

INFORMATION TO USERS

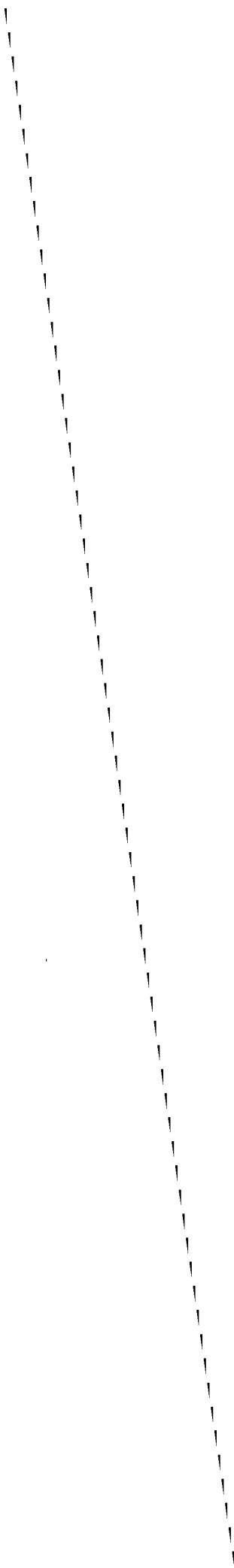
This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted you will find a target note listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University
Microfilms
International

300 N. ZEEB RD., ANN ARBOR, MI 48106



8220035

Chan, Leok-Har

A STUDY OF INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND SENTENCE MOOD IN
HOKKIEN SYNTAX

University of Hawaii

PH.D. 1982

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

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

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Professor Roderick Jacobs, the Chairman of my Dissertation Committee, for his encouragement and inspiration during the entire course of my studies at the University of Hawaii, particularly for his careful guidance during the writing of this dissertation. He went beyond the call of duty to encourage and inspire whenever the writing was at a standstill, which was not infrequent. His keen insights opened up avenues which to me were previously blocked, while his frank opinions, though hard to swallow initially, were the means which led me to eliminate some embarrassingly naive ideas and to refine others that were painfully raw at the beginning. I am deeply grateful for his help. Any shortcomings are my own.

I am also grateful to my teachers and members of my committee, Professors Robert Cheng, Charles Mason, Ann Peters, and Laurence Thompson, for their helpful suggestions and criticisms.

My special thanks go to Professor Jeanette Gundel who started me off on the topic-comment trail and provided me with stimulating ideas and discussions. It was in her class that the seed for this dissertation was planted and began to germinate.

I also wish to thank that larger group of professors and fellow students in the Linguistics Department, especially Sun Yun Bak, Peansiri Ekniyom, Eiko Uehara, Josie Clausen, Hisami Springer,

Bruce Horton, and Kimie Miyazaki, who provided the right kind of academic environment for learning to take place.

Special thanks are due to Mrs. Wendy Onishi who so patiently helped out in so many ways.

I would also like to thank two special friends, Mr. Ooi Kee Chay and Mrs. Sy Bin, for their assistance with some of my data and background information about Hokkien dialects.

Last but not least, I would like to express my thanks to my sisters who assisted in collecting data and helped in many other ways. I wish to thank in particular two of my sisters, Dr. Hooi Har Chan whom I frequently cornered for her intuitions and judgements on my data, and Dr. Geok Oon Chan who attended to things while I was away studying.

DEDICATION

IN MEMORY OF MY PARENTS WHO BEQUEATHED TO ME THEIR LANGUAGE

ABSTRACT

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 $S \rightarrow NP VP$ 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.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xii
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Goals of Present Study	1
1.1 The Hokkien Language	3
1.1.1 Hokkien Dialect Variation in China	4
1.1.2 Hokkien Dialect Variation in Malaysia and Singapore	5
1.1.3 Some Syntactic and Lexical Variations	6
1.1.4 The Data	10
1.1.5 The Phonology and Orthography	11
1.1.5.1 Vowels	11
1.1.5.2 Consonants	12
1.1.5.3 Tones	14
1.1.5.4 The Orthography	15
1.2 Studies in the Syntax of the Hokkien Language .	16
1.3 Theoretical Assumptions	20
1.3.1 Assumption 1: Deep and Surface Structures	20
1.3.2 Assumption 2: The Logical Structure Hypothesis	21
Notes: Chapter 1	23
CHAPTER II TOPIC PROMINENCE AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE ...	25
2.0 Introduction	25
2.1 Information Structure	25
2.2 Topic Prominence	31
2.2.1 Topic Prominence versus Subject Prominence ...	33
2.3 Topic versus Subject in Hokkien	39
2.4 Focus and the Comment Constituent	41
2.4.1 Focus in Hokkien	43
2.4.2 Focused Noun Phrases	45
2.5 Summary	46
Notes: Chapter II	48

CHAPTER III	OBJECT-INITIAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE	49
3.0	Introduction	49
3.1	The <u>e</u> -Construction	51
3.2	The <u>non-e</u> -Construction	56
3.3	The <u>ka</u> -Construction	58
3.4	Passives	60
3.4.1	Are Initial NPs in Passives Topics?	63
3.5	Summary	67
	Notes: Chapter III	68
CHAPTER IV	MOOD CONTRAST IN HOKKIEN	69
4.0	Introduction	69
4.1	The Indicative/Injunctive Dichotomy	69
4.1.1	Higher Predicates	71
4.1.2	Embedded Subject Noun Phrases	75
4.1.2.1	Zero Pronoun Subjects versus Subjectless Injunctive Clauses	81
4.1.3	Predicate Types	84
4.1.4	Aspect	85
4.1.5	Negation	88
4.1.6	Time Reference	92
4.1.7	Complementizers	94
4.2	Main Clause Counterparts	95
4.3	Summary	99
	Notes: Chapter IV	101
CHAPTER V	CONCLUSION	105
APPENDIX A:	An Analysis of Hokkien Passives and Their Predicates	108
APPENDIX B:	Additional Data	124
APPENDIX C:	Text: Portions of a Conversation and Narration of Japanese Invasion of Malaya During the Second World War	130
BIBLIOGRAPHY	149

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Injunctive-Embedding Predicates	71

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Hũihũā Vowel Chart (IPA Symbols)	11
2	Hũihũā Consonant Chart (IPA Symbols)	13

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CL	Classifier
CPLTV	Completive Aspect Marker
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

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Goals of Present Study

The goal of this dissertation is to study some aspects of the syntax of Hŭihŭā Hokkien¹ 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 Hŭihŭā 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 e-constructions, the non-e-constructions, and the ka-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 e-, non-e-, and ka-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 Language²

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".³ The dialect we will study falls within the Nan group, which is also referred to as Bǎn-lám-uà "Southern Min language". We shall refer to the southern Min languages as Hokkien and its different varieties as dialects (for example, Amoy dialect, Hŭihŭā 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:⁴

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.⁵
2. The eastern tip of Kwangtung province known as Tiōqciū⁶ 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 China⁷

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 Hŭihŭā dialect, Amoy dialect, Ēngcūn dialect, and Tǎngŭa 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 Ciāngciū, Cuǎnciū, Tǎngŭa, 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 Singapore⁸

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, Ciāngciū, Cuǎnciū, Ēngcūn, or Hŭihŭā 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 dominant⁹ group is Ciāngciū, other speakers tend to adjust their speech to conform to Ciāngciū.¹⁰

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"¹¹ 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,¹² listed a series of tone variations and regular sound correspondences among three

major Hokkien dialects, namely Amoy, Ciāngciū (Chang-chew), and Cuānciū (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 Hŭihŭā Hokkien. Take the modal ài 'want'. Li assigns it the meaning of 'must' or 'have to' with the implication that it has "inescapable constraint or obligation". But in Hŭihŭā, ài 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 Hŭihŭā speaker. One of the many ways to form questions is to use the question marker bó which always appears in sentence final position in Huihua Hokkien. Li (1979) also uses the sentence final question marker bó for other examples, e.g. sentence (1):

1. In thang kah lán chò-hóe khi bo.
 they allow with us together go Q-marker

"Can they go with us?"

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

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

2. Īn ě-sâi kâp lán cô-hóe khi bó?
 they allowed with us together go Q-marker

"Are they allowed to go with us?"

where ě-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 thāng, 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 tiōq 'must' (Li's tioh). Li's sentence quoted as (3) below:

3. Chit-kha sioⁿ tioh giâ chhut khi 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 Hǔihǔā 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 tiǒq 'must' in Hǔihǔā, where the modal means 'must' with the semantic reading of 'obligation'. The modal tiǒq 'must' cannot co-occur with the expression khaq hô 'more good' which makes a request sound less like an order. As sentence (3) has both the modal tiǒq and a moderating expression, the sentence would seem contradictory to a Huihua speaker. In Huihua speech, the following two expressions can be found:

4. Cî̂t-khā sīũ tiǒq giá chût khì. (An order)
 this CL box must take out go

"This trunk must be taken out."

5. Cî̂t-khā sīũ (kǎ - ī) giá chût khì khâq hô.
 this CL box PTM - 3p.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 Hŭihŭā 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 Hŭihŭā 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 Hŭihŭā 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 Hŭihŭā 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 Hŭihŭā Hokkien dialect spoken in Penang.

1.1.5 Phonology and Orthography

A brief summary of the phonology of Hǔihǔā 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 1:¹³

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>
High	i ĭ	u
Mid	e	o
Low	a ǎ	ɔ ɔ̃

Figure 1: Hǔihǔā 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 Hǔihǔā and its corresponding nasalized segment and the absence of nasalized mid front vowel [ẽ]. 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 [ɪ] 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 Hũĩhũã 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/, /ã/, and /õ/.

1.1.5.2 Consonants

There are seventeen consonants in Hũĩhũã. They are shown in the consonant chart in Figure 2:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops (V1. unaspirated)	p	t	k	ʔ
(V1. aspirated)	p ^h	t ^h	k ^h	
(Voiced)	b		g	
Fricatives (V1.)		s	h	
Affricates (V1. unaspirated)		ts		
(V1. aspirated)		ts ^h		
Lateral		l		
Nasal	m	n	ŋ	

Figure 2: Hũĩhũã 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], [ts^h] and the alveolar affricates [tʃ], [tʃ^h] 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:

<u>Broad Phonetic Transcription</u>	<u>Spelling</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
[tsin]	cīn	'very'
[ts ^h in]	chīn	'close relationship'
[tʃun]	cún	'ship'
[tʃo]	cò	'make'
[tʃɔ]	co·	'great grandparent'
[tʃ ^h un]	chūn	'left over'
[tʃ ^h ɔ]	chò·	'vinegar'

1.1.5.3 Tones

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

<u>Description</u>	<u>Graph</u>	<u>Pitch</u>	<u>Tone Marks</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Mid level	┆	33:	ˉ	kō	'older brother'
Low rising	↗	13:	ˊ	kó	'entangled in an affair'
High level	ˊ	55:	ˆ	kô	'stem'
Mid falling	↘	31:	ˋ	kò	'report on someone'
Low level	ˋ	11:	ˇ	kǒ	'roll'

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:

ciôq	'borrow'
ciõq	'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 Hũihũā 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:

[mã] 'scold' is written as mà
 [nõ·] 'two' is written as nõ·
 [ŋĩ] 'obstinate' is written as ngĩ

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 syllabicity. 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 Language¹⁴

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.¹⁵ 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 dialect¹⁶

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 riming ...", 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 bó (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.

6. Gûa, ī hò· cīt-kī kē-thûi.
 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 Hŭihŭā 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).

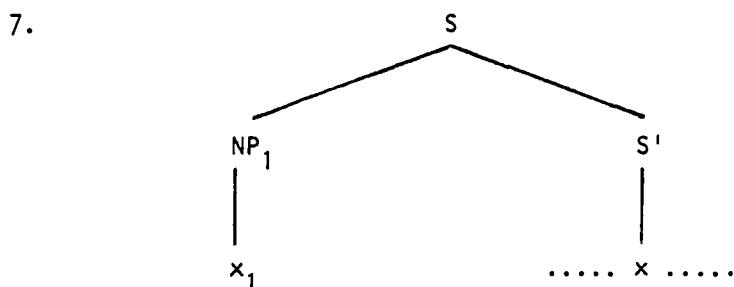
1.3.1 Assumption 1: Deep and Surface Structures

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):



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):

$$8. \quad S \longrightarrow NP \quad S'$$

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, Tiōqciū would fall with the South variety, while the Hūihūā 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 Tiōqciū dialect is a subgroup of Bān-lám-ùā (South Min language). Bodman (1958) included Tioqciu as one of the dialects of Bān-lám-ùā. Douglas (1899) recorded that the ancestors of those Tiōqciū (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 Tiōqciū 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 Tiōqciū 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.

⁷ 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).

⁸ 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.

⁹ "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.

¹⁰ 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 Ciāngciū dialect when they are among Ciangciu speakers. Even speakers of other Chinese language groups, in a Ciangciu dialect environment, use the Ciangciu dialect for informal trade and business.

¹¹ Penang Hokkien is a local variety of the Ciāngciū dialect. Ciāngciū 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.

¹² Douglas (1899, Appendix II) deals with variations of the tones; in Appendix III, he deals with sound correspondences.

¹³ The vowels [o] and [u], which are recorded in Douglas' (1899) dictionary as peculiar to the Cūanciū dialect, do not exist in the dialect under study.

¹⁴ Only those studies written in English are discussed here. For a review of materials written in Mandarin Chinese, see Tay (1968) and Brosnahan (1972).

¹⁵ For a comprehensive list of "Amoy Chinese Teaching Materials", see Johnson et al (1976).

¹⁶ "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 conjunction 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 information but need not be so. Similarly, comments usually contain unactivated 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 introducing 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 linguistic 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.² 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. ∅ hūaq cīt sīǎ, ∅ câu kà bó 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 láng 'people' and i '3p.p' respectively, as shown in (2):

2. Láng hūaq cīt sīǎ, ī câu kà bó 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 láng 'people'³ refers to the speaker or some other person or persons. It could just as well be lexicalized as gūa 'I' or ī-láng '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 ī 'he/she' is used in place of the zero anaphor in (1). The lexical

5. L^h b^h ph^h-c^h li^h b^h?
 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. { Ph^h-c^h,
 letter-paper
 *C^h-t^h ph^h-c^h } g^h b^h ∅ li^h.
 { one-CL letter-paper } I buy CPLTV
- " { letter-paper, } I've bought ∅ ."
- { *A letter paper }

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 studies⁴ 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 insofar 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.

