Hainan Min Resultative Structures

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Abstract
This paper introduces the resultative constructions in Hainan Min which have not been seriously examined in previous studies. The serial verb construction (SVC) is the main mechanism by which resultatives are expressed in Hainan Min. This special syntactic structure is examined in Hainan Min and compared to two other Chinese dialects: Taiwan Southern Min and Cantonese. I speculate that the unusual serial verb construction resultatives are associated with the preservation of a historical form and language contact. Diachronic Chinese data are given to evince that SVCs existed early in archaic Chinese. In addition, it is argued that language contact with the native language (Hlai) also contributes to the preservation of this historic remnant.

Keywords
resultative – serial verb construction (SVC) – historical remnant – language contact – Hainan Min – Tai-Kadai languages – Hlai

1 Introduction
My study of Hainan Min aims to explore the resultative constructions in this Chinese dialect,1 spoken on Hainan Island. While the Min dialects of Chinese have been widely studied and yielded fruitful research results in recent decades, Hainan Min has received little attention from linguists. Research on Hainan Min has mostly focused on lexical and phonological issues (e.g., Hashimoto 1961, Liang 1986, Chen 1996, Woon 2004, and Liu 2006). Aside from its lexicon and phonological forms, Hainan Min’s syntactic structure is a very unfamiliar field for linguists. Qian (2002) endeavors to introduce the syntax of the Tunchang dialect through his examination of Hainan Min. He describes several syntactic structures in Tunchang, but does not offer further theoretical explanations. Lee (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011) starts to systematically explore the predicate structures in Hainan Min, including the disposal, passive, causative, and ditransitive structures. However, as one of the predicate-related constructions, the resultative construction has

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1 The phonological transcription of Hainan Min used in this paper basically follows the international phonetic system. The voiced consonants in the Wenchang dialect include /ɓ, b, ɗ, d, m, n, ŋ, l, dz, g, ɦ/. The voiceless consonants are /p, t, s, ts, k, h, ʔ/. Vowels include /a, i, u, ɛ, o/. The vowel [ɛ] is rendered as “e” and the consonants [ŋ] and [ʔ] as “ng” and “h.” The transcription of tone systems in Hainan Min is rendered by tone values.
not yet been clearly investigated. I explore the resultative construction by presenting its syntactic distribution and analyzing data by cross-dialectal and cross-linguistic comparison.

The resultative element of the resultative construction in English is often placed after the direct object on which the resultative element is predicated, as in (1). On the other hand, the resultative element in Mandarin Chinese often occurs immediately following the first verb and preceding the object, as in (2).

(1)  a. Terry wiped the table dry.
    b. The blacksmith pounded the metal flat.

(2)  a. Tairui ca-gan zhuo-zi.
    Terry wipe-dry table
    “Terry wiped the table dry.”
    b. Tiejiang qiao-ping tieqi.
    blacksmith pound-flat metal
    “The blacksmith pounded the metal flat.”

The resultative constructions in Mandarin Chinese have been extensively studied, especially the resultative compounds (cf. Cheng and Huang 1994, Cheng et al. 1997, Huang 2006, Y. Li 1990, 1995, 1999, Lin 2001, Lin 2004, among others). Mandarin Chinese constructs compounds by merging two verbal morphemes into a composite compound. The two verbs or the verbal phrase—verb and verbal complement—carry a causal implication, with the former indicating a causing event and the latter indicating a resulting event. Resultative compounds in Mandarin can be either transitive or intransitive. Some compounds even involve ambiguous interpretations; that is, the resultative phrase may be predicated of either the subject or the object. Mandarin, unlike English, does not obey the Direct Object Restriction, under which the resultative phrase can be only predicated of the immediately postverbal NP.

I collected data on Hainan Min through my fieldwork and discovered that the distribution of resultatives in this language differs substantially from that of Mandarin Chinese. The fundamental diversity lies in the formation of compound verbs. In Mandarin, resultatives are commonly expressed by lexical forms, that is, by verb compounds. However, resultatives in Hainan Min generally do not allow verb compounds. The serial verb construction (SVC) is frequently used to express resultatives. For example, resultative constructions based on transitive verbs are uttered in Mandarin as [V1–V2 O], while they become [V1 O V2] in Hainan Min. The first verb (V1) indicates the transitive verb; the second verb (V2) indicates the resultative state caused by V1. This special [V1 O V2] form of resultatives can only occur in Cantonese and Hainan Min. Several studies have noticed and investigated Cantonese resultatives, while Hainan Min still remains largely ignored.

