

# Content

Preface — v

List of abbreviations — vii

## 1 Introduction — 1

- 1.1 The Hui'an dialect and its classification — 1
  - 1.1.1 Southern Min — 1
  - 1.1.2 Hui'an — 2
  - 1.1.3 Characteristics of the Hui'an dialect — 2
- 1.2 Previous studies on Southern Min — 5
- 1.3 Data collection — 6
- 1.4 Presentation of examples in this reference grammar — 8
- 1.5 Language usage in Hui'an — 9

## 2 Phonology — 10

- 2.1 Introduction — 10
- 2.2 Initials — 10
- 2.3 Finals — 12
- 2.4 Tone — 14
  - 2.4.1 Citation tones — 14
  - 2.4.2 Tone sandhi — 15
  - 2.4.3 Tonemic representation of citation and sandhi tones — 17
  - 2.4.4 Neutral tone and stress — 17
- 2.5 Syllable fusion — 19
- 2.6 Summary — 20

## Part I Nominal structure

### 3 Affixation and compounding — 25

- 3.1 Introduction — 25
- 3.2 Affixation — 25
  - 3.2.1 Prefixes — 25
    - 3.2.1.1 *a*-阿 in kinship terms and names — 25
    - 3.2.1.2 Prefix *lau*-老 — 28
    - 3.2.1.3 Other prefixes — 28
  - 3.2.2 Suffixes — 29



- 3.2.2.1 Diminutive suffix *a*<sup>3</sup> 仔 — 29
- 3.2.2.2 Diminutive suffix *a*<sup>0</sup> 仔 — 32
- 3.2.2.3 Suffix *sai*<sup>1</sup> 師 < ‘master’ — 33
- 3.2.2.4 Suffix *sen*<sup>1</sup> 仙 < ‘celestial being, immortal’ — 33
- 3.2.2.5 Suffix *sen*<sup>2</sup> 神 < ‘god, deity’ — 33
- 3.2.2.6 Suffix *tsin*<sup>1</sup> 精 < ‘spirit, demon’ — 34
- 3.2.2.7 Suffix *tsiau*<sup>3</sup> 鳥 < ‘bird’ — 34
- 3.2.2.8 Suffix *kui*<sup>3</sup> 鬼 < ‘ghost’ — 34
- 3.2.2.9 Suffix *thau* 頭 < ‘head’ — 34
- 3.3 Compounding — 35
- 3.3.1 Coordinate — 35
- 3.3.2 Modifier-head/head-modifier — 36
- 3.3.3 Subject-predicate — 37
- 3.4 Summary — 37
- 4 Pronouns — 38**
- 4.1 Introduction — 38
- 4.2 Personal pronouns — 38
- 4.2.1 Singular personal pronouns — 39
- 4.2.1.1 Syntactic distributions — 39
- 4.2.1.2 Referential functions — 43
- 4.2.2 Plural personal pronouns — 45
- 4.3 Reflexive pronouns — 49
- 4.4 Reciprocal pronouns — 52
- 4.5 The pronouns *lan*<sup>4</sup> ‘other’ and *pat*<sup>8-4</sup>*lan*<sup>2</sup> ‘other people’ — 52
- 4.6 Summary — 56
- 5 Nominal demonstratives — 57**
- 5.1 Introduction — 57
- 5.2 Syntactic functions and semantic features — 62
- 5.2.1 Basic adnominal demonstratives: *tsit*<sup>7</sup> 即 / *hit*<sup>7</sup> 迄 — 62
- 5.2.2 Singular demonstratives: *tsat*<sup>8</sup> / *hat*<sup>8</sup> — 71
- 5.2.3 Plural demonstratives: *tsuai*<sup>2</sup> 撮 / *huai*<sup>2</sup> 懷 — 75
- 5.2.4 Generic demonstratives: *tse*<sup>2</sup> / *hə*<sup>2</sup> — 80
- 5.2.5 Generic demonstratives: *tsiŋ*<sup>3-2</sup>*e*<sup>2</sup> 種其 / *hiŋ*<sup>3-2</sup>*e*<sup>2</sup> 向其 — 84
- 5.2.6 Interim summary — 85
- 5.2.7 Further discussion on the semantic features of Hui’an demonstratives — 88
- 5.3 The pragmatic uses of Hui’an demonstratives — 89



