The polyfunctional \textit{na}^7/\textit{na}^2 那 in Early Southern Min and its Later Developments

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Abstract
The paper deals with the polyfunctionality of \textit{na} realized as \textit{na}^7 or \textit{na}^2 featuring a range of senses or functions such as \textit{if}, \textit{only}, \textit{look like} and \textit{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 \textit{na}^7/\textit{na}^2 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 \textit{na}^7/\textit{na}^2 那 in earlier and modern Southern Min shows some interesting grammatical developments chiefly the obsolescence of the sense of the monosyllabic \textit{na}^7 ‘only’ and emergence of correlative construction \textit{na}^2 X \textit{na}^2 Y featuring even the incremental intensification beyond the newly emergent simultaneous actions, and the emergence of robust occurrence of \textit{na}^2 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 \textit{na}^7/\textit{na}^2 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 \textit{na}, (3) interpretation of \textit{na}^7 那, (4) interpretation of \textit{na}^2 那, (5) \textit{na}^2 那 as a disjunctive conjunction in A-not-A questions, (6) disambiguity of \textit{na}^7 那 in correlative constructions, (7) causal constructions featuring \textit{ki}-\textit{na}^7 既那 or \textit{kinn} -\textit{na}^2 見那, (8) causal constructions featuring \textit{na}^1 in\textit{na} or \textit{na}^1 \textit{ui} 那因 or \textit{na}^1 \textit{ui} 那畏, (9) simultaneous temporal relationship, (10) the evolution of \textit{na}^7 那 or \textit{na}^2 那 in a diachronic perspective, (11) \textit{na}^7 那 or \textit{na}^2 那 in modern Taiwanese Southern Min.

2. Two Types of \textit{na}
Based on the modern reflexes in Southern Min, we postulate two phonological categories for \textit{na}^2, featuring a yinshang 陰上 tone, and \textit{na}^1, a yang qu 上下 tone.\footnote{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 \textit{ch} and \textit{ts} or \textit{chh} and \textit{tsh} as they do not involve phonemic contrast. Open \textit{o} and closed \textit{o} are renotated as \textit{oo} and \textit{a}, as in \textit{too} 吐 ‘drawing’ and \textit{to} 吐 ‘escape’. Nasalization of vowels is signaled by a double \textit{n}, as in \textit{tsinn} 錢 ‘money’. \textit{e} and \textit{u} are rendered as /ɛ/ and /u/ respectively.} 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 \textit{y} initial, into Southern Min \textit{na}^7 那 is plausible on phonological grounds in that no
distinction was made between 邻 and互助 initials both keeping *n- in earlier Southern Min, and there is compatibility of the finals of 邻 in the ru (八) rime category and鱼in the yin (陰) rime category.²

3. Interpretation of na? 邻

When taking on the departing tone (viz., yang qu tone), na? 邻, a highly frequent word in earlier Southern Min texts, means either if, as in (1), or only, as in (2).³

(1) Hue¹ na? beh⁴ bo⁵ ber²-tiap⁸, ong²-khut⁴ i¹ pang¹-bi⁷
花那卜無尾蝶，枉屈伊香味 (23.024 DG)
‘If the flowers have no butterflies, then their scent will be futile.’

(2) Tsi² si³ pinn¹ bo⁵ lang⁵, na? si⁷ niu⁵ kann² kang⁷ gun² ti⁷ tsi²
只四邊無人，那是娘子共住在只 (24.300 WL)
‘There is nobody around here. Only you and I are here.’

Na? 邻 in the first sense ‘if’ may evolve from 若 in Old Chinese through the loss of the stop coda.⁵ Na? 邻 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 閾

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

(3) Li² liah⁸ bo⁵-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) Tsui¹ tit⁴ 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?’

² Yang (2005) reconstructs 若 as naʔ¹ irrespective of its finer semantic distinctions for modern Southern Min. No distinction is made between naʔ and na?.

³ There is another contender for the meaning ‘only’, viz., tanʔ 但 which often occurs in tanʔ tit⁴ 但得, tanʔ guanʔ 但願, tanʔ siʔ 但是, tanʔ uʔ 但有, tanʔ saiʔ 但使, etc. As shown in Douglas (1873: 474, 334), there is mʔ-tanʔ-naʔ in addition to mʔ-tanʔ, mʔ-naʔ and putʔ-tanʔ and We can see that mʔ-tanʔ (colloquial) and putʔ-tanʔ (literary) show a stratum distinction. Mʔ-tanʔ-naʔ indicates the co-presence of tanʔ and naʔ 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 1522-1556), WL (Wangli 萬歷 1573-1619), SZ (Shunzhi 溥治 1644-1661), DG (Daoguang 道光 1821-1850), GX (Guangxu 光緒 1875-1908). See Wu (2001abed), and Quanzhou (2010). The dot is sandwiched by the numeral standing for act and the line number where the example is extracted.