My study examines the distribution of resultatives in four Chinese dialects: Mandarin, Taiwan Southern Min, Cantonese, and Hainan Min. Through comparison of the four dialects, resultatives in Chinese are found to be in different layers of linguistic development. Some tend to develop in a more lexical direction, some are more syntactical, and some are somewhere in between. In addition to the dialectal comparison, historical data are also used to account for the SVC in Hainan Min.

2 Distribution of Hainan Min Resultative Structures

Resultative structures in Hainan Min are mainly expressed by serial verb constructions. The serial verb construction has a configuration of the [V1O V2] type, as exemplified by the following English example:
water the tulip flat. The resultative state is conveyed by the adjectival or verbal complement. A serial verb construction is defined in Collins (1997:462) and Aikhenvald (2006:1) as a succession of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination or subordination. Based on this definition, the first type of resultatives in Hainan Min is assumed to be an example of a serial verb construction,2 as shown in (3)–(10) below.

(3) Ko\textsuperscript{44} phah\textsuperscript{55} ue\textsuperscript{21} kue\textsuperscript{44}.  
brother hit fire extinguish  
“The elder brother extinguished the fire.”

(4) Lau\textsuperscript{42}-di\textsuperscript{42} tsiah\textsuperscript{33} dziak\textsuperscript{33} ua\textsuperscript{21} mue\textsuperscript{22} liau\textsuperscript{21}.  
younger brother eat one bowl rice finish  
“The younger brother finished a bowl of rice.”

(5) Tu\textsuperscript{21} tui\textsuperscript{21} bui\textsuperscript{11} la\textsuperscript{11}.  
cook water boil PERF\textsuperscript{3}  
“Someone boiled the water.”

(6) Kang\textsuperscript{44}-nang\textsuperscript{22} uat\textsuperscript{33} di\textsuperscript{42} dong\textsuperscript{42} hong\textsuperscript{44} la\textsuperscript{11}.  
worker dig ground hole through PERF  
“The workers dug through the cave.”

(7) Mai\textsuperscript{21} tsiom\textsuperscript{11} mien\textsuperscript{44}-phe\textsuperscript{11} dam\textsuperscript{22}.  
mother soak face-kerchief wet  
“Mother soaked the towel.”

(8) Phah\textsuperscript{55}-liak\textsuperscript{33}-nang\textsuperscript{22} uat\textsuperscript{33} tse\textsuperscript{21} na\textsuperscript{42}-ku\textsuperscript{11} siom\textsuperscript{44}.  
hunter dig trap very deep  
“The hunter dug a very deep hole as a trap.”

(9) Mai\textsuperscript{21} beh\textsuperscript{55} tun\textsuperscript{11}-hau\textsuperscript{22} mo\textsuperscript{22} heh\textsuperscript{55} la\textsuperscript{11}.  
mother peel garlic membrane clean PERF  
“Mother has peeled the garlic clean.”

(10) Mai\textsuperscript{21} tsiol\textsuperscript{55} fun\textsuperscript{44}-tu\textsuperscript{22} tiak\textsuperscript{33} la\textsuperscript{11}.  
mother scorched sweet potato cooked PERF  
“Mother cooked the sweet potato burnt.”

Unlike the serial verb construction in Hainan Min, resultatives are commonly expressed by resultative compounds in most Chinese dialects. However, transitive resultative compounds are generally not acceptable in Hainan Min, as shown in (11).

(11) a. Mandarin:  
Ta da-po bo-li le. resultative compound  
3SG hit-broken glass PERF  
“He broke the glass.”
b. Taiwan Southern Min:

\[
\begin{align*}
1^\text{st} & \quad \text{phah}^3\text{-phoa}^3 \text{ po}^1\text{-li}^5 \text{ ah}^4. & \text{resultative compound} \\
3\text{SG} & \quad \text{hit-broken } \text{glass } \text{PERF} \\
\text{“He broke the glass.”} \\
\end{align*}
\]

c. Hainan Min:

\[
\begin{align*}
*^{144} & \quad \text{phah}^{55}\text{-feh}^{55} \text{ bo}^{44}\text{-li}^{22} \text{ la}^{11}. & \text{resultative compound} \\
3\text{SG} & \quad \text{hit-broken } \text{glass } \text{PERF} \\
\text{“He broke the glass.”} \\
^{144} & \quad \text{phah}^{55} \text{ bo}^{44}\text{-li}^{22} \text{ feh}^{55} \text{ la}^{11}. & \text{serial verb construction} \\
3\text{SG} & \quad \text{hit } \text{glass } \text{broken } \text{PERF} \\
\text{“He broke the glass.”} \\
\end{align*}
\]

While Hainan Min does not fully accept resultative compounds in the \([V_1-V_2 O]\) configuration, the \([V_1 V_2]\) sequence indeed appears in Hainan Min. When the serial verb construction (SVC) suppresses the agent, resultatives are often expressed in the configuration \([\text{Patient } V_1 V_2]\), as in (12)–(17).

