

Hainan Min Passives^{*}

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the Hainan Min passive construction and passive markers. As in most Chinese languages, there are two strata for Hainan Min passive markers, *ioh* as a native marker and *bi* as a borrowed one. The *ioh*-passives can either simply report a passive event or express the patient subject's volition, while the *bi*-passives are mostly used to describe a passive event. This paper explores the etymological origin of the word *ioh*. Three candidates for its origin are examined, and the word 著 is concluded to be phonologically, semantically, and historically the optimal solution for the origin of the passive marker. In addition, it is found that Hainan Min *ioh*, like Taiwanese Southern Min *hoo*, can function as a passive marker and as a causative verb. The paper also proposes that a sound change of the passive marker *ioh* occurred in Hainan Min, which was *tioh* > *dioh* > *?ioh* > *ioh*.

Key words: Hainan Min, passive construction, passive marker, Southern Min *tioh*⁸

1. Introduction

Hainan Min¹ is a dialect spoken on Hainan Island in southern China. The dialect

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1. Hainan Southern Min data were gathered during our field work on Hainan Island. Following Woon (2004) and Liu (2006), we found that the voiced consonants in the Wenchang dialect include /b, b̥, d, d̥, m, n, ŋ, l, dz, g, h/. The voiceless consonants are /p, t, s, ts, k, h, ʔ/. Vowels include /a, i, u, ε, o/. The vowel [ε] is rendered as 'e'. In addition, this paper simplifies 'bi' to be 'B' when the letter is capitalized for the convenience of typing. The transcription for Hainan Min in this paper basically follows Woon (2004) and Liu (2006), while Taiwan Southern Min follows Church Romanization. The transcription of tone systems in Hainan Min is rendered by tone values and Taiwan Southern Min is by tone categories.

is assumed to be one branch of the Southern Min group of dialects (Yang & Xia 1992, Liang 1994). Compared to other Min dialects, Hainan Min has been largely ignored by linguists. Investigations into Hainan Min have generally involved the following three aspects: phonetics, lexicon and syntax, with research on Hainan Min phonetic and lexical fields overwhelmingly exceeding research on syntax. Discussion of Hainan Min syntactic structures is scarce in the previous literature.² This paper introduces passive sentences in Hainan Min, with focus on the Wenchang dialect.³

Compared to its many dialects, rather more research has been done on passive constructions in standard Mandarin. This research includes both synchronic analyses by means of ancient Chinese data and cross-linguistic analyses by Chinese-English comparison. Within the previous research, Hashimoto (1988) proposes that the word *bei* 'passive' is a verb which takes a clausal complement.⁴ His work is based on cross-dialectal investigation and concludes that the passive marker in southern Chinese dialects is usually parallel to 'giving' verbs. Hashimoto's assumption is examined in this paper by use of the Hainan Min data. Ting (1993, 1995, 1998) and Huang (1999) adopt the Principles and Parameters theory to explain Chinese passives. Huang combines the movement and the complementation approaches to create a new analysis for Chinese passives. Lien (2007) adopts a construction grammar approach (Goldberg 1995, 2006) to analyze Taiwan Southern Min passives. The previous research mostly focuses on Mandarin data with some consideration of Southern Min. However, the understanding of Mandarin or Southern Min passives cannot be fully applied to Hainan Min passives. For example, many efforts made on Mandarin passives have been done to argue the syntactic position of the word *bei* (e.g. Chu 1973, Feng 1997, Huang 1999, Tang 2001, Chen 2002, Shi 2003, Shi & Hu 2005). Nevertheless, the passive marker in Hainan Min is found to be *ioh*, which is phonetically very different from Mandarin *bei*.

2. Qian (2002) is the first book to introduce Hainan Min syntax, especially on the Tunchang dialect.

3. The data mostly comes from our field work on Hainan Island. The informants are Hainan Wenchang dialect native speakers. The Wenchang dialect was the dialect chosen by Yamaji & Matsutani (1941) to teach Japanese soldiers Hainan Min. In addition, Hashimoto had investigated Hainan Min for many years and his works were all based on the Wenchang dialect (Hashimoto 1959, 1960, 1961a, 1961b, 1976). Liang (1986) explored Hainan Min's phonetic field in the Wenchang dialect. Woon (2004) compared Hainan Min and Zhangzhou Southern Min from a sociolinguistic perspective. In his book, the Wenchang dialect principally represents Hainan Min. Therefore, the Wenchang dialect is essentially representative of the Hainan Min dialects.

4. Huang (1999) points out that Hashimoto (1969) has already made this assumption, while Wang (1970) believes that the subject in the *bei*-passives is derived from movement. Wei (1994) supports Hashimoto's complementation approach from a historical perspective. However, many generative grammarians (e.g. Li 1985, 1990, Travis 1984, Huang 1999) argue that Chinese passives involve movement.

We believe that the two divergent words do not share the same syntactic behaviors. Thus, the discussion of Mandarin *bei* cannot completely explain Hainan Min *ioh*. Likewise, the exploration of Southern Min passives may not match Hainan Min passives because the Southern Min passive marker is known as *hoo*, which is again very different from *ioh*. In addition, unlike most southern Chinese dialects, the word *ioh* is found to also function as a ‘taking’ verb rather than a ‘giving’ verb. The previous literature on Mandarin and Southern Min passives cannot successfully satisfy our need to comprehend Hainan Min passives. This paper aims to investigate the properties of the Hainan Min passive construction. We hope the efforts on Hainan Min passives can help the study of the other dialects and further take the Hainan Min dialect into consideration to better interpret Chinese passive construction.

2. Properties of Hainan Min passives

2.1 Only long passives, no short passives

Mandarin passives can be syntactically expressed in two forms: (i) a long passive with an agent and (ii) a short passive without an agent. Each is shown in (1) and (2).

(1) The long passive

Zhangsan bei Lisi da le
 Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit PERF⁵
 ‘Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.’

(2) The short passive

Zhangsan bei da le
 Zhangsan BEI hit PERF
 ‘Zhangsan was hit.’

