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Xuping Li

A GRAMMAR OF GAN CHINESE

THE YICHUN LANGUAGE

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SINITIC LANGUAGES OF CHINA

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Publishing : eBook Collection (EBSCOhost) - printed on 2/9/2023 11:02

AN 2389 / Xuping Li, A Grammar of Gan Chinese : The Yichun Language
Ac 1 : de335141

Xuping Li
A Grammar of Gan Chinese

Sinitic Languages of China

Typological Descriptions

Edited by
Hilary Chappell

Volume 1

Xuping Li

A Grammar of Gan Chinese

The Yichun Language

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European Research Council
Established by the European Commission

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

ISBN 978-1-5015-1579-8

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-1-5015-0732-8

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-1-5015-0726-7

ISSN 2365-8398

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2018 Walter de Gruyter, Inc., Boston/Berlin

Cover image: Feng Wei Photography/Moment/gettyimages

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

♻️ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Acknowledgements

This book is part of the Sinotype project (2009-2013): *the Hybrid Syntactic Typology of Sinitic Languages* (Project No. 230388), which was funded by European Research Council and directed by Hilary Chappell at CRLAO, Paris¹. To write a good reference grammar of a language is a life-long project. This monograph is a result of my continuous research on the Yichun language of Gan Chinese over the past eight years, during which I have done my utmost to represent a panoramic view of the grammatical system of this language.

Before joining the Sinotype project in 2009, my linguistic background had been mainly in formal semantics and syntax. It was an exciting and unforgettable experience for me to write a reference grammar within a functional-typological perspective. During the entire project, I found myself looking for the right balance between formal and functional linguistics, which influenced my ways of uncovering and sorting out the data in the book. I am deeply indebted to Hilary Chappell, who helped me at every stage of the project. The outcome of this book has been greatly influenced by her knowledge of Chinese dialectal grammar and typological insights. The Sinotype team members, Chen Weirong, Chen Yujie, Ngai SingSing, Hilario de Sousa and Wang Jian, also deserve a big ‘thank you’, for their contribution to creating a very vibrant Chinese linguistic circle in Paris.

It is never easy to find a qualified informant during fieldtrip investigations. To have Mr. Rao Xing (饶星) as my principal informant was an enormous bonus. Mr. Rao is a native speaker of the Yichun language and a retired university teacher from a local university. He not only taught me the Yichun language, but also generously shared his own linguistic knowledge with me. I would like also to thank Mr. Wu Jingnan (吴静男) for having guided me in making several fieldtrips to the countryside in the Yichun area, which enriched my knowledge of local country life and folk traditions. By sheer coincidence, one of my PhD students, Mr. Liu Xing (刘星), serendipitously turned out to be a local from Yichun. He has been involved in this project since September 2016 and helped in checking all the examples throughout the book and doing some of the formatting and styling work. I have constantly consulted him on data issues ever since. Other informants whom I consulted with during the whole project include

¹ Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l’Asie orientale (CRLAO) at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS).

Huang Lianying (黄莲英), Yan Lanping (颜兰萍), Zhou Guoxian (周国贤) and Zhou Kexiu (周克修). They all deserve a special thank you.

Paris is one of the academic capitals, where linguists from all over the world come to visit and talk. I would like to thank all of those whom I met in Paris and who have in some important ways influenced this book: Walter Bisang, Katia Chirkova, William Croft, Chen Yiya, Redouane Djamouri, Carmen Sorin Doborvin, Christine Lamarre, Victor Pan, Waltraud Paul, Alain Peyraube, Susan Rothstein, Laurent Sagart, W.-T. Dylan Tsai, Xu Dan, and Wu Yunji.

Last but not least, I would also like to thank Johannes Parche and Lara Wysong from Mouton, as well as Zhang Weiwei for their editorial help.

Preface

Sinitic Languages of China: Typological Descriptions is a new series specializing in the description of the grammar of Sinitic languages, 'Sinitic' being the technical term for the very large number of languages that come under the general name of 'Chinese' in the West. As such, it includes well-known examples such as Cantonese 广东话, Hokkien 闽南话, Shanghainese 上海话 and Hakka 客家话, lesser-known ones such as Hunanese Xiang 湘语 or the Jin languages of Shanxi 晋语, without overlooking the national language known as *Pǔtōnghuà* 普通话 in China – or Standard Mandarin in the West. Even Mandarin comes in many non-standard forms including Sichuanese in the southwest and the unusual varieties spoken in Gansu in northwestern China or in the Central Plains area, to name but a small handful.

The primary goal of this series is to promote scientific knowledge of Chinese languages and their typological characteristics through the publication of high calibre linguistic research, based on empirical fieldwork, close analysis of the data and solid theoretical interpretations. The grammatical descriptions, written in a functionalist framework, will be illustrated by linguistic examples presented in a 'value-added' four-line format that includes romanization, glossing, the idiomatic English translation, and also the Chinese characters to cater to historical and comparative interests as well as our sinophone readers.

The specific objective is to reveal the great structural diversity found in Sinitic languages and to dispel many recurrent linguistic myths about Chinese. The authors involved in this series are all highly trained fieldwork linguists with a background in both typology and Chinese linguistics.

The series thus aims to reach an international readership for the first time, given that most literature available on Chinese languages, up until now, has been predominantly written in (Standard Written) Chinese.

Impetus behind the series

The large-scale research project, *The hybrid syntactic typology of Sinitic languages (Sinotype)*, provides the impetus behind this series. It benefitted from funding in the form of an Advanced Grant awarded by the European Research Council (ERC) for the period 2009 – 2013.

The SINOTYPE team comprised seven researchers: the principal investigator (and editor of this new series), Hilary Chappell, five postdoctoral fellows and one doctoral student, in addition to two technical staff. Each team member chose an unknown Sinitic language on which to carry out intensive fieldwork and linguistic analysis during the 4 ½ years of the project, according to the following choices:

The hybrid syntactic typology of Sinitic languages: Team members

Principal investigator (PI):

1. Hilary CHAPPELL 曹茜蕾 (PhD, Australian National University; EHESS, Paris)
Xianghua, an unclassified Sinitic language of Hunan province

Postdoctoral fellows:

2. Weirong CHEN 陈伟蓉 (PhD, University of Hong Kong; University of International Business & Economics, Beijing)
Hui'an language of Southern Min, Fujian
3. Yujie CHEN 陈玉洁 (PhD, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing; Zhejiang University, Hangzhou)
Shangshui language of Central Plains Mandarin, Henan
4. Hilario DE SOUSA 苏沙 (PhD, University of Sydney; Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics)
Nanning Southern Pinghua, Guangxi
5. XuPing LI 李旭平 (PhD, Bar Ilan University, Tel Aviv; Zhejiang University, Hangzhou)
Yichun language of Gan, Jiangxi
6. WANG Jian 王健 (PhD, Peking University; Changshu Institute of Technology & Shanghai Jiao Tong University)
Shangzhuang language of Jixi Hui, Anhui

Doctoral student

7. Sing Sing NGAI 倪星星 (MPhil, Cambridge University; EHESS, Paris)
Shaowu language of Northwestern Min, Fujian

During the entire period of the project, more than thirty field trips were made to China to carry out intensive investigations *in situ* of the languages targeted for description. Consequently, each researcher has spent up to a total of one year in the field in order to undertake a comprehensive analysis of a little-known Sinitic language with the goal of writing a comprehensive reference grammar, written in a functional, typological perspective.

Thanks to generous logistic support from the host institute, the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), spacious premises for the exclu-

sive use of the SINOTYPE research centre were found in inner-city Paris for the entire period of the project.

Significance of the SINOTYPE project

Standard Mandarin, or *Pǔtōnghuà* 普通话, has generally been the main, if not, only point of reference for Sinitic languages in typological studies in the West, while until recently it persisted as the primary object of analysis in Chinese linguistics in general. Therefore, the overall aim of the SINOTYPE project was to carry out the first large scale investigation into the linguistic typology of Sinitic or Chinese languages, broadening its horizons beyond Standard Mandarin to consider a set of major parameters in the grammatical make-up of this major branch of Sino-Tibetan.

As outlined above, each team member has been responsible for the description of the grammar of one language, based on extensive fieldwork in China. The scope of the project thus involved pan-Sinitic research not previously carried out in any depth in either China or the West. Over 50 publications have so far resulted from this research project, including the edited volume, *Diversity in Sinitic languages* (OUP, 2015).

Opening up this *terra incognita* in the form of this special series of grammars with De Gruyter Mouton, which concentrates on the lesser-known Sinitic languages of China, is hoped to reveal crucial new insights into the typological profile of Sinitic languages and should substantially aid in providing a more fine-grained classification of this branch of Sino-Tibetan.

This new series is expected to increase linguistic interest in the Sinitic languages of China and dispel a large number of myths surrounding the use of the label ‘Chinese’, a term which continues to convey the rather erroneous view of a monolithic language, comprised of dozens of related dialects showing a high degree of similarity and uniformity in their grammar. This notion is reinforced in its turn by the persistent and superficial classification of ‘Chinese’ as an example *par excellence* of an isolating language that possesses little morphology.

One type of counterexample from our early findings shows that, quite to the contrary, the process of fusion and its outcome in portmanteau morphemes abounds in Chinese languages, while the use of tone sandhi and rhyme allophony to indicate grammatical features such as aspect, nominalization, morphological definiteness and plurality exists to a far greater degree than has ever been supposed.

Since, as already observed, most of the linguistic literature on Chinese concerns the standard language, Mandarin, the knowledge that is steadily being made available on Sinitic languages to the wider linguistics community is cer-

tain to change immeasurably, if not irrevocably, the profile of what is known about this vast language group in the years to come.

H.M. Chappell
Paris, 2017

List of abbreviations

The abbreviations for grammatical glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules in the main, apart from categories which are common in Sinitic languages and for which the SINOTYPE team created new labels such as VCL for verbal classifier, RED for reduplication, or TENT for tentative aspect.

□	symbol for unidentifiable characters
1/2/3 SG/PL	first/second/third person singular/plural
ACC	accusative
AFFM	affirmative
ASP	aspect marker
BA/OM	object marker
CL	classifier
COMPL	completive aspect marker
COP	copula
DAT	dative marker
DEM	demonstrative
DELIM	delimitative aspect
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional complement
DO	direct object
DUR	durative
EXP	experiential aspect marker
FOC	focus marker
GEN	genitive marker
INCHO	inchoative aspect
INF	infix
INTJ	interjection
IO	indirect object
LOC	locative
MOD	particle for linking modifier with head noun
NEG	negative
NEUT	neutral
NM	noun marker
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NUM	number
OM	object maker

PASS	passive marker
PFV	perfective aspect marker
PL	plural
POSS	possessive marker
PREF	prefix
PREP	preposition
PRF	perfect aspect
PROG	progressive
PRON	pronoun
PRT	particle
Q	question particle
RED	reduplication
RC	relative clause
REP	repetitive aspect
RVC	resultative verb compound
SFP	sentence-final particle
SG	singular
SUF	suffix
SVC	serial verb construction
TENT	tentative aspect
TOP	topic

Contents

Acknowledgements — v

Preface — vii

List of abbreviations — xi

1 Gan and the Gan People — 1

- 1.1 Gan Chinese in China — 1
- 1.2 Gan Chinese as a Sinitic language — 3
- 1.3 The Yichun language as a representative of Gan Chinese — 6
- 1.4 Linguistic type — 7
- 1.5 Literature — 8
- 1.6 Spoken and written Gan — 9

2 The Yichun sound system — 13

- 2.1 Consonants — 13
- 2.2 Vowels — 14
- 2.3 Syllabic structure — 16
- 2.4 Tones — 18
- 2.5 Tone sandhi — 19

3 Morphology — 23

- 3.1 Reduplication — 23
- 3.2 Affixation — 29
 - 3.2.1 Prefixes — 29
- 3.3 Suffixes — 32
 - 3.3.1 Pronominal and verbal suffixes — 32
 - 3.3.2 The nominalizing suffix: *tsɿ* — 33
 - 3.3.3 Nominal markers: *li* and *tsi?* . — 35
- 3.4 Gender markers: *p^ho⁴⁴* and *ku⁴²* — 37
- 3.5 Cliticization: the diminutive marker *-tsi?* — 39
- 3.6 Concluding remarks — 41

4 Personal pronouns — 43

- 4.1 Paradigm of personal pronouns — 43
- 4.2 Plurality of pronouns — 45
- 4.3 Reflexives and others — 48

- 4.4 Concluding remarks — 49
- 5 Possessives — 51**
 - 5.1 Three types of possessive phrases — 51
 - 5.2 (In)alienability — 54
 - 5.3 Plurality constraint for possessors — 57
 - 5.4 Conclusions — 59
- 6 Demonstratives — 61**
 - 6.1 Locative demonstratives — 62
 - 6.2 Pronominal demonstratives — 65
 - 6.2.1 Syntactic forms of demonstrative phrases — 65
 - 6.2.2 Spatial and discourse deictic uses of demonstratives — 69
 - 6.3 Temporal demonstratives — 69
 - 6.4 Manner and degree adverbials — 71
 - 6.5 Conclusions — 72
- 7 Numerals and classifiers — 73**
 - 7.1 Numerals — 73
 - 7.1.1 Cardinal and ordinal numbers — 73
 - 7.1.2 Approximative expressions — 75
 - 7.2 Classifiers — 76
 - 7.2.1 Individuating classifiers — 77
 - 7.2.2 Mensural classifiers — 79
 - 7.2.3 Measure words — 81
 - 7.3 The ‘CL+N’ construction — 82
 - 7.4 Some special classifier constructions — 84
 - 7.5 Conclusions — 85
- 8 Adjectives and adjective phrases — 87**
 - 8.1 Types of adjectives — 87
 - 8.1.1 Compound adjectives — 87
 - 8.1.2 Reduplicated adjectives — 90
 - 8.2 Degree modifiers — 93
 - 8.2.1 Varieties of degree modifiers — 93
 - 8.2.2 Modification of compound adjectives — 96
 - 8.3 Comparatives and superlatives — 97
 - 8.4 Comparatives and negation — 99
 - 8.5 Concluding remarks — 101

- 9 Prepositions — 103**
- 9.1 *Ts^hæ²¹³* ‘being located ...’ — 103
- 9.2 *Tau⁴⁴* ‘to/at...’ — 105
- 9.3 *Ts^huŋ⁴⁴* ‘from...’ — 106
- 9.4 *Tɕia⁴⁴* ‘along/across...’ — 107
- 9.5 *luŋ²¹³* and *laʔ* ‘with/in...’ — 108
- 9.6 Polyfunctional *uoŋ²¹³* and *kien³⁴* — 109
- 9.7 Multifunctional *pa⁴²* — 113
- 9.8 *Ten⁴²* and *tɛʔ* ‘to...’ — 114
- 9.9 Conclusions — 115
- 10 Postpositions — 117**
- 10.1 Monosyllabic and disyllabic postpositions — 117
- 10.2 Functional *versus* lexical postpositions — 120
- 10.3 Co-occurrence of prepositions and postpositions — 122
- 10.4 Incorporation of postpositions into place names — 123
- 10.5 Conclusions — 124
- 11 Aspectuality — 127**
- 11.1 Perfective *-li* — 128
- 11.2 Perfect *-li* — 130
- 11.3 Completive *-k^huæʔ* — 135
- 11.4 Experiential and repetitive *-kuo⁴⁴* — 139
- 11.5 Progressive *-ts^hæ²¹³* — 142
- 11.6 Durative *-tau⁴⁴* — 144
- 11.7 Inchoative *-tɕ^hi⁴²læ⁴⁴* and *-xa⁴²læ⁴⁴* — 145
- 11.8 Delimitative *-xa⁴²tsiʔ* and tentative *-xa⁴²tsiʔ-k^hon⁴⁴tɛʔ* — 147
- 11.9 Conclusions — 148
- 12 Modality — 151**
- 12.1 Modal verbs — 151
- 12.1.1 Auxiliary verb 1: *u²¹³* ‘can/will’ — 152
- 12.1.2 Auxiliary verb 2: *k^ho⁴²⁻³³i⁴²* ‘may’ — 153
- 12.1.3 Auxiliary verb 3: *iɛu⁴⁴* ‘want’ — 154
- 12.1.4 Auxiliary verb 4: *in⁴⁴-kæ³⁴* ‘should’ — 155
- 12.2 Negation of modal verbs — 156
- 12.2.1 Negation of ability and possibility — 156
- 12.2.2 Negation of necessity — 157
- 12.3 Modal adverbs — 159

- 12.4 The V-*tɛʔ* construction — 161

- 13 Negation — 163**
 - 13.1 Negation of existence — 164
 - 13.2 Perfective negation — 165
 - 13.3 Perfect negation — 168
 - 13.4 Negation of identity — 169
 - 13.5 Imperfective negation — 170
 - 13.6 The prohibitive marker *moʔ* — 172
 - 13.7 Concluding remarks — 173

- 14 Resultative constructions — 175**
 - 14.1 Literal resultatives — 175
 - 14.2 Directional resultatives — 179
 - 14.2.1 Three types of directional resultatives — 179
 - 14.2.2 Prepositional phrases and directional complements — 182
 - 14.3 Extent resultatives — 183
 - 14.4 Conclusions — 184

- 15 Ditransitives — 185**
 - 15.1 The general purpose verb of GIVE — 185
 - 15.2 TAKE/HOLD verbs as GIVE — 191
 - 15.3 Ditransitive verbs beyond GIVE — 192
 - 15.4 DEPRIVE verb classes — 196
 - 15.5 Conclusions — 199

- 16 BA constructions — 201**
 - 16.1 BA constructions with transitive verbs — 201
 - 16.2 BA constructions with unaccusative verbs — 203
 - 16.3 BA constructions with unergative verbs — 206
 - 16.4 Properties of the NP marked by *pa*⁴² — 208
 - 16.5 Conclusions — 211

- 17 Passives and causatives — 213**
 - 17.1 Passives with zero marking — 213
 - 17.2 Long and short passives — 215
 - 17.2.1 Passives with agent expressed or suppressed — 215
 - 17.2.2 Ambiguity between passives and disposal constructions — 218
 - 17.3 Adversity — 219

- 17.4 Causatives — 221
- 17.5 Conclusions — 222

- 18 Topic and focus related constructions — 225**
 - 18.1 Topic constructions and word order variations — 225
 - 18.2 Copular clauses — 230
 - 18.2.1 The copula *ǝi²¹³* — 230
 - 18.2.2 Omission of the copula *ǝi²¹³* — 233
 - 18.3 Focus constructions: cleft clauses — 235
 - 18.3.1 Cleft sentences: *ǝi²¹³...ko* — 236
 - 18.3.2 The copula *ǝi²¹³* as a focus marker — 237
 - 18.4 Conclusions — 240

- 19 Relative clauses — 241**
 - 19.1 Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses — 241
 - 19.2 Heads of relative clauses — 245
 - 19.3 Zero-marked relative clauses — 249
 - 19.4 Headless relative clauses — 251
 - 19.5 Conclusions — 253

- 20 Interrogatives — 255**
 - 20.1 Polar questions — 255
 - 20.2 WH-questions — 261
 - 20.2.1 WHAT — 262
 - 20.2.2 HOW — 263
 - 20.2.3 WHY — 265
 - 20.2.4 WHICH+CLASSIFIER: WHICH, WHO OR WHERE — 266
 - 20.2.5 HOW+ADJECTIVE — 267
 - 20.2.6 WHEN — 268
 - 20.3 Non-interrogative uses of WH-words — 269
 - 20.4 Rhetorical questions — 271
 - 20.5 Conclusions — 272

- 21 Clause linking: coordination and subordination — 275**
 - 21.1 Coordination — 275
 - 21.1.1 Coordination of words and phrases — 275
 - 21.1.2 Coordination of clauses — 277
 - 21.2 Subordinate clauses — 281
 - 21.2.1 Complement clauses — 281

21.2.2	Conditional clauses —	283
21.2.2.1	Zero marking —	283
21.2.2.2	Marked by adverbs —	284
21.2.2.3	Marked by conjunctives —	286
21.2.3	Concessives —	287
21.2.4	Causal clauses —	288
21.2.4.1	Zero marking —	288
21.2.4.2	Marked by conjunctives —	289
21.2.5	Temporal clauses: —	290
21.3	Conclusions —	292

References — 293

Index — 299

Appendix — 303

1 Gan and the Gan People

1.1 Gan Chinese in China

The grammar we describe in this volume concerns Gan Chinese (赣语: *Gànyǔ*). The term *Gàn* is a geographical abbreviation for Jiangxi province (江西), being also the name of the major river in this region. Gan Chinese is often called *Jiāngxīhuà* after the province of Jiangxi, while in fact it is mainly spoken in the northern and central parts of Jiangxi Province. Due to migration from Jiangxi to neighbouring provinces, different varieties of Gan Chinese are also spoken in the southern part of Anhui province (安徽), the eastern part of Hunan province (湖南), the southeast of Hubei province (湖北), and the northwest of Fujian province (福建). According to the Administration Manual of the People's Republic of China published in 2004 (*Zhōnghuá Rénmín Gònghéguó Xíngzhèng Qūhuá Jiǎncè* 《中华人民共和国行政区划简册》), there are more than 48 million Gan speakers throughout the country, including 29 million in Jiangxi, 9 million in Hunan, 5.3 million in Hubei, 4.5 million in Anhui, and 0.27 million in Fujian.¹

According to the *Atlas of Chinese Languages* published in 2012 (*Zhōngguó Yǔyán Dìtújí* 《中国语言地图集》), the Gan dialects are divided into nine subgroups:

The Changjing subgroup 昌靖片

The Yiliu subgroup 宜浏片

The Jicha subgroup 吉茶片

The Fuguang subgroup 抚广片

The Yingyi subgroup 鹰弋片

The Datong subgroup 大通片

The Leizi subgroup 耒资片

The Dongsui subgroup 洞绥片

The Huaiyue subgroup 怀岳片

The boundary of each subgroup is defined in the following map:²

1 This is the most recent data available in the preparation of the book.

2 I would like to thank Mr. Zheng Yi and Mr. Yang Wanglong for drawing the illustrative map, which was adapted and adjusted on the basis of Map B-11, entitled 'Chinese dialects in Jiangxi province and Hunan province' in the *Atlas of Chinese Languages*, which was authored by Chi-

2 — Gan and the Gan People

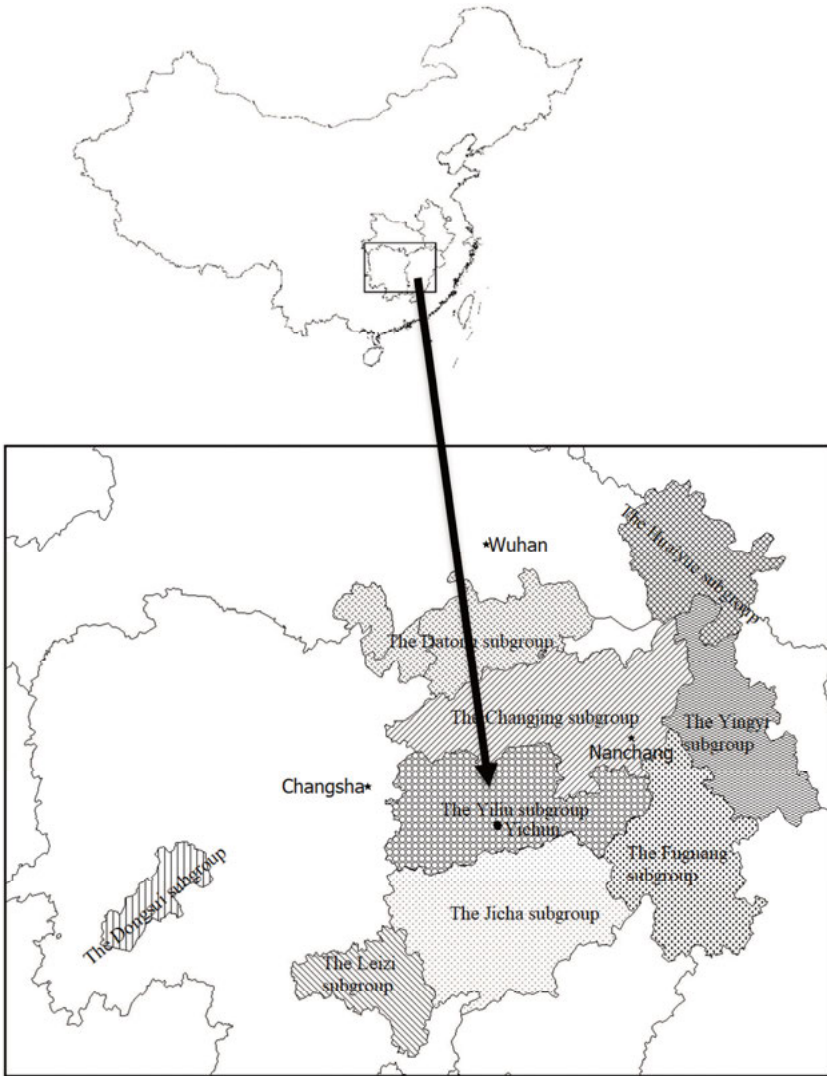


Fig.1-1: Map of the Gan-speaking areas

nese Academy of Social Sciences and Australian Academy of Humanities and published in 1987 by Longman, Hong Kong.

In this study, we will mainly concentrate on the Gan dialects spoken in Jiangxi province, since that is where this group of languages originates. In what follows, we will briefly introduce the geographical background of Jiangxi.

The northern border of Jiangxi Province is located along the lower reaches of the Yangtze River. In the east it is bordered by Zhejiang and Fujian, where Wu dialects and Min dialects are spoken respectively, to the south Guangdong, in the areas where Hakka is spoken. To the west, it is bordered by the Xiang-speaking Hunan province, and to its north lie Hubei province and Anhui province, where Jianghuai Mandarin and Hui dialects are spoken respectively.

Jiangxi is surrounded by mountains to the east, south, and west, and to the north flows the Yangtze River in an easterly direction. It has the largest fresh water lake in China, Poyang Lake, which connects the Yangtze River with two other important rivers, the *Gànjiāng* (赣江) and the *Fǔshuǐ* (抚水) Rivers, which run all the way to the southern tip of the province. Historically, these two rivers have been the main migration routes from the north to the south. The provincial capital of Jiangxi is Nanchang (南昌), which is located in the northern central region of the province. Other important cities include Jiujiang (九江) in the north, Ganzhou (赣州) in the south, Yingtan (鹰潭) in the east, Yichun (宜春) and Pingxiang (萍乡) in the west.

According to the 2015 census, Jiangxi has a population of 45.65 million people. Half of the population, 51.63%, lives in the city and the rest in villages or rural areas.³ The majority of the population is Han Chinese.

The two main languages spoken in Jiangxi are Gan and Hakka. Gan has the largest population of speakers, at 29 million. The Hakka-speaking population is 8 million in Jiangxi and it is ranked as the second largest language spoken in the province. Other languages spoken include Jianghuai Mandarin (mainly spoken in Jiujiang), Southwestern Mandarin, and Wu Chinese.

1.2 Gan Chinese as a Sinitic language

The linguistic terms of *Gànyǔ* (赣语) ‘Gan Chinese’ or *Gàn Fāngyán* (赣方言) ‘Gan dialects’, were not used until the year 1955. Ding and Li (1955) were the first to suggest that Gan Chinese be one of the seven Chinese dialect families.⁴ Dia-

³ These statistics are retrieved on the website of People’s Government of Jiangxi Province, http://www.jiangxi.gov.cn/lq/jxgk/201507/t20150701_1174692.html (retrieved on 1st Nov, 2016).

⁴ According to Ding and Li’s classification, the other six dialect families, or what are now called branches of Sinitic, include Mandarin, Wu, Xiang, Hakka, Cantonese, and Min.

lect classifications of Chinese languages are mainly based on phonological features, which involve the reconstructed sounds or tonal categories of Middle Chinese (MC) as a reference point. One of the most striking phonological characteristics of Gan Chinese is that ‘all of these dialects (i.e. Gan dialects) have voiceless aspirated stops in all tones for the MC voiced stops and affricate initials’ (cf. Norman 1988: 204), whereas typically the MC voiced initials have reflexes as either aspirated or unaspirated voiceless initials in most branches of Sinitic. Hakka has undergone the same phonological changes. This distinguishes Gan and Hakka from other Chinese languages.

When talking about Gan, we cannot ignore Hakka. These two languages are intricately entwined with one another. There are two opposing views concerning the relationship between Gan and Hakka. One school of researchers, including Li Fang-Kuei (1938), Luo Changpei (1940) and Wang (1998), groups Gan and Hakka together, both of which “go back to a common ancestral Chinese dialect which is unique to them” (cf. Sagart 2002: 130). The term Hakka-Gan language (客赣语: *KèGànyǔ*) is always used to refer to this. One of the main factors for treating them as the same language is that they have undergone the same main set of sound changes for some series of consonants from MC, which distinguishes them from other Sinitic languages (Li Fang-Kuei 1938).⁵ In particular, the voiced stops and affricates of MC have become voiceless, aspirated consonants in present Gan and Hakka languages, as mentioned above. It is called “aspirated devoicing” by Sagart (1988). The following example is taken from Wang (1998: 14).

(1)		同	动	洞	独
	Meixian (梅县)	t ^h uŋ	t ^h uŋ	t ^h uŋ	t ^h uk
	Nanchang (南昌)	t ^h uŋ	t ^h uŋ	t ^h uŋ	t ^h uk

The Meixian dialect is a representative Hakka language and the Nanchang dialect is a representative Gan language. As we can see from (1), in both Meixian and Nanchang dialects, the initial pronunciations of the four characters are all represented as an aspirated voiceless consonant t^h, which is reconstructed as a voiced consonant *d in Middle Chinese.

However, another group of researchers rejects this viewpoint for various reasons. For example, Norman (1988: 222) claims that the shared characteristics of Gan and Hakka are very superficial, because aspirated devoicing is not a

⁵ For example, one of the characterizing features of the Wu dialects is that they all retain the voiced consonants, i.e. stops, fricatives and affricatives, of Middle Chinese.

strange and unusual change. Yuan (1960) rejects grouping Gan and Hakka together because he finds that in its lexicon, Gan resembles Wu and Xiang more than it does Hakka. According to the *Atlas of Chinese Languages* (2012), Gan and Hakka should be treated as two languages, since a subset of the voiced consonants in Hakka are read corresponding to the MC tone register of Yin Ping 阴平 (High Level), a feature not shared by most Gan dialects.

In this study, we lean towards the standpoint that Gan Chinese is a separate language from Hakka. One of the aims of our research is to identify some grammatical properties that belong exclusively to Gan. We attempt to distinguish the Gan language from others, such as Hakka, from the perspective of syntax and grammar.

No matter whether researchers tend to think of Gan as a separate language from Hakka or as sharing the same ancestry as Hakka, most of them agree that Gan Chinese developed on the basis of a hybrid of the Mandarin dialects spoken in the central plains of China and of the local patois spoken originally in the Jiangxi area (Luo 1940; Hashimoto 1973; Yuan 1960; Sagart 1988, 2002). Due to constant wars in the northern part of China in the Yellow River area, people migrated from the north to the south. Owing to the the Ganjiang and the Fushui Rivers, both of which connect the Yangtze River with the southern part of China, Jiangxi Province became an important migration transiting point. In the history of China, there were three big migration waves that had rolled over Jiangxi by the end of the Tang dynasty. The first occurred at the end of the Eastern Han dynasty (third century), the second took place at the end of Eastern Jin (fifth century), and the third at the end of the Tang dynasty (eighth–ninth century). During these migration waves, some individuals stopped moving southward and settled down in Jiangxi. The mixture of the northern language spoken by the migrants with the local dialects spoken in Jiangxi most likely gave birth to the Gan group of dialects.

Some researchers (e.g. Zhou and You 2006) argue that Gan Chinese as a language had formed by the end of the Tang dynasty. According to Norman (1988: 198), Gan Chinese is a transitional Chinese language (belonging to the central group of Sinitic languages) between Northern dialect groups and Southern dialect groups.⁶ Chappell (2015) has elaborated on this foundation, proposing five linguistic areas in China with Xiang, Gan, Hui, Jianghuai and Wu be-

⁶ Norman (1988) tentatively makes a three-way classification of Chinese dialects: the Northern groups, the Southern groups, and the Central groups. The Northern groups refer to the Mandarin dialects. The Southern groups include Yue (e.g. Cantonese), Kejia (Hakka), and Min. And the Central groups include Wu, Xiang, and Gan.

longing to a central China Transitional group, an area of linguistic turbulence in terms of grammatical features. As Norman aptly puts it, the central zone is ‘the result of centuries of northern linguistic intrusions into a region that originally was home to dialects of a more purely southern type: in the course of many centuries, the original Southern features of these dialects have been progressively eroded, leaving dialects of mixed types’.

1.3 The Yichun language as a representative of Gan Chinese

Most previous studies on Modern Gan Chinese (Yuan 1960; Norman 1988; Sagart 1999) have taken the Nanchang dialect as standard Gan Chinese. This is partly because Nanchang is the provincial capital of Jiangxi, it is economically and culturally more important than other cities and regions and its language consequently enjoys a more prestigious status. The second reason has something to do with the fact that the dialects spoken in peripheral areas of the province may well have been influenced by neighboring dialects due to language contact. Nanchang is geographically located in the center of the province and its neighboring cities are all Gan-speaking, so it is possible that Nanchang Gan has been less influenced by these other dialects.

Nonetheless, as a metropolitan area in Jiangxi, Nanchang is economically more developed. People living in Nanchang have a greater chance to receive a better education, which is given in the standard language, Mandarin, than those from rural areas. Additionally, people from different areas of Jiangxi gather in Nanchang, where Mandarin is sometimes used as a lingua franca. So while it may well be the case that the Nanchang dialect is less influenced by neighboring dialects such as Hakka, Jianghuai Mandarin, or Min, it is nonetheless heavily influenced by Standard Mandarin, the national language of the People’s Republic of China (P.R.C).

In the current study, we focus on a Gan language spoken in the western part of Jiangxi Province. This is namely the Yuanzhou variety of Yichun language (宜春袁州话: *Yīchūn Yuánzhōuhuà*), which is spoken in the Yuanzhou district of the Yichun city.⁷ We use the term ‘the Yichun language’ for short throughout the text. As we can see from Map 1.1, the Yichun language belongs to the Yiliu subgroup (宜浏片), which is surrounded to the north, east, and south by three Gan

7 The Yichun Yuanzhou dialect is distinguished from dialects spoken in other districts or counties under the governance of the Yichun Prefecture, such as the Shanggao dialect (上高话), the Tonggu dialect (铜鼓话), the Yifeng dialect (宜丰话) etc.

speaking areas. On the west side, however, it is bordered by the Xiang dialects. The city of Yichun is 150 kilometres from the Xiang-speaking city of Zhuzhou (株洲). So geographically speaking, the Yichun language still belongs to the pure Gan-speaking area. Therefore, the Yichun language can be taken as a representative variety of Gan Chinese. The study of the Yichun language is significant in that its grammatical properties are representative of the large areas in western Jiangxi and eastern Hunan where Gan dialects are spoken.

1.4 Linguistic type

The Yichun language has the syllabic structure of CV(C), which is similar to that in Mandarin. It has five syllabic tones: high-rising 34, high-level 44, high-falling 42, falling-rising 213, and entering tone 5, and importantly, tone sandhi is clearly applicable at the word level.

The basic word order of the Yichun language is SVO, but there is also the order OSV, which results from object topicalization. The order SOV is very restricted in this language.

There are clearly defined classes of pronouns, demonstratives, nouns, adjectives, classifiers, prepositions, and verbs.

There is a three-way distinction of the demonstrative system: distal, proximal, and ultra-proximal, which is not an oft-seen phenomenon in other Sinitic languages, yet this is a grammatical feature shared by most Gan dialects.

The Yichun language is a classifier language. There is no mass/count distinction for nouns and there are no plural suffixes on nouns. In contrast, it has a rich classifier system for nouns in the contexts of counting and measuring.

Disregarding its status as a SVO language, modifiers in the nominal domain occur to the left side of the noun head.

It is a tense-less language but it similarly has a quite elaborate aspect system to express temporality.

It possesses both prepositions and postpositions.

The Yichun language has a large inventory of sentence final particles, which express various modal and speaker-oriented meanings.

It is a WH-in-situ language, which is not involved with any movement of auxiliaries or WH-words in forming interrogative sentences.

1.5 Literature

Compared with Mandarin, Cantonese, and Wu, there has not been extensive research conducted on Gan. Most of the previous studies on Gan have focused mainly on phonology and lexicon. From the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) database, we found a total of 276 papers on Gan between the years of 1935–2004. Our statistics show that there are 106 papers on phonology (38.4%), 50 papers on grammar and morphology (18.1%), and the rest, 120, include papers on etymology, classification of the Gan languages, and other general topics (43.5%). This suggests that, in contrast to the study of phonology, the study of the grammar of the Gan language remains relatively undeveloped and quite limited in its range.

Even less has been studied about the grammar of the Yichun language. By August 2016, we had found fifteen pieces of work on the Yichun language:

Phonetics and Lexicon:

- Liu, Ping. 2001. *Yíchūn Fāngyán Yīnxì*. 宜春方言音系. [On the phonology of the Yichun language] MA thesis, Fujian Normal University.
- Peng, Qiansheng. 2012. *Yǔyán Jiēchù Shìjiǎoxià de Yíchūn (Shuǐjiāng) Fāngyán Cíhuì Biànhuà Yánjiū*. 语言接触视角下的宜春（水江）方言词汇变化研究 [On the change of vocabulary in the Yichun (Shuijiang) dialect in the perspective of language contact]. MA thesis, Jiangxi Normal University.
- Rao, Xin. 2004. *Yuánzhōu Fāngyán Cíhuì (Shàng)(Xià)*. 袁州方言词汇(上)(下). [Vocabularies in Yuanzhou dialect (I)(II)]. *Journal of Yichun College*.
- Yi, Wei. 2010. *Yíchūn Fāngyán Chēngwèi Yánjiū*. 宜春方言称谓研究 [On the appellation system in the Yichun language]. *Journal of Yichun College*. 2010 (5): 96-99.

Morphosyntax:

- Chen, Haibo. 2006. *Yíchūnhuà de Jiānglái Shítài Zhùcí ‘gé’ jíqí Láiyuán*. 宜春话的将来时态助词“格”及其来源. [On the future marker ‘ge’ and its origin in the Yichun language]. *Journal of Wuhan University*. Pp. 202–207.
- Han, Jiakun. 2013. *Yíchūn Fāngyán de hòuzhù ‘de’*. 宜春方言的后缀“的” [On the suffix *de* in the Yichun language]. *Journal of Yichun College*. 2013 (4): 113-115.
- Li, Xuping and Wu, Yicheng. 2015. Ditransitives in three Gan dialects : valence increasing and preposition incorporation. *Language Sciences* 50 (2015): 66-77.
- Liu, Ping. 2002. *Yíchūnhuà de Yǔqì Zhùcí ‘zhe’*. 宜春话的语气助词“着”. [On the particle “zhe” in the Yichun language]. *Yuyan Yanjiu*. Pp. 255–258.

- Liu, Xing. 2016. *Yíchūn Fāngyán zhōng Zuòwéi Biāoji de 'shí'*. 宜春方言中作为标记的“时”. [On the marker *shi* ‘time’ in the Yichun language]. *Journal of Lanzhou University of Arts and Sciences*. 2016 (4): 110-113.
- Liu, Ying and Yang, Yanping. 2015. *Yuánzhōu (Tiāntái) Fāngyán Zhuàngtài Xíngróngcí de Lèibié Jíqí Chóngdié Xíngshì*. 袁州（天台）方言状态形容词的类别及其重叠形式. [On varieties of adjectives and their reduplicated forms in the Yuanzhou (Tiantai) dialect]. *Journal of Yichun College*. 2015(11): 84-88.
- Rao, Xin. 1981. *Yíchūnhuà de 'jī' wěi*. 宜春话的“积”尾. [The suffix “*ji*” in the Yichun language]. *Journal of Yichun College*.
- Shan, Yun. 2012. *Yíchūn Fāngyán Jùwěi 'qù-le' de Yánjiū*. 宜春方言句尾“去了”的研究. [On the sentence final ‘*qu-le*’ in the Yichun language]. MA thesis. East China Normal University.
- Shi, Sha and Xin, Ying 2009. *Cóng 'Yá Mǎnzǐ jiù Dǎ-dé Lái-lǐ' Qiǎndú Yíchūn Fāngyán Yǔfǎ Tèdiǎn*. 从“仔满子就打得来里”浅读宜春方言语法特点. [The grammatical features of Yichun language from “*Ya manzi jiu da de lai li*”].
- Sun, Duoqiao. 2007. *Yíchūn (Yuánzhōuqū) Fāngyán Dàicí Xìtǒng*. 宜春(袁州区)方言代词系统. [On the pronoun system in the Yichun Yuanzhou dialect]. MA thesis, Nanchang University.
- Zeng, Lili. 2013. *Yíchūn Fāngyán Chángyòng Yǔqìcí Tànxī*. 宜春方言常用语气的探析 [On Intjections in Yichun language]. *Journal of Yichun College*. 2013(11): 76-80.

1.6 Spoken and written Gan

People from different towns in the Yuanzhou district of Yichun may speak slightly differently. They have their own special features of pronunciation and prosody, but they are mutually intelligible. According to Rao (2004), the Yichun language can be roughly divided into four sub-groups based on phonetic differences. These include the northeastern subgroup, the eastern subgroup, the northwestern subgroup, and the central-southern subgroup. Among them, the central-southern variety is the most prestigious, since that is where the governments of the city of Yichun and of the Yichun Prefecture are located.

There is a municipal TV station in Yichun, most of whose programs are broadcast and transmitted in Mandarin but there is also a special program recorded in the Yichun language. It is called, *Yíchūn Gùshì* (宜春故事) [Stories in Yichun]. It tells stories about the daily life of the Yichun people in their city. This program has been a great success and it is quite popular with local audiences.

In this study, we only investigate the central–southern branch of the Yuzhoushan variety of the Yichun language. Some of the data used in this study have been taken from videos of this program.

Gan Chinese has no standard form of writing. Most of the characters can be written in the same way as in Mandarin Chinese, but some words, especially native colloquial words, are unique to Gan and cannot be represented by conventional characters. In daily life, the local people sometimes create special characters to represent certain local words. For example, the word 老表 *lǎobiǎo* is a nickname, or endonym, which the Gan people use to refer to themselves and is used by those from other provinces. In Mandarin, it is written as 老表, meaning cousins. However, a local bakery in Yichun coined the characters 佬佬 to represent it. Regard the picture below for illustration.



In this study, we will use both Chinese characters and the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to represent the Yichun language. If some morphemes cannot

be represented by characters, we will use a homophonic character that has the same pronunciation to replace them, as illustrated in (2).

(2) 我格时蒙慌。

ŋo³⁴ ko³⁴ci⁴⁴ maŋ³⁴ foŋ³⁴.
 1SG this moment NEG frighten
 ‘At that moment, I was not frightened.’

In (2), the character 蒙 is used to represent the negation marker *maŋ*³⁴. They share the same pronunciation, but it is not the original character etymologically for *maŋ*³⁴ ‘NEG’, since *maŋ*³⁴ 蒙 means ‘to cover’.

Another strategy is to use the symbol □ to represent characters that cannot be identified. As shown in (3), □ stands for the morpheme *tia?*. This strategy is employed when we cannot find a homophonic character.

(3) 你还蛮有本事格，安徽格都给你 □得回来哩。

ŋi³⁴ xai⁴⁴ maŋ⁴⁴ iu⁴² pun⁴²ɣ²¹³ kiɛ,
 2SG FOC very have skill INTJ
 ŋon³⁴fi³⁴ ko tu³⁴ kiɛ⁴² ŋi³⁴ tia?tɛ? fi⁴⁴lɔɛ⁴⁴ li.
 Anhui MOD even PASS 2SG cheat back PRF

‘You’re really experienced in fooling around with girls! You’ve hooked up even with an Anhui girl.’

2 The Yichun sound system

In this chapter, we describe the sound system of the Yichun language, starting with the consonants then moving on to discuss the vowels. We will conclude with a discussion on the tones and tone sandhi patterns. The description of the Yichun sound system given below will not only give us an overview of the phonetic system of Yichun Gan, it will also reflect something common to other Gan dialects.

2.1 Consonants

In the Yichun language of Gan Chinese, there are 19 consonants in total (including the zero consonant), as illustrated as below:

Tab.2-1: Consonants in Yichun Gan

		bilabial	Labial-dental	Alveolar	Velar	Alveo-palatal
Stops	unaspirated	[p]		[t]	[k]	
	aspirated	[p ^h]		[t ^h]	[k ^h]	
Fricatives			[f]	[s]	[x]	[ç]
Affricates	unaspirated			[ts]		[tç]
	aspirated			[ts ^h]		[tç ^h]
Nasal		[m]		[n]	[ŋ]	[ɲ]
Lateral				[l]		

At first glance, the consonants of the Yichun language are very much like the Mandarin consonant system, except that there is no retroflex series such as /ʂ/, /ʂ^h/, or /ʂ̥/ to be found in the Yichun language. This feature is shared by most Gan dialects.

In addition, the following points should be noted concerning the consonants in the Yichun language.

First, like many other Sinitic languages, such as Mandarin and Cantonese, the stops in the Yichun language are not distinguished by any contrast in voicing but by the contrast in aspiration. This may pose some difficulty for foreigners learning this language.

Second, the voiced stops and affricatives of Middle Chinese have become aspirated voiceless consonants in the Yichun language. For example, the character 同, which had a voiced stop /*d/ as an onset in Middle Chinese is pronounced as /t^həŋ⁴⁴/ in the Yichun language.

Third, what we mean by ‘zero consonant’ [∅] is the case where a vowel itself constitutes the syllable onset, or alternatively, wherever there is a null consonant before the vowel in syllable-initial position. The analytical convenience of including the label of a null element is that sometimes this gap can be indirectly deduced in certain phonological contexts. In the Yichun language, when the syllable starts with vowels such as [a], [o], and [e], a glottal stop /ʔ/ can be observed, though it is very weak. Similarly, when the syllable starts with a high vowel such as /u/ or /y/, a weak [w] or [j] is observed respectively (Liu 2001). This can be used as proof that there is no initial consonant and is a secondary effect thereof.

Fourth, strictly speaking, the alveopalatals /tɕ/, /tɕ^h/, and /ç/ are not exactly the same as their Mandarin counterparts. The articulation of /tɕ/, /tɕ^h/, and /ç/ in the Yichun language is less palatalized than their Mandarin counterparts. The actual pronunciation of /tɕ/, /tɕ^h/, and /ç/ in the Yichun language sounds closer to the palatals /tʃ/, /tʃ^h/, and /ʃ/ respectively. In fact, Liu (2001) considers [tɕ], [tɕ^h], and [ç], as well as [tʃ], [tʃ^h], and [ʃ] as free variants of the phonemes of /tʃ/, /tʃ^h/, and /ʃ/. According to Liu, the latter are thus also possible when they are followed by vowels such as [i] and [u]. A related phenomenon is that not all Gan dialects have the same number of consonants as the Yichun language. Consonants range in number from 19 to 24. The main reason for this difference stems from whether we treat certain consonants as allophones or phonemes.

Fifth, /n/ and /l/ are free variants, as is very common across Southern Sinitic languages. For example, native speakers of the Yichun language can pronounce the character 腦 ‘brain’ either as [lao⁴²] or [nao⁴²].

Sixth, the labial–dental /f/ is labialized in the Yichun language. Its narrow transcription is [f^w].

Last but not least, the fricative [x] is close to the glottal [h] when its following vowel starts with /o/.

2.2 Vowels

The following figure illustrates the inventory of primary vowels in the Yichun language. According to the figure below, there are ten vowels, among which there are more front vowels than back vowels.

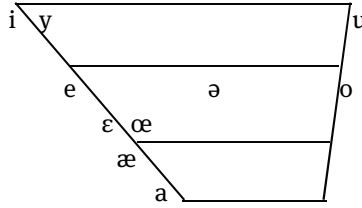


Fig.2-1: Vowel chart in Yichun Gan

These 10 vowels can combine differently to form diphthongs. The diphthongs can remain as open syllables or be closed by coda elements, such as nasals or stops. Coda elements are greatly simplified in the Yichun language. The syllabic-final stops /p/, /t/, and /k/ in Middle Chinese are reduced to a glottal /ʔ/ in Yichun. The codas for the nasals are restricted to /n/ and /ŋ/, and the nasal of /m/ in Middle Chinese is assimilated into /n/.

Tab.2-2: Rimes in Yichun Gan (63, including ŋ and ʔ)

ɿ	i	u	y
a	ia	ua	
o	io	uo	
ə			
œ			yœ
ε	iε	uε	
æ	iu	ui	
ai		uai	
an		uan	
on	ion	uon	
en	ien	uen	
aŋ	iaŋ	uaŋ	
oŋ	ioŋ	uoŋ	
εu	iεu		
	in	un	yn
ao			
əŋ	iəŋ	uəŋ	
	iʔ	uʔ	yʔ
aʔ	iaʔ		
oʔ	ioʔ	uoʔ	
εʔ	iεʔ	uεʔ	
œʔ		uœʔ	yœʔ
æʔ		uæʔ	
	iuʔ	uiʔ	
m	ŋ		

The following points concerning vowels and rimes in the Yichun language are worthy of special attention:

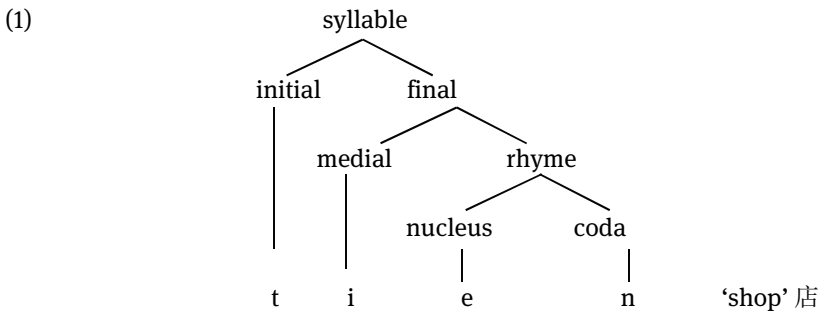
First, the presence of /ɾ/ is only possible after the alveolar series, /ts/, /ts'/, and /s/.

Second, the pronunciation of [œ] should be represented as [ø] in a strict sense. For example, the character 开 has the pronunciation [k^hø³⁴]. For the sake of reader-friendliness, we use the vowel [œ] instead.

Third, in the vowels /on/, /ion/, and /uon/, there is a weak schwa between the vowel and the coda. Therefore, strictly speaking they should be represented as /o^ən/, /io^ən/, and /uo^ən/ respectively, where the symbol /ə/ stands for schwa.

2.3 Syllabic structure

Gan Chinese, including the Yichun language, has the same syllabic structure as other Chinese dialects, such as Mandarin and Wu. The maximal syllable is composed of CGVX, that is to say a consonantal onset, a pre-nuclear glide, the nucleus, and a coda. In traditional analyses, the syllable CGVX is divided into an ‘initial’ (声母: *shēngmǔ*) and a ‘final’ (韵母: *yùnmǔ*), where the initial refers to the first consonant and the final refers to everything except the initial consonant. The hierarchical structure of the syllable can be represented as in the following diagram:



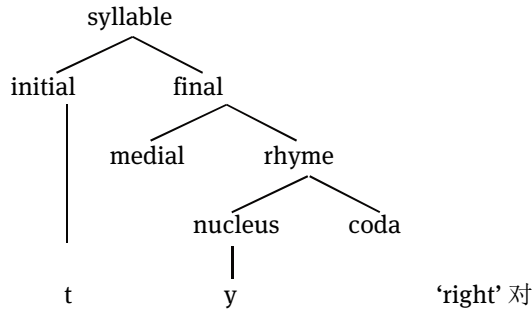
The Chinese term ‘initial’ corresponds to the ‘onset’. The onset in Gan Chinese can only be filled by a single consonant. Onsets with consonant clusters are rarely found in Chinese languages.

The ‘final’ consists of medial and rhyme: the former is realized by a glide, such as /i/, and the latter is composed of a nucleus and a coda. The nucleus is the only obligatory element in the syllable. For example, bare vowels such as /i/ ‘clothes’, /u/ ‘house’, and /y/ ‘rain’ all constitute legitimate syllables in the

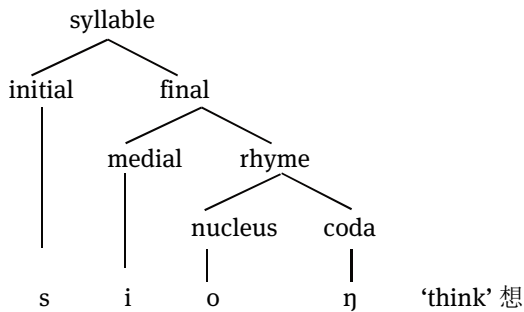
Yichun language. Additionally, the two nasal consonants can constitute a syllable by themselves as well, such as /m/ ‘mum’ and /ŋ/ ‘five’, and they are treated as nuclei. The coda can either be realized by nasals such as /n/ or /ŋ/, or by glottal stops such as /ʔ/ in the Yichun language.¹

Note that there has been heated debate concerning the status of the glide in Sinitic languages. For example, Duanmu (1990) proposes to treat the pre-nuclear glide as a part of the onset, whereas Bao (1990) suggests considering it as part of a rhyme based on data from Taiwanese Southern Min. This debate, however, does not greatly concern us in our study of mainly the morphology and syntax of Gan Chinese. For our purpose, it is sufficient to note that syllables fall into two classes in terms of traditional Chinese historical phonology: (i) ‘smooth syllables’, namely an open syllable CV as in (2) or a syllable closed by a nasal stop, i.e. CVN, as in (3); and, (ii) short ‘checked syllables’, namely syllables ending with a glottal stop, i.e. CVʔ, as in (4).

(2)CV

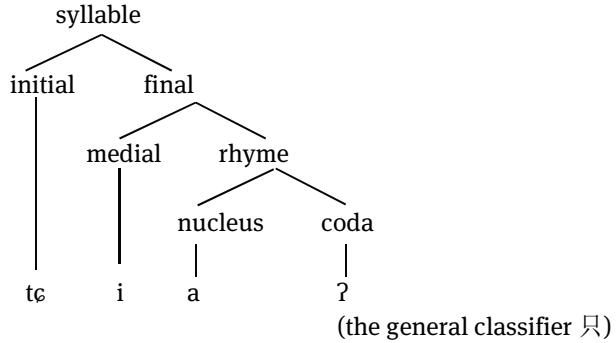


(3)CVN



¹ In many Gan dialects, the codas are realized by stops such as /p/, /t/, and /k/. However, the codas of /p/, /t/, and /k/ are reduced to the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the Yichun language.

(4) CV?



2.4 Tones

Gan Chinese is a tonal language, in which each syllable bears a certain tone. Different Gan dialects have a different inventory of tones, ranging from three to ten. For example, the Yongxiu dialect (永修话) has 10 tones (which may include allotones), the Nanchang dialect (南昌话) has seven tones, and the Jinggangshan dialect (井冈山) has only three tones (see Xie Liuwen 2006 and Sun Yizhi 2007).

In Chinese dialectology, it is popular to use a five-level scale introduced by Chao (1930) to represent the phonetic pitches of tones. Chao (1930) suggests representing tones by a scale with five different levels, ranking from 1 being the lowest to 5 the highest. It is a convenient tool to phonetically transcribe the auditory impression of the tone height, though it has been criticized by later researchers. In this research, we nonetheless adopt this method to represent the pitch of tones in the Yichun language, since it allows for relativity reflected in speaker variation.

It is generally assumed that the tone is realized on segments, which serve as syllabic nuclei. In the Yichun language, tones can be realized either on vowels or on the two nasals /m/ and /ŋ/. There are five distinct base tones identified in the Yichun language, as shown below.

- (5) a. Mid-rising: 34
- b. High: 44
- c. High-falling: 42
- d. Falling-rising: 213
- e. Entering tone: 5

Examples for each type of tone are illustrated from (6) to (10) respectively:

(6) [Mid-rising]

东	风	开	春
təŋ ³⁴	fəŋ ³⁴	k ^h œ ³⁴	tɕ ^h yn ³⁴
east	wind	open	spring

(7) [High level]

门	铜	冻	痛
mən ⁴⁴	t ^h əŋ ⁴⁴	təŋ ⁴⁴	t ^h əŋ ⁴⁴
door	bronze	frozen	painful

(8) [High-falling]

懂	九	苦	买
təŋ ⁴²	tɕiu ⁴²	k ^h u ⁴²	mai ⁴²
know	nine	bitter	buy

(9) [Falling-rising]

动	卖	洞	饭
t ^h əŋ ²¹³	mai ²¹³	t ^h əŋ ²¹³	fan ²¹³
move	sell	hole	meal

(10) [Entering tone]

百	哭	六	盒
pa?	k ^h u?	lu?	xœ?
hundred	cry	six	box

In view of that the entering tone is mainly associated with those syllables ending with the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the Yichun language, the tone value 5 is not annotated in the examples throughout the book.

2.5 Tone sandhi

In many varieties of Chinese dialects, the base tones of syllables change in particular contexts. This is usually called ‘tone sandhi’. It is the change of tone brought about regularly by the effect of adjacent tones. Tone sandhi is a more salient grammatical phenomenon in some Chinese languages than in others. For example, in languages such as Wu, Min, and Jin, there are complex tone sandhi patterns, some of which are even grammatically relevant, whereas Gan

Chinese is claimed to have few tone sandhi patterns. The tone sandhi patterns in the Nanchang dialect are quite similar to what is found in Mandarin (Xiong 1994). In the Nanchang dialect, when the first syllable has a tone of 213 and the second has a tone of 213, 11, or 2, then the first tone is changed into 24. To formalize this, 213+213/11/2 becomes 24 + 213/11/2 in Nanchang Gan.

Liu (2001) has a detailed discussion about tone sandhi patterns in two-character or three-character compounds in the Yichun language of Gan. She shows that there is a more complex system of tone sandhi in the Yichun variety than in the Nanchang variety. In this study, we adopt a simple version of tone sandhi patterns. Rao (2004) makes a list of basic vocabulary in the Yichun language, which is transcribed in the IPA. By examining Rao's vocabulary list, we summarize the following tone sandhi patterns:

(11) Base tones	Changed tones
a. 44	21
b. 42	33
c. 213	21

Usually, tone sandhi occurs on the first syllable of a compound in the Yichun language. The original tone of the first syllable 44 will change into tone 21 if the following syllabic has a neutral tone, as shown in (12).

(12) a. 扫把	b. 厨子
sau ⁴⁴⁻²¹ pa	tɕ ^{hy} 44-21tsɿ
broom	chef-NMLZ
'broom'	'chef'

And the tone 42 will change into tone 33 if the following syllable is either a high-falling tone (13a), or a neutral tone or (13b).

(13) a. 狗牯	b. 袄子
kieu ⁴²⁻³³ ku ⁴²	ŋau ⁴²⁻³³ tsɿ
dog.GENDER SUF	coat-NMLZ
'puppy'	'coat stuffed with cotton'

The tone 213 might change into tone 21 if the second syllable has a neutral tone (14a) or high rising tone (14b).

(14) a. 上昼
 ɕion²¹³⁻²¹tɕiu
 morning
 ‘morning’

b. 舅公
 tɕ^{hi}iu²¹³⁻²¹kuŋ³⁴
 uncle-grandpa
 ‘great-uncle’ (the brother of your grandma)

A final note is concerned with the term *qīngshēng* or neutral tone, which concerns the indeterminate pitch value on de-stressed or unstressed syllables. Grammatical words, such as aspectual markers and sentence final particles, are often pronounced in the *qīngshēng*. In addition, various nominal suffixes in compounds are also read *qīngshēng*. These syllables are marked without a tone symbol in the transcription.

To conclude, compared with other Southern Sinitic languages like Wu and Yue, Yichun Gan has a rather simple phonetic system. There are no voiced series of stops, fricatives and affricates. It has only five tones, one of which is an entering tone. In addition, tone sandhi is quite limited in its scope. All these aspects make its sound system reasonably straightforward to describe.

3 Morphology

Morphology studies patterns of word formation within and across languages. In this chapter, we will discuss word formation rules in Yichun Gan. According to the morphological typology, Sinitic languages (including Gan) are often seen as representative of ‘isolating’ languages (Sapir 1921). If isolating languages are understood to be those with a fairly low morpheme per word ratio, only Classical Chinese, represented by texts from 5th century BC to 1st century AD, can be seen to be an isolating language.¹ Modern Mandarin and Yichun Gan are not, since they have an abundant number of compounds for a start. It is more appropriate to characterize Gan Chinese as somewhere between an analytic and an agglutinative language, since it is poor in inflectional morphology but rich in derivational morphology and word formation devices.

In this chapter, we will discuss four primary means by which words are formed in the Yichun language. They are reduplication, affixation and cliticization. Compounding will not be discussed in any detail, since most of the disyllabic/polysyllabic words are, in any case, compounds in this ‘analytic’ language and belong to a large number of different types. For illustrative purposes, we will only discuss how gender markers compound with noun stems.

3.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process in which a word or a part of a word is reduplicated to form a phrase or new word. The mechanism of reduplication is employed by different lexical categories in the Yichun language, including noun, classifier, adjective and verb.

Noun reduplication: in Yichun Gan, the reduplicated nouns are restricted to kinship terms while other common nouns in general do not have reduplicated forms. The reduplicated kinship terms are formed by repeating the monosyllabic kinship base forms. Phonetically, the second syllable usually has a neutral tone. See examples (1) and (2).

¹ Classical Chinese (上古汉语), a literary language, is the language of the classics of literature from the end of the Spring and Autumn period (early 5th century BC) through to the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty (24AD), a written form of Archaic Chinese (Fang Yixin 2010: 20).

- (1) a. 爷爷
ia⁴⁴ia
'dad'
- b. 伯伯
paʔpaʔ
'uncle' (father's brother)
- c. 公公
kuŋ³⁴kuŋ
'grandpa' (father's side)
- (2) a. 姨姨
i⁴⁴i
'aunt' (mother's sisters)
- b. 姆姆
mu⁴²mu
'aunt' (father's brother's wife)
- c. 婆婆
p^ho⁴⁴p^ho
'grandma' (father's side)

Not every kinship term can be expressed by reduplication in Yichun Gan. Generally speaking, only the terms for the elder generations can be reduplicated, while those for the peer generation or the younger generation do not have reduplicated forms. For example, the term for 'sister' is expressed as *tsia*⁴²⁻³³*tsi*? 姐仔 'elder sister' or *mæ*⁴⁴*tsi*? 妹仔 'younger sister', with a diminutive suffix *tsi*?

In baby talk, nouns are often used in reduplicated forms, which help the children to acquire the language. The noun stem to be reduplicated is required to be monosyllabic, so the reduplicated form is always in the form of AA.

- (3) a. 吃吃 b. 饭饭 c. 车车 d. 裤裤
tɕ^hiaʔtɕ^hiaʔ fan²¹³fan tɕ^hia³⁴tɕ^hia k^hu⁴⁴k^hu
'food' 'rice' 'car' 'trousers'

Classifier reduplication: in Mandarin, classifiers can be reduplicated in the form of 'CL-CL' to express a distributive meaning, as shown in (4a). Neverthe-

less, this simple reduplicated form is not attested in the Yichun language, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (4b).

(4) a. 篇篇都是好文章。

piānpiān dōu shì hǎo wénzhāng. (Mandarin)

CL-CL all be good article

‘Each (article) is a good article.’

b. *我今日吃理蛮多碗菜。碗碗都蛮好吃。

*ŋo³⁴ tɕia³⁴ tɕ^hiaŋ-li man⁴⁴ to³⁴ uon⁴² ts^hœ⁴⁴. (Yichun)

1SG today eat-PFV very many CL_{bowl} dish

uon⁴²uon⁴² tu³⁴ man⁴⁴ xau⁴²tɕ^hiaŋ?

CL_{bowl}-CL_{bowl} all very tasteful

Intended: ‘Today I ate many bowls of food, each of which was delicious.’

In Yichun Gan, classifiers are reduplicated in two other forms: ONE-CL-CL and ONE-CL-ONE-CL. They are different from each other in both the syntactic roles they play and the meanings they may express. Their differences are exemplified by (5) and (6).

The reduplicated phrase of ONE-CL-CL in (5) functions as a nominal modifier and expresses a large quantity or a large number of entities. (5a) emphasizes that the dung carried to the fields was a lot; (5b) implies that many bowls of dishes were thrown away.

(5) a. 我俚爷老子把一担担牛粪担到田里去。

ŋo³⁴li ia⁴⁴lau⁴²tsɿ pa⁴² iŋ-tan⁴⁴-tan⁴⁴

1PL father OM one-CL_{load}-CL_{load}

n̩.iu⁴⁴fun tan³⁴ tau⁴⁴ t^hien⁴⁴li tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴.

cow dung shoulder LOC field-in go

‘My father carried buckets of cow dung into the field.’

b. 渠把一碗碗菜一下全部倒刮哩。

kiɛ³⁴ pa⁴² iŋ-uon⁴²-uon²¹³ ts^hœ⁴⁴ iŋxa²¹³ tau⁴⁴-k^huæŋ li.

3SG OM one-CL_{bowl}-CL_{bowl} dish completely pour-COMPL PRF

‘He dumped all the plates of dishes.’

However, the structure ONE-CL-ONE-CL in (6) codes manner adverbials, which express how an action is carried out with respect to the way of dealing with the theme.

- (6) a. 我俚爷老子把牛粪一担一担担到田里去。

ŋo³⁴ li ia⁴⁴ lau⁴² tsɿ pa⁴² ŋiu⁴⁴ fun iʔ-tan⁴⁴ -iʔ-tan⁴⁴
 1PL father OM cow dung one-CL_{load}-One-CL_{load}
 tan³⁴ tau⁴⁴ t^hien⁴⁴-li tɕ^hie⁴⁴.
 shoulder LOC field-in go

‘My father carried the cow dung into the field bucket by bucket.’

- b. 渠把菜一碗一碗一下全部倒刮哩。

kiɛ³⁴ pa⁴² ts^hɛ⁴⁴ iʔ-uon⁴² -iʔ-uon⁴² iʔxa²¹³ tau⁴⁴-k^huæ²⁵ li.
 3SG OM dish one-CL _{bowl}-one-CL _{bowl} completely pour-COMPL PRF

‘He dumped all the dishes plate by plate.’

Adjective reduplication: either a monosyllabic or disyllabic adjective can be reduplicated, which are expressed in the form of AA and ABAB respectively.

The reduplication of monosyllabic adjective must always combine with the suffix of *-tsiʔ* or *-li*. Accordingly, this produces the reduplicated forms of AA-*tsiʔ* and AA-*li*, as exemplified by (7) and (8) respectively.

As shown in (7), the form of AA-*tsiʔ* expresses the diminutive meaning of a degraded property, namely, a property reduced by the given dimension, for example, colour, length, force or intensity.

(7) Reduplicated form of AA-*tsiʔ*

- a. 一只圆圆仔格西瓜

iʔ tɕiaʔ ion⁴⁴ ion⁴⁴-tsiʔ ko si³⁴ kua
 one CL round-round-DIM MOD watermelon
 ‘a roundish watermelon’

- b. 手里拿到一支短短仔格笔。

ɕiu⁴² li la⁴⁴-tau iʔ tɕi³⁴ tuon⁴²-tuon⁴²-tsiʔ ko piʔ.
 hand in carry-DUR one CL short-short-DIM MOD pencil
 ‘holding a shortish pencil in the hand’

By contrast, AA-*li* expresses an intensification effect in that the degree of property expressed by the adjective is much more intensified than what’s expressed by a monosyllabic adjective A alone. Consider (8):

(8) **Reduplicated form of AA-li**

- a. 一只大大立_儿格鸟立_儿
 iʔ teiaʔ t^hai²¹³t^hai²¹³-li ko tieu⁴²li
 one CL big-big-DIM MOD bird
 ‘a quite big bird’
- b. 一根猛猛立_儿格绳立_儿
 iʔ⁵ kien³⁴ maŋ⁴²maŋ⁴²-li ko ɕin⁴⁴li
 one CL long-long-DIM MOD rope
 ‘a quite long rope’

In the Yichun language, adjectives and adverbials are not distinguished morphologically in general, as opposed to the contrast between *quiet* and *quietly* in English. So are reduplicated forms. The form of AA-tsiʔ can either be an adjective or an adverb. Its exact syntactic status depends on whether the properties expressed by AA-tsiʔ are predicated of entities or events. For example, in contrast with those in (7), AA-tsiʔ in (9) modifies verbs and they should be treated as adverbials.

- (9) a. 轻轻仔话。
 tɕ^hiaŋ³⁴tɕ^hiaŋ³⁴-tsiʔ ua²¹³.
 quite-quiet-DIM talk
 ‘Please talk quietly.’
- b. 慢慢仔走。
 maŋ²¹³maŋ²¹³-tsiʔ tɕɕu⁴².
 slow-slow-DIM walk
 ‘Please walk slowly.’

The reduplicated form of ABAB is applicable to disyllabic adjectives. It expresses some intensified kind of meaning. It is impossible to use the suffix *tsiʔ* after ABAB. The other forms of adjective reduplication will be discussed in section 1.2 of Chapter 8 at length.

(10) **Reduplicated form of ABAB**

- a. 墨黑墨黑
 mɛʔxɛʔmɛʔxɛʔ
 ink-black-ink-black
 ‘black’ (literal meaning: ‘as dark as ink’)

b. 飘轻飘轻

p^hiɛu³⁴tɕ^hiaŋ³⁴ p^hiɛu³⁴tɕ^hiaŋ³⁴

floating-light-floating-light

'light' (Literal meaning: 'as light as if floating')

c. 冰冷冰冷

pin³⁴laŋ⁴² pin³⁴laŋ⁴²

ice:cold:ice:cold

'cold' (Literal meaning: 'as cold as ice')

Verb reduplication: verbs are reduplicated to express iterative activities. There are two restrictions on verb reduplication. First, it is obligatory for v-v to be followed by the suffix *tsi?*. Second, only monosyllabic verbs can be reduplicated in the form of vv-*tsi?*. Consider the examples in (11-12).

(11) a. 我想想仔箇只事硬不对。

ŋo³⁴ sioŋ⁴²sioŋ-tsi? ko³⁴ tɕia? sɿ²¹³ ŋaŋ²¹³ pi²⁵ ty⁴⁴.

1SG think-think-DIM DEM CL thing anyway NEG right

'I keep thinking that there is something wrong with this thing.'

b. 让渠骂骂仔。莫理渠。

ŋioŋ²¹ kie³⁴ ma⁴⁴ma-tsi?. mo? li⁴² kie³⁴.

let 3SG scold-scold-DIM NEG notice 3SG

'Let him keep scolding. Do not pay any attention to him.'

In the examples of (12), the reduplicated verb takes an object, which can be a thematic object (12a) or a cognate object (12b).

(12) a. 你再话话仔我，我就打人哩。

ŋi³⁴ tsoe⁴⁴ ua²¹³ua²¹³-tsi? ŋo³⁴, ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ ta⁴² ŋin⁴⁴ li.

2SG continuously talk-talk-DIM 1SG then 1SG then beat person PRF

'If you keep on nagging me, I will beat you.'

b. 渠睏睏仔觉，就睏刮几个钟头。

kie³⁴ k^hun⁴⁴k^hun⁴⁴-tsi? kau⁴⁴,

3SG sleep-sleep-DIM nap

tɕ^hiu²¹³ k^hun⁴⁴-k^huæ²⁵ tɕi⁴² ko⁴⁴ tɕəŋ³⁴t^hɛu.

then sleep-COMPL several CL hour

'He wanted to have a nap, but it turned out he slept for several hours.'

In all these examples, *vv-tsi?* expresses a repetitive meaning.

(13) a. 我等等仔等得发躁。

ŋo³⁴ ten⁴²ten⁴²tsi? ten⁴²-tɛʔ-fæʔtsau⁴⁴.

1SG wait-wait-DIM wait-PRT-get:anxious

'I waited again and again until I got anxious.'

b. 我走走仔就走到哩屋里。

ŋo³⁴ tseu⁴²tseu⁴²tsi? tɕ^hi^u-²¹³ tseu⁴²tau⁴⁴-li uʔli.

1SG walk-walk-DIM then walk.to-PFV home

'I walked and walked until I finally got back home.'

In sum, the morphological operation of reduplication is observed with different word classes, these being nouns, adjectives, classifiers or verbs. Except for a subset of adjectives, verbal reduplication tends to observe the monosyllabicity constraint, namely, the base to be reduplicated is required to be a monosyllabic morpheme. Another interesting fact is that the diminutive marker *-tsi?* is required obligatorily in AA-DIM and VV-DIM, whereas no diminutive marker is needed in the Mandarin counterparts. The use of the marker *-tsi?* will be examined in detail in section 3.

3.2 Affixation

Affixes are bound morphemes and they come in two types according to the position in which they occur: prefixes attach to the beginning of a word stem, and suffixes to the end. In the Yichun language, both prefixes and suffixes abound, but only a few prefixes and a small number of suffixes are truly productive. Grammatical morphemes in Yichun Gan, such as aspectual markers, should also be treated as affixes, but they will not be discussed here (see chapter 11). In this grammar, we will only treat the ones that are productive, which help to form (nominal) compounds. In what follows, we will start with the discussion on nominal prefixes and then move onto nominal suffixes.

3.2.1 Prefixes

Nominal prefixes: The morpheme *lau*⁴² 老 'old' is one of the very few nominal prefixes, if not the only one, in the Yichun language. It usually precedes kinship terms and expresses the meaning of respect or closeness. The prefix *a* or *aʔ* 阿,

which is widely distributed in other southern Sinitic languages and used on terms of address including kin, is not found in the Yichun language.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (14) a. 老公公 | b. 老兄 |
| lau ⁴² kuŋ ³⁴ kuŋ | lau ⁴² ɕian ³⁴ |
| old.grandfather | old. elder:brother |
| ‘great-grandfather’ | ‘elder brother’ |
| c. 老弟 | d. 老表 |
| lau ⁴² tʰi ²¹³ | lau ⁴²⁻³³ piɛu ⁴² |
| old. younger:brother | old.cousin |
| ‘younger brother’ | ‘cousin’ |

The prefix *lau*⁴², in the form of *lau*⁴²-*n* (*n* stands for natural numbers), can also express the ranking of siblings in the family, such as (15a). For the eldest or youngest siblings, they are expressed as *lau*⁴²-tʰai²¹³ (15b) and *lau*⁴²-ɕi⁴⁴ (15c) respectively.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (15) a. 老三 | b. 老大 | c. 老细 |
| lau ⁴² san ³⁴ | lau ⁴² tʰai ²¹³ | lau ⁴² ɕi ⁴⁴ |
| old.third | old.big | old.young |
| ‘the third’ | ‘the eldest’ | ‘the youngest’ |

A third possible case for the prefix *lau*⁴² is the expression of *lau*⁴²-SURNAME, which is used to address someone that you stand a close relation with, such as your colleagues or your old buddy.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (16) a. 老王 | b. 老李 |
| lau ⁴² uoŋ ⁴⁴ | lau ⁴²⁻³³ li ⁴² |
| old Wang | old Li |
| ‘old fellow Wang’ | ‘old fellow Li’ |

*Piɛu*³³ 表 is another prefix frequently used in kinship terms. It usually expresses the relation to ego of the children born to the speaker’s mother’s siblings or to the speaker’s father’s sisters.

- (17) a. 表哥
 piɛu⁴²ko³⁴
 PREF.elder brother
 ‘elder male cousin’
- b. 表姐
 piɛu⁴²⁻³³tɕia⁴²
 PREF.elder sister
 ‘elder female cousin’
- c. 表弟
 piɛu⁴²hi²¹³
 PREF.younger brother
 ‘younger male cousin’
- d. 表妹
 piɛu⁴²mœ⁴⁴
 PREF.younger sister
 ‘younger female cousin’
- (18) a. 表伯
 piɛu⁴²pa⁷⁵
 ‘great aunt’s son or great uncle’s son, who is older than the speaker’s father’
- b. 表母
 piɛu⁴²⁻³³mu⁴²
 wife of piɛu⁴²pa⁷⁵
- c. 表叔
 piɛu⁴²ɕiu⁷⁵
 ‘great aunt’s son(s) who is (are) younger than the speaker’s father’
- d. 表婶
 piɛu⁴²⁻³³ɕin⁴²
 wife of piɛu⁴²ɕiu⁷⁵

The morpheme *ioŋ*⁴⁴ 洋 means ‘foreign’. It is a bound morpheme and often used as a prefix in noun compounds, which refers to various foreign products.

- (19) a. 洋油
 ioŋ⁴⁴iu⁴⁴
 foreign.oil
 ‘kerosene’
- b. 洋布
 ioŋ⁴⁴pu⁴⁴
 foreign.cloth
 ‘cloth (in general)’
- c. 洋火
 ioŋ⁴⁴⁻²¹fo
 foreign.fire
 ‘match’

Verbal and adjectival prefixes are used less frequently than nominal prefixes. The verb *iu*⁴² 有 ‘have’ and *mau*⁴⁴ 冇 ‘NEG.HAVE’ can be used as prefixes in compound verbs (or compound adjectives).

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (20) a. 有零 | b. 冇零 |
| iu ⁴² lian ⁴⁴ | mau ⁴⁴ lian ⁴⁴ |
| have.zero | NEG.HAVE.zero |
| ‘be useful’ | ‘be useless’ |
-
- | | |
|---|--|
| (21) a. 有划头 | b. 冇划头 |
| iu ⁴² fa ⁴⁴ t ^h ɛu | mau ⁴⁴ fa ⁴⁴ t ^h ɛu |
| have.worth | NEG.HAVE.worth |
| ‘be worthwhile’ | ‘be unwhorthwhile’ |

3.3 Suffixes

Most of the prefixes in Yichun Gan are derivational morphemes and they help to build words. By contrast, a subset of suffixes in this language resemble inflectional forms, which include the plural marker *-li* and aspectual markers, whereas yet others resemble derivational morphemes, such as the nominalizer *-tsɿ* and the nominal markers *-li* and *-tsɿ*.

