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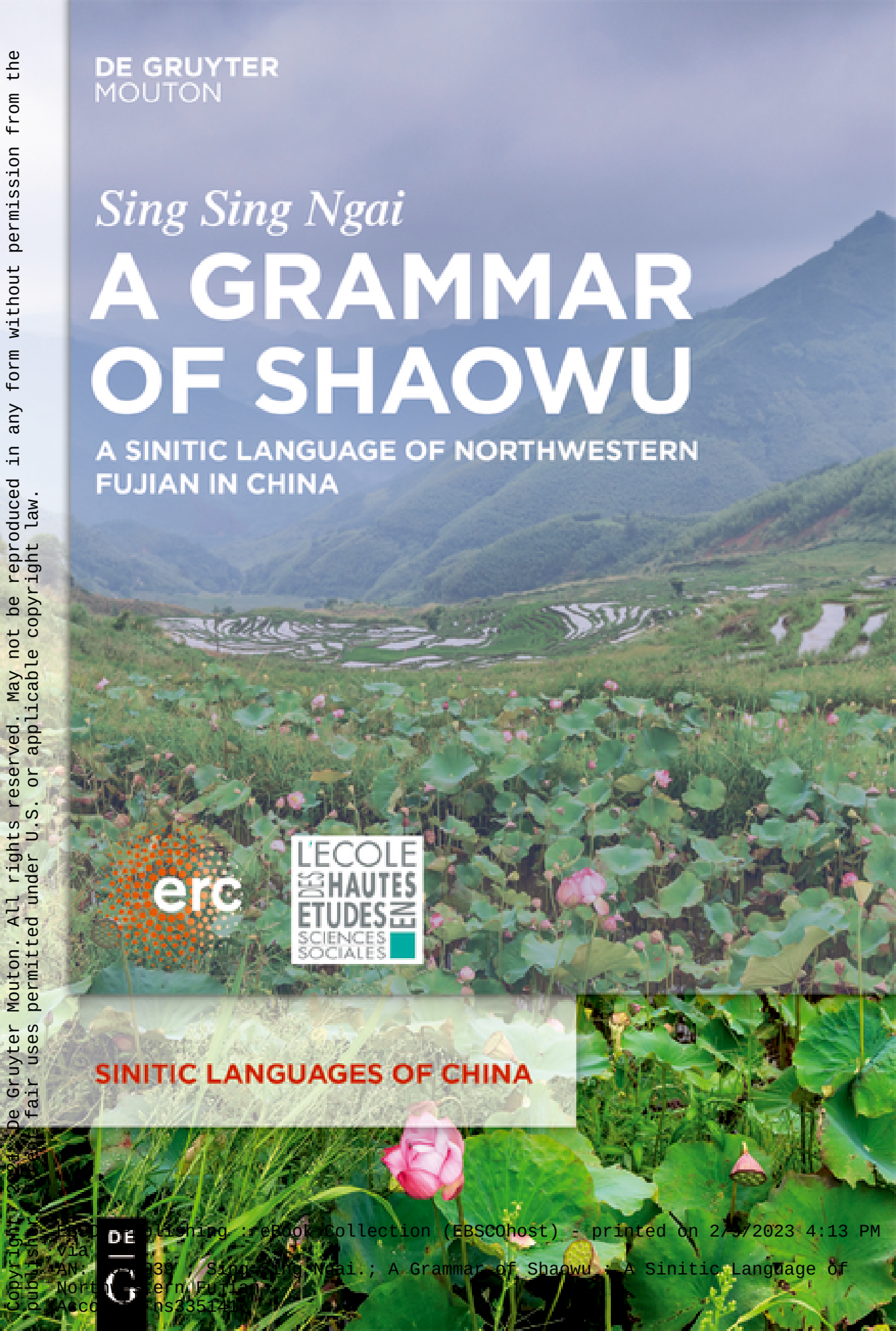
Sing Sing Ngai

A GRAMMAR OF SHAOWU

A SINITIC LANGUAGE OF NORTHWESTERN FUJIAN IN CHINA



SINITIC LANGUAGES OF CHINA

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A Grammar of Shaowu

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Sinitic Languages of China

Typological Descriptions

Edited by
Hilary Chappell

Volume 5

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Sing Sing Ngai

A Grammar of Shaowu

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To the memory of Professor Jerry Norman (1936–2012)

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Preface

In the fifth volume to appear in this new series on Sinitic languages of China, Sing Sing Ngai presents us with the culmination of ten years of research on the Shaowu language, a Sinitic language spoken in the northwest of Fujian province in China, found in proximity to the stunning landscapes of the Wuyi mountain range.

After completing her Honours degree in European Studies at the University of Hong Kong, Sing Sing Ngai went on to obtain her Master of Philosophy degree in Linguistics at the University of Cambridge and subsequently won a PhD scholarship to work on the ERC Sinotype project at the EHESS in Paris from 2009 to 2013. A native speaker of several other Sinitic languages, Sing Sing chose, nonetheless, to carry out work on the Shaowu language, inspired by the studies on Min Chinese by the renowned sinologist, Professor Jerry Norman of the University of Washington. Apart from Professor Norman's research, as well as several other works on historical phonology and a small collection of 19th century missionary documents, little is known about the grammar of this language, a gap that the present volume ably and substantially fills.

The result is a magnificently comprehensive description of the Shaowu Min language, based on an accumulated year of fieldwork comprising seven research trips to the city of Shaowu, and over 300 hours of recording. In her analysis, Sing Sing Ngai demonstrates that Shaowu is, at its core, a Min language, but one that has become highly divergent within the Min group through contact with adjacent Gan, Hakka and Wu languages. In this, she concurs with the earlier studies by Professor Norman, yet skilfully adds more evidence to reinforce his conclusion, above all from the perspectives of morphosyntax.

Readers are certain to appreciate the finely detailed descriptions of every aspect of the grammar of Shaowu, framed in the perspective of linguistic typology and accompanied by over a thousand examples, a small sample lexicon, and a selection of natural discourse texts.

Sinitic languages of China: Typological descriptions is a new series specialising in the description of the grammar of Sinitic languages, 'Sinitic' being the technical term for the Chinese branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. As such, it includes well-known examples such as Cantonese 广东话, Hokkien or Southern Min 闽南话, Shanghainese 上海话 and Hakka 客家话, lesser-known ones such as the Hunanese Xiang languages 湘语, or the Jin languages 晋语 of Shanxi, and, importantly, the national language of China, Pǔtōnghuà 普通话, known as Standard Chinese or Mandarin in English. Even Mandarin comes in many non-standardised forms including the Sichuanese variety of Southwestern Mandarin 西南官话 spoken in Chengdu, the Southern Jiang-Huai Mandarin 江淮官话 of Nanjing, the Central Plains Mandarin 中原官话 of Xi'an, not to overlook

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the typologically unusual varieties spoken in Gansu and Qinghai in northwestern China, such as Tangwang 唐汪话 and Linxia 临夏话.

The primary goal of this series is to promote scientific knowledge of Sinitic languages and their typological characteristics through the publication of high calibre linguistic research, based on empirical fieldwork, detailed analysis of the data and solid, theoretical interpretations. The grammatical descriptions, written in a functionalist and descriptive framework, are illustrated by linguistic examples presented in a 'value-added' four-line glossing-alignment format that includes romanisation, glossing, the idiomatic English translation, and also the Chinese characters, relevant for historical and comparative research, as well as for 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 Sinitic languages other than Mandarin, up until now, has been mainly written in the medium of (Standard Written) Chinese.

The large-scale research project, The hybrid syntactic typology of Sinitic languages (Sinotype), provided the initial impetus behind this series. Sinotype benefitted from funding in the form of an Advanced Grant (No. 230388) awarded by the European Research Council (ERC) for the period 2009–2013 which included a generous publication subsidy for this series. The host institute, the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), graciously provided managerial support and accounting resources, not to mention spacious premises for the Sinotype research centre in inner-city Paris, located at 2, rue Küss in the 13th arrondissement, for the entire period of the project. We take this opportunity to express our many thanks to both the ERC and the EHESS.

The other volumes planned for this series are:

Volume 2: A grammar of Nanning Pinghua, by Hilário de Sousa

Volume 4: A grammar of Central Plains Mandarin, by Yujie Chen

Volume 6: A reference grammar of Jixi Hui, by Wang Jian

Volume 7: A grammar of Waxiang, a Sinitic language of northwestern Hunan, by Hilary Chappell

Volume 8: A reference grammar of Caijia, an unclassified language of Guizhou, China

H.M. Chappell
Series Editor
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My research forms part of the ERC Sinotype project (2009–2013), which was directed by Professor Chappell and hosted by the EHESS in Paris, France. The project was funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement n° 230388. I was the only doctoral student in the Sinotype team; I wish to thank the team members Dr Chen Weirong, Dr Chen Yujie, Dr Li Xuping, Dr Hilário de Sousa and Dr Wang Jian for the vivid discussions and inspirations.

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My linguistic consultants in Shaowu – Ms Li Jingxin, Mr Li Hougong, Ms Gao Ying and the late Ms Wei Yixin – were most passionate in teaching me their language and local customs during my multiple field trips to the beautiful city of Shaowu. The data in this book drew from their teaching and stories, as well as family conversations in which I was invited to participate. I am grateful for their corrections and patience, and for the hospitality of the people of Shaowu.

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List of abbreviations

The following abbreviations are mainly based on the Leipzig Glossing Rules[1], with some adjustments and additions due to specific glossing needs in transcribing Shaowu.

1SG	first person singular
2SG	second person singular
3SG	third person singular
1PL	first person plural
2PL	second person plural
3PL	third person plural
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ACH	achievement
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
ADP	adposition
AFM	affirmative
ALL	allative
ANM	animal noun
ART	article
ASP	aspect marker
ATT	attribute marker
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
CM	comparative marker
COLL	collective marker
COM	complementizer
COMP	complement marker
COMT	comitative
CMPL	completive
CONC	concern marker
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative aspect
COP	copula/copular
CRS	currently relevant state
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative

1 http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php (Last access on 8 June 2020).

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DEF	definite
DEG	degree
DELIM	delimitative aspect marker
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIR	directional verb or verb compound
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DM	discourse marker
DO	direct object
DUAL	dual
DUR	durative
DVC	directional verb complement
EMP	emphatic
ENUM	enumeration
EQU	equative marker
EVD	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
EXP	experiential
EXST	existential
EXT	extent
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GENL	general
HORT	hortative
HUM	human noun
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INCH	inchoative aspect marker
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INFX	infix
INST	instrumental
INT	intensifier or intensifying adverb
INTJ	interjection
INTR	intransitive
IO	indirect object
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MAL	malefactive
MASS	mass noun
MIR	mirative

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MOD	modal
MSW	measure word
NEG	negation, negative
NMLZ	nominaliser/nominalisation
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
ONOM	onomatopoeic
ORD	ordinal
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb
PART	particle
PASS	passive
PEJ	pejorative
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PM	phase marker
POSS	possessive
POST	postposition
POT	potential complement marker
PP	prepositional phrase
PRED	predicative
PREP	preposition
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PRFX	prefix
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PRON	pronoun
PROS	prospective aspect
PROX	proximal/proximate
PRXY	proxy usage
PST	past
PURP	purposive
Q	question particle/marker
QUANT	quantifier
QW	question word
R	recipient
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RES	resultative complement or compound
RSUM	resumptive
S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb

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SEQ	sequencing
SFP	sentence-final particle/clause-final particle
SG	singular
SPEC	specific/specifier
SUBJ	subject
SUFX	suffix
SUP	superlative
SUR	surpass comparative marker
T	theme
TENT	tentative aspect marker
TOP	topic marker
TR	transitive
V	verb
VCM	verb complement marker
VP	verb phrase

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Glossary of specific terms and notational symbols

MC	Middle Chinese
OC	Old Chinese
*	historical reconstruction
**	ungrammatical sentence or expression
?	unidentified meaning
??	marginal sentence or expression
!	pejorative language
*( )	the bracketed element is obligatory
( )	the bracketed element is optional
>	phonological/morphological tone change
~	phonological free variant of tone
[ ]	the bracketed element is phonemic
/ /	the bracketed element is allophonic

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Abstract

This monograph is a comprehensive study of the grammatical system of Shaowu, a Sinitic language spoken in northwestern Fujian province in southern China. After a brief introduction of the geography, history and demography of Shaowu city, we first analyse various classification criteria for Shaowu's genealogical positioning within the Sinitic family, a subject debated by Sinitic linguists for many decades. We use the linguistic data collected in Shaowu city during a decade of fieldwork (2009–2019) to examine the composition and main aspects of Shaowu, using arguments from relevant linguistic theories and corroborated by the typological features of neighbouring Sinitic language groups.

We then break down Shaowu's linguistic system into seven parts and carry out detailed analyses of the following: (i) phonetics and phonology, (ii) nominal structure, (iii) predicate structure, (iv) clausal structure and (v) complex sentences and clause-binding, as well as presenting (vi) a mini lexicon, and (vii) samples of transcribed narratives. We show that the specificities of Shaowu can be attributed to its unique location at the crossroads of migration pathways throughout its history, all of which makes Shaowu a highly hybrid language in terms of its phonology, lexicon and grammar. In particular, we notice strong influences from Min, Gan, Hakka, Wu groups, as well as Mandarin, which is the official language of the country.

The result of this linguistic medley is reflected, for instance, in the multiple grammatical functions of polysemous Shaowu morphemes and in its hybridised or juxtaposed syntactic constructions, revealing the existence of various strata from different Sinitic groups, features which have been assimilated over time by Shaowu speakers and gradually integrated into the language. In addition, we demonstrate that Shaowu is unique in, for instance, its pronominal system, of which the first, second and third personal pronouns are etymologically mysterious; its numeral-classifier-noun constructions employ different numerals 'one' in given syntactic environments; among other unique traits that Shaowu possesses.

Through this language documentation, we wish to contribute in conserving Shaowu, nowadays mainly spoken by the local population over sixty. Shaowu, which vehicles a rich cultural identity of its own population, deserves to be recognised as a regional language in China. In over a thousand sample sentences presented in this grammar, the reader can catch a glimpse of Shaowu's local customs, traditions, religious rituals and historical events. We hope that our work will benefit communities of Shaowu speakers and learners, as well as linguists who wish to conduct future research on this language; and we hope to showcase to the world a multifaceted and variegated linguistic landscape of China that is rich in diversity and variations.

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Résumé

Cet ouvrage offre une étude complète du système grammatical du shaowu, une langue sinitique parlée dans le nord-ouest de la province de Fujian, dans le sud de la Chine. Après une brève présentation de la géographie, de l'histoire et de la démographie de la ville de Shaowu, nous analysons selon différents critères de classification l'appartenance et la place de sa langue dans l'arbre généalogique de la famille sinitique, un sujet au cœur de débats dans les cercles des linguistes depuis des décennies. Nous utilisons les données linguistiques recueillies à Shaowu pendant une décennie de travail sur le terrain (2009–2019) et analysons la composition de cette langue dans ses principaux aspects, en nous appuyant sur les théories linguistiques pertinentes et les caractéristiques de certains groupes de langues sinitiques présentant une proximité.

Ensuite, nous décomposons le système linguistique du shaowu selon sept volets : (i) phonétique et phonologie, (ii) structure des groupes nominaux, (iii) structure des prédicats, (iv) structure de propositions, (v) phrases complexes et liaisons de propositions, à quoi s'ajoute la présentation (vi) d'un mini lexique, et (vii) de transcriptions de discours et conversations en shaowu. Nous montrons que les spécificités du shaowu sont dus à l'emplacement singulière de la ville de Shaowu au carrefour des migrations venant des quatre coins du pays tout au long de son histoire, rendant la langue très hybride en termes de phonologie, de lexique et de grammaire. Nous constatons notamment de fortes influences sur ce plan des groupes Min, Gan, Hakka, Wu et Mandarin, ce dernier étant la langue officielle du pays.

Le résultat de ce mélange se reflète dans la multitude de fonctions grammaticales de certains morphèmes ultra-polysémiques et dans des constructions syntaxiques juxtaposées hybrides, révélant diverses strates venant diachroniquement de divers groupes sinitiques, assimilées à travers le temps par les locuteurs locaux et graduellement intégrées dans la langue. D'autre part, nous démontrons que le shaowu est unique dans, par exemple, son système pronominal, dont le premier, second et troisième pronoms personnels sont tout à fait originaux, ainsi que, entre autres traits spécifiques, les constructions de numéral-classificateur-nom impliquant deux morphèmes qui désignent le numéral 'un'.

Par cette documentation linguistique, nous souhaitons contribuer à la conservation du shaowu, qui est aujourd'hui principalement parlé localement par la population âgée de soixante ans et plus. Le shaowu, qui véhicule la richesse culturelle et identitaire de sa population, mérite d'être reconnu comme une langue régionale en Chine. À travers plus d'un millier de phrases exemples présentées dans cette grammaire, nous offrons un aperçu des coutumes, des traditions,

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des rituels religieux et des événements historiques de la région de Shaowu. Nous espérons que notre travail bénéficiera à la communauté des locuteurs et apprenants du shaowu, ainsi qu'aux chercheurs qui s'intéresseraient à cette langue, et qu'il présente au monde un paysage linguistique en Chine riche de diversité et de variations.

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Shaowu as a Sinitic language

In this book, we will refer to the language spoken in the city of Shaowu and its environs as 'Shaowu', just like we usually call, in English, the official language of the People's Republic of China as 'Mandarin' or 'Mandarin Chinese', and not the Mandarin (Chinese) language. The *Ethnologue* has established a measure of inherent intelligibility with other varieties of less than 85% as likely to signal difficulty in comprehension of the indicated language.[2] The mutual intelligibility between Shaowu and other Sinitic languages, such as Cantonese, Fuqing Min and Mandarin (all of which the author of this monograph speaks at a native level) is estimated to be lower than such a figure. On her first visit to Shaowu city in 2009, the author only understood about 30% of the conversations and was only able to comprehend and speak it with fluency after four years of intermittent fieldwork. The author is not alone in her case: many immigrants to Shaowu from other parts of China have not got to understand or speak Shaowu after many years of residence in the city. If the inherent intelligibility is relatively low for speakers from other Sinitic groups and if it takes a fair amount of time to reach an acquired intelligibility and proficiency, it is accurate and appropriate, linguistically speaking, to refer to Shaowu as a language on its own within the Sinitic family.

According to the *Language Atlas of China* (2012: 3), the Sinitic family comprises ten linguistic groups, arranged in descending order of number of speakers:

Sinitic language group	Number of speakers (in millions)
Mandarin, a.k.a. Guanhua	798.59
Min	75.0
Wu	73.79
Jin	63.05
Yue	58.82
Gan	48.0
Hakka	42.2
Xiang	36.37
Pinghua & Tuhua	7.78
Hui	3.3

2 https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-info#Dialects (Last access on 8 June 2020).

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Periodisation of Sinitic

The periodisation of Sinitic has been based on phonological and syntactic criteria. These two sets of periodisation, described in detail in Peyraube (2008: 136–162), have both appeared in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Ancient Languages of Asia and the Americas*:

(A) Based on phonological criteria[3] (Pulleyblank 1970, 1971, Baxter 1992: 14–15):
  (i) Old Chinese (ca. 1000–800 BC);
  (ii) Early Middle Chinese (literary pronunciation of the 6th century AD);
  (iii) Late Middle Chinese (language of the Late Tang and Early Song periods, ca. 875–1000 AD);
  (iv) Early Mandarin (language of the Yuan period, ca. 1279–1368).

(B) Based on syntactic criteria (Wang 1958: 35, Chou: 1963: 432–438, Peyraube 1988):
  (i) Archaic Chinese (ca.14th – 2nd century BC),
  (ii) [Pre-Archaic: 14th–11th century BC, Early Archaic: 10th–6th century BC, Late Archaic: 5th–2nd century BC];
  (iii) Medieval Chinese (ca. 1st century BC – mid 13th century AD),
  (iv) [Pre-Medieval: 1st century BC–1st century AD, Early Medieval: 2nd–6th century AD, Late Medieval: mid 7th–13th century AD];
  (v) Modern Chinese (ca. mid 13th – mid 19th century AD);
  (vi) Contemporary Chinese (ca. mid 19th AD – the present).

Unless otherwise specified, the periodisation terminology adopted in this grammar will be the one that is based on syntactic criteria, except in Part I on phonetics and phonology.

3 A similar periodisation based on phonological criteria, but presented in a different set of terminology, is summarised in Norman (1988: 23), based on Bernhard Karlgren's seminal *Études sur la phonologie chinoise* (1915–26).

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Special characters and symbols, transcription and glossing conventions

Shaowu does not have its own writing system, although some words are cognate of or identifiable with those in standard written Chinese. Since there are Shaowu-specific words of which the etyma are unknown or unattested in the extant literature, where there is uncertainty as to what the word may be, we follow the convention established in Sinitic linguistic circles by placing an empty circle ○ to represent the corresponding syllable in the lexical item. At the lower right side of the circle, we insert the standard Chinese character (in subscript) that matches the meaning of the unidentified Shaowu word or syllable, but which is not the etymon of that word or syllable.

For instance, the etyma of the Shaowu first, second and third personal pronouns are to this day a mystery. Notwithstanding several plausible theories that have been put forward, we represent them by empty circles:

First person singular	○我	[xaŋ^{35}]	'I'
Second person singular	○你	[xien^{35}]	'you'
Third person singular	○他/她/它	[xu^{35}]	'he'/ 'she'/ 'it'

We use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to transcribe Shaowu sentences; individual syllable or words will appear in square brackets [ ] when they are mentioned in a text body, whereas sample sentences used to illustrate certain linguistic features will abide by the following rules:

(i) The first line contains Chinese characters and/or empty circles only;
(ii) The second line contains the IPA transcription of the Shaowu sentence;
(iii) The third line contains the glossing of each semantico-grammatical unit;
(iv) The fourth line contains the translation in English of the Shaowu sentence.

An example to illustrate this:

○我	是	邵武	人	。
xaŋ^{35}	ɕi^{55}	ɕiau$^{213\sim21}$u^{55}	nin^{22}	
1SG	be	Shaowu	person	

'I am from Shaowu.'

Note that Shaowu has a phonetically identical designation of the three forms in English of the third person singular pronoun (3SG) [xu^{35}], i.e., the human male 'he' (○他), the human female 'she' (○她), and non-humans which include the

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animal 'it' (○牠/它) and the inanimate object 'it' (○它). In sample sentences that contain 3SG [xu^{35}], we only choose one semantic designation of the third person pronoun that corresponds to the context in which the utterance was made.

If a syllable or word has undergone tone change, which frequently occurs in natural or fast speech in Sinitic languages including Shaowu, we label it with a tilde ~ (for tonal free variants) or a 'greater' sign > (for phonological or morphological tone change) connecting the original tone value (to the left) with the mutated tone value (to the right), both in superscript, as illustrated by the character 邵 [ɕiau$^{213\sim21}$] in the above example. Note that not every syllable or word will undergo tone change. In this book (cf. Chapter 3 on phonetics and phonology, § 3.2 Phonotactics), we indicate as many tone-change rules as we can. It is however to be borne in mind that exceptions to the rules exist.

All examples in Mandarin will be presented in *pīnyīn*, the standard transcription method adopted in the People's Republic of China in 1958 by the National People's Congress (see *Hànyǔ pīnyīn fāng'àn* 汉语拼音方案[4] [Scheme of the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet] for details). Any other Sinitic languages mentioned in this book will otherwise be transcribed in the IPA. Unless otherwise specified, all Chinese characters will appear in their simplified form.

4 http://www.moe.gov.cn/ewebeditor/uploadfile/2015/03/02/20150302165814246.pdf on the official website of the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (last access on 20 July 2020).

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Background & overview

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Chapter 1
Introduction

This grammar is a synthesis of comprehensive phonological, lexical and grammatical analyses of recorded data collected in the city of Shaowu (邵武市, Shàowǔ in *pinyin*) in Fujian province (福建省, Fújiàn) in southeastern China over a span of ten years, from 2009 to 2019. It is done with a view to understanding major grammatical structures and syntactic constructions of the language spoken by approximately 308 900 inhabitants of the city of Shaowu and its environs. We also attempt to relate it to its neighbouring languages and dialects as well as to the wider typological landscape of Sinitic languages.

The grammar comprises six major parts, namely, phonology, morphology, the nominal structure, the predicate structure, the clausal structure and the comoplex structure. The Sinitic language under investigation will hereafter be referred to as 'Shaowu', representing the linguistic variety mainly spoken in the urban centre of Shaowu city, which has jurisdiction over several townships. Note that Shaowu city is also sometimes shortened to 'Shaowu'. The reader is invited to make the distinction inferring from the context in which the term 'Shaowu' appears. Unless otherwise specified, the toponyms and names of people in Chinese mentioned in this book will be transcribed in *pinyin* romanisation without bearing tones.

1.1 Brief typological profile of Shaowu

Shaowu belongs to the Sinitic branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. It is classified by the *Language Atlas of China* (1987: 58) as a Sinitic language within the Min supergroup with heavy Gan-Hakka influence as well as some from Wu, and an overlay of Mandarin. The basic Shaowu word order is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) word order. Like many Sinitic languages in which the grammatical object can be topicalised, Shaowu also does so by pre-posing the object before the grammatical subject, which is then usually marked by a pause or a topic marker, such as [le^{22}] 叻.

Shaowu is a tonal language with six tonal categories, namely: low falling (21), low level (22), high level (55), low fall-rising (213), high rising (35), and high falling (53). Tone sandhi phenomena are not profuse in Shaowu as compared with some other Sinitic languages such as Wenzhou 温州话 (Wu group) and Fuzhou 福州话 (Min group). Tone changes in Shaowu are mainly morphological or lexical and are used to indicate the diminutive or nominalisation, or for prosodic reasons (cf. Chapter 3 on Phonology).

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Classifiers are abundant in Shaowu, as in most Sinitic languages. In a noun phrase (NP) where a numeral (NUM), a classifier (CLF) and a head noun (N) are present, the NP is a numeral-classifier noun phrase that follows the order of [NUM-CLF-N]. The general classifier in Shaowu is [kəi^{213}] 个, note, however, that the morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 can also act as the numeral 'one' when the classifier used in the numeral-classifier NP [NUM-CLF-N] is not [kəi^{213}] 个 itself. As a result, Shaowu has two basic numerals 'one': [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 蜀 when the classifier is [kəi^{213}] 个; and [kəi^{213}] 个 otherwise (see Ngai 2015 on the origin of special numerals for 'one' in south-eastern China, including Shaowu). Note that often in fast, natural speech, the morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 is phonetically reduced to [kəi^{21}] or even its neutralised form [kə^{0}].

Derivational processes such as affixation, reduplication and compounding are common in Shaowu. Verbs can often be turned into nouns by suffixing a nominaliser [ə^{0}] 儿, such as the verb 'to cut' which is [tsien^{55}] 剪: if the nominaliser [ə^{0}] 儿is suffixed to it, then [tsien$^{55\sim53}$nə^{0}] 剪儿means 'scissors'. Likewise, for the verb 'to comb' [su^{21}] 梳, suffixing the nominaliser [ə^{0}] 儿turns it into 'a comb' or 'combs' [su^{21}ə^{0}] 梳儿.

Shaowu's first, second and third singular personal pronouns are [xaŋ^{35}] ○$_{我}$, [xien^{35}] ○$_{你}$and [xu^{35}] ○$_{他/她/它}$ respectively. To date, no cognates for the three have been established in the Chinese lexicographic tradition (hence the 'empty circles'). To form plural personal pronouns, the plural suffix [tai^{21}] 多 (or its 'lightened' phonological variant [tə^{0}]) is attached to the respective pronoun forms. There are inclusive and exclusive first personal plural pronouns: [ien^{22}tai^{21}] 俺多 and [xaŋ^{35}tai^{21}] ○$_{我}$多respectively.

Gender suffixes [kuŋ^{21}] 公 'male' and [ma^{22}] 嫲 'female' are added after animal terms to mark their sex, such as [ny^{22}ma^{22}] 牛嫲 'cow' versus [ny^{22}kuŋ^{22}] 牛公 'ox'. Animal terms having gender suffixes instead of prefixes is a prominent southern Sinitic trait, as the northern dialects normally have gender prefixes (see e.g., Hashimoto 1976a).

Many Shaowu basic lexical items are typical of the Min group, such as [kin^{53}] 囝 'boy' or 'son', [k^{h}au^{21}] 跤 'foot' or 'leg', [siuŋ^{35}] 颂 'to wear', [tiaŋ^{55}] 鼎 'skillet', and [tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}] 厝 'house'. (Their Mandarin equivalents are *háizi* 孩子, *jiǎo* 脚, *chuān* 穿, *guō* 锅 and *fángzi* 房子 respectively). Although a part of the Shaowu lexicon shares a striking resemblance with typical Gan vocabulary, many of its basic vocabulary items remain largely Min (Norman 1988: 231–232, Li 2002: 280–306, *inter alia*).

Shaowu has no overt grammatical tense marking; the notion of time is borne out by temporal expressions such as 'yesterday', 'tomorrow', etc. It however displays a rich aspectual system; a large number of aspect markers are used to express how the internal temporal structure is organised in an action or a sit-

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uation. These markers are usually immediately postverbal, such as the perfective marker [ə^{0}] 了, the experiential marker [t^{h}ɔ^{35}] / [xɔ^{35}] 度, and the progressive marker [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处.

Shaowu extensively uses adjectives, verbs or complements in postverbal position to encode result, extent, manner, etc. for an action or an event. Similar to Mandarin Chinese and many other Sinitic languages, the Shaowu resultative verb compounds consist of two parts: the main verb, followed by a complement encoding the result of that action or event, and likewise for potential and directional complements.

The Shaowu morpheme [tie^{53}] 得, originally a lexical verb meaning 'to acquire', is highly multifunctional. It can serve as a mono-transitive lexical verb 'to get', a ditransitive lexical verb 'to give', a causative verb ('make'/ 'let' causative), a passive marker, a dative marker, a verb complement marker, and a modal suffix, among many other functions. This poly-functionality can be explained as reflecting various historical stages of development by poly-grammaticalisation (see Chapter 26 on the multifunctional morpheme [tie^{53}] 得).

The Shaowu morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, originally a lexical verb meaning 'to help', is also highly multifunctional. It can be used as a benefactive marker, a comitative marker, a coordinative marker, and an accusative (direct object) marker, among other things. Its polyfunctionality can also be explained by the process of poly-grammaticalisation (see Chapter 23 on the multifunctional morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮).

Similar to most Sinitic languages and dialects, in Shaowu, the object can be pre-posed by adding the object marker (OM) [na^{22}] 拿, originally a lexical verb meaning 'to hold'. The direct object, which must be specific in reference, is fronted to precede the verb (see Chapter 25 on object marking constructions). The object marking construction with [BA] 把as the OM marker is often regarded as a northern trait, widely attested in Northern Sinitic such as Jin and Northern Mandarin subgroups (the BA-construction in Mandarin is much discussed in Sinitic literature, see Chappell 2015, *inter alia*); whereas in Central and Southern Sinitic, object-marking constructions have a variety of sources for their OM markers, such as 将 in Yue and some Hakka and Pinghua dialects (Chappell 2015). As for Shaowu, the morpheme [na^{22}] 拿, which is a common Gan (贛) feature, is used to mark the grammatical object.

Complex structures in Shaowu involving conditional, concession, causal relations, etc. are often achieved by juxtaposing clauses, i.e., they are zero-marked, with the logical relations inferred from the context and prosody. Various markers that explicate the logical relations can also be employed in Shaowu, but they tend to be borrowed from Mandarin, and native speakers do not generally use

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them in colloquial speech. For a comprehensive description of Shaowu's complex structures, see Part Four on complex sentences and clause-combining.

The table below is a brief overview of Shaowu's main grammatical features. It is in the form of a questionnaire containing Sinitic feature inventory adapted for the ERC SINOTYPE project by Hilary Chappell, based on one designed by Vittrant & Watkins (2019; Annex).

Table 1.1: A brief typological profile of Shaowu.

Feature		Description	
PHONETIC/PHONOLOGICAL			
Suprasegmental phonology: number and type of tone categories and/or presence of phonation		Six tonemes: Low falling (21) Low level (22) High level (55) Low fall-rising (213) High rising (35) High falling (53)	
Register distinction only in *píng* 平 tonal category		No	
Tone sandhi	prosodic	Yes	Neutralised tones can be prosodic or lexical or morphological tones.
	lexical	Yes	
	morphological	Yes	
	grammatical	No	
Voiced initial consonants		Yes	
Velars palatalised #__ *i.*		No	
Alveolars palatalised #__ *i.*		No	
High number of vowel/rhyme distinctions		Yes (8 vowels and 46 rhymes)	
Velar nasal found word-initially & word-finally		Yes	
Nasalised rhymes		No	
Consonantal codas possible p, t, k, m, n, ŋ,ʔ etc		Only n, ŋ	
MORPHOLOGICAL			
Tendency to monosyllabicity or to polysyllabicity		Tendency to polysyllabicity	
Compounding		Yes	
Prefixing or suffixing		More suffixes than prefixes	
Gender affixes – type		Mainly suffixes	

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Table 1.1 (continued)

Feature	Description
Plural suffix on personal pronouns	Yes; [tai^{21}] 多， meaning 'many', suffixed after pronouns and human nouns only. Also [sa^{22}] 侪 for human common nouns.
Diminutive suffix(es)	Yes; two: [tsə^{0}]子, [ə^{0}]儿， both semantically related to 'child'.
Marker of ligature (relative clauses, attributive phrases etc.) is cognate with standard Mandarin 的 [de]	No; marker of ligature is [kəi^{213}] 个 (which is also the general classifier in Shaowu).
Psycho-collocations e.g., *dǎn xiǎo*胆小 ('timid'; Lit. 'small gallbladder'), *liǎnpí hòu* 脸皮厚 ('thick-skinned'; Lit. 'thick face skin')	Yes
Elaborate expressions (4 syllables with regular pattern) 成语	Most often borrowed from Mandarin. Literary usage.
REDUPLICATION (in general) and function	
Nominal reduplication	Yes. Restricted to kinship terms.
Verbal reduplication	No, verbal classifier [xa^{35}] 下 is used to code semelfactive or tentative aspects.
Adjectival reduplication	Yes
Adjectival reduplication to form adverbial phrases	Yes
Classifier reduplication	Yes. Quantification function meaning 'each'.
GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES	
Classifiers	Yes, profuse and semantically variegated.
Compulsory CLF with a numeral used in counting: Num – CLF – Noun	Yes
Compulsory CLF with DEM – CLF – Noun	Yes
Form of general classifier – cognate with [gè] 个	Yes
ADJ – CLF – Noun (if yes, specify with which ADJ)	No
CLF used as a possessive marker	No (The possessive marker is [kəi^{213}] 个 only.)

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Table 1.1 (continued)

Feature	Description
CLF used as a relative clause marker	No (The relative clause marker is [kəi^{213}] 个 only.)
Lone CLF used like an anaphoric pronoun	No
Plural CLF available	Yes. [tai^{21}] 多，meaning 'many'.
Bare classifier phrases and their function (definite/indefinite)	No
Demonstrative paradigm: Two-term, three-term etc.	Two-term: proximal demonstrative [tɕiɔŋ^{53}] ○这 and distal demonstrative [ɔŋ^{53}] ○那.
3SG personal pronoun is cognate with Northern Mandarin [tā] 他/她/它	No. Shaowu third person singular pronoun [xu^{35}] ○他/她/它 is not cognate with any known Sinitic 3SG pronoun forms.
Polite pronoun available for 2SG; cf. Mandarin [nín] 您	No
Inclusive 1PL pronoun similar to Mandarin [zán] 咱	Inclusive 1PL pronoun: [ien^{22}tai^{21}] 俺多.
Is number expressed as a suffix on pronouns?	Yes. The plural suffix [tai^{21}] 多means 'many'.
Are there fused possessive forms for personal pronouns (cf. certain Hakka dialects)	No
Is possession of kin terms and culturally important items expressed by a plural possessor (cf. certain Min languages/ dialects, 'our father' for 'my father'; 'our home' etc.)	No, no obligatory use of plural possessors.
Interrogative pronoun for who is cognate with Northern Mandarin *shéi*谁 (Specify)	No. Shaowu interrogative pronouns are: [nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi$^{213\sim21}$] ○哪蜀个 and [ɕia^{53} kəi$^{213\sim21}$nin^{22}] 啥个人.
Verb-like adjectives	Yes. Some adjectives have verb-like properties, e.g., they can be negated or can take aspect markers.
Existence of a well-developed verbal aspect system	Yes
Development of any tense categories: e.g., Southern Min & Cantonese *yǒu* 有+Verb is claimed to be a present perfect in its initial stages	No

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Table 1.1 (continued)

Feature	Description
GET/ OBTAIN > potential mode; resultative/perfect aspect	Modal suffix expressing possibility: V+ [tie^{53}] 得 Verb complement marker in potential verb compounds: V_1+ [tie^{53}] 得 + V_2/Complement
PUT, SET > completed/ resultative aspect	No
FINISH > perfective/ complete aspect > conjunction/temporal subordinator	FINISH [liau^{55}] 了> completive [liau^{55}] 了/ perfective [lə^{0}] ~ [ə^{0}] 了
GO ~ COME (& other directional verbs) => allative, venitive	Yes. Both [li^{22}] 来 and [k^{h}ɔ^{213}]去 are used as V_2 directionals.
SEE, WATCH > tentative aspect	Yes. [niaŋ^{213}] 瞧 'to see' + [kə^{0}] 个 'one' + verbal classifier [xa^{35}] 下 => [niaŋ^{213}ka^{0}]
STAY, DWELL, EXIST/BE:AT > progressive and continuous, durative aspects	Yes. [t^{h}u^{55}] 处 'BE AT/IN' > progressive, continuous and durative aspects
PASS THROUGH, KNOW; MEET > Experiential aspect	Yes. [t^{h}ɔ^{35}] 度 'PASS THROUGH' > experiential aspect
GIVE > causative verb > agent marker in passive GIVE > benefactive/dative preposition (> malefactive); GIVE > object marker> unaccusative marker > malefactive	Yes. GET verb [tie^{53}] 得relexified as GIVE [tie^{53}] 得. Multifunctional: GIVE > causative verb > passive marker; GIVE > benefactive > purposive; GIVE > dative > oblique preposition.
TAKE/GET/GRASP > (instrumental prep.) > object marker; TAKE/ GET/GRASP > agent marker in passive	Yes. TAKE verb [na^{22}] 拿 > object marker
COMITATIVE > benefactive/dative preposition > object marker	Yes. HELP verb [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 > comitative > coordinative conjunction > comparative; HELP verb [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 > benefactive benefactive/malefactive > dative preposition > object marker.
SUFFER or CONTACT verb > agent marker in passive e.g., *bèi* 被, *ái* 挨	No
Causative pivot verbs > agent marker in passive e.g., *jiào* 叫	Yes. LET verb [niɔŋ^{213}] 让, CALL verbs [kiau^{213}] 叫 and [xan^{213}] 喊, BESEECH verb [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨 & GIVE verb [tie^{53}] 得 > causative verb > agent marker in passive
Passive marker = object marker	No

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Table 1.1 (continued)

Feature	Description
COMPARATIVE marker is (i) Northern dependent-marking COMPARE type e.g., *bǐ*比 or (ii) Southern SURPASS head-marking type, e.g . *guò* 过; or (iii) another type (Specify)	Northern dependent-marking COMPARE type: [NP_A-Comparative Marker [pi^{55}] 比 – NP_B- VP], essentially. But the Southern head-marking SURPASS type is possible too, with [t^{h}ɔ^{35}] / [xɔ^{35}] 度 as comparative marker.
DITRANSITIVE constructions < GIVE Specify the most common form and indicate how many structures.	Shaowu does not possess a basic verb of giving, only a syntactically coerced GET verb [tie^{53}] 得semantically converted into GIVE verb [tie^{53}] 得. Major ditransitive types: [Agent-V-Recipient-Theme]; [Agent-V-Theme- DAT_{GIVE}- Recipient]
SYNTAX	
Verb-Medial (VO)	Yes
Aux-Verb	Yes
Adverb/Adverbial phrase – Verb	Yes
Preposition-N or N-Postposition	Both. Locatives are mainly postpositions.
Adpositional phrases pre- or postverbal	Both. Locative adpositional phrases can be postverbal but are mainly preverbal.
Adj-N or N-Adj	Adj-N
DEM-N or N-DEM	DEM-N
Genitive-N or N-Genitive	Genitive-N
N-Relative Clause or Relative Clause-N or both	Relative Clause-N
Polar Yes/No questions: CLAUSE-NEG OR VERB-NEG-VERB	Both
Complementizers (subordinating conjunctions) < SAY, SEE: COM + S	Yes. Complementizer [ʊa^{35}] 话 < 'to say'
Topic-prominent	Fairly
Ellipsis of arguments	Yes
Clause-final particles for expressing modality, including interrogation, and speaker attitude	Yes, heavy use of clause-final and sentence-final particles.
Conjunctions – large set for creating complex sentences	Tendency for zero-marking, although there is a small number of conjunctions and logical-relations markers that are borrowed from Mandarin.
LEXICAL	
'walk' cognate with Mandarin *zǒu* 走	No. [xaŋ^{22}] 行 = 'walk'

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Table 1.1 (continued)

Feature	Description
'son' cognate with Mandarin *érzi*兒子	No. [kin^{53}] 囝 = 'son' or 'boy'
'stand' cognate with Mandarin *zhàn* 站	No. [k^{h}i^{55}] 徛 = 'stand'
'house' cognate with Mandarin *fángzi* 房子	No. [tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}] 厝 = 'house'
General negative is cognate with *pù* 不	No. General present and future negator is [ŋ^{55}] 唔; general perfective negator is [mau^{35}] 冇.

1.2 Previous studies and literature review

To the author's knowledge, Shaowu does not have its own writing system. The language has been passed down from generation to generation via the oral tradition. There are, however, romanised transcriptions done by Western missionaries coming to Shaowu in the late 19th century. One of the earliest romanisation of vernacular Shaowu was done by the American missionary Joseph Elkavah Walker in 1878, in which he gave a depiction of Shaowu of his time with an accurate description of its tonal categories and values (cf. Norman 1985). Then, in 1887, Reverend Walker published *Shauu K'iong, Loma T'se* (*邵武腔羅馬字*), which is a lexicon arranged in phonological order, with a total of 1589 morphemes listed (cf. Kwok 2007). In 1891, he translated a biblical text, the Epistle of James, in the romanised, vernacular version of Shaowu (Zhao 2019, de Sousa pers. comm.).

Much of the contemporary linguistic discussions that described or mentioned Shaowu in the past fifty years or so revolve around its classification issues due to Shaowu's high level of hybridity as a result of centuries of entwined of linguistic strata. Indeed, Shaowu's unique geographic location (at the crossroad for speakers of Min, Gan, Hakka and Wu groups as well as having been a major gateway for people from northern China to reach the south) and the shift of jurisdiction in the course of history (cf. Chapter 2) has endowed it with diverse linguistic traits that are sometimes difficult to tease apart. Shaowu has aroused much attention in Sinitic linguistic circles not only because of its intensely hybrid features, but also because it calls into question what essentially defines Min group(s), Hakka and Gan groups, as well as reconstructions of proto-Min (see Sagart 1984, Baxter & Sagart 2014: 84–93).

Historical linguists use rhyme books and dictionaries, such as the rhyme book Qieyun 切韵 compiled by Sui dynasty scholar Lu Fayan 陆法言 in around

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600 AD, to reconstruct an abstract phonological system for Middle Chinese (MC) (see Jacques 2017 for an overview of the traditional Chinese phonology). By studying regular sound correspondences between Middle Chinese and synchronic Sinitic languages and dialects, such as the series of voiced and voiceless initial stops and the splitting or merging of tonal categories, historical linguists are able to classify modern Sinitic dialect groups according to their specific sound change patterns *vis-à-vis* MC.

Pan *et al*. (1963) classify Shaowu as a Hakka dialect, based on six major criteria, including the initial consonant system, the development of Middle Chinese voiced initial stops and affricates, the development of words with MC *ɣ-initial, the development of certain finals following dental and alveolar sibilants, and lexical similarities (especially within basic vocabulary).

In the *Language Atlas of China* (1987: 58, second edition 2012), Zhang Zhenxing subsumes Shaowu under the Min supragroup; and assigns it together with dialects in the vicinity including Guangze (光泽), Jiangle (将乐) and Shunchang (顺昌) counties, calling them the Shaojiang area (邵将片). Shaojiang is located in northwestern Fujian province and is regarded as a transitional zone between Min, Gan and Hakka groups. He points out that this group shares some features of the Hakka and Gan dialects, such as the MC obstruent initials *b, *d, *ɖ, *dz, *dʐ, *dʑ and *g having become voiceless aspirates which have then been redistributed as [p^h-], [t^h-], [ts^h-] or [k^h-]. Nonetheless, they still bear the main features of Min, such as the MC affricates *ʈ-, *ʈ^h- and *, ɖ-, which merged into [t-] or [t^h-].

Zhang (1985, 1989: 57) classifies Shaowu as a Min-Hakka hybrid, considering it as a transitional dialect having features from both Min and Hakka, as well as some Gan characteristics. Regarding major similarities between Shaowu and Min, he proposes the pronunciation of MC *ʈ- initial, which is either [t-] or [t^h-] in Shaowu (rather than appearing as an affricate) and Shaowu's affinity to the basic Min lexicon, including the word [k^hau^{31}] 跤 'foot' which also exists in many Min languages and dialects and is considered as a prototypical Min word. He presents the development of MC voiced initial stops and affricates and the source of aspirated initials in Shaowu as major similarities between Shaowu and Hakka. Unlike the usual development in most of Min where the voiced initials become unaspirated stops and affricates, these MC voiced initials become aspirated in Shaowu, as in Hakka, in all places of articulation, for instance 步 'step', MC /bhuo/, realised as [p^hu^{35}] in Shaowu, and 动 'move', MC /dhuŋ/, realised as [$t^huŋ^{35}$] in Shaowu.

Chen & Li (1991: 263) classify Shaowu as Gan-Hakka hybrid principally on the basis of phonological and lexical criteria and point out that although it apparently has a Min substratum, as evidenced by a large share of Min words in the basic lexicon, the dialect has gradually shifted towards the Gan-Hakka group

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due to long-term contact with Gan speakers especially after the Song (960–1279 A.D.) and Yuan (1279–1368 A.D.) dynasties. The main arguments for the affiliation of Shaowu with Gan are the devoicing and aspiration of MC voiced stops and affricates in Shaowu, the fricativisation of MC bilabial initials in palatal environments, the change of MC laryngeal fricatives to bilabial fricatives in Shaowu, and the merger of all MC nasal initials into [n]. As the main Min characteristics of Shaowu, the authors mention the development of MC retroflex stops and affricates (which often have a dental realisation in Shaowu), the development of MC sibilants (which are often reflected as dental affricates in Shaowu), and the realisation of certain MC lateral approximants as [s], as in [su^{53}] 六 'six' (*liù* in Mandarin), which is reconstructed as MC *ljuwk.

Zhang & Wan (1996a) and Wan & Zhang (2006) regard Shaowu as a Gan dialect by indicating that some of its words stemming from MC non-entering tone categories have merged into the entering-tone category; the authors compare this phenomenon with its neighbouring Lichuan (Gan) dialect. They conclude that such tonal mutation is in fact related to the neutral tone sandhi phenomenon and not related to the development of voiced initial consonants as put forward in the reconstruction of proto-Min. They also postulate a further phase of phonological change from [ts^{h}-] to [t^{h}-] in Shaowu that has been realised on the basis of diachronic changes in Gan phonology. They also point out that the lexical similarities between Shaowu and Gan are more extensive than those between Shaowu and Min (62 and 31 lexical correspondences respectively, out of 250 entries of selected vocabulary compiled by Chen & Li 1991).

Norman (1973, 1974b, 1982a, 1985) classifies Shaowu as a Min dialect. In his seminal work *Chinese* (1988), Norman considers Shaowu as an aberrant Min dialect, occupying a very special place within the Western Min group (1988: 235). He goes on to assert that while retaining its Min core features, Shaowu seems to have come under strong Gan and Hakka influence at some point, and this has given it a strongly distinctive character within the Min group. His arguments are based on the fact that Shaowu's tonal system reflects the distinction between voiced and non-voiced stops or affricates which he reconstructs for Proto-Min with a six-way contrast represented by *p, *ph, *-p, *b, *bh, *-b, where *-p and *-b are the softened stops (see Norman 1973, 1974b, 1982a, 1986, 1991a). This series is not part of the MC phonological system. Nor is the development of Proto-Min *lh to [s] in Western Min dialects (compare the aforementioned pronunciation of 'six' as [su^{53}] in Shaowu), or the preservation of the MC retroflex stops as stops in Shaowu (e.g., [ty^{53}] 竹 'bamboo', MC *trjuwk, Mandarin *zhú*). There is also a rather large quantity of Min-specific vocabulary in Shaowu, including words such as [kin^{53}] 囝 'boy' or 'son', [k^{h}au^{21}] 跤 'foot' or 'leg', [tiaŋ^{55}] 鼎 'skillet', and [tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}] 厝 'house', as observed above. Further evidence in support of his construction is presented in

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the reconstruction of the Proto-Northern-Min subgroup in Handel (2003: 47–84) and in the tonal development of sonorants in early Shaowu by Shen (2019).

Chen (1991a: 341–391) presents a sketch grammar of Shaowu in which he covers its phonology and some major grammatical features, as well as a mini lexicon. The phonology part contains a detailed list of possible combinations of initial consonants and rhymes, as well as tone sandhi and phonotactic rules. The lexicon contains seventeen categories of daily words covering locations, objects, animal and kinship terms, body parts etc. The grammatical features include nominalisation suffixes, verbal classifiers and reduplication, some aspect markers, interrogative sentences, and passive and object marking constructions, among others.

This book aims therefore to give a comprehensive description of the grammar of Shaowu for the first time, based on a total of twelve months of fieldwork spanning over a decade spent in the city of Shaowu.

1.3 Classificatory criteria for Shaowu affiliation

The purpose of genetic language classification is to reflect the historical relationships between and developments of language varieties (Norman 1988, *inter alia*). The same holds true for the classification of the Chinese languages and dialects (Yuan 1968, Wurm *et al.* 1987, Hou *et al.* 2004, Yan 2006, List *et al.* 2014, *inter alia*). For decades, linguists have carried out investigations regarding the membership of Shaowu, based on various linguistic criteria. The complexity of Shaowu's genetic affiliation can be seen in the above section on past studies and the literature review, where a brief comparison of opposing classification proposals and their underlying key criteria is given.

It is difficult to say which criteria are the "best" for determining the closest affiliation of languages and dialects, and most of the opinions regarding the closer genetic affiliation of Shaowu mentioned in the literature review have been based on a mix of criteria, thereby also reflecting a trend in more recent work on Chinese dialect classification (Wurm *et al.* 1987, 2012, Cao *ed.* 2008, Hou *et al.* 2004, Norman 2015, List 2015), which states that dialect classification should be based on a larger body of criteria taken from different linguistic domains, including phonology, lexicon, and syntax, rather than on just a set of correlates to MC phonological features.

In this section, we intend to give a brief set of phonological, lexical and syntactic criteria to show the complexity of the classification issue. These criteria are by no means exhaustive and indeed can be subjective. We intend to provide further comparison based on past studies, in the hope that a broader theoreti-

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cal framework may arise in future studies on Shaowu and its position within the Sinitic family.

1.3.1 Phonological criteria

Table 1.2 compares the degree to which reflexes of MC initials of character readings in Nanchang 南昌 (Gan), Meixian 梅县 (Hakka), and Xiamen 厦门 (Min) resemble those in Shaowu (data taken from Hou *et al*. 2004). For each of the MC initials, two examples were taken in order to guarantee that the reflexes reflect a minimal degree of regularity. As can be seen from the examples, many of the reflex patterns in Shaowu show more similarity with the representatives of Gan and Hakka than with those of the Min dialects. Besides these, the reflexes in Shaowu show a certain degree of irregularity, which may reflect lexical stratification due to intense language contact.

Table 1.2: Phonological comparison of Shaowu MC initials and other Sinitic languages.

MC initial	Character / *pinyin*	MC reconstruction	Gan (Nanchang)	Hakka (Meixian)	Min (Xiamen)	Shaowu	Match
g	近/jìn	*gj+nX	t͡ɕʰin^{21}	kʰiun^{44}	kun^{22}	kʰin^{35}	Hakka
g	件/jiàn	*gjenX	t͡ɕʰiɛn^{21}	kʰian^{53}	kian^{22}	kʰien^{35}	Hakka
h	话/huà	*hwaejH	uɑ^{21}	fa^{53}	hua^{22}	ʊa^{35}	Gan
h	环/huán	*hwaen	uan^{45}	fan11	huan^{35}	ʊan^{22}	Gan
z	斜/xié	*zjae	ɕiɑ^{45}	t͡sʰia^{11}	sia^{35}	tʰia^{213}	none
z	谢/xiè	*zjaeH	ɕiɑ^{21}	t͡sʰia^{53}	sia^{22}	tʰia^{35}	none
k	活/huó	*kwat	uɵʔ^{2}	fat^{5}	huat^{5}	fəi^{35}	Hakka
k	滑/huá	*kwot	uaʔ^{2}	vat^{5}	huat^{5}	ʊai^{53}	Hakka
ng	瓦/wǎ	*ngwaeX	uɑ^{213}	ŋa^{31}	gua^{53}	ʊa^{55}	Gan
ng	外/wài	*ngwajH	uai^{21}	ŋoi^{53}	gue^{22}	ʊai^{35}	Gan

1.3.2 Lexical criteria

To illustrate how difficult it is to decide the closer affiliation of Shaowu based on lexical criteria alone, ten basic vocabulary items (mostly taken from Swadesh 1955) and their Sinitic translational equivalents are given in Table 1.3 and compared with data from Nanchang, Meixian, and Xiamen (data taken from *Beijing Daxue* 1964).

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As can be seen from the examples, Shaowu shows matches with all three dialects, and even has some items which do not occur in any of the other three dialects.

Table 1.3: Lexical comparison between Shaowu and other Sinitic languages.

Swadesh Number	Gloss	Gan (Nanchang)	Hakka (Meixian)	Min (Xiamen)	Shaowu	Match
014	'black'	hɛt^{5}黑 u^{42} 乌	vu^{44} 乌	ɔ^{55} 乌	xə^{53} 黑	Gan
022	'cold'	liɔŋ^{55} 凉	laŋ^{44} 冷	ts^{h}in^{11} 清	t^{h}ən^{213} 〇$_{冷}$	none
031	'to drink'	tɕ^{h}iak^{5} 吃	sət^{4} 食	lim^{55} 啉	ɕie^{35} 食	Hakka
039	'eye'	ŋan^{213}tɕiaŋ^{42} 眼睛	muk^{21}tsu^{44} 目珠	bat^{32}tsiu^{5} 目睭 bak^{5}目	mu^{53}tɕy^{21} 目珠	Hakka
068	'head'	t^{h}ɛu^{24} 头	t^{h}ɛu^{12}na^{12} 头〇$_{那}$	t^{h}au^{33}k^{h}ak^{32} 头壳	t^{h}əu^{53} 头	Gan
–	'house'	fɔŋ^{55}tsɿ^{0} 房子	vuk^{21} 屋	ts^{h}u^{11} 厝	tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213} 厝	Min
083	'to know'	ɕiɛu^{213}tɛt^{5} 晓得	ti^{44}tɛt^{21} 知得	tsai^{33}tã知影 tsai^{55} 知	xiau^{55}tie^{53} 晓得	Gan
094	'man'	lan^{55}ŋin^{55} 男人	nam^{12}tsɿ^{31}ŋin^{12} 男子人	ta^{33}po^{33}laŋ^{24} 〇埔人	sa^{22}nin^{22} 侪人	none
–	'son'	tsai^{213} 崽	lai^{42}ɛ^{0} 赖儿	kĩã^{51} 囝	kin^{53}nə^{0} 囝儿	Min
157	'sun'	ŋin^{5}t^{h}ɛu^{24} 日头	ŋiat^{4}t^{h}ɛu^{12} 热头	lit^{3}日 lit^{325}t^{h}au^{24} 日頭	nie^{35}t^{h}əu^{53} 热头	Hakka

1.3.3 Syntactic criteria

In order to illustrate the degree of hybridity that Shaowu exhibits, Table 1.3 compares six different syntactic criteria, namely object marking (Chappell 2013, Li & Chappell 2013a, 2013b), the passive construction (Chappell 2015, 2016), the comparative construction (Chappell & Peyraube 2015), the ditransitive construction (Zhang 2008), the use of negators (Zhang 2002), and the use of inclusive and exclusive 'we'. Data for Xiamen are taken from Huang *et al.* (1996), for Meixian are taken from Li & Zhang (1992), and data for Nanchang are taken from Li *et al.* (1996). Data for Shaowu is taken from Ngai (field data, 2012). The linguistic data

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presented in the following table, except the author's own field data, are taken from various publications, therefore the tonal notations of the grammatical morphemes are different.

Table 1.4: Comparison of syntactic features of Shaowu and other Sinitic languages.

Construction	Gan (Nanchang)	Hakka (Meixian)	Min (Xiamen)	Shaowu	Match
Object marking	laʔ^{55} 搦 'to hold'	pa^{III} 把 'to hold'	tsiɔŋ^{54} 将 'to hold'	na^{22} 拿 'to take'	none
Passive	te^{33} 得 'to give'	pun^{I} 分 'to give'	hou^{7} 与 'to give'	tie^{53} 得 'to give'	Gan
Comparative	prepositional	hybridised	adverbial	prepositional & hybridised	Gan, Hakka
Ditransitive	Verb+DO+ Prep+IO	Verb+DO+IO/ Verb+DO+Prep +IO	Verb+IO+DO	Verb+DO+ Prep+IO	Gan
Negators (present-future, perfective)	pət不 mau iu 冇有	m 无, mɔ 冇	m 无, mo 冇	ŋ^{55}唔, mau^{35} 冇	Min
Inclusive/ exclusive 'we'	yes	no	yes	yes	Gan, Min

N.B. For the Hakka data, we only obtained from relevant reference material its Middle Chinese (MC) tone categories from relevant reference material, the four MC tones píng 平, shǎng 上, qù 去, rù 入being labeled as I, II, III, and IV respectively.

The table shows that some major Shaowu syntactic features manifest a mixing of Gan and Hakka features. In the table above, we have presented canonical constructions and their respective markers in Shaowu and their representative counterparts in Gan, Hakka and Min. It is noteworthy that some of the less canonical markers and constructions may have come from the Wu group, especially Southern Wu (such as Jinhua 金华话), which also lies in close vicinity to Shaowu. However, due to their lower usage frequency and lack of canonicity, we have not included them in Table 1.4.

1.3.4 Summary

To delineate genetic affiliation of a single Chinese dialect or language can be a Herculean task, as many dialects and languages have historically been in intense contact with other dialect groups or languages, so that the loss or gain of certain

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features might be the result of borrowing rather than inheritance. Hybridity is often the result of language contact and language change, and in the end, all dialects and languages are to some extent hybrids, absorbing and assimilating various features from a surrounding 'feature pool' (Mufwene 2001: 30). Shaowu is by no means the only "hybrid" language in China, as many Sinitic dialects and languages manifest mixed features in their phonology, lexicon and morpho-syntax. To name a few: Hangzhou 杭州话, with Wu and Mandarin features (VanNess Simmons 1999: 1–27); Changsha 長沙话, with Xiang and Mandarin features (Wu 2005: 28–32); and Jianmi 尖米话 combining Southern Min, Hakka and Yue elements (Pan 1996: 156–167).

From the data sets presented, we can see that the Shaowu traits are indeed quite mixed, with a blend of essentially Gan, Hakka and Min features. However, if one looks at its core basic vocabulary and less recent sound changes, they are suggestive of a Min origin (see, Norman 1973, 1974b, 1982a, *inter alia*), while its Gan and Hakka like features were likely accumulated during its course of development through migration and multilingualism. Geography, history and demography can induce or enhance the hybridity of a dialect or a language, making it slightly more 'compounded' in terms of features than other languages or dialects. Achieving a neat classification may thus be less meaningful than attempting to understand their unique histories and evolutionary paths, as well as the role of vertical and horizontal transmission during their formation.

1.4 Significance of this research work

This monograph is the first comprehensive grammar that has ever been written on Shaowu. According to *Language Atlas of China* (1987: 58), Shaowu belongs to the Min supra-group of the Sinitic branch in the Sino-Tibetan family and possesses many unique features that are unattested in major Sinitic languages. My research focus is to describe major syntactic features and grammatical constructions of Shaowu and to compare them with its neighbouring dialects and languages in a wider typological scope spanning the Sinitic landscape. Through my work, I intend to help raise awareness of the importance of language documentation and preserve a potentially endangered Sinitic language, which is nowadays spoken mainly by the elderly population of Shaowu and no longer by the younger generation. I also aim to contribute to establishing Shaowu's genealogical affiliation within the Sinitic family and to displaying its exemplary hybridisation as a result of intense language contact over centuries in the region. Indeed, Shaowu has witnessed several major waves of migration throughout its history and has

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consequently been populated by speakers of different linguistic groups, including Min, Gan, Hakka, Wu and Mandarin.

The book consists of a comprehensive grammar, a mini lexicon, a phonological description with analyses using elements of historical phonology, in addition to transcribed conversations and narratives. As extant documents and teaching materials of Shaowu remain scarce, the grammar and the lexicon can help keep the language alive for the long term. In it, readers can find narratives about Shaowu's local customs, traditions, religious rituals and historical events. The Shaowu data used in the book are in many cases extracted from natural conversations and stories told by native speakers. The book and some sound files will be uploaded onto online archives, in the hope that my research will benefit the research circles and also the language community at large.

The book comprises seven main parts:

I. Phonetics and phonology
II. Nominal structure
III. Predicate structure
IV. Clausal structure
V. Complex sentences and clause-binding
VI. A mini lexicon of Shaowu basic vocabulary
VII. Samples of transcribed discourse and conversations

1.5 Methodology and fieldwork descriptions

In order to obtain first-hand, authentic Shaowu linguistic data, I visited the city of Shaowu many times over the past decade (2009–2019) to conduct fieldwork in order to interview my linguistic consultants, to investigate to what extent Shaowu is spoken there and by what age groups. During my stay, I also tried to assess the mutual intelligibility between Shaowu 邵武话 and its neighbouring Heping 和平话 and Guangze 光泽话. In total I carried out seven field trips to Shaowu, including a pilot field trip in December 2009, followed by the other ones in July-August 2010, December 2010, January-April 2012, May-June 2013, June 2014 and August 2019.

During these field trips, I recorded over 300 hours of linguistic data in Shaowu language covering diverse themes about Shaowu: its culture, traditions, history, folklore, songs, cuisine, industries, agriculture, personal anecdotes, family stories, among others. My linguistic consultants are: Ms Li Jingxin 李竞新女士, aged 91; Mr Li Hougong 李厚恭先生, aged 82; Ms Gao Ying 高莺女士, aged 68 (their respective age as of 2020) and the late Ms Wei Yixin 危一心女士in her early 70s at the time of recording in December 2009.

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A description of Shaowu by Chen Zhangtai (1991a: 341–391) and his study on the phonology of Shaowu (1984) have provided excellent reference and solid background knowledge for this grammar.

1.5.1 Elicitation materials

For phonetic elicitation and phonological analyses, I mainly used the *Character List for Dialectal Surveys* *方言调查字表* established by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS 2010), and the character list for the *Linguistics Atlas of Chinese Dialects* (Cao *et al.* 2008).

For lexicon elicitation and analyses, I principally used the word list in the questionnaire for the *Linguistics Atlas of Chinese Dialects* (Cao *et al.* 2008) and the Wordlist for Dialectal Surveys in *方言调查字组*、*词汇*、*语法简表* established by the Department of Chinese at the University of Peking (Beijing Daxue Zhongwenxi 2001). I also used the Swadesh 100-list (1955) and the STEDT questionnaires: Wordlists for South-East and East Asian languages (Matisoff 1989).

For elicitation of grammatical features and syntactic analyses, I essentially used the *Comparative Chinese Dialectal Grammar: Handbook for Investigators* (Yue-Hashimoto, 1993), the *Handbook of Syntactic Studies and Survey* *语法研究调查手册* edited by Liu Danqing (2008), Syntactic Features for Dialectal Surveys in *方言调查字组*、*词汇*、*语法简* established by the Department of Chinese at Peking University (Beijing Daxue Zhongwenxi 2001), the grammatical-feature list in the questionnaire for the *Linguistics Atlas of Chinese Dialects* (Cao *et al.* 2008) and also the *Practical Handbook of Modern Sinitic Grammar* *实用现代汉语语法* by Liu, Pan and Gu (2004), as well as *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists* (Payne 1997).

For data elicitation via storytelling and video-watching, I used the following materials:

1. the Pear Story, a six-minute film developed by Wallace Chafe, produced at the University of California, Berkeley (1975);
2. the Frog Story ("Frog, where are you?"), cartoon illustrations by Mercer Mayer (1969), published in the Appendix, Berman & Slobin (1994);
3. *Vater und Sohn* (Father and son), cartoon illustrations by Erich Ohser Plauen, published in Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung (1934–1937);
4. Max Planck Institute (MPI) for Evolutionary Anthropology, Department of Linguistics Story-builder: Picture Cards (Action cards) for Language Activities (https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/tools-at-lingboard/stimulus_kits.php). Last access on 5 July 2020;

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5. Max Planck Institute (MPI) for Evolutionary Anthropology, Department of Linguistics field-linguistics questionnaires (https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/tools-at-lingboard/questionnataires.php). Last access on 5 July 2020;
6. Max Planck Institute (MPI) for Psycholinguistics, Language and Cognition Department, Elicikit videos, including 8 videos from the German cartoon series *Die Sending mit der Maus* and 3 videos by Sotaro Kita and colleagues at the MPI (Kita 1995) (http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl). Last access on 5 July 2020;
7. Online animation and cartoons, such as The Cowboy's Flute 水墨动画片：牧笛 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_7hopvX4rz8). Last access on 18 June 2014.

1.5.2 Fieldwork equipment

To record linguistic data in sound files, I used a Fostex FR-2LE CF high-definition field recorder, an external stereo microphone, a MacBook Pro laptop computer, two 500GB external hard drives and several USB sticks. The sound files were recorded in wav. and mp3 formats.

Videos and photos of my linguistic consultants were taken with an Olympus digital camera.

Detailed phonetic analyses, when necessary, were carried out by using software PRAAT and AUDACITY. Transcriptions and texts were typed in Word documents and Excel spreadsheets.

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Chapter 2
Geography, demography and history of Shaowu

Located in mountainous inland Fujian at the foot of the Wuyi mountain range 武夷山脉 and by the banks of the upper Futun river 富屯溪, Shaowu city was once a major gateway for populations from across China to flow into Fujian province. It is located in northwestern Fujian province, bordering, approximately, the Gan-speaking 赣语 Jiangxi province at 50 km to the west, the Wu-speaking 吴语 Zhejiang province at 130 km to the northeast, the Eastern Min-speaking 闽东 area at 150 km to the east (in which the provincial capital of Fujian, Fuzhou, is at some 280 km to the southeast), and the Northern Min-speaking 闽北 area at 20 km to the north, and the Hakka-speaking 客家 area at 100 km to the south.

The city of Shaowu is about 2850 km^2 in surface and has approximately 308 910 inhabitants (2016 data, according to the Chinese search engine Baidu 百度百科 https://baike.baidu.com/item/邵武/4687, last access on 5 July 2020).

In the *Language Atlas of China* (B12), Zhang (1987) classifies the Min supra-group into seven groups, namely, the (i) Minnan group 闽南区, (ii) Puxian group 莆仙区, (iii) Mindong group 闽东区, (iv) Minbei group 闽北区, (v) Minzhong group 闽中区, (vi) Qiongwen group 琼文区, and the (vii) Shaojiang group 邵将区. Zhang points out that the Shaojiang group shares some features of Hakka and Gan, such as the MC voiced obstruent initials having become voiceless aspirated and then redistributed as [p^h-], [t^h-], [ts^h-] or [k^h-]; but at the same time, it also possesses some features of the Min group, such as the MC affricates *ʈ-, *$ʈ^h$- and *ɖ- having merged into [t-] or [t^h-]. Thus, the Shaojiang group, of which Shaowu is the main representative, is considered to be transitional between Gan, Hakka and Min groups.

According to the annals of Shaowu county (邵武县志) compiled by Li Zhengfang & Zhang Baosen in 1855, Shaowu was officially founded during the Three Kingdoms period in 260 CE and its jurisdiction has moved back and forth between various administrative regions associated with different Sinitic language groups. It was under the jurisdiction of what was then called Jian'an jun 建安郡 (Jian'an canton) ruled by the Jiangzhou 江洲 administrative region in today's Jiangxi province (Gan-speaking) from c. 260–589 CE. After this, Shaowu came under the jurisdiction of Quanzhou 泉州 in Fujian province (Min-speaking) between 589–592 CE. It then reverted to rule by Fuzhou 抚州 in Gan-speaking Jiangxi province between c. 592–620 CE; and then under Jianzhou 建州 (today's Jian'ou 建瓯; northern-Min speaking) in Fujian province from 621 CE onwards. It has stayed under the jurisdiction of Fujian province up until the present day.

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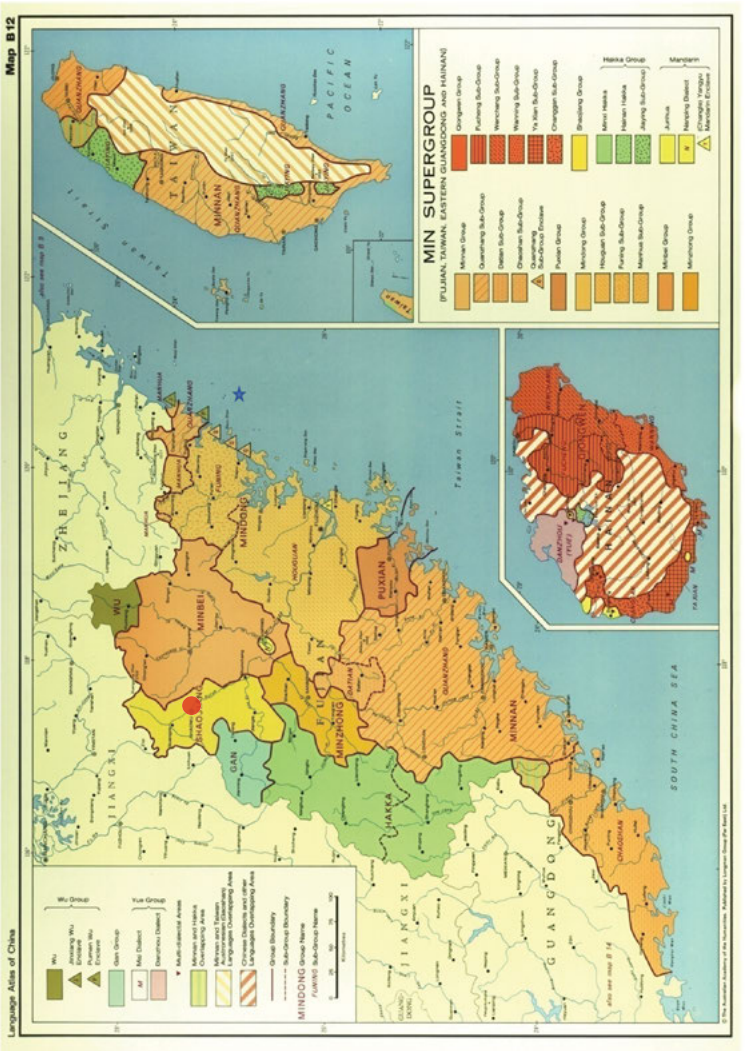

Map 2.1: Min groups in Fujian province, China and the geographical location of Shaowu. [Extracted from *Language Atlas of China* (Map B12) published by the Australian Academy of the Humanities and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (1987).[5] Shaowu (circled in red) belongs to the Shaojiang group within the Min supergroup.]

5 Courtesy of the Australian Academy of the Humanities and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (1987). We are thankful for their kind permission for the reproduction of Map B12 in this book.

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Li (1997: 25–49) outlines three major waves of migration in history from northern China into Fujian province, including Shaowu: (i) during the Eastern Jin dynasty (c. 308 CE), (ii) during the mid-Tang dynasty (c. 755 CE), and (iii) during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period (c. 907–979 CE). Li further suggests that eight out of ten of today's Shaowu inhabitants can trace their ancestry back to the Central Plains, with Jiangxi (Gan-speaking) province serving as an important stopover point for the migrants.

According to Wan & Zhang (2006), the Song and Yuan dynasties (between c. 960 and c. 1280) saw large-scale waves of migration from Jiangxi Province into Fujian, mainly due to wars and famine. Historical records (*Records during the reign of Emperor Taizong of Ming Dynasty*, *Volume* 111 明太宗實錄, 卷111) also show that in year 1410, a deadly plague ravaged Shaowu and reduced its population by half from approximately 110,000 to 55,000. The Ming government then ordered prisoners from all over the country to be sent to Shaowu as a kind of population replenishment. A large number of Jiangxi inhabitants were said to have moved over to the area during this period.

During the Second World War, many residents from the provincial capital Fuzhou and environs fled Japanese bombings and settled in Shaowu, bringing Eastern Min varieties with them. In the 1970s and 80s, a large number of Wu-speaking people, many from Shanghai, moved to Shaowu following the central government policy of collective work allocation. As a result, Shaowu is a complex aggregate of contact layers from different linguistic varieties and different periods in history, including Sinitic language varieties from northern China, from the Gan, Hakka and Wu groups, as well as its surrounding Min supra-groups.

According to Chen (1991a: 341), Shaowu can be divided into the following varieties:

(i) the more representative variety spoken within the city of Shaowu, known as 邵武城关话 (the dialect of Shaowu city), and in the nearby townships of Shuibei 水北, Liantang 莲塘, Yanshan 沿山, Wujiatang 吴家塘 and Nakou 拿口;
(ii) the Heping variety spoken in the townships of Heping 和平, Dafugang 大埠冈, Xiaojiafang 肖家坊 and Guilin 桂林;[6]
(iii) the least mutually intelligible Hongdun variety spoken in the villages of Hongdun 洪墩 and Zhangcuo 张厝; and
(iv) the least widely-spoken Jinkeng 金坑 variety spoken in the western part of Shaowu city.

6 Guilin (桂林) here shares the same toponym as the famous city in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in the south of China.

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Shaowu is situated at the crossroads of Min, Gan, Hakka and Wu groups. The issue of its classification still remains a major topic of debate amongst linguists in China and abroad. To some linguists, Shaowu is a Gan-Hakka admixture with some Min features (Chen 1991a: 341), to some, it is a Gan dialect (e.g., Zhang & Wan 1996a) while yet other scholars think that it is Min, albeit an aberrant type (see Norman 1973, 1974b, 1982, 1985). Historically, migrants from the neighbouring Southern Fujian (Southern-Min speaking), Eastern Fujian (Eastern-Min speaking), Jiangxi (Gan-speaking) and Zhejiang (Wu-speaking) areas have brought numerous features from their own linguistic varieties, which have formed various layers that can be identified in various lexical and grammatical categories of Shaowu, and also in its phonology. Our tentative conclusion is that Shaowu, which is Min at its core, has absorbed features from languages and dialects from other Sinitic groups in the course of time and has become a unique hybrid of its own.

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Part I: **Phonetics & phonology**

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In Part I, we cover the phonetic system of Shaowu, including the initial consonants, the vowels, the rhymes and the tones. We show that certain sounds are in complementary distribution and display a small set of minimal pairs for initial consonants and vowels. We also describe some mechanisms for phonotactics and types of tone sandhi and their functions in Shaowu. Specific examples extracted from Shaowu's lexicon are presented to illustrate these phenomena.

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Chapter 3
Phonology

In this chapter, we present Shaowu's phonetic system, i.e., its initial-consonant, vowel, rhyme, and tonal inventories, and outline some of its phonological features, phonotactics and tone sandhi phenomena, including phonological and morphological tone changes.

3.1 Phonetic system

Compared to some Sinitic languages, especially those in the south, such as Cantonese (Yue group), Southern Min (Min group) or Suzhou (Wu group), Shaowu's phonological system is comparatively simple in terms of its initial consonants, vowels and final consonants. For instance, it has no voiced dental-alveolar plosives or alveolo-palatal affricates (as in Suzhou), no long or short vowel distinctions (as in Cantonese), or the preservation of MC -p, -t, -k codas (as in Southern Min), and it does not possess the retroflex series of Northern Sinitic such as Standard Mandarin. Shaowu has tone sandhi phenomena (hereafter simply referred to as 'tone changes') but they are not as extensive as, for instance, in Wenzhou (see e.g., Zhengzhang 2008: 93–108), nor is the phenomenon of *wénbái yìdú* (文白异读现象), i.e., a character having more than one reading from different historical layers, as profuse as in Southern Min (see e.g., Yuan 1960: 246–250, Fujian sheng Difang zhi 1998: 119–125). The influence of Gan-Hakka phonology is noticeable, such as the development of labial fricatives and the distinction of dental-alveolar /ts/ and alveolo-palatal /tɕ/ affricates as separate phonemes. This can be illustrated by the presence of labiodentals in Shaowu, for instance, [fa^{21}] 花 'flower', which is pronounced in most Min languages as /hua/ (e.g., Southern Min, Putian, Fuzhou) or /xua/ (e.g., Jian'ou, Yong'an); or the pan-Min /ts^{h}iu/ 树 'tree' realised as [tɕ^{h}y^{213}] in Shaowu (see Fujian sheng Difang zhi 1998: 445–446).

In total, Shaowu has 20 initial consonants (including the zero-initial), 8 vowels, 46 rhymes and 6 tones (See § 3.1.1, § 3.1.2, § 3.1.3 and § 3.1.4 respectively). The six tones are all tonemes, i.e., they are phonemes, which are in contrastive distribution. Some vowels are in complementary distribution and thus are not phonemic (bracketed in the relevant tables below). All syllables in theory carry an underlying tone. Some syllables can however be pronounced in the neutral or 'light tone', which we notate as tone 0 for convenience's sake, an example is the diminutive [ə^{0}] 儿 as in [tsiau^{53}ə^{0}] 雀儿 'little bird'. The tone sandhi mechanism is not as complex and is less extensive compared with other Min languages such

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as Fuzhou and Southern Min. Instances of phonological assimilation and free variations can be found sporadically in Shaowu.

3.1.1 Initial consonants

Shaowu has 19 initial consonants (20 including the zero initial Ø-), which are listed in Table 3.1. On top of the nasals and the lateral, it also shows a two-way aspiration contrast of plosives and affricates (all voiceless), and the two-way distinction of voiceless and voiced fricatives.

Table 3.1: Initial consonant inventory of Shaowu.

Manner of articulation \ Place of articulation		Labial/ Labio-dental	Dental/ Alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Velar
Nasal		m	n		ŋ
Plosive	**unaspirated**	p	t		k
	aspirated	p^h	t^h		k^h
Fricative	**unaspirated**		ts	tɕ	
	aspirated		ts^h	$tɕ^h$	
Approximant	**voiceless**	f	s	ɕ	x
	voiced				
Affricate		ʊ			
Lateral			l		

(Chen 1984, Ngai 2010 field data)

Shaowu examples for each of the initial consonants, including the zero-initial are displayed below:

m- [ma^{35}] 麦 'wheat', [mau^{53}] 猫 'cat', [mi^{55}] 米 'rice grain'
p- [pie^{53}] 八 'eight', [$pɔŋ^{21}$] 帮 'help', [$piuŋ^{21}$] 风 'wind'
p^h- [p^hen^{22}] 朋 'friend', [p^hiau] 票 'ticket', [p^hien^{35}] 辨 'distinguish'
f- [fa^{21}] 花 'flower', [fan^{53}] 法 'law', [fai^{35}] 坏 'bad'
ʊ- [$ʊəi^{22}$] 禾 'crop', [$ʊa^{35}$] 话 'language', [$ʊi^{213}$] 畏 'fear'
n- [na^{22}] 拿 'to take', [$niɔŋ^{213}$] 让 'to let', [$niaŋ^{213}$] 瞅 'to see'
t- [tin^{55}]顶 'very', [$tuŋ^{213}$] 冻 'cold', [ty^{53}]竹 'bamboo'
t^h- [t^hy^{35}] 著 'chopstick', [t^hien^{55}] 转 'to turn', [$t^haŋ^{55}$]醒 'awake'
ts- [$tsɔ^{213}$] 做 'to do', [tsu^{55}]走 'to run', [$tsei^{21}$] 追 'to chase'

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ts^h-	[ts^hien^{21}]千 'thousand' [ts^hin^{22}] 情 'emotion' [$ts^hɔu^{22}$]囚 'prisoner'
s-	[su^{53}] 六 'six', [$sən^{21}$] 新 'new', [sen^{21}] 生 'life'
l-	[$lɔ^{35}$] 落 'to descend', [$ləu^{22}$] 楼 'building', [$liaŋ^{55}$] 领 'to lead'
tɕ-	[$tɕiɔŋ^{55}$] 掌 'palm', [$tɕy^{55}$] 主'master', [$tɕiaŋ^{213}$] 正'right'
$tɕ^h$-	[$tɕ^hy^{213}$] 树 'tree', [$tɕ^hin^{21}$] 深 'deep', [$tɕ^hiɔ^{213}$] 厝 'house'
ɕ-	[$ɕy^{21}$] 书 'book', [$ɕi^{22}$] 时 'time', [$ɕiɔu^{21}$]收 'to receive'
ŋ-	[$ŋəu^{55}$] 藕 'lotus stem', [$ŋɔ^{22}$] 鹅 'swan' [$ŋ^{22}$] 鱼 'fish'
k-	[kin^{53}] 囝 'child', [$kəi^{213}$] 个 'general classifier', [kan^{53}] 甲 'class-A', 'nail'
k^h-	[k^hiau^{55}] 巧 'sophisticated', [$k^hən^{21}$] 轻 'light', [k^ha^{53}] 客 'guest'
x-	[$xaŋ^{35}$] ○$_{我}$ 'I', [xau^{55}] 好 'good', [xi^{55}] 喜 'happy'
Ø-	[$iɔŋ^{55}$] 养 'to give birth', [$ɔn^{21}$] 安 'serene', [en^{21}] 恩 'grace'

Minimal pairs for the certain of the initial consonants are displayed in the following:

(i) Between [ts] and [tɕ]:

[tsi^{21}] 挤 'crowded'	[$tɕi^{21}$] 脂 'grease'
[tsi^{55}] 姊 'older sister'	[$tɕi^{55}$] 指 'finger', 'to point'
[tsi^{213}]际 'edge', 'moment'	[$tɕi^{213}$] 制 'to produce'
[tsi^{53}] 积 'accumulate'	[$tɕi^{53}$] 职 'job'

(ii) Between [ts^h] and [$tɕ^h$]:

[ts^hi^{21}] 妻 'wife (literary)'	[$tɕ^hi^{21}$] 痴 'obsessed'

(iii) Between [s] and [ɕ]:

[si^{21}] 西 'west'	[$ɕi^{21}$] 施 'to bestow'
[si^{55}] 死 'death', 'to be dead'	[$ɕi^{55}$] 始 'to begin'
[si^{213}] 四 'four'	[$ɕi^{213}$] 世 'world', 'life cycle'
[si^{35}] 席 'seat'	[$ɕi^{35}$] 市 'market'
[si^{53}] 息 'rest'	[$ɕi^{53}$] 失 'to lose'

(iv) Between [f] and [ʋ]:

[$fɔŋ^{55}$] 访 'to visit'	[$ʋɔŋ^{55}$] 往 'to' (allative)
[fan^{35}] 犯 'prisoner'	[$ʋan^{35}$] 万 'ten thousand'
[$fən^{22}$] 魂 'spirit', 'ghost'	[$ʋən^{22}$] 文 'article', 'text'

If we compare the Shaowu initials with the '15 Min initials' ('闽语十五音' as described in Chen & Li 1991: 2–3) p-, p^h-, t-, t^h-, m-, n-, l-, ts-, ts^h-, s-, k-, k^h-, ŋ-,

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x- and Ø- (the zero initial) that are considered as 'typical' of Min[7] and are present in many, if not all, Min languages and dialects (Li 1997: 25–38), we notice that Shaowu has five initials that are 'atypical' of Min, namely: f-, ʋ-, tɕ-, tɕʰ-, ɕ-.

The dental-labials f- and ʋ- are often considered to be a typical Gan-Hakka feature and are not present in most Min varieties. This leads to some linguists, such as Wan & Zhang (2006), to consider the presence of the [f] and [ʋ] initials in Shaowu as a piece of evidence that Shaowu is a member of the Gan family and not Min.

Another important phonological feature which is found in Shaowu (but not in most of the Min dialects) is the presence of alveolar-palatal affricates tɕ-, tɕʰ-, ɕ-; and they are in contrastive distribution with ts-, tsʰ-, s-, i.e., they are phonemic. It is noteworthy that the initial consonants tɕ -, tɕʰ-, ɕ- are also present in Gan varieties such as Yugan 余干话 (e.g., Chen 1990) and are usually not phonemic in Min languages and dialects, such as Jianyang Northern Min 闽北建阳话 (see Norman 1971: 25) or Fuzhou Eastern Min 闽东福州话 (see Chen 1998: 7). Shaowu also lacks the characteristic voiced obstruent initials that some Min languages and dialects have, such as /b/- in Southern Min (see e.g., Fujian sheng Difang zhi 1998: 450–451).

3.1.2 Vowels

There are in total eight distinct vowels in Shaowu, which are separate phonemes, as shown in the table below:

Table 3.2: Vowel inventory of Shaowu.

	Front		Central		Back	
	unrounded	**rounded**	**unrounded**	**rounded**	**unrounded**	**rounded**
High	i	y	ɨ		(ɯ)	u
Mid	e		ə			ɔ
Low	a					

(Chen 1984, Ngai 2010 field data)

7 These pan-Min traits include the lack of labial-dental fricatives such as [f], [ʋ]; the MC initials of alveolo-palatal retroflexes [ʈ], [ʈʰ] and [ɖ] (知彻澄组) having developed into dental-alveolar plosives [t], [tʰ], [d]; and the conflation of the MC initials for dental-alveolar affricates (精组) and alveolo-palatal affricates (照组).

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Shaowu examples for each of the vowels are displayed below:

i [i^{21}] 衣 'clothes', [k^{h}i^{213}] 器 'container'
ɯ [ɯ^{35}] 栗 'chestnut', [ts^{h}ɯ^{35}] 疾 'painful'
ɨ [ts^{h}ɨ ^{213}] 刺 'spike', [sɨ ^{21}] 丝 'silk'
u [u^{35}] 雾 'fog', [tu^{55}] 肚 'belly'
y [ty^{21}] 猪 'pig', [ny^{53}] 肉 'meat'
e [le^{22}] 叻 (SFP), [ne^{22}] 呢 (SFP)
ɔ [sɔ^{53}] 索 'rope', [t^{h}ɔ^{21}] 搓 'to rub'
ə [mə^{35}] 墨 'ink', [t^{h}ə^{213}] 菜
a [t^{h}a^{22}] 茶 'tea', [ka^{21}] 家 'family'

Minimal pairs for certain of the vowels are displayed in the following examples:
(i) Between [i] and [ɨ]:

[si^{21}] 私 'self'	[sɨ^{21}] 丝 'silk'
[tsi^{213}] 祭 'to offer sacrifice to'	[tsɨ^{213}] 渍 'stain'

(ii) Between [e] and [ə]:

[le^{22}] 叻 (SFP)	[lə^{22}] ○$_{傻}$ 'silly'

(iii) Between [y] and [ə]:

[t^{h}y^{35}] 箸 'chopstick'	[t^{h}ə^{35}] 字 'character', 'word'
[ts^{h}y^{213}] 趣 'interesting'	[ts^{h}ə^{213}] 次 'time' (frequency classifier)
[ɕy^{21}] 书 'book'	[sə^{21}] 思 'thought', 'to think'
[k^{h}y^{53}] 曲 'song'	[k^{h}ə^{53}] 刻 'to carve'

(iv) Between [ɔ] and [u]:

[fɔ^{213}] 货 'merchandise'	[fu^{213}] 富 'rich'
[sɔ^{55}] 锁 'lock', 'to lock'	[su^{55}] 所 'place'
[t^{h}ɔ^{21}] 拖 'to drag'	[t^{h}u^{21}] 初 'beginning'

Note that the vowels [ɨ] and [ɯ] are in complementary distribution, i.e., they are allophones. The vowel [ɨ] only follows the initial consonants ts-, ts^{h}-, s-; while [ɯ] only follows the initial consonants t-, t^{h}-, l-, k-, k^{h}- and the zero-initial. For instance: [tsɨ^{213}] 渍 'stain', [tsɨ^{213}] 刺 'to stab', [sɨ^{21}] 丝 'silk'; and [tɯ^{35}] 滴 'a drop', [ts^{h}ɯ^{35}] 疾 'painful', [kɯ^{213}] 记 'to record', [ɯ^{35}] 栗 'chestnut'.

Although the vowels [e] and [ə] are in partial complementary distribution only, they are still allophones. The vowel [e] is only found in sentence-final parti-

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cles (SFPs) such as [ne^{22}] 呢 and [le^{22}] 叻when it stands alone as a nucleus vowel. By contrast, the sound [nə^{22}] does not have a corresponding gloss, while [lə^{22}] means 'silly' (etymon unidentified). We have presented the minimal pair [le^{22}] 叻 (SFP) and [lə^{22}] ○ 'silly' in (ii) above, and consider that they are distinct phonemes. This observation is further supported by the following:

When a rhyme is a diphthong or triphthong starting with [e], it is in contrastive distribution with a corresponding rhyme starting with [ə], and thus the two vowels [e] and [ə] are phonemic within diphthongal or triphthongal rhymes, as can be seen in the following set of minimal pairs:

[ʋei^{22}] 维 'to maintain'	[ʋəi^{22}] 禾 'crop'
[mei^{213}] 妹 'younger sister'	[məi^{213}] 寐 'to sleep'
[fei^{35}] 会 'club'	[fəi^{35}] 活 'to be alive'

3.1.3 Rhymes

Shaowu's system of 46 distinct rhymes includes monophthongs (e.g., [i^{53}] 一 'one'), diphthongs ([xau^{55}] 好 'good'), triphthongs ([iɔu^{55}] 有 'to have'), and the syllabic velar nasal ([ŋ^{55}] 魚 'fish'). The vowel [e] appears in discourse markers or sentence-final particles (e.g., [le^{22}] 叻, [ne^{22}] 呢) and is considered as an allophone of [ə] if it is on its own as a nucleus rhyme. Apart from vowels, only the alveolar and velar nasals can occur in coda position ([an^{53}] 鴨 'duck', [xaŋ^{22}] 行 'to walk'). The phonotactic restrictions within a rhyme, i.e., between the nucleus and the coda, are displayed in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Rhyme inventory of Shaowu.

i	**a**	**ɔ**	**u**	**y**	**ɨ**	**ə**	**e**	**(ɯ)**
ia	ie	iɔ	iau	iɔu				
ua	uɔ	uə	uai	uei				
ye								
ai	ei	ɔi	əi	au	ɔu	əu		
in	an	en	ɔn	ən				
ien								
uan	uɔn	uən						
yn	yen							
aŋ	ɔŋ	uŋ						
iaŋ	iɔŋ	iuŋ						
uaŋ	uɔŋ							
ŋ								

(Chen 1984, Ngai 2010 field data)

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The syllable profile for Shaowu is (C)(G)V(G/N)^{T} where C is the initial consonant, V is a monophthong or diphthong vowel, G is a glide and N is a nasal coda [n] or [ŋ]. The superscript T stands for 'tone'. Note that Shaowu does not have any entering-tone obstruent codas with -p, -t, -k endings (a trait of Middle Chinese, preserved in today's Southern Sinitic languages, e.g., Yue, Pinghua and some Hakka), although merging of other tone categories into the entering tone category has taken place, and the -p obstruent coda of Middle Chinese (MC) has evolved into an -n ending in Shaowu, such as [fan^{53}] 法 'law' (MC /piɒp/), [tan^{53}] 答 'reply'(MC /tɒp/), [an^{53}] 鸭 'duck' (MC /ɒp/), while the -t ending becomes -i, and the -k ending is dropped altogether (Norman 1982a, 1988: 237; also see § 3.2 on phonotactics).

3.1.4 Tones

Shaowu has six tones, all of which are phonemic and are therefore tonemes. An artificial pitch-scale from 1 to 5 (1 being the lowest relative pitch, 5 being the highest) was established by Chao Yuen Ren (1933, 1968: 53) for use in tone languages and to describe the pitch change in each tone value. They usually correspond to their respective Middle Chinese (MC) tonal categories, although exceptions exist and the merging of tonal categories has taken place, such as the 'rising' *shăng* 上 MC tone category encompasses both the *yīnshăng* 阴上 and *yángshăng* 阳上 in Shaowu and is reflected only as the high-level [55] tone.

These six tones are:

i. low falling [21] (e.g., [sə^{21}] 思 'to think');
ii. low level [22] (e.g., [sə^{22}] 辞 'word');
iii. high level [55] (e.g., [sə^{55}] 使 'to use');
iv. contour [213] (e.g., [sə^{213}] 赐 'to bestow');
v. high rising [35] (e.g., [sə^{35}] 事 'matter', 'utterance', 'language'); and
vi. high falling [53] (e.g., [sə^{53}] 色 'colour').

(Chen 1984, Ngai 2010 field data)

There are four Middle Chinese (MC) tonal categories, *píngsheng* 平声, *shăngsheng* 上声, *qùsheng* 去声 and *rùsheng* 入声 (see Jacques 2017), which can be split or merged in the synchronic situation for Sinitic languages and dialects. The low falling (21) and low-level (22) tones in Shaowu usually correspond to the MC *píng* 平 'level' tone category, with the former stemming from syllables with voiceless initials in MC and the latter from syllables with voiced initials (termed *yīnpíng* 阴平 and *yángpíng* 阳平 respectively, in traditional Chinese phonology terminology). The majority of syllables with high level (55) tone in Shaowu correspond

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to the *shǎng* 上 'rising' tone category in MC. The contour (213) and high rising (35) tones basically correspond to the MC *qù* 去 'departing' tone category; the former from voiceless initials and the latter from voiced (*yīnqù* 阴去 and *yángqù* 阳去, respectively). The high falling (53) tone usually corresponds to the MC *rù* 入 'entering' tone category. Table 3.4 summarises Shaowu's six tones and their corresponding MC tonal categories.

Table 3.4: Tonal system of Shaowu in relation to Middle-Chinese categories.

Description	MC category	Tone value	Example	Meaning
Low falling	*yīnpíng* 阴平	21	衣 [i^{21}]	'clothes'
Low level	*yángpíng* 阳平	22	姨 [i^{22}]	'aunt'
High level	*shǎngsheng* 上声	55	以 [i^{55}]	'so'
Low fall-rising	*yīnqù* 阴去	213	意 [i^{213}]	'meaning'
High rising	*yángqù* 阳去	35	易 [i^{35}]	'easy'
High falling	*rùsheng* 入声	53	一 [i^{53}]	'one'

(Chen 1984, Ngai 2010 field data)

Note that there is also an unstressed tone in Shaowu, whose tonal value is indicated as '0'. It is also called as the neutral tone due to the absence of an underlying tone. It phonologically lacks a tone but does carry a pitch, although it is somewhat lowered and is considered as a 'lightened' or neutralised tone derived from one of the six tone values above. Tone '0' often happens to the syllable of a morpheme that is a marker of the diminutive or nominalisation, whose neutralised tone can trigger tone change in the preceding morpheme, an aspect marker, or the second or third syllable in a disyllabic or trisyllabic noun, as we will see in § 3.4 on tone sandhi.

3.2 Phonotactics

Phonotactics deals with restrictions in a phonological system of a language on the permissible combination of phonemes. It defines permissible syllable profiles, consonant clusters and vowel sequences by means of phonotactic constraints. Tonal languages like Sinitic inevitably treat their tones as part of the syllable and they interact with the consonants and vowels according to the phonological constraints passed down diachronically.

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A prototypical Shaowu syllable consists of an initial consonant C (including the zero initial Ø-), a rhyme and a tone. A rhyme is typically made up of a nucleus which is the vowel V (in monophthong, sometimes preceded by a glide G [i], [y] or [u]) to form a diphthong. Triphthongs can be formed by adding the glide [i] before [au] and [ɔu], and the glide [u] before [ai] and [ei]. Given that Shaowu's final consonants can only be a nasal [n] or [ŋ], we represent the nasal coda by N.

As foreshadowed above, the general syllable profile in Shaowu is (C)(G) V(G/N)^{T}, except the syllabic nasal ŋ, which can be a stand-alone syllable. There are thirteen possible syllable profiles in Shaowu, as displayed below.

V^{T} (e.g. [ə^{55}] 耳 'ear', [a^{55}] 哑 'mute', [u^{35}] 雾 'fog');
GV^{T} (e.g., [ia^{55}] 野 'wild', [iɔ^{35}] 药 'drug', [ie^{55}] 矮 'short');
VG ^{T} (e.g., [ɔi^{213}] 爱 'love', [əu^{21}] 欧 'Europe', [ɔu^{21}] 优 'excellent');
VN^{T} (e.g., [an^{53}] 鸭 'duck', [ɔŋ^{53}] ○$_{那}$ 'that', [uŋ^{21}] 翁 'old man');
CV^{T} (e.g., [ty^{53}] 竹 'bamboo', [t^{h}ə^{213}] 菜 'vegetable', [sɔ^{35}] 索 'rope');
CGV^{T} (e.g., [piɔ^{213}] 布 'cloth', [tɕ^{h}ia^{21}] 车 'car', [kuo^{55}] 果 'fruit');
CVG^{T} (e.g., [t^{h}au^{55}] 草 'grass', [kəi^{21}] 鸡 'chicken', [tsɔu^{55}] 酒 'wine');
GVG^{T} (e.g., [iau^{21}] 腰 'waist', [iɔu^{55}] 友 'friend', [iɔu^{35}] 右 'right') ;
CVN^{T} (e.g., [nɔn^{55}] 暖 'warm', [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 'to help', [p^{h}en^{22}] 朋 'friend');
GVN^{T} (e.g., [iɔŋ^{55}] 养 'give birth to', [iuŋ^{55}] 虹 'rainbow', [ien^{35}] 艳 'pretty');
CGVN^{T} (e.g., [siuŋ^{35}] 颂 'to wear', [kuɔŋ^{21}] 光 'light', [k^{h}yən^{21}] 圈 'circle');
CGVG^{T} (e.g., [kuei^{53}] 骨 'bone', [siɔu^{55}] 手 'hand', [k^{h}iau^{22}] 桥 'bridge');
and the syllabic nasal ŋ^{T} (e.g., [ŋ^{22}] 鱼 'fish', [ŋ^{55}] 五 'five', [ŋ$^{35\sim55}$] 唔 general negator).

Note that the stand-alone nasal syllable [ŋ] allows only three tones: namely, the low-level 22 (e.g., [ŋ^{22}] 鱼 'fish'), the high-level 55 (e.g., [ŋ^{55}] 五 'five'), and the mid-rising 35 (e.g., the general negator [ŋ^{35}] 唔, which has also a free variant carrying tone 55).

3.3 Shaowu phonology and phonotactics in relation to historical phonology

Regarding certain phonological restrictions between rhyme and tone of modern Shaowu in relation to historical phonology, a few observations have been made:

The Middle Chinese (MC) -p entering-tone category that shows up as the nasal coda [n] in modern Shaowu usually carries the high-falling tone 53, e.g., [an^{53}] 鸭 (MC /ʔap/) 'duck', [xən^{53}] 吸 (MC /xjep/) 'to absorb', [fan^{53}] 法 (MC /piuɐp/) 'law' (Norman 1982a, Chen 1984); although exceptions exist and these are usually realised as the high-rising tone 35, such as [ɕin^{35}] 十 (MC /ʑjep/) 'ten', [ts^{h}ɔn^{35}]

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杂 (MC /dzʊp/) 'messy' and [kan[35]] 挟 (MC /ɣiep/) 'to clamp'. This is most likely due to a phonological evolution that is specific to Shaowu: morphemes belonging to the MC -p entering-tone category that have voiceless initials bear the high-falling 53 tone in modern Shaowu, whereas morphemes having MC voiced initials are realised as mid-rising 35 tone (Sagart, pers. comm.). Other rhymes, ending with a nasal coda or not, can also potentially carry the high-falling tone 53 (i.e., Shaowu's sixth tone, corresponding to the MC entering-tone category), as a result of the merging of tonal categories.

Norman (1982a, 1988: 237) makes two extra observations on the Shaowu final stops: that the MC coda [t] becomes [i] in contemporary Shaowu, such as [lai[35]] 辣 (MC /lât/) 'spicy' and [kɔi[53]] 葛 (MC /kât/) 'plant *Pueraria lobata*'; and the MC coda [k] is dropped altogether, such as [pa[53]] 百 (MC /pʊk/) 'hundred' and [xɔ[35]] 学 (MC /ɣåk/) 'to study'.

Regarding the phonological restrictions between initial consonant and tone, four general phonotactic rules have been drawn up in Chen (1984), confirmed in my field data (Ngai 2010):

In general, MC *píng*-category voiceless initials manifest as the low-falling tone 21 in Shaowu (e.g., [pɔŋ[21]] 帮 'help', [pʰiau[21]] 飘 'float'), with exceptions, such as [kin[53]] 巾 'towel'; while MC *píng*-category voiced initials manifest as the low-level tone 22 (e.g., [min[22]] 明 'bright', [kʰyn[22]] 群 'crowd'); with exceptions, such as [mau[53]] 猫 'cat'.

MC *shǎng*-category voiceless initials and sonorant initials usually manifest as the high-level tone 55 in Shaowu (e.g., [pɔŋ[55]] 榜 'ranking list', [mi[55]] 米 'rice'), with exceptions, such as [piaŋ[53]] 饼 'cake'; while MC *shǎng*-category voiced obstruent initials manifest as the mid-rising tone 35 (e.g., [tʰuŋ[35]] 动 'to move'); with exceptions, such as [tən[213]] 盾 'shield'.

MC *qù*-category voiceless initials usually manifest as the contour tone 213 in Shaowu (e.g., [ten[213]] 凳 'stool', [tʰən[213]] 寸 'inch'), with exceptions, such as [kʰie[53]] 翅 'wing'; while MC *qù*-category voiced initials and sonorant initials manifest as the mid-rising tone 35 (e.g., [li[35]] 利 'sharp', [tʰan[35]] 淡 'light in colour/taste'); with exceptions, such as [pʰi[53]] 避 'to avoid'.

MC *rù*-category voiceless initials usually manifest as the entering high-falling tone 53 in Shaowu (e.g., [kan[53]] 甲 'traditional Chinese numeral one', [pa[53]] 百 'hundred'), with exceptions, such as [tʰiɔ[35]] 着 durative aspect marker (DUR); while MC *rù*-category voiced initials and sonorants manifest as the mid-rising tone 35 (e.g., [lɔ[35]] 落 'to fall', [ti[35]] 敌 'enemy'); with exceptions, such as [ny[53]] 肉 'meat'.

Regarding the phonotactic restrictions between initial consonants and vowels, the following observations have been made (Chen 1984, Ngai 2010 field data):

(i) the central unrounded vowel [ɨ] can only co-occur with the initial consonants ts-, tsʰ-, s-, but not with tɕ-, tɕʰ-, ɕ- nor with any other initial consonants;

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(ii) the back unrounded vowel [ɯ] can only co-occur with the initial consonants t-, t^h-, l-, k- and k^h- and with no other initial consonants;
(iii) the initial consonants tɕ-, $tɕ^h$-, ɕ- can only combine with the vowels [y] and [i] or rhymes starting with [i], i.e., be [i] a nucleus on its own or a glide; and not with any other vowels;
(iv) the rhymes -ua, -uɔ, -uə, -uai, -uei, -uan, -uɔn, -uən, -uaŋ, -uɔŋ, -ye, -yn and -yen can only be combined with the velar consonants k-, k^h-, ŋ- and x-;
(v) except with the initial consonants m-, f-, ʋ- and ŋ-, the vowel [y] can combine with any other initial consonants.

3.4 Tone sandhi

Tone sandhi is a phonological process occurring in tonal languages, in which the tones assigned to individual words or morphemes change based on the pronunciation of adjacent words or morphemes (Yip 2002: 22). Usually, phonological changes take place across word boundaries, however, the Sinitic linguistic tradition refers to all systematic tone changes, including those that take place word-internally across morpheme boundaries, as sandhi phenomena (Yip 2002: 180).

We adopt this view here and subsume all phonological tone changes (such as the neutral tone, marked as tone '0' for the sake of notational convenience, that occurs in morphemes marking the diminutive or nominalisation, see also § 3.4.2.) and morphological tone changes (leading to a change in the morphological category of the morpheme) under the rubric of tone sandhi. Tone sandhi phenomena are present in Shaowu, although they are less pervasive compared to some of the other Min languages such as Fuzhou Min (Chen 1998: 76–83) and Xiamen Min (Li 1962). Some tone sandhi rules in Shaowu can be optional and can vary depending on the speaker's personal preference; pronouncing all the underlying tones will make a sentence sound unnatural but not incomprehensible.

In the following subsections, we will look at tone sandhi conditioned by phonological factors, which we refer to as 'phonological tone change' (§ 3.4.1); and tone sandhi conditioned by morphological factors, which we refer to as 'morphological tone change' (§ 3.4.2).

3.4.1 Phonological tone change

By phonological tone change we mean that tone sandhi appears as a result of phonological and prosodic conditioning, usually happening in disyllabic, trisyllabic or even quadri-syllabic lexical compounds; we refer to these tones after the

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tone change as ‘prosodic tones’, as opposed to ‘underlying tones’. Nevertheless, pronouncing the underlying tones of all the morphemes in the lexical compounds will in theory not affect understanding.

The general tendency is that a high-register prosodic tone (55) will be used on the second syllable of the disyllabic lexical compound when the first syllable is either the contour tone (213) or the mid-rising (35) on condition that the underlying tone of the second syllable is not (55) itself. A low-register prosodic tone (22) is used otherwise, that is, when the tone on the first syllable is neither (213) nor (35), and on condition that the underlying tone of the second syllable is not (22) itself. See the two examples below.

Second syllable of the disyllabic lexical compound undergoes tone change from 22 > 55:

学堂
$xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ^{22>55}$
‘school’

Second syllable of the disyllabic lexical compound undergoes tone change from 55 > 22:

老虎
$lau^{55}k^{h}u^{55>22}$
‘tiger’

For trisyllabic lexical compounds, the general tendency is that either the last syllable bears the prosodic tone (55 or 22), or the middle syllable bears the prosodic tone (55 or 22), depending on what tone value the preceding syllable possesses. See the next three examples.

Last syllable of the trisyllabic lexical compound undergoes tone change 35 > 22:

树	肚	下
$tɕ^{h}y^{21}$	tu^{55}	$xa^{35>22}$
tree	belly	under

‘under the tree trunk’

Middle syllable of the trisyllabic lexical compound undergoes tone change 22 > 55:

蚁蚁嫲
$nie^{55>22}nie^{55}ma^{22}$
‘ant’

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Both the middle and the last syllable of a trisyllabic lexical compound can undergo tone change, for instance:

槃	肚	下
$p^hɔn^{22}$	$tu^{55\sim22}$	$xa^{35>55\sim22}$
table	belly	under

'under the table' (location)

However, for the second syllable in the example above, tones 55 and 22 are free variations, whereas phonological tone change takes place in the third syllable, where the underlying tone of the morpheme 下'under' changes to its prosodic tone 55, which in turn has a free-variant tone of 22.

For quadri-syllabic lexical compounds, usually it is the last syllable that changes to the prosodic tone, for instance:

琵琶	老鼠
$p^hi^{22}p^ha^{22}$	$lau^{55}tɕ^hy^{55>22}$
lute	mouse

'bat'

Note that the last syllable (the morpheme $[tɕ^hy^{55}]$ 鼠 'mouse'/'rat') has the high-flat 55 as the underlying tone, that is changed to the low-flat 22 which is its prosodic tone.

For Shaowu morphemes that carry the contour (213) tone as the underlying tone, often the tone is reduced to (21) in natural and fast speech. This tonal reduction often occurs in other Sinitic languages as well, such as in standard Mandarin (for instance, its first and second person pronouns *wǒ* 我 'I' and *nǐ* 你 'you', both high frequency words bearing the contour tone of 214, are often reduced to just 21 in natural speech).

The same tonal reduction phenomenon happens to Shaowu's contour tone (213), the speaker changes (213) to (21) systematically. For example:

做	生意
$tsɔ^{213>21}$	$sen^{21}i^{213>21}$
do	business

'to do business'

个	行	树
$kəi^{213>21}$	$xaŋ^{22}$	$tɕ^hy^{213>21}$
one	CLF	tree

'a tree'

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In this book, we use sample sentences extracted from natural speech from native speakers of Shaowu, thus many of the tones displayed are often the result of tone sandhi and do not necessarily reflect their underlying tone, however, they are a reflection of how the native speakers of Shaowu really speak in their day-to-day life, in a natural and sometimes fast but, nevertheless, totally comprehensible way.

3.4.2 Morphological tone change

Morphological tone change in Shaowu usually takes place when grammatical morphemes, such as the diminutive markers or nominalisers, are added to the head to form a compound noun, leading to a change in tone in the head, which can originally be a verb or a noun. The grammatical morphemes are usually in the neutral tone, indicated by the number 0. Note that tone 0 is only a notational value to represent the neutral, unaccentuated tone on the conventional 1–5 scale, as described in § 3.1.4. Tone 0 is a type of pitch tone that contribute to the prosody of a phrase.

Sinitic linguists, such as Chao (1968: 60–63), consider the neutral tone as one of the typical northern traits concerning tone systems. In this regard, Shaowu shares the same trait with some Sinitic languages in the north. In the following subsections, we explore briefly various grammatical morphemes and markers that bear a 'light', neutralised tone 0 (also called 'weak stress' in Chao 1968: 60), which we will provide more detailed discussions in Chapter 6 on affixal morphology.

3.4.2.1 Nominalisers

Nominalisers are grammatical markers that change a certain word class (e.g., verbs, adjectives) into nouns. A common marker of nominalisation in Shaowu is [ə^{0}] 儿, originally meaning 'son' or 'child', which has grammaticalised to become a nominaliser. When suffixed to a verb, it can turn the verb or the adjective into a noun, hence the name 'nominaliser'. A typical example is the verb 'to cut' [tsien^{55}] 剪, whose underlying tone is 55, but when followed by the tone 0 nominaliser, it changes its tone into 53 and becomes a noun meaning 'scissors' [tsien$^{55\sim53}$nə^{0}] 剪儿. Note that, by an assimilation process, a nasal is added before the vowel [ə^{0}] to facilitate pronunciation of the lexical compound.

剪儿
tsien$^{55>53}$nə^{0}
'scissors'

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Another example is the verb ‘to clamp’, which bears the underlying tone of 22, but changes into the high-falling 53 tone when it is followed by a nominaliser to become ‘clamp’:

钳儿
$k^{h}ien^{22>53}nə^{0}$
‘clamp’

3.4.2.2 Diminutives

Diminutives are grammatical markers that convey the meaning of ‘smallness’ in an entity or a quality. By semantic extension, they can also be used to express endearment (cf. Chapter 6 on affixal morphology). A common diminutive marker in Shaowu is [ə^{0}] 儿, originally meaning ‘son’/ ‘child’, which is suffixed to the head noun to express the notion of ‘smallness’. An example is [$t^{h}ɔŋ^{22}$] 糖 ‘sugar’, whose underlying tone (22) changes to the high-falling (53) when the morpheme is followed by the diminutive [ə^{0}] 儿 to become [$t^{h}ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}$] 糖儿 ‘candy’:

糖儿
$t^{h}ɔŋ^{22>53}ŋə^{0}$
‘candy’, ‘sweet’

N.B. By a regressive assimilation process, the coda of the first syllable, the head noun, is copied so that a velar nasal [ŋ] is added before the vowel [ə^{0}] to facilitate pronunciation of the lexical compound.

Another example of morphological tone change induced by diminutives is [kiɔ^{22}] 茄 ‘aubergine’, adding the diminutive [ə^{0}] 儿after the morpheme changes its underlying tone (22) to (35) to become [kiɔ^{35}ə^{0}] 茄儿 ‘small aubergine’:

茄儿
$k^{h}iɔ^{22>35}ə^{0}$
‘small aubergine’

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed the phonological system of Shaowu, encompassing its initial consonant, vowel, rhyme and tonal inventories. We have displayed a sufficient number of minimal pairs to show that certain sounds are

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phonemic while other sounds are allophonic. We have also looked at the phonotactic aspects of Shaowu, and presented its general syllable profile, which is $(C)(G)V(G/N)^{T}$, giving lexical entries for all the combinatorial possibilities of this profile. Tone sandhi phenomena in Shaowu have also been discussed, including the phonological tone change and the morphological tone change; the former is usually conditioned by phonological or prosodic factors, while the latter often induced by the suffixation of a nominaliser or a diminutive.

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Part II: **Nominal structure**

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Nominal structure in Shaowu involves nominals that encompass nouns or noun phrases and their associated modifiers. They can function as subject, object or predicative complement. The nominals are essential to the syntax of a language because they act as arguments in a clause and articulate with the predicate structure. An important member, the noun phrase (NP), usually consists of a head noun and its modifiers, including determiners, adjectives, adnominal adverbials, numeral classifiers, adpositions and relative clauses. Here, we employ the term 'noun phrase' for notational expediency, while being fully aware of the terminological debate in linguistic circles about structural configurations around a lexical head.

Chappell, Li & Peyraube (2007a) point out that the majority of Sinitic languages, which are in SVO word order, present 'a perplexing case for syntactic typology since they display in general head-final characteristics for their NP structure but a mixture of head-initial and head-final ordering for their VPs'. These include the pre-nominal relative clauses (REL-N), preverbal adpositional phrases (PP-V) and comparative standard-adjective word order, which are extremely rare in SVO languages. In fact, according to Dryer (1991: 446), the Sinitic languages are the only ones in his database which combine these three properties with SVO order.

The Sinitic nominal structure, including that of Shaowu's, thus presents an interesting case for linguistic typology. The head noun typically occupies the final position of a noun phrase, and can be preceded by modifiers such as demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, possessives, adjectives or relative clauses. Many of the noun-phrase structures in Shaowu are indeed head-final, which align with the SOV word-order tendencies (Greenberg 1963, Dryer 2003a, *inter alia*) instead of what one might expect from the SVO basic word order in Shaowu; these unusual features include ADJ-N, NUM-CLF-N, REL-N and GEN-N word orders. In this Part, we will look at the constituent elements of the nominal structure in Shaowu and discuss their interactions, ranging from pronominal systems, numeral-classifier systems, locative postpositions, to relative clauses, among other features.

The prototypical Shaowu noun phrase structure in its linear order is [(PRON)-(POSS)-(DEM)-(NUM)-(CLF)-(ADJ)/(REL)-(ATT)-N].

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Chapter 4
Pronominal systems

In this chapter, we will discuss the Shaowu pronominal systems, including personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns. The possessive pronouns will be discussed in Chapter 12 on Possessive noun phrases and part of the discussion on interrogative pronouns will be relayed in Chapter 33 on interrogative structures.

4.1 Personal pronouns

Like many other Sinitic languages, the Shaowu personal pronoun system distinguishes three persons (first, second and third persons), as well as singular and plural. The etyma of these pronouns, which have no obvious cognates with neighbouring Sinitic groups, are unknown to this day, although hypotheses of phonetic fusion of the copula with personal pronouns have been put forward (Sagart pers. comm.). In this grammar, we label Shaowu's first, second and third singular personal pronouns first by IPA and then use empty circles to represent the unidentified character representations for these words.

To form a plural pronoun, the plural suffix [tai^{21}] (or its unstressed form [tə^{0}]) 多 is systematically added to its corresponding singular pronoun. The plural suffix was likely grammaticalised from the morpheme 多, originally meaning 'many'. The first-person plural pronouns have two forms: the inclusive 'we' and the exclusive 'we', the former, when used, includes and involves the addressee in the conversation, while the latter excludes the addressee. Unlike Mandarin, where *nín* 您 ('you polite singular') is used very often in speech, there is no polite form for the second person pronouns in Shaowu. The third person singular [xu^{35}] can be used to refer to humans, animals or inanimate entities. Apart from these pronominal forms, there are also reflexive and generic forms, as we see in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Personal pronoun paradigm of Shaowu.

Pronoun	Singular	Plural
First person	xaŋ^{35} (○我)	Exclusive: xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} / xaŋ^{35}tə^{0} (○我多) Inclusive: ien^{22}tai^{21} / ien^{22}tə^{0} (俺多)

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Table 4.1 (continued)

Pronoun	Singular	Plural
Second person	xien^{35} (〇你)	xien^{35}tai^{21}/ xien^{35}tə^{0} (〇你多)
Third person	xu^{35} (〇他/她/它)	xu^{35}tai^{21} / xu^{35}tə^{0} (〇他/她/它多)
Reflexives	tʰi^{35}ka^{21} (自家) '-self'	tʰi^{35}ka^{21} (自家) '-selves'
Generic forms	pʰie^{35}nin^{55} (别人)	pʰie^{35}nin^{55} (别人) tʰai^{35}ka^{21} (大家)

The Shaowu personal pronouns are rather unusual, compared to most Sinitic personal pronouns. They are not cognate with Min pronouns, although some Gan and Hakka pronouns manifest similar phonetic forms to those of Shaowu, for example, in the Pingxiang 萍乡 (Gan) dialect, the first, second and third person singulars are [hõ^{11}], [hẽ^{11}] and [hã^{13}] respectively (Wei 1990). In addition, the personal pronouns in the northern Guangdong patois 粵北土话 of Xingzi township (星子镇) in Lianzhou 連州, Guangdong province, have similar phonetic forms, viz. [haŋ^{21}], [hɛi^{21}] and [ha^{55}] for its 1SG, 2SG and 3SG pronouns respectively (Zhang 2004: 344; and de Sousa pers. comm.). The ancestors of inhabitants of Xingzi township are said to have come from northern Jiangxi province (Zhang 2004: 5).

Sagart (pers. comm.) points out that the Shaowu first and second pronouns might be the result of phonetic fusion of the emphatic pronoun form involving the use of the copula *he* 係 (MC *hejH*, cf. Hakka *hɛ*^{52} and Cantonese *hɐi*^{22}). Combining that with a following MC first person pronoun *ŋaX* 我or MC second person pronoun *niX* 你 gives the emphatic form *he-ŋa* 係我 'it is I' and *he-ni* 係你 'it is you'. These fused forms then became the present first and second personal pronoun forms, dropping the last vowels to become *he-ŋ* and *he-n* respectively. These new emphatic pronoun forms then displaced the pre-existing pronouns to become the present paradigm.

Indeed, such fusions, also referred to as complex pronouns (see Li 2015), exist in Wu languages such as Shengxian Changle 嵊县长乐 (Qian 1983), Huzhou 湖州 (Chen 1995), Shaoxing 绍兴 (see Chen & Pan 1999), Shanghai Fengxian 上海奉贤 (Qian 1999) and Fuyang 富阳 (Li 2015). According to Li, complex pronouns are derived from the fusion of the sentence-initial copula and pronouns in cleft constructions, which are characterised by 'exhaustiveness' à la Kiss (1998). Although it is possible to use this hypothesis to explain the formation of the Shaowu first and second persons, this pathway does not seem to account for the third person pronoun [xu^{35}] in Shaowu.

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Sagart (pers. comm.) suggests that the etymon of Shaowu's third person pronoun [xu^{35}] might have been XU 许 which is the distal demonstrative pronoun in many coastal Min, such as Fuqing 福清 [hy^{22}] (one of the author's mother tongues), Fuzhou 福州 [hi^{213}] and Xiamen 厦门 [hit^{32}] (Li 2002: 329). It is very plausible that XU 许has grammaticalised from the distal demonstrative into the third person pronoun in Shaowu, as the grammaticalisation pathway DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE > THIRD PERS-PRON is commonly attested in Sinitic (see Wang 2016). For instance, in many northwestern Sinitic languages and dialects, including the Central Plain Mandarin of Xi'an西安, the distal demonstrative /u^{5}/ 兀 is also used to denote the third person pronoun. This grammaticalisation pathway is also common in the world's languages, for example, the French third person pronouns *il* and *elle* are derived from a Latin distal demonstrative *ille* (see Heine & Kuteva 2002: 112–113, 234, Givón 1984a: 353–360), and the Lezgian distal demonstrative *a* has given rise to the third person singular *am* [*a* + absolutive] (See Haspelmath 1993: 190; 401). It is therefore highly likely that Shaowu's third personal pronoun has also been grammaticalised from a Min distal demonstrative.

The plural suffix [tai^{21}] 多, literally meaning 'many', which has an unstressed form [tə^{0}], can only be suffixed to the personal pronouns to form [xaŋ^{35}tai^{21}] ○$_{我}$多, [xien^{35}tai^{21}] ○$_{你}$多 and [xu^{35}tai^{21}] ○$_{他/她/它}$多, but cannot be suffixed to common nouns, even human nouns. It is therefore ungrammatical to say [xɔ^{35}sen^{21}tai^{21}] 学生多 (student.PL) for 'students'. There is, however, a Shaowu plural marker that can be suffixed to human common nouns, whose etymon is also unknown, pronounced as [sa^{22}], which some lexicographers and linguists (e.g., Chen 1986) represent by the character 侪 (pronounced as *shà* in Mandarin).

For instance, to pluralise the term 'woman' [a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}] 阿娘,the plural marker [sa^{22}] 侪 is suffixed to the noun and 'women' is thus [a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}sa^{22}] 阿娘侪. Under the strong influence of Mandarin (where the plural marker for humans is *mén* 们), the Shaowu suffix 们 [mən^{22}] can sometimes also be suffixed to human nouns to mark plurality, as in 学生们 [xɔ^{35}sen^{21}mən^{22}] ('students'). For more examples, see Chapter 6 on affixal morphology.

It is interesting to note that Shaowu has exclusive and inclusive first personal plural pronouns, just like many northern languages and dialects including Mandarin, and unlike many Southern languages such as Cantonese and Eastern Min (Southern Min, however, has the inclusive and exclusive distinction, see Chappell 2019). The exclusive "we" [xaŋ^{55} tai^{21}] ○$_{我}$多 is used when the speaker specifically excludes the addressee while the inclusive "we" 俺多 [ien^{21} tai^{21}] is used when the speaker specifically includes the addressee. This is illustrated in the following two examples:

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(1) ○我多 是 邵武 人 。
xaŋ[35]tai[21] ɕi[55~22] ɕiau[213]u[55] nin[22]
IPL.EXCL COP Shaowu person
'We are Shaowu people.' (The addressee is excluded from the category.)

(2) 俺多 是 中国 人 。
ien[22]tai[21] ɕi[55~22] tiuŋ[21]kuə[53~21] nin[22]
1PL.INCL COP China person
'We are Chinese.' (The addressee is included into the category.)

4.2 Reflexives

A reflexive is usually an anaphoric pronoun that is co-referential with its antecedent in the same clause. The reflexive marker in Shaowu is [tʰi[35]ka[21]] 自家, which is translatable into 'self' or 'oneself'. It can be suffixed to common nouns (animate or inanimate) or pronouns (including the generic pronoun 'others' [pʰie[35]nin[55]] 别人) regardless of the number. It is invariable in form and can be a stand-alone pronoun. Unlike English, where 'self' is a bound morpheme which must be attached to a personal pronoun (or exceptionally, to 'one', as in 'oneself'); the Shaowu reflexive [tʰi[35]ka[21]] 自家functions as a free morpheme. For example:

(3) 自家 个 书
tʰi[35]ka[21] kəi[21] ɕy[21]
REFL POSS book
'(one's) own book'

Personal pronouns can be prefixed before (3), as shown in examples (4) and (5):

(4) ○我 自家 个 书
xaŋ[35] tʰi[35]ka[21] kəi[21] ɕy[21]
1SG REFL POSS book
'my own book'

(5) 气 得 ○他 自家 打 自家 。
kʰi[213] tie[53] xu[35] tʰi[35]ka[21] ta[55] tʰi[35]ka[21]
make angry VCM 3SG REFL hit REFL
'(Something) made him so angry that he hit himself'

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The main functions of the Shaowu reflexives are as follows:

4.2.1 Pronominal function

As pronoun, the reflexive [tʰi^{35} ka^{21}] 自家can occur in any NP position of the predicate, and may be preceded by a pronoun that is co-referential with the subject of the sentence, see example (6):

(6) ○我 使 (○我) 自家 个 笔 。
xaŋ^{35} sə^{55} (xaŋ^{35}) tʰi^{35}ka^{21} kə^{0} pi^{53}
1SG use 1SG REFL POSS pen
'I use my own pen.'

4.2.2 Adverbial function

The reflexive can also occur preverbally to function as an adverb, emphasizing that the action is carried out 'by oneself' or 'alone'. Thus, [tʰi^{35}ka^{21}] 自家can also have an emphatic function, stressing the action to be carried out by the agent, as illustrated by the following example:

(7) ○她 自家 去 问 。
xu^{35} tʰi^{35}ka^{21} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ mən^{213}
3SG REFL go ask
'She went to ask by herself.'

4.3 Demonstratives

Demonstrative systems and their evolution in languages across the world have been discussed in depth in Dixon (2003) and Diessel (2017). Chen (2010) looks in detail at Sinitic demonstratives with a typological perspective. The Shaowu demonstrative system is a straightforward two-way system distinguishing the proximal from the distal. The proximal demonstrative [tɕiɔŋ^{53}] ○这 and the distal demonstrative [ɔŋ^{53}] ○那 can act either as (i) a demonstrative pronoun; or (ii) a determiner in an NP, and they are identical in form in both cases. These two forms can also combine with various morphemes to form adverbial demonstratives to denote location, time, manner or degree. The proximal [tɕiɔŋ^{53}] ○这 is more frequently used in Shaowu than the distal [ɔŋ^{53}] ○那, as it is also the generic demonstrative used for marking

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definiteness and generality. Table 4.2 displays the demonstrative paradigm in Shaowu:

Table 4.2: Demonstrative systems of Shaowu.

Function	Proximal	Distal
Pronominal demonstrative and determiner	**SG:** tɕiɔŋ^{53} (○$_{这}$) 'this' **PL:** tɕiɔŋ^{53}tai^{21} (○$_{这}$多) 'these'	**SG:** ɔŋ^{53} (○$_{那}$) 'that' **PL:** ɔŋ^{53} tai^{21} (○$_{那}$多) 'those'
Locative adverbial demonstrative	tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} (○$_{这}$儿) 'here' tɕiɔŋ^{53}pien^{21} (○$_{这}$边) 'this side'	ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} (○$_{那}$儿) 'there' ɔŋ^{53}pien^{21} (○$_{那}$边) 'that side'
Temporal adverbial demonstrative	tɕiɔŋ^{53}kəi^{21}xa^{35} (○$_{这}$个下) 'this moment' tɕiɔŋ^{53}ɕi^{22}kan^{21}(○$_{这}$时间) 'this time'	ɔŋ^{53}kəi^{21}xa^{35} (○$_{那}$个下) 'that moment' ɔŋ^{53}ɕi^{22}kan^{21}(○$_{那}$时间) 'that time'
Manner adverbial demonstrative	tɕiɔŋ^{53}iɔŋ^{35}ɕi^{53} (○$_{这}$样式) 'this manner' tɕiɔŋ^{53}siɔŋ^{35} (○$_{这}$像) 'like this (way)'	ɔŋ^{53}iɔŋ^{35}ɕi^{53} (○$_{那}$样式) 'that manner' ɔŋ^{53}siɔŋ^{35}(○$_{那}$像) 'like that (way)'
Degree adverbial demonstrative	tɕiɔŋ^{53} (○$_{这}$) 'so', 'such'	ɔŋ^{53}(○$_{那}$) 'so', 'such'

In the *Linguistic Atlas of Chinese Dialects* (Cao *et al*. 2008), the Shaowu distal demonstrative [ɔŋ^{53}] is glossed as 兀 /u/ (Xu-Song pers. comm.), which aligns with the northwestern Sinitic distal demonstrative form, as detailed in Wang (2016). The velar nasal coda in [ɔŋ^{53}] might have come from another common distal demonstrative in Sinitic 那 /na/, but this conjecture remains as a topic of further investigation, as for the etymology of the Shaowu proximal demonstrative.

The following examples in this subsection illustrate the various use of the demonstratives.

4.3.1 Pronominal demonstratives

The pronominal use of the Shaowu nominal demonstratives [tɕiɔŋ^{53}] ○$_{这}$ and [ɔŋ^{53}] ○$_{那}$ in the [DEM-NUM-CLF-N] construction forms NPs that can be in the subject or the object position. Note that if the numeral is 'one', the numeral is

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optional, as the classifier also bears an individualisation function, and thus the NP is understood to as containing only one entity (cf. Chapter 5, § 5.1 on numeral classifiers). Consider the following examples.

Proximal demonstrative in a [DEM-NUM-CLF-N] construction where the NP is a subject:

(8) ○这 (蜀) 个 囝子 顶 听话 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} (ɕi^{22}) kəi^{213} kin^{53}tsə^{0} tin^{55} t^{h}iaŋ^{21}ʋa^{35}
DEM one CLF boy very obedient
'This boy is very obedient.'

Distal demonstrative in a [DEM-NUM-CLF-N] construction where the NP is an object:

(9) ○我 唔 识得 ○那 (蜀) 个 人 。
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} ɕi^{53}tə^{0} ɔŋ^{53} (ɕi^{22}) kəi^{213} nin^{22}
1SG NEG know DEM one CLF person
'I don't know that person.'

Note that the proximal and distal demonstratives can act as anaphoric referential pronouns, referring to what is represented in the previous utterance. See example (10):

(10) ○你 年轻 时候 多 挣 嫩 票儿 ,
xien^{35} nien^{22}k^{h}ən^{21} ɕi^{22}xəu^{213} tɔ^{21} t^{h}aŋ^{35} nən^{35} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}
2SG young time more earn a bit money
'To earn a bit more money when you are young,
○这 是 应该 个 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ in^{21}kɔi^{21} kəi$^{213\sim21}$
DEM COP should EMP
this is what should be done.'

Note also that the DEM-NUM-CLF structure is a determiner for collective nouns or mass nouns. Thus, [tɕiɔŋ^{53}ɕi^{22}kəi$^{213\sim21}$] ○这蜀个 'this one' or [ɔŋ^{53}ɕi^{22}kəi$^{213\sim21}$] ○那蜀个 'that one' is also a demonstrative determiner having a non-specific deictic meaning, with the numeral-classifier individualising the collective noun or mass noun as a whole. The numeral 'one' is optional in the construction, and the general classifier个 can be phonetically reduced from [kəi^{213}] to [kəi^{21}] or [kə^{0}]. Given that the proximal and distal demonstratives both have a velar nasal coda, the general classifier further changes to [ŋə^{0}] as a result of progressive assimila-

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tion, i.e., the following sound changes with reference to the preceding segment, usually due to the same place of articulation of the two sounds. Such use of DEM-NUM-CLF structure can be seen in examples (11) and (12):

(11) ○这 蜀 个 大人 叻 , 就 是 愁 过 年 。
tɕiɔŋ[53] ɕi[22] kəi[21] tʰai[35]nin[55] le[22] tsiɔu[213] ɕi[22] tʰəu[22] xɔ[35] nin[53]
DEM one CLF adults COLL TOP be such worry pass year
'Well, the adults were worried about celebrating the New Year.' (The linguistic consultant was referring to poor families in the past who did not have enough money to celebrate the New Year.)

Note that the bare noun [tʰai[35]nin[55]] 大人here is translated into plural, because in the given context, the term is understood as a collective noun, i.e., the New Year celebrations triggered concern and worry among the adults, as opposed to other categories, such as 'children' and 'teenagers'. The general classifier [kəi[21]] 个 here classifies the collective category of adults instead of an individual.

(12) ○那 个 水 顶 甜 。
ɔŋ[53] ŋə[0] sei[55] tin[55] tʰien[22]
DEM CLF water very sweet
'That water tastes pure.'

In the example above, the head noun [sei[55]] 水 'water' is normally uncountable, therefore cannot take specific, individualising classifiers, including the general classifier [kəi[21]] 个 (which appears as [ŋə[0]] as a result of progressive assimilation and phonetic attrition). However, here the linguistic consultant refers to the category of water (as opposed to, soil, for instance), thus it is grammatically acceptable to use the general classifier before the uncountable head noun.

The apposition of a demonstrative NP to a head noun to form an apposed noun phrase is quite common in Shaowu. The head noun can be a common noun, a proper name or a personal pronoun, while the demonstrative NP usually appear in [DEM-NUM-CLF] or [DEM-QUANT] constructions, see examples (13) and (14):

(13) ○我多 ○这 多 人 皆 解 话 邵武事 。
xaŋ[35]tai[21] tɕiɔŋ[53] tai[21] nin[22] ka[35] xie[55~35] ʊa[35] ɕiau[213]u[55]sə[35]
1PL.EXCL DEM PL person all know speak Shaowu
'We (people) all know how to speak Shaowu.'

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It is also noteworthy that if the distal [ɔŋ^{53}] is used, it not only denotes a geographic distance but also a psychological distance and can potentially be pejorative.

(14) 张三 ○那 蜀 个 人 冇 是 顶 好 。
tiɔŋ^{21}san^{21} ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} nin^{22} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} tin^{55} xau^{55}
Zhang San DEM one CLF person NEG COP very good
'That guy, Zhang San, is not very good.'

4.3.2 Adverbial demonstratives

The Shaowu adverbial demonstratives can further be divided into locative, temporal, manner and degree demonstratives. They all involve the use of [tɕiɔŋ^{53}] ○这 and [ɔŋ^{53}] ○那 in the beginning of the adverbial.

4.3.2.1 Locative adverbial demonstratives

The proximal and distal demonstratives can be used to indicate locations, it is expressed as [tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}] ○这 儿 'here' and [ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}] ○那儿 'there', or [tɕiɔŋ^{53}pien^{21}] ○这边 'this side' and [ɔŋ^{53}pien^{21}] ○那边 'that side', see examples (15) and (16):

(15) ○这儿 是 ○我 个 学堂 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} ɕi^{55} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ$^{22\sim55}$
DEM$_{LOC}$ COP 1SG POSS school
'Here is my school.'

(16) 笋 卖 出 去 以后 叻 卖 ,
sin^{55} mie^{35} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ i^{55}xəu^{213} le^{22} mie^{35}
bamboo shoot sell out go after SFP sell
'After the bamboo shoots were sold out (by local farmers),
卖 到 上海 ○那 边 去 。
mie^{35} tau^{55} ɕiɔŋ^{35}xɔi^{55} ɔŋ^{53} pien^{21} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
sell arrive Shanghai DEM side go
'those were (then) sold to Shanghai.'

4.3.2.2 Temporal adverbial demonstratives

The Shaowu temporal adverbial is formed by adding [ɕi^{22}kan^{21}] 时间 'time' to the proximal demonstrative [tɕiɔŋ^{53}] ○这 or the distal demonstrative [ɔŋ^{53}] ○那, representing 'this moment' or 'that moment' respectively.

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(17) ○那 时间 ○他 有 处 厝 底头 。
ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22}kan^{21} xu^{35} mau^{35} t^{h}u^{55} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213} ti^{55}xəu^{21}
DEM time 3SG NEG be$_{LOC}$ house inside
'At that time, he was not in the house.'

4.3.2.3 Manner adverbial demonstratives

Manner demonstratives are formed by adding [iɔŋ^{35}ɕi^{53}] 样式 'manner' or [siɔŋ^{35}tsə^{0}] 像子 'look' to the demonstrative marker.

(18) ○这 样式 做 事 最 好 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35}ɕi^{53} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sə^{35} tsei$^{213\sim21}$ xau^{55}
DEM manner do thing SUP good
'It is best to do things this way.'

(19) 天 肚 下 ○哪 有 ○那 像子 个 事 !
t^{h}ien^{21} tu^{55} xa$^{35\sim21}$ nɔŋ^{22} iɔu^{55} ɔŋ^{53} siɔŋ^{35}tsə^{0} kə^{0} sə^{35}
sky belly under where have DEM way CLF matter
'How on earth could something like that exist!'

4.3.2.4 Degree adverbial demonstratives

The degree adverbial demonstratives, having the intensifying or emphatic function, precede directly the adjective they modify, as shown in the following example:

(20) 桃儿 ○这(○个) 酸 !
t^{h}au^{53}ə^{0} tɕiɔŋ^{53} (ŋə^{0}) sɔn^{21}
peach so sour
'The peach is so sour!'

The general classifier [kəi^{213}]○个 can be added after the degree adverbial demonstrative [tɕiɔŋ^{53}] ○这 or [ɔŋ^{53}] ○那. It undergoes regressive assimilation and phonetic attrition and becomes [ŋə^{0}].

4.4 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns refer to WH-question words such as 'what', 'which', 'where', 'when', 'who' and 'how'. Interrogative questions are open questions as they seek information that is not limited to a polar 'yes' or 'no', but inquire about person(s), thing(s), time, location, manner, etc. by using interrogative pronouns

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(cf. Chapter 33 on interrogative structures). Like many Sinitic languages, Shaowu uses *in situ* questions, i.e., the syntactic position of the interrogative pronoun is exactly where the answer should be in the reply. For instance, while English has the word order of 'Who are you?', in Shaowu the word order is 'You are who?' and the reply goes by 'I am ___.'

Shaowu interrogative pronouns essentially comprise of stand-alone interrogative pronouns and compound interrogative pronouns, an example in English of the former type is 'who' and of the latter type 'which person'. There is however a difference of nuance between the two: while a 'who'-question is does not entail that the answer comes from a given set of candidates and thus is non-specific, a 'which person'-question does however imply specificity.

Table 4.3 gives a list of interrogative pronouns in Shaowu. Note that we only provide the most generic classifier [kəi$^{213\sim21}$] 个in this table for the purpose of illustration. Depending on the semantic category of the head noun in the interrogative NP, the classifier changes accordingly (cf. Chapter 5 on classifiers).

Table 4.3: Interrogative pronoun paradigm of Shaowu.

Shaowu interrogative pronouns		**English translation**
ɕia^{53}	啥	'what'
ɕia^{53}kəi^{213}	啥个	'which one'
nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}	○哪(蜀)个	'which one'
	○哪(NUM)个	'which (NUM) ones'
nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}nin^{22}	○哪蜀个人 (more polite form)	'which person'/ 'who'
ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213})nin^{22}	啥(个)人 (more colloquial)	'what person'
nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}ɕi^{22} xəu^{213}	○哪个时候	'when'
ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213})ɕi^{22}kan^{21}	啥(个)时间	'which time'
ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213})ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}	啥(个)时候	
nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}	○哪儿	'where'
nɔŋ^{22}(kəi^{213})pien^{21}	○哪(个)边	'which side'
ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213})tʰiɔŋ^{22}su$^{55\sim22}$	啥(个)场所	'what place'
tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53}	做啥	'why'
ni^{53}ti^{21}	恁地	'how'
ni^{53}ti^{21}iɔŋ^{35}ɕi$^{53\sim21}$	恁地样式	'how so'
ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213})iɔŋ^{35}ɕi^{53}	啥（个）样式	'what sort/ type' 'in what way'
ki^{55}tai^{21}	几多	'how many/much'
ki^{55}tai^{21}kəu^{55}	几多久	'how long'

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In the following, we will give some examples containing interrogative pronouns. For further examples, please refer to Chapter 33 on interrogative structures.

4.4.1 What

The general 'what' question word in Shaowu is [ɕia^{53}] 啥. It can stand alone to form a question, [ɕia^{53}] 啥? 'What?', just like in English. If it is apposed to and directly precedes a head noun, such as [nin^{22}] 人, [ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}] 时候 'moment' or [t^{h}iɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$su$^{55\sim22}$] 场所 'place', it forms compound interrogative pronouns 'what person' (who), 'what moment' (when) and 'what place' (where) respectively. If it is followed by the general classifier [kəi$^{213\sim21}$] 个 to form [ɕia^{53}kəi^{21}] 啥个, then it turns into a more specific interrogative pronoun 'which' (see § 4.4.2 below). The following subsections contain sample sentences of these compound pronouns. Example (21) shows a question containing the stand-alone interrogative pronoun [ɕia^{53}] 啥 'what':

(21) ○$_{你}$ 做 啥 ?
xien^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ɕia^{53}
2SG do what
'What are you doing?'

4.4.2 Which

The interrogative pronoun 'which' has two forms in Shaowu, the more specific [nɔŋ^{22} ɕi^{22}kəi$^{213\sim21}$] ○$_{哪}$蜀 (个CLF$_{GENL}$, or a CLF$_{SPEC}$) 'which-one-CLF' and the less specific [ɕia^{53}kəi$^{213\sim21}$] 啥个 'what-CLF'. They can either be placed in the subject/topic or the object position, as illustrated in examples (22) and (23) respectively:

(22) ○$_{哪}$ 蜀 本 书 最 好 瞁 ?
nɔŋ^{22} ɕi^{22} pən^{55} ɕy^{21} tsei$^{213\sim21}$ xau^{55} niaŋ^{213}
which one CLF$_{SPEC}$ book SUP good read
'Which book is the best to read?'

(23) ○$_{你}$ 喜欢 啥 个 颜色 ?
xien^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ɕia^{53} kəi^{213} ŋan^{22}sə^{21}
2SG like what CLF$_{GENL}$ colour
'Which colour do you like?'

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4.4.3 Who

The interrogative pronoun 'who' has two forms in Shaowu, the more polite and specific composite form [nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}(nin^{22})] ○$_{哪}$蜀个(人) 'which-one-CLF-person' and the more colloquial and less specific [ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213}) nin^{22}] 啥(个)人 'what-CLF-person'. The composite forms for 'who', i.e., 'which-one-CLF-person', are common in Southern Sinitic, whereas the short forms 'what-person' is less common and polite, compared with, for instance, *shéi* 谁 in Mandarin. The Shaowu interrogatives 'who' can either be placed in the subject or the object position, as illustrated in examples (24) and (25) respectively:

(24) 哪 蜀 个 (人) 是 张明 ?
nɔŋ^{22} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} (nin^{22}) ɕi^{22} tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22}
which one CLF person COP Zhang Ming
'Which one is Zhang Ming?'

(25) 张明 骂 了 啥 (个) 人 ?
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} ma^{213} ə^{0} ɕia^{53} (kəi^{213}) nin^{22}
Zhang Ming scold PFV what CLF person
'Who did Zhang Ming scold?'

4.4.4 When

The temporal interrogative pronoun 'when' has two forms in Shaowu, [nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}ɕi^{22} xəu^{213}] ○$_{哪}$个时候 'which-CLF-moment' and [ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213}) ɕi^{22}kan^{21}] / [ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213}) ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}] 啥(个)时间 / 啥(个)时候 'what-(CLF)-time/moment', they are similar in meaning and are interchangeable. An example to illustrate the use of temporal interrogative pronoun:

(26) ○$_{你}$ 啥 时间 / ○$_{哪}$ 个 时候 来 ?
xien^{35} ɕia^{53} ɕi^{22}kan^{21} nɔŋ^{22} ŋə^{0} ɕi^{22} xəu^{213} li^{22}
2SG what time which CLF moment come
'When will you come?'

Note that the general classifier [kəi^{213}] 个becomes [ŋə^{0}] when followed by [nɔŋ^{22}] ○$_{哪}$ which has a velar coda, as a result of regressive assimilation and phonetic attrition.

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4.4.5 Where

The locational interrogative pronoun 'where' has a few forms in Shaowu, including [nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}] ○哪儿 'where', [nɔŋ^{22} (kəi^{213}) pien^{21}] ○哪 (个)边 'which side', [ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213}) tʰiɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$su$^{55\sim22}$] 啥(个)场所 'what place'. The stand-alone general interrogative pronoun [nɔŋ^{22}ŋe^{0}] ○哪儿 'where' has the highest usage frequency, while the more specific compound interrogative pronouns [nɔŋ^{22} (kəi^{213}) pien^{21}] ○哪 (个)边 'which side', [ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213}) tʰiɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$su$^{55\sim22}$] 啥(个)场所 'what place', if used alone, assume the addressee has the prior knowledge of the context. Compare the three examples below:

(27) ○你 处 ○哪儿 ?
xien^{35} tʰu^{55} nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}
2SG be$_{LOC}$ where
'Where are you?'

(28) ○你 处 马路 ○哪 个 边 ?
xien^{35} tʰu^{55} ma^{55}tʰiɔ^{35} nɔŋ^{22} kəi^{213} pien^{21}
2SG be$_{LOC}$ road which CLF side
'Which side of the road are you on?'

(29) ○你 处 邵武 啥 场所 ?
xien^{35} tʰu^{55} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} ɕia^{53} tʰiɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$su$^{55\sim22}$
2SG be$_{LOC}$ Shaowu what place
'Whereabouts in Shaowu are you?'

4.4.6 How

The interrogative pronoun 'how' in Shaowu is [ni^{53}ti^{21}] 恁地and its etymology is unknown. It can be placed before a verb to mean 'how to do something', or before the noun [iɔŋ^{35}ɕi$^{53\sim21}$] 样式 'way', 'manner', to form a compound interrogative [ni^{53}ti^{21}iɔŋ^{35}ɕi$^{53\sim21}$] 恁地样式 'how so', 'what way'. Examples (30) and (31) illustrate the use of [ni^{53}ti^{21}] 恁地:

(30) ○这 个 字 使 邵武 事 恁地 话 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} tʰə^{35} sə^{55} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} sə^{35} ni^{53}ti^{21} ʊa^{35}
DEM CLF word use Shaowu language how say
'How to say this word in Shaowu?'

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(31) ○你 恁地 样式 ?
xien[35] ni[53]ti[21] iɔŋ[35]ɕi[53-21]
2SG how way
'How are you doing?'

4.5 Summary

Extensive investigations in the linguistic circle have been done on interrogative constructions in languages around the world (see Siemund 2001, Luo 2013, Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 41–68, *inter alia*). In this chapter, we have discussed Shaowu's pronominal systems, including personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstrative systems (pronominal demonstratives, locative and temporal adverbial demonstratives, manner and degree demonstratives), and also interrogative pronouns. More examples on the use of interrogative pronouns will be presented in Chapter 33 on interrogative structures, under the Clausal Structure Part.

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Chapter 5
Classifier systems and counting paradigms

Classifier systems and their extended functions have been the topic of much investigation in recent decades (Denny 1976, Allan 1977, Dixon 1986, Craig 1986, Croft 1994, Aikhenvald 2000, McGregor 2002, *inter alia*). Extensive research has been done on Sinitic noun phrases involving classifiers in terms of their historical development (cf. e.g., Peyraube 1991a, 1998, Wang 1994, Yang-Drocourt 2004) and their multifarious functions (cf. e.g., Sun 1989, Shao 1993, Tai 1994, Ahrens & Huang 1996, Bisang 1999, Xu & Matthews 2010).

Classifiers can be defined as a grammatical device for linguistic categorisation of nouns and noun phrases in a language; they are morphemes that denote some salient perceived or imputed characteristics of the entity to which an associated noun refers (Allan, 1977: 285). One main type of classifiers in Shaowu is the numeral classifier, which categorises and specifies the nature of a noun. The prototypical construction for a numeral-classifier noun phrase is [Num+ CLF + N]. The other type of classifiers in Shaowu is the verbal classifier, which categorises and specifies the nature of an action, and the prototypical construction involving a verbal classifier is [V+ Num+ CLF].

It is generally agreed that the choice of a numeral classifier is predominantly semantic. It is evidenced by the path of grammaticalisation of Sinitic classifiers analysed in the data from the texts representing the long-written tradition for Chinese. Most of the Sinitic classifiers originally arose from nouns. In the course of time, the lexical category shifted towards a more grammatical category that is used in classifier noun phrases in which they are combined with numerals or quantifiers. Classifiers, a noun classification device, gradually became independent function words, which enumerate, categorise, individuate or specify nouns according to some salient properties or features that the noun possesses (Bisang 1993, 1999).

Classifiers are an obligatory grammatical category in Shaowu, as in most Sinitic languages. Some typical noun categories that Shaowu classifiers classify are:

(i) animals, especially mammals ([tɕia^{53}] 只) versus humans ([kəi^{213}] 个, the latter being also the general classifier);
(ii) rigid, stick-like objects, e.g., pens, rifles ([kuɔn^{55}] 管);
(iii) flexible, string-like objects or animals, e.g., ropes, snakes ([t^{h}iau^{22}] 条);
(iv) flat, having two-dimensional-surface objects, e.g., paper, tables ([tiɔŋ^{21}] 张);
(v) round objects, especially small ones, e.g., beads, beans ([kəi^{213}] 个).

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There are three main construction types involving the use of classifiers in Shaowu, namely:

(i) Numeral + CLF + Noun;
(ii) Demonstrative + (Numeral 'one') + CLF + Noun;
(iii) Quantifier + (Numeral 'one') + CLF + Noun.

Note that since most classifiers have the individualising function, if the NP involves only one entity, then the numeral 'one' can be omitted, hence the brackets above. In addition, numerals cover both the cardinal and ordinal numbers, the latter is expressed by adding the ordinal prefix [t^hi^{213}] 第 before a cardinal number (cf. Chapter 5, § 5.3).

The general classifier is [kəi^{213}] 个 in Shaowu, which is used to classify human nouns and many other semantic categories of nouns. It is very special in the sense that not only can it function as a classifier in the [NUM-CLF-N] construction, but it can also act as the numeral 'one' in the NUM slot of the same construction when the classifier is not [kəi^{213}] 个 itself. Thus, it has dual roles depending on whether the head noun calls for this general classifier or otherwise. To our knowledge,[8] this interesting linguistic phenomenon, apart from existing in the Shaojiang subgroup (of which Shaowu is representative), has only been attested in Central Min, such as in Shaxian 沙县 and Sanming 三明; in Taining 泰宁 and Mingxi 明溪 in Western Min, and in Wu dialects, such as Pucheng 浦城 in northern Fujian, Guangfeng 广丰 in north-eastern Jiangxi and Jiangshan 江山 in south-western Zhejiang (see Ngai 2015a: 207–211).

According to Aikhenvald (2000: 335–6, citing Zubin & Shimojo 1993), a general classifier has essentially three functions: (i) it can have an unspecified referent, typically with a collective meaning; (ii) it serves as a fallback for residual nouns that do not conventionally take a sortal classifier, e.g., abstract nouns; (iii) it serves as a default classifier, one that can substitute for a sortal classifier. The Shaowu [kəi^{213}] 个, when it acts as a classifier and not the numeral 'one', fulfills all these three functions. It is therefore referred to as a general classifier, which is widely used in Shaowu and thus has high frequency usage. For in-depth analysis of the general classifier [kəi^{213}] 个 regarding its diachronic development and synchronic usage, see Ngai (2015a).

There are three forms for the numerals 'one' in Shaowu: the one used for cardinal numbers (see Chapter 5, § 5.3) is [i^{53}] 一 which is used in counting numbers,

8 Collins (forthcoming) identifies a similar phenomenon in the U language (Angkuic, Austroasiatic), which may be an example of semantic calque resulting from language contact; more data is needed to substantiate this claim.

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as in 'one, two, three . . . '. This numeral 'one' is not used in the Shaowu [NUM-CLF-N] construction. However, the next two are. The second numeral 'one' in Shaowu is [ɕi^{22}] 蜀, which is used in the [NUM-CLF-N] construction when the head noun calls for the use of the general classifier [kəi^{213}] 个. Thus, the noun phrase 'a person' in Shaowu appears as [ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}nin^{22}] 蜀个人 'one-CLF$_{GENL}$-person'.

The third numeral 'one' is the morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个, when a more specific classifier is in use. In this case, [kəi^{213}] 个 can serve as the numeral 'one' in the [NUM-CLF-N] construction, since the co-occurring classifier possesses an individuating function mentioned above, as do many other classifiers. Thus, the noun phrase 'a book' in Shaowu appears as [kəi^{213}pən^{55}ɕy^{21}] 个本书 'one-CLF$_{SPEC}$-book' (and not [ɕi^{22}pən^{55}ɕy^{21}] **蜀本书). Note that this does not concern any numeral-classifier noun phrases beyond the numeral 'one' when quantifying, as the dual-role issue of [kəi^{213}] 个 is no longer relevant. For a detailed discussion on the alternating semantic and syntactic roles of the morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 (general classifier/numeral 'one') in the [NUM-CLF-N] construction, see Ngai (2015a).

In the following sections, we will explore in detail various semantic categories that Shaowu classifiers delineate, including the general classifier [kəi^{213}] 个.

5.1 Numeral classifiers

Numeral classifiers constitute a crucial part of the nominal structure in Sinitic languages. A demonstrative, a possessive, a numeral or a quantifier cannot directly modify a head noun but has to be usually followed by a classifier preceding the head noun, appearing in the order of [(PRON) + (DEM) + NUM/QUANT + CLF + N]. Like most Sinitic classifiers, Shaowu classifiers have the functions of enumerating, individualising, classifying and specifying entities. It is however important to differentiate classifiers from measure words: the primary purpose of the latter is to specify the unit of measurement to be counted, whereas classifiers actualise the semantic boundaries which already belong to the concept of a given noun (Croft 1994). In short, numeral classifiers classify a noun inherently: they qualify and individuate head nouns.

In this section, we list common numeral classifiers used in Shaowu and give some examples in sentence form, then discuss their syntactic features and semantic functions. Shaowu measure words quantifying dimensions (e.g., [mi^{55} 米 'metres') or weight (e.g., [kuŋ^{21}kin^{21}] 公斤 'kilogrammes') are often borrowed from standard written Chinese and then pronounced in Shaowu (for measure words in Mandarin, see Chao 1968: 584–620, and Li & Thompson: 104–112), and thus will not be discussed in detail here. We will mainly focus on sortal, collective and container classifiers, many of which are Shaowu-specific.

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5.1.1 Sortal classifiers

Sortal classifiers encode some of the most salient features of nouns they collocate with and divide the inventory of count nouns into semantic classes, each of which is usually associated with a different classifier. These semantic classes can overlap depending on individual interpretation of salient features of these classes, thus a sortal classifier can have multiple designations, for instance, the classifier [xaŋ^{22}] 行 is used to denote something elongated in shape and can be used in Shaowu to categorise nouns such as oxen/cows, fish, grass, trees, boats, roads and bridges (see Table 5.1 below). The common salient feature for these nouns seems to be the notion of being long, which can be subjective, leading to different preferred choice of sortal classifiers by our linguistic consultants. For instance, to say 'an ox' in Shaowu, Mr Li prefers [kəi^{213}xaŋ^{22}ny^{22}] 个行牛 'one-CLF行-ox' while Ms Gao prefers [kəi^{213}tɕia^{53}ny^{22}] 个只牛 'one-CLF只-ox'; both are grammatically correct and accepted by the language community.

