XXXèmes Journées de Linguistique d'Asie Orientale
30th Paris Meeting on East Asian Linguistics

29 juin – 1er Juillet 2017 / June 29th – July 1st 2017

INALCO – 65 rue des Grands Moulins – 75013 Paris, France

LIVRET DES RÉSUMÉS

BOOKLET OF ABSTRACTS

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L'ECOLE DES HAUTES ETUDES EN SCIENCES SOCIALES

inalco Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales

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PROGRAMME / PROGRAM

Jeudi 29 juin / Thursday June 29th

	Salle / room : **Amphi 2**
09h15-09h30	Accueil et présentation / Opening address

Président / chair	Alain Peyraube
09h30-10h15	**Conférence plénière / keynote speaker** Alain ROUVERET (Université Paris Diderot & LLF) *Chinese Objects:* *Typology vs. Formal grammar*

10h15-10h45	Pause / coffee break (salle / room **passerelle**)

	Session A : salle / room **3.03**	Session B : salle / room **3.11**
Président / chair	Redouane Djamouri	Raoul Blin
10h45-11h15	Hilary CHAPPELL & Alain PEYRAUBE (EHESS, CRLAO) *Les comparatifs d'égalité dans les langues sinitiques : perspectives diachronique et typologique*	Stéphane COURALET (Université Bordeaux Montaigne & CLLE-ERSSàB) & Hyunjung SON (Université de Yonsei/Séoul) *Succession immédiate en Coréen contemporain - les connecteurs temporels jamaja, -ja et - neun daero*
11h15-11h45	Christine LAMARRE & SONG Na (INALCO, CRLAO) *"Coming back home from school" in Mandarin: a preliminary investigation*	Younès M'GHARI (EHESS, CRLAO) *La purification du lexique au sein de la langue nationale en République PopulaireDémocratique de Corée : les mots sino-coréens entre endogénéité et exogénéité*
11h45-12h15	Robert ILJIC (CNRS, CRLAO) *Existence in Space and Time (A Crosslinguistic Perspective)*	

12h15-14h00	Pause déjeuner / lunch break

	Session A : salle / room **3.03**	Session B : salle / room **3.11**
Président / chair	Christine Lamarre	Thekla Wiebusch
14h00-14h30	Hideki NISHIMURA (T.T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong) *Grammaticalization of sentence final adverbs - A case study on Mandarin "hai"*	Françoise BOTTERO (CNRS, CRLAO) *XU Shen's original organizing principles*
14h30-15h00	Arnaud ARSLANGUL (INALCO, CRLAO) *Structures discursives, informationnelles et linguistiques dans la description spatiale en chinois langue étrangère*	Chrystelle MARECHAL (CNRS, CRLAO) *Comment l'épigraphie permet d'identifier l'origine géographique d'un bronze inscrit*
15h00-15h30	WANG Caixia (Université de Rouen) *Construction de la valeur sémantique de la particule modale ba(吧) en chinois mandarin*	Jiří PLUCAR (Masaryk University) *La variation graphique en écriture chinoise : définition et contenu*

15h30-15h50	Pause / coffee break (salle / room **passerelle**)

	Session A : salle / room **3.03**	Session B : salle / room **3.11**
Président / chair	Victor Pan	Odile Roth
15h50-16h20	SUN Xiaoxia (Nanjing Normal University), Roeland HANCOCK &Thomas G. BEVER (University of Arizona), *Chinese subject-relative clauses are more difficult to process than the object-relative clauses: Evidence from topicalized sentences*	Joseph THACH (INALCO, SeDyl) *Entre grammaire et lexique : daɛl, de 'reste' au 'pronom relatif'. Cas d'imbrication entre repérages temporel et aspectuel en khmer*
16h20-16h50	CAO Xiuling 曹秀玲 (Shanghai Normal University) 跨语言视角下的汉语言说类话语标记 *Spoken-language discourse markers in Contemporary Chinese - a crosslinguistic perspective*	LÜ Shanshan (EHESS, CRLAO) *From Affirmation to Continuousness: An Unusual Case of the Aspectual Construction sŋ^{55}...sŋ^{21} in Caijia*
16h50-17h20		LIU Boyang (EHESS, CRLAO) *Verbal classifiers in the Xiang dialects*

17h30-19h00	Cocktail (salle / room **passerelle**)

Vendredi 30 juin / Friday June 30th

	Session A : salle / room **3.03**	Session B : salle / room **3.11**
Président / chair	Guillaume Jacques	Irène Tamba
09h30-10h00	Elizabeth ZEITOUN (Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica) *A comparative study of locative/directional and instrumental verbs vs. prepositions in Rukai*	Yayoi NAKAMURA-DELLOYE (INALCO, CEJ) *Phénomènes d'ellipse en japonais — Vue d'ensemble et analyses structurelles*
10h00-10h30	Katia CHIRKOVA (CNRS, CRLAO) *Language Treasure Trove: A Duoxu Dictionary from the Mid-20th Century*	Raoul Blin (CNRS, CRLAO) *Représentation sémantique de dérivés avec le suffixe sino-japonaise go "langue (linguistique)"*

10h15-10h30	Pause / coffee break (salle / room **passerelle**)

Président / chair	Katia Chirkova	Huy Linh Dao
10h30-11h00	WANG Lan (Shanghai Normal University) *Copular verbs in Dêqên Tibetan* 德钦藏语的系动词	DO Thi Thu Trang (Université d'Orléans & LLL) *Étude de la concession en vietnamien à partir d'un corpus oral : le cas de la concession comme redéfinition*
11h00-11h30	Odile ROTH (INALCO, CRLAO) *Some linguistic characteristics of the Jinghpaw's ritual language*	Danh Thành DO-HURINVILLE (Université de Franche-Comté & ELLIADD) *La transcatégorialité en vietnamien*
11h30-12h00		LÊ Thi Xuyen (Paris Diderot & CLILLAC-ARP) *Comment enseigner efficacement la prononciation du vietnamien langue étrangère ?*

12h00-14h00	Pause déjeuner / lunch break

	Session A : salle / room **3.03**	Session B : salle / room **3.11**
Président / chair	Laurent Sagart	TBA
14h00-14h30	George ORLANDI (Xiamen University) *Does the Book of Odes (Shijing 詩經) contain traces of OC prefixation?*	HE Likun 和丽昆, Alexis MICHAUD, LIU Yan 刘岩 (LACITO & 中央民族大学) 纳西语的声调是平调型的吗？——从《简志》中的"省略变调"谈起 *Are Naxi tones level tones ?*
14h30-15h00	Redouane DJAMOURI & Waltraud PAUL (CNRS, CRLAO) *Clitic pronouns in an isolating language: The case of yi and yu in Archaic Chinese*	QU Jianhui 瞿建慧 (湖南省吉首大学) *The Vowel Raising Chain Shift in the Chinese dialects of Xiangxi* 湘西汉语方言的元音高化链移
15h00-15h30	Johann-Mattis LIST (Max Planck Institute) *Network Approaches to Old Chinese Reconstruction*	TAO Huan (Fudan University) 吴闽语云、匣母的读音和闽语全浊声母的清化

		The pronunciation of the initials yun 云 and xia 匣 in Wu and Min languages and the devoicing of voiced initials in Min
15h30-16h00	Pause / coffee break (salle / room **passerelle**)	

Président / chair	Hilary Chappell	Alexis Michaud
16h00-16h30	XIAO Ping 肖 萍 (Ningbo University) 贛语吴城方言的人称代词 *Personal Pronouns in the Gan Dialect of Wu Cheng*	CHEN Zhongmin (Fudan University) *On the variation of so-called voiced fricatives in the Shanghai urban dialect*
16h30-17h00	RUAN Guijun 阮桂君 (Wuhan University, CRLAO) 汉语方言"有"字句的分布类型及历史演变 *The distribution types and historical evolution of "有" sentences in Chinese dialects*	RAN Qibin 冉启斌 & GU Qian (Nankai Un. & Tianjin International Studies Un.) 从汉语方言极大声调清单看声母对声调的影响

Samedi 1er juillet / Saturday July 1st

Workshop on: Language Contact in East and Southeast Asia

	Salle / room : **Amphi 2**
09h20 – 09h30	Présentation / Workshop opening remarks (XU Dan)
Président / chair	XU Dan (INALCO/CRLAO)
09h30 – 10h15	**Conférence plénière / keynote speaker** HUANG Xing 黄行 (中国社会科学院 Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)) 语言接触与苗瑶语分类 *Language Contact and the Classification of Miao-Yao Languages*
10h15 – 10h45	WANG Shuangcheng 王双成 (Shanghai Normal University) 西宁方言方所词的语法化 --语言接触导致的语序、功能强化 *The grammaticalization of localizers in Xining dialect*
10h45 – 11h15	ZHOU Chenlei 周晨磊 (Nationality University of China, 中国少数民族语言研究院，中央民族大学) *The structure of Num+CL in Zhōutún: Issues induced by language contact*

11h15 – 11h30	Pause / coffee break (salle / room **passerelle**)

11h30 – 12h00	A Ibrahim CHEN Yuanlong 阿·伊布拉黑麦·陈元龙 (United Front Work Department of Gansu Province) 唐汪话中与东乡语有关的词 *Words in Tangwanghua relevant to Dongxiangyu (Santa)*
12h00 – 12h30	XU Dan (INALCO/CRLAO)

	Language island versus linguistic area in Northwest China

12h30- 13h30	Pause déjeuner / lunch break

13h30 – 14h00	BYUN Jiwon (Dept. of Chinese Language and Literature, Korean National Open University) *Tones found in a Korean dialect's borrowed words*
14h00 – 14h30	KAO Hsiang-Tai (EHESS/CRLAO) *Some thinking of linguistic and cultural usages from the differences of Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian languages of the Veritable records of Manchu (manju i yargiyan kooli)*
14h30 – 15h00	LIU Keyou (INALCO/CRLAO) 从借词看近代北京话中的满语影响 *Manchu influence on the Modern Beijing dialect from the perspective of loanwords*

15h00 – 15h15	Pause / Coffee break (salle / room **passerelle**)

15h15 – 15h45	WEI Lan-Hai (Ryan Wei) (INALCO/CRLAO) *A Genetics Perspective on the Initial Differentiation of the Sino-Tibetan Language Family*
15h45 – 16h15	斯钦朝克图 SIQINCHAOKETU (中国社会科学院民族学院人类学所 Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)) 汉藏语对东部裕固语的深层影响 *The profound influence of Sino-Tibetan languages on Eastern Yugur*
16h15 – 16h45	MIAO Dongxia 苗东霞 (Zhongyang Minzu Daxue - Nationality University of China) 西部裕固语的亲属称谓 *Kinship Terms of the Western Yugur Language*

Chinese Objects: linguistic typology vs. formal grammar

Alain Rouveret, UFRL Paris-Diderot, UMR 7110

The aim of this talk is to discuss the contribution made by Mandarin Chinese to both linguistic typology and formal syntax, starting from Huang's (1982) major discoveries and proposals. It is also to show that typological variation can be dealt with with some reasonable success if it is carried on at a rather high level of abstraction. The discussion centers on the Verb-Object Constraint, stating that the verb combines with its object to form a linguistic unit that cannot include the subject, and the way it is implemented in various MC transitive constructions - the verb-copying construction, the object-preposing construction and the *ba*-construction -, which display variation from the canonical VO order. These constructions display sharp syntactic, semantic and informational differences. Yet they resort to the same derivational device, moving the object or the verb-object combination to the periphery of vP. Dealing mainly with the verb-copying construction (VCC) and relying heavily on recent work by Zhao Chen (cf. Zhao Chen 2017), I show that not all complements cooccurring with the direct object in postverbal position trigger the VCC and that those that do do not enter into a uniform structure. In Zhao Chen's view, the property that the relevant structures do share is that, at some point in the derivation, they instantiate a symmetric substructure, which must be disposed of and can be by VP-fronting. In the version of this idea defended by Zhao, symmetric structures must be broken because they cannot be labeled. An alternative version is that symmetric structures must be deleted because they cannot be linearized. Both approaches follow the minimalist idea that the emphasis should be put on the properties of the interfaces and the concern for interface legibility. But no argument decisively favoring one approach over the other has been provided yet. A brief comparison of the labeling approach (a matter of semantic representation) and the linearization approach (a PF matter) is proposed. Chinese data should help to sort out the appropriate analysis.

Time permitting, I will briefly examine the *ba*-construction which also includes a symmetry substructure at some derivational point. The fact that it is necessary to invoke the search for antisymmetry to account for the properties of so different a construction confirms that typological questions can only be asked in an interesting manner at a high level of abstraction.

Les comparatifs d'égalité dans les langues sinitiques : perspectives diachronique et typologique

Hilary Chappell & Alain Peyraube
CRLAO, CNRS & EHESS, Paris, France

On discutera d'abord les récentes études et classifications sur les comparatifs d'égalité dans de nombreuses langues appartenant à des familles linguistiques différentes (cf. Haspelmath & the Leipzig Equative Constructions Team, à paraître).
Ces constructions comparatives se réalisent sous la forme de plusieurs structures syntaxiques différentes (où A et B sont les deux termes de la comparaison et Y la dimension, exprimée en général sous la forme d'un adjectif ; MC = morphème comparatif):

1, A + Prép. + B + Adverbe + Y
2, A + Verbe + B (+ Adverbe) + Y (où le verbe peut être le verbe *yǒu* 有 'avoir', ou le verbe *xiàng* 像 'ressembler', etc.)
3, A + Y + MC + B
4, A + MC + B (+ Adverbe) + Y

On présentera une brève étude des principaux types de comparatifs d'égalité dans plusieurs langues sinitiques contemporaines, en focalisant l'analyse sur les marqueurs comparatifs lorsqu'ils existent, après avoir retracé leur évolution du chinois archaïque (上古汉语, ca. 10ème – 2ème siècles avant J.-C.) au chinois moderne (近代汉语, ca. 15ème – 19ème siècles). Une attention particulière sera accordée à la période du bas-médiéval (7ème – 13ème siècles) lorsque les marqueurs comparatifs *rú* 如, *sì* 似 et *ruò* 若 (dans une moindre mesure) étaient utilisés pour exprimer aussi bien les comparatifs d'égalité que les comparatifs de supériorité, ce qui a créé des situations très particulières dans les dialectes chinois contemporains.

Référence :
Haspelmath, Martin & the Leipzig Equative Constructions Team (forthc.). Equative constructions in world-wide perspective. In Yvonne Treis & Martine Vanhove (eds.). *Similative and Equative Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Perspective*.

"Coming back home from school" in Mandarin: a preliminary investigation

Christine LAMARRE (Inalco-CRLAO, Paris) and SONG Na (Inalco-CRLAO)
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In Mandarin, serialization often involves motion verbs, for instance in the typical purposive construction [*qù* / *lái* + VP] 'go/come and VP', e.g. (1), (2'). Northern Mandarin also uses another purposive pattern where the postposed unstressed motion verbs *-qu* and *-lai* are considered as the second predicate of a serial verb construction (Lu Jianming 1985, 1989), or as a "particle of purpose" (Chao 1968:479-480), e.g. (2A). Both patterns may blend (2B).

(1) 去买菜 ***qù*** *măi cài* 'go to buy food!' (1') 买菜去 *măi cài* ***qu*** 'go to buy food!'

(2) A : 你干嘛来了。 B: 来取货来了。(TV drama《結婚十年》[6])
A : *Nǐ gàn má* ***lai*** *le?* B: ***lái*** *qǔ huò* ***lai*** *le.*
'A: 'What are you coming for?' B: 'I come to take goods [to sell them].'
(2') 我来取货。 *Wǒ* ***lái*** *qǔ huò* 'I come to take goods.'

Motion verbs in the first type of purposive pattern may be either monomorphemic deictic motion verbs as in (1)-(2), or bimorphemic motion verbs such as 回来 *huílai*, as in (3):

(3) 回来看病 *huílai kànbìng* 'come back to see a doctor'.

However, [*huílai* + VP] is the only available pattern to express purpose, [VP *huílai*] will take a totally different reading: 'to come back from doing something' where VP expresses the activity preceding the motion event 'come back', ex. 看病回来 *kàn bìng huílai* 'come back from seeing a doctor'.

(4) 刚走到大门口，碰见晓燕下学回来，她拦住道静问道："小林，又到哪儿去碰运气呀？"（《青春之歌》第一部，第八章）…
Gāng zǒudào dàménkǒu, pèngjiàn Xiǎoyàn xiàxué huílai, tā lánzhù Dàojìng…
'[she]…was just going out […] when she ran into her friend (=Xiaoyan) coming home from school.' *The song of Youth* (Yang Mo, I-8)

(5) 买东西回来，大太太叫他打扫院子,…' 老舍《骆驼祥子》
măi dōngxi huilai, dà tàitai jiào tā dăsao yuànzi…
'…The senior wife told him to sweep out the courtyard when he came back from the shopping' (Lao She, *Luòtuo Xiángzi Rickshaw* chap. 5)

Similar patterns of [VP *huílai*] found in various literary corpora include: 留洋回来 *liúyáng huílai* / 刚从美国留学回来 *liúxué huílai* 'come back from studying abroad'; 下班回来 *xià-bān huílai* 'come back home from work',散会回来 *sànhuì huílai* 'come back from the meeting', 查岗回来 *chágăng huílai* 'come back from the rounds of guard posts' etc. The object of the VP preceding 回来 is not restricted to generic nouns and incorporated objects, it may be specific too:

(6) 送学生回来，祥子以为可以吃饭了..,. (*LuòtuoXiángzi* chap. 5)
Sòng xuésheng huílai, Xiángzi yǐwéi kěyǐ chīfàn le
'Xiangzi thought he could get his own lunch after delivering the scholars but…'

In such sentences, 回来 *huílai* cannot be analyzed as a directional. In the case of a caused motion event, a directional, in a Directional Verb Compound, usually denotes the Path of motion of the patient of the main verb, as in (7), whereas in (4) and (5), and in (8), 回来 *huílai* denotes the motion of the agent of the VP which precedes:

(7) 钱花光了可以再挣回来 *Qián huāguāng le kěyi zài zhènghuilai.*
'If we spend all the money we can earn it back'
(8) 挣钱回来 *zhèngqián huilai* [When he] came back after having earned money,...

This paper first gives a preliminary description of [VP *huílai*] patterns, based on data collected from a corpus survey of written narratives, completed by everyday life sentences used in 保定 Baoding, Hebei (a nonstandard Northern Mandarin dialect, Jilu Mandarin). The issues investigated here also include:

a) its prosodic features: in this use, 回来 *huilai* is unstressed in Baoding, like the directional 回来. In Baoding, as in many Northern Mandarin dialects, a tone sandhi occurs in the syllable preceding an unstressed syllable. For instance, in 看病回来, 病 $pi\tilde{ɪ}^{51}$ changes to 病 $pi\tilde{ɪ}^{45}$. The same phenomenon is observed for path directionals, also unstressed, like 带 $tɛ^{51}$:
(9) 看病回来 $k^{h}\tilde{æ}^{51}$ $pi\tilde{ɪ}^{51-45}$ *xuelɛ* 'come back from seeing a doctor'
(10) 带回来 $tɛ^{51-45}$ *xuelɛ* 'take back'

b) its discourse features: [VP *huílai*] is used in background events, e.g. an adverbial subordinate clause or the complement clause of a perception verb ('see', 'hear').

(11) 一出门儿，正好儿碰上我妈买菜回来。
i^{45} $tʂ^{h}u^{45}mɤ^{22}$, $tʂ\tilde{ɪ}^{51}xɔ^{213}$ $p^{h}\tilde{ɪ}^{51-45}ʂã$ $wɤ^{213}$ ma^{45} $mɛ^{213}ts^{h}ɛ^{51-45}$ *xuelɛ*
'The moment that I went out, I came cross my mother coming back from buying food.'

(12) 放学回来，他把包儿一扔，就跑着玩儿去来。
$fã^{51}ɕyɛ^{22}$ *xuelɛ*, $t^{h}a^{45}$ pa^{213} $pɔ^{45}$ i^{45} $z\tilde{ɪ}^{45}$, $tɕio^{51}$ $p^{h}ɔ^{213-21}$-$tʂo$ $vaˇ^{22}$ $tɛ^{h}i$ $lɛ$
'When he came back from school, he tossed his bag and ran out to play.'

c) the predicates that may enter this pattern and combine with 回来 *huílai* tend to be activity predicates (*出去回来 *chūqù huílai* 'come back from going out').

d) Other path verbs than *huílai* are used, but all include a deictic component (*xiàlai* 'come down' etc.), most often a ventive item, but *huíqu* 'go back' is not excluded.

To conclude we discuss whether such patterns may be a case of Associated Motion (see Guillaume 2016 for a general introduction) of the DO&RETURN subtype. If we apply Guillaume's parameters (first proposed by Wilkins 1991 on Mparntwe Arrernte), we find that:
1) The moving entity is the **subject** of the activity expressed by the VP (this differs from the formally similar directional in [VP + *huilai*], see ex. (7));
2) Motion is **subsequent** to the main event;
3) The Motion back is **deictically anchored** (towards or away from the deictic center).

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EXISTENCE IN SPACE AND TIME
(A CROSSLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE)
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This paper focuses on the parallelism between spatial and temporal location in Chinese and Japanese. In Japanese, the same existential verb *aru* 'there is' is used for locating entities in space and time. Although Chinese uses two distinct markers for spatial and temporal location (the verb you 'have/there is' and the aspect suffix *-guo*), conceptualization remains the same. In both languages, existential quantification underlies the so-called 'experiential aspect' or 'indefinite past'.

Existential quantification refers to a non-empty set of occurrences, with the implication of 'at least one'. We are dealing with uniquely determined spatio-temporally anchored occurrences (Strawson 1950 :342). It is distinguished by indefiniteness (Lyons 1974 :390). Positing an entity relative to a given locator amounts to constructing a first occurrence (first mention) of something in Strawson's sense (1950 :342), and is therefore indefinite. It is also nondeterministic. The statement 'there is a book on the table' does not exclude that there are other things on the table apart from books.

In Chinese and Japanese, spatial and temporal location are illustrated by existential sentences (with the verbs *you* and *aru* respectively) and by the experiential aspect (the suffix *-guo* in Chinese and the form V-*ta koto ga aru* in Japanese). Existential quantification is applied indifferently to space and time.

CHINESE

The verb *you* 'have, there is' occurs in existential sentences. It signals the existence of the referent of the noun phrase, usually at some place. The suffix *-guo* indicates that an event happened at least once in the past.

EXISTENCE IN SPACE [NOUNS]	EXISTENCE IN TIME [EVENTS]
(1) *Zhuozi shang you shu.*	(2) *Bide qu-guo Meiguo.*
<table-on-have/exist-book>	<Peter-go-GUO-America>
'There are books on the table.'[at least one]	'Peter has been to America.'[at least once]

JAPANESE

In Japanese the verb *aru* 'there is/exist' is used in both cases.

EXISTENCE IN SPACE [NOUNS]	EXISTENCE IN TIME [EVENTS]
(3) *Teeburu no ue ni hon ga arimasu.*	(4) *Watashi wa sushi o tabeta koto ga arimasu.*
<table-NO-top-NI-book-GA-exist>	<I-WA-sushi-O-eat/past-fact-GA-exist>
'There are books on the table.' [at least one]	'I have eaten sushi before.'

If one adds *koto ga aru* 'the fact of ...' to the end of a sentence with the plain past form (indicating a past action) the meaning changes to express past experience. Sentence (4) can be glossed as : 'There exists (at least) one occurrence of may having eaten sushi.' Just like in (1) and (3) 'the table' is a locator for 'books', so in (2) and (4) 'the past' is a locator for 'events'.

In Chinese and Japanese, *you, -guo* and *aru* behave like the existential quantifier ∃. We observe four distinctive features : at least one (non-empty set), uniqueness, indefiniteness and nondeterminacy. Chinese *-guo* as well as Japanese *(ta) koto ga aru* can therefore be regarded as 'existential' aspects.

Both the experiential aspect in Chinese and the experiential form in Japanese involve a static representation of time, the latter being considered as space. Note that this implies nominalization, cf. *koto ga aru* 'the fact of ...' in Japanese.

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Grammaticalization of sentence final adverbs : A case study on Mandarin 还 "hai"

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Many researchers have studied the linguistic properties of the Chinese sentence final adverbs, such as the "dou" (都) in the sentence "大学生了都", over the last few decades (Chao, 1968; Lu, 1980; Chen, 1984; Fang & Zhang, 1996; Zhang, 2004). Yet, most of these studies focused heavily on the usage of such pragmatic sentence-final particle (SFP). The unique linguistic features of such SFPs and its grammaticalization mechanism when they are used in different locations in a sentence have not received much attention. This paper aims to fill this gap by examining this special linguistic phenomenon in modern Chinese and will call this phenomenon as "post-posing (後置)".

Xing (2006/2007) reports the grammaticalization phenomenon of modal adverb "shi"(是) in the Shaanxi Shenmu dialect. He pointed out that the mechanism takes place when it is moved from the medial position in a sentence to the final position. Xing (2006) adopted Lv (1999)'s example to explain the grammaticalised use of "shi" (是) to express affirmation. When "shi" (是) is not stressed in an utterance, it can be removed as illustrated in example (1):

(1) 我［是］问问，没有别的意思。

Example (2) below illustrates the grammaticalization of "shi"(是) (Xing, 2006; 2007):

(2) a. 吼我(是)做甚嘞？（真性问） → (2) b. 吼我做甚嘞是？ (真性问/反问)
叫我干什么呢？ 叫我干什么呀？/叫我干嘛？

In example (2)a, "shi"(是) is dispensable while in (2)b, the whole question tone has been changed from interrogative to rhetorical and the use "shi"(是) appears to be mandatory. In examples (3) and (4), "shi"(是) is added to the interrogative question so as to strengthen its "rhetoricalness". In these cases, "lə"(嘞) is dropped while "shi"(是) is placed at the end of the sentence so as to indicate one's urge to do something.

(3) 放下那么多的肉你不吃是！(Meaning: 剩那么多肉，你干嘛不吃！)
(4) 天成这么个，不把电扇打开是！ (Meaning:天热成这样，干吗不把电扇打开！)

These examples illustrate how grammaticalization of the post-posing adverbs take place in one Chinese dialect. This paper adopts the assumption that this linguistic phenomenon can be found in modern Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese. In examples (5) and (6): the "hai"(还) is used to form interrogative question and rhetorical question respectively and its function also changes from an adverb to SFP:

(5) 你 还 干 嘛 呢!
2nd SG PN ADV do what SFP
(6) 你 干 嘛 呢 还!
2nd SG PN do what SFP_1 SFP_2

In example (5), the interlocutor tries to express his/her emotions through the interrogative

mood, i.e. the speaker attempts to stop the listener's ongoing action. However, the adverb "hai"还 has been moved to the end of the sentence in example (6) to strengthen the rhetorical mood in the utterance and the speaker tries to discourage the listener from performing the expected action before it begins. These examples can also be found in Cantonese. Examples (7) and (8) below illustrate the grammaticalization of the adverb "zung6"(仲), which resembles the "hai"(还) in Mandarin:

(7) 你 仲 做 咩 啫？
2nd SG PN adverb do what SFP

(8) 你 做 咩 啫 仲？
2nd SG PN do what SFP_1 SFP_2

In short, this type of grammaticalization of the sentence final adverbs can be found across Chinese dialects. This study demonstrates that the pragmatic post-posing of the adverb is a commonality identified in the grammaticalization mechanism. We intend to gather more empirical evidence for the grammaticalization mechanism by studying the phonetic properties of the SFPs in future.

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Structures phrastiques, informationnelles et discursives dans la description spatiale statique en chinois langue étrangère

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L'objectif de cette étude expérimentale est d'analyser les interactions qui existent entre les structures phrastiques, informationnelles et discursives dans la construction d'un type de discours dit de « description spatiale statique » (Carroll *et al*. 2000, Carroll & von Stutterheim 1993, Trévisiol *et al*. 2010, Watorek 1998). Nous comparons ces interactions dans deux langues, le français et le chinois, ainsi que dans les productions de deux groupes d'apprenants francophones du chinois. Notre travail s'inscrit dans l'approche psycholinguistique du modèle de production langagière de Levelt (1989) et pose la question d'une influence possible de la structure de la langue dans laquelle s'exprime le locuteur sur l'organisation et la conceptualisation du message à transmettre dans le cas d'une tâche communicative complexe. Les questions de recherche auxquelles nous essayons de répondre sont donc : la structure de la langue dans laquelle le locuteur produit son discours a-t-elle un impact sur la sélection et la linéarisation de l'information exprimée ? Et si oui, qu'en est-il lors de la production en langue étrangère ? La procédure utilisée consiste en l'analyse d'un corpus oral recueilli à partir de la description d'une image (représentant un centre-ville constitué d'une place, de rues et de bâtiments). Les informateurs se divisent en quatre groupes de 18 locuteurs chacun : un groupe de francophones, un groupe de sinophones, un groupe d'apprenants de niveau débutant et un autre de niveau intermédiaire. Cette étude s'appuie sur le modèle d'analyse de discours de la *Quaestio* (von Stutterheim & Klein 1989) ainsi que sur des modèles permettant de décrire la notion de localisation spatiale statique entre une entité localisée (le thème) et une entité de référence (le relatum) (Klein 1986, Talmy 2000, Vandeloise 1986). Les réponses ont été étudiées selon trois niveaux d'analyse : (a) au niveau phrastique, les catégories grammaticales utilisées pour encoder la localisation spatiale (verbe, syntagme nominal, syntagme prépositionnel, adverbe, etc.) et leurs fonctions syntaxiques ; (b) au niveau informationnel, l'ordre des composantes topique et focus des énoncés de la trame ; (c) au niveau discursif, le type d'énoncés produits (trames, arrière-plan) et le mouvement référentiel, c'est-à-dire le type de liens inter-énoncés au niveau du topique (maintien exact, glissement référentiel, réintroduction).

(1)	报亭	旁边	有	三	个	女孩儿。
	bàotíng	pángbiān	yǒu	sān	ge	nǚháir
	kiosque	à.côté	avoir	trois	CL	fille
	A côté du kiosque il y a trois filles.					
	(a) SN – sujet		Vexist	SN – objet		
	(b) Topique [Relatum]			Focus [Thème]		
(2)	Sur la place		il y a	des gens.		
	(a) SP – CCL		Vexist	SN – objet		
	(b) Topique [Relatum]			Focus [Thème]		
(3) a.	广场上		有	个	雕塑。	
	guǎngchǎng=shang		yǒu	ge	diāosù	
	place=sur		avoir	CL	statue	
	Sur la place il y a une statue.					
b.	**Ø**		有	个	报亭。	
			yǒu	ge	bàotíng	
			avoir	CL	kiosque	
	(sur la place) Il y a un kiosque.					
	(c) Maintien exact					

(4) a. 广场 右边 有 一 个 **雕塑**。
guǎngchǎng yòubian yǒu yī ge **diāosù**
place droite avoir un CL **statue**
A droite de la place il y a une statue.
b. **雕塑** 旁边 有 一 个 长椅。
diāosù pángbiān yǒu yī ge chángyǐ
statue à.côté avoir un CL banc
A côté de la statue il y a un banc.
(c) Glissement référentiel

(5) a. **广场** 右边 有 个 雕塑。 (énoncé 5)
guǎngchǎng yòubian yǒu ge diāosù
place droite avoir CL statue
A droite de la place il y a une statue. (…)
b. **广场** 中间 有 个 报亭。 (énoncé 13)
guǎngchǎng zhōngjiān yǒu ge bàotíng
place milieu avoir CL kiosque
Au milieu de la place il y a un kiosque.
(c) Réintroduction

Les résultats révèlent les phénomènes suivants : (1) les deux groupes de locuteurs natifs montrent des différences significatives sur chacun des quatre points d'analyse ; (2) les apprenants de niveau débutant réalisent un traitement minimal de la tâche en raison d'un manque de moyens linguistiques (Perdue 1993) ; (3) les apprenants de niveau intermédiaire révèlent un développement significatif par rapport au niveau inférieur, ils se rapprochent du modèle de la langue cible pour ce qui est de l'expression linguistique du topique ; en revanche, ils présentent des différences importantes au niveau du maintien référentiel utilisé en topique. On peut en conclure que les moyens linguistiques les plus opératoires dans une langue ont une influence sur le choix et l'organisation des informations transmises dans le discours en L1. Les productions d'apprenants révèlent des différences importantes avec la langue cible, mais aussi une évolution manifeste entre ces deux groupes. La principale difficulté persistante au niveau intermédiaire ne se situe pas sur le plan phrastique mais sur le plan discursif avec l'organisation de l'information entre les énoncés.

