

Plenary session

Non-finite time in Nivkh

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In Nivkh, the absolute time is typically marked only on the sentence-final finite verb form which establishes a real temporal domain (non-future vs. future), whereas various temporal relations between the situations expressed in the sentence are denoted by a set of non-finite verb forms, i.e. (quasi)converbs. Temporal relations are established in a sequence of two verb forms and imply that the subsequent (independent) form defines a temporal reference point for the preceding (dependent) form, regardless of the speech moment.

Temporal non-finite forms serve as predicates of adverbial clauses and have a verb-chaining function. The aim of my talk is to discuss these forms from historical, semantic, and areal perspectives, as attested in the East Sakhalin and Amur varieties of Nivkh.

First, I am going to examine the origin of these forms, many of which represent case-marked nominalizations, cf. *ler-* ‘play’ > *ler-f* ‘place for playing’ > *ler-f-uye* <play-NMLZ-PERL> ‘while/after [sb] is/was playing’, also *vi-f-uye* <go-NMLZ-PERL> ‘while/after [he] left’ in (1). The nominalized verb may additionally contain as an obligatory or optional element the desiderative suffix *-inə-*, cf. *vi-jnə-f-tʰobo* <go-DES-NMLZ-DEST> ‘until [sb] goes/went’. The stem can also be followed by a relational noun, cf. *qʰo-jnə-ŋ-anke* <sleep-DES-NMLZ-before> ‘before sleeping’ in (3), which then may take the case suffix, cf. *ra-ŋ-əŋ-ux* <drink-NMLZ-time-ABL> ‘while [sb] is/was drinking’.

Then, I will discuss the parameters along which the semantic types of temporal relations can be analysed. Basic relations of this type are typically classified into anteriority, cf. (1), simultaneity, cf. (2), and posteriority, cf. (3). Further analysis of these categories is based on the identifying and comparing of the initial and terminal boundaries of the correlated situations. Relevant features include the existence or absence of time interval between the temporal boundaries of the situations, the length of this time interval, and the completeness or interruption of the first situation. Furthermore, it is essential to consider the aspectual properties of the verb forms and the (non-)coreference of their subjects.

(1) *jaŋ vi-fuye ni e-rχ um-d.*
3SG go-CVB_INC.ANTER 1SG 3SG-DAT be.angry-IND
‘After he left, I am angry at him.’

(2) *ni məckə-vul kʰər-d.*
1SG be.small-CVB_UB.SIM starve-IND
‘When I was small, I [was] starving.’

(3) *qʰo-jnəŋanke eŋŋ-gun iŋ-ɰar-d-yun.*
sleep-CVB_POST child-PLeat-COMPL-IND-PL
‘Before sleeping, the children have eaten.’

Temporal non-finite forms display strong dialectal variation, which may reflect different layers of the underlying historical processes. A comparison with neighbouring languages shows that the Nivkh system in general follows areal patterns of (quasi)converb formation, which are based on nominalizations. However, Nivkh displays more diversity both in the semantics and the derivation of these forms.

Time and phonology: stress and language change

Tonal change in Yu

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This study presents an analysis of the factors conditioning processes of merger in the tonal system of Yu. Yu is spoken in the Town of Yu (Shanxi, China) by about 290.000 persons. It is less and less spoken by younger generations and has to be considered endangered. Yu is a Jin dialect, a group of Sinitic varieties spoken in areas surrounded by dialects of Mandarin (CASS 2012). The data come from a field study that I have conducted in 2019 in Shanxi, China.

In the past decades, the tonal system of YD has undergone an interesting evolution. The results of three investigations conducted with roughly a decade between each investigation, are provided below, showing that the two falling tones of the inventory – HL and HM – have merged in recent years (Song 1991; Liu 2010).

Song (1991)	HL	HM	LL	HH	HMq	Lq
Liu 2010	HL	HM	LL	HH	HMq	Lq
My investigation (2019)	HL		LL	HH	HMq	Lq

My own data show that also the two checked tones HMq and Lq present a strong tendency to merge. More precisely, HM has been absorbed by HL, and the checked tone HMq in many words is currently absorbed by Lq.

When comparing the tone sandhi patterns in the three studies, it becomes clear that the merger of the two falling tones (HL and HM) is motivated by internal phonological factors, while the merger of the two checked tones (HMq and Lq) is motivated by language contact. Of crucial importance to understanding these motivations are the following disyllabic tone sequences, presenting patterns of tone sandhi in the form of tone modification and deletion.

Song and Liu	HM-HM→HL-HM	HM-HMq→HL-HMq	HL-HL→HL-o(22)
My investigation	HL-HL→HL-HL	HL-HL→HL-HL	HL-HL→HL-o(22)

OCP: the juxtaposition of two identical oblique tones is forbidden in a prosodic word.

Based on the data collected in the three investigations, we suppose that the change of HM to HL is motivated by the OCP (Obligatory Contour Principle), blurring the boundary between HM and HL in many words, and finally invoking all syllables with HM to be realized as HL.

As to the merger of the two checked tones, we assume that the motivation lies in the continuous process of borrowing from Mandarin into Yu. The process is as follows:

HMq → (Smoothing) → LL/HL → (Reversing, language contact) → Lq

More precisely, characters (which always correspond to a syllable with a tone) that were pronounced with HMq in Medieval Chinese changed to a smooth tone (LL/HL) about 100 years ago. This variation is generally assumed to be caused by internal factors. However, in borrowing, the imitation of the pronunciation of Chinese brings back the characteristic phonation features of a checked tone, but the pitch of the tone is realized as Lq, which in Yu corresponds to the unmarked checked tone. As shown

by our field data, this tonal change is currently spreading through the lexicon of Yu in the form of lexical diffusion (Wang 1969).

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Metrical stress in Kaxabu revisited: A corpus-based approach
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This paper discusses metrical stress in Kaxabu from a corpus-based approach. As recognized as a dialect of Pazih, Kaxabu is a Formosan language spoken in Nantou County, Central Taiwan (Ferrell 1970, Wei 1981, Tsuchida 1992, Blust 1999, Li and Tsuchida 2001, Lim 2007, Lin 2020). According to Lim (2016), there are three characteristics of stress assignment in Kaxabu prosody. First, high and low pitch in Kaxabu is in a complementary distribution. When the first syllable is low, it corresponds to a light syllable; when the first syllable is high, it corresponds to a heavy syllable, CVV or CVN. The second characteristic is that there is no stress when a mid pitch does not appear in the boundary of a word. The mid pitch within a word only represents the transition from low pitch to high pitch. However, when the mid pitch appears in the boundary of a word, it represents stress, as the M + M in the category of high pitch in the first syllable. As for the third characteristic, high pitch shows stress. High pitch in the final syllable is the primary stress, and other high pitch is secondary.

Problems in the previous study: There are two problems in Lim's (2016) generalizations. First, the status of mid pitch is obscure. The second problem is the mismatch of phonetic representation and phonological notation. For example, the word *di.nà.lu.mán* 'livestock' is recognized as L+H+L+H, and the primary stress falls on the final syllable. However, the phonetic realization provided by Lin (2016) shows that the highest pitch falls on the second syllable.