When the agent is overt, as in (1), it always follows the passive morpheme *bei* and precedes the VP. Both passive expressions are very common in Mandarin. However, Hainan Min only allows the long passive and not the short passive, as in (3) and (4).

(3) Lau⁴²-di⁴² ioh³³ *(h5ia⁴⁴-ko⁴⁴) phah⁵⁵ la¹¹
 young-brother IOH elder brother hit PERF
 ‘The younger brother was hit *(by his elder brother).’

5. The following abbreviations are used in glossing examples: SG singular; PL plural (e.g. 3PL=3rd person plural); GEN genitive; CL classifier; NEG negation; PART sentence-final particle; PERF perfective aspect; Q question marker.

- (4) Hu²² ioh³³ *(niau⁴⁴) tsiah³³ liau²¹
 fish IOH cat eat PERF
 'The fish was eaten *(by the cat).'

In the Hainan Min equivalent of the Mandarin short passive, a neutral agent, such as *people* or *he*, is added following the passive marker *ioh*. This is shown in (5) and (6).

- (5) Mandarin: Ta¹ bei⁴ ma⁴ le 'He was scolded.'
 Hainan Min: I⁴⁴ ioh³³ *(nang²²) me⁴⁴ la¹¹
 3SG IOH people scold PERF
 'He was scolded *(by people).'

- (6) Mandarin: Wo³-men hui⁴ bei⁴ pien⁴ ma 'Will we be cheated?'
 Hainan Min: Gua²¹-nang²² beh⁵⁵ ioh³³ *(i⁴⁴) uang²¹ ma⁴⁴
 1PL will IOH 3SG cheat Q
 'Will we be cheated *(by him)?'

Hainan Min speakers also make use of topicalization to avoid using the short passives. For example, in (7) and (8), the patient occupies the sentence initial position as a topic. The passive marker *ioh* is not employed in these sentences.

- (7) De²²-tsiang⁴⁴ dou⁴⁴ phah⁵⁵ beh⁵⁵ la¹¹
 tea-cup all break broken PERF
 'The teacup was broken.'

- (8) Sio²² dou⁴⁴ hiah⁵⁵ la¹¹
 wall all demolish PERF
 'The wall was totally demolished.'

2.2 Native and borrowed passive markers

There are two passive markers in Hainan Min: *ioh* and *bi*. The two markers seem to share similar distributions, as shown in (9)–(11).

- (9) Gua²¹ ioh³³/bi⁴² i⁴⁴ phah⁵⁵
 1SG IOH/BI 3SG hit
 'I was hit by him.'

- (10) I⁴⁴ ioh³³/bi⁴² nang²² me⁴⁴
 3SG IOH/BI people scold
 'He was scolded by some/the people.'

- (11) Gua²¹ ioh³³/bi⁴² kau²¹ ka⁴² la¹¹
 1SG IOH/BI dog bite PERF

‘I was bitten by a dog.’

However, the two markers do not fully share the same distributions. When passive sentences contain subject-oriented adverbs like *intentionally*, *willingly*, *voluntarily*, *deliberately* modifying the patient subject, the word *ioh* is the only passive marker that is allowed. Examples are shown in (12)–(15).

- (12) Gua²¹ dziak³³-kang⁴⁴ ioh³³/*bi⁴² i⁴⁴ phah⁵⁵
 1SG intentionally IOH/BI 3SG hit
 ‘I intentionally got hit by him.’

- (13) Gua²¹ bo²² tio⁴² ioh³³/*bi⁴² i⁴⁴ me⁴⁴
 1SG NEG want IOH/BI 3SG scold
 ‘I am not willing to be scolded by him.’

- (14) I⁴⁴ dzuan⁴²-i¹¹ ioh³³/*bi⁴² gua²¹ uang²¹
 3SG willing IOH/BI 1SG cheat
 ‘He is willing to be cheated by me.’

- (15) I⁴⁴ dzuan⁴²-i¹¹ ioh³³/*bi⁴² lau⁴²-se⁴⁴ huat³³
 3SG voluntarily IOH/BI teacher punish
 ‘He voluntarily got punished by the teacher.’

The passive marker *ioh* meets the selectional requirements of subject-oriented adverbs, but the marker *bi* does not. This fact suggests that the difference between *ioh* and *bi* parallels the difference between English *get*-passives and *be*-passives (Lasnik and Fiengo 1974, Huang 1999). English *get*-passives can co-occur with volitional adverbs, like (16a), (17a), while *be*-passives cannot, as in (16b), (17b).

- (16) a. The pedestrian got hit deliberately. (=Huang 1999 (8))
 b. *The pedestrian was hit deliberately.
 (17) a. Rodman got fouled by Ewing on purpose. (=Huang 1999 (9))
 b. *Rodman was fouled by Ewing on purpose.

As far as volition of the subject is concerned, the behavior of the Hainan Min passive *ioh* is on a par with *get*-passives in English and *bi* with *be*-passives. Mandarin Chinese passive *bei*, on the other hand, is assumed to be more similar to English *get*-passives rather than to *be*-passives. Hainan Min passives, therefore, differ from Mandarin Chinese passives in that Hainan Min contains two passive markers to express different functions, as in English. We consider *ioh* to be a native passive marker, while *bi* has been borrowed from Mandarin *bei*. When *bei* spread from Northern China to Hainan

Min, it started to compete with the original passive marker *ioh*. The two markers eventually evolved to perform different functions.

However, Hainan Min *ioh*-passives are not completely analogous to English *get*-passives. Alexiadou (2005) points out that the *get*-passives lack an implicit external argument. Therefore, it is not possible for a *get*-passive to occur with an inanimate subject, as shown in (18).

- (18) a. The book was torn on purpose.
 b. *The book got torn on purpose. (Fox and Grodzinsky 1998: 327)

The animacy requirement is applied in English *get*-passives, but not in Hainan Min passives. Both *ioh*-passives and *bi*-passives allow inanimate subjects, such as those in (19)–(21).

