

Competing Morphological Changes in Taiwanese Southern Min^{*}

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1. Introduction.

Wang (1969) put forward the theory of lexical diffusion in which competing changes of intersecting phonological rules are held to be a cause of residues.¹ In Wang and Lien (1993) this theory is further developed and a thesis of bidirectional diffusion in sound change is advanced to provide an explanation for the interaction between native (and colloquial) stratum and alien (and literary) stratum. This may develop into a competition between these two strata which can be resolved in favor of either stratum. In this paper I argue on the evidence adduced from Taiwanese Southern Min in support of the thesis of bidirectional diffusion in morphological change beyond phonological change. First, a typology of stratificational distinction will be provided in terms of the distinctive syllabic features of initial, final and tone. A new proposal will be made that a stratificational distinction exists not only between etymologically related words, but also between words with no etymological link but which are locked into a semantic paradigm. In particular, I will examine in detail competition between chronological strata which may be resolved in favor of either the colloquial or literary stratum. Attention will also be focused on cases of the division of labor in the stratificational distinction of lexemes with respect to word meaning. Finally, I will outline the distinctive features of the literary and colloquial strata.

2. Typology of stratificational distinction

The Min dialects, one of the seven major Chinese dialect groups, are divided into two subgroups: the Eastern Group and the Western Group. Southern Min, originally spoken in the southern part of Fujian province, forms the Eastern Min group along with Northeastern Min, represented by the Fuzhou dialect (Norman 1991a: 228-239). Taiwanese Southern Min

(henceforth TSM) is the Southern Min dialect spoken in Taiwan. It embraces two major subvarieties (viz., Zhangzhou and Quanzhou accents) that have undergone some degree of neutralization.

A unique feature of TSM is its rich repertoire of chronological strata. It is not our purpose to explore the issues related to the external linguistic history of TSM. Extralinguistic factors that are responsible for the genesis of chronological strata have been well-researched into.² Min dialects are claimed to be built on a Yue (that is, Austro-asiatic) substratum superimposed by Sinitic strata brought by several ways of migration from northern China. Norman (1991b) posits that there are three strata in Min dialects: (1) the Han dynasty stratum (206 BC-220 AD), (2) the Nanbeichao stratum (420-581 AD), and (3) the Tang Chang'an stratum (the seventh to eighth century). The colloquial strata consists of (1) and (2) chronological strata, whereas the literary stratum comes from the (3) chronological stratum.³ The questions that we will address here rather have to do with the functioning of chronological strata in particular with respect to morphology in the present-day linguistic system in TSM. The teasing out of tangled chronological strata is based on a thorough diachronic analysis of the phonological system of TSM.⁴ In oversimplified terms TSM is a two-stratum system: a native stratum and an alien stratum. However, a cursory look at the data will soon show that the simplified picture does not hold. What is truer to linguistic fact is this: There is a one-to-many relationship between native and alien forms. For example, for any lexeme, there may be one native form vis-a-vis more than one alien form or vice versa. This is a kind of asymmetrical relation. But there is an equally probable type of asymmetry: a lexeme may occur only in the native stratum or only in the alien stratum as a result of stratificational neutralization. A question immediately presents itself: If neutralization has occurred, how do we know there used to be a stratificational distinction at an earlier stage? We can pinpoint such a stage with certainty since we can make a claim based on our extrapolation of phonological categories of the overall system for Min dialects (/or Eastern) Min dialects.⁵

As shown in Table 1, TSM has at present a seven-tone system derived from a four-tone system, that is, level, ascending, departing and entering tones in Middle Chinese, by subtonal split into A and B in each tone category since a further tone change has merged Tone VI and Tone VII into one category:

Taiwan	Southern.	Min	Tone	System
MC tones	pi ⁿ 5平	chiu ⁿ 7上	ki3去	jip8入
	level	ascending	departing	entering
A	i1 (I) 55[33]	i2 (II) 51[55]	i3 (III) 21[51]	ip4 / it4 / ik4 / ih4 (VI) 2 [4]
B	i5(V) 25[33/21] ⁶		i7 (VII) 33[21]	ip8/it8/ik8/ih8 (VIII) 4 [2]

Table 1. The tone system in Taiwanese Southern Min

The tone value is based on a five-point scale set up by Yuanren Chao (Chao 1930) with 5 standing for the highest pitch and 1 the lowest pitch. The isolation tone is given right after the parenthesized Roman numeral for the tone category and the combination tone is given in square brackets. The transliteration of TSM is based on the Church Romanization of Douglas (1873) with slight modifications to reflect modern values.⁷ Tone categories are marked by numerical superscripts rather than diacritics in his notation. In a majority of cases each morpheme has a combination tone (that is, the tone that occurs in combination with a following full tone) as well as an isolation tone (that is, the tone that occurs in isolation or is followed by an unstressed tone).

The widespread presence in TSM of chronological strata stands us in good stead when we examine its relevance to word formation. For example, various diagnostic tests such as phonological, semantic, and syntactic criteria have been proposed to distinguish between phrases and compounds. In some, if not all, cases, phonological device can be evoked to tell compounds from phrases. For example, koaⁿ5 lang⁵ 寒儂(25+25) cold-people is a compound which takes on the sense of ‘winter’ if the tone of the first syllable remains unchanged and that of the second syllable is unstressed (that is, 25+), but it is a verb-object predicate meaning ‘cause people to feel cold’ if the first syllable followed by a stressed syllable undergoes tone

sandhi (that is, 21+25). In terms of semantic distinction, the meaning of compounds in contrast to phrases are non-compositional. kap4-choh4 合作 fit together-as, for example, is a phrase when its meaning is compositional, as in kap4-choh4 chit8 pun2 chu1 合作蜀本書 fit together-as-one-CLASSIFIER-book ‘bind a book’. But kap4-choh4 合作 is a compound when it may take on a non-compositional or rather idiomatic meaning ‘furniture’; by idiomatic meaning is meant that the meaning of the whole expression cannot be calculated from putting the senses of the constituents together. Syntactic properties can also help tell the difference between compound and phrase. An exocentric construction in which the head of the constituents differs from the head of the resultant construction is a sure sign of compounds. For example, tan2 等 wait ‘wait’ is the head in the verb phrase tan2 lo·7 等路 wait-road ‘wait on the road’. However, tan2 lo·7 等路 wait-road may function as a nominal compound, also an exocentric construction, meaning ‘a gift’, something that a kid gets from, for example, his/her dad on his way home.

Chronological strata find their fullest expression in the intersection of these criteria. The native and alien strata just discussed are coterminous with the colloquial and literary strata respectively. The literary and colloquial strata based on the chronological layers in a linguistic system should be distinguished from the literary and colloquial usage or the written and spoken mode of communication. It is particularly striking that words from the literary stratum can be used in everyday oral communication. The stratificational distinction can be established on the basis of the three elements of a syllable: initial, final and tone as traditionally analyzed in Chinese phonology. There are seven types of the stratificational distinction as shown in Table 2:

	in.	fn.	tn.	Graph	col.	lit.	more examples
1	-	-	+	問	mng7	bun7	mng7/bun7 問 ‘ask’, mngh8/but8 物 ‘thing’, ui7/oa7 畫

							<p>‘draw/paint’, ku2/kho· 2 許 ‘to permit/SURNAME’, mia5 / bing5 名 ‘name’, goa2/go· 2 我 ‘I/me’, chhun/sin 伸 ‘to stretch’, ttng2/choan2 轉 ‘to turn/earn (money)’, no· 2/nau2 腦 ‘brain’, chioh8/sek8 石 ‘stone’, chap8 /sip8 十 ‘ten’, e1/ko1 鍋 ‘pot’, koaⁿ7/han7 汗 ‘sweat’, phang1/hong1 芳 ‘smell good/fragrant’, kiaⁿ5 / hing5 行 ‘walk’, choa7/se7 誓 ‘oath’, chioh8/sek8 蓆 ‘mat’</p>
2	+	-	+	大	toa7	tai7	<p>toa7/ tai7 大 ‘big’, hong1 / hng1 方 ‘square/region’, mia7 / bing7 命 ‘life’, kat4 / ket4 結 ‘to tie’, thiⁿ1/thien1 天 ‘sky’, lai7 /li7利 ‘sharp/interest’, lai7 /loe7 內 ‘inside’, nng2/joan2 軟 ‘soft’, thau5/thio5 頭 ‘head’, tan2/ti ng2 等 ‘wait/grade’, thang1/thong1 通 ‘can/go through’, khoe1/khai1 開 ‘open/spend’, huiⁿ1/hiong1 香 ‘incense/fragrant’, koe2/kai2 解 ‘explain/untie’, chhiaⁿ2/ chhing2 請 ‘invite/apply for’,</p>
3	-	+	+	婦	pu7	hu7	<p>pu7/hu7 婦 ‘woman’, chui2/sui2 水 ‘water’, chiau2/niiau2 鳥 ‘bird’ chia7/sia7 謝 ‘SURNAME/thank’, png1/hng1 方 ‘SURNAME/region’, khoan5/hoan5 環 ‘bracelet/to encircle’</p>
4	-	-	-	遠	hng7	oan2	<p>hng7/oan2 遠 ‘far/distant’, ho· 7/u2 雨 ‘rain’, nng7/loan2 卵 ‘egg’, hi7/ ni2 耳 ‘ear’</p>
5	+	-	-	老	lau7	lo2	<p>lau7/lo 2 老 ‘old’, bang7/ bong2 網 ‘net’, nng7/niu2 兩 ‘two/tael’</p>
6	+	+	-	老	lau7	lau2	<p>lau7/lau2 老 ‘old/be at home in’</p>

	in.	fn.	tn.	Graph	col.	lit.	more examples
7	-	+	-	五	go· 7	ngo.2	go· 7/ngo· 2 五 ‘five’

Table 2. Seven types of stratificational difference

[+] means the two forms share a common element while [-] means there is a difference in the element in question.

