55th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics (ICSTLL-55)

第 55 届国際漢藏語言暨語言学会議

Program　会議日程

Pre-Workshops：September 14th
Conference dates: September 15th-18th, 2022

日期：2022 年 9 月 15 日至 18 日　［14 日：会前研討会］

[Email]　icstll55@zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp
[Website]　https://sinotibetan.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/ICSTLL55/

Venue　会場

Kyoto University venue:　京都大学国際科学イノベーション棟（Room1 for online）
Symposium Hall, 5F, International Science Innovation Building
５階シンポジウムホール
https://www.saci.kyoto-u.ac.jp/access/
https://www.jst.go.jp/impact/hp_yagi/event/20160130/access.pdf

Online venue:　線上会場（Room 2 / Room 3 via Zoom）
Host computer will be set in the meeting room on the 5th floor of the International Science Innovation Building.（会議主控機将設置于京都大学会場内）
❖The URL of the Zoom Meeting Rooms will be notified to you by the e-mail address you registered with.
❖Brief instructions on how to use the Zoom (in English/Chinese) are available on the conference website.

The timetable shows local time on a 24-hour system.
The minus sign (-) indicates that "the date is one day earlier".
For example, if your presentation is scheduled to start at "-1730 on Sept. 15",
it means "at 5:30 P.M. on Sept.14" in the local time.

September 14 Wednesday						**Room 1**
UK	IND	CHN	**Japan**	USA		Pre-Workshops of ICSLL-55 Japanese Contributions to the Sino-Tibetan Linguistics 日本人研究者によるシナ＝チベット語研究への貢献
				BOS	SFO	
GMT	IST	CST	**JST**	EDT	PDT	
5:30	10:00	12:30	**13:30**	0:30	- 21:30	Pre-Workshop [1] Geolinguistic approach to Sino-Tibetan
Chair						Satoko Shirai
5:30	10:00	12:30	**13:30**	0:30	- 21:30	Satoko Shirai: Introduction
6:00	10:30	13:00	**14:00**	1:00	- 22:00	Shiho Ebihara and Yoshio Saitô: Tibetic and Altaic
6:30	11:00	13:30	**14:30**	1:30	- 22:30	BREAK
7:00	11:30	14:00	**15:00**	2:00	- 23:00	Hiroyuki Suzuki, Kenji Yagi, and Fumiki Suzuki: Lexical relationship in some animal and plant terms
7:30	12:00	14:30	**15:30**	2:30	- 23:30	Kazue Iwasa: Current issues and perspectives on Yi characters
8:00	12:30	15:00	**16:00**	3:00	0:00	BREAK
8:30	13:00	15:30	**16:30**	3:30	0:30	Pre-Worksop[2] Great Footsteps in Tibeto-Burman Linguistics by Japanese Scholars 日本人研究者によるチベット＝ビルマ語研究への大いなる足跡
Chair						池田　巧
8:30	13:00	15:30	**16:30**	3:30	0:30	池田　巧: 北村　甫(KITAMURA Hajime 1923-2003)
9:00	13:30	16:00	**17:00**	4:00	1:00	長野泰彦： 西　義郎(NISHI Yoshio 1934–2019)
9:30	14:00	16:30	**17:30**	4:30	1:30	林　範彦： 西田龍雄(NISHIDA Tatsuo 1928-2012)

September 15 Thursday						**Room 1**	**Room 2**	**Room 3**
UK	IND	CHN	**Japan**	USA				
				BOS	SFO			
GMT	IST	CST	**JST**	EDT	PDT			
1:00	5:30	8:00	**9:00**	- 20:00	- 17:00	**Opening Ceremony**		
1:30	6:00	8:30	**9:30**	- 20:30	- 17:30	**KEYNOTE SPEECH** James A. Matisoff: Sweet memories of fieldwork in the pre-computer era		
2:30	7:00	9:30	**10:30**	- 21:30	- 18:30	BREAK		
Chair						**Hiroyuki Akitani**	**Scott DeLancey**	**Jonathan Evans**
3:00	7:30	10:00	**11:00**	- 22:00	- 19:00	大西博子： 江苏通州方言的入声调	Daniel Ross and Kenneth Van Bik: A Lai perspective on verb serialization	Ma Simin: 史兴语的差比句

3:30	8:00	10:30	**11:30**	- 22:30	- 19:30	Ling Zhang: 四川泸州方言的名词后缀研究	David Peterson and Kenneth Van Bik: Affecting valence in Lawmtuk-Ruawghawn	Satoko Shirai and Yang Huang: A geolinguistic approach to nDrapa dialectology
4:00	8:30	11:00	**12:00**	- 23:00	- 20:00	BREAK		
5:00	9:30	12:00	**13:00**	0:00	- 21:00	**KEYNOTE SPEECH** Chenglong, Huang: 中国境内汉藏语名物化标记的类型学研究		
6:00	10:30	13:00	**14:00**	1:00	- 22:00	BREAK		
Chair						**Atsuhiko Kato**	**Takenori Murakami**	**Hiroyuki Suzuki**
6:30	11:00	13:30	**14:30**	1:30	- 22:30	Keita Kurabe: Bridging constructions in Jinghpaw	Jessica Ivani: Suansu, a Tibeto-Burman language from northeastern India: a field report	Cairang Lamao: 古藏语动词三时形态在现代藏语方言中的减缩模式 ——安多藏 语玛曲话为例
7:00	11:30	14:00	**15:00**	2:00	- 23:00	Hideo Sawada: Differences between 'Lacid' and 'Leqi'	Samira Müller and Milad Abedi: Donkey-eared or Rabbit-eared, that's the question – Trans-Himalayan zoonyms as seen in relation with their neighbouring languages	Xiaozhe Zong: 卫藏方言亚东话的语音系统
7:30	12:00	14:30	**15:30**	2:30	- 23:30	BREAK		
Chair						**Shiho Ebihara**	**Jesse Gates**	**Satoko Shirai**
8:00	12:30	15:00	**16:00**	3:00	0:00	Hong Shen: Personal Pronouns in Nuosu Yi	Rumeng Zhang: A Phonemic Analysis of Ciwa Na (Mosuo) Language	Madeing Bung Teing: 勒期语述补结构的特点
8:30	13:00	15:30	**16:30**	3:30	0:30	Hiroyuki Suzuki: Shaping rGyalthangic: A historical account of Yunnan Khams	Qin Li: 纳西语达祖村话音系研究	勇 赵 and 银梅 杨: 澜沧哈尼语的双及物结构研究
9:00	13:30	16:00	**17:00**	4:00	1:00	Shuya Zhang and Yunfan Lai: Seats and verandas: linguistic evidence for the study of traditional Rgyalrong architecture		Zhou Yao and Xiaobing Zhao: Research on the Semantic Knowledge Representation of Classical Tibetan Cases for Information Processing
9:30	14:00	16:30	**17:30**	4:30	1:30	Hiroyuki Suzuki, Tashi Nyima, Tsering Samdrup and Sonam Wangmo: Suprasegmental features of Lamo and its sister languages: With reference to Kansai Japanese	Duoduo Xu: Particles in Na Language	Ryan Ka Yau Lai: Annotating and analysing coreference and argument structure in Central Tibetan
September 16 continued						continued on next page		

September 16 **Friday**						**Room 1**	**Room 2**	**Room 3**
UK	IND	CHN	**Japan**	USA				
				BOS	SFO			
GMT	IST	CST	**JST**	EDT	PDT			
Chair						**Kazuya Miyajima**	**David Bradley**	**Stephen Watters**
1:00	5:30	8:00	**9:00**	- 20:00	- 17:00	Takashi Matsue: 談揚雄《方言》中東齊海岱方言詞彙的特徵	Manuel David González Pérez: Adverbs and adverbiality in Phola	Mary Burke: Promoting mother tongue education with archival material

1:30	6:00	8:30	**9:30**	- 20:30	- 17:30	Wolfgang Behr: Old Chinese-steppe connections in the first millenium BC: insights from the lexicon of metallurgy	Chris Donlay: The Multiple Features of Emphatic Particles in Khatso	Yuan Lin and Chia- Jung Pan: Possession in Gelao
2:00	6:30	9:00	**10:00**	- 21:00	- 18:00	BREAK		
Chair						**Takashi Matsue**	**Kenneth Van-Bik**	**Yoshihisa Taguchi**
2:30	7:00	9:30	**10:30**	- 21:30	- 18:30	Kazuya Miyajima: 從方言詞的角度來看上古漢語的位移動詞'蹠"	Gabriel Gilbert: Interrogatives in South-Central Tibeto-Burman	陈 静怡: 泰语中kaan和khwaam的语法性质
3:00	7:30	10:00	**11:00**	- 22:00	- 19:00	Xi Zhou: 《證治準繩》在漢語詞彙史上的語料價值	David Peterson: 'return' > MIDDLE: an areal grammaticalization in Northern South Central Tibeto-Burman	Fang Li: The distributions and functions of final particle NA in Thai: An (inter) subjectivity perspective
3:30	8:00	10:30	**11:30**	- 22:30	- 19:30	Shunsuke Tonouchi: 殷商汉语数量表达研究—兼论汉语个体量词的来源	Xueyuqing Pan: Nominalizer, Relativizer and Stance Marker: the Nominalization Domain in the Xianju Dialect	
4:00	8:30	11:00	**12:00**	- 23:00	- 20:00	BREAK		
5:00	9:30	12:00	**13:00**	0:00	- 21:00	**KEYNOTE SPEECH** Hiroyuki Akitani: 原始闽语的形成年代		
6:00	10:30	13:00	**14:00**	1:00	- 22:00	BREAK		
Chair						**Kosei Otsuka**	**Kazue Iwasa**	**Masaki Nohara**
6:30	11:00	13:30	**14:30**	1:30	- 22:30	Atsuhiko Kato: Lae Kwe Kaw: A new "ancient" writing system of Karen	Zihe Li: The origin and evolution of Naish nasal initials	Ruiqing Shen and Yi Min Sheng: 内陆闽语非南朝吴语直系后代说
7:00	11:30	14:00	**15:00**	2:00	- 23:00	Shintaro Arakawa: Derivation of words in Tangut and derivative elements in the script		Bit-Chee Kwok: 上古漢語唇化元音 *o 在原始閩語中的反映及相關音變
7:30	12:00	14:30	**15:30**	2:30	- 23:30	BREAK		
Chair						**Hiroko Ohnishi**	**Takumi Ikeda**	**Bit-Chee Kwok**
8:00	12:30	15:00	**16:00**	3:00	0:00		*Workshop on Lexicon: *This is a closed workshop for working group and invited members only: • Amdo (Ebihara); • Tshangla (Watanabe); • Wu.Linhai (Negishi); • Min.Manjiang (Huang); • Tibetan Dialects (Ikeda);	Ruiyin Liu: Locative Verbs in the Dongguan Wanjiang Dialect
8:30	13:00	15:30	**16:30**	3:30	0:30	真海 张: 湖南沅陵戈洞瓦乡话支佳同韵的语音层次		Yi Gong: 被搞反中心地位的'得字短语"
9:00	13:30	16:00	**17:00**	4:00	1:00	卞 春婷: 汉语通河方言名词短语概况		
9:30	14:00	16:30	**17:30**	4:30	1:30			
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September 17 **Saturday**					**Room 1**	**Room 2**	**Room 3**
UK	IND	CHN	**Japan**	USA			

				BOS	SFO			
GMT	IST	CST	**JST**	EDT	PDT			
1:00	5:30	8:00	**9:00**	- 20:00	- 17:00	**KEYNOTE SPEECH** William H. Baxter: Two thousand years of ideas about Old Chinese: a sketch		
2:00	6:30	9:00	**10:00**	- 21:00	- 18:00	BREAK		
Chair						**Takashi Takekoshi**	**Norihiko Hayashi**	**David Peterson**
2:30	7:00	9:30	**10:30**	- 21:30	- 18:30	Xuexiong Chen: 福清方言主体位移事件的表达	Yuan Meng: On the Verb-Object Word Order in Karen Language: and the Transformation of Word Order	Juha Yliniemi and Stephen Watters: Himalayan ideophones and the iconicity of modified reduplication
3:00	7:30	10:00	**11:00**	- 22:00	- 19:00	Hong Chen: The passive construction of the Puxian Dialect	Xingyue Wang: The development of Heima Lalo fricatives	Scott DeLancey: Compositional Pronouns in Trans-Himalayan
3:30	8:00	10:30	**11:30**	- 22:30	- 19:30	Huang Chenmo: 泰顺蛮讲的否定词	~~Li Meng~~:（キャンセル？） 云南楚雄彝语鼻冠辅音的地理分布与演变	Carl Bodnaruk: Tibetic Origins of Trans-Himalayan Evidentials
4:00	8:30	11:00	**12:00**	- 23:00	- 20:00	BREAK		
Chair						**Keita Kurabe**	**Yang Huang**	**You-Jing Lin**
5:00	9:30	12:00	**13:00**	0:00	- 21:00	Philippe Martinez: Knowing with and knowing without observation in Trans-Himalayan	Hongdi Ding: A Typological Perspective on Interrogative Expressions of the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Cool Mountains	Min Liu: Comparative Structure of the Namuyi Language
5:30	10:00	12:30	**13:30**	0:30	- 21:30	Huziwara Keisuke: Elaborate expressions in Cak	Sicong Dong and Hongdi Ding: How “to rain” in Tibeto-Burman languages of China	Jingyao Zheng: Verb Stem Alternations in Rongpa Choyul
6:00	10:30	13:00	**14:00**	1:00	- 22:00	BREAK		
Chair						**Keita Kurabe**	**Chia-jung Pan**	**Takumi Ikeda**
6:30	11:00	13:30	**14:30**	1:30	- 22:30	Norihiko Hayashi: Plural Markers in Youle Jino and Lolo-Burmese	~~羿蒙 吕~~:（キャンセル）	晓燕: 贵琼语前缀衰退的表现与路径分析——兼论藏缅语语言转型与词缀演变
7:00	11:30	14:00	**15:00**	2:00	- 23:00	Takenori Murakami: Analysing the Obsolete Vocabulary from Old Vaiphei Folk Songs	Jiaojiao Yao: Resultatives and serial verbs	振法 杨: 石棉木雅语概况
September 18 continued						continued on next page		

September 18 **Sunday**						**Room 1**	**Room 2**	**Room 3**
UK	IND	CHN	**Japan**	USA				
				BOS	SFO			
GMT	IST	CST	**JST**	EDT	PDT		**Organizing Committee**	
1:00	5:30	8:00	**9:00**	- 20:00	- 17:00		Business Meeting	
1:30	6:00	8:30	**9:30**	- 20:30	17:30			
2:00	6:30	9:00	**10:00**	- 21:00	18:00	BREAK		
Chair						**Yimin Sheng**	**Shuya Zhang**	**Hongdi Ding**

2:30	7:00	9:30	**10:30**	- 21:30	- 18:30	Hang Wang and Pingping Ge: 现代汉语程度副词"很"的来源及演变	Jesse Gates: Kinship terms in Stau	Benjamin Hull: The shape of Zauzou Noun Phrases: Predicting reference type and the presence and ordering of operators and modifiers using syntactic, semantic and pragmatic
3:00	7:30	10:00	**11:00**	- 22:00	- 19:00	Lizheng Xu: 普通话重动句自然焦点的研究	You-Jing Lin: Relative Constructions in the Cogtse Dialect of Rgyalrong	Tetsuya Miyagishi: A descriptive study of plural morphemes in Zauzou
3:30	8:00	10:30	**11:30**	- 22:30	- 19:30	Yanmin Qiao: 河南济源方言Z变韵音变规律、演变及形成	Xuan Guan: Uvularization in Pubarong Queyu	Yu Li: Numeral classifiers and number marking in Zauzou
4:00	8:30	11:00	**12:00**	- 23:00	- 20:00	BREAK		
5:00	9:30	12:00	**13:00**	0:00	- 21:00	**KEYNOTE SPEECH** Carol Genetti: The Grammatical Encoding of Space in Tibeto-Burman Revisited: Findings from a Cross-Linguistic Study		
6:00	10:30	13:00	**14:00**	1:00	- 22:00	BREAK		
Chair						**Keisuke Huziwara**	**Hideo Sawada**	**Ruiqing Shen**
6:30	11:00	13:30	**14:30**	1:30	- 22:30	Isao Honda: Egophoric vs non-egophoric contrast in Kaike	Nora Muheim and Jessica Ivani: Uncovering Serial Verb Constructions in Tibeto-Burman	Meng Yue Cai and Lu Li: 八十年来滇中汉语方言入声的演变及动因
7:00	11:30	14:00	**15:00**	2:00	- 23:00	Yoshihisa Taguchi: Why do you put something when you say you take it?	~~Muhammad Zakaria~~（キャンセル） Yishan Huang: Four phonation types in Zhangzhou Southern Min: Constraints and Realisations	Yue Yin: Superposition and Competition of Phonological Rules: Tone Sandhi Variation and Change of Guangshui Dialect
7:30	12:00	14:30	**15:30**	2:30	- 23:30	Kazuyuki Kiryu: A system of "emphatic particles" in Kathmandu Newar in terms of their "emphatic" functions	David Bradley: Burmese as a Southeast Asian language	Sunhao Yu: An Interaction Between Word Order and the Focus Structure in Northern Wu
8:00	12:30	15:00	**16:00**	3:00	0:00	BREAK		
8:30	13:00	15:30	**16:30**	3:30	0:30	**KEYNOTE SPEECH** Laurent Sagart: Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian bodypart terms		
9:30	14:00	16:30	**17:30**	4:30	1:30	**Closing ceremony**		

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I Keynote Speech

II Presentations

Appendix

Pre-Workshop [1] Geolinguistic approach to Sino–Tibetan

Pre-Workshop [2] Great Footsteps in Tibeto-Burman Linguistics by Japanese Scholars

I Keynote Speech

55th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics
Kyoto University
September 15-18, 2022

Sweet memories of fieldwork in the pre-computer era

James A. Matisoff
University of California, Berkeley

My linguistic fieldwork in northern Thailand in 1965-66, 1970, and 1976 posed many difficulties, but also provided delightful experiences. My family and I were based in Chiang Mai, then a relatively small town, with a tiny expatriate community and very few motor vehicles. I would make periodic trips to Lahu villages, collect as much data as I could, and return to Chiang Mai to transcribe and analyze it.

My Lahu consultants were eager to help me, telling stories, singing songs, even putting on little skits to illustrate aspects of village life. But in those pre-computer days my equipment consisted solely of clunky reel-to-reel tape-recorders, file-slips and file-boxes, and carbon paper. For visual documentation I had a primitive still camera that actually required film!

With the help of a Lahu recently arrived from Shan State, whose English was actually better than his Lahu, I managed to make good progress in 1956-66. The outlines of the grammar were beginning to take shape in my mind. Entries for a dictionary were accumulating fast. I would put each word on a file slip, using carbon paper so I could alphabetize it both in Lahu and English. Subsequent trips provided opportunities to correct and expand my data.

But of course fieldwork is not just hard work and drudgery. There is a lot of fun involved as well. One of my favorite memories involves trying to explain an eclipse of the sun to a skeptical audience of Lahu-speaking Mien by using two pieces of fruit and a kerosene lamp. They listened politely, but obviously didn't believe a word of what I was saying, since they had their own theories about it.

第 55 届国际汉藏语言暨语言学会议（ICSTLL55），日本•京都
Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan, 15-18 Sept. 2022

中国境内汉藏语名物化标记的类型学研究

黄成龙

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中国社会科学院民族学与人类学研究所
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摘要

汉藏语系语言的名物化标记的形式、类型和功能复杂多样。过去学者们对某些语言的名物化进行过一些描写分析（Matisoff 1972; Herring 1991; 周毛草2006; LaPolla 2008; Huang 2008; Liu &Gu 2008; Morey 2008; Sio 2008; Rao, Gao and Gates 2019; Lu, de Weijer and Liu 2019; 胡素华2020；黄阳2020；钟叡逸 2021），也对其进行比较研究（朱德熙 1980; Delancey 2005; Noonan 2008; Bickel 1999, 2005; 闻静2016）和多功能发展研究（Noonan 1997, 2008b; DeLancey 2008; Genetti 2008; Simpson 2008; Yap & Matthews 2008; Yap & Wang 2008; Xu & Matthews 2008; Grunow-Harsta 2008, 2009），但是对汉藏语名物化标记的类型比较成果较少。本报告在已有研究成果的基础上，从区域类型学视角，考察中国境内汉藏语系语言包括汉语族、藏缅语族、苗瑶语族、壮侗语族名物化标记的形式类型，名物化标记的多功能性及其制约因素。

参考文献（中国境内汉藏语部分）

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原始闽语的形成年代

秋谷裕幸（日本爱媛大学）

笔者曾在秋谷裕幸（2020：82）中指出：

> 根据带有南朝通语色彩的“若”“许”“底”“伊”和“著”以及“糖”，我们了解到原始闽语的形成年代不大可能早于南北朝时期。

这些词分别表示｛多少｝｛那｝｛哪｝｛他｝｛在｝以及｛糖、糖果｝。与此同时该文第 84 页还指出：

> “若”“许”“底”“伊”和“著”只分布在沿海闽语。山区闽语一般不用这些词语。所以，这些词语也有可能是沿海闽语和山区闽语分歧后只有沿海闽语从南朝通语引进来
> 的词语。

本文重新探讨原始闽语的｛多少｝｛那个｝｛哪个｝以及｛人｝义词，证实这些词在原始闽语里的说法分别是“若”“许个、许只”“底个、底只”以及“农”。它们词都不是自古继承下来的词语而是在南朝时期出现的新词，换言之，都是词汇创新的结果。山区闽语曾经也有这些词分布。原始闽语共享这些创新词。这明确表示原始闽语的形成年代不早于南朝时期。｛那｝义词“许”的原始闽语形式是*xy^{tone*2}。“许”为上古鱼部中古鱼韵的字。它带有圆唇成分表示*xy^{tone*2} 处于中古鱼韵与中古模虞韵还组成同一个韵部的阶段，即早于齐梁陈朝的阶段。

总之，原始闽语的形成年代大体上可以定在南朝早期阶段。

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Two thousand years of ideas about Old Chinese: a sketch

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In this talk I will attempt to trace how ideas about the pre-Qín Chinese language developed over time. At each stage, the approaches used by scholars relied on the evidence and ideas available to them. Given the relative stability of the Chinese written language, it would initially not have been obvious that the spoken language changed at all. Taking the Hàn 漢 dynasty as an approximate starting point, the earliest hint that Chinese had changed over time was probably the awareness that some words or grammatical patterns in earlier texts (passed down by memorization or writing) were no longer in use, and required explanation. Readers of the *Book of Odes* (*Shījīng* 詩經) would notice that some passages did not rhyme properly in their own speech, and this could have been a clue that pronunciations of individual words had changed. The authors of the *Qièyùn* 切韻 (601 CE) also had clues about changes in pronunciation from earlier rhyme books, and they report discussing "the right and the wrong of South and North, and the prevailing and the obsolete of past and present [南北是非，古今通塞]". The rhymes of the *Qièyùn* and *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 provided at least some terms for describing pronunciation; the rhyme-table tradition, clearly influenced by the Indian linguistic tradition, provided additional useful terminology. These were the tools available to the remarkable scholars of the Qīng dynasty who used them to analyze the rhymes of the *Shījīng*. Bernhard Karlgren (1889–1978) introduced the use of a phonetic alphabet, but unfortunately did not accept the concept of the phoneme—crucial in modern linguistics. Subsequent progress resulted from a number of factors: the use of phonemic analysis, advances in paleography, improved documentation of modern dialects, and the use of internal reconstruction to recover morphological processes.

The Grammatical Encoding of Space in Tibeto-Burman Revisited: Findings from a Cross-Linguistic Study

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The 2015 International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics included a Pre-Meeting Workshop entitled "The Grammatical Encoding of Space in Tibeto-Burman". The seven presentations that day collectively outlined a rich area of investigation and served as a catalyst for subsequent research by Kristine Hildebrandt and I (Genetti & Hildebrandt, eds. 2017), ably assisted by Nathaniel Sims, Philippe Martinez, and Alexia Fawcett. Using reference grammars written on languages from across the family, we first focused on verbal expressions (Genetti et al. 2020), and then more recently have turned to analysis of spatial encodings in adverbs and in the noun phrase, the results of which will be presented here.

The richness and dynamic nature of spatial grammar in Tibeto-Burman have long made this a topic of interest. Tibeto-Burman languages are especially known for topographic ("altitudinal") and geomorphic deixis (e.g., Allen 1972, Bickel 1997, 2000, Ebert 1999, Post 2011, 2019, 2020), directional systems within the verb and their extension to person marking (e.g., DeLancey 1980), the historical cycle by which spatial elements are combined, fuse, and reduce (DeLancey 1985), the complexities of mapping space in a mountainous environment (e.g., Bickel 1997, Schackow 2015), the extension of spatial concepts to social and cultural constructs (e.g., Bickel and Gaenszle 1999 and the papers therein), and, more recently, systems of marking direction and associated motion (Jaques, Lahaussois, and Shuya 2021; Genetti et al. 2020).

As in other languages Tibeto-Burman spatial encodings permeate the clause, although individual languages vary in the extent to which such meanings are encoded in the noun phrase or in the verbal complex. No two languages have identical spatial encodings, and even varieties of a single language can show quite different grammatical patterns. The boundaries between grammatical categories are often fuzzy, and there is fluidity in the grammatical status and word class of particular forms. Spatial encodings frequently occur in paradigmatic sets, which are often tightly structured, although there are observed paradigmatic gaps. In a number of languages, a small set of locative stems systematically take inflections that derive distinct word classes; these are thus also paradigmatic. Some languages have remarkably complex combinatorial systems that allow for the expression of fine-grained spatial distinctions.

These points will be illustrated by drawing on a study of spatial encodings in the noun phrase in 30 languages from across the family. Focusing on demonstratives, casemarking, and "locationals" (forms with primarily topographic semantics, realized as relator nouns, postpositions, and/or adverbs), the study identifies typical patterns, and then specifies the ways in which subsystems diverge from the typical. Notably robust systems from across the family will be highlighted. While reference grammars provide remarkable, detailed, and comprehensive descriptions that allow for a holistic overview of the grammar of space, they also have inherent limitations. A large controlled study using elicitation prompts would be a fascinating next step for further exploration.

Sino-Tibetan-Austronesian bodypart terms – Laurent Sagart, CNRS Paris.

Three papers in 2019 have supported the Chinese vs. the rest ('TB') structure of Sino-Tibetan. Sagart et al. (2019) place the most likely date of PST at 7200 BP in the Loess plateau of north China. Domesticates: two millets (foxtail, broomcorn); pigs, dogs, sheep. No rice, horses, metals. I have proposed (2005) that ST and Austronesian (AN) are genetically related. Proto-STAN roughly 9000 BP same region, same domesticates. PAN c. 5500 BP. Linguistic evidence in the 2005 paper: basic vocabulary, cultural vocabulary, list of sound correspondences, morphological processes. 9 bodypart terms. Need for an update. Sagart (2022) discusses STAN vocabulary of food production, notably millets and pigs. This presentation lists 19 PAN body-part terms with matching TB reconstructions in STEDT. The resemblance in final syllables is obvious:

#	PAN (mostly Blust)	PTB (STEDT, accessed June 2022)	OC (B&S 2014)
1	*quluh 'head'	#1221 PTB *k-lu HEAD	首 *l̥uʔ > shǒu 'head'
2	*punuq 'brain'	#243 *s-nəw-k BRAIN	腦 *nˁ[u]ʔ > nǎo 'brain'
3	*Caŋal 'face, forehead'	#2017 PTB *ŋar TOPKNOT / FOREPART / FRONT SIDE	顏 *C.ŋˁrar > yán 'face, forehead'
4	*qimiR 'cheek'	#1188 PTB *s-myal FACE	面 *C.me[n]-s > miàn 'face'
5	*biRbiR 'lip'	#452 PTB *b(i/u)l ⩙ *byal LIP / LOBE / LID	
6	(Tsuchida) *Raqem 'molar'	#630 PTB *gam JAW / CHIN / MOLAR	頷 *[ɢ]ˁ[ə]mʔ > hàn 'jaw, chin'
7	*-tuk 'nape'	#359 *tuk ⩙ *twak HEAD / SKULL / NECK	脰 *kə.dˁok-s > dòu 'neck'
8	*-quŋ 'throat'	#3361 PTB *gwaŋ NECK / THROAT	胷 *qʰ(r)oŋ > xiōng 'breast, chest'
9	*nunuh 'female breast'	#253 PTB *s-nəw BREAST / MILK / SUCK	乳 *noʔ > rǔ 'milk; nipple'
10	*ta-gaRaŋ 'ribcage'	#288 PTB *b/g-raŋ CHEST	
11	*baRaŋ 'chest cavity'	#288 PTB *b/g-raŋ CHEST	
12	*debdeb 'chest'	#554 PTB *s-ri(p/m) RIB / SIDE	
13	*-buk 'belly'	#2107 *puk/buk BELLY / STOMACH	腹 *p(r)uk > fù 'belly'
14	*likud 'the back'	#2827 PTB *kur BACK (adv.) / BACK (body part)	
15	*pikpik 'arm'	#706 IA *pak WING / ARM	臂 *pek-s > bì 'arm'
16	*siku(x) 'elbow'	#307 PTB *s-g(r)u ELBOW / CUBIT (provisional)	肘 *t-[k]<r>uʔ > zhǒu 'elbow'
17	*kudkud 'hoof, lower leg of an ungulate'	#414 *s-kur NAIL / HOOF	
18	*nanaq 'pus'	#1297 *(s/r)nak PUS (provisional)	(茹 *naʔ > rú 'putrid')
19	*gumuN 'body hair'	#363 PTB *s/r-mul ⩙ *s-mil ⩙ *s-myal HAIR / FUR / FEATHER	

This presentation will discuss the sound correspondences on the last AN syllables, the reflection in TB and OC of penultimate AN syllables, and related matters.

II Presentations

Derivation of words in Tangut and derivative elements in the script

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Keywords: Tangut, Tangut script, derivation

Tangut script 西夏文字 was created to represent the Tangut language 西夏語 belonging to the Tibeto-Burman languages and promulgated in the 11th century. Although the Tangut script is influenced by Chinese characters, the glyph shapes are not congruent. On the contrary, the principle of glyph creation based on the concept of the main component might be considered an imitation of the “radical 部首” of Chinese characters. Tangut script differs from Chinese characters in many respects.
The derivation of words by inflections and so on is confirmed in Tangut. Since the original word and the derived word have different syllable, they are written in different characters, but both have a 'common part' and specific elements are added to the derived characters. Those elements are arranged and examined.

Old Chinese-steppe connections in the first millennium B.C.: insights from the lexicon of metallurgy

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During recent decades, archaeological evidence has been slowly converging that some early metal technology, including bronze and iron casting, as well as the use of silver and gold in decorative items is intrusive in China since the late Neolithic, either directly from the North or via the Hexi 河西 corridor (cf. e.g. YANG, SHAO & PAN 2020). One of the earliest undisputed instantiations of external contacts of Zhou China with the steppe cultures of the Northern zone is provided by ample attestations of metal belt hooks (*daigou* 帶鉤) as part of the influx of a package of "nomadic fashion" since at least the middle of the first millennium B.C. (XIAO BING 1981, WANG RENXIANG 1985, LI ZHIFANG 2011, Bao Guihong 2020). The orthographic instability of the name for this belt hook in transmitted Chinese sources, i.e. *xipi* 犀毗 (MC **sej+bjij* < OC *sˤij+bi), *shipi* 師比 (**srij+bjij* < *srij+bij), *xupi* 胥紕 (**sjo*(*X*)+*bjie* < *sra(ʔ)+be), *xianbei* 鮮卑 (**sjen+pjie* < *s[a]r.pe), and maybe *sipitou* 私鈹頭 (**sij+phje+duw* < *[s]əj+phraj+[m-t]ˤo), recognized since the beginnings of the 20th century (PELLIOT 1921, EGAMI 1936, BOODBERG 1936), points to a foreign origin. As MAENCHEN-HELFEN (1937, 1945) has convincingly argued, the fact that the reflex of the word *serbe* 'small hook, notch, agraffe' in Classical Mongolian is isolated within that family would seem to indicate that we are dealing with a migratory term, which he linked to the Indo-European root *ser(p)- 'sickle, hook', a *p-extension of a presumed root *ser- (IEW 911-2) with wide, but irregular reflexes across the daughter families and an only partial attestation within core Indo-European (PRONK 2021). The most probable source of this is PIE *ser(H)- 'join, fasten together, string together, attach' (i.e. Gk. Greek εἴρω, Letin *serō* etc.; LIV 534-5). Leaving aside the complicated question of this object to the name of the Xianbei tribe 鮮卑 since the Early Imperial period (cf., e.g., GOLDEN 2013), the talk will attempt to trace the possible contact languages and periods underlying the various OC borrowings.

