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A STUDY OF INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND SENTENCE MOOD IN HOKKIEN SYNTAX

University of Hawaii  Ph.D.  1982

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A STUDY OF INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND SENTENCE MOOD
IN HOKKIEN SYNTAX

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN LINGUISTICS
MAY 1982

By
Leok Har Chan

Dissertation Committee:
Roderick A. Jacobs, Chairman
Robert L. Cheng
Charles W. Mason
Ann M. Peters
Laurence C. Thompson
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DEDICATION

IN MEMORY OF MY PARENTS WHO BEQUEATHED TO ME THEIR LANGUAGE
Within the general framework of a generative transformational grammar, this dissertation examines the interaction of information structure (i.e., given and new information) with syntactic structures in Hokkien. Evidence is given to show that it is advantageous to consider Hokkien as a topic-prominent language and to assume that every sentence is underlyingly (though not necessarily superficially) a topic-comment structure—an analysis that is more suitable for Hokkien than the traditional S —> NP VP analysis. In conjunction with this, a number of object-initial constructions are examined and are found to be informationally conditioned, requiring the initial noun phrase to be given information. In contrast to these are passive constructions where the initial noun phrases are logical objects which can be either definite or indefinite. These are not informationally constrained but rather they are semantically constrained, requiring the initial noun phrases to be Patients.

With respect to syntactic structure, we argue that there is an important dichotomy in Hokkien—a dichotomy between Indicative mood sentences and Injunctive mood sentences. Injunctive mood sentences are subjectless structures which are restricted as to verb type, aspect, type of negation, time reference and complementizers. Indicative mood sentences are much freer in these respects. Where Injunctive mood sentences require zero pronominalization in subject position, Indicatives
require lexical proforms. Semantically, Injunctive mood sentences represent only actions and the actions are always unrealized.

In short, this dissertation demonstrates that two kinds of phenomena are involved in Hokkien structure, the first being information structure and the second, sentence mood.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CL .......................... Classifier
CPLTV .......................... Completeive Aspect Markger
NEG .......................... Negation
NP .......................... Noun Phrase
PP .......................... Prepositional Phrase
Pred .......................... Predicate
Pred P .......................... Predicate Phrase
PRGSV .......................... Progressive Aspect Marker
PRT .......................... Particle
PTM .......................... Pre-transitive Marker
3 p.p .......................... Third Person Pronoun
Q-marker .......................... Question Marker
1.0 Goals of Present Study

The goal of this dissertation is to study some aspects of the syntax of Hulhua Hokkien dialect spoken on the island of Penang in Malaysia. First, we will look at its syntax from the point of view of how information is structured in the language. We want to demonstrate that a consideration of information structure with its related notions concerning information status (the given versus the new) in its deep structure is useful for a greater understanding of the system of sentence construction in the language. In the past, grammatical analyses have largely been of the formal syntactic type and have not taken into consideration any correlation of syntactic forms with information structure. However, the domain of a strictly formal syntactic grammar is limited. Such an approach deals with sentences generated in isolation, with the result that it has made it difficult to deal with languages that are topic-prominent.

In the case of Hulhua Hokkien (henceforth Hokkien), if one attempts to write a grammar of Hokkien without any consideration of information structure, one would not get an adequate understanding of certain syntactic processes like pronominalization, or why certain noun phrases are chosen to be topics and others are not. However, if we incorporate information structure, many of these structures used by the speaker to communicate are motivated, for they include the knowledge
he and his addressee share concerning the information he is communicating. In this regard, we will focus on some object-initial constructions that are informationally conditioned.

The second notion not incorporated in grammatical analyses is the notion of mood, that is, the contrast in sentences which reflect different representations according to reality.

The layout of the study is as follows. In Chapter II, we argue that Hokkien is a topic-prominent language, showing from examples that this is indeed a valid claim. The notions of topic, topic-prominence, and their related properties are also discussed. Notions like focus and focussed elements are also part of the discussion. It will be shown that the basic division of a sentence into its two constituents topic and comment is rather insightful. The interaction of information structure with the topic-comment structure is also explored.

In Chapter III, we discuss the role of information structure in a group of constructions which have their object noun phrases in sentence initial position. The object-initial constructions that are discussed include the - constructions, the non- constructions, and the constructions, all of which are topic-comment structures. Another group of constructions--the passives--seems to be related to these object-initial constructions, in that their initial noun phrases are also logical objects. However, their logical objects do not correspond to grammatical objects as those in the other three constructions do. While the - , non- - , and constructions are clearly dependent on informational factors, the passives seem not to be informationally constrained, which suggests that what at one time may have been
topic-comment constructions have been reanalyzed, as the informational constraints have been weakened.

In Chapter IV, we examine an important distinction in sentence type—that involving the two major mood types that are found to be significant in Hokkien—(1) Indicatives and (2) Injunctives. We will present data of embedded Indicatives and Injunctives, showing how they are differentiated syntactically. Various syntactic phenomena such as the status of embedded subject noun phrases, predicate types allowed for one but not the other, aspect, negation, time reference, and the use of complementizers are examined and found to be relevant in supporting the dichotomy between the two sentence moods. Most of these properties are also exhibited in their main clause counterparts.

1.1 The Hokkien Language

Hokkien is a name for a group of Chinese dialects belonging to the branch of the Min language. Min dialects are divided into Nan "south" and Bei "north". The dialect we will study falls within the Nan group, which is also referred to as Bân-lâm-ú "Southern Min language". We shall refer to the southern Min languages as Hokkien and its different varieties as dialects (for example, Amoy dialect, Hū'hūá dialect, and so forth).

The Hokkien language shows variations from one locality to another, not only in China, but also in countries in Southeast Asia, as will be dealt with in the following sections. Different varieties of Hokkien are spoken in the following geographical areas:
1. The southeastern part of Hokkien (Fukien) province. This province is in the south of China and it borders the coast. It stretches for approximately 320 miles as the crow flies. It was from the southern part of this province that Hokkien speakers began to emigrate to the island of Formosa and to Southeast Asia in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

2. The eastern tip of Kwangtung province known as Tioqciu with the port of Swatow as its linguistic center.

3. The province of Taiwan (Formosa), an island with a population of about 15 million people. It directly faces Hokkien province, being separated from it by a stretch of sea about 125 miles wide.

4. The island of Hainan. Although the dialects spoken in this island are linguistically classified as belonging to the Southern Min group of languages, they are largely unintelligible to non-Hainanese speakers and vice versa. As a result of immigration, Hainanese speakers are also found in Malaysia and Thailand in fairly significant numbers.

5. Southeast Asian countries, which include Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Burma, Laos, The Khmer Republic, and Vietnam.

1.1.1 Hokkien Dialect Variation in China

There is a great deal of variation from one dialect to another—variation that came about by virtue of the speakers' concentration in one locality or another. Dialects get their names from the places where they are widely spoken. Towns and cities are the centers for
trade and other social activities, and because of their importance, the speech of the people in a particular town, if it diverges considerably from that of the next town, would tend to be referred to as such-and-such a town's Hokkien. Some of the Hokkien dialects are the Hũiňuă dialect, Amoy dialect, Ėngcūn dialect, and Tāngūa dialect. All these varieties are spoken in the respective towns or ports and their vicinity. Douglas (1899), in an Appendix to his dictionary, gave an account of some of the phonological and tonal distinctions between the main Hokkien dialects in the Hokkien province, namely Cīāngciū, Čuǎńciū, Tāngūa, and Amoy. (The spellings used by Douglas are Chang-chew, Chin-chew, Tung-an for the first three dialects mentioned in the previous sentence.) Similar differences are found in Taiwan and Southeast Asia.

1.1.2 Hokkien Dialect Variation in Malaysia and Singapore

Since Malaysia and Singapore are two countries closest to the experience of the writer, we shall make a few comments about the dialect variations there.

Chinese immigration into southeast Asian countries was not systematically curtailed or checked until after the second world war. It is not surprising that, with immigration occurring as recently as fifty years ago, Hokkien speakers should still adhere to their practice of referring to their variety of Hokkien by the name of the town in China where they or their ancestors came from. First-generation Chinese immigrants in Malaysia and Singapore over sixty years of age identify their dialects as Amoy, Cīāngciū, Čuǎńciū, Ėngcūn, or Hũiňuă and so on.
The differences between one variety and another stem from the places of origin of the dialect speakers or their ancestors who settled in these countries. If the immigrants were from the Ciāngciū area of Hokkien province, they and their descendants would speak the Ciāngciū dialect, as is the case in Penang. There are speakers of other Hokkien dialects in Penang, but because the dominant group is Ciāngciū, other speakers tend to adjust their speech to conform to Ciāngciū. With the passage of time, local varieties have emerged. The tendency to give names for the different dialect groups is shown among the younger generation of Hokkien speakers in Malaysia and Singapore--speakers who are not aware of the historical connections of their dialects with towns and ports in Hokkien province. Hence have emerged names such as "Singapore Hokkien" and "Penang Hokkien" among Malaysians and Singaporeans.

1.1.3 **Some Syntactic and Lexical Variations**

Little work has been done so far in the area of dialect variation. Studies have concentrated on the most obvious areas of phonology and vocabulary. Most of the studies have highlighted regular sound correspondences (Medhurst 1832; Douglas 1899; Bodman 1958). A thorough survey of phonological and dialect study done on Hokkien is found in Tay (1968) where she refers to the most significant works in the Introduction.

Studies on variations in Hokkien dialects written in English are at best cursory. Douglas (1899), in two of his Appendices, listed a series of tone variations and regular sound correspondences among three
major Hokkien dialects, namely Amoy, Ciāngcīū (Chang-chew), and Cuāncīū (Chin-chew). Bodman (1958) likewise listed sound variations among these three different varieties of the Hokkien language and included three others, name Engcun (Ieng-chun), Tangua (Tang-ua:), and Tioqciu (Swatow).

Bodman (1958) claimed that "... there are very few differences in basic grammatical structure." This may be true on a superficial level though the claim seems not to be based on any detailed grammatical study of the different Hokkien dialects. As more studies are done, they will doubtless reveal grammatical variation of which we are presently unaware. For example, Li's (1979) study on Taiwanese modality has revealed some aspects of the variety of Hokkien spoken in southern Taiwan that appear different from the Huihua Hokkien dialect. For example, some of the modals in Taiwanese differ semantically (or perhaps pragmatically) from those in Hūihūā Hokkien. Take the modal ǎi 'want'. Li assigns it the meaning of 'must' or 'have to' with the implication that it has "inescapable constraint or obligation". But in Hūihūā, ǎi just means 'want to'. Another modal is the Taiwanese kam-thang. This expression is used as a question tag. But the form is unintelligible to a Hūihūā speaker. One of the many ways to form questions is to use the question marker bò which always appears in sentence final position in Huihua Hokkien. Li (1979) also uses the sentence final question marker bò for other examples, e.g. sentence (1):
1. In thang kah lān chô-hōe khì bo.
   they allow with us together go Q-marker

   "Can they go with us?"

   (Li, p. 2-35, sentence 104)

Li considers thăng and ê-sâi 'be allowed to', as synonymous, relegating thăng to informal use and ê-sâi to formal. However, the two modals are used differently in Huixhua, depending on what the speaker wants to convey. In sentence (2):

2. In ê-sâi kâp lān cô-hōe khì bô?
   they allowed with us together go Q-marker

   "Are they allowed to go with us?"

where ê-sâi 'to be allowed to' is used, the speaker is waiting for the addressee to grant permission to travel together. The decision rests completely on the addressee. In the case of (1) with thăng, there is implied a meaning of the possibility of some inconvenience to the speaker and his party, should they be allowed to join them. Will the party suffer any ill effects because of them?

Another difference, either syntactic or pragmatic, is in the use of the modal tiœq 'must' (Li's tiōh). Li's sentence quoted as (3) below:

3. Chit-kha sioⁿ tioh giâ chhut khì khah hó.
   this (unit) trunk should take out go more good

   "It is better for this trunk to be taken out."

   (Li 1979:2-45, sentence 121)
would be unacceptable to speakers of Huihua in Penang. Li claims that in (3) the "... speaker hints that the agent should remove the trunk (or box) to get the best advantage. Yet there is no obligation for the agent to do so." Contrary to this is the use of the modal tiq 'must' in Huihua, where the modal means 'must' with the semantic reading of 'obligation'. The modal tiq 'must' cannot co-occur with the expression khaq ho 'more good' which makes a request sound less like an order. As sentence (3) has both the modal tiq and a moderating expression, the sentence would seem contradictory to a Huihua speaker.

In Huihua speech, the following two expressions can be found:

4. Cît-khā sîū tiq giá chût khi. (An order)
   this CL box must take out go
   "This trunk must be taken out."

5. Cît-khā sîū (kâ - î) giá chût khi khaq ho.
   this CL box PTM - 3.p.p take out go more good
   "It is better to take this trunk out."

Dialect variation in Southeast Asian countries has an added dimension to it to which the dialects in China are not exposed. In the Southeast Asian context, local varieties have sprung up, influenced by the languages of the countries to which Hokkien speakers have moved. Taking Malaysia again as an example, we see speakers of Hokkien brought closer together (within a town or city) with speakers of other Chinese language groups such as Cantonese (Yue group), Hakka, Mandarin (taught mainly in the schools), whereas in China the language groups were
separated by hundreds of miles. Speakers of Hulhua in Penang are also exposed to English and Malay, and the influence from these two languages is by no means insignificant, especially with respect to loan words.

1.1.4 The Data

The data for this study was obtained from various sources. Most of it is based on the writer's idiolect but it includes a set of five hours of sermons on tape, sermons given by the writer's father, some taped conversations he had with family members and friends who spoke the same dialect, and observations made of the speech of Hulhua dialect speakers from Penang who were students at the University of Hawaii or participants in East West Center programs (1975-1981).

As far as possible, I have tried to cite the forms and constructions from the Hulhua dialect. However, because of the general use made of Penang Hokkien and its popularity in the island of Penang (as well as the northern part of Peninsular Malaysia), I may unwittingly have cited examples which do not belong to the Hulhua dialect. Should such examples creep into this study, it will only go to show the changes that are gradually taking place to cause dialect variations in the Hokkien language. At this point, I must say that the dialect now under study is, under very broad terms, the Hulhua Hokkien dialect spoken in Penang.
1.1.5 Phonology and Orthography

A brief summary of the phonology of Hūihūa is needed to explain the spelling system used in this study.

1.1.5.1 Vowels

There are altogether nine vowels, six of them oral vowels and three nasal ones, as shown in Figure 1:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i ï</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a ã</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Hūihūa Vowel Chart
(IPA Symbols)

These vowels are similar to the set that is found in the Amoy dialect (Sung, 1974:14; Brosnahan, 1972:16) except for the addition of the cardinal vowel [ɔ] in Hūihūa and its corresponding nasalized segment and the absence of nasalized mid front vowel [೬]. The high vowels /i/ and /u/ become glides before any of the vowels that can occur with them. The vowels that can occur with /i/ and /u/ are those that have the opposite feature to the frontness or backness of /i/ and /u/ respectively. The vowel /i/ becomes a glide before back vowels /u/, /o/, and /ɔ/; and /u/ becomes a glide before the front vowels /i/ and /e/. The vowel /a/ also provides the environment for /i/ and /u/ to
become glides, indicating that it could be treated as having features of frontness and backness.

Following natural tendencies, vowels are raised or lowered in the course of speech depending on the conditioning environment. In the environment of back segments, /i/ tends to be pronounced [I] but otherwise it is [i]. Similarly, for low vowels like /a/, a fronted environment (e.g. alveolar segments) tends to raise them.

Nasalized vowels are common in the Huihua dialect. A vowel takes on nasality by virtue of the fact that it is preceded by a nasal. However, there are other cases where no nasal segment is present synchronically. In such cases, the quality of nasality is probably a relic of nasal segments which once occurred in the environment of such vowels. The nasal segments had nasalized the vowels and then the conditioning environment had been lost, leaving only the nasalized vowels as evidence of the presence of nasal segments at an earlier stage of the language. Of all the vowels listed, two front ones and a back one have nasalized counterparts, namely /ĩ/, /ɔ/, and /ɔ̃/.

1.1.5.2 Consonants

There are seventeen consonants in Huihua. They are shown in the consonant chart in Figure 2:
Figure 2: Hkills Consonant Chart (IPA Symbols)

Except for the glottal stop, which occurs only in syllable final position, all the consonants listed here can occur in syllable initial position. However, not all of these can occur in the final position in a syllable. The ones that do are the voiceless unaspirated stops and the nasals. In addition to the consonant segments given here, there are also the syllabic bilabial and velar nasals which carry tone as well. The dental affricates [ts], [tsʰ] and the alveolar affricates [tʃ], [tʃʰ] are in complementary distribution. Before a high front vowel, it is a dental affricate, but before a back vowel, the affricate becomes alveolar in point of articulation. The grapheme {c} is used to represent dental and alveolar affricates. Some examples are given in the list following:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad Phonetic Transcription</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[tsin]</td>
<td>cǐn</td>
<td>'very'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tsʰin]</td>
<td>chǐn</td>
<td>'close relationship'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃun]</td>
<td>cūn</td>
<td>'ship'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃo]</td>
<td>cò</td>
<td>'make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃɔ]</td>
<td>cɔ̊</td>
<td>'great grandparent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃʰun]</td>
<td>chǔn</td>
<td>'left over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tʃʰɔ]</td>
<td>chɔ́</td>
<td>'vinegar'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1.5.3 Tones

Tone is phonemic in the language. Pitch is only relative. The five tones are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Graph</th>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>Tone Marks</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid level</td>
<td>⌜</td>
<td>33:</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>'older brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low rising</td>
<td>⌝</td>
<td>13:</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>'entangled in an affair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High level</td>
<td>⌜</td>
<td>55:</td>
<td>^</td>
<td>kò̚</td>
<td>'stem'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid falling</td>
<td>⌜</td>
<td>31:</td>
<td>\</td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>'report on someone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low level</td>
<td>⌜</td>
<td>11:</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>'roll'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In syllables ending with unvoiced stops and the glottal stop, both the high and low tones have a higher pitch. The syllable is short and abrupt as the final stop cuts short the syllable. The following two words are examples:

ciòq 'borrow'

ciòq 'marble'
In this study, the tones indicated are basic tones and tone marks are placed above the syllables.

1.1.5.4 The Orthography

For the most part, the orthography adopted in this study is that used by Bodman (1955, 1958) with a few changes. The vowels are represented by the same symbols, with the exception of /ɔ/ which, in Bodman, was represented as {o}. He treated the Amoy /o/ as a diphthong [ou], not a clear vowel. In order to facilitate typing, /ɔ/ is represented by the grapheme {o} (as used in Li, 1979), to distinguish it from the oral vowel /o/ which from my observation of Hulhua is not a diphthong but a clear vowel /o/. A nasalized vowel or a sequence of nasalized vowels is indicated by a tilde ~ above the vowel. (Bodman uses a colon : after a vowel to indicate nasality.) Vowels that occur after nasal segments take on a nasal quality; because this is a predictable occurrence, nasality will not be marked in such environments, as exemplified in the following:

- [mɔ] 'scold' is written as mà
- [nɔ:] 'two' is written as nɔ:
- [ŋi] 'obstinate' is written as ngi

As for the consonants, the affricate [ts] and [tʃ] are represented by one symbol, {c}. Only a single symbol is necessary as the two sounds are in complementary distribution. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is represented by the sequence {ng}, again to facilitate typing, and syllabic nasals
are unmarked for syllabic ity. The glottal stop is represented by the grapheme \{q\}. Finally, for practical purposes again, aspiration is indicated by the grapheme \{h\}, although it is also used to represent the velar fricative which occurs as a distinct phoneme elsewhere.

1.2 Studies in the Syntax of the Hokkien Language

There has been little work published on Hokkien—especially Hokkien syntax. Most of the meager collection of studies made on the language so far have dealt with its phonology, at least for dialects like Amoy (Medhurst, 1832; Douglas, 1899; Barclay, 1923; Campbell, 1913; Bodman, 1955, 1958; Sung, 1974) and Eng-chun (Tay 1968).