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 na? ‘how, why’ is extremely hard to come by. It is said to emerge as early as the Six Dynasties period. (Ota 1981, 1987: 121, Jiang 1988: 146-148). It is also construed as a fusion of 何 (Chou 1972a: 183-190) (Yu 1987: 105), however, regards 何 as the same as 何. See Tsai (2005: 105) for citing (4) as a sole example to illustrate the sense of ‘why’.
The sense of $\text{na}^2$ ‘look like’ is traceable to 若 in Old Chinese.\(^{10}\)

5. *Na*\(^2\) as a disjunctive conjunction in A-not-A questions

Apart from expressing the sense of *if* and *only*, $\text{na}^7$ 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, $\text{ue}^7$ 會 ‘can’ is paired with $\text{bue}^7$ 殆 (a phonetic loan word also written as another phonetic loan 豈) ‘cannot’ as a fusion of a negative element and the modal $\text{ue}^7$ 會 (若 解) in the positive clause, as in (5):

(5) $\text{Lan}^2$ tann\(^1\) iau\(^1\) $\text{ue}^7$ tit\(^6\) tshioh\(^8\) hir\(^2\) tsiit\(^8\) ge\(^5\) niu\(^5\)-kiann\(^2\) $\text{na}^7$ bue\(^7\)
‘Could we still get the lady now?’

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

(6) $\text{I}^1$ $\text{khing}^2$ jin\(^7\) li\(^2\) $\text{na}^7$ $\text{m}^7$?
‘Is he willing to recognize you?’

$\text{U}^7$ 有 ‘have’ is paired with $\text{bo}^5$ 無 ‘not have’ as a fusional form of a negative element *m- + 有*, as in (7):

(7) $\text{Tsi}^2$ te\(^3\) ker\(^3\) khi\(^2\) u\(^1\) jin\(^7\)-ke\(^1\) tang\(^1\) hioh\(^4\) $\text{na}^7$ bo\(^5\)
‘Is there some place where we can put ourselves in beyond here?’

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

(8) $\text{Tsing}^5$ u\(^7\) tui\(^3\) hun\(^1\) $\text{na}^7$ ber\(^7\)
‘Has she been matched?’

$\text{Na}^7$ 那 as a disjunctive conjunction is a reflex of 若 bearing the same function.\(^{11}\)

6. Disambiguity of $\text{na}^7$ in correlative constructions

As shown above, $\text{na}^7$ 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, $\text{na}^7$ 那 takes on the sense of *if* when occurring in conditionals featuring a range of correlative conjunctions $\text{na}^7$… $\text{pien}^7$ 那 … $\text{tioh}^8$ 那 … 使, as in (9), $\text{na}^7$… $\text{tsiu}^7$ 那 … 就, as in (10), and $\text{na}^7$… $\text{tiann}^1$- $\text{tioh}^8$ 那 … 定著, as in (11). In the conditionals, $\text{na}^7$ 那 marks the protasis, whereas a variety of adverbs or modals such as $\text{pien}^7$ 使, $\text{tsiu}^7$ 就, and $\text{tioh}^8$ 著 mark the apodosis.

(9) $\text{Li}^2$ $\text{na}^7$ bo\(^5\) lang\(^4\) tshiu\(^1\)-tshai\(^2\), $\text{pien}^7$ bong\(^2\) tng\(^2\) khi\(^3\)

\(^{10}\) 若 and 會 are a pair of etyma taking on the interpretation of ‘look like’ followed by demonstrative pronouns like 且, 且, etc. (Chou 1982a: 142-146)

\(^{11}\) 若 in Old Chinese functions as a disjunctive conjunction in Old Chinese. (Yang 1986: 222-223)
If no one pays attention to you, you might just as well return.

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

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, when followed by or rather reinforced by the boulomaic modal verb berh4, 想, another candidate for expression condition, always carries the sense of if, as in (12):

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

When na7 is not present, berh4 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):

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

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.

Since you like to listen, let me sing.

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

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, 怕 ‘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).

Only because I am poor do I learn the art of polishing mirrors.
Naٓ while combining with the verb ui٣ ‘fear’, as in (17), always means only rather than if. The psych-verb ui٣ ‘fear’ has become a speaker-oriented verb even without the presence of speaker as the subject.

(17) Naٓ ui٣ hue١ tshai٢ jip٤ tshiu٢, m٧ pat٤ hue١ ki١
    ‘I only fear that when you get the flower, you no long know its sprig.’

9. Simultaneous temporal relationship

Na٢ can head a locative phrase which serves as an anchor for an activity in which a temporary situation is involved, as in (18).

(18) Li٢ na٢ tsi٢ se١ mng٤ kue١, hau٧ i١ tng٢ lai٤
    ‘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 na٢ ... na٢ expressing a synchronous concerted activity, as in na٢ kiann٤ na٢ tshium٣ ‘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 naٓ or na٢ in a diachronic perspective

We have in the above surveyed the distribution of the senses of the context-sensitive polyfunctional word Na٢. We can arrive at the development of constructions featuring na٢ or na٢ by comparing their usages in earlier and modern Southern Min texts. The later parts of data are based on Go-en 諯苑, 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. Naٓ or na٢ in modern Taiwanese Southern Min

The major conspicuous changes that we find are shown below: First, the monosyllabic only-denoting na٢ is superseded by disyllabic expressions such as kan٢-ta١ 千乾 and kan١-na٢ 千但 attested in Go-en 諜苑 in the first half of the 20th century, and kan١-na٢ 千旱, kan١-a٢ 千仔 toward the end of the 20th century as attested in modern Taiwanese folktales. Second, the emergence of the symmetric correlative conjunction na٢ ... na٢ 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 諨苑, 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. na٢ 若, 11.1.2. na٢ 若 ‘seem, as if’, 11.1.3. na٢ 佇, 11.1.4. na٢ 若, 11.1.5.. na٢ X na٢ Y 㤰 X 㤰 Y.