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Construction de la valeur sémantique de la particule modale *ba(*吧*)* en chinois mandarin

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Résumé :

Les valeurs modales de la particule *ba* (incertitude / atténuation / interrogation) font partie des points grammaticaux importants de la linguistique du chinois mandarin. Pour autant, les travaux actuels (Xu, 2003 ; Zhou et Cen, 2008 ; Shao, 2012 ; *etc.*) ne permettent pas d'expliquer le mécanisme de la formation de ses valeurs modales.

En considérant les travaux de la grammaticalisation de *ba* (Qi, 2002), nous chercherons à montrer comment la corrélation entre la temporalité et la modalité (Gosselin, 2005), ainsi que la théorie de dialogisme (Bres, 2009, 2012) permettent de clarifier la provenance des valeurs modales de *ba*. Cela concerne en particulier les valeurs de *ba* lorsqu'il fonctionne comme complément de phase finale et qu'il est employé dans les phrases à l'impératif et à l'indicatif.

Nous adoptons les modèles SdT (Sémantique de la Temporalité en français) et TMM (Théorie Modulaire des Modalités) de Gosselin (1996, 2010). Le premier représente les relations aspecto-temporelles au moyen de structures d'intervalles. Le second explique les valeurs modales des énoncés en calculant les valeurs des différents paramètres modaux.

Nous viserons à illustrer les valeurs modales de *ba* par les relations entre la portée de la force de validation (F), le degré de l'engagement énonciatif (E) et celui de la direction d'ajustement (D). Nous décrirons la valeur en langue et les effets de sens dérivés du mot *ba* dans ce cadre, en proposant des tests linguistiques de paraphrase pour identifier leurs valeurs.

Dans ce travail, nous essaierons d'exposer l'idée que, *ba* venant du complément de phase finale *bà*, peut exprimer une visée indirecte prospective sur la phase finale ou résultante du procès. C'est cet aspect prospectif qui réduit la force de validation, noté [-F]. Quand [-F] porte sur l'engagement énonciatif, *ba* marque l'effet de sens d'incertitude et quand [-F] porte sur la direction d'ajustement, *ba* montre l'effet de sens d'atténuation. De cette valeur prospective de *ba*, qui peut intrinsèquement créer un « dialogue interne », résulte un effet de sens interrogatif.

Mots-clés : particule modale *ba*, aspect de phase, dialogisme, modalité chinoise

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Chinese subject-relative clauses are more difficult to process than the object-relative clauses: Evidence from topicalized sentences

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Abstract: This ERP study investigates subject relative clauses (SRC) processing preference with Chinese topicalized RCs as stimuli. Chinese RCs are valuable in testing the universal subject relatives preference due to its unique typological features. In the face of the remarkably regular cross-linguistic preference for SRCs, Chinese presents a puzzling irregularity. The existing sentence processing research on Chinese has led to controversial processing asymmetry in the literature. Some experimental studies (e.g., Jäger, Vasishth et al., 2013; Lin & Bever, 2006, 2011) suggest that subject-extracted RCs are easier to process. However, others (e.g., Chen, Ning, Bi & Dunlap, 2008; Hsiao & Gibson, 2003; Lin & Garnsey, 2009, 2011; Packard, Ye & Zhou, 2011; Qiao, Shen & Forster, 2012) have found the reverse, providing support for a processing preference of object-extracted RCs. The controversial results on Chinese RC processing were from experiments in various paradigms, such as self-paced reading (e.g., Chen, et al., 2008; Hsiao & Gibson, 2003), maze task (Qiao, Shen & Forster, 2012), corpus study (Pu, 2007; Wu, 2009), lesion study (Su, Lee & Chung, 2007) and ERP study (Packard et al., 2011; Yang & Perfetti, 2006; Yang, Perfetti & Liu, 2010). Instead of varied techniques, all of prior studies used subject-modifying or object-modifying RCs as stimuli. Different from European languages, Chinese language allows to be topicalized. The current ERP study is motivated to add to our understanding of Chinese RC processing concerning the following questions with topicalized RC as stimuli: (1) Is the hypothesis of universal subject preference applicable to Chinese? (2) Is subject / object preference a general phenomenon or a particular phenomenon for a specified sentence construction? (3) Which sentence processing models are more universal and feasible to account for Mandarin RC processing? (4) Is there is a garden path effect in Mandarin RCs? All in all, the results of this study add to the evidence that processing preference is not universal. It contributes to a comprehensive model of how complex structures are processed.

Keywords: relative clause; universal subject relative preference; topicalized relative clauses; event-related potentials (ERPs)

A Study of Chinese Discourse Markers Indicating Speaking from the Perspective of Cross-language

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Speech act consists of two layers of basic discourse and meta-discourse. The former refers to the discourse conveying the reference and proposition information and the later refers to the one concerning the basic discourse, namely, the discourse indicating the attitude towards proposition, contextual meaning and interpersonal meaning. The basic discourse and meta-discourse are in a state of continuum. Some of the meta-discourse elements in Chinese are self-originated and others are borrowed from other languages.

Discourse markers are the key elements of meta-discourse, and those involving speaking accounts for the vast majority of discourse markers, which is frequently used as well. Verbal and nominal types comprise the discourse markers in Chinese made up of words and phrases indicating speaking. The former includes speaking and talking. The latter consists of words and speech. Such discourse markers belongs to different layers of the language unit, which is classified by Sun Liping into word, phrase, frame construction and clause. From the aspect of construction types of such kind, the verbal discourse markers fall into predicate-complement structure (shuo bai le e.g. to put in plain language), adverbial headword structure(frankly speaking), verb-object structure(to tell the truth) and even a complete sentence(I tell you),while nominal discourse markers mainly take the form of attributive headword structure (in a word) and other complex structure(to sum up in a word).

Such discourse markers are mainly used as follows:(1) such speaking way as frankly speaking, let me tell the truth, let us be fair;(2)discourse features in the subsequent context, such as in short, in summary, in a sense;(3) the progress in marking discourse, such as in a word, how to say.

There is no doubt that the discourse markers made up of words and phrases indicating speaking originate from basic discourse usages. Facts show that not only in the content is it difficult for basic discourse and meta-discourse to find a definite criteria, but there is no a definite morphological feature in meta-discourse as well.

The paper, intended for the discourse markers indicating speaking, explores the differences and similarities between basic discourse and meta-discourse and tries to provide formal validation. In the meantime, the paper through cross-language exploration argues that such discourse markers are the most significant genres in meta-discourse, which is determined by the language characteristics of its own. The significance results from intersubjectivity of language communication, standing out in spoken language，and can be found in written language as well, which is presented by means of dialogue. Compared with Indo-European languages, the Chinese discourse markers of speaking kind have such characteristics as numerous members, various forms of grammatical structure and multi-layers of grammatical properties, all of which attribute to lack of strictly morphological change in Chinese.

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跨语言视角下的汉语言说类话语标记

话语行为包括基本话语和元话语两个层面，前者是指那些具有指称和命题信息的话语；后者是指“关于基本话语的话语”，即对命题态度、语篇意义和人际意义进行陈述的话语。基本话语和元话语之间处于连续统状态。汉语中的元话语成分有的是自源的，也有的是从其他语言借用的。

话语标记是一种重要的元话语成分，而言说类话语标记是话语标记成员中数量最多的一类，也是话语标记中使用频率较高的一种。汉语言说类词语（含语素）构成的话语标记包括言说动词性和名词性的两类。前者包括：说，讲，言，道；后者包括：话，言。由言说类词语构成的话语标记所属的语言单位层次较为丰富，孙利萍（2012）将其归纳为词、短语、框填格式、完整小句等。从言说类话语标记的结构方式看，动词性话语标记可以归结为述补结构（如“说白了”）、状中结构（如“坦率地说”）和动宾结构（如“说实话”）乃至完整的句子形式（如“我告诉你说”）；名词性话语标记主要采用定中结构（如“一句话”）和其他复杂结构（如“一言以蔽之”）。

言说类词语所构成的话语标记主要用于表达：（1）说话人的言说方式，如“坦率地讲”、“说实话”、“说良心话”；（2）其后语篇的话语性质，如“简言之”、“要言之”、“在某种意义上说”；（3）标识话语进程，如“总之一句话”、“怎么说呢”。

言说类词语构成的话语标记无疑源于其基本话语用法。语言事实表明，基本话语和元话语不但在内容上很难找到一个明确的界定标准，形式上元话语也没有一个明确的形态特征。

本文以言说类词语构成的话语标记为研究对象，考察其基本话语和元话语之间的联系与区别，并试图给出形式上的验证。与此同时，本文通过跨语言现象考察说明，言说类词语构成的话语标记是元话语当中最为显著的类，这是由语言自身的特点决定的：显著性源于语言交际的交互主观性，口语中表现得尤为突出，书面语中同样也有表现，只是往往以一种虚拟对话的形式呈现。与印欧系语言相比，汉语言说类话语标记具有成员数目繁多、语法构造形式多样、语法属性多层等特点，这是由于汉语缺乏严格意义上形态变化所致。

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Succession immédiate en coréen contemporain :

les connecteurs temporels *-jamaja*, *-ja* et *-neun daero*

Notre étude porte sur l'expression linguistique de la succession immédiate en coréen contemporain. Elle vise à définir les contraintes aspectuelles qu'exercent les connecteurs *-jamaja*, *-ja* et *-neun daero* sur les propositions couplées par la relation de succession immédiate.

Il existe en coréen plusieurs connecteurs interpropositionnels utilisés pour exprimer l'enchaînement immédiat entre deux événements couplés : *-go, -goseo, -go naseo, -aseo, -daga, -jamaja, -ja, -neun daero* etc.
Nous retenons trois connecteurs *-jamaja, -ja, -neun daero* afin de pouvoir les comparer et isoler certaines de leurs propriétés remarquables. Par exemple, en comparant les connecteurs compatibles avec le passé, *-jamaja* et *-ja*, nous constatons qu'ils sélectionnent une phase différente du procès sur lequel ils portent. Ainsi dans une construction où chaque connecteur sert à marquer la succession immédiate d'un couple d'événements identiques, *-jamaja* sélectionne la phase initiale du premier procès tandis que *-ja* sélectionne la phase finale comme suit (1) :

(1) *Minho-ga yokjo-e mul-eul chaeu{jamaja,ja} jiu-ga aidul-eul bulleossta*

Minho-S baignoire-L eau-O remplir{①jamaja, ②ja} Jiu-S enfants-O appeler-Pass

Dès que① Minho a commencé à remplir la baignoire [phase initiale], Jiu a appelé les enfants.

Dès que② Minho a fini de remplir la baignoire [phase finale], Jiu a appelé les enfants.

En mettant au point une batterie de tests sémantico-syntaxiques, nous chercherons à préciser le rôle de sélecteur d'une phase initiale ou finale dans l'un des deux procès, sélection difficilement perceptible à partir de l'intuition sémantique du locuteur coréanophone.

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La purification du lexique au sein de la langue nationale en République Populaire Démocratique de Corée : les mots sino-coréens entre endogénéité et exogénéité

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S'il est unanimement accepté que la langue coréenne n'appartient typologiquement pas à la famille des langues sino-tibétaines, les mots dits « sino-coréens » (*hancha-ŏ*) qui la composent sont en nombre relativement important. Hérités pour la plupart de plusieurs siècles au contact du chinois, un grand nombre d'entre eux ont été créés (ou réhabilités) par les lettrés japonais de l'ère Meiji (1868-1912) avant d'être empruntés à leur tour. L'appropriation des caractères chinois (ou « syllabes » en tant que morphèmes) par les Coréens eux-mêmes a aussi contribué à l'enrichissement du lexique coréen.

Un certain nombre d'études ont tenté – la plupart du temps grâce à des outils lexicographiques – de mettre au jour la représentativité des mots sino-coréens en langue sud-coréenne. Huh Woong (1983) a notamment montré que ces mots occupaient dans le *K'ûn Sachŏn* (Great Dictionary, 1957) environ 60% des entrées. D'autres études sur le lexique nord-coréen attachent davantage d'importance aux différences orthographiques qu'il entretient avec le sud-coréen (espaces, systèmes d'écriture, consonnes initiales, etc). Nous avons pensé qu'une nouvelle étude – aussi modeste soit-elle – serait la bienvenue afin d'obtenir un aperçu de l'usage des mots sino-coréens qui ont fait l'objet – au sein d'une langue qui a évolué de manière indépendante pendant plus de 70 ans – de politiques linguistiques de purification (*Maltatŭmki Untong*) au même titre que les mots dits « étrangers » (*woerae-ŏ*) empruntés notamment à l'anglais et au russe.

Cette étude revêt la forme d'une enquête quantitative et apporte – grâce à des techniques issues du traitement automatique des langues – une idée de l'usage du lexique sino-coréen à partir de textes authentiques publiés au sein de deux sites internet de presse nord-coréens. Elle n'a pas la prétention de décrire l'utilisation des mots sino-coréens dans une « pseudo-intégralité » de la langue nord-coréenne car cela voudrait dire qu'il faudrait notamment prendre en compte un échantillon (plus ou moins) représentatif de l'ensemble de la population du pays et de la multitude des situations de communication possibles. Cependant, elle peut servir de piste de réflexion pour d'éventuelles recherches plus avancées en lexicologie et en sociolinguistique nord-coréennes et apporter une première réponse à la(aux) question(s) suivante(s) : le lexique sino-coréen est-il encore aujourd'hui utilisé de manière significative en Corée du Nord (Est-il pertinent dans l'enseignement du nord-coréen langue étrangère et(ou) une base solide pour l'intercompréhension avec le sud-coréen, le japonais, le mandarin, etc.) ?

L'analyse d'un premier échantillon de 24 articles nous donnera un ordre de grandeur de la fréquence des mots sino-coréens et nous permettra de la confronter aux objectifs des politiques nationales de purification du lexique. Une liste non-exhaustive constituée sur la base de 9835 articles nous montrera également quels sont les mots sino-coréens les plus représentés ainsi que leurs natures sémantique et grammaticale.

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Xu Shen 's original organising principles

As the first systematic work on the Chinese written word, the *Shuowen* jiezi 說文解字 is extremely important for the history of Chinese linguistics, Chinese lexicography as well as the history of early dictionary making in China. If there is a great tradition of specialised studies dedicated to it, there still remain many basic important questions that are not found discussed in the literature.
In this paper I would like to discuss the original system of classification provided by Xu Shen under his "radicals". I shall demonstrate that Xu Shen 's system of classification is far from arbitrary and often establishes more or less large sets of semantic series that structure his text, which has to be read as a continuous discourse rather than as a mere serialisation of entries. In order to illustrate some of the principles of his classification I shall present the organisation in radicals from different fields such as the « speech », the « heart », the « woman », the « water », the « food » the « dog », and the « altar» radicals.

Critères en faveur de l'authenticité et de la provenance du Jiao jun Zi X fu 交君子簋

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Les bronzes chinois inscrits sont des matériaux riches d'informations à maints égards. Il va de soi que des bronzes excavés lors de fouilles archéologiques posent moins de problèmes que ceux transmis par des collectionneurs. Toutefois il serait dommage de se priver de ces derniers sous prétexte que nous ne disposons que de très brèves, voire d'aucune, informations sur les circonstances de leurs découvertes. Des auteurs comme Noel Barnard (1968) ou Cheung Kwong-yue 張光裕 (1975) ont mis en garde contre les faux en proposant divers moyens de les détecter, tandis que Sun Zhichu 孫稚雛 (1981), par exemple, a œuvré pour la mise à l'écart d'inscriptions de faussaires contenues notamment dans l'important recueil d'estampages *Sandai jijin wencun* 三代吉金文存 de Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1937). A l'appui de tels travaux et consciente des dangers que pose le traitement d'un bronze de provenance inconnue, je vais prendre le risque de me pencher sur un vase inscrit de ce type, à savoir le Jiao jun Zi X fu 交君子簋, autrefois dans la collection de Ding Shuzhen 丁樹楨 (1861-1915) et aujourd'hui dans les réserves du Musée national de Chine (國家博物館).

L'objectif de cette communication sera d'avancer des arguments en faveur de mon hypothèse selon laquelle nous serions en présence d'un bronze rituel authentique, au moins pour ce qui est du couvercle, du pays de Jiao 交 (絞) au Shandong 山東 datant de la fin des Zhou, voire du début des Printemps et automnes. Pour ce faire, j'exploiterai des critères graphiques en m'appuyant notamment sur la particularité des formes des caractères *fu* 簋 « (vase de type) *fu* » et *shou* 壽 « longévité » figurant à l'intérieur du couvercle comme du récipient du Jiao jun Zi X fu 交君子簋. Je montrerai que ces deux graphies se retrouvent sur un bronze du pays de Zhu 鑄, tandis que l'une ou l'autre figure sur des bronzes des pays de Zhu 鑄, Si 邿, Lu 魯, Qi 齊 ou encore Xue 薛. Ainsi, la mise en parallèle de toutes ces occurrences révélera qu'elles étaient l'œuvre de quelques scribes au service de commanditaires situés dans la région de l'actuelle province du Shandong. Je me pencherai ensuite sur la forme et le décor des vases *fu* 簋 inscrits découverts en contexte archéologique et comportant les occurrences si particulières des graphies *fu* 簋 et *shou* 壽. A la suite, la comparaison entre les photographies de ces vases avec celle du Jiao jun Zi X fu 交君子簋 fera apparaître des traits communs. Ainsi l'association des critères graphiques et artistiques du vase étudié concourra-t-elle à renforcer l'idée qu'il puisse s'agir d'un vase en provenance du Shandong. L'expression *zhao zuo* 肇作 « commencer - faire » dans l'inscription du Jiao jun Zi X fu constitue un détail linguistique important suggérant que ce bronze devrait être considéré comme un des vases rituels fondateurs du pays de Jiao 交. Tous les arguments précédents laissent penser que ce pays de Jiao 交 pourrait faire référence au pays de Jiao 絞 dont il est fait mention notamment dans le *Zuozhuan* 左傳, un toponyme que Tang Min 唐敏 et al. (1993 : 101) soupçonnent être situé sur le territoire de l'actuelle ville de Tengzhou 滕州 au Shandong. Si cela s'avère exact, il conviendra donc d'intégrer ces deux inscriptions dans le plus ancien recueil d'estampages des inscriptions sur bronzes du Shandong (Zeng Yigong 曾毅公 1940) comme dans le plus récent (Shandong sheng bowuguan 山東省博物館 2007).

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Journées du Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l'Asie orientale

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Résumé de communication

Titre : « La variation graphique en écriture chinoise: définition et contenu »

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La variation de la forme graphique est un phénomène très répandu en écriture chinoise. La notion de variante graphique a une place assez importante car nous rencontrons les variantes jusqu'à nos jours malgré nombreuses tentatives d'éliminer des graphies doubles, de standardiser et d'unifier l'écriture. Du point de vue diachronique ou synchronique, matériel ou chronologique, nous avons affaire à cette problématique depuis tout le début de l'évolution de l'écriture chinoise.

Nous prenons pour tâche de présenter le phénomène de variante graphique en termes de définition, tel qu'il se présente dans l'usage de l'écriture d'aujourd'hui et dans les textes scientifiques spécialisés consacrés à cette problématique. Notre contribution concerne une réévaluation du terme du point de vue théorique et pratique. Nous allons tenter d'offrir une définition complète du terme et de proposer une division qualitative de la notion en différents types représentatifs avec des exemples. Ceci est un sujet qui concerne non seulement la grammatologie mais aussi nécessite une approche pédagogique adéquate dans notre apprentissage de l'écriture chinoise. Le problème de variante graphique, posé déjà dans le dictionnaire *Shuōwén jiězì* 说文解字 des Hàn, évoque en même temps d'autres termes grammatologiques qui méritent un traitement plus approfondi comme caractère « correcte », simplifié et traditionnel, caractère de forme ancienne, graphie populaire, etc.

Entre grammaire et lexique : daɛl, de 'reste' au 'pronom relatif'
Cas d'imbrication entre repérages temporel et aspectuel en khmer

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À travers l'étude détaillée de la diversité des emplois et des valeurs de *daɛl*, nous nous interrogeons sur les intrications entre les notions de temps, d'aspect et de certaines traces du dire du 'passé' telles qu'elles se trouvent manifestées dans la langue et remodelées par celle-ci.

Dans ses emplois verbaux, *daɛl* occupent toujours la première position d'une série de verbes. Dans ce cas, est associé à des valeurs sémantiques très proches de *thloap* « avoir habitude de, avoir expérience de » ((1a-b)), en particulier dans les énoncés de négation ((2a-b)) où ils sont rendus par « jamais [eu l'expérience de + verbe] ».

Les dictionnaires et grammaires[1] du khmer définissent *thloap* comme un verbe auxiliaire marquant l'habitude ou l'expérience par le passé de quelque chose. Si *thloap* n'a d'autres emplois syntaxiques que celui du premier verbe d'une série de verbes, *daɛl*, quant à lui, a une variété d'emplois plus grande : verbe ((1b)-(2b)), 'pronom relatif, anaphorique' ((3a)), 'nom' « les restes, ce qui est en seconde main » ((4)). Signalons que ces catégorisations en elles-mêmes sont déjà problématiques.

Les deux unités ont chacune un dérivé par infixation : *tumloap* « habituer quelqu'un/quelque chose à, s'habituer à, habitude, us, coutume, tradition, pratiques d'usages ou habituelle » et *damnaɛl* « héritage, patrimoine, vestige ». Il convient de remarquer que le dérivé de *thloap* est associé aussi bien à des emplois verbaux que nominaux, tandis que celui de est uniquement associé à des emplois nominaux.

La démarche adoptée dans ce travail consiste à renoncer, en premier lieu, à décrire et son dérivé en termes de *temps* et/ou *d'aspect,* mais à étudier de façon fine la diversité de leurs emplois et valeurs afin de comprendre les modes de construction des valeurs temporelles et/ou aspectuelles qui leur sont associées. Nous posons l'hypothèse que le fonctionnement de relève avant tout des problématiques liées aux différents modes de construction d'occurrences et de détermination notionnelle. Les valeurs temporelles et/ou aspectuelles ne sont, quant à elles, que des valeurs construites dans et par le discours.

(1a)
kʰɲɔm **thloap** tiw prɑːteːh pɔːlɔːɲ mᵊdɑːŋ
1SG. **thloap** aller pays Pologne une fois
« Je suis (déjà) allé une fois en Pologne ? ». 'Aller en Pologne' n'est pas quelque chose d'inconnu / de nouveau pour moi. C'est quelque chose que j'ai déjà fait.

(1b)
kʰɲɔm **daɛl** tiw prɑːteːh pɔːlɔːɲ mᵊdɑːŋ
1SG. **daɛl** aller pays Pologne une fois
« Je suis (déjà) allé une fois en Pologne ? ». 'Aller en Pologne' fait partie de mon expérience, de mes qualités en tant qu'individu.

[1] Rondineau, R. (2007)
Haiman, J. (2011)
Khin, S. (1999)

(2a)

koat	mɨn	**thloap**	cɔ:l	prɑ:cʊm	te:
1SG.	NEG.	**thloap**	entrer	réunion	PART.

« Il n'a jamais participé à une réunion ? ». Il n'a pas eu l'occasion de le faire, il n'a jamais fait partie d'aucune instance. Donc, c'est quelque chose de nouveau pour lui.

(2b)

koat	mɨn	**daɛl**	cɔ:l	prɑ:cʊm	te:
3SG.	NEG.	**daɛl**	entrer	réunion	PART.

« Il n'a jamais participé à une réunion ? ». Il fait pourtant partie du conseil ! Il n'est pas sérieux.

(3a) Une mère s'étonne de voir que son fils ne lit pas le livre que son père vient de lui acheter, mais lit autre chose.

siəwphɨw	**daɛl**	pa:	tɨŋ	ʔaɔy	tɨw	na:	bat	haəy
livre	**daɛl**	papa	acheter	donner	aller	INDEF.	disparaître	déjà

« Le livre **que** papa t'a acheté, où est-ce qu'il est passé ? ».

(3b) Une mère cherche le livre que le père vient d'acheter à son enfant, elle demande à ce dernier.

siəwphɨw	**Ø**	pa:	tɨŋ	ʔaɔy	tɨw	na:	bat	haəy
livre	**Ø**	papa	acheter	donner	aller	INDEF.	disparaître	déjà

« Le livre que papa t'a acheté, où est-ce qu'il est passé ? ».

(4)

si:	ba:y	**daɛl**	kɛ:
manger	riz	**daɛl**	gens

« manger les restes d'un repas (ce qui reste des autres) ».

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From Affirmation to Continuousness: The Unusual Case of the Aspectual Construction *sɿ^{55}...sɿ^{21}* in Caijia

Lü Shanshan EHESS-CRLAO

Caijia is an isolating, under-described, and non-classified language of SVO spoken by less than 1,000 (Language Team of Bureau of Ethnic Identification of Guizhou Province 1982) people in northwestern Guizhou Province of China possessing many quasi-Sinitic grammatical features.

This paper aims to present, in a typological perspective, a unique grammatical phenomenon that the construction *sɿ^{55}...sɿ^{21}* serves to mark the continuous aspect in this language, and demonstrate how this construction can develop into an aspectual marker.

One of the areal grammatical features in Southeast Asia is that verbs 'to dwell/be at' regularly grammaticalize into progressive aspect markers (Matisoff 1991), a feature already attested in many Sinitic and non-Sinitic languages in China. The neighboring languages of Caijia demonstrate the same feature, i.e. locative serving as progressive marker, such as Yi of Lolo-Burmese (Zhai 2011), Miao of Hmong-Mien (Wang 1985, Shi 2003), and Southwestern Mandarin of Sinitic. Wu (2010) has further refined the grammaticalization pathway of the verb 'to dwell' among Southeast Asian languages—V_{DWELL} > V_{EXIST} > ($Prep_{LOC}$) > PROGRESSIVE.

The verb 'to dwell' in Caijia underwent a similar process, but it has not gone that far along this grammaticalization pathway, stopping at the *locative preposition* stage. Instead, Caijia developed another special construction *sɿ^{55}...sɿ^{21}*, in which the first *sɿ^{55}* serves as a copula and the second *sɿ^{21}* as a nominalizer, to mark the continuous aspect including non-progressive/stative and progressive (Comrie 1976). This circum-construction is astride the V or VP that should be marked. For example,

(1) a. ʈɪŋ^{55}ʈɪŋ^{55}**sɿ^{55}** VP[tɯ^{21} lɔ^{24}-kʰa^{55}] **sɿ^{21}**? 'Where is the cup?'
cup STAT be at Q-place STAT

b. je^{55} **sɿ^{55}** VP[po^{21}sɿ^{55}] **sɿ^{21}.** 'He is swimming.'
3S PROG swim PROG

This construction also shows multi-functionality. Apart from marking the continuous aspect, it also has an emphatic or affirmative function. For example,

(2) je^{55} mia^{21} nɛ^{55} **sɿ^{55}** mia^{21} **se^{21}[sɿ^{21}+e]**, tɯ^{21}sɿ^{21} ŋo^{55} pɣ^{21} taŋ^{24} tɕʰi^{55}kʰa^{55}.
3S beautiful TOP AFF beautiful [AFF+PRT] but 1S NEG that like
'She is certainly beautiful, but I am not that into her.'

My proposal is that the aspect-marking function develops out of the affirmative function, to be exact the function of affirming states, with the non-progressive marking as an accelerator for the progressive marking. In other words, this construction first grammaticalized into a stative marker, then was generalized to the progressive aspect marker. The proposed pathway of grammaticalization for the construction *sɿ^{55}...sɿ^{21}* is: AFFIRMATIVE > NON-PROGRESSIVE/STATIVE > PROGRESSIVE. Apparently, such a construction type to mark the continuous aspect has not yet been attested or reported in other languages in China so far. Furthermore, the affirmative is a rare source for progressive aspect markers in cross-linguistic perspective.

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VERBAL CLASSIFIERS IN THE XIANG DIALECTS OF CHINA

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Abstract:

Verbal classifiers (VCLs) have been much less studied in linguistic typology than the better-known category of numeral classifiers, and even less so in the case of the non-Mandarin branches of Sinitic such as Xiang, the topic of this paper. In the first part of this presentation, we define the term of verbal classifiers in Sinitic languages from the aspects of morphological locus, semantics, function and distribution. Next we briefly describe and exemplify ten types of verbal classifiers in Xiang dialects and assign them to four major semantic profiles. These are vector, aktionsart, valency and manner. For example, many manner VCLs have their source in body part nouns or instrumental nouns:

(1) 口

(Changsha dialect 长沙方言)

我伢子捞／听／把得狗牙哒一口

ŋo^{41}	ŋa^{13}tsɪ	lau^{33}/t^{h}in^{45}/pa^{41}tɤ^{24}	kəu^{41}	ŋa^{45}	ta^{21}	i^{24}	k^{h}əu^{41}
1SG.	son	PASS.marker	dog	to bite	ASP	one	VCL:mouth

'My son was bitten by the dog.' (WU Yunji 2006:36)

(2) 擂槌

(Yueyang Miluo dialect 岳阳汨罗长乐方言)

打	一	擂槌
tɑ^{45}	i^{43}	la^{13} tɕy^{13}
to strike	one	VCL:hammer

'To strike something with a hammer.'(CHEN Shanqing 2006:304)

In the second and main part, we present some important issues relating to verbal classifiers in Xiang dialects. These include the problem of overlapping functions of certain verbal classifiers and nominal classifiers in verb phrases; the different syntactic and semantic roles for the verbal classifier XIA 下 when used as a verbal classifier to express frequency or transitoriness; special structures identified in Xiang dialects for verbal classifiers (reduplication forms for verbal classifiers), and finally the parameter of restrictions on the value of the numeral used with the verbal classifier.

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A comparative study of locative/directional and instrumental verbs vs. prepositions in Rukai

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Abstract

Li (1973:121ff) mentions the existence of four prepositions in Tanan: **'akai** 'at', **twalay** 'from', **'akela** 'to' and **ara** 'with', presumably all historically derived from verbs. An example is given in (1) (see also Table 1, based on Li's (1973) data):

(1) Tanan [Adapted from Li, 1973: 120, ex. 3-1]

a. **loa** **'akai** **ino** **koadra** **lalak-li**
if? at where that child-my
'It is not known where my child is.'

b. **watobi** **ikai** **daan** **kay** **lrolay**
cried stay house this child
'This child cried in a house.'

Since prepositions and verbs may occur in the same sentential position, Li (1973:145) provides four criteria to distinguish them: (1) occurrence of a case-marker (so-called "determiner"), (2) absence of an object NP, (3) tense marking (through the affixation of **a-**), (4) embedded morphological marking (through the infixation of <**o**>).

Table 1 Prepositions and their counterpart verbs in Tanan

Locative, directional, instrumental verb	Gloss	Morphosyntactic properties					Derived preposition	Morphosyntactic properties (1-4)	Gloss
		LDI verbs				Other verbs			
		1	2	3	4	1-4			
yakai	'be at, exist'	✓	×	✓	×	✓	**'akai**	×	'at'
arakai	'use'	✓	×	×	×	✓	**ara**	×	'with'
wa('a)kela	'arrive'	✓	×	✓	×	✓	**'akela**	×	'to'
'atwalay	'get from'	✓	×	×	×	✓	**twalay**	×	'from'

The goal of this paper is to show that Li (1973) is certainly correct in claiming that there are prepositions in Tanan but that no convincing arguments can be advanced to posit the existence of prepositions in the other five Rukai dialects. Throughout a detailed review of Li's (1973) work as a background for a comparative study of Rukai (see Table 1 for a tabular summary), I reconstruct the locative/directional and instrumental verbal paradigm in Rukai (preliminary results shown in Table 2).

