

**On the Productivity of the Numeral Classifier System
in Modern Standard Chinese**

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Abstract

The numeral classifier system in Chinese has developed over a long period of time. It was originally designed for the precise counting of special and valuable things, and is in the modern language an obligatory device in well-defined syntactic environments. The semantic motivation for the grouping of nouns which the classifiers give rise to is not immediately transparent and provokes many questions as to which the exact criteria might be. One very interesting aspect of the classifiers is precisely that they may reveal something about human cognition and mental categorization.

Interestingly enough, classifier systems are found in many languages of various language families in East and Southeast Asia. The systems share some fundamental features, but they do also differ in many ways. Here I wish to discuss how the classifier system of Modern Standard Chinese works when it is "put to test" by certain situations where nouns go beyond the concrete and the well established set.

What I mean by productivity in this context is something like "creativity" or "vividness". It has to do with the freedom of choice of classifier for a given noun, and it also has to do with how the classifier system deals with phenomena and entities which are not visible or touchable so that they could naturally have fallen under the categories of shape, size, texture etc.; such as abstract phenomena and new phenomena.

The material used here consists mainly of novels written by modern writers, and I have also included some recent newspaper articles.

**Constraints and Strategies
on the Mutation of Affricates and Nasals in Chinese**

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Abstract

Karlgren(1915-1926) reconstructed a phonological system for Middle Chinese (MC for short) that pioneered modern historical linguistics in Chinese. But the system is complicated, some reconstructed sounds are less natural, and it appears to be only a transcription of Chie-Yun that did not reflect synchronic but diachronic or dialectal distinctiveness. The theory of phonemics had not been developed at that time and later Li Fang-Kuei (1971) revised it in terms of structuralism, and reconstructed a simpler system, but the problems remain unresolved or unexplained.

After the appearance of Chomsky and Halle's *SPE*(1968), modern phonology has begun to focus on the problem of language universal, and the ideas of markedness, naturalness and universality have been proposed. Some feature combinations become constraints, the speech sounds that violate the constraints tend to be prohibited synchronically, and change diachronically.

This paper posit two universal constraints of segmental structure that occurred in the period of Middle Chinese, that is:

1. *aspirated fricative constraint: the feature combination of [+aspirated] and [+continuant] is prohibited.
2. *nasal continuant constraint: the feature combination of [+nasal] and [+continuant] is prohibited.

If a sound of a given language violates the constraint 1 or 2, a strategy has to be taken to avoid it, e.g. deletion of the nasality or fortition of the continuant. These constraints govern the diachronic mutation of consonants in Chinese.

Constraint 1 prevents the occurrence of *f^h-(MC initial FU) in contrast with *f-(MC initial FEI), and predicts the merger of aspirated and non-aspirated fricatives when labial spirantization occurred in MC.

Constraint 2 also predicts the denasalization of nasal affricates and the deletion of *-r- in MC.

In short, the asymmetry between plain stops and aspirated stops, or that between stops and nasals or liquids in historical mutation is destined.

Abstract

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A newly discovered Mon inscription of AD 1129: Late Old Mon reassessed

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In early 1997 an inscription was recovered from mound no. 1216 at Myinkaba village, Pagan, Central Burma. This inscription has two faces, featuring 42 lines in Mon (face A and B), 18 in Pali and Burmese (face B). It is dated 491 Burmese Era, that is 1129 AD.

Apart from the fact that this text documents the relatively late use of Mon in Central Burma, a number of features in this inscription forces us to reconsider the syntax of late Old Mon, and thus Mon historical syntax altogether.

Prominent among those features are deictic terms: hitherto the earliest attested date of /te/ 'that' was 1480 AD — implying that Old Mon had an asymmetrical, three-term deictic system. In addition, the use of deictic terms in this text sheds new light on anaphoric constructions as well as discourse structures in Old Mon.

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Old Chinese Initial *m- and Early Loanwords in Japanese and Tibeto-Burman

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In the many attempts at reconstruction of Sino-Tibetan, hitherto practically no consideration has been given to loanwords, which must constitute a great portion of the common vocabulary whether or not Chinese and Tibeto-Burman are divergently related. As long as the possibility exists that the entire structure has been built upon loanwords, it is a castle built on sand.

This paper first examines some of the phonological patterns of Old Chinese and shows how Old Chinese *m- must be reconstructed in accordance with the attested evidence. The correctly reconstructed examples are then compared to Proto Tibeto-Burman. Some of the previously proposed correspondences are shown to be loanwords from Chinese into Tibeto-Burman, other words are simply unrelated, and some words that were previously thought to be unrelated now correspond rather well.

Taking the newly reconstructed Old Chinese forms and looking further afield, it is shown that many Proto-Japanese words (from the so-called 'native' part of the lexicon) correspond very well to Old Chinese words. This indicates that a close relationship existed between the two languages as far back as the Old Chinese period.

Finally, it is shown that much of the vocabulary discussed is shared also by Indo-European, including in many cases Tokharian. It is concluded that a great deal of the evidence attesting to a relationship of some sort among the Chinese, Tibeto Burman, and Japanese languages is a result of convergence with an early daughter language of Indo-European, perhaps the very language spoken by the Europoid peoples whose mummified bodies have been uncovered in great numbers in East Turkistan.

Three ancient Eurasian migratory terms in Chinese revisited:

'silver', 'lion', 'goose'

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A noticeable side-effect triggered by recent "superphyletic" comparisons of Sino-Tibetan to other linguistic families as well as by the flurry of publications surrounding the discovery of the "Xinjiang mummies", is a renewed interest in the study of early Chinese borrowings of ancient Eurasian migratory terms and their separation from "true" Sino-Tibetan cognates against the background of increasingly sophisticated reconstructions of Old Chinese and Tibeto-Burman.