Outside the province of Hokkien, efforts have been made to record the different varieties of the Hokkien language spoken. These records have taken the form of pedagogical materials. Apart from one pedagogical work by Bodman (1955, 1958), all other pedagogical materials have been produced in Taiwan, aimed at increasing literacy among Taiwanese-speaking people there. Included in these pedagogical materials are outlines of the phonology of the dialects described. Bodman's two volumes are written in a Malaysian context. They are based on the Amoy dialect as spoken in Malaysia. The volumes contain thirty lessons designed to give speech practice. Grammar points incidental to the structures illustrated are given in structural terms.

Almost all work on Chinese syntax (written in English) has been on Mandarin Chinese. Very little interest was shown in other Chinese languages until recently. Egerod (1967) gives an outline description of the phonology, vocabulary, and grammar of the eight major dialects.
groups—Pei, Wu, Hsiang, Kan, Hakka, Yueh, Min Nan, and Min Pei. But this work is just a summary. The descriptions for each dialect provide the barest information. The section on Southern Min shares the same limitations as the treatment of all the other language groups, that is, the lack of detailed discussion of its syntax. Examples to illustrate grammatical peculiarities are lacking. For instance, he mentions that "... restricted modifiers following adjectives (meaning 'very') are often reduplicated or rilling ...", but he leaves it to the imagination of the reader to figure out what he means. No examples are given. Likewise he states that "... the construction 'adjective-classifier-noun' is used with adjectives designating 'big' and 'small'." This is correct but incomplete. He leaves out "numerals" which also enter into that type of construction. Again a person could be misled into thinking that there is only one construction for the comparative notion of "A is ...er than B". In short then, though Egerod's work points out some major features of the language, it is far too skimpy in detail and examples to give much idea of the language.

Brosnahan's (1972) study of interrogative structures in the Amoy dialect is based on the generative-transformational model of Chomsky's Aspects (1965). In this study, Brosnahan proposes a set of base rules for Amoy structures and discusses transformational rules applicable to Question formation. She argues that there is no Question movement in the language and derives all questions from a constituent dominating WH and bound by Q. This piece of work provides a minimum of examples to illustrate five different types of questions in Amoy, namely the intonation question, the particle question, the tag question, the
choice question, and the WH question. A detailed set of base rules and a limited lexicon generate the deep structures underlying questions in Amoy and a set of T-rules provides the means for the derivation of their surface structures. Insofar as it is a description of questions and question formation based on the generative-transformational model of language, the study does credit to the rigorous application of the set of rules posited, keeping within the confines of the aim and purpose of the study.

In another piece of work on interrogatives (Cheng, 1975), Taiwanese sentence-final question particles come under scrutiny. This study investigates the synchronic semantic and syntactic features of these particles and discusses their possible diachronic development. It postulates a tendency for speakers of Taiwanese to adopt a general question particle such as bō (a monosyllabic, sentence-final, and modality-neutral particle) in place of a number of question particles that are polysyllabic, split, predicate-initial, and modality-specific.

Whereas Brosnahan's study covers all interrogative structures in Amoy, Cheng's deals exclusively with sentence-final question particles. These particles, which Brosnahan calls "tags", characterize particle questions in the study (Brosnahan, 1975:104-107). In Cheng's study, semantic considerations are taken into account and the study examines the question particles in detail, claiming that they fall into two groups, namely assertive and non-assertive. Presupposition of a view or statement already expressed is stated to be the hallmark of the assertive type. Cheng also claims that the assumed or presupposed fact or statement takes the assertive question particle.
Chen (1972) discusses the various uses of ho' in Taiwanese, demonstrating its use as (1) main verb, (2) dative preposition, and (3) agentive preposition. The paper follows Fillmore's (1968) case framework very closely, ignoring such phenomena as negation and modality.

Of direct concern to the thrust of our present study are three quite questionable claims made in Chen's paper. First, Chen claimed that ho' "... has an idiosyncratic property which does not allow D (dative) to appear as subject or topic" (1968:5). In fact, ho' does not restrict D to non-subject or non-topic position, as sentence (6) shows, where D is the topic.

   I 3p.p give one-CL chicken-thigh
   "As for me, he gave a chicken thigh."

Secondly, although aware of the existence of subjectless sentences, the writer chooses to ignore such sentences, claiming instead that "... every Taiwanese sentence has a surface subject." (Chen, 1972:29)

Thirdly, Chen claimed that "... in normal cases, A (Agentive) is unmarked for subject choice." Passive sentences are treated as marked, with the Objective case selected to occupy the subject position. We maintain that sentences in Hûhû are better analyzed as Topic-Comment constructions, in which case passive sentences are structures having a Patient NP functioning as the grammatical subject in the sentence. See Appendix A for a discussion on passives.
Of particular interest to our present study are a number of studies dealing with topic prominence in Mandarin Chinese--[Householder and Cheng (1967), Tai (1973), and Huang (1973)]. Describing the syntax of Mandarin Chinese from the point of view of information structure is a fairly recent development--one that began in the seventies. Previous to this, Chao (1968:67-104) had described Mandarin Chinese from a more traditional taxonomic approach. He discusses the notions of topic and comment (though he uses the terms subject and predicate respectively throughout). But it was Li and Thompson (1974) who demonstrated with ample evidence that Mandarin Chinese can be more insightfully described by considering the notion of topic rather than subject to be basic. Our present study makes the same claim.

1.3 Theoretical Assumptions

In this study, we will assume the general framework described in Chomsky's Aspects (1965), as well as the Logical Structure Hypothesis proposed in Gundel (1974).

1.3.1 Assumption 1: Deep and Surface Structures

We assume that every sentence has two major levels of structure--a surface structure and an abstract underlying structure. We believe that we can get a better insight into generalizations about language if we analyze a sentence as having these two major levels of representation. The underlying structure is derived by means of a set of phrase structure rules and draws upon the lexicon for its lexical items. It represents the basic meaning for the sentence. The surface structure
is derived from the underlying structure by a series of transformational rules. We argue that the underlying or deep structure should include markings of informational status. Such informational status includes the notions given and new, notions which will be discussed in Chapter II.

1.3.2 Assumption 2: The Logical Structure Hypothesis

The Logical Structure Hypothesis allows a sentence to be analyzed as (7):

\[ S \]
\[ NP_1 \quad S' \]
\[ x_1 \quad \ldots \quad x \quad \ldots \]

This hypothesis originated with Gundel (1974) who used the term "to reflect the need to incorporate semantics in the deep structure of a sentence. She used the term logical structure to refer to the "... deepest representations from which surface structures are derived." Her reasons for the choice of the term is to avoid "deep structure" which to her has become associated with "... a purely syntactic underlying level posited by interpretive semanticists, and also to reflect the fact that these 'deepest representations' have the form of symbolic logic."
In a structure such as (7), NP is an adjunct to the main sentence existing in logical structure, and the x variable in S' is bound by NP₁. This assumption is based on Gundel's claim that "... the fundamental division of a sentence is between the topic, the element that identifies what the sentence is about, and the comment, the predication that is made of that object." (Gundel 1974:10) So, in Gundel's terms, her hypothesis requires the incorporation of topic and comment in the grammar, which means that the first phrase structure rule in the grammar would be (8):

8. \[ S \rightarrow NP \quad S' \]

For our present study, we assume Gundel's hypothesis concerning base structure. The variable x shown in (7) is generated as an empty variable in the comment. A copying rule copies the features of the topic Noun Phrase onto this variable, which is later pronominalized and optionally deleted.
Notes: Chapter 1

1 See 1.1.5.4 for the orthography used in this study.

2 We use the name Hokkien to refer to all varieties of the southern Min language because historically, it had been widely used. It was even more widely used than the term Amoy Hokkien. It was only after the Treaty of Nankin when Amoy was opened up as a treaty port that the speech in the vicinity of the port attracted much attention (Douglas 1899:609). It is a common practice for Hokkien speakers to name a language after the place where it is spoken. Hokkien is a name that includes other Hokkien dialects spoken in that province and elsewhere. The term dialect has been loosely used for Chinese languages. Mutually unintelligible Chinese languages such as Hokkien and Cantonese have been referred to as dialects, with only Mandarin referred to as a language; this is unfortunately misleading for they are in fact cognate languages.

3 Egerod (1967) mentions an alternative classification, namely a subdivision of the Min group into five subgroups (East, West, South, North, and Central). Under this classification, Tioqciu would fall with the South variety, while the Huihua dialect would be with the East subdivision.

4 The areas mentioned here do not exclude other areas of the world where Hokkien speakers can be found but they represent significant numbers of Hokkien speakers.

5 For a detailed study of the distribution of Chinese dialects in southeast Asia, see Chan (1975). It should be noted that the term dialect in that paper has been loosely used and no attempt had been made to define the term.

6 The Tioqciu dialect is a subgroup of Ban-lam-ua (South Min language). Bodman (1958) included Tioqciu as one of the dialects of Ban-lam-ua. Douglas (1899) recorded that the ancestors of those Tioqciu (tiechiu) speakers emigrated many centuries ago from the province of Fukien. "To this day they are distinguished from the other inhabitants of the Canton (Kwangtung) province by the appellation 'hoklo' that is, the persons from Hokkien or Fukien." At the LSA Institute in 1977, held at the University of Hawaii, we made a study of the Tioqciu dialect. Our findings showed a fairly close similarity between Tioqciu and other south Min dialects, but not close enough for speakers of Hokkien to understand Tioqciu speakers. It was interesting to note also that our informant identified herself with Cantonese speakers, basing her affiliations on provincial boundaries rather than on linguistic considerations.
See Bodman (1958:61-63) for an account of Hokkien dialect differences in the Hokkien (Fukien) province in China. For some discussion of the two main varieties found in Taiwan, see Li (1979).

No attempt will be made at this point to comment on the Hokkien dialects in other southeast Asian countries owing to a lack of information on them. Suffice it to say that as changes have occurred in the Hokkien language spoken in Malaysia, Singapore, and Taiwan, so also can we expect changes to occur in the language in other southeast Asian countries.

"Dominant" in the sense of the dialect or language holding an important place in the society because it acts as a lingua franca for that area. The group with the majority of speakers find that their language is the one that is widely used in a town or location.

Age is a significant factor in dialect adaptation. Those above fifty years or so are more resistant to adaptation. However, those below fifty tend to switch from their dialect to the Čiangciū dialect when they are among Čiangciū speakers. Even speakers of other Chinese language groups, in a Čiangciū dialect environment, use the Čiangciū dialect for informal trade and business.

Penang Hokkien is a local variety of the Čiangciū dialect. Čiangciū dialect speakers make up a large proportion of the Hokkien speakers in Penang. They were also the earliest to settle in Malaysia. Penang Hokkien is characterized by a general simplification of syntax, shifts in its tone and pitch, and is graced by a great number of Malay words. We must point out that the dialect studied in this work is not this variety of Hokkien.

Douglas (1899, Appendix II) deals with variations of the tones; in Appendix III, he deals with sound correspondences.

The vowels [o] and [u], which are recorded in Douglas' (1899) dictionary as peculiar to the Čiānciū dialect, do not exist in the dialect under study.

Only those studies written in English are discussed here. For a review of materials written in Mandarin Chinese, see Tay (1968) and Brosnahan (1972).


"Dialect" is used here to conform with its usage by Egerod in his work.
CHAPTER II

TOPIC PROMINENCE AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we discuss notions that are pertinent to our study--notions such as information structure, topic prominence, the topic-comment configuration in a sentence, the given-new distinction, and focus.

2.1 Information Structure

The information structure of a sentence is the organization of its syntactic forms in terms of their informational properties of given and new. One language may have a more direct correspondence between its syntactic forms and their informational properties, while another may not be as obvious in the correspondence.

The concept of information structure is not a recent one. The very nature of speech itself, where words are used to express ideas in a linear fashion, imposes constraints on the speaker. This approach, which considers a sentence as adhering to a progression of word order from given to new, is not unlike that of the Prague School linguists. Vilem Mathesius (1928) based his writings on Functional Sentence Perspective on Weil's (1844) ideas.¹ Weil made the observation that the universal principle reflecting how the mind works is revealed in the linear ordering of thought from an initial notion to a goal. However, Mathesius has been credited for being the first to talk about the
organization of information in a sentence in the process of communication. Finding that Weil's observations were supported by evidence from Czech word order, Mathesius argued that since the initial idea constitutes a common ground for both speaker and addressee, it could be defined as the element in the sentence that conveys what is known. In other words, the initial idea is given information and the rest of the sentence is new.

Sapir (1921) also recognized that within a sentence there is a proposition and a statement made about the proposition (Sapir, 1921:35-119).

Vachek (1966:90) discusses a sequence of two elements, theme and rheme, occurring in that order to form a sentence. We assume that the two elements he talked about correspond to given and new information respectively.

Halliday's (1970) functional model has the theme occupying the initial position in English and the rheme carrying the main stress, with the newest information usually in the final position. For him, the end of a sentence carries the greatest informational weight. He makes a distinction between theme and rheme on one hand and given and new on the other. For him, theme is the heading for what the speaker is saying, whereas given is the point of contact the speaker has with what the addressee knows. Nevertheless, in a broad sense, theme is associated with given, and rheme with new.

Kuno (1972), analyzing the functions of wa and ga in Japanese, notes that the function of theme is restricted to anaphoric and generic noun phrases denoting given information. More recently, the terms
theme and rheme or given and new information have been used in conjunc-
tion with topic and comment (Gundel 1974).

In Gundel (1976), two distinct notions are isolated from the
given-new umbrella. These are activated and unactivated; topic and
comment. Activated and unactivated correspond to Chafe's (1976) given
and new information, while topic and comment refer to the two major
divisions in a sentence (suggested in Gundel, 1974). The topic is
given in that it represents the takeoff point of a sentence and it
must be part of the addressee's general knowledge for any comment to be
made on it. It identifies what the speaker is talking about in the
comment.

On the other hand, the comment is the new information, as it
represents what is actually being asserted, questioned, or promised
about the topic (Gundel 1975). Topics are usually activated informa-
tion but need not be so. Similarly, comments usually contain unacti-
vated elements but it could also contain activated elements.

For the purpose of our discussion, we will treat given information
as what the speaker assumes to be known to the addressee and new as
what he assumes the addressee does not know—information he is intro-
ducing into the addressee's consciousness at the time of utterance.
The basis for the speaker's assumption that something is known to the
addressee could be either linguistic or non-linguistic. It is linguis-
tic if that something has just been mentioned in the course of the
conversation and it is non-linguistic if the addressee is aware of the
referent in the immediate environment of which the speaker is talking
about at the time.
Information structuring is important to Huihua, as in most languages, for clear reasons. First of all, it seems to condition anaphoric phenomena. Anaphora manifest themselves in two ways, namely zero anaphor and lexical anaphor. A zero anaphor is actually the "... absence of any lexical item where one might expect a pronoun" (Ross, 1981:1). The occurrence of a zero anaphor rather than a lexical one is sometimes a matter of stylistic choice, as in sentence (1):

1. Ø húaq cīt sīā, Ø câu kà bò tâq-liāq.
   shout one sound run till no place-catch
   "(One) shouts (and he) runs off leaving no chance to catch (him)."

   where the subject may not be realized lexically. Both subjects in (1) could be realized lexically, as lang 'people' and i '3p.p' respectively, as shown in (2):

2. Lāng húaq cīt sīā, i câu kà bò tâq-liāq.
   person shout one sound 3p.p run till no place-catch
   "One has only to shout and he disappears without a chance to catch (him)."

   In sentence (2), the anaphor lāng 'people'³ refers to the speaker or some other person or persons. It could just as well be lexicalized as gâa '1' or i-lāng 'they'. The referent is known to the addressee. It is the given information which can be replaced by a pronoun.

   Similarly, for the second half of sentence (2), a lexical anaphor i 'he/she' is used in place of the zero anaphor in (1). The lexical
anaphor is permitted here because, again, it is the given information. The speaker would have identified the person earlier on in the discourse and the person having been identified, constitutes the given information. Being given information, it can be replaced by a pronoun. In both instances, the subjects are given information.

On the other hand, new information has to be spelled out explicitly and neither a zero anaphor nor a lexical one is possible as shown is (3) below:

3. Gûa bûe \( \{ \text{phûe-cûa letter-paper} \} \) liâu. CPLTV

\( \begin{cases} \ast I \\ 3 \ p. \\ \ast \emptyset \end{cases} \)

"I have bought \( \{ \text{the letter paper} \} \)."

Neither zero nor lexical anaphor is possible for the object phûe-cûa 'letter paper' in (3). The full noun phrase must be used instead. However, (4):

4. Gûa bûe liâu. CPLTV

"I have bought (it)."

is possible when it is a reply to a question such as (5):
5. Lû bûe phûe-cûa liâu bûe?
   You buy letter-paper CPLTV not-yet
   "Have you bought the letter paper yet?"

in which the information regarding the status of buying is questioned. So, placed in the correct context, (4) is acceptable even without the mention of the object, since the object is understood.

However, with a topic-comment structure like (6):

6. \[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{Phûe-cûa,} & \text{gûa} & \text{bûe} & \emptyset & \text{liâu.} \\
& \text{letter-paper} & \text{I buy} & \text{CPLTV} \\
& \text{\#Cû-tû phûe-cûa} & \text{\textit{one-CL letter-paper}} \\
& \text{\{ \} letter-paper,} & \text{I've bought} & \emptyset.
\end{align*}
\]

we find that there is a zero anaphor in the comment sentence which has the same referent as the topic. The fact that it has been mentioned before as the topic allows it to be a zero in the comment sentence. It is clear that information structuring determines when a pronoun is allowed and when it is not allowed, for it is the given status of the elements in a construction that conditions anaphora, as shown in (6).

In addition to these, we will also explore the interaction of information structure with object initial constructions that are commonly used in the language--constructions that are clearly topic-comment. As will be seen in Chapter III, these structures are informationally constrained.
2.2 Topic Prominence

Li and Thompson's (1976) proposal of a language typology based on topic-prominence or subject-prominence is an attempt to capture the information structure differences among languages. The idea of topic-prominence had been mentioned in various earlier studies but Li and Thompson were the first to demonstrate its importance for the study of a number of languages which differ significantly from subject-prominent languages like English. They claim that: "... some languages can be more insightfully described by taking the concept of topic to be basic, while others can be more insightfully described by taking the notion of subject as basic." (Li and Thompson 1976:460)

However, as they did not define the term basic, we can only conjecture that, used in relation to sentence structure, basic is what is most common and natural for that language. Tsao (1977) calls it the "preferred structure". A language which is subject-oriented has a number of features conditioned by or affected by subject status in its sentences, whereas a topic-oriented language has features attributable to the presence of topics in its structures. Topics have to be definite or generic, whereas subjects do not have this restriction. Topics need not have a selectional relation with any verb in the sentence, whereas subjects do. Related to this is the predictability of the subject but not the topic, on the basis of the verb that is selected. It naturally follows from this that verb agreement is not significant inasfar as topic goes but very much so in relation to subjects.

Li and Thompson further argued that such grammatical processes as reflexivization, passivization, EQUI-NP deletion, verb serialization,
and imperativization have to do with the subject relation, not the topic relation. This is so because, according to them, the grammatical processes are related to the internal structure of sentences, while topics are syntactically independent of the rest of the sentence. We do not subscribe wholly to this view because our basic assumption is that the topic-comment constituents are sentence constituents; we also believe that some of the processes, e.g. deletion, are related to topic status.