In a second step, an attempt will be made to etymologize the designations for 'copper', 'tin', 'lead' and various bronze alloys and related manufacturing technologies encountered in Western Zhou bronze inscriptions. While the lexicon of metallurgy in Chinese excavated texts is extremely rich (LIU XIANG 1986, CHEN JIAN 1999, ZHU FENGHAN 2009, DU NAISONG 2015, LI QI 2019) – 197 characters containing a metal radical (金) have been counted at the end of the Warring states period alone (HOU KAIHUA 2008) – its external connections have been little studied or simply subsumed under "dialect phenomena" (e.g. BAI BING 2005). External comparisons are complicated by the fact that metallurgy terminologies in their incipient stages of borrowing have been shown to be semantically unstable in other language families of the area (e.g. RYBATZKI 1994 on Turkic and Mongolian; 2002 on Tungusic) as well as in unrelated language families (e.g. DE MARET & NSUKA 1977 on Bantu; LECHTMAN 1980 on Andean languages).

I will try to show how the terminology Zhou Chinese metallurgy may be useful to better delineate a non-Sinitic "steppe" terminological layer within the Old Chinese lexicon. If time permits this will also allow me to comment on the purely phonological problem of the elusive *-j/*-r/-*n (dialect) distinction within Old Chinese reflected in such early borrowings.

汉语通河方言名词短语概况

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汉语通河方言(以下简称通河方言)，按照《中国语言地图集 汉语方言卷(第 2 版)》(2012)的分类，属于东北方言黑松片的嫩克小片。尹世超(1997)、尹世超(2004)、尹世超(2010)、苏春梅(2007)，胡明志(2007)、黄锡惠(2010)、闫石(2017)、曹曼莉(2008)、乔倩(2008)、张兆金(2014)、李冬梅(2014)，杨松柠(2014)、方兴龙(2017)，王世建(2017)、李雪莹(2017)、徐姗姗(2019)、满蕾(2010)、张锐(2015)、计超(2013)、刘芳(2014)等对哈尔滨方言与东北方言进行了研究。研究内容主要集中于东北方言的副词、形容词以及词缀研究上，对东北方言的语法研究做出了巨大的贡献。

本文以笔者对通河方言音位系统的调查研究结论为基础，更深入地对通河方言的语法进行共时研究。通过对收集的录音数据进行分析，本文首先对通河方言的名词短语结构的各个构成成分进行描写研究。然后分析其语法功能。

通河方言的名词短语为“指示代词+数词+量词+名词”的结构所构成。指示代词与汉语普通话相同，近指用“这”，如这个/tʂəi⁵¹kə⁰/[tseɪ⁵¹kə⁰]、这些/tʂəi⁵¹xiə⁴⁴/[tseɪ⁵¹ɕie⁴⁴]。远指用“那”，如那个/nəi⁵¹kə⁰/[neɪ⁵¹kə⁰]、那些/nəi⁵¹xiə⁴⁴/[neɪ⁵¹ɕie⁴⁴]。与“这”“那”相对应的疑问代词是“哪”，如哪个/nəi²¹²kə⁰/[neɪ²¹²kə⁰]、哪些/nəi²¹²xiə⁴⁴/[neɪ²¹²ɕie⁴⁴]。数词包括基数词和序数词，其中通河方言的“一、三、七、八”变调现象，与尹世超(1997)所著《哈尔滨方言词典》中的哈尔滨方言的“一、三、七、八”的变调现象一致，而在普通话中吧只有数词“一”存在变调现象。量词与数词组合成数量词，如一半儿/i⁴⁴par⁵¹/[i²⁴pɐ⁵¹]、一把儿/i⁴⁴par²¹²/[i⁵⁴pɐ²¹]、一根儿/i⁴⁴kər⁴⁴/[i⁵¹kɚ⁴⁴]。名词既有单音节结构的词也有多音节结构的词，如头/tʰəu²⁴/[tʰəʊ²⁴]、雨衣/y²¹²i⁴⁴/[y²¹i⁴⁴]、大米饭/ta⁵¹mi²¹²fan⁵¹/[tɐ⁵⁴mi²¹fɐn⁵¹]、热汤面条儿/rə⁵¹taŋ⁴⁴mian⁵¹tʰiaur²⁴/[ɻə⁵²tɐŋ²²miɜn²¹tʰiɐʊɻ¹¹]。

名词主要包括“名词+名词”、“前缀+名词词根”、“名词词根+后缀”几种构成。如早上饭/tsau²¹²ʂaŋ⁵¹fan⁵¹/[tsɐʊ²¹ʂɐŋ⁰ʊɐn⁵¹]、二棉袄/ar⁵¹mian²⁴nau²¹²/[ɐ⁵¹miɜn⁰nɐʊ²¹]、馒头/man²⁴tʰəu⁰/[mɐn²⁴tʰəu⁵¹]。同时对通河方言中几种常见词缀“子”、“老”、“头”、“大”、“二”进行描写。在普通话中，“子”“老”“头”“大”也是属于常见词缀，但是在与名词词根组合上，通河方言与普通话稍有区别，而且其使用频率更高，如脑瓜子/nau²¹²kua⁴⁴tsi⁰/[nɐʊ²¹kʷuɐ⁴⁴tsɿ⁰]、嘴唇子/tsuəi²¹²tʂʰuən²⁴tsi⁰/[tsʷueɪ²¹tsʷʰuən²⁴tsɿ⁴¹]、老哇子/lau²¹²ua²⁴tsi⁰/[lɐʊ²¹wɐ²⁴tsɿ⁴¹]、天头/tʰian⁴⁴tʰəu⁰/[tʰiɜn⁴⁴tʰəu⁰]、大米饭/ta⁵¹mi²¹²fan⁵¹/[tɐ⁵⁴mi²¹fɐn⁵¹]。与普通话不同的是，在通河方言中，“二”也能作为前缀，与名词词根相结合，如二米饭/ar⁵¹mi²¹²fan⁵¹/[ɐ⁵²mi²¹fɐn⁴¹](指两种米混合蒸的饭)，二棉裤/ar⁵¹mian²⁴kʰu⁵¹/[ɐ⁵²miɜn²⁴kʷʰu⁵¹](薄棉裤)。

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Tibetic Origins of Trans-Himalayan Evidentials

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Evidential systems tend to occur in areal groups that do not align with language family or subfamily boundaries, with evidential areas appearing in North and South America, the Caucuses, New Guinea, and the Himalayas (Aikhenvald 2004; San Roque and Loughnane 2012). The development of these systems through areal diffusion has also been well reported in many of these areas (Aikhenvald 2004: 288; Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998 among others). Of specific relevance to this presentation, this diffusion has been reported from Tibetic languages to a number of non-Tibetic languages throughout the Himalayan region, such as the Chinese languages of Wutun (Sinitic) and Salar (Turkic) (Sandman and Simon 2016), Bunan (West Himalayish), Dolakha and Kathmandu Newar (Newaric) and Sunwar (Kiranti) (Widmer and Zemp 2017; Zemp 2020). This areal development has been investigated for individual languages in the Himalayas, but has not yet been assessed with a view of the whole Trans-Himalayan family.

This presentation will present a survey of 65 languages in the Trans-Himalayan family, based on data from grammars and specific descriptions of evidential systems. Where possible, two languages from each of van Driem's (2014) "fallen leaf" subfamilies are included in the survey, as a systematic method of achieving a broad overview of the family. Descriptive works were referenced for the presence and nature of features such as evidentiality, egophoricity (as a separate category or as part of an evidential paradigm), mirativity, and engagement.

Evidential systems in the Trans-Himalayan languages can be split into two groups: A3-type systems as per Aikhenvald (2004) marking only quotative or reportative evidence (Gawne 2021), and more complex systems marking more evidential bases in larger paradigms. The data collected show a positive correlation between the presence of these complex evidential systems in a given language, and its proximity to a Tibetic Language (as per Tournadre's (2014) definition). This presentation will assess the possibility that this correlation is a result of areal diffusion from Tibetic languages throughout the Himalayas. It will do so investigating the development of evidential marking in Old Tibetan and throughout the Tibetic family in comparison to the documented development of forms in a selection of non-Tibetic languages. It will also address spread and cultural influence of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism throughout the Himalayas, as well as comparing the Himalayan situation to documented cases of this diffusion elsewhere in the world.

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Promoting mother tongue education with archival material

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As it becomes more common for language communities to document and archive their own languages and histories, the role of archiving in language documentation and revitalization is changing. Language archives seek to prioritize community voices, amongst calls for language documentation (and, by extension, archiving) to become "revitalization-driven practice[s]" (Nathan & Fang, 2013). We now see increased emphasis on the re-use of archival material (Seyfeddinipur et al., 2019; Khait et al., 2021), particularly to support language revitalization pedagogy. Despite the wealth of information language archives hold, locating archival materials and integrating them into curricula is often prohibitively difficult (Spence, 2018).

Specifically in the Indian context, the need for pedagogical materials is increasing exponentially in light of the National Education Policy which provides support for mother-tongue education in primary schools (Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2020). This policy has spurred interest in how the products of language documentation can be maximally useful for revitalization pedagogy.

This submission reports the preliminary findings of a case study describing Bodo archiving and revitalization efforts. Bodo (ISO brx) is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken primarily in Assam, India. To better understand the connections between language documentation, archiving, and pedagogy in northeast India, the creators and users of the Bodo Language Resource will be interviewed about their experiences with archiving and revitalization activities. Because the this collection was created by Bodo community members with expertise in language pedagogy and literacy, it provides representative model for language communities navigating this process for the first time. Of course, every language community faces a unique set of challenges in the revitalization process; however, the lessons learned from Bodo community's experience will inform the numerous archiving and revitalization initiatives burgeoning in northeast India.

摘要题目：**八十年来滇中汉语方言入声的演变及动因**
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Abstract Title: **The Evolution and Changing Factors of the Entering Tone of Central Yunnan Dialects over the Past Eighty Years**

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八十年来滇中汉语方言入声的演变及动因

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摘要：入声归并或消失是汉语方言声调演变的普遍规律。文章主要以 1940 年《云南方言调查报告》曾记录有入声的云南汉语方言滇中小片寻甸（款庄）、沾益、曲靖、陆良四个语言点为研究对象，结合实验语音学的方法，通过历时与共时比较来分析八十年滇中方言入声的演变规律,从内因和外因两方面探索其演变机制及动因。通过语音实验和考察分析发现：寻甸（款庄）、沾益的入声归到上声；曲靖的入声派到上声和去声；陆良部分入声字还保留入声调值，其调型为降升调，部分演变为相同或相近的调值，属于入声演变进程阶段。语言不是一成不变，总是在使用过程中自然地发生变化，本研究以期达成如下目标：第一，有助于了解云南汉语方言的声调面貌，入声演变过程共性之中存在个性差异。传统观念认为，云南汉语方言入声的演变规律为“入派阳平”，上述调查显示，四地入声分别派到上声和去声；第二，目前相关文献资料记载滇中方言大都以《云南方言调查报告》为参考，认为寻甸（款庄）、沾益、曲靖、陆良有入声，时隔八十年，语音系统已发生微观演变，入声已消失或归并，新的调查对滇中方言入声的描写作出有益补充，并对今后云南汉语方言声调比较研究具有一定参考价值。

关键词：汉语方言 入声 演变 动因

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The passive construction of the Puxian dialect of Chinese

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The Puxian dialect (hereafter Puxian) is a Sinitic dialect spoken by about three million people in Putian prefecture, Fujian Province, China. This paper is to describe the passive construction and attempts to explain why Puxian has a unique construction. Typologically, Puxian has complicated phonological features like initial assimilation and tonal alternation patterns (陳鴻 2019). Data source of this paper comes from my own fieldnotes.

The passive marker *keʔ* in Puxian originally means 'to give'. For example, the sentence *tyˀ33 ʦia51* ***keʔ33*** *kuoʔ33*(you+sugar cane+**give**+I) means 'You **give** sugar cane to me'. This *keʔ* is considered to have been grammatilized into passive marker in Puxian. A typical passive sentence in Puxian has the construction like [$NP_{Patient}$+Passive $marker_{[keʔ]}$+NP_{Agent}+ (keʔ)+VP]. It should be noted that *keʔ* occurs doubly in the construction, as exemplified below:1) a. □□狗□□ ʔi55 keʔ55 kau33 keʔ55kɒ11 (3sg+ PASS dog+ bited) 'He was bited by a dog.' b. □□侬□骂 ʔi55 keʔ55naŋ24 keʔ11mɒ11(3sg+ PASS someone+ sweared) 'He was sweared by someone.'

In most cases, the second *keʔ* in the two examples above can be omitted without any semantic differences. Thus, this syntactic configuration can be interchangeable with [$NP_{Patient}$+Passive $marker_{[keʔ]}$+NP_{Agent}+VP]. However, this configuration denotes another meaning, as in 2) 肉□狗食 nyʔ24 keʔ55 kau33 ɬia24(meat+ BEN dog+ eaten) 'Meat was given to dog and eaten by it.'

Cai (2014) recognized that compared to Minnan dialects and Mindong dialects, the syntactic configuration [$NP_{Patient}$+Passive $marker_{[keʔ]}$+NP_{Agent}+ (keʔ)+VP] in Puxian is special. She has found that Minnan dialects and Mindong dialects have more than one passive markers while the passive marker in Puxian is only one, namely *keʔ*. Hence, she speculates that this special construction may not have been derived from Minnan dialects and must have been developed independently within Puxian. At the same time, she points out that there exists a similar type of construction in Mandarin Chinese, as '狗让大车给撞死了' "The dog was hit and killed by a big car." She concludes that the passive construction in Puxian had emerged due to the great influence of Beijing Mandarin Chinese.

This paper presents a different analysis from Cai (2014). In some cases, the construction without the second *keʔ* can be semantically ambiguous, and the sentences like (2) is construed as a benefactive construction. This paper analyzes that in order to avoid semantic ambiguity, Puxian has developed the unique construction as [$NP_{Patient}$+Passive $marker_{[keʔ]}$+NP_{Agent}+ (keʔ)+VP] on its own and argues that the influence from Beijing Mandarin Chinese of Cai (2014)'s idea cannot be proved.

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泰语 kaan 和 khwaam 的语法性质

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最早有关泰语中 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）的讨论是 Phraja Upakit Silapasarn（พระยาอุปกิตศิลปสาร 1937） 在《泰语法则》中的词法部分中谈到 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）的构词方法，他把泰语中 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）所构成的名词看作是抽象名词。后期，Haas（1964）界定了 การ 的四个义项，一是作为名词，含义是工作、事务、事情；二是用于名词前，构成名词派生词；三是用于行为动词前，构成名词派生词，表示做某事的行为；四是用于梵语借词的复合后缀。现今，在国内外的泰语词典、泰语语法著作以及泰语教材等方面，通常都把这四个义项作为参照标准来进行对 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）的阐释。

本文在梳理了前期有关对 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）的定性的文献后发现：有的学者认为泰语中的 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）是名词，也是前缀。有的学者认为 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）是名词化语素。有的学者把 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）界定为名词化标记。有的学者认为，การ (kaan^1) 是将动词名词化的词头；ความ (khwaam^1) 是使形容词或意义比较抽象的动词名词化的词头。有的学者认为，การ (kaan^1) 和 ความ (khwaam^1) 是前缀。

这样看来，前期研究对 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）的定性莫衷一是，并且都把它们二者看成是一种性质的两个事物，认为它们二者并无任何差别。事实上，本文发现 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）的语法性质存在细微的差异。这种差异说明它们二者看似是相同的两个成分，但在这个大的相同中却有着细微的差异。这种语法性质上的细微差异会导致 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）的发展过程具有不平衡性，这一不平衡性最终会导致 การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）表现出彻底的分裂性。

因此，本文试图说明以下几个问题：การ（kaan^1）和 ความ（khwaam^1）的语法性质是什么？它们二者的语法性质有什么细微的差异？这些语法性质是否具有连续性？它们经历了一个怎样的变化过程？

福清方言主体位移事件的表达

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福清方言是闽东方言的次方言之一，通行于福建省福清市和平潭县的一部分地区。迄今为止的福清方言的研究，多集中于音韵方面，语法方面的研究还不是很多。至于福清方言如何表达位移事件，还未见相关研究成果。本发表主要考察福清方言中主体位移的表达方式。

本发表的语料是发表者收集的第一手资料，主要是福清方言母语者的自然语料的录音资料。资料主要来自福清方言在表达主体位移时，主要有以下四种表达方式。

Ⅰ. 动词＋场所。
Ⅱ. 动词＋来/去。
Ⅲ. 动词＋位移动词。
Ⅳ. 动词＋位移动词＋来/去。

表达方式Ⅰ中的动词主要是“来”和“去”。但也包括“行走”、“pie^{21}跑”“底进”等方式动词或路径动词。但这些动词与场所宾语之间存在语义限制。

表达方式Ⅱ中的动词主要是方式动词和位移动词。

表达方式Ⅳ中出现“来”或“去”，而表达方式Ⅲ中则不出现。我们将进一步讨论“来”“去”的隐现问题。

Compositional Pronouns in Trans-Himalayan

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The Proto-Trans-Himalayan 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns *ŋa '1SG' and *naŋ '2SG' are well-established (Benedict 1972, Thurgood 1985). Benedict and Matisoff (1994) also reconstruct and alternate 1SG form *ŋaj to explain a few irregular forms, particularly Jinghpaw 1SG ŋai. Matisoff (1995) further notes that some languages have 2SG forms which seem to reflect a root lacking the nasal coda. He reconstructs compositional forms *ŋa(-j) '1SG' and *na(-ŋ) '2SG', and further proposes that the *-j and *-ŋ elements might have been able to combine with all pronominal roots in the proto-language; the proposed reconstruction is:

Open	*-j	* ŋ
1	*ŋa *ŋa-j *ŋaŋ	
2	*na *na-j *naŋ	
3	*ta *taŋ	

Table 1: Reconstructed compositional paradigm (Matisoff 1994: 159)

Benedict (1972) identifies *-j as genitive, in (1995) as a topic marker, which we will see is more plausible. I will suggest that both of the compositional forms were originally emphatic or contrastive forms, which in some daughter languages replaced the non-contrastive simple forms.

The first part of this paper will present some additional comparative evidence for reconstructing *ŋa-j as well as *ŋa, and *na and *na-j as well as *naŋ. The second part will argue that all of the compositional forms were originally pronouns marked with information structure markers – topic, focus, and additive clitics, e.g. Written Tibetan ni and yang – which are ubiquitous in modern Tibeto-Burman languages (see e.g. Boro 2021), or intensive-reflexive forms (König and Siemund 2000) e.g. WT rang, which are found across the entire family including Sinitic. We will review several synchronic examples of compositional pronouns with this structure, including Bodic pronouns with intensive-reflexive -rang, South Central pronouns with intensive reflexive =maʔ, and most strikingly the Japhug Rgyalrong pronouns, composed of possessive proclitics attached to a peg element -ʑo, which can probably be identified with Tibetan intensive-reflexive rang:

Proclitic	Pronoun		
1SG	a-	a-ʑo ~ a-j	1PL i- i-ʑo
2SG	nɤ-	nɤ-ʑo ~ nɤ-j	2PL nɯ- nɯ-ʑo

Table 2. Japhug independent pronouns (Jacques 2021)

Tthe |-j| element in the alternate Kamnyu singular forms could plausibly be a reflex of our posited *-j, and we will present a few other possible comparanda; particularly the Proto-Kuki-Chin 1SG pronoun *kay. In any case phenomena such as Rgyalrong compositional pronouns and Bodic 2nd or 1st person pronouns with obligatory -rang provide a model for how the variation reconstructed for the proto-language probably originated.

A Typological Perspective on Interrogative Expressions of the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Cool Mountains Area, Southwest China

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The present study analyzes nine basic interrogative expressions in 12 Tibeto-Burman languages in the Cool Mountains area at the Sichuan-Yunnan border, Southwest China, namely matter (or what), person (or who), place (or where), choice (or which), manner (or how), quantity (or how many/much), time (or when), cause (or why) and purpose (or what for). Most languages express their basic interrogatives based on three primary interrogatives: *what*, *which* and *how*, such as Central Prinmi mje 'what' in mje^{F} ʤʐõ^{L} (what become) 'why', xɜ 'which' in xɜ^{H}ʤje^{L} (which-TOP) 'which, who' and xɜ^{H}ki^{L} (which-place) 'where', and tʃʰɨ 'how' in tʃʰɨ^{R} 'how many/much', tʃʰɨ^{L}ni^{H} ʤʐõ^{H} (how-like become) 'how' and tʃʰɨ^{L}kʰje^{H} (how-time) 'when' (Ding 2014).

The 12 Tibeto-Burman languages are Nuosu/Niesu (or Liangshan Yi), Lisu, Ersu, Tosu (or Duoxu), Lizu, Prinmi, Kami Tibetan, Narua (or Mosuo), Namuyi (or Namuzi), Shixing (or Xumi), Laze (or Shuitianhua), and Naxi. Major characteristics of the interrogatives in the 12 Tibeto-Burman languages include:

a. almost all languages use *what* to form CAUSE- and PURPOSE-interrogatives;
b. short-clause structure headed by the verb 'to do', 'to be' and 'to become' is frequently used to express MANNER-interrogative, CAUSE-interrogative and PURPOSE-interrogative, such as Central Prinmi mje^{F} ʤʐõ^{L}=si^{L} (what become=PFV) 'why', Kami Tibetan ^{H}tse^{H}ndʒe ^{L}re (what-resemble be) 'how', Western Prinmi mə^{55}də^{55} pɯ^{31} (what do) 'how', and Adur Niesu a^{33}ʂɨ^{55} ɱ^{33} (what-NMLZ do) 'for what';
c. the CAUSE-interrogative often develops from the semantic path of *do-what*: (doing something for a) purpose > motivation > cause, such as Narua əɬtsoɬ ji˩ (what-NMLZ do) 'to do what, for what' > əɬtseɬ (ji˥) (what-NMLZ.do (do)) 'why';
d. floating tone is a common strategy in the formation of the interrogatives in Na-Qiangic languages, such as Central Prinmi tʃʰɨ^{L} 'how' + ʒɨ^{H} 'many' > tʃʰɨ^{R} and Malimasa Na kʰa^{33} 'which' + bi^{21} 'many' > kʰa^{21} 'how many/much';
e. borrowing occurs frequently across the languages, such as the use of Tibetan cognate nõ^{H} in central Prinmi nõ^{H}kʰe^{L} (when-time) 'when' (cf. Amdo Tibetan nam 'when' and Kami Tibetan ^{L}nã 'when'), and of Nuosu kʰa 'which' in Ersu PLACE-interrogative and CHOICE-interrogative, and of Narua cognate híŋ in Wadu Prinmi PERSON-interrogative (cf. Narua ɲi˩ 'who');
f. functional crossover of MATTER interrogates CAUSE with emotional verbs, e.g. Namuyi no^{31} fu^{55}lʉ^{55} mæ^{55}-dʐo^{31} (2SG what NEG-happy) 'why aren't you happy?';

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A typological study of the raining event in Sino-Tibetan languages

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Eriksen et al.'s (2010) typology of weather event encoding is adopted to examine raining event in Sino-Tibetan languages. A meteorological event can be described by the argument, e.g. in Gurung (Kaike-Ghale-Tamangic), nãːq yuqba (rain descend) 'it rains' (Glover 1977: 191), by the predicate, e.g. in spoken Burmese (Burmish), mənɛʔphã=kha mòjwa=jĩ (tomorrow=time sky:rain=if, ….) 'if it rains tomorrow, …' (Romeo 2008: 35), or by both, e.g. in Luquan Lisu (Loloish), mo^{31}ho^{55} ma^{31}=ho^{55} (sky:rain NEG=rain) 'it does not rain' (Mu and Sun 2012: 103). We collected 223 Sino-Tibetan varieties, including 163 Tibeto-Burman languages or dialects and 60 Sinitic languages or dialects in our database, and have the following observations:

- The nouns meaning 'sky' often extend to mean 'rain' in Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Rtau Horpa (Qiangic) mə, Situ rGyalrong (Qiangic) təmû, Cuona Monpa (Bodish) nam˥, and Zaiwa (Burmish) mau^{11};
- A major source of the verb 'to rain' in the predicate and argument-predicate types in Tibeto-Burman languages is the PTB *r/s/g-wa 'water, rain';
- Multiple types of raining event encoding can exist in one language, such as Galo (Tani), Lisu (Loloish), Lashi (Burmish), Longxi Qiang (Qiangic), and Maqu Amdo Tibetan (Bodish);
- While no argument-predicate type is found in Sinitic languages, it commonly exists in Lolo-Burmese, Tujia, Bodo-Garo and Baic languages;
- The argument and predicate of the argument-predicate type in Baic, Tujia and Loloish languages are often cognate, such as in Xianren Tujia, mɯe^{35}tsə^{33} tsə^{33} (sky:rain rain) 'it rains'; but in other argument-predicate languages, e.g. Zaiwa, Puroik, Garo and Atong, the raining information comes from two different words, e.g. in Zaiwa, mau^{11} wo^{31} (rain to.rain) 'it rains' (Lustig 2010: 231), where the argument mau^{11} derives the meaning 'rain' from PTB *r-məw 'sky, heaven' and the predicate is a reflex of PTB *r/s/g-wa 'water, rain';
- Most Sinitic, Bodish, Mahakiranti, Macro-Tani, Nunguish, and Na-Qiangic languages use argument type for raining event; the main verbs describing the precipitation include 'to come', 'to fall, descend', 'to appear', 'to give, send', 'to release', 'to squeeze', and 'to hit';
- The verb describing the raining event can also describe other precipitation events, such as Cantonese lok^{6} 'to fall (e.g. rain, snow), Re'ela Qiang ɬi 'to release (e.g. rain, snow, hail)', Xinping Yi (Loloish) xo^{33} 'rain, to rain, to snow' and Achang (Burmish) wa^{33} 'rain, to rain, to snow'.
- There is a development of raining event from predicate-encoding to argument-encoding, e.g. in Loloish, Tujia and Sinitic languages, namely from verb 'to rain' to nominal 'rain';
- Bodish and Qiangic languages stand out from the sample languages by using transitive light verbs to describe the raining event, not all of them though, such as Lhasa Tibetan btang, Tshobdun rGyalrong lêt, Japhug rGyalrong lɤt and Ronghong Qiang ɕe, all coming from the meaning 'to release, to give', while other language branches, such as Sinitic, Lolo-Burmese and Baic, use verbs of lower transitivity, but semantically heavier, such as Nuosu dʑi^{21} 'to descend', Northern Lisu ha^{44} 'rain, to rain', and Southern Bai u^{42} 'rain, to rain'.
- If there are multiple verbs for the raining event, verbs of higher transitivity are often used for highly marked weather events with greater force, such as downpour, but not drizzle, such as in Haikou Min to˥lhɔu˦ (do rain) 'to rain heavily' and Eastern Geshizha (Qiangic): ntɕʰæɖɔ v-ra (downpour TR-hit) 'it rains heavily' (Honkasalo 2019: 282).

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The Multiple Features of Emphatic Particles in Khatso

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Like languages in the Sinitic branch of the family, Ngwi (Yi) languages feature a wide variety of sentence-final particles. In Khatso, an endangered Ngwi language spoken in central Yunnan, these particles tend to be portmanteau morphemes. That is, they combine more than one meaning or function (Donlay 2019). For example, interrogative markers signal question formation along with aspectual and epistemic information (Donlay 2020). An even more varied set of particles mark emphasis, not only communicating varying degrees of emphatic force, but also conveying information about aspect, epistemicity and even discourse structure.

There are nine emphatic markers in Khatso, each with a slightly different degree and function. They are almost always the final element in a clause, following any other post-verbal particles. Six of them convey aspect along with emphasis. ja^{33} imparts a sense of immediacy, and thus often occurs in imperfective clauses, where it may replace the current relative state marker wa^{33}. ja^{323} is identical in emphasis, but is used in perfective clauses, replacing the perfective marker wa^{323}. Neither of these particles may co-occur with the copula $ŋ̍^{33}$; only the emphatic $ŋ̍a^{33}$ may do so. In addition, these particles may only modify realis clauses. Irrealis clauses – questions and negated clauses – are marked instead by the particle $lɛi^{31}$. All four of these particles register general or mild emphasis. More forceful emphasis is provided by $ŋɛi^{33}$, which is derived from the copula. Depending on context, it may also have a contrastive meaning, confirming or rejecting a proposition arising in discourse. It may co-occur with imperfective aspect particles, but replaces perfective and future markers. The last of the particles, $tɤ^{44}$, elevates an event into a general state or habitual situation, and is thus incompatible with aspect marking, since the latter provides temporal information about specific activities in time.

Two additional particles convey epistemic meaning; that is, they express a speaker's opinion about the interlocutor's knowledge. These particles, po^{53} and na^{31}, typically mark information that a listener is either unlikely to know or perhaps ought to know. As a result, they often impart a chiding flavor to an interaction. The difference between the two is slight; na^{31} is considered more direct than po^{53}, and thus less polite, although context and voice quality may mitigate these features.

The final particle, $mɛi^{44}$, has a discourse rather than a clausal function. It marks information that is especially important to the topic at hand, pointing to key facts and highlighting them as specific states of affairs. Its use is thus motivated purely by pragmatics and not by syntax, differentiating it from the other particles just described.

As these particles show, emphasis is not a one-size-fits-all function in Khatso. Rather, the markers convey different degrees of force while simultaneously interacting with aspect, epistemicity and discourse structure. In conversation, emphasis provides another way for speakers to present, receive and comment on information and thus build relationships through interaction. Since much of the Ngwi family is un- or under-documented, it is unlikely that Khatso is the only language to have such a wide variety of particles for this purpose. Further research is needed across the Ngwi family.

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Kinship terms in Stau

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Abstract

This paper presents a comprehensive overview of kinship terms in Stau, employing both synchronic and diachronic analyses. Several synchronic observations can be made. Kinship terms in Stau can be divided into the categories of male ego vs. female ego (in particular for siblings), and within those categories kinship terms can be divided into vocative vs. referential/personal possessive. Vocative kinship terms follow the vocative intonation pattern found in other vocative phrases; namely barytonesis, which moves stress and intonation on the second syllable to the first syllable.

The kinship prefix *æ-*, nearly ubiquitous in Qiangic languages, is only used in vocative and referential/personal possessive kinship terms referring to kin who are older than ego (both male and female). In general, rules of politeness require that any blood-related kin who is older than ego is to be addressed with their kinship term, and kinship term plus name for cousins. The affinal kin by way of ego's parent's siblings can be addressed by either their kinship term or kinship term plus name. Those younger than ego can be addressed simply by using their name. Like in Tibetic languages such as the Amdo dialects spoken in the vicinity of Stau speaking areas, there are specific kinship terms (vocative and referential but not personal possessive) that refer to certain groupings of guardians and children (e.g., *mæzə* 'mother and her children', *væzə* 'father and his children', etc.).

Some diachronic observations can also be made. All Gyalrongic languages divide sibling kinship terms into male ego vs. female ego categories. Stau, closely related to Tangut, does not have an Omaha (skewing) kinship system like Japhug and possibly Tangut (Jacques 2012); rather Stau has a Sudanese kinship system. These similarities and differences will be explained by using the comparative method and internal reconstruction, following Zhang & Fan (2020).

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Interrogatives in South-Central Tibeto-Burman

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This paper will provide the first broad comparative survey of interrogative particles andconstructions across the South Central (SC, aka Kuki-Chin) subgroup of Tibeto-Burman since initial comparative remarks on the topic by Grierson/Konow in the Linguistic Survey of India. This paper outlines the formal characteristics of polar and content questions across SC, and posits several working reconstructions for interrogative word forms. These interrogative word forms are drawn from the various structures of polar questions and content questions as documented in extant wordlists and grammars of SC languages. Though the structural phenomena herein are not highly irregular in the context of SC languages, specific phenomena like stem alternation are especially apparent in the formation of polar questions. One of this paper's primary goals is to advise future research in stem alternation by presenting precise interrogative constructions where this phenomena surfaces. Although there has not been much systematic discussion for a wide range of languages, it is possible to comment on the general structural characteristics of interrogative sentences based on existing descriptions. Three fundamental generalizations are: a. SC interrogatives tend to involve a final particle; b. interrogatives as opposed to other sentence types may involve a particular verbal stem alternant: c. specific question types may also exhibit a mid-sentence interrogative particle.

a. utterance-final interrogative particle in Lawngtlang Zophei (Lotven 2021:367)

naa	*tsùh*	*máá*
2S	leave	POL.INTERR

'Did you leave?'

b. stem alternation (marked by tonal difference) in K'Cho (Bedell et al., to appear)

Pái	*noh*	*ng'hài*	*chang*	*neh*	*a*	*ei.*
Pai	BY	mango	pick	and	3S	eat$_D$

'Pai picked the mango and ate it'

vs.

