The polyfunctional *na⁷/na²* 那 in Early Southern Min and its Later Developments

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Abstract

The paper deals with the polyfunctionality of 那 realized as *na⁷* or *na²* featuring a range of senses or functions such as *if*, *only*, *look like* and *how/why* in earlier Southern Min and its later developments in modern Southern Min based on a set of data reflecting three periods dating back to the sixteenth at the earliest. Special attention is focused on the patterns of syntactic distribution of *na⁷/na²* 那 in conjunction with its associated senses and a range of construction it features such as conditionals, causals, and correlatives denoting simultaneous actions in tandem. A comparison of *na⁷/na²* 那 in earlier and modern Southern Min shows some interesting grammatical developments chiefly the obsolescence of the sense of the monosyllabic *na⁷* 'only' and emergence of correlative construction *na²* X *na²* Y featuring even the incremental intensification beyond the newly emergent simultaneous actions, and the emergence of robust occurrence of *na²* 那 as a how/why WH-word. The grammatical development is partially manifested in the intriguing recurrence of hypercharacterization of redundant marking of functional isomorphemous elements and the compounding of *na⁷/na²* 那 and its collocates to forestall the detrimental effect of homophony and ambiguity.

Keywords: Conditional, diachrony, look.like, hypercharacterization, Southern Min

1. Introduction

The paper first examines the distribution of the polyfunctional 那 in earlier Southern Min texts, and its descendants in modern Southern Min texts, and then makes a comparison of its earlier and modern uses in order to arrive at the pattern of its development. The word 那 is subject to a variety of interpretations in earlier Southern Min texts dating back to the sixteenth century at the earliest. (Wu 2001abcd, Quanzhou 2010) Between introduction and conclusion the paper is organized as follows: (2) two types of 那, (3) interpretation of *na⁷* 那, (4) interpretation of *na²* 那, (5) *na²* 那 as a disjunctive conjunction in A-not-A questions, (6) disambiguity of *na⁷* 那 in correlative constructions, (7) causal constructions featuring *ki³-na⁷* 既那 or *kinn³ na⁷* 見那, (8) causal constructions featuring *na⁷ in¹* 那因 or *na⁷ ui³* 那畏, (9) simultaneous temporal relationship, (10) the evolution of *na⁷* 那 or *na²* 那 in a diachronic perspective, (11) *na⁷* 那 or *na²* 那 in modern Taiwanese Southern Min.

2. Two Types of 那

Based on the modern reflexes in Southern Min, we postulate two phonological categories for 那 pronounced *na²*, featuring a yinshang 陰上 tone, and *na⁷*, a yang qu 陽去 tone.[1] Historically, 那 is generally believed to come from 若 in Old Chinese, which in turn is a loan character of 如. (Chou 1972, Wang 1982, Yang 2005) The hypothesis concerning the development of 若, an entering tone word with the 日 initial, into Southern Min *na⁷* 那 is plausible on phonological grounds in that no

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[1] The spelling of Southern Min in this paper is based on the Church Romanization given in Douglas (1873). Some modifications have been made. In particular, the diacritic tone marks have been replaced by numerical superscripts. No distinction is made between *ch* and *ts* or *chh* and *tsh* as they do not involve phonemic contrast. Open *o* and closed *o* are rewrittened as *oo* and *o*, as in *too⁵* 圖 'drawing' and *to⁵* 逃 'escape'. Nasalization of vowels is signaled by a double n, as in *tsinn⁵* 錢 'money'. /ɤ/ and /ɯ/ are rendered as /er/ and /ir/ respectively.

distinction was made between 泥 and 日 initials both keeping *n- in earlier Southern Min, and there is compatibility of the finals of 鐸 in the ru (入) rime category and 魚 in the yin (陰) rime category.[2]

3. Interpretation of *na⁷* 那

When taking on the departing tone (viz., yang qu tone), *na⁷* 那, a highly frequent word in earlier Southern Min texts, means either *if*, as in (1), or *only*, as in (2).[3]

(1) Hue¹ na⁷ beh⁴ bo⁵ ber²-tiap⁸, ong²-khut⁴ i¹ pang¹-bi⁷
    花那卜無尾蝶，枉屈伊香味 (23.024 DG)[4]
    'If the flowers have no butterflies, then their scent will be futile.'
(2) Tsi² si³ pinn¹ bo⁵ lang⁵, na⁷ si⁷ niu⁵ kann² kang⁷ gun² ti⁷ tsi²
    只四邊無人，那是娘子共阮在只 (24.300 WL)
    'There is nobody around here. Only you and I are here.'

Na⁷ 那 in the first sense 'if' may evolve from 若 in Old Chinese through the loss of the stop coda.[5] *Na⁷* 那 in the sense (only) may well come from 若 in Old Chinese as a demonstrative pronoun meaning *this* through the conventionalization of the context-induced meaning shift.[6]

The formation of conditionals with 若 as a marker in the protasis seems to be based on the operation of metaphor.[7] That is, the metaphor in question is expressed by the formulas X 若 Y where X is a tenor and Y is a vehicle and X and Y feature a relationship of similarity. Whereas X is topic, Y is comment. We have evidence that 若 carrying the sense of 'seem' is used to mark a topic, as in *Ruo wen Cai jiang xian Wei, xin hu* 若聞蔡將先衛，信乎? 'There appears to be a rumor that the state of Cai will forestall the state of Wei. Is it trustworthy?' (左傳定公四年) (Yang 1988: 222, cf. Liu 2000) It is fairly likely that the topic featuring a clause headed by the verb *ruo* 若 'appear, seem' may be reanalyzed as the protasis in conditionals.[8]

4. Interpretation of *na²* 那

When bearing *na²*, 那 takes on the sense of *look like*, *as if*, as in (3), or *why/how*, as in (4).[9]

(3) Li² liah⁸ bo²-kiann³ na² tsue³ hi³ sng²
    你力寶鏡那做戲耍 (19.215 JJ)
    'You play with the precious mirror as if you were role playing.'
(4) Tsui⁵ ti¹ kin¹-tuann³ na² tsi² ni⁵
    誰知今旦那只年 （45.192 JJ）
    'One wonders why it could turn out to be like this?'

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[2] Yang (2005) reconstructs 若 as /naʔ⁷/ irrespective of its finer semantic distinctions for modern Southern Min. No distinction is made between *na²* and *na⁷*.

[3] There is another contender for the meaning 'only', viz., *tan⁷* 但 which often occurs in *tan⁷ tit⁴* 但得, *tan⁷ guan⁷* 但願, *tan⁷ si⁷* 但是, *tan⁷ u⁷* 但有, *tan⁷ sai²* 但使, etc. As shown in Douglas (1873: 474, 334), there is *m⁷ tan⁷-na⁷* in addition to *m⁷ tan⁷*, *m⁷ na⁷* and *put⁴-tan⁷* and We can see that *m⁷ tan⁷* (colloquial) and *put⁴-tan⁷* (literary) show a stratum distinction. *M⁷ tan⁷-na⁷* indicates the co-presence of *tan⁷* and *na⁷* are mutually redundant.