(12) Mien\(^{44}\) \text{phe}^{11} \text{tsiom}^{11} \text{ɗam}^{22} \text{la}^{11}.

\begin{align*}
\text{face } & \text{kerchief } \text{soak } \text{wet } \text{PERF} \\
\text{“The towel was soaked.”} \\
\end{align*}

(13) Hau\(^{22}\text{-mo}^{22}\) \text{ak}^{55} \text{ɗam}^{22} \text{la}^{11}.

\begin{align*}
\text{hair } & \text{drench } \text{wet } \text{PERF} \\
\text{“The hair was drenched.”} \\
\end{align*}

(14) Hun\(^{44}\text{-tu}^{22}\) \text{tsioh}^{55} \text{tiak}^{33} \text{la}^{11},

\begin{align*}
\text{sweet potato } & \text{scorch } \text{cooked } \text{PERF} \\
\text{“The sweet potatoes were cooked burnt.”} \\
\end{align*}

(15) Hau\(^{22}\text{-mo}^{22}\) \text{dziam}^{21} \text{ui}^{22} \text{la}^{11},

\begin{align*}
\text{hair } & \text{dye } \text{yellow } \text{PERF} \\
\text{“The hair was dyed yellow.”} \\
\end{align*}

(16) Lau\(^{42}\) \text{su}^{11} \text{ɗou}^{44} \text{hiak}^{55} \text{ɓe}^{22} \text{la}^{11},

\begin{align*}
\text{old } & \text{house } \text{all } \text{demolish } \text{flat } \text{PERF} \\
\text{“The old house was demolished.”} \\
\end{align*}

(17) Io\(^{22}\) \text{mo}^{22} \text{ka}^{44} \text{kuang}^{44} \text{la}^{11},

\begin{align*}
\text{sheep } & \text{hair } \text{scissor } \text{empty } \text{PERF} \\
\text{“The wool was all cut.”} \\
\end{align*}

The Direct Object Restriction (DOR) holds in (12)–(17), as the surface subjects are underlying objects of the first verb. The resultative state denoted by the second verb is predicated of the surface subjects. The \([\text{Patient } V_1 V_2]\) sequence is an alternative to the SVC resultative. These sentences are based on the transitivity of the first verb. When the underlying object of \(V_1\) serves as the subject, the two verbs appear to be adjacent to each other. The \([V_1 V_2]\) combination lacks the ability to take objects. This is very different to the situation of resultative compounds in Mandarin Chinese.

(18) Hainan Min:

\[
\begin{align*}
\ast & \quad \text{Dah}^{33} \text{ beh}^{55} \text{ de}^{22}\text{-tsiang}^{44} \text{ la}^{11}.
\\
\text{tread } & \text{broken } \text{tea cup } \text{PERF} \\
\end{align*}
\]
b. Dah³³ de²²-tsiang⁴⁴ feh⁵⁵ la¹¹.
tread tea cup broken PERF
“Someone trod on the teacup and broke it.”

Mandarin:
c. Ta po cha-bei le.
tread broken tea cup PERF
“Someone trod on the teacup and broke it.”
d. *Ta cha-bei po le.
tread tea cup broken PERF
“Someone trod on the teacup and broke it.”

To sum up, Hainan Min employs the SVC, rather than verb compounds, to express resultatives.

3 Cross-Dialectal and Diachronic Comparisons

In addition to SVC resultatives in Hainan Min, there are two other Chinese dialects which display related SVC phenomena. I now turn to SVCS in these two other dialects, Cantonese and Taiwan Southern Min. Additionally, in comparing modern Chinese dialects, I examine archaic Chinese to account for the distribution of SVC resultatives among these dialects.

3.1 Cantonese

The main mechanism for Chinese dialects to express resultatives is the verb compound. Compared to other dialects with compounds, Cantonese has been found to be an exception as it can also utilize the SVC to convey resultatives (Yue 2001, Wu 2003, 2005, Kwok 2005, 2010). Unlike Hainan Min, the distribution of the SVC resultatives in Cantonese is very limited. Restrictions are imposed upon the types of permitted V₂ and the O. The V₂ position is basically occupied by directional verbs, such as soeng⁵ 上 “ascend,” haa⁶ 下 “descend,” hei² 起 “rise,” lok⁶ 落 “fall,” lai⁴ 來 “come,” heoi³ 去 “go,” and ceot¹ 出 “exit,” as shown in (19)–(21).⁴