3.3.1 Pronominal and verbal suffixes

The plural marker *-li* 俚 is a true suffix, which can only follow pronouns and express plural pronouns. Unlike the plural marker *-men* in Mandarin, the marker *-li* cannot be used on human nouns like *student-*li* ‘students’ or *relative-*li* ‘relatives’ (cf. Chapter 4 on pronouns).

- | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| (22) a. 我俚 | b. 你俚 | c. 渠俚 |
| ŋo ³⁴ li | ŋi ³⁴ li | kie ³⁴ li |
| 1SG-PL | 2SG-PL | 3SG-PL |
| ‘we’ | ‘you _{PL} ’ | ‘they’ |

Verbal suffixes: When talking about verbal suffixes in Sinitic languages, the causative morpheme *huà* ‘ize, ify’ in Mandarin or *fa²²* ‘ize, ify’ in Cantonese is often chosen as a candidate. However, this causative suffix has a translational flavor, and is used to translate English loanwords, such as *diànnǎo-huà* ‘computerize’ and *quánqiú-huà* ‘globalize’. In other words, the use of *huà* ‘-ize’ is restricted to a certain register. If the Yichun language uses this morpheme, this means that it has been directly borrowed from Mandarin. We do not intend to discuss such non-native suffixes here.

Aspectual markers in the Yichun language are bound morphemes and they may not operate independently of verbs. They should be considered as verbal suffixes. Examples in (23) illustrate the perfective marker *-li* 哩 and the complete marker *k^huæʔ* 刮. We refer readers to Chapter 11 for the discussion of the functions of aspect markers.

- (23) a. 晓得哦，我打哩电话得渠。
 ɕiɛu⁴²tɛʔ o, ŋo³⁴ ta⁴²⁻³³-li t^hien²¹³⁻²¹fa tɛ⁴² kiɛ³⁴.
 know INTJ 1SG hit-PFV telephone DAT 3SG
 ‘(I) know. I made a phone call to him.’
- b. 我只手机偷刮哩。
 ŋo³⁴ tɕiaʔ ɕiu⁴²tɕi³⁴ t^hɛu³⁴-k^huæʔ li.
 1SG CL cellphone stolen-COMPL PRF
 ‘My cellphone was stolen.’

3.3.2 The nominalizing suffix: *tsɿ*

The morpheme *-tsɿ* 子 originally means ‘child/children’. It is attached to a monosyllabic morpheme to derive disyllabic nouns. The monosyllabic element to which it is suffixed may be a noun, verb or adjective. We will consider these cases one by one.

The morpheme *-tsɿ* can attach to noun morphemes to derive noun compounds, which belong to various semantic domains. *N-tsɿ* can refer to the fruit or seed of a plant, as shown in (24). Furthermore, it can refer to entities of different sizes, shapes and materials, as given in (25). It can also refer to abstract entities, such as a ‘brain’ or ‘gesture’ in (26).

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| (24) a. 柿子
ɕi ²¹ tsɿ
persimmon.NMLZ
‘persimmon’ | b. 李子
li ³³ tsɿ
plum.NMLZ
‘plum’ | c. 茄子
tɕ ^h yœ ⁴⁴ tsɿ
aubergine.NMLZ
‘aubergine’ |
| (25) a. 桌子
tso ²⁵ tsɿ
table.NMLZ
‘table’ | b. 管子
kuon ³³ tsɿ
tube.NMLZ
‘pipe’ | c. 毯子
t ^h an ³³ tsɿ
blanket.NMLZ
‘blanket’ |

- | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| (26) a. 脑子 | b. 架子 | c. 路子 |
| lao ³³ tsɿ | ka ²¹ tsɿ | lu ²¹ tsɿ |
| brain.NMLZ | prop.NMLZ | road.NMLZ |
| ‘wisdom’ | ‘haughty manner’ | ‘solution’ |

The morpheme *-tsɿ* can also be attached to verb roots, which are then derived into nouns, as in the form *V-tsɿ*. Nominalization with *-tsɿ* falls roughly into two subtypes based on the semantics of the newly formed word.

In the first case, *V-tsɿ* expresses the agent that does the activity expressed by the preceding verb, such as *p^hien⁴⁴* ‘cheat’ and *fan²¹* ‘traffick’ in (27).

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (27) a. 骗子 | b. 贩子 | c. 拐子 |
| p ^h ien ⁴⁴ tsɿ | fan ²¹ tsɿ | kuai ⁴² tsɿ |
| cheat.NMLZ | traffick.NMLZ | swindle.NMLZ |
| ‘liar’ | ‘trafficker’ | ‘swindler’ |

In the second case, *V-tsɿ* are meant to refer to tools or equipment which are used to carry out the activity expressed by the verb, such as *ts^han³³* ‘shovel’ and *kæ?* ‘clip’ in (28).

- | | | |
|--|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| (28) a. 钳子 | b. 夹子 | c. 铲子 |
| tɕ ^h ien ⁴⁴⁻²¹ tsɿ | kæ?tsɿ | ts ^h an ³³ tsɿ |
| clamp.NMLZ | clip.NMLZ | shovel.NMLZ |
| ‘pincer’ | ‘clip’ | ‘shovel’ |

Adjectives are another class of words that are subject to the suffixation of *-tsɿ*. The nominalizer *-tsɿ* turns an adjective root into a noun. *Adj-tsɿ* expresses a type of person who has the particular property expressed by the adjective. See (29) for an illustration.

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (29) a. 瞎子 | b. 胖子 | c. 聋子 |
| xæ?tsɿ | p ^h oŋ ²¹ tsɿ | ləŋ ³⁴ tsɿ |
| blind.NMLZ | fat.NMLZ | deaf.NMLZ |
| ‘the blind person’ | ‘the fat person’ | ‘the deaf person’ |

Two minor points have to be pointed out. First, *Adj-tsɿ* usually carries a pejorative meaning to some extent, such as denigration or lack of respect. It usually refers to someone who is physically or mentally disabled. In other words, adjectives with positive meanings usually cannot be suffixed by *tsɿ*. Second, the

combination of Adj-*tsɿ* and V-*tsɿ* is restricted to monosyllabic adjectives and verbs.

In the literature, many researchers argue that the suffix *-tsɿ* is a diminutive marker that expresses the meaning of smallness, cuteness, or other related meanings (Wu 2002, 2007). However, from our above discussion, we found no evidence to show that X-*tsɿ* (where X is a noun, verb or adjective) has the meaning of diminution.² X-*tsɿ* refers to entities of different sizes, ranging from small entities to large entities, and refers to entities with different emotions, ranging from cuteness to pejorative meanings. In other words, there is no uniform meaning of the X-*tsɿ*, as contributed by the suffix *-tsɿ*. We suggest that synchronically, the suffix *-tsɿ* merely applies an operation of nominalization to noun roots, verb roots and adjective roots and turns them into nouns, which may belong to different semantic types, e.g. agent, tool, profession. It is for these reasons that we claim the suffix *-tsɿ* in the Yichun language is not a diminutive marker but a nominalizer.

3.3.3 Nominal markers: *li* and *tsiʔ* .

This subsection introduces two noun markers *-li* 立_儿 and *-tsiʔ* 仔 in the Yichun language. Both of these two markers are only used in the Yichun language but not in Mandarin. We start with the nominal suffix *-li*.

Rao (1981) observes that most of the words that are suffixed with *zǐ* 子 (IPA: /*tsɿ*/) in Mandarin are suffixed with the morpheme *li* in the Yichun language. Some examples are given in (30). In the corresponding Mandarin, ‘monkey’ is expressed as *hóuzi* 猴子, ‘shoes’ as *xiézi* 鞋子, and ‘beans’ as *dòuzi* 豆子, in which the suffix *zi* is a nominalizer in Mandarin.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| (30) a. 猴立 _儿 | b. 鞋立 _儿 | c. 豆立 _儿 |
| xiɛu ⁴⁴ li | xai ⁴⁴ li | t ^h ou ²¹ li |
| monkey.NM | shoe.NM | bean.NM |
| ‘monkey’ | ‘shoes’ | ‘beans’ |

² Probably, the morpheme *-tsɿ* was first used as a diminutive marker, and then it has extended to these other uses, as per Jurafsky’s radical category for diminutives (1996), which this resembles to some extent.

However, Rao's observation is purely intuitive, and there is no one-to-one correspondence between *-li* in the Yichun language and *zǐ* in Mandarin.³ As shown in section 2.2.2, the Yichun language also has the nominalizer *-tsɿ*, cognate to the Mandarin *zǐ*. Examples of *N-tsɿ* from (24) to (29), which are in the same form as their Mandarin counterparts, cannot be changed into *N-li* at all.

In some cases, the same nominal root can be either suffixed by *-li* or *-tsɿ*, but they express different lexical meanings. Let us compare the two columns in (31).

(31) a. 裙立儿	a'. 裙子
tɕ ^h yn ⁴⁴ li	tɕ ^h yn ⁴⁴ tsɿ
skirt.NM	skirt.NM
'diapers'	'skirt'
b. 片立儿	b'. 片子
p ^h ien ⁴⁴ li	p ^h ien ⁴⁴ tsɿ
piece.NM	piece.NM
'piece or slices'	'film'

We claim that *-tsɿ* and *-li* are two distinct derivational markers. The suffix *-tsɿ* is a nominalizer which turns words of various parts of speech into nouns, while in the case of *X-li*, the base *X* is usually a noun already, and the suffixation of *-li* simply turns monosyllabic nominals into disyllabic nouns. We suggest that the suffix *-li* still be considered as a nominal marker, although it appears to have retained some diminutive functions but not necessarily the affective one of 'cuteness', just smallness. The examples of *X-li* in (31) are quite like *X-tsɿ* in (24–29), but *N-li* appears to code a smaller version of an object than does *tsɿ-* in *N-tsɿ*.

A second noun marker in Yichun Gan to be discussed is the morpheme *-tsiʔ* 仔. This marker is sometimes written as '唧', '积' or '叽' by other linguists. It is found in Gan, Xiang and some patois in southern Hunan and northern Guangdong Provinces. Like the marker *-li*, the morpheme *-tsiʔ* does not change the categorial features or lexical meanings of the root. It merely marks the nominal status of the root in an overt way. We can thus call it a noun marker.

³ Li and Liu (2017) argue that the marker *-li* in the Yichun language is derived from the lexical item 儿 /ə/ 'son'. In southern Wu dialects, the morpheme is pronounced as /ŋ/ or /n/ or by other nasal variants and it is used as a diminutive marker. They argue that /li/ is the result of the sound change from /ŋ/ to /l/ in the Yichun language and that the primary function of /li/ is a nominal marker but that it retains the function of a diminutive marker in a few cases (some lexicalized nouns).

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| (32) a. 鱼仔 | b. 凳仔 | c. 扇仔 |
| ny ⁴⁴ tsi? | ten ⁴⁴ tsi? | ɕien ⁴⁴ tsi? |
| fish.NM | bench.NM | fan.NM |
| ‘fish’ | ‘bench’ | ‘fan’ |
| d. 裤子 | e. 簿仔 | f. 船仔 |
| k ^h u ⁴⁴ tsi? | p ^h u ²¹ tsi? | tɕ ^h ion ⁴⁴ tsi? |
| trousers.NM | notebook.NM | boat.NM |
| ‘trousers’ | ‘exercise book’ | ‘boat’ |

The marker *tsi?* in the examples of (32) cannot be omitted. Nonetheless, the younger generation can accept the monosyllabic expressions without *-tsi?*, such as *ny⁴⁴* ‘fish’, *tɕ^hion⁴⁴* ‘boat’ and *ten⁴⁴* ‘bench’ or use the marker *tsɿ* instead of *tsi?*, such as *k^hu⁴⁴tsɿ* ‘trousers’, *p^hu²¹tsɿ* ‘exercise book’ and *ɕien⁴⁴tsɿ* ‘fan’. This is because they are influenced by the Mandarin equivalents.

Both *-li* and *-tsi?* are nominal markers, but words suffixed with *-li* take up a larger proportion of the lexicon than those with *-tsi?* in the Yichun language.

3.4 Gender markers: *p^ho⁴⁴* and *ku⁴²*

No Chinese language has a productive gender marking system in the sense of an inflectional category which extends over the whole noun inventory. In most Sinitic languages, gender marking is relevant for a special class of nouns, mainly for animals, in particular, domestic livestock. In Mandarin, the gender for animals is realized by adding the morpheme *gōng* 公 ‘male’ or *mǔ* 母 ‘female’ before the noun. For example, *gōng-jī* 公鸡 ‘rooster’ versus *mǔ-jī* 母鸡 ‘hen’. In contrast, in the Yichun language, the gender markers are expressed by the nominal suffix *p^ho⁴⁴* 婆 ‘female’ and *ku⁴²* 牯 ‘male’ respectively. Etymologically, *p^ho⁴⁴* means ‘old woman’ and *ku⁴²* means ‘a male castrated bull’. They thus can have an extended meaning of being a female or male individual respectively. See (33) for an illustration.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| (33) a. 牛牯 | a’ 牛婆 |
| ɲiu ⁴⁴ ku ⁴² | ɲiu ⁴⁴ p ^h o ⁴⁴ |
| bull.MALE | COW.FEMALE |
| ‘bull’ | ‘cow’ |

- | | |
|---|---|
| b. 猪牯 | b'. 猪婆 |
| tɕy ³⁴ ku ⁴² | tɕy ³⁴ p ^h o ⁴⁴ |
| pig.MALE | pig.FEMALE |
| 'male pig' | 'female pig' |
|
 | |
| c. 兔牯 | c'. 兔婆 |
| t ^h u ⁴⁴ ku ⁴² | t ^h u ⁴⁴ p ^h o ⁴⁴ |
| rabbit.MALE | rabbit.FEMALE |
| 'male rabbit' | 'female rabbit' |
|
 | |
| d. 猫牯 | d'. 猫婆 |
| mau ³⁴ ku ⁴² | mau ³⁴ p ^h o ⁴⁴ |
| cat.MALE | cat.FEMALE |
| 'male cat' | 'female cat' |

According to Rao (2005), the morpheme *ku*⁴² can also mean the 'nipples of an animal', which may be extended to refer to small round entities, such as cobble stones (see also Liu 1999: 680). This meaning is probably related to another lexical meaning of *ku*⁴², i.e. 'a female ox' (Wu 2002). In this case, *ku*⁴² is no longer a gender marker. See (34).

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| (34) a. 石头牯 | b. 膝头牯 |
| ɕiaʔt ^h euku ⁴² | ts ^h iʔt ^h euku ⁴² |
| stone.KU | knee.KU |
| 'stone' | 'knee' |

In fact, this feature of Yichun conforms with the prediction made by Hashimoto (1976) to the effect that gender prefixes are prevalent in Northern Sinitic languages and suffixes in Southern Sinitic languages. However, the gender markers in Mandarin and Yichun Gan belong to different word classes. The markers of *gōng* and *mǔ* in Mandarin are adjective-like, if we treat *gōng*-N or *mǔ*-N as compounds, whereas *p^ho⁴⁴* 'female' and *ku*⁴² in Yichun are more like nominal suffixes.

There are two points to be made concerning the status of *p^ho⁴⁴* and *ku*⁴². On the one hand, in a strict sense, the gender marker *p^ho⁴⁴* and *ku*⁴² are not true gender markers. N-*p^ho⁴⁴*, specifically refers to mature female animals who have given birth (young female animals which have not reached reproductive age are potentially excluded), whilst N-*ku*⁴² refers to young male animals. Nevertheless, in the tradition of Chinese dialectology/linguistics, they are still considered to be

gender markers in a loose sense (see Hashimoto 1976). On the other, according to Ting (2000), these gender markers found in Southern Sinitic languages are arguably formants of compound nouns and not suffixes.

In consideration of their controversial status, we have discussed these gender markers separately, to keep them some distinct from nominal suffixes.

3.5 Cliticization: the diminutive marker *-tsi?*

In addition to its use as a nominal marker as we saw in (32), the morpheme *tsi?* can also be used as a diminutive marker. The diminutive *tsi?* can follow a variety of lexical classes, including nouns, verbs, adjectives, and classifiers, to express the meaning of diminution.

In the expression of *N-tsi?*, the nominal elements to which *-tsi?* are attached are free morphemes, i.e. full-fledged nouns. The nouns that *-tsi?* follows are not restricted to monosyllabic nouns. Disyllabic or polysyllabic nouns are also possible. The relevant examples are exemplified by (35) and (36).

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| (35) a. 树 | a'. 树仔 | |
| tɕ ^h y ²¹³ | tɕ ^h y ²¹ tsi? | |
| tree | tree-DIM | |
| 'tree' | 'small tree' | |
| b. 车 | b'. 车仔 | |
| tɕ ^h ia ³⁴ | tɕ ^h ia ³⁴ tsi? | |
| car | car-DIM | |
| 'car' | 'toy car' | |
| c. 刀 | c'. 刀仔 | |
| tau ³⁴ | tau ³⁴ tsi? | |
| knife | knife-DIM | |
| 'knife' | 'small knife' | |
-
- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|--|
| (36) a. 瞎子(仔) | b. 夹子(仔) | c. 迷毛雨 (仔) |
| xæʔtsɿ (-tsi?) | kæʔtsɿ(-tsi?) | mi ⁴⁴ mau ⁴⁴ y ⁴² (-tsi?) |
| blind.NMLZ-DIM | clip. NMLZ-DIM | little.rain-DIM |
| 'a little blind person' | 'small clips' | 'drizzle' |

As mentioned by Rao (1981), nouns with *-tsi?* always refer to small entities. The noun tɕ^hia³⁴tsi? as in (35b) only refers to toy cars or toy trucks, but not to real

cars that run on the road, which are always expressed by the monosyllabic word *tɕ^{hi}ia³⁴* instead.

The diminutive marker *-tsi?* can follow classifiers, ranging from individual classifiers to group classifiers and measures. It expresses a subjectively evaluated small quantity or approximation. Consider (37).

(37) a. 我吃哩三只(仔)苹果。

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^{hi}ia²-li san³⁴ tɕia² (-tsi?) p^{hi}n⁴⁴kuo⁴².
 1SG eat-PFV three CL DIM apple
 ‘I ate three apples (only).’

b. 一把(仔)菜

i⁵ pa⁴² (tsi?) ts^hœ⁴⁴
 one CL DIM vegetable
 ‘a handful of vegetables’

c. 找只四十岁(仔)格。

tsau⁴² tɕia²⁵ si⁴⁴ɕi[?] si⁴⁴ (tsi?) ko.
 seek CL forty age DIM MOD
 ‘Look for someone around forty years old.’

The use of *tsi?* after classifiers either emphasizes the quantity of entities being small or expresses approximate quantities. For example, (37a) without the presence of *tsi?* neutrally means that I ate three apples; with *tsi?*, it implies that I only ate three apples, which is too few for me. Similarly, with the use of *tsi?*, the classifier phrase in (37b) refers to a small handful of vegetables. By contrast, the example of (37c) emphasizes approximate quantities but not small quantities. Without *tsi?*, (37c) has the ‘exactness’ implicature of looking for someone who is exactly 40 years old. However, the use of *tsi?* in this case means that anyone who is around 40 will be fine.

The diminutive *tsi?* does not change the categorial property of classifiers, and the structure with Numeral-Classifier-*tsi?*-Noun is still considered to be a classifier phrase. There are two pieces of evidence in support of this assumption. On the one hand, the suffix *tsi?* is an optional element in the classifier phrase. As in (37), the omission of *tsi?* does not lead to the ungrammaticality of the phrase. On the other, the interpretation of *tsi?* in the case of (37) is still related to the basic function of classifiers, e.g. counting and measuring.

We suggest that the diminutive *tsi?* is an element operating above the word level. Specifically, it is suggested to be a phrasal modifier. The diminutive *tsi?* is

not derivational, since it does not change the categorial properties of the stem it attaches to. It is not inflectional either, since it operates across categories. After rejecting these two possibilities, we suggest that *tsi?* is a diminutive clitic, since it can be applied cross-categorially and it operates at a phrasal level (see Li and Liu 2017).

3.6 Concluding remarks

Not only is it important, but necessary, to talk about morphology in the Yichun language for the following considerations. First, although it is poor in inflectional morphemes, it is rich in derivational morphemes and other morphological processes, such as reduplication and cliticization. A second point is that there are morphemes whose status is indeterminate, such as gender markers.

Morphemes like *-tsɿ*, *-li* and *-tsi?* can all be used in nominal phrases, and they have different functions. Their usages and differences are summarized in the following table:

Tab.3-1: Properties of suffixes in the nominal domain

	Nominalizer <i>-tsɿ</i>	Nominal marker <i>-li</i>	Nominal marker <i>-tsi?</i>	Diminutive <i>-tsi?</i>
Base being attached to	N, Cl, Adj, V	N	N	N, Cl, Adj, V
Word class of the output	N	N	N	N, Cl, Adj, V
Mode of composition	Derivation	Derivation	Derivation	Cliticization

4 Personal pronouns

The current chapter investigates personal pronouns in the Yichun language of Gan. In the tradition of Chinese linguistics, the term *pronoun* (*dàicí* 代词) is a cover term for personal pronouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives. Our use of *pronoun* here only refers to personal pronouns in a narrow sense. The following issues related to personal pronouns will be discussed in this chapter: the paradigm of personal pronouns, plurality of pronouns, reflexives and other pronouns.

4.1 Paradigm of personal pronouns

Pronouns in the Yichun language are specified by person – either first, second or third – and by number – either singular or plural. The three singular pronouns from 1st to 3rd person are ηo^{34} 我, ηi^{34} 你 and $ki\epsilon^{34}$ 渠 respectively. The plural forms of pronoun are derived by suffixing the singular ones with the plural marker *li* 徕, which are $\eta o^{34}li$ 我徕, $\eta i^{34}li$ 你徕 and $ki\epsilon^{34}li$ 渠徕 respectively. The pronominal system can be summarized as in the following table.

Tab.4-1: Paradigm of personal pronouns in Yichun Gan

	Singular	Plural
First person	ηo^{34} 我 ia^{44} 爷	$\eta o^{34}li$ 我徕 $ia^{44}li$ 爷徕
Second person	ηi^{34} 你	$\eta i^{34}li$ 你徕
Third person	$ki\epsilon^{34}$ 渠	$ki\epsilon^{34}li$ 渠徕

Among the singular forms of personal pronouns, the third person $ki\epsilon^{34}$ 渠 is the typical form for Southern Sinitic languages and not the Mandarin form of $t^h a^{55}$, whereas the other two pronominal forms, i.e. ηo^{34} 我 and ηi^{34} 你 are well-known to be Pan-Sinitic in nature.

The morpheme ia^{44} 爷, which has the literal meaning *father*, is another first person singular pronoun used in Yichun Gan (Shi and Xin 2009). The corresponding plural form is $ia^{44}li$ ‘we/us’. Example (1a) is adapted from Shi and Xin (2009), and (1b) is an example from the transcribed material.

- (1) a. 爷慢仔就打得来哩。
 ia⁴⁴ man⁴²tsɿ tɕ^hiu²¹³ ta⁴².tɛ-loe⁴⁴ li.
 1SG later then beat.achieve-come PRF
 ‘I will beat you then.’
- b. 箇是在爷俚村诶。
 ko³⁴ ɕi²¹³⁻²¹ ts^hœ²¹³ ia⁴⁴li ts^hun³⁴ ɛ.
 DEM COP LOC 1PL village INTJ
 ‘This is in our village.’

The pronoun *ia*³⁴ carries some special pragmatic meaning, such as ‘authority’. It can either imply that the subject has a higher social status or has more information. For example, (1a) is usually spoken by parents wanting to intimidate their naughty child(ren) or to show their authority in front of their children. This might have to do with its lexical meaning of ‘father’, since the father is usually the one who has the highest authority in the Chinese family.

According to Xiao and Chen (2004), in the Gan dialects spoken around the Poyang Lake areas, personal pronouns make a distinction between nominative and accusative cases. By contrast, the Yichun pronouns do not make a distinction with respect to cases. The same pronoun *ŋo*³⁴ can either be used in a nominative or an accusative case, as in (2a) and (2b) respectively.

- (2) a. 我买哩斤肉。
 [ŋo³⁴]_{Nominative} mai³³-li tɕin³⁴ ŋiu?
 1SG buy-PFV pound meat
 ‘I bought a pound of meat.’¹
- b. 你莫管我
 ŋi³⁴ moʔ kuon⁴² [ŋo³⁴]_{Accusative}.
 2SG NEG interfere 1SG
 ‘Leave me alone.’

Yichun pronouns refer primarily to people. The third person does not make a gender difference. Both males and females can be referred to by *kie*³⁴. It is quite rare for the third person pronoun to refer to animals or inanimate entities. This is different from written Mandarin, whose single form of third person *tā* can be

¹ *tciŋ*³⁴ 斤 is a traditional measure unit in China. One *tciŋ*³⁴ is equivalent to 500 grams. We gloss it as *pound* throughout the book.

designated by three characters, which distinguish between male (他), female (她) and inanimate (它) individuals.

One of the few contexts, which allow the use of the third person *kiɛ*³⁴ to refer to inanimate individuals, is the anaphoric context, as in (3a). But it is impossible to be used in deictic contexts, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (3b).

- (3) a. 火自家会灭。你不口去管佢。

fo⁴² t^hsi²¹ka ui²¹ miɛŋ. ŋi³⁴ piŋtɕ^hioŋ kuon⁴² kiɛ³⁴.

fire self will go:out 2SG NEG.need interfere 3SG

‘The fire will go out by itself. You needn’t pay any attention to it.’

- b. (pointing to a book)

渠是我格书。

kiɛ³⁴ sɪ²¹³ ŋo³⁴ ko ɕy³⁴.

3SG COP 1SG MOD book

Intended: ‘It is my book.’

In the deictic context of (3b), native speakers would use demonstratives, such as *ko*³⁴ instead, as in (3c).

- c. 箇是我格书。

ko³⁴ sɪ²¹³ ŋo³⁴ ko ɕy³⁴.

DEM COP 1SG MOD book

‘This is my book.’

4.2 Plurality of pronouns

Before presenting the properties of the plural marker *-li*, we want to emphasize one important fact about nouns in Yichun Gan. As is well known, English has a mass/count distinction in nominal phrases, so its count nouns, have to be marked by the plural marker *-s* when they make plural references, such as ‘boy(s)’ and ‘table(s)’. Nevertheless, in Sinitic languages, including Gan, their nouns are number-neutral, which means that the same bare noun can refer to both singular and plural entities. Therefore, it does not seem necessary to have a plural marker for common nouns. For example, in Yichun Gan, the noun *p^həŋ⁴⁴iou⁴²* 朋友 either refers to *a single friend* (4a) or *a plurality of friends* (4b).

(4) a. 渠是我朋友。

kiɛ³⁴ ɕi²¹³ ŋo³⁴ p^həŋ⁴⁴i^u⁴².
 3SG COP 1SG friend
 'He is my friend.'

b. 渠俚是我朋友。

kiɛ³⁴li ɕi²¹³ ŋo³⁴ p^həŋ⁴⁴i^{ou}⁴².
 3PL COP 1SG friend
 'They are my friends.'

Nevertheless, the lack of a plural marker for common nouns in Sinitic languages does not prevent them from having a plural marker for personal pronouns or some other strategies to express plurality. For example, in Mandarin, the morpheme *-men* is recognized as a plural marker for pronouns and [+Human] nouns.² In the Yichun language, the plural form of personal pronouns can be constructed in two different ways, either by using a plural numeral classifier phrase in an analytic way, as schematized in 'Pron+Num-CI-N' (5), or by adding the plural suffix *-li*, as in the form of Pron-*li* (6).

(5) **Strategy 1: Pron+Num-CI-N**

我三个是学生。

ŋo³⁴ san³⁴ ko⁴⁴ ɕi²¹³ xoʔsaŋ³⁴.
 1SG three CL COP student
 'We three are students.'

(6) **Strategy 2: Pron+Plural marker**

我俚是学生。

ŋo³⁴li ɕi²¹³ xoʔsaŋ³⁴.
 1PL COP student
 'We are students.'

When using the first strategy to express plurality, there is no restriction on the choice of pronouns to be singular or plural. Both singular and plural pronouns can be followed by a plural numeral classifier phrase to make reference to plural entities. See (7) for illustrations.

² In fact, the marker *-men* in Mandarin can follow animate nouns to express plurality. But it always codes definiteness. Iljic (1996) analyzes it as a collective marker.

- (7) a. 我(俚)三个人先去哩。

ŋo³⁴ (li) san³⁴ ko⁴⁴ ŋin⁴⁴ sien³⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ li.
 1SG (PL) three CL person first go PRF
 ‘We three go first.’

- b. 渠(俚)两个人是我朋友。

kiɛ³⁴ (li) lioŋ⁴² ko⁴⁴ ŋin⁴⁴ ɕi²¹ ŋo³⁴ p^həŋ⁴⁴i^u⁴².
 3SG (PL) two CL person be 1SG friend
 ‘They two are my friends.’

Although both Mandarin and the Yichun language have plural markers for pronouns, the two markers have different semantic restrictions. One of their differences is that the Mandarin marker *-men* can not only follow pronouns, such as *wǒ-men* 1SG-PL ‘we’, but also a small set of [+Human] nouns, such as *tóngxué-men* student-PL ‘students’. However, the marker *-li* in the Yichun language is only applicable to pronouns for expressing plurality and not to common nouns, regardless of the noun having the feature [+Human] or [-Human]. As in (8), neither of the common nouns can be suffixed with the plural marker *-li*.

- (8) a. 同学 (*俚)

t^həŋ⁴⁴xoʔ⁵ (*li)
 student PL
 Intended: ‘students’

- b. 电脑 (*俚)

t^hiɛn²¹³lau⁴² (*li)
 computer PL
 Intended: ‘computers’

The other difference is that the Mandarin marker *-men* can follow proper names to express a collective meaning. For example, in Mandarin, the expression *Zhāngsān-men* means ‘Zhangsan and his fellows’. However, in the Yichun language, it is impossible to suffix the plural marker *li* to proper names. The appropriate way to express collectivity is to use the plural form of pronouns, such as *kiɛ³⁴li* 渠俚, instead of the plural marker *li* alone. Compare (9a) with (9b).

- (9) a. 张明渠俚

tɕioŋ³⁴min⁴⁴ kiɛ³⁴li
 Zhangming 3PL
 ‘Zhangming and his fellows’

- b. *张明俚

*tɕioŋ³⁴min⁴⁴-li
 Zhangming-PL

The Yichun language takes the morpheme *-li* as a plural marker. According to *Linguistic Atlas of Chinese Dialects* (Cao 2008), the plural marker *-li* is widely distributed in the northwest of Jiangxi province. In spite of lack of hard-core

evidence, we speculate that the plural *-li* might develop from the proximal demonstrative *li* ‘here’. It is a common source for locative expressions to develop into plural markers, such as *jiā* 家 ‘house’ in Jianghuai Mandarin and *-la* 拉 ‘place’ in Wu dialects (Zhang 1995; Pan 2010).

4.3 Reflexives and others

In the Yichun language, the reflexive is often expressed by $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\gamma^{213}\text{ka}$ 自家, as opposed to the Mandarin *zìjǐ* 自己. English reflexives have to be bound by an antecedent, but the Yichun counterpart does not have this restriction, strictly speaking. On the one hand, as (10) shows, the pronoun $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\gamma^{213}\text{ka}$ is not marked for person or number and it can refer back to a singular or plural antecedent.

(10) a. 小刘自家不好, 没把事话清楚。

$\text{ci}\varepsilon\text{u}^{42}\text{liu}^{44}\ \text{ts}^{\text{h}}\gamma^{213-21}\text{ka}\ \text{pi}^? \ \text{xao}^{42}, \ \text{mau}^{34} \ \text{pa}^{42} \ \text{s}_1^{213} \ \text{ua}^{213} \ \text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{in}^{34}\text{ts}^{\text{h}}.$
 XiaoLiu self NEG good NEG.HAVE OM thing say clearly
 ‘It is XiaoLiu’s own fault. He did not explain the issue clearly.’

b. 我格缺点, 自家当然晓得。

$\eta\text{o}^{34} \ \text{ko} \ \text{t}^{\text{h}}\gamma^{\text{w}}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ien}^{42}, \ \text{ts}^{\text{h}}\gamma^{21}\text{ka} \ \text{to}\eta^{34}\text{ien}^{44} \ \text{ci}\varepsilon\text{u}^{42}\text{t}^{\text{h}}.$
 1SG MOD weakness self certainly know
 ‘As for my weakness, I myself certainly know it.’

On the other, $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\gamma^{213}\text{ka}$ can also be used alone to serve as argument. As shown in (11), it can be used generically, in the sense that it does not refer to oneself in particular in the context.

(11) 自家格事情自家办。

$\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\gamma^{213-21}\text{ka} \ \text{ko} \ \text{s}_1^{213}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{in} \ \text{ts}^{\text{h}}\gamma^{213-21}\text{ka}^{34} \ \text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{an}^{213}.$
 self MOD thing self do
 ‘Do your own business by yourself.’

It may also combine with personal pronouns to form complex reflexive expressions like *myself*, *yourself* or *himself*.

(12) a. 渠只喜欢渠自家。

$\text{ki}\varepsilon^{34} \ \text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^? \ \text{ci}^{42}\text{fon}^{34} \ \text{ki}\varepsilon^{34}\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\gamma^{213-21}\text{ka}.$
 3SG only like 3SG.self
 ‘He only likes himself.’

b. 你只晓得买等你自家吃。

ŋi³⁴ tciʔ ɕiɛu⁴²tɛʔ mai⁴² ten⁴² ŋi³⁴tɕ^hɿ²¹³ka tɕ^hiaʔ.
 2SG only know buy DAT 2SG.self eat
 ‘You only know how to buy things for yourself to eat.’

In addition, *tɕ^hɿ²¹³ka³⁴* 自家 can also be used as an adverbial, meaning ‘by oneself’ or ‘alone’.

(13) 我自家去外婆屋里。

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hɿ²¹³⁻²¹ka tɕ^hie⁴⁴ ŋɕe⁴⁴p^ho uʔli.
 1SG self go grandma house
 ‘I will go to grandma’s by myself.’

Tɕ^hɿ²¹³ka is opposed to OTHERS, which is expressed as *piʔŋin⁴⁴ka* 别人家 or *ŋin⁴⁴ka* 人家. In Mandarin, OTHERS is usually expressed as *biérén* 别人, which does not require the suffix *jiā* 家.

(14) a. 自家格事不要麻烦别人家。

tɕ^hɿ²¹³⁻²¹ka ko sɿ²¹³ piʔ⁵ɛu⁴⁴ ma⁴⁴fan⁴⁴ p^hieʔŋin⁴⁴ka.
 self MOD thing NEG.NEED trouble others
 ‘Do not bother others for your own business.’

b. 人家屋里格饭硬是更好吃。

ŋin⁴⁴ka uʔli ko fan²¹³ ŋaŋ²¹³ɕi²¹³ kien⁴⁴ xau⁴²tɕ^hiaʔ.
 other house MOD meal certainly more delicious
 ‘Other families’ meals are more delicious than yours.’

4.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter showcased the personal pronoun system in the Yichun language. It features a very Southern pronoun system, which is manifested, among other characteristics, by its third personal pronoun *kie³⁴* and the plural marker *-li*, as opposed to the Mandarin marker *-men*, typical of Northern Sinitic. Regardless of their different lexical sources, the marker *-li* has a much more restricted use than the Mandarin *-men* in that it is suffixed to pronouns only. Other pronouns in Yichun Gan, such as *piʔŋin⁴⁴ka* (or *ŋin⁴⁴ka*) ‘others’ and the reflexive *tɕ^hɿ²¹³ka* ‘self’ are also very Southern due to the use of the suffix *ka*.

5 Possessives

5.1 Three types of possessive phrases

In Yichun Gan, there is no special paradigm for the possessive pronouns, such as ‘my’, ‘your’, ‘his’, ‘her’, ‘our’, and ‘their’ in English, and unlike certain Hakka dialects, there are no fused possessive pronouns for the singular series either (see Yan 1998). The semantic concept of ownership or possession is expressed by special syntactic constructions, in which the personal pronouns or other nouns can act as possessors. In this section, we will show three syntactic strategies for expressing possession, including (i) the use of the genitive marker *ko* 格, (ii) juxtaposition, and (iii) the use of a classifier.

The first way of expressing possession makes use of the genitive marker *ko*, which links a possessor and a possessum. It is expressed in the form of ‘Possessor+*ko*+Possessum’. See the examples in (1).

(1) Type 1: Possessor+*ko*+Possessed

a. 我格老师

ŋo³⁴ ko lao⁴²s₁

1SG MOD teacher

‘my teacher(s)’

b. 我格老家是在下丹溪哈。

ŋo³⁴ ko lau⁴²ka³⁴ ci²¹³ ts^hœ²¹³ xa²¹³⁻²¹tan³⁴ci³⁴ cia.

1SG MOD hometown be at Xiadanxi INTJ

‘My hometown is at Xiadanxi.’

c. 也是我俚格家产

ia⁴² ci²¹³ ŋo³⁴li ko ka³⁴ts^han⁴².

also be 1PL MOD property

‘It is also our property.’

A second possibility is to juxtapose the possessor and the possessed NPs without resorting to any marker. It is a zero form of marking for the possessive phrase. If the possessive phrases express kinship or other kinds of inalienable relationships, this construction is preferred over the first. See (2) for an illustration.

(2) Type 2: Possessor+Ø+Possessed

a. 你老婆还会教书啊?

ni³⁴ Ø lau⁴²⁻³³ p^ho xai⁴⁴ ui²¹³ kau⁴⁴ cy³⁴ ia?

2SG wife FOC can teach INTJ

‘Really? Your wife can teach?’

b. 渠四只女就坐到棱只楼上。

kie³⁴ Ø si⁴⁴ teia? ny⁴² t^hiu²¹³ ts^ho²¹³⁻²¹ tau len³⁴ teia? leu⁴⁴ cion²¹³.

3SG four CL daughter then sit LOC that CL pavilion on

‘His four daughters then sat in the pavilion.’

c. 你棱个村庄里面,方便如果,帮我宣传下仔。

ni³⁴ Ø len³⁴ ko⁴⁴ ts^hun³⁴ tson³⁴ li⁴² mien²¹³, fon³⁴ p^hien²¹³ ɣ⁴⁴ kuo⁴²,

2SG DEM CL village in convenient if

pon³⁴ ŋo³⁴ sien³⁴ t^hion⁴⁴ xa²¹³⁻²¹ tsi?

help 1SG advertise a bit

‘If it is possible, please help to advertise it in your village,.’

In the examples shown above, the marker Ø is inserted between the possessor and the possessum, in order to show where a genitive marker might be added. As far as the syntactic forms are concerned, the possessum in juxtaposition constructions can be expressed by a noun (2a), or by more complex NPs such as numeral classifier phrases in (2b), or even by demonstrative phrases, as in (2c).

According to Chappell and Thompson’s (1992) discourse study on DE in Mandarin, it is found that zero-marked possessives were preferred with kin, spatial terms and places as the head noun, but were less frequent with body parts. However, in the Yichun language, nouns that are allowed in this construction include places, kinship terms, institutions and even body part terms.

Similarly to Mandarin, body parts can be used in zero-marked possessives without causing any problem in the Yichun language. However, in this case, the possessor can only be a pronoun but not a proper name in Yichun Gan. Compare (3a) with (3b):

(3) a. 渠踩到格是我左脚。

kie³⁴ ts^hai⁴² tau⁴⁴ ko ci²¹³ ŋo³⁴ Ø tso⁴² tci^o?

3SG step MOD be 1SG left foot

‘What he stepped on is my left foot.’

b. ??? 渠踩到格是小王左脚。

??? kie³⁴ ts^hai⁴²tau⁴⁴ ko ei²¹³ ei⁴²uon⁴⁴ Ø tso⁴²tcio?
 3SG step MOD be XiaoWang leftfoot

Intended: 'What he stepped on is XiaoWang's left foot.'

A third strategy to express possession is to use classifiers to link the possessor and the possessed. It is arranged in the order of 'Possessor+Classifier +Possessed', in which the genitive marker *ko* is not allowed. The examples are given in (4).

(4) **Type 3: Possessor+Classifier+Possessed**

a. 我只手机偷刮哩。

no³⁴ tcia? ei⁴²tc³⁴ t^heu³⁴-k^huæ? li.
 1SG CL cellphone stolen-COMPL PRF

'My cellphone was stolen.'

b. 你把车子撞到哩我只脚。

ni³⁴ pa⁴² t^hia³⁴ts¹ ts^hon²¹³⁻²¹tau-li no³⁴ tcia? tcio?
 2SG CL bicycle knock-PFV 1SG CL leg

'Your bicycle knocked onto my leg.'

Among these three possessive constructions shown from (1) to (4), the first and the second type of possessive phrases are widely available in Sinitic languages, including Mandarin, Gan Chinese, Wu and Cantonese, among others. The third type of possessive phrase is exclusively found in southern Sinitic languages, such as Gan, Wu, Cantonese and Xiang, but not in Mandarin. We suggest "Possessor+Classifier +Possessed" is analyzed with the structure of [Modifier [Cl-N]], which can be seen as a modified form of definite "Cl-N", whose modifier is a possessor (cf. Li 2013). According to Bisang's (1999) typology of classifiers, this can be classified as the 'relationalization' function of classifiers, which 'is linked to the previous identification of the head noun before it can be modified by a possessor or a relative clause' (ibid: 3).

In the construction with classifiers, the number feature of the possessive phrase is decided by the classifier occurring between possessor and possessum. When the classifier is expressed by an individual classifier or a container classifier, the possessive phrase is interpreted as singular, as exemplified in (5).

(5) a. 箇是渠箱苹果。

ko³⁴ ci²¹³ kiɛ³⁴ sioŋ³⁴ p^hin⁴⁴kuo⁴².this be 3SG CL_{boxful} apple

‘This is his box of apples.’

b. 看到我瓶水么？

k^hon⁴⁴tau no³⁴ p^hin⁴⁴ cy⁴² mo ?see 1SG CL_{bottle} water Q

‘Do you see my bottle of water?’

The possessive phrase is interpreted as plural, when the plural classifier *tsi?* 仔 is present, which is comparable to the Mandarin *xiē* 些, meaning ‘some’. The possessive phrases such as those in (6) make reference to plural entities, such as apples or books.

(6) a. 渠仔苹果蛮好吃。

kiɛ³⁴ tsi? p^hin⁴⁴kuo⁴² man⁴⁴ xau⁴²tɕ^hia?

3SG some apple very delicious

‘His apples are delicious.’

b. 把我仔书放到在你房间里做得么？

pa⁴² no³⁴ tsi? cy³⁴ fon⁴⁴ tau ŋi³⁴ fon⁴⁴kan³⁴-li tɕ¹44tɕ? mo ?

OM 1SG some book put LOC 2SG room-in do.can Q

‘Can I put my books in your room?’

5.2 (In)alienability

The first and second types of possessive phrases structurally differ from each other only in the feature of the presence or absence of the genitive marker *ko*. Many linguists attempt to account for the optionality of the genitive marker in other Sinitic languages by using different semantic notions, such as (in)alienability. For example, Chappell and Thompson (1992) argue that in Mandarin, the presence of the genitive marker *de* in possessives is constrained by a continuum related to conceptual closeness or ‘(in)alienability’, possessive phrases without the marker *de* tend to express inalienable possession while those with *de* tend to express the alienable kind. According to our observation, in the Yichun language, (in)alienability plays a role in the insertion of the genitive marker *ko* between the possessor and the possessed, but it is not a strict

semantic restriction imposed upon possessive phrases. We examine the following three cases concerning the use of the genitive marker *ko*:

Tab.5-1: Optionality of the genitive marker *ko*

Impossible to use <i>ko</i>	Obligatory use of <i>ko</i>	Optional use of <i>ko</i>
Kinship terms	Non-kinship relational nouns	Locative nouns
	Non-relational nouns	Body terms

First, generally speaking, in possessive phrases, when the possessum NP is realized by kinship terms, the insertion of the marker *ko* is not allowed between the possessor and the possessum. Juxtaposition is the preferred strategy in this case, as shown in (7).

- (7) a. 小王 (*格) 爷老子 早就过哩。
 siɛu⁴²uoŋ⁴⁴ (*ko) ia⁴⁴⁻²¹lau⁴²tsɿ tsau⁴² tɕ^hiu²¹³ kuo⁴⁴ li.
 Xiao Wang MOD father early FOC pass:away PRF
 ‘XiaoWang’s Dad has passed away long time ago.’
- b. 我 (*格) 老婆 去买菜去哩。
 ŋo³⁴ (*ko) lau⁴²⁻³³p^ho tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ mai⁴² ts^hœ⁴⁴ tɕ^hiɛ li.
 1SG MOD wife go buy vegetable go PRF
 ‘My wife went to do grocery shopping.’

Occasionally, the construction of “Possessor+Classifier+Possessed” is also used for expressing kinship, as in (8). In addition to their relatively lower frequency of use, no interpretational difference is observed between (8) and (9).

- (8) a. 咖我只爷老子 为啥么坐班房呐?
 ka³⁴ ŋo³⁴ tɕia? ia²¹loutsɿ ui⁴⁴ɕia⁴² mo ts^ho²¹³ pan³⁴foŋ⁴⁴ nɛ?
 then 1SG CL father for:what sit prison INTJ
 ‘Why was my father put into prison then?’
- b. 渠只崽 考到哩大学。
 kiɛ³⁴ tɕia? tsɿ⁴² k^hau⁴²⁻³³tau-li t^hai²¹³⁻²¹xoʔ.
 3SG CL son enroll-PFV university
 ‘His son was enrolled at university.’

Second, when the possessum is expressed by non-kinship relational nouns, it is obligatory for the possessive phrase to take the genitive marker *ko*.

(9) Non-kinship relational nouns

a. 我批评了我*(格)学生。

ŋo³⁴ p^hi³⁴p^hin⁴⁴-li ŋo³⁴ *(ko) xoʔsan³⁴.
1SG criticize-PFV 1SG MOD student
'I criticized my student(s).'

b. 我*(格)学生蛮听话。

ŋo³⁴ *(ko) xoʔsan³⁴ man⁴⁴ t^hian³⁴ua²¹³.
1SG MOD student very obedient
'My student(s) is (are) not naughty.'

There is a special possessive expression found in the Yichun language. It is shown in (10) that the third person singular pronoun *kiɛ*³⁴ is used as a possessum in genitive phrases, and it means 'one's wife'. This expression is typically used in highly colloquial contexts.

(10) 我格渠

ŋo³⁴ ko kiɛ³⁴
1SG MOD 3SG
'my wife'

Third, when the possessum is expressed by locative nouns or body part terms, the use of the genitive marker *ko* is optional if the possessor is a pronoun (11a-b) and (12a), but the marker *ko* is obligatory if the possessor is a common noun (12b).

(11) Locative nouns

a. 渠坐在我(格)前头。

kiɛ³⁴ ts^ho²¹ ts^hœ ŋo³⁴ (ko) tɕ^hien⁴⁴t^hœu.
3SG sit LOC 1SG MOD front
'He sat in front of me.'

b. 我屋里(格)左边是菜地。

ŋo³⁴ uʔli (ko) tso⁴²pien³⁴ ɕi²¹³ ts^hœ⁴⁴t^hi²¹³.
1SG home MOD left be vegetable.field
'On the left side of my house is the vegetable field.'

(12) Body part terms:

- a. 渠在我(格)背脊脑上打哩一拳。

kiɛ³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ ŋo³⁴ (ko) pi⁴⁴tsia? lau⁴²ɕion²¹³ ta⁴²⁻³³-li i? tɕ^hion⁴⁴.
 3SG LOC 1SG MOD back on hit-PFV one VCL_{fist}
 ‘He gave me a hit on my back.’

- b. 车子撞脱哩渠妈妈*(格)手。

tɕ^hia³⁴tsɿ tɕ^hoŋ²¹³⁻²¹t^hœ? -li kiɛ³⁴ ma³⁴ma *(ko) ɕiu⁴².
 car knock:off-PFV 3SG mother MOD hand
 ‘The car broke his mother’s hand.’

When the possessum is realized by non-relational nouns, the possessive phrase is expressed by the genitive type but not by the juxtaposition strategy.

(13) a. 渠偷了我*(格)牛。

kiɛ³⁴ t^heu³⁴-li ŋo³⁴ *(ko) ŋiu⁴⁴.
 3SG steal-PFV 1SG MOD cow
 ‘He stole my cow.’

- b. 小王*(格)电脑渠修好哩磨?

siɛu⁴²uon⁴⁴ *(ko) t^hien²¹³lau⁴² kiɛ³⁴ siu³⁴xau⁴²⁻³³-li mo ?
 XiaoWang MOD computer 3SG repair-PRF Q
 ‘Was XiaoWang’s computer repaired?’

A final note to be made concerning the third case with an optional *ko*, it is observed that the optionality of *ko* also has to do with the possessor being a pronoun or other elements such as proper names. Specifically, the omission of *ko* is only possible when pronouns serve as possessors. It is used obligatorily when proper names function as possessors.

5.3 Plurality constraint for possessors

In some Sinitic languages, such as Wu and Southern Min, to express possession with respect to kinship, e.g. ‘my wife’, singular possessors are not allowed (Chen 2008). Plural pronouns have to be used instead. The examples in (14)

illustrate this phenomenon in the Fuyang (富阳) dialect of Wu Chinese (Sheng and Li 2017).¹

- (14) a. 阿拉老娘 a'. *我老娘
aʔ⁵⁻³la²¹²⁻³³ lau¹¹ŋian³⁵ *ŋɿ²¹² lau¹¹ŋian³⁵
1PL wife 1SG wife
‘my wife’
- b. 娜姆妈 b. *你姆妈
na²¹² m⁴²⁻³ma⁴²⁻³ *n²¹² m⁵³⁻³ma⁵³⁻³
2PL mum 2SG mum
‘your mum’

By contrast, in the Yichun language, either singular or plural possessors are possible in the expression of ‘possessor+kinship’, depending on the number of possessors. As shown in (15), both the singular and plural forms of pronoun can be used as possessors for the kinship term *father*, but (15a) refers to my father and (15b) refers to our father, namely, the father of my siblings and me.

- (15) a. 咖我爷老子看得。
ka³⁴ ŋo³⁴ ia⁴⁴⁻²¹¹ lau⁴²tsɿ k^hon⁴⁴tɛʔ.
then 1SG father see.achieve
‘Then my father saw (it).’
- b. 我俚爷老子是蛮正义格人。
ŋo³⁴li ia²¹lau⁴²tsɿ ɕi²¹³ man⁴⁴ tɕin⁴⁴ŋi²¹³ ko ŋin⁴⁴.
1PL father be very righteous MOD person
‘Our father is a very righteous person.’

A second related difference is to be contrasted between Mandarin and Yichun Gan institutional nouns. In Mandarin, when places such as a school or a factory are used as head of the possessive phrase, they require a plural possessor, which stands for collectives of people, as in *wǒmen xuéxiào* ‘our school’. However, in Yichun Gan, it is entirely possible to use a singular possessor to represent plurality or collectives. Consider the examples in (16).

¹ The author of this book is a native speaker of the Fuyang dialect of Wu. The data of Fuyang Wu used in this book is largely based on the author’s own judgment and investigation.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| (16) a. 我村子 | b. 我学堂 |
| ŋo ³⁴ tshun ³⁴ tsɿ | ŋo ³⁴ xoʔt ^h oŋ |
| 1SG village | 1SG school |
| ‘our village’ | ‘our school’ |

5.4 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed three strategies of expressing possessives in Yichun Gan, which include the genitive strategy, the juxtaposition strategy and the classifier strategy. The choice of these strategies is dependent on the noun types to a great extent, such as being relational nouns or not, being kinship terms or not etc. In particular, we also showed the choice between the genitive strategy and the juxtaposition strategy is less subject to the inalienability constraint than in Mandarin. Another feature of possessives in Yichun Gan is that kinship nouns and institutional nouns do not require a plural possessor, embodied as a rule to be observed strictly in Wu and Min for kinship nouns or for institutional nouns in Mandarin.

6 Demonstratives

This chapter explores the demonstrative system in Yichun Gan. Demonstratives are typically discussed together with definite articles, since both of them are determiners and both are able to express definiteness. However, not every language has definite articles but almost every language has demonstratives (Lyons 1999). In English, there are both definite articles and demonstratives, but they never co-occur. By way of contrast, in Yichun Gan, there are no definite articles but there are demonstratives.

Demonstratives are deictic expressions, “whose interpretation makes crucial reference to some aspect of the speech situation” (Diessel 1999: 35). It is commonly agreed that demonstratives are used to provide spatial references for concrete objects, or to make intra-discourse reference. Most languages have a two-way distinction of demonstratives in terms of the distance between referents, i.e. proximal *versus* distal, such as the contrast between *this* and *that* in English. Many Gan dialects have multiple distinctions in terms of the referents’ distance. According to the investigation conducted by Chen, Sun and Chen (2003), among the 95 Gan-speaking locations they investigated in the province of Jiangxi, 54 have a Mandarin-like two-way distinction, 40 have multiple distinctions, and only one location has but one demonstrative, which does not, consequently, distinguish proximal and distal at all. Among those with multiple distinctions, there are three-way distinctions, four-way distinctions, and even five-way distinctions between demonstratives in different Gan dialects. The Yichun language is characterized with a three-way distinction between ‘extra-near’, ‘near’, and ‘far’, (or between ‘ultraproximal’, ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ using more technical terms), in terms of distance, which are represented by *li*⁴² 里, *ko*³⁴ 箇 and *len*³⁴ 棱 respectively. We consider these monosyllabic demonstrative words as demonstrative bases. They take different types of suffixes to form complex demonstrative expressions, being pronominal, locative, or temporal. The paradigm of demonstrative expressions is summarized in Table 6-1.

Tab.6-1: Demonstrative system in Yichun Gan

Types	Proximal _{close}	Proximal _{near}	Distal _{far}
Demonstrative roots	里 li ⁴² 'this (close)'	箇 ko ³⁴ 'this (near)'	棱 len ³⁴ 'that'
Locative demonstratives	里-处所词 li ⁴² -locative N 'here (within reach)'	箇-处所词 ko ³⁴ -locative N 'here'	棱-处所词 len ³⁴ -locative N 'there'
Pronominal demonstratives	里-量词 li ⁴² -classifier 'this one (close)'	箇-量词 ko ³⁴ -classifier 'this one (near)'	棱-量词 len ³⁴ -classifier 'that one'
Temporal demonstratives	里-时间词 li ⁴² -temporal N 'this moment/period'	箇-时间词 ko ³⁴ -temporal N 'this moment/period'	棱-时间词 len ³⁴ -temporal N 'that moment / period'
Manner adverbials	里样 li ⁴² -ioŋ 'this way'	格样 ko ³⁴ -ioŋ 'this way'	棱样 len ³⁴ -ioŋ 'that way'
Degree Adverbials	里样 li ⁴² -ioŋ ⁴² 'so'	格样 ko ³⁴ -ioŋ ⁴² 'so' 格 ko 'so' 格麽 ko-mo 'so'	棱样 len ³⁴ -ioŋ ⁴² 'so'

6.1 Locative demonstratives

Demonstrative expressions in the Yichun language make a three-way distinction between immediately next to, near, and far in terms of the distance of the referent to the deictic centre, i.e. the speaker. The distal demonstrative base is *len*³⁴ 棱 and the proximal demonstratives include *ko*³⁴ 箇, which refers to entities near the speaker, and *li*⁴² 里, which makes reference to entities immediately next to the speaker.¹

Demonstratives in the Yichun language are determiner-like in that they take as a complement locative nouns, classifiers or temporal nouns and accordingly form locative demonstratives, pronominal demonstratives and temporal demonstratives respectively. We will start with the discussion on locative demonstratives.

¹ In the Binjiang town of Yichun City, demonstratives make a four-way distinction between *li*, *ko*, *len* and *he-li*. For those speakers, it is quite clear that *li* refers to entities next to the speaker with the reach of his hands, but *ko* can be something around the speaker within a certain distance.

Locative demonstratives are formed by combining the demonstrative determiners with various locative suffixes. Locative suffixes include *li* 里 ‘place’, *pien*³⁴ ‘side’ 边, and *t^heu*⁴⁴ ‘end’ 头. Roughly, the locative demonstratives either mean *here* (*within reach*), *here* or *there* in that order. Due to the different lexical meanings of these locatives, *li*⁴²-locatives or *ko*³⁴-locatives refer to *this place*, *this side* or *this end*, and *len*³⁴-locatives mean *that place*, *that side* or *that end*. The difference between *li*⁴²- and *ko*³⁴-locatives is discussed below.

(1) a. 筒里有只鸟立儿。

ko³⁴li iu⁴² tɕiaʔ tiɕu⁴²⁻³³li.

DEM-LOC have CL bird

‘Here is a bird.’

b. 在棱里我工作哩三年。

ts^hœ²¹ len³⁴li ŋo³⁴ kuŋ³⁴tsoʔ-li san³⁴ ɲien⁴⁴.

LOC DEM-LOC 1SG work-PFV three year

‘I worked there for three years.’

c. 南昌筒边风特别大。

lan⁴⁴tɕ^hion³⁴ ko³⁴pian fəŋ³⁴ t^hɛʔp^hiɛʔ t^hai²¹³.

Nanchang DEM-LOC wind especially strong

‘The wind here in Nanchang is especially strong.’

d. 你晒到棱头去。

ni³⁴ k^hun⁴⁴ tau len³⁴t^hɛu tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴.

2SG sleep to DEM-end go

‘You sleep at the other side.’

The difference between the two proximal demonstratives, i.e. between *li*⁴² and *ko*³⁴, is very subtle. Many native speakers cannot immediately tell the difference between their uses when asked. The common reply is that these two are interchangeable. However, we do find a substantial number of native speakers of the Yichun language who are able to tell us that what *li*⁴² refers to is nearer than what *ko*³⁴ refers to. It is much easier to find this three-way distinction in use with older generations than with the younger ones. We thus believe that there is indeed a three-way distinction between demonstratives in the Yichun language, albeit one that may be evolving into a two-way distinction, if age difference proves to be a real factor.

We find some contexts in which the proximal *li*⁴² and *ko*³⁴ are distinguished from each other. Consider the examples in (2) and (3).

Example (2a) with *li*⁴²*li* refers to somewhere next to the speaker, and it may refer to some specific place, such as the seat on a bus. But (2b) with *ko*^{2/3}*li* may refer to somewhere around the speaker, which is less speaker-centered.

(2) a. 里里有人墨?

*li*⁴²*li* *iu*⁴² *ɲin*⁴⁴ *mo*?
 here have person Q
 Lit: 'Is this seat occupied?'

b. 格里有人墨?

*ko*³⁴-*li* *iu*⁴² *ɲin*⁴⁴ *mo*?
 here have person Q
 'Is there any person over here?'

Another distinction between them is that *li*⁴²*li* only goes with the motion verb *come*, whereas *ko*³⁴*li* can either go with *go* or *come*. This is another indication that *ko*³⁴*li* refers to somewhere less bound to the speaker as the reference point but to an area around the speaker.

(3) a. 快来里里!

k^h*uai*⁴⁴ *lœ*⁴⁴ *li*⁴²*li*!
 immediately come DEM_{extra near}
 'Please come here.'

a'. *快去里里!

**k*^h*uai*⁴⁴ *tɕ*^h*ie*⁴⁴ *li*⁴²*li*!
 immediately go DEM_{extra near}
 Intended: 'Please go here.'

b. 快来箇里!

k^h*uai*⁴⁴ *lœ*⁴⁴ *ko*³⁴*li*!
 immediately come DEM_{near}
 'Please come here.'

b'. 快去箇里!

k^h*uai*⁴⁴ *tɕ*^h*ie*⁴⁴ *ko*³⁴*li*!
 immediately go DEM_{near}
 Intended: 'Please go here.'

In sum, demonstratives in Yichun Gan make a three-way distinction between extra-near, near and far. The three basic demonstrative morphemes are determiner-like. Locative demonstratives are formed by combining the demonstrative determiners with different locational nouns.

6.2 Pronominal demonstratives

It was established in §1 that the demonstrative system in Yichun Gan makes a three-way distinction. We also showed that demonstrative phrases are usually formed by combining demonstrative determiners with different nouns of different semantic categories, such as locative or temporal nouns.

The term *demonstrative determiner* is used in contrast with *demonstrative pronoun*. A demonstrative determiner modifies a noun, as in ‘*this apple* is sweet’, while a demonstrative pronoun can stand on its own, as in ‘*this* is interesting’. Based on what we have seen in §1, demonstratives in the Yichun language can be described as more determiner-like. This generalization still holds true to a great extent, even if we take into account pronominal demonstratives.

6.2.1 Syntactic forms of demonstratives phrases

In Yichun Gan, the pronoun use of demonstrative is highly restricted. The demonstratives *li*⁴², *ko*³⁴, and *len*³⁴ can be used alone only when they are in the subject position (4a), but never in the object position (4b). In the object position, the demonstrative has to be followed by a classifier.

(4) [Bare Demonstrative]

- a. 箇 / 里 / 棱是我买格西瓜。

ko³⁴ / li⁴² / len³⁴ ei²¹³ ŋo³⁴ mai⁴² ko si³⁴kua.
 DEM_{near} / DEM_{extra near} / DEM_{far} be 1SG buy MOD watermelon
 ‘This/that is the watermelon I bought.’

- b. 我要买棱*(只) / 箇*(只) / 里*(只)。

ŋo³⁴ ieu⁴⁴ mai⁴² len³⁴ *(tɕiaʔ)/ko³⁴ *(tɕiaʔ⁵)/li⁴² *(tɕiaʔ⁵).
 1SG want buy DEM_{far} CL / DEM_{near} CL / DEM_{extra near} CL
 ‘I want to buy that one (or this one).’

The only exception is the idiomatic expression of V-*len*³⁴-V-*li*⁴² or V-*li*⁴²-V-*ko*³⁴, where bare demonstratives are used as objects. Such phrases often imply a reproach or a complaint from the speaker. It is illustrated by (5).

- (5) 只晓得买里买箇 / 买棱买里, 买积冇作用格东西。

tɕi²⁵ ɕieu⁴²te³⁴ mai⁴²li⁴²mai⁴²ko³⁴ / mai⁴²len³⁴mai⁴⁴li⁴²,
 only know buy: DEM_{extra near}:buy: DEM_{near} / buy: DEM_{far}:buy:DEM_{extra near}
 mai⁴² tsi? mau⁴⁴tsoŋ⁴²iəŋ ko tuŋ³⁴ɕi.
 buy some useless MOD thing
 'You always buy this and buy that, all those useless things.'

Another common strategy of forming pronominal demonstratives is to combine demonstrative determiners and classifiers. They include *len³⁴ko⁴⁴* 棱个, *ko³⁴ko⁴⁴* 箇个 and *li⁴²ko⁴⁴* 里个, which make reference to entities far from the speaker, near the speaker, or immediately next to the speaker. An example is given in (6) to illustrate the uses of these three demonstratives. In this example, the expression “Demonstrative+ Classifier” is equivalent to the demonstrative pronoun use of English *this/that*.

- (6) [Demonstrative+Classifier]

里个是我同学, 箇个是我同事, 棱个是我老师。
 li⁴²-ko ɕi²¹³ ŋo³⁴ t^həŋ⁴⁴xoŋ, ko³⁴-ko⁴⁴ ɕi²¹³ ŋo³⁴ t^həŋ⁴⁴sɿ²¹³,
 DEM_{extra near}-CL be 1SG classmate DEM_{near}-CL be 1SG colleague
 len³⁴-ko⁴⁴ ɕi²¹³ ŋo³⁴ lau⁴²sɿ.
 DEM_{distal}-CL be 1SG teacher
 'This is my classmate, this is my colleague, and that is my teacher.'

In the scenario described by (6), the speaker introduces the three individuals from near to far. The classmate is nearest to the speaker, and possibly immediately next to the speaker; the colleague is near enough and within the speaker's reach, and the teacher is the one most distant from the speaker and possibly blocked by some object in-between, which involves a visibility distinction in some cases.

It is far more difficult to observe the three-way distinction in pronominal demonstratives than in locative demonstratives. As shown in (7), *li⁴²-CL* and *ko³⁴-CL* can co-occur in the same sentence, both of which can refer to something near the speaker, e.g. in front of the speaker, without making a distinction in distance.

- (7) a. 里只比箇只好。

li⁴²-tɕia? pi⁴² ko³⁴-tɕia? xau²¹³.
 DEM_{extra-near}-CL compare DEM_{near}-CL good
 'This one is better than that one.'

b. 箇只比里只好。

ko³⁴-tɕiaʔ pi⁴² li⁴²-tɕiaʔ xau⁴².
 DEM_{near}-CL compare DEM_{extra-near}-CL good
 ‘This one is better than that one.’

As we can see from (7), *li*⁴²-CL and *ko*³⁴-CL are interchangeable with each other. The flip-flop between these two demonstratives does not result in a meaning difference. According to our observation, when *li*⁴² and *ko*³⁴ are used in the same sentence, the speaker usually makes a gesture, such as pointing, to help to establish the referents. By contrast, when *li*⁴² and *len*³⁴ or *ko*³⁴ and *len*³⁴ co-occur, the referents are distinguished by their own inherent locational meaning and no gesture is needed.

We thus take the position that the demonstratives in the Yichun language can be both determiners and pronouns. As demonstrative determiners, they modify a variety of different syntactic constituents. Expressions like ‘Demonstrative+Numeral+Classifier+Noun’ and ‘Demonstrative+Classifier+Noun’ are possible. However, the combination of ‘Demonstrative+Noun’ is not plausible. Below we will look at each type of demonstrative phrase in detail.

In English and Mandarin, demonstratives can directly modify nouns, such as the English expression ‘this dog’ or the Mandarin expression *zhègǒu* 这狗 ‘this dog’. However, in the Yichun language demonstratives generally cannot modify nouns in the form of ‘Demonstrative+Noun’, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (8).

(8) *[Demonstrative+Noun]

a. *棱鸟立 _儿 *len ³⁴ tiɛu ⁴² li DEM bird Intended: ‘that bird’	b. * 箇书 *ko ³⁴ ɕy ³⁴ DEM book Intended: ‘this book’
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Demonstratives in the Yichun language can modify a numeral classifier phrase, in the form of ‘Demonstrative+Numeral+Classifier+Noun’. The demonstratives are number-neutral, so the numeral classifier phrases to be modified can either be singular (9a) or plural (9b–c).

(9) [Demonstrative+Numeral+Classifier+Noun]

a. 箇一只桥将修好。

ko³⁴ iʔ tɕiaʔ tɕ^hiɛu⁴⁴ tɕian³⁴ siu³⁴xau⁴².

DEM one CL bridge just repair

'This bridge has just been repaired.'

b. 箇两本书把你。

ko³⁴ lion³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ pa⁴² ni³⁴.

DEM two CL book give 2SG

'These two books are for you.'

c. 棱两领衣服还有洗。

len³⁴ lion³³ lian⁴² i³⁴fu xai⁴⁴ man³⁴ si⁴².

DEM two CL clothes still NEG.HAVE wash

'These two shirts have not been washed.'

If the referent is singular, that is, there is only one entity to be referred to, the preferred way is to use the expression of 'Demonstrative+Classifier+Noun' directly, which can be seen as a reduced form of 'Demonstrative+one+Classifier+Noun' by deleting the numeral for *one*. The demonstrative phrases in (10) all make reference to singular entities.

(10) [Demonstrative+Classifier+Noun]

a. 棱只鸟立_儿len³⁴ tɕiaʔ tiɛu⁴²li

DEM CL bird

'that bird'

b. 箇本书

ko³⁴ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴

DEM CL book

'this book'

In ellipsis contexts where the head noun can be elided, the demonstrative can modify the classifier directly, as in the sequence of 'Demonstrative+Classifier'. Compare (11) with (10b).

(11) [Demonstrative+Classifier]

我拣中箇本。

ŋo³⁴ kan⁴²tɕion⁴⁴ ko³⁴ pun⁴².

1SG select DEM CL

'I chose this one (book).'

6.2.2 Spatial and discourse deictic uses of demonstratives

It is commonly agreed that the primary function of demonstratives is to provide spatial references for concrete objects, such as *this student* and *that book*, while there is a secondary function of tracking items in the discourse. The demonstratives in the Yichun language embody both these functions.

In the examples we discussed earlier in section 1 and section 2.1, the demonstratives show their spatial deictic uses. We now use the examples in (12) to illustrate the discourse-deictic uses of demonstratives.

(12) a. 临川棱只栏场我蛮熟悉。棱是我老家。

Lin⁴⁴tɕ^hyon³⁴ len³⁴-tɕia? lan⁴⁴tɕ^hion ηo³⁴ man⁴⁴ ɕiu?si?
 Linchuan that-CL place 1SG very familiar
 len³⁴ ɕi²¹³ ηo³⁴ lau⁴²ka³⁴.
 that be 1SG hometown
 ‘Linchuan, I am very familiar with that place. That is my hometown.’

b. 你正话里只事我不清楚。

ni³⁴ tɕian⁴⁴ ua²¹³⁻²¹ ko li⁴²-tɕia? si²¹³ ηo³⁴ pi? ts^hin³⁴ts^hi⁴².
 2SG just:now say MOD DEM-CL thing 1SG NEG clear
 ‘This thing that you just mentioned, I am not clear about it.’

In (12a), the demonstrative expressions *len³⁴tɕia?* and *len³⁴* are coferential with the proper name *Lin⁴⁴tɕ^hyon³⁴*. In (12b), the demonstrative phrase *li⁴²-tɕia?si²¹³* refers to the matter that the addressee has just talked about. Thus, these two examples represent the discourse deictic uses of demonstratives.

6.3 Temporal demonstratives

Demonstrative determiners can combine with temporal suffixes to form temporal demonstrative expressions. Temporal suffixes include *kuŋ³⁴* 工 ‘day’, *tɕ^hin²¹tsi?* 阵积 ‘period’, *xa⁴²tsi?* 下积, and *k^hiɛ?tsi?* 刻仔 ‘moment’, ‘while’ etc.

The lexical differences between *tɕ^hin²¹tsi?*, *k^hiɛ?tsi?* and *xa⁴²tsi?* are very subtle. Roughly they can be arranged hierarchically from long to short duration as: *tɕ^hin²¹tsi?* > *xa⁴²tsi?* > *k^hiɛ?tsi?*. *Tɕ^hin²¹tsi?* may refer to a period of time with respect to the temporal frame of a day, a month or a year. *Xa⁴²tsi?* refers to some short period that is near enough to the speaking time, so it can be translated as ‘now, this moment’. *K^hiɛ?tsi?* refers to a particular punctual temporal point, which can be roughly understood as ‘moment’.

(13) a. 箇阵积蛮凉快。

ko³⁴ tɕ^hin²¹tsi? man⁴⁴ lioŋ⁴⁴k^huai.
 DEM_{near} moment very cool
 ‘It is very cool at this period.’

b. 箇下积落雨冇生意。

ko³⁴ xa⁴²tsi? loʔy⁴² mau sen³⁴i.
 DEM moment rain NEG.HAVE business
 ‘It is raining now, and there are no customers.’

c. 棱刻积渠将晓得是渠做错了事。

len³⁴ k^hiɛʔtsi? kie³⁴ tɕian⁴⁴ ɕiɛu⁴²tɕ? ɕi²¹ kie³⁴ tsɿ⁴⁴tɕ^ho⁴⁴-li-sɿ²¹³.
 DEM moment 3SG just know be 3SG do wrong-PFV-thing
 ‘He did not know that he did something wrong until that moment.’

The temporal word *kuŋ*³⁴ ‘day’ can easily be combined with a demonstrative base, which forms ‘Dem+Num+day’ (14) or ‘Dem+day’ (15). The former is interpreted as plural, and the latter as singular.

(14) 里两工就不要吃辣椒哩。

li⁴²⁻³³ lioŋ⁴² kuŋ³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹ piʔiɛu⁴⁴ tɕ^hiaʔ læʔtɕiɛu³⁴ li.
 DEM two day FOC NEG.want eat chili PRF
 ‘Don’t eat chilies any more during these days.’

It should be noted that, as contrasted between (15a) and (15b), there is only the expression of ‘that day’, but not ‘this day’ in Yichun Gan. ‘This day’ uses the expression *tɕia*³⁴ ‘today’ instead.

(15) a. 棱工落哩蛮大格雨。

len³⁴kuŋ³⁴ loʔ-li man⁴⁴ t^hai²¹³ ko y⁴².
 DEM.day fall-PFV very heavy MOD rain
 ‘It rained heavily that day.’

b. * 里工 / 箇工

* li⁴² kuŋ³⁴ / ko³⁴ kuŋ³⁴
 DEM.day / DEM.day

6.4 Manner and degree adverbials

Demonstratives can also function as manner adverbials when they are compounded with the noun *ioŋ*⁴² ‘manner’. Accordingly, we can have manner adverbials like *ko*³⁴-*ioŋ*⁴² ‘this way’, *li*⁴²-*ioŋ*⁴² ‘this way’ and *len*³⁴-*ioŋ*⁴² ‘that way’. These adverbials can be expanded into more elaborated forms like *ko*³⁴-*ioŋ*⁴²*tsɿ* ‘this way’, *li*⁴²-*ioŋ*⁴²*tsɿ* ‘this way’ and *len*³⁴-*ioŋ*⁴²*tsɿ* ‘that way’. Consider (16) for an illustration.

(16) a. 莫格样话。

moʔ ko³⁴ioŋ ua²¹³ la.
 NEG this way say INTJ
 ‘Do not talk like this.’

They may even form “Dem+ko+way noun phrases”, as in (16b).

b. 莫棱格样子话。

moʔ len³⁴-ko-ioŋ²¹³⁻²¹tsɿ ua²¹³ la.
 NEG that-MOD-way say INTJ
 ‘Do not talk in that way.’

Moreover, *ko*³⁴-*ioŋ*⁴² can be fused into the monosyllabic *koŋ*³⁴, but the other two have no such fused forms.

(17) 莫刚格话。

moʔ koŋ³⁴ko ua²¹³ la.
 NEG like:this say INTJ
 ‘Do not talk like this.’

Manner modifiers can also serve as degree modifiers, including *ko*³⁴*ioŋ* ‘this way, so’, *li*⁴²-*ioŋ* ‘this way, so’ and *len*³⁴-*ioŋ* ‘that way, so’ (see Chapter 8 on adjectives). The demonstrative *ko* 格 or *ko-mo* 格嚟 ‘so’ also belong to the same category of manner.

(18) a. 今日遮嘛格样热人哦!

tɕia³⁴ tɕia³⁴ma ko³⁴ioŋ ŋiɛʔŋin o!
 today how so hot INTJ
 ‘How come it is so hot today!’

b. 你惊里样小气呦。

nɿ³⁴ tɕian³⁴ li⁴²ioŋ siɛu⁴²tɕ^hi io.
 2SG how so stingy INTJ
 'How come you become so stingy!'

c. 你在箇好格的大学读书啊。

nɿ³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ ko³⁴ xau⁴² ko t^hai²¹³⁻²¹xoʔ t^huʔɕy³⁴ a.
 2SG LOC so good MOD university study INTJ
 'You are studying at such a good university!'

6.5 Conclusions

This chapter presented various demonstrative expressions in the Yichun language, ranging from locative demonstratives to temporal demonstratives and pronominal demonstratives. One of the characterizing features is that its demonstrative system makes a three-way distinction between close, near and far. A second feature is that, as far as their syntactic formation is concerned, its demonstrative system shares features of both the Mandarin and Wu systems. On the one hand, while demonstratives in Wu act as determiners, Yichun Gan resembles Mandarin in that demonstratives act as either determiners or pronouns, the latter only in subject/topic positions. On the other, both in Yichun Gan and Wu, nouns cannot be directly be modified by demonstrative determiners, and a classifier is always needed between Dem and Noun. The phrase of Dem+N is a completely ungrammatical construction.

7 Numerals and classifiers

This chapter discusses two different grammatical categories in the Yichun language, numerals and classifiers. These two categories are treated together for obvious reasons: as is well known, numerals in Sinitic languages cannot modify nouns directly and they always need the mediation of classifiers, as in the construction ‘Numeral+Classifier+Noun’. Therefore, it is highly appropriate to describe the number system in the Yichun language before moving on to discussing its classifiers.

7.1 Numerals

7.1.1 Cardinal and ordinal numbers

There are 11 basic numbers in the Yichun language, namely those from 0 to 10, which are given below.

- (1) a. 零 lian⁴⁴ zero
b. 一 iʔ one
c. 二 ə²¹³ two
 两 liən⁴² two
d. 三 san³⁴ three
e. 四 si⁴⁴ four
f. 五 ŋ⁴² five
g. 六 luʔ six
h. 七 ts^hiʔ seven
i. 八 p·:ʔ eight
j. 九 tɕiu⁴² nine
k. 十 ɕiʔ⁵ ten

Other number expressions are built on the basis of these 11 basic numbers. Among them, ɕiʔ ‘ten’ is an important number for this largely decimal system. It is used to express the base of ten in numbers from 11 to 99. For example, 11 is expressed by combining 10 with 1 by an additive relation, such as ɕiʔiʔ ‘ten-one’, i.e. ‘eleven’. Multiples of ten, such as ə²¹³ɕiʔ ‘two-ten’, i.e. ‘twenty’, are

formed by combining ə^{213} ‘two’ with ci^2 ‘ten’, as realized by the relation of multiplication.

- (2) a. 十一 $\text{ci}^2\text{-i}^2$ *ten-one* ‘eleven’
 b. 二十 $\text{ə}^{213-21}\text{-ci}^2$ *two-ten* ‘twenty’
 c. 二十一 $\text{ə}^{213-21}\text{-ci}^2\text{-i}^2$ *two-ten-one* ‘twenty-one’

There are also specific names for numbers which are multiples of ten such as 100, 1000, and 10000, which are called *pa*² ‘hundred’, *ts^hien*³⁴ ‘thousand’, and *uan*²¹ ‘ten thousand’ respectively.