- (19) Gua²¹ kai²² seh⁵⁵ ioh³³/bi⁴² nang²² hau⁴⁴ hu¹¹ la¹¹
 1SG GEN book IOH/BI people steal go PERF
 ‘My book was stolen by somebody.’

- (20) Tsioh³³-bo²¹ ioh³³/bi⁴² nang²² oi⁴⁴ loh³³ tui²¹ la¹¹
 rock IOH/BI people push fall water PER
 ‘The rock was pushed into the water.’

- (21) Tio⁴⁴-tui²¹-fan²² ioh³³/bi⁴² gua²¹ phah⁵⁵ sui¹¹ la¹¹
 thermos bottle IOH/BI 1SG hit broken PERF
 ‘The thermos was broken by me.’

Generally, the word *ioh* is the most frequently used of the Hainan Min passives, but, when the context is Mandarin-like, the word *bi* becomes the only choice. For example, the *bi*-passive is preferred over the *ioh*-passive in (22). Hainan Min speakers do not use *ioh*-passive when the sentence sounds unnatural in their language. Instead, they tend to employ *bi*-passives to directly correspond to Mandarin *bei*-passives.

- (22) Mandarin: Ta¹ bei⁴ huo³-che¹ wu⁴-dian³ le
 3SG BEI train delay-hour PERF
 ‘(Lit.) He was delayed by the train.’
 Hainan Min: I⁴⁴ *ioh³³/bi⁴² ue²¹-sia⁴⁴ gou⁴⁴-ciam²¹ la¹¹
 3SG IOH/BI train delay-hour PERF.
 ‘(Lit.) He was delayed by the train.’

According to the distributions of *ioh* and *bi*, I confirm that *ioh* belongs to the native stratum and *bi* is borrowed from Mandarin.

2.3 Co-occurrence with other functional words

In Mandarin, the ‘giving’ verb *gei* can be present in passive sentences. The word order is such that the passive marker *bei* precedes *gei* and the configuration *bei...gei* is often followed by a VP, as in (23)–(24). However, the ‘*bei...gei*’ sentence pattern is not allowed in Hainan Min.

- (23) Mandarin: Ta¹ bei⁴ ren² gei³ pien⁴ le
 3SG BEI people give cheat PERF
 ‘He was cheated by somebody.’

Hainan Min: I⁴⁴ ioh³³ nang²² (*kiop⁵⁵) uang²¹ hu¹¹ la¹¹
 3SG IOH people give cheat go PERF
 ‘He was cheated by somebody.’

- (24) Mandarin: Na⁴ zhi¹ gou³ bei⁴ ren² gei³ ti¹ le yi¹-xia⁴
 that CL dog BEI people give kick PERF one-CL
 ‘That dog was kicked.’

Hainan Min: Ho¹¹ tsiah⁵⁵ kau²¹ ioh³³ nang²² (*kiop⁵⁵) hat⁵⁵ dziak³³-e⁴⁴
 that CL dog IOH people give kick one-CL
 ‘That dog was kicked.’

In addition, it is also acceptable for the passive marker *bei* to co-occur with another functional word *ba* to form a ‘*bei...ba*’ configuration, as in (25). Unlike Mandarin, a passive structure in Hainan Min is not compatible with a disposal structure. Moreover, a passive structure with both functional markers *ba* and *gei* is fine in Mandarin but ruled out in Hainan Min, as shown in (26).

- (25) Mandarin: Ta¹ bei⁴ wo³ ba³ ta¹ gan³ chu¹ qu⁴
 3SG BEI 1SG BA 3SG chase out go
 ‘He was chased out by me.’

Hainan Min: I⁴⁴ ioh³³ gua²¹ (*bue^{42;44}i⁴⁴) kua²¹ sut⁵⁵ hu¹¹
 3SG IOH 1SG BUE 3SG chase out go
 ‘He was chased out by me.’

- (26) Mandarin: Lao³-zhang¹ bei⁴ tu³-fei³ ba³ ta¹ gei³ zai³ le
 Lao-zhang BEI bandit BA 3SG give kill PERF
 ‘Lao-zhang was killed by bandits.’

Hainan Min: Lau⁴²-tsiang⁴⁴ ioh³³ hou²¹-bui²² (*bue^{42;44}i⁴⁴) (*kiop⁵⁵) hai²² hu¹¹ la¹¹
 Lau-tsiang IOH bandit BUE 3SG give kill go PERF
 ‘Lau-tsiang was killed by bandits.’

The function categories like *bei*, *ba*, *gei* in Mandarin can co-occur in an utterance. The arguments of the three functional words seem to interact with each other. For example, the object of *ba* and the object of the *gei*-V are both co-referent to the subject of *bei*. The patient subject of the *bei-ba-gei* sentence overtly or covertly occurs repeatedly through/with *ba* and *gei*-V. This helps the speaker focus the attention of addressees on the patient subject. On the other hand, Hainan Min does not employ the syntactic mechanism of multiple function words to draw the listener's attention to the subject. It simply utilizes *ioh*-passives to reveal the same information structure as Mandarin. Hainan Min passives, though not allowed to co-occur with other function words, exploit two passive markers to convey different pragmatic functions discussed in the following sections.

3. *Ioh*-passives vs. *bi*-passives

Hainan Min speakers usually employ an active sentence to describe or report an event instead of a passive sentence. For example, when a Hainan Min speaker is asked to translate Mandarin passives, like those in (27a), into Hainan Min, the preferred corresponding Hainan Min sentences are always in an active voice, like (27b). The passive sentence (27c) in Hainan Min is not the preferred choice to correspond to the Mandarin passive sentence.

- (27) Mandarin: a. Wo³ bei⁴ ta¹ da³ le
 1SG BEI 3SG hit PERF
 Hainan Min: b. I⁴⁴ phah⁵⁵ gua²¹ la¹¹ (preferred form: active voice)
 3SG hit 1SG PERF
 c. Gua²¹ ioh³³ i⁴⁴ phah⁵⁵ la¹¹ (second choice: passive voice)
 1SG IOH 3SG hit PERF
 'I was hit by him.'