The corpus: To avoid simplified observation based on only a few examples, this paper adopts a corpus-based approach by collecting data from Kaxabu Dictionary (Pan 2015). The corpus includes 3099 tokens, which are divided into six subgroups according to the number of syllables in a word. To prevent misinterpretation of the prosodic transition, the prosodic patterns of the Kaxabu stress are presented by the relative height, $S1 > S2$ ($S1$ higher than $S2$), $S1 = S2$ ($S1$ and $S2$ sharing equal height), and $S1 < S2$ ($S1$ lower than $S2$).

The distribution: The disyllabic words show that final stress is the majority (93%). Similar distribution is also observed in trisyllabic words that the final syllable is relatively higher than the preceding two syllables (63% in $S1 < S2 < S3$). In trisyllabic words, there is another pattern that the first syllable is the highest, but the second is the lowest (20% in $S1 > S2 < S3$). In quadrisyllabic and pentasyllabic words, the distribution shows that the second syllable is higher than the other syllables (71% for quadrisyllabic word and 59% for pentasyllabic words).

Conclusion: The results show that disyllabic and trisyllabic words have a similar prosodic pattern that the primary stress falls on the final syllable. On the other hand, the primary stress of quadrisyllabic and pentasyllabic words falls on the second syllable.

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Language landscape and language teaching

Developing digital materials for learning Meeramuni

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The Ryukyuan languages, spoken in southern Japan, are all highly endangered, with almost all speakers above the age of 50 [1]. The situation is particularly dire in the southern Yaeyama Islands, where the vast majority of speakers are over 70. The current project focuses on the creation of digital resources (<https://meeramuni.github.io/sakishima/>) for Meeramuni, the Miyara variety of Yaeyaman. Our website consists of a number of language learning tools: language lessons for vocabulary, grammar, and conversation, stories and media for contextual learning, games for reviewing material, and a number of resources and tools, including a dictionary, conjugation tables, and a sound correspondence tool to aid users' learning experience by teaching them to draw upon their knowledge of Japanese to infer Meeramuni words.

Since most research in second language acquisition (SLA) focuses on global languages, such as English, there is a lack of research in the context of endangered and minoritized languages [2]. Because of this underdevelopment, this study aims at closing the gap. This lack of research is also reflected in the lack of learning materials developed for Yaeyaman, and Ryukyuan in general.

While minoritized languages are often seen as “objects” in quantitative approaches to language research, we take a communicative approach in teaching these languages. We argue for endangered languages as complex and communicative systems for both new speakers and native speakers of the languages. To enhance the communicative competence [3] of new speakers of Yeayaman, we designed lessons using inductive teaching principles [4]. Inductive learning encourages users to combine their prior knowledge with contextual cues, forming stronger associations and encouraging learning through pattern recognition and application, rather than through translation and rote memorization. Following the lessons, the users have access to resources that explicitly explain the grammatical patterns and vocabulary.

We employ a framework of participatory action research [5]. The participants of this research are new speakers of different varieties of Yaeyaman including Miyaran. The participants (N=10) have been learning and speaking Yaeyaman in a study group held once a week since April 2020. Using the website we created for learning (Miyara) Yaeyaman, we conducted a pilot study to investigate if and how participants can use the website effectively for their language learning. We also compared these participants to 3 participants who have had no prior exposure to Ryukyuan languages.

Our pilot study provided us useful feedback about issues of navigation of the website and also provided us evidence of the effectiveness of inductive learning—throughout the lessons, users continually update their hypotheses on the meaning of the grammatical patterns they face and eventually arrive upon an accurate interpretation. Finally, as revitalization must ultimately be community driven, we present templates and resources that we are working on for two goals. The first is for community members to collaborate in expanding upon the website and the second is for replicability for use with other languages.



Fig. 1: Example from vocabulary lesson

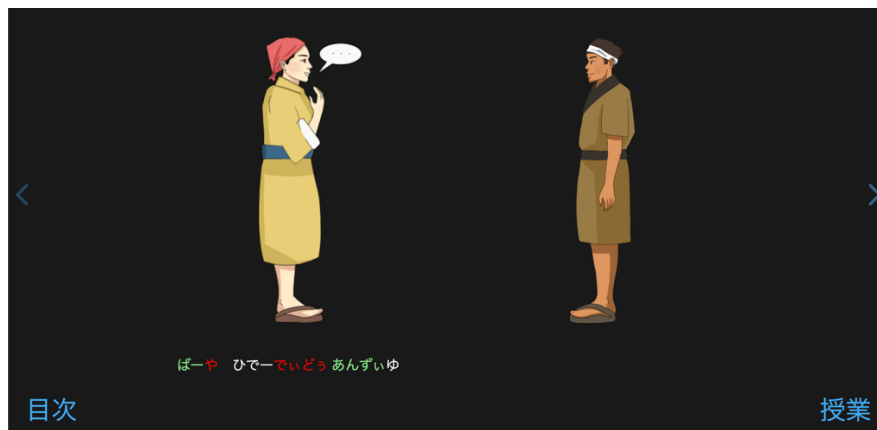


Fig. 2: Example from conversation lesson

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Linguistic landscapes in Hokkaido: When is Ainu situated?

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Linguistic landscape typically refers to the visibility of languages, and their symbolic and informational functions on public or commercial signage (Landry & Bourhis 1997). The linguistic landscape of a given place not only reflects the surrounding sociolinguistic conditions, but can help maintain or challenge ideas and ideologies about language thought of as common sense. The linguistic landscape therefore plays a role in shaping the commonly perceived past and present, as well as the potential future of language status and use. This role is emphasised when dealing with Indigenous or other minoritised languages, which have often lacked – and commonly continue to do so – official recognition and use in the public or formal spheres of society (see e.g., Gorter, Marten & Van Mensel 2012).

Ainu is an endangered language traditionally used by the Ainu, an Indigenous people of Japan and Russia. In Japan, the visibility of Ainu words and phrases has increased in public places, as well as in product names and other commercial contexts (Fukazawa 2019). Language legislation in Japan is scarce, and Ainu, amongst other Indigenous languages of Japan, lacks official recognition. Despite inadequate governmental support, younger generations are increasingly interested in learning the Ainu language. In this kind of environment, it is crucial to not only examine whether the language is present in the linguistic landscape, but to discuss how it is portrayed. While the previously prevalent notion of Ainu as a language not fit for “real-world communication” has changed amongst students and scholars (Maher 2001), related views of Ainu as a vanishing language of the past continue to exist in the broader society, affecting the current and future use of the language.

This presentation explores how the Ainu language is portrayed in the linguistic landscape of Hokkaido, Japan. By analysing data collected at the new National Ainu Museum, a concrete outcome of the recently implemented new Ainu policy, and multiple tourist locations in Sapporo, the capital of Hokkaido, I will take a look at when Ainu is situated and depicted – is it a remnant of the past, or a contemporary language used now and from now on? Is Ainu used in modern everyday contexts alongside other languages, or is its use confined with tradition and an imagined past?

Discussing Ainu language use and visibility from a temporal perspective can reveal language attitudes and linguistic ideologies invisible in the more traditional division between symbolic and informational functions of language use, and therefore deepen understanding on the issues faced by language users, learners, activists, and others involved in contemporary language revitalisation initiatives.