Table 2 Locative/directional and instrumental verbs in the Rukai dialects

Gloss	Mantauran	Maga	Tona	Budai	Labuan	Tanan	Proto-Rukai
'be at'	**om-iki**	**ikée**	**y-a-kay**	**y-a-kay**	**y-a-kay**	**y-a-kay**	*i-a-kai
'come from'	**'aliki**	**salké**	**silikay**	**twalay**	**twalay**	**twalay**	*salikai
'arrive'	**m-o-kela**	**u-kɨla**	**w-a-kela**	**w-a-kela**	**w-a-kela**	**w-a-kela**	*w-a-kela
'use'	**to'araki**	**sarké**	**syakay**	**arakay**	**ahakay**	**arakay**	*ara-kai
'do for'	**'iraki**	**kérké**	**kyakay**	**pasiakay**	**pasiakay**	**'akay**	*ki-ara-kai, *si-a-kai

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Language Treasure Trove: A Duoxu Dictionary from the Mid-20th Century

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Duoxu is a critically endangered and virtually undescribed Tibeto-Burman language, spoken in Mianning County, Sichuan, China. Stigmatized and virtually forbidden during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Duoxu went out of use by the end of the 1970s only to be spoken in household situations. Currently, the language is still used by a handful of elderly speakers, who are all bilingual in the local variety of Southwestern Mandarin and do not have the chance of using Duoxu in everyday life. For these reasons, their speech is characterized by vocabulary loss and individual variation. While Duoxu has been subjected to comprehensive documentation since 2013 (Chirkova 2014, 2017), related research and revitalization work has been restricted to the rather incomplete production of the last speakers, as it was hampered by the absence of published firsthand data dating from before Duoxu went out of use.

This paper reports on an exciting discovery that may provide a wealth of both lexical and narrative Duoxu data from the mid-20th century: an unpublished manuscript *Liángshān zhōu Zàngzú jiǎnshǐ: Miǎnníng xiàn Zàngzú Duōxù zhī pǔ* [A brief history of the Tibetans of Liangshan Prefecture: The Duoxu Tibetans of Mianning county] by Wu Wancai, a native Duoxu speaker. Concerned with the fate of his language, Wu started collecting Duoxu data in 1955 and worked on it for over 47 years. Wu's manuscript contains an extensive vocabulary list of ca. 2700 words and a number of texts, including song lyrics, proverbs, riddles, and narratives, transcribed in Chinese characters. A key to reading Wu's transcriptions holds promise to enrich our understanding of Duoxu by providing the largest collection of lexical data on Duoxu known to date, which furthermore stem from the time when there were still fully competent speakers of that language about.

This paper focuses on the basic principles of Wu's transcriptions. It provides a comparison between Wu's transcriptions and the corresponding modern Duoxu readings for those words on Wu's lexical list that could be recalled by our Duoxu language consultants. This procedure enables (1) to establish regular correspondence patterns between transcriptions and modern Duoxu readings and (2) to provide a key to reading phonograms that were created by Wu to record Duoxu syllables that do not occur in Mandarin, such as nja or ki. The paper is concluded with an outline of (1) some systematic differences between the Duoxu, as recorded by Wu, and modern Duoxu and (2) possible implications of these differences for our understanding of the prosodic organization of Duoxu (Handel and Chirkova 2016).

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德钦藏语的系动词※

Copular Verbs in Deqin Tibetan

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提要：德钦县位于云南省迪庆藏族自治州。按照 Tournadre(2014)的划分标准，德钦藏语属于东南语块的康巴语(Khams)。在西方语言学界，系词(Copula)可分为等式动词(equational verb)和存在动词(existential verb)。本文探讨前者。德钦藏语的系动词有三种: jĩ³¹(有时也作 ji³¹/ ji¹³，无对立情况)、tɕã³¹(有时也作 tɕã¹³)、rɛ³¹。系动词 rɛ³¹仅存在于谚语中。jĩ³¹与 tɕã³¹对立，具有情态、示证以及语气上的区别。jĩ³¹具有是认/否认的判断情态、“向自我”(egophoric)的示证。其否定形式 mĩ¹³作 mĩ³¹时还可兼表新异范畴(mirative)，作 mĩ⁵⁵时则独立为新异标记。tɕã³¹则具有确认/不确认的判断情态以及“叙实”(factual)示证。此外，系动词 tɕã³¹还可用于含责问语气的句子中。jĩ³¹、rɛ³¹分别来源于古藏文 yin 和 red。系动词 tɕã³¹来源不明，笔者推测可能因语言接触与境外尼泊尔地区的尼尔瓦语(Newar)系动词 khyaŋ 有关，对此问题暂且存疑，有待日后对藏语组内部语言以及周边语言材料进行深入调查后再探讨分析。部分例句如下：

(1) ŋa¹³ tʂø³¹mə⁵⁵ ji³¹, kʰu⁵³ tʂa⁵⁵ʂʅ⁵⁵ tɕã¹³
1SG 卓玛 COP 3SG 扎西 COP
我是卓玛，他是扎西。

(2) sə⁵⁵ ɕɛ⁵⁵ pu⁵³ tɕi³¹ də³¹ ɕɛ⁵⁵ pu⁵⁵ ŋi⁵⁵,
地方 幸福 NMLZ 一 CONJ 幸福 NMLZ 二
sə⁵⁵ ɕɛ⁵⁵ pu⁵³ zo̰³¹jɛ⁵⁵ luo³¹ma⁵³ rɛ³¹
地方 幸福 NMLZ 自己 家乡 COP
对译:一个幸福的地方，两个幸福的地方，幸福的地方(还) 是自己的家乡。
意译:金窝银窝不如自己的狗窝，表达热爱家乡之情。

(3) A: ʔa⁵⁵də⁵⁵ sʅ³¹zʅ⁵⁵ sə⁵³ kə³¹lə³¹ tɕã¹³
DEM 钥匙 谁 GEN COP
这把/串钥匙是谁的？
B: ŋi¹³ kə³¹lə³¹ tɕã¹³
1SG.GEN GEN COP
(这把/串钥匙)是我的

(4)a. tɕʰy⁵³ ŋi¹³ ʔa³¹ɣu⁵⁵ ʔa⁵⁵ ji³¹
2SG 1SG.GEN 哥哥 INTER COP
你是我哥哥吗？
b. tɕʰy⁵³ ŋi¹³ ʔa³¹ɣu⁵⁵ tɕã¹³ ʔa³¹
2SG 1SG.GEN 哥哥 COP INTER
你是我哥哥吗？(责问)

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※本文章除特别注明外,其余语料均为笔者亲自田野调查所得,语言调查点:云南省迪庆州德钦县佛山乡巴美行政村楚巴村;语言老师;金花,又名卓姆,女,藏族,47 周岁,初中文化。

Some linguistic characteristics of the Jinghpaw's ritual language

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Previous studies on the Jinghpaw language, from early missionaries' descriptions (Hertz 1895, Hanson 1896) to more recent works (Dai & Xu 1992, Dai 2012, Kurabe 2016) are mostly based on everyday spoken language, folk tales or translations of the Bible.

Although Dai (2012) stresses in a short chapter the linguistic value of the ritual language to the study of the evolution of Jinghpaw, no thorough analysis has been so far conducted on this type of material. However, this ritual language is still used at various occasions, such as the Jinghpaw annual Manau festival, weddings, funerals, etc. Transmitted orally among religious masters from generations, it exhibits lexical and syntactic features that differ considerably from the spoken language, and from that found in the Bible, which renders it mostly unintelligible for the common people.

Recent transcriptions of ritual speeches into the Jinghpaw script by Jinghpaw scholars (Htoi Man 1982 among others) now provide interesting material available for linguists.

After a brief discussion on the variety of sources and their degree of reliability, we provide a description of some lexical and syntactic characteristics of the Jinghpaw's ritual language, with a particular focus on the use of verbal particles. Verbal particles are of special interest, as their use in the spoken language has been reported to be mostly lost, whereas they are still commonly used in formal speech and in the Jinghpaw Bible. However, we will show in this paper that they are also very scarcely used in the ritual language.

Finally, we discuss the validity as well as the limits of such material to the understanding of the Jinghpaw language and its evolution.

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Does the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經) contain traces of OC prefixation?

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Abstract:

Once upon a time, when the study of Old Chinese phonology had a reduced chance of detecting a true effect, the idea that the Chinese language *ab origine* was monosyllabic enjoyed a widespread acceptance among scholars. However, by this point in the development of the field of Old Chinese phonology different types of prefixations (*i.e.* fused prefixes, tightly attached or loosely attached prefixes, etc.) are virtually accepted by the *maior pars* of the specialists. It is believed (*Cf*. Behr 2001) that traces of pre-initials might be found in pre-Qin texts, especially in the *Book of Odes*, which is, needless to say, one of the main sources for the reconstruction of Old Chinese. One example of this kind of – alleged – prefixation is:

有周不顯，帝命不時 These Zhou are illustrious, [it was] god [who] appointed them

MC ɦuw cuw puw hɛn tɛj miajŋ puw dzɨ (Pulleyblank's annotation, 1984)

According to the *Maozhuan* 毛專, the last 不 has no meaning, hence 不時 should be interpreted as 時也 (appointed), with 時 being a graphic variant of 是.[1] These types of phenomena are quite numerous in the *Book of Odes* (as well as in other pre-Qin texts). Do they really indicate prefixation? If no, what do they represent, and how can their presence be explained (*i.e.* do they fit into approaches such as Feng Shengli's prosodic grammar)? This paper analyzes and evaluates related phenomena in the *Book of Odes*, trying to establish whether they might be considered as traces of prefixation or not. It should be emphasized that the aim of this *disamina* is not to provide a theoretical model of prosodic phonology for cross linguistic comparisons, but to establish whether traces of prefixation in Old Chinese (as presented in Baxter and Sagart, 2014) might be really found in the *Book of Odes*, and in so doing this paper may indirectly discuss about how useful generalized phonetic theories of monosyllabicization from preceding sesquisyllables in East-Asia may be in understanding the examples in the *Book of Odes*.

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[1] 時 'time' in OC is **[d]eʔ* according to Baxter and Sagart's system (2014), **djeʔ* according to Zhengzhang's system (2003). 是 'this' is **[d]ə* (~ **[d]əʔ*) in B&S, but **djɯ* in Zhengzhang. The author of this paper is inclined to believe that the reconstruction upheld in Baxter and Sagart (2014) has more strongpoints, one of them being the absence of a medial *-j-* (I = *-/ *- Ø) for Type B syllables.

Clitic pronouns in an isolating language: The case of *yǐ* and *yǔ* in Archaic Chinese

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This paper provides evidence for the so far neglected existence of two non-personal clitic pronouns, *yǐ* and *yǔ*, in Archaic Chinese (10th c. - 3th c.BC). This new finding invalidates our received ideas about the nature of isolating languages. It challenges attempts to establish a link between the presence/absence of clitics, on the one hand, and the general make-up of the DP and NP, preposition-stranding, licensing of *pro* and ellipsis of the complement of functional heads, on the other (cf.Bošković 2015).

The clitics *yǐ* and *yǔ* occur in the verb-adjacent preverbal position. *Yǔ* indicates the comitative (cf. (1)), as does the preposition *yǔ* '(together) with'. *Yǐ* has as large a range of meanings as the preposition *yǐ*, among others theme (cf. (2)).

(1) Hòu fēi zhòng , wǎng [yǔ shǒu] bāng
sovereign be.without multitude have.not YU guard country
'If the sovereign did not have the multitude, he would have no one to protect the country with.' (*Shàngshū*, Dà Yǔ Mó 尚書·大禹謨)

(2) Nán shì sheng nán, zé [yǐ gào] yú jūn yǔ dà fū
Nán lady give.birth male then YI announce to lordship and great officer
'If Lady Nan gives birth to a male child, then announce [it] to the Lordship and the great Officers.' (*Zuǒzhuàn*, 左傳12·3·4/3)

While the antecedent of *yǐ* can be [±animate], *yǔ* only refers to a human antecent with a comitative role. *Yǐ* and *yǔ* are not stranded prepositions (whose complement has been extracted), because either there is simply no potential complement XP (cf. (2)) or the necessary movement operation would violate island constraints (cf. (3)):

(3) [$_{DP}$ [$_{TP}$ [Kě [yǔ wǎng]] zhě] yǔ zhī 'If there is anyone you can go with,
can YU go NOM join him then join him.'

Yǐ and *yǔ* are not orphan prepositions (with an *in situ* null pronoun complement; cf. Zribi-Hertz 1984) as e.g. French *avec* 'with'. *Inter alia*, a PP-analysis of verb-adjacent *yǐ* and *yǔ*: [$_{PP}$ *yǐ/yǔ* Ø] is incompatible with the fact that *yǐ*+verb can be the complement of the low adverbial head *ér*, which only selects a minimal verbal projection, thus excluding the presence of an adjunct PP: [$_{ErP}$ XP *ér* (*PP) *v*P]. By contrast, [$_{ErP}$ XP *ér* [$_{vP}$ Cl VP], is expected via the double status of clitics, X° and XP: this accounts for the X°-nature of the clitic pronouns themselves and the fact that like XPs, the clitic pronoun can occupy the specifier position of *v*P in Chinese.

Like pronouns, *yǐ* and *yǔ* can have an implicit discourse antecedent. When explicit, the antecedent for *yǐ* and *yǔ* must always occur outside the TP containing *yǐ* and *yǔ*, i.e. either in the topic position or in a preceding sentence. *Yǐ* and *yǔ* are A-bar bound, hence resumptive (clitic) pronouns; accordingly, the relation 'antecedent – clitic' involves an 'operator - variable' relation. This is unlike clitic pronouns in e.g. French which can be either A-bound or A-bar bound. However, *yǐ* and *yǔ* are on a par with the non-personal clitic pronouns *y* and *en* in French, insofar as the phi features (person, number, gender) are de-activated. (*Y* and *en* thus contrast with the personal clitic pronouns *le*, *la*, *les*, *me*, *te* etc.). The agreement relation (in the minimalist sense) between the clitic pronouns *yǐ* and *yǔ* and their antecedent can be established by a λ-feature (Adger & Ramchand 2005) or a [variable]-feature (Rouveret 2008). Importantly, it is not the antecedent DP itself, but rather the functional head hosting the DP, i.e. in the Chinese case the head Topic°, that functions as operator probing the unvalued [variable] feature on the clitic pronoun in TP. The functional head Top° in the sentence periphery inherits the relevant features from the antecedent DP via the spec-head relation (as e.g. noted for C in Irish by McCloskey 1990).

Network Approaches to Old Chinese Reconstruction

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Despite a 3000 year-old history of written attestation, the phonology of the oldest stages of Chinese has remained a highly disputed topic among historical linguists. Up to today, scholars have been proposing many competing reconstruction systems which often show remarkable differences (Baxter and Sagart 2014, Pān 2000). A central problem of Old Chinese reconstruction are the different types of evidence, ranging from traditional Chinese phonology (*yīnyùnxué* 音韻學) as reflected in rhyme books and rhyme tables, via the information on rhyme patterns drawn from ancient poems (notably the Shījīng 詩經), up to early transliterations from foreign languages into Chinese and vice versa. Although most types of evidence used in Old Chinese reconstruction are directly amenable to statistical innovations (and the most ground-breaking insights have been achieved by scholars like Duàn Yùcái 段玉裁 and Chén Lǐ 陳澧 who managed to find striking patterns in specific types of data), the full potential of quantitative analyses is far from being exhausted. Especially the use of network approaches could help to look at recent reconstructions and long-standing discussions from another viewpoint. This has been recently demonstrated by the application of network methods to Old Chinese rhyme data. These analyses have shown, for example, that there is strong evidence for the Starostin's (1989) **-r* coda in Old Chinese (List 2016), and that six-vowel systems tend to explain Old Chinese rhyme data better than five- or four-vowel systems, at least as far as vowel purity in rhyme patterns is concerned (List et al. forthcoming).

Rhyme patterns are, however, not the only type of data used in Old Chinese reconstruction. They are also not the only type of data which is in principle amenable for the application of quantitative network approaches. In a similar way in which networks can be used to model rhyming in ancient Chinese poems, networks can also be used to model the relations between *fǎnqiè* 反切 readings of Chinese characters, or to reflect the interaction of *xiéshēng* 諧聲 series and radicals in the Chinese writing system. In the talk, we will give a general introduction to the application of network approaches in Chinese historical linguistics and present preliminary ideas on how the basic idea of modeling rhyme patterns with help of networks can be expanded to the study of *fǎnqiè* readings and *xiéshēng* series.

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赣语吴城方言的人称代词

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吴城镇，隶属江西省永修县，明清之际曾与景德镇、樟树镇、河口镇并称为江西四大名镇。它位于鄱阳湖西汊、赣江与修河之交汇处，距九江市 120 公里，离南昌市 90 公里。吴城镇处于以九江话为代表的江淮官话和以南昌话为代表的赣语两大方言区之间的缓冲地带。吴城方言属赣语昌都片。深入了解吴城方言的原貌，能为研究赣方言的发生发展演变提供重要的资料和线索，同时也能为弄清赣语与湘语、吴语、客家话之间的关系，为研究赣方言内部分区分界提供有力的证据。吴城方言是笔者的母语。

代词是一类起代替、指示作用的词。其使用频率很高，用法相当复杂，可以代替名词、数词、动词、形容词、副词等词类，具有所替代词语的语法功能，是一种较为封闭的词类。按其句法功能，代词可以分为体词性的和谓词性的两大类；按其作用，可以分为人称代词、指示代词和疑问代词三大类。限于篇幅，本文讨论吴城方言的人称代词，分析其意义、功能及用法。

人称代词就是替代人的代词。分为三身代词和非三身代词。三身代词指的是言语交际活动中的说话人（第一身）、听话人（第二身）、旁涉人（第三身），即我们常说的第一人称、第二人称、第三人称。非三身代词指三身代词之外的其他人称，包括统称、他称、自称代词。

1. 1　形式

人称代词系统

		单数	复数	
			排除式	包括式
三身代词	第一人称	我No²¹³	我箇No²¹³ ko⁰	俺Non²¹³
		我侬No²¹³ len⁰	我箇哩No²¹³ ko⁰ li⁰	俺人Non²¹³/in⁰
	第二人称	尔 n ²¹³	尔箇 n ²¹³ ko⁰、侬箇 len²¹³ ko⁰	
		尔侬 n ²¹³ len⁰、侬 len²¹³	尔箇哩 n ²¹³ ko⁰ li⁰、侬箇哩 len²¹³ ko⁰ li⁰	
	第三人称	渠 tʃʒie²⁴	渠箇 tʃʒie²⁴ ko⁰	
		渠侬 tʃʒie²⁴ len⁰	渠箇哩 tʃʒie²⁴ ko⁰ li⁰	
非三身代词	统称	大家 tʒai²¹ ka⁰		
		众上 tsuN³⁵ sɔŋ⁰、大众哩 tʒai²¹ tsuN³⁵ li⁰、大众家哩 tʒai²¹ tsuN³⁵ ka⁰ li⁰		
	他称	别家 pʒiet² ka⁰、别箇 pʒiet² ko⁰		
		人家in⁴⁴ ka⁰		
	自称	自家 tsʒ□²¹ kan²¹³		

说明：“俺人”也可省作“俺”，均表示第一人称复数。吴城方言人称代词无普通话的“您”之类的敬称。

1. 2　基本意义、用法和功能

1. 2. 1　三身代词单数

“我、尔、渠”是三身代词单数的典型用词，分别相当于普通话中的“我、你、他（她、它）”。“我”仅指代说话者本人，是唯一的。“尔、渠”所指代的对象则可以有多个，往往用在对话链中，是说话人的表述，常伴有用手指某人某物或用嘴角、眼神等示意的肢体动作。例如：

1）尔几個里头，尔，尔，还有尔都不听话你们几个里面，你、你、还有你都不听话。

2）许一堆人里头，渠跟渠都不是好个，心好恶那一群人里面，他和他都很狠毒。

“我、尔”，总用来指人（含拟人句）；“渠”，既可指人，又可指物，以指人为常。“渠”指物有一定的限制，即只能用于下文的回指，不能用于始发句。例如：

1）箇块手表坏既，我早就不用渠既。

2）我屋里养既一隻狗，渠总是经常往外头跑。

例 1）下句的“渠”回指上句的“手表”，作第二小句的宾语；例 2）下句的“渠”回指上句的“狗”，作第二小句的主语。

“我、尔、渠”后面都可以带上一个语缀 len⁰”，基本意义不变。需要说明的是，在当地人的口语交际中，“侬”的使用频率极高，有取代“尔”、“尔 len⁰”的趋势。第二人称单数都可用“侬”。

另外，吴城方言里还有两个表示倨称的第一人称单数代词：“老子”“老娘”，分别用于男性和女性以尊者自称，表达强烈的傲慢语气。例如：尔还敢话老子！？|老娘话既就是，不要尔多管闲事。

《江西境内赣方言人称代词单数的“格”之考察》（肖萍 陈昌仪，2004）一文把江西境内赣方言人称代词单数的“格”的分布分为两类：一类是主宾格严格区分，一类是主宾格不严格区分。前者主要表现在信江流域板块，包括铅山县城等 12 个调查点；后者主要表现在鄱阳湖流域板块，包括都昌县城等 9 个调查点。吴城方言属于后一种类型。吴城方言三身代词单数分为两种，一种是“我、尔、渠”（A 式），一种是“我 len⁰、尔 len⁰（或：侬）、渠 len⁰”（B 式）。具体表现与南丰县城相同，“三身代词单数都 A、B 两式并存，已经没有‘格’的对立，但在句中仍留有某种痕迹。”“主格可用 A 式、可用 B 式，以 A 式为常；宾格可用 B 式、可用 A 式，以 B 式为常。一个句子中可以只用 A 式、也可以只用 B 式或者 AB 两式兼用。”。下面举例说明。

1）侬彻不倒我你骗不了我。（“侬”可换“尔”或“尔 len⁰”，“我”也可换“我 len⁰”）

2）是侬拿我个书舞破既是你把我的书弄破了！（同上）

3）侬就是打我，我也不会还手你即使打我，我也不还手。（同上）

4）我不太想去，侬去个时间告诉我 len⁰一句我不去，你去时，告诉我一声就要得。（同上）

5）我好想侬哦我真想你啊！（同上）

6）我叫渠 len⁰去我叫他去。（“我”可换“我 len⁰”，“渠 len⁰”可换“渠”）

7）我借一间房间到渠 len⁰我借给他一间房间住。（同上）

8）尔屋叔寻我啊？不是，我叔寻渠 len⁰你叔叔找我？不，我叔叔找他。（“尔”可换“侬”或“尔 len⁰”，“我”可换“我 len⁰”，“渠 len⁰”可换“渠”）

A、B 两式主宾格区分的痕迹主要表现在第二人称单数作兼语上，例如：“请侬坐正端正来！”。这里，“侬”可以换成“尔 len⁰”，若换成“尔”则感觉不顺畅。

吴城方言 A、B 两式除了可以作主、宾语外，也都可以作定语。定语的标记吴城方言记作“个”。A、B 两式作定语的共同点是，第一，在一般事物前，A、B 两式都必须带上“个”。例如：我个书|尔个钱|渠个屋|我 len⁰个药|尔 len⁰个笔记本|侬个车子|渠 len⁰个笔。第二，在方位名词、处所短语前，A、B 两式都可以不带上“个”（带上“个”也可以）。例如：我前头|我房里|尔旁边|尔学堂里|渠隔壁|渠班上|我 len⁰上头|我 len⁰房里|尔 len⁰左边|尔 len⁰学堂里|侬后背|渠 len⁰后头|渠 len⁰班上。

A、B 两式的区别也是表现在作定语方面，主要有两点：第一，在亲属称谓前，A 式可以带定语标记“个”，也可以不带定语标记“个”，以不带为常。不带“个”时，“我、尔、渠”读作轻声；B 式则必须带“个”，否则不成话。例如：我母舅我舅舅|尔爷你爸爸|渠妹子他妹妹|我 len⁰个母舅|尔 len⁰个爷|渠 len⁰个妹子。值得注意的是，“尔 len⁰”的合音形式“侬”，

也可以直接与亲属称谓组合。例如：侬姑爷|侬老妹。笔者认为，这大概是“类推”导致的结果。“侬”这个合音字出现以后，本地人全然不察它的来源。由于“侬”成了一个音节，在方言使用过程中，当地人很容易把“侬”看作是和“我、尔、渠”一样的东西，由于说起来比较顺口，“侬”正渐渐地取代“尔”，成为当地通用的第二人称单数代词。第二，在指量结构前，A 式定语标记“个”可带可不带，但 B 式一定不能带上“个”字。例如：我（个）箇隻人|尔（个）许隻牛|渠（个）箇场事|我 len^0 箇隻人|尔 len^0 许隻牛|渠 len^0 箇场事。第三，“我、尔、渠”（包括“侬”）加“屋”后可以直接与亲属称谓组合，“我 len^0、尔 len^0、渠 len^0”没有加“屋”这种说法。例如：我屋崽我的儿子|尔屋女[ŋ˩in^{213}]你的女儿|渠屋新妇他的媳妇|侬屋舅子你的舅子（妻之兄弟）|侬屋老大你家的老大。

1. 2. 2　三身代词复数

“我箇（或：我箇哩）、俺人、尔箇（或：尔箇哩）、渠箇（或：渠箇哩）”是吴城方言三身代词的复数形式，表示不只一个人，分别相当于普通话的“我们、咱们、你们、他们”。“我箇（或：我箇哩）”指代说话者一方两个或两个以上的人，是排除式的；“俺人”也可省作“俺”，指代说话者和听话者双方，是包括式，可以包括听话者当中的一人、多人或者全部，一般以“俺人”为常见形式。“尔箇（或：尔箇哩）”指代听话人当中的多个人，“渠箇（或：渠箇哩）”指代说话人或听话人以外的多个人。需要说明的是，作为复数标记的“箇/箇哩”与普通话的“们”有些不同：只能放在人称代词后，不能用在表人的名词后面。例如：

1）我箇也是做小本生意，旋[˩ien^{21}] 临时（做）买旋卖，赚不到什哩什么钱。

2）渠不去南昌，俺人两個去，好啵？

3）渠冇有空，俺人三個人走啰。

4）俺人四個人一起走啵？

5）我今日好忙，尔箇不要来。

6）俺人昨日就来既，渠箇今日还冇回来，不晓得出既什哩事？

例 1）中的“我箇”表示说话一方的多个人。“我箇”也可以替换成“我箇哩”。 例 5）“尔箇”例 6）“渠箇”也可以相应地换作“尔箇哩”“渠箇哩”，意义和用法不变。例 2）3）4）中的“两個”“三個人”“四個人”起强调、突出作用，可以省略，但需要说话者通过眼神或拉手等肢体语言补足语义。“俺人两個、俺人三個人、俺人四個人”也作“俺两個、俺三個人、俺四個人”。

吴城方言三身代词复数“我箇、俺人、尔箇、渠箇”，可作主语、宾语和定语。“俺人、我箇、尔箇、渠箇”作定语，在一般事物前必须加“个”，例如：～个本子|～个屋。在亲属称谓、指人的名词、方位名词或处所名词前，“俺人”之后，“个”可加可不加，以不加为常。例如：～老弟|～个老弟|～同学|～个同学|～后头|～个后头|～屋里|～个屋里。下面举例说明。

1）我箇等下子再去我们等会儿再去。（作主语）

2）我箇单位上有人考上既大学我们单位有人考上大学了。（作定语）

3）尔箇话事蛮不讲理，我以后不答尔箇你们说话不讲道理，我以后不答理你们。（作主语、宾语）

4）我屋崽听尔箇个话，请尔箇有空帮我劝下子渠我的儿子听你们的话，请你们有时间帮我劝劝他。（作定、主语）

5）渠箇个作业都交既，就剩尔一個人冇做完。（作定语）

吴城方言三身代词复数作定语，总体来说，“俺人个”比较常见，“尔箇个”“渠箇个”说得要少一些。除了以上情形外，三身代词复数作定语也可以在“我、尔、渠”或“我 len^0、尔 len^0（或：侬）、渠 len^0”或“我箇、俺人、尔箇、渠箇”后直接与“量词结构”（包括数量结构和指量结构）组合，例如：我几個人、我一夥人、我 len^0 几個人、我（一）些人、我

六個人、我箇七個人、我箇箇八個人、我箇些人、我许些人、俺人一群人、我箇许些人。其中，“我箇七個人”有“我/箇七個人”“我箇/七個人”两种理解。“我/箇七個人”，“我”后有短暂停顿、“箇”重读，是偏正结构，相当于普通话的“我这七个人”；“我箇/七個人”，“我箇”后有短暂停顿、“箇”轻读，是同位结构，相当于普通话的“我们七个人”。另外，“我箇箇八個人”（第一个“箇”轻读，第二个“箇”重读）相当于普通话的“我们这八个人”。第二、三人称复数作定语的情形与上面基本相同。

1. 2. 3　非三身代词

1. 2. 3. 1　统称代词

统称代词指一定范围内所有的人，包括“大家、众上、大众哩、大众家哩”，相当于普通话的“大家、大伙儿”。“大家”在句中一般作主语、宾语和定语，“众上、大众哩、大众家哩”在句中一般作定语。例如：

1）箇场事大家原先话好既个。（作主语）

2）大家个事要靠大家来做。（作定语、宾语）

3）大家郎话我就郎做大伙儿怎么说我就怎么做。（作主语）

4）众上个东西不能一個人独吞。（作定语）

5）箇隻船是大众哩个。（作定语）

6）大众家哩个事要靠大家来劳神。（作定语）

需要说明的是，在吴城方言中，“大家”用在“一”后，表示“家族”的意思。例如：渠箇是一大家（按宗亲关系）他们是同一个大家族的人。

1. 2. 3. 2　他称代词

他称代词用于指代某个人或某些人以外的人，主要有：别家、别箇、人家。

“别家、别箇”相当于普通话的“别人”，泛指其他的人。例如：

1）侬不要跑到别家屋里去。

2）别箇个事尔莫管，尔只要管好既自 kan^{213} 自己就要得。

“人家”除了具有“别家、别箇”泛指的意义（如：尔莫管～个闲事。）外，还可以定指，或指代第一人称单、复数，如：我（箇）好心好意帮侬拿来，侬还怪～。或指称特定的人，如：我死命哩一直努力着求～帮忙，～就是不卖我个账哦。有时“人家”也指代有人居住的家、住户，如：箇里冇住几家～。另外，“人家”也可以与指人的名词性词语组成同位结构，例如：～小李都来既，尔还在睏懒觉。|老张～又冇多侬个事。

吴城方言里还有一个“别个”，意思是“别的”，用来指事、指物。例如：～我不晓得，我只听到箇多。

“别家、别箇、人家”在句中可以作主语、宾语（含介词宾语）和定语。例如：

1）渠最要不得，怕自己折面子丢脸就叫别家上前。（作宾语）

2）好吃个东西侬就蝉命里拼命地吃，也不留滴子到别家。（作介词宾语）

3）渠总欢喜管别家个闲事。（作定语）

4）别箇我不爱，只爱麻婆子吴城早期著名小旦演员快出台。（作主语）

5）侬箇隻人好自私，只顾自 kan^{213}，不管别箇。（作宾语）

6）渠个脚停不住个，总喜欢往别箇屋里跑。（作定语）

7）人家是跟俺人话入内关系亲密，把本没有血亲或姻亲关系的人当作自己人个话，俺人不要不晓得好歹哟。（作主语）

8）打死既人家，还要扒人家个皮，箇是造恶做杀生等坏事吔。（作宾语、定语）

1. 2. 3. 3　自称代词

“自 kan^{213}”是自称代词，用于指代某人、某些人或某物自身，相当于普通话的“自己”“自个儿”。经常与三身代词或指人的名词连用，构成同位结构。它可以复指三身代词中的

任何一个，既可以表示单数，又可以表示复数。例如：

1）我自 kan213 个事自 kan213 做。

2）尔一個人在外头，自 kan213 要好生子照顾自 kan213 哦。

3）光晓得叫人家好生子做，渠箇自 kan213 在许里卵哩卵蛋做事不负责任。

4）我刚刚准备去关门个，门自 kan213 关上既。

“自 kan213”在句中可以作主语、宾语、定语、同位语和状语。“自 kan213”作定语时除了在处所短语前外，一般都要加上定语标记“个”。下面举例说明。

1）自 kan213 要有主见，耳朵骨子不要太软。（作主语）

2）在外头要好生子照顾自 kan213，莫要大人挂恋挂记。（作宾语）

3）都是自 kan213 屋里人，有事就大胆话。（作定语）

4）箇隻桐油罐比喻在学业上毫无长进的人读既三年书连自 kan213 个名字都不认得。（作定语）

5）去不去随在侬自 kan213。（与“侬”构成同位结构，作宾语）

6）渠自 kan213 骑车子走既，就不管我箇哩。（与“渠”构成同位结构，作主语）

7）尔（郎个）自 kan213 煮饭吃？（作状语）

“自 kan213”作状语的句子跟与“自 kan213”构成同位结构作主语的句子有时同形。其区别是作状语的“自 kan213”可以加进“郎个怎么”等疑问代词，而与“自 kan213”构成同位结构作主语的句子则可以将“自 kan213”替换成“本人”。

1.3 特殊意义和活用

人称代词数量不多，但使用频率却非常高。由于使用广泛，其表示称代的基本意义和用法会出现不同程度的“磨损”，在实际语用环境中会表现出种种特点。具体说有“任指”“虚指”和“转指”三种情形。

1.3.1 任指

三身代词单数“我、尔、渠”在某些语境中并不表示实指，而是指代任何人。例如：

1）今日开会讨论，尔一句我一句，最后还是冇有一個结果。

2）箇几隻细鬼小孩，做起事来，总是尔推我，我推尔个。

3）箇场事舞弄得好麻烦，许几個人尔望到我，我望到尔，都想不出一个好法子办法来。

1.3.2 虚指

三身代词“尔、渠”有时不表示实在的意义，无确定所指。例如：

1）米马上要涨价既，今日我娘一口气买既渠一百斤。

2）不管渠三七二十一，吃一餐再着管他三七二十一，吃一顿（饭）再说。

3）尔还莫话呐，渠话个箇几句话，还当真起既一滴子作用哦。

1.3.3 转指

在一定语境中，人称代词之间可以发生人称转指、单数与复数的转指两种现象。这两种现象经常交织在一起，并伴有一定的感情色彩。下面分别举例说明。

1.3.3.1 人称转指

1）“尔”转指“我”。如：（家父对其他父母说）我改隻细崽不听劝啰，不管尔郎个怎么大教细教都冇有用。

2）“人家”转指“我”。多含有埋怨、不满的口气。如：（女孩对男友说）今日个事我不不晓得跟尔话过几多回，尔就是听不进人家个话嘛。

3）“渠”转指“我”。如：请尔跟老人家话一句，就话大人不记小人个过过错，不要跟渠一般见识，好啵？

4）“俺人”转指“尔箇”。如：尔箇改回吃既箇么大个亏，以后俺人一定要学乖。

1.3.3.2 数的转指

吴城方言中有单数转指复数的用法，也有复数转指单数的用法。例如：

1）三身代词单数“我、尔、渠”作定语时分别转指复数“我箇、尔箇、渠箇”。如：我四個人住一個寝室。|尔三姊妹恶好个你们三姐妹关系很好的。|渠学堂里还冇放假他们学校还没放假。

2）“俺人”等复数人称代词转指单数“尔”。说话人这时站在听话人的角度，有亲近人、拉近距离的意味，显得比较亲切。如：（父母对小孩说）俺人在学堂里要听老师个话哈！

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汉语方言“有”字句的分布类型及历史演变

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论文以吴、湘、闽、粤、客、赣、官话七个方言区“有”字句的类型为研究对象，在考察“有”字的意义、词性基础上，讨论了：

（1）“有”和 NP、VP 之间的语法关系及其出现的语言环境：官话区“有”字句多为“有+NP”结构或“有没有”疑问式，吴、闽、粤、湘、客、赣等地的“有”都能作助动词使用，放在谓词性成分前面，表示“客观现实”的意义。不同地区“有”字的应用范围也有区别，闽、粤地区，“有”字句使用最为广泛，既可以用于疑问，也可以用于陈述句，吴语则主要用于疑问，不用于陈述句，官话区方言“有”基本上只能跟 NP，不能跟 VP。

（2）从历时的角度考察了“有”字的语法化历程，认为汉语方言“有 VP”的一部分用法来源于古代汉语，现代汉语普通话中“有 VP”句式兴起与方言用法的扩散有关，晚清以来外文翻译中对“have done”句式的翻译习惯，对现代汉语书面语中出现“有 VP”句式也有一定的影响。

关键词：有字句 存现句 语序类型 方言地理分布 历史演变 语法化

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汉语方言“有VP”句的地理分布

Phénomènes d'ellipse en japonais
— Vue d'ensemble et analyses structurelles —

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L'application des définitions de la phrase basée sur son caractère autonome et complet (Meillet 1903 et Bloomfield 1970) est remise en cause par Mikami (1963). La première explication de ce caractère incomplet de la phrase japonaise est la moindre autonomie des structures syntaxiques étroitement imbriquées à des structures énonciatives : de manière générale, toutes les informations contextuellement évidentes peuvent ne pas être exprimées explicitement. Takahashi (2008) affirme qu'une des caractéristiques du japonais qui le distingue de l'anglais est la possibilité d'absence du sujet et du COD dans une proposition. Mais on peut se demander si toutes les absences sont de même nature et si le japonais les admet de la même manière. L'examen rapide de différents cas d'absence apporte une réponse négative.