In a case study of three long-debated inner Asian *Wanderwörter*, 'silver', 'lion' and 'goose', I will review the various proposals for loan sources of the Chinese terms discussed in the literature since the late 19th century, present a chronology of their alleged reflexes in Ancient Chinese texts and inscriptions, and try to assess their cultural implications. More specifically, I will address the following questions:

- (a) What is the relationship between the five known Old Chinese lexemes for 'silver' (*yín* 銀, OC *^bŋran – *liáo* 鏹, *^cC-rew – *wú* 鏹, *^a?awk – *bái* 白 ~ *bó* 帛, *^abrak – 不帛 *^bpə= *^abrak) within Chinese and how (if at all!) do they relate to the reflexes of Lolo-Burmese *C-ŋwe¹, Tibeto-Burman *(d-)ŋul, Sino-Tibetan *ŋrət // Proto-Tai *ŋəən^{A2} // Proto-Hmong-Mien *ŋaaN^A // Proto-Austronesian *pirak // Old Khmer *prāk* // Tocharian A *nkiñc*, B *ñkante* // Old Turkic *kümüs*, *kümüš*, Chuvash *kəməl* (< ?*kümüł, < ?*kim+*š) etc.?
- (b) What is the relationship between the different designations for 'lion' and leporic mythical creatures (*suānní* 狻猊 ~ 覺, OC *^aso[n,r] =^aŋe – *zūn* 尊耳, *^atsun=^bnə-? – *shīzī* 師 ~ 獅子, *^bsrij=^btsə-? – *zōuyú* 騶虞 ~ 牙, *^btsru=^bŋ*(r)a ~ *^aŋra etc.) within Chinese and how (if at all!) do they relate to proposed loan-sources such as Written Tibetan *sen-ge*, *siñ-ge*, Amdo *sai-ge*, Stau *señki*, Lepcha *sñg-gi*, rGyarong *səŋ-ge*, Muya *si³⁵-ngi³³* etc. // Written Burmese *khraŋ-se* / Modern Burmese *tai²²-tše³³* // Monguor *səŋgi* // Sogdian *šryw*, Manichean Sogdian *šryw*, Parthian *šarg*, *šgr*; Khotanese *sarau*, New Persian *šēr* // Sanskrit *śiṃhā*, Pra-krit *siha* // Toch. A *šisäk* (< ?*šitēqo-, < ?*sənk'əke-), B *šecake* (< ?*šēteqo-, < ?*šjēnsəke-) etc.?
- (c) What is the relationship between the three most ancient 'goose/geese'-designations (*é* 鵞, OC *^aŋaj – *yàn* 雁 ~ 鴈, *^aŋran-s – *gē* 鵞 鵞, *^akaj=*^aŋaj) within Chinese and how (if at all!) do they relate to Written Tibetan *nan-pa* ~ *ma*, Burmese *ŋan* // Tai *^ahaan^{B2} // and/or Proto-Indo-European *ǵ^heh₂n-s- > *ǵ^hans- and reflexes (Greek *khēn*, Sanskrit *hanisā*, Common Slavic *gōsī, Latvian *zūoss* etc.)?
- (d) What is the archeological, paleozoological and early historical evidence for the three items under discussion, and how (if at all!) can it be reconciled with the linguistic data?
- (e) Which general conclusions for the study of ancient loan-words in the East and Central Asian context emerge from these observations and how do they possibly shed light on the genealogy and/or early contacts of Old Chinese?

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A typology of classifiers in East and Southeast Asian languages: Counting and beyond

The function of classifiers is to make count nouns enumerable by individualizing and classifying them. This is more or less the standard view on classifiers. In fact, there are many languages such as Modern Standard Chinese and Japanese in which this is the main function of classifiers. However, a look at other classifier languages in East and Southeast Asia shows that classifiers are also used in the context of reference (function of referentialization) and possession / relative clause formation (relationalization). The four potential functions of classifiers (i.e. classification, individualization, referentialization, relationalization) yield the following typology of classifier languages:

I. classification & individualization
Japanese (classifiers occur only with numerals)
Chinese (classifiers occur with numerals and demonstratives)
Vietnamese (individualization, but not necessarily in the context of counting)

II. classification & individualization & referentialization
Thai (secondary function in combination with adjectives in the sequence N-CL-ADJ)

III. classification & individualization & relationalization
Cantonese (classifiers can be used in possessive and relative constructions)

IV. classification & individualization & referentialization & relationalization
Hmong (with referentialization being a secondary function), Weining Miao

The functional expansion of classifiers will be described and cognitively explained along the following hierarchy based on classification, identification and individualization:

Classification
Identification: Referentialization/Relationalization
Individualization: Counting

Historically, there seem to be two different processes of classifier

development. One process of development is based on the context of counting individual items which are of particular cultural importance. The result is a new construction containing a new and clearly defined position for the classifier. The construction is first applied to relatively few nouns and successively spreads over to a wider range of nouns until all the count nouns of a given language are integrated into a classifier system. This is the item oriented process of development which is predominant in Chinese and in Japanese. The other process of development is based on a categorial system of class nouns or class terms already existing in the language. This system, which is part of word formation, is based on taxonomy and meronymy. The position containing the class noun will be reanalysed as a classifier. This category oriented process was at work in languages such as Vietnamese, Thai and Hmong.

Both processes tend towards obligatory classifier use in the context of counting (however, in some languages following the category oriented process such as Vietnamese, classifiers are not obligatory with counting). These facts will be explained with reference to the following four cognitive processes at work in counting: classification, identification, individualization and ordering.

Finally, the two processes of classifier development seem to be areally distributed with the item oriented process starting off from the North (Chinese) and the category oriented process starting off from the South (Vietnamese, etc.). Systems of particular interest can be found in the contact area (Southern Chinese dialects, Miao-Yao languages, etc.).

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Endangered languages and language change: Gong
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ABSTRACT

The Gong language in western Thailand is very severely endangered, with all fully fluent speakers now in their late 40s or more, semispeakers aged from about 20 to 50, and no speakers under about 20. In longitudinal studies starting in 1977 I have been documenting this language.

Language death is the most urgent problem confronting linguistics. It also presents theoretical challenges to our understanding of language change. The process of change during language death appears to be unlike creolisation and decreolisation (Thomason/Kaufman 1988) and other kinds of language change.

Other studies predict that phonological change will be in the direction of simplification, but in Gong the reverse has taken place: the vowel and tone systems initially became more complex. Conversely, rapid change in syntax, especially towards typologically 'simpler' patterns, is widely assumed; but this is not happening in Gong or in other endangered Tibeto-Burman languages which I have observed.

Robbin Burling

Assam and the six surrounding "hill" states of Northeastern India have been estimated to have as many as 200 Tibeto-Burman languages. While this is probably an exaggeration (at least if it is meant to imply a lack of mutual intelligibility), there are certainly a lot of them, and they may be as diverse as the languages of any comparable Tibeto-Burman area. They are almost surely the least well known to world scholarship. The state of classification of these languages is revealed by the rather misleading designation "Kamrupan", a purely geographical label proposed by Matisoff as a sort of holding zone for all the Tibeto-Burman languages of northeast India, but amounting, in effect, to a laudible admission of ignorance (or defeat) about their genetic classification.