The *ioh*-passives in Hainan Min seem to express a special attitude of the speaker towards the subject. When Hainan Min speakers believe that the subject of a passive sentence holds volition or permits the activity conveyed by VP, the *ioh*-passive structure is employed. In example (27c), the interpretation can be either 'I was hit by him' or 'I was (willingly) hit by him.' Similar to Taiwanese *hoo*, Hainan Min *ioh* can not only serve as a simple passive verb, but also can convey the subject's permission or intention, as is shown in (28).

- (28) I⁴⁴-nang²² ioh³³ nang²² uang²¹ liau²¹
 3PL IOH people cheat PERF

‘They were (intentionally) cheated by people.’

If *ioh*-passives function to show the volition of the subject, then the other Hainan Min passive structure, the *bi*-passive, is assumed to be a non-volitional passive. Example (29) demonstrates a contrastive pair of *ioh*-passives and *bi*-passives.

- (29) I⁴⁴ #ioh³³/bi⁴² nang²² sia⁴⁴ loh³³ hai²¹ 6
 3SG IOH/BI people push fall sea
 ‘He was pushed into the sea by somebody.’

When the subject in (29) is not willing to be pushed into the sea, only the *bi*-passives form is acceptable (rather than *ioh*-passives). Moreover, the intentional adverbs and verbs can only co-occur with *ioh*-passives, but not with *bi*-passives, as in (30)–(33).

- (30) Gua²¹ dziak³³-kang⁴⁴ ioh³³/*bi⁴² tsioh³³-bo²¹ hat⁵⁵ buah³³
 1SG intentionally IOH/BI rock kick fall
 ‘I intentionally fell down by kicking the rock.’

- (31) Gua²¹ bo²² tio⁴² ioh³³/*bi⁴² i⁴⁴ me⁴⁴
 1SG NEG want IOH/BI 3SG scold
 ‘I don’t want to be scolded by him.’ NEG

- (32) I⁴⁴ bo²² dzuan⁴²-i¹¹ ioh³³/*bi⁴² nang²² sio¹¹
 3SG NEG willingly IOH/BI people laugh at
 ‘He was not willing to be laughed at by people.’

- (33) I⁴⁴ dzuan⁴²-i¹¹ ioh³³/*bi⁴² lau⁴²-se⁴⁴ fuat³³
 3SG willingly IOH/BI teacher punish
 ‘He was willingly punished by the teacher.’

It is concluded that *ioh*-passives can be used to express the volition of the subject, while *bi*-passives cannot. However, the conclusion does not hold in the following pair, (34).

- (34) Gu²² ioh³³/#bi⁴² nang²² tuah⁵⁵ lo⁴²
 cattle IOH/BI people kill PERF
 ‘The cattle were killed by people.’

The patient subject, the cattle, is presumably not willingly killed. In this circumstance, example (34) seems to serve as an exception to the previous conclusion.

6. The ‘#’ marks ‘semantic inappropriateness’ rather than ungrammaticality.

This paper considers example (34) to be an example of yet another function of Hainan Min passive marker *ioh* rather than an exception to the above-stated rule. It is assumed that the word *ioh* not only expresses the volition of the subject, but also a speaker's empathy towards the patient subject. In example (34), because Hainan Min peasants greatly cherish their cattle, speakers tend to utilize the *ioh*-passive structure to describe the cattle's being killed to express the speaker's empathy for the cattle. The native passive marker *ioh* is used to articulate the locutionary agent's personal belief or attitude.⁷ It is assumed that *bi* as a borrowed word does not share this part of function of the native word *ioh*.

In addition, the permissive and intentional meanings of the word *ioh* tend to make *ioh*-passives occur with animate subjects, as in (28)–(34). However, the animacy of the subjects does not decide the acceptability of *ioh*-passives, as data shown in the previous sections demonstrates. Many *ioh*-passives occur with inanimate subjects.

In many cases, both *ioh*-passives and *bi*-passives are allowed. Hainan Min makes use of two passive markers to share the passive functions. Both *ioh* and *bi* can be used as an agent marker to articulate a passive event, but only *ioh* can express the volition of the subject or speaker's attitude.

4. Passive marker *ioh*

As discussed in the previous section, the passive marker *bi* is used to indicate non-volitional passives in Hainan Min and *bi* is assumed to have originated from Mandarin passive marker *bei*. Compared to *bi*, the word *ioh* is an inherently local passive verb in Hainan Min. This section explores the origin of *ioh*.

4.1 Three candidates for the origin of *ioh*

The Hainan Min passive marker *ioh* stands apart from other Southern Min dialects. The majority of passive markers in Southern Min dialects are rendered as *hoo*⁷, e.g. in Xiamen, Zhangzhou and Taiwan Southern Min. The word *khit*⁴ is a variety used in some other dialects, such as in Quanzhou Southern Min and in Kuangdong Leizhou. In Cantonese, the passive marker is pronounced *pei*²⁴. The Hainan Min passive marker *ioh* obviously differs from Southern Min *hoo*, *khit* and Cantonese *pei*, and it is hard to detect a link between Hainan Min and the passive markers of other dialects. An alternative approach, therefore, is to explore the previous relevant literature.