(1) *Buchô wa mô suzuki-san ni mêru wo okurimashita ka.*
[L SEP] directeur TH déjà M. Suzuki DAT mail ACC envoyer.PAS INT
— *Hai, okurimasita.*
Oui envoyer.PAS
« Le directeur a-t-il déjà envoyé le mail à M. Suzuki ? » « Oui, il le lui a envoyé. »

(2) *Chûgakusei no otoko no ko wa yoku taberu mono da.*
les collégiens TH bien manger il est usuel que
« Par définition, les collégiens mangent beaucoup. »

(3) *Keikaku dôri kyôgijô wo kensetsusuru.*
projet comme stade ACC construire
« On construit le stade comme prévu. »

(4) *Sangatsu ni ume ga shigatsu ni sakura ga sakimasu.*
mars LOC prunier NOM avril LOC cerisier NOM fleurir
« Les pruniers fleurissent en mars, et les cerisiers en avril. »

(5) *Watashi wa biiru mo nomimasu.*
moi TH bière PAdv boire
« Je bois aussi de la bière. »

Le premier type est l'ellipse contextuelle pour laquelle un constituant déjà introduit dans le contexte n'apparaît pas sur la surface de la représentation linguistique (Kuno 1978). Dans l'exemple 1, tous les éléments correspondant aux pronoms dans la traduction française de la réponse sont absents sur la surface en japonais. Le deuxième type est l'ellipse lexicale pour laquelle la construction verbale non saturée syntaxiquement peut être interprétée indépendamment de son cotexte. Dans l'exemple 2, le verbe *taberu* (manger) signifie l'activité en tant que telle. Le japonais est une langue acceptant largement les ellipses contextuelles mais autorisant beaucoup plus difficilement les ellipses lexicales (Akihiro 2013). Toutefois, si les compléments en *wo* sont difficilement omis sans contexte, les phrases sans élément nominatif sont beaucoup plus fréquentes comme dans l'exemple 3. Dans ce cas, l'élément omis a une valeur générique indéfinie pouvant être exprimée en français par le pronom sujet « on ».

Les compléments non exprimés des verbes transitifs qui relèvent des ellipses lexicales sont appelés zéros non anaphoriques par opposition aux zéros anaphoriques qui relèvent des ellipses contextuelles. Le zéro anaphorique est un élément sans réalisation formelle dans la représentation linguistique de surface, qui renvoie à un antécédent dans le contexte. Les zéros anaphoriques ou contextuels fortement présents dans les phrases japonaises peuvent avoir leur antécédent soit à l'intérieur de la phrase, soit à l'extérieur dans le contexte antérieur du discours. Nous appelons zéro anaphorique inter-phrastique celui dont l'antécédent est présent à l'extérieur de la phrase (ex. 1) et zéro anaphorique intra-phrastique celui dont l'antécédent se trouve à l'intérieur de la phrase. Le zéro anaphorique intra-phrastique est plus grammatical que

le zéro inter-phrastique et il a des rapports très étroits avec certains phénomènes syntaxiques tels que la thématisation, la subordination et la coordination, ainsi que le changement du schéma actantiel due à la saturation sémantique. Dans l'exemple 4 à construction de coordination, le verbe final, mis en facteur commun, est omis dans la première proposition.

Par ailleurs, les éléments omis ne se limitent pas aux constituants de la phrase mais incluent aussi des mots grammaticaux, comme les particules casuelles. Leur effacement relève aussi bien du niveau énonciatif que des contraintes syntaxiques. Un des principaux facteurs de ce dernier cas est la présence de particules adverbiales (*fuku joshi*) qui entraîne l'effacement de la particule casuelle. Dans l'exemple 5, le GN « la bière » est introduit par *mo* qui signale l'existence d'autres éléments du même paradigme (Numata 2000, Nølke 1983), ce qui provoque l'effacement de la particule casuelle *wo*, censée marquer sa fonction syntaxique vis à vis du prédicat « boire ».

Notre communication présente différentes analyses structurelles possibles de l'absence de ces éléments et se propose d'appréhender la réalité dans l'usage linguistique, par une étude des exemples tirés du corpus BCCWJ*.

* The Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese : http://pj.ninjal.ac.jp/corpus_center/bccwj/en/

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Proposition de présentation au JLAO 2017

Représentation sémantique des dérivés avec le suffixe sinojaponais *go* « langue (linguistique) »

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Nous proposons une analyse morpho-sémantique des noms dérivés en japonais de la forme < nom - *go* (語)>, lorsque le morphe sinojaponais *go* désigne la « langue (linguistique) » : *nihon-go* (« Japon-langue ; langue japonaise ; japonais »), *aïnu-go* (« Aïnu-langue ; aïnu»), *esuperanto-go* (« esperanto-langue ; [langue] esperanto »). A notre connaissance, ces dérivés n'ont pas fait l'objet d'analyses spécifiques, peut-être à cause de leur apparente simplificité. Pourtant, lorsque l'on tente d'attribuer à *go* une représentation sémantique formelle, des difficultés surgissent. Dans cette présentation, nous nous intéressons plus particulièrement aux problèmes de compositionnalité qu'ils soulèvent et les stratégies d'analyse possibles.

Dans un premier temps, nous décrivons les données. Nous distinguons le *go* qui désigne une langue, de ses homophones et homographes, dont *go* « mot » par exemple. Nous faisons l'hypothèse que *go*-langue est un suffixe, ce qui n'est pas admis par tous (The UniDic Consortium 2012). Nous relevons au moins trois catégories sémantiques de noms suffixés par *go*-langue : les toponymes, les noms d'ethnies et les noms de langues (voir exemples ci-dessus). Le point qui nous intéresse plus particulièrement est la relation sémantico-logique entre le nom suffixé et le sens du dérivé. De cette relation sera déduit le sens du suffixe.

Dans la deuxième partie, nous formalisons notre analyse. Nous proposons une description morphosémantique des composants du dérivé et de la dérivation dans le cadre d'une grammaire de contraintes intégrées (Renaud 2005) avec représentations sémantiques en logique d'ordre supérieur (système Q_0 , Andrews 1986). Nous mettons en concurrence trois analyses : une première compositionnelle, une seconde non compositionnelle, et une troisième, située entre les deux, qui recourt au lexique génératif (Pustejovsky 1991). Nous défendons la première approche.

Pour conclure, nous proposerons une liste de morphes que nous estimons comparables à *go*-langue.

Quoique traitions de formalisation, nous adopterons une description suffisamment intuitive pour que l'exposé soit compréhensible sans nécessiter de connaissances dans le domaine des grammaires formelles ou de la logique.

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Étude de la concession en vietnamien à partir d'un corpus oral :

le cas de la concession comme redéfinition

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Jusqu'à ce jour, la plupart des recherches consacrées à la concession en vietnamien opèrent à partir d'exemples fabriqués ou de corpus écrits en sorte que les phénomènes présents à l'oral sont ignorés ou minorés. D'où cette étude sur les moyens d'expression de la concession en vietnamien parlé à partir de la transcription de huit débats de l'émission *Đa chiều* (Regards croisés) diffusée par la télévision numérique du Vietnam VTCHD1 et VTC1 totalisant deux cent quarante-sept minutes de parole et 53.392 mots. Dans ce corpus ont été relevées cent trente-trois occurrences contrôlées, situées et identifiées, déterminées en croisant différents critères avancés dans la littérature tels le type de concession, les éléments de citation (y compris par discours rapporté ou reprise), la symbolisation logique, les termes de renforcement ou d'atténuation de l'opposition et les unités lexicales utilisées pour exprimer la concession (conjonctions, adverbes, prépositions, verbes, etc.).

Le présent travail a établi qu'il existe une classe de concessions dénommées « concessions définitionnelles » (CD), dans lesquelles le locuteur donne son accord sur le terme tout en introduisant une réserve sur sa signification.

Exemple : *đại gia Việt Nam hôm nay giàu* ***nhưng*** *không sang*

« les bourgeois vietnamiens d'aujourd'hui sont riches mais pas distingués »

Dans cet exemple, le locuteur commence par donner son accord sur une caractéristique des bourgeois vietnamiens d'aujourd'hui – leur richesse mais il insiste sur leur caractère non distingués. Il accepte pourtant le terme « bourgeois » pour désigner ces personnes.

La CD en vietnamien comprendrait, quand elle est exhaustive, cinq éléments : le présentatif (PRES), la modalisation (MOD), le terme générique ou abstrait (TERME), la négation (NEG) et le connecteur à valeur concessive (CC). On peut la schématiser comme suit :

PRES + TERME + CC + MOD + NEG = CD

Comme la CD se compose d'une définition et une redéfinition, elle nécessite une forme du présentatif permettant d'introduire un nouvel élément dans le discours.

La CD réside dans le fait qu'on s'accorde sur l'appellation de l'objet mais non sur sa signification, la présentation de l'objet en discussion ou la cause du désaccord suppose un détour par l'emploi d'un terme générique ou abstrait.

La modalisation sert à « sauver la face » de l'interlocuteur [Goffman 1973]. Le locuteur manifeste son accord avec la « définition » usuelle du terme ou il en relativise la réfutation. Quand elle figure dans la « redéfinition », la modalisation renforce l'acquiescement du locuteur.

Dans la CD, comme le locuteur entérine l'accord sur le mot à la condition d'en réviser la signification, la reprise concessive de la définition fait intervenir une négation.

Pour relier la « définition » et la « redéfinition », les locuteurs utilisent souvent des connecteurs à valeur concessive tels que des conjonctions, des adverbes, des prépositions sans qu'il y ait d'obligation.

Les caractéristiques des CD permettent d'illustrer le fonctionnement et les spécificités d'une partie des concessions à l'oral. Il sera pertinent d'examiner la corrélation entre le choix de ce type de concessions et la visée argumentative.

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La transcatégorialité en vietnamien

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Dans son ouvrage (2003), réunissant une quinzaine d'articles sur plusieurs langues, Robert a jeté les premières bases d'une typologie de la transcatégorialité. En effet, il semble que cette notion soit une caractéristique commune à plusieurs types de langues, et qu'il peut y avoir trois types de fonctionnements transcatégoriels (correspondant respectivement aux langues flexionnelles, aux langues isolantes, et aux langues agglutinantes), qui peuvent être reliés à différentes stratégies de distribution de l'information dans les systèmes linguistiques.

Robert (*op. cit.*) constate qu'il existe dans des langues africaines de nombreux morphèmes qui fonctionnent en synchronie dans différentes catégories syntaxiques. Ces marqueurs transcatégoriels apparaissent à différentes échelles syntaxiques : ils peuvent fonctionner comme des prépositions, des déterminants de nom, des marqueurs prédicatifs, des introducteurs de propositions, des relativiseurs ou des particules dicto-modales.

Quant aux langues isolantes du Sud-Est de l'Asie, elles disposent également d'une grande quantité de marqueurs transcatégoriels. En vietnamien, des unités comme *cho*, *đi*, *rằng*, *thì*, *là*, *mà…*) peuvent fonctionner comme des grammèmes (préposition, conjonction verbale, marqueur aspectuel, marqueur injonctif, complémenteur, relativiseur) ou pragmatèmes (topicalisateur, focalisateur, particule finale). En thaï, *hâj*, *thî*, *wâ* sont des conjonctions de subordination introduisant la proposition subordonnée complétive, et selon les contextes, *thî* peut fonctionner comme un relativiseur ou une préposition locative.

Robert souligne par ailleurs que la grammaticalisation est généralement associée à une perspective diachronique, et non à une perspective synchronique, que la plupart des études fondatrices sur ce phénomène portent sur les langues indo-européennes, et que dans ces langues « le marquage de l'appartenance à une classe syntaxique par la morphologie (flexions, affixes spécifiques…) contraint beaucoup plus fortement le changement de classe d'un même terme que dans une langue isolante car il suppose, la plupart du temps, une érosion morphologique des marqueurs catégoriels qui s'inscrit nécessairement dans le temps ». Or dans les langues isolantes dont fait partie le vietnamien, les mots, toujours invariables, ne subissent jamais la moindre érosion morphologique. Par conséquent, les changements de catégories syntaxiques, appréhendés diachroniquement dans les langues indo-européennes, devraient être analysés synchroniquement dans les langues isolantes. Cela me conduit donc à composer cette communication en deux parties.

1. La transcatégorialité ou la grammaticalisation en perspective synchronique

La transcatégorialité (ou grammaticalisation en perspective synchronique), phénomène crucial qui existe probablement dans toutes les langues isolantes d'Asie ou d'Afrique, est illustrée en vietnamien par l'unité suivante : *thì* (nom signifiant « temps » > conjonction temporelle à valeur anaphorique > topicaliseur) (Do-Hurinville, 2009).

2. La grammaticalisation en diachronie

En vietnamien, la grammaticalisation en diachronie est un phénomène rare, qui n'a pas encore été bien examiné. Celle du verbe *rằng* (verbe de dire), qui s'est transformé en complémenteur, en est probablement le seul exemple représentatif (Do-Hurinville, 2015).

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Comment enseigner efficacement la prononciation du vietnamien langue étrangère ?

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Résumé

L'unité phonologique fondamentale du vietnamien est la syllabe. Elle est composée d'un ton et d'une structure segmentale. Ton et élément tonal (noyau vocalique) sont indispensables. La présence et la réalisation des consonnes dépendent de leur position de la structure syllabique.

Du point de vue linguistique, il y a un lien étroit entre la perception des sons et leur production. Partant de ce principe, j'ai mis au point une méthode de prononciation de la langue vietnamienne en m'appuyant sur les structures syllabiques et leurs combinaisons réelles qui fonctionnent en tant que morphèmes.

Le résultat est satisfaisant. En moins de 12 heures les apprenants arrivent à lire le vietnamien alors qu'en général, le délai est plus long (108 h/trimestre).

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纳西语是一种平调型语言吗？

——从《纳西语简志》中的“省略变调”谈起

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类型学上，根据曲折调（contour tones）是否可分析为不同平调的派生可先大体分为两类：如 Pike (1948)的声调系统分类中将这两种大类型区别称为“音高区域声调型”（register tones）与“单一曲折调型”（unitary contour tones）。本文将前者称作“平调型”声调系统（level-tone system），后者称作和复杂型（complex tone 或 phonetically complex tone，详见 Michaud 2017: 420-423）。非洲班图、曼德等语支是典型的平调型语言，而东亚的汉语、壮侗、苗瑶语等是复杂型声调语言的典型。纳西语（第一作者的母语）属于汉藏语系，明清以来与汉语接触密切，因此考虑纳西语的声调类型地位时理所当然地想到纳西语也与汉语一样同属复杂型声调。（总结汉藏语系语言在声调方面的历史与共时共同点的著作包括瞿靄堂 1993。）但从《纳西语简志》（和即仁、和姜竹仪 1985）中所描写的“省略变调”现象来看，纳西语的声调不完全符合复杂型声调中“一个声调对应一个音节”的特征。纳西语高声调虚词可以“省略”，引起前一个语素最后一个音节变调（中调或低调变成升调）。这类现象，在自主音段音系学（autosegmental phonology）理论框架下，可以分析为高平调虚词在语流中可以丢失载调单位（tone-bearing unit）：在弱化（reduction）过程中，高调成为漂浮调（floating tone），而“变调”源于漂浮调与宿主（host）的停靠（docking）。漂浮调 H 与左边音节停靠产生 MH 和 LH 两种升调。以此看来，纳西语变调中的曲折调是不同平调的派生。据此：纳西语的声调可以分析为高平（H）、中平（M）和低平（L）构成的三平调系统（Michaud 2006, Michaud & He 2007），这样的分析可以在音系上较好地解释“省略变调”现象。但系统地来看，漂浮调分析似乎并不能一劳永逸地解决纳西语的变调问题。语音学上，纳西语中的合音调都伴随着时长的增加，特别是当高平漂浮调的宿主同样为高平调时，时长的对立会成为音节的补偿。更进一步来说，纳西语中中平调（M）和低平调（L）的一些音节（特别是虚词）也可弱化，但弱化的结果简单描述为漂浮调似乎过于草率：长篇语料的分析表明，弱化并不如高平调弱化音节那么彻底、稳定。中平和低平调音节弱化，有时似乎只留下音高和音长方面的痕迹，有时为音节性的央元音，弱化音节到漂浮调之间存在一个连续体（continuum）。从历史演变的角度看，存在演变为完全弱化为漂浮调的趋势。这一点不同于非洲声调语言中的漂浮调：后者发展较早，而共时上很难找到漂浮调的具体来源。纳西语中不同调类的音节虽然都可弱化，但中平调和低平调弱化音节还处于弱化音节到漂浮调的过渡阶段。本次报告的结论为：纳西语的声调系统，虽然基本上可以分析为平调型，这一点等同摩梭话（Dobbs & La 2016, Michaud 2017）、普米语（Jacques 2011）、库基-钦语组（Hyman 2007）等，但在一些重要特点方面不属于典型平调，如：声调形态少，丰富的弱化现象未达到单纯中、低漂浮调形成的条件。本报告在最新的第一手调查资料基础上初步描述并讨论了大东乡片丁村纳西语（详见 Michaud & He 2015）的平调系统以及此语种中的音节弱化现象，供研究汉藏语系平调型声调的同事参考。

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关键词 平调 音节弱化 漂浮调 降调 纳西语

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English abstract:

Does the prosodic system of Naxi belong to the "level-tone" type? The view from phenonema of syllable reduction

How should the prosodic system of Naxi be characterized in terms of Pike's classical first-pass typological distinction between two types of tone systems, register tones and contour tones? (In this talk, these types are referred to respectively as "level tones", to avoid confusion with phonation-type registers, and "phonetically complex tones", so as to include the phonation-rich tone systems of Southeast Asia: see Michaud 2017: 420-423 for details.) Naxi has been in sustained contact with Mandarin Chinese, especially in the past three centuries, so it would be expected to pattern together with Chinese, which is among textbook examples of phonetically complex tones (together with Hmong-Mien and Tai-Kadai). A phenomenon reported by He & Jiang (1985) suggests otherwise, however: a H-tone grammatical morpheme may undergo reduction (complete loss of segmental materials), leaving a tone change on the preceding word as its only phonological trace. This is reminiscent of morphotonology in Bantu or Mande, and suggests that the tones of Naxi are phonological H, M and L levels that can combine with one another. On the other hand, patterns of reduction for M- and L-tone grammatical morphemes suggest that simplification does not quite reach the stage of full segmental ellipsis and creation of floating tones: a *schwa* target seems to be present, along with compensatory lengthening. The present talk, based on fresh first-hand data collected by the first author (a native speaker of Naxi), investigates the nooks and crannies of syllable reduction in Naxi in order to shed light on the phonological organization of this typological hybrid. We hope that the results can contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of level-tone systems in contact with complex-tone systems.

The Vowel Raising Chain Shift in the Chinese dialects of Xiangxi

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The area of Xiangxi mentioned in this paper includes Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture, Zhangjiajie and Huaihua dialects in the west of Hunan province. There are mainly three kinds of Chinese dialects located in the Xiangxi area: Mandarin, Xiang, and Xianghua whose classification is uncertain. There is a phenomenon known as High Vowel Shift which is found in both the Xiang and Xianghua dialects of Xiangxi.

Xu Tongqiang and Zhang Guangyu believe that the vowel raising chain shift phenomena of Wu and Xiang dialects exist in the five rhyme groups of *liu* 流, *xie* 蟹, *jia* 假, *guo* 果 and *yu* 遇. Wang Futang and Chen Lizhong believe that the *xie* 蟹, *jia* 假, *guo* 果 and *yu* 遇 rhyme groups take part in the vowel raising chain shift. Peng Jianguo suggest that the sound change involving a vowel raising chain shift in the Wu and Xiang dialects only involves the three rhymes of *guo* 果, *jia* 假 and *xie* 蟹, and does not involve *guo* 果 and *yu* 遇. As he found that in Wu and Xiang dialects most of the raising in *guo* 果 occurs after [u],and all evolve together with the *mo* 模 rhyme, without promoting its splitting.

We also believe that the *mo* 模 words of Xiangxi Xiang dialects are not involved in the vowel raising shift. There is no occurrence of the phenomenon of the vowel raising chain shift in the Jiefang Yan Mandarin of Xiangxi, but there is a case of the splitting of the *mo* 模 rhyme in the *duan-jing* 端精 series. It can thus be proved that there is no relation between the splitting of the *mo* 模 rhyme and the vowel raising chain shift.

It is generally believed that the monophthongization of the second grade of the *xie* 蟹 rhyme *ai launched a phonetic chain. Zhu Xiaonong proposed two hypotheses for the long vowel chain type of raising: one kind is [a]-generated 'speaker-activation', the other is [ai]-generated 'listener-activation'. He prefers 'speaker-activation'. And Peng Jianguo prefers the hypothesis that the chain of sound change belongs to [ai]-generated 'listener-activation'.

We believe that the vowel raising sound change for Xiang dialects in Xiangxi started with the *xie* 蟹 rhyme. The [ai] of the *xie* 蟹 rhyme lost its coda, which promoted the backing and raising of the *jia* 假 rhyme. , The *jia* 假 rhyme shift in its turn promoted the raising or the splitting of the *guo* 果 rhyme, and so the push chain sound change. But we believe that *hou* 侯 rhyme words of the *liu* 流 group involved in the Xiangxi Xiang dialects took part in this set of sound changes: the emergence of the front vowel of the *hou* 侯 rhyme of the *liu* 流 group bears no relationship with the splitting of the *u in the *mo* 模 rhyme but rather with the *xie* 蟹 rhyme . After the loss of the coda in the *xie* 蟹 rhyme, and the vacating of the position for [ai], this attracted words in the *liu* 流 rhyme to fill it, and so a kind of 'pull-chain' sound change took place.

The vowel raising chain shift in the Xiangxi Xiang dialects occurred in the words of the *liu* 流, *xie* 蟹, *jia* 假 and *guo* 果 rhymes with both push-chain and pull-chain types. The medial vowel [ai] of the *xie* 蟹 rhyme losing its coda is the trigger for the vowel raising chain shift.

The Xianghua dialect of Xiangxi also has the vowel raising chain shift sound change, but is somewhat different from the Xiang dialects of Xiangxi : the coda of the *liu* 流 rhyme was lost, words in the *xie* 蟹 rhyme underwent back raising, while the weixi 渭溪

type of *jia* 假 rhyme continued to raise.

The Xianghua dialect of Xiangxi may have experienced a similar vowel raising chain shift to the Xiang dialects: after the [ai] *xie* 蟹 rhyme words lost their coda, this promoted the back raising of the *jia* 假 rhyme, the raising and splitting of the *guo* 果 rhyme, and attracted vowel fronting in the *liu* 流 rhyme words for [ai] to fill the empty position. Then began a new round of vowel raising, [ai] words of the *liu* 流 rhyme lost their rhyme ending, which promoted the backing of the vowel [a] in the *xie* 蟹 rhyme to [ɑ] or raising as [o]. The *xie* 蟹 rhyme in the Yuanling Xianghua dialect of Qingshuiping was backed to [ɑ] but did not clash with the [o] of the *jia* 假 rhyme and the, chain shift ended. After the *xie* 蟹 rhyme was raised to [o] in the Luxi Basheping and other Xianghua dialects, , due to, the non-movement of the [o] in the *jia* 假 rhyme, the chain shift could not continue to occur, and had to merge with the *jia* 假 rhyme. The chain shift of the Weixi Xianghua dialect of Yuanling, has not however stopped, and the *jia* 假 rhyme continues to raise to [u].,while the *guo* 果 rhyme splits to [ui]. Involved in the chain of vowel raising are also the third and fourth finals of the smooth tones with kaikou finals in the *xian* 咸 and *shan* 山 rhyme groups.. Because the *liu* 流 rhyme group lost its coda leaving an empty position [ai], it attracting the third and fourth finals of the smooth tones with kaikou finals in *xian* 咸 and *shan* 山 rhyme group words to fill it.

This round of new high vowel chain shifting in the Xianghua dialect occurred in the *liu* 流, *xie* 蟹, *jia* 假, *xian* 咸 and *shan* 山 rhyme groups with both push-chain and pull-chain types. The loss of the rhyme ending [ai] for words in the *liu* 流 rhyme group was the cause of vowel raising consonant shift chain.

The propulsion behind the Chinese vowel raising chain shift often derives from the disappearance of [ai] rhyme endings. The first long vowel raising chain shift was like this; the linked changes of the main vowels in the *jia* 假 and *guo* 果 rhymes of the Xiang and Wu dialects was also like this. The main propulsion behind the raising in the *xie* 蟹, *jia* 假 and *guo* 果 rhymes of the Xiang and Wu dialects was the loss of of [ai] rhyme endings. Although each time the rhyme group's control of the raising chain of vowels is not the same, the sound mechanism behind the raising is the same.

After vowel raising occurs, if it is the same or similar to another sound, it is faced with two choices: to merge, or to push. Merger may bring pressure to bear on the sound system, causing a higher incidence of homonyms, resulting in inconvenience for communication, so some dialects began self adjustment of their phonology, pushing more of the vowels into the raised category, while at the same time attracting other vowels fill the vacancy left behind, to balance the sound system. There are also some dialects whose ability to self-adjust is not strong, the chain of change for raising is not thorough-going, and ultimately it bears the pressure of the merger, leading to a premature end to the chain shift. The strength of each dialect's ability to adjust the sound system is the reason for the geographical differences in the duration of the vowel raising chain.

吴闽语云、匣母的读音和闽语全浊声母的清化（提要）

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闽语古全浊声母今音有读不送气清声母的，也有读送气清声母的，分化没有语音条件。这个问题历来颇多争议。本文拟从方言接触的角度提出一种新的假设：共同吴闽语时期经历了一次浊音清化，变成送气清声母。此后在北方汉语的影响之下，吴语重新产生了浊声母；而闽语只有部分字变成了浊声母，这部分字此后经历了第二次浊音清化，变成不送气清声母。

论文从四个方面加以论证：一、现代吴闽语有许多共享的特征，是共同吴闽语的遗留。二、现代吴语残存有一些中古全浊声母读清声母的例子，主要是云匣母字，跟闽语对应严整，是共同吴闽语浊音清化的遗迹。如匣母：蟹、蛰、苋、黄、下、候、虹，云母：园、远、雄，等。三、现代方言中存在着“清音返浊”的例证——苍南蛮话。四、方言接触中有一类特殊的音变——他控音变，可以解释“清音返浊”这类“回头音变”。

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上海市区方言浊擦音变异研究

一项正在起变化的语音研究

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[摘要] 典型的上海市区方言“浊擦音”特征是擦音段声带不振动，后接元音带气嗓音，所处音节配低调层声调。除了这些特征外，本研究还首次发现“浊擦音”段与整音节之比要明显短于对应的清擦音。本研究调查了 90 及 90 后上海市区新派上海话，发现此项特征正在悄然变化。一部分人虽然仍保留“浊擦音”与清擦音的对立，但是“浊擦音”长短的特征已不复存在，从而指出一条浊擦音由浊变清的微观演变途径。本研究也讨论音类的语音声学特征与音系区别特征之区别，指出声学特征很多是冗余的，但是冗余特征的替换可以更好看出语音渐变性特点，也适合社会语音学的计量调查。

On the variation of the so-called voiced fricatives in the Shanghai urban Dialect—A study on an ongoing sound change

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[Abstract] Voiced fricatives in Shanghai urban Dialect are actually voiceless in fricative part followed by breathy release with low register tones. In addition for these characteristics, I found there is statistically ratio difference of durations between fricative part and whole syllable among the two fricative categories. The ratio duration of voiced fricatives is significant smaller than the one of voiceless counterpart. However, this difference is changing and fading away in some young people (born in and after 1990). The difference is disappearing among a third of young people who I have surveyed. Based on this phenomenon, I discussed the sound change from voiced fricatives to voiceless counterparts step by step. It is my viewpoint that all phonological contrasts are cued redundantly, and different sounds may share same acoustic cues but differ in their important levels. Sound change may occur when their levels gradually shift.