11.1.1 Na٢ 若 ‘if’
If \( na^7 \) 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 \( si^7 \) 是 (focus marker), as in (19) and (20), \( u^7 \) 有 (evidential marker), as in (21) and (22), \( beh^4 \) 要 (volitional modal verb), as in (23) and (24), \( m^7 \) 不 (volitional negative), as in (25) and (26), \( e^7 \) 能 (dynamic/epistemic modal), as in (27) and (28). 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.

- \( Na^7 si^7 \) 若是

\[
(19) \ Na^7 si^7 bue^7 ki^3, tsiu^7 si^7 li^2 le^5 tai^7 \\
\text{若} \text{是} \text{没} \text{記} \text{得，} \text{就} \text{是} \text{汝} \text{的} \text{事} \ (4-52-11 \text{ 語苑五}) \\
\text{‘If} \text{you} \text{forget} \text{it, then} \text{it} \text{is} \text{your} \text{business. ’}
\]

\[
(20) \ Na^7 si^7 ka^3 lang^2 sue^2 tsit^8 e^7 thau^5-khak^4, ia^7 si^7 bo^5 siann^2 mih^8 siunn^7 tang^7-kang^1 e^5 tai^7-tsi^3 ma \\
\text{若} \text{是} \text{與} \text{人} \text{洗} \text{下} \text{頭} \text{殼，} \text{亦} \text{是} \text{無} \text{甚} \text{麼} \text{傷} \text{重} \text{工} \text{作} \text{的} \text{事} \text{情} \text{嗎} \ (6-578-5>6 \text{ 語苑五}) \\
\text{‘If} \text{you} \text{wash} \text{someone}’ \text{s} \text{hair，} \text{它} \text{不} \text{會} \text{是} \text{一} \text{大} \text{事} \text{{.}’}
\]

- \( Na^7 u^7 \) 若有

\[
(21) \ Na^7 u^7 khuann^3 tioh^8 huat^4 pinn^7 e^5 kam^1-tsiyah^4, sui^5-si^3 tshoh^4 khi^2 lai^5 sio^1 \\
\text{若有} \text{著} \text{著} \text{發} \text{病} \text{的} \text{甘} \text{蔗}，\text{隨} \text{時} \text{剎} \text{剎} \text{來} \text{燒} \ (7-23-2 \text{ 語苑五}) \\
\text{‘If} \text{indeed} \text{the} \text{bamboo} \text{canes} \text{are} \text{found} \text{to} \text{be} \text{sick，} \text{they} \text{should} \text{be} \text{cut} \text{and} \text{burned. ’}
\]

\[
(22) \ Li^2 na^7 u^7-iann^2 ti^7 siunn^7 beh^4 kai^2, khi^3 jip^3 inn^7 liau^7-ti^7 tsiah^4 ho^2 \\
\text{汝} \text{若} \text{有} \text{影} \text{在} \text{要} \text{改，} \text{去} \text{入} \text{院} \text{療} \text{療} \text{即} \text{好} \ (10-18-10 \text{ 語苑二十四}) \\
\text{‘If} \text{you} \text{are} \text{really} \text{determined} \text{to} \text{quit} \text{the} \text{addiction，} \text{you} \text{should} \text{go} \text{to} \text{the} \text{hospital} \text{for} \text{treatment. ’}
\]

- \( Na^7 beh^4 \) 若要

\[
(23) \ Na^7 beh^4 tshong^3 siann^2 he^3, tsue^3 li^2 jip^8 lai^5 tsia^1 \\
\text{若} \text{要} \text{創} \text{何} \text{貨，} \text{做} \text{汝} \text{入} \text{來} \text{此。} \ (8-15-3 \text{ 語苑十三}) \\
\text{‘If} \text{you} \text{want} \text{to} \text{do} \text{something，} \text{please} \text{come} \text{in. ’}
\]

\[
(24) \ Hit^4 e^5 na^2 beh^4 sng^3 tsinn^5, tsha^1-put^4-to^1 u^7 joa^7 tsue^7 \\
\text{彼} \text{個} \text{若} \text{要} \text{算} \text{賬，} \text{差} \text{不} \text{多} \text{有} \text{若} \text{多} \ (7-10-2 \text{ 語苑二十四}) \\
\text{‘If counted} \text{in} \text{currency，} \text{how} \text{much} \text{does} \text{the} \text{crop} \text{amount} \text{to? ’}
\]