The following table shows some combinatorial possibilities of Shaowu sortal classifiers with the head nouns they classify and specify for the numeral classifier phrase [ɕi^{22}] 蜀 / [kəi^{213}] 个 + CLF + N] 'one – *classifier* – head noun'. As noted above, some head nouns, such as 'ox', can have more than one classifier collocate with them. We also see that lot of sortal classifiers are derived from lexical nouns and grammaticalised into function words that classify, as shown in the table below.

Table 5.1: Common sortal classifiers in Shaowu.

Sortal classifier		Salient features denoted	Felicitous noun collocation	Examples ['one' + CLF + N]
no	In Shaowu and in character		In Shaowu, in Chinese character and in English	
1	[kəi^{213}] 个	general classifier for humans and objects, round fruits and grains	[nin^{22}] 人 'person'	蜀个人
			[ten^{213}tsə^{0}] 凳子 'stool'	蜀个凳子
			[pi^{53}] 笔 'pen'	蜀个笔
			[tau^{53} ə^{0}] 桃儿 'peach'	蜀个桃儿
			[p^{h}u^{22} t^{h}au^{22}] 葡萄 'grape'	蜀个葡萄
			[mi^{55}] 米 'grain of rice'	蜀个米
			[xəu^{35}ə^{0}] 豆儿 'pea'	蜀个豆子

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Table 5.1 (continued)

Sortal classifier		Salient features denoted	Felicitous noun collocation	Examples
no	In Shaowu and in character		In Shaowu, in Chinese character and in English	['one' + CLF + N]
2	[xaŋ^{22}] 行	general classifier for animals or things with an elongated shape	[ny^{22}] 牛 'ox/cow' [ɕien^{22}] 船 'ship' [t^{h}iɔ^{35}] 路 'road' [k^{h}iau^{22}] 桥 'bridge' [tɕ^{h}y^{213}] 树 'tree' [t^{h}au^{55}] 草 'grass' [tɕia^{213}] 蔗 'sugarcane' [ien^{21}] 烟 'cigarette' [sɔ^{53}] 索 'rope' [ɕiɔ^{53}] 蓆 'mat' [tɕin^{21}] 针 'needle' [pi^{53}] 笔 'pen' [ŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}] 鱼儿 'fish' [ɕi^{22}] 蛇 'snake'	个行牛 个行船 个行路 个行桥 个行树 个行草 个行蔗 个行烟 个行索 个行蓆 个行针 个行笔 个行鱼儿 个行蛇
3	[t^{h}əu^{53}] 头	head	[ny^{22}] 牛 'cattle' [ŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}] 鱼儿 'fish'	个头牛 个头鱼儿
4	[p^{h}ei^{53}] 匹	bolt	[ma^{55}] 马 'horse' [piɔ^{213}] 布 'cloth'	个匹马 个匹布
5	[tɕia^{53}] 只	– originally a classifier for birds, later on applied to other animals. – can also mean one of a pair	[kəi^{21}] 鸡 'chicken' [ny^{22}] 牛 'ox/cow' [ɕien^{22}] 船 'ship' [ŋ^{22}ŋə] 鱼儿 'fish' [mu^{53}tɕy^{21}] 目珠 'eye' [xy^{35}tɕia^{53}]箸只 'chopsticks' [ɕiɔu^{55}t^{h}au^{213}] 手套 'glove' [xie^{22}] 鞋 'shoe'	个只鸡 个只牛 个只船 个只鱼儿 个只目珠 个只箸只 个只手套 个只鞋
6	[t^{h}iau^{22}] 条	classifier for long, thin objects	[p^{h}ɔn^{22}] 槃 'table' [ien^{21}] 烟 'cigarette' [k^{h}u^{213}ə^{0}] 裤儿 'trousers' [ɕiɔ^{53}] 蓆 'mat'	个条槃 个条烟 个条裤子 个条蓆
7	[tiɔŋ^{21}] 张	classifier for objects having a flat surface	[p^{h}ɔn^{22}] 槃 'table'	个张槃
8	[t^{h}uŋ^{21}] 丛	grove, bush	[t^{h}au^{55}] 草 'grass' [fa^{21}] 花 'flower' [tɕ^{h}y^{213}] 树 'tree'	个丛草 个丛花 个丛树
9	[tɔ^{55}] 朵	bud	[fa^{21}] 花 'flower'	个朵花
10	[tɕ^{h}ien^{213}] 串	string, bundle	[p^{h}u^{35}t^{h}au^{21}] 葡萄 'grape'	个串葡萄

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Table 5.1 (continued)

Sortal classifier		Salient features denoted	Felicitous noun collocation	Examples ['one' + CLF + N]
no	**In Shaowu and in character**		**In Shaowu, in Chinese character and in English**	
11	[tʰie^{35}] 节	joint	[tɕia^{213}] 蔗 'sugarcane'	个节蔗
12	[tɕi^{21}] 枝	branch, stick	[ien^{21}] 烟 'cigarette' [pi^{53}] 笔 'pen' [tʰiɔŋ^{21}] 枪 'gun'	个枝烟 个枝笔 个枝枪
13	[pa^{55}] 把	handle	[ten^{213}nə^{0}] 凳儿 'chair' [tau^{21}] 刀 'knife' [tɕʰiɔ^{53}] 尺 'ruler' [san^{55}] 伞 'umbrella'	个把凳儿 个把刀 个把尺 个把伞
14	[kuaŋ^{55}] ○$_{杆}$	straw	[pi^{53}] 笔 'pen' [tʰiɔŋ^{21}] 枪 'gun'	个杆笔 个杆枪
15	[məi^{22}] 枚	classifier for light, thin items	[tɕin^{21}] 针 'needle'	个枚针
16	[kʰəu^{55}] 口	mouth	[tsiaŋ^{55}] 井 'well'	个口井
17	[tʰəi^{213}] 嘴	mouth, mouthful of	[sei^{55}] 水 'water' [pʰən^{35}] 饭 'rice'	个嘴水 个嘴饭
18	[tʰan^{21}] 餐	meal	[pʰən^{35}] 饭 'rice'	个餐饭
19	[kʰien^{35}] 件	classifier for things that can be hung, generic	[i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}] 衣裳 'clothes' [tuŋ^{21}si^{21}] 东西 'thing'	个件衣裳 个件东西 个件事
20	[tʰau^{213}] 套	set	[i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}] 衣裳 'clothes'	个套衣裳
21	[tʰɔŋ^{53}] 床	bed	[pʰəi^{55}ə^{0}] 被儿 'blanket' [ɕiɔ^{53}] 蓆 'mat' [tiɔŋ^{213}] 帐 'mosquito net'	个床被儿 个床蓆 个床帐
22	[pʰu^{21}] 舖	cover	[ɕiɔ^{53}] 蓆 'mat'	个舖蓆
23	[ten^{55}] 顶	top	[kʰiau^{35}ə^{0}] 轿儿 'sedan chair' [tiɔŋ^{213}] 帐 'mosquito net'	个顶轿儿 个顶帐
24	[ka^{21}] 家	house, family	[nin^{22}] 人 'person' [tien^{213}] 店 'shop'	个家人 个家店
25	[kien^{21}] 间	compartment	[fɔŋ^{22}kien^{21}] 房间 'room'	个间房间
26	[tuŋ^{213}] 栋	block	[tɕʰiɔ^{213}] 厝 'house' [ləu^{22}] 楼 'storied building' [tʰiɔŋ^{22}] 墙 'wall'	个栋厝 个栋楼 个栋墙
27	[tsʰɔ^{35}] 座	seat	[ləu^{22}] 楼 'storied building'	个座楼
28	[tʰən^{22}] 层	level	[ləu^{22}] 楼 'floor'	个层楼
29	[ɕien^{213}] 扇	fan	[mən^{22}] 门 'door'	个扇门

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Table 5.1 (continued)

Sortal classifier		Salient features denoted	Felicitous noun collocation	Examples ['one' + CLF + N]
no	**In Shaowu and in character**		**In Shaowu, in Chinese character and in English**	
30	[min^{213}] 面	face	[t^{h}iɔŋ^{22}] 墙 'wall'	个面墙
31	[p^{h}u^{35}] 部	classifier for machines	[tɕ^{h}ia^{21}] 车 'car'	个部车
32	[ka^{213}] 架	classifier for machines with frames	[tɕ^{h}ia^{21}] 车 'car' [k^{h}iau^{22}] 桥 'bridge'	个架车 个架桥
33	[fu^{35}] 服	dose	[iɔ^{35}] 药 'medicine'	个服药
34	[t^{h}ien^{53}] 帖	dose	[iɔ^{35}] 药 'medicine'	个帖药
35	[tu^{55}] 堵	block	[t^{h}iɔŋ^{22}] 墙 'wall'	个堵墙
36	[k^{h}uai$^{213\sim55}$] 块	piece	[p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}] 票儿 'money'	个块票儿 (1RMB)
37	[kɔ^{53}] 角	corner	[p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}] 票儿 'money'	个角票儿 (0.1RMB)
38	[pi$^{53\sim55}$] 笔	record	[kau^{21}i^{35}] 交易 'transaction' [p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}] 票儿 'money'	个笔交易 个笔票儿
39	[ky^{21}] 句	sentence	[sə^{35}] 事 'utterance'	个句话
40	[tɔn^{213}] 段	paragraph	[sə^{35}] 事 'utterance'	个段话 'a segment of words' (= an utterance)

A few sample sentences in Shaowu containing the [NUM-CLF-N] construction are presented below. In fast or natural speech, the morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 often undergoes phonetic attrition and becomes a shortened [kəi^{21}] or an unstressed [kə^{0}], depending on the speed of the speech and personal preference of the speaker.

(32) 〇$_{这}$ 蜀 个 人 顶 好 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi$^{213\sim21}$ nin^{22} tin^{55} xau^{55}
DEM one CLF$_{GENL}$ person very nice
'This person is very nice.'

(33) 垱 儿 底 有 个 头 牛 处 食 草 。
t^{h}ən^{53} nə^{0} ti$^{55\sim22}$ iɔu^{55} kə^{0} t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ ny^{22} t^{h}u^{55} ɕie^{35} t^{h}au^{55}
field SUFX in EXST one CLF$_{SPEC}$ ox PROG eat grass
'There is an ox grazing in the field.'

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(34) ○他 买 了 个 栋 厝 。
xu[35] mie[55] ə[0] kəi[213] tuŋ[213] tɕʰiɔ[213]
3SG buy PFV one CLF$_{SPEC}$ house
'He bought a house.'

5.1.2 Container classifiers

Container classifiers, as the name suggests, refer to classifiers that categorise nouns collocating with containers, especially merchandise containers. These are, strictly speaking, not measure words, because although containers can be used for measuring quantity or volume, they are not the standard of measurement, at least not in modern days. Table 5.2 shows some common container classifiers in Shaowu.

Table 5.2: Common container classifiers in Shaowu.

Container classifier		Salient features denoted	Felicitous noun collocation	Examples ['one' + CLF + N]
no	In Shaowu and in character		In Shaowu, in Chinese character and in English	
40	[pʰən[22]] 瓶	bottle	[tsɔu[55]] 酒 'wine'	个瓶酒
41	[ʊɔŋ[55]] 碗	bowl	[pʰən[35]] 饭 'rice'	个碗饭
42	[pʰen[22]] 盆	pot	[fa[21]] 花 'flower'	个盆花
43	[kuɔn[53]] 罐	tin	[mi[55]] 米 'grain of rice'	个罐米
44	[siɔŋ[21]] 箱	box	[tsɔu[55]] 酒 'wine'	个箱酒
45	[pau[21]] 包	pack	[ien[21]]烟 'cigarette' [iɔ[35]] 药 'medicine'	个包烟 个包药

An example using the container 'bowl' in the [NUM-CLF-N] construction:

(35) ○我 食 了 两 碗 饭 。
xaŋ[35] ɕie[35] ə[0] liɔŋ[55] ʊɔŋ[55] pʰən[35]
1SG eat PFV two bowl rice
I ate two bowls of rice.

5.1.3 Collective classifiers

Collective classifiers are used to categorise collective nouns or mass nouns. Collective nouns refer to a collection of differentiable entities taken as a whole or seen as a

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group or a set, whereas mass nouns, also called uncountable nouns, refer to entities that are considered as undifferentiated units rather than discrete units. An example of a collective noun is 'a bunch of pencils' and an example of a mass noun is 'a lot of money'. In Table 5.3, a list of collective classifiers in Shaowu is displayed.

Table 5.3: Common collective classifiers in Shaowu.

Collective classifier		Salient features denoted	Felicitous noun collocation	Examples ['one' + CLF + N]
no	In Shaowu and in character		In Shaowu, in Chinese character and in English	
46	[sɔŋ^{21}] 双	a pair	[xie^{22}] 鞋 'shoe' [xy^{35}tɕia^{53}] 箸只 'chopsticks' [ɕiɔu^{55}t^{h}au^{213}] 手套 'gloves'	个双鞋 个双箸只 个双手套
47	[tei^{213}] 对	a pair	[mu^{53}tɕy^{21}] 目珠 'eye' [tɕin^{55}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$] 枕头 'pillow'	个对目珠 个对枕头
48	[fu^{213}] 副	a pair	[ɕiɔu^{55}t^{h}au^{213}] 手套 'gloves'	个副手套
49	[tsa^{21}] 抓	handful	[mi^{55}] 米 'rice' [p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}] 票儿 'money'	个抓米 个抓票儿
50	[pa^{55}] 把	handful	[mi^{55}] 米 'rice' [p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}] 票儿 'money'	个把米 个把票儿
51	[tsai^{53}] 扎	a bunch, or approx. a dozen of	[pi^{53}] 笔 'pen' [tsɔu^{55}] 酒 'wine' [fa^{21}] 花 'flower'	个扎笔 个扎酒 个扎花
52	[tsɔn^{53}] 撮	pinch	[mi^{55}] 米 'grains of rice'	个撮米
53	[k^{h}uən^{55}] 捆	bundle	[sɔ^{53}tsə^{0}] 索子 'rope'	个捆索子
54	[ta^{55}] 打	a dozen of	[tsɔu^{55}] 酒 'wine' [pi^{53}] 笔 'pen'	个打酒 个打笔
55	[p^{h}ie^{22}] 排	row	[t^{h}iɔŋ^{22}] 墙 'wall' [t^{h}ə^{35}] 字 'word'	个排墙 个排字
56	[tei^{21}] 堆	heap, cluster	[ɕy^{21}] 书 'book' [nin^{22}] 人 'person'	个堆书 个堆人
57	[k^{h}yn^{22}] 群	flock	[iɔŋ^{22}] 羊 'sheep'	个群羊
58	[fɔ^{55}] 伙	group	[nin^{22}] 人 'person'	个伙人

An example using the collective classifier in the [NUM-CLF-N] construction:

(36) 拿 个 打 啤 酒 度 来 !
na^{22} kəi^{21} ta^{55} p^{h}i^{22} tsɔu^{55} xɔ^{35} li$^{22\sim55}$
take one dozen beer over come
'Bring over a dozen (cans of) beer!'

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5.1.4 Kind or type classifiers

This type of classifier is used to denote a kind of entity or a type of situation. See Table 5.4 below for examples:

Table 5.4: Common kind or type classifiers in Shaowu.

Collective classifier		Salient features denoted	Felicitous noun collocation	Examples ['one' + CLF + N]
no	In Shaowu and in character		In Shaowu, in character and in English	
59	[tɕiuŋ^{55}] 种 = [tɕy^{55}]	kind, sort	[ts^{h}in^{22}k^{h}uɔŋ^{35}] 情况 'situation' [tuŋ^{21}si^{21}]东西 'thing' [nin^{22}]人 'person'	个种情况 个种东西 个种人
60	[iɔŋ^{35}] 样	type	[tuŋ^{21}si^{21}] 东西 'thing' [sə^{35}] 事 'matter' [nin^{22}]人 'person'	个样东西 个样事 个样人

Although the classifiers [tɕiuŋ^{55}] 种 'kind' and [iɔŋ^{35}] 样 'type' are quasi-synonyms, the latter can readily be replaced by the general classifier [kəi^{213}] 个while the former cannot, because the classifier [tɕiuŋ^{55}] 种 refers more specifically to a class of entities or situations that share a certain set of features, which is not necessarily the case for [iɔŋ^{35}] 样. Examples (37) and (38) are given as contrasts.

(37) ○这 种 东西 是 啥 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tɕiuŋ^{55} tuŋ^{21}si^{21} ɕi^{22} ɕia^{53}
DEM kind thing COP what
'What is this kind of thing?'

(38) ○这 样 东西 是 啥 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} tuŋ^{21}si^{21} ɕi^{22} ɕia^{53}
DEM type thing COP what
'What is this thing?'

In example (38), the classifier [iɔŋ^{35}] 样 can be replaced by the general classifier [kəi^{213}]个 or the classifier [k^{h}ien^{35}] 件, as shown in example (39), while the 'kind' classifier [tɕiuŋ^{55}] 种 in example (37) cannot.

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(39) ○这 个 / 件 东西 是 啥 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} kəi^{213}/k^{h}ien^{35} tuŋ^{21}si^{21} ɕi^{22} ɕia^{53}
DEM CLF_{GENL}/CLF_{SPEC} thing COP what
'What is this thing?'

5.2 Verbal classifiers

Chao (1968: 615) defines verbal classifiers as 'a measure for verbs of action expresses the number of times an action takes place' and gives a detailed classification of verbal classifiers in Mandarin. Paris (1981, 2013) presents a detailed syntactic description of this grammatical category. Verbal classifiers are also called event classifiers because they are often event-denoting function words (Huang & Ahrens 2003). Since events can be denoted either by a noun phrase (e.g., 'I went on a trip to Japan.') or a verbal expression (e.g., 'I went to Japan once.'), an event classifier can either occur within a noun phrase or a verbal predicate in Sinitic languages, including Shaowu. A verbal classifier exhibits the basic salient properties of such a classifier in a language, regardless of whether it is associated with a nominal or verbal phrase (Zhang 2017). The syntactic configuration of NPs containing a verbal classifier is the same as the numeral classifier construction, i.e., [NUM+ CLF_{VERB}+ N], while the syntactic configuration of verbal expressions containing a verbal classifier is [V + NUM + CLF_{VERB}] (note that aspect markers can be inserted between the verb and the numeral).
Contrast the following two examples:

[NUM+ CLF_{VERB}+ N]
(40) ○他 瞙 度 两 回 戏 。
xu^{35} nianŋ^{213} t^{h}ɔ^{35} liɔŋ^{55} fei^{22} xi^{213}
3SG see EXP two CLF_{VERB} film
'He saw two films (so far).' [They can be the same or different films.]

[V + NUM + CLF_{VERB}]
(41) ○这 戏 ○他 瞙 度 两 回 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} xi^{213} xu^{35} nianŋ^{213} t^{h}ɔ^{35} liɔŋ^{55} fei^{22}
DEM film 3SG see EXP two CLF_{VERB}
'He saw this film two times.'

In this section, we look at the [V + NUM + CLF_{VERB}] construction in the verbal predicate. Note that if the numeral is 'one' in such a construction, the only numeral option is [kəi^{213}] 个 and not [ɕi^{22}] 蜀 nor [i^{53}] 一, suggesting that [kəi^{213}] 个 is

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Shaowu's default numeral 'one'. For illustration's sake, we only use the numeral 'one' in the [V + NUM $_{[kəi213]}$个 + CLF$_{VERB}$] construction shown in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5: Verbal classifiers in Shaowu.

Verbal classifier		Salient features denoted	Felicitous verb collocation	Examples [V+'one'+ CLF$_V$]
no	In Shaowu and in character		In Shaowu, in character and in English	
1	[pɔ^{53}] ○趟	involving a trip to somewhere	[k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 去 'go' [tu^{55}] 赌 'make a bet'	去个○趟 赌个○趟
2	[fei^{22}] 回	times (once, twice, thrice . . .), frequency	[ma^{213}] 骂 'scold' [siɔŋ^{55}] 想 'think'	骂个回 想个回
3	[ts^{h}ə^{213}] 次	frequency. Mandarin borrowing.	[li^{22}] 来 'come' [ɕi^{213}] 试 'try'	来个次 试个次
4	[p^{h}ien^{22}] 遍	to describe a thorough process	[niaŋ^{213}] 瞄 'look' [ʋa^{35}] 话 'speak'	瞄个遍 话个遍
5	[tən^{213}] 顿	to describe an unpleasant event	[ma^{213}] 骂 'scold' [nau^{35}] 闹 'make a fuss'	骂个顿 闹个顿
6	[xa^{35}] 下	to describe a brisk action	[ten^{55}] 等 'wait' [ta^{55}] 打 'hit' [t^{h}ɔ^{21}] 搓 'scrub'	等个下 打个下 搓个下
7	[t^{h}in^{35}] 阵	to describe an action that takes a while	[nau^{35}] 闹 'make a fuss' [t^{h}i^{53}] 啼 'cry'	闹个阵 啼个阵
8	[t^{h}iɔŋ^{22}] 场	to describe an event that takes a while	[lɔ^{35}] 落 'fall (e.g., rainfall)' [k^{h}au^{55}] 考 'take a test'	(雨)落个场 (试)考个场

A sample sentence to illustrate the use of verbal classifiers in the [V + NUM + CLF$_{VERB}$] construction:

(42)

娘佬	拿	小	囝子	骂	了	个	顿	。
niɔŋ^{22}lau^0	na^{22}	siau^{55}	kin^{53}tsə^0	ma^{213}	ə^0	kə^0	tən^{213}	
mother	OM	small	boy	scold	PFV	one	CLF$_{VERB}$	

'The mother scolded the little boy (rather lengthily).'

5.3 Counting paradigms

Since the Shaowu counting paradigms are closely related to the use of classifiers and especially to the general classifier [kəi^{213}] 个 which, as described above, has dual identity and can act also as numeral 'one', we include the counting paradigms under this section.

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Counting paradigms involve the use of numerals, and Shaowu numerals are special in the sense that there are three distinct morphemes for the numeral 'one', and two distinct morphemes for the numeral 'two', depending on whether or not a classifier is involved in the counting:

The pan-Sinitic cardinal number [i^{53}] 一 is used in counting integers alone, as in counting 'one, two, three . . . '.

The morpheme [ɕi^{22}] 蜀 is a Min-specific numeral (denoting 'one') which Shaowu also uses in its counting systems. It is placed in the NUM slot in the numeral-classifier construction [NUM-CLF-N] to denote 'one' in the NP, when the classifier CLF is the general classifier [kəi^{213}] 个 whose use is called for by the semantic nature of the head noun.

The morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个is a Shaowu-specific numeral (denoting 'one') which serves as the numeral 'one' when the classifier in the numeral-classifier construction [NUM-CLF-N] is not [kəi^{213}] 个itself.

The cardinal number [ni^{35}] 二 'two' is used in counting without any classifiers. If 'two' is required in the numeral-classifier construction [NUM-CLF-N], then the morpheme [liɔŋ^{55}] 两 'two', originally meaning 'a chariot pulled by two horses' in Archaic Chinese (Peyraube pers. comm.) is used instead, followed by the appropriate classifier that the head noun calls for. For instance, to say, 'two people', it is [liɔŋ^{55}kəi^{213}nin^{22}] 两个人 'two-CLF-person' and not [ni^{35}kəi^{213}nin^{22}] 二个人. However, when it comes to mathematical units in place of classifiers, such as 'hundred' and 'thousand', both [ni^{35}] 二 'two' and [liɔŋ^{55}] 两 'two' are acceptable, e.g., [ni^{35}pa^{53}nin^{22}] 二百人 and [liɔŋ^{55}pa^{53}nin^{22}] 两百人 'two-hundred-people' are interchangeable.

5.3.1 Cardinal number system

Cardinal numbers are numerals used in counting, and thus represent quantity. A sample of Shaowu cardinal numbers is displayed in Table 5.6 below, which basically correspond to the pan-Sinitic set:

Table 5.6: Cardinal number system in Shaowu.

Shaowu cardinal numbers	Standard Chinese characters	Gloss
i^{53}	一	one
ni^{35}	二	two
san^{21}	三	three

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Table 5.6 (continued)

Shaowu cardinal numbers	Standard Chinese characters	Gloss
si^{213}	四	four
ŋ^{55}	五	five
su^{53}	六	six
t^{h}i^{53}	七	seven
pie^{53}	八	eight
kɔu^{55}	九	nine
ɕi(n)^{35}	十	ten
ɕi^{35}i^{53}	十一	eleven
kəi$^{213\sim21}$pa^{53}	个百	one hundred
kəi$^{213\sim21}$pa^{53}len^{22}i$^{53\sim21}$	个百零一	hundred and one
kəi$^{213\sim21}$ts^{h}ien^{21}	个千	one thousand
kəi$^{213\sim21}$ʋan^{35}	个万	one ten-thousand
kəi$^{213\sim21}$pa^{53}ʋan^{35}	个百万	one million
kəi$^{213\sim21}$i^{213}	个亿	one tenth of billion; one hundred million

Cardinal numerals are built up by using the basic numbers expressing positive integers below 10 (1 to 9) and counting units [ɕi(n)^{35}] 十 'ten', [pa^{53}] 百 'hundred', [ts^{h}ien^{21}] 千 'thousand', [ʋan^{35}] 万 'ten-thousand', and [i^{213}] 亿 '100 million', as shown in the above table. A numeral representing a number above 20 is formed first by the sequential multiplication and/or second by the addition of a basic number followed by a counting unit, for instance, the number 93 is first broken down into 9 times 10 plus 3, then is expressed in Shaowu to become 九十三 [kɔu^{55}ɕi(n)^{35}san^{21}], literally read as 'nine-ten-three', with the 'ten' in the middle understood as the mathematical unit of 'ten times'. Any number below 20 is simple addition, such as 十八 [ɕi(n)^{35}pie^{53}] 'eighteen', literally read as 'ten-eight'.

Note a special rule which applies when the counting of cardinal numbers reaches 'one hundred': Since the morpheme [pa^{53}] 百 'hundred' is considered in Shaowu as a numerical classifier, i.e., a classifier that classifies a mathematical unit, it behaves like a numeral classifier as well and requires the numeral before it to be changed to [kəi^{213}] 个 instead. Hence, in order to say 'one hundred', one uses [kəi$^{213\sim21}$pa^{53}] 个百 instead of **[i^{53}pa^{53}] 一百, and likewise for 'one thousand', 'one million' etc. To express the number 'one thousand one hundred and eleven' is expressed in Shaowu as [kəi^{21}ts^{h}ien^{21}kəi^{21}pa^{53}i^{53}ɕi(n)^{35}i^{53}] 个千个百一十一 'one-thousand-one-hundred-one-ten-one'.

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5.3.2 Ordinal number system

Ordinal numbers are words representing position or rank in a sequential order, which may be about dimensions, chronology, weight, etc. They differ from cardinal numbers which represent quantity *per se*. Shaowu ordinal numbers are formed by adding an 'ordinal' prefix [t^hi^{35}] 第 to the cardinal numbers, as can be seen in Table 5.7:

Table 5.7: Ordinal number system in Shaowu.

Shaowu ordinal numbers	Standard Chinese characters	Gloss
t^hi^{35} i^{53}	第一	the first
t^hi^{35} ni^{35}	第二	the second
t^hi^{35} san^{21}	第三	the third
(t^hi^{35}) $kəi^{213\sim21}pa^{53}$	(第)个百	the hundredth
(t^hi^{35}) $kəi^{213\sim21}pa^{53}len^{22}i^{53}$	(第)个百零一	hundred and first
(t^hi^{35}) $kəi^{213\sim21}ts^hien^{21}$	(第)个千	the thousandth
(t^hi^{35}) $kəi^{213\sim21}ʊan^{35}$	(第)个万	the ten-thousandth
(t^hi^{35}) $kəi^{213\sim21}pa^{53}ʊan^{35}$	(第)个百万	the one millionth

To indicate the nth person or thing, the syntactic template for the ordinal numeral classifier NP is [ORD.NUM-CLF-N]. For instance, to say 'the first book', in Shaowu, this is [$t^hi^{35}i^{53}pən^{55}ɕy^{21}$] 第一本书, where [$t^hi^{35}$] is the ordinal marker, [i^{53}] is the numeral 'one', [$pən^{55}$] is the classifier for books, and [$ɕy^{21}$] is the head noun 'book'.

Note that when ordinal numbers reach 'the hundredth', what is said of the corresponding cardinal numbers holds true for ordinal numbers: the mathematical units of 'hundreds', 'thousands', 'millions' etc. behave like numeral classifiers and thus require the numeral before them to be changed to [$kəi^{213}$] 个 instead, in addition to the use of an optional prefix [t^hi^{35}] 第. In other words, this rule also applies if we wish to talk about 'the hundredth', 'one thousandth', 'one millionth' in ordinal counting. The prefix can be omitted for large numbers as their ordinality can usually be inferred from the context.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have described two classifier systems in Shaowu, namely, the numeral classifier system and the verbal classifier system. Their respective

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constructions are [Num+ CLF_{NOUN} + N] and [V+ Num+ CLF_{VERB}]. The numeral classifier system can be further divided into four subsets of sortal, container, collective and kind/type classifiers. Inventories of these classifiers have been presented in table form, together with sample sentences containing some of these classifiers in noun phrases or verbal predicates. We also presented the counting paradigms in Shaowu, including the cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers, and commented upon the uniqueness of the Shaowu morpheme [kəi$^{213\sim21}$] 个 which assumes two roles in the numeral classifier NP: as the numeral 'one' and as the general classifier, depending on the semantico-syntactic environment it finds itself in.

Table 5.8 summarises the complementary syntactic distribution of Shaowu numeral [i^{53}] 一, [ɕi^{22}] 蜀 and [kəi^{21}] 个, instantiating the notion of singular:

Table 5.8: Three numerals 'one's in Shaowu and their functions.

[i^{53}] 一	the cardinal number 'one', but cannot precede the mathematical units of 'hundreds', 'thousands', etc. It is also used in the ordinal number 'the first'.
[ɕi^{22}] 蜀	numeral 'one' in [NUM+CLF+N] construction when the classifier is [kəi$^{213\sim21}$] 个, e.g., [ɕi^{22}kəi$^{213\sim21}$nin^{22}] 蜀个人 'one-$CLF_{[kəi213\sim21]}$-person' ('one person').
[kəi$^{213\sim21}$] 个	numeral 'one' in [NUM+CLF+N] construction when the classifier is not [kəi$^{213\sim21}$] 个, e.g., [kəi$^{213\sim21}$pa^{53}nin^{22}] 个百人 'one-$CLF_{hundred}$-person' ('one hundred people').

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Chapter 6
Affixal morphology

Morphology is the study of the internal structure of words and deals with two main issues: the definition of 'the smallest meaningful unit' in a linguistic system and related processes involved, including derivation, reduplication, compounding and inflection (Bybee 1985, Dixon & Aikhenvald 2007: 1–41, Matthews 1991, Packard 1997: 1–43, Shao *et al.* 2003, Xu 2012b, *inter alia*). It has been a long-lasting linguistic debate on whether or not Sinitic languages have developed morphology. If we compare Sinitic languages, including Shaowu, with inflectional languages, such as Greek, or agglutinative languages, such as Turkish, there is indeed virtually no inflectional morphology. However, there are extensive derivational affixation, reduplication and compounding processes. Reduplication and compounding are very well-developed in Sinitic (see e.g., Chappell 2001a: 5, 2015: 14; Tsao 2001). Reduplication of verbs in Sinitic, such as in some Wu languages and dialects, can take on an array of functions from delimitative, to tentative, to durative and even perfective aspects (see, e.g., Liu, in preparation).

In addition to the three word-formation processes mentioned above, Sinitic also uses the 'zero-morpheme' strategy for a shift in word classes, which operates on a semantic level to allow a shift of grammatical category without changing the surface form (e.g., in English: 'a market' vs 'to market'). Such transcategoriality does not mean that Sinitic lacks parts of speech. Indeed, various diagnostic tests such as aspect marking, negation, syntactic distribution can be carried out to determine the part of speech a given word form belongs to in a given context. Sinitic languages have a large inventory of word forms that each belong to more than one word-class.

An example in Shaowu is the polysemous word [$t^hin^{21}t^hu^{55\sim22}$] 清楚: it can be (i) a verb, meaning 'to understand'; (ii) a noun, meaning 'clarity'; (iii) an adjective, meaning 'clear'; and (iv) an adverb, meaning 'clearly', as illustrated respectively in the four examples below:

(i)

○你	○这	下	清	楚	唔	清	楚	?
xien^{35}	tɕiɔŋ^{53}	xa^{35}	t^hin^{21}	t^hu^{22}	ŋ^{55}	t^hin^{21}	t^hu^{22}	
2SG	DEM	moment	understand		NEG	understand		

'Do you understand now?' (verb)

(ii)

○你	○这	下	话	个	清	楚	。
xien^{35}	tɕiɔŋ^{53}	xa^{35}	ʋa^{35}	kə^{0}	t^hin^{21}	t^hu^{22}	
2SG	DEM	moment	say	CLF	clarity		

'Render clarity to what you are saying now.' (noun)

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(iii) ○这 样 事 顶 清 楚 。
tɕiɔŋ[53] iɔŋ[35] sə[35] tin[55] tʰin[21] tʰu[22]
DEM CLF matter very clear
'This matter is clear.' (adjective)

(iv) ○她 话 事 顶 清 楚 。
xu[35] ʋa[35] sə[35] tin[55] tʰin[21] tʰu[22]
3SG speak very clearly
'She speaks very clearly.' (adverb)

Affixation refers to the adding of an affix to the root morpheme, which can lead to an alteration of the grammatical category of the lexeme, hence is also known as derivational morphology. Prefixing, infixing and suffixing can be found in Shaowu, which constitute a productive means of word formation. We will mainly talk about nominal affixation and briefly mention adjectival affixation in this chapter and will discuss verbal affixation under the Predicate Structure Part (Chapter 20 on the aspectual system). In this chapter, we will look at various morphological affixation processes in Shaowu, including prefixing, infixing and suffixing.

6.1 Nominal affixation

As the name suggests, nominal affixation pertains to a mainly derivational process in which affixes are attached to nouns in order to modify them in a specific way. The phenomenon has been widely discussed in the Sinitic circles and linguists have looked at a large number of Sinitic languages and dialects for various nominal affixes and their functions (Yuan 1960, Huang *et al.* 1996: 38–111, *inter alia*). In Shaowu, there are three types of affixation, namely, prefixing, circumfixing and suffixing. The most common affixes are those that denote ordinality 'the first', 'the second' etc., the notion of 'young' and 'old', 'male' and 'female'. There are also affixes used for nominalisation and diminutive marking. Processes of affixation can be divided into prefixation, suffixation, infixation or circum-fixation, depending on whether the affix is attached before, after, within or around the base (cf. Matthews 1991: 131, *inter alia*).

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6.1.1 Prefixation

Prefixation is a morphological process whereby a bound morpheme is attached to the front of a word stem, and the kind of affix involved in the process is called a prefix (Matthews 1991: 131). Below, we display several of the most common Shaowu nominal prefixes, including ordinal and diminutive prefixes.

6.1.1.1 Ordinal prefixes

6.1.1.1.1 Ordinal prefix [t^hi^{35}] (第)

To express the ordinality of numbers in Shaowu, the ordinal prefix [t^hi^{35}] 第 is prefixed to the number, followed by a noun or a classifier. For instance:

(43) ○他 是 ○这儿 第 一 人 。
xu^{35} ɕi^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} t^{h}i^{35} i^{53} nin^{22}
3SG COP here PRFX$_{ORD}$ one person
'She is number one here.'

(44) ○这 是 ○他 第 二 回 去 北京 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ xu^{35} t^{h}i^{35} ni^{35} fei^{22} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ pə^{53}kin^{21}
DEM COP 3SG PRFX$_{ORD}$ two CLF go Beijing
'This is his second time to Beijing.'

6.1.1.1.2 Ordinal prefix [t^hu^{21}] 初

On the lunar calendar, the first ten days of a lunar month are called [t^hu^{21}] 初____ (Number 1–10). For instance, [$t^hu^{21}i^{53}$] 初一 is 'the first day of the lunar month', [$t^hu^{21}ni^{35}$] 初二 'the second day of the lunar month' etc. The ordinal prefix '初' is a bound morpheme which literally means 'the beginning of' and is used to prefix numbers indicating the first ten days of a lunar month.

(45) 今朝 是 初 一 。
kən^{21}tɕiau^{21} ɕi^{22} t^{h}u^{21} i^{53}
today COP PRFX$_{ORD}$ one
'Today is the first day (of the current lunar month).'

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6.1.1.2 Diminutive prefixes

6.1.1.2.1 Diminutive prefix [lau^{55}] 老 'old'

The diminutive prefix [lau^{55}] 老, literally meaning 'old', can be added before a Chinese surname to express endearment and respect towards the addressee who is usually from an older generation. The prefix [lau^{55}] 老can also be attached before a numeral, indicating the order of birth among the siblings in a family, such as [lau^{55}san^{21}] 老三 'the third born', except that the first born is [lau^{55}xai^{35}] 老大 (Lit. 'old-big'), instead of **[lau^{55}i^{53}] 老一, **[lau^{55}ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 老蜀or **[lau^{55}kəi^{213}] 老个.

See, for example:

(46) 别 人 皆 叫 ○我 老 李 。
p^{h}ie^{35} nin^{55} ka^{35} kiau$^{213\sim21}$ xaŋ^{35} lau^{55} li^{55}
other people all call 1SG PRFX Li
'They all call me Old Li.'

(47) ○我 是 ○我多 李 家 老 四 。
xaŋ^{35} ɕi^{22} xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} li^{55} ka^{21} lau^{55} si^{213}
1SG COP 1PL.EXCL Li family PRFX four
'I am the fourth child ("Old fourth") of our family Li.'

6.1.1.2.2 Diminutive prefix [siau^{55}] 小 'small'

Likewise, the diminutive prefix [siau^{55}] 小, literally meaning 'small', can be added before a Chinese surname to express amiability and endearment towards the addressee who is usually from a younger generation. For instance:

(48) ○你 是 小 张 么 ?
xien^{35} ɕi^{22} siau^{55} tiɔŋ^{21} mɔ^{0}
2SG COP PRFX Zhang Q
'Are you Little Zhang?'

The morpheme [siau^{55}] 小can also act as an adjectival modifier, meaning 'small', and be placed before an animal term to indicate the smaller ones (in size) of that animal, but can also occasionally be used to mean the young of that animal. We shall see in § 6.1.2.5 that the diminutive suffix for animal terms to denote their young is the suffix [tsə^{0}] 子, but there is a tendency in Shaowu to just use the modifier [siau^{55}] 小 to mark the young, possibly an influence from Mandarin. Exam-

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ples (49) and (50) are animals of smaller size (although, if the context is clear, they could also be interpreted as the young of the species):

(49) 小 马
siau^{55} ma$^{55\sim22}$
small horse
'small horse' / 'pony'

(50) 小 狗
siau^{55} kəu^{55}
small dog
'small dog' / 'puppy'

Contrast examples (49) and (50) with examples (51) and (52) in which the prefix is changed from [siau^{55}] 小 'small' to [t^{h}ai^{35}] (or its velarised form [xai^{35}]) 大 'big':

(51) 大 马
t^{h}ai^{35} ma^{55}
big horse
'big horse'

(52) 大 狗
xai^{35} kəu^{55}
big dog
'big dog'

However, examples (53) and (54) refer only to the young of the animal (cf. § 6.1.2.5.1):

(53) 小 羊
siau^{55} iɔŋ^{22}
small sheep/goat
'kid'

(54) 小 鸡
siau^{55} kəi^{21}
small chicken
'chick'

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6.1.2 Suffixation

Suffixation is a morphological process whereby a bound morpheme is attached to the end of a word stem. The kind of affix involved in this process is called a suffix (Matthews 1991: 131). It is one of the most productive means of word formation in Shaowu. The suffixes often appear in the unstressed form with tone 'zero'. There are four main functional categories of Shaowu suffixes, i.e., plural marking, gender marking, diminutives and nominalisers. Plural suffixes are grammatical morphemes that mark plurality of head nouns, while gender suffixes mark the male and female distinction. Diminutives convey the meaning of 'smallness' or endearment, while nominalisers change certain word classes (e.g., verbs, adjectives) into nouns (cf. § 3.3.2.1 and § 3.3.2.2). The following are common Shaowu suffixes to illustrate these categories.

6.1.2.1 Plural suffixes

There are two plural suffixes in Shaowu: [tai^{21}] 多which originally means 'many', can be suffixed after pronouns (including the 3SG pronoun [xu^{35}], referring to either humans or non-humans, cf. § 4.1 on personal pronouns) and human common nouns. However, it cannot be suffixed to terms for animals or objects. Another plural suffix is [sa^{22}] 侪, whose etymology is unknown, can be suffixed to human common nouns but not pronouns, animal or object nouns. There is also a tendency for using the plural marker [mən^{22}] 们, which is likely a borrowing from Mandarin, that can be suffixed to human common nouns but not pronouns, animal or objects.

6.1.2.1.1 Plural suffix [tai^{21}] 多

The plural suffix is attached to pronouns, as in the following example (cf. the personal pronoun paradigm in § 4.1):

(55) ○$_{他}$/她/牠/它　多
xu^{35}　tai^{21}
3SG　SUFX$_{PL}$
'they' (human, can be male or female; or non-human, can be animals or inanimate objects)

The plural suffix [tai^{21}] 多 (or sometimes its unstressed form [tə^{0}]) can also be attached to human common nouns, see examples (56) and (57):

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(56) 客人 多
$k^ha^{53}nin^{22}$ tai^{21}
guest $SUFX_{PL}$
'guests'

(57) 阿娘 多
$a^{22}ni\text{ɔ}ŋ^{22}$ tai^{21}
woman $SUFX_{PL}$
'women'

However, it is not grammatical to attach the plural suffix [tai^{21}] 多to non-human nouns, such as inanimate objects, e.g., **[$\text{ɕ}y^{21}tai^{21}$] 书多 'book-$SUFX_{PL}$' (attempted meaning: 'books'), animals, e.g., **[$mau^{53}ə^{0}tai^{21}$] 猫儿多 'cat-$SUFX_{PL}$' (attempted meaning: 'cats'), or abstract nouns, e.g., **[$si\text{ɔ}ŋ^{55}fan^{53\sim21}tai^{21}$] 想法多 (attempted meaning: 'ideas'). To express plurality of these non-human nouns, the numeral classifier construction [NUM-CLF-N] is typically used (cf. Chapter 5, § 5.1 on numeral classifiers), e.g., [$san^{21}pən^{55}\text{ɕ}y^{21}$] 'three-CLF-book' 三本书, or the quantifier construction [QUANT-N], e.g., [$tin^{55}\text{ʋ}ai^{55}$-$si\text{ɔ}ŋ^{55}fan^{53\sim21}$] 'many ideas' 顶〇多想法.

6.1.2.1.2 Plural/collective suffix [sa^{22}] 侪

The gender-neural plural/collective suffix [sa^{22}] 侪 is attached after human common nouns such as 'man', 'woman', 'old person' etc. to mark collectivity, and marks the set boundary to which all the assigned members belong. Put differently, [sa^{22}] 侪when suffixed to a head noun, turns it into a 'kind' set, hence implying plurality, since a set is typically comprised of more than one member. Thus, this plural marker is also known as a collective marker. Note that it is only used to mark collectivity for human nouns, but not terms for animals or inanimate objects.

According to Li (1997: 110–121), [sa^{22}] 侪was originally an old *Baiyue* (百越) word for 'human being' and is still in use in many southern Sinitic languages, including the *Shē* language 畲语, and Shaowu and its surrounding dialects. Shaowu is indeed located in an area where the *Baiyue* peoples once lived; they were non-Han ethnic groups who inhabited the regions of today's southern China to northern Vietnam between circa 1000 B.C. and 1000 A.D. It is indeed possible that [sa^{22}] 侪comes from the old *Baiyue* substratum and had the general meaning of 'human being', which grammaticalised into a plural/collective marker.

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Examples of the suffix attached after human nouns, note that the suffix is often pronounced in its unstressed form [sa^{0}] 侄:

(58) 侄人 侄
sa^{22}nin^{22} sa^{0}
man SUFX$_{COLL}$
'males'

(59) 客人 侄
k^{h}a^{53}nin^{22} sa^{0}
guest SUFX$_{COLL}$
'guests'

6.1.2.1.3 Plural suffix [mən^{22}] 们

Under the influence of Mandarin, it is not unusual to hear Shaowu people using the plural suffix [mən^{22}] 们, likely borrowed from the national language, for human nouns. It can sound like from a slightly higher register. Note that it is not possible to be suffixed after terms for animals, artefacts and other kinds of objects, just like the two plural suffixes mentioned above.

(60) 学生 们
xɔ^{35}sen^{21} mən^{22}
student SUFX$_{PL}$
'students'

(61) 客 人 们
k^{h}a^{53} nin^{22} mən^{22}
guest person SUFX$_{PL}$
'guests'

Our consultant, Ms Gao, does not accept the plural suffix [mən^{22}] 们 to be attached to the other form for the human noun 'guest' 人客 [nin^{22}k^{h}a^{53}] 'person-guest' which has the southern Sinitic head-initial [Noun-Modifier] word order, like in Cantonese. This suggests that 人客 [nin^{22}k^{h}a^{53}] is likely to be the native Shaowu noun for 'guest'. Thus, it is less susceptible to be pluralised by the suffix [mən^{22}] 们 borrowed from Mandarin. The native Shaowu term 人客 [nin^{22}k^{h}a^{53}] is a bare noun that can be pluralised by using the numeral classifier construction [NUM-CLF-N], e.g., [liɔŋ^{55}kə^{0}nin^{22}k^{h}a^{53}] 'two-CLF-guest' 两个人客 'two guests', or the quantifier construction [QUANT-N], e.g., [tin^{55}ɕiau^{55}nin^{22}k^{h}a^{53}] 'few-guest' 顶少人客 'few guests'.

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However, it is entirely grammatical for the borrowed term 客人 [k^{h}a^{53}nin^{22}], which has the [Modifier-Noun] word order typical in northern Sinitic, to be pluralised by the Shaowu plural suffix [tai$^{21\sim0}$] 多 or the collective suffix [sa$^{22\sim0}$] 侪, see examples (56) and (59) above, respectively.

6.1.2.2 Human gender suffixes

Human gender suffixes, as the name suggests, are grammatical morphemes that are suffixed to human nouns to mark their gender. The two most common human gender suffixes are [lau$^{21\sim0}$] 佬 and [p^{h}o^{22}] 婆, the former is used to mark both the male and female gender (see e.g., examples 64 and 65), while the latter is used to mark only the female gender (see e.g., examples 69 and 70). Another human suffix, [ka^{21}tsə^{0}] 傢子, is only used to denote male human nouns, see below.

6.1.2.2.1 Male human suffix [ka^{21}tsə^{0}] 傢子

(62) 老 侪 傢子
lau^{55} sa^{22} ka^{21}tsə^{0}
old person SUFX$_{M}$
'old men'

(63) 后生 傢子
xəu^{35}saŋ^{21} ka^{21}tsə^{0}
young man SUFX$_{M}$
'young men'

6.1.2.2.2 Human suffix [lau$^{21\sim0}$] 佬

The suffix [lau^{21}] 佬 (or its unstressed form [lau^{0}]) can be added after certain kinship terms to form nominal compounds. It can be suffixed to some of the male and female kinship terms (cf. Chapter 9 on kinship terms), for example:

(64) 爷 佬 、 娘 佬
ia^{22} lau^{0} niɔŋ^{22} lau^{0}
father SUFX$_{HUM}$ mother SUFX$_{HUM}$
'father', 'mother'

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(65) 姊 佬
tɕi^{55} lau^{0}
elder sister $SUFX_{HUM}$
'elder sister'

While the above three examples show that the suffix [lau$^{21\sim0}$] 佬 is used to form compounds with close kinship terms to express affinity and respect, it can also be used to express informality or show slight disrespect towards people and is sometimes used in a joking way (similar to 'bloke' in British English). The neutral term is [nin^{22}]人 which means 'person'. The suffix [lau$^{21\sim0}$] 佬has no male-female distinction, but a collective designation for people coming from a certain milieu or place. For instance:

(66) 乡 巴 佬
! xiɔŋ^{21} pa^{21} lau^{0}
village NOM_{PEJ} $SUFX_{HUM}$
'peasant' (pejorative)

(67) 江西 佬
! kaŋ^{21}si^{21} lau^{0}
Jiangxi $SUFX_{HUM}$
'folk from Jiangxi province' (can be pejorative)

(68) 外国 佬
! ʊai^{35}kuə^{53} lau^{0}
foreign $SUFX_{HUM}$
'foreigner' (can be pejorative)

The three examples given above were for grammatical illustration only. The truly pejorative term is example (66); the neutral way in Shaowu to speak of people living in rural areas is [xiɔŋ^{21}xa$^{35\sim22}$nin^{22}] 乡下人 'rural folk'.

6.1.2.2.3 Female human suffix [p^{h}ɔ^{22}] 婆

Similarly, the suffix [p^{h}ɔ^{22}] 婆 (or its unstressed form [p^{h}ɔ^{0}]) can be added after certain kinship terms to express affection and respect for the person. It can only be suffixed to female kin terms, for example:

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(69) 丈人 婆
$t^hiɔŋ^{55}nin^{22}$ $p^hɔ^0$
parent in-law $SUFX_{HUM.F}$
'mother-in-law' (addressed by the husband)

(70) 姨 婆
i^{22} $p^hɔ^0$
mother's sister $SUFX_{HUM.F}$
'grandmother's sister' (the suffix denotes respect for the older generation)

The suffix [$p^hɔ^{22}$] 婆 (or its unstressed form [$p^hɔ^0$]) can also be used in a pejorative way:

(71) 媒 婆
$məi^{22}$ $p^hɔ^{22}$
matchmaking $SUFX_{HUM.F}$
'match-maker' (slightly pejorative)

(72) 地 主 婆
t^hi^{35} $tɕy^{55}$ $p^hɔ^{22}$
land owner $SUFX_{HUM.F}$
'female landowner' (pejorative, especially in the old days)

6.1.2.3 Animal gender suffixes

The following table displays the male and female gender terms for the most common domesticated animals in their male and female gender terms in Shaowu. The suffix [$kuŋ^{21}$] 公, meaning 'male', is suffixed to animal nouns to indicate the male gender; for female animals, the suffix [ma^{22}] 嫲 is used. This suffixation phenomenon aligns with Hakka (see, e.g., Xiang 1997: 29–30).

Table 6.1: Animal gender nouns in Shaowu.

Male animal (suffixed [$kuŋ^{21}$] 公)	Female animal (suffixed [ma^{22}] 嫲)
牛 公 ny^{22} $kuŋ^{21}$ bovine $SUFX_{ANM.M}$ 'bull'	牛 嫲 ny^{22} ma^{22} bovine $SUFX_{ANM.F}$ 'cow'
马 公 ma^{55} $kuŋ^{21}$ horse $SUFX_{ANM.M}$ 'stallion'	马 嫲 ma^{55} ma^{22} horse $SUFX_{ANM.F}$ 'mare'

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Table 6.1 (continued)

Male animal (suffixed [kuŋ^{21}] 公)	**Female animal (suffixed [ma^{22}] 嫲)**
驴 公 ly^{22} kuŋ^{21} donkey SUFX$_{ANM.M}$ 'jack'	驴 嫲 ly^{22} ma^{22} donkey SUFX$_{ANM.F}$ 'jenny'
猪 公 ty^{21} kuŋ^{21} pig SUFX$_{ANM.M}$ 'boar'	猪 嫲 ty^{21} ma^{22} pig SUFX$_{ANM.F}$ 'sow'
羊 公 iɔŋ^{22} kuŋ^{21} sheep SUFX$_{ANM.M}$ 'ram'	羊 嫲 iɔŋ^{22} ma^{22} sheep SUFX$_{ANM.F}$ 'ewe'
狗 公 kəu^{55} kuŋ^{21} dog SUFX$_{ANM.M}$ 'male dog'	狗 嫲 kəu^{55} ma^{22} dog SUFX$_{ANM.F}$ 'bitch'
猫儿 公 mau^{53}ə^{0} kuŋ^{21} cat SUFX$_{ANM.M}$ 'tom cat'	猫儿 嫲 mau^{53}ə^{0} ma^{22} cat SUFX$_{ANM.F}$ 'queen cat'
鸭 公 an^{53} kuŋ^{21} duck SUFX$_{ANM.M}$ 'drake'	鸭 嫲 an^{53} ma^{22} duck SUFX$_{ANM.F}$ 'duck'
鹅 公 ŋɔ^{22} kuŋ^{21} goose SUFX$_{ANM.M}$ 'gander'	鹅 嫲 ŋɔ^{22} ma^{22} goose SUFX$_{ANM.F}$ 'goose'

The only exception is the gender suffix for roosters. Instead of [kuŋ^{21}] 公, another word [ku^{53}] 牯is used. It is possible that the word is cognate with [ku^{53}] 牯 whose original meaning was 'ox'.

鸡 牯	鸡 嫲
kəi^{21} ku^{53}	kəi^{21} ma^{22}
chicken SUFX$_{ANM.M}$	chicken SUFX$_{ANM.F}$
'rooster'	'hen'

When speaking about domesticated animals that have been castrated or sterilised, usually a prefixal modifier [ien^{21}] (阉, meaning 'castrated') is added before

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the animal noun. For instance, [ien^{21}ty^{21}kuŋ^{21}] (‘castrated-pig-male’ 阉猪公) means ‘castrated boar’, and [ien^{21}ty^{21}ma^{22}] (‘spayed-pig-female’阉猪嫲) means ‘spayed sow’. Porcines that do not have reproductive power are called [t^{h}ə^{213}ty^{21}] (‘meal-pig’ 菜猪) in Shaowu, meaning that they are raised for the consumption of their meat.

It is also possible to add another prefixal modifier [sau^{21}] (骚, literally meaning ‘flirty’) in front of male animal nouns to denote non-castrated male animals, thus are ready (‘flirty’) for reproduction. Examples are: [sau^{21}ty^{21}kuŋ^{21}] (‘flirty-pig-male’ 骚猪公) referring to ‘boar’; [sau^{21}kəi^{21}ku^{21}] (‘flirty-chicken-male’ 骚鸡〇$_{枯}$) referring to ‘cockerel’ or ‘rooster’.

6.1.2.4 Body part suffixes

It is interesting to notice that in Shaowu, some suffixes, including the animal gender suffixes, are used to denote body parts and personify them. For instance:

(73)

手指	嫲
ɕiɔu^{55}tɕi^{55}	ma^{22}
finger	SUFX$_{F}$
‘thumb’	

(74)

膝	头	公儿
sə^{53}	t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$	kuŋ^{21}ŋə^{0}
knee	head	SUFX$_{M}$
‘kneecap’		

The use of gender suffixes on body part terms is well-known for Hakka dialects (see Hashimoto 1973: 532, Xiang 1997: 28, *inter alia*), we can see from this that Shaowu has a mixed composition of features from Sinitic languages groups surrounding it.

6.1.2.5 Diminutive suffixes

Diminutive suffixes are grammatical morphemes that are attached after a head noun to convey a lesser degree of the entity it denotes, the smallness of the object or quality, or to convey a sense of intimacy or endearment (see also Chapter 3, § 3.3.2.2 on diminutives).

Some common diminutive suffixes in Shaowu are given below.

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6.1.2.5.1 Diminutive suffix [tsə^{0}] 子

This morpheme can be suffixed to nouns in the animal category to indicate their young (examples 75–76) or to express the smallness or even cuteness of certain objects (examples 77–78):

(75) 牛 子
ny^{22} tsə^{0}
ox/cow DIM
'calf'

(76) 狗 子
kəu^{55} tsə^{0}
dog DIM
'puppy'

(77) 箩 子
sai^{53} tsə^{0}
bamboo basket DIM
'little bamboo basket'

(78) 索 子
sɔ^{53} tsə^{0}
rope DIM
'string'

6.1.2.5.2 Diminutive suffix [p^{h}əi^{21}tsə^{0}] ○子

A Shaowu-specific diminutive suffix is [p^{h}əi^{21}tsə^{0}] ○子 (with unknown etymology), which can be suffixed to inanimate nouns to denote objects of very tiny size, compared to the regular ones of the same category. Below are two examples:

(79) 箬 ○子
niɔ^{53} p^{h}əi^{21}tsə^{0}
leaf DIM
'tiny, burgeoning leaf'

(80) 瓦 ○子
ʊa^{55} p^{h}əi^{21}tsə^{0}
tile DIM
'rubble, small pieces of broken tiles'

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6.1.2.5.3 Diminutive suffix [ə^0] 儿

The diminutive suffix [ə^0] 儿, was originally a lexical morpheme in Archaic Chinese meaning 'child'. It was grammaticalised into an affixal morpheme that can be suffixed to nouns to indicate smallness, affinity or endearment, among other functions such as nominalisation or satisfying the prosodic requirements, as we will see in this section (see also Chapter 3, § 3.3.2.2 on diminutives). It is pronounced in its unstressed form [ə^0], and if the noun that precedes it ends with a nasal consonant [n] or [ŋ], the [ə^0] undergoes regressive assimilation and reduplicates the nasal consonant, taking it as the onset of the next syllable to become [nə^0] or [ŋə^0] respectively in order to facilitate the pronunciation.

6.1.2.5.3.1 Denoting smallness

After suffixing the diminutive marker [ə^0] 儿to a common noun, the noun carries a meaning of smallness, irrespective of the actual dimension of the noun. For example:

(81) 瓯 儿
əu^{21} ə^0
cup DIM
'small cup'

(82) 刀 儿
tau^{21} ə^0
knife DIM
'small knife'

6.1.2.5.3.2 Denoting endearment

The diminutive marker [ə^0] 儿can be suffixed to certain kinship terms to express affinity, that is, it forms a hypocorism used for addressees often of younger age. For instance:

(83) 弟 儿
t^{h}i^{55} ə^0
younger brother DIM
'little brother'

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(84) 妹 儿
mei^{213} ə^{0}
younger sister DIM
'little sister'

The diminutive marker [ə^{0}] 儿can be suffixed also to proper names to express familiarity or affinity:

(85) 莺 儿
in^{21} nə^{0}
Ying (first name) DIM
'Little Ying'

(86) 昌 儿
tɕ^{h}iɔŋ^{21} ŋə^{0}
Chang (first name) DIM
'Little Chang'

6.1.2.5.3.3 Expressing respect

The diminutive marker [ə^{0}] 儿is suffixed to certain kinship terms that are of higher rank in the familial hierarchy than the speaker to express affinity and respect towards the addressee. For instance:

(87) 舅 儿
k^{h}y^{55} ə^{0}
maternal uncle DIM
'uncle' (mother's younger brother)

(88) 姨 儿
i^{22} ə^{0}
maternal aunt DIM
'aunt' (mother's younger sister)

It is noticed that the diminutive marker [ə^{0}] is applied slightly more often to kinship terms on the mother's side and less frequently to those on the father's side. For instance, the paternal grandfather is [ta^{21}ta^{0}] ○爷○爷, the father's elder brother is [pa^{22}pa^{0}]伯伯 and the father's younger brother is [ɕy$^{53\sim21}$ɕy$^{53\sim55}$]叔叔. The grammatical means to express endearment among relatives on the father's side seems to be the reduplication of the kinship term with an unstressed tone

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for the repeated morpheme; whereas on the mother's side more often we see a suffixation of the diminutive marker [ə^{0}] 儿 to the head noun (cf. Chapter 9 on kinship terms).

6.1.2.6 Nominalising suffixes

Nominalising suffixes are grammatical markers that are attached after a lexical morpheme to change it from a certain word class (e.g., verbs, adjectives) into a noun. In Shaowu, these word-class changing morphemes are only suffixal; they directly induce the process of nominalisation and are therefore also called nominalisers. We are going to see the nominaliser [tsə^{0}] 子 which turns adjectives into nouns in § 6.1.1.2.6.1, the nominaliser [kəi^{213}] 个 which turns predicates and relative clauses into compound noun phrases in § 6.1.1.2.6.2, and the nominaliser [ə^{0}] 儿 in § 6.1.1.2.6.3 below.

6.1.2.6.1 Nominalising suffix [tsə^{0}] 子

The nominaliser [tsə^{0}] 子 is often suffixed to adjectives of human sensory impairment such as hearing, speech, and sight impairment. When the adjectives are nominalised by the suffixation of [tsə^{0}] 子, they are turned into nouns referring to the people who suffer from these impairments. Note that these nouns carry a pejorative meaning.

(89) 聋 子
! suŋ^{53} tsə^{0}
deaf NOM
'a deaf person' ('person with hearing impairment')

(90) 瞎 子
! xie^{53} tsə^{0}
blind NOM
'a blind person' ('person with sight impairment')

(91) 哑(巴) 子
! a^{55}(pa^{21}) tsə^{0}
mute NOM
'a mute person' ('person with speech impairment')

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6.1.2.6.2 Nominalising suffix [kəi^{213}] 个

Shaowu, as many Sinitic languages like Mandarin, can turn an adjective (examples 92 and 93), a predicate (examples 94 and 95) or even a relative clause (examples 96 and 97) into a noun phrase by suffixing the attributive marker [kəi^{213}] 个 to them. The attributive marker in such construction is thus a nominaliser, similar to the Mandarin *de* 的as in *kāichē de* 开车的 'drive-car-NOM', meaning 'driver'. Below, we are going to see several nouns or noun phrases in Shaowu using the nominalising suffix [kəi^{213}] 个 (or its shortened form [kəi^{21}]).

(92) 赤 个
tɕ^{h}ia^{53} kəi^{213}
red NOM
'a/the red one'

(93) 澄 黄 镜 色 个
sən^{22} ʊɔŋ^{22} kiaŋ^{213} sə^{53} kəi^{213}
bright yellow mirror colour NOM
'a/the bright yellow one' (like a mirror, which was made of copper or bronze in the past)

(94) 打 垱 个
ta^{55} t^{h}ən^{53} kəi^{213}
hit field NOM
'farmer'

(95) 做 生意 个
tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sen^{21}i$^{213\sim21}$ kəi^{213}
do business NOM
'businessman' / 'businesswoman'

(96) 瞅 起来 顶 好 使 个
niaŋ^{213} k^{h}i^{55}li^{22} tin^{55} xau^{55} sə^{55} kəi^{213}
look DIR$_{up.come}$ very good use NOM
'one that seems handy to use'

(97) 颂 了 以后 暖 暖 个
siuŋ^{35} ŋə^{0} i^{55}xəu^{213} nɔn^{55} nɔn^{55} kəi^{213}
wear PFV after warm warm NOM
'one that keeps warm after wearing'

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6.1.2.6.3 Nominalising suffix [ə^{0}] 儿

It is quite common in Shaowu to form nouns from a verbal root by adding a nominalising suffix [ə^{0}] 儿, for instance:

(98) 梳 儿
su^{21} ə^{0}
to comb NOM
'comb' (noun)

(99) 剪 儿
tsien$^{55\sim53}$ nə^{0}
to cut NOM
'scissors'

There might be debates as to whether the verb appeared first before the noun, or if the noun gave rise to the verb in the evolution of language. We believe that word formation in a language usually follows the principle of *lex parsimoniae* and starts out from the smallest meaningful unit, to which are added various grammatical or lexical morphemes to form a new word, that forms the stem for any further derivational morphology. Thus, the morpheme [ə^{0}] 儿 is considered in this analysis as an addition to the lexical root (the verb) to form a noun.

6.1.2.6.4 Nominalising suffix [t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$] 头

The suffix [t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$] 头, literally meaning 'head', is another productive nominalising suffix which can be added after various word classes such as verbs, adjectives, or locative markers, and turn them into nouns. It is often pronounced in its lighter, neutral tone of 21 instead of its underlying 53 tone when the morpheme acts as a nominalising suffix instead of a lexical word.

6.1.2.6.4.1 [t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$] 头 suffixed to verbs

The suffix [t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$] 头is attached after a verb and changes it into a noun; the resulting noun often expresses the value or worthiness of the action that the verb represents.

(100) 瞅 头
niaŋ^{213} t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$
look NOM
'being worthwhile to look at'

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(101) 想 头
siɔŋ[55] t[h]əu[53~21]
think NOM
'being worthwhile to think back to'

6.1.2.6.4.2 [t[h]əu[53~21]] 头 suffixed to adjectives

The suffix [t[h]əu[53~21]] 头is attached after an adjective and changes it into a noun; the resulting noun often expresses the quality that the adjective represents.

(102) 暗 头
ɔn[213] t[h]əu[53~21]
dark NOM
'evening'

(103) 热 头
nie[35] t[h]əu[53~21]
hot NOM
'sun'

6.1.2.6.4.3 [t[h]əu[53~21]] 头 suffixed to locative markers

The suffix [t[h]əu[53~21]] 头is attached after a locative marker to form a locative noun, such as for English 'in' being nominalised to 'inside':

(104) 底 头
ti[55] t[h]əu[53~21]
in NOM
'inside'

(105) 前 头
t[h]in[53] t[h]əu[53~21]
ahead NOM
'in front'

These locative nouns can also act as postpositions in locative constructions (cf. Chapter 10 on locative adpositions and Chapter 32 on locative constructions).

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6.1.2.6.5 Nominalising suffix [tʰiɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$] 场

The nominalising suffix [tʰiɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$] 场, originally meaning 'place', can be added after a certain class of verbs to form nouns to either indicate the location where an action takes place, or to allow further grammaticalisation to mean the potential of carrying out such an action. For instance:

(106) 瞄 场
niaŋ^{213} tʰiɔŋ^{22}
look NOM
'place to watch (an event)'

(107) 搞 场
kau^{55} tʰiɔŋ^{22}
play NOM
'place to play'

(108) 发展 场
fai^{53}tɕin$^{55\sim22}$ tʰiɔŋ^{22}
develop NOM
'place to develop' or 'potential to develop'

Although the suffixation of [tʰiɔŋ^{22}] 场changes the word class from a verb to a noun, there are certain restrictions in the choice of verbs to which [tʰiɔŋ^{22}] 场can be suffixed: these verbs should be dynamic verbs that signify actions which either take up space (indicating location) or have a temporal dimension (expressing potential). Furthermore, they cannot be placed in the subject position and can only act as objects of existential statements 'There is /There is not' or existential questions 'Is there/ Is there not'. Consequently, [tʰiɔŋ^{22}] 场is not a universal suffix that can be applied to any verb, but a grammatical morpheme with syntactic and semantic limits.

(109) 邵武 有 搞 場 。
ɕiau^{213}u^{55} iɔu^{55} kau$^{55\sim22}$ tʰiɔŋ^{22}
Shaowu EXST play NOM
'Shaowu has places/potential for one to have fun.'

(110) 邵武 有 发展 場 。
ɕiau^{213}u^{55} iɔu^{55} fai^{53}tɕin$^{55\sim22}$ tʰiɔŋ^{22}
Shaowu EXST develop NOM
'Shaowu has places/potential for development.'

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It can either literally mean ‘Shaowu has places for entertainment’ or ‘Shaowu is a place worth going to for having fun.’ The first interpretation, which is more predominant, denotes the existence of a place from an objective point of view ‘there is such a place’, whereas the latter expresses a subjective judgement on the value or potential of going to such a place. Interestingly, the nominalising suffix [tʰiɔŋ^{22}] 场 is on its way to becoming further grammaticalised into a null-value suffix after a verb, as shown by two utterances below made by our linguistic consultants Mr Li and Ms Gao, respectively. According to them, there is no meaning difference between the two:

(111) 邵武 有 地方 搞 场 。
ɕiau^{213}u^{55} iɔu^{55} tʰi^{35}fɔŋ^{21} kau^{55} tʰiɔŋ^{22}
Shaowu EXST place play NOM
‘Shaowu has places/potential for one to have fun.’

(112) 邵武 有 地方 发展 场 。
ɕiau^{213}u^{55} iɔu^{55} tʰi^{35}fɔŋ^{21} fai^{53}tɕin$^{55\sim22}$ tʰiɔŋ^{22}
Shaowu EXST place develop NOM
‘Shaowu has places/potential for development.’

The suffix [tʰiɔŋ^{22}] 场 has likely stemmed from the lexical word [tʰiɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$su$^{55\sim22}$] 场所 which indicates a geographical location where the action represented by the verb, takes place; and springing from this is a value judgement on this action. The suffix [tʰiɔŋ^{22}] 场 has then apparently turned into a null content nominalising suffix, just like [ə^{0}] 儿 and [tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$] 头 above, which has grammaticalised into a purely nominalising morpheme, as a result of semantic bleaching and lexicalisation.

6.1.2.7 Morphological fillers

Morphological fillers are suffixed to nouns, often monosyllabic nouns, to form disyllabic or multi-syllabic nouns. Their addition does not serve the function of changing a non-nominal category (e.g., verbs, adjectives) into a noun, and therefore they are not cases of nominalising suffixes (nominalisers) but rather of nominal suffixes, i.e., morphological fillers suffixed to nouns. This is a common means of word formation in Shaowu, as in many Sinitic languages such as Mandarin. For the sake of glossing convenience, we will label them as NOM in this grammar, such as the suffixes [ə^{0}] 儿, [tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$] 头 and [tʰiɔŋ^{22}] 场shown below.

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6.1.2.7.1 Nominal suffix [ə⁰] 儿

The nominal suffix [ə⁰] 儿, which originally means 'child' later developed to mean 'son' in Archaic Chinese, often does possess, but not always, a reading of smallness in relation to the head noun to which it is suffixed. This is to say that it can either be a diminutive marker or a nominalising suffix. If the coda of the head noun is a nasal [n] or [ŋ], then the suffix also starts with that nasal as the result of adjacent lag assimilation, as shown in examples (114) and (115).

(113) 梨 儿
li^{22} ə^{0}
pear NOM
'pear'

(114) 盘 儿
p^{h}ɔn^{22} nə^{0}
plate NOM
'plate' or 'dish'

(115) 粽 儿
tsuŋ$^{213\sim21}$ ŋə^{0}
dumpling NOM
'dumpling wrapped in bamboo leaves eaten during the Dragon Boat Festival (which usually takes place in May or June)'

6.1.2.7.2 Nominal suffix [t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$] 头

The nominal suffix [t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$] 头, or its unstressed form [t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$], originally means 'head', which later grammaticalised into the meaning 'top', 'front', or 'end', is also a morphological filler in Shaowu. It has been fully grammaticalised into a null value suffix whose purpose is to play a prosodic and morphological role in disyllabic or multi-syllabic word formation, as shown in the following examples:

(116) 石 头
ɕiɔ^{35} t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$
stone NOM
'stone'

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(117) 拳 头
k^hyn^{22} $t^h əu^{53\sim21}$
fist NOM
'fist'

Compare the above examples (116) and (117) with the following two examples (118) and (119): in the former, [$t^h əu^{53\sim21}$] 头 (or its unstressed form [$t^h əu^{21\sim0}$])is a nominal suffix whereas in the latter, [$t^h əu^{53\sim21}$] 头has grammaticalised from its lexical content 'head' into 'front' or 'tip' and the suffix refers to the locational position of an object, see:

(118) 车 头
$tɕ^hia^{21}$ $t^h əu^{53\sim21}$
car head
'the front of a vehicle'

(119) 烟 头
ien^{21} $t^h əu^{53\sim21}$
cigarette head
'cigarette stub'

It is therefore important to distinguish the two categories of nouns containing the morpheme [$t^h əu^{53\sim21}$] 头.

6.1.3 Circumfixation

A circumfix is an affix that contains two parts, one is placed before a head noun and the other is placed at its end. Therefore, a circumfix can be seen as bracketing the head noun with a prefix and a suffix. Two common circumfixes in Shaowu are [$siau^{55}$] 小 – N – [$ə^0$]儿 and [$siau^{55}$]小 – N – [$tsə^0$]子 where [$siau^{55}$] 小, [$ə^0$] 儿and [$tsə^0$] 子are all diminutives; the head noun (N) is usually an animal noun or a human noun. Note that the prefix [$siau^{55}$]小is grammaticalised from an adjective meaning 'small' and the suffixes [$ə^0$]儿 and [$tsə^0$] 子are grammaticalised from nouns meaning 'child'. Hence there is a certain retention of the lexical meaning in their respective affixal roles.

(120) 小 猫 儿
$siau^{55}$ mau^{53} $ə^0$
$PRFX_{DIM}$ cat $SUFX_{DIM}$
'little kitten'

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(121) 小 囝 子
siau^{55} kin^{53} tsə^{0}
PRFX$_{DIM}$ child.male SUFX$_{DIM}$
'little boy'

6.2 Adjectival affixation

Some Shaowu adjectives, in particular colour terms or descriptions of certain states, can have infixes inserted to intensify the quality or accentuate the degree of an attribute represented by these adjectives, or just to give a certain prosodic quality to the adjective. There are relatively a large number of infixal adjectives in Shaowu, compared with some other Sinitic languages, such as Mandarin (see e.g., Chao 1968: 276).

In its strictest sense, infixation is having an affix within a word stem. In Shaowu, we often see an insertion of one or two morphemes, infixes A or AB, in a disyllabic adjective XY to form quadri-syllabic templates [X-INFX$_A$-XY] or [X-INFX$_A$-INFX$_B$-Y], the word stem being XY. Infix A in Shaowu is often [li^{22}] ○$_{里}$ whose etymon has not yet been ascertained, which may be inserted alone in template [X-INFX$_A$ -XY] or can be used in conjunction with infix B [ma^{22}] ○$_{麻}$ or [kuei^{53}] ○$_{骨}$ to form disyllabic infixes [li^{22} ma^{22}] ○$_{里}$○$_{麻}$or [li^{22} kuei^{53}] ○$_{里}$○$_{骨}$ in template [X-INFX$_A$-INFX$_B$ -Y].

6.2.1 Adjectival infixation

6.2.1.1 In template [X-INFX$_A$-XY]

Disyllabic adjectives [XY] that have a pejorative meaning usually are more readily take the infix [li^{22}] ○$_{里}$ than positive adjectives. The infixation does not fundamentally alter the degree of intensity that the adjective carries, but rather serves to create a quadri-syllabic prosodic quality. This is seen, for instance, in the following examples:

(122) 糊 ○$_{里}$ 糊 涂
fu^{22} li^{22} fu^{22} t^{h}u^{22}
X INFX ADJ$_{XY.unthoughtful}$
'unthoughtful', 'absent-minded'

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(123) 古 ○里 古 怪
ku$^{55\sim22}$ li^{22} ku$^{55\sim22}$ kuai^{213}
X INFX ADJ$_{XY.strange}$
'weird', 'strange'

(124) 啰 ○里 啰 嗦
lɔ^{22} li^{22} lɔ^{22} sɔ^{21}
X INFX ADJ$_{XY.repetitive}$
'long-winded', 'repetitive'

(125) 快 ○里 快 活
k^{h}uai^{213} li^{22} k^{h}uai^{213} ʋai^{55}
quick INFX ADJ$_{XY.happy}$
'comfort-seeking', 'cozily happy'

6.2.1.2 In template [X-INFX$_A$-INFX$_B$-Y]

Infix A [li^{22}] ○里 and infixes B [ma^{22}] ○麻 or [kuei^{53}] ○骨 can be used to form disyllabic infixes AB [INFX$_A$-INFX$_B$], i.e., [li^{22}ma^{22}] ○里○麻 and [li^{22}kuei^{53}] ○里○骨. The former has a higher infixing frequency than the latter, and they are not interchangeable in the expressions below. These infixes are to date unidentified as to their etymological origins and are accordingly represented by empty circles. The following are some examples:

(126) ○ ○里 ○麻 赤
kuaŋ$^{55\sim22}$ li^{22} ma^{22} tɕ^{h}ia^{53}
? INFX$_A$ INFX$_B$ red
'crimson red'

(127) 路 ○里 ○麻 黑
t^{h}iɔ^{35} li^{22} ma^{22} xə^{53}
road INFX$_A$ INFX$_B$ black
'pitch dark'

(128) 嫩 ○里 ○骨 蓝
nən^{35} li^{22} kuei^{53} lan^{22}
soft INFX INFX blue
'pastel blue'

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(129) 嫩 ○里 ○骨 绿
nən^{35} li^{22} kuei^{53} ly^{35}
soft $INFX_A$ $INFX_B$ green
'bright green'

(130) 镜 ○里 ○麻 清
kiaŋ^{21} li^{22} ma^{22} tʰin^{21}
mirror $INFX_A$ $INFX_B$ clear
'crystal clear'

(131) 白 ○里 ○麻 浅
pa^{35} li^{22} ma^{22} tʰien$^{55\sim22}$
white $INFX_A$ $INFX_B$ light
'bland (in taste)'

(132) 喷 ○里 ○麻 香
pʰuŋ^{53} li^{22} ma^{22} xiɔŋ^{21}
erupt $INFX_A$ $INFX_B$ fragrant
'extremely fragrant'

(133) 赤 ○里 ○麻 臭
tɕʰia^{53} li^{22} ma^{22} tɕʰiɔu^{213}
red $INFX_A$ $INFX_B$ stinky
'extremely stinky'

Infixations are a feature of the Mainland Southeast Asian linguistic area, see Vittrant & Watkins (2019).

6.3 Summary

In this chapter, we have looked at the affixal morphology in Shaowu, namely, nominal affixation (including nominal prefixes, suffixes and circumfixes), and adjectival affixation, which essentially involves adjectival infixing, that is characteristic of Shaowu. We see that nominal suffixing is a predominant morphological affixation process in Shaowu. Verbal affixation will be discussed in Chapter 20 on the aspectual system under Part III on the Predicate Structure, as aspect markers often appear as verbal suffixes in Shaowu.

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Chapter 7
Reduplication

Reduplication is a productive means of word formation for Sinitic languages. The word classes that are most often reduplicated are lexical categories such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, although classifiers, adverbials and even some aspectually marked verbs can also be reduplicated (see, Chao 1968: 218–230, Li & Thompson 1981: 28–36, 232–236, Tsao 2001, Zhu 2003, Paris 2007, Xu 2012b, Arcodia & Basciano & Melloni 2014, *inter alia*). In the following sections, we will introduce various reduplication phenomena in Shaowu, ranging from nominal reduplication, to classifier, verbal, adjectival and adverbial reduplication.

7.1 Nominal reduplication

Only a small, closed set of nouns is available for reduplication. Nouns in Shaowu that can be reduplicated to denote universal quantification expresses the meaning of 'every'. These typically include common nouns like 'person', 'day', 'month' and 'year' (see examples 134–136). If the base noun is disyllabic (AB), the reduplication template is usually in AABB form. The reduplicated noun can appear in its unstressed form, as in examples (137) – (138), but it is not obligatory to be so.

(134) 人 人
nin^{22} nin^{22}
person person
'everyone'

(135) 工 工
kuŋ^{21} kuŋ^{21}
day day
'everyday'

(136) 年 年
nin^{53} nin^{53}
year year
'every year'

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(137) ○这 蜀 个 村 , 家 家 户 户
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} t^{h}ən^{21} ka^{21} ka^{0} fu^{35} fu^{0}
DEM one CLF village family family household household
'In this village, every household
皆 装 了 电话 。
ka^{35} tsɔn^{21} ə^{0} t^{h}ien^{213}ʋa$^{35\sim21}$
all install PFV telephone
has installed a telephone.'

(138) ○他 顶 勤事 , 时 时 刻 刻
xu^{35} tin^{55} k^{h}in^{22}sə^{0} ɕi^{22} ɕi^{0} k^{h}ə^{53} k^{h}ə^{0}
3SG very hardworking hour hour quarter quarter
'He is very hard working, every single minute
皆 唔 浪费 。
ka^{35} ŋ^{55} lɔŋ^{35}fei^{213}
all NEG waste
does not go wasted.'

7.2 Classifier reduplication

A very productive way to express universal quantification is by reduplicating classifiers instead of nouns (see e.g., Aikhenvald 2000: 426–430). Classifier reduplication involves an understanding of what semantics the reduplicated classifier refers to and what head noun it classifies (it can be human, animal, inanimate or abstract nouns). Note that the adverb 'all' usually follows after the reduplicated classifiers to underline the purpose of universal quantification. The reduplicated classifier can appear in its unstressed form. The following examples provide some illustration of these features.

(139) ○他 厝 底头 个 几 个 囝子 ,
xu^{35} tɕ^{h}iɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ti^{55}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ kəi$^{213\sim21}$ ki^{55} kəi$^{213\sim21}$ kin^{53}tsə^{0}
3SG house inside ATT several CLF boy
'All the boys in his family
个 个 皆 考 上 大学 。
kəi^{213} kəi^{213} ka^{35} k^{h}au^{55} ɕiɔŋ^{35} t^{h}ai^{35}xɔ^{35}
CLF$_{person}$ CLF$_{person}$ all exam succeed university
have gone to university.'

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(140) 李 四 厝 底 个 牛 ,
li^{55} si^{213} tɕ^{h}iɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ti$^{55\sim53}$ kəi$^{213\sim21}$ ny^{22}
Li Si house inside ATT bovine
'Every cattle belonging to the family of Li Si
只 只 皆 解 打 垵 。
tɕia^{21} tɕia^{0} ka^{35} xie^{55} ta^{55} t^{h}ən^{53}
CLF CLF all know plough field
knows how to plough the fields.'

(141) ○$_{这}$ 家 店 底头 , 件 件 衣裳
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ka^{21} tien^{213} ti^{55}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ k^{h}ien^{35} k^{h}ien^{55} i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}
DEM CLF shop inside CLF$_{clothes}$ CLF$_{clothes}$ garment
'In this shop, every garment
皆 是 手工 做 个 。
ka^{35} ɕi^{22} ɕiɔu^{55}kuŋ^{21} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ kəi$^{213\sim21}$
all COP handicraft make EMP
is handmade.'

(142) ○$_{她}$ 个 想法 , 个 个 皆 好 。
xu^{35} kəi$^{213\sim21}$ siɔŋ^{55}fan^{53} kəi^{213} kəi$^{213\sim21}$ ka^{35} xau^{55}
3SG POSS idea CLF$_{GENL}$ CLF$_{GENL}$ all good
'Every idea of hers is good.'

7.3 Verbal reduplication

As the name suggests, verbal reduplication is the reduplication of verbs. In Shaowu, the direct copying of head verbs is rare, unlike in Mandarin where the V-V reduplication marks the delimitative and the tentative aspects (see, e.g., Li & Thompson 1981: 232–236, Paris 2007). This is partly because the delimitative and the tentative aspects in Shaowu have a special marker [ka^{0}] <个下> which is attached after the verb. It is the phonetic contraction of two morphemes [kəi^{213}xa^{35}] 个下 'one-CLF$_{VERB}$' ('once'), resulting from phonetic attrition during the process of grammaticalisation (cf. Chapter 20 on the aspectual system, § 20.7 and § 20.8 on the delimitative and the tentative aspects respectively). Verb reduplication in Shaowu usually involves the reduplication of the verb together with its aspect marker, in the form of [VERB-ASP-VERB-ASP]. The Shaowu delimitative aspect marker [ka^{0}] <个下> is involved in the reduplication template [VERB-ASP$_{DELIM}$VERB-ASP$_{DELIM}$], the structure undergoes a change in its function from

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marking the delimitative aspect to coding a sort of progressive which marks an ongoing action. See example (143):

(143) ○她 话 <个下> 话 <个下> 就 啼 起来 了 。
xu^{35} ʋa^{35} ka^{0} ʋa^{35} ka^{0} tsiɔu^{213} t^{h}i^{53} k^{h}i$^{55\sim22}$li^{22} ə^{0}
3SG speak DELIM speak DELIM then cry INCH PFV
'She started to cry as she spoke (was speaking).'

Another progressive marker in Shaowu is [ken^{55}] ○, which is placed before the verb (see also Chapter 20 on aspectual system, § 20.4.1); the reduplicative template is then [ASP$_{PROG}$-VERB-ASP$_{PROG}$-VERB], as shown in example (144):

(144) ○他 ○ 走 ○ 走 。
xu^{35} ken^{55} tsu^{55} ken^{55} tsu^{55}
3SG CONT run CONT run
'He kept on running.'

7.4 Adjectival reduplication

Adjectival reduplication in Shaowu is often used to emphasize the quality that the adjective represents or to accentuate its degree. The reduplication pattern for monosyllabic adjectives is AA and that for disyllabic adjectives is AABB, as in the following two examples respectively:

(145) ○这 蜀 个 桃儿 是 酸酸 儿 个 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} tau^{53}ə^{0} ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ sɔn^{21}sɔn^{0} nə ^{0} kəi^{21}
DEM one CLF peach COP ADJ$_{AA}$-sour DIM ATT
'This peach is a bit sour.'

(146) ○他 厝底 伶伶俐俐 个 。
xu^{35} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti$^{55\sim22}$ len^{22}len^{22}li^{35}li$^{35\sim21}$ kəi^{21}
3SG home ADJ$_{AABB.}$clean ATT
'His home is very clean.'

7.5 Adverbial reduplication

Adverbial reduplication in Shaowu involves reduplicating the adverb placed before the verb to describe the way or manner in which the action is carried out.

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The reduplication pattern is AA for monosyllabic adverbs and AABB for disyllabic adverbs. See for example:

(147) 个 头 牛 慢 慢 行 度 来 了 。
kəi^{21} t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ ny^{22} man^{35} man^{35} xaŋ^{22} xɔ^{22} li^{22} ə^{0}
one CLF cow ADV$_{slow}$ ADV$_{slow}$ walk over come PFV
'A cow was slowly coming over.'

(148) ○$_{他}$ 冇 是 马马虎虎 个 做 事 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} ma$^{55\sim22}$ma^{0}xu$^{55\sim22}$xu^{0} kəi^{21} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sə^{35}
3SG NEG be ADV$_{AABB}$.carelessly ADV$_{MARKER}$ do thing
'He did not do things in a careless way.'

7.6 Summary

In this chapter, we have looked at nominal, classifier, verbal, adjectival and adverbial reduplication. When nouns and classifiers are reduplicated, there is an implication of universal quantification. When certain verbs (together with the aspect marker attached to them) are reduplicated, they are used to imply the continuation of an action. When adjectives and adverbs are reduplicated, it often implies an emphasis or intensification of the quality, degree or manner that these two word-classes represent.

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Chapter 8
Compounding

Compounding is a productive means of word formation in the world's languages, including Sinitic (see e.g., Chao 1968: 375–508, Packard 1997:12–14), that creates compound words by juxtaposing two or more lexemes from the same or different word classes. There are modifier-head and head-modifier non-parallel compound structures, in which the modifier is subordinate to the head; and the parallel, balanced compound structure, in which neither component is subordinate to the other (Packard 1997:12). There are in any combinatorial possibilities in Sinitic and thus in Shaowu as well, including nominal compounds, verbal compounds, subject-predicate compounds, verb-object compounds, and adjective-noun. (Li & Thompson 1981: 45–83). In Sinitic languages, including Shaowu, compounding often involves complex analysis of the nature of lexemes, and sometimes it is not very clear as to which word class a lexeme originally belongs to.

8.1 Nominal compounding

The most common nominal compounding possibilities in Shaowu are as follows:

8.1.1 Monosyllabic N_1 + monosyllabic N_2 compounding

(149)

客	人	/	人	客
k^ha^{53}	nin^{22}		nin^{22}	$k^ha^{53\sim21}$
guest	person		person	guest
'guest'				

(150)

银	河
nin^{22}	$xɔ^{22}$
silver	river
'the Milky Way'	

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8.1.2 Disyllabic N_1+ monosyllabic N_2 compounding

(151) 动物 园
$t^huŋ^{35}ʋei^{35\sim55}$ $ʋien^{22}$
animal park
'zoo'

(152) 目珠 水
$mu^{53}ɕy^{21}$ sei^{55}
eye water
'tears'

8.1.3 Disyllabic N_1+ disyllabic N_2 compounding

(153) 阿娘 囝子
$a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}$ $kin^{53}tsə^{0}$
woman child
'girl'

(154) 琵琶 老鼠
$p^hi^{22}p^ha^{22}$ $lau^{55}tɕ^hy^{55\sim22}$
lute mouse
'bat'

8.2 Verbal compounding

Verbal compounds that are usually formed from verb-verb or verb-noun (predicate) combinations. Despite this, compounding with a verbal component can lead to a change of word-class change, e.g., V_1+V_2 and V+N compounds can also form nouns. These combinations involving verbs usually do not allow insertion of aspect markers or negators in between the components and are therefore referred to as verbal compounds. Below, we will show the most common combinations of verb compounding in Shaowu.

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8.2.1 $V_1 + V_2$ compounding

In V_1+V_2 verb compounding, the two verbs can be synonyms (examples 155 and 156) or unrelated verbs (examples 157 and 158) which, when combined, give rise to a new verbal meaning:

(155) 学 习
xɔ^{35} sən^{53}
learn study
'to learn'

(156) 运 动
ʋin^{35} t^{h}uŋ$^{35\sim55}$
carry move
'sport'

(157) 做 洗
tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ɕie^{55}
do wash
'to bathe or shower' / 'to swim'

(158) 买 卖
mie^{55} mie^{35}
buy sell
'trade'

8.2.2 V + N compounding

The combination of V+N can create V-O compounds which are similar to gerunds, as in examples (159) and (160), and nouns, as in examples (161) and (162). Note that when V+N compounds act like gerunds, they are not considered as verb phrases and hence do not allow insertion of negators or aspect markers.

(159) 写 字
sia^{55} t^{h}ə^{35}
write word
'writing'

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(160) 做 买卖
tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ mie^{55}mie^{35}
do trade
'doing business'

In the above two examples, the V-O compounds act as gerunds and cannot be separated.

In a sentence like ○$_{她}$喜欢写字 [xu^{35}xi^{55}xuɔn^{21}sia^{55}t^{h}ə^{35}] 'She likes writing', the insertion of, for instance, the perfective aspect marker 了 [ə^{0}] between [sia^{55}] 写 'to write' and [t^{h}ə^{35}] 字 'word' will render the sentence ungrammatical. In the same vein, in a sentence like ○他晓得做买卖 [xu^{35}xiau^{55}tie^{21}tsɔ^{21}mie^{55}mie^{35}] 'He knows doing business', if a general negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔is placed immediately before 做买卖 [tsɔ^{21}mie^{55}mie^{35}], the sentence will sound semantically strange if not completely ungrammatical ('He knows not doing business.'). It will, however, become totally ungrammatical if the perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇 is used instead: *○他晓得冇做买卖 [*xu^{35}xiau^{55}tie^{21}mau^{35}tsɔ^{21}mie^{55}mie^{35}].

V+N compounding resulting in nouns can be seen in the following two examples:

(161) 学 堂
xɔ^{35} t^{h}ɔŋ$^{22\sim55}$
study hall
'school'

(162) 建设 局
kien$^{213\sim21}$ɕie^{53} k^{h}y^{35}
construction department
'construction department'

8.2.3 V + RES compounding

It is possible to form resultative verb compounds, as shown in the following example, where [t^{h}ien$^{55\sim22}$ɕin^{21}] 转身 'body turned around' is the resultative compound of the main verb 'to save' [kɔu^{213}] 救. My linguistic consultant explained that this verb compound is usually applied to situations where a dying patient has been revived by a very skilled doctor, and that 'the patient's body even managed to turn around, despite being presumed dead'.

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(163) 救 转身
kɔu^{213} t^{h}ien$^{55\sim22}$ɕin^{21}
save RES$_{\text{body turned around}}$
'to revive', 'to resuscitate'

8.3 Adjectival compounding

By adjectival compounding, we refer to lexemic combinations that involve adjectives. The resulting compounds may or may not be adjectives, depending on which word class the head belongs to. When two adjectives are apposed to each other, their meaning may be intensified or altered.

8.3.1 ADV$_1$ + ADV$_2$ compounding

(164) 痛 快
t^{h}uŋ^{213} k^{h}uai^{213}
painful quick
'rapidly', 'without hesitation'

(165) ○傻 ○ ○
lə^{22} pie^{21} pie^{0}
silly ONOM ONOM
'silly'

8.3.2 ADJ + N compounding

(166) 青 菜
t^{h}aŋ^{21} t^{h}ə^{213}
green vegetable
'leafy green vegetable'

(167) 滚 水
kuən^{55} sei^{55}
boiling water
'hot water'

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8.3.3 ADJ + V compounding

(168) 好 使
xau[55] sə[55]
good use
'useful', 'handy'

(169) 强 制
kʰiɔŋ[22] tɕi[213]
strong rule
'mandatory', 'obligatory'

8.3.4 V + ADJ compounding

(170) 打 目悃
ta[55] mu[53]kʰuən[213~21]
hit sleepy
'to doze'

8.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have seen compounding as a type of word formation in Shaowu. Various lexemes are juxtaposed to form nominal, verbal or adjectival compounds. We have given examples to illustrate how different lexemes, depending on their word class, syllabicity and the constraints which apply, interact to give rise to new words that may or may not belong to the same word class.

In Sinitic languages, including Shaowu, compounding often involves a complex analysis of the nature of the lexemes in question, as sometimes it is not very clear as to which word class a lexeme originally belongs. In the case of uncertainty, we rely on the native speakers' instinct to make such classification, or diagnostic tests of parts of speech, including aspect marking or negation.

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Chapter 9
Kinship terms

The notion of family is a core value of Chinese culture and society, such that addressing family members by using appropriate kinship terms is important cultural knowledge. We therefore include a separate chapter on Shaowu kinship terms used in core and extended families (see Tables 9.1 to 9.4). These inventories provide the most frequently used terms and are by no means exhaustive. The use of diminutives as markers of endearment or respect is described in Chapter 6 on affixal morphology.

As we will see in the tables below, the kinship system in Shaowu is organised according to age and rank in the family, as well as the maternal and paternal side with respect to the person who is the point of reference. Thus, there is a specific term in Shaowu for 'the paternal uncle who is older than the father' and 'the maternal uncle who is older than the mother' (see Tables 9.2 and 9.3 respectively).

When the speaker addresses to someone who is older than the speaker in the family ranking, the corresponding term for the direct address, also known as the vocative form (*miàn chēng* 面称), has to be used. The speaker will be deemed rude if he or she calls the addressee by the first name in this case. If the speaker talks about this family member to a third party (e.g., 'This is my elder sister.'), then the corresponding indirect or reference form (*bèi chēng* 背称) for the kinship term is used.

When the speaker talks directly to an addressee who is younger, the first name of the addressee is used by the speaker. If the speaker mentions this person to a third party (e.g., 'This is my younger sister.'), then the indirect or reference form for the corresponding kinship term is used. For some terms, no distinction is made.

Table 9.1: Shaowu core kinship terms in a nuclear family.

Shaowu morphemes	Corresponding written form	Standard written Chinese & *pinyin*	Gloss in English
$ia^{22}lau^{0}$ (reference form) $ia^{22}ə^{0}$ (vocative form)	爷佬 爷儿	*bàba* 爸爸	father
$niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0}$ (reference form) $m^{22}mə^{21}$ (vocative form)	娘佬 ○○	*māmā* 妈妈	mother
$kin^{53}nə^{0}$	囝儿	*érzi* 儿子	son
$sən^{21}p^{h}y^{213\sim21}$	新妇	*érxífù* 儿媳妇	daughter-in-law
$a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}kin^{53}nə^{0}$	阿娘囝儿	*nǚ'ér* 女儿	daughter

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Table 9.1 (continued)

Shaowu morphemes	Corresponding written form	Standard written Chinese & *pinyin*	Gloss in English
tsia^{55}fu^{0}	姐夫	*nǚxù* 女婿	son-in-law
lau^{55}pa^{0} (reference form) kɔ^{21}kɔ^{0} (vocative form)	老〇 哥哥	*gēge* 哥哥	elder brother
sau^{55}lau^{0} (reference form) sau$^{55\sim22}$sau^{0} (vocative form)	嫂佬 嫂嫂	*sǎosao* 嫂嫂	wife of elder brother
tʰi^{55}ə^{0} (reference form) (for vocative form, the person's name is used)	弟儿	*dìdi* 弟弟	younger brother
tʰi^{55}sən^{21}pʰy$^{213\sim21}$ (for vocative form, the person's name is used)	弟新妇	*dìmèi* 弟妹	wife of younger brother
tɕi^{55}lau^{0} (reference form) tsie^{22}tsie^{0} (vocative form)	姊佬 姐姐	*jiějiě* 姐姐	elder sister
tsia^{55}fu^{21} (both for reference and vocative forms)	姐夫	*jiěfū* 姐夫	husband of elder sister
mei^{213}ə^{0}	妹儿	*mèimei* 妹妹	younger sister
mei^{213}fu^{21}	妹夫	*mèifū* 妹夫	husband of younger sister

Table 9.2: Kinship terms in the paternal family.

Shaowu morphemes	Corresponding written form	Standard written Chinese & *pinyin*	Gloss in English
ta^{22}ta^{0}	〇〇	*yéye* 爷爷	paternal grandfather
ma^{22}ma^{0}	嫲嫲	*nǎinai* 奶奶	maternal grandmother
pa^{22}pa$^{22\sim55}$	伯伯	*bófù* 伯父	father's elder brother
tsia^{22}tsia$^{22\sim55}$	姐姐 (?)	*bómǔ* 伯母	wife of father's elder brother
ɕy$^{53\sim21}$ɕy$^{53\sim55}$	叔叔	*shúfù* 叔父	father's younger brother
ɕin^{22}ɕin$^{22\sim55}$	婶婶	*shúmǔ* 叔母	wife of father's younger brother
ku^{21}ə^{0}	姑儿	*gūgu* 姑姑	father's sister

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Table 9.2 (continued)

Shaowu morphemes	Corresponding written form	Standard written Chinese & *pinyin*	Gloss in English
ku^{21}fu^{0}	姑父	*gūfu* 姑父	husband of father's sister
sən^{21}nə^{0}	孙儿	*sūnzi* 孙子	grandson
a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}sən^{21}nə^{0}	阿娘孙儿	*sūnnǚ* 孙女	granddaughter
sən^{21}nə^{0}	甥儿	*zhízi* 侄子	nephew
a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}sən^{21}nə^{0}	阿娘甥儿	*zhínǚ* 侄女	niece
ɕy$^{53\sim21}$pa^{22}fiaŋ^{21}tʰi^{0} ɕy$^{53\sim21}$pa^{22}lau^{55}pa^{0} (tʰɔŋ^{22}lau^{55}pa^{0}) ɕy$^{53\sim21}$pa^{22}tʰi^{55}ə^{0} (tʰɔŋ^{22}tʰi^{55}ə^{0})	叔伯兄弟 叔伯老〇 (堂老〇) 叔伯弟儿 (堂弟儿)	*shūbai xiōngdì* 叔伯兄弟 *táng gē* 堂哥 *táng dì* 堂弟	(general) male cousin elder male cousin younger male cousin
ɕy$^{53\sim21}$pa^{22}tɕi^{55}lau^{0} ɕy$^{53\sim21}$pa^{22}mei^{213}ə^{0}	叔伯姊佬 叔伯妹儿	*táng jiě* 堂姐 *táng mèi* 堂妹	elder female cousin younger female cousin

Table 9.3: Kinship terms in the maternal family.

Shaowu morphemes	Corresponding written form	Standard written Chinese & *pinyin*	Gloss in English
ʊai^{35}kuŋ^{21} / kuŋ^{21}ŋə^{0} (both for reference and vocative forms)	外公 / 公儿	*wàizǔfù* 外祖父	maternal grandfather
pʰɔ^{22}pɔ^{22} / pʰɔ^{22}ə^{0} (both for reference and vocative forms)	婆婆 / 婆儿	*wàizǔmǔ* 外祖母	maternal grandmother
kʰy^{55}ə^{0}	舅儿	*jiùjiu* 舅舅	mother's brother
kʰən^{55}nə^{0}	妗儿	*jiùmu* 舅母	wife of mother's brother
i^{22}ə^{0}	姨儿	*yí* 姨	mother's sister
i^{22}fu^{0}	姨父	*yífu* 姨父	husband of mother's sister
ʊai^{35}saŋ^{21}	外孙	*wàisūn* 外孙	grandson
ʊai^{35}saŋ^{21}ny^{55} (nie^{55})	外孙女 (囡)	*wàisūnnǚ* 外孙女	granddaughter
ʊai^{35}saŋ^{21}	外甥	*wàishēng* 外甥	nephew
ʊai^{35}saŋ^{21}ny^{55}	外甥女	*wàishēngnǚ* 外甥女	niece

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Table 9.3 (continued)

Shaowu morphemes	Corresponding written form	Standard written Chinese & *pinyin*	Gloss in English
piau^{55}kɔ^{21} piau^{55}lau^{55}pa^{0}	表哥 表老〇	*biǎo gē* 表哥	elder male cousin
piau^{55}tʰi^{55}ə^{0}	表弟儿	*biǎo dì* 表弟	younger male cousin
piau^{55}tɕi^{55}lau^{0}	表姊佬	*biǎojiě* 表姐	elder female cousin
piau^{55}mei^{213}ə^{0}	表妹儿	*biǎomèi* 表妹	younger female cousin

Table 9.4: The extended family and other related terms.

Shaowu morphemes	Corresponding written form	Standard written Chinese & *pinyin*	Gloss in English
ta^{21}ta^{0} *or* ia^{22} (both for reference and vocative forms)	〇〇 爷	*gōnggōng* 公公	father-in-law (for the wife)
ma^{53}ma^{0} (reference form); m^{22}mə^{21} (vocative form)	〇〇 〇〇	*pópo* 婆婆	mother-in-law (for the wife)
tʰiɔŋ^{55}nin^{22}kuŋ^{0} (= xiɔŋ^{55}nin^{22}kuŋ^{0})	丈人公	*yuèfù* 岳父	father-in-law (for the husband)
tʰiɔŋ^{55}nin^{22}pʰɔ^{22} (= xiɔŋ^{55}nin^{22}pʰɔ^{22})	丈人婆	*yuèmǔ* 岳母	mother-in-law (for the husband)
lau^{53}tsə^{0}	老子	*zhàngfū* 丈夫	husband
ma^{55}niɔŋ^{22}	妈娘	*qīzi* 妻子	wife
ku^{21}ku^{0}	姑姑	*dà gūzi*大姑子	husband's elder sister
ku^{21}ə^{0}tsə^{0}	姑儿子	*xiǎogūzi*小姑子	husband's younger sister
mɔ^{53}mɔ$^{53\sim21}$tsə^{0}	〇〇子	*yīnghái* 婴孩	baby
siau^{55}kin^{53}tsə^{0}	小囝子	*xiǎohái* 小孩	young male child
kin^{53}tsə^{0}	囝子	*nánhái* 男孩	boy
a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}kin^{53}tsə^{0}	阿娘囝子	*nǚhái* 女孩	girl
sa^{22}nin^{22}	倷人	*nánrén (yǐ hūn)* 已婚男人	married man
a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}	阿娘	*nǚrén (yǐ hūn)* 已婚女人	married woman
pʰa^{35}mi^{55}kin^{53}tsə^{0}	白米囝子	*nánrén (wèi hūn)* 未婚男人	unmarried man
pʰa^{35}mi^{55}a^{22}niɔŋ^{22} kin^{53}tsə^{0}	白米阿娘囝子	*nǚrén (wèi hūn)* 未婚女人	unmarried woman

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Due to a limit of space, we have not displayed the entire kinship system in its finest details (such as kinship terms for the extended family, e.g., sisters-in-law or brothers-in-law, or cousins twice removed on either side of the family, etc.). Shaowu, just like Mandarin or other Sinitic languages, possesses a highly sophisticated kinship system, which is a pan-Sinitic feature that reflects the importance of family in the culture and the language.

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Chapter 10
Locative adpositions around NPs

Locative adpositions are grammatical morphemes that are attached to noun phrases to express spatial relations, which can sometimes be extended to temporal relations (for Mandarin examples, see Chao 1968: 532–563). They can either be prepositions before the NP, or postpositions placed after the NP. In many Sinitic languages, circum-positions also exist that code location (see e.g., Liu 2002). The phrase formed by an adposition and a noun phrase is an adjunct phrase that usually plays an adverbial role in the sentence structure. We will specifically discuss locative constructions containing locative adpositions in the Predicate Structure Part, in Chapter 14 on adpositional phrases and locative constructions. In this chapter, we will mainly focus on the various adpositions attached to noun phrases in Shaowu.

10.1 Locative prepositions

The most common locative preposition in Shaowu is 处 [t^hu^{55}] (or its allophone [t^hu^{22}] and [t^hu^{35}] after tone sandhi), whose etymon was identified by Sagart (pers. comm.). The morpheme was originally a lexical verb meaning 'to be located in or at', and indeed, it can be a main verb 'to be at/in' in Shaowu, for instance, in the sentence [$xu^{35}t^hu^{55\sim22}pə^{53}kin^{21}$] ○他处北京。'He-is.in-Beijing', the morpheme 处 [t^hu^{55}] is a full lexical verb. However, this lexical verb has undergone grammaticalisation and has become a locative preposition that precedes the noun phrase in a locative construction, which serves as an adjunct in the sentence which has a main verb on its own.

A comparison can be drawn between the Shaowu morpheme 处 [t^hu^{55}] with the Early Archaic Chinese (11th–6th centuries B.C.) verb *zài* 在 'to be located at', 'to reside in', a locative verb that was grammaticalised by the time of Late Medieval Chinese (7th–mid-13th centuries A.D.) *zài* 在 'at', 'in' into a general locative preposition (Peyraube 1994, 1999:191). Such a grammaticalisation path is not uncommon in the world's languages, such as Ewe, Yao Samsao and Hmong (see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 100–101, Heine 1993, Bybee *et al.* 1994). According to Heine & Kuteva (2002: 101), the grammaticalisation from a verb 'to be in/at' to a locative preposition 'appears to be a classical instance of desemanticisation, whereby the predicate function of the copula is bleached out, with the result that there remains a relational locative marker'.

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The following two examples illustrate the function of 处 [t^hu^{55}] as a locative preposition.

(171) ○他 处 北京 学 书 。
xu^{35} $t^hu^{55\sim22}$ pə^{53}kin^{21} xɔ^{35} ɕy^{21}
3SG $PREP_{LOC}$ Beijing study book
'He studies in Beijing.'

Note that the example above is different from the sample sentence we gave earlier [xu$^{35}t^hu^{55\sim22}$pə^{53}kin^{21}] ○他处北京。'He-is.in-Beijing', where the morpheme [$t^hu^{55\sim22}$] 处is a full lexical verb, as mentioned above. In example (171), 处 [$t^hu^{55\sim22}$] is a fully fledged preposition before the noun 'Beijing', and the whole sentence can be literally translated as 'He in Beijing study', where the main verb is [xɔ^{35}ɕy^{21}] 'study', and the prepositional (locative) phrase is [$t^hu^{55\sim22}$pə^{53}kin^{21}] 处北京 'in Beijing'.

(172) ○我 冇 (是) 处 邵武 做 事 。
xaŋ^{35} mau^{35} (ɕi$^{55\sim22}$) $t^hu^{55\sim22}$ ɕiau$^{213\sim21}$u^{55} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sə^{35}
1SG NEG (COP) be.in Shaowu do thing
'I don't work in Shaowu.'

Example (172) illustrates that a negator can precede the locative preposition [t^hu^{55}] 处 ('not in/at'), a copula 'to be' [ɕi^{55}] 是 can also be inserted between the two. It is however to be noted that no aspect marker can be inserted between the locative preposition and the noun phrase, showing that the morpheme [t^hu^{55}] 处 has indeed completed the process of grammaticalisation from a lexical verb 'to be in/at' into a locative preposition 'in/at'.

10.2 Locative postpositions

There are many locative postpositions in Shaowu, mostly indicating the position of an entity or place of an action with respect to the reference location represented by the noun phrase. These postpositions are sometimes called 'localisers' (see e.g., Chappell & Peyraube 2008) or 'locative particles' (e.g., Li & Thompson 1976: 391), and they can either be monosyllabic or disyllabic. Some of them, such as [$t^hin^{53}t^həu^{53\sim21}$] 前头 'front' and [pei^{213}y^{53}] 背○后 'back', are grammaticalised from body-part nouns, just as in English. The following table summarises the main locative postpositions in Shaowu.

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Table 10.1: Shaowu postpositions.

Shaowu morpheme(s)	Characters	Gloss (Lit.)	English translation
ɕiɔŋ^{35}	上	on/above	on
ɕiɔŋ^{35}tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$	上头	above-head	on top of
xa^{35}	下	below/under	under
tu$^{55\sim22}$xa$^{35\sim55\sim22}$	肚下	belly-under	under
ti^{55}tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$	底头	under/inside-head	inside
ʊai^{35}tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$	外头	outside-head	outside
tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}	○○$_{当中}$	??	in the middle
tʰin^{53}tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$	前头	front-head	in front of
pei^{213}y^{53}	背○$_{后}$	back-behind	at the back of
pʰɔŋ^{22}pien^{21}	旁边	flank-side	next to

Some examples to illustrate the locative postpositions in a locative phrase [LOC$_{POST}$-NP]:

(173) 山 上
sɔn^{21} ɕiɔŋ^{35}
hill on
'on the mountain'

(174) 树 下
tɕʰy$^{213\sim21}$ xa$^{35\sim55}$
tree under
'under the tree'

(175) 厝 底头
tɕʰiɔ^{213} ti^{55}tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$
house inside
'inside the house'

(176) 学堂 外头
xɔ^{35}tʰɔŋ$^{22\sim55}$ ʊai^{35}tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$
school outside
'outside the school'

While examples (173) – (176) above are locative phrases where the nouns refer to specific places or locations (mountain, tree, house, school), examples (177)

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and (178) show that some postpositions can be used for human nouns or pronouns:

(177) ○他多 ○○当中
xu^{35}tai^{21} tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}
3PL middle
'amongst them'

(178) 张三 背○后 是 李四 。
tiɔŋ^{21}san^{21} pei^{213}y^{53} ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ li^{55}si^{213}
Zhang San behind COP Li Si
Behind Zhang San is Li Si.

Examples (179)–(181) show the semantic extension of locative postpositions such as [ɕiɔŋ^{35}] 上 and [xa$^{35\sim55}$] 下 to temporal and abstract nouns. These postpositions being further grammaticalised to mean 'regarding', 'as for':

(179) 时间 上
ɕi^{22}kan^{21} ɕiɔŋ^{35}
time on
'regarding the time'

(180) ○那 问题 上
ɔŋ^{53} ʋən^{213}t^{h}i^{22} ɕiɔŋ^{35}
DEM issue on
'on that issue'

(181) ○这 情况 下
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ts^{h}in^{22}k^{h}uɔŋ^{35} xa^{35}
DEM circumstance under
'under this circumstance'

10.3 Locative circumpositions

Circumpositions consist of two adpositions that are used to bracket the noun phrase, preceded by a preposition and followed by a postposition, in the construction [PREP$_{LOC}$-NP-POST$_{LOC}$]. In Shaowu's case, the locative preposition is usually [t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$] 处and the postposition can be any of those listed in Table 10.1.

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The following examples show the use of circumpositions in Shaowu locative phrases.

(182) 张明 处 房间 底头 嗑梦 。
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} **t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$** fɔŋ^{22}kien^{21} **ti^{55}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$** k^{h}a^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$
Zhang Ming $PREP_{LOC}$ room $POST_{LOC}$ sleep
'Zhang Ming is sleeping inside the room.'

(183) 处 山 顶 上 张明 起 了 个
t^{h}u^{55} sɔn^{21} ten^{55} **ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$** tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} k^{h}i^{55} ə^{0} kə^{0}
$PREP_{LOC}$ hill top $POST_{LOC}$ Zhang Ming erect PFV one

栋 厝 。
tuŋ^{213} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}
CLF house
'Zhang Ming built a house on the hilltop.'

(184) ○$_{他}$ 处 ○$_{那}$ 蜀 个 学堂 底 教书 。
xu^{35} **t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$** ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ^{22} **ti^{22}** kau^{213}ɕy^{21}
3SG $PREP_{LOC}$ DEM one CLF school in teach
'He teaches in that school.'

10.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have looked at various adpositions (prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions) in Shaowu. Together with noun phrases, they form locative adpositional phrases which typically serve as adverbial adjuncts in a sentence. Some of these locative phrases can form adjuncts that express spatial and temporal relations, or mark abstract nouns as in 'under such condition', 'on that issue', etc. These adjuncts are usually placed in front of the main verb of the sentence, and thus are also called locative adverbials. For adpositional phrases and locative constructions, see Chapter 14 in Part III on the Predicate Structure.

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Chapter 11
Relative clauses

A relative clause (RelC) can be defined as a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause (Andrews 2007). In other words, they are noun-modifying clauses which serve to specify the reference of the noun phrase. According to Givón (2001b: 175), 'Relative clauses . . . are clause-size modifiers embedded in the noun phrase. To some extent their syntax parallels that of the other major type of subordinate clauses – verbal complements embedded in the verb phrase'.

Relative clauses in Shaowu, as in many Sinitic languages (for Mandarin, see Chao 1968: 305–306), are prenominal and precede the noun they modify; this head-final word order, which is in harmony with and predicted by SOV word order, is very rare in SVO languages, of which the Sinitic family, including Shaowu, is a member. Indeed, Dryer (2005e) pointed out that the combination of the SVO word order and prenominal RCs is typologically 'distinctly' rare: in his 756 language samples, only 5 languages have such a combination, three are Sinitic – Mandarin, Cantonese and Hakka; one is a Tibeto-Burman language under strong Sinitic influence – Bai; and the final one is Formosan-Austronesian – Amis, also located within the Sinosphere in Taiwan. The World's Atlas of Linguistic Structures (WALS) has mapped this peculiar VO and RelN order and showed that Bai and Amis are located within the Chinese-speaking domain, thus subject to a possible areal influence (see also Comrie 2008, Dryer 2005 c, 2005d).

Cross-linguistically, there are four main strategies of relativisation (see, Comrie 1981: 155–163, 2003a, de Vries 2001, 2002, *inter alia*): (i) the non-reduction strategy, whereby the relativised NP remains as a full NP; (ii) the pronoun-retention strategy, whereby the relativised NP is represented by a resumptive pronoun; (iii) the relative-pronoun strategy, whereby the relativised NP is represented by a relative pronoun; and (iv) the gapping strategy, where there is a gap or omission in the position of the relativised NP. Many Sinitic languages, including Mandarin, Cantonese and Shaowu, typically use the resumptive-pronoun strategy and the gapping strategy for their restrictive relative clauses, and the non-reduction strategy for their non-restrictive relative clauses.

Based on an extensive study of 44 Sinitic languages, Arcodia (2016) identified four relativisation strategies in Sinitic:

(i) relativisation based on a structural particle;
(ii) relativisation based on a demonstrative or on a classifier (or both);

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(iii) other strategies of relativisation, such as constructions based on a locative or aspectual marker; and
(iv) zero-marked relativisation.

The structural particle for relativisation in Shaowu is the relative marker [kəi^{213}] 个. Shaowu employs all the four strategies mentioned above except relativisation by bare classifiers and constructions based on a locative or aspectual marker. The canonical relative clause in many Sinitic languages, including Shaowu, is linked to the matrix clause by a relative clause marker [DE] 的 or its equivalent ([kəi^{213}] 个 in Shaowu), which usually share the same surface form with the markers of attribution and possession for adnominal modification and for nominalisation (see Xu & Matthews 2011, Paris 2014, *inter alia*). The Shaowu adnominal modification marker, the polyfunctional morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个, is also the relative clause marker (REL), as will be discussed in § 11.1. The syntactic configuration of Shaowu relative clauses is [RelC + REL$_{[kəi213]}$ + N], where the REL [kəi^{213}] 个 is often prosodically shortened to [kəi^{21}] or its unstressed form [kə^{0}].

11.1 The adnominal modification marker [kəi^{213}] 个

Relative clauses in Shaowu share a similar structural construction as the possessive construction or the attributive adjective construction, in the sense that they use the marker [kəi^{213}] 个as a linking device that adjoins the relative clause to the head noun, in the same way as a possessive construction or an attributive adjective construction would (cf. Chapter 12 on possessive noun phrases). The modifier, be it a relative clause, a possessive NP or an adjective, typically precedes the head noun it modifies, and is followed by the modification marker [kəi^{213}] 个. Examples (185) to (187) illustrate the use of [kəi^{213}] 个 as a marker of modification in a relative-clause construction, a genitive construction and an attributive adjective construction respectively.

11.1.1 As a relative-clause marker

When [kəi^{213}] 个 acts as a relative marker (REL), one of the foci of this chapter, it is placed in the relative-clause syntactic template [RelC + kəi^{213} + N], directly following the relative clause (RelC) and preceding the head noun N, as the following example shows:

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(185) ○我 处 北京 学 书 个 囝儿 ，
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ pə^{53}kin^{21} xɔ^{35} ɕy^{21} kəi^{213} kin^{53}nə^{0}
1SG LOC Beijing study book REL son (N)
'My son who studies in Beijing
明朝 归 来 。
maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} kuei^{21} li^{22}
tomorrow return come
will come back tomorrow.'

Note that the first half of the sentence is a restrictive relative clause: it identifies the son who studies in Beijing (amongst other sons who do not), see also § 11.2.5.

11.1.2 As a genitive marker

The Shaowu polyfunctional [kəi^{213}] 个 (or its unstressed form [kə^{0}]) can also be a genitive marker, as we will see more in detail in Chapter 12 on possessive noun phrases. Below is an example to illustrate this function:

(186) 我 个 囝儿
xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} kin^{53}nə^{0}
1SG POSS son
'my son'

11.1.3 As an attributive marker

By 'attributive marker', we refer to the marker of modification that follows an adjective, a role that the morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 also assumes. See for instance:

(187) 快活 个 囝子
k^{h}uai^{213}ʋai^{55} kəi^{21} kin^{53}tsə^{0}
happy ATT boy
'happy boy'

The different uses of [kəi^{213}] in its respective constructions above are all likely to have the same historical origin, given that the phonetic realisations and the function of modification coincide. This is a widespread feature of Sinitic languages (see e.g., Lü 1943, Zhu 1961, 1966, 1978, 1980, Yuan 1995, Cao 1997, 2014, Tang 2017). Its use may turn any phrasal constituents into a modifier, all of which precede the head noun.

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11.2 Relativisation types

Keenan and Comrie (1977) introduced the notion of Accessibility Hierarchy, which claims that NPs of different syntactic functions show a universal pattern regarding how easily they can be relativised. NPs at the top in the subject positions are generally easier to relativise in the world's languages. On the other hand, NPs that are lower in the hierarchy are harder to relativise. The accessibility hierarchy which they proposed is: subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique > genitive > object of comparison. This means if a language can relativise the object of comparison, it can relativise anything to the left of the hierarchy; if it can relative genitives, it can also relativise direct and indirect objects, obliques and the subject. The accessibility hierarchy thus reflects the syntactic positions of the NPs and forms a typological generalisation and an implicational universal regarding relativisation.

Relative clauses can also be classified according to two structural features (Diessel and Tomasello 2005): (i) the syntactic role of the head, i.e., the main clause element that is modified by the relative clause; and (ii) the syntactic role of the gap, i.e., the element that is gapped or relativised within the relative clause. According to Diessel and Tomasello (2005), there are four particular types of relative clauses showing different combinations of such relations (the examples in English are taken from Tavakolian 1977, cited in their 2005 article, p. 882):

(i) SS relatives (relative clauses that modify the main-clause subject and include a subject gap); e.g., 'The horse *that pushed the goat* stands on the lion.'
(ii) SO relatives (relative clauses that modify the main-clause subject and include an object gap); e.g., 'The cow *that the sheep pushed* stands on the kangaroo.'
(iii) OS relatives (relative clauses that modify the main-clause object and include a subject gap); e.g., 'The cow pushes the kangaroo *that jumped over the goat*.' and
(iv) OO relatives (relative clauses that modify the main-clause object and include an object gap); e.g., The kangaroo stands on the pig *that the sheep pushed*.

It is to be noted that these types mainly concern the relative-pronoun strategy used in many Indo-European languages, but the other three strategies (the non-reduction strategy, the pronoun-retention strategy and the gapping strategy) are not extensively explored in their analysis. In the sections below, we are going to look at various types of relative clauses and strategies employed in Shaowu for relativisation.

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11.2.1 Relativisation on subject within the relative clause

In this subsection, we include relative clauses that modify the main-clause subject and include a subject gap (SS relatives), and relative clauses that modify the main-clause object and include a subject gap (OS relatives).

11.2.1.1 SS relatives

An SS relative clause in Shaowu precedes the subject head noun and modifies it and contains a subject gap which is then linked up by the relative marker [kəi^{213}], with the syntactic configuration of [[REL$_{SS}$ + kəi^{213} + N$_{SUBJ}$] – V – N$_{OBJ}$]. Examples (188) and (189) illustrate this:

(188) 刚刚 含 人 个 老虎 ,
kaŋ^{55}kaŋ^{55} xan^{22} nin^{22} kəi$^{213\sim21}$ lau^{55}k^{h}u$^{213\sim21}$
just now bite person REL tiger
'The tiger that bit the man just now,
就 是 菩萨 变 个 。
tsiɔu^{213} ɕi^{55} p^{h}u^{22}sai$^{213\sim21}$ pien^{213} kə^{0}
then be Bodhisattva transform NOM
was in fact Bodhisattva himself in disguise.'

(189) ○$_{那}$ 蜀 个 卖 票 个 人 瞪 了 个 下
ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} mie^{35} p^{h}iau^{213} kə^{0} nin^{22} ten^{213} ŋə^{0} kə^{0} xa$^{35\sim22}$
DEM one CLF sell ticket CLF person glare PFV one CLF$_{Verb}$
○$_{他}$ 。
xu^{35}
3SG
'The person who was selling the tickets glared at him.'

11.2.1.2 OS relatives

An OS relative clause in Shaowu precedes the object head noun and modifies it and contains a subject gap which is then linked up by the relative marker [kəi^{213}], with the syntactic configuration of [N$_{SUBJ}$ – V – [REL$_{OS}$ + kəi^{213} + N$_{OBJ}$]]. Examples (190) and (191) illustrate this:

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(190) 爷佬 瞭 到 了
ia^{22}lau^{0} niaŋ^{213} tau^{55} ə^{0}
father look ACH PFV
处 ○$_{那}$ 儿 做 人公子 个 囝儿 。
t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$ ɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ nin^{22}kuŋ^{21}tsə^{0} kəi^{21} kin^{53}nə^{0}
LOC there make figurine REL son
'The father saw the son who was there making a figurine.'

(191) 娘佬 骂 了 唔 肯 食 饭 个
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} ma^{213} ə^{0} ŋ^{55} k^{h}ən^{55} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35} kə^{0}
mother scold PFV NEG be willing eat meal REL
囝儿 个 顿 。
kin^{53}nə^{0} kə^{0} tən^{213}
son one CLF
'The mother scolded the son who did not want to have the meal.'

11.2.2 Relativisation on object within the relative clause

In this subsection, we include relative clauses that modify the main-clause subject and include an object gap (SO relatives), and relative clauses that modify the main-clause object and include an object gap (OO relatives).

11.2.2.1 SO relatives

A SO relative clause in Shaowu precedes the subject head noun, modifying it and contains an object gap which is then linked up by the relative marker [kəi^{213}], with the syntactic configuration of [[REL$_{SO}$ + kəi^{213} + N$_{SUBJ}$] − V − N$_{OBJ}$]. Examples (192) and (193) illustrate this:

(192) 娘佬 喊 ○$_{他}$ 食 饭 个 囝子 ,
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} xan^{213} xu^{35} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35} kə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0}
mother call PRON$_{RSUM}$ eat meal REL boy
'The boy that the mother called for dinner,
处 ○$_{那}$儿 搞 人公子 。
t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$ ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} kau^{55} nin^{22}kuŋ^{21}tsə^{0}
be.at there play figurine
was there playing with the figurine.'

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(193) 爷佬 带 度 来 个 囝子 ,
ia^{22}lau^{0} tai^{213} xɔ^{35} li^{22} kə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0}
father bring over come REL boy
'The boy who was brought over by the father,
拿 饭 食 了 去 。
na^{22} pʰən^{35} ɕie^{35} liau^{55} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
OM meal eat CMPL go
ate up the meal.'

Note that in example (192), a resumptive pronoun [xu^{35}] ○他 in the SO relative clause is used to fill the object gap. It refers cataphorically to the subject head noun [kin^{53}tsə^{0}] 囝子 'the boy'. We will see more examples of the use of the resumptive-pronoun strategy in § 11.2.3.

11.2.2.2 OO relatives

An OO relative clause in Shaowu precedes the object head noun, modifying it and contains an object gap which is then linked up by the relative marker [kəi^{213}], with the syntactic configuration of [N_{SUBJ} – V – [REL_{OO} + kəi^{213} + N_{OBJ}]]. Example (194) illustrates this:

(194) 囝儿 买 了 蜀 个 戴 处 面 上 个
kin^{53}nə^{0} mie^{55} ə^{0} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} tʰə^{35} tʰu^{55} min^{213} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ kəi^{21}
son buy PVC one CLF wear be.at face on REL
壳壳子 。
kʰɔ^{53}kʰɔ$^{53\sim21}$tsə^{0}
mask
'The son bought a mask that could be worn on the face.'

In the above example, the verb [tʰə^{35}] 戴 'to wear' is a transitive verb, with the subject being null. One evidence is that it is perfectly grammatical to insert a generic subject [nin^{22}] 人 'person' before the verb 'to wear' [tʰə^{35}] 戴, to mean 'a mask that one wears on one's face', or an ability modal verb [kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以 'can' before this verb, to mean 'a mask that can be worn on one's face.'

11.2.3 Resumptive-pronoun relative clauses

A resumptive-pronoun relative clause, as the name suggests, contains a personal pronoun in a relative clause to represent the head noun anaphorically or cataphorically depending on the word order of a language (for English examples, see e.g., McKee

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and McDaniel 2009, for Cantonese examples, see e.g., Lau 2016). Resumptive-pronoun strategies usually appear in a long-distance-dependency relative clause. The resumptive pronoun in Shaowu's case is cataphoric, i.e., it stands for a following NP. The resumptive pronoun can fill the subject gap or the object gap in the relative clause, as shown by examples (195) and (196) respectively:

(195) ○他 度○ 出 去 搞
xu^{35} t^{h}ɔ^{35}ma^{55} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ kau^{55}
PRON$_{RSUM}$ yesterday out go play
'He who went out have fun last night,
○那 蜀 个 人 是 张三 。
ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} nin^{22} ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ tiɔŋ^{21}san^{21}
DEM$_{DIST}$ one CLF person COP Zhang San
that person was Zhang San.' (Lit.)
[The person who went out have fun last night was Zhang San.]

(196) 爷佬 带 ○他 度 来 个 囝子 ,
ia^{22}lau^{0} tai^{213} **xu^{35}** xɔ^{35} li^{22} kə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0}
father bring PRON$_{RSUM}$ over come REL boy
'The boy who was brought over by the father,
拿 饭 食 了 去 。
na^{22} p^{h}ən^{35} ɕie^{35} liau^{55} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
OM meal eat CMPL go
ate up the meal.'

11.2.4 Relative clauses and passive constructions

In Shaowu, we also see relative clauses construed with passive constructions involving the passive marker [tie^{53}] 得, as shown in example (197):

(197) 忽然 间 , 发现 菩萨 额 上
fei^{53}ien^{22} kan^{21} fai^{53}xien^{35} p^{h}u^{22}sai^{21} ŋia^{53} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
sudden during discover Bodhisattva forehead on
'Suddenly, (the man) discovered that, on the forehead of the Bodhisattva statue,
有 个 条 得 锹头 搂 个 痕 儿 。
iɔu^{55} kə^{0} t^{h}iau^{22} tie^{53} kiɔ^{53}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ ləu^{22} kə^{0} xən^{22} nə^{0}
EXST one CLF PASS hoe carve REL groove DIM
there was a groove that was carved out by the hoe.'

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11.2.5 Restrictive relative clauses vs non-restrictive relative clauses

Bound relative clauses can further be divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Restrictive relative clauses modify their head noun by defining or identifying their referent by giving essential information about them in order to understand what or who is being referred to; whereas non-restrictive relative clauses provide extra information on the head noun without delimiting its reference and can be omitted without any loss of identification (Keenan 1985). Compare, for instance, English sentences *The socks which are yellow have holes in them*. (restrictive) and *My socks, which are yellow, have holes in them*. (non-restrictive).

Within the relative clause, there is typically a predicate where one of the arguments has the same referent as the noun phrase it qualifies. Most Sinitic languages, due to their pre-nominal modification, tend to only have the restrictive, defining reading available in their relative clauses. The non-restrictive relative clauses are, by contrast, formed by mentioning the head noun first, followed by the extra information about the referent as an independent descriptive clause (see, e.g., Fang 2004). As for most Sinitic languages, Shaowu relative clauses are thus basically of the restrictive type, that is, they are necessary from a communicative viewpoint for the identification of the referent head noun they qualify or define.

While all the above examples are restrictive relative clauses, there is a way that Shaowu expresses the non-restrictive relative clause (as in e.g., English, *The grocer, who is a friend of mine, moved to a new house last month*.). This is achieved through using the non-reduction strategy by putting the head noun before a descriptive relative clause which uses a pronoun that refers to the antecedent NP. This allows the supplementary information to be added to the head noun, as can be seen in example (198):

(198) ○我 个 囝儿 , ○他 解 话 邵武事 ,
xaŋ^{35} kəi^{213} kin^{53}nə^{0} xu^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ʊa^{35} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}
1SG POSS son 3SG can speak Shaowu
现在 处 北京 学书 。
xien^{35}t^{h}ai^{55} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ pə^{53}kin^{21} xɔ^{35}ɕy^{21}
now be.in Beijing study
'My son, he can speak Shaowu, is now studying in Beijing.' (Lit.)
[My son, who can speak Shaowu, is now studying in Beijing.]

Although the clause in the middle of the example above is an independent clause, [xu^{35}xie$^{55\sim35}$ʊa^{35}ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}] ○他解话邵武事 'he can speak Shaowu', it is in fact descriptive of the head noun [xaŋ^{35}kəi^{213}kin^{53}nə^{0}] ○我个囝儿 'my son', and pro-

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vides supplementary information without having the identification function, i.e., information necessary for specifying the referent. Thus, example (198) talks actually about 'a son of mine, who can speak Shaowu, is now studying in Beijing.'

Note that this non-reduction RC strategy differs from the pronoun-retention strategy also using also a resumptive pronoun (cf. § 11.2.3) in the sense that there is no embedding of the pronoun within the relative clause that restricts it and, importantly, there is no use of relative marker [kəi^{213}] 个. The juxtaposition of the head noun and an independent descriptive clause that contains an anaphoric pronoun is a way to encode non-restrictive relative clauses in Shaowu.

As mentioned in the introduction, non-restrictive relative clauses are relatively rare in Sinitic, including Shaowu. Below is another example of such a relative clause, in which the non-restrictive relative clause 'which I did for my son' only provides additional information about the referent 'this calligraphy' without specifying it.

(199) ○这 字 , ○我 写 得 ○我 囝儿 个 ,
tɕiɔŋ^{53} t^{h}ə^{35} xaŋ^{35} sia^{55} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} kin^{53}nə^{0} kəi^{21}
DEM word 1SG write DAT 1SG son REL
'This calligraphy, which I did for my son,
好 瞄 吗 ?
xau^{55} niaŋ^{213} ma^{22}
good look Q
is it nice?'

11.2.6 Relative clauses without relative markers

We refer to cases where the relative-clause marker [kəi^{213}] is absent from the relative clause which is thus zero-marked. The condition to achieve this is that a demonstrative determiner needs to follow the relative, as shown in example (200):

(200) ○我 度○ 瞄 到 ○那 蜀 个 人 是
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}ɔ^{35}ma^{55} niaŋ^{213} tau^{55} ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} nin^{22} ɕi$^{55\sim22}$
1SG yesterday look ACH DEM_{DIST} one CLF person COP
小张 。
siau^{55}tiɔŋ^{21}
Little Zhang
'That person whom I saw yesterday was Little Zhang.'

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Unlike Cantonese or some other Sinitic languages such as Wu, where the bare classifier can be used as a definite article and also as a relative clause marker (Matthews & Yip 2001, 2011: 326–334), it is not possible in Shaowu to omit the demonstrative marker and simply use [CLF-N] as the definite head noun, for the classifier alone cannot not act as relative clause marker in Shaowu.

Note also that the distal demonstrative [ɔŋ^{53}] ○$_{那}$ does not serve as a relative marker in Shaowu, as the actual relative marker [kəi^{213}] 个 can actually be added back before the distal demonstrative in real speech. Also, it is possible to change the distal demonstrative into the proximal demonstrative [tɕiɔŋ^{53}] ○$_{这}$, for instance:

(201) ○$_{我}$ 现在 瞅 到 了 ○$_{这}$ 蜀 个
xaŋ^{35} xien^{35}t^{h}ai^{55} niaŋ^{213} tau^{55} ə^{0} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213}
1SG now look ACH PFV DEM$_{PROX}$ one CLF
人 是 小李 。
nin^{22} ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ siau^{55}li^{55}
person COP Little Li
'This person who I've seen now is Little Li.'

The relative clauses shown in examples (200) and (201) are both 'zero-marked' (i.e., without the relative marker) in the surface form, but since the relative marker [kəi^{213}] 个 can be retrieved, that is, added back into the surface structure, the underlying RelC construction can be analysed as including the presence of the relative marker [kəi^{213}] 个.

11.2.7 Free relative clauses

Relative clauses can be bound or free (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 63), the former qualifies an explicit element (e.g., in English: *The socks that she bought yesterday are red.*), while the latter has no explicit antecedent (e.g., in English: *She likes what she chooses.*). The latter is also known as a free or headless relative clause, which can consist of a clause functioning as an NP that is constructed by a nominalising particle (Matthews & Yip 2011: 113) and which, as the name implies, does not have an explicit head noun in the relative NP. There is usually an unspecified head noun which is understood from the context and which usually designates some generality. Example (202) shows a headless RelC which does not have any antecedent in the discourse and for this reason counts as a free relative clause, its syntactic template is [RelC + kəi^{213} + Ø].

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(202) ○你 有 有 个 就 唔 去 想 。
xien[35] mau[35] iɔu[55] kəi[213] tsiɔu[213] ŋ[55] kʰɔ[213~21] siɔŋ[55]
2SG NEG have REL then NEG go think
'What you do not have, do not think (about having) it.'

11.3 Summary

In the above sections, we can see that Shaowu has four different relativisation strategies:

i. the relative-marker strategy, whereby the relativised NP is marked by the relative marker [kəi[213]] 个 in the syntactic template [RelC + kəi[213] + N]; the relative marker can be elided if the distal demonstrative [ɔŋ[53]] ○那 or the proximal demonstrative [tɕiɔŋ[53]] ○这 precedes the head noun;
ii. the gapping strategy, where there is a gap or omission in the position of the relativised NP which can be a subject or an object. The syntactic template for relativisation on subject within the relative clause is [[REL_{SS} + kəi[213] + N_{SUBJ}] – V – N_{OBJ}] or [N_{SUBJ} – V – [REL_{OS} + kəi[213] + N_{OBJ}]], and for relativisation on object within the relative clause is [[REL_{SO} + kəi[213] + N_{SUBJ}] – V – N_{OBJ}] or [N_{SUBJ} – V – [REL_{OO} + kəi[213] + N_{OBJ}]];
iii. the pronoun-retention strategy, whereby the relativised NP is represented by a resumptive pronoun; especially where there is long-distance dependency in the relative clause. The resumptive pronoun is usually in the form of the third person singular [xu[35]] ○他/她/它 and the syntactic template is [$RelC_{(RSUM)}$ + kəi[213] + N + VP].

The above three types are strategies that form restrictive relative clauses. For non-restrictive relative clauses, Shaowu uses:

iv. the non-reduction strategy, whereby the relativised NP remains as a full NP; there is no embedding of the relative clause in the relative NP but a juxtaposition of the head noun and an independent descriptive clause which contains supplementary information that is descriptive of the head noun it follows, using the syntactic template [N + $RelC_{non\text{-}restrict}$ + VP].

All the above-mentioned relative-clause types are bound relative clauses. In Shaowu, there are also:

v. free relative clauses, which refers to a headless RelC that does not have any antecedent in the discourse, and the inexplicit head noun can only be inferred from the context. Its syntactic template is [RelC + kəi[213] + Ø].

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Chapter 12
Possessive noun phrases and inalienability

Possessive noun phrases, also called genitive constructions, involve a possessor NP that modifies the head noun (or the possessum, i.e., the possessed noun), typically by using a possessive marker (see Haiman 1985a: 135, Chappell & McGregor 1989, Chappell & McGregor 1996a: 3–26; *inter alia*). According to Dryer (2007a), the notion of possession may involve kinship relations (e.g., 'John's brother'), part-whole relations ('John's eyes', 'the top of the mountain'), ownership ('John's computer'), and various abstract possessions ('John's arrival', 'the victory of the city').

Cross-linguistically, languages code possession differently (Chappell & McGregor 1989): some mark the possessor (e.g., Hua, a trans-New Guinea language; in Haiman 1980: 224–225), some mark the possessum (e.g., Cree, an Algonquian language; see Wolfart & Carroll 1981: 42–51), some have no genitive marking at all but simply juxtapose the possessor and possessum (e.g., Chalcatongo Mixtec, an Oto-Manguean language spoken in Mexico; in Macaulay 1996: 108–109); some use genitive case affixes (e.g., Cree uses possessive prefixes; see Wolfart & Carroll 1981: 42–51), some use genitive clitics (e.g., English, *John's books*) and some use possessive morphemes (e.g., Mandarin; in Li and Thompson 1981: 113–116).

The possessive construction in Shaowu is of the dependent marking type, i.e., the possessor is a grammatical dependent of the head noun, marked by the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 (its polyfunctionality as a linker is mentioned in Chapter 11, § 11.1). The standard word order of the genitive construction in Shaowu is [POSSESSOR- (POSS $_{[kəi213]}$) – POSSESSUM]. Depending on the extent of (in)alienability and the degree of formality in expression, the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 can be kept or elided. The only occasion where its presence is obligatory is when the possessum is a non-relational noun.

A possessive NP in Shaowu is formed by attaching the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 after common nouns or personal pronouns, and they will automatically serve as possessive NPs. There is no special possessive determiner paradigm with suppletive forms in Shaowu as in English (e.g., 'my', your', his', her' ...). The possessive pronoun paradigm in Shaowu involves an analytic formation by attaching the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 after personal pronouns. The same process applies for the emphatic forms equivalent to English 'mine', 'yours', 'his/hers' etc. A possessive noun phrase is formed when the personal pronoun is followed by the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 and the possessum (or simply the juxtaposition of the personal pronoun and the possessum, depending on the alienability or affinity between the two); see § 12.3 and § 12.4 for details. For the possessive determiner paradigm and the possessive pronoun paradigm, see § 12.1 and § 12.2 below.

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In this chapter, we also include a section on body parts in Shaowu (for kinship terms, see Chapter 9). In the following sections, we are going to see how genitive constructions are formed in Shaowu, marked or zero-marked (i.e., with or without the use of the possessive morpheme), and when the possessor is pronominal or a full NP.

12.1 Possessive determiner paradigm

The possessive determiner paradigm in Shaowu is listed in Table 12.1 below, the syntactic template is [$NP_{POSSESSOR}$ + ([kəi^{213}] 个) + $NP_{POSSESSUM}$]. Here, we only provide the closed set of pronoun possessor paradigm.

Table 12.1: Possessive determiner paradigm in Shaowu.

Shaowu possessive determiner	Gloss in Mandarin	Gloss in English
[xaŋ^{35}kəi^{213}] ○$_{我}$ 个	*wǒ de* 我的	my
[xien^{35}kəi^{213}] ○$_{你}$个	*nǐ de* 你的	your (singular)
[xu^{35}kəi^{213}] ○$_{他}$/○$_{她}$/○$_{它}$个	*tā/tā/tā de* 他/她/它的	his/her/its
[xaŋ^{35}tai^{21}kəi^{213}] ○$_{我}$多个	*wǒmen de* 我们的	our (exclusive)
[ien^{22}tai^{21}kəi^{213}] 俺多个	*zánmen de* 咱们的	our (inclusive)
[xien^{35}tai^{21}kəi^{213}] ○$_{你}$多个	*nǐmen de* 你们的	your (plural)
[xu^{35}tai^{21}kəi^{213}] ○$_{他}$/○$_{她}$/○$_{它}$多个	*tā/tā/tāmen de*他/她/它们的	their

It is of course possible to add modifiers such as adjectives or relative clauses preceding the $NP_{POSSESSOR}$ and the $NP_{POSSESSUM}$, for instance:

(203) ○$_{我}$多 学 书 学 得 顶 好 个
xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} xɔ^{35} ɕy^{21} xɔ^{35} tie^{53} tin^{55} xau^{55} kə^{0}
1PL.EXCL study book study VCM very good REL
囝儿 个 顶 ○$_{多}$ 想法
kin^{53}nə^{0} kəi^{21} tin^{55} ʋai^{55} siɔŋ^{55}fan^{53}
son POSS very many idea
'The many ideas of our son who studies well'
(relative clause preceding $NP_{POSSESSOR}$ and $NP_{POSSESSUM}$)

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12.2 Possessive pronoun paradigm

The possessive pronoun paradigm in Shaowu is likewise constructed likewise by adding the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 after the personal pronouns, to form the possessive pronouns 'mine', 'yours', 'his', 'hers', etc. The surface forms (shown in Table 12.2) are exactly the same as those we have seen in possessive determiner paradigm, except that the possessive pronouns do not precede a head noun and modify it, but are NPs that occupy the subject or object, topic or comment position on their own. See examples (204) and (205) below the table.

Table 12.2: Possessive pronoun paradigm in Shaowu.

Shaowu possessive pronoun	Gloss in Mandarin	Gloss in English
[xaŋ^{35}kəi^{213}] ○$_{我}$ 个	*wǒ de* 我的	mine
[xien^{35}kəi^{213}] ○$_{你}$个	*nǐ de* 你的	yours (singular)
[xu^{35}kəi^{213}] ○$_{他}$/○$_{她}$/○$_{它}$个	*tā/tā/tā de* 他/她/它的	his/hers/its
[xaŋ^{35}tai^{21}kəi^{213}] ○$_{我}$多个	*wǒmen de* 我们的	ours (exclusive)
[ien^{22}tai^{21}kəi^{213}] 俺多个	*zánmen de* 咱们的	ours (inclusive)
[xien^{35}tai^{21}kəi^{213}] ○$_{你}$多个	*nǐmen de* 你们的	yours (plural)
[xu^{35}tai^{21}kəi^{213}] ○$_{他}$/○$_{她}$/○$_{它}$多个	*tā/tā/tāmen de*他/她/它们的	theirs

(204) ○$_{这}$ 本 书 (是) ○$_{我}$ 个 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} pən^{55} ɕy^{21} ɕi^{22} xaŋ^{35} kəi^{213}
DEM CLF book be 1SG POSS
'This book is mine.'

(205) ○$_{我}$ 个 ○$_{你}$ 就 ○$_{别}$ 拿 去 。
xaŋ^{35} kəi^{213} xien^{35} tsiɔu$^{213\sim55}$ məi^{22} na^{22} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG POSS 2SG then NEG$_{IMP}$ take go
'Don't take away what is mine.'

12.3 Possessive constructions with [kəi^{213}] 个

In Shaowu, the possessor and the possessum can be common nouns, proper nouns or pronouns. The possessor is a grammatical dependent of the head noun and is marked by the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 (or its unstressed forms

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[kəi^{21}] or [kə^{0}]) that follows the possessor and precedes the possessum which can be filled by nouns for humans, animals, objects or locations. The possessive construction is [POSSESSOR- (POSS$_{[kəi213]}$) – POSSESSUM].

12.3.1 Human possessum

(206) 俺多 个 客人
ien^{22} tai^{21} kə^{0} k^{h}a^{53}nin^{22}
1PL.INCL POSS guest
'our guest'

12.3.2 Animal possessum

(207) 张明 个 猫儿
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} kə^{0} mau^{53}ə^{0}
Zhang Ming POSS cat
'Zhang Ming's cat'

12.3.3 Inanimate possessum

(208) ○$_{我}$多 个 厝
xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} kə^{0} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}
1PL.EXCL POSS house
'our house'. (addressee excluded)

12.3.4 Locative possessum

(209) 厝 个 前头
tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213} kə^{0} t^{h}in^{53}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$
house POSS front
'in front of the house'

The possessive NPs can be placed in the subject or object position, see examples (210) and (211) respectively:

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(210) ○我多 个 厝 处 邵武 。
xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} kə^{0} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213} t^{h}u^{55} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}
1PL.EXCL POSS house LOC Shaowu
'Our house is in Shaowu.'

(211) ○我 冇 瞙 度 张明 个 猫儿 。
xaŋ^{35} mau^{35} niaŋ^{213} t^{h}ɔ^{35} tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} kə^{0} mau^{53}ə^{0}
1SG NEG see EXP Zhang Ming POSS cat
'I have never seen Zhang Ming's cat.'

12.4 Zero-marked possessive constructions and inalienability

Zero-marked possessive constructions refer to the juxtaposition of the possessor NP and the possessum NP without using the possessive morpheme. Often, they are used in the Sinitic languages to mark inalienable possession, such as body parts, location and kinship terms. Chappell and McGregor (1989) refer to nominal constructions that express inalienability as representing 'a halfway house between genitives and nominal classification'. Cross-linguistically, they find that inalienable constructions can either be zero-marked (such as Jaru, Mandarin Chinese, Ewe), or the possessum can be marked by a bound morpheme (such as Paamese, Nyulnyul, Manam).

Chappell and Thompson (1992) find that the Mandarin zero-marked possessive constructions are used when the head noun is represented by kinship, spatial or locative terms. As in Mandarin, Shaowu has distinct inalienable constructions that encode its zero-marked possessive constructions without using the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个. These constructions are used to express affinity or attachment borne out by kinship, close ties, body parts, locations or institutions to which one belongs, etc. Note however that it is not ungrammatical to insert the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 between the possessor and the possessum. It would just create a certain psychological distance in the relational description, hence sounding more formal than when the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 is elided.

(212) ○他 爷佬
xu^{35} ia^{22}lau^{0}
3SG father
'his father'

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(213) ○我 先生
xaŋ[35] sien[21]sen[21]
1SG teacher
'my teacher'

(214) ○她 厝底
xu[35] tɕ[h]iɔ[213]ti[53~55]
3SG home
'her family'

(215) ○我多 学堂
xaŋ[35]tai[21] xɔ[35]t[h]ɔŋ[55]
1PL.EXCL school
'our school' (institution)

(216) ○他多 行 处 俺多 前头 。
xu[35]tai[21] xaŋ[22] t[h]u[55] ien[22]tai[21] t[h]in[53]t[h]əu[53~21]
3PL walk be.at 1PL.EXCL front
'They are walking in front of us.' (location)

(217) ○你 头○ 顶 黑 。
xien[35] t[h]əu[53]py[21] tin[55] xə[53]
2SG hair very dark
'Your hair is really dark.' (body part)

We notice that while zero-marked possessive constructions are formed seamlessly with the juxtaposition of pronouns and the possessum head noun, it is however more natural to insert the possessive morpheme [kəi[213]] 个, when the possessor is a common or proper noun and the head noun is a kinship term, organisations or body parts etc. (see examples 218–221).

(218) 囝子 个 娘佬
kin[53]tsə[0] kəi[21] niɔŋ[22]lau[0]
boy POSS mother
'The boy's mother'

(219) 张明 个 先生
tiɔŋ[21]min[22] kəi[21] sien[21]sen[21]
Zhang Ming POSS teacher
'Zhang Ming's teacher'

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(220) 客人 个 房间
$k^ha^{53}nin^{22}$ $kəi^{21}$ $fɔŋ^{22}kien^{21}$
guest POSS room
'the guests' room'

(221) 阿娘囝子 个 头〇
$a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}kin^{53}tsə^{0}$ $kəi^{21}$ $t^həu^{53}py^{21}$
girl POSS hair
'The girl's hair'

In Shaowu, the only category in which the possessive morpheme is obligatory in this possessive construction is for the non-relational nouns, including inanimate possessions. For instance:

(222) 〇他 *(个) 车
xu^{35} $kəi^{21}$ $tɕ^hia^{21}$
3SG POSS car
'his car'

Eliding the possessive morpheme [$kəi^{213}$] 个in the above two phrases will render them ungrammatical, or at least will create comical effects.

12.5 Possessive constructions using demonstratives

It is also possible to construct possessive noun phrases by using the proximal demonstrative [$tɕiɔŋ^{53}$] 〇这 or the distal demonstrative [$ɔŋ^{53}$] 〇那 in lieu of the possessive morpheme [$kəi^{213}$] 个.

(223) 〇你 〇这 想 法 顶 好 。
$xien^{35}$ $tɕiɔŋ^{53}$ $siɔŋ^{55}$ fan^{53} tin^{55} xau^{55}
2SG DEM idea very good
'This idea of yours is very good.'

(224) 〇他 〇那 事 顶 麻烦 。
xu^{35} $ɔŋ^{53}$ $sə^{35}$ tin^{55} $ma^{22}fan^{22}$
3SG DEM matter very tricky
'That matter of his is tricky to handle.'

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Inserting the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 between the possessor and the possessum to replace the demonstrative in example (224) gives rise to example (225):

(225) 〇$_{他}$ 个 事 顶 麻烦 。
xu^{35} kə^{0} sə^{35} tin^{55} ma^{22}fan^{22}
3SG POSS matter very tricky
'His matter is tricky to handle.'/ 'His matters are tricky to handle.'

Note, however, that as there is no plural marking on the possessor, the possessum or the possessive morpheme, the head noun in example (225) can be interpreted in the singular or in the plural ('a matter' or 'matters'). There is also no specific reference to a particular matter, unlike 'that matter of his' denoted by the demonstrative determiner in example (224), nor is there any negative connotation borne out by the distal demonstrative. In addition, the possessa are often abstract nouns.

Finally, classifiers in Shaowu cannot serve as possessive morphemes, unlike Cantonese (Matthews and Yip 2011: 128) or some Wu and Gan languages (e.g., Yichun Gan, in Li 2018: 53).

12.6 Possessive constructions using resumptive pronouns

It is also possible to use a resumptive pronoun, often the third person singular 〇$_{他}$ [xu^{35}], anaphorically referring to the possessor, that serves the role of possessive morpheme. See for instance:

(226) 张明 〇$_{他}$ 囝儿 学 书 学 得 顶
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} xu^{35} kin^{53}nə^{0} xɔ^{35} ɕy^{21} xɔ^{35} tie^{53} tin^{55}
Zhang Ming POSS$_{PRON}$ son study book study VCM very
好 。
xau^{55}
good
'Zhang Ming's son studies well.'

This construction is unlikely to be a topic-comment construction ('As for Zhang Ming, his son studies well.') because there is no pause or discourse markers between 'Zhang Ming' and the resumptive pronoun. Note however that usually the resumptive pronoun is in the third person singular and not in any other forms. It could be the usage frequency that triggered a re-lexification process converting

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a resumptive pronoun into a possessive morpheme. The scope of application of such construction usually involves kinship terms and body parts.

(227) 妹儿 〇她 手 肿 了 。
mei^{213}ə^{0} xu^{35} ɕiɔu^{55} tɕiuŋ^{55} ŋə^{0}
sister $POSS_{PRON}$ hand swell PFV
'The sister's hands are swollen.'

12.7 Body-part terms

We conclude this chapter with a list of body-part nouns in Shaowu, since they are the main inalienable physical objects that humans possess. The presence of the possessive marker [kəi^{213}] 个between the possessor and the body part is not required (cf. example 217), i.e., the zero-marked construction is preferred (cf. § 12.4). Some of the common body-part terms are shown in Table 12.3 below:

Table 12.3: Body parts in Shaowu.

Body parts in Shaowu	Written form	Gloss in English
[min^{213}]	面	face
[mu^{53}tɕy^{21}]	目珠	eye
[p^{h}i^{21}k^{h}uei$^{53\sim21}$]	鼻窟	nose
[nin^{55}k^{h}uei$^{53\sim21}$]	耳窟	ear
[tsei^{55}]	嘴	mouth
[ɕie^{35}t^{h}ien^{55}]	舌舔	tongue
[kiaŋ^{55}tsə^{0}]	颈子	neck
[u^{22}liaŋ^{22}]	〇〇	shoulder
[t^{h}əu^{53}py^{21}]	头〇	hair
[ɕiɔu^{55}]	手	hand, arm
[tɔu^{55}tsan^{21}]	〇〇肘	elbow
[k^{h}yn^{22}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$]	拳头	fist
[ɕiɔu^{55}ɕi^{21}tsə^{0}]	手〇子	finger
[ɕiɔu^{55}tɕi$^{55\sim22}$kan^{53}nə^{0}]	手指甲儿	fingernail
[k^{h}au^{21}]	骹	foot, leg, thigh
[py^{53}ɕy^{21}]	腹〇	belly
[pei^{213}tɕia^{53}]	背脊	back
[iau^{21}]	腰	waist
[ɕi^{55}k^{h}uei$^{53\sim21}$]	屎窟	buttock

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12.8 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed four possessive-construction strategies for the expression of possession, namely:

(i) the (generic) genitive strategy using the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个, with the syntactic template [POSSESOR- POSS$_{[kəi213]}$ – POSSESSUM];

(ii) the zero-marked strategy that does not use the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 but rather the juxtaposition of possessor and possessum NPs. It has the syntactic template is [POSSESSOR – POSSESSUM]; the possessa usually are kinship terms, body parts, institutional and relational nouns or close ties;

(iii) the demonstrative-pronoun strategy using the proximal ([tɕiɔŋ^{53}] ○$_{这}$) or distal ([ɔŋ^{53}] ○$_{那}$) demonstratives, with the syntactic template [POSSESSOR-POSS$_{[tɕiɔŋ53]/[ɔŋ53]}$ – POSSESSUM], in which often the possessum are abstract nouns;

(iv) the resumptive-pronoun strategy using the third-person pronoun (usually singular), with the syntactic template [POSSESOR- POSS$_{[xu35]}$ – POSSESSUM], usually the possessor is a common or proper human noun in singular form and the possessum is either a kinship term or body part.

The use of the possessive morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 is only obligatory under one circumstance in Shaowu, that is, when the possessum is a non-relational noun. Otherwise, the use of the possessive morpheme is optional in Shaowu, be it for kinship terms, body parts, locations or institution nouns, depending on the emotional distance that the speaker subjectively perceives or intends to project, or the degree of formality that is reflected.