从汉语方言极大声调清单看声母对声调的影响

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音节内部各因素（例如辅音、元音、声调等）之间在微观上是相互影响的（参Maddieson1977；Hombert1978）。如带音的阻塞辅音（voiced obstruents）往往使临近元音的音高降低、不带音的阻塞辅音（vioceless obstruents）使临近元音的音高升高等（Capell1948、Hyman & Schuh1974、Maddieson1977、Yip2007 等）。

辅音对元音音高的影响也可能上升到音系层面。汉藏语系语言以及汉语方言中因辅音声母清浊性质不同造成声调的分化、送气与不送气造成音高差异形成“送气分调”等（何大安 1989，石锋 1998）、响辅音等次浊声母与全浊声母使音高产生不同而导致“次浊分调”（王莉宁 2012，曹志耘、王莉宁 2014）等。

本文以“汉语方言极大声调库藏”数据库中的有关语言事实为例，探讨汉语方言中辅音（声母）影响声调音高的类型及其意义。“汉语方言极大声调库藏”数据库是“汉语方言极限声调库藏”数据库的一部分，录制了汉语方言中声调数目在 10 个以上的若干个方言点共 21 名发音人的语音数据。

通过汉语方言极大声调清单的声调音高表现，看到声母性质影响声调音高存在 5 种类型。这 5 种类型分别是：横县客家话型、横县平话型、博白水鸣粤方言型、容县粤方言和进贤七里赣方言型，5 种类型方言的音高曲线如下：

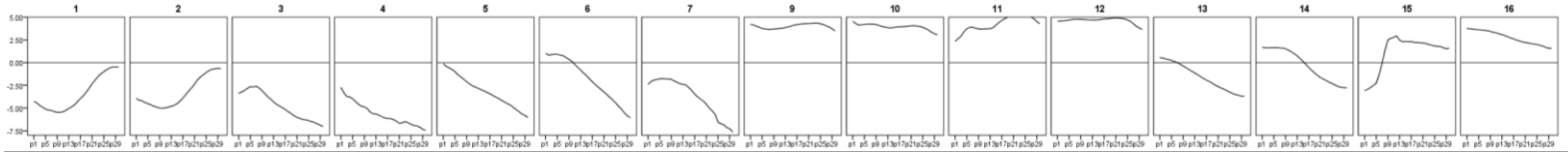

图 1　横县客家话 15 类音高曲线图（纵轴单位：St）（音高均值：144Hz；调域：12.11 个半音(-7.4,5)）

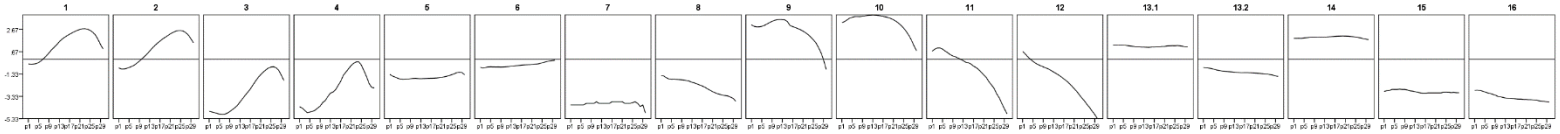

图 2　横县平话 17 类音高曲线图（纵轴单位：St）（音高均值：154Hz；调域：9.41 个半音(-5.27,4.14)）

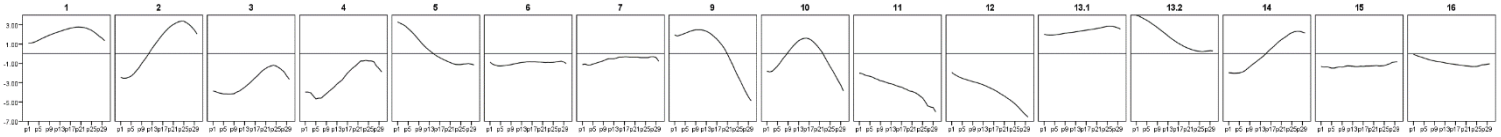

图 3　博白水鸣的 16 类音高曲线图（纵轴单位：St）（音高均值：140Hz；调域：10.8 个半音(-6.32,4.16)）

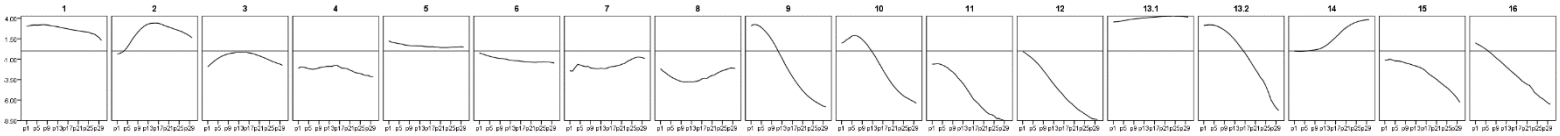

图 4　容县粤方言 17 类音高曲线图（纵轴单位：St）（音高均值：170Hz；调域：12.49 个半音(-8.02,4.47)）

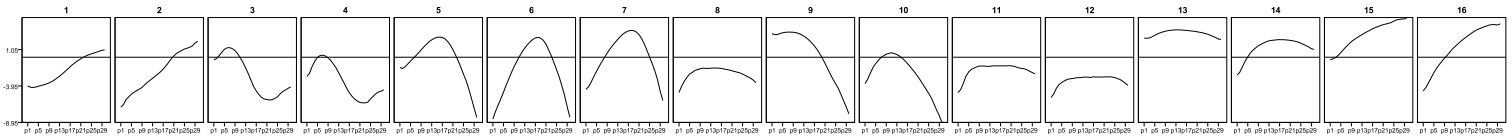

图 5　进贤七里的 16 类音高曲线图（纵轴单位：St）（音高均值：208Hz；调域：14.45 个半音(-9,5.45)）

从音高曲线图可以看出，声母的历史来源不一定对一个方言的所有调类发

生影响（如横县客家话中平、上声受到声母清浊的影响出现分化，而去、入声则没有出现分化），但是声母的历史来源因素如果发生影响，这种影响是超过当前语音实际性质的作用的。如横县客家话、平话都发生了全浊声母清化，但是清高浊低的规律仍然按清化前的清浊调类产生影响，出现音高分化。博白水鸣粤方言和容县粤方言的情况更清楚地表明了这一点，这两地也都发生了全浊声母清化，但是在全清声母中出现了带音的内爆音，现在的声调音高状况并没有按照全浊清化后的后接元音音高高、全清变为内爆音后的后接元音音高低的共时语音规律来表现；而是仍然保留清化前全浊声母低、内爆音产生前全清声母高的状态，以致于当前语音性质与其音高表现之间的关系，和应有的共时语音规律正相反了。进贤七里赣方言也体现了声母历史来源因素起着主导作用。

可以看出，汉语方言极大声调库藏方言点中声母历史来源因素对声调音高的影响是根深蒂固的，而共时的语音性质几乎没有起到作用。在影响声调音高的各种因素中，声母历史来源的影响是最根本的影响，它远远超过了当前语音实质的影响。

分析其中的缘由，这有可能反映了相比于声母等其他因素，声调音高的变化更缓慢滞后，当声母等其他因素已经发生了变化，声调音高还维持在早先声母状态的水平，因此现在看起来就是声母的历史来源因素占有绝对主导地位，而当前语音实质基本上没有发挥作用。

从历史来源因素看，不同的声母来源（全清、次清、次浊、全浊）对声调音高影响的 5 种类型可以展示为表 1。

表 1　5 种类型方言音高曲线分化情况

方　言	清浊分化	全清次清分化	全浊次浊分化
横县客家话	平上+，去入-	-	-
横县平话	+	-	-
博白水鸣粤方言	+	+	-
容县粤方言	+	+	平上+，去入-
进贤七里赣方言	+	+	+

分析可以看出，汉语方言中声母对后接元音音高的降低效力按全浊声母＞次浊声母＞次清声母＞全清声母递减；声调音高按声母性质发生的清浊分化、全清次清分化、全浊次浊分化分属不同的层次。声母影响后接元音音高在像汉语这样有久远历史的声调语言中和非声调语言中可能有不同的表现。

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语言接触与苗瑶语分类（提要）

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苗瑶语之间虽然有无可置疑的同源关系，但是不同语言的语音类型却表现为相当大的差异，因此通常将其分为苗、瑶、畲三个语支。造成语音差异的原因很难用苗瑶诸语言语音系统自身演变来解释，而与它们所接触的语言环境有密切的关系。

苗语声母有鼻冠音、全浊音、清鼻边音、翘舌音和小舌音，韵母缺少辅音韵尾、元音不分长短等与所接触的彝语特别是彝语东部方言的音韵特征吻合；瑶语无鼻冠音、全浊音、翘舌音、小舌音声母而有浊音或内爆音声母，韵母有三套鼻音尾和塞音尾且元音区分长短与瑶族地区的壮语及汉语粤方言相当一致；畲语无鼻冠音、清鼻边音、翘舌音、小舌音声母，全浊音读清送气，韵母元音不分长短、有两套鼻音尾和塞音尾符合汉语客家话的音韵特征；布努语受当地壮语的语音影响而表现出无全浊音和小舌音声母、通过借词或语音感染而产生塞音韵尾和齿间音声母等特点。苗语支和瑶语支的语音差别也平行地反映在句法结构的语序层面，但苗语和瑶语的语序差异主要是由于瑶语受到更多汉语的影响所致。

需要注意的是，苗语的语音类型接近彝语而明显不同于瑶语，但是苗族和彝族互相兼用语言并不普遍，苗语中也很少彝语借词，或许可以用“感染”的间接接触机制来解释苗语的语音变异。

苗瑶语基本词汇的多源性和因语言结构差异而形成不同下位分类的机制，在藏缅、侗台、南岛、南亚等东亚诸语群的分类中也存在一定程度的类似表现，说明语言的发生学关系和接触关系是东亚语言谱系分类应该兼顾的两个变量因素。

关键词：苗瑶语　谱系分类　语言接触

西宁方言方所词的语法化

--语言接触导致的语序、功能强化

提要：汉语方言中方所词的语法化程度有很大的不同，比如吴方言的“上”和“里”虚化程度最高，在一些吴方言中“里表现出更高的语义抽象度，实际已不再区分处所的表面还是里面，只是抽象的标明方所题元”（刘丹青 2004：195）；有的方言，尤其是吴语、赣语、湘语中“里”已经语法化为复数标记（张惠英 1995）。

本文主要考察青海西宁方言及周边方言方所词的语法化，西宁方言的“里、上”语法化程度较高，这主要表现在几个方面：

一是语音上的弱化。“上”作为后置词使用的时候通常读为[a]，有别于表方位的“上[ʂõ13]”；“里”在一些地方读为[l̩]、[iᶻ]或[z̩]，语音上的销蚀或弱化是语法化过程中最常见的表现形式。

二是使用的强制性。西宁方言的“里、上”使用有很大的强制性，而且比起前置词，后置词更加活跃（王双成 2012），如：

（1）我俩门口里喧着我俩在门口聊天。（*我俩门口喧着。）

（2）我单位上俩我在单位。（*我单位俩。）

（3）明儿公园里浪走吧明天去公园玩儿吧！（*明儿公园浪走吧！）

三是语义的高度抽象化。语义的高度抽象化“里”最为典型，这表现在：1、“里”不光可以用在表处所的名词之后，还可以用在表时间的名词、形容词之后，而且也有很大的强制性，如：

（4）人岁数里去呵再干单呐人上了岁数就不行了。（*人岁数去呵再干单呐。）

（5）月底里发点奖金哩说说是到月底要发奖金。（*月底发点奖金哩说。）

（6）一天里睡着不起，晚夕里酒喝着不睡白天睡得不起，晚上喝酒喝得不睡。（*一天睡着不起，晚夕酒喝着不睡。）

（7）我往长里拽给个啊我再拉长一些！（*我往长拽给个啊！）

（8）傢往完里吃着他想要吃完。（*傢往完吃着。）

（9）往满里再装的要俩要不要装得再满一些？（*往满再装的要俩？）

我们认为，西宁方言方所词的这种使用特点既有汉语本身演变的原因，比如其语音、语义的弱化更多的是汉语自身演变的缘故，但是其语序、功能的进一步强化过程中语言接触贡献了很大的力量，这主要因为和西宁方言接触的语言都是典型的 SOV 语言，后置词发达，正在和这些 SOV 语言接触的过程中（包括语言换用），其后置词，特别是位格系统促使西宁方言的方所词的使用从名词扩展到形容词，其功能和 SOV 语言的位格系统有几分“神似”，语序及其功能得到了进一步强化。

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The structure of Num+CL in *Zhōutún*: Issues induced by language contact

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Abstract: The structure of Num+CL in *Zhōutún* can be divided into two kinds: VCP and NCP. The VCP in VCP+V is the adverbial, while the NCP can either precede or follow the N it modifies. In NCP+N, the NCP is the attribute; however, in N+NCP, the NCP can be the post-attribute and the adverbial, according to the syntactic property of N. The language contact of *Zhōutún* with Amdo Tibetan plays a role in leading to the peculiarities of Num+CL in *Zhōutún*.

Key words: *Zhōutún*, Num+CL, language contact, Amdo Tibetan

1. Introduction

Zhōutún is a term used to define the Chinese dialect or the Chinese-Tibetan mixed language spoken by the native population of Zhōutún, a village in Guìdé County, Haǐnán Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qīnghǎi Province, P.R. China. Under the major influences of the Amdo Tibetan (AT), the basic word order of *Zhōutún* has changed from SVO to SOV. The dialect also has several linguistic phenomena related to the SOV word order, such as postpositions and case markers, which do not exist or rarely exist in Mandarin with SVO word order.

The history of Zhōutún can be traced to the Míng Dynasty. In 1406, the Míng government dispatched people to guard Guìdé County, and these individuals came from Hézhōu (currently Línxià, Gānsù Province). The ancestors of Zhōutún then settled down and built the village under the lead of Officer Zhōujiàn. Zhōutún was built mainly to resist the nearby Tibetans around the area. During the long-term contact, Zhōutún has been influenced in many respects by the Tibetan villages nearby. Of course, the language system of *Zhōutún*, which is the focus of this paper, has inevitably been affected by AT as well. In a systematic study, C. Zhou (2016) stated that *Zhōutún* can be treated as a "Chinese dialect with deep contact", but he also notes that it is reasonable to define *Zhōutún* as a mixed language.

Studies on language contact and mixed language in northwestern China have proliferated in recent years. Ren (2004) and Wang (2008), among others, described the basic word order of *Xīníng*. D. Xu (2014) offered a thorough description of *Tángwāng*. Both *Xīníng* and *Tángwāng* are affected by language contact, having SOV as their basic word order as well as SVO in a few cases. A-Tshogs (2003) introduced the new "language" named *Dào*, a well-known mixed language in Chinese linguistic circles combining Chinese vocabulary and Tibetan syntax. *Wǔtún* (Janhunen et al. 2008; Fu 2012) is another mixed language with Chinese vocabulary and Tibetan syntax. Compared with *Xīníng* and *Tángwāng*, both *Dào* and *Wǔtún* have a solid SOV word order, indicating a deeper degree of language contact in the latter than in the former. In this respect, *Zhōutún* resembles *Dào* and *Wǔtún* rather than *Xīníng* and *Tángwāng*.

As a result of constant language contact, *Zhōutún* is in a process of language type shifting in which some peculiar phenomena reflect the middle states between Mandarin and Tibetan. In this paper, we focus on the structure of Numeral (Num)+Classifier (CL) in *Zhōutún*, as in Examples (1)

and (2):[1]

(1) 我 蘋果 三 個 吃 了
ŋɤ^{55} phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} sã^{11} kɤ^{55} tʂhʯ^{11} lɔ
1SG apple three CL eat PRF
'I ate three apples.'

(2) 貓娃 兩 個 跑 著 過來 了
mɔ^{11}ua^{13} liɑ̃^{11} kɤ^{13} phɔ^{11}tʂɤ kuɤ^{55}lɛ^{13} lɔ
cat two CL run PROG come PRF
'Two cats are running and coming.'

In *Zhōutún*, Num must be followed by CL to semantically modify a noun (N), as *sã^{11} kɤ^{55}* and *liã^{11} kɤ^{13}* show in Examples (1) and (2). What is the syntactic status of Num+CL in each sentence? The answer appears to be obvious: in the structure of N+Num+CL, Num+CL is the post-attribute of N, and N+Num+CL is a noun phrase (NP) as a whole, as the object and subject of Examples (1) and (2), respectively. However, the situation is more complex. In fact, as shown in Section 3, it is only the Num+CL *liã^{11} kɤ^{13}* in Example (2) that can be analyzed as a post-attribute, while the Num+CL *sã^{11} kɤ^{55}* in Example (1) is not an attribute of the preceding N. Moreover, it is only the N+Num+CL in sentences such as Example (2) that is an NP, while that in Example (1) is not. The syntactic asymmetry of Num+CL in different situations is the primary focus of this paper, with Num+CL in sentences such as Example (1) gaining most of the attention.

Before exploring the topic of this paper, we introduce a sketch grammar of *Zhōutún* in Section 2. In Section 3, we analyze the structure of Num+CL in detail. We then attempt to explain the synchronic performance of Num+CL in terms of language contact in Section 4.

2. A sketch grammar of *Zhōutún*

This section focuses on two aspects of the grammar of *Zhōutún* that relate to the topic of this paper: (2.1) the types and positions of Num+CL and (2.2) the postpositional marker *xa* 哈.

2.1 Types and positions of Num+CL

2.1.1 Types

In *Zhōutún*, classifiers can be divided into noun classifiers and verbal classifiers. Thus, the structure of Num+CL can be a noun classifier phrase (NCP) or a verbal classifier phrase (VCP). NCP semantically modifies a noun, while VCP modifies the verb (V). For example:

[1] The Zhōutún examples were collected by the author in the field from Sept. to Oct. 2014, Nov. 2014 to Jan. 2015, and Aug. to Sept. 2015. The main instructors of Zhōutún, among others, are Yongming Zhe (male, 53), Yongmei Hu (female, 52), Chunlong Zhe (male, 30) and Juhua Song (female, 26), who are family members. The following abbreviations are used in the examples: 1-first person pronoun; ACC-Accusative Marker; AM-attributive marker; COMP-Complement Verb; CL-Classifier; EM-Experiencer Marker; EXP-Experiential Marker; OM-Owner Marker; PRF-Perfective; PROG-progressive; PN-Proper Noun; PART-Particle; SG-singular.

(3) 書　一　本 / 一　本　書

fʋ^{13}　i^{11}　pɤ̃^{13}/　i^{11}　pɤ̃^{13} fʋ^{13}

book one　CL/　one CL　book

'one book'

(4) 我　北京　三　回　去　了

ŋɤ^{55}　pɨ^{55}tɕĩ^{11} sã^{11}　xuɨ^{13} tɕ^{h}i^{55} lɔ

1SG　PN　three CL　go　PRF

'I went to Beijing three times.'

In Example (3), the NCP *i^{11} pɤ̃^{13}* semantically modifies the N *fʋ^{13}* whether it follows or precedes the *fʋ^{13}*. In Example (4), the VCP *sã^{11} xuɨ^{13}* modifies the verb *tɕhi^{55}*. In Examples (3) and (4), we can see that NCP is the attribute of N, while VCP is the adverbial of V. That is, NCP and VCP have different syntactic properties.

In *Zhōutún*, noun classifiers and verbal classifiers are two sets without any intersections except for *kɤ^{55}* 個. We introduce *kɤ^{55}* here briefly because it is the most common classifier in *Zhōutún*, regardless of the type of classifier.

As far as classifiers are concerned (or *kɤ^{55}* can also be a demonstrative and a participle), the homophonous form *kɤ^{55}* has a dual identity as both a noun classifier and a verbal classifier. Examples (1) and (2) show its function as a noun classifier; by contrast, in Example (5) below, *kɤ^{55}* is a verbal classifier.

(5) 你 一　个　拾掇　嗒

ni^{13} i^{11}　kɤ^{55}　ʂʅ^{11}tuɤ^{55} ta

you one CL　tidy　PART

'You clear up (somewhere).'

In Example (5), the phrase *i^{11} kɤ^{55}* clearly does not modify the pronoun *ni^{13}*. By contrast, *i^{11} kɤ^{55}* modifies the verb *ʂʅ^{11}tuɤ^{55}*, expressing the subtle meaning of 'to have a try' or 'to do something for a short time'. Therefore, *i^{11} kɤ^{55}* in Example (5) is a VCP rather than a NCP.

2.1.2 Positions

As shown in Example (3), NCP can either follow or precede the N that it modifies, forming the structures of N+NCP and NCP+N, respectively. Of the two structures, the former is used more frequently than the latter, especially when the N is not a subject[2]. Meanwhile, the former is pragmatically neutral, with no additional pragmatic meaning. For example, if native speakers of *Zhōutún* are asked for the natural expression of 'I ate three apples', they would prefer Example (1) above rather than Example (6) below.

(6) ?我　三　個　蘋果　吃　了

ŋɤ^{55} sã^{11}　kɤ^{55}　phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} tʂhʅ^{11} lɔ

1SG three CL　apple　eat　PRF

[2] As discussed in section 4.2, when the N is the subject of a sentence, the NCP+N is used more than N+NCP.

'I ate three apples.'

Compared to the former structure, the latter NCP+N is used under two circumstances.

First, if the numeral is emphasized, then the NCP usually precedes the N, as in Example (7).

(7)我 三 個 蘋果 吃 了， 再 不 吃 了

ŋɤ^{55} sã^{11} kɤ^{55} phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} tʂhɻ^{11} lɔ, tsɛ^{55} pʊ̯^{55} tʂhɻ^{11} lɔ

1SG three CL apple eat PRF, again not eat PRF

'I have eaten three apples and am not eating any more.'

In Example (7), the speaker emphasizes that he or she has eaten THREE apples and thus cannot or does not want to eat any more. Under this circumstance, NCP+N can apply.

The second circumstance under which the NCP precedes the N is when a demonstrative (Dem) is added. See Example (8) below.

(8) a. 我 個 三 個 蘋果 吃 了

ŋɤ^{55} kɤ^{55} sã^{11} kɤ^{55} phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} tʂhɻ^{11} lɔ

1SG this three CL apple eat PRF

b.*我 蘋果 個 三 個 吃 了

ŋɤ^{55} phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} kɤ^{55} sã^{11} kɤ^{55} tʂhɻ^{11} lɔ

1SG apple this three CL eat PRF

c. *我 個 蘋果 三 個 吃 了

ŋɤ^{55} kɤ^{55} phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} sã^{11} kɤ^{55} tʂhɻ^{11} lɔ

1SG this apple three CL eat PRF

'I ate these three apples.'

Example (8) indicates that when a Dem is considered, the only possible structure is Dem+NCP+N, while the NCP cannot be placed after the N.

We now consider VCP. Unlike NCP, the only position of VCP is before V. Hence, Example (9) is ungrammatical.

(9) *我 北京 去 了 三 回

ŋɤ^{55} pɨ^{55}tɕĩ^{11} tɕhi^{55} lɔ sã^{11} xuɨ^{13}

1SG PN go PRF three CL

'I went to Beijing three times.'

In summary, the NCP in *Zhōutún* follows the N in most situations, while it precedes the N when (a) the numeral is emphasized and (b) it is accompanied by a Dem. For VCP, it only precedes the V.

2.2 Postpositional marker *xa* 哈

xa 哈 in *Zhōutún* is a multifunctional marker: it is an accusative marker when it follows the object NP; when adhering to certain subject NP, it is also an experiencer and owner marker. In the flow of speech, *xa* can be *a* 啊 as an allophone. For convenience, we use *xa* in the *Zhōutún* examples throughout this paper.

2.2.1 Accusative marker

When used as an accusative marker, *xa* is not a necessary element. It is often used when the agent and patient of a clause are obscure. Specifically, if the agent and patient share the same animacy hierarchy (e.g., both are humans or animals), *xa* is used to distinguish them. This is shown in Example (10).

(10) a. 扎西 玉林 哈 打 了
tʂa^{55}ɕi^{11} y^{55}lĩ^{13} xa ta^{11} lɔ
PN PN ACC beat PRF
'Zhaxi beat Yulin.'

b. 玉林 哈 扎西 打 了
y^{55}lĩ^{13} xa tʂa^{55}ɕi^{11} ta^{11} lɔ
PN ACC PN beat PRF
'Yulin, Zhaxi beat (him).'

Although the relative order of *tʂa^{55}ɕi^{11}* and *y^{55}lĩ^{13}* differs in Examples (10a) and (10b), *xa* signals the identity of *y^{55}lĩ^{13}* as the patient wherever it is placed.

In sentences such as Example (1), in which the agent and patient are very clear, *xa* is not necessarily used. However, using *xa* to signal the object explicitly is still grammatical. For example, both Examples (11a) and (11b) are grammatically acceptable.

(11) a. 我 蘋果 吃 了
ŋɤ^{55} phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} tʂhʅ^{11} lɔ
1SG apple eat PRF

b. 我 蘋果 哈 吃 了
ŋɤ^{55} phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} xa tʂhʅ^{11} lɔ
1SG apple ACC eat PRF
'I eat apple.'

Syntactically, the accusative marker *xa* is an enclitic adhering to the whole NP rather than the N immediately preceding it, as shown in Example (12).

(12) a. 我 蘋果 帶 香蕉 哈 吃 了
ŋɤ^{55} phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} tɛ^{55} ɕiɑ̃^{11}tɕiɔ^{13} xa tʂhʅ^{11} lɔ
1SG apple and banana ACC eat PRF
'I ate apple and banana.'

b. 我 大 的 (蘋果) 哈 吃 了
ŋɤ^{55} ta^{55} tɤ (phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55}) xa tʂhʅ^{11} lɔ
1SG big AM (apple) ACC eat PRF
'I ate the big (apple).'

In Example (12a), *xa* follows a coordinate NP. If the head N of the NP is omitted, *xa* can follow the headless NP, as shown in Example (12b).

2.2.2 Experiencer and owner marker

Examples (13) and (14) show the functions of *xa* as an experiencer marker and an owner marker, respectively.

(13) 扎西　　哈　餓　　下　　了

tʂa^{55}ɕi^{11}　xa　uɤ^{55}　xɤ^{11}　　lɔ

PN　　EM　hungry COMP　PRF

'Zhaxi is hungry.'

(14) 扎西　　哈　錢兒　沒

tʂa^{55}ɕi^{11}　xa　tɕhiɛ^{55}　mɨ^{13}

PN　　OM money　not having

'Zhaxi has no money.'

In Example (13), the predicate *uɤ*^{55} reflects the subjective feeling of *tʂa*^{55}*ɕi*^{11}. In Example (14), *tʂa*^{55}*ɕi*^{11} is the owner of *tɕhiɛ*^{55}. Therefore, we call *tʂa*^{55}*ɕi*^{11} in Examples (13) and (14) the experiencer and owner, respectively. Subjects representing semantic roles other than experiencer and owner cannot be followed by *xa* (see C. Zhou 2016).

Similar to the accusative marker, the experiencer marker *xa* and the owner marker *xa* are both enclitics adhering to the whole NP rather than the N immediately preceding them. See Examples (15) and (16).

(15) 扎西　帶　連珺　　哈　瞌睡　　了

tʂa^{55}ɕi^{11} tɛ^{55}　liã^{13}tɕỹ^{55} xa　khuɤ^{11}fɨ^{55} lɔ

PN　and　PN　　EM　sleepy　　PRF

'Zhaxi and Lianjun are sleepy.'

(16) 扎西　帶　連珺　　哈　錢兒　沒

tʂa^{55}ɕi^{11} tɛ^{55}　liã^{13}tɕỹ^{55} xa　tɕhiɛ^{55} mɨ^{13}

PN　and　PN　　OM money not having

'Zhaxi and Lianjun have no money.'

2.2.3 Topic marker?

D. Xu (2015) noted that, except for being an accusative marker, the *xa* in *Tángwāng* (as well as in some other dialects in Northwestern China) can also be a topic marker and a final particle, as in Examples (17-19), cited from D. Xu (2015: 16)[3]:

(17) jɑ̃　　xa　tʂhɳ　tʂɛ

sheep TOP eat　DUR

'Sheep are grazing on the grass.'

(18)　nə　ʂu　xa　khɛ　xa　liɔ

[3] According to D. Xu (2015), the abbreviations used in Examples (17) to (19) are as follows: 3-third person; ACC-accusative; DUR-durative; FP-final particle; PRF-perfect; RES-resultative; SG-singular; TOP-topic;

3SG book ACC read RES PRF

'He has read the book.'

(19) tu ʂʅ ʑI tɕia ʐə̃ xa

all be one family man FP

'All of us belong to one family.'

Of the two functions (i.e., topic marker and final particle), we focus on the topic marker because this function sometimes leads to ambiguity relative to the accusative marker.

In *Zhōutún*, *xa* cannot be a topic marker. That is, if we construct a sentence with *xa* that formally corresponds to Example (17) in *Tángwāng*, the semantic role of "sheep" would vary from the agent to the patient role, as in Example (20).

(20) 羊 哈 吃 著 個

iɑ̃^{13} xa tʂhʅ^{11} tʂɤ^{13} kɤ

sheep ACC eat PROG PART

'Sheep is being eaten.'

Although "sheep" in both Examples (17) and (20) are topics pragmatically, the one in Example (20) can be an accusative only syntactically, which excludes the possibility of analyzing iɑ̃^{13} as an agent.

3. The nature of Num+CL

As discussed above, in *Zhōutún*, both the syntactic property and position of VCP are clear; thus, we do not address VCP in the sections below. The Num+CL discussed in this section and below is NCP, unless otherwise stated.

The criterion that we use to define the nature of NCP is the position of *xa*. Specifically, because *xa* adheres to NP, the corollary would be that NCP on the left side of *xa* belongs to NP and is the attribute of the head N of the NP, whereas NCP on the right side of *xa* is not an element of NP and then cannot be the attribute of the N of the NP.

For convenience, we henceforth use N_s to indicate N as a subject and N_o to indicate N as an object.

3.1 Attribute

3.1.1 In NCP+N

In the structure of NCP+N, NCP is the attribute of N, regardless of whether N is N_s or N_o. This is shown in Examples (21) and (22).

(21) 兩 個 貓娃 哈 餓 下 了

liɑ̃^{11} kɤ^{13} mɔ^{11}ua^{13} xa uɤ^{55} xɤ^{11} lɔ

two CL cat EM hungry COMP PRF

'Two cats are hungry.'

(22) 我 三 個 蘋果 哈 吃 了，再 不 吃 了

ŋɤ^{55} sɑ̃^{11} kɤ^{55} phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} xa tʂhʅ^{13} lɔ, tsɛ^{55} pɣ^{55} tʂhʅ^{11} lɔ

1SG three CL apple ACC eat PRF, again not eat PRF

'I have eaten three apples and am not eating any more.'

In these two examples above, *xa* is an experiencer marker and an accusative marker, respectively. The NCPs in both sentences are on the left side of *xa*; hence, they are the component of the NP and the attribute of the head N.

3.1.2 In N+NCP

In the structure of N+NCP, NCP cannot be arbitrarily regarded as the post-attribute. However, whether NCP in this structure is an attribute depends on which argument—subject or object—the N fulfills.

If N is N_s, then the NCP following the N_s is the post-attribute. See Example (19).

(23) 貓娃 兩 個 哈 餓 下 了

mɔ^{11}ua^{13} liã^{11} kɤ^{13} xa uɤ^{55} xɤ^{11} lɔ

cat two CL EM hungry COMP PRF

'Two cats are hungry.'

In Example (23), because it is on the left side of *xa*, the NCP belongs to the NP and is the post-attribute of N_s. Although *xa* can follow only a subject with the semantic roles of experiencer and owner, it is sufficient to prove that NCP is the post-attribute of N_s.

If, however, N is N_o, then the NCP following the N_o is not the post-attribute. We will discuss this case in detail below.

3.2 Adverbial

3.2.1 Attribute?

In the structure of N_o+NCP, the NCP is not the post-attribute of the N_o, as *xa* can only be placed behind N_o (i.e., the NCP falls on the right side of *xa*). See Example (20).

(24) a. 我 蘋果 哈 三 個 吃 了

ŋɤ^{55} phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} xa sã^{11} kɤ^{55} tʂhɻ^{11} lɔ

1SG apple ACC three CL eat PRF

b.*我 蘋果 三 個 哈 吃 了

ŋɤ^{55} phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} sã^{11} kɤ^{55} xa tʂhɻ^{11} lɔ

1SG apple three CL ACC eat PRF

'I ate three apples.'