- 5.3.1 Language-external functions — 89
- 5.3.2 Language-internal functions — 93
- 5.4 Summary — 96
  
- 6 Numerals and quantifiers — 99**
  - 6.1 Introduction — 99
  - 6.2 Numerals — 99
    - 6.2.1 Cardinal numbers — 99
    - 6.2.2 Ordinal numbers — 104
    - 6.2.3 Approximate numbers — 108
  - 6.3 Quantifiers — 109
  - 6.4 Summary — 113
  
- 7 Classifiers — 115**
  - 7.1 Introduction — 115
  - 7.2 Syntactic distributions — 115
    - 7.2.1 Numeral + classifier — 115
    - 7.2.2 Quantifier + classifier — 119
    - 7.2.3 Demonstratives *tsit<sup>7</sup>/hit<sup>7</sup>* + classifier — 121
    - 7.2.4 Classifier + noun — 122
    - 7.2.5 Adjective + classifier — 123
  - 7.3 Semantic properties — 127
  - 7.4 Referential functions — 136
  - 7.5 Sources and extensions — 139
  - 7.6 Summary — 140
  
- 8 Possessive constructions — 141**
  - 8.1 Introduction — 141
  - 8.2 Attributive possessive constructions — 144
    - 8.2.1 The zero-marked possessive construction: possessor +  $\emptyset$  + possessee — 145
      - 8.2.1.1 Pronoun possessor +  $\emptyset$  + possessee — 145
        - 8.2.1.1.1 Possessee=kinship terms — 145
        - 8.2.1.1.2 Possessee=social relations or location — 148
        - 8.2.1.1.3 Possessee=spatial orientation — 149
        - 8.2.1.1.4 Possessee=body parts — 150
        - 8.2.1.1.5 Possessee=common nouns — 152
        - 8.2.1.1.6 Interim summary — 153
      - 8.2.1.2 Noun possessor +  $\emptyset$  + possessee — 153



- 8.2.2 The demonstrative possessive construction: possessor + demonstrative (+ numeral + classifier) + possessee — 155
- 8.2.3 The classifier possessive construction: possessor + classifier + possessee — 158
- 8.2.4 The possessive construction with the genitive marker  $e^2$  其: possessor +  $e^2$  其 + possessee — 159
  - 8.2.4.1 Personal pronoun +  $e^2$  + noun — 159
  - 8.2.4.2 Noun +  $e^2$  + noun — 161
- 8.3 Predicative possessive constructions — 161
  - 8.3.1 Semantic functions — 162
  - 8.3.2 Pragmatic differences — 162
- 8.4 Summary — 164

## Part II Predicate structure

- 9 Reduplication — 167
  - 9.1 Introduction — 167
  - 9.2 Form — 167
  - 9.3 Functions — 170
    - 9.3.1 Word formation through reduplication — 170
    - 9.3.2 Repeated or continued event — 171
    - 9.3.3 Increased quantity of participants — 173
    - 9.3.4 Increased intensity — 173
  - 9.4 Summary — 175
- 10 Verb complement constructions — 176
  - 10.1 Introduction — 176
  - 10.2 Directional verb complement constructions:  $V_1$ - $V_{2DIR}$  — 178
    - 10.2.1 Directional complements — 180
      - 10.2.1.1 Monosyllabic directional complements — 180
      - 10.2.1.2 Disyllabic directional complements — 182
    - 10.2.2 Relative order of verb, complement and object — 185
    - 10.2.3 Negative forms — 187
    - 10.2.4 Other functions — 188
  - 10.3 Resultative verb complement constructions:  $V_1$ - $V_{2RES}$  — 188
    - 10.3.1 Resultative complements — 189
      - 10.3.1.1 Adjectives — 189
      - 10.3.1.2 Directional verbs — 190
      - 10.3.1.3  $u^4$  'have' and  $bo^2$  'not have' — 192