Topic-prominent languages are languages that have the topic-comment constituents as their normal or basic structure. Although some sentences in Hokkien do not begin with a topic, most of the time they do. Occasionally a topic may show up after the comment; when this happens, it marks a repairing strategy which we refer to as **Topic Repair**. Such a sentence has still the topic-comment structure in its deep structure. The speaker had assumed that the topic is known to the addressee, but when it turns out that the addressee is not aware of what the topic is, the speaker will repair the gap in the flow of communication by verbalizing the topic before he makes any further comments on it. 5

Languages that are topic-prominent would therefore be better analyzed in a way that would reflect the functional distinction between the topic and the comment. Li and Thompson (1976) discuss a number of characteristics peculiar to topic-prominent languages, as opposed to those for subject-prominent ones. We will summarize those characteristics in the following section and ascertain how valid they are for Hokkien.
2.2.1 Topic-Prominence versus Subject-Prominence

Hokkien is a fairly topic-prominent language, exhibiting most of the characteristics discussed in Li and Thompson (1976). We will look at what these characteristics are and see how far they reveal themselves in Hokkien.

First, languages that are topic-prominent exhibit a structure that is made up of two constituents, namely a topic (what the sentence is about) and a comment (what is said, asserted, questioned, promised, etc., about that topic), as represented in (7):

```
7. S
   /\   /
  NP   S'
  |     |
  x_1  NP  Pred. P
```

This type of structure is the most common and most natural for topic-prominent languages. However, it does not mean that this is the only structure that can be found in such languages for they could also have structures with an SVO word order. But what it implies is that the occurrence of topic-comment structures is more than a chance occurrence in topic-prominent languages.

On the other hand, subject-prominent languages do not have the topic-comment structure as the basic structure. Instead of having a structure like (7), a subject-prominent language would have a basic structure like (8):
Li and Thompson have placed Chinese in the topic-prominent grouping of languages and supported their claim with examples from Mandarin Chinese. We believe that Hokkien, being a Chinese language, is also topic-prominent. It has the topic-comment structure as the underlying structure as the data for our study seem to support the centrality of the two constituents.

The first characteristic that distinguishes topic-prominent languages from subject-prominent ones is that topics have definite reference whereas subjects can be either definite or indefinite.

The second characteristic of topic-prominent languages is the special surface coding for the topic while subjects in subject-prominent languages need not have any surface coding. In some languages, for example Japanese and Korean, special markers (wa and (n) in respectively) are used to identify the topic of the sentence. Some languages do not mark topics morphologically. For instance, in Thai (Ekniyom, 1982), topics are marked by their initial position in the sentence.

We have found that a pause or a pause marker in Hokkien marks the topic whereas a subject is not morphologically marked.
Li and Thompson mention that the sentence initial position of topic in Mandarin Chinese is the surface coding for topics in the language. Although topics in Hokkien generally appear in the initial position, this is not a good criterion to establish a language as being topic-prominent because subjects also take the initial position in an SV(O) structure. This makes the sentence-initial criterion less useful. The pause or pause marker is a more reliable criterion to depend on, in the case of Hokkien.

The third characteristic of topic-prominent languages, according to Li and Thompson, is an absence of or a disfavoring of passive constructions, which in our opinion may not apply to all topic-prominent languages. In their opinion, passive constructions are common in subject-prominent languages:

... in subject-prominent languages, the notion of subject is such a basic one that if a noun other than the one which a given verb designates as its subject becomes the subject, the verb must be marked to signal this non-normal subject choice.

(Li and Thompson, 1976:467)

We feel that this may not be a good criterion because different languages use different strategies for forming passive constructions and for a topic-prominent language like Hokkien, there are passive constructions too. See Appendix A for a discussion on passives.

If one should adopt Li and Thompson's criterion concerning passives for judging whether Hokkien is in fact a topic-prominent language, we would have to say that Hokkien is not a topic-prominent language. However, we would like to question whether this should be used as a criterion for topic-prominent languages at all.
The fourth characteristic of topic-prominent languages is that they do not have a dummy subject as subject-prominent languages have. This is because the basic structure of topic-comment places the topic and not the subject in a prominent position; whereas in a subject-prominent language, the subject is so important that even when no noun phrase is there, a dummy subject (e.g. English it) must be used to fill the subject position, as in (9):

9. It is raining.

Since the subject is not prominent in a topic-prominent language like Hokkien, it is not necessary to introduce a dummy subject, as shown in (10):

10. \begin{align*}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{3 p.p.} \\
\emptyset
\end{bmatrix}
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{lọg} & \text{họ} & \text{liâu}.
\end{array}
\end{align*}

"(It is) raining."

The fifth characteristic of topic-prominent languages is the occurrence of two noun phrases, one following the other in sentence initial position. Both cannot be subjects because the predicate can only relate to one subject. In such constructions, the first noun phrase is the topic and the second one is the subject--because the first is syntactically not related to the predicate whereas the second is. On the other hand, subject-prominent languages have basic
sentence structures with a noun phrase in sentence initial position. Occasionally two noun phrases can occur consecutively but these are topicalized constructions derived from the basic structure for subject-prominent languages and are therefore highly marked.

In Hokkien, there are numerous examples of double initial noun phrase constructions, like sentence (11) below:

11. Cit-tè pò, hūa-châu bō sūi.
    this-CL cloth flower-grass not pretty
    "This piece of cloth, (its) design is not pretty."

In (11), the first noun phrase cit-tè pò 'this-CL cloth', is the topic of the sentence and the second noun phrase hūa-châu 'flower-grass' is the subject in the comment sentence.

The sixth characteristic of a topic-prominent language is that where both topic and subject occur together, the topic takes precedence over the subject in controlling deletion.

To illustrate our point, we have sentence (12) below showing a conjoined clause with a deleted constituent which is coreferential with the topic:

12. Cit-tè gìn≡ά, bìn bō sūe,
    this-CL child face not wash
    só'- ə hò. lóng hìn.
    therefore give people dislike/hate
    "This child, (his) face is not washed; therefore (he is) disliked by people."

The position of the deleted noun phrase is marked with Ø. This is understood to be coreferential with the topic cite:15 cite:16 gînna 'this-CL child'. The deleted noun phrase could not be coreferential with the second noun phrase, bìn 'face', which is the subject.

The seventh characteristic is that topic-prominent languages tend to be verb-final. According to Li and Thompson (1976), this is borne out in descriptions of Lahu and Lisu, which are both analyzed as verb final languages. Subject-prominent languages, on the other hand, tend to have SVO word order.

As far as our data shows, some Hokkien sentences are verb final. In object initial constructions, as well as the double initial noun phrase constructions, this tendency is particularly strong.6

Looking at the characteristics of topic-prominent languages, we can say that the characteristics discussed in Li and Thompson (1976) are, by and large, the characteristics exhibited in Hokkien; from the examples cited, we have a solid basis for claiming that Hokkien can reasonably be regarded as a topic-prominent language. As such, we will assume a typical Hokkien sentence as being made up of two major constituents, topic and comment. The labelled tree diagram (13) is an elaboration of (7) in Chapter 1, where we stated our theoretical assumption based on Gundel's logical structure hypothesis. The phrase marker for a typical Hokkien sentence is represented in (13):
2.3 Topic versus Subject in Hokkien

Topics can be any constituent about which a predication can be made. They must be given information; that is, they are either definite or generic noun phrases directly dominated by the sentence node S. Definiteness or genericness is a required factor because there must be some point of reference, some piece of information that is shared, between speaker and addressee in order for subsequent new information to be received (Chafe 1976). Another criterion is the pause (which we indicate with a comma) or pause marker that sets the topic apart from the rest of the sentence. These two characteristics describe the topic noun phrase of a topic-comment construction in Hokkien.

The topic of a sentence does not have a selectional relation with the predicate in the sentence, while the subject is closely bound to the predicate. For example, (14):
14. \( \text{cit-ciaq k\textsuperscript{!!}u, bu\textsuperscript{!!}e cam-t\textsuperscript{!!}g} \)
\hspace{1em}this-CL dog tail chop-severed

"This dog, (its) tail (is) chopped off."

has two noun phrases preceding the predicate \( \text{cam-t\textsuperscript{!!}g} \) 'chopped off'. The first noun phrase \( \text{cit-ciaq k\textsuperscript{!!}u} \) 'this dog' is definite, as is indicated by the demonstrative \( \text{cit-ciaq} \) 'this-CL' and a pause also occurs after the first noun phrase. This definite noun phrase is followed by another noun phrase—in this case, the noun \( \text{bue} \) 'tail', which functions as the subject of the sentence. It is the subject that is linked to the predicate in the sentence. It is the tail that is chopped off, not the dog. In (14), both topic and subject are present but they are easily distinguishable. This is the kind of structure that is common in Hokkien—the NP NP V structure. A sentence like (14) cannot be derived from any other sentence.

However, in sentences which show a structure such as NP V NP, where only one noun phrase occurs before the predicate, there is a slight problem in determining whether that initial noun phrase is a topic or a subject. Such a sentence is represented by sentence (15):

15. \( \text{Mama \{\#(pause)\}} \) \( \text{c\textsuperscript{!!}u p\textsuperscript{!!}ng li\textsuperscript{!!}u} \)
\hspace{1em}mother \{\#\} cook rice CPTLV

"Mother has cooked rice."

We conclude that the noun phrase \textit{mama} 'mother' is the subject, not the topic; we have to dispense with the definiteness factor because subjects can also be definite. So although the first noun phrase in (15)
is a definite noun phrase, the absence of a pause or the pause marker à between māmā 'mother' and the rest of the sentence indicates that it cannot be the topic.

In contrast to (15), (16) below:

16. \[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{Cīt-kēng} \} & \quad \text{chù (pause) cīn chiu-chīn.} \\
\{ \text{this -CL} \} & \quad \{ \text{one} \} \\
\{ \text{\*Cīt} \} & \quad \{ \text{\*A} \}
\end{align*}
\]

"This house, (it's) very breezy."

has an initial noun phrase that is a topic because it is definite and it also has a pause or the pause marker à separating it from the rest of the sentence. In (16), the referent of the topic coincides with the referent of the subject but it does not have to be so.

2.4 Focus and the Comment Constituent

The notion of focus is related to the comment constituent in Hokkien. Before we examine focus in Hokkien, we want to see what some linguists have said about it.

Much ink has been spilled over this notion. Among the writers are Halliday (1967), Chomsky (1971), Jackendoff (1972), Chafe (1970), and Cook (1973), all of whom use the term focus in different ways.

Halliday (1967:203-206) treats focus as the sentence element that contains new information which cannot be derived either from the linguistic or non-linguistic context. Focus reflects what the speaker considers to be the main burden of his message. Halliday makes a
distinction between focus and focused element, the latter being the heavily stressed element which he calls tonic nucleus. He also discusses unmarked and marked focus for English. The unmarked focus has the heaviest stress in the final element of a sentence, in which case the domain of new information ranges over more elements than just the final heavily stressed element. For example, in a sentence like (17):

\[17. \text{Sue baked a 'cake.}\]

which is unmarked for focus, the final word cake is stressed. 8

The domain of new information could be a cake, baked a cake, or Sue baked a cake. The context that gives rise to (17) specifies the domain of the new information. However, if the sentence has a marked focus, that is, one in which the stressed element is not the sentence final element cake but rather Sue is stressed, as in 18):

\[18. '\text{Sue baked a cake.}\]

the sentence is new information, not just Sue.

Chomsky (1971) and Jackendoff (1972) treat focus as new information also. For Jackendoff, the focus of a sentence is: "... the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer." (Jackendoff 1972:230) In the surface structure, the string of elements containing the heavy stress (their "intonation center") is the focus. In this respect, their definition is close to that of Halliday's. Chomsky and Jackendoff maintain that
focus is a surface structure phenomenon rather than something specified in the deep structure.

As for Chafe (1970:224-227), he uses the term focus to refer only to sentence elements that are stressed to show contrastive new information. This notion is similar to Halliday’s use of ‘marked focus’ for contrastiveness. Stressed elements not bearing contrastive stress are not considered focus.

Cook (1973)9 argues that the noun phrase which supplies the new information asked for by a WH word is the focus. Only noun phrases can be focused. His view is that only a noun phrase can undergo clefting, which is the only way to indicate focus. As such, he rules out stress as a focus marker. Based on his definition, verbs could never be focused, a point which is not supported in Hokkien for verbs can be new information, and therefore carry stress.

2.4.1 Focus in Hokkien

A discussion of focus phenomena in Hokkien gains much from a consideration of discussions of focus in other languages. We will adopt some of the concepts discussed in the preceding paragraphs insofar as they are relevant to the language.

A speaker, using a focus construction, has selected a particular element in the comment to foreground. That element is the focused element, which tends to be in sentence final position. There are at least two devices a speaker can use to mark focused elements.

First, he can make use of stress which in Hokkien is not linked with loudness but rather with a lengthening of the vowel in the
stressed word, giving the impression that the speaker is deliberately lengthening the vowel of that word or syllable to draw the hearer's attention to it.\textsuperscript{10}

The second strategy is linked to the first—the pitch of the lengthened vowel is slightly raised.

Focused elements, as discussed here, are similar to Halliday's tonic nucleus and Chomsky's and Jackendoff's intonation center. However, we differ from Chomsky and Jackendoff in that we specify the focus of a sentence in its deep structure. The feature [+Focus] specified in deep structure will determine the placement of the stress in the surface structure.

As a general rule, the normal stress is on the sentence final constituent, where the focused element can be any major constituent, not confined to noun phrases. The focused element is stressed (i.e. lengthened and raised in pitch). Focused elements include noun phrases, as in (19):

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
this-CL snake eat one-CL chicken
\end{quote}

"The snake ate a 'chicken.'"

where the noun kūe 'chicken' receives stress. Verbs can also be stressed as in (20):

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
house go bomb bomb - collapse
\end{quote}

"The house, it got bombed."
Sometimes the focused element is not at the end of the sentence, in which case the speaker reveals his intentions in his choice of which element to focus on. In such cases, contrastive meaning is intended, as in (21):

21. ɪ bûe cÎt-kî ūi ê chiriages.
    3p.p buy one-CL yellow ruler

"He bought a yellow ruler."

In (21), the speaker asserts the color of the ruler. It was yellow and not, for instance, blue.

2.4.2 Focused Noun Phrases

Focused elements in Hokkien, as we saw in 2.4.1, are elements that are stressed (i.e. lengthened and raised in pitch). In this section, we will look briefly at focused noun phrases, particularly in relation to their functions as subjects and objects.

A subject or an object can be focused if the speaker thinks it is information the hearer does not share with him. One way to test newness of information is to question different things in a sentence. For example (22):

22. Āh Hông čiaq hit-liappid phêng-kô.
    Ah Hong eat that-CL apple

"Ah Hong ate the apple."

The object noun phrase, phêng-kô 'apple' receives normal stress, that is, at the end of the sentence. Other elements in (22) can also be
stressed if they can be questioned. For the subject to be stressed, it has to be new information, which requires it to be placed in a comment construction such as in sentence (23):

23. .Hit-liâp phêng-kô, hò· Ah Hông ciâq-khi liâu.
that-CL apple give Ah Hong eat-go CPLTV

"That apple, Ah Hong has eaten it up."

Sentence (23) shows a type of passive construction with the Patient \[^{11}\] hit-liâp phêng-kô 'that apple' as the topic, which is not stressed. As the topic of the sentence it is, of course, old information. New information is contained in the comment, hò· Ah Hông ciâq-khi liâu 'Ah Hong ate it up'. Sentence (23) is a response to a question like (24):

24. .Hit-liâp phêng-kô, hò· ci^ć-cùi ciâq-khi? 
that-CL apple give who eat-go

"That apple, who ate it up?"

The question word ci^ć-cùi 'who' asks for a specific piece of information. It is the focused new information in (24) and is logically stressed.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, we showed that Hokkien is a topic-prominent language having a basic topic-comment structure and supported our claim with available data.
We have also argued that information structure is important to Hokkien for it seems to condition anaphora as well as object initial constructions, the latter of which will be discussed in the following chapter.

We have also claimed that topics in Hokkien are marked by a pause or a pause marker and showed examples to support that claim, distinguishing them from subjects.

We have also examined the notion of focus in general and the status of focused elements in Hokkien in particular. We have claimed that there are two strategies a speaker can use to present focused (new) material to the addressee, namely:

(1) stress—indicated by the lengthening of the vowel in the stressed word.

(2) Raising of the pitch of the stressed vowel.

Using either one of these strategies, a speaker can choose to focus any of the grammatical elements, subject, predicate, or object, etc., that appear in the comment constituent in a sentence.
Notes: Chapter II

1 Weil (1844) had observed that thought develops from "... an initial notion to a goal", laying the foundation upon which Mathesius later built his ideas of known information and new information.

2 Tsao (1977), in his study on Mandarin, states that "... topic is in control of the pronominalization or deletion of all the coreferential NP's in a topic chain" (Tsao, 1977:88) meaning that zero pronominalization occurs when it is coreferential with an NP that has been previously mentioned in a discourse.

In another study on Mandarin by Roberts (1968), the same phenomenon is observed. In both these studies, the NP that is coreferential with the pronominalized or deleted element has definite reference.

3 Professor Robert Cheng has brought to my attention that lang in Taiwanese has two meanings: (1) people and (2) other, the latter being a pronoun.


5 Languages that have been analyzed as VOS languages (e.g. Gilbertese) would have to be treated differently. The noun phrase in sentence final position could most likely be the topic. If this is the basic sentence structure, the topic in sentence final position is not a case of topic repair (Jacobs, 1981, personal communication).

6 It is interesting to note that Li and Thompson (1974a, 1974b) take the view that Mandarin Chinese is on its way to being a verb final language.

7 The notions of focus we adopt here are quite different from that used to describe a system in Philippine languages where verbs index certain NPs as being "in focus".

8 Stress is indicated here and elsewhere in the study by the stress mark ' before a stressed syllable.

9 Reviewed in Lii (1975).

10 Chao (1968:88); Lii (1975) noted that sentence stress in Mandarin is characterized by magnified length and pitch range and less importantly by increased loudness.

11 Agent and Patient are used in Fillmore's (1968) sense in this dissertation.
3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we will examine the role of information structure in object-initial constructions. We will focus on three types of object-initial constructions: (1) e-construction, (2) non-e-construction, and (3) ka-construction. However, there is another set of sentences that have one thing in common with these three constructions which will also be considered—the passives. The similarity among them is that the initial noun phrase in all four constructions are logical objects. Whereas the logical objects in the first three types are also grammatical objects, they do not correspond to grammatical objects in the passives. We will show from our data that information structure plays an important role in the first three types where the initial noun phrases are grammatical objects but not in the fourth, where the initial noun phrases are not grammatical objects.

In the case of the e-constructions, they are topic-comment structures as shown in (1):

1. \[
\begin{array}{l}
\{ \text{Hit} \} - \text{tè pò}, \quad \text{Ah Hoon} \quad \text{bûe é.} \\
\{ \text{that} \} - \text{CL cloth } \quad \text{Ah Hoon } \quad \text{buy Modal PRT} \\
\{ \text{one} \} \\
\{ \text{part} \} \\
\{ \text{of} \} \\
\{ \text{that} \} \\
\{ \text{A} \} \\
\end{array}
\]

"[That] piece of cloth, (it was) Ah Hoon (who) bought it."
In (1), the object noun phrase hit-te pô 'that piece of cloth' is the topic and Ah Hoon bûe ê 'it was Ah Hoon who bought it' is the comment on the topic. The comment contains the modal particle ê which asserts that the cloth was bought by the referent of the subject noun phrase, Ah Hoon. The subject noun phrase refers to the Agent and it is the Agent that is the focused new information.

The non-e-construction is also a topic-comment structure. This type of construction differs from the e-construction in that the Agent is not focused. The object is again in sentence initial position, and as in the e-constructions, it has to be definite. Sentence (2) exemplifies this structure:

2. {hit \[that\]} - lé lâng, Ah Pôh phiên ɨ.
   \[*Cît\] - CL person Ah Poh bluff 3p.p

"[That] man, Ah Poh deceived him."