(19) Sou³ go³ jat¹ faai³ nai⁴ heoi³.
sweep that one clod dirt go
“Sweep away that clod of dirt.” (Williams 1842:140)⁵
掃那一塊泥去。

(20) Nei¹ go³ jan⁴ gau⁶ nin⁴ zung⁸ dau⁶ m⁴ ceot¹.
this CL people last year plant vaccine NEG exit
“This man was vaccinated last year, but it did not take.” (Fulton 1888: 17)
呢個人舊年種痘唔出。

The Cantonese Romanization system adapted in this paper follows the Romanization Scheme (JyutPing) proposed by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong in 1993. The JyutPing numbers the tones from 1 to 6. Tone number 1 corresponds to 阴平 Yinping; 2 to 阴上 Yinshang; 3 to 阴去 Yinqu; 4 to 阳平 Yangping; 5 to 阳去 Yangqu; 1 to 高阴入 Gaoyinru; 3 to 低阴入 Diyinru; and 6 to 阳人 Yangru.

The nineteenth-century data ((19), (20), (22)) are cited from Kwok (2010).
(21) Ho^2-ji^5 fong^3 dak^1 saam^1 zoeng^1 cong^4 lok^6.
can put get three CL bed fall
“It can contain three beds.” (Modern Cantonese)
可以放得三張床落。

When the V2 is not a directional verb, the SVC is employed in a modal structure with the dynamic modal word *dak* “get” in Cantonese. Under this circumstance, the pattern of the SVC is [S V1 *dak* O V2], as shown in (22) and (23).

(22) M^4 zou^6 dak^1 gam^2 ge^3 si^6 hou^2.
NEG do get this kind MOD thing well
“Cannot do that business well.” (Bonney 1854:176)
唔做得咁嘅事好。

(23) Gaau^2 dak^1 keoi^5 dim^6.
do get 3SG settle
“(Someone) can set it down.” (Modern Cantonese)
搞得住掂。

Kwok (2010) points out that in Modern Cantonese, when V2 is not a directional verb, only pronouns are acceptable to serve as the object in the [S V1 *dak* O V2] form, as shown in (23) and (24).

(24) Modern Cantonese
a. *Keoi^5 sik^6 dak^1 di^1 faan^6 sai^8.
   3SG eat get some rice finish
   “He/she can finish the rice.”
b. *Maa^1-maa1 ceoi^1 dak^1 tau^4-faat^8 gon^1.
   mother blow get head hair dry
   “Mother can dry her hair (with a hair dryer).”

In summary, the SVC does not occur freely in Cantonese. The distribution of the SVC is restricted to the verb type of V2. Directional verbs are often situated in the second verb position in SVC sentences. In addition, the dynamic modal construction with the [S V1 *dak* O V2] form also exists in Cantonese. The object is required to be in a pronominal form. The SVC resultatives in Cantonese are very limited in their distribution. They can only occur in modal constructions with the *-dak* morpheme.

3.2 Taiwan Southern Min
While Taiwan Southern Min is basically a dialect with resultative compounds, it also allows some instances of the SVC sequence. Compounds with the [vco] form have developed from SVCs with [voc] sequences. However, there are still some [voc] examples left in Taiwan Southern Min—for example, *lim^1 chiu^2 chui^3* 飲酒醉 “drink wine drunk,” and *chiah^8 png^7 pa^2* 吃飯飽 “eat rice full.” These SVC examples are assumed to be remnants of the svc-to-compound development stage. SVC resultatives are not common in modern Taiwan Southern Min and often have corresponding compound forms. With co-occurrence of a few examples of SVC resultatives, resultative compounds are generally acceptable in Taiwan Southern Min.
Unlike the compound forms, verbs with phase markers do not allow [vco] forms. Lien (1995, 2005) clearly distinguishes phase markers from aspect markers in Southern Min. The phase markers are assumed to be derivational morphology conveying lexical meanings, such as liau⁶ “finish,” oan⁵ “well,” soah⁴ “finish,” l¹ “leave,” tiau³ “drop,” tioh⁸ “attach,” khî³ “go,” and tit⁴ “acquire.” When verbs co-occur with phase markers, the objects must be moved to preverbal positions, as shown in (25)–(26).

(25)

a. *Goa² se² ho² sann⁴ ah¹. [vco] (= Lee 2008, (5)–(6))
   1SG wash finish clothes PERF
   “I finished washing the clothes.”

b. Goa² sann⁴ se² ho² ah¹. [voc]
   1SG clothes wash finish PERF
   “I finished washing the clothes.”