- (3) a. 一百零一 $\text{i}^2\text{-pa}^2\text{-li}^0\text{-i}^2$ one hundred and one
 b. 一千 $\text{i}^2\text{-ts}^{\text{h}}\text{ien}^{34}$ one thousand
 c. 一万 $\text{i}^2\text{-uan}^{213}$ ten thousand

As in Mandarin, ordinal numbers are formed by prefixing the morpheme thi^{213} 第 to cardinal numbers. See the examples in (4).

- (4) a. 第一 $\text{thi}^{213-21} \text{i}^2$ first
 b. 第二 $\text{thi}^{213-21} \text{ə}^{213}$ second
 c. 第十 $\text{thi}^{213-21} \text{ci}^2$ tenth

As we said at the very beginning of this chapter, it is obligatory for the numerals to have a classifier in order to assist in modifying a noun. This requirement holds true for both cardinal numbers (5a) and ordinal numbers (5b).

- (5) a. 三*(只)学生
 $\text{san}^{34} \text{*}(\text{tci}^2\text{ia}^2) \text{xo}^2\text{san}^{34}$
 three CL student
 ‘three students’
- b. 第一*(只)学生
 $\text{thi}^{213-21}\text{i}^2 \text{*}(\text{tci}^2\text{ia}^2) \text{xo}^2\text{san}^{34}$
 first CL student
 ‘the first student’

7.1.2 Approximative expressions

The Yichun language is rich in expressions of approximate quantity. First, the additive modifier *to*³⁴ ‘more’ can follow multiplicands like *pa*²⁵ ‘hundred’ and *ts^hien*³⁴ ‘thousand’ to express an approximate meaning. These multiplicands must normally co-occur with their preceding cardinal numbers from one to nine, as in (6). The exception is the numeral *i?* ‘one’ which does not have to be used when there is the additive *to*³⁴ after *pa*²⁵ and *ts^hien*³⁴, as in (7).

(6) a. *(三)百本书

**(san*³⁴) *pa?* *pun*⁴² *ɕy*³⁴
 three hundred CL book
 ‘three hundred books’

b. *(一)千只人

**(i?) ts^hien*³⁴ *tɕia?* *ɲin*⁴⁴
 one thousand CL person
 ‘one thousand people’

(7) a. 百多本书

pa? *to*³⁴ *pun*⁴² *ɕy*³⁴
 hundred more CL book
 ‘more than one hundred books’

b. 千多只人

*ts^hien*³⁴ *to*³⁴ *tɕia?* *ɲin*⁴⁴
 thousand more CL people
 ‘more than one thousand people’

Second, the morpheme *pa*⁴² 把 can also express approximation when it follows multiplicands like *pa?* ‘hundred’ and *ts^hien*³⁴ ‘thousand’.¹ It takes the same syntactic position as the additive *to*³⁴, since they belong to the same paradigm and thus cannot co-occur. The approximative *pa*⁴² can be translated by ‘around, about’, as in (8a).

¹ The morpheme *pa*⁴² 把 is also used as an approximative modifier in other Sinitic languages, such as Mandarin and Wu. We are not clear whether the approximate meaning has anything to do with its use as a classifier, which means ‘handful’.

(8) a. 百把人

paʔ pa⁴² tɕiaʔ ɲin⁴⁴
 hundred approximative CL people
 ‘around one hundred people’

It is even possible to find the diminutive marker *-tsiʔ* after the sequence of ‘multiplicand+*pa*²¹³+classifier’, as in (8b). We showed in chapter 3 that the diminutive *-tsiʔ* itself can be a hedge, given its approximation meaning. Consequently, it is compatible with the approximative *pa*²¹³.

b. 百把只(仔)人

paʔ pa⁴² tɕiaʔ (tsiʔ) ɲin⁴⁴
 hundred approximative CL DIM people
 ‘around one hundred people’

A third way to express approximation is to use the ‘M+s₁+M’ construction, where M can be filled by a multiplicand such as *pa*²⁵ ‘hundred’ or *ts^hien*³⁴ ‘thousand’.

(9) a. 百似百袋大米

paʔ s₁ paʔ t^hœ²¹³ t^hai²¹³mi⁴²
 hundred PRT hundred CL_{bag} rice
 ‘around one hundred bags of rice’

b. 千似千箱苹果

ts^hien³⁴ s₁ ts^hien³⁴ sion³⁴ p^hin⁴⁴kuo⁴²
 thousand PRT thousand CL_{box} apple
 ‘around one thousand boxes of apples’

c. 万似万人

uan²¹ s₁ uan²¹ ɲin⁴⁴
 ten-thousand PRT ten-thousand people
 ‘around ten thousand people’

7.2 Classifiers

As we saw in (5), classifiers can be structurally identified as the element between a number and a noun, which can be schematically represented as ‘Numeral+Classifier+Noun’. Having numerals modify nouns with the assistance of

a classifier is one of the most prominent characteristics of Sinitic languages. Based on the lexical properties of classifiers, we can distinguish the following types of classifiers: individuating (sortal) classifiers, container classifiers, group classifiers, partitive classifiers, temporary classifiers, and measure words (cf. Chao 1968). Individuating classifiers are often discussed in contrast with the remaining types of classifiers, which are called ‘mensural’ classifiers (Lyons 1977). Below we will look at these six types of classifiers respectively.

7.2.1 Individuating classifiers

We start with individuating classifiers. Among the six different types of classifiers, the individuating classifier is unique to East Asian languages, including Sinitic languages, Japanese, and Vietnamese. These languages are often characterized as classifier languages. What we mean by ‘individuating classifiers’ are classifiers that modify nouns denoting discrete entities in their core use. For example, in (10), the classifiers *tɕiaʔ* and *tɕy³⁴* are the individual classifiers for the noun *xoʔsan³⁴* ‘student’ and *tɕ^hy²¹³* ‘tree’ respectively. They are obligatory in these cases.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| (10) a. 一只学生 | b. 三篲树 |
| iʔ tɕiaʔ xoʔsan ³⁴ | san ³⁴ tɕy ³⁴ tɕ ^h y ²¹³ |
| one CL student | three CL tree |
| ‘a student’ | ‘three trees’ |

They are around 20 individual classifiers in the Yichun language. Some of them are illustrated in (11).

- | | |
|--|---|
| (11) a. 一滴豆立 _儿 | b. 一把汽车 |
| iʔ tiʔ t ^h ɕy ²¹ li | iʔ pa ⁴² tɕ ^h i ⁴⁴ tɕ ^h a ³⁴ |
| one CL bean | one CL automobile |
| ‘one bean grain’ | ‘one automobile’ |
| c. 一幢桥 | d. 三领衣服 |
| iʔ tɕɿ ⁴² tɕ ^h iɕy ⁴⁴ | san ³⁴ lian ⁴² i ³⁴ fu |
| one CL bridge | three CL clothes |
| ‘one bridge’ | ‘three items of clothes’ |

e. 两头牛

lioŋ⁴² t^hɛu⁴⁴ ŋiu⁴⁴
 two CL cow
 ‘two cows’

f. 一张画

iʔ⁵ tɕioŋ³⁴ fa²¹³
 one CL painting
 ‘one painting’

g. 一皮叶立儿

iʔ p^hi⁴⁴ iɛʔli
 one CL leaf
 ‘one leaf’

Individuating classifiers do not modify nouns randomly without any restriction. They all have certain lexical meanings, and they express topological properties like shape, boundary or a part-whole relation. So each classifier modifies a particular class of nouns based on the compatibility of the topological properties of the entities referred to by the noun and the lexical meaning of the classifier (see, for example, Tai and Wang 1990 for the semantic network for the classifier *tiáo* in Mandarin). For example, the individual classifier *tiʔ* in (11a) expresses the properties of smallness and roundness, so it usually applies to nouns such as beans. The classifier *lian*⁴² in (11d) has the lexical meaning of collar and it is used as a specific classifier for clothes, where a part-whole relation is implied.

Among those individual classifiers, *tɕiaʔ* is the most widely used in the Yichun language. As shown in (12), it can be used not only to modify nouns referring to animals and inanimate entities but also to people.

(12) a. 一只老师

iʔ⁵ tɕiaʔ lau⁴²sɿ³⁴
 one CL teacher
 ‘one teacher’

b. 两只字

lioŋ⁴² tɕiaʔ ts^hɿ²¹³
 two CL character
 ‘two characters’

c. 一只电话

iʔ⁵ tɕiaʔ tien²¹fa
 one CL phone
 ‘a telephone’

The classifier *tɕiaʔ* can also modify nouns referring to abstract entities, such as *sɿ*²¹³ ‘matter, affair’, as in (13).

(13) a. 一只事

iʔ tɕiaʔ sɿ²¹³
 one CL matter
 ‘one matter’

b. 一只钟头

iʔ tɕiaʔ tɕioŋ³⁴t^hɛu⁴⁴
 one CL hour
 ‘one hour’

The same classifier is found in other Sinitic languages as well, e.g. Mandarin, Wu, Xiang, and Hakka. However, there is a drastic difference in the range of

nouns that the cognates of this classifier can modify. The Mandarin *zhī* 只 modifies nouns referring to animals or inanimate entities, such as *yī zhī gǒu* 一只狗 ‘a dog’ and *liǎng zhī xié* 两只鞋 ‘two shoes’. However, in the Yichun language, *tɕiaʔ* is the most widely used classifier and we suggest that *tɕiaʔ* is the general classifier in this language, which is comparable to the general classifier *gè* 个 in Mandarin. It is also the general classifier in many Xiang, Hakka and Wu dialects and is used for both human and non-human nouns.

Individuating classifiers are a special category in classifier languages such as the Yichun language. There is not any productive class of classifiers in Indo-European languages. In German and Dutch, the noun *stück* ‘piece’ behaves somewhat like a general classifier, which can be used optionally to modify both count and mass nouns. In English, there is not any real individual classifiers to count individuals either. In expressions like ‘an ear of corn’ or ‘a head of cattle’, the head noun ‘corn’ and ‘cattle’ are mass nouns. Such a typological difference is not surprising, as you may note that there is no number marking in the Yichun language. With respect to this typological difference, Greenberg (1972) makes the generalization that number marking and classifiers are in complementary distribution in the nominal domain.

7.2.2 Mensural classifiers

This subsection presents the use of mensural classifiers in the Yichun language. Container classifiers, group classifiers, partitive classifiers, and temporary classifiers are called ‘mensural’ classifiers by Lyons (1977). They do not spell out the atomic structures of the discrete entities, but impose some external units on entities denoted by the noun (Lyons 1977; Tai and Wang 1990; Cheng & Sybesma 1998). These classifiers are not unique to classifier languages and are also widely used in Indo-European languages. However, there is one important difference: English mensural classifiers can be pluralized by *-s*, but the Sinitic mensural classifiers cannot take any kind of plural marking. This is due in part to the fact that there is no plural marker on nouns in Sinitic languages in general.

Container classifiers: they are nouns in origin. Any nouns referring to containers can be used as container classifiers, though some are more conventionally or prototypically used as classifiers than others.

- (14) a. 一瓶酒
 iʔ pin⁴⁴ tsiu⁴²
 one CL_{bottle} wine
 ‘one bottle of wine’
- b. 一碗饭
 iʔ uon⁴² fan²¹³
 one CL_{bowl} rice
 ‘one bowl of rice’

Group classifiers: they express the accumulation or grouping of individual entities.

- (15) a. 一扑豆立_儿
 iʔ p^huʔ t^heu²¹li
 one CL_{apron} bean
 ‘an apronful of beans’
- b. 一巢鸟立_儿
 iʔ ko³⁴ tiεu⁴²li
 one CL_{nest} bird
 ‘a nest of birds’
- c. 一伙学生
 iʔ fo⁴² xoʔsaŋ³⁴
 one CL_{group} student
 ‘a group of students’

Partitive classifiers: they express a part-whole relation. For example, in the noun phrase *iʔ⁵ sa⁴⁴ si³⁴kua* ‘a slice of watermelon’, the entity *watermelon* is viewed as being partitioned into single slices by the partition classifier *sa* ‘slice’.

- (16) a. 一铍木
 iʔ ts^ho²¹³ muʔ
 one CL_{section} wood
 ‘a bit of wood’
- b. 一丘田
 iʔ tε^hiu³⁴ t^hien⁴⁴
 one CL_{plot} field
 ‘one plot of field’
- c. 一丝肉
 iʔ si³⁴ ŋiu⁷⁵
 one CL_{slice} meat
 ‘one slice of meat’
- d. 一浇土
 iʔ tsiεu³⁴ t^hu⁴²
 one CL_{pile} soil
 ‘a pile of soil’
- e. 一块鱼
 iʔ k^huai⁴² ŋy⁴⁴
 one CL_{piece} fish
 ‘one piece of fish’
- f. 一撒西瓜
 iʔ⁵ saʔ si³⁴kua
 one CL_{slice} watermelon
 ‘one slice of watermelon’

Temporary classifiers: they are usually body parts or objects that are able to express the relations of attachment, spreading or coverage. They include *mien⁴⁴* ‘face’, *cin³⁴* ‘body’, and *t^hi²¹³* ‘floor’, as exemplified in (16). In these examples, it requires the entity to spread all over the coverage of a surface. This meaning is particularly salient when the modification marker *ko* is inserted after the classifier in these examples.

- (17) a. 一面(格)汗水
 iʔ miɛn²¹³ (ko) xon²¹³
 one CL_{face} MOD sweat
 ‘a faceful of sweat’
- b. 一身(格)泥
 iʔ ɕin³⁴ (ko) ni⁴⁴
 one CL_{body} MOD mud
 ‘a body covered in mud’
- c. 一脑(格)白头发
 iʔ lau⁴² (ko) p^haʔ t^heu⁴⁴fæʔ
 one CL_{head} MOD white hair
 ‘a headful of grey hairs’
- d. 一地(格)垃圾
 iʔ t^hi²¹³ (ko) læʔtɕi
 one CL_{floor} MOD litter
 ‘a floorful of litter’

7.2.3 Measure words

Measure words do not impose any individual units on entities in the denotation of the noun, nor do they possess any intrinsic semantic relation with the noun that is modified. For example, in English, the measure phrase ‘two kilos of sugar’ does not necessarily correspond to two individual packs of sugar, each of which weighs one kilo. Measure words simply have the function of measuring the quantity of a certain aspect, such as the weight or length, of an entity.

- (18) a. 一尺布
 iʔ tɕ^haʔ pu⁴⁴
 one CL_{foot} cloth
 ‘a foot of cloth’
- b. 五里路
 ŋ⁴²⁻³³ li⁴² lu²¹³
 five CL_{mile} road
 ‘five miles of road’

Like multiplicands, when measure words are modified by the additive *to*³⁴ ‘more’, the numeral does not have to be expressed overtly, if it is *iʔ* ‘one’.

- (19) a. 我扯哩尺多布。
 ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hia⁴²⁻³³-li tɕ^hiaʔ to³⁴ pu⁴⁴.
 one buy-PFV CL_{foot} more cloth
 ‘I bought over a foot of cloth.’
- b. 走哩里多路。
 tɕeu³³-li li⁴² to³⁴ lu²¹³.
 walk-PFV CL_{mile} more road
 ‘I walked over one mile of road.’

c. 我等了只多钟头。

ŋo³⁴ ten⁴²⁻³³-li tɕiaŋ to³⁴ tɕiəŋ³⁴t^hɕu⁴⁴.
 1SG wait-PFV CL more hour
 ‘I waited over an hour.’

7.3 The ‘CL+N’ construction

It is obligatory for numerals to take classifiers to perform the counting function, but classifiers do not have to go hand-in-hand with numerals. Classifiers can modify nouns independently of numerals in the form of ‘Classifier+Noun (Cl+N)’. In Mandarin, it is suggested that the phrase ‘Cl+N’ is derived from ‘one+Cl+N’ by eliding the numeral *one* (Lü 1944; Zhu 1982). In the Yichun language, there is both ‘Cl+N’ and ‘one+Cl+N’, both of which are interpreted as indefinite. But they can be distinguished from each other with respect to specificity. We suggest that ‘one+Cl+N’ is specific indefinite and ‘Cl+N’ is non-specific indefinite.

As shown in (20), in the Yichun language, we can only use ‘one+Cl+N’ in realis sentences, while we use ‘Cl+N’ in irrealis sentences. In (20a), the speaker knows which item of clothes is involved in the clothes-buying event, whereas in (20b), any clothes will satisfy the description of Cl+N. A similar contrast is also observed in (21).

(20) a. 买刮一领衣服。

mai⁴²k^huæŋ iŋ lian⁴² i³⁴fɯ.
 buy-COMPL one CL clothes
 ‘bought an item of clothes.’

b. 去买领衣服。

tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ mai⁴²⁻³³ lian⁴² i³⁴fɯ.
 go buy CL clothes
 ‘Go to buy some clothes.’

(21) a. 过年带刮一只女立_儿回来哩。

kuo⁴⁴niɛn⁴⁴ tai⁴⁴-k^huæŋ iŋ tɕiaŋ ny⁴²li fi⁴⁴lɔɛ li.
 new year bring-COMPL one CL girl back PRF
 ‘(He) brought back a girl during the new year’s festival.’

b. 过年带只女立回来耶。

kuo⁴⁴ni⁴⁴ tai⁴⁴ tɕia? ny⁴²li fi⁴⁴lœ ie.

new year bring CL girl back INTJ

'You may bring back a girl during the new year's festival.'

Unlike many Wu and Yue dialects, there is no definite classifier usage in Yichun Gan. Generally speaking, it is impossible to interpret bare 'Cl+N' with a definite reading in the Yichun language. The following examples in (22) are ungrammatical. The counterparts of (22) in Wu and Cantonese are completely acceptable and the classifier is subject to a definite reading (see Li and Bisang 2012, also Wang 2015 for a cross-dialectal investigation on definite classifiers).

(22) a. *只灯坏刮哩。

*tɕia? ten³⁴ fai²¹-k^huæ? li.

CL lamp broken-COMPL PRF

Intended: 'The lamp is going to break soon.'

b. *本书丢刮哩。

*pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ tiu³⁴-k^huæ? li.

CL book lose-COMPL PRF

Intended: 'The book got lost.'

c. *只女立回来哩么?

*tɕia? ny⁴²li fi⁴⁴lœ li mo?

CL girl return PRF Q

'Has the daughter come back?'

Nevertheless, when the 'Cl+N' is modified by modifiers, such as nouns, proper names in possessive NPs (see chapter 5 above), or by relative clauses (see chapter 19 below), it may express definiteness. In other words, the modified 'Cl+N' structure expresses definiteness.

(23) Noun+Cl+N

桌子只脚断刮哩。

tso?⁵tsɿ tɕia? tɕio? t^hœ?[?]-k^huæ? li.

table CL leg broke-COMPL PRF

'The leg of the table will break soon.'

(24) Proper name+Cl+N

小王本书丢刮哩。

sieu⁴²uon⁴⁴ pun⁴² cy³⁴ tiu³⁴-k^huæ? li.

XiaoWang CL book lose PRF

'Xiao Wang's book got lost.'

(25) Relative Clause+Cl+N

我买格把车子是奔驰格。

ŋo³⁴ mai³³ ko pa⁴² te^hia³⁴tsɿ ci²¹ pun³⁴t^hci⁴⁴ ko.

1SG buy MOD CL car be Benzes AFFM

'The car I bought is a Mercedes.'

7.4 Some special classifier constructions

Classifiers in the Yichun language are used in a number of special constructions, some of which are not possible in Mandarin. In this section, we will discuss three such constructions in particular, including (i) the 'Adj+one+Cl', and (ii) the 'Cl+s₁+Cl' construction.

An adjectival predicate can be followed by ONE+CLASSIFIER. It is represented as 'Deg+Adj+one+Cl'. It serves as the predicate of the sentence, where the degree modifier is usually realized by *man*⁴⁴ 'quite' or *ko*³⁴ 'so'. Consider the examples in (26). "One+Cl" in these examples behaves like a pronominal element, which can be roughly translated as *one* in *a thick one* (26a) or *a big one* (26b).

(26) a. 箇书蛮厚(一本)。

ko³⁴ cy³⁴ man⁴⁴ xiɛu²¹³ (i? pun⁴²).

DEM book very thick one CL

'This book is a thick one.'

b. 箇衣服蛮大(一领)。

ko³⁴ i³⁴fu man⁴⁴ t^hai²¹³ (i? lian⁴²).

DEM clothing very big one CL

'This article of clothing is a big one.'

If the subject refers to a plural entity, then what follows the adjective predicate should be the reduplicated form of classifiers, such as the form: ONE-CL-CL. This is exemplified by (27).

(27) 箇积学生蛮高(一只只)。

ko³⁴ tsi[?] xo[?]saŋ³⁴ man⁴⁴ kao³⁴ (i[?] tɕia[?] tɕia[?]).
 DEM some student very tall one CL CL
 ‘These students are tall ones.’

Classifiers can also be used in the construction ‘Cl+s1+Cl’, which expresses an approximate meaning. For example, (28a), *tɕia[?] sɪ²¹³ tɕia[?] si³⁴kua* means ‘around one watermelon’, and *ɲien⁴⁴ sɪ²¹³ ɲien⁴⁴* means ‘around one year’.

(28) a. 我吃了只似只西瓜。

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hia[?]-li tɕia[?]-sɪ-tɕia[?] si³⁴kua.
 1SG eat-PFV CL-PRT-CL watermelon
 ‘I ate around one watermelon.’

b. 我在外地打刮年似年工。

ŋo³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ uai^{213-21^hi} ta⁴²-k^huæ[?] ɲien⁴⁴-sɪ-ɲien⁴⁴ kuŋ³⁴.
 1SG LOC out-of-town do-COMPL year-PRT-year job
 ‘I’ve worked far away from home for around one year.’

7.5 Conclusions

This chapter presented the number system and the classifier system in Yichun Gan. Sinitic languages resemble each other in adopting the decimal number system and sharing the same set of basic numeral words. However, the Yichun Gan has its own ways of expressing approximation (see section 1.2). As far as classifiers are concerned, the inventory of classifiers in Yichun, especially of individuating classifiers, varies to a great extent from the Mandarin counterparts. As we saw in section 2.1, they choose different individuating classifiers as the general classifier, such as *tɕia[?]* in Gan versus *ge* in Mandarin. Moreover, the same surface sequence of classifier phrases has different semantic interpretations in Gan and Mandarin. For example, one+CL+N has a specific indefinite reading in Yichun Gan, but either a specific or non-specific reading in Mandarin.

8 Adjectives and adjective phrases

This chapter discusses adjectives and adjective phrases in the Yichun language. Although adjectives in Sinitic languages are often claimed to be ‘stative verbs’, we stick to the position that adjectives should be treated as an independent category from verbs, since they have distinct morphological patterns and syntactic behaviours from verbs. We will start with simple adjectives and then move onto various forms of reduplicated adjectives. This will be followed by the discussion on comparatives, superlatives and excessive form of adjectives.

8.1 Types of adjectives

8.1.1 Compound adjectives

Adjectives in Yichun Gan fall into two types in terms of their syllabic structure, namely, monosyllabic and disyllabic adjectives. Monosyllabic adjectives may either be used attributively (1) or predicatively (2). Degree modifiers are required to appear before adjectives in predicative positions.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) a. 细毛仔仔
si ⁴⁴ mau ³⁴ ŋa-tsi?
small child-DIM
‘little child’ | b. 女厕所
ny ⁴² ts ^h ε?so
female toilet
‘ladies’ toilet’ |
| (2) a. 你蛮壮。
ŋi ³⁴ man ⁴⁴ tsoŋ ⁴⁴ .
2SG very strong
‘You are strong.’ | b. 你太瘦哩。
ŋi ³⁴ t ^h ε? seŋ ⁴⁴ li.
2SG too thin PRF
‘You are too thin.’ |

However, in this language, there are more disyllabic adjectives than monosyllabic ones. Most of the monosyllabic adjectives in Mandarin, such as *suān* 酸 ‘sour’, *hēi* 黑 ‘black’, and *lèi* 累 ‘tired’ are all expressed in disyllabic forms. This is against the received idea that Sinitic languages become more monosyllabic as you move southwards (Hashimoto 1976). Disyllabic adjectives are formed by compounding the monosyllabic adjectives with nouns or other adjectives. We consider them as compound adjectives.

The first group of compound adjectives can be represented as X-Adj, where a monosyllabic adjectival stem sits on the right side and the morpheme X can be a noun or an adjective. Those adjectives include adjectives for colours (3), tastes (4), shapes (5) and some other semantic categories (6).

(3) Colors:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. 墨黑
mɛʔ⁵xɛʔ⁵
ink.black
'black'</p> | <p>b. 雪白
siɛʔp^haʔ
snow.white
'white'</p> |
| <p>c. □黄
sin⁴⁴uoŋ⁴⁴
PREF.yellow
'yellow'</p> | <p>d. □绿
kuɛʔluʔ
PREF.green
'green'</p> |

(4) Tastes:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. 揪酸
tsiu³⁴son³⁴
PREF.sour
'sour'</p> | <p>b. □淡
kuaʔt^han²¹³
PREF.light
'bland'</p> |
| <p>c. 津甜
tsin³⁴tien⁴⁴
PREF.sweet
'sweet'</p> | <p>d. 丫苦
ŋa³⁴k^hu⁴²
PREF.bitter
'bitter'</p> |

(5) Shapes:

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>a. 削薄
ɕiɛ³⁴p^hoʔ
PREF.thin
'thin'</p> | <p>b. 啰圆
lo³⁴ion⁴⁴
PREF.round
'round'</p> | <p>c. 拉猛
la³⁴mar⁴²
PREF.long
'long'</p> |
|---|---|---|

(6) Other qualities:

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>a. 焦干
tsiɛu³⁴kon³⁴
burnt.dry
'dry'</p> | <p>b. 梆硬
paŋ³⁴ŋaŋ²¹³
stiff.hard
'hard'</p> | <p>c. 飘轻
p^hiɛu³⁴tɕ^hian³⁴
floating.light
'light'</p> |
|---|--|---|

The lexical meanings of the first morpheme X in X-Adj are not always clear in the examples from (3) to (6). But from what is known, it is often the case that the first morpheme may refer to entities that have the property expressed by the adjectives, if the prefix is a noun, such as *siεʔp^haʔ* ‘snow-white’ or it simply expresses the same property as what is expressed by the monosyllabic adjective (the second element in the compound), if it is an adjective, such as *paŋ³⁴ŋaŋ²¹³* ‘hard’.

A second group of compound adjectives is composed in the form of Adj-*nin*⁴⁴, where the morpheme *nin*⁴⁴ means ‘person’. According to their internal syntax, these adjectives can be further divided into two subtypes. In the first subtype, the adjective stem expresses the causative meaning of ‘making people feel some property expressed by adjectives’. It is similar to *-ing* type adjectives in English, such as *tiring* or *exciting*. Consider the examples in (7).

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------|
| (7) a. 累人 | b. 辣人 | c. 热人 |
| ly ²¹³⁻²¹ n̄in | læʔ n̄in | ŋieʔ n̄in |
| tire.person | spicy.person | hot.person |
| ‘tiring’ | ‘spicy’ | ‘hot’ |
| d. 痒人 | e. 痛人 | |
| ioŋ ⁴²⁻³³ n̄in | t ^h əŋ ⁴⁴ n̄in | |
| itchy.person | pain.person | |
| ‘itchy’ | ‘painful’ | |

In the second subtype, the stem is verb-like and it thematically selects the morpheme *nin*⁴⁴ as patient. As a whole, the adjective compounds still behave like *-ing* type adjectives in English.

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| (8) a. 晒人 | b. 炕人 |
| sai ⁴⁴ n̄in | koŋ ⁴⁴ n̄in |
| shine.person | burn.person |
| ‘scorching’ | ‘hot, stuffy’ |
| (9) a. 咬人 | b. 胀人 |
| ŋau ⁴²⁻³³ n̄in | təioŋ ⁴⁴ n̄in |
| bite.person | fill.person |
| ‘piercingly painful’ | ‘full’ |

8.1.2 Reduplicated adjectives

In addition to the adjective compounds, there are various reduplication forms of adjectives in the Yichun language. They include ‘AA+DIM’, ‘AABB’, ‘ABAB’, and the reduplicated forms with an infix, such as ‘A+li+AB’ and ‘A+ku+AB’. In addition, there is also the ‘ABB’ type of reduplicated adjectives, but neither A nor B is an adjectival root.

The first type of reduplication, i.e. ‘AA+DIM’, is restricted to monosyllabic adjectives. The monosyllabic adjective is reduplicated and then the reduplicated form is followed by the diminutive marker *-tsi?* 仔. In terms of the meaning, ‘AA+tsi?’ expresses a degraded or diminished property and its translation is more like ‘a bit Adj’ or ‘somewhat Adj’ (see Tsao 2001 for the discussion on AA adjectives in Southern Min, which are also equivalent to Adj-ish). Note that the suffix *-tsi?* is obligatory after reduplicated adjectives, especially when it is used as a predicative adjective, e.g. in (10) and (11) (cf. the discussion on reduplication of adjectives in Chapter 2).

(10) Reduplication form (i): ‘AA+DIM’

a. 矮矮仔	b. 黄黄仔	c. 厚厚仔
ɲai ⁴²⁻³³ ɲai ⁴² -tsi?	uon ⁴⁴ uon ⁴⁴ -tsi?	xɛu ²¹³ xɛu ²¹³⁻²¹ -tsi?
short-short-DIM	yellow-yellow-DIM	thick-thick-DIM
‘a bit short’	‘yellowish’	‘a bit thick’

(11) 渠格头发黄黄仔，眼珠子蓝蓝仔。

kie ³⁴ ko	t ^h ɛu ⁴⁴ fa?	uon ⁴⁴ uon ⁴⁴ -tsi?	ɲan ⁴² tɕy-tsɿ	<u>lan⁴⁴lan⁴⁴tsi?</u>
3SG MOD	hair	yellow-yellow-DIM	eye-NLMZ	blue-blue-DIM
‘Her hair is yellowish and eyes are bluish.’				

In contrast with AA+DIM, ABB requires neither A nor B to be an adjective root, but the reduplicated form of ABB is an adjective.

(12) a. 今日太热人哩，我一身汗仔仔。

tɕia ³⁴	t ^h ɛ?	ɲiɛ?ɲin ⁴⁴	li,	ɲo ³⁴	i?	ɕin ³⁴	<u>xon²¹³tsi?tsi?</u>
today	too	hot	PRF	1SG	one	body	sweat-SUF-DIM
‘It is too hot today. I am sweaty.’							

b. 渠屋里灰蓬蓬格。

kiɛ³⁴ uʔ-li fi³⁴p^həŋ⁴⁴p^həŋ⁴⁴ ko.
 3SG house dust-SUF-SUF AFFM
 ‘Their house is dusty.’

c. 气得眼鼓鼓。

tɕ^hi⁴⁴-tɕ-ŋan⁴²⁻³³ku⁴²ku⁴².
 angry-PRT-eye-SUF-SUF
 ‘He got extremely angry.’

d. 肚子肉坨坨格。

t^hu⁴²⁻³³tsɿ niuʔt^ho⁴⁴t^ho⁴⁴ ko.
 belly meat-SUF-SUF AFFM
 ‘His belly is fatty.’

The remaining types of adjective reduplication apply to disyllabic adjectives. In the second type of reduplication, each syllable of the basic AB adjective form is repeated. The reduplicated form occurs as AABB. For example, in (13a), *lao³³ciʔ* is a simple adjective, meaning ‘honest’, and it is reduplicated into *lao³³lao⁴²ciʔciʔ*, which expresses a reinforced meaning, e.g. ‘being of a high degree of honesty’.

(13) Reduplication form (ii): ‘AABB’

a. 老老实实	b. 死刻板板	c. 脸脸面面
lau ³³ -lau ⁴² -ciʔ-ciʔ	sɿ ³³ -sɿ ⁴² -pan ³³ -pan ⁴²	lien ³³ -lien ⁴² -mien ²¹³ -mien ²¹³
honest-honest	rigid-rigid	decent-decent
‘very honest’	‘very rigid’	‘very decent’

In the third type of reduplication, the adjective base is ‘AB’ and the whole adjective is repeated once.¹ Therefore, adjectives are reduplicated as ‘ABAB’, and this form also expresses an intensified degree of a property.²

¹ In a strict sense, ABAB is a sort of repetition, which is different from reduplication. Repetition operates at the phrasal level, whereas reduplication is at the word level. Here, we do not intend to make a distinction between them.

² According to Tsao (2001), in Southern Min, the AABB form is less frequent and is borrowed from Mandarin whereas the ABAB is the native form and still means ‘somewhat ADJ’ as in *laosit-laosit* ‘kind of honest’.

(14) Reduplication form (iii): ‘ABAB’

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. 墨黑墨黑
mɛʔxɛʔ-mɛʔxɛʔ
ink-black-ink-black
‘as dark as ink’ | b. 津甜津甜
tsin ³⁴ tien ⁴⁴ -tsin ³⁴ tien ⁴⁴
saliva-sweet-saliva-sweet
‘extremely sweet’ |
| c. 飘轻飘轻
p ^h iɛu ³⁴ tɕ ^h ian ³⁴ -p ^h iɛu ³⁴ tɕ ^h ian ³⁴
float-light-float-light
‘extremely light’ | |

The other two types of reduplicated constructions are formed by inserting an infix. The first syllable of the disyllabic adjective is produced through copying, then an infix serves as a linker linking the copied syllable and the disyllabic adjective. It can be represented as ‘A+INFIX+AB’. There are two different infixes: the first infix is *li* 里 and the second is *ku* 古.³ Both of them express the meaning of intensification, as in (15) and (16).

(15) Reduplication form (iv): ‘A+li+AB’

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. 古里古怪
ku ⁴² -li-ku ⁴² kuai ⁴⁴
RED-INF-weird
‘very weird’ | b. 土里土气
t ^h u ⁴² -li-t ^h u ⁴² tɕ ^h i ⁴⁴
RED-INF-outmoded
‘very outmoded’ |
| c. 神里神气
ɕin ⁴⁴ -li-ɕin ⁴⁴ tɕ ^h i ⁴⁴
RED-INF-arrogant
‘very arrogant’ | |

(16) Reduplication form (v): ‘A+ku+AB’

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. 墨古墨黑
mɛʔ-ku-mɛʔhɛʔ
RED-INF-ink-black
‘very black’ | b. 捋古捋圆
lo ³⁴ -ku-lo ³⁴ ion ⁴⁴
RED-INF-round
‘very round’ |
|---|---|

³ In Mandarin, only the infix *-li* but not *-ku* is used in reduplicated adjectives. The examples of (14a) and (14b) are also acceptable in Mandarin.

c. 津古津甜

tsin³⁴-ku-tsin^hien⁴⁴

red-inf-sweet

'very sweet'

In brief, this section presents various forms of complex adjectives, which are formed by compounding or reduplication. There are two points worth noting. First, it is obligatory for the reduplication of AA to take a diminutive marker tsiʔ, as in AA-tsiʔ. Second, monosyllabic adjectives account for only a small proportion of all adjectives while compound adjectives are used more frequently in Yichun Gan.

8.2 Degree modifiers

8.2.1 Varieties of degree modifiers

In English, adjectival predicates are formed by taking adjectives as complement of the copula *be* and the adjective can be optionally modified by a degree morpheme. Hence, in English, an adjectival predicate can be represented as “be+(Degree morpheme)+Adjective”. In contrast to this, in Yichun Gan, it is obligatory for adjectives to take a degree modifier to form an adjectival predicate, which is represented by the form DEGREE MORPHEME+ADJECTIVE. As shown by (17a-b), the presence of the copula *sz* ‘be’ is rejected before adjectival predicates. Cleft clauses are the only possible construction for the copula and gradable adjectives to co-occur, as shown in (17c) (see Chapter 18 below for the discussion on clefts).

(17) a. * 里本书是蛮厚仔。

* li⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² cy³⁴ ci²¹³ man⁴⁴ xiɛu²¹³⁻²¹ tsiʔ.

DEM CL book be very thick DIM

Intended: ‘This book is very thick.’

b.* 里本书是蛮厚仔。

* li⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² cy³⁴ ci²¹³ man⁴⁴ xiɛu²¹³⁻²¹ tsiʔ.

DEM CL book be very thick DIM

Intended: ‘This book is very thick.’

c. 里本书是新格。

li⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ ɕi²¹³ sin³⁴ ko.
 DEM CL book be new AFFM
 ‘This book is new (, but not old).’

In this section, we discuss a couple of the most commonly seen degree morphemes in Yichun Gan.

The general-purpose degree modifier is *man*⁴⁴ 蛮 ‘quite’ in Yichun. It modifies adjectives when occurring to their left. Interestingly, the diminutive marker *tsi?* can modify the whole adjective predicate, and its constituent relation is represented as [[DEG+ADJ]+DIM]. Consider (18) for an illustration.

(18) 里本书蛮厚仔。

li⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ man⁴⁴ xiɕu²¹³⁻²¹ tsi?
 DEM CL book very thick DIM
 ‘This book is very thick.’

Degree modifiers can also be expressed by manner demonstratives, such as *ko*³⁴ 格 or *ko*³⁴*mo* 格嘛 ‘so’. Expressions like *ko*³⁴*ioŋ* 格样 ‘this way, so’, *li*⁴²*ioŋ* 里样 ‘this way, so’ and *len*³⁴-*ioŋ* 棱样 ‘that way, so’ also belong to the same category (see Chapter 6 above). Due to the nature of being demonstratives, they express the speaker’s personal experience when the proximal *ko*³⁴*ioŋ* and *li*⁴²*ioŋ* are used.

(19) a. 今日遮嘛格样热人哦!

tɕia³⁴ tɕia³⁴ma ko³⁴ioŋ ɲiɛ?ɲin o!
 today how so hot INTJ
 ‘How come it is so hot today!’

b. 你在格好格的大学读书啊。

ɲi³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ ko³⁴ xau⁴² ko t^hai²¹³⁻²¹xo? t^hu?ɕy³⁴ a.
 2SG LOC so good MOD university study INTJ
 ‘You are studying at such a good university!’

c. 你惊里样小气叻。

ɲi³⁴ tɕiaŋ³⁴ li⁴²ioŋ siɕu⁴²⁻³³tɕ^hi io.
 2SG how so stingy INTJ
 ‘How come you become so stingy!’

We also consider the exclamatory *tɕi*²¹³ 几 ‘how many/much’ to be a degree modifier, which is equivalent to *how* in English, as in *how beautiful!*.

(20) a. 箇只电影几好看仔啲!

ko³⁴ tɕia? t^hien²¹³in⁴² tɕi⁴²⁻³³ xau⁴²k^hon⁴⁴ tsi? io!
 this CL film how interesting DIM INTJ
 ‘How interesting this film is!’

b. 如今格马路几阔仔哦。

œ⁴⁴tɕin³⁴ ko ma⁴²lu²¹³ tɕi⁴²⁻³³ k^hœ? tsi? io.
 now MOD road how wide DIM INTJ
 ‘Nowadays how wide the road is.’

The excessive *t^hɛ?* 特 can also be seen as a degree morpheme, which expresses an excessive reading.⁴

(21) 箇李子特揪酸哩。

ko³⁴ li⁴²⁻³³tɕɿ t^hɛ? tɕiu³⁴son³⁴ li.
 DEM_{near} plum too sour PRF
 ‘The plum is too sour.’

A final degree modifier to be discussed is *fa?tsi?* ‘a bit’. It can either precede the adjective (22a) or follow the adjective (22b). In the case of (22a), it is obligatory to take the verb *iu*⁴² ‘have’, so we consider the phrase of *iu*⁴² *fa?tsi?* to be a degree modifier, which is equivalent to *man*⁴⁴. However, in example (22b), *fa?tsi?* ‘a bit’ follows the particle *tɕ?*. It is similar to Adj-de-*hən* in Mandarin, where *hən* is a degree morpheme. According to Hashimoto (1976), postposed modifiers have also been seen as a Southern feature, even though Mandarin has this too for degree adverbs. So it is not a bizarre idea to consider this *fa?tsi?* as a degree morpheme as well. There is some interpretational difference between the two examples in (22). (22a) implies that it is too tight, whereas (22b) means ‘a bit tighter than expected’.

⁴ Note that the demonstrative *ko*³⁴ in (19) does not form a constituent with the noun following it. An analysis is suggested as a discourse marker (see the Chapter on demonstratives).

(22) a. 棱条裤仔有发仔紧。

len³⁴ tieu⁴⁴ ku⁴⁴tsiʔ iu⁴² faʔtsiʔ tɕin⁴².
DEM CL trousers have a bit tight
'That pair of trousers is too tight.'

b. 棱条裤仔紧得发仔。

len³⁴ tieu⁴⁴ ku⁴⁴tsiʔ tɕin⁴² tɛʔ faʔtsiʔ.
DEM CL trousers tight PRT a bit
'This pair of trousers is a bit tight.'

8.2.2 Modification of compound adjectives

In Mandarin, there is a small number of compound adjectives, which are called 'attributive adjectives' (性质形容词: *xìngzhì xíngróngcí*). They overlap with some of those discussed in §1.1. However, there is a sharp behavioural difference in compound adjectives between Mandarin and Yichun Gan. Mandarin compound adjectives are not subject to modification by degree modifiers, but the Yichun counterparts can be easily modified by them.

Similar to monosyllabic adjectives, disyllabic ones can also be modified by various degree modifiers, such as *man*⁴⁴ 蛮 'very'. However, the counterparts are unacceptable in Mandarin and those 'attributive adjectives' cannot be modified by any degree modifiers.

(23) a. 箇墙啊蛮雪白。

ko³⁴ tɕ^hioŋ⁴⁴ a man⁴⁴ siɛʔ-p^haʔ.
well wall TOP very snow-white
'Well, the wall is very white.'

b. 你舞格饭蛮喷香。

ni³⁴ u⁴²⁻³³ ko fan²¹³ man⁴⁴ p^hən³⁴ɕion³⁴.
2SG make MOD meal very delicious
'The meal you make is very delicious.'

These adjectives can even be used in comparative constructions, where they are modified by the comparative adverbial *kien*⁴⁴ 更 'more'.

(24) a. 箇张纸比棱张更雪白。

ko³⁴ tɕion³⁴ tɕi⁴² pi⁴² len³⁴ tɕion³⁴ kien⁴⁴ siɛʔp^haʔ.
 this CL paper compare that CL more snow.white
 ‘This piece of paper is whiter than that one.’

b. 棱领衣服更削薄得发仔。

len³⁴ lian⁴² i³⁴fu kien⁴⁴ ɕyœ³⁴p^hoʔ tɛʔ faʔtsiʔ.
 that CL clothes more thin PRT a bit
 ‘This clothing is much lighter.’

To sum up, in the Yichun language, degree morphemes are an indispensable element for forming adjectival predicates, which include those occurring before adjectives such as *man*⁴⁴ ‘very’ and *ko*⁴²*mo* ‘so’ and those occurring after them, such as *faʔsɿʔ* ‘a bit’. What is particularly striking is that in Yichun Gan, attributive adjectives can even be modified by these degree modifiers. This is not at all possible in Mandarin.

8.3 Comparatives and superlatives

In many Indo-European languages we are familiar with, the comparatives and superlatives of adjectives are expressed by some dedicated inflectional morphemes, such as the comparative *-er* or the superlative *-est* in English. However, in Chinese languages, such as Mandarin and the Yichun language of Gan, there is no such affixal morphology available. On the contrary, these languages make use of analytic strategies or lexical devices to express comparative and superlative meanings.

In Yichun Gan, the comparison of two individuals is realized by the preposition *pi*⁴² 比 ‘compare’ or *p^hin*³⁴ 拼 ‘compare’ (reanalyzed from their verb uses). NP1 is the comparee, i.e. the entity to be compared, and NP2 represents the standard of comparison. The dimension of comparison is realized by the AdjP. Consider (25) for an illustration.

(25) Comparative 1: Comparee+ *pi*⁴²/*p^hin*³⁴+Standard+Adjective

a. 西瓜拼哈密瓜大发仔。

si³⁴kua³⁴ p^hin³⁴ xa³⁴miʔkua³⁴ t^hai²¹³⁻²¹ faʔtsiʔ.
 watermelon compete Hami.melon big a bit
 ‘Watermelons are bigger than Hami melons.’

b. 我比旧年高哩两厘米。

ŋo³⁴ pi⁴² tɕ^hiu²¹³ niɛn⁴⁴ kau³⁴-li lioŋ⁴² li⁴⁴mi⁴².
 1SG compare last year tall-PFV two centimeter
 ‘I am two centimeters taller than last year.’

Given that the comparison relation is expressed overtly by the preposition *compare* in (25a), there is no requirement for any morphological change on the adjective itself. Note that the comparative morpheme *ken* ‘more’ is optional before the adjective. In (25b), the gap of the comparee and the standard is expressed overtly by a measure phrase *lioŋ⁴² li⁴⁴mi⁴²* ‘two centimetres’, which follows the adjective.

As mentioned earlier, when the expression *faʔtsiʔ* ‘a bit’ follows an adjective, it expresses a comparative meaning. It is compatible with the comparative morpheme *kien⁴⁴* ‘more’.

(26) Comparative 2: Adjective+ *faʔtsiʔ*

a. 你身体（更）好得发仔墨？

ni³⁴ cɪn³⁴tʰi⁴² (kien⁴⁴) xau⁴² tɕʔ faʔtsiʔ moʔ
 2SG body (more) good PRT a bit Q
 ‘Do you feel a little better?’

b. 今日比昨日（更）热得发仔。

tɕia³⁴ pi⁴² tsʰoʔniʔ (kien⁴⁴) niɛʔ tɕʔ faʔtsiʔ.
 today compare yesterday more hot PRT a bit
 ‘Today is a bit hotter than yesterday.’

Once again, in the Yichun language, there is no inflectional affix, such as *-est* in English, to express superlative either. The Yichun language uses the lexical item *tsui⁴⁴* 最 ‘most’ instead. This is cognate to the same morpheme in Mandarin.

(27) Superlatives: *tsui⁴⁴*+Adjective

a. 德和是宜春最好的宾馆。

tɕɿfo⁴⁴ cɿ²¹³ ni⁴⁴tɕ^hyn³⁴ tsui⁴⁴ xau⁴² ko pin³⁴kuon⁴².
 Dehe be Yichun most good MOD hotel
 ‘Dehe Hotel is the best hotel in Yichun.’

b. 我俚班上最高个同学是哪个?

ŋo³⁴li pan³⁴ɕion̄ tsui⁴⁴kau³⁴ ko t^həŋ⁴⁴xoʔ ɕi²¹³ lai³⁴ ko?
 our class on most tall MOD student be which CL
 ‘Which student is the tallest one in our class?’

8.4 Comparatives and negation

Most Chinese dialects have at least two different forms for negation markers, such as *bú* 不 ‘not’ and *méi* 没 ‘to not have’ in Mandarin. In the Yichun language, the negative markers include *piʔ* 不 ‘not’ and *mau⁴⁴* 冇 ‘to not have’. Both of these negative markers can be used to negate comparative sentences.

The real negative marker for use with an adjectival comparative predicate is *mau⁴⁴* 冇 or *mau⁴⁴teʔ* 冇得 ‘to not have’, as in (28a) and (28b). But it is also possible to negate a property expressed by adverbs, as in (28c).

(28) a. 小张冇小李高。

siɕu⁴²tɕion̄³⁴ mau⁴⁴ siɕu⁴²⁻³³li⁴² kau³⁴.
 XiaoZhang NEG.HAVE XiaoLi tall
 ‘Xiao Zhang is not as tall as Xiao Li.’

b. 讲力气，我有你样大。

kaŋ⁴² liʔtɕ^{hi}⁴⁴, ŋo³⁴ mau⁴⁴ ŋi³⁴ ion̄²¹³ t^hai²¹³.
 talk strength 1SG NEG.HAVE 2SG such big
 ‘In terms of strength, I am not as strong as you.’

c. 我唱得冇渠格好。

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hion̄⁴⁴ tɕ? mau⁴⁴ kiɕ³⁴ ko³⁴ xau⁴².
 1SG sing PRT NEG.HAVE 3SG that well
 ‘I do not sing as well as he does.’

In general, the negative marker *piʔ* is used to negate verbal or adjectival predicates, yet it is not very grammatically appropriate to employ the negative *piʔ* in respect to comparatives. However, in Yichun Gan, there is the resultative construction of *V-(de)-ian̄⁴⁴*, which expresses the comparative meaning of outdoing somebody. Look at its illustration in (29) and (30).

(29) V-ian⁴⁴

a. 我话赢哩渠。

ŋo³⁴ ua²¹³ ian⁴⁴-li kiε³⁴.

1SG talk win-PFV 3SG

'I outdid him in talking.'

b. 我跑赢哩渠。

ŋo³⁴ pau⁴² ian⁴⁴-li kiε³⁴.

1SG run win-PFV 3SG

'I outran him.'

(30) V-te-O-ian⁴⁴ or V-te-ian⁴⁴-O

a. 我话得渠赢。

ŋo³⁴ ua²¹³ tɛʔ kiε³⁴ ian⁴⁴.

1SG talk can 3SG win

'I can outdo him in talking.'

b. 我跑得赢渠。

ŋo³⁴ pau⁴² tɛʔ ian⁴⁴ kiε³⁴.

1SG run can win 3SG

'I outran him.'

This resultative can be negated by *piʔ*, as in the form of *V-piʔ-ian⁴⁴*. Its object can appear either after the verb or after the resultative complement, as in the forms *V-N-piʔ-ian⁴⁴* and *V-piʔ-ian⁴⁴-N* respectively. Of these two orders, *V-piʔ-ian⁴⁴-N*, as in (31), is not usually found in the conversations of the older generation, who always put the pronoun before the negative marker, as in (32).

(31) V-piʔ-ian⁴⁴-O

a. 我话不赢你。

ŋo³⁴ ua²¹ -piʔ-ian⁴⁴ ŋi³⁴.

1SG talk-NEG-win 2SG

'I cannot outdo you in talking.'

b. 我跑不赢你。

ŋo³⁴ p^hau⁴²-piʔ-ian⁴⁴ ŋi³⁴.

1SG run-NEG-win 2SG

'I cannot outrun you.'

(32) V-O-piʔian⁴⁴

a. 我话你不赢。

ŋo³⁴ ua²¹-ŋi³⁴-piʔ-ian⁴⁴.

1SG talk-2SG-NEG-win

'I cannot outdo you in talking.'

b. 我跑你不赢。

ŋo³⁴ p^hau⁴²-ŋi³⁴-piʔ-ian⁴⁴.

1SG run-2SG-NEG-win

'I cannot outrun you.'

(33) V-piʔ-O-ian⁴⁴

a. 我话不你赢。

ŋo³⁴ ua²¹-piʔ-ŋi³⁴-ian⁴⁴.

1SG talk-NEG-2SG-win

'I cannot outdo you in talking.'

b. 我跑不你赢。

ŋo³⁴ p^hau⁴²-piʔ-ŋi³⁴-ian⁴⁴.

1SG run-NEG-2SG-win

'I cannot outrun you.'

8.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented the grammatical properties of adjectives and adjective phrases in the Yichun language. What is common between Gan and Mandarin is that adjectives cannot function as predicates unless degree modifiers are used. Apart from this similarity, adjectives in Yichun differ from Mandarin in several aspects. First, in contrast with Mandarin, the disyllabic (compound) adjectives can be modified by various degree modifiers in Yichun Gan. Another peculiarity about adjectives in Yichun Gan is that its adjectival predicates can be followed by a pronominal element, such as ONE-CL or ONE-CL-CL. A third point to be mentioned is that the Yichun language is rather rich in adjectival reduplications, some of which are not available in Mandarin. One such example is the AA reduplicated adjectival forms, for which it is obligatorily followed by the diminutive marker *-tsiʔ* in Yichun.

9 Prepositions

This chapter describes the prepositions in the Yichun language. There are two characterizing properties about the Yichun prepositions. First, historically speaking, (most of) the prepositions in the Yichun language are derived from verbs. Hence, sometimes it is difficult to discern whether certain morphemes are still verbs or have grammaticalized into prepositions, as far as their syntactic status is concerned. Second, the inventory of prepositions in the Yichun language is somewhat smaller than that in Mandarin. This is because many prepositions are polyfunctional, which means that a single preposition may embody several different semantic functions. Due to this particular reason, in what follows, we discuss the prepositions one by one, instead of discussing them according to their semantic functions.

Tab.9-1: Prepositions in Yichun Gan

Prepositions	Meaning	Prepositions	Meaning
$ts^h\alpha^{213}$ 在	‘be located...’ ‘from...’	$i\eta^{213}$ 用= $la^?$ 拿	Instrumental ‘with’
$\tau\alpha^{44}$ 到	‘to’ ‘be located ...’	$uo\eta^{213}$ 望= $kien^{34}$ 跟	Coordinative ‘and’ Comitative ‘with’ Non-core dative ‘to’ Ablative ‘from’
$ts^h\eta^{44}$ 从	ablative ‘from...’	pa^{42} 把	Dative ‘to’
$t\epsilon ia^{34}$ 遮	‘through, via...’	ten^{42} 等= $t\epsilon^?$ 得	Dative ‘to’

9.1 $Ts^h\alpha^{213}$ ‘being located ...’

$Ts^h\alpha^{213}$ is a general locative preposition. It often occurs together with postpositions to form the so-called circumpositions, represented linearly in the form of ‘ $ts^h\alpha^{213}$...postposition’. In this syntactic context, $ts^h\alpha^{213}$ simply expresses the general meaning of ‘being located...’, and the postposition specifies the exact spatial relations of the objects (see Chapter 11 for the use of $ts^h\alpha^{213}$ as an aspect marker). The examples in (1) illustrate the use of $ts\alpha^{213}$... *li* ‘at ...in’ and $ts\alpha^{213}$... *xa* ‘at... under’, where the complement of $ts\alpha^{213}$ is realized by common nouns.

(1) $ts^h\text{œ}^{213}$...postposition

a. 渠在棱只教室里上课啊。

kie³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ len³⁴ tciəʔ kau⁴⁴ci li cion²¹³ko⁴² a.
 3SG LOC DEM CL classroom in give.class INTJ
 ‘He is giving a lesson in that classroom.’

b. 渠坐到在树底下。

kie³⁴ ts^ho²¹-tau ts^hœ²¹³ tɕ^hy²¹³ ti⁴²xa.
 3SG sit-DUR LOC tree bottom
 ‘He is sitting under the tree.’

It takes as its complement locational nouns (2) or locative adverbs, such as *li⁴²li* ‘here’ and *len³⁴li* ‘there’ (3).

(2) $ts^h\text{œ}^{213}$ +locational noun

a. 我在上海买哩一套房子。

ŋo³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ cion²¹³xœ⁴² mai⁴²⁻³³-li iʔ t^hau²¹³ fon⁴⁴tsi.
 1SG LOC Shanghai buy-PFV one CL apartment
 ‘I bought an apartment in Shanghai.’

b. 我一工都在办公室。

ŋo³⁴ iʔ kuŋ³⁴ tu³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ p^han²¹kuŋ³⁴ciʔ.
 1SG one day all LOC office
 ‘I spent the whole day in the office.’

(3) $ts^h\text{œ}^{213}$ +here/there

a. 渠在棱哩做啥仔哦？

kie³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³⁻²¹ len³⁴li tsɿ⁴⁴ cɿa⁴²tsiʔ oʔ
 3SG LOC there do what INTJ
 ‘What is he doing there?’

b. 你坐（在）里里，我坐（在）棱里。

ŋi³⁴ ts^ho²¹³ (ts^hœ²¹³) li⁴²li, ŋo³⁴ ts^ho²¹³ (ts^hœ²¹³) len³⁴li.
 2SG sit LOC here 1SG sit LOC there
 ‘You sit here and I sit over there.’

In addition to the unmarked locative meaning, the locative preposition $ts^h\text{œ}^{213}$ has a non-locative use, where it expresses the ablative meaning ‘from’. This ablative use of $ts^h\text{œ}^{213}$ is restricted to motion verbs, such as *kuo⁴⁴* ‘pass by’ in (4).

- (4) a. 你看到只细仔俚在你筒里过墨?

ŋi³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴tau tɕia? si⁴⁴ ŋa⁴⁴li ts^hœ²¹³ ŋi³⁴ ko³⁴li kuo⁴⁴ mo?
 2SG see CL little boy LOC 2SG here pass Q
 ‘Did you see a little boy passing by from here?’

- b. 好像在鱼塘筒边过去哩。

xau⁴²sion²¹³ ts^hœ²¹³ ny⁴⁴t^hoŋ⁴⁴ ko³⁴ pien³⁴ kuo⁴⁴tɕ^hiɛ li.
 seem LOC fish pond DEM side pass:by PRF
 ‘It seemed that he walked by from the fish pond.’

- c. 在桌子上跌下一本书来哩。

ts^hœ²¹³ tsoŋtsɿ? ɕion²¹³ tiɛ?xa i? pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ lœ li.
 LOC table on fall.down one CL book come PRF
 ‘A book fell down from the table.’

9.2 *Tau*⁴⁴ ‘to/at...’

The morpheme *tau*⁴⁴ 到 has the lexical meaning of ‘arrive’ when it is used as a verb. The preposition phrase *tau*⁴⁴-NP often follows a verb, and its meaning is dependent on the preceding verb being a motion verb or a stative verb.

When *tau*⁴⁴ follows a motion verb, such as *tseu*⁴² ‘walk’ and *pon*³⁴ ‘move’, it expresses the directional meaning ‘to somewhere’, as in (5).

- (5) a. 我从我老家湖田，走到瓦岗里去。

ŋo³⁴ ts^həŋ⁴⁴ ŋo³⁴ lau⁴²ka³⁴ fu⁴⁴t^hien⁴⁴, tseu⁴²⁻³³ tau ŋa⁴²kon³⁴li tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴.
 1SG from 1SG hometown Hutian walk to Wagangli go
 ‘From my hometown Hutian, I walked to Wagangli.’

- b. 就搬到路边仔上去哩。

tɕ^hiu²¹ pon³⁴ tau⁴⁴ lu²¹³⁻²¹pien-tsi? ɕion²¹³ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ li.
 then move to road side-DIM on go PRF
 ‘then moved it away, moved it to the side of the road’.

When *tau*⁴⁴ follows a stative verb, such as *ts^ho*²¹³ ‘sit’, *tsan*⁴⁴ ‘stand’ and *kua*⁴⁴ ‘hang’, it has a locative meaning, meaning “be located ...”, as in (6).¹ In this case, the use of *tau*⁴⁴ is similar to the locative *tsæ*²¹³ as we saw in (1).

(6) a. 赚格么多钱，你还坐到筒里打扑克。

ts^han²¹³ ko³⁴ mo to³⁴ ts^hien⁴⁴, ni³⁴ xai⁴⁴ ts^ho²¹³⁻²¹ tau ko³⁴ li ta⁴² pu?k^hie.
make so much money 2SG still sit LOC here play poke
‘Since you made so much money, why are you sitting here playing poker?’

b. 筒里，三只伢佬站到筒里。

ko³⁴ li, san³⁴ tciə? ŋa⁴⁴ li ts^han⁴⁴ tau ko³⁴ li.
here three CL boy stand LOC here
‘Here, three boys are standing here.’

c. 挂到墙上格画跌下来哩。

kua⁴⁴ tau⁴⁴ t^hion⁴⁴ cion²¹³ ko fa²¹³ tie? xalœ⁴⁴ li.
hang LOC wall on MOD painting fall down PRF
‘The painting hanging on the wall fell down.’

Based on our discussion in § 2 and 3, we can see that both *ts^hæ*²¹³ and *tau*⁴⁴ can be used in two different senses, either a locative meaning or a directional meaning. Specifically, *ts^hæ*²¹³ can be shifted from its prototypical locative meaning to a directional meaning, whereas *tau*⁴⁴ undergoes a reversed shifting process, i.e. from directional to locative.

9.3 *Ts^huŋ*⁴⁴ ‘from...’

The preposition *ts^huŋ*⁴⁴ expresses the source location of movement of objects or the beginning of a temporal period. The examples in (6) illustrate its spatial use.

¹ We will show in Chapter 11 that the morpheme *tau*⁴⁴ can also be used as a durative aspect marker. Given that the durative meaning emphasizes the continuation of some state, we think that it is more likely that the durative meaning is derived from its prepositional use expressing a stative meaning, ‘be located at...’ rather than the dynamic meaning, of motion, ‘to somewhere’. This generalization is consistent with the picture that in some dialects, the progressive/durative marker is expressed by the same marker, which is derived from a locative preposition (Wang Jian 2014).

- (7) a. 正从火车站捉回来格。

tciaŋ⁴⁴ ts^huŋ⁴⁴ fo⁴²tcia³⁴tsan⁴⁴ tsoʔtɛʔ fi⁴⁴lœ ko.
 just from train station catch.achieve back AFFM
 ‘(I) just brought her back from the train station.’

- b. 渠从哪里来？

kiɛ³⁴ ts^huŋ⁴⁴ lai³⁴li lœ⁴⁴?
 3SG from where come
 ‘Where did he come from?’

Ts^huŋ⁴⁴ can also be used in the temporal framework. The meaning it expresses is similar to *since...* or *from ...* in English. Look at (8):

- (8) a. 从棱之后，经常在棱里等。

ts^huŋ⁴⁴ len³⁴ tci³⁴xiɛu²¹³, tci³⁴tɕ^hioŋ⁴⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ len³⁴li ten⁴².
 from there after often LOC there wait
 ‘From then on, (he) always waits there.’

- b. 从五岁起，渠就在地。

tsəŋ⁴⁴ ŋ⁴² sui⁴⁴ tɕ^hi⁴², kiɛ³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ ts^hœ²¹³ uai²¹³tɕ^hi²¹³.
 from five year on 3SG FOC LOC other place
 ‘He has been living in other places from the age of five.’

9.4 *Tcia*⁴⁴ ‘along/across...’

The preposition *tcia*⁴⁴ 遮 expresses that something moves ‘along’, ‘through’ or ‘across’ the referent of the noun that is marked. Its meaning is similar to ‘along’ or ‘via’ in English. Consider the examples in (9-10), where the landmark is required to be a long-shaped landmark or extendable geographically.

- (9) a. 你遮河边走半个小时就到哩。

ŋi³⁴ tcia⁴⁴ xo⁴⁴pien³⁴ tseu⁴² pon⁴⁴.ko siɛu⁴²tci⁴⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ tau⁴⁴ li.
 2SG along river side walk half-CL hour FOC arrive PRF
 ‘You walk along the river and you will arrive in half an hour.’

- b. 你遮里边走，渠遮棱边走。

ŋi³⁴ tcia⁴⁴ li⁴²pien³⁴ tseu⁴², kiɛ³⁴ tcia⁴⁴ len³⁴pien³⁴ tseu⁴².
 2SG along DEM.side walk 3SG along DEM.side walk
 ‘You walk along this side and he walks along that side.’

(10) 里班客车遮 / 望新余过。

li⁴² pan³⁴ k^haʔtɕ^hia³⁴ tɕia⁴⁴/uon²¹ sin³⁴y⁴⁴ kuo⁴⁴.
 DEM CL bus from Xinyu pass
 ‘This bus drives across Xinyu.’

The prepositions *tɕia*⁴⁴ and *uon*²¹ in the example (10) can be changed into *ts^hœ*²¹³. Example (10) means that the bus goes across Xinyu. By contrast, the use of *ts^hœ*²¹³ in (11) forces the landmark to be thought of as a spot, but not as a long-shaped entity or as an expanse.

(11) 里班客车在新余过。

li⁴² pan³⁴ k^haʔtɕ^hia³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ sin³⁴y⁴⁴ kuo⁴⁴.
 DEM CL bus LOC Xinyu pass
 ‘This bus drives via Xinyu.’

9.5 *luŋ*²¹³ and *laʔ* ‘with/in...’

Instrumental cases are expressed by *iun*²¹³ 用 or *laʔ* 拿 in Yichun Gan. Chinese prepositions have generally been grammaticalized from verbs and have been called ‘coverbs’ in some studies (Li and Thompson 1981; Sun 1996). In fact, among the prepositions listed in Table 9-1, *iun*²¹³ and *laʔ* are two of the most verb-like prepositions. The preposition *iun*²¹³ originally means ‘use’ and *laʔ* means ‘take’ or ‘give’. In the examples in (12) and (13), they can either be seen as verbs or prepositions. When they are interpreted as verbs, the predicate can be seen as a serial verb construction. As prepositions, they are adverbials expressing the manner of the event. This interpretational difference is illustrated by the translation given in (12) and (13).

(12) 明日万一招不到学生你拿啥仔付人家格工资啊?

mian⁴⁴ niʔ uan²¹³⁻²¹iʔ tɕiey³⁴-piʔ-tau xoʔsan³⁴,
 tomorrow if enroll-NEG-achieve students
 ni³⁴ laʔ ɕia⁴²tsiʔ fu²¹³ ni⁴⁴ka ko kuŋ³⁴tsi³⁴ a?
 2SG take what pay people MOD salary INTJ

a. ‘What if we do not have enough students tomorrow? What would you pay her salary with?’ [Prep]

b. ‘What if we do not have enough students tomorrow? What would you take to pay her salary?’ [Verb]

(13) 用棱只车子去接细人仔，做得呀？

- iun*²¹³ *len*³⁴ *tɕiaʔ* *tɕ^hia³⁴tsɿ* *tɕ^hie⁴⁴* *tsieʔ* *si⁴⁴nin⁴⁴tsiʔ*, *tsɿ⁴⁴tɕeʔ* *iaʔ*
 use DEM CL cart go pick:up children do.able INT
 a. 'Is it suitable to pick up the kids with this kind of cart too?' [Prep]
 b. 'Is it suitable to use this kind of cart to pick up the kids too?' [Verb]

When *iun*²¹³ and *laʔ* are used as prepositions, they are free variants. Both of them indicate the modified noun to be the *instrument* or *means* by or with which the subject achieves or accomplishes an action. The instrument expressed by the noun can either be a physical object (14) or an abstract concept (15).

(14) a. 渠用 / 拿瓷砖把厕所装修理一下。

- kie³⁴* *iun*²¹³ /*laʔ* *ts^hɿ⁴⁴tɕion³⁴* *pa⁴²* *ts^hɕʔso⁴²* *tson³⁴siu³⁴li-iʔxa²¹³*.
 3SG use /take tile OM bathroom decorate-PFV-TENT
 'He decorated the bathroom with tiles.'

b. 我是用 / 拿手机望你打电话。

- ŋo³⁴* *ɕi²¹³* *iun*²¹³ /*laʔ* *siu⁴²tɕi* *uon*²¹ *ŋi³⁴* *ta⁴²* *t^hien²¹fa*.
 1SG be use /take cell phone to 2SG hit telephone
 'I called you with a cell phone.'

(15) 你用 / 拿宜春话下箇句话话得么？

- ŋi³⁴* *iun*²¹³ /*laʔ* *ŋi⁴⁴tɕ^hyn³⁴fa²¹³* *ua²¹-xa* *ko³⁴* *tɕy⁴⁴* *fa²¹³* *ua²¹tɕeʔ* *moʔ* ?
 2SG use/take Yichun language say-TENT DEM CL saying say.can Q
 'Can you say this sentence in Yichun language?'

9.6 Polyfunctional *uon*²¹³ and *kien*³⁴

The prepositions *uon*²¹³ 望 and *kien*³⁴ 跟 are two multifunctional prepositions in the Yichun language. These two prepositions are interchangeable with each other. *Kien*³⁴ originally means 'follow' and *uon*²¹³ has the lexical meaning of 'watch, see' when it is used as a verb. Both of them can express at least four different cases, including coordinative, comitative, non-core dative, and ablative cases.

First, they can be **coordinatives** in that they link two or more nouns or proper names to form a complex nominal phrase. However, they cannot coordinate verbs, adjectives or clauses, lack of coordinative conjunctions being widespread in Sinitic. The use of *kien*³⁴ as coordinative marker is illustrated in (16) and the relevant use of *uon*²¹³ is given in (17).

(16) a. 你把身份证跟钱送还给我。

ŋi³⁴ pa⁴² ɕin³⁴fun²¹³tɕin⁴⁴ kien³⁴ ts^hien⁴⁴ suŋ⁴⁴uan⁴⁴ kiɛ⁴² ŋo³⁴.
 2SG OM ID card and money return DAT 1SG
 ‘Return the ID card and money to me.’

b. 幼儿园里格事就靠下仔你跟李响。

iu²¹³œ⁴⁴ion⁴⁴ li ko sɪ²¹³ tɕ^hiu²¹³ kau⁴⁴ xa⁴²tsi? ŋi³⁴ kien³⁴ li⁴²⁻³³ɕion⁴².
 kindergarten in MOD issue FOC rely:on DELIM 2SG and LiXiang
 ‘The things in the kindergarten rely on you and Li Xiang.’

c. 渠跟我是小学同班同学。

kiɛ³⁴ kien³⁴ ŋo³⁴ ɕi²¹³ siɛu⁴²xo? t^həŋ⁴⁴pan³⁴t^həŋ⁴⁴xo?.
 3SG and 1SG be primary school classmate
 ‘She and I were classmates in primary school.’

(17) 渠在深圳格手机号码望具体地址，以后有事直接跟渠联系，好么？

kiɛ³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ ɕin³⁴tɕin⁴⁴ ko ɕiu⁴²tɕi³⁴ xau²¹³ma⁴² uoŋ²¹³ tɕ^hy²¹³t^hi⁴²
 3SG LOC Shenzhen MOD cell phone number and exact
 t^hi²¹³tɕi⁴², i⁴²-xiɛu²¹³ iu⁴² sɪ²¹³ tɕ^hi²¹³tsiɛ? kien³⁴ kiɛ³⁴ lien⁴⁴ɕi, xau⁴²⁻³³ mo?
 address future have thing directly DAT 3SG contact good Q
 ‘Here is his telephone number and address in Shenzhen. You can directly
 contact him if there is anything in the future. Alright?’

Second, they can express the **comitative** case. It expresses the meaning ‘together with’ or ‘accompanied by’.

(18) a. 渠到屋里跟别只女客人好刮哩。

kiɛ³⁴ tau⁴⁴ u?li kien³⁴ p^hiɛ? tɕia? ny⁴²k^ha?ŋin⁴⁴ xau⁴²k^huæ? li.
 3SG LOC home with other CL woman have:an:affair PRF
 ‘He had an affair with another woman at home.’

b. 我昨日望我朋友一起到看电影。

ŋo³⁴ ts^ho?ni? uoŋ²¹ ŋo³⁴ p^həŋ⁴⁴iu⁴² i?tɕ^hi⁴² tau⁴⁴ k^hon⁴⁴ t^hien²¹³in⁴².
 1SG yesterday and 1SG friend together arrive watch film
 ‘I went to the cinema with my friend yesterday.’

It is a common grammaticalization pathway from coordinate conjunction to comitative marker (see Liu and Peyraube 1994). There are some syntactic diagnostics available to distinguish between coordinative and comitative functions,

when they happen to use the same morpheme, such as *kien*³⁴ or *uoŋ*²¹³ in the Yichun language.

Specifically, when two nominals are conjoined and marked by the coordinative case, they are syntactically treated as a single constituent; when these are marked by the comitative case, they are two separate constituents such that the case-marked comitative nominal simply associates with the first nominal as an adjoined modifier or an adverbial. Let us compare (17) and (18). In (17), the modifier *cin*³⁴*tcin*⁴⁴ *ko* ‘Shenzhen-MOD’ does not modify the first nominal but the whole coordinated nominal phrase. In contrast, in (18a), the two nominals are separated by a prepositional phrase, *tau*⁴⁴ *u?li* ‘at home’, which suggests that they are two separate constituents.

A third use of *uoŋ*²¹³ and *kien*³⁴ is that they can express non-core (or extended) dative cases, which include indirect objects of communication verbs (19), benefactives (20) and ethic datives (21).²

Communication verbs like *ua*²¹³ ‘say’ can take a dative argument, when their semantic focus is not on the content of communication, but on the addressee of communication. The addressee is marked as an extended dative case. Consider (19):

(19) a. 诶，懒望你话啦。

ɛ, lan⁴² uoŋ²¹³ ŋi³⁴ ua²¹³ la.
er. reluctant DAT 2SG talk INTJ
‘I do not want to talk with you.’

b. 我已经跟渠打哩招呼。

ŋo³⁴ i⁴²tcin³⁴ kien³⁴ kie³⁴ ta⁴²⁻³³-li tɕ^hieu³⁴fu.
1SG already DAT 3SG hit-PFV signal
‘I have reminded (signalled to) her.’

The examples in (20) illustrate the benefactive use of *kien*³⁴. In this case, it is the theme of the verb predicate that directly benefits the direct object under discussion, such as what is good to eat in (20a) and the rice to be served in (20b). The object following *kien*³⁴ is sometimes suggested as having the semantic role of beneficiary. The dative *kien*³⁴ can be replaced by *uoŋ*²¹³ in both cases in (20).

² Core datives refer to indirect objects in canonical ditransitive constructions. They use a different set of prepositions, including *ten*⁴² 等, *tɕ?* 得 and *pa*⁴² 把 etc.

(20) a. 跟你买好吃格。

kien³⁴ ŋi³⁴ mai⁴²⁻³³ xau⁴²tɕ^hiaʔ ko.
 DAT 2SG buy things:good:to:eat NMLZ
 ‘Buy good things to eat for you.’

b. 晨宇，跟弟弟妹妹添饭。

tɕ^hin⁴⁴ y⁴², kien³⁴ tʰi²¹tʰi mœ⁴⁴mœ tʰien³⁴ fan²¹³.
 ChenYu DAT younger:brother younger:sister add rice
 ‘Chen Yu, serve some more rice for the kids.’

Ethic datives originally refer to a use of the dative pronoun to signify that the person marked by the dative case is viewed as affected by the coded event, usually to their detriment. In our case, it is meant to refer to situations where a particular activity, but not a particular entity, would benefit a certain individual. Consider the example in (21), in which the speaker $\eta\sigma^{34}$ ‘I’, which is marked by $u\sigma\eta^{213}$ would be affected by the future event of the addressee’s going to work somewhere else.

(21) 过两年你望我死得出去打工。

kuo⁴⁴ lion⁴² ŋien⁴⁴ ŋi³⁴ uoŋ²¹³ ησ³⁴ sɪ⁴²tɕ? tɕ^hyʔtɕ^hiɛ ta⁴²kun³⁴.
 pass few years 2SG DAT 1SG die.achieve go out work
 ‘Go to work elsewhere in a few years, (which I guess will be a good thing in my eyes).’

The pronoun marked by the ethic dative marker is usually realized by the first person pronoun, i.e. referring to the speaker. The verb phrase following the dative phrase expresses an order or a directive made by the speaker. The speaker is expected to benefit from the execution of the directive.

Fourth, $u\sigma\eta^{213}$ and $kien^{34}$ can also express the ablative case, meaning ‘from’ in conjunction with verbs of deprivation and taking.

(22) a. 我有得哩钱，你望你爷老子要发仔。

ησ³⁴ mau⁴⁴tɕ?-li tʰien⁴⁴ ŋi³⁴ uoŋ²¹ ŋi³⁴ ia²¹loutsɪ iɛu⁴⁴ faʔtsiʔ.
 1SG NEG.HAVE-PFV money 2SG to 2SG dad demand some
 ‘I have no more money. Ask for some from your Dad.’

b. 望同学借东西方便得发仔。

uŋ²¹³ t^həŋ⁴⁴xoʔ tsia⁴⁴ təŋ³⁴si foŋ³⁴p^hien²¹ tɛʔ faʔtsiʔ
 from classmate borrow thing convenient PRT a bit
 ‘It is convenient to borrow things from classmates.’

It is common in Sinitic languages that a single preposition embodies various meanings. According to a recent study by Chappell, Peyraube and Wu (2011), the morpheme *kɛ*⁵⁵ 跟 in the Waxiang dialect and *kāŋ* 共 in Southern Min embody almost the same range of functions as *kien*³⁴ and *uŋ*²¹³ in the Yichun language, except that these two prepositions in the Yichun language cannot be used as object markers.

9.7 Multifunctional pa⁴²

Similarly to *uŋ*²¹³ and *kien*³⁴, the morpheme *pa*⁴² 把 is multifunctional in the Yichun language. It can first be used as a ditransitive verb, meaning ‘give’, as in (23a). It is very common for the GIVE type of verbs to develop into a dative case marker (Newman 1996). As shown in (23b-c), *pa*⁴² can also be used as a post-verbal dative case marker, introducing the core argument of GIVE verbs, such as *səŋ*⁴⁴ ‘send’ and *laʔ* ‘take’.

(23) a. 把本书我!

pa⁴² pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ ŋo³⁴.
 give CL book 1SG
 ‘Give me a book.’

b. 里本书送得把你。

li⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ səŋ⁴⁴tɛʔ pa⁴² ŋi³⁴.
 this CL book send.achieve DAT 2SG
 ‘(I) send this book to you.’

c. 还拿几只水果把渠。

xai⁴⁴ laʔ tɕi⁴² tɕiaʔ ɕy⁴⁴kuo⁴² pa⁴² kiɛ³⁴.
 even take several CL fruit DAT 3SG
 ‘even took a few items of fruit and gave (them to) him.’

A second use of the preposition *pa*⁴² is that it can be used as a passive marker, which introduces the agent (cf. Chapter 16 on Passives).

(24) 自行车把人家偷走哩。

ts^hɿ²¹³ ɕin⁴⁴ ɕia³⁴ pa⁴² ŋin⁴⁴ka t^hɛu³⁴tseu⁴² li.
 bike PASS others steal PRF
 ‘The bike was stolen.’