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Time, aspect and modality

Negation in Gorin Nanai: Outcomes of language contact and language shift
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The paper deals with the Gorin dialect of Nanai (Southern Tungusic). This dialect is of interest in language contact and language shift perspectives. It emerged as a result of an intense contact between Northern and Southern Tungusic languages. The Gorin Nanais go back to the Samaghirs (a Northern Tungusic population) who were assimilated by the Nanais (a Southern Tungusic population) and adopted their language. Nowadays, Gorin Nanai is one of the most endangered varieties of Nanai: almost the entire population has shifted to Russian.

I will discuss outcomes of these language contact and language shift processes in a fragment of the grammatical system, i.e. in the system of verbal negation. Negation seems to be a convenient field for such a study for the following reasons. Southern Tungusic have rich negation systems, which are asymmetric (i.e. negative forms reveal no congruence with affirmative ones, Miestamo 2005), very heterogeneous (negators with various degrees of grammaticalization are used in different parts of the paradigm), and very unstable. A great variation is attested in this part of grammar across Southern Tungusic languages and dialects. See Hölzl 2015 for an overview of negation forms in Tungusic, Oskolskaya & Stoyanova 2016; 2021 on negation in Nanai and other Southern Tungusic varieties.

Gorin Nanai is under-documented, compared to other Nanai dialects. The only description of this dialect is a dissertation by Aleksandra Putintseva (1954). There are texts recorded in the 1930s- 1940s, i.e. 12 published texts included in the volume by Avrorin (1986) and a folklore collection from the Putintseva's archive (138 hand-written texts without translation). Several texts were recorded by our team in the 2010s from the last speakers. The study is based on the full sample of negation contexts extracted from these texts.

Putintseva (1954: 201) reports that the negation system of Gorin Nanai is notably richer than in other Nanai dialects, she lists 4 present tense negative forms, 7 past tense forms, and 4 future tense forms. Some of them (including those with the marker əŋəj) have counterparts in Northern Tungusic, but not in other Nanai dialects. Not all of these forms are attested in the texts (which means that some of them are in fact rare and marginal). On the other hand, in the texts there are forms that are not mentioned in Putintseva (1954), including several analytic forms with the negative existential kəukə (in other Nanai dialects there are neither such forms, nor this negative existential itself). Interestingly, the range of negative forms attested in the early Gorin texts (the 1930s-1940s) appears to be different both from those of Nanai dialects and those of Northern Tungusic, and it is quite similar to that attested in Ulcha (another Southern Tungusic language, geographically close to Gorin Nanai). As for the late texts (the 2010s), which were created in the situation of language shift, they, predictably, demonstrate a highly reduced set of negative forms.

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Time in Khitan

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Khitan was the language of the homonymous people who founded the Chinese Liao dynasty (907- 1125). Thanks to the uncovering of the Khitan epitaphs, which started in the 1920s and is continuing to date, and especially thanks to the texts contained in the epitaphs written in the Khitan Small Script, research on the Khitan language has advanced a lot, in particular after the publications of Chinggeltei et al. (1985), Kane (2009) and Wu & Janhunen (2010). Khitan is generally classified as a Para-Mongolic language (cf. Janhunen, 2003: 391-392).

As research proceeds, more and more information is provided about the Khitan verbal system. The Khitan inflectional verbal morphemes can be classified according to the categories used for the Mongolian verbal system. The morphemes identified so far include a voice suffix with causative/passive value (-.l.ha.-1) and several flexive suffixes (finite verb forms, verbal nominals and converbs). Verbal nominals include -.er/-.*én*, -.b.*ún*/-.b.*ñ*/-*bun*, and -.hu/-.*ho*/-.g. It is not yet fully proved whether the finite verb suffix -.l.*ún*/-.l.*ñ* can also occur as a verbal nominal. Converb suffixes identified so far are -.ai, -.al, -.s.*ii*, and -.ci/-.*ji*.

Khitan aspecto-temporality is a still under-explored research area. Many questions regarding the functional values of flexive suffixes pertaining to tense and aspect are still open. Finite verbs and verbal nominals identified so far appear to refer to past situations. Also functional values of converbs are not clear. Nevertheless, contextual elements such as time expressions can offer important hints to the relation between verbal forms and time. In my presentation, I will first give an overview of the state of the art with regard to the studies on the Khitan verbal system, focus on selected critical issues, and share some thoughts on methodology.

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Languages through time

Spatial cases and split indirect object marking in Kurima-Miyako: typological and diachronic considerations

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Kurima is a moribund regional variety of the Miyako-Ryukyuan language from the Japonic family. Spoken on a small island of a surface below 3 km² and no land connection to any bigger landmass until 1995, Kurima has had a number of individual, sometimes quite unique developments due to its relative isolation.

One example of such a development is a split marking of Recipient (R) argument role, identified here with Bickel and Nichols' (2008: 307) Goal: "the more goal-like non-agent-like argument of a three-place predicate".

Japonic languages typically display an indirective alignment of the Recipient arguments, distinguishing R from Theme (T) while aligning T with Object (O) of two-place predicates; cf. the examples from the Miyaguni-Miyako topolect (adapted from Kibe 2012: 239, 242), in which the dative marking of G in (2) is opposed to accusative marking of O in (1) and T in (2):

- (1) eu:-ga mussu-u mote-ita:
 grandfather-NOM straw.mat-ACC bring-PST
 'Grandpa brought a straw mat.'
- (2) Itsimai ba-ja: otutu-n ko:s-u fi:
 always 1SG-TOP younger.sibling-DAT sweets-ACC BEN.NPST
 'I always give sweets to my little brother.'

The dative marker *-ni can be reconstructed for Proto-Japonic as the default marker of R, with its argument functions including recipient, causee, and passive agent carried over to many Japonic daughter languages. Proto-Japonic dative has also survived as the marker of adjuncts expressing Goal (inessive), Location or Purpose.

In Kurima, however, consistent split marking patterns are observed in the way the R argument role is encoded: although indirect object of intransitive bivalent verbs (3), causee (4), and passive agent (5) are marked by dative *-n*, recipient is marked by allative *-nke*: (6).

- (3) ku-nu ffa-a mipana-a mma-n-du
 PRX-GEN child-TOP face-TOP mother-DAT-FOC
 n:-kaz-suga-du ei:εitte-a uja-n n:-kaz
 resemble-VRB.NPST-but-FOC character-TOP father-DAT resemble-VRB.NPST
 'This child has the face of his/her mother, but the character of his/her father.' (Sugimura 2003: 37)
- (4) psidani-u ka-nu psitu-n ibi-εε-i
 garlic-ACC DIS-GEN person-DAT plant-CAUS-IMP
 'Have him/her plant the garlic' (Sugimura 2003: 7)
- (5) Oto:-n-du no:=ti:-me: azz-ari-tai-na
 dad-DAT-FOC what-QUOT-ADD say-PSV-PST-YNITR
 'Didn't dad tell you anything?'

- (6) ba-ga ka-adi banu-nke: vv-e
 1SG-NOM buy-VOL2 1SG-ALL sell-IMP
 ‘I’m going to buy this, sell this to me.’

This produces a typologically interesting situation in which the R argument role has two distinct, functionally delineated encodings: recipients are marked with allative, like semantic Destination (allative), whereas causees and passive agents are marked with dative, like semantic Location.