Example (24a) shows the only possible position of *xa* as an accusative marker. It is ungrammatical for *xa* to be placed after NCP, as shown in Example (24b). Therefore, it is clear that the NCP is not the attribute of N_o.

3.2.2 Object?

Could NCP be the object of a sentence such as (24a)? This possibility does exist in that, semantically speaking, NCP has the patient role, particularly when the N_o is omitted, as in Example (25).

(25) 我 三 個 吃 了
ŋɤ^{55} sã^{11} kɤ^{55} tʂhɻ^{11} lɔ
1SG three CL eat PRF
'I ate three.'

However, *sã^{11} kɤ^{55}* in Example (25) cannot be analyzed as an object because *xa* cannot appear after *sã^{11} kɤ^{55}*. Moreover, if NCP is the object, we would face a theoretical problem—a transitive clause would have two objects, including N_o and NCP—and this cannot be acceptable.

In *Zhōutún*, objects can be moved to the beginning of a sentence for certain pragmatic reasons (such as emphasis). *phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55}* in Example (24a) can be moved with *xa*, while *sã^{11} kɤ^{55}* cannot be moved simultaneously, as in Example (26).

(26) a. 蘋果 哈 我 三 個 吃 了
phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} xa ŋɤ^{55} sã^{11} kɤ^{55} tʂhɻ^{11} lɔ
apple ACC 1SG three CL eat PRF
b.*蘋果 哈 三 個 我 吃 了
phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55} xa sã^{11} kɤ^{55} ŋɤ^{55} tʂhɻ^{11} lɔ
apple ACC three CL 1SG eat PRF
'Apple, I ate three.'

sã^{11} kɤ^{55} cannot be moved as in *phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55}*, the real object; instead, it remains in the position before V. Therefore, we can conclude that *sã^{11} kɤ^{55}* is not the object.

One could claim that *phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55}* in Example (26a) is the topic such that *sã^{11} kɤ^{55}* could still be the object. Indeed, this analysis is feasible in Modern Standard Mandarin (MSM), as shown in Example (27a)[4].

(27) a. 蘋果 我 吃 了 三 個
píngguǒ wǒ chī le sān gè
apple 1SG eat PRF three CL
'Apples, I ate three.'
b.我 吃 了 三 個 蘋果
wǒ chī le sān gè píngguǒ
1SG eat PRF three CL apple
'I ate three apples.'

Liu (2007) calls The *píngguǒ* in Example (27a) a "split topic" to indicate that it has moved from the position in (27b) as a part of the object NP. In that sense, the object *sān gè píngguǒ* in Example (27b) is split into two parts, with the original attribute *sān gè* remaining and serving as the object on its own, while the original head N of the object NP (i.e., *píngguǒ*) is topicalized. At first glance, Examples (26a) and (27a) seem to be similar in that *píngguǒ* is moved to the beginning in both sentences and *sān gè* remains as the object. However, Examples (26a) and (27a) fundamentally differ.

[4] The MSM examples were constructed by the author, who is a native speaker.

In their series work on "topics" in Chinese, L. Xu and Liu (2007) and Liu (2007) emphasized that the term "topic" in Chinese was defined from a syntactic rather than pragmatic perspective. In other words, "topic" in Chinese is a syntactic element that is somehow equivalent to other arguments such as subjects and objects in that they all occupy a grammatical slot. [5]Hence, we can state that *píngguǒ* in Example (27a) is the topic and *sān gè* is the object; the entire sentence has the order T(opic)SVO. The same situation can be found in *Tángwāng*, as shown in Example (28), cited from D. Xu (2014: 209)[6]:

(28) 我 羊 哈 買 料 一 個，牛 哈 買 料 一 個
1SG sheep xa buy PRF one CL, cow xa buy PRF one CL
'Sheep, I bought one; cow, I bought one.'

The author did not mention whether the concept of "topic" in *Tángwāng* is a grammatical one or merely a pragmatic one. However, because *xa* can be a topic marker in *Tángwāng* (as shown in Example (17)), it at least leaves a possibility to treat the "sheep" and "cow" in Example (28) as "split topics" to avoid the two-object predicament.

However, we cannot apply the same analysis to Example (26a) (i.e., treating $phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55}$ in Example (26a) as a "split topic") because in (26a), $phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55}$ is syntactically an object indicated by the accusative marker *xa*, which is not, according to 2.2.3, a topic marker. That is, if we want to avoid the two-object predicament, we cannot define $sã^{11}\ kɤ^{55}$ as an object, given that $phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55}$ has already occupied the objective slot and has no possibility to be treated as a "split topic" at all.

3.2.3 Adverbial

If the NCP in N_o+NCP is neither the post-attribute of the N_o nor the object of the clauses, what is its identity? Perhaps the only remaining possibility is a semantically awkward but syntactically feasible one: NCP is the adverbial modifying V in terms of quantification. More specially, NCP in the structure of N_o+NCP+V modifies the V backward, bearing the quantificational meaning of V. This analysis is applicable for the reasons below.

First, in *Zhōutún*, the Num+CL immediately before V could be the adverbial. VCP is undoubtedly the adverbial. We do not discuss this in detail here. In fact, NCP could also be the adverbial, as shown in Example (28).

(28) 我 扎西 哈 一 米 高 著 個
$ŋɤ^{55}$ $tʂa^{55}ɕi^{11}$ xa i^{11} mi^{13} $kɔ^{11}$ $tʂɤ^{13}$ $kɤ$
1SG PN ACC one CL tall PROG PART

[5] To fully prove that the "topic" in Chinese occupy a grammatical slot is a long story, and it is not the aim of this paper. Simply put, according to L. Xu and Liu (2007), it is hard to point out the syntactic property of some constituents in Chinese sentences, unless we admit the the concept of "topic" as a grammatical constituent. Take the sentence below (L. Xu and Liu 2007:41):水果，我最喜歡蘋果(fruit, I most like apple) 'As for fruits, I like apples most.' In this sentence, the word 水果 is neither the subject nor the object (since these two slots have already been occupied by other constituents). Thus, we should admit that 水果 is a grammatical topic, occupying the topic slot.

[6] We adjusted the form of the examples, adding abbreviations and translation into English that were lacking in the original book.

'I am one meter taller than Zhaxi.'

Example (28) shows the common expression of comparative constructions in *Zhōutún*. In semantic terms, the compareee is $ŋɤ^{55}$, the standard is $tɕa^{55}ɕi^{11}$, the comparative result is $kɔ^{11}$, and the NCP i^{11} mi^{13} reflects the specific value of the result. In this sentence, i^{11} mi^{13} is not the post-attribute of $tɕa^{55}ɕi^{11}$ because of its relative position to *xa* (even if *xa* is not considered, it is difficult to claim that i^{11} mi^{13} is the attribute because, semantically speaking, it does not relate to $tɕa^{55}ɕi^{11}$). Additionally, i^{11} mi^{13} cannot be the object of the sentence because $tɕa^{55}ɕi^{11}$ has occupied the objective slot. We define i^{11} mi^{13} as an adverbial describing the degree of $kɔ^{11}$, similar to how *one meter* in the corresponding English translation does so.

Second, as shown in Examples (26a) and (26b), the NCP $sɑ̃^{11}$ $kɤ^{55}$ is fixed on the position before V, lacking the ability to move to the beginning of the sentence as the object $phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55}$ does. Thus, based on the principle of linguistic iconicity (see Haiman 1985), NCP is closer to V than to N_o. Likewise, Num+CL as an adverbial is also fixed on the position before the verb. On the one hand, as discussed in 2.1.2, VCP cannot be moved away. On the other hand, the NCP i^{11} mi^{13} in Example (28) cannot be placed in any other positions. In parallel, the NCP as in $sɑ̃^{11}$ $kɤ^{55}$ in Example (26a) is also the adverbial.

Considering Examples (4-5), (9), (24), (26) and (28) together, we can state that in *Zhōutún*, if a structure of Num+CL (including both NCP and VCP) falls between the N_o and the core predicate (typically verbs but sometimes adjectives) and if Num+CL is not an element of the NP that takes the N_o as the head, then Num+CL is an adverbial modifier describing the quantitative property of the predicate.

Based on the discussion above, it is legitimate to identify NCP in N_o+NCP+V as the adverbial of V. This legitimacy is from the perspective of syntax rather than semantics. After all, NCP is much closer to N_o than to V in semantics. Thus, a syntax-semantics mismatch arises: elements that are close in syntax are remote in semantics, and vice versa. How can this challenge be solved? Syntax should be the prime principle. Therefore, the NCP in N_o+NCP+V is an adverbial rather than an attribute. For the syntax-semantics mismatch, we consider that it is not a rare phenomenon. One enlightening case is in Example (29) in MSM.

(29) 我 讀 了 一 年 的 書
wǒ dú le yì nián de shū
1SG read PRF one year AM book
'I read books for one year.'

In Example (29), followed by the attributive marker 的, the NCP *yì nián* is syntactically the attribute of *shū*. Semantically, *yì nián* modifies the verb *dú*, expressing the temporal information. In the literature on Chinese linguistics, this *yì nián* is known as a "fake attribute" (see Huang 2008, among others), indicating that it is an attribute. However, this identity is somewhat "fake" because it semantically modifies the verb rather than the noun.

Following the "fake attribute", we call the NCP in N_o+NCP+V in *Zhōutún* a "fake adverbial", which means that the NCP is an adverbial of the V, but this identity is "fake" because it semantically

modifies the N_o rather than the V.

4. Language contact and Num+CL in *Zhōutún*

In this section, we focus on (4.1) possible shifting routes of Num+CL in *Zhōutún* and (4.2) explanation of the behavior of Num+CL in *Zhōutún*.

4.1 Possible shifting routes of Num+CL in *Zhōutún*

4.1.1 From Pattern I to Pattern II

Among the languages of the Sino-Tibetan family, if CL is not considered for the present (because the position of CL relative to Num may vary among languages), the order of Num exhibits two patterns: in Mandarin or even in all of Chinese, the order of Num is Num+N and V+Num, which is called Pattern I in this paper; by contrast, many languages of the Tibeto-Burman branch have the order of N+Num and Num+V (see Ma 2003; Li 2008; among others), which is called Pattern II in this paper. As presented in Table 1, Pattern I and Pattern II are mirror images of one another.

Table 1: Pattern I and Pattern II

Pattern I	Pattern II
Num+N	N+Num
V+Num	Num+V

MSM is a representative language of Pattern I, as in Example (30):

(30) a.我　看見　了　三　個　人
wǒ　kànjiàn le　sān　gè　rén
1SG　see　PRF　three　CL people
'I saw three people.'

b.我　這　本　書　看　過　三　遍　了
wǒ　zhèi　běn　shū　kàn　guò　sān　biàn　le
1SG　this-one　CL　book　read　EXP　three　CL PRF
'I have read this book three times.'

In Example (30a), *sān gè rén* represents the Num+CL+N pattern, and in Example (30b), *kàn guò sān biàn* shows the V+Num+CL pattern.

AT, which intensely influenced *Zhōutún*, exhibits Pattern II, as in Example (31)[7]:

(31) a. kan na la hdʑu　thəm htɕək jɔ khə
那兒　辣子　包　一　有
there　pepper　CL　one　have
那兒有一包辣椒。
'There is a bag of pepper.'

b.mər hga　thaŋ ma　hsəm joŋ nə

[7] The AT examples are from Machu speech, a typical dialect of AT, cited from Zhou (2003:203). We adjusted the form of the examples by adding abbreviations and translation into English that were lacking in the original book.

她 （助） 次（趟）三 來 了

she (PART) CL (CL) three come PRF

她來了三趟。

'She came here three times.'

In Example (31a), the NCP *thəm htɛək* is the post-attribute of the N *la hdzu*; in Example (31b), the VCP *thaŋ ma hsəm* is the adverbial of the verb *joŋ*.[8]

Note the slight difference between MSM and AT if CL is considered: in MSM, the relative order between Num and CL is NumCL, whereas in AT, the order is CLNum.

Obviously, *Zhōutún* underwent the shift from Pattern I to Pattern II as a result of the deep contact with AT. In the process of shifting, VCP has completely moved to the front of V, while NCP still remains in the position before N in certain cases, indicating the trace of Pattern I in MSM.

4.1.2 Which one (VCP or NCP) shifted faster?

This section attempts to reconstruct possible sequence in the shifts of NCP (from before the N (as in Pattern I) to after the N (as in Pattern II)) and VCP (from after the V (as in Pattern I) to before the V (as in Pattern II)) in *Zhōutún*. The conclusion is that the VCP shifted first and then did the NCP. The reasons are as follows.

The first evidence comes from *Zhōutún* itself. As mentioned in section 3, there is only one possible order of VCP relative to V, i.e., VCP+V; while two possible sequences of NCP and N exist: NCP+N and N+NCP. We may thus assume that the VCP has already accomplished the shift from after the V to before the V, while the NCP is still on the way to shifting from before the N to after the N.

The second evidence is indirect, which comes from *Xīníng* and *Tángwāng*, two dialects similar to *Zhōutún* in that they are all undergoing the shift from VO to OV due to the language contact. In these two dialects, it was the VCP that first abandoned its original position, moving from after the V to before the V. See Examples (32) and (33) from *Tángwāng*[9].

(32) *Xīníng* (Ren 2004: 340, 343)

a. 自行車 騎 上 了 鄉 里 跑 一 趟

bicycle ride up PRF town in run one CL

騎著自行車去了一趟鄉里。

'Ride a bicycle and go to the town one time.'

b. 一 個 月 里 十 幾 趟 跑 者

one CL month in ten nearly CL run PROG

一個月里去了十幾趟。

[8] *thaŋ ma hsəm* in Example (31b) is defined as the "complement" by Zhou (2003). In fact, in the literature on minority languages in China, scholars typically use the term 'complement' bǔyǔ 補語 corresponding to the constituents of Chinese that appear after the verb. However, those so-called complements are actually adverbials (see Liu 2008b).

[9] We adjusted the form of Examples (32) and (33), adding abbreviations and translation into English that were lacking in the original article and book.

'Go (somewhere) more than ten times in a month.'

(33) *Tángwāng* (D. Xu 2014: 210)

a. 我 書 哈 看 料 兩 遍

1SG book ACC read PRF two CL

b. 我 書 哈 兩 遍 看 料

1SG book ACC two CL read PRF

'I read the book twice.'

In Example (32a), the VCP 一趟 'one time' is located after the V, while in Example (32b), the VCP 十几趟 'more than ten times' has moved to the front of the V. In Example (33) from *Tángwāng*, the situation is similar.

Compared to VCP, the NCP in both *Xīníng* and *Tángwāng* are still before the N they modify. See Examples (34) and (35)[10].

(34) *Xīníng* (Ren 2004: 339)

狗 一 個 娃娃 啊 咬 下 了

dog one CL child ACC bite COMP PRF

狗咬了個孩子。

'The dog bit a child.'

(35) *Tángwāng* (D. Xu 2014: 209)

一 個 老 漢，三 個 娃娃

one CL old man, three CL child

'An old man and three children.'

As shown in Examples (34) and (35), the NCPs in both sentences precede the N they modify, and these two authors do not mention the situation in which the NCP follows the N.

Based on the situations of *Xīníng* and *Tángwāng*, we can reasonably assume that in *Zhōutún*, the VCP has first moved from after the V to before the V, while the position of NCP changed later, from before the N to after the N.

4.2 How to explain the behavior of NCP in *Zhōutún*

In *Zhōutún*, the NCP in the structure of N+NCP is not always the post-attribute of the N. Instead, when the N is N_s, the following NCP is the attribute; if the N is N_o, the NCP would be the adverbial of the verb after it. This phenomenon does not exist in AT, in which NCP is always the attribute, regardless of N_s or N_o, or in MSM, whose NCP is before the N it modifies. Hence, given its difference from both AT and MSM, how can we explain the behavior of NCP in *Zhōutún*? Two possible factors can be considered.

First, if Num is not considered, all kinds of attributes appear before the N they modify in *Zhōutún*. See Example (36).

[10] We adjusted the form of Examples (34) and (35), adding abbreviations and translation into English that were lacking in the original article and book.

(36) a.蘋果　　樹

phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55}　fu̯^{55}

apple　tree

'apple tree'

b.尕　阿舅

ka^{13} a^{11}tɕiɯ^{55}

little uncle(maternal)

'little uncle'

c. 書　看　著　的 學生娃

fu̯^{13}　kã^{55}　tsɤ　tɤ　ɕyɤ^{11}sɤ̃^{55}ua^{11}

[book read PROG AM]$_{RC}$ student

'student who is reading the book'

The constituents as the attribute in each sentence of Example (36) are the noun *phĩ^{11}kuɤ^{55}*, the adjective *ka^{13}*, and the relative clause.

The situation in which all types of attributes, especially relative clauses, appear before the noun they modify reflects a distinctive feature of MSM as a VO language (Dryer 1992; Liu 2008a). In the process of shifting from a VO language to an OV language, *Zhōutún* maintains this feature of having attributes appear before the noun they modify. Therefore, if the NCP that moved to the right side of the noun becomes the post-attribute, an asymmetry would emerge: the NCP would be the only attribute that follows the noun. Thus, one can reasonably speculate that the syntactic system of *Zhōutún* would attempt to avoid this asymmetry as much as possible.

One could claim that in N_s+NCP, the NCP is still the attribute. This claim is likely true because there is no other possible analysis for the NCP in N_s+NCP unless we define the NCP as a post-attribute. Specifically, in N_o+NCP+V, the NCP does not merely adhere to N_o but also linearly adheres to V, revealing the possibility of being analyzed as an adverbial. By contrast, the NCP in N_s+NCP+N_o has no opportunity to play another role except for a post-attribute. Hence, considering the NCP to be a post-attribute in N_s+NCP is inevitable. However, there are other ways in *Zhōutún* to partly decrease the number of N_s+NCP, as shown in Examples (37) and (38) below.

(37) 兩　個　人　　來　了

liɑ̃^{11} kɤ^{55} ɻɣ̃^{13}　lɛ^{13}　lɔ

two CL　people come PRF

'Two people come.'

(38) 人　　一　個　人　　沒

ɻɣ̃^{13}　i^{11}　kɤ^{55}　ɻɣ̃^{13}　　mɨ^{13}

people one　CL　people　not have

'There is no one.'

Example (37) shows a common relative order of N_s and NCP: NCP+N_s. According to our research, the number of NCP+N in *Zhōutún* is greater when the N is N_s than that when the N is N_o (roughly in a proportion of three to one). Example (38) represents another way to resist the structure

of N_s+NCP, i.e., copy the N_s and add it to the right side of NCP, forming the structure "N_s"+NCP+N_s. In this structure, the first N_s is no longer the subject, instead, it becomes a topic; while the second N_s becomes the only subject. Therefore, the original structure N_s+NCP is changed to N_{topic}+NCP+N_s, successfully avoiding the N_s+NCP. To sum up, the grammar of *Zhōutún* has some methods to decrease the number of N_s+NCP, trying its best to avoid the asymmetry that the NCP is the only kind of attribute in the whole system.

We now consider AT. Although there are some pre-positional attributes, post-positional attributes also exist in AT, as in Example (39) (M. Zhou 2003:296)[11].

(39) a.tɕhu ham ɳoŋ ŋa wo kan me khə
你的 鞋 旧 的 那 没有
yours shoes old that not have
你那双旧鞋不在了。
'The old shoes of yours are not there.'

b.mər hgi mdzək htɕi se ro kan ɳoŋ wa re
她的 戒 指 黄的 那 旧 是
her ring yellow that old is
她的那只黄戒指是旧的。
'That yellow ring of hers is old.'

In the examples above, the underlined constituents are attributes. We can observe that the possessive pronouns are before the head noun they modify, while the adjectives and demonstratives are behind the noun.

That is, in contrast to attributes in *Zhōutún*, attributes in AT can be post-positional. Thus, the finding that Num/NCP can be a post-attribute is not surprising.

Second, if the attempt to avoid asymmetry in which NCP is the only post-attribute in *Zhōutún* restricts the NCP in N_o+NCP to become the attribute, then the language universal that adverbials appear before verbs in OV languages suggests that NCP can be as an adverbial.

According to Greenberg (1963), a language with SOV word order inclines to has its adverbials precede the verb. This universal was further proved by Dryer (1992), based on data from a great number of languages. *Zhōutún*, as a SOV language, does follows this universal: the position just before the V in *Zhōutún* is for adverbials, see Example (4) and (5) for the VCP as adverbial, and also shown in Example (40) below.

(40) 你 飯 慢慢兒 吃
ni^{13} fã^{55} mã^{55}mɤ^{55} tʂhɳ^{13}
you dinner slowly eat
'You eat dinner slowly.'

In Example (40), the constituent adjacent to the verb is the adverbial *mã^{55}mɤ^{55}* 'slowly' rather

[11] We adjusted the form of the examples, adding abbreviations and translation into English that were lacking in the original book.

than the object *fã*^{55} 'dinner', indicating that the adverbials locate just before the V in *Zhōutún*.

Therefore, in the structure of N_o+NCP+V, the NCP could be considered an adverbial.

As discussed in 4.1.2, the position of VCP changes faster than that of NCP. There is a simple explanation for this: this situation accords with the prediction of language universals in that, on the one hand, the universal claimed by Greenberg (1963) urges that the VCP, as an adverbial, move to the front of the V when the basic word order of *Zhōutún* varied from SVO to SOV; on the other hand, as Dryer (1992: 118) claimed, "the two orders of numeral and noun (i.e., NumN and NNum in the citer's word) are equally common among OV languages". That is, there is no impetus for the NCP in *Zhōutún* to move to follow the N. Hence, it is not difficult to understand why the VCP changed faster than the NCP did.

5. Conclusion

The possibilities for the structure of Num+CL in *Zhōutún* are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Num+CL in *Zhōutún*

Type	VCP	NCP		
Structure	VCP+V	NCP+N	N_s+NCP	N_o+NCP
Syntactic property	Adverbial	Attribute	Attribute	Adverbial

The fact that language can change as a result of contact is universally recognized (see, e.g., Thomason 2001; Thomason & Kaufman 1991). Intense language contact occurs in northwestern China, especially in the area to the west of Gānsù Province, the east of Qīnghǎi Province and the border between the two. In that area, AT, Altaic (Mongolian and Turkic) and Mandarin (Central Plains Mandarin) are interconnected, forming Chinese dialects with deep contact or mixed languages.

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唐汪话中与东乡语有关的词

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唐汪话是中国甘肃省东乡族自治县的唐汪人使用的语言，其语音基本保持了汉语语音的面貌；词汇中，基本词汇和一般词汇的绝大部分是汉语的，有少量阿拉伯语、波斯语词，还有一部分东乡语的词且有不少属于基本词汇；但是，唐汪话的语法却受少数民族语言尤其东乡语的影响很深，有格等语法范畴，句子结构和蒙古语族语言一致而和标准汉语区别较大。对唐汪话，有些学者认为是混合语，有些认为是混合程度较低的混合语，有些认为是一种掺有东乡语成分的回民汉语，还没有达到混合语的程度。

本文只讨论唐汪话词汇中与东乡语有关的词。这些词主要有形义一致的词、不同形但同义的仿造词、词义扩展的词以及摹拟词，这些都反映了唐汪话中东乡语的词及东乡族思维的留存。

一、形义一致的词

形义一致的词很容易辨别，也就是通常人们认为的借词，但我们认为它是东乡语的“底层”成分。笔者发表在《民族语文》1985 年第 6 期的《甘肃境内唐汪话记略》一文在介绍这部分词时认为数量很少，大概只有几十个，但我们这些年记录的结果却远远大于这个数，有近二百个，但这肯定不是全部。我们将记录的这些词列下（为了简便，唐汪话不标声调）：

唐汪话	词性	东乡语	词义
ata	名	ata	爸爸
ana	名	ana	妈妈
apa	名	apa	叔叔
amu	名	amu	伯母
aka	名	aka	哥哥
suxuɛ̃tʂʻɻ	名	suxõtʂʻɻ	伴娘
pʻɔsuɛ̃tʂʻɻ	名	pʻɔsõtʂʻɻ	婚宴上跑堂的
tʂɛ̃liɛ̃	名	tʂəl̃iə̃（=）①	朋友
tuəsɪ	名	tosɪ（=）	朋友
ɛ̃ta	名、形容	ã̃ta	朋友、友好
amutɪ	名	amutɪ	同名的人
kajitɕiɔ	名	kajitɕiɔ	弟兄

①很多词的唐汪话和东乡语读音完全一致，但由于音位体系不同，记录的国际音标有的不完全一致，对读音一致而音标不一致的，我们在东乡语的音标后用（=）予以注明，下同。

vəlũ	代	orũ	我（用于引语）
manikʻũ	名	mani kʻũ	自己人
nɔzɻsɪ	名	nɔrɯsɪ	头目
vəliətʂʻə̃	名	oliətʂʻɯ̃（=）	孤儿
xamizəu	名	xamirəu	老眯眼的人
xalɔ	名、形容	xalɔ	难看的、难看之人
akuna	名	akuna	好看可爱的小姑娘
pʻatũ	名	pʻatũ	胖姑娘
pʻatũkɛ	名	pʻatũki	矮胖子
patutɕiʃ̃	名	piətuki	壮实的人
xəliɔvu	名	həliəwu	苍鹰
kuku	名	kuku	布谷鸟
xuətəu	名	xotəu（=）	蛆
xũkula	名	hũqura	蜣螂
xuəxuətʻu	名	xoxotəu	鼹鼠、田鼠
lɛpaxa	名	paʁa	蛤蟆
tɕʻikala	名	paqara	牛羊的小腿
tapala	名	tawala	膀胱、水泡
xɪsuɪ	名	xɪsuɪ	鸡胯、鸡股骨
tɕitɕiɛ̃	名	tɕitɕiə̃（=）	鸡尾骨
kʻukʻu	形容	kʻukʻu	孵鸡期的（母鸡）
xala	名	ala	裆部
papa	名	papa	小鸡鸡
vuɕĩ	名	uɕĩ（=）	脸
niɛ̃kaka	名	niə̃kar	脸色
akuku	名	aku	瞳孔
kuəkuə	名、动	koko（=）	乳房、吃奶
kuəkuə puətuə	名	koko poto（=）	奶头
puətuə	名	poto（=）	物体上突出的小球状物
nɛpuətuə	名	nɛpoto（=）	奶嘴
kukuta	名	kukuta	团、小球
nəunəu（儿语）	名	nəunəu	衣服
məuməu（儿语）	名	mɔmɔ	牛
tutu（儿语）	名	tutu	驴
'mama（儿语）	名	'mama	绵羊
ma'ma（儿语）	名	ma'ma	馍馍
kuku （儿语）	名	kuku	鸡
tataxa（儿语）	动	tata	站起来
nana（儿语）	动	nana	躺下、睡觉
patə̃ （儿语）	动	patə̃（=）	跌倒
mutə̃ （儿语）	动	mutəu	碰碰头
ʂuɛtuə （儿语）	动	ʂuɛto（=）	摇头
tɕitɕi （儿语）	动	tɕitɕi	尿尿
tsəutsəu（儿语）	动	tsəutsəu	烫

akiəkiə（儿语）	名	akiəkiə	脏东西
pɛ̃pɛ̃（儿语）	名	pãpã	面条儿
mənə mənə（儿语）	名	mənə mənə	诵念的声音
tʂũpula	名	tʂũpula	大馒头
matɕʻiə	名	matɕʻiə	花卷
luəpʻuəluə	名	lopʻoro	用几种原粮煮成的肉粥
luəxuətʻəu	名	loʁotʻəu	菜和玉米面疙瘩做成的食物
vuəvuə	名	owo（=）	小米面窝头
kʻəpapu	名	kʻəpapu	炒肝
tuvana	名	tuwana（=）	葬礼上的油饼
sataxa	名	sɪtaʁa	祭奠活动
miɛ̃pʻu	名	miəpʻu（=）	为祭奠举办方献的面
xaxaɕiɔ	名	xaxaɕiɔ	很容易坏的物件
tsɪtɕia	名	tɕitsa	胶状的烟子
tsũtsũ	名	tsũtsũ	污渍
ʂala	名	ʂala	土坑一边的矮墙
kʻuəkʻuə	名	kʻokʻo（=）	小坑
talɔ̃	名	talã（=）	矮梁子
tʂʻəutʂʻəu	名	tʂʻəutʂʻəu	口袋
tʂʻɛ̃tʂʻɛ̃	名	tʂʻə̃tʂʻə̃（=）	棉裹肚
vuətsɪ	名	otsɪ（=）	老式棉布鞋
suluka	名	suluka	碎布条
akuku	名	akuku	过家家玩的布小人
xəuva	名	xəuwa（=）	陀螺
tɛ̃jɔ̃	名	tãjã（=）	游戏用的小石子
tʻuəluəluə	名	tʻororo	圆而平的东西
kʻɔ̃tɔ̃ku	名	kʻãtãku（=）	家什（含贬义）
nɔ̃ka	名	nãqa	汉民
niɛ̃kiəta	名	niə̃kiəta	腼腆又死心眼儿的人
vazɻtɕiɔ̃	名	warɯtɕiã	穷困者
pʻiatata	名	pʻiatata	漂浮之人
lɔ̃tɕia	名	lãtɕia（=）	教主
tuəsɪtɔ̃	名	tosɪtã（=）	教友
tʻuxuatʂʻɻ	名	tʻuxuatʂʻɻ	操东乡语的人
nəmatʂʻɻ	名	nəmasɪtʂʻɻ	到清真寺做礼拜的人
tʻɔ̃lɔ	名	tʻãlɔ（=）	瘫痪病人
manəu	名	manəu	念珠
ʂɛtʻɔ̃	名	ʂɛtʻã（=）	鬼
suəpuəluə	名	soporo	不吉的、邪乎的
saxalɪ	名	saharɪ	封斋前吃的早饭
ajə	名	ajə	古尔邦节
səupʻitʂʻu	名	səupʻitʂʻu	吝啬鬼
məji	名	məji	葬礼
tɔzɻ	名	tɔrɪ	诵经的音调

pəsəlɪ	名	pəsərɪ	白来之财
piək‘a	名	piək‘a	挤前以显存在者
pak‘a	名	pak‘a	派系
nɛɕiɔ̃	名	nɛɕia（=）	定额、份额、指标
ɕi ɛ̃tsɪ	名	ɕiə̃tsɪ（=）	时间、会儿
tʂ‘ɛ̃pə	名	tʂ‘ə̃pər	可能性
xali	名	hali	能力
sutuku	名	sutuku	能耐
tʂɔ̃ɕiɛ̃	名	tʂə̃ɕiə̃（=）	说闲话者
lɔ̃pɪ	名	lə̃pɪ（=）	游手好闲者
tɕiəlia	名、形容	tɕiəlia	坏蛋、无赖
vupali	形容	upali（=）	可怜
tɕitɔ̃	形容	tɕitə̃（=）	结实
kaləpa	形容	karɯpa	小而壮实
xələpa	形容	xərɯpa	大而壮实
xəlɪ	形容	hərɪ	热心
malik‘utʂ‘ɛ	形容	malik‘utʂ‘ɛ	粗糙的
muəxutsɪ	形容	moxutsɪ（=）	细碎的
kualiməʂə	形容	kualiməʂə	傻乎乎
tuəxũ	形容	toʁũ	丑
vət‘uəxũ	形容	ot‘oʁu	（脾气）坏
mɔɕiɛ̃	形容	mɔɕiə̃（=）	坏的
amani	形容	amani	安逸、省事
luɛ̃pa	形容	lə̃pa	不爱收拾的、邋遢
t‘ala	形容、动	t‘ala	中意、合适
nɛla	形容、动	nɛra	适合、中意
jitɔniɛ̃	副、形容	itɔniə̃（=）	干脆、固执
k‘uətuəluə	动	k‘otolo（=）	正合适
tsʻɪvata	动	sɪwata	撕扯
tɕiɔtala	动	tɕiɔtala	打扰
səvəlie	动	sɪwəliə	纠缠、骚扰
muk‘ulie	动	muq‘uliə	无牙者咀嚼食物
pɛsala	动	pɛsala	显摆
suta	动	suta	尝味道
tɕikəta	动	tɕiqɯta	拥挤
piəkiəta	动	piəkiəta	挤进
kə̃tɕita	动	kɯ̃tɕita（=）	憋上气鼓劲
paxata	动	paʁata	爬行
puɕĩta	动	piɕĩta	变弱
ʐəutala	动	rəutara	变蔫儿
xəxətɕie	动	həhətɕiə	哽咽、使尽浑身解数
səusəula	动	səusəula	痒痒
tʂuɔ̃mutɕi	动	tʂomu kiə	住嘴
tatɪ	动	tatɪ	牵手

xutula	动	xutura	犯糊涂
alɪ	动	alɪ	瞪
tʂʅxələ	动	tʂəʁərə	厌烦
puəluəluə	动	porolo	精神不振
tʂuəxu	动	tʂoʁu	合意、舒适
kʻutula	动	qʻutura	挥霍
kʻutuxu	动	qʻutuʁu	捣乱
muəsuəluə	动	mosolo（=）	磨蹭
muəlu	动	moluta	慢慢地做
tulala	动	turala	愿意
tsũkuna	动	tsũquna	小声哭闹、矫揉造作
ələɕiə	动	ərəɕiə	做多事
tɔxuəluə	动	tɔxolo（=）	倒换、翻腾
tʂɛ̃tʂɛ̃tʂɛ̃	动	tʂə̃tʂə̃tʂə̃（=）	抢着参加活动
nukutʂʻa	动、副	nuqʻutʂʻa	挣扎
luəəˠtʻuəmuə	副、动	loəˠtʻomo（=）	含含糊糊
pəlia	副	pəlia	极其
tɕiɔli	副	tɕiɔli	的确
tʂʻu	副	tʂʻu	最
ɕiələmətɕʻi	副	ɕiələmətɕʻi	些微、少许
ətə	副	ətə	现在
tʂʻəkutsɪ	副	tʂʻəkutsɪ	一直、老是
jitɔku	副	itɔku（=）	从来、纯粹
mɔtsɪkʻũ	副	mɔtsɪkʻũ	偶尔、间或
tʂɛ̃tʂʅtsɪ	副	tʂə̃tʂʅtsɪ（=）	简直
sɪpala	副	sɪpala	固执地、死死地
nĩpala	副	nĩpala	硬是
nĩpə̃tsɪ	副	nĩpɯ̃tsɪ（=）	硬是
tɕiəpitʻaʂʅ	副	tɕiəpitʻaʂʅ	调皮捣蛋
tɔtuəluə	副	tɔtolo（=）	反而
kʻə̰ʂʅ	后置	kʻɯʂʅ（=）	说是
puɕitɕi	后置	puɕitɕi	等等的
ta	后置	ta	连…都
kɛ̃tũ	后置	kə̃tũ（=）	…的原因
pala	语气	pala	呗
ə̰tə	语气	ətə（=）	额的（表厌烦）
ələlə	叹	ələlə	哎叻叻（表感叹、出乎意料）
ɔkuəkuə	叹	okoko（=）	哎哟哟（表失望、遗憾）
asasa	叹	asasa	啊呀呀（表惊讶）
ɔjɔjɔ	叹	ɔjɔjɔ	噢哟哟（表出乎意料）
ətɪlɪ	叹	ətɯrɪ	哎嘚叻（表惊奇）
ɔxuəlɛ	叹	oxolɛ	唤牲畜回转声
tʻamɔ	叹	tʻamɔ	驱赶猫的声音
əusʅ	叹	əusʅ	驱赶鸡和飞禽声