[4] The abbreviation in the parentheses following each example stands for each edition of earlier Southern Min playscripts: JJ (Jiangjing 嘉靖 1522-1566), WL (Wangli 萬曆 1573-1619), SZ (Shunzhi 順治 1644-1661), DG (Daoguang 道光 1821-1850), GX (Guangxu 光緒 1875-1908). See Wu (2001abcd), and Quanzhou (2010). The dot is sandwiched by the numeral standing for act and the line number where the example is extracted.

[5] Yang (2005). For the use of 若 in conditionals in Old Chinese see Yang (1986: 224) and Chou (1972b: 200-203).

[6] See Yang (1986: 220-221) and Chou (1972a: 130-132).

[7] Traugott (1985) tackles the issues concerning the types of origins of conditionals from a cross-linguistic perspective. But there is no mentioning the word with the sense of 'look like', which can be developed into a marker of protasis in conditionals, in languages in the world. Nor do Heine & Kuteva (2002) touch on the word with the sense of 'look like' as the source of conditionals. So the evidence adduced here fills an important gap of the formation of conditionals in the perspective of linguistic typology.

[8] See Haiman (1978) for the hypothesis of topic being grammaticalized as the protasis in conditionals.

[9] Examples of *na²* 那 'how, why' is extremely hard to come by. It is said to emerge as early as the Six Dynasties period. (Ōta 1981, 1987: 121, Jiang 1988: 146-148). It is also construed as a fusion of 奈何. (Chou 1972a: 183-190) (Yu 1987: 105), however, regards 那 as the same as 奈. See Tsai (2005: 105) for citing (4) as a sole example to illustrate the sense of 'why'.

The sense of na^2 那 'look like' is traceable to 若 in Old Chinese.[10]

5. Na^7 那 as a disjunctive conjunction in A-not-A questions

Apart from expressing the sense of *if* and *only*, na^7 那 can be used as a disjunctive conjunction in an A-not-A question. In particular, it conjoins the positive part of a clause and its negative elliptic counterpart. There is a strict concord between the word in focus in the positive part and its negative counterpart. For example, ue^7 會 'can' is paired with bue^7 殗 (a phonetic loan word also written as another phonetic loan 袂) 'cannot' as a fusion of a negative element and the modal ue^7 會 (< 解) in the positive clause, as in (5):

(5) Lan^2 tann^1 iau^1 ue^7 tit^4 tioh^8 hir^2 tsit^8 ge^5 niu^5-kiann^2 na^7 bue^7
    �今天會得著許一个娘子那殗 (06.073 WL)
    'Could we still get the lady now?'

The modal $khing^2$ 肯 'be willing to' is paired with m^7 不 'not', as in (6). Other modals paired with m^7 不 include $kann^2$ 敢 'dare'. Other than modal verbs, stative verbs such as ki^3-tit^4 記得 'remember', and pat^4 識 'know' also occur in this construction.

(6) I^1 khing^2 jin^7 li^2 na^7 m^7?
    伊肯認你那不？ (17.190 WL)
    'Is he willing to recognize you?'

U^7 有 'have' is paired with bo^5 無 'not have' as a fusional form of a negative element *m- + 有, as in (7):

(7) Tsi^2 te^3 ker^3 khi^2 u^1 jin^7-ke^1 tang^1 hioh^4 na^7 bo^5
    只處過去有人家通歇那無？ (44.032 WL)
    'Is there some place where we can put ourselves in beyond here?'

$Tsing^5$ 曾 as an experiential marker is paired with ber^6 未, as in (8).

(8) Tsing^5 u^7 tui^3 hun^1 na^7 ber^7
    曾有對婚那未 (16.013 WL)
    'Has she been matched?'

Na^7 那 as a disjunctive conjunction is a reflex of 若 bearing the same function.[11]

6. Disambiguity of na^7 那 in correlative constructions

As shown above, na^7 那 is potentially ambiguous between *if* and *only*. But the collocation, even a non-adjacent co-occurrence, helps to pin down its exact sense. For example, na^7 那 takes on the sense of *if* when occurring in conditionals featuring a range of correlative conjunctions na^7… $pien^7$ 那 … 便, as in (9), na^7… $tsiu^7$ 那 … 就, as in (10), and na^7… $tiann^7$-$tioh^8$ 那 … 定著, as in (11). In the conditionals, na^7 那 marks the protasis, whereas a variety of adverbs or modals such as $pien^7$ 便, $tsiu^7$ 就, and $tioh^8$ 著 mark the apodosis.

(9) Li^2 na^7 bo^5 lang^5 tshiu^1-tshai^2, pien^7 bong^2 tng^2 khi^3

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[10] 若 and 如 are a pair of etyma taking on the interpretation of 'look like' followed by demonstrative pronouns like 此, 是, etc. (Chou 1982a: 142-146)
[11] 若 in Old Chinese functions as a disjunctive conjunction in Old Chinese. (Yang 1986: 222-223)

你那無人揪采，便罔返去 (15.347 SZ)

   'If no one pays attention to you, you might just as well return.'

(10) Ni² na⁷ m⁷ tshut⁴ khi³, gua² tsiu⁷ si² thoo⁷ li²

   你那不出去，我就死度你 (37.015 DG)

   If you don't go out, I will die on you.'

(11) Gun² tshu³ tia¹ ma² na⁷ berh⁴ tit⁴ ti¹, tiann⁷ tioh⁸ tho² si²

   阮厝爹媽那卜得知，定著討死。 (24.091 DG)

   'My parents got to know it, you are dead for sure.'

Another way of arriving at the exact sense of *na⁷* 那 is syntactic doubling. For example, *na⁷* 那, when followed by or rather reinforced by the boulomaic modal verb *berh⁴* 卜 'want', another candidate for expression condition, always carries the sense of *if*, as in (12):

(12) Na⁷ berh⁴ bue⁷ bua⁵ m⁷ kann² thiann¹ tsiunn⁷ lai⁵ kiann⁵

   那卜袂磨，不敢廳上來行 (17.036 WL)

   'If I cannot polish the mirror, I dare not come to the hall to ply my trade.'

   When *na⁷* 那 is not present, *berh⁴* 卜 can be raised to fill the position of the specifier in CP to become the subordinator to mark the protasis of a conditional, as in (13):

(13) Kann² si⁷ gua² sinn² ge⁵. Berh⁴ ke³, tioh⁸ sui⁵ gua²

   仔是我生的。卜嫁，著隨我 (14.317-318 JJ)

   'I gave birth to the daughter. If she wants to marry, she should follow my words.'