A cursory look at Table 2 turns up a scale of frequency in the words showing stratificational difference in terms of the composition of a syllable: initial + final (17), final (15), initial (6), initial + final + tone (4), final + tone (3), tone (1), and initial + tone (1). In other words, the difference in finals is highest in frequency as a means of exhibiting stratificational difference. Tonal difference is exploited only sporadically, as in Types 4, 5, 6 and 7⁸, and there is inevitably a distinction between tone 7 (colloquial stratum) and tone 2 (literary stratum). In fact, this is a reflection of different historical developments of Middle Chinese Ascending Tone syllables with voiced sonorant initials (zi4zhuo2次濁) in two major dialectal groups: (1) they are grouped with syllables with voiceless initials in the same tone category into modern Tone 2 in the pan-Mandarin group, and (2) they are grouped with the Departing Tone syllables with voiced obstruent initials (quan2zhuo2全濁) into Tone 7 in such southern dialects as Min and Yue dialects.⁹

3. Subtle stratificational distinctions in the word lau7 ~ lau2 ~ lo2 老 ‘old’

A good example that attests to the change from the stratificational distinction to a functional difference is provided by the lexeme lau7 ~ lau2 ~ lo2 老 ‘old’. It embraces modern reflexes in the three disparate strata given below:

STRATA	literary-1	literary-2	colloquial ¹⁰
老	lo2	lau2	lau7

Table 3. Stratificational difference of 老

Examples of the manifestation of this lexeme in these three strata are given in the following three separate tables:

lo2 老	gloss	stratum composition
lo2-hu1 老夫	I	lit. + lit.
lo2-ia5 老爺	term addressed to Mandarin of medium rank	lit. + lit.
lo2-ong1 老翁 ¹¹	old man	lit. + lit.

Table 4. The use of lo2 老

The term lo2-hu1 老夫 that the role of an old man uses to refer to himself in traditional opera.

老 lau2	gloss	stratum composition
lau2-toa7 老大	pal, buddy (addressed to older friend)	lit. + col.
lau2-soe7 老細	pal, buddy (addressed to younger friend)	lit.. + col.
lau2-hia ⁿ 1 老兄	brother	lit. + col.
lau2-li2-e1 老李的	Old Li	lit.. + col.

Table 5. The use of lau2 老

lau7 老	gloss	stratum composition
lau7-toa7 老大 ¹²	elders	col. + col.
lau7-bu2 老母 ¹³	mother	col. + col.
lau7-pe7 老父	father	col. + col.
lau7-po5 老婆	old maid	col. + col.

Table 6. The use of lau7 老

Unlike lo2, which is a bound morpheme, both lau2 and lau7 are free. Colloquial lau7 still retains its literal sense of 'old', paradigmatically opposed to siau3-lien5 少年 'young', although

it has taken on a euphemistic sense, as in lau7 khi3 a1 老去啊 'to have passed away', that has an intimate link with its original sense. By contrast, literary lau2 老 has shed its original sense and developed two metaphorical senses: (1) 'be good at', as in i1 ing1-gu2 chiok4 lau2 e1 伊英語足老e 'He/She is pretty fluent in English', (2) 'spoiled (of vegetables, fruit)', as in ke2-ci2 lau2 liau2 liau2 果子老了的 'The fruits have all rotted away'. Furthermore, it has been grammaticalized as a prefix, as evidenced in a pair of antonyms: lau2-toa7 老大 'pal (older friend)' and lau2-soe7 老細 'pal (younger friend)' in which lau2 老 in the second word has lost its lexical meaning in favor of an evaluative sense. To summarize, the three modern reflexes of 老, each of which comes from a different chronological stratum, have fulfilled different functions in the present-day system. In short, grammaticalization has occurred to varying extents: change from a lexical morpheme to a grammatical morpheme, exemplified by the affixation of lau2, and semantic extension experienced by both lau2 and lau7.

4. The stratificational distinction in etymologically unrelated words.

The stratificational distinction exists not only between etymologically related forms discussed in §3 but also between synonyms or at least near synonyms with no etymological link. Each set in the following tables consists of words with no etymological link but which form a paradigmatic link delimited by a semantic domain indicated in the English gloss. Members in each set differ in the chronological stratum they belong to. They form a cluster not because of any formal relationship but rather because of their semantic connection. The first set exemplifies a simple two-way distinction between literary and colloquial forms:

colloquial	literary	gloss
lang5 儂	jin5 人	person
bo·2 姥	chhe1 妻	wife
kia ⁿ 2 囡	chu2 子	son

Table 7. Etymologically unrelated forms with a stratificational contrast

In addition, there are two situations in the case of a three-way stratificational distinction: (1) Two literary strata in connection with one colloquial stratum in a common semantic domain, as in

	literary-1	literary-2	colloquial	gloss
	literary	colloquial		
A	siau2 小	sio2 小 ¹⁴	soe2 細 ¹⁵	small, little
B	tai7 大		toa7 大	big, large

Table 8. Stratification of words expressing volumes

and (2) One literary stratum associated with two colloquial strata in a common semantic domain, as in

	literary	colloquial-1	colloquial-2	gloss
A	jiat8 熱	joah8 熱	sio1 燒	hot
B	han5 寒, ling2 冷 ¹⁶	koa ⁿ 5 寒	ling2 冷	cold

Table 9. Stratification of words expressing temperature

In comparing the positive terms in A and their negative counterparts in B in Tables 7 and 8 above we realize that each pair of antonyms can also form a paradigmatic set, as in tai7-siau2 大小 (LL) 'large and small', toa7-sio2 大小 (CL) 'young and old' and toa7-soe 大細 (CC) 'big and small', but not tai7-sio2 (LL) 大小¹⁷; similarly, we have koaⁿ5-joah8 (CC) 寒熱 'heat and cold/summer and winter', koaⁿ5-jiat8 寒熱 (CL) 'fever', sio1-ling2 燒冷 (C^L/C) 'cold and hot'¹⁸, but not koaⁿ5-sio1 (CC) 寒燒 and ling2-jiat8 (C^L/C) 冷熱. From the examples of collocation mentioned here it is immediately clear that paradigmatic relations function in tandem with syntagmatic relations.

The compounding effect of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations with respect to stratification can be shown most saliently in its interaction to morphological processes, as in Table 10:

	examples	gloss	stratification.	morphological process
1	<u>koaⁿ⁵-jiat8-a2</u> 寒熱仔	malaria	col. + lit.	antonymous compounding + suf.
2	<u>koaⁿ⁵ joah8</u> 寒熱	winter and summer	col. + col.	Antonymous compounding
3	<u>sio1-joah8</u> 燒熱	(of weather) warm	col. + col.	Synonymous compounding

Table 10. Formation of temperature expressions in interaction with stratification

Example (1) is a derivative formed by attaching a suffix *-a2* to the compound koaⁿ⁵-jiat8 'cold-hot', while example (2) is a phrase made up of two antonyms. Example (3) is a compound that juxtaposes two synonyms sio1-joah8 燒熱.¹⁹ Stratification is involved in all these three examples to signal a distinction between phrase and compound in conjunction with other morphological devices. Likewise, a few examples given in the last paragraph are hybrid compounds made up of morphemes from colloquial and literary strata, an obvious testimony to the interaction the interaction between colloquial and literary strata in word formation.

Another example showing the relevance of stratificational distinction to morphological process involves a set of locomotive verbs as shown below:

	colloquial	colloquial	literary	colloquial
Mandarin	zou3 走	pao3 跑	ren2xing2 dao4 人行道	xing2 行
TSM	kia ⁿ⁵ 行	chau2 走	jin5-hing5-to7 人行道	e7-sai2-e1 會使得
gloss	to walk	to run	sidewalk	okay

Table 11. Formation of locomotive expressions in interaction with morphology

The word as a linguistic sign is an arbitrary union of form (the signifier) and meaning (the signified) and because of its arbitrary nature there is no constant tie between them. In the course of development there is often a realignment of such a link; for instance, a signifier may be dissociated with its original signified and then linked to a new host. The morpheme 行 is a case in point. It means 'to walk' in Old Chinese. But this meaning is lost if the word occurs as a free form in modern Mandarin in which it means 'okay', instead.²⁰ Its original sense survives only in the bound form in the compound ren2xing2 dao4 人行道 person-walk road 'sidewalk'. The word is pronounced xing2 in both cases. However, in TSM it is pronounced kiaⁿ5 as a free form and hing5 as a bound form, albeit no semantic difference between them. Synchronically 行 as a polysemous word may eventually split into two lexical items owing to their strikingly divergent forms. The phonological disparity of kiaⁿ5 versus hing5, as a modern reflex of the earlier difference in chronological stratum, undoubtedly has a role in morphological processes by signaling a distinction between bound form and free form in TSM.²¹

A range of negative words sharing a common semantic domain as well as their positive counterparts in TSM are given below:

	literary	colloquial	colloquial	colloquial	colloquial
negative	put4 不	m7 唔/ boai5 [無愛]	bo5 無	boe7 袂 ²²	be7 未
gloss	not	not want	have not	cannot	not yet
positive		beh4 卜 / ai3 愛	u7 有	oe7 會	u7 有
gloss		want	have	can	have