Pái	*noh*	*ng'hài*	*chang*	*neh*	*èi*	*ci*	*ang?*
Pai	BY	mango	pick	and	eat$_B$	NF	Q

'Did Pai pick the mango and eat it?'

c. Mid-sentence interrogative particle in Lai (Peterson 2017)

faalaam=ʔaʔ	*ʔahaw=daʔ*	*na-thaʔy*
Falam=LOC	who=QUES	2SG.A/S-know

'Who do you know in Falam?'

Careful consideration of interrogative roots allows reconstructing a number of elements not yet reconstructed (e.g., by Van Bik 2008), including:

a. *yak 'how many'
b. 'who' (possibly at the subgroup level)
c. *yay 'what'
d. *tu (nominalizer) < interrogative word

被搞反中心地位的“得字短语”

龚毅 南昌铁路通信段

一、研究方法的改进——通过缩句重新界定中心语和偏语

“得”的原理解释一直难以令人满意，不仅词性和“的、地”互不统一，且容易混淆误用。用缩句方式可寻找到溯源方向的关键突破口：去掉修饰附加的限定成分，可提纯出与原句语义和格式最小差异的主干，从中可发现“得”的困惑都是由于搞反中心语和偏语所引起。

二、现有语法颠倒了述补的主辅地位

通常汉语言学界认为“得字短语”都属于述补短语，可分为两类成分：一种是述语（或称谓语）动词为中心语，形容词作为补语，如“跑得快”；另一种是形容词性述语作为中心语，程度副词作为补语，如“快得很”。

其中，第一种与“地字结构”都以“动词+形容词”为反映对象，语序不同但语义接近，容易产生混淆。例如，“他跑得快、他快速地奔跑”，通常语句主干都处理为“他跑”的主谓结构，并都认为“动词为主、形容词为辅”。

然而，分别提取主干和对比后可发现：“主语+动词”和“主语+形容词”其实是“主谓、主表”两种主干类型，如“他跑、他快”。“他跑”与原整句语义“他跑得快”的描述目标差异过大，提纯为“他快”才最贴近原句，即默认省略了联系动词的“主系表结构”“他是快的”，属性状态的形容词“快”才更适合作为主干成分，动词“跑”更应视为对“快”进行来源原因的描述说明，反而才处于真正的补充性地位。

三、“得字短语”原理破解后的特点和影响综述

（1）“得”的原理涉及到语句主干，牵一发动全身。首先，根据述语为动词或形容词，将语句分为主谓和主表两种主干结构类型。得字短语虽然是汉语特色，但述补短语却属于普遍语法，中心颠倒源于追随英语语法研究偏差，如“You run too slowly”主干应为“You（are）slow”，而非目前的“You run”。

（2）“得字结构”的中心词始终反映属性状态的结果，通常是形容词。动词只是来源成因而处于补充的偏语地位；以程度副词为偏语时，其原理实际上并非述补结构，而是状语后置的状中短语，如“很多”和“多得很”为完全相同的偏正原理，只是语序和焦点等不同。

综合后，“的、地、得”并不完全对应于“定、状、补”的句子成分，本质上更应作为名词、动词和形容词为中心的三种偏正短语的词性标记。

（3）补语不补，原来的补语反而才是中心语，原来的述语其实是补充地位，使“述补短语、中补短语、动补短语、后补短语或谓补短语”等这些名称不当而未来需调整更名。对应于定中短语、状中短语，以动词为偏语的偏正短语可改称为“述中短语”。

（4）方向补语等充当语句主干时表达不够通顺，容易形成“伪例外”，中心语也容易被视为非形容词。例如，“他吃得下去、他住得起”，其主干“他（能）下去、起”并不顺口，但并不妨碍“吃、住”只是补充地位。另外，“出得门来、懂得”等不属于述补短语。

（5）“得”之所有有时和“的、地”混淆，主要发生在描述对象都为属性和动作，如“跑得快、快速地跑、快速的跑”，但中心词词性和句子成分功能各互不一致。

ADVERBS AND ADVERBIALITY IN PHOLA

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ABSTRACT

Adverbs are marginal across the Ngwi branch of Tibeto-Burman, where noun phrases can work as adjuncts (cf. Matisoff, 1973; Bradley, 2012).

Based on 12 months of fieldwork and two years of data analysis, this paper presents morphological, syntactic and pragmatic data that support positing a dedicated class of adverbs in Phola, an underdocumented language of Yunnan, China that belongs to the Loloish, aka Ngwi (Bradley, 2005) branch of the Tibeto-Burman family.

The paper is divided into the following four sections. Section 1 provides a very succinct introduction to the language and its speakers. Drawing on syntactic tests revolving around nominal modification and relativisation, Section 2 shows how there is a lexical class of synchronically underived adverbs that can be teased apart from both nouns and verbs with a relatively high degree of reliability. Although adverbs exhibit a partial morphological and distributional overlap with both word classes, this is shown to respond to a semantico-pragmatic overlap in their respective range of functions, rather than to morphosyntactic identity. Section 3 focuses on nǣ^{31}, a dedicated adverbialiser that has three distinct contexts of appearance, while Section 4 briefly discusses how the existence of an adverbial category in the linguistic system has catalysed the expressive potential of two lexico-grammatical paradigms, respectively encoding dimensional and deictic categories (González Pérez, 2022).

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Uvularization in Pubarong Queyu

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This paper addresses uvularization in Queyu from acoustic, phonological as well as historical perspective. Queyu is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Western Sichuan, Yajiang County. The variety under examination in this paper is spoken in Pubarong Town, Suoyi Village. While the syllable structure of Queyu is (Preinitial)C(G)V, it is very much reduced compared to related languages like Khroskyabs or rGyalrong that have complicated consonant clusters. The reduction in coda resulted in the complex vowel inventory in Queyu. One result of this process is the uvularization in vowels. Evidence can be found in Tibetan loan words such as "leopard" *gzig* and "farming area" *rong*, which are *ɣzíᵏ* and *rǒᵏ* in Queyu, respectively. Data from other related languages also suggest this path, for example, "to rot" in Khroskyabs is *pəɣ*, and in Pubarong Queyu it is *pə́ᵏ*.

Queyu distinguishes a set of plain and uvularized vowels. Below is a table demonstrating several minimal pairs contrasting in vowel quality.

Table 1. Minimal pairs contrasting plain and uvularized vowels

Gloss	Form	Gloss	Form
and	sʰɨ́	blood	sʰɨ́ᵏ
seed/musk deer	lɯ́	highland wheat	lɯ́ᵏ
look after.1DU/PL	xlǽ	pull down.2	xlǽᵏ

Uvularization is characterized by the constriction of the stylogssus and other muscles, which draws the tongue dorsum towards the uvula (Evans et. al 2016: 1). Acoustically, compared to plain vowels, their uvularized counterparts tend to have a raised F1, lowered F2, and increased difference in F3-F2 (Evans et. al 2016: 22). Uvularized vowels in Queyu observe this tendency.

Phonologically speaking, uvularization triggers a velar/uvular alternation in onsets. While plain vowels occur after velar and other non-uvular consonants only, uvularized vowels occur after uvular and other non-velar consonants, suggesting that uvular consonants are allophones of the velar consonants when followed by uvularized vowels. This is also observed in other Qiangic languages such as Mawo and Yunlinsi Qiang (Evans et. al 2016: 18-19). Uvularization can spread to not only velar initial consonants, but also across syllable boundaries. Uvularization in Pubarong Queyu vowels triggers regressive vowel harmony. Prefixes are conditioned by the vowel quality in verbs. For example, "to get wet" is *pə́*, and can pair with the PFV prefix *kú-*. The verb for "to rot" is *pə́ᵏ* and the paired PFV prefix allomorph is *qúᵏ-*. The only exception is the vowel [o]. This vowel can occur after both velar and uvular initials, and verbs containing [o] can pair with prefixes containing both plain and uvularized vowels.

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Plural Markers in Youle Jino and Lolo-Burmese

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This paper tries to describe the plural marker ***-m̥a*** in Youle Jino [Glottocode: youl1235; Jinghong, Yunnan, China; Loloish, Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman], and to explore its typological features and historical development through comparison with Lolo-Burmese languages. This paper utilizes the data collected in my own fieldwork.

Youle Jino has three main descriptive grammars, namely Gai (1986), Hayashi (2009), and Jiang (2010), though the subdialects they treat are different. The plural marker ***-m̥a*** in this paper corresponds to the one discussed in Hayashi (2009, 2016). Hayashi (2009, 2016) describe this marker as a nominal suffix, which can be affixed to the nominal root denoting human (1a), place names (1b) and other inanimate nouns (1c), as follows;

(1) a. ʃao^{33}xoŋ^{44}**-m̥a^{55}**
Xiaohong (PSN)-PL
'Xiaohong's family or Xiaohong and his/her friends' (Hayashi 2009: 45)

b. pa^{55}kha^{42}**-m̥a^{55}**
Baka (PLN)-PL
'the people in the Baka village'(Hayashi 2009: 45)

c. khɤ^{44} a^{55}kəu^{55}**-m̥a^{55}**
that stuff-PL
'those stuff' (Hayashi 2009: 46)

Corbett (2000) analyzes that the number distinction in a certain language can follow the animacy hierarchy suggested by Silverstein (1976), though the data ***-m̥a*** in my fieldnote can be attached to every rank in the hierarchy, as Hayashi (2009) also implies. In my fieldnote, ***-m̥a*** can even be suffixed to the nominalized clause, as in (2) below.

(2) [xə^{55}mɛ^{55} tsɔ^{33}-mɤ^{55}]**-m̥a^{55}**=ɤ^{44} nə^{42} sɯ^{55}jɔ^{44}=ɛ^{44}.
rice eat-NML-PL=EMPH 2SG.NOM know=MOD
'You may know those people who are eating rice.'

As can be noticed, ***-m̥a*** in Youle Jino can mark both associative and additive plural. (1a) is an example of associative plural, while *ʃue^{33}sɤŋ^{44}***-m̥a^{55}*** 'students' and *pa^{55}kha^{42}***-m̥a^{55}*** in (1b) are the ones of additive. Daniel and Moravcsik (2013) recognize the plural marker in Lahu and Burmese show the same pattern in marking both associative and additive, which is attested also in many other Tibeto-Burman languages. However, the historical development of the plural markers in Tibeto-Burman or even in Lolo-Burmese should be viewed as secondary, because they look different. Lolo-Burmese plural markers are exemplified in (3).

(3) Hani /ma̲^{31}/ [for human] or /dø^{55}/ [for non-specific] (Dai & Duan 1995); Biyo /tsu^{31}/ [for human], /jɔ^{33}v^{33}/ [for kin], /tiŋ^{35}na^{33}/ [for woods] (Jing 2015); Ximoluo /jo^{31}v^{33}/ [for human] (Dai et al 2009); Woni /xɤ^{55}/ [for human] or /tɛi^{31}/ [for non-human] (Yang 2021); Lahu /hi/ (Matisoff 1973); Lisu /bu^{33}/ (Yu 2007); Gazhuo /ko^{55}/ (Mu 2003); Bisu /-ba^{31}/ (Xu 1998); Modern Burmese /-t̲ei ~ -twei/ or /-tóu/ (Wheatley 1982); Lianghe Achang /-tɑ^{31}/ or /-n̥i^{33}/ [for human] (Shi 2009); Zaiwa /pe̲^{55}/ (Xu et al. 1984); Zaozou /mo^{31}/ (Sun et al. 2003); Anong /zɻ^{31}ɳɯ^{31}/ or /mɯ^{53}/ (Sun et al. 2005).

Most Lolo-Burmese languages show selective restriction of the plural markers, some of which occur with human nouns only. Some plural markers in Lolo-Burmese split in concordance with animacy hierarchy.

Among the plural markers in (3), Youle Jino ***-m̥a*** seems to correspond with Hani /ma̲^{31}/, Bisu /-ba^{31}/, and Zaozou /mo^{31}/. The historical origin of Youle Jino is hard to explore, but one of the plausible analyses is that it relates to the third person plural pronoun /jo^{33}m̥a^{55}/, which clearly corresponds to the counterparts in Hani /a^{31}ʑo^{33}ma̲^{31}/ (Dai & Duan 1995), Zaiwa /ja̲ŋ^{55}mo$^{?55}$/ (Xu et al. 1984). As Bradley (1979) reconstructs, the Proto-Loloish word for 'third-person singular' can be **ʒaŋ^{2}*, which is reflected as the first syllable of Youle Jino /jo^{33}m̥a^{55}/ and Zaiwa /ja̲ŋ^{55}mo$^{?55}$/. Thus, the second syllable of these forms signals plural, and from Lolo-Burmese comparative viewpoints, it can be reconstructible to **s/ʔ-mak^{L}*, which should be another form for 'plural' at Proto-Lolo-Burmese stage, though Bradley (1979) reconstructed **ʔ-way$^{2/3}$* for 'plural for pronouns' at Proto-Loloish stage.

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Egophoric vs non-egophoric contrast in Kaike

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Kaike is an indigenous language spoken in an area known as Tichyurong (the Dolpa district, Nepal). In this area, a Tibetan dialect called Tichyurong or Tichyurongbā is dominant, and Kaike is spoken only in five settlements.

This paper deals with a linguistic pattern found in Kaike, which was reported for the first time in Watters (2006) as a "conjunct/disjunct" distinction. The term conjunct/disjunct was coined in Hale (1980) to describe a morpho-syntactic pattern found in Kathmandu Newar, where one set of verbal suffixes (conjunct) occurs with first person actors in statements, second person actors in questions, and when the actors of the matrix and the subordinate clauses are coreferential; otherwise, another set of verbal suffixes (disjunct) is used. The distribution of the two sets cannot be explained as person agreement, but what is involved is intentionality or volitionality (Hargreaves 2005). Similar systems have been reported in other TB languages and non-TB languages and those systems are also motivated by functional-pragmatic factors. For this reason, the term conjunct/disjunct is now rarely used; instead, other terms such as egophoric/non-egophoric are gaining ground.

Although he used the term conjunct/disjunct, Watters recognized that the Kaike system is not person agreement; Watters (2006: 300) states that ""person" is not the primary motivating factor behind the system, but rather, "volitionality" and "locus of knowledge"" (ibid: 300). A similarity to the Kathmandu Newar is also mentioned in his paper: "The conditions of use for conjunct conjunct forms in Kaike appears to be identical to the conditions of use for Newar". Honda (2008) endorses Watters' description regarding the contrast in perfective encoded by *-pā* (conjunct) and *-bo* (disjunct) but shows some disagreements in other parts of his description (e.g., on *-tse* and *-ŋə*, which Watters described as conjunct/disjunct in imperfective).

In the current paper, I will visit the issues discussed in Honda (2008) again and give new data and information including the fact that the non-egophoric *-bo* is rarely (or at least not much) used in story-telling. By doing so, the paper aims at providing a more comprehensive and accurate description, which, I hope, can eventually be a better basis for typological comparison with similar systems in other languages.

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泰顺蛮讲的否定词

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泰顺蛮讲是浙江省温州市泰顺县内使用人口最多的方言，属于闽东方言的一种。泗溪镇处于泰顺县蛮讲通行区域的中部，本文主要讨论和分析泗溪蛮讲的否定的表达方式。

泗溪蛮讲的否定词可归纳为下表。

泗溪蛮讲	普通话
ŋ^{33}	不
muɔi^{33}+V	没有
mo^{31}+N	没有
mo^{33}	别
m-ma^{33}+V/N	不要/不用/别
mei^{33} uɔi^{33}	不会
mei^{33}+V+tɪʔ^{5}	不能

本文将先对泗溪蛮讲的否定表达作简单概述，然后再针对其中两个值得注意的特点展开具体讨论分析。

一个特点是，蛮讲中相当于“没有”的否定词有两个，一个是“未 muɔi^{33}”，另一个是“无 mo^{31}”，前者后面接动词而后者后接名词。

例：这几□无时间，我未去。

tɕi^{55} ky^{35} kɔŋ^{14} mo^{31} ɕi^{31}kaŋ^{14} ,ua^{55} muɔi^{33} kʰø^{52}.

这 INF:几 天 NEG:没 时间 1sg NEG:没 去

另一个特点是，普通话中“要”“用”“会”等助动词的否定一般通过“不”来表达，否定形式为“不要”“不用”“不会”等。泗溪蛮讲中相当于“不”的否定词为“不 ŋ^{33}”，上述这些助动词的否定形式在蛮讲中却不以“不 ŋ^{33}”开头。

“□乐 m-ma^{33}”的意思接近普通话的“不要”，蛮讲中“要”为“乐 ŋa^{33}”，这里之所以念 ma^{33} 很有可能是受到前面的否定词发音的影响而从 ŋa 变成了 ma。如果前面的否定词是“不 ŋ^{33}”的话此处的“要”则不可能会念 ma^{33}。“□乐 m-ma^{33}”主要有三个意思，（1）不要某东西；（2）没必要做某事；（3）表劝告，相当于“别”。

泗溪蛮讲中还有一个意思接近普通话的“不会”的否定表达为“□会 mei^{33} uɔi^{33}”。□ mei^{33} 语源暂时不明，也有可能是一个合成的否定词。□ mei^{33} 除了与“会”结合表示“不会”之外还有另一个用法，即后接动词再接“的 tɪʔ^{5}”表示“不能”、“不可以”。

例：这水泥未干，□踏的。

tɕi^{55} tɕy^{35}nei^{31} muɔi^{33} kaŋ^{14}, mei^{33} taʔ^{2} tɪʔ^{5}.

这 水泥 NEG:没 干 NEG:不能 踏 COMP:可能

虽然“□乐 m-ma^{33}”和“□会 mei^{33} uɔi^{33}”的否定词发音不完全一样，但都以 m 开头。

然而，同时也有部分助动词是以前面加不 ŋ^{33} 来构成否定形式的。比如“不肯 ŋ^{33}kʰɛ^{55}”，“不应该 ŋ^{33}ɪŋ^{52}kai^{14}”和“不可以 ŋ^{33}kʰo^{55}i^{55}”等。

泰顺位于吴闽方言的交界地带，但蛮讲的这两个否定形式的特点也不见于相邻较近的温州方言。笔者将尝试通过对比周边其他闽方言以及查找历史文献探寻蛮讲中这个以 m 起头的否定词的由来。

Four phonation types in Zhangzhou Southern Min: Constraints and Realisations

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This study incorporates field linguistics, phonetics, phonology, and quantitative method to investigate the status of phonation in a Southern Min variety of Zhangzhou. Several innovative findings have gone beyond the conventional impressions in particular concerning the relation between the occurrence and realisation of different voice qualities in a language with rich tonal contrasts. Four types of phonation—breathy, creaky, modal, and falsetto—can be identified in the empirical data of this Sinitic dialect, which neither have a phonemic function to distinguish lexical items, nor are independent of tones to multiple the number of tonal contrasts as found in many tonal languages in South Asia. Instead, their distributions are found being simultaneously constrained by multiple factors that include vowel quality, pitch contour, tonal category, syllable coda, and the position that they occur in utterances. The breathy phonation is dominantly found in high vowels regardless of the shape of pitch contour; the creaky phonation is perceived in low vowels but only of a falling pitch contour; the modal phonation dominates on low vowels in spite of pitch contour shape, and on low vowels that occur in a non-falling pitch environment. The falsetto voice can only be observed in a specific context of tone 6 (Yinru) that is associated with obstruent-ending syllables and in the non-final position of an utterance, regardless of vowel height.

The dynamic association between phonation realisation and their occurrence constraint has a robust basis in acoustic phonetics with predictable patterns that can be generalised in terms of normalised spectral difference of H1-H2, H2-H3, and H1-H3, as well as manifestation of waveforms. Generally, the breathy voice presents a PPP pattern with a lower H1-H2 toward the midpoint at zero in the non-utterance-final position. The creaky voice has a ZNN pattern with a significant feature of having H1-H2 somewhere just below the mid-point; but for syllables with a sonorant ending, it tends to present a ZPP pattern. The modal phonation has two variants with an NPN pattern for the mid vowel occurring in the non-final context, and an NNN pattern for the mid vowel in the non-final context and the low vowel of a non-falling pitch contour. Exception of an NPN pattern occurs in the low vowel in the final context with a rising pitch contour. Falsetto presents a neat pattern of NPP for high vowels but an NNN pattern for low vowels. There also have some exceptional cases that seem difficult to be distinguished using the normalised spectral patterns. For example, the falsetto and modal voice may share a similar pattern of NNN in certain circumstance; the exceptional pattern NPP for breathy voice is found to be similar to that for the falsetto voice on the high vowel, while the exceptional creaky pattern ZPP appears similar to that for the breaky voice. In cases like such, other salient characteristics, such as waveform manifestations and auditory impressions, can successfully demonstrate their existence and distinction in this Sinitic dialect.

The scientifically linguistically justified findings not only directly fill in our knowledge of the phonetics and phonology of Zhangzhou Southern Min but offer a new window showcasing how segments (vowel quality; syllable coda), suprasegments (pitch contour), phonological category (tone) interact to shape dynamic and diverse phonetic outputs of phonation, which can be further changed in accordance with the changing contexts. It is hoped to contribute valuable empirical data to the typology of tonal studies in Asia and shed an important light on how humans encode and decode phonation in their cognitive grammar.

The shape of Zauzou Noun Phrases: Predicting reference type and the presence and ordering of operators and modifiers using syntactic, semantic and pragmatic parameters

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This investigation uses archived field data to determine the relationship between the form of Zauzou noun phrases, and underlying functions.

Zauzou (ISO: zal, glottolog: zauz1238) noun phrases (NPs) exhibit considerable diversity in form. For example, the head can be a proper noun, common noun, pronoun, or null anaphor, and the head can be modified by determiners, adjectives, numerals, classifiers, case markers, and relative clauses, most of which may either precede or follow the head.

In this investigation, I consider nine semantic, syntactic and information structural functions to explore whether these functions or combination of functions can explain the diversity in the NP. Syntactically, I am investigating word order and subordination. Semantically, I am investigating animacy, number, and boundedness of the NP's referent, and the thematic role, agency, and affectedness of the NP in its clause. Information structurally, I am investigating the NP's accessibility.

This investigation uses archived field data (Li 2017) to create an annotated corpus of Zauzou texts. Annotations are created in ELAN and queried using Python. (The annotation methodology was developed thanks to contributions from NSF -- see Chelliah et al., 2020-2023). Finally, a logistic regression is run to determine which functions explain the presence of various forms. The conclusions to the investigation will be given in the presentation.

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Title: Elaborate expressions in Cak

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Keywords: elaborate expression, Tibeto-Burman, Luish, Cak

Abstract

In Cak (ISO 639-3 chk; Luish group of Tibeto-Burman; Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh), there are two types of elaborate expressions: unproductive (lexical) one and productive one.

Unproductive elaborate expressions consist of the head word followed by an elaborate element which is semantically related to the head. Productive elaborate expressions can be divided into two types. That is, (I) those involving both nouns and verbs, and (II) those involving only nouns. In (I), the head word is followed by an elaborate element which is almost identical to the head except for the rhyme of the last syllable *-a*, *-aʔ*, or *-aŋ*, depending on the syllable structure of the head. In (II), the head word is preceded by an elaborate element which is also almost identical to the head except for the rhyme of the last syllable *-i*.

Ionisation is possible for both unproductive and productive elaborate expressions in which particles can separate the head from its elaborate element.

Practically the same pattern with the type-II of the productive one can be found in the neighbouring Tibeto-Burman language of Khumi (ISO 639-3 cnk; Peterson 2010, Peterson 2014). Both Cak and Khumi seem to have borrowed one of the commonest word formations in elaborate expressions in Marma (ISO 639-3 rmz; Huziwara 2019), the lingua franca of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in which the rhyme *-ĭ* is employed.

Examples

Abbreviations

ELAB: elaborate element; LOC: lovative; OBJ: objective; SEQ: sequential

(1) a. **pú∼ʔkaiŋ** ‘rice and others’ < **púʔ** ‘rice’ + **kaiŋ** ‘vegetable’
b. **ʔɨ́∼ʔá** ‘water’ < **ʔɨ́** ‘water’ + **ʔá** ‘ELAB’
c. **kəví∼kəvúɪ** ‘monkey’ < **kəví** ‘ELAB’ + **kəvúɪ** ‘monkey’
d. **ʔawí∼ʔawáiʔ** ‘cloth’
e. **púʔ=ʔaŋ kaiŋ=yaŋ** ‘rice and others’ (lit. rice=OBJ vegetable=OBJ)
f. **ʔəlĭ∼ʔəlouʔ** ‘work (n)’ < **ʔəlĭ** ‘ELAB’ + **ʔəlouʔ** ‘work (n)’

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Suansu, a Tibeto-Burman language from northeastern India: a field report

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This contribution introduces Suansu, a highly endangered Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Ukhrul district of Manipur state, northeastern India, in a cluster of villages scattered on the Indo-Myanmar border. Suansu is virtually undescribed in the literature except for recently disseminated wordlists and minimal materials (Ivani 2019; Ivani 2022), and no previous attestations are known to date. This paper provides a sketch of Suansu sociolinguistic profile, phonology and phonotactics, as well as noun and verb morphology, based on primary linguistic data collected during several fieldwork trips. In this study, Suansu linguistic features are then compared to the traits established in the languages of the district with the aim of preliminary assessing Suansu place within this context.

Suansu linguistic profile aligns in principle with the traits identified in the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the area. Phonologically, Suansu displays phonemes common in the region, such as sets of aspirated plosives and a broad array of affricates. In addition, Suansu inventory contains less common phonemes (but found i.e. in Burmese), such as /θ/ and the lateral alveolar fricative /ɬ/. Suansu distinguishes (at least) two lexical tones and is characterized by the presence of sesquisyllabic syllables and various `frozen' formatives prefixed to the stem of several nouns, verbs and adjectives. Suansu morphology is mostly agglutinative and displays suffixal case markers (such as genitive, dative, locative and ablative) and an ergative-absolutive alignment. Possession is marked through different morphological and syntactic strategies with different distributions; plural number is expressed on full nouns through an overt marker. Suansu verbs carry TAM formatives; the bare, unmarked verb form is the past tense. The language follows SOV order. Undoubtedly Tibeto-Burman, establishing Suansu low level genealogical affiliation is however more problematic. Its relation to the common T-B branch in the region, Tangkhulic, is ambiguous, as shown by the consistent mismatches between the set of morphological and lexical traits assessed for the languages of the Tangkhulic group (Mortensen 2003; Mortensen & Keogh 2011; Mortensen & Miller 2013; Mortensen & Picone 2021) and the respective features in Suansu.

This data confirms the extreme linguistic diversity attested in the area (Post & Burling 2017) and sets the stage for future research in the region.

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Lae Kwe Kaw: A new “ancient” writing system of Karen

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Keywords: Karenic, writing system, Sgaw Karen, Karen language

Lae Kwe Kaw is a uniquely shaped Karen script that has become known in this century. It is believed among some Karens that the script has existed for thousands of years and was recovered by the Sgaw Karen monk Myainggyingu Sayadaw (1947-2018). The primary purpose of this presentation is to show the system of this script. In addition, it will also be discussed whether this script is truly ancient.

Lae Kwe Kaw reflects well the phonological system of the Sgaw Karen dialect spoken around Hpa-an, Karen State, Myanmar. Any of the 38 consonant letters is added with a vowel and tone symbol to represent a syllable. There are 11 vowel symbols and six tone symbols. That is, it has an abugida system, which is common to Mon-Burmese Script and Thai Script used in the surrounding areas.

Given that the system of Lae Kwe Kaw fits the phonology of a contemporary dialect of Sgaw Karen, it is unlikely to be an ancient script. If it were an ancient script, it would reflect the tonal and consonantal systems of a proto-language to some degree, but no such features are found. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider this script to be a modern creation. However, from the perspective of the ethnic movement, we should be cautious in denying the significance of this script.

A system of “emphatic particles” in Kathmandu Newar in terms of their “emphatic” functions

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Malla (1985: 64) lists nine particles that emphasized the preceding unit, and their meanings. For example, in (1), *la* is described as an emphatic particle that denote particularity.

(1) wə la wən-a
3SG EMP go-PD
‘He is gone; As for him, he is gone’

Hale and Shrestha (2006: 116-121) also discusses these particles as “emphatics”, and lists 13 particles, illustrating their meanings with examples from their corpus data. Both simply list up what they call “emphatic particles, but they fail to discuss their syntactic properties and what the term “emphatic” really means. Some of the meanings they refer to for the “emphatic” particles may not be emphatic.

In this presentation, I will discuss the morpho-syntactic features of the particles discussed in Malla (1986) and Hale and Shrestha in addition to ones that are not included them. I will also classify the particles into six types in terms of their discourse functions, following the framework proposed by Noda (2019). I also discuss pragmatic factors that disambiguate the polysemy of certain particles.

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Bridging constructions in Jinghpaw

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Bridging constructions are constructions that serve to link clause chains by recapitulating (part of) the last clause of a chain (reference clause) at the beginning of the next chain (bridging clause), representing a sentence–discourse interface (Guérin, ed. 2019). The construction is a prominent feature of narrative texts in Jinghpaw (Tibeto-Burman, northern Burma) in terms of its high frequency and pervasiveness in the genre. Despite its importance in Jinghpaw narrative studies, the construction is often out of the scope of the previous description of the language; for example, no reference grammar has touched on the construction. This paper attempts to fill the gap in the literature, by providing a detailed description of the bridging construction in Jinghpaw based on data drawn from a large corpus of transcribed narratives texts collected and annotated by the author and speech community members throughout original fieldwork in northern Burma. This paper examines the construction in terms of its syntactic status (the reference clause is always a main clause with no restrictions of tense–aspect–mood while the bridging clause is mostly a dependent clause with restricted morphosyntactic possibilities); its position (the bridging clause usually occurs in the initial position, often immediately after the reference clause); its types (all the three different types of the bridging construction are exploited: recapitulative linkage, summary linkage, and mixed linkage); and its discourse function (e.g., event sequencing).

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上古漢語唇化元音 *o 在原始閩語中的反映及相關音變

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採取六元音方案的上古漢語音系構擬 (如 Starostin 1989; Baxter 1992; 鄭張尚芳 2003 等) 都包含唇化元音 *o。上古音唇化元音和非唇化元音的對立在大部分現代方言中都已經消失，但在閩語中依然可以找到一些痕跡 (如秋谷裕幸、野原將揮 2019)。

本文擬在前人的基礎上，進一步指出上古音以 *o 為韻腹的韻母在原始閩語中的反映，也會討論閩語中一些相關的音變。首先，上古 *o 接銳音 (acute) 韻尾的音節，在原始閩語中的對應形式，往往也帶 *o 韻腹 (上古音 'OC' 及中古音據 Baxter & Sagart 1994; 原始閩語 'PM' 據 Norman 1981)：

(1) 「斷」OC *N-tˁo[n]ʔ > MC *dwan* : PM *-on > 廈門 /tŋ^{6}/ 建陽 /lueiŋ^{5}/
(2) 「卵」OC *k.rˁorʔ > MC *lwan* : PM *-on > 廈門 /nŋ^{6}/ 建陽 /suŋ^{3}/
(3) 「脫」OC *mə-l̥ˁot > MC *thwat* : PM *-ot > 廈門 /tʰeʔ^{7}/ 建陽 /hue^{7}/
(4) 「坐」OC *[dz]ˁo[j]ʔ > MC *dzwa* : PM *-oi > 廈門 /tse^{6}/ 建陽 /lɔ^{6}/

我們似乎可以輕易建立起 OC *-on : PM *-on、OC *-oj : PM *-oi 之類的對應。可是，上古的 *o 除了接銳音韻尾外，也能出現在後韻尾 -ŋ 和 -k 之前，相當於東部和屋部。雖然原始閩語有 *-oŋ、*-ok 韻，但跟它們對應的卻是上古漢語的 *-aŋ 陽部和 *-ak 鐸部。上古 *-oŋ 在原始閩語中一般反映為 *-uŋ 或 *-yŋ，而跟上古 *-ok 對應的則是原始閩語 *-uk 或 *-yok (11、12) (*-uŋ 和 *-uk 據秋谷裕幸、野原將揮 2022)：

(5) 「紅」OC *gˁoŋ > MC *huwng* : PM *-uŋ > 廈門 /aŋ^{2}/; 建陽 /ɦoŋ^{9}/
(6) 「鐘」OC *toŋ > MC *tsyowng* : PM *-yŋ > 廈門 /tsiŋ^{1}/; 建陽 /tseiŋ^{1}/
(7) 「角」OC *C.[k]ˁrok > MC *kaewk* : PM *-uk > 廈門 /kak^{7}/; 建陽 /ko^{7}/
(8) 「粟」OC *[s]ok > MC *sjowk* : PM *-yok > 廈門 /tsʰik^{7}/; 建陽 /sy^{7}/

除了東部和屋部字外，原始閩語的 *-uŋ、*-yŋ、*-uk 韻也包含其他上古來源的字 (主要是 *-uŋ 冬部和 *-uk 覺部)，只有 *-yok 韻的來源比較純粹 (也有少數例外，但不雜覺部字)，可視為屋部的鑒別韻。

至此，我們可以把原始閩語定義為這樣的一種語言：在銳音韻尾前能較佳地保留上古的 *o 韻腹；但接後韻尾、以 *o 為韻腹的韻母已經大規模和其他韻母合併，只有原始閩語的 *-yok 仍體現出唇化元音的特色。關於後一個現象，秋谷裕幸 (1999b) 早已指出，不過本文採取的視角和他的不一樣。

根據前面的論述，本文指出：由上古漢語發展至原始閩語的過程中，曾發生過一系列元音高化的音變。我們將深入探討這些音變的性質，以及從中所反映的閩語和處衢片吳語 (參秋谷裕幸 1999a) 的關係。

Annotating and analysing coreference and argument structure in spoken Central Tibetan

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Reference and argument structure have been fruitfully studied from text-based perspectives, including in Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Noonan 2003, Bickel 2003, Chelliah 2003, Kurabe 2018), answering questions like how language users select referential forms and place them in argument slots. However, large-scale multivariable quantitative studies like those in corpus linguistics (e.g. Kibrik 2000, 2016) is scarce in Tibeto-Burman linguistics, perhaps partly due to a lack of appropriately annotated corpus data: to my knowledge, Kurabe (2018) is the only one richly annotated for both coreference and argument structure.