The ka-construction is also informationally conditioned. In stretches of discourse we examined, all the ka-constructions were topic-comment ones. The initial noun phrase, which is the logical as well as grammatical object, has to be definite, as shown in (3):

3. {hit \[that\]} - phi thîq-pân, ká - ɨ khâm tî teng-bin.
   \[*Cît\] - CL steel-plate PTM - 3p.p cover at top-face

"[That] piece of steel plate, put it over the top."
In the case of passives, it does seem to be possible for the initial noun phrases to be new information; that is, they can be indefinite specific, as indicated in the determiner čīt-cīåq 'one - CL' in (4):

4. Čīt - cīåq  niāu  hò'  kāu  kā-sî.
one - CL  cat  give  dog  bite-die

"A cat was killed by the dog."

Though passives with indefinite specific subjects are rare in natural discourse, the fact that they do occur indicates that what may once have been topic-comment constructions are no longer informationally conditioned. Although the initial noun phrase in a passive sentence is the logical object, there is no evidence that it is also the grammatical object. In this regard, we will examine three types of passives, all of which are restricted to adversative transitive verbs taking Patients as their direct objects: (1) hò'-passive (with obligatory Agent fully or partially specified); (2) khi'-passive (with an optional Agent); (3) tiōq-passive³ (with an unspecified Agent in its surface structure).

3.1 The e-construction

The e-constructions are informationally conditioned. Consider a sentence like (5):

The e-constructions are informationally conditioned. Consider a sentence like (5):
5. \( \text{That} - \text{tīū} \, \text{tō-ūa,} \, \text{Ah Pōh} \, \text{ūa} \, \text{ē.} \)
\( \text{one} \)

"\{That\} painting, (it was) Ah Poh (who) painted it."

which has a tree representation (6):

6. 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
S \\
NP: x \\
\text{hit-tīū tō-ūa} \\
\text{That-CL painting} \\
\text{Ah Pōh} \\
\text{draw} \\
\end{array}
\]

The object NP is the topic, having the informational property of givenness. The object has to be definite. An indefinite NP renders the sentence ungrammatical as shown in (5). This shows that the initial NP in the e-construction is the topic, having the status of definiteness. The speaker assumes that the addressee knows the referent of the topic NP. \( S' \) is the comment made on the topic NP. In contrast to the topic, \( S' \) is the new information. In this case, it asserts something about the referent of the topic NP \( \text{hit-tīū tō-ūa 'that-CL painting'} \) which is that it was Ah Poh who drew it. The \( x \) variable has no surface realization although one expects a pronoun to be there. This unrealized \( x \) variable is bound by the topic \( \text{hit-tīū tō-ūa 'that-CL painting'} \)."
If the comment sentence represented by (7):

7. Āh Pōh  úa  ē.
    Ah Poh    draw Modal PRT

    "It was drawn by Ah Poh."

were to be uttered without the topic noun phrase being first mentioned or without the drawing being physically present at the time of speech, the addressee would not know what the speaker is referring to. If communication is hampered, the speaker would have to make the object explicit, such as in sentence (8):

8. Āh Pōh  úa  cīt-tīū  tô-úa.
    Ah Poh    draw one-CL drawing

    "Ah Poh drew a painting."

In this case, the object NP cīt-tīū tô-úa 'one-CL painting' is considered new information. But the c-construction (5) which has the object in sentence initial position allows the speaker to make an assertion (provide new information) about the referent of the object NP.

In fact, if we examine (5) in the light of its information structure, we find that it has very much the same propositional content as (8). We can treat (5) and (8) as two different structurings of the same propositional content. The underlying structure posited for (5), which is (6), is quite different from the one for (8), which we present as (9):
where Ah Pôh, the one who carries out the activity represented in the comment, is shown to function as the subject of the sentence. We note that the proposition affirms something that Ah Pôh did, which is that he did a painting. The proposition is about Ah Pôh. Structure (6) differs from (9) in the way the propositional content is structured. In (6), the comment constituent contains a proposition about hit-tiū tō'-úá 'that painting' while in (9), the proposition is about Ah Pôh. Our representations show the sentences to be alike in cognitive content but different in the ways the same information is organized. They are both topic-comment constructions.

Languages use different strategies to present given and new information. For example, Halliday (1970) has claimed that in English, it is typical for the prepositional form to be associated with the function "new", as is brought out in the following two sentences (10a) and (10b):

10a. I've offered Oliver a 'tie
10b. I've offered the tie to Oliver.
(Halliday 1970, 163)
In (10a) a tie is the new information, indicated by the indefinite article a. However, if Oliver is to be the new information instead of a tie, then (10b) would do the job, for in (10b) the tie is the given information and Oliver is new. Halliday also gave an example from the English passive, where the use of by with the Agent serves the same function—it is a grammatical marker for new information, as exemplified in (11):

11. The house was painted by 'Sam.

where Sam is the new information grammatically marked by the preposition by.

In Hokkien, however, the strategy for presenting given and new information is via the topic-comment structures. The topic is typically mentioned first. For example, for the English sentence (11) a topic-comment structure is used in Hokkien, as shown in (12):

12. (Hit) -kêng chu, 'Sam iú - chát é.
   [that] - CL house Sam oil-paint Modal PRT
   (cît)
   [one]

"That house, (it was) 'Sam who painted it.'"

where the object noun phrase hit-kêng chu 'that-CL house' functions as the topic. It has to be given information, which means that the speaker and the addressee are aware of the referent of hit-kêng chu 'that-CL house'. The indefinite marker cît 'one' renders the sentence
ungrammatical, showing that information status is crucial here. What is done to the house and the agent of that action is the new information the speaker wants to communicate to his addressee and this information is contained in the comment constituent 'Sam iú-chát é ' (it was) 'Sam (who) painted it.' However, it is the Agent that is the focused new information.

From the foregoing discussion, we see that information status plays an important role in the e-constructions. The speaker knows intuitively that the object or referent which he is going to assert something of has to be shared information—that is, information the addressee shares with him, for communication to be effective. Topics are syntactically marked as definite in Hokkien by the use of the definite determiners cit-lé 'this-CL' or hit-lé 'that-CL'.

However, the e-constructions are not the only type of constructions controlled by information status. In the next section we shall look at sentences which are not marked by the particle e but which also have object initial noun phrases functioning as topics.

3.2 The Non-e Construction

Like the e-constructions, the non-e-constructions are also topic-comment structures; however, they differ in that they do not focus on the Agent. Instead, some other element in the comment can be selected for focusing. An example is (13):
Notice that the thing that is focused in the comment in (13) is the action of 'washing' not the Agent; if it were the Agent, then the structure would be different. The completive aspect marker (CPLTV) would be replaced by the particle ē, and the e-construction would have to be used as in (14):

14. \( \text{Hit} \) -tè pūā, gūa sūe ē.
\( \text{that} \) -CL plate I wash Modal PRT
\( \text{one} \)

"(That) plate, (it was) 'I (who) washed it.'"  
\( \text{*A} \)

As it is, (13) is a topic-comment structure with its focus on the action of washing the plate whereas (14) focuses on the Agent.

Other object initial constructions have pronominal forms in the object position, as in (15):

15. \( \text{Hit} \) -lē ān̂nā, āh Pōh liām ı.
\( \text{that} \) -CL child Ah Poh pinch 3p.p
\( \text{one} \)

"(That) child, Ah Poh pinched him."  
\( \text{*A} \)
Example (15) cannot take an indefinite determiner cít-le 'one-CL'; if it does it will be ungrammatical. This shows that it is informationally constrained.

3.3 The ka-Construction

The type of sentence we will examine in this section is also informationally conditioned. It is used as imperative constructions such as (16):

16. \[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hit} & \quad \text{-tè \ iq, Kã-ī giá - câu.} \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{-CL chair PTM-3p.p take - run} \\
\text{cít} & \quad \text{one}
\end{align*}
\]

"{That} chair, take it away."

We are concerned with the initial noun phrase which is both the logical and grammatical object and which is also the topic in (16). The object noun phrase in the ka-construction must be definite. The speaker establishes a common ground with his addressee before going on with the next thing he wants to say about the topic. If the initial noun phrase is not given information, the sentence is ungrammatical. Sentences (17) and (18) are further examples similar to (16):

17. \[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hit} & \quad \text{-phí thiq - pán, tăng - ì khâm tǐ teng-bìn.} \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{- CL steel - plate PTM - 3p.p cover at up -face} \\
\text{cít} & \quad \text{one}
\end{align*}
\]

"{That} piece of steel plate, take it and cover the top."
18. \[ \text{Hit} \] -10 th\text{t} - s\text{ú}a, l\text{ú}-l\text{áng h\text{k}i} \ k\text{ã}-\text{t} \ \\
\text{that} -\text{CL} \ steel-thread \ you\text{-person go} \ PTM-3p.p \ \\
\text{*CIt} \ \\
\text{one} \ \\
\text{thi\text{p}-thi\text{p}} \ la. \ \\
\text{stack-stack} \ PRT \ \\
"\{That\} type of steel cables, you people go and stack \ \\
\text{*A} \ \\
\text{them up.}" (War tape 1.14) \\

In both (17) and (18), as in (16), the initial object noun phrases function as topics.

The ka-construction is a marked structure and it is used when a speaker wants to emphasize the object. An unmarked structure, one without the pre-transitive marker ka, is exemplified in (19):

19. \[ \text{Hit} \] - t\text{è} i\text{q}, gi\text{á}-c\text{â}u. \ \\
\text{that} -\text{CL} \ chair \ carry-run \ \\
"That chair, carry (it) away."

where no particular emphasis is placed on the object noun phrase, as there is in (16) with the pre-transitive marker ka. Thus the reason for using the ka-construction is to place emphasis on the object. In the marked position, the object NP must always precede the class of transitive verbs it can occur with. These seem to be resultative verbs, as sentence (20) below shows: 5
In certain situations, when the topic is not specified, as shown in (21):

\[ 21. \quad \emptyset \quad kā-hít-tè \quad îq \quad giā-câû. \]

PTM -that -CL chair take-run

"Take that chair away."

the full object NP must occur with the pre-transitive marker kā. Again, for structures like (21), the object must be definite, though it is not the topic.

### 3.4 Passives

Passive constructions are similar to the e- , non-e-, and kā-constructions in that the initial noun phrases are also logical objects, but they are different in that the logical objects do not correspond to grammatical objects as is the case for the first three constructions. It does seem possible for initial noun phrases of passives to be new information, that is, they can be indefinite
specifics, as shown in (22):

   One - CL person give marble-head hit-Resultative morpheme

"A man was hit by a stone."

However, such occurrences are rare in natural discourse. The fact that they do occur at all suggests that passives could have been topic-comment constructions at one stage, but now the informational constraints have been weakened.

The occurrence of indefinite specifics in the initial noun phrases of passives contrasts with their impossibility in the e-, non-e-, and ka-constructions which at first sight seem parallel with passives. In all four, the initial noun phrases are logical objects. With the e-, non-e-, and ka-constructions, the initial noun phrases are informationally conditioned, whereas in the passives, they are, if anything, semantically conditioned--they must be Patients.

The three types of passives share a number of features. First the initial noun phrase must be the Patient, capable of receiving some action done to it. Secondly there must be an Agent, which can be fully specified, partially specified, or unspecified; thirdly, the verb must be a transitive verb involving adversative action.

The first type is the hò- passive (Chen 1971; Cheng 1974) which has an obligatory Agent that can be fully specified, as in (23):
23. Āh Tōng ho· Āh Pōh pha̯q.
Ah Tong give Ah Poh beat

"Ah Tong was beaten by Ah Poh."

or with an Agent that is partially specified, as in the morpheme láng 'someone' as in (24):

24. Āh Tōng ho· láng pha̯q.
Ah Tong give someone beat

"Ah Tong was beaten by someone."

(See Appendix B (13)-(15) for further examples of ho·-passives.)

Besides the ho·-passives, there is also the khi-passives where the Agent is optional, as shown in (25):

Chicken-offspring go (cat) bite-die PRT

"The chicken got killed (by the cat)."

(See Appendix B (16)-(18) for further examples of khi-passives.)

The third type of passives is one with an unspecified Agent--the tiāq-passives, as exemplified in (26):
26. Āh Tōng tióq phàq. Ah Tong strike beat

"Āh Tong got beaten."

For the passive structure, we posit an underlying structure such as (27):

![Diagram of structure]

Structure (27) claims that passives are complex structures having two predicates. One predicate is in the higher sentence $S'$ and the other is in the lower sentence $S''$. We are interested in the status of the NP immediately dominated by $S'$. In this underlying structure, the logical object of a passive structure is its grammatical subject, not the topic. We will discuss this issue in the following section.

3.4.1 Are Initial NPs in Passives Topics?

In passives, the somewhat similar feature of the logical object
being in initial position makes one wonder if it is also the topic, as is the case in the e-, non-e-, and ka-constructions.

Passives are significantly different from surface topic-comment constructions since the subjects of passives can be indefinite. To prove our claim, we will examine the initial noun phrases in the passives and present the two criteria, namely (1) Definiteness and (2) Patient role that aid in identifying passive sentences.

To begin with, we will look at a sentence like (28):

(28. \(\text{Cit} \text{-tæng chìa hò. chăt thaul.} \)
\(\text{One} \text{-CL car let/give thief steal} \)
\(\text{That} \)

"(A \text{one-CL car,} car was stolen by a thief."
\(\text{That} \)

In sentence (28), the initial noun phrase can either be \(\text{Cit-tæng chìa} \) 'one-CL car', an indefinite specific noun phrase, or \(\text{hit-tæng chìa} \) 'that-CL car', a definite noun phrase. Since indefinite specific noun phrases cannot be topics, the initial noun phrase of the passive structure (28) with \(\text{Cit-tæng} \) 'one-CL', the indefinite specific noun phrase, cannot be the topic. The same is true of the khì passive, as in (29):

(29. \(\text{Cit} \text{-ciq nau khî (láng) thʊŋ-tiŋq kûn - cûi.} \)
\(\text{One} \text{-CL cat go (person) scald-boiled-water} \)
\(\text{That} \)

"(A \text{cat was scalded (by someone).}"
\(\text{That} \)
and the tioq passive such as (30):

30. \{ Cit \} -lé lâng tioq sût.  
    \{ Hît \} -CL person strike whip  
    \{ That \} 

"(A \{ That \} person got whipped."

Our test of definiteness on the initial noun phrases of passives shows that these noun phrases are not topics. This shows that the initial noun phrases of passives are not constrained informationally. However, they are semantically constrained, since they must all be Patients.

In a passive construction, the grammatical subject in sentence initial position has to be the Patient, whereas in a topic-comment construction, the noun phrase as the topic does not have to be the Patient. In sentence (31):

31. Āh Pôh \{ hû \} Āh Bêng \{ mà. \}  
Ah Poh give Ah Beng scold  
\{ khi \} \{ khî \} \{ smn̂g \} \{ ask \}  

"Ah Poh was \{ scolded \} by Ah Beng."

and in (32):

32. Āh Pôh \{ tioq \} \{ mà. \}  
Ah Poh strike \{ smn̂g \}  

"Ah Poh was \{ scolded \} ."
the logical object of the verb mà 'scold' is semantically the Patient, the one who is adversely affected by the activity referred to by the lower verb. However, the direct object of mòg 'ask' is not a Patient, and because it is not the Patient, it cannot participate in a passive construction. In fact, the passive is not possible, as shown in (31) and (32) above.

On the other hand, in a topic-comment construction, the topic is not restricted to Patients. It could be the Patient, as shown in (33):

33. \[ \begin{align*} 
\text{That} & \quad \text{-CL tiger uncle hit-die Modal PRT} \\
\text{One} & \quad \end{align*} \]

"That tiger, (it was) uncle (who) killed it."

where the verb phâq-sì 'kill' requires a Patient.

However, it need not be the Patient, if a verb that does not require a Patient is used, as in the verb mòg 'ask' in (34):

34. Ah Pòh, Ah Beng mòg tì.

"Ah Poh, Ah Beng asked her."

From the topic-comment structures (33) and (34) we see that the topic is not restricted to the Patient role, whereas in passives like (31) and (32), the subject must be the Patient.
3.5 Summary

We have examined four types of sentences which have logical objects in sentence initial position. With the exception of passives, their logical objects also correspond to grammatical objects. We also found that the three that have grammatical objects in sentence initial position are informationally constrained, requiring these objects to be definite. They are topics. However, with passives, the initial noun phrases are not informationally restricted. This shows that information structure is significant in Hokkien, as it conditions the e-, non-e-, and ka-constructions but not the passives. We suspect that passives may have been informationally constrained at one stage but those constraints have lost their conditioning strength, giving way to semantic ones.⁵
Notes: Chapter III

1 Ka is interchangeable with two other forms: tang and kang. We refer to these forms as pre-transitive markers (PTM) as they occur with objects before transitive verbs.

2 Another pre-transitive marker distinct from the rest is cio'ng. Our data shows that this marker is used in formal and polite situations (e.g. in sermons). However, its use is more restricted than the other three forms—being restricted to a structure represented by (a):

   a. ìn ciō·ng cít-lé tāi-cí khīg tī sīm - lāi.
       They PTM this-CL matter keep at heart-inside

   "They kept this matter in their hearts."

(For further examples of ciō·ng constructions, see Appendix B, (27)-(30).) We have not included cio'ng constructions in the main body of the discussion because they are not object-initial ones. However, it is interesting to note here that the object which it occurs with is always definite in actual speech. Sentences in which the cio'ng object is indefinite specific sounds stilted but not all speakers reject it. Further investigation is needed in this case.

3 Sometimes variant forms like than and than-tiōg 'gain' are used but occurrences are rare. In fact, they might throw further light on passives in Hokkien if the present data is expanded.

4 See Appendix A for a discussion of passives and an analysis of the forms ho', khī, and tiōg.

5 Professor Roderick Jacobs (personal communication).
CHAPTER IV
MOOD CONTRAST IN HOKKIEN

4.0 Introduction

Besides the major division of Topic and Comment in Hokkien which shows the importance of such structures in information structuring, there is an equally important distinction in sentence type, one that we shall, following Jacobs (1981), refer to as sentence mood. Hokkien sentences fall neatly into one or the other of two major mood types—(1) Indicatives and (2) Injunctives.

4.1 The Indicative/Injunctive Dichotomy

In this chapter, we will examine the Indicative/Injunctive dichotomy and argue, with supporting data from embedded sentences, that it is a grammatically valid distinction. Our interest is focused on two types of sentences. The first type, the Indicative mood sentences, refers to embedded sentences that are statements and assertions¹ (i.e. declaratives), as in (1):

1. Āh Pōh sīō·ng-sīn (kā·ng) Āh Bēng ū lâu-sīt.
   Ah Poh believe that Ah Beng have honest

   "Ah Poh believes (that) Ah Beng is honest."

and questions,² as in (2):

   2. Āh Pōh sīō·ng-sīn (kā·ng) Āh Bēng ū lâu-sīt?
      Ah Poh believe that Ah Beng have honest?

   "Ah Poh believes (that) Ah Beng is honest?"
2. Āh Pōh āi cāi (khūā) āh Bēng ū lāu-sīt bō.
   "Ah Poh like know see Ah Beng have honest no"

   "Ah Poh wants to know if Ah Beng is honest."

both of which involve truth propositions in the embedded structures.³

The Injunctive mood sentences are sentences that perform such
speech act functions as orders, commands, suggestions, pleas, invita-
tions, promises, etc. An Injunctive typically involves an activity to
be carried out at a time subsequent to the time of speech. It involves
the speaker imposing upon himself or upon someone else the obligation
to carry out an action. An example of an embedded Injunctive is (3)
below: ⁴

3. Āh Pōh kīā āh Bēng chūt-khī.
   Ah Poh ordered Ah Beng exit-go
   "Ah Poh ordered Ah Beng to leave."

in which the subject of the matrix clause (Āh Pōh) orders another
person (Āh Bēng) to leave. The leaving will take place at a time sub-
sequent to the time of speech and it is the referent of the matrix
subject that imposes on Āh Bēng the obligation to leave. The three
examples given so far are complex sentences containing either embedded
Indicatives or embedded Injunctives. We will examine sentence embed-
ding, for it reveals some interesting phenomena which support our claim
for the Indicative/Injunctive dichotomy. But before we proceed to the
properties distinguishing Indicatives from Injunctives, we will look at
the higher predicates that allow the embedding of the two types of sentences—Indicative and Injunctive.