7. Causal constructions featuring *ki³-na⁷* 既那 or *kinn³ na⁷* 見那

   The sense of *if* carried by *na⁷* 那 can be preempted by a preceding function *ki³* 既 or *kinn³* 見. Thus, *ki³-na⁷* 既那, as in (14), or *kinn³-na⁷* 見那, as in (15), is used to mark the subordinate clause in causals. Since *ki³* 既 has its original meaning of *already*, the causal subordinate clause expresses a realis situation that has already occurred.

(14) Sio²-mer⁷ ki³-na⁷ ai³ thiann¹, thai⁷ sio²-lang⁰ tsiu⁷ tshiunn³ tshiunn³

   小妹既那愛聽，待小人就唱く (9.140 SZ)

   'Since you like to listen, let me sing.'

(15) Kinn³ na⁷ ue⁷, tshiunn³ tsit⁸ tuann⁷ lai⁵ thiann¹

   見那會，唱一段來聽 (9.139 SZ)

   'Since you can sing, sing me a portion of it.'

8. Causal constructions featuring *na⁷ in¹* 那因 or *na⁷ ui³* 那畏

   In contrast to the interpretation of *if*, *na⁷* 那 can be coerced into meaning *only*, when occurring with *in¹* 因 'because' or *ui³* 畏 'fear'. The disyllabic expression *na⁷ in¹* 那因 or *na⁷ ui³* 那畏 is good for obtaining an explicit and unambiguous meaning. Thus, as shown in (16), when the adverb *na⁷* 那 'only' precedes the subordinator *in¹* 因 'since, because', the main clause is optionally marked by the adverb *tsiah⁴* 即 corresponding to *cai²* 才 in Mandarin. The combination yields a causal complex sentence expressing a cause-effect relationship. The subordinate clause expresses the necessary condition and a real situation (realis).

(16) Gua² na⁷ in¹ ka¹ pin⁵ tsiah⁴ oh⁸ bua⁵ kiann³

   我那因家貧即學磨鏡 (9.554 SZ)

   'Only because I am poor do I learn the art of polishing mirrors.'

Na^7 那 while combining with the verb *ui^3* 畏 'fear', as in (17), always means *only* rather than *if*. The psych-verb *ui^3* 畏 'fear' has become a speaker-oriented verb even without the presence of speaker as the subject.

(17) Na^7 ui^3 hue^1 tshai^2 jip^8 tshiu^2, m^7 pat^4 hue^1 ki^1

那畏花採入手，不識花枝　（25.12 JJ）

'I only fear that when you get the flower, you no long know its sprig.'

9. Simultaneous temporal relationship

Na^2 那 can head a locative phrase which serves as an anchor for an activity in which a temporary situation is involved, as in (18).

(18) Li^2 na^2 tsi^2 se^1 mng^5 kue^1, hau^7 i^1 tng^2 lai^5

你那只西門街，候伊轉來　(07.078 WL)

'You wait for his return while staying at the west gate street (for the time being).'

I will propose that the construction featuring the symmetric correlative conjunction *na^2 ... na^2…* 那 … 那 … expressing a synchronous concerted activity, as in *na^2 kiann^5 na^2 tshiunn^3* 那行那唱 'be singing while walking' is a result of reanalysis of this construction featuring the locative phrase as an adjunct to the main clause.

10. The evolution of *na^7* 那 or *na^2* 那 in a diachronic perspective

We have in the above surveyed the distribution of the senses of the context-sensitive polyfunctional word 那. We can arrive at the development of constructions featuring *na^7* or *na^2* by comparing their usages in earlier and modern Southern Min texts. The later parts of data are based on Go-en 語苑, a series of periodicals devoted to learning of Taiwanese Southern Min (1910-1941) during the Japanese period, and a range of Taiwanese folktales compiled by Wanchuan Hu and his associates towards the end of 20th century and the beginning part of 21st century.

11. *Na^7* 那 or *na^2* 那 in modern Taiwanese Southern Min

The major conspicuous changes that we find are shown below: First, the monosyllabic *only*-denoting *na^7* 那 is superseded by disyllabic expressions such as *kan^1-ta^1* 干乾 and *kan^1-na^7* 干但 attested in Go-en 語苑 in the first half of the 20th century, and *kan^1-na^7* 干單, *kan^1-a^7* 干仔 toward the end of the 20th century as attested in modern Taiwanese folktales. Second, the emergence of the symmetric correlative conjunction *na^2 ... na^2* expressing a concerted synchronous activity is a further development of the locative phrase as the anchor of a continuous activity. Third, modern Taiwanese southern Min saw the robust unstinting development of the conditional, and causals featuring a set of entrenched correlative conjunctions. An attempt will be made to establish the link between the concrete sense of 'look like' and the more abstract sense of *if* in conditionals in terms of the mechanism of metaphor. Such an iconic source of conditionals fails to be touched on in Traugott (1985).

11.1 The first half of the twentieth century

The data are based on Go-en 語苑, a journal meant for Taiwanese and Hakka learners circulated among the Japanese in the first half of the twentieth century (1907-1941 CME). There will be five subsections: 11.1.1. *na^7* 若, 11.1.2. *na^7* 若 'seem, as if', 11.1.3. *na^7* 但, 11.1.4. *na^2* 那, 11.1.5.. *na^2* X *na^2* Y 愈 X 愈 Y.

11.1.1 Na^7 若 *'if'*

If *na⁷* 若 occurs as a subordinator to mark the protasis in conditionals, it occupies a syntactic position higher than a set of function words such as *si⁷* 是 (focus marker), as in (19) and (20), *u⁷* 有 (evidential marker), as in (21) and (22), *beh⁴* 要 (volitional modal verb), as in (23) and (24), *m⁷* 不 (volitional negative), as in (25) and (26), *e⁷* 能 (dynamic/epistemic modal), as in (27) and (28).[12] Such function words in turn are higher than verb phrases in the category of functional hierarchy. We can see that the subject in the protasis can remain implicit and be recoverable from the context-dependent cue.

- Na⁷ si⁷ 若是

(19) Na⁷ si⁷ bue⁷ ki³, tsiu⁷ si⁷ li² le⁵ tai⁷
   若是沒記得，就是汝的事 (4-52-11 語苑五)
   'If you forget it, then it is your business.'
(20) Na⁷ si⁷ ka⁷ lang⁵ sue² tsit⁸ e⁷ thau⁵-khak⁴, ia⁷ si⁷ bo⁵ siann² mih⁸ siunn⁷ tang⁷-kang¹ e⁵ tai⁷-tsi³ ma
   若是與人洗一下頭殼，亦是無甚麼傷重工的事情嗎 (6-578-5>6 語苑五)
   'If you wash someone's hair, it wouldn't be a big deal.'