In this paper, I will trace back in time the steps of this development by comparing Kurima with other Miyako topolects. Some Miyako topolects like Irabu (Shimoji 2018) or Munai (Celik 2018) display an overlap of R encoding by employing both dative and locative markers. Conversely, topolects like Kurima, Bora and Uruka (cf. Kibe 2012), all clustered in the south and southeast of the Miyako area, as well as the geographically and genetically divergent topolect of Tarama-Minna (Shimoji 2012), appear to consistently differentiate between the allative-marked “benefactive-R” arguments and dative-marked “agentive-R” arguments.

It will also be observed that due to this split in the functions of allative and dative, Kurima represents an apparently rather unusual case of differential indirect object marking, in which the R argument of a three-place predicate is encoded with a different case marking (allative *-nke:*) from the O argument of a two-place intransitive predicate (dative *-n*), i.e. a predicate whose O cannot be promoted through passivization to the subject role.

A comparative look at other Ryukyuan languages, whether South (Shika-Ishigaki) or North (Shuri-Naha, Tokunoshima, Yuwan) allows to outline four basic typological patterns of the interplay between spatial and indirect object marking in Ryukyuan languages. These four types can be also argued to reflect respective chronological stages in diachronic developments of the case marking systems. Among these, Kurima and several of its Miyako kins rank as the diachronically pre-final Type 3.

A theoretical explanation for this typological variation will be provided by the semantic map framework as proposed by Malchukov and Narrog (2008), which, while intended by the authors to explain case polysemy, also appears to allow for a generally correct predictions in terms of the reverse phenomenon – the case encoding split.

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Adversative passive in Udihe
Elena Perekhval'skaya – CNRS Paris

This presentation deals with the results of the study of passive constructions in Udihe (Manchu-Tungusic).

Passive of finite verbs is formed by the suffix *-u-* followed by tense and person/number affixes: *Sina-i teti-gi-kce-mi dije-u-he-ni sina-di-i* [rucksack-SS put.on-REF- PRO-GER press-PASS-PST-3SG rucksack-DAT-SS] 'While trying to put on his stretcher, he was crushed down by it'; *Dukte-u-ze-hu min-du!* [beat-PASS-OPT-2PL 1SG-DAT] 'I will beat you (lit. you will be beaten by me)'

In these constructions, the Agent is de-emphasized, the attention is transferred to the Patient. The Agent not overtly expressed may be impersonal or generic; if overtly expressed, it is encoded by the Dative. The overtly expressed Agent can be either a person, a natural phenomenon or an inanimate object. On the contrary, only an animate being (a person or an animate character of a tale) can be the Patient of the action. In my corpus, there were no "passive sentences" where the Subject/Patient would be an inanimate object. The example given by Nikolaeva & Tolskaya in Udihe grammar was obtained by translation from Russian: *Ei lenta-wa sin-du enije-du bu-u-o-ni* [this ribbon-ACC 2SG-DAT mother-DAT give-PASS-PST- 3SG] 'This ribbon is given to you by the mother.' (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 16.1.1.2.2). It has to be noted that the verb forms with the same suffix are used in causative (permissive) constructions: *ag'a, mine-we dul'an'ki-le tee-u-yi-e* [1SG-ACC middle-LOC sit- PASS-REF-IMP] 'Big brother, put me (let me sit) in the middle'. In these constructions, the patient allows the agent to perform an action on himself.

This makes it possible to consider these structures being adversive-passive, that is, structures of an "adverse impact". The semantics of sentences with such forms supports this statement; all constructions of this type code an adverse impact on the subject: *waau* 'to be killed', *mäusau-* 'to be shot', *akindau* 'to be killed with a harpoon', *gidau* 'to be cilled with a spear'; *dineu-* 'to be pressed down'; *dukteu-* 'to be beaten; *digau-* 'to be eaten' etc: cf.:

Bi zuu gäxi-du saña-u-ge-i! 1SG [two bird.of.prey-DAT shit(of.bird)-PASS-PRF-1SG] 'Two birds of pray have dropped on me!';

Bi ag'adii digauzehu [1SG elder.brother-DAT-1SG eat-PASS-OPT-2PL] 'You will be eaten by my elder brother'.

Similar constructions were described by Mal'chukov for the Ewen language (Mal'chukov 2008). The author considers them as originally going back to the causative constructions through the "passive permissive" stage (the agent let something be done with him). This assumed development of the adversive from the causative explains the coding of the agent by the dative case; in causative constructions, the dative codes the causee. An additional support for the assumption of this development of the adversive construction is the fact that one the same marker codes the causative and the passive also in Manchu (Avrorin 2000).

The presentation will also discuss the use of these constructs in the context of language shift.

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Deictic temporal adverbs referring to days in Manchu

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Adverbials of days, such as *yesterday*, *today*, and *tomorrow*, are deictic temporal expressions that refer to an origo, which is usually identical with the time of the utterance (e.g., Klein 2009). Many languages have additional expressions referring to *the day before yesterday* or *the day after tomorrow* that, as in English, may include an additional reference point represented by *yesterday* or *tomorrow*, respectively. This study investigates deictic temporal adverbs in the endangered Tungusic language Manchu (Table 1).

Table 1: Forms in Manchu as written during Qing dynasty (1636-1912) (Norman 2013)

Form	Meaning	Analysis
cananggi	day before yesterday	ca- 'over there, before'
sikse (1), sikseri (2)	yesterday (1), evening (2)	-ri < eri(n) 'time'
enenggi	today	e- 'this'
cimaha, cimari	tomorrow, morning	-ri < eri(n) 'time'
coro	day after tomorrow	
jai coro	two days from now	jai 'next, following, second'

The first part of the study will address the diachrony of the individual forms, including phonological features (e.g., palatalization in *ca-*, *cima-*, and *coro*) and aspects of word formation. For instance, Alonso de la Fuente (2019) recently proposed that written Manchu *enenggi* 'today' and *cananggi* 'day before yesterday' can be analyzed as **e-ne-nggi* and **ca-ne-nggi*, i.e. demonstratives followed by the word *ne* 'now' and an obscure suffix. This talk will show that there is a much more plausible explanation of the demonstratives having fused with the word *inenggi* 'day', which is well-known from many other languages (e.g., German *heute* 'today' < 'this day'). Evidence for this analysis can also be found in the synchronic structure of Manchu (*e-cimari* 'this morning', cf. Italian *sta-mattina* 'this morning'), in older stages of the language (Table 2), and in other Tungusic languages. For instance, the language Kilen shows the same fusion of the demonstrative *ai* 'this' and the noun *iniŋ* 'day' to *ainiŋ* 'today' (An 1986).