In this presentation, I present an annotation scheme for multi-party conversations in spoken Central Tibetan for studying such interlocking questions as referential choice (Givón 1983), preferred argument structure (Du Bois 1987, 2003), pragmatic word order (Payne 1992) and 'optional' 'ergativity' (DeLancey 2011). Text transcripts of spoken conversation are first taken from the Internet. The transcripts are tokenised with the aid of botok (Drupchen et al. 2019), and then segmented into intonation units (Du Bois et al. 1992).

The data is then annotated using Rezonator (Du Bois et al. 2020) and the accompanying R package rezonateR (Lai, in prep.). The current annotation scheme marks all potential referential expressions ('mentions'), verbs, and other adverbials in the corpus. Coreference between mentions is marked, and each coreference chain is marked with the number, gender and entity type (person, organization, thing, abstract, etc.) of the associated referent. Verb-argument and verb-adjunct relationships are also annotated. Each mention is tagged for formal linguistic properties, its grammatical or discourse role, identifiability, referentiality, person, linear position of the expression within the argument/adjunct structure, whether it appears in the same IU as the verb, and whether it precedes or follows the verb. Verbs are annotated for illocutionary force, tense/aspect, evidentiality, and whether they are associated with a subordinator. I discuss some difficulties in creating the annotation scheme, including the classification of referential expressions, the identification of zeroes, classification of grammatical roles, and annotation of low-referentiality expressions like light verb nominals and 'light adjective' nominals, and hanging topics.

From the manual or semi-automatical annotations, I automatically calculate properties such as animacy, lookback distance, number of times a referent was mentioned and number of competing referents in the previous five intonation units, grammatical role of the previous mention and whether the current grammatical role matches it, and whether the referential expression's person matches that predicted by the evidential on the verb. To demonstrate the use of the annotations, the currently annotated texts were used to construct a multi-variable model of referential choice in Central Tibetan.

古藏语动词三时形态在现代方言中的减缩模式

——安多藏语玛曲话为例

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摘要：传统文法将书面藏语动词的时态表现形式分为一般型、个别类和零散型三种。其中一般型和个别类动词基本上属于及物动词，而零散型既有及物动词也有不及物动词。动词未来时和现在时、过去时形态的缩减模式上，一般型和个别类动词形态在安多藏语玛曲话中存在三种不同的减缩模式，即古藏语的未来时和现在时合为未来时形态、未来时和现在时合为现在时形态，及三时合为过去时形态。相比前两类动词，零散型动词形态的减缩模式相对复杂，其中不及物动词的形态古今无变化，而及物动词形态呈现出阶段性减缩模式。在安多藏语玛曲话中，动词形态缩减的特点为（1）三时三种形态减缩为一种形态的模式中，不管是合为现在时形态还是过去时形态，这类动词在古藏文中除过去时标记-s 外，三个时态的韵母相同。(2)安多藏语玛曲话中，不存在三时合为未来时形态的减缩模式。（3）三时减缩为两种形态的模式中，未来时和现在时合为一种形态，而过去时保持不变。不存在未来时和过去时合为一种形态，或现在时和过去时合为一种形态的减缩模式。整体上，安多牧区藏语方言的动词形态数量的减缩模式相对复杂，且还处于变化状态，没有完全固定下来，部分相同语音条件的动词形态处于不同的变化阶段。

关键词：古藏语，玛曲话，动词形态，减缩模式

The distributions and functions of final particle NA in Thai: An (inter)subjectivity perspective

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Final particles are commonly used in spoken Thai. From a phonetic point of view, some of them have different phonetic forms, usually manifested as changes in pitch and length. The final particle NA is the most frequently used and most widely distributed in syntactic positions, sentence types or contexts of usage in the Thai language. It is generally considered that NA has five primary forms, [ná], [ná:], [nâ], [nâ:] and [na:]. NA can be used in declarative sentences, imperative sentences, content questions, vocatives and the middle pre-pause position in a declarative. In addition, unlike other final particles, it can be repeated at the end of an imperative sentence, or even at the first position of a speaking turn in a conversation.

Previous researches have yielded rich results in exploring the phonetic and phonological features, distributions and functions of Thai final particles from syntactic or discourse perspectives. Among those studies, Pittayaporn (2007, 2012) claim that some final particles including NA in Thai do not have lexical tones, and them acquire their tonality by being linked to boundary tones H% and L%. Among the five variants, the "low-tone" variant [nâ] and "high-tone" variant [ná] are the two basic variants of NA. Furthermore, Pittayaporn (2014) shows the different interpretations of the final particle NA are derivable from its core meaning in combination with the boundary tones. However, there are still controversies and unresolved issues.

Based on the previous researches, especially the related series of Pittayaporn, the current paper analyzes the distributions and functions of the final particle NA in natural conversations from an (inter)subjectivity perspective in order to find the constraints on the distributions of NA as well as its two basic variants. This paper holds that both NA and its two boundary tones signal intersubjective meaning. More specifically, sentence-final particles and boundary tones independently convey the speaker's attitudes towards the addressee from two different dimensions. The distributions of the NA are not only affected and restricted by their own functions and sentence-type (including subtypes), but also affected by different interactive demands of the speaker. Previous studies have shown different opinions on the role of the two basic variants of NA in expressing the mood of a certain sentence. However, this study holds that instead of strengthening or weakening the mood of a sentence, the main functions of the particle NA and boundary tones are the expression of the subjective and interactive demands of the speaker. Their influence on the mood of a sentence is just an indirect effect. Because the rising form boundary tone H% and the falling form boundary tone L% show different degree of intersubjectivity, the variant [ná] and [nâ] thus have different distribution ranges. Meanwhile, their degree of intersubjectivity also affects whether or not their phonetic forms will be reduced. From the perspective of (inter)subjectivity, this paper has indicated explicitly the distributive conditions and functions of the final particle NA. This study shows that each form of NA has its own distributional and functional features.

Key words: Thai final particles, distributions, functions, (inter)subjectivity

云南楚雄彝语鼻冠辅音的地理分布与演变

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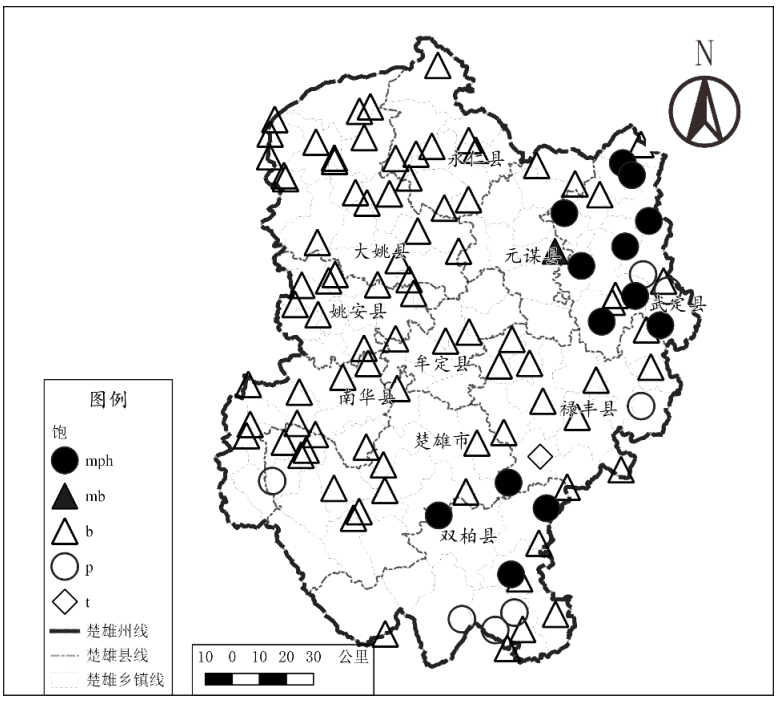
摘要：彝族主要分布在我国的四川、云南、广西和贵州，彝语是彝族使用的语言，分为北部、东部、东南部、中部、西部和南部 6 个方言，各方言间互相不能通话，方言差异大。楚雄州位于云南省中部，是我国主要的彝族聚居区，贯穿滇西南地区和川滇两省，是彝族先民迁徙的重要通道和彝语中部方言的核心分布区，毗邻其他 5 个方言的核心分布区。据前期田野调查，楚雄州境内分布着彝语的 6 个方言，15 个彝族支系，多个彝语方言、支系互相接触，使得楚雄州各地语音差异显著，方言情况复杂。

楚雄彝语的鼻冠辅音有 5 种组合：双唇鼻音＋双唇塞音，包括 mph、mb；舌尖中鼻音+舌尖中塞音和舌尖前塞擦音，包括 nth、nd、ntsh、ndz；舌尖后鼻音＋舌尖后塞音或舌尖后塞擦音，包括 ɳth、ɳd、ɳtʂh、ɳdʐ；舌面前鼻音+舌面前塞擦音，包括 ȵtɕh、ȵdʑ；舌面后鼻音+舌面后塞音，包括 ŋh、ŋg。这些鼻冠辅音在楚雄彝语的对应中呈现一定的规律性，表现为：mph-mb-b、nth/ɳth-nd/ɳd-d/ɖ、ntsh/ɳtʂh-ndz/ɳdʐ-ȵtɕh-dz/dʐ-ʐ/z、ŋkh-ŋg-g。此外，还有塞音类鼻冠韵母和塞擦音类鼻冠韵母的特殊对应，如 mph-ntsh-ndz-kh 对应和 ŋkh-g-kh-ph 对应。

基于以上考察，本文拟进一步分析其演变路径，并试图揭示该地理分布的原因。

关键词：楚雄彝语；鼻冠辅音；地理分布；历时演变



纳西语达祖村话音系研究

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自上世纪 70 年代 Bradley 系统构拟原始纳语的声韵调系统以来（Bradley 1975），大批学者都对纳语组语言（纳西语方言） 的语音特点进行过描写（和即仁、姜竹仪 1985；黄布凡 1992；孙宏开 2007 ；施向东 2015；姜竹仪 2015） 。近年纳语组语言的调查研究取得了新进展，如：摩梭话（杨振洪 2009；Lidz, 2010；Dobbs & La, 2016；Michaud2017)、片丁话（和丽昆 2018)）、玛丽玛萨话（李子鹤 2013）等。本文研究的是纳西语达祖村话。

达祖村位于四川省盐源县泸沽湖畔，常住人口约 900 人，达祖村主要生活着纳西人。达祖村在和即仁（1985）等人的划分中属于与丽江坝相同的纳西语方言，但是地理位置上处于摩梭话的村落之间，由于达祖村特殊的地理位置，它在语音上既有与丽江坝纳西语、泸沽湖地区摩梭话的相同之处也有自身的独特性。

本文以纳西语泸沽湖达祖村话为研究对象，通过实地调查，对记录的语音材料进行分析并整理出达祖村话的声母、韵母系统和音节结构。通过前期调查发现：达祖村话的语音特点如下：1、塞音有双唇、齿龈、软腭塞音，分别存在三组对立，如：p-、ph-、d-（清音、浊音、送气）；2、有鼻冠塞音、塞擦音 mb-、nd-、ndz-、ndʑ-、ndʐ-；3、有齿龈塞音的变体卷舌塞音 ʈ-，ʈh-，ɖ-；4、颤音 r-及其变体 ɾ；5、部分元音带有喉塞音ʔ-，但并未找到最小对立对；6、在一定条件下软腭音塞音 k-、kh-、g-有音位变体小舌塞音 q-、qh-、ɢ-。达祖村的音节结构主要表现为 (C1)(C2)(G) V。 C1={/m/ /n/ /ŋ/ } ，C2={/b/ /d/ /dz/ /dʑ/ /dʐ/} ，G={w j}；V={all vowel phonemes}。 本文最后借助语图对达祖村话中卷舌塞音、鼻冠音以及声调等进行分析，相关描写可为纳语各个方言的比较提供资料。

关键词：纳语、达祖、语音、音位

Numeral classifiers and number marking in Zauzou

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Tibeto-Burman languages feature the existence of numeral classifiers, which serve a wide range of functions in noun phrases (Bisang 1999; Vittrant & Tang 2021; Guo & Li 2021). Languages in this family may employ independent grammatical devices to encode nominal plurality (Dryer 2013; Haspelmath 2013). Zauzou, a Ngwi language spoken in China (Li 2020), is a typical numeral classifier language that also exhibits "morphosemantic plural marking" (Tang & Her 2019; Li, forthcoming).

In Zauzou, quantification of referents is primarily achieved by means of 1) numeral words combined with numeral classifiers and 2) several post-nominal quantifiers that serve the function as plural markers. Post-nominal classifiers may signal singular reference in bare classifier phrase as well. Numeral phrases (i.e. [N NUM CLF]) and bare classifier/quantifier phrases (i.e. [N CLF/QUANT]) are the two major encoding devices used to quantify entities in Zauzou NPs, expressing cardinal and "morphosemantic" numbers (Kibort & Corbett 2008; Doetjes 2012; Tang & Her 2019), respectively. Examples of the two types of quantification are illustrated by (1) – (2).

(1) numeral classifier phrase

tɛa⁵⁵tsɿ³³	*tɛo⁵⁵*	*tə⁵⁵*	***tɛʰo⁵³***	***næ⁵³***	***læ³¹***	*tɔ⁵⁵*	*to⁵³*
table	CLF:long	up	ball	two	CLF:small round	put	DUR

'Two balls are put on the table.'

(2) plural marking (animate)

a.	*wu⁵⁵*	*kə⁵⁵*	*tɛa⁵³*	*tə¹³*	***tɛʰyi³³***	***tə¹³***	*ta⁵⁵*	*tsẽ⁵³*	*le¹³*	[PL.animate]
	village	LOC	other_people	PL:ani	dog	PL:ani	run	meet	come	

'Other people's dogs in the village ran to us.'

Zauzou has two morphosemantic plural markers for animate (i.e. *tə¹³* 'PL:ani') and inanimate (i.e. *mõ⁵³* 'PL:inani') objects, and the latter also marks the 'abundance of mass' of mass entities. *tə¹³* and *mõ⁵³* are obligatory pronominal plural suffixes of second and third person pronouns. There is only one partially grammaticalized singular marker *ja⁵³* 'CLF:human' that is developed from the human sortal classifier and marks singularity of human nouns. Singular references are primarily indicated by post-nominal classifiers in [N CLF] in definite contexts, in which the singular interpretation is implied by definiteness.

From a diachronic perspective, it is assumed that morphosemantic number markers in Zauzou are innovations and the existing numeral classifiers are the older system. The singular-marking function of classifiers is clearly a functional extension of classifiers, and there is evidence suggesting that the plural quantifiers *tə¹³* and *mo⁵³* are originally classifying morphemes in noun stems. The grammaticalization of both singular and plural markers follow the nominal hierarchy (Dixon 1994), in accordance with the fact that Zauzou personal pronouns on the top of the hierarchy have obligatory number marking and inanimate nouns in the bottom usually do not distinguish numbers.

The co-existence of numeral classifiers and number marking is generally prohibited in human languages (Greenberg 1972; Sanches & Slobin 1973; Tang & Her 2019). While numerous languages spoken in Mainland Southeast Asia have been claimed as counter-examples of this tendency (Gerner 2006; Bisang 2012). Findings of this study point to a historical account (Cathcart et al. 2020). It views the co-existence of two systems as a transient phenomenon that will ultimately lead to the complementary distribution of classifiers and number marking.

The origin and evolution of Naish nasal initials

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The genetic position of Naish languages has been a long-debated question. A well-rounded reconstruction of Proto-Naish is needed to solve this question. Jacques and Michaud (2011) and Li (2013) proposed two versions of reconstruction but reached different conclusions. This paper aims at reconstructing Proto-Naish initials with nasal main consonants.

The present study employs the lexicon material of 3 relatively better documented Naish languages: Lijiangba Naxi (LJ), Malimasa (MM), and Yongning Na (YN). Inverted reconstruction, that is, employing conservative relative languages in reconstructing low-level proto-languages, is needed to reach a better understanding of the evolution paths of the languages in question, since all Naish languages are phonologically highly eroded.

Multiple correspondence rules related to nasal initials can be identified among the three Naish languages. 8 sets of contrastive correspondences are attested. Through searching for cognates in Written Tibetan (WT), Written Burmese (WB) and Japhug Rgyalrong (RG), five proto- initials with nasals as main consonants can be reconstructed to Proto-Naish (PN), and the correspondence rules proposed above can be tentatively explained.

Set	LJ	MM	YN	context	example (LJ: MM: YN)	PN *Initial	Sound Change
Ia	m	m	m		mɯ˦: mɣ˦: mɣ˦ “sky”	*m-	< **m-
Ib	m	m	n	*-j-	miɤ˩: miɤ˩: njɤ˨ “eye”		
IIa	n	n	n		nɑ˩: nɑ˩: nɑ˩ “black”	*n-	< **n-
IIb	n	n	ɳ	*-i, *-u	nɯ˩: nɯ˦: ɳɯ˦ “less”		
IIc	n	n	ŋ	*e	ni˦: ni˩: ŋi˦ “fish”	*ŋ-	< **ŋ
III	ŋ	0	ŋ		ŋɣ˩: ɣ̃˦: ŋɣ˦ “silver”		
IV	x	x	h		xɣ˦: xɣ̃˦: hɣ̃˦ “hair”	*n̥-	< **liquid + n-
V	n	n	h		nɣ˦: nɣ˦: hɣ̃˦ “mad”	*Cn-	< **obstruent + n-

The sound change of nasal initials is parallel to that of lateral initials which has been illustrated by Li (2022). The validity of pre-initial *C- in Proto-Naish has been once again proved.

Key words: Naish languages; reconstruction; nasal; pre-initial

Reference:

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Relative Constructions in the Cogtse Dialect of Rgyalrong

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Based largely on discourse data, the present paper analyzes relative constructions in the Cogtse Dialect of Situ, a Rgyalrong language spoken in Southwestern China. All the relative clauses in this language are relativized, distinguishing finite and non-fiinite ones. The common argument (CA) can be a core argument or an oblique, and can be fully realized either in the relative clause or the main clause. In addition to investigating the structural characteristics of the relative constructions, the paper also discusses the functional and pragmatic factors involved in the uses of the relative constructions. While it has been observed that relativization in two other Rgyalrong languages (Tshobdun (J. Sun 2016) and Japhug (Jacques 2016)) are largely based on the nominative-accusative alignment, the grammatical-relation scenario does not seem to play a salient role in Cogtse relativization. What is also worth noting is that, when the present study is compared with a previous study that is based only on elicited data, the types of relative constructions allowed in Cogtse vary. Some constructions not accepted by native speakers in elicitation sessions actually occur rather frequently in spontaneous narratives.

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Possession in Gelao

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This paper provides a systematic account of possession in Gelao. Possession has long been a significant topic for linguists and anthropologists. Related researches include its definition, the interaction among possessor (Pr), possessee (Pe), and possessive relationship (PRel), whether the link is marked on Pr, on Pe, on both, or on neither, classification and conceptual schema of possessive constructions, etc. (Ultan 1978; Nichols 1992; Nichols & Bickel 2005; Heine 1997). Yet, there is no systematic analysis of possession in Gelao to date.

Based on the data collected from selected monographs and grammars in the literature, it is found that Gelao language has a wide array of grammatical means in expressing possession. At the same time, possessive constructions can be used to convey various semantic relations between Pr and Pe. Possessive constructions can be divided into NP-internal constructions and predicative constructions according to Heine (1997) and Dixon (2010). There are three types of NP-internal possessive phrases, including (i) juxtaposition, (ii) the use of genitive marker, and (iii) the use of possessive classifier. Although, similar to other analytic languages, word order in Gelao plays an important role in denoting grammatical relations, possessive constructions exhibit different word order patterns. The word orders of juxtaposition can be (1) Pe +Pr and (2) Pr +Pe. The use of genitive marker in expressing possession shows strong flexibility in various word order patterns, e.g., (3) Pe + Gen +Pr, (4) Pr + Gen +Pe, and (5) Gen +Pr +Pe. Although there are three different word orders, there is tendency that possessor and genitive marker are always strung together; that is to say, genitive marker is closer to Pr than Pe. The link is marked on Pr, showing that it is a dependent marker, not a head marker. A third strategy is to use a classifier to link the possessor and the possessee. It is arranged in the order of (6) CL + Pe +Pr. NP-internal possessive phrases in Gelao can denote a variety of semantic meanings, that is, (1) ownership, (2) whole-part relations, (3) kinship relations, (4) association, (5) an attribute of the Pr, (6) time of the appearance of the Pe, and (7) Location or orientation of the Pe. It is worth noting that some genitive markers are derived from dative markers, some are derived from locative markers, and some classifiers.

Predicative possessive constructions are analyzed in light of the typology of the predicate possession proposed by Heine (1997). They can be classified into Have-possession (H-possession) and Belong-possession (B-possession). The verbs *pe*^{55} 'obtain' and *pei*^{24} 'have' are typical 'have' verbs that are used to express H-possession. *pe*^{55} 'obtain' is used to express temporary ownership, while pei^{24} 'have' is used to express permanent ownership. The verb *me*^{33} 'belong' and existence, copula, and topic clauses can denote B-possession. According to the model proposed by Heine (1997), possession constructions are originated from the same cognitive patterns, namely, Action, Location, Accompaniment, Goal, Topic, Source, Genitive, and Equation. In Gelao, it is found that H-possession is derived from Action and Topic schemas, and NP-internal possession and B-possession are based on the conceptual schemas of Location and Equation.

Table 1: Possession in Gelao

	NP- internal Possession			Predicative Possession	
Type	juxtaposition	with genitive marker	with classifier	Have- possession	Belong- possession
Format	Pe+Pr Pr+Pe	Pe + Gen +Pr Pr + Gen +Pe Gen +Pr +Pe	CL + Pe +Pr	Pr + *pe*^{55}/ *pei*^{24}+Pe	Pe+*me*^{33} +Pr existence clause copula clause topic clause
Semantic meaning	ownership, whole-part relations, kinship relations, association, an attribute of the Pr, time of the appearance of the Pe, location or orientation of the Pe				
Source	none	dative marker locative marker classifier	?[1]	verbs meaning 'get' or 'obtain'	?
Event schema	Location, Equation			Action, Topic	Location, Equation

[1] Due to the lack of examples, the result remains unclear and needs to be studied further.

Comparative Structure of the Namuyi Language

LIU Min

[Abstract] The structural forms of comparative sentences in the Namuyi Language is diverse, and the comparative marker are abundant. This paper describes its positive and negative comparative sentences ;According to the polysemy on synchronic level to explain the origin of the comparative markers,and try to explain its formation mechanism.Finally,through the comparison with other Sino-Tibetan languages,we find that comparative sentences of the Namuyi Language has both commonness and individuality. It aims to privide a good case for the typological research of comparative sentences.

[Keywords] the Namuyi language ; comparative sentences; structural pattern; comparative marker

Locative Verbs in the Dongguan Wanjiang Dialect

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Locative concepts have been proven to give rise to progressive constructions in different languages (Kuteva et al., 2019). In Min, Wu and Yue dialects of Chinese, locative preposition constructions are the main source for progressive/durative/continuative markers (Shi, 1985, 2013; Lin et al. 2021). This study describes the forms, functions and syntactic distributions of locative verbs in the Dongguan Wanjiang dialect of Yue. Major findings are as follows:

Three locative verbs are found in the Dongguan Wanjiang dialect, namely "喺[hɐi³⁵]", "□[kʰɐi³⁵]" and "□[ɡʰui²⁴]". "喺[hɐi³⁵]" and "□[kʰɐi³⁵]" can be used as verbs, prepositions and imperfective aspect markers, while "□[ɡʰui²⁴]" can function as a verb or a preposition. In the basic locative construction "Figure + Locative verb + Ground (+ Localizer)" (hereafter "CA"), "喺[hɐi³⁵]", "□[kʰɐi³⁵]" and "□[ɡʰui²⁴]" are interchangeable. In the other locative construction "Figure + Verb + Locative preposition + Ground (+ Localizer)" (hereafter "CB"), only "喺[hɐi³⁵]" is used as the locative preposition. Tendencies for using CA and CB vary in pragmatic conditions and syntactic contexts. "喺[hɐi³⁵]" and "□[kʰɐi³⁵]" are frequently used in the current Wanjiang dialect, while "□[ɡʰui²⁴]" is mainly accepted by the older generation. A prepositional phrase headed by "喺[hɐi³⁵]" can appear either before or after verbs, while the one headed by "□[kʰɐi³⁵]" or "□[ɡʰui²⁴]" usually precede verbs. The verbal suffix "喺[hɐi³⁵]" is a continuative aspect marker, which can also mark durative/progressive aspect in the existential construction. "喺度[hɐi³⁵tɐu³³²][1]" and "□度[kʰɐi³⁵tɐu³³²]" preceding verbs are adverbial progressive aspect markers, while "喺度[hɐi³⁵tɐu³³²]" following verbs is a complementary durative/continuative aspect marker.

Main functions and differences of "喺[hɐi³⁵]", "□[kʰɐi³⁵]" and "□[ɡʰui²⁴]" are summarized as the following table:

Differences / Functions	喺[hɐi³⁵]	□[kʰɐi³⁵]	□[ɡʰui²⁴]
Verb	1.Allowed in CA; 2.Current form.	1.Allowed in CA; 2.Current form.	1.Allowed in CA; 2.Older form.
Preposition	1.Allowed in CB; 2.Before/after verbs.	1.Unallowed in CB; 2.Usually before verbs.	1.Unallowed in CB; 2.Before verbs.
Progressive aspect marker	1."喺度[hɐi³⁵tɐu³³²]" before verbs. 2."喺[hɐi³⁵]" after verbs, only allowed in the existential construction.	"□度[kʰɐi³⁵ tɐu³³²]" before verbs.	/
Durative aspect marker	1."喺度[hɐi³⁵tɐu³³²]" after verbs. 2."喺[hɐi³⁵]" after verbs, only allowed in the existential construction.	/	/
Continuative aspect marker	1."喺度[hɐi³⁵tɐu³³²]" after verbs. 2."喺[hɐi³⁵]" after verbs.	/	/

Key words: locative verbs; locative prepositions; imperfective aspect markers; Yue dialects of Chinese

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1 "度[tɐu³³²]", "处[ʃi³³²]", and "头[tʰau²¹]", localizers in the Wanjiang dialect, express general location meaning. In most situations involving aspectual meanings, "度[tɐu³³²]" and "处[ʃi³³²]" are interchangeable, while "头[tʰau²¹]" is a relatively rare usage.

藏缅语疑问语气词的类型学特征

（中央民族大学 吕羿蒙）

考察了 80 多种藏缅语族语言及方言，我们发现绝大多数藏缅语中存在疑问语气词，通常出现在句子或小句的末尾。从发达程度看，可以分为两类：一是发达型，疑问语气词已经成为重要甚至必要的疑问表现手段，如景颇语、拉祜熙话等；二是欠发达型，使用疑问语气词，但有更常见的疑问表现手段，如彝语重叠谓词的疑问形式、多数羌语支语言的“疑问前缀”等。从功能角度看，可以分为两类：一是单功能型，疑问语气词只表达句子的疑问语气；二是多功能型，除了表达疑问语气，疑问语气词还可以表达人称、数、体、方向、情态等意义。藏缅语中多见单功能型疑问语气词，多功能型以景颇语为代表。从共时层面看，藏缅语不同语支间有同源关系的疑问语气词非常少。疑问语气词在藏缅语中具有普遍性，不同藏缅语中的疑问语气词有着相似的演变动因、发展路径及趋势。部分藏缅语中的疑问语气词可能源于动词的后缀或助词。从藏缅语反观汉语疑问语气词研究。汉语疑问语气词的位置模式和语法功能单一，汉语与藏缅语疑问语气词的发展与使用都具有不平衡性。

史兴语的差比句

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摘要：史兴语属藏缅语族 SOV 型语言，与藏缅语语言的诸多差比句在组成要素、语序、比较标记数量、比较标记来源都具有类型学上的共性特征。史兴语的差比句有 S/T+St+m+A（比较主体+比较基准+比较标记+比较结果）和 St+m+S/T+A（比较基准+比较标记+比较主体+比较结果）两种形式并存的后置词型，以及用程度副词χa^{53}（较、更）的副词型。本文主要围绕史兴语差比句的组成要素、语序类型、语义类别、差比标记的来源等四个方面对史兴语差比句进行描写与分析。

关键词：史兴语；差比句；语序类型；差比标记

史兴语属藏缅语族羌语支的北支，操史兴语的藏族居民自称为ʂu^{55}hĩ^{55}（书亨）或ʂʅ^{55}hĩ^{55}（史兴），他称为虚米，人口不到两千人，主要分布在四川省凉山州木里藏族自治县的水洛镇一带。在族群内部用史兴语进行交流，外出用西南官话。本文以四川省凉山州木里县水洛镇平翁村为调查点，拟从差比句的构成要素、语序类型、比较标记来源、比较要素的隐含、语义类型等五个方面对史兴语的差比句进行描写与分析。

一、史兴语差比句的组成要素

（一）比较主体（subject，SJ）

（二）比较基准（standard，ST）

比较基准就是作为比较的对象，紧跟比较标记，位置固定，不管比较标记的位置是前置还是后置，始终保持“比较基准+比较标记”。

（三）比较标记（marker，M）

史兴语差比句的比较标记属后置助词型，根据我们的田野调查材料来看，处于水洛河中游的平翁村人所讲的史兴语中，有三个用于表示比较的比较标记：sʅ^{33} ha^{55}、liɛ ʑyɛ、ʁu^{33} la^{55}。

（四）比较结果（adjective，A）

比较结果就是两个比较对象进行比较的差异点。这部分往往由形容词或以形容词中心的短语结构来充当，其中形容词后还可以带表示程度的数量短语。

二、史兴语差比句语序类型

（一）后置词型

比较基准前置语序为：ST+M+SJ+A

比较基准后置语序为：SJ+ST+M+A

（二）副词型

基本型

话题型

（三）差比句语序类型特点

史兴语后置词型差比句有“比较主体+比较标记+比较基准+比较结果”和“比较主体+比较基准+比较标记+比较结果”这两种语序，比较基准即可前置也可后置。

三、史兴语差比句的语义类别

（一）肯定性差比句

（二）否定性差比句

（三）疑问性差比句

四、史兴语差比标记的来源

结语

勒期语述补结构的特点

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摘要：勒期语属汉藏语系藏缅语族彝缅语支，述补结构是勒期语的重要句法结构，文章从类型学角度对其展开描写和阐释。指出勒期语以分析性为主，兼有少量屈折性的特点。还指出述补结构具有较强的能产性，表现在语义、语法形式、补语来源的丰富性、多层次性上，各类述补结构间有较强的转化能力。还认为使动态补语反映了勒期语从屈折性向分析性演变的趋势。

Knowing with and knowing without observation in Trans-Himalayan

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In Standard Tibetan, DeLancey (1986, 1990) distinguishes between direct visual evidence and (indirect) evidentiality: *-pa red*, "to report hearsay, or interference not based on direct observation of consequences of the event" (1990: 299), and *-bzhag*, inference from "observation of resultant state", referring to Bashir (1988). As a type of 'impersonal factive' used for 'objective statements of fact', the indirect category is analyzed as non-evidential in Agha (1993), but as an 'unwitnessed evidential modality' by Denwood (1999). Tellingly, Garrett (2001: 37) establishes a connection with speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition, i.e. assertiveness.