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Part III: **Predicate structure**

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In Part III, we cover various aspects of the predicate structure of Shaowu, including major verb classes and the grammatical elements constructed around them. These grammatical elements include adpositions, adverbs, negation, modal verbs, postverbal complements of manner, extent, result, direction and potentiality, as well as the aspectual system of Shaowu. We mainly focus on verbal predicates in this part, and not on non-verbal predicates, such as noun phrases and adjectival phrases.

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Chapter 13
Verb classes

Verb classes have attracted much linguistic investigation across the world (e.g., Fillmore 1968b, 1977, 1978, Wierzbicka 1972, 1980, 1996, Fukui, Miyagawa & Tenny 1985, *inter alia*). Verbs can be classified based on their syntactic behaviour (e.g., syntactic alternations) or based on semantic criteria (e.g., thematic roles); these categorisations are also referred to as grammatical relations and semantic roles (see e.g., Givón 2001: 173–175).

Levin (1993: 17) points out that verb classes arise because a set of verbs with one or more shared meaning components show similar behaviour and demonstrates that there are correlations between the semantics of verbs and their syntactic behaviour, drawing such a conclusion from investigating more than 3000 English verbs and identifying 79 different syntactic alternations for English, including transitives, reflexives, causatives and passives. She defines verb classes as "sets of semantically-related verbs sharing a range of linguistic properties, such as the possible realizations of their arguments and the particular interpretation associated with each possible argument realization." (Levin 2013).

One of the well-known classifications of verb classes is by Vendler (1957, 1967: 102–107), who categorises verbs into four basic classes according to the verb's dynamicity and telicity: (i) 'states', which denote static events without an inherent endpoint, with a lack of change (e.g., *know*, *understand*); (ii) 'activities', which denote dynamic situations or actions without an inherent endpoint (e.g., *walk*, *talk*); (iii) 'accomplishments', which involve a dynamic process over time and a change of state, with an inherent endpoint (e.g., *draw a line*, *teach a course*); and (iv) 'achievements', which denote punctual actions that lack duration, but have resultant states and inherent endpoints (e.g., *win*, *realise*).

Chafe (1970) classifies verbs into four basic types: states, processes, actions and action processes; the latter three are regarded as non-state verbs. State verbs describe the state or condition of a single argument (e.g., *The platypus is dead*.), while the process verbs express a change of condition or state in its argument (e.g., *The platypus died*.) Action verbs involve an agent and describe what action it performs (e.g., *He hunted*.) while action-process verbs describe the action carried out by an agent on a patient that undergoes the process (e.g., *He killed the platypus*.).

Goldberg (1995: 141–218, 2013) puts forward the following argument structure for the constructions of verbs with their associated lexical semantic templates, for example, (i) the ditransitive construction, i.e., X causes Y to receive Z; (ii) the way-construction, i.e., X creates Y a path Z and moves through it; (iii) the conative

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construction, i.e., X directs action at Y; (iv) the caused-motion construction, i.e., X causes Y to move to/from Z; and (v) the resultative construction, i.e., X causes Y to become Z. These constructions manifest a close interaction between verb semantics and their syntactic realisation.

Sinitic linguists generally agree that the Sinitic has state and activity verbs (see Tai & Chou 1975, Chu 1976, Basciano 2017, *inter alia*), while accomplishment and achievement verbs are in many cases expressed as verb compounds (Tai 1984). Some linguists refer to Sinitic verbs as 'non-implicative' of telicity, and, as such, must be explicated by 'separate syntactic devices' (Chu 1976). In this chapter, we will mainly use the Vendlerian classification to describe Shaowu verbs and their interaction with adverbs, aspect markers and negators, while taking into account some of the compounding specificities of accomplishment and achievement verbs.

13.1 State verbs

State verbs, which denote stative, non-dynamic, durative situations, such as '*to love*', '*to believe*', '*to know*', are abundant in Shaowu. As in many Sinitic languages, certain Shaowu adjectives possess the properties of stative verbs, and are thus included under this subsection. State verbs in Shaowu can take the preverbal degree adverb [tin^{55}] 顶, which precedes the verb and intensifies it (example 229). State verbs do not normally take aspect markers (see example 230 which is marginal with a perfective marker and example 231 which is ungrammatical with a progressive marker). Usually, they cannot be reduplicated. They can be negated by the general negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 (example 232) but not the perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇, unless the latter is followed by the verb 'to have' [iɔu^{55}] 有 (example 233). The following examples illustrate the features of this category of verbs.

13.1.1 Stative verbs

A prototypical stative verb is 'to like', [xi^{55}fɔn^{21}] 喜欢 in Shaowu. It can take negators [ŋ^{55}] 唔 or [mau^{35}] 冇, and some aspect markers, such as the perfective [ə^{0}] 了.

(228) ○$_{他}$ 喜欢 ○$_{你}$ 。
xu^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} xien^{35}
3SG like 2SG
'He likes you.'

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(229) ○他 顶 喜欢 ○你 。
xu^{35} tin^{55} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} xien^{35}
3SG ADV$_{INT}$ like 2SG
'He really likes you.'

(230) ○他 喜欢 了 ○你 。
xu^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ə^{0} xien^{35}
3SG like PFV 2SG
'He has fallen in love with you.'

(231) ○他 唔 喜欢 ○你 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} xien^{35}
3SG NEG like 2SG
'He doesn't like you.'

(232) ○他 冇 有 喜欢 ○你 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} xien^{35}
3SG NEG have like 2SG
'He has not liked you.'

(233) ○他 (正) 处 喜欢 ○你 。
?? xu^{35} tɕiaŋ^{213} t^{h}u^{55} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} xien^{35}
3SG PROG PROG like you
(Attempted meaning: 'He is liking you.')

13.1.2 Predicative adjectives

Predicative adjectives, which are adjectives with verb-like properties, usually require a degree adverb preceding them, especially if they are monosyllabic. A common degree adverb is [tin^{55}] 顶, when placed before an adjective, it does not actually intensify the adjectival meaning but acts as a default intensifier (see Francis & Matthews 2005), as shown in example (235); its intensifying function is thus attenuated. Otherwise, the adjective behaves like a stative verb in terms of its syntactic properties, including not taking aspect markers, all but when it comes to negation. Either of the negators [ŋ^{55}] 唔 and [mau^{35}] 冇can be used: [mau^{35}] 冇 is followed by the copula [ɕi^{55}] 是 'to be' instead of [iɔu^{55}] 有 'to have', and if the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 is used, then it will go into the slot occupied by the filler adverb [tin^{55}] 顶.

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A prototypical example of predicative adjectives is 'good' [xau^{55}] 好, which illustrates its verb-like properties:

(234) ○他 好 。
?? xu^{35} xau^{55}
3SG good
'He is nice.'

(235) ○他 顶 好 。
xu^{35} tin^{55} xau^{55}
3SG ADV good
'He is nice.'

(236) ○他 顶 好 了 。
** xu^{35} tin^{55} xau^{55} ə^{0}
3SG ADV good PFV
(Attempted meaning: 'He has been nice.')

(237) ○他 处 顶 好 。
** xu^{35} tʰu^{55} tin^{55} xau^{55}
3SG PROG ADV good
(Attempted meaning: 'He is being nice.')

(238) ○他 唔 好 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} xau^{55}
3SG NEG good
'He is not nice.'

(239) ○他 冇 是 / 有 顶 好 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} iɔu^{55} tin^{55} xau^{55}
3SG NEG be have ADV good
'He is not quite nice.'

13.2 Activity verbs

Activity verbs denote dynamic situations without an endpoint, such as 'to walk', 'to write'. They are the opposite of 'state' verbs which describe a stative situation. Activity verbs can be preceded by adverbs such as [man^{35}man^{35}kə^{0}] 慢慢个

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'slowly' or [k^{h}uai^{213}k^{h}uai^{21}kə^{0}] 快快个 'quickly', but not by the intensifier adverb [tin^{55}] 顶. These verbs can take aspect markers and either of the negators [ŋ^{55}] 唔 and [mau^{35}] 冇, the latter often followed by [iɔu^{55}] 有 'to have'. The main difference between these two negators is that [ŋ^{55}] 唔 usually negates present and future actions, while [mau^{35}] 冇 followed by [iɔu^{55}] 有usually negates past actions. Note that activity verbs cannot be reduplicated (example 246). The following examples illustrate the major characteristics of 'activity' verbs.

(240) ○$_{我}$ 写 ○$_{这}$ 封 信 。
xaŋ^{35} sia^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} fen^{21} sin^{213}
1SG write DEM CLF letter
'I (will) write this letter.'

(241) ○$_{我}$ 写 了 ○$_{这}$ 封 信 。
xaŋ^{35} sia^{55} ə^{0} tɕiɔŋ^{53} fen^{21} sin^{213}
1SG write PFV DEM CLF letter
'I have written this letter.'

(242) ○$_{我}$ 处 写 ○$_{这}$ 封 信 。
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}u^{55} sia^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} fen^{21} sin^{213}
1SG PROG write DEM CLF letter
'I am writing this letter.'

(243) ○$_{我}$ 处 慢 慢 个 写 ○$_{这}$ 封 信 。
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}u^{55} man^{35} man^{35} kə^{0} sia^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} fen^{21} sin^{213}
1SG PROG slow slow ADV write DEM CLF letter
'I am slowly writing this letter.'

(244) ○$_{我}$ 唔 写 ○$_{这}$ 封 信 。
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} sia^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} fen^{21} sin^{213}
1SG NEG write DEM CLF letter
'I will not write this letter.'

(245) ○$_{我}$ 冇 有 写 ○$_{这}$ 封 信 。
xaŋ^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} sia^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} fen^{21} sin^{213}
1SG NEG have write DEM CLF letter
'I have not written this letter.'

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(246) ○我 写 写 ○这 封 信 。
** xaŋ^{35} sia^{55} sia^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} fen^{21} sin^{213}
1SG write write DEM CLF letter
(Attempted meaning: 'I try to write this letter.')

Unlike Mandarin, the tentative aspect in Shaowu is not expressed by verb reduplication, instead, the tentative marker [ka^{0}] (the phonetic contraction of [kə^{0}xa^{35}] 个下 'one CLF$_{verb}$') is used (see also Chapter 20 on the aspectual system, § 20.8 on tentative aspect):

(247) ○我 写 个下 ○这 封 信 。
xaŋ^{35} sia^{55} ka^{0} tɕiɔŋ^{53} fen^{21} sin^{213}
1SG write TENT DEM CLF letter
'I try to write this letter.'

13.3 Accomplishment verbs

Accomplishment verbs denote dynamic, durative situations or actions that are telic, or more specifically, that are presented or perceived as having an endpoint. There are Shaowu verbs that inherently denote accomplishment, such as 'to give', 'to teach' (see examples 248–253), and there are accomplishment verbs that are formed by adding a specific duration or quantity of produced result to certain activity verbs (see examples 254–255). Like activity verbs, accomplishment verbs can be preceded by adverbs, but not by the intensifier adverb [tin^{55}] 顶. These verbs can also take aspect markers and either of the negators [ŋ^{55}] 唔 and [mau^{35}] 冇, the latter is usually followed by [iɔu^{55}] 有 'to have'. Accomplishment verbs cannot be reduplicated. The following examples illustrate their properties.

13.3.1 Inherent accomplishment verbs

(248) ○我 得 ○他 个 本 书 。
xaŋ^{35} tie^{53} xu^{35} kəi^{21} pən^{55} ɕy^{21}
1SG give 3SG one CLF book
'I give him a book.'

(249) ○我 得 了 ○他 个 本 书 。
xaŋ^{35} tie^{53} ə^{0} xu^{35} kəi^{21} pən^{55} ɕy^{21}
1SG give PFV xu^{35} kəi^{21} pən^{55} ɕy^{21}
'I have given him a book.'

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(250) ○我 冇 有 得 ○他 个 本 书 。
xaŋ^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} tie^{53} xu^{35} kəi^{21} pən^{55} ɕy^{21}
1SG NEG have give PFV one CLF book
'I have not given him a book.'

(251) ○我 教 ○你 话 邵武事 。
xaŋ^{35} kau^{21} xien^{35} ʊa^{35} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}
1SG teach 2SG speak Shaowu
'I am teaching you how to speak Shaowu.'

(252) ○我 处 教 ○你 话 邵武事 。
xaŋ^{35} tʰu^{55} kau^{21} xien^{35} ʊa^{35} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}
1SG PROG teach 2SG speak Shaowu
'I'll teach you how to speak Shaowu.'

(253) ○我 唔 教 ○你 话 邵武事 。
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} kau^{21} xien^{35} ʊa^{35} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}
1SG NEG teach 2SG speak Shaowu
'I won't teach you how to speak Shaowu.'

13.3.2 Accomplishment verbs formed by activity verbs and complements

One way to turn verbs that are not inherently accomplishment verbs into accomplishment verbs is by adding a complement to certain activity verbs. For instance, the activity verb 'to write', which denotes a dynamic action without any endpoint needed, can be turned into an accomplishment verb by adding a duration or else a specific quantity of writing. For instance:

(254) ○我 写 了 六 封 信 。
xaŋ^{35} sia^{55} ə^{0} su^{53} fen^{21} sin^{213}
1SG write PFV six CLF letter
'I have written six letters.'

(255) ○我 写 了 个 工 。
xaŋ^{35} sia^{55} ə^{0} kəi^{21} kuŋ^{21}
1SG write PFV one day
'I wrote for one (whole) day.'

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These temporal or quantitative complements provide the telicity that is absent in a typical activity verb and together they form an accomplishment verb.

13.4 Achievement verbs

Achievement verbs denote dynamic, punctual situations or actions which intrinsically include an endpoint. Like the category of accomplishment verbs, there are inherent achievement verbs in Shaowu, the most typical one being the verb 'to die'. These 'achievement' verbs can be followed by certain aspect markers, such as the perfective, but not all. The progressive and the tentative aspects cannot apply to these punctual, telic actions. Either of the negators [ŋ^{55}] 唔 (of the present and future time frame) and [mau^{35}] 冇 (of the past and perfective time frame) can precede achievement verbs, with a difference in meaning. The following examples illustrate these properties.

13.4.1 Inherent achievement verbs

(256) 张三 度〇 死 了 。
tiɔŋ^{21}san^{21} t^{h}ɔ^{35}ma^{55} si^{55} ə^{0}
Zhang San yesterday die PFV
'Zhang San died yesterday.'

(257) 张三 处 死 。
** tiɔŋ^{21}san^{21} t^{h}u^{55} si^{55}
Zhang San PROG die
(Attempted meaning: 'Zhang San is dying.')

(258) 张三 冇 (有) 死 。
tiɔŋ^{21}san^{21} mau^{35} (iɔu^{55}) si^{55}
Zhang San NEG have die
'Zhang San has not died.'

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(259) 张三 唔 死 。
tiɔŋ[21]san[21] ŋ[55] si[55]
Zhang NEG die
San
'Zhang San does not die.'

13.4.2 Achievement verbs formed by activity verbs and complements

Verbs that are not inherently achievement verbs can be turned into achievement verbs by forming resultative verb compounds through appending to activity verbs certain aspect markers of achievement (e.g., [tau[213~55]] 到, originally meaning 'to reach', 'to arrive', 'to attain', glossed as ACH) or phase markers of completion ([ʋien[22]] 完, originally meaning 'to finish', 'to complete', glossed as CMPL). For instance, the activity verb 'to look' (also 'to read' or 'to watch' depending on the context) [nianŋ[213]] 瞅, which denotes a dynamic action with potentially no endpoint, can be turned into an achievement verb by adding the aspect marker of achievement [tau[55]] 到 to mean 'to see':

(260) ○我 瞅 到 ○他 。
xaŋ[35] nianŋ[213] tau[213~55] xu[35]
1SG look ACH 3SG
'I saw him.'

Another example is the activity verb 'to eat' [ɕie[35]] 食, which also denotes a dynamic action with potentially no endpoint, can be turned into an achievement verb by adding the phase marker of completion, or the completive marker [ʋien[22]] 完, originally meaning 'to finish', 'to complete', to the 'activity' verb 'to eat':

(261) 囝子 饭 食 完 了 。
kin[53]tsə[0] pʰən[35] ɕie[35] ʋien[22] nə[0]
boy meal eat CMPL PFV
'The boy has eaten up the meal.'

13.5 Summary

In this chapter, we have seen four different verb classes in Shaowu, using the Vendlerian classification of 'state', 'activity', 'accomplishment' and 'achievement' verb classes. While some linguists suggest that Sinitic does not have inher-

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ent telic verbs (e.g., Sybesma 1997 for Mandarin), we see that in Shaowu, inherent telic accomplishment and activity verbs do exist. In addition, verb compounds that denote 'accomplishment' and 'achievement' can be formed by adding duration/quantity complements or aspect markers to certain activity verbs. The table below summaries the properties of these verb classes in Shaowu:

Table 13.1: Shaowu verb classes and their interaction with grammatical markers

Verb classes Interaction with	'state'	'activity'	'accomplishment'	'achievement'
Intensifier [tin^{55}] 顶	+	–	–	–
Perfective aspect [ə^{0}] 了	–	+	+	+
Progressive aspect [t^{h}u^{55}] 处	–	+	+	–
Reduplication	–	–	–	–
Present/future negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔	+	+	+	+
Perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇	+	+	+	+
Verb complement/compound	–	+	(+)	(+)

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Chapter 14
Adpositional phrases

'Adposition' is the umbrella term that covers prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions. They can be defined as syntactic elements that govern a complement which is typically a noun or a noun phrase. Hence, adpositional phrases contain an adposition (preposition, postposition or circumposition) as head and a noun phrase as complement (see, Liu 2002, 2003: 66–67, 144–145, Djamouri, Paul & Whitman 2013, Tallerman 2011: 176, *inter alia*).

When the adposition precedes the NP, it is called a 'preposition', and the [PREP + NP] phrase is called a prepositional phrase. If the adposition follows the NP, it is called a 'postposition', and the [NP + POST] phrase forms a postpositional phrase. When both a preposition and a postposition bracket the NP, i.e., [PREP + NP + POST], the structure is called a circumpositional phrase.

Shaowu possesses prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions, although prepositions are predominant with respect to the other two categories. These adpositions are used to mark the locative, instrumental, benefactive, comitative and dative, among other case-like grammatical relations. Adpositional phrases form complements or adjuncts in a sentence. The following table shows a list of main adpositions in Shaowu.

Table 14.1: Main adpositions in Shaowu.

Grammatical marker	Shaowu	Mandarin	Example(s)
Ablative 'from'	[t^hiuŋ^{22}] 从、[ta^{55}] 打	*cóng* 从	(262), (263)
Allative 'towards'	[ʊɔŋ^{55}] 往、[xiɔŋ^{213}] 向	*xiàng* 向	(264)
Benefactive 'for, on behalf of'	[pɔŋ^{21}] 帮、[tie^{53}] 得、[t^hi^{213}]替	*gěi* 给、*tì*替	(265), (266)
Comitative 'with'	[pɔŋ^{21}] 帮	*hé* 和、*gēn* 跟、*yǔ* 与	(267)
Dative 'to'	[tie^{53}] 得、[pɔŋ^{21}] 帮	*gěi*给	(268)
Instrumental 'with, by means of'	[sə^{55}]使	*yòng* 用	(269)
Locative 'inside', 'outside', 'on', 'under', 'in front of', 'at the back of'	[ti^{55}t^həu$^{53\sim21}$] 底头、[ʊai^{35}t^həu$^{53\sim21}$] 外头、[ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$] 上、[xa$^{35\sim55}$] 下、[t^hin^{53}t^həu$^{53\sim21}$]前头、[pei^{213}y^{53}] 背○$_{后}$	*lǐmiàn* 里面、*wàimiàn* 外面、*shàng*上、*xià*下、*qián*前、*hòu* 后	(270) – (276)
Concern marker 'as for'	[tei^{213}] 对	*duì*对、*duìyú*对于	(277)

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14.1 Ablative markers ‘from’

Shaowu ablative markers [ta^{55}] ‘打’ and [t^{h}iuŋ^{21}] ‘从’ can both mark an action or a motion away from a point of reference, and can either form a spatial or temporal adjunct depending on the nature of the noun phrase with which they co-occur. The ablative marker [ta^{55}] ‘打’ is more colloquial and enjoys a higher usage in frequency especially for spatial adjuncts; the marker [t^{h}iuŋ^{21}] ‘从’ is of a relatively higher register and is used more often in temporal adjuncts. Both, however, can be used interchangeably.

14.1.1 In spatial adjuncts

(262) 张明 打 / 从 楼 上 行 下 来 。
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} ta^{55} t^{h}iuŋ^{21} ləu^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ xaŋ^{22} xa^{35} li^{22}
Zhang Ming ABL ABL floor upper walk down come
‘Zhang Ming walked down from the upper floor.’

14.1.2 In temporal adjuncts

(263) 从 / 打 一九七八 年 开始 ,
t^{h}iuŋ^{21} ta^{55} i^{53}kɔu^{55}t^{h}i^{53}pie^{53} nin^{22} k^{h}ai^{21}ɕi$^{55\sim22}$
ABL ABL 1978 year start
‘Since 1978,
〇$_{他}$ 处 〇$_{那}$ 个 学堂 底 教书 。
xu^{35} t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$ ɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ$^{22\sim55}$ ti^{0} kau^{213}ɕy^{21}
3SG be.at DEM CLF school in teach
he has been teaching in that school.’

14.2 Allative marker ‘towards’

The grammatical marker [ʊɔŋ^{55}] 往 or [xiɔŋ^{213}] 向is used to encode the allative in Shaowu, it precedes the NP, as shown in the example below:

(264) 张明 往 / 向 山 顶 爬 上 去 。
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} ʊɔŋ^{55} xiɔŋ^{213} sɔn^{21} ten^{55} p^{h}a^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
Zhang Ming ALL ALL mountain top climb up go
‘Zhang Ming climbs towards the summit.’

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14.3 Benefactive marker ‘for, on behalf of’

There are two benefactive markers in Shaowu, one is [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 and the other is [t^{h}ie^{213}] 替. The Shaowu morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is a multifunctional marker and can encode multiple grammatical relations, ranging from the comitative, coordinative conjunctions, to the benefactive, to dative and direct object markers (cf. discussions in Chapter 23 on the multifunctionality of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮), and will be mentioned briefly below in this chapter. It was originally a full lexical verb, meaning ‘to help’ or ‘to assist’ and has developed into various grammatical functions through different grammaticalisation pathways.

The benefactive use of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can be seen in the example below:

(265) ○$_{我}$ 帮 ○$_{你}$ 去 买 菜 。
xaŋ^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ mie^{55} t^{h}ə^{213}
1SG BEN 2SG go buy food
‘I’ll do the groceries for you.’

The grammatical marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can readily be replaced by [t^{h}ie^{213}] 替, which originally means ‘to replace’ as a lexical verb, but also marks the benefactive ‘for’, ‘in the place of’.

(266) ○$_{我}$ 替 ○$_{你}$ 去 买 菜 。
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}ie^{213} xien^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ mie^{55} t^{h}ə^{213}
1SG BEN 2SG go buy food
‘I’ll do the groceries for you.’

The most colloquial way to express the benefactive is however [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, but due to its multifunctionality leading thus to potential ambiguity, [t^{h}ie^{213}] 替 is sometimes used to clearly indicate that only the benefactive is expressed.

14.4 Comitative marker ‘with’

Again, the polyfunctional morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮turns up in the role of the comitative marker ‘with’, ‘along with’. See the example below:

(267) ○$_{我}$ 帮 ○$_{你}$ 个起 去 学堂 。
xaŋ^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} kə^{0}k^{h}i^{55} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ$^{22\sim55}$
1SG COMT 2SG together go school
‘I go to school with you.’

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The context makes it easier to be interpreted as the comitative. Indeed, in the above sentence, thanks to the adverb [kə^{0}k^{h}i^{55}] 个起 'together', the polysemous morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮can only have the comitative meaning. If the adverb is absent, then the benefactive reading of is also possible, i.e., 'I go to the school in your place.'

14.5 Dative marker 'to'

Shaowu dative marker is [tie^{53}] 得, originally derived from the lexical verb meaning 'to get' relexicalised into 'to give' (for detailed discussion on the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得, see Chapter 26). It has developed into many grammatical functions, one of which is the dative 'to', which is employed in ditransitive constructions (see Chapter 27). The dative marker precedes the noun or the NP, that is the indirect object to which a direct object is transferred to, as shown in the example below.

(268) 〇$_{他}$ 寄 了 个 封 信 得 〇$_{我}$ 。
xu^{35} ki^{213} ə^{0} kə^{0} fen^{21} sin^{213} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35}
3SG send PFV one CLF letter DAT 1SG
'He sent a letter to me.'

14.6 Instrumental marker 'with, by means of'

The Shaowu instrumental marker is [sə^{55}] 使, originally a lexical verb meaning 'to use'. It has grammaticalised into an instrumental marker 'with', 'by means of'. It precedes the noun or the NP to mark the instrumental use of the noun to achieve a purpose, as shown in the example below.

(269) 邵武 城 墙 个 基础 ,
ɕiau^{213}u^{55} ɕin^{22} t^{h}iɔŋ^{22} kə^{0} ki^{21}ts^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$
Shaowu city wall POSS foundation
'The foundation of Shaowu's city walls,
皆 是 使 大 石 做 出 来 个 。
ka^{35} ɕi^{55} sə^{55} xai^{35} ɕiɔ^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}ei^{53} li^{22} kə^{0}
all are INST big stone make out come SFP
are made out of huge rocks.'

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14.7 Locative markers

Locative markers in locative constructions (see also Chapter 10 on locative adpositions) include the prenominal locative marker [$t^hu^{55\sim35\sim22}$] 处 'be at/in' which can be analysed as a preposition with verbal origin, locative postpositions and circumpositions (cf. Chapter 10 on locative adpositions in the Nominal Structure Part). The locative marker [$t^hu^{55\sim35\sim22}$] 处 is not a verb *per se*, in this use, as no aspect markers can be inserted between it and the NP, but it can take a negator before it, and the scope of negation is on the clausal level.

For an SVO language like Shaowu, having postpositions is typologically a word-order correlation abnormality. Many of the locative markers in Shaowu, as for a majority of many Sinitic languages, are postpositional and appear as head final. Such dissonance with the SVO order, and consonance with the SOV order, is one of the many perplexing features of the Sinitic family in general, this syntactic hybridity is discussed in detail in Chappell, Li and Peyraube (2007).

14.7.1 Locative preposition 'in', 'at'

The morpheme [$t^hu^{55\sim35\sim22}$] 处 assumes this function and it is prenominal, as shown in the example below:

(270) 〇他 处 北京 学书 。
xu^{35} $t^hu^{55\sim22}$ $pə^{53}kin^{21}$ $xɔ^{35}ɕy^{21}$
3SG LOC Beijing study
'He studies in Beijing.'

14.7.2 Locative postposition 'inside'

The locative marker [$ti^{55}t^həu^{53\sim21}$] 底头 'inside' is postnominal. Note that the morpheme [$t^həu^{53\sim21}$] 头, here acting as a nominalising suffix, has often undergone phonological attrition (lenition of the initial consonant [t^h] into [x] and neutralisation of the high falling tone 53 to a light 21) and becomes [$xəu^{21}$]. This process takes places when the rhyme precedes the suffix is a simple vowel.

(271) 厝 底头 冇 有 人 。
$tɕ^hiɔ^{213}$ $ti^{55}xəu^{21}$ mau^{35} $iɔu^{55}$ nin^{22}
house inside NEG have person
'There is no one inside the house.'

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14.7.3 Locative postposition ‘outside’

The locative marker [ʋai^{35}xəu^{21}] 外头 ‘outside’ is postnominal:

(272) 学堂 外头 是 马路 。
xɔ^{35}tʰɔŋ^{55} ʋai^{35}xəu^{21} ɕi^{55} ma^{55}tʰiɔ^{35}
school outside be road
‘Outside the school is a road.’

14.7.4 Locative postposition ‘on’

The locative marker [ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$] 上 ‘on’ is postnominal:

(273) 山 顶 上 有 庙 。
sɔn^{21} ten^{55} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ iɔu^{55} miau^{35}
hill top up EXST temple
‘There is a temple up on the hill.’

14.7.5 Locative postposition ‘under’

The locative marker [xa$^{35\sim55\sim22}$] 下 ‘under’ is postnominal:

(274) 树 肚 下 有 蜀 个 小 囝子 。
tɕʰy$^{213\sim21}$ tu^{55} xa$^{35\sim22}$ iɔu^{55} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} siau^{55} kin^{53}tsə^{0}
tree belly under EXST one CLF little boy
‘There is a little boy under the tree.’

14.7.6 Locative postposition ‘in front of’

The locative marker [tʰin^{53}tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$] 前头 ‘in front of’ is postnominal:

(275) 俺多 前头 有 冇 有 路 ?
ien^{22}tə^{0} tʰin^{53}tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$ iɔu^{55} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} tʰiɔ^{35}
1PL.INCL in front of EXST NEG EXST road
‘Is there a road in front of us?’

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14.7.7 Locative postposition ‘at the back of’

The locative marker [pei^{213}y^{53}] 背〇后 ‘at the back of’ is also postnominal:

(276) 〇他 背〇后 是 先生 。
xu^{35} pei^{213}y^{53} ɕi^{55} sien^{21}sen^{21}
3SG at the back be teacher
‘At the back of him is the teacher.’

14.8 Concern marker ‘as for’

The concern marker ‘as for’, ‘regarding’ in Sinitic languages, introduces the noun or NP for which an opinion is expressed, it may also introduce the object of a nominalised transitive verb (Huang *et al.* 2009: 31). The concern marker in Shaowu is [tei^{213}] 对, which precedes the noun, as shown in the example below:

(277) 对 〇我 来 话 , 〇这 冇 有 啥 。
tei^{213} xaŋ^{35} li^{22} ʊa^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} ɕia^{53}
CONC 1SG come say DEM NEG have something
‘As for me, this means little.’

14.9 Circumpositions

Circumpositions are often present in locative phrases, where the noun phrase is bracketed by the preposition [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35\sim22}$] 处 ‘at’, ‘in’ and a locative postposition. If we consider the morpheme [li^{22}ʊa^{35}] 来话 in the ‘concern’ phrase (see § 14.8 above) as a kind of semi-grammaticalised postposition, because the original lexical meaning of both morphemes [li^{22}] 来 ‘to come’ and [ʊa^{35}] 话 ‘to say’ are quasi-bleached semantically, then the ‘concern’ markers [tei^{213}] 对 ... [li^{22}ʊa^{35}] 来话can also be seen as circumpositions.

Below are two further examples of locative circumpositions:

(278) 〇他 处 山 顶 上 起 了 个 栋 厝 。
xu^{35} t^{h}u^{55} sɔn^{21} ten^{55} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ k^{h}i^{55} ə^{0} kə^{0} tuŋ^{213} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}
3SG PREP$_{at}$ hill top POST$_{on}$ build PFV one CLF house
‘He built a house on top of the hill.’

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(279) ○他 打 ○那儿 边 行 度 来 。
xu^{35} ta^{55} ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} pien^{21} xaŋ^{22} xɔ^{35} li^{22}
3SG ABL there side walk over come
'He is walking from over there.'

14.10 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed the grammatical category of adpositions, including prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions with their respective functions, such as marking the ablative, allative, benefactive, comitative, dative, instrumental, locative and concern. Adpositional phrases are phrases that contain a noun phrase prefixed, suffixed or circumfixed by an adposition or adpositions, which can be found in many examples presented in this chapter. Adpositional phrases appearing in various grammatical constructions will be discussed in detail in Part IV on the Clausal Structure.

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Chapter 15
Adverbs and adverbial phrases

An adverb, etymologically coming from Latin *adverbium*, refers to a constituent that is added to the verb. An adverb typically modifies the properties of a verb, an adjective, or another adverb. In the linguistics literature, the term 'adverb' can encompass single-word adverbs (e.g., *luckily*, *slowly* in English) and adverbials which can be a word or a group of words (e.g., prepositional phrases such as *by the way*, *on a daily basis* in English). Sinitic adverbs include two types morphologically speaking: non-derived adverbs that are not marked, and derived adverbs that undergo word-formation processes (see Li & Thompson 1981: 322–323, Biq & Huang 2016, *inter alia*). Syntactically, they can be divided into (preverbal) VP-level and sentence-level adverbs (see e.g., Ernst 1996, Paul 2015).

According to Biq & Huang (2016), for the case of Standard Mandarin:

i. Adverbs are typically either monosyllabic or disyllabic. A significant number of disyllabic adverbs are formed by the reduplication of monosyllabic adjectives or adverbs.
ii. Adverbs are typically positioned to the left of the main predicate of a clause and to the left of the unit they modify. Some adverbs can occur at the sentence-initial position, but others cannot do so. When there is more than one adverb in a clause, their occurrence is ordered.
iii. Adverbs in Mandarin Chinese can be largely classified into two groups. Descriptive adverbs typically have content word characteristics, including a large membership in this group as well as being open to neologism. Functional adverbs typically have functional word characteristics, including that of being a small, closed group with versatile high-frequency grammatical features.

Shaowu adverbs, like many of its Sinitic counterparts including Mandarin, contain descriptive adverbs (more lexical, open class) and functional adverbs (more grammatical, closed class). They are usually preverbal and have a modifying function with respect to the manner, degree, extent, frequency, repetition, emphatic, approximative, logical, temporal or spatial relations of an action, a state or a situation. Sometimes, manner, approximative, temporal and locational adverbs or adverbials can be placed in the beginning of the sentence to modify the clause as a whole. Note that Shaowu has no postverbal adverbs like those in Cantonese (see, for instance, Matthews & Yip 2011: 277–280, Peyraube 1997).

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15.1 Adverbs

15.1.1 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are descriptive adverbs that are preverbal in Shaowu, and they can be reduplicated. In general, they can be formed by suffixing to an adjective the Shaowu adverb marker [kəi^{213}] 个 (or its neutralised forms [kə^{0}] or [ə^{0}], subject to progressive assimilation, as shown in example 280). If not, the adverb marker [ti^{21}] 地 (or its neutralised form [ti^{0}]) may be used, which is likely a borrowing from Mandarin (example 281). Often the adverb marker can be elided without loss of meaning for the sentence, especially when the adverb is multisyllabic (example 282). Some manner adverbs can precede a degree adverb, such as [kə^{0}nən^{35}] 个嫩 'a bit' (example 283).

(280) 慢 慢 个 行 !
man^{35} man^{35} nə^{0} xaŋ^{22}
slow slow ADV walk
'Walk slowly!'

(281) 个 放 假 , ○要 好 好 地 搞 。
kə^{0} puŋ^{213} ka^{55} nuŋ^{35} xau^{55} xau^{55} ti^{0} kau^{55}
once have holiday must good good ADV play
'Once holiday is here, one must enjoy it fully.'

(282) ○别 慢 慢 (地) / (个) 行 !
məi^{22} man^{35} man^{35} ti^{0} kə^{0} xaŋ^{22}
PROH slow slow ADV ADV walk
'Don't walk slowly.'

(283) 快 个 嫩 走 !
k^{h}uai$^{213\sim21}$ kə^{0} nən^{35} tsu^{55}
fast (manner ADV) a bit (degree ADV) run
'Run a bit faster!'

15.1.2 Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs are functional adverbs that encode the degree to which an action is carried out, or a state or an event holds. Degree adverbs in Shaowu usually precede the verb, adjective or adverb, with exceptions of [k^{h}i^{213}] 极 'extremely'

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(see example 291) which can be placed after an adjective or an adverb, and [kə^{0}nən^{35}] 个嫩 'a bit' (see example 292), or its synonyms [kə^{0}pi^{35}(pi$^{35\sim55}$) tsə^{0}] 个○(○)子 and [kə^{0}maŋ^{22}tsə^{0}] 个○芒子, which can be placed after an adjective, an adverb or a verb.

Table 15.1 below displays a list of degree adverbs.

Table 15.1: Degree adverbs in Shaowu.

English	Shaowu	Mandarin	Example(s))
'very'	[tin^{55}] 顶，[xen^{55}] 很, [tɔŋ^{213}tsin^{21}] 当真, [fei^{21} ɕiɔŋ^{22}] 非常	*hěn*很、*fēicháng* 非常	(284), (285)
'too', 'excessive'	[t^{h}ai^{213}] 太, [tin^{55}] 顶	*tài* 太	(286)
'quite'	[ai^{213}] 还	*tǐng* 挺	(287)
'the most'	[tsei^{213}] 最	*zuì* 最	(288)
'comparatively', 'relatively'	[pi^{55}kau^{213}] 比较	*bǐjiào* 比较	(289)
'extremely'	[tin^{55}] 顶, [k^{h}i^{213}] 极	*jí* 极	(290)
'even (more)'	[ken^{213}/ kə^{0}] 更, [ai^{213}] 还	*gèng* 更	(291)
'a little', 'a bit'	[kə^{0}nən^{35}] 个嫩 [kə^{0}pi^{35}(pi$^{35\sim55}$) tsə^{0}] 个○(○)子 [kə^{0}maŋ^{22}tsə^{0}] 个○芒子 [sau^{55}ʊei^{22}] 稍微	*shāowéi* 稍微、*yǒudiǎn* 有点	(292)
'so'	[tɔŋ$^{213\sim21}$tsin^{21}] 当真	*duōme* 多么	
'not quite'	[ŋ^{55}t^{h}ai^{213}] 唔太	*bù tài* 不太	
'even'	[ai^{213}] 还	*hái* 还	

Some examples of the use of degree adverbs in Shaowu sentences follow:

(284) ○这 个 西瓜 顶 大 。
tɕiɔŋ^{35} ŋə^{0} si^{21}kua^{21} tin^{55} t^{h}ai^{35}
DEM CLF watermelon very big
'This watermelon is very big.'

(285) 今朝 当真 ○冷 。
kin^{21}tɕiau^{21} tɔŋ^{213}tsin^{21} t^{h}ən$^{213\sim21}$
today really cold
'It's really cold today.'

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Note that although the degree adverb [fei^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{22}] 非常, a lexical borrowing from Mandarin, exists in Shaowu, it is rarely used in colloquial speech, as it sounds rather literary.

(286) 〇这 个 西瓜 太 甜 了 了 。
tɕiɔŋ^{35} ŋə^{0} si^{21}kua^{21} t^{h}ai^{213} t^{h}ien^{22} liau^{55} ə^{0}
DEM CLF watermelon too sweet CMPL PFV
'This watermelon is too sweet.'

(287) 〇这 蜀 个 人 还 好 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} nin^{22} ai^{213} xau^{55}
DEM one CLF person quite good
'This person is quite nice.'

(288) 〇那 蜀 个 人 最 高 。
ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} nin^{22} tsei^{213} kau^{21}
DEM one CLF person SUP tall
'That person is the tallest.'

(289) 弟儿 比 较 聪明 。
t^{h}i^{55}ə^{0} pi^{55} kau$^{213\sim21}$ ts^{h}iuŋ^{21}min^{22}
younger brother comparatively clever
'The younger brother is cleverer.'

(290) 桃儿 有 个 嫩 酸 。
t^{h}au^{53}ə^{0} iɔu^{55} kə^{0} nən^{35} sɔn^{21}
peach have a little sour
'The peach is a little sour.'

(291) 天气 〇冷 极 了 !
t^{h}ien^{21}k^{h}i$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}ən$^{213\sim21}$ k^{h}i^{213} ə^{0}
weather cold extremely SFP
'The weather is extremely cold!'

(292) 明朝 解 更 好 个 嫩 。
maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} xie$^{55\sim35}$ kə^{0} xau^{55} kə^{0} nən^{35}
tomorrow will COM good a bit
'It will be a bit better tomorrow.'

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15.1.3 Extent adverbs

Extent adverbs, sometimes also known as 'scope adverbs', express the extent of an action or measurement of a quantity. They are functional adverbs with a limited number in the set. They are usually immediately preverbal, as shown in the examples in this section and in Table 15.2.

Table 15.2: Extent adverbs in Shaowu.

English	Shaowu	Mandarin	Example(s)
'all'	[ka^{35}] 皆	*dōu* 都	(293)
'entirely'	[tsin^{55}kə^{0}] 整个	*zhěnggè er* 整个儿	(293)
'together'	[kə^{0}k^{h}i^{55}] 个起	*yīkuài er* 一块儿、*yīqǐ* 一起	(294a)
'all together'	[k^{h}iuŋ^{35}k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}] 共起来 [tsuŋ^{55}k^{h}iuŋ^{35}] 总共 [i^{53}k^{h}iuŋ^{35}] 一共	*yīgòng* 一共	(294b)
'only'	[ni^{35}ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] ○只是	*zhǐshì* 只是	(294c)
'as much as possible'	[t^{h}in^{213}liɔŋ^{35}] 尽量	*jǐnliàng* 尽量	

(293) 整 个 邵武 皆 是 风水 宝地 。
tsin^{55} kə^{0} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} ka^{35} ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ fuŋ^{21}sei$^{55\sim22}$ pau^{55}t^{h}i^{35}
whole CLF Shaowu all COP Fengshui treasure land
'Shaowu is blessed with good Fengshui everywhere.'

(294) 俺多 个起 研究 邵武事 ,
a ien^{21}tai^{21} kəi^{21}k^{h}i^{55} nien^{55}kɯ^{21} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}
1PL.INCL together investigate Shaowu
'We're investigating the Shaowu language together.' (The addressee is included.)
b 俺多 共起来 ○要 工作 十 工 。
ien^{21}tai^{21} k^{h}iuŋ^{35}k^{h}i^{55}li^{22} nuŋ^{35} kuŋ^{21}tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ɕin^{35} kuŋ^{21}
1PL.INCL totally must work ten day
'We have to work for ten days in total.' (The addressee is included.)

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c ○这 ○只 是 对 邵武事 个 初步
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ni^{35} ɕi^{55} tei^{21} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35} kə^{0} t^{h}u^{21}p^{h}u^{213}
DEM only be regarding Shaowu POSS preliminary
研究 。
nien^{55}kɯ^{21}
study
'This is only a preliminary study of Shaowu.'

15.1.4 Frequency adverbs

Frequency adverbs are a closed set of functional adverbs that describe the frequency, in a precise or approximative way, of an event or an action that takes place within a time frame. They are also preverbal, and sometimes can even be pre-clausal to put the adverb in focus. Note that the reduplication of units of time, such as 'day', 'month', 'year', is an indication of repetition of an action denoted by the modified verb and also its continuation. These frequency adverbs are listed in Table 15.3 below.

Table 15.3: Frequency adverbs in Shaowu.

English	Shaowu	Mandarin	Example
'often'	[kin^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{22}] 经常	*chángcháng* 常常	(295)
'sometimes'	[iɔu^{55}ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}] 有时候 [iɔu^{55}ɕi^{22}kan^{21}] 有时间	*yǒu shíhòu* 有时候	(296)
'once a while'	[xa^{35}pa^{21}tsə^{0}] ○巴子	*ǒu'ěr* 偶尔	(297)
'rarely'	[tin^{55}ɕiau^{55}] 顶少	*hěn shǎo* 很少	(298)
'never'	[t^{h}iuŋ^{22}lɔi^{22}mau^{35}(iɔu^{55})] 从来有(有) [t^{h}iuŋ^{22}lɔi^{22}ŋ^{55}] 从来唔	*cóng bù* 从不	(299)
'always'	[i^{53}t^{h}ə^{35}] 一直、 [i^{53}xiɔŋ^{213}] 一向 [t^{h}iuŋ^{22}lɔi^{22}(ka^{35})] 从来(皆)	*yīzhí* 一直	
'every day'	[ni^{35}ni$^{35\sim55}$] 日日/ [məi^{55}kə^{0}kuŋ^{21}] 每个工	*měitiān* 每天	

(295) ○她 经常 瞙 书 。
xu^{35} kin^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{22} niaŋ^{213} ɕy^{21}
3SG often read book
'She reads often.'

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(296) ○他 有时候 / 有时间 解 瞅 电视 。
xu^{35} iɔu^{55}ɕi^{22}xəu^{213} iɔu^{55}ɕi^{22}kan^{21} xie$^{55\sim35}$ nianŋ^{213} t^{h}ien^{213}ɕi^{213}
3SG sometimes sometimes will watch television
'He watches television once a while.'

(297) ○他 ○巴子 解 去 ○她 ○那儿 。
xu^{35} xa^{35}pa^{21}tsə^{0} xie$^{55\sim35}$ k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xu^{35} ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}
3SG once a while will go 3SG there
'He goes to her place once a while.'

(298) ○他 顶少 出 去 搞 。
xu^{35} tin^{55}ɕiau^{55} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ kau^{55}
3SG seldom out go play
'He seldom goes out (to have fun).'

(299) ○他 从来冇 瞅 度 报纸
xu^{35} t^{h}iuŋ^{22}lɔi^{22}mau^{35} nianŋ^{213} t^{h}ɔ^{35} pau^{213}tɕi^{55}
3SG never watch EXP newspapers
'He has never read newspapers.'

15.1.5 Repetition adverbs

Repetition adverbs, as the name suggests, are functional adverbs that indicate the repetition of an action or an event. They are preverbal adverbs. See Table 15.4 below for the closed set:

Table 15.4: Repetition adverbs in Shaowu.

English	Shaowu	Mandarin	Example(s)
'again'	[iɔu$^{35\sim55}$] 又	*yòu* 又	(300)
'once again'	[tsai^{213}] 再	*zài* 再	(301)
'still'	[ai^{213}] 还	*hái* 还	(302)
'also'	[ia^{55}] 也	*yě* 也	(303)

(300) ○我 又 有 蜀 个 问题 。
xaŋ^{35} iɔu$^{35\sim55}$ iɔu^{55} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} ʊən^{213}t^{h}i^{22}
1SG again have one CLF question
'I again have a question.'

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(301) ○我 再 问 ○你 蜀 个 问题 。
xaŋ[35] tsai[213] mən[213] xien[35] ɕi[22] kəi[213] ʊən[213]tʰi[22]
1SG again again 2SG one CLF question
'Let me ask you a question again.'

(302) ○我 还 有 蜀 个 瞁法 。
xaŋ[35] ai[213] iɔu[55] ɕi[22] kəi[213] niaŋ[213]fan[53]
1SG still have one CLF view
'I have another view still.'

(303) ○这 句 事 ○我 也 解 话 。
tɕiɔŋ[53] ky[213~21] sə[35] xaŋ[35] ia[55] xie[55~35] ʊa[35]
DEM CLF sentence 1SG also know say
'I also know how to say this sentence.'

15.1.6 Emphatic, approximative and logical-relations adverbs

This category is a portmanteau category that includes a wide array of preverbal functional adverbs that give emphatic colouring, express speaker's stance or attitude, describe approximation, probability or logical relations to an action, a state or an event. They are grouped under this subsection for organisational purposes; by no means do they carry similar or the same semantic values. See examples in Table 15.5 below:

Table 15.5: Emphatic, approximative and logical-relations adverbs in Shaowu.

English	Shaowu	Mandarin	Example(s)
'fortunately'	[ai[213]xau[55]] 还好	*xìngkuī* 幸亏、 *hái hǎo* 还好	(304)
'anyhow'	[fan[55]tɕin[213]] 反正	*fǎnzhèng* 反正	(305)
'probably'	[tʰai[35]kʰai[213]] 大概	*dàgài* 大概	(306)
'very likely'	[kʰuŋ[55]pʰa[213]] 恐怕 [kʰɔ[55]nen[22]] 可能 [ʊi[213]] 畏	*kǒngpà* 恐怕 *kěnéng* 可能	(307)
'still'	[ai[213]] 还	*hái*还、*réngrán* 仍然	(308)
'contrary to what is expected'	[pʰien[21]pʰien[21]] 偏偏 [iɔu[35]ŋ[55]] 又唔	*piānpiān* 偏偏	(309)
'but'	[pei[53]kuɔ[213]] 不过	*dànshì* 但是、 *bùguò* 不过	(310)
'then'	[tsiɔu[213]] 就	*jiù* 就	
'especially'	[tʰə[53]tʰi[35]] 特地	*tèdì* 特地	

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(304) 还好 ○这 个 雨 没 是 ○那 个 大 。
ai^{213}xau^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} xy^{55} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} ɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} xai^{35}
fortunately DEM CLF rain NEG be DEM CLF big
'Fortunately, it's not raining that heavily.'

(305) 反正 等 个 下 就 收 工 叻 。
fan^{55}tɕin^{213} ten^{55} kə^{0} xa^{35} tsiɔu^{213} ɕiɔu^{21} kuŋ^{21} le^{22}
anyhow wait one CLF$_V$ then finish work SFP
'Anyway, today's work will be over in a bit.'

(306) 大概 再 等 个 把 钟头 。
t^{h}ai^{35}k^{h}ai^{213} tsai$^{213\sim21}$ ten^{55} kə^{0} pa^{53} tɕiuŋ^{21}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$
probably again wait one CLF hour
'You probably need to wait for another hour or so.'

(307) 恐怕 ○你 冇 有 时间 。
k^{h}uŋ^{55}p^{h}a^{213} xien^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} ɕi^{22}kan^{21}
very likely 2SG NEG have time
'It's very likely that you don't have the time.'

(308) ○她 还 唔 来 !
xu^{35} ai^{213} ŋ^{55} li^{22}
3SG still NEG come
'She hasn't come yet!'

(309) 做啥 偏偏 是 ○他 !
tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53} p^{h}ien^{21}p^{h}ien^{21} ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ xu^{35}
why contrary to expectation be 3SG
'How come it's him?'

(310) ○他 唔 喜欢 话事 , 不过 心 顶 好 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ʊa^{35}sə^{35} pei^{53}kuɔ^{213} sən^{21} tin^{55} xau^{55}
3SG NEG like speak but heart very good
'He doesn't like to speak, but he has a golden heart.'

15.1.7 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs give information about the time frame in which an action is carried out or an event that takes place. Shaowu temporal adverbs are preverbal

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functional adverbs, some of them express duration and some express a point in time, as can be seen in examples in Table 15.6 below.

Table 15.6: Temporal adverbs in Shaowu.

English	Shaowu	Mandarin	Example(s)
'just' 'just a moment ago'	[tɕiaŋ$^{213\sim55}$ki^{53}sa^{21}] 正○○ [tɕiaŋ$^{213\sim55}$tʰin^{53}kə^{0}xa^{35}] 正前个下	*gāng* 刚、 *gāngcái* 刚才	(311), (312)
'just in time'	[kaŋ^{21}kaŋ^{21}xau^{55}] 刚刚好 [kʰə^{35}kʰə^{53}xau^{55}] 恰恰好 [tɕiaŋ^{213}xau^{55}] 正好	*gānghǎo* 刚好	(313)
'very soon'	[ten^{21}kʰə^{53}] 登刻 [ten^{55}kə^{0}xa^{35}] 等个下 [ma^{55}ɕiɔŋ^{35}] 马上	*mǎshàng* 马上	(314), (315)
'immediately'	[kɔn^{55}kin^{55}] 赶紧	*gǎnjǐn* 赶紧	(316)
'right away'	[kɔn^{55}kʰuai^{213}] 赶快	*gǎnkuài* 赶快	(317)
'already'	[i^{55}kin^{21}] 已经	*yǐjīng* 已经	(318)
'first'	[sien^{21}] 先	*xiān* 先	(319)
'suddenly'	[fei^{53}ien^{22}] 忽然 [fei^{53}ien^{22}kan^{21}] 忽然间	*hūrán* 忽然、 *hūrán jiān* 忽然间	(320)

(311) ○$_{你}$ 正○○ 来 了 ?
xien^{35} tɕiaŋ$^{213\sim55}$ki^{53}sa^{21} li^{22} ə^{0}
2SG just come PFV
'So you've just come here (a moment ago)?'

(312) 正 前 个 下 ○$_{她}$ 还 处 ○$_{那}$ 儿 。
tɕiaŋ$^{213\sim55}$ tin^{53} kə^{0} xa^{35} xu^{35} ai^{213} tʰu$^{55\sim35}$ ɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0}
just ago one CLF_V 3SG still LOC_{BE} there
'Just a moment ago she was still there.'

(313) ○$_{他}$ 刚刚好 / 恰恰好 / 正好 到 了 。
xu^{35} kaŋ^{21}kaŋ^{21}xau^{55} kʰə^{35}kʰə^{53}xau^{55} tɕiaŋ$^{213\sim55}$xau^{55} tau^{213} ə^{0}
3SG just in time just in time just in time arrive PFV
'He has just arrived (in time).'

(314) ○$_{我}$ 等 个 下 度 去 。
xaŋ^{35} ten^{55} kə^{0} xa^{35} xɔ^{35} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG wait one CLF_V over go
'I'll go over in a moment.'

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(315) ○我 登刻 就 去 。
xaŋ^{35} ten^{21}k^{h}ə^{53} tsiɔu^{213} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG immediately then go
'I'll go immediately.'

(316) ○你 赶紧 去 !
xien^{35} kɔn^{55}kin^{55} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
2SG immediately go
'Go immediately!' (Lit. 'Hurry up and go!')

(317) ○你 赶快 打 转身 。
xien^{35} kɔn^{55}k^{h}uai^{213} ta^{55} t^{h}ien^{55}ɕin^{21}
2SG right away make turn
'Turn back right away!'

(318) ○我 已经 出 来 了 。
xaŋ^{35} i^{55}kin^{21} t^{h}ei^{53} li^{22} ə^{0}
1SG already out come PFV
'I've already come out.'

(319) ○你 先 ○别 急 。
xien^{35} sien^{21} məi^{22} kən^{53}
2SG first PROH impatient
'Don't be impatient in the first place.'

(320) 猫儿 忽然(间) 跳 了 起来 。
mau^{53}ə^{0} fei^{53}ien^{22}(kan^{21}) t^{h}iau^{213} ə^{0} k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}
cat suddenly jump PFV DIR$_{up.come}$
'The cat suddenly jumped up.'

15.2 Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases are phrasal units that, like adverbs, modify the verb or the adjective. They typically occur after the grammatical subject or topic and precede and modify the predicate. Adverbial phrases can be complements or adjuncts. Some of the most frequent types are temporal and spatial adverbial phrases. Below is an example of temporal adverbial adjunct:

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(321) 〇他 整整 个 工 皆 冇 有 食 饭 。
xu^{35} tɕin^{55}tɕin$^{55\sim0}$ kə^{0} kuŋ^{21} ka^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35}
3SG ADVentire one day all NEG have eat meal
'He didn't eat at all the whole day.'

15.3 Summary

In this chapter, we have covered the grammatical category of adverbs, and briefly looked at adverbial phrases as well. Adverbs in Shaowu are mostly preverbal, sometimes pre-clausal, elements that modify the properties of a verb, an adjective, or another adverb or even the entire proposition. They can be functional (more grammatical, closed category) or descriptive (more lexical, open category), and are used to express the manner, degree, extent, frequency, repetition, emphatic, approximative, logical, temporal or spatial relations of an action, a state or a situation. We will discuss negation adverbs separately in the following chapter.

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Chapter 16
Negation and negative markers

What human language universals should consist of has been an age-old debate amongst linguists, but most of them would agree that negation is both human and universal. Indeed, every human language possesses at least one way of negating the truth-value of an utterance, be it on the clausal, phrasal or lexemic level (see Stickel 1975: 18, Lyons 1977: 768–773, Bernini & Ramat 1996: 1–2, Horn 2010, *inter alia*).

Linguists have long been interested in the topic of negation in the world's languages. An influential and much-cited work on the history of negation is Jespersen (1917):

> The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word. (Jespersen 1917: 4)

In his seminal paper 'The evolution of negation', Croft (1991) puts forward a negative-existential cycle, in which Type A negation (i.e., a single verbal negator negating the existential predicate 'there is, there are' and any other predicates) will give rise, often by phonological fusion, to Type B negation (i.e., the coexistence of a verbal negator and a negative existential predicate used in different syntactic contexts), which will in turn change into Type C negation (i.e., a second negative existential predicate assuming also the role of verbal negator), and the cycle goes on. Insofar as Sinitic languages are concerned, such a cycle is indeed attested diachronically as investigated by Zhang (2002); while synchronically, different dialects and languages are claimed to be in different stages of the negative-existential cycle, evidenced in part by the degree of fusion or phonological change in their negator morphemes.

While the clausal negators in Northern Sinitic dialects predominantly have a bilabial plosive [p], Southern Sinitic dialects, such as Min, Gan, Hakka and some of Yue, use negative markers that carry a bilabial nasal initial [m] or a nasal velar [ŋ]; whereas Wu uses forms with a labio-dental [ʋ] for clausal negators (cf. Cao *et al*. 2008, Vol 3: 028–033). Chappell (1992b, 1994) looks at the typology of a wide range of negative verbs in Sinitic languages and suggests three types of Sinitic languages classified according to whether or not their negative verbs can also perform the function of negative markers for past perfective predicates: 'to not have V'. According to this typology, Type I Sinitic languages possess the category

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of negative verbs which also have a secondary function as the negative markers for past perfective predicates, generally labelled as the existential negative marker. They permit some aspectual modification of these negative verbs, but not the entire range used in positive predicates. Shanghai Wu, Taiwanese Hokkien and Hong Kong Cantonese all fall into this type. Type II Sinitic languages possess the category of the negative verb, but in addition, have a separate marker for past perfective clauses, i.e., the existential negative. This type does not allow aspectual modification of the negative verb. It can be exemplified by the New Xiang dialect. Finally, Type III Sinitic languages do not possess this verb category at all, using an adverbial negator with the possessive verb 'to have', of which Mandarin is a representative.

In this chapter, we will look at the various forms of Shaowu negative morphemes, the structural and functional scope of these morphemes, their interaction with aspect and modality, as well as the underlying discourse attributes that negation constructions, including double negation, can bring about. The main focus will be on standard negation, which can be characterised as the basic means that languages have for negating declarative and verbal main clauses. Non-standard negative constructions, such as imperatives, existentials, non-verbal predicates and negative indefinite pronouns will also be discussed.

16.1 Negation morphemes

The four major negation morphemes in Shaowu are: [ŋ^{55}] 唔 'not', [mau^{35}] 冇 'not have', [ʋei^{213}] 未 'not yet', [məi^{22}] ○$_{別}$ 'don't', and the more literary form [pei^{53}] 不 'not'. In this section, we will look at their respective syntactic configurations, semantic and pragmatic functions. Table 16.1 displays a repertoire of negation morphemes in Shaowu.

16.1.1 Negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔

The Shaowu negator for standard negation is [ŋ^{55}] 唔 'not', which negates general declarative verbal clauses. Unlike many Sinitic languages, the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 does not negate the copular (-to be) nor the existential (-to have, -to exist) clauses. Instead, they are negated by the negator [mau^{35}] 冇, see § 16.1.2.

The example below shows the insertion of the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 before the verbal predicate 'drink alcohol' to negate the predicate. This is a typical example of standard negation. Shaowu obeys the general typological NEG-first principle (Jespersen 1917), i.e., that a negator tends to be positioned before the verb, and

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Table 16.1: Shaowu negation morphemes and their collocated forms.

	Shaowu	Mandarin	Examples
Present and future negator	[ŋ^{55}] 唔	*bù* 不	(322) – (327)
Negative perfective	[mau^{35}] 冇	*méi* 没	(328), (329), (339), (340)
Negator + verb to have	[mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 冇有	*méiyǒu* 没有	(330), (331), (336),
Negator + copula	[mau^{35}ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 冇是	*búshì* 不是	(332), (334)
Negator + locational verb	[mau^{35}t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 冇处	*búzài* 不在、*méi zài* 没在	(337)
Future negator	[ai^{213}mau^{35}(iɔu^{55})] 还冇(有)，[ʊei^{213}] 未	*hái méiyǒu* 还没有、*wèi* 未	(344), (345)
Prohibitive negative imperative	[məi^{22}] ○$_{别}$	*bié* 别	(346) – (349)
Hortative negative imperative	[ŋ^{55}nuŋ^{35}] 唔□要	*búyào* 不要	(350), (351)
Literary negator	[pei^{53}] 不	*bù* 不	(352) – (355)

if the negation scope is on a clausal level, in the beginning of the sentence. In addition, the negation is symmetric in its construction compared to its affirmative counterpart, viz. the negative clause is not structurally different from the affirmative clause, and the SVO order is not altered by the insertion of the negation marker in front of the verb.

(322) ○$_{我}$ 唔 食 酒 。
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} ɕie^{35} tsɔu^{55}
1SG NEG drink alcohol
'I do not drink alcohol.'

The negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 can also negate non-verbal predications whose main constituents are from a category other than the verb and its argument(s), such as adjectives:

(323) ○$_{这}$ 个 顶 好 ，○$_{那}$ 个 唔 好 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} tin^{55} xau^{55} ɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} ŋ^{55} xau^{55}
DEM CLF very good DEM CLF NEG good
'This one is very good, that one is not good.'

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Note that the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 in the second clause of the above sentence has displaced the intensifier [tin^{55}] 顶 'very' and directly negates the adjectival predicate [xau^{55}] 好. However, if one wants to say, 'something is not very good' and keep the intensifier [tin^{55}] 顶 in the sentence, then the negator [mau^{35}] 冇 is used instead, followed by the verb 'to have' [iɔu^{55}] 有 (see § 16.2). Although not constrained to any time frames in particular, the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 usually negates present and future predicates.

Before an adjectival predicate:

(324) ○$_{这}$ 座 山 唔 高 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ts^{h}ɔ^{35} sɔn^{21} ŋ^{55} kau^{21}
DEM CLF mountain NEG high
'This mountain is not high.'

Before a verbal predicate:

(325) 小 囝子 唔 听话 。
siau^{55} kin^{53}tsə^{0} ŋ^{55} t^{h}iaŋ^{21}ʊa^{35}
little boy NEG obedient
'The little boy is disobedient.'

Example (324) is a statement of general fact and example (325) is a statement which holds true at the moment of utterance. If the statement involves a future action, then the same marker is used, as shown in examples (326), before an adjectival predicate, and (327), before a verb:

(326) ○$_{这}$ 样 做 唔 好 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ŋ^{55} xau^{55}
DEM way do NEG good
'It won't be good if (you) do it this way.'

(327) ○$_{她}$ 明朝 唔 来 。
xu^{35} maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} ŋ^{55} li^{22}
3SG tomorrow NEG come
'She won't come tomorrow.'

Thus, we may call [ŋ^{55}] 唔the negator for the present and the future. Its functions do not exactly overlap with those of the Mandarin *bù*不, because it cannot be used to negate the copula [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 'to be' nor the locational verb处 [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35\sim22}$] 'to be at or in' (the equivalent of the Mandarin *zài* 在 'to be at/in').

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16.1.2 Negator [mau^{35}] 冇

16.1.2.1 [mau^{35}] 冇 as negative existential verb

Opposed semantically opposite to the positive existential verb [iɔu^{55}] 有, a morpheme which means 'to exist' or 'to have' depending on the syntactic context), the Shaowu negator [mau^{35}] 冇 is probably derived historically from the negation of an existential verb. This is to say that diachronically, [mau^{35}] 冇 was likely the univerbation of a negative marker [m-] and the existential verb [IOU] 有, which underwent phonological fusion and become a negator (Zhang 2002: 40). This negative marker can negate either VPs or NPs in Shaowu, as shown respectively in the two examples below.

(328) 今朝 冇 时间 。
kin^{21}tɕiau^{21} mau^{35} ɕi^{22}kan^{21}
today NEG time
'There is no time today.'

(329) ○$_{我}$ 冇 去 。
xaŋ^{35} mau^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG NEG go
'I didn't go.'

16.1.2.2 [mau^{35}] 冇 + [iɔu^{55}] 有 as negative existential predicate

However, the most common way to negate an NP or a VP in Shaowu is [mau^{35}] 冇 followed by [iɔu^{55}] 有 to form [mau^{35} iɔu^{55}] 冇有 'not to have', placed before an NP or a VP. Here [mau^{35}] 冇 has lost its verbal status, and has become a genuine negator whose grammatical function is to negate a predicate in a clause, as can be seen in the following examples:

(330) 老○ 冇 有 票儿 。
lau^{55}pa^{21} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} p^{h}iau^{213}e^{0}
elder brother NEG have money
'The elder brother didn't have money.'

(331) ○$_{他}$ 冇 有 出 去 搞 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ kau^{55}
3SG NEG have out go play
'He didn't go out and play.'

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Although [mau^{35}] 冇 was likely used as a negative verb of existence and possession in its earlier history, it has lost this function in modern Shaowu and has become a genuine verbal negator preceding a verb or a noun. The addition of the existential verb [iɔu^{55}] 有after the negator [mau^{35}] 冇 in Shaowu is commonplace and suggests that [mau^{35}] 冇 alone is losing its status a negative verb, and [mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 冇有 has gradually become the new form of negative existential predicate.

16.1.2.3 Negator [mau^{35}] 冇 + copula [ɕi^{55}] 是

16.1.2.3.1 [mau^{35}] 冇 + copula [ɕi^{55}] 是 + NP

While in many Sinitic languages, including Mandarin, the general negator is employed to negate the copula (the equivalent of the Mandarin NEG *bù* 不), it is however ungrammatical in Shaowu to use the general negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 in this case. Mandarin uses *bù* 不 to negate its copula *shì* 是 'to be', for example. To negate the copula [ɕi^{55}] 是 in Shaowu, the negator [mau^{35}] 冇 is used instead, as shown in the example below, an instance of usage of the copular clause for identifying individuals, determining membership or categories:

(332) 〇他 冇 是 张明 / 北京 人 / 学生 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} pə^{53}kin^{21} nin^{22} xɔ^{35}sen^{21}
3SG NEG COP Zhang Ming Beijing person student
'He is not Zhang Ming/from Beijing/a student.'

(333) 〇他 唔 是 张明 / 北京 人 / 学生 。
** xu^{35} ŋ^{55} ɕi^{55} tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} pə^{53}kin^{21} nin^{22} xɔ^{35}sen^{21}
3SG NEG COP Zhang Ming Beijing person student
(Attempted meaning: 'He is not Zhang Ming/from Beijing/student.')

This is yet another piece of evidence that [mau^{35}] 冇 is now a fully-fledged verbal negator, negating the copula to form [mau^{35}ɕi^{55}] 冇是 'not to be' which can precede an NP or an adjectival phrase.

It is furthermore a peculiar feature of Shaowu that is not shared by many other Min languages, instead, we find some Gan and Hakka dialects having similar constructions, which might in effect suggest a micro linguistic area. In the Survey of Gan-Hakka dialects (*Ke-Gan Fangyan Diaocha Baogao* 客赣方言调查报告 by Li & Zhang 1992), four dialect localities, namely, Nancheng 南城, Jianning 建宁, Xihe 西河, Luchuan 陆川, all not far from Shaowu, are identified as possessing the same feature as Shaowu in this regard.

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16.1.2.3.2 [mau^{35}] 冇 + copula [ɕi^{55}] 是 + ADJ

The negator [mau^{35}ɕi^{55}] 冇是 is also used to negate an adjectival predicate and is placed before Shaowu adjectives. The adjective usually needs to be modified by an intensifier such as [tin^{55}] 顶 or [xen^{55}] 很, both meaning 'very'; the latter being borrowed from Mandarin. Note that the general negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 cannot be used in this case. See the examples below:

(334) 〇$_{这}$ 个 西瓜 冇 是 顶 甜 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} si^{21}kua^{21} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} tin^{55} t^{h}ien^{22}
DEM CLF watermelon NEG COP very sweet
'This watermelon is not very sweet.'

(335) 〇$_{这}$ 个 西瓜 唔 是 顶 甜 。
** tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} si^{21}kua^{21} ŋ^{55} ɕi^{55} tin^{55} t^{h}ien^{22}
DEM CLF watermelon NEG COP very sweet
(Attempted meaning: 'This watermelon is not very sweet.')

It is equally possible to employ the negative existential verb [mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 冇有 to negate an attributive adjective, indicating that the entity concerned does not possess the quality stated (as in example 336). There is, however, no meaning difference between examples (336) and (334).

(336) 〇$_{这}$ 个 西瓜 冇 有 顶 甜 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} si^{21}kua^{21} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} tin^{55} t^{h}ien^{22}
DEM CLF watermelon NEG have very sweet
'This watermelon is not very sweet.'

16.1.2.4 [mau^{35}] 冇 + locative verb [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处

The negator [mau^{35}] 冇 is also used to negate the locative verb [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处 in Shaowu, as shown in the example below:

(337) 张明 冇 处 北京 。
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} mau^{35} t^{h}u^{55} pə^{53}kin^{21}
Zhang Ming NEG LOC$_{V}$ Beijing
''Zhang Ming is not in Beijing.'

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Where Mandarin uses its general verbal negator *bù* 不 to negate the locative verb *zài* 在, Shaowu employs [mau^{35}] 冇again, and not [ŋ^{55}] 唔. Otherwise, the sentence would be ungrammatical:

(338) 瓯 儿 唔 处 槃 上 。
** əu^{21} e^{0} ŋ^{55} t^{h}u^{55} p^{h}ɔn^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
cup DIM NEG LOC$_{V}$ table on
(Attempted meaning: 'The cup is not on the table.')

16.1.2.5 [mau^{35}] 冇 / [mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 冇有 + VP

Either [mau^{35}] 冇 or [mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 冇有 can be used as negators of past actions or events, preceding the VP in a clause, to negate the perfective. The meaning of the clauses containing [mau^{35}] 冇 or [mau^{35} iɔu^{55}] 冇有 are identical in semantic value, as shown in the two examples below:

(339) 张明 冇 (有) 坐 度 飞机 。
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} t^{h}ɔi^{55} t^{h}ɔ^{35} fei^{21}ki^{21}
Zhang Ming NEG have sit EXP plane
'Zhang Ming has never taken a plane.'

(340) ○$_{他}$ 冇 (有) 瞅 度 琵琶 老鼠 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} niaŋ^{213} t^{h}ɔ^{35} p^{h}i^{22}p^{h}a^{22} lau^{55}ɕy^{0}
3SG NEG have look EXP lute mouse
'He has never seen a bat.'

Many Sinitic languages possess negators of perfective events, such as [bô] 无 in Southern Min 闽南话 (see Yang 1991a), [mo^{41}] 无 in Fuzhou Eastern Min 闽东福州话, [mau^{11}] 冇 in Meixian Kejia 梅县客家话, /mau^{6}/ 冇 in Nanchang Gan 南昌赣语, and [mou^{35}] 冇 in Hong Kong Cantonese 香港粵语, all of which are grammaticalised from negative verbs of existence and possession and are likely to be fused forms of a negator with the verb 'to have' (Chappell 1994). However, in Standard Mandarin, as well as some Mandarin dialects, either *méi* 没 or *méiyǒu* 没有 is used to negate perfective events. The Mandarin *méi* 没 can be followed by the existential verb *yǒu* 有, and together *méiyǒu* 没有 can function as a perfective negator, just as [mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 冇有 in Shaowu. In this sense, Shaowu aligns more with the Northern languages in terms of the stage of grammaticalisation of [mau^{35}] 冇.

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16.1.2.6 V + NEG + V constructions

The V + NEG + V construction is a very common interrogative form in the Sinitic family. Shaowu also has this construction, often using the copula [ɕi^{55}] 是 or existential verb [iɔu^{55}] 有. The negator used in this polar interrogative question is also [mau^{35}] 冇 and not [ŋ^{55}] 唔.

(341) ○他 是 冇 是 学生 ?
xu^{35} ɕi^{55} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} xɔ^{35}sen^{21}
3SG COP NEG COP student
'Is he a student?'

(342) ○你 有 冇 有 书 ?
xien^{35} iɔu^{55} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} ɕy^{21}
2SG have NEG have book
'Do you have books?'

(343) ○你 有 冇 有 食 饭 ?
xien^{35} iɔu^{55} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} ɕie^{35} pʰən^{35}
2SG have NEG have eat meal
'Have you had a meal?'

16.1.3 Negator [ʋei^{213}] 未

Many Southern Sinitic languages possess a special negator to indicate that an action has not yet started or been completed, such as in Southern Min 闽南话 [be^{22}], Fuqing Eastern Min 闽东福清话 [muai^{21}] 未 and Standard Cantonese 标准粤语 [mei^{22}] 未; while in Northern Guanhua Mandarin, an adverb *hái* 还 'still' is added in front of *méiyǒu* 没有 'not have' to express 'not yet', which is the negation of the perfect aspect. Shaowu has a monosyllabic negator [ʋei^{213}] 未 to mark the 'not-yet-ness' or imminence of an action or event. It is equally possible, however, to use the composite form [ai^{213}mau^{35}] 还冇 to indicate the meaning of 'not yet'. See the following two examples:

(344) 小 囝子 未 去 学堂 。
siau^{55} kin^{53}tsə^{0} ʋei^{213} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xɔ^{35}tʰɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$
little boy NEG go school
'The little boy hasn't gone to school yet.'

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(345) ○你 还 冇 食 饭 ?
xien[35] ai[213] mau[35] ɕie[35] pʰən[35]
2SG still NEG eat meal
'You haven't eaten yet?'

16.1.4 Prohibitive negator [məi[22]] ○别

The negator [məi[22]] ○别 is used in Shaowu to express the prohibitive imperative (PROH), which is a subset of negative imperatives, as in 'Don't do it!' or 'Stop doing it!' for atelic verbs. The 'Don't-do-it' type of prohibitive imperatives refer to actions that have not yet started, whereas the 'Stop-doing-it' type of prohibitive imperatives refer to actions that have already started and the addressee is asked to cease doing it.

(346) ○别 啼 !
məi[22] tʰi[53]
PROH cry
'Don't cry!'

(347) ○别 骂 人 。
məi[22] ma[213] nin[22]
PROH scold person
'Don't rebuke others.'/ 'Stop rebuking others.'

For telic verbs, such as 'to give', 'to send', 'to go out', only the prohibitive 'don't' reading is possible:

(348) ○别 得 ○他 ○这 封 信 。
məi[22] tie[53] xu[35] tɕiɔŋ[53] fen[21] sin[213]
PROH give 3SG DEM CLF letter
'Don't give him this letter.'

(349) ○别 出 去 搞 !
məi[22] tʰei[53] kʰɔ[213~21] kau[55]
PROH out go play
'Don't go out to play!'

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16.1.5 Hortative negative imperative [ŋ^{55} nuŋ^{35}] 唔○要

There is also in Shaowu an hortative negative imperative, [ŋ^{55}nuŋ^{35}] 唔○要 which means 'should not do something' or 'do not have to do something'. Here [ŋ^{55}] 唔 is the general negator, and [nuŋ^{35}] ○要 means 'to want', 'to wish'. The Mandarin equivalent of this negative imperative is 不要 'don't'. Often the second person pronoun is needed to precede the hortative negative imperative. This hortative form is less abrupt and more polite than the prohibitive [məi^{22}] ○别 which is more often used for asking someone with lesser experience, e.g., children, not to do something.

(350) ○你 唔○要 坐 ○这儿 。
xien^{35} ŋ^{55}nuŋ^{35} t^{h}ɔi^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}
2SG HORT$_{NEG}$ sit here
'You shouldn't sit here.' (polite negative imperative)

(351) ○你 唔○要 骂 小 囝子 。
xien^{35} ŋ^{55}nuŋ^{35} ma^{213} siau^{55} kin^{53}tsə^{0}
2SG HORT$_{NEG}$ scold little boy
'You should not scold the little boy.' (polite negative imperative)

16.1.6 Literary negator [pei^{53}] 不

The negator [pei^{53}] 不 is rarely used to negate predicates but appears in fossilised literary expressions that belonged erstwhile to the parlance of the educated. Expressions such as:

(352) 不 过 如 此
pei^{53} kuɔ^{213} ny^{55} ts^{h}i$^{55\sim22}$
NEG than like so
'not as good as it is said to be'

(353) 不 可 多 得
pei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{55\sim22}$ tɔ^{21} tie^{53}
NEG can many obtain
'rare', 'precious'

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It also appears in certain logical connectors such as:

(354) 不 过
pei^{53} kuɔ^{213}
NEG than
'nevertheless', 'however'

(355) 不 论
pei^{53} luən^{213}
NEG discuss
'no matter', 'regardless'

It is to be pointed out that [pei^{53}] 不 as a negator in Shaowu is not productive, and when people use expressions containing it, they may sound 'bookish', as this negation morpheme is not used in colloquial speech.

16.2 Double negation

The use of double negation is a common feature in Sinitic languages. Depending on the nature of the verb (copula, auxiliary or main verb) that follows the negator and the time frame it is set in, Shaowu can have [mau^{35}] 冇 . . . [ŋ^{55}] 唔, [ŋ^{55}] 唔 . . . [mau^{35}] 冇, [mau^{35}] 冇 . . . [mau^{35}] 冇or [ŋ^{55}] 唔 . . . [ŋ^{55}] 唔as double-negating combinatorial possibilities. The use of double negation can render an utterance more subtle and indirect (see Matthews & Yip 2011: 297). Often there is a meaning attenuation that is observable in the statement containing a double negation (see § 16.7.2).

16.2.1 [mau^{35}] 冇 . . . [ŋ^{55}] 唔

(356) ○$_{他}$ 冇 是 唔 做 事 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{22} ŋ^{55} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sə^{35}
3SG NEG COP NEG do thing
'It is not that he doesn't work.'

(357) ○$_{我}$ 冇 是 唔 想 帮 ○$_{你}$ 。
xaŋ^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{22} ŋ^{55} siɔŋ^{55} pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35}
1SG NEG COP NEG want help 2SG
'It is not that I don't want to help you.'

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16.2.2 [ŋ^{55}] 唔 . . . [mau^{35}] 冇

(358) ○$_{我}$ 唔 喜欢 冇 有 朋友 。
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} p^{h}en^{22}iɔu$^{55\sim22}$
1SG NEG like NEG have friend
'I don't like not having any friends.'

16.2.3 [mau^{35}] 冇 . . . [mau^{35}] 冇

(359) ○$_{这}$ 个 事 冇 是 冇 有 可能 哦 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} sə^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{55}nen^{22} ɔ^{22}
DEM CLF matter NEG COP NEG have possibility SFP
'Such a thing is not impossible.'

16.2.4 [ŋ^{55}] 唔 . . . [ŋ^{55}] 唔

(360) 你 唔 来 唔 好 。
xien^{35} ŋ^{55} li^{22} ŋ^{55} xau^{55}
2SG NEG come NEG good
'It is not appropriate if you don't come.'

16.3 Negative indefinite pronouns

Negative indefinite pronouns such as 'nobody', 'nowhere' in Shaowu are formed by using [mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 冇有 (NEG + 'to have') followed by a noun such as 'person' or 'place', as shown in the two examples below:

(361) 厝 底头 冇 有 人 。
tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213} ti^{55}xəu^{21} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} nin^{22}
house inside NEG have people
'There is no-one in the house.'

(362) ○$_{他}$ 冇 有 地方 可以 去 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} t^{h}i^{35}fɔŋ^{21} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG NEG have place can go
'He has nowhere to go.'

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It is also possible to place a universal quantifier such as 'any' [nin^{35}xɔ^{22}] 任何 or an interrogative morpheme such as 'what' [ɕia^{53}] 啥 before the noun, in order to add certain emphatic tone to the utterance:

(363) 〇他 有 有 任何 / 啥 地方 可以 去 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} nin^{35}xɔ^{22} ɕia^{53} tʰi^{35}fɔŋ^{21} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ kʰɔ^{213}
3SG NEG have any what place can go
'He doesn't have anywhere to go.'

Another possibility is to use the universal adverb [ka^{35}] 皆 after a [NUM-CLF-N] NP phrase, where the numeral (NUM) is one, to make the emphatic utterance of 'not even one':

(364) 厝 底头 蜀 个 人 皆 冇 有 。
tɕʰiɔ^{213} ti^{55}xəu^{21} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} nin^{22} ka^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55}
house inside NUM$_{one}$ CLF person all NEG have
'There is not even one person in the house.'

16.4 Negation morphemes interacting with complements

A complement completes the meaning of a predicate by adding information such as result, extent, direction, possibility, state or quantity (see Chapters 18 and 19). Complements in Sinitic languages are classified into manner, extent and potential complements by Lamarre (2001). In this section, we mainly focus on the potential verb complements (PVCs), which express the ability or the potential to achieve an action; and compare this construction with manner and extent complements in terms of their negation pattern.

In Mandarin Chinese, potential verb complements are formed by inserting the morpheme *dé* 得 (historically meaning 'to obtain') in resultative and directional verb complements for the affirmative, e.g., *kàn dé jiàn* 看得见 (look-POT-see) 'to be able to see' or, in the case of the negative counterpart, *bù/bú* 不 (general negator in Mandarin, its tone changes according to sandhi rules) e.g., *kàn bú jiàn* 看不见 (look-NEG-see) 'to be unable to see'.

In a Shaowu complement, the potential complement marker is [tie^{53}] 得 and the general negation marker is [ŋ$^{55\sim35}$] 唔. In a negative potential complement construction, the negator [ŋ$^{55\sim35}$] 唔 directly replaces the complement marker [tie^{53}] 得 in the potential verb complement construction and stands between the verb and its complement (the achievement aspect marker [tau^{55}] 到 or [tʰin^{21}tʰu^{22}] 清

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楚 ‘clear’ in the following two examples respectively), to mark the impossibility of obtaining the result, as in example (365); or to form a polar question, as in example (366).

(365) ○我 瞓 唔 到 。
xaŋ^{35} niaŋ^{213} ŋ^{35} tau^{55}
1SG look NEG ACH
‘I can’t see.’

(366) ○你 听 得 清楚 听 唔 清楚 ?
xien^{35} tʰiaŋ^{21} tie^{53} tʰin^{21}tʰu^{22} tʰiaŋ^{21} ŋ^{55} tʰin^{21}tʰu^{22}
2SG hear VCM clear hear NEG clear
‘Can you hear clearly or not?’

It is also possible to place the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 after the verb without being followed by any complement, to indicate if it is possible for the action to be carried out or not. The morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 here may be considered as a potential complement (POT) acting in the function of a modal verb. In the case of negating such a proposition, the general negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 is placed in front of [tie^{53}] 得 ‘can’/ ‘may’, as shown in the example below:

(367) ○这 样 事 做 得 , ○那 样 事 做 唔
tɕiɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} sə^{35} tsɔ^{21} tie^{53} ɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} sə^{35} tsɔ^{21} ŋ^{55}
DEM CLF thing do POT DEM CLF thing do NEG
得 。
tie^{53}
POT
‘This kind of thing may be done, that kind of thing may not be done.’

When it comes to the manner and extent complement, to negate the sentence, the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 is placed between the manner or extent complement and the complement marker [tie^{53}] 得, as seen in the two examples below:

(368) 娘佬 气 得 啼 了 起来 。
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} kʰi^{21} tie^{53} tʰi^{53} ə^{0} kʰi^{55}li^{22}
mother anger VCM cry PFV INCH
‘The mother was so angry that she started to cry.’ (extent)

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(369) ○他 走 得 唔 快 。
xu[35] tsu[55] tie[53] ŋ[55] kʰuai[213]
3SG run VCM NEG fast
'He does not run fast.' (manner)

Note that in Shaowu it is not grammatical to replace the manner or extent complement marker [tie[53]] 得directly by [ŋ[55]] 唔 (as in example 370 below), as it would be for the potential complement construction, as illustrated by examples (365) and (366).

(370) ○他 走 唔 快 。
** xu[35] tsu[55] ŋ[55] kʰuai[213]
3SG run NEG fast
'He does not run fast.' (attempted meaning)

16.5 Negation morphemes interacting with aspect

In this section, we discuss how Shaowu negators interact with aspect. Four aspects will be examined, namely, the experiential, the progressive, the durative and the change-of-state. (For more discussion on aspect and aspect markers, see Chapter 20 on the aspectual system.)

16.5.1 Negation morpheme and the experiential aspect

The experiential perfect indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present (Comrie 1976: 58). The experiential marker in Shaowu is [tʰɔ[35]] 度. The negator used is the perfective negator [mau[35]] 没, the verb 'to have' [iɔu[55]] 有 is optional.

(371) ○她 有 (有) 去 度 北京 。
xaŋ[35] mau[35] iɔu[55] kʰɔ[213~21] tʰɔ[35] pə[53]kin[21]
3SG NEG have go EXP Beijing
'She has never been to Beijing.'

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16.5.2 Negation morpheme and the progressive aspect

The progressive aspect expresses an action in progress at a specific time. In Shaowu, the progressive marker is [$t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 处, originally a locational lexical verb meaning 'to be in or at a place', which has grammaticalised into a progressive marker that precedes the verb to mark the progressive aspect. The negative form of the construction is formed by adding the negator [mau^{35}] 冇 in front of the progressive marker [$t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 处, with the verb 'to have' as an option between the two, as shown in the following two examples:

(372) ○$_{她}$ 冇 (有) 处 打 羊索 衣裳 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} $iɔu^{55}$ t^hu^{55} ta^{55} $iɔŋ^{22}sɔi^{21}$ $i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}$
3SG NEG have PROG knit wool garment
'She is not knitting a wool garment.'

(373) ○$_{他}$ 冇 (有) 处 磨 米 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} $iɔu^{55}$ $t^hu^{55\sim35}$ $mɔ^{35}$ mi^{55}
3SG NEG have PROG grind rice
'He is not grinding rice grains.'

16.5.3 Negation morpheme and the durative aspect

The durative aspect expresses a given situation lasting for a certain period of time. In Shaowu, the durative marker is [tau^{55}] 到 followed sometimes by the directional verb [li^{22}] 来, which are grammaticalised from the lexical verbs 'to arrive' and 'to come', respectively (cf. Chapter 20, § 20.6 on the durative aspect). This durative marker follows the verb to mark durativity, whereas the negative form of such a construction calls for the negator [mau^{35}] 冇 to precede the verb, as shown in the example below:

(374) ○$_{他}$ 冇 (有) 徛 到 来 食 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} $iɔu^{55}$ k^hi^{55} tau^{55} li^{22} $ɕie^{35}$
3SG NEG have stand DUR DIR eat
'He did not eat while standing up.'

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16.5.4 Change of state

The change-of-state aspect applies to a state of affairs that is relevant to the present situation when that state of affairs represents a change from an earlier state (Li & Thompson 1981: 238–300). It is marked by the sentence-final particle [lə^{0}] 了 in Mandarin to indicate that a state of affairs holds now which did not hold before. As for Shaowu, it can be marked by a variety of sentence-final particles such as [le^{22}] 叻, [lɔ^{22}] 咯 or [ɔ^{22}] 哦. To negate Shaowu sentences with a change-of-state aspect, usually the perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇 is used. The change-of-state aspect markers are often sentence-final, and the syntactic position of the negators involved are preverbal. Two examples below illustrate this point:

(375) ○我 两 年 皆 冇 (有) 去 厝底 了 。
xaŋ^{35} liɔŋ^{55} nin^{22} ka^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$ ə^{0}
1SG two year all NEG have go home CRS
'I haven't been home for two years.'

(376) ○他 已经 冇 是 学生 咯 。
xu^{35} i^{55}kin^{21} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} xɔ^{35}sen^{21} lɔ^{22}
3SG already NEG COP student CRS
'He is no longer a student.'

16.6 Negation morphemes interacting with modal verbs and quasi-modals

Both the Shaowu negators [ŋ^{55}] 唔 and [mau^{35}] 冇 interact with modal verbs and quasi-modal verbs. These negators are typically placed in front of modal auxiliaries expressing requests, permission, possibility, necessity, prohibition, expectation, preference, judgment, ability, etc. For more detailed discussions on modality, see Chapter 17. In this section, we also include quasi-modal verbs, viz. preference verbs (such as 'to like'), judgment verbs (such as 'to think') and wish verbs (such as 'would like').

16.6.1 'Preference' verbs

The most common preference verb in Shaowu is [xi^{55}fɔn^{21}] 喜欢, which means 'to like'. Depending on what the speaker intends to express, either the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 or [mau^{35}] 冇 can be used. They are not free variants in this case, as [ŋ^{55}] 唔 encodes the habitual sense of 'to not like something', whereas [mau^{35}] 冇 negates

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the willingness of 'liking to do something', as contrasted in the following two examples:

(377) ○他 唔 喜欢 食 酒 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ɕie^{35} tsɔu^{55}
3SG NEG like drink alcohol
'He does not like drinking alcohol.'

(378) ○他 冇 喜欢 食 酒 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ɕie^{35} tsɔu^{55}
3SG NEG like drink alcohol
'He hasn't liked drinking alcohol.' (but he drinks it anyway)

16.6.2 'Judgment' verbs

The scope of negation varies depending on the syntactic position of the negator in the sentence. If it is placed before the verb in the matrix clause, then the main verb is negated; if it is placed in front of the verb in the subordinate clause, then the subordinate clause is negated. By placing the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 in front of 'judgement' verbs like 'to think' or 'to consider' in the matrix clause, it negates the entire proposition in the subordinate clause. Hence, example (379) is semantically similar, but not equivalent, to example (380):

(379) ○我 唔 认为 ○他 解 去 。
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} nin^{35}ʋei^{22} xu^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG NEG think 3SG will go
'I don't think that he will go.'

(380) ○我 认为 ○他 唔 解 去 。
xaŋ^{35} nin^{35}ʋei^{22} xu^{35} ŋ^{55} xie$^{55\sim35}$ k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG think 3SG NEG will go
'I think that he will not go.'

The nuance is that the likelihood of 'he is going' is lower in example (379) than in (380). In the former, the speaker expresses her not believing in the proposition 'that he will go', whereas in the latter, the speaker knows something about 'him' which leads to the statement of belief that he won't go, thus a stronger belief in the likelihood.

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16.6.3 'Wish' verbs

Similar to the judgment verbs where the placement of the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 in the matrix or the subordinate clause will change the meaning of the sentence, in a 'wish' sentence, the same negator placed in different parts will create correspondingly different nuances in meaning, as shown in examples (381) and (382):

(381) ○$_{我}$ 唔 希望 ○$_{他}$ 去 。
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} xi^{21}ʊɔŋ^{35} xu^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG NEG hope 3SG go
'I don't want him to go.'

(382) ○$_{我}$ 希望 ○$_{他}$ 唔 去 。
xaŋ^{35} xi^{21}ʊɔŋ^{35} xu^{35} ŋ^{55} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG hope 3SG NEG go
'I want him not to go.'

The nuance is that the wish for 'him not to go' is less strong in example (381) than in (382). In the former, the speaker expresses her not wishing him to go, while the likelihood of his going or not is equal, whereas in the latter, the speaker explicitly states her wish that he will not go, implying a certain influence of her wish in his decision and thus a stronger statement.

16.6.4 'Ability' modal verbs

Shaowu's most common 'ability' modal verb [xie^{55}] comes from the Middle Chinese verb 解, which originally means 'to know' (cf. Chapter 17, § 17.1.1), that has grammaticalised into a modal verb meaning 'to be able to', 'can' (see example 383); its equivalent in standard Mandarin is *huì*会. The morpheme [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解 acting as a modal auxiliary is regarded as a typical Min feature, which is found in Northern Min (Jian'ou 建瓯), Central Min (Yong'an 永安), Eastern Min (Fuzhou 福州), Southern Min (e.g., Quanzhou 泉州, Taiwan Southern Min) (see Mei 1999: 15–18, Li 2002: 300, Norman 1985: 338).

To negate the ability modal verb, the Shaowu negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔is pre-posed to the modal verb, as shown in example (384).

(383) ○$_{他}$ 解 话 邵武事 。
xu^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ʊa^{35} ɕiau^{213}xu^{55}sə^{35}
3SG can speak Shaowu
'He can speak Shaowu.'

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(384) ○我 唔 解 做洗 。
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} xie$^{55\sim35}$ tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$sie^{55}
1SG NEG can swim
'I can't swim.'

16.6.5 'Request' modal verbs

The most common Shaowu 'request' verb is [kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以, which is typically used in a question. The Shaowu negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 is inserted between the repeated modal verb to form a polar question, using the construction of [V_{MOD}-NEG-V_{MOD}], as shown in example (385):

(385) ○你 可(以) 唔 可以 帮 ○我 个 下 ?
xien^{35} kʰɔ^{55}(i^{22}) ŋ^{55} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} xa^{35}
2SG can NEG can help 1SG one CLF_{VERB}
'Can you help me?'

The negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔can also be placed before the 'request' modal verb to form a rhetorical question:

(386) ○你 唔 可以 帮 ○我 个 下 嘛 ?
xien^{35} ŋ^{55} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} xa^{35} ma^{35}
2SG NEG can help 1SG one CLF_{VERB} SFP
'Can't you help me?'

16.6.6 'Permission' modal verbs

There are at least two 'permission' modal verbs in Shaowu, one being [kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以, which we have seen in § 16.6.5, but this time placed in a declarative sentence instead of a question. The negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 is used preverbally to negate this modal auxiliary.

(387) ○你 唔 可以 去 ○那 个 地方 。
xien^{35} ŋ^{55} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} tʰi^{35}fɔŋ^{21}
2SG NEG can go DEM CLF place
'You may not go to that place.'

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16.6.7 'Possibility' modal verbs

The syntactic position of 'possibility' modal auxiliaries and negators may lead to great subtlety in the nuances of meaning, while there is sometimes a lack of correspondence between form and meaning (see Palmer 1995), as for English verbs such as *may* and *can* which have both epistemic and deontic uses (see Chapter 17 on Modality for a full explanation of these categories).

One way to negate epistemic possibility in Shaowu is to use the negator [mau^{35}] 冇 followed by the existential verb 'to have' [iɔu^{55}] 有 preceding the 'possibility' noun [k^{h}ɔ^{55} nen^{22}] 可能，in order to express the epistemic value of 'not-possible' due to the speaker's judgement of the situation, as shown in example (388):

(388) ○他 冇 有 可能 处 厝底 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{55}nen^{22} t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$ tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$
3SG NEG have possibility LOC home
'He cannot possibly be at home.' (epistemic 'not-possible'; context: the speaker knows that at the time of speech, the subject 'he' is still at his office; I just saw him a minute ago in the corridor)

Note that [k^{h}ɔ^{55}nen^{22}] 可能 itself can also be used as a modal auxiliary verb, in this case, instead of using the combination of ['to have'+ 'possibility']. One can take out the existential verb 'to have' [iɔu^{55}] 有 in example (388) and replace the negator [mau^{35}] 冇by [ŋ^{55}] 唔in example (389), with the proposition meaning 'it is not possible that X is Y'.

(389) ○他 唔 可能 处 厝底 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{55}nen^{22} t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$ tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$
3SG NEG possibility LOC home
'He cannot possibly be at home.' (epistemic 'not-possible')

The most common way to negate the notion of deontic possibility, or lack of permission, in Shaowu is to use the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 followed by the 'possibility' modal auxiliary [k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以, as shown in the following example:

(390) ○他 唔 可以 来 ○我 厝底 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ li^{22} xaŋ^{35} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$
3SG NEG can come 1SG home
'He cannot come to my home.' (deontic 'not-possible', context: I forbid him to visit)

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Another modal verb in Shaowu is [tɕy^{53}] ○, whose etymon and lexical meaning are unknown, but which expresses deontic possibility. If negated, it means 'may not', 'should not'. The only negator allowed is [mau^{35}] 冇 which precedes [tɕy^{53}] ○, as shown in the following example:

(391) ○$_{你}$ 冇 ○ 坐 ○$_{这}$儿 。
xien^{35} mau^{35} tɕy^{53} t^{h}ɔi^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}
2SG NEG should/may sit here
'You may not sit here.' (lack of permission, context: the seat is reserved for the elderly)

16.6.8 'Necessity' modal verbs

Epistemic necessity is expressed in English most often as *must* (as in 'He must be in the office.'), 'not-necessary' *may not*, and 'necessary-not' *can't*. The most common way to negate epistemic necessity in Shaowu is to use the negator [mau^{35}] 冇followed by the epistemic 'necessity' modal auxiliary [i^{53}t^{h}in^{35}] 一定 'must' as a situation determined by circumstances，as shown in examples (392) and (393). Depending on which syntactic position the negator [mau^{35}] 冇 is in, the meaning of the proposition changes accordingly.

(392) ○$_{他}$ 冇 一定 处 办公室 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} i^{53}t^{h}in^{35} t^{h}u^{55} p^{h}an^{35}kuŋ^{21}ɕi$^{213\sim21}$
3SG NEG must LOC office
'He may not be in the office.' (epistemic 'not-necessary', context: as I know it is the time for a coffee break)

(393) ○$_{他}$ 一定 冇 处 办公室 。
xu^{35} i^{53}t^{h}in^{35} mau^{35} t^{h}u^{55} p^{h}an^{35}kuŋ^{21}ɕi$^{213\sim21}$
3SG must NEG LOC office
'He must not be in the office.' (epistemic 'necessary-not', context: as I rang him a few times and no-one answered)

Deontic necessity is expressed in English as *must/has to/ought to* (as in 'He must come.'), 'not-necessary' *needn't*, and 'necessary-not' *mustn't*. The most common way to negate deontic necessity in Shaowu is to use the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 followed by the deontic necessity modal auxiliary [i^{53}t^{h}in^{35}nuŋ^{35}] 一定○$_{要}$, which originally means 'must need', as shown in examples (394) and (395). Once again, depend-

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ing on which syntactic position of the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 is in, the meaning of the proposition changes accordingly.

(394) ○$_{她}$ 唔 一定 ○$_{要}$ 来 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} i^{53}t^{h}in^{35} nuŋ^{35} li^{22}
3SG NEG must need come
'She needn't come.' [deontic 'not-necessary']

(395) ○$_{她}$ 一定 唔 ○$_{要}$ 来 。
xu^{35} i^{53}t^{h}in^{35} ŋ^{55} nuŋ^{35} li^{22}
3SG must NEG need come
'She mustn't come.' [deontic 'necessary-not']

16.7 Discourse attributes by different negative constructions

There are many other discourse attributes that can be brought out by various negative constructions, such as attenuation, rhetorical assertion, implicature, and emphasis, etc. In this section, we are going to examine these illocutionary forces in Shaowu sentences containing negation, or sometimes double negation.

16.7.1 Attenuation of a statement

It would be quite unusual for a Shaowu speaker to comment bluntly on people or things in a negative way. Instead of using pejorative terms or negative descriptions, it is common practice to negate positive attributes and not directly use negative ones. So instead of saying 'He is really bad.', one tends to say, 'He isn't quite good.', as shown in the example below:

(396) ○$_{他}$ 冇 是 顶 好 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} tin^{55} xau^{55}
3SG NEG COP very good
'He isn't very good.'

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16.7.2 Implicature involving double negation

The use of double negation can render an utterance more subtle and indirect, and often there is an implicature that can be made on the basis of the statement containing a double negation:

(397) ○我 有 是 唔 想 帮 ○你 。
xaŋ[35] mau[35] ɕi[22] ŋ[55] siɔŋ[55] pɔŋ[21] xien[35]
1SG NEG COP NEG want help 2SG
'It is not that I don't want to help you.'

In the above example, it is implied that the person has his/her reasons, which are not explicitly expressed, that have led to his/her being unable to offer help to the other person.

16.7.3 Attenuation or emphasis involving double negation

While there is no Shaowu equivalent of English negation structures such as *I can't care less*, it is possible to use double negation in Shaowu to attenuate a statement. However, depending on the context and intonation, the double negation can also place an emphasis on the statement, as shown in the following example:

(398) ○这 事 冇 是 冇 有 可能 哦 。
tɕiɔŋ[53] sə[35] mau[35] ɕi[55] mau[35] iɔu[55] kʰɔ[55]nen[22] ɔ[22]
DEM thing NEG COP NEG have possibility SFP
'Such a thing is not impossible.' (attenuation)
'Such a thing is *not* impossible.' (emphasis)

16.8 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed various Shaowu negation morphemes and their interaction with different sentence structures and syntactic elements therein. We have notably discussed four major negation morphemes: the present and future negator [ŋ[55]] 唔 'not', the perfective [mau[35]] 冇 'not have', the future negator [ʋei[213]] 未 'not yet', and the negative imperative [məi[22]] ○别 'don't'. The syntactic position of these negative morphemes is almost always preverbal, including preceding the modal auxiliaries, and they are employed in the general syntactic configuration

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of [NEG-(MOD)-(NEG)-V]. Double negation is possible, with underlying discourse functions, as described in the section above.

We have discussed the use of the general negators [ŋ^{55}] 唔 and [mau^{35}] 冇 within the copular, the possessive/existential and the locative constructions. We have also described the interaction of these negators in complement structures, including result, extent, direction and potential complements and compounds. The interaction of these with aspect and modality, in declarative and interrogative sentences, have also been looked at. In the rest of the Part on the Predicate Structure and the following Part on the Clausal Structure, we will see more instances of Shaowu negators playing a role in various constructions and sentence structures in Shaowu.

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Chapter 17
Modality, modal auxiliaries and their syntax

Modality is an illocutionary force that expresses a speaker's general intent or degree of commitment as to whether the proposition expressed is possible, true, obligatory, desirable or real (see, e.g., Lyons 1977: 452, Palmer 1979: 5–14, 1986: 8–18). Modality and mood (e.g., indicative, imperative or subjunctive mood) are often discussed together and sometimes overlap in usage in linguistic literature (Palmer 1986: 187–191). While there is no consensus as how to define modality and what should constitute the set of modal categories, linguists generally agree that:

(i) modality is a semantic sub-domain;
(ii) it is more loosely structured and probably at a higher level of abstraction than tense and aspect;
(iii) it involves 'qualifications of states of affairs'. (Nuyts 2005)

Modality is traditionally divided into three types: deontic, epistemic and dynamic (Palmer 1986: 7–10). Deontic modality is 'concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents' (Lyons 1977: 823), while epistemic modality is 'concerned with matters of knowledge and belief' (Lyons 1977: 793), referring to the speaker's belief or opinion about the truth or validity of the proposition. Dynamic modality is characterised as an ascription of a capacity or ability of an agent, which can also involve judgement on the part of the speaker.

Bybee et al. (1994: 177–181) divide modality into four types: agent-oriented, speaker-oriented, epistemic and subordinating. According to them, epistemic modality encompasses possibility, probability and inferred certainty, while subordinating modality refers to the use of modality in subordinate clauses (e.g., subjunctive). Agent-oriented modality reports 'the existence of internal and external conditions on the agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate', whereas speaker-oriented modality refers to those cases in which the speaker is the "enabling condition" i.e., those cases in which the speaker gives someone an order or a permission or expresses root (non-epistemic) possibility of an event.

Van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) divide modality into non-epistemic and epistemic modalities, where the former is subdivided into participant-internal and participant-external modalities and the latter, epistemic modality, is subdivided into epistemic possibility and epistemic necessity. This bipartition is also adopted by Chappell & Peyraube (2016: 300) for Sinitic modality. According to Chappell & Peyraube, Sinitic modality may be classified into three main semantic

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fields of (i) possibility and permission; (ii) necessity, obligation, and certainty; and (iii) volition, and the main grammatical coding device of the semantic fields that fall under modality, i.e., the modal verbs, display a very high degree of polysemy in many Sinitic languages. These modal verbs were originally lexical verbs, allowing nominal objects; and through grammaticalisation, they developed into auxiliary verbs, allowing predicative objects (Chappell & Peyraube 2016: 300).

Cross-linguistically, there are various means to code modality, modal meanings are expressed by morphological, lexical, syntactic or prosodic means. To name some:

(i) modal auxiliary verbs (can, may, must etc.);
(ii) modal adverbs (possibly, probably, surely etc.);
(iii) modal particles (e.g, [la[55]] 啦 in Cantonese, as in *chèuihbín chóh lā* '随便坐啦。' *Please take a seat*, see Matthews & Yip 2011: 404);
(iv) mood (the grammaticalised expression of modality, e.g., the subjunctive mood);
(v) modal tags (e.g., in English: *You are not a student, I guess.*);
(vi) intonation.

We have seen in detail how modality interacts with negation in Shaowu (cf. Chapter 16 on negation, § 16.6 on negative morphemes interacting with modal verbs and quasi-modals). In the following sections, we discuss the different grammatical devices that code modality in Shaowu, including modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs, modal particles, modal tags and intonation. However, given the polysemous values carried by Shaowu modals and the frequent overlap of their functions, we do not intend to classify them into the traditional categories of, for instance, dynamic, deontic and epistemic modalities because all of these cannot be easily teased apart when it comes to Sinitic modality. Instead, the different grammatical devices that Shaowu deploys to code modality will be presented.

The table below first presents a brief overview of Shaowu's modality system in terms of modal verbs (and their negated forms) and modal adverbs. Other means to express modality are discussed in § 17.3–17.6.

The general syntactic template involving modal verbs, their negators and modal adverbs is: [SUBJ + (MOD ADV) + (NEG) + MOD AUX + VERB + OBJ].

In the sections below, we introduce the different categories and devices of modality in Shaowu, namely, modal auxiliary verbs, modal adverbs, modal particles, potential verb compounds, modal tags and intonation. We start by looking at modal verbs, their negated forms and modal adverbs, as shown in Table 17.1:

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Table 17.1: Shaowu modal verbs, their negated forms and modal adverbs.

	Modal auxiliary verbs	Negated form(s)	Modal adverbs
Ability	[xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解 ‘can’, ‘to be able to’ [nen^{22}kɔu^{213}] 能够 ‘to be able to’	[ŋ^{55}xie^{55}] 唔解 ‘cannot’, ‘to be unable to’ [ŋ^{55}nen^{22}kɔu^{213}] 唔能够 ‘to be unable to’	
Volition	[siɔŋ^{55}] 想 ‘to want’ [nuŋ^{35}] ○$_{要}$ ‘to intend to’	[ŋ^{55}siɔŋ^{55}] 唔想 ‘to not want’ [ŋ^{55}nuŋ^{35}] 唔○$_{要}$ ‘to not intend to’	
Possibility	[k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以 ‘can’	[ŋ^{55}k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 唔可以‘cannot’	[t^{h}ai^{35}k^{h}ai^{213}] 大概 ‘probably’ [k^{h}ɔ^{55}nen^{22}] 可能 ‘possibly’ [ʊi^{213}] 畏 ‘likely’ [k^{h}uŋ^{55}p^{h}a^{213}] 恐怕 ‘likely’
Permission	[k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以 ‘can’, ‘be permitted to’	唔可以 [ŋ^{55}k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] ‘cannot’, ‘be not permitted to’	
Necessity	[nuŋ^{35}] ○$_{要}$ ‘have to’ [xy^{21}iau^{213}] 需要 ‘need to’	[ŋ^{55}nuŋ^{35}] 唔○$_{要}$ ‘must not’	[i^{53}t^{h}in^{35}] 一定 ‘must’
Obligation	[in^{21}kɔi^{21}] 应该 ‘should’, or in its shortened form: 该 [kɔi^{21}] ‘should’ [nuŋ^{35}] ○$_{要}$ ‘must’ [pi^{53}xy^{21}] 必须 ‘have to’	[ŋ^{55}in^{21}kɔi^{21}]唔应该 ‘should not’ [ŋ^{55}nuŋ^{35}] 唔○$_{要}$ ‘should not’	
Prohibition		[məi^{22}] ○$_{别}$ ‘don’t’	

17.1 Modal auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs are verbs that help to form tenses, moods, and voices of other verbs (‘auxiliary’ comes from Latin *auxilium* meaning ‘help’). A subset of auxiliary verbs is known as modal verbs (or modal auxiliary verbs, MOD AUX). They combine with other verbs to express volition, necessity, possibility, intention, permission or ability. More often than not, the functions of different modal auxiliaries overlap in Sinitic languages including Shaowu, mainly due to the various

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stages of grammaticalisation of these modal verbs (which stem from lexical verbs), reflected in the current usage of the language in question.

17.1.1 Modal auxiliary verbs expressing ability

The most common modal verb in Shaowu that encodes ability is [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解, its Mandarin equivalent being *huì* 会 'can' or 'to be able to'. Originally, 解[9] meant 'to understand' or 'to know', and the meaning is still kept in some fixed expressions in Modern Chinese, such as *bù jiě fēng qíng* '不解风情' 'not getting the romantic cue'. The morpheme 解, a lexical verb 'to know' in Middle Chinese (cf. Chapter 16, § 16.6.4) has then grammaticalised into an ability modal auxiliary in modern Shaowu, as illustrated in example (399):

(399) ○$_{我}$ 解 做洗 。
xaŋ^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$sie^{55}
1SG can swim
'I can swim.'

The example below contains the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔, which precedes the modal verb:

(400) ○$_{他}$ 唔 解 话 邵武事 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} xie^{55} ua^{35} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}
3SG NEG can speak Shaowu
'He can't speak Shaowu.'

In a polar question, the negator is inserted between the modal verbs and the sentence structure becomes [SUBJ – MOD AUX – NEG – MOD AUX – VERB – OBJ], as shown in the example below:

(401) ○$_{你}$ 解 唔 解 写 字 ?
xien^{35} xie^{55} ŋ^{55} xie^{55} sia^{55} tʰə^{35}
2SG can NEG can write word
'Do you know how to write?'

9 In Guangyun, the rhyme book compiled in 1008 A.D. by Chen Pengnian *et al.* in Song Dynasty, the morpheme「解」was placed under the xie rhyme, with the lexical meaning 'to know'. (「解」《廣韻.蟹韻》:「胡賣切，曉也」。)

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As mentioned above, many, if not most, Sinitic modal verbs are polysemous, and Shaowu is no exception. The modal auxiliary verb [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解 can also be used with the meaning of epistemic possibility in a future context. More examples are given in § 17.1.3 below.

Another modal auxiliary verb, [k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以, can also be used to express capacity:

(402) ○$_{他}$ 个 餐 饭 可以 食 上 三 碗 。
xu^{35} kəi^{21} t^{h}an^{21} p^{h}ən^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ ɕie^{35} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ san^{21} ʊɔn^{55}
3SG one CLF meal can eat up three bowl
'He can eat up to three bowls (of rice) for a meal.'

(403) ○$_{我}$ 可以 帮 ○$_{你}$ 去 。
xaŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG can/be able to BEN/COMT 2SG go
'I am able to go in your place.' or 'I can go with you.'

A less frequently used and more literary form [nen^{22}kɔu^{213}] 能够 'to be capable of' can also be used:

(404) ○$_{他}$ 能够 做 好 ○$_{这}$ 回 事 。
xu^{35} nen^{22}kɔu^{213} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xau^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} fei^{22} sə^{35}
3SG be capable of do well DEM CLF thing
'He can do this well.'

17.1.2 Modal auxiliary verbs expressing volition

There are at least two modal auxiliary verbs of volition in Shaowu: [siɔŋ^{55}] 想 'to want' and ○要 [nuŋ^{35}] 'to intend to', the etymon of which is yet to be identified. The two examples below illustrate their usage respectively:

(405) ○$_{我}$ 想 明朝 去 北京 。
xaŋ^{35} siɔŋ^{55} maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ pə^{53}kin^{21}
1SG want tomorrow go Beijing
'I want to go to Beijing tomorrow.'

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(406) ○我 现在 ○要 去 做洗 。
xaŋ^{35} xien^{35}tʰai^{55} nuŋ^{35} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$sie^{55}
1SG now intend go swim
'I intend to go swimming now.'

Note that the temporal adverb can be placed rather flexibly in the sentence, before or after the modal auxiliary verb (its default position is between the subject and the predicate).

17.1.3 Modal auxiliary verbs expressing epistemic possibility

Epistemic possibility relates a statement to the current state of our knowledge about the actual world: a statement is said to be epistemically possible if it may be true, for all we know of the situation at the given moment. In Shaowu, a common modal verb to encode epistemic possibility is 可以 [kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$], as shown in the following example:

(407) 坐 火车 明朝 可以 遘 北京 。
tʰɔi^{55} fəi$^{55\sim22}$tɕʰia^{21} maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ kau^{213} pə^{53}kin^{21}
sit train tomorrow can reach Beijing
'One can arrive in Beijing tomorrow by taking a train.'

However, if the modal verb of epistemic possibility [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解 is used, it implies that there is a somewhat higher likelihood of achieving something, as the reading of [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解 is 'will be able to', as shown in the following example:

(408) 坐 火车 明朝 解 遘 北京 。
tʰɔi^{55} fəi$^{55\sim22}$tɕʰia^{21} maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} xie$^{55\sim35}$ kau^{213} pə^{53}kin^{21}
sit train tomorrow be able to reach Beijing
'One will be able to arrive in Beijing tomorrow by taking a train.'

Future events can be described both temporally (in terms of future) and modally (in terms of likelihood), the relation between the two areas is described in Dahl (2000b) and Palmer (1979: 133–167, 1986: 104, 124), *inter alia*. The modal verb 解 [xie$^{55\sim35}$] was likely grammaticalised from the dynamic modal verb of ability 'can (do something)' to root possibility, to epistemic possibility 'be likely to' (Bybee *et al*. 1994: 240), then developing into some sort of future morpheme, as shown in the following example:

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(409) 明朝 解 落 雨 。
maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} xie$^{55\sim35}$ lɔ^{35} xy^{55}
tomorrow be able to fall rain
'It is likely to rain tomorrow.' or: 'It will rain tomorrow.'

As [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解 is gradually developing from an epistemic-possibility modal verb into a future-tense auxiliary verb, it is thus possible to combine it with a possibility modal adverb [k^{h}ɔ^{55}nen^{22}] 可能, to explicate the likelihood of the event on top of futurity, as shown in the following example:

(410) 明朝 可能 解 落 雨 。
maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} k^{h}ɔ^{55}nen^{22} xie$^{55\sim35}$ lɔ^{35} xy^{55}
tomorrow probably be able to fall rain
'It is likely to rain tomorrow.'

While [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解 can be used in actions involving human or non-human agents, [k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以 can only be used for actions involving human agents, who are able to carry out volitional activities. Therefore, while example (409) is grammatical, it is ungrammatical to say in Shaowu:

(411) 明朝 可以 落 雨 。
** maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ lɔ^{35} xy^{55}
tomorrow can fall rain
(Attempted meaning: 'It may rain tomorrow.')

Nevertheless, it is possible to say the following, because there is an implicit human agent behind the action of door-opening:

(412) 门 可以 开 。
mən^{22} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ k^{h}ai^{21}
door can open
'The door can open.'/ 'The door can be opened.'

The example above is however ambiguous, because the polysemous modal verb [k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以 also expresses permission 'be permitted to' (see § 17.1.4 below). Another reading for the above sentence is thus: 'It is permitted to open the door.' To disambiguate, Shaowu resorts to the other, equally polysemous, modal verb [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解 which expresses possibility in this case:

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(413) 门 解 开 。
mən^{22} xie^{55} k^{h}ai^{21}
door can open
'The door can open.'/ 'The door can be opened.'

Note that for most of the aforementioned modal verbs, adding a negator 唔 [ŋ^{55}] in front of these modal auxiliaries will usually render logical symmetry in their negated forms. The syntactic template is thus [SUBJ + (NEG) + MOD AUX + VERB + OBJ], for instance:

(414) 明朝 唔 解 落 雨 。
maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} ŋ^{55} xie$^{55\sim35}$ lɔ^{35} xy^{55}
tomorrow NEG be able to fall rain
'It will not rain tomorrow.'

This symmetry is however not applicable to the dynamic modal verb [k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以, which, in its negated form, can only mean 'not permitted to', as shown in the following example:

(415) 门 唔 可以 开 。
mən^{22} ŋ^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ k^{h}ai^{21}
door NEG can.permissive open
'It is not permitted to open the door.'

Nevertheless, the negated form of the dynamic modal verb [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解 retains its semantic symmetry:

(416) 门 唔 解 开 。
mən^{22} ŋ^{55} xie^{55} k^{h}ai^{21}
door NEG can open
'It is not permitted to open the door.'

One explanation for the difference between the two examples above is that [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解has a wider semantic scope, i.e., has a higher degree of polysemy, than [k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以, and its negation thus also lends itself to a wider range of interpretation and allows the semantic symmetry in the negated forms.

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17.1.4 Modal auxiliary verbs expressing permission

As mentioned above, the modal verb 可以 [kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] is also used to denote permission in Shaowu, and this fits into the semantic map of path of 'ability' that Bybee et al. (1994: 240) proposed: ability → root (non-epistemic) possibility → epistemic possibility or permission.

(417) ○$_{你}$ 可以 去 。
xien^{35} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
2SG may/can go
'You may go.' / 'You are allowed to go.'

(418) ○$_{这}$ 个 , ○$_{你}$ 可以 食 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} xien^{35} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ ɕie^{35}
DEM one 2SG may/can eat
'This one, you may eat.' (giving permission)

Note that [kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以 can express epistemic possibility, similar to [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解 in § 17.1.3 above, as illustrated by the example below:

(419) ○$_{这}$ 可以 食 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ ɕie^{35}
DEM may/can eat
'This can be eaten.' (intended meaning: 'This is edible.')

Adding the negator 唔 [ŋ^{55}] before the modal verb 可以 [kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] gives rise to prohibition:

(420) ○$_{你}$ 唔 可以 去 。
xien^{35} ŋ^{55} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
2SG NEG may/can go
'You may not go.' / 'You are not allowed to go.'

To form a question, the negator 唔 [ŋ^{55}] is inserted between the modal verb 可以 [kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] and its reduplicant, having the structure of [MOD VERB – NEG – MOD VERB]. Since 可以 [kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] has two syllables, the second syllable can be elided in its first instance in the sentence, see the following example:

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(421) ○那 个 , ○我 可(以) 唔 可以 食 ?
ɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} xaŋ^{35} kʰɔ^{55}(i^{22}) ŋ^{55} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ ɕie^{35}
DEM one 1SG may/can NEG may/can eat
'Can I eat that?' (Asking for permission)

Another way to express the same meaning is to add a question particle to the end of the sentence:

(422) ○那 个 , ○我 可以 食 么 ?
ɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} xaŋ^{35} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ ɕie^{35} mɔ^{0}
DEM one 1SG may/can eat Q
'Can I eat that?' (Asking for permission)

17.1.5 Modal auxiliary verbs expressing necessity

The notion of necessity in our discussions falls under the domain of deontic modality. The most common modal verb in Shaowu expressing necessity is nuŋ^{35} ○要 ('have to', 'need to'), the etymon of which is yet to be identified.

(423) 天 皆 黑 了 , 我 ○要 去 厝底
tʰien^{21} ka^{35} xə^{53} liau^{55} xaŋ^{35} nuŋ^{35} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tɕʰiɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$
sky all dark CRS 1SG have to go home
了 。
ə^{0}
SFP
'It is pitch dark now, I have to go home.'

Another modal auxiliary, albeit more literary, that expresses necessity is [xy^{21}iau$^{213\sim21}$] 需要. It is likely a borrowing from Mandarin and is rarely used in oral speech in Shaowu. The following example illustrates its usage:

(424) ○你 需要 买 个 嫩 啥 么 ?
xien^{35} xy^{21}iau^{21} mie^{55} kə^{0} nən^{35} ɕia^{53} mɔ^{0}
2SG need buy one little what Q
'Do you need to buy something?'

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17.1.6 Modal auxiliary verbs expressing obligation

One of the most common modal auxiliaries for obligation in Shaowu is the polysemous and multifunctional ○要 [nuŋ^{35}], which means 'should', 'ought to'.

(425) 俺多 ○要 孝敬 父 母 。
ien^{22}tai^{21} nuŋ^{35} xau^{213}kin^{55} fu^{35} mu^{55}
IPL.INCL ought to care and respect father mother
'We ought to pay filial respect to the parents.'

(426) ○她 ○要 成 家 叻 。
xu^{35} nuŋ^{35} ɕin^{22} ka^{21} le^{22}
3SG should found family SFP
'She should found a family.'

Another modal auxiliary in Shaowu that expresses obligation is [in^{21}kɔi^{21}] 应该 (or its shortened form [kɔi^{21}] 该), meaning 'have to', 'should'. It is rather literary and formal, and is likely to be a borrowing from Mandarin:

(427) ○你 年轻 时候 应该 多 挣 嫩 票儿 。
xien^{35} nien^{22}k^{h}ən^{21} ɕi^{22}xəu^{213} in^{21}kɔi^{21} tɔ^{21} t^{h}aŋ^{35} nən^{35} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}
2SG young time should more earn QUANT money
'You should earn more money when you are young.'

It is grammatical to insert the modal verb [nuŋ^{35}] ○要 after [in^{21}kɔi^{21}] 应该. The serial modal-verb construction has the effect of semantic reinforcement: in the following example, [in^{21}kɔi^{21}] 应该 'have to' is a modal verb which codes obligation that is relatively strong and formal, while [nuŋ^{35}] ○要 'should' is a modal verb that codes a milder obligation. Thus, there is an attenuate of tone by adding [nuŋ^{35}] ○要 after [in^{21}kɔi^{21}] 应该.

(428) ○你 年轻 时候 应该
xien^{35} nien^{22}k^{h}ən^{21} ɕi^{22}xəu^{213} in^{21}kɔi^{21}
2SG young time should
'When you are young, you should
○要 多 挣 嫩 票儿 。
nuŋ^{35} tɔ^{21} t^{h}aŋ^{35} nən^{35} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}
have to more earn a bit money
(have to) earn a bit more money.'

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A modal auxiliary of very strong obligation, [pi^{53}xy^{21}] 必须, is also a borrowing from Mandarin and has a highly literary and formal usage and thus a lower frequency in day-to-day Shaowu. An example is shown below:

(429) 人 人 皆 必须 守 法 。
nin^{22} nin^{22} ka^{35} pi^{53}xy^{21} ɕiɔu^{55} fan^{53}
person person all must obey law
'Everyone must abide by the law.'

17.1.7 Modal auxiliary verbs expressing prohibition

Placing a negator in front of [nuŋ^{35}] ○$_{要}$ gives rise to a prohibitive imperative, i.e., 'NEG ought' means 'ought not' or 'should not':

(430) 唔 ○$_{要}$ 叫 ○$_{她}$ 蜀 个 人 出 去 。
ŋ^{55} nuŋ^{35} kiau^{213} xu^{35} ɕi^{55} kəi^{21} nin^{22} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
NEG ought ask 3SG one CLF person out go
'(You) shouldn't tell her to go out alone.'

Note that it is possible to replace [ŋ^{55}nuŋ^{35}] 唔○$_{要}$ by the general prohibitive imperative [məi^{22}] ○$_{别}$, although the latter exerts a stronger prohibition and is usually said to children. Note that [məi^{22}] ○$_{别}$ is a fusional morpheme that arises from a negative prefix [m]- combined morphologically with a modal verb (etymon yet to be identified, a possible lexical candidate is 爱 which means 'to want', 'to love' and is pronounced as [ai^{213}] in Shaowu) to form a single negative imperative morpheme. Standard Southern Min has the same kind of fusion of a negator and a verb 'to want' (see Chappell & Peyraube 2016, Lien 2015c).

(431) ○$_{别}$ 叫 ○$_{她}$ 蜀 个 人 出 去 。
məi^{22} kiau^{213} xu^{35} ɕi^{55} kəi^{21} nin^{22} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
PROH ask 3SG one CLF person out go
'Don't tell her to go out alone.'

(432) ○$_{别}$ 啼 , ○$_{别}$ 啼 !
məi^{22} t^{h}i^{53} məi^{22} t^{h}i^{53}
PROH cry PROH cry
'Don't cry!'

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17.2 Modal adverbs

Modal adverbs, such as 'probably', 'possibly', 'likely', can be added to an utterance to give or reinforce a modal meaning. In Shaowu, there are number of modal adverbs, many of which express possibility. Their syntactic positions are more flexible than modal auxiliary verbs which are required to precede the main verb or the modal auxiliary verb. The modal adverbs, on the other hand, can precede the temporal marker, the modal auxiliary verb or the main verb. The syntactic template containing modal adverbs is thus: [SUBJ + (MOD ADV) + TEMP + (MOD ADV) + (MOD AUX) + VERB + PREDICATE]. The most common modal adverbs in Shaowu are presented in the following subsections.

17.2.1 [i^{53}t^{h}in^{35}] 一定 'must'

The modal adverb 一定 [i^{53}t^{h}in^{35}] expresses certainty that is deduced from epistemic knowledge:

(433) ○$_{他}$ 今朝 一定 遘 了 北京 。
xu^{35} kin^{21}tɕiau^{21} i^{53}t^{h}in^{35} kau^{213} ə^{0} pə^{53}kin^{21}
3SG today must reach PFV Beijing
'He must have arrived in Beijing today.'

If the modal adverb is placed before the temporal adverbials, there is a slight shift of focus on the time:

(434) ○$_{他}$ 一定 今朝 遘 了 北京 。
xu^{35} i^{53}t^{h}in^{35} kin^{21}tɕiau^{21} kau^{213} ə^{0} pə^{53}kin^{21}
3SG today today reach PFV Beijing
'Today, he must have arrived in Beijing.'

17.2.2 [t^{h}ai^{35}k^{h}ai^{213}] 大概 'probably'

The modal adverb [t^{h}ai^{35}k^{h}ai^{213}] 大概 is used to express probability or to modify a verb or a modal auxiliary, as illustrated by the two examples below:

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(435) 大概 再 等 个 把 钟头 。
$t^hai^{35}k^hai^{213}$ $tsai^{21}$ ten^{55} $kə^0$ pa^{53} $tɕiuŋ^{21}t^həu^{53\sim21}$
probably still wait one CLF hour
'Probably (we) need to wait for another hour or so.'

(436) ○她 大概 唔 解 来 。
xu^{35} $t^hai^{35}k^hai^{213}$ $ŋ^{55}$ $xie^{55\sim35}$ li^{22}
3SG probably NEG can/will come
'She probably won't come.'

17.2.3 [ʊi²¹³] 畏 and [kʰuŋ⁵⁵pʰa²¹³] 恐怕 'likely'

The modal adverbs [ʊi²¹³] 畏 and [$k^huŋ^{55}p^ha^{213}$] 恐怕 can both mean 'likely', 'probably', and are both derived from lexical verbs meaning 'to fear', 'to be afraid of', as shown in the example below:

(437) ○我 畏 蛇 。
$xaŋ^{35}$ $ʊi^{213}$ $ɕi^{22}$
1SG fear snake
'I'm afraid of snakes.'

The morpheme [ʊi²¹³] 畏 is still used as a lexical verb with the meaning of 'to fear' in everyday Shaowu. On the other hand, [$k^huŋ^{55}p^ha^{213}$] 恐怕 is only used as a modal adverb and is of higher register than [ʊi²¹³] 畏, although etymologically both [$k^huŋ^{55}$] 恐 and [p^ha^{213}] 怕 mean 'to be afraid of' but neither is used in Shaowu today as an independent verb to express 'to fear'.

Both [ʊi²¹³] 畏 and [$k^huŋ^{55}p^ha^{213}$] 恐怕 have grammaticalised from concrete lexical verbs to modal adverbs, the grammaticalisation pathway of which is likely to be: 'to fear'/ 'to be afraid of' -> 'to be afraid such is the case' -> 'probably'. See two examples below for illustration:

(438) 畏 ○你 冇 有 时间 。
$ʊi^{213}$ $xien^{35}$ mau^{35} $iɔu^{55}$ $ɕi^{22}kan^{21}$
fear 2SG NEG have time
'You probably don't have the time (to do something).'

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(439) 恐怕 ○你 冇 有 时间 。
kʰuŋ^{55}pʰa^{213} xien^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} ɕi^{22}kan^{21}
be afraid of 2SG NEG have time
'You probably don't have the time (to do something).'

17.3 Modal particles

As mentioned earlier, modal particles are also a way to express modality. In Shaowu, they appear as sentence-final particles (SFP) and are usually monosyllabic. They are quite pervasive in day-to-day speech and their modal meaning can vary depending on context. These modal particles include [le^{22}] 叻, [ɔ^{22}] 哦, [ne^{22}] 呢 (cf. Chapter 35 on clause-final particles). Their modal usages are presented in the following subsections.

17.3.1 Modal particle [le^{22}] 叻 to express obviousness

The following two examples illustrate the modal use of sentence-final particles, either to express obviousness or to firmly assert a certain fact. Note that if the sentence-final particle is taken out from the examples, the sentences will turn into mere statements of fact instead.

(440) 北京 , ○我 去 度 叻 。
pə^{53}kin^{21} xaŋ^{35} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tʰɔ^{35} le^{22}
Beijing 1SG go EXP SFP$_{MOD}$
'I have been to Beijing, of course.'

(441) 千 层 糕 , ○她 食 度 叻 。
tsʰien^{21} tʰən^{22} kau^{21} xu^{35} ɕie^{35} tʰɔ^{35} le^{22}
thousand layer cake 3SG eat EXP SFP$_{MOD}$
'She has tried the Thousand-layer Cake, of course.'

Note that in order to highlight that something is obvious, the object is often fronted to the beginning of the sentence, which then turns it into the topic. The sentence thus has a topic-comment structure, and the sentence-final modal particle is added to the comment descriptive of the topic to express the notion of obviousness (see Chapter 21 on topic-comment constructions).

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17.3.2 Modal particle [ɔ^{0}] 哦 to express factuality of a statement

The modal particle [ɔ^{0}] 哦 expresses the factuality of the statement and serves to confirm or repeat information to the hearer. Adding it to the end of a sentence makes the sentence sound matter of fact. See for instance the following two examples:

(442) 饭 ， ○我 食 了 哦 。
pʰən^{35} xaŋ^{35} ɕie^{35} ə^{0} ɔ^{0}
meal 1SG eat PFV SFP$_{MOD}$
'I have eaten my meal.' (It is a fact)

(443) ○你 冇 去 学堂 哦 。
xien^{35} mau^{35} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xɔ^{35}tʰɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$ ɔ^{0}
2SG NEG go school SFP$_{MOD}$
'You didn't go to school.' (so this is the case)

17.3.3 Modal particle [ne^{22}] 呢 to convey new information

The modal particle [ne^{22}] 呢 at the end of a sentence indicates that the information in the statement is new and the speaker does not expect the hearer to know it. It is possible that this modal particle is derived from the sentence-final question marker [ne^{22}] 呢 that is most often used as a question particle in Shaowu interrogative sentences (for which see Chapter 33). Compare the following examples:

(444) 张明 最近 溃 了 呢 。
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} tsei$^{213\sim21}$kʰin$^{213\sim21}$ kʰuei^{35} ə^{0} ne^{22}
Zhang Ming recently fall ill CRS SFP$_{MOD}$
'Zhang Ming has fallen ill recently, you know.'

(445) ○你 晓 唔 晓得 呢 ?
xien^{35} xiau^{55} ŋ^{55} xiau^{55}tie^{53} ne^{22}
2SG know NEG know Q
'Do you know that?'

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17.4 Modal tag as an expression of opinion or after-thought

Modal tags are mostly epistemic in nature and are an expression of the speaker's opinion or attitude towards a proposition, often as an after-thought. In English, there are clause-final tags like 'I think', 'I guess', 'I believe', also called 'epistemic parentheticals' (Thompson & Mulac 1991). Similar constructions can be found in Shaowu, exemplified by the speaking's adding [xaŋ^{35}kɔ^{53}tie$^{53\sim0}$] ○$_{我}$觉得 'I think', as shown in the following example:

(446) ○$_{他}$ ○$_{这}$ 个 人 顶 好 , ○$_{我}$ 觉得 。
xu^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} nin^{22} tin^{55} xau^{55} xaŋ^{35} kɔ^{53}tie^{21}
3SG DEM CLF person very good 1SG think
'He is a nice person, I think.'

17.5 Potential verb complement marker [tie^{53}] 得

Potential verb complements (PVC) can be used to denote the ability to achieve an action. Shaowu employs the morpheme 得 [tie^{53}] as a potential verb complement marker (POT) to code capacity, which we include here as a kind of ability modality marker. Its modal usage is illustrated by the following example (for more details, see Chapter 19, § 19.3 on the potential verb complement marker 得 [tie^{53}]).

(447) ○$_{这}$ 条 桌 我 搬 得 动 。
tɕiɔŋ^{35} t^{h}iau^{22} p^{h}ɔn^{22} xaŋ^{35} pɔn^{21} tie^{53} t^{h}uŋ$^{35\sim55}$
DEM CLF table 1SG carry POT move
'I am able to move this table.'

17.6 Intonation

When intonation is used to express modality, it is often the main verb or the aspect marker in the clause that is being stressed, that is, they typically display a higher pitch or an exaggerated pitch range (represented by 'Fortis' below). For instance, when the experiential aspect marker 度 [t^{h}ɔ^{35}] is stressed and lengthened in example (448), it does not show up as a plain statement anymore but one that carries an attitude towards or an emphasis on what has been stated.

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Compared to example (449), example (448) expresses a stronger affirmation of the fact that the speaker has been to Beijing.

(448) 北京 , ○我 去 度 。
pə^{53}kin^{21} xaŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ **<F=t^{h}ɔ^{35}=F>**
Beijing 1SG go EXP$_{EMP}$
'I have been to Beijing, obviously!'

In the above example, the capital letter F stands for Fortis and the = symbol for syllable lengthening, whereas the < > brackets give the scope.

(449) 北京 , ○我 去 度 叻 。
pə^{53}kin^{21} xaŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}ɔ^{35} le^{22}
Beijing 1SG go EXP SFP$_{MOD}$
'I have been to Beijing, of course.'

17.7 Summary

Like many other languages in the world, Shaowu has various means to code modality, namely, by using modal auxiliary verbs, modal adverbs, modal particles, modal tags, potential complement markers, and intonation. The modal auxiliary verbs are often polysemous and multifunctional and can be used in conjunction with other means for coding modality such as modal adverbs. The example below uses four means of modality-encoding, namely, the use of a modal adverb ([t^{h}ai^{35}k^{h}ai^{213}] 大概 'probably'), a modal auxiliary ([xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解 'to be able to'), a modal particle ([ɔ^{22}] 哦), and a modal tag ([xaŋ^{35}kɔ^{53}tie$^{53\sim0}$] ○我觉得 'I think').

(450) ○她 大概 唔 解 来 哦 , ○我 觉得 。
xu^{35} t^{h}ai^{35}k^{h}ai^{213} ŋ^{55} xie$^{55\sim35}$ li^{22} ɔ^{22} xaŋ^{35} kɔ^{53}tie$^{53\sim0}$
3SG ADV.probably NEG MOD$_{ABLE}$ come SFP 1SG think
'She probably won't be able to come, I think.'

A complete syntactic template for Shaowu modality thus is: [SUBJ + (MOD ADV) + (NEG) + (MOD AUX) + VERB + OBJ + (MOD PART) + (MOD TAG)].

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Chapter 18
Postverbal complements of manner, extent and degree and their markers

A complement in Sinitic can be broadly defined as a predicate-like grammatical constituent that follows a verb and provides additional information to the verb. Enfield (2003: 133) defines a complement as either a nominal quantifying phrase (usually a classifier phrase denoting a period of time or some physical measurement) or a gradable stative verb with adverbial function. In Sinitic, this category can be further expanded to include verbal complements of manner, extent, degree; or verb compounds such as the resultative, directional and potential.

A complement is different from a grammatical object in that a grammatical object is the recipient of the action expressed by the verb and is usually a noun, whereas a complement serves to describe or explain the action expressed by the verb and is almost never a noun. It is part of the verb phrase that provides additional information on the subject, the action or the object. This additional information can be borne out in terms of manner, extent, degree, potentiality, result, or direction in Shaowu (see Chapter 19 for the last three categories).

The complements in Sinitic are usually postverbal and appear in various types with different markers (Lamarre 2001). A complement can be an adjective, an adverb, a prepositional phrase, or even a complex phrase. This chapter aims to present three verbal complement types, all of them postverbal, in Shaowu by introducing their functions and markers. They are, namely, (i) manner complements, (ii) extent complements, and (iii) degree complements. The general verb complement marker in Shaowu is the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 (see Chapter 26 for the morpheme's multifunctionality and usages), specifically glossed as VCM. The general syntactic configuration for Shaowu sentences containing a complement is [SUBJ + V + VCM + MANNER/EXTENT/DEGREE].

18.1 Manner complements

Shaowu manner complements are postverbal constituents that express the way an action is carried out. The prototypical syntactic template for manner complements in Shaowu is [SUBJ + V (+ O + V) + VCM + MANNER], where MANNER can be an adjective, a stative verb, or an adverb. Note that when called for, it is possible to insert a grammatical object in the template, but then the verb has to be repeated before the manner complement. Contrast examples in § 18.1.1 and § 18.1.2.

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18.1.1 [SUBJ + V + VCM + MANNER]

As we see in the following three examples, the VCM is postverbal, and it precedes the manner adverb or adverbial, the latter usually deriving from an adjective or a stative verb (cf. Chapter 15 on adverbs and adverbial phrases, § 15.1.1). A degree adverb 'very' is often added to intensify the action or the manner in which it is carried out, as shown in examples (451) and (452), and sometimes a comparative marker can also be introduced after the VCM if there are subjects of comparison in the sentence, see example (453).

(451) 猫儿 走 得 顶 快 。
mau^{53}ə^{0} tsu^{55} tie^{53} tin^{55} k^{h}uai^{213}
cat run VCM very fast
'The cat runs very fast.'

(452) ○$_{她}$ 话 得 顶 清楚 。
xu^{35} ʋa^{35} tie^{53} tin^{55} t^{h}in^{21}t^{h}u$^{55\sim0}$
3SG speak VCM very clear
'She speaks in a very clear way.'

(453) 姊佬 洗 得 更 伶俐 个 嫩 ,
tsi^{55}lau^{0} sie^{55} tie^{53} kə^{0} len^{22}li$^{35\sim21}$ kə^{0} nən^{35}
elder sister wash VCM COMP clean a bit
'While the elder sister washed (the floor) in a cleaner way,
弟儿 扫 得 更 马马虎虎 。
t^{h}i^{55}ə^{0} sau$^{55\sim22}$ tie^{53} kə^{0} ma^{22}ma^{0}xu^{22}xu^{0}
little brother sweep VCM COMP just so-so
the younger brother swept it just so-so.'

18.1.2 [SUBJ + V + O + V + VCM + MANNER]

When a grammatical object is introduced by the main verb and forms, in fact, part of a compound verb, such as [ʋa^{35}sə^{35}] 话事 'to speak', but which literally meaning 'to speak matter', the root verb [ʋa^{35}] 话 has to be repeated after the object and before the complement, this mechanism is known as 'verb copying', i.e., there is more than one instantiation of the same verb in a sentence that has a direct object as well as a postverbal adverbial constituent, which can range from duration or frequency expressions to directional, locational and resultative con-

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stituents (see Chao 1968: 353–374, 449–461, Li & Thompson 1981: 54–68, Huang 1984, Tai 2003 *inter alia*).

(454) ○他 食 饭 食 得 顶 快 。
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35} ɕie^{35} tie^{53} tin^{55} k^{h}uai^{213}
3SG eat meal eat VCM very fast
'He eats his meal very fast.'

(455) ○你 写 字 写 得 顶 端正 。
xien^{35} sia^{55} t^{h}ə^{35} sia^{55} tie^{53} tin^{55} tɔn^{21}tɕiaŋ^{213}
2SG write word write VCM very neatly
'You write neatly.'

(456) ○你 逼 ○他 逼 得 紧 , ○他 解 去 跳
xien^{35} pi^{53} xu^{35} pi^{53} tie^{53} kin^{55} xu^{35} xie^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{21} t^{h}iao^{213}
2SG push 3SG push VCM tight 3SG will go jump
墙 咯 。
t^{h}iɔŋ^{22} lɔ^{0}
wall SFP
'If you push him too hard, he'll go over the edge.'

18.1.3 With object-marking construction

It is also possible to have the object marking construction in a sentence containing a manner complement. The object marker [na^{22}] 拿 is used to front the object before the verb phrase, with the syntactic template of [SUBJ + OM + O + V + VCM + MANNER]. In this case, verb copying is not required. See the following example:

(457) ○他 拿 目珠 睁 得 大 大 的 来 。
xu^{35} na^{22} mu^{53}tɕy^{21} t^{h}aŋ^{55} tie^{53} xai^{35} xai^{35} ti^{53} li^{22}
3SG OM eye open VCM big big ATT come
'He opened his eyes widely.'

The function of the object marker (OM) [na^{22}] 拿 will be elaborated in Chapter 25 on object-marking constructions.

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18.1.4 With negation

Shaowu negators [ŋ^{55}] 唔 and [mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 冇有, apart from being used to negate the main verb of the sentence, can also be used to negate manner complements. Their choice depends on the context and the scope of negation. The general negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 is usually placed after the verb complement marker [tie^{53}] 得 and before the manner description in order to negate it (as in examples 458 and 459), while the perfective negator [mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 冇有 (or the short form [mau^{35}] 冇) can be placed before or after the complement marker and before a degree adverb such as [ɔŋ^{53}] ○$_{那}$ 'so', as shown in example (460).

(458) 路 扫 得 唔 仔细 。
t^{h}iɔ^{35} sau^{55} tie^{53} ŋ^{55} tsə^{55}si^{213}
ground sweep VCM NEG in detail
'The ground wasn't swept with attention.'

(459) 饭 烧 得 唔 够 火候 。
p^{h}ən^{35} ɕiau^{21} tie^{53} ŋ^{55} kəu^{213} fəi^{55}xəu^{213}
meal cook VCM NEG enough heat
'The meal isn't well cooked enough.'

(460) ○$_{她}$ 事 冇 (有) 话 得 ○$_{那}$ 清楚 。
xu^{35} sə^{35} mau^{35} (iɔu^{55}) ʊa^{35} tie^{53} ɔŋ^{53} t^{h}in^{21}t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$
3SG matter NEG have say VCM so clear
'She did not speak (about something) too clearly.'

18.2 Extent complements

Extent complements are postverbal constituents that serve as an assessment of the impact of an action or a description of its consequent state. They can also describe the degree of a state achieved. The verb involved is usually gradable and stative. In Standard Mandarin, as in many northern dialects, the manner complement marker and the extent complement marker have the same surface form [DE] 得, therefore manner complements and extent complements are often put in the same basket by some linguists. Most southern languages, however, distinguish manner complements from extent complements because their markers are different (see, for instance, Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 174–176). In Yue languages and

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dialects, the complement marker 得 DAK is used to mark manner, whereas 到 DOU is used to mark extent.

Shaowu aligns with the northern languages in this regard, as it uses the same complement marker [tie^{53}] 得 for both the manner complements and extent complements. The prototypical syntactic template for extent complements in Shaowu is [SUBJ + V + VCM + EXTENT]. We notice that the adverb [ka^{35}] 皆 'all' is often used to emphasize the extent, although it is not a must. Examples (461) – (462) illustrate the use of VCM [tie^{53}] 得 in extent complements, while examples (462) and (463) include negators 冇 [mau^{35}] and 唔 [ŋ^{55}] respectively in such constructions.

18.2.1 [SUBJ + V + VCM + EXTENT]

(461) ○他 话 得 别人 腹○ 皆 笑 ○ 了 了 。
xu^{35} ʊa^{35} tie^{53} p^{h}ie^{35}nin^{55} py^{53}ɕy^{21} ka^{35} siau^{213} t^{h}y^{35} liau^{55} ə^{0}
3SG say VCM others belly all laugh ache CMPL PFV
'His talk made people laugh so hard that their bellies ached.'

(462) ○她 问 得 ○他 皆 冇 办法 回答 。
xu^{35} mən^{213} tie^{53} xu^{35} ka^{213} mau^{35} p^{h}an^{35}fan^{53} fei^{22}tan$^{53\sim21}$
3SG ask VCM 3SG all NEG way reply
'She asked in such a way that has left him speechless.'

(463) 行李 重 得 连 ○我 皆 拿 唔 起 。
xən^{22}li^{22} t^{h}iuŋ^{55} tie^{53} lien^{22} xaŋ^{35} ka^{21} na^{22} ŋ^{55} k^{h}i$^{22\sim55}$
luggage heavy VCM even 1SG all take NEG DIR$_{up}$
'The luggage is so heavy that even I couldn't lift it.'

18.2.2 [V + VCM + SUBJ + EXTENT]

A characteristic of the extent complement, according to Yue-Hashimoto (1993: 175–176), is the possible inversion of the subject of the verb which has a causative nature, on condition that the subjects of the verb and of the complement are identical. The verb is often intransitive and unaccusative, and the subject is semantically akin to the direct object of a transitive verb. Thus, the syntactic template of the extent complement can be rearranged to become [V + VCM + SUBJ + EXTENT], which is impossible for manner complements. That is, the subject now follows Verb-VCM $_{[tie53]}$. Examples (464) and (465) illustrate this feature of extent complements:

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(464) 气 得 ○他 两 餐 饭 皆 冇 食 。
k^{h}i^{213} tie^{53} xu^{35} liɔŋ^{55} t^{h}an^{21} p^{h}ən^{35} ka^{35} mau^{35} ɕie^{35}
anger VCM 3SG two CLF meal all NEG eat
'He was so angry that he skipped two meals.'

(465) 走 得 ○我 累 死 了 。
tsu^{55} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} lɔi^{35} si^{55} liau$^{55\sim22}$
run VCM 1SG tired dead PFV
'I ran until I was exhausted.'

18.2.3 [SUBJ + V + O + V + VCM + EXTENT]

When the verb is transitive and is followed directly by the grammatical object, the verb has to be repeated before the extent complement, as shown in the following two examples:

(466) ○他 ○找 娘佬 ○找 得 啼 起来 。
xu^{35} sau^{213} niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} sau^{21} tie^{53} t^{h}i^{53} k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}
3SG search mother search VCM cry INCH
'He looked for his mother until he started crying.'

(467) ○他 想 食 糖子 想 得 ○涎 皆 ○流
xu^{35} siɔŋ^{55} ɕie^{35} t^{h}ɔŋ^{53}tsə^{0} siɔŋ^{55} tie^{53} lan^{55} ka^{35} sə^{22}
3SG want eat sweet want VCM saliva all flow
出 来 了 。
t^{h}ei^{53} li^{22} ə^{0}
out come PFV
'He was drooling with the desire to eat sweets.'

18.2.4 With object marking construction

It is also possible to have the object marking construction in a sentence containing an extent complement. The object marker 拿 [na^{22}] is used to front the object before the verb phrase, with the syntactic template of [SUBJ + OM + O + V + [VCM + EXTENT]], with no verb-copying required. See the following two examples:

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(468) ○你 拿 ○他 气 得 目珠 皆 瞪 出
xien[35] na[22] xu[35] kʰi[213] tie[53] mu[53]tɕy[21] ka[35] tʰaŋ[21] tʰei[53]
2SG OM 3SG anger VCM eyeball all protrude out
来 了 。
li[22] ə[0]
come PFV
'You made him scowl so much that his eyeballs protruded.'

(469) 拿 囝子 吓 得 啼 起来 。
na[22] kin[53]tsə[0] xa[53] tie[53] tʰi[53] kʰi[55]li[22]
OM boy scare VCM cry INCH
'(Something/someone) scared the boy so much that he started to cry.

18.2.5 With passive construction

Even the passive construction can also be used in a sentence containing an extent complement. The syntactic template is [PATIENT + PASS + AGENT + V + [VCM + EXTENT]], where the passive marker is [tie[53]] 得, which shares the same surface form as the complement marker [tie[53]] 得, despite their entirely different function. See the following example:

(470) ○他 得 你 话 得 个 ○ 子 皆 唔
xu[35] tie[53] xien[35] ʊa[35] tie[53] kə[0] pi[22] tsɪ[0] ka[35] ŋ[55]
3SG PASS 2SG say VCM one little DIM all NEG
值得 。
tʰy[35]tie[53]
worthwhile
'He was spoken of by you as if he wasn't worth anything.'

18.3 Degree complements

Degree complements usually contain an adverb of degree, or intensifier, like the Shaowu intensifier [xen[55]] 很, which is likely a borrowing from Mandarin. The verb is generally a gradable stative verb (e.g., 'to smell good', 'to be hot') or a transitive verb of quality (e.g., 'to like', 'to hate'), hence it can take degree adverbs (Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 176, Francis & Matthews 2005). The syntactic template of a sentence containing a degree complement is [SUBJ + V + [VCM + DEGREE]], where the complement marker [tie[53]] 得 is followed by the constituent, DEGREE,

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which can be an intensifier (examples 471 and 472) or a VP that expresses intensity (examples 473–475):

18.3.1 [SUBJ + V + [VCM + DEGREE]]

(471) 妹儿 高兴 得 很 。
mei^{213}ə^{0} kau^{21}xin^{213} tie^{53} xen^{55}
little sister happy VCM very
'The little sister is very happy.'

(472) ○$_{那}$ 人 凶 得 很 。
ɔŋ^{53} nin^{22} xiɔŋ^{21} tie^{53} xen^{55}
DEM person aggressive VCM very
'That boss is very aggressive.'

(473) ○$_{这}$ 花 香 得 吓 人 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} fa^{22} xiɔŋ^{21} tie^{53} xa^{53} nin^{22}
DEM flower fragrant VCM scare people
'This flower is extremely fragrant.'

(474) ○$_{他}$ 急 得 ○$_{要}$ 死 了 。
xu^{35} kən^{53} tie^{53} nuŋ^{35} si^{55} ə^{0}
3SG worry VCM want die PFV
'He is worried to death.'

(475) ○$_{你}$ 问 得 奇离古怪 个 。
xien^{35} mən^{213} tie^{53} kʰi^{22}li^{22}ku^{55}kuai^{213} kə^{0}
2SG ask VCM strange and weird SFP
'You asked something really strange.'

18.3.2 [SUBJ + V + OBJ + V + [VCM + DEGREE]]

This category involves transitive verbs of quality such as 'to like' and 'to hate'. As with the extent and manner complements above, the verb is repeated after the grammatical object is announced, followed by the degree complement, with a syntactic configuration [SUBJ + V + OBJ + V + [VCM + DEGREE]], as shown in the two examples below:

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(476) ○他 喜欢 ○她 喜欢 得 不得了 。
xu[35] xi[55]fɔn[21] xu[35] xi[55]fɔn[21] tie[53] pei[53]tie[53]liau[55]
3SG like 3SG like VCM a great deal
'He likes her a great deal.'

(477) ○她 讨厌 ○他 讨厌 得 ○要 死 。
xu[35] tʰau[55]ien[213~21] xu[35] tʰau[55]ien[213~21] tie[53] nuŋ[35] si[55]
3SG dislike 3SG dislike VCM want die
'She really dislikes him.'

While in Mandarin and Cantonese for instance, it is possible to construct a sentence with an implicit, 'dangling' degree complement, i.e., the DEGREE constituent is not mentioned at all and the sentence simply ends with the complement marker [DE] 得, as for instance in Mandarin:

(478) 这 几 天 热 得 !
zhè *jǐ* *tiān* *rè* *dé*
DEM several day hot VCM
'It's been really hot in the last few days!' (Mandarin)

Such a construction is, however, impossible in Shaowu:

(479) ○这 几 工 热 得 !
** tɕiɔŋ[53] ki[55] kuŋ[21] nie[35] tie[53]
DEM several day hot VCM
(Attempted meaning: 'It's been really hot in the last few days!')

Instead, a degree complement or a degree adverb must be added after the Shaowu complement marker [tie[53]] 得:

(480) ○这 几 工 热 得 很 !
tɕiɔŋ[53] ki[55] kuŋ[21] nie[35] tie[53] xen[55]
DEM several day hot VCM very
'It's been really hot in the last few days!'

This may mean that the Shaowu complement marker acts more like a linking word and cannot assume the function of an intensifier (as is the case of Mandarin). Likewise, alone it cannot be a potential compound verb, unlike for instance Cantonese (佢打得 [kʰœy[35]ta[35]tɐk[5]], for instance, which means 'He is able to fight.'). This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 19, Section 19.3 on potential complements.

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18.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed the functions and marker of the manner, extent and degree complements. The basic syntactic template is [SUBJ + V + VCM + COMPLEMENT] where VCM is the Shaowu marker [tie[53]] 得 and COMPLEMENT can be of manner, extent or degree. Combinations with the object-marking, passive or negative constructions and the postverbal complements are also possible. The phenomenon of verb copying can be observed, when a grammatical object is inserted in the template which then becomes [SUBJ + V + OBJ + V + VCM + COMPLEMENT].

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Chapter 19
Postverbal complements and compounds of result, direction and potentiality

Talmy (1985, 2000b: 401) classifies languages in the world into verb-framed and satellite-framed languages, based on how 'path' is encoded, whether it is expressed in the main verb or in the satellite, as opposed to 'manner'. While languages such as Romance, Semitic and Japanese are considered as verb-framed, i.e., path being encoded in the verb; languages like Germanic, Greek and Mandarin Chinese are considered to be satellite-framed, i.e., path is expressed in a satellite, whereas manner is encoded in the main verb. Lamarre (2003) shows that Sinitic exhibits a split system in that whether path is encoded in the main verb or in the satellite depends on the type of events denoted. Therefore, it does not fit the verb-framed or satellite-framed dichotomy. Some linguists (Slobin & Hoiting 1994, Slobin 2004, *inter alia*) also point out the existence of equipollently-framed languages in which both manner and path are both expressed in verbs, such as Mandarin.

These debates, transposed onto Sinitic, lead to discussions on the 'headedness' of postverbal complements and compounds, especially for resultative compounds. Different proposals have been put forward; for an overview of resultative compounds, see Li (2007). In this chapter, we will present three postverbal complement and compound types in Shaowu, namely, (i) the resultative complement and resultative compound, (ii) the directional compound, and (iii) the potential complement; and will look at their respective interactions with various other grammatical elements, such as aspect, negation and constructions like topicalisation and object marking.

While both complements and compounds provide additional information on the directionality (which codes path) or consequence of an action represented by the verb, a major difference between a verb complement and a verb compound rests in that the former can be a complex phrase or even a clause, introduced by a verb complement marker, and indicating the change of state, whereas the latter is a combination of two verbs denoting such a change: V_1 denotes an activity, V_2 (which can be a verb or an adjective) expresses an achieved result state brought about by V_1. The difference between, for instance, a resultative complement and a resultative compound is illustrated by the following examples in Mandarin:

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Resultative complement:

衣服	洗	得	很	干净	。
yīfú	xǐ	dé	hěn	gānjìng	
clothes	wash	VCM	very	clean	

'The clothes have been washed (so that they are) clean.'

Resultative compound:

衣服	洗	干净	了	。
yīfú	xǐ	gānjìng	le	
clothes	wash	clean	PFV	

'The clothes have been washed clean.'

The general verb complement marker in Shaowu is the morpheme 得 [tie[53]] (see Chapter 26 for its multifunctionality and usage), glossed as VCM. The general syntactic configuration for Shaowu sentences containing a complement is thus [NP + V + VCM + COMPLEMENT] and the general syntactic configuration for Shaowu resultative or directional compounds is [$NP_1 + V_1 + V_2 (+ NP_2)$].