4.1.1 Higher Predicates

Since we will be dealing with embedded structures in this chapter, it is appropriate for us to take a look at the higher predicates that embed Indicative and Injunctive clauses. We shall examine the different classes of predicates that are relevant to our purposes. Some predicates are Indicative-embedding, some are Injunctive-embedding, and some are neither. The predicates that embed Indicative sentences are mainly cognitive and information-seeking ones while those that embed Injunctive sentences are impositive ones.5

In the case of the latter, we will group them according to the referent of the embedded subject, whether it is coreferential with the matrix subject or the matrix object. We will call the first group—the embedding predicates having coreferential subjects in the higher and lower clauses—subject-controlled predicates and the second group—where the higher object and the lower subject are coreferential—object-controlled predicates. Table I below lists some Injunctive-embedding predicates belonging to each of the groups:
Injunctive-Embedding Predicates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject-controlled</th>
<th>Object-controlled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tâp-ìn 'promise'</td>
<td>kiò 'call/order'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phâq-sǹg 'plan'</td>
<td>cî-hûi 'command'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûat-tîng 'decide'</td>
<td>tiâm-tâ 'persuade'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûat-ì 'intend'</td>
<td>chîng-kiú 'beg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cîng-cièk 'struggle'</td>
<td>bîn-lè 'convince'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>piâk 'force'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

By "control", we refer not merely to the exclusively syntactic notion discussed in Chomsky (1981), in which one noun phrase determines the reference of the abstract pronominal element PRO in an embedded structure as being coreferential with it, but also a semantic notion of the referent of the matrix subject noun phrase imposing upon himself or on someone else the obligation to carry out a volitional action expressed in the embedded clause. That this is not merely a semantic distinction is clear from the fact that the semantic distinction corresponds to a distinction in form, as shown in (4):

4.  Ăh Bêng phâq-sǹg { bôq will kî. go
    Ah Beng plan
    { #tiôq should

"Ah Beng planned { to go."
    { #should
where the embedded Injunctive clause indicates a future occurrence with the modal \( \text{bəq} \) 'will (volition)' which is linked to the notion of the speaker imposing an obligation on himself. Compare (4) with (5):

5. \[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Ah Beng } \text{biên-lè} \quad \text{Ah Poh } \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{tiəq} \\
\text{#bəq}
\end{array} \right. \\
\text{khỉ.}
\end{array} \]

"Ah Beng convinced Ah Poh \{ should \} go \{ \text{will} \}"

When the referent of the matrix subject imposes an obligation on someone else, the modal \( \text{tiəq} \) 'should/must' is used instead of \( \text{bəq} \) 'will'.

A subject-controlled predicate such as \( \text{kुat-tìng} \) 'decide' in sentence (6):

6. \[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Ah Beng } \text{kụat-tìng} \quad \text{bəq} \quad \text{khūi} \quad \text{mông.}
\end{array} \]

"Ah Beng decided to open the door."

is a predicate not requiring an object and embedding an Injunctive clause \( \text{khūi mông} \) 'open (the) door'. The referent of the matrix subject \( \text{Ah Beng} \) imposes on himself the obligation to carry out the action of opening the door that is stated in the embedded Injunctive. Hence our use of the term "subject-controlled" refers to the referent of the matrix subject \( \text{Ah Beng} \) imposing on himself the obligation to carry out the action referred to in the embedded clause.

On the other hand, there are some higher predicates requiring an object and which also require that the referent of the matrix subject
impose an obligation on someone else to carry out the activity contained in the embedded Injunctive. For example, in sentence (7):

7. Āh Bēng chîng-kiū Āh Pōh tiōq lîn - cûe.
   Ah Beng beg Ah Poh must identify-sin

"Ah Beng begged Ah Poh to confess (her) sins."

the higher predicate chîng-kiū 'beg' takes an object, namely Āh Pōh. The referent of the matrix subject imposes upon the referent of the object Āh Pōh the obligation to confess, as stated in the embedded Injunctive. The referent of the higher object carries out the action referred to in the embedded clause. The higher predicate, chîng-kiū 'beg', does not take an embedded Indicative clause, as proved by sentence (8) below which is ungrammatical:

8. Āh Bēng chîng-kiū Āh Pōh cûn sūi.
   Ah Beng beg Ah Poh very beautiful

"Ah Beng begged that Ah Poh be beautiful."

Indicative-embedding predicates behave differently from the Injunctive-embedding ones. The Indicative-embedding predicates are cognitive predicates such as: sîng-sîn 'believe', sîu 'think', thiā 'hear', kō-ŋ 'say', liâng 'shout', and information-seeking ones such as: mû 'ask', châ 'investigate', which are not as restricted as the Injunctive-embedding predicates. These take the complementizers kō-ŋ 'say' and khûa 'see', as exemplified in (9) for the former:
9. "Ah Beng thinks (that) Ah Poh is very honest."

and in (10) for the latter:

10. "Ah Beng asks if Ah Poh is beautiful."

As indicated by the bracketings in (9) and (10), the complementizers к foes 'say' and кхуа 'see' are optional. It is interesting to note that it is only the embedded Indicative clauses that take the complementizers к foes 'say' and кхуа 'see'—a property of embedded Indicatives not shared by embedded Injunctives. Having looked briefly at the embedding predicates, we will now turn our attention to the properties peculiar to Indicative and Injunctive clauses.

4.1.2 Embedded Subject Noun Phrases

When Indicatives and Injunctives are embedded, a number of interesting phenomena come into the picture. These phenomena are significant, as they differentiate the two types of sentence moods. In this section, we will examine the first of a number of properties—the subject noun phrase of Indicative and Injunctive clauses—and compare its status in these clauses when they are embedded in a higher clause. It is a property of embedded Injunctives that they are subjectless, a property that is in sharp contrast to embedded Indicatives which always
take a subject. In conjunction with this, we will look at the interaction of anaphora with the two sentence moods. The complex sentence (11) below contains an embedded injunctive clause:

11. Āh Beng טעפ-ין \{Ø \}  booq khî.
Ah Beng promise \{*i \} will go

"Ah Beng promised \{Ø \} to go."

which has a tree representation (12):

12. 

\[ S \]
\[ NP:x \]
\[ S' \]
\[ NP \]
\[ Pred. P \]
\[ Pred \]
\[ NP \]
\[ S'' \]
\[ NP \]
\[ Pred. P \]

where we see that both the matrix and embedded subjects are coreferential. The lower one is controlled by the higher one, having a matrix predicate that is subject-controlled.

In contrast to the embedded injunctive as shown in (11) and (12), we have the embedded indicative sentence (13):
13. Āh Beng siō-ng-sīn {Āh Pōh} cīn ū lāu-sīt.
Ah Beng believe {#Ø} very have honest

"Ah Beng believed {Ah Poh} is very honest."

Sentence (13) has a tree structure (14):

Unlike the embedded Injunctive in (11) which is subjectless, the embedded Indicative shown as $S''$ in (14) must have a subject noun phrase Āh Pōh. It cannot be left out no matter what. Even when it is the topic of the sentence, and has to appear in the sentence initial position, a pronoun is there in the embedded sentence as shown in (15):
The topic noun phrase, Ah Poh binds the NP in S"; the full noun phrase cannot appear in this position. Instead the third person singular pronoun ʼi has to be used, otherwise the ungrammatical sentence (16) will be the result:

16. "Ah Poh, Ah Beng believes very honest."
coreferential with the subject of the embedded Injunctive clause and is
the one to carry out the action stated in the embedded clause. An
example of an object-controlled predicate is \textit{piâk 'force'} used in sen-
tence (17):

17. Āh Bêng piâk Āh Pôh \{∅ \} tiōq khî.
    Ah Beng force Ah Poh \{*i \} must go
    "Ah Beng forced Ah Poh \{∅ \} to go."

which has a tree structure (18):

In (18), the referent of the object Āh Pôh is the one to carry out the
action stated in \textit{S''}. It is coreferential with the subject NP in \textit{S''}. However, because \textit{S''} is an embedded Injunctive, it is consistently a
subjectless structure like the Injunctive clause embedded under a
subject-controlled higher predicate, as shown in tree structure (12),
repeated here as (19):
Comparing the two structures (18) and (19), we note that the sets of coreferential noun phrases in each are not identical. In (18), the embedded subject is coreferential with the higher object, whereas in (19) it is coreferential with the higher subject which in this case also functions as the topic of the sentence. However, both structures contain embedded Injunctives, and although the selection of the higher predicate varies, (18) having an object-controlled predicate and (19) a subject-controlled one, the embedded clauses in each reveal a similarity between them—they are both subjectless. The absence of the subject noun phrase in the embedded clause is a property of embedded Injunctives, as opposed to embedded Indicatives which always take a subject.

As shown in (19), the matrix subject noun phrase, Āh Beng, is coreferential with the embedded subject Noun phrase but the latter is not realized lexically. One way of explaining this phenomenon is to treat the embedded Injunctive clause as subjectless which we have done.
Another way is to posit a lexical form in its deep structure and delete it to derive the surface structure (11). Our reason for adopting the subjectless formulation is that it is simpler, in the sense that we can eliminate the additional transformational rule of EQUI NP deletion which we will discuss in the following section.

4.1.2.1 Zero Pronoun Subjects versus Subjectless Injunctive Clauses

For the purpose of the discussion, we will assume that zero pronoun subjects of Injunctives occur as a result of deletion of the embedded subject noun phrase, that is, through the application of EQUI NP deletion—henceforth EQUI. The application of EQUI may either be controlled by the matrix subject or the matrix object. The embedded subject is deleted if it is coreferential with the matrix subject or the matrix object. There are thus two domains in which EQUI applies and these will be discussed here.

If the deletion is controlled by the matrix subject, EQUI is subject-triggered. Subject-triggered EQUI, as the name implies, is the deletion of the embedded subject noun phrase when it is coreferential with the matrix subject; as shown in (20) below, the lexical form "Ah Beng" is in the deep structure:
Ah Beng promised to go.

Similarly, object-triggered EQUI deletes the subject of the embedded clause when it is coreferential with the object in the matrix.
clause, such as is shown in (22) below:

```
22.  
NP:x  
|     
|     
NP | Pred. P  
|     
|     
|     
|     
NP | Pred | NP_i 
|     |      |
| S'  | NP   | S''  
|     |     |      
|     |     |      
| Ah Beng | piâk | Ah Sù | Ah Sù | tiôq khi | must go
```

In (22), the matrix object Ah Sù is coreferential with the embedded subject. Since they are coreferential, EQUI applies to delete the lower subject, giving a surface structure represented in the tree diagram (23):

```
23.  
NP:x  
|     
|     
NP | Pred. P  
|     
|     
|     
|     
NP | Pred | NP_i 
|     |      |
| S'  | NP   | S''  
|     |     |      
|     |     |      
| Ah Beng | piâk | Ah Sù | Ø   | tiôq khi | must go
```

"Ah Beng forced Ah Su to go."
The rule of EQUI is a plausible rule to posit to account for the absence of a subject in the surface structure of embedded Injunctives.

The absence of a subject in an embedded Injunctive clause distinguishes it from an embedded Indicative clause, which always has a subject. Nor is the subject noun phrase of an embedded clause the only criteria for the contrast in sentence moods. The predicate constituent also reveals a number of contrasts, which will be examined in the following sections, beginning with one on predicate types of stative and non-stative verbs.

4.1.3 Predicate Types

In this section, we will present data to show that the stative/non-stative verb type contrast supports our claim of the two sentence moods—Indicatives and Injunctives. Embedded Indicatives take both stative and non-stative (i.e. action) verbs, while Injunctives can take only non-stative ones. For instance, in sentence (24), which has embedded Indicatives:

24. Āh Sū sūī Āh Bēŋg { sūī. beautiful
    Ah Su think Ah Beng {câu cŏn khạăi. run very fast}
    "Ah Su thinks Ah Beng {is beautiful.}" run sān. fast.

the lower verb can be either stative (sūī 'beautiful') or non-stative (câu 'run').
While there is no restriction regarding the use of verb types in Indicative clauses that are embedded, only non-statives can occur in embedded Injunctives. In this respect, (25) below is ungrammatical as it has a stative verb *sùi 'beautiful' in its complement clause:

25. *Ah Su̍t kio̍t Ah Bêng tiōq sùi.
    asks must beautiful

    "Ah Su ordered Ah Beng to be beautiful."

However, a non-stative verb *cau 'run' is acceptable, as in (26):

26. Ah Su̍t kio̍t Ah Bêng cau khua-ku̍hái.
    Ah Su asks Ah Beng run fast-fast

    "Ah Su ordered Ah Beng to run fast."

The verbs in embedded Injunctives can only refer to actions, and from the foregoing examples, we see that Injunctives can take only non-stative verbs whereas Indicatives take both statives and non-statives. Therefore the stative/non-stative distinction serves to distinguish Indicatives from Injunctives in Hokkien.

4.1.4 Aspect

The Indicative/Injunctive mood contrast is further supported by the phenomenon of aspect. Indicative mood sentences, (that is, declarative or interrogative clauses), are free to take whatever aspectual markings their verbs allow, aspect markers like *liâu indicating completed activity (CPLTV), and *tāq progressive activity (PRGSV),
while Injunctive mood sentences cannot take either of these markings. An embedded Indicative such as that contained in (27):

27. Āh Pōh thī̂a kōng Āh Bēng līp-lāi liāu.
    Ah Poh hear say Ah Beng enter-come CPLTV
    "Ah Poh heard that Ah Beng has entered."

has the completive aspectual marker liāu in post-verb position. The activity līp-lāi 'come in' has already taken place at the time of speech. Notice how the completive aspect marker cannot be used in an embedded Injunctive clause such as (28):

28. Āh Pōh piāk Āh Bēng tiōq līp-lāi { Ø }.
    force must enter-come { liāu }
    "Ah Poh forced Ah Beng { to enter }.
    { has entered }"

In (28), the embedded Injunctive līp-lāi 'enter-come' is a clear Injunctive, even though it is embedded. The completive aspect marker renders (28) unacceptable because Injunctives are future-oriented and the completive aspect marker liāu denotes a past activity.

Not only is the completive aspect marker liāu incompatible with embedded injunctives as shown in (28); the progressive aspect marker is equally incompatible, as shown in (29):
The embedded Injunctive in (29) is acceptable with the future-oriented and intentional modal bôŋ 'will' but not with the progressive aspect marker têq. On the other hand, the progressive aspect marker têq can occur with embedded Indicatives, such as is shown in (30):

The progressive marker in (30) denotes an activity that is possibly being carried out at the time to which the speech refers. Thus, when we compare (30) with (29), particularly in the use of the progressive aspect marker têq in both these examples, we cannot disregard the clear distinction made. Sentence (30), with an embedded Indicative clause, takes the progressive aspect marker while (29), which has an embedded Injunctive, rejects it. It is clear from the foregoing examples that the aspectual markings liâu (CPLTV) and têq (PRGSV) are markings that go with embedded Indicatives, setting them apart from embedded Injunctives which do not take either of them.
If the Indicative/Injunctive mood contrast is not there, it should be possible to use both aspectual markings for embedded Injunctives as well. But, as we have just seen, this is not possible at all, thus providing us with a strong argument for our claim that the Indicative/Injunctive sentence mood dichotomy is syntactically motivated for Hokkien. The aspectual contrast discussed serve to distinguish Indicatives from Injunctives.

4.1.5 Negation

The use of negation in embedded Injunctives and Indicatives is also significant. We will look at its interaction with the two sentence moods we have posited for Hokkien.

As Injunctives take only non-stative verbs, as shown in 4.1.3, we will examine the interaction of negation with the two sentence moods in relation to non-stative verbs only. Differences in the use of negation markers in Indicative and Injunctive clauses distinguish the two sentence moods. The following negative forms occur in Indicative clauses: bue-sāi 'must not', m-thāng 'don't', m-biān 'don't have to', bō 'did not', and m 'will not/refuse to', as shown in (31):
31.  Āh Pōh  siōng-sîn Āh Bêng  bûe-sài  câu.  
Ah Poh  believe  Ah Beng  must not  run
  m-thâng  should not
  m-biân  don't have to
  bó  did not
  m  will not

"Ah Poh believes Ah Beng (must not) run."

However, for embedded Injunctives, only the first three on our list can occur, namely, bûe-sài 'must not', m-thâng 'do not', and m-biân 'don't have to'. The last two, bó 'did not' and m 'will not', cannot occur with embedded Injunctives, as shown in (32):

32.  Āh Pōh  kiô  Āh Bêng  bûe-sài  câu.  
Ah Poh  call  Ah Beng  must not  run
  m-thâng  should not
  m-biân  don't have to
  bó  did not
  m  will not

"Ah Poh ordered Ah Beng (must not) run."

However, for embedded Injunctives, only the first three on our list can occur, namely, bûe-sài 'must not', m-thâng 'do not', and m-biân 'don't have to'. The last two, bó 'did not' and m 'will not', cannot occur with embedded Injunctives, as shown in (32):
The negative forms būe-sâi 'must not', m-thăng 'do not', and m-biêrn 'don't have to' are preventive negatives. By "preventive" we mean that they are used to forbid or prevent someone from carrying out an activity. For instance, if they are used to negate a non-stative verb like kô·ng-ùa 'speak word', as in (33):

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Ah Pôh} & \text{chêng-kiú} & \text{Ah Beng} & \text{būe-sâi} \\
\text{Ah Poh} & \text{beg} & \text{Ah Beng} & \text{must not} \\
\text{m-thăng} & \text{should not} \\
\text{m-biêrn} & \text{don't have to} \\
\end{array}
\]

"Ah Poh begged Ah Beng not to talk."

the negative markers serve as the signal to the addressee not to carry out the activity, which in this case is kô·ng-ùa 'talk'. On the other hand, the negative markers bô 'did not' and m 'will not' negate situations that have already transpired at the time of speech. For instance a sentence such as (34):

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Ah Pôh} & \text{sìú} & \text{Ah Beng} & \text{bô} \\
\text{Ah Poh} & \text{think} & \text{Ah Beng} & \text{did not} \\
\end{array}
\]

"Ah Poh thinks Ah Beng did not go."

has an embedded Indicative āh Beng bô khì 'Ah Beng did not go', where the activity or decision of not going has already been realized at the time of speech. However, an embedded Injunctive expresses an activity that is to take place at a time subsequent to the time of speech.
Therefore, it needs a preventive negative marker like būe-sāi 'must not', m-thāng 'do not', and m-biēn 'don't have to' instead of bó 'did not', which is not grammatical, as seen in (35):

35. *Ah Pōh kīo Āh Bēng bó khī.
    Ah Poh ask Ah Beng no go

    *Ah Poh ordered Ah Beng did not go."

or m 'will not' as seen in (36):

36. *Ah Pōh kīo Āh Bēng m khī.
    Ah Poh ask Ah Beng will not go

    *Ah Poh ordered Ah Beng will not go."

In the case of the negative marker m 'will not', the refusal to eat expressed in (37):

37. Āh Bēng m ciāq.
    Ah Beng will not eat

    "Ah Beng will not eat."

is in the Indicative mood. The refusal to eat had already taken place at the time of speech. Hence m 'will not' (refuse to) is acceptable in an embedded Indicative structure like (38):

38. Ah Pōh siō-ng-sīn Āh Bēng m ciāq.
    Ah Poh believe Ah Beng will not eat

    "Ah Poh believes Ah Beng will not eat."
but not acceptable in an embedded injunctive like (39):

39. *Ah Poh kiō Ah Beng m ciāq.
    Ah Poh call Ah Beng will not eat

    *"Ah Poh ordered Ah Beng will not eat."

for the same reason that the negative marker bó 'did not' has; that is that an activity that is completed takes the negative markers that go with completed activities. And since one of the properties of injunctives is that they are future-oriented—-that the activity expressed in an embedded injunctive clause has to take place after the time of speech—only preventive negatives are allowed.