Referring to Anscombe (2000), I call this widely attested semantic category 'knowing with observation'. 'Knowing', because the content of the proposal reflects the speaker's internal (egophoric in most contexts) knowledge. 'With observation', because the speaker (a conscious observer?) reveals the source of her 'own' knowledge through a reflective (introspective) process. By contrast, there is no disclosure of information source with 'knowing without observation', the speaker has a privileged, unfiltered (unintermediated) access to her knowledge state, which remains unchallengeable: (s)he knows *somehow*.

From a cross-linguistic perspective, 'knowing with observation' is a type of knowledge acquired through an act of perception, inference, assumption, or hearsay. The notion displays a high degree of variation in terms of morphosyntactic expression: from a single copula or a single affix, to a two-part combinatorial construction. In comparison, 'knowing without observation' involves a single morpheme, possibly one member of an egophoric pair, and, in most cases, the 'conjunct' in 'conjunct-disjunct' systems.

I will argue that in combinatorial constructions, where components "work together to produce a web of interlocking belief" (Dasti and Phillips 2017: 56), a function of 'knowing with observation' is to weaken the level of assertion through the expression of various shades of speaker's knowledge: hearsay, inference, assumption, analogy, new knowledge, etc. – in specific contexts and/or discourse genres.

In the combinatorial construction in the example below, the prefix *wo-* attaches to a main (nominalized) copula followed by the equative copula *ŋes*, prefixed by the sensorial marker *ná*. The structure "could be considered as a type of hearsay (…) but the locutor holds a higher degree of certainty on the reported information compared to a structure marked for hearsay with the verb *kɑ-tsâ* 'say, tell'": 'so I have been told' may be added to the translation because of the egophoric in initial position. Crucially, the combination occurs in traditional narratives and with traditional knowledge:

Bragbar Situ
wo-ʑibdák tə baliɛ kə-prôm **wo-kə-ŋôs ná-ŋɐs**
3SG.POSS-divinité.de.montagne DET boeuf PTCP :S / A-être.blanc **EGO-NMLZ-être$_{II}$ SENS-être$_{I}$**
'Sa divinité du mont (Ribai'e) est un bœuf blanc' (le village de Shíguǎngdōng) Zhang (2020: 322)

'Knowing with observation' relates to 'mirativity' as a category. Since the latter "marks both statements based on inference and statements based on direct experience for which the speaker had no psychological preparation, and in some languages hearsay data as well" (DeLancey 1997: 35), there is no significant conceptual difference between the two. Nonetheless, the new knowledge dimension of the mirative makes it more restricted, i.e. more like a sub-category of 'knowing with observation'.

談揚雄《方言》中東齊海岱方言詞彙的特徵

松江 崇

眾所周知，在研究古代(漢代)漢語方言時，揚雄《方言》是非常重要的語料之一。利用揚雄《方言》的先行研究中，對於漢代方言區劃論方面的研究成果較多，比如，林語堂 1927、Serruys 1959、丁啟陣 1991、劉君惠等 1992 等。這些研究主要以《方言》中地名在同一個條文上被“同舉”的情況為依據，以此衡量各地名之間的語言上的距離，成功揭示了漢代方言中存在的主要方言區。但是這些研究在還未闡明每個詞的詞義和語音(擬音)的前提下就進行探討，沒有能充分採用語言地理學的方法加以分析，因此仍有些重要現象尚未被發現。

在這種情況下，本報告將探討屬於《方言》中“東齊海岱”這一比較特殊的方言區的詞彙的特徵。先試圖推定分佈在東齊和海岱的所有(94 個)詞的詞義和語音(擬音據 Schuessler2006 的系統)，然後對其進行了分析，指出以下三點觀點：

(一) 依照揚雄《方言》，可確定的東齊海岱的方言詞中也分佈在其他方言的情況僅為百分之三十八，據此可以認為東齊海岱方言區具有一定程度的獨立性

(二) 從詞彙分佈情況來看，東齊海岱方言區和周圍其他北方方言區之間在語言上的距離大致與它們之間地理上的距離相對應;而東齊海岱方言和楚方言之間的關係較為疏遠。

(三) 東齊海岱方言和秦晉方言之間有引人注目的特殊關係:(1)在收錄在卷一、卷二(即可能反映出較早的語言層次)的三個詞彙項目中可以看到，東齊海岱方言詞和秦晉方言詞表現為日本地理語言學所說的 ABA 分佈(此時 A 是東齊海岱和秦晉的方言詞，B 是東齊海岱和秦晉之間的某種地區的方言詞)的現象; (2)在一些詞彙項目中可以看到東齊海岱方言詞和其他方言區的詞具有同源關係，但這些方言詞的詞形不完全相同的現象(如，其中之一是音變形式或複合化形式)。這些(1)(2)的現象或許表明，在比較早的時期東齊海岱方言和秦晉方言之間有過較為密切的關係。

此外，本報告還關注東齊海岱的方言詞彙中存在一些在漢以前的文獻中不能看到的雙音節連綿詞，如“鋪頒”“徯醢”“冉鐮”“閻苫”“彈憸”等，並試圖將對這些詞按照孫景濤(2008)提出的古漢語重疊構詞法的框架進行分析。

A descriptive study of plural morphemes in Zauzou

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In classifier languages, plurality is basically represented by a numeral classifier phrase, and plural morphemes such as -s in English are unnecessary. Plural morphemes are selectively used and sometimes express more than plurality. In this presentation, I will describe plural morphemes of Zauzou, which is a Lolo-Burmese language of about 3000 native speakers in the North west area of Yunnan Province in China. And I will argue the interrelation between plural morphemes and classifiers of a language having a rich system of classifiers.

There are three plural morphemes; *pe*^{33}, *tɯ*^{13} and *mo*^{35}. *pe*^{33} is an association plural marker, which represents heterogeneous sets of people. *pe*^{33} can be suffixed to a proper noun to express 'a person and his / her group' like (1).

(1) *ʔa*^{33} *na*^{53} *pe*^{33}
Ana PL
Ana and her colleagues

In the case that *pe*^{33} is suffixed to common nouns, it does not have the same property of the nouns.

(2) *tɯ*^{55} *pɔ*^{13} *tɯ*^{55} *mɛ*^{33} *pe*^{33}
3.SG father 3.SG mother PL
his father, mother and others.

pe^{33} is specially suffixed to singular personal pronouns and expresses their plurality like *ŋo*^{33} *pe*^{33} (1st person plural). Basically the constituent expressed by a plural personal pronoun does not need to be homogeneous, therefore, it seems to be reasonable that *pe*^{33} is selected as the plural marker.

Syntactically *pe*^{33} can co-occur with classifier phrases as per (3), but it should be noted that the plural pronoun and the classifier phrase are not always in apposition like (4)

(3) *ŋɔ*^{31} *pe*^{33} *sɛ̃*^{33} *za*^{53}
2.PL 3 CLF
three of you

(4) *tɯ*^{55} *pe*^{33} *tɯ*^{31} *za*^{53}
3.PL 1 CLF
one of them

tɯ^{13} and *mo*^{35} are additive plural markers representing homogeneous sets of animate and inanimate things respectively. They are suffixed to a common noun as per (5) and (6).

(5) a. *ʔɔ*^{55} *vɯ*^{31} *tɯ*^{13}
male PL

b. *nɯ*^{31} *tɯ*^{13}
cattle PL

(6) a. *sɛ̃*^{53} *tsẽ*^{33} *mo*^{53}
tree PL

b. *ɕi*^{31} *vɯ*^{31} *mo*^{53}
situation PL

tɯ^{13} and *mo*^{35} can also be suffixed to the name of a place or tribe to express areal or ethnic groups like (7). In addition, *mo*^{35} can make plural demonstratives like *ʔa*^{33} *mo*^{53} (these) and *ʔu*^{35} *mo*^{53} (those).

(7) a. *tɕã*^{31} *mɔ*^{13} *tɯ*^{13}
jiangmo PL
Jiangmo villagers

b. *zɔ*^{33} *zo*^{31} *tɯ*^{13}
Zauzou PL
Zauzou people

tɯ^{13} and *mo*^{35} cannot co-occur with classifier phrases as per (8). But they can be replaced by classifier phrases as per (9).

(8) *nɯ*^{31} (**tɯ*^{13}) *sɛ̃*^{33} *kõ*^{33}
cattle PL 3 CLF
three heads of cattle

(9) *tɕɯ*^{33} [*tɯ*^{13} / *sɛ̃*^{33} *za*^{33}]
person PL / 3 CLF.HUMN
persons / 3 persons

Therefore, additive plural markers in Zauzou share some characteristics with classifiers, which have richer functions than other major classifier languages like Japanese or Chinese. For example, classifiers can be suffixed to not only numerals or demonstratives but also adjectives or verbs in Zauzou. These characteristics are all observed in *tɯ*^{13} and *mo*^{35}, too.

(10) a. *tshŋ*^{31} [*kɯ*^{33} / *mo*^{53}]
old CLF..CLOTHES / PL
old clothing / old things, old ones

b. *ɕi*^{55} [*ʔõ*^{33} / *tɯ*^{13}]
die CLF.ANMAL / PL
dead animal / dead ones

However *tɯ*^{13} and *mo*^{35} cannot be attached to numerals unlike classifiers as per (11). Therefore, it can be concluded that they are not typical classifiers, which classify only animate and inanimate things semantically, but they still possess some syntactic characteristics of classifiers.

(11) a. *nɯ*^{31} *sɛ̃*^{33} *ma*^{33}
cattle 3 CLF.GRP
three herds of cattle

b. **nɯ*^{31} *sɛ̃*^{33} *tɯ*^{13}
cattle 3 PL
three heads of cattle

Finally, I will check the cross-linguistic validity of the above concluded results through comparison with other major classifier languages.

從方言詞的角度來看上古漢語的位移動詞“蹜”

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本報告考察戰國楚簡（從戰國時代楚地出土的簡帛資料）中表示{蹜}的「辿」以及其他文獻中的「蹜」「遬」「跧」等異體字之分佈情況和用法（「X」表示某個字形，{Y}則表示某個詞），以試圖指出上古漢語中〈到〉/〈往〉義的動詞{蹜}為楚方言的特徵，並且推測{蹜}的〈到〉/〈往〉義派生的脈絡。

如（1），戰國楚簡中「辿」用為位移動詞，後面一般出現表示終點的名詞。有些研究認為此字表示{適}，但此說似不合理，應當認為表示{蹜}（李家浩 2000)：

（1）景平王命王子木辿（蹜）城父（上博楚簡《平王與王子木》1 號簡）

這種表示位移動詞{蹜}的「辿」及其異體字大多出現於和楚國密切相關的文獻中，而其他上古文獻中極其罕見，因此頗有可能表示〈到〉/〈往〉義的動詞{蹜}係具有楚方言特色的詞。

表示〈到〉/〈往〉義以外的「蹜」及其異體字則在文獻中較多見，用為表示〈腳〉/〈腳掌〉之義的名詞、或〈踏〉義的動詞。本報告認為，〈腳〉/〈腳掌〉義以及〈踏〉義的{蹜}頗有可能是在楚地以外地區的方言中也使用的，並且{蹜}的〈踏〉義應當源於〈腳〉/〈腳掌〉義（腳/腳掌＞用腳踐踏地面、某個東西)；然而在楚方言當中，{蹜}則由〈踏〉義再衍生出〈到〉/〈往〉義（用腳踐踏地面、某個東西＞踏上某個地方的土地=到達某地)。除此之外，根據《方言》和《說文》，{蹜}有〈跳躍〉義，且記載這是楚地方言的特徵。若此屬實，{蹜}在楚方言中也有可能從〈踏〉義再衍生出〈跳躍〉義（用腳踐踏地面、某個東西＞踐踏地面而向上移動=跳躍)。

位移動詞{適}、{之}與{蹜}詞義、用法都相近，{適}{之}在傳世文獻中屢見不鮮，然而目前在戰國楚簡中{適}極其罕見，只見於楚簡裡面比較特殊的資料中；{之}則未見於與楚國密切相關的楚簡中。由此可見，頗有可能在戰國時代的楚地{蹜}才是最一般的、常用的詞；《方言》《說文》認為{適}是宋、魯地的方言詞，這或許意味著{適}本來是從宋、魯地傳播到其他地區的詞彙，而在楚地不那麼廣泛地被接受。

Marking of tense and aspect in the Muishvung (Moshang) variety of Tangsa

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This paper will discuss tense and aspect marking in Muishvung /mɯ₂ʃəuŋ₂/[1], also known as Moshang, a variety of Tangsa language spoken on both sides of the India-Myanmar border. As with many of the Tangsa varieties, such as Hakhun (Bodo 2017) and Muklom (Mulder 2020), tense and aspect in Muishvung can be expressed by an 'agreement word' that combines agreement markers with a verbal operator. These operators are mostly reduced to a single phoneme. Consider Table 1 which gives the agreement words that include information about tense and aspect.

Table 1: Muishvung agreement words marking tense/aspect

	1SG 'I'	1PL 'WE'	2SG 'YOU'	2PL 'YOU'	3
Future (transitive)	ʃəuŋ₂	ʃi₂	ʃɯu₂	ʃɯn₂	ʃɤ₂
Future (intransitive)	təuŋ₂	ti₂	tɯu₂	tɯn₂	tɤ₂
Past	təuk	tiʔ	toʔ	tɯt	tɤʔ

The agreement markers fall into two groups, those with open finals, which are used in the future, and those with closed finals, used in the past, in Table 1. This is summarized in Table 2

Table 2: Muishvung agreement markers

	1		**2**		**3**
	Sg	**Pl**	**Sg**	**Pl**	
open final	-əuŋ₂	-i₂	-ɯu₂	-ɯn₂	-ɤ₂
closed final	-əuk	-iʔ	-oʔ	-ɯt	-ɤʔ

Of the verbal operators, we see that *ʃ-* is a verbal operator that marks future time on transitive verbs, and combines with open final agreement markers. A second verbal operator *t-* marks future time on intransitive verbs when combined with open final agreement marks, and past time when combined with closed final agreement markers. The agreement system in Muishvung also combines with verbal operators that do not express tense and aspect, such as what we are terming the cislocative and also the negative. An example of this cislocative is given below:

1) ju₁ βən₂ rɤ₂
run CHANGE OF STATE 3.CIS
'(He) was/is running/ will run towards me'

Note that the agreement marking on the cislocative, the r- verbal operator, marks the subject. When it is marked for first person, it means 'towards you'.

This paper will explore all the strategies used in the Muishvung language to mark tense and aspect, both those employing the agreement words (combination of verbal operator and agreement marker) and those employing deictics, demonstratives and other strategies.

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[1] Subscript ₂ indicates tone category 2, realised as a (high) fang tone

Uncovering Serial Verb Constructions in Tibeto-Burman Languages

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Serial verb constructions (SVC) have been discussed in linguistic research since the 19th century (Christaller 1875); however, the debate on cross-linguistically viable features of SVCs is still open (cf. Crowley 2002, Aikhenvald 2006, Bisang 2009, Haspelmath 2016). The literature agrees in situating SVCs broadly between coordination and subordination, consisting morphosyntactically of at least two verbs with shared TAM and arguments. Semantically, SVCs denote a single event (cf. Bisang 2009: 796); other features, such as scope, constituting one predicate, or wordhood are considered more controversial (Haspelmath 2016: 306, Bisang 2009: 795, 801). The wordhood status of SVCs is unclear as the combined verbs have one inflectional value and the level of grammaticalization varies. In some languages like Dulong (Perlin 2019), or Limbu (Tumbahang 2011) the secondary verb has lost its independence and cannot be used outside SVCs. In other languages as Lisu (Yu 2007), the meaning of some verbs shifts toward a more grammatical meaning when used within a SVC. SVCs are known to occur in Tibeto-Burman languages (Aikhenvald 2006:2). However, while some language-specific studies are currently available in the literature (Boro 2012, Kansākār 2005), a systematic cross-linguistic overview of the Tibeto-Burman subfamily is still lacking. We discuss some preliminary results from a cross-linguistic exploration of SVCs in 19 Tibeto-Burman languages, sampled across branches to maximize the internal genealogical diversity of the subfamily. We base our typology on the individual morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the units that make up the SVCs, following a multivariate approach (Bickel & Nichols 2002, Bickel et al. 2011). We store the data, extracted from descriptive sources such as reference grammars through an ad hoc developed questionnaire, in a database. This data is supported by other relevant information for the understanding of the language-specific properties of SVCs, such as the degree of verb synthesis in each sampled language. We discuss typological results, recurring tendencies within the family, and geographical distributions.

Donkey-eared or Rabbit-eared, that's the question – Trans-Himalayan zoonyms as seen in relation with their neighbouring languages

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Key words: historical linguistics, zoonym, rabbit, donkey, borrowing, neologism

This study aims to shed light on the emergence of specific zoonyms by comparing terminologies for 'rabbit' and 'donkey' in Sino-Tibetan and Iranian languages respectively. The terminology of these two kinds of beasts is worth investigating since in many languages they have been used to describe each other due to various traits they share, i.e., long ears, fur colour, evasive character, and possibly also astonishing fertility. Western Himalayan languages reflect the Iranian way of calling the rabbit "the one with donkey ears," e.g., Garo *kʰɔr-ga*. In regions where donkeys were used as beasts of burden for centuries the choice of describing a rodent with especially long ears as 'donkey-like' was probably very intuitive. In Iranian, the need for such a new word additional to the commonly known expressions developed from IE **ḱh₁es-* 'hare', (Cf. Skt. *śaśáâ-* 'hare' OE *hara* 'id.' Khot. *saha-* 'id.', MPZ. *Sahōg* 'id.') implies that people encountered a new species of rodent. Rabbits were absent in the Indo-European world. There were but 'hares', a species which could not be bred (Beekes 2011: 37). The new species, i.e., rabbits, in contrast was not hard to breed and quickly became a welcome source of meat, leading to delicacies such as the 'rabbit stew' (MPZ *xāmīz ī xar-gōš*) mentioned in Middle Persian literature. The new and smaller hare-like species started to play a more pronounced role in the life of people than hares. Since rabbits became known much later in the Iranian speaking world than hares, various neologisms formed among different speaker groups. Whereas some chose an expression describing its tale (Cf. Bartangi *x̌itum* < OIr. **xišta-dauma-* 'cut-tail'), others named it by describing the size of its ears or their similarity to donkey ears (MPZ *xar-gōš* < OP **xara-gauša-* 'donkey-ear'). Yet another group named it based on the length of its ears, which led to expressions like Ossetic Ir. *tærquš* < OIr. **daraga-gauša-* 'long-ear'. The latter actually followed the concept of one of the less known Persian names for donkey: *darāz-gōš* 'id.'.

On the eastern ridges of the Himalaya, however, domestic donkeys were seemingly unknown until around the 3rd century BCE when a beast called *lǘ* 閭 (OC *kra) was first described as "long faced" and "rabbit-eared" (*tù ěr* 兔耳) (Cheng 2013). While standard expressions for the donkey and the mule were defined by the Western Han dynasty (206 BCE–9C E) in literary Chinese, an array of expressions for specific equids, which are difficult to identify until today, existed alongside them. Apart from words like *jùxū* 駏驉 (OC *g(r)aʔ-qʰ(r)a) for which the connection to the donkey was recognized in Chinese commentaries, there are several unclear terms which could have potentially described donkey-like beings: The 'equid with kicking hooves' *juétí* 駃騠 (OC *kʷˁet-dˁe), e.g. strongly reminds of Janhunen's suggestion that the Proto-Dravidian donkey term *kaẓutay* was a compound literally meaning 'kicker of the salt desert' (Parpola & Janhunen 2011: 74). The word *diānxí* 驒騫 (*[d]ˁar-gˁe) mentioned as a special domestic animal of the Xiongnu has cognates in several rGyalrongic languages, often carrying the specific meaning 'mule'. While there were probably many contacts between the Persian and Tibetan cultural spheres (cf. Zhang 2005), this word could in fact have travelled **around** the Himalaya region and be cognate with the Ossetic terms for rabbit mentioned above.

The strong relation between words for rabbit and donkey can also be found in ST languages. Whereas hares thrived in the Himalayan region for millennia, the donkey was mainly known in the northern and western ridges. Thus, it would only be natural if the hare would have given its name to the donkey. However, in Written Tibetan a similar situation as in the Iranian language can be seen, as the expression for alpine hare (WT *byi-ba-rkaŋ-ríŋ*) did not fit for describing the possibly newly introduced rabbit breed, which was thus called 'mountain donkey' (WT *rə ɣoŋ*).

Analysing the Obsolete Vocabulary from Old Vaiphei Folk Songs

Takenori MURAKAMI

Vaiphei belongs to Northern Kuki-Chin sub-group of Tibeto-Burman languages and shows closest lexical similarity with Gangte and Thadou, having mutual intelligibility with the most of sibling languages of Northern subgroup. Vaiphei has a rich variety of folk songs and oral traditions which are regularly performed, but some of the oldest song lyrics are no longer understood except by very few elders. The presenter has collected the song materials during 2020-2022 with the help of the language consultants from the Vaiphei communities and selected from them about 20 pieces of short songs like *Lakawi Laa* "Twisted Song", *Salulaa* "Animal Head Hunting Song", *Satha Kona Laa* "Animal Enticing Hunt Song", *Mo Laa* "Bridal Song" and so on, nearly all of which have never been published in any medium so far to the research participants' knowledge. The presenter scrutinized every vocabulary in the songs and confirmed the specific meanings of as many lexemes as possible from the original provider of the songs whose age ranging 86-93 years old. Vaiphei does not have any kind of dictionary of poetic or lyrical vocabulary but by comparison with the existing work on Paite (Gouzanang 2016) several cognates are confirmed and sometimes those obsolete words suggest older connection or common stratum with the neighbouring Central and Northwestern (Old Kuki) subgroups, as

(1) Old Vaiphei. *zaw* /zɔ/ "father" Modern Vaiphei. *pa* "father"
cf. Moyon. *jupa* "father" Paite. *zuapa* "father" (in poetic / lyrical vocabulary)
(2) Old Vaiphei. *thai* /tʰai/ "wife" Modern Vaiphei. *ji* "wife"
cf. Moyon. *thae* "wife" Paite / Tiddim Chin. *thai* "wife" (in poetic / lyrical)
The meaning of the word *thai* is understood still today as a part of idiomatic expression *thai nelo* "can't handle or control wife"
(3) Old Vaiphei. *lonthi* /lɔntʰi/ "tears" Modern Vaiphei. *mit-thi* "tears"
cf. Moyon. *mik-rachii* "tears" Kom. *hmit-rathli* "tears" Paite. *luanli* "tears" (in poetic / lyrical)

Even the small number of examples of these kind would posit the fresh need to revision which really are the isoglossal parts of Northern peripheral innovations, as well as the need to collect comparative vocabulary from Central and Northwestern (Old Kuki or Chandel Naga) subgroup to clarify the genealogical relations within Kuki-Chin. In this presentation firstly the unusual and outdated vocabulary and some peculiar traits from the old Vaiphei songs are thoroughly displayed, secondly possible cognates from the neighbouring subgroups are cited and compared, and finally the makeup scenario of Vaiphei lexicon today in the perspective of immigration into Manipur is discussed.

江苏通州方言的入声调

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摘要：通州是江苏省南通市下辖的一个区，其方言分布于北部吴语和江淮官话的交界地带。通州方言属于吴语，保留两个入声调，阴入高于阳入，入声韵母带着喉塞尾[-ʔ]。这一点与吴语相一致。但与吴语不同的是，入声音节有所变长，入声调值接近或同于舒声调值。即入声正处于舒化的过渡阶段。本文基于不同年龄层发音人的实验数据，从音高、音长、音重三个方面来对通州方言的入声调进行分析，并通过与周边方言的比较，考察入声舒化的发生原因。

关键词：吴语、江淮官话、江苏通州、入声调、舒化

Nominalizer, Relativizer and Stance Marker: the Nominalization Domain in the Xianju Dialect

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Nominalization construction with core referential functions is often extended to fulfill other non-referential functions, such as relativization, adverbialization, clausal subordination, tense-aspect-mood (TAM) marking and stance marking (Yap & Grunow-Hårsta 2010; Gerner 2012). In Sino-Tibetan languages, it is common for nominalizer to function as stance marker, TAM marker and especially as relativizer (Yap et al. 2011). Many dialects of Wu widely manifest the phenomenon that one same morpheme can serve as nominalizer and adnominal marker. However, the data from Xianju dialect provide a unique case on the performance of nominalizer, and exhibit the morphological and functional discrepancy between the marker of nominalization and that of adnominals.

As a Wu dialect of Chinese mainly spoken in Xianju County, Zhejiang province, Xianju dialect has a nominalizer ***uoʔ²***, whose referential function is to convert adjectives, verbs, nouns, verb phrases and other elements into nominal arguments within a clause (e.g. [1]).

Besides, ***uoʔ²*** can be reinterpreted as a stance marker to convey speakers' emphatic and affirmative attitude. Having ***uoʔ²*** at the final position, the sentence can be supported by a copula or not, without any changing in the meaning (e.g. [2]). In particular, when the sentence expresses a possessive meaning, the sentence-final ***uoʔ²*** can be freely replaced by another morpheme ***ko²¹³*** (e.g. [3]).

Moreover, ***uoʔ²*** can perform the function of a relativizer only to link a monosyllabic adjective and its head noun (e.g. [4]), which in most cases are directly juxtaposed. Including monosyllabic adjectives, all kinds of prenominal modifiers like possessive attributive, appositive clause, relative clause and so forth, can be linked to head nouns by ***kəʔ²*** (e.g. [5] & [6]).

This study presents a descriptive account of the syntactic nominalization and its referential and non-referential functions in the Xianju dialect. In addition to nominalizer, ***uoʔ²*** can also function as a stance marker in the sentence-final positon and as a relativizer to link a monosyllabic adjective and its head noun, while it is not the only morpheme to satisfy the functions of stance marking and marking for adnominals. The use of different morphemes to mark nominalization and adnominals in Xianju dialect differs from the prevailing phenomenon in many other Wu dialects.

Examples

[1] toŋ²⁴i³³⁴ uoʔ² gy²⁴ ɕiu³²⁴.
agree NMZ raise hand
'Those who agree (please) raise hand.'

[2] i⁴²ʑia²⁴ (zəʔ²) kie³³⁴ɕin³³⁴ uoʔ².
cloth (COP) clean STANCE
'The cloth is clean.'

[3] i⁴²ʑia²⁴ zəʔ² ŋo³²⁴ ko²¹³.
cloth COP 1SG POSS
'The cloth is mine.'

[4] ieʔ² bu³³⁴ sən³³⁴ uoʔ² tsʰo²⁴
one CLS new REL car
'A new car'

[5] ŋo³²⁴ kəʔ² ɕy³³⁴pao⁵⁵
1SG POSS schoolbag
'My schoolbag'

[6] ŋo³²⁴ pəʔ² gɛe²⁴ kəʔ² noŋ²⁴ɕi²⁴
1SG give 3SG REL things
'Things that I give to him'

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'return' > *MIDDLE*: an areal grammaticalization in Northern South Central Tibeto-Burman

David A. Peterson, *Dartmouth College*

An aspect of South Central (henceforth, SC) Tibeto-Burman (Kuki-Chin) verbal morphology whose origin remains obscure is a middle prefix, *ki-*. This paper proposes that this element arose from grammaticalization of a recognized Proto-SC root **kir* 'return'.

The *ki-* middle (which sometimes is more general, but may be more restricted in sense–e.g., reflexive or reciprocal only) is found primarily in the well-defined Northeastern SC subgroup, including languages like Thadou, and Tedim (see (1)). Lawmtuk-Ruawghawn, which would appear to be in a different subgroup (Maraic), also has a productive *k-* middle prefix. Besides this, Konnerth has noted (2020:219) that Karbi, a non-SC language spoken to the Northeast of the present-day SC region, has what appears to be a possibly related middle prefix, *che-*.

(1) Tedim's *ki-* middle prefix (Henderson 1965:99):
a. ki it ni 'let us love one another' (reciprocal sense)
b. ka ki sat kha 'I hit myself by mistake' (reflexive sense)

With its limited distribution in SC, it is not clear that this prefix is a retention from Proto-SC. However, it is difficult to identify a SC-internal grammaticalization source for it.

A possible clue may be found in Northwestern SC languages that presumably have long been in close contact with NE languages like Thadou. Chiru (see (2)), for instance, has a reflexive element *rV-*,

(2) Chiru *rV-* reflexive prefix (Awan 2018:123):
a. pè 'beat' vs. ré-pè 'beat oneself'
b. mùk 'see' vs. rú-mùk 'see oneself'

which is reminiscent of a venitive marker found in Central SC languages, such as Lai. The venitive marker in *ra~rak* found in Central languages would appear to derive from the verb *ra~rat* 'come'. (Van Bik 2008 does not reconstruct this element, but as a lexical verb it was presumably a feature of Proto-*Central* SC, and there are elements resembling it in various functions outside of Central SC.)

Perhaps more telling than the form seen in Chiru, however, is what we see in the nearby Northwestern language Koireng: a *k-*initial reciprocal prefix which varies in form between *kə-*, *kər-*, and *ker-* (C.Y Singh 2010:84-85).

This paper proposes that there is a pocket of languages in the Manipur/Northern Chin State region (and possibly beyond) where verbs like 'come' and 'return' have developed either into venitives (in the case of the former) or into middles. In the Northeastern languages, the source for the *ki-* middle is likely the reconstructed verbal element **kir* 'return', which is a feasible source for a middle marker via a reflexive/reciprocal sense. In Chiru, the source morphology for the middle is the same as that for the *venitive* found in Central languages, possibly due to calquing based on nearby languages like Koireng and Thadou. (It might also simply be a reduction of an originally *kVr-* prefix, like the one we see in Koireng.)

Kuteva et al. 2019 in fact identify 'return' as a possible source for reflexives (and hence, for middles); at the time of their publication the only instances of this grammaticalization path were recognized in Oceanic languages. Extending Kuteva et al.'s understanding, the development from 'return' to REFLEXIVE (and thence to MIDDLE) might happen in two stages: 'return' > 'again' > REFLEXIVE (> MIDDLE). If this suggested explanation holds up for the constructions we consider in Northeast India/Northern Chin State, it would appear that Northern SC languages present an additional case of these otherwise poorly attested grammaticalization paths. The development probably first arose in Northeastern SC, and then spread by diffusion to nearby Northwestern and other area languages.

Affecting valence in Lawmtuk-Ruawghawn

David A. Peterson, *Dartmouth College*
Kenneth Van Bik, *California State University, Fullerton*

Lawmtuk-Ruawghawn (LR) is a member of the Maraic subgroup of South-Central (SC) Tibeto-Burman (aka Kuki-Chin), with around 600 speakers in the villages of Lawmtuk (Laamtuk) and Ruawghawn (Ruavaan) in Chin State, Myanmar. In this talk, we give as complete a description as possible of valence-affecting phenomena in LR based on a naturalistic text corpus we have collected for the language as a part of an ongoing documentation project, supplemented as needed by directly elicited data.

If LR is a language of the Central subgroup, it is noteworthy that LR has a high-frequency middle prefix, *k-*, as shown in (1) which is more reminiscent of a middle prefix widely attested in Northeastern SC languages like Sizang (with the usual form *ki-*, see (2)) than the middle prefixes typically seen in Central languages, e.g., Mizo *in-* as in (3).

(1) *k'-* middle prefix:
ng-ngokloy con kha k'-nuam-ho-kaw-ri=a
1PINCL-childhood time DEIC MID-happy-VERY-AFFIRM-PERS=FP
'…our childhood was so happy!' (C:7)

(2) amâ:=tĕ: tʰum lɔm a=kî:-kâ:i a:
3=PL three friend 3= MID-unite.I NF
'The three friends got together and..'

(3) bòŋ leʔ keel án-in-sii
cow and goal 3S.PL-MID-butt
'A cow and goat are butting (each other).'

As with other languages of the subgroup, most other valence affecting phenomena involve transitivization, including at least two types of causative construction. First, there are instances of what is usually regarded as reflexes of the well-known Tibeto-Burman **s-* causative prefix. Compare (4a), where *kong* 'burn', with an inaspirate initial consonant, is intransitive, and (4b), where *khon* 'burn', with aspiration of the initial consonant, is transitive. (The velar/alveolar variation in the final consonant involves the SC stem alternation and is not relevant to transitivity in this example.)