19.1 Resultative complements and compounds

Resultative complements and compounds usually come immediately after the main verb to indicate an action that has led to a certain result or state. Some linguists regard the resultative complements structurally as the complement of the matrix verb with the complement marker [DE] 得 as being attached to the matrix verb (Huang 1992, Huang *et al.* 2009: 84-91). The prototypical syntactic configuration for resultative complements is: [NP + V + VCM + RES], where the RES (resultative) can be a simple predicate, a pivotal structure, an object-control structure or even a causative structure (see for instance Huang 1992, Cheng & Huang 1994, Huang 2006).

As for resultative compounds, Lü (1980, rev edn. 1999: 17) defines them as a predicate consisting of 'a main verb and a resultative adjective or verb', and these two verbal elements can be seen in a causative-resultative relation, with V_1 being the causative event and V_2 the resulting event (Yue 2004, Basciano 2017). Resultative compounds can have two syntactic patterns, namely, the transitive and the intransitive (Li 1990, Cheng & Huang 1994):

(i) $NP_1\ V_1\text{-}V_2\ NP_2$ (transitive)
(ii) $NP_1\ V_1\text{-}V_2$ (intransitive)

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In the following subsections, we are going to look at Shaowu's resultative complements and resultative compounds.

19.1.1 Resultative complements

Shaowu resultative complements are postverbal constituents that express the result or state of the action coded by the main verb. The prototypical syntactic template for resultative complements in Shaowu is [NP + V + VCM + RES], where VCM is the verb complement marker [tie^{53}] 得, and RES is the resultative complement or clause that follows the action, as shown in examples (481) and (482). In a similar manner to the extent and manner constructions, the complement slot may thus be filled by an adjective or a stative verb, a verb phrase or a clause. Since extent complements may have a semantic overlap with the resultative, as the extent of an action may give rise to a result too, the nature of the complement can at times be open to interpretation. Verb copying is also possible (see example 484), but a grammatical object is required to be inserted between the verbs, and the syntactic template thus becomes [NP + V + O + V + VCM + (NP) + RES]. Contrast, for instance, example (483) with (484).

19.1.1.1 [NP + V + VCM + RES]

(481) 天气 预报 每 蜀 个 人
t^{h}ien^{21}k^{h}i^{213} y^{35}pau^{213} məi^{55} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} nin^{22}
weather forecast every one CLF person
'As for the weather forecast, everyone
皆 听 得 清清楚楚 。
ka^{35} t^{h}iaŋ^{21} tie^{53} t^{h}in^{21}t^{h}in^{21}t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$
all hear VCM clearly
heard it clearly.' (The grammatical object 'weather forecast' is topicalised)

(482) ○$_{他}$ 气 得 面 皆 赤 了 。
xu^{35} k^{h}i^{21} tie^{53} min^{213} ka^{35} tɕ^{h}ia^{53} ə^{0}
3SG anger VCM face all red PFV
'He was so angry that his face turned red.'

The above sentence can however be also interpreted as having an extent complement, i.e., 'He made me so angry to the extent that I cried.' This shows that sometimes there is overlap in terms of functions of complements.

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(483) 路 扫 得 顶 伶俐 。
$t^hiɔ^{35}$ sau^{55} tie^{53} tin^{55} $len^{22}li^{35\sim21}$
ground sweep VCM very clean
'The floor was swept clean.' (The grammatical subject is elided.)

19.1.1.2 [NP + V + NP + V + VCM + RES]

(484) ○他 扫 路 扫 得 顶 伶俐 。
xu^{35} sau^{55} $t^hiɔ^{35}$ sau^{55} tie^{53} tin^{55} $len^{22}li^{35\sim21}$
3SG sweep ground sweep VCM very clean
'He swept the floor clean.' (Verb copying)

Verb copying is common when the grammatical object is not bulky. In the case where the object is long, topicalisation ('weather forecast' in example 481) or the object marking construction is preferred, as shown in example (485) below:

19.1.1.3 [NP + OM + NP_{OBJ} + V + VCM + RES]

(485) 每 蜀 个 人 拿 天气 预报
$məi^{55}$ $ɕi^{22}$ $kə^{0}$ nin^{22} na^{22} $t^hien^{21}k^hi^{213}$ $y^{35}pau^{213}$
every one CLF person OM weather forecast
皆 听 得 清清楚楚 。
ka^{35} $t^hiaŋ^{21}$ tie^{53} $t^hin^{21}t^hin^{21}t^hu^{55\sim22}t^hu^{55\sim22}$
all hear VCM clearly
'Everyone clearly heard the weather forecast.'

Notwithstanding this, shorter nouns, such as personal nouns, can also be object-marked:

(486) ○他 拿 ○我 气 得 啼 了 起来 。
xu^{35} na^{22} $xaŋ^{35}$ k^hi^{21} tie^{53} t^hi^{53} $ə^{0}$ $k^hi^{55}li^{22}$
3SG OM 1SG anger VCM cry PFV INCH
'He made me so angry that I started to cry.'

Negating the resultative complement is usually done by adding the general negator [$ŋ^{55}$] 唔 between the complement marker [tie^{53}] 得 and the resultative complement, as shown in examples (487) and (488):

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(487) 天气 预报 每 蜀 个 人
$t^hien^{21}k^hi^{213}$ $y^{35}pau^{213}$ $məi^{55}$ $ɕi^{22}$ $kə^0$ nin^{22}
weather forecast every one CLF person
'As for the weather forecast,
皆 听 得 唔 清楚 。
ka^{35} t^hian^{21} tie^{53} $ŋ^{55}$ $t^hin^{21}t^hu^{55\sim22}$
all hear VCM NEG clearly
no-one has heard it clearly.'

(488) 路 扫 得 唔 伶俐 。
$t^hiɔ^{35}$ sau^{55} tie^{53} $ŋ^{55}$ $len^{22}li^{35\sim21}$
ground sweep VCM NEG clean
'The floor was not swept clean.'

For perfective events, the general negator [mau^{35}] 冇 is typically used to precede the main verb in order to negate the entire verb phrase instead of the verbal complement alone, as illustrated in the two examples below:

(489) 天气 预报 每 蜀 个 人
$t^hien^{21}k^hi^{213}$ $y^{35}pau^{213}$ $məi^{55}$ $ɕi^{22}$ $kə^0$ nin^{22}
weather forecast every one CLF person
'As for the weather forecast,
皆 冇 (有) 听 得 顶 清楚 。
ka^{35} mau^{35} $iɔu^{55}$ t^hian^{21} tie^{53} tin^{55} $t^hin^{21}t^hu^{55\sim22}$
all NEG have hear VCM very clearly
no-one has heard it very clearly.'

(490) 路 冇 扫 得 顶 伶俐 。
$t^hiɔ^{35}$ mau^{35} sau^{55} tie^{53} tin^{55} $len^{22}li^{35\sim21}$
ground NEG sweep VCM ADV clean
'The floor has not been swept very clean.'

The possible constituents in the basic resultative complement template [NP + V + VCM + RES] can thus be expanded into [NP + (NEG) + V + VCM + RES], where RES, itself, can consist of an optional negator, such as [$ŋ^{55}$] 唔, and an adverb preceding a stative verb or an adjective.

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19.1.2 Resultative compounds

Shaowu resultative compounds are formed by a main verb and a resultative verb, shorthanded as [V_1-V_2], where V_2 can be an unergative verb (i.e., an intransitive verb having just an agent argument, e.g., 'to run', to 'talk'), an unaccusative verb (i.e., an intransitive verb whose grammatical subject is not a semantic agent, e.g., 'to fall', 'to die'), a stative verb or an adjective (for detailed discussions on Mandarin equivalents, see Basciano 2017). While the main verb V_1 codes the action, the resultative verb codes the state achieved. Resultative compounds are characterised by the impossibility of adding an aspect marker between V_1 and V_2, hence they are referred to as 'verb compounds'.

As mentioned earlier, resultative compounds can be in two different syntactic patterns depending on whether the verb is transitive or not. Shaowu is no exception in having the two patterns as well:

(i) NP_1 V_1-V_2 NP_2 (transitive)
(ii) NP_1 V_1-V_2 (intransitive)

The transitive pattern [NP_1 V_1-V_2 NP_2] is illustrated by examples (491) – (494), where the resultatives of (491) – (492) are object-oriented (i.e., the result is predicated of the object) and (493) – (494) are subject-oriented resultatives (i.e., the result is predicated of the subject).

19.1.2.1 Object-oriented resultative in a transitive structure

(491) ○他多 打 破 了 玻○璃 轩儿 。
xu^{35}tai^{21} ta^{55} p^{h}ai^{213} ə^{0} pɔ^{21}liaŋ^{22} k^{h}ien^{53}nə^{0}
3PL hit break PFV glass window
'They broke the glass window.'

(492) ○你 夹 伤 ○我 个 手 。
xien^{35} kan^{53} ɕiɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} ɕiɔu^{55}
2SG pinch hurt 1SG POSS hand
'You have pinched my hand (with something) and hurt it.'

19.1.2.2 Subject-oriented resultative in a transitive structure

(493) ○他 食 饱 饭 了 。
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} pau^{55} p^{h}ən^{35} nə^{0}
3SG eat full meal CRS
'He has eaten full.'

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(494) ○他 扭 伤 了 自家 。
xu^{35} niu^{55} ɕiɔŋ^{21} ə^{0} t^{h}i^{35}ka^{21}
3SG twist hurt CRS oneself
'He twisted and hurt himself.'

The intransitive pattern [NP$_1$ V$_1$-V$_2$] is illustrated by examples (495) – (500), where the type of V$_2$ can be an adjective, an 'unaccusative' verb, an 'unergative' verb or a stative verb, which are presented in this order respectively. Here, an accusative verb refers to an intransitive verb whose grammatical subject is not a semantic agent, i.e., the latter does not initiate or is actively responsible for the action, such as *The tree fell* in English. An unergative verb refers to an intransitive verb having a subject perceived as initiating or actively responsible for the action expressed by the verb, such as 'Ik heb getelefoneerd' in Dutch. For discussions on the semantics of these two categories, see Kerstens, Ruys & Zwarts (1996–2001).

19.1.2.3 V2 as an adjective in an intransitive SV structure

(495) ○她 走 累 了 。
xu^{35} tsu^{55} lɔi^{35} ə^{0}
3SG run tired PFV
'She ran herself tired.'

(496) ○他 急 癫 了 了 。
xu^{35} kən^{53} tien^{21} liau$^{55\sim22}$ ə^{0}
3SG worry crazy PFV CRS
'He's worried sick.'

19.1.2.4 V2 as an unaccusative verb in an object-topicalised structure

(497) 玻○璃 打 破 了 。
pɔ^{21}liaŋ^{22} ta^{55} p^{h}ai^{213} ə^{0}
glass hit break PFV
'The glass was broken.'

(498) ○我 腹○ 笑 ○痛 了 。
xaŋ^{35} py^{53}ɕy^{21} siau^{213} t^{h}y^{35} ə^{0}
1SG belly laugh ache PFV
'I laughed till my belly ached.'

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19.1.2.5 V2 as an unergative verb in an SV structure

(499) ○她 气 啼 了 。
xu^{35} kʰi^{21} tʰi^{53} ə^{0}
3SG anger cry PFV
'She cried in anger.'

19.1.2.6 V2 as a stative verb in an intransitive SV structure

(500) ○我多 皆 听 到 了 。
xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} ka^{35} tʰiaŋ^{21} tau^{55} ə^{0}
1PL$_{EXCL}$ all listen ACH PFV
'We have all heard (it).'

All the above examples show that by using a different V_2, the result is a different state, hence resultative compounding is a rather productive way of resultative verb formation, by combining various V_1s with different adjectives, stative verbs, unergative or unaccusative verbs to achieve the intended resultative effect. Note, however, that none of the above four examples can have an aspect marker inserted between V_1 and V_2. For instance, the following example is ungrammatical:

(501) ○你 夹 了 伤 ○我 个 手 。
** xien^{35} kan^{53} ə^{0} ɕiɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} ɕiɔu^{55}
2SG pinch CRS hurt 1SG POSS hand
(Attempted meaning: 'You have pinched my hand (with something) and hurt it.')

The perfect aspect marker [ə^{0}] 了 (also known under the name 'currently-relevant-state marker', CRS) has to be placed after the resultative [V_1-V_2] compound, highlighting the nature of the resultative [V_1-V_2] as a single constituent:

(502) ○你 夹 伤 了 ○我 个 手 。
xien^{35} kan^{53} ɕiɔŋ^{21} ə^{0} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} ɕiɔu^{55}
2SG pinch hurt CRS 1SG POSS hand
'You have pinched my hand (with something) and hurt it.'

An object-marking construction variant of the above example is seen in the following, where the object marker precedes the object and the verbs, with the aspect marker as usual following the resultative [V_1-V_2] compound:

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(503) ○你 拿 ○我 个 手 夹 伤 了 。
xien^{35} na^{22} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} ɕiɔu^{55} kan^{53} ɕiɔŋ^{21} ə^{0}
2SG OM 1SG POSS hand pinch hurt CRS
'You have pinched my hand (with something) and hurt it.'

Unlike Hakka and Southern Min, which are found to be resistant to the V_1-V_2-OBJ order and prefer pre-posing of object by using the object-marking construction (Yeh 2008: 149), Shaowu seems to accept the [V_1-V_2-OBJ] resultative compound fairly readily, as shown in examples (491) and (492) with the transitive resultatives.

It is also worth noting that not every resultative complement will have a corresponding resultative compound form in Shaowu, especially when the resultative complement belongs to a pivotal construction or an object-control structure, i.e., the subject of the complement clause is the object of the matrix clause, for instance:

(504) ○他 气 得 ○我 饭 皆 食 唔 下 去 。
xu^{35} k^{h}i^{213} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} p^{h}ən^{35} ka^{35} ɕie^{35} ŋ^{55} xa$^{35\sim55}$ k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG anger VCM 1SG meal all eat NEG down go
'He has angered me so much that I can't even eat.'

19.2 Directional verb complements and compounds

Directional verb complements (DVC) and compounds refer to postverbal verb phrases that indicate the directionality or path of the main verb (an equivalent in English is prepositions like 'going *into* the room', 'coming *out of* an exam', typical of satellite-framed languages, see Talmy 1985, 2000b: 401). They either follow the main verb directly or can be separated by other grammatical elements, or can even be split, if the DVC is not monosyllabic; but that also depends on the nature of the grammatical constituent(s). The general syntactic configuration for Shaowu predicates containing a directional complement can be broadly expressed as [NP + V_1 + VCM + NP + DIR] where DIR can be a monosyllabic or disyllabic directional verb V_2.

Shaowu sentences containing directional verb compounds can be broadly expressed as [NP + V_1 + V_2 (+ NP)] or [NP + V_1 (+ NP) + V_2] where V_2 is the directional verb which can be monosyllabic or disyllabic. Although some verbs may already have an inherent motion implied as part of their meaning, adding a directional verb explicates a movement involved from one place to another according to different vectors when the action takes place (e.g., 'to enter' in English). They

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can be composed of up to three verb constituents, if V_2 is disyllabic and is further split into V_{2A}+V_{2B}, i.e., V_1 + [V_{2A}+ [V_{2B}]] where V_1 is a motion verb (or an action verb that typically involves a bodily movement) and V_2 is usually a verb of direction or trajectory such as [ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$] '(go) up' 上, [xa$^{35\sim55}$] '(go) down' 下, [tʰɔ^{35}] (or its softened form [xɔ^{35}] after the lenition of the initial consonant) 度 '(cross/pass) over', all of which code the direction of motion for V1. Ten directional verbs in Shaowu, which can be used alone or in combination with other verbs to form directional compounds, are listed in the table below.

Table 19.1: Shaowu directional verbs.

[li^{22}] 来	[kʰɔ^{213}] 去	[ɕiɔŋ^{35}] 上	[xa^{35}] 下	[kuei^{21}] 归
'come'	'go'	'up'	'down'	'enter'
[tʰei^{53}] 出	[fei^{22}] 回	[tʰɔ^{35}] 度	[kʰi^{55}] 起	[tau^{213}] 到
'exit'	'return'	'pass'/ 'cross over'	'rise'	'arrive'

We consider sentences containing a complement marker [tie^{53}] 得 (see Chapter 26 for the multifunctionality of [tie^{53}] 得) and directional verbs as directional verb complements (DVC). The directional verb V_2 in example (505) is disyllabic and is further split into V_{2A}-V_{2B}; the deictic value of V_{2B} [kʰɔ^{213}] 去indicates a motion away from the speaker:

(505) ○我 爬 得 厝顶 上 去 。
xaŋ^{35} pʰa^{22} tie^{53} tɕʰiɔ^{213}ten^{55} ɕiɔŋ^{35} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG $DIR_{climb[V1]}$ VCM roof top $DIR_{up\ [V2A]}$ $DIR_{go\ [V2B]}$
'I climbed up to the rooftop.'

In the example below, the directional verb is monosyllabic V_2 [li^{22}] 来, originally meaning 'to come', which indicates a motion towards the speaker:

(506) ○他 走 得 厝底 来 了 。
xu^{35} tsu^{55} tie^{53} tɕʰiɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$ li^{22} ə^{0}
3SG run VCM home DIR_{come} PFV
'He has run into the house.'

19.2.1 Directional verb compounds

It is possible to form a directional compound with a main verb (V_1) and a directional verb (V_2) that is monosyllabic (e.g., with any of the ten verbs in Table 19.1

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above), as in examples (507) and (508); or disyllabic, usually combining two of the directional verbs in Table 19.1, as in examples (509) and (510). There are however certain restrictions on the order of the disyllabic V_2, denoted as $V_{2A\text{-}2B}$. In Shaowu, for instance, the directional verbs [li^{22}] 来 'to come', [k^{h}ɔ^{213}] 去 'to go', [ɕiɔŋ^{35}] 上 'up' and [xa^{35}] 下 'down' are usually placed in the V_{2B} position, i.e., the second slot of V_{2A}-V_{2B}, if V_2 is disyllabic. For example, [tsu^{55}kuei^{21}li^{22}] 走归来 'run-back-come' is grammatical, but not [tsu^{55}li^{22}kuei^{21}] 走来归 'run-come-back'. We use DIR to denote the directional verb component in directional verb complements.

19.2.1.1 DIR_{V2} is a monosyllabic directional verb

(507) 快 个 嫩 送 去 !
k^{h}uai^{213} kə^{0} nən^{35} suŋ^{213} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
fast a bit send $DIR_{go[V2]}$
'Send it over quickly!'

(508) 正 ○$_{要}$ 来 又 得 ○$_{他}$ 抢 去 了 。
tɕiaŋ$^{213\sim55}$ nuŋ^{35} li^{22} iɔu^{35} tie^{53} xu^{35} t^{h}iɔŋ^{55} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ə^{0}
just want come then PASS 3SG grab $DIR_{go[V2]}$ PFV
'(Something) was about to arrive but was grabbed away by him.'

19.2.1.2 DIR_{V} is a disyllabic directional verb

(509) ○$_{他}$ 拿 ○$_{那}$ 碗 汤 端 过 来 。
xu^{35} na^{22} ɔŋ^{53} uɔn^{55} tɔŋ^{21} tɔn^{21} xɔ^{213} li^{22}
3SG OM DEM CLF soup hold $DIR_{pass[V2A]}$ $DIR_{come[V2B]}$
'He held the bowl of soup with his two hands and brought it over.'

(510) ○$_{这}$ 个 箱 儿 搬 起 来 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} ɕiɔŋ^{21} ŋə^{0} pɔn^{21} k^{h}i^{55} li^{22}
DEM CLF box DIM move $DIR_{up[V2A]}$ $DIR_{come[V2B]}$
'Lift up this box.'

When there are two noun phrases involved in the sentence, the directional verb compound can be split which allows two possible word orders: [NP+V_1+V_2+NP] or [NP+V_1+NP+V_2] for certain directional verbs; and if V_2 is disyllabic, such as 出来 [t^{h}ei^{53}li^{22}] (V_{2A}+V_{2B}), it can be further split into [NP+V_1+V_{2A}+NP+V_{2B}]. This is shown in the six examples below, in parallel pairs.

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19.2.1.2.1 [NP+V_1+V_{2A}+V_{2B}+NP]

(511) ○他 拿 出 来 个 张 纸 。
xu^{35} na^{22} t^{h}ei^{53} li^{22} kə^{0} tiɔŋ^{21} tɕi^{55}
3SG take DIR_{out} DIR_{come} one CLF paper
'He took out a sheet of paper.'

(512) 树 上 落 下 来 几 个 苹果 。
tɕ^{h}y$^{213\sim21}$ ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ lɔ^{35} xa$^{35\sim55}$ li^{22} ki^{55} kəi^{213} p^{h}in^{22}kuɔ$^{55\sim22}$
tree top fall DIR_{down} DIR_{come} some CLF apple
'Some apples fell down from the tree.'

19.2.1.2.2 [NP+V_1+NP+V_{2A}+V_{2B}]

(513) ○他 拿 个 张 纸 出 来 。
xu^{35} na^{22} kə^{0} tiɔŋ^{21} tɕi^{55} t^{h}ei^{53} li^{22}
3SG take one CLF paper DIR_{out} DIR_{come}
'He took out a sheet of paper.'

(514) 树 上 落 了 几 个 苹果
tɕ^{h}y$^{213\sim21}$ ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ lɔ^{35} ə^{0} ki^{55} kəi^{213} p^{h}in^{22}kuɔ$^{55\sim22}$
tree top fall PFV some CLF apple
下 来 。
xa$^{35\sim55}$ li^{22}
DIR_{down} DIR_{come}
'Some apples fell down from the tree.'

19.2.1.2.3 [NP+V_1+V_{2A}+NP+V_{2B}]

(515) ○他 拿 出 个 张 纸 来 。
xu^{35} na^{22} t^{h}ei^{53} kə^{0} tiɔŋ^{21} tɕi^{55} li^{22}
3SG take DIR_{out} one CLF paper DIR_{come}
'He took out a sheet of paper.'

(516) 树 上 落 下 几 个 苹果 来 。
tɕ^{h}y$^{213\sim21}$ ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ lɔ^{35} xa$^{35\sim55}$ ki^{55} kəi^{213} p^{h}in^{22}kuɔ$^{55\sim22}$ li^{22}
tree top fall DIR_{down} some CLF apple DIR_{come}
'Some apples fell down from the tree.'

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Note that this split may not apply to every directional verb compound, such as the following, where the template [NP+V_1+V_{2A}+NP+V_{2B}] is grammatical correct, but not when it is in the order [NP+V_1+V_{2A}+V_{2B}+NP] or [NP+V_1+NP+V_{2A}+V_{2B}]. Contrast example (517) with examples (518) and (519):

(517) 〇他 走 归 门 来 。
xu^{35} tsu^{55} kuei^{21} mən^{22} li^{22}
3SG run DIR_{enter} door DIR_{come}
'He entered the room running.'

(518) 〇他 走 归 来 门 。
** xu^{35} tsu^{55} kuei^{21} li^{22} mən^{22}
3SG run DIR_{enter} DIR_{come} door
(Attempted meaning: 'He entered the room running.')

(519) 〇他 走 门 归 来 。
** xu^{35} tsu^{55} mən^{22} kuei^{21} li^{22}
3SG run door DIR_{enter} DIR_{come}
(Attempted meaning: 'He entered the room running.')

This is likely because the VO combination of [kuei^{21}mən^{22}] 归门 'to enter-door', is a much closer unit and has become a lexical item meaning 'to enter', thus making the insertion of DIR or reordering of verbal units impossible.

Likewise, the only order possible for the directional verb compound below is the split V2 form in [NP+V_1+V_{2A}+NP+V_{2B}] and not the other two orders:

(520) 拿 东西 搬 上 车 去 。
na^{22} tuŋ^{21}si^{21} pɔn^{21} ɕiɔŋ^{35} tɕ^{h}ia^{21} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
OM thing move DIR_{up} car DIR_{go}
'Load the things onto the car.'

19.2.2 Negation and directional verbs or compounds

The general negators [ŋ^{55}] 唔 and [mau^{35}] 冇 are usually placed before the main verb V1 to negate the directional compounds, as shown in the following five examples.

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19.2.2.1 With imperfective negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔

(521) 〇他 唔 上 楼 去 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} ɕiɔŋ^{35} ləu^{22} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG NEG DIR$_{up}$ floor DIR$_{go}$
'He wouldn't go upstairs.'

(522) 〇他 唔 爬 上 去 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} p^{h}a^{22} ɕiɔŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG NEG climb DIR$_{up}$ DIR$_{go}$
'He wouldn't climb up.'

The difference between examples (521) and (522) is that, after the negator, the directional verb complement of the former takes the form [V_1+N+V_2], while the latter has the form [V_1+V_{2A}+V_{2B}].

Note that also for example (522), the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 can be placed between V_1 and V_2 and becomes example (523), but in this case, the meaning of the sentence changes, and the syntactic template of [V_1+NEG+V_{2A}+V_{2B}] is actually the negated form of the potential complement [V_1+POT+V_{2A}+V_{2B}] (see § 19.3 below for more details). This is similar to Sinitic languages like Mandarin and Cantonese.

(523) 〇他 爬 唔 上 去 。
xu^{35} p^{h}a^{22} ŋ^{55} ɕiɔŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG climb NEG DIR$_{up}$ DIR$_{go}$
'He was not able to climb up.'

19.2.2.2 With perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇

19.2.2.2.1 With [NEG+V_1+N+V_2] construction

(524) 〇他 冇 归 城 去 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} kuei^{21} ɕin^{22} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG NEG enter city DIR$_{go}$
'He didn't go back in town.'

19.2.2.2.2 With [NEG+V_1+V_{2A}+V_{2B}] construction

(525) 〇他 冇 走 出 去 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} tsu^{55} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG NEG run DIR$_{exit}$ DIR$_{go}$
'He didn't run out.'

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19.2.3 Object-marking construction with directional compounds

The object marker [na^{22}] 拿 is used to pre-pose the object before the verb, as shown in the following two examples. In this construction, the verb and its disyllabic DVC are not split but are found in clause-final slot of the VP.

(526) 〇他 拿 蚊子 帐 送 度 来 了 。
xu^{35} na^{22} mən^{53}nə^{0} tiɔŋ^{213} suŋ^{213} xɔ^{35} li^{22} ə^{0}
3SG OM mosquito net send DIR_{pass} DIR_{come} PFV
'He sent over the mosquito net.'

(527) 〇她 拿 〇那 两 封 信 寄 出 去 了 。
xu^{35} na^{22} ɔŋ^{53} liɔŋ^{55} fen^{21} sin^{213} ki^{213} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ə^{0}
3SG OM DEM two CLF letter send DIR_{out} DIR_{go} PFV
'She sent out those two letters.'

19.2.4 Aspect marking with directional compounds

Aspect markers, such as the perfective [ə^{0}] 了, can be added after the [V_1+V_{2A}+V_{2B}] directional compounds to form [V_1+V_{2A}+V_{2B} +ASP], as shown in the two examples above, or they can be added right after V_1 to form [V_1+ASP+V_{2A}+V_{2B}], as shown in the following two examples:

(528) 〇他 拿 蚊子 帐 送 了 度 来 。
xu^{35} na^{22} mən^{53}nə^{0} tiɔŋ^{213} suŋ^{213} ə^{0} xɔ^{35} li^{22}
3SG OM mosquito net offer PFV DIR_{pass} DIR_{come}
'He sent over the mosquito net.'

(529) 〇她 拿 〇那 两 封 信 寄 了 出 去 。
xu^{35} na^{22} ɔŋ^{53} liɔŋ^{55} fen^{21} sin^{213} ki^{213} ə^{0} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG OM DEM two CLF letter send PFV DIR_{out} DIR_{go}
'She sent out those two letters.'

19.3 Potential complements

Verbs can be modified by potential complements to encode the ability of carrying out or achieving an action. In Shaowu, this construction is often formed by inserting a potential verb complement marker VCM [tie^{53}] 得 in a resultative or direc-

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tional verb component (for the grammaticalisation of the potential marker [tie^{53}] 得, see Chapter 26). The general syntactic configuration is [V_1+VCM 得[tie53] +POT] in the affirmative and [V_1+NEG 唔[ŋ55] + POT] in the negative, where the VCM is the potential marker that encodes ability and POT is the potential complement which can be either a predicate that contains a resultative or a directional component; or a verb alone (V_2). The interrogative form can either have the affirmative potential followed by the negative potential, i.e., [V_1+VCM 得[tie53] +POT+V_1+NEG 唔[ŋ55] +POT] or simply uses negation of the POT complement, as in [V_1+POT+NEG 唔[ŋ55] +POT].

Note that the Shaowu morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 alone cannot be a potential modal verb, unlike for instance in Cantonese [k^{h}œy^{35}ta^{35}tɐk^{5}] 佢打得 ('3SG-hit-to be able to') which means 'He is capable of fighting.'. The only meaning of the Shaowu [tie^{53}] 得 in such a sentence construction is the permissive 'can' reading, while the subject is normally construed as the undergoer:

(530) ○他 打 得 。
xu^{35} ta^{55} tie^{53}
3SG hit can$_{permissive}$
'He can be hit.' (and *not* 'He is capable of fighting.')

The above sentence, given the same structure, is has the same meaning in Mandarin. Shaowu examples of potential complements are displayed in the subsection below.

19.3.1 Potential complements with the resultative

19.3.1.1 Affirmative potential with the resultative and comparative

The syntactic template for affirmative potential complements with the resultative complement is [V_1+VCM 得[tie53] +RES], as in example (531), and with the resultative compound is [V_1+VCM 得[tie53] +V_2], as in example (532):

(531) ○你 瞅 ○那 行 牛 背 上 皆 搁 得
xien^{35} niaŋ^{213} ɔŋ^{53} xaŋ^{22} ny^{22} pei^{213} ɕiɔŋ^{35} ka^{35} kɔ^{53} tie^{53}
2SG look DEM CLF cow back on all put VCM
卵 住 。
sɔn^{55} t^{h}y^{35}
egg ASP
'Look, the eggs are staying still on the cow's back.'

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(532) ○这 个 橱 ○他 搬 得 开 。
tɕiɔŋ[53] ŋə[0] tʰy[22] xu[35] pɔn[21] tie[53] kʰai[21]
DEM CLF cupboard 3SG move VCM open
'He is able to move the cupboard.'

The syntactic template for affirmative potential complements with the surpass comparative (see Chapter 22 for comparative constructions) is [$SUBJ_{COMPARAND}$+V_1+VCM 得[tie53]+SURPASS+$OBJ_{COMPAREE}$]:

(533) ○你 打 得 度 ○他 。
xien[35] ta[55] tie[53] tʰɔ[35] xu[35]
2SG fight VCM SUR 3SG
'You can beat him in the fight.'

(534) 冇 有 人 话 得 度 ○他 ,
mau[35] iɔu[55] nin[22] ʋa[35] tie[53] tʰɔ[35] xu[35]
NEG have person argue VCM SUR 3SG
'No one can win an argument with him
也 冇 有 人 劝 得 ○他 听 。
ia[55] mau[35] iɔu[55] nin[22] kʰyen[213] tie[53] xu[35] tʰiaŋ[21]
also NEG have person persuade VCM 3SG listen
or persuade him to listen.'

19.3.1.2 Negative potential with the resultative

The most common strategy for negating the potential formed on the basis of a resultative or directional compound is to replace the VCM [tie[53]] 得 by the general negator [ŋ[55]] 唔, with the syntactic template of [V_1+NEG 唔[ŋ55]+V_2], as shown in the following two examples:

(535) ○你 打 唔 度 ○他 。
xien[35] ta[55] ŋ[55] tʰɔ[35] xu[35]
2SG fight NEG SUR 3SG
'You cannot beat him in the fight.'

(536) ○这 事 , ○他 做 唔 来 。
tɕiɔŋ[53] sə[35] xu[35] tsɔ[213~21] ŋ[55] li[22]
DEM matter 3SG do NEG ACH
'He is not able to do this thing.'

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Note that the morpheme [li^{22}] 来 in the above example is not a directional verb 'to come' but an achievement aspect marker, which indicates the attainment of the action represented by the main verb (V_1). Its aspectual function is similar to [tau^{55}] 到 which is a directional verb 'to arrive' but also an achievement aspect marker, such as in [niaŋ^{213}tau^{55}] 瞅到 (look-ACH) 'see'.

When it comes to negating a resultative complement, the general syntactic template is [V_1+NEG$_{[ŋ55]}$ +RES] where the negator directly follows the main verb and precedes the resultative predicate:

(537) 〇$_{你}$ 瞅 〇$_{那}$ 行 牛 背 上 皆 搁 唔
xien^{35} niaŋ^{213} ɔŋ^{53} xaŋ^{22} ny^{22} pei^{213} ɕiɔŋ^{35} ka^{35} kɔ^{53} ŋ^{55}
2SG look DEM CLF cow back on all put NEG
住 卵 。
t^{h}y^{35} sɔn^{55}
ASP egg
'Look, the eggs do not stay still on the cow's back.'

19.3.1.3 Interrogative with the resultative

There are four ways to form an interrogative with the resultative. The first is to add a question particle at the end of the sentence, as in the following example:

(538) 〇$_{这}$ 东西 顶 重 , 〇$_{你}$ 拿 得 动 么 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tuŋ^{21}si^{21} tin^{55} t^{h}iuŋ^{55} xien^{35} na^{22} tie^{53} t^{h}uŋ^{35} mɔ^{0}
DEM thing very heavy 2SG take VCM move Q
'This object is heavy; can you carry it?'

The second way is by using the structure [V_1+NEG$_{唔[ŋ55]}$ +V_1+VCM+RES/V_2], see the following example:

(539) 〇$_{这}$ 东西 顶 重 , 〇$_{你}$ 拿 唔 拿
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tuŋ^{21}si^{21} tin^{55} t^{h}iuŋ^{55} xien^{35} na^{22} ŋ^{55} na^{22}
DEM thing very heavy 2SG take NEG take
'This object is heavy; can you carry it?'
得 动 ?
tie^{53} t^{h}uŋ$^{35\sim55}$
VCM move

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The third way is to juxtapose the affirmative potential and the negative potential, as in [V_1+VCM 得[tie53] +RES/V_2+V_1+NEG 唔[ŋ55] +RES/V_2]. See the following example:

(540) ○这 东西 顶 重 , ○你 拿 得 动
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tuŋ^{21}si^{21} tin^{55} t^{h}iuŋ^{55} xien^{35} na^{22} tie^{53} t^{h}uŋ^{55}
DEM thing very heavy 2SG take VCM move
拿 唔 动 ?
na^{22} ŋ^{55} t^{h}uŋ^{55}
take NEG move
'This object is heavy; can you carry it?'

The fourth way, and somewhat less common, is using the syntactic template above but skipping the first V_2, leading to [V_1+ VCM 得[tie53] +V_1 + NEG 唔[ŋ55] +RES/V_2], see the example below:

(541) ○这 东西 顶 重 , ○你 拿 得 拿
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tuŋ^{21}si^{21} tin^{55} t^{h}iuŋ^{55} xien^{35} na^{22} tie^{53} na^{22}
DEM thing very heavy 2SG take NEG take
唔 动 ?
ŋ^{55} t^{h}uŋ$^{35\sim55}$
NEG move
'This object is heavy; can you carry it?'

19.3.2 Potential complements with the directional

19.3.2.1 Affirmative potential with the directional

The syntactic template for affirmative potential complements with the directional complement is [V_1+VCM 得[tie53] +DIR] and with the directional compound is [V_1+VCM 得[tie53] +$V_{2A}V_{2B\ DIR}$], as illustrated by the following two examples respectively:

(542) ○他 食 得 下 饭 。
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} tie^{53} xa$^{35\sim55}$ p^{h}ən^{35}
3SG eat VCM DIR$_{down}$ meal
'He is able to have a meal.'

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(543) ○我 爬 得 上 去 。
xaŋ^{35} p^{h}a^{22} tie^{53} ɕiɔŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG DIR$_{climb}$ VCM DIR$_{up}$ DIR$_{go}$
'I am able to climb up.'

When there is an object noun phrase, one possibility is to use a verb copying construction, with the object noun phrase between the two verb duplicants:

(544) ○他 食 饭 食 得 下 去 。
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35} ɕie^{35} tie^{53} xa^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG eat meal eat VCM DIR$_{down}$ DIR$_{go}$
'He is able to have a meal.'

(545) ○我 爬 山 爬 得 上 去 。
xaŋ^{35} p^{h}a^{22} sɔn^{21} p^{h}a^{22} tie^{53} ɕiɔŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG DIR$_{climb}$ mountain climb VCM DIR$_{up}$ DIR$_{go}$
'I am able to climb up the mountain.'

It is also possible to topicalise the grammatical object in the affirmative potential with the directional, see the following two examples:

(546) ○这 桶 水 , ○他 ○挑 得 起 来 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} t^{h}uŋ^{55} sei^{55} xu^{35} xai^{55} tie^{53} k^{h}i$^{55\sim22}$ li^{22}
DEM CLF water 3SG carry VCM DIR$_{up}$ DIR$_{come}$
'He can carry this bucket of water.'

(547) ○这 个 行 沟 , ○我 跳 得 度 去 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} xaŋ^{22} kəu^{21} xaŋ^{35} tiau^{213} tie^{53} xɔ^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
DEM one CLF ditch 1SG jump VCM DIR$_{pass}$ DIR$_{go}$
'I am able to jump over this ditch.'

19.3.2.2 Negative potential with directional complement

The most common way to negate a potential construction with a directional complement is to replace the VCM [tie^{53}] 得 by the general negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔, with the syntactic template of [V$_1$+NEG 唔[ŋ55] +DIR/V$_2$], as shown in the following two examples:

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(548) 行李 ○他 搬 唔 出 来 。
xən^{22}li^{22} xu^{35} pɔn^{21} ŋ^{55} t^{h}ei^{53} li^{22}
luggage 3SG move NEG DIR$_{out}$ DIR$_{come}$
'He is not able to move the luggage.'

(549) ○这 洞 , ○他 爬 唔 归 去 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} t^{h}uŋ^{35} xu^{35} p^{h}a^{22} ŋ^{55} kuei^{21} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
DEM cave 3SG crawl NEG DIR$_{enter}$ DIR$_{go}$
'He is not able to crawl into the cave.'

19.3.2.3 Interrogative potential with directional complement

There are three ways to form the interrogative with the directional complement. The first one is to add a question particle at the end of the sentence and in this, the interrogative form of the DVC is no different from the method used for other syntactic structures, see the following example:

(550) ○你 走 得 度 去 么 ?
xien^{35} tsu^{55} tie^{53} xɔ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ mɔ^{0}
2SG run VCM DIR$_{pass}$ DIR$_{go}$ Q
'Can you run across?'

The second way is by using the structure [V$_1$ –NEG$_{唔[ŋ55]}$ – V$_1$ – VCM – DIR/V$_2$], see the following example:

(551) ○你 走 唔 走 得 度 去 ?
xien^{35} tsu^{55} ŋ^{55} tsu^{55} tie^{53} xɔ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
2SG run NEG run VCM DIR$_{pass}$ DIR$_{go}$
'Can you run across or not?'

The third way is to juxtapose the affirmative potential and the negative potential, as in [V$_1$+VCM $_{得[tie53]}$ + DIR/V$_2$ +V$_1$+NEG $_{唔[ŋ55]}$+DIR/V$_2$], see the following example:

(552) ○你 走 得 度 去 走 唔 度 去 ?
xien^{35} tsu^{55} tie^{53} xɔ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tsu^{55} ŋ^{55} xɔ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
2SG run VCM DIR$_{pass}$ DIR$_{go}$ run NEG DIR$_{pass}$ DIR$_{go}$
'Can you run across or not?'

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Unlike the same interrogative strategy used with the resultative, the following syntactic template [V_1+VCM 得[tie53]+V_1+NEG 唔[ŋ55] +DIR/V_2] is deemed somewhat marginal in Shaowu, as shown in the following example:

(553) ○你 走 得 走 唔 度 去 ?
?? xien^{35} tsu^{55} tie^{53} tsu^{55} ŋ^{55} xɔ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
2SG run VCM run NEG DIR_{pass} DIR_{go}
'Can you run across or not?'

Two more examples with the [V_1+VCM 得[tie53]+DIR/V_2+V_1+NEG 唔[ŋ55]+DIR/V_2] juxtaposed structure:

(554) ○这个 早 , ○你 起 得 来 起 唔 来 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} t^{h}au^{55} xien^{35} k^{h}i^{55} tie^{53} li^{22} k^{h}i^{55} ŋ^{55} li^{22}
so early 2SG rise VCM up rise NEG up
'Can you get up that early or not?'

(555) ○这 楼 , ○他 上 得 去 上 唔 去 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ləu^{22} xu^{35} ɕiɔŋ^{35} tie^{53} k^{h}ɔ^{213} ɕiɔŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
DEM building 3SG up VCM go up NEG go
'Can he go up the building?' (permission or ability 'can')

19.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed the nature, function and syntactic configurations of the resultative, directional and potential complements and compounds. They are commonplace and very productive in Shaowu. We have clearly distinguished between complements and compounds, and have covered the following topics:

(i) resultative complements and compounds, and their interaction with negation, aspect and the object-marking construction; the basic syntactic template is [NP + V_1 + VCM + (NP) + RES]; where RES may be an adjective or a stative verb, a verb phrase or a clause;
(ii) directional complements and compounds, and their interaction with negation, aspect and the topicalisation construction; the basic syntactic template is [NP + V_1 + VCM + (NP) + DIR] where DIR can be a monosyllabic or disyllabic directional verb V_2;

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(iii) potential complements and their interaction with the resultative and the directional, as well as with negation and interrogative forms; the basic syntactic template is [V_1 + VCM + POT] where the VCM is the potential marker that codes ability and POT is the potential complement that may contain a resultative or directional component, or a verb (V_2) alone.

As we have seen, the verb complement marker for the resultative, the directional and the potential is [tie[53]] 得 in all cases and is glossed as VCM.

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Chapter 20
Aspectual system

Aspects are succinctly described by Comrie (1976: 3) as 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation', where situation types referred traditionally to stative and dynamic situations (Comrie 1976: 35, Smith 1991: xiii). Comrie (1976: 12) classifies the aspectual system into two major subsets, the perfective and the imperfective. Perfectivity typically denotes a single event, seen as an un-analysed whole with a result or end-state (Dahl 1985: 78), whereas imperfectivity depicts a situation viewed with internal structure, such as ongoing, habitual, or iterative, without any fixed temporal reference.

The aspectual systems within Sinitic are very rich and varied, sometimes with overlaps of functions. The perfective-imperfective dichotomy can be seen in most Sinitic languages, including Shaowu. Aspects are coded by various means in Sinitic languages, usually by postverbal aspect markers appearing as individual morphemes which are often grammaticalised from lexical verbs. Nonetheless, they can also be preverbal adverbs (such as in Xiamen Min for the preverbal, bounded perfect marker *wu*^{2}, See Chappell 1992). For Mandarin aspect markers, treated also from a typological perspective, see Chen (2008). In the following sections, we discuss in detail the various aspects and their respective markers in Shaowu, namely, the perfective, the completive, the experiential, the inchoative, the progressive, the continuative, the durative, the delimitative and the tentative.

20.1 The perfective aspect

The perfective aspect describes an action viewed as a whole from the outside without regard for the internal structure of the action. It is distinguished from the imperfective aspect, which presents an event as having an internal structure (Comrie 1976: 24).

According to Smith (1991:107–108), the Mandarin perfective [lə^{0}] 了 conveys termination for all non-stative events, but the termination (or boundedness of the event) does not always imply completion: these are two independent notions. The perfective [lə^{0}] 了 presents closed, non-stative situations. It conveys an arbitrary final point, not necessarily the natural end point of the event. In the following section, given that the relevant literature on Mandarin is ample and well established, we will briefly discuss the Mandarin perfective before delving into the Shaowu perfective in the section following it, as they share many similarities. For the diachronic development of the morpheme [lə^{0}] 了, see the seminal work by Sun (1996: 82–107).

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A. Two perfective markers in Mandarin: le 了and wán 完

There are two perfective markers in Mandarin, (i) the terminative perfective marker *le*了marks the termination of an action, and (ii) the completive perfective marker *wán* 完 marks the completion of an action. Compare:

(i) 我 看 了 那 本 书 。
wǒ kàn le nà běn shū
1SG read $PFV_{terminative}$ DEM CLF book
'I read that book.'

The above example implies completion because we tend to interpret coming to a halt as completion. This does not necessarily need to be the case, however, as shown in the next example.

(ii) 我 看 了 那 本 书 ,
wǒ kàn le nà běn shū
1SG read $PFV\text{-}_{terminative}$ DEM CLF book
'I read the book,
但 是 还 没 看 完 。
dàn shì hái méi kàn wán
but still NEG read $PFV\text{-}_{completive}$
but I have not finished reading it.'

While *le* 了 suggests completion in a simple sentence like (i), it will only imply termination (or coming to a halt) of an action when the sentence is followed by contrary information, as given in (ii). The terminative perfective marker in Mandarin le 了 is grammaticalised from the lexical verb in Modern Chinese LIAU 了which means 'to finish'. We can still find the verbal usage of LIAU了 in contemporary fixed expressions like *yī liǎo bǎi liǎo*一了百了 (one-finish-hundred-finish) 'resolved once and for all.' The phonetic attrition induced by the grammaticalisation process has led to LIAU了 'to finish' developing into le了($PFV_{terminative}$). It marks the action in its entirety without regard to the temporal setting, although the default time frame is the past, for instance, *tā chīle fàn* 他吃了饭。(3SG-eat-PFV-meal) 'He had his meal'. However, given a specific context and with a future temporal marker, the event can also be set in the future and have a future perfective meaning, for instance: *míng tiān tā chīle fàn jiù chū qù* 明天他吃了饭就出去。(tomorrow-3SG-eat-PFV-meal-then-exit-go) 'Tomorrow he will go out after having his meal'. This is a typical feature of aspect, as opposed to tense, markers.

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The other perfective marker in Mandarin is *wán* 完 which marks the completion of an action coming to its natural endpoint, it is thus also called the completive perfective marker. The morpheme *wán* 完 is still a lexical verb meaning 'to finish', for example: *zhè xià wán le* 这下完了。(DEM_{PROX}-CLF_{verb}-finish-PFV) 'It is over'. Because of its dual nature as a lexical morpheme, *wán* 完 can take on another aspect marker or be negated, as in *zhè hái méi wán na* 这还没完哪！(DEM_{PROX}-still-NEG-finish-INTJ) 'It's not over yet!'.

Smith (1991: 68) considers *wán* 完 a s a resultative verb complement (RVC), on a par with RVC markers such as *qǐ lái* 起来 'up', however we think that in the case of *wán* 完, it is no longer a RVC but an aspectual complement moving towards becoming a full-fledged aspectual marker. The morpheme *wán* 完is considered by Chao (1968: 464) as a phase marker which is halfway between a resultative component and a fully grammaticalised aspect marker, giving rise to its complexity. This is supported by observations made by Hashimoto (1993: 69). It is highly likely that *wán* 完 has certainly been an RVC marker before developing into a phase marker, or a perfective aspectual marker, marking the completion of a non-stative event.

We will discuss in detail the Shaowu equivalent of *wán* 完 in § 20.2 on completive aspect.

B. Perfective and perfect: LE_1 and LE_2 in Mandarin

The perfective marker *le* 了in (A) above shares its surface form with the perfect marker *le*了, according to those linguists who make a distinction between *le*$_1$ 了 and *le*$_2$ 了 (in the Sinitic literature, these two markers are more commonly referred to as 'LE_1' and 'LE_2', e.g., in Guo 2002, Chen 2007). The former is placed immediately after the verb, which asserts that the event is bounded and terminated prior to the speech time, whereas the latter is the sentence-final perfect marker, marking the event as relevant to the current situation, or a marker of the currently relevant state (CRS) (see Li & Thompson 1989: 296–300; Liu 2015).

An example of the use of the perfect (CRS) LE_2 can be seen in the following example:

(i) 他俩 吵架 了 。
tāliǎ chǎojià le
3DUAL argue CRS
They have argued with each other.

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The above sentence describes the currently relevant state of the situation between the two people: they have argued and have not been reconciled. If a completive marker is inserted between the two components of the predicate, it means that they have finished arguing and have probably been reconciled. The perfect marker *le* 了 marks the currently relevant state of the end of the argument.

(ii) 他俩 吵 完 架 了 。
tāliǎ chǎo wán jià le
3DUAL argue CMPL fight CRS
They have finished arguing with each other.

As the Shaowu perfective markers share a lot of similarities with the Mandarin perfective markers both in terms of form and function, we will draw an analogy with the distinction between Mandarin LE_1 and LE_2 distinction. The Shaowu terminative perfective (PFV, i.e., LE_1) marker, the Mandarin equivalent of LE_1, is the postverbal [ə^0] 了, which we will look into at length in the section below. The Shaowu sentence-final perfect marker (CRS, i.e., LE_2) takes various surface forms, which will be dealt with separately in the Chapter 35 on clause-final particles dealing with discourse markers.

20.1.1 Terminative perfective aspect and its marker [ə^0] 了

The terminative perfective aspect marks the termination of an action. The terminative perfective (PFV, LE_1) marker in Shaowu is the postverbal [ə^0] 了, it is likely to be the phonetically reduced form of [lə^0] 了. The morpheme marks the termination of the realisation of an action denoted by the verb, illustrated by the following examples in Shaowu:

20.1.1.1 [VERB + ə^0 + OBJ]

The default reading of the perfective marker [lə^0] 了 is terminative (though not necessarily completive), even in the absence of temporal adverbs. This is illustrated in the following example:

(556) ○$_{他}$ 食 了 饭 。
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} ə^0 p^{h}ən^{35}
3SG eat PFV meal
'He had his meal.'

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The action can also be put explicitly in the past time frame, using a past temporal marker:

(557) 今朝 ○他 去 了 学堂 。
kin^{21}tɕiau^{21} xu^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213} ə^{0} xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$
today 3SG go PFV school
'He went to school today.'

The perfective aspect can also be used in a recent-past time frame:

(558) 囝子 正 食 了 药 。
kin^{53}tsə^{0} tɕiaŋ$^{213\sim55}$ ɕie^{35} ə^{0} iɔ^{35}
boy just eat PFV medicine
'The boy just had his medicine.'

The perfective action can also be placed in the future time frame and become future perfective:

(559) 明朝 ○他 食 了 饭 以后 就 去
maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} xu^{35} ɕie^{35} ə^{0} p^{h}ən^{35} i^{55}xəu^{213} tsiɔu^{21} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
tomorrow 3SG eat PFV meal after then go
学堂 。
xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$
school
'He will go to school after having had breakfast tomorrow morning.'

Or, within the habitual time frame:

(560) 阿娘囝子 每 工 食 了 饭
a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}kin^{53}tsə^{0} mei^{55} kuŋ^{21} ɕie^{35} ə^{0} p^{h}ən^{35}
daughter every day eat PFV meal
'Every day after having her meal,
皆 解 帮 ○我 洗 碗 。
ka^{213} xie^{55} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} sie^{55} ʊɔn^{55}
all will help 1SG wash bowl
the daughter will help me with the washing-up.'

Note that the Shaowu perfective marker [ə^{0}] 了 can be realised as [nə^{0}] or [ŋə^{0}] if the preceding syllable carries a nasal coda, as, see for instance the following example:

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(561) ○他 食 得 顶 有 味道 ，
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} tie^{53} tin^{55} iɔu^{55} ʋei^{35}tʰau^{55}
3SG eat VCM very have taste
'He was eating with such great enjoyment that when he finished,
还 ○舔 了 盘儿 才 算 完 了 。
ai^{213} lan^{53} **nə**^{0} pʰɔn^{22}nə^{0} tsai^{213} sɔn^{213} ʋien^{22} **nə**^{0}
also lick PFV dish then count finish PFV
he licked the dish.'

20.1.1.2 [VERB + ə^0 + (NP) + DEGREE/EXTENT]

The Shaowu perfective marker [ə^0] 了 can also follow a verb and precede a degree or extent phrase, as shown in the following example:

(562) ○我 磕梦 了 个 下 就 醒 了 。
xaŋ^{35} kʰa^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$ nə^{0} kə^{0} xa^{35} tsiɔu$^{213\sim21}$ tʰan^{55} nə^{0}
1SG sleep PFV one CLF$_{VERB}$ then wake PFV
'I slept for a bit then woke up.'

20.1.1.3 [VERB + ə^0 + LOC]

If there is a locative phrase following a stative verb in Shaowu, the preference is not to use the perfective marker [ə^0] 了. This could be due to the presence of the stative verb and the locative (LOC) which imply the durative or progressive aspects. Thus, they fall in the scope of the imperfective and not the perfective. See for instance the following two examples which are both considered as marginal:

(563) ○我 磕梦 (了?) 处 床 上 。
?? xaŋ^{35} kʰa^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$ (ə^{0}?) tʰu$^{55\sim35}$ tʰɔŋ^{53} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
1SG sleep PFV LOC$_{be}$ bed on
'I slept on the bed.'/ 'I was sleeping on the bed.'

(564) 东西 搁 (了?) 得 槃 上 。
?? tuŋ^{21}si^{21} kɔ^{53} (ə^{0}?) tie^{53} pʰɔŋ^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
thing put PFV VCM table on
'The stuff was on the table.'

However, if the verb is dynamic and not stative, and is followed by a location, the construction with perfective marker [ə^0] 了 is grammatical:

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(565) ○她 去 了 学堂 。
xu^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ə^{0} xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$
3SG go PFV school
'She went to school.'

(566) ○他 归 了 城 。
xu^{35} kuei^{21} ə^{0} ɕin^{22}
3SG return PFV city
'He came back to the city.'

20.1.1.4 [VERB + COMPOUND + ə^{0}]

In Shaowu, it is only grammatical to use the perfective marker [ə^{0}] 了after the directional compound but not before it. This is unlike Mandarin which allows both (e.g., *tā zǒu **le** chūlái **le*** 她走了出来了。 'She has come out'.) This suggests that Shaowu might have a more closely-knit directional verb compound structure with the main verb. Compare the following two examples:

(567) 度○ 票儿 皆 得 ○我 领 出 来 (了) 。
t^{h}ɔ^{35}ma^{55} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0} ka^{35} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} liaŋ^{55} t^{h}ei^{53} li^{22} (ə^{0})
yesterday money all PASS 1SG take out come PFV
'The money was all taken out by me yesterday.'

(568) 度○ 票儿 皆 得 ○我 领 了 出 来 。
** t^{h}ɔ^{35}ma^{55} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0} ka^{35} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} liaŋ^{55} ə^{0} t^{h}ei^{53} li^{22}
yesterday money all PASS 1SG take PFV out come
(Attempted meaning: 'The money was all taken out by me yesterday.')

Likewise, in a resultative compound, it is ungrammatical to insert the perfective marker [ə^{0}] 了 between the main verb and the compound component:

(569) 信 , ○你 写 了 好 么 ?
** sin^{213} xien^{35} sia^{55} ə^{0} xau^{55} mɔ^{0}
letter 2SG write PFV RES Q
(Attempted meaning: 'Have you written up the letter?')

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It is acceptable to put the perfect marker, i.e., LE2, after the compound:

(570) 信 , ○你 写 好 了 么 ?
sin^{213} xien^{35} sia^{55} xau^{55} ə^{0} mɔ^{0}
letter 2SG write RES PFV Q
'Have you written up the letter?'

20.1.2 Completive perfective aspect and its markers [ʋien^{22}] 完 and [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了

The completive aspect typically marks the finishing up or completion of an action coming to its natural endpoint. Completive markers fall under the category of perfective aspect but differ from terminative perfective markers in that the latter marks the termination of events, which do not always imply completion (cf. § 20.1.1), while completives denote completion. According to Bybee *et al.* (1994: 61): 'Completives are relatively rich in lexical meaning and may be lexically restricted or simply not used frequently enough to have become inflectional.' Completives often derive from lexical verbs like 'to finish', or 'to bury' which implies the disappearance of the object (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 57–61). Indeed, we can find these lexical sources readily in the Sinitic languages. For instance, Cantonese, alone, for instance has [jy:n^{11}] 完 'to finish', [ma:i^{11}] 埋 'to bury', 'to close'), and [sa:i^{33}] 晒, whose origin is yet to be identified.

Sinitic completives, such as the Mandarin completive *wán* 完 are usually considered as phase markers that follow the verb and may take a preceding negator before the completive marker (Chao 1968: 464). Li & Thompson (1981: 426) considers these as resultative verb compounds while Smith (1991: 68) refers these as resultative verb complements (RVC). We adopt the view of Wang *et al.* (1987) who regard *wán* 完 as a completive marker that (i) marks the depletion of a quantity, or (ii) the completion of an action. Both functions are attested in Shaowu, where the completive marker [ʋien^{22}] 完 still retains the lexical meaning 'to finish' but is also employed as a postverbal phase marker that can either indicate the depletion of a quantity or the completion of an action. These functions will be discussed in in § 20.1.2.1.

In Shaowu, there is another completive marker that marks the completion of an action, which is [liau^{55}] 了 (or its allophone [liau^{22}]). The two completive markers [ʋien^{22}] 完 and [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了 can co-exist in the same sentence – but only in the order of [ʋien^{22}] 完 before [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了, and not the other way around. If they both appear in the same sentence, they typically assume their respective main function, that is, the completive marker [ʋien^{22}] 完 codes the depletion of the quantity and the other completive marker [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了 codes the completion

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of the action. They can even be followed by a terminative perfective marker [ə^{0}] 了to emphasize the termination of the action of completion itself. The following example demonstrates that there is a difference in the scope of the completive marking:

(571) 票 皆 已经 卖 完 了 (了) 。
pʰiau^{213} ka^{35} i^{55}kin^{21} mie^{35} ʋien^{22} liau$^{55\sim22}$ (ə^{0})
ticket all already sell CMPL CMPL PFV
'The tickets have already been sold out.'

The completive marker [ʋien^{22}] 完 focuses on the depletion of the quantity of tickets, can also be called a 'quantitative completive marker', while the other completive marker [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了marks the completion of the action of selling, and thus can be called an 'action completive marker'. In the following subsections, we are going to look in detail at these two Shaowu completive markers and their respective functions.

20.1.2.1 Completive marker [ʋien^{22}] 完

As mentioned above, the completive marker [ʋien^{22}] 完 essentially focuses on the depletion of the quantity, as shown in the following two examples:

(572) 票 皆 已经 卖 完 。
pʰiau^{213} ka^{35} i^{55}kin^{21} mie^{35} ʋien^{22}
ticket all already sell CMPL
'The tickets are all sold out.'

(573) ○$_{我}$ 饭 食 完 了 。
xaŋ^{35} pʰən^{35} ɕie^{35} ʋien^{22} nə^{0}
1SG meal eat CMPL PFV
'I ate up the meal.'

It is possible to negate the predicate by placing a negator before the main verb and its completive aspect marker, as shown in the following example:

(574) ○$_{她}$ 事 还 冇 话 完 就 啼 起来 了 。
xu^{35} sə^{35} ai^{213} mau^{35} ʋa^{35} ʋien^{22} tsiɔu^{213} tʰi^{53} kʰi$^{55\sim22}$li^{22} ə^{0}
3SG matter still NEG say CMPL then cry INCH PFV
'She started to cry even though she hadn't finished talking about the matter(s).'

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It is implied that the matters that the person wanted to talk about had not been all mentioned yet, before she started crying. Hence, despite the intangibility of the grammatical object (i.e., matters to talk about), the completive marker [ʋien^{22}] 完 still scopes over quantity. The syntactic template for the completive marker in Shaowu is: [SUBJ – (ADV) – (NEG) – VERB – (NEG) – CMPL 完 $_{[ʋien22]}$].

The etymons of the completive markers, [ʋien^{22}] 完 and [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了, both mean 'to finish', 'to end' in Modern Chinese (identified in literature in late Qing Dynasty, ca. mid 19th century), while this lexical meaning is retained more by the Shaowu morpheme [ʋien^{22}] 完 than [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了. The lexical meaning of the morpheme [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了 can only be found in some fixed expressions in Contemporary Chinese, such as in Mandarin *méi wán méi liǎo* 没完没了(NEG-finish-NEG-finish) 'to go on endlessly', or in verb compounds, such as *liǎo duàn* 了断 (finish-break) 'to sever a tie'. In the following subsection, we are going to look at the completive marker [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了 and its functions.

20.1.2.2 Completive marker [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了

The completive marker [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了 marks the completion of the action, thus can be called 'action completive marker'. Note that it is not to be confounded with the terminative perfective marker [ə^{0}] 了 which codes the termination of an action (see § 20.1.1 for details). See the following example for illustration:

(575)	○$_{你}$	食	了	（了）	○$_{这}$	碗	粥	去	。
	xien^{35}	ɕie^{35}	liau^{55}	(ə^{0})	tɕiɔŋ^{53}	ʋɔn^{55}	tsy^{53}	k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$	
	2SG	eat	CMPL	PFV	DEM	bowl	porridge	go	
	'Go after having this porridge.'								

Contrast the following example that uses the completive marker [ʋien^{22}] 完 instead:

(576)	○$_{你}$	食	完	（了）	○$_{这}$	碗	粥	去	。
	xien^{35}	ɕie^{35}	ʋien^{22}	(ə^{0})	tɕiɔŋ^{53}	ʋɔn^{55}	tsy^{53}	k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$	
	2SG	eat	CMPL	PFV	DEM	bowl	porridge	go	
	'Go after finishing this porridge.'								

The difference may be subtle, but there is one: in example (575), the action of eating the porridge is emphasized, whereas in example (576), the action of eating *up* the porridge is emphasized. They may end up having the same result, i.e., emptying of the bowl, but the focus of action is slightly different.

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It is possible to juxtapose the two Shaowu completive markers in the order of [ʋien^{22}] 完 before [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了 such that the completive [ʋien^{22}] 完 scopes over the verb [ɕie^{35}] 食 to mark the eating up of the porridge (depletion of quantity), and the completive [liau^{55}] 了 scopes over the verb-complement [ɕie^{35}ʋien^{22}] 食完 for the completion of the action 'eating up'. It is even possible to add the terminative perfective marker [ə^{0}] 了 to emphasis the termination of the action of completion itself, as shown in the following example (and also in example 571 above). The morpheme [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了 is more of a predicate aspect marker if not a clausal marker (which is [ə^{0}] 了), whereas [ʋien^{22}] 完 is restricted to scope over the RVC in the verb compound.

(577) ○你 食 完 了 （了） ○这 碗 粥 去 。
xien^{35} ɕie^{35} ʋien^{22} liau^{55} (ə^{0}) tɕiɔŋ^{53} ʋɔn^{55} tsy^{53} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
2SG eat CMPL CMPL PFV DEM bowl porridge go
'Go after you have finished this porridge.'

The syntactic template for a clause containing the completive marker of action [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了 is: [SUBJ + VERB + CMPL $_{[liau55]}$ 了 + (PFV$_{[ə0]}$ 了) + OBJ], whereas the syntactic template for the two successive completive markers in Shaowu is: [SUBJ + VERB + CMPL$_{[ʋien22]}$ 完 + CMPL$_{[liau55]}$ 了 + (PFV$_{[ə0]}$ 了) + OBJ].

The other function of the completive marker [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了, much related to marking the completion of an action, is the sequencing function, which is also known as the 'anteriority' use in sentence linking (see e.g., Li & Thompson 1981: 632–641, Langacker 1987b: 244–253). It basically means that one action follows another after the completion of the former, demarcated by the completive marker [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了, which conjoins multiple actions, thus creating the sequence effect. The example below, where a completed action is followed by another completed action before the third one takes place, illustrates this point:

(578) ○我 打算 瞙 了 了 电影 ， 食 了
xaŋ^{35} ta^{55}sɔn^{213} nianŋ^{213} liau^{55} ə^{0} tʰien^{213}in^{55} ɕie^{35} liau^{55}
1SG plan watch CMPL PFV film eat CMPL
了 ○ 再 坐 汽车 去 厝底 。
ə^{0} ɔŋ^{213} tsai^{21} tʰɔi^{55} kʰi^{213}tɕʰia^{21} kʰɔ^{213} tɕʰiɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$
PFV dinner then sit car go home
'I plan to go back home after watching a film followed by dinner.'

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20.1.3 Interim summary

In this section on the perfective aspect, we have seen the function of the Shaowu terminative perfective marker [ə^{0}] 了, which marks the coming to a stop of an action seen as a whole (termination), and the completive markers [ʋien^{22}] 完 and [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了, which mark the coming to an end of an action as a whole (completion), with a focus on the depletion of quantity when [ʋien^{22}] 完 is used and an emphasis on completing the action when [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了 is employed. It is possible to juxtapose the three perfective markers in the syntactic order of [SUBJ + VERB + CMPL$_{[ʋien22]}$ 完 + CMPL$_{[liau55]}$ 了 + PFV$_{[ə0]}$ 了 + OBJ], in which each marker has its unique and distinct role to play.

It is to be borne in mind that whether or not a terminative or completive perfective marker is chosen depends on the state (telic, atelic or no change) and the nature of action (punctual, habitual or durative), i.e., various verb classes may be combined with one or some of these markers to produce different aspectual meanings.

We have also looked at, in passing, the function of the sentence-final perfect marker [ə^{0}] 了(LE$_2$) that codes the currently relevant state of affairs, which will be looked at in detail in Chapter 35 on clause-final particles.

20.2 The experiential aspect

The experiential aspect marks an experience which was completed in the relative past and has been discontinued since its completion. Smith (1991: 348) points out that the main feature of the experiential is that it presents a discontinuity with the present or other reference time. The discontinuity involves both the temporal frame and the situation type.

While the experiential aspect falls in the scope of the perfective, it differs from the terminative and completive perfective aspect discussed above in 20.1 in that it emphasizes the possession of a previous experience (hence the term 'experiential aspect'). The experiential aspect thus "profiles the 'experience' of having engaged in an activity or participated in a situation." (Liu 2015: 280).

Kwok (2008) discusses the etymology of the Shaowu experiential marker [t^{h}ɔ^{35}], providing a convincing account that the character 度 is the etymon of the morpheme [t^{h}ɔ^{35}], after looking at records from the period of Old Chinese and investigating the historical sound correspondences of this morpheme. He points out that the function of [t^{h}ɔ^{35}] 度 in Shaowu is experiential (for experiential markers in other Sinitic languages, see Yue-Hashimoto 1993:72, Chappell 2001b).

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20.2.1 The experiential marker [tʰɔ³⁵] 度

The Shaowu experiential marker [tʰɔ³⁵] 度 (or its soften form [xɔ³⁵] after the lenition of the initial consonant) is suffixed directly to the main verb. It codes the aspectual notion of having experienced the action represented by the verb. It is very similar in function when compared with the Mandarin experiential marker *guò* 过, as in *wǒ qùguò běijīng* 我去过北京。(1SG-go-EXP-Beijing) 'I have been to Beijing.' The following examples display the use of the Shaowu experiential with the syntactic template of [SUBJ – (NEG) – V – EXP – OBJ + (Q)].

(579) ○你 去 度 北京 么 ?
xien³⁵ kʰɔ²¹³~²¹ tʰɔ³⁵ pə⁵³kin²¹ mɔ⁰
2SG go EXP Beijing Q
'Have you been to Beijing?'

If we contrast the above example with the one below which is marked by the perfective marker [ə⁰] 了(LE1), we see that the meaning of the sentence has changed with the shift of the aspect from experiential to perfective. Example (580) refers to a specific, punctual event whereas (579) above does not.

(580) ○你 去 了 北京 么 ?
xien³⁵ kʰɔ²¹³ ə⁰ pə⁵³kin²¹ mɔ⁰
2SG go PFV Beijing Q
'Have you departed for Beijing yet?' (= 'Have you gone to Beijing?')

Smith (1991:350) points out that although the experiential aspect represents a specific situation anchored in a certain time point or an indefinite situation, it is not anchored temporally. Thus, the occurrence can be in the recent or remote past, as shown respectively in the two examples below, which reveals the discontinuity feature of the experiential past marker.

(581) 度○ ○我 来 度 ○这 个 地方 。
tʰɔ³⁵ma⁵⁵ xaŋ³⁵ li²² tʰɔ³⁵ tɕiɔŋ⁵³ ŋə⁰ tʰi³⁵fɔŋ²¹
yesterday 1SG come EXP DEM CLF place
'I was here yesterday.' (Lit. 'I had the experience of coming to here yesterday, and I have come back again.')

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(582) ○他 以前 打 度 垜 。
xu^{35} i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} ta^{55} t^{h}ɔ^{35} t^{h}ən^{53}
3SG in the past hit EXP field
'He worked in the fields as a farmer in the past.' (But he does not do it anymore now.)

The allophone [xɔ^{35}] can be used interchangeably with 度 [t^{h}ɔ^{35}]. This is due to the lenition of [t^{h}] > [x], depending on the speaker's geographical origin. Speakers from the city of Shaowu tend to retain the [t^{h}] initial consonant whereas speakers from the environs tend to replace the dental affricate by the velar fricative [x]. This type of consonant lenition might lead to debuccalisation (see e.g., Fallon 2001: 124–138), a diachronic process during which the consonant loses its original place of articulation and turns into a glottal consonant, such as [h]. Below is an example of [t^{h}] > [x] in the experiential marker 度 [t^{h}ɔ^{35}]:

(583) ○我 食 度 ○这 糯米 糕 , 顶 甜 个 。
xaŋ^{35} ɕie^{35} xɔ^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53} nɔ^{22}mi$^{55\sim0}$ kau^{21} tin^{55} t^{h}ien^{22} kə^{0}
1SG eat EXP DEM sticky rice cake very sweet ATT
'I have eaten this kind of sticky rice cakes. They are sweet.'

20.2.2 Negating the experiential aspect

The negation of the Shaowu experiential aspect is achieved by adding the perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇 before the main verb of the sentence. The negator is not attached directly before the experiential marker [t^{h}ɔ^{35}] 度 but the main verb, which means that the negator scopes over both the main verb and the aspectual marker. See the following two examples, which have the syntactic template of [SUBJ + NEG + V + EXP + OBJ]:

(584) ○他 冇 去 度 顶 ○多 地方 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}ɔ^{35} tin^{55} ʊai^{55} t^{h}i^{35}fɔŋ^{21}
3SG NEG go EXP very many place
'He has not been to many places.'

(585) ○我 冇 开 度 车 。
xaŋ^{35} mau^{35} k^{h}ai^{21} t^{h}ɔ^{35} tɕ^{h}ia^{21}
1SG NEG drive EXP car
'I have never driven a car.'

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20.2.3 Interim summary

The experiential marker [$t^hɔ^{35}$] 度 is used in Shaowu to express that a past experience has occurred, terminated or has been completed, and so is discontinued prior to the reference time. Reference to the specific time of occurrence of this experience is not an invariant part of the meaning. This experience can occur in the remote or recent past, and thus can optionally be indicated by past temporal markers.

For negation, the negator [mau^{35}] 冇 is placed before the main verb to scope over both the main verb and the experiential aspect marker. The syntactic template for a sentence containing an experiential marker is [SUBJ + (NEG) + V + EXP + OBJ+ (Q)].

Since the morpheme [$t^hɔ^{35}$] 度 concerns describing a past experience, it is most often used to refer to a past action accomplished (or not) by a person in the form of the subject NP. It is seldom used for experiences by grammatical subjects that denote animals and almost never for inanimate entities, unless if the speaker wants to personify the entity in question.

20.3 The inchoative aspect

The inchoative aspect denotes the coming about of a state or the beginning of an action. The marking of the inchoative aspect exists in various forms: some languages have inchoative verbs, some have verbal affixes or complements, others have both. English, for instance, has both the inchoative verbs (*become*, *get*, *begin/start to*) and the *-en* inchoative suffix (compare 'Her face became red.' and 'Her face reddened.'). In Latin, the inchoative aspect is marked by the infix *-sc-*, for instance, *florere*, 'to flower', *florescere*, 'to start flowering'.

Smith (1991: 49) uses the term 'inceptive' to refer to the beginning of an event and the term 'inchoative' to refer to the coming about of a state, here we simply use the 'inchoative' to cover both terms. This is due to the presence of ambiguous instances in Sinitic languages such as Shaowu, where it is hard to tell an event from a state, especially when the verb is of stative nature. See, for instance, the following two examples, where the first is inceptive and the second is inchoative, but both are marked by the aspect marker [$ə^0$] 了:

(586) ○他 溃 了 。
xu^{35} k^{h}uei^{35} ə^0
3SG ill CRS
'He is ill.' (state) / 'He has fallen ill.' (event)

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(587) ○他 死 了 。
xu^{35} si^{55} ə^{0}
3SG die CRS
'He is dead.' (state) / 'He has died.' (event)

20.3.1 SFP [ə^{0}] 了 as inchoative marker for stative verbs

The sentence final particle [lə^{0}] 了 (LE$_2$) is a perfect aspect marker that has also an inchoative marking function, as described in Chao (1968: 799–800), where he listed seven functions of the sentential [lə^{0}] 了, the equivalent of which in Shaowu is [ə^{0}] 了. The perfect marker (CRS), which can express a change of state, thus serves as an inchoative marker for stative verbs or predicates in Shaowu, as shown by the following two examples:

(588) ○她 瘦 了 。
xu^{35} sei^{213} ə^{0}
3SG thin CRS
'She has become thin.'

(589) 箬儿 黄 了 。
niɔ^{53}ə^{0} ʊɔŋ^{22} ŋə^{0}
leaf yellow CRS
'The leaves have turned yellow.'

20.3.2 Use of the inchoative marker [k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}] 起来 for dynamic verbs

Dynamic verbs denote actions that may or may not have an endpoint, whose realisation may span across a period of time. Unlike stative verbs, they do not describe the state of being of their subject. In Shaowu, [k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}] 起来, literally meaning 'up-come', is used to mark the inchoative aspect in the case of dynamic verbs. The following example illustrates this:

(590) ○那 蜀 个 小 囝子 啼 起来 了 。
ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} siau^{55} kin^{53}tsə^{0} t^{h}i^{53} k^{h}i^{55}li^{22} ə^{0}
DEM one CLF little boy cry INCH CRS
'That little boy has started to cry.'

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In example (590), the main verb [t^hi^{53}] 啼 'to cry', is a dynamic verb and so the inchoative marker (INCH) [$k^hi^{55}li^{22}$] 起来 is called for, instead of the perfect aspect marker (CRS) [$ə^0$] 了. In fact, [$ə^0$] 了 would express the change of state from 'not crying' to 'crying' but not necessarily the idea of 'beginning to', which can only be encoded by the inchoative marker [$k^hi^{55}li^{22}$] 起来.

Note that if the verb phrase VP is a predicate (V+N), it is possible to split the verb and the noun by the inchoative marker [$k^hi^{55}li^{22}$] 起来, in which case we will gloss [k^hi^{55}] 起 as $INCH_1$ and [li^{22}] 来 as $INCH_2$, which, when put together, bears the integrality of the inchoative function of the disyllabic inchoative marker [$k^hi^{55}li^{22}$] (INCH). The syntactic template for this type of construction is [V + $INCH_1$ + N + $INCH_2$].

(591) 〇他 话 起 事 来
xu^{35} $ʋa^{35}$ **k^hi^{55}** $sə^{35}$ **li^{22}**
3SG speak $INCH_1$ thing $INCH_2$
起码 两 个 钟头 。
$k^hi^{55}ma^{55\sim22}$ $liɔŋ^{55}$ $kə^0$ $tɕiuŋ^{21}t^həu^{53\sim21}$
at least two CLF hour
'When he starts speaking, it's at least for two hours.'

(592) 当时 冇 有 办法 ,
$tɔŋ^{21}ɕi^{22}$ mau^{35} $iɔu^{55}$ $p^han^{35}fan^{53}$
at that time NEG have method
'By then (he) did not have other options,
就 做 起 生意 来 。
$tsiɔu^{21}$ $tsɔ^{213\sim21}$ **k^hi^{55}** $sen^{21}i^{213\sim21}$ **li^{22}**
then do $INCH_1$ business $INCH_2$
so (he) started a business.'

The above two examples demonstrate the residual verbal nature of the inchoative marker [$k^hi^{55}li^{22}$] 起来, as evidenced by the fact that it can be split by the predicate (V+N). A full-fledged aspect marker usually remains a syntactic whole, that is, an unsplittable grammatical unit. The inchoative marker [$k^hi^{55}li^{22}$] 起来 may also be developing into such a fully grammaticalised and indivisible unit. The two examples below show the inchoative aspect marker in its unseparated form:

(593) 〇他 高兴 个 唱 歌儿 起来 。
xu^{35} $kau^{21}xin^{213}$ $kə^0$ $tɕ^hiɔŋ^{213}$ $kɔ^{21}ə^0$ $k^hi^{55}li^{22}$
3SG happy ADV sing song INCH
'He was so happy that he started to sing.'

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(594) 客人 还 冇 来 ,
$k^ha^{53}nin^{22}$ ai^{213} mau^{35} li^{22}
guest still NEG come
'The guests haven't yet arrived,
○他 就 自家 食 酒 起来 。
xu^{35} $tsiɔu^{213}$ $t^hi^{35}ka^{21}$ $ɕie^{35}$ $tsɔu^{55}$ **$k^hi^{55}li^{22}$**
3SG then oneself drink alcohol INCH
but then he started drinking alcohol on his own.'

20.3.3 Use of the inchoative marker [$xa^{35\sim55}li^{22}$] 下来 to denote a decrease in degree

Shaowu verbs that can denote a decrease in intensity or degree, such as 'to become cold', 'to darken', 'to quiet down', are usually followed by the inchoative marker [$xa^{35\sim55}li^{22}$] 下来 which literally means 'to come down' in its original lexical meaning. As an aspect marker, [$xa^{35\sim55}li^{22}$] 下来 is the opposite of [$k^hi^{55}li^{22}$] 起来 and marks the start of a decrease in degree, and hence is also considered as an inchoative marker. This can be seen in the following example:

(595) 天气 忽然 ○冷 下来 。
$t^hien^{21}k^hi^{213\sim21}$ $fei^{53}ien^{22}$ $t^hən^{213\sim21}$ $xa^{35\sim55}li^{22}$
weather suddenly cold $INCH_{down}$
'The weather suddenly started to turn cold.'

20.3.4 Interim summary

There are at least three inchoative markers in Shaowu: [$k^hi^{55}li^{22}$] 起来 for dynamic verbs, [$xa^{35\sim55}li^{22}$] 下来 for dynamic verbs denoting a decrease in intensity or degree, and [$ə^0$] 了 for stative verbs. The syntactic template is typically [SUBJ + V + INCH]. If the verb is a predicate composed of a verb and a noun, the disyllabic inchoative marker may be split to bracket the noun and the relevant template is then [SUBJ + $V + INCH_1$ + N + $INCH_2$].

20.4 The progressive aspect

The progressive aspect marks the ongoing stages of an action, not a state (unlike the durative aspect, see § 20.6). Comrie (1976: 25) classifies the progressive aspect under the continuous category, which in turn falls under the imperfective aspect

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that presents an event as unbounded and ongoing. In English, the progressive aspect is coded by the *-ing* form. In Mandarin and many Northern Chinese languages, it is marked by the postverbal aspect marker /zhe/ 着, although the preverbal marker *zhèng zài* 正在, originally meaning 'just in/at a place', can also be used (or simply the locational verb *zài* 在) which has grammaticalised into a progressive aspect marker. In Central Sinitic languages such as Xiang, Gan, Northern Wu, and in Southern Sinitic languages such as Southern Wu, Min and Yue, the progressive markers are often grammaticalised from the verb 'to be at or in a place' and are similar to the Mandarin *zhèng zài* 正在or *zài* 在, are placed preverbally to mark the progressive aspect (Ho 2015, Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 72). One example is the Cantonese [xai^{35}tou^{22}] 喺度, also with the lexical meaning of 'to be in/at a place', and which has grammaticalised to mark the progressive aspect when being placed before a verb.

In Shaowu, the progressive marker (PROG) similarly contains also the locative verb [t^{h}u^{55}] 处 (or its allomorphs [t^{h}u^{35}] or [t^{h}u^{22}]) which means 'to be in or at a place' and may be preceded by [tɕiaŋ^{213}] 正which means 'right at the moment'. The use of this adverb provides the emphasis that the ongoing action is happening right at the moment of utterance. So, [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处or [tɕiaŋ^{213}t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 正处 marks the progressive aspect in Shaowu (see § 20.4.1), the syntactic template is [SUBJ – PROG – VERB – OBJ]. Note that the verbs involved in such a construction are typically dynamic verbs, and not stative verbs such as 'to like', 'to believe', 'to know' (for discussions on stative verbs, see Chapter 13 on verb classes, § 13.1.1). Since some sentences lack the time frame indicating when the action takes place, by default they are set in the present.

The second Shaowu progressive marker is [tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}] ○○$_{当中}$, originally a spatial postposition meaning 'in the middle of', which has been grammaticalised into a temporal postposition to mean 'in the middle of doing something', then further grammaticalised into a progressive marker, as shown in § 20.4.2.

The third Shaowu progressive marker is [ken^{55}] ○, which implies an ongoing, continuous action, whose syntactic function and constraints are explained in § 20.4.3.

20.4.1 Progressive markers [tɕiaŋ^{213}t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 正处 and [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处

(596) ○$_{他}$ 正处 瞭 报 。
xu^{35} tɕiaŋ^{213}t^{h}u^{55} niaŋ^{213} pau^{213}
3SG PROG read newspapers
'He is reading the newspapers.'

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(597) ○她 处 补 衣裳 。
xu^{35} t^{h}u^{55} p^{h}y^{55} i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}
3SG PROG mend clothes
'She is mending the clothes.'

However, [tɕiaŋ^{213}] 正 alone cannot serve as a progressive marker, see the example below:

(598) ○他 正 刨 编儿 。
** xu^{35} tɕiaŋ^{213} p^{h}au$^{55\sim22}$ pien^{53}nə^{0}
3SG PROG plane plank
(Attempted meaning: 'He is planing the plank.')

However, when there are two simultaneous actions involved (e.g., in English, *I was eating when the phone rang.*), Shaowu prefers to use [tɕiaŋ^{213}t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 正处 instead of [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处 alone, indicating that the progressive aspect marker [tɕiaŋ^{213}t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 正处 plays an important role in clause-combining (cf. Part V on Complex sentences and clause-combining):

(599) ○他 正处 颂 大衣 , 门 就 开 了 。
xu^{35} tɕiaŋ^{213}t^{h}u^{55} siuŋ^{35} t^{h}ai^{35}i^{21} mən^{22} tsiɔu^{213} k^{h}ai^{21} ə^{0}
3SG PROG wear coat door then open PFV
'He was putting on his coat when the door opened.

My Shaowu linguistic consultant was not happy with the use of [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处 alone in this case, precisely because [tɕiaŋ^{213}] 正 is needed here to mark the idea of 'on the spot', 'at the moment', i.e., simultaneity. Thus, the following sentence is deemed marginal:

(600) ○他 处 颂 大衣 , 门 就 开 了 。
?? xu^{35} t^{h}u^{55} siuŋ^{35} t^{h}ai^{35}i^{21} mən^{22} tsiɔu^{213} k^{h}ai^{21} ə^{0}
3SG right wear coat door then open PFV
'He was putting on his coat when the door opened.'

20.4.2 Progressive marker [tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}] ○○当中

The disyllabic morpheme [tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}] ○○当中 literally means 'in the middle of', 'amid', which started out as a locative postposition (example 601), and then

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grammaticalised into a temporal postposition (example 602), before developing into a progressive aspect marker (example 603).

(601) ○这 ○多 人 ○○当中 ， ○他 最 高 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ʋai^{55} nin^{22} tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22} xu^{35} tsei^{213} kau^{21}
DEM many person in the middle of 3SG SUP tall
'Among these people, he is the tallest.'

(602) ○○子 正 处 瞌梦 ○○当中 。
mɔ^{53}mɔ^{0}tsə^{0} tɕiaŋ^{213} t^{h}u^{55} k^{h}a^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$ tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}
baby right at sleep in the middle of
'The baby is in the middle of his sleep.'

(603) ○他多 打○○ ○○当中 小 张 行 度 来 了 。
xu^{35}tai^{21} ta^{22}la^{55}pie^{0} tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22} siau^{55} tiɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{22} xɔ^{35} li^{22} ə^{0}
3PL chitchat PROG little Zhang walk over come PFV
'Little Zhang walked towards them when they were chitchatting.'

20.4.3 Progressive marker [ken^{55}] ○

The morpheme [ken^{55}] ○, the etymon of which is not yet identified, is typically used in the syntactic template of [PROG$_{[ken55]}$ + V + PROG$_{[ken55]}$ + V] to code an ongoing action for non-stative verbs. Note that the reduplication of the constituent [ASP-V] is required (see also Chapter 7 on reduplication, § 7.3). Another syntactic constraint for this type of construction is that the verb has to be dynamic, as shown in the two examples below:

(604) ○我 ○ 食 ○ 食 。
xaŋ^{35} ken^{55} ɕie^{35} ken^{55} ɕie^{35}
1SG PROG eat PROG eat
'I keep on eating.'

(605) ○他 ○ 走 ○ 走 ， 个 下 ○ 到 了 。
xu^{35} ken^{55} tsu^{55} ken^{55} tsu^{55} kə^{0} xa^{35} tan^{55} tau^{21} ə^{0}
3SG PROG run PROG run one CLF$_{verb}$ trip over ACH PFV
'He was running, suddenly he tripped over.'

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20.4.4 Interim summary

To sum up, in a simple sentence where a single action is represented by a dynamic verb, either [$t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 处 or [$tɕian^{213}t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 正处 can be used to code the progressive aspect. By contrast, in a sentence where two (or more) actions are simultaneously carried out, then only [$tɕian^{213}t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 正处 is called for to mark the progressive aspect. In addition to this, it is also used as a clause-combining device where two (or more) actions are conjoined by [$tɕian^{213}t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 正处 to express simultaneity. The general syntactic template for the progressive aspect in Shaowu is [SUBJ – PROG – VERB – OBJ], where the progressive marker precedes the main verb.

Another progressive marker [ken^{55}] ○, is used in the syntactic template of [$PROG_{[ken55]}$ + V + $PROG_{[ken55]}$ + V] to code an ongoing, continuous action 'keep on doing something', with the constraint being that reduplication of [ASP + V] has to be implemented and the verb needs to be dynamic.

Shaowu has developed its own progressive marker [$tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}$] ○○$_{当中}$, which literally means 'in the middle of', 'amid', and grammaticalised to become a progressive aspect marker, with the same syntactic template of [SUBJ + PROG + VERB + OBJ]. Given Shaowu's unique historical and demographic background and being located in a zone that is referred to by Chappell (2015) as linguistically transitional zone, its progressive markers exemplify the transitional stage where its indigenous postverbal progressive marker [$tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}$] ○○$_{当中}$ coexists with, and is gradually replaced by, the preverbal progressive markers [$tɕian^{213}t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 正处 and [$t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 处 calqued most likely from Mandarin.

20.5 The continuative aspect

The Sinitic continuative aspect expresses that the action is ongoing. While some linguists (Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 73, *inter alia*) consider the continuative marker as an aspectual complement that can take the potential form, other linguists regard it as a phase marker (e.g., Lien 1995), which is different from an aspect marker. The latter group makes the distinction based on grounds such as:

(i) phase markers can be used in potential verb-complement constructions; while aspect markers cannot;
(ii) a causative form can be inserted between the predicate and the phase marker, but not between the predicate and the aspect marker;
(iii) there is co-existence of lexical and grammatical meanings in phase markers, but not for aspect markers.

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We take the view that the continuative marker in Shaowu is a verb complement that behaves differently from a typical aspect marker. However, we put it under the category of aspect because the continuative fits into the definition of aspect in its broader sense, as explained in:

(i) "Aspect . . . signifies the relative duration or punctuality along a timeline that may inhere in words or constructions." (Friedrich 1974: 1);
(ii) "Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." (Comrie 1976: 3);
(iii) " . . . aspect as the semantic domain of the temporal structure of situations and their presentation." (Smith 1991: 1).

20.5.1 Continuative marker [xa$^{35\sim55}$k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 下去 and its constructions

The Shaowu continuative marker is [xa$^{35\sim55}$k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 下去, literally meaning 'under'- 'go' and (metaphorically) 'go down the path', and it expresses the continuation of an ongoing action. It follows the verb (example 606) or the verb phrase (example 607) and can take the potential form or can be negated (see examples 608 and 609 respectively).

(606) ○$_{别}$ 畏 , ○$_{你}$ 话 下去 。
məi^{22} ʊi^{213} xien^{35} ʊa^{35} xa^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
PROH be afraid 2SG speak CONT
'Don't be afraid, speak on.'

Unlike the Shaowu inchoative marker [k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}] 起来 (cf. §20.3 on the inchoative marker) which can split the verb phrase into [V + INCH$_1$ + N + INCH$_2$], the components of VP, i.e. V + NP, cannot be split by the disyllabic continuative marker [xa$^{35\sim55}$k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 下去. See the example below:

(607) ○$_{你}$ ○$_{这}$ 像 做 生意 下去 叻 ,
xien^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53} siɔŋ^{35} tsɔ^{213} sen^{21}i^{213} xa^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213} le^{22}
2SG DEM way do business CONT SFP
解 亏 本 。
xie^{35} k^{h}uei^{21} pən^{55}
can erode capital
'If you continue to do business in this way, you'll suffer loss.'

This continuative aspect marking function of [xa$^{35\sim55}$k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 下去 is not to be confused with the directional compound [xa$^{35\sim55}$k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 下去 which denotes

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the down-going direction of an action, such as 坐下去 [tʰɔi^{55}xa$^{35\sim55}$kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 'sit-down-go' which means 'sit down' (cf. § 19.2 on directional verb complements and compounds).

The potential modal verb [kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 可以 (cf. Chapter 17 on modal auxiliaries), can be inserted before the verb-continuative marker combination, see for instance:

(608) ○我 可以 帮 ○你 话 下去 。
xaŋ^{35} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} ʊa^{35} xa^{35}kʰɔ^{213}
1SG can BEN 2SG speak CONT
'I can help relay the speech for you.'

Note that as long as the action carries on, we can use the continuative aspect marker to mark continuity regardless of whether the action is carried out by one person or not, as shown in the example above, where the speech was relayed by someone else but the action of delivering it went on, hence the appropriate use of [xa$^{35\sim55}$kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 下去 in this case.

Negators interact with the continuative aspect depending on their roles and functions (cf. Chapter 16 on negation and negative markers). The general negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 can be inserted between the verb and the continuative aspect marker [xa$^{35\sim55}$kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 下去, indicating an inability to go on doing something, the scope of the negation including only the aspect marker:

(609) ○我 话 唔 下去 。
xaŋ^{35} ʊa^{35} ŋ^{55} xa^{35}kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG speak NEG CONT
'I cannot continue speaking.'

The general negator can also be placed before the verb to indicate the ceasing of the continuative action of speaking:

(610) ○我 唔 话 下去 。
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} ʊa^{35} xa^{35}kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG NEG speak CONT
'I'll stop speaking.' (e.g., because I don't want to continue speaking)

The perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇, on the other hand, can be inserted before the verb-continuative aspect marker to indicate the end of an ongoing action:

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(611) ○这 样 事 , 俺多 冇 （有） 做
tɕiɔŋ[53] iɔŋ[35] sə[35] ien[22] tai[21] mau[35] iɔu[55] tsɔ[213~21]
DEM CLF thing 1PL.INCL NEG have do
下去 。
xa[35]kʰɔ[213~21]
CONT
'As regards this matter, we have stopped tackling it.'

The prohibitive negator [məi[22]] ○别 is used to construct prohibitive imperative sentences that aim at preventing an ongoing action from continuing, for instance:

(612) ○你 ○别 话 下去 。
xien[35] məi[22] ʊa[35] xa[35]kʰɔ[213~21]
2SG PROH speak CONT
'Don't go on speaking.'

Note that, unlike the general negator [ŋ[55]] 唔 which can either be placed before the verb or between the verb and the continuative aspect marker, the perfective negator [mau[35]] 冇 and the prohibitive negator [məi[22]] ○别 can only be placed before the verb, with the scope of negation covering the entire [V + ASP] constituent.

20.5.2 Interim summary

Given the above properties of the continuative marker, we can conclude that it indeed differs from a typical aspect marker to which no potential marking or negation can be directly attached. However, we consider that the continuative marker [xa[35]kʰɔ[213]] 下去, in the form of complement, falls nevertheless under the category of aspect, as it codes the continuation of an action taken and can be considered to represent the temporal structure of a situation when it is viewed as a whole. The syntactic template for a sentence having a continuative marker is: [SUBJ + (NEG) + (MOD_{POT}) + V + (NEG) + CONT].

20.6 The durative aspect

Comrie (1976: 41) makes a distinction between imperfectivity and durativity by stating "where imperfectivity means viewing a situation with regard to its internal structure (duration, phasal sequences), durativity simply refers to the fact that the given situation lasts for a certain period of time (or at least, is conceived

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of as lasting for a certain period of time)". He considers verb classes that denote states, activities and accomplishment as durative verbs, while semelfactive and achievement verbs are punctual and thus not durative (1976: 42–45). The durative indicates an ongoing state or action that can either modify either telic predicates with accomplishment verbs or atelic ones with activity verbs. See Chapter 13 for detailed discussions on verb classes. Stative verbs are also durative (see e.g., Dahl 1985: 72–76). In Mandarin, the typical durative marker, *zhe* 着, is applicable to durative verbs that can be transitive or intransitive. For instance, in the sentence *tā ná zhe shū, zuò zhe kàn* 她拿着书，坐着看。 (3SG-hold-DUR-book, sit-DUR-read) 'She is holding a book and is reading while seated.', the first clause has a transitive verb *ná* 拿 'to hold' and the second, an intransitive verb *zuò* 坐 'to sit'. Both verbs are atelic, activity verbs, and call for the postverbal marker *zhe* 着 to indicate the durative aspect. When two verbs that take the durative are involved, the sentence expresses simultaneity of the actions.

The durative marker in Mandarin is grammaticalised from the lexical verb *zhúo* 着, which in Medieval Chinese means 'to attach', that went on to develop into a postverbal grammatical particle which marks the durative aspect (see e.g., Ohta 1958: 208–210, Wang 1980 [1958]: 94–99, Jiang 1994: 163–171, 2006, Cao 1986, 2014: 32–35, Sun 1997, Chen 2009, Liang 2010). In some Min languages, such as Fuqing 福清, [tiɔ^{51}] 着 is used as a locative preposition 'to be at or in a place', whereas in northern Chinese languages such as Mandarin, *zhe* 着 is a durative marker that marks an ongoing event or situation prototypically represented by stative verbs such as 'to sit' (*zuò zhe* 坐着 'sit-DUR'). In Changsha 长沙Xiang dialect (see Wu 2001), the locative markers [tɤ^{24}] 得 and [ta^{21}] 噠 can also function as both perfective and durative aspectual markers in the postverbal structure.

There are two durative markers in Shaowu, [tau$^{213\sim21\sim55}$] 到and [t^{h}iɔ^{35}] 着. The first durative marker, often pronounced as the high-level tone [tau^{55}] 到, is grammaticalised from the lexical verb 'to arrive'. It is used when the verb or predicate is durative and atelic, for verbs which can either be transitive or intransitive. The other durative marker, [t^{h}iɔ^{35}] 着, on the other hand, has a smaller scope of application and is limited to only a small number of intransitive activity verbs such as 'to sleep', 'to burn'. Note that 'achievement' verbs such as 'to die', 'to finish' cannot take any of the durative markers due to their inherent boundedness and telicity.

20.6.1 Durative marker [tau$^{213\sim21\sim55}$] 到

The durative marker [tau$^{213\sim21\sim55}$] 到 is employed when the verb belongs to the accomplishment or activity category. These verbs can either be intransitive

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(examples 613 and 617) or transitive (examples 614–616). The syntactic template is [SUBJ + VERB + $DUR_{[tau213\sim21\sim55]}$ + (OBJ)].

(613) 〇他 坐 到 (了) 〇那儿 。
xu^{35} t^{h}ɔi^{55} tau$^{213\sim21\sim55}$ (ə^{0}) ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}
3SG sit DUR PFV there
'He was sitting there.'

(614) 〇他 手儿 底 拿 到 了 个 只 铜 盘儿 。
xu^{35} ɕiɔu^{55}ə^{0} ti^{0} na^{22} tau^{55} ə^{0} kə^{0} tɕia^{53} t^{h}uŋ^{22} p^{h}ɔn^{22}nə^{0}
3SG hand in hold DUR PFV one CLF copper plate
'He was holding a copper plate (in his hands).'

(615) 老倷傢子 戴 到 了 眼镜 还 去
lau^{55}sa^{22}ka^{21}tsə^{0} t^{h}ə^{35} tau^{55} ə^{0} ŋan^{55}kiaŋ^{213} ai^{213} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
old man wear DUR PFV glasses still go
找 眼镜 。
sau^{213} ŋan^{55}kiaŋ^{213}
search glasses
'The old man looked for his glasses, while he was actually wearing them.'

(616) 〇他 颂 到 了 羊索 衣裳 ,
xu^{35} siuŋ^{35} tau^{55} ə^{0} iɔŋ^{22}sɔi^{21} i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}
3SG wear DUR PFV wool garment
'He was wearing a wool garment,
觉得 个 〇子 皆 唔 解 〇冷 。
kɔ^{53}tie$^{53\sim21}$ kə^{0} pi^{22}tsə^{0} ka^{35} ŋ^{35} xie^{55} t^{h}ən$^{213\sim21}$
feel one little all NEG can cold
(and therefore) he did not feel cold at all.'

In sentences involving more than one verb, the durative marker [tau$^{213\sim21\sim55}$] 到 is used not only to mark durativity but also simultaneity. The syntactic template is [SUBJ + $VERB_1$ + $DUR_{[tau55]}$ + $VERB_2$]. See the following two examples for illustration:

(617) 坐 到 食 比 徛 到 食 舒服 。
t^{h}ɔi^{55} tau$^{213\sim21}$ ɕie^{35} pi^{55} k^{h}i^{55} tau$^{213\sim21}$ ɕie^{35} ɕy^{21}fu$^{35\sim21}$
sit DUR eat CM stand DUR eat comfortable
'It is more comfortable to eat when seated than standing.'

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(618) ○他 靠 到 墙 上 打 目 悃 。
xu^{35} k^{h}au^{213} tau^{55} t^{h}iɔŋ^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ ta^{22} mu^{53} k^{h}uən^{213}
3SG lean DUR wall on hit eye sleepy
'He was leaning against the wall and was dozing.'

Our consultant Mr Li confirmed that the durative marker [tau^{55}] 到 in the above example emphasizes the ongoing action of leaning against the wall when the second action (dozing) is carried out. It does not imply the allative 'to' or the notion of 'arriving at'. Note that the locative marker [tie^{53}] 得 (cf. Chapter 26 on the morpheme [tie^{53}]) can replace the durative marker [tau^{55}] 到 in example (618), but the sentence then emphasizes the second action (dozing) being carried out at a specific location (against the wall) without necessarily highlighting the continuing action of 'leaning'. In addition, the marker [tie^{53}] 得 cannot replace [tau^{55}] 到 in examples (614) – (617), where the durative aspect is called for in the respective contexts. The only other example in this subsection in which [tie^{53}] 得 can replace [tau^{55}] 到 is example (613), whereby the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 again acts as a locative marker in a locative construction, and not as a durative marker.

20.6.2 Durative marker [t^{h}iɔ^{35}] 着

With a small set of intransitive activity verbs, such as 'to sleep', 'to burn', the durative marker [t^{h}iɔ^{35}] 着 is used, and not [tau^{55}] 到. See, for instance, the following example:

(619) 小 囝子 磕梦 着 了 。
siau^{55} kin^{53}tsə^{0} k^{h}a^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}iɔ^{35} ə^{0}
little boy sleep DUR CRS
'The little boy was asleep.'

20.6.3 Interim summary

The postverbal durative markers [tau^{55}] 到 or [t^{h}iɔ^{35}] 着 are used to mark the durative aspect in Shaowu, indicating the continuation of a state resulting from an action or event, or a state expressed by a verb, which can be an accomplishment verb, an activity verb or a stative verb. The syntactic template of a sentence having a durative marker is: [SUBJ + VERB + DUR $_{[tau55]}$ (+ OBJ)] and the verb can be transitive or intransitive; or [SUBJ + VERB$_1$ + DUR $_{[tau55]}$ + VERB$_2$ (+ OBJ)], if there are two actions involved. The durative marker can also be used in a sentence involving a

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locative complement: [SUBJ + VERB + DUR $_{[tau55]}$ + LOC], emphasizing the continuation of a state represented by the stative verb.

20.7 The delimitative aspect

The delimitative aspect anchors an activity to a specific interval of time (Flier 1985:49). It refers to "doing an action 'a little bit', or for a short period of time" (Li & Thompson 1976: 232). While it is usually coded in Mandarin by verb reduplication in the form of V + V or V + one + V (*pāi pāi* 拍拍 'to hit slightly', *shuō yī shuō* 说一说 'to say for a bit'), in Shaowu, it is expressed by suffixing the delimitative aspect marker [ka^{0}] to the verb.

Note that the grammatical morpheme [ka^{0}] is the phonetic contraction of two morphemes [kə^{0}xa^{35}] 个下, which is the combination of the numeral 'one' [kə^{0}] 个 (shortened from [kəi^{213}]) and the verbal classifier 下 [xa^{35}] (cf. Chapter 5, § 5.2 on verbal classifiers) to mean roughly the action done 'in one go' or 'in one strike'. Diachronically, the morpheme [ka^{0}] derives from and has gradually replaced [kə^{0}xa^{35}] to become the delimitative marker, to the point that one of my linguistic consultants, Ms Gao, deemed the use of [kə^{0}xa^{35}] 个下 in a delimitative context as ungrammatical. The syntactic template for the delimitative aspect construction is [SUBJ + V + DELIM$_{ka0}$ + (OBJ)].

In the glossing of the examples below, the pointed brackets < > are used to wrap around the Chinese characters to indicate the phonetically contracted form [ka^{0}] resulting from [kə^{0}xa^{35}] 个下.

(620)	○你多	歇	<个下>	再	去	做	事	。
	xien^{35}tai^{21}	xie^{53}	ka^{0}	tsai^{213}	k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$	sə^{35}	
	2PL	rest	DELIM	then	go	do	work	
	'Take a rest for a bit, then go back to work.'							

Compare example (620) with example (621) below:

(621)	○你多	歇	个	下	,	再	去	做	事	。
	xien^{35}tai^{21}	xie^{53}	kə^{0}	xa^{35}		tsai^{213}	k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$	sə^{35}	
	2PL	rest	one	CLF$_{verb}$		then	go	do	work	
	'Take a rest, then go back to work.'									

The nuance is rather small but still noticeable: while example (620), in using the postverbal delimitative marker [ka^{0}], points to a short time interval between of the break from work, example (621) does not necessarily imply that the break is

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a short one, it merely means ‘taking a break’. There is also a pause between the two clauses in example (621) while there is no pause at all in example (620). From these, we can deduce that [ka^{0}] is a fully-fledged grammatical marker that codes the delimitative, whereas the grammatical unit [kə^{0}xa^{35}] 个下 remains lexical, meaning ‘to do something in one go’ but it does not necessarily involve a short time interval.

Note that it is ungrammatical in Shaowu to reduplicate the verb in order to express the delimitative:

(622)	○你多	歇	歇	再	去	做	事	。
**	xien^{35}tai^{21}	xie^{53}	xie^{53}	tsai^{213}	kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$	sə^{35}	
	2PL	rest	one	then	go	do	work	

(Attempted meaning: ‘Take a rest, then go back to work.’)

Another minimal pair serves to illustrate the ungrammaticality of verb reduplication in Shaowu as a means of coding the delimitative aspect:

(623)	○我	去	<个下>	等	个	下	就	来	。
	xaŋ^{35}	kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$	ka^{0}	ten^{55}	kə^{0}	xa^{35}	tsiɔu^{213}	li^{22}	
	1SG	go	DELIM	wait	one	CLF$_{verb}$	then	come	

‘I’ll soon be back, after going to this (place/event).’

(624)	○我	去	去	等	个	下	就	来	。
**	xaŋ^{35}	kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$	kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$	ten^{55}	kə^{0}	xa^{35}	tsiɔu^{213}	li^{22}	
	1SG	go	go	wait	one	CLF$_{verb}$	then	come	

(Attempted meaning: ‘I’ll soon be back, after going to this (place/event).’)

Another option, however, is to reduplicate the delimitative construction [V + ka^{0}] <个下>, just like for instance, in Cantonese, V + DELIM + V + DELIM (Yip & Matthews 2017: 73). A Shaowu example is shown below, with the verb followed by the delimitative morpheme [ka^{0}] <个下>:

(625)	○他	行	<个下>	行	<个下>	就	徛	下	来	了	。
	xu^{35}	xaŋ^{22}	ka^{0}	xaŋ^{22}	ka^{0}	tsiɔu^{213}	kʰi^{55}	xa^{35}	li^{22}	ə^{0}	
	3SG	walk	DELIM	walk	DELIM	then	stand	down	come	PFV	

‘After walking for a while, he stopped.”

To sum up, the delimitative construction [V + ka^{0}] is used to express the delimitative aspect in Shaowu, where [ka^{0}] <个下> is the delimitative morpheme that was historically derived from the numeral-verbal classifier [kə^{0}xa^{35}] 个下. The delim-

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itative aspect marker can be applied to accomplishment verbs such as 'to build', activity verbs such as 'to run' and stative verbs such as 'to rest', but not achievement verbs such as 'to extinguish' or 'to find' (cf. Chapter 13 on verb classes). This is because achievement verbs are punctual and telic, and these are inherently incompatible with the delimitative aspect which requires durativity of the verb. Thus, unless a comical effect was intended, it is ungrammatical to say:

(626) 去 死 <个下> 。
** $k^hɔ^{213\sim21}$ si^{55} ka^0
go die DELIM
(Attempted meaning: 'Drop dead.')

20.8 The tentative aspect

The tentative aspect, which expresses the idea of making an attempt to do something, is usually coded by verb reduplication in Mandarin, such as *nǐ kàn kàn* 你看看。 'Have a look.' The tentative aspect differs from the delimitative aspect (cf. § 20.7 above) in that the notion of volition in trying to do something is involved, before the course of action. This aspect is found in at least Northern Sinitic and Yue languages, as well as in Min group (Chappell 1992).

The Shaowu tentative aspect is built on the basis of the delimitative aspect, by using the verb [$nian^{213}$] 瞁 'to look' followed by the morpheme [ka^0] <个下>. The grammatical unit [$nian^{213}ka^0$] 瞁<个下> thus forms the tentative aspect marker, which is actually grammaticalised from the lexical unit 'to take a look' (and see).

On numerous instances, before telling a story or making a recording, my linguistic consultants said the following:

(627) ○我 话 <个下> 瞁 <个下> 。
$xaŋ^{35}$ $ʊa^{35}$ ka^0 $nian^{213}$ ka^0
1SG say DELIM look TENTA
'I'll try to say (this).' (Lit. 'I'll just say this and see.')

Note that the first [ka^0] <个下> in the above example is a delimitative marker that frames the verb into a short, specific interval of time, while the second [ka^0] <个下> is an integral part of the tentative marker [$nian^{213}ka^0$] 瞁<个下>. Another example below to illustrates this point:

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(628) ○你 食 <个下> 瞅 <个下> 。

xien^{35} ɕie^{35} ka^{0} nianŋ^{213} ka^{0}
2SG eat DELIM look TENTA
'Try to eat (this).' (Lit. 'Just eat this and see.')

The syntactic template of the tentative construction is [VERB + DELIM$_{[ka0]}$ + TENT$_{[nianŋ213ka0]}$], by placing the composite tentative marker [nianŋ^{213}ka^{0}] 瞅<个下> after the verb with its delimitative marker.

20.9 Summary

In this chapter on aspect, we have discussed in detail the major aspects in Shaowu and their respective markers. Table 20.1 summarises their functions and syntactic positions.

Table 20.1: Shaowu aspect markers, their functions and syntactic positions.

Aspect	Marker(s)	Function(s)	Syntactic position
Perfective	[ə^{0}] 了	marks termination of the realisation of an action	postverbal, [V+PFV]
	[ʊien^{22}] 完	marks completion of an action or depletion of a quantity	postverbal, [V+CMPL]
Experiential	[t^{h}ɔ^{35}] 度	marks an experience completed in the past	postverbal, [V+EXP]
Inchoative	[ə^{0}] 了for stative verbs	marks the coming about of a state or the start of an action	postverbal, [V+INCH]
	[k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}] 起来 for dynamic verbs	marks the coming about of a state or the start of an action; denotes an increase in intensity or degree	postverbal, [V+INCH]
	[xa^{55}li^{22}] 下来 for dynamic verbs	marks the coming about of a state or the start of an action; denotes a decrease in intensity or degree	postverbal, [V+INCH]
Progressive	[t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处or [tɕianŋ^{213}t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 正处	marks the ongoing stages of an action	preverbal, [PROG+V]
	[tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}] ○○$_{当中}$	literally 'in the middle of', marks the ongoing stages of an action	postverbal, [V+PROG]
Continuative	[xa^{35}k^{h}ɔ^{213}] 下去	expresses the continuation of an ongoing action	postverbal, [V+CONT]

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Table 20.1 (continued)

Aspect	Marker(s)	Function(s)	Syntactic position
Durative	[tau^{55}] 到	marks an ongoing action/state that can either be telic or atelic	postverbal, [V+DUR]
	[t^{h}iɔ^{35}] 着 (small set of verbs)	marks an ongoing state that can either be telic or atelic	postverbal, [V+DUR]
Delimitative	[ka^{0}] <个下>	anchors an activity to a specific interval of time	postverbal, [V+DELIM]
Tentative	[niaŋ^{213}ka^{0}] 瞅<个下>	expresses the idea of making an attempt to do something	postverbal, [V+DELIM+TENTA]

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Part IV: **Clausal structure**

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According to traditional grammar (mentioned in Huddleston & Pullum 2016 [1984]: 45, footnote 1), sentences are classified as simple, complex and compound. A simple sentence structure typically contains one independent clause and no dependent clauses, a complex sentence usually involves embedding of a dependent clause in a matrix clause, whereas a compound sentence consists of two or more independent clauses linked by coordination. There are at least three basic sentence or clause types that are recognised: the declarative, the interrogative and the imperative. An examination of the clausal structure also involves how information is packaged within a clause and how an event or a situation can be described from different perspectives, with grammatical consequences such as voice, topic and focus (Dryer 2007b).

In this part, we look at various clause types (declarative, interrogative, imperative) and their respective subtypes. We also examine various clausal-level constructions, such as the copular, existential and topic-comment constructions, object-marking, passive, comparative, and ditransitive constructions etc. and their various grammatical markers. In addition, we discuss the plausible polygrammaticalisation pathways of two multifunctional morphemes, [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 and [tie^{53}] 得, originally meaning 'to help' and 'to get' respectively, which have given rise to a multitude of grammatical functions, and serve in some of the constructions mentioned above. Lastly, we also look at clause-final particles as they usually scope over the whole clause or sentence.

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Chapter 21
Topic-comment sentence constructions

Shaowu, like the majority of Sinitic languages, has the basic word order of SVO. However, it can also make use of what is referred to as 'topic-comment constructions'. Topic-comment constructions are widely used in many languages in the world to display how information is structured: how a phrase or clause ('topic') relates to the following information-adding clause ('comment') on a discourse-pragmatic level (see Givón 1983, Lambrecht 1994: 1–6, *inter alia*). A topic-prominent language is a language whose word order and syntactic properties largely depend on the use of topic-comment constructions. East Asian languages such as Japanese and Korean are generally considered as topic prominent.

Li & Thompson (1976: 85–92) drew up a set of criteria that distinguish topic from subject. These are: (i) topics must be definite, whereas subject need not be; (ii) the topic need not have a selectional relationship with any verbs in a sentence, whereas the subject is necessarily an argument of a predicative constituent; (iii) the topic sits in the sentence-initial position, whereas the subject need not be; and so on. In their paper, Li and Thompson also classified Chinese as topic prominent.

It is noteworthy that Sinitic languages vary greatly in the degree of topicality (see, e.g., Liu 2019). While many Min, Wu and Hui languages tend to be topic-oriented, it is not necessarily the case in Mandarin and Jin languages in northern China. It is also somewhat problematic to define the notion of 'topic-prominence', and according to different syntactic analyses, 'topic-comment' constructions can be interpreted in many ways.

Chappell & Creissels (2019) pointed out that the unifying feature of topic comment constructions is the clause-initial position of the topic NP, and outlined three subtypes:

(i) framing topics, also known as 'hanging' or 'aboutness' topics;
(ii) patient topicalisation;
(iii) double subject construction.

Languages use various linguistic means to mark topic-comment constructions. These include phonology (prosody, mainly stress or pause), morphology (affixes, sentence-final particles (SFPs)) and a re-arrangement of word order. Sinitic languages, including Shaowu, use the clause-initial position, pauses and SFPs and to code the topic, which then is followed by a comment.

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21.1 Framing topics

Framing topics can be regarded as presenting the main theme one wants to talk about and organises the new information around it to elaborate on the theme. A typical Mandarin example is taken from Chappell & Creissels (2019):

(i) 这 个 方案 ，
zhè *gè* *fāngàn*
DEM CLF proposal
'As for this proposal,
我 和 他 都 没 有 意见 。
wǒ *hé* *tā* *dōu* *méi* *yǒu* *yìjiàn*
1SG and 3SG all NEG have objection
neither he nor I have any objections.'

The topic above is an NP 'this proposal', around which a comment is made ('neither he nor I have any objections').

It is also possible to have clauses as topic. If we calque on (i), a similar sentence can be constructed where the topic is a clause, as shown in (ii):

(ii) 这 个 方案 是 否 能 通过 ，
zhè gè fāngàn shì fǒu néng tōngguò
DEM CLF proposal yes no can pass
'As to whether this proposal will be adopted,
我 和 他 都 不 知道 。
wǒ hé tā dōu bù zhīdào
1SG and 3SG all NEG know
neither he nor I know.' (The topic is a clause)

In Shaowu, speakers often use this type of construction with a 'framing topic' to highlight the topic and make 'comments' around it and add new information to elaborate on the theme. See for instance the example below:

(629) 以前 叻 ，邵武 叻 ，〇它 是 叫 做 铁 城 。
$i^{55}t^{h}in^{53}$ le^{22} $ɕiau^{213}u^{55}$ le^{22} xu^{35} $ɕi^{22}$ $kiau^{213}$ $tsɔ^{21}$ $t^{h}ie^{53}$ $ɕin^{22}$
past TOP Shaowu TOP 3SG be call as iron city
'In the old times, Shaowu was called the Iron City.'

The discourse particle [le^{22}] 叻was used to mark the topic, and in the above sentence, there are two topics: one being the temporal phrase [$i^{55}t^{h}in^{53}$] 以前 'in the

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old times' and the other one being the location [ɕiau^{213}u^{55}] 邵武 'Shaowu city'. They provide the temporal and locational setting for what follows: "The city of Shaowu was called the Iron City."

Either of the two topics in the example above can be used as the only topic of the sentence, if the speaker just wants to highlight one piece of information as topic and frame it by a topic marker. See the two examples below, derived from the example above:

(630) 以前 叻 , 邵武 是 叫 做 铁 城 。
i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} le^{22} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} ɕi^{22} kiau^{213} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}ie^{53} ɕin^{22}
past TOP Shaowu be call as iron city
'In the old times, Shaowu was called the Iron City.'

(631) 邵武 叻 , ○它 以前 是 叫 做 铁 城 。
ɕiau^{213}u^{55} le^{22} xu^{35} i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} ɕi^{22} kiau^{213} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}ie^{53} ɕin^{22}
Shaowu TOP 3SG past be call as iron city
'In the old times, Shaowu was called the Iron City.'

Theoretically, there is no limit to the number of NPs one can frame in a sentence. In practice, if there are too many topic NPs, there will likely be information overload in the whole sentence structure and the hearer will have difficulty in deciding which topic the speaker refers to in the comment. This is why when it comes to having two (or more) topics, Shaowu has opted for the use of resumptive pronouns or demonstratives in the comment (such as the use of the third person singular [xu^{35}] ○它 as shown in example 629), which relieves the burden – and reduces the risk of mismatch – of any anaphoric reference.

A simple sentence in the basic SVO order derived from example (629), with no topic-comment structure involved, is illustrated by the example below:

(632) 邵武 以前 是 叫 做 铁 城 。
ɕiau^{213}u^{55} i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} ɕi^{22} kiau^{213} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}ie^{53} ɕin^{22}
Shaowu past be call as iron city
'In the old times, Shaowu was called the Iron City.'

Another topic-comment construction is shown in the example below:

(633) 邵武 叻 , 以前 来 话 ,
ɕiau^{213}u^{55} le^{22} i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} li^{22} ʋa^{35}
Shaowu TOP past come say
'As regards Shaowu, when we talk about the old times,

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俺多	○这	个	邵武	也	是	个	风水	地方	。
ien^{22}tai^{21}	tɕiɔŋ^{53}	ŋə^{0}	ɕiau^{213}u^{55}	ia^{55}	ɕi^{22}	kə^{0}	fuŋ^{21}sei^{55}	tʰi^{35}fɔŋ^{21}	
1PL.INCL	DEM	CLF	Shaowu	also	be	CLF	Fengshui	place	

our city Shaowu was a place blessed with good *fengshui*.' (Lit)

In example (629), a resumptive pronoun [xu^{35}] ○它 was used in the comment to anaphorically refer to the topic, whereas in example (633), the city name is repeated in the comment. This is likely due to the distance between the anaphor and the antecedent. In example (629), the antecedent is closer to the anaphor (higher in 'topic continuity in discourse', see Givón 1983), and hence the anaphor is more likely to be in a shorter form; whereas in example (633), the antecedent is further, so the anaphor is more likely to be in a fuller form.

The next example is another topic-comment construction where the topic is a proper name of a person. The comment brings in new information about the topic (a definite NP, in this case someone called Zhang Ming whom both the speaker and the hearer knew). Note that Shaowu often attaches the discourse particle [le^{22}] 叻to mark the topic, and optionally a pause follows it. The Mandarin equivalent of such discourse particle is [ne^{22}] 呢.

(634)

张明	叻	，	○我	听	别人	话	明朝
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22}	le^{22}		xaŋ^{35}	tʰiaŋ^{21}	pʰie^{35}nin^{22}	ʋa^{35}	maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21}
ZhangMing	TOP		1SG	hear	others	say	tomorrow

解	来	。
xie^{35}	li^{22}	
will	come	

'As for Zhang Ming, I heard people said that he would come tomorrow.'

Generic nouns can be topics too. The definiteness of the generic noun derives from the designation of a particular 'category' or 'group'. For example, in the saying 'Dogs are Man's best friend', 'dogs' is a generic noun that refers generally to the canine species, and by the same definiteness token can be marked as topic:

(635)

狗儿	叻	，	○牠	是	○我多	顶	好	个	朋友	。
kɔu^{55}ə^{0}	le^{22}		xu^{35}	ɕi^{22}	xaŋ^{35}tai^{21}	tin^{55}	xau^{55}	kə^{0}	pʰen^{22}iɔu$^{55\sim22}$	
dog	TOP		3SG	be	1PL	very	good	ATT	friend	

'Dogs are our best friend.'

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The example below illustrates that a clause in Shaowu can also serve as topic:

(636) ○这 东西 顶 重 , ○你 拿 得 动 么 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tuŋ^{21}si^{21} tin^{55} tʰiuŋ^{55} xien^{35} na^{22} tie^{53} tʰuŋ^{55} mɔ^{0}
DEM thing very heavy 2SG take POT move Q
'This thing being quite heavy, are you able to move it?'

Some syntacticians would see the above sentence as two independent clauses, rather than a topic-comment construction. We acknowledge this possibility, but we also include another interpretation of example (636): '(The fact that) this thing is quite heavy, are you able to move it?' and see the first half of the sentence as the topic, around which the speaker enunciates a comment which is the second half of the sentence.

21.2 Patient topicalisation

Patient topicalisation is possibly the most common subtype of Sinitic topic-comment constructions amongst the three subtypes mentioned above. It is done by fronting the object to the sentence-initial position, followed by the comment which contains the agent and the verb. Such syntactic dislocation allows the speaker to highlight the patient, onto whom an action has been done by the agent/actor.

A typical example in Mandarin is:

(i) 茶 , 你 喝 了 吗 ?
chá *nǐ* *hē* *le* *ma*
tea 2SG drink PFV Q
'The tea, did you drink it?'

Shaowu has similar constructions. The patient fronted can be a bare noun but is understood as definite, thanks to its clause-initial position:

(637) 饭 , ○你 食 了 么 ?
pʰən^{35} xien^{35} ɕie^{35} ə^{0} mɔ^{0}
meal 2SG eat PFV Q
'Did you have the meal?'

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The following example shows a topicalised patient NP which contains a relative clause:

(638) ○那 蜀 个 戴 帽儿 个 阿娘 ,
ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} tʰə^{35} mau^{35}ə^{0} kə^{0} a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}
DEM one CLF wear hat REL woman
'That woman who wears a hat,
○你 瞅 到 了 么 ?
xien^{35} niaŋ^{213} tau^{55} ə^{0} mɔ^{0}
2SG look ACH PFV Q
have you seen her?'

The object and semantic patient in the above two examples is definite. Definiteness is one feature that is characteristic of a topic. If the patient is an indefinite noun, example (639) becomes ungrammatical, while example (640) becomes grammatically marginal:

(639) 蜀 餐 饭 , ○你 食 了 么 ?
** ɕi^{22} tʰan^{21} pʰən^{35} xien^{35} ɕie^{35} ə^{0} mɔ^{0}
one CLF meal 2SG eat PFV Q
(Attempted meaning: 'Did you have a meal?')

(640) 蜀 个 戴 帽儿 个 阿娘 ,
?? ɕi^{22} kə^{0} tʰə^{35} mau^{35}ə^{0} kə^{0} a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}
one CLF wear hat REL woman
'A woman who wears a hat,
○你 瞅 到 了 么 ?
xien^{35} niaŋ^{213} tau^{55} ə^{0} mɔ^{0}
2SG look ACH PFV Q
have you seen her?' (Intended meaning: 'Have you seen a woman who wears a hat?')

While example (640) is considered marginal, the topic in example (641) below is understood to be an existential phrase, with the addition of the existential verb 'there is' 有 [iɔu^{55}] which makes it grammatically acceptable again. The grammatical patient is now in an existential construction that contains a defining relative clause, i.e., one that gives out essential information and cannot be elided:

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(641) 有 蜀 个 戴 帽儿 个 阿娘 ，
iɔu^{55} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} t^{h}ə^{35} mau^{35}ə^{0} kə^{0} a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}
EXST one CLF wear hat REL woman
'A woman who wears a hat,
○$_{你}$ 瞅 到 了 么 ？
xien^{35} niaŋ^{213} tau^{55} ə^{0} mɔ^{0}
2SG look ACH PFV Q
have you seen her?' (Lit: 'There is a woman who wears a hat, do you happen to have seen her?')

Note that the basic word order for Shaowu is SVO, examples (637) and (638) in their canonical word order should thus become the following two examples respectively:

(642) ○$_{你}$ 食 了 饭 么 ？
xien^{35} ɕie^{35} ə^{0} p^{h}ən^{35} mɔ^{0}
2SG eat PFV meal Q
'Did you have the meal?'

(643) ○$_{你}$ 瞅 到 了 ○$_{那}$ 蜀 个 戴 帽儿 个
xien^{35} niaŋ^{213} tau^{55} ə^{0} ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} t^{h}ə^{35} mau^{35}ə^{0} kə^{0}
2SG look ACH PFV DEM one CLF wear hat REL
阿娘 么 ？
a^{22}niɔŋ^{22} mɔ^{0}
woman Q
'Have you seen the woman who wears a hat?'

21.3 Double subject constructions

Double subject constructions are called as such by linguists because of their feature of two NPs juxtaposed in sentence-initial position, where both have a subject-like role with respect to the verb in terms of semantics (Chappell 1996). Often the two subjects are in a part-whole or inalienable relationship, where one can be analysed as in an "external possession" of the other (see Chappell & McGregor 1996a, 1996b). A typical example in Mandarin is shown in the following example:

大象 鼻子 长 。
dàxiàng *bízi* *chǎng*
elephant (NP_1) nose (NP_2) long
'Elephants have long trunks.'

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In Shaowu, this kind of construction is not frequently seen but does exist. The part-whole inalienable relationship of two subjects is typically used to describe body parts, as shown in the example below:

(644) ○你 头○发 顶 ○多 哦 。
xien^{35} tʰəu^{53}py^{21} tin^{55} ʊai^{55} ɔ^{22}
2SG hair very many SFP
'You have thick hair.' (Lit. 'As for you, the hair is thick.')

Although the above sentence can be analysed into two NPs one following the other, they can, however, also be interpreted as having a possessor-possessum relationship, with the genitive marker [kə^{0}] 个being elided, especially in fast speech.

(645) ○你 个 头○发 顶 ○多 哦 。
xien^{35} kə^{0} tʰəu^{53}py^{21} tin^{55} ʊai^{55} ɔ^{22}
2SG POSS hair very many SFP
'You have thick hair.' (Lit. 'As for you, the hair is thick.')

Whether sentence types like example (644) should be seen as [NP_1// NP_2 + Predicate $_{Stative}$] or [NP_1 + POSS + NP_2 + Predicate $_{Stative}$] remains to this day a hot topic of debate in the Sinitic linguistic circles.

21.4 Summary

Topic-comment constructions are a common device used in Sinitic languages, including Shaowu, to highlight the information that the speaker wishes to put forward. The topic markers, usually post-nominal, are employed to frame the highlighted information and demarcate it from the information that follows, which is usually descriptive of the topic, and linguists refer to the latter as 'comment'. It is important to make a clear distinction between topic (which can be the grammatical object or a patient) and the grammatical subject. Southern Sinitic languages such as Wu and Min are found to be more topic prominent (Liu 2004, 2019) than northern languages; Shaowu, located in the transitional zone (Chappell 2015), falls into the spectrum but is not necessarily extremely topic prominent in terms of usage. The topic can be a nominal phrase or a clause, with the syntactic template [N_{TOP} / $CLAUSE_{TOP}$ + COMMENT] and is followed by the comment which is a descriptive phrase or clause that refers to the topic.

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Chapter 22
Structures of comparison

Comparison includes the comparison of inequality (the comparative), the comparison of equality (the equative) and the superlative (the 'most') which is a subset of structures of comparison. Structures used for comparison have been the attention of Sinitic linguists, such as the COMPARE schema (identified by Chappell & Peyraube 2015), but also the SURPASS schema which is a salient typological feature within Sinitic and across the world (see Stassen 1985, Heine 1997, Ansaldo 1999, 2010, Chappell & Peyraube 2015, *inter alia*). The COMPARE schema is not yet generally recognised as such, since typological surveys do not include other language families that use as source a verb that originally means COMPARE, but verbs with other lexical origins, or grammatical constructions and schemas (see Table 22.1 below). In the following sections, we will look at various comparative, superlative and equative constructions in Shaowu, and situate them against the typological backdrop of structures of comparison.

22.1 Comparative constructions

Comparative constructions involve positioning two entities along a continuum and comparing them against a certain property, thus one entity can have a greater or lesser degree of the given quality when compared against the other (see, e.g., Stassen 1985: 24, Chappell & Peyraube 2015, and Paris & Shi 2016 on Mandarin). A prototypical comparative construction involves the object of comparison (the 'comparee' NP_A), the benchmark of comparison (the 'standard' NP_B), a predicate denoting the quality being compared (VP) and a comparative marker (CM). In the sentence "John is taller than Mary", "Mary" is the standard of comparison, "John" is the object of comparison, the quality being compared is "tall" and the comparative marker is "than". The suffix '-er' is often referred to as the degree marker in a comparative construction.

22.1.1 Comparative schemas

Comparative schemas of inequality have been widely studied by linguists. Stassen (1985, 2005) identified six basic types of comparative constructions using data from 110 languages, while Heine (1997) established eight categories of cognitive schemas as conceptual sources for comparative constructions across the world.

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Chappell & Peyraube (2015) argue that in the Sinitic taxon, there is a 'Compare' type that does not seem to be found elsewhere, and thus have added one more category (Type 4 'Compare') to Heine's eight schemas, as shown in Table 22.1 (extracted from Chappell 2015: 36; the ones in boldface are relevant for Sinitic).

Table 22.1: Cognitive schemas for the comparative of inequality.

Type	Cognitive schema	Example
1	Source	'from'
2	Goal	'to'
3	Location	'at'
4	**Compare**	**'compared to'**
5	**Action**	**'surpass, defeat'**
6	**Polarity**	**'X is A, Y is not A'**
7	Sequence	'than'
8	Similarity	'as, like'
9	**Topic**	**'X and Y, Y is A'**

(based on Heine 1997 and Chappell 2015)

The COMPARE schema is found in many Sinitic languages, but also in other languages, for instance, in English, one could say, *Compared to Mary, John is more afraid of dogs*. It is, however, the first time that this category is included in a typological perspective. Chappell & Peyraube (2015) also emphasize the verbal origin of the compare marker [BI] 比 'to compare to' in Sinitic languages, as its verbal nature can be reflected in the fact that a negator can be pre-posed to the compare marker [BI] 比when speaking of the contrary.

Chappell also looked at many languages across the Sinitic family and identified seven structural types of comparative constructions in Sinitic, as shown in Table 22.2 below (extracted from Chappell 2015: 37).

Note that the adjectival predicate in Shaowu possesses also a verbal nature, just like many Sinitic languages (Ansaldo 2010). We thus put VP in the above table, which is intended to encompass predicates in all their forms.

22.1.1.1 Type I Prepositional structure- COMPARE schema

Shaowu comparative constructions are predominantly Type I, i.e., the COMPARE type using the comparative marker [pi^{55}] 比. This can be illustrated by the following examples, with the syntactic configuration of [NP_A + CM + NP_B + VP], also

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Table 22.2: Structural types of comparative constructions in Sinitic languages.

	Structural type	Syntactic configuration	Cognitive schema
I	Prepositional	NP_A[CM NP_B] VP	Compare
II	Transitive	NP_A VP CM NP_B	Action ('Surpass')
III	Zero-marked	NP_A VP NP_B (Q+CLF)	Action
IV	Adverbial	NP_A CM_{more} VP NP_B	Action
V	Hybridised	NP_A[CM NP_B] CM_{more} VP	Compare + Action
VI	Topic-comment	NP_B // copula NP_A VP	Topic
VII	Contrastive conjoined clauses	NP_A VP_x (CLF_{PL}), NP_B $VP_{\neg x}$ (CLF_{PL})	Polarity

(Q refers to Quantity; CLF refers to Classifier, and in certain cases also covers measure words.)

called the 'Type 1 Prepositional structure – COMPARE schema' referred to by Chappell & Peyraube (2015: 139–148).

(646) 牛 比 猪 大 。
ny^{22} pi^{55} ty^{21} t^{h}ai^{35}
ox CM pig big
'The ox is bigger than the pig.' (NP_A and NP_B are common nouns.)

(647) ○$_{你}$ 个 囝子 比 ○$_{我}$ 个 囝子 懂事 。
xien^{35} kə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0} pi^{55} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0} tuŋ^{55}sə^{35}
2SG POSS boy CM 1SG POSS boy sensible
'Your boy is more sensible than mine.' (NP_A and NP_B are possessive NPs.)

(648) ○$_{这}$ 只 米 筛 比 ○$_{那}$ 只 好 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tɕia^{21} mi^{55} sai^{53} pi^{55} ɔŋ^{53} tɕia^{21} xau^{55}
DEM CLF rice sieve CM DEM CLF good
'This rice sieve is better than that one.' (NP_A and NP_B are demonstrative NPs)

However, if the standard of comparison and the comparee are VPs (equivalent of gerunds in English), then an intensifier adverb [ken^{213}] 更 (or its shortened, neutralised form [kə^{0}]) is typically added in front of the adjective. The adverb is needed possibly for prosodic and emphatic reasons. This meshes well with the scalar nature of comparatives and the requirement to express a difference in degree of a quality or dimension (see also Paris & Shi 2016: 300–303 on the use of scalar adverbials in comparison). The syntactic configuration of this construction

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is [VP_A + CM + VP_B + INT + P] where VP_A is the comparee verb phrase and VP_B the comparand verb phrase, CM the comparative marker and INT is the intensifier [ken^{213}] 更 (or its neutralised form [kə^{0}]) before the predicate P.

(649) 坐 到 食 比 徛 到 食 更 好 。
tʰɔi^{55} tau^{21} ɕie^{35} pi^{55} kʰi^{55} tau^{21} ɕie^{35} kə^{0} xau^{55}
sit DUR eat CM stand DUR eat INT good
'To eat sitting is better than to eat standing.'

(650) 每 工 散步 比 食 补药 更 好 。
məi^{55} kuŋ^{21} san^{21}pʰu^{35} pi^{55} ɕie^{35} pu^{55}iɔ^{213} kə^{0} xau^{55}
every day take a walk CM take tonics INT good
'To take a walk every day is better than to take tonics.'

The intensifying adverb [ken^{213}] 更 is obligatory when followed by a VP containing an NP, most likely because it separates the 'comparee' NP_A and the 'standard' NP_B from the predicate, thus placing a clear demarcation between NP_B and the VP that follows. See the following two examples:

(651) 阿娘囝子 比 囝子 *(更) 畏 ○○蜘蛛 。
a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}kin^{53}tsə^{0} pi^{55} kin^{53}tsə^{0} *(kə^{0}) ʊi^{213} kʰyɔ^{53}sau^{21}
little girl CM little boy INT fear spider
'The little girl is more afraid of spiders than the little boy.'

(652) ○他 比 ○我 *(更) 喜欢 食 腌 菜 。
xu^{35} pi^{55} xaŋ^{35} *(kə^{0}) xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ɕie^{35} an^{21} tʰə^{213}
3SG CM 1SG INT like eat pickled vegetable
'He likes eating pickled vegetables more than I do.'

Likewise, the intensifier [ken^{213}] 更 is also necessary in a verbal complement containing a gradable predicate, typically an adjective; in this case [ken^{213}] 更 follows after the complement marker and before the adjective:

(653) 鸡 比 鸭儿 走 得 更 快 。
kəi^{21} pi^{55} an^{53}nə^{0} tsu^{55} tie^{53} kə^{0} kʰuai^{213}
chicken CM duck run COMP INT fast
'Chickens run faster than ducks.'

It is also possible to place the [CM + NP_B] after the complement marker [tie^{53}] 得, as shown in the example below:

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(654) 鸡 走 得 比 鸭儿 更 快 。
kəi^{21} tsu^{55} tie^{53} pi^{55} an^{53}nə^{0} kə^{0} k^{h}uai^{213}
chicken run COMP CM duck INT fast
'Chickens run faster than ducks.'

Another pair of examples are shown below to illustrate this word order flexibility, where verb copying occurs in the complement clause involving NP_B. Note that [ken^{213}] 更 is optional in case, as its syntactic demarcation function is less called for, unlike in examples (651) and (652).

(655) ○$_{他}$ 食 饭 比 ○$_{我}$ 食 得 (更) 慢 。
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35} pi^{55} xaŋ^{35} ɕie^{35} tie^{53} (kə^{0}) man^{35}
3SG eat meal CM 1SG eat COMP INT slow
'He is slower in eating (meals) than I am.'

(656) ○$_{他}$ 食 饭 食 得 比 ○$_{我}$ (更) 慢 。
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35} ɕie^{35} tie^{53} pi^{55} xaŋ^{35} (kə^{0}) man^{35}
3SG eat meal eat COMP CM 1SG INT slow
'He is slower in eating (meals) than I am.'

There is no difference in meaning between the two examples above.

22.1.1.2 Type II Transitive structure- SURPASS schema

The SURPASS comparative marker in Shaowu is [t^{h}ɔ^{35}] 度, which was originally a lexical verb meaning 'pass' or 'cross over', that has grammaticalised, in the course of time, into a surpass comparative marker, among other functions, such as the experiential marker (cf. Chapter 20 on the aspectual system, § 20.2). Although the SURPASS schema [NP_A VP CM NP_B] is not often used in Shaowu, it is not regarded as ungrammatical. The Shaowu language consultant Mr Li, explicitly pointed out that in reply to a question on whether X is taller than Y, the SURPASS construction can be used, although this is not the canonical schema of comparative structures, as we have seen in § 22.1.1.1 above. This in a way shows that Shaowu is indeed located in the transitional zone of Sinitic languages (Chappell 2015: 38) where the vestiges of the SURPASS schema can still be identified.

(657) 老 三 高 度 你 。
lau^{55} san^{21} kau^{21} t^{h}ɔ^{35} xien^{35}
Old$_{PREF}$ Three tall CM$_{surpass}$ 2SG
'The third child in the family (Lao san) is taller than you.'

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A derivative of the Shaowu SURPASS schema involves the use of a potential complement, in which [tie^{53}] 得 is the potential marker coding ability. The syntactic configuration of this derived construction is [NP_A + V + POT + NP_B + CM], as shown in the following example:

(658) ○他 打 得 ○我 度 。
xu^{35} ta^{55} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} t^{h}ɔ^{35}
3SG hit POT 1SG SUR
'He can beat me in a fight.'' (ability)

22.1.1.3 Type III Zero-marked structure- ACTION schema in Shaowu

Shaowu comparatives allow the zero-marked construction followed by a quantitative phrase [Q + CLF]. This type has the syntactic configuration of [NP_A VP NP_B (Q+CLF)]:

(659) 老 三 高 你 两 公分 。
lau^{55} san^{21} kau^{21} xien^{35} liɔŋ^{55} kuŋ^{21}fən^{21}
Old_{PREF} Three tall 2SG two centimetre
'The third child in the family (Lao san) is two centimetres taller than you.'

One reason maybe that it is cognitively conceivable and structurally convenient to build a construction of [NP_A VP NP_B by Quantity X] lies in the VP: it here can be an adjective that has verbal nature in indicating a quality or property that is being compared between NP_A (comparee) and NP_B (comparand). This construction might also be a variant of a possible SURPASS construction [NP_A VP SURPASS NP_B by Quantity X], whereby the SURPASS marker has faded out with time. The SURPASS construction was prevalent in southern China and has been undergoing replacement by the northern [BI] 比 comparative construction. Shaowu falls in the 'Undergoing replacement zone' that Chappell & Peyraube put forward (2015: 144).

22.1.1.4 Hybrid Type 1 comparative construction with intensifier [kə^{0}] 更

It is also possible to construct comparative sentences in Shaowu using the emphatic structure, in which an intensifying adverb (INT) [kə^{0}] 更, which denotes 'more', is added before the quality under comparison, in addition to the comparative marker (CM) between the 'comparee' (NP_A), and the standard (NP_B). The syntactic configuration is then NP_A [CM NP_B] INT ADJ/VP. The intensifier [kə^{0}] 更 is also added for prosodic reasons and also gives an extra emphasis to the com-

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parison. Note that its function as an intensifying adverb has also been discussed in § 22.1.1.1 above.

(660) 〇这 床 被 比 〇那 床 被 更 厚 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tʰɔŋ^{53} pʰei^{55} pi^{55} ɔŋ^{53} tʰɔŋ^{53} pʰei^{55} kə^{0} xəu^{55}
DEM CLF duvet CM DEM CLF duvet INT thick
'This duvet is thicker than that duvet.'

Note that it is possible to add a quantitative [Q + CLF] phrase after a hybridised structure, as in the above example:

(661) 〇这 床 被 比 〇那 床 被 更 厚 个 嫩 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tʰɔŋ^{53} pʰei^{55} pi^{55} ɔŋ^{53} tʰɔŋ^{53} pʰei^{55} kə^{0} xəu^{55} kə^{0} nən^{35}
DEM CLF duvet CM DEM CLF duvet INT thick a bit
'This duvet is a bit thicker than that duvet.'

An interesting point is that with this hybrid comparative structure involving the intensifier [kə^{0}] 更, another morpheme can step in and act as a comparative marker. This is the multifunctional morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 which, among other functions, can act as a comparative marker in this particular type of hybrid comparative structure, as shown in example (662). It also serves – a benefactive marker, a comitative marker and an unaccusative object marker (cf. Chapter 23 on the multifunctionality of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮). Thus, the example below is entirely grammatical on the condition that there is a [Q + CLF] phrase after and the intensifier [ken^{213}] 更 is used:

(662) 〇这 床 被 帮 〇那 床 被 更 厚 个 嫩 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tʰɔŋ^{53} pʰei^{55} pɔŋ^{21} ɔŋ^{53} tʰɔŋ^{53} pʰei^{55} kə^{0} xəu^{55} kə^{0} nən^{35}
DEM CLF duvet CM DEM CLF duvet INT thick a bit
'This duvet is a bit thicker than that duvet.'

Note that the sentence becomes ungrammatical if one omits [Q + CLF] in the end and the syntactic configuration becomes [NP_A COMT NP_B EMP VP]:

(663) 〇这 床 被 帮 〇那 床 被 更 厚 。
** tɕiɔŋ^{53} tʰɔŋ^{53} pʰei^{55} pɔŋ^{21} ɔŋ^{53} tʰɔŋ^{53} pʰei^{55} kə^{0} xəu^{55}
DEM CLF duvet CM DEM CLF duvet INT thick
(Attempted meaning: 'This duvet is a bit thicker than that duvet.')

More examples to illustrate the use of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 as a comparative marker in comparative constructions with [Q + CLF]:

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(664) 去 ○那儿 帮 来 ○这儿
$k^hɔ^{213}$ $ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^0$ $pɔŋ^{21}$ li^{22} $tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^0$
go there CM come here
'Going there is several hundred kilometres
还 ○要 远 几 百 公里 。
ai^{213} $nuŋ^{35}$ $ʋien^{55}$ ki^{55} pa^{53} $kuŋ^{21}li^0$
still have to be far several hundred kilometre
farther than coming here.'

Note that [ken^{213}] 更 is not used in the above example, most likely because the intensifying function has been assumed by [ai^{213}] 还 'still', which makes [ken^{213}] 更 redundant in the sentence.

Example (664) also becomes ungrammatical without the [Q + CLF] phrase 'several hundred kilometres':

(665) 去 ○那儿 帮 来 ○这儿 还 ○要 远 。
** $k^hɔ^{213}$ $ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^0$ $pɔŋ^{21}$ li^{22} $tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^0$ ai^{213} $nuŋ^{35}$ $ʋien^{55}$
go there CM come here still have far
(Attempted meaning: 'Going there is farther than coming here.')

However, if we replace [$pɔŋ^{21}$] 帮by the general CM [pi^{55}] 比 in the above example, then the sentence again becomes well-formed, as shown below:

(666) 去 ○那儿 比 来 ○这儿 还 ○要 远 。
$k^hɔ^{213}$ $ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^0$ pi^{55} li^{22} $tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^0$ ai^{213} $nuŋ^{35}$ $ʋien^{55}$
go there CM come here still need far
'Going there is farther than coming here.'

One explanation for this [Q + CLF] constraint in comparative constructions involving CM [$pɔŋ^{21}$] 帮is that the morpheme [$pɔŋ^{21}$] 帮, as we will see later on in this chapter (§ 22.3), is also an equative marker meaning 'as ... as'. If there is no [Q + CLF] in the comparative sentence to mark the difference, there is a possibility that [$pɔŋ^{21}$] 帮 be interpreted as an equative marker among other things, especially when there is no secondary CMs or intensifiers like [$kə^0$] 更 to help disambiguate the sentence, as shown in the following example:

(667) ○我 帮 ○他 高 。
?? $xaŋ^{35}$ $pɔŋ^{21}$ xu^{35} kau^{21}
1SG $CM_{COMP/EQUA}$/CONJ 3SG tall
'I am taller than him.' / 'I am as tall as he is.'/ 'He and I are tall.'

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However, if we insert a quantitative [Q + CLF] phrase at the end of the comparative structure, the comparative nature of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮becomes apparent, which immediately renders the sentence grammatical:

(668) ○我 帮 ○他 *（更） 高 嫩嫩 子 。
xaŋ^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} *(kə^{0}) kau^{21} nən^{35}nən$^{35\sim55}$ tsə^{0}
1SG CM 3SG INT$_{more}$ tall little SUFF
'I am just a bit taller than him.'

(669) ○他 帮 ○我 *（更） 早 到 ○点○点 子 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} *(kə^{0}) t^{h}au^{55} tau$^{213\sim21}$ pi$^{55\sim22}$pi^{55} tsə^{0}
3SG CM 1SG INT$_{more}$ early arrive little SUFF
'He arrived a bit earlier than I did.'

Note that the intensifier [kə^{0}] 更 is obligatory in example (669), because without it, the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 could be interpreted as a conjunction (see Chapter 23 on the multifunctionality of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮), and the sentence could thus also mean 'He and I arrived a bit earlier (than others)', in addition to the intended meaning in example (669). In this case, the intensifier [kə^{0}] 更 plays a disambiguating role.

In the absence of a quantitative [Q + CLF] phrase, but with the presence of the intensifier [kə^{0}] 更, the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮can function as a comparative marker (as shown in example 670), although the general CM [pi^{55}] 比 is still the preferred comparative marker (as shown in example 671) and has a higher frequency of usage in general.

(670) ○你 现在 弄 个 菜
xien^{35} xien^{35}t^{h}ai^{55} nuŋ^{35} kə^{0} t^{h}ə^{213}
2SG now make REL dish
'The dishes you make now
帮 以前 弄 个 菜 更 咸 。
pɔŋ^{21} i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} nuŋ^{35} kə^{0} t^{h}ə^{213} kə^{0} xən^{22}
CM before make REL dish INT salty
are saltier than the ones you made before.'

(671) ○你 现在 弄 个 菜
xien^{35} xien^{35}t^{h}ai^{55} nuŋ^{35} kə^{0} t^{h}ə^{213}
2SG now make REL dish
'The dishes you make now

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比 以前 弄 个 菜 更 咸 。
pi^{55} i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} nuŋ^{35} kə^{0} t^{h}ə^{213} kə^{0} xən^{22}
CM before make REL dish INT salty
are saltier than the ones you made before.'

The morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮is usually interpreted as the comitative 'with' especially when inserted between two noun phrases and is not interpreted as the comparative marker by default, as opposed to the general CM [pi^{55}] 比 is, as illustrated in the following example. Note that the CM [pi^{55}] 比 here falls back on its verbal origin 'to compare', as it can take a complement after it:

(672) 鸡 帮 鸭儿 比 起来 ,
kəi^{21} pɔŋ^{21} an^{53}nə^{0} pi^{55} k^{h}i$^{55-22}$li^{22}
chicken COMT duck compare DIR$_{up.com}$
'If (we) compare the chicken and the duck,
鸡 走 得 更 快 。
kəi^{21} tsu^{55} tie^{53} kə^{0} k^{h}uai^{213}
chicken run COMP INT fast
the chicken runs faster.'

Next, we elaborate on the use of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 as a comparative marker. As we have noted above, it is generally ungrammatical to use [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 as the comparative marker without the presence of a quantitative [Q + CLF] phrase, as in the example below:

(673) 鸡 帮 鸭儿 走 得 更 快 。
** kəi^{21} pɔŋ^{21} an^{53}nə^{0} tsu^{55} tie^{53} kə^{0} k^{h}uai^{213}
chicken COMT duck run COMP INT fast
(Attempted meaning: 'The chicken runs faster than the duck.')

The sole interpretation possible for the above sentence is: 'Chicken and ducks run faster (than some other animals).' It does not however compare the running speed between chicken and ducks. The only way to render the above example grammatical (i.e., with the intended meaning of comparing the running speed of a chicken and a duck) is by adding a quantitative [Q + CLF] phrase, as shown in the example below:

(674) 鸡 帮 鸭儿 走 得 更 快 个 嫩 。
kəi^{21} pɔŋ^{21} an^{53}nə^{0} tsu^{55} tie^{53} kə^{0} k^{h}uai^{213} kə^{0} nən^{35}
chicken CM duck run COMP INT fast a bit
'The chicken runs a bit faster than the duck.'

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The above example is a grammatically correct sentence, since [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is used between two noun phrases but acts as a comparative marker instead of a conjunction 'and', through the addition of [Q + CLF], thanks to which the ambiguity of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is dissipated and its function of a comparative marker is clear.

It is however important to point out that the Shaowu linguistic consultant, Mr Li, emphasized that the comparative marker [pi^{55}] 比 is more prevalent in use and is the preferred marker used in a comparative construction having the intensifier [kə^{0}] 更 as the emphatic marker/intensifier in a syntactic configuration of [NP_A + CM + NP_B + INT + VP + [Q + CLF]]. The example below is grammatical when the CM is [pi^{55}] 比, with or without the addition of the [Q + CLF] phrase, unlike the case for [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮.

(675)	鸡	比	鸭儿	走	得	更	快	(个	嫩)	。
	kəi^{21}	pi^{55}	an^{53}nə^{0}	tsu^{55}	tie^{53}	kə^{0}	k^{h}uai^{213}	(kə^{0}	nən^{35})	
	chicken	CM	duck	run	COMP	INT	fast	a	bit	
	'The chicken runs a bit faster than the duck.'									

We think that the Shaowu morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, originally a full lexical verb meaning 'to help', has not only grammaticalised into a comitative marker 'to be with' and the conjunction 'and' (see Chapter 23 on the multifunctional [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 morpheme), but also is on its way to be grammaticalised into a comparative marker, although its comparative function is not fully fledged and still needs 'comparative cues' (such as the intensifier [kə^{0}] 更 and the quantitative phrase [Q + CLF]) to help disambiguate the context and explicate its function. This is an instance of 'bridging contexts' in an overlapping (A~B) stage along the chain of grammaticalisation (Evans & Wilkins 2000: 549–550, Heine 2002: 85–86). Our linguistic consultant confirmed two possible readings of the following sentence:

(676)	○$_{这}$儿	帮	○$_{那}$儿	更	湿	个	嫩	。
	tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}	pɔŋ^{21}	ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}	kə^{0}	tɕien^{53}	kə^{0}	nən^{35}	
	here	CM/CONJ	there	INT	wet	a	bit	
	'Here is wetter than there.' Or:							
	'Here and there are wetter (than e.g., yonder).'							

While both readings are possible and the above sentence is grammatically acceptable for either reading, the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 leans towards the conjunction reading 'and'. This is likely because there is a canonical, widely used CM in Shaowu, [pi^{55}] 比, which is the preferred comparative marker by our linguistic consultant.

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(677) ○这儿 比 ○那儿 更 湿 个 嫩 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} pi^{55} ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} kə^{0} tɕien^{53} kə^{0} nən^{35}
here CM there INT wet a bit
'Here is wetter than there.'

22.1.2 Interim summary

Table 22.3 provides a summary of the comparative structural types in Shaowu. We have observed the following:

(i) The comparative marker [pi^{55}] 比 is the canonical comparative marker;
(ii) The comitative [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 'and' also assumes the comparative marker function, on condition that the comparative structure contains elements such as the quantity adjunct phrase [Q + CLF] or the intensifier [kə^{0}] 更;
(iii) CM [pi^{55}] 比 is still the preferred comparative marker because [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is not yet a fully-fledged CM, likely due to its multiple grammatical functions (for details, see Chapter 23).

Table 22.3: Comparative structural types, their syntactic configuration and markers.

Structural type	Syntactic configuration	Cognitive schema	Shaowu comparative marker
Prepositional	NP_A [CM NP_B] VP NP_A [CM NP_B] INT VP [Q + CLF]	Comitative Compare	帮 [pɔŋ^{21}] 比 [pi^{55}]
Transitive	NP_A VP CM NP_B	Action ('Surpass')	度 [t^{h}ɔ^{35}]
Zero-marked	NP_A VP NP_B (Q+CLF)	Action	–
Prepositional hybrid subtype 1	NP_A [CM NP_B] EMP VP Q+CLF	Compare + Extent	比 [pi^{55}]/ 帮 [pɔŋ^{21}] + 更[kə^{0}]

22.2 Superlative constructions

Superlative constructions express the idea of 'the most', that one entity (or a set of entities) possesses the highest degree of the given quality when compared against all the rest. Thus, strictly speaking, superlative constructions are a subset of comparative constructions (see Bobaljik 2012), since they can be coded either as NP_A is the *most* VP of all; or NP_A is *more* VP compared to the group. An analogy in English is, for instance, *Mary is the tallest amongst the girls.* (superlative); or *Mary is taller than the rest of the group.* (comparative).

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In this section, we are going to focus on the superlative type that is marked by *the most* superlative marker. Note that because Shaowu adjectival phrases also have a verbal nature, the term VP is used here interchangeably with ADJ.

A prototypical superlative construction involves the superlative 'comparee' NP_A, the 'standard' NP_B which refers to all entities that are non-NP_A and are relevant in the context, a predicate denoting the quality being contrasted (VP) and a superlative marker (SUP). In the sentence 'John is the tallest (in the class)', 'the class' is the standard, 'John' is the superlative 'comparee', the quality being contrasted is 'tall' and the superlative marker is '-est' preceded by the definite article 'the' which marks definiteness and uniqueness of the superlative 'comparee'. One of the most common superlative schemas in European languages is [NP_A V SUP VP (NP_B)], where SUP stands for the superlative marker.

22.2.1 Superlative markers in Shaowu

Superlative constructions in Shaowu are formed with the superlative marker [tin^{55}] 顶 'the very' or [tsei$^{213\sim21}$] 最 'the most' preceding the adjective, to place the comparee at the highest degree of comparison. This can be done when the standard of comparison is explicit, as in 'Among the three brothers, he is the tallest.', or implicit, as in 'He is the tallest.'.

The two superlative markers in Shaowu can be used interchangeably in a given context, see for instance, the two examples below which have the syntactic configuration of [NP_B, NP_A V SUP VP] where NP_B is the set (the standard/comparand, here NP_B is a simplification of 'in the set of NP_B'), NP_A is the comparee, V is the verb (often the copula), and SUP is the superlative marker.

(678) 〇这 五 个 人 底头 ，
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋ^{55} kə^{0} nin^{22} ti^{55}xəu^{21}
DEM five CLF person within
'Among these five persons,
〇我 最 瘦 。
xaŋ^{35} tsei^{213} sei^{213}
1SG SUP thin
I am the thinnest.'

In the following example, the quality under comparison of the comparee appears often in the what Sinitic grammarians call the emphatic 'SHI-DE' construction ('是的'结构), akin to the cleft construction in English (*It is he* who is the tallest

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amongst all.). By adding the 'SHI-DE' bracket (in Shaowu: [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 ... [kə^{0}] 个), the [tin^{55}] 顶-ADJ phrase is accentuated and highlighted.

(679) ○这 五 个 人 底头 ,
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋ^{55} kə^{0} nin^{22} ti^{55}xəu^{21}
DEM five CLF person within
'Among these five persons,
○他 是 顶 肥 个 。
xu^{35} ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ tin^{55} p^{h}i^{22} kə^{0}
3SG COP SUP fat EMP
he is the fattest (of all).'

