannot license NPE. Post-classifier NPE is also not possible in predicative nominals.

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On Grammatical Numbers in Tuha Haoni

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The presentation investigates the syntax and semantics of grammatical numbers in Haoni, a dialect of the Hani language spoken in Tuha, a village in Yunnan Province, China. Haoni is classified within the Southern Ngwi languages of the Tibeto-Burman branch. This study, conducted as part of the author's master dissertation, is based on data collected during fieldwork in August 2022 and July 2023. The syntactic analysis relies principally on the functional linguistics framework developed by André Martinet (Martinet, 1985; Costaouec & Guérin, 2007), wherein morphemes within the same category are mutually exclusive and share the same syntactic behavior. This perspective is supplemented by a typological perspective by examining the semantic and discourse meanings of morphemes.

This presentation aims to provide an initial description of two number morphemes: $t^h\text{p}^{31}$ "singular" and lu^{33} "plural". Although it may seem surprising, as most Ngwi languages do not present a singular morpheme, synchronic analysis shows that it is plausible in Haoni. We observe that the semantics of nouns are crucial as they determine the distribution of grammatical numbers; singular can only modify human nouns, while plural can extend to some animals raised by villagers. This trend generally corresponds to the referential hierarchy proposed by typologists (Croft, 2003; Haspelmath, 2013). We also compare this hierarchy with other sister languages such as Hani (Li, 1986; Li, 2001) and Woni (Yang, 2016). Regarding discourse meaning, we focus on definiteness and quantification for singular and plural, briefly comparing them with numeral classifiers.

Keywords: Haoni dialect, number marking, referential hierarchy, linguistic typology, Southern Ngwi languages.

Examples:

- (1) $\text{p}^{31}\text{jp}^{31}$ $t^h\text{p}^{31}$ $li^{31}ni^{55}$ lu^{33} jo^{55} ʃw^{31} $ni^{55}k\text{p}^{33}=l\text{p}^{55}$
 grandmother SG grandson PL PAT take play=COME&DO
 "A grandmother takes grandsons playing."
- (2) $*a^{55}pi^{33}$ $a^{55}ji^{33}$ $t^h\text{p}^{31}$ mu^{55} $k^h e^{33}$
 child flower SG PAT want
 Agrammatical sentence
- (3) $a^{31}xa^{33}$ lu^{33} $\eta\text{p}^{33}lu^{33}$ jo^{55} $le^{31}=l\text{p}^{55}$
 chicken PL 1PL PAT chase=COME&DO
 "Chicken chase us."
- (4) $*x\text{p}^{33}t\text{p}^{33}$ lu^{33} $\eta\text{p}^{33}lu^{33}$ jo^{55} $le^{31}l\text{p}^{55}$
 tiger PL 1PL PAT chase=COME&DO
 Agrammatical sentence

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The pa^{53} sentences in Chóngyáng dialect of Gan language

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Chóngyáng 崇阳 is a county in the southeastern part of Húběi Province, China. In *Language Atlas of China* (2012), the Chóngyáng dialect is classified into the *Gan* Language. In Chóngyáng dialect, the usage of pa^{53} is similar to Mandarin, often employed in dispositional sentences. Additionally, when used as a verb, pa^{53} carries the meaning of giving, it can form a ditransitive construction.

- (1) 伊 把了 支 笔 得 我。
 i^{53} pa^{53} - τ tsi^{22} pi^{45} $tə$ ηo^{53}
 3SG give-PFV CL pen DAT 1SG
 ‘S/he give a pen to me.’

This is the most common giving structure in this dialect. Zhang Min (2011) believes that dialects that only use this structure to express a ditransitive construction do not have a true “give” verb. It can combine with $tə$ to form $pa^{53}tə$, which means ‘GIVE’, but with a different syntactic order.

- (2) 笔 把得 我。
 pi^{45} pa^{53} - $tə$ ηo^{53}
 pen give-DAT 1SG
 ‘Give me the pen.’

The compound structure $pa^{53}tə$ can only be followed by an animate noun or pronoun. Compared to neighboring dialects, $tə$ in the compound word $pa^{53}tə$ cannot be omitted, it functions as a marker for introducing personal reference. Moreover, $pa^{53}tə$ serves as a compound passive marker in passive construction. This usage introduces an ambiguity.