- \( Na^7 m^7 \) 若不

\[
(25) \ Khoo^2-khng^3 na^7 m^7 thiann^1, tsiah sui^5-si^3 po^3 gua^2 tsai^1-iann^2 \\
\text{苦} \text{勸} \text{若} \text{不} \text{聽，} \text{即} \text{隨} \text{時} \text{報} \text{我} \text{知} \text{影。} \ (3-54-3 \text{ 語苑十九}) \\
\text{‘If} \text{he} \text{does} \text{not} \text{listen} \text{to} \text{the} \text{persuasion，} \text{report} \text{to} \text{me} \text{any} \text{time. ’}
\]

\[
(26) \ Lin^4 na^7 m^7 tsai^1, kio^3 i^1 pun^2-sin^1 lai^5 tsia^1 \\
\text{汝} \text{若} \text{不知}，\text{叫} \text{伊} \text{本} \text{身} \text{來} \text{此} \ (9-19-9 \text{ 語苑十三}) \\
\text{‘If} \text{he} \text{does} \text{not} \text{know} \text{it，} \text{please} \text{ask} \text{him} \text{to} \text{come} \text{here} \text{in} \text{person. ’}
\]

- \( Na^7 e^7 \) 若能

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12 There is in Japan a kunyomi (訓語) tradition of adopting the Chinese character for a native Japanese word while discarding the original Chinese sound. Here we can see that the character 要 and 能 are adopted solely to stand for beh^4 要 ‘want’ and u^7 能 ‘can, may’ respectively. Actually u^7 is a phonetic loan character, and 能 is nowadays rendered as 會, a kunyomi or rather semantic loan character.
(27) Na7 e7 tit4 thang1 khi3 m7 tsin1 ho2

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) Kong2 ue7 na7 e7 thong1, tsu7-jen5 e7-hiau2 jin5-tsing5 hong1-siok8

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 na7 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 na7 若 is sandwiched by subject and predicate is illustrated in (29), (30) and (31).

• Li2 na7 汝若

(29) Li2 na7 ka1 liau2, tioh8 ka7 gua2 pau1 sin1-bun5 tsua2

汝若釪了，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?’

• I1 na7 伊若

(30) I1 na7 si7 khing2, khuann3 li2 beh4 tsainn2 iunn7

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) Lan2 na7 u7 bo5 tsiah4 e5 mng8, tioh8 pun7 lang5 khi3 tsia8

咱若有好食的物，著分人去食 (4-34-7 語苑二十七)
‘If there is anything delicious, let’s share it among us.’

When preceded by u7 在, bo5 在 or si7 是, as in (32), (33) and (34), jua7 若, probably a fusional word of 若夥 (Mei 2002), serves as an adverbial wh-word meaning ‘how’ followed by adjectives such as tsue7 多 ‘much, many’ and hng7 遠 ‘far’.

(32) Tsinn5 u7 jua7 tsue7, theh4 tshen5 lai5 hoo7 goa2 khuann3 leh0

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) Bo5 jua7 hng7 kiam3 pinn7 tsiu7 kau3

無若遠連鞭就到 (8-591-6 語苑五)
‘It is not far off. We will arrive right away.’

(34) Tsha1 tsinn5 si7 jua7 tsue7

車錢是若多 (10-6-7 語苑十六)
‘How much is the bus fare?’

11.1.2. Na2 若 ‘as if, seem

13 Except when the subject and 若 can be separated by an adverbial phrase such as a time adverb 作自 ling-jit6, as in Le6 ling-jis6 nau u7 khi3 hiau sun7- suah7 tsia8 ka’sih’ khuann5-mai7 leh8 汝若自若去彼，順順即問查看嘅 ‘If you go there the other day, you can check it’ (6-51-2 語苑二十四).
Na\textsuperscript{2} combined with tsun\textsuperscript{2} yields the adverb na\textsuperscript{2}-tsun\textsuperscript{2} 若準 ‘as if, seem’, as in (35) and (36).\textsuperscript{14} As shown in (37), it can be optionally followed by another synonymous element e\textsuperscript{5}-khuan\textsuperscript{2} � ‘as if’, a sentence-final particle evolving from the sequence of nominalizer + NP.\textsuperscript{15}

(35) Gua\textsuperscript{2} na\textsuperscript{2}-tsun\textsuperscript{2} bat\textsuperscript{4} khuann\textsuperscript{3}-kinn\textsuperscript{3}, m\textsuperscript{7}-ku\textsuperscript{1} tsit\textsuperscript{8}-si\textsuperscript{5} siunn\textsuperscript{7} be\textsuperscript{7} tshut\textsuperscript{4}

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

(36) Gua\textsuperscript{2} na\textsuperscript{2}-tsun\textsuperscript{2} si\textsuperscript{7} ti\textsuperscript{7} to\textsuperscript{2}-ui\textsuperscript{7}-a\textsuperscript{2} bat\textsuperscript{4} khuann\textsuperscript{3}

‘It appears that I saw it somewhere.’

(37) Na\textsuperscript{2}-tsun\textsuperscript{2} u\textsuperscript{7} sing\textsuperscript{5}-jinn\textsuperscript{7} e\textsuperscript{5} khuan\textsuperscript{2}

‘It appears that he has not admitted it.’