Previous research on Hainan Min syntax is scarce. Among the limited references,

7. As Ma (2006) and Shao (2006) have already pointed out, the Mandarin passive structure is a linguistic tactic to express subjectivity.

three possibilities for passive *ioh*'s origin can be found. Passive *ioh* is rendered as the Chinese character 要 in Chen (1996) and Qian (2002), as 欲 in Woon (2004), and 著 in *Hainan Colloquial* (1941).⁸ From a semantic perspective, the words 要 and 欲 are close to each other as 'want' and 'desire,' while the word 著 is a polysemous term which can indicate 'wear,' 'attach,' 'suffer,' 'progressive,' 'right,' 'target' and so on (cf. Lien 2001). From the data source's viewpoint, Chen (1996) is a dictionary for the Hainan Min Haikou dialect. Qian (2002) is mainly based on the Tunchang dialect. Data in Woon (2004) and *Hainan Colloquial* (1941) were collected from the Wenchang dialect. From a phonetic perspective, 要 is pronounced as *iau*³, 欲 as *ioh*⁸, and 著 as *tioh*⁸ in Southern Min. The relative information of the three potential origins of the Hainan Min passive *ioh* is summarized as follows:

Chinese characters		要	欲	著
Southern Min Sounds		<i>iau</i> ³	<i>ioh</i> ⁸	<i>tioh</i> ⁸
Sources	Chen (1996, Haikou dialect)	✓		
	Qian (2002, Tunchang dialect)	✓		
	Woon (2004, Wenchang dialect)		✓	
	Hainan Colloquial (1941, Wenchang dialect)			✓
Semantics		want, desire		suffer

This paper assumes that *tioh*⁸ 著 is the etymological origin of the Hainan Min passive marker *ioh*, rather than *iau*³ 要 and *ioh*⁸ 欲.

The word *iau*³ 要 is not considered a likely origin of the Hainan Min passive marker because, firstly, it is phonetically distinct from Hainan Min *ioh* and, secondly, *iau*³ 要 does not function as a passive marker in most of its distributions. *Shuowen Jiezi* (《說文解字》), a first systematic dictionary (ca. 121 AD), does not contain a passive usage of *iau*³ 要. In addition, we found 162 tokens of *iau*³ 要 in the text of *Li Jing Ji* (《荔鏡記》), Southern Min play scripts (ca. 1522–1908 AD) in which *iau*³ 要 did not serve as a passive marker. It is also hard to find a link for the word *ioh*⁸ 欲 whereby it may come to be associated with a passive function. No definitions of *ioh*⁸ 欲 in *Shuowen Jiezi* can be related to passive semantics. In *Li Jing Ji*, we observed eight tokens of *ioh*⁸ 欲 and again there were no examples that could be construed as passive.

Hainan Colloquial (1941) is a language-teaching volume published during World War II for the Japanese government in order to conquer and administrate Hainan

8. It denotes Yamaji & Matsutani's (1941) *Kainantoogo Kaiwa* (Hereafter, *Hainan Colloquial*).

Island. The data collected in the book represent Hainan Min data from about 70 years ago. In *Hainan Colloquial*, we found 16 sentences which contained the word 著 and only two examples could be interpreted as passives. The phonetic form of the word 著 is rendered as *dioh* in *Hainan Colloquial*. It is proposed in this paper that the initial sound /d/ is incorrectly recorded in *Hainan Colloquial*. It should be an implosive stop /d/. According to Woon (2004), though the character is rendered as 欲, the passive marker is phonetically recorded as *?io*. A glottal stop ? occupies the onset position of the word. This glottal stop onset is believed to be related to /t/ in the word *tioh* 著. The tone value of Woon's *?io* is a high falling tone rendered as '51.' We found that words with an entering tone in Southern Min can correspond to words with tone value '51' in Woon (2004).⁹ In Chen's (1996) Haikou dictionary, the passive marker is rendered as *io* with an entering tone and without a glottal stop onset. From a phonetic perspective, the word *tioh* 著 is the most plausible candidate for the etymological origin of the Hainan Min passive marker. Following *Hainan Colloquial*'s data, the passive marker was uttered as *dioh* about 70 years ago. However, according to Chen's, Woon's and our own field work surveys, the passive marker is now more like *?ioh* or *ioh*. In summary, the phonetic forms of *dioh*, *?ioh* and *ioh* support the word 著 as the origin of the Hainan Min passive marker.

4.2 *Tioh* 著

Tioh 著 is a polysemous lexeme. It can function as a verb, a verbal complement, a deontic modal, an adverb marker, a clausal connector and a discourse marker (Lien 2001). We believe that the passive function of *tioh* comes from one of *tioh*'s verbal usages, 'suffer.' Yang (1992) proposes that the 'suffer' sense of *tioh* originates in the NanBei dynasty (ca. 420–581 AD), and is widely used after the Tang dynasty. For example, 著 occurs frequently in *Pu Tong Shi* (《朴通事》), a textbook for Korean people to learn Chinese (published around 1346–1368 AD). Xie (1991) points out that one of the common usages of 著 in *Pu Tong Shi* is to indicate 'suffering.' Many linguists (e.g. Mei 1988, Yang 1992, and Cao 1995) agree that the multiple senses of 著 are derived from the semantics of 'attach.' Yang (1992) also argues that the 'suffer' sense of Southern Min *tioh* can be traced back to *tioh*'s basic meaning 'attach.' Therefore, Southern Min *tioh* undergoes a process of grammaticalization. It commences as a verb indicating 'attach' to become a more semantically light verb 'suffer' and finally develops into a passive marker.

9. Examples are like Southern Min *kiap*⁴ vs. Hainan Min *kiap*⁵¹ 'rob,' *ah*⁴ vs. *?a*⁵¹ 'duck,' *bak*⁴ vs. *bak*⁵¹ 'the width of cloth,' *hoat*⁴ vs. *huat*⁵¹ 'develop' and *phah*⁴ vs. *pha*⁵¹ 'beat' and others. Therefore, Woon's *?io*⁵¹ can be assumed to be parallel to a staccato (entering tone).

As for the Hainan Min passive marker, it is believed to undergo a process of grammaticalization analogous to Southern Min *tioh*⁸. It is interesting to find a word in Hainan Min which has the same phonetic form as *tioh*⁸ and semantics which happens to indicate ‘suffer,’ as shown in (35).

- (35) Du²¹ d³³ioh³³ mih⁵⁵ be⁴⁴
 2SG suffer what sickness
 ‘What sickness do you suffer from?’

The finding proves that 著 is still used in Hainan Min to mean ‘suffer,’ but the initial onset has changed to an implosive stop /d/. At the same time, this *dioh*³³ has been experiencing a sound change from *dioh* to *ioh* as the verb is grammaticalized to a more functional word, a passive marker. However, the sound change has not reached stable completion. In *Hainan Colloquial*, the passive marker was supposed to be pronounced as *dioh* 70 years ago, as in (36).