- Na⁷ u⁷ 若有

(21) Na⁷ u⁷ khuann³ tioh⁸ huat⁴ pinn⁷ e⁵ kam¹-tsiah⁴, sui⁵-si⁵ tshoh⁴ khi² lai⁵ sio¹
   若有看著發病的甘蔗、隨時剉起來燒 (7-23-2 語苑五)
   'If indeed the bamboo canes are found to be sick, they should be cut and burned.'
(22) Li² na⁷ u⁷-iann² ti⁷ siunn⁷ beh⁴ kai², khi³ jip⁸ inn⁷ liau⁷-ti⁷ tsiah⁴ ho²
   汝若有影在想要改，去入院療治即好 (10-18-10 語苑二十四)
   'If you are really determined to quit the addiction, you should go to the hospital for treatment.'

- Na⁷ beh⁴ 若要

(23) Na⁷ beh⁴ tshong³ siann² he³, tsue³ li² jip⁸ lai⁵ tsia¹
   若要創何貨、做汝入來此。 (8-15-3 語苑十三)
   'If you want to do something, please come in.'
(24) Hit⁴ e⁵ na⁷ beh⁴ sng³ tsinn⁵, tsha¹-put⁴-to¹ u⁷ joa⁷ tsue⁷
   彼個若要算錢，差不多有若多 (7-10-2 語苑二十四)
   'If counted in currency, how much does the crop amount to?'

- Na⁷ m⁷ 若不

(25) Khoo²-khng³ na⁷ m⁷ thiann¹, tsiah sui⁵-si⁵ po³ gua² tsai¹-iann²
   苦勸若不聽、即隨時報我知影。 (3-54-3 語苑十九)
   'If he does not listen to the persuasion, report to me any time.'
(26) Lir² na⁷ m⁷ tsai¹, kio³ i¹ pun²-sin¹ lai⁵ tsia¹
   汝若不知、叫伊本身來此 (9-19-9 語苑十三)
   'If he does not know it, please ask him to come here in person.'

- Na⁷ e⁷ 若能

(27) Na^7 e^7 tit^4 thang^1 khi^3 m^7 tsin^1 ho^2

若能得可去不真好， (10-85-1 語苑二十一)

'Wouldn't be excellent if we could go?'

(28) Kong^2 ue^7 na^7 e^7 thong^1, tsu^7-jen^5 e^7-hiau^2 jin^5-tsing^5 hong^1-siok^8

講話若能通，自然能曉人情風俗 (4-26-6 語苑二十四)

'If we communicate in language we will naturally get to know customs and manners.'

If we examine the relative position of *na^7* 若 and subject, we can find that 若 can occur either before subject or immediately follow it.[13] But, as shown above, it stands above modals and other functional elements and surely enough verb phrases. The case where *na^7* 若 is sandwiched by subject and predicate is illustrated in (29), (30) and (31).

- Li^2 na^7 汝若

(29) Li^2 na^7 ka^1 liau^2, tioh^8 ka^7 gua^2 pau^1 sin^1-bun^5 tsua^2

汝若鉸了，著與我包新聞紙 (4-550-2 語苑五)

'If you have my hair cut, you should wrap it up for me?'

- I^1 na^7 伊若

(30) I^1 na^7 si^7 khing^2, khuann^3 li^2 beh^4 tsainn^2 iunn^7

伊若是肯、看你要怎樣 (6-2-6 語苑二十六)

'If he is willing, how are you going to do about it?'

(31) Lan^2 na^7 u^7 bo^2 tsiah^4 e^5 mngh^8, tioh^8 pun^7 lang^5 khi^3 tsiah^8

咱若有好食的物，着分人去食 (4-34-7 語苑二十七)

'If there is anything delicious, let's share it among us.'

When preceded by *u^7* 有, *bo^5* 無 or *si^7* 是, as in (32), (33) and (34), *jua^7* 若, probably a fusional word of 若夥 (Mei 2002), serves as an adverbial wh-word meaning 'how' followed by adjectives such as *tsue^7* 多 'much, many' and *hng^7* 遠 'far'.

(32) Tsinn^5 u^7 jua^7 tsue^7, theh^4 tshut^4 lai^5 hoo^7 goa^2 khuann^3 leh^0

錢有若多、提出來俾我看咧。 (02-10-01 語苑二十五)

'How much do you have? Let me take a look at it!'

(33) Bo^5 jua^7 hng^7 kiam^5 pinn^7 tsiu^7 kau^3

無若遠連鞭就到 (8-591-6 語苑五)

'It is not far off. We will arrive right away.'

(34) Tsha^1 tsinn^5 si^7 jua^7 tsue^7

車錢是若多 (10-6-7 語苑十六)

'How much is the bus fare?'

11.1.2. Na^2 若 *'as if, seem*

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[13] Except when the subject and 若 can be separated by an adverbial phrase such as a time adverb 另日 *ling^7-jit^8*, as in *Li^2 ling^7-jist^8 na^7 u^7 khi^3 hia^1 sun^7-suah^4 tsiah^4 ka^7 tsha^5 khuann^3-mai^7 leh^0* 汝另日若有去彼，順續即向查看覓咧 'If you go there the other day, you can check it' (6-51-2 語苑二十四).

Na² 若 combined with *tsun²* 準 yields the adverb *na²-tsun²* 若準 'as if, seem', as in (35) and (36).[14] As shown in (37), it can be optionally followed by another synonymous element *e⁵-khuan²* 的欵 'as if', a sentence-final particle evolving from the sequence of nominalizer + NP.[15]

(35) Gua² na²-tsun² bat⁴ khuann³-kinn³, m⁷-ku¹ tsit8-si⁵ siunn⁷ be⁷ tshut⁴

   我若準曾看見、不拘一時想沒出。 (6-39-9 語苑十六)

   'It seems that I have seen it, but it did not dawn on me shortly.'

(36) Gua² na²-tsun² si⁷ ti⁷ to²-ui⁷-a² bat⁴ khuann³

   我若準是在何位仔曾看 (6-65-11 語苑十九)

   'It appears that I saw it somewhere.'

(37) Na²-tsun² u⁷ sing⁵-jinn⁷ e⁵ khuan²

   若準有承認的欵 (5.4.11 語苑十九)

   'It appears that he has not admitted it.'

11.1.3. Na⁷ 但 'only'

   Na⁷ 但 'only' is attested in combinations such as *na⁷ si⁷* 但是 'only', *na⁷ u⁷* 但有 'there is only', *na⁷ sai²* 但使 'all that is needed is' (Douglas 1873: 334) Douglas (1873: 334) treated *na⁷* 'only' as 但 which does have the sense of 'only' in its origin.[16] Ogawa et al (1981b: 491) follows suit. *Na⁷* 但 'only' occurs in *na⁷ si⁷* 但是 'only' and *m⁷ na⁷* 不但 'not only'.[17] The homophony of *na⁷* 若 and *na⁷* 但 may partially explain why *na⁷* has been eclipsed except in the isolated case of compounds. Although kan¹-na⁷ 干但 'only' is attested in Ogawa et al (1981a: 214), examples of *kan¹-ta¹* 干乾 'only' are far easier to come by, as in (38) and (39).