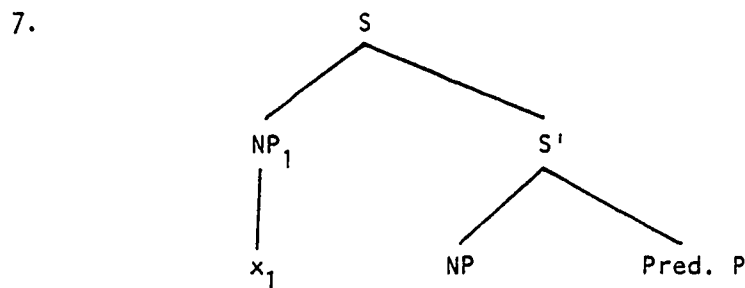
Topic-prominent languages are languages that have the topic-comment constituents as their normal or basic structure. Although some sentences in Hokkien do not begin with a topic, most of the time they do. Occasionally a topic may show up after the comment; when this happens, it marks a repairing strategy 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.

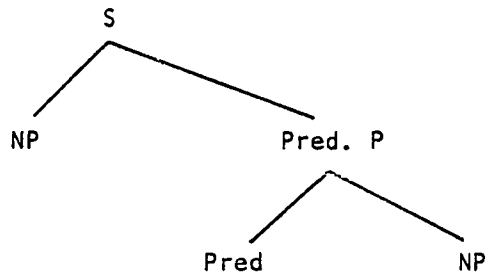
First, languages that are topic-prominent exhibit a structure that is made up of two constituents, namely a topic (what the sentence is about) and a comment (what is said, asserted, questioned, promised, etc., about that topic), as represented in (7):



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):

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 à 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. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *i \\ 3\text{p.p} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ lǒq hǒ· liâu.
 descend rain CPLTV
 "(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. $\hat{c}i\hat{t}$ - $t\hat{e}$ $p\hat{o}$ ·, $h\hat{u}a$ - $ch\hat{a}u$ $b\hat{o}$ $s\hat{u}i$.
 this-CL cloth flower-grass not pretty

"This piece of cloth, (its) design is not pretty."

In (11), the first noun phrase $\hat{c}i\hat{t}$ - $t\hat{e}$ $p\hat{o}$ · 'this-CL cloth', is the topic of the sentence and the second noun phrase $h\hat{u}a$ - $ch\hat{a}u$ '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. $\hat{c}i\hat{t}$ - $t\hat{e}$ $g\hat{i}n\hat{n}\hat{a}$, $b\hat{i}n$ $b\hat{o}$ $s\hat{u}e$,
 this-CL child face not wash
 $s\hat{o}$ · - \hat{i} \emptyset $h\hat{o}$ · $l\hat{a}ng$ $h\hat{i}n$.
 therefore give people dislike/hate

"This child, (his) face is not washed; therefore (he is) disliked by people."

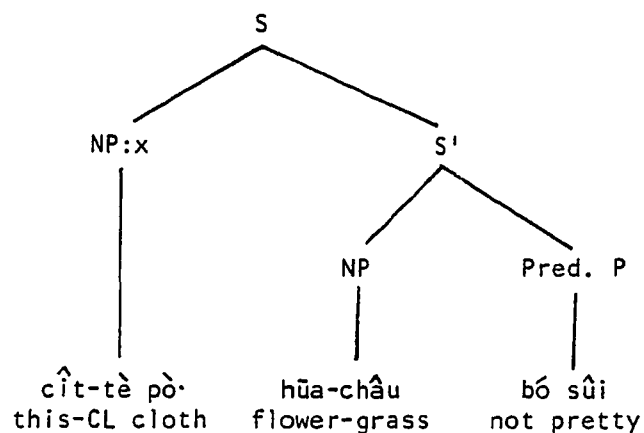
The position of the deleted noun phrase is marked with \emptyset . This is understood to be coreferential with the topic cít-lé gínna 'this-CL child'. The deleted noun phrase could not be coreferential with the second noun phrase, bìn 'face', which is the subject.

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 SV0 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 I, 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):

13.



"This piece of cloth, (its) design (is) not pretty."

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 à 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. Cít-ciâq kâu, bûe cãm-tng.
 this-CL dog tail chop-severed

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

has two noun phrases preceding the predicate cãm-tng 'chopped off'. The first noun phrase cít-ciâq kâu 'this dog' is definite, as is indicated by the demonstrative cít-ciâq '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 bûe '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. Mămá {*(pause) } cû png liâu.
 mother { Ø } cook rice CPLTV

"Mother has cooked rice."

We conclude that the noun phrase 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 mámá 'mother' and the rest of the sentence indicates that it cannot be the topic.

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

16. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Cít -kēng} \\ \text{this -CL} \\ *C\bar{I}t \\ \text{one} \end{array} \right\} \text{ chū house } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{à} \\ \text{(pause)} \\ *∅ \end{array} \right\} \text{ cīn very } \text{ chiū-chīn. breezy}$
- " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{This} \\ *A \end{array} \right\} \text{ house, (it's) very breezy.}"$

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 Constituent⁷

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. 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. '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.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):

19. Cĭt-ciāq cúa, ciāq cĭt-ciāq 'kūe.
 this-CL snake eat one-CL chicken

"The snake ate a 'chicken."

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

20. Chū khì cāq - tán cāq - tō.
 house go bomb bomb - collapse

"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. \bar{i} $b\hat{u}e$ $c\bar{i}t-k\bar{i}$ $\check{u}i$ \check{e} $chi\hat{o}q.$
 3 p.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. $\bar{A}h$ $H\bar{o}ng$ $ci\check{a}q$ $h\hat{i}t-li\check{a}p$ $ph\check{e}ng - k\hat{o}.$
 Ah Hong eat that-CL apple
 "Ah Hong ate the apple."

The object noun phrase, phěng-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. Hít-liǎp phěng-kô, hò· Ah Hōng ciāq-khì liáu.
 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 Patient¹¹ hít-liǎp phěng-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 Hōng ciāq-khì liáu 'Ah Hong ate it up'. Sentence (23) is a response to a question like (24):

24. Hít-liǎp phěng-kô, hò· cǐ-cùi ciāq-khì?
 that-CL apple give who eat-go

"That apple, who ate it up?"

The question word cǐ-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.

⁴ Householder and Cheng (1967), Tai (1973), Huang (1973).

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.

CHAPTER III

OBJECT-INITIAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

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.¹ 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. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Hít} \\ \text{that} \\ \text{*cít} \\ \text{one} \end{array} \right\}$ - tè pò·, Āh Hóon bûe é.
 - CL cloth Ah Hoon buy Modal PRT

"{That} piece of cloth, (it was) Ah Hoon (who) bought it."
 { *A }

In (1), the object noun phrase hít-tè pò 'that piece of cloth' is the topic and Āh Hóon bûe é 'it was Ah Hoon who bought it' is the comment on the topic. The comment contains the modal particle é which asserts that the cloth was bought by the referent of the subject noun phrase, Āh Hóon. 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. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Hít} \\ \text{that} \\ \text{*Cít} \\ \text{one} \end{array} \right\}$ - l^é l^{áng}, Āh P^{ôh} phi^{ên} t̄.
 - CL person Ah Poh bluff 3p.p
- "{That} man, Ah Poh deceived him."
- { *A }

The ka-construction is also informationally conditioned.² 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. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Hít} \\ \text{that} \\ \text{*Cít} \\ \text{one} \end{array} \right\}$ - ph^ĩ th^{ĩq}-p^{ân}, ká - t̄ kh^{âm} t^ĩ t^{êng}-b^{ìn}.
 - CL steel-plate PTM - 3p.p cover at top-face
- "{That} piece of steel plate, put it over the top."
- { *A }

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 cīt-ciâq 'one - CL' in (4):

4. Cīt - ciâq niāu hò· kâu kǎ-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) khî-passive (with an optional Agent); (3) tiǒq-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):

If the comment sentence represented by (7):

7. Āh Pôh úa é.
 Ah Poh draw Modal PRT

"It was drawn by Ah Poh."

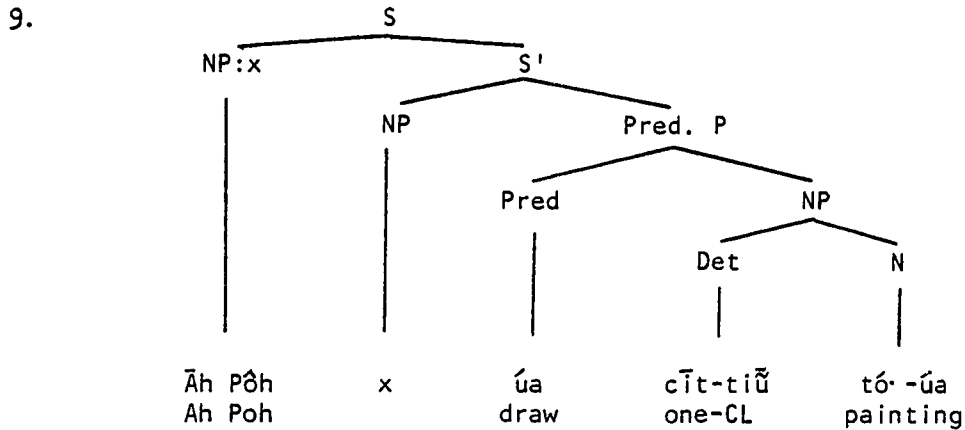
were to be uttered without the topic noun phrase being first mentioned or without the drawing being physically present at the time of speech, the addressee would not know what the speaker is referring to. If communication is hampered, the speaker would have to make the object explicit, such as in sentence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

8. Āh Pôh úa cīt-tiũ tó·-úa.
 Ah Poh draw one- CL drawing

"Ah Poh drew a painting."

In this case, the object NP cīt-tiũ tó·-úa 'one-CL painting' is considered new information. But the e-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 Āh 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 Āh Pôh did, which is that he did a painting. The proposition is about Āh Pôh. Structure (6) differs from (9) in the way the propositional content is structured. In (6), the comment constituent contains a proposition about hît-tiũ tó·-úa 'that painting' while in (9), the proposition is about Āh 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)

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-chât 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 cît-lé 'this-CL' or hît-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):

13. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \hat{H}it \\ \text{that} \\ *C\bar{i}t \\ \text{one} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} -t\grave{e} \\ -CL \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} p\check{u}\acute{a}, \\ \text{plate} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} g\hat{u}a \\ I \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} 's\hat{u}e \\ \text{wash} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} li\hat{a}u. \\ \text{CPLTV} \end{array}$
- " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{That} \\ *A \end{array} \right\}$ plate, I've washed (it)."

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 é, and the e-construction would have to be used as in (14):

14. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \hat{H}it \\ \text{that} \\ *C\bar{i}t \\ \text{one} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} -t\grave{e} \\ -CL \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} p\check{u}\acute{a}, \\ \text{plate} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} g\hat{u}a \\ I \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} s\hat{u}e \\ \text{wash} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \acute{e}. \\ \text{Modal PRT} \end{array}$
- " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{That} \\ *A \end{array} \right\}$ plate, (it was) 'I (who) washed it."

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. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \hat{H}it \\ \text{that} \\ *C\bar{i}t \\ \text{one} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} -l\acute{e} \\ -CL \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} g\hat{i}nn\hat{a}, \\ \text{child} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \bar{A}h \ P\hat{o}h \\ \text{Ah Poh} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} li\hat{a}m \\ \text{pinch} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \bar{i}. \\ \text{3 p.p} \end{array}$
- " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{That} \\ *A \end{array} \right\}$ child, Ah Poh pinched him."

Example (15) cannot take an indefinite determiner c̄it-lé '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. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \hat{H}it \\ \text{that} \\ *C\bar{i}t \\ \text{one} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} -t\grave{e} \\ -CL \end{array} \hat{i}q, \quad k\check{a}-\bar{i} \quad g\acute{i}a \quad - \quad c\acute{a}u.$
 $\begin{array}{l} \text{chair} \quad \text{PTM-3 p.p} \quad \text{take} \quad - \quad \text{run} \end{array}$
- " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{That} \\ *A \end{array} \right\}$ 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. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \hat{H}it \\ \text{that} \\ *C\bar{i}t \\ \text{one} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} -ph\check{i} \\ -CL \end{array} \hat{t}h\hat{i}q - p\hat{a}n, \quad t\check{a}ng - \bar{i} \quad kh\hat{a}m \quad t\check{i} \quad t\hat{e}ng-b\hat{i}n.$
 $\begin{array}{l} \text{steel - plate} \quad \text{PTM - 3 p.p} \quad \text{cover} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{up - face} \end{array}$
- " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{That} \\ *A \end{array} \right\}$ piece of steel plate, take it and cover the top."

18. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \hat{H}it \\ \text{that} \\ *C\bar{T}t \\ \text{one} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} -l\check{o} \\ -CL \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \hat{t}h\hat{i}q - s\check{u}\hat{a}, \\ \text{steel-thread} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} l\hat{u}-l\acute{a}ng \text{ kh}\hat{i} \\ \text{you-person go} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} k\check{a}-\bar{i} \\ \text{PTM-3p.p} \end{array}$

thiāp-thiāp la.
stack-stack PRT

"{That} type of steel cables, you people go and stack
*A }

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. $\hat{H}it - t\grave{e} \quad \hat{i}q, \quad g\acute{i}\acute{a}-c\acute{a}u.$
that -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

23. Āh Tóng hò· Āh Pôh phâq.
 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 Tóng hò· láng phâq.
 Ah Tong give someone beat

"Ah Tong was beaten by someone."