4.1.6 Time Reference

The time reference for injunctive embedded clauses is always future with respect to the time of utterance, a type of "dependent future", Jacobs (1981) calls it. In this respect, a sentence like (40):

40. Āh Pōh phāq-sāng { bōq } khī būe chài.
    Ah Poh plan { will } go buy vegetables

    "Ah Poh planned { to } buy vegetables."

has an embedded injunctive clause khī būe chài 'go buy vegetables' which contains an activity that is yet to be effected at the time of speech. The future reference is indicated by the modal bōq 'will/
intend to'. As shown in (40), the future modal ucción 'will/intend to', when left out of the construction, renders the embedded Injunctive ungrammatical. Equally ungrammatical is the embedded Injunctive with the completive aspect marker forced onto it, as in (41):

41.  *

Ah Poh kuat-tuan khi liâu.
Ah Poh decide go CPLTV

"Ah Poh decided has gone."

showing yet once again the need to have, for embedded Injunctives, a time reference that is subsequent to the time of utterance.

In contrast to this, embedded Indicatives are free with respect to time reference for they are not restricted to future time as Injunctives are. They could refer to past activities as in (42):

42.  Āh Pōh siō-ng-sīn Āh Beng būe chāi liâu.
Ah Poh believe Ah Beng buy vegetables CPLTV

"Ah Poh believe Ah Beng has bought vegetables."

where the activity of shopping for vegetables is an activity that has been carried out or it could have a time reference that is future, as in (43):

43.  Āh Pōh siō-ng-sīn Āh Beng bōq būe chāi.
Ah Poh believe Ah Beng will buy vegetables

"Ah Poh believes Ah Beng will buy vegetables."
where the future reference is indicated by the modal bôq 'will/intend to', all of which show that they are not restricted in their time reference as the embedded injunctives are.

4.1.7 Complementizers

Finally, the fact that lexical complementizers introduce embedded indicatives but not injunctives is yet another property of the indicative/injunctive mood distinction. Embedded declaratives whose matrix predicates are cognitive in nature take the complementizer kô·ng 'say', while embedded interrogatives whose matrix predicates are information-seeking take the complementizer khûà 'see'. Examples (44) and (45) below show the structures involved:

44. Ah Su sîo·ng-sîn (kô·ng) Ah Beng bôq khî.
    Ah Su believe { say } Ah Beng will go
    *khûà see

"Ah Su believes { that } Ah Beng will go."
    { *if }

45. Ah Su mîng (khûà) Ah Beng bôq lâi bô.
    Ah Su ask { see } Ah Beng will come no
    *kô·ng say

"Ah Su asks { if } Ah Beng is coming."
    { *that }

Sentence (46) below has an indicative clause with the optional complementizer kô·ng 'say':
46. Āh Sū siō-ng-sìn (kô·ng) Āh Bêng bôq khî.
     Ah Su believe say Ah Beng will go
     "Ah Su believes (that) Ah Beng will go."

and sentence (47) shows the embedded interrogative introduced by the complementizer khûâ 'see':

47. Āh Sū mn̄g khûâ i bôq lái bó.
     Ah Su ask see he will come no
     "Ah Su asks if he will be coming."

On the other hand, the Injunctive structures (48) and (49) below take neither of these complementizers:

48. Āh Sù kуют-i (*kô·ng) bôq lái.  
     Ah Su intend (*say) will come 
     (*khûâ see)
     "Ah Su intended (*that) to come."

49. Āh Sù chîng-kiû í (*kô·ng) tîôq lái.  
     Ah Su beg he (*say) must come 
     (*khûâ see)
     "Ah Su begged him (*that) to come."

4.2 Main Clause Counterparts

Except for the contrast in the use of complementizers in embedded
Indicatives and Injunctives, which is understandable since complemen-
tizers show up where there is sentence embedding, the same contrasts
are also seen in main clauses. Injunctives, unlike Indicatives, cannot
have overt subjects. An Indicative main clause like (50):

50. Āh Sù līp-lái liāu.
    Ah Su enter-come (CPLTV)

"Ah Su has come in."

may have an overt subject Āh Sù, or in situations where the context
makes it clear that Āh Sù is the subject, the overt subject may not
be explicit, as shown in (51):

51. līp-lái liāu.
    enter-come (CPLTV)

"(She) has come in."

where the addressee knows the līp-lái liāu 'has come in' is a comment
made about a particular referent, Āh Sù. However, unlike Indicatives,
Injunctive main clauses always lack overt subjects:

52. \[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset \\
\text{Lù} \\
\text{you}
\end{align*}
\]

līp-lái (lài).
enter-come

"\text{Ø} come in!"

although a vocative noun phrase coreferential with the understood
subject is allowed:
53. Āh Pōh, līp-lāi!
    Ah Poh enter-come

    "Ah Poh, come in!"

However, the vocative Āh Pōh in (53) does not function as the subject of the Injunctive clause.

Injunctive main clauses cannot have stative predicates:

54. *Sû! beautiful
    *"Be beautiful!"

55. Cāu khùai-khùai! run fast-fast
    "Run fast!"

while Indicatives can:

56. Āh Sù kū-câ cǐn khiomanip-sì.
    Ah Su old-early very ugly

    "Ah Su used to be ugly."

57. Āh Sù ē cāu khùai.
    Ah Su can run fast

    "Ah Su can run fast."

Nor can Injunctives take the aspectual markers liāu (CPLTV):
58. Câu khùai-khùai \{ \text{*liàu!} \} \\
run fast-fast \{ CPLTV \} \\
"\{ *Has \} run fast!" \\
\{ \emptyset \} run fast!

and teq, the progressive aspect marker:

59. \{ \text{*Teq} \} câu khùai-khùai! \\
\{ (PRGSV) \} run fast-fast \\
"\{ *Is running \} fast!" \\
Run fast!

The negative markers bo 'did not' and m 'will not/refused to' cannot occur with Injunctives:

60. \{ \text{*m} \} ciàq png! \\
\{ \text{*bo} \} eat rice \\
\{ \text{did not} \} \\
\{ \emptyset \} \\
"\{ *Will not \} eat rice!" \\
\{ *Did not \} eat rice!

while they could, with Indicatives:
Finally, like embedded Injunctives, the time reference in injunctive main clauses is also subsequent to the time of utterance.

4.3 Summary

In the preceding sections, we have seen how the contrast between the Indicative and Injunctive sentence moods is a valid one for Hokkien, as the two moods are distinctly differentiated. Real world experiences are encoded systematically, aided by the availability of syntactic means at the speaker's disposal. We have seen some of the syntactic properties of each of these sentence moods—properties which we will summarize here:

i. Indicative clauses have overt subject noun phrases but Injunctive clauses are subjectless.

ii. Indicative clauses take both stative and non-stative verbs but Injunctives are restricted to non-stative (i.e. action) verbs.

iii. Indicative clauses can take both the completive aspect marker liâu and the progressive aspect marker têq while Injunctive clauses cannot tolerate them.

iv. Indicative clauses can take the negative markers bô 'did not' and m 'will not/refused to'. These markers cannot occur in Injunctive clauses.
v. Injunctive clauses have a dependent time reference, one that is future with respect to the time to which the speech refers, while Indicative clauses have no such restrictions.

vi. Embedded Indicatives may take the complementizers ก่อน 'say' and 看 'see' whereas embedded Injunctives do not take any lexical complementizers.

Except for item (vi) above, the facts for both Indicative and Injunctive clauses are not confined to embedded structures, for they apply to main clauses as well, showing that the two sentence moods are relevant and consistent throughout the language. All these factors support our claim that there are two major sentence moods in Hokkien. The syntactic evidences are too clear to ignore, for they neatly group the sentences into the Indicative mood or the Injunctive mood.
Notes: Chapter IV

1 Declarative sentences make assertions about particular things. The notions of assertion and assumption are basic to a discussion on declaratives. Critz (1976) makes a distinction between two kinds of assertion, based on English, Spanish, Czech, and Slovak. The first kind of assertion is shown in the relation of a non-factive complement clause to its matrix verb. The presence of assertion in the complement clause is determined by the semantic properties of the matrix verb. The second kind of assertion is indicated by the stress placed on the focused element in the sentence. This is determined by the contextual features such as the speaker's assumption of what is known information to the hearer. What the speaker assumes to be known can be a proposition expressed in the clause or indicated by anaphora. The notions of assertion and assumption are relevant in any natural language.

2 The example given here depicts one type of question form—the tag question. For a detailed description of interrogatives in Amoy Hokkien, see Brosnahan (1972). See also Cheng (1977) on Taiwanese question particles.

3 Declaratives and interrogatives have been grouped together for various reasons. As far as their internal structure is concerned, we hold that declaratives and interrogatives, with only a 'tag' difference between them, have basically the same main sentence linear ordering as represented in (i) below:

i. NP (NP) Pred (NP) (PP)

A simple declarative sentence such as (ii):

ii. Āh Pôh, (ī) kî phūe khî hò. Āh Bêng.
   Ah Poh she send letter go give Ah Beng

   NP (NP) Pred NP PP

"Ah Poh, she sent a letter to Ah Beng."

is not any different from a question form (iii):

iii. Āh Pôh (ī) kî phūe khî hò. Āh Bêng sī-bô?
   Ah Poh she send letter go give Ah Beng yes-no

   NP (NP) Pred NP PP (Tag)

"Ah Poh, did she send a letter to Ah Beng?"
as both (ii) and (iii) have a sentence initial noun phrase, Āh Pŏh, which is also the topic in each of these two sentences. Both these sentences also have a subject, the pronoun ɪ 'she' and a Predicate phrase kía phūe khī hō. Āh Bĕng 'sent a letter to Ah Beng'. However, the only formal difference between the two structures is the sentence final tag sī-bō 'yes-no' in sentence (iii) which indicates that it is a question. The tag formally distinguishes statements from tag questions. Sentence (ii) can also be represented in a tree diagram showing the relation of the constituents with one another, as in (iv) below:

![Tree Diagram (iv)](image)

The question form (iii), however, is also shown to be basically the same, except for the tag, as shown in tree diagram (v) below:

![Tree Diagram (v)](image)

Further examples of statements and questions are found in Appendix B, 1-4.

4 Further examples of embedded Injunctives are found in Appendix B, 5-12.

5 The term "impositive" as used by Green (1975) refers to the speech act of ordering someone else to act or not to act. Our use of the word "impositive" includes orders as well as commissives (Searle 1969), the speech act referring to the action of committing oneself to
do or not do something. In a broad sense, Green's "impositives" and Searle's "commissives" are similar in that both impose an obligation. The former impose an obligation on someone else but the latter impose an obligation on the speaker himself. For this reason, we will call them impositives.

6 See Li (1979) for a study of Taiwanese modals.

7 The forms *kō*ng 'say' and *khūa* 'see' are regularly used as verbs in Hokkien. Their use as complementizers for embedded declaratives and interrogatives, respectively, is not an accident. Since declaratives assert facts and opinions, they are reportative in intent. Therefore a reportative word like *kō*ng 'say' is relevant as a complementizer in embedded declaratives. *Kō*ng 'say' is used when the proposition in the complement clause is information for which the speaker cannot take responsibility, as shown in (i) below:

i. *Gua thīā {kō*ng} Ah Bēng būe sīn chū.*
   I hear {say} Ah Beng buy new house

   "I heard that Ah Beng bought a new house."

However, if the speaker knows for a fact that the proposition is true, *kō*ng 'say' is not used. The speaker is not reporting something that he had heard from another person but is giving the information as coming from himself, as in (ii):

ii. *Gua sīō*ng-sīn Ah Bēng būe sīn chū.
   I believe Ah Beng buy new house

   "I believe Ah Beng bought a new house."

The *kō*ng complementizer is also used to introduce complements containing a proposition that turns out to be contrary to the subject's expectations, as shown in sentence (iii) below:

iii. *Mā-lāi-ā sūu kō*ng tī tīā-tīāq bó cāi-tīāu Malaya think say he surely not capable

   tūi cīt-lē kêt-lân-tān khī â. from this Cl. Kelantan go up Modal PRT

   "Malaya thought that (the Japanese) surely could not enter via Kelantan."

The proposition contained in the embedded sentence in (iii) is one that turns out to be not what was anticipated by the Malayan government during the Japanese invasion.

As for the complementizer *khūa* 'see', used to introduce embedded interrogatives, its use is dependent on the higher predicate.
Information-seeking predicates like m̃g 'ask', chá 'investigate', lôq 'guess' take the complementizer khūa 'see'. Since the outcome is not known, the embedded question is appropriately introduced by the verb form khūa 'see'. Conversely, when the matrix verb involves the known, or does not seek for information, then the complementizer khūa 'see' is not employed in the construction. An example of such a verb is cāi 'know' (which is a predicate that embeds both Indicative and Injunctive mood sentences) as is used in (iv):

iv. Gûa cāi \( \{ \ast \text{khūa} \} \) cī-cūi thâu cīq thûng.

\( \{ \text{I know} \} \text{ who steal eat sugar} \)

"I know \( \{ \ast \text{if} \} \) who stole the candy."

\[8\] The là particle has a number of uses, some of which are discussed in Richards & Tay (1977). Relevant to our discussion here is the use made of là to coax someone to do something and to lessen the severity of the tone of a command or order.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

Our investigation of sentences in Hokkien has shown that there are two notions involved in Hokkien structure, the first being information structure and the second sentence mood. Our data have shown that the basic division of a sentence in Hokkien is dependent on information structure, with the topic in initial position and a comment following it in the underlying structure. Typically, the topic is in sentence initial position. Topics must be either definite or generic, the latter being indefinite nonspecifics in Gundel's (1976) sense. In Hokkien, definiteness distinguishes topics from subjects and provides a test for topics in the basic topic-comment structure, particularly in our consideration of object-initial constructions. In this regard, those structures that have grammatical objects are distinctively informationally constrained in contrast to passive structures which are not. But rather than being evidence to weaken the argument in favor of the role of information structure, the passive structure provides additional support for it, in the sense that it brings out the contrast in the informationally conditioned e-, non-e-, and ka-constructions. Besides it indicates a possibility that it might have been a topic-comment structure at one time.

With respect to the syntactic notion of sentence moods, we have shown, in Chapter IV, that the distinction between Indicatives and Injunctives is a valid one. We demonstrated that Injunctive mood
sentences are subjectless structures which are restricted as to verb type, taking only non-stative verbs, as opposed to Indicatives, which take both non-stative as well as statives. Injunctive mood sentences are also restricted with respect to aspect; that is, they do not tolerate aspect markers like \textit{li\u{a}u} (the completive aspect marker) and \textit{t\textsuperscript{a}q} (the progressive aspect marker) whereas Indicatives have no such restrictions. Furthermore, Injunctive mood sentences do not take the negative markers \textit{b\textsuperscript{o}} 'did not' and \textit{\textasciitilde{a}} 'will not', both of which occur with Indicative mood sentences. In addition to these, Injunctive mood sentences have a dependent time reference, one that is future with respect to the time to which the speech refers, while Indicative sentences have no such restrictions. Further, embedded Indicatives take the complementizers \textit{k\textsuperscript{a}-ng} and \textit{kh\textsuperscript{u}a} whereas embedded Injunctives do not take any lexical complementizers. Semantically, Injunctive mood sentences represent only actions and the actions are always unrealized.

It is apparent then that a study of information structure and sentence mood does throw some light on the study of syntactic structure, as we have shown for Hokkien. Analysis of Hokkien sentences as having the two constituents topic (the given) and comment (the focused or new information) gives a more insightful picture of the basic or preferred sentence structure in the language and helps to explain a rather significant group of object-initial constructions in the language which at first sight may look alike but really are not. If a strictly formal approach is taken, the four object-initial constructions would all be treated alike. However, if we explore these forms in terms of
information structure, we see that the properties of topics reveal that passives are not informationally constrained while the other three are.
APPENDIX A:
AN ANALYSIS OF HOKKIEN PASSIVES AND THEIR PREDICATES

1.0 Introduction

In this brief discussion, we will look at passive sentences and examine some of their properties. We believe that there are at least three passive constructions, all having Patients as their subject:

1. ho·-passive (with an obligatory Agent fully or partially specified),
2. khĩ-passive (with an optional Agent),
3. ti口语-passive (with an unspecified Agent).

and that these passives have co-occurrence restrictions with their predicates. We treat the passive structure as a complex one, having two predicates, with either ho· 'give', khĩ 'go', or ti口语 'strike' as higher predicates, and an adversative predicate in the lower sentence. We will discuss these issues in the following sections.

1.1 The Passive Structure

The ho·-passive is discussed in Chen (1972) based on Fillmore's (1968) case grammar. An example of such a passive structure where the Agent must be specified, either fully or partially, is (1):

1. Čít - ciåq niāu ho· kāu kā. One - CL cat give/let dog bite

"A cat was bitten by a dog."
However, we believe that the khi-construction where the Agent is optional is also a passive sentence. This is exemplified in (2):

2. Thọ - khi (của) kả - sị lọ.  
Rabbit-offspring go snake bite- die PRT

"The rabbit was killed (by the snake)."

So is the tiọq-construction where the Agent is not specified, as exemplified in (3):

3. Hîc - lé gînnâ tiọq thong.  
that-CL child strike scald

"That child {got} scalded."

We propose that passives have an underlying structure as depicted in (4):

4. 

\[
S \\
\quad \quad NP:x \\
\quad \quad S' \\
\quad \quad NP_i \quad Pred. P \\
\quad \quad Pred \quad NP \\
\quad \quad họ 'give/let' \quad NP \\
\quad \quad khi 'go' \quad Pred. P \\
\quad \quad tiọq 'strike' \quad NP_i
\]
The initial noun phrase (the logical object) of a passive sentence corresponds to its grammatical subject.¹ The underlying structure (4) can account for all three passive sentences. For the hò-passive (1), we have the underlying structure (5):

5. $S$

   $NP:x$

   $S'$

   $NP_i$

   Pred

   $NP$

   $S''$

   $NP$

   Pred

   $NP_i$

   $∅$

   cit-ciâq niâu  hò- kâu kã  $∅$

   one-CL cat  give/let dog bite

"A cat was bitten by a dog."

For sentence (2), the underlying structure is (6):
and for sentence (3), the underlying structure is (7):

"That child got scalded."
In the tiq-passives, the Agent is unspecified. This is indicated by a Ø for NP3 in (7). However, for the Agent to be unspecified, it must be known information to the addressee, known from the context prior to the utterance (3) or even much earlier. Both speaker and addressee know the referent of the Agent NP. Semantically, an Agent is implied here, as well as in sentence (8):

8. Ah Beng ẽ chiā tiq (*tiēn - chiā) lōng.
   Ah Beng (Modifier car strike {electric-car} hit Ø)

"Ah Beng's car got {electric car} hit."

where the form with an Agent explicitly mentioned is unacceptable, while the one without an explicit Agent is acceptable.

The situation is quite different for the ḡo- and kʰi-passive constructions. In contrast to the tiq-passive construction, which has an unspecified Agent, the ḡo-passive requires an Agent, as shown in (9):

   Ah Beng (Modifier car give/let Ah Poh wash clean Marker)

"Ah Beng's car was cleaned by Ah Poh."

where the Agent Ah Pōh is specified and stressed, indicating that it is the new information.

The kʰi-passive construction is not as clear-cut as the ḡo-passive or the tiq-passive as far as Agent status is concerned. While
the tiọq construction does not specify the Agent and the hô- construction does, the khì construction is not restricted to one or the other. In other words, the Agent is an optional element in the khì construction, as shown in (10):

    one - CL chicken go cat bite-die

    "A chick was killed (by the cat)."

The underlying structure (4) also takes care of passive sentences with topics, such as (11):

    that - CL person he give/let snake bite-die

    "That person, he was killed by a snake."

which is represented in a tree diagram (12):
In (12), the subject noun phrase of the passive structure $S'$ is a variable bound by the topic NP (the highest NP node in (12)), and shows up in surface structure as a lexical pronoun $\tilde{I}$ (third person singular pronoun).

1.2 Predicates and Passives

In discussing passives, it is important to look at the predicates that can occur with them. Our findings are based on data we have at present.