- 10.3.1.4 *liau*<sup>3</sup> 'finish' and *sak*<sup>7</sup> 'push' — 194
- 10.3.2 Relative order of verb, complement and object — 195
- 10.3.3 Negative forms — 196
- 10.4 Verb-phase complement constructions:  $V_1-V_{2PHA}$  — 197
- 10.5 Verb-manner complement constructions: V-CM-C — 200
- 10.5.1 With the complement marker *a*<sup>5</sup> 邁 — 200
- 10.5.2 With the complement marker *le*<sup>7</sup> 得 — 201
- 10.6 Verb-extent complement constructions:  $V-a^5-C$ ;  $V-si^3/a^3$  — 202
- 10.7 Verb-quantitative complement constructions: V-Quantitative expression — 204
- 10.8 Potential verb complement constructions:  $V-e^4/bue^4-C$ ;  $V-le^7-C$ ;  $e^4/bue^4-V-le^7-C$  — 206
- 10.9 Summary — 210
- 11 Aspect — 212**
- 11.1 Introduction — 212
- 11.2 Perfective aspect — 213
- 11.2.1 *liau*<sup>3</sup> 'finish' — 213
- 11.2.2 *khu*<sup>5</sup> 去 — 216
- 11.2.3 *u*<sup>4</sup> 'have, exist' — 217
- 11.3 Imperfective aspect — 219
- 11.3.1 Progressive aspect — 219
- 11.3.2 Durative aspect — 221
- 11.3.3 Habitual aspect — 222
- 11.4 Experiential aspect — 223
- 11.5 Summary — 225
- 12 Modality — 226**
- 12.1 Introduction — 226
- 12.2 Possibility — 227
- 12.2.1 Ability — 229
- 12.2.2 Root possibility — 231
- 12.2.3 Non-deontic possibility — 233
- 12.2.4 Permission — 234
- 12.2.5 Epistemic possibility — 234
- 12.3 Necessity — 236
- 12.4 Volition — 237
- 12.5 Summary — 238



- 13 Negation — 240**
- 13.1 Introduction — 240
- 13.2 General and volitional negatives *m*<sup>5</sup> 嘞 and *m*<sup>5-4</sup>*ai*<sup>5</sup> 嘞愛 — 241
- 13.3 Perfective negative *bo*<sup>2</sup> 無 — 245
- 13.4 Imminent negative *bə*<sup>5</sup> 未 — 250
- 13.5 Irrealis negative *bue*<sup>4</sup> 儻 — 251
- 13.6 General prohibitive *ban*<sup>1</sup> ~ *m*<sup>5-4</sup>*than*<sup>1</sup> 嘞噏 — 254
- 13.7 ‘Lack of necessity’ imperatives (*m*<sup>5-4</sup>)*ben*<sup>3</sup> (嘞) 免 — 255
- 13.8 Injunctive negative *buan*<sup>3</sup> — 255
- 13.9 Summary — 256
- 14 Adpositions — 258**
- 14.1 Introduction — 258
- 14.2 Spatial and temporal relations — 259
- 14.2.1 Location — 259
- 14.2.2 Source — 263
- 14.2.3 Goal — 265
- 14.2.4 Perlative — 266
- 14.3 Patient — 267
- 14.4 Agent — 271
- 14.5 Benefactive — 272
- 14.6 Comitative — 273
- 14.7 Standard of comparison — 274
- 14.8 Instrument — 275
- 14.9 Basis — 276
- 14.10 Summary — 276
- 15 Adverbs — 278**
- 15.1 Introduction — 278
- 15.2 Manner adverbs — 279
- 15.3 Degree adverbs — 280
- 15.3.1 Basic degree adverbs — 280
- 15.3.2 Comparative degree adverbs — 282
- 15.4 Time adverbs — 284
- 15.5 Adverbs of quantity and scope — 285
- 15.6 Attitude and epistemic adverbs — 290
- 15.7 Summary — 291