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

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

25. Kūe - kiâ khì (niāu) kǎ - sî lò.
 Chicken-offspring go (cat) bite-die PRT

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

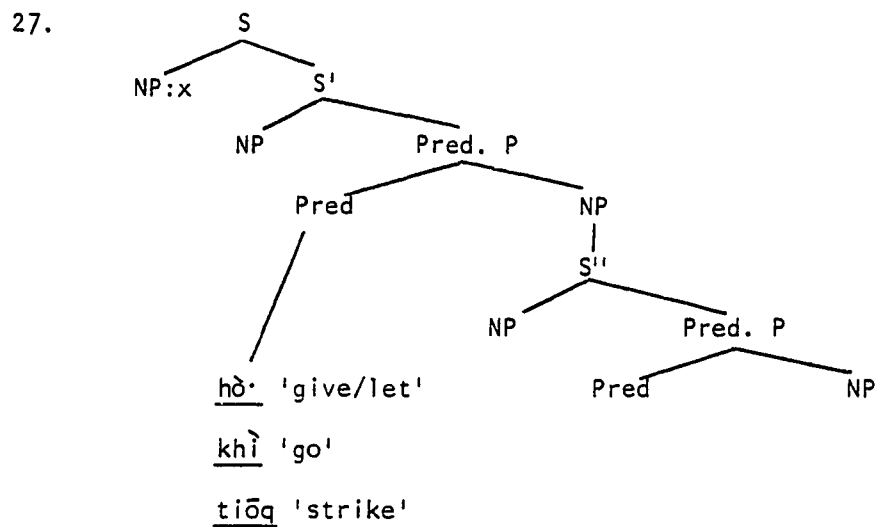
(See Appendix B (16)-(18) for further examples of khì-passives.)

The third type of passives is one with an unspecified Agent--the tiōq-passives, as exemplified in (26):

26. Āh Tóng tiōq phâq.
 Ah Tong strike beat

'Ah Tong got beaten.'

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



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'' .⁴ 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. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Cīt} \\ \text{One} \\ \text{Hīt} \\ \text{That} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{-têng} \\ \text{-CL} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{chiā} \\ \text{car} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{hò} \\ \text{let/give} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{chāt} \\ \text{thief} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{thāu} \\ \text{steal} \end{array}$
- " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{That} \end{array} \right\}$ car was stolen by a thief."

In sentence (28), the initial noun phrase can either be cīt têng chiā 'one-CL car', an indefinite specific noun phrase, or hīt-têng chiā '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 cīt-têng 'one-CL', the indefinite specific noun phrase, cannot be the topic. The same is true of the khī passive, as in (29):

29. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Cīt} \\ \text{One} \\ \text{Hīt} \\ \text{That} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{-ciâq} \\ \text{-CL} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{niāu} \\ \text{cat} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{khī} \\ \text{go} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{(láng)} \\ \text{(person)} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{thng-tiōq} \\ \text{scald-} \\ \text{Resultative} \\ \text{morpheme} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{kūn - cūi} \\ \text{boiled-water} \end{array}$
- " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{That} \end{array} \right\}$ cat was scalded (by someone)."

and the tiōq passive such as (30):

30. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Cīt} \\ \text{One} \\ \text{Hīt} \\ \text{That} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} -\text{lé} \\ -\text{CL} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{láng} \\ \text{person} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{tiōq} \\ \text{strike} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{sūt.} \\ \text{whip} \end{array}$
- " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{That} \end{array} \right\}$ 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. $\begin{array}{l} \bar{\text{A}}\text{h Pōh} \\ \text{Ah Poh} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hō.} \\ \text{give} \\ \text{khī} \\ \text{go} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \bar{\text{A}}\text{h Béng} \\ \text{Ah Beng} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mà.} \\ \text{scold} \\ \text{*mng} \\ \text{ask} \end{array} \right\}$
- "Ah Poh was $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{scolded} \\ \text{asked} \end{array} \right\}$ by Ah Beng."

and in (32):

32. $\begin{array}{l} \bar{\text{A}}\text{h Pōh} \\ \text{Ah Poh} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{tiōq} \\ \text{strike} \end{array} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mà.} \\ \text{*mng} \end{array} \right\}$
- "Ah Poh was $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{scolded} \\ \text{asked} \end{array} \right\}$."

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 mng̃ '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. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{H\hat{i}t} \\ \text{That} \\ *C\bar{i}t \\ \text{One} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} -ci\hat{a}q \\ -CL \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{l\ddot{a}u-h\ddot{o}\cdot,} \\ \text{tiger} \end{array}, \quad \begin{array}{l} \bar{a}-c\hat{e}k \\ \text{uncle} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{ph\hat{a}q-s\hat{i}} \\ \text{hit-die} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \acute{e}. \\ \text{Modal PRT} \end{array}$
- " $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{That} \\ *A \end{array} \right\}$ tiger, (it was) uncle (who) killed it."

where the verb phâq-sî '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 mng̃ 'ask' in (34):

34. $\begin{array}{l} \bar{A}h \text{ P\ddot{o}h}, \\ \text{Ah Poh}, \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \bar{A}h \text{ B\acute{e}ng} \\ \text{Ah Beng} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} m\ddot{n}g \\ \text{ask} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \bar{i}. \\ \text{3 p.p} \end{array}$
- "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 ciō 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. Īn ciō·ng cīt-lé tǎi-cì khng tǐ sīm - lǎi.
 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 ciō·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 ciō·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 thàn and thàn-tiōq '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 hò·, khî, and tiōq.

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 Pôh siō·ng-sīn (kô·ng) Āh Béng ũ 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. $\bar{A}h$ $\bar{P}oh$ $\grave{a}i$ $c\bar{a}i$ (khũ \grave{a}) $\bar{A}h$ $\bar{B}\acute{e}ng$ \check{u} $l\bar{a}u-s\bar{i}t$ $b\check{o}$.
 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, invitations, 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. $\bar{A}h$ $\bar{P}oh$ $ki\check{o}$ $\bar{A}h$ $\bar{B}\acute{e}ng$ $ch\hat{u}t-kh\grave{i}$.
 Ah Poh ordered Ah Beng exit-go

"Ah Poh ordered Ah Beng to leave."

in which the subject of the matrix clause ($\bar{A}h$ $\bar{P}oh$) orders another person ($\bar{A}h$ $\bar{B}\acute{e}ng$) to leave. The leaving will take place at a time subsequent to the time of speech and it is the referent of the matrix subject that imposes on $\bar{A}h$ $\bar{B}\acute{e}ng$ the obligation to leave. The three examples given so far are complex sentences containing either embedded Indicatives or embedded Injunctives. We will examine sentence embedding, 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

<u>Subject-controlled</u>	<u>Object-controlled</u>
tâp-ìn 'promise'	kiò 'call/order'
phâq-sng 'plan'	cî-hūi 'command'
kûat-tǐng 'decide'	tiâm-tǎ 'persuade'
kûat-ì 'intend'	chîng-kiú 'beg'
cīng-ciêk 'struggle'	biên-lè 'convince'
	piâk 'force'

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. Āh Bēng phâq-sng { bôq }
 Ah Beng plan { will }
 { *tiōq } khī.
 { should } go

"Ah Beng planned { to } go."
 { *should }

impose an obligation on someone else to carry out the activity contained in the embedded Injunctive. For example, in sentence (7):

7. Āh BÉng chîng-kiú Āh Pôh tiōq lìn - cŭe.
 Ah Beng beg Ah Poh must identify-sin

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

the higher predicate chîng-kiú 'beg' takes an object, namely Āh Pôh. The referent of the matrix subject imposes upon the referent of the object Āh Pôh 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-kiú 'beg', does not take an embedded Indicative clause, as proved by sentence (8) below which is ungrammatical:

8. *Āh BÉng chîng-kiú Āh Pôh cīn sŭi.
 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: siō-ng-sìn 'believe', siŭ 'think', thiã 'hear', kô-ng 'say', liâng 'shout', and information-seeking ones such as: mng 'ask', chá 'investigate', which are not as restricted as the Injunctive-embedding predicates. These take the complementizers⁷ kô-ng 'say' and khŭà 'see', as exemplified in (9) for the former:

9. Āh Béng siũ (kô·ng) Āh Pôh cĩn ũ lâu-sĩt.
 Ah Beng think say Ah Poh very have honest

"Ah Beng thinks (that) Ah Poh is very honest."

and in (10) for the latter:

10. Āh Béng m̀ng (khũ̀a) Āh Pôh sũi bó.
 Ah Beng ask see Ah Poh beautiful no

"Ah Beng asks if Ah Poh is beautiful."

As indicated by the bracketings in (9) and (10), the complementizers kô·ng 'say' and khũ̀a 'see' are optional. It is interesting to note that it is only the embedded Indicative clauses that take the complementizers kô·ng 'say' and khũ̀a '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.

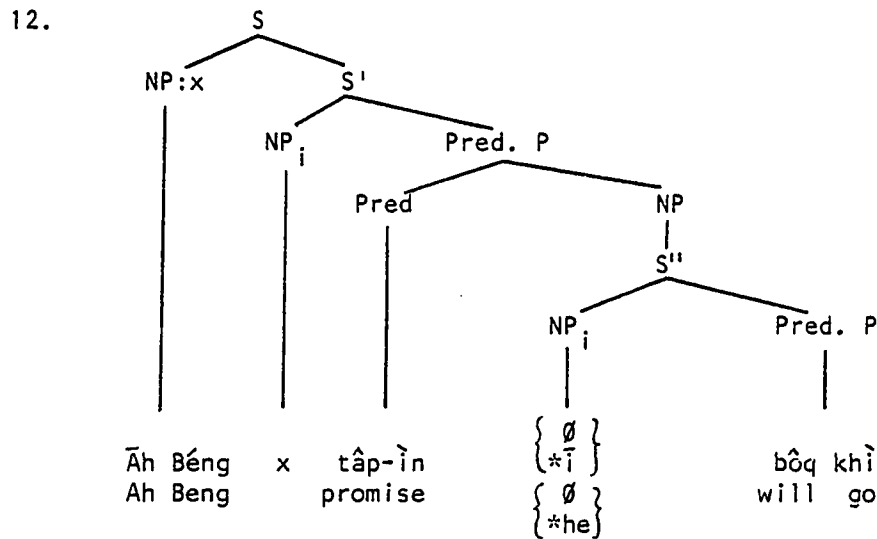
4.1.2 Embedded Subject Noun Phrases

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 Béng tâp-ìn $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ *i \\ \text{he} \end{array} \right\}$ bôq khî.
 Ah Beng promise will go
- "Ah Beng promised $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ *he \end{array} \right\}$ to go."

which has a tree representation (12):

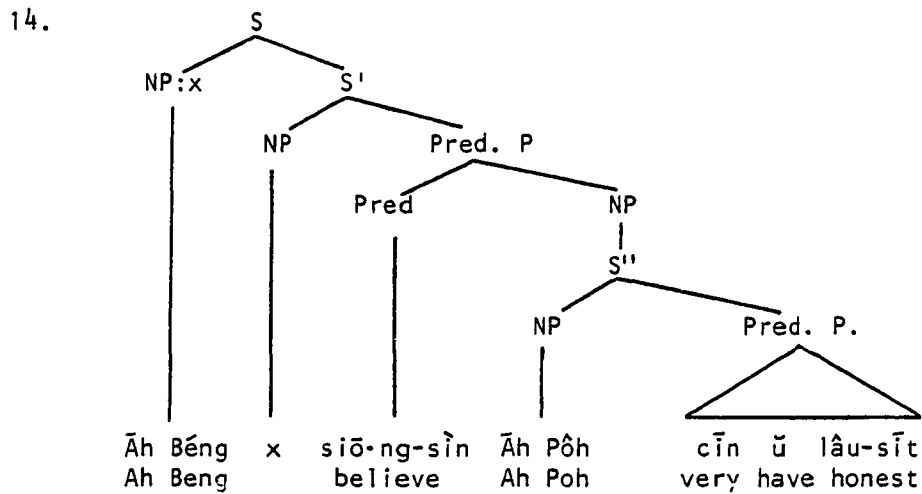


where we see that both the matrix and embedded subjects are coreferential. The lower one is controlled by the higher one, having a matrix predicate that is subject-controlled.

In contrast to the embedded Injunctive as shown in (11) and (12), we have the embedded Indicative sentence (13):

13. $\bar{A}h\ B\acute{e}ng$ $si\bar{o}\cdot ng\text{-}s\grave{i}n$ $\{\bar{A}h\ P\hat{o}h\}$ $c\bar{i}n\ \check{u}$ $l\bar{a}u\text{-}s\grave{i}t$.
 Ah Beng believe $\{\ * \emptyset \}$ very have honest
 "Ah Beng believed $\{\bar{A}h\ P\hat{o}h\}$ is very honest."

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

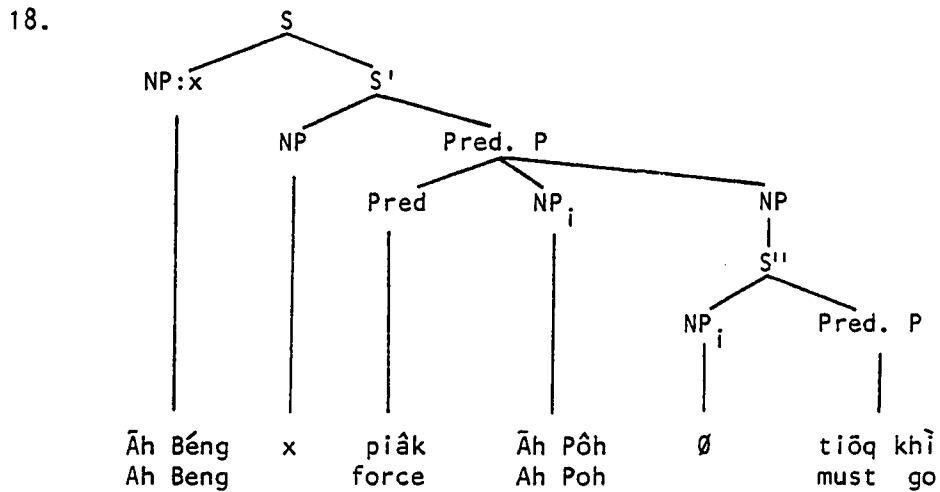


Unlike the embedded Injunctive in (11) which is subjectless, the embedded Indicative shown as S'' in (14) must have a subject noun phrase $\bar{A}h\ P\hat{o}h$. It cannot be left out no matter what. Even when it is the topic of the sentence, and has to appear in the sentence initial position, a pronoun is there in the embedded sentence as shown in (15):

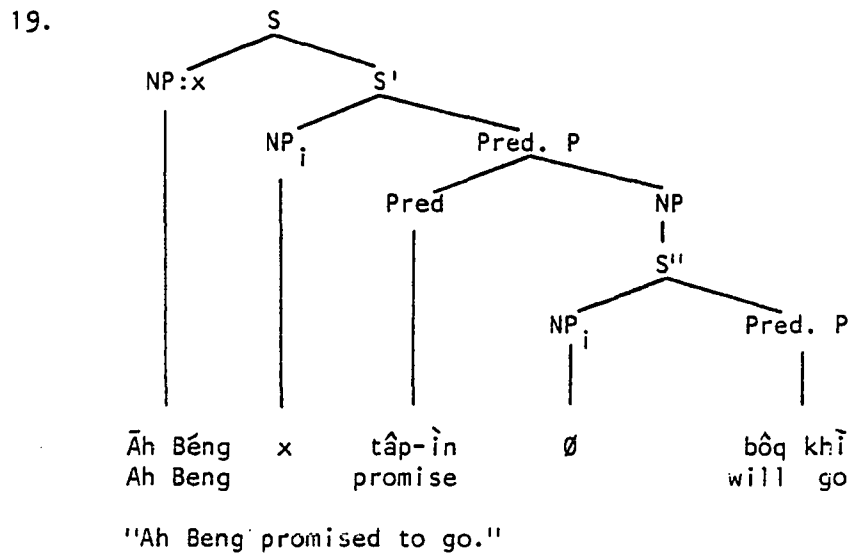
coreferential with the subject of the embedded Injunctive clause and is the one to carry out the action stated in the embedded clause. An example of an object-controlled predicate is piâk 'force' used in sentence (17):

17. $\bar{A}h$ $\bar{B}éng$ $pi\hat{a}k$ $\bar{A}h$ $\bar{P}ôh$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ *i \end{array} \right\}$ $ti\bar{o}q$ $kh\bar{i}$.
 Ah Beng force Ah Poh { *i } must go
 "Ah Beng forced Ah Poh $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ *she \end{array} \right\}$ to go."

which has a tree structure (18):



In (18), the referent of the object $\bar{A}h \bar{P}ôh$ is the one to carry out the action stated in S''. It is coreferential with the subject NP in S''. However, because 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 Běng 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.