(38) Kan¹-ta¹ khai¹ tsit⁴ king¹ tiann⁷ na⁷-nia⁷

   干乾開此間店而已。 (6-20-3 語苑五)

   'We run this store only.'

(39) Kan¹-ta¹ kann² tioh⁸ hong¹ na⁷-nia⁷, tsiu⁷ khah⁴ bo⁵ iau³-kin²

   干乾感著風而已、就較無要緊 (3-3-1 語苑五)

   'I only caught cold. That is less important.'

Another easily confusing compound is *kan¹-a²* 干仔, as in (40) and (41), which carries adversative function. (cf. *pian¹-pian¹* 偏偏 in Mandarin and *doch* in German)

(40) Gua² to¹ i²-king¹ khuann³-phua³ loo, m⁷-ku¹ i¹ kan¹-a² khuann³ m⁷ phua³

   我都已經看破嘮。不拘伊干仔看不破。 (4-18-7 語苑二十九)

   'I have become disillusioned, but he still perseveres.'

(41) Li² kan¹-a² sai² ngi⁷-phinn⁷, na² u⁷ loo⁷-ing⁷

   你干仔使硬鼻，那有路用。 (12-62-4 語苑二十九)

   'You are still stubborn all the same. Of what use is it?'

It is alternatively written as *kan¹-na²* 干那, as illustrated in (42).

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[14] *Na²-tsun²* 若準 'as if, seem' means the same as *na²-tshiunn⁷* 若像, but it differs from *tsun²-na⁷* 準若, and *tsun²-tsue³* 準做, and *tsun²-kong²* 準講 all meaning 'if'. (Lu 2011: 598-599).

[15] The co-presence of *Na²-tsun²* 若準 and *e⁵ khuan²* 的欵 constitutes a case of hypercharacterization where two synonyms redundantly occur in the same construction. (Malkiel 1957 and Lehmann 2005)

[16] A question arises as to how to account for the discrepancy of /t-/ in *tan⁷* 但 and /n-/ in *na⁷* 若 in the onset position.

[17] 但是 'the only thing, but' is realized only as *tan⁷ si⁷* rather than *na⁷ si⁷* in *Go-en* 語苑. Obviously enough, *na⁷ si⁷* 但是 is easily confused with *na⁷ si⁷* 若是 'if'.

(42) Guan2 lau7-pe7 m7 khing2 hoo7 gua2 khi3, gua2 kan1-na7 beh4 khi3

阮老父不肯俾我去，我干那要去。 (5-5-1 語苑二十四)

'My father is not willing to let me go, I still want to go.'

11.1.4. Na2 那 'how, why'

Na2 那 features the sense of 'how, why' often used in rhetorical questions. If its precursor in earlier Southern Min texts are few and far in between, its occurrence in *Go-en* 語苑 is quite robust, as in (43), (44) and (45).

(43) Tsho3-tsho3 khi2 nng7 king1 tua3 na7 nia7 beh4 na2 u7 song2

草草起二間仔住而已要那有爽 (1-50-5 語苑十九)

'We built only two houses to live in hastily. How can they be comfortable?'

(44) Lir2-na2 m7 kin2 khi3

汝那不緊去。 (8-57-6 語苑十九)

'Why don't you go right away?'

(45) Ia7 bo5 tsai5-hong5 tshia1-a2, beh4 na2 e7 sai2 kong2 si7 tsai7 tsue3 tsai5-hong5

亦無裁縫車仔，要那能使講是在做裁縫 (9-10-7 語苑二十四)

'There is no sewing machine. How can I be said to be a tailor?'

A lexicalized compound integrating *na7* 那, viz., *na2-sai2* 那使 literally means 'why should there be' is illustrated in (46) and (47).

(46) Lang5 na7 iong2-kiann7, na7 sai2 hoo7 i1 tsiah8 poo2 e5 mih8

人若勇健。那使俾伊食補的物。 (6-39-4 語苑三十)

'If he is healthy, why should we let him have nutrients'

(47) Sien1-sinn1 to1 hiah4 gau5 kong2, na2-sai2 oh8

先生都彼賢講，那使學。 (1-53-1 語苑二十三)

'If you (viz., Sir) are so good at speaking (Taiwanese), surely you don't need to learn it.'

11.1.5. Na2 X na2 Y 愈 X 愈 Y

(48) Na2 khau3 na2 kong2

愈哭愈講 (12-37-16 語苑十七)

'He is crying while talking.'

(49) Na2 kiann5 na2 sio1 ma7

愈行愈相罵 (12-55-1 語苑七)

'They are quarrelling while walking.'

(50) Gua2 khuann3 hien7-si5 e5 sia7-hue7 na2 bun5-bing5 na2 tshia1-tshi2

我看現時的社會愈文明愈奢侈 (02-44-01 語苑二十五)

'As I see it, the more civilized the present-day society the more extravagant it will become.'

11.2. The second half of the twentieth century

The discussion that follows will fall into five subsections: 12.1.1. na7 若, 12.1.2. na7 若 'seem, as if', 12.1.3. na7 爾, 12.1.4. na2 那, 12.1.5.. na2 X na2 Y 那 X 那 Y.

11.2.1. Na7 若

Na⁷ 若 as the marker of protasis in conditionals is higher in hierarchical structures than such functional categories as *si⁷* 是 (the focus marker), as in (51) and (52), *u⁷* 有 (evidential marker), as in (53) and (54), *beh⁴* 卜 (volitional modal), as in (55) and (56), *e⁷* 會 (epistemic modal), as in (57) and (58), *bo⁵* 無 (negative evidential marker), as in (59) and (60), *m⁷* 毋 (negative volitional modal), as in (61) and (62), *khi³ hoo⁷* 去予 (< 乞與 agent marker in passives), as in (63) and (64), *hoo⁷* 予 (< 與 directive verbs in causatives), as in (65) and (66), and *ka⁷* 共 (preposed patient marker or maker of oblique role), as in (67), (68), (69) and (70).[18]

- Na⁷ si⁷ 若是

(51) Na⁷ si⁷ mih⁸-kiann⁷ tsiah⁸ liau², lan² au⁷-pai² ma⁷ si⁷ e⁷ iau¹ si² lah⁰ hoonn⁰
   若是物件食了，咱後擺麼是會枵死啦呼 (62.07-08 清水)
   'If we eat things up, we will starve to death next time, right?'
(52) Tak⁸ e⁵ na⁷ si⁷ khuann³ tioh⁸ i¹, long² si⁷ siam²-phiah⁴ kau³ hng⁷ hng⁷ hng⁷
   逐个若是看著伊，攏是閃避到遠遠遠 (72.16 新社二)
   'If everybody saw him, they stood far away from him.'