According to our linguistic consultant, there is no meaning difference or even preference in the choice of [tin^{55}] 顶 'the very' or [tsei^{213}] 最 'the most' as the superlative marker in the above two examples. They are entirely interchangeable when the standard of comparison is explicit, i.e., in a pre-defined set comprising equal to or more than two members.

It is however to be noted that the morpheme [tin^{55}] 顶 is polysemous: it can either mean 'the most' or 'very' depending on the context, that is, when the standard of comparison is inexistent or implicit. Therefore, the following sentence can be ambiguous:

(680) ○这 蜀 个 囝子 顶 聪明 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0} tin^{55} ts^{h}iuŋ^{21}min^{22}
DEM one CLF boy very/SUP clever
'This boy is very clever.' Or
'This boy is the cleverest (among the group; implicit set).'

Without a benchmark of comparison, that is, the group to which the child belongs, one cannot say for sure which meaning the above sentence actually refers to, although the default interpretation without a given context would be the first one, i.e., 'This child is very clever.'

Due to lack of written historical texts in Shaowu, it is impossible to determine whether the morpheme [tin^{55}] 顶 had simultaneously two meanings ('very' and 'the most') from the outset, or if one meaning stemmed from the other or there are two separate pathways. In the latter case, it would be likely that [tin^{55}] 顶, originally having the lexical meaning 'the top', grammaticalised into a superlative marker in Shaowu. It is in the process of gradually being replaced by the more recent superlative marker [tsei^{213}] 最 (and has also taken up the function of a degree adverb to mean 'very', 'extremely' in a separate development), likely a

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borrowing from Mandarin *zuì* 最. We however do not exclude the possibility of a parallel development of the Shaowu [tin^{55}] 顶 as the degree adverb and a superlative marker at the same time. Thus, where there is no explicit standard of comparison, [tin^{55}] 顶 can either be a degree adverb or a superlative marker, whereas even in the absence of a standard noun, [tsei^{213}] 最 is unambiguous and can only mean 'the most', as in Mandarin.

The polysemy of [tin^{55}] 顶 can best be illustrated by the contrast of its usage in the following two examples:

(681) ○这 个 人 顶 肥 ,
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} nin^{22} tin^{55} pʰi^{22}
DEM CLF person very fat
'This person is very fat,
不过 冇 是 最 肥 。
pei^{53}kuɔ^{213} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} tsei^{213} pʰi^{22}
but NEG COP SUP fat
but he is not the fattest.'

(682) ○这 几 个 人 底头 ,
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ki^{55} kə^{0} nin^{22} ti^{55}xəu^{21}
DEM several CLF person within
'Among these people,
○他 是 顶 高 个 。
xu^{35} ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ tin^{55} kau^{21} kə^{0}
3SG COP SUP tall EMP
he is the tallest (of all).'

In order for the marker [tin^{55}] 顶 to be interpreted unambiguously as a superlative marker, an explicit standard of comparison is obligatory. The same holds true with respect to a negated superlative construction. Once again, the superlative markers [tin^{55}] 顶 and [tsei$^{213\sim21}$] 最 can be used interchangeably, as shown in the following example, with [tin^{55}] 顶 showing an ambiguity, if the standard of comparison is absent:

(683) ○这 行 线 画 得 冇 是 顶 直 个 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} xaŋ^{22} ɕien^{213} fa^{35} tie^{53} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} tin^{55} tʰə^{35} kə^{0}
DEM CLF line draw COMP NEG be very/SUP straight EMP
'This line was not drawn very straight.' Or
'This line was not drawn the straightest.'

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A few more examples of the superlative constructions in Shaowu:

(684) 向 南 个 厝 , 光线 最 好 。
xiɔŋ^{213} nan^{22} kə^{0} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213} kuɔŋ^{21}sien$^{213\sim21}$ tsei$^{213\sim21}$ xau^{55}
towards south ATT house light SUP good
'The light in the southward-facing houses is the best.'

(685) ○哪儿 顶 痛 , 就 搽 得 ○哪儿 。
nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0} tin^{55} t^{h}iɔŋ^{55} tsiɔu^{213} t^{h}a^{22} tie^{53} nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}
where SUP hurt then apply LOC where
'Apply (the cream) on where it hurts the most.'

(686) 兔儿 走 得 最 快 。
t^{h}u^{213}ə^{0} tsu^{55} tie^{53} tsei$^{213\sim21}$ k^{h}uai^{213}
rabbit run COMP SUP fast
'The rabbit is the fastest.'

22.2.2 Interim summary

The superlative is used to express 'the most' in a group. The syntactic configuration of the superlative construction is [NP_B, NP_A + V + SUP + VP], where NP_B is the set (the standard/comparand), NP_A is the comparee, V is the verb and SUP is the superlative marker. There are two superlative markers in Shaowu, [tin^{55}] 顶 'the very' or [tsei$^{213\sim21}$] 最 'the most'. While the latter has no ambiguity in its role as a superlative marker, the former, i.e., [tin^{55}] 顶, is potentially ambiguous in the absence of comparand. Thus, for it to act solely as a superlative marker and not a degree adverb 'very', a standard of comparison is needed. We think that the morpheme [tin^{55}] 顶 is likely the local Shaowu superlative marker, whose role is being gradually replaced by [tsei$^{213\sim21}$] 最 in recent decades, due to language contact with Mandarin.

22.3 Equative constructions

Equative comparative constructions ('equative constructions') usually involve two entities, or two sets of entities, which are compared against a certain property to show how they possess the same amount or degree (e.g., 'John is as tall as Mary.'). Typically, an equative construction in Shaowu has the structure [NP_A + CONJ + NP_B + EQU + P] where NP_A and NP_B are the two entities under comparison, CONJ

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is the connector that links up the two, while the EQU codes the equative marker (usually the equivalent of 'same') and the predicate P expresses the quality or dimension under comparison between the two entities. Strictly speaking, there should be no assignment of roles of comparee or standard to fixed positions in an equative construction.

The most common connector in Shaowu is [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 'and', a conjunction which is grammaticalised from the lexical verb 'to help'. The morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮bears multiple grammatical functions (see above on its comparative use and Chapter 23 on the multifunctionality of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮), one being a conjunction for connecting two phrases, which can be NPs, VPs or PPs. In our case, two nominal phrases are conjoined by CONJ followed usually by an equative marker [kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35}] 个样 meaning 'the same', then followed by a predicate which is often an adjective or an adjectival phrase.

Below are some examples of Shaowu equative constructions using the conjunction [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 and the equative marker [kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35}] 个样.

22.3.1 PRED is an adjective

The syntactic configuration for this type of equative construction in Shaowu is [NP_A + CONJ + NP_B + EQU + PRED]. In Shaowu, as in many Sinitic languages, the adjective alone can serve as predicate, without the presence of the copular verb (see Chapter 13 on verb classes). Note that the EQU (equative marker [kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35}] 个样) can be followed by an attributive marker [kə^{0}] 个, although it is optional.

(687) ○$_{我}$ 帮 ○$_{你}$ 个样 高 。
xaŋ^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35} kau^{21}
1SG CONJ 2SG EQU tall
'I am as tall as you are.'
(Entities of equative comparison are pronouns)

(688) 鸭 公 帮 鸭 嫲 个样 个 大 。
an^{53} kuŋ^{21} pɔŋ^{21} an^{53} ma^{22} kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35} kə^{0} xai^{35}
duck $SUFX_M$ CONJ duck $SUFX_F$ EQU ATT big
'The drake is as big as the duck.'
(Entities of equative comparison are common nouns)

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(689) 弟儿 个 力 帮 姊佬 个样 个 大 。
$t^hi^{55}ə^0$ $kə^0$ $lə^{35}$ $pɔŋ^{21}$ $tsi^{55}lau^0$ $kə^0iɔŋ^{35}$ $kə^0$ xai^{35}
younger brother GEN strength CONJ elder sister EQU ATT big
'The younger brother is as strong as the elder sister.'
(Entities of equative comparison are NPs with an explicit or implicit genitive phrase)

(690) ○这 行 索子 帮 ○那 行 个样 个 嫩 。
$tɕiɔŋ^{53}$ $xaŋ^{22}$ $sɔ^{53}tsə^0$ $pɔŋ^{21}$ $ɔŋ^{53}$ $xaŋ^{22}$ $kə^0iɔŋ^{35}$ $kə^0$ $nən^{35}$
DEM CLF rope CONJ DEM CLF EQU ATT small
'This piece of rope is as thin as that piece.'
(Entities of equative comparison are NPs containing demonstratives)

22.3.2 PRED has a copula and an NP

The syntactic configuration for this type of equative construction in Shaowu is: [NP_A + CONJ + NP_B + EQU + [COP + NP]], where [COP + NP] is the predicate. English has a similar construction, for instance, 'My weight is the same as yours, it's 50 kg.' which is rendered in Shaowu as:

(691) ○我 个 体重 帮 你 个样 个 , (是) 五十
$xaŋ^{35}$ $kə^0$ $t^hi^{55}t^hiuŋ^{35}$ $pɔŋ^{21}$ $xien^{35}$ $kə^0iɔŋ^{35}$ $kə^0$ ($ɕi^{22}$) $ŋ^{55}ɕin^{35}$
1SG GEN weight CONJ 2SG EQU ATT COP fifty
公斤 。
$kuŋ^{21}kin^{21}$
kilo
'I weigh 50 kilos, just like you.'
(Equative comparison with copular predicate, the copular verb is optional.)

The following examples have a similar construction:

(692) ○我 帮 ○她 个样 , 皆 是 本地 人 。
$xaŋ^{35}$ $pɔŋ^{21}$ xu^{35} $kə^0iɔŋ^{35}$ ka^{35} $ɕi^{55}$ $pən^{55}t^hi^{35\sim21}$ nin^{22}
1SG CONJ 3SG EQU all COP local person
'She and I are both locals.'
(Equative with copular predicate, COP obligatory with the universal quantifier [ka^{35}] 'all'.)

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(693) ○这 两 ○块 肥 肉 个样 个 ,
tɕiɔŋ^{53} liɔŋ^{55} tsei^{213} p^{h}i^{22} ny^{21} kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35} kə^{0}
DEM two CLF fat meat EQU ATT
'Do these two pieces of lard
是 六 块 票儿 么 ?
ɕi^{55} su^{53} k^{h}uai^{213} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0} mɔ^{0}
COP six CLF money Q
both cost 6 RMB?'
(Equative comparison in demonstratives with copular predicate, copular verb obligatory.)

22.3.3 PRED followed by an adverbial complement

The syntactic configuration for this type of equative construction in Shaowu is: [NP_A + CONJ + NP_B + V + COMPLEMENT], where COMPLEMENT is the adverbial complement.

(694) ○你 帮 ○他 走 得 个样 快 。
xien^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} tsu^{55} tie^{53} kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35} k^{h}uai^{213}
2SG CONJ 3SG run VCM EQU fast
'You run as fast as him.'

(695) ○他 食 饭 食 得 帮 ○我 个样 慢 。
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35} ɕie^{35} tie^{53} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35} man^{35}
3SG eat meal eat VCM CONJ 1SG EQU slow
'He eats as slowly as I do.'

(696) ○这 ○块 饼儿 帮 ○那 ○块 饼儿 个样 个 ,
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tsei^{213} piaŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} pɔŋ^{21} ɔŋ^{53} tsei^{213} piaŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35} kə^{0}
DEM CLF biscuit CONJ DEM CLF biscuit EQU ATT
'This biscuit is like that biscuit,
甜 得 很 。
t^{h}ien^{22} tie^{53} xen$^{22\sim55}$
sweet COMP ADV_{very}
they are both very sweet.'

We see that there are three different ways to incorporate the complement into the predicate of an equative construction, depending on the nature of the predicate. The first one, illustrated by example (694), shows that when the predicate

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is an intransitive verb, the construction takes the form [NP_A + CONJ + NP_B + VERB + VCM + EQU + ADJ]. The second one uses predicate repetition, as shown in Example (695): [NP_A + CONJ + NP_B + VERB + OBJ + VERB + VCM + EQU + ADJ]. The third one, as shown in example (696), has a topical equative construction, where [NP_A + CONJ + NP_B + EQU // ADJ + COMP + ADV]. The last construction is typically used when the predicate is an adjective followed by a degree adverb or an extent complement.

22.3.4 With verbs of volition

The syntactic configuration for this type of equative construction in Shaowu is: [NP_A + CONJ + NP_B + EQU // V_1 + V_2 + N], where V_1 is the modal auxiliary and V_2 is the main verb.

(697) 〇她 个 囝子 帮 〇我 个 囝子 个样 个 ，
xu^{35} kə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0} kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35} kə^{0}
3SG POSS boy CONJ 1SG POSS boy EQU ATT
‘Her baby boy, like mine,
想 食 〇汁〇汁 。
siɔŋ^{55} ɕie^{35} tsai^{53}tsai$^{53\sim21}$
want drink milk
wants to drink milk.’

(698) 弟儿 帮 妹儿 个样 ，
tʰi^{55}ə^{0} pɔŋ^{21} mei^{213}ə^{0} kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35}
younger brother CONJ younger sister EQU
‘The younger brother is the same as the younger sister,
喜欢 别人 抱 。
xi^{55}fɔn^{21} pʰie^{35}nin^{55} pʰau^{55}
like other hug
they both like to be hugged.’

22.3.5 Equative constructions involving other conjunctions

The conjunction [ʊɔ^{22}] 和 ‘and’, an obvious borrowing from Mandarin *hé* 和, is occasionally used by our linguistic consultant Mr Li. It is less used in natural speech and carries a higher register. The morpheme is used to conjoin two entities under equative comparison in an equative construction, although the frequency

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of usage is much lower than [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, which is a native Shaowu connecter, among other functions it assumes (see Chapter 23 for details). The equative marker [kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35}] 个样, however, remains the same syntactically.

The following is an example of using [ʊɔ^{22}] 和 as a conjunction, together with the equative marker [kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35}] 个样 in the equative construction similar to example (698) except with a higher register (and indeed not very natural especially in day-to-day speech):

(699) ○$_{这}$ ○$_{块}$ 饼儿 和 ○$_{那}$ ○$_{块}$ 饼儿 个样 个 ,
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tsei^{213} piaŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} ʊɔ^{22} ɔŋ^{53} tsei^{213} piaŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35} kə^{0}
DEM CLF biscuit CONJ DEM CLF biscuit EQU ATT
'This biscuit is like that biscuit,
甜 得 很 。
t^{h}ien^{22} tie^{53} xen$^{22\sim55}$
sweet COMP ADV$_{very}$
they are both very sweet.'

Another connector is [tɕ^{h}iɔŋ^{55}man$^{22\sim0}$] ○$_{像}$○, which originally means 'like, be similar to', is used to conjoin two entities under equative comparison, as shown in example (700):

(700) ○$_{这}$ ○$_{块}$ 饼儿 ○$_{像}$○ ○$_{那}$ ○$_{块}$ 饼儿
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tsei^{213} piaŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} tɕ^{h}iɔŋ^{55}man^{22} ɔŋ^{53} tsei^{213} piaŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}
DEM CLF biscuit similar to DEM CLF biscuit
个样 个 ,
kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35} kə^{0}
EQU ATT
'This biscuit is like that biscuit,
甜 得 很 。
t^{h}ien^{22} tie^{53} xen$^{22\sim55}$
sweet COMP ADV$_{very}$
they are both very sweet.'

When comparing two entities and a degree adverb ([ɔŋ^{53}iɔŋ^{35}] ○$_{那}$样 'so') is involved, [tɕ^{h}iɔŋ^{55}man$^{22\sim0}$] ○$_{像}$○ is used instead of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮and [ʊɔ^{22}] 和:

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(701) ○这 ○块 饼儿 ○像○ ○那 ○块 饼儿
tɕiɔŋ[53] tsei[213] pianŋ[53]ŋə[0] tɕʰiɔŋ[55]man[22] ɔŋ[53] tsei[213] pianŋ[53]ŋə[0]
DEM CLF biscuit be similar to DEM CLF biscuit
○那样 甜 。
ɔŋ[53]iɔŋ[35] tʰien[22]
so sweet
'This biscuit is so sweet, like that biscuit.'

The use of [pɔŋ[21]] 帮or [ʊɔ[22]] 和 render the sentence marginal:

(702) ○这 ○块 饼儿 帮/和 ○那 ○块 饼儿 ○那样
?? tɕiɔŋ[53] tsei[213] pianŋ[53]ŋə[0] pɔŋ[21]/ ʊɔ[22] ɔŋ[53] tsei[213] pianŋ[53]ŋə[0] ɔŋ[53]iɔŋ[35]
DEM CLF biscuit CONJ DEM CLF biscuit so
甜 。
tʰien[22]
sweet
'This biscuit is so sweet, like that biscuit.'

It is however possible to interchange [tɕʰiɔŋ[55]man[22~0]] ○像○ and [pɔŋ[21]] 帮 (or [ʊɔ[22]] 和) in a regular equative comparison construction having [kə[0]iɔŋ[35]kə[0]] 个样个 'the same' as the equative marker:

(703) 弟儿 帮 老伯 个样 个 强健 。
tʰi[55]ə[0] pɔŋ[21] lau[55]pa[0] kə[0]iɔŋ[35] kə[0] kʰiɔŋ[55]kiɔŋ[213]
younger brother CONJ elder brother EQU ATT strong
'The younger brother is as strong as the older brother.'

(704) 弟儿 ○像○ 老伯 个样 个 强健 。
tʰi[55]ə[0] tɕʰiɔŋ[55]man[22] lau[55]pa[0] kə[0]iɔŋ[35] kə[0] kʰiɔŋ[55]kiɔŋ[213]
younger brother be similar to elder brother EQU ATT strong
'The younger brother is as strong as the older brother.'

22.3.6 Interim summary

The equative expresses the sameness in quality or quantity between two (sets of) objects of comparison. The Shaowu equative marker (EQU) [kə[0]iɔŋ[35]] 个样, meaning 'the same', is placed before the predicate and after the objects of comparison which are conjoined by the conjunction [pɔŋ[21]] 帮 (or [ʊɔ[22]] 和 for a higher register). The general syntactic template for the equative construction is [NP_A +

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CONJ + NP_B + EQU + PRED]. The connecter [tɕʰiɔŋ^{55} man^{22}] ○像○ 'be similar to' can also be used in lieu of the conjunction [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 or [ʊɔ^{22}] 和 and is particularly useful when comparing two entities where a degree adverb ([ɔŋ^{53}iɔŋ^{35}] ○那样 'so') is involved.

22.4 Summary

The above sections have given an account on Shaowu's comparative, superlative and equative constructions, which are to some extent similar to those of Mandarin, despite the fact that the relevant markers used may be different. Table 22.4 is a recapitulation:

Table 22.4: Shaowu comparative, superlative and equative constructions.

Construction	Shaowu constructions	Mandarin constructions	Shaowu markers
Comparative	NP_A [CM NP_B] VP NP_A VP CM NP_B NP_A VP NP_B (Q+CLF) NP_A [CM NP_B] INT VP	NP_A [CM NP_B] VP NP_A [CM NP_B] INT VP	[pi^{55}] 比 / [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮
Superlative	NP_A V SUP ADJ (NP_B) NP_B, NP_A V SUP ADJ	NP_A V SUP P (NP_B) NP_B, NP_AV SUP ADJ	[tin^{55}] 顶 / [tsei^{213}] 最
Equative	NP_A CONJ NP_B EQU PRED	NP_A CONJ NP_B EQU PRED	[pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 / [tɕʰiɔŋ^{55}man^{22}] ○像○ + [kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35}] 个样

The area that sees the greatest variation in constructions lies in the comparative constructions, which suggests that Shaowu, located in the transitional linguistic zone, is subject to influences from both the northern and southern comparative formations. The comparative constructions, usually more frequently used than superlatives and equatives, have a greater variation in subtypes. A detailed diachronic and typological study on Sinitic comparatives is carried out by Chappell & Peyraube (2015).

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Chapter 23
Multifunctional morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 and its grammaticalisation pathways

The Shaowu morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is a multifunctional marker and can assume its multifaceted grammatical functions in a variety of constructions, ranging from the comitative, coordinative conjunction, the benefactive, the dative, direct object marking and the comparative (cf. Chapter 22 for the comparative). It was originally a full lexical verb meaning 'to help' or 'to assist' that has developed into different grammatical markers through various pathways.

Because of its highly developed multifunctionality, a sentence in Shaowu containing [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, as in the example below, can have multiple meanings, thus readily giving rise to ambiguity, in which case only the context can disambiguate:

(705) ○$_{我}$ 帮 ○$_{你}$ 去 买 菜 。
xaŋ^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ mie^{55} t^{h}ə^{213}
1SG VERB/MARKER 2SG go buy groceries
'I help you do the groceries.' (lexical verb 'to help')
'I go with you to do the groceries.' (comitative marker 'with')
'You and I go do the groceries together.' (conjunction 'and')
'I go do the groceries for you.' (benefactive marker 'for')

This chapter aims to look into detail at these various usages of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮and to analyse its possible pathways of grammaticalisation.

23.1 As a lexical verb [SUBJ + [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 + OBJ]

The Shaowu lexeme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can be used independently as a lexical verb 'to help', as shown in the following two examples:

(706) ○$_{你}$ 帮 ○$_{我}$ 瞅 个 下 。
xien^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} niaŋ^{213} kə^{0} xa^{35}
2SG help 1SG look one CLF$_{V}$
'Help me have a look.'

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(707) ○他 帮 了 俺 多 顶 ○多 忙 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} ŋə^{0} ien^{22} tai^{21} tin^{55} ʋai^{55} mɔŋ^{22}
3SG help PFV 1PL.INCL very many assistance
'He gave us a lot of help.'

23.2 As a comitative marker 'with' in [NP_A + COMT + NP_B + VP]

The comitative relates to a subject and a companion, or NP_A and NP_B, and the grammatical connector is the comitative marker, which in Shaowu is represented by the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮. The lexical meaning 'to help' implies the presence of a helper whose role then shifts to that of accompanier. Under this environment, the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 has gradually become delexicalised and grammaticalised into a comitative meaning 'with', as shown in the following example:

(708) ○我 帮 ○你 个起 去 学堂 。
xaŋ^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} kə^{0}kʰi^{55} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xɔ^{35}tʰɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$
1SG COMT 2SG together go school
'I go to school with you.'

The comitative meaning of the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 above is very close to the conjunction meaning 'and', thus the sentence can indeed also be understood as 'You and I go to school together.' Note, however, that the lexical reading 'to help' is not possible in the example above. Similar developments can also be found in some Hui and Wu languages (Huang *et al*.1996: 538, *inter alia*) and a detailed account of Mandarin comitatives is described in Paris (2008).

Example (709) illustrates the comitative 'with' meaning of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 which cannot be interpreted as the coordinative conjunction 'and' here because of the negator that precedes it:

(709) ○她 唔 想 帮 爷佬 娘佬 生活 个起 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} siɔŋ^{55} pɔŋ^{21} ia^{22}lau^{0} niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} sen^{21}fəi^{22} kə^{0}kʰi^{55}
3SG NEG want COMT father mother live together
'She doesn't want to live with her parents.'

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23.3 As a coordinative conjunction 'and' [NP_A + CONJ + NP_B]

A nominal coordinative conjunction links up noun phrases and groups them into one grammatical relation (subject or object). Note that here we do not refer to the type, which is known as a verbal coordinative conjunction, [ia^{55}] 也 in Shaowu. As mentioned in § 23.2, sometimes it is rather difficult to tease apart the comitative meaning from the conjunctive meaning, because the latter intrinsically implies the former. Since the grammatical marker and the syntactic environment for 'and' can be the same as the comitative construction in Shaowu, one good way to illustrate that [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can also act as a coordinative conjunction 'and' is to use a serial conjunctive construction with more than two NPs conjoining together, as shown in in the following two examples:

(710) 〇他 多 帮 〇我 帮 〇你 皆 去 和平 。
xu^{35} tai^{21} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} ka^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ʊɔ^{22}p^{h}iaŋ^{22}
3PL CONJ 1SG CONJ 2SG all go Heping
'They, you and I will all go to Heping (a town near Shaowu).'

(711) 张三 帮 李四 帮 王五 皆 骂 小马 。
ticŋ^{21}san^{21} pɔŋ^{21} li^{55}si^{213} pɔŋ^{21} ʊɔŋ^{22}ŋ^{55} ka^{35} ma^{213} siau^{55}ma^{55}
Zhang San CONJ Li Si CONJ Wang Wu all scold Little Ma
'Zhang San and Li Si and Wang Wu all scolded Little Ma.'

Another test to see whether [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is a comitative or conjunction, is to put a negator in front of it:

(712) 〇我 唔 帮 〇他多 骂 小马 。
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35}tai^{21} ma^{213} siau^{55}ma^{55}
1SG NEG COMT 3PL scold Little Ma
'I don't join them to scold Little Ma.' (Lit. 'I don't, together with them, scold Little Ma.')

Although the above sentence can potentially be understood as 'I don't help them to scold Little Ma.' as the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can still act as the verb 'to help', the morpheme cannot be interpreted as a coordinative conjunction 'and', because negation does not operate on a conjunction (*[NEG + CONJ]).

Likewise, in an equative construction, where the comparator and the comparatum are conjoined by the conjunction [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, a negator placed in front of the conjunction will render the sentence marginal:

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(713) 鸡 有 帮 鸭儿 走 得 个样 快 。
?? kəi^{21} mau^{35} pɔŋ^{21} an^{53}nə^{0} tsu^{55} tie^{53} kə^{0}iɔŋ^{35} k^{h}uai^{213}
chicken NEG CONJ duck run VCM EQU fast
‘Chicken do not run as fast as ducks.’

23.4 As a benefactive marker ‘for’ in [SUBJ + BEN + OBL + VP]

In Shaowu, the benefactive construction has the syntactic template [SUBJ + BEN + OBL + VP], with the benefactive marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮. The example below illustrates the use of the benefactive marker in the benefactive construction, which can also be regarded as a purposive construction:

(714) 快 去 帮 大家 刮 西瓜 食 。
k^{h}uai^{213} k^{h}ɔ^{213} pɔŋ^{21} t^{h}ai^{35}ka^{21} t^{h}ɔi^{53} si^{21}kua^{21} ɕie^{35}
quickly go BEN everyone slice watermelon eat
‘Go slice the watermelon for everyone, quickly!’

One may argue that [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 in the above example can still mean ‘to help’ (as in ‘Help everyone in slicing the watermelon, quickly!’). However, the given context is that someone was in charge of slicing a watermelon for a group of people, and not a group slicing watermelons together needing extra help. Therefore, the sentence is best interpreted as the benefactive ‘for’. The example below is less unambiguous in terms of the benefactive role of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮:

(715) ○$_{他}$ 帮 人客 泡 个 杯 茶 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} nin^{22}kha^{53} phau^{213} kə^{0} pei^{21} tha^{22}
3SG BEN guest steep one CLF tea
‘He steeped a cup of tea for the guest.’

Another example of the benefactive use of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮:

(716) ○$_{她}$ 帮 ○$_{我}$ 打 了 个 件 羊索 衣裳 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} ta^{55} ə^{0} kə^{0} k^{h}ien^{35} iɔŋ^{22}sɔi^{21} i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}
3SG BEN 1SG knit PFV one CLF wool garment
‘She knitted a wool garment for me.’

The above sentence can be interpreted as a dative construction ‘She knitted me a wool garment’, where the multifunctional morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is analysed as a

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benefactive and dative marker, as in 'To (give to) me, she knitted a wool garment'. In addition, it may be interpreted as a marker of proxy, as in the context: 'She knitted a wool garment for me because I can't knit, so I asked her to do it for me.' In a way, 'I' am also the beneficiary of this kind act, that is why we place the 'proxy' usage (PRXY) of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 under the heading of the benefactive use.

A third example is found below, where it is possible to gloss the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 as BEN, DAT and PRXY, Despite the fact that these are all different grammatical functions, the surface form remains the same:

(717) ○他 帮 ○他 弟儿 刻 了 蜀 个
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} tʰi^{55}ə^{0} kʰə^{53} ə^{0} ɕi^{55} kəi^{213}
3SG BEN/DAT/PRXY 3SG younger brother carve PFV one CLF
印儿 。
in^{213}nə^{0}
seal
'He carved a seal for his younger brother.' (Benefactive)
'He carved a seal in the place of his younger brother.' (Proxy)
'He carved him a seal.' (Dative)

23.5 As a malefactive marker in [SUBJ + MAL + OBL + VP]

From the benefactive function of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, interestingly, develops the malefactive function of the morpheme. This is likely due to a specific type of semantic bleaching effect on it, in which it does not carry, in certain contexts, the benefactive usage; given that the notion of benefactive and malefactive can be entirely subjective (also cf. Kittilä & Zúñiga 2010: 20–21). The syntactic configuration of a malefactive construction is the same as that of the benefactive, except that the context points to the interpretation that the action brings about events that affect the participant adversely. The syntactic template is [SUBJ + MAL + OBL + VP].

(718) ○他 个 下 唔 小心
xu^{35} kə^{0} xa^{35} ŋ^{55} siau^{55}sən^{21}
3SG one CLF$_{V}$ NEG attention
帮 蜀 个 囝子 搡 得 水 底 去 。
pɔŋ^{21} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} kin^{53}tsə^{0} suŋ^{55} tie^{53} sei^{55} ti^{0} kʰɔ^{213}
MAL one CLF boy push VCM water in go
'He inadvertently pushed a boy into the water.'

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Paris (pers. comm.) points out that the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can be analysed as neutral, that is, it does not carry the benefactive or the malefactive reading *per se*. Instead, it is the main verb in the sentence that determines whether the construction is 'benefactive' or 'malefactive', for instance, '[pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 + to offer' would necessarily trigger the benefactive reading, while '[pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 + to push' might imply a malefactive intent.

The benefactive and malefactive use of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can in fact be interpreted simply as an object marker OM (for detailed discussion on object marking constructions, see Chapter 25, § 25.1.) However, we argue that these are semantically benefactive and malefactive constructions and the affectees are typically animate entities, usually human beings, and the manner of affectedness is determined by the intention of the agent of the action, which is open to interpretation.

The combination of '[pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 + to push', for instance, can be conceived as a good event if we put it in the context of helping push someone through a predicament. Our purpose of having the subsections on the use of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is to highlight this semantic distinction between the benefactive and the malefactive constructions, which in itself is subjective, as mentioned earlier. We can see a parallel in, for instance, the Spanish sentence *Ella le cerró la puerta*. which can mean *Ella cerró la puerta para él*. ('She shut the door *for* him.') or *Ella cerró la puerta a él*. ('She shut the door *on* him.') (A. Delgado Torrico, pers. comm.). The former is generally considered as a benefactive construction while the latter a malefactive construction (see, Radetzky & Smith 2010, *inter alia*). In the same vein of reasoning, we label our constructions involving the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 in § 23.4 and § 23.5 as benefactive and malefactive constructions respectively, and [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 conveniently as both the benefactive marker and the malefactive marker.

23.6 As a dative marker 'to' in [SUBJ + DAT + IO + V + DO]

The dative use of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is covered in Chapter 27 on ditransitive constructions, the syntactic configuration is [SUBJ + [DAT + IO]$_{PP}$ + V + DO], where IO is the indirect object and DO is the direct object. The following two examples are interpreted as dative-recipient constructions, although both can be understood as benefactives as well (see discussion in § 23.4 above). However, the dative reading is the most natural one, as the contexts provided by my linguistic consultant suggested so:

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(719) 阿娘孙儿 帮 ○$_{她}$ 嫲嫲 打 了
a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}sən^{21}nə^{0} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} ma^{22}ma^{0} ta^{55} ə^{0}
granddaughter DAT 3SG paternal grandma dial PFV
电话 。
t^{h}ien^{213}ʊa$^{35\sim21}$
telephone
'The granddaughter gave a call to her paternal grandmother.'

The above sentence can also mean 'The granddaughter helped her grandmother to call someone.' or 'The granddaughter made a call to someone on behalf of her grandmother', but both are not the intended meaning of the speaker in the given context.

By the same token, the following example is understood as a dative construction:

(720) ○$_{他}$ 帮 ○$_{我}$ 介绍 了 几 个 朋友 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kai^{213}ɕiau$^{35\sim55}$ ə^{0} ki^{55} kəi^{21} p^{h}en^{22}iɔu$^{55\sim22}$
3SG DAT 1SG introduce PFV several CLF friend
'He introduced several friends to me.'

23.7 As an object marker [SUBJ + OM + OBJ +VP]

The use of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮as an object marker is not as frequent as the prototypical Shaowu object marker [na^{22}] 拿, although most of the time it is interchangeable with the latter (cf. Chapter 25 on object marking constructions). The syntactic template with OM constructions involving [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮is [SUBJ + OM$_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + OBJ + VP]. The following three examples illustrate the use of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 as an object marker:

(721) 帮 门 关 起来 。
pɔŋ^{21} mən^{22} kuan^{21} k^{h}i$^{55\sim22}$li$^{22\sim0}$
OM door close DIR$_{up.come}$
'Close the door.'

(722) 帮 老 张 叫 来 。
pɔŋ^{21} lau^{55} tiɔŋ^{21} kiau^{213} li^{22}
OM Old Zhang call come
'Ask Old Zhang to come over.'

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(723) 小 囝子 唔 听话 , 帮 〇$_{我}$ 气 得
siau^{55} kin^{53}tsə^{0} ŋ^{55} t^{h}iaŋ^{21}ʋa^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} k^{h}i^{21} tie^{53}
little boy NEG obedient OM 1SG anger VCM
死 !
si^{55}
dead
'The little boy doesn't listen to what I say – that makes me so angry!'

Note that in the above example, the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮has again shown its wide-ranging use, as it can co-occur in the causative object-marking construction with emotion verbs.

23.8 Paths of grammaticalisation of the multifunctional [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮

We put forward two parallel paths of grammaticalisation for the Shaowu [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮:

(A) Lexical verb 'to help' → comitative → NP coordinative conjunction → comparative
(B) Lexical verb 'to help' → benefactive/malefactive → dative → object marker

These two pathways of grammaticalisation are construed as separate and linear paths because they are the most commonly attested evolution in Sinitic and beyond (Liu 2003, Chappell, Peyraube & Wu 2011, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 80–88, 103, 153–154, *inter alia*). Lacking historical documents written in colloquial Shaowu and as a result unable to carry out diachronic analyses, we can only rely on the most obvious tendencies manifested in some of the world's languages, including internal evidence from other Sinitic languages, and hypothesize that Shaowu likely follows this trend. This assumption is subject to revision once more historical data and evidence comes to light.

23.8.1 Grammaticalisation pathway (A)

verb 'to help' → comitative → NP coordinative conjunction → comparative

The verb 'to help' [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 implies presence and companionship. After losing its lexical sense and developing into a functional morpheme 'with', the comitative preposition has then further grammaticalised into a NP coordinative conjunction. This is a well-known grammaticalisation pathway in the history of Chinese

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(see, for instance, Liu & Peyraube 1994 on [jí] 及 and [yǔ] 与 in Archaic Chinese). Similar grammaticalisation pathways took place in Waxiang 瓦乡 for the verb 'to follow' [kai^{55}] 跟 (Chappell, Peyraube & Wu 2011).

As we have seen in Chapter 22 on comparative constructions, the Shaowu morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can also act as a comparative marker (cf. § 22.1.1.4), albeit a non-canonical one in this language. This comparative function has likely developed from its coordinative conjunction function ('A and B, A is taller') within the hybrid comparative construction involving the intensifier [kə^{0}] 更: [NP_A + [CM + NP_B] + $INT_{[kə0]}$ + VP + [Q + CLF]]. Furthermore, equatives involving conjunction are known to develop into comparatives of superiority (Creissels 2014), which provides good evidence that the 'and' conjunction [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 in Shaowu can play a role in comparatives through the grammaticalisation pathway of [A *and* B, same QUALITY]$_{EQUATIVE}$ > [A *with* B, $INT_{[kə0]}$ QUALITY]$_{COMPARATIVE}$, thus possibly evolving into a comparative marker, albeit non-canonical.

23.8.2 Grammaticalisation pathway (B)

verb 'to help' → *benefactive/malefactive* → *dative* → *object marker*

The verb 'to help' [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 implies benefiting a beneficiary. From this source stems the benefactive meaning 'for'. In the *World Lexicon of Grammaticalisation* (2002: 103), Heine & Kuteva show that datives can derive from benefactives, and datives can develop into an accusative marker, like the case for Spanish. This benefactive/dative > object marker grammaticalisation pathway is also attested in other Sinitic languages, such as the Fuzhou [kœyŋ^{242}] 共marker (Chen 2006) and the Southern Min /kang^{7}/ 共 (Chappell, Peyraube and Wu 2011).

The lexeme 帮 'to help' is found to be a comitative marker, a coordinative conjunction and a benefactive marker in Northern Wu, such as Suzhou (Liu 2003: 203–204). According to Chappell (2006: 469), there are three main sources for object markers in Sinitic languages, one of which is verbs of giving and helping, e.g., cognates and synonyms of *gěi* 给 'to give' and *bāng* 帮 'to help', as found in many Wu, Hui, Xiang and Southwestern Mandarin languages and dialects. Both the lexical source and the grammaticalisation pathway of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 seem to suggest that it is a trait of the central transitional zone (see Norman 1988: 181–244, and Chappell 2015 for classification of different linguistic zones in Sinitic).

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23.9 Summary

In this chapter, we have briefly looked at the various grammatical functions of the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 in Shaowu. We find that it can be used as:

(i) a lexical verb meaning 'to help',
(ii) a comitative marker meaning 'with',
(iii) a NP coordinative conjunction meaning 'and',
(iv) a comparative marker in the presence of an intensifier [kə^{0}] 更 and [Q + CLF],
(v) a dative marker meaning 'to (give to) someone',
(vi) a benefactive marker meaning 'for' or a 'proxy' marker 'instead of',
(vii) a malefactive marker having adversative effect on the patient,
(viii) an object marker (OM) introducing the direct object.

We propose two parallel paths of grammaticalisation that give rise to the multifunctionality of the lexeme. These two paths are:

(A) Lexical verb 'to help' → comitative → NP coordinative conjunction → comparative
(B) Lexical verb 'to help' → benefactive/malefactive → dative → object marker

Evidence of similar pathways has been identified in languages in the world, including in a large number of Sinitic languages. The development of the Shaowu [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 morpheme is very similar to some Eastern Min and Southern Min languages located in the southeastern linguistic zone, as well as Northern Wu and Waxiang languages belonging to the central transitional zone in China (Chappell, Peyraube & Wu 2011, Chappell 2015). While independent, parallel internal development is possible, it is however more likely that the multifunctionality of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 came to Shaowu as a result of areal diffusion, given that Shaowu is situated in the heartland of the central transitional zone where linguistic features interchange and fuse throughout history via direct borrowing, lexical and structural calquing.

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Chapter 24
Benefactive constructions

A prototypical benefactive construction contains an agent (the benefactor) that carries out action affecting an undergoer for the benefit of the latter, i.e., the beneficiary; a benefactive situation is one that occurs for the benefit of a participant (Lehmann *et al*. 2000: 68).

The term 'beneficiary' is defined in Kittilä and Zúñiga (2010: 2) as " ... a participant that is advantageously affected by an event without being its obligatory participant (either agent or primary target, i.e., patient). Since normally only animate participants are capable of making use of the benefit bestowed upon them, beneficiaries are typically animate."

Syntactically, the benefactive construction can be a type of double object construction (as in English: *John bought Mary a book*.), or an oblique construction involving a prepositional phrase (e.g., *John bought a book for Mary.*). The verb in a benefactive construction is typically trivalent, although quadrivalency in such a construction is also possible, for instance, *John sent the book draft to the editor for Mary*, where the benefactive 'for' means 'on behalf of'.

The benefactive marker across the world's languages is often derived from the verb of giving (see Heine & Kuteva 2002: 149–151, Kittilä 2006: 585). In Shaowu, the benefactive morpheme is [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, which stems from the lexical verb 'to help' (for its grammaticalisation paths, see Chapter 23, § 23.8). This morpheme and similar grammaticalisation paths are also identified in Northern Wu, such as Suzhou (Liu 2003: 203–204) but also in Gan, Hakka, Hui and Xiang (Li & Chappell 2013). Li & Chappell (2013) also attest that 57 out of 93 varieties of Mandarin surveyed in Volume 5 of Chen & Li (1996) use the verb 'to help' as a benefactive or one of their benefactive prepositions: *bāng*帮; they also note that some Yue dialects have this pathway too (data included in Kuteva *et al*. 2019: 228).

In Shaowu, the benefactive construction has the syntactic template [SUBJ + [BEN + OBL]$_{PP}$ + VP]. Cross-linguistically, beneficiaries are typically optional (Kittilä & Zúñiga 2010: 4), and we label them as oblique (OBL). As a side development of the benefactive usage, the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can also be used as a marker of 'proxy', i.e., instead of doing something by oneself, the person asks somebody else to do it for them. We have subsumed this 'proxy' usage under the benefactive section in Chapter 23. In this chapter, we will use a separate section to describe this use. In Shaowu, the 'proxy'- recipient construction has the syntactic template [A + PRXY + R + T], where A is the (proxy) agent, PRXY is the 'proxy' marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, R is the recipient and beneficiary of the agent's action, and T is the theme.

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We will also discuss in this chapter a related use of the same morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, that of the malefactive, whose development has likely arisen from the semantic bleaching of the morpheme's benefactive usage, i.e., through semantic reinterpretation, the notion of 'beneficiary' may have been lost in certain contexts to produce its antonym, especially when the main verb of the sentence points to an adversative situation or event. Thus, [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮can be used to bring about events that adversely affect the participant, which is usually the indirect object. The malefactive construction has the syntactic template [SUBJ + [MAL + OBL] + VP].

24.1 Benefactive usage

24.1.1 Morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 as the benefactive marker

The following examples display the benefactive usage of the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 in the benefactive construction with the syntactic configuration of [SUBJ + [BEN + OBL] + VP]. Although ambiguity may arise due to the polyfunctionality of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, the context determines its benefactive usage.

(724)

○我	可以	帮	○你	写	个	封	介绍	信	。
xaŋ^{35}	k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$	pɔŋ^{21}	xien^{35}	sia^{55}	kə^{0}	fen^{21}	kai^{213}ɕiau^{35}	sin^{213}	
1SG	can	BEN	2SG	write	one	CLF	introduction	letter	

'I can write a recommendation letter for you.'

In the above example, the benefactor 'I' is willing to write a recommendation letter for the requester, i.e., the beneficiary. The context excludes the possibility of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 being a dative marker, a 'proxy' marker, or a comitative marker. The meaning 'to help' is somewhat retained, but the lexical content of the verb has given way to the benefactive marking 'for'.

(725)

○你	帮	○我	拿	○这	事	帮	○他	话	个
xien^{35}	pɔŋ^{21}	xaŋ^{35}	na^{22}	tɕiɔŋ^{53}	sə^{35}	pɔŋ^{21}	xu^{35}	ʊa^{35}	kə^{0}
2SG	BEN	1SG	OM	DEM	matter	DAT	3SG	say	one

下	。
xa^{35}	
CLF$_{V}$	

'Raise this matter to him for me/on my behalf.'

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Although there are two instances of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 in the sentence above that share the same surface form, their functions are different. The first [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 marks the benefactive, derived from 'to help', where 'I' is the beneficiary; and the second [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 marks the dative 'to', where 'him' is the indirect object, and 'the matter' is the direct object. The syntactic analysis is thus [SUBJ + [BEN + OBL] + [OM + DO] + [DAT + IO] + VP].

(726) 囝子 帮 ○$_{他}$ 娘佬 瞅 行李 。
kin^{53}tsə^{0} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} niaŋ^{213} xən^{22}li$^{55\sim22}$
boy BEN 3SG mother look luggage
'The boy looked after the luggage for his mother.'

The above sentence is a typical example to illustrate how difficult sometimes it is to tease apart the benefactive meaning of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 from its lexical origin 'to help'. Indeed, example (726) can readily be read as 'The child helped his mother look after the luggage.'. The context alone does not seem to provide enough disambiguating power to endorse a benefactive meaning. In this case, there are grammatical tests available which can be used to analyse the nature of the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, as described below.

24.1.2 Negation test on [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮

One way to test whether [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is a lexical verb or a benefactive marker, is by attaching a negator in front of it to see if the meaning leans towards its lexical content 'to help'. Indeed, if the negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 is placed in front of the morpheme, then it is a verb rather than a benefactive marker. The interpretation of the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 below is 'to help':

(727) 囝子 唔 帮 ○$_{他}$ 娘佬 瞅 行李 。
kin^{53}tsə^{0} ŋ^{55} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} niaŋ^{213} xən^{22}li$^{55\sim22}$
boy NEG help 3SG mother look luggage
'The boy did not (want to) help his mother to look after the luggage.'

When the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is definitively a benefactive marker, adding a negator, for example, [mau^{35}] 冇, will render the sentence marginal, as shown in the example below:

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(728) ○你 有 帮 ○我 拿 ○这 事 帮 ○他 话
?? xien^{35} mau^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} na^{22} tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} ʋa^{35}
2SG NEG BEN 1SG OM DEM matter DAT 3SG say
个 下 。
kə^{0} xa^{35}
one CLF$_V$
(Attempted meaning: 'You did not raise this matter to him on my behalf.')

Instead, the lexical meaning 'to help' is most appropriate here:

(729) ○你 有 帮 ○我 拿 ○这 事 帮 ○他 话
xien^{35} mau^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} na^{22} tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} ʋa^{35}
2SG NEG help 1SG OM DEM matter DAT 3SG say
个 下 。
kə^{0} xa^{35}
one CLF$_V$
'You did not help me on raising this matter to him.'

24.1.3 Aspect test on [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮

Another useful test to see whether the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is a verb or a grammatical marker is by inserting an aspect marker between [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 and the noun phrase that follows. If it is the lexical verb 'to help', such an insertion is possible, but if it is a benefactive marker, no such insertion is allowed, and adding an aspect marker will automatically make the morpheme revert to its lexical origin, in order to maintain the grammaticality of the sentence. See for instance:

(730) ○她 帮 ○我 改 文章 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kɔi^{55} ʋən^{22}tɕiɔŋ^{21}
3SG BEN 1SG correct article
'She revises articles for me.'

(731) ○她 帮 了 ○我 改 文章 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} ŋə^{0} xaŋ^{35} kɔi^{55} ʋən^{22}tɕiɔŋ^{21}
3SG help PFV 1SG correct article
'She helped me revise my articles.' (only possible reading: 'to help')

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24.2 'Proxy' usage

By the 'proxy' usage of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, we mean that someone does something (by proxy) because the recipient of this act has not been capable of carrying out the task. We have briefly mentioned [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 as a 'proxy' marker (cf. Chapter 23, § 23.4) in a construction that involves a (proxy) agent carrying out an action for the beneficiary, marked by the marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 (PRXY). This can be considered as a subcategory of the benefactive, as by doing something by proxy, there is still a benefactor-benefactum relationship. In Shaowu's case, the surface form is the same ([pɔŋ^{21}] 帮), and the syntactic configurations are similar. For the 'proxy-recipient' construction, it is [A + PRXY + R + T].

(732) 〇$_{她}$ 帮 〇$_{我}$ 打 了 个 件 羊索 衣裳 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} ta^{55} ə^{0} kə^{0} k^{h}ien^{35} iɔŋ^{22}sɔi$^{53\sim21}$ i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}
3SG PRXY 1SG knit PFV one CLF wool garment
'She knitted a wool garment for me, at my request.' (because I can't knit)

(733) 〇$_{她}$ 帮 〇$_{我}$ 改 文章 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kɔi^{55} ʊən^{22}tɕiɔŋ^{21}
3SG PRXY 1SG correct article
'She revises someone's article on my behalf.' (because I don't find the time to do so)

Notice that the surface form of the above two sentences is exactly the same as their counterparts in benefactive construction, but the meaning is slightly different: while the 'proxy' construction also carries the notion of doing something 'for' someone, it essentially means the action is done 'in lieu of' or 'on behalf of' someone, who is the beneficiary of the action carried out by the proxy agent.

24.3 Malefactive usage

We subsume the malefactive usage under the benefactive chapter because the two are related. Kittilä and Zúñiga (2010: 5) raises the notion of "affectee" which 'can be conceived of as a kind of macro-role comprising both beneficiaries and maleficiaries'. The maleficiary, according to them, constitutes the opposite of the beneficiary in that malefactive events affect the relevant participant adversely.

In some languages, the malefactive marker is distinctly different in form from the benefactive marker, such as Amharic (Amberber 2002: 58). In others, the malefactive and the benefactive share the same surface form, such as in Shaowu,

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where the malefactive marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮is presumably derived from the benefactive marker, after further semantic bleaching and reinterpretation. The syntactic construction is also similar to that of the benefactive: [SUBJ + MAL + OBL + VP], where SUBJ is the subject/agent of the (adversative) action done on the maleficiary (OBL), marked by the malefactive marker MAL.

Such an antipodal polysemy can be intriguing; according to Kittilä & Zúñiga (2010: 21), this may be 'due to the fact that benefaction and malefaction are subjective notions: a given event can be seen as either beneficial or detrimental for an indirectly affected participant depending on the context and the speaker's judgment. It is usually not necessary to distinguish between these notions explicitly, since contextual information (or, in many cases, verbal semantics) frequently suffices for disambiguation.'

Below are two examples to illustrate the malefactive use of the polysemous morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮:

(734)	○这	事	,	○他	帮	○我	做	坏	了	了	。
	tɕiɔŋ^{53}	sə^{35}		xu^{35}	pɔŋ^{21}	xaŋ^{35}	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$	fai^{35}	liau^{55}	ə^{0}	
	DEM	matter		3SG	MAL	1SG	do	bad	CMPL	PFV	
	'He messed up the matter on me.'										

(735)	囝子	帮	○他	娘佬	头○发	○扯	了	个	下	。
	kiŋ^{53}tsə^{0}	pɔŋ^{21}	xu^{35}	niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0}	t^{h}əu^{53}py^{21}	tsɔi^{53}	ə^{0}	kə^{0}	xa^{35}	
	boy	MAL	3SG	mother	hair	pull	PFV	one	CLF$_{V}$	
	'The boy pulled the hair on his mother.'									

Note that in example (735), the malefactive marker can also be interpreted as an object marker, if we analyse 'the mother' and 'hair' together as one grammatical object (the mother's hair). For object marking constructions, see Chapter 25 for details.

24.4 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed in detail the benefactive use of the polysemous morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 in Shaowu, and we also looked at the two side developments of the marker, i.e., its 'proxy-recipient' marking and its malefactive usage. The prototypical syntactic template for the benefactive is [SUBJ + [BEN + OBL]$_{PP}$ + VP] (where the subject is also the agent), that for the 'proxy-recipient' construction is [A + PRXY + R + T], and that for the malefactive is [SUBJ + [MAL + OBL]$_{PP}$ + VP] (where the subject is also the agent).

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Chapter 25
Object-marking constructions

The object marking construction is a widely researched topic in Sinitic linguistics (Chappell 2006a, 2013, 2015, Endo 2004, *inter alia*). It involves a construction where the direct object can be overtly marked by an object marker (OM) and preposed before the verb. The most common syntactic template in Sinitic languages is [SUBJ + [OM + OBJ] + VP]. Linguists often associate the OM construction, as opposed to the unmarked Sinitic SVO word order, with the affectedness of the direct object by the subject (Li & Thompson 1981: 466–480), event boundedness (Liu 1997b), transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980), animacy and definiteness (Comrie 1979), or identifiability of referents in discourse (Iemmolo & Arcodia 2010). According to LaPolla (1995), the objects pre-posed before the verb are typically topical or non-focal, whereas those occurring after the verb are focal or at least non-topical. One general condition of the OM construction is that the object in question typically is specific, which means that it can be filled by either a definite or generic NP (Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 143).

Before delving into Shaowu object-marking constructions and their relevant markers, we will first mention the Mandarin counterpart *baˇ*把 which is so ubiquitous that sometimes linguists refer to the object marking construction as the BA-construction (see e.g., Sun 1996: 51–81) or *chǔzhì shì* 处置式 'the disposal construction' as it is also called (e.g., in Wang 1980: 474). Historically, *bǎ* 把 was a lexical verb meaning 'to hold', 'to grasp' in a serial verb construction, as in, for example, *wǒ bǎ huā kàn* 我把花看 'I take the flower and look (at it)' with the syntactic construction of [SUBJ + V_{TAKE} + OBJ + VP] (see e.g., Wang 1980: 474–483, Peyraube 1989, 1991b, Sun 1996: 61). This 'take' verb *baˇ*把 then gradually grammaticalised into an object marker, and the above sentence is reinterpreted into 'I-OM_{BA}-flower-look', with the syntactic construction of [SUBJ + OM + OBJ_{DIRECT} + VP]. After grammaticalisation, it has been regarded as a preposition (Chao 1968: 359–366, 770–771, Li 1990: 186–197), a case assigner (Huang 1982; Goodall 1987a: 234) or a dummy filler (Sybesma 1999: 158) depending on the theoretical approach taken. The grammatical pathways of BA grammaticalised from a lexical verb in a serial verb construction into an object marker in various Sinitic languages are extensively discussed in Chappell (2006a) and (2013).

There are two object markers in Shaowu. The first one is [na^{22}] 拿, which is originally a lexical verb which grammaticalised into an object marker. Its lexical meaning is 'to take', as in [xaŋ^{35}na^{22}ɕi^{55}kəi^{213}pi^{53}] 我拿蜀个笔 (1SG-take-one-CLF-pen) 'I take a pen.' At some stage of its grammaticalisation towards a fully-fledged object marker, it would have first gone through the stage of being part of serial

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verb construction, as in, for example, in English, *I take the pen and give it to you*. The Shaowu equivalent is [xaŋ^{35}na^{22}pi^{55}tie^{53}xien^{35}] 我拿笔得你 ("I-take-pen-give-you"). By contrast, when [na^{22}] 拿 functions as an object marker, it can mark even abstract nouns. The syntactic template with OM constructions involving [na^{22}] 拿 is [SUBJ + OM$_{[na22]}$ + OBJ + VP].

The second object marker in Shaowu is [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, which is also originally a lexical verb meaning 'to help', 'to assist' (cf. Chapter 23 for grammaticalisation paths of the polysemous morpheme). It then developed, in the course of time, into a comitative marker, a conjunction, a benefactive marker, a dative marker and also an object marker, the function of which is the topic of this chapter and will be discussed below. The syntactic template with OM constructions involving [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is also [SUBJ + [OM$_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + OBJ] + VP]. The use of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 as an object marker is not as frequent as, though most of the times interchangeable with, the canonical Shaowu object marker [na^{22}] 拿.

When there is a resumptive pronoun involved in an OM construction, there is a variant construction which repeats the object marker before the resumptive pronoun. As such, the syntactic template becomes [SUBJ + OM$_{[na22]}$ + OBJ + OM$_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + PRON$_{resump}$ + VP]. This double object-marking construction is also common in many Southern Min dialects (Chappell 2013). Note however that repeating the prototypical OM [na^{22}] 拿 in such construction is totally acceptable and even preferred: [SUBJ + OM$_{[na22]}$ + OBJ + OM$_{[na22]}$ + PRON$_{resump}$ + VP].

The Mandarin object marker *bǎ* 把 can be used to introduce an indirect object, an instrumental, a locative NP, a possessor of an object NP (often in a part-whole relationship with it) and finally also the subject of a clause expressing the result of an action (Yang 2008: 68–69). In this chapter, we will examine Shaowu object markers' ability to introduce constituents besides the direct object. We will also cover different types of postverbal phrasal constituents in the Shaowu object marking construction, including:

(i) V+ resultative compound
(ii) V+ potential complement
(iii) V+ directional compound
(iv) V+ locative complement
(v) V+ perfective/completive marker
(vi) V+ "one" + V (the delimitative aspect)
(vii) V+ quantified phrase / retained object
(viii) OM constructions involving double objects (double-object constructions)

We then look at which verbs are not compatible with OM constructions. But first, we will start by looking at the two morphemes [na^{22}] 拿 and [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 with respect to their origin as lexical verbs.

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25.1 Morphemes [na^{22}] 拿 and [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 as lexical verbs

When the Shaowu [na^{22}] 拿 acts as a verb, its original lexical meaning is 'to hold' or 'to take' is retained. See the following three examples:

In an affirmative sentence

(736) ○$_{我}$ 拿 了 书包 去 学堂 。
xaŋ^{35} na^{22} ə^{0} ɕy^{21}pau^{21} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xɔ^{35}tʰɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$
1SG take PFV school bag go school
'I took the school bag and went to school.'

In a negative sentence

(737) ○$_{他}$ 冇 拿 票儿 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} na^{22} pʰiau^{213}ə^{0}
3SG NEG take money
'He did not take any money.'

In an imperative sentence

(738) ○$_{你}$ 拿 ○$_{这}$ 去 。
xien^{35} na^{22} tɕiɔŋ^{53} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
2SG take DEM go
'Take this.'

When the Shaowu lexeme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 acts as a verb, the original lexical meaning of 'to help' or 'to assist' is retained. See the following three examples:

In an affirmative sentence

(739) ○$_{他}$ 帮 ○$_{我多}$ 做 事 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sə^{35}
3SG help 1PL.EXC do thing
'He helps us do things.'

In a negative sentence

(740) ○$_{他}$ 冇 帮 ○$_{我多}$ 做 事 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sə^{35}
3SG NEG help 1PL.EXC do thing
'He doesn't help us do things.'

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In an imperative sentence

(741) 帮 ○我 个 下 !
pɔŋ[21] xaŋ[35] kə[0] xa[35]
help 1SG one CLF
'Help me a bit!'

The above examples illustrate the basic lexical verbal nature of the morphemes [na[22]] 拿 and [pɔŋ[21]] 帮, meaning 'to take' and 'to help' respectively, in various grammatical contexts. In the sections below, we treat the grammaticalised [na[22]] 拿 and [pɔŋ[21]] 帮 as the object markers in different constructions.

25.2 Morphemes [na[22]] 拿 and [pɔŋ[21]] 帮 as object markers

In the course of time, the Shaowu lexical verbs [na[22]] 拿 and [pɔŋ[21]] 帮 have both grammaticalised into object markers in the syntactic context of serial verb constructions, their respective lexical property being no longer fully retained. This phenomenon has happened to other Sinitic languages, including Mandarin (see, e.g., Xu 1994, Chappell 2013). The common syntactical template involving OM [na[22]] 拿 and [pɔŋ[21]] 帮 is [SUBJ + OM + OBJ + VP], where VP can be a verb followed by a complement, a verb with aspectual marking, or a verb with an adpositional phrase. The pathways of grammaticalisation for these two morphemes are probably different, with [na[22]] 拿 ('to take') being likely to have developed into an object marker via a serial verb construction (e.g., 'Take it and put on the table' -> OM it put on the table), a grammaticalisation path also attested in Central Wu, Xiang and Gan dialects, while [pɔŋ[21]] 帮 ('to help') was grammaticalised, most likely from a benefactive and later dative, into an object marker, as in Wu, Hui and Xiang dialects, identified in Chappell (2013: 790).

25.3 Animacy and definiteness of the grammatical object

In the following five examples, we show different types of direct objects that [na[22]] 拿 and [pɔŋ[21]] 帮 can take, according to the features of animacy and definiteness of the grammatical object.

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25.3.1 Inanimate and definite grammatical object

(742) 拿 / 帮 门 关 起来 。
na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} mən^{22} kuan^{21} k^{h}i$^{55\sim22}$li$^{22\sim0}$
OM / OM door close DIR$_{up.come}$
'Close the door.'

25.3.2 Inanimate and indefinite grammatical object

(743) 拿 / 帮 三 盆 花 搁 得 桌 上 。
na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} san^{21} p^{h}ən^{22} fa^{21} kɔ^{53} tie^{0} p^{h}ɔn^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
OM / OM three vase flower place VCM table on
'Put three vases of flowers on the table.'

25.3.3 Animate and indefinite grammatical object

(744) ○$_{他}$ 个 下 唔 小心
xu^{35} kə^{0} xa^{35} ŋ^{55} siau^{55}sən^{21}
3SG one CLF$_{V}$ NEG attention
拿 / 帮 蜀 个 囝子 搡 得 水 底 去 。
na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} kin^{53}tsə^{0} suŋ^{55} tie^{53} sei^{55} ti^{0} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
OM / OM one CLF boy push VCM water under go
'He inadvertently pushed a boy into the water.'

25.3.4 Animate and definite grammatical object

(745) 拿 ○$_{他}$ 扔 出 去 。
na^{22} xu^{35} len^{35} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
OM 3SG throw out go
'Throw him out.'

(746) 帮 老 张 叫 来 。
pɔŋ^{21} lau^{55} tiɔŋ^{21} kiau^{213} li^{22}
OM Old Zhang call come
'Call Old Zhang over.'

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We can see from the above example that both Shaowu object markers can be applied to direct objects that are either animate or inanimate, definite or indefinite. The Shaowu morpheme [na^{22}] 拿, the verb 'to take', is the prototypical object marker in terms of crosslinguistic studies (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 289–290), whereas [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 'to help' has developed its function also as an object marker via a different route of grammaticalisation, having been able to mark the object via its roles as a benefactive marker and a dative marker. This is supported by and evidenced in synchronic Sinitic data, where the verb 'to help' develops into a benefactive and a dative marker, then moves on to become a direct object marker (*as per* Chappell 2013: 790–792).

25.4 Shaowu object-marking (OM) construction types

In this section, we are going to explore different object marking construction types in Shaowu using [na^{22}] 拿 and/or [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮. In other words, syntactic structure and constituency are the focus.

25.4.1 The common object-marking construction

The most common OM construction, or the 'common disposal construction' referred to by Chappell (2013: 795), is ubiquitous in Sinitic languages and has the canonical syntactic configuration of [SUBJ + [OM+ DO] + VP]. It is found across the Sinitic family, including Mandarin, Jin, Xiang, Gan, Wu, Huizhou and Min. Shaowu is of no exception: this construction is indeed the most commonly found OM construction in Shaowu. Below are a few examples to illustrate this construction, using both object markers [na^{22}] 拿 or [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, which are basically interchangeable. See the following five examples. Nonetheless, my linguistic consultant had a slight preference for the OM [na^{22}] 拿.

(747) ○你 自家 拿 / 帮 牛 牵 出 去 。
xien^{35} t^{h}i^{35}ka^{21} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} ny^{22} k^{h}en^{21} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\text{-}21}$
2SG self OM / OM ox pull out go
'Pull the ox out yourself.'

(748) ○他 总是 拿 / 帮 票儿 乱 花 。
xu^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{55}ɕi^{22} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0} lɔn^{35} fa^{21}
3SG always OM / OM money carelessly spend
'He always spent money carelessly.'

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(749) ○他 拿 / 帮 我 吓 了 个 跳 。
xu[35] na[22] / pɔŋ[21] xaŋ[35] xa[53] ə[0] kə[0] tʰiau[213]
3SG OM / OM 1SG scare PFV one jump
'He scared me out of my wits.'

(750) 囝子 拿 / 帮 蜀 个 碗 打 破 了 了 。
kin[53]tsə[0] na[22] / pɔŋ[21] ɕi[22] kəi[21] ʊɔn[55] ta[55] pʰai[213] liau[55] ə[0]
boy OM / OM one CLF bowl hit broken CMPL PFV
'The boy broke a bowl.'

(751) 大 风 拿 / 帮 树 皆 吹 倒 了 。
tʰai[35] piuŋ[21] na[22] / pɔŋ[21] tɕʰy[213~21] ka[35] tʰei[21] tau[21] ə[0]
strong wind OM / OM tree all blow down PFV
'The trees were blown down by strong wind.'

In these object-marking constructions, we see that both object markers are interchangeable, regardless of the animacy, definiteness or genericity of the direct object they mark. Note also that OM [pɔŋ[21]] 帮 can be used in adversative contexts (as have been shown in the five examples above), indicating that it is semantically bleached and has entirely lost its lexical content of 'to help' (and indeed, it can also be a malefactive marker, see § 23.5, § 24.3).

Shaowu prefers to make use of object-marking constructions when the VP in the sentence contains a verb followed by a verbal complement or by aspectual marking with adjunct is involved. If the VP contains one of these elements, the basic SVO order is not preferred. Another possibility to circumvent the basic SVO order containing aspect marking or verb complements is to opt for a topic-comment construction (cf. Chapter 21 on topic-comment constructions), aside from the object-marking construction as shown in the example below.

25.4.1.1 Involving aspect marking followed by an adjunct

(752) ○他 拿 / 帮 ○这 笔 账 拖 了 大
xu[35] na[22] / pɔŋ[21] tɕiɔŋ[53] pi[55] tiɔŋ[213] tʰɔ[21] ə[0] tʰai[35]
3SG OM / OM DEM CLF debt drag PFV big
半 年 。
pɔn[213] nin[53]
half year
'He dragged on with the debt for over half a year.'

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(753) ○他 拖 了 大 半 年 ○这 笔 账 。
?? xu^{35} t^{h}ɔ^{21} ə^{0} t^{h}ai^{35} pɔn^{213} nin^{53} tɕiɔŋ^{53} pi^{55} tiɔŋ^{213}
3SG drag PFV big half year DEM CLF debt
'He dragged on with the debt for over half a year.'

However, if the grammatical object is placed between the perfective aspect marker [ə^{0}] 了 and the temporal adjunct [t^{h}ai^{35}pɔn^{213}nin^{53}] 大半年 (big-half-year) 'over half a year', the sentence becomes grammatical again, although the preferred word order is still by using the object-marking construction, as in example (752) above.

(754) ○他 拖 了 ○这 笔 账 大 半 年 。
xu^{35} t^{h}ɔ^{21} ə^{0} tɕiɔŋ^{53} pi^{55} tiɔŋ^{213} t^{h}ai^{35} pɔn^{213} nin^{53}
3SG drag PFV DEM CLF debt big half year
'He dragged on with the debt for over half a year.'

25.4.1.2 Involving a verbal complement

(755) ○你 拿 / 帮 ○这 本 书 拿 到 来 。
xien^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} tɕiɔŋ^{53} pən^{55} ɕy^{21} na^{22} tau$^{213\sim21}$ li^{22}
2SG OM / OM DEM CLF book take ACH come
'Bring this book over.'

(756) ○你 拿 到 来 ○这 本 书 。
?? xien^{35} na^{22} tau$^{213\sim21}$ li^{22} tɕiɔŋ^{53} pən^{55} ɕy^{21}
2SG take ACH come DEM CLF book
'Bring this book over.'

25.4.2 OM construction with a resumptive pronoun

Another object marking construction type, not uncommon, is the OM construction with a resumptive pronoun. This is similar to the hybrid disposal construction with two distinct object markers found in Southern Min dialects, described in Chappell (2013: 799) with the syntactic template: SUBJ + [$OM_{(i)}$ + $NP_{DIRECT\ OBJECT(i)}$] + $OM_{(ii)}$ + $PRONOUN_{(i)}$ + VP.

In Shaowu, either [na^{22}] 拿or [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can act as object marker, and in theory both of them can appear in an OM construction with a resumptive pronoun, or they can repeat themselves in such a construction. If we assign 'A' to [na^{22}] 拿 and 'B' to [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, there are four possible syntactic combinations in the object marking construction, namely, AA, AB, BB, BA, as displayed below respectively:

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SUBJ + [$OM_{[na22]}$ + DO] + $OM_{[na22]}$ + PRON + VP
SUBJ + [$OM_{[na22]}$ + DO] + $OM_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + PRON + VP
SUBJ + [$OM_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + DO] + $OM_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + PRON + VP
SUBJ + [$OM_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + DO] + $OM_{[na22]}$ + PRON + VP

However, of the four templates above, the first two are most frequently used and more grammatically acceptable, which may indicate that [na^{22}] 拿 is the predominant, first-choice Shaowu object marker, whose grammaticalisation path [LEX_{TAKE} > OM] probably appeared much earlier than the grammaticalisation of [$pɔŋ^{21}$] 帮,in serial verb constructions. For the latter, we conjecture that it could have gone through the possible phases of [LEX_{HELP} > BEN > DAT > OM] (cf. Chapter 23 on the multifunctionality of [$pɔŋ^{21}$] 帮).

The two examples below illustrate this OM construction with a resumptive pronoun in Shaowu, where the second OM is [na^{22}] 拿and [$pɔŋ^{21}$] 帮 respectively:

(757) 囝子 拿 茶 瓯 拿 ○它 打 破 了 。
$kin^{53}tsə^{0}$ na^{22} $t^{h}a^{22}$ $əu^{21}$ na^{22} xu^{35} ta^{55} $p^{h}ai^{213}$ $ə^{0}$
boy $OM_{(i)}$ tea cup $OM_{(ii)}$ RSUM hit broken PFV
'The boy broke the teacup.'

(758) 囝子 拿 茶 瓯 帮 ○它 打 破 了 。
$kin^{53}tsə^{0}$ na^{22} $t^{h}a^{22}$ $əu^{21}$ $pɔŋ^{21}$ xu^{35} ta^{55} $p^{h}ai^{213}$ $ə^{0}$
boy $OM_{(i)}$ tea cup $OM_{(ii)}$ RSUM hit broken PFV
'The boy broke the teacup.' (*Reading 1*)
'The boy broke the teacup on him.' (*Reading 2*)

In example (757), the nature of the pronoun [xu^{35}] ○它 is clear: it can only be a resumptive, anaphoric pronoun referring to the teacup, as the second OM is also [na^{22}] 拿 and there is no ambiguity, whereas the use of [$pɔŋ^{21}$] 帮 in example (758) would be ambiguous, thus giving rise to reading 1 and reading 2.

25.5 Types of verbal complements in VPs of OM constructions

Shaowu, like many Sinitic languages, disprefers more than one constituent after the verb. If there is more than one constituent and they are verbal complements, Shaowu sentences typically call for the use of OM constructions, as the basic SVO word order would be marginal or give rise to ambiguity in sentence parsing. If the extra constituents are adjuncts, such as temporal adjuncts (e.g., in example 754),

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then the SVO order is acceptable, although the OM construction is still preferred. In this section, we discuss various verbal complement types in the VP that favour Shaowu OM constructions instead of a straightforward SVO order.

25.5.1 OM + OBJ + V + resultative verb compound

Resultative verb compounds are postverbal compounds that indicate that an action has led to a certain result. In an English sentence like *He did it right*, 'right' is the result of the action of doing (see Chapter 19 on postverbal complements and compounds of result, direction and potentiality). In Shaowu, if there is an emphasis on the affectedness of the object as the result of an action, often the OM construction is preferred, the syntactic template being: [SUBJ + [OM + $NP_{DIRECT\ OBJECT}$] + V + RES + (ASP)]. Compare the following three examples for which the standard SVO basic word order, a topic-comment construction and an object-marking construction are employed respectively.

25.5.1.1 With standard SVO basic word order

(759) ○他 做 对 了 ○这 事 。
xu^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tei^{213} ə^{0} tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35}
3SG do right PFV DEM thing
'He did this thing right.'

25.5.1.2 With a topic-comment construction

(760) ○这 事 , ○他 做 对 了 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35} xu^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tei^{213} ə^{0}
DEM thing 3SG do right PFV
'As for this matter, he did it right.'

25.5.1.3 With emphasis and affectedness on the direct object

(761) ○他 拿 / 帮 ○这 事 做 对 了 。
xu^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tei^{213} ə^{0}
3SG OM / OM DEM thing do right PFV
'He did it right.'

The above three examples are all grammatically correct. However, when the resultative compound is comprised of more than one syllable, the OM construction is the preferred order. Examples of OM constructions followed by VPs with

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non-monosyllabic resultative verbal compound are shown in the three examples below:

(762) ○你 快 拿 / 帮 帽儿 戴 正 来 。
xien^{35} k^{h}uai^{213} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} mau^{35}ə^{0} t^{h}ə^{35} tɕiaŋ^{213} li^{22}
2SG quick OM / OM hat wear straight come
'Quickly, wear your hat properly.'

(763) 囝子 拿 / 帮 轩儿 上 个 玻璃 打 破
kin^{53}tsə^{0} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} k^{h}ien^{53}nə^{0} ɕiɔŋ^{21} kə^{0} pɔ^{22}li^{0} ta^{55} p^{h}ai^{213}
boy OM / OM window on GEN glass hit broken
了 了 。
liau^{55} ə^{0}
CMPL PFV
'The child broke the window glass.'

(764) ○她 拿 / 帮 ○我 个 心 啼 ○疼 了 了 。
xu^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} sən^{21} t^{h}i^{53} t^{h}y^{35} liau^{55} ə^{0}
3SG OM / OM 1SG POSS heart cry painful CMPL PFV
'Her crying makes my heart ache.'

The two examples below, having resultative compounds but without the OM construction, are still grammatically acceptable:

(765) 囝子 打 破 了 了 轩儿 上
kin^{53}tsə^{0} ta^{55} p^{h}ai^{213} liau^{55} ə^{0} k^{h}ien^{53}nə^{0} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
boy hit broken CMPL PFV window on
个 玻璃 。
kə^{0} pɔ^{22}li^{0}
GEN glass
'The child broke the window glass.'

(766) ○她 啼 ○疼 了 了 ○我 个 心 。
xu^{35} t^{h}i^{53} t^{h}y^{35} liau^{55} ə^{0} xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} sən^{21}
3SG cry painful CMPL PFV 1SG POSS heart
'Her crying makes my heart ache.'

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Nevertheless, with directional compounds (cf. § 25.5.3), a sentence which does not use an OM construction sounds slightly marginal, as shown in the example below:

(767)	○你	快	戴	正	来	帽儿	。
??	xien^{35}	k^{h}uai^{213}	t^{h}ə^{35}	tɕian^{213}	li^{22}	mau^{35}ə^{0}	
	2SG	quick	wear	RES$_{straight}$	DIR$_{come}$	hat	

'Quickly, wear your hat properly.'

In addition to its other functions mentioned in the introduction, the Shaowu OM construction seems also to play a role in maintaining the syntactic balance of the sentence, having the shorter object in front of VP with a longer resultative compound. Chao (1968: 360–366) notices that the more elaborate the predicates, the more likely the object-marking construction is used in Mandarin. The same holds true for Shaowu. Compare, for instance, the following two examples:

(768)	○$_{他}$多	○$_{要}$	拿	/	帮	体育	场	扩大
	xu^{35}tai^{21}	nuŋ^{35}	na^{22}	/	pɔŋ^{21}	t^{h}i^{22}y^{53}	t^{h}iɔŋ^{22}	k^{h}uɔ^{53}t^{h}ai^{35}
	3PL	want	OM	/	OM	sport	field	expand
	起来	。						
	k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}							
	DIR$_{up.come}$							

'They want to expand the sport field.'

(769)	○$_{他}$多	○$_{要}$	扩大	起来	体育	场	。
??	xu^{35}tai^{21}	nuŋ^{35}	k^{h}uɔ^{53}t^{h}ai^{35}	k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}	t^{h}i^{22}y^{53}	t^{h}iɔŋ^{22}	
	3PL	want	want	DIR$_{up.come}$	sport	field	

'They want to expand the sport field.'

However, if the verb is followed by an aspect marker instead of a resultative compound, the sentence is perfectly grammatical in either the basic word order or in an OM construction. This may be due to the fact that aspect markers (and also phase markers) are considered as an integral modification of the verb and not as a syntactically looser element that is the compound. Hence fronting the VP together with its aspect marking is grammatically acceptable. More discussion on this point will be found in the section on object-marking constructions with VP-aspect marking.

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25.5.2 OM + OBJ + V + potential complement

Potential complements in Shaowu involve the potential complement marker [tie^{53}] 得 which indicates the ability to achieve a state or a result (see Chapter 19 on post-verbal complements and compounds of result, direction and potentiality). In an OM construction, the potential complement also follows after the verb, just like resultative compounds in the above section. The syntactic template is [SUBJ + [OM + DO] + V + POT COMP$_{[tie53]}$ + RES + (ASP)].

See for instance the following two examples:

(770) ○她 拿 / 帮 ○这 事 话 得 通 。
xu^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35} ʊa^{35} tie^{53} t^{h}uŋ^{21}
3SG OM / OM DEM matter say POT clear
'She was able to talk clearly about this matter.'

It is also acceptable to use the standard SVO order, as shown in example (771), and also the topic-comment order, as shown in example (772):

(771) ○她 话 得 通 ○这 事 。
xu^{35} ʊa^{35} tie^{53} t^{h}uŋ^{21} tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35}
3SG say POT clear DEM matter
'She was able to talk clearly about this matter.'

(772) ○这 事 , ○她 话 得 通 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35} xu^{35} ʊa^{35} tie^{53} thuŋ^{21}
DEM matter 3SG say POT clear
'She was able to talk clearly about this matter.'

As the potential complement gets longer, the OM construction seems to be a better option:

(773) ○这 三 个 人 可以 拿 / 帮 鼎 底后
tɕiɔŋ^{53} san^{21} kəi^{0} nin^{22} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} tiaŋ^{55} ti^{22}əu^{0}
DEM three CLF person can OM / OM wok inside
食 得 伶伶俐俐 。
ɕie^{35} tie^{53} len^{22}len^{22}li^{35}li$^{35\sim21}$
eat COMP clean and shiny
'These three people are able to eat until the wok is empty.'

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A standard SVO order would sound strange to the native ear:

(774) ○这 三 个 人 可以 食 得 鼎
?? tɕiɔŋ^{53} san^{21} kəi^{0} nin^{22} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ ɕie^{35} tie^{53} tiaŋ^{55}
DEM three CLF person can eat COMP wok
底后 伶伶俐俐 。
ti^{22}əu^{0} len^{22}len^{22}li^{35}li$^{35\sim21}$
inside clean and shiny
'These three people are able to eat until the wok is empty.'

25.5.3 OM + OBJ + V + directional compound

Directional compounds are verb compounds that indicate the direction of an action or a movement. In Shaowu, the main verb is often followed by directional morphemes such as [ɕiɔŋ^{35}] 上 'up', [xa^{55}] 下 'down', [tʰei^{53}] 出 'out', [kʰi^{55}] 起 'up', [kuei^{21}] 归 'in', [li^{22}] 来 'come' and [kʰɔ^{213}] 去 'go'. These morphemes can also be combined with deictic verbs to form disyllabic directional compounds, such as [xa$^{35\sim55}$li$^{22\sim55}$] 下来 'come down', [tʰei^{53}kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 出去 'out go' and [kʰi^{55}li^{22}] 起来 'up come', affixed after the main verb (see Chapter 19 on postverbal complements and compounds of result, direction and potentiality). Note that the OM constructions are called for in sentences having a VP-directional compound, as the basic SVO sentence having a directional compound between the main verb and the direct object sounds very marginal to a native ear. However, without the OM construction, the SVO order can be grammatical, but only if the directional compound is placed after the direct object, instead of after the main verb. The following two examples illustrate this: example (775) with OM construction has either the object marker [na^{22}] 拿or [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, with the syntactic template [SUBJ + [OM + DO] + V + DIR]:

(775) ○我 拿 / 帮 信 寄 出 去 。
xaŋ^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} sin^{213} ki^{213} tʰei^{53} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG OM / OM letter send out go
'I posted the letter (includes the notion 'away from the speaker).'

In basic word order with the syntactic template [SUBJ + V + DIR + OBJ], the sentence becomes marginal:

(776) ○我 寄 出 去 信 。
?? xaŋ^{35} ki^{213} tʰei^{53} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sin^{213}
1SG send out go letter
'I posted the letter (out).'

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However, it is again grammatical with the word order [SUBJ + V + OBJ + DIR], that is, with the direct object placed between the verb and the directional compound:

(777) ○我 寄 信 出 去 。
xaŋ^{35} ki^{213} sin^{213} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\text{-}21}$
1SG send letter out go
'I posted the letter (out).'

The following set of sentences (examples 778–780) is similar in construction and grammaticality to examples (775) – (777):

(778) 邻居 拿 / 帮 米 驼 归 来 。
lin^{22}ky^{21} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} mi^{55} t^{h}ɔ^{22} kuei^{21} li^{22}
neighbour OM / OM rice bear in come
'The neighbour carried the rice on his shoulders and came in.'

(779) 邻居 驼 归 来 米 。
?? lin^{22}ky^{21} t^{h}ɔ^{22} kuei^{21} li^{22} mi^{55}
neighbour bear in come rice
'The neighbour carried the rice on his shoulders and came in.'

(780) 邻居 驼 米 归 来 。
lin^{22}ky^{21} t^{h}ɔ^{22} mi^{55} kuei^{21} li^{22}
neighbour bear rice in come
'The neighbour carried the rice on his shoulders and came in.'

Of course, the topic-comment construction is also a possible choice, but there is a slight shift of emphasis when the direct object is fronted to the beginning of sentence:

(781) 米 , 邻居 驼 归 来 。
mi^{55} lin^{22}ky^{21} t^{h}ɔ^{22} kuei^{21} li^{22}
rice neighbour bear in come
'As for the rice, the neighbour carried it on his shoulders and came in.'

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25.5.4 OM + OBJ + V + locative complement

A verb phrase containing a postverbal locative complement indicates where the final destination of an object will be, after the action has happened. In a basic SVO sentence, i.e., without the OM construction, the respective common syntactic template is [SUBJ + LOC COMP + V + OBJ] or [SUBJ + V + OBJ + LOC COMP]. With an OM construction, by fronting the direct object, the order becomes [SUBJ + OM + OBJ + V + LOC COMP]. The following three examples illustrate the latter order.

(782) 〇她 拿 / 帮 伞 〇〇了 了 处
xu^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} san^{55} la^{22}pu^{21}liau^{22} ə^{0} t^{h}u^{55}
OM / OM umbrella forget PFV LOC
学堂 底 。
xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ$^{55\sim22}$ ti^{0}
school in
'She left her umbrella behind in the school.'

(783) 〇她 老子 皆 是 拿 / 帮 票儿
xu^{35} lau^{53}tsə^{0} ka^{35} ɕi^{55} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}
3SG husband always be OM / OM money
'Her husband always puts the money
搁 得 枕头 边上 。
kɔ^{53} tie^{0} tɕin^{55}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ pien^{21}ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
put LOC pillow side
next to the pillow.'

(784) 妹儿 拿 / 帮 个 嫩 水 搁 处
mei^{213}ə^{0} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} kə^{0} nən^{35} sei^{55} kɔ^{53} t^{h}u^{35}
little sister OM / OM one bit water put LOC
鼎儿 底 。
tiaŋ^{55} ŋə^{0} ti^{0}
wok bottom
'The younger sister poured some water into the bottom of the wok.'

Note that the object marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can also mark the location (i.e., the locative complement without the LOC marker) and so move this locative NP before the verb. In this case, the syntactic complement thus becomes [SUBJ + OM$_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + LOC NP + V + OBJ]. However, when the other object marker [na^{22}] 拿 is applied to the same construction, the sentence becomes marginal. In some Mandarin dialects, the sentence *nǐ bǎ guō lǐ miàn fàng diǎn er shuǐ* 你把锅里面放点儿水

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(2SG-OM_{BA}-wok-inside-put-a little-water) translation is somewhat acceptable. Its object marker *bǎ* 把 can also be used to introduce a locative NP, instead of a direct object. Shaowu does the same, but only with OM [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 and not the transitive verb [na^{22}] 拿, likely because [na^{22}] 拿 is the prototypical object marker which fronts the direct object, whereas [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, coming from a different pathway, still retains to some extent its oblique usage, derived from the lexical meaning 'to help', and thus is more readily able to front a locational NP. It is most likely that [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is used with a variety of obliques whereas [na^{22}] 拿 is used with direct objects, just as in its basic lexical use as a verb. Example (785) is put into contrast with examples (786) – (788), the latter three being regarded as marginal.

(785) 妹儿 帮 鼎儿 底 搁 个 嫩 水 。
mei^{213}ə^{0} pɔŋ^{21} tiaŋ^{55} ŋə^{0} ti^{0} kɔ^{53} kə^{0} nən^{35} sei^{55}
little sister OM wok bottom put one bit water
'The young sister put some water at the bottom of the wok.'

(786) 妹儿 拿 鼎儿 底 搁 个 嫩 水 。
?? mei^{213}ə^{0} na^{22} tiaŋ^{55} ŋə^{0} ti^{0} kɔ^{53} kə^{0} nən^{35} sei^{55}
little sister OM wok bottom put one bit water
'The young sister put some water at the bottom of the wok.'

(787) ○$_{你}$ 帮 水 缸 底 ○$_{挑}$ 两 担 水 。
xien^{35} pɔŋ^{21} sei^{55} kɔŋ^{21} ti^{22} xai^{55} liɔŋ^{55} tan^{21} sei^{55}
2SG OM water pot in carry two CLF water
'Fill the vat with two loads of water.'

(788) ○$_{你}$ 拿 水 缸 底 ○$_{挑}$ 两 担 水 。
?? xien^{35} na^{22} sei^{55} kɔŋ^{21} ti^{22} xai^{55} liɔŋ^{55} tan^{21} sei^{55}
2SG OM water vat in carry two CLF water
'Fill the vat with two loads of water.'

(789) 帮 火 盆 底 多 加 个 嫩 碳 。
pɔŋ^{21} fəi^{55} p^{h}ən^{22} ti^{22} tɔ^{21} ka^{21} kə^{0} nən^{35} t^{h}an^{213}
OM fire pot in more add one bit charcoal
'Put a bit more charcoal in the fire pot.'

(790) 拿 火 盆 底 多 加 个 嫩 碳 。
?? na^{22} fəi^{55} p^{h}ən^{22} ti^{22} tɔ^{21} ka^{21} kə^{0} nən^{35} t^{h}an^{213}
OM fire pot in more add one bit charcoal
'Put a bit more charcoal in the fire pot.'

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25.5.5 OM + OBJ + V + aspect markers

When the verb is followed by an aspect marker, such as a perfective or completive marker, the OM construction is preferred in Shaowu. In the following four examples, we display Shaowu sentences with the OM construction and having such markers. Sometimes they both appear in the same sentence.

25.5.5.1 With perfective marker [ə0] 了

(791) ○我 拿 / 帮 个 碗 饭 食 了 。
xaŋ^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} kə^{0} ʊɔŋ^{55} p^{h}ən^{35} ɕie^{35} ə^{0}
1SG OM / OM one CLF rice eat PFV
'I have eaten a bowl of rice.'

(792) ○他 拿 / 帮 ○这 事 ○○了 了 。
xu^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35} la^{22}pu^{21}liau^{22} ə^{0}
3SG OM / OM DEM matter forget PFV
'He has forgotten this matter.'

25.5.5.2 With completive marker [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了

(793) ○我 拿 / 帮 信 寄 了 了 。
xaŋ^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} sin^{213} ki^{213} liau^{55} ə^{0}
1SG OM / OM letter post CMPL PFV
'I posted the letter.' (completion of action)

(794) ○那 蜀 个 人 拿 / 帮 顶 ○多 书 卖
ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} nin^{22} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} tin^{55} ʊai^{55} ɕy^{21} mie^{35}
DEM one CLF person OM / OM very many book sell
了 去 。
liau^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
CMPL go
'That person sold off many books.' (depletion of quantity)

25.5.5.3 With delimitative aspect marker [ka^{0}] <个下>

Delimitative aspect anchors an activity to a specific interval of time and expresses doing an action for 'a little bit' or for a short period of time. The Shaowu delimitative marker is [ka^{0}] <个下> (see Chapter 20 on aspectual system, § 20.7). The following example shows the delimitative aspect in the basic SVO order:

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(795) ○我 瞧 <个下> ○这 书 。
xaŋ[35] niaŋ[213] ka[0] tɕiɔŋ[53] ɕy[21]
1SG look DELIM DEM book
'I'll give this book a read.' (in a short and specific interval of time)

With an object marking construction, it becomes:

(796) ○我 拿 / 帮 ○这 书 瞧 <个下> 。
xaŋ[35] na[22] / pɔŋ[21] tɕiɔŋ[53] ɕy[21] niaŋ[213] ka[0]
1SG OM / OM DEM book look DELIM
'I'll give this book a read.' (in a short and specific interval of time)

While verb reduplication in Mandarin codes the delimitative, it is however grammatically unacceptable in Shaowu:

(797) ○我 拿 / 帮 ○这 书 瞧 瞧 。
** xaŋ[35] na[22] / pɔŋ[21] tɕiɔŋ[53] ɕy[21] niaŋ[213] niaŋ[213]
1SG OM / OM DEM book look look
(Attempted meaning: 'I'll give this book a read.')

25.5.6 OM constructions involving "part/whole" phrases

The object markers [na[22]] 拿 and [pɔŋ[21]] 帮 can also be used in OM constructions to mark a specific quantity taken from a whole (as in examples 798 and 799); the "whole" is object-marked while the "part" is postverbal:

(798) ○这 个 侬人 拿 / 帮 五 个 萝卜 食 了
tɕiɔŋ[53] ŋə[0] sa[22]nin[22] na[22] / pɔŋ[21] ŋ[55] ŋə[0] lɔ[22]pʰə[0] ɕie[35] liau[55]
DEM CLF man OM / OM five CLF carrot eat CMPL
三 个 。
san[21] kəi[213]
three CLF
'This man ate three carrots out of five.'

(799) ○她 拿 / 帮 梨儿 刨 了 皮 。
xu[35] na[22] / pɔŋ[21] li[22]ə[0] pʰau[35] ə[0] pʰi[22]
3SG OM / OM pear peel PFV skin
'She peeled the pear(s).'

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The OM construction can be applied to the "whole" as a covert subject, a body part in this case:

(800) 拿 / 帮 骹 洗 个 下 。
na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} k^{h}au^{21} sie^{55} kə^{0} xa^{35}
OM / OM foot wash one CLF
'Give your feet a wash.'

The OM construction can also be applied to the "part" which is object-marked, in this case the abstract noun of 'matter':

(801) ○$_{她}$ 拿 / 帮 ○$_{那}$ 事 ○$_{藏}$ 得 心儿 底 。
xu^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} ɔŋ^{53} sə^{35} k^{h}ɔŋ^{21} tie^{53} sən^{21}nə^{0} ti^{0}
3SG OM / OM DEM matter hide LOC heart in
'She buried the matter in her heart.'

25.5.7 OM constructions involving double objects (direct and indirect objects)

The syntactic schema for double object (direct object and indirect object, i.e., DO and IO) constructions involving object marking is usually [SUBJ + [OM + DO] + V + [DAT + IO] (+ VP)]. Either the OM [na^{22}] 拿 or [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can be used in such construction. Example (802) illustrates this point:

(802) ○$_{他}$ 拿 / 帮 ○$_{这}$ 个 事 话 得 老
xu^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} sə^{35} ʋa^{35} tie^{53} lau^{55}
3SG OM / OM DEM CLF matter tell DAT Old
张 听 。
tiɔŋ^{21} t^{h}iaŋ^{21}
Zhang hear
'He told the matter to Old Zhang.'

It is marginal if we move the indirect object together with the dative marker [tie^{53}] 得, before the direct object:

(803) ○$_{他}$ 话 得 老 张 听 ○$_{这}$ 个 事 。
?? xu^{35} ʋa^{35} tie^{53} lau^{55} tiɔŋ^{21} t^{h}iaŋ^{21} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} sə^{35}
3SG tell DAT Old Zhang hear DEM CLF matter
'He told the matter to Old Zhang.'

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However, it is possible to place the direct object between the main verb and the indirect object without having to call for an OM construction, as shown in the example below:

(804) ○他 话 ○这 个 事 得 老 张 听 。
xu^{35} ʋa^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} sə^{35} tie^{53} lau^{55} tiɔŋ^{21} t^{h}iaŋ^{21}
3SG tell DEM CLF matter DAT Old Zhang hear
'He told the matter to Old Zhang.'

In a ditransitive scenario, the object marking construction is often required by the language to clearly indicate 'who-does-what-to-whom', with the syntactic order of [S + [OM + DO] + V + [DAT + IO] (+ VP)], as shown in the two examples below:

(805) ○你 拿 / 帮 囝子 拿 得 ○我 。
xien^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} kin^{53}tsə^{0} na^{22} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35}
2SG OM / OM boy take DAT 1SG
'Bring the boy to me.'

(806) 囝子 拿 / 帮 桃儿 拿 得 ○他 娘佬 。
kin^{53}tsə^{0} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} t^{h}au^{53} ə^{0} na^{22} tie^{53} xu^{35} niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0}
boy OM / OM peach OM DAT 3SG mother
'The boy brought the peach to his mother.'

25.6 Verbs that cannot appear in Shaowu OM constructions

There is a category of verbs that are generally not compatible with OM constructions in Shaowu. These include verbs such as 'to have', 'to like', 'to understand', which are stative and usually take verbal complements or aspectual marking in SVO sentences. The following three examples illustrate this:

(807) ○我 拿 ○她 喜欢 。
?? xaŋ^{35} na^{22} xu^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21}
1SG OM 3SG like
'I like her.'

(808) ○你 拿 猫儿 有 。
?? xien^{35} na^{22} mau^{53}ə^{0} iɔu^{55}
2SG OM cat have
'You have cats.'

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(809) ○他 拿 ○这 事 懂 。
?? xu[35] na[22] tɕiɔŋ[53] sə[35] tuŋ[55]
3SG OM DEM matter understand
'He understands the matter.'

This is because the referent of the object usually has to be affected by the action, typically represented by verbs of placing, giving, finishing etc. (see e.g., von Heusinger & Kaiser 2010, Peyraube & Wiebusch 2020). This is also called the 'affectedness constraint' in the affectedness hierarchy (see Hopper & Thompson 1980, Tsunoda 1985, *inter alia*) for transitive verbs.

25.7 Negating OM constructions

There are two general negators in Shaowu, one is the general negator used in present and future contexts, negator [ŋ[55]] 唔, the other is the perfective negator [mau[35]] 冇 (discussed in Chapter 16 on negation and negative markers). It is possible to affix the general negator in front of the object marker (either [na[22]] 拿or [pɔŋ[21]] 帮) in order to negate the sentence, be it a statement or a question. In some ways, this is an indication that the Shaowu object markers have still retained their 'verbiness' (since they have both stemmed from full lexical verbs). The syntactic configuration of such constructions involving a negator is [SUBJ + NEG + [OM + DO] + VP]:

In an affirmative sentence:

(810) ○我 唔 拿 / 帮 ○它 当 回 事 。
xaŋ[35] ŋ[55] na[22] / pɔŋ[21] xu[35] tɔŋ[21] fei[22] sə[35]
1SG NEG OM / OM 3SG treat CLF matter
'I don't see it as a big deal.'

In an interrogative sentence:

(811) 恁底 唔 拿 / 帮 饭 食 了 了 ?
ni[53]ti[0] ŋ[55] na[22] / pɔŋ[21] pʰən[35] ɕie[35] liau[55] ə[0]
why NEG OM / OM rice eat CMPL PFV
'Why don't (you) eat up the rice?'

It is also possible to place the general negator just before the main verb instead of placing it before the object marker, without altering the sentence meaning.

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The syntactic configuration of such a construction involving a negator is [SUBJ + [OM + DO] + NEG + VP]:

(812) ○我 拿 ○它 唔 当 回 事 。
xaŋ^{35} na^{22} xu^{35} ŋ^{55} tɔŋ^{21} fei^{22} sə^{35}
1SG OM 3SG NEG treat CLF matter
'I don't see it as a big deal.'

However, this is applicable only when [na^{22}] 拿, and not [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, is the object marker in the sentence, as shown in the example above. If the object marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is used, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as shown in the following example:

(813) ○我 帮 ○它 唔 当 回 事 。
** xaŋ^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} ŋ^{55} tɔŋ^{21} fei^{22} sə^{35}
1SG OM 3SG NEG treat CLF matter
(Attempted meaning: 'I don't see it as a big deal.')

This would suggest that [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, which has multiple grammatical functions, is not as canonical as [na^{22}] 拿 in its object marking role. Its coordinative conjunction function seems to outweigh any other one in example (813), in which [xaŋ^{35}pɔŋ^{21}xu^{35}] ○我帮○它 can be treated as a topic [NP$_A$ + CONJ + NP$_B$]$_{TOP}$, and the whole sentence can thus be interpreted as 'As regards me and this, it's not a big deal.'

Below are two more examples which again display the contrast of grammaticality in negating OM constructions involving OM [na^{22}] 拿 or [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮. This time the VP involves a negative potential:

(814) ○他 拿 行李 搬 唔 出 来 。
xu^{35} na^{22} xən^{22}li^{22} pɔn^{21} ŋ^{55} t^{h}ei^{53} li^{22}
3SG OM luggage move NEG out come
'He could not take out the luggage.'

(815) ○他 帮 行李 搬 唔 出 来 。
** xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xən^{22}li^{22} pɔn^{21} ŋ^{55} t^{h}ei^{53} li^{22}
3SG OM luggage move NEG out come
(Attempted meaning: 'He could not take out the luggage.')

In a perfective/past setting, the general negator [mau^{35}] 冇 is used instead, as shown in the following two examples:

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(816) 囝子 有 拿 / 帮 饭 食 了 。
kin^{53}tsə^{0} mau^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} p^{h}ən^{35} ɕie^{35} liau^{55}
boy NEG OM / OM rice eat CMPL
'The boy did not eat up the rice.'

However, both sentences become marginal when [mau^{35}] 有 is attached right in front of the main verb:

(817) 囝子 拿 / 帮 饭 有 食 了 。
?? kin^{53}tsə^{0} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} p^{h}ən^{35} mau^{35} ɕie^{35} liau^{55}
boy OM / OM rice NEG eat CMPL
'The boy did not eat up the rice.'

When it comes to polar questions involving an OM construction, the OM marker itself cannot occupy the V slot in the [V + NEG + V] interrogative structure. Instead, a modal verb can be used to precede the [OM + DO] constituent and be negated, as shown in the following example, which has the syntactic template of [SUBJ + MOD + NEG + MOD + [OM + DO] + VP]:

(818) ○$_{要}$ 唔 ○$_{要}$ 拿 / 帮 大 门 落 锁 ?
nuŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} nuŋ^{35} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} t^{h}ai^{35} mən$^{22\sim55}$ lɔ^{35} sɔ^{55}
want NEG want OM / OM big door lower lock
'Don't you want to lock the gate?'

The sentence becomes marginal if the polar question is formed around the object marker [na^{22}] 拿 or [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 with the structure [NEG + OM + NEG]. This is likely due to the fact that the object marker needs to be as close to the direct object as possible, and also because both are grammatical markers which do not participate in polar questions. Only lexical verbs are usually allowed to form polar yes-or-no questions. Contrast (819) and (820) below:

(819) 拿 / 帮 唔 拿 / 帮 大 门 落 锁 ?
?? na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} ŋ^{55} na^{22} / pɔŋ^{21} t^{h}ai^{35} mən$^{22\sim55}$ lɔ^{35} sɔ^{55}
OM / OM NEG OM / OM big door lower lock
'Do you want to lock the gate?'

(820) 大 门 落 唔 落 锁 ?
t^{h}ai^{35} mən$^{22\sim55}$ lɔ^{35} ŋ^{55} lɔ^{35} sɔ^{55}
big door lower NEG lower lock
'Do you want to lock the gate?'

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25.8 Summary

Sinitic languages, including Shaowu, allow in general three types of constructions that can be used to pre-pose an object to a preverbal position: (i) topicalisation, (ii) passivisation and (iii) object marking (OM) constructions. The OM constructions are called for especially when the direct object is high on the animacy or definiteness hierarchy, and when the construction expresses a certain affectedness of the direct object by the subject, in coding the change of state of a matter. These constructions can also be used to mark generic or abstract nouns.

In this chapter, we have examined in great detail how object marking constructions are formed in Shaowu, using the object marker [na^{22}] 拿 or [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮. A related set of syntactic templates has been presented in the sections above, involving various OM predicate verbal categories, VPs with complements and/or aspectual marking, not to mention the issue of negation of OM constructions.

Shaowu, situated only 30 km away from the Gan-speaking Jiangxi province, falls within what Chappell (2015) called the Central Transition Zone. It aligns itself with the OM marker NA and its constructions in Gan, Central Wu and Xiang dialects (see Chappell 2013: 790), and also in Rucheng 汝城 Hakka (see Huang *et al*. 1996: 662). It is likely that the other object marker, [pɔŋ^{21}], 帮 has also likely gone through a similar grammaticalisation path from its source in the lexical verb 帮 PAU 'to help' found in many neighbouring Wu (e.g., 金华, see Huang *et al*. 1996: 662) and in Hui (Huizhou) and Xiang dialects (also see Chappell 2013: 790). The OM construction with a resumptive pronoun resembles the case for, for instance, Southern Min. This of course does not exclude that Shaowu might have witnessed its own internal change that was parallel to what was happening outside its sphere. However, given its unique geographic location (amid Gan, Hakka, Wu, Min speaking areas) and the historical waves of migration (see Chapter 2 for the geography, demography and history of Shaowu), it is not surprising that the syntactic behaviour for its object marking construction has 'warped' itself more towards its Gan and Wu neighbours, and has become rather unlike its cousin languages such as Eastern and Southern Min.

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Chapter 26
Multifunctional morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 and its grammaticalisation pathways

In this chapter, we will discuss the multifunctionality of the GET/GIVE verb represented by the same morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 in Shaowu, and also examine how its different syntactic configurations can coerce gradual semantic changes (cf. Paris 1982; Zhang 2008; Chappell 2012a, 2012b; Güldemann 2012a). The Shaowu morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 shows a remarkable degree of polysemy. It started out as a concrete lexical verb meaning 'to get', 'to obtain' in a mono-transitive environment and has developed into a verb meaning 'to give' in a ditransitive framework. It can also be used as a causative ditransitive verb 'to make', a permissive causative 'to let', or a passive marker. In addition, it has also progressed along various grammaticalisation pathways to become a dative marker, a benefactive marker and a purposive marker. Many, though not all, of these pathways are catalogued in Heine & Kuteva (2002: 37–39, 54) and Kuteva *et al*. (2019: 74–76, 192–203). This chapter aims to explore the previously unknown pathways and attempts to explain such a rich synchronic polysemy through its diachronic development and through certain cognitive explanations.

26.1 The origin of the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得

The Shaowu morpheme [tie^{53}] is originally a full lexical verb meaning 'to get', 'to obtain', 'to acquire'. The written form in Chinese is 得 *DE*, which could only mean 'to get' in Archaic Chinese inscribed on bronze artefacts (Chou 1953). The then commonly used morpheme for the verb 'to give' was 与 *YU*. The grapheme 得 (hereafter represented by *DE*, as it has different phonetic realisations in different Sinitic languages) was used as an independent verb with the meaning of 'to obtain' in inscriptions on ancient bronze objects in as early as three millennia ago (Chou 1953).

One of the earliest instances of the grapheme 得 *DE* appeared in circa 500 B.C. in the *Shangshu* (尚书) texts. Then between 500 B.C. and 200 A.D., in Old Chinese, the morpheme *DE* is found to have acquired a new meaning of 'to attain' and occurred commonly in a [*DE* + V] sequence (Chou 1953). Later on, between 200 A.D. and 700 A.D., *DE* started to appear in a [V + *DE*] sequence in Middle Chinese, changing from a preverbal to a postverbal position undergoing a kind

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of semantic generalisation and shifting from the sense of 'to attain' to a more abstract sense of 'to be possible to doing something' (see Sun 1996: 115–116).

Then in the Tang and Song dynasties (700 A.D. into the 13th century), the [V + *DE* + V] and [V + *DE* + S] constructions started to emerge, whereby DE became a verb complement marker. In modern Mandarin, *DE* can be used as a full lexical verb, as a modal auxiliary marking obligation (phonetically realised as *děi* 得), and as a verb complement marker in [V + *DE* + V] and [V + *DE* + S] constructions. A detailed description of such a chain of change can be found in Sun (1996: 108–162).

26.2 The polysemy of the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得

Like its GET verb counterparts in other Sinitic languages, Shaowu has retained, to this date, the concrete lexical meaning 'to get' which only appears in the mono-transitive construction [S + V_{get} + O], as shown in the following two examples:

26.2.1 The lexical verb [tie^{53}] 得 'to get'

(821) 〇$_{她}$ 得 到 了 蜀 个 奖 。
xu^{35} tie^{53} tau^{213} ə^{0} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} tsiɔŋ^{55}
3SG get ACH PFV one CLF prize
'She obtained a prize.'

(822) 〇$_{她}$ 得 到 了 成功 。
xu^{35} tie^{53} tau^{213} ə^{0} ɕin^{22}kuŋ^{21}
3SG get ACH PFV success
'She attained success.'

Note that in example (821), the verb 'to get' [tie^{53}] 得 is applied to more concrete objects such as 'prize', whereas in example (822), it is used for more abstract concepts such as 'success'. One can see that there is already a subtle shift of meaning from 'obtain' to 'attain', depending on the concreteness of the object in question.

Interestingly, the verb [tie^{53}] 得 'to get' has apparently developed an adjectival meaning of 'ready', 'relating to the state of being attained or reached', as demonstrated in the following two examples:

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26.2.2 [tie^{53}] 得 as adjective ‘ready’

(823) 桃儿 得 了 。
tʰau^{53}ə^{0} tie^{53} ə^{0}
peach ready PFV
‘The peaches are ripe.’

(824) 饭 得 了 。
pʰən^{35} tie^{53} ə^{0}
rice ready PFV
‘The rice is cooked.’

As mentioned earlier, Shaowu GET verb has slightly changed its sense from ‘obtain’ to ‘attain’, and it is reasonable to assume that the verb ‘to attain’ could further develop into the ‘state of attainment/readiness’, whereby the adjectival usage of [tie^{53}] 得 has emerged of ‘ripe’ or ‘matured’.

Such a conversion of lexical category may have a logical explanation. The end result of ‘obtaining’ naturally entails a state of ‘attainment’. Such a process presupposes a change of state, as in for example English, *Someone got rich* after *obtaining some wealth*. From this change of state stems the idea of ‘the state being reached’ and ‘readiness’. There is, furthermore, a semantic extension from the adjective of ‘attained’, ‘reached’ to the intensifier of ‘really’, ‘very’, as shown in the following two examples:

(825) ○$_{这}$ 本 书 得 好 睇 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} pən^{55} ɕy^{21} tie^{53} xau^{55} niaŋ^{213}
DEM CLF book ADV good read
‘This book is really interesting.’

(826) ○$_{那}$ 个 人 得 好 。
ɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} nin^{22} tie^{53} xau^{55}
DEM CLF person ADV good
‘That person is very nice.’

This interesting intensifier usage of a verb of ‘GET’ as illustrated above is not commonly observed in the world’s languages. It is not found, for instance, in the *World lexicon of grammaticalisation* (Heine & Kuteva 2002, Kuteva *et al.* 2019). A plausible explanation may be that [tie^{53}] 得 expresses also the attainment of a state, hence also the actualisation and emphasis of that state, leading to the emergence of an intensifier function.

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Like its GET counterpart in many other Sinitic languages, the Shaowu [tie^{53}] 得 has also retained the Medieval Chinese postverbal usage of 得 *DE* with the modal sense of 'being possible/permitted to do something' (cf. Chapter 17, § 17.1) in the construction [V + *DE*] (Sun 1996: 112–117). *DE* as a marker of ability and possibility appeared in Early Middle Chinese, i.e., 2nd–6th centuries A.D. (cf. Sun 1996: 115–116, Peyraube 1996, 1999). This usage can be seen in the two Shaowu examples below.

26.2.3 [tie^{53}] 得 as possibility modal suffix

(827) ○这 个 桃儿 食 得 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} t^{h}au^{53}ə^{0} ɕie^{35} tie^{53}
DEM CLF peach eat can
'This peach can be eaten.' (It is ripe.)

26.2.4 [tie^{53}] 得 as permission modal suffix

(828) ○这 样 事 做 得 , ○那 样 事 做
tɕiɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} sə^{35} tsɔ^{213} tie^{53} ɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} sə^{35} tsɔ^{213}
DEM CLF thing do may DEM CLF thing do
唔 得 。
ŋ^{55} tie^{53}
NEG may
'One is allowed to do this kind of thing, but one may not do that kind of thing.'

However, unlike its Sinitic counterpart such as Cantonese or some South East Asian languages such as Zhuang, Vietnamese and Lao (see for example Enfield 2001, 2004; Sybesma 2008), the morpheme [tie^{53}] alone cannot act as a modal suffix indicating ability or potential (POT), see also Chapter 19, § 19.3.

(829) ○他 打 得 。
** xu^{35} ta^{55} tie^{53}
3SG hit POT
(Attempted meaning: 'He can fight.' (ability))

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Nevertheless, it can act as a potential marker (POT) in a comparative construction, as shown in the following example:

(830) ○他 打 得 ○我 度 。
xu^{35} ta^{55} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} tʰɔ^{35}
3SG hit POT 1SG SUR
'He can beat me in a fight.'' (ability)

Likewise, the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 can be a verb complement marker (VCM) in a potential complement construction:

(831) ○这 条 桌儿 ○我 搬 得 动 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tʰiau^{22} pʰɔn^{22}nə^{0} xaŋ^{35} pɔn^{21} tie^{53} tʰuŋ^{35}
DEM CLF table 1SG lift VCM move
'I am able to move this table.'

The same morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 can also be a verb complement marker marking the resultative, manner and extent complements (cf. Chapter 18). The syntactic environment is usually V + [tie^{53}] 得 + complement, where [tie^{53}] 得 is an obligatory constituent between the main verb and the complement that follows. Its usages can be illustrated respectively by the following three examples.

26.2.5 [tie^{53}] 得 as resultative complement marker

(832) 气 得 ○我 啼 起来 。
kʰi^{213} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} tʰi^{53} kʰi^{55}li^{22}
anger VCM 1SG cry INCH
'(Somebody/Something) made me so angry that I started to cry.'

26.2.6 [tie^{53}] 得 as extent complement marker

(833) ○他 走 得 顶 累 。
xu^{35} tsu^{55} tie^{53} tin^{55} lɔi^{213}
3SG run VCM very tired
'He ran and got very tired.'

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26.2.7 [tie^{53}] 得 as manner complement marker

(834) 〇她 话 得 好 。
xu^{35} ua^{35} tie^{53} xau^{55}
3SG say VCM well
'She said it in a nice way.'

26.2.8 [tie^{53}] 得 as directional complement marker

The morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 can also combine with deictic complements such as [li^{22}] 来 derived from the verb 'come'; and [k^{h}ɔ^{213}] 去 derived from the verb 'go', such that the syntactic construction V + [tie^{53}] 得 + DIR complement indicates an action with movement involved, as shown in the following example:

(835) 拿 书 拿 得 来 / 去 。
na^{22} ɕy^{21} na^{22} tie^{53} li^{22} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
OM book take VCM come go
'Bring the book over.'/ 'Take the book away.'

26.2.9 [tie^{53}] 得 as locative complement marker

As an extension of the directional usage, [tie^{53}] 得 can introduce a locative complement (cf. Chapter 19, § 19.2), as in the following two examples:

(836) 张明 爬 得 厝顶 上 去 了 。
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} p^{h}a^{22} tie^{53} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ten^{55} ɕiɔŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ə^{0}
Zhang Ming climb VCM roof up go PFV
'Zhang Ming has climbed up to the roof top.'

(837) 〇她 拿 书 搁 得 桌 上 。
xu^{35} na^{22} ɕy^{21} kɔ^{53} tie^{53} p^{h}ɔn^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
3SG OM book put LOC table on
'She put the book on the table.'

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26.3 From GET to GIVE

In a ditransitive construction, [tie^{53}] 得 radically changes its meaning. While it means 'to get' in the mono-transitive construction, it means 'to give' in the ditransitive framework. Note that Shaowu has no basic verb 'GIVE', but only the verb of 'GET' [tie^{53}] 得 semantically converted into 'GIVE' with three arguments, instantiated by the following two examples:

26.3.1 [tie^{53}] 得 as the lexical verb 'to give'

(838)

娘佬	得	了	囝子	十	块	票儿	。
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0}	tie^{53}	ə^{0}	kin^{53}tsə^{0}	ɕin^{35}	k^{h}uai^{213}	p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}	
mother	give	PFV	boy	ten	CLF	money	

'The mother gave the child ten RMB (monetary unit in China).'

(839)

○$_{我}$	得	了	○$_{他}$	个	本	书	。
xaŋ^{35}	tie^{53}	ə^{0}	xu^{35}	kə^{0}	pən^{55}	ɕy^{21}	
1SG	give	PFV	3SG	one	CLF	book	

'I gave him a book.'

Note that it is impossible to interpret the above two sentences as 'The mother acquired ten RMB from the child.' or 'I obtain a book from him.' The only possible reading is the 'giving' sense.

The absence of the basic verb of 'giving' in Shaowu is not surprising as 'give' is not necessarily a basic lexical item in languages and is indeed not included as a semantic primitive in Wierzbicka (1992: 223–224). Languages lacking a basic verb of 'giving' will have to resolve finding other strategies in forming such a lexical item, and in Shaowu's case, it converts GET [tie^{53}] 得 into its semantic opposite of GIVE [tie^{53}] 得.

However, how can one explain this antipodean shift of meaning? A cognitive explanation would be that, although the force-dynamics is reversed, the participants (Giver, Theme, Recipient) remain the same within the same spatio-temporal domain (Newman 1996: 50). In addition, there is also a close semantic affinity between 'get' and 'give' which in turn favours the change in meaning of a 'GET' verb into 'GIVE'. A historical example is the German GIVE, *geben,* which is cognate with Old Irish *gabim* meaning TAKE, suggesting semantic connection between the two verbs (Newman 1996:58).

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'Give' can emerge historically from 'GET' through lexical enrichment with or by absorption of the semantic component of transfer within a grammatical construction that inherently conveys this meaning (cf. Gronemeyer 1999, Güldemann 2012a). According to Güldemann, this antonymic derivation from GET to GIVE can be induced by a syntactically coerced semantic re-analysis, this is to say that the change in the syntactic environment from mono-transitivity to ditransitivity changes the semantic profile of [tie^{53}] 得 from GET to GIVE. Thus GET, originally a verb of a valency of two, becomes trivalent, which means it can take three arguments. The perspective is then switched around to that of the donor, giving rise to the sense of GIVE (Newman 1996: 58–60).

This can be illustrated by the English example *I get you a book*, where in the frame of [GET + NP_A + NP_B], GET is re-analysed as GIVE (Collins, Matthews pers. comm.). For instance, 'I get you a book.' is reanalysed as 'I get a book and give it to you.' (GIVER + VERB + RECIPIENT + THEME).

Cross-linguistically, it is common for GIVE verbs to grammaticalise into benefactive, dative, causative and passive markers, particularly in Mainland Southeast Asian languages and in West Africa (see, for example, Zhang 2000, Lord, Yap & Iwasaki 2002, Chappell & Peyraube 2006). Indeed, from the GIVE sense, the Shaowu morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 has developed into these senses. The following two examples illustrate [tie^{53}] 得 as a benefactive marker (cf. Chapter 24):

26.3.2 [tie^{53}] 得 as benefactive and purposive marker

(840) ○你 得 ○我 去 买 菜 。
xien^{35} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ mie^{55} t^{h}ə^{213}
2SG BEN 1SG go buy grocery
'(You) Go and buy groceries for me.'

(841) ○你 门 得 ○我 打 开 个 下 。
xien^{35} mən^{22} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} ta^{55} k^{h}ai^{21} kə^{0} xa^{35}
2SG door BEN 1SG open up one CLF$_V$
'(You) Open up the door a bit for me.'

From this benefactive function, [tie^{53}] 得 has further developed into a purposive marker, which serves to connect two clausal structures with the meaning that the action of the first clause is done in order that the action or event of the second clause may take place, as in the example below:

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(842) ○他 刨 西 瓜 得 大家 食 。
xu^{35} t^{h}ɔi^{53} si^{21} kua^{21} tie^{53} t^{h}ai^{35}ka^{21} ɕie^{35}
3SG slice watermelon PURP everyone eat
'He sliced up the watermelon for everyone to eat.'

The grammaticalisation pathway of GIVE > BENEFACTIVE > PURPOSIVE is commonly attested in the world's languages (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 155).

26.3.3 [tie^{53}] 得 as dative marker

Besides this, the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 has also grammaticalised from the lexical verb 'to give' into a dative marker, as shown in the example below where the first [tie^{53}] 得 is still a lexical verb 'to give' while the second [tie^{53}] 得 is a dative marker (cf. Chapter 27):

(843) ○我 得 了 个 本 书 得 ○他 。
xaŋ^{35} tie^{53} ə^{0} kə^{0} pən^{55} ɕy^{21} tie^{53} xu^{35}
1SG give PFV one CLF book DAT 3SG
'I gave a book to him.'

However, if the verb is not GIVE itself but another trivalent verb of transfer, such as 'to send', 'to lend', then the unmarked order is [S + V + DO + DAT + IO] with [tie^{53}] 得 as the dative marker, as illustrated in the two examples below:

(844) ○他 寄 了 个 封 信 得 ○我 。
xu^{35} ki^{213} ə^{0} kə^{0} fen^{21} sin^{213} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35}
3SG send PFV one CLF letter DAT 1SG
'He sent a letter to me.'

(845) ○她 借 了 个 本 书 得 ○我 。
xu^{35} tsia^{213} ə^{0} kə^{0} pən^{55} ɕy^{21} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35}
3SG lend PFV one CLF book DAT 1SG
'She lent a book to me.'

26.3.4 [tie^{53}] 得 as 'concern' marker

The function of [tie^{53}] 得 as a 'concern' marker has also sprung from its dative usage. The following example is an instance of a pathway whereby the verb 'to

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give', on account of certain salient semantic properties, has developed into a grammatical marker of an oblique case relation that expresses the meaning 'concerning':

(846) 得 张明 来 话 , 唔 算 啥 。
tie^{53} tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} li^{22} ʊa^{35} ŋ^{55} sɔn^{213} ɕia^{53}
OBL Zhang Ming come say NEG count what
'As far as Zhang Ming is concerned, it is nothing.'

A similar pathway has been documented in Malay (Lord, Yap & Iwasaki 2002), where the verb 'to give' has evolved into a concern marker:

(Malay) *bagi aku , nak berbaik dengan dia memang susah*
give 1SG want BER-good with 3SG truly difficult
'For me, to be on good terms with him/her is really difficult.'

26.3.5 [tie^{53}] 得 as causative verbs

As in many languages in the world, including Sinitic languages such as Mandarin, Cantonese and Southern Min, the verb 'to give' can be grammaticalised into a causative verb (cf. Chapter 29), as shown through the following four examples:

26.3.5.1 'Make' causative

(847) 大家 得 新姐夫 向 人客 敬 酒 。
t^{h}ai^{35}ka^{21} tie^{53} sən^{21}tsia^{55}fu^{0} xiɔŋ^{213} nin^{22}k^{h}a^{53} kin^{213} tsɔu^{55}
everyone $CAUS_{make}$ bridegroom ALL guest toast wine
'Everyone got the bridegroom to toast the guests.'

(848) ○$_{那}$ 样 事 顶 得 ○$_{他}$ 伤 心 。
ɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} sə^{35} tin^{55} tie^{53} xu^{35} ɕiɔŋ^{21} sən^{21}
DEM CLF thing very $CAUS_{make}$ 3SG hurt heart
'That matter made his heart break.'

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26.3.5.2 Permissive 'let' causative

(849) 娘佬 得 小 囝子 去 外头 搞 。
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} tie^{53} siau^{55} kin^{53}tsə^{0} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ʋai^{35}xəu$^{53\sim21}$ kau^{55}
mother CAUS$_{let}$ little boy go outside play
'The mother let the little boy go to play outside.'

26.3.5.3 Non-preventive causative

(850) ○$_{别}$ 得 ○$_{她}$ 受 凉 。
məi^{22} tie^{53} xu^{35} ɕiɔu^{35} liɔŋ^{22}
PROH CAUS$_{non\text{-}prev}$ 3SG suffer cold
'Don't let her catch cold.'

It is a well-attested pathway of grammaticalisation in Sinitic that a causative verb can be further grammaticalised into a passive marker (see, for example, Yap & Iwasaki 2003 on East and Southeast Asian languages, Kuteva et al. 2019). According to Chappell & Peyraube (2006), the verb 'to give' in Southern Min also undergoes polygrammaticalisation where the different pathways emanate from a single source morpheme:

V [GIVE] > dative marker
V [GIVE] > causative > passive marker

Ongoing research is under way by Chappell, Peyraube and Zhang Min on the possibility of an implicational universal [GIVE > PASSIVE MARKER] -> [GIVE > CAUSATIVE] (for details, see Chappell & Peyraube 2006).

26.3.6 [tie^{53}] 得 as passive marker

In both examples below, [tie^{53}] 得 is the agent marker in the passive construction (cf. Chapter 28), the construction itself being often associated with undesirable events in Sinitic languages.

(851) 茶 瓯 得 ○$_{他}$ 打 破 了 了 。
tʰa^{22} əu^{21} tie^{53} xu^{35} ta^{55} pʰai^{213} liau$^{55\sim22}$ ə^{0}
tea cup PASS 3SG hit broken CMPL PFV
'The teacup was broken by him.'

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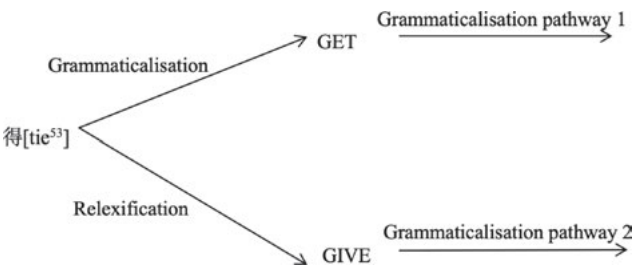
(852) ○这 个 囝子 得 ○他 娘佬 打 了 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0} tie^{53} xu^{35} niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} ta^{55} ə^{0}
DEM CLF boy PASS 3SG mother hit PFV
'The boy has been beaten by his mother.'

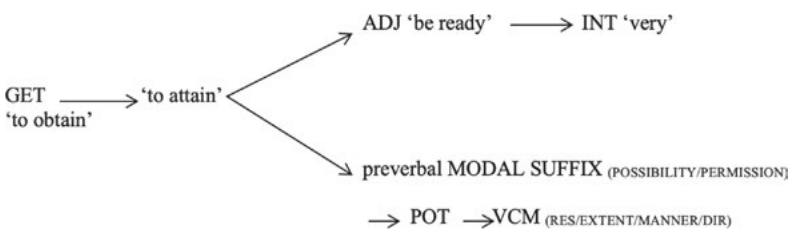
26.4 Grammaticalisation pathways of the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得

As mentioned earlier, the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 is originally a lexical verb 'to get'. This lexeme has undergone two processes of change during the course of time: grammaticalisation of the verb 'to get' and re-lexification (*as per* Güldemann 2012a) into the verb 'to give' which then grammaticalises along various pathways of development. Due to the lack of written records in Shaowu, there is no way to ascertain when exactly a certain usage arose (or perished). All linguistic usages of the morpheme [tie^{53}] are taken from synchronic data. We propose a bifurcation schema as follows:



We call the upper branch the 'GET grammaticalisation pathway', and the lower branch the 'GIVE grammaticalisation pathway'. The followings are proposed pathways for their respective developments in Shaowu, their various syntactic contexts have been discussed in the sections above.

26.4.1 The GET grammaticalisation pathway



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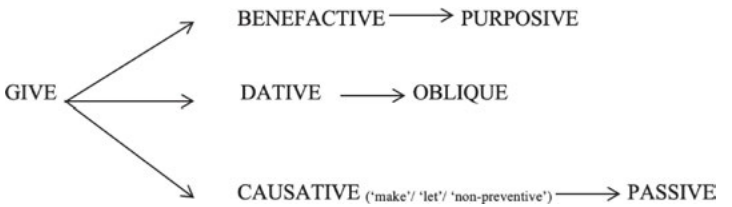
26.4.2 The GIVE grammaticalisation pathway



Both the GIVE [tie[53]] 得 and the GET [tie[53]] 得 have undergone the process of 'polygrammaticalisation', a term coined by Craig (1991) which designates the phenomenon by which a single morpheme, associated with different uses in different contexts, becomes the source of multiple grammaticalisation chains. These chains are observed synchronically in the polysemy of a single item, where the degree of semantic proximity between different uses corresponds to the relative stages of the grammaticalisation chain (Craig 1991: 455–456). Lexical conversion from GET to GIVE verb in Shaowu is itself the very source of the subsequent polygrammaticalisation chains.

26.5 Summary

In this chapter, we have explored the polysemy of the morpheme [tie[53]] 得, which covers the lexical meanings of both 'to get' and 'to give'. We have suggested how the sense 'give' arises through reanalysis. The multiple grammatical functions of [tie[53]] 得 can then be derived from the various pathways of grammaticalisation associated with GIVE and GET verbs, which are well attested in each case in Sinitic languages and beyond.

Shaowu is situated in a micro linguistic area where various Sinitic dialect groups, such as Gan, Hakka, Wu and Mandarin have brought in, in the course of time, different features that would have been assimilated and incorporated in Shaowu. The Wu dialect of Jinhua spoken in the neighbouring Zhejiang province, for instance, has a GET verb possessing almost the same functions as the Shaowu [tie[53]] 得 (see Xu & Miyata 1999: 3877–3878). It is assumed that both contact-induced grammaticalisation and language-internal changes may have contributed to the rich polysemy of [tie[53]] 得 in Shaowu.

Indeed, the Shaowu case exemplifies the notion of 'gram family' proposed by Dahl, referring to grammatical categories (grams) "with related functions and diachronic sources that show up in genetically and/or geographically related groups of languages" (Dahl 2000b: 317). And as grammaticalisation is highly con-

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tagious, the chance that the morpheme and certain constructions coming along with it undergo a particular kind of grammaticalisation increases dramatically if a neighbouring language undergoes the process in question (Dahl 2001: 1469).

Not only is Shaowu a good example to illustrate that various grammatical functions can be carried by a single morpheme through diachronic processes, but also that it is an exemplar hybrid language formed in part on feature selection from a 'feature pool' including features from many surrounding dialects, which happen to belong to different dialect groups, as pointed out in Mufwene (2002: 56) who explains that a "Feature pool from which ... every new state of the communal language draws its units and principles and recreates a new system, every language is naturally a hybrid of some sort."

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Chapter 27
Ditransitive constructions

A ditransitive construction is defined as a construction having a trivalent ditransitive verb, an agent argument (A), a recipient-like argument (R) and a theme argument (T) (Hopper & Thompson 1980, Conti 2004, Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie 2010: 1, *inter alia*). In terms of syntactic relations, in many languages, these arguments are referred to as the subject (S), the indirect object (IO) and the direct object (DO) respectively. A prototypical ditransitive three-argument construction contains a verb of transfer such as 'to give', 'to send', 'to sell', as for instance in English '$I_{agent/S}$ give you $_{recipient/IO}$ a $book_{theme/DO}$'.

The trivalency of ditransitive verbs can form ditransitive constructions that contain the direct and indirect objects, which can generally be further divided into various subtypes in Sinitic languages (Zhu 1979, Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 111–116, Liu 2001a, Zhang 2008, *inter alia*). Two major subtypes are (i) the double object constructions and (ii) the prepositional dative constructions, both subtypes having variations in their syntactic configurations. The first subtype involves the postverbal juxtaposition of direct and indirect objects regardless of their order, while the second subtype usually contains a dative preposition pre-posed before the indirect object, the constituent [DAT + IO] is placed either postverbally or preverbally.

Many Sinitic linguists see the relative word order between the direct object and indirect object in ditransitive constructions as a key typological difference that classifies Sinitic languages broadly into the 'northern type' and 'southern type' (Chao 1968: 334, Hashimoto 1976b, Yuan 2001 [1960], Zhang 2008, *inter alia*). The northern type typically has the word order of SUBJ + V + IO + DO whereas the southern type typically has the word order of SUBJ + V + DO + IO, exemplified by Mandarin and Cantonese respectively. This is illustrated by the equivalents of the English sentence *He gives me a book*, for Mandarin (northern) and Cantonese (southern):

(Mandarin)	他	给	我	一	本	书	。
	tā	*gěi*	*wǒ*	*yī*	*běn*	*shū*	
	3SG	give	$1SG_{IO}$	one	CLF	$book_{DO}$	
	'He gave me a book.'						

(Cantonese)	佢	畀	一	本	书	我	。
	kœy^5	bei^2	jat^7	bun^2	sy^1	ngo^5	
	3SG	give	one	CLF	$book_{DO}$	$1SG_{IO}$	
	'He gave a book to me.'						

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A more fine-grained classification of ditransitive constructions found in Sinitic languages is presented in the *Linguistic Atlas of Chinese Dialects* (Cao ed. 2008, Vol. 3 on Grammar: 096) and further expounded in Zhang (2008) with specific geographical distributions for the following ditransitive construction types across China:

1.	Type A double object construction	SUBJ+V+IO+DO
2.	Type B double object construction	SUBJ+V+DO+IO
3.	Type A prepositional dative construction	SUBJ+V+DO+DAT+IO
4.	Type B prepositional dative construction	SUBJ+DAT+IO+V+DO
5.	Other types	SUBJ+$OM_{[na22]}$+DO+V+$DAT_{[tie53]}$+IO
6.	Topicalised ditransitive construction	SUBJ+DOTOP+V+IO/ SUBJ+DOTOP+V+DAT+IO/ SUBJ+OM+DO+V+IO

Types A and B prepositional dative constructions in 3 and 4 are also referred to by some linguists as indirectives whereby the indirect object (the recipient) is introduced by a dative preposition DAT, whereas type 6 is a miscellaneous category that encompasses topicalised direct object in double object constructions, topicalised direct object in prepositional dative constructions and direct object-marking ditransitive constructions.

In this chapter, we look at the following items concerning Shaowu ditransitive constructions:

(i) Ditransitive construction types in Shaowu
(ii) Verb categories in ditransitive constructions (the 'give' type, the 'pseudo give' type, the 'deprive' type, the 'make' type, the 'pseudo acquire' type, as categorised in Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 117–126)
(iii) Ditransitive versus benefactive

27.1 Ditransitive construction types in Shaowu

In this first section, we are going to explore the various ditransitive construction types that are used in Shaowu. The most common construction types are (i) the double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V + IO + DO] and (ii) the prepositional dative construction Type A [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT + IO], with the dative marker usually being [tie^{53}] 得. This marker [tie^{53}] 得, a preposition, is in fact the prototypical dative marker in Shaowu, and it is clearly grammaticalised from the lexical

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verb 'to give' (cf. Chapter 26 on the multifunctionality of the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 and its grammaticalisation paths).

It is also possible to insert a dative preposition between V and IO in the double object construction Type A, thus obtaining a derived double object construction (iii): [SUBJ + V + DAT $^{+}$ IO + DO]. The dative marker used in this construction is exclusively [tie^{53}] 得. It is noteworthy, however, that Shaowu does not use the Type B double object construction Type B [SUBJ + V + DO + IO], i.e., the 'southern' type, in which the direct object precedes the indirect.

Shaowu also has (iv) the prepositional dative construction, Type B: [SUBJ + DAT + IO + V + DO], but this construction only allows [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 to act as the dative marker, and not [tie^{53}] 得. While [tie^{53}] 得 is the prototypical dative marker of Shaowu, the dative marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is preferred in the [SUBJ + DAT + IO + V + DO] construction when the IO is located in the preverbal position. The marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is grammaticalised from the lexical verb 'to help' (cf. Chapter 23 on the multifunctionality of the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮and its grammaticalisation paths).

In addition, there are two composite ditransitive construction types in Shaowu. One involves the combination of the object marking construction and the ditransitive prepositional dative construction: (v) [SUBJ + OM + DO + V + DAT + IO], with the object marker [na^{22}] 拿and the dative marker [tie^{53}] 得. The other is the topicalisation of the direct object of ditransitive constructions in the construction types mentioned in the paragraph above, giving (vi) [DO_{TOP} + SUBJ + V + IO + (NUM + CLF)] or [DO_{TOP} + SUBJ + V + DAT + IO + (NUM + CLF)]. These composite construction types underline the direct object.

The possible ditransitive constructions in Shaowu are thus:

(i) [SUBJ + V + IO + DO]
(ii) [SUBJ + V + $DAT_{[tie53]}$ $^{+}$ IO + DO]
(iii) [SUBJ + $DAT_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + IO + V + DO]
(iv) [SUBJ + $OM_{[na22]}$ + DO + V + $DAT_{[tie53]}$ + IO]
(v) [DO_{TOP} + SUBJ + V + IO + (NUM + CLF)], or
(vi) [DO_{TOP} + SUBJ + V + $DAT_{[tie53]}$ $^{+}$ IO + (NUM + CLF)]

27.1.1 Double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V + IO + DO]

This construction type is most frequently used especially when the ditransitive verb is 'to give' [tie^{53}] 得 itself. The following three examples illustrate its usage.

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27.1.1.1 In a statement

(853) ○我 得 ○你 个 双 著只 。
xaŋ[35] tie[53] xien[35] kə[0] sɔŋ[21] tʰy[35]tɕia[53]
1SG give 2SG one CLF chopsticks
'I give you a pair of chopsticks.'

27.1.1.2 In an imperative

(854) 得 ○我 个 行 薯 !
tie[53] xaŋ[35] kə[0] xaŋ[22] ɕy[55~22]
give 1SG one CLF yam
'Give me a yam!'

27.1.1.3 In a question

(855) ○你 得 ○哪 蜀 个 个 瓶 酱油 ?
xien[35] tie[53] nɔŋ[22] ɕi[22] kəi[213] kə[0] pʰən[22] tɕiɔŋ[21]iɔu[55]
2SG give which one CLF one CLF soy sauce
'Whom did you give a bottle of soy sauce to?'

27.1.2 Type A prepositional dative construction [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT$_{[tie53]}$ + IO]

This construction type is often used when the ditransitive verb is the 'give' type or the 'pseudo give' type (see § 27.2.1 and § 27.2.2 below). The dative prepositional phrase is found in postverbal position. The following three examples illustrate its usage which can be usefully compared with the three examples above:

27.1.2.1 In a statement

(856) ○我 得 个 双 著只 得 ○你 。
xaŋ[35] tie[53] kə[0] sɔŋ[21] tʰy[35]tɕia[53] tie[53] xien[35]
1SG give one CLF chopsticks DAT 2SG
'I'll give a pair of chopsticks to you.'

27.1.2.2 In an imperative

(857) 得 个 行 薯 得 ○我 !
tie[53] kə[0] xaŋ[22] ɕy[22] tie[53] xaŋ[35]
give one CLF yam DAT 1SG
'Give a yam to me!'

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27.1.2.3 In a question

(858) ○你 送 个 瓶 酱油 得 ○哪 蜀 个 ?
xien[35] suŋ[213] kə[0] pʰən[22] tɕiɔŋ[21]iɔu[55] tie[53] nɔŋ[22] ɕi[22] kəi[213]
2SG offer one CLF soy sauce DAT which one CLF
'Whom did you give a bottle of soy sauce to?'

27.1.3 Derived double object construction [SUBJ + V + DAT$_{[tie53]}$ + IO + DO]

We see this construction type [SUBJ + V + DAT$_{[tie53]}$ + IO + DO] as a derived construction of the double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V + IO + DO], where IO and DO sit in the same syntactic position. Some linguists, such as Liu (2001a) and Zhang (2008), see the constituent located between the verb V and the indirect object IO, the dative marker [tie[53]] 得, in [SUBJ + V + DAT$_{[tie53]}$ + IO + DO] as either a fully-fledged lexical verb 'to give' or a grammaticalised dative marker 'to', depending on whether the sentence is parsed as having a serial verb construction [V + 'give'] or as having a postverbal prepositional dative marking ['to'+ IO]. The two readings are indeed possible. However, the verb 'to give' in the serial verb construction has likely been bleached semantically and grammaticalised into a dative marker after the re-analysis process. A native speaker of Mandarin Chinese would probably no longer parse a sentence like *wǒ sòng gěi tā yī běn shū* '我送给她一本书。' as 'I offer and give her a book.' but rather 'I offer a book (to) her.'

In Shaowu, the morpheme [tie[53]] 得 can both act as a full lexical verb or as a dative marker depending on the context. However, in this specific syntactic environment, the morpheme has been syntactically coerced towards its grammaticalised function rather than retaining its 'to give' meaning. This is clearly borne out anyway by the main verb of transfer that precedes it. Thus, in the ditransitive construction [SUBJ + V + DAT$_{[tie53]}$ + IO + DO], the lexeme [tie[53]] 得 is construed as a dative preposition and not a lexical verb. The following three examples illustrate this:

(859) ○他 卖 得 ○我 个 栋 厝 。
xu[35] mie[35] tie[53] xaŋ[35] kə[0] tuŋ[213] tɕʰiɔ[213]
3SG sell DAT 1SG one CLF house
'He sold a house to me.'

(860) ○我 送 得 ○他 个 行 槃 。
xaŋ[35] suŋ[213] tie[53] xu[35] kə[0] xaŋ[22] pʰɔn[22]
1SG offer DAT 3SG one CLF table
'I offered him a table.'

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(861) ○他 个 东西 分 了 得 ○她 个 半 。
xu^{35} kə^{0} tuŋ^{21}si^{21} pən^{21} ə^{0} tie^{53} xu^{35} kə^{0} pɔn^{213}
3SG POSS thing divide PFV DAT 3SG one half
'He shared half of his possessions with her.'

Note that example (861) has a split direct object (DO).

A good test to show that the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 is a dative preposition in examples (860) and (861) is that in Shaowu, it is not possible to insert an aspect marker, such as the perfective aspect marker [ə^{0}] 了, after [tie^{53}] 得. It is ungrammatical to say, for instance:

(862) ○我 送 得 了 ○他 个 行 槃 。
** xaŋ^{35} suŋ^{213} tie^{53} ə^{0} xu^{35} kə^{0} xaŋ^{22} pʰɔn^{22}
1SG offer DAT PFV 3SG one CLF table
(Attempted meaning: 'I offered him a table.')

However, it is fully grammatical to insert the aspect marker between the verb 'to offer' [suŋ^{213}] 送 and the dative preposition [tie^{53}] 得:

(863) ○我 送 了 得 ○他 个 行 槃 。
xaŋ^{35} suŋ^{213} ə^{0} tie^{53} xu^{35} kə^{0} xaŋ^{22} pʰɔn^{22}
1SG offer PFV DAT 3SG one CLF table
'I offered him a table.'

27.1.4 Object-marking prepositional dative construction [SUBJ + OM$_{[na22]}$ + DO + V + DAT$_{[tie53]}$ + IO]

It is also possible to combine the object-marking construction using the Shaowu object marker [na^{22}] 拿 and the ditransitive construction, creating thus a syntactic configuration of [SUBJ + OM$_{[na22]}$ + DO + V + DAT$_{[tie53]}$ + IO], whereby the direct object is fronted before the ditransitive verb, as shown in the two examples below. We call it the 'combined OM construction'. Note that the direct object is usually definite in such construction, as this is one of the conditions of use for the object marking construction.

(864) ○你 拿 酱油 送 得 ○哪 蜀 个 ?
xien^{35} na^{22} tɕiɔŋ^{21}iɔu^{55} suŋ^{213} tie^{53} nɔŋ^{22} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213}
2SG OM soy sauce offer DAT which one CLF
'Whom did you give the soy sauce to?'

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(865) ○你 拿 票儿 ○ 得 别 人 。
xien[35] na[22] pʰiau[213]ə[0] ɕin[53] tie[53] pʰie[35] nin[55]
2SG OM money return DAT other person
'Return the money to the person.'

27.1.5 Topicalisation of the direct object in ditransitive constructions

Topicalisation is common in Sinitic languages and Shaowu is of no exception. It is possible to move the head noun of the direct object to the beginning of the sentence and topicalise it, making the rest of the sentence a comment. If the direct object contains a numeral and a classifier before its head noun, then the constituent [NUM + CLF] is left in situ following the indirect object.

The possible syntactic constructions are: [DO_{TOP} + SUBJ + V + IO + (NUM + CLF)] or [DO_{TOP} + SUBJ + V + DAT + IO + (NUM + CLF)]. See the following two examples for an illustration.

27.1.5.1 Topicalised ditransitive construction [DO_{TOP} + SUBJ + V + IO + (NUM + CLF)]

(866) 著只 , ○我 得 ○你 个 双 。
tʰy[35]tɕia[53] xaŋ[35] tie[53] xien[35] kə[0] sɔŋ[21]
chopsticks 1SG give 2SG one pair
'As for chopsticks, I'm handing you a pair.'

27.1.5.2 Topicalised ditransitive construction [DO_{TOP} + SUBJ + V + (NUM + CLF) + DAT + IO]

(867) 酱油 , ○你 送 得 ○哪蜀个 ?
tɕiɔŋ[21]iɔu[55] xien[35] suŋ[213] tie[53] nɔŋ[22]ɕi[22]kəi[213]
soy sauce 2SG offer DAT which person
'As for soy sauce, who did you give it to?'

27.1.6 Dative markers [tie[53]] 得 and [pɔŋ[21]] 帮

As foreshadowed above, there are two dative markers in Shaowu: [tie[53]] 得 and [pɔŋ[21]] 帮, which as indirect object markers precede the indirect object to code directionality of transfer from source to goal. The morpheme [tie[53]] 得 'to give' is arguably relexified from 'to get', and from this meaning of 'giving' it has been sub-

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sequently grammaticalised into a dative marker in Shaowu, among other functions. This pathway of grammaticalisation ('give' > benefactive/dative) is widely attested in languages of the world (Newman 1996: 211–223, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 149–151) and exists in many Sinitic languages (see, e.g., Paris 1982, Chappell 2000, Chappell & Peyraube 2007, Chin 2009b, Zhang 1999).

The multifunctional [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 originally means 'to help', and with time it was grammaticalised into a conjunction 'and', a comitative marker 'with', a benefactive marker 'for' (cf. Chapter 24 on benefactive constructions), and then gradually developed into a dative marker 'to'. It is in complementary distribution with the prototypical Shaowu dative marker [tie^{53}] 得: while [tie^{53}] 得 is used in the postverbal prepositional dative construction Type A [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT + IO], as in example (859), only [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can be used in the preverbal prepositional dative construction in the Type B dative: [SUBJ + DAT + IO + V + DO] as in example (861). Compare the contrastive pairs below in the following four examples:

27.1.6.1 Prepositional dative construction Type A [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT $_{[tie53]}$ + IO]

(868) 娘佬 寄 了 蜀 个 包裹 得 囝儿 。
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} ki^{213} ə^{0} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} pau^{21}kɔ^{0} tie^{53} kin^{53}nə^{0}
mother send PFV one CLF parcel DAT son
'The mother sent a parcel to the son.'

(869) 娘佬 寄 了 蜀 个 包裹 帮 囝儿 。
** niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} ki^{213} ə^{0} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} pau^{21}kɔ^{0} pɔŋ^{21} kin^{53}nə^{0}
mother send PFV one CLF parcel DAT son
(Attempted meaning: 'The mother sent a parcel to the son.')

27.1.6.2 Prepositional dative construction Type B [SUBJ + DAT$_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + IO + V + DO]

(870) 娘佬 帮 囝儿 寄 了 蜀 个 包裹 。
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} pɔŋ^{21} kin^{53}nə^{0} ki^{213} ə^{0} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} pau^{21}kɔ^{0}
mother DAT son send PFV one CLF parcel
'The mother sent a parcel to the son.'

(871) 娘佬 得 囝儿 寄 了 蜀 个 包裹 。
** niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} tie^{53} kin^{53}nə^{0} ki^{213} ə^{0} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} pau^{21}kɔ^{0}
mother DAT son send PFV one CLF parcel
(Attempted meaning: 'The mother sent a parcel to the son.')

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27.2 Verb categories in ditransitive constructions

In this section, we will explore the different categories of ditransitive verbs in Shaowu that can appear in the ditransitive constructions. We refer to Yue-Hashimoto (1993: 111–126)'s categorisation of these verbs, namely, the 'Give' type, the pseudo 'Give' type, the 'Deprive' type, the pseudo 'Acquire' type and the 'Make' type.

27.2.1 'Give' type ditransitive verbs

In this subsection, some typical 'Give' type ditransitive verbs, including the verb 'to give' itself, will be displayed. Usually, they involve the theme being transferred from the agent to the recipient, the theme being either tangible (examples 872 and 873) or abstract (example 874). The double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V + IO + DO] and the prepositional dative construction Type A [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT + IO] are displayed alternately in the following four examples.

27.2.1.1 With a tangible theme

(872) ○他 卖 了 个 栋 厝 得 ○我 。
xu^{35} mie^{35} ə^{0} kə^{0} tuŋ^{213} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35}
3SG sell PFV one CLF house DAT 1SG
'He sold a house to me.'

(873) ○我 得 ○你 个 样 东西 。
xaŋ^{35} tie^{53} xien^{35} kə^{0} iɔŋ^{35} tuŋ^{21}si^{21}
1SG give 2SG one CLF thing
'I'll give you one thing.'

27.2.1.2 With an abstract theme

(874) ○他 教 个 嫩 本事 得 ○我 囝儿 。
xu^{35} kau^{213} kə^{0} nən^{35} pən^{55}sə$^{35\sim0}$ tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} kin^{53}nə^{0}
3SG teach one bit skill DAT 1SG son
'He teaches some skills to my son.'

27.2.1.3 Verb of lending and borrowing

In Shaowu, the verbs 'to lend' and 'to borrow' are the same lexeme [tsia^{213}] 借 which possesses a basic transactional or exchange meaning without direction. The only way to distinguish the lending action from borrowing is by using a different dit-

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ransitive construction. In this context, if the double object construction [SUBJ + V + IO + DO] is employed, then the lexeme [tsia^{213}] 借 means 'to borrow', whereas if a dative marker is used in the ditransitive construction, i.e., the derived [SUBJ + V + DAT + IO + DO] form, or the postverbal prepositional dative construction [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT + IO], then the new interpretation of [tsia^{213}] 借 will be 'to lend'.

Both prepositional dative constructions [SUBJ + V + DAT + IO + DO] and [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT + IO] naturally lend themselves to the 'lending' reading thanks to the dative marker [tie^{53}] 得 'to'. The semantic change of the lexeme [tsia^{213}] 借 in the two distinct syntactic contexts goes from 'to borrow' (in example 875) to 'to lend' (in examples 876 and 877), constructionally reinforced by the use of the dative preposition:

(875) 〇$_{我}$ 借 了 〇$_{他}$ 三 个 鼎 。
xaŋ^{35} tsia^{213} ə^{0} xu^{35} san^{21} kə^{0} tiaŋ^{55}
1SG borrow PFV 3SG three CLF wok
'I borrowed three woks from him.'

(876) 〇$_{我}$ 借 得 〇$_{他}$ 三 个 鼎 。
xaŋ^{35} tsia^{213} tie^{53} xu^{35} san^{21} kə^{0} tiaŋ^{55}
1SG borrow DAT 3SG three CLF wok
'I lent three woks to him.'

(877) 〇$_{我}$ 借 了 三 个 鼎 得 〇$_{他}$ 。
xaŋ^{35} tsia^{213} ə^{0} san^{21} kə^{0} tiaŋ^{55} tie^{53} xu^{35}
1SG borrow PFV three CLF wok DAT 3SG
'I lent three woks to him.'

27.2.1.4 Verb of renting and leasing

In the same vein, for the verb 'to rent' [tsu^{21}] 租, if the double object construction [SUBJ + V + IO + DO] is used, the verb [tsu^{21}] 租 is interpreted as 'to rent from', whereas if the derived ditransitive construction [SUBJ + V + DAT + IO + DO] or the prepositional dative construction [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT + IO] is used, then the verb [tsu^{21}] 租 is interpreted as 'to lease to', as shown in the following three examples respectively:

(878) 〇$_{我}$ 租 了 别人 个 架 汽车 。
xaŋ^{35} tsu^{21} ə^{0} pʰie^{35}nin^{55} kə^{0} ka^{213} kʰi^{213}tɕʰia^{21}
1SG rent PFV others one CLF car
'I rented a car from someone.'

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(879) ○我 租 得 别人 个 架 汽车 。
xaŋ^{35} tsu^{21} tie^{53} pʰie^{35}nin^{55} kə^{0} ka^{213} kʰi^{213}tɕʰia^{21}
1SG rent DAT others one CLF car
'I rented a car to someone.'

(880) ○我 租 了 个 架 汽车 得 别人 。
xaŋ^{35} tsu^{21} ə^{0} kə^{0} ka^{213} kʰi^{213}tɕʰia^{21} tie^{53} pʰie^{35}nin^{55}
1SG rent PFV one CLF car DAT others
'I rented a car to someone.'

27.2.2 Pseudo 'Give' type ditransitive verbs

The pseudo 'Give' type ditransitive verbs are those transfer verbs that do not necessarily involve the transfer of physical objects but rather causation of movements, speech acts or induced relations. Verbs such as 'to send', 'to telephone' and 'to introduce' fall under this category. We also include verbs that involves the notion of 'giving up', and 'losing to' (example 884). Examples in this subsection describe this type of verbs with their various possible ditransitive configurations.

Note that this category of verbs calls more often for the use of the dative marker [tie^{53}] 得 than the 'Give' type verb category. This could be due to the fact that [tie^{53}] 得 expresses clearly the directionality or the goal of movement or of the relation, in an environment where the transfer of an object or possession is less obvious than for the 'Give' type verbs.

27.2.2.1 Verb 'to send'

27.2.2.1.1 Derived double object construction [SUBJ + V + DAT + IO + DO]

(881) 娘佬 寄 得 囝儿 蜀 个 包裹 。
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} ki^{213} tie^{53} kin^{53}nə^{0} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} pau^{21}kɔ^{0}
mother send DAT son son parcel
'The mother sent a parcel to the son.'

27.2.2.1.2 Double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V^{+}IO + DO]: marginal

(882) 娘佬 寄 囝儿 蜀 个 包裹 。
?? niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} ki^{213} kin^{53}nə^{0} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} pau^{21}kɔ^{0}
mother send son one CLF parcel
'The mother sent a parcel to the son.'

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27.2.2.1.3 Prepositional dative construction Type A [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT + IO]

(883) 娘佬 寄 了 蜀 个 包裹 得 囝儿 。
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} ki^{213} ə^{0} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} pau^{21}kɔ^{0} tie^{53} kin^{53}nə^{0}
mother send PFV one CLF parcel DAT son
'The mother sent a parcel to the son.'

As mentioned in the previous section, it is also possible to use the Type B prepositional dative construction [SUBJ + DAT + IO + V + DO] as long as the dative marker is [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮:

(884) 娘佬 帮 囝儿 寄 了 蜀 个 包裹 。
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} pɔŋ^{21} kin^{53}nə^{0} ki^{213} ə^{0} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} pau^{21}kɔ^{0}
mother DAT son send PFV send CLF parcel
'The mother sent a parcel to the son.'

Note that without any context, the above example is potentially ambiguous in meaning due to the multifunctionality of the marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮. It can mean 'The mother helped the son send the parcel' (lexical meaning of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮), 'The mother and/with the son sent the parcel together' (conjunction or comitative meaning of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮), 'The mother sent the parcel for the son' (benefactive meaning of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮), and last but not least, the dative meaning of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮: 'The mother sent a parcel to the son.', which is the intended meaning in this case. See Chapter 23 on the multifunctionality of the morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 for details.

Apart from the ditransitive constructions above, it is also grammatical, but perhaps less commonplace, to use the combined construction incorporating object marking in the ditransitive construction.

27.2.2.1.4 Combined construction with OM [SUBJ + OM + DO + V + DAT + IO]

(885) 娘佬 拿 蜀 个 包裹 寄 得 囝儿 。
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} na^{22} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} pau^{21}kɔ^{0} ki^{213} tie^{53} kin^{53}nə^{0}
mother OM one CLF parcel send DAT son
'The mother sent a parcel to the son.'

If one uses the topicalisation construction and topicalises the direct object which is an indefinite noun, as in the sample sentence above, the existential verb 'there.be' [iɔu^{55}] 有 has to be added before the indefinite noun, while a resumptive pronoun, marked by the object marker [na^{22}] 拿, needs to be added in the comment, as shown in the example below:

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(886) 有 蜀 个 包裹 , 娘佬 拿 ○它 寄
iɔu[55] ɕi[22] kəi[213] pau[21]kɔ[0] niɔŋ[22]lau[0] na[22] xu[35] ki[213]
be$_{EXIST}$ one CLF parcel mother OM RSUM send
得 囝儿 。
tie[53] kin[53]nə[0]
DAT son
'There is a parcel, the mother sent it to the son.'

27.2.2.2 Verb 'to telephone'

Here, the most commonly used and the most natural constructions are the Type A prepositional dative construction [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT$_{[tie53]}$ + IO] and the Type B prepositional dative construction [SUBJ + DAT$_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + IO + V + DO], as shown in the following examples respectively:

(887) 阿娘孙儿 打 了 电话 得 ○她
a[22]niɔŋ[22]sən[21]nə[0] ta[55] ə[0] t^{h}ien[213]ʊa[35~21] tie[53] xu[35]
granddaughter dial PFV telephone DAT 3SG
嫲嫲 。
ma[22]ma[0]
paternal grandmother
'The granddaughter gave a call to her paternal grandmother.'

(888) 阿娘孙儿 帮 ○她 嫲嫲 打 了 电话
a[22]niɔŋ[22]sən[21]nə[0] pɔŋ[21] xu[35] ma[22]ma[0] ta[55] ə[0] t^{h}ien[213]ʊa[35~21]
granddaughter DAT 3SG paternal grandma dial PFV telephone
'The granddaughter gave a call to her paternal grandmother.'

Neither the combined object-marking ditransitive construction nor the double object construction is grammatically acceptable in the above case, possible because the lexeme [ta[55]] 打 is usually a bivalent verb meaning 'to hit' (e.g., someone), and is somewhat of an exception that [ta[55]] 打 is used trivalently in the context of making a call to someone by employing the light verb [ta[55]] 打 to form a fixed collocation with the noun 'telephone', literally meaning 'to hit the telephone'.

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27.2.2.3 Verb ‘to introduce’

The following constructions can be used, shown in the following three examples.

27.2.2.3.1 Type A prepositional dative construction [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT + IO]

(889) ○他 介绍 几 个 朋友 得 ○我 。
xu^{35} kai^{213}ɕiau$^{35\sim55}$ ki^{55} kəi^{213} pʰen^{22}iɔu$^{55\sim22}$ tie^{53} xaŋ^{35}
3SG introduce several CLF friend DAT 1SG
‘He introduced several friends to me.’