Table 2: Forms in Jurchen recorded during Ming dynasty (1368-1644) (Kane 1989)

Jurchen	Transliteration	Manchu	Meaning
塔能吉	<tanengji>	ca- + inenggi	day before yesterday
失塞能吉	<shisainengji>	sikse + inenggi	yesterday
额能吉	<enengji>	e- + inenggi	today
替麻哈能吉	<timahanengji>	cimaha + inenggi	tomorrow
跳鲁能吉	<tiaolunengji>	coro + inenggi	day after tomorrow

The second part investigates the meaning, metaphorical basis (e.g., spatial > temporal concepts), and actual usage of the individual forms in written texts (e.g., Sam-Sin & Rodenburg 2021) and spoken dialects (e.g., Wang 2005). For example, two of the words are polysemous (*sikse*- 'yesterday, evening', *cima*- 'tomorrow, morning'). The talk will discuss this phenomenon from a cross-linguistic perspective, showing that similar patterns are also known from other Tungusic languages (e.g., Udihe *tima(na)* 'tomorrow, morning', Nikolaeva & Tolsakya 2001) as well as from languages from around the world (e.g., Polish *jutro* 'tomorrow, morning'). The talk concludes with a brief discussion of the cognitive and ecological foundation of this recurring cross-linguistic polysemy and its significance for the conceptualization of time.

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The Shinehen dialect of the Buryat language: A preliminary analysis

Bayarma Khabtagaeva – University of Naples l'Orientale

The aim of my presentation is to give an overview of the Shinehen Buryat dialect and its present linguistic situation. *Šenexēnei buryād*, i.e. ‘the Buryats of Shinehen Region’ live in the northeastern part of the Inner Mongolia, China, in the Hulun Buir Province in Manchuria. In 2017, I had a great opportunity to visit them and collect some linguistic material.

Historically, the Shinehen Buryats are speakers of Khori Buryat dialect, which is spoken in Aga territory of Chita Province. Together with Khamnigan Mongols and Khamnigan Ewenkis they migrated from Russia to China in 1918, just after the Russian October Revolution escaping from the Civil War.

During the fieldwork I experienced that the Buryat people among other minorities (as Khamnigan Mongol, Khamnigan Ewenki, Solon Ewenki and Dagur) is the most vigorous and strong community in Hulunbuir. Probably, the Buryat people could strongly preserve their language and culture due to the fact that they are rather closed society and follow a traditional way of life. The Buryat immigrants were mostly members of nobility and intelligentsia, the most affluent layer. Another reason is that they live in compact territory, they did not have problem of choosing between related Buryat and Mongolian languages, i.e. they live in ethnic homogeneity of settlement (Mongolian language speakers). Like other Mongolian people, Buryats use Classical Mongolian script not only in administration, but also in everyday life. Today the Buryat language is not officially recognized in China, consequently it has officially no written form and no teaching of Buryat is allowed. In spite of that the Buryat teachers, who are majority in the secondary school, try to speak in Buryat with children when Standard Mongolian is not mandatory.

Nowdays, all Shinehen Buryats at least trilingual, speak fluently Buryat, Standard Mongolian (*barimĵaa*) and Chinese. Due to it, the dialect has some lexical items which lack in other Buryat dialects, the loanwords from Chinese and the ‘*barimĵaa*’ Standard Mongolian languages. Additionally, there is a layer of early Russian loanwords which is today absent in other Buryat dialects. Several papers on morphological features (as clitics, participles, particles) of Shinehen Buryat were published in Japanese language by Japanese researcher Yasuhiro Yamakoshi. The presentation tries to shed light on the position of dialect among Buryat dialects and other Mongolic languages from phonetic, morphological and semantic aspects, and shows that the systematic linguistic description and historical grammar of this variety is needed.

Language obsolescence in East Asia

Behind the apparent vitality: The Sui language of Southwestern China

Kamil Burkiewicz – Adam Mickiewicz University

The Sui are one of the 55 officially recognized ethnic minorities in the People's Republic of China. Most of their population, reaching over 400,000 people, inhabits the southern part of Guizhou Province, especially Sandu Sui Autonomous County and adjacent counties. Living among the numerically dominant Han, as well as settlements of other ethnicities, including Bouyei, Miao, Dong, Yao and Zhuang, many of the Sui still adhere to traditional customs and speak their own indigenous language, classified within the Kam-Sui branch of the Tai-Kadai family.

The Sui language, whose structure, vocabulary and phraseology are inseparably intertwined with local culture, constitutes an important factor in maintaining ethnic identity. Depending on the source, Sui is spoken by over 200,000 (Frawley 2003:210) or 300,000 speakers (Lewis et al. 2014) and remains the main language of daily life within Sui communities. Internally divided into three local dialects, among which the most widespread is Sandong dialect, the Sui language combines a complex tonal system, consisting of both contour and register tones, with analytic and isolating morphology. Many native Sui are bilingual or multilingual, besides the mother tongue, they also speak Standard Mandarin, dialects of Southwestern Mandarin, some can communicate in non-Han languages.

Like several neighboring ethnic groups, the Sui developed an abundant oral tradition. Since the original logographic writing system, called [le¹sui³] 'the Sui script', was used exclusively by Sui shamans for divinatory purposes, countless songs and prose tales have been passed through generations as a part of collective memory. Starting from the mid-20th century, some of the most popular pieces were recorded and published in Chinese (Fan 1987, Zu & Zhou 1988). Unfortunately, there are only a few publications containing phonetic transcriptions of the originals (Wei 2012, Lai 2015).

Although the current condition of Sui people's culture and native language seems to be unthreatened, the ongoing social changes bring far less optimistic perspectives regarding the more distant future. While the system of compulsory education, based on Standard Mandarin, does not pose an evident threat by itself, combined with several other factors, including rising migration to larger urban centres, increasing domination of Chinese social media and popular culture, it does lead to new, potentially threatening phenomena in the Sui language. Not only a continuous flow of new lexical borrowings, but also Chinese-derived syntax forms come into use, especially among young speakers.

The aim of the proposed presentation is to examine the scope of these phenomena, as well as to project the prospects for future preservation of the Sui language under the mounting pressure exerted by Chinese language environment.

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*Mixed paradigms in analytical aspect-tense and Aktionsart forms in South Siberian Turkic:
The case of Chalkan*

Irina Nevskaya – Frankfurt University

Southern Siberia is a home of various Turkic idioms that build several dialect continua. Formation of several Turkic republics in this area in the framework first of the Soviet Union and later of the Russian Federation, has led to the present situation where administrative borders, drawn rather voluntarily, do not coincide with areas of distribution of certain linguistic varieties. Thus, six Turkic idioms, spoken in the Republic Altai, are supposed to belong to two different areal and genetic subgroups: Northern Altai (Chalkan, Tuba and Kumandy) and Southern Altai (Altai kiži, Teleut and Telengit) (Baskakov 1985; Schönig 1999).

This lecture will present a case study of the recent development of mixed paradigms in the aspect-tense and Aktionsart forms in Chalkan, a highly endangered Altai variety (Baskakov 1985; Baskakov, Seljutina 2010; Erdal, Nevskaya et al. 2013). In the Altai Republic, the dialect of the most numerous ethnic group *Altai kiži* ‘Altai people’ serves as the basis for Standard Altai, the language of republican mass media; it is taught as the “native” language also in Chalkan villages. However, the northern Altai dialects are linguistically much closer to Shor, Khakas dialects and other Turkic idioms belonging to a hypothetical Ob-Yenisei Turkic linguistic area (Fil’chenko et al. 2011, 2012, 2013), than to Standard Altai. This lecture intends to show the place of Chalkan analytical aspect-tense forms among those of other South Siberian Turkic languages as a whole and Ob-Yenisey languages in particular. We will first investigate macro-areal patterns of analytical aspect-tense formations in this area taking into consideration a number of languages – representatives of the Ob-Yenisey (Shor, Chulyum), Kypchak (Siberian Tatar), and Sayan-Altai (Altai-kizhi) sub-branches of Turkic. We will then address micro-areal patterns represented by Altai varieties (Chalkan and Kumandy standing for North Altai idioms and Altai-kizhi and Telengit for South Altai ones).