(26)

a. *Goa² khoann⁵ soah⁴ chheh⁴ ah¹. [vco]
   1SG read finish book PERF
   “I finished reading the book.”

b. Goa² chheh⁴ khoann⁵ soah⁴ ah¹. [voc]
   1SG book read finish PERF
   “I finished reading the book.”

Unlike Taiwan Southern Min, the corresponding examples in Mandarin are acceptable with a [vco] word order, as in (27).

(27)

a. Wo xi hao yi-fu le. [vco]
   1SG wash well clothes PERF
   “I have finished washing the clothes.”

b. Wo kan wann shu le. [vco]
   1SG read finish book PERF
   “I have finished reading the book.”

It is also noteworthy that while resultative compounds are allowed in Taiwan Southern Min, the object is often preposed to a preverbal position when the verb co-occurs with a complement. The [ovc] word order is more preferable to the [vco] form, as in (28).

(28)

a. A¹-sam¹ phah⁴ phoa³ hoe¹-kan¹ ah⁴.⁷
   A-sam hit broken flower vase PERF
   “A-sam broke the vase.”

b. A¹-sam¹ hoe¹-kan¹ phah⁴ phoa³ ah⁴.
   A-sam flower vase hit broken PERF
   “A-sam broke the vase.”

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6 The aspect markers are inflectional morphology indicating grammatical meanings, such as ah⁴ and loh⁴.
7 The sentence is well formed for most young speakers, while not accepted by senior speakers.
In other words, the [vco] word order in Taiwan Southern Min is not fully free and as acceptable as it is in Mandarin. It is bound by the syntactic distribution. However, the svc is not as actively used in modern Taiwan Southern Min as it is in Hainan Min. Resultative compounding in Taiwan Southern Min seems to develop itself to a stage somewhere in between Mandarin (compound) and Hainan Min (svc).

3.3 Diachronic Chinese

While svc resultatives are not widely used in modern Chinese dialects, they are very common structures as found in the diachronic Chinese data. Wang (1989) shows that the svc is already used in Old Chinese, for example, in Shangshu 尚書 ‘Book of Documents,’ Shijing 詩經 ‘Classic of Poetry,’ Liji 禮記 ‘Book of Rites,’ Zhuangzi 莊子, and Mozi 墨子. The emergence of the svc is mostly due to the temporal sequential relation of the two verbs, V₁ and V₂, which convey two simultaneous or consecutive events, as in (29) and (30). In addition to the two main types, Old Chinese also has some instances of svc resultatives, as shown in (31) and (32).

(29) Qiu qi Yue, di zhen, wang-wang yong quan chu.

"In July, after an earthquake, the springs often gush."

(30) Huan-gong li guo ding.

"King Huan established the country and it became stable."

(31) Yin jiu zue.

"Drunk by drinking wine"

The four examples above in Old Chinese all follow the [V₁ O V₂] pattern. Data shown in Wei (2000) also support that the [V₁ O V₂] form appears in Old Chinese. This svc form became fully fledged in the Nanbei dynasty and usage of the svc reached its peak in the Tang dynasty.


(33) a. V₁+ O, O + V₂ e.g., gong Qi, Qi puo "attack Qi, Qi broken"

b. V₁+ O, (O +) V₂ e.g., kou tou (tou) qie puo "knock head, (head) broken"

c. V₁ + O + V₂ e.g., da tou puo "hit head broken"
Along this line of development, the \([V_1O V_2]\) pattern (e.g. *da tou puo* ‘hit head broken’) is assumed by Jiang (2003, 2005) to emerge in the Nan-bei dynasty.\(^8\)

Whether the \([V_1O V_2]\) sequence comes out in Old Chinese or Middle Chinese, the pattern is certainly uttered in the Nan-bei dynasty and is widely used in the Sui and Tang dynasties. In addition to the development of the \([V_1O V_2]\) pattern, verb compounding also started to sprout and develop. Mei (1991) speculates that resultative compounds are fully established when the object of \(V_1\) can follow the \(V_2\), to occur in the \([V_1V_2 O]\) sequence. Mei’s assumption is based on a purely syntactic criterion. Contrary to Mei (1991), Wei (2000) proposes a semantic approach. He believes that the \([V_1V_2]\) form is a modifier-head sequence. The first verb functions to modify the second verb. This modifier-head sequence developed into a resultative compound by reanalyzing the \(V_1\) to become the head and the \(V_2\) as the result state. These two approaches provide syntactic and semantic accounts of the derivation of the resultative constructions. Furthermore, Jiang (2005) supports the idea that the \([V_1O V_2]\) pattern increasingly fades away after the Song dynasty and the svc resultatives gradually join with the \([V_1V_2 O]\) sequence. Subsequently, the merge of the two patterns causes the \([V_1 V_2]\) form to become unacceptable. This shifting process (from svc to compound) was undergone in Mandarin and many other Chinese dialects. However, the svc remains still largely preserved in Hainan Min.