Additionally, *pa*⁴² can also be used as an accusative marker (or a disposal marker), as in (26) (cf. Chapter 15 BA constructions)

(25) 把箇只石头也搬刮哩

pa⁴² ko³⁴ tɕia[?] ɕia[?]t^hɛu ia⁴² pon³⁴-k^huæ[?] li.
 OM this CL stone also move-COMPL PRF
 ‘(He) also moved the stone away.’

9.8 *Ten*⁴² and *tɛ?* ‘to...’

The Yichun language is really rich in dative expressions. We present two more dative markers, namely, *ten*⁴² 等 and *tɛ?* 得, which have the lexical meanings of ‘wait’ and ‘obtain, get’ respectively. The examples of these two dative markers are shown in (26) and (27) respectively.

(26) a. 箇佢拿几只梨等渠。 (speaker : Huang)

ko³⁴ ŋa⁴⁴li la[?] tɕi⁴² tɕia[?] li⁴⁴ ten⁴² kiɛ³⁴.
 DEM_{near} boy take several CL pear DAT 3SG
 ‘The boy took a few pears to him.’

b. 把草帽拿得等渠。

pa⁴² ts^hau⁴²mau²¹³ la⁴⁴tɛ? ten⁴² kiɛ³⁴.
 OM straw hat take DAT 3SG
 ‘(and) gave the straw hat to him.’

(27) a. 好，就快仔送得得渠。 (speaker : Yan)

xau⁴², tɕ^hiu²¹³ k^huai⁴⁴-tɕi[?] səŋ⁴⁴tɛ? tɛ⁴² kiɛ³⁴.
 then FOC quickly-DIM send DAT 3SG
 ‘then sent it to him immediately.’

b. 拿三只梨立_儿得渠。

la[?] san³⁴ tɕia[?] li⁴⁴li tɛ⁴² kiɛ³⁴.
 take three CL pear DAT 3SG
 ‘take three pears and give to him.’

These two markers are taken from two different narrations of the “Pear Stories” told by two of our informants. The use of *ten*⁴² is solely made by a female speaker of 55 years, Madame Huang, while the use of *tɛʔ* is only used by a young woman, aged around 35, Madame Yan. Other native speakers we consulted confirm the existence of these two markers. At this stage, we are not certain whether they are the same marker, which shows individual/areal variations or whether they are two distinct markers.³

9.9 Conclusions

Most of the prepositions in Yichun Gan develop from verbs in serial verb constructions or V-V constructions. The first type include the instrumental *iuŋ*²¹³ /*laʔ* and the dative *pa*⁴² /*ten*⁴² /*tɛʔ*, and the second include the locative *ts^hœ*²¹³ and the preposition for destination *tau*⁴⁴. Another feature of Yichun prepositions is that many of them are multifunctional. Among them, *uoŋ*²¹³ and *kien*³⁴ are the most multifunctional ones, whose functions range from being coordinative and comitative to non-core dative and ablative markers.

³ In Binjiang variant of the Yichun dialect, only the marker *ten*⁴² is used.

10 Postpositions

Sinitic languages, including Yichun Gan, are famous for the mixed property that they, as SVO languages, have both prepositions and postpositions. Postpositions play the same syntactic role as prepositions, both of which can be analyzed as belonging to clause adverbials in most cases. They can be considered as ‘adpositions’ as the more general cover term. This chapter gives a thorough description of postpositions in the Yichun language. It is argued that postpositions are grammaticalized from locational nouns, which are distinguished from each other in being part of either an adverbial phrase or a nominal phrase. In our discussion below, we will lay out their syntactic differences as well.

10.1 Monosyllabic and disyllabic postpositions

As the name suggests, postpositions are placed after their complement to form a postpositional phrase. It can be schematically represented as [_{PostpP} [_{NP} Noun] Postposition]. Postpositions are also called “locative particles”, which may head ‘locative phrases’ (Sun 2008). They may co-occur with prepositions to form circumpositions, which can be represented by the hierarchical relation of [_{PrepP} Preposition [_{PostpP} [_{NP} Noun] Postposition]] (see Liu 2003). In other words, postpositional phrases are always taken as the complement of prepositions in a prepositional phrase.

In the Yichun language, postpositions express stative spatial locations of the entities. For example, the phrase *tɕ^hy²¹sion²¹³* ‘on the tree’ in (1a) and *tɕ^hy²¹lau²¹³sion²¹³* ‘on the tree’ in (1b) tells the place where an individual stands.

(1) a. 望下仔树上格人。

uon²¹³⁻²¹-xatsi? tɕ^hy²¹sion²¹³ ko ɲin⁴⁴.
look-TENT tree on MOD person
‘Just looked at the man in the tree.’

b. 树脑上停哩一只鸟立儿。

tɕ^hy²¹lau²¹³sion²¹³ t^hiŋ-li i? tɕia? tiau²¹³li.
tree on stand-PFV one CL bird
‘A bird is sitting in the tree.’

Examples in (1), such as *sioŋ*²¹³ ‘on’ in (1a) and *lau*²¹³*sioŋ*²¹³ ‘on’ in (1b) in fact embody the two types of postpositions, i.e. monosyllabic and disyllabic ones. The inventory of these types of postpositions is illustrated in the following table:

Tab.10-1: Postpositions in Yichun Gan

Spatial Relations	Monosyllabic Postpositions	Disyllabic postpositions	
		Localizer-N	N-Localizer
ON/ABOVE	ɕioŋ ²¹³ 上	ɕioŋ ²¹³⁻²¹ mien 上面 ɕioŋ ²¹³⁻²¹ t ^h ɛu 上头 ɕioŋ ²¹³⁻²¹ t ^h i 上地	lau ⁴² ɕioŋ ²¹³ 脑上
UNDER / BELOW	xɑ ²¹³ 下	xɑ ²¹³⁻²¹ mien 下面 xɑ ²¹³⁻²¹ t ^h ɛu 下头 xɑ ²¹³⁻²¹ t ^h i 下地	tɿ ⁴² xɑ ²¹³ 底下
FRONT	ts ^h ien ⁴⁴ 前	ts ^h ien ⁴⁴ mien 前面 ts ^h ien ⁴⁴ t ^h ɛu 前头 ts ^h ien ⁴⁴ t ^h i 前地	mien ⁴⁴ ts ^h ien ⁴⁴ 面前
BACK/BEHIND	xiɛu ²¹³ 后	xiɛu ²¹³⁻²¹ mien 后面 xiɛu ²¹³⁻²¹ t ^h ɛu 后头 xiɛu ²¹³⁻²¹ t ^h i 后地	pi ⁴⁴ luʔ 背录
IN	ŋy ²¹³ 内 = li 里	ŋy ²¹³⁻²¹ t ^h ɛu 内头 ŋy ²¹³⁻²¹ t ^h i 内地	
OUT	uai ²¹³ 外	uai ²¹³⁻²¹ t ^h ɛu 外头 uai ²¹³⁻²¹ t ^h i 外地	

Of the two types of postpositions, the first type is realized by monosyllabic localizers, which express various spatial relations, including *ɕioŋ*²¹³ 上 ‘up’, *xɑ*²¹³ 下 ‘bottom’, *ts^hien*⁴⁴ 前 ‘front’ etc. Disyllabic postpositions are derived from monosyllabic ones by combining with certain nominal elements. According to the order of localizer and the nominal element, we can make a further distinction between N-localizer and Localizer-N.

The second type of postposition can be represented hierarchically as [Postp_[NP N] localizer-suffix]. They are derived from the localizers in Type 1 by being suffixed with a nominal element, such as *mien*⁴⁴ ‘face’, *t^hɛu* ‘head’ and *t^hi* ‘earth’. The reason why we treat them as suffixes is, because when they are attached to the localizer, they no longer retain their lexical meanings and they are interchangeable with each other. Regardless of their lexical meanings, they, including *mien*⁴⁴ ‘face’, *t^hɛu* ‘head’ and *t^hi* ‘earth’, can all be understood as *side*, as in *inside* or *outside*.

(2) a. 渠坐到在树底下。

kiɛ³⁴ ts^ho²¹.tau ts^hœ²¹³ tɕ^hy²¹³ ti⁴².xa.
 3SG sit-DUR LOC tree bottom
 'He sits under the tree.'

b. 桌子下面有只狗在睡觉。

tsoʔ ts₁ xa²¹³mien iu⁴² tɕiaʔ kieu⁴² ts^hœ²¹³ k^hun⁴⁴kau⁴⁴.
 table below have CL dog PROG sleep
 'Under the table sleeps a dog.'

c. 楼下地有人在等你。

lɛu⁴⁴ xa²¹³t^hi iu⁴² ɲin⁴⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ ten⁴² ɲi³⁴.
 stair down have people PROG wait 2SG
 'There is someone waiting for you downstairs.'

In the third type, the localizers follow a specific set of nouns, which are body part terms, including *lau*⁴² 脑 'head', *ti* 底 'bottom', *pi*⁴⁴ 背 'back' and *mien*⁴⁴ 面 'face'. It is a common grammaticalization route for body parts to develop into localizers (Heine and Kuteva 2002). The four body part terms represent the four main positions, *lau*⁴² for top, *ti* for down, *pi*⁴⁴ for back and *mien*⁴⁴ for front. Accordingly, they select localizers according to their semantic compatibility. The noun *lau*⁴² 'head' only combines with *ɕioŋ*²¹³, and *lau*⁴²*ɕioŋ*²¹³ 脑上 means 'on'. The prefix *ti*²¹³ 'bottom' goes with *xa* 'down', and the postposition *ti*²¹³*xa* 底下 means *at the bottom of...*, *under* or *below*. *Mien*⁴⁴ is followed by the localizer *ts^hien* 'front', and *mien*⁴⁴*ts^hien* 面前 means 'in front of ...'.

In such cases, these body-part terms in N-localizer no longer retain their original lexical meaning and express spatial meaning only. For example, the postposition *lau*⁴²*ɕioŋ* can refer to something that does not have a part which resembles a head, as in (3a). It may even co-occur with reference to a real head, as in (3b) or refer to some body part which is not a head itself, as in (3c).

(3) a. 书脑上写过箇只事。

ɕy³⁴ lau⁴²ɕioŋ²¹³ sia⁴²⁻³³-kuo ko³⁴ tɕiaʔ sɿ²¹³.
 book on write-EXP DEM CL thing
 'This thing is written on the book.'

- b. 一拳打在
- 脑壳脑上
- 。

iʔ tɕ^hion⁴⁴ ta⁴² ts^hœ²¹³ lau⁴²k^hoʔ lau⁴²ɕion²¹³.
 one fist hit LOC head on
 ‘The punch landed on the head.’

- c.
- 背脊脑上
- 长哩只痣。

pi⁴⁴ tsiaʔ lau⁴²ɕion²¹³ tɕion³³-li tɕiaʔ tɕi⁴⁴.
 back on grow-PFV CL mole
 ‘On the back grows a mole.’

10.2 Functional *versus* lexical postpositions

In the literature, there has been a lot of discussion on the syntactic difference between monosyllabic and disyllabic postpositions in Sinitic languages. It is generally held that in Mandarin, disyllabic postpositions are lexical and noun-like, while the status of monosyllabic ones is more controversial (see A. Li 1990 for the noun approach; see Peyraube 1980 and Ernst 1988 for the postposition approach; cf. F.-H. Liu 1998)¹. In this grammar, we assume that in the Yichun language, the monosyllabic postpositions are grammatical elements and the disyllabic ones are nouns. Some of the evidence in support of our standpoint is presented as follows.

First, disyllabic postpositions can be used independently as arguments, while monosyllabic ones cannot, as illustrated by examples in (4) and (5).

- (4) a.
- 上面
- 是晒格,
- 下面
- 是吃饭格。

ɕion²¹³⁻²¹mien⁴⁴ ɕi²¹³ k^hun⁴⁴ ko, xa²¹³mien ɕi²¹³ tɕ^haʔfan²¹³ ko.
 above be sleep AFFM below be dine AFFM

- b. *
- 上
- 是晒格,
- 下
- 是吃饭格。

*ɕion²¹³ ɕi²¹³ k^hun⁴⁴ ko, xa²¹³ ɕi²¹³ tɕ^haʔfan²¹³ ko.
 above be sleep AFFM below MOD dine AFFM
 ‘Above is for sleeping and below is for dining.’

¹ Peyraube (1980) proposes that the disyllabic postpositions are lexicalized from compound nouns but can still be used independently as S or O. See also Chappell & Peyraube (2008) for more on the historical development of postpositions indicating undifferentiated localization and a proposed grammaticalization pathway, plus this same phenomenon in other Chinese dialects.

- (5) a. 脑上是晒格, 底下是吃饭格。

lau⁴² ci²¹³ ci²¹³ k^hun⁴⁴ ko, ti⁴² xa ci²¹³ t^haʔfan²¹³ ko.
above be sleep AFFM below be dine AFFM

- b. *脑是晒格, 底是吃饭格。

lau⁴² ci²¹³ k^hun⁴⁴ ko, ti⁴² ci²¹³ t^haʔfan²¹³ ko.
above be sleep AFFM below be dine AFFM

‘Above is for sleeping and below is for dining.’

A second often-used test is the potential of insertion of the genitive particle, such as *ko* in the Yichun language. As shown in (6), the disyllabic postpositions can have an optional modification marker *ko* 格 between the NP complement and the postposition, while monosyllabic postpositions cannot. The element after the genitive marker is usually considered to be a nominal head, so it is clear that the postpositions in (6a) and (7a) are nouns and those in (6b) and (7b) are not.

- (6) a. 我俚屋 (格) 面前有条河。

ŋo³⁴li uʔ (ko) mien⁴⁴ts^hien iu⁴² t^hiɛu⁴⁴ xo⁴⁴.
1PL home MOD front have CL river

‘There is a river in front of our house.’

- b. 我俚屋 (*格) 前有条河。

ŋo³⁴li uʔ (*ko) ts^hien⁴⁴ iu⁴² t^hiɛu⁴⁴ xo⁴⁴.
1PL home MOD front have CL river

‘There is a river in front of our house.’

- (7) a. 教室 (格) 外头 / 外地有只树。

kau⁴⁴ ci[?] (ko) uai²¹³ t^hɛu / uai²¹³ t^hi iu⁴² t^hɛiaʔ t^hy²¹³.
classroom MOD outside have CL tree

‘Outside the classroom, there is a tree.’

- b. 教室 (*格) 外有只树。

kau⁴⁴ ci[?] (*ko) uai²¹³ iu⁴² t^hɛiaʔ t^hy²¹³.
classroom MOD out have CL tree

‘Outside the classroom, there is a tree.’

Third, disyllabic postpositions can still be used to refer to a certain part of an entity in some cases, while monosyllabic ones cannot. The example in (8) shows that *mien*⁴⁴*ts*^h*ien* can refer to the front part of the tractor and *xiɛu*²*tɛu* refers to the

rear part of the tractor, but the monosyllabic *ts^hien* and *xieu²* cannot. This suggests that disyllabic postpositions still retain the use of relational nouns while monosyllabic ones do not.

(8) 拖拉机*(面)前是发动机, 后*(头)是只拖斗。

t^ho³⁴la³⁴tɕi³⁴ *(mien⁴⁴)ts^hien²¹³ ɕi²¹³ fæʔt^həŋ²¹tɕi³⁴,

tractor front be engine

xieu²¹*(t^heu) ɕi²¹ tɕiaʔ t^ho³⁴tɕeu⁴².

back be CL trailer

‘The front part of the tractor is an engine and the back is a trailer.’

10.3 Co-occurrence of prepositions and postpositions

In §2.1, we discussed the occurrence of postpositions on their own. In many of the examples we saw above, they actually co-occur with prepositions, such as *ts^hœ²¹³...xa²¹³* ‘at...down’. This kind of adpositional structure, i.e. ‘preposition...postposition’, is called a circumposition’ (Liu 2003). But the so-called circumpositions are not lexicalized, since the prepositions can be omitted or may not be permitted in particular syntactic contexts.

The optionality of prepositions depends on the syntactic positions in which the whole prepositional phrase occurs. Generally speaking, if the locative phrase functions as subject, prepositions are not required, as shown in (9); otherwise, they are required, such as when they are used in object positions, as in (10).

(9) a. 宾馆近边立儿是超市。

pin³⁴kuon⁴² tɕ^hin²¹pien³⁴li ɕi²¹³ tɕ^hieu³⁴ ɕi²¹³.

hotel near be supermarket

‘Near the hotel is a supermarket.’

b. 教室外头 / 外地有只树。

kau⁴⁴ɕiʔ uai²¹t^heu / uai²¹t^hi iu⁴² tɕiaʔ tɕ^hy²¹³.

classroom outside have CL tree

‘Outside the classroom, there is a tree.’

c. 我俚屋里背景是块山。

ŋo³⁴li uʔli pi⁴⁴luʔ ɕi²¹³ k^huai⁴⁴ san³⁴.

1PL home back be CL mountain

‘Behind our house is a hill.’

(10) a. 渠屋里就在筒近边立_儿。

kie³⁴ u?li tɕ^hiu²¹³ ts^hœ²¹³ ko³⁴ tɕ^hin²¹pien³⁴li.
 3SG home FOC LOC this near side
 ‘His house is right nearby.’

b. 筒只蛤蟆钻到渠鞋立_儿内头去哩。

ko³⁴ tɕia? xa⁴⁴ma? tson³⁴ tau kie³⁴ xai⁴⁴li? ny²¹t^hɕu tɕ^hie⁴⁴ li.
 DEM CL frog enter to 3SG shoe inside go PFV
 ‘This frog climbed into one of his shoes.’

The immunity of postpositional phrases from omission unlike the preposition in subject positions, as seen in (9), may well suggest that they are nominal phrases in nature. Instead of treating the sequence of locational noun+postposition as a complementation relation, we can probably consider them as a modifier-head relation. Specifically, the noun *pin*³⁴*kuon*⁴² ‘hotel’ modifies the postpositional element *tɕ^hin²¹pien³⁴li* ‘nearby’. By way of contrast, the postposition in (10) must always be used in such structures when a preposition is present, where the postpositional phrase is taken as a complement by the preposition.

10.4 Incorporation of postpositions into place names

In the Gan speaking areas, many of the village names (near the dialect locality I investigated) may incorporate postpositional phrases, in particular, monosyllabic localizers.² The examples in (11) are taken from our transcriptions.

(11) a. 木皮岭下

mu?p^{hi}44lian⁴²-xa
 mupiling-below
 ‘Mupinglingxia Village’

b. 瓦岗里

ŋa⁴²kon³⁴-li
 wawang-in
 ‘Wangangli Village’

These villages listed below all belong to Yichun prefecture, where the same dialect is spoken by the villagers.³ In most cases, the elements to which the postposition attaches are proper names referring to mountains, bridges, stones, temples, or important trees etc, and the postpositions indicate the spatial rela-

² Postposition incorporation in place names is also found in Wu and Hakka dialects, but not in Mandarin.

³ The examples from (12) to (16) are taken from the online map at: <http://map.baidu.com>

tion of the villages with respect to these landmarks. In this way, the postpositions have become an essential part of these village names. We thus consider these cases as incorporated postpositions.

(12) [UP and DOWN]

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. 竹山下
tɕyʔsan ³⁴ -xa ²¹³
zhushan-below
'Zhushanxia village' | b. 坳上
ŋau ⁴⁴ -ɕioŋ ²¹³
ao-on
'Aoshang village' |
|---|---|

(13) [IN]

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| a. 横盘里
uaŋ ⁴⁴ p ^h on ⁴⁴ -li ⁴²
Hengpan-in
'Hengpanli village' | b. 梁家里
lioŋ ⁴⁴ ka ³⁴ -li ⁴²
liangjia-in
'Liangjiali village' | c. 石下里
ɕiaʔ-xa ²¹³ -li ⁴²
shi-below-in
'Shixiali village' |
|--|--|--|

(14) [BACK and FRONT]

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. 庙前
miɛu ²¹³ -tɕ ^h ien ⁴⁴
miao-front
'Miaoqian village' | b. 村背
ts ^h un ³⁴ -pi ⁴⁴
village-back
'Cunbei village' |
|---|---|

(15) [HEAD]

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. 石坡头
ɕiaʔpo ³⁴ -t ^h ɛu ⁴⁴
shipo-head
'Shipotou village' | b. 高桥头
kau ³⁴ tɕ ^h ieɛu ⁴⁴ -t ^h ɛu ⁴⁴
gaoqiao-head
'Gaoqiaotou village' |
|---|---|

(16) [DIRECTIONALS]

- 下江东
xa²¹³koŋ³⁴-tuŋ³⁴
xiajiang-east
'Xiajiangdong village'

10.5 Conclusions

Compared with Mandarin, the Yichun language has a larger inventory of postpositions, which include both monosyllabic and disyllabic ones. A further structural distinction between N-localizer and localizer-N is made, among

which localizer-N is not available in Mandarin. We showed that the monosyllabic postpositions are grammatical and the disyllabic ones are lexical. What is special in Yichun Gan is that postpositions can be used as a part of village names, which is indicative of their nominal feature.

11 Aspectuality

It is commonly agreed that Sinitic languages, such as Mandarin, are languages without tense, as their verbs are not inflected with any overt morphology (Chao 1968; Huang 1998; Lin 2003). The temporal interpretation is dependent on adverbials, viewpoint aspects, modals, discourse information and certain other devices (see Lin 2003 for a comprehensive overview). The Yichun language of Gan Chinese is like other Sinitic languages in this respect. Though lacking overt tense markers, the Yichun language has a rich aspect system, which is able to express the ‘perfective’ or ‘imperfective’ viewpoints of the event expressed by the verb predicate. We adopt the definitions used in Smith (1997:93) that “perfective viewpoints include both endpoints of a situation and imperfective viewpoints focus on stages that are neither initial nor final, excluding endpoints.”

This chapter will examine various perfective and imperfective aspects in the Yichun language. From section 11.1 to 11.5, we will examine perfective viewpoints, which include perfective, perfect, completive, experiential and repetitive aspects. From section 11.6 to 11.9, we will discuss imperfective aspects, including progressive, durative, inchoative and tentative aspects. For ease of exposition, the aspect markers in the Yichun language and Mandarin are listed in Table-11.1. Among these particles, the perfect *-li* is used as a sentence-final particle, whereas the progressive *ts^hœ²¹³* is an aspectual prefix, since it attaches to the left side of the verb, whereas all the other aspect markers serve as aspectual suffixes by attaching to the right side of the verb.

Tab.11-1: Aspectual markers in Yichun Gan and Mandarin

	Yichun Gan		Mandarin	
Perfective	哩	V-li	了	V-le
Perfect	哩	S-li	了	S-le
Completive	刮	V-k ^h uæʔ		
Experiential	过	V-kuo	过	V-guò
Repetitive	过	V-kuo		
Progressive	在	ts ^h œ ²¹³ .V	在	zài-V
Durative	到	V-tau ⁴⁴	着	V-zhe
Inchoative	起来	V-tɕ ^h i ⁴² lœ ⁴⁴	起来	V-qǐlái
Delimitative	下仔	V-xa ⁴² tsiʔ	一下	V-yíxià
Tentative	看得	V-xa ⁴² tsiʔ-k ^h on ⁴⁴ teʔ	Verb reduplication	

11.1 Perfective *-li*

The aspect marker *-li* 哩 functions as a perfective or perfect marker in the Yichun language.¹ These two functions are distinguished by syntactic contexts in which they occur. When the marker *-li* follows the main predicate (verbs or adjectives), it is a perfective marker. It indicates that an event is finished, namely an event with an ending point. When *-li* occurs in the sentence-final position, it is a perfect marker and implies current relevance of the given event (Smith 1997; Comrie 1976). In this section, we only look at the use of *-li* as a perfective aspectual marker. The marker *-li* as a perfective marker presents an event as a simple whole, without regard for its internal make-up (Comrie 1976). Perfective aspect *-li* can apply to events situated in the past, present and the future. These three cases will be exemplified in (1), (2) and (3) respectively.

Both examples in (1) report telic events with a natural ending point: hiring a person (1a) and making a phone call (1b). Granted that Gan Chinese is a tenseless language, the perfective aspect has a past interpretation as its default reading.

(1) a. 易老师啊，你真格请错哩人啊。

iaʔ lau^{42s1}34 a, ni³⁴ tcin³⁴ko tɕhian⁴²ts^ho⁴⁴-li nin⁴⁴ a.
 Yi teacher INTJ 2SG really hire.wrongly-PFV people INTJ
 ‘Mr. Yi, you hired the wrong person.’

b. 晓得哦，我打哩电话得渠。

ciɛu⁴²tɕʔ o, ŋo³⁴ ta⁴²⁻³³-li t^hien²¹³⁻²¹fa tɕ⁴² kiɛ³⁴.
 know INTJ 1SG hit-PFV telephone DAT 3SG
 ‘(I) know. I made a phone call to him.’

In the two examples in (1), the speech time overlaps with the reference time. The marker *-li* in (1) indicates activities that have happened before the speech time. In other words, the speaker refers back to some previous event in the discourse or the current situation. In these two cases, the perfective *-li* behaves like a past tense marker.

The reference time does not overlap with the speech time all the time. It can be expressed by another verb predicate or some temporal adverbials, as illus-

¹ We follow Chen (2006) in assuming that the perfective/perfect aspectual marker *-li* in the Yichun language develops from the directional verb *læ*⁴⁴ 来 ‘come’, as in the Ningbo dialect of Wu Chinese (see Mei Tsu-Lin 1981).

trated in (c). The example in (c) means that the action of giving 600 Yuan precedes the event of his departure. It marks anteriority of events.

c. 渠临走格时候, 拿哩 600 块钱生活费。

kie³⁴ lin⁴⁴ tseu⁴² ko ɕi⁴⁴xiɛu
3SG near leave MOD time
laʔ-li luʔ paʔ k^huai⁴²ts^hien⁴⁴ sen³⁴fœʔ fi⁴⁴.
give-PFV six hundred Chinese Yuan living expenses

‘Before his departure, he gave 600 Yuan as the living expenses (for his son).’

The event expressed by *li*-marked verbs does not necessarily express past tense. Both sentences in (2) are imperatives, so *V-li* falls into a temporal frame of the present. Take (2a) for example. There are two events involved: one is to finish the homework and the other is to go to sleep. The marker *-li* simply indicates that the event of finishing the homework should happen before the event of going to bed, but neither has yet taken place.

(2) a. 做完哩作业再去晒诶。

tsɿ⁴⁴uon⁴⁴-li tsoʔnieʔ tsoɛ⁴⁴ tɕ^hie⁴⁴ k^hun⁴⁴ ɛ.
finish-PFV homework then go sleep INTJ
‘Finish the homework before going to bed.’

b. 快吃。吃哩饭, 快来。

k^huai⁴⁴ tɕ^hiaʔ. tɕ^hiaʔ-li fan²¹³ k^huai⁴⁴ lœ⁴⁴.
fast eat eat-PFV meal fast come
‘Go and eat! Come (to work) after finishing your meal.’

In (3), the temporal reference of activity expressed by the *li*-marked verb is located in the future, which can be expressed in irrealis sentences, such as the conditional clause in (3a) or by temporal adverbials, such as *mian⁴⁴niʔ* ‘tomorrow’ in (3b). It is more like a sequencing use of the perfective aspect where one event is backgrounded by another (see Li et al 1982; Longacre 1983).

(3) a. 伽要出哩事遮么办?

ka³⁴ iɛu³⁴ tɕ^hyʔ-li sɿ²¹³ tɕia³⁴mo p^han²¹³?
then if happen-PFV thing how deal:with
‘What if something happens?’

b. 明日赚哩发仔钱，就付发仔工资把渠。

mian⁴⁴ŋi[?] ts^han²¹³⁻²¹-li fa[?]tsi[?] ts^hien⁴⁴,
 tomorrow make-PFV a bit money
 tɕ^hiu²¹³ fu²¹³⁻²¹ fa[?]tsi[?] kuŋ³⁴tsɿ³⁴ pa⁴² kie³⁴.
 then pay a bit salary DAT 3SG

‘In the future when we make some money, we can pay her some salary.’

11.2 Perfect *-li*

A second use of the particle *-li* is found in the sentence-final position, where it is a perfect aspect marker, which is characterized by “current relevance”.² According to Smith (1997:146), the perfect aspect has three characterizing properties: (i) the situation described by the verb precedes Reference Time; (ii) the construction has a resultative stative viewpoint, and (iii) a special property is ascribed to the subject, due to participation in the situation. By “current relevance”, we mean that the perfect *-li* implies that the event or situation coded by the predicate is related to the subject in that it focuses attention on the resulting state rather than on the occurrence itself.

Like the perfective *-li*, the reference time of the perfect *-li* can be past, present or future, as illustrated in (4) to (6) respectively.³

(4) 你还蛮有本事格，安徽格都给你 □得回来哩。

ŋi³⁴ xai⁴⁴ man⁴⁴ iu⁴² pun⁴²sɿ²¹³ kie,
 2SG FOC very have skill INTJ
 ŋon³⁴fi³⁴ ko tu³⁴ kie⁴² ŋi³⁴ tia[?]tɕ[?] fi⁴⁴lœ li.
 Anhui MOD even PASS 2SG cheat back PRF

‘You’re really experienced in fooling around with girls! You’ve hooked up even with an Anhui girl.’

² In some Sinitic languages, there are two different morphemes to realize the two aspects, perfective and perfect. For example in the *Fuyang* dialect of Wu Chinese (the mother tongue of the author), the perfective marker is expressed by *-le?* 勒 and the perfective by *-die* 嘢. A more radical case is the Waxiang or Xianghua language (Chappell & Wu 2008), where there is only the sentence-final perfect marker, but no perfective marker after predicates. The term ‘current relevance’ was coined by Li and Thompson (1981).

³ Note that the sentence-final *-li* does not always occur as the very final element in a sentence. Sometimes, they can be followed by certain interjection particles, such as /ɛ/ in (5).

The utterance of (5a) can be used to make a comment on an event in process, e.g. when the students are the midst of reading out loud the Latin-based Pinyin alphabet. This means the utterance is situated in a present-time framework. Similarly, example (5b) can have the reading that the person leading the goat is coming over towards the speaker at the time of speech.

- (5) a. 今日格拼音字母，比昨日读得熟悉多哩诶。

tɕia³⁴ ko p^hin³⁴in³⁴ ts^hɿ²¹³mu⁴²
 today MOD Pinyin alphabet
 pi⁴² ts^hoŋ^ɿŋi[?] t^hu[?] tɛ[?] ɕiu[?]si[?] to³⁴ li ɛ.
 compare yesterday read PRT fluently more PRF INTJ
 ‘Today the Pinyin alphabet is being read more fluently than yesterday.’

- b. 牵里头羊仔过来哩。

ɕien³⁴-li t^hɛu⁴⁴ ion⁴⁴-tsi[?] kuo⁴⁴lɕe li.
 pull-PFV CL goat-DIM come PRF
 ‘(He is) coming over and leading a goat’

The two examples in (6) are characterized as irrealis contexts. (6a) is in future tense, as expressed by the temporal adverbial phrase *kuo⁴⁴ lion⁴²t^hien³⁴* ‘in two days’ while (6b) is a conditional and *V-li* is the predicate of the consequence clause.

- (6) a. 过两天就满 19 岁哩。

kuo⁴⁴ lion⁴² t^hien³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ mon⁴² ɕi[?]tɕiu⁴² si⁴⁴ li.
 pass several days FOC reach nineteen age PRF
 ‘(She will) become nineteen years old in a few days.’

- b. 你会唱，棱个猪呀也会上树哩。

ŋi³⁴ ui²¹³ tɕ^hion⁴⁴, len³⁴ ko tɕy³⁴ ia ia⁴² ui²¹³ ɕion²¹³ tɕ^hy²¹³⁻²¹ li.
 2SG can sing DEM CL pig INTJ also can ascend tree PRF
 If you can sing, then that pig can climb a tree.’

Although both the perfect *-li* and the perfective *-li* can be situated in the same array of time frames, they are different in current relevance. The sentence final *-li* is characterized by continued relevance to the speaker in the given time perspective. By contrast, the perfective *-li* does not have this kind of implication. For example, by uttering the sentence in (5a) with sentence final *-li*, the speaker wants to intentionally share the information with the hearer that the children

are making progress, since she hopes to get some comments back from him. This sentence is followed by the comment made by the hearer of: “Great! Not only do they need to know how to read, but also how to write”. The use of the sentence-final *li* in (6a) implies that the age of nineteen is important in some way to the interlocutors. In fact, the speaker wants to convince the hearer that his girlfriend will soon become an adult, so they can get married legally (which is possible from the age of 18), as inferred from the larger context.

This kind of implication for the sentence-final perfective marker is expressed overtly by some subsequent clauses. Some more examples are given in (7).

(7) a. 里领衣服烂刮哩，穿不得哩。

li⁴²⁻³³ lian⁴² i³⁴fu? lan²¹³⁻²¹-k^huæ?li, tɕ^hion³⁴-pi?-tɕ? li.
DEM CL shirt worn:out-COMPL-PRF wear-NEG-can PRF
‘This shirt is worn out and should not be worn any more.’

b. 渠已经出门哩，你不着打电话去。

kie³⁴ i⁴²tɕin³⁴ tɕ^hy?men⁴⁴ li, ɲi³⁴ pi?tɕ^hio? ta⁴² t^hien²¹³⁻²¹fa tɕ^hie⁴⁴.
3SG already leave PRF 2SG NEG.need make telephone go
‘He’s already gone out. You do not need to call (his home).’

The difference between perfective and perfect *li* can also be captured by the two simple sentences in (8).

(8) a. 我吃哩饭。

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hia?-li fan²¹³.
1SG eat-PFV meal
‘I ate the meal.’

b. 我吃饭哩。

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hia? fan²¹³ li.
1SG eat meal PRF
‘I ate the meal.’ OR ‘I have started to eat a meal.’

The sentence (8a) with the perfective *li* exclusively presents a telic event, meaning the event of having a meal is finished. By way of contrast, (8b) with a sentence-final *li* either means that I finished having the meal (consequence: so I do not need to eat anything more) or that I have started to eat a meal. In the second reading, the perfect *li* in (8b) emphasizes the coming into a new state, namely,

the inchoative meaning, especially when it follows stative verbs or directional verbs.

Since these two *li* have distinct grammatical functions, they can co-occur as in the construction of “Verb-*li*-Object-*li*”. We term it the “double *li* construction”. Chappell (1986) discusses the “double *le* construction” in Mandarin, and claims that “the meaning of double *le* is shown to be semantically marked through its concomitant expression of the speaker’s viewpoint in terms of an event fulfilling certain expectations in contrast to the use of either verbal *le* or sentential *le* alone, which lack this particular feature of meaning” (ibid: 225). We suggest that this semantic property discussed by Chappell also applies to the double *li* construction in the Yichun language.

Example (9) gives an illustration of the double *li* construction. The perfective -*li* follows the verb *tʰiɛʔ* ‘subsidize’ in the subordinated clause. It means that the activity of ‘paying money out of our own pocket’ happened before she made this utterance. In contrast, the perfect *li* at the sentence final position suggests that the speaker intended to make an appeal to the addressee’s awareness of how bad the situation is.

(9) 办哩箇三个零仔月墨，你晓得贴哩几多仔钱进去哩。

p^han²¹³⁻²¹-li ko³⁴ san³⁴ ko⁴⁴ lian⁴⁴ tsiʔ nyœʔ mɛ,
run-PFV DEM three CL more DIM month INTJ
ŋi³⁴ ɕiɛu⁴²tɛʔ tʰiɛʔ-li tɕi⁴²to³⁴-tsiʔ tsʰien⁴⁴ tsin⁴⁴tɕʰiɛ li.
you know subsidize-PFV how:much-DIM money enter PRF

‘(We) ran the school for three months, and would you have any idea of how much money we paid out of our own pocket.’

Although the double *li* construction in Yichun has the same semantic effect as the double *le* construction in Mandarin, there is a striking difference between them concerning the co-occurrence of the particles. In Mandarin, it is obligatory to use both postverbal and sentential *le* to achieve the special semantic effect that we discussed above. For example, out of the blue, (10a) is infelicitous without a continuing clause or without adding sentential *le*. Compare (10a) with (10b-c).

(10) a. # 我已经到了北京。

[Mandarin]

wǒ yǐjīng dào-le Běijīng.
1SG already arrive-PFV Beijing.
Intended: ‘I have arrived in Beijing.’

b. 我已经到了北京，就不会再回去了。

wǒ yǐng dào-le Běijīng.

1SG already arrive-PFV Beijing

jiù bù huì zài huíqù le

FOC NEG will again return PRF

'Since I arrived in Beijing, I will not go back.'

c. 我已经到了北京了。

wǒ yǐng dào-le Běijīng le.

1SG already arrive-PFV Beijing PRF

'I have arrived in Beijing.'

In contrast, the Yichun language can simply use the perfective *-li* in simple sentences to achieve the same effect as the double *li* construction does.

Context: you are asked by the teacher to come to see him in the office. One of your classmates asked whether you went or not, and you replied as follows:

(11) a. 我正去哩诶。 (Yichun)

ŋo³⁴ tɕian⁴⁴ tɕiɛ²¹³ li ɛ.

1SG just go PRF INTJ

'I have just gone (to his office).'

b. # 我刚才去了。 (Mandarin)

wǒ gāngcái qù le.

1SG just go PRF

Intended: 'I have just gone (to his office).'

c. 我刚才去过了。 (Mandarin)

wǒ gāngcái qù-guò le.

1SG just go-EXP PRF

'I have just gone (to his office).'

The example (11a) shows that the use of perfective *-li* does not require the co-occurrence of the perfect *li* or a continuous clause to form a complex sentence. By contrast, the Mandarin perfective counterpart *le* is infelicitous without a continuing sentence or the accompanying of the experiential *kuo*⁴⁴, as shown in (11b-c).

Sometimes, when the verb predicate happens to be the last constituent in a clause, it is difficult to tell whether the sentential final *li* is the perfective or perfect *li*. See (12) for an illustration.

(12) a. 我回来哩耶。

ŋo³⁴ fi⁴⁴lœ li ε.
1SG return PRF INTJ
'I'm home!'

OR 'I'm on the way home!'

b. 饭我吃哩啲。

fan²¹³ ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hia? li io.
meal 1SG eat PRF INTJ
'As for a meal, I've had one now.'

We consider the marker *li* in (12) to be a perfect marker, since those sentences imply some current relevance to the speaker. In (12a), the speaker expected someone to come to talk with him when he came back home, and (12b) implies that you do not have to invite me for any meals.

11.3 Completive -k^huæ?

In the Yichun language, the semantic notions of termination and completion are distinguished syntactically. As we showed in §1, the termination of an event is primarily expressed by the perfective *li*, which implies that the endpoint of a telic event has been reached. Additionally, the Yichun language has a completive aspect, which emphasizes the completion of an event, namely, the action affecting the object of an event is fully accomplished (in all its stages). As the name itself suggests, this aspect marker is derived from words that have the lexical meaning of 'completion'.⁴ In the Yichun language, the completive mark-

⁴ In Mandarin, the completive aspect is usually expressed by resultative complement constructions "Verb+Resultative Complement", such as *xǐwán*_{wash-finish} *yīfú*_{clothes} 洗完衣服 'finished washing the clothes' (Xiao and McEney 2004: 159). However, the lexical item *wán* 'finish' in Mandarin is still a resultative complement and it has not been grammaticalized into a full-fledged completive aspect, since it can also be used independently as a verb. In many other Sinitic languages, some resultative complements undergo further grammaticalization and they can be used as completive markers, such as *t^ho?* 脱 'drop' in Shanghainese or *ka* 解 (sometimes it is written as 咖) in Xiang (Wu 2005).

er is expressed by $k^h u\text{æ}\text{ʔ}$. Some speakers pronounce it as $p^h u\text{æ}\text{ʔ}$ alternatively. We suggest that this aspect marker may develop from the verb 刮, which is pronounced as $k^h ua\text{ʔ}$ in the verb phrase $k^h ua\text{ʔ} p^h i^{44}$ 刮皮 ‘peel off’ (it has a non-aspirated pronunciation $kua\text{ʔ}$ in 刮风 ‘blow wind’).⁵

The completive marker $k^h u\text{æ}\text{ʔ}$ cannot be used as a predicate independently. It is a bound morpheme in that it can only be suffixed to a main verb or adjective. It expresses the grammatical meaning that the activity is completed. Consider the examples in (13).

(13) a. 在身上揩刮下仔就吃。

ts^hœ²¹³ cɪn³⁴ -cɪŋ k^hai³⁴-k^huæ^ʔ-xa⁴²tsi^ʔ tɕ^hiu²¹³⁻²¹ tɕ^hia^ʔ.
 LOC body-on wipe-COMPL-DELIM FOC eat
 ‘(He) ate it, after having wiped it on his shirt.’

b. 第一天就报刮 15 个人。

t^hi²¹³-i^ʔ t^hien³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ pau⁴⁴-k^huæ^ʔ ci^ʔŋ⁴² ko⁴⁴ ŋin⁴⁴.
 first day FOC enroll-COMPL fifteen CL people
 ‘On the first day, fifteen people have been enrolled.’

The perfective *-li* is not needed when the completive $-k^h u\text{æ}\text{ʔ}$ is in use, since the completion of an event expressed by $-k^h u\text{æ}\text{ʔ}$ includes its endpoint as well. For example, in (13a), the verb $-k^h ai^{34}$ ‘wipe’ is modified by the aspect marker $-k^h u\text{æ}\text{ʔ}$ to express the meaning of “wiping off all the dust on the pear”. When the dust is wiped off, then the activity of wiping is ended. Therefore, the completive aspect also includes a kind of perfective viewpoint à la Smith (1997) as part of its meaning.

If the perfective *-li* co-occurs with completive $-k^h u\text{æ}\text{ʔ}$, the completive $-k^h u\text{æ}\text{ʔ}$ must be under the scope of the perfective *-li*, not vice versa. See (14) for an illustration.

(14) a. 啊? 离刮哩婚啊?

a? li⁴⁴-k^huæ^ʔ-li-fun³⁴ a?
 ah divorce-COMPL-PFV-marriage INTJ
 ‘Really? Got divorced?’

⁵ Many thanks to Mr. Liu Xing, a native speaker of the Binjiang variant of the Yichun language, for bringing this point to my attention (personal communication, September 2016).

b. 房子做哩，账也还刮哩。

fɔŋ⁴⁴tsɿ tsɿ⁴⁴-li, tɕioŋ⁴⁴ ia⁴² uan⁴⁴-k^huæʔ-li.
house make-PRF debt also pay:off-COMPL-PRF
'The house was built and the debts were paid off.'

c. 渠到屋里跟别只女客人好刮哩。

kiɛ³⁴ tau⁴⁴ uʔli kien³⁴ p^hiɛʔ tɕiaʔ ny⁴²k^haʔŋin⁴⁴ xau⁴²-k^huæʔ-li.
3SG LOC home-in with another CL woman good-COMPL-PRF
'He had an affair with another woman at home.'

Although both the perfective *li* and the completive *k^huæʔ* contribute towards the expression of a telic event, it is clear that they express distinct semantic functions.

First, the completive *k^huæʔ* usually (but not necessarily) has the negative connotation of getting lost, dropped, depleted etc. This negative connotation is also shared by the completive marker *-ka* in Xiang dialects (see Wu 2005). As we can see in the examples in (15), the verbs that go with *k^huæʔ* include *drop*, *fly*, *wipe*, *remove* and so on.

(15) a. 哦一撞，结果帽子也跌刮哩嚟。

o iʔ ts^hoŋ²¹³, tɕiɛʔkuo⁴² mau²¹tsɿ ia⁴² tiɛʔ-k^huæʔ-li mɛ.
Oh one knock as:a:result hat also fall-COMPL-PFV INTJ
'Oh, (he) was knocked off, as a result, the hat fell off.'

b. 捡起来哩，把箇只石头也搬刮哩。

tɕien⁴²⁻³³tɕ^hi lœ li, pa⁴² ko³⁴ tɕiaʔ ɕiaʔteu ia⁴² pon³⁴-k^huæʔ-li.
pick:up PRF OM this CL stone also carry-COMPL-PRF
'Picked it up and also carried away the stone.'

When the verb *tɕiɛʔfun³⁴* 'marry' is suffixed with *k^huæʔ*, it implies a negative connotation that the speaker did not expect the bride to get married.

(16) 渠昨日结刮哩婚。

kiɛ³⁴ ts^hoʔniʔ tɕiɛʔ-k^huæʔ-li-fun³⁴.
3SG yesterday marry-COMPL-PFV-marriage
'(It was a pity that) she got married yesterday.'

Second, for transitive verbs with object, the completive aspect marker *k^huæʔ* emphasizes completion in the sense of using up all the theme of the event, as

expressed by the object of verb, if not completely affecting it, and that the perfective aspect marker *-li* emphasizes the ending point of an event along the dimension of time.

The sentence (17a) with the perfective *-li* simply means that he did (some of) the homework, but it might be the case that he did not finish it all. In contrast, the sentence (17b) with the completive marker *-k^huæʔ* means that all the homework was completed. Clearly, *-k^huæʔ* is more lexical in nature.

(17) a. 我做哩作业。

ŋo³⁴ tsɿ⁴⁴-li tsoʔniɛʔ.
1SG do-PFV homework
'I did the homework.'

b. 我做刮哩作业。

ŋo³⁴ tsɿ⁴⁴-k^huæʔ-li tsoʔniɛʔ.
1SG do-COMPL-PFV homework
'I finished the homework.'

The similar contrast also holds in (18), irrespective of the temporal difference that the events in (17) are expressed in the past but in the future for (18). (18a) will be true even if I only eat some of my dinner before I go while (18b) will only be true if I finish all my dinner then go.

(18) a. 我吃哩饭再来。

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hiaʔ-li fan²¹³ tsœ⁴⁴ loɛ⁴⁴.
1SG eat-PFV meal then come
'I'll come after I eat my dinner.'

b. 我吃刮饭再来。

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hiaʔ-k^huæʔ fan²¹³ tsœ⁴⁴ loɛ⁴⁴.
1SG eat-COMPL meal then come
'I will come after I finish my dinner.'

The meaning of accomplishing, completing or finishing up is more evident when the verb takes a numeral classifier phrase as complement. The relevant examples are given in (19) and (20).

(19) a. 一工走哩三十里路。

iʔ kur³⁴ tseu⁴²⁻³³-li san³⁴ciʔ li⁴² lu²¹³.
 one day walk-PFV thirty mile road
 'One walked thirty miles a day.'

b. 一工走刮三十里路。

iʔ kur³⁴ tseu⁴²-k^huæʔ san³⁴ciʔ li⁴² lu²¹³.
 one day walk-COMPL thirty mile road
 'One finished walking thirty miles a day.'

(20) a. 一天花哩 300 块钱。

iʔ t^hien³⁴ fa³⁴-li san³⁴ paʔ k^hai⁴² ts^hien⁴⁴.
 one day spend-PFV three hundred YUAN money
 'One spent three hundred yuan a day.'

b. 一天花刮 300 块钱。

iʔ t^hien³⁴ fa³⁴-k^huæʔ san³⁴ paʔ k^hai⁴² ts^hien⁴⁴.
 one day spend-COMPLE three hundred YUAN money
 'One used up three hundred yuan a day.'

In addition to the difference between termination and completion, the two groups of examples in (19) and (20) are also different in their pragmatic implication. The examples with the perfective *-li*, such as (19a) and (20a), express the events in a neutral manner, while those with *k^huæʔ* in (19b-20b) express the meaning of excessiveness. (19b) has the implication that to walk thirty miles a day is far too much. (20b) implicates that to spend 300 yuan a day is too much, exceeding the expectation of the speaker. In contrast to this, (19a-20a) do not have such implications.

11.4 Experiential and repetitive -kuo⁴⁴

This section will discuss the marker -kuo⁴⁴ in the Yichun language, which is written as 过 *kuò* in Chinese character script. The morpheme 过 is found in many Sinitic languages, which has different phonetic representations, such as *guò* in Mandarin, *ku* in Wu (the Fuyang variant), *kuo⁴⁴* in Gan and *gwoh³³* in Cantonese. However, the range of uses expressed by this morpheme 过 is different from language to language. For example, in Mandarin, *guò* can be a perfective or experiential aspect marker; in many Wu, Yue and Hakka dialects, it can be used as an experiential or repetitive aspect marker. The marker *kuo⁴⁴* in the

Yichun language patterns with these southern dialect groups and not with Mandarin, functioning as both an experiential aspect marker and a repetitive marker.

In the literature on Chinese linguistics, it is commonly agreed that the aspectual use of *-kuo* evolves from its use as a verb, meaning ‘pass by’ or ‘cross’. We will not attempt to give a detailed diachronic analysis about how the spatial meaning of *kuo*⁴⁴ can be mapped onto the temporal meaning in the Yichun language. We only show that the morpheme *kuo*⁴⁴ can be used as a verb or in verb compounds in Yichun. The relevant examples are given in (21).

(21) a. 你看到只细伢俚在你箇里过么?

nɿ³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴tau tɕia? si⁴⁴ŋa⁴⁴li ts^hœ²¹³ nɿ³⁴ ko³⁴li kuo⁴⁴ mo?
 2SG see CL little kid LOC you here pass Q
 ‘Did you see a kid passing by here?’

b. 明日就带渠过来谈。

mian⁴⁴nɿ? tɕ^hiu²¹³ tai⁴⁴ kiɛ³⁴ kuo⁴⁴ lœ ɛ.
 tomorrow FOC take 3SG pass come INTJ
 ‘I will accompany her over here tomorrow.’

The first case to be considered is the use of *-kuo* as an experiential aspect marker. **Experiential aspect** expresses events that occur at least once before a certain reference time (Comrie 1976: 58-59). For example, the use of *-kuo* in (22a) only requires that the headmaster has the experience of meeting Mr. Yi, but it does not matter how many times the event of meeting has happened.⁶ It corresponds closely to the experiential meaning of the present perfect in English.

(22) a. 官员：李校长找过 / 哩你吧?

Official: li⁴² xau²¹³tɕion⁴² tsau⁴²⁻³³-kuo/-li nɿ³⁴ pa?
 Li headmaster seek-EXP/-PRF 2SG INTJ

Official: ‘Has Mr. Li come to talk with you?’

易老师：找过 / 哩。

Yi: tsau⁴²⁻³³-kuo/ -li.
 seek-EXP/-PRF

Yi: ‘Yes, he has.’

⁶ ‘Experiential aspect’ does not always have ‘experiencers’ as the subject of the verb it marks. For example, in both examples in (22), the verbs are activity verbs and the subject is the agent instead of an experiencer.

b. 前两年, 在我学堂教过课格啦, 教过学前班格。

ts^hien⁴⁴ lion⁴² nien⁴⁴, ts^hœ²¹³ ŋo³⁴ xoʔt^hoŋ⁴⁴ kau⁴⁴-kuo
 before two years LOC 1SG school teach-EXP
 k^ho⁴² kiɛ la, kau⁴⁴-kuo xoʔts^hien⁴⁴ pan³⁴ ko.
 class AFFM INTJ teach-EXP kindergarten AFFM

‘Two years ago, (she) has taught in my school, taught the kindergarten.’

The event or state expressed by the experiential *-kuo* may happen several times, with respect to a particular reference time. In other words, it is repeatable. When B is an affirmative answer as in (23), the *V-kuo* can be followed by Numeral-Classifier, e.g. *san³⁴ ts^hi²¹³* ‘three times’, which indicates the number of times for a repetitive event; when it is a negative answer, a special negative particle *mau³⁴* is used in (23B), meaning ‘have not’.

(23) A: 你去过北京么?

A: ŋi³⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴-kuo pɛʔtɕin³⁴ mo?
 2SG go-EXP Beijing Q

A: ‘Have you been to Beijing?’

B: 我去过三次。/我有去过。

B: ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴-kuo san³⁴ ts^hi²¹³. / ŋo³⁴ mau³⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ kuo.
 1SG go-EXP three times 1SG NEG.HAVE go EXP

B: ‘I’ve been there three times.’/ ‘I’ve never been there.’

The experiential *-kuo⁴⁴* is similar to the completive *-k^huæʔ* in that both can be followed by the perfect marker *-li*. Their difference lies in the fact that *-kuo⁴⁴* is concerned with the result associated with an event holding or not, and that *li* is concerned with an event being completely finished or not.

The co-occurrence of *-kuo⁴⁴* and *-li* in (24a) means termination (having done an event in the past) but not completion, so that it can take a second clause, e.g., I did not work it out’. The co-occurrence of *-k^huæʔ* and *-li* in (24b) means completion, so it is infelicitous to follow with the second clause expressing incompleteness.

(24) a. 筒只题目我做过哩, 冇做出来。

ko³⁴ tɕiaʔ t^hi⁴⁴ muʔ ŋo³⁴ tsɿ⁴⁴-kuo-li, man³⁴ tsɿ⁴⁴ tɕ^hyʔlœ⁴⁴.
 this CL exercise 1SG do-EXP-PFV NEG.HAVE work:out

‘This exercise, I have tried it, but I did not work it out.’

b. 箇只题目我做刮哩，#做不出来。

ko³⁴ tɕiaŋ tʰi⁴⁴muŋ ŋo³⁴ tsɿ⁴⁴-k^huæŋ-li, # tsɿ⁴⁴-piŋ-tɕ^hyŋlœ⁴⁴.

this CL exercise 1SG do-COMPL-PFV work-NEG-out

Lit: 'I did this exercise, but I did not work it out.'

In addition to the experiential use, *-kuo⁴⁴* in the Yichun language also has a **repetitive aspect** use in the sense that an action is required to be carried out once again. The repetitive *-kuo⁴⁴* differs from the experiential *-kuo⁴⁴* in that the activity will take place in the future and not in the past. In other words, the experiential and repetitive aspects differ in their reference time: the reference time for the experiential aspect is in the past, whereas that of the repetitive aspect is in the future.

(25) a. 饭都不要多煮发仔。慢仔夜里我又要煮过啰。

fan²¹³ tu³⁴ piŋ iɛu⁴⁴ to³⁴ tɕy⁴² faŋtsiŋ.

rice FOC NEG want more cook bit

man⁴²tsiŋ ia²¹³⁻²¹li ŋo³⁴ iu²¹³ iɛu⁴⁴ tɕy⁴²-kuo lo.

later night 1SG again will cook-REP INTJ

'(She) did not even cook more rice. Later in the evening, I will have to cook the rice again!'

b. 正话错哩，我话过一下。

tɕiaŋ⁴⁴ ua²¹³-ts^ho⁴⁴-li, ŋo³⁴ ua²¹³⁻²¹-kuo iŋxa.

just:now say-wrong-PRF 1SG say-REP once

'I said it wrong. I'll say it again.'

So far, we have discussed the aspect markers which express perfective viewpoints in the Yichun language. From Section 5 on, we will turn our attention to its imperfective aspect markers.

11.5 Progressive *-ts^hœ²¹³*

The progressive aspect expresses an on-going activity at a particular time. It emphasizes the dynamic process of an activity. In the Yichun language, the progressive aspect is expressed by *-ts^hœ²¹³* 在, which literally means 'be located in/at/on...' The progressive *-ts^hœ²¹³* is the only aspect marker that precedes the main verb, as opposed to those following the verb. Look at (26) for an illustration.

(26) a. 箇只男客人还在摘水果，一只只在摘呵。

ko³⁴ tɕia? lan⁴⁴k^ha?ŋin xai⁴⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ tsa? ɕy⁴²⁻³³kuo⁴²
 DEM CL man still PROG pick fruit
 i? tɕia? tɕia? ts^hœ²¹³ tsa? ɛ.
 one CL CL PROG pick INTJ
 ‘This man is picking the fruit, picking it one by one.’

b. 你莫话事，渠在打电话。

ŋi³⁴ mo? ua²¹³s¹²¹³. kie³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ ta⁴² t^hien²¹³⁻²¹fa.
 2SG NEG talk 3SG PROG make telephone
 ‘Please keep quiet. He is making a phone call.’

c. 遮么只细人仔又在吃东西哦?

tɕia³⁴mo tɕia? si⁴⁴ŋin⁴⁴tɕi? iu²¹³ ts^hœ²¹³ tɕ^hia? tun³⁴si o?
 how CL child again PROG eat thing INTJ
 ‘How come the child is eating again?’

Presumably, the progressive marker *-ts^hœ²¹³* is derived from its locative or spatial meaning (see Chapter 11 for its spatial use). As a result, a locative complement can always be added after the marker *-ts^hœ²¹³*. So to speak, the expression *ts^hœ²¹³+NP* can also express progressive meanings when they precede the main verb. In the examples of (27), we can already see the dual functions of *-ts^hœ²¹³*, both spatial and temporal.

(27) a. 咖就正好，在路上走格时候，.....

ka³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ tɕin⁴⁴xau⁴² ts^hœ²¹³ lu²¹³⁻²¹ ɕion tɕeu⁴² ko ɕi⁴⁴xiɛu
 then FOC right LOC road on walk MOD moment
 ‘Well then, when he is walking on the road...’

b. 易老师，你大哥在棱里打起来哩，打架。

ia? lau⁴²s¹³⁴, ŋi³⁴ t^hai²¹³ko³⁴
 Yi teacher you elder:brother
 ts^hœ²¹³ len³⁴li ta⁴²⁻³³.tɕ^hilœ-li, ta⁴²ka⁴⁴.
 LOC there fight-INCHO-PRF fight
 ‘Mr. Yi, your elder brother is fighting with others, fighting.’

11.6 Durative *-tau*⁴⁴

The durative aspect expresses the lasting or continuation of a state resulting from some action. Many Indo-European languages only have progressive markers but no durative aspect markers. On the contrary, a majority of Sinitic languages make a distinction between progressive and durative aspects (Wang 2014). This is the case for the Yichun language which uses the morpheme *-tau*⁴⁴ 到 to express the durative aspect.

The durative marker *-tau*⁴⁴ can be used in two different contexts. In the first case, *V-tau*⁴⁴ functions as the main predicate of the clause, emphasizing the lasting nature of a state or a result.

(28) a. 都十点钟哩，商店门还关到。

tu³⁴ ɕi? tien⁴² tɕiəŋ³⁴ li, tɕ^hiəŋ³⁴ tien⁴⁴ men⁴⁴ xai⁴⁴ kuan³⁴-tau.
 FOC ten o'clock PRF shop door still close-DUR
 'It is ten o'clock already. The doors of the shops are still closed.'

b. 箇盆水，你端到，莫倒刮哩。

ko³⁴ p^hun⁴⁴ ɕy⁴², ŋi³⁴ tœ?⁴⁴-tau, mo? tau⁴⁴-k^huæ? li.
 this CL_{basin} water 2SG carry-DUR NEG topple-COMPL PRF
 'Keep holding this basin of water. Do not let it spill over.'

c. 田里土里格事等到要做，快来。

t^hien⁴⁴-li- t^hu⁴²-li- ko s^r213 ten⁴²⁻³³-tau iəu⁴⁴ ts^r1⁴⁴, k^huai⁴⁴ lœ⁴⁴.
 field-in-soil-in- MOD thing wait-DUR want do fast come
 'The work in the field is waiting to be done. Please come soon.'

The second case is that *V-tau*⁴⁴ can act as an adverbial phrase expressing the manner of the action. The examples are given in (29). The example (29a) is a local proverb, which means that someone is careless or muddled.

(29) a. 关到牛寻牛。

kuan³⁴-tau ŋiu⁴⁴ ts^hin⁴⁴ ŋiu⁴⁴.
 close-DUR cow look:for cow
 'Look for the cattle, while keeping the cattle in the stalls.'

b. 哦，是只伶俐仔，坐到自行车过来哩。

o ɕi²¹³⁻²¹ tɕia? ŋa⁴⁴li-tsi? ts^ho²¹³⁻²¹-tau ts^hr²¹³ɕin⁴⁴tɕ^hia³⁴ kuo⁴⁴lœ li.
 oh be CL boy-DIM ride-DUR bike come PRF
 'Oh, it is a boy, (he) comes over by riding a bicycle.'

The durative marker is expressed by *-zhe* 着 in Mandarin. In addition to the two situations above, the Mandarin *zhe* has a third use in existential sentences, namely, in the construction of PP+V-DUR+NP. However, the counterpart in the Yichun language is not felicitous. Compare (30a) with (30b).

- (30) a. 墙上挂着一幅画。 [Mandarin]
 Qiáng shàng guà-zhe yī fú huà.
 wall on hang-DUR one CL painting
 ‘On the wall hangs a painting.’
- b.* 墙上挂到一幅画。 [Yichun]
 *tɕ^hioŋ⁴⁴ ɕioŋ²¹³ kua⁴⁴-tau iʔ fu⁴⁴ fa²¹³.
 wall on hang-DUR one CL painting
 ‘On the wall hangs a painting.’

Instead of using the durative *-tau⁴⁴*, the native speakers use the perfective marker *-li* to express durative meanings in existential clauses (cf. Section 1 in this chapter on the perfective meaning of *-li*). Consider (31).

- (31) a. 墙上挂哩一幅画。
 tɕ^hioŋ⁴⁴ ɕioŋ²¹³ kua⁴⁴-li iʔ fu⁴⁴ fa²¹³.
 wall on hang-PFV one CL painting
 ‘On the wall hangs a painting.’
- b. 头上戴哩只红帽子。
 t^heu⁴⁴ ɕioŋ²¹³ tai⁴⁴-li tɕiaʔ fəŋ⁴⁴ mau²¹³⁻²¹tsɿ.
 head on wear-PFV CL red hat
 ‘On his head puts a red hat.’

The use of *-li* in (31) is an extended use of the perfective *-li*. The idea is that the marker *-li* expresses the action of hanging the picture has been done and so now it is in this new state.

11.7 Inchoative -tɕ^hi⁴²lœ⁴⁴ and -xa⁴²lœ⁴⁴

The inchoative aspect expresses the beginning or inception of an action or state, as opposed to the process or result of an activity. In English, this aspect is expressed periphrastically by phrases like “start to...” The Yichun language uses directional elements to express the inchoative meaning when they are used in

the V-directional slot, such as $-t\epsilon^{h^{42}}l\epsilon^{44}$ 起来 rise-come_{DIR} ‘up’ and $-x\alpha^{42}l\epsilon^{44}$ 下来 descend-come_{DIR} ‘down’.

Among these two morphemes, $t\epsilon^{h^{42}}l\epsilon^{44}$ is more grammaticalized than $x\alpha^{42}l\epsilon^{44}$ as an inchoative marker. $T\epsilon^{h^{42}}l\epsilon^{44}$ can combine with different types of predicates, these being adjectives (32a), intransitive verbs (32b) or transitive verbs (32c). In the case of (32c), the object of the transitive verb appears in the middle of the disyllabic inchoative aspect marker, namely, between $t\epsilon^{h^{42}}$ and $l\epsilon^{44}$.

(32) a. 天气热起来哩。

tiɛ³⁴tɛ^{h⁴⁴} niɛʔ-tɛ^{h⁴²}lɛ-li.
weather hot-INCHO-PRF
‘It starts to get hot.’

b. 还有话到两句，就哭起来哩。

xai⁴⁴ maŋ³⁴ ua²¹³⁻²¹-tau lioŋ⁴² tɛy⁴⁴ tɛ^{h⁴²}iu²¹³ k^{h⁴²}uʔ-tɛ^{h⁴²}lɛ-li.
still NEG criticize-DUR two sentence then cry-INCHO-PRF
‘I only criticized her with a few words, then she started to cry.’

c. 渠一个仔唱起歌来哩。

kie³⁴ iʔ-ko⁴⁴-tɛiʔ tɛ^{h⁴²}ioŋ⁴⁴-tɛ^{h⁴²}i⁴²-ko³⁴-lɛ-li.
3SG one-CL-DIM sing-INCHO-song-INCHO-PRF
‘He started to sing songs by himself.’

The inchoative meaning of $x\alpha^{42}l\epsilon^{44}$ is influenced by its lexical meaning of ‘descend’. $X\alpha^{42}l\epsilon^{44}$ is usually employed in cases where a state begins to move in a negative direction along a certain scale, such as a diminution in temperature (33a) or daylight (33b) or a decrease in the quantity of entities, as shown in (33c).

(33) a. 天气凉快下来哩。

t^{h⁴²}ien³⁴tɛ^{h⁴⁴} lioŋ⁴⁴k^{h⁴²}uai-xa⁴²lɛ-li.
weather cool-INCHO-PRF
‘It starts to become cool.’

b. 天暗下来。

tiɛ³⁴ ŋoŋ⁴⁴-xa⁴²lɛ-li.
sky dark-INCHO-PRF
‘The sky starts to become dark.’

c. 天蛮晚哩，街上人少下来哩。

tien³⁴ man⁴⁴ ŋan⁴⁴ li, kai³⁴ ɕion ŋin⁴⁴ ɕiɛu⁴²⁻³³-xa⁴²lɔɛ-li.
 sky quite late PRF street on people few-INCHO-PRF
 'It is getting late. There are fewer and fewer people in the street.'

However, the use of *tɕ^{hi42}lɔɛ⁴⁴* has no such restriction. It is shown in (33) that *tɕ^{hi42}lɔɛ⁴⁴* can be used with predicates that mean either that the temperature starts to warm up or cool down, whereas *xa⁴²lɔɛ⁴⁴* can only express that the weather starts to get cool.

(34)a. 天气热 / 凉快起来哩。

tien³⁴tɕ^{hi44} ŋiɛ? / lion⁴⁴k^huai-tɕ^{hi42}lɔɛ-li.
 weather hot / cool-INCHO_{UP}-PRF
 'It starts to become hot/cool.'

b. 天气*热 / 凉快下来哩。

tien³⁴tɕ^{hi44} *ŋiɛ? / lion⁴⁴k^huai-xa⁴²lɔɛ-li.
 weather hot / cool-INCHO_{DOWN}-PRF
 'It starts to get *hot/cool.'

11.8 Delimitative -xa⁴²tsi? and tentative -xa⁴²tsi?-k^hon⁴⁴tɛ?

The delimitative aspect indicates that an activity is limited in time or that the duration of the event is short. Literally, it expresses the meaning of 'doing something a little bit'. In many Sinitic languages, it is expressed by verb reduplication, in the form of V-V or V-one-V. As we have seen in Chapter 3, verb reduplication in Yichun codes the repetitive meaning of 'keep on VERB-ing again and again' and it uses the form V-V-*tsi?*. However, to express the delimitative meaning, the Yichun language uses the special form of VERB-*xa⁴²tsi?* 'to do something in one go', in which *-tsi?* is a diminutive marker.

(35) a. 你尝下仔，看熟哩么？

ni³⁴ ɕion⁴⁴ xa⁴²tsi?, k^hon⁴⁴ ɕyu?-li mo ?
 2SG taste DELIM see well.cooked-PRF Q
 'Please taste it, to see whether it is well-cooked or not?'

b. 你去问下仔小李。

ni³⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ un⁴²⁻²¹ xa⁴²tsiʔ siɛu⁴²⁻³³li⁴².
 2SG go ask DELIM XiaoLi
 ‘Go and ask XiaoLi.’

c. 你去商店看下仔，看得有卖么？

ni³⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ ɕion³⁴tien⁴⁴ k^hon⁴⁴-xa⁴2tsiʔ k^hon⁴⁴tɛʔ iu⁴² mai²¹³⁻²¹ moʔ
 2SG go shop look-DELIM look have sell Q
 ‘Go to the shop to see whether they sell it.’

The delimitative meaning should be distinguished from the tentative meaning, which expresses the abstract meaning of ‘to try something out’. The tentative aspect in Yichun Gan is built upon the basis of the delimitative aspect. It makes use of the expression of Verb-*xá⁴²tsiʔ-k^hon⁴⁴tɛʔ*, in which the suffix *k^hon⁴⁴tɛʔ*, with the lexical meaning ‘to see’, is attached to the delimitative aspect Verb-*xá⁴²tsiʔ*.

(36)a. 你尝下仔看，看熟哩么？

ni³⁴ ɕion⁴⁴-xa⁴²tsiʔ-k^hon⁴⁴tɛʔ, k^hon⁴⁴ ɕyuʔ-li moʔ
 2SG taste-DELIM-TENT see well.cooked-PRF Q
 ‘Just taste it and see whether it is cooked or not.’

b. 箇只新产品，你卖下仔看得。

ko³⁴ tɕaiʔ sin³⁴ ts^han⁴²⁻³³ p^hin⁴², ni³⁴ mai²¹³⁻²¹-xatsiʔ-k^hon⁴⁴tɛʔ.
 DEM CL new product 2SG sell-DELIM-TENT
 ‘This is a new product. You may try to sell it.’

c. 箇双鞋立^儿你穿下仔看得，大哩还是细哩。

ko³⁴ sor³⁴ xai⁴⁴li ni³⁴ tɕ^hyon³⁴-xa⁴²tsiʔ-k^hon⁴⁴tɛʔ,
 DEM CL_{pair} shoes 2SG wear-DELIM-TENT
 t^hai²¹³⁻²¹-li xai⁴⁴ ɕi²¹³ si²¹³-li.
 big-PRF or small-PRF
 ‘Try this pair of shoes and see whether they are too big or too small.’

11.9 Conclusions

This chapter has presented the aspectual system in Yichun Gan, which is composed of perfective *li*, perfect *li*, completive *k^huæʔ*, experiential *kuo⁴⁴*, repetitive *kuo⁴⁴*, progressive *ts^hœ²¹³*, durative *tau⁴⁴*, inchoative *tɕ^hi⁴²lœ⁴⁴*, delimitative

xɑ⁴²tsiʔ, tentative *k^hon⁴⁴tɛʔ*. Most of these aspect markers develop from motion/stative verbs, except for the completive *k^huæʔ* and the tentative *k^hon⁴⁴tɛʔ*. Regardless of their different lexical sources when compared with the Mandarin counterparts (cf. Table 11-1), they are used in the same syntactic positions, most of which are suffixed to verbs. Two exceptions are the perfect *li*, which appears at the sentence final position and the progressive *ts^hɑ²¹³*, which is prefixed to verbs.

12 Modality

In the Yichun language, there are various ways of expressing modality, such as modal verbs, modal adverbs and the *teʔ* construction. We will make a distinction between ability, possibility and necessity modalities based on the lexical semantics of these expressions. However, we will not try to correlate this kind of lexical classification of modality with the distinction between deontic, epistemic and dynamic modals in any systematic way. The modal verbs and adverbs are listed in Table 12-1.

Tab.12-1: Expressions of modality in Yichun Gan

	Modal verbs	Negation of modal verbs	Modal adverbs
Ability	ui ²¹³ 会 k ^h o ⁴²⁻³³ⁱ⁴² 可以	piʔ-ui ²¹³ 不会	
Volition	ieu ⁴⁴ 要		
Possibility	ui ²¹³ 会	piʔ-teʔ 不得 piʔ-ui ²¹³ 不会	k ^h o ⁴² len ⁴⁴ 可能 p ^h a ⁴⁴ 怕
Permission	k ^h o ⁴²⁻³³ⁱ⁴² 可以	piʔ-k ^h o ⁴²⁻³³ⁱ⁴² 不可以 piʔkœ ³⁴ 不该 piʔ-teyn ⁴² 不准	
Necessity	ieu ⁴⁴ 要 in ⁴⁴ kœ ³⁴ 应该	piʔieu ⁴⁴ 不要	ŋaŋ ²¹ (ɕi ²¹³) 硬(是) iʔt ^h in ²¹³ 一定
Prohibitive		moʔ 莫	

12.1 Modal verbs

As in English, the Yichun language has a small set of modal verbs (or auxiliary verbs) to express different modalities. They behave differently from ordinary verbs. As modal verbs, they can directly take another verb as complement. The main modal verbs we are going to discuss in this section are ui²¹³ 会 ‘can’, k^ho⁴²⁻³³ⁱ⁴² 可以 ‘may’, ieu⁴⁴ 要 ‘want’ and in⁴⁴kœ³⁴ 应该 ‘should’ etc.

12.1.1 Auxiliary verb 1: *ui*²¹³ ‘can/will’

The auxiliary verb *ui*²¹³ either expresses the modality of ability or possibility. It is usually translated by *can* in English for the ability reading and by *will* for the possibility reading. The relevant examples are given in (1) and (2) respectively.

In examples in (1), the modal verb *ui*²¹³ refers to intellectual ability or ability acquired through learning only. Neither can express physical ability. As will be discussed later, the physical ability is expressed by *k^ho*⁴²ⁱ ‘be capable of ...’ or *V-tɛ?* ‘V-can’.

(1) [ability]

a. 诶，易老师，你老婆还会教书呀？

ɛ, ia? lau^{42s1}34, nɿ³⁴ lau⁴²⁻³³p^ho xai⁴⁴ ui²¹³ kau⁴⁴ɕy³⁴ ia?
err Yi teacher, 2SG wife FOC can teach INTJ
‘Err, Mr. Yi, can your wife teach?’

b. 你会不会算嘢？

nɿ³⁴ ui²¹³⁻²¹-pi?-ui²¹³ son⁴⁴ lo?
2SG can-NEG-can calculate INTJ
‘Can you calculate it?’

When *ui*²¹³ is used in examples (2), it functions like a future marker with this possibility reading.

(2) [possibility]

a. 还要饭呐？慢仔会胀到诶。

xai⁴⁴ iɛu⁴⁴ fan²¹³ la? man^{42tsi?} ui²¹³ tɕion⁴⁴tau ɛ.
still want rice INTJ later will over.fill INTJ
‘You still want rice? You’ll stuff yourself.’

b. 我格理想就是当歌星，你觉得我唱得会不好么？

ŋo³⁴ ko li⁴²⁻³³sion⁴² tɕ^{hiu}213 ci²¹³ ton³⁴ ko³⁴sin³⁴,
1SG MOD dream FOC be act singing star
nɿ³⁴ ko?tɛ? ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hion⁴⁴ tɛ? ui²¹³ pi? xau⁴² mo?
2SG think 1SG sing PRT will NEG well Q

‘My dream is to become a pop star. Do you think I won’t sing well enough?’

In addition to the two uses above, *ui*²¹³ in the Yichun language has a counterfactual use, which is not possible for *can* in English or *hui* 会 in Mandarin. Consider the examples in (3), both of which are adapted from our transcribed materials.

(3) a. 吴德贵啊，两年前，就会死去哩。

u⁴⁴ tɛʔ kui⁴⁴ a, lioŋ⁴² ŋien⁴⁴ tʰien⁴⁴, tɕ^hiu²¹³ ui²¹³ sɿ⁴² tɕ^hie li.

Wu DeGui TOP two years ago FOC can die PRF

‘Wu DeGui, he would have passed away two years ago, (according to his given health condition).’

b. 早就会倒刮哩格，你话木结构格东西。

tsau⁴² tɕ^hiu²¹³ ui²¹³ tau⁴² k^huæʔ li kie.

early FOC will collapse-COMPL PRF AFFM

ŋi³⁴ ua²¹³ muʔ tɕieʔkiɛu⁴⁴ ko təŋ³⁴ si.

2SG say wood structure MOD thing

‘It would have collapsed a long time ago (if it were kept). You know, it was made of wood.’

As shown in (3), the modal verb *ui*²¹³ is not restricted to future interpretations. In these two examples, *ui*²¹³ expresses the speaker’s imagination or assumption about the likelihood of a past event in some possible world. The modal verb *ui*²¹³ expresses a subjunctive (counterfactual) meaning, and it can be translated as ‘would have done’. It is part of the irrealis function of *ui*²¹³. By way of contrast, in Mandarin, the counterfactual function is expressed by the modal adverb *kěnéng* 可能 ‘possible’, but not the modal verb *hui* 会.

12.1.2 Auxiliary verb 2: *k^ho*⁴²⁻³³*i*⁴² ‘may’

The modal verb *k^ho*⁴²⁻³³*i*⁴² expresses the modality of ability and permission, but not possibility. In contrast with *ui*²¹³, *k^ho*⁴²⁻³³*i*⁴² is mainly restricted to physical ability, as in (4).¹

¹ The modal verb *len*⁴⁴ 能, a borrowed word from Mandarin, is sometimes used by younger generations, but not in a general fashion. Hence, we will not discuss it here.

(4) [ability]

a. 渠可不可以哦?

kie³⁴ k^ho⁴²-piŋ-k^ho⁴²⁻³³i⁴² o?
 3SG can-NEG-can INTJ
 ‘Is he capable?’

b. 我一餐可以吃两大碗。 [used by young generations only]

ŋo³⁴ iŋ ts^han³⁴ k^ho⁴²⁻³³i⁴² tɕiaŋ lion⁴² t^hai²¹³ uon⁴².
 1SG one time can eat two big CL_{bowl}
 ‘I can eat two big bowls at one sitting /in one go.’

The modal verb *k^ho⁴²⁻³³i⁴²* emphasizes the inherent physical ability of some individual, such as being involved in the activities of eating or walking. We saw in example (1) that the modal verb *ui²¹³* also expresses ability, but we cannot replace *k^ho⁴²⁻³³i⁴²* by *ui²¹³* in example (3a). The modal *ui²¹³* is meant to refer to the ability that is acquired by learning, such as swimming, or speaking English. An alternative way to express the meaning of (4b) is to use the *V-tɕ?* construction, which is a native construction in the Yichun language (see section 12.4 for a detailed discussion).

In addition to modality of ability, *k^ho⁴²⁻³³i⁴²* can also express permission, but *ui²¹³* cannot. Consider the examples in (5).

(5) [permission]

a. 妈妈，我可以去洗冷水澡么?

m⁴²mɛ, ŋo³⁴ k^ho⁴²⁻³³i⁴² tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ si⁴² lan⁴²⁻³³ɕy⁴²⁻³³tsau⁴² mo?
 mum 1SG can go wash swimming Q
 ‘Mum, can I go swimming?’

b. 夜里，我可以出去耍么?

ia²¹li ŋo³⁴ k^ho⁴²⁻³³i⁴² tɕ^hy[?]tɕ^hiɛ sa³³ mo?
 night 1SG can go:out play Q
 ‘Can I go out at night?’

12.1.3 Auxiliary verb 3: *iɛu⁴⁴* ‘want’

Verbs like *iɛu⁴⁴* ‘want’ and *sion⁴²* ‘think, want’ can express volition or desire of the subject, as shown in (6). However, only *iɛu⁴⁴* but not *sion⁴²* develops into a modal verb, which expresses necessity or obligation, as given in (7).