- (36) Du²¹ dziak³³-dia⁴⁴ beh⁵⁵ d³³ioh³³ nang²² phah⁵⁵ du²¹ ti²¹
 2SG definitely will DIOH people beat 2SG die
 ‘You will definitely be beaten to death by people.’

In Woon’s (2004) survey, the passive marker was pronounced as *ʔio*⁵¹. The onset has undergone some kind of sound change.

- (37) Mih³³ d⁴⁴ou⁴⁴ ʔio⁵¹ nang²² kiap⁵⁵ liau²¹ hu¹¹
 things all IOH people rob PERF go
 ‘All the things were stolen by people.’

In our own field work survey, the informants mostly pronounced the word without the onset as *ioh*. In Chen’s (1996) dictionary, the passive marker is rendered as *ioh* without the initial onset. This data supports the theory of lexical diffusion (cf. Wang 1969, Wang & Lien 1993) in which sound change is considered to happen gradually rather than suddenly.

Unlike Hainan Min, the passive marker in Modern Southern Min is replaced by the word *hoo*⁷. The passive function of Taiwan Southern Min *tioh*⁸ mostly occurs in compound words, such as *tioh*⁸ *kiann*¹ ‘be shocked,’ *tioh*⁸ *kip*⁴ ‘be anxious, worried,’ *tioh*⁸ *chhiat-thau*¹ ‘be stolen.’ In some of the examples, *tioh*⁸ is followed by a predicate, e.g. *kiann*¹ ‘scare,’ *kip*⁴ ‘anxious,’ instead of a nominal complement. Chung (2001) assumes that *tioh*⁸ in Southern Min has developed from a lexical word into a functional word. However, the passive function of Taiwan Southern Min *tioh*⁸ does not perform as freely as Hainan Min *ioh*, which can occur in most of the passive situations.

4.3 Volitionality of *ioh*

The Hainan Min passive marker *ioh* is assumed to be derived from the origin 著. With this assumption, we need to address the following issue: why does *ioh* ‘attach/suffer’ connect to volitionality. One possible solution to the question is to find a usage of the word 著 which can signify volitionality.

As Lien (2001) observes, there are many senses of Southern Min 著, including verbal functions like ‘target-hitting,’ ‘prize-winning,’ ‘riddle-guessing,’ ‘turn-taking,’ ‘perpetrating a bad outcome,’ and ‘metalinguistic operation,’ a modal function, an adverbial function, clausal connector functions like ‘temporal sequence,’ ‘cause relation,’ ‘conditional connection’ and so on.

Among the multiple senses of 著, the deontic modal function may be associated with volitionality. Lien (2001) points out that the Southern Min deontic modal *tioh*⁸ 著 involves the imposition of the speaker’s will on the addressee, as exemplified in (38).

- (38) a. Li² tioh⁸ khah⁴ phah⁴-piann³ le
 2SG should more work hard PART
 ‘You should work harder.’
 b. Li² tioh⁸ m⁷ thang¹ kong²
 2SG must NEG able mention
 ‘You must not mention it.’
 c. Tioh⁸ kin² chiah⁸
 should hurry eat
 ‘You should hurry up and eat it.’ (=*Lien 2001:(16a-c)*)

Notice that the deontic modal *tioh*⁸ generally occurs in imperatives like the above examples. The Hainan Min passive marker *ioh* comparatively does not impose a similar distributional restriction.

On the other hand, there is another possibility to explain Hainan Min *ioh*’s volitionality. Feng (2000) points out that from the Tang dynasty the word 著 started to serve as a causative verb which was widely used in the Ming and Qing dynasty. We observed that the causative 著 also occurs in *Li Jing Ji*, as shown in (39) and (40).

- (39) Gua² tioh⁸ lang⁵ ciu⁷ khi³ theh⁸ lai⁵ kho²-bun⁷ huat⁴-loh⁸ i¹
 1SG TIOH people then go carry come torture-ask dispose 3SG
 ‘I made people go to bring him up to torture and punish him.’ (51.159)
 (40) (Ek⁴ -chun¹) tioh⁸ gua² lai⁵ thok⁴ a¹-niu⁵ (Shunzhi 19.222–4)
 Ek-chun TIOH 1SG come request young lady
 ‘Ik-chun made me come to ask a favor of you.’

We also notice in *Li Jing Ji* that the causative 著 sentences share the same syntactic structure with the passive 著 sentences to occur in the string “(NP₁) + 著 + NP₂ + VP.” The passive 著 is exemplified as in (41)–(42).

- (41) Tioh⁸ li² jiok⁸ me⁷, m⁷ kann² ing³ cit⁸ puann³ ku³ (26.413–4)
 TIOH 2SG insult scold, NEG dare reply one half sentence
 ‘(I) was scolded by you and dared not to reply even one word to you.’

- (42) gun² chun¹ sim¹ tioh⁸ i¹ jia² tong⁷ (3.050)
 1SG-GEN spring heart TIOH 3SG rouse move
 ‘My heart was aroused by him/her.’

It is not rare for Chinese dialects to have a word performing both causative and passive functions. For example, *jiao* ‘call’ and *rang* ‘yield’ in Mandarin can either serve as a causative or a passive marker. This common use of causatives and passives in Chinese has been discussed by linguists (e.g. Norman 1982, Hashimoto 1987, S. Jiang 1994 and L. Jiang 2000). If the etymon of the Hainan Min passive marker *ioh* is correctly identified as the word 著, the causative use of *ioh* should be possibly found in Hainan Min. The fact, based on our field research, is that causative sentences with the word 著 are widely found in Hainan Min, like (43)–(45).

- (43) I⁴⁴ ioh³³ gua²¹ dziop³³ su¹¹ lai²²
 3SG IOH 1SG enter house come
 ‘He allowed me to enter the house.’
- (44) I⁴⁴ ioh³³ gua²¹ kong²¹ liau²¹ dziak³³ kai²² diam²¹ tsiang⁴⁴
 3SG IOH 1SG speak PERF one CL hour clock
 ‘He made me talk for an hour.’
- (45) Gua²¹ ioh³³ du²¹ phah⁵⁵
 1SG IOH 2SG beat
 ‘I cause/let you beat (me).’