The unusual activeness of the svc resultatives in Hainan Min can be explained by the linguistic fact that the svc was well developed in the Tang dynasty, when social history provoked linguistic development. It is noticeable that a mass migration occurred in the Tang dynasty, with many Chinese people moving to Hainan Island (cf. Liu 2006). The population of the island before the Tang dynasty was around twenty thousand, while it suddenly increased to seventy thousand during the Tang dynasty. As Chinese people immigrated to the island, they retained the syntactic structures popularly used at that time.\(^9\) Furthermore, Hainan Island is a place far away from the major cities in Mainland China. Thus geographic isolation would have been a significant factor contributing to the preservation of earlier forms of the language.\(^10\) When the svc resultatives started to undergo the compounding development in most Chinese dialects, this process did not expand to Hainan Min. svc resultatives are thus well preserved in Hainan Min. Therefore, we are led to assume that svc resultatives in Hainan Min are linguistic remnants of archaic Chinese.

4 Cross-Linguistic Comparison: Hlai

While the resultatives in many Chinese dialects have developed into verb compounds, the svc resultatives remain extant in Hainan Min. Therefore, we must consider that this remnant results from language contact with the native language, Hlai.

\(^8\) Many thanks are given to the anonymous reviewers whose comments reminded me to check Jiang’s assumption on the emergence of the svc.

\(^9\) After the Tang dynasty, the resultative svc was not often uttered, and the compounding resultatives became robust and frequently used in the Ming and Qing dynasties. During the late Ming and Qing dynasties, Chinese people, whose native language is mainly Southern Min, started to largely immigrate to Taiwan. The svc is not preserved in Taiwan Southern Min because compounding resultatives were already overwhelmingly used when people arrived in Taiwan.

\(^10\) Geographical isolation has caused language preservation in several other languages as well. For example, Scottish Gaelic has almost disappeared along the east coast of Scotland, but it is preserved in Embo. Dorian (1973) points out that the geographical isolation of Embo facilitates the language preservation. Some aging people still preserve the earlier characteristics of the language.
Hlai is a language group spoken by Hainan aborigines and is generally assumed to belong to the Tai-Kadai language family. There are five main dialects of Hlai: Ha, Gei, Bendi, Mooi-fou, and Ke-vou. The basic lexicon and the syntactic structures of the five dialects are very similar, but their phonetic forms are diverse. Like the other Tai-Kadai languages, the word order of Hlai is SVO. It is also a classifier language consisting of various types of classifiers. The resultative sentences are mostly expressed through serial verb constructions. The resultatives of Hlai, collected through my fieldwork and specifically of the Gei dialect, are introduced below.

Resultatives in Hlai are expressed by a typical serial verb construction, with the form \([V_1 \ O \ V_2]\). When the first verb is transitive, the object of the verb occupies the position immediately following the first verb. The second verb signals the result state of the action or process conveyed by the first verb. In addition, the result can indicate the state of the subject or the object. Examples of resultatives in Hlai are shown in (34), (35), and (36).

(34) Guung\(^{11}\) lau\(^51\) tha\(^51\) khuuum\(^33\) e\(^33\).
   younger sibling eat rice full perf
   "Younger sisters and brothers are full."

(35) Lau\(^{55-geeng}\) kap\(^55\) tse\(^53\) dzien\(^55\) e\(^33\).
   MAS-Red cut paper shattered perf
   "Red shredded the paper."

(36) Tui\(^{55}\) na\(^{33}\) tuung\(^{51}\) giang\(^{15}\) ɓat\(^{55}\).
   buffalo 3SG-GEN bump wall broken
   "His buffalo bumped against the wall and the wall broke."

The SVC form, \([V_1 \ O \ V_2]\), is employed to express resultatives. Contrary to the SVC, the \([V_1 \ V_2 \ O]\) form is impermissible in Hlai. This is very different from Mandarin which frequently uses the \([V_1 \ V_2 \ O]\) form. The contrast between \([V_1 \ O \ V_2]\) and \([V_1 \ V_2 \ O]\) in Hlai is exemplified by (37)–(40).

(37) a. Pi\(^{15}\) roong\(^{121}\) tha\(^{51}\) thing\(^{33}\) e\(^{33}\).
   mother cook rice overcooked perf
   "Mother cooked the rice until it crusted."

  b. *Pi\(^{15}\) roong\(^{121}\) thing\(^{33}\) th\(^{51}\) e\(^{33}\).
   mother cook overcooked rice perf
   "Mother cooked the rice until it crusted."