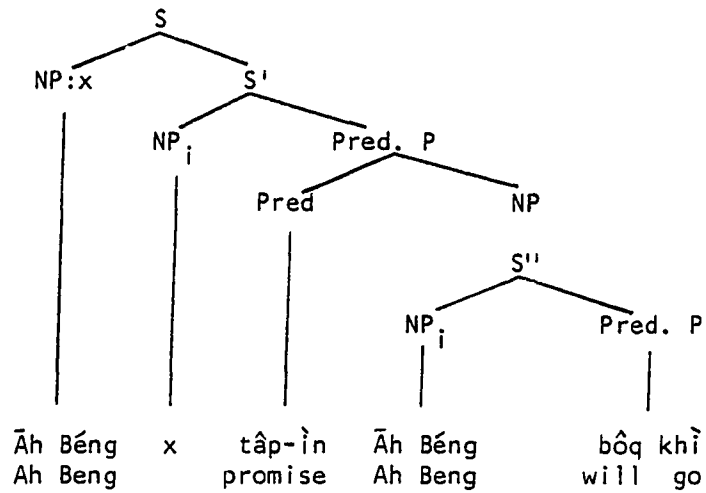
Another way is to posit a lexical form in its deep structure and delete it to derive the surface structure (11). Our reason for adopting the subjectless formulation is that it is simpler, in the sense that we can eliminate the additional transformational rule of EQUI NP deletion which we will discuss 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.

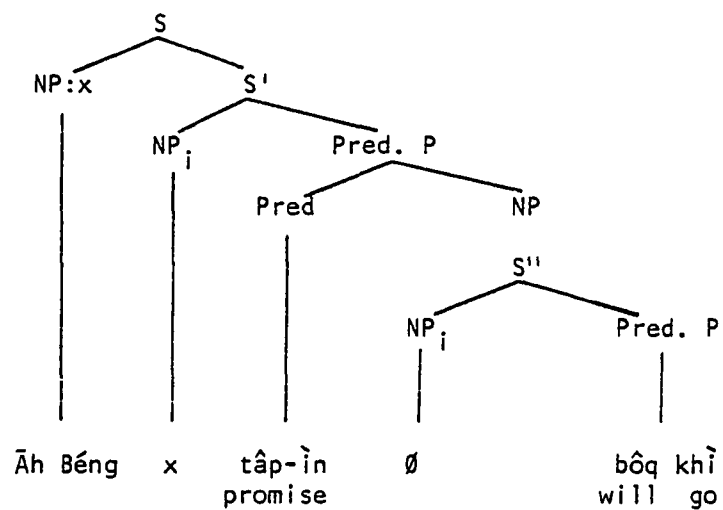
If the deletion is controlled by the matrix subject, EQUI is subject-triggered. Subject-triggered EQUI, as the name implies, is the deletion of the embedded subject noun phrase when it is coreferential with the matrix subject; as shown in (20) below, the lexical form Āh Béng is in the deep structure:

20.



With the subject Āh BÉng in the matrix sentence coreferential with the subject of the lower sentence S'', EQUI applies to delete the lower subject, giving the surface structure (21):

21.



"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

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 sûi 'beautiful' in its complement clause:

25. *Āh Sù kiò Āh Béng tiōq sūi.
asks must beautiful

*"Ah Su ordered Ah Beng to be beautiful."

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

26. Āh Sù kiò Āh Béng câu khūai-khūai.
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 têq progressive activity (PRGSV),

while Injunctive mood sentences cannot take either of these markings.

An embedded Indicative such as that contained in (27):

27. Āh Pôh thiã kông Āh Béng līp-lái liâu.
 Ah Poh hear say Ah Beng enter-come CPLTV

"Ah Poh heard that Ah Beng has entered."

has the completive aspectual marker liâu in post-verb position. The activity līp-lái '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 Pôh piāk Āh Béng tiōq līp-lái { ∅ }
 force must enter-come {*liâu}

"Ah Poh forced Ah Beng { to enter }
 {*has entered }."

In (28), the embedded Injunctive līp-lái '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 liâu denotes a past activity.

Not only is the completive aspect marker liâu incompatible with embedded injunctives as shown in (28); the progressive aspect marker is equally incompatible, as shown in (29):

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: bŭe-sâi 'must not', m̄-thāng 'don't', m̄-biên 'don't have to', bó 'did not', and m̄ 'will not/refuse to', as shown in (31):

31.	Āh Pôh Ah Poh	siō-ng-sīn believe	Āh Béng Ah Beng	<table border="0" style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 10px;"> <tr><td>bŭe-sâi</td></tr> <tr><td>must not</td></tr> <tr><td> </td></tr> <tr><td>m̄-thāng</td></tr> <tr><td>should not</td></tr> <tr><td> </td></tr> <tr><td>m̄-biên</td></tr> <tr><td>don't have to</td></tr> <tr><td> </td></tr> <tr><td>bó</td></tr> <tr><td>did not</td></tr> <tr><td> </td></tr> <tr><td>m̄</td></tr> <tr><td>will not</td></tr> </table>	bŭe-sâi	must not		m̄-thāng	should not		m̄-biên	don't have to		bó	did not		m̄	will not	câu. run
bŭe-sâi																			
must not																			
m̄-thāng																			
should not																			
m̄-biên																			
don't have to																			
bó																			
did not																			
m̄																			
will not																			

"Ah Poh believes Ah Beng { must not
should not
don't have to
did not
will not } run."

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

32.	Āh Pôh Ah Poh	kiò call	Āh Béng Ah Beng	<table border="0" style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 10px;"> <tr><td>bŭe-sâi</td></tr> <tr><td>must not</td></tr> <tr><td> </td></tr> <tr><td>m̄-thāng</td></tr> <tr><td>should not</td></tr> <tr><td> </td></tr> <tr><td>m̄-biên</td></tr> <tr><td>don't have to</td></tr> <tr><td> </td></tr> <tr><td>*bó</td></tr> <tr><td>did not</td></tr> <tr><td> </td></tr> <tr><td>*m̄</td></tr> <tr><td>will not</td></tr> </table>	bŭe-sâi	must not		m̄-thāng	should not		m̄-biên	don't have to		*bó	did not		*m̄	will not	câu. run
bŭe-sâi																			
must not																			
m̄-thāng																			
should not																			
m̄-biên																			
don't have to																			
*bó																			
did not																			
*m̄																			
will not																			

"Ah Poh ordered Ah Beng { not to
not to
not to
*did not
*will not } run."

The negative forms bǔe-sâi 'must not', m̄-thāng 'do not', and m̄-biên '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):

33.	Āh Pôh Ah Poh	chīng-kiú beg	Āh Béng Ah Beng	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{bǔe-sâi} \\ \text{must not} \\ \\ \text{m̄-thāng} \\ \text{should not} \\ \\ \text{m̄-biên} \\ \text{don't have to} \end{array} \right\}$	kô-ng-ùa. talk
-----	------------------	------------------	--------------------	--	-------------------

"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 bó 'did not' and m̄ 'will not' negate situations that have already transpired at the time of speech. For instance a sentence such as (34):

34.	Āh Pôh Ah Poh	sǐũ think	Āh Béng Ah Beng	bó did not	khi. go
-----	------------------	--------------	--------------------	---------------	------------

"Ah Poh thinks Ah Beng did not go."

has an embedded Indicative Āh Béng bó khi '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 bũe-sâi 'must not', m̄-thāng 'do not', and m̄-biên 'don't have to' instead of bó 'did not', which is not grammatical, as seen in (35):

35. *Āh Pôh kiò Āh BÉng bó khī.
 Ah Poh ask Ah Beng no go
 *Ah Poh ordered Ah Beng did not go."

or m̄ 'will not' as seen in (36):

36. *Āh Pôh kiò Āh BÉng m̄ khī.
 Ah Poh ask Ah Beng will not go
 *Ah Poh ordered Ah Beng will not go."

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

37. Āh BÉng m̄ 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 m̄ 'will not' (refuse to) is acceptable in an embedded Indicative structure like (38):

38. Āh Pôh siō-ng-sîn Āh BÉng m̄ ciāq.
 Ah Poh believe Ah Beng will not eat
 "Ah Poh believes Ah Beng will not eat."

intend to'. As shown in (40), the future modal bôq '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. *Āh Pôh kûat-tûan khî 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 Pôh siō-ng-sîn Āh Béng bûe chài 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 Pôh siō-ng-sîn Āh Béng bôq bûe chài.
 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 khũà 'see'. Examples (44) and (45) below show the structures involved:

44. Āh Sù siō·ng·sìn { kô·ng } Āh Béng bôq khì.
 Ah Su believe { say } Ah Beng will go
 *khũà
 { see }

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

45. Āh Sù m̀ng { khũà } Āh Béng bôq lái bó.
 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 Sù siō·ng-sìn (kô·ng) Āh Béng bôq khǐ.
 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 khǐ 'see':

47. Āh Sù m̀ng khǐ ī 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 k̂at-ī { *kô·ng } bôq lái.
 Ah Su intend { say } will come
 { *khǐ }
 { see }
 "Ah Su intended { *that } to come."
 { *if }

49. Āh Sù cĥng-kiú ī { *ko·ng } tiōq lái.
 Ah Su beg he { say } must come
 { *khǐ }
 { see }
 "Ah Su begged him { *that } to come."
 { *if }

4.2 Main Clause Counterparts

Except for the contrast in the use of complementizers in embedded

Indicatives and Injunctives, which is understandable since complementizers 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. $\bar{A}h\ S\grave{u}$ $l\bar{i}p-l\bar{a}i$ $li\hat{a}u.$
 Ah Su enter-come (CPLTV)
 "Ah Su has come in."

may have an overt subject $\bar{A}h\ S\grave{u}$, or in situations where the context makes it clear that $\bar{A}h\ S\grave{u}$ is the subject, the overt subject may not be explicit, as shown in (51):

51. $L\bar{i}p-l\bar{a}i$ $li\hat{a}u.$
 enter-come (CPLTV)
 "(She) has come in."

where the addressee knows the $\underline{l\bar{i}p-l\bar{a}i\ li\hat{a}u}$ 'has come in' is a comment made about a particular referent, $\bar{A}h\ S\grave{u}$. However, unlike Indicatives, Injunctive main clauses always lack overt subjects:

52. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ *L\hat{u} \\ you \end{array} \right\}$ $l\bar{i}p-l\bar{a}i$ $(l\hat{a}).^8$
 enter-come
 " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ *you \end{array} \right\}$ come in!"

although a vocative noun phrase coreferential with the understood subject is allowed:

53. Āh Pôh, līp-lái!
 Ah Poh enter-come

"Ah Poh, come in!"

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

Injunctive main clauses cannot have stative predicates:

54. *Sŭi!
 beautiful
 *"Be beautiful!"

55. Cāu khūai-khūai!
 run fast-fast

"Run fast!"

while Indicatives can:

56. Āh Sù kù-câ cīn khiâp-sǐ.
 Ah Su old-early very ugly

"Ah Su used to be ugly."

57. Āh Sù ě cāu khūai.
 Ah Su can run fast

"Ah Su can run fast."

Nor can Injunctives take the aspectual markers liâu (CPLTV):

61. Āh Sù { m̄ } ciāq p̄ng.
 { will not } eat rice
 { }
 { bó }
 { did not }
- "Ah Su {refused to } eat rice."
 { did not }

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 bó 'did not' and m̄ '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 kô·ng 'say' and khũã '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 Pōh, (ī) kià phūe khì hò· Āh Béng.
 Ah Poh she send letter go give Ah Beng
 NP (NP) Pred NP PP

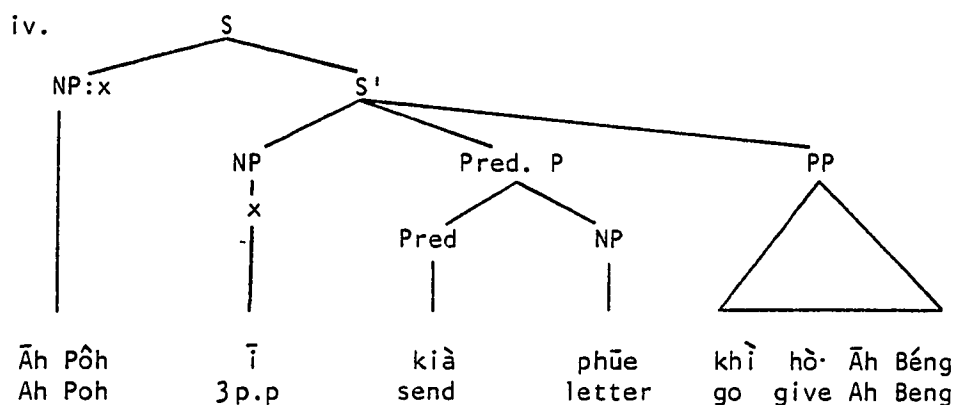
"Ah Poh, she sent a letter to Ah Beng."