Our hypothesis is that North Altai variants serve as a bridge between the Ob-Yenisei linguistic area and the Sayan-Altai. This is a result of the intensive influence of the Altai literary language, the superstratum language in the Republic of Altai. We are witnessing spreading of Altai literary norms in Chalkan on all language levels (Ozonova, Nikolina 2005; Fedina 2010; Ozonova, Šagdurova 2013; Širobokova, Šagdurova 2013; Širobokova, Tjunteševa, Šagdurova, Ozonova 2015; Ozonova. In print). Even the Chalkan analytical aspect-tense formations are greatly influenced by Altai Standard forms, which leads to their contamination and rearrangement of the whole system of Chalkan functional verb forms (Nevskaya 2014); e.g.: Chalkan has switched to employing the auxiliary verb *tur-* ‘stand’ instead of the original verb *t’at-* ‘lie’ for formation of intraterminal tense-aspect forms. Both types of formations exist in parallel at present, which leads to their merging and existence of allomorphs belonging to different harmonic types. Thus, Chalkan is getting assimilated by Standard Altai, the mixed tense-aspect paradigms being an intermediate stage of the Chalkan language decay. Combined with further sociolinguistic factors, e.g. the social and linguistic dominance of the Russian language, this contact situation has a devastating effect on the Chalkan vitality.

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Language shift and maintenance in Guam

Masumi Kai – University of Guam

This study examines the current status of the Chamorro language and also introduces some language revitalization movements in Guam.

The Chamorro language is mainly spoken in Guam. Guam is an island located in Micronesia, in the western Pacific. Guam was occupied by Japan between 1941 and 1944. The island was named Omiya-Jima (Great Shrine Island) at that time. Some Japanese language instruction was given to local people during this period, but after the World War II, Guam became a US territory and the main language was changed to English.

Guam's current population is about 168,800 (July 2021 est.). Guam is a multi-ethnic region. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (2022) calculates the portion of Chamorros at 37.3% of the population. The rest includes Filipino, Pacific Islander, White, Pacific Islander, Asian, and Others. Chamorro-language speakers are estimated as 17.8% of the population. Many researchers have pointed out that the number of speakers of the Chamorro language have been declining after World War II for numerous reasons. One of the main reasons is Americanization with the impact of U.S. military occupation (e.g., Odo, 1972; Riley, 1974; Underwood, 1984). The younger generation is key to maintaining the indigenous language. Yet, to our knowledge, there are no up-to-date studies investigating what percentage of young people today have acquired Chamorro as their mother language or can speak it fluently.

In this presentation, we discuss indigenous Chamorro language acquisition, maintenance, and linguistic ability among members of the youngest generation living in Guam. Our data shows that most participants claimed to understand the Chamorro language, more or less. However, further investigation revealed that most of them do not evaluate their speaking ability as good. The data found that only a limited number of young people acquired Chamorro as their mother language or one of their mother languages. The number is not high, but there are participants who can be categorized as 'active Chamorro speaker'. Active Chamorro speakers use English as their current main language but use the Chamorro language frequently, *everyday* or *sometimes*, and their speaking ability is *very good* or *good*. We classified them into four levels, according to their frequency of use and the speaking ability of the Chamorro language.

As further analysis, we conducted the Chi-Square Test to see if there was a statistically significant difference with respect to five variables: participants' gender, birthplace, age group, parent's occupation, and parent's educational background. The results show that the gender difference does not affect Chamorro language ability, frequency of use, and attitude toward the Chamorro language overall. In contrast, the participants' birthplace, age group, and parent's occupation showed statistical differences. Given the generally positive attitudes towards the Chamorro language, its acquisition and preservation, there remains hope a larger community will be built upon the infrastructure that is being developed to revitalize Guam's indigenous language.

Honorifics and politeness in Southern Amami Oshima
Martha Tsutsui-Billins – California State University, Fresno

This presentation will disseminate the findings from a language documentation and sociolinguistic study of the under-documented Setouchi variety of the Amami Oshima language. Amami Oshima is an endangered language spoken in the Ryukyuan Islands. Amami has become increasingly endangered in the last century, as the community has shifted to Japanese, the language of socioeconomic power and prestige on the islands. Historically, Amami polite registers utilized honorific and humble forms (Niinaga 2015; Shigeno 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). Having a complete command of polite registers is essential to be considered a “true” speaker in Ryukyuan society, which operates on a vertical and hierarchical structure (Anderson 2014). Increased endangerment and language shift/loss on the Amami islands has led to stylistic shrinkage (in the sense of Dorian 1981), resulting in loss of Amami in public domains and polite contexts where Amami honorifics would historically have been used. Currently, many speakers do not have a full command of Amami polite registers.

This presentation will explore bilingual Amami speakers’ language choice to express politeness, or in other words, answer the question “in an endangered language context, how can bilingual speakers be more or less polite amongst each other?”. This study collected natural data from speakers in the workplace domain, where politeness is normally expected. Data was collected from three retirement homes, where both younger (employee) and older (resident) Amami speakers interact. The natural recordings show that Amami bilinguals tend to draw on Japanese from their linguistic repertoire to express politeness. Despite this, Amami honorifics are still present throughout the speaker community, although in an unprescribed and limited manner. This study adopts an indexical view of honorifics, assuming that honorifics are not inherently deferential on their own and can carry “secondary” meanings (in the sense of Agha 2007; Pizziconi 2011). Therefore, this presentation will also tackle the question: Against the backdrop of language endangerment, what role do Amami honorifics fulfill in light of Japanese replacing Amami in public domains? Evidence presented will show speakers using honorifics to express intimacy, localness, and familiarity, but not deference (as would be expected in a healthy language context).

This presentation will disseminate research from both the author’s doctoral research (in progress) and a forthcoming joint publication comparing politeness and honorifics in two Northern Ryukyuan varieties (van der Lubbe & [redacted] & Heinrich, forthcoming). This research intends to contribute to the broader documentation of Ryukyuan languages, which is considered “fragmentary” at best according to UNESCO’s (2003) language endangerment and vitality assessment tool. Additionally, as a case study examining a language undergoing stylistic shrinkage, this study strives to shed light on the processes that languages undergo as they lose registers. This is significant, because language change in obsolescing languages seem to occur in “uncertain predictability” (Campbell and Muntzel 1989). Finally, this study seeks to interpret honorifics’ intended meanings in the face of language endangerment, where Japanese has become the default code to express deference.