Table 12. Stratification of negative forms and their positive counterparts

In terms of stratification put4 不 as a literary word contrasts with such colloquial words as m7 唔/ boai5 [無愛], bo5 無, boe7 袂 and be7 未. Unlike modern Mandarin which has only two major negative words bu4 不 and mei2 沒 as well as a portmanteau word bie2 別 ‘don’t’ for the negative imperative, TSM boasts of a rich variety of negative words, as given above, which in a sense reminds us of the negative words in Old Chinese. Dobson (1966) shows that negative words in Old Chinese (his Archaic Chinese) are intimately connected with moods and can express modality. Morphologically, there has been a typological change of syntheticity to analyticity from Old Chinese through Middle Chinese to Modern Chinese represented by Mandarin. In other words, a paradigmatically-oriented way of expression makes way to a syntagmatically-oriented way of expression. Modern Mandarin is typically a result of such a development. For instance, a negative imperative mood is expressed by a syntagm bu4 yao4 不要 not-want ‘do not’ alongside of the portmanteau word bie2 別 ‘don’t’ in Modern Mandarin in place of wu4 勿 ‘don’t’ in Old Chinese. Thus, bu4 不 alone is ambiguous in Mandarin and corresponds to m7 唔 ‘not want’, bo5 無 ‘have not’, and boe7 袂 ‘cannot’ in TSM, as in ta1 bu4 chou1 yan1 他不抽煙 he-not-smoke in Mandarin which corresponds to (1) i m7 chiah8 hun1 伊唔食薰 he-not want-smoke 'He does not want to smoke' (intention) or (2) i bo5 chiah8 hun1 伊無食薰 he-have not-smoke 'He does not smoke' (habit) in TSM; kan4 bu4 jian4 看不見 look-not-see in Mandarin that corresponds to khoaⁿ³ boe7 tloh8 看袂著 look-cannot-hit the mark 'do not see' in TSM.

There are two kinds of paradigmatic relationship held by each pair of positive and negative terms: (1) a morphological link can be motivated through etymological analysis though it may not be transparent in the mind of contemporary speakers, as in oe7 會 and boe7 袂²³, ai3 愛 and boai5 [無愛]²⁴, or arguably u7 有 and bo5 無²⁵, and (2) a non-morphological or rather suppletive link holds, as in beh4 卜 ‘want’ and m7 唔 ‘not want’. For the first kind of paradigmatic relationship, phonological change may be responsible for any eventual disruption of this morphological relationship. The second paradigmatic relationship is held together purely

by semantic association. That is, the English gloss of beh4 卜 ‘want’ and m7 唔 ‘not want’ shows that they share the semantic prime ‘want’ even though this semantic commonality is not morphologically expressed,²⁶ and the two words are paradigmatically linked since they have the syntactic distribution in common, as in a sentence like i1 ___ ki3 伊 ___ 去 he/she-_____ -go where the slot can be filled by beh4 卜 or m7 唔 yielding ‘He/she wants/does not want to go’.

Let us now look into the issue of morphological process in its interaction to stratification. Take the literary word 不 put4 and the colloquial word 唔 m7 in TSM. As shown below, while both words can form compounds, only m7 唔 can occur alone, as in (1b), (2b) and (3b), all of which are phrases in contrast to the compounds in (1a), (2a) and (3a). Here contrast in phonological form as a reflection of stratificational distinction can be relied on to distinguish between phrase and compound. If a clear-cut functional difference between colloquial and literary strata can be detected in the first three examples, the next three examples (that is, 4a/4b, 5a/5b and 6a/6b) show the blurring of the demarcation line as well as signs of competition between put4 不 and m7 唔, since they are all compounds and each pair of synonymous words such as (4a) and (4b), (5a) and (5b) or (6a) and (6b) can be interchangeable.

	Literary	gloss		colloquial	gloss
1a	put4-si7 不是 ²⁷	fault	1b	m7 si7 唔是	is not
2a	put4-thong1 不通	impassable	2b	m7 thang1 唔通	cannot
3a	put4-ti1 不知	do not know	3b	m7 chai1 唔知	do not know
4a	put4-ko3 不過	but	4b	m7-ko3 唔過	but
5a	put4-tan7 不但	not only	5b	m7-na7 唔但	not merely
6a	put4-kuan2-si5 不管時	anytime	6b	m7-kuan2-si5 唔管時	anytime

Table 13. A stratificational contrast in negative forms

Not only is there a competition between literary and colloquial strata but also a rivalry found in even the colloquial strata, as in bo5 無 versus m7 唔 and bo5 無 versus 袂 boe7:

	colloquial	gloss		colloquial	gloss
7a	bo5-han7-tia ⁿ 7 無限定	maybe	7b	m7- han7-tia ⁿ 7 唔限定	maybe
8a	bo5-ta ⁿ 5-kin2 無打緊	does not matter	8b	m7- ta ⁿ 5-kin2 唔打緊	does not matter
9a	bo5-iau3-kin2 無要緊	does not matter	9b	boe7 -iau3-kin2 袂要緊	does not matter

Table 14. Competition between colloquial negative forms

In the light of McCarthy's (1979) autosegmental approach to morphology²⁸, we can postulate a template to which the two independent tiers (that is, the negative affix put4 不 'not' and the stem composed of numerals or synonymns) are linked, as shown in the following figure:

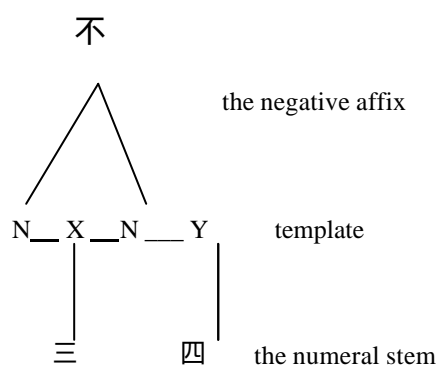


Figure 1: Derivation of negative quadrinomials

An analysis like this can help avoid the embarrassing phenomenon of the circumfix or discontinuous stem.²⁹ Our approach thus makes it unnecessary to regard the occurrence of put4 ... put4 不 ... 不 not-not in a quadrinomial like put4 sam1 put4 su3 不三不四 not-three-not-four ‘indecent’ as a circumfix (that is, non-concatenative) affix or a reduplicate of put4 不. Neither is it necessary to consider the numerical sequence composed of sam1 su3 三 ... 四 a broken stem for the affix put4 不.

If we can consider compatibility between affix and stem with respect to stratificational distinctions we find that the literary affix put4 不 can only take a literary stem.³⁰ Furthermore, there are two kinds of quadrinomials with respect to the compositionality of meaning, that is, the semantic relationship between the constituents (that is, the stem and the negative affix) and the quadrinomial as a whole. All the stems and their meanings are given in (b) in Table 15. Type I is exemplified by quadrinomials 1 and 2 which are non-compositional in meaning, that is, the meaning of the whole expression cannot be calculated from putting together the senses of the constituents. Type 2 is illustrated by quadrinomials in 3, 4 and 5 where the meaning of the whole expression is compositional and inferable from the meaning of its constituents.

	Examples	stratum composition	gloss
1a	put4-tap4 (<*pat4)-put4-chhit4 不答不七 ³¹	lit + lit. + lit + lit	jumbled, incomplete
1b	pat4-chhit4 八七 eight-seven		
2a	put4-sam1-put4-su3 不三不四	lit + lit. + lit + lit	shady, indecent
2b	sam1-su3 三四 three-four		
3a	put4-ming5-put4-piek8 不明不白	lit + lit. + lit + lit	totally unclear
3b	ming5-piek8 明白 bright-pure 'understand'		

4a	put4-lam5-put4-lu2 不男不女	lit + lit. + lit + lit	neither manly nor womanly
4b	lam5-lu2 man-woman 男女		
5a	put4-chhing-put4-piek8 不清不白	lit + lit. + lit + lit	not free of guilt
5b	chhing1 piek8 clear-plain 清白 'innocent'		

Table 15. Quadrinomials with the literary negative affix put4 不

Likewise, the negative affix bo5 無 on the automorphemic tier does the same spreading. However, it does not have such a strict restriction for stratificational compatibility and can be attached to both colloquial and literary stems as shown below.

	Examples	stratum composition	gloss
6a	bo5-toa7-bo5-soe3 無大無細	col. + col. + col. + col	impolite
6b	toa7-soe3 大細 'big and small'		
7a	bo5-chhing1-bo5-khi3 無清無氣	col. + col. + col. + col	untidy
7b	chhing1 khi3 清氣 clear-air 'clean'		

	Examples	stratum composition	gloss
8a	bo5-chhing1-bo5-piek8 無清無白	col. + lit. + col. + lit	not free of guilt
8b	chhing1-piek8 清白 clear-plain 'innocent'		
9a	bo5-ming5-bo5-piek8 無明無白	col. + lit. + col. + lit	totally unclear
9b	ming5-piek8 明白 bright-plain 'understand'		

Table 16. Quadrinomials with the colloquial negative affix bo5 無

From the semantic point of view, the addition of the negative affix as a sequence of discontinuous reduplicates serves to iconically intensify the negative aspect of the meaning of the stem. The meaning of most, if not all, quadrinominials listed above are compositional, that is, their meaning is calculable by putting together the senses of the constituents (the stem and the negative affix in each pair of examples). However, there are a few examples such as (1) and (2) where the meaning of the stem is totally unrelated to the sense of the expression in question. Examples like (4) and (6) can be called semi-idioms since their meaning is not entirely inferable from those of the constituents. To summarize, we have demonstrated that the literary and colloquial affixes behave differently in interaction with the stem with respect to stratificational compatibility. Literary affixes tend to be more restricted to forming compounds or expressions with other literary forms.