(38) a. Tsau\(^{55}\) oh\(^{33}\) ngaau\(^{51}\) pul\(^{11}\) e\(^{33}\).
   grandma drink wine drunk perf
   "Grandmother drank herself drunk."

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\(^{11}\) The term “Tai-Kadai” is named by Benedict (1942). The Tai-Kadai languages, including Thai and Lao, are spoken in southern China and Southeast Asia. The Tai-Kadai languages may correspond to “Zhuang-Dong” languages in Chinese which are mainly spoken in Guangxi, Guizhou, and Hainan. Ostapirat (2004, 2005, 2008) points out that Hlai constitutes a branch of the Tai-Kadai stock, but he renames the language family from “Tai-Kadai” to “Kra-Dai.”

\(^{12}\) Based on the results of my fieldwork research, the sound system of Hlai (Gei dialect) contains the following consonants: /p, ph, b, m, f, v, t, th, d, n, l, r, ts, tsh, s, z, N, k, kh, g, ŋ, h/. /N/ indicates alveolo-palatal nasal. Vowels include: /a, i, u, ɛ, ɯ, o/; and long vowels /aː, iː, uː, ɛː, ɯː, oː/. The vowel /ɛ/ is typed as “e”; the long vowels are types as “aa, ii, uu, ee, uuu, oo.” In addition, the tonal system includes eight tones: 33, 121, 51, 13, 15, 55, and 13.
b. *Tsau\textsuperscript{55} oh\textsuperscript{33} pui\textsuperscript{11} ngaau\textsuperscript{51} e\textsuperscript{33}. 
   grandma drink drunk wine  \textit{PERF}

   “Grandmother drank herself drunk.”

(39) a. Fei\textsuperscript{33} than\textsuperscript{55} kun\textsuperscript{15} ɬau\textsuperscript{11}.
   fire light firewood blazing

   “The fire lit the firewood and it blazed.”

b. *Fei\textsuperscript{33} than\textsuperscript{55} ɬau\textsuperscript{11} kun\textsuperscript{15}.
   fire light blazing firewood

   “The fire lit the firewood and it blazed.”

(40) a. Pa\textsuperscript{11} kaan\textsuperscript{15} miu\textsuperscript{51} ɬooe\textsuperscript{11} e\textsuperscript{33}.
   dog bite cat die  \textit{PERF}

   “The dog bit the cat and the cat died.”

b. *Pa\textsuperscript{11} kaan\textsuperscript{15} ɬooe\textsuperscript{11} miu\textsuperscript{51} e\textsuperscript{33}.
   dog bite die cat  \textit{PERF}

   “The dog bit the cat and the cat died.”

From the examples above, the \textit{sVC} is the preferable way to express resultatives in Hlai. 

As Hlai belongs to the Tai-Kadai language family of southern China and Southeast Asia, its verb serialization is a frequent linguistic phenomenon in other Southeast Asia languages as well (cf. Bisang 1991, 2009, Enfield 2003). According to Bisang (2009), the \textit{sVCs} in Southeast Asian languages are widely used and can perform several grammatical functions: aspect, direction or orientation, complementation, mood and modality, causativity, reduction of valency, and comparatives/superlatives. Some functions are illustrated below by examples from Khmer:

(41) Khmer
   a. Kɔət lɔ:t laəng tɤu. (=Bisang 2009:799)
   3SG jump go up go [away from speaker] 

   “He jumps up and goes away from the speaker.”

   1SG plow paddy come to have

   “I can plow the paddy field.” / “I have plowed the paddy field.”

   c. Khɲom ꧇ək ɬaɓo: ꧇ɛɲ. (=Bisang 2009:800)
   1SG look for wallet see

   “I found [my] wallet.”

Since \textit{sVCs} are very common in Southeast Asian languages, it is natural for Hlai to express resultatives using the \textit{sVC}.