- Na⁷ u⁷ 若有

(53) Na⁷ u⁷ ka⁷ gua² tsiah⁸ kam¹-a², lin² he¹ tshui³ iau¹ u⁷ kam¹-a² bi⁷
   若有共我食柑仔，您彼嘴猶有柑仔味 (122.26 雲林四)
   'If you ate tangerines on me, the scent will linger in your lips.'
(54) Li² na⁷ u⁷ siaunn⁷ beh⁴ kap⁴ gua² hap⁸ tsit⁸ ke¹, tshan⁵-hng⁵ li² ai³ tshu³-hun¹-hun¹ leh⁰
   汝若有想卜佮我合一家，田園汝愛處分分咧 (38.02 嘉義五)
   'If you want to form a family with me, you should deal with your farmstead.'

- Na⁷ beh⁴ 若卜

(55) Ni² na⁷ beh⁴ tng², lian⁵ lin² boo² tsiu⁷ tshua⁷ tng² khi³
   你若卜轉，連您某就拽轉去。 (138.14 沙鹿)
   'If you want to return home, then you should take your wife along.'
(56) Bo⁵ iau³-kin²! Ni² na⁷ beh⁴ ai³, hit⁴ tsiah⁴ kau²-a² tsiah⁴ hoo⁷ li²
   無要緊！你若卜愛，彼隻狗仔才予你 (92.11 彰化七)
   'It doesn't matter. If you want it, we will let you have the dog.'

- Na⁷ e⁷ 若會

(57) Li² na⁷ e⁷ tshut⁴-thau⁵ honn⁰, gua² kam¹-guan⁷ tsue³ gu⁵ tsue³ be² ma⁷ beh⁴ an³-tsuann²
   你若會出頭呼，我甘願做牛做馬麼卜安怎 (98.1 石岡)
   'If you may get anywhere, I will be at your service anyway'
(58) Koo² na⁷ e⁷ hau², beh⁴ siunn² gua⁷ tsue⁷ hoonn⁰
   鼓若會哮，卜賞偌濟哦！ (74.24 大安二)
   'If the drum can produce sounds, how much will be awarded (to the beater)?'

- Na⁷ bo⁵ 若無

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[18] The examples that follow are extracted from Taiwanese folktales compiled by Professor Wanchuan Hu and his associates toward the end of the 20th century and the beginning part of the 21st century (1993-2004). Each example is followed by a pair of parentheses featuring page and line number separated by a dot at the left-hand side, and the shortened title of the text given at the right-hand side. See the appendix for the detailed information.

(59) Gua^2 na^7 bo^5 ka^7 li^2 ka^3-si^3 tsit^8 e^7, na^2 e^7 ing^7 tit^4

我若無共你教示一下，那會用得？ (126.23 新社)

'If I don't teach you a lesson surely it won't do.'

(60) Ni^2 na^7 bo^5 khi^3-hiann^5, li^2 tsoh^4 li^2 lai^5 ke^2 mi^5

你若無棄嫌，你做你來過暝 (112.14 羅陳)

'If you don't mind it, you can come and stay overnight.'

- Na^7 m^7 若毋

(61) Li^2 na^7 m^7 khi^3 hiann^5, gua^2 ka^1-ki^2 lai^5 hiann^5

你若毋去焚，我家己來焚 (100.19 清水)

'If you don't want to heat it, I will myself do it.'

(62) Na^7 m^7 tsau^2 tsiu^7 tsiu^7 tshong^3 phun^1 ka^7 li^2 phuah^4 khi^3

若毋走就創潘泔共你潑去 (172.11 大甲)

'If you don't want to leave, I will use slops to splash upon you.'

- Na^7 khi^3 hoo^7 若去予 (< 若乞與)

(63) Na^7 khi^3 hoo^7 lang^5 khioh^4 khi^3, khuann^3 beh^4 an^3-tsuann^2 lah^0

若去予人拾去，看卜安怎啦！(22.13 臺南四)

'If it was picked up, how could we deal with it?'

(64) Li^2 na^7 khi^3 hoo^7 thai^5 khi^3, an^2-ni^1 gua^2 bak^8-tsiu^1 thi^1 bo^5 kim^1

你若去予刣去，安呢我目睭攍無金 (140.18 清水)

'If you get killed, then my eyes are not wide-opened.'

- Na^7 hoo^7 若予

(65) A^1 tsit^4 ki^1 tek^4-a^2 na^7 hoo^7 i^1 tua^7 tsang^5 khi^2-lai^5, a^1 tsiu^7 un^2 be^7 loh^8 a^0

啊這支竹仔若予伊大欉起來，啊就隱袂落啊。(118.03-04 大甲)

'If this bamboo grows bigger on us, we cannot hide it.'

(66) Na^7 hoo^7 i^1 iau^1 ke^3 tsit^8 nng^7 jit^8, tsiah^4 ka^7 pang^3

若予伊枵過一、兩日，則共放 (88.01 嘉義五)

'If it goes hungry one day or two, then let it go.'

- Na^7 ka^7 若共

(67) Li^2 na^7 ka^7 gua^2 kio^3 sann^1 siann^1, gua^2 tsiu^7 e^7 kau^3

你若共我叫三聲，我就會到 （26.04 沙鹿）

'If you call three times, I'll come.'

(68) Na^7 ka^7 tong^3 loo^7 honn^1, long^2 ai^3 u^7 tsui^3

若共擋路呼，攏愛有罪！（40.12 宜蘭二）

'If you stand in the way, you'll be guilty.'

To summarize, *na^7* 若 occurs in the mid-field after the subject and the predicate:

(69) huan^5-kan^1 e^5 lang^5 n^7 tsiah^4 bo^5 li^2 tsiu^7 lai^5 hoo^7 tim^5

凡間的人若呰無理就來予沉 (174.06 彰化七)

'If the secular world is so senseless, then we will sink it.'

(70) a¹ tsa¹-boo² lang⁵ na⁷ tau³-tin⁷ ue⁷ tsiu⁷ tek⁸-pet⁸ tsue⁷ an²-ni¹ lah⁰

啊查某人若鬥陣，話就特別濟安呢啦 (122.07 石岡)

'When women get together, they are sure talkative.'

11.2.2. *Na²* 若 'look like, as if'

When meaning 'look, appear' *na²* 若 seldom occurs alone. Rather it is combined with other words like *kan¹* 干, as in *kan¹-na²* 干若 in (71), *tsun²* 準, as in *na²-tsun²* 若準 in (72), or *tshiunn⁷* 像, as in *na²-tshiunn⁷* 若像 in (73), (74) and (75).

(71) A¹-hiang¹ khuann³ i¹ a¹ ia⁷ kan¹-na² tsin¹ hio⁷-hue²

阿芳看伊啊亦干若真後悔 (86.09 新社)

'As Afang can see, he seems to be quite sorry for it.'

(72) Gua² si⁷ tsiok⁴ khiann⁷ e, tit⁸-tit⁸ than³, gua² na²-tsun⁵ tsue³ gu⁵ tsue³ be² honn

我是足儉 e，直直趁，我若準做牛做馬呼 （134.04 雲林二）

'I am so thrifty and keep making money as if I were a horse or a cow.'