5. Competition between and division of labor of chronological strata

At first flush one may think that strata that come from different historical periods have nothing to do with each other. Furthermore, language users may be oblivious to the stratificational distinctions since they do not have historical knowledge of the language. Once the alien stratum is introduced into a language to coexist with the native stratum however, they start to interact. We propose to use the thesis of bidirectional diffusion to account for the interaction between these strata (see Wang and Lien 1993). Bidirectional diffusion is advanced as a theory in Wang and Lien (1993) to explain the competition in sound change. But I show in this analysis that bidirectional diffusion also occurs in morphological change. In the following sections I will present two cases of competition between chronological strata: Section (5.1.) exemplifies competition in favor of the colloquial stratum and Section (5.2.) shows competition in favor of the literary stratum.³²

5.1. Competition in favor of the colloquial stratum

In this section I will discuss the competition between chronological strata in a synchronic linguistic system. I will focus on two cases which show that the competition is resolved in favor of the colloquial stratum.

5.1.1. The competition between lang5 儂 and jin5 人 ‘person’

In order to obtain evidence in support of our claim we conducted a small-scale survey on the use of stems with the suffixes lang5 儂 and jin5 人 both meaning ‘person’. We tested 55 stems for their compatibility with these two suffixes, using twenty subjects for the task. The detailed results of the survey are given in the Appendix.³³ Eight main points of difference have emerged from the results of our survey and analysis of morphological change.

lang5 儂 and jin5 人, a pair of synonyms, are etymologically unrelated. There is no doubt that lang5 is a native word.³⁴ But due to lack of textual evidence one can only conjecture that jin5 must be an alien word borrowed from the Tang common vernacular koine (Norman 1991a: 186f). The difference reflects a distinction between colloquial and literary strata.

(1) Viewed from the perspective of productivity, lang5 儂 seems to be the more productive and be used to make new words such as po3-im1-lang5 播音儂 broadcast-person ‘announcer/broadcaster’ and tien7-iaⁿ5 lang5 電影儂 movie-person ‘movie fan’. On the other hand, jin5 人 is inert and less productive and much more limited in its scope of usage. Our observation is confirmed by the statistic figures shown in Table 17:

suffix	syllabicity of stems		Total
	monosyllabic	disyllabic	
<u>lang5</u>	225 (41.7%)	424 (75.71%)	649 (59%)
<u>jin5</u>	254 (47%)	74 (13.21%)	328 (29.82%)
either suffix	41 (7.6%)	45 (8.04%)	86 (7.82%)
neither suffixes	20 (3.7%)	17 (8.04%)	37 (3.36%)
Total	540(100%)	560(100%)	1100 (100%)

Table 17. Productivity of the suffixes and the compatibility with stems with respect to syllabicity
Included in a list of our survey are 27 monosyllables and 28 disyllables out of a total of 55 stems.
Of a total of 1100 tokens irrespective of their syllabicity there are 59% of them that can take

lang5 儂 as the suffix in contrast to only 29.8% that can take jin5 人, over and above 7.82% that can be followed by either of them and 3.36% that can be followed by neither of them. The numerical difference supports our observation that lang5 儂 is far more productive than jin5 人.

(2) In terms of syllabicity, lang5 is far more likely than jin5 to be attached to disyllabic stems. As shown in Table 17, of a total of 540 monosyllabic stems there is almost an equal number of them that can be followed by either suffix (41% for lang5 and 47% for jin5). However, of a total of 560 disyllabic stems there is a far greater number of them that can be followed by lang5 (75.71% for lang5 in contrast to 13.21% for jin5). Our statistics show that syllabicity of stems is one of the important factors in the selection of suffixes. Modern Chinese, TSM included, is featured by polysyllables. The productivity of lang5 is intimately linked to the disyllabic nature of stems.

(3) From the standpoint of interaction of stem and affix with respect to stratificational distinctions it appears at first flush that there is a high degree of compatibility with stratum distinction, as exemplified in Table 18:

Literary	gloss	translation	colloquial	gloss	translation
老人lo3- <u>jin5</u>	old-person	old man	老儂lau7- <u>lang5</u>	old-person	aged person
大人tai7- <u>jin5</u>	big-person	police officer	大儂toa7- <u>lang5</u>	big-person	adult
			好儂ho2- <u>lang5</u>	good-person	good person

Table 18 Compatibility in stratificational distinction

However, lang5 儂 and jin5 人 do behave differently with respect to compatibility with the stratificational distinction of their stems, as amply attested in Table 19:³⁵

	Stratum	儂	人	either 儂 or 人	neither 儂 nor 人	total
1	LL	204 (63.7%)	62 (19.4%)	38 (11.9%)	16 (5%)	320 (100%)
2	CC	139 (99.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.7%)	0 (0%)	140 (100%)

3	C	152 (95%)	0 (0%)	3 (1.9%)	5 (3.1%)	160 (100%)
4	L	73 (19.2%)	254 (66.8%)	38 (10%)	15 (4%)	380 (100%)
5	CL	19(95%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	20 (100%)
6	LC	62 (77.5%)	12 (15.0%)	6 (7.5%)	0 (0%)	80 (100%)
	total	649 (59%)	328 (29.8%)	86 (7.8%)	37 (3.4%)	1100 (100%)

Table 19. Statistics of stratificational compatibility between affix and stem

Unlike jin5, a literary affix, which is limited to literary stems, lang5 does not have such a restriction, and instead, it can be attached to stems of both colloquial and literary strata. There are six types of stratum composition in stems: (1) LL (siau3-lien5 少年), (2) CC (cha1-bo.2 查某), (3) C (toa7 大), (4) L (tai7 大), (5) CL (chhin3-chhai2 清彩), and LC (chhut4-goa7 出外). The colloquial suffix lang5 can be attached to the stems with all six types of stratum composition, whereas the literary suffix jin5 can only be affixed to three types of stratum composition (that is, (1)LL, (4) L, and (LC)). Thus, it is quite obvious that the literary suffix jin5 imposes a stricter restriction on the stratum composition of its stem and behaves much like the latinate suffixes in English (Siegel 1979).

(4) Competition between colloquial and literary strata can be resolved in either way: either the colloquial or literary stratum will win out. In the competition between jin5 and lang5, it is the colloquial suffix lang5 that triumphs over the literary suffix jin5, especially in the case of disyllabic stems, as exemplified in a contrast between 75.71% for lang5 and 13.21% for jin5 in Table 17. lang5 also overwhelms jin5 with respect to the stratificational compatibility as shown in Table 19 where there are far more instances of the disyllabic stems with the literary composition (LL) that take the colloquial suffix lang5 (63.7% for lang5 versus 19.4% for jin5). In contrast, the literary jin5 still enjoys an entrenched foothold with respect to monosyllabic literary stems (66.8% for jin5 versus 19.2% for lang5). When both syllabicity and stratum composition are involved, syllabicity seems to be an overriding factor in the selection of stems. Besides the cases showing the end result of competition we also witness cases of ongoing competition featured by the

coexistence of unchanged and changed forms. For example, for some stems, both suffixes are allowable, as in chuan1-jin5/lang5 專人/儂 special-person ‘a person especially assigned for a mission’ and ke3-sing5-jin5/lang5 繼承人/儂 continue-hold-person ‘heir, inheritor’. The stems of both derivatives belong to the literary stratum and are expected to take a literary suffix jin5. However, they can also be followed by the colloquial suffix lang5. The existence of competing suffixes in this case shows an encroachment on the literary stratum by the colloquial stratum.

(5) There is a preliminary but not systematically documented observation about predominance of the colloquial affix over the literary affix that varies with age groups. As a newly arising trend, the younger generation is more liable to shed the use of jin5 in favor of lang5. Such predominance can be attributed to the lack of education or exposure to the literary reading tradition among the young generations.

(6) Sometimes homophonic clash will block the crowding out of the literary form by the colloquial form, as in ching3-jin5 證人/*ching3-lang5 證儂 prove-person ‘witness’ (cf. ching3-lang5 眾儂 numerous-person ‘everybody’), ko3-jin5 個人/*ko3-lang5 個儂 CLASSIFIER-person ‘individual’ (cf. kok4-lang5 各儂 each-person ‘each one, everyone’).

(7) lang5 is a full-fledged affix. Since it is versatile, highly productive and grammaticalized, there is a one-to-many relationship between form and meaning exemplified by cho3-chhan5-lang5 做田儂 cultivate-land-person ‘farmer’ (agent), e7-kang2-lang5 下港儂 lower-harbor-person ‘southerner’ (location), lan2-lang5 咱儂 (inclusive) we/us-person ‘lunar calendar’(time) and sien1-siⁿ1-lang5 先生儂 early-born-person ‘doctor’(capacity) . In contrast, jin5 is a poorly developed affix. Since it is highly restricted in its combination with other elements it is more like an element in a compound. At the outset, it is an element in compounds and later gradually develops into an affix, and the change can be looked upon as a kind of grammaticalization, a process of converting content words to function words.

(8) lang5 is more literal and transparent, whereas jin5 is more conducive to idiomatic or analogous interpretation, as shown in the contrast between toa7-lang5 大儂 big-person ‘adult’

and tai7-jin5 大人 big-person 'a term for a police officer'. That lang5 has been grammaticalized into a suffix is evidenced by the fact that all the examples in the second column in Table 20 may occur alone as nouns.