The causative verb 著 can express ‘cause’, ‘make’, ‘let’, ‘allow’ and ‘permit’. The subject of the causative verb is mostly realized as an agent role. One of the contributing properties for an agent proto-role is volitional involvement in the event (see Dowty 1991). Thus, the subject’s volitionality of the word 著 is assumed to be attributed to its causative and permissive functions. Because the word *ioh* in Hainan Min can serve both as a causative and as a passive verb, the *ioh*-passives can reveal the volitionality of the subject. This phenomenon is similar to Taiwan Southern Min *hoo*⁷ which can also function both as a causative and a passive verb. The *hoo*-passives can allow a subject-

oriented adverb like (46).

- (46) Goa² kou²-i² hoo⁷ lang⁵ phah⁴
 1SG intentionally HOO people hit
 'I deliberately got hit by others.'

4.4 'Taking' verb *ioh*

There is a Hainan Min word, *ioh*³³, phonetically the same as the passive marker *ioh*³³. The homophonous word indicates 'take,' exemplified as (47).

- (47) a. Hu¹¹ lau²² deng²¹ tsio⁴², ioh³³ mien⁴⁴ phue⁴² loh³³ lai²²
 go floor top up take face quilt fall come
 'Go upstairs to take the face cloth (and bring it) here.'
 b. I⁴⁴ ioh³³ tui²¹ lai²² la⁴²
 3SG take water come mix
 'He took some water to mix it.'
 c. Du²¹ tio⁴² ioh³³ di⁴⁴-mo⁴²
 2SG want take which one
 'Which one do you want to take?'
 d. Dzia¹¹-mo⁴² gua²¹ bo²² ioh³³, gua²¹ beh⁵⁵ ioh³³ ning⁴² dziak³³-kai²²
 this-CL 1SG NEG take 1SG will take another one CL
 'I won't take this one and I will take another one.'

Chen's (1996) Haikou dialect dictionary includes 'take' and 'passive, suffer' in the same lexical entry *ioh*.¹⁰ Examples are shown in (48a) and (48b) respectively.

- (48) a. Ioh³³ no⁴² kai²² ua²¹ lai²²
 take two CL bowl come
 'Bring two bowls here.'
 b. Sia⁴⁴ ioh³³ nang²² hau⁴⁴ lo⁴²
 car IOH people steal PERF
 'The car was stolen by some/the people.'

The first example demonstrated under the *ioh* lexical entry is 'take' in Chen's dic-

10. Based on our field research, the passive *ioh* and the verb *ioh* 'take' have the tone value in common, but the tone of the word *ioh* 'take' is rendered as '55' in Chen (1996). There are two staccatos (entering tone), 33 and 55 in Hainan Min (the Wenchang dialect). Tone '33' changes to '55' when it undergoes tone sandhi. If the word *ioh* 'take' can be traced back to its etymological origin to be 著 as we argued in this paper, the underlying tone of *ioh* 'take' should be rendered as '33.'

tionary. It is commonly known that Southern Chinese dialects normally contain unforms of the giving verb and the passive marker (Hashimoto 1988). For example, Taiwan Southern Min *hoo*⁷, Quanzhou Southern Min *khit*⁴ and Cantonese *pei*²⁴ all can function as a giving verb and also as a passive marker. On the other hand, it is rare for a ‘taking’ verb to serve as a passive marker, especially in Southern Chinese dialects. To account for this unusual phenomenon, we turn to diachronic Chinese data to search for explanations. It is remarkable to find that the word 著 once included a sense of ‘take’ and the data are exemplified as in Han Yu’s (ca. 768-824 AD) poem, in the book *Pu Tong Shi* and in the novel *Shui Hu Zhuan* (*Outlaws of the Marsh* 《水滸傳》), respectively in (49), (50) and (51).

- (49) Xu¹ zhu⁴11 ren² jian¹ bi³ meng⁴ jian¹ (Han Yu, *Qian-xing* 《遣興》)
Need take men world compare dream world
‘Need to take the human world as the dream world.’

- (50) Zhu⁴ shi²-chu³ man⁴-man⁴-r da³ (Pu Tong Shi 24)
take stone-pestle slow-slow hit
‘Take the stone pestle and poke it slowly.’

- (51) Zhu⁴ yi¹ ge xiao³ he²-zi cheng² le (Shui Hu Zhuan 2)
take one CL small box contain PERF
‘Take a small box to put it in.’

If the ‘taking’ verb *ioh* can also be tracked down to the origin 著, it is not strange for Hainan Min to comprise a ‘taking’ verb and a passive marker in the same lexical entry. Moreover, the *ioh* entry in Chen’s (1996) dictionary consists of another sense, ‘give.’ This paper argues that the ‘give’ meaning of *ioh* comes from its ‘take’ semantics. It is because of the fact that the word *ioh* ‘take’ is generally not construed as ‘give’ in *Hainan Colloquial* (1941) in which the ‘give’ meaning is mostly conveyed by the word *bun* ‘give.’ The two words, *ioh* ‘take’ and *bun* ‘give,’ frequently co-occur in utterances, as shown in (52).

- (52) a. I⁴⁴ ioh³³ dziak³³-kai²² niauh⁵⁵ kai²² bun⁴⁴ ti¹¹ gua²¹
3SG take one CL small CL give to 1SG
‘He took a small one and gave it to me.’
b. Hu¹¹ de¹¹ ioh³³ tsi²² bun⁴⁴ ti¹¹ du²¹
go where take money give to 2SG
‘Where can I take money to give you?’

11. The word 著 is rendered as *zhu* by Mei (1994).

The giving verb *ioh* example presented in Chen's dictionary is exemplified as (53) and is interpreted as 'My elder sister brought a pen to me.'

- (53) Tsi²¹ ioh³³ dziak³³ ki⁴⁴ biet⁵⁵ ti¹¹ i⁴⁴
 elder sister take one CL pen to 3SG
 'My elder sister brought a pen to him.'