## Part III Clause structure

- 16 The *kaʔʔ*- and *ka<sup>5</sup>*- constructions — 295**
- 16.1 Introduction — 295
- 16.2 Relevant semantic roles — 296
- 16.3 The functions of *kaʔʔ* — 297
- 16.4 The functions of *ka<sup>5</sup>* — 299
- 16.4.1 As an oblique marker — 299
- 16.4.2 As an object marker — 304
- 16.4.3 *ka<sup>5</sup>* + personal pronoun — 307
- 16.5 Summary — 309
- 17 Comparative constructions of inequality — 311**
- 17.1 Introduction — 311
- 17.1.1 Three main types of comparative proposed in Ansaldo (1999) — 312
- 17.1.2 Six main types of comparative in the Hui'an dialect — 314
- 17.2 Double-marking/hybridized comparatives: *A<sub>COM</sub> pi<sup>3</sup> B<sub>STA</sub> khaʔʔ PRED* (MW) — 315
- 17.3 Absolute comparatives: *A<sub>COM</sub> khaʔʔ PRED* (MW) — 321
- 17.4 Head-marking comparatives with *khaʔʔ*: *A<sub>COM</sub> khaʔʔ PRED B<sub>STA</sub>* (MW) — 324
- 17.5 Zero-marked comparatives: *A<sub>COM</sub> PRED B<sub>STA</sub>* (MW) — 327
- 17.6 Comparatives with the marker *khu<sup>5</sup>*: *A<sub>COM</sub> PRED khu<sup>5</sup> B<sub>STA</sub>* — 330
- 17.7 Dependent-marking comparatives with *pi<sup>3</sup>*: *A<sub>COM</sub> pi<sup>3</sup> B<sub>STA</sub> PRED* (MW) — 334
- 17.8 Summary — 335
- 18 The 'give' construction — 337**
- 18.1 Introduction — 337
- 18.2 As a ditransitive verb and perspective marker — 337
- 18.2.1 As a ditransitive verb — 337
- 18.2.2 As a perspective marker — 338
- 18.3 As a dative marker — 339
- 18.4 As a (permissive) causative verb — 341
- 18.5 As a purposive marker — 343
- 18.6 As a passive and speaker-affectedness marker — 344
- 18.7 As a concessive marker — 345
- 18.8 Summary — 346