Time, evidentiality and discourse*Sayan Turkic complex evidential system*

Elisabetta Ragagnin – Ca' Foscari University of Venice
Arzhaana Syuryun – Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences

Evidentiality is a morphologically marked category in Turkic languages. It can be realised both by inflectional markers and copula particles. Generally, terms expressively marked for evidentiality stand in paradigmatic contrast to non-evidentials. However, the types of evidentiality systems and their organisation vary considerably across the Turkic languages both synchronically and diachronically. Western Turkic languages tend to display two-term systems, where an evidential/indirective marker competes with a non-evidential one. On the other hand, Turkic languages of Central Asia display more comprehensive three-term systems, where an evidential/indirective past, a postterminal item, displaying perfect-like meanings with occasional evidential/indirective readings, and a direct past marker (unmarked for evidentiality) compete. Finally, more eastern Turkic languages of the Sayan sub-branch of Turkic display four-term systems, where evidential forms contrast with postterminals, non-evidentials and confirmatives. Our contribution will particularly deal with the latter case, highlighting both the role of language contacts with Mongolic and the substrate influence of Samoyedic, key elements for understanding the structure of this “complex” four-fold system.

Insights from the Thewo Tibetan's /nə33/ and /ta33/ regarding evidentiality's relationship with temporal space, verbal semantics, and world view

Abe Powell – Independent researcher

Abstract: Thewoke is a Tibetic language spoken in the People's Republic of China on the borders of Gansu and Sichuan Provinces. The dialect of Thewo represented here is spoken in the upper reaches of the Bailong River in the townships of Re'er, Chong'er, and Dong'lie. There are approximately 10,000 speakers of this language and it is under heavy pressure from Amdo Tibetan and especially Mandarin Chinese. This speech variety has two suffixes, /nə33/ and /ta33/, which appear either directly after action verbs, or directly after the progressive aspect marker; these two suffixes are distinct from the intimate, inferential, and reported knowledge evidentials. /nə33/ is used to express that the speaker has sensory information of their claim at the time of the speech act. The nature of the sensory information is determined by the semantics of the verb. Usually it will be sensory information of the results of the action rather than of the action itself. However, for a certain semantic class of verbs, it does refer to sensory information of the action itself. In contrast, /ta33/ is used to express that at the time of the speech act, the speaker no longer has sensory evidence (but formerly did) of act in question. Although it seems to be most often used to express that the speaker had direct, intimate knowledge of event, it shares with /nə33/ the possibility of being used to describe events where the speaker only saw (heard or smelt, etc.) the result of the action, rather than the action itself. Here again the semantic value of the verb is key to understanding whether it refers to something the speaker witnessed directly, or witnessed only a result of the action. Given this unique function, /ta33/ is often (though not always!) interchangeable with the intimate knowledge marker (though they indicate different degrees of familiarity with the event in question). Likewise, /nə33/ is often interchangeable with the inferential knowledge evidential, though it indicates the speaker has a greater degree of certainty than the inferential knowledge evidential. Based upon these observations, this paper argues that temporal space and verbal semantics are key to understanding the cognition which underlies interpreting /nə33/ and /ta33/ and all evidentials in Thewoke. As such, this paper affirms our growing knowledge of evidential systems as being more complex than just indicating what was heard or seen or smelt. They reflect nothing less than how native speakers perceive the world.

Sakhalin Ainu inferentials as indicators of relative tense

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The Ainu language has no morphosyntactic device dedicated to marking verbal tense. Traditionally, discourse structure and the use of time anchoring expressions (e.g. time adverbs) have been regarded as the only ways to derive the relative tense of predicates in context. However, investigation of the Ainu evidential system has revealed that the use of evidential forms, and of inferential forms specifically, has the pragmatic extension of indicating the relative tense of the predicate under the scope of evidentiality. The Sakhalin (Karafuto) variety of Ainu displays a four-term inferential system, whose forms have quite transparent inner semantics that, in combination with the aspectual characteristics of the scope predicate, differs in how it contributes to the derivation of a relative present or past tense reading for the evidential expression. While presenting a novel approach to Sakhalin Ainu evidentiality and its uses beyond expressing source of information, this contribution points out some of the blank spots in our current understanding of the aspect-mood-evidentiality system of the language which need to be addressed in order to get a full picture of how Sakhalin Ainu conceptualized time and encoded it into their language.

Transitivity and temporal flow in Sakizaya discourse

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The ‘voice’ system of Philippine-type languages (Austronesian) is a morphosyntactic alignment system whereby verbal affixes mark the topic argument (i.e. agent, patient, location, instrument, etc.), which is then promoted to the syntactic subject via nominative case marking (Kroeger 2010). However, this system is not only characterised by its complex interaction with semantic and morphosyntactic transitivity but also by other linguistic features such as verb classification, lexical aspect, topicality, modality, and tense-aspect. Although there are a number of ways to express temporal information in the endangered Formosan language of Sakizaya (e.g. via clitics, morphological reduplication, temporal adverbs etc.), basic clauses can also be interpreted as perfective or imperfective when no other temporal information is present, according to their morphosyntactic alignment:

1. *mu-kan* *k-aku* *tu* *lami'*
 AV-eat NOM-1.SG OBL vegetables
 ‘I eat/am eating vegetables.’

2. *ma-kan* *aku* *ku* *lami'*
 PV-eat GEN.1SG NOM vegetables
 ‘I ate the vegetables.’

The switch in morphosyntactic alignment and the subsequent change in temporal interpretation are conditioned by the telicity of the event and by the degree of affectedness of the patient argument. This also has implications for the distribution of such clauses in larger segments of discourse and the resulting relationship between transitivity and the foregrounding and backgrounding of information. While this has been discussed to some extent in related languages like Tagalog (Katagiri 2005), this paper focuses on the correlation between transitivity and particular *Rhetorical Relations* (Lascarides & Asher 2003): coherence relationships that not only describe how clauses are logically and structurally connected to one another but also temporally, allowing us to see how clause types can shape the temporal flow of a discourse in Sakizaya. Preliminary research shows transitive clauses that highlight an affected patient are commonly found in coordinating clauses (e.g. *Narration*, *Parallel*, *Contrast* and *Result*), which typically signify change and therefore push the narrative forward temporally, while (extended) intransitives lacking aspectual marking are more commonly seen in subordinating clauses (e.g. *Background*, *Elaboration*, *Explanation*, and *Condition*), which provide background information without introducing new temporal reference points into the narrative:

Co-ordinating

3.
 - a. *cuzuh-an* *ni* *putal* *ci* *pekac*
 push-LV GEN.PN Putal NOM.PN Pekac
 ‘Putal pushed Pekac.’

 - b. *ma-puling* *niza*
 PV-fall.down GEN.3SG
 ‘He fell down.’ (Result)

Subordinating

4.

- a. *u iza han=tu u maheka mi-kikung-ay a*
 CN there SAY=ASP CN just AV-marry-NMLZ LNK
ma-sa-kapah-ay
 STAT-SA-good-NMLZ
 ‘The one just mentioned was a young man who had just gotten married.’
- b. *Ø-bangcal k-uinian acawa niza*
 STAT-beautiful NOM-DEM wife GEN.3.SG
 ‘His wife was very beautiful.’ (*Background*)

The examples in this paper demonstrate how the morphosyntactic forms of Sakizaya are conditioned by the semantics of the event and then funnelled through the pragmatic notions of relevance (Sperber & Wilson 1995), to be finally reflected and temporally interpreted via discourse structures. By highlighting the interconnections between morphosyntax, semantics and pragmatics, this paper underlines a holistic approach to the analysis of temporal systems.