However, this paper considers that the 'give' construal of example (53) is derived from the 'take . . . o' configuration conveying the semantics 'Agent *take* Theme *to* Recipient' which is very close to 'Agent give Theme *to* Recipient' formula. When the semantic structure of 'take' is analogous to the 'give' one, it evolves to express the meaning of 'give.' The 'taking' verb *ioh* thus results in conveying a sense of 'give.'

4.5 Sound change

The above-stated evidence supports the idea that the etymon of the Hainan Min passive marker *ioh* is 著. Southern Min 著 is known to be uttered as *tioh*. When Southern Min *tioh* is contacted with other languages on Hainan Island, the sound /t/ encountered sound change to be an implosive /d/. This sound change (t > d) is commonly found in dialects in the southeast of China. Zhu & Cun (2007) point out that the /t/ consonant in the *duan-*, *ding-*, *zhi-* and *cheng-*initial consonant groups has been changed to /d/ in the Hainan Min Wenchang dialect. The word 著 belongs to the *zhi-*initial consonant group. Southern Min *tioh* accordingly becomes to *dioh* in Hainan Min. The implosives are labeled as 'pre-glottalized consonant' by Li (1943). The word *tioh* is simplified to be *?ioh* with a glottal initial consonant for some speakers (e.g. Woon 2004), while for some speakers, the passive marker has further changed to *ioh*, for example, speakers in our survey. As a result, the derivation of the Hainan Min passive marker *ioh* is represented in (54).

- (54) *tioh* > *dioh* > *?ioh* > *ioh*

In an example like *Du*²¹ *dioh*³³ *mih*⁵⁵ *be*⁴⁴ 'What sickness do you suffer from?', the word 著 serves as a lexical verb and is uttered as *dioh*, while in the passive construction, the sound of the function word 著 has changed to *?ioh* or *ioh*.

5. Closing remarks

We have explored in this paper the Hainan Min passive construction based on the data culled from *Hainan Colloquial* and our field work survey on the Hainan Min Wenchang dialect. Like most Southern Chinese dialects, short passives are not allowed in Hainan Min. In addition, there are two strata for Hainan Min passive markers, *ioh* as a

native marker and *bi* as a borrowed one. The two words can both serve as an agent marker, but the distribution of *ioh* is wider than *bi*. The word *ioh* can be used in nearly all passive situations, including volitional-subject passives in which the word *bi* is not allowed. Compared to English passives, *ioh*-passives can express both *get*-passives and *be*-passives, while *bi*-passives can only parallel *be*-passives.

This paper strives to explore the origin of the Hainan Min passive marker *ioh*. There is no previous research which pays attention to this issue, though some research does make assumptions about the topic. Three candidates for *ioh*'s origin are demonstrated and an optimal choice is assumed in the paper. The three possibilities proposed are 要 by Chen (1996) and Qian (2002), 欲 by Woon (2004) and 著 by *Hainan Colloquial* (1941), as shown in the table in 4.1. The option 要 is rejected because of its phonetic and semantic mismatches with the Hainan Min passive marker. The option 欲 is rejected by diachronic and semantic evidence. The last choice 著 is considered to be phonologically, semantically and historically the most closely related to the Hainan Min passive marker.

After assuming 著 to be the origin, this paper further studied the diachronic data of 著 and learned that the passive function of *tioh* is derived from one of *tioh*'s verbal usages, 'suffer.' The process of grammaticalization of the Hainan Min passive marker is believed to be analogous to that of Southern Min *tioh*. It develops from a lexical verb into a functional word, passive marker. A sound change also occurs when the verbal *ioh* develops into a passive marker. The process of the sound change is proposed to follow the process *tioh* > *dioh* > *?ioh* > *ioh*. In addition, the passive marker *ioh* also serves as a causative verb. The subject of the causative verb *ioh* is generally realized as an agent whose property is volitional. Feng (2000) believes that passive 著 is derived from its causative function. We accordingly assume that the subject's volitionality in *ioh*-causatives remains in the *ioh*-passives.

It is found that the 'taking' verb in Hainan Min is also phonetically similar to the passive marker *ioh*. This paper argues that the two items may be descendants of the word 著 which conveyed a sense of 'take' at least in the Yuan dynasty. This conclusion supports the categories of repertoires in Chen's (1996) Haikou dictionary. However, we deny considering *ioh* to be a 'giving' verb with the same origin 著. The meaning of 'give' conveyed by *ioh* is assumed to come from the fact that the giving verb *bun* frequently co-occurs with the 'taking' verb *ioh*. Furthermore, the etymological origin of *ioh* 著 provides no evidence of it having served as a 'giving' verb either diachronically or synchronically.

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論海南閩語被動句式

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摘 要

本文探討海南閩語的被動句式並主要探討其被動標誌。如同大部分的漢語方言，海南閩語的被動標誌有兩個，一個是從華語借字的「被 *bi*」另一個是海南閩語固有的「*ioh*」。本文發現帶有「*ioh*」的被動句可以表達受事主語的意願(volition)，而「被 *bi*」被動句不能表達受事主語的意願。本文還討論海南閩語「*ioh*」的本字。陳鴻邁(1996)及錢奠香(2002)標記海南閩語被動標誌為「要」、雲惟利(2004)標記為「欲」、海南島語會話(1941)標記為「著」，本文從語音上、語意上的關聯及從近代漢語語料的佐證，都指向「著」是海南閩語被動標記「*ioh*」的本字。同時，本文也提供海南閩語的致使動詞(causative verb)語料，海南閩語的被動標誌與致使動詞同形，都可由「*ioh*」來表達。另外，本文認為海南閩語的被動標誌正在經歷的語法化，由一個動詞實詞發展為一個被動標誌。除了語法化外，海南閩語的「著」字也產生了音變：*tioh* > *dioh* > *?ioh* > *ioh*。

關鍵詞：海南閩語，被動句式，被動標誌，閩南語 *tioh*⁸ 著

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