	With <u>lang5</u>	gloss	translation
1	gin2-a2-lang5 囡仔儂	[child-SUFFIX]- SUFFIX	kids
2	hu7-jin5-lang5 婦人儂	[woman-SUFFIX]- SUFFIX	women
3	hak8-sing1-lang5 學生儂	[learn-SUFFIX]- SUFFIX	students
4	sien1-si ⁿ 1-lang5 先生儂	[early-born]- SUFFIX	teachers

Table 20. The formation of derivatives with the suffix lang5 儂

The presence of the suffix lang5 adds the meaning of 'in the capacity of', as in hak8-sing1-lang5 ai2 phah4-piaⁿ3 thak8-chu1 學生儂愛拍拼讀書 student-person-should-do one's utmost-study 'As a student you should work hard'. All the examples shown here are derivatives formed out of adding a suffix (-lang5 儂) to the stem, and the whole expression takes on a generic reading. The stem in turn either consists of root + suffix, as in (1), (2) and (3), or a compound, as in (4).

5.1.2. The competition in numerals

Another example showing the eclipse of literary elements by colloquial elements is provided by Taiwanese ordinal numbers. Let us first consider the cardinal numbers, however. As shown in the two left columns in Table 21, there is a stratificational distinction in cardinal numbers with the exception of number 7. In TSM, there is a clear-cut pattern of distribution: Whereas counting is pronounced in colloquial pronunciation, telephone numbers and the years on the western calendar are pronounced in their literary form. However, in the case of ordinal numbers, there is a competition between these two strata in favor of the colloquial stratum. For the ordinal numbers given in the right-hand column, the pronunciation shifts from literary to colloquial forms beginning with the term 'third'.

	Cardinal number		ordinal number
	colloquial	literary	
1	chit8 蜀	it4 一	te7 it4 第一

2	nng7 兩	liong2 兩, ji7 二 ³⁶	te7-ji7 第二
3	sa ⁿ 1 三	sam1 三	te7-sa ⁿ 1 第三
4	si3 四	su3 四	te7-si3 第四
5	go'7 五	ngo'2 五	te7-go'7 第五
6	lak8 六	lio'k8 六	te7-lak8 第六
7	chhit4 七	chhit4 七	te7-chhit4 第七
8	pueh4 八	pat4 八	te7-pueh4 第八
9	kau2 九	kiu2 九	te7-kau2 第九
10	chap8 十	sip8 十	te7-chap8 第十

Table 21. Colloquial and literary forms of numerals

The same applies to weekdays, as in pai3-it4 拜一 ‘Monday’, pai3-ji7 拜二 ‘Tuesday’, pai3-saⁿ1 拜三 ‘Wednesday’, pai3-si3 拜四 ‘Thursday’, pai3-go'7 拜五 ‘Friday’, pai3-lak8 拜六 ‘Saturday’. This could indicate that for ordinal numbers from the third onwards, the colloquial forms have replaced the original literary forms. In short, if there is no literary tradition, the literary forms tend to be eventually replaced by the colloquial forms. This is made possible by the existence of the illiterate, that is, people who can speak the language but who have no access to literary education in it. Here we are talking about the illiterate in TSM, not in Mandarin. In Taiwan, there is a large proportion of the population who are educated and literate in Mandarin, but totally illiterate in TSM, and there is only a sprinkling of the older generation above sixty, who have the experience of attending private tutorial courses in han3-oh8-a1 漢學仔 Chinese-learning-SUFFIX ‘Chinese lessons’, courses devoted to learning the Chinese Classics pronounced in literary TSM.

5.2. The competition in favor of the literary stratum

In our framework, the literary stratum is borrowed from an external source to coexist with the native, colloquial stratum. They are incorporated into the linguistic system where they enter into competition with the colloquial alternatives after a period of coexistence. Among other factors, word frequency may be responsible for the predominance of literary forms over colloquial forms. For example, If a colloquial form becomes rarer and more and more isolated

in certain fossilized expressions, it may be eclipsed by a more frequent literary form and eventually fall out of use. Below are examples where the alternative literary pronunciations are creating the new forms making inroads into the sphere of the colloquial pronunciations:

		literary	examples	colloquial	examples
1	產	san2	san2-po5 產婆 midwife	soa ⁿ⁵	產房 soa ⁿ⁵ -pang5 delivery room
2	定	teng7	teng7-toa ⁿ¹ 定單 order form	tia ⁿ⁷	注定 chu3 -tia ⁿ⁷ predestined
3	全	choan5	sip8-choan5 十全 Perfect	chng5	tsap8-tsng5 十全 Perfect
4	情	cheng5	sim1-cheng5 心情 state of mind	chia ⁿ⁵	sim1- chia ⁿ⁵ 心情 state of mind
5	成	seng5	se ⁿ¹ -seng5 生成 grow up	chia ⁿ⁵	se ⁿ¹ - chia ⁿ⁵ 生成 grow up
6	明	meng5	chheng1-meng5 清明 Spring Festival	mia ⁿ⁵	chhe ⁿ¹ -mia ⁿ⁵ 清明 Spring Festival
7	西	se1	se-iu ⁿ⁵ 西洋 the West	sai1	sai1-iu ⁿ⁵ 西洋 the West

Table 22. Replacement of colloquial forms by literary forms

The colloquial forms tiaⁿ⁷ 定, chng5 全 and chiaⁿ⁵ 情 in (2), (3) and (4) are attested forms in Ming Southern Min plays³⁷ and those for the other examples can be found in Douglas (1873) and earlier or recently published dictionaries (Ogawa 1931-32 and Hsu 1993). The range of

occurrence of all of the colloquial forms is much narrower: those in (1), (3), (4) and (6) in particular survive only in some rare expressions and are on the brink of extinction. The change of phonological categories, namely the replacement of colloquial pronunciations by literary pronunciations (such as the change of nasalized vowels or syllabic nasals to non-nasalized finals in (1), (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6) and that of the monophthong to the diphthong in (7), is not accomplished in a single stroke. It proceeds in lexically gradual manner and takes a protracted period of time to run its full course.³⁸

6. The division of labor in stratificational distinction

As will be discussed below, chronological strata do not necessarily develop into a competing relationship. Rather, they may assume a complementary role in the linguistic system.

6.1. sai1-hu7 師傅 and su1 師 ‘master’.

sai1-hu7 師傅 (which can be abbreviated to sai1) and su1 師, both meaning ‘master’, form a near synonymous pair.³⁹ sai1 師 and su1 師 can be traced to a common origin. sai1 is the native and colloquial form whereas su1 is the alien and literary form since they are the same ‘word’ in terms of etymological origin and meaning.⁴⁰

The nature of the stems that each type of agentive suffix attaches to can be specified not only according to phonological dimensions but also according to syntactic and semantic dimensions.

Semantically, an agent noun with the suffix sai1-hu7 usually refers to someone who engages in craftsmanship which involves physical work.⁴¹

Agent noun	Gloss	Translation
khek4-ji7 sai1-hu7 刻字師傅	carve-character-master	engraver for printing
phah4-to1 sai1-hu7 拍刀師傅	strike-knife-master	cutler
tso7-chhioh8 sai1-hu7 做蓆師傅	make-mat-master	mat weaver
khi2-chhu3 sai1-hu7 起厝師傅	build-house-master	mason
thi3-thau7 sai1-hu7 剃頭師傅	shave-head-master	barber

Table 23. Derivatives with verb-object compounds as stems

Syntactically, the stems in question are derived from verb-object compounds such as khi2-chhu3 起厝 ‘build houses’, as shown above, or compounds with no verbs involved, as shown below:

Agent noun	gloss	translation
tho.5-chui2 sai1-hu7 塗水師傅	mud-water-master	bricklayer
chui2-tien7 sai1-hu7 水電師傅	water-electricity-master	electrician/plumber
iu5-chhat4 sai1-hu7 油漆師傅	oil-paint-master	painter
bak8-chhiu ⁿ 7 sai1-hu7 木匠師傅	wood-wright-master	carpenter

Table 24. Derivatives with nominal stems

For both types of compounds with sai1-hu7, the disyllabicity of the stem is required, as in Table 24. In contrast, when the suffix is su1, the stem more often than not is monosyllabic, as in Table 25:

Agent noun	Gloss	Translation
i1-su1 醫師	treat medically-master	doctor
kau3-su1 教師	teach-master	teacher
hui7-su1 畫師	draw-master	artist
kang2-su1 講師	talk-master	instructor

Table 25. Monosyllabic verbs + su1 師

Agent noun	Gloss	Transition
gak8-su1 樂師	music-master	band player/band musician ⁴²
kun1-su1 軍師	military-master	military advisor
lut8-su1 律師	law-master	lawyer

Table 26. Monosyllabic nouns + su1 師

However, there are still cases where disyllabic stems are found, as in Table 27:

Agent noun	Gloss	Translation
ioh8-che3 su1 藥劑師	medicine-master	pharmacist
te7-li2 su1 地理師 ⁴³	geomancy-master	geomancer

Table 27. Disyllabic stems + su1 師

Semantically, agentive nouns formed out of the literary suffix su1 refer to people engaging in mental work who enjoy higher social status. Morphologically, this suffix is quite productive and many neologisms have been formed out of it.

In sum, the agentive noun with sai1-hu7 師傅 as a suffix refers to someone who engages in lowly and menial work, whereas the agentive noun with su1 師 as a suffix refers to someone that is involved in some kind of intellectual skill. sai1 師 as an abbreviation for sai1-hu7 師傅 often carries with it an earthy and popular overtone, as in chui2-tien7 sai1 水電師 ‘plumber/electrician’ and tho.5-chui2 sai1 塗水師 ‘mason’. sai1 師 does not only function as a suffix on an agentive noun. It can also be used as an affective suffix to suggest intimate rapport and camaraderie with the addressee, as in A1-Sien7 sai1 阿善師 roughly equivalent to a term of endearment like ‘Tommy Lim’ in English addressed specifically to a skillful worker.⁴⁴ In this case, the stratificational distinction develops into a division of labor in semantic function for the social categorization and evaluation of occupations.