- (3) 草 把得 牛 吃了。
 $dzau^{53}$ $pa^{53}tə$ $\eta iəu^{21}$ $dziə^{45}$ - τ
 grass PASS/give-DAT cattle eat-PFV
 ‘The grass was eaten by the cattle.’ or ‘The grass was given to the cattle to eat.’

The meaning of a sentence should be judged based on the pragmatic level, such as distinguishing it by the stress. In addition to the causative markers $tciə^{213}$ and $\eta iə\eta^{44}$, pa^{53} is also a causative marker, as shown in (4).

- (4) 雨 把 衣 打湿了。
 vi^{53} pa^{53} i^{22} ta^{53} $sə^{45}$ - τ
 rain CAUS clothes wet-PFV
 ‘The rain wet the clothes.’

The same marks can reflect the grammaticalization process that pa^{53} undergoes, evolving from a giving verb to a causative marker, and then to a passive marker. The other causative mark is tci^{53} , somewhat resembling tci^{53} in some dialects, representing the accumulation of different historical layers in the dialect.

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Misjudgments of Cognates Among Chinese Dialects: the Case of “Sifter (篩)”

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Introduction

The “sifter” is recorded in the Min dialect as “筛” and in other Chinese dialects (such as Mandarin and Wu) as “篩”. It is generally believed that these two characters, representing the word “sifter”, originate from different sources in the proto language.

However, this study, applying the comparative method across dialectal cognate sets in terms of phonological forms, discovers that the “sifter” in Min and Wu dialects are actually cognates, whereas the “sifter” in dialects other than Wu and Min are cognates of each other. Two main factors contribute to this misjudgment.

Firstly, the recording of characters can interfere with scholars’ recognition of cognates, as seen in ancient Chinese rime books and some early dialectological investigations, where the concept of “cognates” was not considered during documentation. This necessitates caution in acknowledging the discrepancy between character records and cognates when applying the comparative method.

Secondly, phonological forms can disrupt the determination of cognates. Fellner & Nathan (2019) highlight two common errors in identifying cognates: (1) Some word looks related but are not. (2) Some words distant in form but descend from the same root. Believing that the “sifter” in Wu and other dialects, excluding Min, are cognates refers to error (1), whereas assuming that the word for “sifter” in Wu and Min are not cognates refers to error (2).

Error (1) Looks Related But Not

Although all the initial of “sifter” in Wu and other dialects (excluding Min) are /s(ʃ)-/, it should be clarified that the phrase “look related” does not only imply that their IPA transcriptions are remarkably similar. Instead, it also refers to their rhymes being identified as originating from the 支 rime of *Qièyùn* 切韻, in contrast to the Min dialect’s “sifter” which is derived from the 脂 rime. Each monosyllabic Chinese word has its unique ‘hexagraph’, akin to a string of codes, documenting its initial, final, medial, and tone as recorded in the *Qièyùn* 切韻. The 支 and 脂 rimes records of different finals in the Middle Chinese. Due to the existence of two layers in Wu dialect, in one layer, the 支 and 脂 rimes are fused, but in another, older layer, the two rhymes remain distinct. (Examples of the distinction between 支 and 脂 rime in Wu dialect are shown in table 1). So this study points out that the Wu dialect’s “sifter” originated from the 脂 rime, thus indicating that the “sifter” in Wu and the “sifter” in other dialects (excluding Min), which is originated from the 支 rime are not cognates.

Table 1. The distinction between 支 and 脂 rime in Wu dialect

	MC	Wenzhou	Jiangshan	Wencheng	Yongkang	Qingyuan
‘sifter’		sɿ1	sɿ1	sɿ1	sɿ1	sɿ1
‘teacher’	脂 rime	sɿ1	sɿ1	sɿ1	sɿ1	sɿ1
‘paper’	支 rime	tsei3	tɕie3	tɕi3	tɕi3	tɕie3

Error (2) Distant in Form But Descend From The Same Root

In Min dialect, the initial for “sifter” is typically /t^h-/, while in Wu dialect, it generally starts with /s-/. Despite the significant phonetic differences between these initials, there is, in fact, a neat

correspondence between the Dental Plosive in Min and the Dental Fricative in Wu dialect. Coupled with the final correspondence of “sifter” in Wu and Min which mentioned in the previous paragraph, it's reasonable to conclude that, although they are distant in form, they descend from the same root.