Classification is made difficult by constantly changing tribal nomenclature. Moreover, as people either split apart from one another or form new alliances, even the groups that need to be named change. Classification has also been confused by a tendency to presume that linguistic boundaries correspond to ethnic boundaries, and by a tendency to mistake geographical proximity for linguistic relationship.

I will propose a new subgrouping for the Tibeto-Burman languages of northeastern India that rests upon linguistic similarity rather than on common ethnicity or geographical proximity. In our present state of ignorance it seems best to offer a conservative classification, and to struggle against the temptation to build ramified subgroups for which evidence remains flimsy. The result is no less than 14 subgroups in this relatively small area, but it is hoped that these will provide a reliable starting place from which to search for more inclusive subgrouping.

The Pumi Classifiers

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The 140 Pumi classifiers collected in this paper were categorized according to their classification (noun/verb), source of origin and area of reference. The second part of this paper analysed the characteristics of the Pumi classifiers from the perspectives of phonetics, distribution, semantics, grammatical structure as well as syntactic order. It revealed that most of the Pumi classifiers are monosyllabic, predominantly noun classifiers, and mainly originated from the native language. The noun classifiers follow the order of noun-number-classifier, whereas the verb classifiers, the order of number-classifier-verb. In addition, this paper also covered the obligatory environment for applying classifiers and its duplication, and the constraints of varying its syntactic order.

The Tonal System of Eastern rGyalrong Revisited

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Abstract

rGyalrong, a member of Tibeto-Burman family, is mainly spoken in Aba Tibetan Autonomous Region in Sichuan, China. Whether rGyalrong is a tone language has evoked much controversy. Dai and Yanmuchu (1991) have found 34 tonal minimal pairs in Suomo rGyalrong, a variety of Eastern rGyalrong, and consequently assume that rGyalrong's tonal system is in its initial stage of development. Lin (1993), on the other hand, thinks that rGyalrong has complex consonantal system, thus it is not necessary to distinguish meanings by tones. In addition, reduplicating the original investigation after thirty years, he has not found any new minimal pairs. Therefore, he does not agree on the assumption that rGyalrong's tonal system is in its initial stage of development.

Investigating Eastern rGyalrong, we have found that two pitch patterns occur in rGyalrong disyllabic words: M H and M HL (where M = mid tone, H = high tone, HL = falling tone), such as 1a, 2a, 3a and 4a. Most compound words are trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic words. Their pitch patterns are M H H, M H HL for trisyllabic words, such as 1b and 2b; and M H H M, M H H HL for quadrisyllabic words, such as 3b and 4b:

(1a) M H	tə-rkə	'mule'	(3a) M H	ʒgo loʔ	'walnut'
M H	ta-pu	'child'	M HL	wi mo	'heart'
(2a) M HL	tə-ʒjə	'key'	(4a) M HL	ɲi ma	'sun'
M HL	tə-mo	'mother'	M H	mən tok	'flower'
(1b) M H H	tə-rkə-pu	'little mule'			
(2b) M H HL	tə-ʒjə-mo	'lock'			
(3b) M H H HL	ʒgo lo wi mo	'heart of walnut'			
(4b) M H H M	ɲi ma mən tok	'sunflower'			

The examples above indicate that the pitch pattern of a trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic compound has close relationship to the pitch pattern of the compound second main part. If the pitch pattern of the second main part is M H, the compound pitch pattern is mainly M H H for trisyllabic, and M H H M for quadrisyllabic; if the second main part pitch pattern is M HL, the compound pitch pattern is mainly M H

HL for tri-syllabic, and M H H HL for quadrisyllabic.

We have also found that the pitch patterns of rGyalrong disyllabic and multi-syllabic compounds are stable. If H is pronounced as HL, or vice versa, rGyalrong speakers feel it strange and would correct the pronunciation. Therefore, based on the following two issues :

- (1) The consistency and stability of the pitch patterns of rGyalrong disyllabic and multi-syllabic compounds
- (2) The tones of Chinese loanwords in rGyalrong and rGyalrong speaker's perception of tones

We would like to point out that rGyalrong may be a tone language, which is however different from the tone languages like Chinese.

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The Syllabic Nasals in Chinese Dialects

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we will examine some kind of syllabic nasals in Chinese dialects (or called Sinitic languages). Data of these character (morphosyllable) reading all come from the historical *yinsheng* rhyme categories in the Qieyun classificatory system; that is, they belong to open syllable series only. Through a cross-dialectal comparison, it is shown that these syllabic nasals are all derived from CV syllable types with nasal initials and high vowels:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1a. *ŋu → ŋ̄ (m) | in <i>Mo</i> (模) rhyme category |
| 1b. *ŋu → ŋ̄ | in <i>Ge</i> (歌) rhyme category |
| | in <i>kaikou</i> part of <i>Zhi</i> (止) rhyme group and both <i>Yu</i> (魚、虞) rhyme categories. |
| 2a. *ŋi, ŋy → ŋ̄ | 「魚」、「女」 etc. |
| 2a. *ŋi [ai] → ŋ̄ | Second person pronoun and 「兒」 |
| 2c. *ŋi [ai] → hŋ̄ ~ hŋ̄ | A southwestern Fujian Hakka phenomenon. |
| 3. *mu → m̄ | 「姆」、「母」 etc. |

In addition, we find that some phenomenon pertains to certain dialect group but others have a wider geographical distribution. These syllabic nasals may be counted as a diagnostic feature in dialect grouping.

On the place of Kachin in the Tibeto-Burman Group:

In memory of Dr. Paul K. Benedict

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The famous American linguist Dr. Paul K. Benedict dedicated his whole life to researching in Sino-Tibetan languages. He has made unique contribution to the Sino-Tibetan enterprise. His view that Kachin holds a central place in the Tibeto-Burman Group (TB) is tenable and has macro value for the in-depth study of TB languages. With concrete etymological, phonological and grammatical examples, the present paper aims to prove the central place of Kachin in TB and demonstrate the value of Kachin for TB research. In addition, the present paper will discuss the objective necessity for the existence of the "central language" and its value for studying languages.