11.1.3. Na\textsuperscript{7} 但 ‘only’

Na\textsuperscript{7} 但 ‘only’ is attested in combinations such as na\textsuperscript{7} si\textsuperscript{7} 但 ‘only’, na\textsuperscript{7} u\textsuperscript{7} 但 ‘there is only’, na\textsuperscript{7} sai\textsuperscript{2} 但 ‘all that is needed is’ (Douglas 1873: 334) Douglas (1873: 334) treated na\textsuperscript{7} 但 ‘only’ as but which does have the sense of ‘only’ in its origin.\textsuperscript{16} Ogawa et al (1981b: 491) follows suit. Na\textsuperscript{7} 但 ‘only’ occurs in na\textsuperscript{7} si\textsuperscript{7} 但 ‘only’ and m’ na\textsuperscript{7} 但 ‘not only’.\textsuperscript{17} The homophony of na\textsuperscript{7} 但 and na\textsuperscript{7} 但 may partially explain why na\textsuperscript{7} 但 has been eclipsed except in the isolated case of compounds. Although kan\textsuperscript{1}-na\textsuperscript{7} 千但 ‘only’ is attested in Ogawa et al (1981a: 214), examples of kan\textsuperscript{1}-ta\textsuperscript{7} 千乾 ‘only’ are far easier to come by, as in (38) and (39).

(38) Kan\textsuperscript{1}-ta\textsuperscript{1} khai\textsuperscript{1} tsit\textsuperscript{4} king\textsuperscript{1} tiann\textsuperscript{7} na\textsuperscript{7}-nia\textsuperscript{7}

‘We run this store only.’

(39) Kan\textsuperscript{1}-ta\textsuperscript{1} kann\textsuperscript{2} tioh\textsuperscript{8} hong\textsuperscript{1} na\textsuperscript{7}-nia\textsuperscript{7}, tsiu\textsuperscript{7} khah\textsuperscript{4} bo\textsuperscript{2} iau\textsuperscript{1}-kin\textsuperscript{2}

‘I only caught cold. That is less important.’

Another easily confusing compound is kan\textsuperscript{1}-a\textsuperscript{2} 千仔, as in (40) and (41), which carries adversative function. (cf. pian\textsuperscript{1}-pian\textsuperscript{7} 偏偏 in Mandarin and doch in German)

(40) Gua\textsuperscript{2} to\textsuperscript{1} i\textsuperscript{2}-king\textsuperscript{1} khuann\textsuperscript{3}-phua\textsuperscript{3} loo, m\textsuperscript{7}-ku\textsuperscript{1} i\textsuperscript{1} kan\textsuperscript{1}-a\textsuperscript{2} khuann\textsuperscript{3} m\textsuperscript{7} phua\textsuperscript{3}

‘I have become disillusioned, but he still perseveres.’

(41) Li\textsuperscript{2} kan\textsuperscript{1}-a\textsuperscript{2} sai\textsuperscript{2} ngi\textsuperscript{7}-phinn\textsuperscript{7}, na\textsuperscript{7} u\textsuperscript{7} loo\textsuperscript{7}-ing\textsuperscript{7}

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

It is alternatively written as kan\textsuperscript{1}-na\textsuperscript{2} 千那, as illustrated in (42).

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\textsuperscript{14} Na\textsuperscript{2}-tsun\textsuperscript{2} 若準 ‘as if, seem’ means the same as na\textsuperscript{2}-tsiuann\textsuperscript{2} 若修, but it differs from tsun\textsuperscript{2}-na\textsuperscript{7} 若侶, and tsun\textsuperscript{2}-tsue\textsuperscript{3} 若俳, and tsun\textsuperscript{2}-kong\textsuperscript{2} 若Avg all meaning ‘if’. (Lu 2011: 598-599).

\textsuperscript{15} The co-presence of Na\textsuperscript{2}-tsun\textsuperscript{2} 若準 and e\textsuperscript{5}-khuan\textsuperscript{2} 乖乖 constitutes a case of hypercharacterization where two synonyms redundantly occur in the same construction. (Malkiel 1957 and Lehmann 2005)

\textsuperscript{16} A question arises as to how to account for the discrepancy of t\textsuperscript{-i} in tan\textsuperscript{1} 但 and n\textsuperscript{-i} in na\textsuperscript{7} 但 in the onset position.

\textsuperscript{17} 但 ‘the only thing, but’ is realized only as tan\textsuperscript{1} si\textsuperscript{7} rather than na\textsuperscript{7} si\textsuperscript{7} in Go-en 貴苑. Obviously enough, na\textsuperscript{7} si\textsuperscript{7} 但 is easily confused with na\textsuperscript{7} si\textsuperscript{7} 若 is ‘if’. 