(4) **s-* causative prefix reflex:
a. a-di biato kha kong-c'lem=a ca
3S.POSS-thatch all DEIC burn-COMPL=FP say
'…all of his thatch burned, they say' (GP:46)

b. a-khon ruang khan gompuy kha
3-burn reason DEIC.OBL bear DEIC

a-trong-ko khan a-rong-mi=to om ca
3-chest-place DEIC.OBL 3-white-NMLZR=DIM exist say
'Because it burned him, the bear has a little bit of white on his breast, they say.' (GP:52)

LR also has a productive suffixal causative *-thak*, which reflects a likely Proto-SC causative element *-sak*, illustrated in (5).

(5) *-thak* causative:
m'khanna i-thak=a ca
then sleep-CAUS=FP say
'Then he made them lie down (=sleep), they say' (GP:57)

As is typical in SC languages, there are also a number of applicative constructions in LR, including a familiar benefactive/malefactive construction (cf. Hakha Lai *–piak*), marked by *-piak*, seen in (6).

(6) *-piak* benefactive/malefactive:
…di c'-cot-piak-na ci ca ca
thatch 2-pick-BEN-1 QUOT say say
'… "I'm picking thatch for you," he said, they say.' (GP:43)

Less familiar morphology is seen in LR's comitative applicatives, marked by the apparently more frequently occurring *–ken*, seen in (7), or *-hri* (reportedly for older speakers).

(7) *-ken* comitative
m'khanna lo-ken=a ca
then return-COM=FP say
'Then he returned with them, they say.' (GP:69)

There are other elements which, according to our current analysis, mark relinquitive (motion away from a source) applicatives (*-sok*), and possibly others.

Besides providing extensive exemplification of these constructions based on our corpus, we will explore the significance of each construction vis-à-vis valence affecting constructions already identified in other parts of the SC subgroup.

河南济源方言 Z 变韵音变规律、演变及形成

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摘要　济源市位于河南省西北部，东邻沁阳、孟县；北隔太行山，与山西晋城相接；西距中条山，与山西运城交界；南隔黄河，与孟津、新安相望。其方言属于晋语邯新片获济小片，处于晋语与中原官话的交界地带。

Z 变韵一直是学界研究的热点，济源方言 Z 变韵现象丰富，贺巍先生（1981）详细记录了济源方言 Z 变韵的音变规律。张慧丽（2010），史艳锋（2013），辛永芬、庄会彬（2019），支建刚（2020），赵日新（2020）等均有论及。从贺巍（1981）对济源 Z 变韵的调查至今，已有 40 余年，这一现象又发生了新的变化。本文在考察济源方言 [1]Z 变韵规律的基础上，与贺巍（1981）进行比较，分析 Z 变韵四十年来的变化，探讨不同类型 Z 变韵的生成过程。

经调查发现：济源方言 Z 变韵包括变韵、“变韵和本韵同模”两种形式。今变韵包括圆唇音类、不圆唇音类、鼻音类。分别为：后高圆唇元音[u]类：[ou ɳou ɳou iou]；后半低圆唇元音[ɔ]类：[ɔ iɔ uɔ yɔ]；后高圆唇元音[o]类：[o io yo]；前低不圆唇元音[ɛ]类：[ɛ iɛ uɛ]；后高不圆唇元音[ɯ]类：[ɯ əɯ]；央元音[ə]类：[yə uə]；鼻音类：[ã iã uã yã ɛ̃ iɛ̃ uɛ̃ iŋ yŋ əŋ iɤ̃]及其他[iø a uei iɤ̃]。[u]类、[ɔ]类为早期形式，[o]类、[ɛ]类、[ɯ]类、[ə]类、及[iø a uei iɤ̃]为晚期形式。[ɛ]类、[ə]类及[iø iɤ̃]为受儿化韵影响产生的形式。[ɯ]类可能为接触带来的形式。[a]为鼻化消失产生的形式。

四十年来，济源方言 Z 变韵发生了较大的变化：一是出现新的 Z 变韵，Z 变韵不再仅仅为后圆唇元音；二是长音消失；三是部分 Z 变韵经历由ɔ→ɛ和ɔ→o 的演变；四是 Z 变韵有同儿化韵合流的趋势；五是部分词语 Z 变韵母鼻化消失；六是部分词语由 Z 变韵到回归本韵。

文章最后分析了各种类型 Z 变韵的生成过程。

关键词　济源方言，Z 变韵，演变，形成

[1] 本文记录的是济源城区老派发音，语料来自笔者的调查及笔者的自省。调查时间为 2021 年。发音人有：李××，男，1941 年生，80 岁；乔××，男，1951 年生，70 岁；李××，女，1951 年生，70 岁；他们世居城区。以 80 岁的李××为主要发音人。笔者在读大学之前，一直居住于济源市区，从小讲济源话。

A Lai perspective on verb serialization

Daniel Ross (University of California, Riverside)
Kenneth Van Bik (California State University, Fullerton)

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are an important feature to understand in the context of the synchronic and diachronic typology of Sino-Tibetan languages. Hakha Lai (Kuki-Chin) provides a relevant test case. On the one hand, on first impression, it would appear to be the sort of language that would be likely to have SVCs: typologically, given relatively analytic verbal inflection, and geographically, as SVCs are common in regional and related languages (cf. Ross 2021). On the other hand, it is difficult to identify any clear-cut instances of SVCs in the language, even though verbal etymologies for various grammaticalized morphemes are established (e.g. DeLancey 1985).

In this talk, we consider the typological similarities of Lai to languages with SVCs, possible cases of SVCs in Lai, and the diachrony of grammaticalization from verbs in Lai. Consider example (1) below, with the preverbal marker *rak* indicating a static locational relationship:

(1) Angmang nih vok a-*rak*-cheh
Angmang ERG pig 3SG.S-DIR-throw.II
'Angmang stones a pig from afar.' (VanBik & Tluangneh 2017: 143)

If *rak* were replaced with the related form *ra*, this sentence would have a dynamic motion meaning of 'Angmang moves towards a pig (and us) and stones it.' This pair of morphemes is derived from the verb 'come', and Lai has five such pairs derived from the 'Form I' and 'Form II' forms of verbs in the language, which are used in different syntactic contexts. Although this contrast is now grammaticalized, the fact that these preverbal morphemes bear inflection strongly suggests an origin via SVCs. At the same time, motion verbs are among the most commonly used in SVCs, and, since these are already grammaticalized, Lai does not otherwise have motion SVCs, or in fact, any other obvious cases of SVCs by definition. If it were not for their specialized functions, these forms could potentially be considered SVCs today; we classify them as prefixes, although they could equally be considered preverbal particles. Other examples of functional morphemes grammaticalized from verbs in Lai include a variety of auxiliaries, as well as applicative suffixes (Peterson 2007: 131–132). But where is the evidence for serialization as the diachronic source? Related languages such as Mizo (Chhangte 1989: 128–130) have productive verb compounding (or one-word serialization), but this is not found in Lai today.

In the diachronic typology of motion SVCs, Lai also stands out as unusual. Surprisingly, Ross & Lovestrand (2022) find that prior motion SVCs (i.e. 'go get' where the motion verb is almost always in initial position) rarely morphologize as prefixes, yet Lai appears to instantiate exactly this development, despite not featuring SVCs prominently otherwise. An explanation for Lai appears to follow the conclusions of Ross & Lovestrand (2022): there are two distinct diachronic typologies for SVCs, one involving relatively stable, independent verbs, as in Chinese or various other languages around the world, and another typical of some Tibeto-Burman and other languages where serialization is a rapid diachronic transition in SOV languages. Characteristically, SVCs of this second type readily undergo univerbation via compounding and eventually develop into affixes: this is consistent with "verb concatentation" in Lahu (Matisoff 1969) and cyclic morphologization in Tibetan (DeLancey 1991). In short, there may be only a fleeting period of SVCs on the way from lexical verbs to functional morphemes, which is why a distinct synchronic stage of SVCs is not clearly attested in Lai, despite this pathway of grammaticalization applying.

Differences between ‘Lacid’ and ‘Leqi’

Hideo SAWADA
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Lacid ***lă2tʃhit***^{53}, a member of ethno-cultural group ‘Kachin’ in Kachin State of Myanmar, is identified with ***lătʃhi***^{51} (Leqi 勒期 in Chinese), a member of Kachin in China. However, there are some differences between the language called ‘Lacid’ and that called ‘Leqi’ (following the name used in Dai & Li 2007, merely to avoid confusion with ‘Lacid’ in Myanmar). This presentation will provide an overview of the differences between ‘Lacid’ in Myanmar and ‘Leqi’ in China. Lacid data are obtained through the interviews both in field and off-line conducted by the presenter. Leqi data are based on Dai & Li (2007).

In this presentation, we will mainly address the differences in the following aspects.

1. Rhymes. Ignoring the phonetic opposition of plain vs. creaky vowels, and the vowel lengthening playing grammatical roles, the inventory of Lacid vowels is ***i, e, a, o, ɔ, u, ə; ai, au, wa, wi***, whereas that of Leqi vowels is ***i, ɻ, e, ɛ, a, o, ɔ, u, ə, y; ei, ai, ɔi, ui, ua, uɛ, au, ou, iau*** (Dai & Li 2007: 9–11). They constitute rhymes, either by themselves or with one of the final consonants ***-m, -n, -ŋ, -p, -t, -k, -ʔ*** for both languages. (As is the case of Burmish languages, there are co-occurrence restrictions between vowels and final consonants.)

In Northern-Burmish cognates in Lacid and Leqi, the rhyme corresponding to Old Burmese ****-əy*** is ***-it*** in Lacid and ***-ei*** in Leqi. (Their autonyms might reflect the difference.) Also, the rhyme corresponding to OB. ****-əw*** is ***-au(k)*** in Lacid and ***-ou*** in Leqi.

2. Personal (pro)nouns. Dai & Li (2007) gives a series of dual forms of personal pronouns: ***ŋǒ***^{53}***tạŋ***^{33} (1st), ***nă***^{53}***tạŋ***^{33}***/năŋ***^{53}***tạŋ***^{33} (2nd), ***ŋjăŋ***^{33}***tạŋ***^{33} (3rd) (p.78). However, the corresponding Lacid forms are not used for human in general, limited to the case of the person denoted by the first element and his/her sibling of the same sex. In Lacid, only such forms as ***ŋa***^{55} ***ʔək***^{53}***-juk***^{21} (my two-CL) are available to refer to a pair of persons in general.

3. Demonstrative (pro)nouns. In Lacid, the proximal and medial demonstrative nouns are ***hit***^{22} “this/here” and ***huk***^{22} “that/there”, and their determiner counterparts are ***he***^{22} “this.DET” and ***hau***^{22} “that.DET”, respectively. The corresponding demonstrative pronouns in Leqi are ***xjɛ***^{33} “这” and ***xɛ***^{33} “那” (Dai & Li 2007: 81). ***xɛ***^{33} would be related to ***he***^{22} in Lacid.

4. Case markers. Leqi has the agentive/instrumental case particle ***ŋjei***^{53} ***(ŋ***^{53}***)*** (Dai & Li 2007: 167–169), which does not have the corresponding in Lacid. The instrumental semantic role is marked with the comitative marker ***-jɔ***^{55}, as in Standard Colloquial Burmese. Unlike Leqi ***ŋjei***^{53}, Lacid ***-jɔ***^{55} cannot be cliticized to agent NPs to mark their semantic role.

5. Verb sentences. Among the principal verb sentence classes in terms of speech act type (informative-ReaLiS, informative-IrReaLis and IMPerative; positive/negative distinction for each class):

a) In Lacid, IRLpos and IMPpos are marked by ***-aʔ***^{21}. In Leqi, ***a***^{31}***ŋ***^{53} marks IRLpos (Dai & Li 2007: 177), and ***a***^{31} IMPpos (ibid.: 187–188). Both Lacid ***-aʔ***^{21} and Leqi ***a***^{31}***ŋ***^{53} in IRLpos are obligatory. But it remains open whether Lacid ***-aʔ***^{21}/Leqi ***a***^{31} in IMPpos are obligatory or not.
b) The PTB negative imperative prefix ****da-*** is not inherited to Lacid nor to Leqi; Leqi developed a prefix ***khaʔ***^{55} instead (Dai & Li 2007: 150–151). Lacid lacks this sentence type and uses the RLSneg type of sentence for expressing negative imperatives.

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Personal pronoun system in Nuosu Yi:
A comparative study of the Shypnra dialect and the Suondip dialect

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Nuosu Yi, a Loloish language of Sichuan, China, has a fascinating set of personal pronouns, for personal pronouns surprisingly show inflectional features, though this language has been normally considered an isolating language. This presentation attempts to make a comparative analysis of the personal pronouns in the Shypnra and Suondip dialects of Nuosu Yi.

Previous works (Chen et al. 1985, Chen & Wu 1998, Gerner 2013., etc.) have reported that Nuosu Yi (the Shypnra dialect) has two forms of plural pronouns: the shorter ones and the longer ones (e.g., *ŋo*^{21} and *ŋo*^{21}*ɣo*^{44} "we/us"). The longer ones were formed by adding the nominal morpheme *ɣo*^{44} to the shorter ones. However, based on my experience as a native speaker and my firsthand data, I found that the shorter ones have two forms, one with /33/ tone and the other with /21/ tone. The ones with /33/ tone are the ordinary plural personal pronouns (express the same meaning as the longer forms), derived from the singular form by vowel alternations, namely *a/ɯ/ŋ* to *o* (e.g., *ŋa*^{33} “I/me”, *ŋo*^{33} "we/us"). The ones with /21/ tone are a set of collective pronouns, usually associated with the family or lineage concept (e.g., *ŋo*^{21} "my family/lineage"). Such a set of pronouns have also been reported by Sun et al. (2002:71) in Rouruo, a Loloish language spoken in Yunnan Province of China. The same phenomenon has been observed in the Suondip dialect, except that the Suondip dialect does not have the longer forms.

Why do the longer forms in the Shypnra dialect take the /21/ tone? We propose that they were formed by combining the genitive forms of the plural and the nominal morpheme *ɣo*^{44}. Although not all genitive forms take the /21/ tone in the Shypnra dialect, a tonal change from /33/ to /21/ for creating the genitive form has been observed in both the Shypnra and the Suondip dialects.

This paper also will investigate the inclusive-exclusive opposition in those two dialects. Although the clusivity dichotomy can be found among both dialects, there are the cases where an inclusive form in a subdialect may denote exclusive in another subdialect. Moreover, the inclusive form seems to have no etymological relation to the singular form. These features follow the conclusion made by LaPolla (2005) that "inclusive-exclusive distinction is an innovation in each of the groups that shows it, and often within one group, there are multiple innovations."

Keywords: Nuosu Yi, personal pronoun, plural, collective, genitive, clusivity

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内陆闽语非南朝吴语直系后代说

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【提要】

罗杰瑞（Norman 1983）、丁邦新（1988）从不同角度提出“南朝吴语/江东方言是现在闽语前身”的假说，得到了很多学者的赞同（潘悟云 1995、郑张尚芳 2002、梅祖麟 2015）。同时，随着吴语研究的调查深入，吴语中保留的南朝吴语成分也被逐渐揭示出来。其中吴语处衢片跟闽语的相似性最为突出（罗杰瑞 1990、秋谷裕幸 2000），而梅祖麟（2001）、郑伟（2015）、陶寰（2018）指出北部吴语也跟闽语共享了很多词汇与音韵特征。因此，“今天的吴闽语是南朝吴语的直系后代”似乎越来越成为学术界的共识（也有少数学者反对，如鲁国尧 1994）。

本文认为这个假说存在一个逻辑漏洞：今天的吴闽语跟南朝吴语的共享特征可以用它们都来自更早的同一个祖语来解释。换句话说，要论证今天的吴闽语是南朝吴语的直系后代，必须找到南朝吴语的若干创新特征，并论证今天的吴闽语也共享了这些特征。

南朝吴语中最重要的词汇创新就是代词系统的创新，主要涉及下面这些词汇：

词义	南朝吴语	吴语	沿海闽语	内陆闽语
He/she	伊	渠	伊	*gy2 渠
Plural for P.Pronoun	侬?	侬	侬	*tai1 多
That	许	许	许	*ɦu7
How (heavy)	若	若/几许	若	*ki3.tai1 几多
What	底	底/何/啥	(是)物	*ʃi

从表中可以发现，南朝吴语代词系统的创新在内陆闽语中几乎没有留下什么痕迹。那么，内陆闽语是否受到了赣语的很大影响，造成早期的来自南朝吴语的闽语词没有保存下来呢？本文认为这并不能解释内陆闽语的情况，并详细分析了每个例子中为什么内陆闽语的形式基本都不是受到赣语影响的结果。

因此，本文认为内陆闽语并不是南朝吴语的直系后代，南朝吴语直接的后代只包括今天的吴语与沿海闽语。这个结论也得到了移民史的支持：内陆闽语与沿海闽语在唐代以前的很长时期是各自发展的，而福建内陆西北地区的开发要早于福建沿海地区的开发（Bielenstein 1959、吴修安 2009）。

【关键词】 江东方言 吴语 沿海闽语 内陆闽语 代词

A geolinguistic approach to nDrapa dialectology

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The nDrapa language (ISO 639-3 zhb; Glottocode: zhab1238) is one of the Qiangic languages spoken by about 10,000 people in Daofu (道孚) and Yajiang (雅江) of Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. Previous studies have used a simple dichotomy in discussing the dialectal divisions of nDrapa: people in Daofu speak the "Shang-Zhaba" (literally, Upper nDrapa) dialect whereas people in Yajiang speak the "Xia-Zhaba" (literally, Lower nDrapa) dialect (Gong 2007: 11; see also the suggestion in Huang 1990).

This study uses geolinguistic methods to clarify the nDrapa dialectal divisions and their historical developments. We examine the Swadesh's 100 wordlist data of 11 points illustrated in Figure 1, which are collected from both previous studies and the authors' fieldwork. Five of those northern points are in Daofu whereas six in the south are in Yajiang.

We have two major findings: [1] Most isoglosses between northern and southern varieties do not coincide with the administrative border between Daofu and Yajiang but are drawn between Jiaowu of Waduo village 瓦多乡交吾（伍）村 (the two northmost points in Yajiang) and other southern points, e.g. 1, fronting of the vowel of the words for 'tooth' (PTB * s/p-wa in STEDT) occurred in southern varieties but not in Jiaowu and northern varieties, e.g.2, palatalization of the initial of the words for 'we' occurred in Jiaowu and northern varieties but can hardly be found in the other southern varieties; [2] Loanwords tend to come from both north and south, e.g. Mätro, Tratho, Nyato and Wuzhi varieties use a Tibetan loanword to denote 'leaf' but the other varieties do not. Consequently, forms found in the central regions could be older when we find a peripheral–center contrastive distribution. Based on these geolinguistic observations, this study will clarify the dialectal divisions of the nDrapa language.

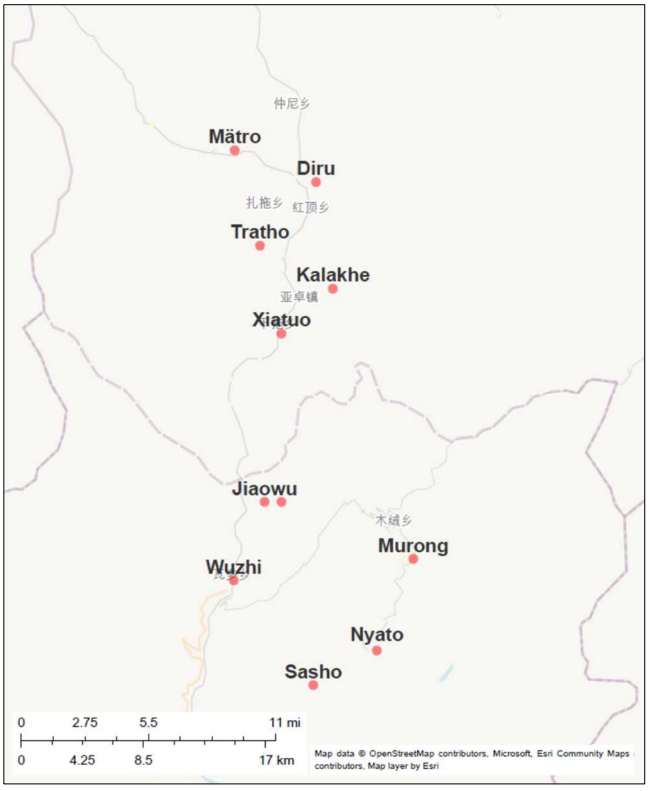

Figure 1: nDrapa Dialects

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Shaping rGyalthangic: A historical account of Yunnan Khams

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Generally, Tibetic languages spoken in Yunnan Province, China, are all classified as Khams Tibetan. Their dialectal classification has been argued, and there is a view that Yunnan Khams consists of three groups, namely, Sems-kyi-nyila, sDerong-nJol, and Chaphreng. This classification is considered based on phonological and lexical features. However, there have not been any diachronically rigorous discussions; key shared innovations in the sound change process are not distinguished from common features among Tibetic languages that do not characterise a specific dialect group.

The present research question is to investigate in a systematic way the sound change process of shared innovations concerning 'rGyalthangic'---a group consisting of varieties including the rGyalthang subgroup and its surrounding varieties within the Sems-kyi-nyila group. In other words, we discuss diachronic features based on synchronic data with the geolinguistic method. First, we describe how to differentiate rGyalthangic from the others in Yunnan Khams, and then display principal shared innovations compared with Literary Tibetan forms. Second, we list up sound change processes according to the relative timescale. Third, we draw a linguistic map demonstrating the distribution of rGyalthangic in Yunnan, and analyse how the linguistic distribution has changed.

We focus on 'r'-sounds as key shared innovations, particularly, 'r' in the glide position. The sound 'r' is reconstructed as /r/ following the phonemic status represented by the Literary Tibetan orthography. The first criterion is whether this 'r' triggered retroflex initial consonants. By this criterion, we distinguish to a greater extent rGyalthangic from the other groups (with some exceptions). The candidates of rGyalthangic thus show no retroflex intial consonants derived from this 'r' (except for cultural words reflecting the reading pronunciation); instead, 'r' either (1) maintains its sound as a glide, (2) triggers vocalic changes, or (3) changes into another sound. The varieties of the rGyalthang subgroup generally exhibit the third; 'r' seems to correspond 'y' as a glide (/j/) and trigger another sound change pattern in parallel with the /j/-glide. We consider this feature as the key shared innovation characterising rGyalthangic, and we examine to put various sound changes derived from that feature in a diachronic order. Finally, we find an ABA-distribution within rGyalthangic from the geolinguistic viewpoint.

This essay will help us understand how the rGyalthangic varieties are characterised in Tibetan dialectology and how they are posited in the history of Tibetic languages.

Suprasegmental features of Lamo and its sister languages: With reference to Kansai Japanese

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Tsering Samdrup (SOAS, University of London)

Lamo (Tibeto-Burman; spoken in mDzogong County of Chamdo, TAR) is a tone language with two-way distinction: H (high) and L (low). So are its sister languages Larong sMar and Drag-yab sMar. In describing its suprasegmental system, we find a word-tone system, which is similar to many Tibetic languages but differs from them in the tone-bearing unit.

For monosyllaic words, we find the fundamental distinction of H an L. H's phonetic realisation is either high-level [H] or high-falling [F], whereas L's phonetic realisation is either low-rising [R] or rising-falling [RF]. Whether a pitch pattern takes falling is free variant. For polysyllabic words without any affixes, we find four main patterns. The tone-bearing unit is the first two syllables; no distinction is found from the third syllable, keeping atonal. The four types of disyllabic words are: HH, LH, HL, and LL. If each surface form with falling is taken into consideration, these four are described as [HF], [RF], [HL], and [RL], respectively. The last two do not take a falling pitch, but their second syllable takes a low level that is common to the realisation of atonal syllables. For this phenomenon, we introduce a 'tone-killer', that makes a second syllable atonal; we describe the tone-killer with an apostrophe (') between the first and second syllables. To sum, the regular system includes the following patterns:

numbers of syllables	without a tone-killer		with a tone-killer	
1 (monosyllabic)	H	L	(H')	(L')
2 (disyllabic)	HH	LH	H'L	L'L
more than 2	HHL(L...)	LHL(L...)	H'LL(L...)	L'LL(L...)
phonological description	H	L	H + '	L + '

This formulation is essentially common to the system of Kansai (Keihan) Japanese: a combination of the height at a word-initial position (H or L) with an existence of an accent nucleus (=tone-killer) between two given syllables (falling point). Thus, the system recognised in Lamo and its sister languages is not a sole pattern of the suprasegmental features cross-linguistically.

We further examine suprasegmental features and behaviour in the derivation attested in numeral morphology in Lamo and its sister languages Larong sMar and Drag-yab sMar, and conclude that their system is fundamentally more similar to Kansai (Keihan) Japanese than Tibetic languages.

Why do you *put* something when you say you *take* it?

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Lan Hmyo (ISO 639-3: hml) is a Hmongic language spoken in Guizhou, China. It has a verb, *ʔmiA* (A designating tone), which means 'to give' when used as the main verb in a clause. However, it fulfills various functions as a first verb in some serial verb constructions (SVCs), including the following: A disposal construction, an instrumental construction, a causative construction, and a PUT construction. The comparative data suggest that *ʔmiA* was originally a TAKE verb and that the abovementioned constructions derived from SVCs with *ʔmiA* as a first verb. The development of a disposal construction, instrumental construction, and causative construction from a construction in which a TAKE verb appears as a first verb is crosslinguistically well-known (Heine and Kuteva 2002). The formation of a GIVE construction from a TAKE construction has recently been reported by some scholars (Güldemann 2012, 2013; Li 2015; Ngai 2015). However, a case in which a PUT construction is formed is not well-documented. In this presentation, the author tries to answer two questions: (1) how has a TAKE verb *ʔmiA* come to mean a transfer action in the construction, and (2) why has *ʔmiA*, and not other verbs appearing in the same construction, become a generic transfer verb 'to put'.

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殷商汉语数量表达研究—兼论汉语个体量词的来源

（提要）

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殷商汉语有四种数量表达形式：(a)数词+名词；(b)名词+数词；(c)名词i+数词+名词ii(前后两个名词不同)；(d)名词i+数词+名词i(前后两个名词相同)。例如：

(1) 三百羌用于丁。(合集 295)：形式(a)

(2) 获虎一，鹿四十，豕二百六十四，麋百五十九。(合集 10198 正)：形式(b)

(3) 侑伐十羌、十牢。(合集 32072)：形式(c)

(4) 昔甲辰，方征于  ，俘人十又五人。五日戊申，方亦征于，俘人十又六人。(合集 137 反)：形式(d)

其中，有些学者认为形式(c)和(d)中用在数词后的名词成分都是个体量词(或其萌芽形式)。通过对殷商甲骨文、殷金文的数量表达形式的考察，本文认为这些成分未必是个体量词(或其萌芽形式)。具体讨论如下：

①形式(c)〈名词i〉和〈数词+名词ii〉有时会被其他成分分开。例如：

(5) 其侑羌妣庚三人。(合集 26924)

由此可见，〈名词i+数词+名词ii〉中的〈名词i〉和〈数词+名词ii〉不是构成名词短语的直接成分，即它们分别是两个独立成分。本文据此认为：〈名词i〉和〈数词+名词ii〉构成太田辰夫所认为的“等立词组”,即两个成分之间的关系不是主谓关系，而是同位关系；因为形式(a)〈数词+名词〉是数词修饰名词的偏正结构，所以〈名词ⅰ+数词+名词ⅱ〉中的〈名词ii〉也基本是普通名词。

②许多学者把形式(d)看作是一个拷贝型量词(echo classifier)结构，也是个体量词的原始形式。但通过对甲骨文的考察，我们可以发现形式(d)十分罕见，只有“(俘)人十又六人 / (俘)人十又六人”可以确定为拷贝型量词结构。由此可以说，形式(d)是一种基本没有生产力的形式。

③“羌”和“人”常用于形式(c)中〈名词ii〉的位置上(例如，“伐五羌”、“伐五人”等)。前者仅见于“村南系列”甲骨文，而后者则见于“村北”和“村南”的两系列。这意味着“人”十分广泛用于〈名词ii〉的位置。同时，有不少例子是〈数词＋人〉直接跟在〈名词i〉后面且其结合体〈名词i＋数词＋人(名词ii)〉放在间接宾语(神名宾语)之后。例如：

(6) 癸卯俎于义京羌三人，卯十牛。(合集 390 正)【宾组 / 村北】

(7) ☐上甲伐三人，王受有祐。(合集 26977)【无名组 / 村南】

通过这些例子，我们也许可以认为〈名词i+数词+人(名词ii)〉开始被重新分析(reanalysis)为一个名词短语。此时“人”不再作为普通名词表示实体，而表示用于〈名词i〉的“羌”、“伐”所指实体的感知特征或归属特征。这是类别词的功能之一。再者，只有“人”才能构成形式(d)。形式(d)用两个“人”字，其中一个是冗余(redundant)的成分。这些现象都说明在甲骨文中只有“人”开始从名词分化为个体量词。

现代汉语程度副词“很”的来源及演变

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摘要：现代汉语中的“很”是一个典型的程度副词，表示程度高。大部分学者认为“很”来源于实词虚化或语法化，但“语源颇不易明”（王力，1984:177）。太田辰夫（1991[1988]:205）指出“很”作为副词使用似乎是元代一部分“汉儿言语”变成普通话被继承下来，“现在常用的‘很’元代写作‘哏’，在《元典章》及其它特定的文献中屡屡出现，但没有普遍地通用于各种文献”。已有研究对程度副词“很”的来源并不明确，也没有对其演变过程做出具体的解释和说明。本文从语言接触的角度，就现代蒙古语程度副词的语法功能，结合元代文献流传后世的删改情况，考察现代汉语程度副词“很”的来源及演变，认为现代汉语程度副词“很”是元代北方汉语与蒙古语语言接触的结果。

“很”作程度副词的用法最早在元代出现，字形为“哏”。元代是蒙古语作为强势语言的时代，汉语受其影响很深，长期的语言交流和接触，使双方的语言发生融合。这种融合趋势表现为蒙古语语法对北方汉语语法的渗透，北方汉语向蒙古语靠拢。北方汉语的语音、词汇和蒙古语的语法两者相结合产生一些新用法，如“有、根底、呵、上头”等本来是汉语语词，但在直译体文献中都被赋予了特殊的语法意义，程度副词“哏”就是在这一语言接触过程中产生。程度副词“哏”的语音和文字来自汉语，语法来自蒙古语，两者糅合产生一个新的语言现象，大多出现在直译体、直讲体和汉语教科书中。

元亡之后，很多蒙古语来源的外来词大都成为明日黄花，像涉及政治、军事的词几乎消失殆尽，留下的则多半是日常用语。伴随朝代更替，明初“镇压性”和“限制性”等语言政策和科举体系的完善使语言环境发生了巨大的变化，元代以后“哏”字作程度副词的用法也消失在历史文献中。《元曲选》、《琵琶记》、《寿亲养老新书》、古本《老乞大》等文献在明代的版本里，“哏”字被删除或改为其它程度副词，明代的程度副词“狠”取代了元代的程度副词“哏”，两者一脉相承，但是用得极少。清代中期以后，文字功能分化，程度副词“很”开始出现，专门表示程度，“狠”则继续表示凶狠义和程度义。由于清代的官话和以北京方言为基础的普通话等权威语言的影响，程度副词“很”进入到现代汉语的体系。程度副词“很”取代“狠”的过程不是一蹴而就的，民国时期的汉语语法书还有用程度副词“狠”的。现代汉语逐步规范化以后，“很”专职作为程度副词。

The development of Heima Lalo fricatives

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This paper attempts to investigate the development of fricatives in Heima Lalo [Central Loloish, Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman] which is spoken in Zhujie Yizu Township, Baoshan city, Yunnan Province, China. Using the author's firsthand data of Heima Lalo, this paper compares Heima Lalo fricatives with the PLB (Proto-Lolo-Burmese), PTB (Proto-Tibeto-Burman), PLa (Proto-Lalo), which are reconstructed by Bradley (1979), Matisoff (2003) and Yang (2010, 2015), respectively.

Synchronically, Heima Lalo has 11 fricatives, /f, v, s, z, ʂ, ʐ̩, ɕ, ʑ, x, ɣ, h/. However, Yang (2015) notes that in all Lalo varieties /ɕ/ is not distinctive, but rather an allophone of /s/ and /ʂ/ before close front vowels. In my fieldwork /ɕ/ occurs not only before close front vowels but also before /a/ (phonetically realized as a central vowel [ɐ]). For instance, /thiu^{21}tʂu^{33}ɕa^{33}/ [tʰiu^{21}tʂu^{33}ɕʲɐ^{33}] for 'starting school', /ɕa^{33}/[ɕʲɐ^{33}] as 'shrimp', /ʂa^{21}/[ʂɐ^{21}] for 'difficult'. This leads us to argue that Heima Lalo /ɕ/ has undergone different developments from other Lalo varieties.