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

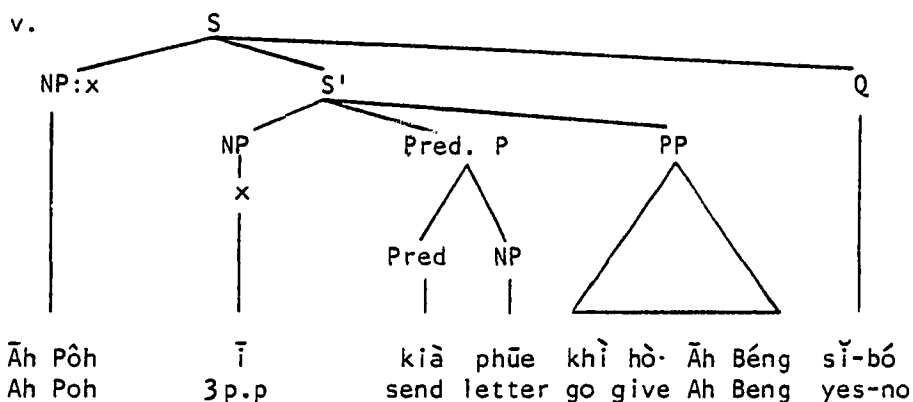
iii. Āh Pōh (ī) kià phūe khì hò· Āh Béng sǐ-bó?
 Ah Poh she send letter go give Ah Beng yes-no
 NP (NP) Pred NP PP (Tag)

"Ah Poh, did she send a letter to Ah Beng?"

as both (ii) and (iii) have a sentence initial noun phrase, Āh Pôh, which is also the topic in each of these two sentences. Both these sentences also have a subject, the pronoun ī 'she' and a Predicate phrase kià phūe khi hò· Āh Béng 'sent a letter to Ah Beng'. However, the only formal difference between the two structures is the sentence final tag sǐ-bó '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:



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



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 kô·ng 'say' and khũà '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 kô·ng 'say' is relevant as a complementizer in embedded declaratives. Kô·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. Gûa thĩā {kô·ng} Āh Béng bûe sīn chù.
I hear { *∅ } 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, ko·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. Gûa siō·ng-sīn Āh Béng bûe sīn chù.
I believe Ah Beng buy new house

"I believe Ah Beng bought a new house."

The kô·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. Mâ-lăi-ā sǐũ kô·ng ĩ tĩã-tiôq bó cǎi-tiǎu
Malaya think say he surely not capable
tùi cīt-lé kêt-lăn-tăn khî é.
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 khũà 'see', used to introduce embedded interrogatives, its use is dependent on the higher predicate.

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 distinctly 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 liâu (the completive aspect marker) and têq (the progressive aspect marker) whereas Indicatives have no such restrictions. Furthermore, Injunctive mood sentences do not take the negative markers bó 'did not' and m̄ '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 kô·ng and khǔà 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. hò·-passive (with an obligatory Agent fully or partially specified),
2. khì-passive (with an optional Agent),
3. tiōq-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 hò· 'give', khì 'go', or tiōq '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 hò·-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. Cīt - ciâq niāu hò· kâu kǎ.
One - CL cat give/let dog bite

"A cat was bitten by a dog."

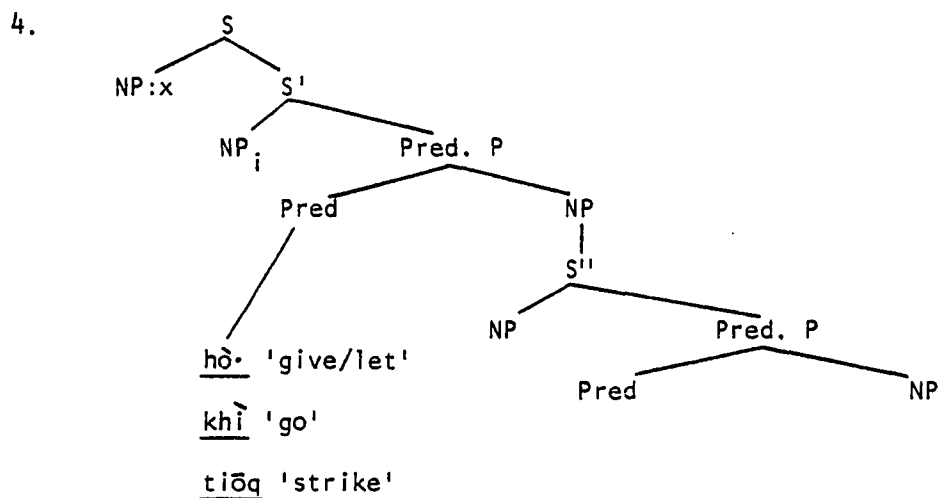
However, we believe that the khĩ-construction where the Agent is optional is also a passive sentence. This is exemplified in (2):

2. Thò· - kĩâ khĩ (cúa) kǎ - sî lò.
 Rabbit-offspring go snake bite- die PRT
 "The rabbit was killed (by the snake)."

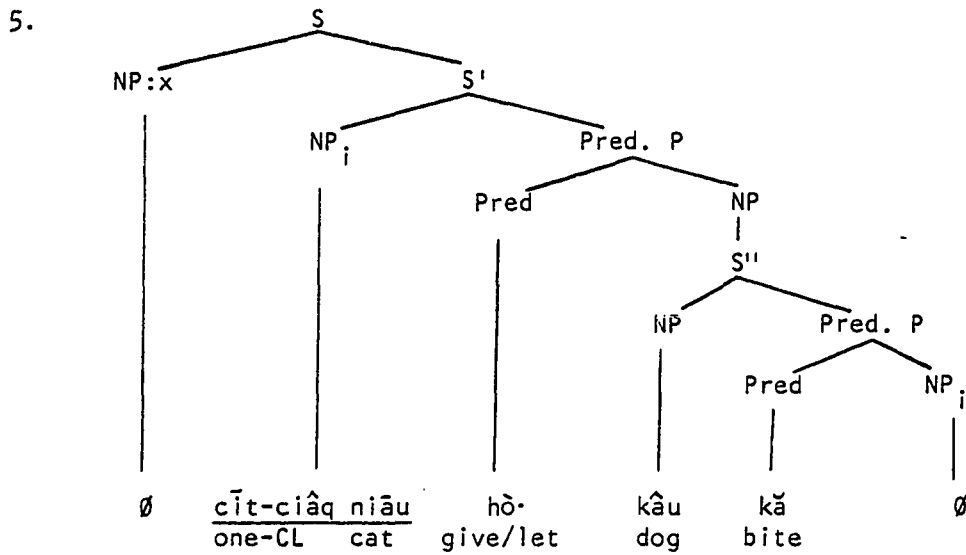
So is the tiõq-construction where the Agent is not specified, as exemplified in (3):

3. Hĩc - lé gĩnnâ tiõq thng̃.
 that-CL child strike scald
 "That child { was } scalded."
 { got }

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



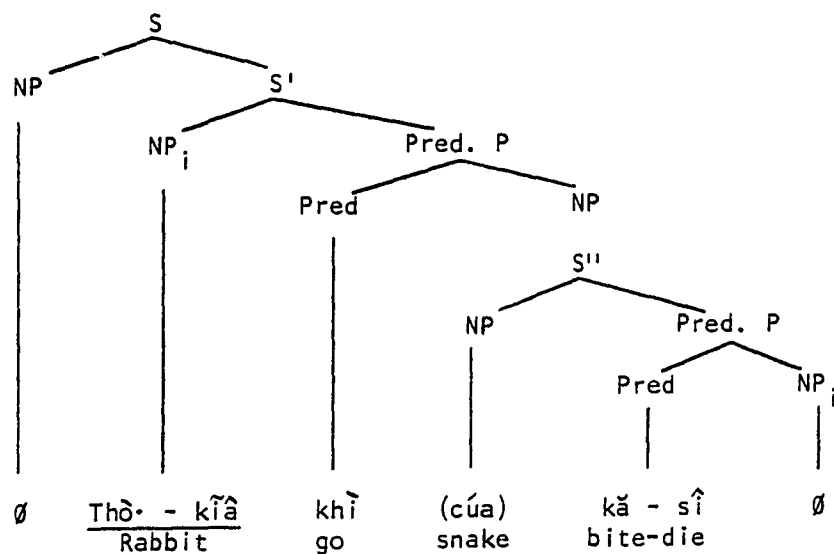
The initial noun phrase (the logical object) of a passive sentence corresponds to its grammatical subject.¹ The underlying structure (4) can account for all three passive sentences. For the hō·-passive (1), we have the underlying structure (5):



"A cat was bitten by a dog."

For sentence (2), the underlying structure is (6):

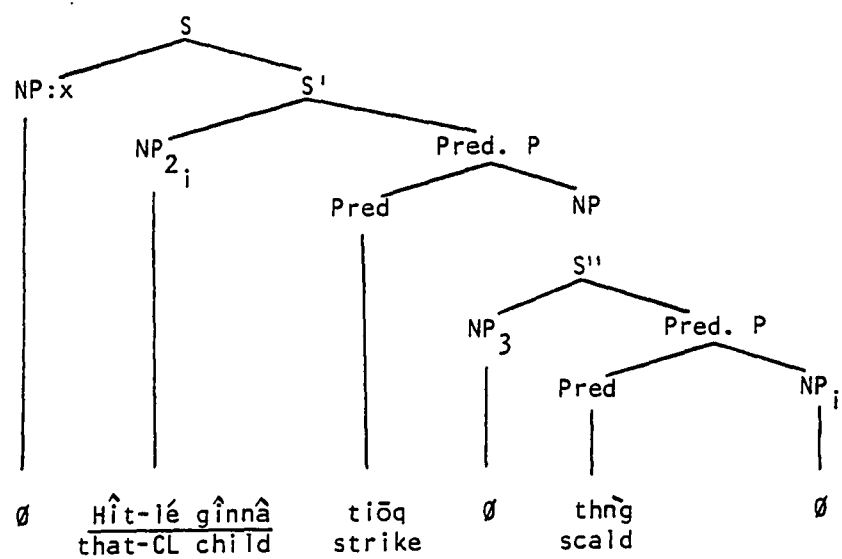
6.



"The rabbit was killed by the snake."

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

7.



"That child got scalded."

the tiōq construction does not specify the Agent and the hō· construction does, the khĩ construction is not restricted to one or the other. In other words, the Agent is an optional element in the khĩ construction, as shown in (10):

10. Cī̄t - ciâq kũe - kǎ̄ k̄hĩ niâu kǎ - sî̄.
 one - CL chicken go cat bite-die
 ∅

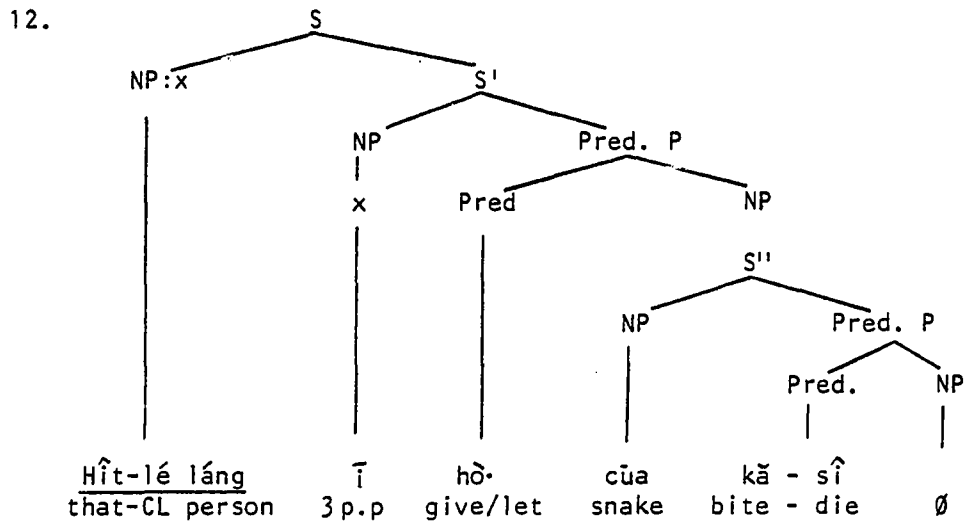
"A chick was killed (by the cat)."

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

11. Hīt - lé lǎng, ĩ̄ hō· cúa kǎ - sî̄.
 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):

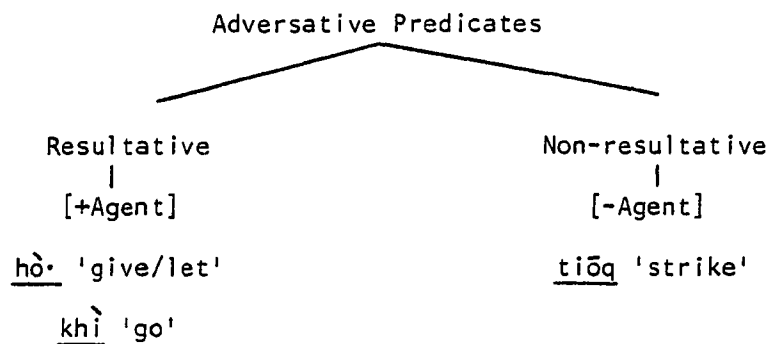


In (12), the subject noun phrase of the passive structure S' is a variable bound by the topic NP (the highest NP node in (12)), and shows up in surface structure as a lexical pronoun \bar{i} (third person singular pronoun).

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 Predicates² allow the passive construction. Within the class of adversative predicates, there are sub-classifications, for example, Resultative Predicates occur with the hò·- and khì passives which require an explicit Agent, while Non-resultative Predicates which do not require an explicit Agent occur with the tiōq-passive construction, as shown in the branching diagram below:



1.2.1 Adversative Predicates

By 'adversative predicates' we mean those verbs that denote

15. Cít - lé gínnâ hò· lúi-tán kǐā-tiōq.
 this- CL child give/let thunder affrighted

"This child was frightened by the thunder."