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This paper first provides a descriptive account on the bewildering variety of the senses of two Cantonese sentence-final particles, *je* and *jek*. These two modal particles are usually denoted as delimiting particles having the meaning of "only." In addition to quantification, they can also mark diminutive, refuting, downplaying, contempt, affection, coquettish, persuading, impatience, jealous, reporting, interrogative, asserting, etc. The paper then proceeds to provide a semantic reconstruction of the development and linkages of these complex and apparently contradictory senses. I propose that these particles evolved from the delimiting adverb *ji* "only." The core semantic sense of delimitive further inferred two semantic features, namely "diminutive" and "exclusive." The diminutive feature of the adverb moved from the syntactic domain to the proposition domain expressing the speakers' proposition attitude of downplaying the event denoted by the proposition. On the other hand, the quantifying adverb "*ji*" became a connective conjoining two clauses or exchanges in the discourse domain. The accompanied exclusive feature of the connective then gave rise to the pragmatic function of refuting and offering counter-views. Furthermore, the diminutive features of the particles also extended to directive speech acts performing the functions of persuasion and interrogation with high affective value. Recently, both the diminutive and exclusive features have applied on the state of the speaker's knowledge of the proposition. They carry the functions of reporting secret news or asserting an obvious fact. The above proposal not only provides a systematic theoretic explanation for the semantic development of Cantonese sentence-final particles, it also reveals a strikingly regularity of the development of modality cross-linguistically as reported in Traugott (1982), Sweetser (1990) and Frawley (1992).

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Errant T's in Vietnamese: tai and tay
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A b s t r a c t

The regular reflex of Proto-Mon-Khmer *t in Vietnamese is đ̣ in a syllable with a "clear" (thanh) tone. Examples are:

đan 'weave' cf. Mon<tān>, Old Khmer<tāñ>, Katu taañ
đang 'bitter' Mon<katan>, Khasi khang, Katu atang
đem 'night' Old Mon<birtam>, Nicobarese hatəm

There are, however, two Vietnamese words with initial t that appear to be related to a bevy of Mon-Khmer forms indicating Proto-Mon-Khmer *t:

tai 'ear' cf. Old Mon<ktor>, Stieng ttôôr, Katu kator
tay 'hand' Old Mon<tey>, Old Khmer<taiy>, Katu tãi, Khasi kti

Past observers of these correspondences have often passed them on without comment, seeing nothing strange in *t > t, even though they realized that *t > đ̣ was usual. The ordinary source of t, however, is *s--as is most reliably witnessed by the word for 'hair':

tóc cf. Old Mon<sok>, Old Khmer<suk>, Katu sok

(Late Middle Chinese *s is similarly a principal source of t in clear-tone Sino-Vietnamese words, e.g.:

sam 'tri-' < *sam ≡ cf. Modern Chinese san.

It joins *ts as in:

tũ 'son' < *tsz 子 Modern Chinese zǐ.)

The replacement of *t in the two anomalous words is definitely a Vietic isogloss. With increasing information about the other languages in the same group with Vietnamese a proto-Vietic *s for these etyma appears eminently reasonable. This may be illustrated by the Maleng Brô forms:

sa:j 'ear' st 'hand' ɣsək 'body hair'

in contrast with

ɔtak 'earth' cf. Katu katek, Vietnamese đất.

The paper will consider in some detail the correspondences involved.

The Semantic Condensation Of The Political Terms
In Chinese

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Abstract

The ambiguities of natural language are not usually the result of careless usage by uneducated people. Instead, they result from the facts that language is ambiguous by nature and that language users constantly use and reuse the finite number of words in a language in different ways to construct new concepts to express different kinds of things, events, and situations. In this way, the same words may form different lexical patterns that gradually turn to be special terms in a certain field. The Political terminology in Chinese is a good example in this aspect. In this paper I analyse the semantic condensation of such political terms and try to decompose them in terms of componential analysis to define their meanings in relation to words, including both the meaning relations that words contract with each other and the meaning relations that words have with extra-linguistic reality. It is demonstrated that the solution to the semantic analysis of the structure of such terms lies mainly in the analysis of their collocational patterns that are formed to convey particular information.

Passive Types in the Yi Group

彝语系中的被动结构

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Abstract: In the Yi group there is a clear Passive. It does not contain any idea of adversity as in Mandarin or numerous inner chinese (Zhuang-Dong, Miao etc.) or extra chinese asian (Vietnamese, Thai etc.) languages. It is a real passive and not a word order reversion for the purpos of topicalisation, because the relevant structures have restrictions on the semantic colour of verbs which are allowed to enter those structures. While it is possible to raise virtually everything in topic position, situations have restrictions to build passives. A situation which is already a state is not possible to promote/demote further on the scale of dynamism (action-process-state). Yi passives have exactly these restrictions.

There are, however, several passive types in the Yi group with different philosophies of the particles in use. This paper is a first classification of passive types in the Yi group.

Words with voiced consonantal initials and high register tone in Kham Tibetan: A closer look

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abstract

This paper is based on a list consisting of nearly 700 nouns, which I recorded in Bathang in 1993. I have chosen the dialect of Bathang out of the five dialects that I have recorded in Kham because there is a certain amount of valuable secondary literature mainly by Gesang Jumian (Tib.: Skal bzang 'gyur med) on this dialect facilitating a discussion.

The topic I would like to discuss is the question of words with voiced consonantal initials and high register tone. The existence of such words with voiced consonantal initials and high register tone is one of the peculiarities of the tonal system of Kham Tibetan. The corresponding forms of Central Tibetan usually have low register tone.

In his article "Phonological analysis of Batang Tibetan" (1989) Gesang Jumian mentions this phenomenon, but does not give a satisfactory historical explanation for it. In my paper I will present a possible solution to this question, which is supported by the majority of the material.

The Bathang material will be compared with relevant data from Shigatse Tibetan and Themchen Tibetan. The material from Shigatse, the second largest town in Central Tibet, shows the register tone height of the respective lexems in Central Tibetan. The data from Themchen, a pastoral area in western Qinghai (Amdo), are referred to because they show the status of voicedness/voicelessness of the words in question in an archaic dialect.

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In my 1998 Sino-Tibetan Conference paper, I used comparative-historical linguistics methods to research early Tai technology for growing irrigated rice, denoted as *meuang*[A1]-*fai*[A1] gravitational irrigation that employs dikes or weirs (called *fai*) to direct water from intermontane streams and rivers through a series of man-made ditches or channels (*meuang*). The Tai have been closely identified as originators of this system, and some scholars place the geographic center of this historical advance in agriculture in Yunnan province. Linguistic evidence centering around the *meuang-fai* complex, however, points to origins in the border area of Guangxi province and northern Vietnam. It is from this point of origin that the Tai spread out in a southwestward movement, carrying their technology and culture of growing irrigated rice and transmitting it to the peoples with whom they came in contact, chiefly the Vietnamese, Burmese, and even the Chinese. Indeed both the Burmese and Vietnamese words for water channel are cognate with Tai *meuang*.