6.2. ke1 家 and ka1 家 ‘person’.

ke1 家 is a colloquial suffix whereas ka1 家 is a literary suffix.⁴⁵ Although both terms can be traced back to a common origin, ke1 is native but ka1 was probably borrowed from the Tang common koine.⁴⁶

ka1 is still alive and very productive, while ke1 has lost its vitality and is no longer productive. ke1 is used as a multi-functional suffix in popular and demotic words, whereas ka1 is used in

cultivated words. They therefore fulfill a complementary role.⁴⁷ As shown in Tables 28 and 29, ke1 is used mainly for terms relating to the old agricultural society, whereas ka1 is used especially in newly coined words pertaining to new things in industrialized society and fields such as education, politics, trade, fine arts, science and technology.

	stem + ke1	gloss	translation
1.	ta1-ke1 / toa7-ke1 大家	big-person	mother-in-law
2.	chhing1-ke1 親家 ⁴⁸	marriage-person	relative by marriage
3.	thau5-ke1 頭家	head-person	boss, master, husband
4.	koan2-ke1 管家	manage-person	head-servant, steward
5.	lai7-ke1 內家	inside-person	husband's family
6.	goa7-ke1 外家	outside-person	in-laws
7.	chu2-lang5-ke1 主儂家	master-person	boss
8.	siau3-lien5-ke1 少年家	youth-person	youth

Table 28. Stems with the suffix ke1 家

1.	oe7-ka1 畫家	draw-person	artist, painter
2.	chok-ka1 作家	do-person	writer
3.	choan-ka1 專家	special-person	expert
4.	hang5-ka1 行家	line of business-person	connoisseur
5.	im1-gak8-ka1 音樂家	music-person	musician
6.	un7-tong7-ka1 運動家	to exercise-person	athlete
7.	kau2-iok8-ka1 教育家	educate-person	educator
8.	khi3-giap8-ka1 企業家	enterprise-person	entrepreneur
9.	goa7-kau1-ka1 外交家	foreign affairs-person	diplomat
10.	ching3-ti7-ka1 政治家	politics-person	statesman

Table 29. Stems with the suffix ka1 家

ke1 and ka1 differ with respect to the semantic role of its derivative. The derivative with the suffix ka1 always denotes an agent, whereas the semantic role of ke1 is more diversified and its derivative may be used to refer to an agent, as in (4), social status, as in (3), terms of address for blood relations and relatives by marriage, as in (1), (2), (5) and (6).⁴⁹ For the last two examples, that is, (7) and (8), ke1 seems to be a redundant element added to the already independent compound; in this case it is very similar to the grammaticalized lang5.⁵⁰

7. Distinctive features of literary and colloquial strata

To summarize, the distinction between literary and colloquial strata can be captured by the three distinctive features given in Table 30:

	colloquial stratum	literary stratum
1	FREE	BOUND
example	kia ¹ 5 行	hing5-kun1 行軍
gloss	walk	march
example	hng7 遠	oan2-chiok8 遠足
gloss	far	hiking
2	BASIC/POPULAR	TECHNICAL/CULTURAL
	sai1 師	su1 師
example	tho· 5-chui2-sai1 塗水師	kang1-thing1-su1 工程師
gloss	mason	engineer

	colloquial stratum	literary stratum
	ke1 家	ka1 家

example	thau5-ke1 頭家	im1-gak8-ka1 音樂家
gloss	boss, master	musician
3	CONCRETE	ABSTRACT
example	mng7 門	bun5-sing1 門生
gloss	door	disciple
example	bak8目	bok8-lok8 目錄
gloss	eye	catalogue

Table 30. Three distinctive features of literary and colloquial strata

For the first distinctive feature as shown in (1), colloquial words tend to be free, whereas literary words in general are bound and often found in compounds or frozen expressions. However, the picture seems to be more complicated, since other factors are also involved. On the one hand, a literary word can also be free, but only when there is a shift of meaning in which the word in question takes on an abstract sense, as exemplified by khai1 開 'to spend' in khai1 chiⁿ5 開錢 open-money 'spend money'. On the other, a colloquial word may undergo a change from a lexeme to an affix which is by definition bound, as exemplified in the shift of kiaⁿ5 仔 'child' to a2 仔, a multi-functional affix.⁵¹ Second, as shown in (2), the distinction between the basic or popular and the technical or cultural strata is also expected, as the genius of a language lies in the basic and popular vocabulary. The higher and more refined vocabulary is often borrowed from one, or more than one, alien source. Third, there is a huge number of examples one of which is given in (3) where the colloquial words denote concrete entities whereas the literary words refer to abstract entities. The reverse is not true. This notwithstanding, colloquial words may also develop abstract senses.

One may be tempted to correlate productivity to stratificational distinction, but productivity really depends on factors other than stratificational distinction. For one thing, since colloquial words were in existence many centuries before the introduction of the literary stratum or strata, it may not be fair to compare literary and colloquial words in this respect. A once productive

grammatical morpheme in the colloquial stratum may have lost its vitality before the arrival of its literary congener, as in the doublet of 家 ke1 (col.) and ka1 (lit.). ke1 has become inert, whereas ka1 is still fully productive. They are not in a competitive, but a complementary, relationship. Likewise, one may overgeneralize, for example, a contrast between saⁿ1 poeh4 (col. + col.) 三八 ‘three and eight’ and sam1-pat4 (lit. + lit.) 三八 ‘crazy, silly’ and comes to a hasty conclusion that the expressions that are composed of colloquial words are compositional or literal, whereas the expressions that are made up of literary forms are non-compositional or idiomatic. However, counter-examples can be easily found, as in choe7•lang5 (col.+col.) 做•儂 make-person, an idiomatic expression meaning ‘betroth one’s daughter to a man’, since both colloquial and literary words follow different paths of development.

8. Closing words

In this paper I have discussed patterns of stratificational distinction by comparing the initial, final and tone of a doublet. Apart from subtle distinctions of strata manifested in etymologically related words, I proposed that there is also a stratificational distinction in the etymologically unrelated words, namely words with a paradigmatic relationship. Bidirectional diffusion is found not only in phonology as argued elsewhere (Wang and Lien 1993), but also in morphology. The thesis of bidirectional diffusion is introduced to account for the interaction between chronological strata in the synchronic linguistic system. I have gone to some length in discussing the bidirectional diffusion of morphological change. Competition between strata may result in change in favor of the colloquial stratum, as is the case for lang5 儂 and jin5 人 and in the counting system, or the other way round, where rare colloquial forms are slowly losing ground to literary forms on a word-by-word basis. Stratificational distinction may develop into a division of labor, as for the pairs 師傅 sai1-hu7 and su1 師 and ke1 家 and ka1 家. Lastly, I presented the three distinctive features of literary and colloquial strata, these being (1) the contrast of free versus bound forms; (2) basic/popular versus technical/cultural; and (3) concrete versus abstract.

Before closing let us address the issue of how to cope with universal semantic primes. It is an important concern for lexical semantics to search semantic invariants, which are made possible in terms of the universal Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). (Goddard and Wierzbicka 1994 and Wierzbicka 1996) In a quest for semantic invariants one will inevitably encounter problems of one-to-many or many-to-one relationship between form and meaning, since natural languages have plenty of words with such a skewed relationship. It is a case of polysemy when a form is associated with a set of related senses, but it is a case of allolexy when a sense or a semantic unit is realized by a set of words which are in complementary distribution. TSM with a rich repertoire of words characterized by a stratificational distinction furnishes a fertile testing ground for the hypothesis of NSM. We have examined in this paper two types of forms with a stratificational distinction: (1) literary and colloquial forms that are etymologically related, such as lau2 老 ‘old’, lo2 老 ‘old’ and lau7 老 ‘old’ and (2) literary and colloquial forms that are semantically but not etymologically linked, such as jin5/lang5 人/儂 ‘person’, chhe1/bo·2 妻/姥 ‘wife’, chu2/kiaⁿ5 子/囡 ‘child’. Since the two types of alternative forms share the same meaning and are in complementary distribution, they can be regarded as cases of allolexy.⁵² Given the definition of allolexes as alternative words which are identical in meaning and in complementary contribution, neither m7 唔 ‘not want’, bo5 無 ‘not have’, boe7 袂 ‘cannot’ and be7 未 ‘not yet’, nor ke1 家 [multi-functional suffix] and ka1 家 [agentive marker] are allolexes since each set of examples are not synonymous, even though they are in complementary distribution. In contrast, joah8 熱 and sio1 燒 or koaⁿ5 寒 and ling5 冷 are good cases of allolexes since each pair of examples are not only synonymous but also in complementary distribution. For example, sio1-chui2 燒水 ‘hot water’, but not *joah8-chui2 熱水, is acceptable, and ling5-te5 冷茶 ‘cold tea’, but not *koaⁿ5-te5 寒茶, are well-formed. Likewise, sai1-hu7 師傅 and sai1 師 are good candidates of allolexes as well since they share the cognitive meaning despite a distinction in affective meaning. One should bear in mind that no allolexy is involved if alternative forms are free variants, as the case of m7 唔 and put4 不 in examples (4), (5) and (6) in Table 13, bo5 無 and m7 唔 in Table 14, or when former

alternative forms have drifted apart and become independent words with a difference in meaning, as in lau2老 ‘good at’ and lau7老 ‘old’.

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¹ Contrary to the Neogrammarian Hypothesis that sound change is purely a shift in phonological category, one of the important claims in the theory of lexical diffusion is that sound change proceeds a lexically gradual manner on the time axis. (For a brief introduction to Lexical Diffusion see Lien 1994a)

² See, for example, Norman (1991b). There is a host of studies on colloquial and literary forms in Southern Min dialects, to name just a few: Li (1963 and 1995), Yang (1993) and Zhou (1983ab). Huang (1988), in particular, pioneers the study of the interface between stratificational distinction and morphology.