ʂɔ	叹	ʂɔ	赶羊的声音
tɛtɕʻiu	叹	tɪtɕʻiu	赶驴、马、骡的声音
ma	叹	ma	唤羊的声音
təʐl təʐl	叹	tɯr tɯr	唤驴、马、骡的声音

以上这些词绝大部分是东乡语的，还有少量阿拉伯语、波斯语和突厥语的词以及个别来源不明的词也是通过东乡语进入的，因为在历史上的河州范围内其它地方的汉语、包括回族的汉语中也是见不到的，比如 saxalɪ“斋早饭”是来自东乡语中的阿拉伯语词。有些看起来是汉语的词，但在此列出，是因为尽管东乡语借自汉语但只有在东乡语中有这种用法，而在汉语其它方言包括周边汉语甚至回民的汉语中也无这种用法或者也是明显从东乡语借过去的，比如 tɕitɕiɛ̃“鸡尾骨”。唐汪话中明显借自阿拉伯语、波斯语的宗教专用词和说不清楚是来自东乡语还是直接借自阿拉伯语、波斯语的词比较多，没有在此列出。

二、仿造词

仿造词亦可称直译词，就是按东乡语词的语义构成要素及其构成方式用汉语语素或汉语语素和东乡语语素结合创造或者直译形成的词或词组，其中大部分词的构词结构也是一致的。例如：

vɔ̃tɕʻiɛ̃（往前）lɛ（来），意为“重病人得以恢复”，源自东乡语 məliə（前面）irə（来）；

vɔ̃tɕʻiɛ̃（往前）pulɛ（不来），意为“病入膏肓”，源自东乡语 məliə（前面）uliə（不）irə（来），这个词唐汪话也可以说 vɔ̃tɕʻiɛ̃（往前）lɛpuxa（来不了），对应东乡语的 məliə（前面）irə tanə（来不了）；

tutsɪxa（把肚子）tsuʂɔ̃（做上），意为“吃饱肚子”，源自东乡语 kʻiəlinə（把肚子）kiə（做）；

tɔtsɪ（刀子）ku（骨），意为“鸡肩胛骨和乌喙骨的肉块”，源自东乡语 qʻutoʁo（刀子）jasũ（骨）；

vuɕĩ（脸—东乡语词）muəjəu（没有），意为“丑，不好看”，源自东乡语 uɕĩ（脸）wiwə（没有）；

ɕĩ（心）tɕỹ（俊），意为“心灵美，心肠好”，源自东乡语 tʂuʁə（心）sɪqã（俊）；

suɪʂuxa（把岁数）vəxa（问下），意为“整得够呛”，源自东乡语 nasũni（把岁数）asa（问）；

suɪʂu（岁数）muəjəu（没有），意为“年龄小”，源自东乡语 nasũ（年龄）wiwə（没有）；

suɪʂu-li（岁数里-表方位）tɕʻi（去），意为“上年纪”，源自东乡语 nasũ-tə（年龄-与位格）ətʂʻɻ（去）；

pĩ-li（病里-表方位）tɕĩ（进），意为得病，一般多指得慢性病，源自东乡语 kə̃-tə（病-与位格）oro（进）；

tsəuki（走—使动态）xua（话），也可以说 xua-a（话—把被格）tsəuki（走—使动态），意为“言语暗示”，源自东乡语 kiəliə̃（话）jawuʁa（走—使动态）；

xuaʂɔ̃-nə（话上—反身领属）tɔ（到），意为“说话算数”，源自东乡语 kiəliə̃tə-nə（话上—反身领属）kʻuru（到），这个词唐汪话也可以说 xuaʂɔ̃-nə（话上—反身领属）tʂɛ̃（站），对应东乡语的 kiəliə̃tə-nə（话上—反身领属）pɛ（站）；

ʂəu（手）tɕixa（底下）jaxa（压下），意为“把事放在心上”，源自东乡语 qʻa（手）təura（下）taru（压）；

tʻuɪtsɪxa（把腿子）tʂɛ̃xa（展下），意为“求人时提前打招呼”，源自东乡语ʂɻqarani（把腿子）tʂɻʁa（伸展）；

ɕĩ（心）sɪ-tʂə（死- 经常体），意为“犯困”，源自东乡语 tʂuʁə（心）fuku-tʂɻ（死- 经常体）。

kutʻəu（骨头）niɔ（咬，意为痒），意为“欠揍”，源自东乡语 jasũ（骨头）tʂɔ（咬，意为痒）；

ja（压）xɪ（黑），意为“梦魇，做恶梦”，源自东乡语 qʻara（黑）taru（压）；

fə̃（风）ʂɔ̃（上）muəjəuliɔ（没有了），意为“很快花完”，源自东乡语 kʻɛ（风）tɕiərə（上）witawə（没有了）；

fɔ̃（放）puxa（不下），意为“自傲”，源自东乡语 pʻutaʁa（放下）ta（不下）；

xuətʂʻə（求祈仪式）ʂɻtʻəu（石头），意为“围坐祈祷用的小石子”，源自东乡语 xotʂə（求祈仪式）tʻaʂɻ（石头）；

tʂajə（礼拜时垫在身下的东西）pʻitsɪ（皮子），意为“礼拜用的皮子”，源自东乡语 tʂajə（礼拜时垫在身下的东西）arasũ（皮子）；

jikiə（一个）xua（话），意为“一样，同样”，源自东乡语 niə（一个）kʻiəliə̃（话）；

ʂəu（手）tɕiɛ̃tɕiɛ̃（尖尖）ʂɔ̃（上），意为“敷衍地、草草”，源自东乡语 qʻa（手）utʂu（尖）tɕiərə（上）；

ɕiɔ（笑）tɔ（到），意为“想笑，产生笑欲”，源自东乡语ɕiniətũ（笑）kuru（到）；

niɔ（尿）tɔ（到），意为“想尿，产生尿意”，源自东乡语ʂəsũ（尿）kʻuru（到）；

pa（大便）tɔ（到），意为“想大便，有了便意”，源自东乡语 pasũ（大便）kʻuru（到）；

tɕʻi（气）tɔ（到），意为“生气”，源自东乡语 xo（气）kʻuru（到）；

sɪ（死）tɔ（到），意为“该死，到了死的时候”，源自东乡语 fukun（死）kʻuru（到）；

ɛtuə（耳朵）tʂa（翘起），意为“自豪”，源自东乡语 tʂʻɻqɯ̃（耳朵）tʂatɪ（翘起）；

tə̃（腾）tutsɪ（肚子），意为“临死前排出体内大便”，源自东乡语 kʻiəli（肚子）aruʁa（弄干净，腾空）；

pitsɪ-ə（鼻子-把被格）niəxa（捏下），意为“保密，不要声张”，源自东乡语 qʻawa-ni（鼻子-把被格）niətɕʻi（捏）；

tʂuɛ̃（转）malɪ（色兰，问候），意为“尔德节各家相互登门问候祝贺”，源自东乡语 salə̃（色兰，问候）tʻorɪ（转）；

pɔku（苞谷）pʻiniɛ̃（屁脸），意为“玉米根”，源自东乡语 pɔku（苞谷）poʁo（屁股）；

sɪmu-tʂə（想-副动词形式）nɛla-ki（合适-使动态）puxa（不下），意为“拿不定主意，犹豫”，源自东乡语 sumula-tʂɻ（想-副动词形式）nɛra-ʁa（合适-使动态）ta（不下）；

xɪ（黑）ʂuɔ̃（霜），意为“霜降季节的霜，很厚的霜”，源自东乡语 qʻara（黑）qʻɯrəu（霜）；

ʐə（热）tutsɪ（肚子），意为“产后几个月的子宫”，源自东乡语 qʻalũ（热）kʻiəli（肚子）；

tsʻũ（存）tutsɪ（肚子），意为“便秘”，源自东乡语 kʻiəli（肚子）qura（存）；

tutsɪ（肚子）tʂɔ̃（胀），意为“生气”，源自东乡语 kʻiəli（肚子）kʻo（胀）；

mɔkʻɛ̃-ə（茅坑-把被格）jaki（压给）jixa（一下），意为“给厕坑里填些土压压臭”，源自东乡语 məkʻə̃-ji（茅坑-把被格）niə（一下）taru（压）；

niɛ̃kuɛ̃tsɪ（眼眶子）pu（不）mɛ̃（满），意为“不知足”，源自东乡语 nutũ（眼睛）turu（满）ta（不能）；

niɛ̃vəli（眼窝里）tɕʻiɔ（跳），意为“表达抗议，表达不满”，源自东乡语 nutũtə（眼睛里）tɕiɔli（跳）；

tʻu（土）tutʻɛ̃（动弹），意为“动邪气（迷信说法）”，源自东乡语 tura（土）kotɕiəlu（动弹）；

tʻu-a（土-把被格）jakixa（压给下），意为“（用迷信的办法）压邪气”，源自东乡语 tura（土）taru（压）；

lala-a（辣辣缨-把被格）tʂʻɻki（吃-使动态），意为“让人尝到苦头”，源自东乡语 lala（辣辣缨）itɕiəʁa（吃-使动态）；

lɛpaxa（蛤蟆）tʂʻə（车），意为“小轿车”，源自东乡语 paʁa（蛤蟆）tʂʻə（车）；

xuali（话里）tɕʻi（去），意为“发讣告，去报丧”，源自东乡语 kʻiəliə̃tə（话里）ətʂʻɻ（去）；

tɕʻiki（去+给—表允许），后置词，放在句末，表达“×就×吧”、“不×就算了”的意思，源自东乡语ətʂɻ（去）kiə（做--表允许）。

东乡语中有一个常用构词后缀-tʂʻɻ，用在名词后派生表示“……者”的新的名词。这个后缀进入到了唐汪话中，但使用量较少，例如 malɪ-tʂʻɻ（malɪ系穆斯林问候句中截取的两个音节组成的词，相当于“色兰”），意为“开斋节串门道色兰问候的人”，是根据东乡语 salə̃- tʂʻɻ（色兰+者）仿造的；fɛ̃xua-tʂʻɻ（东乡语+者），意为“操东乡语的人”，是根据东乡语 tʻuxua-tʂʻɻ（东乡语+者）仿造的；jɔ̃kuə-tʂʻɻ（秧歌+者），意为“玩社火的人”，更是按照这种构词方法创造的词；另外，-tʂʻɻ作为构词后缀也出现在前面形义一致的词中所列的 tʻuxuatʂʻɻ“操东乡语的人”、nəmatʂʻɻ“到清真寺做礼拜的人”两个词中。

三、词义扩展的词

词义扩展的词是指唐汪话与东乡语对应的某一个词因为东乡语词的义项或者东乡语同音词的影响而有了本来没有的语义，增加了义项，而所增加的义项在普通话和当地其它汉语方言中并不存在，是底层语言东乡语词的词义之间自然的联系、联想造成的。例如：

⑴ʂəə̃xa（剩下），因为对应的东乡语词 fɪliə有“剩下”、“留下”之义，而有了“留下”的义项；

⑵tə̃（等），因为对应的东乡语词 saʁɪ有“等”、“看守”之义，而有了“看守”的义项；

⑶ɕĩtə̃（心疼），因为对应的东乡语词 orə有“疼爱”、“亲，亲吻”之义，而有了“亲，亲吻”的义项；

⑷tsuə（坐），因为对应的东乡语词 sɔ有“坐”、“住”之义，而有了“住”的义项；

⑸jəu（有），因为对应的东乡语词 wɛ有“有”、“在”、“是”之义，而有了“在”、“是”的义项；

⑹pʻiniɛ̃（屁脸，即屁股），因为对应的东乡语词 poʁo 有“屁股”、“根，根茎”之义，而有了“根，根茎”的义项；

⑺fɛ̃kuə（翻过），因为对应的东乡语词 fura 有“翻”和“发大财、暴发”之义，而有了“发大财、暴发”的义项；

⑻kua（刮），因为对应的东乡语词 qʻɯɕi 有“刮”、“挖苦，奚落”之义，而有了“挖苦，奚落”的义项；

⑼muə（磨），因为对应的东乡语词tɕʻiəmə̃有“磨”、“鸡的胃”之义，而有了“鸡的胃”的义项；

⑽pɛ̃tə̃（板凳），因为在东乡语中 pə̃tɯ̃（板凳）有“板凳”、“男方婚宴后另外宴客的亲属”之义，而有了“男方婚宴后另外宴客的亲属”的义项；

⑾niɔ（咬），因为对应的东乡语词 tʂɔ有“咬”、“痒”之义，而有了“痒”的义项；

⑿kutʻəu（骨头），因为与之对应的东乡语词 jasũ有“骨头”和“肉块”之义，而有了“肉块”的义项；

⒀ʂuəʂuə（勺勺）指“鸡坐骨和髂骨的一块肉”，明显是东乡族待客时将鸡分为十三块、其中有两块就是鸡坐骨和髂骨这一习俗的典型反映，唐汪人也是这样待客的，用ʂuəʂuə 一词指鸡坐骨和髂骨是因为东乡语的ʂoʂo（借自汉语的勺勺）一词除了有“勺子”的意思外还专指“鸡坐骨和髂骨的一块肉”。

⒁pɛ̃（伴），因为对应的东乡语词 nokʻiə“伙伴”还有一个同音词 nokʻiə “胎盘”，因而唐汪话的 pɛ̃（伴）有了“胎盘”的义项；

⒂tə̃tʂɛ̃（灯盏），因为对应的东乡语词 tʂula“灯盏”还有一个同音词 tʂula “囱门”，因而唐汪话的 tə̃tʂɛ̃（灯盏）有了“囱门”的义项；

四、摹拟词

唐汪话中与东乡语有关的词从词性看既有名词，也有动词、副词、代词、形容词、语气词、后置词和叹词。除此，唐汪话中还有大量的摹拟词。喜欢用摹拟词，且摹拟词比较丰富，是唐汪话和东乡语共同的特点。唐汪话的摹拟词大部分源于东乡语，形义与东乡语一致，也和东乡语一样，大多要重复一遍。重复式的摹拟词的重音一般在词的第一音节，有些在重复时元音有所变化，个别的辅音也有变化，语音有变化的词的重音一般在末一音节（特别予以标注），可**分拟声词和拟态词两种**，这些也和东乡语一致。

拟声词是模拟各种声音的词，但模拟中有时也带有说话人对声音的感受及态度。例如：

唐汪话	东乡语	语义
tɕiala tɕiala	tsara tsara	麻雀叫声
pʻu pʻu	pʻu pʻu	吹气声
kua kua	qua qua	乌鸦叫声
ʂuala ʂuala	ʂuara ʂuara	细雨声
pʻulu pʻulu	pʻuru pʻuru	旗帜等飘动声
vulu vulu	uru uru	蜂飞声、令人生厌的说话声
vutu vutu	utu utu （=）	唠叨声
pata pata	pata pata	不停的闲聊声
pĩˈtɕĩ pɔ̃ˈtɔ̃	pĩˈtɕĩ pə̃ˈtə̃（=）	乒乓作响声
kə̃ˈtɕĩ kuɔ̃ˈtɔ̃	quˈtɕĩ qõˈtə̃	搬动桌椅等发出的声音
pʻiˈtɕi pʻaˈta	pʻiˈtɕi pʻaˈta	乱拳打人声
pʻuətuə pʻuətuə	pʻoto poto（=）	喋喋不休的说话声
kʻuɔ̃tɔ̃ kʻuɔ̃tɔ̃	qʻõtə̃ qʻõtə̃	哐当哐当

tɕʻia tɕʻia tɕʻia	tɕʻia tɕʻia tɕʻia	轻捷的跑步声
tʂʻuala tʂʻuala	tʂʻuala tʂʻuala	欻啦欻啦（钥匙串的声音）
pə̃	puĩ（=）	嘭，扑通
vu vu	u u （=）	大风的声音
pitɕiu	pitɕiu	液体被挤出声
pə̃tə̃ pə̃tə̃	puĩtuĩ puĩtuĩ（=）	液体滚沸声
piatala piatala	piatara piatara	吧嗒吧嗒的说话声
piata piata	piata piata	吧嗒吧嗒的说话声
pɔ̃tɔ̃ pɔ̃tɔ̃	pãtã pãtã（=）	大而不停的说话声
pʻiata pʻiata	pʻiata pʻiata	拖拉机声
putu putu	putu putu	煮沸冒泡声
tʂʻuata tʂʻuata	tʂʻuata tʂʻuata	脚步声
xuʂʅ xuʂʅ	xuʂʅ xuʂʅ	啜泣声
xələ xələ	hərə hərə	乐呵呵的声音
xə̃ xɔ̃	huĩ hã	高声吆来喝去的声音
nizʮ niazʮ	nirɯ niara	踩到泥、粘物的声音
vətuəluə vətuəluə	otoro otoro	大而不停的唠叨声
kʻəʂʅ kʻəʂʅ	qʻoʂʅ qʻoʂʅ	咳嗽声
kʻuala kʻuala	qʻuara qʻuara	硬而薄的物体摆动声
vala vala	wara wara	喧闹的说话声
vu'li vu'la	u'li u'la（=）	嘟囔、抱怨的声音
xɪtɪtɪ	qʻɯtɯt	偷笑声、偷乐声
kʻə̃tsə̃ kʻə̃tsə̃	kʻuĩtsɯĩ kʻuĩtsɯĩ（=）	小孩因病小哭声
pʻiaʂʅ pʻiaʂʅ	pʻiaʂʅ pʻiaʂʅ	拍打声
pʻutʂu pʻutʂu	pʻutʂu pʻutʂu	粘稠物沸腾声
tʂuəluə tʂuəluə	tʂoro tʂoro	中雨声
tsuʐu tsuʐu	tsuru tsuru	小声嘟囔声

拟态词是模拟和描述各种动作、行为和状态的词，有的词也反映出说话人对该行为的感受和态度。例如：

唐汪话	东乡语	语义
ɕiətə ɕiətə	ɕiətə ɕiətə	频繁而令人生厌状
suətuə suətuə	soto soto（=）	频繁而令人生厌的走动貌
ji'ʐəu tɕʻi'ʐəu	i'rəu tɕʻi'rəu	慢条斯理的样子
putə̃ putə̃	putuĩ putuĩ（=）	翻动的样子
sulu sulu	suru suru	陆陆续续的样子
sulu sulu	suru suru	毛发类导致的痒痒状
xulu xulu	xuru xuru	浮动状、蠕动状
pʻulu pʻulu	pʻuru pʻuru	血脉跳动状
tɕʻyəka tɕʻyəka	tɕʻiəka tɕʻiəka	一瘸一瘸状
ʂuata ʂuata	ʂuata ʂuata	甩摆状、摆动状
lata lata	loto loto	闲逛走动状
ʂʅ'tɕi ʂua'ta	ʂʅ'tɕi ʂua'ta	湿淋淋状
kʻi'tɕi kʻua'ta	qʻɯ'tɕi qʻua'ta	动作麻利的样子
a'tũ pa'tũ	a'tũ pa'tũ	费力而大张声势样

sɪzʅ sɪzʅ	sɪr sɪr	轻而尖痛状、咧嘴笑貌
sə̃'nə̃ vu'nə̃	suĩ'nuĩ u'nuĩ（=）	犹豫、磨蹭的样子
jə'li suə'luə	jə'li so'lo	多而乱的样子
ə'lə pə'lə	ə'lə pə'lə	左右摇摆、犹豫状
a'lɪ tʂ‘uə'lɪ	a'lɪ tʂ‘o'lɪ（=）	一瞪一瞪的样子
pitɕi pitɕi	pitɕi pitɕi	爱掉泪的样子
tʂ‘uku tʂ‘uku	tʂ‘uku tʂ‘uku	频繁而小幅动作状
xuaʂʅ xuaʂʅ	xuaʂʅ xuaʂʅ	两个软片物一张一合貌
xuala xuala	xuara xuara	闪闪发光的样子
miɕi miɕi	miɕi miɕi	慢而小口吃的样子
k‘i k‘a	k‘i k‘a	立即、快捷貌
k‘'tɕi kua'ta	k‘'tɕi kua'ta	立即、快捷貌
ʂazʅ ʂazʅ	ʂar ʂar	胆颤心惊的感觉
luətuə luətuə	loto loto（=）	蹒跚状、缓行状
tɕi'p‘u sa'p‘u	tɕi'p‘u sa'p‘u	气急败坏状
ʂɛ̃ka ʂɛ̃ka	ʂə̃ka ʂə̃ka（=）	棍状物一闪一闪状
ɕiətɕiə kutɕiə	ɕiətɕiə kutɕiə	摇晃不定状
jə'jə ku'ku	jə'jə qu'qu	哽咽状

摹拟词无形态变化，一般在接加后缀-tɕi“地”后与动词发生联系，在句子中作状语。例如：vɛ̃ʂɔ̃（晚上）jɛ̃tʂaa（把酽茶）xuəxaliɔtʂə（喝下了）ji vɛ̃ʂɔ̃（一晚上）niɛ̃tɕĩ（眼睛）putə̃ putə̃-tɑi（翻动状）fɛ̃li（翻哩）ma（嘛）ʂuiputʂuə（睡不着）tʂə（者），“晚上喝了浓茶，眼睛整晚眨巴眨巴地翻，就是睡不着啊！”；juəʂʅ（钥匙）tʂ‘uala tʂ‘uala-tɑi（欻啦欻啦地）ɕiɔ̃tʂɛ（响着），“钥匙在欻啦欻啦地响”。部分拟声词在不重复时也可像动词一样当作谓语使用，也可以终结句子，例如：tsuəkiə（昨个）vutuliɔ（唠叨了）jitɕ‘ɛ̃（一天），“昨天唠叨了一天”；ʂə̃ʂə̃la（用绳子）pɔ̃kiliɔ（绑了）jixaʂʅ（一下）tsɛ（再）pu（不）k‘uɔ̃tɔ̃liɔ（哐当了），“用绳子绑了一下就不再响了”。

五、余论

在介绍了以上的情况以后，有一个问题必须面对，那就是对这些我们怎么看和怎么解释？简单地认为是唐汪话中的东乡语借词，实在非常牵强而且有些显然不是借词那么简单。这就必须首先要了解唐汪话是怎么形成的。

“唐汪川原名唐家集，当时仅有唐姓一族，原籍四川柳树庄人，在元忽必烈时为参将，其时此地为番民所居，元军逐之，唐参将遂流落此间，子孙繁衍，日益众多，现传至十四代。因历代回乱，每被残杀，人口稀少，未死者为免祸计多加入回教，自称回民。现在本镇之唐姓因十之八九为回民，而在下川之同一唐族，则大半为汉民，论行辈尚依然未乱。汪姓始于何时不可考，但在唐姓之后，因户口渐多，遂改名为唐汪川。现此镇汪姓约三百余家，反较唐姓为多。大街以上各巷均为唐姓，以下各巷均为汪姓，共千余家。”①。可见唐姓定居唐汪川已有七百年的历史。关于唐汪人改奉伊斯兰教的起因，也有老人们相传唐姓是因为家族不和导致有人改奉伊斯兰教。据说有一年清明节上坟，唐姓三个家族中有两个家族联络一起行动，冷落了比较穷的老二家族，于是老二家族一气之下改奉了伊斯

①见马鹤天《赴藏日记》，载《新亚细亚》第十二卷第二期 118、119 页，中华民国二十五年八月一日。

兰教，认为伊斯兰教不嫌穷爱富。后来，唐氏家族商量老二家族迁到上川定居，这就是现在唐汪镇唐家、胡浪两个建制村的唐姓，据说其中现在仍为汉族的少部分人是老二家族中有一个兄弟的后人又改奉了佛教。这种说法也有一定的可信度，因为所谓“回乱”其实就是回民反清起义，反清起义在清乾隆 46 年前东乡只发生过一次，即清顺治五年东乡“闯塌天”起义，在临洮、河州一带，未曾波及唐汪，不存在残杀和被迫入教的问题，而清乾隆 46 年时唐汪人改奉伊斯兰教已有两三个世纪。人们之所以对所谓“回乱”记忆深刻、心存芥蒂，主要是因为清同治年间的回民起义。

唐汪二姓本为汉族，自何时改奉伊斯兰教，无甚记载，我们只能根据有关的情况，做一个大致的推断。唐汪地处甘肃省东乡族自治县东北部，周围除了汉族就是当时被称为“东乡回”的东乡族人，改信伊斯兰教应该说是受了这些人的影响。关于东乡族的形成，虽有不同的意见，但大都比较一致地认为是元末明初，距今约六七百年①。唐汪二姓改奉伊斯兰教当在东乡族形成并在当地形成较强势力之后，至今不过六百年。据传，汪姓已在唐汪川生息了十三代，推算应是明末定居唐汪川的，距今约四百年。据汪姓老人们说，汪姓原籍陕西，有兄弟四人迁居唐家川，定居后便有三人改奉伊斯兰教。按理，汪姓寄寓唐家川，与唐姓毗邻相处，共同生活，首先会与唐姓在宗教、习俗上保持一致。他们一到唐家川便改奉伊斯兰教，说明当时上川的唐姓大多数已是伊斯兰教徒。据此，我们推断，汪姓改奉伊斯兰教有四百年左右之历史，而唐姓可能还要早一百多年，至少已有五百年。据史料记载②，清乾隆四十六年（1781 年），唐汪一部分回民参加了撒拉族的“回民”反清斗争，其时，唐汪回民人口众多，回教甚盛，就清真寺也有三四座。此情景远非百年间所能及，说明我们的推论大致可以成立。在这方面，徐丹教授做了翔实的考证，其关于唐汪人及其改信伊斯兰教历史的结论与我们大体一致③。

唐汪回民与东乡族大量通婚几乎是与他们改奉伊斯兰教同时的。这不难理解：入伊斯兰教后不能继续与汉民通婚，按习俗同姓不能通婚，周边信仰伊斯兰教的只有东乡族，只能与东乡族通婚，这样，他们又能与东乡族促成并保持更加亲密的关系，直到汪姓到唐汪川并改奉伊斯兰教后才有了唐姓与汪姓之间的通婚。**最初，娶到唐汪回民家庭的媳妇几乎是“清一色”的东乡族**，操东乡语，后来的媳妇也多是这样，直到现今，嫁到唐汪的妇女约有一半左右操东乡语，不少人在一起时还仍然用东乡语交际。

唐汪人因改奉伊斯兰教而与东乡族的大量通婚，产生了改变他们语言的积极因素——与他们共同生活的东乡族妇女。她们原操东乡语，因为处在封闭的东乡族社会，几乎不会汉语，要学习转用，而第二语言具体的目标就是当时的唐汪汉话。她们几乎处在单一的目标语环境中，没有慢慢学习、熟练掌握的过渡期，必须实现尽快“交流”，以融入新的环境，而这种交流是从刚刚学会的一些简单的词开始的。于是，唐汪话各方面的较大变化随着这些“媳妇”的出现开始了，

①见东乡族自治县编《东乡族自治县概况》，兰州大学历史系编、甘肃人民出版社出版的《东乡族简史》，甘肃少数民族社会历史调查组编《东乡族简史简志合编》等。

②散见《钦定兰州纪略》、《重修皋兰县志》、《皋兰县志续志》、《东乡族简史简志合编》等。

③见徐丹《唐汪话研究》，民族出版社，2014。

而**东乡语作为底层，在她们转操汉语时，使她们在语音、词汇，尤其在语法上犯了许多同样的、有规律性的错误，形成了唐汪话鲜明的特色，成为唐汪话中的东乡语“底层成分”**。前苏联语言学家阿巴耶夫的“底层理论”受到苏联语言学家们的普遍认同，他说：“底层语言的成素，必然要渗入所掌握的新语言，其所以如此，特别是因为存在双语现象时，人们从来不能绝对完善地掌握新的第二种语言。由于这些缘故，人们在发音、形态用法、用词、用句等方面会犯许多或大或小的错误，这些错误不是偶然的，而是有规律性的，因为这些错误是说话人的本族语特点所引起的”①。“语言，除了它与一定的发音基础有连带关系外，还深深地扎根在人民的生活之中，它与人民的经济方面和社会方面的习惯传统，以及人民的精神气质都有深厚而亲密无间的关系。因此，从一种语言转换到另一种语言是一个复杂的和艰难的过程。无论主观上要想准确并完善地掌握一种新语言的愿望有多么大，这种愿望都不可能完全实现。本族语言在语音、词汇、语义、类型学方面的某些特点，总是不管说话人的意志和意识而保持着，并通过新语言的‘外壳’继续‘透露出来’。结果，所接受的外来语言在这部分人中获得一种独特的、不同于它在原来那部分人中所具有的性质。” ②

其实，在此之前东乡语对唐汪话的影响就已经开始了，这是语言的外部影响或者说是表层的影响。东乡族很早就与包括唐汪川在内的汉民有经济、文化上的往来。他们的交际工具是汉语③。这种汉语实际上是东乡化了的、不正规的交际形式。基于同一母语，他们对交际用的汉语的改造与后来东乡族“媳妇”的改造如出一辙甚至更加严重——那时，对他们来说，汉语只是临时的交际形式，唐汪人对此比较熟悉。因为有这样的基础，唐汪人对娶进来的“媳妇”的这种改造并不陌生，即使是被动做出“让步”，客观上也很快接受她们用这种经过改造的语言交流思想。于是，这种变形的语言在每一个家庭里扎了根，取得了“合法”地位。尤其是他们的孩子，从还没有完全学好新语言的母亲那里接受这种“变形”的语言，作为自己的母语，作为唯一的、正式的交际形式。他们又与后来的“媳妇”自然而然地同操这种话，并传给再下一代，经过近百年时间三四代人的高度融合过程，产生并基本定型、形成了“混血儿”——唐汪话。也就是说，**唐汪话是东乡族“媳妇”在接受汉语时对其进行具有东乡语特点的“改造”、唐汪人接受“改造”并由下一代、下下一代作为母语使用的结果，已经有四百年左右的历史，**当然每一种语言都是处在不断的发展演变中的。

词汇是语言中最易起变化的部分，也是在学习另一种语言时比较容易掌握的，这些东乡族“媳妇”在转而操唐汪汉话时，很容易地接受了汉语的词汇。但是，她们也保留了东乡语中的一些词，其中有不少还属于基本词汇，这一方面是她们对一些如称谓、社会习俗、生活习惯的沿袭造成的，形义一致的词大部分可以这样解释，另一方面也是因为“语言底层并非单纯是由于语言错误造成的。底层的结构中也包含着这部分人从本族语言中保留下来的成分，这是因为他们在所

①в·и·阿巴耶夫《论语言的底层》，转引自兹维金采夫《普通语言学纲要》汉译本 236 页，商务印书馆，1981 年。

②в·и·阿巴耶夫《论语言的底层》，见中国社会科学院民族研究所语言研究室编印的《语言的底层问题译文集》76、77 页。

③见中国科学院民族研究所甘肃少数民族社会历史调查组编《东乡族调查资料汇集·东乡族语言情况调查报告》，1963 年。

吸收的语言中找不到相同的成分，而不单单是不精通这种语言的缘故。”①我们列举的形义一致的词中的一部分、摹拟词可以以此得到解释。“语义学和成语学是语言中最深奥的两部分，它们同人民的心理和思维是息息相关的。当由一种语言转换到另一种语言时，可以准确地掌握这另一语言的发音，可以完全掌握它的词汇，而不会把本族语中原有的任何词混杂到新语言的词汇中去；但是要完全排除已经成为习惯的语义上的联系和联想则是困难的，甚至几乎是不可能的。”“语言的语义特点和成语上的特点对于确定语言的底层似应具有头等重要意义”②。仿造词和词组、词义扩展的词反映的是东乡族人的心理特点和思维特点，解释为东乡语的“底层”实在是最合适不过的了。

①в·и·阿巴耶夫《论语言的底层》，见《语言的底层问题译文集》80 页。

②в·и·阿巴耶夫《论语言的底层》，见《语言的底层问题译文集》88、89 页。

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Language island versus linguistic area in Northwest China

Over the past few decades, the Gansu-Qinghai area has drawn the attention of many linguists. Scholars have noticed that Sinitic languages in this area share some similar linguistic features. In particular, a case marking system is established in this area: nominative (zero marking), accusative/dative *-xa* or its allophone *-a*, instrumental/comitative *-la* or its variant form *-lia*, and ablative with different phonetic forms.