The goal of this paper is to broaden the comparisons to include more items from Tai other language families, Vietnamese, in particular, where the linguistic evidence shows intense agricultural contact.

On Negative Sensitive Adverbs in Mandarin Chinese

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Previous studies of polarity licensing in Chinese are mostly those of licensing indefinite wh-phrases or polarity "any" (e.g., Li(1992), Cheng(1994), Lin(1996), among others). The study of negative sensitive adverbs is relatively rare. This paper aims to fill this gap. We will investigate the distributions of the negative sensitive adverbs *nandao* ("it is not likely . . ."), *daodi jioujing* ("on hell," "on earth") and *cong* ("ever"), *conglai* ("ever") in typical negative polarity contexts including questions, conditionals, and negative declaratives.

A study of the adverbs *nandao* ("it is not likely . . ."), *daodi jioujing* ("on hell," "on earth") by checking their distributions in the Sinica Corpus, a Modern Chinese text corpus, shows that they are "question-sensitive." *Nandao* occurs in yes-no questions while *daodi* and *jioujing* occur in constituent questions, disjunctive questions or A-not-A questions. Though *daodi/jioujing* do appear in non-interrogative context they mean "after all" in those cases, which are different from those in questions. We will treat the *daodi jioujing*'s in questions and those meaning "after all" as different lexical items. Following Cheng(1994), we assume that the question particle *ma* or its covert form is the head of yes-no questions in Mandarin and the question particle *ne* or its covert form is the head of constituent questions, disjunctive questions and A-not-A questions in Mandarin. Therefore, *nandao* is licensed by *ma* or its covert form while *daodi/jioujing* are licensed by *ne* or its covert form. Neither negation nor conditionals can license *nandao*, *daodi* or *jioujing*.

Both *cong* ("ever") and *conglai* ("ever") are negative-sensitive. However, only *cong* must occur in a negative sentence with overt negators. Even lexicalized negatives such as *suan bu liau* ("it doesn't count . . . too much") and *fandui* ("oppose") cannot license *cong*. We will argue that negative sensitive adverbs are licensed by the negator in the head of a NegP. On the other hand, *conglai* may appear in positive contexts though the cases are marginal for some speakers. We argue that these cases are historical residues of the period when *conglai* is in free variation with *xianglai* ("always, usually"). In modern Mandarin, *conglai* tends to occur in negative contexts while *xianglai/yixiang* usually occurs in positive contexts. In the Sinica Corpus, only 5% tokens of *conglai* are in positive contexts and 12% tokens of *xianglai* and *yixiang* are in negative sentences. Since *conglai* does not always occur in negative contexts, we don't treat it as a negative polarity item in a strict sense. Compared to their English counterpart "ever", the distributions of *cong* and *conglai* are more restricted. "Ever" can be licensed by questions, conditionals, or negation. Another difference is that *cong* or *conglai* is not c-commanded by its licenser. It is possible that the licensing of negative sensitive adverbs such as *cong* and *conglai* is not by c-commanding but by some kind of adjunct licensing theory such as that proposed by Tang (1990).

Person-marking in the TB languages of North-Eastern India.

Francois Jacquesson

There are about one hundred Tibeto-Burmese languages in North-Eastern India, and they belong to nearly all known sub-groups within the family. Some of these sub-groups are typical, if not endemic, in the zone: Bodo-Garo, Tani, 'Mishmi'; and most of so-called Naga languages flourish here.

As far as verb morphology is concerned, various systems are represented, from verbs without person markers to verbs with full-fledged and complex conjugations for different tenses or aspects (I gave examples of these in Paris, november 97, and recently in Heidelberg). I propose here a review of these systems, and a tentative typology.

Comparative research in India, yet, has not much meaning if it remains isolated, especially since most types are also represented abroad. Kuki-Chin languages are known in Burma and Bangladesh; Nocte or Yaongyimchen (=Yacham) cases are close to Pumi or Rawang, and Eastern Mishmi (Miju = Gaman Deng, and Zaiwa, the language of the Meyor-Zakhring tribe) are close to Trung or Qiang.

Pronominal Requirement in Discourse

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Abstract

All languages have markers of successive references to the same subjects(Nada, 1982), however, each Language has its special ways for referring to the same participant, collective, event, or abstract, without necessarily repeating the same name or formal designation. One of the means is by using pronominal references, which is a small class of words that are used as replacements or substitutes for a wide variety of nouns and noun phrases. Both Chinese and English have pronouns, e.g., "wo" (we), "ni" (you), "ta" (he/she/it), "women" (we), "nimen" (you) , " tamen" (they), "yigeren" (one). Although each has its equivalency in the other language , there are differences in syntactic constructions, as well as discourse requirements between the Chinese and the English languages.

This paper reports a study of the pronouns with regard to discourse requirements by examining written discourse. Once an individual, or an event, or an abstract noun has been introduced into a discourse, each language has its particular way in which it may or may not continue to refer to the reference by using pronouns. The study shows that while the pronouns in both the original language and the receptor language can appear to be used identically in some occurrences (e.g. " Ma, let me go (to a co-ed school.) You usually trust me. You have never refused me anything." Chin pleaded to her mother in The Family by Pa Chin), there is no foundation for us to assure that the two languages share pronominal requirements. When we compare the use of pronouns in the following discourse, e.g. "As an artist of any kind of Art, it is unavoidable that there will be a couple of artistic crises in one's life time, early on we should prepare ourselves mentally and make realistic arrangements. The more one is able to maintain one's balance between one's body and mind (that is , one must not be always in a rush and muddle,) the easier one can get through the difficulties of the artistic crisis." (A Collection of Family Letters from Fulei) There are considerable differences in English from the original text in Chinese regarding their respective discourse requirements for handling pronouns. These requirements of pronominal references in Chinese discourse which are sometimes apparently similar to, but actually different from its English counterpart, can result in an awkwardly formed translation and even misinformation.

Effective communications are inseparable from a comprehension of discourse.

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James A. Mathisoff.

Sino-Tibetan"

"An extrusional approach to *p-/w- variation in

A surprisingly large number of Tibeto-Burman roots, many of them with good Chinese cognates, show variation between initial p- or b- on the one hand and w- on the other. These etyma include words for AXE, BAMBOO, BELLY, BIRD, BURN, CHAFF, CHEW, EGG, FATHER, FLOWER, HALF, HIDE, LEECH, PALM, PIG, SNAKE, SPINDLE, UNCLE, and several others. Is this variation to be explained in terms of original clusters like *pw-, or in terms of a prefixal stop before a semivowel initial, e.g. *p-w-? Or is the variation to be interpreted as subphonemic in origin? The exploration of these issues involves intricate general problems concerning the relationships among prefixes, initial consonants, and glides in TB/ST word families.