(6) [volition]

- a. 不，我就是出去打工。

piʔ, ɲo³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ɕi²¹³ iɛu⁴⁴ tɕ^hyʔtɕ^hiɛ ta⁴²kun³⁴.
 NEG 1SG FOC want go:out work
 ‘No, I want to go out to work.’

- b. 惊仔哦，你还是想出去打工啊？

tɕian³⁴ tsiʔ o, ɲi³⁴ xai⁴⁴ɕi²¹³ sion⁴² tɕ^hyʔtɕ^hiɛ ta⁴²kun³⁴ ?
 how DIM INTJ 2SG still want go:out work
 ‘How? You still want to go out to work?’

On the volition reading, *iɛu⁴⁴* expresses the subject’s personal demand or wish. On the necessity reading, it expresses the speaker’s belief that something should be in a certain condition or state. It has a deontic sense.

(7) [necessity]

- a. 你要搞清楚，箇是在爷俚村诶。

ɲi³⁴ iɛu⁴⁴ kau⁴² ts^hin³⁴ts^hi⁴², ko³⁴ ɕi²¹³⁻²¹ ts^hœ²¹³ ia⁴⁴li ts^hun³⁴ ɛ.
 2SG have:to make clear DEM be LOC our village INTJ
 ‘You should be clear about this. It is in our village.’

- b. 明日来上班，你不要发工资给人家？

mian⁴⁴niʔ lœ⁴⁴ ɕion⁴²pan³⁴,
 tomorrow come work
 ɲi³⁴ piʔiɛu⁴⁴ fæʔ kun³⁴tsi³⁴ kiɛ⁴² ɲin⁴⁴ka ?
 2SG NEG.need pay salary DAT her
 ‘When she comes to work tomorrow, don’t you have to pay her?’

12.1.4 Auxiliary verb 4: *in⁴⁴-kœ³⁴* ‘should’

In⁴⁴-kœ³⁴ also expresses the meaning of necessity, and it corresponds to the deontic *should*, as in (8a). The morpheme *kœ³⁴* has the same modal meaning as *in⁴⁴-kœ³⁴*, but it is usually only used in the negated form of *piʔ-kœ³⁴*, as in (8b). This probably has to do with the phonological reason that *kœ³⁴* cannot independently occur as a monosyllabic verb.

(8) a. 病哩，应该去医院里。

p^hian²¹³⁻²¹ li, in⁴⁴kœ³⁴ tɛ^hiɛ⁴⁴ i³⁴ion²¹³⁻²¹ li.
sick PRF should go hospital in
'If you are sick, you should go to hospital.'

b. 要讲道理，你不该打人格。

iɛu⁴⁴ koŋ⁴²t^hau²¹³i⁴², ŋi³⁴ piʔ kœ³⁴ ta⁴² ŋin⁴⁴ kiɛ.
must be:reasonable 2SG NEG should beat person AFFM
'You have to be reasonable. You should not beat others.'

12.2 Negation of modal verbs

12.2.1 Negation of ability and possibility

The negation of modal verbs is formed by placing the negative adverb *piʔ* before the modal verbs, i.e. Neg-Modal verb. As we saw in section 1, *ui²¹³* can either express ability or possibility. However, its negative counterpart *piʔ-ui²¹³* only expresses negation of ability (9), but not negation of possibility (10).

(9) [Negation of ability]

a. 我不会算。

ŋo³⁴ piʔui²¹³ son⁴⁴.
1SG NEG.can calculate
'I cannot calculate.'

b. 渠不会话事。

kiɛ³⁴ piʔui²¹³ ua²¹³si²¹³.
3SG NEG.can talk
'He cannot talk properly (for an adult).'
OR 'He cannot talk (for a baby).'

It is shown in (10) that negation of possibility is expressed by *piʔ-tɛʔ* 不得, but not by *piʔ-ui²¹³*.

(10) [Negation of possibility]

a. * 天气预报话哩，今天不会落雨。

* tien³⁴tɛ^hi⁴⁴ y²¹³pau⁴⁴ ua²¹-li tɛia³⁴ piʔui²¹³ loʔy⁴².
weather forecast say-PFV today NEG.will fall.rain
'The weather forecast said that it will not rain today.'

b. 天气预报话哩，今天不得落雨。

tiɛn³⁴tɕ^hi⁴⁴ y²¹³pau⁴⁴ ua²¹-li tɕia³⁴ piʔtɛʔ loʔy⁴²,
 weather forecast say-PFV today NEG.will fall rain
 ‘The weather forecast said that it will not rain today.’

When *piʔ-tɛʔ* expresses the meaning of negation of possibility, it is largely attributed to its use as a future marker, which negates the possibility of some future event to happen.

(11)[Negation of Futurity]

a. 都乡里乡亲，人家又不得少你格。

tu³⁴ ɕion³⁴-li-ɕion³⁴-ts^hin³⁴, n̩in⁴⁴ka iu²¹³ piʔtɛʔ ɕiɛu⁴² ŋi³⁴ ko.
 all villagers and neighbours they FOC NEG.will owe 2SG AFFM
 ‘We are all from the same village. They will not forget to pay you back.’

b. 幼儿园搞不下去哩，明日不得来接哩。

iu²¹³œ⁴⁴ion⁴⁴ kau⁴²-piʔ-xa²¹³tɕ^hie⁴⁴ li,
 kindergarten run-NEG-down PRF
 miɑŋ⁴⁴ŋiʔ piʔtɛʔ loɕ⁴⁴ tsieʔ li.
 tomorrow NEG.will come pick:up PRF
 ‘The kindergarten cannot operate any more. (We) will not come to pick up (the kids) tomorrow.’

12.2.2 Negation of necessity

Negation of necessity can either be expressed by *piʔ-iɛu⁴⁴* 不要 or *piʔ-kœ³⁴* 不该. The example with *piʔ-iɛu⁴⁴* in (12) is more like *it is not necessary that ...*, which has an epistemic flavor. By contrast, those with *piʔ-kœ³⁴* or *piʔ-iɛu⁴⁴* in (13) are closer in meaning to a prohibitive, which has a strong deontic sense.

(12) [Negation of necessity]

箇只你不要操，好么？

ko³⁴ tɕiaʔ ŋi³⁴ piʔiɛu⁴⁴ ts^hau³⁴, xau⁴²⁻³³moʔ
 DEM CL 2SG NEG.want worry, alright
 ‘Do not worry about this thing, alright?’

(13) [Negation of necessity]

- a. 你不要 / 不该一日到夜耍游戏。

ni³⁴ pi?ieu⁴⁴ / pi?koe³⁴ i?-ni? -tau⁴⁴ -ia²¹³ sa⁴² iu⁴⁴ ci.
 2SG NEG.must / NEG.should day-and-night play games
 ‘You should not play games all day and night.’

- b. 打雷格时仔，不要 / 不该站在大树底下。

ta⁴² ly⁴⁴ ko ci⁴⁴ tsi?, pi?ieu⁴⁴ / pi?koe³⁴
 thunder MOD moment NEG.must / NEG.should
 tsan⁴⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ t^hai²¹³ tç^hy²¹³ tixa.
 stand at big tree under
 ‘When it thunders, do not stand under the tree.’

The morpheme *tçyn*⁴² can be used as a modal verb only in a negated form, such as *pi?-tçyn*⁴² ‘not allowed’. Possibly, due to the phonological reason of being monosyllabic, it is impossible to use *tçyn*⁴² in an affirmative form.

(14) [Negation of permission]

- a. 坐到楼上，不准声。

ts^ho²¹³⁻²¹ tau leu⁴⁴ çioŋ, pi?tçyn⁴² çiaŋ³⁴.
 sit LOC upstairs NEG.allow speak
 ‘Sit upstairs and do not speak.’

- b. 不是周末，不准看电视。

pi? ç²¹³ tçiu³⁴ mœ?, pi?tçyn⁴² k^hon⁴⁴ t^hien²¹³ ç²¹³.
 NEG be weekend NEG.allow watch TV
 ‘You are not allowed to watch TV unless it is weekend.’

The morpheme *mo?* is a negative modal verb that carries a very specific modal meaning, the meaning of prohibition. As such, it is used to form negative imperative constructions, as in (15):

(15) [Prohibition]

- a. 莫刚格话啦。

mo? koŋ³⁴ ko ua²¹³ la.
 NEG like:this MOD say INTJ
 ‘Do not talk like this.’

- b. 你俚也莫争哩。

ni³⁴li ia⁴² moʔ tsan³⁴ li.
 2PL also NEG argue PRF
 ‘You do not have to argue with each other!’

- c. 你坐到，莫跌到。

ni³⁴ ts^ho²¹³⁻²¹-tau, moʔ tieʔtau.
 2SG sit-DUR NEG fall down
 ‘Sit down please. Do not fall down.’

To sum up, modal verbs can be negated by placing the negative adverbial *piʔ* before the modal verbs, which form a variety of phonological words, including *piʔ-ui²¹³*, *piʔ-iεu⁴⁴*, *piʔ-tεʔ*, *piʔ-kæ³⁴* and *piʔ-tεyn⁴²*. Among them, the modal verbs *kæ³⁴* and *tεyn⁴²* cannot be used in affirmative forms and they have negative forms only. The modal verb *tεʔ* is a bound form, which has to be attached to a verb.

12.3 Modal adverbs

The modal adverbs to be discussed include (i) adverbs of possibility: *k^ho⁴²len⁴⁴* 可能 and *p^ha⁴⁴* 怕, and (ii) adverbs of necessity: *iʔ^hin²¹³* 一定 and *ηη²¹³* 硬. In each category, there are two modal adverbs available, and they are interchangeable with each other. The adverbs *p^ha⁴⁴* ‘possibly’ and *ηη²¹³* ‘certainly’ are native to the Yichun language, whereas *k^ho⁴²len⁴⁴* ‘possibly’ and *iʔ^hin²¹³* ‘certainly’ are available both in Yichun and Mandarin.

The adverbs *k^ho⁴²len⁴⁴* and *p^ha⁴⁴* express the modality of possibility, meaning ‘maybe’ or ‘probably’, as shown in (16) and (17) respectively. Both of them express the speaker’s epistemic judgement and are interchangeable with each other.

- (16) a. 可能有蛮多仔人要来耶

k^ho⁴²len⁴⁴ iu⁴² man⁴⁴to³⁴-tsiʔ ɲin⁴⁴ iεu⁴⁴ loε⁴⁴ iε.
 maybe there:be many-DIM people will come INTJ
 ‘Maybe many people will come.’

- b. 渠屋里有得人，可能去旅游去哩。

kie³⁴ uʔli mau⁴⁴tεʔ ɲin⁴⁴, k^ho⁴²⁻³³len⁴⁴ tɕ^hiε⁴⁴ li⁴²iu⁴⁴ tɕ^hiε⁴⁴ li.
 3SG house NEG.HAVE people maybe go travelling go PRF
 ‘There are no people at home. Probably they are on vacation.’

The adverb *p^ha⁴⁴* in (17) has the lexical meaning of ‘fear’ or ‘be afraid’. Its modal reading of possibility has its source in the speaker’s uncertainty.

(17) a. 看报纸，怕不要哩。

k^hon⁴⁴ pau⁴⁴tɕi⁴², p^ha⁴⁴ piʔ-iɛu⁴⁴ li.
 read newspaper afraid NEG-need PRF
 ‘I am afraid that there’s no need to read the newspaper.’

b. 里么暗哩，渠怕是不得来哩。

li⁴²mo ŋon⁴⁴ li, kiɛ³⁴ p^ha⁴⁴ɕi²¹³ piʔ-tɛʔ lœ⁴⁴ li.
 so dark PRF 3SG be:afraid NEG.will come PRF
 ‘It is so dark now. I am afraid that he will not come.’

The examples in (18) show that the adverbs of *iʔt^hin²¹³* and *ŋaŋ²¹³* (or *ŋaŋ²¹ɕi²¹³*) can modify the modal verb *iɛu⁴⁴* ‘want, should’, which increases the force of necessity.

(18) a. 不管你愿不愿，你明日一定 / 硬要去。

piʔkuon⁴² ŋi³⁴ ŋion²¹-piʔ-ŋion²¹³,
 no matter 2SG agree-NEG-agree
 ŋi³⁴ mian⁴⁴ŋiʔ iʔt^hin²¹³/ŋaŋ²¹³ iɛu⁴⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴.
 2SG tomorrow must /must have:to go
 ‘No matter whether you agree or not, you must go tomorrow.’

b. 今日夜里，我一定 / 硬要去南昌。

tɕia³⁴ ia²¹li ŋo³⁴ iʔt^hin²¹³ / ŋaŋ²¹³ iɛu⁴⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ lan⁴⁴tɕ^hion³⁴.
 today night 1SG must /must have:to go Nanchang
 ‘I have to go to Nanchang tonight.’

The adverbs of *iʔt^hin²¹³* and *ŋaŋ²¹³* can also modify the possibility modal verb *ui²¹³*, as shown in (19). As markers of certainty, they increase the level of possibility or likelihood.

(19) a. 天气预报话哩会落雨，一定会 / 硬是会落雨。

t^hien³⁴tɕ^hi⁴⁴ y²¹³pau⁴⁴ ua²¹-li ui²¹³ loʔy⁴²,
 weather forecast say-PFV will fall.rain
 iʔt^hin²¹³ / ŋaŋ²¹ ɕi ui²¹³ loʔy⁴².
 certainly/surely be will fall.rain
 ‘If the weather forecast said that it will rain, it will certainly rain.’

b. 哩次 我硬是 / 一定考得一百分。

li⁴² ts^hɿ²¹³ ŋo³⁴ ŋaŋ²¹ci/iʔt^hiŋ²¹³ k^hau⁴²tɛʔ iʔpaʔ fen³⁴.
 DEM time 1SG must /must achieve one.hundred marks
 ‘This time, I will certainly have full marks.’

In brief, modal adverbs in Yichun Gan operate at the sentential level and they either express possibility or necessity of the proposition expressed. They are unable to express verb-related modal meanings like ability, permission or volition. Specifically, adverbs *k^ho⁴²len⁴⁴* and *p^ha⁴⁴* express possibility, and *iʔt^hiŋ²¹³* and *ŋaŋ²¹³* express necessity.

12.4 The V-*tɛʔ* construction

This section is concerned with the V-*tɛʔ* construction, in which *tɛʔ* expresses the modal meaning. The modal interpretation of V-*tɛʔ* is found in central and southern Sinitic languages such as Wu, Gan, Hakka and Cantonese, but not in Mandarin.

The morpheme *tɛʔ* literally means ‘obtain or achieve’ and is used as a verbal suffix in verb compounds, such as *ɕieʊ⁴²tɛʔ* 晓得 ‘know-*tɛʔ*’ meaning ‘know’, *t^hiaŋ⁴⁴tɛʔ* 听得 ‘hear-*tɛʔ*’ meaning ‘hear’. However, the construction of V-*tɛʔ* under investigation in this section is not a verb compound. Different lexical verbs can be used in the relatively productive V-*tɛʔ* construction and its meaning is compositional and predictable, so it is phrasal.

V-*tɛʔ* expresses various modal meanings, ranging from ability to possibility, and on to permission. V-*tɛʔ* codes in fact the same range of meaning as *len³⁴-V*. They are interchangeable with each other. The negative form of V-*tɛʔ* is to place the negative particle between the verb and modal form -*tɛʔ*, as in V-*piʔ-tɛʔ*.

The examples in (20), (21) and (22) illustrate the modal meanings of ability, possibility and permission expressed by V-*tɛʔ* respectively.

(20) [ability]

a. 渠会耍水，一天游得一千米。

kiɛ³⁴ ui²¹³ sa⁴²⁻³³ɕy⁴², iʔ t^hiɛn³⁴ iu⁴⁴-tɛʔ iʔ tɕ^hiɛn³⁴ mi⁴².
 3SG can swim one day swim-can one thousand meter
 ‘He can swim. He can swim one thousand meters in one day.’

b. 我是担心我教不得嘞。

ŋo³⁴ ɕi²¹³ tan³⁴ sin³⁴ ŋo³⁴ kau⁴⁴ pi?tɛ? io.
 1SG be worry 1SG teach NEG.can INTJ
 ‘I am afraid that I am incapable of teaching.’

(21) [possibility]

不晓得招得几多仔学生勒？

pi? ɕieu⁴²tɛ? tɕiɛ³⁴-tɛ? tɕi⁴²to³⁴-tsi? xo?saŋ³⁴ le?
 NEG know enrol-can how many-DIM student INTJ
 ‘I do not know how many students can be enrolled?’

(22) [permission]

a. 你打得，我打不得！

ŋi³⁴ ta⁴²tɛ?, ŋo³⁴ ta⁴²-pi?-tɛ?
 2SG play.can 1SG play-NEG-can
 ‘You can play cards, why can’t I play?’

b. 医生话哩，你箇只病，吃不得辣格。

i³⁴ sen³⁴ ua²¹-li, ŋi³⁴ ko³⁴ tɕia? p^hian²¹³ tɕ^hia?-pi?-tɛ? læ?ko.
 doctor say-PFV 2SG DEM CL disease eat-NEG-can spicy.MOD
 ‘The doctor said that you cannot eat spicy food because of your illness.’

Among these three meanings expressed by *-tɛ?*, we can add a complement to *V-tɛ?*, when it expresses the modal meanings of ability and possibility, such as ‘eat-*tɛ?*-finish’ or ‘write-*tɛ?*-good’. This will be discussed in Chapter 14 on resultatives.

(23) a. 吃得完

tɕ^hia?-tɛ?-uon⁴⁴
 eat-can-finish
 ‘can eat it up’

b. 写得好

ɕia⁴²-tɛ?-xau⁴²
 write-can-good
 ‘can finish writing’

In sum, the construction *V-tɛ?* or its expanded form *V-tɛ?*-COMPLEMENT express various modal meanings, ranging from ability to possibility and even to permission. In these constructions, *tɛ?* is a verbal element and not a suffix, since it can be negated and be followed by a complement.

13 Negation

This chapter looks into the negative expressions in the Yichun language. There are around ten negative markers or structures in the language. Two of the basic negative morphemes are *mau*⁴⁴ 冇 and *pi?* 不. The other negative markers are derived from these two basic negators. We can thus classify them into two basic types: the M-type negators (derived from the negation marker *mau*⁴⁴ or its variant) and the P-type negators (derived from *pi?*) (see Kennedy 1952 for this bipartite distinction in Classical Chinese, cf. Zhang 2002). These negative markers are illustrated as in the following table:

Tab.13-1: Negative adverbs

M-type of negators		P-type negators	
Negation of existence	a. <i>mau</i> ⁴⁴ 冇+NP b. <i>mau</i> ⁴⁴ ε? 冇得+NP c. <i>mau</i> ⁴⁴ iu ⁴² 冇有+NP	Negation of Identity	<i>pi?</i> +Copula
Perfective Negation	a. <i>mau</i> ⁴⁴ 冇+VP b. <i>maŋ</i> ³⁴ 芒+VP	Imperfective Negation	<i>pi?</i> +VP
Perfect Negation	a. <i>xai</i> ⁴⁴ <i>mau</i> ⁴⁴ 还有+VP b. <i>xai</i> ⁴⁴ <i>maŋ</i> ³⁴ 还芒+VP	Negation of modals	<i>pi?</i> +Modal verb
Prohibitive Negation	<i>mo?</i> 莫+VP		

The existential negation marker *mau*⁴⁴ and the identity negation marker *pi*²¹³ in the Yichun language have developed into two general predicate negation markers used in standard negation of declarative clauses. The types of predicate they modify go far beyond the distinction between ‘identity’ and ‘existence’. Their semantic contrast is more related to the notion of aspect, more precisely, the contrast between ‘imperfectivity’ and ‘perfectivity’. We consider the marker *mau*⁴⁴ to be a negative marker for perfective events and the marker *pi?* to be negative marker for imperfective actions or events.

In what follows, we will start with the two basic negative markers: *mau*⁴⁴ and *pi?* and then discuss the others in order.

13.1 Negation of existence

Negation of existence comes in two forms in terms of the syntactic status of the negated element. Namely, there is *mau*⁴⁴(*tɛʔ*)+NP and *mau*⁴⁴+VP.

The negator *mau*⁴⁴ 冇 literally means ‘have no’, which negates existence or possession. The object of *mau*⁴⁴ can either be a noun or the corresponding WH-word *what*, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. 哪个人屋里冇事, 不是啊?

lai³⁴ ko n̄in⁴⁴ uʔli mau⁴⁴ sɿ²¹³, piʔci²¹³ a?
 which CL person home NEG.HAVE thing NEG.be INTJ
 ‘Is not it the case that anyone has something to do at home?’

- b. 易老师, 你不要话哩啊, 话得冇啥意思。

iaʔ lau⁴²sɿ³⁴, n̄i³⁴ piʔiɛu⁴⁴ ua²¹³⁻²¹li a.
 Yi teacher 2SG NEG.need sayPRF INTJ
 ua²¹³⁻²¹ tɛʔ mau⁴⁴ cia⁴²ma i⁴⁴sɿ.
 say PRT NEG.HAVE what meaning
 ‘Mr. Yi, please do not speak anymore. What you said is meaningless.’

The negator *mau*⁴⁴ can be suffixed with an accomplishment phase marker *tɛʔ*, which results in a lexicalized compound verb of negation *mau*⁴⁴*tɛʔ* (see Chapter 12 on the aspectual meaning of *tɛʔ*). Like *mau*⁴⁴, *mau*⁴⁴*tɛʔ* also negates existence or possession.

- (2) a. 格嫂老子又冇得 (教师资格证)。

ko³⁴, sau⁴²⁻³³lau⁴²tsɿ iu²¹³ mau⁴⁴tɛʔ (kau⁴⁴sɿ³⁴ tsɿ³⁴kieʔtɕin⁴⁴).
 DEM sister-in-law again NEG.HAVE teaching certificate
 ‘Then, sister-in-law has not any (teaching certificate).’

- b. 我冇得哩钱, 你望你爷老子要发仔。

ŋo³⁴ mau⁴⁴tɛʔ-li ts^hien⁴⁴ n̄i³⁴ uoŋ²¹ n̄i³⁴ ia²¹lautsɿ iɛu⁴⁴ faʔtsiʔ.
 1SG NEG.HAVE-PFV money 2SG DAT 2SG dad demand some
 ‘I have no more money. Ask for some from your Dad.’

The negator *mau*⁴⁴, but not *mau*⁴⁴*tɛʔ*, can also negate verb predicates expressing possession or existence, namely, in the structure *mau*⁴⁴+VP. In these two cases, the negative *mau*⁴⁴ is adverbial-like in that it occurs before the predicate, acting as an adjunct element.

For example, the verb of possession *iu*⁴² ‘have’ in (3) and the locative expression headed by *ts^hœ*²¹³ ‘be at ...’ in (4) are directly preceded by the negative morpheme *mau*⁴⁴ (see Croft 1991; Zhang 2002 for a general discussion on the cyclic development of negators from a cross-linguistic perspective). Example (3) means that the subject does not possess the given object, be it material or abstract; (3) negates the existence of an individual at the particular location.

(3) 我忙得不得了啊。冇有时间来招呼渠。

ŋo³⁴ moŋ⁴⁴-tɛʔ-piʔtɛʔliɛu⁴² a.
 1SG busy-PRT-extremely INTJ
mau⁴⁴ iu⁴² ɕi⁴⁴kan³⁴ lœ⁴⁴ tɕiɛu³⁴fu kiɛ³⁴.
 NEG.HAVE have time come look:after 3SG
 ‘I am busy every day. I have no time to look after her.’

(4) 马老师，砵砵冇在箇里哦。

ma⁴²⁻³³ lau⁴²sɿ³⁴, t^ho⁴⁴t^ho mau³⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ ko³⁴li o.
 Ma teacher TuoTuo NEG.HAVE LOC here INTJ
 ‘Ms. Ma, TuoTuo is not here.’

To sum up, in Yichun Gan, there are two verbs of negation which negate either the existence of entities or possession, including *mau*⁴⁴ and *mau*⁴⁴tɛʔ. *Mau*⁴⁴ is different from *mau*⁴⁴tɛʔ in that it can also negate verbal predicates, such as the existential verb *iu*⁴² or certain locative prepositions such as *ts^hœ*²¹³.

13.2 Perfective negation

The particle *mau*⁴⁴ develops from a negative marker for existence into a negative marker of perfectivity (a type of viewpoint aspect à la Smith 1997). When *mau*⁴⁴ is used as an existential negative marker, it has the tone value of 44, but its tone is changed from 44 into 34 when it is used as a perfective negative marker.

As perfective negative marker, *mau*³⁴ negates verb predicates. In terms of its interpretation, it negates an affirmative past in the sense of “perfective negation”, that is, that the event in question has not taken place. The examples are given in (5).¹

¹ At first glance, the subject of example (5a) seems to be expressed by “Dem+N”, where the demonstrative *ko*³⁴ is directly followed by a noun. However, we showed in Chapter 5, this kind

- (5) a. 箇, 佢俚好得有出事。

ko³⁴, ŋa⁴⁴li xau⁴²tɛʔ mau³⁴ tɕ^hɣʔsɿ²¹³.
 DEM boy fortunately NEG.HAVE have:accident
 ‘Then, luckily, the boy did not have an accident.’

- b. 我俚只姐夫有只佢俚仔, 初中都有毕业...

ŋo³⁴li tɕiaʔ tsia⁴²fu iu⁴² tɕiaʔ ŋa⁴⁴li-tsiʔ
 1PL CL brother-in-law have CL boy-DIM
 ts^hɿ³⁴tɕioŋ³⁴ tu³⁴ mau³⁴ piʔŋiɛʔ
 middle school FOC NEG.HAVE graduate
 ‘My brother-in-law has a son, (he) did not finish middle school.’

The implication in (5a) is that no accident happened to the boy during a particular reference time point in the past, whereas it may have to others. The perfective meaning of (5b) is more evident in that the fact of not graduating from middle school happened during a period clearly before the reference and speech time.

In addition to *mau*³⁴, we can also use *maŋ*³⁴ 蒙 to be a perfective negator. The negative marker *maŋ*³⁴ is an allomorph of the perfective *mau*³⁴, which is a fused form of the perfective *mau*³⁴ and another element.² The marker *maŋ*³⁴ can only negate predicates and not noun phrases. This suggests that *maŋ*³⁴ cannot be used as an existential negative marker.

- (6) a. 箇人家又蒙讲你格工资。

ko³⁴ ŋin⁴⁴ka³⁴ iu²¹³ maŋ³⁴ koŋ⁴² ŋi³⁴ ko kuŋ³⁴tsi³⁴.
 DEM, people FOC NEG talk 2SG MOD salary
 ‘Well, he did not talk with you about the salary.’

- b. 一直在外面打工, 两年都蒙回啊。

iʔtɕ^hiʔ ts^hœ²¹³ uai²¹³⁻²¹ mien ta⁴²kuŋ³⁴, lioŋ⁴² ŋien⁴⁴ tu³⁴ maŋ³⁴ fi⁴⁴ a.
 always LOC outside work two year FOC NEG go:home INTJ
 ‘(I) have been working outside. I have not gone home for two years.’

of combination is impossible in the Yichun language. The demonstrative *ko*³⁴ should be treated as a discourse marker instead, but not a demonstrative determiner.

² It is a hypothesis that *maŋ*³⁴ is a fusion with another morpheme. At this stage, we are not sure what exactly this element is. In many Wu dialects, the perfective negator is expressed as *wùcéng* 勿曾, which can have fused forms like *voŋ* (its cognate in Mandarin is *bùcéng* 不曾). So it is possible that the nasal *ŋ* in *maŋ*³⁴ is a trace of elements like *céng* 曾 in Yichun Gan.

The perfective negative marker *mau*³⁴ differs from *maŋ*³⁴ in that *mau*³⁴ can be used in A-not-A polar questions. Given that *mau*³⁴ is semantically equivalent to *NEG.have*, we use *iu*⁴²-*mau*³⁴ to pose polar questions, by which the speaker demands information about whether the event happened or not in a past time. However, the negator *maŋ*³⁴ cannot be used in A-NOT-A questions. Expressions like *iu*⁴²-*maŋ*³⁴ are not acceptable. See (7) for an illustration.

(7) a. 请问下仔，有冇看得易老师？

ts^hiaŋ⁴² un²¹³⁻²¹ xatsi? iu⁴²-mau³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴tɛ? ia? lau⁴²s¹s¹?
 please ask DELIM have-NEG.HAVE see Yi teacher
 ‘Excuse me, have you seen Mr. Yi?’

b. *请问下仔，有芒看得易老师？

*ts^hiaŋ⁴² un²¹³⁻²¹ xa⁴²tsi? iu⁴² maŋ³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴tɛ? ia? lau⁴²s¹s¹?
 please ask DELIM have NEG.HAVE see Yi teacher
 ‘Excuse me, have you seen Mr. Yi?’

Besides this, *mau*³⁴ but not *maŋ*³⁴ can also be used independently to provide a negative answer to a question that asks about a past event. It roughly means ‘I did not’, and so is used to negate an event that happened before the speech time. Consider the conversations in (8) and (9).

(8) 易老师：遮嘛，又去打工去哩呀？

Mr. Yi: tɕia³⁴ma, iu²¹³ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ ta⁴²kuŋ³⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ li a?
 how again go work go PRF INTJ
 ‘Well, (she) went to work again?’

李先生：冇，我把渠锁得在屋里哦。

Mr. Li: mau⁴⁴, ŋo³⁴ pa⁴² kiɛ³⁴ so⁴²tɛ? ts^hœ²¹³ u?li o.
 NEG 1SG OM 3SG lock.achieve at home INTJ
 ‘No, I locked her up at home.’

(9) 易老师：找到哩么？

Mr. Yi: tsau⁴²tau li mo?
 find PRF Q
 ‘Have you found (him)?’

马老师：冇，冇哦。

Ms. Ma: mau⁴⁴, mau⁴⁴ o.
 neg neg intj
 ‘No! No! (Lit: We have not.)’

13.3 Perfect negation

The perfective negative markers of *mau*³⁴ and *maŋ*³⁴ can be combined with the focus marker *xai*⁴⁴ 还 ‘still’ to form expressions like *xai*⁴⁴*mau*³⁴ 还有 and *xai*⁴⁴*maŋ*³⁴ 还蒙. They are generally used to express the negative meaning of the present perfect tense, where the adverb *xai*⁴⁴ adds in the element of present or speech time meaning. They can be roughly translated as “have not yet done something” or “not yet”. The examples in (10) illustrate the use of *xai*⁴⁴*mau*³⁴ and (11) for *xai*⁴⁴*maŋ*³⁴.

(10) a. 辣椒还有红, 莫去摘。

læʔtsiɛu³⁴ xai⁴⁴mau³⁴ feŋ⁴⁴, moʔ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ tsaʔ.
 pepper still.NEG red NEG go pick
 ‘The peppers have not yet turned red. Do not pick them.’

b. 早发仔起? 箇, 老师还有来格。

tsau⁴² faʔtsiʔ tɕ^hi⁴²? ko³⁴, lau⁴²sɿ³⁴ xai⁴⁴mau⁴⁴ lɔɛ⁴⁴ kiɛ.
 early a bit get:up DEM teacher still.NEG come AFFM
 ‘What is the point of getting up earlier? So, the teacher has not come yet.’

(11) a. 我 30 零岁还蒙结婚。

ŋo³⁴ san³⁴ciʔ lian⁴⁴ si⁴⁴ xai⁴⁴maŋ³⁴ tsiɛʔfun³⁴.
 1SG thirty more age still.NEG marry
 ‘I am more than thirty years old, but I haven’t got married.’

b. 你格只细人仔还有两个月学费还蒙付。

ŋi³⁴ ko³⁴ tɕiaʔ si⁴⁴ŋin⁴⁴tsiʔ
 2SG MOD CL kid
 xai⁴⁴ iu⁴² lion⁴² ko⁴⁴ nyœʔ xoʔfi⁴⁴ xai⁴⁴maŋ³⁴ fu²¹³.
 still have two CL month tuition still.NEG pay
 ‘Your kid has not paid the tuition fees for two months.’

The use of *xai*⁴⁴*mau*³⁴ and *xai*⁴⁴*maŋ*³⁴ has the implication that the event is bound to take place or finish in the (near) future. It is called ‘imminent negation’ in the sense of Peyraube and Chappell (2016). For example, (12a) implies that while the subject should have ideally got married by the age of 30, she still hasn’t but intends to do so. The implication of (12b) is that the tuition fee should have been paid earlier and on time and that it will have to be paid in the near future.

*Mau*³⁴ is also different from *maŋ*³⁴ in expressing negation of the perfective. The negator *mau*³⁴ can be used alone to express the perfective meaning, but *maŋ*³⁴ must always go with the adverb *xai*⁴⁴ ‘still’ to achieve the same meaning.

(12) A: 辣椒红哩有?

læʔtsieu³⁴ feŋ⁴⁴-li mau³⁴?

pepper red-PFV NEG

‘Have the peppers turned red?’

B: 还蒙 / 还有 / 有。

xai⁴⁴ maŋ³⁴/ xai⁴⁴mau³⁴/mau³⁴

still.NEG / still.NEG / NEG

‘Not yet.’

13.4 Negation of identity

The negator *piʔ* can only appear before verbs, such as the copula *ci*²¹³ ‘be’. As in Mandarin, the copula *ci*²¹³ only takes NPs as its predicate but not adjectives. That means, although the negator *piʔ* precedes the copula, it is used to negate a nominal predicate. If we assume that copular sentences include a copular NP complement in the equational type, they can be used to express a certain property of the subject in general which can identify this subject. The expression of *piʔ*+copula+NP expresses the negation of a certain identity or quality.

The example in (13) means that it is not the case that LiuBin has the property (or identity) of the kind of person you described.

(13) 刘斌不是你话格箇种人。

liu⁴⁴ pin³⁴ piʔ-ci²¹³ ŋi³⁴ ua²¹³⁻²¹ ko ko³⁴ tciuŋ⁴² ŋi⁴⁴.

Liubin NEG-be 2SG say MOD this kind person

‘LiuBin is not the kind of person you described.’

The negator *piʔ* can be used to form the A-not-A type of polar question in the Yichun language. As in (14), *ci*²¹³-*piʔ*-*ci*²¹³ is employed to ask about the identity of the subject, the answer to which can either be affirmative or negative, which are expressed by *ci*²¹³ ‘yes’ and *piʔ-ci*²¹³ ‘no’ respectively.

(14) A: 你是不是李响哦?

nɿ³⁴ ɕi²¹³⁻²¹-piʔ-ɕi²¹³ li⁴²⁻³³ɕion⁴² oʔ
 2SG be-NEG-be Li Xiong INTJ
 ‘Are you Li Xiong or not?’

B: 是 / 不是。

ɕi²¹³ / piʔ-ɕi²¹³.
 be / NEG-be
 ‘Yes.’ / ‘No.’

13.5 Imperfective negation

The negator *piʔ* can negate various types of verbal predicates by being placed before them, including adjectives, verbs and modal verbs. In contrast with the perfective *mau³⁴* or *maŋ³⁴*, the negative marker *piʔ* expresses the imperfective meaning in that it negates events or states that are habitual, in progress, will happen in the future or are irrealis in nature. Some relevant examples are given in (15):

(15) a. 特辣哩箇菜，我不吃。

tʰɛʔ læʔ li ko tsʰœ⁴⁴ ŋo³⁴ piʔ tɕʰiaʔ.
 too spicy PRF this dish 1SG NEG eat
 ‘This dish is too hot. I am not going to eat it.’

b. 要管你去管，我不得管。

iɛu⁴⁴ kuon⁴² ŋi³⁴ tɕʰiɛ⁴⁴ kuon⁴², ŋo³⁴ piʔtɛʔ kuon⁴².
 want take:care 2SG go take:care 1SG NEG.will take:care
 ‘If you want to take charge of it, then go ahead; I will not take care of it.’

c. 我一了仔不吃烟。

ŋo³⁴ iʔliɛu⁴²tsiʔ piʔ tɕʰiaʔ ien³⁴.
 1SG all:along NEG smoke cigarette
 ‘I do not smoke.’

Example (15a) describes a present event that “he is not going to eat the spicy dish”. The first part of (15b) is an imperative and the latter part with *piʔ* expresses the speaker’s own attitude toward the event in the context. (15c) is a generic statement, which expresses that *piʔ tɕiaʔien³⁴* “not smoking” is a habit.

The imperfective negative marker *piʔ* can negate resultative complements, as in the form “Verb+(Object)+NEG+Resultative complement” (see Chapter 14

for a general discussion on resultative complements). It codes the imperfective meaning, specifically, that a desired result cannot be achieved. Consider (16), where the negator *pi?* can be placed before a direct object, either pronominal or nominal:

(16) a. 我吃瓶水不完。

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hia? p^hin⁴⁴ ɕy⁴² pi? uon⁴⁴.
1SG eat CL water NEG finish

‘I cannot finish drinking a bottle of water.’

b. 里本书特厚哩，我看渠不完。

li⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ t^hɛ? xiɕu²¹ li, ŋo³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴ kiɕ³⁴ pi? uon⁴⁴.
DEM CL book too thick PRF 1SG read 3SG NEG finish

‘This book is too thick. I cannot finish reading it.’

Furthermore, *pi?* can also negate modal auxiliaries. This is definitely imperfective. While noting that a detailed description of modal verbs has been given in Chapter 12, we focus on the negative modals of *pi?-tɕ^hio?* and *pi?-tɛ?* for illustrative purpose.

The expression of *pi?-tɕ^hio?* 不着 is a negative modal verb, and it expresses negation of necessity, as shown in (17). As an auxiliary verb, it is followed by different verbs.

(17) [Negation of necessity]

a. 你不着每日学英语。

ni³⁴ pi?tɕ^hio? mi⁴²ni? xo? in³⁴ŋy⁴².
2SG NEG.need everyday learn English

‘You do not have to learn English every day.’

b. 我一个人就够了，你不着去。

ŋo³⁴ i? ko⁴⁴ ŋin⁴⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ kiɕu⁴⁴ li, ni³⁴ pi?tɕ^hio? tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴.
1SG one CL person FOC enough PRF 2SG NEG.need go

‘I go there by myself. You do not need to go.’

The negated modal verb of *pi?-tɛ?* is distinct from other modals such as *pi? tɕ^hio?* in that it can only be used as verbal suffix in complex verb predicates of *V-pi?-tɛ?*. It expresses various modal meanings associated with the VP, such as negation of permission (18) and negation of ability (19).

(18) [Negation of permission]

你打得，我打不得？

ni³⁴ ta⁴²-tɛʔ, ŋo³⁴ ta⁴²-piʔ-tɛʔ ?

2SG play.can 1SG play-NEG-can

‘You can play (poker), why can’t I play?’

(19) [Negation of ability]

我是担心我教不得嘞。

ŋo³⁴ ɕi²¹³ tan³⁴sin³⁴ ŋo³⁴ kau⁴⁴-piʔ-tɛʔ io.

1SG be worry 1SG teach-NEG-can INTJ

‘What I’m worrying about is that I’m not capable of teaching.’

13.6 The prohibitive marker *moʔ*

In the literature on negation (e.g. Sadock & Zwicky 1985), the prohibitive marker is always treated separately from other imperative negations. The prohibitive marker negates the imperative mood and has the meaning of prohibiting someone from doing something.

In Mandarin, the prohibitive marker is expressed by *bié* 别, which is analyzed as a phonological fusion of *búyào* 不要, ‘NEG+want’, where *yào* is a deontic modal. The Yichun language has the analytic form of *piʔieu*⁴⁴ 不要 ‘not want’ to express prohibition, as in (20). In addition, it also has the dedicated prohibitive marker *moʔ* 莫, as in (21). They are functionally equivalent.

(20) a. 你不要话假事哈。

ni³⁴ piʔieu⁴⁴ ua²¹³ ka⁴²sɿ²¹³ xa.

2SG NEG tell lie INTJ

‘Do not lie.’

b. 不要刚格话事呗。

piʔieu⁴⁴ koŋ³⁴ ko ua²¹³ sɿ²¹³ pɛ.

NEG this:way MOD say thing INTJ

‘Do not talk like this.’

(21) a. 莫刚格话啦。

moʔ koŋ³⁴ ko ua²¹³ la.

NEG this MOD say INTJ

‘Do not talk like this.’

b. 你俚也莫争哩。

nɿ³⁴li ia⁴² moʔ tsan³⁴ li.
 2PL FOC NEG argue PRF
 ‘You do not argue any more!’

c. 你坐到，坐到! 莫跌到。

nɿ³⁴ ts^ho²¹³⁻²¹-tau ts^ho²¹³⁻²¹-tau! moʔ tieʔtau.
 2SG sit-DUR sit-DUR NEG fall.achive
 ‘You sit there! Sit there! Do not fall down.’

The prohibitive *moʔ* is a rather archaic form retained at least from the Han dynasty (Norman 1988). According to the volume on grammar for the *Linguistic Atlas of Chinese Dialects* (Cao Zhiyun 2008: v.3:31), it is only found in a few Central and Southern Chinese languages, such as Gan, Xiang, Hakka and some Min dialects. In Classical Chinese, *moʔ* means *no-one*. Rather than saying “Do not do” something, it may have been less pragmatically blunt to say “no-one” does such and such a thing (Norman 1988: 126). In view of the shared meaning of existential negation, we suggest treat *moʔ* as a M-type negator, even though we are not sure whether the other main M-type negator, namely existential negative *mau⁴⁴*, was ever used in Archaic Chinese.

13.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter has given an overview of the negators in the Yichun language. The existential negator *mau⁴⁴* and the identity negator *pi²¹³* are two very basic negators, which have developed into two general predicate negation markers. They are the core members of the M type and the P type of negators. The semantic contrast between M and P types of negator is more related to the notion of aspect, more precisely, the contrast between ‘imperfectivity’ and ‘perfectivity’. Those in the M type are negative markers for perfective events, whereas those in the P type are negative markers for imperfective actions or events.

14 Resultative constructions

This chapter looks into the resultative verb construction (RVC) in the Yichun language. In this construction, two verbal elements co-occur with each other, as schematized ‘V1-V2’, in which V1 expresses some action or process and V2 expresses its result. In the literature on Chinese linguistics, resultatives are often taken as verb compounds (see Li and Thompson 1981; Yafei Li 1990 for Mandarin RVCs). They are to be distinguished from serial verb constructions, in which verb phrases are stacked together without any coordinator or preposition (see Chapter 21 on the discussion of phrasal coordinations).

Based on the resultative meaning expressed by the second element, RVCs are broadly divided into three subtypes which can be referred to as literal RVCs, directional RVCs and extent RVCs. We will make a distinction between VV compounds and VV phrases. We suggest that literal resultatives are verb compounds, whereas directional and extent RVCs are verb phrases. We will discuss them in detail in what follows.

14.1 Literal resultatives

Literal resultative constructions refer to VV compounds which express true result states of activities, and which consequently do not fall into directional or extent RVC types. Examples of literal RVCs are given in (1).

(1) a. 箇只男客人还把只梨立_儿还擦干净下仔。

ko³⁴ tɕiaʔ lan⁴⁴kaʔn̩in⁴⁴ xai⁴⁴ pa⁴² tɕiaʔ li⁴⁴li
this CL man still OM CL pear
xai⁴⁴ ts^hæ³⁴-kon³⁴ts^hin xa⁴²tsiʔ.
still wipe-clean TENTA
‘This man wiped clean the pear.’

b. 把梨倒翻哩。

pa⁴² li⁴⁴ tau⁴²fan³⁴ li.
OM pear tip over PRF
‘toppled over the pears’

As in (1a), the verb *ts^hæ³⁴* ‘wipe’ and the verb *kon³⁴ts^hin* ‘be clean’ form a resultative compound, where the first verb expresses the event of *wiping apples* and the second verb expresses the result of *wiping apples* in order to *be clean*.

There does not seem to be any obvious selectional relation between V1 and V2, and it is highly productive. It is impossible to give an exhaustive list of verbs that may be used in RVCs to express resultative meanings. In the examples in (1), V2 expresses various lexical meanings about the result state of the action expressed by V1. However, sometimes, V2 in RVCs loses its lexical meaning, and expresses a very general (or abstract) meaning, such as an aspectual meaning. Such resultative compounds include V-*k^huæ?* (V-刮), V-*tau⁴²*(V-到), V-*xau⁴²* (V-好), and V-*tɛ?* (V-得).

Case 1: V-*k^huæ?*:

In our discussion of aspect markers in Chapter 8, we argued that *k^huæ?* is a completive aspect. It is derived from the resultative construction, in which it originally acted as V2, with the lexical meaning of ‘peel off or get rid of’. The relevant examples are reproduced in (2).

(2) a. 就是棱只偷水果格佢俚跌刮格。

tɕ ^h iu ²¹³⁻³³	ɕi ²¹³	len ³⁴	tɕia?	t ^h ɛu ³⁴	ɕy ⁴²⁻³³	kuo ⁴²	ko
FOC		that	CL	steal	fruit		MOD
ŋa ³⁴ li	<u>tiɛ?</u> - <u>k^huæ?</u>						ko.
boy	tumble-COMPL						AFFM

‘It is the boy who stole the fruit that tumbled.’

b. 佢俚爬起来, 拍刮仔。

ka ³⁴	ŋa ⁴⁴ li	p ^h a ⁴⁴	tɕ ^h i ⁴²⁻³³ lœ,	<u>p^ha?</u> - <u>k^huæ?</u> - <u>tsi?</u>
then	boy	climb	up	pat-COMPL-DIM

‘The boy stood up from the floor and patted off the dust.’

Case 2: V-*xau⁴²*

The morpheme *xau⁴²* 好 has the lexical meaning of ‘be good’ or ‘be ready’ when it is used as a verb. It can also express an aspectual meaning when it is used as V2 in RVCs. Specifically, in VV resultative compounds, it expresses the ‘phase’ meaning that something is done or finished. It does not necessarily carry the connotation of the action being done properly. Consider (3). The resultative expression *tɕioŋ³⁴xau* in (3a) means ‘finished loading or packing’ and *tsi⁴⁴xau* in (3b) means ‘finished building’.

- (3) a. 水果一下装好哩。

ɕy⁴²⁻³³kuo⁴² i?xa? tɕion³⁴-xau li.
fruit completely load-finish PRF
'The fruit were packed soon.'

- b. 来帮我做好哩房子。

lœ⁴⁴ poŋ³⁴ ŋo³⁴ tsɿ⁴⁴-xau-li foŋ⁴⁴tsɿ.
come help 1SG build-finish-PFV house
'(He) comes to help me to build the house.'

Case 3: V-tau⁴²

When the morpheme *tau*⁴² 到 is suffixed to verbs, it expresses the meaning that some result is achieved. More importantly, these results are regarded as benefiting the subject. Verbs that can serve as V1 include *la?* 'take', *teu*³⁴ 'steal', *tɕia?* 'eat' etc. Some examples are given in (4):

- (4) a. 结果就拿到箇一箱。 (Pear story 3)

tɕiɛ? kuo⁴² tɕ^hiu²¹³ la?tau⁴² ko³⁴ i? sion³⁴.
result FOC take.achieve this one CL_{box}
'Finally, get this box (of pears).'

- b. 左思就偷到箇一箱梨立_儿着。

tso⁴²sɿ³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹⁴ teu³⁴tau⁴² ko³⁴ i? sion³⁴ li⁴⁴li tɕion⁴⁴.
simply FOC steal.achieve this one CL pears temporarily
'(He) stole this box of pears for the time being.'

As we can see in (4a-b), when the complement *tau*⁴² is used, the perfective marker *li* is not obligatory to express that the activity has been realized. In other words, the marker *tau*⁴² is able to express the delimiting point of an event and has thus the potential to express an aspectual meaning as well.

V-tau⁴² in (4) should be distinguished from those in (5), because *tau*⁴² in *ŋo*²¹*tau*⁴² 饿到 does not have the aspectual meaning of achieving. It is simply a verb suffix, which attaches to a verb root to form a disyllabic verb.

- (5) 你吃到箇碗饭，慢仔会饿到。

ŋi³⁴ t ɕ^hia?tau⁴² ko³⁴-uon⁴² fan²¹³, man⁴²tsi? ui²¹³ ŋo²¹tau.
2SG eat-achieve this-CL rice later will be:hungry.achieve
'Please eat up this bowl of rice, or else you will get hungry later.'

Case 4: V-*tɛʔ*: phase marker: achievement

V-*tɛʔ* resembles V-*tau*⁴² in that it is also ambiguous between an aspectual meaning and a verb suffix use. They are interchangeable with each other in their aspectual uses. For example, the aspectual *tau*⁴² in *laʔ-tau*⁴² ‘take’ and *tɛu*³⁴-*tau*⁴² ‘steal’ can be replaced by *tɛʔ* without causing a meaning difference, such as *laʔ-tɛʔ* ‘take’ and *tɛu*³⁴-*tɛʔ* ‘steal’. Some more examples are given in (6).

(6) a. 因为渠是偷得箇梨立_儿。

in³⁴ui⁴⁴ kie³⁴ ci²¹³ tɛu³⁴tɛʔ ko li⁴⁴li.
because 3SG FOCUS steal.achieve DEM pear
‘because he stole these pears.’

b. 就是盈得箇一窠立_儿满格。

tɕ^hiu²¹³ci ian²¹tɛʔ ko³⁴ iʔ lɛu⁴²li mon³³ ko.
finally leave.achieve DEM one CL-DIM full AFFM
‘As a result, what is left is a full basket.’

The examples in (7) illustrate the use of *tɛʔ* as a verbal suffix without contributing any aspectual meaning. The use of *tɛʔ* in (7) is similar to the Mandarin examples of *shědé* 舍得 ‘not begrudge’ and *xiǎodé* 晓得 ‘know’.

(7) a. 看下仔，看得来哩一只啥么人。

k^hon⁴⁴-xatsiʔ, k^hon⁴⁴tɛʔ lɔ⁴⁴-li iʔ tɕiaʔ ɕia⁴²ma ŋin⁴⁴.
look-TENTA look come-PFV one CL what people
‘Have a look to see what kind of person has come.’

b. 把草帽拿得等渠。

pa⁴²⁻³³ ts^hau⁴²mau²¹³ laʔtɛʔ ten⁴² kie³⁴.
OM straw hat take to 3SG
‘Take a straw hat to him.’

In these examples, *tɛʔ* seems to be a semantically dummy element, but it has to be present obligatorily for syntactic or morphological reasons. We cannot make any generalization about the verbs that *tɛʔ* follows and the V-*tɛʔ* compounds which are lexicalized. The V-*tɛʔ* expressions in the Yichun language are expressed by monosyllabic verbs only in Mandarin.

14.2 Directional resultatives

14.2.1 Three types of directional resultatives

In the research on Mandarin directionals, Chao (1968) and Lamarre (2003), among others, make a distinction between three types of directional complement constructions. This three-way distinction is based first of all on the distinction between “path directionals”, such as *jìn* ‘enter’, *shàng* ‘ascend’ etc, and “deictic directionals”, such as *lái* ‘come’ or *qù* ‘go’. Second, a verb can combine with these two types of directionals in three ways, including (i) V+Path directional, (ii) V+deictic directional, and (iii) V+Path directional+deictic directional.

(8) a. [V+Path]

冲进教室

chōngjìn jiāoshì

rush-enter classroom

‘rush into the classroom’

b. [V+Deictic]

跑去学校

pǎoqù xuéxiào

run- go school

‘run to school’

c. [V+Path +Deictic]

冲进来

chōng-jìn-lái

rush-enter-come

‘rush into (toward the speaker)’

Before moving onto the discussion about directional RVCs in the Yichun language, we first provide an inventory of the directional complements that are found in our data.

Tab.14-1: Directionals in Yichun Gan

Path directionals		Deictic directionals	
tsin ⁴⁴ 进: enter	tɕ ^{hi} y? 出: exit	lœ ⁴⁴ 来: come	tɕ ^{hi} ɛ ⁴⁴ 去: go
ɕion ²¹³ 上: ascend	xa ²¹³ 下: descend		
tɕ ^{hi} 42 起: rise			
kuo ⁴⁴ 过: cross			

Path directionals are mainly derived from general motion verbs, such as *cross* and *rise*. Most of them come in pairs, such as *exit/enter*, *ascend/descend*, which encode movements in opposing directions. As for deictic directionals, *lœ⁴⁴* ‘come’ and *tɕ^{hi}ɛ⁴⁴* ‘go’ are the only candidates. *lœ⁴⁴* ‘come’ expresses the entity moving toward the speaker, or the given deictic centre, and *tɕ^{hi}ɛ⁴⁴* ‘go’ expresses the entity moving away from the speaker.

Among the three types of directional complements identified in Mandarin by Lamarre (2003), neither Type 1 nor Type 2 is productively used in daily conversations in Yichun Gan. The truly productive ones are Type 3, where both path and deictic directionals are used after verbs. In our database, we find just a few examples with ‘Verb+Path’ (Type 1) or ‘Verb+Deictic’ (Type 2), as given in (9).¹

(9) a. 要你去把棱欠得格学费收上, 你也办不到。

iɛu ŋi³⁴ tɕ^{hi}ɛ⁴⁴ pa⁴² len³⁴ tɕ^{hi}ɛn⁴⁴tɛ? ko
 want 2SG go OM DEM owe MOD
 xoʔfi⁴⁴ ɕiu³⁴-sion²¹³, ŋi³⁴ ia⁴² p^han²¹³-pi?-tau⁴⁴.
 tuition collect on 2SG also do-NEG-arrive

‘I expected you to collect those tuition fees owing, but you did not manage it.’

b. 扶起自行车, 爬上自行车, 把一娄梨装到, 装到车子上。

fu⁴⁴-tɕ^{hi}42 ts^h1²¹³ɕin⁴⁴tɕia³⁴, p^ha⁴⁴ ɕion²¹³ ts^h1²¹³ɕin⁴⁴tɕ^{hi}a³⁴,
 prop:up bike ride upon bike
 pa⁴² i? leu⁴² li⁴⁴ tɕion³⁴ tau, tɕion³⁴ tau tɕ^{hi}a³⁴ts1 ɕion.
 OM one CL pear put to put to bike on

‘Prop up the bike, ride on it and put a basket of pears onto the bike.’

¹ We think that this is partly due to the fact that the texts we transcribed are more colloquial while it is much easier to find the use of ‘V+Directional’ in formal genres.

The examples in (9) are restricted to some kind of formal register. We think these examples are either modelled on Mandarin counterparts (9a) or used in presentative contexts (9b).

In the examples from the stories we recorded, the construction ‘Verb+Path+Deictic’ is the most productive directional construction we found. Some of the examples are offered in (10).

(10) Verb+Path+Deictic

a. 箇只狗啊也跟到跌下去哩。

ko³⁴ tɕia? kieu⁴² a ia⁴² kien³⁴-tau tiɛ?xa⁴²tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ li.
 this CL dog ah also follow-DUR fall.down PRF
 ‘The dog also followed and fell down.’

b. 还在箇只瓶立_儿内头，就往下头跳下来哩。

xai⁴⁴ ts^hœ²¹³ ko³⁴ tɕia? p^hin⁴⁴li? ny²¹t^hɛu
 still LOC this CL bottle inside
 tɕ^hiu²¹³ uoŋ²¹³ xa²¹tɛu [t^hiɛ⁴⁴-xa?lœ⁴⁴] li.
 FOC toward down jump down PRF
 ‘(With his head) still stuck inside the bottle, he jumped down.’

Directional complements can not only express spatial meanings, as we saw in (10), but also abstract meanings. In the example (11), *xa²¹³tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴* expresses the temporal meaning of continuing to do something. Note that under negation, the negative adverb *pi?* is inserted between V1 and V2:

(11) 幼儿园搞不下去哩，明日不得来接哩。

iu²¹³œ⁴⁴ion⁴⁴ kau⁴²-pi?-xa⁴²tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ li,
 kindergarten make-NEG-down PRF
 mian⁴⁴ŋi? pi?tɛ? lœ⁴⁴ tsie? li.
 tomorrow NEG.will come pick:up PRF
 ‘The kindergarten cannot operate any more. Tomorrow, we will not come to pick up the kids.’

‘Verb+Path+Deictic direction’ can take an object, when the verb itself is transitive. The object may either follow the verb, as in (12), or follow the path, as in (13). In Mandarin, the order in (12) is more common than the one in (13). In other words, in Mandarin, the path and the deictic are always adjoined together as a single constituent and the object occurs between the verb and this constituent.

(12) Verb+Object+Path+Deictic

你晓得[_{VP} 贴哩 [_{NP} 几多仔钱]进去]哩。

ŋi³⁴ ɕiɛu⁴²tɛ? [_{VP} t^hiɛ?·li [_{NP} tɕi⁴²to³⁴-tsi? t^hien⁴⁴] tsin⁴⁴tɕ^hiɛ] li.
 2SG know subsidize-PFV how:much-DIM money enter PRF
 ‘Do you know how much money we took from our own pockets?’

(13) Verb+Path+Object+Deictic

a. 箇只洞[_{VP} 跑出[_{NP} 只猫头鹰]来]哩。

ko³⁴ tɕia? t^həŋ²¹³ [_{VP} p^hau⁴²tɕ^hy? [_{NP} tɕia? mau³⁴t^hɛu⁴⁴in³⁴] lɔɛ⁴⁴] li.
 this CL hole run:out:of CL owl come PRF
 ‘Out of the hole ran an owl.’

b. 三只仔俚走得[_{VP} 扶起[_{NP} 篓立_儿]来]哩。

(Pear story 2)

san³⁴ tɕia? ŋa⁴⁴li tɕɛu⁴² tɛ? [_{VP} fu⁴⁴-tɕ^hi⁴² [_{NP} lɛu⁴²li] lɔɛ⁴⁴] li.
 three CL boy walk PRT hold:up-rise basket come PRF
 ‘The three boys walked along holding up the basket.’

14.2.2 Prepositional phrases and directional complements

Although we do not see many combinations of ‘Verb+Path’ or ‘Verb+Deictic directional’, there is a high frequency of prepositional phrases occurring between verbs and deictic directionals in the Yichun language. This structure is represented as ‘Verb+PP+Deictic directional’, where the preposition is usually expressed by *tau*⁴⁴ ‘to’. We consider this kind of construction as a sort of directional RVC as well. In Mandarin, the construction ‘Verb+PP’ also exists, but it usually does not have to be followed by an extra deictic directional complement, such as *zǒujìn jiāoshì* 走进教室 ‘walk into the classroom’. The relevant examples in Yichun Gan are provided in (14).

(14) [Verb+[_{PP} TO+Object+postposition]+[Deictic]]

a. 箇只狗谗，把只脑壳就伸到只瓶立_儿内头去，

ko³⁴ tɕia? kieu⁴² ɛ, pa⁴² tɕia? lau⁴²k^ho?
 this CL dog INTJ OM CL head
 tɕ^hiu²¹³ ɕin³⁴ tau tɕia? p^hin⁴⁴li ny²¹t^hɛu tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴.
 FOC enter to CL bottle inside go
 ‘The dog puts his head inside the bottle.’

- b. 箇只佢仔望箇只狗都爬到窗台上去哩,
 ko³⁴ tɕia? ŋa⁴⁴li?-tsi? uoŋ²¹ ko³⁴ tɕia? kiɛu⁴²
 DEM CL boy-DIM and DEM CL dog
 tu³⁴ p^ha⁴⁴ tau ts^hoŋ³⁴t^hɕe⁴⁴ ɕioŋ²¹³ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ li.
 both climb to window on go PRF
 ‘These two people, the boy and the dog, both climbed onto the window.’
- c. 渠可能以为箇只蛤蟆钻到洞里去哩。
 kiɛ³⁴ ko³³len i⁴²⁻³³ui ko³⁴ tɕia? xa⁴⁴ma? tson³⁴ tau t^hɛŋ²¹ li tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ li.
 3SG maybe think DEM CL frog enter to hole in go PRF
 ‘He probably thought that the frog climbed into the hole.’
- d. 又爬到树上去。
 iu²¹³ p^ha⁴⁴ tau tɕ^hy²¹ ɕioŋ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴.
 again climb to tree on go
 ‘climbed onto the tree’

This provides further evidence that deictic directionals are adjuncts to the verb, since they can be used independently of path directionals.

14.3 Extent resultatives

This section examines resultative verb constructions (RVC) with the particle *tɕ?*, namely, ‘V1+tɕ?+V2’. This is the so-called ‘extent RVC’.² They express the extent or degree attained for the result state (V2) caused by the activity (V1). For example, in (15a), the predicate of ‘be thoroughly clean’ expresses to what degree the property of cleanliness reaches, which is caused by the activity of *wiping*. In (15b), V2, as expressed by *pi?-tɕ?-kuo* ‘unwell’, not only expresses that the result is unpleasant, but also the degree of this kind of discomfort.

- (15) a. 咖就揩得干里八净仔啲, 把箇个梨立儿啲。
 ka³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ k^hai³⁴-tɕ?-kon³⁴lipɛ?ts^hin²¹³ tsi? io, pa⁴² ko³⁴ ko li⁴⁴li io.
 then FOC wipe-PRT-clean DIM INTJ OM DEM CL pear INTJ
 ‘Then wiped clean the pear.’

² ‘V2+tɕ?+V2’ can also have a modal interpretation, in which case it is called a ‘potential RVC’. We will not discuss it here. A detailed discussion on potential RVCs is provided in Chapter 12 on modals.

- b. 箇哩心里又吓得不得过。

ko³⁴li sin³⁴ li iu²¹³ xaʔ-tɛʔ-piʔtɛʔkuo.
 here heart in again frighten-PRT-unwell
 ‘He was extremely frightened.’

We also consider the examples in (16) as extent RVCs, whose complement expresses the manner of an action, which is also introduced by *tɛʔ*.

- (16) a. 答应得箇么快。

tæʔin⁴⁴ tɛʔ ko³⁴mo k^huai⁴⁴.
 promise PRT so fast
 ‘(You) promised so quickly.’

- b. 我觉得你唱歌唱得蛮现世。

ŋo³⁴ koʔtɛʔ ni³⁴ tɛ^hion⁴⁴ko³⁴ tɛ^hion⁴⁴ tɛʔ man⁴⁴ ɕian²¹³ɕi⁴⁴.
 1SG feel 2SG sing.song sing PRT very badly
 ‘I think you sing awfully.’

In some dialects, the extent RVCs in (15) are distinguished from those in (16) by using a different marker, the latter often being called a manner RVC (cf. Yue-Hashimoto 1993 for Cantonese; Lamarre 2001 for a typological study on Sinitic languages). However, in the Yichun language, the same marker *tɛʔ* is used in both cases. We consider them both to be extent RVCs.

14.4 Conclusions

We presented three types of resultatives in the Yichun language, namely, literal RVCs, directional RVCs and extent RVCs. Among them, literal RVCs are verb compounds, whereas directional and extent RVCs are verb phrases. As far as literal RVCs are concerned, the Yichun language features many fossilized expressions, whose resultative complements are semantically bleached to a great extent, such as *tɛʔ* and *tau*⁴². Some of these resultative complements have evolved into aspect markers, such as the completive *k^huæʔ*. Directional RVCs in colloquial registers of Yichun Gan are distinct from Mandarin in that they do not have the ‘Verb+Path’ or ‘Verb+Deictic directional’ structures, but there are, nonetheless, expressions like ‘Verb+PP+Deictic directional’, where a prepositional phrase occurs between the verb and the deictic directional.

15 Ditransitives

This chapter deals with ditransitive constructions in Yichun Gan. There are several striking differences between Mandarin and Yichun ditransitives. First, as Zhang (2010) claims, Gan is one of the Sinitic languages that has no genuine GIVE verb. Yichun Gan has at least three apparent GIVE verbs, including *pa*⁴² 把 ‘hold’, *te*⁴² 得 ‘obtain’ and *la?* 拿 ‘take/bring’. It will be argued that these verbs, which are derived from two-place predicates, cannot be treated as genuine GIVE verbs taking three inherent arguments (see Li and Wu 2015 for a different view). Second, the GIVE verbs in Yichun Gan show a great flexibility in the arrangement of arguments. There are at least three word orders: V+IO+DO, V+DO+IO, and V+DO+Dative marker+IO. Hashimoto (1976) takes the variation of word order between DO and IO in ditransitives to be one of the parameters to separate Northern and Southern Sinitic. Specifically, Northern Sinitic languages like Mandarin have the word order feature of V+IO+DO, whereas Southern Sinitic languages like Cantonese and Hakka are characterized by V+DO+IO. Subjected to this cross-linguistic distinction, Yichun Gan shares the traits of both Northern and Southern Chinese. In addition to the general purpose GIVE verb, this chapter will also discuss the uses of other ditransitive verbs, including *suŋ*⁴⁴ ‘offer as present’, *tei*⁴⁴ ‘mail’, *mai*²¹ ‘sell’ and *ua*^{213-21s1} ‘tell’ etc., and deprive verbs.

15.1 The general purpose verb of GIVE

In any discussion of ditransitive constructions, GIVE is always the most appropriate verb chosen to make an illustration. It is well known that cross-linguistically, ditransitive verbs often show two different realization schemes for their argument arrangement. One of the famous examples is English dative alternation, as illustrated in (1), where the second indirect object is either realized as zero-marked in a double object construction or as an object marked as an oblique argument.

- (1) a. John gave Mary a book. (Double object)
b. John gave a book to Mary. (Oblique object)

There are at least three ways to arrange the direct and indirect objects of ditransitive constructions in the Yichun language. The first type of ditransitive con-

struction is expressed as “GIVE+Direct object+Indirect object”. Consider (2) for an illustration.

(2) **Type 1: GIVE+DO+IO**

我把本书你。

ŋo³⁴ pa^{42:33} pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ ni³⁴.

1SG give CL book 2SG

‘I give a book to you.’

It is obvious from example (2) that no case marker or preposition is needed to introduce the indirect object. This is different from the English and the Mandarin cases, where the indirect object must be overtly marked by a preposition, if it is the second argument of the verb, such as *to* in English, as shown in (1b).

In addition to *pa*⁴² 把 in (2), verbs like *tɛ*⁴² 得 ‘obtain’, *la?* 拿 ‘take/bring’ and *kiɛ*⁴² 给 ‘give’ can also be used in ditransitives, where they seem to behave like general purpose verbs of giving. They can be used in the same word order as in (2). Consider the examples in (3).

(3) a. 我得本书你。

ŋo³⁴ tɛ^{42:33} pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ ni³⁴.

1SG give CL book 2SG

‘I give a book to you.’

b. 我拿本书你。

ŋo³⁴ la? pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ ni³⁴.

1SG give CL book 2SG

‘I give a book to you.’

c. 我给本书你。

ŋo³⁴ kiɛ^{42:33} pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ ni³⁴.

1SG give CL book 2SG

‘I give a book to you.’

The second way concerns the structure where the ditransitive verb is followed by an indirect object first and then a direct object, as shown in (4). Note that unlike the other three verbs, when *la?* is used in the order of V-IO-DO in (4c), it does not mean *give* but *take*.

(4) Type 2: GIVE+IO+DO

a. 我把你本书。

ŋo³⁴ pa⁴²⁻³³ ŋi³⁴ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴.
 1SG give 2SG CL book
 'I give you a book.'

b. 我得你本书。

ŋo³⁴ tɛ⁴²⁻³³ ŋi³⁴ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴.
 1SG take 2SG CL book
 'I give you a book.'

c. 我拿你本书。

ŋo³⁴ laʔ ŋi³⁴ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴.
 1CL give 2SG CL book
 'I take a book from you.' (Intended: I give you a book.)

d. 我给你本书。

ŋo³⁴ kiɛ⁴² ŋi³⁴ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴.
 1SG give 2SG CL book
 'I give a book to you.'

The word order difference for double object constructions as exemplified by (2), (3) and (4) is taken as one of the parameters separating Northern Chinese from Southern Chinese.¹ According to Hashimoto (1976), Southern Chinese, like Cantonese and Hakka, is characterized with the order of V-DO-IO, whereas Northern Chinese such as Mandarin, has V-IO-DO as a default ditransitive construction. Yichun Gan, as a transitional language between Northern and Southern Chinese, is characterized by both northern and southern ditransitive constructions.

The third type of ditransitive construction is similar to the first type in terms of the order of direct object and indirect object, except that in the third type, its indirect object is introduced by a dative marker. As shown in (5), the dative marker is a cognate form of the GIVE verb. Verbs like *pa*⁴², *tɛ*⁴² and *kiɛ*⁴², all seem to be able to act as dative markers, but *laʔ* cannot.

¹ According to Hashimoto (1976), Chinese languages can be roughly divided into two groups, the northern Chinese and the southern Chinese. The northern Chinese is mainly represented by Mandarin, which is argued to be influenced by Altaic languages, while the southern ones include Cantonese, Hakka-Gan, Min etc., which are claimed to have developed under contact with Tai-Kadai languages.

(5) **Type 3: GIVE+DO+DAT+IO**

a. 我把本书把你。

ŋo³⁴ pa⁴² pun⁴²⁻³³ ɛy³⁴ pa⁴² ŋi³⁴.
 1SG GIVE CL book DAT 2SG
 'I give a book to you.'

b. 我得本书得你。

ŋo³⁴ tɛ⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɛy³⁴ tɛ⁴² ŋi³⁴.
 1SG GIVE CL book DAT 2SG
 'I give a book to you.'

c. 我给本书给你。

ŋo³⁴ kiɛ⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɛy³⁴ kiɛ⁴² ŋi³⁴.
 1SG GIVE CL book DAT 2SG
 'I give a book to you.'

d. *我拿本书拿你。

*ŋo³⁴ laʔ pun⁴² ɛy³⁴ laʔ ŋi³⁴
 1SG GIVE CL book DAT 2SG
 Intended: 'I give a book to you.'

The dative marker is cognate to the main verb in the clause in (5), but it does not have to be identical to the verb in the same sentence. According to our observations, *tɛ*⁴² is the only dative marker that can follow all verbs to introduce the IO, as in (6). *pa*⁴² serves as the dative marker only when the verb is expressed by *pa*⁴² itself or *laʔ*, as in (7). The dative marker *kiɛ*⁴² goes with all verbs except *tɛ*⁴², as shown in (8). The verb *laʔ* cannot be used as a dative marker in any case.

(6) **GIVE+DO+ tɛ⁴²+IO**

a. 我把本书得你。

ŋo³⁴ pa⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɛy³⁴ tɛ⁴² ŋi³⁴.
 1SG give CL book DAT 2SG
 'I give a book to you.'

b. 我得本书得你。

ŋo³⁴ tɛ⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɛy³⁴ tɛ⁴² ŋi³⁴.

c. 我给本书得你。

ŋo³⁴ kiɛ⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɛy³⁴ tɛ⁴² ŋi³⁴.

d. 我拿本书得你。

ŋo³⁴ laʔ pun⁴² ɛy³⁴ tɛ⁴² ŋi³⁴.

(7) GIVE+DO+ pa⁴²+IO

a. 我把本书把你。

ŋo³⁴ pa⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ pa⁴² ŋi³⁴.
 1SG give CL book DAT 2SG

‘I give a book to you.’

b. *我得本书把你。

*ŋo³⁴ te⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ pa⁴² ŋi³⁴.

c. *我给本书把你。

*ŋo³⁴ kie⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ pa⁴² ŋi³⁴.

d. 我拿本书把你。

ŋo³⁴ la? pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ pa⁴² ŋi³⁴.

(8) GIVE+DO+kie⁴²+IO

a. 我把本书给你。

ŋo³⁴ pa⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ kie⁴² ŋi³⁴.
 1SG give CL book DAT 2SG

‘I give a book to you.’

b. *我得本书给你。

*ŋo³⁴ te⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ kie⁴² ŋi³⁴.

c. 我给本书给你。

ŋo³⁴ kie⁴² pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ kie⁴² ŋi³⁴.

d. 我拿本书给你。

ŋo³⁴ la? pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ kie⁴² ŋi³⁴.

(9) *GIVE+DO+la?⁴²+IO

a. *我把本书拿你。

*ŋo³⁴ pa⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ la? ŋi³⁴.
 1SG give CL book DAT 2SG

‘I give a book to you.’

b. *我得本书拿你。

*ŋo³⁴ te⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ la? ŋi³⁴.

c. *我给本书拿你。

*ŋo³⁴ kie⁴² pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ la? ŋi³⁴.

d. *我拿本书拿你。

*ŋo³⁴ la? pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ la? ŋi³⁴.

We make two generalizations from the examples from (5) to (9). First, the dative marker *te*⁴² goes with all GIVE verbs, while the verb *la?* can never be used as a dative marker. We suggest that *te*⁴² in Yichun Gan is the closest in nature to a

true GIVE verb. It resembles Mandarin *gěi* to the largest extent, since both have developed from a verb into a preposition. By contrast, *la?* is still a two-place predicate, and not a true GIVE verb. Second, the dative marker *pa*⁴² only co-occurs with the verbs *pa*⁴² and *la?*, but neither with *tɛ*⁴² nor the Mandarin loanword *kiɛ*⁴². The latter two are proposed as true GIVE verbs. We claim that in Yichun Gan, the apparent dative marker *pa*⁴² is most likely a verb but not a preposition and it combines non-genuine GIVE verbs only to form a serial verb construction ‘*pa*⁴²/*la?*+DO+*pa*⁴²+IO’.

From our fieldwork data, we also find examples like those in (10), where the GIVE verb and the dative marker are fused into a single phonological unit. We suggest that this expression is not that much different from those in (5), except that the object is preposed before the main verb, which results in the fused form of GIVE-GIVE in (10).

(10) a. 箇本书把把你。

ko³⁴ pun⁴² ɛy³⁴ pa⁴²⁻³³-pa⁴²⁻³³ ŋi³⁴.
 DEM CL book give-give 2SG
 ‘This book, I give (it to) you.’

b. 箇本书得得你。

ko³⁴ pun⁴² ɛy³⁴ tɛ⁴²-tɛ⁴² ŋi³⁴.
 DEM CL book give-give 2SG
 ‘This book, I give (it to) you.’

c. 箇本书给给你。

ko³⁴ pun⁴² ɛy³⁴ kiɛ⁴²-kiɛ⁴² ŋi³⁴.
 DEM CL book give-give 2SG
 ‘This book, I give (it to) you.’

d.* 箇本书拿拿你。

*ko³⁴ pun⁴² ɛy³⁴ la?-la? ŋi³⁴.
 DEM CL book give-give 2SG
 ‘This book, I give (it to) you.’

As discussed in Chapter 14 on resultatives, many verbs in the Yichun language can be followed by the verbal suffix *tɛ?*, which is a null element and has no lexical meaning. The four GIVE verbs in the Yichun language can also be expressed in complex forms by adding the suffix *tɛ?*. These complex verbs *GIVE-tɛ?* can either be used as a verb or a dative marker, noting that a single sentence

cannot accommodate two instances of *GIVE-teʔ*, as (11c) shows. We simply use the verb *pa⁴²* to illustrate and other examples will not be reproduced here.

(11)a. 我把得本书把你。

ŋo³⁴ pa⁴²teʔ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ pa⁴² ŋi³⁴ .
 1SG give.achieve CL book DAT 2SG
 'I give a book to you.'

b. 我把本书把得你。

ŋo³⁴ pa⁴²⁻³³ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ pa⁴²teʔ ŋi³⁴ .
 1SG give CL book GIVE.achieve 2SG
 'I give a book to you.'

c. *我把得本书把得你。

*ŋo³⁴ pa⁴²teʔ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ pa⁴²teʔ ŋi³⁴ .
 1SG give.achieve CL book GIVE.achieve 2SG
 'I give a book to you.'

15.2 TAKE/HOLD verbs as GIVE

Zhang (2010) argues that in languages like Gan, Xiang and Hakka, there is no genuine GIVE verb and that transitive verbs TAKE/HOLD verbs are used as GIVE verbs by increasing their valency in a certain way, e.g. by using one of the dative markers. The second argument is substantiated by the relevant facts in Yichun Gan. We also refer readers to Li and Wu (2015) for a comparative study on the relevant facts in three Gan dialects, including Yichun, Fengchang and Shanggao.

First of all, as we saw earlier, the Yichun language has a large inventory of GIVE verbs, including *pa⁴²*, *te⁴²*, *laʔ* and *kie⁴²*. It may represent another case of co-existence of several substrata in Yichun Gan.² According to the frequency of use, these four verbs can be arranged from low to high: *te⁴²* < *kie⁴²* < *laʔ* < *pa⁴²*. The verb *te⁴²* is not so often heard in daily conversation. It is only used by the older generation who are at least in their 60s or above. The verb *kie⁴²* is mainly used by the younger generation and educated people. We assume that it is a

² In Chapter 3, we discussed nominal suffixes (including diminutive markers) in the Yichun language. We argued that the different nominal suffixes reflect different substrata of this language and they undergo different stages of grammaticalization.

borrowed form from Mandarin, which has *gěi* as the only general GIVE verb. Among the four verbs used in GIVE dative constructions, *laʔ* and *pa⁴²* are the most actively used ones.

Second, the verb *kie⁴²* differs from the other three GIVE verbs in that *kie⁴²* can be used in imperatives by taking an indirect object only, whereas the others have no such usage. See the contrast between (12a) and (12b-d).

(12) Give me!

a. 给我!	b. #把我!	c. #拿我!	d. #得我!
<i>kie⁴²</i> ɲo ³⁴ !	# <i>pa⁴²</i> ɲo ³⁴ !	# <i>laʔ</i> ɲo ³⁴ !	# <i>tɛ⁴²</i> ɲo ³⁴ !
give 1SG	give 1SG	give 1SG	give 1SG

Li and Wu (2015) argues that the criterion for deciding whether a certain verb is a GIVE verb is concerned with the possibility of whether they can introduce an indirect object independently. The Mandarin verb *gěi* has the lexical meaning ‘give’ and is a true ditransitive verb, whose three argument slots can all be lexically filled. The indirect object is one of its intrinsic arguments, which can directly follow *gěi* without resorting to any other device, as in *gěi wǒ* 给我 ‘give me’. So too is the case for the Yichun counterpart *kie⁴²*, a cognate form of Mandarin *gěi*, as illustrated by (12a), assumed to have been borrowed from Mandarin. The remaining three verbs, such as *laʔ*, *pa⁴²* and *tɛ⁴²* cannot be used in imperatives with GIVE-IO, as in (12). This suggests that the indirect object is not one of their inherent arguments and the ditransitive meaning is possible only in a full construction when both DO and IO are present. The GIVE meaning is a constructionally triggered meaning.