The examples of initials correspondence are shown in Table 2, where Songjiang, Xianju, and Jinhua represent the Wu dialects, whereas Shibe, Zherong, and Zhangzhou are the Min dialects.

Table 2. The initial correspondence between Wu and Min

	Songjiang	Xianju	Jinhua	Shibe	Zherong	Zhangzhou
'sifter'	sɿ1	sɿ1	sɿ1	t ^h i1	t ^h ai1	t ^h ai1
'spoiled'	sw1	sɿu1	siu1	t ^h iu1	t ^h eu1	t ^h iau1
'matter'	zɿ6	zɿ6	zɿ6	ti6	tai6	tai6
'kill'	zɿ6	dzɿ6	dzɿ6	t ^h i7	t ^h ai2	t ^h ai2

Reference:

Fellner, Hannes & Nathan W. Hill. 2019. Word families, allofams, and the comparative method. *Cahiers de linguistique – Asie Orientale* 48(2).91–124.

Strategies of lexical productivity in the visual modality – a comparison of the Chinese writing system and German sign language

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In 1992, Yau Shun-chiu already asked for “visual linguistics”, i.e. for a linguistics of the visual modality, integrating writing systems and sign languages, and analyzing parallel iconic principles at work. A decade later, Egyptologists and German linguists cooperated for typological studies of iconic principles and “sign formation” in the visual modality, exemplified by German sign language and Egyptian hieroglyphs. Kutscher (2010) and Lincke & Kutscher (2012: 133-135) showed the parallels concerning the type of “oral language indicator”.

This type of sign formation or character formation integrate an iconic sign or graphic constituent with iconic origin with a constituent indicating the phonetic property of a corresponding/intended word from the oral contact language, here Spoken German or Spoken Ancient Egyptian.

This paper analyzes and compares the parallels in the productive use of iconic signs or graphemes combined with “oral language indicators” in the Chinese writing system and German sign language.

In the Chinese writing system(s), so-called “picto-phonetic” or “phono-semantic” compounds, i.e., characters consisting of one graphic constituent hinting at the meaning of the word written with the character, and a second one referring to its pronunciation, form the majority of characters. These graphic constituents are read simultaneously in no fixed sequence. This character type appears to be typological even more similar to words in German sign language.

German sign language (DGS) (as well as signed German) makes ample and obligatory use of “mouthings” to form lexical items: The majority of “full” words (corresponding to nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) in DGS are formed as simultaneous combinations of manual or corporeal signs and a “mouthing”. The “mouthing” is a movement of the lips usually reflecting the movements of the vocal tract for the intended corresponding (root) word in oral German.

In both modes, writing and signing, we find iconic signs acquiring categorizing functions as constituents in compound lexical items consisting of a “phonetic” and an “iconic”/“semantic” part.

This paper will compare the structural features of these characters and sign-types, as well as the semantic domains themselves that are formed by this productive strategy, hoping to further contribute to the typology of linguistic systems in the visual modality.

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The Illocutionary Force Precipitation and Functions Emergence of the Refuting Construction “Day to Night (一天到晚)”