Information structure particles in Tamang
Martine Mazaudon, Lacito-CNRS, Paris

The morphemes used in Tamang to indicate information structure inside the clause are also found in complex sentences to help clarify the relationship between clauses. They do not, as in Belhare, replace a specific subordination marker, but are added to the subordination markers. I will attempt to analyze their role (syntactic or pragmatic) in both sets of uses, and examine whether or not each of the morphemes involved can be considered to have a unified meaning in its different uses.

The morphemes considered are

the topic marker -m(i), also found on

conditionals (regularly)
temporals (occasionally)
anteriority clauses (exceptionally)

the focus marker -ka, also found on

counterfactuals (regularly)
anteriority clauses (occasionally)

the intensifier -i /-ja, also found on

concessives (regularly)
temporals (in concessive meaning)

the intensifier -n /-nun, also on

progressive forms (always)
anteriority clauses (rarely)

James A. Matisoff.

*An extrusional approach to *p-/w- variation in Sino-Tibetan*

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In spite of the continuous series of Sino-Tibetan conferences that have taken place over the past thirty years and the considerable research on both the Chinese and Tibeto-Burman side that has been presented, it can hardly be said that an agreed consensus on the nature of the relationship between Chinese in its many ancient and modern forms and the many diverse languages of the Tibeto-Burman family has yet shown much sign of emerging. This paper will attempt, from the limited perspective of one who has been primarily concerned with the Chinese side, first to assess, from a historical and archeological point of view, the question of the probable homeland of the Sino-Tibetans, assuming that such a community must have once existed, and secondly to discuss from a linguistic point of view, ways in which comparisons with Tibeto-Burman can contribute to a better understanding of Old Chinese phonology and, conversely, what advances in the internal reconstruction of Old Chinese may suggest about the original structure of common Sino-Tibetan.

On the first point it will be argued that the Chinese written language which has been the great unifying factor of civilization in East Asia throughout history and which appeared with the coming of the bronze age to the Central Plain in the second millennium BCE was in all probability based on a language going back to the Yangshao neolithic which flourished in the same area from the sixth millennium and which spread westward into Shaanxi, Gansu and, probably also, Xinjiang, where it preceded the arrival of Indo-European pastoralists around 2000 BCE. This, in turn pushed the proto-Tibeto-Burmans farther south.

On the second point, the most pressing need has been to throw off the burden of Karlgren's OC reconstruction which was no doubt a great achievement in its day but which was presented with a deceptive air of finality that has been hard to shake off. To deal with this adequately

would take a book. The points I shall discuss here are: (1) the ubiquitous post-initial yod that is found in over half the OC forms in Karlgren's system, a fundamental mistake that has bedevilled research ever since but is at last being recognized as an error by at least a few investigators besides myself, (2) the OC vowel system - Karlgren's system which posits two vowels with labial codas, three with dental codas and six with velar codas is universally rejected but there is no consensus as to how to rectify it, (3) the question of the morphological processes underlying so-called 'word families' in OC on which comparisons with Classical Tibetan can, I believe, throw considerable light.

ABSTRACT

31st International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics

*Archaic Chinese *D(Y)AN/G(Y)AN: GETTING TO THE POINT*

Gilbert W. Roy
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This paper deals with the constellation of semantic features to be found in the Archaic Chinese word families with the phonological form *d(yan) and *gyan. Contrasts made with the features found in the forms *d(y)am/g(y)am.

The features include the following: [point(ed)] [sharp/acute] [tapered] [to bore/penetrate] [insert] [cut/scrape/ slice] [excise] [(to)chisel] [needle] [to rise/raise/increase] [to nip] [to stick/ to pin] [attach] [add] [gather/bind together] [hold] [precede] [to advance] [to lead] [pull, draw] [extend] [stretch] [oblong] [creep] [spread] [flow] [submerge/immerse] [soak] [cover] [to occupy] [stand]....

Title: The strata of Bai

Abstract: The Chinese material in the lexicon of Bai is analyzed into several successive strata of borrowings. Chinese-Bai sound correspondences are presented for each stratum. The relative and absolute chronology of strata is discussed. The earliest Chinese stratum represents the pronunciation of the earliest Chinese settlers in Yunnan, showing features older than Early Middle Chinese. Bai is not, however, a Chinese dialect having absorbed some TB material: comparison of the lexical material in the oldest Chinese layer with the Tibeto-Burman lexical material in Bai shows the latter to be more basic. It is concluded that Bai is a Tibeto-Burman language having borrowed a very large number of Chinese loanwords, including many basic items.

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Spatial and temporal domains in Kinnauri

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A wide range of semantic interpretations are associated with the morphemes *num* and *om* in Kinnauri, a Tibeto-Burman language. *Num*, for example, functions as a subordinator, where it has an 'after' interpretation; it also functions as a directional marker, where it has a 'behind' interpretation, and it occurs in the expressions for afternoon, leftover food and last. Similarly, *om* occurs in a wide range of constructions. It, too, functions as a subordinator, but unlike *num*, it has an 'before' interpretation in such contexts; it functions as a directional marker, where it has a 'before/ahead of (X)' interpretation and it occurs in the expression for first and formerly. A comparison of the various conventionalized usages of *num* and *om* shows that the semantic interpretations associated with *om* are mirror-images of the semantic interpretations associated with *num*. Further, the various usages of *num* and *om* are interrelated, forming a network. Some of these usages are more closely related to one another than others. Schematic values for *num* and *om* in Kinnauri within the "cognitive paradigm" will be suggested here. Arguments will also be presented to suggest that each set of usages associated with the two morphemes resemble the conceptual structures that they are used to convey. Finally, data will also be presented from some other Tibeto-Burman languages to show that the semantic developments discussed here is not unique to Kinnauri.

On the evolution of the category of causative verbs in Tibeto-Burmese languages

(abstract)

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Institute of Nationality Studies of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

The category of causativity exists in the majority of Tibeto-Burmese languages (TB), but the causative forms of which are not the same in each language grammar system. In some languages, the causative category possesses an important position in its grammar system, and its causative forms of verb are still active in usage and in function. In other languages, though still exist the causative forms of verb, but they are in the weak function. Again there only exists the incomplete trace of causative verb forms in some TB languages and none in other languages. Another difference in distinct languages is the presence of morphemes, some of which are agglutinative prefixes, some inflectional suffixes, some inflexion of the verbal root, some auxiliary words before or following sentence verbs. In the languages which are inflexion of the verbal root, the way to indicate the category is initial alternation by voiced-voiceless consonants, or by different vowels or inflexion of the tone. And in some languages, there are all kinds of inflexions, but part of them are more important than others.