Third, these apparent GIVE verbs in Yichun Gan are not authentic GIVE verbs and they are derived from various semantic fields. Many of these verbs have the lexical meaning of holding or taking/bringing. For example, *pa⁴²* means ‘hold’, *laʔ* means ‘take/bring’, and *tɛ⁴²* means ‘obtain’. In view of their lexical meanings, those examples in (2) and (3) actually mean that someone takes or brings something to somebody.

We thus suggest that Yichun Gan has no authentic GIVE verbs, and except for the borrowed verb *kie³⁴*, they are derived from two-place predicates such as ‘take/bring’ or ‘obtain/hold’.

15.3 Ditransitive verbs beyond GIVE

The general purpose verb of GIVE expresses the transferring of entities from some source to a certain recipient or destination. However, not all verbs ex-

pressing such meanings morphosyntactically work on the same way as GIVE. In this section, we look at ditransitive constructions expressed by verbs beyond GIVE, such as *sun*⁴⁴ 送 ‘present’, *tɕi*⁴⁴ 寄 ‘mail’, *mai*²¹ 卖 ‘sell’ and *ua*²¹³⁻²¹ 话事 ‘tell’ etc. Among these verbs, only *sun*⁴⁴ ‘offer as a present’ works in the same pattern as GIVE and the others deviate from the GIVE patterns to varying extents. The use of *sun*⁴⁴ ‘present’ is illustrated in (13).

(13) a. **OFFER+DO+IO**

我送本书你。

ŋo³⁴ sun⁴⁴ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ ŋi³⁴.

1SG offer CL book 2SG

‘I give you a book as a present.’

b. **OFFER+IO+DO**

我送你本书。

ŋo³⁴ sun⁴⁴ ŋi³⁴ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴.

1SG offer 2SG CL book

‘I present you a book.’

c. **OFFER+DO+DAT+IO**

我送本书把你。

ŋo³⁴ sun⁴⁴ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ pa⁴² ŋi³⁴.

1SG offer CL book DAT 2SG

‘I present a book to you.’

A second verb to be discussed is *tɕi*⁴⁴ ‘send by post’. It is involved with the same process of entity transferring as that expressed by GIVE and PRESENT, but its syntax is very different from them. As shown in (14), it is impossible to have the order V+IO+DO for the verb *tɕi*⁴⁴. The only acceptable orders are V+DO+IO and V+DO+DAT+IO, where the indirect object is introduced obligatorily by a dative marker, as in (14c).

(14) a. **MAIL+DO+IO**

我寄哩封信渠。

ŋo³⁴ tɕi⁴⁴-li fun³⁴ sin⁴⁴ kiɛ³⁴.

1SG mail-PFV CL letter 3SG

‘I sent a letter to him.’

b. **MAIL+IO+DO**

*我寄哩渠封信。

*ŋo³⁴ tɕi⁴⁴-li kiɛ³⁴ fuŋ³⁴ sin⁴⁴.

1SG mail-PFV 3SG CL letter

Intended: 'I sent him a letter.'

c. **MAIL+DO+DAT+IO**

我寄哩封信把渠。

ŋo³⁴ tɕi⁴⁴-li fuŋ³⁴ sin⁴⁴ pa⁴² kiɛ³⁴.

1SG mail-PFV CL letter DAT 3SG

'I sent a letter to him.'

The indirect object can also be placed before the main verb, but the preposition can only be *uoŋ*²¹³ and not any cognate form of GIVE, such as *pa*⁴², *tɛ*⁴², *la?*, and *kiɛ*³⁴, which may not occur in preverbal position as a preposition. Compare (15a) with (15b).

(15) **DAT+IO+MAIL+DO**

a. 我望渠寄哩封信。

ŋo³⁴ uoŋ²¹³⁻²¹ kiɛ³⁴ tɕi⁴⁴-li fuŋ³⁴ sin⁴⁴.

1SG DAT 3SG mail-PFV CL letter

'I sent a letter to him.'

b. *我把/得/拿渠寄哩封信。

*ŋo³⁴ pa⁴²/tɛ⁴²/la?/ kiɛ³⁴ tɕi⁴⁴-li fuŋ³⁴ sin⁴⁴.

1SG DAT 3SG mail-PFV CL letter

'I sent a letter to him.'

The verb *mai*²¹ 'sell' can be considered as a ditransitive verb, since it also expresses the meaning that some entity is transferred from one agent to another. Its indirect object is either introduced by a preposition (16a) or directly follows the GIVE verb, as the first argument of the verb (16b).

(16) a. **SELL+DO+DAT+IO**

棱只店里卖只假手机把 / 给 / 得 / *望我。

len³⁴ tɕia? tien⁴⁴li mai²¹ tɕia? ka⁴²⁻³³ ɕiu⁴²tɕi³⁴ pa⁴² ŋo³⁴.

that CL shop sell CL faked cell phone DAT 2SG

'That shop sold me a contraband mobile.'

b. SELL+IO+DO

棱只店里卖哩我只假手机。

len³⁴ tɕia? tien⁴⁴li mai²¹-li ŋo³⁴ tɕia? ka⁴²⁻³³ ɕiu⁴²tɕi³⁴.
 that CL shop sell-PFV 1SG CL faked cell phone
 ‘That shop sold me a contraband? mobile..’

The verb *ua*²¹³⁻²*sɿ* ‘tell’ represents another type of ditransitive verb. The first argument of the verb can only be the indirect object and not the direct object. Example (17) provides an illustration.

(17) a. TELL+IO+DO

快来! 我话诉你只事。

kuai⁴⁴ lœ⁴⁴! ŋo³⁴ ua²¹³⁻²¹sɿ ŋi³⁴ tɕia? sɿ²¹³.
 come over 1SG tell 2SG CL thing
 ‘Come over! I will tell you a thing.’

b. TELL+DO+IO

*快来, 我话诉只事你。

*kuai⁴⁴ lœ⁴⁴! ŋo³⁴ ua²¹³⁻²¹sɿ tɕia? sɿ²¹³ ŋi³⁴.
 come over 1SG tell CL thing 2SG
 ‘Come over! I will tell you a thing.’

The availability of the five ditransitive verbs in the available range of constructions in Yichun is summarized in the following table:

Tab.15-1: Argument arrangement of ditransitive verbs

	give	send	mail	sell	tell
V+DO+IO	+	+	+	-	-
V+IO+DO	+	+	-	+	+
V+DO+DAT+IO	+	+	+	+	-
DAT+IO+V+DO	-	-	+	-	-

From Table 15-1 we draw the following two generalizations. First, the inverse order for double object constructions, namely, V+DO+IO, is possible for verbs with a strong ‘transferral’ meaning in terms of displacement, such as *give*, *send*, and *mail*, but not for *sell* or *tell*. Second, the preverbal order of the prepositional phrase in DAT+IO+V+DO is possible only for the verb *tɕi*⁴⁴ ‘mail’, but not for others. Here, the dative marker is *uoŋ*²¹³ and not the cognate form of GIVE. When other verbs are used in this syntactic template, the marker *uoŋ*²¹³ is not a dative

marker but a beneficiary marker. Example (18) means that ‘I sent a book to someone on behalf of you’.

(18) uoŋ²¹³+ IO+V+DO

我望你送哩本书。

ŋo³⁴ uoŋ²¹³ ni³⁴ suŋ⁴⁴-li pun⁴² ɕy³⁴.
 1SG DAT 2SG offer-PFV CL book
 ‘I offered you a book.’

A final note is devoted to the correlation between common verbs and extended dative markers. Common transitive verbs, such as *cook* and *buy*, can be used in a ditransitive sense when a dative marker is used, as shown in (19). However, the dative marker is not required when a verb follows the IO, as in (20).

(19) a. 烧碗菜得 / 把你。

ɕieu³⁴ uoŋ⁴² ts^hɤ⁴⁴ tɛ⁴²/pa⁴² ni³⁴.
 cook CL_{bowl} dish DAT 2SG
 ‘Cook some dish for you.’

b. 我买领衣服得 / 把你。

ŋo³⁴ mai⁴²⁻³³ lian⁴² i³⁴fu tɛ⁴²/pa⁴² ni³⁴.
 1SG buy CL clothes DAT 2SG
 ‘I buy a shirt for you.’

(20) a. 烧碗菜（得）你吃。

ɕieu³⁴ uoŋ⁴² ts^hɤ⁴⁴ (tɛ⁴²) ni³⁴ tɕ^hia?
 cook CL_{bowl} dish DAT 2SG eat
 ‘cook some dish for you to eat.’

b. 我买领衣服（得）你穿。

ŋo³⁴ mai⁴² lian⁴² i³⁴fu (tɛ⁴²) ni³⁴ tɕ^hion³⁴.
 1SG buy CL clothes DAT 2SG wear
 ‘I buy a shirt for you to wear.’

15.4 DEPRIVE verb classes

The previous sections discussed the uses of ditransitive verbs whose indirect object expresses the recipient of the transferring event. Another subset of ditransitive verbs express how the entity is transferred from somewhere. Its

indirect object may express the source of transferring. In Yichun Gan, verbs expressing where the entities are transferred from often conflate with verbs expressing where the entities are transferred to. In other words, the indirect object of some transitive verbs is not specified to be the recipient or the source of transferring. Verbs in this category include *la?* ‘take/bring’ or *tsia*⁴⁴ ‘borrow/lend’ etc. They are sometimes called the ‘deprive’ verb class.

In the Yichun language, these source/recipient meanings of the indirect object are distinguished by the syntactic position within which it occurs. In the expression of V+IO+DO, the indirect object is realized as the source of transferring; in V+DO+IO, the indirect object is realized as the destination/goal of transferring.³

For example, the verb *la?* either expresses the meaning ‘bring’ or ‘take’. We can distinguish these two meanings at the syntactic level, in particular, for the position of the indirect object. When the indirect object follows the verb, it is interpreted with the *take* meaning, as in (21a). When the direct object follows the verb, it is interpreted as *bring*, as in (21b).

(21) a. **V+IO+DO: ‘take’**

我拿你本书。

ŋo³⁴ la? ŋi³⁴ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴.
 1SG take 2SG CL book
 ‘I took a book from you.’

b. **V+DO+IO: ‘bring’**

我拿本书你。

ŋo³⁴ la? pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ ŋi³⁴.
 1SG take CL book 2SG
 ‘I give a book to you.’

The verb *tsɿ*³⁴ 租 is another deprive verb, which either means *rent* in the order of “V+DO+IO” or *lease* in “V+IO+DO”. Consider (22):

³ Although Mandarin shares the same set of *deprive* verbs with Yichun Gan, it employs the following two constructions to express the two meanings, namely V+IO+DO for the source reading and V+DO+PREP+IO for the recipient interpretation.

(22) a. **V+DO+IO: 'rent'**

小王租哩两只房间我。

siɛu⁴² uoŋ⁴⁴ tsɿ³⁴-li lioŋ⁴² tɕiaʔ foŋ⁴⁴kaŋ³⁴ ŋo³⁴.

XiaoWang rent-PFV two CL room 1SG

'XiaoWang rented two rooms from me.'

b. **V+IO+DO: 'lease'**

小王租哩我两只房间。

siɛu⁴² uoŋ⁴⁴ tsɿ³⁴-li ŋo³⁴ lioŋ⁴² tɕiaʔ foŋ⁴⁴kaŋ³⁴.

XiaoWang rent-PFV 1SG two CL room

'XiaoWang leased two rooms to me.'

In contrast to these two verbs, *tsia*⁴⁴ possesses a lexical ambiguity between 'borrow' and 'lend'. Nevertheless, these two readings cannot be distinguished solely by word order, as we saw in (21) and (22). It cannot be used in V+DO+IO, as a dative marker is needed obligatorily before IO, as in (23a). Another difference is that the order V+IO+DO itself is ambiguous, and can be interpreted to mean either *borrow* or *lend*, as in (23b).

(23) a. **V+DO+DAT+IO: lend**

小王借哩本书把你。

siɛu⁴² uoŋ⁴⁴ tsia⁴⁴-li pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ pa⁴² ŋi³⁴.

XiaoWang lend-PFV CL book DAT 2SG

'XiaoWang lent a book to you.'

b. **V+IO+DO: borrow or lend**

小王借哩小李本书。

siɛu⁴² uoŋ⁴⁴ tsia⁴⁴-li siɛu⁴²⁻³³li pun⁴² ɕy³⁴.

XiaoWang borrow-PFV XiaoLi CL book

'XiaoWang borrowed a book from XiaoLi.'

OR 'XiaoWang lent XiaoLi a book.'

However, if we use the first personal pronoun *ŋo*³⁴ as its subject, it is completely acceptable to use the order V+DO+IO just to express the meaning 'to lend'. The omission of the dative marker probably has to do with the immediate situation, presented in (24).

(24) 我借哩本书（把）你。

ŋo³⁴ tsia⁴⁴-li pun⁴² ɕy³⁴ (pa⁴²) ŋi³⁴.
 1SG lend-PFV CL book (DAT) 2SG
 'I lent a book to you.'

15.5 Conclusions

This chapter chose a set of representative ditransitive verbs in Yichun Gan to explain their syntactic properties. First, we showed that there are several apparent GIVE verbs available, which are derived from transitive verbs like *obtain*, *take* or *hold*. This is in support of Zhang's (2010) view that Gan Chinese has no genuine GIVE verb. Second, ditransitives in Yichun Gan are coded in various word orders, showing both orders of Northern Sinitic, i.e. V+IO+DO and Southern Sinitic, i.e. V+DO+IO. However, the order of V+DO+IO is restricted to verbs with a strong transferral meaning, such as *give* and *send*, that implicate a clear physical displacement of the DO as well. Third, the two orders can also be used to distinguish the source and destination ambiguity of indirect objects for *deprive* verbs. Specifically, in V+IO+DO, the indirect object is understood as the source of transferring; in V+DO+IO, the indirect object is understood as destination/goal of transferring.

16 BA constructions

This chapter examines the BA construction in the Yichun language, using BA as an *archimorpheme* or *allofam* in the discussion. In Chinese linguistics, the BA construction (in Mandarin) is recognized as a special means of preposing the direct object of an SVO sentence to a preverbal position, as schematized by Subject-BA-Object-Verb. The BA construction in the Yichun language goes beyond the canonical Mandarin type of BA constructions. We will show that in the Yichun language, there are three different types of BA constructions in terms of the property of verbs, namely the BA construction with transitive verbs, the BA construction with unaccusative verbs and the BA construction with unergative verbs. We will not only look at the common points of these three types of BA constructions but also at their differences.

16.1 BA constructions with transitive verbs

The Yichun language has SVO as its basic word order, where the postverbal position is the canonical object position, as in (1a). Sometimes, the object can appear in some preverbal positions, such as between subject and verb, as marked by the object marker *pa*⁴², glossed as OM, as illustrated in (1b).

(1) a. Canonical SVO order

我吃刮苹果, 就来。

ŋo³⁴ tɕiaʔ-k^huæʔ p^hin⁴⁴kuo⁴², tɕ^hiu²¹³ loe⁴⁴.
1SG eat-COMPL apple then come
'I will come right after eating up the apple(s).'

b. Subject+OM+Object+VP

我把苹果吃刮哩。

ŋo³⁴ pa⁴² p^hin⁴⁴kuo⁴² tɕ^hiaʔ-k^huæʔ li.
1SG OM apple eat-COMPL PRF
'I ate up the apple(s).'

One of the differences between (1a) and (1b) is that the simple SVO clause in (1a) does not constitute a complete sentence without a follow-up clause, while the

BA sentence in (1b) expresses a complete event and can be used as an independent sentence.

Some more examples taken from our database are illustrated in (2). The predicate after the BA object must be an “aspectually completive predicate” (see Chappell 1992; F. Liu 1997 for the relevant discussion on BA constructions in Mandarin). It can be realized by a complex predicate, which is marked by the completive marker *k^huæ?*, as we saw in (1). Additionally, it can be expressed by resultative predicates as shown in (2).

(2) a. 箇只洞跑出只猫头鹰来哩, 把[只伢立_儿仔阿] [吓得从树上跌到地下立_儿来哩]。

ko³⁴ tɕia? t^həŋ²¹³ p^hau⁴²tɕ^hy? tɕia? mau³⁴t^hɛu⁴⁴in³⁴ lœ⁴⁴ li
 DEM CL hole run out CL owl come PRF
 pa⁴² [NP tɕia? ŋa⁴⁴li?tsi? a. [VP xa? tɛ? ts^həŋ⁴⁴
 OM CL boy INTJ frighten PRT from
 tɕ^hy²¹ ɕioŋ tiɛ?tau t^hi²¹ xali lœ⁴⁴] li.
 tree on fall-to floor down come PRF

‘Out of this hole runs an owl, which frightens the boy, so that he falls down from the tree to the ground.’

b. 把[箇只石头][也搬刮]哩。

pa⁴² [NP ko³⁴ tɕia? ɕia?t^hɛu] [VP ia⁴² pɔn³⁴-k^huæ?] li.
 OM DEM CL stone also move-COMPL PRF
 ‘also moved away that stone.’

The first type of BA construction can be represented in the following schema:

Subject+Object Marker+Object+Complex Predicate

Many assume that BA sentences (the transitive type) are derived from the corresponding SVO sentence by preposing the object. For example, in (3a), the proper name *Xiuxiu* is the syntactic object of the verb *tsiɛ?* ‘pick up’ and it can be restored as a SVO sentence, as in (3b).

(3) a. (S)+OM+O+V

今日准备把秀秀接得回去。
 tɕia³⁴ tɕyn⁴²p^hi²¹³ pa⁴² siu⁴⁴siu tsiɛ?tɛ? fi⁴⁴tɕ^hiɛ.
 today prepare OM XiuXiu pick:up.achieve back
 ‘Today, (I) plan to bring back XiuXiu.’

b. (S)+V+O

今日准备接得秀秀回去。

tɕia³⁴ tɕyn⁴²p^hi²¹³ tsiɛʔtɛʔ siu⁴⁴siu fi⁴⁴tɕ^hiɛ.

today prepare pick:up.achieve XiuXiu back

‘Today, (I) plan to bring back XiuXiu.’

However, this argument does not seem to be very accurate, because many SOV sentences do not have the SVO counterparts. For example, the example in (4b) is infelicitous.

(4) a. S+OM+DO+V+IO

你把身份证跟钱送还给我。

nɿ³⁴ pa⁴² ɕin³⁴funtɕin⁴⁴ kien³⁴ ts^hien⁴⁴ sun⁴⁴uan⁴⁴ kiɛ⁴² ŋo³⁴.

2SG OM ID card and money return DAT 1SG

‘Please return the ID card and money to me.’

b. S+V+DO+Prep+IO

你送还身份证跟钱给我。

nɿ³⁴ sun⁴⁴uan⁴⁴ ɕin³⁴funtɕin⁴⁴ kien³⁴ ts^hien⁴⁴ kiɛ⁴² ŋo³⁴.

2SG return ID card and money DAT 1SG

‘Please return the ID card and money to me.’

This suggests that the BA construction may be a special type of syntactic configuration, which is distinct from SVO sentences. It would then be motivated on independent syntactic or semantic grounds.

The transitive type of BA construction is also available in almost all other Sinitic languages, the exceptions being Yue and Pinghua and some Hakka varieties in Guangdong (see Chappell 2007 for a cross-linguistic investigation of the disposal construction in Sinitic languages). However, the following two types of BA constructions, namely, the unaccusative type and the unergative type, are not so commonly seen in languages other than Yichun Gan.

16.2 BA constructions with unaccusative verbs

The second type of BA construction to be discussed has unaccusative verbs as its predicate. Generally speaking, these verbs only have one inherent argument, which is the subject of the clause and assigned with the semantic role of PATIENT. In the Yichun language, this argument can be marked by the marker *pa*⁴².

However, marking by BA may change the semantic-role of the argument and also the argument valency of the verb, as will be explained below.

In the example (5a), its predicate is expressed by the adjective ‘be sick’. The subject ‘the boy’ is the only argument of this predicate and it is marked by *pa*⁴². However, this kind of marking is not obligatory, as the example (5b) is also grammatical, although the marker *pa*⁴² has not been used in this case.

(5) a. 上个礼拜，把棱只佢死刮哩。

ɕioŋ²¹³⁻²¹ ko li⁴²pa⁴⁴, pa⁴² len³⁴ tɕiaŋ ŋa⁴⁴li sɿ⁴²-k^huæŋ li.
last CL week OM that CL kid die-COMPL PRF
‘Last week, that boy got sick.’

b. 上个礼拜，棱只佢死刮哩。

ɕioŋ²¹³⁻²¹ ko li⁴²pa⁴⁴, len³⁴ tɕiaŋ ŋa⁴⁴li sɿ⁴²-k^huæŋ li.
last CL week DEM CL kid die-COMPL PRF
‘Last week, that boy got sick.’

The presence of the object marker *pa*⁴² results in some interpretational difference between (5a) and (5b). The example (5b) reports the event of the boy’s sickness in a neutral tone. By contrast, example (5a) with the marker *pa*⁴² has the implication that the boy’s sickness is something unpleasant. In other words, sentences marked by *pa*⁴² are associated with adversative meanings.

The second type of BA construction can be represented schematically as follows, where the object is its only argument:

OM+Object+Unaccusative verb

Adjectives in the Yichun language are verb-like. Some of them can be characterized by unaccusativity, such as *mi*⁴⁴ ‘going mildewed’ in (6a), *kon*³⁴ ‘getting dry’ in (6b) and *ni*² ‘hot’ in (6c). They all fit with the syntactic template sketched above, in which their inherent arguments can be marked by *pa*⁴².

(6) a. 天特潮湿哩，把仔香菇霉刮哩。

t^hien³⁴ t^hɛŋ tɕ^hieu⁴⁴ɕiŋ-li, pa⁴² tsiŋ ɕioŋ³⁴ku³⁴ mi⁴⁴-k^huæŋ li.
sky too wet-PRF OM CL_{PL} mushroom mildewed-COMPL PRF
‘It is too humid. The fragrant mushrooms have got mildewed.’

b. 火特大哩，把仔汤干刮哩。

fo⁴² tʰɛʔ tʰai²¹³⁻²¹ li, pa⁴² tsiʔ tʰoŋ³⁴ kon³⁴ kʰuæʔ li.
 fire too big PRF OM some soup dry-COMPL PRF
 ‘The oven is too hot. The soup got dried up.’

c. 筒几工把人都热煞哩。

ko³⁴ tɕi⁴² kuŋ³⁴ pa⁴² ŋin⁴⁴ tu³⁴ ŋieʔ sæʔ li.
 DEM several day OM people all hot-dead PRF
 ‘These days, we all suffered from the heat.’

The example (7) features another different kind of example of using the intransitive verb *die* as its main verb.

(7) 旧年，渠把只爷老子过刮哩。

tɕ^hiu²¹³ ŋien⁴⁴, kie³⁴ pa⁴² tɕiaʔ ia⁴⁴⁻²¹ lau⁴² tsɿ kuo⁴⁴ kʰuæʔ li.
 last year 3SG OM CL father die-COMPL PRF
 ‘Last year, he lost his father.’

To our surprise, the sentence (7) has two arguments, including *kie³⁴* ‘he’ and *ia⁴⁴⁻²¹ lau tsɿ* ‘his father’ respectively. The inherent argument of *die* is *tɕiaʔ ia⁴⁴⁻²¹ lautsɿ* ‘his father’, which is, however, marked by *pa⁴²* and assigned the role of experiencer. The pronoun *kie³⁴* ‘he’ appears to be the subject of the sentence, that is, its external argument. This sentence implies that the subject *he* suffers the death of his father.¹ We assume that this extra argument is introduced by the unaccusative construction with the object marker *pa⁴²*, but not the unaccusative verb *die*.

The examples with unaccusative verbs we presented here have two common points with the first type. First, the verb must occur in aspectually complete predicates, no matter whether they be transitive or unaccusative. Second, all these examples express unexpectedness or adversity. They all have the implication that the speaker feels sorry for the undesirable result caused, such as going mildewed, the soup getting dried out, or suffering from the heat. As predicted, it is infelicitous to use the example in (8):

¹ According to Grootaers (1953), this unaccusative/unergative construction with *pa* was found in the rural areas of Datong City, Shanxi Province, which is possibly a Jin dialect. Inspired by Grootaers, Frei (1956) proposed an ergative split for the construction ‘PA+subject’ and argued that the morpheme *pa* is a marker for the absolutive case—the object of a transitive and the subject of an intransitive.

(8) #天太好了，把仔衣服晒干哩。

#t^hien³⁴ t^hεŋ[?] xau⁴²⁻³³ li, pa⁴² tsiŋ[?] i³⁴fu sai⁴⁴kon³⁴ li.
 sky too good PRF OM some clothes dry PR
 Intended: 'It is a bright day. The clothes got dried.'

Disposal constructions with unaccusative verbs, as shown from (5) to (7), date back to the Tang dynasty (Jiang 1997). The relevant examples can still be found in the vernacular novel "Dream of Red Chamber" (Hónglóu Mèng 《红楼梦》), which was written during the 18th century. However, most of these examples are no longer legitimate expressions in Standard Mandarin. The only set of legitimate examples are those with *V-sī* or *Adj-sī* 'V/Adj-dead' as its predicate, such as *rè-sī* 'be hot-dead', that is 'be terribly hot'. The Mandarin counterpart of (6c) is provided in (9) (see Chappell 1992 on these atypical constructions).

(9) 这几天把人都热死了。

zhè jǐ tiān bǎ rén dōu rèsi le.
 these several day OM people all hot-dead PRF
 'These days, we all suffered from the heat.'

16.3 BA constructions with unergative verbs

The third type of BA construction has unergative verbs as the main verb. Unergative verbs only have one argument, which is assigned the role of agent. In the Yichun language, this sole argument can be optionally marked by the marker *pa*⁴², as shown in (10). Unlike the first two types of BA constructions, BA sentences with unergative verbs are not necessarily associated with an unexpected or adversative meaning. The one in (10b) reports a neutral event without unexpectedness involved.

(10) a. 捉到只老鼠，一下蒙招呼得，又把渠跑刮哩。

tsoŋ[?]-tau tɕiaŋ[?] lau⁴²⁻³³cy⁴² iŋ[?]xa maŋ³⁴ tɕie³⁴futeŋ[?],
 catch CL mouse suddenly NEG look.after.achieve
 iu²¹³ pa⁴² kie³⁴ p^hau⁴²-k^huæŋ[?] li.
 again OM 3SG run-COMPL PRF
 '(Someone) caught a mouse. Due to carelessness, it ran away.'

b. 箇只电影忒好笑哩，把渠笑得不得过。

ko²¹³ tɕiaʔ t^hien²¹³ in⁴² t^hɛʔ xau⁴² siɛu²¹³ li, pa⁴² kiɛ³⁴ siɛu⁴⁴-tɛ-piʔ tɛkuo⁴⁴
 DEM CL film too funny PRF OM 3SG laugh-PRT-uncontrollable
 ‘The movie was so funny that he couldn’t stop laughing.’

The third type of BA construction is represented as follows:

OM+Subject+Unergative verb

In this type of BA constructions, the marker *pa*⁴² behaves like a causative marker. An extra argument can be licensed, once the object marker *pa*⁴² is used before its inherent argument. The extra argument usually expresses the semantic role of causer. The relevant example is given in (11).

(11) 棱只保安把只小偷跑刮哩。

len³⁴ tɕiaʔ pau⁴² ŋon³⁴ pa⁴² tɕiaʔ siɛu⁴² t^hɛu³⁴ p^hau⁴²-k^huæʔ li.
 DEM CL security guard OM CL thief run-COMPL PRF
 ‘This security guard let the thief run away.’

In the example (11), the security guard may be responsible for the escaping of the thief, such as due to his neglect of duty. This type of BA construction can be characterized as an unintentional causative. Namely, the subject of the clause may be the cause of the event expressed by unergative predicate.

To sum up, the three types of BA constructions discussed so far share the following two features. On the one hand, the verb must be part of a complex predicate (aspectually completive). Thus, the event expressed by the verb phrase must be telic. On the other, the first and second type of BA sentences express unexpectedness, but the third type has no such property.

From our discussion on these three types of BA constructions, we conclude that (i) the *pa*⁴² marked nominal is not always a direct object that codes the patient role, but can be the subject of unaccusative and unergative verbs as well; (ii) the marker *pa*⁴² may change the valency of the verb, specifically, increasing it by the addition of an external argument which may represent the causer or the cause; (iii) the BA construction is an independently motivated construction and it is independent of its SVO counterpart, if there is any.

16.4 Properties of the NP marked by *pa*⁴²

In standard Mandarin, it is agreed that the object after BA is referential and assumed to be given information (Wang 1943; Li and Thompson 1981; Sun and Givon 1985; Tsao 1987; Chappell 1992). In the Yichun language, it seems that the object after *pa*⁴² can either be referential or non-referential (e.g. in presentative contexts).

The *pa*⁴² marked nominal phrase can be realized by proper names, pronouns, possessive phrases, bare nouns and ‘Cl+N’ etc. It is quite obvious that the first three types of nominal phrases are definite. Consider the examples in (12).

- (12) a. 把秀秀叫过来呀。 [Proper name]
 pa⁴² siəu⁴⁴siəu tɕiəu⁴⁴ kuo⁴⁴lœ⁴⁴ ia.
 OM XiuXiu call come over INTJ
 ‘Please ask XiuXiu to come over.’
- b. 冇，我把渠锁得在屋里哦。 [Pronoun]
 mau⁴⁴, ŋo³⁴ pa⁴² kiɛ³⁴ so⁴²tɛ? ts^hœ²¹³ u?li o.
 NEG 1SG OM 3SG lock.achieve LOC home INTJ
 ‘No, I locked her at home.’
- c. 明日，把我只细人仔也舞到你箇里来啲。 [Possessive]
 mian⁴⁴ŋi? pa⁴² ŋo³⁴ tɕia? si⁴⁴ŋin⁴⁴tɕi? ia⁴² u⁴²⁻³³ tau ŋi³⁴ ko³⁴li lœ⁴⁴ io.
 tomorrow OM 1SG CL kid also send to 2SG here come INTJ
 ‘Tomorrow, I will send my kid to your place as well.’

We now examine the interpretation of the two latter types, namely, bare nouns and ‘Cl+N’.

Bare nouns in BA constructions are interpreted as definite, where the bare noun may represent a part of the background information (13a), or makes exophoric reference to an object in the speech context (13b). In example (13c), the bare noun *ts^hitɕintɕia?* ‘bicycle’ in the second clause refers back to the first occurrence of *tɕia?* ‘bike’. It is an anaphoric (endophoric) use.

(13) a. Background information

- 开学第一天，把伙食搞好发仔。
 k^hœ³⁴xo? t^hi²¹³i? t^hien³⁴ pa⁴² fo⁴²ɕi? kau⁴²⁻³³ xau⁴² fa?tsi?
 opening.school first day OM meals make good a bit
 ‘It is the first day of the new semester. Please make the meals well.’

b. Exophoric use

把菜端得去。

pa⁴² ts^hœ⁴⁴ tœʔtœʔ tœ^hie⁴⁴.

OM plate carry.achieve go

'Take the dish out.'

c. Endophoric use

箇只佢俚仔下哩车，还把自行车翻到地下去哩。

ko³⁴ tœiaʔ ŋa³⁴litsiʔ xa⁴²-li tœ^hia³⁴

DEM CL kid descend-PFC bike

xai⁴⁴ pa⁴² ts^h1²¹³œin⁴⁴tœiaʔ fan³⁴-tau t^hi²¹³-xa tœ^hie⁴⁴ li.

FOC OM bike lay.to floor go PRF

'The kid got off the bike and put the bike onto the floor.'

Bare nouns and 'Cl+N' in BA constructions can either be interpreted as definite (14) or indefinite but specific (15). In (14), 'Cl+N' refers to the child that the interlocutors are all familiar with, an individual that has been previously introduced into the discourse.

(14) a. 把只细人仔丢到屋里，渠去打工哩。

pa⁴² tœiaʔ si⁴⁴ŋin⁴⁴tœiʔ tiu³⁴ tau uʔli,

OM CL child leave at home

kie³⁴ tœ^hie⁴⁴ ta⁴²kuŋ³⁴ li.

3SG go work PRF

'He left the child home and he went to work.'

b. 把碗饭吃刮哩。

pa⁴²⁻³³ uon⁴² fan²¹³ tœ^hiaʔ-k^huæʔ li.OM CL_{bowl} rice eat-COMPL PRF

'Eat up the rice.'

The indefinite 'Cl+N' is found in some special contexts, as shown in (15). The examples are taken from one of the Pear stories, told by Ms. Huang. She told the story while looking at the video clip of the Pear story. In other words, the following sentences are used in presentative contexts.

- (15) a. 箇只男客人还把只梨立儿, 还擦干净下仔。

ko³⁴ tɕiaŋ lan⁴⁴-kaŋŋin⁴⁴ xai⁴⁴ pa⁴² tɕiaŋ li⁴⁴li
 DEM CL male-person FOC OM CL pear
 xai⁴⁴ ts^hæ kon³⁴ts^hin xatsiŋ.
 FOC wipe clean DELIM
 ‘This man even wiped the pear clean.’

- b. 把条围巾围到扁颈脑上。

pa⁴² t^hieu⁴⁴ ui⁴⁴tɕein³⁴ ui⁴⁴ tau pien⁴²⁻³³tɕiaŋ⁴² lau⁴²tɕioŋ.
 OM CL scarf wear to neck on
 ‘wear the scarf around the neck’

- c. 把仔水果装到箇只篮子内头去。

pa⁴² tsiŋ tɕy⁴²⁻³³kuo⁴² tɕioŋ³⁴ tau ko³⁴ tɕiaŋ leu⁴²tsɿ ŋy²¹³⁻²¹t^hieu tɕ^hie⁴⁴.
 OM some fruit put to DEM CL basket inside go
 ‘(They) put some fruit into the basket.’

[Num+Cl+N]: the examples in (16) are similar to the examples of ‘Cl+N’ in (15), namely, in presentative contexts.

- (16) 扶起自行车, 爬上自行车, 把一娄梨装到, 装到车子上,

fu⁴⁴ tɕ^hi⁴² ts^hɿ²¹³tɕein⁴⁴tɕ^hia³⁴, p^ha⁴⁴ tɕioŋ²¹³ ts^hɿ²¹³tɕein⁴⁴tɕ^hia³⁴,
 prop up bike ride upon bike
 pa⁴² iŋ leu⁴² li⁴⁴ tɕioŋ³⁴ tau, tɕioŋ³⁴ tau tɕ^hia³⁴tsɿ tɕioŋ²¹³.
 OM one CL pear put to put to bike on
 ‘Prop up the bicycle, ride on it and put a basket of pears onto the bike.’

It is proposed that the nominal phrases following PA⁴² in (15) and (16) should be read as specific, as these examples are all taken from the Pear Stories, where they are used to narrate the story which is taking place. It is therefore a presentative context. Although it seems that only the speaker knows which object she is referring to and talking about, this kind of information is assumed to be accessible to the addressees by watching the video. In this sense, the entity referred to by Cl-N or Num-Cl-N can be considered to represent specific individuals or things.

16.5 Conclusions

This chapter gives an overview of BA constructions in Yichun Gan, which goes beyond the canonical pattern ‘Subject+BA+Object+V_{transitive}’ found in Mandarin. In Yichun Gan, the verbs used in BA constructions can either be transitive or intransitive, including both unergative and unaccusative verbs, that latter two not being available in Mandarin, except for V/Adj-*sí*. What is common to these two intransitive subtypes of BA constructions is that they both express the pragmatic meaning of adversity or unexpectedness. Moreover, the predicate must be complex with telic eventuality, while the object marked by BA can either be definite or indefinite.

17 Passives and causatives

This chapter explores passives and causatives in Yichun Gan. As far as passives are concerned, they will be examined from three perspectives, namely, [\pm passive marker], [\pm agent] and [\pm adversity]. The first parameter is concerned about whether the passive construction is realized by some special passive marker or by zero marking. With respect to the second parameter, if the passive marker in the clause requires an agent to be present obligatorily, it is characterized as a 'long passive', in contrast with 'short passives', which require no agent (the terms are due to Huang 1999). In terms of the third parameter, unlike the counterpart in English, the passive construction in the Yichun language often expresses an adversative meaning. We will now discuss these three parameters one by one.

Causatives will be discussed right after passives. Three types of causative verbs will be discussed respectively, including speech act verbs, WAIT and GIVE. Specifically, speech act verbs express jussives, whereas WAIT and GIVE express permissives.

17.1 Passives with zero marking

A passive, whose reversed counterpart is an active sentence, has as its subject the patient or theme of the primary verb. This is discussed on the ground that in prototypical cases, in actives, the subject is realized by an actor/agent, and the object by a theme/patient (Siewierska and Bakker 2013). Passives are derived from actives by promoting the object to the subject position and by demoting the subject to be an oblique (Siewierska 1984; Bresnan and Kanerva 1988; Keenan and Dryers 2007). In English, the verb predicate in passives is furthermore syntactically expressed by a special form: 'be+V-ed'.

In the colloquial Yichun language, the passive meaning can be expressed simply by placing the patient NP directly before the verb, without any morphological device or special lexical marker. It can be represented as 'Patient NP+Verb'. We consider this type of passive construction as a zero-marked passive. Some of the examples are given in (1).

(1) Type 1: Patient NP+VP

a. 渠俚格老屋拆刮哩。

kie³⁴li ko lau⁴² u? ts^haʔ-k^huæʔ li.
 3PL MOD old house tear-COMPL PRF
 ‘Their old house was torn down.’

b. 电脑搞坏哩。

t^hien²¹³lau⁴² kau⁴²fai li.
 computer make broken PRF
 ‘The computer was broken.’

c. 衣服淋湿哩。

i³⁴fu lin⁴⁴ciʔ li.
 laundry get wet PRF
 ‘The laundry got wet.’

As shown in (1), the zero-marked passive construction is composed of a NP and its verb predicate. In this construction, the NP in the subject position represents the theme or patient of the verb, and no overt agent NP is introduced to represent the person who performed the act. In such examples, either we do not know who the agent/causer is, or the agent is not relevant information and so need not be brought into focus. Hence, it is not necessary to express the agent at the syntactic level.

We adopt Shibatani’s (1985) viewpoint on the property of this type of passive sentence. He, from the point of view of pragmatics, defines passives as constructions which defocus the agent and emphasize the affectedness of the patient. Accordingly, in the template of Patient NP-VP, the subject is the element that bears the property of affectedness, which is expressed by the verb predicate. This can also be seen from the fact that verbs in passives are often realized by resultative compounds.

LaPolla (1998) suggests the zero-marked passive of NP-VP in Mandarin is in fact a topic-comment construal. According to LaPolla (1988), this type of passive is formed by dropping the agent/subject of a topicalized form. This argument is not solid enough, since in most Sinitic languages, including Mandarin and Yichun Gan, nearly any sentence form can be construed with a topic-comment structure.

We tend to take the same position as Shibatani that the zero-marked passives in Gan (and in Mandarin) can be seen as a process of defocalization of the agent.

17.2 Long and short passives

17.2.1 Passives with agent expressed or suppressed

In the Yichun language, there are indeed cases where the passive function is expressed by overt markers. However, this kind of passive marking is different from what we see in Indo-European languages, which have a particular morpho-syntactic form to express passive meaning, such as ‘BE+V-ed’ in English. In Yichun Gan, passives are expressed by certain lexical items, which introduce the agent who performs the relevant activity. In other words, if there is any passive marker at all, they are realized as oblique markers and the verb is still left morphosyntactically unmarked. In Mandarin, a distinction between ‘long’ and ‘short’ passives is made, based on the presence or absence of the agent after the passive marker *bèi* (Huang 1999).¹ These two types of passive sentences can be represented as follows:

- (2) a. Long Passive: NP_{Patient}-Passive marker-NP_{Agent}-VP
 b. Short Passive: NP_{Patient}-Passive marker-VP

In Yichun Gan, the long passive is more frequently seen than the short one, as is typical of the large majority of Sinitic languages (see Chappell 2015 for a typological study). In most cases, the NP following the passive marker has to be obligatorily present, where the NP refers to the agent who carries out the activity.

The Yichun language has the three lexical words which can serve as passive markers, including *pa*⁴² 把, *te*⁴² 得 and *ten*⁴² 等. They have very different lexical meanings from the Mandarin marker *bèi*, which was originally a verb with the sense of ‘attach/cover’ or ‘suffer’. However, in Yichun Gan, the marker *pa*⁴² means ‘take/hold’ (as discussed in Chapter 16), *te*⁴² means ‘obtain’ and *ten*⁴² means ‘wait’.

¹ The Chinese long passive is called ‘long’ for two reasons: it has an overt agent phrase immediately after *bèi*, and, perhaps more importantly, it allows the affected theme in the passive to be identified with a long-distance gap (a), while short passives do not allow (b).

(a) Zhāngsān bèi Lǐsī pài jǐngchá zhuāzǒu le. (Huang 1999: 450 (51a))

Joh BEI Lee send police arrest PRF
 ‘John was “sent-police-to-arrest” by Lee.’

(b)* Zhāngsān bèi pài jǐngchá zhuāzǒu le. (Huang 1999: 450 (52))

John BEI send police arrest PRF
 ‘John was “sent-police-to-arrest” by Lee.’

These three passive markers of *pa*⁴², *tɛ*⁴² and *ten*⁴² are functionally equivalent to each other, so they are free variants of one another. As shown in (3), the passive markers can all introduce the agent who performs the act.

(3) a. 我把 / 得 / 等渠打刮一下。

ŋo³⁴ pa⁴²/tɛ⁴²/ten⁴² kiɛ³⁴ ta⁴²-k^huæʔ iʔxa²¹³.
 1SG PASS 3SG beat-COMPL TENTA
 ‘I was beaten by him.’

b. 车子把 / 得 / 等老王骑走哩。

tɕia³⁴tsɿ pa⁴²/tɛ⁴²/ten⁴² lau⁴²uoŋ⁴⁴ tɕ^hi⁴⁴ tɕeu li.
 bike PASS LaoWang ride away PRF
 ‘The bike was ridden away by LaoWang.’

If the agent is not inferrable from the context, it is expressed by the impersonal pronoun *ŋi*⁴⁴*ka* 人家 or *lai*⁴²*ko* 哪个, as illustrated in (4).

(4) a. 车子等人家骑走哩。

tɕia³⁴tsɿ ten⁴² ŋi⁴⁴ka tɕ^hi⁴⁴tɕeu li.
 bike PASS others ride away PRF
 ‘The bike was ridden away by another.’

b. 等哪个偷刮哩。

ten⁴² lai⁴²ko tɕu³⁴-k^huæʔ li.
 PASS someone steal-COMPL PRF
 ‘(Something) was stolen by someone.’

The oblique NP is often realized by animate nouns as Agent. But inanimate nouns are also found in some cases, where they are then analyzed as Causer.

(5) 大桥得 / 把大水冲垮哩。

t^hai²¹³tɕ^heu⁴⁴ ten⁴²/pa⁴² t^hai²¹³ɕy⁴² tɕ^huŋ³⁴-k^hua⁴² li.
 bridge PASS flood wash:away-COMPL PRF
 ‘The bridge was washed away by the flood.’

As mentioned earlier, in Mandarin, the passive marker *bèi* sometimes does not have to introduce an agent. It can directly precede the verb expressing the passive event. This is the so-called agentless passive or short passive. By contrast,

in the Yichun language, these passive constructions are agentful. In general, there is no short passive in the Yichun language.

(6) 渠等*(人家)打哩。

kie³⁴ ten⁴² *(njin⁴⁴ka) ta⁴² li.
 3SG PASS others beat PRF
 ‘He was beaten by others.’

Only in very restricted cases can we use agentless passives. Among the three passive markers, only the marker *ten*⁴² and *tɛ*⁴² can be used in an agentless variant, but never the marker *pa*⁴². Some of the examples are illustrated in (7).

(7) a. 自行车得偷刮哩。

ts^hɿ²¹³ ɕin⁴⁴ tɕ^hia³⁴ tɛ⁴² t^hɛu³⁴-k^huæŋ li.
 bike PASS steal-COMPL PRF
 ‘The bicycle was stolen.’

b. 电脑等搞坏哩。

t^hien²¹³ lau⁴² ten⁴² kau⁴²-fai²¹³ li.
 computer PASS make-broken PRF
 ‘The computer was broken.’

This kind of agentless passive is highly restricted in the Yichun language. The most important constraint is that the entity that is affected, which is expressed by the patient NP, must belong to the speaker, so the subject is either realized by a bare noun or 1SG.POSS+N. Examples in (8) are unacceptable, where the possessor is expressed by a proper name or the third person singular.

(8) a. * 小王格电脑等搞坏哩。

*sieu⁴²uon⁴⁴ ko t^hien²¹³lau⁴² ten⁴² kau⁴²-fai²¹³ li.
 XiaoWang MOD computer PASS make-broken PRF
 Intended: ‘XiaoWang’s computer was broken.’

b. 我格/*渠格自行车得偷刮哩。

ŋo³⁴ ko /*kie³⁴ ko ts^hɿ²¹³ ɕin⁴⁴ tɕ^hia³⁴ tɛ⁴² t^hɛu³⁴-k^huæŋ li.
 1SG MOD/ 3SG MOD bike PASS steal-COMPL PRF
 ‘His bicycle was stolen.’

In addition to these features, this passive construction emphasizes a resulting state but not an action. The speaker himself, not others, is responsible for the result, but tries to avoid being accused. Moreover, the result is not reversible. In example (9), it is either the speaker who is responsible for the ruin of the clothes by improper washing, or somebody else who did it, but the speaker does not intend to blame anyone for the incident. Instead, he decides to impersonalise the situation in using a passive form, rather than attributing any responsibility.

(9) 衣服等洗坏哩。

i³⁴fu ten⁴² si⁴²fai²¹³ li.
 clothes PASS wash.broken PRF
 'The clothes were ruined in the wash.'

17.2.2 Ambiguity between passives and disposal constructions

It was shown in Chapter 16 that the lexical item *pa*⁴² can also serve as an accusative marker. Therefore, there is a possibility that the sequence 'NP1+*pa*⁴²+NP2+Verb' could be ambiguous between a disposal construction and a passive construction. For example, the example in (10) can either be interpreted with a passive reading, meaning 'the child was fetched by his uncle' as given in the (a) translation, or with a disposal reading, meaning 'the child fetched his uncle' as shown in (b).

(10) 你只伢俚把渠舅爷接走哩。

ni³⁴ tɕia? ŋa⁴⁴li pa⁴² kiɛ³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³⁻²¹ia tsie?tseu⁴² li.
 2SG CL boy PASS 3SG uncle pick:up PRF
 a. 'Your child was picked up by his uncle.'
 b. 'Your child picked up his uncle.'

In most cases, these two readings are disambiguated by means of contextual information or our world knowledge. For example, in (11), pragmatically speaking, it is more likely for a dog to bite a person than for a person to bite a dog. Thus, it is more plausible to interpret (11) with a passive reading.

(11) 老王把狗咬哩一口。

lau⁴² uoŋ⁴⁴ tɛn⁴²⁻³³ kiɛu⁴² ŋæ?-li i? k^hiɛu⁴².
 Lao Wang PASS dog bite-PFV one mouth
 'Lao Wang was bitten by a dog.'

Sometimes, it is animacy which is the important factor to disambiguate the disposal and the passive reading. For example, when the subject is an inanimate entity, the marker is interpreted as a passive marker. The example in (12) can only be interpreted with a passive reading.

- (12) 电视机把渠搞坏哩。
 t^hien²¹³ tɕi²¹³ tɕi³⁴ pa⁴² kiɛ³⁴ kau⁴² fai²¹³ li.
 TV set PASS 3SG make broken PRF
 ‘The TV set was broken by him.’

What is interesting is that the disposal *pa*⁴² and the passive markers, including *pa*⁴², can co-occur. Consider the examples in (13).

- (13) *Pa*⁴²+Patient NP+Passive marker+Agent NP+VP
- a. 把块肉把狗拖刮哩。
 pa⁴²⁻³³ k^huai⁴⁴ ŋiu? pa⁴²⁻³³ kiɛu⁴² t^ho³⁴ k^huæ? li.
 OM CL meat PASS dog drag-COMPL PRF
 ‘The piece of meat was dragged away by the dog.’
- b. 把只伢俚等水浸煞哩。
 pa⁴² tɕia? ŋa⁴⁴ li ten⁴²⁻³³ ɕy⁴² tsin⁴⁴ sæ? li.
 OM CL boy PASS water get: drowned PRF
 ‘The boy was drowned.’

In Chapter 16, we discussed three types of BA constructions, which feature transitive verbs, unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs. In example (13a), the transitive verb *t^ho³⁴-k^huæ?* ‘drag away’ is passivized, where the accusative object ‘meat’, is the affectee and the agent NP ‘dog’ is demoted by the use of the passive marker PA. By way of contrast, (13b) features an unaccusative verb, *tsin⁴⁴sæ?* ‘drown’ which is passivized with a patient NP ‘boy’ as subject by default. This kind of construction is also found in Jin Chinese (see Frei 1956; Grootaers 1953), but not in Mandarin. In general, the use of BA puts into prominence the feature of affectedness.

17.3 Adversity

In Mandarin, the passive construction usually carries some adversative meaning in that something unpleasant or unfortunate happens to the subject. This generalization more or less carries over to passives in the Yichun language. If

we go back to the examples in (1) to (13), it is clear that the predicates express unfortunate events with meanings like ‘broken’, ‘destroyed’, ‘beaten’ etc.

However, there are indeed certain cases in which the passives may express neutral or positive meanings.

(14) a. 他等老师表扬了。

kiɛ³⁴ ten⁴² lau⁴²si³⁴ piɛu⁴²ioŋ⁴⁴ li.
 3SG PASS teach praise PRF
 ‘He was praised by the teacher.’

b. 渠把政府奖刮 1000 块钱。

kiɛ³⁴ pa⁴² tɛin⁴⁴fu⁴² tɕion⁴²-k^huæ? iʔts^hien³⁴ k^huai⁴² tɕ^hian⁴⁴.
 3SG PASS government award-COMPL 1000 YUAN money
 ‘He was awarded with 1000 Yuan by the government.’

Why do passives in Yichun and Mandarin tend to express adversative meanings? In Mandarin, the passive is marked by the passive marker *bèi* 被, which is derived from its verbal use, meaning ‘cover’ or ‘suffer’ in Archaic and Medieval Chinese. At first glance, the adversative meaning expressed by *bèi* passives in Mandarin might be due to the constraint imposed by the meaning of its negative lexical source. Similarly, in the Sichuan dialect, a variety of Southwestern Mandarin, the verb *zāo* 遭 ‘suffer’ is used as a passive marker. It expresses adversity as well.

However, this explanation does not apply to Yichun Gan or to most varieties of Northern Mandarin, in which speech act verbs such as *jiào* 叫 ‘ask’ or causative verbs like *ràng* 让 ‘let’ are used as passive markers. Passive sentences with such markers are also associated with adversative meanings, although the source verbs for these markers have no negative lexical meanings.

In the Yichun language, the passive markers are all cognate forms of various verbs, such as *pa*⁴² ‘hold, give’ and *tɛ*⁴² ‘obtain’ and *ten*⁴² ‘wait’. Unlike Mandarin *bèi*, these markers in the Yichun language do not have any negative meaning themselves. As mentioned earlier, in colloquial conversation, the passives are not pervasive. In most cases, sentences with active voice, if not the O(S)V topicalized patient construction (Chapter 18) are more frequently used than passives. Therefore, passives in the Yichun dialect may be used as a marked construction with special constructional meanings, such as to highlight how the patient/theme is negatively affected.

We suggest that this adversative meaning is not dependent on the lexical meaning of the passive markers, but it is a structural meaning. To put it more

forcefully, it is also an areal feature in East and Southeast Asian languages, including Japanese, Thai, Vietnamese as well as Sinitic languages.

17.4 Causatives

Causatives are closely related to passives. From a historical perspective, causative markers are one of the main sources for passive markers. That is why we treat them in the same chapter.

The Yichun language uses analytic causatives. In other words, it uses complex predicates to express causatives. According to the verb types, causatives in Yichun Gan can be expressed by speech act verbs such as *xan*⁴² ‘call, ask’, or verbs like *teŋ*⁴² and *pa*⁴².

Examples in (15) show the use of the speech act verb *xan*⁴² ‘call’ and *iεu*⁴⁴ ‘want’ to express causative meaning. As a causative verb, *xan*⁴² is similar in meaning to English ‘ask someone to do something’, and the volitional verb *iεu*²¹³ ‘want’ shows the same function.

(15) Direct causatives

- a. 老师要 / 喊我去擦黑板。

lau⁴² s₁³⁴ iεu⁴⁴/xan⁴² ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hie⁴⁴ ts^hæ?[?] xe?[?]pan⁴².

teacher ask/want 1SG go erase blackboard
‘The teacher asked me to clean the blackboard.’

- b. 你莫总喊 / 要我吃盈饭。

ŋi³⁴ mo?[?] tsəŋ⁴² xan⁴²/iεu⁴⁴ ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hia?[?] iaŋ²¹³fan

2SG NEG always ask/want 1SG eat leftovers
‘Do not always ask me to eat the leftovers.’

Both *teŋ*⁴² ‘wait’ and *pa*⁴² ‘give’ can express a particular type of causative meaning, namely, that of permissive ‘let’. It expresses the meaning that the subject permits the object NP to do something.

(16) Permissive causatives

- a. 渠妈妈等 / 把渠到外面耍。

kie³⁴ ma³⁴ ma ten⁴²/pa⁴² kie³⁴ tau⁴⁴ uai²¹³⁻²¹ mian sa⁴².

3SG mother give/give 3SG to outside play
‘His mother let him play outside.’

b. 等 / 把渠试下仔

ten⁴²/pa⁴² kiε³⁴ ɕi⁴⁴ xatsiʔ.
 give/give 3SG try DELIM
 ‘Let him have a try.’

c. 你遮嘛等 / 把渠去参加比赛?

ŋi³⁴ teia³⁴ moʔ t en⁴²/pa⁴² kiε³⁴ tɕ^hie⁴⁴ ts^han³⁴ka³⁴ pi⁴²sœ⁴⁴.
 2SG why give/give 3SG go participate contest
 ‘Why did you let him take part in the contest?’

As we saw in the examples of (17), both *ten*⁴² ‘wait’ appears to have the same function as *pa*⁴² ‘give’ to express permissives, but they are not always the same. Only the verb *ten*⁴² ‘wait’ but not *pa*⁴² can be used in the examples in (18).

(17) Permissive *ten*⁴² versus *pa*⁴²

a. 你莫去, 等 / *把我去。

ŋi³⁴ moʔ tɕ^hie⁴⁴, ten⁴²/*pa⁴² ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hie⁴⁴
 2SG NEG go wait/take 1SG go
 ‘You did not go, but let me go.’

b. 等 / *把我看下仔, 话不定我认得渠。

ten⁴²/*pa⁴² ŋo³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴-xa⁴²tsiʔ, ua²¹³⁻²¹piʔt^hian²¹³ ŋo³⁴ ŋin²¹³⁻²¹teʔ kiε³⁴.
 wait/take 1SG look-DELIM probably 1SG know 3SG
 ‘Let me have a look. Probably, I know him.’

c. 等 / *把渠哭, 莫去搭渠。

ten⁴²/*pa⁴² kiε³⁴ k^huʔ, moʔ tɕ^hie⁴⁴ tæʔ kiε³⁴
 wait/take 3SG cry NEG go take:notice:of 3SG
 ‘Let him cry by himself and just ignore him.’

What is common to the three examples in (18) is that it is a sort of non-interference causative. The causer does not prevent the causee from doing what they wish. Also the examples are all in first person in a kind of request structure. It’s thus a jussive use with 3rd person causees.

17.5 Conclusions

We have discussed both passive and causative constructions in Yichun Gan, which are closely related with each other. The Yichun passives are clearly en-

dowed with typical Central and Southern Sinitic properties, as manifested by the following three aspects. First, the passive markers can be expressed by GIVE verbs, and more specifically by WAIT. Second, the argument introduced by the passive marker, i.e. the agent of the relevant actions, cannot be omitted. A third feature is that the passive construction tends to express undesirable events. The causative constructions are expressed by the same set of verbs, i.e. the GIVE and WAIT verbs, which express permissive or non-interference causatives. In addition, volitional verbs and speech act verbs, which do not have a passive function, may also fulfill similar functions as directive causatives. The speech act verb HAN 喊 ‘call, ask, yell’ is a typical source of causatives in Central and Southern Sinitic languages.

18 Topic and focus related constructions

This chapter gives an introduction to the correlation between word order and topic/focus related constructions in Yichun Gan. As will be explained, word order is an important mechanism in construing the topic/focus relation in this language. A rough generalization goes like this: the sentence-initial element is usually the topic element and the core elements in the predicates form the default focus. As far as focus constructions are concerned, the copula is realized as a focus marker in cleft clauses. A distinction is made between the $\text{ci}^{213}\dots\text{ko}$ construction and the bare ci^{213} construction.

18.1 Topic constructions and word order variations

Topic is “the entity that a speaker identifies, about which then information, the comment, is given” (Krifka 2008; also see Lambrecht 1994). As shown in (1), the speaker Mr. Wu asks whether the hearer knows Wu DeGui, which then becomes the topic of discussion. In Mr. Zeng’s reply, Wu Degui is followed by the topic marker *a*, preceding a pause, and the subject is expressed by the pronoun $\text{ki}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{34}$, which refers back to Wu DeGui at the topic position.

(1) 吴：吴德贵，认得么？

Wu: $\text{u}^{44} \text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{kui}^{44}$, $\text{nin}^{213-21}\text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}?$ $\text{mo}^?$

Wu DeGui know Q

Wu: ‘Wu DeGui, do you know (him)?’

曾：吴德贵啊，渠不在格里住呗。

Zeng: $\text{u}^{44} \text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{kui}^{44}$ a , $\text{ki}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{34}$ $\text{pi}^?$ $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{œ}^{213}$ ko^{34}li $\text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{y}^{213-21}$ $\text{p}\epsilon$.

Wu DeGui TOP 3SG NEG LOC here live INTJ

Zeng: ‘Wu DeGui, he did not live here.’

Example (2) gives another illustration of topic identification. In the first turn of talk, Mr. Zeng wanted to make sure that Mr. Wu was asking about $\text{li}^{42}\text{t}\epsilon\text{ia}^?$ $\text{u}^?$ ‘this house’. So in his second reply, he provided the information that is requested by Mr. Wu, that is, ‘it is a few hundred years old, after it has been confirmed that $\text{li}^{42}\text{t}\epsilon\text{ia}^?$ $\text{u}^?$ is the topic of discussion.

(2) 吴: 箇有几百年哩啊, 里只屋?

Wu: ko³⁴ iu⁴²⁻³³ tci⁴² pa? ɲien⁴⁴ li a, li⁴² tciɑ? u? ?
 DEM have several hundred year PRF INTJ DEM CL house
 'Is it a few hundred years old, this house?'

易: 里只屋啊?

Yi: li⁴² tciɑ? u? a ?
 DEM CL house INTJ
 'You mean this house?'

吴: 哎。

Wu: ε.
 INTJ
 'Yes'

易: 里只屋有几百年。

Yi: li⁴² tciɑ? u? mau⁴⁴ tci⁴² pa? ɲien⁴⁴.
 DEM CL house NEG.HAVE several hundred years
 'This house is several hundred years old.'

The Yichun language is a SVO language, whose subject precedes the verb, while the object follows it in its canonical situation. At the same time, like Mandarin, Yichun Gan is also a 'topic-prominent' language on the level of discourse, in that the subject functions as the topic of the sentence, if there is no other element preceding it (Li and Thompson 1976). Therefore, the subject and the predicate of a sentence can often be analyzed as 'topic' and 'comment' respectively in terms of information structure. Let's take example (3) and (4) to illustrate this.

Example (3) is a copular clause, whose subject $\eta\sigma^{34}ko\ lau^{42}ka^{34}$ 'my hometown' is not only the subject but also the topic of the sentence. It is ascribed with the property of 'being located at XiaDanXi'.

(3) [我格老家]是在下丹溪哈。

[$\eta\sigma^{34}ko\ lau^{42}ka^{34}$] ζi^{213} ts^hœ²¹³ xa²¹³⁻²¹tan³⁴ ζi^{34} $\zeta i\alpha$.
 1SG MOD hometown be at XiaDanXi INTJ
 'My hometown is at XiaDanXi.'

By contrast, in example (4), verbs like $lo\gamma^{42}$ 'rain' and $ta^{42}\text{-}ly^{44}ku\eta$ 'thunder' do not require an overt subject, which is expressed by an explicit but non-referential 'it' in English. They can be temporarily called 'subjectless verbs' in Yichun Gan. In this particular example, the constituent occurring before the verb, i.e. $ko^{34}\eta i\gamma^{213-21}li$ 'on that night' is the topic of the sentence, which expresses spatial or temporal information about the situation described.

(4) [箇日夜里]就落雨又打雷公。

[ko³⁴ ni[?] ia²¹³⁻²¹li] tɕ^hiu²¹³ lo[?]-y⁴² iu²¹³ ta⁴² ly⁴⁴kuŋ.
 DEM day night then rain and make thunder
 ‘On that night, it rained and thundered.’

In addition to subject and adverbial phrases, objects can also function as topics. Hence, although SVO is the canonical word order in Yichun Gan, the word order of OSV is also possible when the object is preposed from its original postverbal position to a sentence-initial position. We use the examples in (5) to show this word order alternation.

(5) a. 你看到张明哩么?

ni³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴tau⁴⁴ tɕion³⁴min⁴⁴ li mo?
 2SG see ZhangMing PRF Q
 ‘Did you see ZhangMing?’

b. 张明你看到哩么?

tɕion³⁴min⁴⁴ ni³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴tau⁴⁴ li mo?
 ZhangMing 2SG see PRF Q
 ‘ZhangMing, did you see him?’

(6) a. 你吃早饭哩么?

ni³⁴ tɕ^hia[?] tsau⁴²fan²¹³ li mo?
 2SG eat breakfast PRF Q
 ‘Did you have your breakfast?’

b. 早饭你吃哩么?

tsau⁴²fan²¹³ ni³⁴ tɕ^hia[?] li mo?
 breakfast 2SG eat PRF Q
 ‘The breakfast, did you eat it?’

Mandarin and Yichun also have the SOV order, in which the object is preposed from a postverbal position to a position between the subject and the verb. However, this order is very restricted in use. The *listing* context is one of the very few contexts that allows the SOV order. Compare (7a) with (7b):

(7) a. ??? 你早饭吃哩么?

??? ηi^{34} $\text{tsau}^{42}\text{fan}^{213}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ia}^{\text{?}}\text{-li}$ $\text{mo}^{\text{?}}$

2SG breakfast eat-PRF Q

Intended: 'Did you have your breakfast?'

b. 我饭么吃哩, 澡么洗哩, 不想出门。

 ηo^{34} fan^{213} mo $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ia}^{\text{?}}$ li , tsau^{42} mo ci^{42} li , $\text{pi}^{\text{?}}\text{sion}^{42}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{y}^{44}\text{min}^{44}$.

1SG meal TOP eat PRF shower TOP wash PRF NEG.want go:out

'I ate my meal and had my shower. I don't want to go out.'

Hence, the order SOV is also possible if the entity referred to by the object is a task or some action that is to be carried out routinely, like 'homework' or 'medicine'.

(8) a. 你药吃哩么?

 ηi^{34} $\text{io}^{\text{?}}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ia}^{\text{?}}$ li $\text{mo}^{\text{?}}$

2SG medicine eat PRF Q

'Did you take the medicine?'

b. 你作业做完哩么?

 ηi^{34} $\text{tso}^{\text{?}}\eta\text{i}^{\text{e}}^{\text{?}}$ $\text{tsi}^{44}\text{uon}^{44}$ li $\text{mo}^{\text{?}}$

2SG homework finish PRF Q

'Did you finish your homework?'

SOV sentences are more frequent and natural when the object marker pa^{42} is used to introduce the preposed object (see Chapter 16).

(9) a. 你把作业做完哩么?

 ηi^{34} pa^{42} $\text{tso}^{\text{?}}\eta\text{i}^{\text{e}}^{\text{?}}$ $\text{tsi}^{44}\text{uon}^{44}$ li $\text{mo}^{\text{?}}$

2SG OM homework finish PRF Q

'Did you finish your homework?'

b. 你把早饭吃哩么?

 ηi^{34} pa^{42} $\text{tsau}^{42}\text{fan}^{213}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ia}^{\text{?}}\text{-li}$ $\text{mo}^{\text{?}}$

2SG OM breakfast eat-PFV Q

'Did you have your breakfast?'

Topical elements can be overtly marked by topic markers in Yichun Gan, which follow the topical element and separate it from the comment. In fact, phonetic

pause is one of the most often used methods to prosodically mark the topic. Additionally, interjections including *a*, *nɛ*, *mɛ* and *iɛ*, can also be used as topic markers.

(10) **Strategy 1: Phonetic pause**

箇只事，好好好，做得，冒问题。

ko³⁴ tɕia? sɿ²¹³, xau⁴² xau⁴² xau⁴², tsɿ⁴⁴tɕ? mau⁴⁴ un²¹³tʰi⁴⁴.

DEM CL thing good good good do.able NEG.HAVE problem

‘This thing was done quite well. There is not any problem.’

(11) **Strategy 2: Topic markers**

a. 箇只兜啊，就悬起来哩。

ko³⁴ tɕia? tɕu³⁴ a tɕʰiu²¹³ ɕion⁴⁴tɕʰi⁴²⁻³³ lɔɛ li.

DEM CL tree TOP then hang up PRF

‘This tree, it got blown over (by the strong wind).’

b. 另外一只农村里只人呢，牵只羊积就过来里。

lin²¹³uai²¹³ i? tɕia? luŋ⁴⁴tsʰun³⁴-li tɕia? ŋin⁴⁴ lɛ,

another one CL countryside in CL person TOP

tɕʰien⁴⁴ tɕia? ion⁴⁴tsi? tɕʰiu²¹³ kuo⁴⁴lɔɛ li.

pull CL sheep FOC come:over PRF

‘Another person from the countryside, came by, leading a sheep.’

c. 乡下里人嚟，都想赚发积钱啥。

ɕion³⁴xali-ŋin⁴⁴ mɛ, tu³⁴ sion⁴² tsʰan²¹³ fa?tsi? tɕʰien⁴⁴ sa.

countryman TOP all think make a bit money INTJ

‘Those from the countryside, they all think of making some money.’

d. 只细仔里积嘢，可能骑把箇自行车就坐得来里。

tɕia? si⁴⁴ ŋa⁴⁴li-tsi? ie, kʰo⁴²len⁴⁴ tɕʰi⁴⁴ pa⁴²

CL little boy-DIM TOP maybe ride CL

ko tsʰi²¹³ɕin⁴⁴tɕʰia³⁴ tɕʰiu²¹³ tsʰo²¹³⁻²¹-tɕ²⁴-lɔɛ⁴⁴ li.

DEM bicycle then come-PRT-over PRF

‘This little boy probably came riding on a bike’.

According to X. Liu (2016), the morpheme 𠵼 时 ‘time’ has developed from a temporal adverbial into a topic marker. When it is used as a topic marker, it has lost its temporal meaning and can not only follow verbs but also pronouns or nouns to mark them as a topic.

(12) a. 我吃时，吃不赢你。

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hiaŋ² ɕi, tɕ^hiaŋ²-piŋ⁴⁴-iaŋ⁴⁴ ŋi³⁴.
 1SG eat TOP eat-NEG-win 2SG
 ‘As for eating, I cannot outdo you.’

b. 读书杀力时，是蛮杀力叻。

t^huŋ³⁴ɕy³⁴ səŋ² liŋ² ɕi, ɕi²¹³ man⁴⁴ səŋ²liŋ² io.
 Study hard TOP be very hard INTJ
 ‘As for being diligent in study, you are indeed extremely so.’

c. 你俚时，日子过得蛮舒服叻。

ŋi³⁴li ɕi, ŋiŋ²tsi⁴² kuo⁴⁴ tɕ² man⁴⁴ ɕy³⁴fu io.
 2PL TOP life live PRT very comfortable INTJ.
 ‘You guys, your life is very enjoyable.’

18.2 Copular clauses

Before proceeding to the discussion on focus constructions, we will undertake a description on the usages of the copula ɕi²¹³ 是 ‘be’, since it is an important device to express focus meanings.

As the definition goes, a copula is a word used to link the subject with the (stative) predicate of the clause. In English, *be* is a canonical copular verb, as it may introduce both nominal and adjectival predicates, such as ‘He is a student and is young.’ Stative verbs like *seem*, *feel*, *smell*, *become*, *stay*, *keep*, *remain*, etc. are similarly treated as copular verbs as well, since they share the same grammatical function as *be* in being able to introduce nominal and adjectival predicates. In this section, we will concentrate on the uses of the copular verb ɕi²¹³ 是 ‘be’ and how copula sentences are expressed in general in Yichun Gan.

18.2.1 The copula ɕi²¹³

In the Yichun language, the morpheme ɕi²¹³ ‘be’ is a copular verb. It usually links the subject with a nominal predicate of a sentence. However, the copula is not an obligatory linking element. For example, the copula examples in (13) may be expressed in either order of ‘Subject-BE-Nominal predicate’ or simply ‘Subject-Nominal predicate’.

(13) a. 我(是)宜春人。

ŋo³⁴ (ɕi²¹³) ŋi⁴⁴tɕ^hyn³⁴ ŋin⁴⁴.
 1SG COP Yichun person
 ‘I am a local in Yichun.’

b. 我屋里(是)南庙呗。

ŋo³⁴ uʔ-li (ɕi²¹³) lan⁴⁴-miɕupɕ.
 1SG home COP Nanmiao INTJ
 ‘My hometown is Nanmiao.’

In contrast with the English copula *be*, the copula ɕi²¹³ is not allowed when the sentence has an adjectival predicate. In the Yichun language, adjectival predicates are formed by combining an adjective with one of the degree modifiers, such as *man*⁴⁴ ‘very’/‘quite’ etc. (cf. Chapter 8 on adjectives). Adjectives in (14), such as *siɕu*⁴² ‘small’ and *xau*⁴² ‘good’, are categorized as gradable adjectives. They are subject to the modification of degree modifiers, which are incompatible with the copula ɕi²¹³. As shown in (14), the presence of ɕi²¹³ before adjectival predicates leads to the infelicity of the sentences, unless it has an emphasis reading (e.g. in cleft clauses).

(14) a. 年龄(#是)格小。

ŋien⁴⁴lin⁴⁴ (#ɕi²¹³) ko³⁴ siɕu⁴².
 age COP so small
 ‘(Her) age is so young.’

b. 棱个车子(#是)好得很。

len³⁴ ko⁴⁴ tɕia³⁴tsɿ (#ɕi²¹³) xau⁴² tɕ? xɛn⁴².
 that CL cart COP good PRT very
 ‘That cart is pretty good.’

Naturally, there are also absolute gradable adjectives (i.e. non-gradable) in the Yichun language. They cannot be modified by degree adverbials. For example, it is inappropriate to say #*man*⁴⁴ *mu*[?] ‘#very wooden’. Alternatively, this type of adjective can be followed by the modification marker *ko* to form an adjectival predicate. Furthermore, the form ‘Adj-ko’ can have an optional copula ɕi²¹³. The relevant examples are given in (15).

(15) a. 箇(是)真格。

ko³⁴ (ciⁱ²¹³) tɛin³⁴ ko.
 this COP real AFFM
 ‘This is real.’

b. 原来里只屋(是)木格。

ɲion⁴⁴lœ⁴⁴ li⁴² tɛia? u? (ciⁱ²¹³) mu? ko.
 finally this CL house COP wood AFFM
 ‘It turns out that the house is made of wood.’

It is clear from (13-15) that one of the differences between the Yichun *ciⁱ²¹³* and the English *be* is concerned with the variety of predicates that the copula introduces. The English copula is able to introduce almost any type of non-verbal predicate, be it nominal, prepositional or adjectival, but the Yichun copula is restricted to nominal predicates only, if not predicates that are nominalized or modified in the way we have described.

Another difference between them is that the copula *ciⁱ²¹³* in Yichun Gan does not have an auxiliary use, which is available in English, such as the passive predicate ‘be+V-ed’ and the progressive predicate ‘be+V-ing’. Instead of using the copula *ciⁱ²¹³*, the Yichun language makes use of other morphemes to express passive meaning, e.g. *pa^{a2}* ‘take’ or *ten^{a2}* ‘wait’ or in the progressive *ts^hœ^{a213}* 在 ‘be located ...’, as discussed in detail in Chapter 11 and 17.

Last but not least, the Yichun *ciⁱ²¹³* has a special non-copular use, which is impossible for English *be*. That is, the copula *ciⁱ²¹³* can be used to answer a question to express affirmation, an equivalent to *yes* in English. In (16), the answer B is a confirmation in its use of the copula *ciⁱ²¹³*. And its negative counterpart is *piⁱ-ciⁱ²¹³*, with a literal meaning of ‘not-yes’. It is an equivalent of the negator *no* in English.

(16) A: 诶，易老师，你老婆还会教书呀？

ɛ, ia? lau⁴²sⁱ³⁴, ɲi³⁴ lau⁴²⁻³³p^ho xai⁴⁴ ui²¹³ kau⁴⁴ɕy³⁴ ia?
 er Yi teacher, 2SG wife FOC can teach INTJ
 ‘Er, Mr. Yi, can your wife teach?’

B: 是哦，渠会教。

ciⁱ²¹³ o, kiɛ³⁴ uiⁱ²¹³ kau⁴⁴.
 COP INTJ 3SG can teach
 ‘Yes, she can teach.’

18.2.2 Omission of the copula ci^{213}

We showed in section 1 that the copula ci^{213} can in fact be omitted when it introduces a nominal predicate. However, the omission of the copula ci^{213} is subject to more constraints. The omission of the copula ci^{213} is not allowed in the following cases.

First, the omission of the copula ci^{213} is related to tense. The copula is optionally used in the examples in (13). If we look at the examples in (13) more carefully, we will see that the sentences are all expressed in the present tense. In fact, both (13a) and (13b) are habitual sentences. However, in past and future tenses, it is obligatory to use ci^{213} in copular clauses. Compare (17) and (18) for an illustration.

(17) Past tense

a. 我屋里原来#(是)南庙呗。

ŋo^{34} uʔli ŋion^{44} lœ^{44} $\#(\text{ci}^{213})$ lan^{44} miau pɛ .
 1SG home originally COP Nanmiao INTJ
 ‘My hometown was Nanmiao.’

b. 箇#(是)几多年前格事啊?

ko^{34} $\#(\text{ci}^{213})$ tci^{42} to^{34} ŋien^{44} $\text{ts}^{\text{hien}44}$ ko si^{213-21} $\text{a}?$
 that COP how many year ago MOD thing Q
 ‘That was a matter from how many years ago?’

We said in Chapter 11, there is no grammaticalized tense marker in the Yichun language, but there are temporal adverbials to express various tenses, including the past and the future tenses. The adverbial nyan^{44} lœ^{44} ‘originally’ expresses a past temporal reference, so (17a) is interpreted as a past tense. In (17b), the interpretation of past tense is indicated by the expression tci^{42} to^{34} ŋien^{44} $\text{ts}^{\text{hien}44}$ ‘how many years ago’. It is impossible to omit the copula ci^{213} before the nominal predicate in both these cases.

The example (18a) is in future tense, as indicated by the modal verb ui^{213} ‘can, will’. Similarly, the omission of ci^{213} will lead to the ungrammaticality of the sentence.

(18) Future tense

他会#(是)个好人。

kiɛ³⁴ ui²¹³ #(ɕi²¹³) ko⁴⁴ xau⁴²⁻³³ ŋin.

3SG will COP CL good person

'He will be a kind man.'

Second, when an (non-temporal) adverb modifies the copula ɕi^{213} , the verb cannot be omitted either. In the example (19), the copula ɕi^{213} is preceded by the adverbial $\text{pi}^? \text{tɕin}^{44}$ 'after all'. In this case, the copula cannot be omitted either. In other words, the copula ɕi^{213} is required by the adverbial.

(19) 人家毕竟#(是)秀秀格娘格。

ŋin⁴⁴ ka³⁴ pi[?]tɕin⁴⁴ ɕi²¹³ siu⁴⁴ siu ko ŋion⁴⁴ kiɛ.

3SG after:all COP Xiuxiu MOD mother INTJ

'After all, she is Xiuxiu's mother.'

Third, the copula is obligatory when it is negated. (20) gives examples of a negated copula, i.e. Negator+Copula. What is particularly illustrative is example (20b). The adjective phrase $\text{man}^{44} \text{kau}^{34}$ 'very tall' is sufficient to act as an adjectival predicate in an affirmative sentence, but in a negative sentence, the predicate has to be negated with a copula, such as $\text{pi}^? \text{ɕi}^{213}$ 'NEG.be'.

(20) a. 做老师也不是格么简单格事。

tsi⁴⁴ lau⁴² sɿ³⁴ ia⁴² pi[?]ɕi²¹³ ko³⁴ mo kan⁴² tan³⁴ ko sɿ²¹³.

do teacher also NEG.COP so easy MOD thing

'It is not such an easy thing to become a teacher.'

b. 山上格树，也不是蛮高。

san³⁴ ɕion ko tɕhy²¹³ ia⁴² pi[?]ɕi²¹³ man⁴⁴ kau³⁴.

mountain on MOD tree either NEG.COP very tall

'The trees on the mountain are not very tall either.'