Thus, given language contact, we assume that the \textit{sVC} serves as a typical mechanism by which to express resultatives. The \textit{sVC} resultatives in Hainan Min, though unusual for many other Chinese dialects, are a norm of the aboriginal languages on Hainan Island and the languages spoken in its region. When verb compounding started to flourish in Chinese languages, that development did not successfully expand to this island. It is believed that language contact between speakers of Hainan Min and speakers of Hlai helped Hainan Min resist the process of verb compounding that occurred in most languages on Mainland China. This assumption of language contact is supported by Wu (2009) who states that language contact affects grammatical change. According to Wu (2009), the word order of resultatives in
southern Chinese dialects is VCO, while the order of Southern ethnic languages (Tai-Kadai, Miao-Yao, Austroasiatic, Austronesian languages) is VOC. The word order of the local ethnic languages is undergoing grammatical change from VOC to VCO, owing to their close and frequent language contact with southern Chinese dialects. Following Wu's (2009) assumption, the compounding word order (VCO) is the basic order in southern Chinese dialects. However, as a branch of southern Chinese dialects, Hainan Min does not have this VCO order. This fact leads us to conclude that the special word order in Hainan Min (VOC) is not a result of Sinitic language-internal development. The historical remnant and language contact facilitate the preservation of SVC resultatives in Hainan Min.

5 Concluding Remarks

This paper explores resultatives in Hainan Min, which are mainly expressed by serial verb constructions (SVCs). The SVC contains a succession of two verbs without any overt markers of coordination or subordination. Following Mei’s (1991) assumption, the position of the object of the first verb distinguishes the SVC from the verb compound. Only when the object of the first verb intervenes between the two verbs is the structure identified as an SVC, such as (42a). On the other hand, the form \([V_1 V_2 O]\) is considered as a verb compound structure, as in (42b).

(42) a. \([V_1] [\text{Object}] [V_2 (\text{result})]\)  
b. \([V_1] [V_2 (\text{result})] [\text{Object}]\)

This \([V_1 O V_2]\) form is not common in Chinese languages. Only some dialects in southern China employ the SVC to express resultatives. These dialects display different distributions of the resultative SVC. Compared to that of other dialects, the distribution of resultative SVCs in Hainan Min is very free. The SVC is widely used in Hainan Min without the restrictions found in Cantonese and Taiwan Southern Min. However, previous studies (e.g., Wang Li 1980, Yue 2001, Kwok 2010) have devoted to the uniqueness of Cantonese, and the SVC resultatives in Hainan Min are ignored. The present study makes its contribution to the literature by providing data on Hainan Min and supplementing deficient areas of knowledge on SVC resultatives in Chinese dialects.

The existence of SVC resultatives in Hainan Min is associated with two factors: a preserved historical remnant and language contact. The SVC emerged by the Han dynasty and was widely used in the Tang dynasty. From the Tang dynasty onward, the SVC started to disappear gradually and the verb compound structure became the dominant means of expressing resultatives (Wang 1980). However, this syntactic development of resultative predicates in Mandarin Chinese was not followed in Hainan Min. When Chinese people moved from Mainland China to Hainan Island in the Tang dynasty, they retained the languages containing SVCs widely used at that time. Further, the geographic isolation of Hainan Min has affected the language's structure and development. The island is located at almost the southernmost point of China, and is separated from the mainland by the Qiongzhou Strait. The SVC resultatives are thus assumed to have been carried to Hainan Island around the Tang dynasty and protected and preserved by geographic boundaries.

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13 Sybesma (1997) points out that from the Song dynasty, the verb compound has been developed into the only acceptable resultative form.
Language contact also reinforces the preservation of this historical remnant. The Hlai languages are the most prevalent aboriginal languages spoken on Hainan Island. Hlai belongs to the Southeast Asian language family which frequently employs SVCs to perform several grammatical functions. While uncommon in many Chinese dialects, the SVC resultative structure in Hainan Min seems ordinary when compared with the structures of neighboring languages. The syntactic structure of the Hlai languages has rarely been introduced or discussed in the literature. The data in Hlai collected through my fieldwork on the island show that, like Hainan Min, the SVC is the main syntactic mechanism by which resultatives in Hlai are expressed. It is assumed that the similarity of the SVC resultatives occurring in the native language (Hlai) and the alien language (Hainan Min) strengthens the retention of the SVC resultatives. This finding supports the idea that language contact contributes to the preservation of SVC resultatives in Hainan Min.

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海南閩語結果結構

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提要

本文介紹海南閩語的結果結構。這個語法結構在過去的文獻中並未清楚的描述及討論過。本研究使用的材料大多是作者田野調查後的語料。田調的結果發現，海南閩語的結果結構主要是以連動結構來表現。以連動結構來表達結果，在現代漢語中，是一種很特殊的方式。本文因此比較了相關的漢語方言：台灣閩南語及粵語。同時，還考察了古漢語的歷時語料，發現連動結果句型應是一種存古現象。除了歷史因素外，本文還主張語言接觸也影響了連動結果句型的存古。因此，本文還探討了海南島上的黎語之結果結構。

關鍵詞

結果句，連動結構，歷史存古，語言接觸，海南閩語，壯侗語言，黎語