By analyzing the complex forms of causative verbs in TB languages, this paper will reveal the historical connection which widely exists among phonetic forms of the the causative verbs, and point out that the recent forms come from the same ancient form through a long historical evolution and developed independently in each language after they became devided. Further more, this paper will show the whole history of the evolution of the causative verb forms with many kinds of language data in TB.

I have published a paper *On the historical evolution of types of grammatical structure of Tibeto-Burmese languages*, which is in MINZU YUWEN, 1992, and in this paper I will further expound the main point of view of that article in detail, with the examples of causative verb forms in TB.

This paper will consist of the following parts,

- 1, Introduction
- 2, The grammatical forms and its representations of causative verbs in TB languages
- 3, To prove the historical connections among each causative forms
- 4, To discuss the historical evolution of the category of causative verbs
- 5, conclusion

Tone production, tone perception and Kammu tonogenesis.

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David House

Department of Speech, Music and Hearing, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm

This is a preliminary report on the phonetic interaction of tone and consonant voicing in Kammu, a language where some dialects use Fo for producing distinctive word tones, while others do not have tones but rely on the contrastive voicing of initial consonants to distinguish words which tonal dialects distinguishes with tones. Speakers of non-tonal dialects produce no significant Fo differences in words which differ only in the tones in tonal dialects, and a perception test showed that they did not use Fo to distinguish such words when listening to a tonal dialect.

**Thangmi & Newar
a higher-level grouping**

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As early as 1972, in *Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus*, the late Paul King Benedict suggested a possible link between Newar and the Bahing-Vayu group or Kiranti family. The Newar are the sole Tibeto-Burman people to have adopted both a Sanskrit literary tradition as well as the Indo-Aryan caste system, and their language shows signs of considerable contact with Indic. Largely due to this influence, the exact genetic position of Newar within the Tibeto-Burman language family remains unclear (Genetti, 1994).

Thami is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the districts of Dolakhā and Sindhupalchok of central-eastern Nepal. Today there are around 50,000 ethnic Thami in Nepal.

In an earlier paper I argued that Thami, on the basis of the morphological complexity in the verbal agreement system, may well form part of a higher-level grouping which has come to be known as *Mahākirānti*. This 'hypothetical genetic unit' includes Kiranti and Newar (van Driem, 1992). Data collected during a recent field trip to the Thami-speaking area support this hypothesis.

In this paper I will present these new findings and demonstrate which of the shared features can be explained by borrowing and which may be better explained by genetic affinity.

A Preliminary Study on the Noun Phrase Structure in Jinghpo

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Abstract

The study preliminary discusses on the noun phrase structure in Jinghpo (Kachin), by the DP-structure syntactic approach in the UG framework. Especially, the noun phrase with the demonstrative/classifier/numeral is the main focus in this paper. The evidential data show out the internal structure of the noun phrase is composed of the head D and the complement NumP, the latter dominating the ClaP and the DemP.

In this paper I suggest the Jinghpo noun phrases are DPs. The DPs are maximal projections of the functional category D(eterminer), and the internal structure of D may not be NP but rather other maximal projections. In Jinghpo, in counting uncountable or mass nouns, the classifier is obligatory following the noun, like (1a-1b).

(1a) Nʌtsinʌ wanʌ māliʌ
water bowel four
'four bowels of water'

(1b) *Nʌtsinʌ māliʌ

The noun phrases with/out the classifier as indefinite phrases. The definite noun phrases are with the demonstrative following the noun and occurring before the classifiers/numerals, like (2a-2b).

(2a) māʃaʌ woʃʒaʌ māliʌ
person that four
'those four persons'

(2b) Nʌtsinʌ woʃʒaʌ wanʌ māliʌ
water that bowel four
'those four bowels of water'

The phrases in (2a)-(2b) show out that the general order of nouns and demonstratives

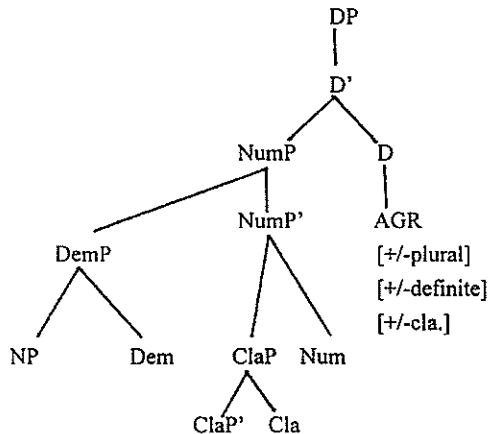
/classifiers/numerals is Noun + Demonstrative + Classifier + Numeral. The constructions of the word orders listed in (3a-3e, 3g) are grammatically predicted, but (3f) is not grammatical. The orders are not random.

- (3a) Noun + Demonstrative
- (3b) Noun + Demonstrative + Numeral
- (3c) Noun + Classifier + Numeral
- (3d) Noun + Numeral
- (3e) Noun + Demonstrative + Classifier
- (3f) * Noun + Classifier
- (3g) Noun + Demonstrative + Classifier + Numeral

The word order in (3a, 3b, and 3e) tells us that there is an adjacent constraint for the demonstrative and nouns. The demonstrative has to be firstly contiguous to the nouns. The tendency implies that the definite information is rather important. The nouns and demonstratives merge to form the DemP to specify the definiteness. It is interesting that the classifier is not allowed to occur independently. The classifier must occur with the numeral or the demonstrative, comparing (3c), (3e) and (3f).

Finally the supposed syntactic configuration of the DPs constructions in Jinghpo is listed in (4).

(4)



In this study the noun phrase in Jinghpo is analyzed by the DP approach. It is supposed that the D is the head in DPs, and it dominates three types of features, which specify the plurality, definiteness, enumeration/individuation. The complement in DPs is the NumP, which dominates ClaP and DemP. Which phrase in the complement projected according to the specification of the features dominated by the head D.

ASPECT AND TENSE IN THE BISU LANGUAGE

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Abstract

In this paper I would like to discuss the aspects and tenses in the Bisu Language located in Lancang County, Yunnan Province, China. There are six aspects in the Bisu Language, and every aspect is marked by a grammatical form, which is expressed by a syllable following after verbs or adjectives.