³ See Wang and Lien (1993: 362-369) for elaborating on this issue as well as (Lien 1994bc)

and Mei and Yang (1995) for providing grammatical evidence for the existence of chronological strata in Min dialects.

⁴ The distinction as drawn here is not the same as ditaxia, a term that Matthews and Yip (1996) coined for the register distinction in syntax in Chinese dialects, for two reasons. First, what is at issue here is a matter of morphology, but not syntax. Second, the stratificational distinction as a reflection of chronological strata is established in terms of formal difference and is therefore not isomorphous with the register difference, since, for example, sam1-pat4 三八 (lit. + lit.) three-eight ‘silly’, albeit a form made up of literary constituents, is used in informal speech.

⁵ See Lien (1990) for a preliminary look at the chronological strata in the Jian4-ou1 建甌 dialect, a western variety of the Min group.

⁶ The combination tone 33 is found in the speech of Inland TSM going back to the Zhangzhou 漳州 variety of Southern Min, whereas the combination tone 21 is unique to the speech of Coastal TSM traceable to the Tong3-an1 同安 variety of Southern Min. (Douglas 1873: xiv-xv)

⁷ Douglas (1873) makes a distinction between ch and ts. They are reduced as ch in this paper, since the distinction is not phonemic. Raised n signaling nasalization is omitted if it is predictable from the nasal initial, as in mia5 名 rather than miaⁿ5.

⁸ When the literary and alien stratum or strata came into contact with the native and colloquial stratum, they must have been different both segmentally and tonally. But the tonal difference between strata seems to be more easily integrated or neutralized than the segmental difference, as evidenced in the data in TSM presented here.

⁹ See Chang (1975), Ho (1988) and Wang and Lien (1993) for discussion of tonal strata in Chinese dialects.

¹⁰ Here we regard lau2 as a literary word on the grounds that this word has Tone 2 whereas Wang (1987: 454) looks upon it as a colloquial word, as shown in the following table:

	TIME	Earlier	S.M.	Modern S.M.
1	before MC	*ê→o	colloquial	literary
2	Tang	au	colloquial	colloquial
3	The end of Tang & Five Dyn.	*O→o	literary	literary
4	Early Mandarin	au	colloquial	colloquial

My treatment is based on the evidence discussed in § 2 that the realization of MC Ascending Tone syllables with voiced sonorant initials as modern Tone 2 is a characteristic of pan-Mandarin dialects outside of the native TSM system. Moreover, since the stratificational distinction is a relative concept and makes no sense outside the paradigmatic system, our treatment may not make a difference as long as a tripartite distinction of chronological strata is clearly delineated.

¹¹ Compare its colloquial counterpart 老翁 lau7-ang1 'old husband'.

¹² 老大 lau7-toa7 in the colloquial stratum contrasts with 老大 lau2-toa7 in the literary stratum. lau7-toa7 can be followed by suffix 儂 lang5 to form a derivative meaning 'old person'.

¹³ 老父 lau7-pe7 'father' and 老母 lau7-bu2 'mother' are used as designatives as opposed to their vocative counterparts 阿父 a1-pa5 'dad' and 阿母 a1-bu2 'mom'. The antonymic pair 父母 shows a stratificational distinction, as in pe7-bu2 (col.) versus hu7-bio2 (lit.) 'father and mother, parent'. A perspicacious reader thus may have discovered that 父 has a three-way stratificational distinction: pa5 (col. 1), pe7 (col.2) and hu7 (lit.).

¹⁴ Both 小 siau2 and 小 sio2 are literary with respect to the colloquial word 細 soe2. However, relatively speaking, sio2 as an intermediate term is more colloquial than siau2 but more literary than soe2.

¹⁵ The paradigmatic link varies with languages. toa7-soe2 大細 'big and small, old and young' forms a paradigmatic set in TSM, whereas cu1-xi4 粗細 'thick and thin, thickness' makes a paradigmatic set, instead, in Mandarin. On the other hand, chho·1 粗 'coarse' is paired with iu3 幼 'fine' in TSM.

¹⁶ The morpheme ling2 冷 shows no stratificational distinction. It can collocate with both colloquial and literary morphemes, as in koaⁿ5-ling2 寒冷 'very cold' and ling2-tam7 冷淡 'cold, indifferent', respectively. There is also a well-attested word for 'cold' in Min dialects, chhin3 清, whose meaning of temperature survives only in such frozen forms as chhiu1-chhin3 秋清 'pleasantly cool' and chhin3-koaⁿ7 清汗 'cold sweat' in TSM.

¹⁷ Compare a range of antonyms in paradigmatic relationship: toa7-han3 大漢 'tall' versus soe2-han3 細漢 'short'; tai7-jin5 大人 'Your Excellency, Sir (addressed to police officers in earlier times)' versus sio2•lang5 小•儂 (the term a person in lower social status uses to refer to himself) and siau2-jin5 小人 'mean person'. (Note that • means the syllable that follows is unstressed)

¹⁸ Unlike sio1-ling2 燒冷 koaⁿ5-joah8 寒熱 can only be said of weather, but not of a substance like water.

¹⁹ A derivative is formed by affixing a stem, whereas a compound is composed of putting lexemes together. A lexeme is a linguistic sign which contains both form and meaning. (Matthews 1991: 24-41)

²⁰ The untethered signified 'walk' finds a new host in the signifier 走 which has to sever the tie with its former signified 'to run'. The lacuna for 'to run' is then filled by the signifier 跑 in Mandarin. Such a scenario can be subject to a pull-chain or push-chain interpretation.

²¹ The homograph hang5 行 'a row, firm' has developed into a different lexical item.

²² The xun4du2 訓讀 character, that is, graph-loan character, as in 的 e5 and 會 oe7, or phonetic loan character, as in 袂 boe7, is underlined.

²³ boe7 is a fusional word that incorporates both a negative element and oe7 'can', which is believed to be a grammaticalized form traceable to the lexical morpheme 解. (See Lien 1997a).

²⁴ The negative counterpart (boai5) of 愛 ai3 seems to be a fusion of 無 bo5 + 愛 ai3 rather than 唔 m7 + 愛 ai3. mei3 derived from the latter components is used in imperatives such as mei3 chiah8 hun1! don't-eat-cigarette 'Don't smoke!'.

²⁵ Mulder (1959) insightfully suggests that in Old Chinese there might have been a morphological link between 毋 *miug (its graphic variant 無) and 有 *giug with *-iug as a common stem.

²⁶ 不 bu4 in Mandarin and 唔 m7 in TSM are what Chappell (1994: 129) calls monomorphemic volitional negative markers meaning ‘not want’ prevalent among all Chinese (her Sinitic) dialects. However, curiously enough, given the existence of 唔 m7, a monomorphemic negative volitional marker, in TSM the Taiwanized Mandarin tends towards an analytic way of coding, that is ‘not want’ is coded as 不要 bú yào not-want rather than 不 bú not alone, as in Xiao3zhang1 bu4 yao4 he1 ka1fei1 小張不要喝咖啡 Little-Zhang-not-drink-coffee ‘Tommy does not want to drink coffee’.

²⁷ Compounds containing 不 put4 usually, but not necessarily, take on idiomatic sense. Cf. also 不止 put4-chi2 not-stop ‘rather’.

²⁸ He proposes an autosegmental approach to cope with the non-linear phenomenon of morphology in the Semitic languages. For example, in his scheme to account for Arabic derivational processes there is a template spelling out the skeleton of the word to which two independent tiers representing consonants and vowels respectively are linked. Constraints on the linking are proposed to ensure the proper output.

²⁹ Root is what is left after all the affixes are pruned, whereas stem is the form ready for affixation. Thus, a stem can contain an affixed root as long as it forms an input to further derivational operation which includes affixation and reduplication. (See Matthews 1991: 64-65 and Aronoff 1994: 39-41)

³⁰ To my knowledge, Bloomfield (1987, a reprint of a 1933 article) was the first to discuss the compatibility of stem (root in Bloomfield’s terms) and affix with respect to stratificational distinction. The idea is formalized in Siegel (1979) in the study of the interface between phonology and morphology. The constraint that an affix imposes on the stem in TSM about stratificational compatibility is similar to that found in English.

³¹ pat4 八 undergoes both progressive and regressive assimilation yielding tap4 答.

³² There is recently a resurgence of interest in examining the cases of competing change in syntactic constructions in the lexical perspective. (see Cheng 1994, Li 1996, Lien 1994b and Yu 1995 among many others and also see Lien 1997b for an overview of recent studies in this regard) Here we argue for competing changes in morphological constructions.

³³ Thanks are due to Tsui-ping Wu for helping conduct the survey and many insightful observations. Item 40 lo2 老 'old' in the Appendix that is preceded by goat8-ha7 月下 moon-beneath is regarded as a monosyllabic form. The quadrinomial goat8-ha7 lo2-jin5 月下老人 means 'match-maker'.

³⁴ Chou (1959: 63-64) shows that the pronominal use of lang5 儂 attested in the texts of the Six Dynasties period (roughly the third to the sixth century) is a secondary development of its original sense 'person', which is evidenced in some modern Wu dialects, dialects that are less susceptible to the attrition of Northern Chinese. Norman (1991a: 210-214) proposes Old Southern Chinese encompassing Yue, Kejia, Min and Old Wu on the basis of common features shared among them. lang5 儂, for example, may be a native relic form showing affinity in the earlier stage.