21
(42) Guan² lau⁷-pe⁷ m⁷ khing⁵ hoo⁷ gua² khi³, gua² kan¹-na⁷ beh⁴ khi³
    ‘My father is not willing to let me go, I still want to go.’ (5-5-1 語苑二十四)

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) Tsho¹-tsho³ khi² nng⁷ king¹ tua³ na⁷ nia⁷ beh⁴ na² u⁷ song²
    ‘We built only two houses to live in hastily. How can they be comfortable?’
(44) Lir²-na² m⁷ kin² khi³
    ‘Why don’t you go right away?’
(45) Ia⁷ bo⁵ tsai⁵-hong⁵ tsia¹-a², beh⁴ na² e⁷ sai² kong² si⁷ tsai¹-tsue³ tsai⁵-hong⁵
    ‘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 poö² e⁴ mih⁸
    ‘If he is healthy, why should we let him have nutrients’
(47) Sien¹-sinn¹ to¹ hiah⁴ gau² kong², na²-sai² oh⁸
    ‘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 念 X 念 Y

(48) Na² khau³ na² kong²
    ‘He is crying while talking.’
(49) Na² kiann⁵ na² sio¹ ma²
    ‘They are quarrelling while walking.’
(50) Gua² khuann⁵ hien²-si⁵ e⁵ sia¹-hue⁸ na² bun⁷-bing⁵ na² tshia¹-tshi²
    ‘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 而, 12.1.4. na² 那, 12.1.5. na² X na² Y 那 X 那 Y.
Na⁷ as the marker of protasis in conditionals is higher in hierarchical structures than such functional categories as si⁷ (the focus marker), as in (51) and (52), u⁷ (evidential marker), as in (53) and (54), beh⁴ (volitional modal), as in (55) and (56), e⁷ (epistemic modal), as in (57) and (58), bo⁵ (negative evidential marker), as in (59) and (60), m⁷ (negative volitional modal), as in (61) and (62), khi³ hoo⁷ (agent marker in passives), as in (63) and (64), hoo⁷ (directive verbs in causatives), as in (65) and (66), and ka¹ (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 iau¹ si² lah⁰ hoonn⁰
若是物件食了，咱後摳糧是會拷死啦呼 (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
逐個若是看著伊，纔是閃避到遠遠遠 (72.16 新社二)
‘If everybody saw him, they stood far away from him.’

- Na⁷ u⁷ 若有

(53) Na⁷ u⁷ ka¹ 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 u¹ siumn² beh⁴ kap⁴ gua² hap⁸ tsit⁸ ke¹, tshan²-hng⁵ li² ai³ tshu³-hun¹-hun¹ leh⁰
汝若有想卜依我合一家，田園汝愛處分咧 (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 tshua² tng² khr³
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-kin¹! 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-thau⁴ honn⁰, gua² kam¹-guan² tsue³ gu² tsue³ be² ma⁷ beh⁴ an³-tsuann²
你若會出頭呼，我甘願做牛做馬啊卜安怎 (98.1 石岡)
‘If you may get anywhere, I will be at your service anyway’

(58) Koo² na⁷ e⁷ haur², beh⁴ siumn² gua¹ tsue² hoonn⁰
鼓若會哮，卜賞偌濟哉！ (74.24 大安二)
‘If the drum can produce sounds, how much will be awarded (to the beater)?’

- Na⁷ bo⁵ 若無

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\textsuperscript{a} na\textsuperscript{7} bo\textsuperscript{5} ka\textsuperscript{7} li\textsuperscript{2} ka\textsuperscript{3}-si\textsuperscript{3} tsit\textsuperscript{8} e\textsuperscript{7}, na\textsuperscript{2} e\textsuperscript{7} i\textsuperscript{7} ng\textsuperscript{7} tit\textsuperscript{4}

若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\textsuperscript{2} na\textsuperscript{7} bo\textsuperscript{5} khi\textsuperscript{3}-hiann\textsuperscript{5}, li\textsuperscript{2} tsoh\textsuperscript{3} li\textsuperscript{2} lai\textsuperscript{5} ke\textsuperscript{2} mi\textsuperscript{5}

你若無棄嫌，你做你來過頭（112.14 羅陳）

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

• Na\textsuperscript{7} m\textsuperscript{7} 若母

(61) Li\textsuperscript{2} na\textsuperscript{7} m\textsuperscript{7} khi\textsuperscript{3} hiann\textsuperscript{5}, gua\textsuperscript{2} ka\textsuperscript{1}-ki\textsuperscript{2} lai\textsuperscript{5} hiann\textsuperscript{5}

你若母去焚，我家已來焚（100.19 清水）

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

(62) Na\textsuperscript{7} m\textsuperscript{7} tsau\textsuperscript{2} tsiu\textsuperscript{4} tsiu\textsuperscript{4} tshong\textsuperscript{3} phun\textsuperscript{1} ka\textsuperscript{7} li\textsuperscript{2} phuah\textsuperscript{4} khi\textsuperscript{3}

若母走就創潘共你潑去（172.11 大甲）

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

• Na\textsuperscript{7} khi\textsuperscript{3} hoo\textsuperscript{7} 若去子 (< 若乞與)

(63) Na\textsuperscript{7} khi\textsuperscript{3} hoo\textsuperscript{7} lang\textsuperscript{3} khioh\textsuperscript{4} khi\textsuperscript{3}, khuann\textsuperscript{3} beh\textsuperscript{4} an\textsuperscript{3}-tsuann\textsuperscript{2} lah\textsuperscript{0}