It appears that Adversative Predicates allow the passive construction. Within the class of adversative predicates, there are sub-classifications, for example, Resultative Predicates occur with the ho- and khi passives which require an explicit Agent, while Non-resultative Predicates which do not require an explicit Agent occur with the tiq-passive construction, as shown in the branching diagram below:

```
Adversative Predicates
   / \                       / \
  Resultative  Non-resultative
      /           /
     [+Agent]    [-Agent]
   ho- 'give/let'
   khi 'go'
   tiq 'strike'
```

1.2.1 Adversative Predicates

By "adversative predicates" we mean those verbs that denote
adverse results or effects on the Patient, e.g. lò- ng-phùa 'broke' in sentence (13) below:

13. Cít - tà ńh (họ) Ăh Bêng (lò- ng-phùa)
    One - CL bowl give/let Ah Beng hit-broke
    khi go

"A bowl was \{broken\} by Ah Beng."

where the Patient Ănh 'bowl' is the referent that undergoes the action of the verb lò- ng-phùa 'break'. A non-adversative verb like bùe 'sell' is not acceptable in a passive construction. However, if the verb bùe 'sell' is modified to reflect an adverse result, as in (14):

    One - CL bowl give/let Ah Beng sell cheap

"A bowl was sold cheap by Ah Beng."

the structure is a good passive construction. To 'sell something' is not adversative, but 'to sell it cheap' is a loss to the seller or owner of the bowl.

1.2.2 Resultative versus Non-resultative Predicates

The semantic classification of verbs into Resultative and Non-resultative differentiates the tiêng-passive from the họ- and khi-passives. Generally speaking, the passive construction that requires an explicit Agent, that is, the họ-passive, and that which has an optional Agent, the khi-passive, take Resultative verbs, as in (15):
15. Cít - lé gînnâ hò· lũi-tân kíī-tiōq.
this- CL child give/let thunder affrighted
"This child was frightened by the thunder."

The adversative predicate kíī 'afraid' is not a resultative predicate hence it cannot occur in the hò·-passive. However, if the resultative morpheme tiōq 'to be...ed' is suffixed to the predicate kíī 'afraid' as in the word kíī-tiōq 'affrighted', the predicate has a resultative meaning and it can be used in both the hò·- and ñ̆ĭ-passives. This fact is made clearer with a non-adversative predicate, e.g. siā 'write' in (16):

16. Cít - tīū phūe hò· Ah Bông
this- CL letter give/let Ah Beng

\[\begin{align*}
\{ & siā, \text{write} \\
& siā kâ cîn phâi thîā, \text{write till very bad hear} \\
\} \\
\end{align*}\]

"The letter was \{written written in poor taste\} by Ah Beng."

where the hò· construction is ungrammatical with the predicate siā 'write' but not if a resultative phrase kâ cîn phâi thîā 'in poor taste/poorly' follows it.³

The tiōq construction, on the other hand, does not require a resultative predicate, as shown in sentence (17):
17. Cît - lé gînnâ tîōq { chûaq. }  
      this- CL child strike { startled }  
      *chûaq-tîōq.  
      has been startled.  

"The child { was startled }  
      { has been startled. }"  

where the resultative predicate chûaq-tîōq 'has been startled' is unacceptable but the non-resultative chûaq 'startle' is allowed.

1.2.3 Accidental Action

Another dimension that is significant in our discussion of the tîōq-passive on the one hand and the hô- and khi-passives on the other is the notion of accidental occurrence of an action in the former but not the latter. Predicates that involve accidental action or action that is beyond anyone's control, such as lû-ng 'collide with', chûaq 'startle', etc., occur with the tîōq-passive, as shown in (18) below:

18.  Āh Beng ē chiē tîōq { lû-ng. }  
      Ah Beng (Modifier car strike { collide }  
               marker)  
               *sûe.  
               wash  

"Ah Beng's car got { hit. }  
      { washed. }"  

which has a tree structure (19):
19.

Here the predicate is ɨ̃̄ng 'hit/collide with', which refers to an
action that is unexpected and beyond the control of the car driver. A
predicate like sîe 'wash' refers to an event that is controllable and
deliberate, and involves some planning ahead of time. The types of
predicates that can occur in passives are the adversative action verbs
that are restricted to Patients. We will now consider the three forms
hô-, khì, and tîôq that we have treated as higher predicates.

1.2.4 The Status of hô, khì, and tîôq

The status of these forms discussed in relation to the three kinds
of passive sentences is open to debate. They are homophonous with the
main verbs hô 'give, allow, let', khì 'go', and tîôq 'strike'.4
Chen (1972) treated hô as the Agentive preposition in hô-passive
sentences.5 We treat them as verbs for various reasons. First, their
semantic similarity with homophonous verbs are too close to ignore.
Secondly, they can be negated. Thirdly, there are other forms in the
language that are all homophonous with verbs, for example in differential comparisons (Cheng, 1979:46) the form \( p\) is used, as exemplified in (20):

20. \( Ah\ Bee\ p\) \( Ah\ Im\ kh\) \( p\).  
   \( Ah\ Bee\ measure\ Ah\ Im\ more\ fat\)

   "\( Ah\ Bee\ is\ fatter\ than\ Ah\ Im.\)"

Another form is \( kiam\), as exemplified in (21):

21. \( Ah\ See\ kiam\ in\ ang\ i\ c\ u e\ hue.\)  
   \( Ah\ See\ less\ her\ husband\ rather\ many\ years\)

   "\( Ah\ See\ is\ a\ lot\ younger\ than\ her\ husband.\)"

Yet another form is \( ke\), also used in differential comparisons, as shown in (22):

22. \( Tua\ c k e\ si\ b e\ chit\ hue.\)  
   \( big\ -\ sister\ add\ younger\ sister\ seven\ years\)

   "\( Older\ sister\ is\ older\ than\ the\ younger\ sister\ by\ seven\ years.\)"

The forms \( p\), \( kiam\), and \( ke\) correspond to the verb forms \( p\) 'measure', \( kiam\ 'reduce', and \( ke\ 'add'.

   In yet another context—the Degree (or Extent) Complement, (Cheng 1979:64) the forms \( ka\sim kau\) are used, as exemplified in (23):
which is semantically related to the verb form k̂au 'arrive'. All these forms show that there are fairly consistent semantic relations in other syntactic contexts besides the passives. The weight to the evidence seems to favor treating hò-, khi, and tiōq as verbs.

Finally, if simplicity is a virtue at all in grammars, treating the forms hò-, khi, and tiōq as verbs will contribute towards a simpler grammar.

1.2.5 Semantics of hò-, khi, and tiōq

As main verbs, hò-, khi, and tiōq have a number of semantic features, some of which are similar and some not so. It is important to isolate the features that are common to all three to understand their function in passive constructions.

Passives involve the foregrounding (Keenan & Schieffelin, 1976) of the Patient (the entity that is affected by another entity capable of acting) in a sentence. With this in mind, we see that the Patient is, as it were, exposed to the Agent's action—the Agent being any entity that is capable of affecting the Patient with an adverse result. As the Patient must be capable of receiving such adverse actions, what we see in fact is a transfer of something from the Agent to the Patient. The semantic features of hò-, khi, and tiōq involve such a transfer of action from Agent to Patient.
Hô· as a main verb means (1) give and (2) allow, let. The first meaning involves a giver and a receiver. The second meaning is not too remote from the first meaning of "give" if we extend our imagination to incorporate "receiver" in the second meaning. If someone allows something to be done to him, he is actually allowing himself to receive the action. Implicit in the predicate hô· 'give' is also the notion of completion of the transaction. You cannot give and still retain whatever you have given away, for it involves surrendering something so that it can be possessed by another.

As for tôq 'strike', which is literally "to strike" and "to receive" taken as one single action, it is like receiving an unsolicited gift. Although no Agent is specified, there is semantically an Agent involved. Instant completion of a transaction is also implied.

Finally, for the predicate khi 'go', though the notions of "giver" and "receiver" are not part of its meaning, there is, nevertheless, the idea of completion of an action. The notion of "gift" implied in the predicate hô· 'give' is somewhat clearer, but when we get into tôq and khi, which is somewhat less obvious, it is not unreasonable to extend the notion to a special usage and to view the gift involved as "the effect brought about." 6

1.3 Conclusion

We claimed that there are at least three types of passive structure, namely the hô·-passive, the khi-passive, and the tôq-passive, which are complex structures having hô·, khi, and tôq as higher predicates. The subjects in all three are semantically the Patient.
In the hò-passive, the Agent must be fully or partially specified; in the khì-passive, the Agent is optional, and in the tiōq-passive the Agent is unspecified. We also examined the predicates that can occur with these passives, and conclude, at least for now, that they seem to be related to adversatives ones, with hò- and khì-passives taking Resultative adversative predicates and tiōq-passive taking the non-resultative adversative predicates.
1 Reasons for treating initial noun phrases as subjects rather than topics have been given in the dissertation.

2 There are, however, a few non-adversative verbs like ìîò 'praise' and pån-cân 'assist' which also occur with the passive structure but it is restricted to the hào-passive.

3 I am indebted to Professor Robert Cheng for pointing this out to me.

4 Tiôg cannot be translated by a single word in English. The morpheme tiôg in Hokkien embodies the action of striking and receiving all merged into one. They are not perceived as two separate actions but as one.

5 Cheng (1974) also treats Taiwanese hào as a verb. For a discussion of Mandarin bei as a higher verb, see Chu (1972).

6 Professor Roderick Jacobs (personal communication).
APPENDIX B:
ADDITIONAL DATA

1. Làn ả bắt khůa - tiọq po-cūa kǒng bò.
   we also have see - Resultative newspapers say a certain
   morpheme
cīt-lē chăng-liên lāi cī-sāt. (Tape 1.18)
one-CL youth come self-kill

   "We have seen in the papers that a certain youth committed
   suicide."

2. Mǎ-lài-ā sīū kǒng Ỉ tịn- tiọq bó cāi-tięu thăng
   Malaya think say 3.p.p surely not able can
   tūi cīt-lē Kiêt-lăn-tăn hịt-pēng khê ē.
   from this-CL Kelantan that-place ascend Modal PRT

   "Malaya thought that (the enemy) would not be able to enter via
   Kelantan."

3. Ỉ khi ả cha khůa hít-kī chăng sī cī-cūi
   He go find out see that-CL gun ASSERT whose

   ē.
   Modifier
   marker

   "He went to investigate the ownership of the gun."

4. Chǔ-cū ãi cāi khūa chât-ā iọng sǐm-mǐq
   house-owner like know see robber use what
   mǐq-kǐă giāu sọ-thǎu khūi.
   thing prise lock-head open

   "The owner of the house wants to know what the robber used to
   prise open the lock."
5. Guà cí-tìa t bûe-sái ciæq.
   I forbid 3p.p cannot eat

   "I forbade him to eat."

6. Cît-sí, chîa liêt-ûi hîn-khûi Lê-kâ
   this-time invite those assembled flip-open Luke
   hâ-kîm. (Tape 1.40)
   happy-sound

   "At this time, (I) invite you to open to Luke’s gospel."

   old-father urged his son must confess sin

   "(The) father urged his son to admit his sin."

8. Guà tông-î bûq kâp t khî chûe ān Sée cê.
   I agree will with 3p.p go find Ah See sit

   "I agreed to go with him to visit Ah See."

9. Ì cîng-cièk bûq thăng tít-tî dq thâu-pàng.
   3 p.sg. struggle will can receive loosen-release

   "He struggled to be free."

    I consented will go for-him buy door-ticket

    "I consented to buy his ticket."

    I hope will go England travel.

    "I hope to travel in England."
Paul determined will walk-finish 3p.p Modifier journey. marker 
"Paul determined to complete his journey." (Tape 2.6)

school-head give people alive-alive pressured out-go 
"The school Principal was forcefully pressured by people to leave."

14. Āh Pôh hò- láng phûe-phíng. 
Ah Poh give people criticize 
"Ah Poh was criticized by people."

15. Cît -lé ciú-tíù hò- láng kông phai ûa. 
this-CL state-head give people say bad words 
"The head of the state was spoken disparagingly of by people."

16. Lân hît-pâu bî khi niâu-chû khûe phûa. 
Our that-sack rice go rat gnaw broken 
"Our sack of rice was gnawed by rats."

17. Kêq-píûq chû hît-lê lâu láng khi chû 
divide-wall house that-CL old person go house 
têq-sî. 
crush-die 
"The next door old neighbor was crushed dead by the house."

18. Gûa ê hûa-phûn khi kâu-kíîa lông-phûa. 
I Modifier flower-vase go dog-child hit-break 
marker 
"My flower vase was broken by the puppy."
19. I tīoq chēn̄g liāu mā-sǐ ē kōq châq
3p.p receive gun-shot CPLTV also can still dive
lōq-khì.
down-go

"After it got shot, it can still dive downwards." (War Tape, 7)

20. Hīt -lê tâng-bìn khām ē thîq-pân mā-sǐ
that-CL top-face cover Modifier steel-plate also
marker
tīoq khâng.
receive holes (War Tape, 16)

"That piece of steel plate covering the top also got hit."

21. Cît -lê phūe sǐ pūeq-gēq lī-cāp sâ-lît
this-CL letter Assertive eight-moon two-ten three-day
morpheme
câ-khî sîâ ē.
early-get up write Modal PRT (Tape 11.1)

"This letter was written on the morning of the twenty-third day of the eighth month."

this-CL letter today received

"This letter was received today."

23. Pō - lē-tī-kūt ē tē-hēng sǐ lâng cúe
Pulau Tikus Modifier area Assertive people most
marker morpheme
hūā-hî tâa ē khîa - kē khû-hîâk.
happy reside Modifier live family area (Tape 11.2)
marker

"Pulau Tikus is the place most desired by people for residential purposes."

bad ear Modifier ear-hole then open CPLTV marker

"The deaf one's ears were opened." (Tape 11.22)

25. 僖 é cỉq-khiêt cỉu thâu khůi liâu.

3p.p Modifier tongue then loosen open CPLTV marker

"His tongue was loosened." (Tape 11.22)

26. Hít-tụ tọ-ụa, cỉt-lé bọ chiủ ē làňg

that-CL painting one-CL no hand Modifier person marker

ụa ē.

paint Modal PRT

"That painting was painted by a man with no arms."

27. Ìn cỉō-ng cỉt-lé tǎi-cǐ, tĩ thâu-kâk lāi-bin,

they PTM this-CL matter in head-shell inside-face

lāi khůa kháq khůi khi.

(Tape 1.49)

"Within their minds, they considered the matter with more openness."

28. Lăn tiãk-khâk tiǒq bọq cỉō-ng lăn ē cỉē-ô·k

we should must will PTM we Modifier sin marker

pảng-sâk.

leâve- Resultative morpheme

"We should discard our sins."
29. Ìa-lës-sàl-lëng ò làng bôq ciô-ng cît-lô
Jerusalem Modifier people will PTM this-CL marker

iô-tûa Ë cû-lëng ânnê khûn-pûk khi
waist-belt Modifier lord-person like this tie up marker

lái.
come

"The people of Jerusalem will tie up the owner of this belt in this way."

30. M-thàng ciô-ng cît-lô lî-lû ò pîâ hiêt
don't PTM this-CL children Modifier bread throw marker

hô- kâu ciâq.
give dog eat

"Do not throw the children's bread to the dogs."
APPENDIX C:

TEXT - PORTIONS OF A CONVERSATION AND NARRATION OF JAPANESE INVASION OF MALAYA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The text in Appendix C is a sample of spoken Hīhū. It consists of portions of a conversation between the writer's sister, Dr. Geok Oon Chan, and father, the late Mr. Kim Soon Chan, about the Japanese invasion of Malaya during the second world war. The writer's father grew up in China and at seventeen years of age, emigrated to Malaya (now Malaysia) where he lived until his death at age sixty-nine.

Some influence from the popular languages like Malay and English is inevitable in a multi-lingual environment. For instance, in this conversation, the Malay word tāpī 'but' is used in line (37) and the English word motor-car is rendered as bū-tūt-kâ in line (48). But on the whole, the sample given here is an authentic representation of the language. An English translation follows the text.
Portions of a Conversation and Narration of Japanese Invasion of Malaya During the Second World War

C. ... liâu lòng ân-cùa pêq-sî' lòng m̄ and people why hundred-surname people don't

caî i tî-sî' bào caq, kâq-liâu tiôq
know he when will bomb all receive

hût-liên-kâng bô i-pî, bô khâq - cã cău?
suddenly no prepare no more early run

F. Tâk-ê mâ-sî' cît-lît kê cît-lît. Tô-lôq ü each one also one-day cross one-day where exist

5 sîu kông tî e lâi â? ń i-pî. think say he/they can come (Question did prepare marker)

Tîô-tîôq sî ń i-pî ę. ń surely (Assertive exist prepare (Modal PRT) he morpheme)

cîng-hû mâ-sî' tua i-pî. Hît-sî' gûa tua government also big prepare that time I stay

Klàu-Siô-ng ê sî, â cît-ô cîng-hû Keow Seong Modifier time PRT this-kind government marker

têq tua caq hît-ô phàu-tâi lâ, (PRGSV) big build that-kind ammunition shelter PRT

10 tô-ng-kîm cît-lê mâ-sî' kôq ü lôq. ā now this-CL also still exist still PRT

lîn-lâng khi pê-cûn pô m̄ sî pê-ả you-people go fly-ship field NEG (Assertive side morpheme)

kôq ü lôq? still exist still

C. Hìng.
Hiâ kâq-liâu sî guà è chiû khi
those all (Assertive I Modifier hand go morpheme) marker

15 cûq è Å hâi-pî là, lé Bâtû Mâung
build Modal PRT. PRT sea-side PRT CL Batu Maung

è tûa-phâu è hît-lé phâu-tái
Modifier big-cannon Modifier that-CL ammunition shelter marker

è thîq à, lô-ng-cô-ng m - si îân khi
Modifier steel (Pause all NEG is we go marker)

cô è. Cîng-hû ü tûa û-pî. Cîâu
make Modal PRT Government did big prepare follow

ê hît-lé û-pî à, tô-sî kô-ng pháq
3.p.p that-CL prepare (Pause that is say fight marker)

20 ê chûn cît-lé Tô kôq è-sâi - têq cît-lé
till leave one-CL also still can (PRGSV) one-CL

tûi tûi tûi kûî cûp è è tûi-khô-ng. Tû-úî
face face face face few ten one can face-fight because

ê tûa tî phâu-tûe lôi-bîn khûâ chût lâi, ê
3.p.p stay at shelter inside see exit come PRT

kî-kûan - chîng tî hê lôi-bîn pháq chût lâî.
machine - gun at there inside fight exit come

ê T sî lô-ng-cô-ng û-pî cît-lé
PRT 3.p.p (Assertive all prepare this-CL morpheme)

25 tûa-phâu tûa lô. tûi Kîêt-tá lô. cît-pêng
ammunition shelter big road from Kedah road this-side

tît-tît khi, khi ê kâu Siâm. T
straight-straight go go till reach Siam 3.p.p

sîu kô-ng tûi Siâm cîa cîa ûp Mâ-lài-a.
think say from Siam then then enter Malaya

C. Hn...
F. Bố ấn-sìn _EXPR_ tở tối miền ấn-ne ̀. not expect 3p.p 3p.p however not like this PRT
30 Sử-́ cián-cãng ́ è ̀, tở-sĩ therefore war Modifier (Pause 3p.p actually marker marker)
khǔa lỉ tở-lỗ ̀ mà lêp-tiáo hà. see you where have weak-point PRT
Mâ-lái-̀ sỉu kông tể-tơi bỏ cãi- tiâu Malaya think say 3p.p surely not able capable
thăng tôi, tôi cıt-le khet-lăn-tăn hít-pêng khi'
able from from this-CL Kelantan that-side up
è, ̀ in-úi hít-pêng tió-ng-kô-k hài è Modal PRT because that-side center country sea Modif marker
35 hài-̀mì-cn tụa là. Lù cùn khăng-kho- ùa sea-waves very big PRT you ship hard come near
là, sử-́ tở bó i-pì tôi hít-pêng PRT therefore 3p.p did not prepare from that-side
khỉ, tăpì ́ lêp-pùn - ̀ phién-phiên tôi get up but 3p.p Japan (Diminutive unexpectedly from morpheme)
hít-pêng khi.' that-side get up