- 19 Interrogatives — 347**
- 19.1 Introduction — 347
- 19.2 Alternative interrogatives — 347
- 19.3 Polar interrogatives — 349
- 19.3.1 Interrogatives with disjunctive structures — 349
- 19.3.1.1 VP-or-NEG-VP — 350
- 19.3.1.2 VP-NEG-VP — 351
- 19.3.1.3 VP-or-NEG — 351
- 19.3.2 Particle interrogatives — 352
- 19.3.2.1 *a<sup>0</sup>* 啊 — 352
- 19.3.2.2 *m<sup>0</sup>* 嘸 — 353
- 19.3.2.3 *bə<sup>0</sup>* 未 — 355
- 19.3.2.4 *bo<sup>0</sup>* 無 — 356
- 19.3.2.5 *bue<sup>0</sup>* 儻 — 357
- 19.3.2.6 Status of particles *m<sup>0</sup>*, *bə<sup>0</sup>*, *bo<sup>0</sup>* and *bue<sup>0</sup>* — 358
- 19.3.2.7 Interrogatives via intonation — 359
- 19.3.3 Tag questions — 360
- 19.4 Constituent interrogatives — 361
- 19.4.1 *siəm<sup>3-2</sup>bĩ<sup>ʔ</sup>* and *siã<sup>2</sup>* ‘what’ — 362
- 19.4.2 *siã<sup>2</sup>lan<sup>2</sup>* and *sian<sup>2</sup>* ‘who’ — 365
- 19.4.3 *ti<sup>4</sup>si<sup>2</sup>/tu<sup>4</sup>si<sup>2</sup>* and *siəm<sup>3-2</sup>bĩ<sup>ʔ-8</sup> si<sup>2-4</sup>tsam<sup>4</sup>* ‘when’ — 366
- 19.4.4 *to<sup>3</sup>* ‘which’ — 366
- 19.4.5 *to<sup>3</sup>* and *to<sup>3-2</sup>ta<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘where’ — 367
- 19.4.6 *kui<sup>3</sup>*, *lua<sup>4</sup>tsue<sup>5</sup>* and *lua<sup>4</sup>* ‘how many/much’ — 368
- 19.4.7 *tsiũ<sup>5</sup>* and *kŋ<sup>5</sup>* ‘how’ — 369
- 19.4.8 *lã<sup>5</sup>* and *ui<sup>5-4</sup>siəm<sup>3-2</sup>bĩ<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘why’ — 370
- 19.5 Summary — 370
- 20 Topic-comment constructions — 372**
- 20.1 Introduction — 372
- 20.2 Forms of topics — 373
- 20.3 Semantic relations between topic and comment — 378
- 20.3.1 Coreferential (pseudo-)argument topic — 378
- 20.3.2 Frame-setting topic — 382
- 20.3.2.1 Time/location frame-setting topic — 383
- 20.3.2.2 Possession frame-setting topic — 384
- 20.3.2.3 Background frame-setting topic — 385
- 20.3.3 Identical topic — 387
- 20.3.4 Clause topic — 390



- 20.3.5 Split argument topic — 391
- 20.4 The position of topic — 393
- 20.5 Patient topicalization — 395
- 20.6 Topic marker — 398
- 20.7 Contrastive function of topic — 399
- 20.8 Summary — 400

## Part IV Complex sentences

- 21 **Coordination — 405**
  - 21.1 Introduction — 405
  - 21.2 Conjunction — 406
  - 21.3 Disjunction — 411
  - 21.4 Adversative coordination — 412
  - 21.5 Summary — 413
  
- 22 **Relative clauses — 415**
  - 22.1 Introduction — 415
  - 22.2 The relativization markers — 417
    - 22.2.1 Attributive marker  $e^2$  其 — 419
    - 22.2.2 Demonstratives — 420
    - 22.2.3 Demonstrative complexes — 423
    - 22.2.4 Classifiers — 427
    - 22.2.5 Zero-marked — 428
    - 22.2.6 Interim summary — 431
  - 22.3 Position of the head noun — 431
    - 22.3.1 Head-final and head-initial types — 432
    - 22.3.2 Is there a head-internal type? — 435
    - 22.3.3 Interim summary — 437
  - 22.4 The role and encoding of the head noun in the relative clause — 438
    - 22.4.1 Argument relative clauses — 441
    - 22.4.2 Adjunct relative clauses — 442
    - 22.4.3 'aboutness' relative clauses — 443
  - 22.5 The role and encoding of the head noun in the main clause — 444
    - 22.5.1 The role of the head noun in the main clause — 444
    - 22.5.2 The encoding of the head noun in the main clause — 445
  - 22.6 Summary — 447



**23 Adverbial clauses — 449**  
23.1 Introduction — 449  
23.2 Time clauses — 449  
23.3 Cause clauses — 455  
23.4 Purpose clauses — 457  
23.5 Conditional clauses — 458  
23.6 Summary — 464

**24 Complement clauses — 466**  
24.1 Introduction — 466  
24.2 Utterance verbs — 467  
24.3 Verbs of perception and cognition — 474  
24.4 Modal verbs of volition — 481  
24.5 Causative (or manipulative) verbs — 482  
24.6 Summary — 483

**25 Conclusion — 484**

**References — 485**

**Index — 511**

**Appendix — 515**