The six aspects are as follows:

ni³³ne³³: Immediate aspect. It denotes that something will occur in the near future. What these sentences express are not established facts, but they are merely some possibilities or predictions.

ne³³: Habitual aspect. It expresses the present situation, habitual action and permanent truth. The important idea indicated in these sentences is not the action in itself, but rather a condition as a result of the action.

pxn³³ne³³: Progressive aspect. It denotes something is being done, it emphasizes the action in itself, and refers usually to a short point of time.

ne³³xi³³, xi³³: Continuous aspect. It denotes the something continue on without any change. There are affirmation and negation. The affirmation shows that the thing being done will continue on as before, while the negation presents something have not occurred yet.

xi³³: Conclusive aspect. It denotes that the actions have already taken place or something has already been done. No matter whether the things finish, the conclusive aspect can be used, because it emphasizes the result of action.

xi³³: Perfective aspect. It implies something took place in the past, and now it is a completed action, an accomplished fact or an experience in the past.

There are three tenses in the Bisu Language, and they are expressed by some words and phrases. They are as follows:

Future tense: It is expressed by some of time-nouns and adverbs.

Present tense: It is expressed mainly by **xi³³mi³³**. It is a noun and means "now", but it is regularly used for present tense.

Past tense: It is expressed also by some of time-nouns and adverbs.

The above shows us there are some differences between aspects and tenses. First, the aspects are expressed by some grammatical forms, while the tenses are expressed by means of notional words; Second, aspects are used to a greater extent than tenses. In the Bisu Language the system of tenses is vary simple. The differences also show in many Burmese-Yipho languages, and they can be regarded as the general characters of Burmese-Yipho languages to a certain degree.

非諧聲反切是指反切與被切字諧聲並不協調的反切。諧聲是形聲字的表音部份，為字音的根本依據；反切是標示字音的方法，二者照理是不會相違的。但今存六朝切韻系書的某些反切，雖則就語音演變規律，分析其間聲母或韻母可能發生的各種變化，反切與被切字的諧聲仍不免至不諧協。這些例外反切，多數出現在較早期的切韻系書，用不同的殘卷勘對，則可以發覺到廣韻已漸次更改，重新使諧聲與反切二者相容。處理的辦法，不難轉易反切或甚而更改諧聲，另創新字。此種現象，過去一直為校勘切韻系書者所忽視，以致錯失許多掌握當時實際語音情況的寶貴線索。

本文專就其中的複輔音聲母問題，探討其間漢語之複輔音音節因離析為兩個單輔音音節，結果由一字改寫成二字，不僅可洞悉連綿詞的組成原因，同時可窺測複輔音音節的消亡年代。

"The Initial Question of Anti-phonetic Indicator Fan-ch'ieh in

the Series of Chieh-yün"

002-46.46.2224432

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The development of temporal and aspectual coding in Tibetan

Abstract: A comparative and functional, rather than formal, analysis shows that it is not possible to establish an opposition in terms of aspect for the verb stems, neither for Old and Classical Tibetan nor for the modern Tibetan vernaculars. While an aspectual opposition can be described for the "present tense" forms, that is, between the mere present stem or Simple Present/Future (and the corresponding unmarked complex expressions in the modern vernaculars) which is perfective (not-continuous, possibly habitual) and the periphrastic expressions or Expanded Present (and the corresponding marked complex expressions in the modern vernaculars) which is imperfective (continuous, not-habitual), the mere past stem or Simple Past (and the unmarked past tense forms in the modern vernaculars) is not at all aspectually marked. It may be used like an Aorist, like a Perfect, as well as like an Imperfect in conative situations with non-durative telic volitional verbs.

This apparent anomaly may be explained in two ways. It might perhaps be argued that the conative use of the past stem would indicate that the Tibetan languages do not have volitional telic verbs. In Old and Classical Tibetan the volitional verb is often paired with the corresponding non-volitional result verb (assertive or negated). The Tibetan speaker seems to be aware of or has completely internalized the fact that s/he can only control the begin of his or her action but does not have sufficient control over the accomplishment, since this depends on many other causes. Therefore the fact of having accomplished the task necessarily has to be expressed separately with a non-volitional result verb.

This would be a very strong claim, and it seems to be somewhat odd, especially in a Tibeto-Burman or Sino-Tibetan comparativist view. Should it be the case that in Tibetan there are no such verbs as "to kill", "to cut", "to rob", "to give", "to take", "to wake up", etc., but only "to attempt to kill", "to attempt to cut", "to attempt to rob", "to attempt to give", "to attempt to take", "to attempt to wake up" etc.? Do we have to rewrite our dictionaries? I will suggest a different solution that might be a clue to the puzzle of stem formation in Proto-Tibetan. And I will describe the further development of the temporal-aspectual coding in Central, East, and West Tibetan.

Hong Zhang

Noun Classifiers in Mandarin Chinese

Among classifier languages such perceptual parameters as shape and size are often among the most salient categories for noun classification, so much so that some linguists consider shape classifiers as the 'primary' basis for noun classes and other cognitive features such as flexibility, rigidity, and discreteness as "secondary" parameters. In Mandarin Chinese, shape-based classifiers are also thought to constitute a majority of the Chinese classifiers. In this paper, however, I argue that other parameters such as function, texture, lexical taxonomy, directionality, and some conceptual associations such as synecdoche (parts representing the whole) and metonymy are also frequently utilized. In some instances, we even find that these other parameters override shape categorization. In so far as classifiers in language to a large extent reflect human categorization of the outside world, recognizing various semantic dimensions in noun classification can thus help us discern what are salient features a particular language chooses for classificatory purposes.

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This paper attempts to investigate into the interplay between tonal quality and stress pattern of disyllabic noun compounds in Mandarin. The motivation largely derives from the observed fact that native speakers of Mandarin have rather strong intuitive judgement regarding the effect on stress patterns of compounds exerted differently by different tones. After an examination of relevant data, an optimality approach is adopted for the analysis where three constraints, addressing morphosyntactic structure as well as prosodic pattern of the compound respectively, are proposed and ranked. It is argued that contrary to the common belief, Mandarin is not a language that lacks stress system, and that there is a close interplay between tone and stress in the sense that syllables bearing different tones tend to attract stress in a different way, though the caveat is made that it is unclear at the present stage whether the difference can best be couched in hierarchical terms, such as the stressability hierarchy proposed by Meredith (1990). The conclusion bears significant implications for such important phonological issues in studies of Mandarin phonology/tonology, such as representation of tones, tonal neutralization, stress pattern and rhythmic structure of compounds in Mandarin, and morphology-phonology interface as well as shedding some light on the formulation of constraints in Optimality Theory.