The adversative predicate kǐā '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 kǐā 'afraid' as in the word kǐā-tiōq 'affrighted', the predicate has a resultative meaning and it can be used in both the hò·- and khī-passives. This fact is made clearer with a non-adversative predicate, e.g. siâ 'write' in (16):

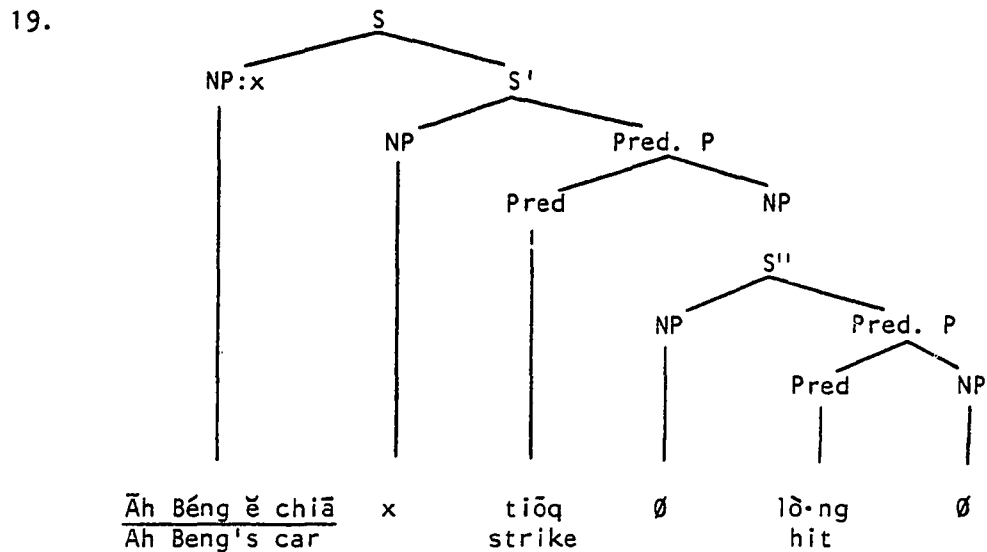
16. Cít - tĩū phūe hò· Āh Běng
 this- CL letter give/let Ah Beng

{ siâ kâ cīn phâi thĩā.
 write till very bad hear }
 *siâ.
 write

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

where the hò· construction is ungrammatical with the predicate siâ 'write' but not if a resultative phrase kâ cīn phâi thĩā '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):



Here the predicate is lò·ng 'hit/collide with', which refers to an action that is unexpected and beyond the control of the car driver. A predicate like sûe '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 hò·, khî, and tiōq that we have treated as higher predicates.

1.2.4 The Status of hò·, khî, and tiōq

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 hò· 'give, allow, let', khî 'go', and tiōq 'strike'.⁴ Chen (1972) treated hò· as the Agentive preposition in hò·-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 pî is used, as exemplified in (20):

20. Āh Bêe pî Āh Īm khâq púi.
 Ah Bee measure Ah Im more fat

"Ah Bee is fatter than Ah Im."

Another form is kiâm, as exemplified in (21):

21. Āh Sêe kiâm Īn āng iâ cûe hũe.
 Ah See less her husband rather many years

"Ah See is a lot younger than her husband."

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

22. Tūa - cî kē siô - bê chît hũe.
 big - sister add younger sister seven years

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

The forms pî, kiâm, and kē correspond to the verb forms pî 'measure', kiâm 'reduce', and kē 'add'.

In yet another context--the Degree (or Extent) Complement, (Cheng 1979:64) the forms kâ ~ kâu are used, as exemplified in (23):

23. Āh Bêe chiò kâ pât-tô· têng.
 Ah Bee laugh till stomach hard

"Ah Bee laughed till her stomach ached."

which is semantically related to the verb form kâu '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·, khî, and tiōq as verbs.

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

1.2.5 Semantics of hò·, khî, and tiōq

As main verbs, hò·, khî, 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·, khî, and tiōq involve such a transfer of action from Agent to Patient.

Hò· 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 hò· '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 tiōq '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 khì '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 hò· 'give' is somewhat clearer, but when we get into tiōq and khì, 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 hò·-passive, the khì-passive, and the tiōq-passive, which are complex structures having hò·, khì, and tiōq 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.

Notes: Appendix A

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 ōlô 'praise' and pān-cān 'assist' which also occur with the passive structure but it is restricted to the hò-passive.

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

⁴ Tiōq cannot be translated by a single word in English. The morpheme tīōq 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 hò 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. Lân ă bắt khũa - tiōq pò-cûa kô-ng bô.
we also have see - Resultative newspapers say a certain
morpheme

cīt-lé chēng-lién lái cĩ-sât. (Tape 1.18)
one-CL youth come self-kill

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

2. Mâ-lăi-ă sũ kô-ng ĩ tĩă-tiōq bó cǎi-tiǎu thāng
Malaya think say 3 p.p surely not able can

tùi cīt-lé Kiêt-lăn-tān hĩt-péng khĩ é.
from this-CL Kelantan that-place ascend Modal PRT

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

3. ĩ khĩ chá khũa hĩt-kĩ chēng sĩ cĩ-cũi
He go find out see that-CL gun ASSERT whose

é.
Modifier
marker

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

4. Chũ-cũ ài cǎi khũa chăt-ă iō-ng sĩm-mĩq
house-owner like know see robber use what

mĩq-kĩă giǎu sô-thấu khũi.
thing prise lock-head open

"The owner of the house wants to know what the robber used to
prise open the lock."

5. Gûa cî-tĩa ĩ bũe-sâi ciãq.
I forbid 3 p.p cannot eat
"I forbade him to eat."
6. Cít-sí, chĩa liēt-ùi hiēn-khūi Lǒ--kā
this-time invite those assembled flip-open Luke
hō·k-ĩm. (Tape 1.40)
happy-sound
"At this time, (I) invite you to open to Luke's gospel."
7. Lǎu-pě chūi-piāk ĩn kĩa tiōq lìn cũe.
old-father urged his son must confess sin
"(The) father urged his son to admit his sin."
8. Gûa tǒ·ng-ĩ bôq kâp ĩ khi chũe Āh Sēe cě.
I agree will with 3 p.p go find Ah See sit
"I agreed to go with him to visit Ah See."
9. ĩ cīng-ciêk bôq thāng tīt-tiōq thâu-pàng.
3 p.sg. struggle will can receive loosen-release
"He struggled to be free."
10. Gûa ûn-cûn bôq khi kâ-ĩ bũe mńg-phiò.
I consented will go for-him buy door-ticket
"I consented to buy his ticket."
11. Gûa hĩ-bò·ng bôq khi ĩng-kô·k lĩ-héng.
I hope will go England travel.
"I hope to travel in England."

12. Pô-ló kiēn-kúat bôq kĩa-úan ĩ ẽ lờ-théng.
Paul determined will walk-finish 3p.p Modifier journey.
marker
- "Paul determined to complete his journey." (Tape 2.6)
13. Hǎu-tĩũ hò. lǎng ũaq-ũaq kiâk chũt-khĩ.
school-head give people alive-alive pressured out-go
- "The school Principal was forcefully pressured by people to leave."
14. Āh Pôh hò. lǎng phũe-phĩng.
Ah Poh give people criticize
- "Ah Poh was criticized by people."
15. Cĩt -lé ciũ-tĩũ hò. lǎng kô-ng phâi ùa.
this-CL state-head give people say bad words
- "The head of the state was spoken disparagingly of by people."
16. Lân hĩt-pāu bĩ khĩ niāu-chũ khũe phũa.
Our that-sack rice go rat gnaw broken
- "Our sack of rice was gnawed by rats."
17. Kêq-piãq chũ hĩt-lé lǎu lǎng khĩ chũ
divide-wall house that-CL old person go house
têq-sĩ.
crush-die
- "The next door old neighbor was crushed dead by the house."
18. Gũa ẽ hũa-phún khĩ kâu-kĩã lờ-ng-phũa.
I Modifier flower-vase go dog-child hit-break
marker
- "My flower vase was broken by the puppy."

19. \bar{I} tiōq chēng liâu mǎ-sǐ ǎ kôq châq
 3p.p receive gun-shot CPLTV also can still dive
 lōq-khî.
 down-go
 "After it got shot, it can still dive downwards." (War Tape, 7)
20. Hît -lé tēng-bîn khâm ǎ thîq-pân mǎ-sǐ
 that-CL top-face cover Modifier steel-plate also
 marker
 tiōq khāng.
 receive holes (War Tape, 16)
 "That piece of steel plate covering the top also got hit."
21. Cî̄t -lé phūe sǐ pūeq-gēq lî-cāp sǎ-līt
 this-CL letter Assertive eight-moon two-ten three-day
 morpheme
 câ-khî siâ é.
 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."
22. Cî̄t -tĩũ phūe kǎ-līt siũ-tiōq.
 this-CL letter today received
 "This letter was received today."
23. Pō - lě-tĩ-kût ǎ tē-hn̄g sǐ lāng cūe
 Pulau Tikus Modifier area Assertive people most
 marker morpheme
 hũā-hî tūa ǎ khiǎ - kē khū-hiāk.
 happy reside Modifier live family area (Tape 11.2)
 marker
 "Pulau Tikus is the place most desired by people for residential
 purposes."

24. Châu hĩ ể hĩ-khāng ciũ khūi liâu.
bad ear Modifier ear-hole then open CPLTV
marker
"The deaf one's ears were opened." (Tape 11.22)
25. Ī é cīq-kiết ciũ thâu khūi liâu.
3p.p Modifier tongue then loosen open CPLTV
marker
"His tongue was loosened." (Tape 11.22)
26. Hīt -tĩũ tó-úa, cīt-lé bó chiũ ể lǎng
that-CL painting one-CL no hand Modifier person
marker
úa é.
paint Modal PRT
"That painting was painted by a man with no arms."
27. Īn ciō-ng cīt-lé tǎi-cì, tĩ tháu-kák lǎi-bīn,
they PTM this-CL matter in head-shell inside-face
lái khũà khâq khūi khĩ.
come see more open go (Tape 1.49)
"Within their minds, they considered the matter with more
openness."
28. Lân tiāk-khâk tiōq bôq ciō-hg lān ể cũe-ô·k
we should must will PTM we Modifier sin
marker
pàng-sâk.
leave- Resultative
morpheme
"We should discard our sins."

29. ǃa-lǝ--sât-lêng ǝ lǎng bôq ciō·ng cǎt-lé
 Jerusalem Modifier people will PTM this-CL
 marker
- iō-tùa ǝ cû-lǎng ânnê khûn-pāk khi
 waist-belt Modifier lord-person like this tie up
 marker

lái.
 come

(Tape 2.5)

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

30. M̃-thāng ciō·ng cǎt-lé lǐ-lû ǝ pǎa hiêt
 don't PTM this-CL children Modifier bread throw
 marker

hò· kâu ciāq.
 give dog eat

(Tape 11.25)

"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 Hũĩhũã. 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 Malayasia) 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 tăpĩ 'but' is used in line (37) and the English word motor-car is rendered as bũt-tũt-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 lán ân-cûa pēq-sǐ lán m̄
and people why hundred-surname people don't
- cāi ī tǐ-sǐ bôq câq, kâq-liâu tiōq
know he when will bomb all receive
- hû-tiēn-kāng bó ĩ-pì, bó khâq - câ câu?
suddenly no prepare no more early run
- F. Tāk-é mǎ-sǐ cīt-līt kè cīt-līt. Tō-lōq ũ
each one also one-day cross one-day where exist
- 5 sǐũ kô·ng ī ě lǎi à? ũ ĩ-pì.
think say he/they can come (Question did prepare
marker)
- Tǐǎ-tiōq sǐ ũ ĩ-pì é. Ī
surely (Assertive exist prepare (Modal PRT) he
morpheme)
- cīng-hû mǎ-sǐ tūa ĩ-pì. Hīt-sǐ gūa tūa
government also big prepare that time I stay
- Kiǎu-Siō·ng ě sǐ, â cīt-ō cīng-hû
Keow Seong Modifier time PRT this-kind government
marker
- têq tūa côq hīt-ō phâu-tái là,
(PRGSV) big build that-kind ammunition shelter PRT
- 10 tō·ng-kīm cīt-lé mǎ-sǐ kôq ũ lōq. Â
now this-CL also still exist still PRT
- lîn-láng khì pē-cún pō· m̄ sǐ pǐ-â
you-people go fly-ship field NEG (Assertive side
morpheme)
- kôq ũ lōq?
still exist still
- C. Hng.

- F. Hiâ kâq-liâu sǐ gûa ẽ chiû khi
 those all (Assertive morpheme) I Modifier hand go
- 15 côq é Â hâi-pĩ là, lé Bâtû Máung
 build Modal PRT. PRT sea-side PRT CL Batu Maung
- ẽ tũa-phâu ẽ hĩt-lé phâu-tái
 Modifier big-cannon Modifier that-CL ammunition shelter
 marker marker
- ẽ thĩq à, lô-ng-cô-ng m - sǐ lân khi
 Modifier steel (Pause marker). all NEG is we go
 marker
- cô é. Cĩng-hũ ũ tũa ỹ-pĩ. Ciâu
 make Modal PRT Government did big prepare follow
- ĩ hĩt-lé ỹ-pĩ à, tở-sĩ kô-ng phâq
 3 p.p that-CL prepare (Pause marker) that is say fight
- 20 á chũn cĩt-lé ỹa kôq ẽ-sâi - têq cĩt-lé
 till leave one-CL also still can (PRGSV) one-CL
- tùi tùi tùi kũi cấp é ẽ tũi-khò-ng. Ỡn-úi
 face face face few ten one can face-fight because
- ĩ tũa tĩ phâu-tũi lăi-bĩn khũa chũt lái, á
 3 p.p stay at shelter inside see exit come PRT
- kĩ-kũan - chẽng tĩ hê lăi-bĩn phâq chũt lái.
 machine - gun at there inside fight exit come
- Â ĩ sǐ lô-ng-cô-ng ỹ-pĩ cĩt-lé
 PRT 3 p.p (Assertive morpheme) all prepare this-CL
- 25 tũa-phâu tũa lò· tũi Kiêt-tá lò· cĩt-péng
 ammunition shelter big road from Kedah road this-side
- tĩt-tĩt khi, khi á kàu Siãm. Ỡ
 straight-straight go go till reach Siam 3 p.p
- sĩũ kô-ng tũi Siãm ciâ ciâ lĩp Mã-lăi-ă.
 think say from Siam then then enter Malaya