C. tỉ sỉ kủi gída ́ s̀ sỉ? 3p.p is which month Modifier time marker
F. 40 Bûe kí-tiq liâu. not remember CPLTV
C. tỉ hài-̀mì-cn tụa sỉ ní-thâu lù cãi 3p.p sea-waves big (Assertive year-head you know morpheme)
bò? ̀ ní-thâu kâp ní-bûe. Q-Morpheme PRT year-head and year-tail
F. Bò. Ỉ iă sǐ bò, bò, bò sô-căi, bò
No 3 p.p also (Assertive no no no place no
morpheme)

hô -urlencoded sô-căi, bò bôe-sâi tenga - liô-k
good near Modifier place no cannot step on-land
marker

45 Ỉ sô-căi. sô- Ỉ bò ỉ-pǐ tŭi
Modifier place therefore 3 p.p no prepare from
marker

hît-pîn à. à ỉ-pǐ lô-ng-cô-ng sǐ
that-side PRT PRT 3 p.p prepare all (Assertive
morpheme)
cît-lé liô-k-lôr. hê-ciă lôr. kâp cât-lé
this-CL land-way fire-vehicle road and this-CL

bût-tût-kâ lô. cât-pîn. cât-lé lô-.pǐ à,
motor-car road this-side this-CL road-side (Pause
marker)
lô-ng-cô-ng ù cât-lé phâu-tái ǔ-pǐ
all exist this-CL ammunition-shelter prepare

50 têq thêng-thài.
PRGSV wait

C. hm

F. la tăk-é lîm-sîm cîn cîhà kîhà kâ têq
and every-one suddenly very true afraid if PRGSV
têq kông lîp-pûn - à nă phâq lâi, ỉ
PRGSV say Japanese- (Diminutive if fight come 3 p.p
morpheme)
kông tês-tîq bô thăng tûi-kông é.
say surely no able face-fight Modal PRT

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
C. 55 ᵀ i ³-oⁿg caq-tán tʰə-tʰə ⁱ-sǐ tʰĭm
3p.p use bomb-shell surely (Assertive sink morpheme)

é
Modal PRT

F. ᵀ ³-m-oⁿ-sǐ ᶎ蛉 caq-tán ᶎ diseñ ³-i ³-oⁿg pê-cûn
3p.p not use bomb-explosion PRT 3p.p use fly-ship

kûi-cîaq châq ³-ôq khî ³-a. pê-cûn câi
whole-CL thrust descend go PRT fly-ship carry

caq-tán ³-lâ. ³-a kûi-cîaq â-n-nê ³-i-oⁿg
bomb-explosion PRT PRT whole-CL like this crash

60 ³-ôq-khî ³-é ³-â. lû nà-sǐ kô-ông, nà-sǐ
descend-go Modal PRT PRT you if say if

caq-tán ³-a, ³-i sǐ bô hûat-tô. thâng
bomb-sound PRT 3p.p (Assertive no means-thinking can morpheme)

khî ³-uá ³-i ³-ê. ³-i lái hûi-hûi ³-a,
go near 3p.p Modal PRT 3p.p come far-far PRT

³-e kô-chîa - phâu tô phàq ³-e
3p.p Modifier high-shoot - cannon can fight 3p.p can marker

tîôq liâu.
receive CPLTV

C. 65 Liâu â-n-ô-û pê-cûn ³-ta-ô-û kâu bê phàq hô-
and why fly-ship not-yet arrive cannot hit give

³-ôq khî pêt-ôû ³-lâ.
3p.p descend go other-place PRT

F. ê. lû tîôq liâu ³-mâ ê caq îôq
Can you receive CPLTV 3p.p also can bomb descend

khî. ³-ê hô-ông - hîô-ng châu tû-tû
go 3p.p Modifier direction-facing adjust exactly marker
hô là, siáng-a hủi-hủi ha, lử tiông chêng
good PRT like far-far PRT you receive shot

70 liâu mà-sĩ ẻ kôq cãq lôq khi.
CPLTV also can still bomb down go

C. An-nê sǐ cîn khuài lâ.
like this (Assertive very fast PRT morpheme)

F. Hà. tî lâi ẻ sǐ â, pê cîn khuân
yes 3.p.p come Modifier time PRT fly very high marker
là, cãq lôq khi là. Sư-liên sǐ tiông
PRT bomb down go PRT Although (Assertive receive morpheme)

hà...
PRT

C. 75 Oh, tî sǐ cîn khuân liâu tî-tît
Oh! 3.p.p (Assertive very high then straight-straight morpheme)
liâu tîi ã?
down come Q-morpheme

F. Sô-ô tî bó huyat-tô- thăng thể- hông liâ.
therefore 3.p.p no way can emphasize-protect PRT
A khi - nêng cãq tô lôq khi liâu tiông
PRT that two CL fall down go CPLTV just
kì-cái tî bûeq lô. tûi Kiet-lân-tân

80 khi-sûa, sô- pî-pân kûi ní ẻ
ascend-mountain whatever prepare how many years Modifier marker
cô khi-ô phau-tái m câi khai kûi
make that CL bomb-shelter don't know spend several
chêng bàn à, kà-liâu bó pàng cīt nńskiego thousand 10-thousand PRT all no release one two
phâu, (laughter) bó pàng cīt nysqliëing shells no let off one two gun
Ưan cùan bó iə·ng. Tâm tui tăng hài-hûa completely no use 3p.p from east sea-coast
85 hît-pin khî lái. that-side get up come

C. Liâu ì thâu cīt-līt sǐ câq là? then 3p.p head one day (Assertive bomb PRT morpheme)

F. Hâ. là thâu cīt-līt ì lài Penang à, yes and head one-day 3p.p come Penang PRT
Pât-lé phô-thâu lân m-câi là. ì lài other-CL place-head we don't know PRT 3p.p come
câq ẽ - sī, sī tài-sêng lài câq bomb Modifier time (Assertive first come bomb marker morpheme)
90 pē-cûn pō- ìn-ûi ì pē-cûn pō- ū fly-shiip field because 3p.p fly-shiip field have
cīt-līe ëng-kô·k kâp ōq-ciū ì thōng-kûn. this-CL England and Australia Modifier air-military marker
Hît-sī òq-ciū m-câi ù bô. ì tài-sêng that-time Australia don't know have no 3p.p first
câq pē-cûn pō- hō. lû ū pē-cûn bomb fly-shiip field give you Modifier fly-shiip marker
bûe ūaq-tăng liâu là, iâ ì ciâ hô cannot alive-move CPLTV PRT so 3p.p then good
95 cîn kûn là. Bô lû siâng-ka ì tui enter near PRT if not you like 3p.p from
hît-lé kîêt-lâm-tân têng-liō-k liâu à, ì that-CL Kelantan step on-land CPLTV PRT 3p.p
cít-peng pê-cún cít-peng è khá câq í nì.
this-side fly-ship this-side can go bomb 3.p.p PRT

Â Pînâng-sù è láng à, gòng -gòng
and penang-island Modifier people (Pause stupid-stupid
marker marker)

d. Thìâ - tiòq è sîa - Ím tiòq
Modal PRT hear (Resultative Modifier sound-tone therefore
morpheme) marker

100 kô-ng tiòq câq pê-cún pô. ôn, ûo, tâk-é
say PRGSV bomb fly-ship field PRT PRT everyone

lôq khá kûân-nâ - kâk kûââ, kûân-nâ - kâk
descend go official corner see official corner

è láng kâ cât khá lái. Gûa mà
Modifier people therefore full up come ! also
marker

khì. Tàq khá-tàq-chiâ.  
go cycle' bicycle

C. Khûâ è tiòq è?
see can RESULT Q-morpheme

F.105 Ê. câq pê-cún pô. hût-lê sîa mä-si cîn
can bomb fly-ship field that-CL sound also very

cîn kën. Lôq khá liâu à, iën tiòq chêng
true near drop go CPLTV PRT smoke just shoot

khì liâm liâu lô.

C. Kê - kâng è pê-cún pô. là?
cross-stream Modifier fly-ship field PRT
marker

yes cross-stream Modifier fly-ship field cross-stream
marker
110 čia ǔ thò̍ng-kūn țe pā̕-cūn pō̕. Cīt-pīn
then have air force Modifier fly-ship field this-side
marker

tiōq bó,
just no

C. Liâu ān-cūā lū-lâng kôq bō kTā hā?
and why you-people still no afraid Q-morpheme
Kôq kâ cāu khī kühūā.
still dare run go see

F. Tiōq sī̕ gö̕ng-gō̕ng là. Lū tiōq m-bāt
just (Assertive stupid-stupid PRT you just have not
morpheme)

115 kīng-kâ - tiōq cīăn-cēng tôq m - cāi.
gone through- (Resultative war so don't know
morpheme)
(laughter) Ā khuā liâu sī-kīō̕ k cīn-cTā tiōq
and see CPLTV time-situation very must
kīp à, gūa kāng Siō̕ng-sūn kō̕ng, gūa kō̕ng,
urgent PRT I to Seong Soon say I say
tàt-lē khuī tiōq khuī hō̕ng-kō̕ng thò̍ng hā,
every-CL open just open protect-air hole PRT
liāq pā-cūn ē, thò̍ng-khā là, gūa kō̕ng
hide from fly-ship Modal PRT earth-under PRT I say

120 lān bó khuī à, hîe̕ gūa - bīn cīt-khūān
we no open PRT that-CL outside-face one-kind
hît-lō thīq-sūa, hît-sī sī līp-pū̕n-ā
that-type steel-thread that-time (Assertive Japanese
morpheme)

ē tiām-sīā ā, cīt-lē cīăn-cēng ē
Modifier time (Pause this-CL war Modifier
marker) marker

tiām-sīā thīq i̕-kēng bū̕e lāi liāu, tāk ūi
time steel already cannot come CPLTV every place
bửu lão. lả khi bửu hợi hài-tử e cannot come and go buy that-type sea-under Modifier marker

tiên - sủa citt-khưan citt-khưan, â lão pūeq, lư electric-thread one-roll one-roll PRT come strip you
cái ô. Pūeq liâu hở- citt-lé künk-pô know no strip CPLTV give this-CL military-division
iờng. citt-lé cìng-hû liễk- künk-pô. thểq khi use this-CL government land military take go -division
iờng ì. â hiê-è cõ bô liâu use Modal PRT PRT those-CL make not finished
é, kủi - cãp khùn giữa kõnq lư-láng khi Modal PRT several ten roll I say you-people go

kã i thiêp-thiêp ui là. â nả lão PTM 3p.p pile-pile surround PRT PRT if come

di time you run descend go that-CL hole-inside marker

kủi phi citt-pàn, citt-pêng tông-kîm mà PRT some sheets steel-plate this-side now also
kôq tǐ-îè, gia khi chư-tĩu iờng hût-phi' still exist carry go house-site use that-sheet
thìq-pàn mà-sî ràng qù, â tăng i khàm steel-sheet also still exist and PTM 3p.p cover

tỉ tăng-bin tù-tù citt-lé lăng ì lôq là. at above-face exactly one-CL person can get down PRT
citt-lìt kẻ citt-lìt în-làng tĩq m-mái cõ. one day cross one day they-people just don't want do
m-mái cõ hût-citt lìt, tĩ bõq liái cãq don't want do that-one day about to come bomb

é cêng citt lìt, giữa cia pûn-stìn khi Modifier before one day I then myself go marker
chùt chiû, â în-làng cia ua khi, khi extend hand PRT they-people then go-near go go
140 chú, khi cở. Á kôq kui påq пау move go make and still several hundred sacks
thô-thủà kã õ úi, úi, tǐ pǐ - ã earth-coal PTM 3p.p surround surround at side (diminutive morpheme)
ân-nề kheure nà. like this style PRT

C. Thô-thủà ẽ tôq khi lâi mà. earth-coal can flare up come Q-marker

F. Búde. Thô-thủà búde tôq ẽ. Thô-thủà No earth-coal cannot flare Modal PRT earth-coal
145 sễ siông cái ē tôq ẽ. Câq-tân (Assertive burn then can flare-up Modal PRT bomb morpheme)
lôi khi bo kô-ng hại khiái tôq ẽ. descend go no say so fast flare-up Modal PRT

C. Liâu, úi liâu ữ iê-ng ô? then surround CPLTV did use Q-marker

F. ù. Á úi liâu ữ iê-ng. Á hít-cít liît yes PRT surround CPLTV did use PRT that-one day
ג, nàng - ē lâng niâ. Cît-lê siông-sùn, (Pause two - CL persons only one-CL Seong Soon marker)
150 cît-lê sêng-guàn, nàng - ē lâi. Á câq ... thâu one-CL Seng Guan two - CL come PRT bomb head
cît-lît câq pê-cún pổ, tê lỉ liît tôq one day bomb fly-ship field the second day then
câq phô-null iâu lô. ĩn-lâng kîn-kîn câu bomb town-below CPLTV PRT they-people quickly run
lôi khi, câng lê lâi-bîn lôi khi. down go squeeze through into inside-face down go
outside-face Modifier people also want down go marker

c снова бок лож, ть глубина. Си лё
squeeze through no down at outside-face die at
outside-face

C. Oh ...

F. Я вниз-вниз хок кай вниз-вниз
PRT that-CL above-face cover Modifier that-CL marker

thique-пак ма тиело кхан.
steel-sheet also receive hole

C.160 Тянь-бин хок лиоу бёг ат-куа вниз лож?
above-face cover CPLTV will how can get down

F. Чун вниз-вниз лож вниз-вниз
leave one-CL person can get down PRT that-CL

не-си кхан та кхун но. Кёк вниз-кхан
not-(Assertive more big roll PRT still one-roll morpheme)

э-сёй вниз-вниз кул лож вниз. Я хок
able can stay several CL Modifier people PRT cover marker.

c вниз-куа хок лиоу лё, а чун вниз-куа лож
one-half go come PRT PRT leave one-half person

165 снова лож глубина.
squeeze through down go

C. Лиоу вниз-лаж ат-куа ...
and they-people why
Seong Soon squeeze through one-hole Seng Guan
squeeze through one-hole two-CL all no die
Portions of a Conversation and Narration of Japanese Invasion of Malaya During the Second World War

C. Then the people ... Why do the people not know when the bombing will take place--all were suddenly not prepared--did not escape earlier?

F. Everyone lived from one day to another. Why would they think they would come? (They) did make preparations. Surely (they) must make preparations. The government also made a lot of preparations. At that time, when I was with Keow Seong, the government was involving itself in the construction of bomb shelters (even now those still exist. You still see them along the road to the airport, don't you?)

C. Yes.

F. Those were all constructed under my supervision. And along the coast, the steel structures for the bomb shelter at Batu Maung, weren't they all made by us? The government did make a lot of preparations. According to their preparation strategy, it is said that should the fighting go on till only one (man) is left, that one can still fight against several. That is because he remains inside the shelter and looking out with his machine gun, shoots out. And (the government) prepared these bomb shelters all along the main road from Kedah over here, all the way to Thailand. They thought (the enemy) would enter Malaya by way of Thailand.

C. Yes.

F. (They) did not expect that it wasn't going to be like this. Therefore in a war, they see where your weak point is. Malaya thought that they (the enemy) would surely not be able to land in
35 Kelantan, because over there, the China Sea has strong waves. Ships find it difficult to sail close to the shore, therefore they did not anticipate and prepare for a landing on that side. And the Japanese, contrary to expectations, entered from that side.

C. Which month was that?

F. 40 (I've) forgotten.

C. The waves are high at the beginning of the year, do you know? At the beginning of the year, and at the end of the year.

F. No. There is also no place--no place that is suitable for ships to come close and for landing. Therefore they did not prepare for a landing on that side. All the preparations were along land routes, railway lines, and roads for motor-cars here. Along these roads, the bomb shelters were all ready, waiting.

C. Yes.

F. And everyone were suddenly afraid, for it is said that if the Japanese came, it is certain there will be no defense.

Note: A section about the two aircraft carriers guarding the Gulf of Siam which the Japanese sunk has not been included because of certain inaudible portions.

C. 55 If bombs are used, surely they must sink.

F. They didn't use bombs. They used airplanes that dived right down, The aircraft carried bombs and the entire plane crashed down. If they use bombs, they will not be able to come close (to the aircraft carriers). When it is still far away in the distance, the anti-aircraft shells can hit it.

C. 65 And so why couldn't they hit the planes before they come near?
F. 70 Yes, they could. Even if they are hit, they will also nose-dive down.

C. It must be very fast then.

F. Yes. When it comes, (it) flies at a great height and dives down. Although hit ...

C. 75 Oh! It is at a very great height and comes straight down, is that it?

F. Therefore it is impossible for them to protect in advance. And, since those two carriers sank, it's up to their (the enemy's) desires. Because they landed in Kelantan, all that had been prepared over so many years and at the cost of I don't know how many thousands of dollars, were not used at all. Not one cannon or shot was fired. (They were) totally unused. They entered from the east coast.

C. So the first day they bombed (the place)?

F. Yes. The first day they came to Penang, other places I do not know about; when they came to attack, it was first to attack the airfield because at the airfield there were the English and Australian air force. (At that time, I don't know if the Australian air force was there.) They first attacked the airfield to immobilize your planes, then they will find it easy to enter; otherwise after they land in Kelantan, the planes here can go and attack them. And the people of Penang island were stupid. Hearing it said that the airfield is under attack, wow! everyone went down to see! The Esplanade was jammed with people. I too went. Rode (my) bicycle (there).
C. Can (you) see anything?

F. Of course. The shelling of the airport sounded very near too. After (it's) dropped, smoke shot up.

C. It's the airfield across the channel?

F. Yes. The airfield across the channel. It is only across the channel that you have the air force base. Over here there is none.

C. And how is it you people aren't afraid? (You) still dare to go and watch?

F. (We were) just stupid. You haven't experienced a war before, hence (you) don't know. And seeing that the (political) situation is urgent, I told Seong Soon, I said, "Everyone is building air-raid shelters" (to hide from air attack--underground one). I said "because we did not build, outside are some of those iron wires", (at that time, during the Japanese occupation, during the time of war, no steel could be imported, everywhere it's not possible to import them, so (we) bought those coils of undersea cables and stripped them, do you know? After stripping them, (we) gave them to the army to use. The government's army took them for their use.) And those leftovers, several coils--I said "You people go and pile them up and if there is an air-raid, you run inside the holes. And some slabs of steel plates (we still have them now--the piece that was taken to the house construction site, (we) still have it)--take that to cover the top, leaving a hole big enough for one person to squeeze through." Day after day, they didn't want to do it; that day, the day before the attack, I
myself started to work on it and then they came near, to move (the
140 coils) to make (the air-raid shelter). And also there were
several hundred sacks of coal (which we) took and surrounded the
coils of cable like that.

C. Coal can burst into flames couldn't it?

F. 145 (It) cannot. Coal cannot burst into flames. You must burn it
before it will catch fire.

C. And so, after piling them all round, was it used?

F. Oh yes. After piling them, it was used. And that day, (there
150 were) only two persons. One was Seong Soon, one was Seng Guan--
two (of them) came. And the shelling--the first day (they)
bombed the airfield. The second day (they) bombed the town. They
quickly ran inside (the holes), crawled inside. The people out-
155 side also wanted to go in, (but) did not succeed; (they were)
outside--(they) died outside.

C. Oh.

F. And the steel plate covering the top also got hit.

C. 160 If the top is covered, how did they get in?

F. Only a hole big enough for one person is left. The cable coils
are big--one coil can accommodate several people. (You) close up
165 half of it and leave half for a person to crawl in.

C. And why do they ... 

F. Seong Soon crawled through one hole; Seng Guan crawled through
one. Both did not die.
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