27.2.2.3.2 Type B prepositional dative construction Type B [SUBJ + DAT + IO + V + DO]

(890) ○他 帮 ○我 介绍 几 个 朋友 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kai^{213}ɕiau$^{35\sim55}$ ki^{55} kəi^{213} pʰen^{22}iɔu$^{55\sim22}$
3SG DAT 1SG introduce several CLF friend
‘He introduced several friends to me.’

27.2.2.3.3 Derived double object construction [SUBJ + V + DAT + IO + DO]

(891) ○他 介绍 得 ○我 几 个 朋友 。
xu^{35} kai^{213}ɕiau$^{35\sim55}$ tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} ki^{55} kəi^{213} pʰen^{22}iɔu$^{55\sim22}$
3SG introduce DAT 1SG several CLF friend
‘He introduced several friends to me.’

27.2.2.3.4 Combined direct object-marking ditransitive construction [SUBJ + OM + DO + V + DAT + IO]

(892) ○他 拿 几 个 朋友 介绍 得 ○我 。
xu^{35} na^{22} ki^{55} kəi^{213} pʰen^{22}iɔu$^{55\sim22}$ kai^{213}ɕiau$^{35\sim55}$ tie^{53} xaŋ^{35}
3SG OM several CLF friend introduce DAT 1SG
‘He introduced several friends to me.’

27.2.2.4 Verb ‘to lose to’

(893) ○我 输 ○他 两 盘 棋 。
xaŋ^{35} tʰy^{22} xu^{35} liɔŋ^{55} pʰɔn^{22} kʰi^{22}
1SG lose 3SG two CLF chess
‘I lost two games of chess to him.’

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27.2.3 'Deprive' type ditransitive verbs

The 'Deprive' type ditransitive verbs involve the transfer of the direct object from the indirect object to the subject, the indirect object being 'deprived' of possession of the direct object. Verbs like 'to steal', 'to rob', 'to swindle', 'to take (from)' are typical of this category. Here, the grammatical subject is the 'depriver', and the indirect object is the 'deprivee', linked by one of these 'deprive' type ditransitive verbs, with the syntactic template of [$SUBJ_{DEPRIVER}$ + V + $IO_{DEPRIVEE}$ + DO].

It is noteworthy that in Shaowu, only the double object construction Type A is allowed for the 'Deprived' type ditransitive verbs. No prepositional dative constructions (Type A or B) can be used for the intended meaning. This might be due to their benefactive and 'giving' senses which are semantically incompatible with the notion of depriving. Compare the following three examples:

27.2.3.1 Verb 'to steal'

27.2.3.1.1 Double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V + IO + DO]

(894)

○那	蜀	个	贼	偷	了	○哪蜀个	十	块
ɔŋ^{53}	ɕi^{22}	kəi^{213}	tʰə^{53}	tʰəu^{21}	ə^{0}	nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}	ɕin^{35}	kʰuai^{213}
DEM	one	CLF	thief	steal	PFV	which person	ten	kuai

票儿 ?
pʰiau^{213}ə^{0}
money
'From whom did that thief steal ten *kuai*?'

('Kuai' is the colloquial term for the monetary unit RMB of the People's Republic of China.)

27.2.3.1.2 Type A prepositional dative construction [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT + IO]

(895)

**	○那	蜀	个	贼	偷	了	十	块	票儿	得
	ɔŋ^{53}	ɕi^{22}	kəi^{213}	tʰə^{53}	tʰəu^{21}	ə^{0}	ɕin^{35}	kʰuai^{213}	pʰiau^{213}ə^{0}	tie^{53}
	DEM	one	CLF	thief	steal	PFV	ten	CLF	money	DAT

○哪蜀个 ?
nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}
which person
(Attempted meaning: 'From whom did that thief steal ten *kuai*?')

This sentence is ungrammatical for the intended meaning above, but it would be grammatical, if it actually meant 'Whom did that thief steal ten *kuai* for and give it to?'

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27.2.3.1.3 Type B prepositional dative construction [SUBJ + DAT + IO + V + DO]

(896) ○那 蜀 个 贼 帮 ○哪蜀个 偷 了 十
** ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} tʰə^{53} pɔŋ^{21} nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213} tʰəu^{21} ə^{0} ɕin^{35}
DEM one CLF thief DAT which person steal PFV ten
块 票儿 ?
kʰuai^{213} pʰiau^{213}ə^{0}
CLF money
(Attempted meaning: 'From whom did that thief stole ten *kuai*?')

This sentence is also ungrammatical for the intended meaning above, but it would be grammatical if it actually meant 'For whom did that thief help steal ten *kuai*?'

More examples of the 'deprived' type ditransitive verbs with the double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V $^{+}$ IO + DO] are shown below with different verbs.

27.2.3.2 Verb 'to swindle'

Similarly, only double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V + IO + DO] works for this verb, and not the other two constructions, as shown in the 'to steal' example above.

(897) ○你 骗 了 ○那 蜀 个 颂 黑 大衣 个
xien^{35} pʰien^{213} liau^{55} ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} siuŋ^{35} xə^{53} tʰai^{35}i^{21} kə^{0}
2SG cheat PFV DEM one CLF wear black overcoat REL
人 几 多 票儿 ?
nin^{22} ki^{55} tai^{21} pʰiau^{213}ə^{0}
person how many money
'How much money did you swindle out of the person in black overcoat?'

27.2.3.3 Verb 'to rob'

(898) ○他 抢 了 ○我 蜀 个 戒指 。
xu^{35} tʰiɔŋ^{55} liau$^{55\sim22}$ xaŋ^{35} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} kai^{213}tɕi^{55}
3SG rob PFV 1SG one CLF ring
'He robbed me of a ring.'

27.2.3.4 Verb 'to take (from)'

(899) ○他 弟儿 拿 ○他 顶 ○多 东西 。
xu^{35} tʰi^{55}ə^{0} na^{22} xu^{35} tin^{55} ʋai^{55} tuŋ^{21}si^{21}
3SG younger brother take 3SG very many thing
'His younger brother took a lot of his things (from him).'

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27.2.4 Pseudo ‘Acquire’ type ditransitive verbs

This category includes verbs like ‘to ask’ or ‘to owe’ and the verbs are called ‘pseudo acquire’ as because there may not be any physical transfer of objects but intangible things, such as ‘a reply’. For this category, the double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V + IO + DO] is most often used, followed by the combined direct object-marking ditransitive construction [SUBJ + OM + DO + V + DAT + IO] and the topicalised ditransitive construction [DO_{TOP} + SUBJ + V + DAT + IO]. Both the prepositional dative construction Types A and B are considered ungrammatical. See the following five examples for illustration:

27.2.4.1 Verb ‘to ask’

27.2.4.1.1 Double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V + IO + DO]

(900) 先生 问 了 ○哪蜀个 ○那 蜀 个 问题 ?
sien^{21}sen^{21} mən^{213} nə^{0} nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213} ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} ʋən^{213}tʰi^{22}
teacher ask PFV which person DEM one CLF question
‘To whom did the teacher ask that question?’

27.2.4.1.2 Combined direct object-marking ditransitive construction [SUBJ + OM + DO + V + DAT + IO]

(901) 先生 拿 ○那 蜀 个 问题 问 了
sien^{21}sen^{21} na^{22} ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} ʋən^{213}tʰi^{22} mən^{213} nə^{0}
teacher OM DEM one CLF question ask PFV
○哪蜀个 ?
nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}
which person
‘To whom did the teacher ask that question?’

27.2.4.1.3 Topicalised ditransitive construction [DO_{TOP} + SUBJ + V + IO]

(902) ○那 蜀 个 问题 , 先生 问 了 ○哪蜀个 ?
ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} ʋən^{213}tʰi^{22} sien^{21}sen^{21} mən^{213} nə^{0} nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}
DEM one CLF question teacher ask PFV which person
‘As for that question, whom did the teacher ask?’

The following two examples are, however, not grammatically acceptable:

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Prepositional dative construction Type A [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT$_{[tie53]}$ + IO]

(903) 先生 问 了 ○那 蜀 个 问题 得
** sien^{21}sen^{21} mən^{213} nə^{0} ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} ʋən^{213}tʰi^{22} tie^{53}
teacher ask PFV DEM one CLF question DAT
○哪蜀个 ?
nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}
which person
(Attempted meaning: 'To whom did the teacher ask that question?')

Prepositional dative construction Type B [SUBJ + DAT$_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + IO + V + DO]

(904) 先生 帮 ○哪蜀个 问 了 ○那 蜀
** sien^{21}sen^{21} pɔŋ^{21} nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213} mən^{213} nə^{0} ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22}
teacher DAT which person ask PFV DEM one
个 问题 ?
kəi^{213} ʋən^{213}tʰi^{22}
CLF question
(Attempted meaning: 'To whom did the teacher ask that question?')

27.2.4.2 Verb 'to owe'

Likewise, for the verb 'to owe' [kʰien^{213}] 欠, it is grammatical to use the double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V + IO + DO]:

(905) 房客 欠 房东 蜀 个 月 个 租金 。
fɔŋ^{22}kʰa^{53} kʰien^{213} fɔŋ^{22}tuŋ^{21} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} ʋie^{35} kə^{0} tsu^{21}tʰin^{21}
tenant owe landlord one CLF month ATT rent
'The tenant owes the landlord a month's rent.'

It is, however, ungrammatical to use the prepositional dative construction Type A [SUBJ +V + DO + DAT$_{[tie53]}$ + IO]:

(906) 房客 蜀 个 月 个 租金 欠 得
** fɔŋ^{22}kʰa^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} ʋie^{35} kə^{0} tsu^{21}tʰin^{21} kʰien^{213} tie^{53}
tenant one CLF month ATT rent owe DAT
房东 。
fɔŋ^{22}tuŋ^{21}
landlord
(Attempted meaning: 'The tenant owes the landlord a month's rent.')

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Similarly, it is ungrammatical for the use of the prepositional dative construction Type B [SUBJ + $DAT_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + IO + V + DO]:

(907)	房客	帮	房东	欠	蜀	个	月	个
**	$fɔŋ^{22}k^ha^{53}$	$pɔŋ^{21}$	$fɔŋ^{22}tuŋ^{21}$	k^hien^{213}	$ɕi^{22}$	$kəi^{21}$	$ʊie^{35}$	$kə^0$
	tenant	DAT	landlord	owe	one	CLF	month	ATT
	租金	。						
	$tsu^{21}t^hin^{21}$							
	rent							

(Attempted meaning: 'The tenant owes the landlord a month's rent.')

27.2.5 'Make' type ditransitive verbs

'Make' type ditransitive constructions are akin to the patient beneficiary construction. In English, while *I sell him a house* is a pseudo 'give' type ditransitive construction, *I build him a house* is a 'make' type ditransitive construction, the latter meaning 'I build a house for him.'. The main difference between the 'make' type ditransitive construction and the patient beneficiary construction is that the latter contains a benefactive marker 'for' (as in *I build a house for him*), with the patient beneficiary moved to a postverbal position. The 'Make' type ditransitives conform to the parameters of the semantic map of ditransitive constructions in Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie (2007), and so we include them here while we deal with the 'for' benefactive constructions in Chapter 24 on the benefactives. The 'make' type ditransitive constructions typically have the following three syntactic configurations: (i) the derived double object construction [SUBJ + V + $DAT_{[tie53]}$ + IO + DO], (ii) the prepositional dative construction Type A [SUBJ + V + DO + $DAT_{[tie53]}$ + IO], and (iii) the prepositional dative construction Type B [SUBJ + $DAT_{[pɔŋ21]}$ + IO + V + DO]. Note that (iii) has the same syntactic configuration as the benefactive construction, and semantically it is very close to it as well. We thus consider ditransitive construction (iii) as bordering on the benefactive interpretation.

27.2.5.1 Verb 'to steep'

The following three examples express the meaning of 'He steeps a cup of tea for/to the guest.'

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27.2.5.1.1 Derived double object construction [SUBJ + V + DAT + IO + DO]

(908) ○他 泡 得 人客 个 杯 茶 。
xu^{35} p^{h}au^{213} tie^{53} nin^{22}kha^{53} kə^{0} pei^{21} tha^{22}
3SG steep DAT guest one CLF tea
'He steeps a cup of tea for the guest.'

27.2.5.1.2 Prepositional dative construction Type A [SUBJ + V + DO + DAT + IO]

(909) ○他 泡 个 杯 茶 得 人客 。
xu^{35} phau^{213} kə^{0} pei^{21} tha^{22} tie^{53} nin^{22}kha^{53}
3SG steep one CLF tea DAT guest
'He steeps a cup of tea for the guest.'

27.2.5.1.3 Prepositional dative construction Type B [SUBJ + DAT + IO + V + DO]

(910) ○他 帮 人客 泡 个 杯 茶 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} nin^{22}kha^{53} phau^{213} kə^{0} pei^{21} tha^{22}
3SG DAT guest steep one CLF tea
'He steeps a cup of tea for the guest.'

It is also possible to use the combined object-marking ditransitive construction (example 911) or the topicalised ditransitive construction in such cases, provided that the direct object is definite (example 912):

27.2.5.1.4 Combined direct object-marking ditransitive construction [SUBJ + DO $^{+}$V + IO]

(911) ○他 拿 个 杯 茶 泡 得 人客 。
xu^{35} na^{22} kə^{0} pei^{21} tha^{22} phau^{213} tie^{53} nin^{22}kha^{53}
3SG OM one CLF tea steep DAT guest
'He steeps a cup of tea for the guest.'

27.2.5.1.5 Topicalisation of ditransitive construction [DO$_{TOP}$ + SUBJ + V + IO]

(912) ○那 杯 茶 , ○他 泡 得 人客 。
ɔŋ^{53} pei^{21} tha^{22} xu^{35} phau^{213} tie^{53} nin^{22}kha^{53}
DEM CLF tea 3SG steep DAT guest
'As for that cup of tea, he steeps it for the guest.'

However, out of the above five examples, it is example (910) that is the preferred construction in Shaowu, even though it contains the marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 which

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leans towards the benefactive interpretation and indeed has the same syntactic configuration, which is the preferred construction in Shaowu. This preference is further illustrated by the following two examples (cf. Chapter 23 on the multifunctional morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, § 23.4).

27.2.5.2 Verb 'to knit'

(913) ○$_{她}$ 帮 ○$_{我}$ 打 了 个 件 羊索 衣裳 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} ta^{55} ə^{0} kə^{0} k^{h}ien^{35} iɔŋ^{22}sɔi^{21} i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}
3SG BEN 1SG knit PFV one CLF wool garment
'She knitted a wool garment for me.' / 'She knitted me a wool garment.'

27.2.5.3 Verb 'to carve'

(914) ○$_{他}$ 帮 ○$_{他}$ 弟儿 刻 了 蜀 个 印儿 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} t^{h}i^{55}ə^{0} k^{h}ə^{53} ə^{0} ɕi^{55} kəi^{213} in^{213}nə^{0}
3SG BEN 3SG younger brother carve PFV one CLF seal
'He carved a seal for his younger brother.' / 'He carved him a seal.'

In the following section, we will discuss the similarities and differences between the ditransitive and the benefactive in Shaowu.

27.3 Type B prepositional dative ditransitive construction vs benefactive construction

According to Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie (2007: 54), there is a ditransitive-benefactive cline in many of the world's languages, and there is gradient benefactive extension leading from recipients to beneficiaries. It is clear from the Shaowu examples above that indeed such a cline exists, extending from the 'give' ditransitive to the pseudo 'acquire' ditransitive to the 'make' ditransitive and to the 'For' benefactive, to the point where it is hard to tease apart which construction is which. See for instance the following two examples:

(915) ○$_{他}$ 帮 ○$_{我}$ 介绍 几 个 朋友 。
xu^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} kai^{213}ɕiau$^{35\sim55}$ ki^{55} kəi^{213} p^{h}en^{22}iɔu$^{55\sim22}$
3SG DAT 1SG introduce several CLF friend
'He introduced several friends to me.' (Ditransitive) /
'He introduced several friends for me.'(Benefactive)

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(916) 阿娘孙儿 帮 ○她 嫲嫲 打 了
a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}sən^{21}nə^{0} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} ma^{22}ma^{0} ta^{55} ə^{0}
granddaughter DAT 3SG paternal grandma dial PFV
电话 。
t^{h}ien^{213}ʋa$^{35\sim21}$
telephone
'The granddaughter gave a call to her paternal grandmother.' (Ditransitive) /
'The granddaughter made a call for her paternal grandmother.' (Benefactive)

The semantic ambiguity is confirmed by my linguistic consultant. Since the syntactic configuration and the surface form of the grammatical markers (dative vs benefactive) are exactly the same in both constructions, the only way to tell the difference in meaning is through examining the context.

27.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have examined six different types of ditransitive constructions in Shaowu, namely:

1.	Double object construction	Type A: S+V+IO+DO
2.	Derived double object construction	Type B: S+V+DAT$_{[tie53]}$+IO+DO
3.	Postverbal prepositional dative construction	Type A: S+V+DO+DAT$_{[tie53]}$+IO
4.	Preverbal prepositional dative construction	Type B: S+DAT$_{[pɔŋ21]}$+IO+V+DO
5.	Combined object-marking ditransitive	S+OM$_{[na22]}$+DO+V+DAT$_{[tie53]}$+IO
6.	Topicalised ditransitive construction	DO$_{TOP}$+S+V+IO/ DO$_{TOP}$+S+V+DAT$_{[tie53]}$+IO

We have also identified two dative markers in Shaowu, both marking the indirect object: [tie^{53}] 得 and [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮. The dative marker [tie^{53}] 得 is predominant, with the possibility of entering into use in any constructions except the prepositional dative construction Type B, which only allows the dative marker [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮. Furthermore, this is the only instance where [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can act as a dative marker in Shaowu. Hence, they are in complementary distribution.

We have also covered the five categories of ditransitive verbs in Shaowu: the 'Give' type, the pseudo 'Give' type, the 'Deprive' type, the pseudo 'Acquire' type and the 'Make' type. Each category permits a different set of possible ditransitive constructions, which is largely linked to the semantic fields in which these verbs lie. We have also examined the subtle difference between the prepositional dative construction Type B and the benefactive construction. Both constructions use the

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same dative marker and are in the same word order. Only the context can serve as criterion of distinction between the two constructions, as the surface forms are exactly the same.

Shaowu does not have the prototypical 'southern' type of ditransitive construction – the double object construction Type B [SUBJ + V + DO + IO] – which is used in many Gan, Hakka, Wu and Yue languages (Zhang 2008). It is noteworthy though that Southern Min, a typical southern Sinitic language, also employs the double object construction Type A [SUBJ + V + IO + DO] (see Chappell and Peyraube 2007), although many other core Min languages use Type B construction. One key trait that Shaowu shares, however, with other southern Sinitic languages is that its dative marker [tie^{53}] 得 is grammaticalised from the verb 'to give', as many languages in South East Asia. Shaowu has blended northern and southern features so seamlessly that it is legitimate to place it in the transitional zone as proposed by Chappell (2015).

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Chapter 28
Passive constructions

Canonically, a passive construction derives from an active construction by promoting the object to the subject position and by demoting the subject to an oblique (Siewierska 1984: 2, Keenan & Dryer 2007). A construction is classified as passive if it displays the following five properties (Siewierska 2013, WALS 107): "(i) it contrasts with another construction, the active; (ii) the subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase of the passive or is not overtly expressed; (iii) the subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active; (iv) the construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the active; (v) the construction displays some special morphological marking of the verb."

Passive constructions in Sinitic languages often involve putting the patient into the foreground by having the patient NP appear in the clause-initial subject position, while the agent NP is either introduced by a passive marker or is absent (Chappell & Shi 2016). In Mandarin, depending on the presence or absence of the agent after the passive marker *beì* 被 (Wang 1980: 484–504), the passive construction can be referred to as 'agentful' or 'agentless' but also by 'long passive' and 'short passive', respectively. The verb is typically a two-argument transitive verb of activity, accomplishment or achievement, but can also include verbs of cognition, perception and emotion.

In Shaowu, the prototypical passive marker is [tie^{53}] 得, which is grammaticalised from the verb 'to get' relexicalised into 'to give' (cf. Chapter 26 on the origin and multifunctionality of [tie^{53}]). This is true of many Southern Sinitic languages, where the passive markers stem from the verb 'to give' (Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 130–131). Furthermore, the long passive construction is more frequently used than the short one, and it is under certain conditions obligatory. Agentless or 'short' passive constructions are used when the agent is unknown or ignored and only the [tie^{53}] 得 passive allows this variant. The respective syntactic templates for the long and short passive constructions in Shaowu are:

(i) Agentful passive: $NP_{Patient}$ + Passive marker [tie^{53}] 得 + NP_{Agent} + VP (more common)
(ii) Agentless passive: $NP_{Patient}$ + Passive marker [tie^{53}] 得 + VP (less common)

There are four other passive markers in Shaowu. While they can all serve as passive markers, they can also act as causative verbs (cf. Chapter 29 on causative constructions). The syntactic configurations of sentences involving these passive markers are the same as (i) above. Shaowu does not have passive markers that

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come from adversative verbs such as *beì* 被 (originally meaning 'to cover') or *zaō* 遭 (originally meaning 'to suffer') in Mandarin. However, Shaowu passive constructions are still largely associated with undesirable events, although they have been broadened to include certain pleasant events such as 'to be praised' and 'to be rewarded'.

28.1 Shaowu passive markers and their constructions

There are five passive markers in Shaowu:
(i) [tie^{53}] 得 (originally meaning 'to get' relexicalised into 'to give');
(ii) [niɔŋ^{213}] 让 (originally meaning 'to let', to allow');
(iii) [kiau^{213}] 叫 (originally meaning 'to call', 'to call out');
(iv) [xan^{213}] 喊 (originally meaning 'to call', 'to call out'); and
(v) [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨 (originally meaning 'to ask for', 'to beseech').

The order of preference in usage of these passive markers goes from the most frequently used [tie^{53}] 得, to [niɔŋ^{213}] 让, to [kiau^{213}] 叫, then to [xan^{213}] 喊, to the least frequently used [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨, the latter being also used in Nanchang 南昌 Gan (Sagart 1999b), Anyi 安义Gan (Wan 1996: 79) and Ganxian 赣县 Hakka (Li & Zhang 1992: 438). The morpheme [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨 is only used occasionally as a passive marker, which suggests that its permissive 'let' causative function is still predominant and the grammaticalisation process from a causative into a passive marker is a recent one.

28.1.1 Passive marker [tie^{53}] 得

The general passive marker [tie^{53}] 得 in Shaowu originally means 'to get', which was relexified to mean 'to give'. The passive marker function could have sprung from the 'to get' meaning, as in for example 'He got scolded by his mother'; or from the 'to give' meaning after it was relexified from 'to get'. In many southern Chinese languages, the passive marker derives from the causative verb which, in turn, was grammaticalised from the verb 'to give' (Chappell & Peyraube 2006). A typical sentence involving the general passive marker [tie^{53}] 得 has the syntactic configuration [NP$_{\text{Patient}}$ + Passive marker$_{[\text{tie53}]}$ + NP$_{\text{Agent}}$ + VP] and often carries an adversative meaning, as shown in two examples:

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(917) ○我 得 娘佬 骂 了 。
xaŋ[35] tie[53] niɔŋ[22]lau[0] ma[213] ə[0]
1SG PASS mother scold PFV
'I was scolded by my mother.'

(918) ○他 得 别人 责备 了 。
xu[35] tie[53] pʰie[35]nin[55] tsə[53]pei[213] ə[0]
3SG PASS others reprimand PFV
'He was reprimanded by others.'

28.1.2 Passive marker [niɔŋ[213]] 让

The passive marker [niɔŋ[213]] 让 originally means 'to yield' which developed into a causative verb encoding the permissive 'let' causative, which then in turn grammaticalised into a passive marker. The two examples below illustrate a sentence involving the Shaowu passive marker [niɔŋ[213]] 让. Note that, in both sentences, the morpheme [niɔŋ[213]] 让 is completely bleached of its lexical meaning and acts as a purely functional passive marker: the context of these sentences is clearly not compatible with the lexical meaning of 'to yield' or 'let', hence no semantic ambiguity exists in either sentence.

(919) ○我 让 ○他 吓 了 个 下 。
xaŋ[35] niɔŋ[213] xu[35] xa[53] ə[0] kə[0] xa[35]
1SG PASS 3SG startle PFV one CLF
'I was startled by him.' (It cannot mean 'I let him startle me.')

(920) ○这 罐 儿 让 ○我 打 破 了 。
tɕiɔŋ[53] kuɔn[53~21] nə[0] niɔŋ[213] xaŋ[35] ta[55] pʰai[213] ə[0]
DEM pot DIM PASS 1SG hit broken PFV
'This pot was broken by me.' (It cannot mean 'This pot let me break it.')

28.1.3 Passive markers [kiau[213]] 叫 and [xan[213]] 喊

Both passive markers [kiau[213]] 叫 and [xan[213]] 喊 originally mean 'to call', 'to call out' in Shaowu. As remarked earlier, these two morphemes have grammaticalised from causative verbs into passive markers that introduce the agent of the action. This lexical field of verbs from which passive markers develop is common in Northern Sinitic languages and dialects, including Mandarin, particularly for *jiào*

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叫 (Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 129), while XAN 喊 is as a causative and passive marker is common in the south (Chappell 2015). Shaowu may have directly borrowed these two passive markers from the Northern languages, calquing on the grammaticalisation path in parallel fashion. However, internal development is equally possible since these verbs are well-identified sources for passive markers. Examples (921) and (922) illustrate the use of [kiau^{213}] 叫 (or its allophone [kiau^{21}]) and [xan^{213}] 喊 (or its allophone [xan^{21}]) respectively in Shaowu passive constructions.

(921) 鱼儿 叫 猫儿 食 了 了 。
ŋ^{55}ŋə^{0} kiau^{213} mau^{53}ə^{0} ɕie^{35} liau^{55} ə^{0}
fish PASS cat eat PFV CRS
'The fish has been eaten by the cat.'

(922) ○$_{他}$多 喊 人 骗 了 了 。
xu^{35}tai^{21} xan^{213} nin^{55} p^{h}ien^{213} liau^{55} ə^{0}
3PL PASS person cheat PFV CRS
'They have been cheated by someone.'

28.1.4 Passive markers [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨

The Shaowu passive marker [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨, originally means 'to ask for', 'to beseech'. It has grammaticalised from a 'let' causative verb into a passive marker, just like [niɔŋ^{213}] 让. It is used less frequently than [niɔŋ^{213}] 让, but nevertheless turns up in passive constructions, even though it is more often used as a causative verb (see Chapter 29 on causatives). The following example illustrates its passive usage:

(923) ○$_{我}$ 讨 ○$_{他}$ 骂 了 三 回 。
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$ xu^{35} ma^{213} ə^{0} san^{21} fei^{22}
1SG PASS/CAUS 3SG scold PFV three CLF
'I was scolded three times by him.'/ 'I let myself be scolded three times by him.'

It is important to point out that the prototypical, most frequently used Shaowu passive marker is still [tie^{53}] 得, despite the fact that the other four passive markers are also present in daily conversations. These other four passive markers all imply to some extent that the undergoer – subject of the passive lets the event/action happen in an indirect way, whereas [tie^{53}] 得 is the neutral passive marker without any involvement of voluntary passiveness and partial responsibility. The passive construction using the passive marker [tie^{53}] 得 is by far the most prev-

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alent and natural way of expressing the passive. As for [tʰəu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨, the native Shaowu causative verb of 'letting' which developed into a passive marker, this use could have emerged either by way of calquing and analogy, or by going through a Shaowu-internal pathway of grammaticalisation.

Due to their lexical origins and causative usage, these markers can give rise to ambiguities in certain contexts. For instance, compare the following three examples:

(924) ○我 得 ○他 打 了 个 拳 。
xaŋ^{35} tie^{53} xu^{35} ta^{55} ə^{0} kə^{0} kʰyen^{22}
1SG PASS/CAUS 3SG hit PFV one fist
'I was punched once by him.' (Passive) /
'I let him punch once on me.' (Causative)

(925) ○我 让 ○他 打 了 个 拳 。
xaŋ^{35} niɔŋ^{213} xu^{35} ta^{55} ə^{0} kə^{0} kʰyen^{22}
1SG PASS/CAUS 3SG hit PFV one fist
'I was punched once by him.' (Passive) /
'I let him punch once on me.' (Causative)

(926) ○我 叫 ○他 打 了 个 拳 。
xaŋ^{35} kiau^{213} xu^{35} ta^{55} ə^{0} kə^{0} kʰyen^{22}
1SG PASS/CAUS/call 3SG hit PFV one fist
'I was punched once by him.' (Passive) /
'I let him punch once on me.' (Causative) /
'I asked him to punch once.' (On me or on someone else, depending on the context)

It is also worth noting that only when the passive marker [tie^{53}] 得is used, can the agent be elided. That is, only [tie^{53}] 得 can form an agentless construction. The four other passive markers must be followed by the agent/doer of action in order for the passive construction to be grammatical. Considering examples (927) – (929), only example (927) out of the three examples, is grammatical in the absence of the agent:

(927) ○我 得 打 了 个 拳 。
xaŋ^{35} tie^{53} ta^{55} ə^{0} kə^{0} kʰyen^{22}
1SG PASS hit PFV one fist
'I was punched once.' ([tie^{53}] 得 can only be passive marking here)

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(928) ○我 让 打 了 个 拳 。
** xaŋ[35] niɔŋ[213] ta[55] ə[0] kə[0] k[h]yen[22]
1SG PASS hit PFV one fist
(Attempted meaning: 'I was punched once.'/ 'I let myself be punched.')

(929) ○我 叫 打 了 个 拳 。
** xaŋ[35] kiau[213] ta[55] ə[0] kə[0] k[h]yen[22]
1SG PASS hit PFV one fist
(Attempted meaning: 'I was punched once.'/ 'I let myself punched.'/
'I asked to be punched.')

From the next section onwards, we will only focus on the canonical passive marking with marker [tie[53]] 得, as it is the most natural and frequent way of marking the passive in Shaowu, confirmed by our linguistic consultants' intuition.

28.2 Verb categories in passive constructions

The range of verb classes compatible with the [tie[53]] 得 passive is wider than the other passive markers. It can also co-occur with a larger number of verb categories, including the verbs of cognition, such as 'to know', 'to see', 'to like' and 'to think'. This is quite different from the Shaowu object marker [na[22]] 拿 (for details, see Chapter 25). Hence in Shaowu, it is perfectly grammatical to utter sentences like the following four examples:

(930) ○我 得 ○他 瞙 到 了 。
xaŋ[35] tie[53] xu[35] niaŋ[213] tau[213~21~55] ə[0]
1SG PASS 3SG look ACH PFV
'I was seen by him.'

(931) ○这 事 得 娘佬 晓得 了 。
tɕiɔŋ[53] sə[35] tie[53] niɔŋ[22]lau[0] xiau[55]tie[53] ə[0]
DEM matter PASS mother know PFV
'This matter was found out by the mother.'

(932) ○那 阿娘 恁底 得 ○他 喜欢 上 了 ?
ɔŋ[53] a[22]niɔŋ[22] ni[53]ti[0] tie[53] xu[35] xi[55]fɔn[21] ɕiɔŋ[35] ə[0]
DEM woman how PASS 3SG like upon PFV
'How did that woman get to be liked by him?'

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(933) 方法 得 ○她 想 到 了 。
fɔŋ^{21}fan^{53} tie^{53} xu^{35} siɔŋ^{55} tau^{213} ə^{0}
method PASS 3SG think ACH PFV
'The method was thought up by her.'

However, these verbs of cognition are not interpreted as stative verbs as we know them, but rather as interpreted as achievement verbs (see Chappell & Shi 2016 for the Mandarin case). Thus, 'to know' here really means 'to find out', 'to discover', and 'to see' really means 'to catch sight of', 'to perceive'. As for 'to like' [xi^{55}fɔn^{21}] 喜欢, as shown in example (932), it would not have been grammatical had the sentence lacked the directional verb component [ɕiɔŋ^{35}] 上 'upon'. It has thus become an achievement verb because of this and has the same meaning as 'to fall in love'. Likewise, for example (933): the verb [siɔŋ^{55}] 想 has to be followed by an achievement aspect marker [tau$^{213\sim21}$] 到 (ACH), originally meaning to 'reach', 'arrive', in order to render the passive construction grammatical. And instead of meaning 'to think', [siɔŋ^{55}tau$^{213\sim21}$] 想到 takes on an achievement meaning, i.e., 'to realise', 'to come up with'.

All the above examples, except example (933), carry a somewhat adversative meaning, due to being part of a passive construction. Although example (933) sounds neutral, it does however put the person in focus who came up with the method – no one else but her.

Intransitive verbs and unaccusative verbs usually cannot be passivised in Shaowu. The two examples below illustrate this ungrammaticality:

(934) ○他 得 瘦 了 。
** xu^{35} tie^{53} sei^{213} ə^{0}
3SG PASS thin PFV
(Attempted meaning: 'He got thin.')

(935) 墙 得 倒 下 去 了 。
** t^{h}iɔŋ^{22} tie^{53} tau^{55} xa^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213} ə^{0}
wall PASS fall down go PFV
(Attempted meaning: 'The wall was fallen over.')

28.3 Predicate types in passives

There are many possible predicate types in Shaowu passive constructions. They can be verbs modified by aspectual markers, by resultative compounds, directional compounds, frequency expressions or modal verbs, etc. In this section, we will look into the different predicate structures allowed in a passive construction.

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28.3.1 Predicate with perfective aspect marker

There are two common perfective aspect markers that mark the end of an action in Shaowu, [ə^{0}] 了 which marks termination, and [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了 which marks completion. The syntactic configuration of a passive construction followed by a predicate with perfective aspect marker is [NP$_{\text{Patient}}$ + PASS $_{[\text{tie}53]}$得 + (NP$_{\text{Agent}}$) + VERB + PFV + (OBJ/COMP/NUM + CLF)]:

(936) 茶 杯 得 打 坏 了 了 。
t^{h}a^{22} pei^{21} tie^{53} ta^{55} p^{h}ai^{213} liau^{55} ə^{0}
tea cup PASS hit broken PFV CRS
'The teacup was broken (by someone).'

Note that the [ə^{0}] 了 in the above example is the marker of the perfect, which indicates the currently relevant state (CRS) of a past action, and not a perfective marker which takes the same surface form.

(937) ○$_{你}$ 得 偷 了 几 多 票儿 ?
xien^{35} tie^{53} t^{h}əu^{21} ə^{0} ki^{55} tai^{21} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}
2SG PASS steal PFV how much money
'How much money did you get stolen?'

Another perfective marker is the experiential [t^{h}ɔ^{35}] 度. The syntactic template is similar: [NP$_{\text{Patient}}$ + PASS$_{[\text{tie}53]}$得 + (NP$_{\text{Agent}}$) + VERB + EXP + (OBJ/COMP/NUM + CLF)]:

(938) ○$_{我}$ 得 娘佬 骂 度 几 回 。
xaŋ^{35} tie^{53} niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} ma^{213} t^{h}ɔ^{35} ki^{55} fei^{22}
1SG PASS mother scold EXP several time
'I was scolded by my mother several times.'

If the perfective markers were not there, a sense of incompleteness would surface in the interpretation of the sentence, which gives rise to a certain degree of ungrammaticality:

(939) 茶 杯 得 打 坏 。
?? t^{h}a^{22} pei^{21} tie^{53} ta^{55} p^{h}ai^{213}
tea cup PASS hit broken
'The teacup was broken (by someone).'

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(940) ○我 得 娘佬 骂 几 回 。
?? xaŋ^{35} tie^{53} niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} ma^{213} ki^{55} fei^{22}
1SG PASS mother scold several time
'I was scolded by my mother several times.'

28.3.2 Predicate with imperfective aspect marker

The imperfective marker [tau$^{213\sim21\sim55}$] 到 can mark either the durative aspect of result or achievement, if not accomplishment. The passive construction containing a predicate that has the imperfective marker has a similar syntactic structure as the perfective [$NP_{Patient}$ + $PASS_{[tie53]}$得 + (NP_{Agent}) + VERB + IMPFV + (OBJ/COMP/NUM + CLF)], as shown in the example below:

(941) ○他 个 手 得 猫儿 一直 啃 到 。
xu^{35} kə^{0} ɕiɔu^{55} tie^{53} mau^{53}ə^{0} i^{53}ʈʰə^{35} kʰən^{55} tau^{55}
3SG POSS hand PASS cat continuously bite DUR
'His hand was continuously bitten by the cat.' (The cat did not let go of his hand)

28.3.3 Predicate with resultative or directional verb compounds

It is very common for Shaowu passive constructions to contain resultative or directional verb compounds, which serve a similar goal of coding the completeness of an action or situation. The syntactic template is again very similar to the perfective above, having [$NP_{Patient}$ + $PASS_{[tie53]}$得 + (NP_{Agent}) + VERB + RES/DIR], as illustrated by examples below.

Passive construction having a predicate with resultative verb compounds:

(942) ○这 罐 儿 得 ○我 打 破 了 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} kuɔn$^{53\sim21}$ nə^{0} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} ta^{55} pʰai^{213} ə^{0}
DEM jar DIM PASS 1SG hit broken PFV
'This jar was broken by me.'

(943) ○他 个 ○○ 得 别人 打 伤 了 。
xu^{35} kə^{0} təu^{55}tsan^{21} tie^{53} pʰie^{213}nin^{55} ta^{55} ɕiɔŋ^{21} ŋə^{0}
3SG POSS elbow PASS others hit hurt PFV
'His elbow was hurt by someone.'

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(944) 小 团子 得 水 浸 死 了 。
siau^{55} kin^{53}tsə^{0} tie^{53} sei^{55} tsən^{213} si^{55} liau^{55}
little boy PASS water drown dead PFV
'The little boy was drowned in the water.'

Passive construction having predicate with directional verb compounds:

(945) ○$_{他}$ 得 ○$_{我}$ 扔 出 去 了 。
xu^{35} tie^{53} xaŋ^{35} len^{21} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ^{213} ə^{0}
3SG PASS 1SG throw out go PFV
'He was thrown out by me.'

(946) 做 得 唔 好 , 解 得 退 归 来 。
tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tie^{53} ŋ^{55} xau^{55} xie^{35} tie^{53} t^{h}ei^{213} kuei^{21} li^{22}
do COMP NEG well can PASS return back come
'(If something) is not well done, it will be returned.'

(947) 石头 得 推 下 去 。
ɕiɔ^{35}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ tie^{53} t^{h}ei^{21} xa^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
rock PASS push down go
'The rock was pushed downward.'

28.3.4 Predicate with the complement marker DE + resultative/extent complement

The completeness of a [tie^{53}] 得 passive can also be described by a resultative or extent complement following the complement marker [tie^{53}] 得. Note that the two morphemes share the same written form and pronunciation in Shaowu, but their function is completely different (see Chapter 19 on resultative and extent complements). The syntactic template for such a construction with passive is [NP$_{Patient}$ + PASS$_{[tie53]}$得 + (NP$_{Agent}$) + VERB + COMP$_{[tie53]}$得 + RES/EXT].

(948) 团儿 得 娘佬 骂 得 啼 起来 。
kin^{53}nə^{0} tie^{53} niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} ma^{213} tie^{53} t^{h}i^{53} k^{h}i$^{55\sim22}$li^{22}
son PASS mother scold COMP cry INCH
'The son was scolded by the mother so much that he started to cry.'

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28.3.5 Modal verbs in the passive construction

Modal verbs usually precede the passive marker [tie^{53}] 得 and the agent to express the modality encoded. The syntactic template of a passive construction with a modal verb is [NP$_{\text{Patient}}$ + MOD + PASS$_{[\text{tie53}]}$得 + (NP$_{\text{Agent}}$) + PRED]. For instance, in the example below, the Shaowu modal [xie$^{55\sim35}$] 解, which means 'to be able to' but is also grammaticalised as a future tense marker (see Chapter 20 on modality), is used.

(949)

俺多	还	解	得	骗	么	?
ien^{22}tai^{21}	ai^{213}	xie$^{55\sim35}$	tie^{53}	p$^{\text{h}}$ien^{213}	mɔ^{0}	
1PL.INCL	still	can/will	PASS	cheat	Q	

'Will we be cheated again?'

28.3.6 Adverbs in the passive construction

Adverbs in Shaowu usually precede the passive marker [tie^{53}] 得 and the agent. The syntactic template of a passive construction with an adverb is [NP$_{\text{Patient}}$ + ADV + PASS$_{[\text{tie53}]}$得 + (NP$_{\text{Agent}}$) + PRED]. An adverb of probability, [k$^{\text{h}}$ɔ^{55}nen^{22}] 可能, is used in the following example:

(950)

○这	句	事	可能	得	○她	听	到	了	。
tɕiɔŋ^{53}	ky^{213}	sə^{35}	k$^{\text{h}}$ɔ^{55}nen^{22}	tie^{53}	xu^{35}	t$^{\text{h}}$iaŋ^{21}	tau^{55}	ə^{0}	
DEM	CLF	utterance	probably	PASS	3SG	listen	ACH	PFV	

'This utterance was probably overheard by her.'

28.3.7 Imperatives and passive constructions

Just like in Mandarin, the examples in Shaowu involving imperatives are negative imperatives, as in English *Don't get this mixed up!* or *Don't let this be mixed up!*. It serves the purpose of admonition or warning. The imperative negator used is [məi^{22}] ○别 'don't', and it precedes the passive marker [tie^{53}] 得. The syntactic template is [NP$_{\text{Patient}}$ + NEG IMP + PASS$_{[\text{tie53}]}$得 + (NP$_{\text{Agent}}$) + PRED]:

(951)

○这	事	○别	得	○他	瞁	到	。
tɕiɔŋ^{53}	sə^{35}	məi^{22}	tie^{53}	xu^{35}	niaŋ^{213}	tau^{55}	
DEM	thing	PROH	PASS	3SG	look	ACH	

'Don't let this thing be seen by him.'

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28.3.8 Extra NPs in passive constructions

In a passive construction in Shaowu, an extra nominal phrase (sometimes referred to as an 'extra object' or a 'retained object' in Sinitic linguistics) can be added in the postverbal position to specify a part-whole relationship between the patient and the extra NP (example 952), and it is even possible for the head noun in the extra NP to be implicit (example 953). The extra NP can also be used to further specify the direct object in the activity that affects the recipient which has been promoted to the subject position in a passivised ditransitive construction (see example 954). The syntactic template is [$NP_{Patient}$ + $PASS_{[tie53]}$得 + (NP_{Agent}) + VERB + NP_{Extra}]:

(952) 衣裳 得 火 ○ 了 蜀 个 窟窿 。
i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21} tie^{53} fəi^{55} t^{h}u^{21} liau$^{55\sim22}$ ɕi^{22} kə^{0} k^{h}uei^{53}luŋ^{22}
garment PASS fire burn PFV one CLF hole
'A hole was burned in the garment.'

(953) 五 个 苹果 得 食 了 三 个 。
ŋ^{55} kə^{0} p^{h}in^{22}kuɔ^{22} tie^{53} ɕie^{35} liau^{55} san^{21} kəi^{213}
five CLF apple PASS eat PFV three CLF
'Out of five apples, three were eaten.'

(954) ○$_{你}$ 得 偷 了 几 多 票儿 ?
xien^{35} tie^{53} t^{h}əu^{21} ə^{0} ki^{55} tai^{21} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}
2SG PASS steal PFV how much money
'How much money did you get stolen?'

28.3.9 Locative expressions and passive constructions

The postverbal position in a passive construction can be occupied by a locative expression that indicates the location in the form of the goal destination of an activity affecting the patient. The locative expression can be a nominal phrase with a directional complement, as in example (955); or a locative prepositional phrase, as in example (956). The syntactic template is [$NP_{Patient}$ + $PASS_{[tie53]}$得 + (NP_{Agent}) + VERB + LOC]:

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(955) 石头 得 ○他 搡 到 水 底 去 。
ɕiɔ^{35}tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$ tie^{53} xu^{35} suŋ^{55} tau^{21} sei^{55} ti^{0} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
rock PASS 3SG push ACH water inside go
'The rock was pushed into the water by him.'

(956) ○他 得 大家 围 得 ○○当中 。
xu^{35} tie^{53} tʰai^{35}ka^{21} ʋei^{22} tie^{53} tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{21}
3SG PASS everyone surround LOC middle
'He was surrounded in the middle by everyone.'

28.3.10 Passive constructions in relative clauses

The passive marking can also be found in relative clauses in Shaowu. In the example below, the head noun in the relative clause is [tei^{213}ɕiɔŋ^{213}] 对象 'target', preceded by a relative clause which defines it:

(957) 得 别人 当作 开 玩笑 个 对象 是
tie^{53} pʰie^{35}nin^{55} tɔŋ^{21}tsɔ^{21} kʰai^{21} ʋan^{55}siau^{213} kə^{0} tei^{213}ɕiɔŋ^{21} ɕi^{22}
PASS others treat make joke REL target be
○他 。
xu^{35}
3SG
'It was him who became the object of ridicule by others.'

28.4 Negation in passive constructions

There are two negators that can be used to negate a passive. The first is the general negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔and the second is [mau^{35}] 冇. The negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔is placed in front of the passive marker to express that the grammatical patient is not affected by the action of the grammatical agent. It negates a passive in the present or future. The following example illustrates this.

(958) ○这 事 唔 得 ○他 晓得 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35} ŋ^{55} tie^{53} xu^{35} xiau^{55}tie^{0}
DEM thing NEG PASS 3SG find out
'This matter is not to be found out by him.'

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The negator 冇 [mau^{35}] used in a passive construction turns the sentence into a negative imperative, as mentioned in § 28.3.7. If it is followed by [iɔu^{55}] 有 'to have', then it negates a passive in the past, as shown in the following example:

(959) ○这 事 冇 有 得 ○他 晓得 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} tie^{53} xu^{35} xiau^{55}tie^{0}
DEM thing NEG have PASS 3SG find out
'This matter was not found out by him.'

In § 28.3.7, we have also seen that a third negator, the prohibitive [məi^{22}] ○别 'don't', which can be used to form a passive in the modality of a negative imperative.

28.5 Passive and non-adversity

The passive marker [tie^{53}] 得 in Shaowu, as most Sinitic languages passive markers, initially marked adversative events or situations inflicted on the patient by the agent. This can be seen by most of the examples displayed in the above sections. In the course of time, however, the Shaowu passive marker has broadened and neutralised in its use to mark positive and non-inflictive events or situations as well, similarly to the BEI 被 passive in Mandarin. However, the most spontaneous way to express a positive event in Shaowu is by using the active voice directly or by skipping the PASS-Agent constituent altogether, as shown in the two examples below.

(960) ○我多 接受 了 ○他 个 意见 。
xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} tɕien^{53}ɕiɔu$^{35\sim21}$ ə^{0} xu^{35} kə^{0} i^{213}kin^{213}
1PL.EXCL accept PFV 3SG POSS opinion
'We accepted his view.'

(961) ○哪 蜀 个 人 解 选 为 总统 ?
nɔŋ^{22} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} nin^{22} xie^{55} sien^{55} ʋei^{22} tsuŋ^{55}t^{h}iuŋ$^{55\sim22}$
which one CLF person will elect become president
'Which person will be elected president?'

However, passive constructions are sometimes chosen to be used in positive, non-inflictive situations in order to put the grammatical patient in focus by placing it at the beginning of the sentence. The semantic bleaching of the passive

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marker [tie^{53}] 得 can be seen in the three examples below, all non-inflictive, given by my linguistic consultant who deemed them to be sound sentences:

(962) 用功 个 学生 皆 解 得 表扬 。
iuŋ^{35}kuŋ^{21} kə^{0} xɔ^{35}sen^{21} ka^{35} xie^{55} tie^{53} piau^{55}iɔŋ^{22}
hardworking ATT student all will PASS praise
'Hardworking students will all be praised.'

(963) ○$_{你}$ 得 大家 选 为 代表 咯 。
xien^{35} tie^{53} t^{h}ai^{35}ka^{21} sien^{55} ʋei^{22} t^{h}ai^{213}piau^{55} lɔ^{0}
2SG PASS everyone elect become representative SFP
'You have been elected as a representative by everyone!'

(964) 快 死 个 溃人 得 医生 救 转身 。
k^{h}uai^{213} si^{55} kə^{0} k^{h}uei^{35}nin$^{22\sim55}$ tie^{53} i^{21}sen^{21} kɔu^{213} t^{h}ien$^{55\sim22}$ɕin^{21}
soon die ATT patient PASS doctor save revived
'The dying patient was resuscitated by the doctor.'

As we see, all these events – 'to be praised', 'to be elected', 'to be revived', 'to be accepted' – only contain positive connotations and have no implication of adversity.

28.6 Agentful versus agentless Shaowu passives

Note that the grammatical agent can readily be elided when the passive construction uses the general passive marker [tie^{53}] 得, but not if any of the other Shaowu passive markers mentioned in § 28.1 are used instead. If the passive markers [niɔŋ^{213}] 让, [kiau^{213}] 叫, [xan^{213}] 喊or [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨 are used, then the agent must be present in order for the passive construction to be grammatical, as observed above in § 28.1.4.

(965) ○$_{他}$ 个 意见 让 *(○$_{我}$多) 接受 了 。
xu^{35} kə^{0} i^{213}kin^{213} niɔŋ^{213} *(xaŋ^{35}tai^{21}) tɕien^{53}ɕiɔu$^{35\sim21}$ ə^{0}
3SG POSS opinion PASS 1PL.EXCL accept PFV
'His view was accepted by us.'

(966) ○$_{他}$ 个 意见 叫 *(○$_{我}$多) 接受 了 。
xu^{35} kə^{0} i^{213}kin^{213} kiau^{213} *(xaŋ^{35}tai^{21}) tɕien^{53}ɕiɔu$^{35\sim21}$ ə^{0}
3SG POSS opinion PASS 1PL.EXCL accept PFV
'His view was accepted by us.'

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28.7 Summary

In this chapter, we have examined the function of passive constructions in Shaowu and compared the different passive markers in Shaowu, [tie^{53}] 得, [niɔŋ^{213}] 让, [kiau^{213}] 叫, [xan^{213}] 喊, and [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨. The most canonical and the predominant passive marker is [tie^{53}] 得. All the five markers have in fact been grammaticalised first from their respective lexical meaning into causative verbs, then from causative, further grammaticalised into passive markers. Diachronically, this is a well-known pathway of grammaticalisation and is widely attested in the Sinitic (see Chappell 2015a, Chappell & Peyraube 2006, Chappell & Shi 2016).

The passive construction can take a 'longer' or 'shorter' form, depending on whether the construction is agentful or agentless.

(i) Agentful passive: $NP_{Patient}$ + Passive marker [tie^{53}] 得 + NP_{Agent} + VP (more common)

(ii) Agentless passive: $NP_{Patient}$ + Passive marker [tie^{53}] 得 + VP (less common)

Only the [tie^{53}] 得 passive possesses an agentless form.

Various verb categories compatible with the passive, and passive constructions involving different predicate types, have been examined and we have also discussed the generalised non-adversity use of the passive marking in Shaowu.

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Chapter 29
Causative constructions

A causative construction expresses that the subject causes someone to do something or something to become something else or causes a change of state often in a non-volitional event. It brings in a new argument (the causer) into a transitive clause, placing the original grammatical subject S (the causee) into the object position. A causative construction is thus a valency-increasing operation (Dixon 2000: 31). In English, the sentence *My mother lets me play outside*. is a causative construction where the mother is the 'causer' and I, the 'causee' (and the original subject of 'playing outside'). The causative construction is thus also a pivotal construction where the object of the matrix (causative) verb is also the subject of the second verb.

The Sinitic causative constructions use syntactic means such as complex predicates to code causation, referred to as 'analytic causative constructions' (Chappell & Peyraube 2006), as opposed to morphological means such as a special affix on the verb (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002). In Sinitic languages, a causative is generally constructed by introducing a causative verb (CAUS) that precedes the original grammatical subject S and its predicate, and the new argument, the causer, is placed in front of the causative verb. The syntactic configuration for the causative construction is thus: NP_{causer} + CAUS + NP_{causee} + PRED.

The sources for causative verbs are mostly lexical, in Mandarin for example, the most common causative verbs are (i) *jiào* 叫 which is grammaticalised from the lexical verb 'to call'; (ii) *ràng* 让 which is derived from the lexical verb 'to yield', (iii) *shǐ* 使 originally comes from 'to dispatch' (see Chappell 1983: 216–228 for detailed descriptions), and (iv) *lìng* 令 originally meaning 'to order'. In another Sinitic language, Early Southern Min, these are /khit^{4}/ 乞'to give', /su^{2}/ 使 'to send', /su^{3}/ 賜 'to bestow' and /hou^{7}/ 度 'to pass'; the latter is found in contemporary Southern Min dialects, such as Taiwanese, but is not found in the Early Southern Min texts (Chappell pers. comm.), like the Shaowu [t^{h}ɔ^{35}] ~ [xɔ^{35}] 度, the Southern Min /hou^{7}/ 度 has undergone a lenition process of its initial consonant.

In Shaowu, there are five causative verbs, namely, (i) [tie^{53}] 得 (originally meaning 'to give'), (ii) [niɔŋ^{213}] 让 (originally meaning 'to yield'), (iii) [kiau^{213}] 叫 (originally meaning 'to call'), (iv) [xan^{213}] 喊 (originally meaning 'to call out'), and (v) [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨 (originally meaning 'to ask for'). All these five morphemes are also passive markers in Shaowu (see the preceding Chapter 28 on passive constructions). Indeed, the grammaticalisation from causative verbs to passive markers is very common cross-linguistically, as observed by Chappell, Li & Peyraube (2003). This also applies to languages throughout China and existed from at least Late Medieval times (Jiang 2000: 221–236). Chappell (2015) also points out that speech

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act verbs, in their turn, are a primary source of causatives. In Central and Southern Chinese languages, the causative use of speech act verbs is indeed very common.

The Shaowu causative verbs [niɔŋ^{213}] 让 and [kiau^{213}] 叫 are characteristic of Northern languages and dialects (see, for instance, Norman 1982b, Hashimoto 1988, Zhang 2000), but not so in the South. The Shaowu causative verb [tie^{53}] 得, on the other hand, is rather characteristic of Southern Sinitic languages, as the source of causative verbs in southern China is often in verbs of 'giving', as observed by Chappell & Peyraube (2006), who have proposed the pathway of grammaticalisation in Southern Min as: V [+ give] > V [+ causative] > passive marker.

There are semantic differences in the type of causative encoded by these five causative verbs in Shaowu:

(i) [tie^{53}] 得 'to give', [niɔŋ^{213}] 让 'to yield' and [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨 'to allow' form a permissive 'let' type of causative;
(ii) [kiau^{213}] 叫 and [xan^{213}] 喊 'to call' both form a directive 'make' causative;
(iii) [niɔŋ^{213}] 让 'to yield' forms an unintentional experiencer 'make happen' causative and [tie^{53}] 得 'to give' forms an agentless causative.

The prototypical causative construction in Shaowu is: NP_{Causer} + CAUS + NP_{Causee} + V (+ COMP/ LOC/ ASP). Only the verb (V) in the predicate of such a construction, and not the causative verb (CAUS), can be followed by aspect markers, complements or locational phrases. The causative verb can, however, be preceded by modal verbs or negators.

Both the causer and the causee must be overt and cannot be elided in a causative construction in Shaowu. Because of the closeness on the path of grammaticalisation, sometimes the causative construction can be interpreted as passive, causing ambiguity. For instance, with the causative verb / passive marker [niɔŋ^{213}] 让:

(967) ○$_{我}$ 让 ○$_{他}$ 打 了 。
xaŋ^{35} niɔŋ^{213} xu^{35} ta^{55} ə^{0}
1SG CAUS 3SG hit PFV
'I let him hit me.' (permissive causative) or:
'I was hit by him.' (passive)

Likewise, with the causative verb [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨:

(968) ○$_{我}$ 讨 ○$_{他}$ 打 了 。
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$ xu^{35} ta^{55} ə^{0}
1SG CAUS 3SG hit PFV
'I let him hit me.' (permissive causative) or:
'I was hit by him.' (passive)

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Likewise, with the causative verb [tie^{53}] 得:

(969) ○$_{我}$ 得 ○$_{他}$ 打 了 。
xaŋ^{35} tie^{53} xu^{35} ta^{55} ə^{0}
1SG CAUS 3SG hit PFV
'I was hit by him.' (passive) or:
'I let him hit me.' (permissive causative)

The only unambiguous way to differentiate a passive from a causative in the case of the causative verb and passive marker [tie^{53}] 得 is by the elision of the grammatical agent (see Chapter 28 on passives, § 28.6 for details on agentless passives).

(970) ○$_{我}$ 得 打 了 。
xaŋ^{35} tie^{53} ta^{55} ə^{0}
1SG PASS hit PFV
'I was hit (by someone).' (This sentence can only be parsed as a passive construction)

29.1 Permissive 'let' type of causative

The permissive 'let' type of causative expresses permission on the part of the causer and subject for the causer to carry out an action. The syntactic template of this type of causative construction is NP_{Causer} + $CAUS_{Permissive}$+ NP_{Causee} + PRED. The following two examples illustrate this type of causative with the causative verb [niɔŋ^{213}] 让.

29.1.1 'Let' permissive causative verb [niɔŋ^{213}] 让

(971) 午睡 起 来 娘佬 才 让 囝子 食
ŋ^{55}sei^{213} kʰi^{55} li^{22} niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} tsai^{21} niɔŋ^{213} kin^{53}tsə^{0} ɕie^{35}
noon nap up come mother then CAUS boy eat
东西 。
tuŋ^{21}si^{21}
thing
'The mother only let the boy eat something after the afternoon nap.'

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(972) 让 ○他 多 休息 个 下 ，
niɔŋ^{213} xu^{35} tɔ^{22} xəu^{21}ɕi^{21} kə^{0} xa^{35}
CAUS 3SG more rest one CLF
‘Let him rest a bit,
病 就 解 好 得 更 快 个 嫩 。
p^{h}in^{35} tsiɔu^{213} xie^{55} xau^{55} tie^{53} kə^{0} k^{h}uai^{213} kə^{0} nən^{35}
illness then can well COMP more fast one CLF
then he’ll get better sooner.’

29.1.2 ‘Let’ permissive causative verb [t^{h}əu$^{55~22}$] 讨

There is another ‘let’ permissive causative verb in Shaowu, which is [t^{h}əu^{55}] 讨 (or its allophone [t^{h}əu^{22}]), which originally means ‘to ask for’, ‘to beseech’, ‘to seek’ in Shaowu. It has grammaticalised into a causative verb ‘to let’. It can replace [niɔŋ^{213}] 让 as the causative verb, the difference being that it is clearly native to Shaowu, and that it also implies certain freewill on the causee’s side.

Semantically, [t^{h}əu$^{55~22}$] 讨 is like the Southern Min [k^{h}it^{2}] 乞- the latter means ‘to beg’, ‘to beseech’ in Old Chinese – but has grammaticalised to mean ‘to give’ in Southern Min (see also Chappell & Peyraube 2006). Indeed, even in Mandarin, *qǐtǎo* 乞讨 is typically used together as a disyllabic verb to mean ‘to beg’.

The three examples below illustrate the usage [t^{h}əu$^{55~22}$] 讨 as a permissive causative verb:

(973) 午睡 起 来 娘佬 才 讨 囝子 食
ŋ^{55}sei^{213} k^{h}i^{55} li^{22} niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} tsai^{21} t^{h}əu^{55} kin^{53}tsə^{0} ɕie^{35}
noon nap up come mother then CAUS boy eat
东西 。
tuŋ^{21}si^{21}
thing
‘The mother only let the boy eat something after the afternoon nap.’

(974) 食 了 天工 ， ○我 就 讨 ○他 出 去
ɕie^{35} ə^{0} t^{h}ien^{21}kuŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} tsiɔu^{213} t^{h}əu^{55} xu^{35} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213~21}$
eat PFV breakfast 1SG then CAUS 3SG go out
搞 了 。
kau^{55} ə^{0}
play PFV
‘I let him go out to play after breakfast.’

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(975) 讨 ○他 多 休息 个 下 ，
$t^həu^{55}$ xu^{35} $tɔ^{22}$ $xəu^{21}ɕi^{21}$ $kə^0$ xa^{35}
CAUS 3SG more rest one CLF
'Let him rest a bit,
病 就 解 好 得 更 快 个 嫩 。
p^hin^{35} $tsiɔu^{213}$ xie^{55} xau^{55} tie^{53} $kə^0$ k^huai^{213} $kə^0$ $nən^{35}$
illness then can well COMP more fast one CLF
then he'll get better sooner.'

The difference of the Shaowu causative verb [$t^həu^{55\sim22}$] 讨 from the other four causative verbs is that it does not take negation. While it is possible to prepose the general negator [$ŋ^{55}$] 唔 to the four other causative verbs to become [$ŋ^{55}tie^{53}$] 唔得 'to not allow', [$ŋ^{55}niɔŋ^{213}$] 唔让 'to not let', [$ŋ^{55}kiau^{213}$] 唔叫 and [$ŋ^{55}xan^{213}$] 唔喊 'to not make someone do something', the negated form of [$ŋ^{55}t^həu^{55\sim22}$] 唔讨 is deemed by my Shaowu consultant as unacceptable. This ungrammaticality can be seen in the following example:

(976) 灶官师傅 唔 讨 ○我 尝 ○这 样 菜 。
** $t^hy^{22}kuɔn^{21}sə^{21}fu^0$ $ŋ^{55}$ $t^həu^{55}$ $xaŋ^{35}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{22}$ $tɕiɔŋ^{53}$ $iɔŋ^{35}$ $t^hə^{213}$
God of the Kitchen (chef) NEG CAUS 1SG taste DEM CLF dish
(Attempted meaning: 'The cook does not let me taste this dish.')

It is, however, grammatical to use the negation of causative verbs [tie^{53}] 得or [$niɔŋ^{213}$] 让in this case:

(977) 灶官师傅 唔 得/让 ○我 尝 ○这 样
$t^hy^{22}kuɔn^{21}sə^{21}fu^0$ $ŋ^{55}$ tie^{53}/ $niɔŋ^{213}$ $xaŋ^{35}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{22}$ $tɕiɔŋ^{53}$ $iɔŋ^{35}$
God of the Kitchen (chef) NEG CAUS 1SG taste DEM CLF
菜 。
$t^hə^{213}$
dish
'The cook does not let me taste this dish.'

29.1.3 'Let' permissive causative verb [tie^{53}] 得

As mention earlier in example (969), the morpheme [tie^{53}] 得 can also act as a permissive causative verb. In the following two examples, [tie^{53}] 得 refers to the 'let' permissive causative:

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(978) 大家 得 新姐夫 先 帮 人客 轮流
$t^hai^{35}ka^{21}$ tie^{53} $sən^{21}tɕia^{55}fu^0$ $sien^{21}$ $pɔŋ^{21}$ $nin^{22}k^ha^{53}$ $luən^{22}liɔu^{22}$
everyone CAUS bridegroom first DAT guest take turn
敬 酒 。
kin^{21} $tsɔu^{55}$
toast wine
‘Everyone let the bridegroom toast the guests one by one first.’

(979) 冇 有 人 愿意 得 人 打 了 。
mau^{35} $iɔu^{55}$ nin^{22} $ʋien^{213}i^{213}$ tie^{53} nin^{22} ta^{55} $ə^0$
NEG have person be willing to CAUS person hit SFP
‘No one is happy and willing to let others hit them.’

29.2 Directive ‘make’ type of causative

The Shaowu causative verbs [kiau^{213}] 叫and [xan^{213}] 喊, both originally meaning ‘to call’, are used to form a directive ‘make’ causative (see Comrie 1981: 165–184, Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002, *inter alia*); an example in English is *He made me buy that book*. This is because their lexical source intrinsically implies a request, or a call to do something. This involves an active initiation of action on the side of the causer with respect to the causee to get them to do something and the causer expects that the causee will do what is asked, hence the name ‘directive’. The syntactic template is NP_{Causer} + $CAUS_{Directive}$ + NP_{Causee} + PRED. See for instance the following two examples:

29.2.1 Make’ directive causative verb [kiau^{213}] 叫

(980) ○你 来 个 时候 , ○他 叫 ○我 躲 起来 。
$xien^{35}$ li^{22} $kə^0$ $ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}$ xu^{35} $kiau^{213}$ $xaŋ^{35}$ $tɔ^{55}$ $k^hi^{55}li^{22}$
2SG come REL moment 3SG CAUS 1SG hide $DIR_{up.come}$
‘He had me hide myself when you came.’

(981) 老 张 叫 ○他 话 ○这 样 事 得 ○你
lau^{55} $tiɔŋ^{21}$ $kiau^{213}$ xu^{35} $ʋa^{35}$ $tɕiɔŋ^{53}$ $iɔŋ^{35}$ $sə^{35}$ tie^{53} $xien^{35}$
Old Zhang CAUS 3SG tell DEM CLF matter DAT 2SG
听 。
$t^hiaŋ^{21}$
hear
‘Old Zhang made him tell you about this matter.’

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29.2.2 'Make' directive causative verb [xan^{213}] 喊

Likewise, the directive causative verb [xan^{213}] 喊 can be used in the two sentences in § 29.2.1:

(982) ○$_{你}$ 来 个 时候 , ○$_{他}$ 喊 ○$_{我}$ 躲 起来 。
xien^{35} li^{22} kə^{0} ɕi^{22}xəu^{213} xu^{35} xan^{213} xaŋ^{35} tɔ^{55} k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}
2SG come REL moment 3SG CAUS 1SG hide DIR$_{up.come}$
'He had me hide myself when you came.'

(983) 老 张 喊 ○$_{他}$ 话 ○$_{这}$ 样 事 得 ○$_{你}$
lau^{55} tiɔŋ^{21} xan^{213} xu^{35} ʋa^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} sə^{35} tie^{53} xien^{35}
Old Zhang CAUS 3SG tell DEM CLF matter DAT 2SG
听 。
t^{h}iaŋ^{21}
hear
'Old Zhang made him tell you about this matter.'

29.3 Unintentional experiencer type of causative

The classification of 'Unintentional experiencer type of causative', coined by Chappell (1983: 219), forms unintentional causatives with experiencer verbs. It denotes events, states or conditions that are either caused unintentionally by the grammatical subject or triggered by a prior event that does not involve an agent. For the first type, it often involves inanimate grammatical subjects that cause the object to undergo a certain experience. Usually, the causative verb 让 [niɔŋ^{213}] is used to mark this type of event. The syntactic template is NP$_{causer}$ + CAUS$_{unintent}$ + NP$_{causee}$ + PRED, which is illustrated by the following two examples.

29.3.1 Unintentional causative verb [niɔŋ^{213}] 让

(984) ○$_{那}$ 样 事 让 ○$_{他}$ 顶 唔 高兴 。
ɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} sə^{35} niɔŋ^{213} xu^{35} tin^{55} ŋ^{35} kau^{21}xin^{213}
DEM CLF matter CAUS 3SG very NEG happy
'That matter made him very unhappy.'

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(985) ○这 场 大 雨 让 农夫 顶 快活 。
tɕiɔŋ[53] tʰiɔŋ[22] tʰai[35] xy[55] niɔŋ[213] nɔŋ[22]fu[21] tin[55] kʰuai[213]ʊai[55]
DEM CLF big rain CAUS farmer very happy
'This downpour has made the farmers really happy.'

The other subtype of the unintentional experiencer causative, also known as the agentless causative, does not involve any active agent who causes or initiates a certain event. The verb involved is often unaccusative, like 'to break' in the English sentence *The glass broke*, where something has happened to the grammatical subject rather than it being initiated by it.

29.3.2 Agentless causative verb [tie[53]] 得

In Shaowu, the agentless causative can only be formed by adding the causative verb [tie[53]] 得 in front of an unaccusative verb; the other causative verbs cannot function in this case. The following example illustrates the usage of [tie[53]] 得 in an agentless causative construction:

(986) ○我 得 ○滑 了 个 下 。
xaŋ[35] tie[53] ʊai[53] ə[0] kə[0] xa[35]
1SG CAUS slip PFV one CLF
'It made me slip.'

(987) ○我 ○滑 了 个 下 。
xaŋ[35] ʊai[53] ə[0] kə[0] xa[35]
1SG slip PFV one CLF
'I slipped.'

It is worth pointing out that the more literary Mandarin causative verb *shǐ* 使is not used in Shaowu as a causative verb, but rather as a full lexical verb to mean 'use' [sə[55]], as in the sentence [xaŋ[35]sə[55]pi[55]sia[55]tʰə[35]] ○我使笔写字。 'I use pens to write.'

29.4 Predicate types in causative constructions

The predicate types in causative constructions are similar to those in the passive. In this section, we are going to discuss predicates which combine with perfective and imperfective aspect markers, with locative phrases, with complements

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(resultative, extent and directional), and with extra objects, as well as the causative construction involving negation and modality.

29.4.1 Causative constructions involving predicates with perfective aspect

The perfective aspect marks either the termination or the completion of an action, marked respectively by [ə^{0}] 了 and [liau$^{55\sim22}$] 了 (cf. Chapter 20 on the aspectual system). Predicates taking a perfective aspect marker indicate the coming to an end of an action or situation. The syntactic configuration of a causative construction followed by a predicate with a perfective aspect marker is [NP_{causer} + CAUS + (NP_{causee}) + VERB + PFV + (OBJ/COMP/NUM + CLF)]:

(988) 〇他多 让 〇我 住 了 个 工 。
xu^{35}tai^{21} niɔŋ^{213} xaŋ^{35} t^{h}y^{35} ə^{0} kə^{0} kuŋ^{21}
3PL CAUS 1SG stay PFV one day
'They let me stay for a day.'

(989) 爷佬 喊 囝儿 拿 饭 食 了 了 。
ia^{22}lau^{0} xan^{213} kin^{53}nə^{0} na^{22} p^{h}ən^{35} ɕie^{35} liau^{55} ə^{0}
father $CAUS_{Dir}$ son OM meal eat CMPL PFV
'The father had the son eat up his meal.'

29.4.2 Causative constructions involving predicates with imperfective

A common imperfective marker in Shaowu is [tau$^{213\sim21\sim55}$] 到 which marks the durative aspect, and codes the continuation of an action without regard to its beginning or completion. The syntactic configuration of a causative construction followed by a predicate with an imperfective aspect marker is [NP_{causer} + CAUS + (NP_{causee}) + VERB + IMPFV + (VERB/OBJ/COMP)]:

(990) 娘佬 让 囝儿 坐 到 了 食 。
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} niɔŋ^{213} kin^{53}nə^{0} t^{h}ɔi^{55} tau^{55} ə^{0} ɕie^{35}
mother CAUS son sit DUR CRS eat
'The mother let the son eat while sitting.'

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29.4.3 Causative constructions involving predicates with locative phrases

Locative adjunct phrases in Sinitic indicate either the location or destination of the action: preverbal ones express the location within which the action takes place, while postverbal ones typically express the destination of the object involved in the event. The syntactic configuration of a Shaowu causative construction followed by a predicate involving a locative is [NP_{causer} + CAUS + (NP_{causee}) + VERB + [LOC + PLACE] $_{PP}$]. The following two examples illustrate such a construction:

(991) ○$_{别}$ 得 蚁蚁嫲 爬 得 盘儿 底 去 。
məi^{22} tie^{53} nie^{22}nie^{55}ma^{22} p^{h}a^{22} tie^{53} p^{h}ɔn^{22}nə^{0} ti^{0} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
PROH CAUS ant crawl LOC dish inside go
'Don't let ants get into the dish.'

(992) ○$_{别}$ 让 蚁蚁嫲 爬 得 盘儿 底 去 。
məi^{22} niɔŋ^{213} nie^{22}nie^{55}ma^{22} p^{h}a^{22} tie^{53} p^{h}ɔn^{22}nə^{0} ti^{0} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
PROH CAUS ant crawl LOC dish in go
'Don't let ants get into the dish.'

As mentioned in § 29.1, the causative verb [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨 cannot be negated, and it is also ungrammatical here too, with the presence of the prohibitive imperative [məi^{22}] ○$_{别}$ 'don't':

(993) ○$_{别}$ 讨 蚁蚁嫲 爬 得 盘儿 底 去 。
** məi^{22} t^{h}əu^{55} nie^{22}nie^{55}ma^{22} p^{h}a^{22} tie^{53} p^{h}ɔn^{22}nə^{0} ti^{0} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
PROH CAUS ant crawl LOC dish in go
(Attempted meaning: 'Don't let ants get into the dish.')

29.4.4 Causative constructions involving predicates with verb compounds

In this subsection, we discuss causative constructions having predicates with verb compounds, such as resultative, extent and directional compounds. The general syntactic template of a causative construction followed by a predicate with a compound is [NP_{causer} + CAUS + (NP_{causee}) + VERB + COMP].

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29.4.4.1 With a resultative compound in an object marking construction

(994) ○他 让 ○她 拿 票儿 ○藏 好 。
xu^{35} niɔŋ^{213} xu^{35} na$^{22\sim35}$ pʰiau^{213}ə^{0} kʰɔŋ^{22} xau^{55}
3SG CAUS 3SG OM money hide well
'He let her hide up the money well.'

29.4.4.2 With an extent compound

(995) ○我 让 ○你 气 死 咯 。
xaŋ^{35} niɔŋ^{213} xien^{35} kʰi^{213} si^{55} lɔ^{0}
1SG CAUS 2SG anger die SFP
'You made me dead angry.' (Lit. 'You let me get angry to the point of dying.')

29.4.4.3 With a directional compound

(996) ○我 冇 让 弟儿 妹儿 走 出
xaŋ^{35} mau^{35} niɔŋ^{213} tʰi^{55}ə^{0} mei^{213}ə^{0} tsu^{55} tʰei^{53}
1SG NEG CAUS younger brother younger sister run out
去 。
kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
go
'I didn't let my younger brother and younger sister run outside.'

29.4.5 Causative constructions involving extra objects

In a causative construction in Shaowu, an extra nominal phrase (referred to as 'extra' or a 'retained object') can sometimes be added in the postverbal position to specify a part-whole relationship between the causer and the causee (example 997), or to specify an activity that affects the causee (example 998). The syntactic template is [NP_{causer} + CAUS + (NP_{causee}) + VERB + EXTRA OBJ]:

(997) 猫儿 讨 狗 啃 到 了 尾巴 。
mau^{53}ə^{0} tʰəu^{55} kəu^{55} kʰen^{55} tau$^{213\sim21\sim55}$ ə^{0} mei^{55}pa^{21}
cat CAUS dog bite DUR CRS tail
'The cat let the dog bite its tail.'

(998) ○哪蜀个 讨 狗 啃 了 个 口 ?
nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213} tʰəu^{55} kəu^{55} kʰen^{55} ə^{0} kə^{0} kʰəu^{55}
which one CAUS dog bite PFV one mouth
'Which one let the dog bite a mouthful?'

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29.4.6 Causative constructions involving negation

There are two general negators in Shaowu, [ŋ^{55}] 唔 is the present and future negator, [mau^{35}] 冇 is the perfective negator. The general imperative negator is the prohibitive [məi^{22}] ○$_{别}$. We have mentioned in earlier sections that except for the causative verb [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim 2i2}$] 讨, which cannot be negated at all, all the rest of the Shaowu causative verbs can be preceded by one of these negators. The general syntactic template is [NP$_{causer}$ + NEG + CAUS + (NP$_{causee}$) + PRED]. The following three examples illustrate this.

29.4.6.1 Causative constructions involving present and future negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔

(999) ○$_{你}$ 唔 得 票儿 ，
xien^{35} ŋ^{55} tie^{53} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}
2SG NEG give money
'If you don't pay money,
就 唔 得 ○$_{你}$ 度 桥 。
tsiɔu^{213} ŋ^{55} tie^{53} xien^{35} xɔ^{35} k^{h}iau^{22}
then NEG CAUS 2SG cross bridge
you won't be allowed to cross the bridge.'

29.4.6.2 Causative constructions involving perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇

(1000) ○$_{我}$ 冇 让 ○$_{他}$ 追 上 来 。
xaŋ^{35} mau^{35} niɔŋ^{213} xu^{35} tsei^{21} ɕiɔŋ^{35} li^{22}
1SG NEG CAUS 3SG chase up come
'I did not let him chase me up.'

29.4.6.3 Causative constructions involving imperative negator [məi^{22}] ○$_{别}$

(1001) ○$_{别}$ 让 ○$_{他}$ 打 !
məi^{22} niɔŋ^{213} xu^{35} ta^{55}
PROH CAUS 3SG hit
'Don't let him hit!'

None of the three sentences above, however, allow the causative verb [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim 22}$] 讨to be used.

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29.4.7 Causative constructions involving modality

Modal verbs can be added before the causative verb to express the modality they encode. The general syntactic template is [NP_{causer} + MOD + CAUS + (NP_{causee}) + PRED]. The two examples below show the use of the permissive modal verb [$k^hɔ^{55}i^{55\sim22}$] 可以 'can' added before the permissive causative verb [$niɔŋ^{213}$] 让to indicate the possibility of allowing an action.

(1002)	○你	现在	可以	叫/让		○他	归	来	。
	$xien^{35}$	$xien^{35}t^hai^{55}$	$k^hɔ^{55}i^{55\sim22}$	$kiau^{213}$/$niɔŋ^{213}$		xu^{35}	$kuei^{21}$	li^{22}	
	2SG	now	can/may	CAUS		3SG	return	come	

'You may now have him come back.'

29.5 Summary

In this chapter, we have seen the various functions and constructions of the causative, and its five causative verbs used in different contexts, which overlap to a large extent in usage. The canonical causative construction in Shaowu is [NP_{causer} + CAUS + NP_{causee} + PRED], where the predicate can take an aspect marker, a complement, an extra object, a modal verb or a negator.

There are five causative verbs in Shaowu, namely, [tie^{53}] 得, [$niɔŋ^{213}$] 让, [$kiau^{213}$] 叫, [xan^{213}] 喊, and [$t^həu^{55\sim22}$] 讨. The markers [tie^{53}] 得, [$niɔŋ^{213}$] 让 and [$t^həu^{55\sim22}$] 讨 mark the permissive 'let' causative, whereas [$kiau^{213}$] 叫 and [xan^{213}] 喊 mark the directive 'make' causative. All five causative verbs have also further grammaticalised into passive markers (see Chapter 28 on passive constructions). Diachronically, this is a well-known pathway of grammaticalisation and is widely attested in the Sinitic family (see, for instance, Chappell 2015, Chappell & Peyraube 2006).

By looking at the Shaowu causative constructions and markers, we have noticed that Shaowu is indeed a hybrid of Northern and Southern languages. Not only does it have the Northern [$kiau^{213}$] 叫 and [$niɔŋ^{213}$] 让 directive causative verbs, but also the Southern [tie^{53}] 得 'to give' and [$t^həu^{55\sim22}$] 讨 'to beseech' permissive causative verbs. Shaowu seems to have combined some Northern and Southern traits in terms of this rich array of causative constructions.

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Chapter 30
Existential and identity constructions

Existential constructions refer to propositions that express the existence or presence of an entity, typically in a particular location. Cross-linguistically, a large number of verbs can be used to indicate existence such as 'to be' (e.g., 'there is/are' in English, preceded by a locative expression 'there'), 'to have' (e.g., *yǒu* 有 in Mandarin); 'il y a' in French, preceded by an expletive subject 'il' and a locational expression 'y'), 'to give' (e.g., 'es gibt' in German, preceded by an expletive subject 'es'), or postural verbs like 'to sit', 'to stand', 'to lie' (e.g., 'ŋama' and 'parra', meaning 'to sit' and 'to lie' respectively in Diyari, an Australian language (see Austin 1981a: 75, 95). An Austronesian language, Ma'anyan, spoken in Kalimantan (Borneo) in Indonesia, expresses both the locative copula 'to be at or in' and the notion of 'to exist' by the morpheme 'naqan' (Gudai 1985: 37).

While strategies used to code existence may vary, existential constructions across languages usually share one common property: i.e., the entities that they describe are usually indefinite and are introduced as a novel referent in the discourse. In English, for instance, *There is a cat in the courtyard*. is grammatical but *There is the cat in the courtyard*. is less so. The same applies in Shaowu, as in Mandarin Chinese, as bare nouns can be definite or indefinite, depending on the context. Placing the existential verb [iɔu^{55}] 有 (originally meaning 'to have') before the NP, thus forming the canonical [iɔu^{55}] 有- existential construction, will render the bare noun indefinite. Compare, for instance:

(1003) 猫儿 处 院儿 底 。
mau^{53}ə^{0} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ fien^{53}nə^{0} ti^{0}
cat LOC$_{be.at}$ courtyard in
'The cat is in the courtyard.' (definite, and usually has a singular reading)

(1004) 有 猫儿 处 院儿 底 。
iɔu^{55} mau^{53}ə^{0} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ fien^{53}nə^{0} ti^{0}
EXST cat LOC$_{be.at}$ courtyard in
'There is a cat in the courtyard.'/ 'There are cats in the courtyard.' (indefinite)

Example (1004) can also be expressed in the order shown in example (1005) while having the same meaning. The locational verb [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处 ('to be at/in') is optional:

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(1005) (处) 院儿 底 有 猫儿 。
($t^hu^{55\sim35}$) $fien^{53}nə^0$ ti^0 $iɔu^{55}$ $mau^{53}ə^0$
$LOC_{be.at}$ courtyard in EXST cat
'There is a cat in the courtyard.'/ 'There are cats in the courtyard.' (indefinite)

Another verb in Shaowu that can appear in existential constructions is the verb 'to be' [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是, which is used to identify the presence of an entity. Hence, we also call it the 'identity construction'. It forms a subset within existential constructions and overlaps with copular constructions (for more details on the latter, see Chapter 31). While one can replace [iɔu^{55}] 有 in examples (1003) and (1004) above by [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是, the identity-existential construction using [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 presupposes the certainty of existence of an entity (Li & Thompson 1981: 543). Hence, in the following two examples, the presence of an entity (in our example, a cat/cats) is presumed, and the verb 'to be' [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 codes both presence and focus (which implies existence), being akin to cleft constructions (see Chapter 31, § 31.6 for details). Note that the referent can be either definite or indefinite, singular or plural.

(1006) 是 猫儿 处 院儿 底 。
ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ $mau^{53}ə^0$ $t^hu^{55\sim35}$ $fien^{53}nə^0$ ti^0
EXST cat $LOC_{be.at}$ courtyard in
'It's a cat in the courtyard.'/ 'It's the cat in the courtyard.' (SING indefinite/definite)
'It's cats in the courtyard.'/ 'It's the cats in the courtyard.' (PLUR indefinite/definite)

(1007) (处) 院儿 底 是 猫儿 。
($t^hu^{55\sim35}$) $fien^{53}nə^0$ ti^0 ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ $mau^{53}ə^0$
$LOC_{be.at}$ courtyard in EXST cat
'It's a cat in the courtyard.'/ 'It's the cat in the courtyard.' (SING indefinite/definite)
'It's cats in the courtyard.'/ 'It's the cats in the courtyard.' (PLUR indefinite/definite)

We refer to the 'identity-existential' constructions involving the verb 'to be' [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 as non-canonical existential constructions for semantic reasons, whereas the ones involving [iɔu^{55}] 有 are canonical existential constructions.

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30.1 Canonical existential constructions involving [iɔu^{55}] 有

The canonical existential verb in Shaowu is [iɔu^{55}] 有. In the following subsections, we are going to examine the different existential constructions in Shaowu involving [iɔu^{55}] 有.

30.1.1 Temporal/locational phrase + [iɔu^{55}] 有+ NP

It is very common in Shaowu existential constructions to have a temporal or locational phrase, or both, preceding the existential verb [iɔu^{55}] 有 and a noun phrase, as shown in the following three examples.

30.1.1.1 LOC + [iɔu^{55}] 有+ NP

(1008) 街 上 有 顶 ○$_{多}$ 人 。
kie^{21} ɕiɔŋ^{35} iɔu^{55} tin^{55} ʋai^{55} nin^{22}
street on EXST very many person
'There are many people on the street.'

30.1.1.2 TEMP + [iɔu^{55}] 有+ NP

(1009) 从前 有 三 兄弟 ,
tʰiuŋ^{22}tʰin^{53} iɔu^{55} san^{21} ʋiaŋ^{21}tʰi^{35}
in the past EXST three brothers
'Once upon a time, there were three brothers:
老大 (是) 打 垅 个 ,
lau^{55}xai^{35} (ɕi^{22}) ta^{55} tʰən^{53} kə^{0}
the eldest COP hit field NOM
the eldest was a farmer,
老二 是 做 生意 个 ,
lau^{55}ni^{35} ɕi^{22} tsɔ^{213} sen^{21}i^{213} kə^{0}
the second COP do business NOM
the second one was a businessman,
老三 是 学 书 个 。
lau^{55}san^{21} ɕi^{22} xɔ^{35} ɕy^{21} kə^{0}
the third COP study book NOM
and the third one was a scholar.'

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30.1.1.3 TEMP + LOC + [iɔu^{55}] 有+ NP

(1010) 度〇 箱儿 底 有 东西 。
$t^hɔ^{35}ma^{55}$ $siɔŋ^{21}ŋə^0$ ti^0 $iɔu^{55}$ $tuŋ^{21}si^{21}$
yesterday box in EXST thing
'There was something inside the box yesterday.'

30.1.2 [iɔu^{55}] 有 + NP +V + LOC/COMP/ASP (+ Location)

In this type of construction, the syntactic pivot, i.e., 'there is/are' + an entity, is followed by a predicate, which is subject to certain restrictions, that is, the verb is followed by a locative verb, a complement marker or an aspect marker.

(1011) 有 张 画 挂 处/得 墙 上 。
$iɔu^{55}$ $tiɔŋ^{21}$ fa^{35} kua^{213} $t^hu^{55\sim35}$/tie^{53} $t^hiɔŋ^{22}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{35\sim21}$
EXST CLF painting hang LOC/COMP wall on
'There is a painting hanging on the wall.'

It is not grammatical, however, to have a bare verb phrase without an aspect marker:

(1012) 有 张 画 挂 墙 上 。
** $iɔu^{55}$ $tiɔŋ^{21}$ fa^{35} kua^{213} $t^hiɔŋ^{22}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{35\sim21}$
EXST CLF painting hang wall on
(Attempted meaning: 'There is a painting hanging on the wall.')

The restriction on the predicate applies to existential constructions in English too. Note that English uses the gerundive '-ing' to get around the constraint, as in 'There is a painting hanging on the wall.' whereas 'There is a painting hang on the wall' (bare verb phrase) is ungrammatical.

More Shaowu examples for this type of existential construction are as follows:

(1013) 有 两 个 老倌 打 前头 度 来 咯 。
$iɔu^{55}$ $liɔŋ^{55}$ $ŋə^0$ $lau^{55}sa^{22}$ ta^{55} $t^hin^{53}t^həu^{53\sim21}$ $xɔ^{35}$ li^{55} $lɔ^0$
EXST two CLF old man from in front pass come SFP
'There are two old men coming from in front.'

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(1014) 有 五 个 囝子 坐 处 石头 上 。
iɔu^{55} ŋ^{55} kə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0} t^{h}ɔi^{55} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ ɕiɔ^{35}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
EXST five CLF boy sit LOC rock on
'There are five boys sitting on the rock.'

(1015) 有 顶 ○$_{多}$ 行李 搁 得 墙 角 上 。
iɔu^{55} tin^{55} ʊai^{55} xən^{22}li^{0} kɔ^{53} tie^{53} t^{h}iɔŋ^{22} kɔ^{53} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
EXST very many luggage place COMP wall corner on
'There is a lot of luggage placed at the corner of the wall.'

(1016) 有 几 本 书 丢 得 路 上 。
iɔu^{55} ki^{55} pən^{55} ɕy^{21} təu^{21} tie^{53} t^{h}iɔ^{35} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$
EXST several CLF book throw COMP ground on
'There are several books scattered on the ground.'

(1017) 有 客人 来 了 。
iɔu^{55} k^{h}a^{53}nin^{22} li^{22} ə^{0}
EXST guest come PFV
'A guest has come.' or 'Some guests have come.'

(1018) 有 个 只 狗 ○$_{蹲}$ 到 门口 。
iɔu^{55} kə^{0} tɕia^{53} kəu^{55} k^{h}u^{35} tau^{55} mən^{22}k^{h}ɔu^{55}
EXST one CLF dog squat DUR doorstep
'There is a dog sitting by the doorway.'

30.1.3 Temporal/locational phrase + [iɔu^{55}] 有+ NP + VP

30.1.3.1 LOC + [iɔu^{55}] 有+ NP +VP

(1019) 槃 上 有 几 本 书 搁 得 ○$_{那}$儿 。
p^{h}ɔn^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ iɔu^{55} ki^{55} pən^{55} ɕy^{21} kɔ^{53} tie^{53} ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}
table on EXST several CLF book put COMP there
'There are several books on the table.'

30.1.3.2 TEMP + [iɔu^{55}] 有+ NP +VP

(1020) 度○ 暗头 有 六 个 贼 走 了 。
t^{h}ɔ^{35}ma^{22} ɔn^{213}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ iɔu^{55} su^{53} kə^{0} t^{h}ə^{53} tsu^{55} ə^{0}
yesterday evening EXST six CLF thief run PFV
'There were six thieves who ran away last night.'

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30.1.3.3 TEMP + LOC + [iɔu^{55}] 有+ NP +VP

(1021) 今朝 园儿 底
kin^{21}tɕiau^{21} fien^{53}ə^{0} ti^{0}
this morning garden in
'This morning there were
有 顶 ○$_{多}$ 衣裳 ○$_{晒}$ 处 ○$_{那}$儿 。
iɔu^{55} tin^{55} ʋai^{55} i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21} p^{h}u^{213} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}
EXST very many clothes hang LOC there
a lot of clothes hanging out to dry in the garden.'

30.1.4 Conditional sentences with existential constructions involving [iɔu^{55}] 有

Sinitic languages often express the conditional by zero marking. Shaowu is of no exception. The existential verb [iɔu^{55}] 有 in a conditional clause can be interpreted as 'If there is/are ... ' or 'When there is/are ... '. Multiple readings are possible due to lack of temporal indicators, while the realis or irrealis readings are determined by the context alone, as shown in the examples below.

(1022) 有 老 张 照顾 ○$_{我}$ 囝子 就 好 了 。
iɔu^{55} lau^{55} tiɔŋ^{21} tɕiau^{213}ku^{0} xaŋ^{35} kin^{53}nə^{0} tsiɔu^{213} xau^{55} liau$^{55\sim22}$
EXST Old Zhang take care of 1SG son then well CMPL
'It will be nice if there is Old Zhang to take care of my son.' ('future' conditional) or
'It would be nice if there was Old Zhang to take care of my son.' (hypothetical) or
'It would have been nice if there had been Old Zhang to take care of my son.' (counterfactual)

(1023) 有 ○$_{那}$ 个 人 帮 ○$_{你}$ 帮忙 ,
iɔu^{55} ɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} nin^{22} pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} pɔŋ^{21}mɔŋ^{22}
EXST DEM CLF person DAT 2SG help
'If/When that person helps you,
○$_{你}$ 一定 解 成功 个 。
xien^{35} i^{53}t^{h}in^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ɕin^{22}kuŋ^{21} kə^{0}
2SG certainly will/can succeed SFP
you will certainly succeed.'

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(1024) 有 ○我 处 , 畏 啥 ?
iɔu^{55} xaŋ^{35} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ ʊi^{213} ɕia^{53}
EXST 1SG be.at afraid of what
'When I am here (lit. 'There is my existence'),
what can you possibly be afraid of?'

30.1.5 Negation of existential constructions involving [iɔu^{55}] 有

Negating an existential construction in Shaowu is straightforward: it suffices to add the general negator [mau^{35}] 冇 in front of the existential verb [iɔu^{55}] 有, with the syntactic template of [(LOC/TEMP) + NEG $_{[mau35]}$ 冇 + [iɔu^{55}] 有 + NP + VP], as shown in the three examples below:

(1025) 槃簋 底头 冇 有 算盘 。
p^{h}ɔn^{22}lu^{22} ti^{55}xəu^{21} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} sɔn^{213}p^{h}ɔn^{22}
drawer inside NEG EXST abacus
'There is no abacus in the drawer.'

(1026) ○这儿 冇 有 ○这 个 人 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} kəi^{21} nin^{22}
here NEG EXST DEM CLF person
'There is no such a person here.'

(1027) 冇 有 ○这 几 样 材料 ,
mau^{35} iɔu^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ki^{55} iɔŋ^{35} tɕai^{22}liau^{0}
NEG EXST DEM several type material
'Without these types of material,

还 可 唔 可以 做 嘞 ?
ai^{213} k^{h}ɔ^{55} ŋ^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ tsɔ^{213} le^{22}
still can NEG can do Q
can this still be done?'

The above example can also be read as a conditional sentence, with the meaning 'If there aren't these types of materials, can this still be done?'

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30.1.6 Universal quantifiers and existential constructions

The Shaowu universal quantifier [ka^{35}] 皆 'all' can be added in front of the existential verb [iɔu^{55}] 有 to indicate the universal existence of an entity or a group of entities, with the syntactic template of [LOC/TEMP + QUANT $_{[ka35]}$ 皆 + [iɔu^{55}] 有 + NP + (VP)].

(1028) 到处 皆 有 ○$_{这}$ 种 人 。
tau$^{213\sim21}$tɕ^{h}y^{213} ka^{35} iɔu^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} tɕy^{55} nin^{22}
everywhere all EXST DEM CLF person
'There is this kind of people everywhere.'

A different syntactic order is also possible, with the template [NP + (VP) + LOC/TEMP + QUANT $_{[ka35]}$ 皆 + [iɔu^{55}] 有], as shown in the example below:

(1029) ○$_{这}$ 种 人 到处 皆 有 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} tɕy^{55} nin^{22} tau$^{213\sim21}$tɕ^{h}y^{213} ka^{35} iɔu^{55}
DEM CLF person everywhere all EXST
'There is this kind of people everywhere.'

The negated form of existential constructions involving universal quantifiers has the syntactic configuration of [NP + (VP) + LOC/TEMP + QUANT $_{[ka35]}$ 皆 + NEG + [iɔu^{55}] 有], as shown in the following example:

(1030) ○$_{她}$ 个 ○ 子 消息 皆 冇 有 。
xu^{35} kə^{0} pi^{22} tsə^{0} siau^{21}si^{0} ka^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55}
3SG one little DIM news all NEG have
'There isn't a bit of news from her.'

30.2 Non-canonical existential verbs [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处 'be.at' and [ɕi^{55}] 是 'to be'

In Shaowu, other than the canonical existential verb [iɔu^{55}] 有, there are other, non-canonical existential verbs such as [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处 'be.at' and [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 'to be', shown below.

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30.2.1 Existential verb [tʰu⁵⁵˜³⁵] 处

The existential verb [tʰu⁵⁵˜³⁵] 处 originally means 'to be.at/in a place', and through semantic extension it becomes a verb 'to exist', see for instance:

(1031)

〇他	个	嫲嫲		还	处 ，
xu³⁵	kə⁰	ma²²ma⁰		ai²¹³	tʰu⁵⁵
3SG	POSS	paternal grandmother		still	EXST

'His grandmother is still alive,

〇他	个	〇爷〇爷		冇	处	了 。
xu³⁵	kə⁰	ta²²ta⁰		mau³⁵	tʰu⁵⁵	liau⁵⁵˜²²
3SG	POSS	paternal grandfather		NEG	EXST	CMPL

his grandfather passed away already.'

(1032)

四十	年	以前	个	照片		〇这下	还	处 。
si²¹³ɕi³⁵˜²¹	nin⁵⁵	i⁵⁵tʰin⁵³	kə⁰	tɕiau²¹³pʰien²¹³		tɕia⁵³	ai²¹³	tʰu⁵⁵
forty	year	ago	ATT	photograph		now	still	EXST

'The photos taken forty years ago still exist/are still there.'

Note that the temporal marker [tɕia⁵³] 'now' is the phonetic contraction of [tɕiɔŋ⁵³xa³⁵] 〇这下 'this-time'.

30.2.2 Existential verb [ɕi⁵⁵˜²²] 是

The verb 'to be' [ɕi⁵⁵˜²²] 是 is a copular verb (see Chapter 31 on copular constructions), which is also used to identify the presence of an entity or a group of entities. Thus, it is also an identity-existential verb. The following examples illustrate its identifying function:

(1033)

〇那	个	边	是	和平 。
ɔŋ⁵³	ŋə⁰	pien²¹	ɕi²²	ʊɔ²²pʰiaŋ²²
DEM	one	side	$EXST_{identity}$	Heping

'Over there, (there) is Heping.'

(1034)

槃簋	底头	是	啥	?
pʰɔn²²lu²²	ti⁵⁵xəu²¹	ɕi²²	ɕia⁵³	
drawer	inside	$EXST_{identity}$	what	

'What is there inside the drawer?'

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30.3 Summary

In this chapter, we have described the different existential verbs, including the canonical existential verb [iɔu^{55}] 有, originally meaning 'to have', and two other existential verbs [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] originally means 'to be.at/in a place', and [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 which is a copular verb turned into an identity-existential verb. The distinction in meaning between the latter two is that [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处 expresses the notion of 'to exist (in a place)' and by extension 'to be alive (in the living world)', whereas [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 is used to identify the presence of a person or object in a given context. We have also included the use of negation and universal quantifiers in existential constructions and given a clear outline of their various syntactic constructions.

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Chapter 31
Copular constructions

The term 'copula' is derived from Latin (*co-* 'together' + *apere* 'fasten') meaning 'connection, linking of words'. In linguistics, it refers to a grammatical element that links up the subject and the predicate. Often, it is a verb or a verb-like word (cross-linguistically however, this may not always be the case). They are generally referred to as 'copular verbs', while constructions that involve copular verbs are called 'copular constructions'.

Higgins (1979: 204–293) distinguishes four types of copular constructions:

(i) Predicational, e.g., 'Matt Damon is American.'
(ii) Specificational, e.g., 'The person I saw in the park is Matt Damon.'
(iii) Identificational, e.g., 'That person is Matt Damon.'
(iv) Equational, e.g., 'Matt Damon is him.'

In Shaowu, the general copular verb is [ɕi^{55}] 是. In all the four types of copular constructions above, the copular verb is obligatory, unlike in Mandarin where the copular verb *shì* 是 is optional in the 'predicational' copular construction, i.e., type (i), e.g., 他(是)美国人。*tā (shì) měi-guó rén* 'he (is) American.' Shaowu requires the copular verb to be present in all the four construction types, as shown below:

(1035) ○$_{他}$ *(是) 邵武 人 。
xu^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) ɕiau^{213}u^{55} nin^{22}
3SG COP Shaowu person
'He is a Shaowu person/from Shaowu.' (predicational)

(1036) ○$_{我}$ 处 公园 底 瞧 到 个 人 *(是)
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}u^{55} kuŋ^{21}ʋien^{22} ti^{0} niaŋ^{213} tau^{55} kə^{0} nin^{22} *(ɕi^{55})
1SG be.at park in look ACH REL person COP
○$_{他}$ 。
xu^{35}
3SG
'The person I saw in the park is him.' (specificational)

(1037) ○$_{那}$ 个 人 就 *(是) ○$_{他}$ 。
ɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} nin^{22} tsiɔu^{213} *(ɕi^{55}) xu^{35}
DEM CLF person EMP COP 3SG
'That person is him.' (identificational)

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(1038) 小 张 *(是) ○他 。
siau^{55} tiɔŋ^{21} *(ɕi^{55}) xu^{35}
Little Zhang COP 3SG
'Little Zhang is him.' (equational)

In the following sections, we are going to look at the different functions of the Shaowu copular verb, based on Higgins' classification (1979: 204–293) of the four copular constructions, together with other features that are unique to Shaowu.

31.1 Predicational use with the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是

Unlike Mandarin, where the copular verb *shì* 是 is optional in predicational constructions, Shaowu prefers its presence. Its elision is rare, and only occasionally spotted in fast speech or in contrastive sentences (such as example 1040, where there is a contrast). Compare the following pair of sentences:

(1039) ○我 *(是) 邵武 人 。
xaŋ^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) ɕiau^{213}u^{55} nin^{22}
1SG COP Shaowu person
'I am from Shaowu.' (Lit. 'I am a Shaowu person.')

(1040) ○我 (是) 邵武 人 , ○你 (是) 香 港
xaŋ^{35} (ɕi^{55}) ɕiau^{213}u^{55} nin^{22} xien^{35} (ɕi^{55}) xiɔŋ^{21} kɔŋ^{22}
1SG COP Shaowu person 2SG COP Hong Kong
人 。
nin^{22}
person
'I am from Shaowu, you are from Hong Kong.'

If the noun phrase is made of a nominalised verb phrase, the copular verb is also obligatory, unless there is a contrastive construction, as illustrated by examples (1041) and (1042) respectively:

(1041) ○他 *(是) 学 书 个 。
xu^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) xɔ^{35} ɕy^{21} kəi^{21}
3SG COP study book NOM
'He is a student.'

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(1042) 从前 有 三 兄弟 ，
tʰiuŋ^{22}tʰin^{53} iɔu^{55} san^{21} ʋianŋ^{21}tʰi^{35}
in the past EXST three brothers
'Once upon a time, there were three brothers:
老大 (是) 打 垄 个 ，
lau^{55}xai^{35} (ɕi^{22}) ta^{55} tʰən^{53} kə^{0}
the eldest COP hit field NOM
the eldest was a farmer,
老二 (是) 做 生意 个 ，
lau^{55}ni^{35} (ɕi^{22}) tsɔ^{213} sen^{21}i^{213} kə^{0}
the second COP do business NOM
the second one was a businessman,
老三 (是) 学 书 个 。
lau^{55}san^{21} (ɕi^{22}) xɔ^{35} ɕy^{21} kə^{0}
the third COP study book NOM
and the third one was a scholar.'

However, if the sentence contains an adverb such as 'also', 'too' and 'all', the copular verb is obligatory in Shaowu. See for instance the following two sentences:

(1043) ○$_{我}$多 皆 *(是) 邵武 人 。
xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} ka^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) ɕiau^{213}u^{55} nin^{22}
1PL.EXCL all COP Shaowu person
'We are all from Shaowu.' (Lit. 'We are all Shaowu people.')

(1044) ○$_{他}$ *(是) 大学 生 ， ○$_{她}$ 也 *(是) 大学
xu^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) tʰai^{35}xɔ^{35} sen^{21} xu^{35} ia^{55} *(ɕi^{55}) tʰai^{35}xɔ^{35}
3SG COP university student 3SG also COP university
生 。
sen^{21}
student
'He is a university student; she is also a university student.'

The negation of the predicational copular constructions in Shaowu is made by adding the perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇, and not the imperfective negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔, in front of the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是which remains obligatory in all the negative sentences. Example (1040) thus becomes:

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(1045) ○你 有 *(是) 上海 人 ,
xien[35] mau[35] *(ɕi[55]) ɕiɔŋ[35]xɔi[55] nin[22]
2SG NEG COP Shanghai person
'You are not from Shanghai,
○我 有 *(是) 北京 人 。
xaŋ[35] mau[35] *(ɕi[55]) pə[53]kin[21] nin[22]
1SG NEG COP Beijing person
and I am not from Beijing.'

More example sentences with negation, where the copular verb [ɕi[55]] 是 is obligatory:

(1046) ○他 有 *(是) 学 书 个 , *(是) 打 垜
xu[35] mau[35] *(ɕi[55]) xɔ[35] ɕy[21] kəi[21] *(ɕi[55]) ta[55] tʰən[53]
3SG NEG COP study book NOM COP hit field
个 。
kə[0]
NOM
'He is not a student, but a farmer.'

(1047) ○他多 皆 有 *(是) 邵武 人 。
xu[35]tai[21] ka[35] mau[35] *(ɕi[55]) ɕiau[213]u[55] nin[22]
3PL all NEG COP Shaowu person
'They all are not from Shaowu.' (Lit. 'They all are not Shaowu people.')

31.2 Specificational use with the copular verb [ɕi[55]] 是

Specificational copular sentences provide specific information about the entity concerned, on top of some inherent properties or features that this entity possesses. In the same vein as example (1036), the following sentence in Shaowu is possible:

(1048) ○我 处 学堂 瞁 到 个 *(是) 李四 。
xaŋ[35] tʰu[55] xɔ[35]tʰɔŋ[22] niaŋ[213] tau[55] kə0 *(ɕi[55]) li[55]si[213]
1SG LOC school look ACH REL COP Li Si
'The person I saw in the school was Li Si.'

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Negating the copular verb in the specificational use is also effected by adding the perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇 before the copular verb:

(1049) ○$_{我}$ 处 学堂 瞅 到 个 冇 *(是) 李四 。
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}u^{55} xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ^{22} niaŋ^{213} tau^{55} kə0 mau^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) li^{55}si^{213}
1SG LOC school look ACH REL NEG COP Li Si
'The person I saw in the school was not Li Si.'

31.3 Identificational use of the copular verb is [ɕi^{55}] 是

Identificational clauses are characterised by having a demonstrative pronoun or demonstrative phrase in the subject position. The demonstrative must however be understood as having deictic, not anaphoric, reference (Higgins 1979: 224–245).

In Shaowu, an example of an identificational copular construction is as follows:

(1050) ○$_{那}$ 蜀 个 人 *(是) 李四 。
ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} nin^{22} *(ɕi^{55}) li^{55}si^{213}
DEM one CLF person COP Li Si
'That person was Li Si.'

Adding the perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇 in front of the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是 yields the negated form, as shown in the following example:

(1051) ○$_{那}$ 蜀 个 人 冇 *(是) 李四 。
ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} nin^{22} mau^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) li^{55}si^{213}
DEM one CLF person NEG COP Li Si
'That person was not Li Si.'

31.4 Equational use with the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是

The copular verb can also be used as an equational marker, as in 'A is equivalent to B'. This can be illustrated by the example below:

(1052) 李四 *(是) ○$_{他}$ 。
li^{55}si^{213} *(ɕi^{55}) xu^{35}
Li Si COP 3SG
'Li Si is him.'

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Likewise, the negated form for this syntactic construction is by adding the negator [mau^{35}] 冇 in front of the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是, which negates the equational existential construction:

(1053) 李四 冇 *(是) ○他 。
li^{55}si^{213} mau^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) xu^{35}
Li Si NEG COP 3SG
'Li Si is not him.'

31.5 Question formation involving the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是

In Shaowu, an open question can be formed by adding the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是 before a question word (QW), i.e., [SUBJ + COP + QW], such as in the example below:

(1054) ○你 是 ○哪蜀个 ?
xien^{35} ɕi^{55} nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}
2SG COP which person
'Who are you?'

A sentence-final question particle can also be added at the end of the question:

(1055) 今朝 是 几 号 啊 ?
kin^{21}tɕiau^{21} ɕi^{22} ki^{55} xau^{213} a^{0}
today COP what number Q
'What date is today?'

To form a polar yes-no question in Shaowu, the most common way is to use the [COP + NEG + COP] construction type, i.e., [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 + [mau^{35}] 冇 + [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是; as shown in the example below:

(1056) ○你 是 冇 是 香港 人 ?
xien^{35} ɕi^{22} mau^{35} ɕi^{22} xiɔŋ^{21}kɔŋ^{22} nin^{22}
2SG COP NEG COP Hong Kong person
'Are you from Hong Kong?'

Apart from the above four uses mentioned by Higgins of the copular verb 'to be', there are some other uses of the copular verb [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是in Shaowu that are shared by many other Sinitic languages, including Mandarin, these are: the emphatic use, the contrastive usage and the locative use of [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是.

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31.6 Emphatic construction with [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 and clause-final [kəi^{213}] 个

This subsection outlines the emphatic function of the copular verb [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 in conjunction with other grammatical or lexical elements, as [ɕi^{55}] 是 alone is only a necessary not a sufficient condition for the emphatic function. The extra element required to complete such a function is the clause-final [kəi^{213}] 个 (or its alloforms [kəi^{21}] or [kə^{0}]). Together, they bring out the emphatic function and the focus, and can be considered as a type of cleft construction. The Shaowu '[ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 ... [kəi^{213}] 个' emphatic construction is akin to the well documented Mandarin [SHI ... DE] construction which brings into the focus the subject matter by bracketing it with the copular verb SHI 是 and the clause-final particle DE 的 (for detailed discussions on Mandarin [SHI ... DE] constructions, see Paris 1979, 1981). Below are some Shaowu examples:

(1057) ○$_{他}$ (是) 打 乡下 来 个 。
xu^{35} (ɕi^{55}) ta^{55} xiɔŋ^{21}xa$^{35\sim22}$ li^{22} kə^{0}
3SG COP$_{EMP}$ from countryside come SFP$_{EMP}$
'He is (indeed) from the countryside.'

Note that the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是 in the above example is not obligatory, eliding it renders the sentence without an emphasis on where the person is from, but a mere statement of fact that 'he comes from the countryside'.

If the sentence involves a transitive verb and an object, then the object can be directly attached after the clause-final emphatic particle [kəi^{213}] 个, which in turn can be interpreted as a cleft construction ('It is X that ... '), as shown in the following two examples:

(1058) ○$_{她}$ *(是) 去年 养 个 (囝儿) 。
xu^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$nin^{53} iɔŋ^{55} kə^{0} (kin^{53}nə^{0})
3SG COP$_{EMP}$ last year give birth SFP$_{EMP}$ son
'It was last year that she gave birth (to a son).'
(in reply to a question: 'When did she give birth to a son?')

(1059) ○$_{我}$ *(是) 天工 洗 个 (衣裳) 。
xaŋ^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) t^{h}ien^{21}kuŋ^{21} sie^{55} kə^{0} (i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21})
1SG COP$_{EMP}$ in the morning wash SFP$_{EMP}$ clothes
'It is in the morning that I do the washing (of the clothes).'
(in reply to a question: 'When do you wash the clothes?')

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Note that the clause-final emphatic particle [kəi^{213}] 个 can also be placed to the end of the sentence instead. In this case, the scope of the focus changes from the temporal marker (in the two examples above) to both the temporal marker and the predicate, as shown in the two examples below.

(1060) ○$_{她}$ *(是) 去年 养 (囝儿) 个 。
xu^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$nin^{53} iɔŋ^{55} (kin^{53}nə^{0}) kə^{0}
3SG COP$_{EMP}$ last year give birth son SFP$_{EMP}$
'It was last year that she gave birth (to a son).'
(in reply to the question: 'When did she give birth to a son?')

(1061) ○$_{我}$ *(是) 天工 洗 (衣裳) 个 。
xaŋ^{35} *(ɕi^{55}) t^{h}ien^{21}kuŋ^{21} sie^{55} (i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}) kə^{0}
1SG COP$_{EMP}$ in the morning wash clothes SFP$_{EMP}$
'It is in the morning that I do the washing (of the clothes).'
(in reply to the question: 'When do you wash the clothes?')

Note that the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是 is obligatory in all the four examples above.

Another role that the '[ɕi^{55}] 是 ... [kəi^{213}] 个' construction serves is the cleft construction. A cleft construction is a construction that involves a main clause and a dependent clause, which together has a meaning that could be expressed by a simple sentence. The cleft construction typically puts a constituent into focus (see Collins 1991: 2, Lambrecht 2001, *inter alia*).

The 'It is X that ... ' cleft-construction is one way to emphasize the subject matter the speaker wants to bring into focus by fronting it, and usually serves as a contrastive focus (e.g., in English: *It is him who called me*.). In Shaowu, a typical cleft construction in a sentence starts with the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是 and ends with the clause-final particle [kəi^{213}] 个. We can see the cleft-construction as a subtype of emphatic construction that we mentioned above. The cleft construction typically has the syntactic template of [COP$_{EMP}$ + SUBJ + VERB + OBJ + SFP$_{EMP}$], as shown in the following two examples:

(1062) 是 ○$_{我}$ 叫 ○$_{他多}$ 来 ○$_{这儿}$ 个 。
ɕi^{55} xaŋ^{35} kiau^{213} xu^{35}tai^{21} li^{22} tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} kə^{0}
COP$_{EMP}$ 1SG call 3PL come here SFP$_{EMP}$
'It was I who asked them to come here.'

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31.7 Summary

In this chapter, we have described the four main functions of the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是 in Shaowu, namely, the predicational, the specificational, the identificational and the equational usage. We have also looked at the negation of these copular constructions. Note that the only negator allowed in all four construction types is the perfective negator [mau^{35}] 冇, and not the imperfective negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔, that precedes the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是. We have also looked at the polar question formation [COP + NEG + COP] and the emphatic construction of the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是 in conjunction with the clause-final 个 [kəi^{213}].

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Chapter 32
Locative constructions

The basic locative construction is the construction that occurs in response to a question 'Where is X'? (Levinson & Wilkins 2006: 1–23, Kita 2006). Typologically, languages adopt different strategies to indicate the location of an entity. In addition to having locative adjuncts and complements, languages can have locative verbs to indicate location. In Ameka & Levinson (2007), locative predication is classified into four main types (with minor adaptation below):

(1) Type 0: No verb in basic locative constructions
e.g., Saliba, Tagalog
(2) Type I: Single locative verbs
Ia: Copular verbs *e.g., English, German, Tamil*
Ib: Locative verbs *e.g., Japanese, Chinese, Turkish*
Ic: Locative/existential predicates *e.g., Yucatec*
(3) Type II: Large set of positional verbs (9–100 verbs)
e.g., Tzeltal, Zapotec, Likpe
(4) Type III: A small, contrastive set of posture or positional verbs (3–7 verbs)
IIIa: Postural verbs *e.g., Arrernte, Dutch, Goemai*
IIIb: Ground space indicating verbs *e.g., Tidore*

Sections § 32.1 and § 32.2 illustrate some basic locative constructions in Shaowu using Types Ib and IIIa respectively. We identified another type of locative construction in Shaowu that does not appear in Ameka & Levinson (2007), which we call the Type IV locative construction that uses a complement marker before the location, turning the phrase into a locative complement, which will be shown in § 32.3.

32.1 Type Ib Locative construction with locative verb [t^hu^{55}] 处

The prototypical Shaowu locative verb (V_{LOC}) is [t^hu^{55}] 处 (or its allomorphs [t^hu^{35}] or [t^hu^{22}] after tone sandhi), which means 'to be in or at a place'. It can also have an allomorph [$t^hei^{55\sim53}$] which, according to our linguistic consultant Mr Li, are two pronunciations for the same word, meaning 'to be in or at a place', illustrated in the following example:

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(1063) 茶 处 杯儿 底头 。
tʰa²² tʰu⁵⁵/ tʰei⁵⁵ pei²¹ə⁰ ti⁵⁵xəu²¹
tea $V_{LOC\ be.at/in}$ cup inside
'The tea is in the cup.'

Although the meaning of [tʰu⁵⁵] and [tʰei⁵⁵] are identical, the usage frequency of the former is higher than the latter. We think that [tʰei⁵⁵] could be the contracted form of [tʰu⁵⁵] 处and [tie⁵³] 得, where [tie⁵³] 得 is the complement marker in Shaowu (see Chapter 26 on the multifunctional morpheme [tie⁵³]), this conjecture however needs further investigation.

The syntactic template for the basic locative construction in Shaowu is [NP_{SUBJ} + V_{LOC} + NP_{LOC}]. The following subsections showcase a variety of Shaowu locative constructions containing different grammatical elements.

32.1.1 Interrogative locative constructions [NP_{SUBJ} + V_{LOC} + NP_{INTG}]

Locative interrogative sentences in Shaowu, as in most Sinitic languages, have the *in situ* word order of [NP_{SUBJ} + V_{LOC} + NP_{INTG}] where V_{LOC} is the locative verb and NP_{INTG} is the interrogative pronoun 'where' (for details on interrogative structures, see Chapter 33). Below is an example of the interrogative locative construction:

(1064) 年糕 处 〇哪儿 ?
Question: nien²²kau²¹ tʰu⁵⁵⁻²² nɔŋ²²ŋə⁰
sticky rice cake V_{LOC} where
'Where is the sticky rice cake?'
Answer: 处 槃 上 。
tʰu⁵⁵⁻²² pʰɔn²² ɕiɔŋ³⁵⁻²¹
V_{LOC} table on
'On the table.'

32.1.2 Locative constructions [SUBJ + LOC + PLACE + PRED]

The same locative verb [tʰu⁵⁵⁻³⁵] 处 is used in locative constructions containing a different (non-locative) predicate. We label [tʰu⁵⁵⁻³⁵] 处 as LOC in such a construction, as the main verb is typically found in the non-locative predicate. The syntactic configuration is [SUBJ + [LOC + PLACE] + PRED]. Thus, the preverbal constituent [LOC + PLACE] can be regarded as locative adjuncts, as shown in the following three examples:

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(1065) ○他 处 船 上 瞅 海 。
xu^{35} t^{h}u^{55} ɕien^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ niaŋ^{213} xɔi^{55}
3SG LOC boat on look sea
'He looks at the sea from the boat.'

(1066) 先生 处 黑板 上 写 字 。
sien^{21}sen^{21} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ xə^{53}pan^{55} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ sia^{55} t^{h}ə^{35}
teacher LOC blackboard on write word
'The teacher is writing (words) on the blackboard.'

(1067) ○我 处 电话 底头 帮 小 张 话 了 。
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ t^{h}ien^{213}ʋa$^{35\sim21}$ ti^{55}xəu^{21} pɔŋ^{21} siau^{55} tiɔŋ^{21} ʋa^{35} ə^{0}
1SG LOC telephone inside DAT young Zhang tell PFV
'I told young Zhang (about something) on the phone.'

For all the three examples above, the agent and subject are always in the same locality as where the action takes place.

32.1.3 Locative constructions with object marker [SUBJ + OM + OBJ + V + LOC + PLACE]

Object marking is very common in Shaowu, just like in Mandarin. The canonical Shaowu object marker is [na^{22}] 拿 (for details on object-marking constructions, see Chapter 25). The following example shows a locative construction that involves object marking with a postverbal locative phrase which codes the destination of the action:

(1068) 学生 拿 字 写 处 黑板 上 。
xɔ^{35}sen^{21} na^{22} t^{h}ə^{35} sia^{55} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ xə^{53}pan^{55} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
student OM word write LOC blackboard on
'The student is writing (words) on the blackboard.'

32.1.4 Elision of the locative marker [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处

Certain verbs in Shaowu do not require the locative marker [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处 to appear in the basic locative construction. The following minimal pair of examples were provided by my linguistic consultant Mr Li, who deemed both of them grammatically correct:

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(1069) ○$_{他}$ 磕梦 处 床 上 。
xu^{35} k^{h}a^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ t^{h}ɔŋ^{53} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
3SG sleep LOC bed on
'He is sleeping on the bed.'

(1070) ○$_{他}$ 磕梦 床 上 。
xu^{35} k^{h}a^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}ɔŋ^{53} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
3SG sleep bed on
'He is sleeping on the bed.'

32.2 Type IIIa Locative construction with postural verbs

There are a few postural verbs in Shaowu that can act as locative verbs, such as 'to sit' [t^{h}ɔi^{55}] 坐 and 'to squat' [k^{h}u^{35}] ○$_{蹲}$, which does not require the use of the locative marker [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处. The latter becomes optional.

(1071) 猫儿 坐 / ○$_{蹲}$ (处) ○$_{那}$儿 。
mau^{53}ə^{0} t^{h}ɔi^{55} / k^{h}u^{35} (t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$) ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}
cat sit / squat LOC there
'The cat is sitting there.'

32.3 Type IV Locative constructions with complement marker [tie^{53}] 得

In Shaowu, there is a type of locative construction that uses locative complements to indicate location. This type of locative construction systematically uses the complement marker [tie^{53}] 得 between the main verb and the place of action, with the word order of [SUBJ + V + VCM + PLACE]. The following example illustrates this:

(1072) ○$_{我多}$ 住 得 乡下 。
xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} t^{h}y^{35} tie^{53} xiɔŋ^{21}xa$^{35\sim22}$
1PL.EXCL live VCM countryside
'We live in the countryside.'

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Compare with the following sentence which has exactly the same meaning but with a different word order [SUBJ + LOC + PLACE + PRED], the locative verb [$t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 处 is used instead:

(1073) ○我多 处 乡下 住 。
xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} $t^hu^{55\sim35}$ xiɔŋ^{21}xa$^{35\sim22}$ t^hy^{35}
1PL.EXCL LOC countryside live
'We live in the countryside.'

It is ungrammatical to use the complement marker [tie^{53}] 得in place of [$t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 处 in the example above :

(1074) ○我多 得 乡下 住 。
** xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} tie^{53} xiɔŋ^{21}xa$^{35\sim22}$ t^hy^{35}
1PL.EXCL VCM countryside live
(Attempted meaning: 'We live in the countryside.')

32.3.1 Selectiveness of Type IV locative constructions [SUBJ + V + VCM + PLACE]

The locative construction using complement marker [tie^{53}] 得 is a more natural and common way to indicate a location if the main verb of the sentence involves a temporary and dynamic action, such as 'to sit' or 'to lie'. The locative verb [$t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 处 is preferred when the action is more long-lasting and stative, such as 'to live in' or 'to grow up'.

The two examples below are used respectively to demonstrate this.

(1075) 老倷 傢子 坐 得 摇摇凳 上 。
lau^{55}sa^{22} ka^{21}tsə^{0} $t^hɔi^{55}$ tie^{53} iau^{22}iau^{22}ten^{213} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
elderly man SUFX sit VCM swing chair on
'The old man is sitting on a/the rocking chair.' (temporary and dynamic action)

(1076) ○他 处 城 底 大 个 。
xu^{35} $t^hu^{55\sim35}$ ɕin^{22} ti^{0} t^hai^{35} kə^{0}
3SG LOC city in grow up SFP
'He grew up in the city.' (durative and stative action)

While it is not ungrammatical to use the syntactic construction [SUBJ + LOC + PLACE + PRED], the use of Type IV, i.e., locative complement type, is nevertheless

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the preferred construction for sentences with predication. The example below is however still an acceptable construction:

(1077) 老倷 傢子 处 摇摇凳 上 坐 。
lau^{55}sa^{22} ka^{21}tsə^{0} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ iau^{22}iau^{22}ten^{213} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ t^{h}ɔi^{55}
elderly man SUFX LOC swing chair on sit
'The old man is sitting on a/the rocking chair.' (temporary and dynamic action)

By way of contrast, note that it is undesirable to use the Type IV construction for sentences with durative and stative actions. It is ungrammatical to say in Shaowu, for instance:

(1078) ○$_{他}$ 大 得 城 底 。
** xu^{35} t^{h}ai^{35} tie^{53} ɕin^{22} ti^{0}
3SG grow up VCM city in
(Attempted meaning: 'He grew up in the city.')

The only possible construction for sentences with stative verbs is the construction [SUBJ + LOC + PLACE + PRED], using the locative verb [t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$] 处, as shown below:

(1079) ○$_{我}$ 是 处 城 底 养 个 ,
xaŋ^{35} ɕi^{55} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ ɕin^{22} ti^{0} iɔŋ^{55} kə^{0}
1SG COP$_{EMP}$ LOC city in be born COP$_{EMP}$
'I was born in the city, (factual statement from a one-off action)
也 是 处 城 底 大 个 。
ia^{55} ɕi^{55} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ ɕin^{22} ti^{0} xai^{35} kə^{0}
also COP$_{EMP}$ LOC city in grow up COP$_{EMP}$
and I also grew up in the city.' (durative and stative action)

32.3.2 Juxtaposition of construction types Ib and IV

The juxtaposition of both construction types Ib and IV is feasible in Shaowu, with the word order [SUBJ + LOC + PLACE + V + VCM + PRON$_{RSUM'there'}$], as shown in example (1082) which is the coupling of (1080) and (1081) with the help of a resumptive pronoun 'there'.

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(1080) 溃 人 处 床 上 。
k^huei^{35} $nin^{22\sim55}$ $t^hu^{55\sim35}$ $t^hɔŋ^{53}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{35\sim21}$
sick person V_{LOC} bed on
'The patient is on the bed.'

(1081) 溃 人 挨 得 床 上 。
k^huei^{35} $nin^{22\sim55}$ ai^{55} tie^{53} $t^hɔŋ^{53}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{35\sim21}$
sick person lean VCM bed on
'The patient is lying on the bed.'

(1082) 溃 人 处 床 上 挨 得 ○那儿 。
k^huei^{35} $nin^{22\sim55}$ $t^hu^{55\sim35}$ $t^hɔŋ^{53}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{35\sim21}$ ai^{55} tie^{53} $ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}$
sick person LOC bed on lean VCM there.RSUM
'The patient is lying on the bed.' (Lit. 'The patient is on the bed, lying there.)

32.4 Topicalisation of the locative phrase

In a canonically SVO language, topicalisation of the locative phrase can occur when the phrase moves to preverbal position, leaving the thematic subject in the postverbal position, thus creating a non-canonical word order. There is a wide array of syntactic variations in this inversion pattern cross-linguistically, and even within individual languages. In Shaowu, the locative phrase [$LOC_{[thu55]}$ + Place] can be fronted, compare for instance the following two examples:

(1083) 处 上海 , ○他 考 到 了 大学 。
$t^hu^{55\sim35}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{35}xɔi^{55}$ xu^{35} kau^{55} $tau^{213\sim21}$ $ə^{0}$ $t^hai^{35}xɔ^{35}$
LOC Shanghai 3SG pass exam ACH PFV university
'In Shanghai, he successfully passed exams and got into university.'

(1084) ○他 处 上海 考 到 了 大学 。
xu^{35} $t^hu^{55\sim35}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{35}xɔi^{55}$ kau^{55} $tau^{213\sim21}$ $ə^{0}$ $t^hai^{35}xɔ^{35}$
3SG LOC Shanghai pass exam ACH PFV university
'He successfully got into university in Shanghai.'

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32.5 Consecutive locative phrases

A string of locative phrases can appear in a Shaowu sentence, although they are preferably separated by other grammatical elements, see, for instance, the example below:

(1085) 度〇 处 学堂 底 ,
$t^hɔ^{35}ma^{55}$ $t^hu^{55\sim22}$ $xɔ^{35}t^hɔŋ^{55\sim22}$ ti^0
yesterday LOC school in
'Yesterday in the school,
〇我 处 图书馆 , 写 了 几 个 字
$xaŋ^{35}$ $t^hu^{55\sim35}$ $t^hu^{22}ɕy^{21}kuɔn^{55}$ sia^{55} $ə^0$ ki^{55} $kə^0$ $t^hə^{35}$
1SG LOC library write PFV several CLF word
I wrote several words
处 黑板 上 。
t^hu^{55} $xə^{53}pan^{55}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{35\sim21}$
LOC blackboard on
on the blackboard in the library.'

Note also that in the example above, the locative morpheme [t^hu^{55}] 处has two other tonal realisations aside its base tone 55, namely 22 and 35. The locative phrases are separated by the temporal expression, the subject and predicate.

32.6 Summary

In this chapter, we have looked at locative constructions in Shaowu, namely, ones that use the locative verb [$t^hu^{55\sim35/55\sim22}$] 处 'to be in/at', postural verbs such as [$t^hɔi^{55}$] 坐 'to sit', and locative constructions which use a complement marker [tie^{53}] 得 before the location NP, turning the phrase into a locative complement. We have also treated a hybrid construction type which juxtaposes the locative verb [$t^hu^{55\sim35/55\sim22}$] 处 and a locative complement phrase followed by a resumptive pronoun, usually [$ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^0$] 〇那儿 'there'. In addition, we have also mentioned locative inversion and sentences containing multiple locative phrases.

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Chapter 33
Interrogative structures: Polar, disjunctive and content questions

Interrogative sentences can be divided into three main types, (i) polar 'yes/no' questions, which invite an answer as to whether something is the case or not, and, as such, they are also called 'closed questions'; (ii) disjunctive questions, where a number of options is provided in the question and the answer is expected to be chosen from a given pool of possibilities; and (iii) content questions, which typically involve questions words and seek answers that can be unlimited in possibilities in theory. Thus, they are also referred to as 'open questions' (see, for instance, Dryer 2013).

Languages across the world employ various interrogative strategies to form various types of questions. In Dryer's (2005a) 842-languages data, he identifies the following interrogative strategies:

a. Interrogative intonation only
b. Question particles
c. Interrogative verb morphology
d. Interrogative word order
e. Absence of declarative morphemes
f. No interrogative-declarative distinction
g. Question particle and verb morphology

There are six types of interrogative structures in Sinitic languages in general, (i) content questions involving *in situ* interrogative pronouns, (ii) polar "yes or no" questions, (iii) option or alternative questions involving a disjunctive structure "A or B?", (iv) tag questions, (v) question formation with question particles, and (vi) questions produced by rising intonation (see Zhu 1985, Zhang 1990, Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 41–49, Cheung 2001, Wang & Chappell 2012, Luo 2016: 27–86, *inter alia*). Zhang (1990) and Luo (2016) offer a comprehensive typological study of interrogative structures in the Sinitic and beyond.

The polar [VP + NEG + VP] structure (or its variants [V + NEG + VP], [VP + NEG + V] and [VP + NEG]) is found to be present across China, in the Mandarin group, Jin, Wu, Yue, Xiang, Min and Gan, on top of the option of forming questions with sentence-final question particles also found in many Mandarin, Wu, Yue, Xiang, Min, Gan languages and dialects (Yue-Hashimoto 1993: 42–47). According to Zhu (1990), "The distinction between the interrogative sentence patterns VP + NEG + V and V + NEG + VP is of typological significance. The former pre-

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vails in northern Chinese dialects while the latter is employed mostly in Southern Chinese dialects." We will see that Shaowu predominantly uses the [V + NEG + VP] structure, which falls in the Southern zone.

In this chapter, we will mainly focus on Shaowu's polar questions, disjunctive questions, tag questions, question formation with question particles, and questions produced by raising intonation. Shaowu interrogative pronouns and related examples have been covered under the Nominal Structure Part (cf. Chapter 4 on pronominal systems, § 4.4 on interrogative pronouns). Nonetheless, we will mention them here again with more examples.

33.1 Polar questions

Polar questions involve a yes-or-no question structure, leading to only two possible responses: affirmative or negative. It is also a type of closed question. They contrast with content questions, which are open questions, that usually contain an interrogative word, in reply to which a more specific answer is expected.

Polar questions have a basic [VP + NEG + VP] structure (with variations), which, for our analysis, subsumes the [VP + NEG + VP], [V + NEG + V], [ADJ + NEG + ADJ], [COP + NEG + COP], [EXST + NEG + EXST], [LOC + NEG + LOC], [AUX + NEG + AUX] structures, where ADJ, COP, EXST, LOC and AUX stand for adjectives, copular verb, existential verb, locative verb and auxiliary verbs respectively. As adjectives alone can act as predicates in Sinitic in general, they are also put under the umbrella structure of [VP + NEG + VP].

The Shaowu polar questions are formed by the VP followed usually by its negated counterpart: [ŋ^{55}] 唔 + VP. However, for verbs that are COP, EXST, and LOC, the negator used in the respective polar questions is [mau^{35}] 冇 instead (see § 33.1.3, § 33.1.4 and § 33.1.5).

33.1.1 Polar [V(P) + NEG + V(P)] questions

Polar questions in Shaowu can be formed by monosyllabic verbs and the general negator [ŋ^{55}] 唔 in the construction of [V(P) + NEG + 唔 $_{[ŋ55]}$ + V(P)], for instance, when V is monosyllabic:

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33.1.1.1 [V + NEG + V]

(1086) ○那 蜀 个 地方 , ○你 去 唔 去 ?
ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} tʰi^{35}fɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} kʰɔ^{213} ŋ^{55} kʰɔ^{213}
DEM one CLF place 2SG go NEG go
'Are you going to that place?'

33.1.1.2 [V + NEG + VP], [VP + NEG + V] and [VP + NEG + VP]

The first and second questions below are of [V + NEG + VP] and [VP + NEG + V] construction types (see examples 1087 and 1088) respectively, both are acceptable. Although [VP + NEG + VP] is also grammatical (example 1089), it is considered to be slightly redundant in terms of syntactic configuration, as one VP suffices to indicate what is underway as action.

(1087) ○○ ○你 食 唔 食 饭 ?
ki^{53}sa^{21} xien^{35} ɕie^{35} ŋ^{55} ɕie^{35} pʰən^{35}
now 2SG eat NEG eat meal
'Do you want to have the meal now?'

(1088) ○○ ○你 食 饭 唔 食 ?
ki^{53}sa^{21} xien^{35} ɕie^{35} pʰən^{35} ŋ^{55} ɕie^{35}
now 2SG eat meal NEG eat
'Do you want to have the meal now?'

(1089) ○○ ○你 食 饭 唔 食 饭 ?
ki^{53}sa^{21} xien^{35} ɕie^{35} pʰən^{35} ŋ^{55} ɕie^{35} pʰən^{35}
now 2SG eat meal NEG eat meal
'Do you want to have the meal now?'

When V is disyllabic verb compound (V_{AB}), the polar structure can either be (i) [V_{AB} + NEG + V_{AB}] or (ii) [V_A + NEG + V_{AB}], although the former is more common. In contrast, [V_{AB} + NEG + V_A] is not used.

(1090) ○这 个 人 , ○你 识得 唔 识得 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} nin^{22} xien^{35} ɕi^{53}tie^{0} ŋ^{55} ɕi^{53}tie^{0}
DEM CLF person 2SG know NEG know
'Do you know this person?'

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(1091) 〇这 个 人 , 〇你 识 唔 识得 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} nin^{22} xien^{35} ɕi^{53} ŋ^{55} ɕi^{53}tie^{0}
DEM CLF person 2SG know NEG know
'Do you know this person?'

Note, however, that the form [V_{AB} + NEG + V_{A}] is ungrammatical in Shaowu:

(1092) 〇这 个 人 , 〇你 识得 唔 识 ?
** tɕiɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} nin^{22} xien^{35} ɕi^{53}tie^{0} ŋ^{55} ɕi^{53}
DEM CLF person 2SG know NEG know
(Attempted meaning: 'Do you know this person?')

Sometimes, a sentence-final particle (SFP) [ne^{22}] 呢 can be optionally added to the polar question to give an extra interrogative 'lift' to the question. Its presence is however optional with the question formation being achieved by the polar [V + NEG + V] structure, often accompanied by a rise in sentence intonation towards the end. See the following two examples for illustration:

(1093) 〇那 样 事 , 〇你 相信 唔 相信 (呢) ?
ɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} sə^{35} xien^{35} ɕiɔŋ^{21}sin^{213} ŋ^{55} ɕiɔŋ^{21}sin^{213} ne^{22}
DEM CLF thing 2SG believe NEG believe SFP
'Do you believe that thing?'

(1094) 明朝 解 唔 解 落 雨 (呢) ?
maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ŋ^{55} xie$^{55\sim35}$ lɔ^{35} xy^{55} ne^{22}
tomorrow can NEG can fall rain SFP
'Will it rain tomorrow?'

33.1.2 Polar [ADJ + NEG + ADJ] questions

As mentioned earlier, adjectives in Shaowu behave like predicates. The rules we have seen above for [V + NEG + V] structure apply also to [ADJ + NEG + ADJ] polar questions.

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33.1.2.1 When the ADJ is monosyllabic

(1095) 厝 底头 热 唔 热 ?
tɕʰiɔ^{213} ti^{55}xəu^{21} nie^{35} ŋ^{55} nie^{35}
house inside hot NEG hot
'Is it hot inside the house?'

33.1.2.2 When the ADJ is disyllabic

If the adjective is disyllabic, it is possible to elide the second syllable of the adjective before the negator in the [ADJ + NEG + ADJ] polar question structure, as shown in the example below:

(1096) ○他 快(活) 唔 快活 ?
xu^{35} kʰuai^{213}(ʋai^{55}) ŋ^{55} kʰuai^{213}ʋai^{55}
3SG happy NEG happy
'Is she happy?'

33.1.3 Polar [COP + NEG + COP] questions

Another subset of polar questions can be distinguished by its use of the copular verb [ɕi^{55}] 是followed by its negated form [mau^{35}ɕi^{55}] 冇是, structurally a [V + NEG + V] construction except that the V is a copular verb. There are three ways to construct copular polar questions, (i) [COP + NEG + COP + NP]; (ii) [COP + NP + NEG + COP + NP]; or (iii) [COP + NP + NEG + COP]; as shown in the following three examples respectively:

(1097) ○他 是 冇 是 ○你 老○ ?
xu^{35} ɕi^{55} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} xien^{35} lau^{55}pa^{0}
3SG COP NEG COP 2SG elder brother
'Is he your elder brother?'

(1098) ○他 是 ○你 老○ 冇 是 ○你 老○ ?
xu^{35} ɕi^{55} xien^{35} lau^{55}pa^{0} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} xien^{35} lau^{55}pa^{0}
3SG COP 2SG elder brother NEG COP 2SG elder brother
'Is he your elder brother?'

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(1099) ○他 是 ○你 老○ 有 是 ?
xu^{35} ɕi^{55} xien^{35} lau^{55}pa^{0} mau^{35} ɕi^{55}
3SG COP 2SG elder brother NEG COP
'Is he your elder brother or not?'

Between examples (1097) and (1098), Shaowu speakers prefer the more economical [COP + NEG + COP + NP] structure (as example 1097), regarding it as the [COP + NEG + COP + NP] as the most natural copular polar structure. Example (1099) belongs to a type of copular polar questions that is akin to tag questions, which we will explore in § 33.3 below.

33.1.4 Polar [EXST + NEG + EXST] questions

The existential verb [iɔu^{55}] 有 has [mau^{35}] 冇 as negator, and there are also three ways to construct the existential polar questions, (i) [EXST + NEG + EXST + NP], (ii) [EXST + NP + NEG + EXST + NP] or (iii) [EXST + NP + NEG + EXST]; as shown in the following three examples respectively:

(1100) 槃 上 有 冇 有 瓯儿 ?
p^{h}ɔn^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ iɔu^{55} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} əu^{21}ə^{0}
table on EXST NEG EXST cup
'Is there a cup on the table?'

(1101) 槃 上 有 瓯儿 冇 有 瓯儿 ?
p^{h}ɔn^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ iɔu^{55} əu^{21}ə^{0} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} əu^{21}ə^{0}
table on EXST cup NEG EXST cup
'Is there a cup on the table?'

(1102) 槃 上 有 瓯儿 冇 有 ?
p^{h}ɔn^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ iɔu^{55} əu^{21}ə^{0} mau^{35} iɔu^{55}
table on EXST cup NEG EXST
'Is there a cup on the table or not?'

Again, Shaowu speakers prefer the more economical [EXST + NEG + EXST + NP] structure (as in example 1100), regarding it as the most natural existential polar structure, just as for the copular verb. Furthermore, example (1102) is a type of existential polar question that is akin to tag questions, which we will explore in § 33.3 below.

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33.1.5 Polar [LOC + NEG + LOC] questions

The locative verb [$t^hu^{55\sim35}$] 处 also has [mau^{35}] 冇 as negator, and there are also three ways to construct the existential polar questions, (i) [LOC + NEG + LOC + NP]; (ii) [LOC + NP + NEG + LOC + NP]; or (iii) [LOC + NP + NEG + LOC]; as shown in the following three examples respectively:

(1103) ○她 处 冇 处 厝底 ?
xu^{35} t^{h}u^{55} mau^{35} t^{h}u^{55} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$
3SG LOC NEG LOC home
'Is she at home?'

(1104) ○她 处 厝底 冇 处 厝底 ?
xu^{35} t^{h}u^{55} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$ mau^{35} t^{h}u^{55} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$
3SG LOC home NEG LOC home
'Is she at home?'

(1105) ○她 处 厝底 冇 处 ?
xu^{35} t^{h}u^{55} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$ mau^{35} t^{h}u^{55}
3SG LOC home NEG LOC
'Is she at home or not?'

Between examples (1103) and (1104), Shaowu speakers prefer the more economical [LOC + NEG + LOC + NP] structure (as in example 1103), regarding it as the most natural locative polar structure, as for the copular and existential verbs. Moreover, example (1105) is also a type of locative polar questions that is akin to tag questions, which we will explore in § 33.3 below.

33.1.6 Polar [AUX + NEG + AUX] questions

Auxiliary verbs, such as modal verbs, generally have [ŋ^{55}] 唔as their negator, and there are also three ways to construct the polar questions with auxiliary verbs depending on their syllabicity: if the auxiliary verb is monosyllabic (AUX_A), then the structure is either one of the following: (i) [AUX_A + NEG + AUX_A + VP]; (ii) [AUX_A + VP + NEG + AUX_A + VP], while (iii) [AUX_A + VP + NEG + AUX_A] tends to be marginal, as shown in examples (1106) – (1108) respectively. If the auxiliary verb is disyllabic (AUX_{AB}), then the structure can either be (i) [AUX_{AB} + NEG + AUX_{AB} + VP]; (ii) [AUX_A + NEG + AUX_{AB} + VP]; (iii) [AUX_{AB} + VP + NEG + AUX_{AB} + VP]; (iv) [AUX_{AB} + VP + NEG + AUX_{AB}], as shown in examples (1109) – (1112).

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33.1.6.1 When the auxiliary is monosyllabic

(1106) 苹果 ○要 唔 ○要 削 皮 ?
$p^hin^{22}ku\text{ɔ}^{22}$ $nu\text{ŋ}^{35}$ ŋ^{55} $nu\text{ŋ}^{35}$ $\text{ɕ}ia^{21}$ p^hei^{53}
apple want NEG want peel skin
'Do you want the apple skin to be peeled?'

(1107) 苹果 ○要 削 皮 唔 ○要 削 皮 ?
$p^hin^{22}ku\text{ɔ}^{22}$ $nu\text{ŋ}^{35}$ $\text{ɕ}ia^{21}$ p^hei^{53} ŋ^{55} $nu\text{ŋ}^{35}$ $\text{ɕ}ia^{21}$ p^hei^{53}
apple want peel skin NEG want peel skin
'Do you want the apple skin to be peeled?'

(1108) 苹果 ○要 削 皮 唔 ○要 ?
$p^hin^{22}ku\text{ɔ}^{22}$ $nu\text{ŋ}^{35}$ $\text{ɕ}ia^{21}$ p^hei^{53} ŋ^{55} $nu\text{ŋ}^{35}$
apple want peel skin NEG want
'Do you want the apple skin to be peeled or not?'

33.1.6.2 When the auxiliary is disyllabic

There are four possibilities: (i) [AUX_{AB} + NEG + AUX_{AB} + VP]; (ii) [AUX_A + NEG + AUX_{AB} + VP]; (iii) [AUX_{AB} + VP + NEG + AUX_{AB} + VP]; (iv) [AUX_{AB} + VP + NEG + AUX_{AB}], as shown respectively in the four examples below:

(1109) ○我 应该 唔 应该 试 ?
$xa\text{ŋ}^{35}$ $in^{21}k\text{ɔ}i^{21}$ ŋ^{35} $in^{21}k\text{ɔ}i^{21}$ $\text{ɕ}i^{213}$
1SG should NEG should try
'Should I try?'

(1110) ○我 应 唔 应该 试 ?
$xa\text{ŋ}^{35}$ in^{21} ŋ^{35} $in^{21}k\text{ɔ}i^{21}$ $\text{ɕ}i^{213}$
1SG should NEG should try
'Should I try?'

(1111) ○我 应该 试 唔 应该 试 ?
$xa\text{ŋ}^{35}$ $in^{21}k\text{ɔ}i^{21}$ $\text{ɕ}i^{213}$ ŋ^{35} $in^{21}k\text{ɔ}i^{21}$ $\text{ɕ}i^{213}$
1SG should try NEG should try
'Should I try?'

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(1112) ○我 应该 试 唔 应该 ?
xaŋ^{35} in^{21}kɔi^{21} ɕi^{213} ŋ^{35} in^{21}kɔi^{21}
1SG should try NEG should
'Should I try or not?'

33.1.7 Polar questions with potential complements

Potential complements have the potential verb complement marker VCM [tie^{53}] 得 inserted between the verb and the resultative or directional to produce [V + VCM + RES/DIR] (cf. Chapter 19 on postverbal complements and compounds of results, direction and potentiality), and their negated form is effected by replacing [tie^{53}] 得 by [ŋ^{55}] 唔: [V + NEG + RES/DIR]. To form a polar question with potential complements, the relevant structure juxtaposes the affirmative and negative potential complements (i) [V + VCM + RES/DIR + V + NEG + RES/DIR], or (ii) directly negates the main verb and keeps the affirmative potential complement [V + NEG + V + VCM + RES/DIR]. It is also possible to elide the first RES/DIR in (i) to produce [V + VCM + V + NEG + RES/DIR], although it is less frequent as a polar question construction. The following six examples illustrate these three construction types respectively with resultative complements and directional complements.

33.1.7.1 Polar questions with the resultative complement

(1113) ○你 拿 得 动 拿 唔 动 ?
xien^{35} na^{22} tie^{53} t^{h}uŋ$^{35\sim55}$ na^{22} ŋ^{55} t^{h}uŋ$^{35\sim55}$
2SG take VCM move take NEG move
'Can you lift (it)?'

(1114) ○你 拿 唔 拿 得 动 ?
xien^{35} na^{22} ŋ^{55} na^{22} tie^{53} t^{h}uŋ$^{35\sim55}$
2SG take NEG take VCM move
'Can you lift (it)?'

(1115) ○你 拿 得 拿 唔 动 ?
xien^{35} na^{22} tie^{53} na^{22} ŋ^{55} t^{h}uŋ$^{35\sim55}$
2SG take VCM take NEG move
'Can you lift (it)?'

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33.1.7.2 Polar questions with the directional complement

(1116) ○你 爬 得 上 去 爬 唔 上 去 ?
xien^{35} p^{h}a^{22} tie^{53} ɕiɔŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213} p^{h}a^{22} ŋ^{55} ɕiɔŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
2SG climb VCM up go climb NEG up go
'Can you climb up?'

(1117) ○你 爬 唔 爬 得 上 去 ?
xien^{35} p^{h}a^{22} ŋ^{55} p^{h}a^{22} tie^{53} ɕiɔŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
2SG climb NEG climb VCM up go
'Can you climb up?'

(1118) ○你 爬 得 爬 唔 上 去 ?
xien^{35} p^{h}a^{22} tie^{53} p^{h}a^{22} ŋ^{55} ɕiɔŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
2SG climb VCM climb NEG up go
'Can you climb up?'

33.1.8 Polar questions with aspect

To make a question out of a declarative Shaowu sentence with perfective aspect marking, one common way to do it is by adding [mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 冇有 'not have' at the end of the sentence, the syntactic configuration for such a question type is thus [V + ASP + 冇有$_{[mau35\ iɔu55]}$]. The reply is either the affirmative [V + ASP], or the negative [冇有$_{[mau35\ iɔu55]}$]. See the following example for illustration:

(1119) ○他 来 了 冇 有 ?
xu^{35} li^{22} ə^{0} mau^{35} iɔu^{55}
3SG come PFV NEG have
'Has he come?'
Reply: 来 了 。 Or: 冇 有 。
li^{22} ə^{0} mau^{35} iɔu^{55}
come PFV NEG have
'(He) has come.' Or: '(He) has not come.
[affirmative] [negative]

More examples below using the sentence-final [mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 冇有as a way to form polar questions involving aspect.

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33.1.8.1 With perfective aspect

(1120) ○他 到 了 北京 冇 有 ?
xu^{35} tau^{213} ə^{0} pə^{53}kin^{21} mau^{35} iɔu^{55}
3SG arrive PFV Beijing NEG have
'Has he arrived in Beijing?'

33.1.8.2 With experiential aspect

(1121) ○你 食 度 大 碗 米糍 冇 有 ?
xien^{35} ɕie^{35} t^{h}ɔ^{35} t^{h}ai^{35} ʊɔn^{55} mi^{55}t^{h}i^{22} mau^{35} iɔu^{55}
2SG eat EXP big bowl rice dumpling NEG have
'Have you ever tried the "big-bowl rice-dumpling" (a Shaowu delicacy)?'

It is also possible to use the V + NEG + V [iɔu^{55}mau^{35}iɔu^{55}] 有冇有 'have-not have' construction with the experiential aspect:

(1122) ○你 有 冇 有 食 度 大碗米糍 ?
xien^{35} iɔu^{55} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} ɕie^{35} t^{h}ɔ^{35} t^{h}ai^{35}ʊɔn^{55}mi^{55}t^{h}i^{22}
2SG have NEG have eat EXP big-bowl rice-dumpling
'Have you ever tried the "big-bowl rice-dumpling"?'
Reply: (有) 食 度 。 Or: 冇 有 (食 度) 。
(iɔu^{55}) ɕie^{35} t^{h}ɔ^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} (^{ɕi}e35 t^{h}ɔ^{35})
have eat EXP NEG have eat EXP
'(I) have eaten it before.' Or: '(I) have never eaten it.'
[affirmative] [negative]

Note that the most natural way to form a question with aspect marking is simply by using the sentence-final question particle [mɔ^{22}] 么 or its variants. Every statement can be turned into an interrogative by adding this Shaowu question particle at the end, see § 33.4 below for details.

We now discuss polar question formation in sentences with frequency adverbs, comparative markers and prepositions.

33.1.9 Polar questions with adverbs

The structure is either (i) [ADV + V + NEG + ADV + V] or (ii) [ADV + NEG + ADV + V], where the general negator is [ŋ^{55}] 唔. See the example below:

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(1123) ○她 经常 (去) 唔 经常 去 北京 ?
xu^{35} kin^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{22} (k^{h}ɔ^{213}) ŋ^{55} kin^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{22} k^{h}ɔ^{213} pə^{53}kin^{21}
3SG often go NEG often go Beijing
'Does she often go to Beijing?'

33.1.10 Polar questions with comparatives

There are three ways to form polar questions with the comparative construction of inequality: (i) [COMP + NP$_{comparee}$ + ADJ + NEG + COMP + NP$_{comparee}$ + ADJ], (ii) [COMP + NEG + COMP + NP$_{comparee}$ + ADJ], and (iii) [COMP + NP$_{comparee}$ + ADJ + NEG + ADJ], where the general negator is [ŋ^{55}] 唔. Compare the two examples below:

(1124) ○他 比 ○你 更 肥 唔 比 ○你 更 肥 ?
xu^{35} pi^{55} xien^{35} kə^{0} p^{h}i^{22} ŋ^{55} pi^{55} xien^{35} kə^{0} p^{h}i^{22}
3SG COMP 2SG more fat NEG COMP 2SG more fat
'Is he fatter than you?'

(1125) ○他 比 唔 比 ○你 更 肥 ?
xu^{35} pi^{55} ŋ^{55} pi^{55} xien^{35} kə^{0} p^{h}i^{22}
3SG COMP NEG COMP 2SG more fat
'Is he fatter than you?'

It is also possible to form a polar question by negating the quality put under comparison and so to put the two entities in comparison into focus, with a slight change in meaning:

(1126) ○他 比 ○你 , 肥 唔 肥 ?
xu^{35} pi^{55} xien^{35} p^{h}i^{22} ŋ^{55} p^{h}i^{22}
3SG COMP 2SG fat NEG fat
'Comparing him with you, is he fat?'

33.1.11 Polar questions with prepositions

There are three ways to form polar questions with prepositions: (i) [PP + NEG + PP], where PP is the prepositional phrase; (ii) [PREP + NEG + PREP + VP], where PREP refers to the preposition; and (iii) [PP + NEG + PREP]. While (iii) is the least used, (i) and (ii) which negate the prepositional phrase or the preposition, are the

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most natural way of polar question formation. Below are Shaowu examples with the preposition 'with' and 'from'.

33.1.11.1 The comitative 'with' [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮

(1127) 〇$_{你}$ 帮 (〇$_{他}$ 打伙 去) 唔 帮 〇$_{他}$ 打伙
xien^{35} pɔŋ^{21} (xu^{35} ta^{55}fɔ^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{213}) ŋ^{55} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} ta^{55}fɔ^{55}
2SG COMT 3SG together go NEG COMT 3SG together
去 ?
k^{h}ɔ^{213}
go
'Are you going with him?'

(1128) 〇$_{你}$ 帮 〇$_{他}$ 打伙 去 唔 帮 ?
xien^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} ta^{55}fɔ^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{213} ŋ^{55} pɔŋ^{21}
2SG COMT 3SG together go NEG COMT
'Are you going with him or not?'

33.1.11.2 The ablative 'from' [ta^{55}] 打

(1129) 俺多 打 (〇$_{这}$儿 行) 唔 打 〇$_{这}$儿 行 ?
ien^{22}tai^{21} ta^{55} (tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə0 xaŋ^{22}) ŋ^{55} ta^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} xaŋ^{22}
1PL.INCL ABL here walk NEG ABL here walk
'Are you walking from here?'

(1130) 俺多 打 〇$_{这}$儿 行 唔 打 ?
ien^{22}tai^{21} ta^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} xaŋ^{22} ŋ^{55} ta^{55}
1PL.INCL ABL here walk NEG ABL
'Are you walking from here or not?'

33.1.12 Polar questions with VPs

Lastly, we will look at polar questions with VPs. Here we take the narrower scope for VP, that is, verb phrases that are made up of a verb and a noun phrase (V + NP). The possible combinations are: (i) [VP + NEG + VP], (ii) [VP + NEG + V] or (iii) [V + NEG + VP], while [VP + NEG] or [V + NEG] are deemed ungrammatical. See the following pair of examples:

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(1131) ○你 瞷 (戏) 唔 瞷 戏 ?
xien^{35} nianŋ^{213} (xi^{213}) ŋ^{55} nianŋ^{213} xi^{213}
2SG watch film NEG watch film
'Do you (want to) watch a play?'

(1132) ○你 瞷 戏 唔 瞷 ?
xien^{35} nianŋ^{213} xi^{213} ŋ^{55} nianŋ^{213}
2SG watch film NEG watch
'Do you (want to) watch a play?'

33.2 Disjunctive questions

Disjunctive questions are questions that provide options ("Is it A or B?"), although it can also be a multiple-choice question ("Is it A or B or C..?"). In Shaowu, the disjunctive questions are usually formed in two ways: the first uses the disjunctive marker (DISJ) [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 'or' in the syntactic template of [NP + VP_A + DISJ + (NP) + VP_B], where the NP can be the same or a different reference; the second juxtaposes the choices one after another, In other words, such disjunctive questions are zero-marked. The following examples show these two types of disjunctive questions.

33.2.1 Disjunctive clauses with the same subject

The syntactic template is [NP + VP_A + DISJ + (NP) + VP_B]:

(1133) ○你 喜欢 瞷 书 还是 瞷 电影 ?
xien^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} nianŋ^{213} ɕy^{21} ai^{213}ɕi^{55} nianŋ^{213} t^{h}ien^{213}in^{55}
2SG like read book DISJ watch film
'Do you like reading books or watching films?'

Note that the Shaowu activity verb [nianŋ^{213}] 瞷 is polysemous, it can mean 'to look (at)', 'to watch' or 'to read', depending on the context.