Example (21) shows a particular type of interrogative question in the Yichun language, that is, the A-not-A question. In this case, the copula ɕi^{213} can compose the form $\text{ɕi}^{213-21} \text{pi}^? \text{ɕi}^{213}$, which serves as a polar question. It can either be answered affirmatively by ɕi^{213} or negatively by $\text{pi}^? \text{ɕi}^{213}$.

(21) A: 你是不是李响哦?

A: n_i^{34} ci^{213-21} $\text{pi}^?$ ci^{213} li^{42-33} cion^{42} o?
 2SG COP-NEG-COP LiXiang INTJ
 ‘Are you Li Xiang?’

B: 是 / 不是。

B: ci^{213-21} / $\text{pi}^?$ ci^{213}
 be / NEG-COP
 ‘Yes’/‘NO.’

In brief, the copular verb ci^{213} in Yichun Gan shares many similarities with the Mandarin *shì*. First, they share the same restriction on the selection of predicate types, such as nominal versus adjectival predicates. Second, the same conditions summarized in section 2 are applied to the omission of the copula in both Yichun and Mandarin.

18.3 Focus constructions: cleft clauses

Word order is an important device in construing the topic-focus relation in Yichun Gan. As explained in section 1, the sentence-initial element is usually a topic element, which can either be the subject or an adverbial occurring before the subject. According to Xu (2006), Mandarin is different from English in that it does not rely on pitch accent to mark focus but the core elements in the predicate position is its default focus element. This generalization is also applicable to Yichun Gan. In example (22), the predicate, $\text{te}^{h_i\epsilon^{44}}$ - li cion^{213} $\text{x}\epsilon^{42}$ ‘went to Shanghai’ is its default focus, that is, it represents new information or the most informative element.

(22) 小王昨日去哩上海。

$si\epsilon u^{42}$ $u\text{o}\eta^{44}$ $\text{ts}^h\text{o}^?\eta i^?$ $\text{te}^{h_i\epsilon^{44}}$ - li cion^{213} $\text{x}\epsilon^{42}$.
 XiaoWang yesterday go-PFV Shanghai
 ‘XiaoWang went to Shanghai yesterday.’

In this section, we will discuss two focus constructions which are expressed by the copula ci^{213} . The copula ci^{213} may express focus-related meanings, such as an emphatic meaning. This meaning is found at least in two different constructions: the cleft sentence and the emphatic ci^{213} construction.

18.3.1 Cleft sentences: $\text{ci}^{213} \dots ko$

The copula ci^{213} is an essential element to form cleft sentences in the Yichun language. The cleft sentence is expressed by $\text{ci}^{213} \dots ko$, comparable in some respects, but not all, to the *shì...de* construction in Mandarin. What is emphasized or focused is the first constituent occurring after ci^{213} and the particle *ko* usually follows the verb. Consider (23).

(23) a. 小王昨日去哩上海。

$\text{si}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{44}$ $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{o}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{e}}^{44}\text{-li}$ $\text{ci}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{213}\text{x}^{\text{o}}\text{e}^{42}$.
 XiaoWang yesterday go-PFV Shanghai
 ‘XiaoWang went to Shanghai yesterday.’

b. 小王是[昨日]去格上海。

$\text{si}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{44}$ ci^{213} [$\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{o}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}$]_{FOCUS} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{e}}^{44}$ *ko* $\text{ci}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{213}\text{x}^{\text{o}}\text{e}^{42}$.
 Xiaowang COP yesterday go AFFM Shanghai
 ‘It is yesterday that XiaoWang went to Shanghai.’

c. 是[小王]昨日去格上海。

ci^{213} [$\text{si}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{44}$]_{FOCUS} $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{o}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{e}}^{44}$ *ko* $\text{ci}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{213}\text{x}^{\text{o}}\text{e}^{42}$.
 COP Xiaowang yesterday go AFFM Shanghai
 ‘It is XiaoWang who went to Shanghai yesterday.’

(23a) is a common declarative sentence without any focusing device. Both (23b) and (23c) are cleft clauses, as expressed by $\text{ci}^{213} \dots ko$, but what is focused in (23b) is the temporal adverbial $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{o}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}$ ‘yesterday’ while what is focused in (23c) is the subject $\text{si}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{44}$ ‘Xiaowang’.

Note that the particle *ko* can only be placed after the verb but never at the final position of the sentence. The sentences in (24) are not acceptable. However, the counterparts of (24) in Mandarin are completely possible, as given in (25). At the moment, we have no explanation for this difference between Yichun Gan and Mandarin.

(24) a. #小王是昨日去上海格。

$\text{si}^{\text{u}}\text{u}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{44}$ ci^{213} $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{o}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}\text{ŋ}^{\text{i}}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{\text{e}}^{44}$ $\text{ci}^{\text{o}}\text{ŋ}^{213}\text{x}^{\text{o}}\text{e}^{42}$ *ko*.
 Xiaowang COP yesterday go Shanghai AFFM
 ‘It is yesterday that XiaoWang went to Shanghai.’

b. #是小王昨日去上海格。

ɕi²¹³ siəu⁴² uoŋ⁴⁴ ts^hoŋ⁴² tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ ɕioŋ²¹³ xoɛ⁴² ko.
 COP Xiao Wang yesterday go Shanghai AFFM
 ‘It is Xiao Wang that went to Shanghai yesterday.’

(25) a. 小王是昨天去上海的。 [Mandarin]

Xiǎowáng shì zuótiān qù shànghǎi de.
 XiaoWang COP yesterday go Shanghai DE
 ‘It is yesterday that XiaoWang went to Shanghai.’

b. 是小王昨天去上海的。

shì Xiǎowáng zuótiān qù shànghǎi de.
 COP XiaoWang yesterday go Shanghai DE
 ‘It is XiaoWang that went to Shanghai yesterday.’

18.3.2 The copula ɕi²¹³ as a focus marker

In section 1, it was stated that in general, the copula ɕi²¹³ takes nominal predicates as complement, but not adjectival predicates. However, if they are emphasized, the adjectival predicates can occur after the copula ɕi²¹³. In this case, it suffices to use just a bare copula ɕi²¹³ rather than the cleft clause ɕi²¹³...ko. Consider the examples in (26).

(26) Subject+BE+Degree+Adjective

a. 天(是)完全黑刮哩。

tien³⁴ (ɕi²¹³) uon⁴⁴ ts^hien⁴⁴ xɛŋ⁴²-k^huæŋ⁴² li
 sky be completely dark-COMPL PRF
 ‘It (indeed) turned completely dark.’

b. 三个仔在一起, (是)蛮亲热。

san³⁴ ko tsɿŋ⁴² ts^hœ²¹³ iŋ⁴² tɕ^hi⁴², (ɕi²¹³) man⁴⁴ ts^hin³⁴ ŋiɛŋ⁴².
 three CL DIM at together be very intimate
 ‘These three are getting together and they are indeed very close.’

The adjectival phrase in (26) can act as predicate by itself. It is not required to use the copula ɕi²¹³ in these examples. We suggest that the use of ɕi²¹³ in these two cases is for the purpose of emphasis or strong confirmation of some property expressed by the adjective. It can be roughly translated by ‘indeed’ pragmatically.

cally. For example, (26a) without ci^{213} makes a neutral statement that ‘it turned completely dark’, but with the use of ci^{213} , the speaker expresses his/her personal confirmation or agreement with somebody else that ‘it indeed turned completely dark’. The interpretational difference of (26b) with or without ci^{213} is realized in a similar way.

To enhance the emphasis effect, the emphatic ci^{213} is sometimes combined with certain adverbials, such as $\text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{i}u^{213}\text{ci}^{213}$ 就是 ‘indeed’, as in (27), and $\text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{i}en^{34}\text{ko}\text{ci}^{213}$ 真格是 ‘really’, as in (28).

(27) a. 我格理想就是当歌星,

$\eta\text{o}^{34}\text{ko}\text{li}^{42-33}\text{sio}\eta^{42}\text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{i}u^{213}\text{-ci}^{213}\text{to}\eta^{34}\text{ko}^{34}\text{si}\eta^{34}$.
1SG MOD dream FOC-COP act sing star
‘My dream, indeed, is to become a singing star.’

b. 前面就是南方诶,

$\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{i}en^{44}\text{mien}\text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{i}u^{213}\text{-ci}^{213}\text{lan}^{44}\text{fo}\eta^{34}\text{e}$.
front FOC-COP south INTJ
‘Facing us is indeed the south.’

(28) a. 易老师, 我真格是不值啊。

$\text{ia}^? \text{lau}^{42}\text{s}\eta\text{ }\eta\text{o}^{34}\text{t}\epsilon\text{i}\eta^{34}\text{ko}\text{ci}^{213}\text{pi}^?.\text{t}\epsilon^{\text{h}}\text{i}^? \text{a}$.
Yi teacher 1SG really be NEG.worth INTJ
‘Mr. Yi, I am really not worth doing that.’

b. 我真格是有有哩办法诶

$\eta\text{o}^{34}\text{t}\epsilon\text{i}\eta^{34}\text{ko}\text{ci}^{213}\text{mau}^{44}\text{i}u^{42}\text{-li}\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{an}^{213-21}\text{fa}^? \text{e}$.
1SG really COP have:no-PFV method INTJ
‘I really have no solution.’

The emphatic ci^{213} also works for non-stative verb predicates, to be distinguished from nominal or adjectival predicates. The examples in (29) are taken from the movie scripts we transcribed. In these two examples, the copula ci^{213} is used between the subject and the verb predicate and it can be omitted.

(29) Subject+FOC+AP

a. 我是担心我教不得啲。

$\eta\text{o}^{34}\text{ci}^{213}\text{tan}^{34}\text{si}\eta^{34}\text{ }\eta\text{o}^{34}\text{kau}^{44}\text{-pi}^?-\text{t}\epsilon^? \text{io}$.
1SG COP worry 1SG teach-NEG-can INTJ
‘I worry whether I am incapable of teaching.’

b. Subject+FOC+VP

我是来找易老师，有发仔事。

ŋo³⁴ ci²¹³ lœ⁴⁴ ts^hau⁴² iaʔ lau⁴²sɿ³⁴, iu⁴² faʔtsiʔ sɿ⁴⁴.
 1SG COP come look:for Yi teacher have a bit thing
 'I've come to look for Mr. Yi and have some things (to discuss).'

With the presence of *ci*²¹³ in (29), the sentences no longer make simple statements, and the information expressed by the predicate after *ci*²¹³ is in contrastive focus. The background to the utterance in (29a) is that Mr. Yi told his wife that there might be many pupils who want to come to the kindergarten. Madam Yi then replied that she was not worrying about the enrolment of students, but about whether she was capable of teaching. The information about her ability in teaching is coded contrastively with respect to the success of the enrolment. This contrast is highlighted by the copula *ci*²¹³.

The scenario of (29b) is as follows. The speaker came to visit the Yi's when they were having dinner. Madam Yi then invited the speaker to eat together with them, but he gently refused by pointing out that the purpose of his visit was to discuss something with Mr. Yi rather than to come to dinner. Therefore, the copula *ci*²¹³ is used to emphasize the purpose of his visit being to talk with Mr. Yi.

The use of *ci*²¹³ as a contrastive focus marker in (29) should be distinguished from pseudoclefts. A pseudocleft is an ordinary copular sentence with a free relative as its subject, such as the English expression 'what I'm worried about is that I am incapable of teaching'. In Mandarin and also in Yichun Gan pseudoclefts, a copula is similarly needed to link the free relative clause and its complement, where the free relative is marked by the modification marker *de* or *ko*. Therefore, pseudoclefts can be arranged in the order "Relative Clause-ko-BE-VP". However, in the examples we discussed in (29), there is no free relative at all and the copula precedes the whole predicate. So it should not be treated as a pseudocleft, but as a common copular sentence with a focus scoping over the whole VP. These two types of sentences are illustrated by (B1)-a copular sentence with focus marking- and (B2) -a pseudo-cleft-in (30).

(30)A: 你俚是不是找小李哦?

ŋi³⁴li ci²¹³⁻²¹-piʔ-ci²¹³ tsau⁴²⁻³³ siɛu⁴²⁻³³li⁴² o?
 2PL COP-NEG-COP look:for XiaoLi INTJ
 'Are you looking for Xiao Li?'

B1: 我俚是找小王。

ŋo³⁴li ɕi²¹³ tsau⁴²⁻³³ siɛu⁴²uoŋ⁴⁴.
 1PL COP look:for XiaoWang.
 ‘We are looking for XiaoWang.’

B2: 我俚找格是小王。

ŋo³⁴li tsau⁴²⁻³³ ko ɕi²¹³ siɛu⁴²uoŋ⁴⁴.
 1PL look:for MOD COP XiaoWang.
 ‘Who we are looking for is XiaoWang.’

In the example (30), both B1 and B2 can answer the question A, but different information is brought into focus. B1 is a standard copula clause with a focus on the verb predicate *look for XiaoWang*. It carries the contrastive meaning that we came to look for XiaoWang but not to do anything else. By contrast, B2 is a pseudocleft sentence, which emphasizes that the person we are looking for is XiaoWang but not anybody else.

Hence, we treat the copula ɕi²¹³ as a focus marker, which can scope over adjectival predicates or verbal predicates.

18.4 Conclusions

This chapter has presented topic and focus constructions in Yichun Gan. As for Mandarin, the sentence-initial position is a default topic position and the predicate position serves as a focus position by default. More importantly, SVO is the canonical word order while the order OSV is also possible, in which the preposed object is a topicalized element. In contrast to this, the order SOV is much more restricted in Yichun Gan. Yichun ɕi²¹³ differs from Mandarin *shì* in expressing focus related meanings. Specifically, Mandarin has two types of cleft clauses, the *shì...de* construction can express either a broad focus or a narrow one (see Cheng 2008), but ɕi²¹³...*ko* in the Yichun language can only express a narrow focus meaning.

19 Relative clauses

This chapter gives an overview of relative clauses in Yichun Gan. Like other nominal modifiers, such as adjectives and possessives, relative clauses occur to the left periphery of the nominal phrase in the Yichun language. Relative clauses are usually overtly marked by the modification marker *ko*, but there are also zero-marked relative clauses in this language. We will start with a distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Yichun Gan. This will then be followed by the discussion on a variety of relative clauses with respect to the types of the head noun.

19.1 Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses

In the Yichun language, modified nominal phrases are often expressed in the form of modifier-*ko*-modified, in which the modification marker *ko* acts as a linker connecting the modifier and the modified. The marker *ko* may turn any phrasal constituent into a modifier, including adjective phrases, noun phrases and verb phrases etc. These modifiers all occur to the left side of the head noun. Specifically, ‘NP+*ko*’ can be interpreted as a possessive modifier and ‘VP+*ko*’ as a relative clause. The similarities between relative clauses and attributives/possessives are illustrated in (1):

- (1) a. [[棱么细格]字] [AP+*ko*: adjective]
[[len³⁴mo si⁴⁴ ko] ts^{h1}213]
so small MOD character
‘characters, which are so small’
- b. [[人家格]房屋] [NP+*ko*: possessive]
[[ŋin⁴⁴ka ko] foŋ⁴⁴u?
other MOD house
‘the other people’s houses’
- c. [[我买格]把车] [VP+*ko*: Relative clause]
[[ŋo³⁴ mai⁴² ko] pa⁴² te^{h1}ia³⁴]
1SG buy MOD CL car
‘the car that I bought’

We now briefly introduce how a verb phrase is turned into a relative clause. We assume the relative clause in (2b) is derived from the sentence in (2a) through subject relativization.

(2) a. NP1+Verb+NP2

棱只细人仔吃哩苹果。

len³⁴ tɕia? si⁴⁴ŋin tsi? tɕhia?-li p^hin⁴⁴kuo⁴².
that CL child eat-PFV apple

‘That child ate apples.’

b. [[_{rc}Verb+NP2+ko]+NP1]

[[吃苹果格]棱只细人仔]

[[tɕhia? p^hin⁴⁴kuo⁴² ko] len³⁴ tɕia? si⁴⁴ŋintsɿ?]
eat apple MOD that CL child

‘that child who ate apples’

Sentence (2a) is a common SVO sentence, whose main verb *tɕhia?* ‘eat’ takes as its arguments *len³⁴ tɕia? si⁴⁴ŋin tsi?* ‘that child’ and *p^hin⁴⁴kuo⁴²* ‘apples’. The verb phrase *tɕhia?-li p^hin⁴⁴kuo⁴²* ‘ate apples’ in (2a) is turned into a relative clause by the subordinator *ko*, as exemplified by (2b). This subordinate clause has a gap, whose interpretation is provided by the head. In this particular example, the head of the relative clause happens to be the subject of its predicate (2a), i.e. *len³⁴ tɕia? si⁴⁴ŋin tsi?* ‘that child’. This is an instance of subject relativization.

The subordinator *ko* is different from relative pronouns in English, such as *that*, *who*, *which*. Those relative pronouns in English are able to refer back to the antecedent, i.e. the head. For example, in the example ‘the boy that I saw’, the relative pronoun *that* refers back to the noun *boy*. However, the marker *ko* is not a pronoun at all and is unable to act as an argument of the relative clause, neither as the subject nor the object. Unlike relative pronouns, the marker *ko* simply indicates that the constituent occurring to the left of *ko* is a modifier to the head noun.

There are both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in the Yichun language, both of which are marked by the modification marker *ko*. A restrictive relative clause modifies its head by restricting its possible referent, while a non-restrictive relative clause merely provides supplementary information.

In restrictive relative clauses, both object and subject can be relativized, which are illustrated in (3) and (4) respectively.

(3) a. [[我正唱格]歌]是你教我格。

[[ŋo³⁴ tɕiaŋ⁴⁴ tɕ^hioŋ⁴⁴ ko] ko³⁴] ɕi²¹³ ŋi³⁴ kau⁴⁴ ŋo³⁴ ko.
 1SG just sing MOD song COP 2SG teach 1SG AFFM
 ‘The song I just sang is what you taught me.’

b. [[我旧年买格]把车]把得我女去哩。

[[ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³⁻²¹ŋien mai⁴² ko] pa⁴² tɕ^hia³⁴]
 1SG last year buy MOD CL car
 pa⁴²tɕ? ŋo³⁴ ŋy⁴² tɕ^hie⁴⁴ li.
 give.achieve 1SG daughter go PRF
 ‘The car that I bought last year was given to my daughter.’

Both examples in (3) exemplify the relativization of object. In (3a), the head noun *ko*³⁴ ‘song’ is the syntactic object of the relative clause ‘I just sang’. The example (3b) can be understood in the same way, namely, that the head noun *pa*⁴² *tɕ^hia*³⁴ ‘the car’ acts as the object of the relative clause.

The examples in (4) show the cases in which the head noun is the subject of the relative clause. In (4), what is modified is the phrase *len*³⁴ *tɕia*? *si*⁴⁴ *ŋin*⁴⁴ *tɕi*? ‘that little boy’ and this phrase acts as the subject of the modifying relative clause. It represents subject relativization.

(4) [[吃苹果格]棱只细人仔]是我只学生。

[[tɕ^hia? p^hin⁴⁴kuo⁴² ko] len³⁴ tɕia? si⁴⁴ŋin⁴⁴tɕi?] ɕi²¹³ ŋo³⁴ tɕia? xo?sar³⁴.
 eat apple MOD that CL little boy COP 1SG CL student
 ‘That little boy who ate apples is my student.’

The relative clauses in (3) and (4) are all restrictive, in the sense that they restrict the referent referred to by the head noun in providing the defining property. For example, (3a) means that among all the songs, it is the one that I just sang that was taught by you, but possibly not others. The example in (3b) implies that I might have several cars but I only gave the one that I bought last year to my daughter but not any other of the cars. Similarly, in (4), the relative clause helps to pick out the relevant member from a set of students, namely, the one that ate apples.

The example in (5) gives an illustration of the co-occurrence of object and subject relativization in a single sentence. It is a copular clause, in which the subject is expressed by a subject relativization and the nominal predicate is expressed by an object relativization.

- (5) [[吃苹果格] 棱只细人仔]是[[我旧年教格]学生].
 [[tɕʰiaʔ pʰin⁴⁴kuo⁴² ko] len³⁴ tɕiaʔ si⁴⁴ŋin⁴⁴tɕiʔ] ɕi²¹³
 eat apple MOD that CL little boy COP
 [[ŋo³⁴ tɕʰiu²¹³⁻²¹ŋien kau⁴⁴ ko] xoʔ san³⁴].
 1SG last year teach MOD student
 ‘That little boy who ate apple is the student who I taught last year.’

We now move onto the discussion on non-restricted relative clauses. It is a controversial issue whether there are non-restrictive relative clauses in Chinese languages. For example, Del Gobbo (2004) argues that relative clauses in Mandarin are always restrictive, even when they modify proper names and pronouns. Lin (2003) argues somewhat differently that in Mandarin, ‘all relative clauses that occur with a determiner should be analyzed as restrictive. However, when the antecedent of a relative clause is a proper name, the non-restrictive interpretation is allowed’. In the current research, we take the same position as Lin by claiming that in Yichun Gan, there are non-restrictive relative clauses, which refer to those whose head nouns are realized by proper names.

In actual use, restrictive relative clauses are used more frequently than non-restrictive ones in the Yichun language. In English, in speaking it is natural to make slight pauses around non-restrictive clauses, and this is shown in writing by the use of commas. However, in the Yichun language, there is not any syntactic difference at the surface level between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Intonation breaks that set off non-restrictive clauses are not observed. It is indeed the case that non-restricted relative clauses in the Yichun language are needed to be defined from the semantic perspective and they refer to those whose head nouns are realized by proper names. Regard (6) for an illustration:

- (6) a. [[我昨日晒格]318 房间]冇打扫。
 [[ŋo³⁴ tɕʰoʔŋiʔ kʰun⁴⁴ ko] san³⁴iɕu³⁴pæʔ foŋ⁴⁴kan³⁴] mau⁴⁴ ta⁴²⁻³³sau⁴².
 1SG yesterday sleep MOD 318 room NEG clean
 ‘Room 318, which I slept in yesterday, was not cleaned.’
- b. [[我住格]棱只华鼎宾馆]搞得蛮好。
 [[ŋo³⁴ tɕʰy²¹³⁻²¹ ko]] len³⁴ tɕiaʔ fa⁴⁴tin⁴² pin³⁴kuon⁴²] kau⁴² tɕʰ man⁴⁴ xau⁴².
 1SG stay MOD that CL Huading Hotel
 make PRT very well
 ‘That Huading hotel, where I stayed, was well maintained.’

The head nouns in (6) are represented by proper names, such as *san³⁴ iεu³⁴ pæʔ foŋ⁴⁴kan³⁴* ‘Room318’ or *fa⁴⁴tin⁴² pin³⁴ kuon⁴²* ‘Huading Hotel’ and they are able to make unique reference by themselves. The relative clauses preceding them provide supplementary information concerning these two entities and the deletion of these relative clauses does not affect the understanding of the sentences. They are thus non-restrictive.

19.2 Heads of relative clauses

In this section, we examine what types of nominal phrases can be used as the head of the relative clause in Yichun Gan. RCs in Yichun can modify both definite and indefinite nominal phrases, including demonstrative phrases, numeral classifier phrases, Classifier-Noun phrases and bare nouns as well. But there are different constraints for each type of nominal phrase when modified by relative clauses.

In English, almost every type of nominal phrase can be relativized, including both definite and indefinite nominal phrases. Some of the examples in English are given in (7).

- (7) a. I ate two apples that were put on the table.
 b. I have read the book that you recommended.
 c. These three girls that I saw on Sunday did not come to school this morning.

In Mandarin, relative clauses tend to modify definite phrases, such as demonstrative phrases or bare nouns. Indefinite phrases like numeral classifier phrases cannot be modified by relative clauses.¹ By contrast, the Yichun language allows both definite and indefinite nominal phrases to be heads of relative clauses. The Yichun language has no grammaticalized definite or indefinite articles. In this language, Num-Cl-N is always interpreted as indefinite, while Dem-Num-Cl-N definite, where the demonstrative is taken as a marker of definiteness. Relative clauses can modify both Num-Cl-N and Dem-Num-Cl-N. Consider the two orders in (8), where an optional demonstrative is used.

¹ In Mandarin, a relative clause can modify Num-Cl-N, when the numeral is expressed by the natural number *one*, but not any number larger than *one*. When a plural numeral phrase is modified by a relative clause, the distributive operator *dou* ‘all’ is required to quantify over the indefinite phrase.

(8) [RC-(Dem)-Num-Cl-N]

a. [[我手上拿得格](箇)三本书]叫作《朝圣的心路》。

[[ŋo³⁴ ciu⁴² ciŋ laʔtɛʔ ko] (ko³⁴) san³⁴ pun⁴² cy³⁴]
 1SG hand on take.achieve MOD DEM three CL book
 tɕiɛu⁴⁴ tsɿ “tɕ^hiɛu⁴⁴ ciŋ²¹³ ti sin³⁴ lu²¹³”.
 call pilgrim MOD heart road

‘These three books that I am holding in my hand are called “Pilgrimage path of the heart”.’

b. [[我俚昨日暱格](箇)两只房间]冇打扫。

[[ŋo³⁴ li tsoʔ ŋiʔ k^hun⁴⁴ ko] *(ko³⁴) liŋ⁴² tɕiaʔ foŋ⁴⁴ kan³⁴]
 1PL yesterday sleep MOD that two CL room
 mau³⁴ ta⁴²⁻³³ sau⁴².
 NEG clean

‘Those two rooms, in which we slept yesterday, were not cleaned.’

In Mandarin, relative clauses can occur in two different positions in demonstrative phrases. They may either precede the demonstrative, as in the order of RC-Dem-Num-Cl-N or be trapped between Dem-Num-Cl and N, as in the order of Dem-Num-Cl-RC-N (Chao 1968). In the Yichun language, both RC-Dem-Num-N and Dem-Num-Cl-RC-N are also possible, but the latter is subject to some specific restrictions.

The first restriction is that the examples in (9) are not acceptable unless we make use of body language, such as by pointing the finger or other gestures, to refer to the intended entity. For example, (9b) can be used in the scenario where I told the cleaner to clean the rooms, while pointing to them. It cannot be used when I made a complaint at the reception, since these rooms were not visible to us.

(9) [Dem-Num-Cl-RC-N]

a. 棱本[[我昨日买格]书]坏刮哩。

len³⁴ pun⁴² [[ŋo³⁴ ts^hoʔ ŋiʔ mai⁴²⁻³³ ko] tɕ^hia³⁴] huai⁴⁴-k^huæʔ li.
 that CL 1SG yesterday buy MOD car broken-compl PRF
 ‘That car that I bought yesterday was broken.’

b. 棱只[[我昨日暱格]房间]冇打扫。

len³⁴ tɕiaʔ [[ŋo³⁴ ts^hoʔ ŋiʔ k^hun⁴⁴ ko] foŋ⁴⁴ kan³⁴] mau⁴⁴ ta⁴²⁻³³ sau⁴².
 that CL 1SG yesterday sleep MOD room NEG.HAVE clean
 ‘That room that I slept in last night was not cleaned.’

A second restriction is that only the distal demonstrative *len*³⁴ can be used in the sequence [Dem-Num-Cl-RC-N], while proximal demonstratives are not semantically plausible. This is because when the entity is within the speaker's eyes, the entity may simply be picked out by pointing. No relative clause is needed. The counterparts in (10) are unacceptable, when the demonstrative is realized by the proximal *ko*³⁴ 'this'.

(10) [Dem-Num-Cl-RC-N]

a. # [箇[本[[我昨日买格]书]]]冇刮哩。

[ko³⁴ [pun⁴² [ŋo³⁴ ts^hoŋni? mai⁴²⁻³³ ko] ɕy³⁴]]] mau⁴⁴-k^huæ? li.
 this CL 1SG yesterday buy MOD book have.no-COMPL PRF
 Intended: 'This book that I bought yesterday is missing.'

b. # [箇[只[[我昨日晒格[房间]]]]]冇打扫。

[ko³⁴ [tɕia? [ŋo³⁴ ts^hoŋni? k^hun⁴⁴ ko] foŋ⁴⁴kan³⁴]]] mau⁴⁴ ta⁴²⁻³³sau⁴².
 this CL 1SG yesterday sleep MOD room NEG clean
 Intended: 'This room that I slept in last night was not cleaned.'

However, when a RC modifies a numeral classifier phrase, the relative clause itself must be sufficiently complex.

(11) RC-CL-N

[[我买格]副眼镜]

[[ŋo³⁴ mai⁴²⁻³³ ko] fu⁴⁴ ŋan⁴²⁻³³tɕian⁴⁴].
 1SG buy MOD CL glasses
 'the pair of glasses that I bought'

Generally speaking, the 'Classifier-Noun' phrase in the Yichun language has an indefinite reading. They are interpreted as definite when they are modified by adjectives and possessives. Consider (12).

(12) a. 本书

pun⁴² ɕy³⁴
 CL book
 'a book' (not 'the book')

b. 我本书

ŋo³⁴ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴
 my CL book
 my book (not ‘one of my books’)

When ‘Cl-N’ is modified by a relative clause, it also has a definite reading, as shown in (13).

(13) [RC-Cl-N]

a. [[我手上拿格]本书]叫做《朝圣的心路》。

ŋo³⁴ ɕiu⁴² ɕioŋ²¹³ la? ko pun⁴² ɕy³⁴
 1SG hand on take MOD CL book
 tɕieu⁴⁴tsɿ “ts^hieu⁴⁴ ɕin²¹³ ti sin³⁴ lu²¹³”.
 call pilgrim MOD heart road
 ‘The book that I am holding is called “Pilgrimage Path of the Heart”.’

b. [[我俚昨日晒格]只房间]冇打扫。

ŋo³⁴li tso?ŋi? k^hun⁴⁴ ko tɕia? foŋ⁴⁴kan³⁴ mau³⁴ ta⁴²⁻³³sau⁴².
 1PL yesterday sleep MOD CL room NEG.HAVE clean
 ‘The room in which we slept yesterday was not cleaned.’

When relative clauses modify Cl-N, the predicate of the relative clause must be sufficiently complex, so that it provides information specific enough to pick out the relevant individual in the context. Generally speaking, a relative clause with a bare verb cannot modify Cl-N as it also requires adverbs or some other elements to specify the predicate. Consider (14) for illustrations.

(14) a. *我买格副眼镜坏刮哩。

*ŋo³⁴ mai⁴² ko fu⁴⁴ ŋan⁴²⁻³³teiaŋ fai²¹³-k^huæ? li.
 1SG buy MOD CL glasses broke-COMPL PRF
 Intended: ‘The pair of glasses that I bought are broken.’

b. 我昨日买格副眼镜坏刮哩。

ŋo³⁴ ts^ho?ŋi? mai⁴² ko fu⁴⁴ ŋan⁴²⁻³³teiaŋ fai²¹-k^huæ? li.
 1SG yesterday buy MOD CL glasses broke-COMPL PRF
 ‘The pair of glasses that I bought yesterday are broken.’

- c. 我爷老子帮我买格副眼镜坏刮哩。

ŋo³⁴ ia⁴⁴⁻²¹ lautsɿ poŋ³⁴ ŋo³⁴ mai⁴² ko fu⁴⁴ ŋan⁴²⁻³³ tɕiaŋ fai²¹-k^huæ? li.
 1SG father help 1SG buy MOD CL glasses broke-COMPL PRF
 ‘The pair of glasses that my father helped me to buy are broken.’

Bare nouns can be modified by relative clauses. Without any modifiers, bare nouns in the Yichun language can be interpreted as either indefinite or definite. However, with the modification of a relative clause, only the definite reading is possible for bare nouns. Consider (15):

(15) [RC-bare noun]

- a. 我手上拿格书叫做《朝圣的心路》。

[[ŋo³⁴ ɕiu⁴² ɕioŋ²¹³ la? ko] ɕy³⁴] tɕieɯ⁴⁴ tsɿ ‘t^hɕieɯ⁴⁴ ɕin²¹³ ti sin³⁴ lu²¹³’.
 1SG hand on take MOD book call pilgrim MOD heart road
 ‘The book that I am holding in my hand is called “Pilgrimage Path of the Heart”.’

- b. 我俚昨日睏格房间冇打扫。

[[ŋo³⁴ li tso?ŋi? k^hun⁴⁴ ko] foŋ⁴⁴ kan³⁴] mau³⁴ ta⁴²⁻³³ sau⁴².
 1PL yesterday sleep MOD room NEG clean
 ‘The room(s), which we slept in yesterday, was (were) not cleaned.’

To sum up, we showed that different types of nominal phrases can be modified by relative clauses in Yichun Gan, ranging from bare nouns to classifier-noun combinations, and from numeral-classifier-noun to demonstrative phrases. What is particularly interesting is that the relative clauses can modify indefinite expressions, such as numeral classifier or classifier-noun phrases and turn these indefinite expressions into definite ones.

19.3 Zero-marked relative clauses

As mentioned earlier, both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses are marked by the modification marker *ko*, i.e. ‘relative clause-*ko*-noun’. In this section, we will introduce a special type of relative clause, namely, zero-marked relative clauses. In zero-marked relative clauses, there is no modification marker *ko* between the relative clause and the head noun, and it can be schematized as ‘relative clause-noun’.

There is a special requirement on the head noun of zero-marked relative clauses. That is, the head noun must be a demonstrative phrase, but never a bare noun or ‘Cl+N combination’. (16) gives an illustration.

(16) [[我手上拿到] 箇本书]叫做《朝圣的心路》。

[ŋo³⁴ ɕiu⁴² ɕioŋ²¹³ laʔ-tau] ko³⁴ pun⁴² ɕy³⁴]
 1SG hand on take-DUR this CL book
 tɕiɕu⁴⁴tsɿ ‘ts^hiɕu⁴⁴ɕin²¹³ ti sin³⁴ lu²¹³’.
 call pilgrim MOD heart road

‘This book that I am holding in my hand is called “Pilgrimage Path of the Heart”.’

There are two points to be mentioned. First, example (16) is supposed to be ambiguous between a normal simple sentence and a complex sentence embedded with a relative clause. At first blush, (16) might appear to mean that I am holding this book, called “Pilgrimage path of the heart”. However, this reading is dispreferred, this is partly because the verb *laʔ* ‘take’ is used in its bare form without any aspect marker. This is a typical characteristic of a relative clause. Second, the morpheme *ko* in (16) is a real demonstrative *ko*³⁴, which has a rising tone 34 and is not a modification maker *ko* showing a neutral tone. This point is further confirmed by the examples in (17), which allow other demonstratives to co-occur.

There are three demonstratives, including *len*³⁴ 棱 ‘that’, *ko*³⁴ 箇 ‘that’ and *li*⁴² 里 ‘this’ (cf. Chapter 6). They all can form demonstrative phrases to be used as heads of relative clauses. Consider (17):

(17) a. 我昨日买棱/箇/里仔菜坏刮哩。

ŋo³⁴ ts^hoʔŋiʔ mai⁴² len³⁴/ko³⁴/li⁴² tsiʔ ts^hœ⁴⁴ fai²¹³⁻²¹ k^huæʔ li.
 1SG yesterday buy that /this/this some vegetable go:bad PRF
 ‘Those/These vegetables that I bought yesterday went bad.’

b. 我昨日晒棱/箇/里只房间冇打扫。

ŋo³⁴ ts^hoʔŋiʔ k^hun⁴⁴ ko³⁴/len³⁴/li⁴² tɕiaʔ foŋ⁴⁴kan³⁴ mau³⁴ ta⁴²⁻³³sau⁴².
 1SG yesterday sleep that /this/this CL room NEG clean
 ‘That/This room that I slept in yesterday was not cleaned.’

Another constraint of using zero-marked relative clauses is concerned with the complexity of the relative clause. It is preferable to have adverbials in zero-marked relative clauses. When comparing (17b) with (18), we see that (18) only

differs from (17b) in lacking the temporal adverbial *ts^ho?ni?* ‘yesterday’, but (18) is judged to be infelicitous.

(18) ?我睡棱只房间冇打扫。

?ŋo³⁴ k^hun⁴⁴ len³⁴ tɕia? foŋ⁴⁴kan³⁴ mau³⁴ ta⁴²⁻³³sau⁴².
 1SG sleep that CL room NEG clean
 ‘That room that I slept in was not cleaned.’

Another group of examples is given in (19). (19a) is contrasted with (19b) in that the latter has the temporal adverbial *teiaŋ⁴⁴* ‘just now’.

(19) a. ?我吃棱瓶水是矿泉水。

?ŋo³⁴ tɕia? len³⁴ p^hin⁴⁴ ɕy⁴² ɕi²¹³ k^hoŋ²¹³ts^hien⁴⁴ ɕy⁴².
 1SG eat that CL_{bottle} water be mineral water

b. 我刚吃棱瓶水是矿泉水。

ŋo³⁴ teiaŋ⁴⁴ tɕia? len³⁴ p^hin⁴² ɕy⁴² ɕi²¹³ k^hoŋ²¹³ts^hien⁴⁴ ɕy⁴².
 1SG just eat that CL_{bottle} water be mineral water
 ‘That bottle of water that I have just drunk is mineral water.’

Another way of remedying the infelicity of (19a) is to use the relative clause in a contrastive way. Compare (20) with (19):

(20) 我吃箇瓶水是矿泉水，渠吃棱瓶水不是矿泉水。

ŋo³⁴ tɕia? ko³⁴ p^hin⁴⁴ ɕy⁴² ɕi²¹³ k^hoŋ²¹³ts^hien⁴⁴ ɕy⁴²,
 1SG eat this CL_{bottle} water COP mineral water
 kiɛ³⁴ tɕia? len³⁴ p^hin⁴⁴ ɕy⁴² pi? ɕi²¹³ k^hoŋ²¹³ts^hien⁴⁴ ɕy⁴².
 3SG eat that CL_{bottle} water NEG COP mineral water

‘This bottle of water that I drank is mineral water, and that bottle of water he drank is not.’

19.4 Headless relative clauses

The examples we discussed so far are all involve relative clauses with head nouns. There are also headless relative clauses to be found in the Yichun language. Headless relative clauses do not have an explicit antecedent external to itself. For example, in English, ‘I like eating what I bought’, *what I bought* is a headless relative clause. It has no antecedent, but serves itself as the object of the verb *eating* in the main clause.

In the Yichun language, headless relative clauses are also introduced or marked by the modification marker *ko*. For example, in (21a), what is inside the brackets is a headless relative clause, i.e. *kœ³⁴ tci?* *ko* ‘what you should worry about’. There is no head noun after the modification marker *ko*. In (21a), the whole relative clause acts as the object of the verb, which is preposed to a sentence initial position. In (21b), the headless relative clause, i.e. what I feel is strange, is the subject of the clause.

(21) a. [该急格]你不急, [不该急格]你急得要死。

[*kœ³⁴ tci?* *ko*] *ŋi³⁴ pi?* *tci?*,
 should worry MOD 2SG NEG worry
pi? *kœ³⁴ tci?* *ko* *ŋi³⁴ tci?-tɛ?* *iɛu²¹³sɿ*.
 NEG should worry MOD 2SG worry-PRT die

‘You do not worry about what you should worry about, but you worry too much about what you should not worry about.’

b. [我觉得蛮怪格]是, 你遮嘛晓得格只河格名字。

[*ŋo³⁴ ko?tɛ?* *man⁴⁴ kuai⁴⁴ ko*] *ci²¹³*, *ŋi³⁴ tci³⁴ma*
 1SG feel very strange MOD be 2SG how
ciɛu⁴²tɛ? *ko³⁴ tci³⁴ xo⁴⁴ ko* *mian⁴⁴tɕ^hɿ*.
 know this CL river MOD name

‘What I found weird is how you would know the name of this river.’

The exact meaning of the head noun in headless relative clauses can be inferred from the contexts. In both cases of (21), the invisible head can be understood “the thing/matter”. (21a) means that you do not worry about the matters you should worry about... and (21b) means that the thing that I feel is strange is ... In the example (22), the head noun is more specific, referring to ‘the water that I channeled in’.

(22) [我放格]是你格水啊!

ŋo³⁴ foŋ⁴⁴ ko *ci²¹³ ŋi³⁴ ko* *ɕy⁴² a!*
 1SG channel MOD COP 2SG MOD water INTJ

‘What I channeled in is not your water.’

From the examples in (21) and (22), headless relative clauses, which are marked by *ko*, behave like nominal phrases. Indeed, the particle *ko* in the Yichun language is often treated as a nominalizer and X-*ko* (X=verb, adjective...) is a nominalization structure (*ko* 格 is the counterpart of *de* 的 in Mandarin, cf. Li &

Thompson 1981). We consider that nominalization is realized by the process of relativization (headless relative clauses in particular). The phrases in (23) give two typical examples of nominalization or relativization: (23a) relativizes the agent who carries out the activity and (23b) relativizes the theme of the activity.

- (23) a. 作田格
 tsoʔt^hien⁴⁴-ko
 work field-MOD
 ‘all who work in the field (=peasants)’
- b. 吃格
 tɕ^hiaʔ-ko
 eat-MOD
 ‘all that is good for eating (=food)’

A final note is that free choice relatives, like “whoever likes to eat may take it”, are not expressed by *ko* in the Yichun language. It is sufficient to use interrogative pronouns solely. Usually it is construed as a complex sentence consisting of two simple clauses. Regard (24) carefully:

- (24) 哪个要吃就拿得去。
 lai³⁴ko iɛu⁴⁴ tɕ^hiaʔ tɕ^hiu²¹³ laʔteʔ-tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴.
 who want eat then take.achieve-away
 ‘Whoever wants to eat it, takes it.’

19.5 Conclusions

This chapter presented the syntactic formation of various types of relative clauses. All the relative clauses, except the zero-marked RCs, make use of the modification marker *ko*. The marker *ko* links the relative clause and the head, which can be expressed by bare nouns, Classifier-Noun, Numeral-Classifier-N, or demonstrative phrase structures. For the zero-marked RCs, the head must include a demonstrative phrase and at the same time, the predicate itself must be sufficiently complex. Headless relative clauses, also formed with *ko*, can be considered a type of nominalization.

20 Interrogatives

This chapter describes the different ways of posing questions in the Yichun Gan language, which include polar questions and WH-questions, namely, questions asking for information, such as *what, where, who, when* etc. Yichun Gan is like Mandarin in that it is a WH-in-situ language and makes no use of overt movement of WH words or auxiliaries (Huang 1982). In addition to interrogative questions, we will also discuss rhetorical questions and indefinite uses of WH questions.

20.1 Polar questions

The first type of question to be discussed is polar questions or yes-no questions. The Yichun language is typologically different from Indo-European languages in that it is a WH-in-situ language, so in forming a polar question, there is no movement of auxiliaries or copular verbs. Polar questions refer to a question whose answer is expected to be either 'yes' or 'no'. In the Yichun language, there are at least five different ways to form a polar question.

Tab.20-1: Types of Polar Questions

	Types	Syntactic forms
Type 1	Rising intonation	SVO+↑ (rising intonation)
Type 2	Question particle <i>mo</i>	SVO+ <i>mo</i>
Type 3	Negator <i>mau</i>	SVO+ <i>mau</i>
Type 4	A-NEG-A	Modal verbs+NOT+modal verbs
Type 5	Tag Question	Copula+↑ or Neg-Copula+↑

Type 1: the device of rising intonation

The first way of forming a polar question is to use a rising question intonation, a widely-used strategy across languages. Declaratives are read with a falling intonation towards the end of the sentence. Once a standard SVO sentence is read with a rising intonation, it turns the declarative into a question.

(1) 渠一直想去打工，箇渠会来？¹

kiɛ³⁴ iʔtɕ^hiʔ sion⁴² tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ ta⁴²kuŋ³⁴, ko³⁴ kiɛ³⁴ ui²¹³ lœ⁴⁴ ?
 3SG always want go work then 3SG will come
 ‘She always wants to go to work (in developed cities). Will she come?’

The second clause of (1) has an intransitive verb *lœ⁴⁴* ‘come’ as its main predicate, which is preceded by the auxiliary *ui²¹³* ‘will’. Without any suprasegmental property, it simply means ‘she will come’. However, when it is given the special rising intonation, this statement becomes a question, meaning ‘will she come?’.

Sometimes, polar questions realized by intonation alone have a particle at the end of the sentence, such as *ia* in (2a) and (2b). They are distinguished from the use of question particles, as will be discussed below, in that they are unable to form a question by themselves and serve mainly to express some subjective attitude of the speaker, such as surprise.

(2) a. 遮嘛，又去打工去哩呀？

tɕia³⁴ma, iu²¹³ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ ta⁴²kuŋ³⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ li ia?
 how again go work go PRF INTJ
 ‘Well, she wants to go to work (in developed cities) again?’

b. 诶，易老师，你老婆还会教书呀？

ɛ, iaʔ lau⁴²sɿ³⁴, ŋi³⁴ lau⁴²⁻³³p^ho xai⁴⁴ ui²¹³ kau⁴⁴ɕy³⁴ ia?
 eh Yi teacher 2SG wife FOC can teach INTJ
 ‘Eh, Mr. Yi, can your wife teach?’

Type 2: the question particle *mo*

The second type of polar question is realized by the question particle *mo*. It is comparable to the Mandarin *ma* 吗. The particle *mo* is used exclusively as a question particle. It is destressed and has a neutral tone. Unlike the first strategy, in this type of polar questions, a rising intonation is not necessary. In fact, the marker *mo* is incompatible with a rising intonation.

(3) a. 砵砵，你吃哩我牛肉干么？

t^ho⁴⁴t^ho, ŋi³⁴ tɕ^hiaʔ-li ŋo³⁴ ŋiu⁴⁴ŋiuʔkon³⁴ mo?
 TuoTuo 2SG eat-PFV 1SG beef jerky Q
 ‘Tuotuo, did you eat my beef jerky?’

¹ The expression *ta⁴²kuŋ³⁴* 打工 refers to the situation where people from rural areas in China migrate to developed cities or coastal areas to work in factories or urban industries.

b. 请问你一下，你看到只细仔俚在你箇里过么？

ts^hian⁴² un²¹³ ŋi³⁴ iŋxa, ŋi³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴tau tɕia?
 please ask 2SG TENT 2SG see CL
 si⁴⁴ ŋa⁴⁴li ts^hœ²¹³ ŋi³⁴ ko³⁴li kuo⁴⁴ mo?
 little boy LOC 2SG here pass Q
 ‘Excuse me, did you see a boy passing by here?’

c. 做完哩作业再去晒诶。听得么？

tsi⁴⁴uon⁴⁴-li tsoŋniɛ? tsœ⁴⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ kun⁴⁴ ɛ. t^hian³⁴tɛ? mo?
 Finish-PFV homework then go sleep INTJ hear Q
 ‘Finish your homework before going to bed. Got it?’

Type 3: Negation marker *mau*⁴⁴

A statement expressed in perfective aspect can be turned into a question by adding the perfective negation particle *mau*⁴⁴ at the end of the sentence. Example (4) gives an illustration.

(4) A: 晨宇，做完哩作业有诶？

A: tɕ^hin⁴⁴y⁴², tsi⁴⁴uon⁴⁴-li tsoŋniɛ? mau⁴⁴ ɛ?
 ChenYu finish-PFV homework NEG INTJ

A: ‘ChenYu, have you finished your homework?’

B: 还有。

B: xai⁴⁴ mau⁴⁴.
 still NEG

B: ‘Not yet.’

The negation particle *mau*⁴⁴ is different from the question particle *mo* in several important aspects.

First, it is possible to add a sentence-final particle after *mau*⁴⁴, such as *ɛ* in (4A), but it is impossible for *mo* to have other particles after it. In other words, *mo* is the right-most element in a clause, a true sentence final particle.

Second, the particle *mau*⁴⁴ can serve as an answer to questions, i.e. for giving a negative answer, such as in (4B), while the question marker *mo* does not have a lexically negative meaning, and it cannot be modified by any adverbials.

Third, *mau*⁴⁴ can only be used in a perfective sense, while the particle *mo* does not have such a restriction for aspect and so it can be regarded as a general question marker. For example, the particle *mo* in (3a) can be replaced by *mau*⁴⁴, as given in (5), but they differ in their presupposition.

(5) 砵砵，你吃哩我牛肉干冇？

t^ho⁴⁴t^ho, ɲi³⁴ tɕ^hiaŋ-li ɲo³⁴ ɲiu⁴⁴ɲiuŋkon³⁴ mau⁴⁴?
 TuoTuo 2SG eat-PFV 1SG beef jerky NEG
 ‘TuoTuo, have you eaten my beef jerky?’

The interrogative structure with *mau⁴⁴* in (5) presupposes that the subject in question is supposed to have eaten the beef jerky, but the question with *mo* in (3a) does not have such a presupposition and it merely asks more neutrally about whether the subject did the action or not. To be more precise, in (5), the speaker expects an affirmative response that it was the subject who ate the beef jerky, whereas in (3a), the speaker does not have this expectation.

Type 4: A-not-A questions

A-not-A questions are a fairly productive means of posing questions in Mandarin. Almost any verb and auxiliaries can be used in this construction to form a polar question. For example, the Mandarin expression of *tā zǒu-bù-zǒu?* is glossed as *he go-not-go* in a word-by-word translation and actually means ‘does he go?’ According to Zhu (1982), A-not-A questions are formed by simply conjoining the affirmative and the negative form of a verb together.

Generally speaking, in Yichun Gan, only modal verbs and copular verbs can be used in the A-not-A form, while lexical verbs, i.e. verbs expressing events or states, cannot be. Auxiliary verbs used in A-not-A forms include *k^ho⁴²⁻³³-i⁴²* ‘can’, *iu⁴²* ‘have’ and *ɕi²¹³* ‘be’ etc. If a modal verb is disyllabic, such as *ko⁴²⁻³³-i⁴²* in (6a), only the first syllable *ko⁴²⁻³³* is copied as the first A in A-NOT-A questions.

(6) a. 诶，渠可不可以哦？

ɛ, kiɛ³⁴ ko⁴²-piŋ-ko⁴²⁻³³i⁴² o?
 eh, 3SG can-NEG-can INTJ
 ‘Well, can she (sing)?’

b. 请问下仔，冇冇有看得易老师？

tɕ^hian⁴² un²¹³ xatsiŋ, iu⁴²-mau³⁴-iu⁴² k^hon⁴⁴tɕ? iaŋ lau⁴²sɪ³⁴?
 please ask DELIM have-NEG-have see.achieve Yi teacher
 ‘Excuse me. Did you see Mr. Yi?’

c. 你是不是李响哦？

ɲi³⁴ ɕi²¹³⁻²¹-piŋ-ɕi²¹³ li⁴²⁻³³ ɕion⁴² o?
 2SG COP-NEG-COP Li Xiong INTJ
 ‘Are you Li Xiang?’

If lexical verbs are used in the form A-NOT-A, they do not form interrogatives, but rhetorical questions concerning an action the addressee should have undertaken but has not. Namely, they express an implicit order rather than not a question.

(7) a. 你进不进去啲?

ni³⁴ tsin⁴⁴-piʔ-tsin⁴⁴tɕ^hie io?
 2SG enter-NEG-enter INTJ
 ‘Why did you not get in?’

b. 写不写作业?

sia⁴²-piʔ-sia⁴² tsoʔɲie?
 write-NEG-write homework
 ‘Why are not you writing your homework?’

c. 上不上课

ɕion²¹³⁻²¹-piʔ-ɕion²¹³ k^ho⁴²?
 have-NEG-have class
 ‘Why are not you going to class?’

As we just said, Mandarin differs from Yichun in the subtypes of verbs that are allowed in this construction. It is highly possible that A-NEG-A is a borrowed structure from Mandarin. As a consequence, it then instantiates a case of ‘lexical diffusion’ which only affects a small number of verb classes when the structure first enters into use in the language (see Wang and Lien 1993).

Type 5: tag questions

The last type of polar question that we discuss is tag questions. A tag question is a grammatical structure which turns a declarative statement into a question by adding an interrogative tag at the end of the sentence. In the Yichun language, the interrogative tag is expressed either by an affirmative form *ɕi²¹³⁻²¹ pa* ‘copula+particle’, as shown in (8) or a negative form *piʔ-ɕi²¹³⁻²¹* ‘Neg-Copula’, as illustrated in (9). Note that when the strategy of the tag question is used, the preceding sentence has to be associated with rising intonation, but the tag has a falling intonation.

(8) a. 哦，你是易老师，是吧？

O, ni³⁴ ci²¹³ ia? lau⁴² si³⁴, ci²¹³⁻²¹ pa?
Oh 2SG be Yi teacher be INTJ
'Oh, you are Mr. Yi, aren't you?'

b. 你啥嘛态度哦！你想挨打，是吧？

ni³⁴ cia⁴² mo t^hœ²¹³⁻²¹t^hu o! ni³⁴ sion⁴² naj⁴⁴ ta⁴², ci²¹³⁻²¹ pa?
2SG what attitude INTJ 2SG want get beat be INTJ
'What an attitude! You want to get beaten up, do you?'

(9) a. 元根呐，今日帶到你只仔来读幼儿园，不是啲？

ion⁴⁴ kien³⁴ na, tcia³⁴ tai⁴⁴tau ni³⁴ tcia? tsœ⁴² loe⁴⁴
YuanGen INTJ today bring 2SG CL son come
t^hu? iu²¹³-œ⁴⁴-ion⁴⁴, pi? -ci²¹³⁻²¹ io?
attend kindergarten NEG-be INTJ
'Yuangen, today, you're bringing your kid to kindergarten, aren't you?'

b. 易老师，你箇还取笑我，不是啊？

ia? lau⁴²si³⁴, ni³⁴ ko³⁴ xai⁴⁴ t^hœ⁴²⁻³³siœu ŋo³⁴, pi? ci²¹³⁻²¹ a?
Yi teacher 2SG then FOC make:fun:of 1SG NEG be INTJ
'Mr. Yi, that's how you're poking fun at me, is it?'

We speculate that these two types of tags are derived from the form of A-not-A, i.e. *ci²¹³⁻²¹-pi?-ci²¹³⁻²¹* 是不是, by deleting either the affirmative *ci²¹³* or the negative *pi?-ci²¹³⁻²¹*. In fact, *ci²¹³⁻²¹pa* is more like an interjective, since it always combines with *pa*. *Pi?-ci²¹³⁻²¹* expresses the unexpectedness for an event to happen and it must combine with interrogatives like *io* or *a*.

The affirmative tag is different from the negative tag in that the former expresses that the questioner seeks the hearer's confirmation to the answer and the latter expresses the questioner's disbelief. For example, in (8a), the speaker asks whether the subject in question is Mr. Yi and there is no other implied meaning; by contrast, in (9a), the speaker poses a question about whether the subject will take his son to kindergarten. The tag question also has the implication that the speaker is doubtful whether the subject would do so or not.

The tag questions in (8) and (9) pose a question about the whole proposition expressed by the sentence. These tag questions can be paraphrased by A-not-A questions with the use of *ci²¹³⁻²¹-pi?-ci²¹³* 'BE-NEG-BE' before the main verb. The examples of (8a) and (9a) are represented as A-not-A questions as in (10a) and (10b) respectively.

(10) a. 哦，你是不是易老师？

O, ɲi³⁴ ɕi²¹³⁻²¹-piʔ-ɕi²¹³ iaʔ lau⁴²sɿ³⁴?

Oh 2SG be-NEG-be Yi teacher

‘Oh, are you Mr. Yi?’

b. 元根呐，今日带你只仔来读幼儿园，不是啲？

ion⁴⁴kien³⁴ na, tɕia³⁴ tai⁴⁴tau ɲi³⁴ tɕiaʔ tsœ⁴² lœ⁴⁴

YuanGen INTJ today bring 2SG CL son come

t^huʔ iu²¹³-œ⁴⁴-ion⁴⁴, piʔ-ɕi²¹³⁻²¹ ioʔ

attend kindergarten NEG-be INTJ

‘Yuangen, today, you’re bringing your kid to kindergarten, aren’t you?’

20.2 WH-questions

In this section, we will discuss various ways of asking questions by using interrogative words. They are used to seek various sorts of information, such as people, things, time, location, manner etc. In English, these questions are usually called WH questions, including *who*, *what*, *when*, *where*, *which* and *how*. In Chinese, they are often called *tèshū yíwènjù* ‘special questions’ or the so-called ‘question word’ questions (Li and Thompson 1981). An inventory of those question/interrogative words in the Yichun language are listed in the following table. For comparative purposes, the WH words in Mandarin are also listed.

Tab.20-2: Interrogative words in Yichun Gan and Mandarin

	Yichun Gan	Mandarin
What	ɕia ⁴² ma 啥嘛 ɕia ⁴² tsiʔ 啥仔 tsa ⁴² tsiʔ 咋仔	shénme 什么
How	tɕia-mo 遮么 tɕiaŋ ³⁴ 惊	zhěnmě 怎么
Why	tsi ⁴⁴ ɕia ⁴² tsiʔ 做啥仔 ui ⁴⁴ ɕia ⁴² tsiʔ 为啥仔 tsa ⁴² tsiʔ 咋仔 tɕia-mo 遮么	wèishénme 为什么
When	ɕia ³⁴ mo ɕi ⁴⁴ xiəu 啥么时候 tɕi ⁴² ɕi ⁴⁴ tsiʔ 几时仔	shénme shíhòu 什么时候
How long	tɕi ⁴²⁻³³ tɕiu ⁴² tsiʔ 几久仔	duōjiǔ 多久
How much	tɕi ⁴² to ³⁴ 几多	duōshǎo 多少
Which	lai ³⁴ tɕiaʔ 哪只	nǎgè 哪个
Who	lai ³⁴ ko 哪个	shéi 谁
Where	lai ³⁴ li 哪里	nǎli 哪里

These interrogative words are sometimes distinguished in terms of their syntactic functions, such as being determiners, pronouns or adverbs. Accordingly, we identify the Yichun paradigm as interrogative determiners (e.g. which, what, whose), interrogative pronouns (e.g. what, who), and interrogative adverbs (how, where, when).

In our following description, we will discuss these interrogative words one by one and then look at the functions they represent.

20.2.1 WHAT

In the Yichun language, three different lexical items may express the meaning of *what*, including *cia⁴²ma* ‘what’, *cia⁴²tsi?* ‘what-diminutive’ and *tsa⁴²tsi?* ‘do what’ but they have different functions and are used in different syntactic contexts. Specifically, *cia⁴²ma* is an interrogative determiner and *cia⁴²tsi?* is an interrogative pronoun whereas *tsa⁴²tsi?* is an interrogative verb. We now look at them in turn.

Type 1: Interrogative determiner: *cia⁴²ma*

The interrogative word *cia⁴²ma* means ‘what’. It can only be used in the form *cia⁴²ma*-Noun, such as *cia⁴² ma sɿ²¹³* ‘what thing’ (10a), *cia⁴²ma mian⁴⁴ts^hɿ* ‘what name’ (10b), and *cia⁴²ma ta⁴²son⁴⁴* ‘what plan’ (10c). In other words, it needs to take a head noun as complement, as it is an interrogative determiner.

- (11)a. A: 好! 哦, 还只事哦。
 A: xau⁴²! O, xai⁴⁴ tɕia? sɿ²¹³ o.
 Good oh still CL thing INTJ
 A: ‘Alright. Oh, there is another thing.’
- B: 啥嘛事?
 B: ɕia⁴²ma sɿ²¹³?
 what thing
 B: ‘What is it?’
- b. A: 叫啥嘛名字啊?
 A: tɕiɛu⁴⁴ ɕia⁴²ma mian⁴⁴ts^hɿ a?
 call what name INTJ
 A: ‘What is his name?’
- B: 叫陀陀啊。
 B: tɕiɛu⁴⁴ t^ho⁴⁴t^ho a.
 call Tuotuo INTJ
 B: ‘(He is) called TuoTuo.’
- c. 不要哭诶, 伽以后有啥嘛打算哦?
 pi?ɕiɛu⁴⁴ k^hu? ɛ. ka³⁴ i⁴²xiɛu²¹³ iu⁴²⁻³³ ɕia⁴²ma ta⁴²⁻³³son o?
 NEG cry INTJ then future have what plan INTJ
 ‘Do not cry. What plan do you have in the future?’

Type 2: Interrogative pronoun: *cia⁴²tsi?*

In contrast with *cia⁴²ma*, the interrogative word *cia⁴²tsi?* does not take any noun as its complement. It can be used independently as the object of a verb, so it is an interrogative pronoun. Etymologically, the first morpheme *cia⁴²* is an interrogative word itself, meaning ‘what’ and the second morpheme *tsi?* is a diminutive marker.

(12) a. 诶，你话啥仔嘞？

ɛ, ɲi³⁴ ua²¹³ cia⁴²tsi? io?
ei 2SG say what INTJ
‘Er, what did you say?’

b. 明日万一招不到学生，你拿啥仔付人家格工资啊？

mian⁴⁴ɲi? uan²¹³⁻²¹i? tɕiɛu³⁴ pi?tau xoʔsan³⁴,
tomorrow if recruit NEG.ACHIEVE student
ɲi³⁴ la? cia⁴²tsi? fu²¹³ ɲin⁴⁴ka ko kuŋ³⁴tsi³⁴ a?
2SG take what pay people MOD salary INTJ
‘If we don’t have enough students enrolled, what do we take to pay her?’

Type 3: Interrogative verb: *tɕa⁴²tsi?*

The Yichun language has a third way of expressing the meaning ‘what’, namely, the lexical item *tɕa⁴²tsi?*. To be more precise, it means ‘do what’. When using *tɕa-tsi?*, no verb is needed in the sentence. Phonetically speaking, it is highly possible that the interrogative word *tɕa⁴²-tsi?* is fused from *tsi⁴⁴* 做 ‘do’ and *cia⁴²tsi?* 啥仔 ‘what’. We thus consider it as an interrogative verb.

(13) 刘斌啊，遮么夜里跑得来咋仔哦？

Liu⁴⁴ pin³⁴ a, tɕia³⁴mo ia²¹³⁻²¹li p^hau⁴²tɕ? lœ⁴⁴ tɕa⁴² tsi? o?
Liu Bin ah how night run come do:what INTJ
‘Liubin, you came here so late in the evening. What do you want to do?’

20.2.2 HOW

In order to ask about the manner in which an action is done, the interrogative word *tɕia³⁴mo* is chosen in the Yichun language, as in (14a). It is an interrogative adverb, which precedes verbs in general. Sometimes, the word *ioŋ²¹³* ‘manner’ or ‘way’ can be expressed explicitly, as in the expression of *tɕia³⁴mo-ioŋ²¹³⁻²¹* in (14b).

- (14) a. 我慢仔会唱歌，遮么办哩？

ŋo³⁴ man²¹³⁻²¹ tsi?[?] ui²¹³ tɕ^hion⁴⁴ ko³⁴, tɕia³⁴ mo p^han²¹³⁻²¹ li?[?]
 1SG later can sing how do PRF
 ‘If I can sing well, how will you cope?’

- b. 招生格情况遮么样哦？还好么？

tɕieɯ³⁴ sen³⁴ ko ts^hin⁴⁴ k^hon⁴⁴ tɕia³⁴ mo-ion²¹³⁻²¹ o? xai⁴⁴ xau⁴² mo?[?]
 enrolment MOD situation how-manner INTJ still good Q
 ‘How about the enrolment? Is it all right?’

The two morphemes of *tɕia³⁴mo* and *ion²¹³* can be fused into a monosyllabic word *tɕian³⁴* 惊, which also means ‘how’ or ‘in what way’, as in (15). As we can see, in both examples of (15), the diminutive marker *tsi[?]* is used after the interrogative word *tɕian³⁴*, but the use of diminutive marker is not obligatory in this case. In our database, there are quite a few examples, in which *tɕian³⁴* is used independently of *tsi[?]*.

- (15) a. 你箇只幼儿园收费惊仔格收法仔啲？

ŋi³⁴ ko³⁴ tɕia?[?] iu²¹³⁻²¹-œ⁴⁴-ion⁴⁴ ɕiu³⁴ fi⁴⁴ tɕian³⁴ tsi?[?] ko ɕiu³⁴ fæ?[?]-tsi?[?] io?[?]
 2SG DEM CL kindergarten charge how MOD way-DIM INTJ
 ‘How is (the tuition fee of) your kindergarten charged?’

- b. 我身份证有冇，钱有冇，我惊仔出去啊？

ŋo³⁴ ɕin³⁴ fun²¹³ tɕin⁴⁴ mau⁴⁴ iu⁴², ts^hien⁴⁴ mau⁴⁴ iu⁴²,
 1SG ID card NEG. have money NEG. have
 ŋo³⁴ tɕian³⁴ tsi?[?] tɕ^hhy?[?] tɕ^hiɛ a?[?]
 1SG how go out INTJ
 ‘Neither ID card nor money do I have. How can I go out?’

The interrogative word *tɕia³⁴mo* can also mean ‘why’, similar to the expression of ‘how come’ in English. However, when it has the ‘why’ interpretation, it is not limited to occurring before verbs. It may occur either at the sentence-initial position in (16), or in the regular position before the verb in (17).

- (16)
- tɕia³⁴mo*
- +SVO

- a. 遮么只细人仔又在吃东西哦？

tɕia³⁴ mo tɕia?[?] si⁴⁴ ŋintsɿ?[?] iu²¹³⁻²¹ tsœ tɕ^hia?[?] tun³⁴ si o?[?]
 how CL child again PROG eat thing INTJ
 ‘Why is the kid eating again?’

b. 遮么几天功夫就离刮哩婚嘢?

tɕia³⁴mo tɕi⁴² t^hien³⁴ kuŋ³⁴fu tɕ^hiu²¹³ li⁴⁴.k^huæ?[?]li-fun³⁴ lo?
 how several day time FOC divorce-COMPL-PFV-marriage INTJ
 ‘How come (you) got divorced in just these few? days?’

c. 格早啊。遮么换你拖车哦?

ko³⁴ tsau⁴² a! tɕia³⁴mo uon²¹³ ŋi³⁴ t^ho³⁴tɕ^hia³⁴ o?
 so early INTJ how rotate 2SG carry.cart INTJ
 ‘So early! Why is it you who pull the cart?’

(17) S+ tɕia³⁴mo+V+O

你遮嘛走格么急哦?

ŋi³⁴ tɕia³⁴mo tsɕu⁴² ko³⁴mo tɕi?[?] o?
 2SG how walk so rush INTJ
 ‘Why are you in such a rush?’

20.2.3 WHY

In the Yichun language, there is no lexicalized interrogative word WHY. We saw in (16-17) that the interrogative adverb HOW can be used in the WHY sense, which is a common semantic extension. Besides this, another way is to use WHAT in order to ask the reason, which includes *tsɿ⁴⁴cia⁴²tsi?* or its variant *tsa⁴²tsi?*, meaning ‘do what’, as in (18) and (19), and *ui⁴⁴cia⁴²tsi?*, meaning ‘for what’, as in (20).

(18) *tsɿ⁴⁴cia⁴²tsi?* ‘do what’

砵砵，过来。你做啥仔跑刮啊?

t^ho⁴⁴ t^ho, kuo⁴⁴lœ. ŋi³⁴ tsɿ⁴⁴ cia⁴²tsi? p^hau⁴² k^huæ? a?
 TuoTuo come over 2SG do what run away INTJ
 ‘TuoTuo, come over! Why did you run away?’

(19) *tsa⁴²tsi?* ‘do what’

a. A: 打工咋仔啊?

A: ta⁴² kun³⁴ tsa⁴² tsi? a?
 work do:what INTJ

A: ‘Why go to work?’

B: 赚钱呗。

B: ts^han²¹³ts^hien⁴⁴ pɛ.
 make.money INTJ

B: ‘To make money.’

b. 砵砵，吃渠牛肉干咋仔啊？

t^ho⁴⁴ t^ho, tɛ^hia? kie³⁴ ŋiu⁴⁴ŋiu?kon³⁴ tsa⁴² tsi? a ?
 TuoTuo eat 3SG beef.jerky do:what INTJ
 ‘Tuotuo, why did you eat his beef jerky?’

(20) ui⁴⁴ ɕia⁴²tsi? ‘for what’

为啥仔打架墨？

ui⁴⁴ ɕia⁴²tsi? ta⁴²ka⁴⁴ mɛ ?
 for what fight Q
 ‘Why did he fight?’

20.2.4 WHICH+CLASSIFIER: WHICH, WHO OR WHERE

In Yichun Gan, the morpheme *lai*³⁴ can be translated by *which*, but there is a significant difference between *lai*³⁴ and *which*. *Which* in English can either be an interrogative pronoun, as in ‘which do you like?’ or an interrogative determiner, as in ‘which one do you like?’. However, *lai*⁴² can only be an interrogative determiner in Yichun Gan, where it must be followed by a classifier in all cases. Example (21) illustrates the use of *lai*³⁴ with the general classifier *tɕia*?, where *lai*³⁴-*tɕia*? is equivalent to *which*.

(21) 箇哪只亲戚格细人仔墨？

ko³⁴ lai³⁴ tɕia? ts^hin³⁴ts^hi? ko si⁴⁴ŋin⁴⁴tsi? mɛ?
 DEM which CL relative MOD kid Q
 ‘Then which relative’s kid is this?’

Some more examples are shown in (22).

(22) a. 哪把电风扇最贵呀？

lai³⁴ pa⁴² t^hien²¹³fəŋ³⁴ɕian⁴⁴ tsui⁴⁴ kui⁴⁴ ia?
 which CL fan most expensive INTJ
 ‘Which fan is the most expensive?’

b. 你今日穿哪领衣服？

ŋi³⁴ tɕia³⁴ tɛ^huon³⁴ lai³⁴ lian⁴² i³⁴ fu.
 2SG today wear which CL shirt
 ‘Which shirt do you wear today?’

c. 你最喜欢吃哪碗菜?

ŋi³⁴ tsui⁴⁴ ei⁴²fon³⁴ tɕ^hia? lai³⁴ uon⁴² ts^hœ⁴⁴?
 2SG most like eat which CL _{bowl} dish
 ‘Which dish do you like to eat most?’

The Yichun language has no lexicalized expression of WHO either. It is expressed by the composite form *lai³⁴ko* instead, in which *lai³⁴* means ‘which’ and *ko* is a classifier for people. Consider (23):

(23) a. A: 啊, 易老师。 B: 你哪个啰?
 A: a, ia? lau⁴²sɿ³⁴. ŋi³⁴ lai³⁴-ko lo?
 ah, Yi teacher 2SG which-CL INTJ
 A: ‘Ah, (you are) Mr. Yi.’ B: ‘Yes, but who are you?’

b. 易老师, 哪个接送细人仔哦?

ia? lau⁴²sɿ³⁴, lai³⁴ ko tsiɛ?sun⁴⁴ si⁴⁴ŋin⁴⁴tsi? o?
 Yi teacher which CL fetch.send children INTJ
 ‘Mr. Yi, who will pick up and send the children?’

The morpheme *lai³⁴* can also be used to ask about location, when it combines with the locative noun *-li*, as in the expression of *lai³⁴-li*. In other words, the meaning WHERE is expressed by *which place* in Yichun Gan. Consider (24) for an illustration.

(24) a. 伯伯, 我爸爸去哪里去哩啊?
 pɛ?pɛ?, ŋo³⁴ pa⁴⁴pa tɕ^hie⁴⁴ lai³⁴ li tɕ^hie⁴⁴ li a?
 uncle 1SG dad go where go PRF INTJ
 ‘Uncle, where does my Dad go?’

b. 哦, 广东哪里诶?

o, kuoŋ⁴²tur³⁴ lai³⁴li ɛ?
 Oh, Guangdong where INTJ
 ‘Oh, where in Guangdong?’

20.2.5 HOW+ADJECTIVE

In English, there are expressions like *how many/much*, *how long*, *how old*, *how far* etc., in which the morpheme *how* is interpreted as an interrogative word. It is

different from when *how* is used as an adverbial to ask about manner. In Yichun Gan, the degree use of *how* is expressed by the morpheme $t\epsilon i^{42}$, which is distinct from the interrogative of manner $t\epsilon ia^{34}$, as discussed in 2.2. The degree interrogative $t\epsilon i^{42}$ can combine with various adjectives, such as $t\epsilon i^{42}to^{34}$ ‘how many/much’, $t\epsilon i^{42-33} t\epsilon iu^{42}$ ‘how long’ etc. The diminutive marker $tsi?$ has to follow obligatorily nearly all the interrogative words with $t\epsilon i^{42}$.

The interrogative item $t\epsilon i^{42} to^{34}$ asks about quantity. In the Yichun language, $t\epsilon i^{42} to^{34}$ does not distinguish between *how many* and *how much* and it can either ask about a number of entities or about the quantity of something.

(25) a. 你晓得垫哩几多仔钱进去么?

$n\dot{i}^{34} \quad \epsilon i\epsilon u^{42}t\epsilon?$ $t^hien^{213-21-li} \quad t\epsilon i^{42}to^{34}-tsi?$ ts^hien^{44} $tsin^{44}t\epsilon^h i\epsilon$ $mo?$
 2SG know pay-PFV how much-DIM money into Q
 ‘Do you know how much money have we paid?’

b. 筒车子几多钱一把哦?

$ko^{34} \quad t\epsilon^h ia^{34}ts\dot{i}$ $t\epsilon i^{42} to^{34}$ ts^hien^{44} $i?$ pa^{42} $o?$
 DEM car how much money one CL INTJ
 ‘How much is this car?’

The lexical item $t\epsilon i^{42-33} t\epsilon iu^{42}$ ‘how long’ asks for the duration of time. It can be optionally followed by the diminutive marker $tsi?$.

(26) A: 几久仔去哩啲?

A: $t\epsilon i^{42-33} \quad t\epsilon iu^{42} \quad tsi?$ $t\epsilon^h i\epsilon^{44}-li$ $io?$
 Which long DIM leave-PRF INTJ
 ‘How long has he left?’

B: 蛮久去哩啲。十几年哩。

B: $man^{44} \quad t\epsilon iu^{42} \quad t\epsilon^h i\epsilon^{44}$ li $io.$ $\epsilon i?$ $t\epsilon i^{42}$ $n\dot{i}en^{44}$ $li.$
 very long go PRF INTJ ten several years PRF
 ‘(He) has left for a long time. More than 10 years.’

20.2.6 WHEN

There are two strategies to ask about time in Yichun Gan. We can either use the WHAT strategy, i.e. $\epsilon ia^{42}mo \quad \epsilon i^{44}xi\epsilon u$ ‘what time’ or use the HOW strategy, i.e.

*tɕi*⁴²*ɕi*⁴⁴ ‘which period’. Let us take a look at the examples in (27) and (28) respectively.

(27) *ɕi*⁴²*mo* *ɕi*⁴⁴*xiɕu* ‘what time’

a. 啥么时候走格啰?

*ɕa*⁴²*mo* *ɕi*⁴⁴*xiɕu* *tɕɕu*⁴²⁻³³ *ko* *lo*?
 what time leave AFFM INTJ
 ‘What time did he leave?’

b. 啥么时候在哪里教格书啲?

*ɕi*⁴²*mo* *ɕi*⁴⁴*xiɕu* *tɕœ*²¹³ *lai*³⁴*li* *kau*⁴⁴ *ko* *ɕy*³⁴ *io*?
 what time LOC where teach MOD book INTJ
 ‘When and where did she teach?’

(28) *tɕi*⁴²*ɕi*⁴⁴ *tɕi*? ‘which period’

箇次回来准备几时仔走?

*ko*³⁴ *tɕh*²¹³ *fi*⁴⁴ *lœ*⁴⁴ *tɕyn*⁴²*p*^h²¹³ *tɕi*⁴²*ɕi*⁴⁴-*tɕi*? *tɕɕu*⁴²?
 DEM time return plan which time-DIM leave
 ‘Now you are back, when do you plan to leave again?’

As we mentioned before, the Yichun language is a WH-in-situ language, in which interrogative words do not change position at the surface level. For example, the interrogative word, *ɕi*⁴² *ma* *ɕi*⁴⁴*xiɕu*²¹³ ‘what time’ always precedes a verb, no matter whether in true interrogative sentences, as in (27) and (28) or in an embedded clause, as in (29).

(29) 我箇一走，也不晓得啥嘛时候回来。

*ŋo*³⁴ *ko* *i*? *tɕɕu*⁴², *ia*⁴² *pi*? *ɕiɕu*⁴²*tɕ*? *ɕi*⁴²*ma* *ɕi*⁴⁴*xiɕu*²¹³ *fi*⁴⁴*lœ*.
 1SG DEM once leave also NEG know what time return
 ‘Once I leave this time, I do not know when I will be back.’

20.3 Non-interrogative uses of WH-words

Interrogative words in the Yichun language can have non-interrogative uses, including both the existential reading and the universal reading. These two readings are dependent on the environments in which they occur.

WH-words are typically interpreted as indefinites in yes-no questions when the WH-words are under the scope of negation, as illustrated in (30a-b) (see

Huang 1982; Cheng 1991; Tsai 1994 for the discussion on WH words in Mandarin).

(30)a. 哪个人屋里有事, 不是啊? [Yes-no questions]
 lai³⁴ ko nin⁴⁴ u?li mau⁴⁴ sɿ²¹³, pi? ɕi²¹³ a?
 which CL person home NEG.HAVE thing NEG be INTJ
 ‘There isn’t anybody who has nothing to do at home, is there?’

b. 有啥么事, 我俚就不走哦。 [Conditionals]
 iu⁴² ɕia⁴²mo sɿ²¹³, ŋo³⁴li tɕ^hiu²¹³ pi? tsɕu⁴² lo.
 have what thing 1PL FOC NEG leave INTJ
 ‘If anything happens, we will not leave.’

c. 易老师, 你不要话哩啊, 话得有啥嘛意思。 [Negations]
 ia? lau⁴² sɿ³⁴, ŋi³⁴ pi?ieu⁴⁴ ua²¹³⁻²¹ li a,
 Yi teacher 2SG NEG say PRF INTJ
 ua²¹³⁻²¹ tɕ? mau⁴⁴ ɕia⁴²ma i⁴⁴sɿ.
 say PRT have:no what meaning
 ‘Mr. Yi, you do not have to continue. It does not have any sense in talking like this.’