C. Hn...

- F. Bó àn-sng̃ ī ī tǒq m̃-sĩ àn-ne à.
 not expect 3 p.p 3 p.p however not like this PRT
- 30 sô-î ciân-cēng ẽ à, ī tǒ-sĩ
 therefore war Modifier (Pause 3 p.p actually
 marker marker)
- khũa lî tō-lōq ũ lĩp-tiâm hà.
 see you where have weak-point PRT
- Mâ-lăi-ã sũ kō.ng ī tĩă-tiōq bó cǎi- tiâu
 Malaya think say 3 p.p surely not able capable
- thāng tùi, tùi cīt-lé kiêt-lăn-tān hīt-péng khĩ
 able from from this-CL Kelantan that-side up
- é, ĩn-ùi hīt-péng tiō.ng-kō.k hāi ẽ
 Modal PRT because that-side center country sea Modifier
 marker
- 35 hāi-īng cīn tūa là. Lū cún khāng-khō. ũa
 sea-waves very big PRT you ship hard come near
- là, sô-î ī bó ĩ-pì tùi hīt-péng
 PRT therefore 3 p.p did not prepare from that-side
- khĩ, tǎpī ī lĩp-pūn - â phiān-phiān tùi
 get up but 3 p.p Japan (Diminutive unexpectedly from
 morpheme)
- hīt-péng khĩ.
 that-side get up
- C. ī sĩ kũi gēq ẽ sĩ?
 3 p.p is which month Modifier time
 marker
- F. 40 Búe k̃-tiq liâu.
 not remember CPLTV
- C. ī hāi-ēng tūa sĩ ní-tháu lū cāi
 3 p.p sea-waves big (Assertive year-head you know
 morpheme)
- bó? â ní-tháu kâp ní-būe.
 Q-Morpheme PRT year-head and year-tail

C. 55 ĩ iò·ng câq-tán tĩă-tiōq sĩ tím
 3 p.p use bomb-shell surely (Assertive morpheme) sink

é
 Modal PRT

F. ĩ m-sĩ èng câq-tán à, ĩ iò·ng pē-cún
 3 p.p not use bomb-explosion PRT 3 p.p use fly-ship
 kūi-ciâq châq lōq khĩ à. Pē-cún cài
 whole-CL thrust descend go PRT fly-ship carry

câq-tán là. Â kūi-ciâq ân-nê lò·ng
 bomb-explosion PRT PRT whole-CL like this crash

60 lōq-khĩ é à. Lũ nă-sĩ kô·ng, nă-sĩ
 descend-go Modal PRT PRT you if say if

câq-tán à, ĩ sĩ bó hũat-tò thāng
 bomb-sound PRT 3 p.p (Assertive morpheme) no means-thinking can

khĩ ũa ĩ é. ĩ lái hũĩ-hũĩ à,
 go near 3 p.p Modal PRT 3 p.p come far-far PRT

ĩ ẽ kō·chiā - phâu tở phâq ĩ ẽ
 3 p.p Modifier high-shoot - cannon can fight 3 p.p can
 marker

tiōq liâu.
 receive CPLTV

C. 65 Liâu ân-cũâ pē-cún ĩâ-bè kàu bẽ phâq hò·
 and why fly-ship not-yet arrive cannot hit give

ĩ lōq khĩ păt-ùi là.
 3 p.p descend go other-place PRT

F. ẽ. Lũ tiōq liâu ĩ mã ẽ câq lōq
 Can you receive CPLTV 3 p.p also can bomb descend

khĩ. ĩ ẽ hò·ng - hiô·ng chấu tũ-tũ
 go 3 p.p Modifier direction-facing adjust exactly
 marker

hô là, siáng-a hũĩ-hũĩ hà, lû tiōq chêng
 good PRT like far-far PRT you receive shot
 70 liâu mã-sĩ ẽ kôq câq lōq khi.
 CPLTV also can still bomb down go

C. Ân-nê sĩ cĩn khùai lâ.
 like this (Assertive very fast PRT
 morpheme)

F. Hã. ĩ lái ẽ sĩ à, pē cĩn kúan
 yes 3 p.p come Modifier time PRT fly very high
 Modifier
 marker
 là, câq lōq khi là. Sũi-lién sĩ tiōq
 PRT bomb down go PRT Although (Assertive receive
 morpheme)

hã...
 PRT

C. 75 Oh, ĩ sĩ cĩn kúan liâu tĩt-tĩt
 Oh! 3 p.p (Assertive very high then straight-straight
 morpheme)

lōq lái à?
 down come Q-morpheme

F. sô--î ĩ bó hũat-tò- thāng thẽ- hó-ng lâ.
 therefore 3 p.p no way can emphasize-protect PRT

Â hĩ - nņg ciâq tô lōq khi liâu tiōq
 PRT that two CL fall down go CPLTV just

kĩ-căi ĩ bũeq lò. ĩ tũi Kiêt-lăn-tăn
 free 3 p.p desire PRT 3 p.p from Kelantan

80 khĩ-sũã, sô- pĩ-pãn kũi ní ẽ
 ascend-mountain whatever prepare how many years Modifier
 marker

cò hĩ-é phàu-tái ì cāi khāi kũi
 make that CL bomb-shelter don't know spend several

110 ciâ ǔ thō-ng-kūn ẽ pē-cún pō. Cít-pín
 then have air force Modifier fly-ship field this-side
 marker

tiōq bó.
 just no

C. Liâu ân-cũâ lû-láng kôq bó kǎ hâ?
 and why you-people still no afraid Q-morpheme

Kôq kâ câu khì khũâ.
 still dare run go see

F. Tiōq sǐ gò-ng-gò-ng là. Lû tiōq m-bât
 just (Assertive stupid-stupid PRT you just have not
 morpheme)

115 kīng-kè - tiōq ciàn-cēng tôq m - cāi.
 gone through- (Resultative war so don't know
 morpheme)

(laughter) Â khũâ liâu sí-kiō·k cīn-cǎ tiōq
 and see CPLTV time-situation very must

kíp à, gûa kǎng Siō·ng-sùn kô·ng, gûa kô·ng,
 urgent PRT I to Seong Soon say I say

tāt-lé khūi tiōq khūi hō·ng-kō·ng thō·ng hà,
 every-CL open just open protect-air hole PRT

liâq pē-cún é, thó· - khā là, gûa kô·ng
 hide from fly-ship Modal PRT earth-under PRT I say

120 lân bó khūi à, hī-é gûa - bīn cīt-khûan
 we no open PRT that-CL outside-face one-kind

hīt-lǒ thīq-sũâ, hīt-sí sǐ līp-pûn-â
 that-type steel-thread that-time (Assertive Japanese
 morpheme)

ẽ tiâm-sĩâ à, cīt-lé ciàn-cēng ẽ
 Modifier time (Pause this-CL war Modifier
 marker marker)

tiâm-sĩâ thīq î-kēng bũe lái liâu, tāk ùi
 time steel already cannot come CPLTV every place

bũe lái. lâ khi bũe hĩ-õ hâi-tũe ẽ
cannot come and go buy that-type sea-under Modifier
marker

125 tiẽn - sũa cĩt-khuan cĩt-khuan, â lái pũeq, lũ
electric-thread one-roll one-roll PRT come strip you

cãi ó. Pũeq liâu hò cĩt-lé kũn-pò
know no strip CPLTV give this-CL military-division

iò.ng. Cĩt-lé cĩng-hũ liõ.k- kũn-pò. thẽq khi
use this-CL government land military take go
-division

iò.ng é. Â hiâ-é cò bó liâu
use Modal PRT PRT those-CL make not finished

é, kũi - cãp khũn gũa kò.ng lũ-láng khi
Modal PRT several ten roll I say you-people go

130 kã ĩ thiãp-thiãp úi là. Â nã lái
PTM 3 p.p pile-pile surround PRT PRT if come

ẽ sí lũ câu lõq khi hĩ-ẽ khãng-lãi.
Modifier time you run descend go that-CL hole-inside
marker

Â kũi phĩ thĩq-pãn, cĩt-péng tũ.ng-kĩm mã
PRT some sheets steel-plate this-side now also

kõq tĩ-lè, giá khi chũ-tĩú iò.ng hĩt-phĩ
still exist carry go house-site use that-sheet

thĩq-pãn mã-sĩ kũq ũ, â tãng ĩ khãm
steel-sheet also still exist and PTM 3 p.p cover

135 tĩ tẽng-bĩn tũ-tũ cĩt-lé lãng ẽ lõq là.
at above-face exactly one-CL person can get down PRT

Cĩt-lĩt kè cĩt-lĩt ĩn-lãng tiõq ã-mài cò.
one day cross one day they-people just don't want do

ã-mài cò hĩt-cĩt lĩt, tĩ bõq lái câq
don't want do that-one day about to come bomb

ẽ céng cĩt lĩt, gũa ciã pũn-sĩn khi
Modifier before one day I then myself go
marker

chũt chiũ, â ĩn-lãng ciã uã khi, khi
extend hand PRT they-people then go-near go go

- 140 chấu, khi cò. Â kôq kúi pâq pâu
 move go make and still several hundred sacks
- thó·-thũà kǎ ĩ úi, úi, tĩ pĩ - â
 earth-coal PTM 3p.p surround surround at side (Diminutive
 morpheme)
- ân-nê khûan nà.
 like this style PRT
- C. Thó·-thũà ẽ tôq khĩ lái mà.
 earth-coal can flare up come Q-marker
- F. Bũe. Thó·-thũà bũe tôq é. Thó·-thũà
 No earth-coal cannot flare Modal PRT earth-coal
- 145 sĩ siō ciâ ẽ tôq é. Câq-tán
 (Assertive burn then can flare-up Modal PRT bomb
 morpheme)
- lõq khĩ bó kô·ng hiâq khũai tōq é.
 descend go no say so fast flare-up Modal PRT
- C. Liâu, úi liâu ử iò·ng ó?
 then surround CPLTV did use Q-marker
- F. Ừ. Â úi liâu ử iò·ng. Â hĩt-cĩt lĩt
 yes PRT surround CPLTV did use PRT that-one day
- à, nẵg - é lánq niã. Cĩt-lé siố·ng-sùn,
 (Pause two -CL persons only one-CL Seong Soon
 marker)
- 150 cĩt-lé sẵng-gúan, nẵg - é lái. Â câq ... tháu
 one-CL Sẻng Guan two - CL come PRT bomb head
- cĩt-lĩt câq pẻ-cún pỗ·, tẻ lỉ lĩt tiốq
 one day bomb fly-ship field the second day then
- câq phỗ-tủe iỉâu lỏ. ĩn-lánq kỉn-kỉn câu
 bomb town-below CPLTV PRT they-people quickly run
- lỏq khỉ, cẵg lê lắi-bỉn lỏq khỉ.
 down go squeeze through into inside-face down go

Gũa -bìn ẽ lánq iă bôq lōq khi,
 outside-face Modifier people also want down go
 marker

155 cng bó lōq, tĩ gũa -bìn. Sĩ lê
 squeeze through no down at outside-face die at

 gũa -bìn.
 outside-face

C. Oh ...

F. Â hĩt-lé têng-bìn khâm ẽ hĩt-lé
 PRT that-CL above-face cover Modifier that-CL
 marker

thĩq-pân mã tiōq khāng.
 steel-sheet also receive hole

C.160 Têng-bìn khâm liâu bêq ân-cũâ ẽ lōq?
 above-face cover CPLTV will how can get down

F. Chũn cĩt-é lánq ẽ lōq là. Hĩt-é
 leave one-CL person can get down PRT that-CL

 ã - sĩ khâq tũa khúan nõ. Kōq cĩt-khúan
 not-(Assertive more big roll PRT still one-roll
 morpheme)

ẽ-sái tĩt tũa kúi lỏ ẽ lánq. Â khâm
 able can stay several CL Modifier people PRT cover
 marker

cĩt-pũà khi lái là, ấ chũn cĩt-pũà lánq
 one-half go come PRT PRT leave one-half person

165 cng lōq khi.
 squeeze through down go

C. Liâu ĩ-lánq ân-cũâ ...
 and they-people why

F.	<u>Siǒ·ng-sùn</u> Seong Soon	cng squeeze through	cīt-khāng, one-hole	sěng-gúan Seng Guan			
		cng squeeze through	cīt-khāng, one-hole	nng - é two - CL	kâ-liâu all	bó no	sî. 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. 5 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
10 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
15 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
20 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
25 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. There-
30 fore 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
45 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
50 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,
60 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) 80 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 85 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 90 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 95 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 100 ing 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.105 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
110 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.115 (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
120 "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
125 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
130 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
135 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.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akmajian, Adrian and Chisato Kitagawa, 1976. Deep Structure Binding of Pronouns and Anaphoric Bleeding. Language 52:61-77.
- Allerton, D. J. and Cruttenden, A., 1978. Three Reasons for Accenting a Definite Subject. J. Linguistics 15:49-53.
- Annear, Sandra and Lillian Liu, 1964. A Fragment of Mandarin Grammar --ba and bei. POLA Report #7:63-75.
- Bak, Sung-yun, 1977. Topicalization in Korean. University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics 9, 2.
- Bandhmedha, Navavan, 1976. Noun Phrase Deletion in Thai. University of Washington Doctoral Dissertation, Washington.
- Barclay, T., 1923. Supplement to Dictionary for the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy. Originally published by the Presbyterian Church of England. Reprinted by The Chinese Linguistics Project, Princeton, 1970.
- Bodman, Nicholas Cleaveland. 1955. Spoken Amoy Hokkien, Vol. I. Published by the authority of the Government, Federation of Malaya.
- , 1958. Spoken Amoy Hokkien. Vol. II. Published by the Government, Federation of Malaya.
- Bresnan, Joan, 1970. On Complementizers: Toward a Syntactic Theory of Complement Types. Foundations of Language 6:297-321.
- Brosnahan, Irene Teoh, 1972. Interrogative Structures in Amoy Chinese: A Transformational Approach. Georgetown University Doctoral Dissertation.
- Campbell, W., 1913. A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken Throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa.
- Chafe, W. L., 1970. Meaning and the Structure of Language. The University of Chicago Press.
- , 1974. Language and Consciousness. Language 50:111-133.
- , 1976. Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics and Point of View. In C. Li (ed.) Subject and Topic, Academic Press.