Table 1 Samples of the correspondence of Heima Lalo fricatives with other Lolo-Burmese languages (Qingyun data are obtained from Cathryn Yang 2010/2015)

gloss	Heima	Qingyun(QY)	PLa	PTB/PLB/PL
egg	fu^{33}	fu^{33}	*fu^{3}	PL *(ʔ)u^{3}
full	vi^{21}	vi^{33}	*bi^{3}	PLB *ʔ-bliŋ^{3}, PL *m-bliŋ^{1}
blood	si^{21}	sɿ^{21}	*si^{2}	PTB *s-hywəy, PLB *swəy^{2}, PL *swe^{2}
son	zo^{21}	zą^{21}	*za^{2}	PL *ʒa^{2}
kill	ɕi^{21}	sɛ̱^{21}	*sɛ̱^{L}	PTB *g-sat, PL *C-sat^{L}
chicken	a^{55}ʑi̱^{33}	a^{55}jɛ̱^{33}	*ɣɛ̱^{H}	PTB *k-rak, PLB *k-rak^{H}
wheat	ʂa^{55}	ʂa^{55}	*ʃa^{1}	PL *ʃa^{3}
sheep	a^{55}ʐ̩u^{55}	a^{55}ʐ̩u^{55}	*a^{1}ʒaŋ^{1}	PTB *yaŋ, PL *ʒo^{1}
meat	xa^{21}	xą^{21}	*xa^{2}	PTB *sya, PL *xa^{2}
strength	ɣa^{21}	vą^{21}	*ɣa^{2}	PTB *k-ra, PL *ra^{2}
maggot	ho^{33}	vi̱^{21}	*hɔ̱^{H}	PTB *s-lu(k/ŋ), PLB *k-luk

Table 1 illustrates the corresponding sets of fricatives in Lolo-Burmese. Heima Lalo retains /s/ and /z/, which are reconstructed as *s and *z in PL and PLa, respectively. In some cases, Heima /z/ have also developed from PL*ʒ, as in the word for 'son'.

*s, *ʃ and *x in the proto-languages were palatalized into /ɕ/ in Heima Lalo. PL *ʒ, and medial *r or *w have developed into /ʑ/, and PL*ʃ into /ʂ/ in Heima Lalo, as in the word for 'long', 'wheat' and so on. PL *ʒ also split up into /ʐ̩/. Heima Lalo /x/ and /h/ have complicated correspondences with PL. /ɣ/ has developed from PL*r/*ʔ-r or *g.

The development of Heima Lalo fricatives is briefly summarized below.

/f/ < PL*Ø/_*u, or *s-w, or < PLa *ph < PL*p;
/v/ < PL*w/ *r, or PLa *b < PL*m-b, or PLa *ʔv < PL*s-w;
/z/ < PLa *z < PL*ʒ;
/ɕ/ < PLa *s < PL*s, or PLa *ʃ < PL*s-r, or PLa *x < PL*x;
/ʑ/ < PLa *z < PL*ʒ, or PLa*ɣ < PL*r, or PLa *v < PLB *w;
/ʂ/ < PLa *ʃ < PL*ʃ/*s-r/*m-r-w, or Pla *ʃ < PLB*j;
/ʐ̩/ < PLa*ʒ < PL*ʒ/*r/*j;
/x/ < PLa *x < PL*x/*C-ʃ/*ʃ, or PLa*h < PL*k-j/*C-j/*h;
/ɣ/ < PLa*ɣ< PL*r/*ʔ-r, or PLa *g < PL*ʔ-g;
/h/ < PLa *h < PL*k-rwak^{H}/*ʔ-l/*r/*ʔ-r/*k-l, or PLa*ʔx < PTB*s-l

Through historical comparison of Lolo-Burmese languages, this paper illustrates multiple origins of Heima Lalo fricatives.

Iconicity of modified reduplication in six Himalayan languages

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The understudied subject of modified reduplication (MRD) refers to the juxtaposition of two similar but not identical phonological forms which differ in vowel quality (e.g. *chit-chat*) or in initial consonant (e.g. *hotchpotch*). This paper describes the use of modified reduplication in the ideophones of six languages spoken in the Himalays, Central/Lhasa Tibetan (bod), Denjongke (sip, Tibetic), Dzongkha (dzo, Tibetic), Tshangla (tsj, Bodish), Duhumbi (cvg, Kho-Bwa), and Kham Magar (kgj, Sino-Tibetan, Kham). Our data show that MRD in the aforementioned languages is associated with four types of iconicity:

1) Duality/plurality of similar but not identical sounds (e.g. Denjongke *t'aŋt'iŋ* 'cling clang')
2) Duality/plurality of similar but not identical items (e.g. Denjongke *dakdok* 'occurring as an assortment of small items of various sizes')
3) Duality/plurality of similar but not identical locations (e.g. Dzongkha *pchamchim* 'here.there'), also suggesting alternating motion between locations (e.g. Tibetan *lang ling* 'drifting, swinging')
4) Nonnormativity arising from the comparison of two similar but non-identical forms (e.g. Tshangla *thapathopo* 'slow-witted', *zhalangzholong* 'shapeless; useless [of people]')

Nonnormativity, which is central to describing modified reduplication in the present study, refers to the idea that a state-of-affairs, quality, or manner of action deviates from some type of norm and is therefore typically negatively evaluated. Nonnormative meaning is iconically related to the juxtaposition of two similar but not identical forms in that the two phonological forms "deviate" from each other (cf. English *flimflam* 'deceptive nonsense', where *flim* and *flam* "deviate" from each other as 'deceptive nonsense' deviates from clear and honest speech). In our study, nonnormativity is strongly associated with *a* > *o* vowel modification, but it is also found with other types of vowel modification. Example (1) exemplifies the use an ideophone expressing nonnormativity in Denjongke, whereas Table 1 lists some examples of different types of vowel modification used with modified reduplication in Lhasa Tibetan, Tshangla and Dzongkha.

(1) ཇ་འདི་ རྨྱག་རྨྱོག་ སྦད།
tɕʻa=di mjàkmjok bɛʔ.
tea=DEMPH IDEO.NN EQU.NE
'This tea is tasteless.' (Denjongke)

Table 1. Vowel modification in modified reduplication: Lhasa Tibetan, Tshangla and Dzongkha

	Lhasa Tibetan (Wylie)		**Tshangla**		**Dzongkha**	
a > *o*	*khar(e) khor(e)*	'deceptive'	*nyakanyokko*	'aimlessly'	*narnor*	'stretched out'
	cal(e) col(e)	'nonsensical'	*napanopo*	'silly'	*chamchom*	'wobble'
	mag mog	'blurry, unclear'	*bakaboko*	'boring'	*rakro*	'shoddy'
	'a be 'ob be	'careless'	*mrakamroko*	'dirty'	*rangrong*	'clutter'
a > *i*	*gyang gying*	'arrogant'	*nyakanyiki*	'whiny'	*zamzim*	'misting'
	chag(i) chig(i)	'disorderly'	*lamalimi*	'dim'	*pchamchim*	'here.there'
	'jag(i) 'jig(i)	'unclear/muddy'	*yangayingi*	'vague'	*raprip*	'dim'
a > *u*	*chang(e) chung(e)*	'trivial things'	*ratarutu*	'rough'	*harhur*	'haphazardly'
a > *e*	*ldam ldem*	'uncertain'	*mrakamreke*	'soiled'	*z'are z'ore*	'rough'

Particles in Na Language

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Na language (ISO 639-3: nru) is spoken by the eastern branch of Naish People (纳人/纳系族群), who live on the border between Yunnan and Sichuan Provinces in southwest China. Naish languages show an apparent resemblance to the Yi/Lolo languages and, with closer connections, considering their cognates and morphological features, to the Qiang languages (Matisoff 1973; Bradley 1975; Ramsey 1987; Sun 2001; Guillaume & Michaud 2011). The other major variety of Naish languages is Naxi (ISO 639-3: nxq).

Naish languages use a number of particles to mark syntactic relationship, namely three types: structural, tense, and modal (Ma *et al*. 2003). For example, the particle /buɬ/ is analyzed as a possessive marker (Lidz 2010), while the counterpart in Naxi, /gəɬ/, which can be translated as 'de 的', is a particle indicating all cases of nominal subordination (He 1987).

It is noticeable that grammatical words are often attached in sequence afterwards the main verb of a sentence, which is coined as "句尾词", or "post verbal particle", and attested as a widely-spread pattern in Tibeto-Burman languages (Mei 1995; Dai 1996). For example, there is a cluster of words related to 'come' and 'go', with different stages of grammaticalization, that became tense markers (Wu 1996; Liu 2001; Mu 2003; He & He 2008). The directional grammaticalization ("linguistic drift", according to Sapir), represented, for example, by the cases of 'come' and 'go', is attested across languages (LaPolla 1994).

Some of the above-mentioned particles are annotated with distinctive terminologies in different sources. For example, the particle /me^{33}/ in Naxi is analyzed as a clause nominalizer and, sometimes, a topicalizer (Pinson 2012), while the equivalent form in Na, /mæɬ/, is glossed as a certainty-epistemic marker in Lidz (2010).

Moreover, homophonic syllables may represent distinctive function words according to the contexts. For example, the particle /nɯɬ/, in Na, has been shown to be an ablative, agentive, contrastive focus, emphatic, and focus marker (Lidz 2010). The equivalent term (/nɯɬ/) is used as a marker of the subject and agent, a marker of the adverbial words or phrases, and a marker of the complement, in Naxi (He & Jiang 1985).

The present study aims at a description of the particles from the Na language, with a comparison with the corresponding terms in Naxi. The data under analysis includes the author's field work notes of local narratives and stories, along with currently available linguistic materials. This research will contribute to the reconstruction of a clearer image of the particles in Na and their multiple semantic roles.

Keywords: Na; Naxi; Particles; Grammatical Markers; Grammaticalization

普通话重动句自然焦点的研究

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摘要：重动句的焦点问题一直以来是学界关注的重点，不少学者通过不同的方式证明重动句焦点在句末补语处，但对焦点具体的表现没有深入研究。本文运用韵律格局的研究思路，通过将重动句按照补语类型及补语语义指向将重动句分为了 3 组 7 类，提取重动句中所有的音高、音长和音强，考察在不同类别中重动句起伏度和调域比、时长比和音量比的表现，以期考察影响重动句焦点的内部因素。通过实验得到了一下结论：（1）重动句的自然焦点位于重动句句末补语处，动补结构后带宾语的重动句焦点位于句末补语和宾语位置，是互补焦点。（2）不同补语类型以及不同句法结构下的重动句韵律表现相差不大，因此表层结构的不同对于重动句的焦点表达影响不大。（3）补语的语义指向对于重动句的韵律表现具有一定的影响，补语语义指向施事的重动句焦点一般由动补结构共同承担，当补语在自然语流中音高被凸显时，紧邻补语的动词也因语义上的关联性而得到了凸显，这表明补语语义指向确实影响着重动句的焦点表现。

关键词：重动句；自然焦点；语义指向

A Study of Natural Focus in Mandarin Double-verb Sentences

Abstract: In this paper, we use the idea of Rhythmic Pattern to investigate the internal factors affecting the focus of double-verb sentences by dividing them into three groups and seven categories according to the type of complement and the semantic point of the complement, extracting all the pitches, durings and intensities of reactive sentences, and examining the performance of reactive sentences in different categories in terms of their undulation and tonal range ratio, duration ratio and volume ratio. The following conclusions were obtained from the experiments: (1) the natural focus of the double-verb sentence is located at the end of the double-verb sentence at the complement, and the focus of the double-verb sentence with the object after the complement structure is located at the end of the sentence at the position of the complement and the object, which is the complementary focus. (2) The rhythmic performance of double-verb sentences differs little between the different types of complements and different syntactic structures, so that the differences in surface structure have little effect on the expression of the focus of reactive sentences. (3) The semantic pointing of the complement has a certain influence on the rhythmic performance of the reactive sentence, and the focus of the double-verb sentence with the semantic pointing of the complement to the giving matter is generally shared by the verbal-complement structure.

Keywords: double-verb sentences; natural focus; semantic pointing

石棉木雅语概况

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摘要：石棉木雅语是四川省石棉县木雅藏族所使用的语言，属汉藏语系藏缅语族羌语支，是目前学界所忽视的空白地带。为进一步研究石棉木雅语，我们于 2021 年 7 月深入石棉县开展为期近两个月的田野调查。本文以这次田野调查获得的语料为基础，从语音、词汇和语法三个方面，对石棉木雅语的概况进行介绍，以展现其主要特征和面貌，填补其研究空白，将石棉木雅语的研究引向深入。

一、语音

（一）声母

1.单辅音。单辅音声母有 34 个。其中唇音 7 个，齿音 5 个，龈音 5 个，龈腭音 7 个，软腭音 5 个，小 舌音 3 个，喉音 2 个。具体如下： p p^h b m w f v ts ts^h dz s z t t^h d n l tɕ $tɕ^h$ dʑ ɕ ʑ ȵ j k k^h g x ŋ q q^h ɢ h ɦ。

2.复辅音。石棉木雅语共有 11 个复辅音，分别是 mb、mp^h、nd、nt^h、ndz、nts^h、ndʑ、$ntɕ^h$、ŋɢ、ŋg、$ŋk^h$。

（二）韵母

1. 单元音。单元音韵母包括 10 个，分别是 i、y、e、ɛ、a、ɑ、o、u、ɯ、ɿ。

2. 鼻化元音。鼻化元音包括 6 个，分别是 i、y、a、e、u、o。鼻化元音主要出现在汉语借词中。

3. 复元音。复元音分为构词复元音和构形复元音两种类型。

（1）构词复元音。构词复元音共有 17 个，分别为ɑu、ua、uɑ、ue、uɛ、uo、yɑ、ye、yɛ、yo、yu、ou、ue、 uɛ、ui、ei、ai。

（2）构形复元音。动词的命令式是在动词词根后添加后加成分-u 构成，相应生成一系列的构形复元音。命令 式的构形复元音除了部分与构词复元音重复，还有一部分是构词复元音所没有的，它们共有 14 个，分别是 iu、eu、ɛu、au、ɯu、ɿu、yeu、yɑu、you、ueu、uɛu、uau、uɑu、uou。

（三）声调

石棉木雅语有声调系统，声调的作用和功能显著，可对词的意义加以区分。一共有 4 个声调，分别是高平调（55），高降调（53），中平调（33），高升调（35），大致呈高低两调的基本格局。

二、词汇 从词的来源看，石棉木雅语的词汇包括固有词和非固有词两类。固有词的词根多为单音节，与其他亲属语言有同源关系，非固有词指藏语、汉语借词。从词的结构来看，木雅语的词汇包括单纯词与合成词两类。单纯词包括单音节单纯词和多音节单纯词。合成词包括复合式合成词及附加式合成词。

三、语法 根据词的语法意义及功能，石棉木雅语可分为名词、量词、数词、代词、动词、形容词、副词等词类。名词有“数”的语法范畴，包括单数和复数，没有区别性的形态标记，在表示人或动物的性别时，一般用独立的词来表示。数词需和量词 le^{55}结合使用，但在口头计数时，人们可以单独使用数词。人称代词分为单、双、多数 3 种，第一人称双数及多数有排除式和包括式的区别。人称代词有格范畴，大致分为主格、宾格、领格和为格 4 种，采用词根韵母屈折变化和加后加成分的方式表达。动词有趋向、时体、式、态、示证等语法范畴，通过在动词前后添加相应的语法标记表示。从音节类型来看，形容词分为单音节形容词、双音节形容词和多音节形容词。副词分为 6 类，包括时间副词、范围副词、程度副词、语气副词、情态副词及否定副词。

贵琼语前缀衰退的表现与路径分析

——兼论藏缅语语言转型与词缀演变

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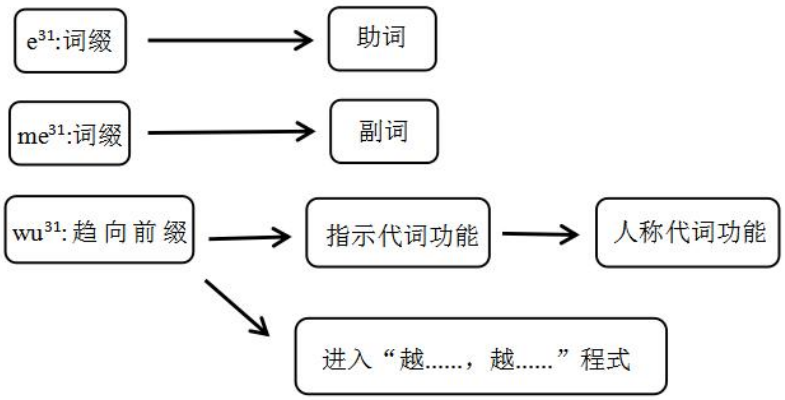
【提要】藏缅语是由粘着性向分析性演变，这种趋势就决定了藏缅语的转型与词缀的演变之间存在着紧密的联系。因为随着语言分析性特征的逐渐加强，粘着形态就会逐渐消失，词缀也会越来越少，即语言转型速度越快，词缀衰退的速度也越快。因此，揭示出具体语言的词缀衰退情况对于语言转型研究是非常有价值的。文章运用语言转型眼光，通过共时特征分析和亲属语言比较，发现贵琼语前缀已呈现出衰退的表现并对其衰退路径进行了分析。贵琼语前缀的特点主要表现在前缀仅保留在趋向前缀中。贵琼语与羌语支其他语言相比，没有屈折手段，也没有中缀、后缀，前缀是贵琼语唯一的形态手段，而前缀也仅保留趋向前缀。贵琼语趋向前缀还具有多功能性。表现为趋向前缀除了表示趋向外，还兼表命令式和部分体。贵琼语前缀衰退主要表现在三个方面：一、贵琼语是羌语支中前缀保留较少的语言。文章通过对羌语支 12 种语言常用的 10 种语法范畴进行统计。发现嘉戎语、尔龚语、拉乌戎语、桃坪羌语、曲谷羌语、木雅语、史兴语等七种语言的形态手段最丰富，普米语、扎巴语、却域语、纳木兹语形态手段次之，贵琼语的形态手段最少。二、贵琼语是羌语支中趋向前缀不丰富的语言。据统计，在羌语支语言中，趋向前缀多的有 9 个，少的有 3 个、5 个，而且多依据山势、河流有不同的趋向。贵琼语的趋向前缀只有 5 个，而且在表趋向上趋于简化，只有基本的向心方、离心方、趋上方、趋下方以及往返方，没有依山势、河流的详细区分。三、贵琼语的趋向动词已经介入趋向前缀核心义的表达。由于趋向前缀发展出多功能性，使得趋向前缀表示趋向的核心意义也在萎缩，具体表现为趋向前缀表示趋向义时，开始允许有词汇手段的介入。即“趋向前缀+动词”是贵琼语表达趋向意义的主要方式，但也开始形成了“趋向前缀+动词+趋向动词”的新结构。贵琼语前缀衰退主要是通过词缀转化为助词、副词以及词缀的隐性语义实化这三条路径实现的，依据语义地图可以更加直观地展现。



语言转型是循序渐进的，语族内的各语支之间，语支内的各语言之间，甚至是各个语言内部，语言转型都是不平衡的，具有层次性，这种特点也体现在词缀上。文章还认为，在整个语言转型和词缀演变的过程中，分析性眼光能够帮助我们更好的揭示语言向分析性转变的规律，特别是那些潜藏在粘着形式上的分析性特点。

【关键词】贵琼语；语言转型；前缀；衰退；分析性

Resultatives and serial verbs

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Resultatives are single clause constructions that describe an event of change of state, involving manner and result, neither one introduced by morphological marker or conjunction, such as *John hammered the metal flat*.

Serial verbs that those that form one single predicate without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or any other type of syntactic dependency, expressing one single event, having one intonation, tense, aspect, mood, modality, and polarity (Aikhenvald, 2018: 1-4). They include a subtype with resultative meanings, such as those in (1).

(1) a. *nws ntaus tus dev khiav kiag* White Hmong
3sg hit CL dog flee completely
'He hit the dog (so that it) ran away. (Jarkey, 2015: 125)

b. *ó tìwàrà étéré à* Igbo
he hit-split.open-TENSE plate the
'He shattered the plate.' (Lord, 1975)

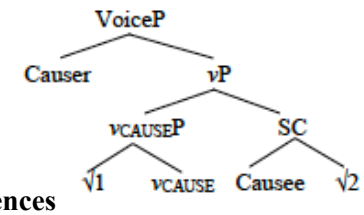
According to the current definitions, resultatives and resultative serial verbs exhibit semantic and syntactic similarities. However, the resultatives such as *John hammered the metal flat* are not considered serial verbs in the literature for an apparent reason: the result predicate is formed by an adjective instead of a verb. The question is: is it reasonable to categorize resultatives and resultative serial verbs as two separate constructions solely because of the different word classes?

A good example to illustrate the problem is the Mandarin resultative V-Vs, like the one in (2), which have been analyzed as both resultatives and serial verbs in the literature. Note that it is unclear whether the V2 in (2) is an adjective or a verb. The reasons include: Chinese lacks morphological means to distinguish between word classes; adjectives can directly form predicates, just like verbs do; the usual diagnostic tests used to distinguish adjectives and verbs, such as duplication or adding adverbial modifiers, cannot be applied because the V-V construction forbids such operations. Therefore, if word class is the only factor distinguishing between resultatives from serial verbs, we find a blurred boundary here. In fact, the unclear distinction between verbs and adjectives has also been observed among some other serializing languages, where such a problem may also apply.

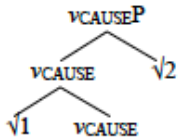
(2) 他 哭 瞎 了 眼睛。 Mandarin
Ta ku xia le yanjing.
he cry blind/go.blind ASP eye
'He cried, and this made his eyes blind/become blind.'

Assuming the general tenets of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994) and the Manner Conflation (Haugen, 2009), we claim that the non-contiguous resultatives (e.g., English resultatives) and the non-contiguous resultative serial verbs (1a) are generated from the structure (3a), whereas the resultative V-Vs (e.g., Chinese resultatives) and the contiguous resultatives serial verbs (1b) are derived from the structure in (3b). Since roots in the lexicon are acategorial, resultatives and the resultative serial verbs can be accounted for in a unified manner. Our account seems to be advantageous since it explains the similarities between the two structures and solves the problem of the blurred boundary in languages such as Chinese.

(3) a.



b.



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Research on the Semantic Knowledge Representation of Classical Tibetan Cases for Information Processing

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In natural language processing (NLP), much attention has been paid to knowledge-driven method rather than sole-data-driven method. As for information or language processing, the problems concerning the formal description of semantic knowledge can be briefly divided into 2 directions, one is the symbol grounding problem related to the ontology (usually) knowledge representation , another is the role assignment related to the linguistic knowledge representation, and the latter is mainly discussed in this paper. Role assignment, namely semantic role assignment, is the long-standing problem in linguistics and many of the linguistic theories are used for information processing as references, such as the dependency grammar, the valency theory and the case grammar. In Tibetan, some of the deep semantic relationships, or so-called case relationships in case grammar between different nominal elements are reflected or mapped with the Classical Tibetan cases, and it is argued that the classical Tibetan cases are multifunctional and transcategorial. This paper makes a semantic and syntactic analysis of Classical Tibetan cases and tries to figure out the semantic relationships that the Classical Tibetan cases are reflected with, so as to formalize the semantic knowledge representation, i.e., try to work out the syntax-semantics alignment or interface with the features and functions of Classical Tibetan cases.

Key Words: Semantic Knowledge Representation, Classical Tibetan Cases, information processing

Superposition and Competition of Phonological Rules: Tone Sandhi Variation and Change of Guangshui Dialect of Mandarin

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Abstract

Previous studies have done much work on the process and mechanism of sound change of phonemes, but much less is known about the change of phonological rules. The critical issues for this kind of sound change include how the change progress over time, which factors influence the process, and how the changing process is different from that of phonemes. The present study aims to provide insights to these questions by examining the ongoing change in the tone sandhi rule in Guangshui dialect of Mandarin. Guangshui dialect has 5 tones, among which tone 5 is rendered as tone 1 before an unstressed syllable whose original tone is tone 1, 2 or 5. This special phenomenon shows a tendency to disappear among young speakers, which shows the competition of two variation forms, in which tone 5 changes(mode 1) or not (mode 2). Investigation was conducted on 29 native speakers of different ages on their pronunciations of 221 items, including both two-syllable words and phrases. The results show that (i) young speakers about 20 years old almost adopt mode 2, presumably due to transfer effect from the more prestigious Standard Mandarin(Putonghua). (ii) transfer within phrases is slower than that within words, and words of new meaning and with high frequency are more prone to transfer. (iii) during the competition, some words or phrases could have two phonetic forms, between which mode 1 is used in normal situation while mode 2 with emphasis, thus it's no longer a shift within phonological level, but bears pragmatic functions. These findings demonstrate that tone sandhi rules could be influenced by phonological, morpho-syntactic, and even pragmatic and cognitive factors at the same time, which may be different from the sound change of phonemes. The underlying causes of this tone sandhi shifts reflect both language internal and language external forces at work in Guangshui dialect.

KEY WORDS: Sound change, Tone, Tone Sandhi, Phonological superposition, Guangshui dialect, Mandarin

An Interaction Between Word Order and the Focus Structure in Northern Wu

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This paper proposes that 'focus structure' dominates the word order of northern Wu Chinese, following the line of logic of Chao (1968), Li, Thompson (1981) and LaPolla (1990, 1995). Specifically, **i)** a semantic focus is required to placed preverbally, while **ii)** a pragmatic focus should be postverbal.

Firstly, spoken languages and historical vernacular texts suggest that foci of operators, e.g., '都' (even), display an asymmetrical distribution, where postposed focus is infelicitous. Consider the Shaoxing dialect in (1):

(1) -你今年三十几？ (How old are you in your thirties?)

(a) -# 我 **也** 有 [四十岁]$_F$ 哉！
1s operator have forty years SFP
'I'm even over FORTY!' (Intended)

(b) - 我 [四十岁]$_F$ **也** 有 哉！
1s forty years operator have SFP
'I'm even over FORTY!'

In contrast to Mandarin, whose semantic foci are symmetrical:

(2a) 我 **都** 有 [四十岁]$_F$ 了！
1s operator have forty years SFP
'I'm even over FORTY!'

(2b) 我 [四十岁]$_F$ **都** 有 了！
1s forty years operator have SFP
'I'm even over FORTY!'

The same issue arises in other quantificational operators, e.g., '才' (only if), '就' (only), '也' (also), '又' (again). On the other hand, pragmatic focus (ie. information focus) tends to succeed the main verb immediately, as is in (3).

(3) -苹果有有吃患咚唻？ (Did you finish the apples?)
-吃 得 [**一个**]$_F$ 患 带 哉！
eat TAM one Cl. finish TAM SFP
'I finished ONE.'

While a 'broad focus' sentence (Lambrecht 1994) keeps the verbal complements there, leaving the object preverbally.

(4) 我 苹果 一 个 吃 **患** **带** 哉哩 （，奈个还弗来唻）！
1s apple one Cl. eat finish TAM SFP
'I have already finished an apple.' (Why does he still not come?)

Additionally, reference tracking in northern Wu reflects the pragmatic focus configurationality. As Wang (2016) pointed out, northern Wu shows a restriction that a definite classifier phrase (CLP) cannot be accommodated in the postverbal position (in comparison to Cantonese, where a CLP after verb is ambiguous in definiteness). This paper argues that it is because the discourse-given entities are excluded (Kuno 1972, Li, Thompson 1975, Prince 1992), and similar patterns could be found in pronouns and other nominal phrases.

On the Verb-Object Word Order in Karen Language: and the Transformation of Word Order

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Abstract: Karen language is used by Karen people and plays an important role in the study of Tibetan-Burmese languages.The word order of Tibetan-Burmese Languages is generally verb-object (OV) while the Karen language is verb-object (VO). The reason why Karen language has this distinct characteristic which is different from other relatives of the same language family has aroused the interest of Tibetan-Burmese linguists. This paper tried to explain its causes.

DaiQingxia and YuanMeng (2021) selected 1822 basic words of Karen and compared with 9 Tibetan-Burmes languages, and found that Karen language and Tibetan-Burmese languages have a certain number of cognates in the most basic vocabulary, which can prove that Karen language belongs to Tibetan-Burmese languages. This is also the premise to further understand why Karen language has verb-object word order.

The word order of phrase and compound word are generally the same in most of Tibetan-Burmese languages. However, it is find that other Tibetan-Burmese languages only have OV order in compound words and phrases, while Karen has both VO and OV word orders in compound words, and they are coexist.

In this paper, we compare the 45 general rules of word order proposed by Greenberg with Karen, and get that Karen language has more implicational universals conformed OV word order than those conformed VO word order. It prove that Karen once had an "gene" of OV word order.

Examples in the history of language show that there are two main factors that promote the transformation of word order. One is self-origin, that is, the adjustment and change of internal factors of language. The other is exogenous, that is, the language contact influence leads to the change of word order. The former is the internal and the latter is the external. Is the word order transformation caused by language contact or language internal factors? The study found that the decisive factor for the word order transformation of Karen language is not the influence of language contact, but the language internal factors.

Analysis of the the causes of the word order transformation from OV to OV in Karen language, it is lack of evidence to support the language contact factor with Thai language. If we look for the internal factors, we can see that there are languages in different language families in the world that have changed from OV word order to VO word order, but there are hardly find any examples that have changed from VO word order to OV word order. Linguists believe that the internal factors of word order transition mainly include: 1. the analytical degree of language developed. 2. The generation of focus markers leads to the backward movement of the leading object, resulting in the change of word order. 3. The complication of verb-object semantic relation makes the pre-object move backward.

Compared with the above factors, Karen language has the similar situation. Firstly, Karen language has high analytical level, the change of word order from OV to VO is closely related to the high analytical level of Karen. Secondly, Karen language also has a focus mark and the mark places in the end of sentences, and the verb-object semantic relationship is more complex, and its language characteristics meet the conditions of the transformation from verb-object language to verb-object language. Therefore, it can also be considered that the internal mechanism is the key to the transformation of Karen word order. Of course, this understanding needs further proof.

Key words: Tibetan-Burmese Languages; Karen language; Word order transformation

hi/s(h)i copula in South Central Tibeto-Burman languages

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This talk presents a discussion of the hi and s(h)i copula in South Central group of the Tibeto-Burman branch. Peterson (2017: 203) attributes the shared mosphosyntax of using the hi copula in Northeastern languages and in Hyow, a Southeastern language. While the hi copula is found in many Northeastern languages without any constraint of positive-negative polarity, Hyow presents evidence of the copula being used only in negative clauses, e.g., *hyáʔ* (hí+áʔ). Furthermore, Peterson (2007: 203) also points out that what Henderson (1965: 30) calls as a conclusive and also found in Sizang as *zia*, which demonstrates the loss of final nasal *m*, e.g., *ziam* in some colloquial passages (Stern 1967: 270), corresponds to *hyɔ̂* in Hyow. This talk will present data from numerous Northeastern, a Central (Bawm), a Northwestern (Anal) and several Southeaster languages demonstrating the uses of the *hi* and *s(h)i*/*shek* copula. While the use of the *hi* copula in Northeastern languages is straightforward, e.g., used in equational copula and also as clause final markers, the use of the *hi* and *s(h)i*/*shék* copula in Southeastern languages reveals some interesting phenomenon. Firstly, the data in Hyow and two varieties of Laitu demonstrate that the *hi* copula is restricted in non-assertive clauses, e.g., negative and clauses expressing possibility of a proposition. In addition, the *hi* copula corresponds to *s(h)i* in Pawngleko variety of Laitu and they are used in exact constructions. Furthermore, the Pawngleko variety also demonstrates the use of the *s(h)i* copula in numerals over ten, e.g., *thúnggíb sí-ná si˝ʔ* [thirty be-SEQ seven] ‘thirty seven’. The corresponding copula in the two varieties of Loktu, Ekai and Kholai, is *shék*, which becomes *she* and *shi* in negative and reduplicated constructions respectively. Secondly, the *hyɔ*, as noticed by Peterson (2017) in Hyow, is used as a non-habitual marker and have other allomorphs owing to transphonologization. The default form of this morpheme is *hɔ̂* in Laitu Hyow and *shɔ̂* in Kontu Hyow, the two varieties of Hyow spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. It is also used as a complementizer. In the negative *hyáʔ* construction, the preceding clause has to be marked with *hɔ̂* and its allomorphs, making the marked clause as a complement of the negative copular verb. DeLancey (2011) argues that the *hi* construction in Sizang reflects a nominalized finite clause construction in Kuki-Chin. If this is the case, the clauses marked by *-hɔ̂* and its allomorphs in Hyow demonstrate the grammaticalization of the *hi* copula as a finite clause marker and complementizer. While Peterson (2011) argues for the *sii* copula found in Lai is different than the *hi* copula, Hill (2014) argues for them to be cognate, owing to fortition in Lai. The data presented in this talk demonstrates the need to distinguish two functions of the copula, one grammaticalized as in Hyow and the other as simple copula. In addition, the semantics of *hí* and *s(h)í* ‘be true/right’ and the constructions they appear in Teko and Pawngleko Laitu point to them indeed to be cognate.