By contrast, a linguistic island coexists in Xuejiawan village in Yongdeng county of Gansu province. The residents speak *Shaoju*, a kind of argot or jargon, but not a non-Han language. The previous literature treats it as a mysterious non-Han language, even a language of the Gypsies who migrated to China. It will be shown with abundant proofs that many words of this language have been derived from different gang languages. The earliest are dated from the Song Dynasty. Only a few words have come from Turkic languages. Many of the Shaoju words have been innovations based on existing words of different periods. Its phonology, morphology and syntax have to be classified into the Chinese language system.

Languages in Gansu-Qinghai area tend to share more and more similar features while the Xuejiawan language which represents a linguistic island, seems destined to perish.

Keywords: Xuejiawan Shaoju argot jargon

Tones found in a Korean dialect's borrowed words

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Middle Age Korean documents tell us that, not only the Chinese words used in the Korean language but pure Korean words also had tones such as píng, shǎng, qù or rù. Gyeongsang dialect still has the remnants of the tone: high (píng) and low (zè). Typically, these tones are distinguished by pitch difference. In contemporary Gyeongsang dialect, people use higher pitch in certain syllables than original píng tone, challenging conventional tone categories. This article tries to reveal two things concerning tones of Gyeongsang dialect in borrowed words. First, monosyllabic foreign words with the same pronunciation as the Korean words create an adstratum, leaving their Korean counterparts as substratum. And, hence, they become marked. Second, multisyllabic foreign words have their stress on the second last syllable making the last one neutral tone.

Some thinking of linguistic and cultural usages from the differences of Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian languages of the Veritable records of Manchu (manju i yargiyan kooli)

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The compilation of the Veritable records is a tradition of the ancient China, from the Tang of the 7th century. The Veritable records are the official documents, and they were made by the order of the successor emperor for recording the history of the predecessor.

The Veritable records of the Manchu empire (Qing) are the only collections, that we could find today, who were not only written in Chinese; they were all written in Manchu, Chinese, and Mongolian. But there are only the Veritable records of Manchu, writing the origin of Manchu people and recording the history of the first khan of Manchu, who were written in these three languages together in the page, not like the others written in the separate books.

By reading these three languages, we found that there are many differences between Manchu and Chinese texts, and it is similar between Manchu and Mongolian texts. The Manchu text must be the original, and translated in Chinese and Mongolian, but still there are many detail descriptions that we could not find in the Chinese text.

The Chinese text is more simple and blurry than the Manchu text, and the style is more formal. Comparing to the Chinese text, the Manchu text is more oral and direct. So it makes us thinking that is it from the reason of linguistic usage, that there are different ways for describing the things; or is it from the cultural and political reasons, that we do not say or we could not say; or both and others?

Selected reference:

« Qing Shilu » [Veritable records of Qing], vol. I. (1985 reprint). Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

LIU Keyou (INALCO/CRLAO)

Appel à communications :
30e Journées de Linguistique d'Asie Orientale

Titre:
从借词看近代北京话中的满语影响
Manchu influence on the Modern Beijing dialect from the perspective of loanwords

Résumé:
自1644年清朝立都至20世纪初，北京城及周边地区居民同时使用满语和北京话，构成了语言接触的条件。期间，随着日常使用中满语的退化和北京话的加强，在18世纪出现了一定数量的双语口语课本用于满语教学，后兼用于对外教学。该类文献保存了近代北京话的原貌。本文通过平行对比此类文献中的双语内容，尝试解析满语对近代北京话的词汇影响及借用原则。

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Genetics Perspective on the initial differentiation of Sino-Tibetan language family

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Abstract:

Diffusion of Sino-Tibetan populations led to permanent human occupation on the Tibetan Plateau in East Asia and has long been a focus of researches from the perspectives of genetics and linguistics. Revealing the origin and initial expansion of the ancestral group of Sino-Tibetan populations is important to understand the history of Tibeto-Burman populations and to explain the initial differentiation of Sino-Tibetan language family. Here, we provide a high-resolution paternal phylogeny of Sino-Tibetan populations and their relatives based on 300 Y-chromosome sequences. We show that a number of Y-chromosome lineages were shared between Tibetan and Han populations, and these lineages contributed to the majority of the paternal gene pool of current Sino-Tibetan populations. Based on phylogenetic and coalescent analyses, we found that five paternal lineages from the Tibeto-Burman populations and Han populations shared common ancestors about 8,000–5,000 years before present and specific sub-branches of these lineages subsequently emerged in these two groups. We proposed that the expansion of these paternal lineages correspond to the initial differentiation of Sino-Tibetan populations and their languages. Our research indicates that analysis of whole Y-chromosome sequences can provide accurate genetic dating that is corresponding to the origin and differentiation of populations from a language family, and thus provide clues to understand the transition process of relevant language family. This powerful new approach can be applied to other language groups over the world.

Keywords: Genetics; Y-chromosome; Language differentiation; Sino-Tibetan language family

汉藏语对东部裕固语的深层影响 （提要）

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由于地域和环境因素东部裕固语受到汉藏语言的影响比较深，在某种程度上受藏语影响比汉语影响还深，尤其是在语法方面。本文只涉及汉藏语言对东部裕固语之间的接触，而且是汉藏语对东部裕固语的单向影响，并且只讨论其深度影响。

一、深层影响的概念界定

根据徐丹女士的意见我们把语言接触包括借词和借用语法概念分为表层影响和深层影响两类。（徐：2011.6，P. 20）过去我们所说的借词，也就是以语音为基础音译词属于表层借词。语法范畴和句法形式包括语序的借用，以及一些谐音联想转译的借词等属于深层借用。其中的谐音联想转译词虽然也属于借词，但它与一般借词不同属于深层借词。

二、深层影响

（一） 语法方面深层接触

1. 格范畴的深层影响

（1） 受藏语领有格（业格/类义格）-la 的影响东部裕固语使用相应的与位格，这与蒙古语族语言用零格或宾格完全不同。也就是藏语影响了东部裕固语固有的格形式。试比较：

mənə nere-tə serəntɔŋrəβ kətək. 我的名字叫色仁东力布。

我的 名字-与位格 色仁东力布 说道-形动形经常体

mini: nər /i: sətʃhəntʃhɔth kətək. 我的名字叫斯钦朝克图。（蒙古语）

我的名字/-宾格斯钦朝克图 说道-形动形经常体

ngavi ming la sgrol ma zer ra. 我的名字叫卓玛。（藏语）

我的 名字-领有格 卓玛

（2）受藏语对象格-la 的影响东部裕固语使用相应的与位格，而蒙古语族语言传统的界限格不同。该形式在保安、康家语言中也相同。tʃhə ʃa:βə-tə sʊ ra. 你问喇嘛吧。（例子略）

（3）受藏语所谓业格-la 的影响东部裕固语使用相应的与位格，而蒙古语族语言用宾格或其简化（零形式）形式不一样。如 tianjiŋ-tə χalta. 看电影。（其它例句略）

2. 代词方面的深层借用

受藏语影响东部裕固语代词系统出现不同于其语族语言的特殊情况。如藏语 bdag 有“主人，我、自己”等义项，该词影响了东部裕固语固有词的 eʁ en 原有一个义项“主人、君主”发展为三个义项，及作为一般名词时表示主人，人称代词使用时表示反身代词和第一人称。

（1）受藏语影响名词 edʒen 在转述中表示第一人称“我”（例句略）

（2）受藏语影响名词 edʒen 表示反身代词“自己”的意义，同时语流中简化为 dʒen

（二）语序变化

（1）谓-补式 ：a:ʂan larkittani urtʃhaχ erekʃ βai. 阿山说明天不来。

（2）中心词-形容词式：ʧə aman χu:r pile:dʒi seiχqhan pai.你吹口琴吹得好。

(3) 中心词-修饰语式 dy:（弟妹）hkon（姑娘）（东裕），ökin degü 妹妹 （蒙古）

（三） 词汇语义方面的深层接触

谐音联想转译：如“洪水”叫做 ɬa:n qʊ sʊ n；数字“万”称为 ajʁa：这个 ɬa:n qʊ sʊ n 实际上属于复合词，直译为“红水”。由于汉语洪 hóng 与红 hóng 音同包括声调，于是借用时按其谐音“红水”命名洪水的。实际上很少使用其固有词 jyer。ajʁa 其固有词的意义是“碗”还在使用，但其“万”这一数字意义是根据当地汉语“万”字的谐音“碗”附加一个新的语义“万”而来的。尽管“碗”wǎn “万”wàn 声调不同，但河西走廊汉语就没有声调易于谐音。这种借用方法在保安、康家等蒙古语族西支语言还存在。

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徐丹：“汉语河州话及周边地区非指人名词的复数标记‘们’”《民族语文》 2011.6 ,P.20。

东部裕固语例子主要用于本人调查资料，藏文资料为龙从军先生《藏语句法标注语料库》提供。

Kinship Terms of the Western Yugur Language

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Abstract:

The Yugur are a unique nationality in China. It is estimated that their total population exceeds 14,000 individuals, most of whom mainly reside in the Sunan Yugur Autonomous County of Gansu Province, China. The Yugur respectively speak three types of languages: the Eastern Yugur language (belonging to the Mongolian branch of the Altaic language family), the Western Yugur language (belonging to the Turkic branch of the Altaic language family) and Chinese. Throughout history the Yugur people as well as Uyghur people and Turks all spoke the ancient Uighur language. Although they all belong to the Turkic branch of the Altaic language family, they have both common and different characteristics in relation to their kinship terms due to historical migrations, differences in geographical location and differing religious beliefs.

From the perspective of cultural anthropology and linguistics, the kinship terms of the Western Yugur language are not only compared with those of Uyghur and Turkish, which both belong to the Turkic branch, on the synchronic aspect, but also with those of the ancient Uighur language on the diachronic aspect. This paper investigates and explores the structural relationship, semantic combination, loanword etymology and cultural imprint of these kinship terms, thus revealing the implied cultural heritage and origin. That is to say, the kinship term is not only a linguistic phenomenon, but it is a cultural phenomenon as well.

Key Words: Western Yugur language; kinship term; comparison

The kinship term is a linguistic manifestation of the kinship between people and is therefore a linguistic categorization. Furthermore, the appellation system of each language or dialect has its own unique characteristics.

The kinship terms of the Western Yugur language are an important component of the lexical system of the language. It reflects the actual kinship in modern Yugur families, and also reflects the uniqueness of Yugur people in their understanding and general classification of kinship. Kinship terms play an important role in maintaining and strengthening relationships among relatives as well as increasing the intimacy among them. The kinship terms of the Western Yugur language form an organically connected entity and exhibit distinct ethnic features.

The kinship terms embody the unique features of Yugur culture and reflect the values of this ethnic culture. Many kinship terms are inherent appellations in the Western Yugur language and have a time-honored history. A comparison between the kinship terms of the Western Yugur language and those of the ancient Uighur language[1] may reveal the etymology of the kinship terms of the Western Yugur language, which dates back to the 7th or 8th century. As an important component of the Western Yugur lexis, kinship terms have remained relatively consistent. However, due to the variation of Yugur people's social form, family structure, marriage system, and social customs across different historical periods, their system of kinship terms system is slightly different from that of the Uyghur and Turkish languages, both of which also belong to the Turkic language group.

I. Appellation Structure

According to the American ethnologist L. H. Morgan, the generation-based Malayan five-grade kinship system is the most ancient kinship system[2] known. In line with Morgan's generation-based classification of kinship terms, when analyzing the kinship terms of the Western Yugur language, this paper takes the singular first person "myself" as the reference and classifies kinship terms into five categories: grandparents, parents, brothers and sisters, children, and grandchildren. This classification system encompasses the kinship of five generations including two

[1] Uighur language generally refers to the language of Uighur people from the 9th century after their westward migration until the 14th century. It belongs to the Uighur language branch of the Turkic language of the Altai language family.

[2] (USA) Lewis Henry Morgan, translated by Yang Dongchun, Ma Yong, Ma Ju: *Ancient Society*, The Commercial Press, 1997, pp 400.

generations preceding "my" generation, and two generations succeeding "my" generation (i.e., from grandparents to grandchildren). Regarding grandparents, dɑgvɑn/ɑvɑgɑ is a general appellation for grandfathers on both the father's and mother's sides, and nɑnɑ/ɑnigɑ/ɑnɑ is a general appellation for grandmothers on both the father's and mother's sides. Sunzi mulɑ is a general appellation for grandsons on both the son's and daughter's sides, and sunzi gəz is a general appellation for granddaughters on both the son's and daughter's sides. The fact that grandparents on both the father's and mother's sides share common appellations and grandchildren on the both son's and daughter's sides share common appellations indicates that these alternate-generation relatives are not distinguished in terms of patrilineal or matrilineal lines. That is to say, the patrilineal relatives and matrilineal relatives share the same appellations, and are treated equally as lineal consanguineous relatives in the Western Yugur language. This feature of the Western Yugur language also applies to the ancient Uighur language, as well as contemporary Uyghur and Turkish. This is shown in the following tables:

Table 1 Grandparents

Language / Kinship Term	Western Yugur Language	Uyghur	Turkish	Ancient Uighur Language
Grandfather on father's side	dɑgvɑn/ɑvɑgɑ	bowɑ /ʧoŋ dɑdɑ	büyük bɑbɑ /dede	čoŋ ɑtɑ
Grandmother on father's side	nɑnɑ/ɑnigɑ/ɑnɑ	momɑ /ʧoŋ ɑnɑ	bɑbɑɑnne	čoŋ ɑpɑ
Grandfather on mother's side	dɑgvɑn/dɑgvɑ	bowɑ /ʧoŋ dɑdɑ	büyük bɑbɑ /dede	čoŋ ɑtɑ
Grandmother on mother's side	nɑnɑ/ɑnigɑ/ɑnɑ	momɑ /ʧoŋ ɑnɑ	ɑnneɑnne	čoŋ ɑpɑ

Table 2 Grandchildren

Language / Kinship Term	Western Yugur Language	Uyghur	Turkish	Ancient Uighur Language
Grandson on son's side	sunzi(Chinese)[3]mulɑ	nɛwrɛ	torun	näwrä oγul
Granddaughter on son's side	sunzi(Chinese) gəz	qiz nɛwrɛ	torun/nebire (Arabic)	näwrä qïz
Grandson on daughter's side	sunzi(Chinese) mulɑ	nɛwrɛ	torun	
Granddaughter on daughter's side	sunzi(Chinese) gəz	nɛwrɛ qiz	nebire (Arabic)	

[3] In the table, (Chinese) means Chinese loanword, (Arabic) means Arabic loanword, (Persian) means Persian loanword, and (Mongolian) means Mongolian loanword.

The appellations for collateral consanguineous relatives in the Western Yugur language include the appellations for the brothers and sisters of "my" parents and their children and grandchildren as well as those for "my" brothers and sisters and their children and grandchildren. They respectively constitute the appellations for "my" first collateral line and those for "my" second collateral line. Among the kinship terms for the first collateral line, the father's brothers are conceived of in terms of elder and younger. bezək (elder)+bɑbɑ (father)/bezək (elder) + ɑdzˌɑ (father) are the appellations for the father's elder brother (i.e., "elder uncle on the father's side"); ketʃiɣ (younger) + bɑbɑ (father) / ketʃiɣ (younger) + ɑdzˌɑ (father) are the appellations for the father's younger brother (i.e., "younger uncle on the father's side". The father's sisters however are not conceived of in terms of elder and younger, and gunɑ (aunt) is a general appellation for them. There is no appellation to distinguish the mother's elder and younger brothers; they are all called dɑhɢɑ/dɑɢɑ (matrilineal uncle). However, the mother's sisters and the wives of the mother's brothers are conceived in terms of elder and younger. bezək (elder) + ɑnɑ (mother)/ketʃiɣ (younger) + ɑnɑ (mother) are the appellations for the mother's sisters and the wives of the mother's brothers (i.e., "aunt on the mother's side" and "aunt-by-marriage on the mother's side"). The appellations for the first collateral line in the Western Yugur language share some common characteristics with those of the historical ancient Uighur language, as well as the contemporary Uyghur and Turkish languages, however they still differ in some aspects. See the table below:

Table 3 Parents

Language / Kinship Term	Western Yugur Language	Uyghur	Turkish	Ancient Uighur Language
Father	ɑdzˌɑ	dɑdɑ/ɑtɑ	bɑbɑ/ɑtɑ	ɑtɑ
Mother	ɑnɑ/dɑdɑ/ɑɢɑ	ɑnɑ/ɑpɑ/ɑtʃɑ	ɑnne/ɑnɑ	ɑpɑ
Father's elder brother	ɑhɢɑ(Mongolian)/goɡɑ /bezək bɑbɑ(Chinese) /bezək ɑdzˌɑ	tɑʁɑ/tʃoŋ dɑdɑ	ɑmcɑ	tɑɣɑ
Father's elder brother's wife	bezək ɑnɑ	tʃoŋ ɑnɑ		čoŋ ɑnɑ
Father's younger brother	bɑbɑ(Chinese) /ketʃiɣ bɑbɑ(Chinese) /ketʃiɣ ɑdzˌɑ	tɑʁɑ/kitʃik dɑdɑ	ɑmcɑ	tɑɣɑ
Father's younger brother's wife	eʤe	kitʃik ɑnɑ	yenge	ʤeŋe

Father's sister	guna	hamma	hala	kičik ana
Father's sister's husband	guje	ʧoŋ ata/kiʧik ata	enişte	kičik ata
Mother's brother	dahɢa/daɢa	aʁa/ʧoŋ ata /kiʧik ata	dayı	taɣa
Mother's brother's wife	bezək ana/keʧiɣ ana	ʧoŋ ana /kiʧik ana	yenge	kičik ana
Mother's sister	bezək ana/keʧiɣ ana	hamma	teyze	kičik ana
Mother's sister's husband	guje	jeznɛ ata	enişte	yeznä

Among the appellations for the second collateral line, aɢa (elder brother), aɢa/ɢəz aɢa (elder sister), ənə (younger brother) and səŋnə (younger sister) are respectively the appellations for "my" brothers and sisters; hadzį oɣəl/hadzį ɢəz is the general appellation for "my" nephew/niece on the brother's side; jeɣen mula/jeɣen ɢəz is the general appellation for "my" nephew/niece on the sister's side. These indicate that the appellations for the lineal and collateral lines are strictly differentiated, whereas among different collateral lines (except for "my" brothers and sisters) and among relatives of the same generation within the same collateral line, the appellations are for the most part no longer differentiated. This suggests that the Western Yugur language only highlights the lineal consanguineous relatives, and regards collateral consanguineous relatives as equally distant kins. See the tables below:

Table 4 Brothers and Sisters

Language / Kinship Term	Western Yugur Language	Uyghur	Turkish	Ancient Uighur Language
Elder brother	goga/aɢa	aka	abi/ağabey	aqa
Elder brother's wife	eŋge	jɛŋge	yenge	yeŋgä
Elder sister	aɢa/ɢəz aɢa	aʧa	abla	ača
Elder sister's husband	ezde	jɛznɛ[4]	enişte	yeznä
Younger brother	døge/ənə	uka/eni	erkek kardeş[5]	ini
Younger brother's wife	səŋnə	siŋil	kız kardeş	kelin siŋil
Younger sister	səŋnə	siŋil	kız kardeş	siŋil

[4] jɛznɛ is an ancient word.

[5] kardeş is a general appellation for brothers and sisters.

Younger sister's husband	**ezde**	**kyj oʁul**	**eniştе**[6]	**küyoɣul**
Husband's elder/younger brother	**ɢazan**[7] **ɑɢɑ ketʃiɣ ənə**	**qejni ɑkɑ/ eni**	**kɑyın**[8]	**čoŋ aqa /kičik ini**
Wife's elder/younger brother	**ɢazan ɑɢɑ ketʃiɣ ənə**	**qej ɑʁɑ/qejnini**	**kɑyın**	**čoŋ aqa /kičik ini**
Husband's elder/younger sister	**ɢazan səŋnə ketʃiɣ səŋnə**	**qejnigitʃɛ /qejnisiŋil**	**görümce**	**geyn aka\uka**
Wife's elder/younger sister	**ɑɢɑ**	**qejnigitʃɛ /qejnisiŋil**	**baldız**	**geyn ača\siŋil**
Husband's brother's wife	**higeŋge**[9]	**epi jeŋgɛ**	**eltı**	
Wife's sister's husband	**tiodɑn(Chinese)**[10]	**bɑʤɑ**	**bacanak**	

Table 5 Children

Language / Kinship Term	**Western Yugur Language**	**Uyghur**	**Turkish**	**Ancient Uighur Language**
Son	**mulɑ/oɣəl**	**oʁul**	**oğlu**	**oɣul**
Daughter-in-law	**kelən**	**kelen**	**gelin**	**kelin**
Daughter	**ɢəz**	**qız**	**kız**	**kïz**
Son-in-law	**guzeɣə/ɢəz guzeɣə**	**kyj oʁul**	**damat**	
Brother's son	**hɑdzį oɣəl**	**ʤijɛn oʁul**	**yeğen**	
Brother's daughter	**hɑdzį ɢəz**	**ʤijɛn qiz**	**yeğen**	
Sister's son	**jeɣen / jeɣen mulɑ**	**ʤijɛn**	**hemşirezade (Persian) (old term)**	
Sister's daughter	**jeɣen ɢəz**	**qiz ʤijɛn**		

II. Lexical Structure

Structurally, the kinship terms of the Western Yugur language fall into two categories: simple words and compound words. The simple appellations are mostly basic appellations that form the basis of compound appellations. These simple words

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[6] eniştе is a general appellation for sister's husband, father's sister's husband, and mother's sister's husband.

[7] ɢazan refers to husband's family; in relationships by marriage, the appellations for husband's parents, wife's parents, husband's elder/younger brother, wife's elder/younger brother, and husband's elder/younger sister all derive from it.

[8] kɑyın is a general appellation for husband's elder/younger brother and wife's elder/younger brother.

[9] higeŋge(<şigə eŋge), with ş igə meaning "two" and eŋge meaning "brother's wife", means the kinship between two wives of brothers.

[10] tiodɑn: *tiaodan*, a Chinese loanword. "*tiaodan*" originally meant carrying two loads on a shoulder pole. It evolved to refer to the relationship between the two loads, and thus was extended to refer to the relationship among brothers-in-law, i.e., the kinship among the husbands of sisters; it is a folk term.

are mostly single morphemes, such as nɑnɑ/ɑnɑ (grandmother), ɑdʐɑ (father), ɑnɑ/dɑdɑ/ɑɢɑ (mother), ɑhɢɑ/gogɑ (father's elder brother), eʤe (father's younger brother's wife), gunɑ (father's sister), guje (father's sister's husband), dɑhɢɑ/ dɑɢɑ (mother's brother), guje (mother's sister's husband), gogɑ/ɑɢɑ (elder brother), eŋge (elder brother's wife), ɑɢɑ (elder sister), ezde (elder sister's husband), døge/ənə (younger brother), səŋnə (younger sister), and ezde (younger sister's husband). The kinship terms of the Uyghur, Turkish, and ancient Uighur languages are also mostly simple words.

Compound words are formed on the basis of simple words. They have the following structures: (1) Adjective + Noun. This combination mainly consists of the adjective "elder/younger" + noun "father or mother". For example, in the Western Yugur language, bezək/kətʃiɣ+ɑdʐɑ/bɑbɑ or ɑnɑ constitute the appellations for father's elder brother, father's younger brother, father's elder brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, mother's sister, etc. (2) Noun + Noun. This combination mainly consists of the specific noun for "in-law" + noun "father or mother". For example, in the Western Yugur language, ɢɑzɑn (in-law) + ɑdʐɑ/bɑbɑ (father), ɑnɑ (mother), ɑɢɑ (elder brother, elder sister), ənə (younger brother) and səŋnə (younger sister) constitute the appellations for husband's parents or wife's parents, husband's elder/younger brother, wife's elder/younger brother, husband's elder/younger sister, and so on.

The compound appellations of the Western Yugur language generally follow the modifier + root structure, in which the former component mainly plays a modifying, restrictive, or explanatory role, while the latter component serves as the root. The above examples of "adjective + noun" and "noun + noun" combinations all follow this structural makeup.

III. Semantic Structure

Most of the kinship terms of the Western Yugur language show prominent semantic features that also have extensive meaning, are highly recapitulating, and highly generalized. For example, dɑɢvɑn/ɑvɑgɑ and nɑnɑ/ɑnigɑ/ɑnɑ semantically represent the kinship with all grandparents; bɑbɑ semantically represents the kinship

with the males of father's generation in the collateral line; bezək /ketʃiɣ ɑnɑ semantically represents the kinship with the female individuals of the family members of an older generation and their spouses. In addition, the kinship terms also have the following characteristics in terms of semantic combination:

(1) Two kinship terms can combine to form a compound word. Compound word means the combination of two distinct meanings. Some words are the sum of two meanings while others make a general reference. For example, ɢɑzɑn (in-law) + ɑɢɑ (elder brother)→husband's elder brother or wife's elder brother, ɢɑzɑn (in-law) + ənə (younger brother)→husband's younger brother or wife's younger brother, ɢɑzɑn (in-law) + səŋnə→husband's younger sister. In Uyghur, qejni ɑtɑ (father-in-law), qejni ɑnɑ (mother-in-law), qejni ɑkɑ (husband's elder brother), qejni ini (husband's younger brother or wife's younger brother), and qejni siŋil (husband's younger sister) have the same semantic structure as those in the Western Yugur language.

(2) Among some appellations for female relatives, "ɢəz" (girl, female) can be added before the base word to semantically emphasize it; for example, in the Western Yugur language, "ɢəz (female) + ɑɢɑ (elder brother)"→elder sister. Some appellations are formed with "ɢəz" or "mulɑ" added after the base word; for example, "sunzi (Chinese loanword "sunzi" meaning "grandson") + mulɑ (child)→grandson", "sunzi + ɢəz (female) → granddaughter". In Uyghur, "qiz (female) + nɛwrɛ (grandson)"→ granddaughter, "qiz(female)+ʤijɛn(nephew)"→niece.In Turkish, "kız(female)+kardeş (brother)"→younger sister,"erkek(male)+kardeş (brother)"→younger brother. These semantic structures are the same as those of the Western Yugur language.

IV. Etymology of Appellations

A sizable proportion of kinship terms in the Western Yugur language, Uyghur, Turkish, and ancient Uighur language have the same origin. This is noticeable in Tables 1 to 5, and thus will not be further elaborated upon here. However, due to the difference in geographical locations and religious beliefs, some loanwords among the kinship terms have different origins. For example, in the Western Yugur language, there is sunzi (Chinese), bɑbɑ (Chinese), ɑhɢɑ (Mongolian), tiodɑn (Chinese), etc.,

whereas in Turkish, "peder", "enişte", and "hemşirezade" are all Persian loanwords, and "valide" and "nebire" are Arabic loanwords.

V. Cultural Imprint

Language is not only a tool for human communication and thought, it is also an important component of human culture, and more importantly, a significant carrier and means of inheritance of human culture. Since kinship terms are a manifestation of culture, they do also provide a channel to explore it. For example, in the Western Yugur language, males older than the father are usually called "ɑhgɑ/ɑhɢɑ" (meaning eminent monk, monk, master, craftsman, or uncle who is a lama). Due to their geographical location, Yugur people are highly influenced by Chinese-Tibetan culture, and most of them believe in Tibetan Buddhism and monks are held in high esteem. It is because of this that "ɑhgɑ/ɑhɢɑ" is used to address the father's elder brother. Moreover, the word "dɑhɢɑ/dɑɢɑ" (mother's brother) embodies the old marital traditions of Yugur people. Children were usually raised by their mother's brother, and therefore, the latter has a paramount status. At the Yugur people's head-shaving[11], wedding, and funeral ceremonies, the mother's brother is the guest of honor, and sometimes his status is regarded as even higher than one's own parents. In the Yugur language, there is a saying: "bɑṣdɑ deŋər bezək be dro, jernəŋ ɑhldərəndɑ dɑɢɑ bezək be dro", meaning "overhead, God is in the first place; above the ground, the mother's brother is in the first place". Another saying is: "kəsənəŋ bezigə dɑɣej, sunəŋ bɑhdzį gɑŋ", meaning "the mother's brother is the highest of all people; an iceberg is the head of all water". Therefore, Yugur people may also respectfully address males older than the mother as "dɑhɢɑ/dɑɢɑ".

Conclusions

1. The kinship terms of the Western Yugur language, Uyghur and Turkish, all of which belong to the Turkic language group, can be traced to the same origin in the

[11] The head-shaving ceremony is where Yugur people give blessings to a child during his or her first head-shaving. The time of the first head-shaving varies across regions; it may be held one month, three months, one year, or three years after the birth of a child. A grand ceremony will be held at the time. During the shaving, the child's mother's brother must be the first one to cut the hair; he is the most honored, and must also give the most precious present, such as a cow or several horses.

ancient Uighur language, and their phonemes follow a certain pattern of correspondence. These four types of kinship terms have many more commonalities than differences.

2. The kinship term system of the Western Yugur language is relatively simple; it can be naturally divided into three grades: elders, adults, and children.

3. The direct address and reference for relatives in the Western Yugur language are not much different. The reference is basically formed by adding a possessive pronoun suffix to the kinship term. The appellation for a consanguineous relative is basically the same as the direct address for the relative, but the reference is slightly different.

4. The generation and seniority of relatives are not very explicit between the patrilineal line and collateral line. Generally, a name or an adjective (tʃoŋ/ketʃiɣ) is added in front of the appellation. An appellation is chosen mainly based on the addressee's age and the addressor's own age.

5. The kinship terms embody ethnic culture.

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