若去子人拾去，看卜安怎啦！（22.13 臺南四）

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

(64) Li\textsuperscript{2} na\textsuperscript{7} khi\textsuperscript{3} hoo\textsuperscript{7} thai\textsuperscript{4} khi\textsuperscript{3}, an\textsuperscript{2}-ni\textsuperscript{1} gua\textsuperscript{2} bak\textsuperscript{8}-tsiu\textsuperscript{1} thi\textsuperscript{1} bo\textsuperscript{5} kim\textsuperscript{1}

你若去子剎去，安呢我目瞜捠無金（140.18 清水）

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

• Na\textsuperscript{7} hoo\textsuperscript{7} 若予

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

啊這枝竹仔若予伊大搬起來，啊就隱袂落啊。 (118.03-04 大甲)

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

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

若予伊栃過一、兩日，則共效（88.01 嘉義五）

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

• Na\textsuperscript{7} ka\textsuperscript{2} 若共

(67) Li\textsuperscript{2} na\textsuperscript{7} ka\textsuperscript{2} gua\textsuperscript{2} kio\textsuperscript{3} sann\textsuperscript{1} siann\textsuperscript{1}, gua\textsuperscript{2} tsiu\textsuperscript{2} e\textsuperscript{7} kau\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{7} ka\textsuperscript{7} tong\textsuperscript{3} loo\textsuperscript{1} honn\textsuperscript{1}, long\textsuperscript{2} ai\textsuperscript{3} u\textsuperscript{7} tsui\textsuperscript{3}

若共擋路呼，擡愛有罪！（40.12 宜蘭二）

‘If you stand in the way, you’ll be guilty.’

To summarize, na\textsuperscript{7} 若 occurs in the mid-field after the subject and the predicate:

(69) huan\textsuperscript{2}-kan\textsuperscript{1} e\textsuperscript{5} lang\textsuperscript{3} n\textsuperscript{7} tsiah\textsuperscript{4} bo\textsuperscript{3} li\textsuperscript{2} tsiu\textsuperscript{7} lai\textsuperscript{5} hoo\textsuperscript{7} tim\textsuperscript{5}

凡間的人若咎無理就來予沉（174.06 彰化七）

‘If the secular world is so senseless, then we will sink it.’
When women get together, they are sure talkative.

11.2.2. Na^2 ‘look like, as if’

When meaning ‘look, appear’ na^2 若 seldom occurs alone. Rather it is combined with other words like kan^1 千, as in kan^1-na^2 千若 in (71), tsun^2 諮, as in na^2-tsun^2 若榛 in (72), or tshiunn^7 像, as in na^2-tshiunn^7 若像 in (73), (74) and (75).

(71) A^1-hiang^1 khuann^3 i^1 a^1 ia^7 kan^1-na^2 tsin^1 hio^7-hue^2
阿芳看伊阿亦千若真後悔 (86.09 新社)
‘As Afang can see, he seems to be quite sorry for it.’

(72) Gu^2 si^7 tsiok^4 khiann^7 e, tit^8-tit^8 than^3, gu^2 na^2-tsun^2 tsue^3 gu^2 tsue^3 be^2 honn
我是足儍 e，直直趁，若曾做牛做馬呼（134.04 雲林二）
‘I am so thrifty and keep making money as if I were a horse or a cow.’

(73) Tsit^8 kang^2 (tsui^2) tsia^1 na^1-tshiunn^7 tsit^8 tiau^5 khue^1-a^2 honn^9
這港 (水) 過若像一條溪仔呼（26.07 鳳山）
‘The expanse of water looks as if it was a creek.’

(74) Tsit^8 e^5 kua^2-hu^7 na^2-tshiunn^7 ka^7 bang^7
這個寡婦若像共託夢（52.22 雲林二）
‘The wife seems to appear in his dream.’

(75) Na^2-tshiunn^7 kong^2 hit^4 e^5 sinn^1-sien^7-bin^7 e^5 tet^1 phien^3 lan^2 e^5 gin^2-a^2
若像講彼生銜面的得騷的仔仔，(120.07 臺南 10)
‘The stranger appeared to be cheating our kid.’

Kan^1-na^2 千若 ‘look like, as if’ functions like a parenthetical, and its syntactic position is quite flexible. This expression and a follow-up expression like to^1-tioh^8 都著 (or its variant tsiu^2-tioh^8 就著) ‘that’s right’ in (76) and (77), an^2-ni^1 安呢 (this way, so) in (78) and (79), and e^5 khuan^2 的款 ‘appear, as if’/kang^2-khuan^2 全款 ‘the same’ in (80) and (81), form a bracket device.

(76) I^1 Lau^5 bun^5 liong^5 u^7 tsiok^8 ki^1 thinn^3 pit^4, kan^1-na^2 po^2-pue^3 tsiu^7 tioh^8
伊劉文龍有一枝鉛筆，千若寶貝就著（110.21 羅陳）
‘If he, Liu wen long, has an iron pen, as if it was a pet.’

(77) Nng^7 e^5 tsihah^8 tsha^1 e^5 tsiu^7 tioh^8 lah, i^1-su^1 kan^1-na^2 he^5-siunn^7-a^2 tsiu^7 tioh^8 lah
二個食菜的就著啦，意思千若和尚仔就著啦（28.12 羅陳）
‘There are two vegetarians, that’s it. By that is meant like monks, that is.’