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Egophoricity in Jejuan? A look at -no-/kɔ- and -m=i- constructions

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Some verbal inflections in Jejuan (Koreanic, Jeju Province, South Korea; also Jejueo, Ceycwu dialect) appear to be sensitive to speaker or addressee subjects (cf. Lee 1978, Hyun and Kang 2011). This feature diachronically relates to similar marking patterns in Middle Korean (Ko 2013). In spoken Standard Korean, on the other hand, such inflections are obsolete, or at best archaic [data from fieldwork in Gimnyeong-Ri, Gujwa-Eup, Jeju City, speaker ca. 89 yrs old]:

- (1) *na* *pap* *mək-i-m=i-u-ta.*
 1SG meal eat-EP-NMLZ=COP-POL-DECL
 ‘I’m having a meal.’
- (2) *ni* *mus^hikə* *hə-m=i-ni?*
 2SG what do-NMLZ=COP-Q.CNT
 ‘What are you doing?’
- (3) **s^hamtε^hun* *kimjəŋ* *s^hal-m=i-u-ta.*
 title Gimnyeong live-NMLZ=COP-POL-DECL
 (‘Samchun, you live/Samchun lives in Gimnyeong.)
- (4) *na* (**ni*/**uli* *olepi*) *ni-ne* *teip-i*
 I you/1PL brother you-ASSOC house-LOC
ka-no-la/o-kɔ-la.
 go-IPF-ILLOC/come-PF-ILLOC
 ‘I (*you/*my younger brother) am going/have come to your house.’

The *-m=i-* construction above consists of a nominaliser and copula, and expresses presentive meaning. The Jejuan patterns intersect with declarative and/or interrogative illocutionary force. Some are restricted to first-person subject reference in statements (ex. 1), with the same marker in second-person questions (ex. 2). Any other intersection of illocutionary force and person reference leads to ungrammaticality (ex. 3). Other suffixes such as the imperfective-perfective *-no-/kɔ-* construction, are restricted to first-person, declarative usage (ex. 4). Together with ongoing language shift towards Korean, patterns such as the above are being replaced by ones without such a restriction.

Under the term egophoricity, more and more researchers from various regions of the world have been noting this canonical ‘1DEC-2INT’ marking pattern in a range of languages (Lhasa Tibetan: Tournadre 1992; Newar: Bendix 1974; Northern Akhvakh: Creissels 2008; Guambiano: Norcliffe 2018). Within this research strand, researchers propose that some languages have grammaticalised means to indicate “personal knowledge, experience, or involvement of a conscious self”, that is, “quasi-paradigmatic”, morphosyntactic elements which seem to be “person-sensitive” (Floyd et al. 2018: 2) even in absence of inflectional agreement. Thus, some authors argue that such systems grammaticalise “epistemic authority” and “epistemic access” (Floyd et al. 2018: 2) to the experience of oneself and others, while others regard such patterns as the grammaticalisation of ‘self-ascription’ (Wechsler 2018), a ‘semantic function’ whereby a speaker ascribes a property to themselves.

Based on wider research, I apply criteria commonly identified in the wider egophoricity literature to Jejuan data on a selected range of constructions. Research on egophoricity has helped uncover aspects of Jejuan grammar hitherto not scrutinized, yet the construction-specific arbitrariness of Jejuan egophoric phenomena points towards a complex interplay between epistemic principles as driving forces behind the grammaticalization of such constructions, and language shift and language obsolescence as a disruptive factor.

Abbreviations

ASSOC=associative, COP=copula, DECL=declarative, EP=epenthetic, ILLOC=illocutionary force, (I)PF=(im)perfective, INT=interrogative, LOC=locative, NMLZ=nominaliser, PL=plural, POL=polite, Q.CNT=content question, SG=singular, 1=first person, 2=second person

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Once upon a time in South Izu: Temporality and evidentiality in the Hachijō folktales

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The Hachijō language (simply called *Shima-kotoba*, ‘island speech’, by its native speakers) is a critically endangered minority language of Japan, traditionally spoken in the southern half of the Izu Archipelago, roughly 250 km south-east of Tokyo. Although it was for a long time considered a dialect of Japanese, its classification has been highly debated since the 1930s, and the current majority tendency is to consider it an independent language (YAMADA, 2010; IANNUCCI, 2019), possibly belonging to the Eastern branch of Japonic languages (KUPCHIK, 2011: 7-9).

Hachijō is now critically endangered, as it is quickly getting replaced by Tokyo Japanese, the only language of education and of the media. Thus, it was included in 2009 in the UNESCO’s *Atlas of the World’s Languages in danger*, alongside Ainu and six of the Ryukyuan languages (MOSELEY et al., 2009). However, its use remains culturally important for local populations, especially through its use in oral traditions, such as folk songs, and folktales, in which the local language plays an important and iconic role (ASANUMA, 1965; KANEDA & NAITŌ, 2002).

Those tales were transmitted orally for generations, and are therefore highly codified. For instance, they rely a lot on formulae, such as ‘*Mukashi-mukashi, ō-mukashi, sono mata-mukashi no mata-mukashi...*’ (‘A long time ago, a very long time ago, even a longer time ago before this long time ago...’), which is a customary introduction sentence, designed to attract the audience’s attention, and to settle a different and fictional time; that is an imaginary past, that is intrinsically different from the historical time, but it is not completely fictional either, as it ‘stand[s] in metaphoric relation to the ‘real’” (CONRAD, 2014: 334).

Moreover, the codification of folktales is even perceptible on a grammatical scale. For instance, those tales are usually entirely narrated on a hearsay mode (occasionally inferential), in the past tense, and are recited in only one utterance and without any interaction of the storyteller with the audience. Thus, they appear to be syntactically made of only one long sentence, in which countless smaller concatenated phrases are embedded. Therefore, the tense-aspect-mood system of folktales is remarkably different from the normal speech (KANEDA, 2007), and, similarly to folk songs (KANEDA & OKUYAMA, 1991), one can expect those folktales to retain some linguistic archaisms that were lost in average conversations.

Besides, it has long been noted that the tense-aspect-mood and the evidentiality systems of Hachijō are, even in the average speech, remarkably different from a lot of other Japonic languages. As a matter of fact, due to the preservation of some archaisms (KANEDA & OKUYAMA, 1991), to various local innovations (KANEDA, 2012), as well as to recent standard influence from standard Japanese (KUDŌ, 2000, KANEDA & HOLDA, 2005), the Hachijō language features a very complex system, with a large variety of marks and forms (KANEDA, 2001a, b, c), and frequently overlapping and entangled categories. For instance, a form that is usually considered expressing aspectual continuative, can also be used with a modal value, especially in interrogations and exclamations, without its usual aspectual value (KANEDA, 1996a and 1996b). As a consequence, the categories used to describe classical and standard Japanese are often difficult to apply to Hachijō, and often cause some confusion between diachronic and synchronic analysis.

Thus, this presentation will first be dedicated to a brief general description of the tense- aspect system in ‘normal’ Hachijō, in comparison with standard Japanese, in order to illustrate what distinctions are considered primordial within the language, and what kind of markings are used to express them.

Then, in a second part, it will focus more specifically on folktales, in order to study how they differ from the ‘normal’ speech, and especially how the tense-aspect system gets combined with evidentiality and phrase concatenation constraints.

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