- Chan, L. H., 1975. Chinese Dialects in Southeast Asia. University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics 7.4. ERIC document ED138083.
- Chao, Yuen-Ren, 1968. A Grammar of Spoken Chinese. University of California Press.
- Chen, Betty H. Y., 1972. The Uses of Ho in Taiwanese. In Charles Tang et al (eds.) Papers in Linguistics in Honor of A. A. Hill. Taipei, Taiwan, Rainbow-Bridge Book Co.
- Cheng, R. L., 1974. Causative Constructions in Taiwanese. J. Chinese Linguistics 2.3:279-324.
- , 1977. Taiwanese Question Particles. J. Chinese Linguistics 5.
- , 1977. Tense in Taiwanese? Paper presented at the Symposium of Chinese Linguistics. LSA Linguistics Institute, University of Hawaii.
- , 1979. Focus Devices in Mandarin Chinese. Paper presented at the 1979 MLA Annual Meeting in San Francisco.
- , 1980. Chinese Question Forms and their Meanings. Paper presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Charlottesville, Virginia.
- Cheng, S., 1979. A Study of Taiwanese Adjectives. University of Hawaii MA thesis. National Taiwan Normal University Monographs on Modern Linguistics. Student Book Co., Taiwan.
- Cheung, Samuel H., 1973. A Comparative Study in Chinese Grammars: the ba Construction. J. Chinese Linguistics 1:343-382.
- Chomsky, N., 1965. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- , 1971. Deep Structure, Surface Structure, and Semantic Interpretation. In D. Steinberg and L. Jakobovits (eds.) Semantics London: Cambridge University Press.
- , 1975. Reflections on Language. Pantheon Books.
- , 1977. Filters and Control. Linguistic Inquiry 8:425-504.
- , 1980. On Binding. Linguistic Inquiry 11:1-46.
- , 1981. Lectures on Government and Binding: the Pisa Lectures. Foris Publications.
- Chu, C., 1972. The Passive Construction: Chinese and English. J. Chinese Linguistics 1. 3.

- Clark, Marybeth, 1975. Coverbs and Case in Vietnamese. University of Hawaii Doctoral Dissertation.
- Comrie, Bernard, 1976. Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems. Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, Philip, 1973. Theme, Rheme and Focus as Grammatical Universals. University of Southern California Doctoral Dissertation.
- Critz, James T., 1976. Assertion and Presupposition in Factive Clauses. University of Washington Doctoral Dissertation.
- DeWolf, Charles M., 1979. Sentential Predicates: A Cross-Linguistic Analysis. University of Hawaii Doctoral Dissertation.
- Douglas, C., 1899. Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy. London, Publishing Office of the Presbyterian Church of England.
- Egerod, Søren, 1967. Dialectology: Min Nan. Current Trends in Linguistics 2. The Hague, Netherlands, Mouton & Co., 91-129.
- Ekniyom, Peansiri, 1982. A Study of Informational Structuring in Thai Sentences. University of Hawaii Doctoral Dissertation.
- Fiengo, Robert, 1977. On Trace Theory. Linguistic Inquiry 8:35-61.
- Fillmore, Charles J., 1968. The Case for Case. In E Bach and R. Harms (eds.) Universals in Linguistic Theory. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Firbas, Jan, 1970. Some Aspects of the Czechoslovak Approach to Problems of Functional Sentence Perspective. In Danes (ed.) Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective. Mouton, Janua Linguarum, Series Minor 147:11-37.
- Freindin, Robert, 1975. The Analysis of Passives. Language 51, 2:384-405.
- Geelan, P. J. M. and D. C. Twitchett, 1974. The Times Atlas of China. Times Newspapers Limited.
- Green, Georgia, 1975. How to Get People to Do Things with Words: The Whimperative Question. In Peter Cole & J. Morgan (eds.) Syntax and Semantics Vol. 3, 107-142.
- , 1976. Main Clause Phenomena in Subordinate Clauses. Language 52:2.
- Grinder, John and Paul M. Postal, 1971. Missing Antecedents. Linguistic Inquiry 2, 3:269-312.

- Grossman, Robin E., 1975. (ed.) Papers from the Parasession on Functionalism. CLS, Chicago.
- Guéron, Jacqueline, 1980. On the Syntax and Semantics of PP Extraposition. Linguistic Inquiry 11, 4:637-678.
- Gundel, Jeanette, 1974. Role of Topic and Comment in Linguistic Theory. Ohio State University Doctoral Dissertation. Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Linguistic Club 1977.
- , 1975. Left Dislocation and the Role of Topic-Comment Structure in Linguistic Theory. Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics 18:72-131.
- , 1977a. Where do Cleft Sentences Come From? Language 53, 3:543-559.
- , 1977b. A Universal Constraint on Deletion. Proceeding from the Twelfth International Congress of Linguists, Vienna.
- , 1978. Stress, Pronominalization and the Given-New Distinction. University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics 10, 2.
- Halliday, M. A. K., 1967. Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English. Part 1: J. Linguistics 3, 1:37-81; Part 2: J. Linguistics 3, 2: 199-244; Part 3: J. Linguistics 4 (1968):153-308.
- , 1970. Language Structure and Language Function. In J. Lyons (ed.) New Horizons in Linguistics. Baltimore, Penguin Books, Inc., 140-165.
- Hasegawa, Kinsuke, 1968. The Passive Construction in English. Language 44, 2:230-243.
- Hasegawa, Nobuko, 1980. The VP Complement and Passives. Unpublished manuscript, University of Washington.
- , 1981. The VP Complement and "Control" Phenomena: Beyond Trace Theory. Linguistic Analysis 7, 1.
- Hashimoto, A., 1971. Mandarin Syntactic Structure. Unicorn 8, Princeton.
- Hashimoto, M., 1969. Observations on the Passive Construction. Unicorn 5:59-71.
- Hinds, John, 1975. Passives, Pronouns and Themes and Rhemes. Glossa 9, 1:79-106.
- Householder, Fred & Robert L. Cheng, 1967. Universe-Scope Relations in Chinese and Japanese. University of York.

- Howard, Irwin, 1968. Further Observations on Japanese Passive. Unpublished paper, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- , 1969. A Semantic-Syntactic Analysis of the Japanese Passive. Journal Newsletter of the Association of Teachers of Japanese, 6, 1.
- Hsu, Chian-li, 1972. On the Passive Sentences in Chinese. Unpublished manuscript, University of Minnesota.
- , 1974. On the Relationship Between the Active and the Passive in Chinese. J. Chinese Linguistics 2, 2.
- Huang, Shuan-fan, 1973. Movement in Mandarin Syntax. Bulletin of the College of Liberal Arts. National Taiwan University, No. 22.
- Jackendoff, Ray S., 1972. Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar. Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press.
- Jacobs, Roderick A. and Peter S. Rosenbaum, 1968. English Transformational Grammar. Waltham, Massachusetts, Blaisdell Publishing Co.
- , 1970. Readings in English Transformational Grammar. Waltham, Massachusetts, Ginn and Co.
- , 1971. Transformations, Style and Meaning. Xerox College Publishing.
- Jacobs, Roderick A., 1981. On Being Hypothetical. Chicago Linguistic Society 17.
- , (forthcoming). Towards a Semantic Grammar of English
- Jespersen, Otto, 1924. The Philosophy of Grammar. London, George Alden & Unwin Ltd.
- Johnson, Dora E., et al., 1976. Languages of Eastern Asia: A Survey of Materials for the Study of the Uncommonly Taught Languages. Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Virginia (ERIC document ED132835).
- Keenan, E., and B. Schieffelin, 1976. Foregrounding Referents: A Reconsideration of Left Dislocation in Discourse. Berkeley Linguistic Society 2.
- Kiparsky, Paul and Carol Kiparsky, 1971. Fact. In Steinberg and L. Jakobovits (eds.) Semantics. Cambridge University Press.
- Kreiman, Jody and Ojeda Almerindo, 1980 (eds.). Papers from the Par session on Pronouns and Anaphora. Chicago Linguistics Society, Chicago.

- Kuno, Susumo, 1972. Functional Sentence Perspective: A Case Study from Japanese and English. Linguistic Inquiry 3, 3:269-320.
- , 1976. Subject, Theme and the Speaker's Empathy--A Reexamination of Relativization Phenomena. In Charles Li (ed.) Subject and Topic 417-438.
- Kuno, S. and E. Kaburaki, 1975. Empathy and Syntax. In Formal Linguistics, Report No. NSF-30, Department of Linguistics, Harvard University.
- Kuntzman, Linda E., 1980. A Study in English Passives. University of Hawaii Doctoral Dissertation.
- Langacker, Ronald W. and Pamela Munro, 1975. Passives and their Meaning. Language 5, 4:789-830.
- Li, Charles N. and Sandra A. Thompson, 1974. Chinese as a Topic-Prominent Language. Presented at the Seventh Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Atlanta, Georgia.
- , 1974. Co-Verbs in Mandarin Chinese: Verbs or Prepositions? J. Chinese Linguistics 2, 3.
- , 1976. Subject and Topic: A New Typology of Language. In Charles Li (ed.) Subject and Topic. Academic Press.
- , 1979. An Exploration of Mandarin Chinese. In W. P. Lehmann (ed.) Syntactic Typology. University of Texas Press.
- Li, Charles N., 1976. (ed.) Subject and Topic. Academic Press.
- Li, Chen-Ching, 1979. A Syntactic and Semantic Study of Taiwanese Modality. University of Hawaii Doctoral Dissertation.
- Li, Ying-che, 1972. Problems of Subject, Object etc. in Chinese. In Charles Tang et al. (eds.) Papers in Linguistics in Honor of A. A. Hill, Taipei, Taiwan, Rainbow Bridge Book Co.
- , 1974. What does 'disposal' mean? Features of the Verb and Noun in Chinese. J. Chinese Linguistics 2, 2,
- Lii, Yu-Hwei Eunice, 1975. Word Order, Transformation, and Communicative Function in Mandarin Chinese. Cornell University Doctoral Dissertation, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Long, Ralph, 1961. The Sentence and its Parts. University of Chicago Press.
- Lyons, John, 1968. Theoretical Linguistics. Cambridge University Press.

- Lyons, John, 1970. New Horizons in Linguistics. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Magretta, William R., 1977. Topic-Comment Structure and Linguistic Theory: A Functional Approach. University of Michigan Doctoral Dissertation
- Mathesius, Vilem, 1928. "On Linguistic Characterology with Illustrations from Modern English," Actes du Premier Congres International de Linguistes a La Haye (1928), 56-63. Reprinted in J. Vachek, A Prague School Reader in Linguistics, 59-67.
- , 1975. A Functional Analysis of Present Day English on a General Linguistic Basis. ed. Joseph Vachek, The Hague: Mouton.
- Matisoff, James A., 1973. The Grammar of Lahu. Los Angeles, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McKaughan, Howard, 1973. Subject versus Topic. University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics 5, 1.
- Medhurst, W. H., 1832. Dictionary of the Hok-keen Dialect. East India Company Press.
- Postal, Paul M., 1970. On Coreferential Complement Subject Deletion. Linguistic Inquiry 1, 4:439-500.
- Richards, Jack and Mary Tay, 1977. The La Particle in Singapore English. In The English Language in Singapore. ed. William Crewe, Eastern Universities Press.
- Roberts, Thomas H., 1968. Noun Phrase Substitutes and Zero Anaphora in Mandarin Chinese. University of Hawaii Doctoral Dissertation.
- Ross, Claudia, 1981. Zero Pronominalization in Mandarin and Formulation of Core. Chicago Linguistic Society 17.
- Ross, John R., 1967. Constraints on Variables in Syntax. MIT Doctoral Dissertation.
- , 1970. On Declarative Sentences. In R. Jacobs and P. Rosenbaum (eds.) Readings in English Transformational Grammar, Ginn and Co.
- Sanders, G. A. and James Tai, 1972. Immediate Dominance and Identity Deletion. Foundations of Language 8:161-198.
- Sapir, E., 1921. Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech. Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Schachter, Paul, 1973. Focus and Relativization. Language 49, 1:19-46.

- Schroten, Jan, 1981. Subject Deletion or Subject Formation: Evidence from Spanish. Linguistic Analysis 7, 2:121-169.
- Searle, John, 1969. Speech Acts. Cambridge, England, Cambridge University Press.
- Sgall, Petr, Eva Hajicova, and Eva Benesova, 1975. Topic, Focus and Generative Semantics. Review of Dahl in J. Linguistics 11, 2:347-354.
- Sung, Margaret M. Y., 1974. A Study of Literary and Colloquial Amoy Chinese. Stanford University Doctoral Dissertation.
- Tai, James H. Y., 1973. A Note on the ba Construction. Paper presented at the Sixth International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Language and Linguistics, San Diego, California.
- Tang, Ting-chi, 1977. Double Object Constructions in Chinese--A Preliminary Report. Paper presented at the Symposium on Chinese Linguistics, LSA Linguistic Institute, 1977, University of Hawaii.
- Tay, Mary W. J., 1968. A Phonological Study of Hokkien. University of Edinburgh Doctoral Dissertation.
- Teng, Shou-Hsin, 1974. Double Nominatives in Chinese. Language 50, 3.
- Thompson, Sandra A., 1972. Transitivity and some problems with the ba constructions in Mandarin Chinese. J. Chinese Linguistics 1, 2.
- Tsao, Feng-Fu, 1977a. Subject and Topic in Chinese. Paper presented at the Symposium of Chinese Linguistics, LSA Linguistic Institute held in Hawaii.
- , 1977b. A Functional Study of Topic in Chinese: The First Step Toward Discourse Analysis. University of Southern California Doctoral Dissertation.
- Uehara, Eiko, 1979. Equi-NP Deletion and Subject Raising in Japanese. University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics 11, 3:123-148.
- , 1982. Some Informational Dimensions of Embedding in Japanese. University of Hawaii Doctoral Dissertation.
- Vachek, Josef, 1966. The Linguistic School of Prague: An Introduction to its Theory and Practice. Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Press.
- Wang, Peter, 1970. Transformational Approach to Chinese ba and bei. University of Texas Doctoral Dissertation.

- Wang, Peter, 1971. Additional Support for the Transformational Approach to Mandarin ba and bei. Paper read before the Fourth International Conference, Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistic Studies, Indiana University.
- Wang, William S-Y., 1965. Two Aspect Markers in Mandarin. Language 41, 3:457-470.
- Wasow, Thomas, 1975. Anaphoric Pronouns and Bound Variables. Language 51, 2:368-383.
- Weil, Henry, 1844. The Order of Words in the Ancient Languages Compared with that of the Modern Languages. Translated with notes and additions by Charles W. Super, Boston: Ginn and Co.
- Yip, Moira, 1977. The Cantonese Pre-transitive Marker Jeung. Paper presented at the Symposium on Chinese Linguistics, LSA 1977 University of Hawaii.