(73) Tsit⁴ kang² (tsui²) tsia¹ na⁷-tshiunn⁷ tsit⁸ tiau⁵ khue¹-a² honn⁰

這港（水）遮若像一條溪仔呼 (26.0-07 鳳山)

'The expanse of water looks as if it was a creek.'

(74) Tsit⁴ e⁵ kua²-hu⁷ na²-tshiunn⁷ ka⁷ bang⁷

這個寡婦若像共託夢 (52.22 雲林二)

'The wife seems to appear in his dream.'

(75) Na²-tshiunn⁷ kong² hit⁴ e⁵ sinn¹-sien⁷-bin⁷ e⁵ tet⁴ phien³ lan² e⁵ gin²-a²

若像講彼个生鉎面的得騙咱的囝仔， (120.07 臺南 10)

'The stranger appeared to be cheating our kid.'

Kan¹-na² 干若 'look like, as if' functions like a parenthetical, and its syntactic position is quite flexible. This expression and a follow-up expression like *to¹-tioh⁸* 都著 (or its variant *tsiu⁷-tioh⁸* 就著) 'that's right' in (76) and (77), *an²-ni¹* 安呢 (this way, so) in (78) and (79), and *e⁵ khuan²* 的款 'appear, as if'/*kang⁵-khuan²* 仝款 'the same' in (80) and (81), form a bracket device.

(76) I¹ Lau⁵ bun⁵ liong⁵ u⁷ tsit⁸ ki¹ thinn³ pit⁴, kan¹-na² po²-pue³ tsiu⁷ tioh⁸

伊劉文龍有一支鐵筆，干若寶貝就著 (110.21 羅陳)

'If he, Liu wen long, has an iron pen, as if it was a pet.'

(77) Nng⁷ e⁵ tsiah⁸ tshai³ e⁵ tsiu⁷ tioh⁸ lah, i³-su¹ kan¹-na² he⁵-siunn⁷-a² tsiu⁷ tioh⁸ lah

二个食菜的就著啦，意思干若和尚仔就著啦 (28.12 羅陳)

'There are two vegetarians, that's it. By that is meant like monks, that is.'

(78) Hit⁴ kang² e⁵ tsui² kan¹-na² ka¹-ki⁷ an²-ni¹ tit⁸ tit⁸ tinn⁷ khi² lai⁵

彼港的水干若家己安呢直直淀起來 (174.24 清水二)

'The flow of water is increasingly filled up by itself.'

(79) Kan¹-na² kong² thau⁵ tsit⁸ am³ e⁷ an³-tsuann² thiann³ an²-ni¹

干若講頭一暗會安怎疼安呢 (200.03 大甲)

'it seems to hurt a lot at first night, we can say that.'

(80) I¹ kan¹-na² goo⁷ e⁵ kiann² e⁵ khuan² lah⁰

伊干若五個子的款啦 (18.05 大安)

'He has like five sons.'

(81) Tsiok⁴ tua⁷ tsiah⁴ e⁵ peh⁸ kau², kau³ khi² lai⁵ na² kan¹ na² sinn¹ tsue³ tsit⁸ tsiah⁴ sue³ tsiah⁴ gu⁵-a² kang⁵-khuan²

足大隻的白狗，看起來若干若生做一隻細隻牛仔子仝款 (16.06 彰化 18)
'The pretty big white dog looks like a calf.'

Kan¹-na² 干若, in particular *kan¹-na² kong¹* 干若講, seems to be a metalinguistic device functioning as 'like, sort of/kind' in English. It indicates that the speaker relies on it as a filler to fumble about the right expression in his mind, as in (82).

(82) Khia⁷-sng³ kong¹ pi²-kau³ tioh⁸ kan¹-na² kong² khah⁴ ia²-ban⁵ lah⁰
    企算講比較著干若講較野蠻啦 (38.10 大安二)
    'It should be sort of like more savage'

11.2.3. *Nia⁷* 爾 'only' (< *na⁷-nia⁷* 爾爾)

Na⁷-nia⁷ 爾爾 or its shortened form *nia⁷* 爾 carries the sense of 'only'. It occurs after a numeral noun phrase (or a numeral alone) and/or the adverb *kan¹-na⁷* 干仔 'only', as in (83) and (84).

(83) Gua² kan¹-na⁷, nng⁷ bu²-a² kiann² nia⁷-nia⁷
    我干仔二母仔子爾爾 (46.06 彰化五)
    'There are only two of us, mother and son.'
(84) Ma²-tsoo² m⁷ si⁷ tsit⁸ e⁵ na⁷-nia⁷
    媽祖毋是一个爾爾 (60.01 大甲)
    'Mazu is not the only one.'

Na⁷-nia⁷ 爾爾 may only scope over a predicate, as in (85) and (86).

(85) Tshik⁴-a² beh⁴ na⁷-nia⁷, tsiu⁷ kuann²-kin² theh⁸ khi² lai⁵ bua⁵
    粟仔卜好爾爾，就趕緊提起來磨 (134.08 彰化四)
    'Hardly is the unhusked rice ready when they begin to grind it right away.'
(86) I¹ si⁷ sau² thoo⁵-kha¹ na⁷-nia⁷
    伊是掃土腳爾爾 (20.09 大安)
    'He only sweeps the ground.'

Historically 爾 may well be a fusion of 如是 'like this'. (Yu 1987: 126-127) It later on developed the sense of 'only', as in (87) and (88).[19]

- Nia⁷ 爾

(87) Hia¹ he⁵-siunn⁷ liong² bo⁵ tit⁴ to⁷, kan¹-tann¹ i¹ tit⁴ to⁷ nia⁷
    彼的和尚攏無得道，干單伊得道爾。 (58.17 雲林三)
    'The monks over there do not attain the way.'
(88) Gua² khah⁴ tsa² ka⁷ lin² sann¹ e⁵ tsioh⁴ sann¹ kng² bi² nia⁷ lah⁰
    我較早共您三个借三管米爾啦 (26.14 臺南四)
    'I borrowed only three tubes of rice from you earlier on.'

The sentence-final *na⁷-nia⁷* 爾爾 'only' and the pre-predicate *kan¹-tann¹* 干單 or its reduced variant *kan¹-a²* 干仔 'only' as a pair of synonyms constitute a case of non-contiguous hypercharacterization where the sense of *only* is redundantly signaled, as exemplified in (88) &(89) for *kan¹-tann¹* 干單, on the one hand, and (91) & (92) for *kan¹-a²* 干仔 only, on the other.

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[19] The sense of *only* may be derived from 爾 + the aspect marker 矣 or 已. Note that 耳 is the same as 而已. (cf. 而已 or 耳 'only')

(89) Kan¹-tann¹ tsit⁸ lui² na⁷-nia⁷

干單一蕊爾爾 (70.19 大安)

'There is only one flower.'