In (30a), the initial clause is embedded by the question tag, where the WH-word *lai³⁴ko-nin⁴⁴* has an existential interpretation, meaning ‘someone/anyone’. In (30b) the WH-word acts as the predicate in a conditional, where it is interpreted existentially, meaning ‘something/anything’. Similarly, in (30c), the WH-word is negated by the existential verb *mau⁴⁴*, and it means ‘some/any’, but not ‘what’.

Aside from the possibility of being interpreted as indefinites, wh-words can also be interpreted as universals, i.e., expressing ‘every’ or ‘all’. The sentence in (31a) means that it is impossible for anyone to get an ID card, where the WH-word has a universal reading, meaning ‘anyone’. In the same vein, WHAT in (32) means ‘anything’.

(31) A: 你把身份证跟钱送还给我。
 A: ŋi³⁴ pa⁴² ɕin³⁴fun²¹³tɕin⁴⁴ kien³⁴ ts^hien⁴⁴ sun⁴⁴uan⁴⁴ kie⁴² ŋo³⁴.
 2SG OM ID card and money return give 1SG
 ‘Give my ID card and money back to me.’

B: 身份证阿, 啥么人都不要想。

B: $\text{cin}^{34}\text{fun}^{213}\text{tɛin}^{44}$ a, cia^{42}mo ŋin^{44} tu^{34} $\text{pi}?$ iɛu^{44} siŋ^{42} .
 ID TOP what person FOC NEG want think
 'ID card, nobody can get one!'

(32) 我啥仔都吃。

ŋi^{34} $\text{cia}^{42}\text{tsi}?$ tu^{34} $\text{tɕ}^{\text{hia}}?$.
 1SG what all eat
 'I can eat everything.'

20.4 Rhetorical questions

In this section, we will give an introduction to rhetorical questions in Yichun Gan. Rhetorical questions behave like normal questions in terms of their structure, but they nevertheless do not expect an answer. A rhetorical question is intended as a challenge and it functions as a negative assertion. They employ the same syntactic representations as standard interrogative questions, while the rhetorical interpretation is a pragmatic effect.

Let's start with the YES-NO type of rhetorical questions, as illustrated in (33).

(33) **YES-NO type:**

a. 我格理想就是当歌星, 你觉得我唱得会不好么?

ŋo^{34} ko li^{42-33} siŋ^{42} $\text{tɕ}^{\text{hiu}}^{213}$ ɕi^{213} ton^{34} $\text{ko}^{34}\text{sin}^{34}$,
 1SG MOD dream FOC be work:as singing star
 ŋi^{34} $\text{ko}?\text{tɛ}?$ ŋo^{34} $\text{tɕ}^{\text{hion}}^{44}$ $\text{tɛ}?$ ui^{213} $\text{pi}?$ xau^{42} $\text{mo}?$
 2SG think 1SG sing PRT will NEG good Q

'My dream is to become a singing pop star. Do you think that I will sing badly?'

b. 哦, 蒙讲工资, 明日来上哩班, 你不要发工资给人家呀?

o, man^{34} kon^{42} $\text{kun}^{34}\text{tsi}^{34}$, $\text{mian}^{44}\text{ŋi}?$ loɛ^{44} ɕion^{42} li pan^{34} ,
 oh NEG discuss salary tomorrow come start-PFV-work
 ŋi^{34} $\text{pi}?$ iɛu^{44} $\text{fæ}?$ kun^{34} tsi^{34} kie^{42} ŋin^{44} ka $\text{ia}?$
 2SG NEG will pay salary give people INTJ

'He did not mention the salary. If his daughter comes to work tomorrow, don't you have to pay her?'

In our investigation, not only yes-no questions but all question-word questions can function as rhetorical questions. Interrogative words used in such contexts include *which*, *what* etc.

(34) ‘Which’ type: *lai* or *laili*

a. 你哪去教委办哩证?

ŋi³⁴ lai³⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ kau⁴⁴ui⁴² p^han²¹³⁻²¹-li tɕin⁴⁴?
 2SG where go bureau of education apply-PFV permit

‘Didn’t you go to the Bureau of Education to apply for the permit? (= You didn’t go to the Bureau of Education to apply for the permit.)’

b. 我哪里吃哩墨?

ŋo³⁴ lai³⁴li tɕ^hia?[?]-li mɛ?
 1SG where eat-PFV Q

‘Did I eat it? (=I did not eat it.)’

c. 哪个(人)屋里冇事?

lai³⁴-ko ŋin⁴⁴ u?li mau⁴⁴ sɪ²¹³?
 which-CL people home NEG.HAVE thing

‘Who has nothing to do at home?’

(35) ‘What’ type

a. 关你啥嘛事阿?

kuan³⁴ ŋi³⁴ ɕia⁴²ma sɪ²¹³ a?
 care 2SG what thing INTJ

‘What’s it got to do with you?’

b. 你急啥仔? 都乡里乡亲, 人家又不得少你格。

ŋi³⁴ tɕi? ɕia⁴²tsi?[?] tu³⁴ ɕioŋ³⁴ li ɕioŋ³⁴ts^hin³⁴,
 2SG worry what all neighbors

ŋin⁴⁴ka iu²¹³ pi?tɛ? ɕieu⁴² ŋi³⁴ ko.
 they FOC NEG.will own 2SG AFFM

‘You do not have to worry about anything. We are all from the same village. They won’t owe you anything.’

20.5 Conclusions

This chapter has shown us how the Yichun language poses questions in various ways. As a WH-*in-situ* language, neither polar questions nor questions with

interrogative words are involved with the word-order alternation in forming questions, such as the preposing of WH-words and auxiliaries in English. Polar questions can be construed by using the rising intonation or making use of negators in sentence-final positions, such as *mo* and *mau*. In view of the presence of negators, A-NOT-A questions and tag questions can be regarded as a kind of negator strategy as well. Interrogative words in Yichun Gan have both interrogative and non-interrogative uses, and their exact interpretation depends on the syntactic/semantic contexts in which they occur.

21 Clause linking: coordination and subordination

In this chapter, we will discuss the two basic types of clause linking complex sentences found in Yichun Gan—coordination and subordination.

21.1 Coordination

Zhang (2010:9) has suggested the following definition for linguistic coordination: “A coordinate complex is a syntactic constituent consisting of two or more units (called conjuncts), and its category is identical to that of at least one of the conjuncts”, such as ‘red and yellow’, ‘teachers and students’, and ‘sing and dance’ in English. It can be represented by the template: ‘conjunct + coordinator + conjunct’. Coordination can be realized at the word/phrasal level or the clausal level. In English, the coordinator *and* is able to conjoin constituents at any level, including words, phrases and clauses. However, in the Yichun language, these two types of coordination are realized by different markers. In what follows, we will discuss them in turn.

21.1.1 Coordination of words and phrases

In this section, we will introduce how words belonging to different parts of speech, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, are coordinated in the Yichun language.

In Yichun Gan, nouns or pronouns can be coordinated by the marker *kien*³⁴ or *uon*⁴², which are free variants. In (1a), the direct object is a coordinated phrase, i.e. ‘the ID card and money’. In (1b), two pronouns are coordinated to act as a plural subject, i.e. ‘she and I’.

(1) Noun+ *kien*³⁴/*uon*⁴²+Noun

a. 你把身份证跟钱送还给我。

ni³⁴ pa⁴² cin³⁴fun²¹³tcin⁴⁴ kien³⁴ ts^hien⁴⁴ sun⁴⁴uan⁴⁴ kie⁴² ŋo³⁴.
2SG OM ID card and money return DAT 1SG

‘Please return the ID card and money to me.’

b. 渠望我是小学同班同学。

kie³⁴ uoŋ⁴² ŋo³⁴ ɕi²¹³ siɛu⁴²xoʔ t^huŋ⁴⁴ pan³⁴ t^huŋ⁴⁴xoʔ.
 3SG and 1SG be primary school same class classmate
 ‘She and I are classmates in primary school.’

The coordinators *kien³⁴/uoŋ⁴²* also develop into a comitative marker, similar to *with* in English, as shown in (2). In other words, the markers *kien³⁴/uoŋ⁴²* develop from the function of coordinating elements of equal status to that of adjoining elements.

(2) 渠就跟渠狗仔走刮哩。

kie³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ kien³⁴ kie³⁴ kiɛu⁴²-tsiʔ tɕɛu⁴²-k^huæʔ li.
 3SG then with 3SG dog-DIM walk-COMPL PRF
 ‘He then walked away with his dog.’

What is different between (1) and (2) is that the elements linked by *kien³⁴/uoŋ⁴²* in (1) form a single constituent, but the phrase marked by *kien³⁴/uoŋ⁴²* in (2) does not form a constituent with another nominal phrase but rather adjoins to the sentence as an adjunct. In (2), *kie³⁴* ‘he’ and *kie³⁴ kiɛu⁴²* ‘his dog’ are separated by the adverbial *tɕ^hiu²¹³* ‘then’.

The markers *kien³⁴/uoŋ⁴²* are a coordinators dedicated to coordinating nouns and pronouns, but neither can be used as coordinators of adjectives, verbs or clauses. Coordination of verbs is marked by adverbs, such as *iu²¹³* ‘again’ and *xai⁴⁴* ‘still’. Examples are given in (3) and (4).

Example (3) has as predicate a coordinated verb phrase, i.e. *loʔy⁴²-iu²¹³-ta⁴²ly⁴⁴kunʔ* ‘rained and thundered’. These two verbs are coordinated by the coordinator *iu²¹³*.

(3) Verb+*iu²¹³*+Verb

箇日夜里就落雨又打雷公。

ko³⁴ ŋiʔ ia²¹³⁻²¹³li tɕ^hiu²¹³ loʔ-y⁴² iu²¹³ ta⁴² ly⁴⁴kunʔ.
 DEM day night then fall rain and hit thunder
 ‘On that night, it rained and thundered.’

The coordinator *iu²¹³* originally means ‘again’ as an adverb. The coordinative interpretation of *iu²¹³* is related to the meaning of ‘additionally’, as an extension of the meaning ‘again’. Literally, (3) means that ‘it rained, additionally, it thundered’. Therefore, generally speaking, the verbs following *iu²¹³* are semantically

more heavy or important. Example (3) has the implication that it is already bad news that it rained, but what is worse is that it also thundered.

It is also possible to use double *iu*²¹³. That is, *iu*²¹³ marks both verbs that are coordinated, as in (4).

(4) *iu*²¹³+Verb+*iu*²¹³+Verb

日夜里就[[又落雨][又打雷公]]。

ko³⁴ niʔ ia²¹³⁻²¹li tɕ^{hi}iu²¹³ [[iu²¹³⁻²¹ loʔ-y⁴²] [iu²¹³⁻²¹ ta⁴² ly⁴⁴kuŋ]].

DEM day night then and fall rain and hit thunder

‘On that night, it rained and thundered.’

Example (4) differs from (3) in that the verbs coordinated by *iu*²¹³ in (4) are not constrained by any logical order, such as temporal sequence or semantic heaviness. It is also possible to say *iu*²¹³ ta⁴²ly⁴⁴kuŋ *iu*²¹³ loʔ-y⁴² ‘thundered and rained’, which expresses the same meaning as the one in (4).

There are also cases in which two conjuncts are conjoined by juxtaposition, i.e. by zero-marking. For example, in (5), two phrases *ts^hoŋ⁴⁴ko³⁴* ‘sing’ and *tieu⁴⁴-u⁴²* ‘dance’ are juxtaposed together into a coordinated phrase.

(5) Zero marking: Verb+Verb

诶，渠平时就喜欢唱歌跳舞，

ɛ, kie³⁴ p^hin⁴⁴ci⁴⁴ tɕ^{hi}iu²¹³ ci⁴²fon³⁴ tɕ^hoŋ⁴⁴ko³⁴ t^hieu⁴⁴u⁴².

INTJ 3SG usual:time FOC like sing dance

‘She usually likes to sing and dance.’

OR ‘She usually likes singing and dancing.’

In this particular example (5), the zero-marked coordinated phrase can be interpreted either as coordination of nouns or of verbs. On the verb-coordination reading, (5) means that she likes to [sing and dance]. On the noun-coordination reading, (5) means that she likes [singing and dancing], in which the coordinated phrase can be analyzed as containing nouns which denote two events. Under the second reading, it is possible to link these two nouns with the coordinators for nominals, i.e. *kien*³⁴/*uoŋ*⁴² in an overt way.

21.1.2 Coordination of clauses

In English, *and*, *or*, *but* are three of the most frequently used coordinators to express various inter-clausal relations, such as “elaboration”, “disjunction” or

“contrast” as distinguished in Dixon (2009). However, in the Yichun language, neither the coordinator of nouns nor that of verbs, as discussed in section 1.1, can be used to coordinate two clauses. Generally speaking, clauses are adjoined without any coordinator in this language. The inter-clausal relation is either implied or explicitly expressed by some special adverbials.

Example (6) illustrates a listing context, in which several clauses follow one after another to form a complex coordinated sentence. The utterance in B, as an answer to the question posed in A, specifies the purposes of making money. It contains three small clauses which express three different purposes and they are juxtaposed together as one single complex sentence.

(6) A: 赚钱咋仔啊?

ts^han²¹³ ts^hien⁴⁴ tsa⁴²-tʂiʔ a ?
 make money why-DIM INTJ
 ‘What is money-making for?’

B: 跟你买好吃格, 买新衣服仔格, 让你读书格。

kiɛ³⁴ ŋi³⁴ mai^{42:33} xau⁴² tɕiaʔ-ko, mai⁴² sin³⁴ i³⁴fuʔ-tʂiʔ kiɛ,
 for 2SG buy good:to:eat-NMLZ buy new clothes-DIM AFFM
 ŋiɔŋ²¹³ ŋi³⁴ t^huʔɕy³⁴ kiɛ.
 let 2SG go:to:school AFFM

‘To buy you good things to eat, to buy new clothes for you, and to enable you go to school.’

The conjunct clauses in (6) are of equal semantic status and they may appear in any order. To explicitly code the information flow, the clauses can sometimes be modified by adverbials. For example, in (7), the second clause is modified by the adverbial *xai*⁴⁴, which can be interpreted as ‘also’ in this context. It indicates the addition or supplementation of information.

(7) 渠平时喜欢唱歌跳舞, 人还拉活仔。

kiɛ³⁴ p^hin⁴⁴ɕi⁴⁴ ɕi⁴²fon³⁴ tɕ^hioŋ⁴⁴ko³⁴ tiɛu⁴⁴u⁴², ŋin⁴⁴ xai⁴⁴ la⁴²uoʔ-tʂiʔ.
 3SG usual:time like sing dance person also smart-DIM
 ‘She usually likes to sing and dance, she is also smart.’

In what follows, we are going to show how the three basic inter-clausal relations are expressed in the Yichun language, i.e. elaboration, disjunction and concession.

Elaboration: in expressing the elaboration relation, “the second clause echoes the first, adding additional information about the event or state described” (Dixon 2011: 27).

In (8), the first clause talks about a shop while the second and the third elaborate on the first clause by giving extra information about this shop, such as who are its owners. The logical relation of these three sentences is also suggested by the adverb *ia*⁴² 也 ‘also’. It marks the second and the third clauses and shows the parallel coordinating status of these clauses.

(8) 原来里里啊开店，也是我俚老祖宗格店，也是我俚格家产。

*n*_{ion}⁴⁴ *l*_{oe}⁴⁴ *l*_i⁴² *a* *k*^h *oe*³⁴ *t*_{ien}⁴⁴, *i*_a⁴² *ci*²¹³ *ŋ*_o³⁴ *li* *lau*⁴²⁻³³ *ts*₁⁴² *tsun*³⁴
originally here TOP open shop also be 1PL ancestor
ko *t*_{ien}⁴⁴, *i*_a⁴² *ci*²¹³ *ŋ*_o³⁴ *li* *ko* *ka*³⁴ *ts*^h *an*⁴².
MOD shop also be 1PL MOD property

‘This was originally a shop, it was my ancestor’s shop, it is also my property.’

Disjunction: this involves symmetrical alternatives, where the clauses have equal status and could occur in either order.

In English, disjunction is usually expressed by correlative conjunctives, such as *either ...or...* The Yichun language also uses correlative expressions, such as *ieu*⁴⁴ *m*_e... *ieu*⁴⁴ *m*_e... (要么.....要么.....) or *pi*_? *ci*²¹³... *te*^h *iu*²¹³ *ci*²¹³... (不是.....就是.....). The relevant examples are given in (9).

(9) a. 要嚟你去，要嚟渠去。

*ieu*⁴⁴ *m*_e *ŋ*_i³⁴ *te*^h *ie*⁴⁴, *ieu*⁴⁴ *m*_e *ki*³⁴ *te*^h *ie*⁴⁴.
either 2SG go or 3SG go

‘Either you go, or he goes.’

b. 不是你去，就是渠去。

*pi*_? *ci*²¹³ *ŋ*_i³⁴ *te*^h *ie*⁴⁴, *te*^h *iu*²¹³ *ci*²¹³ *ki*³⁴ *te*^h *ie*⁴⁴.
NEG.COP 2SG go then.COP 3SG go

‘Either you go, or he goes.’

Disjunctive clauses express the speaker’s suggestions and expectations (for irrealis events) or guesses and inferences (for realis events). Both *ieu*⁴⁴ *m*_e... *ieu*⁴⁴ *m*_e... and *pi*_? *ci*²¹³... *te*^h *iu*²¹³ *ci*²¹³... can express disjunction, but their mechanism of expressing a suggestion or a guess is different. (9a) makes use of *ieu*⁴⁴ *m*_e to express suggestions, so the correlative use of *ieu*⁴⁴ *m*_e makes possible several candidates or propositions, which achieves the disjunction effect. (9a) literally

suggests ‘what about you go, what about he goes?’, which can be more idiomatically translated as ‘either you go, or he goes’. By contrast, in (9b), *pi?ci²¹³* negates one proposition and *te^{hiu}213 ci²¹³* suggests an alternative proposition. In fact, these two clauses behave like a sort of conditional clause. They can be translated as: ‘if it is not you who will go, then it is he who will go.’

Contrast: when expressing the contrastive interclausal relation, “the information conveyed by the focal clause contrasts with that provided in the supporting clause, and may be surprising in view of it” (Dixon 2011: 28).

Contrast is different from concession. Specifically, contrast is usually involved with some sort of comparison along a certain dimension, while concession is concerned with unexpectedness between propositions. The sentences in (10) are coordinated sentences expressing the contrast relation. In (10a), the fact that I am tall and that my sister is short constitute a contrast in terms of height. In (10b), the contrast is concerned with the weather today and tomorrow.

(10) a. 我蛮高，不过我妹仔蛮矮。

ŋo³⁴ man⁴⁴ kau³⁴, pi?kuo⁴⁴ ŋo³⁴ mœ⁴⁴tsi? man⁴⁴ ŋai⁴².
 1SG very tall but 1SG younger sister very short
 ‘I am quite tall, but my younger sister is quite short.’

b. 今日天气蛮好，不过明日会落雨。

tcia³⁴ t^{hien}34 t^{hi}44 man⁴⁴ xau⁴², pi?kuo⁴⁴ mian⁴⁴ŋi? ui²¹³⁻²¹ lo?y⁴².
 today weather very good but tomorrow will rain
 ‘Today, it is quite fine, but tomorrow it will rain.’

The two types of coordination at the phrasal or sentential levels are summarized in Table 21-1:

Tab21-1: Coordinators in Yichun Gan

	Word/phrases coordination		Clausal coordination
Nouns	<i>kien³⁴</i> 跟 ‘and’ <i>uoŋ²¹³</i> 望 ‘and’	Elaboration	<i>ia⁴²</i> 也 ‘also’
Verbs	<i>iu²¹³</i> 又 ‘and’	Disjunction	<i>iεu⁴⁴ mε... iεu⁴⁴ mε...</i> 要么.....要么..... <i>pi? ci²¹³...te^{hiu}213 ci²¹³...</i> 不 是.....就是.....
		Contrast	不过 <i>pi?kuo⁴⁴</i>

21.2 Subordinate clauses

This section deals with subordination. One clause is subordinate to another, if it depends on it syntactically. The dependent clause is called a subordinate clause and the independent clause is called the main clause or matrix clause. According to the semantics of the subordinate clause, it includes complement clauses, relative clauses, conditional clauses, concessive clauses, causal clauses, temporal clauses etc. (relative clauses are discussed separately in Chapter 19). In English, subordinate clauses must be introduced overtly by subordinators, which include *that* (a general complementizer), *because* (cause), *if* (conditional), and *but* (concessive). In Yichun Gan, there are three ways of making these different types of clause linking: **zero marking** > **adverbial marking** > **conjunctive marking** (ranked from high to low in terms of the frequency of use in natural discourse). In what follows, we will discuss these three strategies for each type of subordinate clause.

21.2.1 Complement clauses

Verbs of saying and psychological verbs typically take clauses as complements, but complement-taking verbs are not restricted to these lexical classes. In English, complement clauses are introduced by the pronominal *that*, among other forms, but there is no *that* type complementizer in Yichun Gan. Complement clauses directly follow such complement-taking verbs without any overt marking.

For example, verbs of saying *ua*⁴⁴ ‘say’ in (11a) and the psychological verbs like *siεu*⁴²*tε*⁴⁴ ‘know’ in (11b) and *ts^her*⁴⁴*ien*⁴⁴ ‘admit’ in (11c) are all directly followed by a complement clause without any marker. The complement clause is bracketed and notated as a ‘complement phrase’ (CP for short) in the examples.

(11)a. 渠话_{CP}不得闲。

kiε³⁴ ua²¹³ [_{CP} pi? tε⁴⁴ xan⁴⁴].
 3SG say NEG have free:time
 ‘She said that she is not available.’

b. 我晓得_{CP}我而今做不了老师。

ŋo³⁴ ciεu⁴²tε [_{CP} ŋo³⁴ ɣ⁴⁴tεin⁴⁴ tsɿ⁴⁴ pi?liεu⁴² lau⁴²sɿ⁴⁴].
 1SG know 1SG now do NEG teacher
 ‘I know that now I cannot be a teacher.’

c. 我承认[_{CP} 渠出哩力]。

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hin⁴⁴in²¹³ [_{CP} kiɛ³⁴ tɕ^hyʔ-li-li⁴⁴].

1SG admit 3SG pay-PFV-effort

‘I admit that she made an effort for it.’

In English, a question can be turned into a complement clause, which is then introduced by the complementizer *whether*, as in the English translation in (12). However, in the Yichun language, even this kind of complement clause is zero-marked. The interrogative question of (12a) is turned into a complement clause in (12b), where it follows the verb *siɛu⁴²tɕ⁴⁴* ‘know’ without any change in word order.

(12) a. 你记得嚟?

ŋi³⁴ tɕi⁴⁴tɕ mo?

2SG remember Q

‘Do you remember?’

b. 不晓得[_{CP} 你记得嚟]。

pɪʔ ɕiɛu⁴²tɕ [_{CP} ŋi³⁴ tɕi⁴⁴tɕ mo].

NEG know 2SG remember Q

‘I do not know whether you remember.’

Interrogatives with special interrogative words behave in the same way, i.e. being zero-marked when used as complement clauses. As discussed in Chapter 21, the Yichun language is a WH-in-situ language in that the interrogative words, such as *who*, *where* etc., remain in the original position without involving any kind of movement at the surface level. (13a) asks a question with the interrogative word *ɕia⁴²tɕiʔ* ‘what’, and this interrogative pronoun remains in its post-verbal object position. In (13b), the same interrogative clause is used as a complement clause after the verb *siɛu⁴²tɕ⁴⁴* ‘know’ with an indefinite reading of the interrogative pronoun in this case.

(13) a. 你话啥仔啲?

ŋi³⁴ ua²¹³ ɕia⁴²tɕiʔ io?

2SG say what INTJ

‘What did you say?’

b. 我晓得你话啥仔嘞。

ŋo³⁴ ɕieu⁴²te ŋi³⁴ ua²¹³ ɕia⁴²tsiŋ io?
 1SG know 2SG say what INTJ
 'I know what you said.'

21.2.2 Conditional clauses

21.2.2.1 Zero marking

Conditionals in the Yichun language can be zero-marked. In zero-marked conditionals, two clauses are adjoined by placing the protasis before the apodosis. The apodosis usually has an irrealis (or future) interpretation, as expressed by modals or temporal adverbials.

The examples in (14) are all zero-marked conditionals. In (14a), the irrealis is expressed by the modal verb *iɛu*⁴⁴ 'have to, must', coding the modality of necessity (see Chapter 12). In (14b), the modal verb *ui*²¹³ is a general future tense marker. In this sentence, if the condition is satisfied, if he runs away, then something will happen, e.g. he might get beaten. However, in (14c), there is no overt marker and the future interpretation is simply implied.

(14) a. 要考, 要到明年。

iɛu⁴⁴ kau⁴², iɛu⁴⁴ tau⁴⁴ mian⁴⁴ŋien.
 want sit:for:exam have:to till next year
 'If (she) wants to sit for the exam, (she) has to wait till next year.'

b. 跑哩, 伯伯会打你。

p^hau⁴²⁻³³ li, pɛ⁴⁴pɛ ui²¹³ ta⁴² ŋi³⁴.
 run PRF uncle will beat 2SG
 'If you run away, uncle (I) will beat you.'

c. 你刚格走哩, 你爷老子找我要人, 我遮么向你爷老子交代。

ŋi³⁴ koŋ³⁴ ko tɕeu⁴²⁻³³-li, ŋi³⁴ ia²¹lautsɿ tsau⁴² ŋo³⁴ iɛu⁴⁴ ŋin⁴⁴,
 2SG this:way MOD walk-PRF 2SG father seek 1SG want person
 ŋo³⁴ tɕia³⁴mo ɕioŋ⁴⁴ ŋi³⁴ ia²¹lautsɿ kau³⁴t^hɕe²¹³?
 1SG how to 1SG father explain
 'If you walked away like this, how can I explain to your father, when he asks me about your whereabouts?'

21.2.2.2 Marked by adverbs

Conditionals can also be marked by adverbs. Adverbially-marked conditionals come into two subtypes: those that mark the apodosis clause and those that mark the protasis clause.

One of the most frequently used adverbs in conditionals is *tɕ^hiu²¹³* 就. It is used in the apodosis clause, more precisely, occurring before its main predicate in the apodosis clause. It is sometimes translated by ‘then’ in English. It expresses some result that the speaker expects to come to pass, if the condition is satisfied. Compare the examples in (15):

(15) a. 你敢上桌，我就赚你格大钱。

ŋi³⁴ kon⁴² ɕion²¹³ tsoʔ,
2SG dare come:upon table
ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ ts^han²¹³ ŋi³⁴ ko t^hai²¹³ ts^hien⁴⁴.
1SG then make 2SG MOD big money
‘If you dare to play (cards), I will win your money.’

b. 有啥么事，我俚就先走哦。

mau⁴⁴ ɕia⁴²mo s¹213, ŋo³⁴li tɕ^hiu²¹³ sien³⁴ tsɕu⁴² lo.
NEG.HAVE what thing 1PL then first leave INTJ
‘If there is nothing else, we are leaving now.’

c. 明日赚哩发仔钱，就付发仔工资把渠。

mian⁴⁴ŋiʔ ts^han²¹³⁻²¹ li faʔtsiʔ ts^hien⁴⁴,
tomorrow make PRF some money
tɕ^hiu²¹³ fu²¹³⁻²¹ faʔ tsiʔ kuŋ³⁴tsɿ³⁴ pa⁴² kiɕ³⁴.
then pay some salary DAT 3SG
‘If we make some money in the future, we’ll then pay her some salary.’

Some other adverbs often used which express conditionals include those derived from *k^hœ⁴⁴tɕ?* 看得 ‘see’, *man⁴²tsiʔ* 慢仔 ‘in a while’ and *ɕi²¹³* 是 ‘be’ in the Yichun language. These adverbs have quite different lexical meanings, ranging from SEE verbs to temporal adverbials and even to the copula BE. What is common to these adverbs is that they are all used in the protasis clause.

Among these three conditional markers, *k^hœ⁴⁴tɕ?* ‘see’ and *man⁴²tsiʔ* ‘later, in a while’ can be grouped together and *ɕi²¹³* ‘be’ should be treated separately. There are at least two differences between them. First, *k^hœ⁴⁴tɕ?* and *man⁴²tsiʔ* are used in normal conditionals, as in (16) and (17), whereas *ɕi²¹³* ‘be’ expresses

counterfactuals, as in (18). Second, *k^hœ⁴⁴tɛ?* and *man⁴²tsi?* are used at the beginning of the clause, while *ci²¹³* comes at the end.

Although *k^hœ⁴⁴tɛ?* is a verb and *man⁴²tsi?* is originally a temporal adverb, they share something in common in that they are both able to express a future temporal reference. *k^hœ⁴⁴tɛ?* in (16) means something like ‘wait and see’ and *man⁴²tsi?* in (17) means ‘later’. A future result can naturally follow after clauses marked by them.

(16) 等下仔, 看得雨停哩, 我来跟你去一下。

tɛn42xa-tsi?, k^hœ⁴⁴tɛ? y⁴² t^hin⁴⁴ li,
later-DIM see rain stop PRF
ŋo³⁴ lœ⁴⁴ kien⁴⁴ ŋi³⁴ tɕ^hie⁴⁴ i?xa.
1SG come with 2SG go DELIM
‘Later, if the rain stops, I will go with you for a while.’

(17) a. 我慢仔会唱歌, 遮么办哩?

ŋo³⁴ man²¹³⁻²¹tsi? ui²¹³ tɕ^hion⁴⁴ko³⁴, tɕia³⁴mo p^han²¹³⁻²¹ li?
1SG later can sing how do PRF
‘If I am able to sing (well), what should you do?’

b. 慢仔听出你是只结巴子, 人家就不得要诶。

man⁴²tsi? t^hian³⁴tɕ^hy? ŋi³⁴ ci²¹³⁻²¹ tɕia? tɕie?pa-tɕi,
later recognize 2SG be CL stutter
ŋin⁴⁴ka tɕ^hiu²¹³ pi?tɕ iɛu⁴⁴ ɛ.
they then NEG.will want INTJ
‘If they recognize that you are a stutterer when you speak, they won’t

marry you.’

The copula *ci²¹³* is more or less equivalent to the expression ...*de hua* ...的话 in Mandarin. It is used at the end of the protasis clause. It expresses counterfactuals. The background to (18) is that the house was torn down already and the speaker uttered this sentence to express his regret.

(18) 不拆是, 留到而今, 不得了哦。

pi? ts^ha? ɕi, liu⁴⁴ tau ɳ⁴⁴tɕin³⁴, pi?tɕ?liɛu⁴²⁻²³ o.
NEG tear:down TOP keep till now incredible INTJ

‘If it were not torn down and had not been kept till today, the price would be incredibly high.’

21.2.2.3 Marked by conjunctives

There are two conjunctives that are able to mark conditionals: *uan*²¹³⁻²¹*i?* 万一 ‘in case’ and *ɣ*⁴⁴*kuo*⁴² 如果 ‘if’. These two conjunctives are typically used in high register or by educated speakers. Both *uan*²¹³⁻²¹*i?* and *ɣ*⁴⁴*kuo*⁴² are found in Mandarin and it is quite likely that they are borrowed from Mandarin into Yichun Gan.

The use of *uan*²¹³⁻²¹*i?* has a certain negative implication. For example, in (19a), *uan*²¹³⁻²¹*i?* express a negative condition.

(19) 答应得格么块，明日万一招不到学生，你拿啥仔付人家格工资啊？

tæʔin⁴⁴ tɛʔ ko³⁴mo k^huai⁴⁴,
 promise PRT so quickly
 mian⁴⁴ŋi[?] uan²¹³⁻²¹*i?* tɕiɛu³⁴ piʔtau xoʔsan³⁴,
 tomorrow in case enroll NEG.achieve student
 ŋi³⁴ laʔ ɕia⁴²tsiʔ fu²¹³ ŋin⁴⁴ka ko kuŋ³⁴tsi³⁴ a?
 2SG take what pay other MOD salary INTJ

‘You made a quick promise. If you do not manage to enroll enough students, what would you take to pay her salary?’

In contrast with *uan*²¹³⁻²¹*i?*, the conjunctive *ɣ*⁴⁴*kuo*⁴² may or may not carry such a negative implication. (20a) expresses a neutral condition, while (20b) is a negative condition. Note that in (20a), the conditional conjunctive is placed after the complement clause, this is not a normal word order and it acts as a kind of afterthought.

(20)a. 你棱个村庄里面方便 如果，帮我宣传下仔。

ŋi³⁴ len³⁴ ko t^hun³⁴tsɔŋ³⁴ li⁴²mien²¹³ fon³⁴p^hien²¹³ ɣ⁴⁴*kuo*⁴²,
 2SG that CL village inside convenient if
 poŋ³⁴ ŋo³⁴ sien³⁴t^hion⁴⁴ xatsiʔ.
 help 1SG advertise DELIM

‘If you are available in your village, please help me to advertise it.’

b. 如果细人仔跌到河里，就不得了啊。

ɣ⁴⁴*kuo*⁴² si⁴⁴ŋintsɿʔ tie⁴⁴ tau xo⁴⁴ li, tɕ^hiu²¹³ piʔtɛʔlieu⁴² a.
 if child fall to river in then serious INTJ

‘If a child fell into the river, that was extremely serious.’

21.2.3 Concessives

Concessives establish contrary circumstances. They are usually expressed in zero-marked forms, as in (21). Two contrary events, which are expressed by the clauses in question, are stated in sequential order in time: the first clause expresses the earlier event which took place and the second expresses the result contrary to expectations in light of the first event.

(21) zero-marking

[_{E1} 簡易老师读哩书格, 人家师范毕业], [_{E2} 而今一个月拿到千多块仔钱]。
 ko³⁴ ia? lau⁴²sɿ³⁴ tʰuʔ-li-ɕy³⁴ kie, ɲin⁴⁴ka sɿ³⁴fan²¹³ piʔnieʔ,
 DEM Yi teacher study-PFV-book INTJ he teacher's college graduate
 ɣ⁴⁴tɕin³⁴ iʔ ko⁴⁴ nyæʔ laʔtau tsʰien³⁴ to³⁴ kʰuai tsiʔ tsʰien⁴⁴.
 now one CL month take thousand more Yuan DIM money
 'Mr. Yi was well-educated and graduated from Teacher's College, but now (he) earns a bit more than one thousand yuan every month.'

Concessives can also be marked by adverbs like 也 *ia*⁴² 'also' and 又 *iu*⁴⁴ 'again'. If we look at the data more carefully, *ia*⁴² is only able to mark the *even though* or *even if* type of concessive, but not the *but* type of concessive. Consider (22).

(22) Marked by adverbs

a. 我老婆墨讨哩, 细人仔都格大去哩。不去赚钱, 也做得。

ɲo³⁴ lau⁴²⁻³³pʰo mɛ tʰau⁴²⁻³³ li,
 1SG wife TOP marry PRF
 si⁴⁴ɲin-tsiʔ tu³⁴ ko³⁴ tʰai²¹³ tɕʰie li,
 child-DIM even so old go PRF
 piʔ tɕʰie⁴⁴ tsʰan²¹³tsʰien⁴⁴, ia⁴² tsɿ⁴⁴tɛʔ.
 NEG go make money also alright

'I have married, and my kid has also grown up, so, even though I do not go to work, it is OK.'

b. 跟你话, 你也不懂。

kien³⁴ ɲi³⁴ ua²¹³, ɲi³⁴ ia⁴² piʔ tun⁴².
 DAT 2SG say 2SG either NEG understand
 'Even if I tell you, you won't understand.'

In contrast with *ia*⁴², the adverb *iu*⁴⁴ expresses the *but* type of concessive. Moreover, it expresses an adversative meaning, as in (23).

(23) Marked by adverbs

要你唱，你又不唱。

ieu⁴⁴ ŋi³⁴ tɕ^hion⁴⁴, ŋi³⁴ iu²¹³⁻²¹ piʔ tɕ^hion⁴⁴

invite 2SG sing 2SG then NEG sing

‘You were invited to sing, but you did not sing.’

From the cross-linguistic perspective, it is not surprising that adverbs expressing the meaning ‘also’ or ‘again’ are able to express concessive meanings. For example, in Kham, it is obligatory for concessive markers to co-occur with the lexical item ALSO (Watters 2009).

The conjunctive *t^han²¹³ɕi²¹³* 但是 ‘but’ can also express concessives. But, again, it is probably a borrowed conjunctive from Mandarin.

(24) Marked by conjunctives

有人话，渠往池塘棱边去哩。但是，我俚去哩，蒙看得人。

iu⁴² ŋin⁴⁴ ua²¹³, kie³⁴ uon⁴² tɕ^hi⁴⁴t^hon⁴⁴ len³⁴ pien³⁴ tɕ^hie⁴⁴ li,

there:be people say 3SG to pond that side go PRF

t^han²¹³ɕi²¹³ ŋo³⁴li tɕ^hie⁴⁴ li maŋ³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴teʔ ŋin⁴⁴.

but 1PL go PRF NEG see.achieve people

‘It is said that he walked toward the pond, but we went there too and did not see him.’

21.2.4 Causal clauses

21.2.4.1 Zero marking

The causal relation is usually understood to be a certain relation between two events: the second is understood as the result of the first. This kind of relation can also be zero-marked in the Yichun language. The causal relation can be either non-temporal (25a) or temporal (25b).

(25) a. [_{Reason} 我只照相机不是好格，是胶卷格], [_{Result} 拍来拍去芒拍将]。

ŋo³⁴ tɕiaʔ tɕieu⁴⁴sion⁴⁴tɕi³⁴ piʔ ɕi²¹³ xau⁴²⁻³³ ko,

1SG CL camera NEG be good MOD

ɕi²¹³ kau³⁴tɕyon⁴² ko, p^haʔ-loe⁴⁴.p^haʔ-tɕ^hie⁴⁴ maŋ³⁴ p^haʔ tɕiaŋ⁴⁴.

be film MOD shoot-come shoot-go NEG take successful

‘My camera is not a good one, one of those making use of a film roll, so I did not manage to take a good photo.’

- b. [Reason 我而今幼儿园里要停办哩噢], [Result 伽就把秀秀送得回来]。
 ŋo³⁴ ɣ⁴⁴tɕin³⁴ iu²¹³ɣ⁴⁴ion⁴⁴ li iɛu⁴⁴ t^hin⁴⁴ p^han²¹³ li pɛ,
 1SG now kindergarten in will stop run PRF INTJ
 ka³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ pa⁴² siɛu⁴⁴siɛu səŋ⁴⁴tɛ fi⁴⁴lɔɛ.
 well then OM XiuXiu send.achieve back
 ‘I now have to stop running the kindergarten, so I’ll send XiuXiu back.’

In (25a), the reason is expressed as a state and not a dynamic event. It acts as a non-temporal cause of the relevant result. In contrast, in (25b), the two events are linked by the sequential order in time. When “two events are mentioned together as following each other in time, it may be possible to infer that one is the cause of the other” (Thompson and Longacre 1985, cf. Dixon and Aikenvald 2009).

In many cases, only the result is expressed explicitly and the cause is left implicit. In those cases, the result is expressed as a possible result, which has not yet happened. The REASON is usually the focal sentence. As in (26), the first clause expresses the consequence and not the result and the reason is put after the consequence, as a sort of information.

- (26) a. 接人呐? 怕不得闲, [REASON 人家请我打仔门窗门槛]。
 tsieʔ ŋin⁴⁴ laʔ p^ha⁴⁴ piʔtɛʔ xan⁴⁴.
 pick:up people INTJ fear NEG.have free:time
 [REASON ŋin⁴⁴ka³⁴ ts^hian⁴² ŋo⁴² ta⁴² tsiʔ mun⁴⁴ts^hoŋ³⁴ mun⁴⁴k^han⁴²].
 people ask 1SG make some window threshold
 ‘To pick up the kids? I am afraid that I will not be free, because I am invited to make some windows and thresholds for others.’

- b. 不过你要边唱边跳, [REASON 易老师话你又会唱歌, 又会跳舞]。
 piʔkuo⁴⁴ ŋi³⁴ iɛu⁴⁴ pien³⁴ tɕ^hioŋ⁴⁴ pien³⁴ t^hieu⁴⁴, [REASON iaʔ lau⁴²sɿ³⁴
 but 3SG must while sing while dance Yi teacher
 ua²¹³ ŋi³⁴ iu²¹³ ui²¹³ tɕ^hioŋ⁴⁴ko³⁴, iu²¹³ ui²¹³ t^hieu⁴⁴u⁴²].
 say 3SG not:only can sing but:also can dance
 ‘But you have to sing and dance at the same time, because Mr. Yi said that you can sing and dance.’

21.2.4.2 Marked by conjunctives

The causal relation can be marked by conjunctives, such as *tɛy⁴⁴ien⁴⁴* 既然 ‘now that, since’ or *so³³i⁴²* 所以 ‘so’. These conjunctives are quite formal and they are

used widely in standard Mandarin. It is highly possible that they are not native to Yichun Gan but borrowed from Mandarin.

The conjunctive *tey⁴⁴ien⁴⁴* introduces a clause expressing some cause. The clause marked by *tey⁴⁴ien⁴⁴* expresses something that has happened (realis). It can be roughly translated as *now that* or *since* in English.

(27) a. 既然不得闲，喊瘦根立儿去。

tei⁴⁴ien⁴⁴ pi?te? -xan⁴⁴, xan⁴² seu⁴⁴kien³⁴-li tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴.
since NEG.have-free:time call ShouGen-DIM go
'Since he is not available, you can ask my ShouGen to go.'

b. 既然刚格，你遮么连招呼不打就走诶。

tei⁴⁴ien⁴⁴ koŋ³⁴ ko,
since like:this MOD
ŋi³⁴ tɕia³⁴ma lien⁴⁴ tɕiey³⁴fu? pi? ta⁴² tɕ^hiu²¹³ tɕeu⁴²⁻³³ ɛ.
2SG why FOC signal NEG make FOC leave INTJ
'Since this is the case, why did not you let me know before you left?'

(28) 是我冤枉哩砣砣，骂哩砣砣，所以渠正跑出去。

ɕi²¹³ ŋo³⁴ ion³⁴uon⁴²-li t^ho⁴⁴t^ho, ma⁴⁴-li t^ho⁴⁴t^ho,
be 1SG treat:unjustly-PFV TuoTuo, scold-PFV TuoTuo
so^{33/42} kiɛ³⁴ tɕian⁴⁴ p^hau⁴²-tɕ^hy?tɕ^hiɛ.
so 3SG FOC run:away
'It is because I treated Tuotuo unjustly and scolded him, that he ran away.'

21.2.5 Temporal clauses:

The temporal clause is usually expressed as a relative clause with the head noun in clause-final position. The temporal clause precedes the main clause:

(29) a. 渠娘爷出去打工格时候，在棱里分别格呗。

kiɛ³⁴ ŋion⁴⁴ ia⁴⁴ tɕ^hy? tɕ^hiɛ ta⁴² kuŋ³⁴ ko ɕi⁴⁴xiey,
3SG mum dad go:out work MOD time
ts^hœ²¹³ len³⁴li fen³⁴ p^hiɛ? ko pɛ.
at there separate AFFM INTJ

'When his Mum and Dad went to work, they take leave of each other there.'

It may also be expressed by the use of *ten*⁴² ‘until’ derived from the verb ‘wait’ in initial position of the first clause:

- b. 哦，等渠爷老子寄得钱回来，我拿得等你谟。
 O, ten⁴² kie³⁴ ia²¹ lautsɿ tɕi⁴⁴ tɛʔ ts^hien⁴⁴ fi⁴⁴ lœ,
 Oh wait 3SG dad send.achieve money back
 ɲo³⁴ laʔ tɛʔ ten⁴² ɲi³⁴ ɛ.
 1SG take.achieve DAT 2SG INTJ
 ‘Oh, when his Dad sends back money, I’ll bring the money to you.’

Generic expressions with WH-EVER words and temporal meanings are very often expressed by means of the same marker cross-linguistically, and so it is too for the Yichun Gan language.

- (30)a. 好好，哪日渠回来，我就交得得渠。
 xau³³ xau⁴², lai³⁴ ɲiʔ kie³⁴ fi⁴⁴ lœ, ɲo³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ kau³⁴ tɛʔ tɛ⁴² kie³⁴.
 good good which.day 3SG return 1SG then pass.achieve DAT 3SG
 ‘Whichever day he comes back, I will give you back the money.’

- b. 我老婆找到以后谟，我马上就回来。
 ɲo³⁴ lau⁴²⁻³³ p^ho tsau⁴²⁻³³ tau i⁴² xiɛu²¹³ ɛ,
 1SG wife find after INTJ
 ɲo³⁴ ma⁴² ɕioŋ tɕ^hiu²¹³ fi⁴⁴ lœ.
 1SG soon then return
 ‘As soon as I find my wife, I’ll come back straightway.’

We can summarize the strategies available for the five types of subordinate clauses as in Table 22-2.

Tab.22-2: Subordinators in Yichun Gan

	Zero marking	Adverbs	Conjunctives
Complements	+		
Conditionals	+	<i>tɕ^hiu²¹³</i> 就 ‘then’ <i>k^hon⁴⁴tɕ[?]</i> 看得 ‘see’ <i>man⁴²tsi[?]</i> 慢仔 ‘in a while’, <i>ɕi²¹³</i> 是 ‘be’	<i>uan^{213-21i[?]}</i> 万一 ‘in case’ <i>s⁴⁴kuo⁴²</i> 如果 ‘if’
Concessives	+	<i>ia⁴²</i> 也 ‘also; even if’ <i>iu²¹³</i> 又 ‘again; but’	<i>t^han²¹³ɕi²¹³</i> 但是 ‘but’
Causal	+		<i>tɕi⁴⁴ien⁴⁴</i> 既然 ‘now that’ <i>so³³i⁴²</i> 所以 ‘so’.
Temporal	+		

21.3 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed a variety of strategies of making coordination and subordination in Yichun Gan. In contrast with English, there are not many conjunctions available to coordinate or subordinate clauses in Yichun language. The interclausal relations are mostly expressed by zero-marked forms or adverbials. Thus, the exact clausal relations are inferred from the contexts to a great extent. Several of the conjunctions used in Yichun Gan are not native, as they are borrowed from Mandarin and used in some high register styles and contexts or in sentences modelled on Mandarin examples.

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Index

adjective

- attributive adjective, 96, 97
- comparative, 87, 96, 97, 98, 99
- complex adjective, 93
- compound adjective, 93
- disyllabic adjective, 26, 27, 87, 91, 92, 96, 101
- monosyllabic adjective, 26, 87, 88, 89, 90, 93, 96
- reduplicated adjective, 87, 90, 92
- superlative, 87, 97, 98

agent, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219

anaphoric, 208

approximation, 40, 75, 76, 85

aspectuality

- aspectual marker, 29, 32
- completive, 127, 135, 136, 137, 138, 148, 149, 176, 184, 202, 205, 207, 33
- delimitative, 147, 148
- durative, 127, 144, 145, 148
- experiential, 127, 139, 140, 141, 142, 148
- inchoative, 127, 133, 145, 146, 148
- perfective, 33
- perfect, 127, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 141
- perfective, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 142, 145, 148, 177, 257
- progressive, 127, 142, 143, 144, 148, 149
- repetitive, 127, 139, 140, 141, 142, 147, 148
- tentative, 127, 147, 148, 149

auxiliary, 256

BA construction, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 219

- disposal marker, 114
- object marker, 201, 207, 228

bare noun, 208, 245, 249, 250, 253

case

- ablative, 103, 104, 109, 112, 115
- accusative case, 44
- benefactive, 111

- comitative, 109, 110, 111, 115
- coordinative, 109, 110, 111, 115
- dative, 103, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115
- nominative, 44
- dative marker, 185, 187, 188, 190, 191, 193, 196, 198, 199
- beneficiary marker, 196
- causative marker, 207
- accusative marker, 218
- comitative marker, 276
- accusative marker, 114

causal clause, 288

causative, 213, 220, 221, 222

classifier

- container classifier, 53, 77, 79
- general classifier, 266, 79, 85
- group classifier, 40, 77, 79
- individual classifier, 40, 53, 77, 85
- individuating classifier, 78
- measure word, 77, 81
- mensural classifier, 79
- partitive classifier, 77, 79
- plural classifier, 54
- temporary classifier, 77, 79

Cl-N, 82, 83, 84, 208, 209, 210, 245, 246, 248

cleft sentence, 235, 236, 240

common noun, 45, 46, 47

complement clause, 281, 282, 286

compound adjective, 87, 88, 89, 96

concessive, 287, 292

conditional clause, 283

conjunctive, 279, 281, 286, 288, 289, 290

consonant, 13, 14, 16, 17

coordinator, 275, 276, 277

copula, 169, 225, 226, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 255, 258, 259, 284, 285

count noun, 45

coverb, 108

dative marker, 190

- diminutive marker, 147, 263, 264, 268, 76,
90, 93, 94, 101
- definite classifier, 83
- definiteness, 245, 61, 83
- degree modifier, 231, 71, 93, 94, 95, 96,
97, 101
- deictic directional, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184
- demonstrative, 62, 69, 70, 72
- bare demonstrative, 65
 - demonstrative determiner, 63, 64, 65,
66, 67, 72
 - locative demonstrative, 62, 63, 66, 72
 - manner demonstrative, 94
 - pronominal demonstrative, 62, 65, 66,
72
 - proximal demonstrative, 48
 - temporal demonstrative, 62, 69, 72
 - three-way distinction, 64, 65, 66
- demonstrative phrase, 245, 246, 249, 250,
253
- derivational marker, 36
- diminutive marker, 24, 29, 35, 36, 39, 40
- direct object, 186, 187, 192, 195, 197, 199,
201, 207
- distal, 247, 61, 62, 66
- ditransitive construction, 185, 187
- ditransitive verb, 185, 186, 192, 194, 195,
197, 199, 113
- double *le* construction, 133
- double *li* construction, 133, 134
- double object construction, 187
- exophoric reference, 208
- external argument, 205, 207
- focus construction, 225, 230, 240
- focus marker, 168, 225, 237, 239, 240
- Gan Chinese, 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9
- gender marker, 23, 37, 38, 39, 41
- genitive marker, 55
- GIVE verb, 185, 187, 190, 191, 192, 194,
199, 220, 221, 113
- Hakka, 3, 4, 5, 6
- (in)alienability, 54
- indefinite, 255, 269, 270
- indirect object, 185, 186, 187, 192, 193,
194, 195, 197, 199
- infix, 90, 92
- Instrumental, 103, 108
- interrogative adverb, 262, 263, 264, 265
- interrogative pronoun, 262, 263, 266, 282
- intransitive verb, 256
- juxtaposition, 51, 52, 55, 57, 59
- kinship term, 23, 24, 29, 30, 52, 55, 58, 59
- locative particle, 117
- manner adverbial, 25, 71
- modification marker, 241, 242, 249, 252,
253, 80
- modality
- ability, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 161, 162
 - modal adverb, 151, 153, 159, 161
 - modal verb, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 158,
159, 160
 - necessity, 151, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159,
160, 161
 - possibility, 151, 152, 153, 156, 157, 159,
160, 161, 162
- Morphology, 23
- M-type negator, 163, 173
- negation
- imperfective negation, 170
 - irrealis negation, 168
 - negation of identity, 169
 - negative marker, 173
 - perfect negation, 168
 - perfective negation, 165
 - prohibitive marker, 172
- negative adverbial *pi?*, 159
- negative marker, 163, 165, 166, 167, 168,
170, 99, 100
- nominal phrase, 241, 245, 252
- noun marker, 35, 36
- number
- cardinal number, 74, 75

- ordinal number, 73, 74
- number system, 73, 85
- numeral classifier phrase, 245, 247, 249
- object marker, 204, 205
- passive
 - adversative, 213, 219, 220
 - long passive, 213, 215
 - passive marker, 213, 215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 113
 - short passive, 213, 215, 216, 217
 - zero marking, 213
- path directional, 179, 183
- patient, 213, 214, 217, 219, 220
- personal pronoun, 43, 44, 46, 48, 49
- plural marker, 32, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49
- possessive
 - genitive marker, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56
 - possessive pronoun, 51
 - possessor, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59
 - possessum, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57
 - zero-marking possessive, 52
- possessive phrase, 208
- postposition, 103, 104
 - disyllabic postposition, 117, 120, 121, 122
 - disyllabic postposition, 118
 - monosyllabic postposition, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125
- prefix
 - adjectival prefix, 31
 - nominal prefix, 29, 31
 - verbal prefix, 31
- preposition, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 113, 115
- pronoun, 205, 208
 - relative pronoun, 242
- proper name, 123, 202, 208, 217, 244, 245, 47, 52, 57, 83
- proximal, 247, 61, 62, 63, 64
- pseudocleft, 239, 240
- P-type negator, 163
- question
 - A-not-A question, 234, 258, 260
 - interrogative question, 234
 - polar question, 234, 255, 256, 258, 259, 272
 - rhetorical question, 255, 259, 271, 272
 - tag question, 259, 260, 273
 - WH question, 255, 261
- reduplication
 - adjective reduplication, 26
 - classifier reduplication, 24
 - noun reduplication, 23
 - verb reduplication, 28
- reflexive, 43, 48, 49
- relative clause, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253
 - headless relative clause, 251, 252, 253
 - non-restrictive relative clause, 241, 242, 244, 249
 - restrictive relative clause, 242, 244
 - zero-marked relative clause, 249, 250, 253
- resultative compound, 176
- RVC
 - directional RVC, 175, 179, 182, 184
 - extent RVC, 175, 183, 184
 - literal RVC, 175, 184
 - manner RVC, 184
- stative verb, 87, 105, 106
- subjunctive, 153
- subordinator, 281
- suffix, 36, 37
 - nominal suffix, 29, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39
 - verbal suffix, 32, 33
- syllabic structure, 16
- temporal adverbial, 229, 233, 236, 283, 284
- temporal clause, 281
- tense
 - future tense, 233, 283
 - past tense, 233
 - past tense marker, 128
 - present perfect tense, 168

- present tense, 233
- tone, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21
- tone sandhi, 19, 20, 21
- topic-prominent, 226
- topic marker, 225, 228, 229
- transitive verb, 201, 205, 219

- unaccusative verb, 201, 203, 205, 206,
211, 219

- unergative verb, 201, 206, 207, 219

- vowel, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18
- V- $\epsilon\epsilon$? construction, 154, 161

- word order, 185, 186, 187, 198, 199, 201,
225, 227, 235, 240, 282, 286

Appendix

Story

夜遇耍路神

ia²¹³ ny²¹³ sa⁵³ lu²¹³ ɕin⁴⁴

Encountering the God of the Road at night

Recorded and transcribed on 18th Aug 2011.

The story was told by Mr. Zhou Kexiu (周克修).

82 年冬天里,

pæŋ²¹³ ɲien⁴⁴ təŋ³⁴ t^hien³⁴ li,

82 year winter in

'In the winter of 1982,'

下午, 大约是 7 点半积钟,

xa²¹³u⁴², t^hai²¹³ioŋ[?] ɕi²¹³ t^hiŋ[?] tien⁴² pon⁴⁴ tsiŋ[?] tɕiəŋ³⁴,

afternoon, about COP seven o'clock half DIM hour

'In the afternoon, about half past seven o'clock,'

我从, 从我老家湖田走到瓦岗里去。

ŋo³⁴ t^həŋ⁴⁴, t^həŋ⁴⁴ ŋo³⁴ lau⁴²ka³⁴ fu⁴⁴t^hien⁴⁴, t^hɕeu⁴²⁻³³ tau ŋa⁴² koŋ³⁴li t^hɕie⁴⁴

1SG from from 1SG hometown Hutian walk to Wagangli go

'I, walked from, from my hometown Hutian to Wagangli.'

请我一只房下老兄(堂兄),

t^hɕian⁴² ŋo³⁴ iŋ[?] tɕiaŋ[?] foŋ⁴⁴xa-lau⁴²sian³⁴,

invite 1SG one CL cousin

来帮我装窑做房子,

lœ⁴⁴ poŋ³⁴ ŋo³⁴ t^hoŋ³⁴ iɕu⁴⁴ t^hɕi⁴⁴ foŋ⁴⁴t^hɕi,

come help 1SG make kiln build house

烧哩几块砖头。

ɕiɕu³⁴ -li tɕi⁴²⁻³³ k^huai⁴² tɕion³⁴t^hɕu.

burn-PFV several CL brick

'I asked one of my cousins to help me to make a kiln and build my house, so he made some bricks.'

结果八点半钟返回来格时候，

tɕieʔkuo⁴² pæʔ tien⁴² pon⁴⁴ tɕiəŋ³⁴ fan⁴²fi⁴⁴lœ⁴⁴ ko ɕi⁴⁴xɛu
 result eight o'clock half clock return MOD time
 'Finally, on my way back at 20:30,'

走到，棱叫啥么栏场呀，

tɕɛu⁴²⁻³³ tau, len³⁴ tɕieɯ⁴⁴ ɕia⁴²mo laŋ⁴⁴tɕ^hiəŋ ia,
 walk to DEM_{far} call what place INTJ

木皮岭，木皮岭下。

muʔp^hi⁴⁴lian⁴², muʔp^hi⁴⁴lian⁴²xa⁴²

Mupiling, Mupilingxia

'I walked to some place, Mupiling, Mupilingxia'

一只山坡积上，

iʔ-tɕiaʔ san³⁴po³⁴-tsiʔ ɕiəŋ²¹³, iʔ t^hieɯ⁴⁴
 one-CL hillside-DIM on one CL

一条农村棱个小小积格水泥路。

laŋ⁴⁴tsun³⁴ len³⁴ ko siɛu⁴²⁻³³siɛu⁴²-tsiʔ ko ɕy⁴²ni⁴⁴ lu²¹³
 countryside DEM CL small-small-DIM MOD cement road

'On some hillside, a smallish cement road spotted with puddles in the countryside.'

格时积就，天完全黑块哩。

ko³⁴ ɕi⁴⁴-tsiʔ tɕ^hiu²¹³, t^hien³⁴ uon⁴⁴ts^hien⁴⁴ xɛʔ-k^huæʔ li
 DEM moment-DIM then sky completely dark-COMPL PRF

'At that moment, the sky became completely dark.'

前后左右，

ts^hien⁴⁴ -xiɛu²¹³-tso⁴²-iu²¹³,
 front-back-left-right

最起码要隔两三里路正有人家。

tsui⁴⁴ tɕ^hi⁴²⁻³³ma iɛu⁴⁴ kaʔ lion⁴² san³⁴ li⁴² lu²¹³ tɕiəŋ⁴⁴ iu⁴² ŋin⁴⁴ka.
 at least will separate two three mile road only have families

'In the surrounding area, it would be at least two or three miles away to the closest families.'

山上，格边是，左边是山，

san³⁴-ɕioŋ, ko³⁴ pien³⁴ ɕi²¹³ tso⁴² pien³⁴ ɕi²¹³ san³⁴
 hill-on DEM side COP left side COP hill
 ‘On the hill, on this side, on the left side are hills.’

右边是根坎，坎下里是田。

iu²¹-pien²¹³ ɕi²¹³ kien³⁴k^hoŋ⁴⁴, k^hoŋ⁴⁴-xa-li ɕi²¹³ t^hien⁴⁴
 right.side COP cliff cliff-below-in COP field
 ‘On the right side are cliffs, and below the cliffs are fields.’

山上格树，也不是蛮高，

san³⁴-ɕioŋ ko tɕ^hy²¹³, ia⁴² pi[?]ɕi²¹³ man⁴⁴ kau³⁴
 hill-on MOD tree also NEG.BE very high
 ‘The trees on the hill are not very high.’

就是，大约总是，格个，还不到一米高，

tɕ^hiu²¹³ɕi²¹³, t^hau²¹io[?] tsəŋ⁴²ɕi²¹³, ko³⁴-ko, xai⁴⁴ pi[?] tau⁴⁴ i[?] mi⁴² kau³⁴
 that is about after all DEM-CL still NEG reach one metre tall
 ‘That is, about, they are less than one metre high.’

几根积丝茅。

tɕi⁴²-kien³⁴ -tsi[?] s¹³⁴mau⁴⁴
 several-CL-DIM couch grass
 ‘some couch grass’

我走到格山上啊，

ŋo³⁴ tseu⁴²⁻³³-tau ko³⁴ san³⁴-ɕioŋ a
 1SG walk-to DEM mountain-on INTJ
 ‘I walked onto the mountain.’

突然之间，格前后左右，

t^hy[?]ien⁴⁴ tɕi³⁴kan³⁴, ko³⁴ ts^hien⁴⁴-xiɕu²¹³-tso⁴²-iu²¹³
 in:a:sudden then front-back-left-right
 ‘All of a sudden, then, from all sides,’

就觉得格个石头粘沙子，垮垮垮垮垮垮。

tɕ^{hiu}213-21 koʔtɛʔ ko³⁴-ko ɕiaʔt^hɛuku sa³⁴ tsɿ, k^hua k^hua k^hua...
then feel DEM-CL stone sand ONOMATOPOEIA

就总呼得来，我就吓到哩。

tɕ^{hiu}213 tsən⁴² fu³⁴tɛʔlœ⁴⁴, ŋo³⁴ tɕ^{hiu}213 xaʔtau³³ li
then all fall:down 1SG then frightened PRF

‘I feel the little stones and sand falling down onto me, I was afraid.’

吓到哩诶，但是，我格时蒙慌。

xaʔ tau³³-li ɛ, t^han²¹³ɕi²¹³, ŋo³⁴ ko³⁴ ɕi⁴⁴ maŋ³⁴ foŋ³⁴
frightened-PFV INTJ but 1SG this moment NEG.HAVE be:afraid

‘Although I was afraid, but I was not frightened at that moment.’

我就在格站下积，站下积啊，

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^{hiu}213 ts^hœ²¹³ko³⁴ ts^han²¹³ xa-tsiʔ, ts^han²¹³ xa-tsiʔ a,
1SG then at here stand a:while stand a:while INTJ

‘Then I stood there for a while, stood for a while’

还呼得更密，起垮起垮起垮。

xai⁴⁴ fu³⁴ tɛʔ kien⁴⁴ miʔ, tɕ^hik^hua tɕ^hik^hua tɕ^hik^hua.....
still fall:down PRT more thick ONOMATOPOEIA

‘The stones fell down much more solidly...’

奇怪格就是遮么勒，蒙锭到身上。

tɕ^hi⁴⁴kuai⁴⁴ ko tɕ^{hiu}213 ɕi²¹³ tɕia³⁴ma ɛ, maŋ³⁴ tian⁴⁴ tau ɕin³⁴-ɕioŋ
strange MOD FOC COP what INTJ NEG.HAVE throw onto body-on

‘What was strange was that the stones did not fall onto my body.’

身上冒有，格就真是奇怪，

ɕin³⁴-ɕioŋ mau⁴⁴ iu⁴², ko³⁴ tɕ^{hiu}213 tɕin³⁴ɕi²¹³ tɕ^hi⁴⁴kuai⁴⁴
body-on NEG have DEM then really strange

‘There were none on the body. That was really strange.’

默下积神，

mɛʔ-xa⁴²tsiʔ ɕin⁴⁴
think-DELIM thought

‘I thought a bit.’

走回去也要走三四里路，

tseu⁴²-fi⁴⁴tɕ^hiɛ ia⁴² iɛu⁴⁴ tseu⁴² san³⁴ sɿ⁴⁴ li⁴² lu²¹³

walk-back also need walk three four mile road

‘If you want to walk back, you have to walk three or four miles.’

往前走也要三四里路，

uoŋ⁴² ts^hien⁴⁴ tseu⁴² ia³³ iɛu san³⁴ sɿ⁴⁴ li⁴² lu²¹³

toward front walk also need three four mile road

‘You have to walk three or four miles as well if you want to walk forward.’

也就只好硬到头皮。

ia²¹³ tɕ^hiu²¹³ tɕi[?]xau⁴² ŋaŋ²¹³⁻²¹-tau t^hɛu⁴⁴p^hi

then then only hard-DUR headskin

‘I braced myself for it.’

就是蒙跑，就是以最快格速度走。

tɕ^hiu²¹ci[?] maŋ³⁴ p^hau⁴², tɕ^hiu²¹ci i⁴² tsui⁴⁴ k^huai⁴⁴ ko su[?]t^hu[?] tseu⁴²

then NEG.HAVE run then in most fast MOD speed walk

‘I did not run. But I walked as fast as I could.’

走到木皮岭棱只屋场里，也就放哩心。

tseu⁴²⁻³³ tau mu[?] p^hi⁴⁴lian⁴² len³⁴ tɕia[?] u[?]tɕ^hion⁴² li, ia²¹³tɕ^hiu²¹³ foŋ⁴⁴-li-sin³⁴.

walk to Mupiling DEM CL house in then relax-PFV-heart

‘I walked to that house in Mupiling and then relaxed a bit.’

望下积背牯头啊，

uoŋ²¹-xa⁴²tsi[?] pi⁴⁴kut^hɛu⁴⁴ a,

look-DELIM back INTJ

‘I looked back,’

格时积，你硬，哪敢望背牯头，

ko³⁴ ci⁴⁴tsi[?] ŋi³⁴ ŋaŋ²¹³, lai³⁴ kon⁴² uoŋ²¹³ pi⁴⁴ku-t^hɛu⁴⁴

DEM moment 2SG certainly how dare look back

‘At that moment, how could you look back?’

不敢望，就生怕啥积勒得来哩样。

pi[?] kon⁴² uoŋ²¹³, tɕ^hiu²¹³ saŋ³⁴p^ha⁴⁴ ci⁴²-tsi[?] lɛ[?]-tɛ[?]-lɔɛ⁴⁴-li ion²¹³

NEG dare look, FOC worry what-DIM catch-PRT-come

‘I did not dare to look back. I was afraid that something might be following me.’

反正是，我格一生世，就是，
 fan⁴²⁻³³ tɕin ɕi²¹³, ɲo³⁴ ko³⁴ iʔ sen³⁴ ɕi⁴⁴, tɕ^hiu²¹³ ɕi²¹³,
 anyway COP 1SG DEM one life only
 碰过一只格个事。

p^həŋ²¹-kuo iʔ tɕiaʔ ko³⁴ ko s¹²¹³.
 encounter-EXP one CL DEM CL thing
 ‘Anyway, in my whole life, I only encountered one thing.’

我到而今为止，我还解不透。
 ɲo³⁴ tau⁴⁴ ɣ⁴⁴ tɕin³⁴ ui⁴⁴ tɕi⁴², ɲo³⁴ xai⁴⁴ kai⁴²-piʔ-t^hɕu²¹³
 1SG to now till 1SG still explain-NEG-clearly
 ‘I do not fully understand it even now.’

我问哩下积，棱个当地格老人家啦，
 ɲo³⁴ un²¹³-li-xa⁴² tɕiʔ, len³⁴ ko toŋ³⁴ t^hi²¹³ ko lau⁴² ɲin⁴⁴ ka³⁴ la.
 1SG ask-PFV-DELIM that CL local MOD old people INTJ
 ‘I asked some of the older locals there’

渠话，格只地方，确确实实是有一只耍路神，
 kiɛ³⁴ ua²¹³, ko³⁴ tɕiaʔ t^hi²¹ foŋ³⁴,
 3SG say DEM CL place
 k^hoʔk^hoʔɕiʔɕiʔ ɕi²¹³ iu⁴² iʔ tɕiaʔ sa⁴² lu²¹³ ɕin⁴⁴,
 indeed COP have one CL play-road-god
 ‘They said that at that place, there was indeed a God of Road.’

就等我碰到哩耍路神。
 tɕ^hiu²¹⁴ ten⁴² ɲo³⁴ p^həŋ²¹³⁻²¹ tau-li sa⁴² lu²¹³ ɕin⁴⁴
 then PASS 1SG encounter-PFV play-road-god
 ‘It was encountered by me, the God of the Road.’

Conversations:

公交车对话

Conversations on the bus

吴：你看样子，也，也识忽积文脉格。

ŋi³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴ iŋ²¹³⁻²¹ tsɿ, ia⁴², ia⁴² ɕi? fi?tsi? un⁴⁴ mɛ? kiɛ.
2SG seem also also know some culture INTJ
'It seems that you are somehow educated.'

曾：嗯。

En
INTJ

吴：遮嘛带副积眼镜啊？

tɕia³⁴ ma tai⁴⁴ fu⁴⁴ tsɿ? ŋan⁴²⁻³³ tɕian³⁴ a?
how wear CL_{pair} DIM glasses INTJ
'How come you wear a pair of glasses?'

曾：年纪老哩呀！

ŋien⁴⁴ tɕi⁴⁴ lau⁴²⁻³³ li ia!
age get:old-PFV INTJ
'I am getting old.'

吴：年纪老哩，是吧？

ŋien⁴⁴ tɕi⁴⁴ lau⁴²⁻³³ li, ɕi²¹³⁻²¹ pa?
age get:old PRF COP INTJ
'You're getting old, aren't you?'

曾：近视！

tɕ^hin²¹³ ɕi²¹³ !
short-sighted
'Short-sighted!'

吴：近视，你不要去看书，带副眼镜咋积啊？

tɕ^hin²¹³ ɕi²¹³? ŋi³⁴ pi? iɛu⁴⁴ tɕ^hiɛ⁴⁴ k^hon⁴⁴ tɕy³⁴,
short-sighted 2SG NEG want go read
tai⁴⁴ fu⁴⁴ ŋan⁴²⁻³³ tɕian tsa⁴² tsɿ? a?
wear CL_{pair} glasses why INTJ
'Short-sighted? You don't have to read, why do you wear glasses?'

曾：我看远处，格要格。

ŋo³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴ yon⁴²tɕ^hy, ko³⁴ iɛu⁴⁴ kiɛ.
 1SG look far then need AFFM
 ‘If I look at somewhere distant, then I need them.’

远处远处，就有得有得.....

yon⁴²tɕ^hy yon⁴²tɕ^hy, tɕ^hiu²¹³ mau⁴⁴tɕ? mau⁴⁴ tɕ?,
 further further then NEG.HAVE NEG.HAVE
 Further away, then I don’t have, don’t have...

你像客车棱四个字啊，

ni³⁴ sion²¹³ k^ha?tɕ^hia³⁴ len³⁴ sɿ⁴⁴ ko tɕ^hɿ²¹³⁻²¹ a,
 2SG like coach DEM four CL character INTJ
 ‘You see, ‘coach’, those four characters’

宇通客车啦，没有眼镜，就看不到。

“y⁴²tun³⁴ k^ha? tɕ^hia?” mi?iu⁴² ŋan⁴²⁻³³tɕian tɕ^hiu²¹³ k^hon⁴⁴-pi?-tau⁴⁴.
 YuTong coach without glasses then look-NEG-achieve
 ‘YuTong Coach’, I can’t read them without glasses.’

吴：刚个是吧。

koŋ³⁴ ko ɕi²¹³⁻²¹ pa.
 this:way AFFM COP INTJ
 ‘That’s how it is.’

你戴眼镜都要看书。

ni³⁴ tai⁴⁴ ŋan⁴²⁻³³tɕian tu³⁴ iɛu⁴⁴ k^hon⁴⁴tɕy³⁴.
 2SG wear glasses all need read
 ‘You have to wear glasses to read.’

看书，因为不戴眼镜，看不清书。

k^hon⁴⁴tɕy³⁴, in³⁴ui⁴⁴ pi? tai⁴⁴ ŋan⁴²⁻³³tɕian, k^hon⁴⁴-pi?-ts^hin³⁴ ɕy³⁴
 read because NEG wear glasses, see-NEG-clear book
 ‘To read, if you don’t wear glasses, you can’t see it clearly.’

曾：我讲下我只过程啊，蛮怪。

ŋo³⁴ tɕion^{42-xa}42 ŋo³⁴ tɕia? kuo⁴⁴tɕ^hin⁴⁴ a, man⁴⁴ kuai⁴⁴
 1SG say-DELIM 1SG CL process INTJ, very strange
 ‘I will tell you the whole process. That’s very strange.’

吴：你话。

ŋi³⁴ ua²¹³.

2SG say

‘Go ahead!’

曾：上（大概）十年积格时候吧，

ɕian⁴⁴ ɕi? ŋien⁴⁴ tsi? ko ɕi⁴⁴ xiəu pa,

about ten year DIM MOD time INTJ

我看报纸啊，不要戴眼镜。

ŋo³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴ pau⁴⁴ tɕi⁴² a, pi? iəu⁴⁴ tai⁴⁴ ŋan⁴²⁻³³ tɕian⁴⁴.

1SG read newspaper INTJ NEG need wear glasses

‘About ten years ago, when I read the newspaper, I didn’t need to wear glasses.’

吴：哦，不戴眼镜。咖后面呢？

o pi? tai⁴⁴ ŋan⁴²⁻³³ tɕian. ka³⁴, xiəu²¹³⁻²¹ mien nɛ?

oh NEG wear glasses then later Q

‘Oh, you didn’t wear glasses. What happened later?’

曾：我就买哩副老花眼镜嘛，

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hiu²¹³ mai⁴²⁻³³-li fu⁴⁴ lau⁴² fa³⁴ ŋan⁴²⁻³³ tɕian ma,

1SG then buy-PFV CL_{pair} presbyopia glasses INTJ

买哩把 150 度格。

mai⁴²⁻³³-li pa⁴² i?-pa?-ŋ⁴² ɕi? t^hu²¹³⁻²¹ ko.

buy-PFV CL one hundred fifty degree MOD

‘Then I bought a pair of glasses for shortsightedness, the one with 150 degrees!’

吴：150 度。

i?-pa?-ŋ⁴² ɕi? t^hu²¹³

one hundred fifty degree

‘150 degrees.’

曾：嗨嗨，六年前，六年前哪，

xiɛ xiɛ, lu? ŋien⁴⁴ t^hien⁴⁴, lu? ŋien⁴⁴ t^hien⁴⁴ na,

well well six years ago six years ago INTJ

六年以后，妈啦滴，格眼镜哪，看报纸呀，

lu? nien⁴⁴ i⁴² xiəu²¹³, ma³⁴-la-ti, ko³⁴ ŋan⁴²⁻³³ tɕian na, k^hon⁴⁴ pau⁴⁴ tɕi⁴² a ,

six year after damn:it DEM glasses INTJ read newspaper INTJ

不要眼镜哩。

pi? ieu⁴⁴ ɲan⁴²⁻³³tɕiaŋ li.

NEG need glasses PRF

‘Well-well, six years ago, six years ago, after six years, damn it, those glasses for reading the newspaper, I didn’t need them anymore.’

吴：哦。你是近视变远视哩。

O, ɲi³⁴ ɕi²¹³ tɕin²¹³ɕi²¹³ pien⁴⁴ ion⁴²ɕi²¹³ li.

Oh 2SG COP short-sighted become far-sighted PRF

‘Oh, you’ve changed from near-sightedness to far-sightedness.’

曾：嗯，不要眼镜哩。是吧？像而今样格啦。

En, pi?-ieu⁴⁴ ɲan⁴²⁻³³tɕiaŋ li. ɕi²¹³ pa? sion²¹³ œ⁴⁴tɕin ion²¹ ko la.

En NEG-want glasses PRF COP INTJ be:like now way AFFM INTJ

‘En, I don’t need glasses any more, do I? It is just like now.’

吴：看报纸怕不要哩。

k^hon⁴⁴ pau⁴⁴tɕi⁴² p^ha⁴⁴ pi? ieu⁴⁴ li.

read newspaper perhaps NEG need PRF

‘Perhaps you do not need them to read the newspaper.’

曾：棱个《参考消息》，棱么细格字啊，

len³⁴ ko “ts^han³⁴kau⁴² sieu³⁴si?” , len³⁴ mo si⁴⁴ ko ts^hɿ²¹³⁻²¹ a,

DEM CL Reference News so small MOD character INTJ

我取下……

ŋo³⁴ tɕ^hy⁴²-xa

1SG take off

‘That newspaper *Reference News*, its characters are so small, but I can take off (my glasses and read)’

吴：你不要看，你不要眼镜看哩。

ɲi³⁴ pi? ieu⁴⁴ k^hon⁴⁴, ɲi³⁴ pi? ieu⁴⁴ ɲan⁴²⁻³³tɕiaŋ k^hon⁴⁴ li.

2SG NEG need read, 2SG NEG need glasses read PRF

‘You don’t need, you don’t need glasses to read it.’

吴：唉，到哪里去看《参考消息》诶？

ɛ, tau⁴⁴ lai³⁴li tɕ^hie⁴⁴ k^hon⁴⁴ “ts^han³⁴kau⁴² sieu³⁴si?” ɛ?

ei to where go read Reference News INTJ

哪里有格《参考消息》看呢？

lai³⁴li iu⁴² ko³⁴ “ts^han³⁴kau⁴² si^u³⁴si?” k^hon⁴⁴ nɛ ?

where have this Reference News read Q

去哪里看呐？

tɛ^hie⁴⁴ lai³⁴li k^hon⁴⁴ nɛ ?

go where read Q

‘Hey, where do you go to read the Reference News? Where can the Reference News be read? Where can you read it?’

曾：我喜欢看下积报。

ŋo³⁴ ci⁴²fon³⁴ k^hon⁴⁴-xa⁴²tsi? pau⁴⁴.

1SG like read-DELIM newspaper

‘I like to read newspapers.’

吴：是格，格只东西，报纸冇有，

ci²¹³⁻²¹kiɛ, ko³⁴-tɕia? tən³⁴si, pau⁴⁴tɕi⁴² mau⁴⁴iu⁴²,

indeed DEM-CL thing, newspaper NEG.HAVE

格乡下里哪里，哪里有格个报纸。

ko³⁴ ɕion³⁴xa-li lai³⁴li, lai³⁴li iu⁴² ko³⁴ ko pau⁴⁴tɕi⁴².

DEM countryside where where have DEM MOD newspaper

‘Indeed, such things, there are no newspapers. In the countryside, you can’t get, get newspapers.’