³⁵ The statistic figures in the table are distilled from the Appendix. Each example in the Appendix is labeled L (Literary) or C (Colloquial) to show the stratificational composition of stems. There are four options open for each labeled stem with respect to the compatibility between stem and suffix: the stem is compatible with (1)儂, (2)人, (3) either of 儂 and 人, and (4) neither of them. The numeral in each cell represents the token of each possibility, and the numeral in the parenthesis stand for its percentage for each stratificational category.

³⁶ Both liong2 兩 and ji7 二 are literary forms, but they have a different division of labour, as in lit⁴- stt⁴-liong²- niau² 一石兩鳥 'To kill two birds with one stone' and te7-ji7-mia5 第二名 'the second place'.

³⁷ The approximate pronunciations are worked out on the basis of the riming scheme of the

poems that appear in these play scripts. (Li 1963 and 1995) For example, if 情 rimes with 影 in a stanza and we know that 影 has the final -iaⁿ, as in iaⁿ⁵-hi3 影戲, a dying word for ‘movie’, then we can infer that 情 must have had a final like -iaⁿ, even though 心情 is pronounced sim1-cheng5 rather than sim1-chiaⁿ⁵ nowadays.

³⁸ The sound change described here is accounted for in terms of the theory of lexical diffusion which was first proposed in Wang (1969). For more discussion, see Wang (1991) and Wang and Lien (1993).

³⁹ 師傅 (alternatively written as 師父) sai1-hu7 should be distinguished from 師父 su1-hu7. 師父 su1-hu7 is a polite term addressed to a Taoist or Buddhist monk.

⁴⁰ The etyma sai1 師 and su1 師 followed different paths of phonological development, and su1 師 must have been borrowed from an external system. The time depth accounts for their phonological difference. sai1 師 and such words as sai2 屎 ‘excrement’, sai1 私 ‘private’, sai1 西 ‘west’ and lai5 梨 ‘pear’, which belong to the zhi7 脂 category in the Old Chinese period, share the final -ai in their colloquial pronunciation as opposed to -u or -j in the literary pronunciation. (See Lien 1990, albeit a historical study of the Jian4-ou1 dialect in Western Min, for some observations about the historical development of the vowel system in Min dialects in general with the Old Chinese phonological system as a point of departure)

⁴¹ In a monograph on vocabulary in Buddhist texts dating back to the transitional period between Old Chinese and Middle Chinese (ca. 25 to 581 A.D.), Zhu (1992: 162-164) uncovers a wide range of derivatives with a suffix 師 denoting skilled worker in a majority of cases. One can surmise that 師 sai1 in TSM belongs in this chronological stratum.

⁴² Note however that 樂師 gak8-su1 ‘band player/band musician’ demands less intellectual work than 音樂家 im1-gak8-ka1 ‘musician’.

⁴³ cf. Another competing synonymous expression is 風水仙 hong1-sui2 sien1 ‘geomancer’ in which the graph 仙 may be a folk-etymological interpretation of sien1 先 (先<先生 sien1-siⁿ¹ ‘Mr., Sir’)

⁴⁴ Here 師 sai is suffixed to the stem 阿善 A1-Sien7, which is further composed of the hypocoristic prefix 阿 A1 and the root 善 Sien7, a truncated monosyllabic first name. In other words, A1-X sai1 阿-X 師 is a formula used to express familiarity where X can be filled by any monosyllabic truncated first name.

⁴⁵ The phonological contrast between -e (colloquial pronunciation) and -a (literary pronunciation) is also manifested in e7/ha7 下 ‘beneath’, (ge5/ga5) 牙 ‘tooth’ and (ke3/ka3) 嫁 ‘(woman) marry (man)’, words belonging to the yu2 魚 category in the Old Chinese period.

⁴⁶ The time depth keeps the two forms apart, as is the case with the doublet 'shirt' (native) and 'skirt' (borrowed) in English.

⁴⁷ It is illegitimate to claim that there is a competing relation between them, since the indigenous ke1 may become unproductive itself before the introduction of the literary ka1.

⁴⁸ The velar nasal ending of the first syllable i.e., 親 whose citation form is chhin1 is derived from regressive assimilation under the influence of the velar stop consonant in the following syllable.

⁴⁹ 家 as a polysemous form may mean ‘fief’, ‘house’, ‘family’, ‘clan’, ‘a class (of people)’, ‘skillful person’, and ‘person’. The meaning of ‘skillful person’ as well as ‘person’ was documented in Buddhist texts dating back to the Six Dynasties period (roughly the third to the sixth century or even earlier), a transition period between Old Chinese and Middle Chinese. (Zhu 1992: 160-162)

⁵⁰ However, there is still a subtle distinction between them, as shown in siau3-lien5 ke1 少年家 ‘young person’ and siau3-lien5 kang5 少年儂 ‘young person, the young’. While both can be used as a specific term, only the latter has an additional generic interpretation, as in siau3-lien5 lang5 m7 pat4 se3-su7 少年儂唔捌世事 youth-person-not-know-the affairs of the world ‘Youths do not know the ways of the world’.

⁵¹ See Lien (1995b) for the discussion of a2 仔 in TSM.

⁵² Allolexes as dealt with here are different from allomorphs. In an overwhelming majority of

cases each morpheme in TSM is realized as two allomorphs which are the same every respect except tone. That is, each morpheme has an isolation tone as well as a combination tone as its allomorphs. For example, chhiu2 手 ‘hand’ has the isolation tone 51 in prepausal position, but the combination tone 55 when followed by another full-stressed morpheme, as in chhiu2-pio2 手錶(55+51)hand-watch ‘wrist watch’. Notice that the tonal alternation as discussed here is purely a morphological process and has nothing to do with stratificational distinction. However, a tonal alternation between Tone II and Tone VII exemplified by pairs of words like oan2/hng7 遠 ‘far/distant’, u2/ho·7 雨 ‘rain’, loan2/nng7, 卵 ‘egg’, ni2/hi7 耳 ‘ear’, lo2/lau7 老 ‘old’, bong2/bang7 網 ‘net’, niu2/nng7, 兩 ‘two/tael’, lau2/lau7 老 ‘old/be at home in’, and ngo·2/go·7 五 ‘five’ as given Table 1 is a manifestation of stratificational distinction.

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Appendix: Stems with the suffix 儂 lang5 or 人 jin5.

	stem	stratum	suf.-lang5	suf.-jin5	either suf.	neither suf	gloss
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		comp.					
1.	tiong1-kok4中國	LL	20				Chinese
2.	cha1-bo.2 查某	CC	20				woman
3.	罪 choe7	L	2	15	2	1	culprit
4.	ho2-giah8 好額	CC	20				rich man
5.	kan1-kho.2 艱苦	LL	20				poor man
6.	ho2 好	C	20				good man
7.	善 sien7	L	2	16	1	1	good man
8.	chhin3-chhai2 清彩	CL	19			1	anybody
9.	ching3 證	L	1	17	2		witness
10.	thak8-chu1 讀書	CC	19		1		scholar
11.	po2- ching3 保證	LL	2	11	7		guarantor
12.	kia ⁿ 5-chun5 行船	CC	20				sailor
13.	oan1-siu5 冤仇	LL	13		7		enemy
14.	siu5 仇	L		17	2	1	enemy
15.	chng1-kha1 庄餃	CC	20				countryfolk
16.	gin2-a2 囡仔	CC	20				kid
17.	phai2 歹	C	20				wicked man
18.	ke1-sing5 繼承	LL		17	3		heir
19.	gong7 憨	C	20				fool
20.	hu7 婦	L		18		2	woman
21.	hu7-jin5 婦人	LL	18			2	woman
22.	tai5-pak4 台北	LC	20				Taipei resident

	stem	stratum comp.	suf.-lang5	suf.-jin5	either suf.	neither suf	gloss
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23.	hoan7 犯	L	12	1	7		criminal
24.	kong1-to7 公道	LL	7	7	1	5	mediator
25.	chhut4-goa7 出外	LC	20				traveler
26.	siau3-lien7 少年	LL	20				youngster
27.	un1 恩	L	1	17	2		benefactor
28.	un1-ching5 恩情	LL	16		4		benefactor
29.	hm5 媒	C	17		2	1	matchmaker
30.	toa7 大	C	19			1	adult
31.	tai7 大	L		19		1	police officer
32.	siau3 小	L		18	2		mean person
33.	lau7 老	C	20				old person
34.	cho3-chhan5 做田	CC	20				farmer
35.	kui3 貴	L		20			benefactor
36.	sien1 仙	L		20			immortal
37.	koa2 寡	L		20			I (emperor)
38.	su1-bun5 斯文	LL	20				refined person
39.	sing1-li1 生理	LL	19		1		merchant
40.	lo2- 老	L	1	18		1	old person
41.	che3-cho7 製造	LL		15	5		manufacturer
42.	pho.2-thong1 普通	LL	19		1		ordinary
43.	chu2 主	L	13	1	6		master
44.	chu2-chhi5 主持	LL	2	12	6		M.C., host

	stem	stratum comp.	suf.-lang5	suf.-jin5	either suf.	neither suf.	gloss
45.	chhut4-ke1 出家	LC	20				monk or nun

46.	kang1 工	C	20				worker
47.	ko3 個	L	1	15	4		individual
48.	hien7-tai7 現代	LL	18		2		modern
49.	chuan1 專	L	6	5	9		a person on a special mission
50.	chu2-kang2 主講	LC	2	12	6		keynote speaker
51.	tiong1 中	L	14			6	middleman
52.	hak8-seng1 學生	LL	10		1	9	student
53.	hien7 賢	L		17	1	2	worthy
54.	gau5 賢	C	18			2	able person
55.	siau2 肖	C	18		1	1	madman