33.2.2 Disjunctive clauses with different subjects

It is also possible to form disjunctive questions with different noun phrases and verb phrases, with the syntactic template of [NP_A + VP_A + DISJ + NP_B + VP_B]:

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(1134) 现在 是 ○你 洗 衣裳 ,
xien^{35}t^{h}ai$^{35\sim55}$ ɕi^{22} xien^{35} sie^{55} i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}
now be 2SG wash clothes
'Are you going to do the laundry
还是 ○我 去 买 菜 ?
ai^{213}ɕi^{22} xaŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ mie^{55} t^{h}ə^{213}
DISJ 1SG go buy food
or shall I go get some food?' (context: a couple sharing housework)

(1135) 是 ○这 相 做 好 , 还是 ○那 相 做 好 ?
ɕi^{22} tɕiɔŋ^{53} siɔŋ^{213} tsɔ^{21} xau^{55} ai^{213}ɕi^{22} ɔŋ^{53} siɔŋ^{213} tsɔ^{21} xau^{55}
be DEM sort do good DISJ DEM sort do good
'Is it better to do it this way or that way?' (comparison by disjunctive)

33.2.3 Bare disjunctive questions

This category refers to those disjunctive questions that are zero-marked, i.e., without the presence of a disjunctive marker such as [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是. The disjunctive questions are formed by juxtaposing more than one option, next to each other, as a display of choice in the question. My linguistic consultant pointed out that a pause is obligatory between the options, together with a rise in the intonation at the end of the sentence or a sentence-final particle [a^{22}] 啊. See the following two examples for illustration:

(1136) ○你 食 饭 . 食 面 ? (rising intonation)
xien^{35} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35} ɕie^{35} mien^{213}
2SG eat rice eat noodles
'What would you like to have, rice or noodles?'

(1137) ○你 陪 ○他 去 . ○我 陪 ○他 去 啊 ?
xien^{35} p^{h}ei^{22} xu^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213} xaŋ^{35} p^{h}ei^{22} xu^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213} a^{22}
2SG accompany 3SG go 1SG accompany 3SG go Q
'Will you go with him, or shall I go with him?'

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33.3 Question tags

König & Siemund (2007: 296–297) point out that question tags are different from question particles in that (i) "tags, apart from characterising sentences as questions, also contribute a certain bias by raising expectations toward either a positive or negative answer", and (ii) "tags almost exclusively occur at the end of a sentence, quite independently of basic word order pattern".

Just as in English or many other languages in the world, Shaowu can form interrogatives with question tags. There are two types of questions tags, the affirmative tag and the negative tag. The affirmative tag is used in negative sentences, as, for instance, in English, *He is not a football player, is he?*; and the negative tag is used in the affirmative sentence, e.g., *She was on the team last year, wasn't she?* While both types of tags express the speaker's doubt about the truth value of the statement coming before the question tag, the affirmative tag can be confirmation seeking whereas the negative tag can be an expression of disbelief. The category of tag questions can in fact be seen as a subset of polar questions, except that tag questions carry a stronger presupposition than normal polar questions.

The general affirmative tag in Shaowu is [ɕi^{55}mɔ^{0}] 𝟿 ('is it?') and the general negative tag is [mau^{35}ɕi^{55}] 有是 'isn't it?'). The sentence type that they 'tag onto' is usually a statement, which is then turned into a question by the question tag. The predicates of these statements can be an adjective, can have a copular verb, can contain auxiliaries, etc. but they all end up having their polarity reversed by the tag in tag questions. In the following, we will see some examples of affirmative and negative tags.

33.3.1 Affirmative tag [ɕi^{55}mɔ^{0}] 是么 in a negative sentence

(1138) 〇他 有 是 学生 , 是么 ?
xu^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} xɔ^{35}sen^{21} ɕi^{55}mɔ^{0}
3SG NEG COP student AFM TAG
'He is not a student, is he?' (sentence with copular verb 'to be')

(1139) 〇这 花 有 有 顶 香 , 是么 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} fa^{21} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} tin^{55} xiɔŋ^{21} ɕi^{55}mɔ^{0}
DEM flower NEG have very fragrant AFM TAG
'This flower is not that fragrant, is it?' (sentence with the verb 'to have')

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33.3.2 Negative tag [mau^{35}ɕi^{55}] 冇是 in an affirmative sentence

Affirmative tag questions, such as the two above, can be turned into their opposite form, which means when the statement is affirmative, and the tag used is then negative ([mau^{35}ɕi^{55}] 冇是 'isn't it'). For instance, examples (1138) and (1139) can be readily turned into their opposite form, as shown below in examples (1140) and (1141):

(1140) ○他 是 学生 , 冇是 ?
xu^{35} ɕi^{55} xɔ^{35}sen^{21} mau^{35}ɕi^{55}
3SG COP student NEG TAG
'He is a student, isn't he?' (sentence with copular verb 'to be')

(1141) ○这 花 顶 香 , 冇是 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} fa^{21} tin^{55} xiɔŋ^{21} mau^{35}ɕi^{55}
DEM flower very fragrant NEG TAG
'This flower is fragrant, isn't it?'
(the verb 'to have' is elided in an affirmative adjectival predicate)

33.4 Question formation with question particles

Using question particles is yet another question-formation strategy. Sentence-final question particles are statistically more frequently used in the world's languages: in Dryer (2005b), a 777-language database is presented, with 272 languages use sentence-final particles, compared with sentence-initial question particles (118 languages), in second position (45 languages) or other (8 languages).

The vast majority of Sinitic languages have sentence-final question particles. There are essentially two question particles in Shaowu, namely, [ma^{22}] 嘛 and [mɔ^{22}] 么. They are interchangeable and typically sentence-final. All Shaowu statements can potentially be transformed into questions by adding a question particle at their end, and these questions are neutral questions (unlike tag questions which carry certain presuppositions). The sentence final particle [ne^{22}] 呢 is strictly speaking not a question particle because it alone does not turn a statement into a question. Instead, its function is to add an emphatic 'lift' to [V-NEG-V] polar questions, see § 33.1.1.2 above, examples (1088) – (1094) (cf. also Chapter 35 on clause-final particles).

Some examples below with question particles:

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(1142) ○你 喜欢 食 大碗米糍 么 ?
xien^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ɕie^{35} t^{h}ai^{35}ʊɔn^{55}mi^{55}t^{h}i^{22} mɔ^{22}
2SG like eat big-bowl rice-dumpling Q
'Do you like eating "big-bowl rice-dumplings" (a Shaowu delicacy)?'

(1143) ○我多 可以 爬 上 厝顶 嘛 ?
xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ p^{h}a^{22} ɕiɔŋ^{35} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ten^{55} ma^{22}
1PL.EXCL can climb up roof Q
'Can we climb up onto the roof?'

33.5 Question making by intonation

Luo (2013: 4) points out that "languages [that] form questions by interrogative intonation only (IIO) suggests that they involve same words, morphemes and word order as the corresponding declarative sentence, but with a distinct intonation pattern as the sole indication signaling that it is a question." As is the case for many languages in the world, raising the intonation towards the end of a statement can turn it into a question. Shaowu is no exception to this. By raising the pitch of the sentence intonation towards the end of the clause, it can be interpreted as a question, even if the sentence carries no overt interrogative markers, either lexical or grammatical. Question formation can thus be done via a rising intonation, or even non-verbal cues like facial expression or hand gesture. Note that with a rising intonation, the question becomes a non-neutral one, as if the speaker is questioning the factuality of a statement. See the two examples below:

(1144) ○你 喜欢 话 邵武事 ? (rising intonation)
xien^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ʊa^{35} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}
2SG like speak Shaowu
'You like speaking Shaowu, really?'

(1145) ○你 唔 食 饭 ? (rising intonation)
xien^{35} ŋ^{55} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35}
2SG NEG eat meal
'You're not eating your meal, really?'

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33.6 Content questions with interrogative pronouns

Interrogative questions are open questions because they seek information that is not limited to 'yes' or 'no' as the reply, but rather may be constituted by various utterances regarding the person(s), thing(s), time, location, manner, etc. In English, these are also referred to as WH-questions: *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, and *how*. We have covered the interrogative pronoun paradigm under Nominal Structure, so we merely recapitulate the list of these pronouns and give examples for each of them. Note that Shaowu questions, just like many other Sinitic languages, are *in situ* questions, i.e., the syntactic position of the interrogative pronoun is exactly where the answer is in the reply. Hence, instead of asking 'Who are you?', in Shaowu the word order in this question is 'You are who?' and the reply is 'I am X.'

The interrogative pronoun paradigm is recapitulated below in Table 33.1 (cf. Chapter 4, § 4.4):

Table 33.1: Interrogative pronoun paradigm in Shaowu.

Shaowu interrogative pronouns		English translation
ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213})	啥(个)	'what'
ɕia^{53}kəi^{213}	啥个	'which one'
nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}	○哪(蜀)个	'which one'
nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}nin^{22}	○哪蜀个人 (more polite form)	'which person'/ 'who'
ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213})nin^{22}	啥(个)人 (more colloquial)	'what person'
nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}	○哪个时候	'when'
ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213})ɕi^{22}kan^{21}	啥(个)时间	'which time'
ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213})ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}	啥(个)时候	
nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}	○哪儿	'where'
nɔŋ^{22}(kəi^{213})pien^{21}	○哪(个)边	'which side'
ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213})t^{h}iɔŋ^{22}su$^{55\sim22}$	啥(个)场所	'what place'
tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53}	做啥	'why'
ni^{53}ti^{21}	恁地	'how'
ni^{53}ti^{21}iɔŋ^{35}ɕi^{53}	恁地样式	'how so'
ɕia^{53}(kəi^{213})iɔŋ^{35}ɕi^{53}	啥（个）样式	'what sort/ type' 'in what way'
ki^{55}tai^{21}	几多	'how many/much'
ki^{55}tai^{21}kəu^{55}	几多久	'how long'

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33.6.1 Who

The interrogative pronoun 'who' can be expressed in two different forms in Shaowu. The more polite one, [nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi$^{213\sim21}$] ○$_{哪}$蜀个, is formed by the interrogative morpheme [nɔŋ^{22}] ○$_{哪}$ 'which' followed by the typically Min numeral 'one' [ɕi^{22}] 蜀 and the general classifier [kəi^{21}] 个, while the more colloquial [ɕia^{53}kəi^{21}nin^{22}] 啥个人 is formed by the interrogative morpheme [ɕia^{53}] 啥 'what' followed by the general classifier [kəi^{21}] 个 and the noun 'person' [nin^{22}] 人. Unlike Mandarin, there is no monomorphemic 'who' in Shaowu that is equivalent to the Mandarin *shéi* 谁. Both of the Shaowu 'who' interrogative pronouns can be placed either in the subject or object position, as shown in the following two examples:

(1146) ○$_{他}$ 是 ○$_{哪}$蜀个 ?
xu^{35} ɕi^{22} nɔŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}
3SG COP who
'Who is he?' (formal form 'who' in object position)

(1147) 啥 个 人 来 了 ?
ɕia^{53} kəi^{21} nin^{22} li^{22} ə^{0}
what CLF person come PFV
'Who has come?' (colloquial form 'who' in subject position)

The plural of 'who' in Shaowu is expressed by adding the plural suffix [tai^{21}] 多 to the interrogative morpheme [nɔŋ^{22}] ○$_{哪}$ 'which' (but not to the colloquial [ɕia^{53}] 啥), followed by the head noun [nin^{22}] 人 'person', as shown in the following example:

(1148) ○$_{哪}$ 多 人 解 话 邵武事 ?
nɔŋ^{22} tai^{21} nin^{22} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ʋa^{35} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}
which PL person can speak Shaowu
'Who (plural) can speak Shaowu?'

33.6.2 What

The interrogative morpheme 啥 [ɕia^{53}] 'what' can be used alone as the interrogative pronoun, which can refer to either a singular or collective referent. The classifier [kəi^{21}] 个 is optional:

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(1149) ○这 是 啥 (个) ?
tɕiɔŋ[53] ɕi[22] ɕia[53] (kəi[21])
DEM COP what CLF
'What is this?'

If the referent is not singular, the plural suffix [tai[21]] 多 is added to the demonstrative pronoun to mark the plural:

(1150) ○这 多 是 啥 ?
tɕiɔŋ[53] tai[21] ɕi[22] ɕia[53]
DEM PL COP what
'What are these?'

33.6.3 Which

The Shaowu morpheme for 'which' is [nɔŋ[22]] ○哪, the etymon of which is not yet identified. By adding the numeral 'one' [ɕi[22]] 蜀 after [nɔŋ[22]] ○哪 followed by a classifier, the interrogative pronoun becomes 'which one'; by adding the plural suffix [tai[21]] 多 to [nɔŋ[22]] ○哪, the pronoun becomes 'which ones', as shown in the following two examples respectively:

(1151) ○哪 蜀 头 牛 是 ○他多 个 ?
nɔŋ[22] ɕi[22] t^{h}əu[53~21] ny[22] ɕi[55] xu[35]tai[21] kəi[21]
which one CLF cow be 3PL POSS
'Which cow belongs to them?'

(1152) ○哪 多 人 是 来 食 酒 个 ?
nɔŋ[22] tai[21] nin[22] ɕi[55] li[22] ɕie[35] tsɔu[55] kəi[21]
which PL person COP$_{EMP}$ come drink alcohol SFP
'Who (among them) come for the drinks?'

The interrogative [ɕia[53]kəi[213]] 啥个 can also act as the interrogative pronoun 'which' or combine with a common noun to form an interrogative noun phrase, such as 'what colour', as shown in example (1153). Note that if [ɕia[53]] 啥 alone is used, without the general classifier [kəi[213]] 个, then the referent may be interpreted in the singular or the plural, as shown in example (1154).

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(1153) ○你 喜欢 啥 个 颜色 ?
xien^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ɕia^{53} kəi^{21} ŋan^{22}sə^{21}
2SG like what CLF colour
'Which colour do you like?'

(1154) ○你 喜欢 啥 颜色 ?
xien^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ɕia^{53} ŋan^{22}sə^{21}
2SG like what colour
'What colour(s) do you like?'

33.6.4 How

The base morpheme for the interrogative for type, manner or degree is [ni^{53}ti^{21}] 恁地 in Shaowu. It can stand alone as an interrogative adverb 'how', 'how so' which precedes the verb, as examples (1155) and (1156); or [ni^{53}ti^{21}] 恁地 'how' may combine with [iɔŋ^{35}ɕi^{21}] 样式'sort'/'type', to form an interrogative noun phrase, as demonstrated in examples (1157) and (1158).

33.6.4.1 'How' as stand-alone preverbal adverb

(1155) 天 恁地 个 下 就 黑 下 来 了 ?
t^{h}ien^{21} ni^{53}ti^{21} kəi^{21} xa^{35} tsiɔu^{213} xə^{53} xa^{35} li^{22} ə^{0}
sky how so one CLF then darken down come PFV
'How come the sky has darkened all of a sudden?'

(1156) ○这 句 事 使 邵武事 恁地 话 ?
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ky^{213} sə^{35} sə^{55} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35} ni^{53}ti^{21} ʊa^{35}
DEM CLF sentence use Shaowu how say
'How to say this sentence in Shaowu?'

33.6.4.2 'How' + 'sort' 样式 [iɔŋ^{35}ɕi$^{53\sim21}$]

(1157) ○你 ○要 买 恁地 样式 个 茶 壶 ?
xien^{35} nuŋ^{35} mie^{55} ni^{53}ti^{21} iɔŋ^{35}ɕi^{21} kə^{0} t^{h}a^{22} fu^{22}
2SG want buy how sort ATT tea pot
'What sort of teapot do you want to buy?'

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(1158) ○那 个 侪人 恁地 样式 ?
ɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} sa^{22}nin^{22} ni^{53}ti^{21} iɔŋ^{35}ɕi^{21}
DEM CLF man how sort
'What kind of person is that man?'

33.6.5 Where

The interrogative pronoun for location can be formed by juxtaposing the base interrogative morpheme [nɔŋ^{22}] ○哪 to the suffix [ə^{0}] 儿, and together they become [nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}] ○哪儿 'where' with 'ŋ' added before [ə^{0}] 儿 as a result of phonological assimilation. The interrogative pronoun [nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}] ○哪儿 'where' can be placed either in the subject or object position, as shown in the following two examples respectively:

(1159) ○哪儿 有 学堂 ?
nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0} iɔu^{55} xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ$^{22\sim55}$
where EXST school
'Where can one find a school?'

(1160) ○你 现在 处 ○哪儿 ?
xien^{35} xien^{35}t^{h}ai^{55} t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$ nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}
2SG now LOC where
'Where are you now?'

The interrogative pronoun [nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}] ○哪儿 'where' can also take a possessum after it, following the structure [WHERE + POSS + NP]:

(1161) ○哪儿 个 菜 好 食 ?
nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^{0} kə^{0} t^{h}ə^{213} xau^{55} ɕie^{35}
where POSS meal good eat
'Food from where/which place is nice (to eat)?'

33.6.6 When

The Shaowu interrogative 'when / what time' can be formed by combining the interrogative morphemes [nɔŋ^{22}] ○哪 or [ɕia^{53}] 啥 with the temporal nouns such as [ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}] 时候 'moment' or [ɕi^{22}kan^{21}] 时间 'time'. It is optional to insert a classifier between [ɕia^{53}] 啥 and [ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}] 时候 / [ɕi^{22}kan^{21}] 时间. The classifier for time

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can be the general classifier [kəi^{213}] 个 or the specific classifier [tɔn^{213}] 段 which literally means 'segment', but as a classifier for time, it means 'period'.

(1162) ○你 啥 (个) 时候/时间 有 空 ?
xien^{35} ɕia^{53} (kə^{0}) ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}/ɕi^{22}kan^{21} iɔu^{55} k^{h}uŋ^{21}
2SG what CLF moment/time have space
'When will you have a moment?'

(1163) ○你 啥 (段) 时间 写 文章 ?
xien^{35} ɕia^{53} tɔn^{213} ɕi^{22}kan^{21} sia^{55} ʊən^{22}tɕiɔŋ^{21}
2SG what CLF time write article
'In which period (of the day, according to context) do you write articles?'

It is also possible to use the interrogative morpheme [ki^{55}] 几 'how many', 'how much' (for more details, see § 33.6.7 below), instead of [ɕia^{53}] 啥 'what', to modify [ɕi^{22} kan^{21}] 时间 'time' when asking the 'when' question:

(1164) ○他 老○ 几 时间 来 呀 ?
xu^{35} lau^{55}pa^{0} ki^{55} ɕi^{22}kan^{21} li^{22} a^{22}
3SG elder brother what time come Q
'What time is his elder brother coming?'

33.6.7 How many/how much

The interrogative quantifier 'what quantity' is formed by the interrogative morpheme [ki^{55}] 几, followed by a classifier or a quantifier (measure words), then by the head noun, as illustrated in the following two examples, in which we transcribe [ki^{55}] 几 as 'how' / 'how many' / 'how much' depending on the context it appears in:

(1165) ○你 有 几 个 苹果 叻 ?
xien^{35} iɔu^{55} ki^{55} kəi^{21} p^{h}in^{22}kuɔ^{22} le^{22}
2SG have how many CLF apple Q
'How many apples do you have?'

(1166) ○她 买 了 几 斤 梨儿 ?
xu^{35} mie^{55} ə^{0} ki^{55} kin^{21} li^{22}ə^{0}
3SG buy PFV how many half a kilo pear
'How many taels of pears did she buy?'

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However, if the head noun is a temporal noun, like 'day', 'month', 'year', which can also serve as measure words for duration, it can be preceded by the interrogative morpheme [ki^{55}] 几 alone, or by the plural suffix [tai^{21}] 多, as shown in the example below:

(1167) ○你 处 邵武 还 有 几 (多) 工 ?
xien^{35} t^{h}u^{22} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} ai^{213} iɔu^{55} ki^{55} (tai^{21}) kuŋ^{21}
2SG LOC Shaowu still have how PL day
'How many days left for you to be in Shaowu?'

Uncountable nouns are preceded by [ki^{55}tai^{21}] 几多, here meaning 'how much', and not [ki^{55}] 几 alone:

(1168) 苹果 几 多 票儿 个 斤 ?
p^{h}in^{22}kuɔ^{22} ki^{55} tai^{21} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0} kəi^{21} kin^{21}
apple how PL money one half a kilo
'As for the apples, how much are they per half a kilo?'

Countable nouns are also preceded by [ki^{55} tai^{21}] 几多to express the plural:

(1169) 厝 底头 有 几 多 人 ?
tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213} ti^{55}xəu^{21} iɔu^{55} ki^{55} tai^{21} nin^{22}
house inside have how PL person
'How many people are there in the house?'

33.6.8 How + adjective

Adjectives can follow the interrogative morpheme [ki^{55}] 几 to form interrogative words of measure such as 'how long' (both in length and duration), 'how deep' and 'how tall'. It is also possible to add the plural suffix [tai^{21}] 多 'many/much' between the interrogative morpheme [ki^{55}] 几 and the adjective of measurement, but then this means that the speaker expects more precision in the answer, such as containing some exact figures. Contrast the following two examples:

(1170) ○那 口 井 (有) 几 深 ?
ɔŋ^{53} k^{h}ɔ^{55} tɕiaŋ^{55} (iɔu^{55}) ki^{55} tɕ^{h}in^{21}
DEM CLF well have how deep
'How deep is that well?'

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Reply: 顶 深 哦 !
tin^{55} tɕ^{h}in^{21} ɔ^{22}
very deep SFP
'Very deep!'

(1171) 〇$_{那}$ 口 井 (有) 几 多 深 ?
ɔŋ^{53} k^{h}ɔ^{55} tɕiaŋ^{55} (iɔu^{55}) ki^{55} tai^{21} tɕ^{h}in^{21}
DEM CLF well have how PL deep
'How deep is that well?'
Reply: 二十 米 !
ni^{35}ɕin$^{35\sim21}$ mi^{55}
twenty metre
'Twenty metres!'

For 'how long' in terms of length, the interrogative morpheme [ki^{55}(tai^{21})] 几(多) is used, followed by the adjective 'long (in length)' [t^{h}ɔŋ^{22}] 长, see the following example:

(1172) 〇$_{那}$ 把 尺 (有) 几 (多) 长 ?
ɔŋ^{53} pa^{55} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{53} (iɔu^{55}) k^{h}i^{55} tai^{21} t^{h}ɔŋ^{22}
DEM CLF ruler have how PL long
'How long is the ruler?'

Likewise, for the measurement interrogative 'how tall', the interrogative morpheme [ki^{55} (tai^{21})] 几(多) is used, followed by the adjective 'tall' [kau^{21}] 高. See the example below:

(1173) 〇$_{那}$ 栋 楼 (有) 几 (多) 高 ?
ɔŋ^{53} tuŋ^{213} ləu^{22} (iɔu^{55}) k^{h}i^{55} tai^{21} kau^{21}
DEM CLF building have how PL tall
'How tall is that building?'

The Shaowu interrogative for duration is [ki^{55}(tai^{21}) kəu^{55}] 几(多)久 'how long in time':

(1174) 〇$_{他}$ 去 了 几 (多) 久 ?
xu^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213} ə^{0} ki^{55} (tai^{21}) kəu^{55}
3SG go PFV how PL long
'How long has he been gone?'

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33.6.9 Why

The formation of the Shaowu interrogative 'why' [tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53}] 做啥 involves the adding of the interrogative morpheme [ɕia^{53}] 啥after the verb 'do' [tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 做, literally meaning 'do what' ('what for').

(1175)	○$_{你}$	做啥	○$_{这么}$	早	归	来	?
	xien^{35}	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53}	tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋe^{0}	t^{h}au^{55}	kuei^{21}	li^{22}	
	2SG	why	so	early	return	come	
	'Why did you come back so early?'						
Reply:	○$_{我}$	做啥	○$_{要}$	回答	○$_{你}$	叻	?
	xaŋ^{35}	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53}	nuŋ^{35}	fei^{22}tan^{21}	xien^{35}	le^{22}	
	1SG	why	have to	reply	2SG	SFP	
	'Why do I have to tell you?'						

The 'why' interrogative [tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53}] 做啥stems from a combination of the lexical verb 'do' [tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 做 and the morpheme [ɕia^{53}] 啥 'what', It has different degrees of grammaticalisation, one being more grammaticalised (the interrogative 'why'), and one less so, where the lexical meaning of 'doing what' is retained. The only way to disambiguate is the position of the two morphemes: if it is placed at the sentence-final position, then it is interpreted as the predicate 'do-what', whereas when placed in the sentence-initial position, then it becomes the interrogative pronoun 'why'. Contrast the following two examples:

(1176)	囝子	处	○$_{那儿}$	做啥	?
	kin^{53}tsə^{0}	t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$	ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53}	
	boy	LOC	there	do what/why	
	'What is the boy doing there?'				

(1177)	做啥	囝子	处	○$_{那儿}$	?
	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53}	kin^{53}tsə^{0}	t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$	ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}	
	why	boy	LOC	there	
	'Why is the boy there?'				

When [tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53}] 做啥 acts as a nominalised subject and is placed in the sentence-initial position, then ambiguity arises. See the following example:

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(1178) 做啥 唔 可以 叻 ?
tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53} ŋ^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ le^{22}
why NEG be possible SFP
'Why is it not possible?' Or: 'What is it that can't be done?'

33.7 Summary

In this chapter, we have covered various interrogative strategies and structures. The interrogative structures (and their sub-structures) produce the following main forms:

(i) Polar questions [V(P) + NEG + V(P)],
(ii) Disjunctive questions [A or B],
(iii) Tag questions [Statement + affirmative/negative tag],
(iv) Questions with question particles [Statement + Q],
(v) Questions by intonation rise [Statement + Intonation],
(vi) Questions using interrogative pronouns.

Question types (i), (iii), (iv) and (v) are closed questions, i.e., the reply is limited to 'yes' or 'no', whereas question type (ii), the disjunctive questions, is semi-closed questions that require the addressee to choose 'Option A' or 'Option B'. Question type (vi), in which interrogative pronouns are used, are open questions, where specific information is sought and so they are open to the interlocutor as to how to reply.

This chapter has described how questions are formed in Shaowu with their various strategies and structures. When having to choose between polar question structures and questions with sentence-final question particles, our consultants tend to use more often the latter to form questions. Using polar question structures, especially when the VP is relatively long (more than two syllables), could render the sentence heavy in structure. When having to choose between polar question structure [V + NEG + VP] and [VP + NEG + V], the former prevails, which, according Zhu (1990), places Shaowu in the Southern Sinitic zone.

Questions can also be formed by non-verbal cues, such as body language, which are not in the scope of our grammar discussion. We have also not covered rhetorical questions, which are not real questions *per se* (information seeking), but rather pose a question as a rhetorical or stylistic tool. They use the same syntactic configurations of standard interrogative questions and send out a rhetorical effect intended as a challenge to the hearer yet do not expect an answer. They function as a negative assertion and fall into the domain of pragmatics.

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Chapter 34
Imperatives and other moods

The grammatical moods so far discussed have revolved around the declaratives – since most of the syntactic structures in this grammar have taken the declarative form as the basic structure for discussion – as well as the interrogatives (cf. Chapter 33 on interrogative structures). The declaratives, also coded by the indicative mood in certain languages, such as inflectional and agglutinative languages which mark it on the verb, is a realis mood that expresses what the speaker considers as a known state of affairs, whereas the interrogatives typically form questions and are usually grammatically marked, compared with the declaratives, either by adding question particles, inversing word order, using intonation or possibly gestures. In this chapter, we are going to look at some other mood forms in Shaowu, namely, the imperatives, hortatives, optatives and exclamatives, which are distinctly different from the declaratives and interrogatives.

Imperatives are strong commands and prohibitions given from the speaker to the hearer, whereas hortatives (or "jussives" in Palmer 2001: 179) are polite commands (e.g., encouragement and dissuasions) given by the speaker to the hearer. Whereas the imperatives appear usually only in second person-singular or plural, the hortatives can appear in the first-person plural inclusive (also called "the cohortatives"; i.e., "let's") and the second-person singular and plural. According to Auwera *et al*. (2013, WALS 72), 'Imperatives and hortatives both have to do with the expression of a wish of the speaker about a future state of affairs', the difference being that imperatives involve the speaker addressing the addressee(s) directly (e.g., 'Talk!'), whereas in many other cases, the hortative may be preferred (e.g., 'Let's talk!' or 'Let him talk!').

Optatives are a grammatical mood that expresses a wish or hope of the speaker, which is close to the subjunctive mood or the conditional in some languages, but which, unlike the imperatives or hortatives, do not convey an appeal to the addressee(s) to help make the future state of affairs true (Auwera *et al*. 2013, WALS 72). Thus, English sentences like *May Mary win!* and *If only I were there!* are optatives. Exclamatives, on the other hand, are used to bring out an exclamation of surprise (good or bad ones), or to express admiration or contempt. These moods are often brought about by the use of sentence final particles and intonation in Shaowu, sometimes accompanied by body language such as facial expressions and hand gestures.

In this chapter, we are going to look at the grammatical markings and syntactic properties in Shaowu for these four moods, namely, the imperatives, hortatives, optatives and exclamatives.

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34.1 Imperatives

Some Sinitic linguists use the umbrella term 'imperatives' to encompass the marking of (i) commands, (ii) suggestions, (iii) requests, (iv) prohibitions, and (v) dissuasions (see Zhao 1988, Yuan 1991, *inter alia*). We will however follow the imperative-hortative divide and use the dichotomy proposed by Auwera *et al*. (2013, WALS 72) to cover the categories of affirmative imperatives (strong and polite commands) and negative imperatives (prohibitions) in this section. We will discuss the rest of the aforementioned list under 'hortatives' (see § 34.2 in this chapter).

34.1.1 Affirmative imperatives

Affirmative imperatives are commands, urging or requests that follow the basic word order of SVO, although the subject and the object are usually omitted when the context is clear (S)V and (S)V(O). Hence, the core element is the verb or verb phrase. They are often accompanied by a falling intonation contour and are usually applied to the second person singular or plural.

34.1.1.1 Strong affirmative imperatives

As the name suggests, in strong affirmative imperatives, the speaker gives out firm requests or urging to the addressee(s), sometimes bordering abruptness or rudeness. The grammatical subject can be elided if the context is clear. See the following two examples for illustration:

(1179) (○你) 出 去 !
(xien^{35}) t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
2SG exit out
'Get out!' (You SG)

(1180) (○你多) 走 快 个 嫩 !
(xien^{35}tai^{21}) tsu^{55} k^{h}uai^{213} kə^{0} nən^{35}
2PL run fast a bit
'Run faster!' (You PL)

It is also possible that an affirmative imperative is simply an adverb, if the context for both the hearer and the speaker is clear:

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(1181) 快 个 嫩 !
k^{h}uai^{213} kə^{0} nən^{35}
fast a bit
'Hurry up!' (You SG/PL)

Modal auxiliary verbs, especially the ones that code deontic modality, such as obligation and necessity, can be added to the affirmative imperatives to explicitly give deontic force to the hearer. The grammatical subject (second-person singular or plural) is obligatory in imperatives with deontic modal verbs:

(1182) ○$_{你}$ 必须 出 去 !
xien^{35} pi^{53}ɕy^{21} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
2SG must exit out
'You must get out!' (You SG)

(1183) ○$_{你}$多 应该 走 快 个 嫩 !
xien^{35}tai^{21} in^{21}kɔi^{21} tsu^{55} k^{h}uai^{213} kə^{0} nən^{35}
2PL should run fast a bit
'You should run faster!' (You PL)

34.1.1.2 Polite affirmative imperatives

Polite imperatives aim to politely urge the addressee(s) to do what the speaker suggests. The grammatical subject can be the second-person singular or plural and is usually not optional. Modal verbs of possibility can be added before the main verb to attenuate the tone, which might otherwise sound like a strong command. Sentence-final particles such as [ɔ^{0}] 哦 can be added to the end of the sentence to further soften the tone. See, for instance, the following example:

(1184) ○$_{你}$ 可以 ○$_{这}$ 相 做 (哦) !
xien^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕiɔŋ^{213} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ (ɔ^{0})
2SG can DEM way do SFP
'You can do it this way.' (instruction + encouragement)

To be very formal or polite, the verbs of courtesy such as [t^{h}iaŋ^{55}] 请 'please' or [ma^{22}fan^{22}] 麻烦 '(I) trouble (you) to' can be added before the singular or plural second person pronoun or be added to a polite question of request at the end of the sentence, such as [xau^{55} ma^{22}] 好吗 'Is it okay?' or [k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$mɔ^{0}] 可以么 'Is it possible'. See the following two examples which illustrate the use of these polite and formal markers:

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(1185) 请/麻烦 ○你多 行 ○这 个 边 。
tʰiaŋ55/ma22fan22 xien35tai21 xaŋ35 tɕiɔŋ53 kə0 pien21
please/may I ask 2PL walk DEM one side
'Please walk on this side.' [formal or polite instruction]

(1186) ○你多 行 ○这 个 边 , 好 吗/ 可以
xien35tai21 xaŋ35 tɕiɔŋ53 kə0 pien21 xau55 ma22 kʰɔ55i55~22
2PL walk DEM one side good Q possible
么 ?
mɔ0
Q
'Walk on this side, alright?' (You PL) [formal or polite instruction]

34.1.2 Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives in Shaowu are done by placing the negative imperative morpheme, such as the prohibitive [məi22] ○别, which is the equivalent of the English 'don't' and the Mandarin *bié* 别, in front of the main verb of the sentence. There are other negative imperative morphemes, such as the more polite [ŋ55nuŋ35] 唔○要. The syntactic configuration is [(S) + NEG_{IMP} + V + (O)], where NEG_{IMP} is either the negative imperative marker [məi22] ○别 or [ŋ55nuŋ35] 唔○要, or the negative modal verb of permission [mau35tɕy53] 冇○. Note that the grammatical subject and the object are usually omitted when the context is clear, as in the affirmative forms. Negative imperatives are often accompanied by a falling intonation contour. It is also restricted to the second person, singular or plural, and can be divided into strong negative imperatives (i.e., the prohibitives) and polite negative imperatives, as shown in the examples below.

34.1.2.1 Strong negative imperatives

These are usually commands that are intended to prohibit or stop a certain action from happening. The resulting effect can be curt:

(1187) (○你) ○别 啼 !
(xien35) məi22 tʰi53
2SG PROH cry
'Don't cry!' (You SG)

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(1188) (○你多) 冇○ 走 !
(xien^{35}tai^{21}) mau^{35}tɕy^{53} tsu^{55}
2PL NEG$_{MOD}$ run
'Don't run!' (Lit. 'You are not allowed to run!') (You PL)

Note that a negative imperative can also take the form of an adverb, if the context is clear to both the speaker and the addressee(s):

(1189) 马上 !
ma^{55}ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$
right away
'Now!' (in the context of 'Stop crying now!')

34.1.2.2 Polite negative imperatives

The most common polite negative imperative verb in Shaowu is [ŋ^{55}nuŋ^{35}] 唔○要 'should not'. Adding it before the main verb will make a hortative into its negative form to express dissuasion or a request not to do something. It can also be followed by attenuating sentence-final particles such as [ma^{22}] 嘛 or be affixed by the above-mentioned polite expressions. If the context is clear, the grammatical subject can be elided. See the example below:

(1190) (○你) 唔○要 去 嘛 。
(xien^{35}) ŋ^{55}nuŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ma^{22}
2SG HORT$_{NEG}$ go SFP
'Don't go.' (Dissuasion)

To be very formal or polite, the verbs of courtesy such as [t^{h}iaŋ^{55}] 请 'please' or [ma^{22} fan^{22}] 麻烦 '(I) trouble (you) to' can be added before the singular or plural second-person pronoun in a negative imperative sentence containing the prohibitive [məi^{22}] ○别 to attenuate the prohibition and turn it into a polite negative imperative. In addition, polite questions of request, such as [xau^{55} ma^{22}] 好吗 'Is it okay?' or [k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$mɔ^{0}] 可以么 'Is it possible' can also be added to the end of the sentence, as shown in the example below:

(1191) 请/麻烦 ○你多 ○别 行 ○那 个 边 ,
t^{h}iaŋ^{55}/ma^{22}fan^{22} xien^{35}tai^{21} məi^{22} xaŋ^{35} ɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} pien^{21}
please/may 2PL PROH walk DEM one side
'Please don't walk on that side,

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好 吗 / 可以 么 ?
xau^{55} ma^{22} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ mɔ^{0}
good Q possible Q
alright?' (Polite/formal request)

34.2 Hortatives

The grammatical mood of hortatives encompasses commands, requests, suggestions, instructions, encouragement and dissuasions. The important distinction from the imperatives is that they are given by the speaker to the addressee(s) other than the second person singular or plural that are in control of the desired state of affairs, *as per* Auwera *et al*. (2013, WALS 72). This is to say that hortatives are directed at first person plural/singular and third person plural/singular addressees. When the first-person plural inclusive (i.e., including the speaker and the hearer/s) is involved, it is also referred to as the 'cohortative', such as *Let's go!* in English. When the first-person singular is involved, the speaker is understood to exhort himself or herself, as in English *Let me do it!* or *I'll do it!*. Third person hortatives involve the third-person singular or plural, usually an appeal if not an urging, such as *Let her sing!* or *Let them leave!* in English, with the intended addressee(s) being the third person who is in control of the future state of affairs.

34.2.1 Cohortatives

The cohortatives are formed by using the first-person plural inclusive ([ien^{22}tai^{21}] 俺多, as opposed to the Shaowu exclusive first-person plural pronoun [xaŋ^{35}tai^{21}] ○$_{我们}$) followed by the predicate. A cohortative sentence often ends with a sentence final particle which further expresses a suggestion or polite urging, such as [lɔ^{22}] 咯. Note that, once again, the grammatical subject and object can be elided, if the context is clear to both the speaker and the addressees. See the example below:

(1192) 俺多 去 食 (饭) 咯 !
ien^{21}tai^{21} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ɕie^{35} (p^{h}ən^{35}) lɔ^{22}
1PL.INCL go eat meal SFP
'Let's go and eat!' (the SFP codes the utterance as suggestion)

Like the negative imperatives, negative cohortatives also use the marker [məi^{22}] ○$_{别}$ to form suggestions or dissuasions, when the addressee(s) and the speaker

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are both involved in the future action it expresses. Furthermore, the personal pronoun is required to be present, otherwise it would sound as if the sentence was a prohibitive imperative. See the example below:

(1193) 俺多 ○别 食 烟 !
ien^{21}tai^{21} məi^{22} ɕie^{35} ien^{21}
1PL.INCL NEG$_{IMP}$ consume smoke
'Let's not smoke!'(dissuasion)

Note that it is very unusual, if not totally ungrammatical, to use the first person plural exclusive [xaŋ^{35}tai^{21}] ○我多 in a cohortative sentence, since both the addressee(s) and the speaker are supposed to be involved in the desired future action. Thus, although the following sentence is syntactically correct, it is semantically marginal:

(1194) ○我多 ○别 瞅 !
?? xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} məi^{22} niaŋ^{213}
1PL.EXCL NEG$_{IMP}$ look
'Let's not look!'

34.2.2 Auto-hortatives

This category applies to the first person singular, i.e., an exhortation to oneself. The permissive causative verb [niɔŋ^{213}] 让or [tie^{53}] 得 can be optionally added before the first-person singular pronoun (cf. Chapter 29 on causative constructions), as shown in the following two examples. Although they may seem, on the surface, to be a request for permission made for carrying out a certain action, it is however the first person singular 'I' who will make such a future state of affairs come true, Hence, these examples are placed under 'self hortatives'.

(1195) ○这 (让) ○我 来 做 !
tɕiɔŋ^{53} (niɔŋ^{213}) xaŋ^{35} li^{22} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$
DEM CAUS 1SG come do
'Let me do this!' or 'I will do this!'

(1196) (得) ○我 来 话 !
(tie^{53}) xaŋ^{35} li^{22} ʋa^{35}
CAUS 1SG come say
'Let me say (it)!' or 'I will say (it)!'

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34.2.3 Third-party hortatives

This category encompasses hortatives that involve the person(s) in control of the desired state of affairs being neither the addressee(s) nor the speaker himself/herself, but a third party which can be singular or plural in number, This is illustrated by the following two examples respectively. The permissive causative verb [niɔŋ^{213}] 让or [tie^{53}] 得 is obligatory before the third person pronoun (cf. Chapter 29 on causative constructions).

(1197) 让 ○他 话 下 去 !
niɔŋ^{213} xu^{35} ʋa^{35} xa^{35} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
CAUS 3SG say down go
'Let him continue talking!'

(1198) 得 ○他多 去 !
tie^{53} xu^{35}tai^{21} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
CAUS 3PL go
'Let them go!' (urging)

34.3 Optatives

Optatives typically expresses a wish, which can be a good or a bad one, though be it humans generally send good wishes to each other. In Shaowu, the most common way of constructing an optative sentence is by adding the optative marker [tɕy^{53}] 祝 'to wish' and [xi^{21}ʋɔŋ^{35}] 希望 'to hope' to the beginning of a sentence. There is usually a falling intonation contour in an optative sentence, which is a subset of the exclamatives (see § 34.4 below).

(1199) (○我) 祝 ○你 学业 有 成 !
(xaŋ^{35}) tɕy^{53} xien^{35} xɔ^{35}nien^{53} iɔu^{55} ɕin^{22}
1SG wish 2SG studies have success
'(I) Wish you success in your studies!'

When the context is clear for both the speaker and the hearer, the grammatical subject can be elided:

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(1200) 希望 ○你 再 来 邵武 !
xi^{21}ʋɔŋ^{35} xien^{35} tsai^{21} li^{22} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}
hope 2SG again come Shaowu
'Hope you'll come to Shaowu again!'

34.4 Exclamatives

Exclamatives are grammatical tools to express emotions, such as surprise, anger, joy, disappointment. They are often accompanied by non-verbal cues such as facial expressions and body gestures. Syntactically, exclamative sentence-final particles are attached to the end of a sentence to express the exclamative, aided by variation in the intonation contour. Sentence-final particles such as [xɔ$^{22\sim0}$] 呵, [ɔ$^{22\sim0}$] 哦and [lɔ$^{22\sim0}$] 咯 can grammatically code the exclamative, and the rest is left to body language and intonation contour (cf. Chapter 35 on clause-final modal particles).

(1201) ○她 冇 来 呵 !
xu^{35} mau^{35} li^{22} xɔ^{22}
3SG NEG come SFP
'So she didn't come, after all! (disappointment)

(1202) ○他 气 死 我 咯 !
xu^{35} kʰi^{213} si^{55} xaŋ^{35} lɔ^{22}
3SG anger dead 1SG SFP
'He infuriates me so!' (anger)

(1203) 原来 是 ○你 !
ʋien^{22}lɔi^{22} ɕi^{22} xien^{35}
in fact COP 2SG
'It's you, in fact!' (surprise)

34.5 Summary

We have seen, in this chapter, four moods other than the declarative and the interrogative. These are: the imperative, the hortative, the optative and the exclamative. We have chosen to use a separative system to categorise the imperative and the hortative (some linguists refer them to as the 'imperative-hortative' system, cf. van der Auwera et al 2003, WALS 72).

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We put strong and polite commands and prohibitions for second person singular and plural under the 'imperatives' category while polite commands, requests, suggestions and dissuasions for first and third persons are subsumed under the umbrella term 'hortatives'.

The optative is a wish-making grammatical device. We regard the optative as a subset of exclamatives because the wishes (good or bad) are mostly used to expressing the speaker's own desires or hopes, rather than urging the hearer to act on something accordingly, even though these two are not exclusive. However, if the exhortation to the hearer is indeed intended by the speaker, it can only come as a secondary outcome, as the primary function of an optative is nonetheless to express one's own wishing.

This leads us to the exclamatives which is a category that codes a wide range of human emotions. Shaowu does this by attaching various sentence final particles to the end of a sentence. Other irrealis moods (e.g., regrets, hypotheticals, counterfactuals) will be discussed in Chapter 40 on conditionals. In Shaowu, the imperatives, hortatives, optatives and exclamatives are mainly coded by modal verbs and sentence-final particles rather than in any special syntactic structure or by any special morphological marker. The grammatical subject and/or object are not obligatory in all these four mood categories.

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Chapter 35
Clause-final particles

Clause-final particles, or more loosely speaking, sentence-final particles (SFPs), are particles at the end of an utterance that indicate certain speech-act types, moods, affectivity or emotional colouring. The term 'sentence' here is used in a very broad sense to cover phrases, clauses and sentences. SFPs are sometimes called clause-final particles, as many of them, if not all, can be attached to the end of a clause, be it a matrix or subordinate clause. As we will see in this chapter, some of these SFPs can also be attached to the end of phrases. For the sake of notational convenience, they are all referred to as SFPs, 'sentence-final' particles.

Although sentence-final particles are a widely researched topic in Sinitic linguistics, there is no general consensus as to what their main functions are. Some linguists take a more grammatical approach and consider them as 'phrase particles-suffixes' (Chao 1968: 798–799), some linguists take a semantic approach (Kwok 1984), while others regard SFPs in terms of pragmatics and speech acts (Gibbons 1980) or in a discourse analysis function (Luke 1990: 1–16). According to Matthews and Yip (2011 [1994]: 389), sentence final particles serve three main communicative and pragmatic functions:

(i) indication of speech-act types, such as questions, requests or assertion;
(ii) evidentiality;
(iii) affective and emotional colouring.

Some Southern Sinitic languages possess a large repertoire of SFPs. To take one example, according to Matthews and Yip (2011: 389–412), Cantonese has some thirty basic forms, but which increases to 95 according to Leung (1992), depending on how they are counted. Compared with Cantonese, Shaowu has only a modest inventory of a dozen sentence-final particles, slightly more than Mandarin, for which at least seven or eight SFPs are identified (see Chao 1968: 798–811, Li and Thompson 1981: 238–318). Some Shaowu SFPs assume multiple functions which can only be teased apart according to the context in which they are used. In this chapter, we will discuss sentence-final particles in Shaowu, according to the following three categories:

(a) coding of speech-act types: assertives, interrogatives, imperatives, hortatives and exclamatives;
(b) coding of aspect, modality, evidentiality and mirativity;
(c) coding of discourse functions such as topic marking, sequencing, enumerating.

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35.1 Coding of speech-act types

35.1.1 Assertives

The assertive speech-act type falls under the affirmative sentence type, often used to confirm or refute a piece of given information. In Shaowu, the sentence final particle [kəi^{213}] 个, or its allomorphs [kəi^{21}] or [kəi^{0}], are often used as the SFP for assertion. See the following example:

(1204) ○这 像 做 , 最 好 个 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} siɔŋ^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tsei^{213} xau^{55} kə^{0}
DEM way do SUP good SFP
'This is the best way to do it.' (assertion, confirmation)

Note that it is perfectly acceptable to elide the SFP, and the above sentence is turned into a plain statement:

(1205) ○这 像 做 , 最 好 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} siɔŋ^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tsei$^{213\sim21}$ xau^{55}
DEM way do SUP good
'It's best to do it this way.' (plain statement)

We think that this assertive SFP comes from the emphatic marker [ɕi^{55} ... kəi^{213}] 是 ... 个, which roughly means 'it is indeed the case'.

(1206) ○这 像 做 , 是 最 好 个 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} siɔŋ^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ɕi^{55} tsei$^{213\sim21}$ xau^{55} kə^{0}
DEM way do be SUP good SFP
'It is indeed the case that this way is the best.'

Mandarin has a similar [SHI ... DE] '是 ... 的' structure but the two morphemes typically appear together in order to become an emphatic marker. In Shaowu, however, [kəi^{213}] 个 alone can serve the function of emphasis or assertion, as shown in example (1204). For negative sentences, [kəi^{213}] 个 can also be added to the end of the sentence to emphasize an assertion, as shown in the example below:

(1207) 冇 有 人 ○这 样式 做 个 。
mau^{35} iɔu^{55} nin^{22} tɕiɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35}ɕi^{21} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ kə^{0}
NEG have person DEM way do SFP
'No one does it this way.'

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Another assertive SFP is [la^{22}] 啦, as shown in the example below:

(1208) ○我 ○爷○爷 是 有 见 度 啦 。
xaŋ^{35} ta^{22}ta^{0} ɕi^{22} mau^{35} kin^{213} t^{h}ɔ^{35} la^{22}
1SG paternal grandfather be NEG see EXP SFP
'I have never seen my paternal grandfather.'

35.1.2 Interrogatives

There are two main interrogative SFPs in Shaowu, namely, [ma^{22}] 吗 and [mɔ^{22}] 么, and these are interchangeable. When added to the end of a statement, they automatically change the statement into a question. Chapter 33 has given a detailed description on the usage of these interrogative particles, so that we only briefly give two more examples here in the form of a recapitulation:

(1209) ○你 解 话 邵武事 么 ?
xien^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ʋa^{35} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35} mɔ^{22}
2SG can speak Shaowu Q
'Can you speak Shaowu?'

(1210) ○你 去 度 和平 吗 ?
xien^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213} t^{h}ɔ^{35} ʋɔ^{22}p^{h}iaŋ^{22} ma^{22}
2SG go EXP Heping Q
'Have you been to Heping (a town near Shaowu)?'

35.1.3 Imperatives, hortatives and exclamatives

There are several SFPs that can serve as imperative/hortative/exclamative particles, which aim to to urge, suggest, encourage or dissuade the hearer in the case of imperatives and hortatives; or express surprise, disappointment or excitement etc. in the case of exclamatives. Sentence-final particles, such as [ɔ^{22}] 哦, [a^{22}] 啊, [ma^{22}] 嘛, can assume these functions, as adding them usually attenuates the tone of the sentence or adds some emotional colouring. For details, see Chapter 34 on imperatives, hortatives, optatives and exclamatives.

(1211) ○你 瞷 个 下 嘛 !
xien^{35} nianŋ^{213} kə^{0} xa^{35} ma^{22}
2SG look one CLF SFP
'(You SG) Have a look, wouldn't you?' (urging, polite imperative)

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(1212) 俺多 去 学堂 咯 !
ien^{21}tai^{21} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ$^{22\sim55}$ lɔ^{22}
1PL.INCL go school SFP
'Let's go to school!' (suggestion, cohortative)

(1213) 是 ○$_{你}$ 哦 !
ɕi^{22} xien^{35} ɔ^{22}
be 2SG SFP
'It's you!' (surprise, exclamative)

35.2 Coding of aspect, modality, evidentiality and miratívity

As in many Sinitic languages, aspect and modality markers can take the form of sentence-final particles, such is the case also for evidentiality and miratívity. These particles take different forms, some of them being grammaticalised from verbs, especially aspect markers, some of them purely interjectory, such as those expressing surprise or exclamation.

35.2.1 Aspect: Currently relevant state (CRS)

One of the most common aspect markers is what Li and Thompson (1981: 238) refer to as the 'currently relevant state' (CRS) marker (*le* 了 in Mandarin), which, as the name suggests, indicates 'a state of affairs that has special current relevance with respect to some particular situation'. In Shaowu, this marker takes the phonetic form of [ə^{0}]. See the following two examples for illustration:

(1214) ○$_{他}$ 食 了 饭 了 。
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} ə^{0} p^{h}ən^{35} nə^{0}
3SG eat PFV meal CRS
'He has eaten (a meal).' (Context: 'So there is no need to prepare food for him')

In the above example, the perfective aspect marker [ə^{0}] and the CRS marker [ə^{0}] co-occur in the same sentence and, moreover, are realised by allomorphs of the same morpheme, although the former is used to mark the achievement of the action 'to eat', whereas the latter, the CRS, a sentence-final particle, is used to mark the relevance of the accomplished action in relation to the context in which the utterance is made, *as per* our definition above.

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Note that there can be a regressive assimilation of the CRS marker, whose base form is [ə^{0}] 了, depending on the nature of the coda of the morpheme preceding it. In the above example, the CRS sentence-final particle takes the form [nə^{0}]. In the following example, it appears as [ŋə^{0}]:

(1215) ○$_{她}$ 醒 了 。
xu^{35} t^{h}aŋ^{55} ŋə^{0}
3SG awake CRS
'She has woken up.' (Context: 'So you can talk to her now.')

35.2.2 Modality

Modality is an illocutionary force that expresses a speaker's general intent or degree of commitment to the statement made, and modal particles are a grammatical device used to express such meanings. Sentence-final particles coding modality are common in Shaowu, such as [xɔ^{22}] 呵, [ɔ^{22}] 哦, [a^{22}] 啊 (cf. Chapter 17 on modality).

35.2.2.1 [xɔ^{22}] 呵 as SFP to solicit agreement

The SFP [xɔ^{22}] 呵 has the function of soliciting agreement from the hearer or providing encouragement, as in English: 'What do you say?', 'Alright?'. See the following example:

(1216) 俺多 打伙 去 呵 。
ien^{21}tai^{21} ta^{55}fɔ^{55} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xɔ^{22}
1PL.INCL together go SFP
'Let's go together, what do you say?' (solicit agreement)

(1217) ○$_{你}$ 食 ○$_{多}$ 个 嫩 呵 。
xien^{35} ɕie^{35} ʊai^{55} kə^{0} nən^{35} xɔ^{22}
2SG eat more one bit SFP
'Eat a little more, alright?' (give encouragement)

35.2.2.2 [a^{22}] 啊 as SFP to solicit information or attenuate the tone

The SFP [a^{22}] 啊, among other functions, can be used to solicit information from the hearer:

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(1218) 正○○ 啊 ?
tɕiaŋ$^{213\sim55}$ki^{53}sa^{21} a^{22}
right away SFP
'Right now?'

Or to soften the tone especially when declining an offer:

(1219) ○$_{我}$ 唔 想 去 啊 。
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} siɔŋ^{55} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ a^{22}
1SG NEG want go SFP
'I don't really want to go.'

35.2.3 Evidentiality

Evidential particles indicate the source and nature of the knowledge expressed by the sentence (Mathews and Yip 2011: 404). Sentence-final particles coding evidentiality are prevalent in Shaowu, such as [le^{22}] 叻, [ɔ^{22}] 哦, and [ne^{22}] 呢.

35.2.3.1 [le^{22}] 叻 as SFP to express obviousness

This type of sentence-final particle often occurs in the comment of a topic-comment construction which is descriptive of the topic. The sentence-final particle [le^{22}] 叻 is added to the comment to express the obviousness of the information, the equivalent of 'of course', 'naturally' in English.

(1220) 邵武事 , ○$_{我}$ 解 话 叻 。
ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35} xaŋ^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ʊa^{35} le^{22}
Shaowu 1SG can speak EVD
'I can speak Shaowu, of course.'

The SFP [le^{22}] 叻 can also serve as a rhetorical device which turns a normal question into a rhetorical one, because of its underlying expression of obviousness:

(1221) ○$_{他}$ 是 冇 是 有 个 嫩 ○$_{笨}$ 叻 。
xu^{35} ɕi^{55} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} iɔu^{55} kə^{0} nən^{35} lə^{22} le^{22}
3SG be NEG be have one bit silly EVD
'Wasn't he a bit silly?' (Context: Wasn't it obvious that he shouldn't have done that?)

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35.2.3.2 [ɔ^{22}] 哦 as SFP to acknowledge information

The SFP [ɔ^{22}] 哦 can be used to provide acknowledgement of a piece of information by the speaker, expressing his or her emotional involvement such as a slight surprise, regret, or excitement. Without the SFP, the sentence sounds matter-of-factly. Contrast the two pairs of examples below:

(1222) ○你 还 冇 食 饭 哦 。
xien^{35} ai^{213} mau^{35} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35} ɔ^{22}
2SG still NEG eat meal EVD
'So you still haven't eaten.' (Expression of concern: but it's so late already.)

(1223) ○你 还 冇 食 饭 。
xien^{35} ai^{213} mau^{35} ɕie^{35} p^{h}ən^{35}
2SG still NEG eat meal
You still haven't eaten.' (Statement of fact, no emotional colouring)

(1224) ○你 解 话 邵武事 哦 。
xien^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ʋa^{35} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35} ɔ^{22}
2SG can speak Shaowu EVD
'So you can speak Shaowu.' (Slight surprise: I didn't expect that)

(1225) ○你 解 话 邵武事 。
xien^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ʋa^{35} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}
2SG can speak Shaowu
'You can speak Shaowu.' (Statement of fact, no emotional colouring)

35.2.3.3 [ne^{22}] 呢 as SFP to indicate new information

The modal particle [ne^{22}] 呢 at the end of a sentence indicates that the information in the statement is new and the speaker does not expect the hearer to know about it. The SFP is semantically equivalent to the sentence-final 'you know' in English, see the following two examples:

(1226) ○我 去 度 和平 呢 。
xaŋ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}ɔ^{35} ʋɔ^{22}p^{h}iaŋ^{22} ne^{22}
1SG go EXP Heping EVD
'I have been to Heping, you know.'

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(1227) 〇她 又 养 了 蜀 个 囝子 呢 。
xu^{35} iɔu$^{35\sim55}$ iɔŋ^{55} ŋə^{0} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0} ne^{22}
3SG again give birth PFV one CLF boy EVD
'She has again given birth to a boy, you know!'

There is a slight nuance between the use of [ne^{22}] 呢 in the above example and [lɔ^{22}] 咯 in the example below: while [ne^{22}] 呢 is used in sentences indicating information that the speaker does not expect the hearer to know, the SFP [lɔ^{22}] 咯 is used in sentences indicating information that the speaker somewhat expects the hearer to know.

(1228) 〇她 又 养 了 蜀 个 囝子 咯 。
xu^{35} iɔu$^{35\sim55}$ iɔŋ^{55} ŋə^{0} ɕi^{22} kə^{0} kin^{53}tsə^{0} lɔ^{22}
3SG again give birth PFV one CLF boy EVD
'She has again given birth to a boy, don't you know?'

However, the SFP [lɔ^{22}] 咯 can also just be a simple expression of excitement or surprise from the speaker, without any further pragmatic implication. Thus, the above example can simply be interpreted as 'She has again given birth to a child!', without a given context.

35.2.4 Mirativity

Mirativity, according to DeLancey (1997, 2001) encodes the speaker's surprise or their mental unpreparedness for some event. Aikhenvald (2012) gives a detailed typological account of mirativity and its markers in the world's languages. In Shaowu, it is often expressed in the form of an exclamative (cf. Chapter 34 on imperatives, hortatives, optatives and exclamatives), since the surprise element is highly compatible with an exclamation. The most common mirative SFPs are [ia^{22}] 呀, [a^{22}] 啊 and [ɔ^{22}] 哦.

(1229) 〇她 是 恁底 晓得 啊 !
xu^{35} ɕi^{55} ni^{53}ti^{0} xiau^{55}tie^{0} ia^{22}
3SG be how know MIR
'How did she know?'

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(1230) 原来 是 你 哦 !
ʋien^{22}lɔi^{22} ɕi^{55} xien^{35} ɔ^{22}
in fact be 2SG MIR
'It was you, in fact!'

35.3 Discourse functions

One major discourse function of clause-final particles is topic marking. The SFP [le^{22}] 叻 can also serve as a topic marker in Shaowu topic-comment constructions, as well as to sequence or enumerate items or events, a function which [lɔ^{22}] 咯 shares too.

35.3.1 Topic marking (TOP)

The function of the SFP [le^{22}] 叻 as a topic marker (TOP) is discussed in Chapter 21 on topic-comment constructions. Two examples are nonetheless provided below:

(1231) 以前 叻 , 邵武 叻 , ○$_{它}$ 是 叫 做 铁
i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} le^{22} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} le^{22} xu^{35} ɕi^{22} kiau^{213} tsɔ$^{213-21}$ t^{h}ie^{53}
in the past SFP Shaowu SFP 3SG be called as iron
城 。
ɕin^{22}
city
'In the old times, Shaowu was called the Iron City.'
(Lit. As for the old times, regarding Shaowu, it was called the Iron City.')

(1232) ○$_{这}$ 事 叻 , ○$_{你}$ ○$_{别}$ 帮 别人 话 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35} le^{22} xien^{35} məi^{22} pɔŋ^{21} p^{h}ie^{35}nin^{55} ʋa^{35}
DEM thing SFP 2SG PROH DAT others say
'As for this matter, (you SG) don't tell others.'

35.3.2 Sequencing (SEQ)

There are essentially two sequencing markers (SEQ) in Shaowu, namely, [le^{22}] 叻 and [lɔ^{22}] 咯. They can also be used in enumerating items (in noun phrases) or events (in verb phrases). The following is a narrative by our linguistic consultant Mr Li on his grandfather's life story. We notice that there is a mixing of the use of

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the topic-marking function, the sequencing function and the enumerating function of the SFP [le^{22}] 叻:

(1233) a 〇$_{我}$ 个 〇$_{爷}$〇$_{爷}$ 叻 ,
xaŋ^{35} kə^{0} ta^{22}ta^{0} le^{22}
1SG POSS paternal grandfather TOP
'My paternal grandfather,

b 〇$_{他}$ 是 一 子 双 挑
xu^{35} ɕi^{22} i^{53} tsə^{55} sɔŋ^{21} tʰiau^{21}
3SG be one son two support
he is the only male offspring from the two related families,

c 一 子 双 挑 叻 ,
i^{53} tsə^{55} sɔŋ^{21} tʰiau^{21} le^{22}
one son two support SEQ
being the only male offspring from the two families,

d 就是 等于 两 个 大人 呢 ,
tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{22} ten^{55}y^{22} liɔŋ^{55} kə^{0} xai^{35}nin^{55} ne^{22}
means equal to two CLF grown up SFP
means that the two grown-ups (i.e., the two male adults who are heads of the two families)

e 〇$_{只}$ 〇$_{他}$ 蜀 个 人 ,
ni^{35} xu^{35} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} nin^{22}
only 3SG one CLF person
only have one person (to inherit the family wealth),

f 〇$_{它}$ 就是 承继 得 〇$_{他}$ 。
xu^{35} tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{22} ɕin^{22}kʰi^{213} tie^{53} xu^{35}
3SG mean pass on the heritage DAT 3SG
it means the inheritance will pass to him.

g 承 继 得 〇$_{他}$ 叻 ,
ɕin^{22} kʰi^{213} tie^{53} xu^{35} le^{22}
pass on DAT 3SG SEQ
After the inheritance was passed on to him,

h 〇$_{他}$ 个 垴 叻 , 帮 厝 叻 ,
xu^{35} kə^{0} tʰən^{53} le^{22} pɔŋ^{21} tɕʰiɔ^{213} le^{22}
3SG CLF field ENUM CONJ house ENUM
the fields and the houses,

i 皆 是 蜀 个 人 继承 下 来 了 。
ka^{35} ɕi^{22} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} nin^{22} kʰi^{213}ɕin^{22} xa^{55} li^{22} ə^{0}
all be one CLF person inherit down come PFV
were all inherited by one single person.

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j ○我 ○爷○爷 叻 , ○那 时间 叻 ,
xaŋ[35] ta[22]ta[0] le[22] ɔŋ[53] ɕi[22]kan[21] le[22]
1SG grandfather TOP DEM time TOP
My grandfather at that time

k 是 处 做事 。 做事 打背 叻 ,
ɕi[22] tʰu[55~35] tsɔ[213]sə[35] tsɔ[213~21]sə[35] ta[55]pei[213] le[22]
be at working working after SEQ
was working. He then

l 就 学 医 。
tsiɔu[21] xɔ[35] i[21]
then study medicine
studied medicine after (quitting) his job,

m 学 医 叻 , 就 是 学 中 医 。
xɔ[35] i[21] le[22] tsiɔu[21] ɕi[22] xɔ[35] tiuŋ[21] i[21]
study medicine SEQ then be study Chinese medicine
the subject of his study was Chinese medicine.'

In the above example, when the information is repeated in the previous clause or phrase, the particle [le[22]] 叻 marks the sequence and thus can be regarded as a sequential particle. This is because there is a chaining function borne out by [le[22]] 叻 following the repeated information, as we can see in example (1233) (c), (g), (k), (m) segments. As for new, topicalised information, [le[22]] 叻 assumes the function of topic marker in this case and introduces the topic, usually in the beginning of a sentence, as in the (a) and (j) segments in the above example (for more details on topic-comment constructions, see Chapter 21). Note that the particle [le[22]] 叻 can also act as a marker of enumeration, as in segment (h). For details, see § 35.3.3 below.

The following is another example using the sequencing particle [le[22]] 叻, where our linguistic consultant Mr Li tells us how to prepare the dough for the famous glutinous rice dumplings [pau[21]tʰi[22]] 包糍 in Shaowu. We see the sequencing (SEQ) and topicalisation (TOP) functions of [le[22]] 叻 throughout the discourse, and also object marking constructions used with an inanimate object pronoun with anaphoric reference (Matthews & Yip 2008), as seen in segments (h) and (j):

(1234) ○这 种 米 叻 ,
a tɕiɔŋ[53] tɕy[55~22] mi[55] le[22]
DEM type rice TOP
'As for this type of rice,

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b ○要 拿 去 ○煮 饭 。
nuŋ^{35} na^{22} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ san^{213} p^{h}ən^{35}
must take go cook rice
it must be cooked (in water).

c ○煮 了 饭 以后 叻 ,
san^{213} nə^{0} p^{h}ən^{35} i^{55}xəu^{213} le^{22}
cook PFV rice after SEQ
After the rice is cooked,

d 拿 捞 起来 。
na^{22} lau^{21} k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}
OM scoop DIR$_{up.come}$
scoop it up.

e 捞 起来 叻 ,
lau^{21} k^{h}i^{55}li^{22} le^{22}
scoop DIR$_{up.come}$ SEQ
After it is scooped up,

g 搅 浆 搅 好 以后 叻 ,
kau^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{213} kau^{55} xau^{55} i^{55}xəu^{213} le^{22}
stir paste stir well after SEQ
After the mixture is ready,

h 就 是 帮 ○它 ○揉 个 下 。
tsiɔu^{21} ɕi^{22} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} nu^{53} kə^{0} xa^{35}
then be OM 3SG knead one CLF
then knead it.

i 使 手 ○揉 润头 来 叻 ,
sə$^{55\sim22}$ ɕiɔu^{55} nu^{53} ʊin^{22}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ li^{22} le^{22}
use hand knead smooth come SEQ
After kneading it into a smooth dough,

j 以后 帮 ○它 搓 成 个 行 个 行 个 。
i^{55}xəu^{21} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} t^{h}ɔ^{21} ɕin^{22} kə^{0} xaŋ^{22} kə^{0} xaŋ^{22} kəi^{21}
after OM 3SG rub become one CLF one CLF ATT
roll it out and turn it into long rows.

k 个 行 个 行 个 叻 ,
kə^{0} xaŋ^{22} kə^{0} xaŋ^{22} kəi^{21} le^{22}
one CLF one CLF ATT TOP
After the dough rows are ready,

l 再 就 使 手 去 ○短 。
tsai^{21} tsiɔu^{55} sə^{55} ɕiɔu^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{21} tɔn^{55}
again then use hand go snip
again use the hands to snip it.

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m ○短 得 蜀 个 蜀 个 ,
tɔn^{55} tie^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213}
snip COMP one CLF one CLF
When it is snipped into bits,
n 再 就 去 搓 。
tsai^{21} tsiɔu^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{213} t^{h}ɔ^{21}
again then go rub
then roll them.
o 再 就 使 手○指子 去 碾 ,
tsai^{21} tsiɔu^{55} sə^{55} ɕiɔu^{55}ɕi^{21}tsə^{0} k^{h}ɔ^{213} nien^{55}
again then use finger go spread
Then use fingers to spread them out flat,
p 碾 成 圆 个 可以 包 菜 个 。
nien^{55} ɕin^{22} ʋien^{22} kəi^{21} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i^{22} pau^{21} t^{h}ə^{213} kəi^{213}
spread become round ATT can wrap stuffing ATT
to become a round wrap to put the stuffing in.'

As we can see in the above example, segments (c), (e), (g), (i) and (k) contain the sequential particle [le^{22}] 叻 as our linguistic consultant recounted along how to prepare the Shaowu signature dish, the glutinous rice dumplings [pau^{21}t^{h}i^{22}] 包糍. This particle is used when the information has already been mentioned in the previous utterance. Its resumption in the next clause is accompanied by the presence of this sequencing particle to bring out the chaining effect. This type of narrative sequencing feature is well-known and is called 'tail-head linkage' by Longacre on discourse (1968–1: 8–9, 1983: 9).

Note that in segment (a), the particle [le^{22}] 叻 has the function of topicalisation marker, as it was the first time that the head noun 'this kind of rice' was brought into the conversation.

35.3.3 Enumerating (ENUM)

The SFPs [le^{22}] 叻 and [lɔ^{22}] 咯 can be used to enumerate items or events. Below are two examples of this listing function, which correspond to the use of LE 了 in Mandarin:

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35.3.3.1 Enumerating particle [lɔ^{22}] 咯

(1235) 篮子 底 有 苹果 咯 、 桃儿 咯 、
san^{53} nə^{0} ti^{0} iɔu^{55} pʰin^{22}kuɔ^{22} lɔ^{22} tʰau^{53}ə^{0} lɔ^{22}
basket in EXST apple ENUM peach ENUM
'In the basket, there are apples, peaches,
梨儿 咯... 啥 水果 皆 有 。
li^{22}ə^{0} lɔ^{22} ɕia^{53} sei^{55}kuɔ^{22} ka^{35} iɔu^{55}
pear ENUM what fruit all have
pears... all sorts of fruits.'

35.3.3.2 Enumerating particle [le^{22}] 叻

In this example, our linguistic consultant Ms Gao tells us a story about people living in the villages who, during festivals, make the Shaowu delicacy [kʰau^{21}tsan^{21}tʰi^{22}] 骹踁糍 which are dumplings that have the shape of a baby's ankles. She uses the enumerating particle [le^{22}] 叻 to refer to different groups of people and their activities during these festivals:

(1236) 有 多 做 得 ○$_{多}$ 个 叻 、
iɔu^{55} tai^{21} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tie^{53} ʊai^{55} kə^{0} le^{22}
EXST more make COMP many REL ENUM
'Those (villagers) who can make more (dumplings),
解 做 个 叻 ,
xie$^{55\sim35}$ tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ kə^{0} le^{22}
can make REL ENUM
who are able to do so,
还 ○$_{要}$ 做 上 两 斗 米 。
ai^{213} nuŋ^{35} tsɔ^{21} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ liɔŋ^{55} təu$^{55\sim22}$ mi^{55}
even want make up to two MSW rice grain
will use up to two buckets of rice grains.'

35.3.4 Juxtaposed particles

Some sentence-final particles can be juxtaposed one against another in Shaowu to 'chain up' their respective functions. An obvious example is the currently relevant state (CRS) particle [ə^{0}] 了, followed by mood indicating SFPs. See, for instance, the following two examples:

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(1237) ○他 出 去 了 呵 ?
xu^{35} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ə^{0} xɔ^{22}
3SG exit go CRS SFP
'So he is out?' (soliciting confirmation)

(1238) ○你 食 完 了 么 ?
xien^{35} ɕie^{35} ʋien^{22} nə^{0} mɔ^{22}
2SG eat finish CRS SFP
'Have you eaten up (the meal)?' (interrogative)

In Shaowu, there are also sentence-final particles that both indicate new information and expresses surprise, such as [na^{22}] 哪. It could be a case of the phonetic fusion of [ne^{22}] 呢 (SFP for new information) and [a^{22}] 啊 (SFP exclamatory). See for instance the following example:

(1239) ○他 恁 有 十六 岁 哪 !
xu^{35} ni^{35} iɔu^{55} ɕin^{35}su^{53} tsei^{213} na^{22}
3SG only have sixteen years old SFP
'He is only sixteen!
唔 可以 食 酒 。
ŋ^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ ɕie^{35} tsɔu^{55}
NEG can drink alcohol
(He) can't consume alcohol.'

35.3.5 Interjections

Some particles, usually emotionally charged, serve as interjections (INTJ) placed in the beginning of a sentence or a clause to express relatively strong emotions such as surprise, contempt or disgust. The most common ones are [ai^{21}ia^{22}] 哎呀 and [i^{22}] 咦 in Shaowu. They can also be accompanied by exaggerated intonation. See the following two examples for illustration.

(1240) 哎呀 ! 已 经 十点零 钟 咯 !
ai^{21}ia^{22} i^{55} kin^{21} ɕin^{35}tien^{55}len^{22} tɕiuŋ^{21} lɔ^{22}
INTJ already ten o'clock hour SFP
'Oh, it's already ten o'clock!'

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(1241) 咦 ! ○这 ○多 蚁蚁嫲 !
i[22] tɕiɔŋ[53] ʋai[55] nie[22]nie[55]ma[22]
INTJ DEM many ant
'Yuck! So many ants!'

35.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have seen various functions of sentence-final particles ('sentence' here is used in a very broad sense to include phrases, clauses and utterances). We have discussed their functions of (i) expressing speech-act types (assertive, interrogative, imperative/hortative); (ii) indicating aspect, modality, evidentiality and mirativity; and (iii) indicating discourse functions such as topic marking, sequencing and enumerating. Note that the choice of SFPs can be rather subjective and vary depending on the personal preference of linguistic consultants. Some might prefer [lɔ[22]] 咯 to [le[22]] 叻 for enumerating, some might prefer [ɔ[22]] 哦 to [a[22]] 啊 to acknowledge information. Personal preference aside, we see that there is a general pattern in the employment of different SFPs for moods, discourse functions and sentence types.

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Part V: **Complex sentences & clause combining**

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Complex sentences are broadly defined as grammatical constructions that ex press a specific relationship between two (or more) situations in two (or more) clauses (Diessel 2004: 41). Some linguists such as Van Valin (2005: 197) consider them as abstract linkage relations, not construction types.

Complex sentences are traditionally divided into those of coordination and subordination. Coordination refers to syntactic constructions wherein two or more linguistic units, on a lexical, phrasal or clausal level, are combined to form a larger unit (Haspelmath 2007: 1). These units in the sentence have an equal syntactic ranking and are independent of each other. Using the term of *coordinands* coined by (Dixon 1988: 161), they are often linked by coordinators which are logical linkers in the form of a particle, clitic or affix, such as 'and', 'but', 'or', and together they form a coordinate structure.

Subordination, on the other hand, manifests dependency, where one clause – the subordinate or 'dependent' clause – modifies the syntactically independent matrix clause. According to Cristofaro (2003:1), subordination involves, morphosyntactically, clausal embedding, which sees an embedded clause as a constituent of another clause, thus subordination can cover complements, adverbial and relative relations. Mann & Thompson (1988) state that subordination involves an asymmetric relation between two syntactic clauses, the main clause (the 'nucleus') is more 'salient' than the subordinate clause (the 'satellite').

Foley & Van Valin (1984: 241) make a tripartite distinction between coordination, subordination, and co-subordination. This distinction is based on two criteria: dependency and embedding. According to them, (i) coordination is characterised by the absence of both dependency and embedding; (ii) subordination involves both dependency and embedding; and (iii) co-subordination, partakes of both coordination and subordination. Like coordination, it involves no embedding; like subordination, it involves dependency. Cristofaro (2003: 23) views co-subordination as occupying an intermediate position in a continuum having coordination and subordination as its extremes.

Dixon (2006: 2) proposes three basic ways in which two clauses can be linked together to form a complex sentence:

(a) *Coordinate and non-embedded subordinate clause construction*
A main clause is linked to a second clause by:
(i) a coordinate linker such as *and, but, or*;
(ii) a temporal subordinate linker, such as *after, before, while, until*;
(iii) a logical subordinate linker (causal: e.g., *since*, *because*; conditional: e.g., *if*, *unless*; concessive: *although*, *in spite of*);
(iv) a contrastive linker, such as *on the other hand*, *at all events*, *still*;
(v) the purposive linker (*in order for . . . to/that*).

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(b) *Complement clause construction*
A complement clause has the following basic properties:
(i) it has the internal constituent structure of a clause;
(ii) it functions as a core argument of a clause.

(c) *Relative clause construction*
A relative clause is part of an NP which modifies the head noun in the noun phrase, which in turn forms an argument in the sentence.

While relative clauses can be analysed as a type of clause linkage device in some of the world's languages, in Sinitic, they are usually subsumed under the nominal structure, as these relative clauses are typically manifested as noun modifiers that precedes the head noun. For detailed descriptions of relative clause constructions in Shaowu, see Chapter 11 on Relative clauses. We have also covered complement clauses in detail in Chapters 18 and 19 on postverbal complements; thus, in this part on Complex Sentences, we will mainly focus on constructions of coordination and subordination, as well as giving some examples of Shaowu co-subordinate sentences in Chapter 44.

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Chapter 36
Coordination

The term 'coordination' refers to syntactic constructions wherein two or more linguistic units, on a lexical, phrasal or clausal level, are combined to form a larger unit (cf. Haspelmath 2007: 1). These linguistic units (coined as 'coordinands' by Dixon 1988: 161) are often linked by coordinators that are logical linkers in the form of a particle, clitic or affix, and together they form a coordinate structure. Conjunctive coordination refers to 'and'-coordination, whereas disjunctive coordination refers to 'or'-coordination. This chapter will also briefly include adversative coordination, which refers to 'but'-coordination.

36.1 Conjunctive coordination

Conjunctive coordination often involves the use of the coordinator 'and' (or its equivalent) in conjoining two or more coordinands, which usually belong to the same syntactic category. For an historical account on coordinative constructions, see Liu & Peyraube (1994); for a detailed syntactic description in Mandarin, see Paris (2017). A common Shaowu conjunctive coordinator is [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, which was originally a full lexical verb meaning 'to help' but has become grammaticalised into a comitative marker and coordinator at a later stage. This process of grammaticalisation from comitative to coordinator is not unusual in the world's languages (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 80–83), including in Sinitic (see Paris 2008, Chappell, Peyraube & Wu 2011, *inter alia*). The conjunctive coordination [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is mainly used in conjoining nouns, NPs and PPs, but can also be used to link up VPs, although the latter is rarer.

The conjunctive coordinator [iɔu$^{35\sim55}$] 又 is typically used to link up simultaneous events or actions, linking for instance VPs, adverbials and clauses. Another conjunctive coordinator in Shaowu is [ia^{55}] 也, which is also used to link up VPs, adverbials and clauses in a coordinate structure, but does not necessarily emphasize the notion of simultaneity.

36.1.1 Types of conjunctive coordination

There are five basic types of conjunctive coordination in Shaowu: [NP + NP + . . .], [VP + VP + . . .], [PP + PP + . . .], [AdvP + AdvP + . . .] and [Clause + Clause + . . .]. Theoretically speaking, the number of the syntactic elements within the brackets can be infinite.

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36.1.1.1 NP + NP conjunction

In Shaowu, it is possible to conjoin personal pronouns or proper names by the coordinator [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, with the syntactic template [NP_A + CONJ + NP_B + VP], as shown in the following two examples respectively:

(1242) ○$_{我}$ 帮 ○$_{你}$ 去 买 菜 。
xaŋ^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ mie^{55} t^{h}ə^{213}
1SG CONJ 2SG go buy food
'You and I will go to buy food.' [personal pronouns]

Note that the above sentence can also be parsed as 'I'll go with you to buy food' depending on whether the polysemous [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is understood as a conjunctive marker "and" or a comitative marker "with". The morpheme can also retain the lexical meaning 'to help', and, in this case, the meaning of the example above changes to 'I'll help you go buy food.' However, for the purpose of this chapter, we will only refer to the conjunctive meaning of [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮. In the following two examples, the conjoined NPs serve as the direct object and the subject, respectively.

(1243) ○$_{他}$ 解 话 邵武话 帮 光泽话 。
xu^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ʋa^{35} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35} pɔŋ^{21} kuɔŋ^{21}t^{h}a^{22}sə^{35}
3SG can speak Shaowu CONJ Guangze
'He can speak Shaowu and Guangze (a dialect of a neighbouring county).'

Notice that it is not possible to elide the conjunctive coordinator [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 in the above examples, except in the case of enumerating more than two nouns; in the latter case, [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 only needs to appear once, linking the penultimate NP and the last NPs. The units before can be coordinated by pauses:

(1244) 张三 、 李四 帮 王五 ○○○ 。
tiɔŋ^{21}san^{21} li^{55}si^{213} pɔŋ^{21} ʋɔŋ^{55}ŋ^{55} ta^{22}la^{55}pie^{21}
Zhang San Li Si CONJ Wang Wu chitchat
'Zhang San, Li Si and Wang Wu are chatting (the time away).'

The morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can also be inserted between the first two units (Zhang San and Li Si), but it may sound a little redundant.

The following example shows the conjunction of two coordinands in the form of Num + CLF + NPs with the syntactic template of [Num + CLF + NP_A + CONJ + Num + CLF + NP_B + VP]:

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(1245) 个 只 猫儿 帮 个 只 狗儿
kə^{0} tɕia^{53} mau^{53}ə^{0} pɔŋ^{21} kə^{0} tɕia^{53} kəu^{55}ə^{0}
one CLF cat CONJ one CLF dog
'A cat and a dog
处 〇$_{那}$儿 打架 。
t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ ɔŋ^{53}ə^{0} ta^{55}ka^{213}
LOC$_{be}$ there fight
are fighting over there.' [when NP = NUM + CLF + N]

It is possible to elide the coordinator [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 in the above two examples and replace it by a pause, which serves as an implicit linkage:

(1246) 个 只 猫儿 、 个 只 狗儿
kə^{0} tɕia^{53} mau^{53}ə^{0} kə^{0} tɕia^{53} kəu^{55}ə^{0}
one CLF cat one CLF dog
'A cat (and) a dog
处 〇$_{那}$儿 打架 。
t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} ta^{55}ka^{213}
LOC$_{be}$ there fight
are fighting over there.'

Note that there are VPs substantivised into NPs, i.e., gerunds, which are regarded as nouns in terms of their grammatical category but possess the surface form of verbs. This is because verb nominalisation may be covert in Sinitic languages including Shaowu, while some Sinitic languages use tone sandhi or reduplication to nominalise the verb (Chappell pers. comm.). The noun coordinator [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can also be used as a conjunctive here to link up two or more substantivised verbs (i.e., gerunds). See the example below:

(1247) 〇〇子 喜欢 食 帮 啼 。
mɔ^{53}mɔ^{21}tsə^{0} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ɕie^{35} pɔŋ^{21} t^{h}i^{53}
baby like eat CONJ cry
'The baby likes eating and crying.'

36.1.1.2 VP + VP conjunction

For verbs, the verbal coordinator [iɔu$^{35\sim55}$] 又, meaning 'also', is used to introduce a verb or verb phrase and link up actions which do not code a habitual or generic state of affairs (like in the example above) but an individual, episodic one with a

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specific tense and aspect involved. The syntactic template is [VP_A + CONJ + VP_B], see the example below:

(1248) ○○子 又 啼 又 闹 。
mɔ^{53}mɔ$^{53\sim21}$tsə^{0} iɔu$^{35\sim55}$ t^{h}i^{53} iɔu$^{35\sim55}$ nau^{35}
baby CONJ cry CONJ make a mess
'The baby is crying and at the same time making a mess.'

Another verbal coordinator, [ia^{55}] 也, is used to link up two or more verbal elements (usually not monosyllabic) without necessarily bearing the notion of simultaneity. In general, it is not placed in front of the first verbal element:

(1249) ○○子 喜欢 啼 , 也 喜欢 食 。
mɔ^{53}mɔ^{21}tsə^{0} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} t^{h}i^{53} ia^{55} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ɕie^{35}
baby like cry CONJ like eat
'The baby likes crying and eating.' / 'The baby likes to cry and to eat.'

While the verbal coordinators [iɔu$^{35\sim55}$] 又 and [ia^{55}] 也 do not necessarily indicate simultaneous actions, the verbal coordinator [kə^{0}pien^{21}] 个边, which literally means 'one side', indicates simultaneous actions. It must be pre-posed before each of the verbs or verb phrases, as shown in the two examples below:

(1250) ○○子 个 边 啼 , 个 边 食 。
mɔ^{53}mɔ$^{53\sim21}$tsə^{0} kə^{0} pien^{21} t^{h}i^{53} kə^{0} pien^{21} ɕie^{35}
baby one side cry one side eat
'The baby is crying and eating at the same time.'

(1251) ○$_{他}$ 个 边 写 字 , 个 边 瞅 书 。
xu^{35} kə^{0} pien^{21} sia^{55} t^{h}ə^{35} kə^{0} pien^{21} nianŋ^{213} ɕy^{21}
3SG one side write word one side read book
'He is writing (words) and reading (books) at the same time.'

The coordinator [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can be used to link up gerund-like VPs (shown in example 1252), but it cannot really be used to conjoin VPs that contain tense or aspect markers, thus making example (1253) very marginal. It might have to do with that the coordinator [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 cannot be used in clausal coordination. In example (1253), the presence of the aspect marker may indicate a clause, with the clause treated as AspP ('Aspect Phrase'), as claimed in formal syntactic theories (see Cheng 1989, Gu 1995, *inter alia*), whereas traditional grammar treats aspect marking as just part of VP.

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(1252) 〇她 喜欢 写字 帮 画画 。
xu^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} sia^{55}tʰə^{35} pɔŋ^{21} fa^{35}fa^{35}
3SG like writing CONJ drawing
'She likes writing and drawing.' [gerund]

(1253) 〇他 去 度 北京 , 帮 去 度 上海 。
?? xu^{35} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tʰɔ^{35} pə^{53}kin^{21} pɔŋ^{21} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tʰɔ^{35} ɕiɔŋ^{35}xɔi^{55}
3SG go EXP Beijing CONJ go EXP Shanghai
'He has been to Beijing and Shanghai.'

It is, however, possible to use verbal conjunctive [ia^{55}] 也 or [iɔu$^{35\sim55}$] 又 to link up VPs containing tense and/or aspect, as shown in the following example:

(1254) 〇他 去 度 北京 , 也/又 去 度 上海 。
xu^{35} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tʰɔ^{35} pə^{53}kin^{21} ia^{55}/iɔu$^{35\sim55}$ kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tʰɔ^{35} ɕiɔŋ^{35}xɔi^{55}
3SG go EXP Beijing CONJ go EXP Shanghai
'He has been to Beijing and Shanghai.'

There is a difference in the nuance of meaning between the use of [ia^{55}] 也 and [iɔu$^{35\sim55}$] 又. When using [ia^{55}] 也, the verb phrases it links up contain the same semantic value, whereas the verbal conjunctive [iɔu$^{35\sim55}$] 又 adds more emphasis, similar to the English 'and also'.

36.1.1.3 ADV + ADV conjunction

The coordinative connector [pɔŋ21] 帮 is used to conjoin two or more adjective phrases, with the syntactic template of [ADJ$_A$ + CONJ + ADJ$_B$], as seen in the following example:

(1255) 萝卜 有 赤个 、 青个 帮 白个 。
lɔ^{22}pʰə^{21} iɔu^{55} tɕʰia^{53}kə^{0} tʰaŋ^{21}kə^{0} pɔŋ^{21} pʰa^{35} kə^{0}
carrot have red green CONJ white
'Carrots have red ones, green ones and white ones.'

36.1.1.4 PP + PP conjunction

A further function of the coordinative connector [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is found in adjunct phrases, where it is used in the following three ways. First, it links up prepositional phrases, the syntactic template being [NP + PP$_A$ + CONJ + PP$_B$ + VP], as shown in the following example, where the PP follows a syntactic topic:

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(1256) ○这 样 事 对 ○你 帮 对 ○他
tɕiɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} sə^{35} tei^{213} xien^{35} pɔŋ^{21} tei^{213} xu^{35}
DEM CLF thing PREP$_{to}$ 2SG CONJ PREP$_{to}$ 3SG
'This kind of thing means little
来 话 皆 冇 有 啥 。
li^{55} ʊa^{35} ka^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} ɕia^{53}
come say all NEG have what
to either you or to him.'

Second, the coordinator [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 can also conjoin prepositional phrases, especially if they involve locations:

(1257) 处 路 上 帮 处 学堂 底后 皆 是 学生 。
t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ t^{h}iɔ^{35} ɕiɔŋ^{55} pɔŋ^{21} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ^{22} ti^{22}xəu^{213} ka^{35} ɕi^{55} xɔ^{35}sen^{21}
LOC road on CONJ LOC school inside all be student
'There are students everywhere on the road and in the school.'

Third, it may link adverbial phrases, although much more rarely, as discussed below.

36.1.1.5 AdvP + AdvP conjunction

The verbal conjunctives [ia^{55}] 也 and [iɔu$^{35\sim55}$] 又 are commonly used to link up adverbs or adverbial phrases, with a pause before the conjunctive:

(1258) ○她 慢慢 地 又/也 小心 地 话 事 。
xu^{35} man^{35}man$^{35\sim55}$ ti^{0} iɔu$^{35\sim55}$/ia^{55} siau^{55}sən^{21} ti^{0} ʊa^{35} sə^{35}
3SG slow ADV CONJ careful ADV say matter
'She speaks slowly and carefully.'

(1259) ○她 非常 小心 地 话 事 ,
xu^{35} fei^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{22} siau^{55}sən^{21} ti^{0} ʊa^{35} sə^{35}
3SG very careful ADV say thing
'She speaks carefully
又/也 顶 慢 地 做 事 。
iɔu$^{35\sim55}$/ia^{55} tin^{55} man^{35} ti^{0} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sə^{35}
CONJ very slow ADV do thing
and also works slowly.'

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Although the conjunctive [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 is not generally used to link up adverbs or adverbial phrases, it is grammatical for it to do so. The syntactic template is [NP + Adv + CONJ + Adv + VP], illustrated in the following example:

(1260)

○她	慢慢	地	帮	小心	地	话	事	。
xu^{35}	man^{35}man$^{35\sim55}$	ti^{0}	pɔŋ^{21}	siau^{55}sən^{21}	ti^{0}	ʊa^{35}	sə^{35}	
3SG	slow	ADV	CONJ	careful	ADV	say	matter	

'She speaks slowly and carefully.'

A natural way to conjoin adverbs is by simply adding a pause between the two (or more) juxtaposed adverbs or adverbials, as shown in the following example:

(1261)

○她	慢慢	地	、	小心	地	话	事	。
xu^{35}	man^{35}man$^{35\sim55}$	ti^{0}		siau^{55}sən^{21}	ti^{0}	ʊa^{35}	sə^{35}	
3SG	slow	ADV		careful	ADV	say	matter	

'She speaks slowly (and) carefully.'

In the next section, we show a case where [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 cannot be used.

36.1.1.6 Clause + Clause conjunction

In addition to its use as a NP and VP coordinator, the Shaowu coordinator [ia^{55}] 也 can also link up clauses as a coordinate conjunction, the syntactic template being [CLAUSE$_A$ + CONJ + CLAUSE$_B$]. If the subject of the two clauses is the same, it can be elided in the second clause, as in the two examples below:

(1262)

○他	解	接受	别人	个	批评	,
xu^{35}	xie$^{55\sim35}$	tɕien^{53}ɕiɔu$^{35\sim21}$	p^{h}ie^{35}nin^{55}	kə^{0}	p^{h}i^{22}p^{h}in^{21}	
3SG	can	accept	other	POSS	criticism	

'He accepts criticism from others

也	解	马上	改正	自家	。
ia^{55}	xie$^{55\sim35}$	ma^{55}ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$	kɔi^{55}tɕiaŋ^{213}	t^{h}i^{35}ka^{21}	
CONJ	can	immediately	correct	oneself	

and will immediately correct himself.'

The coordinator [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 cannot be used in clausal coordination. It is ungrammatical to replace [ia^{55}] 也 by [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, for instance:

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(1263) ○他 解 接受 别人 个 批评 ,
** xu^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ tɕien^{53}ɕiɔu$^{35\sim21}$ p^{h}ie^{35}nin^{55} kə^{0} p^{h}i^{22}p^{h}in^{21}
3SG can accept other POSS criticism
(Attempted meaning: 'He accepts criticism from others
帮 解 马上 改正 自家 。
pɔŋ^{21} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ma^{55}ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$ kɔi^{55}tɕiaŋ^{213} t^{h}i^{35}ka^{21}
CONJ can immediately correct oneself
and will immediately correct himself.')

Another example using the clausal coordinator [ia^{55}] 也:

(1264) 俺多 邵武 是 蜀 个 文化 古 城 ,
ien^{22}tai^{21} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} ɕi^{22} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} ʋen^{22}fa^{21} ku^{55} ɕin^{22}
1PL.INCL Shaowu COP one CLF cultural old city
'Shaowu is a time-honoured city of art and culture,
也 是 蜀 个 风水 地方 。
ia^{55} ɕi^{22} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} fuŋ^{21}sei^{55} t^{h}i^{35}fɔŋ^{21}
CONJ COP one CLF Feng Shui place
and it is also blessed with good Feng Shui.'

It is not unusual for Shaowu to elide the coordinator to create an implicit logical connection between the clauses. Indeed, juxtaposition of two or more main clauses by parataxis or apposition is a common clause-linking strategy. The logical relations (including coordination in this case) can be deduced from the context in Shaowu, as in most Sinitic languages. The following two examples illustrate this:

(1265) ○这儿 是 邵武 , ○那儿 是 和平 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} ɕi^{22} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} ɕi^{22} ʋɔ^{22}p^{h}iaŋ^{22}
here COP Shaowu there COP Heping
'Here is Shaowu, (and) there is Heping (a town near Shaowu).'

(1266) ○他多 两 个 人 是 城 底 人 ,
xu^{35}tai^{21} liɔŋ^{55} kə^{0} nin^{22} ɕi^{22} ɕin^{22} ti^{0} nin^{22}
3PL two CLF person COP city in person
'The two of them are city dwellers,
○我 是 乡下 人 。
xaŋ^{35} ɕi^{22} xiɔŋ^{21}xa$^{35\sim22}$ nin^{22}
1SG COP village person
(and) I am a villager.'

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Table 36.1 summarises the above section:

Table 36.1: Shaowu conjunctive coordinators and syntactic templates.

Conjunctive coordinator	Syntactic templates	Example(s)
[pɔŋ^{21}] 帮	NP_A CONJ NP_B	(1242) – (1246),
	Substantivised verbs (gerunds)	(1248), (1253)
	ADV_A CONJ ADV_B	(1255)
	PP_A CONJ PP_B (esp. locational PPs)	(1256), (1257)
	AdvP CONJ AdvP	(1260)
[iɔu$^{35\sim55}$] 又	VP_A CONJ VP_B	(1249), (1255)
	AdvP CONJ AdvP	(1258), (1259)
[ia^{55}] 也	VP_A CONJ VP_B	(1250), (1255)
	AdvP CONJ AdvP	(1258), (1259)
	CLAUSE CONJ CLAUSE	(1262), (1264)
[kə^{0}pien^{21}] 个边	VP_A CONJ VP_B	(1251) – (1252)

Adding a pause between syntactic constituents, be they at lexical, phrasal or clausal level, is also a possibility for conjoining them.

36.2 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive coordination involves the use of 'or' in statements or questions. They can link up phrases or clauses, as shown in the following subsections.

36.2.1 Types of disjunctive coordination

To express disjunctive coordination in a declarative sentence, Shaowu uses the disjunctive coordinator [fai^{53}tɕia^{55}] 或者 'or' placed between two coordinands, or another disjunctive coordinator [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是, a more emphatic 'or', to relate the coordinands. In contrast, in an interrogative sentence, Shaowu only uses [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 to relate the coordinands to form disjunctive questions (see also Chapter 33 on Interrogative structures). There are five basic types of disjunctive coordination in Shaowu, according to the type of syntactic constituent: [NP/NP/ . . .], [VP/VP/ . . .], [PP/PP/ . . .], [AdvP/AdvP/ . . .] and [Clause/Clause/ . . .]. Similar to conjunctive coordination, the number of syntactic elements within the brackets can theoretically be infinite.

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36.2.1.1 NP/NP disjunction

The disjunctive coordinator [fai^{53}tɕia^{55}] 或者 (or its neutralised form [fai^{53}tɕia^{0}]) or [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 (or its shortened form [ai^{21}ɕi^{22}]) can be inserted between two personal pronouns in an affirmative sentence, with the syntactic template [NP$_A$ + DISJ + NP$_B$ + VP]:

(1267) ○你 帮 ○他 话 福州事 或者 / 还是
xien^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} ʋa^{35} fu^{53}tɕiu^{21}sə^{35} fai^{53}tɕia^{55} / ai^{213}ɕi^{55}
2SG COMT 3SG speak Fuzhou DISJ
'It is fine if you speak Fuzhou
邵武事 , 皆 可以 。
ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35} ka^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$
Shaowu all possible
or Shaowu with her.'

In an interrogative sentence, the disjunctive coordinator [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 (or its neutralised form [ai^{21}ɕi^{0}] in fast speech) is used instead:

(1268) 今朝 是 ○你 还是 ○他 写 报告 ?
kin^{21}tɕiau^{21} ɕi^{22} xien^{35} ai^{213}ɕi^{55} xu^{35} sia^{55} p^{h}au^{21}kau^{213}
today be 2SG DISJ 3SG write report
'Is it he or you who write a report today?'

(1269) ○你 喜欢 苹果 还是 梨儿 ?
xien^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} p^{h}in^{22}kuɔ^{22} ai^{213}ɕi^{55} li^{22}ə^{0}
2SG like apple DISJ pear
'Do you like apples or pears?'

36.2.1.2 VP/VP disjunction

The disjunctive connector [fai^{53}tɕia^{55}] 或者 or [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 can be inserted between two verbs or verb phrases. The syntactic template is [VP$_A$ + DISJ + VP$_B$]:

36.2.1.2.1 Use of disjunctive connector [fai^{53}tɕia^{55}] 或者

(1270) ○他 唔 喜欢 别人 批评 或者 话 ○他 。
xu^{35} ŋ^{55} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} p^{h}ie^{35}nin^{55} p^{h}i^{21}p^{h}in^{22} fai^{53}tɕia^{55} ʋa^{35} xu^{35}
3SG NEG like others criticise DISJ reprimand 3SG
'He does not like others to criticise or reprimand him.'

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(1271) 小明 以后 想 开 火车 或者 开 飞机 。
siau^{55}min^{22} i^{55}xəu^{213} siɔŋ^{55} k^{h}ai^{21} fəi^{55}tɕ^{h}ia^{21} fai^{53}tɕia^{55} k^{h}ai^{21} fei^{21}ki^{21}
Xiaoming later on want drive train DISJ pilot plane
'Xiaoming wants to be a train conductor or an airline pilot later on.'

36.2.1.2.2 Use of disjunctive connector [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是

(1272) ○$_{我}$ 唔 晓得 ○$_{他}$ 是 唔 高兴
xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} xiau^{55}tie^{0} xu^{35} ɕi^{55} ŋ^{55} kau^{21}xin^{213}
1SG NEG know 3SG be NEG happy
'I don't know whether he is unhappy
还是 冇 有 精神 。
ai^{213}ɕi^{55} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} tsin^{21}ɕin^{22}
DISJ NEG have good spirits
or just low-spirited.'

(1273) ○$_{她}$ 处 画 画 还是 ○$_{拉}$ 琴 ?
xu^{35} t^{h}u^{35} fa^{35} fa^{35} ai^{213}ɕi^{55} xai^{22} k^{h}ən^{22}
3SG PROG paint picture DISJ play string instrument
'Is she painting a picture now or playing violin?'

In interrogative sentences involving disjunction ("option A or B?"), [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 is used to coordinate two verbs or verb phrases disjunctively, as shown in the example below:

(1274) ○$_{你}$ ○$_{要}$ 走 还是 行 ?
xien^{35} nuŋ^{35} tsu^{55} ai^{213}ɕi^{55} xaŋ^{22}
2SG want run DISJ walk
'Do you want to run or walk?'

36.2.1.3 ADJ/ADJ disjunction

The disjunctive connector [fai^{53}tɕia^{55}] 或者 or [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 can be inserted between the adjectives to express disjunction. The former is generally used in statements and the latter in questions, the syntactic template being [ADV$_{A}$ + DISJ + ADV$_{B}$]. The following is an example of a question with adjectives in disjunction:

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(1275) 萝卜 ○你 喜欢 食 赤个 还是 白个 ?
lɔ^{22}p^{h}ə^{21} xien^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} ɕie^{35} tɕ^{h}ia^{53}kə^{0} ai^{213}ɕi^{55} p^{h}a^{35} kə^{0}
carrot 2SG like eat red DISJ white
'As for carrots, do you like (eating) the red ones or the white ones?'

36.2.1.4 PP/PP disjunction

Likewise, the disjunctive connector [fai^{53}tɕia^{55}] 或者 is used to disjunctively connect two prepositional phrases in declarative sentences, while [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 is used to put an emphasis on the options. See the two examples:

(1276) ○你 可以 处 房间 底头
xien^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ fɔŋ^{22}kan^{21} ti^{55}xəu^{21}
2SG can LOC_{be} room inside
'You can read books in the room
或者 处 厝 外头 瞙 书 。
fai^{53}tɕia^{55} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213} ʊai^{35}xəu$^{53\sim21}$ niaŋ^{213} ɕy^{21}
DISJ LOC_{be} house outside read book
or outside.'

(1277) ○这 样 事 对 ○你 或者 / 还是 对 ○他
tɕiɔŋ^{53} iɔŋ^{35} sə^{35} tei^{213} xien^{35} fai^{53}tɕia^{55}/ai^{213}ɕi^{55} tei^{213} xu^{35}
DEM CLF thing $PREP_{to}$ 2SG DISJ $PREP_{to}$ 3SG
'This kind of thing means little
来 话 皆 冇 有 啥 。
li^{55} ʊa^{35} ka^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} ɕia^{53}
come say all NEG have what
to either you or to him.'

The disjunctive coordinator [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 is the one used to link up disjunctive options in an interrogative sentence:

(1278) ○你 ○这 是 对 ○他 话
xien^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} tei^{213} xu^{35} ʊa^{35}
2SG DEM be $PREP_{to}$ 3SG say
'Are you saying this to him
还是 对 ○我 话 ?
ai^{213}ɕi^{55} tei^{213} xaŋ^{35} ʊa^{35}
DISJ $PREP_{to}$ 1SG say
or to me?'

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36.2.1.5 AdvP/AdvP disjunction

In a simple declarative sentence, it is usually [fai^{53}tɕia^{55}] 或者 that links coordinands disjunctively:

(1279) ○你 可以 慢慢 食
xien^{35} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ man^{35}man$^{35\sim55}$ ɕie^{35}
2SG can slow eat
'You can eat slowly
或者 是 快 个 嫩 食 。
fai^{53}tɕia^{55} ɕi^{22} kʰuai^{213} kə^{0} nən^{35} ɕie^{35}
DISJ be fast a bit eat
or a bit faster.'

The emphatic 'or' [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 is used in declarative sentences for this purpose:

(1280) ○你 ○要 慢慢 食
xien^{35} nuŋ^{35} man^{35}man$^{35\sim55}$ ɕie^{35}
2SG want slow eat
'It is fine if you want to eat slowly
还是 快 个 嫩 食 皆 可以 。
ai^{213}ɕi^{55} kʰuai^{213} kə^{0} nən^{35} ɕie^{35} ka^{35} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$
DISJ fast a bit eat all can
or a bit faster.'

In a disjunctive question containing adverbials, once again, it is [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 that is used:

(1281) ○你 ○要 慢慢 食
xien^{35} nuŋ^{35} man^{35}man$^{35\sim55}$ ɕie^{35}
2SG want slow eat
'Do you want to eat slowly
还是 快 个 嫩 食 ?
ai^{213}ɕi^{55} kʰuai^{213} kə^{0} nən^{35} ɕie^{35}
DISJ fast a bit eat
or a bit faster?'

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36.2.1.6 Clause/Clause disjunction

The disjuntive coordinator [fai^{53}tɕia^{55}] 或者 can also be used to link up two clauses disjunctively in declarative sentences:

(1282)
○你	可以	今朝	来	，	
xien^{35}	kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$	kən^{21}tɕiau^{21}	li^{22}		
2SG	can	today	come		
‘You can come today,					
或者	○你	也	可以	明朝	来 。
fai^{53}tɕia^{55}	xien^{35}	ia^{55}	kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$	maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21}	li^{22}
DISJ	2SG	also	can	tomorrow	come
or you can come tomorrow.’					

Likewise, the emphatic disjunctive coordinator [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 is used in declarative sentences to conjoin clauses, with the purpose of providing a certain emphasis:

(1283)
今朝	是	○你	做	报告			
kin^{21}tɕiau^{21}	ɕi^{22}	xien^{35}	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$	pʰau^{21}kau^{213}			
today	be	2SG	do	report			
‘It is fine either for you do a presentation today							
还是	明朝	○他	写	报告	，	皆	可以 。
ai^{213}ɕi^{55}	maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21}	xu^{35}	sia^{55}	pʰau^{21}kau^{213}		ka^{35}	kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$
DISJ	tomorrow	3SG	write	report		all	can
or for him to write a report tomorrow.’							

The disjunctive connector [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 is used to link up two clauses in interrogative sentences:

(1284)
○你	囝儿	是	自家	颂	衣裳
xien35	kin53nə0	ɕi22	thi35ka21	siuŋ35	i21ɕiɔŋ21
2SG	son	be	oneself	wear	clothes
‘Does your son put on clothes by himself,					
还是	○你	帮	○他	颂	？
ai^{213}ɕi^{55}	xien^{35}	pɔŋ^{21}	xu^{35}	siuŋ^{35}	
DISJ	2SG	help	3SG	wear	
or do you help him?’					

To summarise, no matter how large the linguistic constituents are, be they on a lexical, phrasal or clausal level, the disjunctive coordinator [fai^{53}tɕia^{55}] 或者is generally used in simple declarative sentences, whereas [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 is used in

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interrogative sentences. As for declarative sentences which place an emphasis on the options, [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 is generally used to express disjunctive coordination, although [fai^{53}tɕia^{55}] 或者 can also be used, if the sentence contains an universal quantifier like [ka^{35}] 皆 'all' which reinforces the overall emphasis on the choices available.

A summary is given in Table 36.2 regarding the use of the two Shaowu disjunctive coordinators:

Table 36.2: Shaowu disjunctive coordinators and syntactic templates.

Disjunctive coordinator	Used in	Syntactic templates
[fai^{53}tɕia^{55}] 或者	Declaratives	NP_A DISJ NP_B VP_A DISJ VP_B ADV_A DISJ ADV_B PP_A DISJ PP_B $AdvP_A$ DISJ $AdvP_B$ Clause A DISJ Clause B
[ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是	Declaratives with emphasis on the options available Interrogatives	NP_A DISJ NP_B VP_A DISJ VP_B ADV_A DISJ ADV_B PP_A DISJ PP_B $AdvP_A$ DISJ $AdvP_B$ Clause A DISJ Clause B

36.3 Adversative coordination

While 'and' conjunctive coordination and 'or' disjunctive coordination can be put into place at different levels (lexical, phrasal or clausal), 'but' adversative coordination is usually at clausal level. The most common adversative coordinate linkers in Shaowu are [pei^{53}kuɔ^{213}] 不过and [t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55}] 但是, both are likely to have been borrowed from Mandarin. See the following two examples:

(1285) 张明 是 邵武 人 ,
tiɔŋ^{21}min^{22} ɕi^{55} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} nin^{22}
Zhang Ming COP Shaowu person
'Zhang Min is from Shaowu,
不过 ○$_{他}$ 处 北京 住 。
pei^{53}kuɔ^{213} xu^{35} t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$ pə^{53}kin^{21} t^{h}y^{35}
but 3SG LOC Beijing live
but he lives in Beijing.'

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(1286) ○他 听 得 到 邵武事 ,
xu^{35} t^{h}iaŋ^{21} tie^{53} tau$^{213\sim21\sim55}$ ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}
3SG listen COMP ACH Shaowu
'He can understand Shaowu,
但是 ○他 话 唔 来 。
t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55} xu^{35} ʋa^{35} ŋ^{55} li^{22}
but 3SG speak NEG come
but he can't speak it.'

36.4 Summary

This chapter has mainly looked at two types of coordination in Shaowu, namely conjunctive 'and' coordination and disjunctive 'or' coordination. The coordinators typically appear between two groups of constituents, be they NPs, VPs, ADVs, PPs, AdvPs or clauses. Importantly, when they join clauses, complex sentences are formed. This chapter has also briefly mentioned adversative 'but' coordination, which mainly serves to link up clauses in Shaowu. As in many Sinitic languages, Shaowu can readily elide coordinators and make an implicit logical connection between clauses by juxtaposing two or more main clauses through apposition, a common clause-linking strategy, also referred to as asyndetic parataxis with no overt conjunction or coordinator. The logical coordinative relations can be inferred from the context, even in the absence of coordinators. This feature will come to the fore in the ensuing chapters.

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Chapter 37
Subordination

Subordination refers to the hierarchical organisation of linguistic units on syntactic, semantic, morphological, phonological and discourse levels. Traditional linguistic literature uses the term 'subordination' in the context of syntax where a subordinate clause is embedded into a matrix clause, and which is often introduced by subordinators such as 'that', 'because', 'after' etc. We call this type of subordination 'overt subordination', because there are overt markers of subordination used to conjoin clauses to explicate the logical links between them. Dixon (2009:2) classify clause linking types into temporal, consequence, possible consequence, addition, alternatives and manner, with various sub-types under each category.

Sinitic languages, including Shaowu, pervasively use parataxis (juxtaposition of two clauses), alongside hypotaxis (subordination involving matrix and embedded clauses) to link up clauses having unequal semantic weight, regardless of their respective syntactic weight. An example to illustrate this in English would be: *He forgot that the rice was ready* which can be expressed in Shaowu as *He forgot. The rice was ready* without employing any subordinators:

(1287)

○他	○○了	了	。	饭	得	了	。
xu^{35}	la^{22}pu^{21}liau^{22}	ə^{0}		p^{h}ən^{35}	tie^{53}	ə^{0}	
3SG	forget	PFV		rice	ready	PFV	

'He forgot. The rice was ready.'

This is possible because there is an implicit logical link inferred between what he forgot and the fact that the rice was ready. Linguists call this type of subordination 'covert subordination', or 'semantic subordination', where no overt hierarchical syntactic organisation is observed. The context alone hierarchises the information contained in the clauses concerned.

In addition to the morphosyntactic interpretation of subordination, Cristofaro (2003:2) observed that the notion of subordination is also independent of the way in which clause linkage is realised across languages. For instance, the English example above involves a clause that would be considered as subordinate under the traditional morphosyntactic criteria. However, the corresponding Shaowu sentence involves two independent clauses on the surface level. According to the functional definition of subordination which takes into account the same cognitive-pragmatic relation between events and the shared contexts, the

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seemingly independent clauses in Shaowu can indeed be regarded as an instance of subordination.

Lehmann (1988) puts forward six semanto-syntactic parameters, namely, (i) the hierarchical downgrading of the subordinate clause; (ii) the main clause syntactic level of the subordinate clause; (iii) the desententialisation of the subordinate clause; (iv) the grammaticalisation of the main verb; (v) the interlacing of the two clauses; and (vi) the explicitness of the linking. These are relevant for identifying different types of clause linkage across languages. Subordination is considered to be a form of clause linkage where clause X is subordinate to clause Y if and only if X and Y form an endocentric construction Z with Y as the head. He considers the presence or absence of connectives (or subordinating devices, in his words) exclusively a matter of syndesis, and that all categorisations of clause linkage can be modeled along a continuum.

This chapter will mainly discuss the difference between paratactic subordination and hypotactic subordination in Shaowu. Different types of subordinate clauses with different logical relations, e.g., cause and consequence, concessive, conditional, will follow as separate chapters. Lastly, other types of complementation, such as those involving a complementiser and relative clauses, will also be briefly mentioned (for details, see Chapter 43 on other types of complementation in complex sentences).

37.1 Types of subordination

37.1.1 Paratactic subordination

Parataxis, the juxtaposition of clauses without any overt markers to code logical relations, is perhaps the most common form of subordinating strategies in Shaowu, as is the case in many Sinitic languages. It is the type of subordination that has no overt subordinator, and it is usually the context that determines the structure, hence the hierarchy, of information. This is akin to the notions of 'foreground' and 'background' relating to subordination as mentioned in Reinhart (1984), Tomlin (1985) and Matthiessen & Thompson (1987), where subordination is viewed as the result of particular conceptual situations rather than a morpho-syntactic phenomenon, or what Cristofaro termed as 'the conceptual approach' (Cristofaro 2003: 25). Consequently, even if two clauses may look symmetrical in terms of syntactic structure, their semantic weights can be different, as can be seen in the following Shaowu example:

(1288)

○他	叻	,	又	拿	蜀	个	围领	,
xu^{35}	le^{22}		iɔu^{35}	na^{22}	ɕi^{22}	kə^{0}	ʊei^{22}lianŋ^{22}	

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3SG TOP and take one CLF neckerchief
'He then took out a neckerchief,

可能	是	畏	了	叻	树	上	个	虫子	。
$k^hɔ^{55}nen^{22}$	$ɕi^{22}$	$ʊi^{213}$	$ə^0$	le^{22}	$tɕ^hy^{213}$	$ɕiɔŋ^{35\sim21}$	$ŋə^0$	$t^huŋ^{53}ŋə^0$	
possibly	be	afraid	PFV	SFP	tree	on	ATT	worm	

maybe (because) he was afraid of the worms on the tree.'

The subordinator 'because' is not overtly realised in the above example, as the context leads one to infer the reason (worms on the tree, i.e., the 'background') as to why the person put on a neckerchief (i.e., the 'foreground').

Another example in Shaowu is given below to illustrate how a hierarchical syntactic structure is implied and its logical relation inferred from the context in the absence of any overt subordination markers:

(1289)

○你	来	,	○我	唔	去	。
$xien^{35}$	li^{22}		$xaŋ^{35}$	$ŋ^{55}$	$k^hɔ^{213\sim21}$	
2SG	come		1SG	NEG	go	

'If you come, then I won't go.'

Note that in the above example, there are no overt conditional markers to code the conditional, but a simple juxtaposition of two seemingly independent clauses: "You come, I won't go." However, one can readily infer that it is because of the possibility of the former ("your coming", the 'background') which leads to the potential result of the latter ("my not-going", the 'foreground').

We will display more Shaowu examples of parataxis as a subordinating strategy in the following chapters, on top of the use of overt subordinating markers to code various subordinate clause types.

37.1.2 Hypotactic subordination

Hypotaxis is often understood as subordination in the 'syntactic' sense, with a hierarchy of sentence structure; that is, it involves the embedding of one or several subordinate clauses in a matrix clause, and there is often an overt marker of subordination. An example of this is the English subordinate marker 'that' in indirect speech. The matrix clause may provide the 'foreground' information, whereas the subordinate clause usually provides more of the type of 'background' information, although this is subject to interpretation (e.g., in English, *I saw that he was laughing*). Syntactically, the subordinate clause is dependent on the matrix

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clause and is governed by it, as in the choice of tense in the English subordinate clause, which often times depends on the tense of its matrix clause.

Many, if not most, subordinators in Shaowu are borrowed from Mandarin or standard written Chinese. Shaowu uses these in complex sentences, but also uses its own subordinators or simply juxtaposes clauses to form an implicit logical link, as we have seen in the two examples above. Sometimes, this is aided by clause-final particles or intonation patterns as a covert subordination strategy.

In Shaowu, one type of complex sentence involving hypotaxis is the temporal clauses, where the sequence of events is indicated by overt temporal subordinators, as in the following example:

(1290) 〇他 食 了 饭 以后 就 去 嗑梦 。
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} ə^{0} pʰən^{35} i^{55}xəu^{213} tsiɔu^{213} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ kʰa^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$
3SG eat PFV meal after then go sleep
'After he had his meal, he went to sleep.'

Note that the temporal subordinators [i^{55}xəu^{213}] 以后 and [tsiɔu^{213}] 就 are not obligatory, as it is perfectly grammatical to elide either [i^{55}xəu^{213}] 以后 or [tsiɔu^{213}] 就, as shown in the example below:

(1291) 〇他 食 了 饭 (以后) (就) 去 嗑梦 。
xu^{35} ɕie^{35} ə^{0} pʰən^{35} (i^{55}xəu^{213}) (tsiɔu^{213}) kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ kʰa^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$
3SG eat PFV meal after then go sleep
'After he had his meal, he went to sleep.'

This is because the sequence of the events can be inferred from the usage of the perfective marker [ə^{0}] 了 (see Chapter 20 on the aspectual system) in the first clause, which codes an action accomplished prior to the one in the second clause, and thereby the possibility of elision of subordinators. In the following chapters, we will show more examples of both the hypotactic and paratactic strategies used in Shaowu's complex sentences.

The chapters on different types of subordination are organised as follows:

(38) Temporal subordination
(39) Causal constructions
(40) Conditional constructions
(41) Concessive constructions
(42) Purposive constructions
(43) Other types of complementation

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Chapter 38
Temporal subordination of simultaneity and sequentiality

Temporal clauses code the moment or time of an action or event, which takes place either simultaneously with or sequentially to another action or event. The other event is generally considered to be the primary action or event, whereas the temporal clause provides the background information and a time frame to the main action or event.

38.1 Temporal subordination of simultaneity

Temporal subordination of simultaneity is different from temporal coordination of simultaneity. The latter indicates two or more actions or events that take place at the same time, without differentiating the background and foreground information. In contrast to this, temporal subordination of simultaneity provides a hierarchical temporal structure in terms of primary and secondary events or actions, the one first described in the sentence usually being the background and the latter one(s) being the foreground, i.e., the primary event, in the case of Shaowu. The following two examples respectively illustrate temporal subordination and temporal coordination of simultaneity:

38.1.1 Temporal subordination of simultaneity vs temporal coordination of simultaneity

The simultaneity of the actions carried out by the family members in the following example is obvious, the actions are all marked by the progressive marker [t^hu^{55}] 处 or its allomorph [t^hei^{55}]. These constitute the foreground information, set against the temporal backdrop of the first morning of the Lunar New Year:

(1292) 大年初一 个 天工 ,
xai^{35}nin^{53}t^{h}u^{21}i^{53} kə^{0} t^{h}ien^{21}kuŋ^{21}
Lunar New Year day POSS morning
'On the morning of the first day of the Lunar New Year,

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妹儿 处 数 ○她 收 到 个
mei^{213}ə^{0} t^{h}ei^{55} su^{213} xu^{35} ɕiɔu^{21} tau^{213} kə^{0}
young sister PROG count 3SG receive ACH REL
little sister was counting the red-envelope money she had received,
○压岁票儿 ,
tsa^{53}sei^{21}p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}
red-envelope money
娘佬 处 灶上 煮 饺子 ,
niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0} t^{h}ei^{55} tsu^{21}ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ tɕy^{55} kiau^{53}ə^{0}
mother PROG kitchen cook dumpling
mother was cooking dumplings in the kitchen,
爷佬 处 打 电话 拜 年 。
ia^{22}lau^{0} t^{h}ei^{55} ta^{55} t^{h}ien^{213}ʋa$^{35\sim21}$ pai^{213} nin^{53}
father PROG dial telephone greet New Year
and father was calling (relatives/friends) to wish them a Happy New Year.'

Two or more actions can be carried out simultaneously without any hierarchical temporal structure or foreground-background contrast (cf. Chapter 36 on Coordination), as in the example below:

(1293) ○他 个 边 写 字 , 个 边 瞅 书 。
xu^{35} kə^{0} pien^{21} sia^{55} t^{h}ə^{35} kə^{0} pien^{21} niaŋ^{213} ɕy^{21}
3SG one side write word one side read book
'He is writing and reading at the same time.'

We can consider example (1292) an instance of temporal subordination and example (1293) an instance of temporal coordination, both describing simultaneous actions.

In Shaowu, there are at least four overt temporal markers to express simultaneous actions or events in a subordinate clause, including [(kə^{0})ɕi^{22}kan^{21}] (个)时间 'at the time of . . . '; . . . [(kə^{0})ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}] (个) 时候 'at the moment of', [(kə^{0})tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}] (个)○○当中 'while', 'in the middle of' and . . . [(kə^{0})ti^{55}xəu^{21}] (个)底头'during', 'inside'. These temporal markers all involve the use of [kə^{0}] 个, which means that they have formed a type of noun phrase (see Yap & Matthews 2008).

The following sections illustrate their use in Shaowu sentences.

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38.1.2 Using the temporal marker . . . [(kə^{0})ɕi^{22}kan^{21}] (个)时间 'at the time of'

(1294) 插 队 个时间 , ○我 是 解 话
tʰan^{53} tei^{35} kə^{0}ɕi^{22}kan^{21} xaŋ^{35} ɕi^{55} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ʋa^{35}
insert group at the time of 1SG EMP$_{be}$ can speak
和平事 。
ʋɔ^{22}pʰiaŋ^{22}sə^{35}
Heping
'I could speak the Heping dialect during the time I was sent to the countryside.' (during the Cultural Revolution)

38.1.3 Using the temporal marker . . . [(kə^{0})ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}] (个)时候 'at the moment of'

(1295) 俺多 邵武 处 ○这 蜀 个
ien^{21} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} tʰu$^{55\sim22}$ tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213}
1PL.INCL Shaowu at DEM one CLF
'Our city Shaowu was not bombed during
抗 日 战争 时候 , 冇 炸 度 。
kʰɔŋ^{213} ni^{213} tɕien^{35}tsen^{21} ɕi^{22}xəu^{213} mau^{35} tsa^{213} tʰɔ^{35}
resist Japan war at the moment of NEG bomb EXP
the time of the Sino-Japanese war.'

38.1.4 Using the temporal marker . . . [kə^{0}tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}] (个) ○○当中 'while', 'in the middle of'

A local Shaowu expression of temporal subordination is the marker [tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}] ○○当中, originally a locational expression meaning 'middle', whose etymon has yet to be identified and which means 'while', 'in the middle of', to mark temporal subordination (see also Chapter 20 on the aspectual system, § 20.4.2). The following example illustrates its use:

(1296) ○他多 处 话事 个○○当中 ,
xu^{35}tai^{21} tʰu$^{55\sim22}$ ʋa^{35}sə^{35} kə^{0}tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}
3PL at speak in the middle of
'In the middle of their conversation,

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○你	就	来	了	。
xien^{35}	tsiɔu^{213}	li^{22}	ə^{0}	
2SG	then	come	PFV	

you came around.'

38.1.5 Using the temporal marker . . . [kə^{0}ti$^{55\sim22}$xəu^{21}] (个)底头 'during'

Another local Shaowu expression of temporal subordination is the locative marker [ti$^{55\sim22}$xəu^{21}] 底头, originally meaning 'inside', which has been semantically extended and grammaticalised from a spatial concept into a temporal one, meaning 'during'. This is a common pathway of grammaticalisation (see e.g., Heine & Claudi 1986a, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 179):

(1297)

○我	处	嗑梦	个底头	, 电话	来	了	。
xaŋ^{35}	t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$	k^{h}a^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$	kə^{0}ti^{22}xəu^{21}	t^{h}ien^{213}ʊa$^{35\sim21}$	li^{22}	ə^{0}	
1SG	at	sleep	during	phone call	come	PFV	

'When I was sleeping, the telephone rang.'
(Literally: 'When I was inside my sleep, the telephone rang.')

In summary, there are at least four overt temporal markers to code temporal subordination of simultaneity, and one covert way, i.e., just indicating the time when an action happened, as shown in Table 38.1:

Table 38.1: Shaowu temporal markers and their functions.

Temporal markers	Meaning/ Function	Example(s)
[kə^{0}ɕi^{22}kan^{21}] (个) 时间	'at the time of'	(1294)
[kə^{0}ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}] (个) 时候	'at the moment of'	(1295)
[kə^{0}tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}] (个) ○○$_{当中}$	'while', 'in the middle of'	(1296)
[kə^{0}ti^{55}xəu^{21}] (个) 底头	'during'	(1297)
Ø (Zero marking)	+ time expression	(1292)

38.2 Temporal subordination of sequentiality

Sequentiality is considered to be structurally hierarchical, because the development of events or actions that follow is dependent on the previous event or action in terms of temporal sequence. There are two ways to express sequentiality of

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events in Shaowu, namely (i) by parataxis, i.e., zero marking, with no overt temporal markers; or (ii) by hypotaxis, with overt temporal markers.

38.2.1 Zero-marked temporal subordination of sequentiality

Parataxis is used as a sequential clause-linking strategy, as shown in the following example, which contains two seemingly independent clauses without any overt temporal marker. The sequential relations between the clauses, which are usually in chronological order, can be inferred from the context and intonation or prosody. The following example illustrates this: it is after the person had said something that everyone burst out laughing.

(1298) ○他 随便 话 <个下> ,
xu^{35} sei^{22}p^{h}ien^{35} ʊa^{35} ka^{0} (grammaticalised from kə0-xa35)
3SG casually say DELIM (> one-CLF$_{verbal}$)
'When he casually said something,
大家 皆 大 笑 起来 。
xai^{35}ka^{0} ka^{35} xai^{35} siau^{213} k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}
everyone all bi laugh INCH
everyone started to laugh out loud.'

Likewise, the example below shows another zero-marked sequentiality, where the second clause follows the temporal sequence of the first, this time involving the imperative mood. A pause is inserted between the two simple clauses:

(1299) ○我 恁底 话 , ○你 恁底 做 。
xaŋ^{35} ni^{53}ti^{0} ʊa^{35} xien^{35} ni^{53}ti^{0} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG how say 2SG how do
'Do as I say.'

38.2.2 Temporal markers for subordination of sequentiality

Hypotaxis is used as another sequential clause-linking strategy. The temporal hierarchy is achieved in Shaowu by using overt temporal markers for subordination of sequentiality, such as [sien^{21}] 先 'first', [i^{55}xəu^{213}] 以后 'afterwards', [tsiɔu$^{213\sim55}$] 就'then' and [tsai^{213}tsiɔu$^{213\sim55}$] 再就 'and then'. They help to sequence events, as in the two examples below:

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(1300) ○你 ○要 先 去 使 牛 犁 垦 ,
xien^{35} nuŋ^{35} sien^{21} k^{h}ɔ^{213} sə^{55} ny^{22} lie^{22} t^{h}ən^{53}
2SG must first go use ox plough field
'First, bring the ox to plough the field,
犁 了 垦 以后 叻 ,
lie^{22} ə^{0} t^{h}ən^{53} i^{55}xəu^{213} le^{22}
plough PFV field after SFP
then after ploughing,
再 就 使 耙 去 耙 平 来 。
tsai^{213} tsiɔu^{55} sə^{55} p^{h}a^{22} k^{h}ɔ^{213} p^{h}a^{22} piaŋ^{22} li^{22}
again then use harrow go harrow flat come
use the harrow to rake the field.'

(1301) 食 了 饭 以后 叻 , ○他 就 出 去 。
ɕie^{35} ə^{0} p^{h}ən^{35} i^{55}xəu^{213} le^{22} xu^{35} tsiɔu^{213} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
eat PFV meal afterwards SFP 3SG then go out
'After having eaten a meal, he went out.'

Note that the clause-final particle [le^{22}] 叻 can also be used to describe a chain of events or actions and express the order of more than one action or event in time. It is possible to have the sequential clause marker [le^{22}] 叻 used alone, without any other temporal markers, such as [i^{55}xeu^{213}] 以后 'afterwards' or [tsai^{213}tsiɔu$^{213\sim55}$] 再就 'and then', to express the order of actions or events. In theory, it is also possible to have an infinite number of sequential clauses. Indeed, some Shaowu speakers tend to make repeated use of [le^{22}] 叻 to describe a chain of events especially in narratives. This is because the sequential marker [le^{22}] 叻 is also a discourse marker and often appears in stories or narratives that involve a sequence of events or actions, as in the example below:

(1302) ○这 山 上 个 树 呢 ,
tɕiɔŋ^{53} sɔn^{21} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ kəi^{21} tɕ^{h}y^{213} ne^{22}
DEM hill on POSS tree TOP
'The trees on the hills
皆 ○砍 光 了 咯 。 ○砍 光 了 ,
ka^{35} k^{h}ie^{35} kuɔŋ^{21} liau^{22} lɔ^{0} k^{h}ie^{35} kuɔŋ^{21} liau$^{55\sim22}$
all cut totally PFV SFP cut totally PFV
were all chopped down.

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○它 冇 ○能 保持 水 土 。
xu^{35} mau^{35} tɕy^{53} pau^{55}tʰi^{22} sei^{55} tʰu^{22}
3SG NEG be able to keep water soil
They can no longer keep the ground soil and water intact.
水 土 保持 唔 住 叻 , ○它 就 容易 ...
sei^{55} tʰu^{22} pau^{55}tʰi^{22} ŋ^{55} tʰy^{35} le^{22} xu^{35} tsiɔu^{21} iuŋ^{22}i^{35}
water soil keep NEG DUR SEQ 3SG then easy
As they can't bind the ground soil anymore, it's easy. . .
山 叻 崩 下 来 。
sɔn^{21} le^{22} pen^{21} xa^{35} li^{22}
hill TOP collapse down come
for the hill to collapse.
山 叻 崩 下 来 叻 ,
sɔn^{21} le^{22} pen^{21} xa^{35} li^{22} le^{22}
hill SEQ collapse down come SEQ
And once the hill collapses,
○它 个 泥 沙 守 唔 住 。
xu^{35} kəi^{0} nie^{22} sai^{21} ɕiɔu^{55} ŋ^{35} tʰy^{35}
3SG POSS soil sand keep NEG DUR
the soil and sand will not hold anymore.
以前 是 有 大 树 叻 ,
i^{55}tʰin^{53} ɕi^{22} iɔu^{55} xai^{35} tɕʰy^{213} le^{22}
before EMP have big tree SFP
There were big trees before,
○它 根 ○多 叻 , ○它 解 吸 水 个 。
xu^{35} ken^{21} ʊai^{55} le^{22} xu^{35} xie^{35} xən^{53} sei^{55} kə^{0}
3SG root many SFP 3SG can absorb water SFP
and they had many roots. Those roots could retain water.
现在 吸 水 吸 唔 了 叻 ,
xien^{35}tʰai^{55} xən^{53} sei^{55} xən^{53} ŋ^{35} liau^{55} le^{22}
now absorb water absorb NEG CMPL SFP
Now that they can no longer retain water,
个 落 雨 叻 , ○它 就 容易 冲 了 。
kə^{0} lɔ^{35} xy^{55} le^{22} xu^{35} tsiɔu^{21} iuŋ^{22}i^{35} tɕʰiuŋ^{21} ŋə^{0}
once fall rain SFP 3SG then easy wash away PFV
when it rains, it's easy (for the hills) to collapse.'

In summary, there are at least two strategies to code temporal subordination of sequentiality, namely parataxis and hypotaxis, as shown in Table 38.2 below:

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Table 38.2: Strategies of temporal subordination of sequentiality.

Strategy	Marker(s)	Example(s)
Parataxis	Ø (clause juxtaposition only)	(1298), (1299)
Hypotaxis	[sien^{21}] 先 'first' [i^{55}xəu^{213}] 以后 'afterwards' [tsiɔu$^{213\sim55}$] 就 'then' [tsai^{213} tsiɔu$^{213\sim55}$] 再就 'and then'	(1300) – (1302)
	[le^{22}] 叻 (clause-final particle)	**(1302)**

38.3 Summary

This chapter has discussed two main types of temporal subordination: simultaneity and sequentiality. Both subordination types use parataxis (juxtaposition of clauses) and hypotaxis (using overt temporal markers) as structural hierarchisation strategies to express subordination. It is noteworthy that, when the strategy of parataxis is used, pauses or change in intonation may sometimes take place between adjacent clauses, as a prosodic means of marking the sequential ordering.

As for overt temporal markers, some are likely to have been borrowed from Mandarin (e.g., [kə^{0}ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}] . . . (个) 时候 'at the moment of', while some are likely to be local Shaowu expressions (e.g., [kə^{0}tɔ^{22}lɔŋ^{22}] . . . (个) ○○$_{当中}$) with no etyma identified so far. These sequential temporal markers are usually attached to the end of the subordinate temporal clause, which serves as the background, followed by the main clause containing the foreground, where the primary action or event takes place.

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Chapter 39
Causal constructions

Causal constructions involve the indication of cause(s) or reason(s) in the subordinate clause that entail or lead to certain actions, states or events (consequence or effects) in the main clause. The cause clause may entail a volitional agent as the causer. As in other complex sentences, causal constructions can be zero-marked, i.e., by using the paratactic strategy, as in the following two examples.

39.1 Zero-marked causal constructions

The following complex sentence is structurally a juxtaposition of two simple independent clauses, but one readily can deduce the reason why 'I am not going' in the absence of any overt causal marker. Syntactically, the first clause is the subordinate clause (the 'background'), which paves the way for the second clause, where the primary action takes place (the 'foreground').

(1303) 〇我 冇 有 时间 , 〇我 唔 去 。
xaŋ^{35} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} ɕi^{22}kan^{21} xaŋ^{35} ŋ^{55} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG NEG have time 1SG NEG go
'I don't have time, (so) I am not going.'

Likewise, the example below uses the paratactic strategy to zero-mark the causal relation. This time the cause is non-volitional (heavy rains, no human agent involved) and the action has started in the past, with an impact now (roads being blocked):

(1304) 落 大 雨 , 路 皆 唔 通 。
lɔ^{35} xai^{35} xy^{55} t^{h}iɔ^{35} ka^{35} ŋ^{55} t^{h}uŋ^{21}
fall big rain road all NEG open
'The roads are all blocked because of the heavy downpour.'

The logical relations of cause and consequence can thus be readily inferred in paratactic sentences.

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39.2 Overt markers of cause and consequence in complex sentences

While Shaowu naturally uses parataxis to code causal relations, it is common for native speakers to insert overt markers to explicate the logical relation. These markers of cause and consequence are often borrowed from Mandarin or standard written Chinese, used widely in the media and in official domains. This section will look at several markers of cause and consequence in Shaowu.

39.2.1 Composite cause-consequence markers [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为 'because' . . . [su^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 所以 'therefore'

This is one of the most commonly used markers of cause and consequence in many Sinitic languages, including Shaowu. One can hear it often, even in day-to-day speech in Shaowu, a sign that this marker, likely from Mandarin, is well integrated into Shaowu. The composite marker has two parts, [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为 'because' and [su^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 所以 'therefore', preceding the causal clause and the consequence clause respectively. Note that it is not obligatory to use both of them in the form of double marking in a complex sentence. Either of the two markers will suffice to mark the logical relation between the two clauses, as in the following three examples:

(1305) 因为 ○$_{我}$ 度○ 有 闲 , 所以 有
in^{21}ʋei^{213} xaŋ^{35} t^{h}ɔ^{35}ma^{55} mau^{35} xien^{22} su^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ mau^{35}
because 1SG yesterday NEG free time therefore NEG
来 。
li^{22}
come
'I wasn't free yesterday, so I didn't come around.'

Shaowu native speakers often just use either [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为 'because' to code the cause or [su^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 所以 'therefore' to indicate the result, as in the following two examples respectively:

(1306) 因为 路 太 远 ,
in^{21}ʋei^{213} t^{h}iɔ^{35} t^{h}ai^{21} ʋien^{55}
because road too far
'Because the journey is too long,

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〇他	处	半	路	停	下	来	歇	了	个
xu^{35}	t^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$	pɔn^{213}	t^{h}iɔ^{35}	t^{h}in^{22}	xa$^{35\sim55}$	li^{22}	xie^{53}	ə^{0}	kə^{0}
3SG	LOC$_{at}$	half	road	stop	down	come	rest	PFV	one

下 。
xa^{35}
CLF
he stopped halfway to get some rest.'

(1307) 天气 唔 好 ,
t^{h}ien^{21}k^{h}i^{213} ŋ^{35} xau^{55}
weather NEG good
'The weather wasn't good,
所以 俺多 冇 去 公园 。
su^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ ien^{22} tai^{21} mau^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ kuŋ^{21}ʋien^{22}
therefore 1PL.INCL NEG go park
so we didn't go to the park.'

39.2.2 Composite cause-consequence markers [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为 'because' . . . [tsiɔu^{213}] 就 'then'

Shaowu uses another composite marker of cause and consequence, [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为'because' . . . [tsiɔu$^{213\sim21}$] 就 'then', to code the cause-consequence relation in a complex sentence. The marker [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为 'because' precedes the causal clause, while [tsiɔu^{213}] 就precedes the consequence clause, which is usually the foreground of the primary action. See the example below:

(1308) 因为 外头 落 雨 , 〇他 就 冇 去 打
in^{21}ʋei^{213} ʋai^{35}xəu$^{53\sim21}$ lɔ^{35} xy^{55} xu^{35} tsiɔu^{21} mau^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{21} ta^{55}
because outside fall rain 3SG then NEG go play
球儿 。
k^{h}ɯ^{21}ə^{0}
ball
'Because it was raining outside, he didn't go play a ballgame.'

As with [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为 . . . [su^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 所以, it is not obligatory to use both markers in the double-marking composite in a cause-consequence complex sentence. Either marker will suffice to mark the logical relation between the two clauses, as in the following example:

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(1309) ○我 度 ○ 冇 闲 , 就 唔 来 咯 。
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}ɔ^{35} ma^{55} mau^{35} xien^{22} tsiɔu^{21} ŋ^{55} li^{22} lɔ^{22}
1SG yesterday NEG free time then then NEG SFP
'I wasn't free yesterday, so I didn't come around.'

39.2.3 Composite cause-consequence markers [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为 'because' . . . [ku^{213}sə^{55}] 故使 'as a result'

Another composite marker in Shaowu is [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为 'because' . . . [ku^{213}sə^{55}] 故使 'as a result', whose use is similar to [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为 . . . [su^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 所以in § 39.2.2 above. Both markers can be used together but can also be used alone to mark the cause-consequence relation in a complex sentence.

(1310) 因为 只 有 半 个 钟头 啦 ,
in^{21}ʋei^{213} ni^{35} iɔu^{55} pɔn^{213} kə^{0} tɕiuŋ^{21}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ la^{22}
because only have have CLF hour SFP
'Because there is only half an hour left (before the coach leaves),
故使 ○他 使 走 去 车 站 。
ku^{213}sə^{55} xu^{35} sə^{55} tsu^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{213} tɕ^{h}ia^{21} tsan^{21}
therefore 3SG use run go bus station
he decided to run to the bus station.'

(1311) ○这 乡下 叻 ,
tɕiɔŋ^{53} xiɔŋ^{22}xa$^{35\sim22}$ le^{22}
DEM countryside TOP
'As for the countryside,
有 顶 ○多 学堂 皆 得 水
iɔu^{55} tin^{55} ʋai^{55} xɔ^{35}t^{h}ɔŋ^{55} ka^{35} tie^{53} sei^{55}
EXST very many school all PASS water
浸 到 了 ,
tsən^{213} tau^{55} ə^{0}
soak ACH PFV
many schools have been flooded,
故使 叻 , 教育局 叻 ,
ku^{213}sə^{55} le^{22} kau^{213}y^{55}k^{h}y^{35} le^{22}
therefore SFP Education Department SFP
so the Education Department

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就	决定	二十三	号	就	开始
tsiɔu^{21}	kye^{53}t^{h}in^{35}	ni^{35}ɕi^{35}san^{21}	xau^{213}	tsiɔu^{21}	kai^{21}ɕi^{22}
then	decide	twenty-three	day	then	begin

放	假	。
puŋ^{213}	ka^{55}	
release	holiday	

has decided to start the school holiday earlier, on the 23rd (of June).'

39.2.4 Composite cause-consequence [ki^{213} . . . ien^{22}] 既然 'given that' . . . [tsiɔu^{213}] 就 'then'

Another Shaowu composite marker that codes the cause-consequence relation in a complex sentence, and which is stronger in meaning than 'because' . . . 'therefore', is [ki^{213}ien^{22}] 既然 'given that', 'since' . . . [tsiɔu$^{213\sim21}$] 就 'therefore'. Unlike other pairs of markers, when [ki^{213}ien^{22}] 既然is used in the causal clause, then [tsiɔu^{213}] 就must be used in the consequence clause and cannot be elided.

The causal marker [ki^{213}ien^{22}] 既然 'given that'/'since' . . . is used when the reason for or cause of an action or event has already been mentioned to the speaker (known information), contrary to the causal marker [in^{21}ʊei^{213}] 因为 'because' which is used for causes that have not yet been mentioned. See the following two examples:

(1312)

既然	○$_{你}$	头	○$_{疼}$	，
ki^{213}ien^{22}	xien^{35}	t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$	t^{h}y^{35}	
since	2SG	head	pain	

'Since you have headache,

○$_{你}$	就	唔	○$_{要}$	上	课	啦	。
xien^{35}	tsiɔu^{213}	ŋ^{55}	nuŋ^{35}	ɕiɔŋ^{35}	k^{h}ɔ^{213}	la^{22}	
2SG	then	NEG	need	attend	class	SFP	

there is no need for you to come to class.'

(1313)

既然	○$_{她}$	皆	话	唔	喜欢	你	，
ki^{213}ien^{22}	xu^{35}	ka^{35}	ʊa^{35}	ŋ^{55}	xi^{55}fɔn^{21}	xien^{35}	
since	3SG	ADV	say	NEG	like	2SG	

'Since she has already said that she doesn't like you,

○$_{你}$	就	○$_{别}$	去	找	她	。
xien^{35}	tsiɔu^{21}	məi^{22}	k^{h}ɔ^{21}	sau^{213}	xu^{35}	
2SG	then	PROH	go	find	3SG	

you shouldn't go see her.'

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39.2.5 Consequence marker [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 'therefore'

Shaowu can also employ the consequence marker [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 'therefore' in the consequence clause, after stating the reason in the causal clause (with or without an overt causal marker). It can also be used in conjunction with the clausal markers [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为 'because' . . . or [ki^{213}ien^{22}] 既然 'given that', or without them. See the example below:

(1314) ○$_{这}$个 远 个 路 ,
tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} ʋien^{55} kə^{0} t^{h}iɔ^{35}
DEM far ATT road
'The place is so far away,
骑 车 又 唔 解 骑 ,
k^{h}i^{22} tɕ^{h}ia^{21} iɔu$^{35\sim55}$ ŋ^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ k^{h}i^{22}
ride bicycle also NEG can ride
I don't know how to cycle
行 路 又 唔 解 行 ,
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}iɔ^{35} iɔu$^{35\sim55}$ ŋ^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ xaŋ^{35}
walk road also NEG can walk
or walk there,
○$_{我}$ 还是 懒 得 去 啦 。
xaŋ^{35} ai^{213}ɕi^{55} lan^{55} tie^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ la^{22}
1SG therefore lazy COMP go SFP
so I didn't feel like going.'

The use of [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 'therefore' often involves a situation where different facts or conditions are presented as factors for consideration. As a result, [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 'therefore' is mostly used in complex sentences where the consequence has yet not taken place, or the expected event has not taken place.

39.2.6 Clause-final particle [le^{22}] 叻 as causal marker

Among its multiple grammatical functions, such as sequential marker, the clause final particle [le^{22}] 叻 can also be used to indicate cause and consequence, which tallies well with the fact that intrinsically a causal relation entails a sequence. Therefore, [le^{22}] 叻 is both a cause marker and sequence marker, and it would be difficult to tease two apart in a case, such as that illustrated in the following example:

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(1315) 水 土 保持 唔 住 叻 , ○它 就 容易 ...
sei^{55} t^{h}u^{22} pau^{55}t^{h}i^{22} ŋ^{55} t^{h}y^{35} le^{22} xu^{35} tsiɔu^{21} iuŋ^{22}i^{35}
water soil keep NEG DUR SEQ 3SG then easy
As they can't bind the ground soil anymore, it's easy. . .
山 叻 崩 下 来 。
sɔn^{21} le^{22} pen^{21} xa^{35} li^{22}
hill TOP collapse down come
for the hill to collapse.
山 叻 崩 下 来 叻 ,
sɔn^{21} le^{22} pen^{21} xa^{35} li^{22} le^{22}
hill SEQ collapse down come SEQ
And once the hill collapses,
○它 个 泥 沙 守 唔 住 。
xu^{35} kəi^{0} nie^{22} sai^{21} ɕiɔu^{55} ŋ^{35} t^{h}y^{35}
3SG POSS soil sand keep NEG DUR
the soil and sand will not hold anymore.

'. . . can't bind the ground soil anymore, it is then easy . . . (for) the hill to collapse. And once the hill collapses, the soil and sand won't hold anymore.' (Sequence)
Or: ' . . . can't bind the ground soil anymore, it is then easy . . . (for) the hill to collapse. And because the hill collapses, the soil and sand won't hold anymore.' (Consequence)

It is plausible to interpret the final clause both as a sequence and a consequence of the fact that 'the hill collapses'. The clause-final particle [le^{22}] 叻can mark both relations. An analogy would be the sentence-initial 'then' in English, which can be either a sequential or a consequential logical linker (Huddleston *et al.* 2002).

The sentence-final particle [le^{22}] 叻 can also work in conjunction with a causal marker such as [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为. In this case, [le^{22}] 叻is a simple marker for sequential events and can indeed be elided, because the causal link is already borne by [in^{21}ʋei^{213}] 因为. The causal interpretation of [le^{22}] 叻could be a pragmatic extension of the sequential function, just as 'consequence' is pragmatically derived from temporal 'sequence'.

(1316) 以前 ○那 个 时间 叻 ,
i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} ɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} ɕi^{22}kan^{21} le^{22}
in the past DEM CLF time SFP
'In the old times,

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○要	归	城	非常		唔	容易				。
nuŋ^{35}	kuei^{21}	ɕin^{22}	fei^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{22}		ŋ^{55}	iuŋ^{22}i^{35}				
want	return	city	very		NEG	easy				

getting back into the city is not easy.

因为	○它	个	城	墙	个	关	起来	叻	,
in^{21}ʋei^{213}	xu^{35}	kə^{0}	ɕin^{22}	t^{h}iɔŋ^{22}	kə^{0}	kuan^{21}	k^{h}i^{55}li^{22}	le^{22}	
because	3SG	POSS	city	wall	once	close	DIR$_{up.come}$	SFP	

Because once the city gate was closed,

○它	外头	个	兵	叻	,
xu^{35}	ʋai^{35}xəu$^{53\sim21}$	kə^{0}	pin^{21}	le^{22}	
3SG	outside	ATT	soldier	SFP	

the soldiers who were outside the city wall

就	唔	得	归	去	咯	。
tsiɔu^{213}	ŋ^{35}	tie^{53}	kuei^{21}	k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$	lɔ^{22}	
then	NEG	can	return	go	SFP	

were not be able to get in anymore.'

39.3 Summary

In this chapter, we have extensively covered the complex sentence structure involving the cause and consequence relation. While parataxis is still a very common means to code cause and consequence, leaving the hearer to infer the logical relation from the context, it is frequent in Shaowu to use overt markers to code this relation. These markers are often borrowings from Mandarin and thus make the sentence sound more literary. In colloquial speech, people tend to juxtapose the clauses together with no overt clause marking. The following table summarises the different ways of expressing the cause-consequence relationship in Shaowu. Apart from the first row which represents parataxis, the rest of the table concerns hypotaxis where there is a subordinate (causal) clause as background and a main (consequence) clause where the primary action or event takes place as a result. Note that the order of the causal and consequence clauses can be inverted, as long as they have the right markers attached to them.

Table 39.1 gives a summary of Shaowu's most common clausal markers and their respective functions.

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Table 39.1: Shaowu clausal markers and their functions.

Markers	Function/Specificity	Example(s)
Ø Zero marking	Parataxis, juxtaposing clauses, logical relation inferred from context	(1303), (1304)
[in^{21}ʊei^{213}] 因为 'because' . . . [su^{55}ɪ$^{55\sim22}$] 所以 'therefore'	Can be used in pair or alone	(1305) – (1307)
[in^{21}ʊei^{213}] 因为 'because' . . . [tsiɔu$^{213\sim21}$] 就 'then'	Can be used in pair or alone	(1308) – (1309)
[in^{21}ʊei^{213}] 因为 'because' . . . [ku^{213}sə^{55}] 故使 'as a result'	Can be used in pair or alone	(1310), (1311)
[ki^{213} . . . ien^{22}] 既然'given that' . . . [tsiɔu^{213}] 就 'then'	Used in pair only	(1312), (1313)
[in^{21}ʊei^{213}] 因为 'because' . . . / [ki^{213} . . . ien^{22}] 既然'given that'+ [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是'therefore'/ [tsiɔu$^{213\sim21}$] 就 'then'	Can be used in pair or alone	(1314), (1316)
SFP [le^{22}] 叻	Can step in as causal marker in the absence of any prototypical causal marking	(1315), (1316)

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Chapter 40
Conditional constructions

Conditional sentences express factual implications or hypothetical situations, and their (would-be) consequences. They are so called because the main clause is conditional on the existence of a given circumstance. A conditional sentence consists of a dependent clause (protasis, if-clause) expressing the condition and the main clause (apodosis, then-clause) expressing the consequence. There are in general four main types of conditional sentence mentioned in the linguistic literature (see Haspelmath *et al*., 2001: 1002, Huddleston *et al*. 2016: 33–41, *inter alia*), these are, namely (i) implicative, (ii) predictive, (iii) speculative and (iv) counterfactual. Each type is described below:

The **implicative conditional**, also called factual conditional, states that if one fact holds, so does another. It is often used in scientific observations. An example in English is: *If you freeze nitrogen to below 63K, it becomes solid*. English uses the present tense both in the *if*-clause and the then-clause. The implicative conditional can also be used in logical deductions for certain circumstances, for instance, *If you lock the door, then the cat is trapped inside*.

The **predictive conditional**, also called hypothetical conditional, states that a given condition will lead to a certain probable or possible future situation or outcome. This type of conditional is frequently used in day-to-day conversational contexts, e.g., *If it rains, I'll stay in*. English uses the present tense in the *if*-clause and the simple future in the then-clause.

The **speculative conditional** states that, in an unlikely event of something happening, it would or might lead to a certain would-be situation or outcome. In English grammar, this is expressed using the past tense in the *if*-clause and the *would*-conditional in the *then*-clause. An example: *If I saw him, I would tell him to come to see you* (implying that it is unlikely that I will see him), or *If I won the lottery, I would use part of the money to plant a forest* (the chance of me winning the lottery is rather low).

The **counterfactual conditional** describes a situation or outcome that is dependent on a condition known to be false or presented as impossible. This is often used in events that are impossible to realise or reverse, sometimes accompanied by a regret or wish. An example in English: *Had we known that earlier, we would have not made such a decision* (but it is too late now).

Unlike English, Shaowu, like most Sinitic languages, does not use tenses to reflect the type of conditionals in a complex sentence. The type of conditional is again largely inferred from the context, even if there is an overt Shaowu conditional marker, as it may not exactly pinpoint the type of conditional, until the

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context steps in to fill the gap. In this way, Shaowu, like many other Sinitic languages, is very different from morphologically richer languages.

Shaowu uses parataxis, the simple juxtaposition of clauses, to form a conditional relation between them. Shaowu also uses hypotaxis, the syntactic hierarchisation of *if-* and *when*-clauses, marked by overt conditional markers, to code the conditional relation between clauses. These means will be explored in the following sections.

40.1 Coding the conditional through parataxis

As in other logical relations mentioned in previous chapters, the juxtaposition of clauses and inference from context alone can implicitly code the aforementioned four conditional relations, with possible ambiguity at times. See the example below, which reads literally as 'You go, I go too.':

(1317) 〇你 去 , 〇我 也 去 。
xien^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xaŋ^{35} ia^{55} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
2SG go 1SG also go
'If you go, I go too.' (implicative conditional)
'If you go, I will go too.' (predictive conditional)

While English requires both an overt conditional marker, 'if', and a specific tense combination. There is none in the Shaowu paratactic conditional sentence formation, hence the ambiguity.

(1318) 有 啥 个 困难 ,
iɔu^{55} ɕia^{53} kə^{0} k^{h}uən^{213}nan^{22}
EXST what ATT difficulty
〇我多 一定 帮 〇你 解决 。
xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} i^{53}t^{h}in^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xien^{35} kai^{55}kyə^{53}
1PL.EXCL certainly help 2SG resolve
'If there is any difficulty, we will help you resolve it.' (predictive)
'If there was any difficulty, we would help you resolve it.' (speculative)

Note that the above sentence, too, contains no conditional markers or tense marking, it is a mere apposition of two seemingly independent clauses: 'There is difficulty,' 'we certainly help you resolve it.' While there is an assertion from 'us' to help 'you', the likelihood of there being a problem can be low or high. Thus, the conditional clause in the above example is subject to two readings, the predictive

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and the speculative. The conditional dependence relationship is inferred solely by the understanding of the situation, and is thus open to interpretation, if the context is not specific enough.

Another example of paratactic conditional with ambiguity is found below, this time between a speculative and a counterfactual conditional:

(1319) ○你 早 来 两 工 ,
xien^{35} t^{h}au^{55} li^{22} liɔŋ^{55} kuŋ^{21}
2SG early come two day
○你 解 瞁 到 老 李 了 。
xien^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ niaŋ^{213} tau^{55} lau^{55} li^{55} ə^{0}
2SG can look ACH Lao Li PFV
'If you came two days earlier, you would be able to see Old Li.' (speculative)
'Had you come two days earlier, you would have been able to see Old Li.'(counterfactual)

As we will see below, even in the presence of overt conditional marking, ambiguity can still exist in Shaowu conditional sentences.

40.2 Coding the conditional through hypotaxis

The most common if-conditional marker in a conditional clause is [ka$^{55\sim35}$sə$^{55\sim22}$] 假使. The type of conditional sentence (implicative, predictive, speculative or counterfactual) is deduced from the situation, which can sometimes be open to interpretation.

40.2.1 If-conditionals [ka$^{55\sim35}$sə$^{55\sim22}$] 假使 / [y^{22}kuɔ$^{55\sim22}$] 如果 'if'

The most common if-conditional marker in a conditional clause is [ka$^{55\sim35}$sə$^{55\sim22}$] 假使. The type of conditional sentence (implicative, predictive, speculative or counterfactual) is deduced from the situation, which can sometimes be open to interpretation.

(1320) 假使 过 了 立秋 咯 ,
ka^{35}sə^{55} kuɔ^{213} ə^{0} lən^{21}t^{h}iəu^{21} lɔ^{0}
if pass PFV Autumn SFP

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○这 个 时间 唔 够 哇 ,
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} ɕi^{22}kan^{21} ŋ^{55} kəu^{213} ʊa^{0}
DEM CLF time NEG enough SFP
○它 就 冇 有 禾 。
xu^{35} tsiɔu^{213} mau^{35} iɔu^{55} ʊəi^{22}
3SG then NEG have crop
'If we miss (planting the seedlings in) early Autumn, there will be little time left for the crops to ripen.' (predictive conditional) or
'If we missed (planting the seedlings in) early Autumn, there would be little time left for the crops to ripen.' (speculative conditional)

The above example can have two readings: the predictive reading (with higher likelihood of the end result, given the condition) or the speculative reading (with lower likelihood of the end result given the condition). However, the certainty with which our linguistic consultant was relating the phases of crop planting and their risks makes it more likely that this is a predictive conditional.