(78) Hit^4 kang^2 e^5 tsui^2 kan^1-na^2 ka^1-ki^1 an^2-ni^1 tit^8 tit^8 tinn^7 khi^2 lai^5
彼港的水千若家已安呢直直澆起來（174.24 清水二）
‘The flow of water is increasingly filled up by itself.’

(79) Kan^1-na^2 kong^2 thau^5 tsit^8 am^3 e^7 an^3-tsuunn^2 thian^3 an^2-ni^1
干若講頭一暗會安安疼疼呢（200.03 大甲）
‘it seems to hurt a lot at first night, we can say that.’

(80) I^1 kan^1-na^2 goo^7 e^5 kiann^2 e^5 khuan^2 lah^0
伊千若五個子的款啦（18.05 大安）
‘He has like five sons.’

(81) Tsiok^4 tua^7 tsihah^4 e^5 peh^8 kau^2, kau^3 khi^2 lai^8 na^2 kan^1 na^2 sinn^1 tsue^3 tsihah^4 sue^3 tsihah^4 gu^2-a^2
kang^5-khuan^2
The pretty big white dog looks like a calf.

Kan₁-na² 千若，in particular kan₁-na² kong¹ 千若講，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 tiöh⁸ kan₁-na² kong² khaḥ⁴ ia²-ban⁵ lah⁰

企算講比較著千若講較野蠻啦 (38.10 大安二)
‘It should be sort of like more savage’

11.2.3. Nia⁷ 唯 ‘only’ (< na²-nia⁷ 唯唯)

Na²-nia⁷ 唯唯 or its shortened form nia⁷ 唯唯 carries the sense of ‘only’. It occurs after a numeral noun phrase (or a numeral alone) and/or the adverb kan₁-na² 千仔 ‘only’, as in (83) and (84).

(83) Gua² kan₁-na⁷, nng⁷ bu²-a² kiann² nia²-nia⁷

我千仔母仔子唯唯 (46.06 彰化五)
‘There are only two of us, mother and son.’
(84) Ma²-tsoo² m⁷ si⁷ tsit⁸ e⁵ na²-nia⁷

媽祖母是一個唯唯 (60.01 大甲)
‘Mazu is not the only one.’

Na²-nia⁷ 唯唯 may only scope over a predicate, as in (85) and (86).

(85) Tšik⁴-a² beh⁴ na²-nia⁷, tsiu⁷ kuann²-kin⁷ theh⁸ khi⁵ lai⁵ bua⁵

稟仔卜好唯唯，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 si¹ sau² thoo³-kha¹ na²-nia⁷

伊是掃土聊唯唯 (20.09 大安)
‘He only sweeps the ground.’

Historically 唯唯 may well be a fusion of 如 is ‘like this’. (Yu 1987: 126-127) It later on developed the sense of ‘only’, as in (87) and (88).¹⁹

• Nia⁷ 唯

(87) Hia¹ he⁵-siunn⁷ lioŋ⁵ bo⁵ tit⁴ to⁷, kan¹-tann¹ i¹ tit⁴ to⁷ nia⁷

彼的和尚搬無得道，千單伊得道爾。 (58.17 雲林三)
‘The monks over there do not attain the way.’
(88) Gua² khaḥ⁴ tsə¹ kə¹ lin⁵ sann¹ e⁵ tsioh⁴ sann¹ knq² bi² nia⁷ lah⁰

我較早共您三個借三管米唯唯啦 (26.14 臺南四)
‘I borrowed only three tubes of rice from you earlier on.’

The sentence-final na²-nia⁷ 唯唯 ‘only’ and the pre-predicate kan¹-tann¹ 千單 or its reduced variant kan¹-a² 千仔 ‘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 千單, on the one hand, and (91) & (92) for kan¹-a² 千仔 only, on the other.

¹⁹ The sense of only may be derived from 唯唯 + the aspect marker 何 or 已. Note that 唯唯 is the same as 吾已. (cf. 我已 or 我唯唯 ‘only’)

26
(89) Kan¹-tann¹ tsi⁸ lui² na⁷-nia⁷
千單一趟爾 （70.19 大安）
‘There is only one flower,’

(90) Gua² na⁷ u⁷ tsiah⁸ siann²-mih⁸ gua² tsiu⁷ kan¹-tann¹ tsiah⁸ ku² tshai³ nia⁷
我若有食啥物我就千單食就菜爾 （76.07 東勢）
‘Did I ever eat anything? I only ate Chinese chives.’

(91) Kan¹-a² e⁷-hiau² the⁷-tsun² sing¹-uah⁸ a⁰ na⁷-nia⁷
千仔會掁船生話阿爾爾 （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
我千仔，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 kar²-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-tsann² 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 tsue¹ tu³, na⁷ tsue¹ 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 si² na⁷ phak⁸ tshik⁴ na⁷ tsu¹ 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 na¹ tua²-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 na¹ 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 na² and na⁷ 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 naח 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 naח 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 naח is kept alive since it is supported by the compound comprising naח 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.

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**Appendix**

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