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The common idiomatic quasi-entity construction in Chinese, “day to night (一天到晚)”, not only serves as a time adverb, but also contains a strong tendency towards refutation and evaluation. Through exploring the distribution of language power, grammatical features, overall structural evolution, and pragmatic function emergence of “day to night”, it was found that negative evaluation is the most prominent type of language power, while positive and neutral evaluation are in a disadvantaged position in language power distribution. Secondly, the phrase “day to night” that is difficult to refute is distributed flexibly and has various forms in spoken Chinese, with strong positional sensitivity; By using four methods: isolation, assistance, repetition, and sentence structure, different gradients of language proficiency levels are presented. In addition, “day to night” has undergone a diachronic evolution from time adverbs to refuting difficult constructions, and has completed the overall construction precipitation through multi-dimensional interactive evolution such as synchronicity diachrony, form meaning, grammar pragmatics, etc. What needs to be emphasized is that, first, it is important to emphasize that in spoken Chinese interactions, the speaker’s motivational intent triggers the shift towards persistent refutation using the expression “day to night”, “day to night” leading to varying interpretations of this phrase in different contexts. Second, the standardization of form and meaning has resulted in the solidification of the representation of refutation within the “day to night” framework. Third, the use of exaggeration as a rhetorical device is also a significant factor contributing to the inclination towards persistent refutation using “day to night”. Finally, the rebuttal construction “day to night” can undertake the pragmatic functions of subjective maxima, exaggerated negation, and escalating the alarm.

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The semantic interpretation of Chinese morphological causative constructions within various syntactic structures

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From a typological perspective, Dixon (2000) mentions that causative construction exhibits syntactic diversity. This is verified by the Chinese morphological causative construction, the sentence where the derived verb appears. As a conventional symbolic form-meaning entity (Goldberg, 1995), the semantic interpretation of the morphological causative construction is influenced by its syntactic structure (Zhang & Song, 2007). This article mainly focuses on cases related to the Chinese suffix -化 [huà]. By a qualitative study of morphological causative constructions, we explore the meanings of the constructions in question within various syntactic structures. These constructions include neologisms of derived verbs that appeared and spread after the year 2000 in media discourse.

To study the Chinese morphological causative constructions with different meanings, we semi-automatically construct a corpus. More precisely, the metadata for this research comes partly from traditional media: *People's Daily*⁴ and *Southern Daily*⁵; and partly from social media: *Sina Weibo*⁶. After semi-automatically removing concordances containing incorrect verbal forms, non-suffixed forms, suffixed but non-pertinent forms, hapax, and terms that appeared before the year 2000, we select 700 derived verbal neologisms and 9278 corresponding concordances.

By investigating the semantic roles of subjects in constructions, we identify the semantic interpretations of morphological causative constructions within various syntactic structures. According to the various semantic roles of the subject, we classify the causative morphological constructions into the following sub-constructions:

i. When the syntactic structure of the morphological causative construction is transitive, the subject of the construction plays the role of a causer (see example (1)).

ii. When the syntactic structure of the morphological causative construction is intransitive, the subject of the construction plays two different semantic roles:

ii-1: causee (see example (2)).

ii-2: causer and causee (see example (3)). The construction in question denotes an auto-causative. The meaning of the auto-causative morphological construction is not changed by adding the marker “自己 ([zì jǐ], 'itself')” (see example (3)).

(1) 泰国 政府 将 孔剧 [影视化] (Quotidien du Peuple, 30/05/2014)
 tàiguó zhèngfǔ jiāng kǒngjù [yǐngshìhuà]
 Thai government. SUJ POM Khon. OBJ Transform into TV series, films
 'The Thai government turns the Khons into television series, films, etc.'

(2) 金融 危机 后, 贸易 订单 开始 [小单化] (SinaWeibo, 30/08/2016)
 jīnróng wēijī hòu, mào yì dìngdān kāishǐ xiǎodānhuà
 finance crisis after commerce order. SUJ begin transform into small orders
 'After the financial crisis, commercial orders begin to be small.'

⁴ <http://www.people.com.cn>

⁵ <https://www.southcn.com>

⁶ <https://m.weibo.cn>

- (3) 文化 场馆 也 在 创新 办 馆 模式 [...]

wénhuà chǎngguǎn yě zài chuàngxīn bàn guǎn móshì [...]

culture center. SUJ also PROG renew arrange center model [...]

逐步 网红化 (自己) (Quotidien du Sud, 19/05/2021)

zhúbù wǎnghónghuà (zìjǐ)

gradually transform into internet celebrity (itself)

'Cultural centers are also innovating in the way they manage their museums, gradually transforming themselves into Internet celebrities.'

Based on the study of our corpus, this research identifies three meanings of the causative morphological construction within different syntactic structures, which can deepen further research into the polysemy of this Chinese conventional symbolic form-meaning entity.

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