The example below is ambiguous for the same reason. This time another conditional marker, [y^{22}kuɔ^{22}] 如果, is employed:

(1321) 如果 ○你 是 帮 ○我 做 ,
y^{22}kuɔ^{22} xien^{35} ɕi^{55} pɔŋ^{21} xaŋ^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$
if 2SG be help 1SG do
○我 是 学 唔 到 东西 。
xaŋ^{35} ɕi^{55} xɔ^{35} ŋ^{55} tau^{55} tuŋ^{21}si^{21}
1SG be learn NEG ACH thing
'If you do this for me, I will not be able to learn anything.' (predicative conditional) or
'If you did this for me, I would not be able to learn anything.' (speculative conditional)

The above conditional sentence can either be interpreted as a predictive conditional or a speculative conditional, depending on the readiness of the addressee in doing the task for the speaker, which impacts on the likelihood of 'not being able to learn' by the latter.

However, with given contexts, an unambiguous conditional reading is possible, such as in example (1322) which can only interpreted as a predictive conditional. Given that the maximum possible output of 70 taels (per person) on a harvest day has been mentioned, the speculative and counterfactual readings are unlikely.

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(1322) 如果 打 七十 斤 个 粟 ,
y^{22}kuɔ^{22} ta^{55} t^{h}i^{53}ɕi$^{35\sim21}$ kin^{21} kə^{0} ɕy^{53}
if hit seventy tael ATT grain
是 最 高 最 高 。
ɕi^{22} tsei^{213} kau^{21} tsei^{213} kau^{21}
be SUP high SUP high
'If one got to collect 70 taels of grain, it was considered to be a record.'
[Context: The consultant was talking about collective farm work in the 1960's, where one could thrash and collect a maximum 70 taels (approximately 35 kilos) of grain in a day during the harvest. It would be difficult to surpass this quantity.]

The following two examples are unambiguously counterfactual conditionals, given the context:

(1323) 如果 ○$_{他}$ 爷 娘 还 处 ,
y^{22}kuɔ^{22} xu^{35} ia^{22} niɔŋ^{22} ai^{213} t^{h}ei^{55} (t^{h}u$^{55\sim35}$)
if 3SG father mother still be.exist
'If his parents were alive,
○$_{他}$多 一定 唔 解 唔 ○$_{要}$ ○$_{他}$ 个 票儿 。
xu^{35}tai^{21} i^{53}t^{h}in^{35} ŋ^{55} xie$^{55\sim35}$ ŋ^{55} nuŋ^{35} xu^{35} kə^{0} p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}
3PL certainly NEG can NEG want 3SG POSS money
they would not have turned down his money.'

(1324) ○$_{你}$ 如果 早 ○ 话 ,
xien^{35} y^{22}kuɔ^{22} t^{h}au^{55} maŋ^{22} ʋa^{35}
2SG if early a bit say
'Had you said it earlier,
○$_{我}$ 今朝 就 唔 来 咯 。
xaŋ^{35} kin^{21}tɕiau^{21} tsiɔu^{213} ŋ^{55} li^{22} lɔ^{22}
1SG today then NEG come SFP
I would not have come today.'

Conditional sentences are one of the areas in Sinitic grammar, including that of Shaowu, that can lead to multiple readings, if the context is vague or ambiguous. However, if the context is crystal clear, aided by our epistemological understanding and our faculty of logical deduction, there is usually only one interpretation that is most plausible in the conditional construction.

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40.2.2 The emphatic *even if*-conditionals [tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{55}] 就是 'even if' . . . [ia^{55}] 也 'still'

To express the emphatic conditional, as in the English 'even if', Shaowu uses the composite markers [tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{55}] 就是 . . . 也 [ia^{55}]. The former is used in the conditional clause (subordinate according to syntactic criterion) and the latter in the main clause.

(1325) 就是 天 落 雨 ,
tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{55} t^{h}ien^{21} lɔ^{35} xy^{55}
even if sky fall rain
'Even if it rains,
俺多 也 可以 出 去 。
ien^{22}tai^{21} ia^{55} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
1PL.INCL can out go
we can still go out.'

40.2.3 *If*-conditionals [iau^{213}ɕi^{55}] 要是 'if' . . . [tsiɔu^{213}] 就 'then'

The composite pair [iau^{213}ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 要是 'if' . . . [tsiɔu$^{213\sim21}$] 就 'then' can be used in a conditional sentence to code most commonly the predictive conditional. The conditional marker [iau^{213}ɕi^{22}] 要是 is attached to the conditional (subordinate) clause and the consequence marker [tsiɔu^{213}] 就 to the outcome (main) clause. See the example below:

(1326) ○$_{你}$ 要是 找 得 到 狗 子 ,
xien^{35} iau^{213}ɕi^{22} sau^{213} tie^{53} tau^{55} kəu^{55} tsə^{0}
2SG if find POT ACH dog DIM
'If you find the puppy,
就 找 得 到 ○$_{那}$ 只 狗 嫲 。
tsiɔu^{213} sau^{213} tie^{53} tau^{55} ɔŋ^{53} tɕia^{53} kəu^{55} ma^{22}
then find POT ACH DEM CLF dog SUFX$_{F}$
then you can find its mother.' (predictive conditional)

Sometimes it suffices to have only a consequence marker in the main clause instead of an overt conditional *if*- marker in the subordinate clause to explicate the conditional dependence relation. The following example, which literally means 'You say this to him, then I will go' illustrates this:

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(1327) ○你 帮 ○他 话 ○这 事 , ○我 就 去 。
xien[35] pɔŋ[21] xu[35] ʋa[35] tɕiɔŋ[53] sə[35] xaŋ[35] tsiɔu[213] kʰɔ[213~21]
2SG DAT 3SG tell DEM matter 1SG then go
'I will go if you tell him.'

Another example:

(1328) ○你 唔 来 ,
xien[35] ŋ[55] li[22]
2SG NEG come
'If you don't come,
○我 就 帮 ○你 送 度 去 。
xaŋ[35] tsiɔu[213] pɔŋ[21] xien[35] suŋ[213] xɔ[35] kʰɔ[213~21]
1SG then DAT 2SG send over go
then I'll send it to you.'

40.2.4 *Unless*-conditionals [tʰy[22]fei[21]] 除非 'unless' . . . [fɔ[55]tsə[53]] 否则 / [pei[53]ien[22]] 不然 'otherwise' and [tʰy[22]fei[21]] 除非 'unless' . . . [tsai[22]] 才 'only then'

For the pairs of composite conditional markers, (i) [tʰy[22]fei[21]] 除非 'unless' . . . [fɔ[55]tsə[53]] 否则 'otherwise', and (ii) [tʰy[22]fei[21]] 除非 'unless' . . . [pei[53]ien[22]] 不然 'otherwise'; both components are obligatory. The marker [tʰy[22]fei[21]] 除非 'unless' occurs in the conditional clause and either [fɔ[55]tsə[53]] 否则 or [pei[53]ien[22]] 不然 'otherwise' occurs in the outcome clause. Both pairs sound very literary. The emphatic conditional marker [tʰy[22]fei[21]] 除非 'unless', is 'exclusive' because it refers to the fact that the conditional marker codes the one and only condition, and excludes all others, prior to the possible realisation of the outcome. The outcome clause must be negated. See the following example:

(1329) 除非 ○你 去 , 否则 / 不然 ○我 唔 来 。
tʰy[22]fei[21] xien[35] kʰɔ[213] fɔ[55]tsə[53] pei[53]ien[22] xaŋ[35] ŋ[55] li[22]
unless 2SG go otherwise 1SG NEG come
'Unless you go, I won't go either.' (predictive conditional)

Although they are sometimes used in Shaowu speech, more often than not Shaowu speakers will simply use the consequence marker [tsiɔu[213~21]] 就 'then' in the outcome clause, accompanied by an emphatic sentence intonation:

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(1330) ○你 唔 去 , ○我 就 唔 去 。
xien[35] ŋ[55] kʰɔ[213~21] xaŋ[35] tsiɔu[213] ŋ[55] kʰɔ[213~21]
2SG NEG go 1SG then NEG go
'If you don't go, then I won't go either.'

While the markers in the main clause [fɔ[55]tsə[53]] 否则 'otherwise' and [pei[53]ien[22]] 不然 'otherwise' (synonyms) require the negation of the outcome as a result of the condition given ('unless . . . otherwise'), the use of [tsai[22]] 才 'only then' as a conditional marker in the outcome clause does not require this, but emphasizes the possibility of the outcome, if the condition is met. See the following example:

(1331) 除非 ○他 是 聋 子 ,
tʰy[22]fei[21] xu[35] ɕi[22] suŋ[53] tsə[0]
unless 3SG COP deaf NOM
'Unless he was deaf,
○他 才 听 唔 到 ○这 大 个 声窟 。
xu[35] tsai[22] tʰiaŋ[21] ŋ[55] tau[55] tɕiɔŋ[53] xai[35] kə[0] tɕʰin[21]kʰuei[53~21]
3SG only then listen NEG ACH DEM big ATT sound
he must have heard the sound.'

The above example is a typical counterfactual condition, as it has been assumed by the speaker that the person in question was not deaf and likely had heard the sound. By using the composite conditional marker [tʰy[22]fei[21]] 除非 'unless' . . . [tsai[22]] 才 'only then', the speaker emphasizes the one and only condition leading to the only possible outcome, according to him or her. The example below further illustrates this point, this time in a predictive or speculative condition:

(1332) 除非 ○你 拿 ○他 灌 醉 了 去 ,
tʰy[22]fei[21] xien[35] na[22] xu[35] kuɔn[213] tsei[213] ə[0] kʰɔ[213~21]
unless 2SG OM 3SG fill up drunk go
才 晓得 ○他 个 酒 量 大 。
tsai[22] xiau[55]tie[53] xu[35] kə[0] tsɔu[55] liɔŋ[35] xai[35]
only then know 3SG POSS alcohol capacity big
'Unless you get him drunk, you won't know how much he can hold his drink.' Or
'Unless you got him drunk, you wouldn't know how much he could hold his drink.'

Note that in Shaowu, both members of the pair [tʰy[22]fei[21]] 除非 'unless' and . . . [tsai[22]] 才 'only then' have to appear in the conditional sentence (unlike English,

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where 'unless' suffices), with [$t^hy^{22}fei^{21}$] 除非 'unless' marking the conditional clause, and [$tsai^{22}$] 才 'only then' marking the outcome clause.

40.2.5 *Only if/when*-conditionals [$ni^{35}nuŋ^{35}$] 只○要 'only if' 'only when' . . . [$tsiɔu^{213}$] 就 'then'

Another 'exclusive' conditional marker is [$ni^{35}nuŋ^{35}$] 只○要 'only if', which also expresses an exclusive condition for the outcome to be realised. It is placed in the conditional clause, while the consequence marker [$tsiɔu^{213}$] 就 'then' is required in the outcome clause. See the following two examples:

(1333) ○你 只○要 拿 ○这 个 石 移 个 下 ,
$xien^{35}$ $ni^{35}nuŋ^{35}$ na^{22} $tɕiɔŋ^{53}$ $ŋə^{0}$ $ɕiɔ^{35}$ yi^{22} $kə^{0}$ xa^{35}
2SG only if OM DEM CLF rock move one bit
'Only if you manage to move this rock a little,
○我多 就 请 ○你 。
$xaŋ^{35}tai^{21}$ $tsiɔu^{213}$ $t^hiaŋ^{55}$ $xien^{35}$
1PL.EXCL then hire 2SG
we will then hire you.'

(1334) 只○要 ○你 肯 学 ,
$ni^{35}nuŋ^{35}$ $xien^{35}$ k^hen^{55} $xɔ^{35}$
only if 2SG willing learn
'If you are willing to learn,
就 可以 学 好 。
$tsiɔu^{213}$ $k^hɔ^{55}i^{55\sim22}$ $xɔ^{35}$ xau^{55}
then can learn well
you can learn well.'

Both parts of the composite pair [$ni^{35}nuŋ^{35}$] 只○要 'only if' 'only when' . . . [$tsiɔu^{213}$] 就 'then' have to appear in the conditional sentence, with [$ni^{35}nuŋ^{35}$] 只○要 'only if' marking the conditional clause and [$tsiɔu^{213}$] 就 'then' marking the outcome clause.

40.2.6 Unconditional sentences [$ŋ^{55}kuɔn^{55}$] 唔管 'regardless' . . . [ka^{35}] 皆 'still', [$pei^{53}luən^{213}$] 不论 'no matter what' . . . [ka^{35}] 皆 'all'

A subset of conditional sentences is the 'unconditional' sentence. This refers to a construction of the complex sentence type having the expected outcome in the

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main clause, and the subordinate clause containing a marker of unconditionality. Put differently, this construction expresses that whatever the conditions are, certain events will take place, the equivalent in English being 'no matter what', 'regardless' or 'whatever it takes'. Composite pairs such as [ŋ^{55}kuɔn^{55}] 唔管 'regardless' . . . [ka^{35}] 皆 'still' (derived from the adverb 'all') are shown in example (1335), and [pei^{53}luən^{213}] 不论 'no matter what' . . . [ka^{35}] 皆 'all', in example (1336):

(1335) 唔管 有 几 大 个 困难 ,
ŋ^{55}kuɔn^{55} iɔu^{55} ki^{55} t^{h}ai^{35} kə^{0} k^{h}un^{213}nan^{22}
regardless EXST how big ATT difficulty
'Regardless of the (immensity of) difficulty,
〇$_{我}$ 皆 〇$_{要}$ 做 下 去 。
xaŋ^{35} ka^{35} nuŋ^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xa^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
1SG all have to do down go
I still want to continue.'

(1336) 〇$_{我}$多 不论 有 啥 事 ,
xaŋ^{35}tai^{21} pei^{53}luən^{213} iɔu^{55} ɕia^{53} sə^{35}
1PL.EXCL no matter have what matter
'No matter what happens,
皆 喜欢 找 〇$_{他}$ 话 。
ka^{35} xi^{55}fɔn^{21} sau^{213} xu^{35} ʊa^{35}
all like find 3SG talk
we would all like to go talk to him.'

The 'unconditional' markers [ŋ^{55}kuɔn^{55}] 唔管 'regardless' or [pei^{53}luən^{213}] 不论 'no matter what' are used in the conditional (subordinate) clause, whereas 皆 [ka35] 'all' 'still' is used in the outcome (main) clause. Both parts of the composite pair must appear in the complex sentence for it to be grammatical.

40.3 Summary

This chapter has examined various strategies used to code the conditional. There are in general four types of conditionals, namely implicative, predictive, speculative and counterfactual. The type of conditional intended by the speaker often has to be extrapolated from context, based on the hearer's epistemological knowledge and logical inference. This is essential not only for paratactic conditional sentences, but also for conditional sentences containing overt conditional

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markers. In the absence of clear information, multiple readings are possible in a conditional sentence, deprived of its context, and ambiguity in interpretation may arise.

Both parataxis and hypotaxis can be used to form a conditional construction. Table 40.1 below sums up our findings:

Table 40.1: Markers of conditional constructions, their functions and specificities.

Marker(s)	Functions/Specificities	Example(s)
Zero-marking (Parataxis)	Juxtaposition of the conditional clause and the outcome clause Can code any type of conditional, depending on the context Higher possibility of obtaining an ambiguous reading due to the lack of both syntactic marking (conditional markers) and inflectional marking (the latter is inexistent in Shaowu)	(1317) – (1319)
With markers (Hypotaxis)	Syntactically structuring the conditional (subordinate) clause and the outcome (main) clause Can code any type of conditional, depending on the context Sometimes composite marker pairs (one for the conditional clause and one for the outcome clause) must both appear in the sentence, sometimes one of them suffices	
[ka^{55}sə^{55}] 假使 or [y^{22}kuɔ^{22}] 如果 'if'	*If*-conditional	(1320) – (1324)
[tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{55}] 就是 'even if' . . . [ia^{55}] 也 'still'	*Even if*-conditional, emphatic	(1325)
[iau^{213}ɕi^{55}] 要是 'if' . . . [tsiɔu^{213}] 就 'then'	*If*-conditional	(1326) – (1328)
[tʰy^{22}fei^{21}] 除非 'unless' . . . [fɔ^{55}tsə^{53}] 否则/ [pei^{53}ien^{22}] 不然 'otherwise' [tʰy^{22}fei^{21}] 除非 'unless' . . . [tsai^{22}] 才 'only then'	*Unless*-conditional, emphathic, exclusive condition	(1329) – (1332)
[ni^{35}nuŋ^{35}] 只○要 'only if' 'only when' . . . [tsiɔu^{213}] 就 'then'	*Only if/when*-conditional	(1333), (1334)
[ŋ^{55}kuɔn^{55}] 唔管 'regardless' . . . [ka^{35}] 皆 'all', [pei^{53}luən^{213}] 不论 'no matter what' . . . [ka^{35}] 皆 'all'	'Unconditional' conditional	(1335), (1336)

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Chapter 41
Concessive constructions

In a concessive construction, the idea conveyed in the subordinate clause is in opposition to the idea expressed in the main clause. An example in English is *Although the weather is nice, I am staying in*. The most common concessive markers in English are 'although', 'in spite of', 'notwithstanding'. As for conditional sentences in Shaowu, concessive markers often come in pairs, such as:
(i) [tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{55}] 就是 'even though' . . . [ia^{55}] 也 'still',
(ii) [sei^{22}ien^{22}] 虽然 'although' . . . [pei^{53}kuɔ^{213}] 不过 'but',
(iii) [t^{h}in^{213}kuɔn^{55}] 尽管 'despite' . . . [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 'still'.

In English, however, it suffices to have one concessive marker in either the subordinate or the main clause, and indeed having two is deemed ungrammatical (see Huddleston *et al*. 2016: 734–738, *inter alia*) In Shaowu, however, it is usually necessary to have one concessive marker in the subordinate clause and another in the main clause.

As in other complex sentence construction types, the use of parataxis is allowed in the concessive construction but is perhaps less prevalent than other types of construction such as the sequential and the conditional. This may be due to the fact that concessive relations are less easy to identify and deduce in a complex sentence without any overt markers. This involves a more semantically specific relationship. To give an example in English of zero marking: *I had seen this before. It came as a surprise*. It would be rather hard to discern the logical relations between the two clauses right away with zero-marking. However, if one explicates the logical link between the two clauses, the relation becomes clear: *Although I had seen this before, it still came as a surprise*.

41.1 Parataxis (zero-marking)

Concessive relations can be achieved by parataxis, the juxtaposition of two simple clauses. There are no overt concessive markers in these clauses to indicate the logical relation, which is inferred solely from context or prosody. See the two examples below:

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(1337) ○她 冇 是 邵武 人 ,
xu^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{22} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} nin^{22}
3SG NEG COP Shaowu person
'Although she is not from Shaowu city,
邵武事 话 得 顶 好 。
ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35} ʋa^{35} tie^{53} tin^{55} xau^{55}
Shaowu speak COMP very well
she speaks very good Shaowu.'

The logical relation is expressed implicitly through the opposition of two contra-expectation facts (She is not from Shaowu city. She speaks good Shaowu.)

(1338) ○他 个 态度 唔 好 ,
xu^{35} kə^{0} tʰai^{213}tu$^{35\sim55}$ ŋ^{55} xau^{55}
3SG POSS attitude NEG good
'Although his attitude is not good,
○你 个 脾气 也 丑 。
xien^{35} kə^{0} pʰi^{22}kʰi^{213} ia^{55} tɕʰiɔu$^{55\sim22}$
2SG POSS temperament also ugly
you are ill-tempered too.'

The example above is a good illustration of multiple interpretations of the logical relation implied in two juxtaposed clauses without overt logical markers. The above example can also be understood as a complex sentence of coordination, stating a fact: *His attitude is not good, and you are ill-tempered too*. But the context of a friend offering consolation to someone who was upset after an argument has determined the logical relation, which is not explicated structurally.

41.2 Hypotaxis

The use of overt concessive markers, both in the subordinate and the main clause, can give a clear logical link between the two, thanks to overt markers and syntactic hierarchisation. As for conditional constructions discussed above, these concessive markers sometimes come in pairs. One is attached to the subordinate *although*- clause and the other to the *but*- clause, which is the main clause and the foreground. In some cases, both are obligatory, while in others, only one of these markers is required to form a concessive construction.

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41.2.1 Concessive markers [sei^{22}ien^{22}] 虽然 'although' . . . [pei^{53}kuɔ^{213}] 不过 'but'/ [t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55}] 但是 'but'

These concessive markers can be used alone in either of the clauses (as in examples 1339 and 1340) or in their composite form (as in example 1341). Note that all these markers, including [sei^{22}ien^{22}] 虽然, are likely to have been borrowed from Mandarin. The concessive markers [pei^{53}kuɔ^{213}] 不过and [t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55}] 但是are synonyms, both meaning 'but'. Using either of them will suffice, in forming a concessive clause. The following composite forms are nonetheless frequent in Shaowu:
(i) [sei^{22}ien^{22}] 虽然 'although' . . . [pei^{53}kuɔ^{213}] 不过 'but', and
(ii) [sei^{22}ien^{22}] 虽然 'although' . . . [t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55}] 但是 'but'.

with the concessive markers each placed in the beginning of the main and subordinate clauses respectively.

(1339) 〇$_{她}$ 冇 是 邵武 人 ,
xu^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{22} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} nin^{22}
3SG NEG COP Shaowu person
'She is not from Shaowu city,
不过 / 但是 邵武事 话 得 顶 好 。
pei^{53}kuɔ^{213} t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35} ʋa^{35} tie^{53} tin^{55} xau^{55}
but but Shaowu speak COMP very well
but she speaks very good Shaowu.'

(1340) 虽然 〇$_{她}$ 冇 是 邵武 人 ,
sei^{22}ien^{22} xu^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{22} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} nin^{22}
although 3SG NEG COP Shaowu person
'Although she is not from Shaowu city,
邵武事 话 得 顶 好 。
ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35} ʋa^{35} tie^{53} tin^{55} xau^{55}
Shaowu speak COMP very well
she speaks very good Shaowu.'

(1341) 虽然 〇$_{她}$ 冇 是 邵武 人 ,
sei^{22}ien^{22} xu^{35} mau^{35} ɕi^{22} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} nin^{22}
although 3SG NEG COP Shaowu person
'Although she is not from Shaowu city,

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不过	/	但是	邵武事	话	得	顶	好	。
pei^{53}kuɔ^{213}		t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55}	ɕiau^{213}u^{55}sə^{35}	ʊa^{35}	tie^{53}	tin^{55}	xau^{55}	
but		but	Shaowu	speak	COMP	very	well	

she speaks very good Shaowu.' (Composite form)

Another example of the composite form [sei^{22}ien^{22}] 虽然 'although' . . . [pei^{53}kuɔ^{213}] 不过 'but'/ [t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55}] 但是 'but' is presented below:

(1342)

虽然	邵武	是	蜀	个	城	哪	,
sei^{22}ien^{22}	ɕiau^{213}u^{55}	ɕi^{22}	ɕi^{22}	kəi^{213}	ɕin^{22}	na^{22}	
although	Shaowu	COP	one	CLF	city	SFP	

'Although Shaowu is a city,

但是	以前	城市	也	比较	小	。
t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55}	i^{55}t^{h}in^{53}	ɕin^{22}ɕi^{35}	ia^{55}	pi^{55}kau^{213}	siau^{55}	
but	in the past	city	also	relatively	small	

but then cities classified according to old standards are smaller in scale.'

41.2.2 Composite concessive markers [t^{h}in^{213}kuɔn^{55}] 尽管 'despite' . . . [t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55}] 但是 'but'/ [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 'still'

The concessive marker [t^{h}in^{213}kuɔn^{55}] 尽管 'despite', 'even though' is not as widely used as [sei^{22}ien^{22}] 虽然 'although' – which can readily replace it – by Shaowu speakers, but there are instances where it is employed.

(1343)

尽管	俺多	有	经验	,
t^{h}in^{213}kuɔn^{55}	ien^{22}tai^{21}	iɔu^{55}	kin^{21}nien^{35}	
even though	1PL.INCL	have	experience	

'Even though we have the experience,

但是	○这	事	俺多	还是	冇	想	到	。
t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55}	tɕiɔŋ^{53}	sə^{35}	ien^{22}tai^{21}	ai^{213}ɕi^{55}	mau^{35}	siɔŋ^{55}	tau^{21}	
but	DEM	matter	1PL.INCL	still	NEG	think	ACH	

(but) we didn't expect such a thing (like this) would happen.'

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41.2.3 Composite concessive markers [tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{55}] 就是 'even though' . . . [ia^{55}] 也 'still'

The emphatic concessive marker [tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{55}] 就是 is used to code the concessive (subordinate) clause, while the other marker [ia^{55}] 也 'still' is used in the main clause, as in the following two examples:

(1344) 就是 ○这 衣裳 再 破 ,
tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21} tsai^{213} pʰai^{213}
even though DEM clothes INT worn out
'For sure these clothes are worn out,
○我 也 可以 颂 。
xaŋ^{35} ia^{55} kʰɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ siuŋ^{35}
1SG still can wear
but I can still wear them.'

(1345) 就是 分 了 垴 叻 ,
tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{55} fən^{21} nə^{0} tʰən^{53} le^{22}
even though divide PFV field SFP
'Even though the land was distributed (to the community),
也 有 部分 是 自 留 地 。
ia^{55} iɔu^{55} pʰu^{35}fən$^{35\sim21}$ ɕi^{22} tʰi^{35} ləu^{22} tʰi^{35}
still have in part COP self keep land
part of it was still reserved for self-use.'

Note that the composite markers [tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{55}] 就是 . . . [ia^{55}] 也can also be used in coding the conditional (cf. Chapter 40, § 40.2.2) This pair of markers is multifunctional and productive in Shaowu.

41.2.4 Concessive markers [ai^{213}] 还 'still', 'yet'

The concessive marker [ai^{213}] 还is generally used in the main clause:

(1346) ○她 日 日 牵 ○你 去 食 草 ,
xu^{35} ni^{35} ni$^{35\sim21}$ kʰen^{21} xien^{35} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ɕie^{35} tʰau^{55}
3SG day day pull 2SG go eat grass
'She took you (the ox) to the field every day for you to graze on grass,

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〇你 还 挑 〇她 啊 ？！
xien^{35} ai^{213} t^{h}iau^{21} xu^{35} a^{0}
2SG still poke 3SG SFP
and yet you still poked her with your horns?!'
(Context: The father of the young Ms Gao who was looking after an ox but was hurt by its horn, was yelling at the ox.)

41.2.5 Emphatic concessive markers [ai^{213}] 还 'even' . . . [tsiɔu^{213}] 就 'however'

There is another composite pair of concessive markers in Shaowu, which contrasts two factual statements by using the concessive marker [ai^{213}] 还 'even' in the subordinate clause and [tsiɔu^{213}] 就 'however' in the main clause, as in the following example:

(1347) 光泽 还 得 飞机 炸 度 了 ，
kuɔŋ^{21}t^{h}a^{22} ai^{213} tie^{53} fei^{21}ki^{21} tsa^{213} t^{h}ɔ^{35} ə^{0}
Guangze even PASS airplane bomb EXP PFV
'Even the town of Guangze was air-raided (during the Sino-Japanese war),
邵武 就 冇 炸 叻 。
ɕiau^{213}u^{55} tsiɔu^{213} mau^{35} tsa^{213} le^{22}
Shaowu then NEG bomb SFP
yet the city of Shaowu was not bombed.'

41.2.6 Emphatic concessive markers [ai^{213}xau^{55}] 还好 'luckily it is not the case that . . . '

There is another way to express concessive relations, using the marker [ai^{213}xau^{55}] 还好 'luckily it is not the case that . . . ':

(1348) 还好 〇这 个 雨 冇 是 〇那个 大 ，
ai^{213}xau^{55} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} xy^{55} mau^{35} ɕi^{22} ɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} xai^{35}
luckily DEM CLF rain NEG be so big
'Luckily the rain was not heavy,
〇你 冇 得 〇它 淋 湿 了 。
xien^{35} mau^{35} tie^{53} xu^{35} lən^{22} ɕin^{53} nə^{0}
2SG NEG PASS 3SG soak wet PFV
so you did not get soaked.'

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41.2.7 Concessive marking by repeating the predicate in the concessive subordinate clause, using the emphatic copula 'be' [ɕi^{55}] 是 'It is indeed the case that . . . '

There is another way to code the concessive clause, without an overt concessive marker, by repeating the predicate after the emphatic copula 'be' [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 是 ('It is indeed the case that X is such'), with the syntactic construction [SUBJ + PRED$_{(i)}$ + COP$_{[ɕi22]}$ + PRED$_{(i)}$], followed by the main clause. See the following example:

(1349) 车 票 难 买 是 难 买 ,
tɕ^{h}ia^{21} p^{h}iau^{213} nan^{22} mie^{55} ɕi^{22} nan^{22} mie^{55}
bus ticket hard buy EMP$_{be}$ hard buy
'Bus tickets *a*re hard to get,
但是 一定 解 买 得 到 。
tan^{213}ɕi^{22} i^{53}t^{h}in^{35} xie$^{55\sim35}$ mie^{55} tie^{53} tau^{21}
but definitively can buy COMP ACH
but we'll certainly manage to get some.'

41.2.8 Emphatic concessive marker [fan^{55}tɕin^{213}] 反正 and [faŋ^{53}t^{h}ə^{35}] 横直 'in any case'

To express an emphatic 'factual implication', translated into English as 'in any case', 'anyhow', Shaowu uses either [fan^{55}tɕin^{213}] 反正, which literally means 'to and fro', or [faŋ^{53}t^{h}ə^{35}] 横直, which literally means 'horizontal and vertical', in the concessive clause. They are synonyms and can be used interchangeably. See the example below:

(1350) 反正 / 横直 等 个 下 就 收
fan^{55}tɕin^{213} faŋ^{53}t^{h}ə^{35} ten^{55} kə^{0} xa^{35} tsiɔu^{213} ɕiɔu^{21}
in any case in any case wait one CLF$_{V}$ then finish
'We are going to finish work in a bit anyway,
工 叻 ,
kuŋ^{21} le^{22}
work SFP
〇$_{你}$ 就 可以 归 去 咯 。
xien^{35} tsiɔu^{213} k^{h}ɔ^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ kuei^{21} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ lɔ^{22}
2SG then can return go SFP
you can then go home.'

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41.3 Summary

This chapter has discussed the formation of the concessive construction and the different strategies to achieve it. These includes parataxis by means of the mere juxtaposition of simple clauses; and hypotaxis by means of the structural hierarchisation of the concessive (subordinate) clause and the main clause by use of concessive markers. Some of them have to be used in pairs, while others can be inserted on their own in one of the clauses. Table 41.1 summarises our findings on Shaowu concessive constructions:

Table 41.1: Markers of concessive constructions, their functions and specificities.

Marker(s) used	Functions/Specificities	Example(s)
Zero-marking (Parataxis)	– juxtaposition of the concessive clause and the main clause – not as widely used as its other paratactic counterparts in conditionals, sequentials, cause-consequence etc.	(1337), (1338)
With markers (Hypotaxis) – syntactically structuring the concessive (subordinate) clause and the main clause – sometimes both parts of composite marker pairs (one for the concessive clause and one for the main clause) must appear in the sentence, sometimes one suffices		
[sei^{22}ien^{22}] 虽然 'although' . . . [pei^{53}kuɔ^{213}] 不过 'but'/ [sei^{22}ien^{22}] 虽然 'although' . . . [t^{h}an^{213}ɕi^{55}] 但是 'but'	– both members can be used in conjunction or not in the concessive construction – very commonly used in hypotactic concessive constructions	(1339) – (1342)
[t^{h}in^{213}kuɔn^{55}] 尽管 'despite' . . . [than^{213}ɕi^{55}] 但是 'but'/ [t^{h}in^{213}kuɔn^{55}] 尽管 'despite' . . . [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是 'still'; [tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{55}] 就是 'even though' . . . [ia^{55}] 也 'still'	– both members must be used in conjunction in the concessive construction – emphatic concessive markers – multifunctional pair: can also be used to mark the conditional	(1343) (1344) – (1345)
[ai^{213}] 还 'still', 'yet'	– used in the main clause only	(1346)
[ai^{213}] 还 'even' . . . [tsiɔu^{213}] 就 'however'	– emphatic concessive markers both used in conjunction in the concessive construction	(1347)
[ai^{213}xau^{55}] 还好 'luckily it is the case that . . . '	– emphatic concessive markers meaning 'luckily it is not the case that . . . '	(1348)

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Table 41.1 (continued)

Marker(s) used	Functions/Specificities	Example(s)
Repetition of the predicate linked by the copular verb 'be'[ɕi^{55}] 是	– concessive marking by repeating the predicate in the concessive subordinate clause using the emphatic copula 'be' 是 [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] to mean 'It is indeed the case that . . . ' (but then . . .) Template: [SUBJ + PRED$_{(i)}$ + COP$_{[ɕi22]}$ + PRED$_{(i)}$] + but then . . .	(1349)
[fan^{55}tɕin^{213}] 反正 / [faŋ^{53}t^{h}ə^{35}] 横直 'in any case'	– emphatic concessive marker to code the concessive clause	(1350)

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Chapter 42
Purposive constructions

Purposive constructions involve a description of actions leading to the intended results described in the main (goal) clause. Two strategies, serial verb construction and hypotaxis, can be used to form purposive clauses. The former contains no overt purposive markings, but relies on the mere juxtaposition of verb phrases, while the latter involves overt purposive markers in one or both clauses.

42.1 Serial verb construction as a means to construct purposive sentences

Sinitic languages are well known for serial verb constructions, construed usually as a complex predicate denoting a single event within which each verb plays a role in the event realisation (Chao 1968: 342–353; Bisang 1995; Li & Thompson 1981: 594–622, inter alia). The use of a series of verb phrases, without any grammatical markers in between, can result in a purposive construction. See the following two examples:

(1351) 打 垦 个 人 买 种子 秧 垦 。
ta^{55} t^{h}ən^{53} kə^{0} nin^{22} mie^{55} tɕiuŋ^{55}tsə^{0} iɔŋ^{21} t^{h}ən^{53}
hit field REL person buy seed sow field
'The farmers buy seeds to sow the field.'

(1352) ○$_{他}$ ○$_{要}$ 学 好 书 找 事 做 。
xu^{35} nuŋ^{35} xɔ^{35} xau^{55} ɕy^{21} sau^{213} sə^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG want learn well book find thing do
'He wants to study well to find a job.'

42.2 Insertion of the verb 'to go' [k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 去

The verb 'to go' in Shaowu [k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 去 can be inserted between two verb phrases to make the directionality of purpose and the goal of the action explicit. It comes from a closed class called 'coverbs' which, according to Van Valin (1993: 201), 'exist on the fuzzy ground between verbs and prepositions'. For instance:

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(1353) 打 垦 个 人 买 种子 去 秧 垦 。
ta^{55} tʰən^{53} kə^{0} nin^{22} mie^{55} tɕiuŋ^{55}tsə^{0} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ iɔŋ^{21} tʰən^{53}
hit field REL person buy seed go sow field
‘The farmers buy seeds to go sow the field.’

(1354) ○他 ○要 学 好 书 去 找 事 做 。
xu^{35} nuŋ^{35} xɔ^{35} xau^{55} ɕy^{21} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sau^{213} sə^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG want learn well book go find thing do
‘He wants to study well to find a job.’

42.3 Purposive ‘in order to’ markers in a hypotactic purposive construction

42.3.1 Purposive marker [tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{22}] 就是 ‘in order to’

The purposive marker [tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{22}] 就是 ‘in order to’ is used to overtly mark the purposive relation in a hypotactic construction. It is used in the goal clause, which is considered the main clause in the purposive construction. The purposive relation is explicated by this overt marker of purpose. See the two examples below:

(1355) 打 垦 个 人 买 种子 就是 去
ta^{55} tʰən^{53} kə^{0} nin^{22} mie^{55} tɕiuŋ^{55}tsə^{0} tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{22} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$
hit field REL person buy seed in order to go
秧 垦 。
iɔŋ^{21} tʰən^{53}
sow field
‘The farmers buy seeds in order to sow the field.’

(1356) ○他 ○要 学 好 书 就是 去 找
xu^{35} nuŋ^{35} xɔ^{35} xau^{55} ɕy^{21} tsiɔu^{213}ɕi^{22} kʰɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sau^{213}
3SG want learn well book in order to go find
事 做 。
sə^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$
thing do
‘He wants to study well in order to find a job.’

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42.3.2 Purposive marker [ʋei^{213}liau^{55}] 为了 'in order to'

Another purposive marker, [ʋei^{213}liau^{55}] 为了 'in order to', is used to overtly mark the purposive relation in a hypotactic construction. In this case, the marker is used in the purposive clause, which is considered the subordinate clause in the purposive construction. See the two examples below:

(1357) 为了 做 好 设计 ,
ʋei^{213}liau^{55} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xau^{55} ɕie^{53}ki^{213}
in order to do well design
'In order to ensure a good design,
技术 人员 唔 畏 危险 ,
kʰi^{35}sei^{55} nin^{22}yen^{22} ŋ^{55} ʋi^{213} ʋei^{21}xien^{55}
technical staff NEG fear danger
the technicians fearlessly
吊 得 石 岩 上 做 事 。
tiau^{213} tie^{53} ɕiɔ^{35} ŋan^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ sə^{35}
hang COMP rock cliff on do thing
work on the rocky cliff by hanging on the cliff.

(1358) 为了 ○$_{那}$ 多 先生 做 好 工作 ,
ʋei^{213}liau^{55} ɔŋ^{53} tai^{21} sien^{21}sen^{21} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ xau^{55} kuŋ^{21}tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$
in order to DEM PL teacher do well work
'The government has raised those teachers' salaries
政府 帮 ○$_{他}$多 加 了 工资 。
tɕin^{213}fu^{55} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35}tai^{21} ka^{21} ə^{0} kuŋ^{21}tsɪ^{21}
government BEN 3PL add PFV salary
in order to encourage them to do their job well.'

42.4 Purposive 'in order *not* to' markers in a hypotactic purposive construction

While there are 'in order to' purposive markers for Shaowu purposive constructions, there are also 'in order *not* to' purposive markers. Some of them are likely to have been borrowed from Mandarin, while others are from the native Shaowu lexicon. These markers are usually attached to the 'goal' clause, which is considered to be the main clause.

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42.4.1 Purposive marker [ʊi^{213}] 畏 'so as not to'

The purposive 'in order not to' marker [ʊi^{213}] 畏 is a native Shaowu marker, which literally means 'to be afraid of'. It has been grammaticalised into a purposive marker, probably through semantic shift: 'to be afraid of (something happening)' > 'to avoid something happening' > purposive marker 'so as not to'. It is used in the main (goal) clause. See the example below:

(1359) ○$_{我}$ 尽量 唔 出 声窟 ,
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}in^{213}liɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ ŋ^{55} t^{h}ei^{53} tɕ^{h}in^{21}k^{h}uei$^{53\sim21}$
1SG as much as possible NEG let out sound
'I tried not to make a sound,
畏 吵 醒 了 ○$_{他}$多 。
ʊi^{213} t^{h}au^{22} t^{h}aŋ^{55} ŋə^{0} xu^{35}tai^{21}
so as not to disturb awake PFV 3PL
so as not to wake them up.'

One might wonder if [ʊi^{213}] 畏 in the above example is not still lexical, i.e., see the complex sentence meaning: 'I tried not to make a sound, (because) I was afraid of waking them up.' However, my linguistic consultant confirmed that [ʊi^{213}] 畏 has the same grammatical function and semantic value as [mien^{55}tie^{53}] 免得 'in order not to'. The lexeme [ʊi^{213}] 畏 is synonymous to [mien^{55}tie^{53}] 免得 and can be readily replaced by it, see examples (1363) and (1364) in § 42.4.2 below.
Another example containing [ʊi^{213}] 畏 as a purposive marker 'so as not to' is found just below:

(1360) ○$_{他}$ ○$_{这}$ 般 皆 唔 ○$_{那}$ 出 去 搞 ,
xu^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53} pɔn^{21} ka^{35} ŋ^{55} ɔŋ^{53} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ kau^{55}
3SG DEM period all NEG DEM$_{INT}$ out go play
'He doesn't go out at all these days,
畏 影响 学习 。
ʊi^{213} in^{55}xiɔŋ^{21} xɔ^{35}sen^{55}
so as not to affect studies
so as not to affect his studies.'

42.4.1.1 Different meanings and functions of the morpheme [ʊi^{213}] 畏

This side note aims to demonstrate the different meanings and functions of the morpheme [ʊi^{213}] 畏, which can be a lexical verb 'to fear', 'to be afraid of' (example 1361), a probability adverb 'likely' (example 1362) and a purposive marker 'so as not

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to' (examples 1359 and 1360 above). There are probably two grammaticalisation paths of [ʋi^{213}] 畏 which bifurcated from the lexical verb 'to fear': (i) verb 'to fear' > probability adverb 'likely'; (ii) verb 'to fear' > purposive marker 'so as not to'.

42.4.1.1.1 As a lexical verb 'to fear'

(1361) ○$_{我}$ 畏 蛇 。
xaŋ^{35} ʋi^{213} ɕi^{22}
1SG fear snake
'I'm afraid of snakes.'

The lexical use of [ʋi^{213}] 畏 has also been mentioned in Chapter 37, § 37.1.1, example (1288), as well as in example (1357) in this chapter..

42.4.1.1.2 As a probability adverb 'likely'

(1362) 今朝 落 雨 落 ○$_{这个}$ 大 ,
kin^{21}tɕiau^{21} lɔ^{35} xy^{55} lɔ^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} xai^{35}
today fall rain fall so big
'It's raining buckets today,
畏 / 恐怕 ○$_{你}$ 冇 ○ 去 厝底 。
ʋi^{213} kuŋ^{55}p^{h}a^{213} xien^{35} mau^{35} tɕy^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti$^{53\sim55}$
likely probably 2SG NEG be able to go home
so you probably won't make it home.'

42.4.2 Purposive marker [mien^{55}tie^{53}] 免得 'so as not to'

The purposive marker [mien^{55}tie^{53}] 免得 'so as not to' is found in other Sinitic languages, including Standard Mandarin. It has also been grammaticalised from something a more lexical form: literally, it means 'to avoid something becoming X". It has probably taken a similar path of grammaticalisation as [ʋi^{213}] 畏. This purposive marker is also used in the main (goal) clause. See the two examples below:

(1363) ○$_{我}$ 尽量 唔 出 声窟 ,
xaŋ^{35} t^{h}in^{213}liɔŋ$^{35\sim55}$ ŋ^{55} t^{h}ei^{53} tɕ^{h}in^{21}k^{h}uei$^{53\sim21}$
1SG as much as possible NEG let out sound
'I tried not to make a sound,

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免得 吵 醒 了 ○他多 。
mien^{55}tie^{53} t^{h}au^{22} t^{h}aŋ^{55} ŋə^{0} xu^{35}tai^{21}
so as not to disturb awake PFV 3PL
so as not to wake them up.'

(1364) ○他 ○这 般 皆 唔 ○那 出 去 搞 ,
xu^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53} pɔn^{21} ka^{35} ŋ^{55} ɔŋ^{53} t^{h}ei^{53} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ kau^{55}
3SG DEM period all NEG DEM out go play
'He doesn't go out at all these days,
免得 影响 学习 。
mien^{55}tie^{53} in^{55}xiɔŋ^{21} xɔ^{35}sen^{55}
so as not to affect studies
so as not to affect his studies.'

42.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the purposive construction. It can be achieved by zero-marking (through serial verb constructions, where the purposive relation is inferred from context) or with overt markers in a syntactic hierarchy with a purposive clause and an intended-outcome clause. Table 42.1 below summaries these strategies:

Table 42.1: Markers of purposive constructions, their functions and specificities.

Markers	Functions/Specificities	Example(s)
Zero marking; Serial verb construction	purposive relation inferred from the context	(1351), (1352)
Insertion of [k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$] 去 'to go' between verb phrases	directionality and end goal of purpose explicitly marked	(1353), (1354)
[tsɪɔu^{213}ɕi^{22}] 就是 'for'	attached to the 'goal' main clause	(1355), (1356)
[ʋei^{213}liau^{55}] 为了 'in order to'	attached to the purposive subordinate clause	(1357), (1358)
[ʋi^{213}] 畏 'so as not to'	grammaticalised from 'to be afraid of'; attached to the 'goal' main clause; interchangeable with 免得 [mien55 tie0] 'in order not to'	(1359), (1360)
[mien^{55}tie^{53}] 免得 'so as not to'	grammaticalised from 'to avoid'; attached to the 'goal' main clause	(1363), (1364)

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Chapter 43
Other types of complementation in complex sentences

The previous chapters in the Complex Structure Part examined the different ways in which Shaowu forms complex sentences involving logical relations of coordination and subordination, time and sequence, cause and consequence, conditionals and concessives. This chapter will discuss five more types of complex sentence construction and related strategies.

43.1 'Rather A than B' and 'rather than A, B is better' option constructions

To compare two options and express a preference for one choice over the other, Shaowu uses two constructions, both involving hypotaxis, to code the preferred option sentence. The first one is the 'rather A than B' construction, which chooses option A as being preferable to option B, while the second one is its semantic opposite, 'rather than A, why not B'. These will be examined in the following two subsections.

43.1.1 'Rather A and not B' preferred option construction using [ni^{35}ta^{55}] 宁〇 . . . [ia^{55}ŋ^{55}(xie^{55})] 也唔解

Shaowu uses the composite markers [ni^{35}ta^{55}] 宁〇 'rather' . . . [ia^{55}ŋ^{55}(xie^{55})] 也唔解 'and not' to code the 'rather A – than B' option construction. They have to appear together in the construction. The marker [ni^{35}ta^{55}] 宁〇 is attached to the clause containing the preferred option (which we could consider the main clause), and the marker [ia^{55}ŋ^{55}(xie^{55})] 也唔解 to the clause containing the option to be abandoned. Two examples below illustrate this:

(1365) 〇$_{他}$多 宁〇 饿 死 了 去 ,
xu^{35}tai^{21} ni^{35}ta^{55} ŋɔ^{213} si^{55} liau^{55} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3PL rather starve dead PFV go
'They would rather starve to death

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也 唔 解 动摇 。
ia^{55} ŋ^{35} xie^{55} t^{h}uŋ^{35}iau^{22}
and NEG will waver
than falter.'

(1366) ○$_{我}$ 宁○ 个 夜 皆 唔 嗑梦 ,
xaŋ^{35} ni^{35}ta^{55} kə^{0} iɔ^{35} ka^{35} ŋ^{55} k^{h}a^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$
1SG rather one night all NEG sleep
'I would rather not sleep a wink
也 ○$_{要}$ 拿 ○$_{这}$ 文章 写 完 了 去 。
ia^{55} nuŋ^{35} na^{22} tɕicŋ^{53} ʊən^{22} tɕicŋ^{21} sia^{55} ʊien^{22} nə^{0} k^{h}ɔ^{213}
and want OM DEM article write finish PFV go
than not finish writing my article.'

43.1.2 'Rather than A, B is better' option constructions using [y^{22}k^{h}i^{22}] 与其 . . . [ai^{213}pei^{53}y^{22}] (还)不如

Shaowu uses the composite markers [y^{22}k^{h}i^{22}] 与其 'rather than' . . . [(ai^{213}) pei^{53}y^{22}] (还)不如 'it's better to' to code the 'rather A – B is better' option construction. They have to appear as a pair in the construction. The marker [y^{22}k^{h}i^{22}] 与其is attached to the clause containing the option preferred (which we could consider the main clause), and the marker [(ai^{213})pei^{53}y^{22}] (还) 不如 to the clause having the option to be abandoned. Note that a literal translation of the option marker [y^{22}k^{h}i^{22}] 与其is 'give it (the option of)' and the literal translation of [(ai^{213})pei^{53}y^{22}] (还)不如 is 'still not comparable to'. The two examples below illustrate this 'option' construction:

(1367) 与其 等 死 ,
y^{22}k^{h}i^{22} ten^{55} si^{55}
rather than wait die
'Rather than waste life away,
不如 好 好 个 活 到 来 。
pei^{53}y^{22} xau^{55} xau^{55} kə^{0} fəi^{35} tau^{55} li^{22}
it's better to well well ADV live DUR come
it's better to live it to the fullest.'

(1368) 与其 ○$_{你}$ 帮 ○$_{他}$ 话 ○$_{这}$ 事 ,
y^{22}k^{h}i^{22} xien^{35} pɔŋ^{21} xu^{35} ʊa^{35} tɕicŋ^{53} sə^{35}
rather than 2SG DAT 3SG say DEM matter
'Rather than talk directly to him about this,

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还不如	先	去	外头	去	问	个	下
ai^{213}pei^{53}y^{22}	sien^{21}	k^{h}ɔ^{21}	ʊai^{35}xəu$^{53\sim21}$	k^{h}ɔ^{213}	mən^{213}	kə^{0}	xa^{35}
it's better to	first	go	outside	go	ask	one	CLF

别○	。
p^{h}ie^{35}sə^{21}	
others	

it's better to first ask others for their views.

43.2 'A, not B' and 'not A, but B' constructions

Shaowu uses either parataxis or hypotaxis as strategies to code 'A, not B' and the 'not A, but B' logical relations. Examples (1369) and (1370) display a paratactic construction for the 'A, not B' and the 'not A, but B' constructions, while examples (1371) and (1372) use the 'and' / 'but' marker [ə^{55}(ɕi^{22})] 而(是) in a hypotactic construction.

43.2.1 By parataxis

(1369)

○这	是	苹果	，	冇	是	梨儿	。
tɕiɔŋ^{53}	ɕi^{22}	p^{h}in^{22}kuɔ^{22}		mau^{35}	ɕi^{55}	li^{22}ə^{0}	
DEM	COP	apple		NEG	COP	pear	

'This is an apple, not a pear.' ('A. . . not B')

(1370)

○这	冇	是	梨儿	，	是	苹果	。
tɕiɔŋ^{53}	mau^{35}	ɕi^{55}	li^{22}ə^{0}		ɕi^{22}	p^{h}in^{22}kuɔ^{22}	
DEM	NEG	COP	pear		COP	apple	

'This is not a pear, but an apple.' ('not A. . . but B')

43.2.2 By hypotaxis

It is possible to use an overt marker [ə^{55}(ɕi^{22})] 而(是) 'and' / 'but' (depending on context) to explicate the logical link between A and B, the marker [ə^{55}(ɕi^{22})] 而(是) is attached to the main clause which contains the option known to the speaker as the right option. The marker [ə^{55}ɕi^{22}] 而是 carries an emphatic function too: 'it is really that'.

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(1371) ○这 是 苹果 , 而 冇 是 梨儿 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} p^{h}in^{22}kuɔ^{22} ə^{55} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} li^{22}ə^{0}
DEM COP apple and NEG COP pear
‘This is an apple, and not a pear.’ （‘A. . . not B’）

(1372) ○这 冇 是 梨儿 , 而 是 苹果 。
tɕiɔŋ^{53} mau^{35} ɕi^{55} li^{22}ə^{0} ə^{55} ɕi^{22} p^{h}in^{22}kuɔ^{22}
DEM NEG COP pear and COP apple
‘This is not a pear, but an apple.’ （‘not A. . . but B’）

43.3 The ‘more . . . more’ intensification construction

The composite pair of intensifiers [ʋie^{35}] 越 . . . [ʋie^{35}] 越 ‘more . . . more’ is used to mark the intensification of an action or a state of affairs in an intensification construction, in some literature known as the comparative correlative construction. The intensifier [ʋie^{35}] 越 is usually placed before the respective predicates in the subordinate and the main clause. The main clause tends to be the last clause in the sentence. Note that it is obligatory to have the intensifier [ʋie^{35}] 越 in every clause involved in the intensification construction. The ‘then-’ logical connector [tsiɔu$^{213\sim21}$] 就 is optional. See the two examples below:

(1373) ○他 越 话 , ○我 (就) 越 生气 。
xu^{35} ʋie^{35} ʋa^{35} xaŋ^{35} (tsiɔu^{213}) ʋie^{35} sen^{21}k^{h}i^{213}
3SG INT say 1SG then INT angry
‘The more he spoke, the angrier I got.’

(1374) ○他 越 话 声窟 就 越 大 ,
xu^{35} ʋie^{35} ʋa^{35} tɕ^{h}in^{21}k^{h}uei$^{53\sim21}$ tsiɔu^{213} ʋie^{35} xai^{35}
3SG INT say sound then INT big
‘The more he talked, the louder he spoke,
○我 就 越 生气 。
xaŋ^{35} tsiɔu^{213} ʋie^{35} sen^{21}k^{h}i^{213}
1SG then INT angry
and the angrier I got.’

Table 43.1 below summarises the logical markers involved in the above three types of constructions.

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Table 43.1: Markers of other logical relations and their specificities.

Logical relation	Markers used	Specificities
'rather A, and not B' ('rather A than B')	[ni^{35}ta^{55}] 宁○ . . . [ia^{55}ŋ^{55}(xie^{55})] 也唔解	obligatory composite markers
'rather than A, it's better B'	[y^{22}k^{h}i^{22}] 与其 . . . [(ai^{213}) pei^{53}y^{22}] (还)不如	obligatory composite markers
'A, not B'	either juxtapose the clauses and infer the logical relation, or use [ə^{55}mau^{35}ɕi^{55}] 而有是in the subordinate clause	marker [ə^{55}] 而has emphatic function
'not A, but B'	either juxtapose the clauses and infer the logical relation, or use [ə^{55}ɕi^{55}] 而是in the main clause	marker [ə^{55}] 而has emphatic function
'more . . . more'	[ʋie^{35}] 越 . . . [(tsiɔu^{213})ʋie^{35}] (就)越 used to intensify an action or a state of affairs in an intensification construction	obligatory composite markers

The following sections will briefly mention two more types of complementation in a complex sentence, namely indirect speech and relative clauses.

43.4 Subordination by the complementizer [ʋa^{35}] 话 'that' (< say)

Complementizers are used to introduce a complement clause; they include subordinating conjunctions, relative pronouns and relative adverbs. They can be a word, particle, clitic or affix, one of whose functions is to identify an entity (i.e., a complement type) as a complement (Noonan 2007: 55). When a complementizer introduces a second, dependent clause in the formation of a complex sentence, it is also called a subordinating conjunction. An example is 'that' in English, which syntactically marks subordination, e.g., *I think (that) he is smart*.

In Shaowu, the complementizer 'that' has been grammaticalised from a *verbum dicendi* [ʋa^{35}] 话originally meaning 'to say'. This grammaticalisation pathway, COMPLEMENTIZER < 'to say', is rather common in Sinitic languages (e.g., Mandarin, Cantonese, Southern Min) and others (Nepali, Yoruba, Vietnamese), see Chappell (2008), in which the grammaticalisation of complementizers from *verba dicendi* in Sinitic languages and beyond is extensively researched.

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43.4.1 *Verbum dicendi* [ʋa^{35}] 话 as subordinating conjunction 'that'

Although the complement is more often than not juxtaposed after a complement-taking predicate such as 'think', 'say', 'realise', or 'hope', the subordinating conjunction [ʋa^{35}] 话, grammaticalised from the verb 'to say', can be used in a complex sentence with subordination. See the following two examples:

(1375) 〇$_{我}$ 希望 (话) 〇$_{你}$ 明朝 解 来 。
xaŋ^{35} xi^{21}ʋɔŋ^{35} (ʋa^{35}) xien^{35} maŋ^{22}ɕiau^{21} xie$^{55\sim35}$ li^{22}
1SG hope that 2SG tomorrow can come
'I hope (that) you can come tomorrow.'

(1376) 〇$_{他}$ 觉得 (话) 〇$_{这}$ 事
xu^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{53}tie^{0} (ʋa^{35}) tɕiɔŋ^{53} sə^{35}
3SG feel that DEM thing
'He thinks (that)
做 起来 有 〇 子 困难 。
tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ k^{h}i^{55}li^{22} iɔu^{55} maŋ^{213} tsə^{0} k^{h}uŋ^{213}nan^{22}
do INCH have a bit DIM difficult
it's a bit difficult to (start to) do this.'

If we compare the grammatical marker of subordination [ʋa^{35}] 话 in the two examples above to the lexical verb 'to say' [ʋa^{35}] 话 in the example below used to introduce indirect speech, we can clearly see the difference in function between them:

(1377) 别人 以前 话 呀 ,
p^{h}ie^{35}nin^{55} i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} ʋa^{35} ia^{22}
others in the past say SFP
'Long ago, people said that
〇$_{这}$ 蜀 个 头 个 年 落 雪 以后
tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ kə^{0} nin^{22} lɔ^{35} sie^{55} i^{55}xəu^{213}
DEM one CLF first CLF year fall snow after
after the first year that snow fell
个 百 工 以后 话 解 涨 大 水 。
kə^{0} pa^{53} kun^{21} i^{55}xəu^{213} ʋa^{35} xie^{55} tiɔŋ^{55} xai^{35} sei^{55}
one hundred day after say will overflow big water
there would be floods a hundred days after.'

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43.5 Relative clauses

Relative clause constructions have been discussed in detail in Chapter 11 on relative clauses. We mention them here because they are traditionally regarded by linguists who work on Indo-European languages as a type of subordinate clause, often involving a subordinating marker or relative clause marker such as 'that', 'who'/'which'/'where' in English: *Yesterday I saw a man who wore a yellow hat talking to our neighbour Susie, who was mowing the lawn in front of her house*.

The most common relativisation strategy in Sinitic languages, including Shaowu, is to add a relative clause marker [kəi^{213}] 个 (or its shortened form: [kə^{0}]) in Shaowu, between the prenominal modifying clause and the head noun. In this way, the subordinate clause is nominalised and becomes an adjectival phrase modifying the head noun, which forms an argument in the main clause. See the two examples below, which are both subject-gapped relative clauses (cf. Chapter 11 on relative clauses, § 11.2.1), where example (1368) demonstrates an SS relative (§ 11.2.1.1) whereas example (1369) shows an OS relative (§ 11.2.1.2).

(1378) ○$_{他}$ [○$_{藏}$ 得 心儿 底] 个 ○$_{那}$ 多 事
xu^{35} k^{h}ɔŋ^{21} tie^{53} sən^{21}ne^{0} ti^{0} kə^{0} ɔŋ^{53} tai^{21} sə^{35}
3SG hide COMP heart under REL DEM PL thing
He never told others the things that he had buried in his heart
一直 唔 帮 人 话 。
i^{53}t^{h}ə^{35} ŋ^{55} pɔŋ^{21} nin^{22} ʊa^{35}
all this time NEG COMT person say
all this time.

(1379) ○$_{我}$ 识得 [度○ 来 ○你 厝底 借 书]
xaŋ^{35} ɕi^{53}tə^{0} t^{h}ɔ^{35}ma^{55} li^{22} xien^{35} tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti^{53} tsia^{213} ɕy^{21}
1SG know yesterday come 2SG home borrow book
'I know the person
个 ○$_{那}$ 蜀 个 人 。
kə^{0} ɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{21} nin^{22}
REL DEM one CLF person
who came yesterday to borrow books at your place.'

Although they can be analysed as subordinate clauses embedded in the main clause, in Sinitic languages, including Shaowu, relative clauses are left-branching, modifying the head noun. We consider them to be noun modifiers and therefore place them in the Nominal Structure Part instead where they are discussed in detail (see Chapter 11 on relative clauses).

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43.6 Summary

This chapter has briefly discussed five other types of complementation in complex sentences, the different strategies to code them and their respective markers. These five complementation types are:

(i) 'rather A than B' and 'rather than A, B is better' preferred option constructions
(ii) 'A, not B' and 'not A, but B' constructions
(iii) The 'more . . . more . . . ' intensification construction
(iv) Subordination by the complementizer [ʋa^{35}] 话 'that' (> say)
(v) Relative clauses

There are different clause-combining strategies in Shaowu, the most common ones being parataxis and hypotaxis. Many, if not most, clausal relations are achieved without any overt marking; context can disambiguate and provide the logical implications. This can also be aided in Shaowu by sentence final particles in Shaowu, as well as aspect markers and intonation patterns which can help indicate semantic and logical links. As shown in this chapter and throughout this Part on Complex sentences and clause-binding, a good number of logical relationships, including sequential, causal, concessive and conditional can be left unmarked. Overt markers, if employed, are often borrowed from Mandarin and are unlikely to be native to Shaowu. Nonetheless, we have observed several native conjunctions which do not all necessarily have cognate uses in other Sinitic languages. A register of refinement, usually associated with the written language, shines through if such linking words with a Mandarin origin are used in Shaowu.

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Chapter 44
Co-subordination

In addition to the coordination and subordination divide, Foley & Van Valin (1984: 241) adds a third category, co-subordination, thus giving a trichotomy of complex sentences: coordination, subordination and co-subordination. Co-subordination is understood as partaking of both coordination and subordination: like coordination, it involves no embedding; like subordination, it involves dependency. It may be seen as occupying an intermediate position in a continuum having coordination and subordination as its extremes (Cristofaro 2003: 23).

In elaborate speech, we often produce a mixture of matrix and subordinate clauses interwoven by different kinds of logical relations, implicitly or explicitly expressed via parallel (paratactic) or hierarchical (hypotactic) syntactic structures. An understanding of the context will fill in the gaps, if there is not enough overt marking of these relations. In essence, the working of these clause-linking strategies in co-subordinate complex sentences is very much the addition of those in coordination and those in subordination. Below is an example of co-subordination in Shaowu:

(1380)

虽然	俺多	个	垄	少	了	了	，
sei^{22}ien^{22}	ien^{22}tai^{21}	kə^{0}	tʰən^{53}	ɕiau^{55}	liau$^{55\sim22}$	ə^{0}	
although	1PL.INCL	POSS	field	reduce	PFV	CRS	

‘Although we had fewer fields,

但是	叻	，
tʰan^{35}ɕi^{55}	le^{22}	
but	SFP	

but then

俺多	引	进	了	新	个	技术	，
ien^{22}tai^{21}	in^{55}	tsin^{213}	nə^{0}	sən^{21}	kə^{0}	kʰi^{35}sei^{55}	
1PL.INCL	introduce	enter	PFV	new	ATT	technology	

we introduced new technologies

加上	现代	又	有	化肥	农药	，
ka^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{35}	xien^{35} tʰai^{55}	iɔu$^{35\sim55}$	iɔu^{55}	fa^{35}fei^{22}	nɔŋ^{22}iɔ^{35}	
adding	modern time	also	have	fertiliser	pesticide	

in addition to modern fertilisers and pesticides,

所以	改革	开放	以后	叻
su^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$	kɔi^{55}kə^{53}	kʰai^{21}fɔŋ^{213}	i^{55}xəu^{213}	le^{22}
therefore	Reform	Opening up	after	SFP

so after the Reform and Opening-up of the economy,

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俺多 个 产量 ，
ien^{22}tai^{21} kə^{0} san^{55}liɔŋ^{35}
1PL.INCL POSS productivity
our productivity
还是 顶 高 个 。
ai^{213}ɕi^{55} tin^{55} kau^{21} kə^{0}
still very high EMP
was still very high.'

In this sentence, there are four types of logical relations:
- the concessive 'although ... but' [sei^{22}ien^{22}] 虽然 ... [t^{h}an^{35}ɕi^{55}] 但是
- the coordinative 'in addition to' [ka^{21}ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$] 加上
- the consequential 'therefore' [su^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$] 所以
- the concessive 'still' [ai^{213}ɕi^{55}] 还是

This amalgamating co-subordinating sentence concludes the part on the Complex Structure, which has covered various structures, strategies and markers in coordination and subordination. They encompass temporal, sequential, causal, conditional, counterfactual, concessive, purposive and other types of complementation.

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Chapter 45
Conclusion

45.1 General remarks and specific observations

In this book, we have given a comprehensive and holistic account of Shaowu in terms of its phonetics, phonology, lexicon and in particular, we have described in detail its various grammatical structures, namely the nominal structure, the predicate structure, the clausal structure, complex sentences and clause-combining types. We have also discussed Shaowu's classificatory status within the Sinitic family. After careful analysis of the linguistic data collected over the years, we have come to the conclusion that Shaowu is a highly hybrid Sinitic language of Min-Gan-Hakka admixture, with a combination of phonological, lexical and syntactic features from these three groups (see Chapter 1, § 1.3 on classificatory criteria for Shaowu affiliation). A lexicon and two transcriptions are appended after this concluding chapter.

We started by giving a typological profile of Shaowu in Part I in terms of its major linguistic features (see Chapter 1, § 1.1), outlining its geography, demography and history (see Chapter 2). In the Phonetics and Phonology Part, we have discussed the phonetic system of Shaowu in terms of the initial consonants, vowels, rhymes and tones. Shaowu has 20 initial consonants, 8 distinct vowels, 46 rhymes and 6 tones (see Chapter 3), and all of its syllables are tone-bearing. Its general syllable profile is $(C)V(N)^{T}$. We have also mentioned the underlying phonotactics and certain tone sandhi phenomena on both prosodic-lexical and morphological levels. It is noteworthy that the Middle Chinese -p entering-tone category typically shows up as a nasal coda [n] in modern Shaowu and carries the high-falling 53 or the mid-rising 35 tone. Also, tone neutralisation (i.e., the 'light' tone) and diminutive suffixing phenomena are prevalent in Shaowu.

In the Part II on the Nominal Structure, we have covered the pronominal systems, including personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstratives and interrogative pronouns, as well as classifier systems, affixal morphology, reduplication and compounding, kinship terms, locative adpositions, relative clauses and possessive noun phrases. Its nominal structure is mostly head-final and consonant with the SOV order: Numeral/Demonstrative-Classifier-NOUN, Adjective-NOUN, Relative clause-NOUN, and Genitive-NOUN. Indeed, Shaowu belongs to the majority of Sinitic languages that 'present a perplexing case for syntactic typology since they display in general head-final characteristics for their NP structure but a mixture of head-initial and head-final ordering for their VPs'. (see Chappell, Li and Peyraube 2007).

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The Shaowu personal pronouns are rather unusual compared to most Sinitic personal pronouns. The first, second and third singular pronoun are [xaŋ^{35}] ○, [xien^{35}] ○ and [xu^{35}] ○ respectively. The etyma of these pronouns are unknown, and furthermore they have no obvious cognates with neighbouring Sinitic groups, including Min. Hypotheses such as the phonetic fusion of a sentence-initial copula with the personal pronouns have been put forward. Indeed, such fusions, also referred to as complex pronouns, exist in Wu languages such as Fuyang (Li 2015: 227–228). Some Gan pronouns manifest similar phonetic forms as those of Shaowu, For example, in the neighbouring Pingxiang Gan dialect, the first, second and third person singulars are [hõ^{11}], [hě^{11}] and [hã^{13}] (see Wei 1990). Given its geographical vicinity to these areas, it is likely that Shaowu pronouns have been formed by calquing this phonetic fusion process of copula and personal pronouns.

Shaowu has three numerals for 'one', namely, [i^{53}] 一, [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 蜀 and [kəi$^{213\sim21}$] 个. The morpheme [i^{53}] 一 is used in counting and acts as the cardinal number 'one', but cannot precede mathematical units of 'hundreds', 'thousands', etc. It is also used in expressing the ordinal number 'the first' [tʰi^{35}i^{53}] 第一. The morpheme [ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 蜀, which is a prototypical Min numeral, acts as the numeral 'one' in the [NUM+CLF+N] construction where the classifier is [kəi$^{213\sim21}$] 个, e.g., in [ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}nin^{22}] 蜀个人 'one-CLF $_{[kəi213]}$-person' ('one person'). The third morpheme [kəi^{213}] 个 (or its allophone [kəi^{21}] or [kə^{0}]) acts as numeral 'one' in [NUM+CLF+N] construction when the classifier is not [kəi^{213}] 个 itself, e.g., in [kəi$^{213\sim21}$tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$ny^{22}] 个头牛 'one-CLF$_{head}$-cattle' ('a cow'/ 'an ox'). The diachronic development and synchronic typology of these Shaowu numerals for 'one' are discussed in detail in Ngai (2015a).

In the Part III on the Predicate Structure, we have discussed various verb classes in Shaowu, including 'state', 'activity', 'accomplishment' and 'achievement' verbs. We have also looked at the adpositional phrases, adverbs and adverbial phrases, negation and negative markers, modality and modal auxiliaries, postverbal complements of manner, extent, degree, result, direction and potentiality. Finally, we have given a detailed description of Shaowu's aspectual system (see Chapter 20), including the terminative and completive perfective aspects, the experiential, the inchoative, the progressive, the continuative, the durative, the delimitative and the tentative. Note that the predicate structure mainly manifests a head-initial order, which aligns with the SVO word order, such as Auxiliary-Verb, Adverbial-Verb, Verb-complements.

In Part IV on the Clausal Structure, we have explored the topic-comment sentence constructions, structures of comparison including the comparative, the superlative and the equative. In the comparative constructions, Shaowu bears witness to both the COMPARE schema and the SURPASS schema, as well as a hybrid

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construction that requires a quantity adjunct phrase [Q + CLF] (see Chapter 22). The coexistence of these structural types suggests Shaowu's hybrid nature, being located in a transitional zone. The grammatical object in Shaowu can be placed into a preverbal position via (i) topicalisation, (ii) passivisation and (iii) object marking (OM) constructions. Shaowu has two object markers, [na^{22}] 拿 and [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮, the former being a typical Gan object marker NA, which is also a southern Wu object marker (see Huang *et al*. 1996: 662), while the latter has likely been grammaticalised from the lexical verb 帮 'to help' found in many neighbouring Wu (e.g., Jinhua) and Hui (Huizhou) dialects (see Chappell 2013).

We also looked at two multifunctional morphemes [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 and [tie^{53}] 得, both of which are very powerful in their grammatical functions. The Shaowu morpheme [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮 (see Chapter 23), originally a lexical verb meaning 'to help', can act as a comitative marker, a coordinative conjunction, a benefactive marker, a dative marker and an object marker. We proposed two separate grammaticalisation pathways for such a development. The Shaowu morpheme [tie^{53}] 得, on the other hand, derives its polysemy from its original lexical meaning 'to get' and its relexified lexical meaning 'to give' (cf. Chapter 26; Ngai 2015b). The morpheme can be a modal suffix, a complement marker, a benefactive marker, a dative marker, an oblique marker and a passive marker, among other things. The fact that Shaowu is situated in the transitional linguistic zone, at the confluence of multiple Sinitic language groups (e.g., Min, Gan, Hakka, Wu) may contribute to such multifunctionality, by way of borrowing and calquing. Nevertheless, this polysemy and multifunctionality may also be the outcome of natural semantic and grammatical change, that is, an internal development.

In Part IV on the Clausal Structure, we have also looked at various types of ditransitive constructions, passive constructions and causative constructions, in addition to existential and identity constructions, copular constructions, locative constructions, interrogative structures, imperatives and other moods, not to mention clause-final modal particles. Shaowu's medley of syntactic traits can be identified, for instance, in terms of Shaowu's causative verbs (see Chapter 29), which include the Northern [kiau^{213}] 叫and [niɔŋ^{213}] 让 (for its directive causative verbs), and the Southern [tie^{53}] 得 'to give' and [t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$] 讨 'to beseech' (for its permissive causative verbs). These causative verbs have further grammaticalised into passive markers, although the most canonical passive marker is [tie^{53}] 得. It is only the [tie^{53}] 得 passive which can be placed both in an agentless and an agentful construction, whereas the rest can appear solely in agentful constructions (see Chapter 28).

In Part V on Complex Sentences and Clause-combining, we have covered coordination (Chapter 36), subordination (Chapter 37–43) and co-subordination (Chapter 44). This tripartite divide is largely based on syntactic analyses rather

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than semantic analyses (for the latter, see Earls' PhD dissertation, forthcoming). Shaowu complex sentences can be formed without any overt grammatical markers of coordination or subordination, with the logical relations being inferred, in this case, from the context or prosodic cues. Overt coordinate and subordinate markers are usually borrowed from Mandarin, which is regarded as being of a more formal register. In this part, we have discussed the temporal subordination of simultaneity and sequentiality, cause-consequence constructions, various conditional constructions, concessive constructions and purposive constructions. There is an overt subordination complementizer that has been grammaticalised from a *verbum dicendi* [ʊa^{35}] 话, originally meaning 'to say' (See Chapter 43 on other types of complementation).

In its basic vocabulary, Shaowu contains a plethora of Min lexical items, such as the numeral 'one' [ɕi^{22}] 蜀, 'son' or 'boy' [kin^{53}] 囝, 'house' [tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}] 厝, 'leaf' [niɔ^{53}] 箬, 'to wear' [siuŋ^{35}] 颂, and 'leg' [k^{h}au^{21}] 骹. There are also many Gan and Hakka words, such as 'ankle' [tsaŋ^{45}] 踝 (Yongxiu Gan, in Li 2002: 142) and the animal female suffix [ma^{2}] 嫲 (Meixian Hakka, in Li 2002:213). The use of one single morpheme (in Shaowu's case, [ɕie^{35}] 食) to designate drinking, eating and smoking seems to be an areal feature that covers southern Wu and eastern Min. Shaowu also has vocabulary that is typically Northern, so to speak, such as [kɔ^{53}] 搁 'to place' and [ɕia^{53}] 啥 'what'. If we look at Shaowu's geography, history and demography (Chapter 2), we can see why there is such a blend, even in its basic vocabulary. Thanks to a long tradition of Chinese writing, a large percentage of basic vocabulary has been shared and spread in China over time. These are not included in the aforementioned region-specific vocabulary.

Hashimoto (1976a, 1986) argues for a North-South linguistic divide for Sinitic languages based on phonological, lexical and syntactic criteria. The bipartite division was further split by Norman (1988) into a tripartite division that includes a transitional zone, which covers the Wu, Gan, Hui and Xiang languages in central China. By looking at differential object marking, passive and comparative constructions, Chappell (2015) shows that there are at least five linguistic areas in China, namely, (i) the Northern, (ii) the Central transitional, (iii) the Southwestern, (iv) the far Southern, and (v) the Southeastern. According to the criteria set out in Chappell (2015), Shaowu falls into the Southeastern micro-linguistic area which is exemplified by Min languages and dialects as well as some Southern Wu such as Jinhua (see Huang *et al.* 1996). These criteria include a special source of object markers based on a comitative preposition (in Shaowu's case, [pɔŋ^{21}] 帮), passive constructions using a verb of giving [tie^{53}] 得 and the use of hybrid comparative constructions in addition to the COMPARE and SURPASS schema.

As the focus of this book is the description of the grammar of Shaowu, we have only sporadically compared some of its phonological, lexical and syntactic

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features with its neighbouring languages and dialects. We have not mentioned much of its possible substrata – Shaowu is located in what was the *Baiyue* 百越 area some thousands of years ago, where southern China was then populated by Tai-Kadai speaking peoples, in an area referred to as the Sinospheric area Matisoff (1991: 386). There are some lexical items in Shaowu, such as 'spider' [k^{h}iɔ-^{53}sau^{21}] ○○$_{蜘蛛}$, whose etyma are not identified in known Sinitic languages and dialects, which may have originated possibly from a substrate language (Li 1997: 110–121). We hope that future work on Shaowu will shed light on these areas and relate the language to the interlacing network of Sinitic languages and beyond, after making a systematic study of its neighbouring languages and their history and geography.

Through the description presented in this book, which comprises a comprehensive grammar, a mini lexicon, phonological analyses using elements of historical phonology, on top of transcribed conversations and narratives, I intend to aid in the preservation of Shaowu, a potentially endangered Sinitic language, which is nowadays spoken mainly by the elderly population above 60 and no longer by the younger generation, though be it some of them are passive speakers of the language. Readers can also catch a glimpse of Shaowu's local customs, traditions, religious rituals and historical events in this grammar. I have tried to establish Shaowu's genealogical affiliation within the Sinitic family and have displayed its exemplary hybridisation as a result of intense language contact over centuries in the region. Shaowu has witnessed several major waves of migration in its history, resulting in its population by speakers of different linguistic groups, including Min, Gan, Hakka, Wu and Mandarin. As extant documents and teaching materials of Shaowu remain scarce, the grammar and the lexicon herein can help keep the language alive in the long term.

45.2 Limitations and further research

This book presents the first study of the entire linguistic system of Shaowu. We have strived to be as comprehensive as possible in our grammatical description. It is however not possible to encompass every single aspect of a language in its most minute details. Consequently, this grammar remains an introduction to Shaowu, studied by the author over the past decade, in the hope to present it to interested individuals and communities who may further pursue some of the intriguing phenomena that are unique to Shaowu.

To the author's knowledge, there are no extant written records in Shaowu except a few romanised transcriptions by missionaries in the late 19th century (cf. Chapter 1, § 1.2), identification of some of the grammaticalisation pathways or

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etyma of morphemes have been therefore carried out to the best knowledge of the author. Since the author is not a native speaker of Shaowu, her analysis relied on the field data collected, as well as native speakers' judgements. There may have been rare instances of disagreement in the choice of wording or expression by linguistic consultants, but these are largely due to idiolectic differences, that we all possess as speakers of any language. In this case, the author had to make a choice between various given options. All remaining errors are her own.

Through this language documentation, we wish to contribute in conserving Shaowu, nowadays mainly spoken by the local population over 60. Shaowu, which vehicles a rich cultural identity of its own population, deserves to be recognised as a regional language in China. In over a thousand sample sentences presented in this grammar, the reader can catch a glimpse of Shaowu's local customs, traditions, religious rituals and historical events. We hope that our work will benefit communities of Shaowu speakers and learners, as well as linguists and researchers who wish to conduct future research on this language.

This monograph forms part of the De Gruyter Mouton series, *Sinitic Languages of China: Typological Descriptions*, edited by Hilary Chappell. Through detailed descriptions provided in these grammars, we hope to showcase to the world a multifaceted and variegated linguistic landscape of China that is extremely rich in diversity and variations.

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Part VI: **Lexicon**

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Chapter 46
Mini lexicon

The wordlist in the questionnaire for the *Linguistics Atlas of Chinese Dialects* (Cao *et al.* 2008, Vol. 2 on Lexicon) was used, among others, to elicit the basic lexicon in Shaowu. The Shaowu mini lexicon below basically follows the order of the lexical entries listed in the questionnaire provided by the above-mentioned *Atlas*, with minor re-arrangements by the author. The translation in English is also provided by the author of this book. Only the core meaning of the lexical entries, and not their associated or figurative meaning(s), are displayed in the following table. Where there is uncertainty as to what the etymon of the lexical entry may be, an empty circle ○ is used to represent the corresponding syllable in the item.

The lexicon list is divided into the following categories:

(i) adjectives
(ii) verbs
(iii) cardinal and ordinal numbers
(iv) measure words
(v) numeral-classifier noun phrases
(vi) verbal classifiers
(vii) natural phenomena and objects
(viii) constructions and artefacts
(ix) domesticated animals and animal parts
(x) animals in nature
(xi) farm work and related objects
(xii) vegetables and plant parts
(xiii) food and condiments
(xiv) cooking and eating
(xv) meals in a day
(xvi) human body parts
(xvii) bodily reactions and illness
(xviii) human nouns
(xix) kinship terms
(xx) temporal expressions
(xxi) locational adpositions
(xxii) personal pronouns and possessives
(xxiii) demonstratives
(xxiv) interrogatives
(xxv) adverbs

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(xxvi) negators
(xxvii) grammatical markers
(xxviii) universal quantifiers

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
Adjectives				
red	tɕʰia^{53}	赤		*hóng* 红
yellow	ʊɔŋ^{22}	黄		*huáng* 黄
green	ly^{35}	绿		*lǜ* 绿
blueish green	tʰaŋ^{21}	青		*qīng* 青
blue	lan^{22}	蓝		*lán* 蓝
purple	tsə^{55}	紫		*zǐ* 紫
white	pʰa^{35}/pʰə^{213}	白		*bái* 白
black	xə^{53}	黑		*hēi* 黑
many	ʊai^{55}	○$_{多}$		*duō* 多
a lot	tin^{55}ʊai^{55}	顶○$_{多}$		*hěnduō* 很多
few	ɕiau^{55}	少		*shǎo* 少
big	tʰai^{35}	大	[xai^{35}] 大 'big' with lenition	*dà* 大
small	siau^{55}	小		*xiǎo* 小
thick	tʰu^{21}	粗		*cū* 粗
thin	nən^{35}	嫩	[sie^{213}] 细	*xì* 细
long	tʰɔŋ^{22}	长		*chǎng* 长
short	tɔn^{55}	短		*duǎn* 短
wide	kʰuɔn^{21}	宽	[kʰuai^{53}] 阔	*kuān* 宽
narrow	tsə^{53}	窄		*zhǎi* 窄
tall	kau^{21}	高		*gāo* 高
short	e^{55}	矮		*ǎi* 矮
high	kau^{21}	高		*gāo* 高
low	e^{55}	矮		*dī* 低
devious	ʊai^{21}	歪		*wāi* 歪
curved	ʊan^{21}	弯		*wān* 弯
steep	təu^{55}	陡	[tʰia^{213}] 斜	*dǒu* 陡
clear	tʰin^{21}	清	[sei^{55}tin^{55}tʰin^{21}] 水顶清 'The water is clear.'	*qīng* 清
deep	tɕʰin^{21}	深	[sei^{55}tin^{55}tɕʰin^{21}] 水顶深 'The water is deep.'	*shēn* 深
shallow	tʰien^{55}	浅	[sei^{55}tin^{55}tʰien^{55}] 水顶浅 'The water is shallow.'	*qiǎn* 浅

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(continued)

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
salty	xən^{22}	咸		*xián* 咸
bland	t^{h}ien^{55}	浅		*dàn* 淡
thick	xəu^{55}	厚		*hòu* 厚
thin	p^{h}ɔ^{35}	薄		*báo* 薄
viscous	t^{h}ɔu^{22}	稠		*chóu* 稠
diluted	t^{h}ən^{55}	○$_{稀}$		*xī* 稀
dense	mə^{35}	密		*mì* 密
sparse	sɔŋ^{213}	○$_{稀}$		*xī* 稀
bright	kuɔŋ^{21}	光	[min^{22}liɔŋ^{35}]明亮	*liàng* 亮
black	xə^{53}	黑		*hēi* 黑
hot	nie^{35}	热		*rè* 热
cold	t^{h}ən^{213}	○$_{冷}$		*lěng* 冷
dry	kɔn^{21}	干		*gān* 干
wet	ɕin^{53}	湿		*shī* 湿
clean	len^{22}li^{35}	伶俐		*gānjìng* 干净
dirty	ɔ^{22}tsau^{21}	污糟		*zāng* 脏
sharp	li^{35}	利		*kuài*快 as in *dāozi kuài* 刀子快
fast	k^{h}uai^{213}	快		*kuài* 快
slow	man^{35}	慢		*màn* 慢
early	t^{h}au^{55}	早		*zǎo* 早
late	t^{h}i^{22}	迟		*wǎn* 晚
right	tei^{213}	对		*duì* 对
wrong	t^{h}ɔ^{213}	错		*cuò* 错
pretty	p^{h}iau^{55}liɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$	漂亮	[xau^{55}niaŋ^{213}] 好瞁 'nice looking'	*piàoliang* 漂亮
ugly	tɕ^{h}iɔu^{55}	丑		*chǒu*丑
fat (adj. For animal)	p^{h}i^{22}	肥		*féi* 肥
corpulent	p^{h}i^{22}	肥		*pàng* 胖
slim	sei^{213}	瘦		*shòu* 瘦
lively	nie^{35}nau$^{35\sim55}$	热闹		*rènào* 热闹
hot (weather)	t^{h}ien^{21}k^{h}i^{21}(tin^{55}) nie^{35}	天气(顶) 热		*tiānqì rè* 天气热
cold (weather)	t^{h}ien^{21}k^{h}i^{21}(tin^{55}) t^{h}ən^{213}	天气(顶) ○$_{冷}$		*tiānqì lěng* 天气冷

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(continued)

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
full	mɔn^{55}	满		*mǎn* 满
new	sən^{21}	新		*xīn* 新
good	xau^{55}	好		*hǎo* 好
round	ʋien^{22}	圆		*yuán* 圆
Verbs				
to work	tsɔ^{213}sə^{35}	做事		*gàn huó er* 干活儿
to look, to watch, to read	niaŋ^{213}	瞁	瞁个下 [niaŋ^{213}kəi^{213}xa^{35}] ‘take a look’, 瞁书 [niaŋ^{213}ɕy^{21}] ‘read books’, 瞁电影 [niaŋ^{213}t^{h}ien^{213}in^{55}] ‘watch films’	*kàn* 看
to see	niaŋ^{213}tau^{55}	瞁到	‘to look’ + ACH	*kàndào* 看到
to listen, hear	t^{h}iaŋ^{21}	听	[sə^{55}nin^{55}k^{h}uei$^{53\sim21}$ t^{h}iaŋ^{21}] 使耳窟听 ‘use the ear to hear’	*tīng* 听
to smell	xɔu^{213}	嗅	[sə^{55}p^{hʲ}i^{213}tsə^{0}xɔu^{213}] 使鼻子嗅 ‘use the nose to smell’	*wén* 闻
to bite	k^{h}ən^{55}	啃		*yǎo* 咬
to chew	tsiau^{35}	嚼		*jué* 嚼
to lick	lan^{53}	○$_{舔}$		*tiǎn* 舔
to suck	sən^{21}	吮		*shǔnxī* 吮吸
to spit out	t^{h}u^{55}	吐 as in 吐掉	[t^{h}u^{55}t^{h}ei^{21}li^{22}] 吐出来 ‘spit out’	*tǔ* 吐 as in *tǔ diào* 吐掉
to vomit	t^{h}u^{35}	吐 as in 呕吐	[t^{h}u^{35}ə^{0}] 吐了 ‘vomited’	吐 *tù* as in *ǒutù* 呕吐
to take	na^{22}	拿		*ná* 拿
to give	tie^{53}	得		*gěi* 给
to pinch	k^{h}an^{53}	掐		*qiā* 掐
to screw	niɔu^{213}	扭		*níng* 拧
to twist	nien^{55}	捻		*niǎn* 捻
to roll, rub	nəu^{22}	揉	[t^{h}ɔ^{21}] 搓	*róu* 揉
to peel	ʋie^{53}	○$_{掰}$	[pu^{53}] 剥	*bāi* 掰
to tear	sɪ^{22}	撕		*sī* 撕
to fold	au^{55}	拗		*zhé* 折

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(continued)

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
to stir	pa^{53}	扒		*bō* 拨
to stand	k^{h}i^{55}	徛	[k^{h}i^{55}k^{h}i$^{55\sim22}$li^{22}]徛起来 ‘stand up’	*zhàn* 站
to lean	p^{h}en^{35}	○	[p^{h}en^{35}tie^{53}t^{h}iɔŋ^{22} ɕiɔŋ$^{35\sim21}$] ○得墙上 ‘lean against the wall’	*yǐ* 倚
to squat	k^{h}u^{35}	○$_{蹲}$	[k^{h}u^{35}xa$^{35\sim55}$k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$] ○$_{蹲}$下去 ‘squat down’	*dūn* 蹲
to jump	t^{h}iau^{213}	跳		*tiào* 跳
to stride	k^{h}ia^{35}	○$_{迈}$		*mài* 迈
to step on	t^{h}ai^{55}	踩		*cǎi* 踩
to crawl	p^{h}a^{22}	爬		*pá* 爬
to walk	xaŋ^{22}	行		*zǒu* 走
to run	tsu^{55}	走		*pǎo* 跑
to escape	tsu^{55}	走		*táo* 逃
to chase	tsei^{21}	追		*zhuī* 追
to grab	na$^{22\sim55\sim35}$	拿		*zhuā* 抓
to hug	p^{h}au^{55}	抱		*bào* 抱
to push	t^{h}ei^{21}	推	[suŋ^{55}] 搡 ‘push’	*tuī* 推
to trip over	tan^{55}	○$_{摔}$		*shuāi* 摔
to hit	tɕ^{h}iuŋ^{21}	冲		*zhuàng* 撞
to hide (intrans. Human only)	tɔ^{55}	躲		*duǒ* 躲
to hide (trans.)	k^{h}ɔŋ^{213}	○$_{藏}$		*cáng* 藏
to put, place	puŋ^{213}	放		*fàng* 放
to pile up	lei^{55}	摞	[t^{h}ien$^{55\sim22}$] 填，[tei^{21}] 堆	*luò* 摞
to die	si^{55}	死		*sǐ*死 as in *tǒng chēng* 统称 ‘general term’
to pass away	t^{h}ɔ^{35}ɕi^{213}	度世		*sǐ*死 as in *wǎn chēng* 婉称 ‘euphemistic term’
to bury	t^{h}ɔŋ^{213} / tsɔŋ^{213}	葬	[tɕia^{21}] 遮 ‘to cover’	*mái* 埋

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
pay tribute to ancestors by sweeping their tomb	sau^{22}miɔ^{213}	扫墓		*sǎo mù* 扫墓
to burn (intransitive)	tʰu^{21}pʰei^{55}ə^{0}	○○了		*shāo* 烧
to cover	kʰen^{55}	○$_{盖}$		*gài* 盖
to press	tsa^{53}	○$_{压}$	[tʰə^{55}] ○	*yā* 压
to press	en^{213}	摁		*èn* 摁
to poke	tʰuŋ^{55}	捅		*tǒng* 捅
to cut	kʰie^{35}	○$_{砍}$		*kǎn* 砍
to chop	tɔ^{35}	剁		*duò* 剁
to chip	sia^{53}	削		*xuē* 削
to kill	sɔi^{53}	杀		*shā* 杀
to crack	lie^{35}	裂		*liè* 裂
to rub, to apply on	tʰai^{53}	搓	[tʰai^{53}ɕiɔu^{55}] 搓手 ‘to rub hands’	*cuō* 搓
to pour	tau^{213}	倒		*dào* 倒
to throw away	tɔu^{21}	丢		*rēng* 扔 as in *diūdiào* 丢掉
to throw (at)	tʰə^{53}	掷	[ɕia^{35}] 射 ‘to shoot’	*rēng* 扔 as in *tóuzhí* 投掷
to drop	lɔ^{35}	落		*diào* 掉
to throw (away)	tɔu^{21}	丢		*diū* 丢
to search, to find	sau^{213}	找		*zhǎo* 找
to pick up	ɕiɔ^{53}	○$_{捡}$		*jiǎn* 捡
to lift	tiau^{35}	吊	[tʰiau^{21}] 挑	*tí* 提
to carry	xai$^{55\sim22}$	○$_{抬}$		*tiāo* 挑
to lift up	tʰai^{22}	抬		*tái* 抬
to pick	kien^{55}	捡		*tiāo* 挑
to weigh	tɕʰin^{213}	称	[lau$_{35}$] ○ = [tʰai^{35}tɕʰin^{213}] 大秤 ‘big scale’	*chēng* 称
to earn	tʰaŋ^{35}	挣		*zhuàn* 赚
to earn	tʰaŋ^{35}	挣		*zhēng* 挣

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
to owe	kʰien^{213}	欠		*qiàn* 欠
to know	ɕi^{53}tie$^{53\sim21}$	识得		*zhīdào* 知道
not know	ŋ$^{55\sim35}$ɕi^{53}tie$^{53\sim21}$	唔识得		*bù zhīdào* 不知道
to know	nin^{35}ɕi^{53}	认识	[nin^{35}tie^{53}tau$^{213\sim21\sim55}$] 认得到 ‘recognise’	*rènshí* 认识
not know	ŋ$^{55\sim35}$ɕi^{53}tie$^{53\sim21}$	唔认识	[nin^{35}ŋ^{55}tau$^{213\sim21\sim55}$] 认不到 ‘not recognise’	*bù rènshí* 不认识
to forget	la^{22}pu^{21}liau^{22}	○○了	[siɔŋ^{55}ŋ^{35}kʰi^{55}] 想唔起 ‘cannot recall’	*wàngjì le* 忘记了 *xiǎng bù qǐlái* 想不起来
to think	siɔŋ^{55}	想		*xiǎng* 想
to fear	ʊi^{213}	畏		*pà* 怕
to want	nuŋ^{35}	○要		*yào* 要
to have	iɔu^{55}	有		*yǒu* 有
not to have	mau^{35}iɔu^{55}	冇有		*méiyǒu* 没有
to be	ɕi$^{55\sim22}$	是		*shì* 是
not to be	mau^{35}ɕi$^{55\sim22}$	冇是		*bùshì* 不是
to be in/at	tʰu$^{55\sim35}$	处		*zài* 在
not to be in/at	mau^{35}tʰu$^{55\sim35}$	冇处		*bùzài* 不在
to be in/at	tʰu$^{55\sim35}$	处	[tʰu$^{55\sim35}$pə^{53}kin^{21}] 处北京 ‘in Beijing’	*zài*在 as in *zài běijīng gōngzuò* 在北京工作
to be in/at	tie^{53}	得	[tʰɔi^{55}tie^{53}] 坐得 ‘sit at’	*zài*在 as in *zuò zài yǐzi shàng* 坐在椅子上
to speak	ʊa^{35}sə^{35}	话事		*huōhuà* 说话
to call	xan^{213}	喊	[kiau^{213}] 叫	*jiào* 叫
to scold	ma^{213}	骂		*mà* 骂
to cry	tʰi^{53}	啼		*kū* 哭
to dispute	tʰau^{55}ka^{213}	吵架	[siɔŋ^{21}ma^{213}] 相骂	*chǎojià* 吵架
to fight	siɔŋ^{21}ta^{55}	相打	[ta^{55}ka^{213}] 打架	*dǎjià* 打架
to hit	ta^{55}	打	[pʰa^{53}] 拍	*dǎ* 打
to sleep	kʰa^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$	嗑梦		*shuì* 睡
to play	kau^{55}	搞		*wán er* 玩儿

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
to wear	siuŋ^{35}	颂	[siuŋ^{35}nie^{35} tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$] (=颂热头) 'to bask', [siuŋ^{35}məi^{53}ə^{0}] 颂袜儿 'to wear socks', [tɕʰien^{21}] 穿, [tʰə^{35}ɕiɔu^{55}tʰau^{213}] 戴手套 'to wear gloves', [ʋei^{22}ʋei^{22} liaŋ^{22}] 围围领 'to wear a scarf'	*chuān* 穿
to take off	tʰy^{22}	除	[tʰy^{22}xie^{22}ə^{0}] 除鞋儿 'to take off shoes', [tʰy^{22}i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}] 除衣裳 'to take off clothes', [tʰy^{22}məi^{53}ə^{0}] 除袜儿 'to take off socks', [tʰy^{22}ɕiɔu^{55}tʰau^{213}] 除手套 'to take off gloves'	*tuō* 脱
to tie	kie^{55}	系	[kie^{55}xie^{22}tai^{213}ə^{0}] 鞋带儿, [pʰu^{35}] 缚	*jì* 系
to sit	tʰɔi^{55}	坐		*zuò* 坐
to come	li^{22}	来		*lái* 来
to fly	pʰei^{55}	飞	[pʰei^{55}kʰi^{55}li^{22}] 飞起来 'to take off', 'to fly (up)' but [fei^{21}ki^{21}] 飞机 'airplane'	*fēi* 飞
to swim	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$sie^{55}	做洗	[tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$sie^{55}] 做洗 also means 'to take a bath' (see entry 'to wash oneself' below)	*yóuyǒng* 游泳
to wash oneself	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$sie^{55}	做洗	[tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$sie^{55}] 做洗 also means 'to swim', see the above entry	*xǐzǎo* 洗澡
Cardinal and ordinal numbers				
one	i^{53}	一		*yī* 一
two	ni^{35}	二		*èr* 二
three	san^{21}	三		*sān* 三
first	tʰi^{35}i^{53}	第一		*dì yī* 第一
second	tʰi^{35}ni^{35}	第二		*dì èr* 第二

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
third	$t^hi^{35}san^{21}$	第三		*dì sān* 第三
two-CLF	$liɔŋ^{55}kəi^{213}$	两个		*liǎng gè* 两个
three-CLF	$san^{21}kəi^{213}$	三个		*sān gè* 三个
ten	$ɕi(n)^{35}$	十		*shí* 十
twenty	$ni^{35}ɕi^{35\sim21}$	二十		*èr shí* 二十
one hundred	$kəi^{213\sim21}pa^{53}$	个百		*yī bǎi*一百
one hundred and one	$kəi^{213\sim21}pa^{53}$ $len^{22}i^{53\sim21}$	个百零一		*yī bǎi líng yī*一百零一
one thousand	$kəi^{213\sim21}ts^hien^{21}$	个千		*yī qiān*一千
one ten-thousand	$kəi^{213\sim21}ʊan^{35}$	个万		*yī wa*一万
Measure words				
two taels	$ni^{35}liɔŋ^{55}$	二两		*èr liǎng* 二两
two kilos	$liɔŋ^{55}kuŋ^{21}kin^{21}$	两公斤		*liǎng gōngjīn* 两公斤
two metres	$liɔŋ^{55}mi^{55}$	两米		*liǎng mǐ* 两米
Numeral-classifier noun phrases				
a person	$ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}nin^{55\sim22}$	蜀个人		*yīgè rén* 一个人
a star	$ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}sən^{21}nə^{0}$	蜀个星儿		*yī kē xīng* 一颗星
a pea	$ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}xəu^{35}ə^{0}$	蜀个豆儿		*yī lì dòuzi* 一粒豆子
a thing	$ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}tuŋ^{21}si^{21}$	蜀个东西		*yījiàn dōngxī* 一件东西
an idea	$ɕi^{22}kəi^{21}siɔŋ^{55}fan^{53}$	蜀个想法		*yīgè xiǎngfǎ* 一个想法
a moment	$ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}$	蜀个时候		*yīgè shíhòu* 一个时候
a riddle	$ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}mi^{35}ə^{0}$	蜀个谜儿	$[t^hai^{21}ɕi^{22}kəi^{21}\ mi^{35}ə^{0}]$ 猜蜀个谜儿 'guess a riddle', $[ta^{55}ɕi^{22}kəi^{21}mi^{35}ə^{0}]$ 打蜀个谜儿 'make a riddle'	*yīgè míyǔ* 一个谜语
a name	$ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}miaŋ^{53}$	蜀个名	$[siaŋ^{213}miaŋ^{53}]$ 姓名 'surname and first name'	*yīgè míngzi* 一个名字

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
a matter	kəi^{213}k^{h}ien^{35}sə^{35}	个件事	[sə^{35}] 事can also mean 'utterance' or 'language'	*yījiàn shìqíng* 一件事情
one *kuai*, RMB (monetary unit of PRC)	kəi^{213}k^{h}uai$^{213\sim55}$ p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}	个块票儿		*kuài* 块
ten cents (in RMB)	kə^{0}kɔ^{53}p^{h}iau^{213}ə^{0}	个角票儿		*máo* 毛 as in *yī máo qián* 一毛钱
a cow/ox	kəi^{213}t^{h}əu^{53}ny^{22}	个头牛	[kəi^{213}tɕia^{53}ny^{22}] 个只牛，[kəi^{213}xaŋ^{22}ny^{22}] 个行牛	*yītóu niú* 一头牛
a pig	kəi^{213}t^{h}əu^{53}ty^{21}	个头猪	[kəi^{213}tɕia^{53}ty^{21}] 个只猪，[kəi^{213}xaŋ^{22}ty^{21}] 个行猪	*yītóu zhū* 一头猪
a dog	kəi^{213}tɕia^{53}kəu^{55}	个只狗		*yī zhǐ gǒu* 一只狗
a chicken	kəi^{213}tɕia^{53}kəi^{21}	个只鸡	[kəi^{213}t^{h}əu^{53}kəi^{21}] 个头鸡	*yī zhǐ jī* 一只鸡
a mosquito	kəi^{213}tɕia^{53}mən^{53} nə^{0}	个只蚊子		*yī zhǐ wénzi* 一只蚊子
a fish	kəi^{213}xaŋ^{22}ŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}	个行鱼儿		*yītiáo yú* 一条鱼
a snake	kəi^{213}xaŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}	个行蛇		*yītiáo shé* 一条蛇
a table/desk	kəi^{213}xaŋ^{22}p^{h}ɔn^{22}	个行槃		*yī zhāng zhuōzi* 一张桌子
a bed cover	kəi^{213}t^{h}ɔŋ^{53}p^{h}ei^{55}	个床被		*yī chuáng bèizi* 一床被子
a mattress	kəi^{213}t^{h}ɔŋ^{53}ɕiɔ^{53}	个床席		*yī lǐng xízi* 一领席子
a pair of shoes	kəi^{213}sɔŋ^{21}xie^{22}	个双鞋		*yīshuāng xié* 一双鞋
a knife	kəi^{213}pa^{55}tau^{21}	个把刀		*yī bǎ dāo* 一把刀
a lock	kəi^{213}pa^{55}sɔ^{55}	个把锁		*yī bǎ suǒ* 一把锁
a rope	kəi^{213}xaŋ^{22}sɔ^{53}tsə^{0}	个行索子		*yī gēn shéngzi* 一根绳子
a brush	kəi^{213}kuaŋ^{55}mau^{22}pi^{55}	个○$_{杆}$毛笔		*yī zhī máobǐ* 一支毛笔

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
a car	kəi^{213}ka^{213}kʰi^{35} tɕʰia^{21}	个架汽车		*yī liàng qìchē* 一辆汽车
a bridge	kəi^{213}xaŋ^{22}kʰiau^{22}	个座桥		*yīzuò qiáo* 一座桥
a road	kəi^{213}xaŋ^{22}tʰiɔ^{35}	个行路		*yītiáo lù* 一条路
a tree	kəi^{213}təu^{21}tɕʰy^{213}	个兜树	[kəi^{213}xaŋ^{22}tɕʰy^{213}] 个行树, [kəi^{213}tʰuŋ^{22} tɕʰy^{213}] 个丛树	*yī kē shù* 一棵树
a flower	kəi^{213}tɔ^{55}fa^{21}	个朵花		*yī duǒ huā*一朵花
a meal	kəi^{213}tʰan^{21}pʰən^{35}	个餐饭		*yī dùn fàn* 一顿饭
a word	kəi^{213}luŋ^{35}tʰə^{35}	个○字		*yīxíng zì* 一行字
a thing	kəi^{213}iɔŋ^{35}sə^{35}	个样事		*yī jiàn shìqíng* 一件事情
a bit of things	kəi^{213}nən^{35}nən$^{35\sim55}$ tsə^{0}tuŋ^{21}si^{21}	个嫩嫩子东西		*yīdiǎn er dōngxī* 一点儿东西
some things	kəi^{213}nən^{35}tuŋ^{21}si^{21}	个嫩东西		*yīxiē dōngxī* 一些东西
handful	kə^{0}pa^{55}tsə^{0}	个把子		*bǎ*把 as in *gè bǎ* 个把
Verbal classifiers				
hit once	ta^{55}kə^{0}xa^{35}	打个下		*dǎle yī xià* 打一下
do for a while	tsɔ^{213}kə^{0}xa^{35}	做个下		*zuò yī huǐ'er* 做一会儿
do once	tsɔ^{213}kə^{0}fei^{22}	做个回		*zuò yī huí* 做一回
go once	kʰɔ^{213}kə^{0}fei^{22}/pɔ^{53}	去个回/○趟		*qù yī tàng* 去一趟
Natural phenomena and objects				
sun	nie^{35}tʰəu^{53}	热头		*tàiyáng* 太阳
moon	ʋie^{35}kuɔŋ^{21}	月光		*yuèliàng* 月亮
thunder	ta^{55}lei^{22}	打雷	[lei^{22}kuŋ^{21}] 雷公	*léi* 雷
rain	lɔ^{35}xy^{55}	落雨	[tie^{53}xy^{55}lən^{22}tɕʰien^{53} liau^{55}ə^{0}] 得雨淋湿了了 'get wet by rain'	*xià yǔ* 下雨 *bèi yǔ lín shīle* 被雨淋湿了
rainbow	iuŋ^{55}	○虹	[fuŋ^{22}] 虹	*hóng* 虹
hail	pen^{21}pʰau^{213}ə^{0}	冰雹儿		*bīngbáo* 冰雹

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(continued)

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
puddle	tsi^{53}sei^{55}k^{h}aŋ^{21}ŋə^{0}	积水坑儿		*shuǐ kēng er* 水坑儿
fire	fəi^{55}	火		*huǒ* 火
ash	fəi^{21}	灰		*huī* 灰
rock, stone	ɕiɔ^{35}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$, xai^{35}ɕiɔ^{35}	石头 大石		*shítou* 石头 *dà shítou* 大石头
sand	sa^{21}tsə^{0}	沙子		*shāzi* 沙子
cloud	ʊin^{22}	云		*yún* 云
smoke	ien^{21}	烟		*yān* 烟
mountain	t^{h}ai^{35}sɔn^{21}	大山		*dàshān* 大山
Constructions and artefacts				
village	t^{h}ən^{21}tsɔŋ^{21} (= ts^{h}ən^{21}tsɔŋ^{21})	村庄	[t^{h}ən^{21}nə^{0} ti^{22}xəu^{21}] 村儿底头 'in the village'	*cūnzhuāng* 村庄
alleyway	luŋ^{35}ŋə^{0}	弄儿	[luŋ^{35}ŋə^{0}ti^{22}xəu^{21}] 弄儿底头 'inside the alleyway'	*hútòng* 胡同
trail, road	t^{h}iɔ^{35}	路	[xiɔ^{35}] 路 'road' with lenition	*xiǎolù* 小路
concrete	iɔŋ^{22}fəi^{21}	洋灰	[sei^{55}nie^{22}] 水泥 'concrete'	*shuǐní* 水泥
house	tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}	厝	[tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}ti^{55}xəu^{21}] 厝底头 'home'	*fángzi* 房子
room	fɔŋ^{22}kien^{21}	房间		*wūzi* 屋子
bedroom	k^{h}a^{53}men$^{213\sim21}$kə^{0} fɔŋ^{22}kien^{21}	嗑梦个房间		*wòshì* 卧室
window	k^{h}ien^{53}mən^{22}	轩门	[k^{h}ien^{53}nə^{0}] 轩儿	*chuāng* 窗
doorstep	fu^{55}t^{h}ən^{22}	○○	[mən^{22}kan$^{55\sim22}$] 门槛	*ménkǎn er* 门槛儿
stove	tsu^{213}	灶		*zào* 灶
God of the Kitchen	tsu^{213}kyn^{21}ta^{22}ta^{0}	灶君○爷○爷	[tsu^{213}sen^{22}] 灶神	*zàoshén* 灶神
wok	tiaŋ^{55}	鼎		*guō* 锅
knife	t^{h}ə^{213}tau^{21}	菜刀		*càidāo* 菜刀
firewood	t^{h}au^{53}	○柴	[t^{h}au^{53}fəi^{55}] ○柴火	*chái* 柴
toilet	mau^{22}k^{h}aŋ^{21}	茅坑	[t^{h}ə^{53}su$^{55\sim22}$] 厕所	*cèsuǒ* 厕所
pig sty	ty^{21}lan^{22}	猪栏		*zhū quān* 猪圈
bird nest	tsiau^{53}ə^{0}sau^{55}	雀儿巢		*niǎo wō* 鸟窝

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
bed	$t^hɔŋ^{53}$	床	[$k^ha^{53}men^{213}t^hɔŋ^{53}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{35\sim21}$] 嗑梦床上	*chuáng* 床
bed (Northern usage)	$k^hɔŋ^{213}$	炕	[$k^hɔŋ^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{35\sim55}$] 炕上 ‘on the bed’	*kàng* 炕
table/desk	$p^hɔn^{22}$	槃	[$p^hɔn^{22}ɕiɔŋ^{35\sim21}$] 槃上 ‘on the table’	*zhuō zi* 桌子
drawer	$p^hɔn^{22}lu^{22}$	槃簏		*chōutì* 抽屉
bowl	$ʊon^{55}$	碗		*wǎn* 碗
chopstick	$t^hy^{35}tɕia^{53}$ (= $xy^{35}tɕia^{53}$)	箸只	[$kə^0sɔŋ^{21}t^hy^{35}$ $tɕia^{53}$] 个双箸只 ‘a pair of chopsticks’	*kuàizi* 筷子
spoon	$t^hiau^{22}ken^{21}$	调羹		*tāngchí* 汤匙
bottle	$kuɔn^{53\sim21}nə^0$	罐儿		*píngzi* 瓶子
cover	$en^{213}nə^0$	○盖儿		*gàizi* 盖子
wheel	$luən^{21}nə^0$	轮儿		*lúnzi* 轮子
umbrella	san^{55}	伞	[$tɕia^{21}xy^{55}kə^0san^{55}$] 遮雨个伞	*yǔsǎn* 雨伞
clothes	$i^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{21}$	衣裳		*yīfú* 衣服
diaper	$niau^{35}piɔ^{213}$	尿布		*niàobù* 尿布
pocket	$təu^{21}ə^0$	兜儿	[$k^hu^{213}təu^{21}$] 裤兜 ‘trousers pocket’	*kǒudài* 口袋
sleeve	$san^{21}t^hɔu^{35\sim21}$	衫袖		*xiùzi* 袖子
towel	$min^{213}kin^{21}$	面巾		*máojīn* 毛巾
soap	$kuei^{55}tsə^0kan^{55}$	鬼子碱		*féizào* 肥皂
hot water	$kuən^{55}sei^{55\sim22}$	滚水		*rè shuǐ* 热水
comb	$su^{21}ə^0$	梳儿	[$mu^{53}su^{21}ə^0$] 木梳儿 ‘wooden comb’	*shūzi* 梳子
scissors	$tsien^{55\sim53}nə^0$	剪儿		*jiǎnzi* 剪子
Domesticated animals and animal parts				
castrated boar	$ien^{21}ty^{21}kuŋ^{21}$	阉猪公	[$t^hə^{213}ty^{21}$] 菜猪 ‘pig for consumption’, [$sɔi^{53}ty^{21}$] 杀猪 ‘kill a pig’	*yān gōng zhū* 阉公猪 *shā zhū* 杀猪
spayed sow	$ien^{21}ty^{21}ma^{22}$	阉猪嫲		*yān mǔ zhū* 阉母猪
castrated cock	$ien^{21}kəi^{21}$	阉鸡		*yān jī* 阉鸡

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
male pig for reproduction	kuŋ^{21}ty^{21}	公猪		*pèizhǒng yòng de gōng zhū* 配种用的公猪
sow	ty^{21}ma^{22}	猪嫲		*mǔ zhū* 母猪
dog	kəu^{55}	狗		*gǒu* 狗
cock	kuŋ^{21}kəi^{21}	公鸡	[sau^{21}kəi^{21}ku^{53}] 骚鸡牯 'cock (not castrated')'	*gōngjī* 公鸡
hen	kəi^{21}ma^{22}	鸡嫲	[kəi^{21}saŋ^{21}sɔn^{55}] 鸡生卵 'hen lay egg'	*mǔ jī* 母鸡 *jī xiàdàn* 鸡下蛋
egg	kəi^{21}sɔn^{55}	鸡卵	[tsiau^{53}ə^{0}sɔn^{55}] 雀儿卵 'bird's egg'	*jīdàn* 鸡蛋
chick	siau^{55}kəi^{21}	小鸡	[p^{h}au^{213}siau^{55}kəi^{21}] 泡小鸡 'hatch chick'	*xiǎo jī* 小鸡 *fū xiǎo jī* 孵小鸡
horn	kɔ^{53}	角		*dòngwù de jiǎo* 动物的角
tail	mei^{55}pa^{21}	尾巴		*wěibā* 尾巴
feather	y^{55}mau^{22}	羽毛		*yǔmáo* 羽毛
claw	tsau^{55}(tsə^{0})	爪(子)		*zhuǎzi* 爪子
neck	kiaŋ^{55}tsə^{0}	颈子		*jǐng bù* 颈部
Animals in nature				
bird	tsiau^{53}ə^{0}	雀儿	[k^{h}ie^{53}] 翼 'wing'	*niǎo er* 鸟儿 *niǎo chìbǎng* 鸟翅膀
sparrow	mai^{53}tsiau^{53}ə^{0}	麻雀儿	[ma^{22}tɕ^{h}iɔ^{21}] 麻雀	*máquè* 麻雀
butterfly	fu^{22}t^{h}ien^{22}	蝴蝶		*húdié* 蝴蝶
dragonfly	kɔŋ$^{213\sim21}$kɔŋ^{55}kəi^{21}	○○○		*qīngtíng* 蜻蜓
mouse/rat	lau^{55}tɕ^{h}y$^{55\sim22}$	老鼠		*lǎoshǔ* 老鼠
bat	p^{h}i^{22}p^{h}a^{22}lau^{55}tɕ^{h}y$^{55\sim22}$	琵琶老鼠		*biānfú* 蝙蝠
tiger	lau^{55}k^{h}u$^{55\sim22}$ / lau^{55}xu$^{55\sim22}$	老虎		*lǎohǔ* 老虎
cat	mau^{53}ə^{0}	猫儿		*māo* 猫
monkey	xəu^{22}ə^{0}	猴儿		*hóuzi* 猴子
snake	ɸi^{22}	蛇		*shé* 蛇
earthworm	ʊɔŋ^{22}fien$^{55\sim22}$	黄○	[ien^{22}iɔu^{22}] ○○$_{蜗牛}$ 'snail'	*qiūyǐn* 蚯蚓

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
caterpillar	mau^{22}mau^{22} t^{h}uŋ$^{53\sim21}$ŋə^{0}	毛毛虫儿		*máomao chóng er* 毛毛虫儿
ant	nie^{22}nie$^{22\sim55}$ma^{22}	蚁蚁嫲		*mǎyǐ* 蚂蚁
spider	k^{h}iɔ^{53}sau^{21}	蜘蛛	[k^{h}iɔ^{53}sau^{21}mɔ^{22}ə^{0}] 蜘蛛膜儿 'cob web'	*zhīzhū* 蜘蛛
mosquito	mən^{53}nə^{0}	蚊儿		*wénzi* 蚊子
fly	u^{22}mi^{22}	苍蝇		*cāngyíng* 苍蝇
flea	t^{h}iau^{213}tsau^{55}	跳蚤		*tiàozǎo* 跳蚤
lice	sə^{53}ma^{22}	虱嫲		*shīzi* 虱子
frog	xa^{22}ma^{22}	蛤蟆		*qīngwā* 青蛙
toad	lai^{35}xa^{22}ma^{22}	癞蛤蟆		*làihámá* 癞蛤蟆
fish	ŋ^{55}ŋə^{0}	鱼儿	[ŋ^{55}ŋə^{0}sən^{53}] 鱼儿鳞 'fish scale'	*yú* 鱼 *yú lín* 鱼鳞
river or sea snail	sɔi^{53}ma^{22}	螺嫲		*luó shī* 螺丝
Farm work and related objects				
seed	tɕiuŋ^{55}tsə^{0}	种子		*zhǒngzǐ* 种子
to nurse growing-grain	iɔŋ^{22}ʊəi^{22}	秧禾	[iɔŋ^{21}ʊəi^{22}] 秧禾 is the action of nursing growing rice grains in a nursery until they become seedlings	*yù miáo* 育苗
to plant seedling	t^{h}an^{53}iɔŋ^{22}	插秧	[t^{h}an^{53}iɔŋ^{22}] 插秧is the action of planting seedlings from a nursery in a paddy field	*chā yāng* 插秧
growing-grain, seedling, rice plant, crop	ʊəi^{22}	禾	[ʊəi^{22}] 禾 is used to describe growing grains, seedlings, rice plants and also crops in general.	*dào* 稻
rice grain	ɕy^{53}	粟	[kəu^{55}mei$^{55\sim22}$ɕy^{53}ə^{0}] 狗尾粟儿 'setaria'	*dàogǔ* 稻谷, *gǔzi* 谷子
wheat straw	ma^{35}kuaŋ^{55}	麦〇$_{秆}$		*màijí* 麦吉
sorghum	kau^{21}liɔŋ^{22}	高粱		*gāoliang* 高粱
maize	pau^{21}ɕy$^{53\sim21}$	包粟		*yùmǐ* 玉米

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
hoe	kiɔ^{53}tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$	镢头		*chútóu*锄头
rake	pʰa^{22}	耙		*bà*耙
field	tʰən^{53}	垄		*tián*田
Vegetables and plant parts				
fava bean	tʰuŋ^{53}tʰəu$^{35\sim21}$ə^{0}	○蚕豆儿		*cándòu* 蚕豆
pea	ʊɔn^{55}tʰəu$^{35\sim21}$	豌豆	[sie^{53}fa^{21}tʰəu$^{35\sim21}$ə^{0}] (=[sie^{53}fa^{0}xəu$^{35\sim21}$ə^{0}]) 雪花豆儿	*wāndòu* 豌豆
peanut	fa^{21}sen^{21}	花生		*huāshēng* 花生
sunflower	kʰuei^{22}fa^{21}	葵花		*xiàngrìkuí* 向日葵
carrot	lɔ^{22}pʰə^{21}	萝卜		*luóbo* 萝卜
spinach	pɔ^{21}tʰə^{213}	菠菜	[pɔ^{21}len^{22}tʰə^{213}] 菠○菜	*bōcài* 菠菜
cabbage	pau^{21}sən^{21}pʰa^{35}	包芯白		*yuánbáicài* 圆白菜
aubergine	kʰiɔ^{22}ə^{0}	茄儿		*qiézi* 茄子
chili	pan^{21}tsiau^{21}	斑椒		*làjiāo* 辣椒
mushroom	u^{55}ə^{0}	菇儿	[mɔ^{22}ku^{21}] 蘑菇	*mógū* 蘑菇
yam	fan^{21}ɕy^{22}	番薯		*gānshǔ* 甘薯
potato	ma^{55}len^{22}ɕy^{22}ə^{0}	马铃薯儿		*mǎlíngshǔ* 马铃薯
tomato	fan^{21}kʰyɔ^{22}ə^{0}	番茄儿	[si^{21}fuŋ^{22}ɕi^{35}] 西红柿	*xīhóngshì* 西红柿
pumpkin	kən^{21}kua^{21}	金瓜		*nánguā* 南瓜
loofah	tʰien^{21}lɔ^{22}	天萝		*sīguā* 丝瓜
leave	niɔ^{53}	箬		*yèzi* 叶子
root	ken^{21}	根		*gēnbù* 根部
tree bark	tɕʰy^{213}pʰei^{53}	树皮	[pʰei^{53}] ‘skin’ 皮 (colloquial); [pʰi^{22}fu^{21}] 皮肤‘skin’ (formal)	*shù pí* 树皮
Food and condiments				
powder	fən^{55}	粉	[pan^{21}tsiau^{21}fən^{55}] 斑椒粉 ‘chili powder’, [ny^{35}mi^{55}fən^{55}] 玉米粉 ‘corn powder’	*miàn er* 面儿
flour	mien^{213}fəi^{21}	面灰		*miànfěn* 面粉
rice	mi^{55}	米		*mǐ* 米
congee	tɕy^{53}	粥		*xīfàn* 稀饭
bun without stuffing	mɔ^{22}mɔ^{0}	馍馍	[mɔn^{35}tʰəu$^{53\sim21}$] 馒头	*mántou* 馒头

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
bun with stuffing	pau^{21}tsə^{0}	包子		*bāozi* 包子
dumpling	kiau^{53}ə^{0}	饺儿		*jiǎozi* 饺子
fritter	iɔu^{22}t^{h}iau^{22}	油条		*yóutiáo* 油条
meal, vegetable	t^{h}ə^{213}	菜	[ɕie^{35}t^{h}ə^{213}] 食菜 ‘have meal’, ‘eat’, [p^{h}ei^{213}t^{h}ə^{213}] 配菜 ‘side dish’	*cài* 菜
pig liver	ty^{21}xɔŋ^{21}	猪肝		*zhū gān* 猪肝
pig tongue	ty^{21}ɕie^{35}t^{h}ien^{53}, ty^{21}ɕie^{35}lan^{53}	猪舌舔 猪舌〇	[ty^{21}ɕie^{35}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$]猪舌头	*zhū shétou* 猪舌头
salt	ien^{22}	盐	[ien^{22}pa^{0}] 盐巴	*yán* 盐
vinegar	lau^{55}tsɔu$^{55\sim22}$	老酒	[ts^{h}u^{213}] 醋, but [t^{h}in^{22}tsɔu^{22}] 陈酒 = ‘mature wine’	*cù* 醋
Cooking and eating				
cook	tɕy^{55}	煮		*zhǔ* 煮
fry in shallow oil	tsien^{21}	煎		*jiān* 煎
fry in deep oil	tsa^{213}	炸		*zhà* 炸
eat	ɕie^{35}	食		*chī* 吃
eat meal	ɕie^{35}p^{h}ən^{35}	食饭	[ɕie^{35}p^{h}ən^{35}] 食饭 can also mean ‘eat cooked rice’	*chī fàn* 吃饭
drink wine	ɕie^{35}tsɔu^{55}	食酒		*hē jiǔ* 喝酒
drink tea	ɕie^{35}t^{h}a^{22}	食茶		*hē chá* 喝茶
smoke	ɕie^{35}ien^{21}	食烟		*chou yān* 抽烟
to help guest to the food	k^{h}ien$^{55\sim22}$t^{h}ə^{213}	钳菜	[k^{h}ien^{22}nə^{0}] 钳儿 ‘forceps’	*jiā cài* 夹菜
to pour wine for the guest	sai^{21}tsɔu^{55}	〇$_{斟}$酒	[tau^{213}tsɔu^{55}] 倒酒	*zhēnzhuó* 斟酌
Meals in a day				
have breakfast	ɕie^{35}t^{h}ien^{21}kuŋ^{21}	食天工		*chī zǎofàn* 吃早饭
have lunch	ɕie^{35}tu$^{55\sim35}$	食〇$_{午}$		*chī wǔfàn* 吃午饭
have dinner	ɕie^{35}ɔŋ^{213}	食暗		*chī wǎnfàn* 吃晚饭

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English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
Human body parts				
head	$t^həu^{53}$	头		*tóu* 头
hair	$t^həu^{53}py^{21}$	头发		*tóufǎ* 头发
plait	$pien^{213}tsə^0$	辫子		*biànzi* 辫子
face	$min^{213}tsei^{55}$	面嘴	[min^{213}] 面	*liǎn* 脸
eye	$mu^{53}tɕy^{21}$	目珠		*yǎnjīng* 眼睛
eyeball, iris	$mu^{53}tɕy^{21}nin^{22}nə^0$	目珠仁儿		*yǎnzhūzi* 眼珠子
tear	$mu^{53}sei^{55}$	目水		*yǎnlèi* 眼泪
nose	$p^hi^{22}k^huei^{53\sim21}$	鼻窟		*bízi* 鼻子
snot	$p^hi^{22}ɕi^{22}$	鼻屎		*bítì* 鼻涕
ear	$nin^{55}k^huei^{53\sim21}$	耳窟		*ěrduǒ* 耳朵
mouth	$tsei^{55}pa^0$	嘴巴		*zuǐbā* 嘴巴
tooth	$ŋa^{22}tɕ^hɪ^{55\sim22}$	牙齿		*yáchǐ* 牙齿
tongue	$ɕie^{35}t^hien^{53}$, $ɕie^{35}lan^{53}$	舌舔，舌〇	[$ɕie^{35}t^həu^{53}$] 舌头	*shétou* 舌头
saliva	$t^hɔi^{213}$	唾		*kǒushuǐ* 口水
skin	$p^hi^{22}fu^{21}$	皮肤		*pífū* 皮肤
flesh	ny^{53}	肉		*ròu* 肉
blood	fie^{53}	血		*xuè* 血
bone	$kuei^{53}t^həu^{53\sim21}$	骨头		*gǔ* 骨
fat	$tɕi^{22}fɔŋ^{22}$	脂肪		*zhīfáng* 脂肪
beard	$u^{22}t^həu^{21}$	乌〇		*húzi* 胡子
neck	$kiaŋ^{55}tsə^0$	颈子	[$kiaŋ^{55}ɕiɔŋ^{35\sim21}$] 颈上 'neck'	*bózi* 脖子
throat	$u^{22}liaŋ^{22}$	〇〇喉咙		*hóulóng* 喉咙
hand, arm	$ɕiɔu^{55}$	手	NB: in Shaowu, [$ɕiɔu^{55}$] 手 = hand *and* arm	*shǒu* 手
left hand	$p^həi^{35}ɕiɔu^{55}$	背手		*zuǒshǒu* 左手
right hand	$tɕiaŋ^{213}ɕiɔu^{55}$	正手	[$tɔu^{55}tsan^{21}$] 手肘 'elbow'	*yòushǒu* 右手
fist	$k^hyn^{22}t^həu^{53\sim21}$ $mɔ^{22}mɔ^0$	拳头馍馍	[$k^hyn^{22}t^həu^{53\sim21}$] 拳头	*quántóu* 拳头
finger	$ɕiɔu^{55}ɕi^{21}tsə^0$	手〇指子	[$ɕiɔu^{55}tɕi^{21}tsə^0$] 手指子	*shǒuzhǐ tou* 手指头
fingernail	$ɕiɔu^{55}tɕi^{21}kan^{53}nə^0$	手指甲儿		*zhǐjiǎ* 指甲

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(continued)

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
leg, foot	k^hau^{21}	骹	NB: in Shaowu, [k^hau^{21}] 骹= leg *and* foot	*jiǎo* 脚
knee	$sə^{53}t^həu^{53\sim21}$ $kuŋ^{21}ŋə^0$	膝头公儿		*xīgài* 膝盖
belly	$py^{53}ɕy^{21}$	腹〇		*dùzi* 肚子
back	pei^{213}, $pei^{213}tɕia^{53}$	背, 背脊		*bèi* 背
heart	$sən^{21}$	心		*xīn* 心
liver	$xɔŋ^{21}$	肝		*gān* 肝
breast	$tsai^{53}tsai^{53\sim21}$, $xiuŋ^{21}$	〇汁〇汁, 胸		*fùnǚ xiōngbù* 妇女胸部, *rǔfáng* 乳房
to breastfeed	$ɕie^{35}tsai^{53}tsai^{53\sim21}$	食汁汁?		*chīnǎi* 吃奶
penis	$tsɔi^{213}tsə^0$	〇子		*yīnjīng* 阴茎
buttock	$ɕi^{55}k^huei^{53\sim21}$	屎窟		*pìgu* 屁股
anus	$kɔŋ^{21}mən^{22}$	肛门		*gāngmén* 肛门
vagina	$pie^{35}pie^0$	〇〇		*nǚ yīn* 女阴
to copulate	$t^hɔ^{53}$	戳		*rù ròu* 入肉
sperm	$tsin^{21}tsə^0$	精子		*jīngyè* 精液
Bodily reactions and illness				
hungry	$py^{53}tsau^{21}liau^{55}ə^0$	腹〇了了	[$ŋɔ^{35}$] 饿	*è* 饿
thirsty	$tsei^{55}kɔn^{21}$	嘴干		*kě* 渴
to defecate	$lai^{21}ɕi^{55}$	拉屎		*lāshǐ* 拉屎
to urinate	$lai^{21}niau^{35}$	拉尿		*sāniào* 撒尿
tired	$lɔi^{35}$	累	[$lɔi^{35}nin^{55}$] 累人 'tiring'	*lèi* 累
painful	t^hy^{35}	〇疼		*téng* 疼
cough	$k^hə^{53}səu^{213}$	咳嗽		*késòu* 咳嗽
catch malaria	$ta^{55}pai^{55}tsə^0$	打摆子		*huàn nüèjí* 患疟疾
have diarrhea	$ta^{55}sia^{213}py^{53}$	打泻腹		*lādùzi* 拉肚子
Human nouns				
person	$nin^{22\sim55}$	人		*rén* 人
guest	$nin^{22}k^ha^{53}$, $k^ha^{53}nin^{22}$	人客, 客人	NB: both word orders are acceptable	*kèrén* 客人
married woman	$a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}$	阿娘		*yǐ hūn de nǚrén* 已婚的女人
child	$siau^{55}kin^{53}tsə^0$	小囝子		*xiǎohái* 小孩
boy	$kin^{53}tsə^0(sa^{22})$	囝子(倷)		*nánhái* 男孩
girl	$a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}kin^{53}ts$-.	阿娘囝子	[$nie^{55}tsə^0$] 囡子	*nǚhái* 女孩

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(continued)

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
a blind person	(!) xie^{53}tsə^{0}	瞎子		*xiāzi* 瞎子
a deaf person	(!) suŋ^{53}tsə^{0}	聋子		*lóngzi* 聋子
a mute person	(!) a^{55}pa^{0}tsə^{0}	哑巴子		*yǎbā* 哑巴
a hunchback	(!) tʰɔ^{22}tsə$^{0\cdot}$	驼子		*tuózi* 驼子
an idiot	(!) sa^{22}kua^{21}	傻瓜	[sa^{22}tsə^{0}] 傻子	*shǎzi* 傻子
a beggar	kʰəi^{53}ɕi^{21}	乞丐		*qǐgài* 乞丐
Kinship terms				
paternal grandfather	ta^{22}ta^{0}	○爷○爷		*yéye* 爷爷
paternal grandmother	ma^{22}ma^{0}	嫲嫲		*nǎinai* 奶奶
maternal grandfather	kuŋ^{21}ŋə^{0}	公儿	[ʊai^{35}kuŋ^{21}] 外公	*wàizǔfù* 外祖父
maternal grandmother	pʰɔ^{22}pʰɔ^{0}	婆婆	[ʊai^{35}pʰɔ^{22}] 外婆	*wàizǔmu* 外祖母
father	ia^{22}lau^{0}	爷佬		*bàba* 爸爸
mother	niɔŋ^{22}lau^{0}	娘佬		*māmā* 妈妈
father-in-law	kuŋ^{21}kuŋ^{0}	公公		*gōnggōng* 公公
mother-in-law	pʰɔ^{22}pʰɔ^{0}	婆婆		*pópo* 婆婆
uncle (father's elder brother)	pa^{22}pa^{0}	○○		*bófù* 伯父
aunt (wife of the elder brother of father)	tsia^{22}tsia^{0}	姐姐		*bómǔ* 伯母
uncle (father's younger brother)	ɕy$^{53\sim21}$ɕy$^{53\sim55}$	叔叔		*shúfù* 叔父
aunt (wife of the younger brother of father)	ɕin$^{55\sim22}$ɕin^{55}	婶婶		*shúmǔ* 叔母
elder brother	lau^{55}pa^{21}	老○		*gēgē* 哥哥

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(continued)

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
elder sister	tsi^{55}lau^{0}	姊佬	[tsie$^{55\sim22}$tsie^{0}] 姐姐 (Mandarin influence)	*jiějie* 姐姐
younger brother	t^{h}i^{55}ə^{0}	弟儿		*dìdi* 弟弟
younger sister	mei^{213}ə^{0}	妹儿		*mèimei* 妹妹
son	kin^{53}nə^{0}	囝子		*érzi* 儿子
son's wife	sən^{21}p^{h}y$^{213\sim21}$	新妇		*ér xífù* 儿媳妇
daughter	a^{22}niɔŋ^{22}kin^{53}nə^{0}	阿娘囝儿		*nǚ'ér* 女儿
daughter's husband	tsia^{55}fu^{0}	姐夫		*nǚxù* 女婿
son's son	sən^{21}nə^{0}	孙儿		*sūnzi* 孙子
brother's son	sən^{21}nə^{0}	甥儿		*zhízi* 侄子
sister's son	ɒai^{35}saŋ^{21}	外甥		*wàishēng* 外甥
daughter's son	ɒai^{35}saŋ^{21}	外孙		*wàisūn* 外孙
mother's brother	k^{h}y^{55}ə^{0}	舅儿		*jiùjiu* 舅舅
wife of mother's brother	k^{h}ən^{55}nə^{0}	妗儿		*jiùmā* 舅妈
father's sister	ku^{21}ə^{0}	姑儿		*gū* 姑
mother's sister	i^{22}ə^{0}	姨儿		*yí* 姨
husband	lau^{53}tsə^{0}	老子		*zhàngfū* 丈夫
wife	ma^{55}niɔŋ^{22}	妈娘	[t^{h}au^{55}ma^{55}niɔŋ^{22}] 讨妈娘 (Lit. 'to get a wife') 'to marry'	*qīzi* 妻子 *qǔ qī* 娶妻
bride	sən^{21}nin^{22}	新人	[sən^{21}lɔŋ^{22}] 新郎 'bridegroom'	*xīnniángzi* 新娘子
Temporal expressions				
this year	kən^{21}nin^{22}	今年		*jīnnián* 今年
next year	maŋ^{22}nin^{22}	明年		*míngnián* 明年
last year	k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$niŋ$^{22\sim21}$	去年		*qùnián* 去年
today	kən^{21}tɕiau^{21}	今朝		*jīntiān* 今天
tomorrow	maŋ^{22}tɕiau^{21}	明朝		*míngtiān* 明天

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(continued)

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
the day after tomorrow	xin^{53}tɕiau^{21}	○$_{后}$朝		*hòutiān* 后天
yesterday	t^{h}ɔ^{35}ma^{55}	度○		*zuótiān* 昨天
the day before yesterday	t^{h}in^{53}ni^{22} ma$^{55\sim22}$	前日○		*qiántiān* 前天
day	ni^{35}tu^{55}	日○$_{午}$		*báitiān* 白天
night	ɔŋ^{213}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$	暗头		*yèwǎn* 夜晚
morning	ɕiɔŋ^{35}tu^{55}	上○$_{午}$		*shàngwǔ* 上午
noon	tu$^{55\sim22}$t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ (=tu$^{55\sim22}$xəu^{21})	○$_{午}$头		*zhōngwǔ* 中午
afternoon	xa$^{35\sim55}$tu$^{55\sim22}$	下○$_{午}$		*xiàwǔ* 下午
Locational adpositions				
above	ɕiɔŋ^{35}	上		*shàng* 上
on top of	ɕiɔŋ^{35}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$	上头		*shàngmiàn* 上面
below	tu$^{35\sim55}$xa$^{35\sim55}$	○下		*xiàmiàn* 下面
in front of	t^{h}in^{53}t^{h}əu$^{53\sim21}$ (= t^{h}in^{53}xəu^{21})	前头		*qiánmiàn* 前面
at the back of	pei^{213}y^{53}	背○$_{后}$		*hòumiàn* 后面
inside	ti^{55}xəu$^{53\sim21}$	底头		*lǐmiàn* 里面
outside	ʊai^{35}xəu$^{53\sim21}$	外头		*wàimiàn* 外面
from	t^{h}iuŋ^{21}	从	also [ta^{55}] 打	*cóng* 从
Personal pronouns and possessives				
I	xaŋ^{35}	○$_{我}$		*wǒ* 我
you (SG)	xien^{35}	○$_{你}$		*nǐ* 你
he/she/it	xu^{35}	○$_{他/她/它}$		*tā* 他
we (EXCL)	xaŋ^{35}tai^{21}	○$_{我}$多		*wǒmen* 我们
we (INCL)	ien^{21}tai^{21}	俺多		*zánmen* 咱们
you (PL)	xien^{35}tai^{21}	○$_{你}$多		*nǐmen* 你们
they	xu^{35}tai^{21}	○$_{他/她/它}$多		*tāmen* 他/她/它们
everyone	t^{h}ai^{35}ka^{21}	大家		*dàjiā* 大家
self	t^{h}i^{35}ka^{21}	自家		*zìjǐ* 自己
other persons	p^{h}ie^{35}nin^{55}	别人		*biérén* 别人

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(continued)

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
my father	xaŋ^{35}(kə^{0}) ia^{22}lau^{0}	○$_{我}$(个) 爷佬		*wǒbà* 我爸
your father	xien^{35}(kə^{0}) ia^{22} lau^{0}	○$_{你}$(个) 爷佬		*nǐbà* 你爸
his/her father	xu^{35}(kə^{0}) ia^{22}lau^{0}	○$_{他/她}$ (个) 爷佬		*tābà* 他爸
Demonstratives				
this	tɕicŋ^{53}	○$_{这}$		*zhè* 这
that	cŋ^{53}	○$_{那}$		*nà* 那
this one	tɕicŋ^{53}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}	○$_{这}$蜀个 [DEM-one-CLF]	[tɕicŋ^{53}kəi^{213}] ○$_{这}$个 (= [tɕicŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}] with lenition)	*zhège* 这个
that one	cŋ^{53}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213}	○$_{那}$蜀个 [DEM-one-CLF]	[cŋ^{53}kəi^{213}] ○$_{那}$个 (= [cŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}] with lenition)	*nàge* 那个 as in *nàgè shì hóng de* 那个是红的
here	tɕicŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}	○$_{这}$儿		*zhèlǐ* 这里
there	cŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}	○$_{那}$儿		*nàlǐ* 那里
Interrogatives				
what	ɕia^{53}	啥		*shénme* 什么
which person	ncŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213} nin^{22}	○$_{哪}$蜀个人		*nǎge* 哪个人
who	ncŋ^{22}ɕi^{22}kəi^{213} nin^{22}	○$_{哪}$蜀个人	also [ɕia^{53}nin^{22}] 啥人	*shéi* 谁
where	ncŋ^{22}ŋə^{0}	○$_{哪}$儿	[ncŋ^{22}] ○$_{哪}$	*nǎlǐ* 哪里
when	ɕia^{53}ɕi^{22}kan^{21}	啥时间	also [ɕia^{53}ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}] 啥时侯 'what moment'	*shénme shíhóu* 什么时侯
how	ni^{53}ti^{0}	恁底		*zěnme* 怎么
how many/much	ki^{55}tai^{21}	几多		*duōshǎo* 多少
why	tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53}	做啥	[tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ɕia^{53}] 做啥 can also mean 'do what', as in Mandarin *gànshénme* 干什么	*wèishéme* 为什么
Adverbs				
so, such	tɕicŋ^{53}ŋə^{0}	○$_{这}$儿		*zhème* 这么
very	tin^{55}	顶	[xen^{55}] 很	*hěn* 很

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(continued)

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
really, extremely	tɔŋ^{21}tɕin^{21}, tin^{55}	当真，顶	[fei^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{22}] (kə^{0}) 非常(个)	*fēicháng* 非常
more	kə^{0}	更	[ken^{213}]更 (without lenition)	*gèng* 更
too much	t^{h}ai^{213}	太		*tài* 太
the most	tin^{55}	顶	[tsei^{213}] 最	*zuì* 最
all	ka^{35}	皆		*dōu* 都
only	ni^{35}	○只		*zhǐ* 只
together	kəi^{213}k^{h}i^{55}	个起		*yīqǐ* 一起
just right	kaŋ^{21}kaŋ^{21}xau^{55}	刚刚好		*gāng* 刚 as in *gānghǎo* 刚好
just in time	tsiaŋ$^{213\sim55}$	正		*gāng* 刚 as in *gāng dào* 刚到
then	tsiɔu^{213}	就		*jiù* 就
and then	iɔu$^{35\sim55}$	又		*yòu* 又
still	ai^{213}	还		*hái* 还
again	tsai^{213}	再		*zài* 再
also	ia^{55}	也	[ia^{55}ɕi$^{55\sim22}$] 也是	*yě* 也
anyway	fan^{55}tɕin^{213}	反正	[faŋ^{53}t^{h}ə^{35}] 横竖	*fǎnzhèng* 反正
Negators				
general negator	ŋ$^{55\sim35}$	唔		*bù* 不
perfective negator	mau^{35}	冇		*méi* 没
not (have)	mau^{35}iɔu^{55}	冇有	[mau^{35}] 冇	*méiyǒu* 没有
don't	məi^{22}	○别		*bié* 别
Grammatical markers				
and (conjunction)	pɔŋ^{21}	帮		*hé* 和 as in *wǒ hé tā* 我和他
with (comitative)	pɔŋ^{21}	帮		*hé* 和 as in *wǒ zuótiān hé tā qù chéng lǐ*我昨天和他去城里
object marker	na^{22}	拿	[pɔŋ^{21}] 帮	*bǎ* 把
passive marker	tie^{53}	得	[pɔŋ^{21}] 帮	*bèi* 被

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(continued)

English	Pronunciation in Shaowu	Etymon	Other related Shaowu term(s)	Mandarin Chinese
causative verb	niɔŋ^{213} kiau^{213} xan^{213} t^{h}əu$^{55\sim22}$	让 叫 喊 讨	[tie^{53}] 得	*shǐ* 使
instrumental marker	sə^{55}	使		*yòng* 用
grammatical linker	kəi^{213}	个	[kəi^{21}], [kə^{0}]	*de* 的
Universal quantifiers				
all	ka^{35}	皆		*quánbù* 全部
everything	su^{55}iɔu$^{55\sim22}$	所有		*suǒyǒu* 所有

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Part VII: **Transcription samples**

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A children's song

Sung by Ms Wei Yixin on 22 Dec 2009

○	○	蹄	、	慢	慢	行
tia^{22}	tia^{55}	t^{h}i^{22}		man^{35}	man$^{35\sim55}$	xaŋ^{22}
short	short	foot		slow	slow	walk

A child was walking slowly with his little feet.

买	包	果子	就	送	亲○$_{戚}$
mie^{55}	pau^{21}	kuɔ^{55}tsə^{0}	tsiɔu^{213}	suŋ^{213}	t^{h}ən^{21}t^{h}ian^{55}
buy	pack	snack	then	offer	relative

He bought a pack of snacks to give to a relative.

亲○$_{戚}$	冇	处	厝
t^{h}ən^{21}t^{h}ian$^{55\sim22}$	mau^{35}	t^{h}u^{55}	tɕ^{h}iɔ^{213}
relative	NEG	be.at	home

The relative was not home,

去	买	布	、	布	唔	赤
k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$	mie^{55}	piɔ^{213}		piɔ^{213}	ŋ^{55}	tɕ^{h}ia^{53}
go	buy	cloth		cloth	NEG	red

he then went to buy a piece of cloth, but it was not red enough;

去	买	蔗	、	蔗	唔	甜
k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$	mie^{55}	tɕia^{213}		tɕia^{213}	ŋ^{55}	t^{h}ien^{22}
go	buy	sugar cane		sugar cane	NEG	sweet

then he went to buy sugarcane, but it was not sweet enough;

去	买	盐	、	盐	唔	咸
k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$	mie^{55}	ien^{22}		ien^{22}	ŋ^{55}	xən^{22}
go	buy	salt		salt	NEG	salty

then he went to buy salt, but it was not salty enough;

去	买	灯	、	灯	唔	光
k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$	mie^{55}	ten^{21}		ten^{21}	ŋ^{55}	kuɔŋ^{21}
go	buy	lamp		lamp	NEG	bright

then he went to buy a lamp, but it was not bright enough;

去	买	卵	、	卵	咕噜	圆
k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$	mie^{55}	sɔn^{55}		sɔn^{55}	ku^{21}lu^{55}	ʊən^{22}
go	buy	egg		egg	ADV$_{ONOM}$	round

then he went to buy eggs, the eggs looked nice and round;

留	得	妹妹	好	配	饭
lɔu^{22}	tie^{53}	mei^{213}mei^{213}	xau^{55}	p^{h}ei^{213}	p^{h}ən^{35}
keep	to	younger sister	good	match	meal

he kept them for his younger sister, so that she could eat them with rice.

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Shaowu, the Iron City

Narrated by Mr Li Hougong on 5 July 2010

以前 叻 , 邵武 叻 ,
i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} le^{22} ɕiau^{213}u^{55} le^{22}
past TOP Shaowu TOP
In the old times,
○$_{它}$ ○$_{这}$ 是 叫 做 铁 城 。
xu^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kiau^{213} tsɔ^{213} t^{h}ie^{53} ɕin^{22}
3SG DEM be call as iron city
Shaowu was called the Iron City.
铜 延平 、 铁 邵武 。
t^{h}uŋ^{22} ien^{22}p^{h}in^{22} t^{h}ie^{53} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}
copper Yanping iron Shaowu
'The Copper City' refers to Yanping (i.e., Nanping); 'the Iron City' refers to Shaowu,
○$_{它}$ 因为 个 城 墙 啊
xu^{35} in^{21}ʋei^{213} kə^{0} ɕin^{22} t^{h}iɔŋ^{22} a^{22}
3SG because POSS city wall SFP
because Shaowu's city wall (N.B. there was a swap of syntactic slots between POSS & 3SG)
是 顶 坚牢 。
ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ tin^{55} kien^{21}lau^{22}
be very sturdy
was very sturdy.
○$_{它}$ 个 城 墙 砖 叻 ,
xu^{35} kə^{0} ɕin^{22} t^{h}iɔŋ^{22} tɕien^{21} le^{22}
3SG POSS city wall brick TOP
The bricks of its city wall
是 顶 厚 。
ɕi$^{55\sim22}$ tin^{55} xəu^{35}
be very think
were very thick.
○$_{它}$ 个 基础 皆 是
xu^{35} kə^{0} ki^{21}ts^{h}u^{22} ka^{35} ɕi$^{22\sim55}$
3SG POSS base all be
Its foundation was all

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使 大石 做 出 来 个 。
sə$^{55\sim22}$ xai^{35}ɕiɔ^{35} tsɔ$^{213\sim21}$ t^{h}ei^{53} li^{22} kə^{0}
use boulder make out come EMP
made of boulders.
〇$_{它}$ 〇$_{这}$ 蜀 个 城 个
xu^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ɕi^{22} kəi^{213} ɕin^{22} kə^{0}
3SG DEM one CLF city POSS
The city was surrounded
四 周围 叻 ， 皆 有 护城河 。
si^{213} tɕiɔu^{21}ʋei^{22} le^{22} ka^{35} iɔu^{55} fu^{35}ɕin^{22}xɔ^{22}
four surroundings TOP all have moat
by moats all around.
〇$_{它}$ 有 东 门 、 西 门 、
xu^{35} iɔu^{55} tuŋ^{21} mən^{22} si^{21} mən^{22}
3SG have east gate west gate
It had the Eastern Gate, the Western Gate,
南 门 、 北 门 。
nan^{22} mən^{22} pə^{53} mən^{22}
south gate north gate
the Southern Gate and the Northern Gate.
以前 〇$_{那}$ 个 时间 叻 ，
i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} ɔŋ^{53} kə^{0} ɕi^{22}kan^{21} le^{22}
past DEM CLF time TOP
In the past,
〇$_{要}$ 归 城 呢 ， 非常 唔 容易 。
nuŋ^{35} kuei^{21} ɕin^{22} ne^{22} fei^{21}ɕiɔŋ^{22} ŋ^{55} iuŋ^{22}i^{35}
want enter city SFP very NEG easy
it was not easy to enter the city.
因为 〇$_{它}$ 个 城 墙 个 关 起来 ，
in^{21}ʋei^{213} xu^{35} kə^{0} ɕin^{22} t^{h}iɔŋ^{22} kə^{0} kuan^{21} k^{h}i^{22}li^{22}
because 3SG POSS city wall one close DIR$_{up.come}$
This is because once the city wall was closed up,
〇$_{它}$ 外头 见 叻 ， 就 唔 得 归 去
xu^{35} ʋai^{35}xəu^{21} kin^{213} le^{22} tsiɔu^{213} ŋ^{55} tie^{53} kuei^{21} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$
3SG outside see TOP then NEG can enter go
咯 ，
lɔ^{22}
SFP
and it’s seen from the outside, people could not enter the city,

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就 唔 得 度 去 底头 咯 。
tsiɔu^{213} ŋ^{55} tie^{53} xɔ^{35} k^{h}ɔ$^{213\sim21}$ ti$^{55\sim22}$xəu^{21} lɔ^{22}
then NEG can pass go inside SFP
they could not go in.
再 〇$_{它}$ 是 啥 个 叻 ?
tsai^{213} xu^{35} ɕi^{55} ɕia^{53} kə^{0} le^{22}
and 3SG be what ATT Q
And what else (that made the city impregnable)?
以前 叻 , 故人 打仗 个 时候
i^{55}t^{h}in^{53} le^{22} ku^{213}nin^{22} ta^{55}t^{h}iɔŋ^{35} kə^{0} ɕi^{22}xəu^{213}
past TOP people in the past fight ATT moment
叻 ,
le^{22}
TOP
In the past, when battles were fought,
〇$_{它}$ 皆 是 使 楼角 、 使 射 箭 。
xu^{35} ka^{35} ɕi^{22} sə^{55} ləu^{22}kɔ$^{53\sim21}$ sə^{55} ɕia^{35} tsien^{213}
3SG all be use ladder use shoot arrow
ladders were set up and arrows were shot.
〇$_{他}$ 随 城 墙 上 叻 ,
xu^{35} sei^{22} ɕin^{22} t^{h}iɔŋ^{22} ɕiɔŋ^{21} le^{22}
3SG follow city wall on SFP
If anyone tried to climb up the city wall,
〇$_{他}$ 就 射 箭 度 去 叻 。
xu^{35} tsiɔu^{21} ɕia^{35} tsien^{213} xɔ^{35} k^{h}ɔ^{213} le^{22}
3SG then shoot arrow pass go SFP
there would be arrows shooting at him.
〇$_{它}$ 〇$_{这}$儿 个 人 就 唔 得 归 来 。
xu^{35} tɕiɔŋ^{53}ŋə^{0} kə^{0} nin^{22} tsiɔu^{213} ŋ^{55} tie^{53} kuei^{21} li^{22}
3SG here POSS person then NEG can enter come
The people here then would not be able to enter (the city).
唔 得 归 来 叻 ,
ŋ^{55} tie^{53} kuei^{21} li^{22} le^{22}
NEG can enter come SEQ
When they were not able to enter,
〇$_{它}$ 保护 〇$_{这}$ 个 城 叻 ,
xu^{35} pau^{55}fu^{213} tɕiɔŋ^{53} ŋə^{0} ɕin^{22} le^{22}
3SG protect DEM CLF city SFP
it is easy to

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容易 保护 。
iuŋ^{22}i^{35} pau^{55}fu^{213}
easy protect
protect the city.
别人 攻 城 叻 ,
p^{h}ie^{35}nin^{55} kuŋ^{21} ɕin^{22} le^{22}
others attack city SFP
It would not be easy for others
唔 容易 归 来 。
ŋ^{55} iuŋ^{22}i^{35} kuei^{21} li^{22}
NEG easy enter come
to enter the city, when they attacked it.
所以 历来 战争 上头 啊 ,
su^{55}i$^{55\sim22}$ li^{35}lɔi^{22} tɕien^{213}tsen^{21} ɕiɔŋ^{35}t^{h}əu^{21} a^{22}
therefore in the past war concerning SFP
Therefore, during wars in the past, the city
皆 冇 受 到 啥 个 损失 ,
ka^{35} mau^{35} ɕiɔu^{21} tau^{55} ɕia^{53} kə^{0} sən^{55}ɕi^{21}
all NEG receive ACH what ATT loss
did not suffer any drastic losses
皆 冇 啥 个 破坏 。
ka^{35} mau^{35} ɕia^{53} kə^{0} p^{h}ɔ^{213}fai^{35}
all NEG what ATT damage
or damage.

Shaowu and its geography

An excerpt of a dialogue between Ms Gao Ying (marked as 'A' below) and her younger brother Mr Gao ('B') on 10 August 2019

B 武夷 山 脉 经过 了 ○$_{哪}$ 几 个 地方 ?
u^{55}i^{22} sɔn^{21} mə^{35} kin^{21}kuɔ^{21} ə^{0} nɔŋ^{22} ki^{22} kəi^{21} t^{h}i^{35}fɔŋ^{21}
Wuyi mountain range pass by PFV which PL CLF place
How many places does the Wuyi Mountain straddle?
A 武夷 山 脉 经过 光泽 、 邵武 、
u^{55}i^{22} sɔn^{21} mə^{35} kin^{21}kuɔ^{21} kuɔŋ^{21}t^{h}a^{22} ɕiau^{213}u^{55}
Wuyi mountain range pass by Guangze Shaowu

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蒲城 、
$p^hu^{55}ɕin^{22}$
Pucheng
The Wuyi Mountain range meanders by the cities of Guangze, Shaowu, Pucheng

武夷山 ，〇这 几 个 是 处 武夷 山 脉 、
$u^{55}i^{22}sɔn^{21}$ $tɕiɔŋ^{53}$ ki^{22} $kəi^{21}$ $ɕi^{22}$ t^hei^{22} $u^{55}i^{22}$ $sɔn^{21}$ $mə^{35}$
Wuyishan DEM PL CLF be LOC Wuyi mountain range
and Wuyishan (city), these places are located at the Wuyi Mountain range;

算 武夷 山 脉 边 上 个 的 。
$sɔn^{213}$ $u^{55}i^{22}$ $sɔn^{21}$ $mə^{35}$ $pien^{21}$ $ɕiɔŋ^{21}$ $kəi^{21}$ ti^0
count Wuyi mountain range side on ATT EMP
they are counted as localities near the Wuyi Mountain range.

B 嗯 。
$ən^{22}$
INTJ
That's right.

A 还 有 〇哪儿 算 武夷 山 脉 啊 ?
ai^{213} $iɔu^{55}$ $nɔŋ^{22}ŋə^0$ $sɔn^{213}$ $u^{55}i^{22}$ $sɔn^{21}$ $mə^{35}$ a^0
still have where count Wuyi mountain range Q
Which other places are counted as (areas covered by) the Wuyi Mountain range?

B 武夷 山 脉 个 东 头
$u^{55}i^{22}$ $sɔn^{21}$ $mə^{35}$ $kə^0$ $tuŋ^{21}$ $t^həu^{21}$
Wuyi mountain range POSS east head
At the eastern side of the Wuyi Mountain range,

是 蒲城 、 武夷山 ，算 〇它 个 东 头 。
$ɕi^{22}$ $p^hu^{55}ɕin^{22}$ $u^{55}i^{22}sɔn^{21}$ $sɔn^{213}$ xu^{35} $kə^0$ $tuŋ^{21}$ $t^həu^{21}$
be Pucheng Wuyishan count 3SG POSS east head
are the cities of Pucheng and Wuyishan, they are to its eastern side.

B 邵武 有 个 部分 算 东 头 ，
$ɕiau^{213}u^{55}$ $iɔu^{55}$ $kə^0$ $p^hu^{35}fən^{55}$ $sɔn^{213}$ $tuŋ^{21}$ $t^həu^{21}$
Shaowu have one part count east head
A part of Shaowu can be counted as at the eastern side (of the Wuyi),

金坑 〇那 边 到 桂林 皆 是 转
$kən^{21}k^haŋ^{21}$ $ɔŋ^{53}$ $pien^{21}$ tau^{21} $kuei^{213}lən^{35}$ ka^{35} $ɕi^{22}$ $tɕien^{55}$
Jinkeng DEM side to Guilin all be turn

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弯　　啦　　。
ʋan^{21}　la^{0}
round　SFP
From the side of Jinkeng to Guilin, the Wuyi starts to turn around.
转　　弯　　就　　转　　向　　南　　行　　啦　　。
tɕien^{55}　ʋan^{21}　tsiɔu^{213}　tɕien^{55}　xiɔŋ^{213}　nan^{22}　xaŋ^{22}　la^{0}
turn　round　then　turn　towards　south　go　SFP
。
As it turns around, it turns towards the south.
A 哦　　。
ɔ^{22}
INTJ

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