四川泸州方言的名词后缀研究

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泸州方言是四川省泸州地区所使用的一类汉语方言。关于泸州方言的名词后缀，李国正《四川泸州方言研究》（1997）提到可以加在词根词素后面构成名词的后缀有：些、家、家家、伙、角、瓜、巴郎、子、壳、气、巴、杆、脚等。笔者进行的方言调查显示，这些名词后缀能够分为三类：一、“家、家家、伙”，这类词缀可以直接附加于能够独立使用的名词之后；二、“些”,可以用于包括复合词在内的名词之后且具有一定的语法功能；三、“角、瓜”等词缀需要与其他语素组合构成能够独立使用的名词，这类名词的词汇化程度较高，缺少词缀时难以独立成词。本研究拟对前两类词缀进行考察，结合生命度等级序列（The animacy hierarchy），明确这些词缀的使用范围。

为方便理解，我们分别对“家、家家、伙、些”四个词缀进行说明。

1：“家 tɕia^{35}”的分布可以分为三类。a：表示在某种专业领域有成就的人，如：画家、科学家等。b：用在指人普通名词之后，表示指人名词所述的“这一类人”，后续小句表义一般与社会大众对于这类人的普遍认知相关。c:用于表天气、季节、气候、时间等名词之后，后续小句的表义一般与社会大众对于与前项名词相关的常识性内容的普遍认知相关。

（1）ŋy^{53}ua^{31}ɚ^{35} tɕia^{35} tʂhu^{23}men^{31}tsai^{21}uai^{21} iao^{21} tsu^{21}i^{21}ŋan^{35}tɕyan^{31}

女娃儿 家 出门在外 要 注意安全

女孩子出门在外（很危险，）要注意安全。

（2）uan^{53}sen^{31} tɕia^{35} tsai^{21} uai^{21}thou^{0} iao^{21} tsu^{21}i^{21}ŋan^{35}tɕyan^{31}

晚晨 家 在 外头 要 注意安全

晚上在外面（一般来说要比白天危险，所以）要注意安全。

2：“家家 tɕia^{35}tɕia^{35}”，通常用于指人普通名词之后，表示“这一类人”,后续需加助词“ne^{0}”，表示“这类人”做出与其身份相悖行为时，说话人的一种不满的态度或批评、责备的语气。此时，说话人在对话关系中处于较为强势的地位。

（3）ɚ^{31} ua^{31}tsi^{0} tɕia^{35}tɕia^{35} ne^{0}，tɕiou^{21} tshi^{53} xiao^{53}te^{23} khu^{23}

儿娃子 家家 嘞， 就 只 晓得 哭

（作为一个）男孩子，（遇事）就只会哭。（男孩子不能遇事只会哭）

3：“伙 xo^{53}”，常用于指人普通名词之后，表示该名词所代表的一类人，同时有将个体名词集合化的功能。如：“老者伙 nau^{53}tsɚ^{53}xo^{53}（老头子）”“姑嬢伙 ku^{35}ŋiaŋ^{35}xo^{53}（女孩）”等。

4：“些 xi^{35}”，表示一个集合，是一类具有连类（additive）性质的复数标记，可用于名词后，不可用于人称代词后。名词可分为两类，一类为指人专有名词、指人普通名词、其他有生名词，如例（4）；一类为表示物体的无生名词，在使用时通常需要以“指示代词＋些 xi^{35}+名词+些 xi^{35}”的形式出现，如例（5）。

（4）ta^{21}zen^{31} xi^{35} tso^{21} zi^{23}tso^{23}, ua^{31}ɚ^{35} xi^{35} tso^{21} na^{23} tso^{23}

大人 些 坐 这桌， 娃儿 些 坐 那 桌

大人们在这桌坐，孩子们在那桌坐。

（5）zi^{23}xi^{35} tshai^{21} xi^{35}，tɕi^{21}tao^{21}noŋ^{35}nai^{31} tɕhi^{35} no^{0} xa^{0}

这些 菜 些， 记倒 弄来 吃 啰 哈

这些菜，要记得做来吃掉。

A Phonemic Analysis of Ciwa Na (Mosuo) Language

Abstract

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Keywords: Na; Mosuo; phonemes; phonetics/phonology

Ciwa Na (Mosuo) language is spoken by the Mosuo people (摩梭人) of Ciwa village (/zuɬ.waɬ/, 次瓦) who reside the east banks of Shuiluo River (水洛河) in Labo Township (拉伯乡) of Ninglang Yi Autonomous County (宁蒗彝族自治县). This variant of Na shows significant differences from that along the Lugu Lake, but scarcely researched. This research means to serve as a pilot study on the phonology of Ciwa Na language.

Syllabic structure in Ciwa Na is simply (Consonant) (Glide) Vowel. An inventory of phonemes of the language are presented in terms of initials, corresponding to consonants, and rhymes, corresponding to (Glide) Vowel.

There are 50 initials in Ciwa Na. A general four-way contrast is observed in plosives and affricates; it is unique among all variants of Na that a series of pre-nasalized segments are in contrast to their voiced plosive and affricate counterparts. Alveolar-retroflex pairs of plosives such as [th] and [ʈh] appear on a first approximation to be allophones of the same phoneme, but they do contrast in one context: in front of the vowel /o/, as in Western Naxi (see Michaud 2006, 2008). The same holds for the affricates and fricatives, as in the context of preceding the consonantal nuclei /ʊ̩ /. Affricates and fricatives of alveolo-palatal are in contrast with their alveolar counterparts while in complementary distribution with retroflex affricates; keeping them as different phonemes is more phonologically economical, for [i], [ɿ] and [ʅ] thus can be analyzed as allophones of rhyme /i/. Plosive-affricates pairs of retroflex consonants contrast to each other in front of /a/ and /i/. There are contrasts between velar and uvular plosives before back vowels. Ciwa Na also shows a distinct tendency to nasalize glottal-initial words, which according to Chirkova & Chen (2013) is an areal tendency in some of the neighbouring Naic languages like Xumi and Qiangic languages like Lizu.

There are 18 rhymes in Ciwa Na, including six GV combinations. The contrastive /e/-/æ/-/a/ pairs appear mainly after alveolars. In comparation with Written Tibetan and Burmese, many of the Ciwa Na words with /æˤ/ are found corresponding to the Written Tibetan or Burmese words with velar or nasal finals; it can be inferred that the pharyngealized vowels in Ciwa Na show traces of consonant codas which have been lost in all Naish languages.

It is a general observation that there is a four-way tonal contrast in Ciwa Na on monosyllabic words: high level, mid level, rising, low level (or falling). The contrast of high level and mid level is neutralized in segmentals in which there is only a three-way tonal contrast of falling, rising and level. The tonal patterns of polysyllabic monomorphemic words might also be classified into four, corresponding to monosyllabic tones as a result of their spreading. More underlying tonal contrasts which could be identified within grammatical contexts as in Yongning Na (see Michaud 2008) have not been found till now; yet further detailed work in morphology is required.

Seats and verandas: linguistic evidence for the study of traditional Rgyalrong architecture

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Keywords: Rgyalrongic languages, Linguistic evidence, Rgyalrong architecture, Seats, Verandas

Rgyalrongic languages are distributed on the eastern edge of the Tibetan plateau, a region with great ethnic and linguistic diversity. Lacking a written tradition, they are nevertheless among the most conservative branches in Sino-Tibetan, known for their complex phonology and polysynthetic morphology. Yet the antiquity of this language group (3221[2169-4219]BP, Sagart et al. 2019) seems to be in stark contrast to the late occurrence of the name 'Rgyalrong' as political geographical term in both Chinese and Tibetan historical records (Zou, 2017).

This talk attempts to illustrate the importance of linguistic evidence, i.e. synchronic description and historical comparison, in unveiling the ethnohistory of communities lacking a written tradition, like Rgyalrong. In this talk, we will discuss two case studies concerning Rgyalrongic residential towers (碉房 *diāofáng*), which is a mixed wood-stone structure of two to six floors integrating the defensive function and the living and storage space unique to the region (Dong, 2019, 217). We will focus on two modern Rgyalrongic varieties, Brag-bar Situ (East core Rgyalrong) and Siyuewu Khroskyabs (West Rgyalrongic). We will demonstrate how linguistic evidence could contribute to the architectural anthropological studies of the Rgyalrongic-speaking world.

In the first case, we will discuss the arrangement of seats in the traditional living room. By elucidating the etymology of the names of the four seating places around the hearth and the tripod, we will see how typical Rgyalrongic spatial orientations, in most cases taking reference from absolute references, are incorporated in the interior layout of the traditional building.

In the second case, we will emphasize the importance of recognizing loanwords from native vocabulary and relevant morphological processes in tracing the architectural history. We will focus on the terminology of the Rgyalrongic veranda (走缘 *zǒuyuán*, corridor hanging from the second floor used for drying food, Jacques 2015), the characterizing component of the residential tower. There is a split between the West and core Rgyalrong concerning the terminologies for veranda. Core Rgyalrong languages share a native term (e.g. *jawát* in Brag-bar), while the West branch uses Tibetan loanwords (*rá*, borrowed from Tibetan རྩ *ra* 'fence', and *skærkê* from སྐོར་ཁང་ *skor.kʰaŋ* 'passage running around a building'). By identifying the two terms in different derivational and compounding processes, we will show how linguistic evidence can imply on the functional evolution of Rgyalrong verandas.

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湖南沅陵戈洞瓦乡话支佳同韵的语音层次

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瓦乡话（乡话）的上古层次，已有 Baxter&Sagart（2014），野原将挥、秋谷裕幸（2014）等前辈做过分析。除上述成果外，“支佳同韵”现象被认为也有可能反映上古支部的语音层次（伍云姬 2000:356;杨蔚 2002）。但本文认为这是不同语音层次叠合的结果,离析如表 1。

韵	层次I 上古歌部	层次II 中古佳韵	层次III 早期湘语	摄
皆			**ɑ**	蟹开二
佳		**ɐ**		
支	**ɑ**		**ɐ**	止开三
脂				
之				

表 1:戈洞乡话支佳同韵的语音层次

层次Ⅰ 支韵[ɑ]层。戈洞乡话支韵念[ɑ]的有四个字：脾啤皮[fɑ^{213}]、被[fɑ^{35}]。“啤”“脾”“皮”沅陵官话中同音，乡话是用“皮”的读音来类推“啤”“脾”，如“啤酒[fɑ^{213}tɕiɐ^{35}]”“脾气[fɑ^{213}tɕi^{33}]”。“啤”“脾”不承载语音层次信息，应当从此层剥离。皮$_{支}$[fa^{213}]、被$_{支}$[fa^{35}]和火$_{戈}$[fa^{35}]韵母相同,可看作上古歌部的语音层次。

层次Ⅱ 佳韵[ɐ]层。佳韵分[ɑ]和[ɐ]两类音值，戈洞的[ɑ]在木溪乡话（杨蔚 2010）和白沙乡话（瞿建慧 2008）中变为[o]，而戈洞的[ɐ]则对应[a]。其他乡话点，佳韵高化为[o]的现象也只限定在对应戈洞乡话[ɑ]的范围内，这说明佳韵的[ɑ]和[ɐ]并不是任意出现的变体，而是存在强烈的分组倾向。瓦乡人居住的区域处于沅水流域，“簰[bɐ^{213}]$_{木排}$”的词汇层次应当也要早于“牌[pɑ^{213}]”。[ɑ]是蟹开二佳皆韵合流的层次，[ɐ]只见于佳韵，应当早于[ɑ]。

层次Ⅲ 蟹开二[ɑ]层、止开三[ɐ]层

蟹开二[ɑ]层。[ɑ]层的影响源应当来自于周边湘语，蟹摄普遍存在掉落[i]韵尾现象。戈洞乡话的“筛[sɑ]”“摆[pɑ]”“矮[ɑ]”上古也属歌部，并且与“皮”“被”“火”韵母相同，是歌部层和湘语层的共有音值[ɑ]。在李家田乡话（邓婕 2018）中我们可以将其离析出来：处于歌部层的“皮、被、火”韵母为[o]。佳韵分为[ɷ]和[ua]两类，与歌部层次不混，如“牌[pɷ]”“街[kua]”。李家田乡话中“筛[suɑ]”“矮[uɑ]”“摆[pɷ]”不同于上古歌部层[o]，而是同于佳韵，应当划入湘语蟹开二的层次。

止开三[ɐ]层。戈洞乡话支脂之相混层[ɐ]：披$_{支}$[p^{h}ɐ^{55}]、纸$_{支}$[tsɐ^{55}]‖ 梨$_{脂}$[zɐ^{212}]、狮$_{脂}$[sɐ^{55}]、师$_{脂}$[sɐ^{55}]‖ 字$_{之}$[dzɐ^{33}]、子$_{之}$[tsɐ^{35}]、使$_{之}$[sɐ^{35}]。李姣雷（2021）发现在湖南省冷水江老湘语存在支脂之混合层[ɛ]：酾$_{支}$ sɛ‖ 畀$_{脂}$ pɛ‖ 嬉$_{之}$ xɛ，并且可以观测到正在进行中的“酾[siA>sɛ]”、“提[diA>dɛ]”的新老派差异。同时乡话普遍存在精系和知系声母后掉落 i 介音的情况，戈洞乡话止开三[ɐ]层很可能发生了[iA>iɐ> ɐ/ts__]的演变。

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澜沧哈尼语的双及物结构研究

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摘要：Malchukov、Haspelmemath 和 Comrie（2010）通过跨语言的比较做出了如下的双及物结构定义：双及物结构是跨语言提出的一个句法-语义概念，主要是指由双及物动词和施事（A）、接受者（R）和客体（T）三个论元构成的结构。本文拟就澜沧哈尼语双及物结构的语序、论元配置、标记模式和动词语义特征进行研究，梳理它的类型学特征。澜沧哈尼语（下文简称“哈尼语”）是汉藏语系藏缅语族彝语支哈尼语哈雅方言雅尼次方言的那多土语。

1．双及物结构的语序

哈尼语双及物结构的主要成分有施事(A)、接受者(R)和客体(T)三个论元与动词（V），基本语序为A-R-T-V-nɛ^{31} 。

2．论元配置及标记模式

哈尼语在论元配置上采取的是次要宾语配置型，双及物结构中接受者与单及物结构中的受事论元使用相同的标记，客体没有标记，形成T≠P＝R 的配置类型。

3．动词类型

双及物结构的动词并不限于双及物动词，及物动词也能用于双及物结构中。

4．动词后附成分 nɛ^{31}

双及物结构中，nɛ^{31} 需后置于动词，且具有句法强制性。从语义特征来看，nɛ^{31} 标记双及物事件中客体转移方向，具有离心性（转移方向或动作指向第一人称为向心性，指向非第一人称为离心性）。

哈尼语双及物结构的特点有三：
（1）哈尼语的双及物结构突出，是重要的句法结构；
（2）与汉语普通话（张伯江 1999，刘丹青 2001）和诺苏彝语（胡素华、赵镜 2019）等一些汉藏语不同，哈尼语的双及物结构不使用连动策略来表达；
（3）双及物结构具有构式化特征，非双及物动词也能进入该结构中。

关键词：澜沧哈尼语；双及物结构；语序、论元配置和标记模式；构式化；类型学特征

Verb Stem Alternations in Rongpa Choyul

Abstract

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This paper lays out verb stem alternations of Rongpa Choyul, an understudied Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Western Sichuan, China. Previous studies on verb-stem alternations of Choyul are scanty. Lu (1985) and Wang (1991) only allude to a small number of examples of verb ablaut the Nyagchu and gYanglagshis dialects of Choyul. Grounded on the first-hand fieldwork data, this paper examines the verb-stem alternations in Rongpa Choyul as observed in a variety of grammatical categories, including number, person and TAM. Some major characteristics have been detected: 1. Ablaut is the primary grammatical device when stems alter for person and number. Consonantal and tonal modifications are not involved; 2. For 3rd-person verb forms, the prefix *ɸ-or β-* prefix is applied, which is either realized as a [w] after velar initials, or as pre-initials [*ɸ*-] or [*β*-] elsewhere; 3. Only the second element of the reduplicated verb stem is involved in ablaut alternations; in such cases the prefix *ɸ-~ β-* is still used to mark third person; 4. Polar alternations in tone distinguishes perfective and imperative. The patterns discovered in stem alternations also provide crucial evidence for the phonological analysis of this language.

Keywords: Tibeto-Burman, Rongpa Choyul, stem alternation

《證治準繩》在漢語詞彙史上的語料價值

周　曦*

[摘要]《證治準繩》，晚明大醫王肯堂（1549-1613）所著醫書，為明代私撰醫書集大成之作，何夢瑤稱之為近代醫書之冠。該書分雜病、傷寒、瘍科、幼科、女科等五部分論病。每病之下，王氏訓釋證候，臚列醫經及歷代醫藥文獻，又間有小註、按語以抒己論。

縱覽王氏之書，其中語料頗為富贍，有著漢語詞彙史研究價值頗高。具體而言，《證治準繩》在漢語詞彙史上的語料價值主要在以下四個方面。

第一，保留了大量詞語新義。《證治準繩》保留了不少未被大型辭書收錄的詞語新義。書中遺存的詞語新義不僅有助於考釋探析詞義系統，也為研究詞語的歷史演變提供了語料證據。特別是一些古代日常用詞，如陰陰然、溱溱、澹澹、榮、溫溫然等，被賦予了中醫學的意義和色彩，研究這些詞語對於考察日常用詞如何演化進入中醫詞彙有著重要意義。

第二，遺存的俗語詞有助於揭示俗語詞構詞規律。《證治準繩》遺存了不少中醫俗語詞。通過這些俗語詞的研究，有利於中醫俗語詞的產生、衍化的規律有二：一是多用偏正構詞，如翻花瘡、麩瘡、粘瘡、膿窠瘡等。二是擅取比擬，如雞盲、梅核氣、虎眼樹、金燈籠等。

第三，收錄的詞彙訓詁語料便於探析中醫詞語的精准詞義和詞彙的演化規律。《證治準繩》詞彙訓詁語料的特色有三：一是重視對比訓詁。利用對比訓詁不但可以同時訓釋多個詞語，還能形成前後文相互參看，如此一來，中醫詞語意義的細微差異得以充分顯現。二是擅用義界。《證治準繩》詞彙訓詁以中醫詞語為主， 中醫詞語為專業詞彙，涉及到症狀、病源、病機、病勢、脈象、治法等多種延伸內容。因此，王氏之書訓詁中醫詞語時常從多個維度界定病證，儘量消除詞義的模糊性，使得病證的意義邊界變得更加明確。三是好用引文證義。中醫詞語的詞義形成離不開歷代醫家的醫學經驗傳承，故《證治準繩》訓釋中醫詞彙時，被釋詞若醫經及前代醫籍有論，多徵引醫經相關論述。通過中醫詞彙訓詁語料的研究， 有助於洞悉理解中醫詞語的精准詞義，也能幫助掌握中醫詞彙訓詁的特色和詞語演變的內在規律。

第四，存留的中醫語料有助於辭書修訂。《漢語大詞典》《辭源》《辭海》大型辭書收錄的中醫詞彙常有紕漏。利用《證治準繩》語料，可從釋義訂正、義項補充、書證修補等多個方面訂補辭書。

关键词：《證治準繩》；詞彙史；語料價值

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卫藏方言亚东话的语音系统

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亚东县属西藏日喀则市下辖县，位于喜马拉雅山脉中段南麓，东与不丹接壤，西与锡金邦毗邻，是连接西藏腹地与不丹、印度以及锡金邦的主要通道。本文全面梳理了亚东话的音位系统，对其主要语音特征、音变规律等方面进行了分析。

声母方面，亚东话从塞音、双唇到软腭都存在清浊、送气的对立，该现象在其他卫藏方言鲜有所见。其次，亚东话具有颚化声母 pj、phj、bj。颚化声母来源于藏语下加字 ཡ，该下加字在其他卫藏方言中几乎已经消失。

较于声母，亚东话韵母系统相对复杂。其中单元音韵母 8 个，即 a、i、u、e、ɛ、o、y、ø。y、ø 为后起韵母。单元音韵母有长短之分，但不区别意义。主要由原有韵尾脱落和音节合并形成。复元音韵母 5 个，分别为 ao、ai、eo、ou、iu，均为真性复元音，由音节缩减形成。带韵尾韵母 32 个，鼻音韵尾为 m、n、ŋ、塞音韵尾为 p、r、ʔ。ʔ韵尾主要由韵尾 k 弱化而来。后起元音 y 不与任何辅音韵尾结合，ø 仅与 m、n 结合。

亚东话为声调型语言，共四个声调，即 55、53、342 和 13。声调在实际语流中存在变调情况，具体如下：

声调组合		变调情况
首字为 55 调	55 +55	多数首音节 55 调变为 33 调，少数不变调
	55+53	多数首音节 55 调变为 33 调，少数不变调
	55+342	不变调
首字为 53 调	53+55	多数首音节 53 调变为 33 调，少数不变调
	53+53	多数首音节 53 调变为 33 调，少数不变调
	53+13	不变调
首字为 342 调	342+55	多数首音节 342 调变为 33 调，少数不变调
	342+13	不变调
首字为 13 调	13+53	多数不变调，少数 13 调变为 33 调
	13+55	多数 13 调变为 33 调，少数不变调

亚东话语流音变可分共时、历时两种。共时音变一为同化，具体细分为清浊同化和发音部位同化。清浊同化表现为清辅音声母 ɕ、p、k 在开音节或鼻音韵尾后存在清音浊化现象；清化鼻音丢失清化特征，读成相应浊音。发音部位同化表现为软腭音或双唇音对前后音的同化。如后一音节声母为 g，前一音节韵尾有时变成 ŋ；后一音节声母为双唇音，前一音节韵尾有时变为 m。共时音变还存在弱化、脱落现象。弱化主要为韵母 a 和 e 的弱读。脱落主要为元音脱落并导致音节的合并，如 ŋa31ma55so53-nim55so53“晒太阳”。

亚东话有些音变为历史音变。一为音节合并。当前一音节为开音节，后一音节为 ma 或 pa 时，二者可合并为一个音节。合并后，p 韵尾存在弱化倾向。二为音节分开，即原为同一音节，现成为两个音节。该情况仅出现于后加字 ར 上。三为音节重组。前一音节韵尾与后一音节辅音相互影响，最终使得后一音节的前加字变为前一音节的韵尾，如 གྲྭ་བཞི་-tʂhup33ɕe53“方”，རིན་མགོ་ rin33go55“山顶”等。

Appendix

Pre-Workshops

Japanese Contributions to the Sino-Tibetan Linguistics

日本人研究者によるシナ＝チベット語研究への貢献

Pre-Workshop [1] **Geolinguistic approach to Sino–Tibetan**

Pre-Workshop [2] **Great Footsteps in Tibeto-Burman Linguistics by Japanese Scholars**
日本人研究者によるチベット＝ビルマ語研究への大いなる足跡

Geolinguistic approach to Sino–Tibetan: An introduction

Satoko Shirai (The University of Tokyo)

The importance of linguistic feature diffusion has been frequently highlighted in the study of the Sino–Tibetan language family (e.g., Matisoff 2001, LaPolla 2009). Geolinguistics can be used to address this issue. It explores historical linguistics through drawing and analyzing linguistic maps (Sibata 1969). The significance of geolinguistic perspectives in the historical study of continental Asian languages has been previously remarked by Hashimoto (1976, 1978), who noted that tracing the entire structure of each language along with its geographical transition would unravel the mechanism of structural development of each language (Hashimoto 1978/2000: 47).

Recently, by implementing this approach, the *Linguistic Atlas of Asia* (LAA, Endo et al. eds. 2021) was published as a deliverable of the ILCAA Joint Research Project "Studies in Asian Geolinguistics" (April 2015–March 2018, headed by Mitsuaki Endo). This workshop discusses findings and developments from the project and its successor project, "Studies in Asian and African Geolinguistics" (April 2020–March 2023). First, the purpose and methodology of geolinguistics and an overview of this workshop are introduced, with examples from the LAA. The second presentation illustrates the lexical interactions between Tibetic and Altaic languages with examples of pastoral terms. The third presentation surveys the lexical interactions between Sinitic and neighboring languages by presenting examples of animal and plant terms. Finally, the fourth presentation is a developmental case study, which discusses the areal diffusion of Yi characters.

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Geolinguistic approaches to Sino-Tibetan: Lexical relationship between Tibetic and Altaic

Shiho Ebihara (JSPS/Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)
Yoshio Saito (Takushoku University)

In the ILCAA joint-research project *Studies of Asian and African Geolinguistics* (SAAG), Tibeto-Burman and Altaic have been studied separately by the different members. However, in addition to language contact in grammatical forms and functions between Tibetic and Turkic (especially Salar), Tibetic and Mongolic have mutually affected and adopted not a few loanwords each other, which occurred intermittently during the long historical relationship between Tibet and Mongolia.

In this paper, we focus on Amdo Sprachbund (Eastern Qinghai and Southern Gansu provinces) and, treat four lexical forms, namely, 'horse,' 'bear,' and 'wolf,' from the project SAAG as well as revealing the map of the lexical form of 'gun.' For each word form, we show a single linguistic map, then describe word forms and types, and finally analyze evidence of the mutual relationship.

The word for 'horse,' common word form **m-r-N* is the most widespread in Mongolic and across the branches of Tibeto-Burman. This type is found in the eastern, southern, and western parts of Tibeto-Burman; by contrast, **r-ta*, which is a Proto Tibetan etymon, is recognized in most of the Tibetosphere.

For both 'bear,' and 'wolf,' Amdo Tibetan origin words are borrowed from several Mongolic languages in Amdo Sprachbund.

Finally, Amdo Tibetan /wu/ 'gun' is a loan through Mongolian, which itself is originally from Chinese /pao/ (砲).

Through examining the lexical words above and comparing the language contact between Tibetic and Mongolic in Central Tibet, some characteristics of language contact in Amdo Sprachbund will be pointed out.

Sino-Tibetan lexical relationship: Some cases on animal and plant terms

Hiroyuki Suzuki (Kyoto University)
Kenji Yagi (Kokushikan University)
Fumiki Suzuki (Nanzan University)

Following the recent research's advance, Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman are considered firm branches within the single language family Sino-Tibetan. However, the ILCAA project *Studies of Asian and African Geolinguistics* (SAAG) has dealt with both as separate members due to the differences in history, research focus, and availability, quantity and geographical density of the data. The present topic is an essay examining findings by combining data from both language groups.

In this presentation, we deal with three lexical forms, namely, 'dog', 'horse', and 'wheat', from the project SAAG. First, we make a single linguistic map for each word form, then describe word forms and types, and finally analyse whether the mutual relationship is attested.

Both Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman employ common roots of words for 'dog' and 'horse'. However, from the geolinguistic viewpoint, forms for 'dog' in Sinitic and those for 'horse' in Tibetic are independent and considered a loan from Hmong-Mien and a form derived from a semantic change in Tibeto-Burman, respectively.

Word forms for 'wheat' generally differ in Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman. A small number of Tibeto-Burman varieties spoken in the present Sichuan and Yunnan employ similar forms to the Sinitic counterpart. This similarity does not exhibit a clear relationship with proto-level forms but a loan process in an earlier period. Although some lexical commonalities are attested in languages spoken in the Sinitic-TB borderland, they are primarily in a recent lexical borrowing relationship.

<Abstract> Geolinguistic approach to Sino-Tibetan:

Current issues and perspectives on Yi characters

Kazue Iwasa

In this talk, I will first illustrate two tentative but innovative studies on Yi characters to both of which geolinguistic analysis has been applied. Then, I will mention what a geolinguistic approach to the study of Yi characters indicates along with my new venture.

Yi characters have been used throughout history in societies of the Yi ethnic group dwelling around the southwestern part of China and northern parts of Vietnam and Laos. Their language known as Yiyu（彝语） or Loloish, belongs to the Lolo-Burmese branch, the Tibeto-Burman language family. Yi characters have been exclusively used by limited clans or Pimos, who are religious leaders or priests within the Yi communities. Yi characters are now almost syllabic, whereas they seem to have been logographic in their earlier stages, as in Nishida (1980: 299-301).

With Yi characters, Pimos have written sutras or their other inherited knowledge such as history, folktales, medicines, astronomy and so on. Such ancestral knowledge was so important and precious to each Pimo clan that Yi characters were utilised in order to deny access to others. In other words, Yi characters were atypical, unlike most other writing systems. This peculiarity may encourage every Pimo to write the characters fairly freely at their discretion. Also, it should be noted that countless phonetic loans must have occurred in Pimos' writing. Consequently, Yi characters have turned out to show a remarkable diversity in their forms and phonetic values from region to region, as well as remarkable variation between Pimo, although they still maintain their regional characteristics to some extent. Therefore, it is one of the important goals in Yi studies to make it clear how Yi characters changed and through what routes they propagated.

Geolinguistics is a historical study of languages. Analysing maps which show the diffusion of various forms of a certain word or grammatical feature leads to an elucidation of what might have caused the changes as it spread and what kind of chronological order the dispersion could suggest. Hence, I have applied a geolinguistic approach to two analyses of Yi characters so far. In my talk, I will introduce them briefly.

Finally, I will touch upon my newest and most challenging geolinguistic approach to Yi characters. In this attempt, I will draw comparisons between Yi characters written in Hua-Yi Yiyu （華夷譯語） and those in Yi-character maps drawn and updated all the time by the author. I hope this geolinguistic approach can reveal and demonstrate possible changes which happened in Yi characters as well as how they might propagate around a certain region.

<u>Reference</u>

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Pre-Worksop [2] at ICSTLL-55

日本人研究者によるチベット＝ビルマ語研究への大いなる足跡
Great Footsteps in Tibeto-Burman Linguistics by Japanese Scholars

池田 巧・長野泰彦・林 範彦
IKEDA Takumi, NAGANO Yasuhiko, HAYASHI Norihiko

中国語研究における日本の研究者の貢献については、国内外でよく知られており、その主要な業績は中国語に翻訳されているものも少なくない。よく知られているところでは、太田辰夫『中国語歴史文法』、平山久雄《漢語語音史探索》、高田時雄《敦煌・民族・語言》などがある。いっぽうで、チベット＝ビルマ語研究における日本の研究者の貢献については、相対的にあまり知られていない。いくつかの要因があるけれども、中国語ほどに研究領域は大きくないことと、個別のテーマについての論文が日本の学術誌に掲載されていて、参照が不便であることが大きな理由であろう。近年では研究者人口の増加に伴い、英語か中国語で書かれたもの・訳されたもの以外は参照されないという残念な風潮も見られる。プレワークショップ２では、チベット＝ビルマ研究に偉大な足跡を残した３人の日本の研究者、北村 甫（KITAMURA Hajime 1923-2003）、西 義郎（NISHI Yoshio 1934–2019）、西田龍雄（NISHIDA Tatsuo 1928-2012）について紹介する。研究業績は、主として日本語で発表されており、参照文献のリストも日本語がほとんどである。そのため、本ワークショップの報告は日本語で行うこととした（スライドは英語で記載する）。これを機会として参加者のみなさまにはぜひ日本語を学んで、日本の豊かな研究成果を参照していただきたいと願うものである。

The contributions of Japanese scholars in Chinese studies are well known both in Japan and abroad, and many of their major works have been translated into Chinese. Famous works include OTA Tatsuo's *Historical Grammar of the Chinese Language*, HIRAYAMA Hisao's *Explorations in the History of Chinese Phonology*, and TAKATA Tokio's *Dunhuang, Ethnicity, and Language*. On the other hand, the contribution of Japanese scholars to Tibeto-Burman linguistics is relatively little known. There are several reasons for this, but the main ones are that the research field is not as wide as that of the Chinese language(s) and that articles on specific topics are published in Japanese journals, referring to them inconvenient. In recent years, with the increasing of researchers, it is quite unfortunate that only articles written in or translated into English or Chinese tend to be referred to. In Pre-Workshop 2, we will introduce three Japanese scholars who have made great contributions to Tibeto-Burman Linguistics: KITAMURA Hajime (1923-2003), NISHI Yoshio (1934- 2019), and NISHIDA Tatsuo (1928-2012). Their research works have been published mainly in Japanese, and the list of references is mostly in Japanese. For this reason, we have decided to conduct this workshop in Japanese (The slides are shown in English). We hope that this workshop will lead you to learn Japanese to refer to the flourishing research outputs made in Japan.