(90) Gua² na⁷ u⁷ tsiah⁸ siann²-mih⁸ gua² tsiu⁷ kan¹-tann¹ tsiah⁸ ku² tshai³ nia⁷

我若有食啥物我就干單食就韭菜爾 (76.07 東勢)

'Did I ever eat anything? I only ate Chinese chives.'

(91) Kan¹-a² e⁷-hiau² the¹-tsun⁵ sing¹-uah⁸ a⁰ na⁷-nia⁷

干仔會曉撐船生活啊爾爾 (42.04 彰化五)

'He earns his living by punting, which is the only skill he knows.'

(92) Gua² kan¹-na⁷, nng⁷ bu²-a² kiann² nia⁷-nia⁷

我干仔，二母仔子爾爾 (46.06 彰化五)

'There are only two of us, mother and son.'

11.2.4. Na² 那

Na² 那 functions as a wh-word meaning 'how/why' usually used to mark a rhetorical question, as in (93) and (94). But more often than not the sentence turns into an exclamative, as in (95).

(93) Gua² na² u⁷ huat⁸-too⁷ ka⁷ li² kai²-kiu³

我那有法度共你解救？ (100.08 彰化五)

'How can I save you after all?'

(94) Gua² an³-tsuann² na² e⁷ bo⁵ kong¹-pinn⁵

我安怎那會無公平？ (12.16 沙鹿二)

'How can I be unfair?'

(95) Na² e⁷ hiah⁴-ni⁷-a² kan¹

那會赫爾仔奸！？ (154.01 新社)

'Why is (the rat) so treacherous?'

11.2.5. Na² X na² Y 那 X 那 Y

The correlative construction *na²* X *na²* Y 那 X 那 Y expresses two simultaneous actions in tandem and further develops the sense of incremental intensity, as in (96), (97) and (98).

(96) Lan² lai⁵ gim⁵ si¹ tsue³ tui³, na⁷ tsue³ na⁷ kiann⁵

咱來吟詩做對，那做那行。(106.08 彰化九)

'Let's compose poems and make couplets. Let do it while walking.'

(97) Khah⁴ tsa² e⁵ lang⁵ si⁷ na² phak⁸ tshik⁴ na⁷ tsu³ lue⁵-a²

較早的人是那曝粟那做笠仔 (132.16 清水二)

'Folks in earlier times sunned the rice while making bamboo hats.'

(98) I¹ na⁷ tua⁷-han³ sin¹-the² na2 iong²

伊那大漢身體那勇 (160.08 雲林二)

'The older he gets the stronger he becomes.'

12. Conclusion

There are two strands of the above discussion: (1) *na²/na⁷* 那 as used in the earlier Southern Min (ESM), and (2) *na²/na⁷* rendered in various graphs in modern Southern Min (MSM). For ESM *na⁷* 那 features the senses of *if* and *only*, whereas *na²* 那 boasts the sense of *look like* and *how/why*. *Na⁷* 那 is involved in forging the conditionals and causals, whereas *na²* 那 is a disjunctive conjunction in A-not-A question. For MSM, the dual sense of *na⁷* and na² are inherited in Southern Min in the first half

of the 20th century. The sense of only is also expressed by the sentence-final particle and the correlative construction featuring the discontinuous sequence emerges as well to denote the sense of simultaneous actions which even extends to sense of incremental intensification. MSM toward the end of the 20th century and the early 21st century witnessed relatively the same type of evolution. The emergence of the how/why wh-word na^2 那 in MSM is also quite conspicuous in view of the paucity of its precursor in ESM.

Two more points are worth mentioning before closing. First, monosyllabic na^7 那 is two-way ambiguous between the sense of 'if' and the sense of 'only'. The disappearance of the latter sense may be due to this monosyllabic homophony. The first sense of na^7 那 is kept alive since it is supported by the compound comprising na^7 那 and its collocates. Second, the juxtaposition of two synonyms or near synonyms dubbed hypercharacterization underscores the robust aspect of dynamic language change presaging the next stage of the optimal resolution of the much more parsimonious state of language.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix

Table 1. A list of Taiwanese Folktales

編者	年代	書名	出版處	代稱
胡萬川	1994	沙鹿鎮閩南語故事集	台中縣：台中縣立文化中心	沙鹿
胡萬川	1994	沙鹿鎮閩南語故事集二	台中縣：台中縣立文化中心	沙鹿二
胡萬川, 黃晴文	1996	清水鎮閩南語故事集一	台中縣：台中縣立文化中心	清水
胡萬川, 黃晴文	1997	清水鎮閩南語故事集二	台中縣：台中縣立文化中心	清水二
胡萬川	1994	大甲鎮閩南語故事集	台中縣：台中縣立文化中心	大甲
胡萬川, 黃晴文	1996	新社鄉閩南語故事集一	台中縣：台中縣立文化中心	新社

胡萬川，黃晴文	1997	新社鄉閩南語故事集二	台中縣：台中縣立文化中心	新社二
胡萬川	1993	石岡鄉閩南語故事集一	台中縣：台中縣立文化中心	石岡
胡萬川，王正雄	2000	東勢鎮閩南語故事集一	台中縣：台中縣立文化中心	東勢
傅素花，陳素文	1998	大安鄉閩南語故事集一	台中縣：台中縣立文化中心	大安
傅素花，陳素文	1998	大安鄉閩南語故事集二	台中縣：台中縣立文化中心	大安二
胡萬川，賴萬發	1994	彰化縣民間文學集四：故事篇二	彰化縣：彰化縣立文化中心	彰化四
胡萬川，賴萬發	1994	彰化縣民間文學集五：故事篇三	彰化縣：彰化縣立文化中心	彰化五
胡萬川，賴萬發	1995	彰化縣民間文學集七：故事篇四	彰化縣：彰化縣立文化中心	彰化七
胡萬川	1996	彰化縣民間文學集九：故事篇五	彰化縣：彰化縣立文化中心	彰化九
胡萬川，康原，陳益源	2002	彰化縣民間文學集 18	彰化市：彰化縣文化局	彰化 18
胡萬川，陳益源	1999	雲林縣閩南語故事集二	雲林縣斗六市：雲林縣文化局	雲林二
胡萬川，陳益源	1999	雲林縣閩南語故事集三	雲林縣斗六市：雲林縣文化局	雲林三
胡萬川，陳益源	1999	雲林縣閩南語故事集四	雲林縣斗六市：雲林縣文化局	雲林四
江寶釵	2000	嘉義市民間文學集五：閩南語故事二	嘉義市：嘉義市文化局	嘉義五
胡萬川	2001	臺南縣民間文學集四：故事集三	臺南縣：臺南縣文化局	臺南四
胡萬川	2001	臺南縣民間文學集 10：故事集六	臺南縣：臺南縣政府	臺南 10
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